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The colonial 'civilizing process' in Dutch Formosa 1624-1662

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THE COLONIAL 'CIVILIZING PROCESS' IN DUTCH FORMOSA

1624-1662

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus, prof. mr. P.F. vander Heiden,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 10 mei 2007
klokke 15.00 uur

door

CHIU Hsin-hui

geboren te Taipei - Taiwan,
in 1967

Promotiecommissie:

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Co-promotor:	Prof. dr. Tung Yuan-chao (National Taiwan University, Taiwan)
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Dit proefschrift werd geschreven in het kader van het TANAP (Towards a New Age of Partnership) Programma gesubsidieerd door NWO en de Universiteit Leiden.

Dedicated to my father and mother,
Chiu Te-huang and Hsü Su-hsing

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ABBREVIATIONS

BKI	*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*
BIE	中央研究院民族學研究所集刊 *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica*
DB	Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant Passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India 1624-1682 *[Follow Japanese and Chinese editions]*
DZ	*Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan*. I: *1629-1641*. II: *1641-1648*. III: *1648-1655*. IV: *1655-1662*
GM	*Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies at Leiden)
THR	臺灣史研究 *Taiwan Historical Research*
TWH	臺灣文獻 *Taiwan Wen Hsien*
VOC	(Archives of the) *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, the Dutch East India Company

NOTES ON SPELLING

The Thomas Wade system of romanization is applied throughout the text. However, titles of publications and proper names, normally written in other forms of romanization, have not been uniformly changed to this system. Other exceptions are made in regard to the historical names of places. The Formosan terms, including the names of persons and villages, follow *The Formosan Encounter*, Vol. III.

GLOSSARY

C.: Chinese (Fukienese); D.: Dutch; F.: Favorlangh (Babuza); Jap.: Japanese; Jav.: Javanese; Ka.: Kavalan; Ke: Ketagalan; M.: Malay; P.: Portuguese; Pe.: Persian; S.: Siraya; Sp.: Spanish

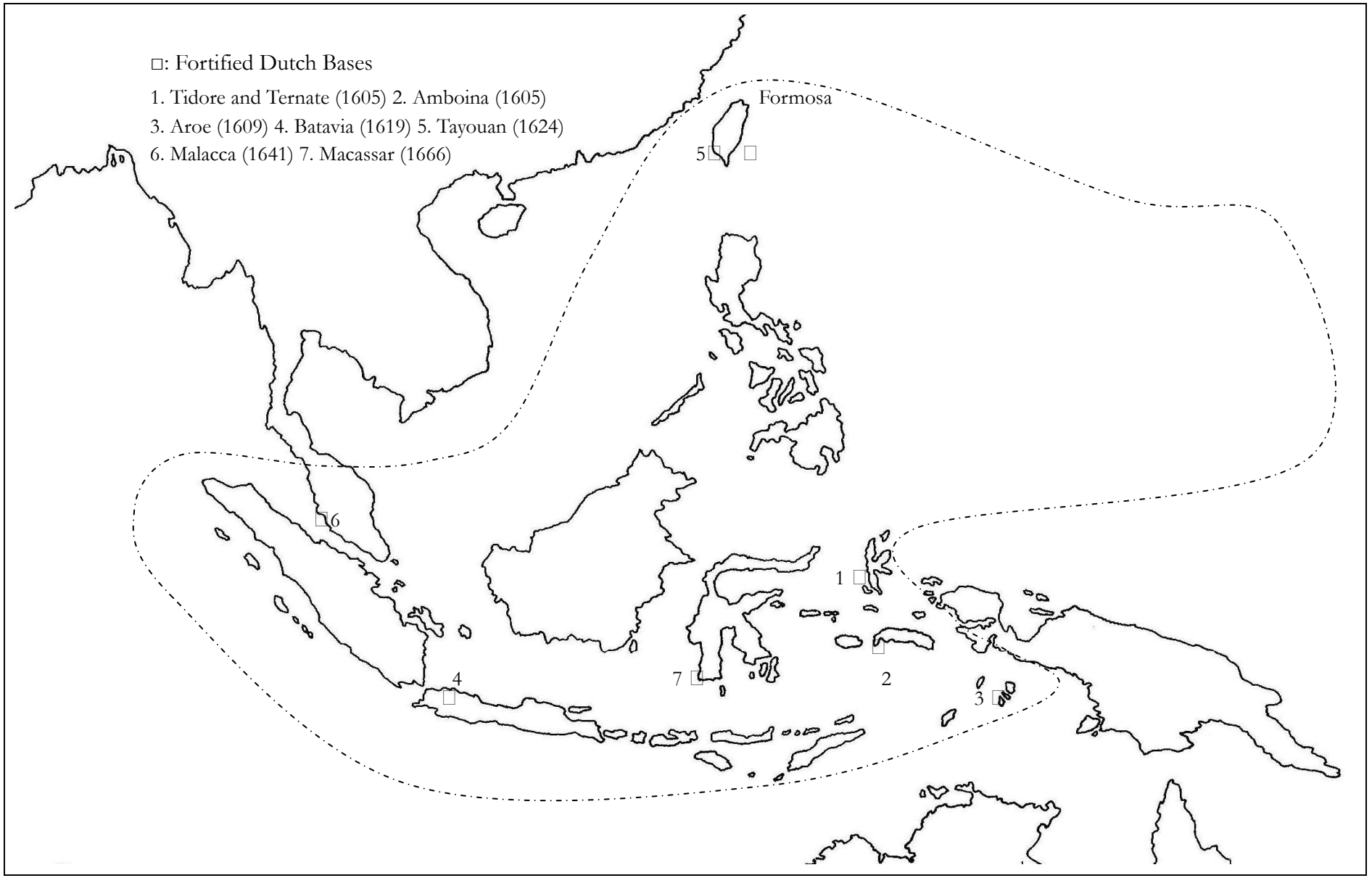
agammamiang	(S.) crown-like head-covering made out of straw and dog's hair
amigang	(S.) dry season
arrack	(M.) liquor distilled from fermented sap of sugar-palm trees, molasses, or rice
aribaribat	(F.) hunting implements
attatallachang	(S.) church
azjies	(F.) stranger
baddoa/paubaddoa/tippo	(F.) those born on the same day
bafta	(Pe.< *baft*:woven) plain or coloured cotton cloth, manufactured in Gujarat and later in Bengal and Coromandel
baqui	(Ke.) father, leader
bariga	(P.) belly: the middle quality
Bausie	(F.) referring to the Dutch
binnan	(F.) general term for buck or doe
bottoro	(F.) the trunk of the body
bottul	(F.) spears
cabessa	(P.) head: the best quality
cabessa	(P.) Chinese or Formosan headmen
Cagiaen	slaves originating from Caganayan (Luzon, the Philippines)
cangan	multi-coloured cotton cloth from China or Coromandel
capitang	Chinese or Formosan headmen
cassiuwang	(S.) the age-group of people in their twenties
Cateos	(P.) Portuguese name for the Siraya
cattekintjen	jacket
chaddoa	(F.) young deer with small horns
chatto	(F.) smoking or tobacco
chinachanes	(Ke.) agate beads
chintz	painted and printed cotton cloths
chummonchos	(F.) plough
coeva	(S.) group organized by twelve to fourteen households belonging to the same men's house
congsia	(C.) Chinese labourer
coya	small Chinese vessel
cuentas	(Sp.)necklace
cuthay	(S.) rice liquor
Deus	(S.) God of Christianity
Deus Allack	(S.) God the Son
Deus Samma	(S.) God the Father
Deus Spiritus	(S.) God the Holy Spirit
eichaman chatto	(F.) pipes
Farikhe	(S.) the thirteenth and last deity
gantang	measure of volume: 10 *gantang* for 1 *pikul*
Gentlemen Seventeen	(D. *Heren Zeventien*) board of Company directors in Amsterdam
gmamagag	(S.) washing linen
Guinees lijwaet	cheap, plain, checked or striped cotton cloths, produced in Coromandel and Gujarat for the Indonesian and African markets
High Government	(D. *Hoge Regering*) Asian headquarters of the VOC in Batavia with Governor-General and Council of Indies
honte	(S.< C.) king
hoofdgeld	(D.) poll-tax
inibs/ibis	(S.) Sirayan priestesses
jaerlickse erkentenisse	(D.) annual allowance
kaman	(F.) affinal relationship
Karichang	(S.) certain period in every month in which a code of conduct is obeyed
koban	(Jap.) Japanese gold, oval-shaped coin equal to 18 grams of gold
kuilen	(D.) pitfalls

lallaas	(F.) a fine, yellow kind of bark which is woven into coats as ornament
lanckins	first quality Chinese silk
Landdag(en)	(D. < Polish) Land-day(s), annual assembly of the Formosan headmen and the Dutch authorities organized by the latter
landdrost	(D.) sheriff
Limgout	(S.) Sirayan festival for seeking partner
lummolo	(F.) driving the herds of deer together
ma-achachimit	(F.) ruler/chief or a superintendent
maas/mas	unit of weight: 1 mas is about 2,4125 grams
maggo-aan	(F.) the custom of feeding each other between the parties of the bride and groom
mai-acho	(F.) relatives from outside, including the husbands of the daughters
majuorbol	(Ke.) female doctor
mangala	(S.) ashamed
maribaribat/mibonna	(F.) hunting
mario-acho	(F.) literally, 'good man': a ruler with power, a lord, or a regent
Marnas	(Ka.) festival of the rice harvest in the region of Cavalangh
masham	(F.) old buck
masorro	(F.) roe
meisisang	(S.) master
mian	(F.) mourning for the death of rulers for several days
mile	(D.) linear measurement: 1Dutch mile is about 7.407 kilometres
morgen	Dutch linear measurement: 1 *Rijnlandse morgen* is 8516m², 1 *Amstellandse morgen* is 8129 m²
moto	(F.) a shop, a corner
musakkauw/massecau/massichau/makousagh	(S.) rice liquor
naupoot	(F.) linen
niquania	cheap blue and white striped cotton cloth
oeno	(F.) head
ong	(S. < C.) governor
Opperhoofd	(D.) chief of factory
overste	(D.) ruler
padadingiang	(S.) envoy, Christian minister
Panpang	Christian inhabitants of the Pampanga region, the Philippines, serving as soldiers for the Spanish
paring	(M. < *parang*) chopper, machete
pee	(P.) foot: the lowest quality
perpetuana	woollen cloth
pesos	Unit of value in which the American treasure was expressed; there were also silver and gold coins bearing this name
pikul	(M.) a man's load: 1 pikul is about 63 kilos
pockon	(S.) symbol of protection and authority
politiek(en)	(D.) regional local administrators
Poot	(F.) the Chinese
poukong	(S.) fort
Proponent	provisional clerk in Holy Orders
quinnogara	(Ke.) agate beads
real	(Sp.) Spanish silver coin, real of eight is about 48 stuivers-60 stuivers (after 1650)
recognitie	(D.) tribute
rummauno	(F.) to behead
sampan	(C.) small Chinese vessel
samsoe	(C.) Chinese alcoholic drink distilled from rice or sorghum
sangley	(Sp<C) Chinese traders
Sarassa/sarasa	(M. Jav. < Hindi *sarasa*) cotton cloth finely hand-painted on both sides
sasongdagang	(S.) church
Schepenbank	(D.) the Court of Aldermen
schuitgeld	boat-shaped silver coin from Japan: 1 tael *schuytgelt* is 69 stuivers
schytinglitto	(S.) devil
serow	a goat-antelope with short, sharp horns and long coarse hair, native to South-East Asia, Taiwan, and Japan

smaghdakdaken	(S.) dancing during the funeral
soulatt	(S. < M. surat) permit
Statendaalders	(D.) *Rijksdaalder*, *dukaat*, Dutch coin of 2 guilders and 10 stuivers; up to 1665: one is 48 stuivers
stricken	(D.) snares
stuiver	(D.) small Dutch silver coin: 1 stuiver is 16 *penningen*
Tackakusach/Quaty	(S.) Sirayan village council
Tackoley	(S.) general hunting activity
tael	Chinese unit of weight and monetary unit: 1 *tael* is about 80 stuivers
Tamagisangang and *Takakraenpada*	(S.) first pair of Sirayan deities
tamahausong	(S.) drunkards
tamatatah	(S.) female doctor
Tapaliat and *Tatawoeli*	(S.) Sirayan deities of war
Tion	(S. < M. Tuan) the Dutch
tortones	(Sp.) Spanish coins
tououl	(S.) to wash
Tugittellaegh and *Tagisikel*	(S.) gods of healing
tumsar	(F.) stab
vadem	(D.) Dutch linear measurement: 1 *vadem* is about 1.8 metres
vrijburger	(D.) free citizen, not employed by the VOC but with permission to live and trade in its territory
vullum	(S.) Heaven
wakô	(C.) Chinese-Japanese piracy raged on the south-east coast of China during the sixteenth century
Warabo Lang Varolbo	(S.) Sirayan festival
Weeskamer	(D.) Orphan Chamber
zapuliung	(S.) Sirayan pilgrimage to Mattauw

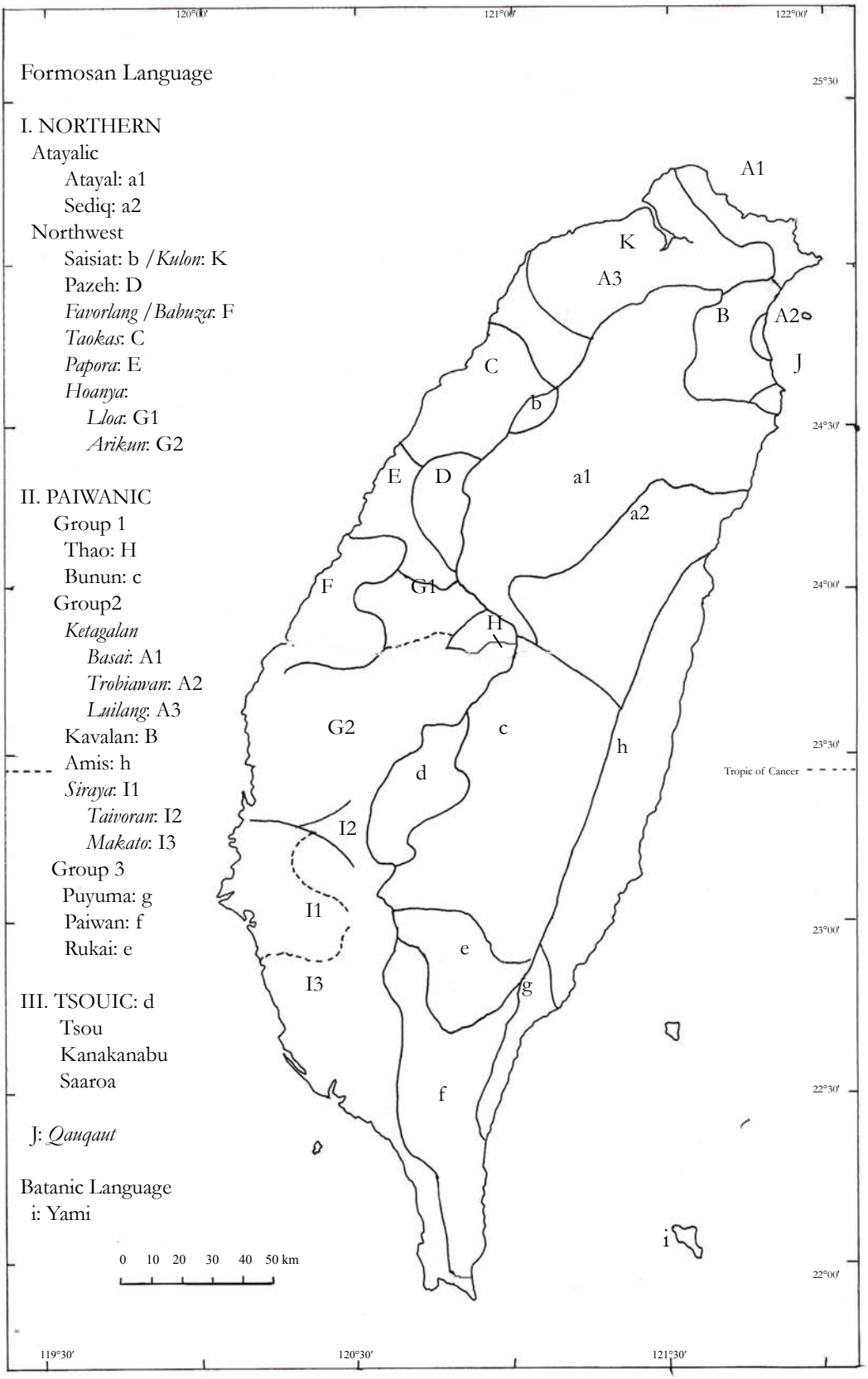
MAPS

1. The VOC territories in Austronesian-speaking Asia, ca. the 1660s
2. Indigenous ethno-linguistic groups of Taiwan
3. Geographic distribution of Formosan villages in Dutch Formosa

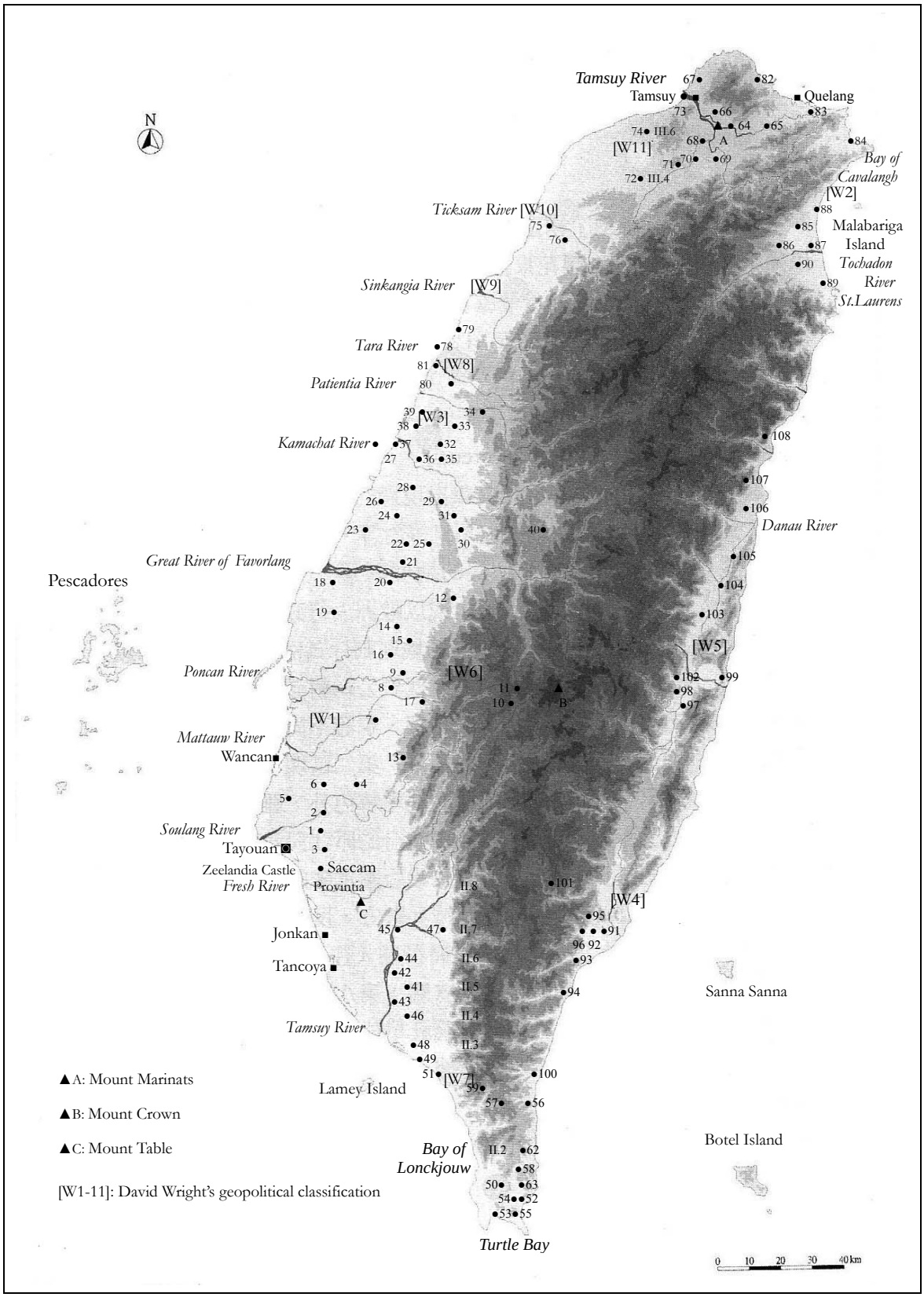


Map 1. The VOC territories in Austronesian-speaking Asia, ca. the 1660s

Adapted from Israel 1989 map 5.4; Davies 1961 map II; Bellwood 1999 map 2.6.



Map 2. Indigenous ethno-linguistic groups of Taiwan.
(*Italics indicate extinct languages*)
Adapted from Shepherd 1993; Ferrell 1969; Tsuchida 1983; Li, Paul 1992, 2000.



Map 3. Geographic distribution of Formosan villages in Dutch Formosa
Adapted from Kang 2005: 24, 169. For David Wright's geopolitical classification, see Table 7.1.

Formosan Villages

I. Regions of the Northern *Landdag*:
1 Sincan
2 Bacaluan
3 Tavocan
4 Tevorang
5 Soulang
6 Mattauw
7 Dorcko
8 Tirosen
9 Tackapoulangh
10 Nieuwangh/ Tapangh
11 Tivora
12 Kiringangh
13 Tarraquangh
14 Dalivo
15 Docowangh/ Gaumul
16 Dovaha
17 Arrissangh
18 Basiekan/ Davolee
19 Favorlangh/Ternern
20 Dobale Baota
21 Dobale Bayen
22 Balabaijes
23 Tackays/Gilim
24 Turchara
25 Tavocol
26 Taurinab/Dorenap
27 Asock
28 Bobariangh
29 Kakar Baroch
30 Tausa Talakey
31 Tausa Mato
32 Aboan Balis
33 Aboan Taranoggan
34 Aboan Poali
35 Babausack
36 Dorida Babat
37 Bodor
38 Salagh
39 Goemach
40 Serrien Souluan

II. Regions of the Southern *Landdag*:

II.1 Verovorongh:
41 Pangdandangh
42 Tapouliangh
43 Verovorongh
44 Akauw
45 Swatalauw
46 Netne
47 Tedackjan
48 Cattia
49 Pangsoya

II.2 The Lonckjouw Villages:
50 S'daky
51 Karitongangh*
52 Dalaswack
53 Lindingh
54 Vanghsor
55 Carolos South
56 Valangits
57 Catsiley
58 Koeskoes
59 Tockopol/Tacabul?
60 Calingit/Kalenet
61 Loupit
62 Massaran/Matsaram
63 Spadior

II.3 Villages in the Toutsikadang Gorge:
Varongit
Kololauw
Tarikidick
Suffungh
Pijlis
Calaravia
Durckeduck

II.4 Villages in the Dalissiouw Gorge:
Dalissiouw
Potnongh
Talakabus
Polti
Kaviangangh
Carolos North

II.5 Villages in the Siroda Gorge:
Siroda
Massisi
Ivangavangas North/ Wangavangas

II.6 Villages in the Pagiwangh Gorge:
Pagiwangh
Sotimor
Smackedaiadaia
Sopanor

II.7 Villages in the east of Tedackjan:
Souvassavasseij

II.8 Villages in the Kinitavan Gorge:
Kinitavangh/Kinadowan
Terroadikan/Tolledecan
Sapannouck/Punock
Sodidil

III. Regions of the Tamsuy *Landdag*:

III.1 Region of the River Tamsuy:
64 Kimassauw
65 Litsock
66 Kipatauw/ Quipatao
67 Chinaar/Senar

III.2 Region of the River Pinorouwan:
68 Pinorouwan
69 Chiouron
70 Paitse

III.4 The Baritischoen Villages:
71 Ga-achaisan
72 Sasaulij

III.5 South of Tamsuy Redoubt:

III.5-1 Southern Quarter of Tamsuy:
73 Parragon
74 Parricoutsie/Lamcan
75 Gingingh
76 Pocael

III.5-2 The Dockedockol/ Calikan Villages:
[77] Dockedockol
78 Warrewarre
79 Parrouan
80 Warrouwar
81 Tennatanangh

III.6 The Coulonders' Villages

III. 7 The Basay Villages:
82 Tapparij
83 Kimaurij
84 St Jago/Caguinauaran

III.8 Minaparou Villages

IV. The Cavalangh Region:

85 Kibannoran
86 Kannabasjen
87 Kipottepan
88 Taloebayan/Trobiawan
89 Pressinowan
90 Sogol Sogol

V. Regions of the Eastern *Landdag*:
91 Pimaba
92 Nicabon
93 Tipol
94 Tawaly
95 Tammalaccouw
96 Taroma
97 Daracop
98 Sapat
99 Supra
100 Patsibal
101 Bonock
102 Sorigol
103 Vadan
104 Sibilien/ Sipien
105 Patsiral
106 Linauw/Talleroma
107 Sakiraya
108 Tarraboan/Tackilis

Sources: Mabuchi 1954; Nakamura 2002: 11-38, 85; Kang 1999: 35-59; 2001; 2005: 169, 184; Zandvliet 1997- I, II; Johannes van Keulen and Gerard van Keulen 1970 [1753]: 70.
Notes: Not all villages attended the *Landdag*.
* Before 1650, Karitongangh belonged to the sub-district of Verovorongh.

Formosan Overland Routes

I. Tayouan – Pimaba – Taraboan

1. Through the Lonckjouw Villages:
Bay of Lonckjouw – Dalaswack – Vanghsor –[Karradey – Tarodas – Massaran – Loupit – Ballicrouw – Parangoy – Patsaban – Tawaly] – Lowaen – Pimaba

Example: Lieutenant Johan Jeuriaensz van Linga, 22 January - 12 February 1638
(*Formosan Encounter*, II, 167-203)

2. The Tacabul Route via Mount Tacabul in the Lonckjouw region
Tamsuy – Pangsoya – Cangelangh – [Babaras – Tacabul – Calingit] – Patsibal – Tawaly – River of Tipol – Pimaba

Example: Sergeant Christiaen Smalbach, March 1643 (*DZ* II-C: 294-7)

3. The New Pimaba Route via the Toutsikadang Gorge
Tamsui River – Pangsoya – Langilang – [Babaras mountain – Tacabul – the Gorge of Calingit – Calingit mountains] – Patsibal – Tarikidick Gorge – Tawaly River – Pimaba
Pimaba – Loulongh – Cornigoy Gorge – Pallan River – Sapat or Sacaraij mountain – Supra – Danau River – Supra – Saccarey – Tarraboan
Tarraboan – Saccarey – Tellaroma – Borine – Vadan – Sapat – Pimaba – Tawaly –[Tarikidick - Toutsicadang] – Verovorongh

Example: Senior Merchant Cornelis Caesar, November 1645 - 15 January 1646
(*Formosan Encounter*, III, 1-41)

4. Exploration of a new route via Dalissiouw - and Toutsikadang Gorge
Tapouliang – Verovorongh – Dolatok – Cattia –[Talakabus – Kololauw – Lawabicar – Tawaly] – Lowaen – Pimaba

Example: Junior Merchant Maerten Wesselingh, 11-21 May 1639
(*DZ* I-L: 685-6; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 229-35)

5. Exploration of a new route via the Pagiwangh Gorge
Saccam – Swatalau – Pimaba

Example: Pieter Boon in 1643 expedition (*Formosan Encounter*, II, 372-3)

II. Tayouan ↔ Tamsuy

The Tamsuy Route (10.5 days in 1650):
Sincan – Mattauw – Tirosen – Dalivo – Dovalee –Turchara – (via Darida) - Goemach – (via Dockedockol) - Daridan – Pokael – Parricoutsie – Tamsuy (*Formosan Encounter*, III, 281)

[ ]: indicates the villages located in the mountains

PART ONE

SCOPE AND SCENE

CHAPTER ONE

CROSS-CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS, COLONIAL 'CIVILIZING PROCESS', AND INDIGENOUS AGENCY

Lost paradise as the focus of competition for maritime power

Taiwan, at the intersection of the Asian mainland and the volcanic island arcs along the west rim of the Pacific, is situated about 200 kilometres south-east of the Chinese coastal province of Fukien.[1] The people living in the coastal regions of China may have occasionally visited this huge island, but it remained largely *terra incognita* to its close Chinese neighbours until the early modern period of world history (c. 1500-1800 Common Era).[2] By the thirteenth century, Fukienese fishermen had extended their fishery via the Penghu Archipelago (the Pescadores) to the coastal waters off south-west Taiwan following the seasonal migration of mullet, sailing along the first part of the so-called *Eastern Ocean Route* which led to the Philippines and the Moluccas.[3] In the late sixteenth century, both Paccan in south-west Taiwan and Tamsuy and Quelang (present-day Tanshui and Keelung) in northern Taiwan emerged as destinations frequented by fishermen and traders from mainland China.[4] Meanwhile, smuggling

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[1] The narrowest part of the Taiwan Strait is about only 130 kilometres. *See* Chen Cheng-hsiang 陳正祥, *T'ai-Wan ti chih* 臺灣地誌 [A Geography of Taiwan], 3 vols. (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1993), I, 60.

[2] In the Chinese literature, several places names such as Yi-shu (夷州), Liu-ch'iu (琉求、瑠求) and so on refer to Taiwan since the third century. Ts'ao Yung-ho 曹永和, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu* 臺灣早期歷史研究 [Researches on Taiwan's Early History] (Taipei: Lien-ching, 1979), 71-156; Laurence G. Thompson, 'The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines', *Monumenta Serica*, 23 (1964), 163-204 at 163-9. According to François Valentijn, the natives called the island Pakan or Pak-ande (namely 'Pakan Island' in Fukienese dialect) and the Chinese Tai Liu-kiu (Great Liu-kiu). *See Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Sources*, ed. W. M. Campbell (Taipei: SMC publishing Inc., 1992[1903]), 1.

[3] According to *Tao I Chih Lüeh* 島夷志略 in 1349, the Eastern Ocean Route (東洋針路) started from Taiwan. Ts'ao suggests that fishermen were the first Chinese to trade with the Formosans during their visits to Formosa. *See* Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 113-23, 9-12, 39.

[4] Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 164-5. For more detail about Paccan, *see* Chen Tsung-jen 陳宗仁,"'Pei-kang" yü "Pacan" ti ming k'ao shih: chien lun shih liu, shih ch'i shih chi chih chi T'ai-Wan hsi nan hai yü mao I ch'ing shih te pien ch'ien' 「北港」與「Pacan」地名考釋：兼論十六、十七世紀之際台灣西南海域貿易情勢的變遷 [The Origin and Development of Pacan: A Case Study in Taiwan's Commercial History], 漢學研究/*Chinese Studies*, 21/2 (2003), 249-77. Paccan was also a term for the whole island in the early 1620s. *See The Formosan Encounter—Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Source*, 3 vols, I: 1623-1635, ed. Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts and Evelien Frech; II: 1636-1645 and III: 1646-1654, ed. Leonard Blussé and Natalie Everts (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 1999, 2000, 2006), I, 43-4; Kees Zandvliet 冉福立,*Shih ch'i shih chi Ho-lan jen hui chih te Tai-wan lao ti t'u* 十七世紀荷蘭人繪製的臺灣老地圖上、下冊 [The Old Maps of Taiwan by the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols.], tr. Chiang Shu-sheng 江樹生, 漢聲雜誌/*Echo Magazine*, 105/106 (1997), I, 17 [Hereafter: *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*].

conducted by pirates or armed traders from China and Japan, reacting to the pressure of the prohibition on trade between China and Japan issued by the Chinese Ming government in 1549, flourished and, in this chaotic period, Taiwan gradually became a den of smugglers.[5]

The rich trade with China and Japan attracted adventurers from the West who appeared in the Far Eastern seas in the early sixteenth century. In 1557, the Portuguese established themselves in Macau, and fourteen years later the Spanish conquered Manila. Spanish and Portuguese ships sailed past Taiwan on their way to Japan, China, and South-East Asia. Gazing from their ships at the beautiful scenery of the mountainous island, the Portuguese sailors called it *Ilha Formosa*, the Beautiful Island, but Portugal never had any territorial designs on it.[6] This situation changed when another nascent seaborne empire set its sights on the island with the aim of using it to gain a foothold in the China trade. In 1602, the Dutch Republic (1579-1795), which was fighting a war of independence against the Spanish Crown (1568-1648), established a chartered company, the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC), to engage in trade with Asia and to extend theatre of its war with its Spanish enemy.[7] In the summer of 1624, the Dutch arrived at a sandy spit named Tayouan, present-day Anping, Tainan, which protruded from the south-west coast of Formosa. Here they started to build up an entrepôt and port city protected by Zeelandia Castle.[8] Two years later, the Spanish in their turn seized the regions of Tamsuy and Quelang. In 1642, the Dutch expelled the Spanish and made themselves the sole power on the island.

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[5] Between 1520 and 1810, China underwent an upsurge in armed maritime trade or piracy along the southern coast of China from Chêchiang Province to Hainan Island. The rebel-pirates of the Ming-Ch'ing transition, the second great pirate cycle after 1620, finally put an end to the Dutch occupation of Formosa. *See* Robert Antony, 'Piracy in Early Modern China', *IIAS Newsletter*, 36 (2005), 7; Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 162-5. About the Japanese piracy, *see* Patrizia Carioti, 'Diplomacy, Piracy and Commerce in the Eastern Seas: The Double Standards of the K'an-ho Trading System in the Fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries', in Leonard Blussé (ed.), *Around and About Formosa: Essays in Honour of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), 5-14.

[6] Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 47-8, 298-300.

[7] In 1602, the VOC from the States-General of the Dutch Republic won the exclusive privilege to trade east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan. The Company was empowered to conclude treaties of peace, to wage war, and to build fortresses in this part of the world. This franchise laid the foundations for the coming economic-political expansion of the VOC in Asia during two hundred years. *See* C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (London etc.: Penguin Books, 1965[1990]); Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 29-30; Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 318-27; Femme S. Gaastra, *De Geschiedenis van de VOC* (Zutphen: Walburg, 2002), 20, *see* also id., *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003).

[8] Tayouan was also called Lamang in the early 1620s, but after that Tayouan became the usual name. For the name Lamang, *see De Nederlanders in China, eerste deel: De eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de Vestiging in de Pescadores 1601-1624*, ed. W. P. Groeneveldt ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1898), 317; *Spaniards in Taiwan*, 2 vols., I: 1582-1641, II: 1642-1682, ed. José Eugenio Borao Mateo (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 2001, 2002), I, 48. On Asian port cities, *see* Frank Broeze (ed.), *Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from the 16th-20th Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989). Tayouan as a port city, *see* J. L. Oosterhoff, 'Zeelandia; A Dutch Colonial City on Formosa, 1624-1662', in Robert J. Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp (eds.), *Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context* (Dordrecht etc.: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985), 51-63.

Dutch Formosa in a Chinese setting

Formosa was the first large, integrated territorial possession over which the VOC claimed sovereignty (*souvereine rechten*) in Asia during the seventeenth century (see Map 1). In 1650, the directors of the Company classified Taiwan as belonging to those territories which the Company had won by its own conquest, but in reality Formosa had been acquired accidentally.[9] In June 1622, the Dutch attacked the Portuguese settlement at Macao in an attempt to initiate trade relations with China. When the attack was repelled, the Dutch Fleet sailed on with intentions to occupy the Penghu Archipelago. The Fukienese provincial governor would not allow the Dutch to remain on Penghu because it was situated right at the front door of China, and therefore suggested the Dutch build a trading base on nearby Formosa, then still situated outside the realm of Chinese sovereignty.[10]

In the 1630s, Tayouan developed into an important transit port for the Company's intra-Asian shipping network, and by 1650 the Tayouan trading factory had become one of the most profitable VOC settlements in Asia.[11] Yet this achievement would not have been possible without the help of the Chinese sojourners and settlers from Fukien. Since the twelfth century, 'the Fukienese' or 'Hokkian' had frequently ventured overseas to trade or in search of work, forced to do so by the pressure of the growing population and the harsh natural environment in their home province.[12] The term 'the Chinese' used in this study therefore refers to 'the Fukienese'. Just as Chinese quarters were built around the Dutch castles of the Company settlements in the East Indies, Chinese towns clustered at the foot of the Dutch forts in Tayouan and in mainland Formosa.[13] In need of a work force, the VOC made great efforts to encourage Chinese workers from Fukien to cross over and engage in commercial agriculture, deer-hunting, fishing, handicrafts, and trade. By 1650, the number of Chinese settlers had increased to 15,000, almost one-seventh of all the indigenous population of nearly 100,000.[14] This Chinese group of migrants had mushroomed into an ethnic majority on the western plains of Formosa in the short span of forty years.

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[9] This classification was in the general order for 1650, according to the great differences in size, economic importance, and political status of the establishments. *See* Femme. S. Gaastra, 'The Organization of the VOC' in *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (1602-1795)*, ed. R. Raben and H. Spijkerman, M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz (inventaris) ('s-Gravenhage: Sdu Uitgeverij, 1992), 1-29; Gaastra, *De Geschiedenis van de VOC*, 70.

[10] Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 51; Leonard Blussé, *Tribuut Aan China: Vier Eeuwen Nederlands-Chinese Betrekkingen* (Amsterdam: Otto Cramwinckel, 1989), 43-4.

[11] Nakamura Takashi 中村孝志,*Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan: kai shuo, ch'an yeh* 荷蘭時代台灣史研究上卷：概說、產業 [Studies on Dutch Formosa, I: General Studies and Industries], ed. Wu Mi-cha 吳密察 and Ang Kaim 翁佳音 (Taipei: Tao-hsiang, 1997), 341.

[12] Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 6.

[13] Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1986), 78-80.

[14] The number of Chinese, *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 286. In 1646, it was estimated that the total population of the Formosans was beneath 100,000, including those living in the mountains. In 1654, the total number of the indigenous population under VOC rule was estimated at about 50,000 people. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 141, 505.

When the Dutch extended their relations with the Indigenous Peoples in the interior of Formosa, they found that Chinese pioneers were always one step ahead in establishing relationships with the inhabitants. The Dutch authorities were constantly alert to any possible plots between the Chinese and the Indigenous Peoples. Yet, the ultimate challenge to the Dutch authorities did not come from inside but from outside Formosa. In the spring of 1661, the Ming loyalist Cheng Ch'eng-kung (鄭成功) alias Koxinga invaded the island and expelled the Dutch in February 1662. Therefore it was through his intervention the Dutch colonial project in Formosa came to an end.[15]

'*The Formosans*' *and* '*the Age of Aboriginal Taiwan*'

The Indigenous Peoples of seventeenth-century Taiwan were lumped together under a general term 'the Formosans' by the Dutch, who distinguished them by reference to separate village units within a linguistic or geographical framework.[16] To demonstrate the power relationship in the colonial context, this denominative term will be used whenever 'Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples', as they are officially identified today, are denoted as a whole.[17] 'The Formosans' actually consisted of nearly twenty different groups in terms of modern ethnic classification.[18] Raleigh Ferrell has classified the native populations into three main ethnic-linguistic groups and six cultural complexes on the basis of similarities in material cultures, social structure, religion, and oral tradition. Four upland cultural complexes include Atayal, Bunun, Tsou, and Paiwan cultures. The Pazeh, Saisiat,

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[15] In his conceptualization of 'colonial project', Nicholas Thomas stresses the importance of innovation in the character of the project. *See* id., *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), 105. This point is related to the colonizers' experiment in this period of Taiwan history. *See* the discussion in the section five.

[16] *Formosan Encounter*, I, p. x; John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 38-9. This can be observed from Dutch village censuses and the yearly meetings of the *Landdag*.

17 'Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples' officially consists of twelve major indigenous peoples in Taiwan: the Amis (阿美族), Atayal (泰雅族), Bunun (布農族), Kavalan (噶瑪蘭族), Paiwan (排灣族), Puyuma or Punuyumayan (卑南族), Rukai (魯凱族), Saisiyat (賽夏族), Thao (邵族), Truku (太魯閣族), Tsou (鄒族), and Yami (雅美族). *See* Government Information Office, Republic of China, *Taiwan Yearbook 2005*. Website: http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/p028.html

[18] In the late nineteenth century, Japanese scholars began to classify the Taiwan Indigenous People in ethnic terms. Their construction was incorporated into Japanese colonial policy. In 1935, the researchers in the Institute of Ethnology, Taihoku Imperial University of Formosa, published their genealogical and classificatory study. *See* N. Utsurikawa 移川子之藏, N. Miyamoto 宮本延人, and T. Mabuchi 馬淵東一,*Taiwan Takasagozoku Keito Shozoku no Kenkyu* 台灣高砂族系統所屬の研究 [The Formosan Natives: A Classificatory and Genealogical Study] (Tokyo: Toko Shoin, 1935). After 1945, in addition to Ferrell's model, the recent classifications of Taiwanese Indigenous People have been made mainly from a linguistic perspective. *See* Tsuchida Shigeru 土田滋, 'Austronesian Languages in Taiwan (Formosa)', in S. A. Wurin and Shiro Hattori (eds.), *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1983); Li Paul Jen-Kuei 李壬癸, 'Formosan Languages: The State of the Art', in David Blundell (ed.), *Austronesian Taiwan: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, and Prehistory* (Berkeley: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 2000), 45-67; Li, Paul Jen-Kuei, 'The Internal Relationships of Six Western Plains Languages', 國立臺灣大學考古人類學刊/*Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University*, 61 (2003), 39-51.

Luilang, Favorlang, Taokas, Papora, Hoanya, Thao, Puyuma, Siraya, Ami, Kavalan, and Ketagalan belong to the littoral and lowland cultural complexes (see Map 2).[19]

Linguistically, Formosa is the northernmost island of the Austronesian language speaking world (see Map 1). The Austronesian languages which include between 1,000-1,200 distinct languages are spoken by an estimated 270 million people and distributed over a huge geographical area extending from Madagascar in the south-west to Easter Island near South America in the east, and from Taiwan in the north to New Zealand in the south. This widespread language family makes up almost all the indigenous populations of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Madagascar.[20] The evidence of great heterogeneity among the Formosan Austronesians supports the theory that Taiwan may be the possible homeland of the first Austronesians. In other words, the ancestors of Austronesians are thought to have dispersed over Island South-East Asia and the Pacific from Taiwan, southern Taiwan in particular.[21] Cultural diversity echoes ethnic-linguistic heterogeneity, but also suggests outside influences. Archaeological studies based on the classification of distinctive pottery traditions, tool industries, and ornaments indicate that separate waves of migration continued to shape the past of Taiwan. Cultural affinities in prehistory with the Philippines and northern Vietnam can be found on the east coast of Taiwan.[22]

Despite the continuous interaction between Taiwan and the outside world, Formosa was not reached by such world religions as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam when these penetrated South-East Asia in the first millennium or shortly after.[23] Encounters between the Dutch and the 'Formosan tribal world' were the first profound foreign interactions experienced by the latter.[24] The Dutch, in fact, inaugurated a historical sequence of

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[19] Raleigh Ferrell, *Taiwan Aboriginal Groups: Problems in Cultural and Linguistic Classification* (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1969), 23-6.

[20] Peter Bellwood, James Fox, and Darrell Tryon, 'The Austronesians in History: Common Origins and Diverse Transformations', in id. (eds.), *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1995), 1.

[21] The other candidate is the northern Philippines. *See* Andrew K. Pawley and Malcolm Ross, 'Austronesian Historical Linguistics and Culture History', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 22 (1993), 425-59 at 425, 432-42. Recent genetic research supports this hypothesis. More evidence reveals that genetic affinities between Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples and Polynesians endorse the origin of Polynesian migration from Taiwan. *See* J. A. Trejaut et al., 'Traces of Archaic Mitochondrial Lineages Persist in Austronesian- Speaking Formosan Populations', *PLoS Biology*, 3/8 (2005), 0001-11.

[22] Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 27-9. According to the recent archaeological research, green glazed pottery found in the site of Pei-tao-ch'iao (碑島橋), located in the region to the north of the Tamsuy River within 400 B.P., is possibly from South-East Asia. *See* Archaeological Team of National Museum of History 國立歷史博物館考古隊, *Shih ch'i shih chi Ho Hsi shih ch'i pei T'ai-Wan li shih k'ao ku yen chiu ch'êng kuo pao kao* 十七世紀荷西時期北台灣歷史考古研究成果報告 [Taiwan under Dutch and Spanish: A report of historical archaeological research in Northern Taiwan] (Taipei: National Museum of History, 2005), I, 56, 65. On the prehistory of Formosan Indigenes, *see* Liu Yi-chan 劉益昌, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih: shih ch'ien p'ien* 臺灣原住民史：史前篇 [The History of Formosan Aborigines: Prehistory] (Nantou: Taiwan Historica, 2002).

[23] On world religions in South-East Asia, *see* Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*, II: *Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven, etc.: Yale University Press, 1993), 132-6.

[24] The meaning of 'tribal' follows Geoffrey Benjamin's proposition: ""Tribal" thus refers not to some sort of "ethnic" category, but to particular socio-political circumstances of life, which (like all such circumstances) demand to be understood in terms of their specific histories and with constant

colonial domination over Taiwan. From the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, Taiwan has been occupied consecutively by the Dutch and the Spaniards, and then by the Ming loyalist Cheng lineage, the Manchu Ch'ing Empire, the Japanese Empire, and finally the Kuomintang representing the Republic of China after World War Two.[25] In the course of these four hundred years, the island of Taiwan changed from an island populated exclusively by the Austronesians into the homeland of some 23 million ethnic Chinese with a small minority of 460,000 indigenous people, making up less than 2 per cent of the population.[26]

In the early seventeenth century, the Dutch were in the position to witness Austronesian Formosa in the age which Ferrell refers to as 'Aboriginal Taiwan':

> A hypothetical moment immediately preceding modern development, when the aboriginal cultures may have had considerable contact with each other but had not yet been overwhelmed by contact with Occidental or Far Eastern world powers.[27]

Ferrell suggests an ongoing contest between Aboriginal Taiwan and successive Occidental and Far Eastern world powers. He argues that the period of 'Aboriginal Taiwan' soon ended for most of the groups in the western plains in the wake of the arrival of the Dutch; but in the east and mountain areas, 'Aboriginal Taiwan' continued to last until the early twentieth century when indigenous autonomy was seriously challenged by the Japanese Imperialists.[28] Present linguistic and demographical research has shown that the languages of Luilang, Favorlang, Taokas, Papora, Hoanya, Siraya, and Ketagalan are now extinct. Nevertheless, speakers of these languages formed more than half of the Formosan population in the heyday of Dutch rule. The population of the Siraya on the south-west plain with whom the Dutch had the most intensive contacts reached near 20,000 at that time.[29]

The colonial 'civilizing process'

In contrast to the discontinuities of the successive replacements of colonial regimes, the

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acknowledgement of the people's own agency.' *See* Geoffrey Benjamin, 'On Being Tribal in the Malay World', in id. and Cynthia Chou (eds.), *Tribal Communities in the Malay World: Historical, Cultural and Social Perspectives* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 8; also *see* the section five.

[25] This framework is as follows: The Dutch (1624-62), the Spanish in the regions of Tanshui and Keelung (1626-42), the Cheng (1662-83), the Ch'ing (1683-1895), the Japanese Empire (1895-1945), and R.O.C. (1945-present). The Ch'ing (Qing) period is viewed as part of the expansion of 'Qing imperialism', for example, Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and pictures, 1683-1895* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 2004).

[26] As of 2004, the total indigenous population was 454, 682. *See Taiwan Yearbook 2005* (website).

[27] Ferrell, *Taiwan Aboriginal Groups*, 27.

[28] Ibid.

[29] The census of 1650 indicates that the Dutch ruled at the greatest extent of their power over nearly 70,000 Formosan people. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 38-9. Among them, nearly 40,000 people commanded these languages.

protracted process of retreat from 'the Age of Aboriginal Taiwan' represents a pronounced continuity in the history of Taiwan, on a *long durée* scale from the early modern period to the present. In explaining the vicissitudes of Formosan dominance in Taiwanese society, anthropologist Huang Ying-kuei points out that three driving forces from the outside world have played key roles: capitalism; State; and Christianity.[30] Under the Dutch, Austronesian Taiwan underwent a dynamic transformation at the incipient stage of the changes introduced by the VOC. To extrapolate this point, the character of the VOC needs to be clarified in greater detail.

Even though the VOC is generally viewed as a trading company embodying the colonial power of 'mercantilism', this company was chartered with quasi-sovereignty, functioning as a 'state within the state', wielding extensive authority over the people and territories in a certain locality where the monopoly on trade was granted by the States-General of the Dutch Republic.[31] Consequently, the VOC represented itself as a 'statist power' 'without needing or wanting to establish full state control in Taiwan', as Tonio Andrade notes.[32] Politically speaking, Dutch Formosa was a colony of the Company, subject to the States-General of the Dutch Republic (*Nederlandtsche Staat*), and ruled by the Formosan Government (*Formosaanse Landtregeringe*) which consisted of the Governor and the Council of Formosa.[33] As a basis of Dutch overseas expansion, such a system was especially reinforced by the legitimacy of authority derived from the Dutch royal family, namely the Orange-Nassau family, the Stadholders and overseas symbols of the Dutch Republic, whose portraits were displayed in the Governor's House in Zeelandia Castle guarded by the soldiers wearing the coats-of-arms of both the States-General and 'His Royal Highness' the Prince of Orange.[34]

From about 1600, the VOC factually represented the epitome of the capitalized Dutch Republic.[35] Its success contributed to the Dutch Golden Age, praised in connection with such terms as the 'Empire of Trade', the 'Dutch Hegemony', 'Dutch Capitalism', 'Primacy in Trade', and 'the First Modern Economy' by the later scholars.[36]

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[30] Huang Ying-kuei 黃應貴, *Jên lei hsüeh te p'ing lun* 人類學的評論 [Anthropology's Comments] (Taipei: Yun-chen, 2002), 387-8.

[31] Maurice Aymard (ed.), *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism* (Paris: Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 8; Chen Kuo-tung 陳國棟, *T'ai-Wan te shan hai ching yen* 臺灣的山海經驗 [*Taiwan's Mountain and Sea Experiences*] (Taipei: Yuan-liu, 2005), 382-3; Pol Heyns 韓家寶 and Cheng Wei-chung 鄭維中, 'Introduction', in *Dutch Formosan Placard-book, Marriage, and Baptism Records*, tr. id., ed. Wang Hsing-an 王興安 (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2005), 18.

[32] For Andrade's notes, *see* Robert Eskildsen, 'Taiwan: A Periphery in Search of a Narrative', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 64/2 (2005), 281-94 at 285.

[33] Heyns and Cheng, 'Introduction', in *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 13.

[34] Kees Zandvliet, 'Art and Cartography in the VOC Governor's House in Taiwan', paper presented in the International Conference on History and Culture of Taiwan, Taipei, May 2006, 72-98 at 77-8.

[35] Ray Huang 黃仁宇, *Tzu pên chu i yü êrh shih i shih chi* 資本主義與二十一世紀 [Capitalism and the Twentieth Century] (Taipei: Lien-ching, 1991), 112.

[36] Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800* (Minneapolis etc., 1976); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, II: *Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (New York: Academic press, 1980); Aymard, *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism*; Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch primacy in World Trade 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Jan de Vries and Ad van der

As a joint-stock company, the VOC was a new type of institution which facilitated the expansion of overseas commerce and the creation of a powerful state and the proliferation of rich entrepreneurs. It was an integral part of the Commercial Revolution during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which contained such elements as the creation of an international monetary system, the increase in investment capital, the rise of banking, and the expansion of credit facilities.[37] Beyond the bounds of the commercial sphere, with the involvement of the Dutch Reformed Church, the VOC came to serve as a vehicle to set into motion the process of civilizing 'uncivilized barbarians and savages' by bringing them within the domain of Christendom.[38]

Although it would be somewhat presumptuous to try to look at the world of Company servants of three hundred years ago, we may safely assume from their writings that they did not consciously devote themselves to pioneering the transformation caused by all the above-mentioned dynamic forces, but they did try to carry out a Christian value laden 'civilizing mission' in Formosa.[39] In the seventeenth century, colonialism as a cultural formation was no less profound than it was at its zenith in the late nineteenth century.[40] European overseas expansion was characterized rather by the presumed superiority of civilization than by white racial superiority, and justified its domination of other lands and peoples by natural law during the early modern era.[41] This begs the question of how the Company servants, who originated from different parts of Europe, perceived themselves and the others through their lens of civilization.[42] Even though it

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Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[37] Edward M. Burns, Robert E. Lerner and Standish Meacham, *Western Civilizations: Their History and their Culture* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1984), 544-8. On the VOC as an 'institutional innovation, *see* Niels Steensgaard, 'The Dutch East India Company as an institutional innovation', in Maurice Aymard (ed.), *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism* Aymard, *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism* (Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Cambridge University Press, 1982), 235-57.

[38] Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 148-72; Philip S. Gorski, 'Calvinism and State-Formation in Early Modern Europe', in George Steinmetz. (ed.), *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 147-81. Even though 'barbarians' and 'savages' may be said to have different connotations, the Dutch described the Formosans in both terms. For example, the barbaric people (*barbarische menschen*) and the 'savages' (*wild volck, beestachtige volcken*, namely wild people and bestial people) in the Dutch archives.

[39]In Taiwanese historiography, the term 'civilizing mission' is used by Blussé in a seventeenth-century context, and by Shepherd in an eighteenth-century context. *See* Leonard Blussé, 'God, Gold and Gloom: How Dutch Colonialism met its Limits in Taiwan', paper represented at International Conference in Celebration of the Eightieth Birthday of Professor Yung-ho Ts'ao: Maritime History of East Asia and the History of the Island of Taiwan in the Early Modern Period, Oct. 2000; Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 371.

[40] On colonialism and culture, *see* Nicholas B. Dirks (ed.), *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 3-4. The above-mentioned period, as Nicholas Thomas describes, is when colonialism is most associated in a cultural sense. *See* id., *Colonialism's Culture*, 9.

[41] During the early modern era, European expansion itself in Europe intellectual or political culture did not rest on articulate theories of white racial superiority. *See* Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade*, 6; Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 54. However, as Kidd argues, it did not mean that racist prejudice was invisible in that era.

[42] According to marriage and baptism records, Company servants in Taiwan during the 1650s were from the modern countries of the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Poland, France, Scotland and England (UK), *see Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 423-8.

sounds rather western ethnocentric in his conceptualization of 'the civilizing process' in Western society, Norbert Elias offers a native point of view to elucidate the process of 'civilization' which is considered to have shaped the mentality of the major Western peoples.[43] As he defines it, this is 'a specific transformation of human behaviour'.[44] Elias claims that 'the civilizing process' in the West has not been 'rationally' planned; but has been 'set in motion blindly, and kept in motion by the autonomous dynamics of a web of relationships, by specific changes in the way people are bound to live together.'[45] It functioned at both the individual and the social level by instilling a measure of self-control, leading to more stable constraints for society's sake.[46] Planned intervention cultivated from a better knowledge of the unplanned dynamics was consequently formed in the individuals from infancy.[47] These 'civilizing' disciplines provided future European adults with a certain standard of judgement about proper behaviour.

Colonization and expansion in terms of physical space and the people involved are innate in Elias' notion of 'the civilizing process'. Based on social hierarchy which builds awareness of superiority and inferiority among upper and lower social strata, civilizing structures have not only assimilated alien constraints to diminish contrasts, but have also increased varieties in civilized conduct within Western society, as in the case of class-formation. Elias argues, the same pattern is applicable in the spreading of Western 'civilized' patterns of conduct over wider areas outside Europe proper, a phenomenon which is also a part of the civilizing movement of the West. To induce constant foresight and calculable affect-control, a change in human relationships and functions in line with Western standards was brought to the other parts of the world where 'sooner or later a reduction in the differences both of social power and of conduct between colonists and colonized' will have been achieved 'largely without deliberate intent'.[48]

This places the Dutch passion for 'civilizing' the Formosans in its proper context. They were determined to implant the Dutch way of life, which is seen to be embedded in the grid of State, capitalism, and Christianity in this study, transformed into an experimental colonial project. However, unlike the spontaneous civilizing process in the West, the 'civilizing process' outside the West was engineered by more or less more

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43 Anthropologists such as Jack Goody have criticized Elias in this regard, *see* Jack Goody, 'Norbert Elias and Civilizing Process: A critique', *POLIS* 7 (1999-2000). The online version is available in http://www.polis.sciencespobordeaux.fr/vol7ns/arti6.htm; id., 'Elias and the anthropological tradition', *Anthropological Theory*, 2/4 (2002), 401-12, and http://ant.sagepub.com.

44 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Revised edn.), ed. Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom and Stephen Mennell (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 45.

45 Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 365, 367.

46 Ibid. 365-82.

47 During the Renaissance Period, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467-1536), 'the prince of the Christian humanists', played a crucial role in the civilizing process of European society. In 1534, Erasmus' work entitled *De civilitate morum puerilium* (*On Civility in Boys*), a treatise about 'outward bodily propriety' and 'manners' in social life, was published in catechism form and was introduced as a schoolbook for the education of adolescents. It was also translated into German, Czech, and French by 1613. The speakers of German formed the majority of the non-Dutch Company personnel. See Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 48-52; Burns et al., *Western Civilization*, 436-9; R. van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch Avontuur: Duitsers in Dienst van de VOC, 1600-1800* [The East-Indian adventure: Germans in the service of the VOC] (Nijmegen: Sun, 1997), 53-6.

48 Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 379-87, 430-4.

planned deliberation to 'civilize' the colonized in cross-cultural interaction as we will see in the Formosan case. The Formosan 'civilizing process' as a whole was promoted by Western and Oriental colonialism originating from different 'civilizing processes', even though Elias indicates some parallels between the courses of civilizing processes in the West and Eastern Asia.[49] Since the 'civilizing process' in Formosa cannot be separated from its colonial context, it is appropriate to distinguish colonial 'civilizing process' from Elias' conceptualization of Western 'civilizing process' in order to elucidate the particularity of the historical agency of the Formosans within the colonial situation.

Representing Formosan agency

The interaction between the Formosan Indigenes, the Dutch colonizers, and the Chinese settlers is unique in both the Company history and Chinese history. As a 'colonial laboratory', Formosa first experienced experiments in the Dutch colonial project.[50] The historiography of the Company in Formosa has inevitably dealt with such themes as the ruling apparatus, management, and strategies to stimulate the maritime trade in East Asian waters alongside colonial expansion.[51] The uniqueness of the brief Dutch period in Formosa in the broad span of Chinese history has to be conceived from the present reality that the Chinese comprise around 98 per cent of the population in Taiwan, representing the most successful case of Chinese overseas expansion and a fitting example of 'the Chinese diaspora' as an enduring phenomenon.[52] To serve as an ideological apparatus for state formation in the framework of 'Chinese nationalism', the history of this decisive period has been portrayed as the symbolic opening and development of Chinese immigration to and cultivation of this new land.[53]

Rather than the approach of focusing solely on the Dutch or the Chinese, recent research has put the collaboration networks set up by the Dutch colonizers and Chinese sojourners into perspective. For the situation in Batavia, where the VOC established the High Government as its headquarters in Asia, Leonard Blussé has called this curious combination of Sino-Dutch collaboration 'strange company', while Andrade speaks of 'co-colonization' in Formosa—a 'Sino-Dutch hybrid colony'. Pol Heyns, on the other

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[49] Ibid. 388.

[50] The term 'colonial laboratory' is used by George H. Kerr to designate the colonial period of Taiwan under the Japanese. *See* id., 'Formosa: Colonial Laboratory', *Far Eastern Survey*, 11/4 (1942), 50-5.

[51] For example, Ernst van Veen, 'How the Dutch Ran a Seventeenth-Century Colony: The Occupation and Loss of Formosa 1624-1662', *Itinerario*, 21/1 (1996), 59-77.

[52] For the details about the Chinese diaspora in the category of 'historical diasporas', *see* Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). This high percentage of Chinese population includes the various Han groups (Fukienese and Hakka) and almost sixty other non-Han minorities, such as Mongolians and Tibetans who receive assistance from the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission (MTAC-蒙藏委員會) under the Executive Yuan. *See Taiwan Yearbook 2005* (website).

[53] For the survey of research in this stage, entitled 'K'ai Fa Shih' 開發史 [Settlement history], *see* the survey of Ts'ao on *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu hsü chi* 臺灣早期歷史研究續集 [The Sequel of Researches on Taiwan's Early History] (Taipei: Lien-ching, 2000), 333-58.

hand, stresses the co-operation between administrators and entrepreneurs in the case of both the Dutch and Chinese, over-reaching ethnic boundaries.[54] The role of the local population, the Formosans, which used to be seen as a background factor is now treated as an inalienable part in the historicizing of the processes of European and/or Chinese expansionism.[55] This reflects the emergence of a new paradigm in historical research.

The indigenous role in the drama of world history has been put in the spotlight since the 1980s.[56] One contribution from anthropologist Eric Wolf's focus on the so-called 'people without history' strengthens a transformation from Eurocentrism to Globalism; Talal Asad calls for the historiography of 'peoples without Europe' and of the changes they experienced under European colonial expansion.[57] In Taiwan, the lifting of Martial Law in 1987 marked the commencement of a new era for Taiwanese society. Public concern about subjectivity and identity has boosted source publications on Dutch Formosa.[58] Since 1990, a new paradigm has been constructed to relocate Taiwan in global history. Ts'ao Yung-ho's conceptualization of the 'history of Taiwan as an island' emphasizes the dynamic contributions made to the island by various populations from different parts of the world over the past four hundred years.[59] Taiwanese historical research in recent decades has been marked by an interdisciplinary approach and attention paid to cross-cultural encounters, power relationships, politico-economic vicissitudes, as well as religious and gender issues.[60] The Formosans as 'hosts of

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[54] Blussé, *Strange Company*; Tonio Andrade, *Commerce, Culture, and Conflict: Taiwan under European Rule, 1624-1662* (Diss., Yale University, 2000); Tonio Andrade, 'Pirates, Pelts, and Promises: the Sino-Dutch Colony of Seventeenth-Century Taiwan and the Aboriginal Village of Favorolang', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 64/2 (2005), 295-321; Pol Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu* 荷蘭時代臺灣的經濟、土地與稅務 [Economy, Land Rights and Taxation in Dutch Formosa] (Taipei: Appleseed, 2002).

[55] The discussions of European and/or Chinese expansionism belong to two prosperous fields of scholarship identified by John E. Wills Jr., the history of maritime Asia (also called the history of European expansion in Asia), and the history of Ming and Ch'ing China. *See* id., 'The Seventeenth-Century Transformation: Taiwan under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime', in Murray A. Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History* (New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1999), 84-106, esp. 85.

[56] The dating of the indigenous role in world history here is with reference to the development of Historical Anthropology and/or Anthropological History; *see* Huang Ying-kuei, 'Li shih yü wên hua: tui yü li shih jên lei hsüeh chih wo chien' 歷史與文化：對於「歷史人類學」之我見 [The Formation and Development of Historical Anthropology], *Journal of History and Anthropology*, 2/2 (2004), 111-29.

[57] Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: university of California Press, 1982). About the transformation of Globalism in economic history, *see* Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). About the histories of 'peoples without Europe' is from Talal Asad's comment on Wolf's book, *see* Talal Asad, 'Are There Histories of Peoples Without Europe? A Review Article', *Comparative Study of Society and History*, 29 (1987), 594-607 at 607.

[58] For the list of Dutch archival materials translated into Chinese, English, or Japanese, *see* Bibliography.

[59] Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu hsü chi*, 445-83.

[60] For example, the 'Pingpu research' in Taiwan, a new research cluster established in 1992, endeavours to probe the issues of the western plain Formosans who had the most contact with the Dutch. Recently, an intensified call for a new approach to the 'History of the Taiwanese Indigenes' has aimed to encompass all the indigenous groups in Taiwan. *See* Pan Ying-hai 潘英海 and Chan Su-chuan 詹素娟 (eds.), *P'ing-p'u tsu yen chiu lun wên chi* 平埔研究論文集 [Symposium of the P'ingpu Studies] (Nankang: Institute of Taiwan History Preparatory Office. Academia Sinica, 1995). Recent research that can be included in this trend: Leonard Blussé and Marius P. H. Roessingh 1984; Ang kaim 1992; John R. Shepherd 1995; Leonard

Formosa' have recaptured their own locality, names of villages, group characteristics, and even the appearance of particular figures, instead of being represented by the blurred general term 'Aborigines' in the literature.

However, as non-literate populations, 'the Formosans' have left no self-written accounts. Since most Formosan-related sources were produced by Company personnel, 're-encountering the Formosans' is restricted not only to Dutch perception, but also to an epistemological dilemma in searching for an 'autonomous' local history. Andrade's claim demonstrates how easily the perceptions of the Formosans can be hypothesized in the minds of a contemporary audience:

> We cannot know precisely how aborigines felt about VOC rule, but we can note that evidence—VOC evidence and ethnographic evidence—suggests that they thought highly of VOC rule and that they usually co-operated quite well once they were under Company authority.[61]

Formosan agency awaits exploration through textual analysis of the Company archives. 'According to their [Formosan] customs' is a key phrase in the text which gives voice to Formosan agency; however, such a clear designation is only occasionally shown. Formosan history requires a 'higher proportion of conjecture' as proposed by Geoffrey Benjamin for the Malay tribal world in order to prevent it from going astray.[62] In view of the necessity to 'bring ideas and agency back in' the study of world history, Michael Adas postulates that cultural dimensions of epistemologies, representations and ideologies, as well as the individual and collective agency on the non-Western side of the encounters should be taken into account in comprehending the cross-cultural negotiations and exchanges in the encounters.[63]

Such an approach is vital to answering the question: 'How do actors from different cultural backgrounds reach mutual understanding among each other?' In the power relationships between the Dutch, the Chinese, and the Formosans, the last were by no means weak players in the cultural dynamism of colonial encounters. Parallel to the context of Indian-American encounters, Taiwan represents a scene of the process of 'the middle ground', as Richard White has suggested, where 'diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings.'[64] It was naturally a 'contact zone', a term which Mary Louise Pratt refers to as a space of colonial encounters in order to invoke 'the spatial and temporal

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Blussé 1995, 2000; Ts'ao Yung-ho and Leonard Blussé 2000; Natalie Everts 1999; Tonio Andrade 2000, 2001, 2005; Cheng Wei-chung 2004. The research of Peter Kang since 1996 has focused especially on the Formosans.

61 Tonio Andrade, 'Political Spectacle and Colonial Rule: The Landdag on Dutch Taiwan, 1629-1648', *Itinerario*, 21/3 (1997), 57-93 at 82.

62 Benjamin, 'On Being Tribal', 8.

63 Michael Adas, 'Bringing Ideas and Agency back in: Representation and the Comparative Approach to World History', in Philip Pomper, Richard H. Elphick and Richard T. Vann (eds.), *World History: Ideologies, Structures, and identities* (Malden, MA. [etc.]: Blackwell publishing, 1998), 81-104 at 96.

64 Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. x-xi.

copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect', even though these subjects interacted 'often within radically asymmetrical relations of power'.[65] In her cultural construction of agency, Shelly Ortner shows the effectiveness of agency constructed from the dimensions of both power and meaning to deal with powerful others in terms of 'thick resistance'.[66] However, going beyond equating agency with resistance, linguistic anthropologist Laura Ahearn proposes a provisional definition of agency as 'the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act' by 'loosely structured' actors.[67] In this study, Formosan agency as the local statement will be the focus. It is comprehended from the perception, participation, and practice of 'loosely structured' Formosan agents in their colonial civilizing process without neglecting the deep Chinese involvement which characterized the Dutch colonial project. Placing the Formosans of the 'Dutch period' within the broader framework of the embodiment and experiment in the colonial 'civilizing process' allows us to use cross-cultural and trans-cultural perspectives of global history.[68]

Structure and themes

This study consists of four parts. Chapter One of the first part introduces the historical situation in Dutch Formosa, its major actors, and the general scope of observation of this study. Chapter Two offers a sketch of the Formosans, their livelihood and leadership, as well as an overview of Chinese encroachment in the pre-colonial era.

The chapters of Part Two describe the dynamics of Dutch territorial expansions in Formosa. Behind the Dutch-perspective title of every chapter, the 'quite effective agency' of the Formosans is deliberately interwoven with the historical picture of 'the Dutch Conquest of Formosa'.[69] By 'pacifying' the Formosans on the south-west and southern

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[65] For the notion of 'contact zone', *see* Mary L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London etc.: Routledge, 1992), 6-7.

[66] Shelly B. Ortner, 'Thick Resistance: Death and the Cultural Construction of Agency in Himalayan Mountaineering', *Representations*, 59 (1997), 135-62.

[67] For Ahearn's survey of agency studies, *see* Laura M. Ahearn, 'Language and Agency', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30 (2001), 109-37. According to Ahearn, researchers have noticed that the practice theory, including Giddens' structuration theory and Bourdieu's habitus, faces the same dilemma in explaining how social reproduction becomes social transformation. Even though Marshall Sahlins attempts to show how social reproduction in cross-cultural contacts can lead to unintended social transformation, his explanation is criticized as rather mechanistic, attributable to his structuralist roots. To resolve this theoretical problem, Ortner suggests that 'actors are neither free agents nor completely socially determined products, but "loosely structured"'. *See* Shelly B. Ortner, *High Religion: A Cultural and Political History of Sherpa Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 198. Ahearn thereby indicates that the central question for practice theorists on agency becomes 'how such loosely structured actors manage at times to transform the systems that produce them.' *See* Ahearn, 'Language and Agency', 120.

[68] The term 'trans-cultural', derived from 'transculturation', according to Pratt, is to describe 'how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture'. *See* Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6.

[69] The term 'quite effective agency' is quoted from Ortner, 'Thick Resistance', 148.

plains, the Dutch successfully gained a hinterland to back up and supply their trading establishment on the Tayouan Peninsula. Retribution exacted from the population of a small outer island, Lamey, resulted in the depopulation of the island and the diaspora of its inhabitants. A second wave of expansion and exploration fanned out to the remote northern, southern, and eastern interiors in search of Formosan trade commodities such as deerskins and gold. For some time, the Company was particularly interested in gold exploration. The Dutch expulsion of the Spaniards in 1642 initiated another wave of expansion connecting the Tamsuy region to Tayouan. It also gave the Dutch access to the reported gold region via the northern coast. During this island-wide expansion process, the Dutch encountered and interacted with different groups of the Formosans in almost all the coastal areas.

In Part Three, the local response to Dutch institutional establishment in the three dimensions of state formation, capitalization, and Christianization is analysed in consecutive chapters on embodiment of power, exploitation, and conversion. The ideological intentions behind Dutch management and Formosan logic are explored in these macro-trends. In various ways, the Formosans continued to challenge the Dutch process of institutionalization in order to negotiate a better deal.

In the fourth and last part, the role of the Formosans in the power transition to the Chinese regime of Cheng Ch'eng-kung is observed. Subsequently, the discussion shifts to Taiwan as the frontier of the Ch'ing Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century when the Westerners were allowed to trade, travel, and propagate Christianity in Taiwan after winning the Opium Wars against the Ch'ing Government. In that period, the Formosan perception of the Dutch era which had been reshaped in the Chinese dominated era for the past two hundred years was revealed in a new context of the Westerners' Formosan encounters.

CHAPTER TWO

GLIMPSES OF 'ABORIGINAL TAIWAN'

Balthasar Monteiro, one of 300 survivors of the wreck of a Portuguese junk sailing from Macao to Japan in the summer of 1582, was probably the first recorded Westerner in Formosa who heard the jingle of the little bells worn by the local deer-hunters—the melody of the Formosan Austronesian world in the 'Age of Aboriginal Taiwan'.[1] From the accounts of the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuit priests, it is possibly to hypothesize that the junk ran aground in the vicinity of the Bay of Tayouan where the survivors encountered the neighbouring Formosans, the Siraya.[2] For practical considerations, these accidental visitors decided to stay on the beach without exploring any depth into the interior. The Siraya, named by the crew *Cateos* since they often used this word, 'swarmed' onto the beach like 'bothersome flies' as one account describes, searching for all the scattered cargo 'with great spirit and determination, without hesitating and without hurting anyone.' Even though a young Tagalog boy, who had been brought from Manila, the Philippines, by Spanish Father Alonso Sánchez, managed to communicate peacefully with the natives and obtained some food from them, it was not long before conflicts arose and for two months without interruption the shipwrecked people had to defend themselves day and night against attacks.[3] Four decades later, in March 1623, the first Dutch arrived in the same bay in search of a suitable harbour in Formosa from where they could begin trading. Crewmembers went ashore to fetch fresh water with their weapons at the ready, because they had heard rumours that the island was inhabited by 'aggressive', dark-skinned natives, but they met no one.[4]

The literature of early eyewitness accounts of Formosa offers us a few rare glimpses of 'Aboriginal Taiwan'. Supplementing a few Portuguese, Spanish, and Chinese accounts

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[1] This image is evoked from 'A Formosan' in the journals of Caspar Schmalkalden (1642-52): 'We walk in the fields and run all day Close to us you can hear the sound of the little bells we carry in our hands We live by hunting, everyone who is able to goes out hunting And when our shots miss then the dogs will hunt the prey'. *See Formosan Encounter*, I, p. xxii. Bells were also tied on the spears the hunters used in order to locate the whereabouts of the wounded deer. *See* Caspar Schmalkalden, *Die Wundersamen Reisen des Caspar Schmalkalden nach West-und Ostindien 1642-1652* (Leipzig: Veb F.A. Brockhaus Verlag, 1983), 145; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 117. For the details of this shipwreck, *see Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 2-15. Since 1570, the annual great ship from Macao to Nakasaki had become a part of the Portuguese trade route emanating from Goa. *See* Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power 1492-1763* (London etc.: Penguin Books, 2002), 200. This junk, however, belonged to a very rich and important Macao merchant. Its cargo included some 200 gold bars. After two and a half months, the crew managed to return to Macao on a smaller boat rebuilt from the wreckage of the junk. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 9, 11 and note 4.

[2] The argument is based on the descriptions of the sandbar and lake, the outward appearance and decoration of the natives, the native method of deer-hunting, and the later reappearance of the young boy from Manila in a Sirayan village, Soulang, in the account of Jacob Constant and Barend Pessaert. *See* the discussion in Sections one, two, and five.

[3] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 2-15 and note 9.

[4] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 2.

written prior to their arrival, the Dutch reports on expeditions to and explorations of the Formosan interior will be the main sources used to create a picture of Formosa at the time the indigenous Formosans still dominated their land. Because the extant image of these Formosans refers preponderantly to the richly documented Siraya, it would not be inappropriate to term it 'the Siraya Discourse'.[5] In this study an attempt will be made to reconstruct a profile of Formosan groups other than the Siraya, in order to draw attention to the heterogeneity of local cultures in Formosa in the early seventeenth century.

Otherness and the perception of the Formosans

Heterogeneity in physical and cultural appearance characterized the Formosan Austronesian world. The author of the earliest detailed eyewitness account of Taiwan, Ch'en Ti (陳第), a late Ming traveller who traversed the south-west coast from Tayouan to Tancoya in 1603 registered the fact that the island was inhabited by various kinds of people.[6] This remark was corroborated by the Dutch after they had met the Formosans living in both the lowlands and the highlands. Jan Janse Struys, who first set foot in Formosa in May 1650,[7] felt that it would be impossible for him to give any general description of the inhabitants as their appearance varied in different parts of the island. Despite his reservations, he still managed to outline the physical traits of the Formosans as follows:

> The men are mostly well-bodied and lusty, especially those in the valleys and plain country, those living in the mountain regions being rather smaller and less robust. Their women do not equal the men in size, but are staring beauties for all that; having a full face, great eyes, flat noses, and long ears, with breasts hanging down like a flitch of bacon. … Their complexion is of a swarthy yellow, or between yellow and black; but the natives of Kabelang look more white and pale. The women of Midag, Sotanau, and Lamey are of a brown-yellow colour.[8]

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[5] In the seventeenth century, the term *Sideia* was used (meaning 'man') and the language was called *de Sideis-Formosaansche Tale*, the Sincan language, or the *Sydeyan* language. In the first half of the twentieth century, descendants called themselves 'Siraya' as the records show. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 244, 305; Raleigh Ferrell, 'Aboriginal Peoples of the Southwestern Taiwan Plain', *BIE* 32 (1971), 217-35 at 218; Asai Erin 淺井惠倫 (ed.), 'Gravius's formulary of Christianity in the Siraya language of Formosa: facsimile edition of the orignal of 1662', *Memoirs of the Faculty of Literature and Politics Taihoku Imperial University*, 4/1 (1939), 5. Siraya is a term denoting both the indigenous people on the south-west plain and their language.

[6] Ch'en Ti made his journey as a companion to Admiral Shen You-rong(沈有容) who was leading a punitive expedition against Japanese pirates. According to Teng, the report of *Record of the Eastern Savages* (東番記 *Dongfan Ji*) is the basic model for the later rhetoric of primitivism in Taiwan travel writing. *See* Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 60-8. For an English translation of *Dongfan Ji*, *see* Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts'.

[7] Jan Janse Struys (John Struys) of Durgerdam, a sailmaker, who travelled through Asia and visited Taiwan in May-July 1650. *See* Natalie Everts, 'Jacob Lamey van Taywan: An Indigenous Formosan who became an Amsterdam Citizen', in Blundell, David (ed.), *Austronesian Taiwan: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, and Prehistory* (Berkeley: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 2000), 151-6 at 154, note 3. About his travel account of Taiwan, *see Formosa under the Dutch*, 253-7.

[8] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 255-6. Kabelang is Cavalangh. Midag, namely Middag, referred to the territory

To the surprise of their Dutch contemporaries, the Formosans of the western plains were taller than they were. In 1623, Jacob Constant and Barend Pessaert, the first two Dutch visitors to a Sirayan village, Soulang, reported that: 'Generally speaking the men are taller than our average man by a head and a neck.'[9] In his *Discourse* of 1628, the first Dutch Protestant minister in Formosa, the Reverend Georgius Candidius, described the men on the south-west plain as males who 'are generally tall and sturdily built, like semi-giants.'[10] To overcome this difference in size, Governor Martinus Sonck (1624-5) requested more horses from Batavia so that the Dutch might 'tower high above the natives and the other enemies in the field.'[11] These 'semi-giants', however, were still shorter than another group of Formosan giants, the Favorlanghers, who lived to the north of the Siraya, and happened to be their enemies. These people were physically stronger and taller again by a whole head.[12]

Early witnesses had no difficulty observing that the Siraya wore few or no clothes. The men were said to be stark-naked without covering their private parts, and the women, as Ch'en Ti describes, 'plait grass skirts which somewhat cover their lower bodies, but that is all.'[13] They used greenery, feathers, animal tails, and various ornaments to decorate their bodies. According to Father Gómez, Sirayan men wore a crown-like head-covering made from 'strips of white paper', which Candidius considered 'a bishop's mitre'. It was a highly valued local decoration called an *agammamiang*, exquisitely made out of straw and dog's hair. Tattoos, painting the body, and such bodily mutilations as piercing men's ears, blackening the teeth, and knocking out a woman's canine teeth were common practices among the Formosans in many regions.[14]

Obviously, the ornamentation of the bodies served as outward and visible markers to demonstrate ethnic boundaries. Nevertheless, this created a somewhat bizarre image of otherness. The Dutch and Chinese would have had no difficulty in building their stereotypes from the stories of their Formosan informants. The fantasy that there were men in Formosa who had tails is but one example. In 1638, a Dutch resident in Pimaba

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of Quataongh. Sotanau is also written as Swatalauw, a village located in the southern plain.

9 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 18.

10 Ibid. 113. Candidius' account, *Discourse and Short Narrative of the Island Formosa*, written after sixteen months residence in Sincan, is called 'food for anthropologists' by Blussé. For the best example of an anthropological study on the information about Sirayan society offered by Candidius, *see* John R. Shepherd, *Marriage and mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya* (Arlington: The American Anthropological Association, 1995).

11 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 39. In Ch'en Ti's account, there were no horses, donkeys, cattle or other such animals. *See* Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 175.

12 *DZ* I-K: 432. Page number follows the folio number on the margins. 'Favorlangh' may be a term borrowed from the Siraya. These people indeed called themselves *Terneren* or *Ternern*. *See* 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect of the Formosan Language by Gilbertus Happart Written in 1650', tr. W. H. Medhurst (1840), reprinted in W. M. Campbell (ed.), *The Articles of Christian Instruction in Favorlang-Formosan Dutch and English from Vertrecht's Manuscript of 1650: with Psalmanazar's Dialogue between a Japanese and a Formosan and Happart's Favorlang Vocabulary* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd, 1896), 169. Self-addressing terms were also recorded at the *Landdagen*. *See DZ* II-H: 295-301.

13 Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 173; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 18, 113.

14 Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 172-3, 176; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 18-19, 125; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 256; *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 5, 169; 'David Wright: Notes on Formosa' [Selected English translation of *Gedenkwaerdig Bedrijf* presented in John Ogilby's *Atlas Chinensis* (1671)], Appendix in John R. Shepherd, 'Sinicized Siraya Worship of A-Li-Tsu', *BIE* 58 (1984), 56-76 at 59-61.

learned of a local belief about the 'tailed' inhabitants of a nearby island, Botol [Tobago] Islands. Some inhabitants in the south were also called 'people with tails'. Struys even tried to convince his readers that he had seen a Formosan from the south with a tail with his own eyes: 'As soon as his clothes were stripped off we saw his tail, which was about a foot long, and all grown over with hair.' A perfectly logical explanation is this image was the mistaken perception of some form of body decoration using animal tails, which was fashionable among these people. This is endorsed by the fact the same Formosan informant said that: 'Nearly all the people down south were similarly furnished.'[15]

There were also rumours about an ape-like people, the Parrougearon. In 1646, when the Dutch reached the remote north-east, they were told about strange Formosans with the heads and tails of monkeys living high in the mountains. Closer examination showed that this was nothing but a fable. Undeniably these people were extremely skilled in climbing up and down trees. The image was also reinforced by the fact their married women had four teeth (two from each jaw) pulled and were accustomed to adorn their faces with tattoos 'by painting them black or by pricking their skin and putting in dye, hardly leaving their foreheads, and noses, bare. This makes them look like monkeys at first sight.'[16] The pre-colonial Formosan Austronesian world was colourful and 'multi-cultural'. Since their construction of local knowledge could not be made totally by direct interaction, the Dutch perception of various Formosan groups was invariably mixed up with the existing indigenous perceptions of each other. It made the context of Dutch-Formosan encounters more complicated, especially at such an ambiguous beginning.

Indigenous subsistence and trade

Taiwan is an island with a clearly differentiated landscape of lowlands and highlands (see Map 3). The highlands which cover two-thirds of Taiwan are made up of a long, steep range of mountains in the centre, the present-day Central Mountain Range with nearly one hundred peaks over 10,000 feet in height. Rivers originating from the Central Mountain Range flow down to the sea around the island, cutting through the land.[17] The climate is marked by a high temperature, heavy rains, and copious winds. The north-east monsoon lasts in the winter from October till March. December and January were considered to be the months for safe overland travel by seventeenth-century

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15 *DZ* I-K: 473; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 255.

16 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 30, 75. This can be read as the description of the ethnic group of the Sedek (Seediq) in the mountain regions of the northern part of Formosa. Nakamura suggests this group could have been the Tsungao, a sub-group of Sedek. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 238-9.

17 Therefore, on the first map of Formosa by the Portuguese in 1554, the whole island was perceived as two or three separate islands, entitled *Fermosa* and (or) *Lequeo Pequeno.* In 1597, the island as a whole was first shown on a Spanish map with the title *Hermosa.* However, it was late in 1625 that First Mate Jacob IJsbrantsz Noordeloos made the first map depicting it as one island in the history of Dutch cartography. *See* Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 295-368; Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, I, 17.

contemporaries. The south-west monsoon blows in the summer from early May to late September when typhoons bring torrential rainfall, causing swollen rivers and excessive erosion.[18]

Seventeenth-century Formosa was distinguished by a wide diversity of ecosystems. Most accounts of the south-west plain praised the abundance and variety of beasts, birds, fish and other seafood available there. The territory of Quataongh was said to be the most fertile region. It abounded in rice, wheat, barley, ginger and many other sorts of trees, plants, roots, and fruits.[19] Wedged between these two regions were 'beautiful and fertile fields, teeming with stags and hinds'. Yet, just slightly to the north was the region of Favorlangh which was 'very barren and unproductive'. Again in contrast, the regions of Tamsuy and Quelang, in northern Taiwan, produced a rice harvest twice a year as well as fruit, roots, and a wealth of game.[20]

On the south-west plain, the term for second harvest (*masingil*) suggests also a rice harvest twice a year. However, the Siraya only practised dry-field cultivation to produce enough of their staple, rice, to satisfy their daily consumption needs and no more than was 'absolutely necessary' for lack of effective farming implements and draft animals. Although Candidius was critical of the Siraya for not putting their fertile land to good use, he noted that by gathering seafood and hunting wild game they supplied themselves with enough to eat.[21] The cultivation of rice in the gardens and fields was mainly women's work, but all the villagers had to obey strict rules of abstinence to ensure success of the harvest. The Siraya first prayed to their deities for rice. The growth cycle of rice formed the most important rhythm in Siraya life. During the growing period, the wearing of clothing was forbidden in order to please their deities who would then send rain to the rice-fields. When the rice was half-ripe, the villagers had to refrain from drinking alcoholic beverages and eating sugar, bananas, or any greasy food, should they not, according to their belief, the deer and wild boars would destroy their rice-fields.[22]

Hunting was men's work. The deer (Taiwanese sika deer) was an emblem of 'Aboriginal Taiwan' culture. An abundance of deer could be observed across the Bay of Tayouan. They leaped up and down before the eyes of the beholders in great numbers.[23] Almost all the Formosan groups were accustomed to hunt deer. In northern Formosa,

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18 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 7; Chen, Cheng-hsiang, *T'ai-Wan ti chih*, I, 67-79.

19 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 1, 14, 112-13; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 254.

20 Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 42; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 195; *DZ* III-E: 529.

21 Peter Kang 康培德, 'Shih ch'i shih chi te Si-la-ya jên shêng huo' 十七世紀的西拉雅人生活 [Life of the Siraya in the Seventeenth Century], in Chan Su-chuan and Pan Ying-hai (eds.), *P'ing-p'u tsu ch'ün yü T'ai-Wan li shih wên hua lun wên chi* (Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, 2001), 1-31 at 12-13; Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 32.

22 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 122. Since the Siraya called sugar *Camsia* (sugar cane in Fukienese), it seems that sugar was introduced by Chinese traders. *See* 'Vocabulary of the Formosan Language (compiled from the Utrecht Mss.)', in Murakami Naojirō 村上直次郎(ed.), 新港文書 [Sinkan Manuscripts], Appendix VII, 台北帝國大學文政學部紀要/*Memoirs of the Faculty of Literature and Politics Taihoku Imperial University*, 2/1 (1933), 154-203 at 158 [Hereafter: 'Utrecht Mss.'].

23 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 21. Taiwan sika deer is *Cervus nippon taiouanus*, a species indigenous to Taiwan. About the zoological classification of deer in Formosa, *see* Thomas O. Höllmann, 'Formosa and the Trade in Venison and Deer Skins', in Roderich Ptak, Dietmar Rothermund and Franz Steiner (eds.), *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade* (Stuttgart: Verlag, 1991), 263-90 at 264.

the inhabitants used dogs to drive the deer into their traps.[24] According to the lexical list of Favorlangh compiled by the Reverend Gilbertus Happart, the Favorlanghers, who were excellent hunters, had at least four terms to refer to deer: *binnan*, a general term for buck or doe; *masorro* for a roe; *chaddoa* for a young deer with small horns; and *masham* for an old buck. When hunting (*maribaribat*, *mibonna*), they used all sorts of implements (*aribaribat*) to drive the herds of deer together (*lummolo*), encircle them with ropes (*tatkach*), and stab (*tumsar*) them with spears (*bottul*).[25]

The Portuguese Balthasar Monteiro witnessed Siraya deer-hunters surrounding the deer in a circle. They assembled on one side of a forest and set fire to the other side, displaying their amazing fleetness of foot in chasing and catching their game as the animals fled the fire. 'They are splendid runners'; Monteiro praised them for their athletic skills.[26] Ch'en Ti and the Dutch witnesses believed that their speed was not inferior to that of a galloping horse, indeed even faster.[27] Candidius provided a detailed description of three methods of deer-hunting: with snares; with a type of spear he called an assegai; and with bows and arrows. The snares made of rattan or bamboo were set up in the bush, on paths, or in the open countryside. When running deer touched the rope, the snares sprang and they would be caught. On occasion, one village, or perhaps two or three villages together, would go out to hunt deer together with their dogs. With this large number of hunters they encircled a hunting ground, whereupon they stabbed at deer with their iron-tipped assegais. Wounded deer would continue to run through the bush until weakened by loss of blood, they could run no further. As soon as they had caught the deer, they would cut a chunk off the still warm deer: 'eat it raw so that the blood runs down their cheeks. They eat unborn fawns inside the hinds, whole with skin and hair'. But sometimes they would also tame fawns and make pets of them.[28] No part of the deer was left unused according to Ch'en Ti:

> The meat that is left over is cut into strips, dried, and preserved; the deer tongue, deer penis, and deer sinew are also dried and preserved; …They lay open the intestines, and the recently swallowed grass, both that which has been turned to faeces and that which is not yet turned to faeces—called 'hundred grasses ointment'—this they will eat by itself with satiation.[29]

In Sirayan society, deer products symbolized wealth, beauty, and ritual. Deerskins were kept in their houses as treasures and used as mattresses and for clothes. The houses were decorated with the skulls and antlers of deer. Rings made of deer bones were the gifts to

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[24] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 181.

[25] *See* 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect'. Favorlangh was a Babuza dialect. This Favorlangh source could also have been mixed up with the dialect in the region of Tackays. *See* Ann M. F. Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh: Ho-lan yü yen chêng ts'ê yü yüan chu min shih tzu nêng lit e yin chin' 荷蘭統治之下的臺灣教會語言學：荷蘭語言政策與原住民識字能力的引進(一六二四~一六六二) [Language Studies under the Church in Dutch-Controlled Formosa: Dutch language policy and the literacy of native people], 臺北文獻/*Taipei Historical Documents Committee*, 125 (1998), 81-119 at 98.

[26] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 15

[27] Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 172; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 18, 21, 116.

[28] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 21, 116-17; Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 175.

[29] Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 175-6.

the family of a bride. It seems that deer were associated with the male gender, therefore shafts of assegais, hilts of swords, and handles of choppers were artfully contrived from deerskin. Drums, their heads made out of stretched deerskins, were beaten to drill the warriors in warlike tactics, for which occasion they would adorn themselves with garlands of deer tails painted in various colours tied around their heads, arms, and waists.[30]

In northern Taiwan, subsistence farming and trade were pursued simultaneously. Most of the people in Tamsuy, such as the villagers of Senar and Quipatao, cultivated rice and other foodstuffs. These land-tillers sold their rice which was stored in the granaries inside the villages only in small quantities. In contrast, the people of Basay, the Basayos, among them those from Kimaurij, Tapparij, St Jago, and Pinorouwan did not engage in cultivation. The Basayos made a living from fishing, hunting, salt-making, handicrafts, and trading. Consequently, they went visiting from one village to another in the rice-producing region to make arrows, clothes, and knives for the inhabitants in exchange for rice. Therefore, these people lived in a symbiosis, sustaining each other's lives.[31] Although the villagers of Kimaurij and Tapparij were said to have been pirates by the Spaniards, these Basayos, who were not headhunters, had established a trading network stretching from the regions of Tamsuy and Quelang to Cavalangh where they set up settlements and their language became the regional *lingua franca*. They even went south along the eastern coastal strip of Taiwan, as far as Soupra, Tavoron, Patsiral, Sakiraya, Talleroma, and Sibilien.[32] A gold trade was conducted between the Basayos, the people of Cavalangh, and the villagers of Tarraboan, who were said to produce the gold, lived to the south of Cavalangh and spoke a language similar to Basay.[33]

Inter-village warfare

Surrounded as they were by divergent ethnic groups speaking mutually unintelligible languages, violence simmered not far below the surface among the Formosans. As in many societies throughout the world at all ages, strangers who could not understand

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30 Ibid. 175; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 16, 125, 129, 19.

31 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 165-6, 170, 183; *DZ* II-C: 310. Both the Basayers and the Tamsuy people spoke the same language. *See DZ* II-E: 305.

32 *DZ* II-E: 307; *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 164-5, 169, 183; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 390; Ang, Kaim, 'Chin tai ch'u ch'i pei pu T'ai-wan te shang yeh chiao i yü yüan chu min' 近代初期北部臺灣的商業交易與原住民 [Trade and Indigenous People of Northern Formosa in the Early Modern Era], in Huang Fu-san 黃富三 and id. (eds.), *T'ai-wan shang yeh shih ch'uan t'ung lun wên chi* 臺灣商業史傳統論文集 [The Trade Tradition of Taiwan] (Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, 1999), 45-80; Peter Kang, 'Ho-lan shih tai lan yang p'ing yüan te chü lo yü ti ch'ü hsing hu tung' 荷蘭時代蘭陽平原的聚落與地區性互動 [The Villages and Regional Interactions in the Lan-Yan Plain during the Dutch Era], *TWH* 52/4 (2001), 219-53; Peter Kang, 'Shih ch'i shih chi shang pan te Ma-sai jên' 十七世紀上半的馬賽人 [The Basay in the first half of the 17th Century], *THR* 10/1 (2003), 1-32.

33 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 75. Some scholars argue that Taraboan was also a Basay village. *See* Mabuchi Toichi, 'Takasagozoku no idou oyobi bunpu' 高砂族の移動および分布 [Migration and Distribution of the Formosan Aborigines (Part 2)], *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, 18/4 (1954), 319-68 at 355-7; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 254; Kang, 'Shih ch'i shih chi shang pan te Ma-sai jên', 5.

what people said were automatically seen as enemies. In the Favorlangh language 'stranger' (*azjies*) was synonymous with enemy.[34] There is plenty of evidence to suggest that chronic inter-village warfare, both outright wars or mere raids, held sway in Formosa. The Reverend Robertus Junius, the second Dutch Protestant minister in Formosa, wrote that the people of Pangsoya waged war against Taccareyang; those of Taccareyang against Sincan; those of Tevorang against Tirosen; those of Tirosen against Soulang and so forth, all in a broad are sweeping from the south-west plain in southerly direction.

The situation in northern Formosa was not very different from that in the south. With the exception of the Basayos, the Spanish Father Jacinto Esquivel noted that the people of Pantao were the enemies of their neighbours. Senar, opposite Pantao on the other side of the Tamsuy River, was the enemy of Pantao, Pulauan, and Cabalan. The people of Cabalan were basically the enemies of all those who lived along two tributaries of the Tamsuy River.[35] In the east, the scale of the fighting seems to have been fiercer than that in other places. The warriors of Pimaba were said to have massacred the inhabitants of five villages situated along the coast to the north of them, and in an attack on an enemy village, Talangar, by the people of Lowaen only two inhabitants survived.[36]

The Siraya fought against each other no less frequently than they took up arms against other ethno-linguistic groups. Engaging in continuous internecine wars was indeed another reason, other than nakedness, which prompted the Dutch to label the Siraya 'barbaric', without 'law or civil order'.[37] This tendency can only be explained in terms of 'the Siraya Discourse'. Every village was an autonomous unit in itself. The village of Soulang may be taken as an illustration. Constant and Pessaert say that the actual spatial area of Soulang was very large and 'comparable in size to some of the largest cities in the Netherlands'. This large area was divided into several wards, each with a public marketplace, and was inhabited by a large number of people.[38] John Shepherd has pointed out that the population of Sirayan villages ranged from 800 to over 1,000 people compared with an average of some 200 (or less) among all other ethnic groups. Shepherd offers an organizational nexus of delayed transfer uxorilocal marriage, male age-grades, and village endogamy to explain the large size of the Sirayan villages.[39]

All men were members of the age-grade institution.[40] Marking the stages in the life-cycle and their age-grade level, the male hair-style changed. At the age of four, a boy began to sleep in the men's house. Aged somewhere between fifteen and seventeen, he

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34 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect'.

35 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 130; *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 169-70. The terms Pantao, Pulauan, and Cabalan referred to an area, which could have been the southern region of the Tamsuy River, the region of the Pinorouwan River, and the region of Cavalangh.

36 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 203-6; *DZ* I-L: 665.

37 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 32.

38 Ibid. 19-20.

39 Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 42; Shepherd, *Marriage and mandatory Abortion* 1995.

40 The age-grade institution was common in the societies of the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan, among them the five ethnic groups of the Ami, the Puyuma, the Paiwan, the Rukai, and the Tsou. Chen Chi-lu 陳奇祿, 'Age Organization and Men's House of the Formosan Aborigines', *Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology*, *National Taiwan University*, 25/26 (1965), 93-110.

was allowed to grow his hair past his ears, court girls, and participate in warfare. When he entered the age-group of people in their twenties, *cassiuwang*, he could get married. Until the age of forty, he served as a warrior. At the age of forty he was entitled to become a member of the village council called the *Tackakusach* or *Quaty*, which functioned as the village government in Sirayan society. Two years later, after he retired from the *Tackakusach*, he plucked out the hair on his forehead and both temples or on either side of his head.[41] With a large population which practised village endogamy but clan exogamy, the Siraya would not marry within their lineage, not even in the fourth generation. To seal a marriage in this matrilineal society, the man (the wife-taker) had to offer bride wealth. Two of the canines of the bride were knocked out to proclaim her married status. After marriage, the wife would continue to live in her natal family and to take care of most of housework and the crop cultivation. The husband continued to live in the men's house and visited his wife at night, but without disturbing her family. He only took up residence with his wife around the age of forty-two, after his retirement from the age-grade. In their fifties, the couple would move to live in the fields and engage in agriculture together.[42]

Favorlangh social organization appeared close to that of the Siraya in terms of kinship. When a marriage relationship (*kaman*) had been formed through 'the custom of feeding each other between the parties of the bride and groom' (*maggo-aan*), uxorilocal residence made the husbands of the daughters 'relatives from outside' (*mai-acho*). Favorlangh people had clear markers for denoting married/unmarried, younger/older and same sex/cross sex of siblings. Those born on the same day (*baddoa/paubaddoa/tippo*) were specified, which suggests that the age-grade was also possibly a social institution in Favorlangh society.[43]

Since marriage was exogamous among the different clans within the village, as Blussé elucidates: 'Each village formed a cosmos of its own'; the villagers maintained a relative harmony among the different wards within the village; but the outer world, the world outside the village, formed a menacing contrast to the safety of a person's own village and hence represented 'chaotic nature'.[44] As did most of the Formosan Austronesians, the Siraya thought of themselves as attempting to create order out of the chaos of the nature surrounding them, a dark region permeated by the evil spirits which peopled their cosmology. They believed in oneiromancy and augury. Dreams and the flight or the singing of omen birds were esteemed by the Siraya as supernatural signs by which they should regulate their actions.[45] Despite the supernatural threats which beset them,

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[41] *Tackakusach* also spelled *Tackatackusach*, *see Formosan Encounter* , I, 161, 203. About the term *Quaty*, *see Neglected Formosa: A translation from the Dutch of Frederic Coyett's 't Verwaerloosde Formosa*, ed. Inez de Beauclair (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Centre, Inc., 1975), 5.

[42] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 121, 127, 202; Shepherd, *Marriage and mandatory Abortion*; Peter Kang, *Culture and Cultural Change of the Siraya under the Dutch East India Company* (Diss., University of Minnesota, 1996), 41-2.

[43] 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect', 122-99.

[44] Leonard Blussé, 'Dutch Protestant Missionaries as Protagonists of the Territorial Expansion of the VOC on Formosa', in D. Kooiman, O. v. d. Muizenberg and P. v. d. Veer (eds.), *Conversion, Competition and Conflict: Essays on the Role of Religion in Asia* (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1984), 155-84 at 170.

[45] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 86.

inter-village warfare still loomed as the biggest danger lurking in the outside world.

In this context of incessant inter-village warfare, headhunting was practised all over the whole island.[46] Calculations of gaining or losing heads were kept and the outcome endorsed more raids to redress the balance among the hostile villages. In the Favorlangh language, headhunting was referred to by such words as to behead (*rummauno*), head (*oeno*), and the trunk of the body (*bottoro*).[47] During raids, there were no restrictions on the age or gender of the victims: men, women, the elderly, or children could all be decapitated.[48] Among the Siraya, the parties which were furiously engaged in inter-village warfare could be allies and friends later in the same year. As soon as a quarrel broke out, rivals would declare war. During the clash, they would do their utmost to kill and wound each other, but were quite willing to conclude peace and dispel mutual hostility the following day. Consequently, the distinction between enemies and friends was ambiguous and this anomalous situation was transcended by ritual practice.

On the western plains and in the south, defeated parties usually offered pigs and such weapons as spears, arrows, and axes when suing for peace. Material instead of verbal communication played a more important role in the ritual of peace negotiations. For example, the Favorlanghers would hold such a ceremony midway between the warring villages and eat a little piece of such material matter as a thread from each other's clothes to signify the peace.[49] The inhabitants in the southern mountains would provide their choppers to take an oath of peace.[50] Even though speaking the same language, the Siraya expressed the fragile meaning of commitment by breaking a piece of straw, holding it in the hands in front of their chest when making any contracts or alliance.[51] Considering these gestures from the perspective of diplomacy, Andrade argues that these conventions were one element of the Formosan geopolitical culture.[52]

For the Formosans, headhunting was not simply a form of warfare, it was a potent ritual needed to assure the welfare of the entire community, which could be secured by a single head.[53] In Formosan societies, headhunting was conceptualized as far more

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[46] Father Esquivel indicated that the people in Tamsuy and Quelang abolished the practice because the locals assumed that it brought their villages bad luck. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 169.

[47] 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect'.

[48] Gerrit Knaap compares the paradigm of war among Europeans and non-Europeans, and he emphasizes that the Amboinese warriors who did not wear distinguishing uniforms or the panoply of war, perpetrated violence against male, females, or children. *See* id., 'Headhunting, Carnage and Armed Peace in Amboina, 1500-1700', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 46/2 (2003), 165-92 at 189.

[49] 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect', 138. The Favorlangh practised bark weaving. A fine, yellow kind of bark, which they called *lallaas*, was woven into their coats as ornament (p. 141).

[50] *DZ* III-B: 992.

[51] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 117; Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 172; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 131; 'David Wright', 76.

[52] For the use of 'geopolitics' in the Formosan context, *see* Tonio Andrade, 'The Mightiest Village: The Dutch East India Company and the Formosan Plains Austronesians, 1623-1636', in Chan Su-chuan and Pan Ing-hai (eds.), *P'ing-p'u tsu ch'ün yü T'ai-Wan li shih wên hua* (Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, 2001), 287-317, esp. 293.

[53] The Austronesians throughout South-East Asia commonly practised headhunting as a ritual to secure prosperity. *See* Janet Hoskins, 'Introduction', in id., *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). Lee Ko-min treats mutual headhunting as a form of exchange between the villages. Therefore, all the villages would be bound in a kind of balance: the villages fought

significant than a war between men. It also involved belligerent spirits.[54] Before a raid, priests would perform rituals to ensure victory. Since the taking of one head was decisive to the result of the war, whoever was struck down was immediately pulled away by his fellows in order to avoid his head being decapitated.[55] In view of this psychological mind-set, it was not surprising that Candidius was astonished to see that the Siraya took the death of one of their people as seriously as the Dutch took the defeat or rout of an entire army. Even if a head was not captured, the hair, any part of the corpse, or failing that an enemy assegai could be carried back to the village, which would call for a celebration.[56]

The celebration of a headhunting victory took the form of a ritual feast in which all the villagers and the spirits, including the spirits of the victims, participated. The report of Father Esquivel shows that the feast of drinking, singing, and dancing lasted for three full days in northern Formosa.[57] Among the Siraya, a fortnight's celebration followed the initial jubilation with pigs slaughtered to thank the deities:

> They carry the head before them, show it all over the village, and sing songs in honour of their idols, by whose help they consider they have captured it. Some of the best and strongest drink they have is served to them. They then take the head and bring it to the 'church' [native altar] of those who obtained it … boil it there in a vessel until the flesh is cooked away and falls off, then let it dry. They pour some of their best strong drink over this skull.[58]

The celebration was the vehicle by which the spirits of the victims were invited to come and live in the villages to which their heads had been brought. The skulls, denuded of hair and split in half, were finely decorated in the indigenous fashion. The hair was divided into braids and hung on reeds above the heads. The bones, skulls, and hair were cherished as treasures and placed on the house altar, or tied on to the pillars of houses. Should a house catch fire, the Formosans would save these treasures first. Seen in its social context, headhunting went beyond the politics of winning a victory over rivals; it was a socio-religious impulse driving the apparent confusion of inter-village warfare.[59]

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against each other to obtain heads but also needed each other to ensure the continuous demand for heads. *See* Lee Ko-min 李國銘, *Tsu ch'ün, li shih yü chi i: P'ing-p'u yen chiu lun wên chi* 族群、歷史與祭儀: 平埔研究論文集 [Ethnic Groups, History and Ritual: Collected Essays of the Pepo Studies] (Taipei: Tao-hsiang, 2004), 157-8.

54 Should the spirits fail to participate, the headhunters would have no chance of success, as shown in various Indonesian societies. *See* R. E. Downs, 'Headhunting in Indonesia', *BKI* 111 (1955), 40-70.

55 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 31, 190.

56 Ibid. 118, 120.

57 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 180.

58 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 120.

59 Ibid. 18, 30, 120. This to my knowledge is the only source where the cleaving of the skull is mentioned. As Blussé reminds us: 'Intervillage violence consequently was not so much a political, but rather an inescapable socio-religious phenomenon, a central feature of village life. War has been described as a type of collective policy involving the use of force or violence, and a type of political situation which may obtain between units as a result of the employment of such politics. While studying inter-group violence in Formosan society, one wonders whether this definition really suffices.' *See* Blussé, 'Dutch Protestant Missionaries', 170-1.

Local leadership

The practice of headhunting provides a clue to help us understand the functioning of Formosan leadership. Formosan societies were usually described as acephalous.[60] According to the Spanish account, the northern Formosans had neither 'leaders nor a particular system of government'. In the case of the Siraya, Governor Sonck described: 'Each one of them is about as much in charge as anybody else. They do not want to be ruled by leaders.'[61] There are indications that the Formosan societies appear to have been governed by a kin-based gerontocracy. The only 'leader' in northern Formosa was called *baqui*, the same word as father. Age was the only criterion and a person's age was judged in relation to the age of others in Sirayan society. When younger persons met older persons on the paths, they would step out of the way and respectfully turn their back until the latter had passed.[62]

By taking heads, men could demonstrate their prowess and superiority over their fellows but they gained no absolute power over them. This individual importance was expressed by signs of acknowledged prestige and social status. The raiders who had cut off heads had the privilege of painting decorations on their necks, legs, and arms in northern Formosa. Successful Sirayan raiders enjoyed the right to the first choice of the game while hunting, and also to initiate the organizing of another raid, and hence obtained even more credit if the raids succeeded.[63] Apart from such rewards, these heroes were promoted to membership of the *Tackakusach* which gave them an allegorical cloak of seniority. The members of *Tackakusach* would meet whenever something important happened in the village. After it had gathered, a general meeting for all the villagers was held in which the councillors raised the issues and discussed the pros and cons in public, allowing the villagers the choice to decide the matter according to their own assessment of gains or losses.[64]

Besides such collective recognition, how were successful raiders valued in indigenous terms? Ch'en Ti reported that those who had many bones hanging on their doors were accorded the epithet 'brave'. This is the reason Sirayan raiders would cut the bodies of their victims into pieces and share these with all the members of the raiding party. This meant that these trophies could be shown off most effectively upon returning home. No one would dare to address those raiders who had captured the heads during the fortnight-long feast of celebration.[65] The attainment of an aura of bravery distinguished 'outstanding men' from their more ordinary fellow villagers in Sirayan society.

In a comparison between political systems in the Austronesian-speaking Pacific

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[60] Leonard Blussé, 'Retribution and Remorse: The Interaction between the Administration and the Protestant Mission in Early Colonial Formosa', in Gyan Prakash (ed.), *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 153-82 at 165.

[61] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 181; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 34.

[62] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 88, 179; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 123.

[63] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 180; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 19, 118.

[64] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 121-2.

[65] Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 32; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 117, 120.

Islands, Marshall Sahlins makes the contrast between Melanesian 'big men' and Polynesian 'chiefs'. In contrast to the significance of inherited rank in stratified societies with ascribed status, the reputation of the former is based on the accruing of personal power which has nothing to do with inherited office, but is instead the outcome of a series of acts performed to achieve the status of 'man of importance' or 'man of renown', or simply 'big man' in what are essentially egalitarian societies.[66] After examining cases in Melanesia, Maurice Godelier also argues for a great-man model. The social and political status of both big men and great men is achieved through their own exertion of personal power. In societies with the former social structure, there is no equivalence of a life for a life, a woman for a woman, as there is in the latter. It is necessary to produce wealth in order to exchange it for women, to compensate enemies or allies killed in war, or to make the sacrifices needed to remain on good terms with the spirits of the dead and other supernatural powers.[67]

Research on Early South-East Asia has produced the inference that the quality of 'personal power' was more elaborate in the case of kingship. It is postulated that there was, as may have been expected, a widespread belief that personal success was attributable to an extraordinary endowment with 'personal spiritual quality' or innate 'soul stuff'. This led Oliver Wolters to suggest the concept of 'men of prowess.'[68] Unfortunately, a lack of sources prevents the study of the Sirayan 'notion of person'. Hence, it is hard to infer any ideas beyond the argumentation of the 'personal spiritual quality' of big men in seeking to explain Sirayan leadership.[69] Within the scope of anthropological knowledge on the topic, it is possible to postulate that Sirayan men were probably keen to accumulate personal achievement scores by collecting headhunting trophies as they resorted to tried and tested means to demonstrate their 'spiritual quality' and pave the way to their recognition as 'big men' among their fellow villagers and in the eyes of their enemies. As we will see, individual actions in pursuit of prowess were striking features in the interaction between the Dutch and the Siraya.

Favorlangh society also displayed the same characteristics of big men society in the

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[66] Marshall Sahlins, 'Poor Man, Rich man, Big-man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia', *Comparative Studies in Society and history*, 5 (1962-1963), 285-303 at 288-9.

[67] Maurice Godelier, *The Making of Great Men: Male Dominance and Power among the New Guinea Baruya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 171. For the discussion of the models of big man and great man system among the Taiwanese Indigenous People, *see* the case of the Bunun in Huang Ying-kuei, 'The 'Great Men' Model among the Bunun of Taiwan', in Li Paul Jen-kuei et al., *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan* (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1995), 59-107.

[68] O. W. Wolters considers the idea of 'men of prowess' to be an indigenous cultural trait which remained dominant in Early South-East Asia in spite of the appearance of 'Hindu' features. The notion of 'men of prowess', 'cognatic kinship', and the need to identity the 'men of prowess' are three widely represented cultural features in Wolters' conceptualization of 'the cultural matrix'. *See* O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, revised edn. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1999), 18-21, 93-5.

[69] Evidence from the Siraya word list shows they had notion of 'soul and spirit' (*vate*). *See* 'Utrecht Mss.', 201. Errington gives a good example of this approach. Among the Luwu, South Sulawesi, *sumangé* associated with descent from the Creator God was signified by white blood. It was the primary source of men's health and effective action in the world. Ordinary people, on the other hand, had to obtain the source of potency from the external world. *See* Shelly Errington, *Meaning and Power in a Southeast Asian Realm* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 19, 51, 292.

custom of paying a ransom such as a pig for a murderer (*chummalt*), namely compensating the life of a man by wealth. Lexical evidence of ideas of leadership can be found in words related to a ruler with power: *mario-acho*, literally a good man, which meant a ruler with power, a lord, or a regent. *Ma-achachimit* meant a ruler/chief or a superintendent. The Favorlanghers would mourn the death of this kind of man for several days (*mian*) when he died.[70]

Another course big men could follow to earn more renown was through the pursuit of inter-village warfare on a larger scale, namely that waged between antagonistic supra-village alliances. In his discussion of the pattern of alliance, Peter Kang demonstrates this type of village morphology: one bigger village throws in its lot with one or more smaller communities as its satellites.[71] This sort of construction presupposes a fairly random dispersion of settlements and their dwellings. In the Sirayan case, houses were built haphazardly in a settlement, not adhering to any particular spatial pattern, and villages were not surrounded by walls or palisades.[72] The boundary between the units of particular villages was not fixed by artificial markers. Matters were made even more complicated because supra-village alliances were unstable and hence extremely fluid. Here again, the research into state formation in Early South-East Asia offers a clue to assist in comprehending the nature of Formosan alliances. Scholars have conceptualized several formulations of a satellite-like arrangement of polities around a centre which at a particular time exuded a spatial, cosmological, and societal significance. The polity was defined by its centre and its more blurred territorial fringe was constantly in flux. The structure of such a polity closely resembled a patron-client relationship, in which the power of rulers was legitimized by reference to spiritual ideology rather than a mundane administrative capacity. Although components, albeit temporary, of a larger system, the subjugated units retained their potential independence in a tributary system.[73] Interestingly, offering tribute had been a prevalent practice in Formosa.[74] Given the local reality of intensive inter-village warfare, Sirayan patronage in an intra-village alliance

[70] 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect'.

[71] Peter Kang, 'A Brief Note on the Possible Factors Contributing to the Large Village Size of the Siraya in the Early Seventeenth Century', in Leonard Blussé (ed.), *Around and About Formosa: Essays in Honour of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), 111-27.

[72] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 19. As Constant and Pessaert described: 'One is still without any notion of where or whereabouts the town is situated, until suddenly one is right in the middle of it' (*Formosan Encounter*, I, 14). When the villagers started to build walls, it meant that they were preparing for an imminent war. For example, when the people of Mattauw, another Sirayan village, built 'a very sturdy double palisade, banked up with clay on the inside, all around their village with a ditch with a fair number of crescents', Candidius considered that they harboured nefarious plans. *See Formosan Encounter*, I, 174. In the early seventeenth century, defences could be a temporary fortification only in place for a particular war. After that, they were transformed into a lasting and complicated structure to protect the village from the assault of destructive European weaponry.

[73] In her review of the scholarship on South-East Asian state formation, Jan Wisseman Christie outlines several social science models: 'segmentary state'; 'theatre state'; 'galactic polity'; and *mandala* polity. According to Christie, the ritual and symbolic centre with its unstable borders has been a linchpin in the research. *See* id., 'State Formation in Early Maritime Southeast Asia: A Consideration of the theories and the Data', *BKI* 151/2 (1995), 235-88 at 237-43.

[74] For example, in north-west Formosa the people of Pocael claimed their right to receive tribute from the villages of Paricoutsie, Mattatas, Gerom, and Sinanay, a custom which had been observed since time immemorial. *See DZ* III-E: 446.

could have been as loosely bestowed as in the pattern in Early South-East Asia.

Southern Formosa was characterized by a more centralized or chief-like leadership pattern, forming a stronger intra-village alliance. The principal men of Pangsoya, a cluster of seven villages on the southern plains, exercised considerable authority over their own people and even had the power to put a man to death.[75] Farther southwards, Lonckjouw, composed of sixteen villages on the southern tip of Taiwan, was ruled by a chief. The ruler of Lonckjouw was designated *overste* (ruler) by the Dutch authorities, and his territory was specified as 'the province Lonckjouw'. The importance of the chief could be judged from his cohorts of escorts and bodyguards.[76] In the perception of the Dutch, Lonckjouw was located at the top of Dutch 'scale of political evolution', as Governor Hans Putmans (1629-36) praised the people of Lonckjouw in his report to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber by saying that they were 'far more civilized than the inhabitants of any of the other villages.' In Dutch eyes, this impression was created by the non-nakedness of the Lonckjouw people. Women and men were said to 'all go round dressed'.[77] Their society was also more stratified. The chief ruled his people 'like a sovereign prince' and obtained a share of everything sown, reaped, or caught by hunting.[78] His position was inherited by the first-born son after death.[79] The combination of divine authority, tribute beneficiary, and monopoly of status brought the chief power far beyond that of big men, who could only win their position on basis of their personal merit.

Following a genealogical construction of social hierarchy, the chief came from a noble family and was considered to have special potency associated with his links to the ancestor deities to whom rituals were performed to assure a favourable outcome of agricultural production and hunting. More mundanely, the chief possessed titular

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[75] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 130.

[76] Ibid. 115, 7; *DZ* I-I: 847.

[77] *DZ* I-H: 421; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 38. The chiefly leadership pattern of Lonckjouw in Dutch records shows several traits which are identified with those in Paiwanese societies revealed in modern anthropological studies. Nevertheless, this Formosan *overste* could not compete with the indigenous leadership in the port principalities of South-East Asia whom the Dutch authorities chose to describe as 'monarchs' with 'courts' in their 'state' and 'kingdom'. For example, Aceh, Jambi, and Palembang in Sumatra, Makassar and Minahasa in Sulawesi, Tidore and Ternate in Maluku, and Banjarmasin in Borneo. *See* Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, II.

[78] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 38. Modern ethnographical studies offer an explanation of this tributary relationship in southern Formosa. According to their sacred mythical origins, noble families are entitled to more privileges in social status, possession of property, and ritual performance than the common people. In view of the noble families' power to communicate with ancestral spirits, the common people would contribute part of their harvest and game to the noble families in order to ensure their continuing good fortune. *See* Mabuchi Toichi, 'The aboriginal peoples of Formosa', in George P. Murdock (ed.), *Social Structure in Southeast Asia* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960), 127-40.

[79] *DZ* I-H: 421. However, modern ethnographical sources show that in the ranking system of the Paiwanese, the ethnic group to which the people of Lonckjouw appear to have belonged, cultural ideology and beliefs in magico-religious powers of the firstborn of a chief's household are bilateral. *See* Matsuzawa Kazuko, 'Social and Ritual Power of Paiwan Chiefs: Oceanian Perspectives', in Li Paul Jen-kuei et al., *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan*, 109-40 at 133. The eldest child was the heir/ heiress in both inheritance of property and succession to office. *See* Chiang Bien 蔣斌, *House and Social Hierarchy of the Paiwan* (Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993), 94. It can be verified by the later records of the Southern *Landdagen* in which female chiefs were mentioned. *See* Chapter Seven.

ownership over the land and fields which left the ordinary people only the right of usufruct.[80] The system constituted an asymmetrical dependence. The whole group was indebted to the chief and this justified their ritual tributary presentation of part of their harvest and of game.[81] Despite their ascribed status, the chiefs had to validate their status by continuous achievement. If a chief could not ensure the prosperity of his village, this was unequivocal evidence that spiritual support had been withdrawn and was no longer on his side. The competition for power would intensify, especially among the noble families jockeying for position.

The constitution of supra-ethnic and village alliances under the power of one ruler especially suggests a certain fluidity in ethnicity.[82] For instance, Kamachat Aslamies, alias Tackamacha or Tamachan, was called Quataongh (*Quata Ong*), literally 'King of Quata' by the Chinese and 'King of Middag' by the Dutch.[83] Reigning over at least four different linguistic groups: Papora; Pazeh; Babuza; and Hoanya, Quataongh's ruling position was central and hereditary. Through playing his part in the ritual performance to ensure the harvest in this very fertile land, Quataongh demonstrated his magical power and potency as the most outstanding man in his domain.[84] In return, he requested tribute from his subjects. There is also convincing evidence that Quataongh did not eschew warlike

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[80] Chiang Bien analyses the social hierarchy of Paiwan by introducing two dyads: the landlord-tenant dyad and patron-client dyad. The former is based on the landownership of the chiefly houses of each village. The latter is related to the contractual relationship between aristocratic households and their client households. The contractual gifts offered by the patron initiated this mutual relationship. *See* id., *House and Social Hierarchy*, 235-46.

[81] The tributary presentation is important to the political economy of a tribal system, especially in the case of Polynesian chiefdoms. *See* Nicholas Thomas, 'Forms of Personification and Prestations', *Mankind*, 15/3 (1985), 223-30.

[82] Ferrell has indicated the fluidity of ethnic boundaries particularly among the lowland culture complex in Aboriginal Taiwan. *See* Ferrell, *Taiwan Aboriginal Groups*, 48. James Fox emphasizes the fluidity of Austronesian notions of identity, *see* James Fox, 'The House as a Type of Social Organisation on the Island of Roti', in Charles Macdonald (ed.), *De la Hutte au Palais: Sociétés «à Maison» en Asie du Sud-Est Insulaire* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1987), 171-8 at 174. Janet Carsten continues to state that identity is not fixed at birth; people become who they are gradually through life as they acquire different attributes derived from the activities in which they engage and the people with whom they live. *See* Janet Carsten, *The Heat of the Hearth: the Process of Kinship in a Malay Fishing Community* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 273-4. When identity is discussed in terms of ethnicity, recent research on the history in Austronesian South-East Asia has noticed the significance of the concept of fluidity of ethnicity. *See* Leonard Y. Andaya, 'The Trans-Sumatra Trade and the Ethnicization of the "Batak"', *BKI* 158/2 (2002), 367-409 and id., 'Unravelling Minangkabau Ethnicity', *Itinerario*, 24/2 (2000), 20-43.

[83] *DZ* II-H: 299; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 6; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 461; 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect', 170. According to Ang, Quataongh is a Fukienese term learned from Chinese pirates captured by the Dutch. *Quata* was possibly a Dutch bastardized form of Fukienese 'Hoan-â' which means barbarians and *Ongh* means king. The Fukienese may have addressed Kamachat Aslamies as 'King of Barbarians'. *See* Ang Kaim, 'Pei i wang te T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih: Ta-tu fan wang ch'u k'ao' 被遺忘的臺灣原住民史：Quata (大肚番王)初考 [The Forgotten Taiwan Aboriginal History: The primary study of Quata], 臺灣風物/*The Taiwan Folkways*, 42/4 (1992), 188-145 at 184; The title 'King of Middag' was, according to David Wright, derived from Middag, namely Darida Suyt, the largest town and seat of the chief. *DZ* II-H: 299, *Formosa under the Dutch*, 6.

[84] Ang, 'Pei i wang te T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih', 175. About Quataongh's authority on arbitration, *see* Peter Kang, 'Huan ching, k'ung chien yü ch'ü yü: ti li hsüeh kuan tien hsia shih ch'i shih chi chung yeh 'Ta tu wang' t'ung chih te hsiao chang' 環境、空間與區域：地理學觀點下十七世紀中葉「大肚王」統治的消長 [Environment, Space and Region: Geographical perspective on the Quataongh Regime during the mid-seventeenth century], 臺大文史哲學報/*Humanitas Taiwanica*, 59 (2003), 97-116 at 108.

violence to subjugate yet more neighbours and draw them into his realm, even venturing across the Kamachat River (present-day Tatu Hsi).[85] According to the testimony of the people of Asock, a former Favorlangh village located on the southern bank of this river, they were conquered in war and given to Quataongh as a 'gift'.[86] It seems that Formosan war, with the exception of that pursued for the sake of headhunting, could also be waged to acquire territory which would be ceded to the victors.[87] As Kang points out, Quataongh's capacity to espouse territorial expansion may have been linked to his control over the trade along the several rivers which formed the routes for the flow of trade goods between the interior and the coast.[88] Bearing this in mind, Quataongh's rising power has to be viewed against the background of a boom in the trade to the coast of Formosa conducted mostly by the Chinese, which was part of their inexorable encroachment on the island.

Chinese encroachment

'Aboriginal Taiwan' was not altogether isolated. Outsiders frequented the island in attempts to trade and fish, or simply arrived there by accident. Shipwreck had brought foreigners, including Asians, Westerners, and Austronesian-speaking crews from South-East Asia to the shores of Formosa. In 1623, when Constant and Pessaert visited Soulang, their informants included the above-mentioned Tagalog boy, a survivor of the Portuguese shipwreck in 1582, by then at least fifty years old. He had married a local wife and sired children.[89] The Siraya also learned to communicate with outsiders by using several Malay words which they had possibly been taught by unintentional Malay visitors.[90]

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[85] Concerning the old and the present name of the Tatu River, *see DZ* II-H: 340 and Map 3. Its upstream could be called the Tausa Talachey River which flowed by the village of Tausa Talachey into the region near Serrien Souluan (Serriam). *See DZ* III-A: 321.

[86] *DZ* III-F: 574; 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect', 170.

[87] The similar case can be found on Seram, *see* Knaap, 'Headhunting, Carnage and Armed Peace', 172.

[88] Kang, 'Huan ching, k'ung chien yü ch'ü yü', 104-7. Laura Lee Junker's research on the Philippine chiefdoms in fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries, prior to Spanish contact, also gives clues to a more comprehensive picture of the Quataongh's hegemony. *See* id., 'Craft Goods specialization and Prestige Goods Exchange in Philippine Chiefdoms of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Asian Perspectives*, 32-1 (1993), 1-35.

[89] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 22; *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 13 note 9. It was recorded that this boy went to their village with the natives and was treated to food by them. Even though Father Gómez claimed to have loaded all the people first, giving them preference over cargo, the boy could have been left behind or may have decided to stay in Formosa. The report by Constant and Pessaert shows that this man was 'from Manila who was shipwrecked here with the Spaniards a long time ago.' *See* also Leonard Blussé and Marius P. H. Roessingh, 'A Visit to the Past: Soulang, a Formosan Village Anno 1623', *Archipel*, 27 (1984), 63-80 at 77.

[90] For example, when Constant and Pessaert visited Soulang they noticed that the inhabitants used a language mixed with Malay and other foreign words such as *babi*, *takut*, *busuk*, *makan, api*, and *ikan* (*Formosan Encounter*, I, 18, 30). The similarity may be partly because of the Austronesian affinity between Malay and Siraya, but some words were actually Malay. *Ikan* is Malay for fish which was *tging* in Siraya, according to the Utrecht Manuscript. *See* 'Utrecht Mss.', 196. Another example, in 1623, Captain Elie Ripon recorded a Malay-like phrase used by the Siraya to sell meat: '*Chorque baboue, chorque rouca*?' (*Do you want to*

Among these visitors, those from East Asia seemed more violent and more predatory. Constant and Pessaert were the first people to report on the customary practice of mandatory abortion among Sirayan women. Before their husband's retirement from age-grade service in headhunting warfare, women had abortions whenever they fell pregnant. The couple only finally began to raise their children when the husband may have been forty-two and the wife in her thirties.[91] Shepherd's brilliant analysis of Sirayan marriage and mandatory abortion is the first serious study of this custom.[92] Since men had to fight and to kill, women refrained from pregnancy in order not to contest the male power of killing which contrasted with the female power of producing lives.[93] He argues that this practice was an extreme solution devised to face up to their problem of survival 'in a complex historical process'. Inspired by Shepherd, Kang argues that a certain 'crisis' caused by the mounting impact from outside since the sixteenth century may have lain at the root of Sirayan mandatory abortion.[94]

Ch'en Ti provides a possible clue to the mystery of the origins of this custom. When '*wakô*' piracy raged on the south-east coast of China during the sixteenth century, Formosa, on the other side of the Taiwan Strait, was not spared either. From 1560, Ch'en Ti reported that 'the Eastern Barbarians' (東番, namely Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples) who used to dwell along the seashore had suffered repeatedly from the depredations of the '*wakô*' and fled to the mountains.[95] In addition to seeking shelter in the highlands away from the coast, the inhabitants had to mobilize more manpower and allow their warriors to be ready for frequent and instant wars against the violence of pirates. On the basis of a testimony of an old local man in 1627-8, Candidius inferred that Sirayan religion had been subjected to numerous changes in the period of the past sixty years.[96] Given the social and religious changes which may have occurred as a result

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buy pork or venison?). *See* Leonard Blussé, 'Another Voice from the Past: The Dutch Occupation of P'eng-hu and the First Dutch Settlement on Taiwan between Myth and Reality', paper presented at the International Symposium on The Image of Taiwan during the Dutch Period: The Historical Interpretation from Time to Space. National Museum of Taiwan History (Planning Bureau), Oct. 2001. Deer was *gwey* in Siraya ('Utrecht Mss.', 161).

91 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 30, 86, 126.

92 Ferrell was also impressed by the age of thirty-seven to thirty-eight when the women had the first live birth, but he basically remained doubtful about this age, as he said that 'surely the Dutch estimates of the age of aborigines must have been too high'. *See* id., *Taiwan Aboriginal Groups*, 57.

93 Shepherd, *Marriage and mandatory Abortion*, 41-6.

94 Kang does not specify this so-called 'crisis'. He considers that this custom began to be practised after 1603, the early 1600s to the 1620s. Kang postulates that outsiders would normally stress 'bizarre' customs. Since Ch'en Ti did not mention it, the Siraya did not practise it at that time. *See* id., 'A Brief Note', 123. This seems to be leaping to a conclusion as Ch'en Ti had misinterpreted the custom of knocking out the canine teeth of married women as being purely for decoration. *See* Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 173. He seems to have kept (or been kept) himself aloof from the indigenous realm of female.

95 Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 176. The so-called *wakô* included Chinese and Japanese pirates. *See* Lin Ren-chuan 林仁川, *Ming mo Ch'ing ch'u ssu jên hai shang mao i* 明末清初私人海上貿易 [Private Maritime Trade in the Late Ming and the Early Qing] (Shanghai: East China Normal University Press, 1986), 40-1. Lin Dao-qian (林道乾), a notorious Chinese pirate, once fled to Formosa to avoid the attacks of Tutu Yu Da-you (俞大猷) in 1563. In 1574, Lin Feng (林鳳), also a Chinese pirate, sojourned in Wancan and attacked Spanish Manila. *See* Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 139-45, 163.

96 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 136. The *Discourse* was dated in 1628.

of these incursions, it is possible to postulate that this practice of mandatory abortion associated with religious taboos was shaped in the period of rampant piracy in the 1560s.

Nevertheless, trade between the Formosans and the Chinese was carried on in spite of having to run the gauntlet of such hazards. According to the Spanish record of 1582, the Siraya had learned to barter silk left behind from a shipwrecked junk with Chinese traders, and some Chinese junks were said to fish and trade skins around the 'tail-end' of the island.[97] After the attacks of the *wakô* ceased, trade increased steadily in the early seventeenth century. Ch'en Ti indicates that Chinese junks arrived in Taiwan from the harbours of Hui-min (惠民), Ch'ung-lung (充龍), and Lieh-yü (烈嶼, present-day San-tan 三擔 in the Bay of Amoy) in the prefectures of Chang-chou (漳州) and Ch'üan-chou (泉州) in Fukien. The Chinese picked up some of the local languages to facilitate their trade with the local inhabitants in porcelain, cloths, salt, and trinkets as agates, brass hairpins, and bracelets in exchange for deerskins, venison, and antlers.[98] The Chinese may have been puzzled about why important Formosan commodities could be exchanged for such valueless trifles. Although the universal fascination with novelties and the sheer prestige of possessing rare objects should not be dismissed, the Dutch latecomers likewise noted that the Formosans appeared to be enthralled by a 'capricious fancy' for objects which were referred to as 'fetishes' by their counterparts in the hybrid relationships of trade on the West African coast during the same period.[99] The Formosan fetishistic inclination was influential in cross-cultural encounters beyond the interaction in the trade as we will see in the later discussion.

Estuarine fishing-grounds along coastal area allowed the Chinese to penetrate navigable riverine regions of the Formosan interior. By the time of the arrival of the Dutch, the Chinese had formulated a Formosan geographical world in which itinerant traders purchased deerskins by sailing along western coastal rim of the island.[100] In northern Formosa, Chinese traders sold such manufactured goods as cloths, iron pans, brass bracelets, beads and what was known as 'stone money' perhaps beads of natural agate, in exchange for sulphur, deerskins, rice, and nuggets of gold. Because the villagers of Tarraboan on the east coast forbade their indigenous trading partners to bring any outsiders into their territory, here Chinese traders were dependent on the Basayos to transmit the gold to them. Chinese goods, obtained via the Basayos, circulated in the Basay trading network. Before the Dutch involved themselves in the local trade, the exchange rate of gold-dust for Chinese iron bars was fixed.[101] In the wake of the upsurge

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97 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, note 9 in 13; 15.

98 Thompson, 'Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 176-7.

99 William Pietz's genealogy of fetishism is cited from the summary of Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, 'Introduction', in id. (eds.), *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 9-15.

100 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 21; Ang Kaim, 'Ch'ien shou lai k'an T'ai-wan shih chieh shih: ts'ung T'ai-wan li shih kuan yung yü lun ta fu lao wên hua ch'üan kai nien' 牽手來看臺灣世界史: 從臺灣歷史慣用語論大福佬文化圈概念 ['Khan-chhiu' to See Taiwan in World History: Discussion on the concept of 'great Hoklo cultural circle' from Taiwanese historical idioms], 歷史月刊/*Historical Monthly*, 214 (2005), 55-66 at 60.

101 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 163, 168; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 75; *DZ* II-E: 309; Kang, 'Ho-lan shih tai lan

in trade goods, those who possessed more prestigious objects such as beads, ceramic jars, and cloths began to emerge as an elite among the inhabitants. This may indicate that the local gerontocratic societies were undergoing a process of stratification.[102]

Maritime commercial activities flourished and brought ships and merchants anxious to make a profit from Formosan goods, especially the famous deer products which were in great demand among Chinese and Japanese traders. The latter earned more from deerskins than from Chinese silk. The bulk of the deerskins were then transported to Japan and used to make body armour.[103] In 1625, Governor-General Pieter de Carpentier (1623-7) reported to Gentlemen Seventeen, the central board of the Company in Holland, that the annual production of deerskins in Formosa could reach 200,000.[104] Deerskins were so important they functioned as currency in the local trade. By 1628, one deerskin was worth one-eighth of a real.[105] As for venison, a ready market had been created in China. In the Siraya region, according to Constant and Pessaert, the Formosans had eaten plenty of venison, but five years later, Candidius reported that venison was acquired in large quantities only for barter with Chinese traders. It seems that venison had been transformed into a highly sought-after commodity in this short period and by far and away the most numerous, if not the only, purchasers were Chinese traders. In 1625, it was reported that one hundred Chinese junks came to Tayouan to procure venison.[106] This drastic change in the status of venison from local food to export commodity implies that the trade in deer products was beginning to grow at the time of the early occupation of Formosa by the Dutch.

Given the wealth to be made and the exigent demographic conditions in Southern China, it is not surprising that the Chinese gradually began to extend their short-term sojourns and remained longer and longer. In 1622, Commander Cornelis Reyersen (1622-4) was informed that some Chinese had already settled in Tayouan and married local women. When Constant and Pessaert visited Soulang, they reported that in almost every house lived from one to sometimes as many as six Chinese visitors and many villagers spoke Chinese. By that stage, between the Chinese and the Siraya a tentative *modus vivendi* had been established. When the Chinese failed to satisfy the wishes of their Formosan hosts, the latter would threaten to cut off their hair. In retaliation, the Chinese would threaten to deprive the Formosans of salt. It was estimated that in the region in the vicinity of Tayouan, the Chinese numbered between 1,000 and 1,500 souls living among the Formosans. Through the avenues of fishing, trading, and marriage, the Chinese 'peaceful penetration' proved to be quite effective. The Dutch soon found that

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yang p'ing yüan te chü lo yü ti ch'ü hsing hu tung', 234-5.

[102] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 181 in the regions of Tamsuy and Quelang. The information was provided by Father Esquivel in 1632. The phenomena of being without both leaders and influential elites can be found in the same account. It seemed the process of transformation was underway. For the same transformation in Taraboan, *see* Chapter Six.

[103] Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 11; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 117; *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 168.

[104] *GM*, 27 Jan. 1625, 49. Page number follows Chinese edition by Cheng Shaogang.

[105] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 128.

[106] Ibid. 29, 117; *DB*, 9 Apr. 1625. Follow the Japanese and Chinese editions.

wherever they went the Chinese had already established relationships with the locals.[107]

In fact, the Dutch were caught on the horns of a dilemma. They seemed to find the Chinese formidable competitors, but once they were installed in Formosa and had taken note of the scarcity of manpower, the Dutch authorities decided to stimulate the migration of more Chinese labour to the island. As soon as he had established the VOC headquarters in Batavia in 1619, Governor-General Jan Pietersz. Coen (1619-23, 1627-9) set about promoting the maximum 'immigration' of Chinese by kidnapping people in the coastal regions of China, even after big junks had begun to bring in migrant workers for the building of Batavia. In his letter to the Gentlemen Seventeen in 1622, Coen reported on his efforts to capture Chinese from China, Manila and elsewhere to populate Batavia, Ambon, and Banda. This action continued in 1624 when Governor-General De Carpentier was still stressing the necessity of encouraging 'immigrating' Chinese. The Dutch went to the length of blockading the Bay of Chang-chou in order to capture as many Chinese as possible from the countryside.[108] Early in 1623, during their short occupation of Penghu, Commander Reyersen had exploited the Chinese who had been captured at sea and on the Chinese coast to build a fortress.[109] After August 1624, the Dutch made a complete retreat from Penghu and settled down at Tayouan, from where they attempted to attract more Chinese to come over to live there and in other parts of Formosa. In January 1625, Governor Sonck leased Saccam, an area on the coast of the mainland of Formosa just opposite Zeelandia Castle, from the inhabitants of Sincan, the Sincandians, for fifteen bolts of *cangans*. Sonck nurtured a vision of how colonial towns arising in both Tayouan and Saccam and populated by the Chinese should be laid out.[110] In 1629, when Governor-General Coen actually encouraged Chinese immigration to Tayouan, Governor Putmans even suggested sending over some twenty to thirty female slaves from Java, Bali or elsewhere to sell them to Chinese settlers. He expected: 'The Chinese, siring children with these women in accordance with nature's law, may be encouraged to settle for that reason and make Tayouan their home.'[111]

Nevertheless, not all the Chinese were welcomed by the Dutch. A disruptive presence in Chinese waters, Chinese pirates, who had established a complicated relationship with the Formosans, also turned to be a disturbing element on Formosan land.[112] In 1625, ten inhabitants of Soulang joined pirates to plunder the Chinese coast and returned with

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107 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 1, 29-30, 21, 25. For some reason Chinese men cherished their hair.

108 Blussé, *Strange Company*, 80; *GM*, 3 Jan. 1624, 34.

109 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 4.

110 Ibid. 152, 39, 40-2. Sonck mentioned that he bought Saccam for this trifling sum but, judging by the annual allowance to the Formosans, it would seem to have been a lease (*see* Chapter Three). According to Chinese tradition, the Dutch paid this sum for a plot of land as large as a cow hide. *See* Leonard Blussé, 'In Search of the Forgotten Origin of Taiwan Society: Report of a Dutch Scholar of Taiwanese History', *Con-Temporary*, 103 (1994), 70-91 at 81-2. About *cangans*, *see* Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620-1740* (Copenhagen: Danish Science Press, 1958), 133; Chen Kuo-tung, *T'ai-Wan te shan hai ching yen*, 451-78.

111 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 159.

112 Tonio Andrade, 'The Company's Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662', *Journal of World History*, 15/4 (2006), http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jwh/15.4/andrade.html.

sugar as booty.[113] This close Formosan-Chinese connection was a constant source of anxiety to the Dutch authorities. However, bewildered they were by the world of power competition, this was never modified according to ethnic category. In the following year, three pirates infiltrated another Sirayan village, Mattauw. When twenty Dutch soldiers were sent to help expel the pirates but were forced to retreat, the Mattauw people had no difficulty in comprehending who the winners were.[114] This was the reality with which the Dutch were confronted in their encounters with the Siraya on the south-west plain where the first scene was set for their colonial expansion and civilizing mission in Formosa.

[113] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 45.
[114] Ibid. 48-9.

Part Two

Expansion and Encounter

CHAPTER THREE

FROM STRANGERS TO OVERLORDS

Formosan encounter

Strangers again loomed on the horizon. In October 1623, after exploring the Bay of Tayouan, Commander Cornelis Reyersen decided to build a fortification on the southern side of the entrance to the bay. On the 27th of the same month, Captain Elie Ripon with soldiers and slaves, totalling thirty-four in number, anchored in Tayouan and began to construct a simple stockade.[1] Now inevitably they began to interact with the Siraya, who lived in four main villages known by names which are possibly derived from Fukienese: Soulang, Sincan, Bacaluan, and Mattauw.[2] Ripon recounts Bacaluan was the first village visited by the Dutch who presented the villagers, the Bacaluaners, with several garments as gifts. Through a local interpreter, the Bacaluaners promised to lead them into the forest and voluntarily help to collect bamboo for building purposes. Other Siraya also behaved as warm hosts inviting these strangers into their villages, well illustrated by the journey of Constant and Pessaert to Soulang in November.[3] White visitors seemed to be unusual to the Formosans. Constant and Pessaert described their 'embarrassing experience' when they were forced to stand naked in front of the equally naked Sirayan observers:

> They are an almost surprisingly curious people. Especially our body, manner and clothing they so closely examined that it would be shameful to tell. I only disclose here that, with or without our consent or thanks, they opened our clothes, jackets, trousers, sleeves etc. and were astonished about the paleness of our skin. Nay, to put it bluntly, they even had a sniff at it, so that there hardly was any part of our naked body which was not looked or sniffed at by men, women or young lasses without the least show of reverence, shame or suspicion.[4]

This close contact did not prevent later conflicts. After six days, the Dutch began to make bamboo rafts to float this material to the coast. The villagers of Mattauw came to ask the purpose of felling bamboo every day. Ripon noticed that 'when they were answered "to build houses" they became jealous because the interpreter had told them that the gifts had been made to Bacaluan.' They returned heavily armed, 300 to 400 in all, arrayed with their conventional weapons including cutlasses, shields, javelins, lances, bows

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1 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 24; Blussé, 'Another Voice from the Past', 56.

2 Ang, 'Ch'ien shou lai k'an T'ai-wan shih chieh shih', 59-60. For example, Sincan bore the Sirayan name, Tagloulou, and Mattauw, Toukapta.

3 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 4-22.

4 Blussé and Roessingh, 'A Visit to the Past', 76 (citation); *Formosan Encounter*, I, 20.

and arrows.[5] The experience of Constant and Pessaert in Soulang may explain why this diplomacy of gift-giving proved a tricky undertaking to organize in the Sirayan context:

> They are extremely envious and jealous of each other, for, if you give something to one of them in the presence of another, you immediately sow discord among them. The same happens when you give one of them this and another one that selection of cloths, beads or something else: although it is of the same size, kind, and value, they always think what is given first best.[6]

The Formosans were not jealous but were a very prestige conscious people, quick to perceive any makers of difference between them. The harmony lasted for two weeks but then breaking-point was reached. It was said that a quarrel actually arose among the Formosans, but the Mattauw warriors turned against the Dutch. Thrown into confusion by the situation, the Dutch had to fight and retreat. This initial conflict eventually cost the lives of three Dutchmen and four Mattauwers. Commander Reyersen presumed that the Chinese who had been sojourning in Tayouan before their arrival had incited these Formosans to make war against them.[7]

These often quoted Dutch images of 'the unreliable Chinese' and 'the unpredictable Formosans' observed in this first encounter reveal that the Dutch must have judged both these others in ethnic terms. But what was the Formosan perception of the Dutch who followed in the wake of the Chinese and the Japanese and intended to settle down on their land? It began to take shape from the very first moment of encounter. Since idiosyncratic body decoration was applied to demonstrate ethnic boundaries among diverse groups in Formosa, the particularity of outward appearance of the Dutch was inescapable. The observation of Constant and Pessaert's bodies may have been prompted by sheer curiosity to check if these white men were humans disguised by their behaviour and artefacts, which was a similar reaction when the coming of the Europeans took the Melanesian Austronesians by surprise.[8] The Formosan perspective of 'we' and 'they' was not based simply on the racial contrast between 'the Formosan' and 'the Dutch', but to a great extent followed traditional conceptual categories founded on independent units which formulated a real world between war and peace.[9] This prelude to Dutch

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5 Blussé, 'Another Voice from the Past', 57.

6 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 20.

7 Ibid. 24-5, 34. The eyewitness accounts of Commander Reyersen, Captain Ripon, Constant and Pessaert offer their observations of these first faltering encounters. But there was discrepancy in the numbers. Initially, Reyersen said thirty-four soldiers and Bandanese sent for Tayouan, while Ripon reported eighty-four. Reyersen said that four enemies were killed in the conflict, but Ripon said some ninety Mattauw warriors were killed. *See Formosan Encounter*, I, 24-5; Blussé, 'Another Voice from the Past', 57.

8 As a response to the research on colonial encounters in the Pacific, Marilyn Strathern argues a possible Melanesian perspective. The Melanesians may have seen the advent of Europeans in the form of an artefact or a performance. *See* id., 'Artefacts of History: Events and the Interpretation of Images', in Jukka Siikala (ed.), *Culture and History in the Pacific* (Helsinki: The Finish Anthropological Society, 1990), 25-44.

9 Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); James Lockhart, 'Sightings: Initial Nahua reactions to Spanish culture', in Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings*, 218-48; Ann Laura Stoler, 'Rethinking Colonial Categories: Communities and the Boundaries of Rule', in Nicholas B. Dirks (ed.), *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: The University of

colonization in Formosa gives a first, prophetic glimpse of the tangled relationship between the Dutch, the Chinese, and the Formosans—the three main agents in Formosa in the seventeenth century.

Proof of superiority

Early in 1582, the Portuguese crew of the wrecked ship had demonstrated the use of muskets to the Siraya. The latter expressed their surprise by sticking their fingers into their mouths when they saw a stick was shot into a hole.[10] The Dutch were to cause the same shock forty years later. In January 1624, the Bacaluaners joined forces with the Mattauwers in an attempt to set fire to the newly built Dutch fortification at night. Enshrouded in the dark, these Sirayan warriors experienced the sound, light, and fatal power of muskets and cannons which they called 'matches' and 'candlesticks'.[11] Compared to what happened in South-East Asia, where firearms were already present before the arrival of the Dutch, the Formosan reaction betrayed their unfamiliarity with firearms.[12] Comprehending their superiority, the Dutch kept the secret of firearms from the Formosans for the entire period of their occupation.[13]

Sincan and Soulang, by contrast, maintained a good relationship with the Dutch. They accepted the arrival of Dutch residents to live in their midst. In August, the inhabitants of Soulang and Sincan helped to resolve the conflicts between Bacaluan and the Company and, after this, the Bacaluaners also invited several Dutchmen to live in their village. In January 1625, various villages claimed that they were allies of the Company.[14] This lulled the Dutch into a sense of false confidence as once they were satisfied with Formosan friendship they became involved in the competition which was Formosan reality.

It took the Dutch quite some time to grasp the local dynamics. The correspondence from Zeelandia Castle to Batavia and Amsterdam clearly reveals that the Dutch were aware of the unremitting fighting among the Formosans. To appease these warlike hosts, Governor Martinus Sonck suggested a carrot-and-stick strategy: their friendship would have to be nurtured and maintained by a judicious mixture of the gifts and by fear of Dutch power. Consequently, the Dutch were in the habit of sending gifts to the villages near Tayouan as they lived in the Formosan land. It is, for instance, recorded that in

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Michigan Press, 1992), 319-52.

[10] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 14.

[11] Ripon assumed that 'the natives called the muskets matches because in the forest (collecting bamboos) they saw that I ignited them with a flint, and looking at them from the woods they called the cannons candlesticks, because they gave so much light.' *See* Blussé, 'Another Voice from the Past', 59.

[12] David Henley, 'Conflict, Justice, and the Stranger-King: Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in Indonesia and Elsewhere', *Modern Asian Studies*, 38/1 (2004), 85-144 at 95; Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, II, 220-4.

[13] It is arguable whether or not the Dutchmen were allowed to teach the Formosans to use or to practice with their firearms right from the period of encounters. Despite the fact that this regulation of firearms was not issued on the placard until 1640. *See Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 107.

[14] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 34-5, 37.

March 1628, the headmen of Sincan, Bacaluan, Mattauw, and Soulang came to Tayouan to demand their annual allowance (*jaerlickse erkentenisse*).[15] Addressing the problem of inspiring awe, Sonck had suggested visiting 'mischievous' villages with an impressive show of force.[16] In 1625, it was estimated that in the four main villages: Mattauw, Soulang, Bacaluan, and Sincan, there were about 2000, 1000, 1000, and 400 warriors respectively.[17] Therefore, the Dutch, a minority in Formosa and conscious of the fact, preferred to win Formosan allies rather than to hound them into being enemies. This was the period in which Governor-General Pieter de Carpentier writing from Batavia propagated a 'non-interference' policy for Formosa.[18]

This policy was continuously tested. In March 1626, when their closest Formosan ally, the village of Sincan, made a diplomatic request to the Dutch for protection against Mattauw, the Company opted to play the role of peacemaker. Giving their version, the principals of Mattauw argued that several young men had plundered Sincan without informing the village elders and had been punished according to their custom. In the end, the representatives of Mattauw agreed to return the stolen goods and offered pigs as a peace-offering to Sincan. This mediation by the Company bolstered its authority among the Siraya, greatly to the pleasure of the High Government in Batavia.[19] Having suffered more incursions from Mattauw and Bacaluan in November, Sincan and its allies counter-attacked without soliciting help but failed as their combat strength was weaker. They came to the Dutch and asked for assistance again. This time, the enemy was told that, 'if they wished to make peace, they should do this immediately'; should they be recalcitrant, Dutch musketeers would be sent into the field. When the Mattauwers refused to comply, shots were indeed fired and killed one of their warriors. Not accustomed to gun-fire, the Mattauwers were all astounded by the effect. Not long after this, Mattauw sent delegates to the Dutch to seek peace. The logic of inter-village warfare, nevertheless, dominated the Formosan land. Peace was often shattered by raids seeking to redress the balance in head calculation. One old Sincandian was beheaded in the fields by a Mattauwer in revenge for his brother slain in the war with Sincan.[20]

The old grievances of Sincan had brought enough trouble, but paradoxically its old acquaintances caused the Dutch authorities even more difficulties. In 1627, it was Japanese interference which affected the relationship between the Dutch and Sincan. The Japanese had established trade relations in Tayouan long before the arrival of the Dutch.

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15 Ibid. 32-4, 74. In November 1626, Commander Gerrit Fredericksz. de Witt spent three weeks with sixty men presenting annual gifts (*jaerlijcke schenckagie*) to the villages of Soulang, Mattauw, Bacaluan and so on. *See Formosan Encounter*, I, 53.

16 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 34, 53, 45.

17 Ibid. 42. The numbers in 1625 may be not so accurate. In 1629, the warriors of Soulang were said to be fewer than 300 before the war against the Dutch (p. 164-5). Likewise, in Soulang, there were 400 soldiers in 1635 (p. 285).

18 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 47; Blussé, 'Dutch Protestant Missionaries', 155-84.

19 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 49-50.

20 Ibid. 52-3, 88. Lee argues that headhunting raids in the fields where the elderly normally lived was a practice to ensure the balanced exchanging heads of heads among the villages. Since this kind of raid easily succeeded, every village was assured of obtaining heads for socio-religious purpose. *See* Lee Ko-min, *Tsu ch'ün, li shih yü chi i*, 157-9.

Refusing to pay anchorage dues imposed by the Dutch authorities, the Japanese merchant Hamada Yahei (濱田彌兵衛) induced fifteen Sincandian young persons, led by a leader Dika, to go out headhunting with the Japanese, and indeed he brought them to Japan. Upon their arrival, Hamada's master, the regent of Nagasaki, Suetsugu Heizo (末次平藏) dressed these Sincandians up as the official delegates of Formosa and sent them to the Japanese capital Edo with the intention of having them transfer sovereignty over the island to the Japanese Shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (德川家光). In 1628, Suetsugu failed to bring off his plan and had to send these Sincandians back. On their return they were promptly chained and imprisoned by Governor Pieter Nuyts (1627-9).[21] When the Sincandians saw their family members in irons, anger and helplessness overwhelmed the whole village: 'The entire village of Sincan gave a wretched performance, like a lion whose whelps are taken from her: the air was vent by much weeping, moaning, and abusive language', as one of the Dutch residents in Sincan, the Reverend Georgius Candidius, witnessed.[22]

Candidius arrived in Tayouan where his mission was to take care of the church services in Zeelandia Castle in June 1627. To devote himself to the propagation of the Gospel, this Protestant minister soon left the protection of the Dutch castle and moved across the bay to live among the Sincandians.[23] The arrest of Dika and his followers endangered Candidius' life and he was forced to return Tayouan. The Sincandian prisoners were later released. A few months later after the Japanese had left, in January 1629 Nuyts led a group of soldiers to Sincan in an attempt to arrest Dika. When Dika was found to have escaped, Nuyts ordered his house to be ransacked and his belongings smashed. Other houses and their contents were also trampled under foot and razed to the ground. Nuyts threatened the Sincandians if they did not hand Dika over, he would burn the village down. To prevent the villagers from escaping Sincan, Nuyts resorted to the local conventions and requested the villagers to hand over pigs and paddy as punishment, build a new house for Dutch residents, and destroy the houses of those men who had gone to Japan.[24] Nuyts' requirement that the villagers should hand Dika over indicated that the Dutch authorities had begun to discriminate among different groups within a village—the culprits and the innocent—were classified in accordance to the unrefined dualism of 'good' and 'bad'.

After Candidus returned Sincan, he was dismayed because the villagers showed their distrust of him. He worried that the initial missionary fruits in Sincan would be ruined by the arrival of yet another Japanese. In April 1629, the Reverend Robertus Junius was dispatched to Formosa to assist Candidius.[25]

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[21] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 55-78, 84-85, 180; Peter Kang, 'Encounter, Suspicion and Submission: The experiences of the Siraya with the Dutch from 1623-1636', *THR* 3/2 (1998), 195-216 at 201-3; Leonard Blussé, 'Bull in a China Shop: Pieter Nuyts in China and Japan (1627-1636)', in id. (ed.), *Around and About Formosa: Essays in Honour of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), 95-110.

[22] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 85.

[23] Ibid. 55; Blussé, 'Dutch Protestant Missionaries', 163-4. For more details, *see* Chapter Nine.

[24] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 141-2, 179.

[25] Ibid. 142, 150.

Formula for war

New threats from the Japanese failed to materialize, but the repercussions from the event assumed immense proportions. Candidius had once presumed that the Siraya would not declare war on the Company since 'they stand in great awe of the Dutch'.[26] Nevertheless, no matter whether the Siraya plotted together as a whole or acted as the circumstances dictated, a large-scale Sirayan war against the Dutch broke out in the summer of 1629. The Sincandians even joined in the war purely to give vent to their rage towards the Dutch. It started quite simply. The Mattauw River, present-day Pachang Hsi, was known to be a Chinese pirates' smuggling route to Mattauw. Governor Nuyts sent more than sixty Dutch soldiers to the region of the river in an attempt to capture Chinese pirates. On their return without having found the pirates, the soldiers were said to have been killed by the inhabitants of Mattauw and Bacaluan. While crossing a certain river, the Mattauw people offered to carry the muskets of the soldiers and help them across the river but then turned on these disarmed soldiers and slaughtered them.[27] This event was later referred to by the Dutch as 'the Mattauw massacre'.[28] After killing the soldiers, the Mattauwers and Bacaluaners intended to kill Governor Nuyts in Sincan, but he had been forewarned to flee this village where in their frustration these disappointed warriors burned the Company houses instead. It was in Saccam, the Sincandians seized the chance to plunder Company stable, houses, and property; but their involvement in this war was only discovered in 1634. Meanwhile, the villagers of Soulang not only murdered their Dutch residents, they also participated in the massacre. Likewise, their harvest from the massacre was only exposed late in 1635.[29]

In September a new Governor, Hans Putmans, arrived in Tayouan as successor to the ineffectual Nuyts. Putmans and the Formosan Council decided that the first priority was to restore Saccam, since it was an important base at which the Chinese made bricks and mortar for constructing houses. The reconstruction in Saccam was constantly disrupted by the Mattauwers and Bacaluaners. The Dutch authorities considered that the large influx of Chinese was the cause of these attacks:

> These [the Chinese] have swelled so much in numbers in their villages that their number almost exceeds that of the natives, from which should be concluded that their feeling must be very bitter.[30]

May it not also have been possible that the Formosans felt a similar bitterness about the rising power of the Dutch? Although the Dutch authorities assumed that it was a

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[26] Ibid. 137.

[27] Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, I, 74-5, 130-1 and II, 66-7; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 154, 157; *GM*, 15 Dec. 1629, 104. The river where the incident occurred was possibly present-day either Chiangchün Hsi or Chishui Hsi (literally, 'rapid water'). *See* Map 3.

[28] It was termed '*t massacreeren vande Nederlanders*' in the Mattauw Treaty of 1635. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 13.

[29] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 154, 231-2, 235, 303.

[30] Ibid. 163.

Chinese *cabessa* named Hoytsee living in Bacaluan, who incited the Formosans to resist Dutch authority by instigating the massacre, the Formosans may well have been trying to take revenge for their earlier losses incurred since their first encounter with the Dutch.[31] It seems that the Siraya intended to drive the Dutch out from mainland Formosa, and that they also harboured similar inimical feelings towards the Chinese. Not only did many Chinese have their hair cut off or were wounded in Saccam during the war, some Chinese traders were killed on their way to barter in Sirayan villages in early November. Since the Formosans depended on the Chinese supply of commodities, such a murder had never earlier been heard of as the Dutch testified.[32] It signalled the determination of the Formosan hosts to expel the increasing number of outsiders who could no longer be controlled.

The retribution of the Dutch authorities was swift. Governor Putmans decided to teach the people of Mattauw and Bacaluan a lesson. Bacaluan (at that time with less than 300 able warriors) was the first target. Putmans' exertion of ever great violence against the Formosans was represented in an expedition to bring 'the Dutch religion and civilization' to the Formosans.[33] In the resolution on 17 November, the aim of the expedition was described in these terms:

> We are of the opinion that the best methods to be employed first and above all in order to civilize and subject them are the complete destruction of the person, goods etc. of those who have been the principal perpetrators of this murder … By this we hope to frighten and alarm them in such a way that before long they will shortly come to submit to us … it would be beyond doubt that they would be made so civilized and submissive that the propagation of the Christian Faith would by the grace of God proceed more smoothly than before.[34]

On 23 November 1629, more than 200 soldiers and sailors, drawn from military relief troops returning from the coast of China, attacked Bacaluan. The troops killed several Bacaluaners and most of the village was burned down.[35] Since the systematic destruction of plantations and burning down the villages was not the Formosan way of waging war, which was characterized by small-scale raiding, the Dutch introduced a kind of full-scale warfare, 'total war', in their attempt to impose their authority on the indigenous powers.[36] This attack set the pattern for the 'punitive expedition', strengthened with reinforcements from outside Formosa, to destroy Formosan enemies by 'fire and the sword'.[37]

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[31] Ibid. 168, 175. From the information provided by Captain Ripon, Blussé concluded that the killing of the Dutch soldiers was in fact an act of revenge by the Mattauw warriors 'for the terrible losses they had suffered in the fights with the Dutch a few years earlier.' *See* Blussé, 'Another Voice from the Past', 60.

[32] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 158, 163. Cutting off hair was a common Sirayan threat to the Chinese, *see* Chapter Two.

[33] Ibid. 164-5.

[34] Ibid. 164.

[35] Ibid. 165.

[36] The case in Amboina, *see* Knaap, 'Headhunting, Carnage and Armed Peace', 189-90.

[37] The term 'by fire and the sword (*door vier en sweert*)' is from the *Dagregister*, *see Formosan Encounter*, I, 165.

Road to overlordship

By the end of 1629, the Dutch authorities faced up to the problems with which they were having to cope in Tayouan. The trade with Japan had been affected detrimentally by the past conflicts between Nuyts and the Japanese merchants, the trade with China was blocked by Chinese pirates, and in Formosa proper they had to deal with the after-effects of the Mattauw massacre.[38] In 1633, the trade relations with Japan and China were resumed by diplomatic intervention—ex-Governor Nuyts was extradited to Japan and a trade agreement was confirmed with an admiral-turned-pirate, Cheng Chih-lung (鄭芝龍) alias Iquan.[39] The next target was Mattauw.

The punitive expedition against Mattauw was delayed for a long time. In December 1630, it was decided upon but was postponed because of a dearth of soldiers. Priority was given to assisting Sincan. In 1631, the Dutch authorities deployed their limited troop force to help the Sincandians attack their enemies in the south, the people of Tampzui.[40] In 1632, Governor Putmans forced the Sincandians to stop bullying Bacaluan and admonished them saying that 'the Company was like a father to them and were it to withdraw from their village, they would not be able to oppose their enemies.'[41]

In April 1634, Zeelandia Castle proved its worth as a strong foothold when it withstood the assault of a Chinese pirate, Liu Hsiang (劉香) alias Janglau, after fruitless negotiations on co-operation.[42] In the same year, Putmans submitted a project to establish a 'permanent colony' on Tayouan to the headquarters in both Amsterdam and Batavia.[43] Assurance of support from the nearby Formosans was no doubt a decisive part in this scheme. In October, the Dutch again took up arms on behalf of the Sincandians to attack Taccareyang in the south. The Reverends Candidius and Junius played a key role in the undertaking of two expeditions to the south. They urged the authorities to sponsor Sincandians' war in order to win their hearts.[44] Up until this time, the Dutch authorities had preferred to maintain the peace among the villages on the south-west plain, but were now gradually expanding their power to new territory by supporting the Sincandians.

Sincan in turn gladly made use of its newly acquired position.[45] In 1634, when Mattauw was again fighting against Soulang, two Sincandians brought some clothes to Tacaran, a leading Mattauw warrior, and claimed that they were sent by Candidius to make peace between these two parties. Recognizing Sincan's strategy, Candidius refused to endorse the Sincandian proposition to Mattauw. In his letter to Governor Putmans,

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38 *GM*, 15 Dec. 1629, 104.

39 Blussé, 'Bull in a China Shop', 106; Andrade, 'The Company's Chinese Pirates'.

40 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 181, 185, 189. In December 1633, Dutch garrison in Formosa reached to 200. *See DZ* I-F: 42.

41 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 202.

42 *DZ* I-F: 51-5. For more details about the relationship between the Dutch and Chinese pirates, *see* Andrade, 'The Company's Chinese Pirates'.

43 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 288.

44 Ibid. 258-9; Blussé, 'Dutch Protestant Missionaries'; Blussé, 'Retribution and Remorse'.

45 Andrade, 'The Mightiest Village'.

Candidius indicated that mutual enmity among the Formosans could be useful to the Dutch, because the humiliated party would seek refuge with the Dutch. Expatiating on his idea, Candidius suggested appropriate timing for strategic intervention in continuous Formosan wars: when one side suffered a great humiliation and was in need of Dutch aid, or when both sides wanted to make peace, the Dutch should take the matter up and play a role of peace-maker.[46] Between 1634 and 1635, whenever Mattauw and Bacaluan heard that Sincan was to join the party of their enemies, they preferred to sacrifice their pigs than draw Sincan's Dutch ally into the battle.[47]

Sincandian diplomacy in dealing with the Japanese and the Dutch inspired Tacaran who announced his wish to follow in the footsteps of Dika and go to Japan in 1633. This Sirayan 'big man' insisted on using violence to terrify the Dutch, and threatened to burn Sincan down. Two years later, in 1635, Tacaran left a particular implement called a *pockon* in Sincan, to be taken to Teopan, one of Sincan's allies, as a symbol of Tacaran's protection and authority over it. This action provoked the Sincandians and their Dutch 'padres', the Reverends Candidius and Junius who urged Governor Putmans to make his way to Sincan. Upon his arrival with a group of eighty soldiers, Putmans immediately gave orders to burn the *pockon* in front of a Sirayan 'church'. This symbolic destruction of Mattauw's power proved Dutch superiority and encouraged the Sincandians to declare war on Mattauw.[48]

The people of Mattauw argued that the whole upheaval was the upshot of the individual wrongdoing of Tacaran and agreed to offer their pigs and weapons in a gesture to secure peace with Sincan. By doing so, Mattauw succeeded in making peace with Governor Putmans. But the Sirayan religious practices continued in the aftermath of peace negotiations. Doswan, an elder of Mattauw, who had promised to offer the people of Sincan pigs, went back on his word on the way to Sincan since the singing of the birds did not augur well. Doswan's decision is a good example of the potent significance of animist belief at a crucial moment in deciding war and peace. After the Dutch left, the Sincandians started to set fire on the Mattauw fields.[49] Still biding their time, the Dutch patiently waited to carry out their decision to go to war against Mattauw. As Company servant Gideon Bouwers said in a letter to Governor-General Antonio van Diemen (1636-45): 'We expect that the higher the hand is lifted and therefore the longer it remains in the air, the harder the blow will fall.'[50] Just what this harder blow meant was duly illustrated. In 1622, some of the crew of the *Gouden Leeuw* had been murdered by the inhabitants of Lamey, a small island off Formosa. By way of punishment, eleven years after the incident, the High Government in Batavia planned to depopulate this island in May 1633. The same fate was allotted to Mattauw. Putmans was told to:

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46 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 247-8.

47 Ibid. 253, 272.

48 Ibid. 207, 274-5. 'Padre' became a Siraya word for minister, *see* 'Utrecht Mss.'. *Pockon* is said to have been a fetish. *See Formosan Encounter*, I, 314 in Glossary. For the detail of the Sirayan 'church', see Chapter Nine.

49 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 277-8.

50 Ibid. 215.

> set fire to their villages and destroy these entirely, to distribute the prisoners amongst the people of Sincan, enlarging this village in this manner, and not allowing any inhabitants to live in these two places again after the destruction has been carried out.[51]

The campaign was planned as follows. Putmans was to order the neighbouring people of Mattauw, Soulang, and Sincan help attack the Lamey people; and in the meantime keep the planned attack on Mattauw, which was to take place after the attack on Lamey, secret. In the end, the actual depopulation was executed only on Lamey.[52] In November 1633, Ministers Candidius and Junius expressed their support for going to wage war against Mattauw for two reasons. The most obvious was the Mattauwers did not appear when summoned to the Company's war against the inhabitants of the island of Lamey. Over a longer period, they had also harassed Chinese fishing activities in Saccam and Wancan which was located 5 Dutch miles (ca. 35 kilometres) to the north of Tayouan.[53] This disruption was occurring just as the Formosans were being forced to witness increasing Chinese mullet fishing activities in their territory. For example, in the season of 1626, 120 Chinese fishing junks came to fish in the regions nearby Tancoya and the Tamsuy River in the south. At the request of the fishermen, the Dutch authorities protected them from pirates and asked for 10 per cent of their catch in return. To be able to tax the seasonal fishing, the Dutch authorities issued fishing licences. Chinese fishing junks had to register in Tayouan and were required to hand over the tithe of their catch before their return to China.[54] During the 1630s, Poncan and Wancan to the north of Tayouan as well as Jonkan, Tancoya, Tamsuy, and Pangsoya to its south were the most important mullet fisheries.[55] The Dutch authorities were not only to protect Chinese fishermen against Chinese pirates, but also from the local Formosans. The Mattauwers were accused of cutting the hair of Chinese fishermen and tearing up the licences saying as they did so: 'What have we got to do with the *soulatt* (permit) of the *Tion* (Tuan, referring to the Dutch)?'[56]

In September 1635, the south-west plain was hit by a smallpox epidemic, which raged in Soulang, Mattauw, and Bacaluan. In December, widespread deaths occurred in

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51 Ibid. 209-10.

52 Ibid. *See* the next chapter.

53 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 221-7; Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, II, 67. One Dutch mile is about 7.407 kilometres. *See VOC-glossarium: Verklaringen van termen, verzameld uit de rijks geschiedkundige publication die betrekking hebben op de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2000), 76.

54 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 134-5.

55 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 245, 260. *See* the table of shipping of fishing junks in 1633-1637, Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 129-30. For the table in the period of 1637-8, *see* Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 220-8.

56 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 260, 223, 306. 'Soulatt' was a loan word from Malay ('*surat*' means letter, licence, or certificate) in the Sirayan language, *see* 'Utrecht Mss.', 192. 'Tion' was possibly referred to 'Tuan', a Malay term for 'sir', used to address the Dutch, which the Siraya might have learned from Company Malay slaves. It seemed that this term for addressing the Dutch spread and was retained by the mountain Formosans into the second half of nineteenth century. In 1862, Robert Swinhoe met people called *Kweiyings* from the northern mountains. These 'Formosans' addressed him '*Tyon*', which Swinhoe considered that 'it might either be from the Malay *Tuon* (Sir) or the Chinese *Tajin* (Your Excellency).' *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 553-4. Since whites were seen as Dutch by the Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples (*see* Chapter Ten), the usage of this term can be traced back to the seventeenth century.

Tevorang and Sincan.[57] About 200 to 300 warriors had succumbed in Mattauw, including those who participated in the murder of Dutch soldiers in the river in 1629, did Governor Putmans consider the epidemic to be the victory of God Almighty. In October, the Governor claimed that the time was ripe to conquer Mattauw. Now only the weather could postpone the action. After the rainy season when the condition of overland route was suitable to the deployment of the troops, on 23 November 1635, the sixth anniversary of the revenge on Bacaluan for the Mattauw massacre, no less than 500 Dutchmen, including 400 soldiers sent by the High Government in Batavia and their Sincandian allies, attacked Mattauw. The Mattauwers fled without fighting as soon as the troops arrived. The Sincandians acquired twenty-six heads, including men, women, and children. The village of Mattauw was burned down the next day.[58] In stark contrast to the Formosan pattern of headhunting raids in which one head decided the victor, killing was now being practised on a larger scale than ever before if the Dutch led the action.[59]

When they had finished at Mattauw, the troops proceeded to attack the village of Taccareyang. On 25 December 1635, after nine heads were taken, the whole village was devastated; all the houses and granaries filled with paddy were destroyed. The Taccareyang warriors gave up their resistance because they were thrown into confusion by the horses, the dogs, and the sound of the drums and trumpets used by the Dutch.[60] Soulang was not spared a punitive expedition either. Intimidated by the events around them, the Soulangers had made efforts to escape this attack. They had offered Putmans seventeen pigs, but he refused to accept them. To seek retribution for the previous murder of Dutch residents, the massacre of 1629, and some attacks on the Chinese, the troops arrived in Soulang in January 1636. They met with no resistance, because half of warriors had died in the epidemic. The Soulangers meekly surrendered all those who had committed the murders. These men were later decapitated in Sincan by Sincandian warriors. After leaving Soulang, the troops visited several villages located in the mountains where they were 'well received' and the expedition ended up as a demonstration of power.[61]

Contractual bond of feudal vassalage

[57] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 285, 303. It is hard to say whether smallpox was a local epidemic or introduced by Europeans. The outbreak season of smallpox seemed to be the period of south-west monsoon. Governor Putmans once explained to the High Government that it would sometimes erupt among the indigenous nation, as they had not caught it in their youth. *See Formosan Encounter*, I, 285. In Indonesia, smallpox returned at regular intervals and had been known by the Chinese and Indians who had traded in the area at least a thousand years before the arrival of Europeans. *See* Peter Boomgaard, 'Smallpox, vaccination, and the Pax Neerlandica Indonesia, 1550-1930', *BKI* 159/4 (2003), 590-617 at 593.

[58] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 285, 268, 291, 295, 304; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 11.

[59] The same point has been observed in the case of Amboina, *see* Knaap, 'Headhunting, Carnage and Armed Peace', 190.

[60] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 12; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 124.

[61] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 303; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 121-7; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 285, 291; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 16-17.

In the mid-1630s, the Company gradually augmented its power by mounting a series of successive punitive expeditions. By 1636, the small sand- and bamboo-built Dutch base on the spit at Tayouan had been transformed into a group of fortifications, the main one being the grand stone construction of Zeelandia Castle, with its four redoubts, which stood on top of a hill, surrounded by warehouses. Interestingly, *poukong*, the Sirayan word for fort, was pronounced similarly to *pockon*, demonstrating a striking image of this 'mightiest village' to the Formosans living on the opposite side of the bay.[62] Now, the Dutch authorities faced a more intricate problem: how were they to translate the actual meaning of *de jure* 'overlordship' to the Formosans?

Sin and expiation

The Dutch were essentially strangers with powerful magic weapons in the eyes of the Formosans. Even though they had experienced a warm welcome in the initial encounter, the Dutch as colonial overlords did not enjoy the privileges of the prototypes of 'stranger-kings' found in Eastern Indonesia and the Pacific, where European visitors were said to have been expected by the local people as paramount chiefs of alien origin to provide a 'relatively impartial conflict resolution' for local rivalries.[63] It seems on the evidence, the Formosans would instead have considered the Dutch a rising power in their world from the perspective of local practice of geopolitics. Quite unequivocally, for the Dutch, the Siraya were an 'altogether barbaric people (*altsamen barbarische menschen*)' who should be brought under the authority of 'the High and Mighty States-General of the United Netherlands'.[64]

Indigenous convention was chosen by the Dutch as the trajectory to achieve the goal of dominance. On the south-west plain, adjusting to the Sirayan customs, the Dutch victors requested pigs and weapons from the Siraya, and participated in the ritual of peace by breaking a piece of straw to swear an oath. Besides 'going native', the Company also introduced European written treaties and treaty making. Following the victory over Bacaluan in November 1629, its ally Mattauw sent Chinese envoys to the Company to sue for peace; Bacaluan itself had also handed over its best weapons to the Dutch through the Sincandians. In early December, peace negotiations had proceeded in a ritualistic pattern. In Tayouan, after three salvoes of musket-shots, the delegates of Bacaluan and Mattauw were led to discuss a draft treaty with Governor Putmans, following the common practice of the Portuguese and the Dutch elsewhere in

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[62] About the architectural history of Zeelandia Castle, *see* Yang I-chih 楊一志, 'Ho chih shih ch'i An-p'ing chiu chü lo te k'ung chien pien ch'ien' 荷治時期安平舊聚落的空間變遷 [The Spatial Transformation of An-Ping Old Town in the Dutch Period], *TWH* 52/1 (2001), 47-130. About the image of Dutch as 'the mightiest village', *see* Andrade, 'The Mightiest Village'. About *poukong*, *see* 'Utrecht Mss.', 187.

[63] Studies on 'stranger-king' phenomenon in Indonesia and elsewhere *see* David Henley, 'Conflict, Justice, and the Stranger-King', 87.

[64] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 31-2 (remarks of Pieter Jansz. Muyser), 36.

South-East Asia.[65]

The Mattauw massacre of 1629 was seized as the justification for the Dutch punitive expeditions on the Siraya. In this climate, sin and expiation were the main themes of the peace treaty which was concluded in February 1630 to be valid for a period of nine months: The remains of the murdered Dutch soldiers had to be handed over (Articles 1 and 2); as an acknowledgement of their crime, each village must bring a big sow and a boar to the castle each year exactly on the day of the crime (Article 3). To guarantee this observance, Mattauw and Bacaluan must hand over two of the principal children of each village as hostages, in return the same number of Dutch soldiers would be posted in their villages (Article 6). In this peace treaty with the Formosans, the Dutch authorities made the most of the massacre.[66] The river where the event occurred was later renamed 'Murderers River (*Mordadigchers Rijvier*)' to imprint the memory of this event on the landscape.[67]

Symbolic contribution of sovereignty

After their military victory against Mattauw in November 1635, the Dutch were eager to justify their power as overlords by concluding another peace treaty. In Dutch eyes, a peace treaty was a mutual agreement between the Dutch Government and the Formosan villages. In other words, it was a 'social contract' justifying political authority and defining the political obligations of both the governors and the governed who were represented by the delegates of the villages, the elders.[68] For this purpose, Governor Putmans requested the Reverend Junius to urge the Mattauwers to send two persons from each of their villages to Tayouan so that the Dutch authorities might 'elect these here as headmen.'[69]

The task of transforming former 'criminals' into 'loyal vassals' was entrusted to the Reverend Junius who would set to work after having received assegais and choppers from the delegates of Mattauw.[70] On 29 November 1635, the articles in the Sirayan language

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[65] Ibid. 166-8. Leonard Y. Andaya provides another example of treaties and treaty making between the Company and South Sulawesi in the late seventeenth century. He indicates that whenever negotiating with a native state, the Portuguese and the Dutch usually came armed with a draft treaty, which was to be discussed to reach some accommodation. *See* Leonard Y. Andaya, 'Treaty Conceptions and Misconceptions: A Case Study from South Sulawesi', *BKI* 134/2, 3 (1978), 275-95 at 286.

[66] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 171-2. The other two articles concerned the Chinese and the pirates.

[67] This naming happened after the massacre but before the revenge on Mattauw in 1635. The maps of Formosa made by Pieter Jansz. van Middelburch and Johannes Vingboons in 1636 are early examples showing this naming. The Dutch spelling here follows the map made by Michiel Gerritsz. Boos in 1664. *See* Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, I, 38-9, 42-3, 74-5, 112-13, 130-1. The account of '*Murderer's river*', *see* Valentijn's account in *Formosa under the Dutch*, 4.

[68] David Henley proposes a model of state formation in which State was the product of an (explicit or implicit) 'social contract' between governors and governed. *See* id., 'Conflict, Justice, and the Stranger-King', 131.

[69] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 300. Blussé argues that it was still Junius who proposed to select prominent persons from the villages and act as 'native chiefs'. *See* id., 'Dutch Protestant Missionaries', 178.

[70] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 300.

proposed by Junius were presented to the elders of Mattauw in Tayouan.[71] The Mattauw Treaty, entitled 'Agreement between Governor Hans Putmans and the Zeelandia Council on behalf of the Nederland VOC on the one side, and the headmen of Mattauw on behalf of the community on the other side', was hailed a triumph for Dutch colonialism.[72] This treaty included seven articles, the first and the last of which retained the concepts of sin and expiation as set out in the first treaty of 1629. However, Junius introduced a new second article as is revealed in Putmans's report to Governor-General Hendrick Brouwer (1632-6):

> This time they came with more people, carrying with them several pinang and young coconut trees planted in wide earthen pots (by means of which they dedicated their land and its fruits to the High and Mighty Gentlemen of the States General) promising on behalf of their entire community to comply with the accompanying points presented to them and carry them out completely.[73]

The meaning of such a contribution was explicitly defined in the treaty:

> We make known that we completely and in every part transport and submit to the High and Mighty Gentlemen of the States General of the United Dutch Provinces all pretensions or possessions that we own on behalf of our ancestors and all the possessions we own today in the village of Mattauw and on its surroundings or may have inherited or have acquired as a possession according to the law of all nations, as far as our jurisdiction reaches from the east until the mountains, from the west to the sea, and as far as our command reaches to the north and south.[74]

This article clearly referred to the transfer of sovereignty over aboriginal lands to the States-General of the United Dutch Provinces. Cheng Wei-chung argues it was necessary for the Dutch authorities to possess this written legal weapon in order to repulse any intervention by Chinese or other Europeans who might wish to negotiate with the Formosans in the same way.[75] Transferring sovereignty marked the salient difference in quality between Formosan and Dutch patronage. The former guaranteed the sovereignty of independent units. The latter, by contrast, valued land as remuneration on which to build up a human bond. This bond would guarantee the lord did not give up dominium to the vassal. In the symbolic European ritual of vassalage, the investiture of the fief was signified by a branch, a clod of earth, or a sod and was given by the lord to the vassal.[76]

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[71] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 11; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 119-120.

[72] For the treaty, *see Formosan Encounter*, II, 13-16. For the Dutch title of the treaty, *see* Ts'ao Yung-ho, Leonard Blussé and Chiang Shu-sheng 江樹生 (eds.), *Tai-wan Shih tang an, wên shu mu lu (shih): Ho-lan tung yin tu kung ssu you kuan Tai-wan tang an mu lu* 臺灣史檔案、文書目錄(十): 荷蘭東印度公司有關台灣檔案目錄 [The Taiwan Related Archival Catalogue of the Dutch East India Company] (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 1997), 207.

[73] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 12.

[74] Ibid. 15.

[75] Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui: tzu jan fa ten an t'i yüwen ming hua te li ch'eng* 荷蘭時代的臺灣社會：自然法的難題與文明化的歷程 [Taiwanese Society in the Dutch Era: The Dilemma on Natural Law and the Process of Civilization] (Taipei: Avanguard, 2004), 99-101.

[76] Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, II: *Social Classes and Political Organization*, tr. L. A. Manyon (London and

In its colonial design for supremacy, the Dutch overlord reversed the usual practice of vassalage by requesting similar objects such as seedlings of pinang and coconut palms planted in earthen pots to mark the acquisition of sovereignty by conquest.[77]

On 3 December 1635, the ceremonial conclusion of the Mattauw Treaty was held in the presence of the Governor and Council of Formosa in Tayouan. The delegates from Mattauw put down their seedlings and promised to attend a more public occasion with double the number of their principal men, who were to be selected by the Dutch authorities as their village elders.[78] On 19 December, more villagers from Sincan, Mattauw, Soulang, and Dorcko assembled in the front of the church in Sincan to witness the proclamation. The articles were read out in Dutch, in Chinese, and in the Siraya language with full explanation. Special emphasis was laid on the second one, as Junius describes:

> We once more asked them if they perfectly understood this article, whereupon they answer, 'Tavouris,' that is, 'Yes, we do.' We then continued thus: 'You people from other villages now present, hear what the people of Mattau say. They have surrendered themselves to our lords, they do so once more as all have heard, while we now accept them as our friends, and bury all grievances that we may have had against them.'[79]

Four Mattauw warriors were then appointed to be the elders of Mattauw and received an individual velvet coat, a flag of the Prince of Orange, and a staff, 'the latter as a token of their dignity as commanders' from the authorities.[80]

Despite the positive response of the Mattauw delegates, questions were asked about whether the Formosans comprehended the profounder meaning of the article. This contribution was certainly not in the Sirayan tradition, since when this treaty was first introduced to Soulang, Putmans worried about a possible misunderstanding of the article among the Soulangers:

> Concerning the coconut and pinang trees that, as you think, they are willing to donate to us just as those of Mattauw have done, we share the same opinion. But you have to be sure that they will be informed strictly beforehand about the precise meaning so that they will be aware of our opinion about this and that they will not think it merely has to do with handing over the trees to us.[81]

On 31 January 1636, the delegates of Soulang fulfilled this stipulation.[82] As Tonio

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Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 444; Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 244-55; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 93-4.

77 This practice was commonly used by the Company in its domains. For example, Arung Palakka also signed a treaty with the Company which gave the latter a degree of sovereignty in South Sulawesi. It was, however, limited in traditional treaty practices of South Sulawesi. *See* Leonard Y. Andaya, 'Treaty Conceptions and Misconceptions', 289-90.

78 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 120.

79 Ibid. 122.

80 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 11-12; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 122.

81 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 28.

82 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 128.

Andrade points out, it is not clear whether the objects consisting of local trees and soil were indigenous symbols or symbols introduced by the Dutch.[83] However, an excerpt of a letter from Governor Jan van der Burch (1636-40) to Governor-General Van Diemen written in November 1637 suggests that these symbols were later understood by the Dutch as being based on Formosan customs: 'According to their customs they [the headmen from the village Favorlangh] offered the Governor five seedlings planted in pots and two pigs as a means of confirmation of the contract.'[84] It seems that the Dutch authorities were convinced that they had followed 'the Formosan customs', which were originally derived from their new design for the medium of power and dominance.[85] Such a symbolic contribution paved the way for a stronger establishment of the Dutch colonial project in Formosa.

Creating the Pax Neerlandica

The legal reality of Dutch dominance was created by concluding the refined Mattauw peace treaty which represented a contractual element implicit in the feudal institution of vassalage as Heyns and Cheng argue.[86] Before this formal establishment of vassalage, Sincan had been the first vassal. The Sincandians had to acknowledge that the Company was as a father to them, since their village relied on the Company's protection as mentioned earlier. Le Goff has argued that the essential reference model for a symbolic system of vassalage was the familial model of the kinship system, the usage in the behaviour of a father to his child being an allusion to vassal relationship.[87] Straying from the *real* tightening of 'ties of kinship' in European feudal society, the Company manipulated kinship terminology, especially the terms referring to parenthood, to symbolize its dominance in its relationship with the local polities.[88]

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83 Andrade, 'The Mightiest Village', 294, note 23.

84 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 161. For details about Favorlangh, *see* Chapters Five and Six.

85 In South-East Asia, the northern Malay states, for example, Kedah sent what was known as the '*bunga emas*', namely the 'golden flower', a kind of artefact in the form of plant and its base, to Siam as tribute during the seventeenth century. *See* Ruud Spruit, *The Land of the Sultans: An illustrated History of Malaysia* (Amsterdam and Kuala Lumpur: The Pepin Press, 1995), 88-9. Therefore, the phrase found in the archives 'according to their customs' possibly reveals the Dutch understanding of what they thought to be symbolic expression as a local practice.

86 Benedict R. O'G. Anderson has noticed that in Javanese conceptions of the relations between ruler and ruled, between patron and client was lacking of the contractual element. This is how Marx Weber distinguished between the patrimonial state and classical European feudalism. *See* Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, 'The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture', in C. Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Conrnell University Press, 1972), 1-69 at 47-8. For the link between contract as customary law and feudal society, *see* Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, I: *The Growth of Ties of Dependence*, tr. L. A. Manyon (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 113-20; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 77-8; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 75-131; *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 15.

87 Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, 256.

88 For a real tightening of the ties of kinship in feudalism, *see* Bloch, *Feudal Society*, I, 142. In the case of Maluku Kingdoms, Andaya argues that there existed an equal partnership between the Dutch and the local Maluku kingdoms, even though it was based on the assumed superiority of the older brother (the Company) and younger brothers (Ternate and Tidore), but that this was changed by the introduction of the spice eradication policy in the mid-seventeenth century. As the Company began to assert its dominance

In the relationship of lords and vassals, protection and homage were matters of mutual obligation. The third and fourth articles of the Mattauw Treaty referred to these obligations:

> Thirdly that after this we will never take up arms against the Dutch nation, her allies (*bondgenoten*) or allied friends but on the contrary we shall acknowledge, respect and obey the above mentioned High and Mighty Gentlemen of the States General, and regard them as our patrons (*beschermheren*) to whom we submit ourselves gladly and willingly, … Fourth, if the lord Governor should wage war on some other villages or inhabitants of this land we shall always be ready to take up arms against the enemy and fight side by side with the Dutch nation, just as the Dutch shall be obliged to assist and help us.[89]

These two articles defined what a 'righteous' war was.[90] The Formosan allies could no longer fight against each other. Therefore, the superior Dutch power was able to establish the never-before-seen general peace among the Formosans—the *Pax Neerlandica*.[91] As it was judged by the Dutch, the political situation of scattered and mutually hostile units of pre-colonial Formosa was not unlike medieval Europe when the confrontation of both centralizing and decentralizing forces featured in the process of feudalization, encompassing both dependence and hierarchy.[92] The Dutch presented themselves as a centralizing power to legitimate their rule over decentralized and warlike Formosan tribal societies. From then on, the fluid Formosan geopolitics between independent units was more firmly concretized. As they saw it, on the basis of feudal obligation, the Formosan allies should offer their military assistance to form a coalition against the Formosan enemies of the Dutch, who were considered the common enemies of Dutch-centred federation.[93] It was then imbued with the religious connotations of crusaders attacking 'heathen enemies' after they themselves had been 'converted' to Christianity.[94] The Company also had an obligation as a patron which was to protect its Formosan allies. From the perspective of state formation, the removal of violence from local hands was essential not only to 'civilize' the Formosans by keeping them in peace

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in the local affairs, the Malukan perception of an equal relationship as brothers was soon transformed into one of subordination, with the Company as father and Ternate and Tidore as its dependent children. *See* Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 176-213.

89 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 14-15.

90 Cheng points out that the Dutch authorities introduced the difference between a war waged by the Formosans (private revenge) and that waged by the Company (public war). *See* Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 97.

91 The same concept of *Pax Neerlandica* is also covered by the term *Pax Hollandia* by Shepherd and Andrade, *see* Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 54 and Andrade, 'Political Spectacle'.

92 Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 195-256.

93 In other words, the Formosans were the Company reserve force, *see* Peter Kang, 'Ho-lan shih tai yü Ch'ing tai P'ing-p'u tsu ch'ün pu fên shê hui t'ê chih te pi chiao' 荷蘭時代與清代平埔族群部分社會特質的比較 [Comparative Studies on part of Pepo Characteristics in Dutch- and Ch'ing Formosa], in *Ts'ao Yung-ho hsien shêng pa shih shou ch'ing lun wên chi* 曹永和先生八十壽慶論文集 [Collected Essays for the Celebration of the Eightieth Birthday of Professor Yung-ho Ts'ao] (Taipei: Leh-süeh, 2001), 49-61 at 51-3.

94 It was recorded that the Christians from Sincan, Mattauw, Soulang, and Bacaluan arrived from the south. They brought back two heads of 'heathen enemies' (heidense vijanden). In 1641, this deed would have entailed the death sentence except the Company permitted raids. *See DZ* II, 7.

and order, but also to monopolize violence mimicking the Western civilizing process.[95]

The victory over Mattauw and Taccareyang prompted more Formosan villages from both the north and the south to sue for peace with the Dutch authorities in Tayouan.[96] To make more use of the model of the Mattauw Treaty and place more Formosans in the category of allies, the Dutch authorities summoned the headmen of twenty-two villages in total to attend a grand assembly to ratify the peace treaty. On 22 February 1636, the ceremony was held in Sincan. Before the arrival of Governor Putmans, the Reverend Junius suggested some of the soldiers in the escort don their coats of mail, since 'it is quite incomprehensible to them [the Formosans] that our men to wear iron coats. Thus they will be able to see the spectacle for themselves.'[97] Many Formosans gazed curiously at one another but later they were ritually united.[98] As at the formal proclamation the preceding year, the ceremony began with the nomination of one to three leading Formosans as principals or elders (*outsten/overhooffden/bevelhebbers*) from these representatives of each Formosan community in accordance with the number of inhabitants. Parallel to the more sophisticated European rites of vassalage, in which speech, gesture, and objects were used to express homage, faith, and the investiture of the fief, the exchange of objects, oaths, and speech were also involved in this ceremony.[99]

As the tokens of the Dutch-transferred authority, the same offerings of a black velvet coat, a staff, and a Prince's flag were bestowed on these elders one by one by Putmans after their meaning had been explained. Accordingly, the flag served as a pledge of the bond and should be displayed on the occasion of any meeting with the Dutch.[100] Then Putmans took a Sirayan oath with all Formosan elders to affirm the mutual agreement. After this, these elders paraded in their black coats. Then it was the time for the symbolic contributions from the Formosan side: representatives from Bacaluan, Taccareyang, and Pangsoya put the pots of seedlings at Putmans' feet.[101] The Governor representing the Dutch 'Tuan' became the 'Ong' of the Formosans.[102] Putmans now delivered a lengthy speech to propagate peace among the Formosans.[103] In his letter to the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company, Governor Putmans wrote: 'Former enemies, among whom as far as they could recall—deadly feuds had gone on continuously, now embraced and kissed each other.'[104] Since the peace concluded in this way created not merely peace between the Dutch and the Formosans, but even more importantly peace

95 Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 303-13.
96 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 303; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 11-13.
97 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 34-5.
98 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 131-2.
99 Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, 239-40.
100 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 132. However, no account about the meaning of these offerings has been found so far.
101 Ibid. 131. Junius expressed his Christian feeling on the juxtaposition of the two images. 'It was a pleasant sight to see how they paraded in their black coats. Seen at a distance one would have imaged they were all popish priests joining in a procession.' Obviously, there was no closer body contact between the Governor and the Formosan delegates in the ceremony compared to those rites of vassalage in which the kiss of fidelity or peace was the symbol of oblation. *See* Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, 238-9.
102 In Siraya, the word *ong* meant 'governor'. *See* 'Utrecht Mss.', 184.
103 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 131; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 37-8.
104 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 37.

among all the Formosan allies, Putmans claimed that the territory had been enlarged by approximately 14 to 15 Dutch miles (ca. 111 kilometres) after Taccareyang entered the bond of vassalage.[105] After a dozen years in Formosa, the Dutch had finally established the initial general peace of *Pax Neerlandica* on the south-west and southern plains.

[105] Ibid. 20.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEPOPULATION AND DIASPORA

Forced migration of island populations as an instrument of colonial strategy was not rare in the early history of VOC conflicts with local opponents in Asia. The most striking example was in 1621, two years after the appointment of Jan Pietersz. Coen as Governor-General, when Banda, the sole producer of nutmeg and mace in the world, became the target of the Dutch. To take revenge on the local regents who failed to honour the terms of the contracts they had signed, Coen conquered the Banda Archipelago. Almost the whole population of around 15,000 people was either killed or rounded up and shipped to Batavia. A few managed to escape the mayhem and were able to flee elsewhere. After the depopulation of the island, Coen moved in Dutch planters who were allotted plantations and their slave workers. In 1651, about 12, 000 inhabitants of West Ceram, one of the centres of clove production, were also uprooted from their original villages and resettled in Amboina and Manipa.[1] In the case of Formosa, the Dutch had some knowledge of the outer islands of Formosa—Botel, Malebrigo (Tatachel), Sanna Sanna, and Lamey. In the first half of the 1640s, the Dutch authorities thought of removing the islanders of Botel to Formosa but did not take long to reject the idea.[2] In Lamey, however, the Dutch meant business. The events which have become notorious as the Lamey massacre have been studied in detail by Ts'ao and Blussé;[3] but the whole story is recounted here again in the broader context of the Dutch-Formosan encounter to give substance and depth to this picture of Dutch colonialism.

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[1] The case of Banda, *see* Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, II, 4, 274; W. Ph. Coolhaas, *A Critical Survey of Studies on Dutch Colonial History* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), 49. The case of West Ceram, *see* Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 111. The massacre on Banda has been labelled an incident of 'genocide', *see* Leonard Blussé, 'The Cave of the Black Spirits: Searching for a Vanished People', in David Blundell (ed.), *Austronesian Taiwan: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, and Prehistory* (Berkeley: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 2000), 131-50; Gert J. Oostindie, 'Squaring the Circle: Commemorating the VOC after 400 Years', *BKI* 159/1 (2003), 135-61.

[2] The island of Botel (Botel Tabago), present-day Lan Yü, is located on the south-east of Taiwan. The Dutch authorities sent three expeditionary forces to the island from 1643 to 1645. They burned down one local village to punish the inhabitants of the island for killing a Dutch interpreter. *See DZ* II-C: 266, 362; *DZ* II-G: 677. Malebrigo (Tatachel) is present-day Kuei Shan Tao, in the north-east section of the Sea of Taiwan. The Dutch made unsuccessful attempts to land on the island and consequently were unable to catch the inhabitants there in 1645. *See DZ* II-G: 707-8. Sana Sanna is present-day Lü Tao, also located off the south-east coast of Taiwan. The Dutch believed that Chinese who smuggled with the inhabitants of St Laurens, namely the people of Cavalangh, used the island. *See DZ* III-F: 622.

[3] Blussé, 'Retribution and Remorse'; Id., 'De Grot van de Zwarte Geesten: Op Zoek naar een Verdwenen Volk' [The cave of the black spirits: in search of a disappeared people], *Tijdschift voor Geschiedenis*, 111/4 (1998), 617-28; Ts'ao Yung-ho and Leonard Blussé, 'The Disappearance of the Siou-Liqiu Aborigines—Rediscovery of the History of Taiwan', in Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu hsü chi*, 185-238; Blussé, 'The Cave of the Black Spirits'.

Island of legend

Lamey Island, nowadays Hsiao Liu Chiu (小琉球), is located to the south-west of Taiwan, about 6.5 kilometres off Kaohsiung. This small island has a surface area of only 6.8 square kilometres and is girt with coral reefs, and honeycombed with caves and caverns. The island is now populated by Han Chinese, but a cave on the island named 'the Cave of the Black Spirits (or Ghosts)' (烏鬼洞) by the locals suggests the existence of a past which was peopled by other inhabitants. Documents from the Ch'ing mention that 'black spirits' who were slaves of the Dutchmen lived there. Until the late 1960s, a different version was still known locally. The thrust of this legend is: that dark people with gill-like tattoos on their necks from the island used to be skilled divers. When these people had murdered the crews of shipwrecked foreign ships and refused to allow the Chinese to settle on their island, this incited the deadly revenge by the Dutch, the English, and the Chinese. No matter whichever party sought revenge, the theme was the same: there were caves where the dark people hid themselves and the invaders finally smoked them out. Overcome by the fumes, many people suffocated and the survivors were relocated on the mainland of Formosa.[4]

In the VOC archives, names like Lugiu, Goude Leeuw (Golden Lion), Matthijssen, and Lamey were used to refer to the island, though Goude Leeuws and Lamey are those which appear most frequently. Lamey was the name given by Formosan mainlanders.[5] As a sad postscript to this tragedy, what the islanders themselves called their island is not known.

Shaping the image of Lamey

On 28 July 1622, Commander Cornelis Reyersen first set eyes on the island of Lamey. From the sea, the island seemed to him a fruitful land abounding in coconut palms. No people were observed along the coast. Reyersen intended to send some sailors accompanied by a Chinese interpreter ashore to fetch water, but the Chinese interpreter refused to go because he claimed there were about 400 'evil and cannibalistic' inhabitants living on the island. The islanders used to hide themselves whenever the strangers arrived, but about three years earlier they had managed to kill more than 300 Chinese. Adding to the difficulties, there was no suitable landing-place.[6] The reluctance shown by the Chinese interpreter indicates how the Chinese viewed the island and its inhabitants.

As they were far less familiar with local conditions, this evil reputation may not have bothered the Dutch navigators overmuch. A few months later in October 1622,

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[4] Blussé, 'The Cave of the Black Spirits', 139-43. The details about the relationship between the black men and the black slaves, *see* Ts'ao and Blussé, 'The Disappearance of the Siou-Liqiu Aborigines', 198-202; Blussé, 'The Cave of the Black Spirits', 141. About the Englishmen in the legend, *see* Blussé, 'The Cave of the Black Spirits', 142.

[5] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 119, 256-7; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 4.

[6] *De Nederlanders in China*, I, 101.

crewmembers of another ship, the *Goude Leeuws*, went ashore to fetch some water on the island. They and Merchant Mathijs Jacobsz. disappeared into the vegetation and failed to return. Hit by a severe squall, the *Golden Lion* was forced to leave without being able to send a search party. Some years later it was reported that the islanders had eaten all the missing crewmen. After this incident, the Dutch called the island Golden Lion or Matthijssen to commemorate this event, burdening the island with the stigma of this tragic encounter.[7]

In his *Discourse* of 1628, the Reverend Georgius Candidius describes the islanders as exclusionists who did not trust outsiders. This information was apparently obtained from the local Chinese and the inhabitants of Soulang. The islanders refused to allow any foreigners on their island. Chinese traders were obliged to remain on their junks and wait for the islanders to come to trade. It was said that what the islanders offered with their right hands, they took away with the left. They would not relinquish any goods from their hands before they had grabbed hold of something else. The Soulangers had turned this customary form of exchange to their own advantage in a treacherous headhunting raid on the islanders, as Candidius reports:

> They [the islanders] do not trust each other. A while ago it happened that the inhabitants of our village of Soulang, 60 in number, sailed to them with the Chinese. They were all dressed up in Chinese clothes and pretended to be willing to barter a few goods. As soon as an inhabitant of the above-mentioned island came a little too close offering his merchandise for barter, they took him by the arm, dragged him into their junk, cut him to pieces and returned home from there in great triumph.[8]

It is hard to say whether Candidius' report was free of the prejudice and ethnocentrism of the contemporary Chinese and their Formosan counterparts on the mainland of Formosa who were not able to understand the Lamey language very well. Only the inveterate enemies of the islanders, the Pangsoyans, the villagers of Pangsoya, the nearest village located on the southern coast of Formosa, were said to have some understanding of it.[9] In the 1620s, an image began to form among the Chinese, the Formosans and the Dutch in which the Lamey islanders appeared as warlike, evil, cannibalistic, and xenophobic. After these brief brushes and some hearsay reports, no further face-to-face encounters occurred between the Dutch and the islanders of Lamey before the 1630s.

In May 1633, after discussing this matter with Governor Hans Putmans, Governor-General Hendrick Brouwer ordered revenge be taken on the Lamey people for the killings of 1622. This belated undertaking was to warn off other potential offenders. The trinity of the Company, the Dutch nation, and the Christian Faith was adduced to justify the war against Lamey:

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[7] Blussé, 'Retribution and Remorse', 159; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 207-8, 257.

[8] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 120.

[9] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 79, 46. The villagers of Soulang claimed that the islanders had originally emigrated from their village, and hence knew a few Soulangian words. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 5. However, the common words were probably key terms in the Austronesian language family.

> To avenge the foul murder … is very urgent in view of securing the position of the *Company*, the respectability of *our nation*, and the promotion of the *Christian Faith*. Therefore we have decided … to have this island devastated and depopulated (*ruineren ende depeupleren*) entirely as an example to others.[10]

The authorities in Batavia granted Putmans permission to summon all the ships needed for the expedition. Addressing the need for more manpower for the expedition, they assured him that owing to the warlike nature and the hostility of the Formosans, it would not be difficult to drum up the participation of Formosan allies. It seems their judgement was off course as, when the plan had reached fruition, only the warriors of Soulang and Bacaluan showed any enthusiasm to participate in the expedition. Those from Sincan hesitated to join because they thought it was risky to sail on the northern wind. None of the Mattauw warriors showed any stomach for the enterprise.[11]

Determined to stop the Formosans from laying 'their hands so easily again upon those of our nation' or show an inclination to so 'lightly shed any more Christian blood', the preparations were begun.[12] On 18 November 1633, Commander Claes Bruyn led an expeditionary force of 300 Europeans, Formosan allies, and some Chinese to land on the island. The fighting started with an ambush by the islanders. The Formosan allies and the Chinese immediately ran away. After regrouping, the Dutch chased the Lamey islanders, the Lameyans, but most of them fled away and hid in caves, showing no signs of re-appearing. Consequently, the only reprisal the Dutch troops could exact before returning home was to slaughter a herd of pigs and burn down the only village located on the south-west part of the island. Although the expedition proved something of a non-event, Governor-General Brouwer was quite pleased with the outcome, praising Putmans saying he had 'exacted well-deserved vengeance for the murders once committed against our sailors.'[13] Nevertheless, nothing could disguise the fact that the expedition had not lived up to the expectations of the Dutch and their disappointment forced them to adopt new strategies and make better preparations, for which they could base themselves on Bruyn's report.

Bruyn provided a sketch of the island and added a description of the landscape, noting its fruits, vegetables, animal species, as well as the village.[14] Because the islanders had hidden and failed to show themselves after the ambush, the description of the inhabitants and their customs was based very much on reports of Formosan allies and the Chinese. Some parts are simply the result of supposition. Bruyn was convinced that the islanders practised the same mandatory abortion found among the mainland Formosan people to contain the dense population on the small island. Quite evidently, the image of Lameyan 'xenophobia' was reinforced in Bruyn's account. In this, besides the description of the trade at sea about which Candidius had written, he mentioned a

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10 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 208 with my italics.
11 Ibid. 209-10, 212, 217.
12 Ibid. 219.
13 *DZ* I-F: 38; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 220-1, 245; *GM*, 15 Aug. 1634, 144.
14 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 1-7.

kind of silent exchange which was carried on when Chinese fishermen came to trade for coconuts.[15] To paint the picture even blacker, the hostile relationship between the Lameyans and the mainland Formosans was also highlighted:

> The Lameyans are very cruel and barbaric, killing every soul [who happens to set foot on their island] consequently they can not count upon the friendship of other Formosan nations, only of those from their own island. … Because these people do not trust anybody and have no friends they consider the whole world as their enemy, especially those from Formosa who are their arch-enemies. Indeed these Formosans sometimes come to the island unexpectedly in the night, as is their habit, in a small vessel, to raid not the whole island but just to burgle an isolated house like thieves, without being seen, beating to death every soul they come across—even the infants—taking the heads, arms, feet and hair.[16]

This information justified the necessity of Formosan participation in this war against the Lameyans. The Dutch manipulated traditional hostility between the people of the Formosan mainland and its off-shore island. By all accounts, compared to the aggressive mainlanders, the Lameyans appeared rather passive and introverted. From contemporary reports, it emerges that the Lameyans only attacked invaders but hardly even went to Formosa on headhunting expeditions. In fact the reverse may have been true. The inhabitants of Formosa engaging in overseas headhunting raids to Lamey may have instilled this xenophobia in the Lameyans who had been struggling to balance their limited resources against an increasing population.[17] It was the usual strategy of the Lameyans to hide themselves in the caves when more powerful enemies from outside arrived on their island. Bruyn also mentions a cave where the Lameyan women and children sought safety when the Dutch attacked the island. The cave is described as a curious gorge or cleft in the rock in the one high mountain and not easily found in the dense undergrowth. It was not possible to see the bottom of this gorge and it appears to have widened out in some places with more subterranean caves. Apart from two or three other exits from the cave, there was an entrance situated right behind the village, which was easy to reach by descending a gentle staircase. In view of this habit of retreating, Bruyn suggested that should there ever be a plan to expel the population, it could only be achieved by landing on the island unexpectedly and blockading the entrance to the cave immediately. He believed that because the islanders would be forced to flee into the cave

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[15] The Chinese just left their goods on the seashore and then went away. If the islanders felt satisfied with the goods, they would put a comparable amount of coconuts alongside the goods to show their willingness to exchange. Afterwards, both sides took away the goods they wanted, without seeing each other. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 6. Just as J. Woodburn has shown that 'where there is fear, hostility or status inequality between the parties involved, and where such values involve the stigmatisation of one of the parties, "silent trade" may result', the Lameyans inevitably became stigmatized groups. Woodburn's remark is cited from Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh-Jones (eds.), *Barter, exchange and value: An anthropological approach* (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 10. For more comparative studies on 'beach barter' and 'silent trade', *see* also E. W. Bovill, 'The Silent Trade of Wangara', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 29/113 (1929), 27-38; Karl Polanyi, 'Ports of Trade in Early Societies', *The Journal of Economic History*, 23/1 (1963), 30-45.

[16] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 5-7.

[17] Later Dutch residents also noticed some internal conflicts between the older lineage, Tammavallangcis, and its junior counterpart, even though not to the extent of raising arms against each other. *See DZ* I-H: 429; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 79.

without having time to fetch enough food and drink to see them through a prolonged siege, they would soon surrender.[18]

During their first expedition, the Dutch also found some wreckage from ships and Dutch clothing, which they considered proved that the crew of the missing yacht the *Beverwijck* had been murdered after being shipwrecked on the island.[19] Another expedition against the Lameyans was therefore deemed necessary. In 1636, Governor Putmans announced the reason for the second expedition against Lamey:

> To clear the island from these brute barbarians and bring it directly under our authority and jurisdiction, not only to relieve our people but also to the benefit of the Chinese and all nations that sail the China Sea.[20]

Together with other Formosan allies, Putmans ordered the Pangsoyans to be taken along on account of their understanding of the Lamey language. The instructions of Putmans to Commander Lieutenant Johan Jurriaensz. van Linga detailed the strategy to be adopted during and after the conquest:[21]

> You should apply all means to lure them out of their caves and caverns ... you should ferret them out [of their hiding places] with the stench of sulphur, tar and other sultry malodours. Because it may be quite some time before one can smoke these people out of their caves, and because it is our principal intention and aim to achieve this, therefore Your Honours are allowed (if it can not be accomplished earlier), to stay a whole month on the mentioned island together with your army.[22]

Following Bruyn's suggestion, Putmans ordered to blockade the entrance ways to the cave. But, instead of waiting for the surrender of the islanders, Putmans came up with a plan to force them out of the caves in next to no time. On 18 April 1636, the second expedition was undertaken. The expeditionary force arrived at the island on 21 April and after a few skirmishes the Lameyans again hid themselves in the caves. After the Formosan allies had located the cave in which many Lameyans were hiding, the troops encircled its entrance with a fence, cut off the food and water supply, and started to smoke out the people sheltering in the cave.

Because the action proved time-consuming, the Dutch sent their Formosans allies back to their villages. After returning home, the villagers of Sincan celebrated their taking of three heads. Fired up by this achievement and wanting to pursue the advantage, only the bad weather, not the Dutch, could stop the Sincandians from sailing to Lamey again, because they believed the Lameyans would be starved into surrender.[23] This is a clear

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18 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 5.

19 Blussé, 'Retribution and Remorse', 171.

20 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 119.

21 For a concise biography of Johan Jurriaensz. van Linga, *see* note 101, in *DZ* I-F: 56. In February 1637, Johan Juriaensz. van Linga was sent to Lonckjouw as a lieutenant. He had also been to the villages located in the mountains of the south. In March, for his services he received a special reward of 100 reals per year from the Governor-General and the Council of the Indies. *See DZ* I-I: 871.

22 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 47.

23 Ibid. 65.

instance which reveals the Dutch authorities recognized the benefit of receiving assistance from the Formosan allies. Not only was the problem of the lack of manpower resolved, the socio-cultural anxiety prevalent among young Formosan warriors who feared that the traditional avenue towards gaining prowess through headhunting, forbidden to them since the Dutch had created the *Pax Neerlandica*, was also allayed. It would be no great exaggeration to say that the expeditions were nothing less than Formosan headhunting raids under Company auspices.

Overwhelmed by a superior force, it was not long before a large number of beleaguered Lameyans surrendered on 29 April. Two days later, on the first of May, the Dutch sent the first group of Lameyan captives to Tayouan. Among these forty-two islanders, there were only eight men, the rest being women and children. On 3 May, a letter arrived in Tayouan, reporting that those who were still hiding in the caves were heard to be screaming and groaning. In response to the Dutch announcement that if the islanders came out of the cave the troops would not kill them but leave within three days, the islanders promised to hand over gold and silver if the fires were extinguished. The Dutch refused this offer as they reasoned the island had no gold- or silver-mines. They deemed this was just a ploy either to rid themselves of the Dutch or to give them time to gather more resistance. Later, the headman of the Lameyans was captured and he verified that they did have some gold and silver gleaned from the wrecked ships. In the days which followed, more reports arrived in Tayouan accompanied by a growing procession of captives.[24]

Nevertheless, the expedition was far from over as it was noticed that a large number of inhabitants was still hiding inside the caves and some were also outside in the bush. Those who hid outside continued to make hit and run attacks on the Dutch troops, fleeing whenever the guns were fired. On 4 May, when no more sounds were heard from the cave, the Dutch soldiers entered and found around 200 to 300 dead people. Overcome by the horrible stench, they could not count the actual number of the dead. According to a letter received in Tayouan on 7 May, a total number of 323 captives (53 men, 125 women and 145 children) had been sent to Tayouan. When the invasion started, there may have been about 540 people hiding inside the cave.[25] Seeking a justification for this massacre, the authorities in Tayouan rationalized it with the following words:

> From the missive we understand that it has been a deplorable sight to witness the misery of these people, because owing to their stubborn character they had refused to surrender. It seems it has pleased the Almighty to conduct this affair in such a way as to let them be brought to justice for beating to death our people and others. The crimes they have committed run counter to the natural and reasonable character of the human race and have

[24] *DZ* I-H: 415-17.

[25] *DZ* I-H: 417-27; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 50-60, 120. Later Putmans said the second expedition took about forty days, and deported 554 souls, 'of whom several died underway by jumping overboard and drowning themselves. Also we guess about 300 people died on the fields or in the caves … Together this adds to a total number of 854 souls of which this island has now been cleared'. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 119.

> turned them into everybody's enemies.[26]

The Dutch were convinced that the Lameyans were not reliable as they believed the negative stereotype of xenophobic islanders who would not trust anybody outside their own people. The Chinese, the Formosan mainlanders, and the Dutch had all shaped their image of these isolated islanders on the basis of their experiences. The sum total added up to the belief that the island population was hostile 'to the whole world'. This legitimated the action of depopulation.

Relocation

The end of the decisive second expedition marked the commencement of a period of mutual interaction between the Dutch and the Lameyans. Since there were many orphans whose parents had died in the disturbances, the Council of Tayouan allocated twenty-four children to some of the Company servants and married couples in Tayouan who had asked to adopt Lameyan girls and little boys with the promise to raise these children at their own expense and not to sell them or take them away from Tayouan without permission.[27] Most of the Lameyans, however, were sent to Sincan to swell the population of this village. This also dovetailed neatly with the project of Christian conversion. Therefore, two groups of people commanding different languages were ordered to form a community. On 23 May 1636, the Reverend Robertus Junius assured Putmans that the inhabitants of Sincan treated the Lameyans as well as their own people, and made repeated requests for others to be brought to their village.[28] By 2 June, 490 Lameyans had already been incorporated into Sincan. Two days later, the Dutch sent another 288 women and children from Lamey to Sincan via Tayouan and distributed them among the different households, provided that these Lameyans would not be alienated, sold, or sent to other villages. The villagers of Sincan were obliged to maintain and accommodate them.[29] But in less than two weeks, the situation in Sincan worsened. Junius had to report the complaints from Sincan to Putmans:

> We get daily complaints about the Lameyans, some of them are lazy, others pretend or make themselves ill when they should be threshing rice or working out in the field. Some of them try to run away while others beat up Sincandian women and so on, so that altogether not one single day has passed by without complaints from Sincan.[30]

Apparently, the Lameyans were made to serve as labourers for their Sincan 'hosts'. Junius continued to send reports about the situation of the Lameyans and showed some sympathy for them. In fact, within that short span of time, some of the Lameyans had

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[26] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 58.
[27] Ibid. 78; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 255.
[28] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 77, 73.
[29] Ibid. 76-7, 79-80.
[30] Ibid. 80.

already died, and others seemed to be at death's door. The women called out for their children and husbands and begged to be allowed to return to their island.[31] However, their wish was not to be granted, since even the elderly were to be transferred to Sincan. On 14 June, several old men—too old to render any service or do any harm—were allowed to live on the charity of the Company. The Council of Tayouan required Junius to find out whether the villagers of Sincan would agree to this proposal, saying that the Council thought they could not raise too many objections and it would also benefit those elderly Lameyans whose children had been resettled there.[32]

Conflict also continued on the island of Lamey itself. The remaining inhabitants frequently came to the stockade of the Dutch soldiers and exchanged coconuts or root vegetables with them. Yet, on 30 June 1636, three Dutchmen, including one sergeant, were ambushed and beaten to death. Angered by this event, the Tayouan Council soon resolved to remove the remaining people from the island once and for all. To achieve this, another expedition was mounted. This time the troops included thirty Company soldiers and 300 inhabitants from the villages located on the south-west and south coast of Formosa, namely, Sincan, Soulang, Mattauw, Bacaluan, Pangsoya, Taccareyang, and Dolatok.[33]

The expeditionary force arrived on 7 July 1636. The Formosan allies killed and took the heads of thirty Lameyans. Since the *Pax Neerlandica* had been created among the Formosans in the southern plains where they were no longer allowed to headhunt each other, they had harvested more heads in the wars waged on the orders of the Company, albeit less frequently. Moreover, these trophy heads included women and children, a practice not condoned by the Dutch authorities. The instructions given by Putmans to the commander of the second expedition Lieutenant Van Linga had mentioned that 'especially the women and children—we should try to save their lives and bring them altogether hither [to Zeelandia Castle], without causing serious irritation to our allied *blacks* [the allies from Formosa].'[34] Forewarned by their understanding of indigenous headhunting practice, the Dutch authorities realized their Formosan allies would take the lives whoever they came across, even infants, and hence they took measures to avoid the killing of women and children. Whatever they may have resolved, this was easier said than done. Even though the Dutch authorities played upon mutual hostility among the Formosans and deployed their vassals strategically, they had to tread a careful path and not arouse any irritation. Formosan headhunting practice had inevitably to be embedded in the colonial context, but it became more intensified and continued to operate in the guise of submission.

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31 Ibid. They were seen as 'potential servants', *see* Blussé, 'Retribution and Remorse', 175.

32 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 82. Besides these old men, another man was also sent to Sincan. Because his mother, an old woman, had served the Dutch well on Lamey, he was now relocated to Sincan. *Formosan Encounter*, II, 84.

33 *DZ* I-H: 434; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 86, 120.

34 *DZ* I-H: 435; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 47.

Struggle for freedom

On 8 September 1636, a further request to be able to return to their home island was made by the Lameyans in Sincan. In consideration of his command of the Sincan language a certain Lameyan named Vagiau, acted as spokesperson for his villagers in expressing their wish. The Reverend Junius lent a willing ear but could only respond that he was powerless in this matter. He transmitted the request to Putmans and said that the Lameyan people would certainly comply with whatever the Dutch wished them to do. Generally speaking, their Sincan hosts showed very little compassion towards the Lameyans who complained that they got too little food and had to move frequently from one Sincan household to another. Their anguish was admirably expressed by Junius, the man on the spot, in the following words: 'It is very sad to see how these people are struggling over here, their crying and weeping would even move a heart of stone.'[35]

Meanwhile, the hunt for the remaining islanders on the island still continued. On 10 September, the authorities in Tayouan agreed to send Lieutenant Van Linga to the island once more in the company of a Lameyan couple in an attempt to convince their fellow countrymen that the Dutch would send them to a free country, namely Sincan, a place where men could enjoy deer hunting daily. These gentle words were offset by the warning of the possibility of the consequences, if the remaining Lameyans refused to listen to the advice. This time, twenty-three persons voluntarily surrendered to the Dutch promise of freedom. They were sent to Tayouan and then to Sincan. Furthermore, two Lameyans were invited by the Dutch to visit their wives and family members in Sincan and experience Dutch treatment in person. The Dutch expected them then to return and confirm the words of the previous Lameyan envoys.[36]

Van Linga also took ninety Pangsoyans to Lamey. It was said that the Pangsoyans 'were most willing to assist' the Dutch against their enemies. They terrified the Lameyans even more than the Dutch. Fearful of the Pangsoyans, 112 islanders soon surrendered and were then sent to Tayouan. Consequently, the Dutch could claim the evacuation had been achieved without any more bloodshed.[37]

Sincan was not the final destination for the Lameyans. On 2 June 1636, the Council of Tayouan decided that the villagers of Sincan had to return the Lameyans if the Governor-General ordered these people be sent to Batavia.[38] In October, the 123 Lameyans (forty-seven men, thirty-eight women, and thirty-eight children) who had surrendered to Van Linga in September were divided over two ships the *Bommel* and the *Texel* and became the first group which was sent to Batavia.[39] Later, both Putmans and

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35 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 96-7. Quotation is from 97.
36 Ibid. 109-10.
37 Ibid. 110-11.
38 Ibid. 78.
39 Putmans required Junius to send twenty-three Lameyans back to Tayouan. Especially those with spouses were sent to Batavia. Putmans gave Junius a secret instruction urging that he should make sure not to tell these Lameyans until their departure in case they were not willing to leave. 'Only the women who had no husbands any more would be sent to Sincan together with their children.' (Ibid. 100, 125).

his successor Johan van der Burch reported to Governor-General Antonio van Diemen about the procedures which had been followed with the Lameyans. Putmans had got hold of about 500 islanders. All the women and children had been sent to Sincan. Most of the men were chained in pairs to work in the Company service in Tayouan and Saccam or on the construction of the redoubt Vlissingen in Wancan. All boys over eight or nine years old were employed to perform Company chores in Tayouan or Batavia.[40]

Failing to honour his promise, Putmans continued to send the Lameyans to Batavia suggesting that 'these people could best be employed in Banda or elsewhere.' After the first group had been dispatched to Batavia, the yacht the *Hoochcaspel* took another twelve men to Batavia where the Dutch had promised them they would be free. Even more people were sent there by force: thirty-eight boys on the yacht the *Daman* and eighteen men on the yacht the *Cleen Bredamme*. A total of 191 Lameyans were transported to Batavia in the year 1636. In May 1637, most of these Lameyans had already died, apparently falling victim to the climate in Batavia.[41]

The matter was not yet finished, even though Putmans expressed his wish to conclude this matter as soon as possible.[42] A few dogged inhabitants were still hiding in caves and elsewhere. In May 1637, Sergeant Jan Barentsen who was stationed on Lamey reported that there were about twenty-one men, eight women, and seven small children present on the island. The islanders had divided themselves into two groups, one of which settled itself at the foot of the hills, the other on the brow. They came into contact with the Dutch soldiers every day and brought them fruit as a token of their good intentions.[43]

Meanwhile, in Sincan one year after the relocation, the conflicts between the Lameyans and Sincan people had not been resolved. In July a women from Sincan murdered a little boy from Lamey who lived with her. According to the Resolution Books of Zeelandia Castle, this woman named Tagutel had intentionally pushed or flung this child into the Sincan River. The child drowned while she stood by without trying to rescue him. Certainly this incident aggravated the situation between the Lameyans and their 'hosts' or 'masters', the villagers of Sincan. The murderer was punished by public flagellation. Junius explained that by imposing this mild sentence he had tried to prevent more trouble brewing in Sincan which would further impede the missionary work. As Junius indicated, in the eyes of the villagers of Sincan the victim was an outsider (*vreemdeling*) while the murderer was a native of Sincan. The elders in Sincan hence showed sympathy towards the latter.[44] Other than the factor of language difference which may have been improved over time, Junius' depth of local understanding casts

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[40] Ibid. 108, 122. On 3 June 1636, the Council of Tayouan had decided to send sixty Lameyans to Wancan with twenty soldiers to guard them. The Lameyans were ordered to work as builders' labourers carrying earth, stones, and mortar (Ibid. 78). This was for the purpose of constructing Fort Vlissingen, *see* Chapter Five.

[41] Ibid. 122 (citation), 125-6, 150.

[42] Ibid. 100.

[43] Ibid. 152.

[44] Ibid. 153-4; *DZ* I-I: 889, 891. The record in the *Dagregister* indicates the victim was '*een Lameys knechtken*', a little boy, *see DZ* I-I: 889 and also *see Formosan Encounter*, II, 153-4.

light on the Formosan concept of locality which seems to have been an important signifier in the Sincan classification of 'us' and 'others'. If locality was raised as a barrier between the native villagers of Sincan and the Lameyan outsiders, it implies the Lameyans were not likely to have been accepted by the local society. Eighteen years after their resettlement in Sincan, in 1654, a Lamey Sincandian named Dahalis was appointed to be one of four elders as a gesture towards the putative unification of the mixed community in Sincan which the Dutch authorities desired to form.[45]

Disagreement between the Dutch authorities

In November 1637, Governor Van der Burch visited the island of Lamey and found sixty-three Lameyans living on the island. The islanders begged the Governor for mercy:

> [The Lameyans] behaved very humbly and prayed that the incensed wrath might be stilled and that once the Company had shown mercy on them, they might be graciously allowed to stay on the island and clear the overgrown and neglected farmlands and start again on the cultivation of rice and other crops for their own maintenance as well as for the benefit of the Company.[46]

The islanders had at last obtained a more positive response from the Tayouan authorities. In May 1639, Sergeant Barentsen departed for the island with an instruction from Van der Burch. His task was to probe the opinion of the remaining islanders about the plan to send some of their fellow Lameyans in Sincan back to the island. Would they approve of this or would they prefer to leave the situation as it was. He also needed to find out if they would prefer to join their kinsmen in Batavia and to investigate whether there were any newborn babies. Barentsen reported the results of his investigation in person after his arrival back in Tayouan on 23 May. He had found that there were forty-three Lameyans on the island including two newborn children. They were diligent in their cultivation of rice, millet, and ginger. When they were asked whether they would like to go to Batavia, 'they reacted very sadly, looking very dejected', bursting into tears, answered, 'If the Governor orders us to do so we must go. We hope to conduct ourselves in such an irreproachable way that he will be dissuaded from that purpose'. The Council of Tayouan acknowledged their obedience and agreed that even further procreation would not necessarily lead to resistance to the Company.[47] However, in June 1640, Governor-General Van Diemen disagreed and gave his orders countermanding any conciliatory gestures:

> We do not think that the Company will derive any benefit from the remaining forty savage people on Lamey. On the contrary, in time, once they have multiplied again, new troubles can be expected. Therefore under some kind of proper pretext or, if that is impossible, you

45 *DZ* III-E: 368.
46 *DZ* I-K: 442; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 164 (citation).
47 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 236, 238.

should evacuate 'per force' and send them over to Batavia.[48]

Under pressure from the headquarters, the authorities in Tayouan now had to put an end to the whole affair. In August, Barentsen was ordered to stay on the island again and prepare for its evacuation before the onset of the northern monsoon. He had to find out the whereabouts of the remaining islanders by stealth and trick them to show themselves by asking them for help to repair the stockade. Barentsen suggested that the best timing to catch all of the remaining islanders would be on the night of the full moon in December, because at that time the weather would have turned chilly and force the islanders to sleep in the warmth inside their houses. It would be easy to catch all of them.[49] On 20 December, Governor Paulus Traudenius (1640-3), who was newly appointed, and the Council of Tayouan resolved to send Captain Van Linga with sixty men to clear the island. The final campaign began on 27 December. Three more islanders were killed as they were trying to escape. On 2 January 1641, a total of seventeen families, thirty-eight Lameyans (eight men, thirteen women, ten boys, and six girls) arrived in Tayouan. By June, thirty-five of these Lameyans had been transferred to Batavia.[50]

Several Lameyans still managed to escape into the bush during the final expedition. In February 1641, this led to more resolutions concerning the Lameyans being made. The Dutch tried to catch the runaway Lameyans with the help of the Pangsoyans, 'dead or alive so as to comply with the order of the lord Governor-General to bring them hither so that once and for all the entire island will be cleared of that nation'.[51] In June 1642, in his letter to Governor Traudenius Governor-General Van Diemen still mentions that he expected the remaining people on Lamey would all be brought over to Batavia so that the island would soon be entirely depopulated. In Batavia, the Lameyans were said to be 'quite in demand' since they had the *reputation* for being keen and hard working.[52] In the course of the whole process, especially after the second tragic expedition against the Lameyans, the Dutch local authorities had undergone a change of heart. The men on the spot, the Reverend Junius, Governor Putmans, and Van der Burch, expressed their sympathy for the Lameyans and suggested allowing them to remain at their island. This did not strike a chord with the authorities in Batavia, for whom transforming a threatening population into loyal and useful labour force was the only proper way to deal with the Lameyans.

As early as 2 October 1636, the Tayouan Council had decided to lease the island out for a year for the highest possible sum to those Chinese who requested it and was planning to undertake the cultivation of coconuts, which were already a trade commodity between the Lameyans and the Chinese.[53] As one of the first tax farms in Formosa, according to Heyns, this lease covered the exclusive exploitation rights to the island's

48 Ibid. 255.
49 Ibid. 258-9.
50 Ibid. 258, 262, 265.
51 Ibid. 263.
52 Ibid. 298.
53 Ibid. 102.

'natural resources'.[54] From 1645 the island was again leased out at the price of seventy reals a year. In 1647, the Tayouan authorities granted Samsiack, the Chinese leaseholder, permission to cultivate the fields and distil arrack for the lease price of 150 reals for six years.[55] This was cancelled a few months later, Governor-General Cornelis van der Lijn (1645-50) ordered President Pieter Anthonisz. Overtwater to draw up a new contract with Samsiack forbidding him to cultivate the land, allowing him only to plant a thousand coconut palms every year.[56]

Comparing this incident with other cases of depopulation in South-East Asia, what new light does it shed on VOC colonial policy towards indigenous populations? It seems that in this instance, the Batavia authorities regarded depopulating the island as a way to teach the inhabitants a lesson, rather than simply an exercise in maximizing the profit to be made from the land and its produce.

The Lameyan diaspora

In February 1643, Ensign Jurriaen Smith led ten soldiers and forty-four Pansoyans to round up the Lameyans still living on the island. This time they brought one Lameyan (already with the Dutch Christian name of Pieter) with them to summon the islanders. Although they met three Lameyans, they failed to catch even one of them, since whenever the Lameyans caught a glimpse of the Pangsoyans they just ran for their lives. One brave Lameyan named Tamarissa did come out to meet the Dutch soldiers and Pangsoyans, but then also disappeared and never reappeared, although promising that he would return with the other inhabitants. Therefore, the Dutch resorted to burning all the bush, leaving the Lameyans no place to hide.[57]

This Dutch-Formosan expedition ended in failure. In January 1645, Samsiack was commissioned to capture the remaining islanders. In all, he managed to take fifteen Lameyans captive and sent them to Tayouan. These islanders were sent to Sincan where they were to await further instruction from Batavia.[58] Even after they had all been moved to Formosa, the Lameyans were closely watched. A Lameyan girl who was found to have married a Chinese without permission and who had been living in Southern Tamsuy for two years was forced to leave her husband and wait for the final judgement on her case from the Governor.[59]

The forced depopulation of Lamey later gave rise to a broad discussion among the Company authorities in the Netherlands, Batavia, and Formosa. Blussé has shown that questions were asked about the depopulation of the island after Junius returned to the

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54 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 150.

55 Samsiack had been the leaseholder of Lamey since 1639. *See* Ts'ao and Blussé, 'The Disappearance of the Siou-Liqiu Aborigines', 227.

56 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 228, 266.

57 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 346-8.

58 Ibid. 517, 523, 540.

59 Ibid. 342.

Netherlands in 1644. Junius and ex-Governor Putmans exposed the hardship endured by the Lamey people to the highest Company authorities, the Gentlemen Seventeen, in the course of several meetings in 1647. Two years later, Governor-General Van der Lijn made a final report to the Gentlemen Seventeen. He estimated that Lamey had originally had a population of almost 1,200 inhabitants. Of these, 405 had died in the caves or in the fighting, and the remaining 697 people had been sent to Batavia, Sincan, or Tayouan.[60]

After being forced to leave their home island permanently, the resettled people of Lamey had to pick up the threads and begin their lives in diaspora.[61] In Formosa, altogether 506 Lameyans were distributed in Sincan and in Tayouan.[62] In the former village most of the resident Lameyans were engaged in agriculture and intermarried with the Sincandians. This was clearly not a success as in 1650 the Company raised the rent of leasing out Lamey Island from 150 to 175 reals in order to have enough funds to support the Lameyan poor in Sincan.[63]

In August 1643, in total thirty-eight Lameyan children were taken to Tayouan and distributed among Company employees and free burghers (free citizens, *vrijburgers*) as domestic servants, to be raised and educated according to Dutch custom.[64] These Lameyan children growing up in a Dutch milieu were the most assimilated Formosan group. Some boys became Company servants and were able to climb up the ladder of success in Company service. One outstanding example is Vagjauw, one of a few Lameyans to keep his original name in these official records, who served as a Company soldier. In August 1644, another Lameyan named Simon was given a recommendation to enter Company service as a laundryman by President Maximiliaen Lemaire.[65]

Lameyans with the same diasporic experience married each other in their new host communities. Anthonij and Anna were married before 1656 and had three boys baptized between 1656 and 1660, with representatives of two close, mixed Lameyan families acting as witnesses. Marriages between people of Sincan and Lameyans revealed another outcome of integration. Paulus de Klock, a man from Lamey, for instance, first married a Lameyan woman and later a Sincan widow. Other cases show affiliation with the people

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[60] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 255. For more details of this part, *see* Blussé, 'Retribution and Remorse', 176-7.

[61] The definition of diaspora follows the Concise Oxford English Dictionary (eleventh edition): the dispersion and spread of any people from their original homeland. The Lamey case can be identified as 'victim diaspora' among the types of diasporas proposed by Robin Cohen: victim; labour; trade; imperial; and cultural diasporas. *See* id., *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997).

[62] Some Lameyans may also have managed to live on mainland Formosa. On the basis of the oral traditions of the Paiwanese in the southern mountains, the Lameyans, who were called 'Kipoa', founded a settlement on the southern coast and also lived among them in three villages. *See* Ts'ao and Blussé, 'The Disappearance of the Siou-Liqiu Aborigines', 216-17.

[63] Since 1647, the rent had been 150 reals and had been set to continue for six years. In 1650, this rent was raised to 175 reals. *See DZ* III-A: 315; *DZ* III-B: 1019; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 133, 344.

[64] In 1636, as we have seen, twenty-four children were sent to Tayouan as the first group. In 1646, another fourteen children were sent to Tayouan. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 78 and III, 133, 344. Another source indicates that during the first three years these children had to work for their food and clothing, then after this period, they could earn a wage of about 6 pieces-of-eight on top of that. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 410.

[65] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 453.

from other ethnicities. Vagjauw, who has just been mentioned, married twice and both his wives were from South Asia, from Coromandel and Bengal respectively.[66]

Women show up more often than men in records of marriages and baptisms, a fact which can be attributed to their matrimonial partnerships with European Christian husbands in Formosa (see Chapter Seven). The life-story of Maria is a tragic one. She married at least three times. After the death of her first husband, she remarried in 1658, a short marriage lasting only one year. In 1659, she married a Dutch sergeant named David Cotenburch. In 1660, they had a child named Stefanus.[67] Their happy family life was soon at an end because Cheng Ch'eng-kung attacked Formosa in 1661. During the siege her husband was killed. She became one of the captives who were kept at Zeelandia Castle for more than twenty years under the Cheng's rule. When the Cheng surrendered to Ch'ing troops in 1683, fewer than twenty captives were still alive. Among those who were released and arrived in Siam in February 1684 was Maria. Her son is not mentioned.[68]

Those Lameyans who remained in Formosa experienced a turbulent power transition; those who were abroad faced different challenges. In Batavia, Governor-General Van Diemen mentioned that the Lameyans in Batavia were divided up among the Dutch households to learn the Dutch language and acquire a skill. In 1649, the authorities in Batavia claimed that most of them had become the wives of the Dutch free burghers.[69] Little is known about the situation of these Lameyans in Batavia. It may be assumed that as Dutch servants, the Lameyans followed their masters to other factories in Asia. On Deshima, the Dutch factory in Japan, one Lameyan servant of Pieter Antonisz. Overtwater, *Opperhoofd* of the Deshima factory from 1644 to 1645, died and was buried in the vicinity.[70]

Some Lameyans set out on a journey to even farther destination. In the seventeenth century even the Netherlands witnessed some Formosan migration. In 1648, President Overtwater sought to request permission to bring another Lameyan boy with him to Holland with the consent of his mother, closest relatives and his own approval, but a further record about this matter has not been found.[71] Nevertheless, in the Amsterdam Archives Natalie Everts found some information about a Lameyan.[72] Jacob Lamey of

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66 *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 328, 348, 354. Two mixed families refer to the European-Lameyan couples: Harman Eickmans and Catarina, Sicke Pieters and Sara, *see* Table 7.4; *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 262, 234, 262.

67 About Maria's marriages, *see* Table 7.4. As for the baptism record of Stefanus, *see Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 358.

68 For their fate after 1661, *see* Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, II, 89.

69 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 77-8, 370, 410; *GM*, 18 Jan. 1649, 298.

70 The news of his death was recorded simply because Overtwater had to obey the Japanese rule not to throw the body into the shallow sea around Deshima where the Shogun and other Japanese went fishing. *See The Deshima Dagregisters*, ed. Cynthia Viallé and Leonard Blussé (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2001), XI: 1641-1650, 197 (1 Feb. 1645). Many Company employees were dispatched to Tayouan and Deshima for a longer or shorter period of time. Before their terms as Governor in Tayouan, Maximiliaen Lemaire (1643-4 in Tayouan), Francois Caron (1644-6), Pieter Antonisz Overtwater (1646-9) and Frederik Coyett (1656-62) had been *Opperhoofd* in Japan. *See GM*, pp. xxi-xxxiv (Cheng's edition).

71 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 253.

72 Everts, 'Jacob Lamey van Taywan', 151-6.

Taiwan had sailed as a crewmember to Amsterdam, where he settled down afterwards. He married twice, in 1656 and in 1667, both times to a Dutch woman. The first marriage certificate notes that he was twenty-four years old at that time and that both of his parents had died. He must have been about four years old when the first expedition to depopulate the island of Lamey was mounted. On 11 April 1668, Jacob was officially registered as a citizen of Amsterdam. In the same year, his baby daughter was baptized in the Westerkerk.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXPANSION FOR COMMODITIES

Through its regional headquarters in East Asia, Zeelandia Castle in Tayouan, the VOC established a maritime trade pattern linking China, Japan, and Batavia. It sold deerskins, the primary Formosan commodity in great demand in Japan, in order to obtain Japanese silver which was in turn used to buy Chinese goods such as silk, porcelain, and gold. Chinese gold was primarily used to purchase textiles on the east coast of South Asia for the markets in the East Indies and Holland.[1]

In view of the importance of Formosan deerskins and Chinese gold in the intra-Asian trade, as the overlord of the southern plains the Company finally had a free hand in seeking more profits after the second half of the 1630s. In an effort to collect more deerskins, the Dutch expanded their influence sphere northwards to the regions of Favorlangh and Tackays. With a similar thought in mind, exploratory missions were sent to via the south overland route to the south-east coast of Formosa where the production sites of Formosan gold were rumoured to be. On the way to the east, many more Formosan tribal groups were encountered for the first time.

Northwards in pursuit of Formosan deer products

Hunting-licence system

Since 1635, the Company had benefited from the promulgation of the maritime prohibitions laid down in the Japanese Tokugawa Government policy which put to an end all Japanese overseas trading activities.[2] During the period 1635 to 1644, the Tayouan entrepôt shipped 603,421 pieces of deerskins with a total value of 239,059 guilders to Japan.[3] The question now is how this enormous boost in the trade in deerskins was made possible? The answer lies in the Company policy of promoting extensive hunting by Chinese deer-hunters alongside native hunting.

The pattern of Formosan trade in deerskins and venison in exchange for Chinese goods with Chinese traders was poised to change in the second half of the 1630s. In

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[1] Lin Wei-sheng 林偉盛, *Ho chü shih ch'i tung yin tu kung ssu tsai T'ai-Wan te mao i* 荷據時期東印度公司在台灣的貿易 1622-1662 [The Trade of the Dutch East India Company in Formosa in the Era of Dutch Occupation] (Diss., National Taiwan University, 1998), 57-81.

[2] In 1629, the export of Formosan deerskins to Japan was temporarily halted as the result of the altercation between Governor Pieter Nuyts and the Japanese merchant Hamada Yahei. In 1632, the trade was resumed, but soon stopped against in 1635. Blussé, 'Bull in a China Shop', 106.

[3] Höllmann, 'Formosa and the Trade', 273.

1633, Chinese junks sold the Company 5,000 deerskins from the region of Tackays (in Fukienese, Gilim, namely Erh-lin). Until 1637, the Chinese traders transported a large quantity of deerskins via China to Japan.[4] Earlier, in 1634, in view of the prosperous trade in this region, Governor Hans Putmans ordered the construction of Fort Vlissingen in Wancan with the aim of preventing the Chinese smuggling of deerskins.[5] In between 1635 and 1637, the Company sought total control of the trade in deer products. A three-pronged policy was imposed: first, all deerskins were to be sold only to the Company; second, a tithe was levied on all deer products for export, including venison, sinews, antlers, and elkskins; third, a hunting-licence system for Chinese deer-hunters was installed.[6] Through the working of the first and second measures, the Company not only commandeered the trade in deerskins, it was also in the position to impose a tax on trade in other deer products such as venison. On the Chinese traders who had engaged in the trade with the Formosans before the arrival of the Dutch these policy measures had quite an impact. They were either forced to withdraw from the business or to continue their trade under Company control. By taking the third measure, the Dutch authorities formally admitted Chinese hunters to the scene, which meant the Formosans were no longer the sole suppliers. Just as the Dutch authorities acted as supervisors and protectors of Chinese fishermen on the earlier-mentioned fishing-grounds off the south-west coast, deer-hunting gradually assumed the same production structure, but in an even more complicated way.

It is probable that the hunting-licence system was instituted after the peace treaty concluded with the Mattauw at the end of 1635, but certainly it was in place before February 1636.[7] The Reverend Robertus Junius was in charge of selling hunting-licences to the Chinese in Soulang, Mattauw, Bacaluan, Tevorang, Tavocan, and Sincan. In the late 1630s, the grounds where hunting was permitted were mainly located around the fields of Soulang and Tirosen; Taccareyang and Swatalauw in the south; and those of Favorlangh in the north. With the Company licences, Chinese hunters were permitted to hunt there for five months, from October to March.[8] Most of the Chinese hunters only came to Formosa during the hunting season, and then shipped the venison obtained to China.[9]

There were two kinds of hunting-licence. One was for the use of snares (*stricken*),

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[4] *DZ* I-E: 576, *DZ* I-I: 858.

[5] Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, I, 129.

[6] Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 139.

[7] Ibid. The Chinese trade in deerskins was included in the articles of the Mattauw treaty in 1635, but without mentioning Chinese deer-hunting. Moreover, before February 1636, the Dutch had been allowed to hunt freely about three miles to the south of Tayouan. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 20. This implies that the Dutch may have introduced Chinese deer-hunters to this field.

[8] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 105, 174-6, 180; *DZ* II-C: 281. But in the season of 1637-8, the Chinese deer-hunters were allowed to hunt before the end of April. *See DZ* I-K: 476. In the 1638-9 season, the Dutch authorities decided that nobody would be allowed to hunt after 30 April. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 211. But some groups hunted until May. *See* Chiang Shu-sheng, 'Mei hua lu yü T'ai-Wan tsao ch'i li shih kuan hsi chih yen chiu' 梅花鹿與臺灣早期歷史關係之研究 [A Study of the Relationship between the Sika Deer and the Early History of Taiwan], *Bulletin of the Formosan Sika Deer Reintroduction Project* (Dec. 1985), 3-62 at 45 [Hereafter: 'Sika Deer'].

[9] Chiang, 'Sika Deer', 47.

and cost one real each per month. The other which allowed the setting of pitfalls (*kuilen*) cost 15 reals per month. A snare could catch only one deer at one time, but a pitfall, an effective way of hunting introduced by Chinese hunters, could yield 400 to 600 deer per month. As Chiang points out, Chinese deer-hunters and traders focused on venison for the market in China, but the Company priority was on the sale of deerskins for the market in Japan.[10] In other words, two different markets were being served: the Chinese aimed at obtaining large quantities of venison, but the Company desired deerskins of high quality. This led to a conflict of interests. In the season 1637/8, about twenty-two pitfalls were permitted in the period of October to February.[11] The condition of their victims alerted the Dutch authorities to the damage to the trade caused by using this method. Skins from the deer caught in pitfalls were blood-soaked and could not reach even half the price of those caught in snares. It was therefore considered forbidding the use of pitfalls on 18 October 1638, but no immediate action was taken. In the next season, twenty-four pitfalls were permitted each for the duration of two months. Deer herds were decreasing alarmingly because the pregnant deer were being caught in the pitfalls. In April 1639, Governor Johan van der Burch requested Junius to stop issuing the licences for pitfalls to Chinese hunters in order to protect the deer resources. In 1642, prompted by appeals from the Chinese, the Dutch authorities continued to issue licences but only permitted snare hunting.[12]

Conquest of the Favorlangh fields

Compared with other Chinese activities in Formosa, deer-hunting was the most mobile. In their pursuit of the wandering deer herds, the hunters expanded their range of hunting. The competition between the traditional Formosan deer-hunters and the newly arrived Chinese hunters with their superior skills for killing large numbers of deer intensified during the decade of 1635 to 1645. The people of Favorlangh, the Favorlanghers, were the main victims of the competition as is shown by their furious attacks on these Chinese hunters. The surface area of this village, located about 6 or 7 Dutch miles (about 50 kilometres) north of Wancan, was larger than 'even the city of Batavia together with all its surroundings'. It had 4,000 houses and barns and its population counted 3,500 adult male inhabitants. Its mightiest warriors were so formidable that they did not even use a shield to protect themselves.[13] By 1642, the Favorlanghers had already been attacked four times by Dutch-Formosan coalitions. The case of Favorlangh represents what Tonio Andrade calls, the 'co-colonization' of the Dutch and the Chinese—both of them made profits at the expense of the Formosans,

[10] Ibid. 46.
[11] Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 98; Chiang, 'Sika Deer', 46-7.
[12] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 211; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 180; *DZ* I-L: 680; *DB*, 28 Jan. 1642.
[13] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 158, 160; *DZ* I-K: 432-3.

the 'Sino-Dutch hybrid colony'.[14] Indeed, the Favorlanghers pursued a complex interaction with the Dutch and the Chinese, who were called *Bausie* and *Poot* respectively in their language.[15]

In December 1635, the Reverend Junius was made patently aware of the close relationship between the people of Favorlangh and Tirosen when they declared their intention to attack Mattauw. In February 1636, Favorlangh sued for peace with the Dutch in the wake of the Dutch victories over Mattauw and Taccareyang. Governor Putmans and the Tayouan Council asked Junius to send a letter in Chinese to Favorlangh inviting their representatives to come to Sincan.[16] But the chance of peace vanished after the Favorlanghers perpetrated violence against some Chinese fishermen. In June 1636, it was reported that the Favorlanghers had kidnapped seven Chinese fishermen in Wancan and cut off their hair. Later they released their hostages after holding them for two months, offering them some provisions. In September, a Chinese living in Favorlangh warned that some 190 Favorlangh warriors intended to attack the redoubt in Wancan. This Chinese also spoke about a split among the villagers. Almost one-third of them were pro-Dutch and wanted to live in peace with the Dutch in Wancan. In the event of a possible attack by the Dutch troops, the pro-Dutch faction would put Chinese notes on the doors of their houses to avoid these dwellings being burned down.[17] In October, the Governor and the Council decided enough was enough and that it was time to teach Favorlangh a lesson. Hampered by their lack of manpower, they waited for military reinforcements from Japan in the season of northern monsoon, but this delay did not prevent them reconnoitring the surrounding environment and the route leading to the village. The Formosan allies of the Dutch were expected to join this expedition even though smallpox had recurred on the south-west plain.[18]

A series of attacks on the Chinese in Wancan led up to the mounting of the first Dutch expedition against Favorlangh at the end of October 1637. The Favorlanghers had injured not only fishermen, but had also harmed lime-burners and deer-hunters in the fields around Mattauw.[19] At this point, it gradually began to emerge that the hunting-licence system was engineering Dutch territorial expansion towards the north. From time immemorial, Formosan hunters would occasionally trespass on the fields of other villages while chasing game. As a result, hunting conflicts frequently flared up among the villages. When Chinese hunters with the Company licences began to compete with Formosan hunters disadvantaged by their cruder hunting methods, more conflicts

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[14] Tonio Andrade, 'The Favorolanghers are Acting up Again: Sino-Dutch-Aboriginal Relations under Dutch Rule', paper presented at the Symposium on the Plains Aborigines and Taiwan Societies. Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, 23-25 Oct. 2000; Id., *Commerce, Culture, and Conflict*, 141-94; Id., 'Pirates, Pelts, and Promises'.

[15] The Favorlangh term referring to the Dutch can be found in the phrase of '*Deos o Bausie*' (the God of the Dutch). The name for the Chinese, *Poot*, was possibly derived from Fukienese for cloth (*poo*). The Favorlanghers called linen '*naupoot*'. *See* 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect', 138, 177.

[16] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 301; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 20, 112, 31 and *DZ* I-H: 450.

[17] *DZ* I-H: 433; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 112, 124; *DZ* I-H: 450.

[18] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 73, 102-3, 112.

[19] *DZ* I-I: 843-4, 853, 876, 883; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 155-6.

were bound to happen. As Junius reported, Formosan violence against Chinese hunters was not easy to prevent, since it occurred at a great distance from Tayouan.[20] Now there were two sets of attackers, Chinese hunters in Formosan fields were set upon by both local villagers and by Formosan hunters from more distant villages. When more Formosan hunters were drawn into this kind of conflict, the Company was ready to offer Chinese hunters protection. Expansion was set in motion in the direction of the region of Favorlangh and even further north to the region of Tackays where there was plenty of deer roaming around.

In October 1637, Governor Van der Burch himself led the expedition to Favorlangh. Approximately 800 Favorlangian warriors fought against 300 Company soldiers and 1,400 Formosan allies from the villages of Sincan, Bacaluan, Soulang, Mattauw, and Tirosen. According to the battle report drawn up by Van der Burch in his journal, this clash was an impressive spectacle both to the Formosan allies and their enemies. Surrounded by their Formosan allies, the Dutch musketeers carrying coloured flags, blowing the trumpets, and banging the drums marched forwards accompanied by mounted horsemen. As soon as the Dutch fired their muskets, the Favorlanghers fled into the village. The battle ended with the burning of the whole village. The record-breaking number of Formosan allies won the coveted trophy of more than twenty heads. Within two months, Favorlangh and its allies sued for peace. They sent a Chinese representative to Zeelandia Castle, and also handed over trees and pigs as tokens of concluding the peace.[21] Henceforth, the Dutch authorities were to encourage more villages to conclude peace treaties with them. The village elders of Lee, located in the east, pointedly responded that they did not understand what this implied. Other villages in the region of Tackays, such as Tackays and Taurinab (Dorenap, namely West Gilim or Betgielem), displayed the same hesitant attitude.[22]

The Dutch conquest of Favorlangh was carried out because the Company had promised the Chinese holding the Company-issued licences protection. Therefore, the Dutch authorities claimed that the triumph over powerful Favorlangh was achieved not only on behalf of the Company but also for the Chinese.[23] After the Favorlanghers had made the symbolic contribution acknowledging sovereignty, the Dutch authorities believed that from now on they would pay homage to the Dutch overlord. The Chinese were therefore granted the right to hunt in the fields of Favorlangh by the Dutch authorities. But in May 1638, more conflicts erupted because the Chinese hunters did not obey the hunting regulations. They continued hunting in the fields of Favorlangh when the hunting season was over. Consequently, the Dutch authorities had to reinforce their previous orders on deer-hunting.[24] Obviously, these Chinese hunters did not form a homogenous ethnic group as a whole, but consisted of independent units pursuing their

20 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 187.
21 *DZ* I-K: 429-30; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 160; *DZ* I-K: 448.
22 *DZ* I-K: 474-5; *DZ* II-F: 204.
23 Andrade, 'The Favorolanghers', 14.
24 *DZ* I-K: 474, 476.

own interests. Those Chinese who had already been trading partners of the Favorlanghers in the past were unwilling to give up their interests when new competitors arrived to interfere in the original trade in deerskins and venison.

Not until September 1638 did the colonial administrators begin to discern the influence of this local Chinese group, which was labelled the 'Favorlangh Chinese' to distinguish them from the 'Dutch Chinese' with licences and in need of Dutch protection.[25] Ensign Thomas Pedel, who was sent to invite the elders of Favorlangh to Tayouan, reported that the elders failed to make an appearance because the Chinese in Favorlangh told them that the Dutch were intending to kill them. These Chinese also incited the villagers to attack the licensed Chinese hunters and to prohibit them from hunting in the Favorlangh fields. They even declared they were willing to help the Formosans put up resistance against the Dutch. This Formosan-Chinese co-operation spawned Dutch anxiety. In October, the authorities decided to put a second expedition to Favorlangh on hold until Pedel brought back a new report. This time Pedel returned with several Favorlangh elders and a 'Favorlangh Chinese'. To avoid war, these elders agreed to divide the land between the Poncan River (present-day Peikang Hsi) and their village into two parts marked by border poles: two-thirds of their fields were reserved for Chinese hunters and one-third was 'granted' to the Favorlanghers by the Governor. This land the Favorlanghers kept for their own use.[26]

The impact of this agreement on the Favorlanghers was profound. No longer could they refuse to accept the presence of Chinese hunters in their fields. Nonetheless, at the beginning of the season of 1638/9, thirty-one groups of Chinese hunters, with twenty hunters a group on average, amounting in all to nearly 500 hunters, were chased away from the fields of Tirosen and Favorlangh several times.[27] In the fields of Tirosen, eleven groups composed of 721 hunters were chased away from the fields four times, including on one occasion by the Favorlanghers. The Chinese hunters in the Favorlangh fields faced an even worse predicament. Seven groups of Chinese hunters, about 150 persons in all, were chased away or obliged to flee five times.[28] The Dutch authorities were certainly troubled by the hostile attitude of the Formosans towards Chinese hunters.

The second expedition against Favorlangh was mounted at the end of November 1638. Governor Van der Burch led 210 soldiers and about 1,400 Formosan allies from Bacaluan, Soulang, Sincan, Tirosen, and Mattauw who had been recruited by the Reverend Junius. Van der Burch sent a Chinese messenger to demand that the elders of Favorlangh hand over those who had perpetrated violence against the Company Chinese. But the elders failed to do so and only brought along some coats belonging to the Chinese hunters who had been attacked. During the waiting period, the Formosan allies of the Dutch grew impatient. In order to retain his authority in the eyes of his allies and

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25 Andrade, 'The Favorolanghers', 16.
26 *DZ* I-K: 494-5; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 211, 226.
27 *DZ* I-K: 49; Chiang, 'Sika Deer', 43, 45.
28 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 174-6.

also the enemy, Van der Burch gave order to set fire to the village. About 150 houses and 200 rice storage barns were destroyed. Later Van der Burch was informed that the villagers had not handed over or pointed put the wrongdoers as they were afraid of retaliation. In the affray, the Dutch troops captured five elders and a 'Favorlangh Chinese', and the Sincandian allies seized three heads. On the way back, the coalition was ambushed by the Favorlanghers who had set fire to the fields along the road. [29]

After this expedition, the Favorlanghers were deprived of the hunting grounds which had been reserved for them.[30] Chinese hunters were now allowed to hunt on all the Favorlangh hunting preserves. The hunting season of 1638/9 was eventually a bumper period for both the Dutch authorities and the Chinese hunters. Yet, at the beginning of the next season, the Favorlanghers and the inhabitants of Davolee (Basiekan) again took away the licences of the Chinese hunters and also injured some of them.[31] In December 1639, Captain Johan Jeuriaensz van Linga accompanied by twenty soldiers arrived in Favorlangh and admonished the inhabitants, urging they behave like allies, but the accused Favorlanghers protested their innocence. In January 1640, Ensign Pedel confirmed that the people of Davolee had indeed killed two Chinese hunters and chased the others away from the Favorlangh grounds. In March when the headmen of Favorlangh and Davolee failed to appear in Tayouan to account for the attack on Chinese hunters, the Dutch authorities once again planned a punitive expedition to Davolee and also Favorlangh.[32]

This third punitive expedition was again postponed because of the lack of an adequate military force. Even though no violence was inflicted on the Chinese by the Favorlanghers and the Davoleese in this period, Governor-General Anthonio van Diemen insisted on the planned punitive expedition going ahead in order to set an example to other Formosans.[33] In obedience to his wishes, in November 1641, Governor Paulus Traudenius led 280 soldiers, 100 sailors and artisans, 150 Chinese bearers, and 1,400 Formosan allies recruited from nine villages in the south-west and the south. This allied Dutch-Formosan force first attacked Davolee. The whole village of 150 houses was set on fire and all the fruit trees were chopped down. Since it was the first time they had seen horses, the inhabitants of Davolee were terrified, believing that these animals were predators. The next day the troops marched against Favorlangh and won the battle in the same way as they had done before.[34] In December 1641, the inhabitants of Davolee sent a Chinese to declare that they would like to conclude a peace treaty in Tayouan. As a result of the victory over Davolee, more villages in the region of Tackays now sued for peace. Chinese emissaries were sent from Zamkin and Kalakiou, two villages located north of Tackays, to request a Company staff as a guarantee of their

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29 *DZ* I-K: 501-9; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 216-20.

30 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 226.

31 *DZ* I-L: 736; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 249. Davolee was located at about 15 Dutch miles away from Favorlangh.

32 *DZ* I-M: 43, 45; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 250, 252.

33 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 265.

34 *DB*, 17 Nov. 1641; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 276, 279.

safety on their way to Tayouan, on which they feared attacks from other villages. This 'peace delegation' also included representatives from Favorlangh and Tackays.[35] It can be said that the expedition had almost the same effect as the Dutch conquest of Mattauw. Many villages in the neighbourhood now came forward to seek peace with the Dutch.

On 14 February 1642, the headmen of Favorlangh arrived at Zeelandia Castle with the skulls of three Dutchmen who had been beaten to death in the Favorlangh hunting grounds in 1641. They then were allowed to conclude a peace treaty. This eight-article peace treaty resembled the Mattauw treaty in terms of demanding vassalage to the States-General of the Dutch Republic, making this body the legitimate owner of Favorlangh land. On the condition that they should obey the Company regulations on deer-hunting, the villagers were 'allowed' to hunt in their own grounds. They became Company guards, preventing Chinese hunters without a Company licence from hunting in their territory. If they failed to observe any one of these articles more than twice, every household would have to pay the Company a fine of ten bundles of paddy or five deerskins.[36] In this way, every individual shared the same responsibility, even though he was not the person who broke the rules. This is how the Company tamed the Favorlangh people and expanded its authority as far as the region of Tackays.

Southwards in pursuit of Formosan gold

The Dutch were first brought to the south of Formosa because of hostilities between Sincan and its enemies living in those regions. Encounters with more people from the south stimulated the search for gold. Exploratory expeditions to the putative gold-mines followed the chain of existing hostilities among the Formosan groups and ultimately resulted in substantial territorial expansion. The extensive search for gold began through Pangsoya, on the southern plains, via Lonckjouw, to Pimaba on the eastern side of the island.

Chinese impulse

As early as 1622, a Chinese mandarin had tried to persuade Commander Reyersen to move to Formosa by mentioning the existence of gold-mines in the island.[37] Although the Dutch had been informed about the existence of gold in Formosa, this was not the main goal which led them to settle down there.[38] Initially, the authorities in Tayouan did

35 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 275-6.

36 Ibid. 282-3; *GM*, 7 Mar. 1643, 244.

37 *De Nederlanders in China*, I, 382-3; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 175-7.

38 When Cornelis Reyersen sent Adam Verhult to investigate the coast of Formosa on 27 March 1623, the preliminary investigation was to search for a suitable place for a settlement rather than to investigate the rumours about gold. Yet Li Tan, the so-called 'Captain China', a Chinese leader active in the smuggling between Japan and Formosa, also mentioned the existence of gold-mines to Verhult. Li advised the Dutch

not make any endeavour to verify the possible location of gold-mines or even to heed this rumour.[39] But ten year later, when Governor-General Van Diemen initiated exploratory expeditions in pursuit of gold, attention was once more drawn to Formosa, as it was to 'Pieter Nuytsland' (Australia) and the mythical 'Gold and Silver Island(s)' to the east of Japan.[40]

The Tayouan authorities were absolutely reliant on Chinese information about the Formosan interior when they embarked on their gold exploration in Formosa. Various pieces of information about the putative gold site, the travel route, and the mutual relationships among the local people were obtained from Chinese adventurers in Formosa. They reported that gold sand could be found in Tamsuy, to the east of the southern village of Pangsoya, and the Cavalangh region, located in the north-east, was known as a gold site among the Formosans, particularly the people of Lonckjouw.[41] The Governor and Council wanted to make peace with Lonckjouw because its people were then at war with Pimaba, situated one to two days' march north of Lonckjouw. The people of Pimaba were also at war with another village in which a considerable quantity of gold was said to have been found. The Tayouan authorities believed that friendship with Lonckjouw could open the door to a better understanding of the actual location of the sources of gold.[42]

Chinese adventurers were active in the south. Some developed a special relationship with local Formosan groups, becoming consultants of the local chiefs. The fact that the Chinese could play a key role in the Dutch interaction with the local Formosans was noted by the Dutch authorities in Tayouan. In 1636, before entering into any formal interaction with the chiefs of Lonckjouw, Governor Putmans reminded his successor Governor Van der Burch:

> We do not doubt that we can, with the help of some Chinese, who travel the whole countryside, manage to cajole the people from Pimaba and Lonckjouw to start peace talks, so that we will be able to approach the goldmines or at least get a little more information about the site.[43]

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to settle in the Bay of Tayouan because even though the nearby area of Tamsuy produced gold, the Chinese mandarin would not tell them the exact location of the gold. *See De Nederlanders in China*, I, 171-2.

[39] Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 178. In 1628, the Reverend Candidus wrote in his *Discourse*: It is said that there may also be silver and gold mines and that the Chinese have visited them and have taken samples of this to Japan. But I myself have not seen this and it has not yet been brought to the notice of our people, *see Formosan Encounter*, I, 113.

[40] The ships *Den Engel* and *De Gracht* which went on the mission arrived in Tayouan on 24 November 1639. *See DZ* I-M: 40-1. As part of another exploration, the ships the *Breskens* and the *Castricum* had also arrived in Tayouan on 18 November 1643. *See* Willem C. H. Robert, *Voyage to Cathay, Tartary and the Gold-and Silver Islands East of Japan, 1643: The Journal of Cornelis Jansz. Coen Relating to the Voyage of Marten Gerrits. Fries to the North and East of Japan* (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1975); L. P. van Putten, *Ambitie en Onvermogen: Gouverneurs-generaal van Nederlanders-Indië, 1610-1790* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij ILCO-productions, 2002), 66-71. The death of Van Diemen in 1645 precipitated the end of this kind of exploratory project.

[41] *DZ* I-H: 407.

[42] *DZ* I-H: 424; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 142-3.

[43] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 130-5. Quotation is from 134.

Chasing gold to Lonckjouw

In April 1636, the Dutch were invited to visit Pangsoya after having concluded a peace treaty with it in the peace ceremony in February. Governor Putmans chose to send the Reverend Junius on this reconnaissance tour to the south.[44] Besides his mission to appease the locals, Junius was also ordered to investigate if Chinese claims that gold could be found to the east of Pangsoya were true. In Pangsoya, Junius learned from a wandering Chinese that the people of Lonckjouw were antagonistic to certain villagers who lived in the mountain area and possessed gold-mines. Thereupon, he promptly sent a Chinese interpreter, Lampack, to Lonckjouw to find out more.[45] This action decisively initiated Dutch gold exploration to eastern Formosa via the south.

In spite of mutual hostility between the people of Pangsoya and Lonckjouw, Lampack managed to travel from Pangsoya to the territory of Lonckjouw and meet the chief of Lonckjouw, Tartar.[46] On 22 April, Junius sent a detailed report of the meeting between Lampack and Tartar to the Tayouan authorities:

> He [Lampack] reports very favourably of the way in which he had been received and entertained by the chief of Longkiau [Lonckjouw], who made this reply after full explanation, and the gifts were handed over:—'*If the Dutch desire to live at peace with us, it is well; if not, it is also well.*' His Chinese advisers thereupon strongly advised the chief to remain on a peaceful footing with us, saying how necessary it was to do so; for if he did not, he would have great cause to fear our power in the future. To this he replied that we should not to be able to climb the high mountains, and if we did and proved too powerful for him, he would flee and climb still higher.[47]

Although wary about the Dutch advances, Tartar, adopted a neutral position on the advice of his Chinese consultants who recognized that he was facing a formidable new power. Following the usual pattern of concluding peace with the Formosan villages on the south-west plain, the Dutch invited Tartar to become their ally. Tartar agreed to accept the gifts and sent some of his people to make peace with the colonial administrators in Zeelandia Castle on condition that a Dutchman should personally come to visit him. Since neither Tartar nor his ancestors had ever seen any Dutchman, this condition was to act as confirmation of Lampack's words. Heeding Junius' suggestion that even Chinese traders had to send gifts to the chief to ensure their safety in the mountain areas and the east of Formosa, a good relationship with this chief was essential to gaining a safe passage through the territory of Lonckjouw on the way to the gold sites in the hinterland.[48]

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[44] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 135-6.

[45] *DZ* I-H: 407.

[46] The name of the chief of Lonckjouw was not mentioned until 1642. 'Tartar' as the name of rulers can also be seen in other Paiwanese villages, for example, the ruler of the village of Talakabus in 1637. *See DZ* I-I: 861.

[47] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 114-15 citation with my italics. *See* also *Formosan Encounter*, II, 60-4.

[48] Ibid.

Exhibition of power in Tayouan

Because Tartar requested to see a Dutchman, Governor Putmans sent three envoys to Lonckjouw on 1 May 1636. Even though Tartar was wary of his visitors, his brother, Caylouangh, displayed a friendly attitude and was more amenable to the idea of concluding peace.[49] In order to persuade his brother to let him go to Tayouan and conclude a peace treaty, Caylouangh claimed that he had received good omens from the singing of birds and in dreams, a traditional and highly valued means of seeking a supernatural sanction among the Formosans. The chief finally acceded to his brother's wish. On 15 May, Caylouangh and an escort of fifteen men went to Tayouan accompanied by one Dutchman, while the other two Dutch visitors were kept in Lonckjouw as hostages.[50]

The journey to Tayouan and then Sincan was a tour replete with colonial spectacle, political sightseeing, and 'exhibition of civilization' for Caylouangh and his people. Although these Lonckjouw guests had missed the peace ceremony in Sincan earlier in February, the Dutch authorities organized another impressive tour for them. In the town of Tayouan, Governor Putmans demonstrated Dutch social life and military power to his guests. The visitors were particularly amazed by the power of the cannons and were greatly impressed when they saw the infantry march past. Obviously the Dutch intended this welcome ceremony to serve as a military demonstration as well. Putmans also paraded the prisoners from Lamey who had been sent to Tayouan following the depopulation order of the High Government. A visit to Sincan was included in the tour at the request of the guests. The Reverend Junius showed them the lifestyle of the converted Christian villagers of Sincan whom Putmans called 'our most beloved children'.[51] The carrot and stick approach employed with the local population was successfully acted out for these visitors, who it was hoped would take their findings from the trip into consideration in their further interaction with the Dutch authorities.

Before Caylouangh's return to Lonckjouw, Takumey, the chief of Pangsoya, arrived in Tayouan. Governor Putmans seized the opportunity to act as a peace-maker between Pangsoya and Lonckjouw. Yet the peace could not be confirmed until Lonckjouw and the Tayouan authorities had first concluded a peace treaty. Therefore, Tartar was advised to come to Tayouan in person for the confirmation of peace.

Peace for gold

Since the Tayouan authorities esteemed the relatively highly developed political organization of Lonckjouw, they exercised more diplomacy and patience in pursuing

[49] Caylouangh (Kaylough, Kelouangh) was also called Lamlock, *see DZ* I-H: 420. Before 1642, Lamlock was more frequently mentioned in the *Dagregister*.

[50] *DZ* I-H: 415, 419-20; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 71.

[51] *DZ* I-H: 419-24; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 138, 158.

their negotiations with Tartar than they might otherwise have done. Tartar deferred his visit to Tayouan as he was busy with the sowing season when rituals had to be performed to assure the bounty of a future harvest. Hence the authorities in Tayouan curbed their impatience until Tartar finally requested to be welcomed in Tayouan in November 1636. To pick up Tartar, his brothers, advisors and escort of thirty, the authorities sent a junk to Lonckjouw. In December 1636, a peace treaty was concluded between Governor Van der Burch and Tartar.[52]

After the peace treaty with Lonckjouw was signed, the *Pax Neerlandica* extended to the southern tip of Formosa and safety was ensured along the route travelled from Zeelandia Castle to the territory of Lonckjouw, which meant that the time had come to investigate the gold-mines more thoroughly. On 31 January 1637, the Governor and Council decided to send Lieutenant Johan Jeuriaensz van Linga to Lonckjouw with five to six soldiers and, if possible from there, farther on to Pimaba. Van Linga's mission had already been announced at the ratification of the peace treaty between Lonckjouw and the Dutch.[53] Van Linga was reminded to pay careful attention to the demeanour of Tartar and to avoid offending him when asking the questions, in particular any about the gold-producing region.[54] Governor Van der Burch presumed that Tartar would be pleased to know that the Dutch would wage a war against Pimaba if the chief of Pimaba rejected the peace proposal. Hence, Van Linga, in his private capacity and not in the name of the Company, was instructed to convey a message to Tartar, intimating that he would be willing to mediate peace between Pimaba and Lonckjouw. As a special courtesy to the chief and as a token of peace, a golden ring was made to be sent to Tartar.[55]

On 5 February, Van Linga arrived at Lonckjouw. Assuming with a friendly attitude, dispensing lovely gifts allied with a cunning method of inquiry, he found out that gold was mined eastwards of Pimaba. However, under the present conditions, the Dutch would only be able to reach that area by deploying force against the two arch-enemies of Lonckjouw, Tawaly and Pimaba. The former village had 100 warriors and the latter had about 1,000. Tartar promised to join the war against these two enemies, contributing 960 warriors and a guide.[56] It seems that Tartar wished to resort directly to war against his two enemies, even though Van Linga proposed first to try to negotiate peace. The discussion between Tartar and Van Linga hence developed into a diplomatic wrestling match. Because Tartar was probably already alert to the fact that the Dutch had set their sights on the gold, he intended to use this knowledge to strike a deal with them. After his trip to Tayouan, Tartar was well aware of the extent of Dutch military power, and therefore he was quite willing to seek a military alliance with the Dutch. His idea was that

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52 *DZ* I-I: 842, 847.

53 Ibid., fo. 855.

54 In his instruction to Van Linga, Van der Burch compiled a list of such questions as 'Where is the gold mined?' 'How many people are living there?' 'What road should be taken to reach the destination?' 'How far is it away from Pimaba?' 'What weapons do the inhabitants use?' 'Why are they at war with Pimaba?' 'Can peace be reached or should war be declared on them?' *See Formosan Encounter*, 144-5.

55 *DZ* I-I: 858; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 144-5.

56 *DZ* I-I: 859; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 145-6.

war against Pimaba was to be beneficial to both the Dutch and his own people: Lonckjouw would help the Dutch fight Pimaba by acting as scouts and providing supplies and military assistance, while 'the Dutch friends' in their turn should fight the 'blood enemies' of Lonckjouw.

Reaching Pimaba

The Tayouan authorities were ready to investigate where the gold in Pimaba came from, since it was said that the Pimaba people had captured several nuggets of gold from the people living in the gold-rich regions nearby. Pimaba was located about 30 Dutch miles to the north of Lonckjouw on the far side of a mountain range.[57] The question now was what was the best way to get there? The authorities in Tayouan considered two routes, one by sea and one overland. In his instructions to Van Linga, Van der Burch mentioned that the sea route to Pimaba might be more difficult than the overland route, but a certain Chinese who had been around in the region for fourteen years informed Van Linga that the overland route would be much longer than the sea route.[58] On 19 April 1637, Senior Merchant Cornelis van Sanen set out for Pimaba by sea with twelve Dutchmen, fifteen Chinese and two months' supply of food in order to make peace with Pimaba and find out more information about the gold sites. The team left with the admonition from their Tayouan superiors that they should not return without having achieved anything ringing in their ears. Nevertheless, by 25 May, the team had already returned without even having landed at Pimaba because they had met with strong, adverse northerly winds and a storm.[59]

While the authorities in Tayouan were waiting for the arrival of new soldiers from Batavia, Tartar visited Tayouan again and confirmed his promise to join forces with the Dutch to fight Tawaly and Pimaba. On 19 January 1638, owing to the failure of the voyage of Van Sanen, the Governor and Council commissioned another expedition to Pimaba, this time using the overland route. Lieutenant Van Linga was promoted to the rank of Captain and was now commissioned to lead 130 well-armed soldiers.[60] The expedition was the first Dutch overland journey from the western to the eastern side of the island, and it marked the initial Dutch encounter with the Formosans living across the southern Central Mountain Range. The following description is based on Van Linga's journal.[61]

On 27 January, the Dutch-Lonckjouw coalition including about 400 to 500 Lonckjouw warriors departed on their way to Pimaba. In the course of their journey to Pimaba, Tartar appeared eager to manipulate the Dutch into fighting his own enemies,

57 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 147-9.
58 Ibid. 143; *DZ* I-I: 859.
59 *DZ* I-I: 874, 881; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 147-8.
60 *DZ* I-I: 910-11; *DZ* I-K: 453.
61 *DZ* I-K: 462; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 167-203. The expedition lasted from 22 January to 12 February.

and tried to persuade Van Linga to attack a certain village called Patsaban, situated in the mountains. Van Linga reported that the chief could not produce evidence for any of the offences which he claimed that the people of Patsaban had perpetrated against his people. Without proof Van Linga refused to attack, saying that 'we thought it was not reasonable and that our conscience would not tolerate that we should wage war against people who haven't given a clear reason for doing so'. Van Linga suggested announcing to the people of Patsaban that the Dutch and the people of Lonckjouw had arrived there and, if they wished to make peace, they should meet the troops on the beach bringing victuals; if not, the troops would have a reason to declare war on them. After two messengers had been sent to Patsaban, the people of this village came forward with pigs, dried venison, and pots of the local wine. This pleased Van Linga, as he wrote down: 'we deemed it expedient to leave no enemies but only friends behind us, so that, should the occasion arise, either on the way back or in the future, we may have any necessities supplied by them'. The people of Patsaban were duly rewarded with *cangans*, beads, and tobacco as tokens of friendship and in reciprocity for their provisions. The eagerness of 'Chief' Tartar to manipulate the Dutch power is obvious because Patsaban had not been mentioned earlier as an enemy of Lonckjouw. Attacking Patsaban was an idea that suddenly crossed Tartar's mind as they approached it.

In the afternoon of 30 January, the troops arrived at Tawaly, which was situated high up on a mountain slope, although some Tawaly people also dwelled at the foot of the mountain. This time, an attack was quickly launched in the name of Lonckjouw. Van Linga declared that the war was being waged because of the hostility shown by Tawaly to the Dutch ally, Lonckjouw. The villagers at the foot of the mountain simply abandoned their dwellings and sought refuge in the higher area. After fierce fighting, this more highly situated village was abandoned and burned to ashes. While the villagers were fleeing from the burning houses, they fell prey to their enemies. At the end of the fighting, the warriors of Lonckjouw proudly reported that they had taken over forty heads. After counting the houses in Tawaly, Van Linga was convinced that the number of the warriors in this village was far more than Tartar had mentioned to him at their first meeting in 1637.

Whether it was a trick employed by Tartar to force the Dutch to wage war against their enemies remains a mystery. In any case, news of the Dutch victory spread like wildfire throughout the region. Messengers from a nearby village, Lowaen, lost no time approaching the Dutch with gifts and invited the troops to their village. As in the case of Patsaban, their gifts to the Dutch of pigs, dried venison, and liquor were reciprocated with *cangans*, beads, and tobacco. The headman of Lowaen was willing to join the troops on the expedition to Pimaba the next day, but his people did not dare to act as messengers and announce the arrival of the Dutch troops to the people of Pimaba for fear of being killed. According to Van Linga, the people of Lowaen, as did those of Lonckjouw apparently planned to attack Pimaba with Dutch support. Therefore, Van Linga requested a Chinese interpreter, Tangwa, to act as messenger, but this time even this Chinese did not dare to proceed any farther.

Peace ceremony and the aftermath

On 1 February 1638, the troops marched on to Pimaba joined by 150 warriors from their new ally Lowaen. Pimaba which had clearly been informed about the advancing army had rallied its allies and formed up in battle array in the fields in front of the village. Before any actual fighting occurred, Tangwa was first sent to meet the chief of Pimaba, Magol. From a Chinese who had lived in Pimaba for about two years, Van Linga heard that Tangwa was well received. Magol then sent out a delegate to negotiate with Van Linga for peace. But, because Van Linga preferred to negotiate with the chief of Pimaba in person, a meeting was arranged with the chief who was startled by the welcoming blast of the trumpets. The meeting at which Tartar was also present started with the exchange of gifts on both sides. Van Linga first explained the reason he had attacked Tawaly to Magol and confirmed the message that Tangwa had delivered. Then after the exchange of food and drink, the ritual of concluding peace proceeded:

> The regent took his cap off his head, which slightly resembled a crown because it was partly covered with a very thin layer of gold, like paper, and placed it with the following words on my head: 'when your words are trustful, like we trust, yea may this hat, which I have inherited from my ancestors, and which is covered with gold they once took as loot from the conquered village Linauw … serve as a sign of our union through which my people will find out that we have become the Company's allies and that you have become our friends'. Upon which I, for my part, took off my hat and put it in the same way on the head of the mentioned regent by saying: 'the upper most cover of my body which by our people is held in high esteem, is presented to the regent and lord of Pimaba and its surroundings. From this my accompanying men-at-arms and other subjects will also gauge that we have concluded peace and friendship with Pimaba'.[62]

Then both sides shook hands to endorse the peace and Magol was presented with half a yard of red velvet. Later Magol displayed the Dutch hat and the piece of red velvet in the front of his house and announced to his people that the peace had been concluded with the Dutch, even though his warriors were still drawn up in battle array. The following day, Magol invited Van Linga into the village. 'The regent took me [Van Linga] by my right hand and the ruler of Lonckjouw at his left hand, thus we marched on into his village. The inhabitants stood lined up in arms on both sides near the villages, while we passed by marching in good order and well on the alert.' In this fashion, the people of Pimaba, Lonckjouw and the Dutch became friends. From the first intense face-off of warriors on the battlefield to the peaceful march into the village hand-in-hand, the encounter between the people of Pimaba and the Dutch was indeed a dramatic event. It is worth noting that Magol was the one to lead the whole ceremony and in so doing maintain an equal status with this invading alien power which was accompanied by his enemy.

No sooner had he entered the house of Magol, than Van Linga began inquiring about the gold. The chief told him that several villages, including Linauw, situated about a three and a half days' march along the Danau River (present-day Hualien Hsi) to the

[62] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 193-4.

north of Pimaba, possessed some gold, but he did not specify whether the gold was acquired locally. Van Linga showed a Japanese gold coin ('*koban*') as a sample and inquired if the gold from Linauw was similar to that of the coin. When the chief intimated that he had some gold from Linauw, Van Linga urged him to show it and sell it to the Dutch, but Magol refused to do so because of the crowd in his house.

Van Linga did not conceal his desire to go to Linauw to purchase gold from the people there. He proposed leaving behind some of his soldiers as hostages if some inhabitants of Pimaba would guide the rest of the Dutch to Linauw. The chief of Pimaba indicated that since time immemorial the people of Linauw had been considered enemies who spoke a different language. Recognizing this hostile relationship, Van Linga suggested to Magol that they join forces and subjugate the enemy together. Even though Magol was pleased with this suggestion, he stressed that as newcomers to the region, the Dutch were still strangers to the inhabitants of Pimaba. The suspicions nurtured by the inhabitants towards the Dutch possibly explained a dispute which occurred among them after the Dutchmen entered Pimaba. Not surprisingly, the people of Pimaba did not yet trust the Dutch with whom they had just concluded peace under the threat that war would be declared if they did not do so. Faced with Magol's reluctance, Van Linga decided to set off with his troops and left three Dutchmen and a Chinese behind in Pimaba to work on reaching a better mutual understanding.

On the way back to Tayouan by the same route, the power relationship between the Dutch and the Formosan villages was totally transformed as the result of the Dutch expedition to Pimaba. More victuals, pigs, dried venison, and liquor were now obtained from the several villages which had heard about the Dutch victory over Tawaly and the peace treaty with Pimaba.[63] Not only did the Lowaen and Patsaban allies of the Dutch contributed victuals, now some nearby mountain inhabitants also appeared to meet the troops. Even though Van Linga thanked them for their courtesy and politely declined their offerings, they insisted on carrying their victuals for the Dutch to the next stop. This time Van Linga did not reciprocate the contributions of the people of Lowaen, Patsaban and the mountain inhabitants with any rewards as he had done on the way to Pimaba.

When the Dutch passed Tawaly, the chief ('*regent*') sued for peace with them. Van Linga agreed on the condition that the people of Tawaly presented a coconut palm or pinang tree seedling planted in a pot, a symbolic token which the Dutch had demanded from the Formosans as an act of submission of their land to the States-General. The chief promised to do so provided that he could find a plant and a pot in the ashes of his village burned down by the troops. Notably, Tawaly, although the first village that was destroyed by the Dutch on the way to the east, was the first village to be requested to offer this symbolic token, while no such gesture was demanded of Lonckjouw and Pimaba.[64] In addition, the Dutch set a condition for rebuilding the village of Tawaly: the

[63] The following description is also from 'Extract from the Dagregister of Johan Jurriaensz. van Linga, Captain of Zeelandia garrison on his voyage to Pimaba, 22 January-12 February 1638'. Ibid. 167-203.

[64] By May of 1638, Pimaba and these villages presented the seedlings of coconut palms or pinang trees

villagers had to promise to behave 'obediently' towards the Dutch and also towards Lonckjouw. Hence, the events at Tawaly transformed the Dutch exploration for gold into a substantial territorial expansion. The subjugation of Tawaly also indicated that the authority of Lonckjouw now reached to the eastern coast of Formosa. Lonckjouw's alliance with the Dutch demonstrated how Dutch friendship might provide the local rulers with more prestige, and that the Dutch simultaneously became a new power in the regions.

Dutch adventurer in the east

Among the Dutchmen left behind in Pimaba by Lieutenant Johan Jeuriaensz van Linga in 1638 was a Swedish Junior Surgeon Maerten Wesselingh.[65] From that point, Wesselingh became the principal correspondent of the Company in Pimaba who recorded further fundamental investigations in this new region.[66] Wesselingh functioned, Van Diemen declared, as a 'capable instrument' in the gold explorations and was known as 'the adventurer' among the Company servants.[67]

As a man-on-the-spot, Wesselingh developed a close relationship with the local nobility of Pimaba and became the arbitrator between the people of Pimaba and the Tayouan authorities. In August and September 1638, he accompanied a brother of Magol, named Redout, to Tayouan in order to ratify the peace treaty which had been concluded the February before. Governor Van der Burch again organized a display of political pomp and circumstance for these remote allies, similar to that to which the Lonckjouw nobility had been treated, so that they too would spread the fame of Dutch prowess after they returned to Pimaba.[68] This aim was achieved and induced another nobleman, also a brother of Redout, named Peremonij, alias Poulus, to go to Tayouan to see 'this city of legend' with his own eyes.[69]

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to Junior Merchant Wesselingh as token of submission of their land to the Company.

[65] Before arriving in Formosa, Wesselingh had served the Company in Japan from 1635 to 1636. While in Japan, Wesselingh cured the disease of Phesodonne, namely Suetsugu Heizo. When he suffered a relapse, Suetsugu Heizo later requested Governor-General Anthonio van Diemen to send Wesselingh back to Japan in 1637. Wesselingh also won the reputation of being able to make various kinds of wine in Japan. *See DB*, Japanese edition, I, 321.

[66] *DZ* I-K: 462.

[67] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 254-5, 264. Wesselingh managed to explore the northern coastal area close to the territory of the Spaniards and planned to go on an expedition to a village in the north, which was said to produce gold (*DB*, Dec. 1640). The expedition was carried out in January 1641 (*DB*, Jan. 1641; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 262). In February 1641, Wesselingh went as far as half a day's journey northwards from Quelang. He met some people with gold ornaments which were said to be made by a certain mountain people who repulsed any visits by outsiders to their region (*Formosan Encounter*, II, 270-3). Wesselingh has captured the attention of his contemporaries and also that of modern historical researchers, as an active, energetic, indefatigable personality. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 183; *Formosan Encounter*, II, pp. xiii-xiv.

[68] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 207-8; *DZ* I-K: 491. It seemed that they also discussed how to contact Linauw. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 212-15.

[69] Persuaded by Wesselingh, Peremonij visited Tayouan in 1639. Because the villagers of Pimaba might worry about the long absence of their headman, Wesselingh had to request the authorities in Tayouan to

After acquiring knowledge about the local situation, Wesselingh offered information about six gold-rich villages: Linauw, Tacciraya, Palan, Ullebecan, Rabath, and Daracop. Their villagers were said to wear golden ornaments and their weapons were also decorated with gold.[70] Governor Van der Burch forwarded this newly gathered piece of information to the Amsterdam Chamber on 18 November 1638.[71] Moreover, Wesselingh collected three different explanations of how gold was extracted: some said that gold was carried in the stream of the Danau River; others believed that heavy rains washed gold down from the mountain slope; or that gold was actually dug out of mines in the mountains.

Although Wesselingh had planned to investigate the route to Ullebacan, the authorities in Tayouan ordered him to examine Linauw instead.[72] On his trip to Linauw, the Tayouan authorities suggested Wesselingh call in the assistance of Magol and negotiate peace with the people of Linauw on behalf of the Company. By November 1638, Wesselingh had twice tried to reach Linauw with the villagers of Pimaba, but both attempts failed. Wesselingh therefore proposed a bold but risky strategy to the Governor, as Van der Burch describes in a letter to the Amsterdam Chamber:

> When the Linauw warriors would come towards them, and the Pimaba men would scramble away, he [Wesselingh], together with the five soldiers who accompanied him, would stand still and throw some little beads or other trinkets to them. In this way Wesselingh meant to soothe their anger after which they might listen to him.[73]

Because there was a risk that Wesselingh's plan might cause the people of Linauw to believe that the Dutch supported Pimaba, Van der Burch suggested to Wesselingh that he should pose as a neutral party who would act as an arbitrator of peace between Linauw and Pimaba. Hampered by the lack of soldiers to accompany any further expeditions, the authorities in Tayouan were inclined to follow this diplomatic approach for the time being.[74]

In March 1639, the Governor finally requested a considerable force from Batavia to explore the gold region. But without waiting for this reinforcement, Wesselingh decided to lead 600 villagers of Pimaba to Linauw for the third time on 25 March. This undertaking failed again as the villagers of Pimaba would not continue their journey to Linauw, claiming that they had been visited by bad omens in dreams and had heard them in the singing of birds.[75] Wesselingh believed the villagers of Pimaba resorted to this

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send their guests back as soon as possible. *See DZ* I-L: 698, 700, 702; *DZ* II-E: 294.

[70] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 203-6. Wesselingh submitted a list with names of villages and the number of warriors in the region around Pimaba. He reported a total of seventy-one villages and 19,650 warriors as well as the precise location of these villages and also their affiliation with the neighbouring villages. In December 1639, when Commissioner Nicolaes Couckebacker went on his tour of inspection to Tonking and Formosa, Wesselingh's efforts were included in Couckebacker's list of villages in Formosa. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 243.

[71] Ibid. 212-15. The six villages here were: Linauw, Rabath, Rangenas, Sakircia, Ellebeen, and Tiroo.

[72] *DZ* I-K: 473.

[73] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 212-15. Quotation is from 214.

[74] Ibid.

[75] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 227; *DZ* I-K: 678-9. On 12 June, Wesselingh again proposed going to Linauw.

pretence because they were mortally afraid of the people of Linauw.[76]

Determined to overcome the difficulties of communication with the people of Linauw, Governor Van der Burch sent Sergeant Jurriaen Smith to visit two nearby villages, Kinadauan and Boenoch, which were said to maintain a friendly relationship with Linauw. At the same time, Wesselingh was ordered to remain in Pimaba and learn the language because that could guarantee good relations with the villagers.[77] This time, things took a different turn. Either Wesselingh had lost patience with the indirect strategy pursued by the Tayouan authorities or the warriors of Pimaba had perceived good omens. Whatever the case, by 3 February 1640, Wesselingh and twelve Company soldiers led a considerable number of warriors from Pimaba and nearby villages to Linauw. Governor Traudenius' letter to Governor-General Van Diemen sums up the outcome of this action:

> When they appeared in front of Linauw and came upon a crowd of villagers, Wesselingh, by putting his weapons down on the ground and making other friendly gestures, indicated that he came with peaceful intentions. However this fell on deaf ears to those savage people who started throwing stones and (if you will forgive me for saying) displayed their behinds while making beating gestures, so that they were not willing to listen. Not willing to suffer this affront, Wesselingh together with his Pimaba braves so courageously charged the enemy that he was able to take about four- or five hundred heads and nine captives (women as well as children) of the mentioned Linauw people.[78]

This raid seemed to have effectuated the above-mentioned 'bold but risky strategy' carried out by Wesselingh on his own initiative. Even though Wesselingh had understood the necessity to control the hostilities between the villagers of Pimaba and Linauw, the result was a massacre.[79] Killing on a massive scale in the east was still very much a possibility among the fierce rivals in this area. Compared to the populations of large-sized villages on the south-west plain which ranged from 800 to just over 1,000, there were about 800-1,000 warriors in Pimaba alone without taking the number of its allies into account.[80] More warriors on the battlefield meant more intensive warfare. But what was the reason which led to such deadly result? The situation in Linauw was different from that of Lonckjouw and Pimaba. It seemed that no Chinese had yet

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He suggested that 300 soldiers should arrive in Pimaba around December after the harvest season in order to collect enough victuals and to curb the hostility between the villagers of Pimaba and Linauw. But the Tayouan authorities rejected his proposition (*DZ* I-L: 700-1).

[76] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 239-43.

[77] Ibid. More approaches from the perspective of similarity in local languages failed. In December, the Dutch also tried to contact the people of Palang who lived in the territory of Linauw and could speak the language of Linauw through the mediation of people of another village, Mornos, who commanded the Palang tongue (*DZ* I-M: 42). However, the Dutch found out that these pieces of information were inaccurate. The languages of Palang and Linauw were not mutually intelligible.

[78] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 250-4. The quotation is from 253. The date of the subjugation of Linauw is uncertain. The letter records Wesselinh's arrival at Tayouan after the war. Also *see DZ* I, p. 495. Traudenius became Governor of Tayouan on 14 March 1640. *See DZ* I-M: 50.

[79] It is hard to grasp the actual number of inhabitants of Linauw. The related data spoke only of a large number and included all six gold-rich villages. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 206.

[80] On the population in the south-west, *see* Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 42. On the number of warriors in Pimaba, *see Formosan Encounter*, II, 205 and Peter Kang, 'Inherited Geography: Post-national History and the Emerging Dominance of Pimaba in East Taiwan', *THR*, 12 (2005), 1-33 at 8.

penetrated the region of Linauw, and no Chinese interpreter could serve to mediate between the Dutch and the people of Linauw. Deprived of any means of oral communication, Wesselingh tried to use gestures to show his peaceful intention.[81] Obviously sign language was inadequate as a proper means of communication. Therefore, it was suggested that the captives might be the key to future communication with the Linauw people.[82]

The authorities in Batavia, chief among them Governor-General Van Diemen considered the victory over Linauw as an opening to the source of gold.[83] Among the loot from the war with Linauw were some gold objects. Wesselingh observed that the inhabitants wore large flattened pieces of gold on their chest and arms. After this war, about 14 *maas* of gold was sent to Governor Traudenius and forwarded as a sample to Batavia, where it was melted into a nugget of 18 carats. As a result, Van Diemen unrealistically expected to receive more Formosan gold—the exceptional quantity of 14 *pikuls* was mentioned.[84]

Death of an exemplary Company servant

Following in the footsteps of Van Linga, Wesselingh also extended the Company territory by demanding that local villages submit seedling trees in pots as tokens of the transference of their land to the hands of the Dutch authorities. In March 1638, after Van Linga had left Pimaba for Tayouan, Wesselingh visited three villages to the north of Pimaba, Sakiraya (Tacciraya), Ullaban (Ullebecan), and Daracop.[85] Two Dutch soldiers were stationed in the village of Daracop. Even though they were well treated, the villagers were curious about the motive of their sojourn. Having been informed by a certain woman who was accompanying the Dutch as an interpreter that the Dutch were only chasing after gold, the chief of Daracop summoned all the villagers to contribute all their treasure which was given to the Dutch soldiers: three baskets of deerskins, beads, shells, headbands, and thin plates of gold. The soldiers refused to accept these and the baskets were left hanging under the roof of the chief's house.[86] In March 1641, Wesselingh again visited Daracop. The following is from a summary of Governor Traudenius' report to the High Government in Batavia:

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[81] However, 'putting the weapon down' was not the worldwide *lingua franca*. It could only have been an assumption of Wesseling and Traudenius, namely a 'civilized' communication. Hence Traudenius labelled the inhabitants 'savage people' with whom no communication was possible.

[82] Van der Burch urged Wesselingh, even though he was not particularly interested, to 'exert all his strength to try to learn the Linauw language from the imprisoned women and to make inquiries' about the location of gold-mines (*Formosan Encounter*, II, 250-4).

[83] As Van Diemen said that, 'the adversity the insolent Linauw people met with, and the fact that they lost about four or five hundred heads, is very unfortunate, yet it contributes to the Company great reputation. God willing, we will eventually gain access to the long-searched for gold sites' (Ibid. 255).

[84] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 250-5.

[85] *DZ* I-K: 473, 465.

[86] *DB*, Apr. 1641; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 264.

> Upon his arrival, Wesselingh had reprimanded the villagers and explained to them that the Company wanted nothing but their friendship and that they should submit themselves and their lands to the Dutch States. By means of a symbolic confirmation he only requested each village to present two baskets in which a small coconut [tree] and a pinang tree were planted. When his wish was granted by the villagers, he accepted the baskets on the condition that they would behave themselves loyally. They, in their turn, could from now on count on the Company's protection. In return he presented the headmen with some gifts like textiles, beads and needles, for which they gratefully thanked him.[87]

The native interpreter had indicated Dutch intentions, since Daracop was among the six renowned gold-rich villages. By sacrificing their treasures, the villagers attempted to satisfy Dutch desires and expected the Dutchmen to leave, but Wesselingh salvaged this difficult situation by turning it into a rite of loyalty to the States-General. Whether or not the people of Daracop comprehended the meaning of this symbolic rite, the replacement of three baskets of treasure by two baskets of plants and other gifts must have soothed the minds of the upset villagers.

While they were in search of gold in these areas, the Company merchants never failed to expand the deerskin trade. In 1636, when Caylouangh made his sightseeing trip in Tayouan, Governor Putmans had already referred to the deerskin trade between Lonckjouw and the Dutch. After treaties with Lonckjouw and Pimaba were concluded, the Company extended its business into these areas. In March 1639, Tartar promised to trade whole goatskins with the Dutch in the village of Dolaswack. Large numbers of deerskins were collected in the areas of Lonckjouw and Pimaba and sent to Tayouan.[88] Promoted to the rank of junior merchant, Wesselingh was put in charge of this business and urged Chinese traders to hand over the skins collected.[89]

Tensions mounted between the local Chinese and the Dutch. In April 1639, a Chinese arrived from Lonckjouw to report that the villagers of Tawaly or Lowaen and some Chinese had conspired to kill Wesselingh on 31 March. On 7 May, Corporal Wendel Poppe was then sent to the south to investigate the alleged murder. However, on the following day, Wesselingh suddenly arrived in Tayouan from Pimaba. He said that another conflict had occurred in Pimaba. Because some Chinese had persecuted the villagers in the name of the Dutch, the villagers had killed these Chinese.[90] The rumour spread about Wesselingh's death may have been an indication that Dutch competition in the trade with the local Formosans annoyed Chinese traders. In April 1641, Chinese were no longer allowed to trade in Pimaba without permission. In May, Wesselingh reported that some Chinese had incited the villagers of Pimaba to resist the Company. The Tayouan authorities therefore ordered all the Chinese on the east coast to resettle near

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87 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 264 Abstract.

88 *DZ* I-H: 423; *DZ* I-L: 664. For example, on 22 June 1639, a junk arrived in Tayouan from Pimaba with a cargo of deerskins and goatskins. *See DZ* I-L: 700.

89 By April 1639, Wesselingh had contracted Chinese traders to obtain more skins. In September 1639, Governor Van der Burch instructed Wesselingh that he 'should furthermore see to it that all the deerskins, chamois skins and elkskins are transported via Lonckjouw and delivered safely in Tayouan.' *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 239-43.

90 *DZ* I-L: 682-4.

Tayouan.[91]

The death of Wesselingh was again announced to the Tayouan authorities in September 1641. But this time the news was confirmed and had nothing to do with the Chinese. Collecting bamboo for repairs to the Company house in Pimaba, Wesselingh had visited seven villages: Tammalaccouw, Nicabon, Kipos, Pinabaton, Bacanca, Lappa Lappa, and Depoij. On 12 September, a Dutch soldier reported to the Tayouan authorities that the villagers of Tammalaccauw and Nicabon had beaten Wesselingh and his companions to death. The reason for the murder was unknown.[92] Governor Traudenius immediately proposed to punish the perpetrators of the crime, the people of Tammalaccouw.

First punitive expedition to the east

On 11 January 1642, Governor Traudenius personally led 353 men (225 Company soldiers, 110 Chinese, and eighteen slaves from Java and Quinam) on the first punitive expedition to the east.[93] His aim was not only to punish the villagers of Tammalaccouw but also to carry out further investigations into the gold sites—Sibilien and Tackilis—which Wesselingh had discovered before his death.[94] On 22 January, the Company troops arrived at Pimaba. Here they were informed that the villagers of Tammalaccouw had murdered Wesselingh and the others in a fit of drunken rage. As they marched on their way, the troops and their Pimaba allies were waylaid by the warriors of Tammalaccouw. The next day, the village of Tammalaccouw, which was situated in the mountains, was razed to the ground. After this devastation, Governor Traudenius sternly forbade the villagers to rebuild their village on the same site.

After retribution had been exacted, the Dutch soldiers continued their exploratory expedition for gold. Traudenius and his men marched towards the north and passed the village of Sibilien on 4 February. Soon, they ran into some 400 warriors from eight nearby mountain villages. These people pretended to invite the Dutch to visit their villages, but attacked the troops when they entered a deep gorge. Traudenius then abandoned the plan of investigating Tackilis, Linauw, and Tamsuy and decided to return to Tayouan through the mountains of Tacabul. On the way back, the Dutch troops passed Vadan and were welcomed by the local chief. Two Dutch soldiers were left behind in the village to learn the local language.

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91 *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 119; *DB*, Dec. 1641.

92 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 270-4; *DZ* II, p.7. The Reverend Junius lost no time reporting the death of Wesselingh to Governor-General Van Diemen. Later, Governor Traudenius also reported it to Batavia and the Netherlands. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 266-74.

93 For the description of this punitive expedition, *see DB*, May 1642; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 281-2.

94 In March 1641, Wesselingh visited Supra to conclude a peace treaty with seven other villages: Patcheral (Patsiral); Matdakij; Tangosaupangh; Wouwe; Caratoet; Silaetoe; and Tatock. The inhabitants told him that the gold ornaments they wore were obtained from the villagers of Sibilien (Sivilien) and Tackilis (Taculis). *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 274; *DZ* II, p. 6. Wesselingh had also brought back some gold that was said to have originated from the mountain named Carruare (*DB*, Apr. 1641).

Before Traudenius' return to Tayouan, delegates from Tammalaccouw came to see him and pleaded for peace. Their request was granted. According to these delegates, Wesselingh and his men who were in a drunken stupor had insulted a local old woman. Since this was a breach of the local custom, some villagers had flown into a fit of rage and killed them.[95] Such an alleged motive for the murder seems quite plausible in a society which valued women and seniority, a fact to be extrapolated from modern ethnographical evidence.[96] This incident may well have occurred in a state of inebriation when the Company men and villagers were bantering, eating, and drinking together after they had gathered the bamboo needed. Whether Governor Traudenius accepted this explanation or not, the delegates of Tammalaccouw were told to submit themselves to Pimaba—the pillar of Dutch power in the east.

[95] The original text: '…*door Wesselingh saliger, met de zijne mede beschoncken wesende, seeckere oude vrouwe was geaffronteert, dat tegens haer wet street, dienvolgende 't onheijl op hem selfs geladen hadde*'. *See DB*, 1641-1642, 149.

[96] The inhabitants of Tammalaccauw and Nicabon belong to the Puyuma ethnic group. Even though scholars still debate whether Puyuma kinship is matrilineal, cognatic, or non-unilineal, old women enjoy a high social status in the society which presents uxorial local residence and male age grades. *See* Chen Chi-lu, 'Age Organization and Men's House'; Ferrell, *Taiwan Aboriginal Groups*; Chen Wen-te 陳文德, 'Ch'in shu' tao ti shih shê mo?: i kê Pei-nan tsu chü lo te li tzu'「親屬」到底是什麼？：一個卑南族聚落的例子 [What is 'Kinship' All About?— A Case Study of a Puyuma Settlement, Eastern Taiwan], *BIE* 87 (1999), 1-39.

CHAPTER SIX

CONQUEST, CONTEST, AND CONNECTION

Since the fifteenth century, Spanish global expansion had provided a textbook example of the pursuit of gold.[1] For instance, the Spanish 'discovery' of the Igorot people in northern Luzon in the Philippines occurred simply as part of an exploratory expedition in search of gold.[2] Rumours about the existence of gold in Formosa also reached the ears of the Spaniards. The Dutch thought that the Spaniards had stolen a march on them by laying their hands on the gold before they had when they heard the latter were said to have appeared in a certain gold-producing village situated in the high mountains outside the Spanish territory.[3] Nevertheless, Formosa did not become a competitive arena for gold since the Spaniards were not even involved in the gold trade between the Formosans and the Chinese.[4]

The Dutch conquest of Spanish Formosa in the north of the island turned a new page in the history of gold exploration. It allowed the Dutch to explore gold-sites from Quelang and Tamsuy to the east through Cavalangh. In their eagerness to acquire gold, the Dutch authorities pacified Formosan tribal villages in order to link Tayouan with the remote north-east, paying particular attention to the mysterious gold village, Taraboan. However, the painstaking search proved fruitless when the Dutch finally unveiled the truth about Taraboan. Urging the Tayouan authorities to come down to earth and face reality, the Gentlemen Seventeen stressed that: 'The Company's true silver- and gold-mine is the China and Japan trade.'[5]

Demise of the Spanish regime

Fifteen years after the Spanish established themselves at Manila in 1571, the Governor of the Philippines suggested further expeditions to and the pacification of at least twelve other islands including Isla Formosa (Hermosa).[6] This project was taken more seriously

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1 Such a desire for gold dominated their encounters with the Caribbean Indians. *See* Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*: *Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 75.

2 William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1974).

3 *DZ* I-L: 678-9.

4 *DZ* II-C: 271-3.

5 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 209.

6 As a result of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, which fixed a line of demarcation in the Atlantic, the Portuguese had been active in the Indian Ocean, while the Spaniards were mainly engaged in Central and South America. Nevertheless, the Spaniards made efforts to compete with the Portuguese in the spice trade in Maluku. Although by the Treaty of Saragossa in 1529, the Spaniards had ceded all their claims to the Spice Islands to the Portuguese, a Spanish expedition made a landfall on Cebu in the Visayas region in the

after dawned on the Spaniards the strategic position of Formosa as 'China's trading gate'.[7] This also led to their awareness of the abundant resources of Formosa. It was even said that sticks of the nutmeg tree were found in the firewood collected by the local people. Such rumours nurtured the Spanish dream of a spice trade in Formosa. If the Spaniards could take Formosa, this would also enable them to open up a lucrative trade not only with China, but also with Cochin China, Siam, Cambodia, and Japan.[8] The establishment of the Dutch settlement in south-west Formosa in 1624 galvanized the Spaniards into taking steps to protect the Chinese and Spanish shipping plying between the Philippines and China.[9] The Spanish occupation of northern Formosa was a strategic move made in reaction to the Dutch menace.

It was not long before the decision to conquer the island triggered a debate in Spain. In 1626, the proposed conquest was justified by a religious imperative and supported by the burgeoning legacy of civilization. The Spaniards saw it as their 'divine duty' to propagate the Gospel in all parts of the world, and to unify the natives who should link up with other nations as members of the international community on the basis of the *ius gentium* (human law).[10] It was believed that if the Spaniards strove sincerely to demonstrate their good intentions towards the natives, they would be permitted to build a fort to offer the Spanish soldiers protection. They in turn could guard the missionaries. In May 1626, the Spaniards arrived in Quelang and started to build Fort San Salvador, on Quelang Island, present-day Hoping Tao. Two years later they occupied Tamsuy and built the redoubt of St Domingo there.[11]

Nevertheless, after one decade of occupation, the Spaniards admitted they had experienced unexpected frustrations in Formosa. First, their dreams of setting up trade with China were dashed. It was said that so far no more than 2,000 pesos had been earned from this trade. Second, after several Spanish priests were murdered by local people, the Spanish High Government in the Philippines drew the conclusion that it was impossible to convert the natives. Third, adversely affected by the local climate in northern Formosa, many Spaniards died and more people from Pampanga Province in

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central Philippines in 1565, and set up a base there. Manila was the next step. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, p. viii; Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire*, 42, 199-202.

[7] In 1589, the King ordered the new Governor of the Philippines to pacify Formosa in order to promote 'the welfare of local heathen natives and the safety of the Spaniards'. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 17. For the 'justification' for occupying Formosa, *see Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 21-61 and José Eugenio Borao, 'The "Justification" of the Spanish Intrusion in Taiwan in 1626', paper represented at the Conference of the Spanish in Taiwan, 2003. About 'China's trading gate', *see Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 43.

[8] For the information about the land and the Spanish dream of the spice trade in Formosa, *see Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 40-7.

[9] Ibid. 57. From that time, the Dutch became even more zealously engaged in privateering against the Spanish shipping and cut off the trade between China and Manila. In 1624, only one small boat was able to dock in the port of Ilocos because of the Dutch privateering. Consequently, the citizens of Manila could not acquire a single piece of clothing.

[10] Ibid. 59-61; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 136.

[11] About the conquest of northern Formosa, *see Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 71-2 and Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 51. The construction of fort, *see* Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 72, 139. For the outline of the Spanish presence in northern Taiwan, *see* José Eugenio Borao, 'Spanish Presence in Taiwan, 1626-1642', 國立台灣大學歷史學系學報/*Bulletin of the Department of History*, *National Taiwan University*, 17 (1992), 315-30.

the Philippines had to be recruited for the garrison which had numbered around 500 men at the beginning of occupation. In late 1637, the Spaniards demolished the redoubt in Tamsuy and concentrated all their military power in Quelang. The following year, some Chinese came to Tayouan and reported to the Dutch that the Spanish had almost taken their departure from Quelang.[12] The Dutch did not act immediately but waited until the time was ripe for expelling the Spanish from northern Formosa. In August 1642, after besieging Quelang for five days, Captain Hendrik Harrouzee commanding some 700 soldiers and sailors forced the remaining 330 Spaniards and Pampangans to surrender. In March 1644, the fort of San Salvador was rebaptized North Holland and the round redoubt on top of the mountain was given the name Victoria. In Tamsuy, the construction of a new redoubt, Antonio, was began and finished by the end of 1645.[13]

Formosan encounters after the conquest

Terror of new conquerors

The expulsion of the Spaniards presented the Dutch with a twofold task. In the 1630s, they became aware that gold was either being excavated or found in Cavalangh, one of the three provinces under the Spanish rule then known as Cabaran in north-east Formosa. The others were Turoboan (Taraboan) in the east and Tamsuy in the north.[14] Even though the rumours about the existence of Formosan gold had also reached Spanish ears, despite their fame as gold-hunters in the New World, the Spaniards had not initiated any exploration to trace the source of the Formosan gold on a large scale. In contrast, the Dutch wondered how they could get hold of this virtually untouched treasure. After long deliberations, Governor-General Antonio van Diemen sent Commander Johannes Lamotius to Formosa with an expeditionary force from Batavia to expel the Spanish. Yet, before the arrival of Lamotius, news of the victory of Captain Harrouzee had already reached Tayouan. Even so, the Tayouan authorities decided to abide by the original instruction from Batavia and dispatched Lamotius and his army to northern Formosa.[15] Lamotius' journey to northern Formosa stimulated new explorations and initiated new Dutch-Formosan encounters. This time, the local people of the north were confronted with another colonizer and the Dutch for their part faced Formosans who had already lived under the rule of other Europeans for sixteen years.

After the conquest, several headmen from the regions of Tamsuy and Quelang came

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[12] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 256, 263, 266, 277-8; *DZ* II-E: 305; Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 31.

[13] Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu*, 32; *DZ* II-E: 287-8; *DZ* II-C: 309, *DZ* II-G: 695. Most of the fort of San Salvador was torn down after the conquest. *See* Murakami Naojirō, 'Chi-lung te hung mao ch'êng chih' 基隆的紅毛城址 [The Site of the Ang-mo Castle at Kelang], tr. Hsu Hsien-yao 許賢瑤, 臺北文獻/*Taipei Historical Documents Committee* 117 (1996 [1931]): 127-38 at 132.

[14] *DZ* I-H: 407; José Eugenio Borao, 'The Aborigines of Northern Taiwan According to 17th-Century Spanish Sources', 臺灣史田野研究通訊/*Taiwan shih t'ien yeh yen chiu t'ung hsün*, 27 (1993), 98-120 at 117.

[15] *GM*, 12 Dec. 1642, 238.

to visit the Dutch at the fort in Quelang and asked for the flag of the Prince of Orange. These delegates were told that they would be welcomed as Dutch allies on condition that they agreed on the following four articles: (1) the local villages had to transfer their land voluntarily to the Dutch; (2) they should not wage war against the Company and its allies; (3) they were expected to assist the Company in fighting against local rebellious people, and in return the Company would also protect them against their enemies; (4) they should return all the runaway freemen or slaves to the Company settlements. After concluding this treaty, representatives of the allies would have to meet the Dutch every three months.[16]

In September 1642, the Dutch were ready to march to the gold-mines which were said to be situated on the other side of the island near the Bay of Catinunum (St Laurens) in the region of Cavalangh. Approaching both land and water, the troops should meet at the bay. But owing to difficulties met on the overland route along the coast, the troops had to stop half way, at the village of Caguinauaran (Caquiuanuan, Kiwannoan), also called Santiago by the Spaniards or St Jago by the Dutch.[17] St Jago was one of the Basay villages which had acknowledged the articles of the peace treaty. While Lamotius and his troops remained at St Jago, he seemed to have no qualms that the villagers would follow his orders. Nevertheless, the villagers seemed to be unwilling to supply food, in fact even selling their foodstuffs to soldiers at double the normal price. The villagers also broke their promise and failed to bring victuals to the Dutch troops on their return march. After the troops were back in Quelang, the same villagers were accused of keeping a runaway slave hidden. Lamotius therefore decided to teach St Jago a lesson.[18]

St Jago was not the only place in need of some discipline Lamotius thought. He had also decided to capture ten to twelve inhabitants from each village since the locals were resisting the Dutch in their own ways. His plan was not an overwhelming success as only villagers of Kimaurij were captured. The killing of the runaway slave was the prelude to the visitation of further punishments. In October 1642, six captives were hanged. Among them was the son of St Jago's headman, because he refused to supply victuals to the Dutch on behalf of his sick father. The headman who ruled both Kimaurij and Tapparij was also sentenced to death since he had not obeyed Dutch order. Lamotius later appointed a local interpreter, Theodore, headman of Kimaurij and Tapparij.[19] One was even condemned to death by drawing lots. These stern sentences struck terror among the inhabitants. When Lamotius arrived in Tamsuy, some villages came to request peace simply because they were afraid, but the nearby village of Chinaar was left standing empty, as its people had fled away with all their belongings.[20]

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16 *DZ* II-B: 659-60; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 326-7 (indicating seven articles); *DZ* II-B: 660, *DZ* II-C: 308, 329.

17 *DZ* II-B: 658-9, 661-6. Lamotius excused the decision to stop the exploration to Cavalangh by saying that they came only to assure the loyalty of local people and this was confirmed by the behaviour of the villagers in St Jago. It would be no need to go farther into the Cavalangh region.

18 *DZ* II-B: 663-5, 669.

19 Ibid., fos. 669-71. In this way, the Dutch supported their own native affiliates, helping them to achieve leadership, establish their authority in local politics, and set an example to the disobedient villagers.

20 *DZ* II-B: 670, 673-4.

Protection and authority

After Lamotius returned to Tayouan in November 1642, Lieutenant Thomas Pedel became commander of the Tamsuy region under the authority of Sergeant-Major Harrouzee in Quelang.[21] In December, Pedel set out on a journey to the upstream region of the Tamsuy River. He received a continuous stream of local complaints about Lamotius' past conduct. The Formosans shrewdly argued in a very 'converted' way by asking: 'Is Lamotius a Christian?' In contrast, they said that they would treat Harrouzee as their 'father' because he treated them in a just manner.[22] Pedel himself appeared to be a very popular figure among the inhabitants. Whenever he neglected to visit some villages, the villagers would inquire whether Pedel saw them as 'bastards', namely people not worthy to be seen.[23] Here the Formosans clearly identified and discriminated between individual Dutchmen and their different personalities without treating them as an indivisible whole. They were very well aware of which Dutch individual could offer them safety.

Colonial power inequality was again represented in kinship terms. Compared with another binary opposition, 'father and son' in the case of the south-west plains, the local usage of father and 'bastard' symbolized closeness rather than obedience. But here the Dutch feudal father's protection now was superimposed on the Spanish religious Father's protection and seemed to be evoke memories of past relations with a Spanish Roman Catholic 'Father'. From a practical point of view, for the locals having a priest in their midst meant receiving protection and being free of potential Spanish violence.[24] Therefore, not unnaturally, they wanted to have a priest of their own. When the leader of Lietsock (the Dutch Litsock) had witnessed Father Jacinto Esquivel rescue some native prisoners from Spanish soldiers, he said: 'Is this a priest? Well, if the other leaders want one, then I, too, want a priest for my town.'[25]

It was no different from the request made by his more southerly Formosan counterparts, the Siraya, for a Dutch resident in their village during earlier encounters. Nevertheless, the northern Formosans displayed their own idiosyncratic characteristics. Kang has convincingly argued that the idea of the local people about having the Dominicans among them was to keep a power balance among the villages.[26] This elicits the question: how did the inhabitants perceive and represent 'power'? They seemed to recognize the symbolic significance of objects. Identification and discrimination for the sake of safety was an example showing local 'fetish formations' at this stage at which

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[21] Ibid., fos. 678-80.

[22] *DZ* II-C: 316-25.

[23] Ibid., fos. 316-25, 329.

[24] Spanish acts of violence such as killing, sexual assault, and destruction of houses, crops, and ships is derived from what was said by the ruler of Ratsecan. *See* Ibid., fos. 318-19.

[25] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 182. Another example is from Esquivel's sojourn in Taparri. The inhabitants were afraid of Esquivel's leaving because they believed that without a priest they could never be sure of what the Spaniards would do to them. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 181.

[26] Peter Kang, 'Lin tsai jên yü His-pan-ya jên' 林仔人與西班牙人 [Lin-Zai Villagers and the Spanish], paper presented at the Conference of the Spanish in Taiwan, 2003.

colonial encounters occurred in swift succession.[27] The northern Formosans were active in and good at communicating with the Dutch through the mediation of objects—but in their own way. During his journey in the region of Tamsuy, Pedel urged the villagers to dedicate their land as laid down in the articles. But now their motive for their appearance in Quelang was revealed. The headmen proclaimed that although they had appeared in Quelang and had received the Dutch prince's flag, they had not yet dedicated their land to the Dutch. They explained that they had done so simply because they were afraid, thinking that if they made an appearance and brought home the Dutch flag, their village would be free of the fear of an attack. This is why the *Dagregister* simply records that the Formosan delegates would not leave without a flag.[28] Obviously, the headmen had not fully comprehended the ritual of submission as this measured up to the Dutch expectations. In the eyes of the locals, the flag was a Dutch amulet to ward off attacks just as the presence of a Spanish Father in their village had been. Later when Pedel had no more flags to offer to the seemingly endless flow of delegates, they themselves asked for notes (*brieffkens*).[29] They were convinced that only the Dutch notes could guarantee their safety. To assure their security and maintain the power balance, every village resorted to the same means of support. The fashion in the competition for power was to possess symbolically powerful 'amulets'.

The Dutch authorities in Tamsuy demanded not only symbolic objects, they were after pragmatic assistance. To collect enough building materials for the fort, the Dutch imposed a quota of bamboo to be delivered by every village. Pedel also set up regulations of fines if the villages did not deliver their quota to the fort within a fixed period. Those who failed to do so had to give pigs. Rewards such as cloth, tobacco, and arrack were offered to those who shipped the bamboo to Tamsuy punctually.[30] This request, whether it could be interpreted as a covert act of exploitation of Formosan labour or not, disturbed local society. The village of Litsock was asked to deliver at least 2,000 pieces of bamboo. In April 1643, Pedel did not allow the villagers to gather mussels along the seashore but ordered them to collect 500 pieces of bamboo instead with their seven canoes. Penap, the chief of Litsock who commanded twelve villages along the Litsock River, was said to have been treated like a god by his villagers. When Pedel first met Penap on his journey to this area, the latter promised to become 'a friend of the Dutch' on the condition that the Dutch would not perpetrate violence on the villagers as the Spaniards had done. This powerful local ruler tried to assuage Pedel's rage by saying that the villagers just refused to listen to him, and asked Pedel's permission to divide their vessels into those which transported bamboo and those which gathered mussels. In the

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[27] The definition of fetish as an object endowed with exceptional power, *see* Roy Ellen, 'Fetishism', *Man* (N.S.), 23 (1988), 213-35. For symbol as a colonial communication, *see* Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America*: *The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper& Row Publishers, 1982). About 'fetish' in the colonial discourse, *see* Stephen Harold Riggins (ed.), *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994); Pels and Salemink (eds.), *Colonial Subjects*.

[28] *DZ* II-B: 660.

[29] *DZ* II-C: 312-13.

[30] Ibid., fos. 311, 316, 326.

end, he permitted more than half of the vessels to continue gathering mussels. Somehow or other he managed to deal with this Dutchman in an adroit diplomatic fashion and hence was able to protect the welfare of his people.[31]

The first demand stated in the articles, namely the transfer of land to the Dutch, disturbed local activities as well. Because it was in the sowing season, the headman of Masou, Peremoch, suspended this transfer ceremony as he was afraid that their god would ruin the rice crop. Pedel found this reason unacceptable. He threatened to burn down the whole village. Browbeaten, Peremoch came to 'contribute the land' within two days.[32] In this region, no matter how many or what kind of fruit trees the Formosans brought to the fort, the Dutch would invariably consider these as symbols of the transference of their land. In November 1642, delegates from Ponorouan and Marou brought several seedlings of such fruit trees as lemon, banana, and orange to plant on the ground around Fort Anthonio. The offering became a custom even though rain and wind easily wrought havoc on these symbols.[33] This practice certainly differed from the two pots with pinang and coconut seedlings in Formosan soil which the Dutch demanded from the villagers in other regions of Formosa.

It seems that the Tamsuy authorities recognized any kind of local tree, but not the local soil or the combination of the two as an indispensable element in this symbolic contribution of the land. This shift in focus presaged a forthcoming island-wide transformation of the Dutch demand for proofs of Formosan loyalty in the form of local produce—the so-called annual tribute (see Chapter Seven). As a sign of loyalty, tribute itself became not only a prerequisite for applying for membership of the Dutch-centred alliance, it also served as a punishment for 'rebellious' Formosan allies, for example, the case of the Favorlanghers.

Final blow on the Favorlanghers

In February 1642, the headmen of Favorlangh brought the skulls of three murdered Dutchmen, including Junior Merchant Hans Ruttens when they came to conclude a peace treaty with the Dutch. It was a fatal gesture as these skulls provoked the fourth punitive expedition led by Commander Johannes Lamotius. Because of a dearth of interpreters, after their sojourn in the regions of Tamsuy and Quelang, the return journey of Lamotius and his troops in November was by water to Favorlangh and then by overland route to Tayouan.[34] Lamotius unleashed a reign of terror on the Favorlangh region. At the mouth of the Poncan River, Lamotius publicly executed three Favorlangh people who were handed over by the headmen for the murder of the Dutchmen:

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31 Ibid., fos. 333, 318, 342.
32 Ibid., fo. 342.
33 Ibid., fos. 310-11, 327, 314.
34 *DZ* II-B: 678.

> After we had been informed extensively about everything the prisoners were at once tied to a stake and their right hands were chopped off … Next they were shot dead and subsequently their heads were cut off and put on poles while the bodies were left to rot.[35]

In the regions where headhunting raids were not rare, the terror inspired among the locals was not engendered by the corporal punishment, but because Lamotius resorted to such punishment which was alien to the Formosan practice of negotiation for ransom. According to Favorlangh custom, a pig served as compensation for a victim.[36]

This execution afterwards elicited more details of the murder: two principal inhabitants of Favorlangh and the inhabitants of Tackays had conspired with seven 'Favorlangh Chinese' to instigate the murder. Lamotius ordered these Favorlangh principals and 'Favorlangh Chinese' to be beheaded on the spot and their houses burned down.[37] Throughout the entire journey in the regions of Favorlangh and Tackays, Lamotius burned down nine more villages and killed thirty people, including eleven Chinese and nineteen Formosans. His harsh punishment eventually proved what he had mentioned in his letter to Governor Paulus Traudenius when he said that he would 'raise arms against the inhabitants and punish them in such a way that never again will they dare to behave themselves in such a rebellious fashion, or harm our people.'[38] Favorlangh by then separated into two parties of a pro- and an anti-Dutch group for whatever internal reasons and the latter fled to other villages. In November 1643, the representatives of the remaining Favorlanghers arrived in Tayouan to seek reconciliation with the Dutch authorities. These delegates were asked to pay an amount of paddy to the Company as an annual tribute, even though their fields had been burned to ashes.[39]

Weakening of centralized leadership

The Dutch authorities successfully appointed local headmen of big men society elders of their vassals. However, they also had to deal with individual power-holders in Formosa who controlled more villages and possessed more power, among them the ruler of Lonckjouw, the first centralized leadership which the Dutch had met on the island. Strategically located on the way to the east, Lonckjouw was inevitably associated with the Dutch gold exploration.

The punitive expedition of Traudenius to the east in 1642 for the murder of Wesselingh had yielded almost no results for the Dutch in terms of their search for

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35 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 329.

36 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect', 130. *See* more discussion in Chapter Seven.

37 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 329. In Happart's Favorlangh vocabulary, which was used to train Dutchmen in the language of Favorlangh, there is a sentence for Dutch learners to explain the burning of houses to the Favorlanghers: The Dutch have not burned down the whole village; they have picked out the disobedient (*Elli chinummar o bausje tapos ja assaban, inummadok chono kinummossi*). *See* 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect', 196.

38 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 341, 330.

39 Ibid. 351, 420.

precious metals.[40] Governor-General Van Diemen deemed that this expedition had been unsuccessful, because Governor Traudenius had abandoned his original plan to go all the way to the gold-production zone. This would seem to indicate that the authorities in Batavia considered the expedition as an exploration for gold rather than a punitive expedition. On account of this failure and other reasons, Governor Traudenius was ordered to return to Batavia and answer for his actions.[41]

Certainly, the expedition had not had an encouraging beginning. Two junks were wrecked when the Company troops arrived in the Bay of Lonckjouw, so that part of the food supplies was lost. In Lonckjouw, where Traudenius had hoped to make a stopover on his way to the east, the local chief, Tartar, not only refused to offer the Dutch any provisions, he was also not willing to join an expeditionary force to Tammalaccouw. Even though the Dutch and the Lonckjouw people had collaborated well in confronting Pimaba, it seems that Tartar was interested only in supporting a Dutch war against his own enemies but not against other people. When Traudenius left behind some Dutchmen in the village of Bangsoir (Vanghsor), a subordinate village of Lonckjouw, the chief and his men tried to attack them.[42] Hence, the image of Tartar and his people was tarnished by treachery and insolence:

> They did not act as friends but almost acted in a hostile manner, threatening after we had left (when they had taken some wine and arrack by force and had drunk themselves senseless) to decapitate senior helmsman Sijmon Cornelissen and his company.[43]

Although Van Diemen believed that Traudenius unjustly laid the blame for his failed expedition on Tartar, the people of Lonckjouw were charged with another murder, that of some Chinese fishermen who held Company licences, since the Dutch authorities permitted them to use fishing waters in the territory of Lonckjouw. Such politico-economic conflicts formed a bone of contention between the people of Lonckjouw and the Dutch. Tartar certainly did not intend to submit to the Dutch easily. The honeymoon of the Dutch and Lonckjouw was short-lived. The upshot was that Lonckjouw became the target of the next Dutch punitive expedition.[44]

This expedition was carried out in December 1642. Commander Johannes Lamotius led 300 soldiers to Pangsoya, where about 300 to 400 Formosan allies of Pangsoya and other villagers in the southern region joined the troops. In order to prevent Tartar from escaping to the east, the chief of Pimaba was to lead his warriors to attack the fleeing

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[40] In Supera, the Dutch witnessed a kind of red shiny stuff on the anvil of a blacksmith's forge. They were told that this red stuff was the remnants of the ornaments of the people of Taculis, who used to barter their ornaments of precious metal for the skin products of the people of Supera. In addition, the Dutch also obtained some crystal and alloy necklaces from the villages in the mountains of Tacabul. These discoveries interested Governor Traudenius because it seemed to indicate that red copper and yellow copper could also be found in Formosa (*DB*, May 1642).

[41] *GM*, 12 Dec. 1642, 232-3.

[42] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 332-9.

[43] Ibid. 336.

[44] *GM*, 12 Dec. 1642, 233; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 332-9.

people of Lonckjouw.[45] Lonckjouw was defeated by the Dutch-Formosan coalition attacking from both its western and eastern side. Five villages and their crops were burned, forty people were beheaded and seven others, including men, women, and youngsters were captured.[46] Surprisingly, these Lonckjouw captives just as the dispossessed Lameyans were sent to Batavia. Governor-General Van Diemen later praised these exiled people of Lonckjouw, saying that they were as diligent and active as the Lameyans. All of them were apprenticed to some trade. Batavia even requested more Lonckjouw people, including as many women as men be sent.[47] But Van Diemen's wishes went unheeded: The authorities in Tayouan chose to tackle Lonckjouw in a more diplomatic way. Tartar and Governor Traudenius concluded a peace treaty in Cangelangh, a village located at the foot of the mountains in the territory of Lonckjouw.[48]

After the expedition, the remaining people of Lonckjouw were split into two groups. Tartar now exerted authority over only five villages, and not the original sixteen villages of which eleven had ever subjected themselves to the Dutch authorities.[49] Some people, including Tartar himself, fled away and took refuge in the mountains; others spent some time in the nearby area of Pangsoya.[50] Tartar and his followers later returned to Dalaswack. His brother, Caylouangh, who had shown a friendly attitude towards the Dutch since 1636, split with Tartar and became the leader of the group in the vicinity of Pangsoya. In October, Caylouangh arrived at Tayouan to request peace with the Dutch authorities. He argued that he had not participated in the hostile action against the Dutch and that he wished to live in peace with them. To show his willingness to submit, Caylouangh promised to pay the Dutch authorities an annual tribute. His request was granted and he himself was appointed head of his group.[51]

Competition for power between the two brothers now intensified. Caylouangh had gained authority after the defeat of Tartar, and the Dutch authorities had high hopes of winning Caylouangh and his followers over to their side.[52] On 7 April 1644, the Southern *Landdag*, an annual ritual initiated by the Dutch, offered a good occasion and a fine stage on which to manipulate this divide and rule strategy. Because he was informed too late, Tartar could not make his way to the meeting in time, but Caylouangh did. Tartar was aware of the threat that Caylouangh intended to replace him, and therefore sent his eldest son, Pare, to Tayouan to express Tartar's willingness to pay tribute and conclude a new peace treaty.[53]

The peace treaty prepared by the Dutch authorities this time was quite different from

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45 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 335-7, 345-6.
46 Ibid. 345.
47 Ibid. 370, 391.
48 *DZ* II-C: 295.
49 These five villages were Coranos (Carolos), Tolasuacq (Dalaswack), Valangits, Sdaki (S'daky), and Vanghsor. *See DB*, 11 Mar. 1645. About the number of original subordinated villages. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 115.
50 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 345-6; *DZ* II-C: 279.
51 *DZ* II-C: 285, 413-14.
52 Ibid., fos. 413-14; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 412.
53 *DZ* II-E: 294, 313.

the one which they had concluded with the Formosans in 1636. They now intended to weaken the local power of chiefs gradually. On 23 January 1645, a special treaty consisting of twelve articles was proposed to Tartar. This treaty contained the following items: the traditional status and privileges of the chief would be recognized but his succession had to be carried out in consultation with the Dutch authorities. Moreover, the chief's judicial authority was diminished. He could no longer pass a death sentence on his subjects at will. On the contrary, his subjects were given the freedom to accuse him of improper conduct under the protection of two Dutch-appointed local elders in every village. Furthermore, all the subjects of the chief had to pay the Company an annual tribute.[54] Paying a tribute to a higher authority had been local convention. Consequently, from then on, the Company became the sole and substantial ruler of Lonckjouw.

On 7 April 1645, Tartar attended the following Southern *Landdag* meeting at which he received the first salutation from the Dutch authorities. Tartar was presented with a Company staff and continued be the elder of Lonckjouw (Dalaswack), but on the same occasion the following year, his prestigious title was degraded to *regent* instead of the previous *vorst*. His subordinate villages now had their own Dutch-appointed elders.[55] The inner inequality in this hierarchical society between Tartar's residential village and the other subordinate villages was now reduced to the same level and all under Dutch authority.

Local competition for power intensified. Caylouangh's plan to seize power was exposed when he killed several of Tartar's subjects who lived in his group. He excused this murder as a necessary execution because they had run away to resist Dutch rule. This event brought him under the scrutiny of the Dutch and he no longer attended the later *Landdag* meetings.[56] In 1645, Pare was appointed elder of the village of Karitongangh, and he later had to be admonished by the Dutch because he had tried to force some nearby villages to offer him the pigs and millet of the traditional tribute, in the name of the Dutch overlord. For Tartar, however, the real threat came from his own people: he was murdered by an unknown local rebel, while Pare was also killed by one of Tartar's subjects. Tartar's youngest son, named Cappitam, now succeeded to his father's position and received the staff, the symbol of Dutch-'bestowed' authority.[57] This scenario shows that the local leaders sought Dutch recognition after having seized power in the wake of a rebellion. Obviously, peace at the top had now been restored in Lonckjouw and this time the Dutch authorities preferred to play the role of the neutral arbitrator and stay out of local conflicts.

In the case of Lonckjouw, the logic of local power was clearly at work. Younger siblings of noble families and their followers raised doubts about the justification for

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54 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 434; *DZ* II-G: 664; *DB*, 11 Mar. 1645.

55 *DZ* II-H: 314.

56 *DZ* II-F: 205-6; *DZ* II-G: 666-7.

57 *DZ* II-G: 730; *DZ* III-B: 986. The name Cappitam, could possibly be a bastardization of 'captain', which may have been a fashionable name among the nobility because of the powerful Dutch 'captains', for example, Captain Van Linga.

primogeniture and began to jostle for power. When Lamotius defeated Lonckjouw, some villagers deserted their chief, Tartar, which gave Caylouangh a chance to establish his authority. The Dutch appointment of Caylouangh as headman undeniably followed the changing political scene in Lonckjouw. But when the nobility tried to strengthen its power base by requesting more tribute from the people as was the custom, the Dutch had to step in and make the weight of their full authority felt. In this way, this powerful intra-village alliance in the south was neutralized to the same level as that of the other Dutch Formosan allies.

Exploration of Taraboan

The idea of levying taxes in the form of such local products as gold made sense to the Dutch after the conquest of 1642. Their Spanish predecessors had had the same idea. Since the exchange rate of Formosan gold for Chinese imports was constantly increasing because of the demand of Chinese traders for gold, Father Diego Aduarte had suggested imposing tributary obligations on the natives on account of the profits they had accrued from gold-producing.[58] Now the Dutch went a step farther and resolved to reach the site of gold-mines. In September 1642, Senior Helmsman Cornelissen learned from the people of Cavalangh about a gold-producing village called Tackilis, which had happened to be one of the planned destinations of Governor Traudenius' punitive expedition in 1642.[59]

Meanwhile, the Dutch set about gathering more Spanish knowledge about the gold regions and interrogated Domingo Aguilar, one of the 446 Spanish captives taken after the conquest. Aguilar had been living at Quelang for seventeen years and had married a local woman from St Jago. His testimony was speedily forwarded to the Gentlemen Seventeen in Amsterdam.[60] Aguilar had visited the gold-site, Taraboan. In fact, Tackilis and Taraboan as these terms were used by neighbouring Formosans referred to the same village.[61] The inhabitants who produced about one *pikul* of gold annually did not actually mine the metal but obtained it from sediment at the river mouth.[62] In March 1643, Jacinto Quesaymon, a Japanese settler from Quelang, volunteered more information about how Taraboan could be reached by boat.[63]

Further gold exploration was carried out during the months of April and May 1643.[64]

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58 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 193; *DZ* II-C: 271.

59 *DZ* II-B: 658-9.

60 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, II, 384-90; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 314-24; *GM*, 12 Dec. 1642, 238-9.

61 In the regions of Tamsuy, Quelang, and Cavalangh, the inhabitants called it Taraboan. The Talleroma and their neighbours called it Tackilis. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 74. Taraboan was famous for its gold-mines and gold trade with the Bassayers and the people of Cavalangh (*Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 162-70).

62 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 319, 323.

63 *DZ* II-C: 271. About Jacinto Quesaymon, *see* also Kang, 'Shih ch'i shih chi shang pan te Ma-sai jên', 15 note 62. In the early seventeenth century, Quesaymon arrived in the region of Quelang on a ship from Quinam, which was wrecked in that area. He was a Christian. *See* Chapter Nine.

64 The following description is based on the journal (21 Mar. 1643~22 May 1643) of Pieter Boon. *See DZ* II-C: 353-7.

Captain Pieter Boon and a company of soldiers accompanied by Aguilar's native wife went by boat via Tamsuy and Quelang, and landed on the eastern coast. On their way to Taraboan, Boon had a peaceful encounter with the headmen of Taraboan, who approached the Dutch along a river carrying a white flag. Since they did not trust these armed visitors, the villagers avoided answering any Dutch inquiries about the precise location of the gold-site. Undoubtedly, Cavalangh traders had already brought the Taraboan people negative reports about Lamotius' harsh punishment of St Jago and Kimaurij, and they quite rightly believed that the Dutch had come to take away their profits from the gold trade. Boon summoned the headmen of Taraboan in order to convince them that he came only to check whether the annual production of gold was worth the investment the Company would have to make. It was not his intention to harm or interfere with the interests of the local population. Presumably his argument was persuasive as the locals then proposed that they should direct Boon to the gold river, so that he could judge the local situation with his own eyes. Because his guide warned of a possible plot among the villagers, Boon played safe and sent only several soldiers, including a miner, who returned without any finding of gold at the site. When Boon invited the headmen of Taraboan to accompany him to Tayouan to visit the Governor, they flatly refused. They did not allow the Dutch to lodge in Taraboan itself, as Van Linga had been hosted in Pimaba, but Aguilar's Basay wife was welcome to remain in the village. To keep the door open for further negotiations, Boon left Taraboan after having presented some gifts to the headmen who in return sent him a small nugget of gold.

Expedition to Cavalangh

In Dutch eyes, the Cavalangh people had sullied the Dutch reputation and more pragmatically they appeared to be blocking access to the gold-mines. In September 1644, after he had been reinforced by soldiers from Batavia, Captain Pieter Boon and 225 soldiers undertook an expedition to the region of Cavalangh, which consisted of forty-six villages, to set matters to right.[65]

The troops sailed from Tayouan to Quelang via Tamsuy. Before he set out for Cavalangh, Boon demanded the inhabitants of St Jago pay their tribute for that year and an extra triple tribute as a fine for their past disobedience. Anxious to avoid further punishment, the villagers of St Jago handed over 400 reals, 132 *pikuls* of deerskins, and 30 sacks of rice.[66] The demand for tribute was also the main reason for subjugating the Cavalangh people, but as soon as Boon and his troops arrived at the Bay of Cavalangh in the company of their Basay guides, the inhabitants fled into the interior fearful of the consequences of this armed irruption. Boon sent the Basayos inland to convince those who had fled that the Dutch had come to offer peace and to help them to stand up to

[65] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 468-79, 496-7.
[66] *DZ* II-F: 199-200.

their enemies, if only they would agree to pay an annual tribute of deerskins in return for the promised Dutch protection. In Boon's words, those villages which were willing to stand by the Dutch would not lose even a hair of their heads, let alone be beheaded by their enemies. In response to this offer of assistance, several representatives from twelve villages agreed to pay tribute, and they asked permission to pay the tribute in rice because they were rice cultivators and bartered for the deerskins they needed from the nearby mountain villagers. Captain Pieter Boon agreed and said that: 'We trust that the Company will be served by rice as well as by deerskins.'[67]

Although he was prepared to be conciliatory, Boon clearly announced that those who resisted the Dutch proposals would be punished as an example to other disobedient villages. Sochel-Sochel and Kakitapan, located in the region of the Tochadon River (present-day Lanyang Hsi) and its tributaries, refused to hand over their tribute. It was not long before they were attacked and all dwellings were burned down within three days. Boon's memorandum listed more than forty villages in this region which subsequently proceeded to send their own delegates or requested peace through their neighbours. With the exception of six villages, all the villages promised to pay the annual tribute as soon as they had gathered their rice harvest and had performed the festival of *Marnas*, since during the festival they neither went to other villages, nor did they tolerate any other people coming to their villages in order to avoid bad luck and a bad harvest in the following year.[68] Fire and the sword served to demonstrate Dutch power in its first encounter with the Cavalangh people. The locals' promise to pay an annual tribute persuaded the Dutch authorities in Tamsuy that the region of Cavalangh had been pacified.

Conquering Quataongh

Captain Pieter Boon had a threefold mission to fulfil on his expedition to Cavalangh. After subjugating the inhabitants of Cavalangh, on the way back to Zeelandia Castle, Boon was to open a route between Tamsuy and Tayouan and to eradicate the presence of Chinese pirates in the north-west.[69] His pioneering of the route was necessary as, after the Dutch conquest of Spanish-held Tamsuy and Quelang, the difficulties in communications between centre of rule, Tayouan, and these two newly obtained outlying regions, forced the Dutch to open a long-distance overland route, the Tamsuy Route (*de Tamsuysen wech*). In other words, the Dutch had to extend the *Pax Neerlandica* to the unknown north-west and the central plains. When the Dutch had sent four expeditions against Favorlangh, the neighbours of the Favorlanghers in the north had witnessed the deadly effects of Western weaponry. The Dutch authorities had heard from a Chinese

[67] Ibid., fo. 194; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 474; Kang, 'Ho-lan shih tai lan yang p'ing yüan', 225.

[68] *DZ* II-F: 192-205; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 468-81. This section is indebted to the reconstruction of the location of the villages from Kang's research, 'Ho-lan shih tai lan yang p'ing yüan'.

[69] *DZ* II-F: 160.

informant about one ruler in the northern plains who controlled a score of villages with thirty to fifty households each. Among them were Goemach and Dorida, whose inhabitants had murdered the crews of wrecked Chinese ships. These were, in fact, the regions of Tackays, Taurinab, and farther north, the region of Goemach which belonged to the territory of the 'King of Middag', namely Quataongh, alias Kamachat Aslamies.[70]

In October 1644, after making a short stay in Quelang and Tamsuy, Boon continued his march from Tamsuy with a native guide and an interpreter with the curious name (if not a nickname) of Sprakeloos (Speechless).[71] The troops marched from the Tamsuy River southwards along the coast to the region of Favorlangh. Passing the estuary of the Lamcan River, where seven settlements were located, Boon demanded the villagers pay tribute in exchange for peace and protection. The headman of the village of Pocael, one of three villages located in the region of the Ticksam River, came to the Dutch troops to sue for peace, fearful of the Dutch weaponry, as Boon perceived. Although that year the villagers had already bartered their deerskins with Chinese traders who had arrived there before Boon, the headman handed over forty deerskins as tribute. Many headmen from the regions of the Calabcab and the Tara Rivers (present Taan Hsi) appeared before Boon as proof of their peaceful intentions.

When the troops left the region of Tara and headed for the Patientia River (present-day Tachia Hsi), Sprakeloos ran away because the troops were approaching the land of his enemies, the territory of Kamachat.[72] Since making allies by demanding tribute without an interpreter would only arouse suspicions and put the troops in this region ruled by a powerful chief in greater danger, Boon decided to stop visiting more villages in this area and to pursue his march to Favorlangh along the coast. But the local Formosans had prepared to receive them. Two villagers approached Boon and showed their willingness to guide the troops a better route. When Boon refused to go that way, the troops were attacked by a rain of arrows from some hundred Formosan warriors. No sooner had the soldiers started firing muskets than the latter disappeared. As the tide on the beach was rising, the troops continued their march through the interior. On the way, the villagers of Bodor, one of the settlements under the command of Kamachat, set fire to the bushes alongside the path, but Dutch retribution was swift and their village was burned to the ground.

Before arriving in Favorlangh, Boon carried out his third mission. When he was informed that some pirates were hiding in the village of Pangsoa, also under Kamachat's

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[70] *DZ* I-K: 475; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 6; Kang, 'Huan ching, k'ung chien yü ch'ü yü', 105. About the research on Quataongh, *see* Ang, 'Pei i wang te T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih'; Nakamura Takashi, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan: shê hui, wên hua* 荷蘭時代台灣史研究下卷：社會、文化 [Studies on Dutch Formosa, II: Society and Culture], ed. Wu Mi-cha and Ang Kaim (Taipei: Tao-hsiang, 2002), 71-102; Kang, 'Huan ching, k'ung chien yü ch'ü yü'.

[71] The following description is from Boon's journal. *See DZ* II-F: 201-5.

[72] According to Nakamura, Warawar can be identified with present-day Fangli in the Miaoli County. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 24. The region where Warawar was located was called 'Tara' after the nearby Tara River, the present Taan Hsi. The flight of Sprakeloos showed the boundary of the communication between the people of Tamsuy and those who inhabited in the north-west plains. *See DZ* II, (note 93 in Chinese edition, 367).

control, Boon burned the village without meeting much resistance from either the villagers or the pirates. Anti-piracy campaigns were not a new mission for Boon as he had already pursued pirates in June and July. Indeed in 1643, the Dutch authorities treated any Chinese wandering in the northern part of the west coast of Formosa as a potential pirate who should be rounded up.[73] Just at this time, a certain Kinghwangh (alias Sico, the Formosans called him Saecalauw) occupied Taurinab. He claimed to be the Governor of the North, and bestowed staffs as a sign of authority on ten villages under Kamachat's rule. In April 1644, Kinghwangh was caught and killed by the Dutch when his junk was wrecked in the Bay of Lonckjouw, but his gang, Twackan and followers, fled to the coastal waters between the Penghu Archipelago and Tackays. Boon was not the only pursuer of this Twackan, the Formosans were also encouraged to seize pirates dead or alive by offers of a reward of *cangans*.[74] As a result of Captain Boon's expedition, not only were some pirate lairs cleaned up, nine villages to the south of Tamsuy also promised to pay their tribute, but none of these belonged to Kamachat's territory.[75] Kamachat still had to be dealt with.

To subjugate Kamachat, a new expedition led by Captain Pieter Boon, Senior Merchants Cornelis Caesar and Hendrick Steen was dispatched. In a sense this expedition was a punitive expedition, because the inhabitants of Tavacul, also underlings of Kamachat, had been charged with murdering their hosts at a welcoming feast organized by the elders of a neighbouring village which happened to be a Company ally. According to the instructions issued by Governor François Caron (1644-6), this punitive expedition force was to capture Kamachat and send him to Tayouan.[76] By the end of January 1645, 210 soldiers had burned down thirteen villages and killed 126 Kamachat's subjects. They captured fifteen children under the age of ten who were sent to Tayouan and distributed among the Dutch household as servants to earn their food and clothing.[77] Because of this defeat, Kamachat lost several of his subordinate villages including Tavocol, which now became the Company's allies, but he continued to rule the remaining fifteen out of original twenty-seven villages.[78]

The Dutch victory set off a chain reaction in the pursuit of the hidden pirates who had established local relations through trade and by marriage to native women. The local elders betrayed several pirates, including Twackan. He was sentenced to be publicly

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73 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 462.

74 *DZ* II-C: 417; *DZ* II-E: 334-42.

75 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 497.

76 About this expedition, *see Formosan Encounter*, II, 517-22; *DB*, Mar. and Apr. 1645.

77 *DB*, Mar. and Apr. 1645; *DZ* II-G: 698.

78 Before Boon's first expedition, Kamachat Aslamies was said to have ruled seven villages, but other estimates said fifteen to eighteen (*DZ* II-F: 160; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 461). But in David Wight's account, Kamachat Aslamies used to rule twenty-seven 'towns', and later about ten of them 'threw off his yoke' (*Formosa under the Dutch*, 6). Tavacul could have been one of these ten villages because it was not on the list of the fifteen villages stated by Kamachat Aslamies. These were Bodor, Darida North, Darida in the Middle, Darida South, Asock, Abouangh East (Aboan Taranoggan), Abouangh West (Aboan Auran), Babausack, Bobariangh, Tosack, Kakar Baroch, Sackaley, Tachabeu (Turchara?), Dosack North (Tausa Talakey) and Dosack East (Tausa Mato). *See DZ* II-G: 664; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 12-14.

executed on the occasion of the Southern *Landdag* in 1645 in the presence of the elders from the allied villages in the south and those from Kamachat's territory.[79]

Kamachat was supposed to attend the Northern *Landdag* held in March 1645, but stricken by a problem with his legs he sent his son instead. This was not good enough because his health not withstanding he was expected to conclude the peace treaty with the Dutch authorities in person. Kamachat arrived in Tayouan on 5 April 1645, two days before the Southern *Landdag*, trusting in Governor Caron's promise that he would be treated as a friend. To reduce the power of this ruler, the Dutch authorities decided that the best way to obtain this would be to enter into a peace treaty with him. The treaty was exactly the same as that the ruler of Lonckjouw, Tartar, had concluded earlier with Governor Caron in January. At the Southern *Landdag*, Kamachat obtained a staff symbolizing his authority from his Dutch overlord.[80] For the Dutch authorities, it was quite a relief to have subjugated this King of Middag. Now they claimed that by either friendship or force, the whole of Formosa had been brought under their rule.[81]

Henceforth, as a Formosan 'friend' and vassal, Kamachat had to secure the safe deliverance of Dutch correspondence between Tayouan and Tamsuy.[82] In June 1645, those underlings of Kamachat whose villages had been burned down by the Dutch began to suffer from starvation because they had no rice seeds to sow. To prevent a possible famine, the Reverend Simon van Breen, the Dutch resident in Favorlangh, requested 200 *pikuls* of rice for this region. Despite such attempts to avert disaster, the damage caused by the Dutch expeditions continued, and Kamachat was said to have been reduced to poverty.[83] Although Governor Caron sent Merchant Gabriël Happart to visit Kamachat with some gifts, the Company continued to deprive him of his wealth between 1646 and 1650 by dividing his territories into six parts which were auctioned off to Chinese leaseholders.[84]

Opening the Tamsuy Route

The broad region north of the Patientia River belonged to the domain of the Tamsuy *Landdag* sub-division. Keeping a peaceful relationship with the local Formosans became the vital part of the next mission undertaken by the Company personnel, designed to encourage smooth communications between Tayouan and Tamsuy. In May 1645, sixteen to seventeen villages located in between Tamsuy and Kamachat's region promised to pay

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79 *DZ* II-G: 656-7, 661, 666.

80 Ibid., fos. 664, 669; *DB*, Mar. 1645. By attending the *Landdag* and being assigned their Dutch-appointed local elders, the former subordinate villages obtained the same status as Kamachat Aslamies's residential village, Dorida Camachat in the eyes of the Dutch authorities (*DZ* II-G: 670; *DZ* II-H: 299-300).

81 *DZ* II-G: 663.

82 Ibid., fo. 664.

83 Ibid., fo. 697.

84 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 81; Kang, 'Huan ching, k'ung chien yü ch'ü yü', 110. About the details of the leasing system, *see* Chapter Eight.

an annual tribute in deerskins. However, fear meant that fewer than seven villages, including those from Parricoutsie (Lamcan), Sinkangia, Tocau and Aulangh, submitted their tribute in Tamsuy. In July, delegates from Sinkangia accompanied by Chinese traders journeyed to Tayouan and requested staffs from the Dutch authorities. But it was reported those villages belonged to the Calikans refused to pay the tribute. The Dutch authorities believed that their reaction might have been incited by Chinese traders.[85]

This was partly correct but the Chinese element was not the only factor hindering the locals submitting their tribute as the Dutch had presumed. Formosan ideology associated with headhunting observances still played a dominant role in local affairs. Since March 1646, it was said that the party of Pocael and the Calikan villages had been attacking the party composed of Parricoutsie and Goudt. Both parties were Company allies. Because this conflict endangered the forty-mile long stretch from Parricoutsie to Kamachat's region and hampered the payment of tribute, the Dutch authorities made efforts to subjugate Pocael and the Calikan villages.[86] In May and June, Merchant Gabriël Happart failed three times to reach Calikan and Pocael from Tamsuy, but he did actually discover that not Pocael but the Calikan people were the instigators of all the raids.[87] In February 1647, Ensign Gerrit Casman, one soldier, and three capable interpreters, including Lucas Kilas, the headman of Tapparij, set out to arbitrate, and heroically succeeded in settling the disputes between the opposing parties by following the local custom of paying ransom.[88] The headmen of these Calikan villages agreed to pay a ransom in the form of beads for each head hunted. In his letter to the Tayouan authorities, the *Opperhoofd* in Tamsuy, Junior Merchant Jacob Nolpe describes Carsman's achievement in Pocael:

> All parties, through the mediation of the Pocael headmen, were pacified with each other entirely. As a token of the confirmation of the treaty, each of the perpetrators pulled one bead from the necklaces they were wearing, presented them to the Parricoutsie elder, and promised him to pay the required beads, at his demand.[89]

In addition, these headmen promised to deliver tribute in Pocael and to maintain the peace between each other, so that the passage to Tamsuy would be safe once again.[90] Carsman's journey exposed the fact that the Formosan custom of headhunting dominated the periphery where the conflict could involve different local groups living in a broad region.[91]

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85 *DZ* II-G: 679, 690, 702, 708. Later the Calikan villages were often called the Dockedockol villages.

86 *DZ* II-H: 334; *DZ* II-J: 586; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 67, 69.

87 *DZ* II-H: 334-45; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 67-85, 100-1.

88 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 148-51.

89 Ibid. 150.

90 *DZ* II-J: 586; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 148-51.

91 According to the *Dagregister*, the Calikas were divided into seven villages: Arauar Banian; Dockedockol (Calicatumal); Paipais (Paispais, Paipeitsie); Calicarutschiou (Kalika Rousout or Routsoudt); Daradauw (Darridauw); Balabal (Ballebal); and Hallabas. *See DZ* II-J: 586. In the Missive from Junior Merchant Jacob Nolpe to President Pieter Anthonisz Overtwater, Parrouan (Parrewan) was on the list of rebellious village, *see Formosan Encounter*, III, 98, 149. Nakamura notes that Parrouan was located in present-day Miauli County. *See* id., *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 24. This conflict involved the groups living in the present counties of Tauyuan, Hsintsu, and Miauli.

The Baritsoen people living in the three villages of Sasaulij, Tarrisan, and Ga-achaisan, in the upstream region of the Baritsoen River, a tributary of the Tamsuy, were later acknowledged to have suffered from this conflict as well. There were seven victims from Sasaulij and Tarrisan and for this reason these two villages were also included in the Pocael Treaty.[92] In the company of the elders of Goudt, delegates from Sasaulij and Tarrisan visited Tamsuy and entered into a friendly relationship with the Company. Through the mediation of the village of Ga-achaisan, the Dutch found a way to reconcile other opposing villages, for instance those located in between the Pinorouwan River, one tributary of the Tamsuy River, Pocael, and the Coulon people who were divided up into eleven small villages. Consequently, by 1649, almost the whole region of Coulon had been 'pacified' by the Company and Company staffs bestowed on the local headmen.[93] By 1650, the journey from Tayouan to Tamsuy by the overland route through twelve villages took only ten and a half days.[94]

Overland routes from the south to the east

The exploration and expansion in the southern area were still encouraged by the pursuit of gold. In May 1644, the Dutch authorities continued to interrogate a third local informant, Theodore, a Dutch-appointed headman and interpreter, about the gold-mines. Theodore explained it would be difficult to take the overland route from Cavalangh to Taraboan.[95] The Dutch would be better advised to take the usual routes to Taraboan through the mountainous regions in the southern part of Formosa which they had used since the second half of the 1630s. In the southern part of Taiwan, a great fault line splits the landscape into the plain in the west, and the Central Mountain Range in the east, with longitudinal valleys between the land and the sea. The Dutch authorities built up their local knowledge in accordance with the natural divisions of the landscape about which they probably learned from the Chinese as well as the local Formosans. This can be observed from the classification in Dutch village census in the south. To the north of Lonckjouw, five gorges were identified, from north to south: the gorges of Kinitavan, Pagiwangh, Siroda, Dalissiouw, and Toutsikadang.[96]

Lieutenant Johan Jeuriaensz van Linga had made the first overland journey from Tayouan to Pimaba in 1638. This route first ran down to the south crossing the territory of Lonckjouw and upon reaching the eastern coast turned up towards Pimaba. By 1643, several routes across the territory of Lonckjouw provided better passages through a lower mountainous area at the end of the Central Mountain Range for Dutch troops. The so-called Tacabul Route (*De Tacabul Weg*) across Mount Tacabul, which took only

92 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 149-51, 172-3, 191-2, 195.
93 Ibid. 173, 191-2, 195-6, 215-16, 240.
94 Ibid. 281. *See* Table for Map 3.
95 *DZ* II-E: 306.
96 Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 16-21.

eight days from Tayouan to Pimaba became the usual overland route.[97] In the period around 1642 to 1645, the Dutch subjugated Lonckjouw. Afterwards, as the Dutch authorities had expected, Lonckjouw villages served as depots along this route.

Even if it was the most convenient way, the Tacabul Route was still a long and tortuous one. To shorten this travelling distance, local Dutch residents made efforts to find other shortcuts which could also be used for troop movements. Their efforts led them to explore the gorges in the higher mountains much closer to the south-west plain. In May 1639, Wesselingh searched in vain for a new route to Pimaba through the gorges of Toutsikadang and Dalissiouw. He started from Tapouliang to avoid the hostile people who occupied the mountain territory to the east of Tevorangh.[98] More exploration followed: in 1643, Pieter Boon investigated a new route through Swatalau to Pimaba; and in 1645 Soldier Jan Janssen Emandus, a local resident of one stop along the Tacabul Route, suggested a new shorter route to Pimaba via Tarikidick in the Toutsikadang Gorge. This route was later called 'the New Pimaba Route'. It passed the six villages of Maraboangh, Varongit, Pijlis, Kololauw, Toutsikadang, and Tarikidick, all located in the Toutsikadang Gorge.[99]

After 1636 the first Dutch interactions with the mountain villagers in these regions commenced.[100] Many villages located in the southern plains had continued to join the Dutch-centred Dutch-Formosan alliance. In their turn, these allies were encouraged to escort their enemies from the mountain to the plains to reconcile with each other under the patronage of the Dutch overlord. More and more headmen from the mountain villages were invited to Tayouan and formalized their relationship with the Company. Yet, without the help of Formosan acquaintances, Chinese contacts, or local Dutch residents, these mountain inhabitants would have been too afraid to come down to the plains of their own accord. To develop a good relationship, the Dutch authorities instigated a ceremonial exchange of gift-giving. Following the peace ceremony of 1636, Dutch coats, flags, and staffs for the headmen were reciprocated for such local offerings as weapons, pigs, and eels.[101] In 1643, headmen from Dalissiousw, Potnongh, Varongit, and Pijlis in the gorges of Dalissiousw and Toutsikadang ritually submitted their land to the Company and agreed to pay an annual tribute. To mark their new status, from 1644, these allies were invited to attend the Southern *Landdagen*, while representatives of other mountain villages continued to follow their example and conclude peace with the Dutch authorities. In 1646, six villages from the Kinitavan Gorge also sent their delegates to

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[97] For references to the journey of Secretary Christiaen Smalbach in March 1643, *see DZ* II-C: 294-7 and Table for Map 3.

[98] *DZ* I-L: 685-6; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 229-35.

[99] About Pieter Boon's exploration, *see Formosan Encounter*, II, 372-3. For 'the New Pimaba Route', *see DZ* II-G: 694, 706, 720; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 17-18. Kololauw had been visited by Wesselingh early in 1639. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 234-5 and also table for Map 3.

[100] In December 1636, delegates from seven villages located in the eastern mountains of Tacareyan visited Tayouan with their pots and trees. *See DZ* I-I: 848. In 1637, Lieutenant Johan Jeuriaensz van Linga visited the villages of Dalissiouw and Talakabus. *See DZ* I-I: 859, 861.

[101] *DZ* II-C: 284, 280.

request peace.[102]

Despite all the efforts at peace-making, chronic inter-village warfare often hindered the safety of the passage. In September 1645, Soldier Emandus reported that the route was no longer safe because the Varongit people were robbing those who passed by them. There had been complaints about Varongit from Dalissiousw and Potnongh since the previous year. Potnongh had sent messengers to invite the headmen of Varongit to attend the *Landdag*, but Varongit had responsed by killing the messenger, and threatened to put the Dutch to flight if they dared to approach them. When Varongit later attacked the village of Potnongh, causing damage to fields, the villagers of Potnongh asked for Dutch help or at the very least permission to take their revenge on the Varongit. Therefore, the Dutch authorities urged Emandus to try to settle the conflicts among these villagers and curb their penchant for headhunting. Two months later, in November, one Dutch interpreter was sent to Varongit to arbitrate.[103] Friends not enemies were needed along the New Pimaba Route in order to smooth the Company's path to Taraboan, and eventually it was indeed opened for traffic. In the beginning, it was said to be narrower than the Tacabul Route and not really suitable for troops, but in November the condition of the route was declared to be satisfactory.[104] The Dutch were ready to mount another gold expedition to Taraboan.

Uncovering mysterious Taraboan

Between November 1645 and January 1646, Commander Cornelis Caesar was commissioned to lead 443 men (218 soldiers, 3 Javanese, 7 Quinammers, and 200 Chinese) to Taraboan in search of the elusive gold-mines. The men took the Tacabul Route to Pimaba and returned via the New Pimaba Route. Their adventures, which were described in the journal of the expedition, will be outlined below.[105]

On 23 December 1645, Caesar met many inhabitants of Taraboan, including one village elder, Tarrinouw, armed with bows and arrows, assegais, and shields. He asked them to bring some pigs, sweet potatoes, and yams in exchange for *cangans* or beads. Confronted by such an overwhelming number of invaders, the Taraboan people promised to come back with ten pigs, some sweet potatoes and dried yams, but eventually re-appeared with only four pigs because they could not provide any more. On the second day, Tarrinouw and his companions again visited the troops with one pig and a large quantity of sweet potatoes, dried yams, some beans, millet, and about fifty hens. They were rewarded with *cangans*, strings of beads, and tobacco. After this peaceful exchange, Caesar requested one *maas* of gold as an annual tribute from every household since the villagers were not able to submit deerskins and rice which had to be obtained from outsiders.

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[102] Ibid., fos. 290-1; *DZ* II-H: 344; *DZ* II-J: 578.
[103] *DZ* II-G: 730; *DZ* II-F: 185; *DZ* II-G: 732, 760.
[104] *DZ* II-G: 727, 759.
[105] Ibid., fo. 760; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 573-8; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 1-41.

The veil over this famous gold country was lifted at last on 24 December when Caesar, accompanied by sixteen soldiers, visited the village and met the headman, Patsien, Tarrinouw's father. Taraboan was inhabited by about 450 villagers and consisted of more than seventy houses. There was a visible disparity between the rich and the poor in this village. With the exception of four houses belonging to the headmen which were built of planks, the others were simply constructed of reeds and bamboo. The contrasts among the villagers also appeared in their dress and ornaments. According to local informants, only ten elders or braves in the village would be able to pay tribute, but the majority of the villagers were too poor to do so. When Caesar continued to urge the headmen to collect gold, they gathered together as much of the metal as remained in the village. All this did not amount to much because they had recently bartered most of what they had with the Cavalangh people and the low rainfall limited the amount of gold produced. Even though the Dutch threatened the villagers they would come to fetch the gold at sword point if necessary, the speed of collection as well as the amount and the quality of the result were disappointing.[106] The villagers told them that even if they had to pay for it with their lives, they could not meet the Dutch demand. Taraboan was actually not the place where the gold was found. Caesar was told that the people of Parrougearon, the so-called 'people with ape-heads', from the village of Soukou were the real guardians of the gold-mines in the steep mountains. They threw large stones down at anyone, including the Taraboan people, who dared to approach the mountains. Before Caesar's departure, Tarrinouw accepted a staff as the Dutch-appointed elder of Taraboan.

The Tamsuy authorities obtained some more information about gold extraction. This led them to report that the Taraboan people consisted of three distinct groups: Taraboan; Pabanangh; and Dadanghs, each speaking a different language. After heavy rain, the Taraboan and Dadanghs gathered gold-dust on the beach near the river mouth, whereas the Pabananghers obtained it higher up the river.[107] Consequently, the amount of gold produced was very restricted, only 40 to 50 reals worth of gold-dust each year. In consideration of this, they were requested to pay 10 reals worth as their annual tribute. If they failed to pay in the year due, they had to pay double the next year.[108]

The Dutch authorities sought to station Dutchmen in Taraboan to learn the language and also develop a close trade relationship with the Taraboan people who used to trade with the Cavalangh people. At the end of June 1646, two Dutch soldiers were sent to Taraboan to collect the promised annual tribute of gold and on that occasion suggested that if a Dutch resident were to be stationed in the village this would be in exchange for the desired merchandise provided by the Company. But, after three whole days of meetings of the principal headmen in the village, the answer was a firm 'no'.[109] Nolpe reported the words of Patsien to Governor Caron:

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[106] The result of the collection was: 2½ real gold-dust, 25 real thin beaten gold of a poor alloy, and a little silver bar of 5 reals. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 32

[107] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 74.

[108] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 578; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 23, 32, 42.

[109] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 578; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 71, 76, 85-8, 103.

> He and his fellow-headmen did not tolerate any Dutchmen living in their village for a longer time, because they understood perfectly well what we were after. That finding the gold-sites was the only thing that mattered to us and that once these had been discovered, we would come to attack them, chase them away and ruin them. They did not have the least intention of paying any tribute to the Company and if we were to force them to pay by using violence, they were prepared to return this to us in equal measure, and hold their ground, just as we do. They admitted that, at the time the Company army had paid them a visit, they did present Mr. Caesar with some gold, but this was meant in exchange for the *cangans* and other gifts with which the said Caesar had honoured them.[110]

Tarrinouw, who had received a Company staff, now returned this symbol of submission to the soldiers, indicating that he would rather leave the village than pay the tribute. He considered the latter to have been the prime reason for the Dutch officials to urge him to accept the staff. The message send by the locals was clear: 'If the Dutch wanted to come and go as friends, to trade, they would appreciate it, but nothing else.' [111]

High Dutch expectation of the gold trade with Taraboan now evaporated. Governor Caron even considered that the Taraboan people were too obstinate to save a small amount of gold for purposes of tribute, since they valued gold higher than their own lives.[112] In 1647, the Gentlemen Seventeen urged the Batavia authorities to wake up from their dream, pointing out what great sums and enormous effort had been expended. Nevertheless, one decade later Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker (1653-78) was still expressing a hope that some day Formosan gold might cover the cost of maintaining the colony.[113] In December 1654, Merchant Thomas van Iperen sent a sample of Formosan gold weighing 14¾ reals to Tayouan from Taraboan. This was planned to send to Coromandel.[114]

The trade relationship between Taraboan and the Company actually undermined Dutch control in this frontier area. The Taraboan villagers started to barter their gold for Japanese iron directly from the Company in order to make their weapons, arousing anxiety in the minds of the authorities that they might perhaps use these weapons to subvert Dutch rule.[115] Finally, in 1658, four Dutchmen were stationed in Taraboan, but they were not allowed to follow the Taraboan people to the exploitation site.[116]

Halfway through the 1630s, the Dutch authorities became the overlords in the south-west and southern plains. In the following years, the conquest of the outer islands, the northern- and south-eastwards exploration of Formosa in the quest for deer products and the legendary gold led the Dutch through the interior of Formosa. The island-wide exploration for gold in particular extended the Dutch domain to almost all

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110 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 103.
111 Ibid. 103-4.
112 Ibid. 142.
113 Ibid. 209; *GM*, 14 Dec. 1658, 508.
114 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 564.
115 *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 109; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 564; *DZ* III-E: 396, 528; *GM*, 26 Jan. 1655, 426. The Tamsuy authorities bartered 1,000 reals of gold for iron and cash. *See DZ* III-F: 603.
116 *GM*, 31 Jan. 1657, 464-5; 14 Dec. 1658, 508; 16 Dec. 1659, 515; 26 Jan. 1661, 532.

the Formosan lowlands and part of the mountain areas. Caesar's expedition to Taraboan symbolized the end of this type of wealth-chasing expansion in the island. Alongside the spatial expansion, the Dutch control in the earlier conquered regions was deepened and finely tuned. The reification of Dutch colonialism as a civilizing mission, which was related to a three-pronged approach in political, economic, and religious involvement, reached its zenith around the mid 1640s.

Part Three

Empowerment and Entanglement

CHAPTER SEVEN

EMBODIMENT OF POWER

Taiwan in the seventeenth century saw the trappings of power demonstrated in the Dutch attempt to introduce an effective colonial rule to the island. The practice of the Dutch mode of governance was associated with the cultural configuration process of civilizing the Formosans.[1] The symbolism of 'colonial vassalage' and the conclusion of peace treaties between the Dutch and the Formosans both reified the notion of a 'social contract' connecting the rulers and the ruled. However, maintaining ruling authority was quite another issue. Unlike the temporary armistice sealed between Formosan rivals, a Dutch treaty included the moral obligation to keep perpetual promises of which the aim was to mould the warlike, 'barbaric' Formosans into peaceful 'civilized subjects'. From the mid 1630s, the Company transformed itself into a colonial government in Formosa. The Dutch sought to activate a political apparatus to buttress their position as long-term overlords. From the perspective of state formation, the Dutch authorities intended to implant a civil sense of public responsibility in the minds of their Formosan subjects, but in their endeavours to do so they continued to confront local challenges. The frontier turned out to be a heavy burden on Dutch rule in Formosa. Invariably, the Dutch colonial project oscillated between symbolism and pragmatism, and between idealism and limitation.

Core and frontiers of Dutch rule

Despite having mastered almost the entire coastline, having crossed the plains, and having reached several of the higher mountain passes, the Dutch failed to establish their rule satisfactorily in all these regions. The Formosans experienced Dutch dominance in different degrees and different rhythms, depending on the place in which they were living. David Wright, a Scottish Company servant in Dutch Formosa, pointed out that only the west coast north of Zeelandia Castle was under the direct Dutch control. The other regions operated their own polities and remained relatively independent (see Table 7.1 and Map 3).[2]

Notes to Chapter Seven

[1] About governing conduct as a mode of governance, *see* James Tully, *An Approach to Political Philosophy*: *Lock in Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 179.

[2] The period of David Wright's residence in Formosa was known to be after Candidius but before the end of Dutch rule. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 6 and 'David Wright', 56, footnote.

Table 7.1 David Wright's Core and frontiers of Dutch rule, c. 1630s-1650s

	'Province' or jurisdiction	Towns or villages	Description	*Landdag* district*
1.	The Northern Part	Sincan, Tavocan, Bacaluan, Soulang, Mattauw, Tevorang, Favorlang, Tackays, Taurinab, Terenip, Asock	Under Dutch command	Northern
2.	The Bay of Kabelang [Cavalang]	Seventy-two towns and villages	Never subdued to the Dutch	Tamsuy
3.	Territory of King of Middag	Seventeen (used to be twenty-two) towns Hill: Middag, Sada, Bodor, Deredonefel; Plain: Goemach	Never allowed any Christians to dwell in his dominions only to travel through it	Northern
4.	Pimaba	Eight towns and several villages	With their own 'Governor' ; Stout-hearted and warlike, most expert in arms; The chief under the Dutch as sergeant	Pimaba
5.	Sapat	Over ten towns	With their own governor	Pimaba
6.	Takabolder [Tackapoulangh]	Eight towns and villages; Main villages: Great and Little Tackapoulangh	Located in the exceedingly high mountains	Northern
7.	Cardeman	Over five villages	A female chief had great authority over her subjects. She was called 'the Good Woman' by the Christians	Southern
8.		Twelve villages: Deredou, Orrazo, Porraven, Barraba, Tamsuy, Warrawarra, Tannatanna, Cubeca etc.		Tamsuy
9.	Tokodekal [Dockudukol]	Seven towns and seven villages	Governor resided in Tokodekal	Tamsuy
10.	Pukkal [Pokael]	One handsome city	Hostile against Tokodekal, Percuzi and Pergunu	Tamsuy
11.	Percuzi and Pergunu [Parricoutsie and Lamcan, Parragon]			Tamsuy

Sources: Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig Bedrijf*, 16-18; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 6-7; ' David Wright', 56-7; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 24. * My added item.

In other words, the western plains between the Kamachat River (present-day Tatu Hsi), and the Fresh River (present-day Erhjen Hsi), the south-west plain in particular, were the core regions under Dutch rule.[3]

In an attempt to analyse the core and the frontiers, the annual meeting of the Dutch authorities and the Formosan allies, the '*Landdag*', offers a geographical framework for further discussion.[4] From 1644, the Northern *Landdag* for the Formosan allies to the north of Tayouan and the Southern *Landdag* for those to the south were regularly held. The Eastern *Landdag* held in Pimaba was for the Formosan allies on the east coast; the Tamsuy *Landdag* was for those in the regions of Quelang, the Tamsuy River, the north-west coast, and Cavalangh on the north-east coast.[5] Wright's core region encompassed the geographical domain of the Northern *Landdag*. To the north of the Tatu Hsi, the territory of the Quataongh, situated between the core region of Tackays and the north-west frontier, constituted a grey area. According to Wright, Quataongh was one of ten autonomous polities in Formosa.[6]

The other regions can be labelled 'the frontier' which the Dutch only partly controlled from the core after they had carried out military expeditions there, and which belonged to peripheries of the geographical domains of the other *Landdagen*: the Southern *Landdag*; the Eastern *Landdag*; and the Tamsuy *Landdag*. Initially, the Southern *Landdag* was held regularly, but the climate and frequent outbreaks of endemic epidemics in the south caused the Dutch residents irresolvable difficulties. In the east coast regions and Tamsuy and Quelang in the north, where the Dutch residents had to rely on supplies and provisions from Tayouan once a year, the *Landdagen* could not be held according to any set schedule. Both the Eastern *Landdag* and the Tamsuy *Landdag* were held only six times during the period of 1645 to 1657 (see Table 7.2 and 7.3). Differentiating Dutch dominance in Formosa begs the question of to what extent did the core area itself experience Dutch political administration, and by contrast, to what extent did the frontiers retain their autonomy. In this chapter, these two questions will be discussed by investigating the Dutch management of colonial control.

The Landdag

In 1644, the establishment of the institution of the *Landdag* as the most important political apparatus in the native administration ushered in the heyday of Dutch rule. The *Landdag* was evolved out of the peace ceremony of 1636.

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[3] These regions correspond to the present four counties: Changhua; Yunlin; Chiayi; and Tainan.

[4] *Landdag* (plural form: *Landdagen*) literally means 'land-' or 'country-day'. Andrade, 'Political Spectacle', 86.

[5] Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 39; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 39-55.

[6] Ang Kaim indicates that even though the Dutch had subjugated this region, Quataongh still remained 'semi-independent'. *See* id., 'Pei i wang te T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih', 170.

Table 7.2 Yearly schedule of Dutch Formosa

Tayouan Factory		Months	Formosan related activities	
Monsoon	Trade		Production	Administration
The northern monsoon		October	Harvest season (Cavalangh)	Auction of collecting the rice tithe
	Ships from Japan (Nov.~Apr.)	November	Hunting season (Nov.~Mar.)	
		December	Fishing season in the South (collecting the tithe) (Dec.~Jan.)	
	Ships to Batavia (Nov.~Apr.)			Expeditions
		January	Harvest season II (region of R. Tamsuy)	
		February		*Landdag* (Northern and Southern) (Feb.~Apr.)
		March	Sawing season (regions of R. Patientie, R. Tamsuy) Harvest season (mountain region of Leywang)	
		April		Supplies sent to Tamsuy and Pimaba Auction of tax farming (Apr.~Jun.)
The southern monsoon		May		*Landdag* (Pimaba)
			Harvest season (the East: Sibilien) (May~Jun.)	
	Ships from Batavia (Jun.~Aug.)	June	Sawing season (Soulang) Harvest season (Favorolang, Coulon) Trading season (Basayos to Cavalangh)	
	Ships to Japan (Jul.~Aug.)	July	Trading season (Taraboan people to Cavalangh) (Jul.~Aug.)	
		August		
		September	Season of setting snare for hunting Harvest season (regions of R. Tamsuy and R. Keriwan in Cavalangh) Sulphur mining and trading season (Tamsuy region) (Sep.~Dec.)	
				Landdag (Tamsuy, Sep.~Dec.)

Sources: Monsoons: *Formosa under the Dutch*, 7; Records of shipping in 1637-1641, see *DZ* I-II; Chinese fishing seasons: *DZ* II-F: 211; Formosan harvest seasons: *DZ* II-G: 682, 748, *DZ* III-E: 529, III-F: 571, 641; Formosan sawing seasons: *DZ* III-F: 569, 649; Formosan trading seasons: *Formosan Encounter* III: 74, 377, 565; Hunting activities: *DZ* II-E: 287, II-F: 205, III-E: 495; Supplies to Tamsuy and Pimaba: *DZ* II-E: 291, *DZ* III-E: 395, III-C: 679-80, III-F: 609-10; Action of tax farming, see Table 7.3; Formosan sulphur mining and trading season: *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 172.

Table 7.3 Political-economic time frame of Dutch rule

	Year	*Landdagen*				Tax farming
		Northern	Southern	Pimaba	Tamsuy	Auction
1.	1644	21 Mar.	19 Apr.			~25 Oct.; 12 Nov.
2.	1645	8 Mar	7 Apr.	×	13 Oct.~	28 Apr.
3.	1646	28 Feb.	28 Mar.	[5 Jan.]	30 Sep.	13 Apr.
4.	1647	19 Mar.	22 Mar.			9 Apr.
5.	1648	10 Mar.	13 Mar.			7 -11 Apr.
6.	1649	23 Mar.	26 Mar.			—
7.	1650	15 Mar.	18 Mar.		15 Nov.	18-19 Apr.
8.	1651	7 Mar.	10 Mar.		29 Nov.	17 Apr.
9.	1652	22 Mar	25 Mar.	12 Jun.		—
10.	1653	14 Mar.	17 Mar.	12 Jun.	28 Nov.	21 Apr.
11.	1654	30 Mar.	2 Apr.	20 May	[Dec.]	30 Apr.
12.	1655	19 Mar.	22 Mar.	15 May	×	30 Apr.
13.	1656	7 Mar	10 Mar.	May		5 May
14.	1657	×	×	13 Jun.	17 Dec.	30 Jun.
15.	1658	18 Mar.	21 Mar.			
16.	1659	7 Mar.	10 Mar.			
17.	1660	[23 Mar.]	[26 Mar.]			

—: no source; ×: failed to hold; [ ] failed to hold on the planned date

Revised from Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 46-54; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 26-31; Kang, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih: chêng ts'ê p'ien*, 116-19.

Sources:
I. For the Pimaba *Landdagen*: 3. *Formosan Encounter*, III, 24, 39-40; 9. The first official *Landdag*, see *Formosan Encounter*, III, 448, 461; 14. *DZ* IV-B: 176.
II. For the Tamsuy *Landdagen*: 3. *Formosan Encounter*, III: 118, 122, 124; *DZ* II-H: 386; 7. *Formosan Encounter*, III, 331, 352, 365; 10. *Formosan Encounter*, III, 479; 11. *Formosan Encounter*, III, 523, 549, 561; *DZ* III-F: 768; 14. *DZ* IV-C: 605, 642.
III. For the Northern and Southern *Landdagen* of 1657, see *GM*, 6 Jan. 1658, 494; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 31.
IV. Auction: 1. Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 268-70; 10. *GM*, 19 Jan. 1654, 391.

In October 1636, when Governor Hans Putmans handed over his office to his successor, Governor Johan van der Burch, the Dutch authorities summoned the elders from thirteen villages to bid the outgoing Putmans farewell. This amicable meeting also encapsulated the more important aim of introducing incoming Governor Van der Burch to the Formosan vassals in accordance with feudal usage—the bond formed lasted only while the two who made the contract were alive or in office, but as soon as one of these two passed away or retired, it would be automatically dissolved. At this juncture it was essential to hold a meeting to renew the mutual contract between the representative of the States-General, the Governor, and those of the Formosan vassals, the elders.[7] In April 1641, after Governor Van der Burch's death in 1640, another similar meeting, called the *Rijcxdag*, was organized to introduce the new Governor, Paulus Traudenius. Forty-two Formosan elders from fourteen villages to the north and south of Zeelandia Castle attended the gathering in the Company's garden in Saccam.[8]

The conceptualization and arrangement of the *Landdag* incorporated all the important elements from the previous peace ceremonies, including the essence of sin and expiation.[9] In 1649, the mountain allies of Knanga, Talakabus, and Kololauw broke off the alliance and murdered some Dutch soldiers in the Toutsikadang Gorge. Under the terms of the new peace treaty, they had to present their material offering—a castrated boar (*een gesneden beer*)—in acknowledgement of their crime on the occasion of the *Landdag*. In 1656, this was still an annual requirement, even though the headmen had requested this submission be waived.[10]

Except for retaining its original form and the same meeting place, the Company garden for the Northern and Southern *Landdag*, it was now processed into a more sophisticated 'political spectacle' as Andrade calls it, but in our vein of discussion perhaps a 'civilization fair' would be a more apt description. On these occasions, the Formosans were encouraged to become more 'civilized and obedient'.[11] Sitting under the roof of a Western-style pavilion (*speelhuis*), the Governor and Councillors, just as their superiors in Batavia, exhibited their power through an umbrella held over their heads, which represented power in the Indianized world.[12] Analysing the first officially recognized *Landdag* of 1644, Andrade summarizes the sequence of events of this pageantry: the greeting ceremony with cannonades and musket salvoes; the procession of smartly outfitted soldiers and halberdiers; the seating order showing the social distance between the Dutch authorities and the Formosan elders (and among the latter

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7 Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 112-14.

8 *DZ* II-A: 638-9.

9 At the *Rijcxdag*, all the Formosan representatives were instructed to welcome the Governor and the Councillors from Tayouan on the beach in Saccam. This part was skipped at the official *Landdagen* in which it was arranged they should await the arrival of the latter in the Company house. *See DZ* II-A*:* 638 and *DZ* II-E: 281-2.

10 *DZ* III-B: 992-3, 998; *DZ* III-C: 664; *DZ* III-E: 388-9; *DZ* III-F: 598; *DZ* IV-A: 186-7.

11 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 542.

12 The parallel images come from Robyn J. Maxwell, *Textiles of Southeast Asia: Tradition, Trade and Transformation* (Hongkong: Periplus, 2003), 154 and the picture in Schmalkalden, *Die Wundersamen Reisen*, 147.

themselves); the Governor's address of welcome to the attending elders; the transfer of authority from the old to the new elders; the 'holding of a court session' and a public execution to show Dutch juridical authority over the Chinese and the Formosans; the second address to announce Company policy in both political and religious matters; the final feast to eat and drink or even dance together in a joyful atmosphere.[13]

In accordance with the strength of their affiliation with the Government, it can be discerned that the Dutch authorities classified the Formosan units into four groups: 'our villages' (*onse dorpen*); 'villages with peaceful relations but with no necessity to send delegates to Tayouan' (*vreede t'admitteren*); village with an uncertain relationship and in need of more interaction; and finally, enemy villages.[14] The villages belonging to the first two categories were encouraged and rewarded not only to send their representatives to attend the *Landdag*, but also to invite their neighbouring villages to join the bond of alliance.

Before holding the *Landdag*, the Dutch authorities would send envoys to invite the elders of allied villages. The summons created tension among the inhabitants. In 1644, the representative of Kaviangangh made his journey to attend the meeting at a cost of four lives of those who were anti-Dutch and were executed by the chief of the village in front of two Dutch soldiers.[15] Attendance at the *Landdag,* however, was often affected by long distances, the condition along the route travelled; outbreaks of diseases, or drought and famine; local customs forbidding travel under inauspicious circumstances; agricultural activities; personal health and ageing; or even fear, pure and simple.[16] Especially the elders from villages in the remote mountain regions hesitated to attend the meetings. In 1651, several elders on the way to Saccam were forced to return because they could not cross the swollen rivers caused by rainy, tempestuous weather, and among those who had attended the meeting, some fell ill and even died after returning from the *Landdag*.[17]

After 1644, the velvet coat, the flag of the Prince of Orange, and the common staff, which could be bought in the market in Tayouan, were replaced by a newly designed staff or cane (*rottang*) inlaid with a silver Company insignia on the knob from Batavia.[18]

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13 Andrade, 'Political Spectacle', 71-2.

14 *DZ* II-G: 656.

15 *DZ* II-E: 294.

16 *DZ* III-F: 571; Peter Kang, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih: chêng ts'ê p'ien* 臺灣原住民史政策篇(一) [The History of Formosan Aborigines: Policy Formulation I: The Periods of Dutch, Spanish, and Ming Cheng] (Nantou: Taiwan Historica, 2005), Appendix III. About the timing for organizing the general Northern and Southern *Landdagen*, *see* Governor Verburch's explanation in *Formosan Encounter*, III, 448. About the timing for the Tamsuy *Landdag*, *see Formosan Encounter*, III, 549.

17 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 423.

18 *DZ* II-D: 49. The Dutch authorities did not prepare a special staff at the time they began to offer staffs to the elders. In March 1639, Joost van Bergen was sent to Tayouan to buy coats, flags, and staffs for the delegates from Takuvong on the orders of Governor Van der Burg. Several staffs were bought and bestowed upon the headmen of Favorlangh, Tirosen, and Soulang (*See Formosa under the Dutch*, 170). In 1641, Japanese staffs were offered to the headmen (*DZ* II, p. 6). By 1653, the staffs were shipped from Batavia (*Formosan Encounter*, III, 464). The ecclesiastical ceremony of the delivery of the insignia was imbued with more supernatural quality in European feudal society. *See* Bloch, *Feudal Society*, II, 380. According to De Beauclair, a staff was preserved by a chief's family among the Eastern Paiwan until it was

Retaining its initial character as a symbol of the elders' dignity as commanders, the symbolic power of the staff was reinforced to make it the sole symbol of Dutch authority (*gesachsteycken*: authority symbol) transferred to the Formosan elders. Andrade notes that the natives had no trouble accepting the symbol of the staff. On the contrary, they understood it very well: the staff conferred authority on its bearer. The Dutch authorities, who saw the staff as a 'sleeping draught' (*slaepdranck*) for the Formosan elders, might feel that 'the natives were taking a symbol of subjection for something that in itself conferred authority' and repeatedly stressed that 'the staff in itself had no special status.'[19]

Despite their proclamation, it was the Dutch authorities who inculcated the mystique of the prowess of the staff. The first step in this process was the association of the transfer of the staff with ritual occasions. The Formosan elders were encouraged to receive their staffs in person at the local *Landdag* or in Tayouan with even more ceremony, no matter how remote the region in which they lived.[20] Then since the Governor was said to be the sole source of power from which the authority of the staffs originated, the staffs had to return to their source and centre of power on the occasions of the *Landdag*. Even though its bearer might not be able to attend the meeting, the staff itself had to be sent back to the *Landdag*.[21] Nevertheless, as a token of Dutch-Formosan vassalage, the staffs distributed in the local villages probably were not very different from Tacaran's symbol of protection, the '*pockon*' in Formosan eyes. The *Landdag* was a stage on which to perform 'ceremonial exchange', when the Dutch authorities redistributed the 'fund' of their power and authority to their Formosan subjects. The Formosans were not so naïve as to believe that the staff in itself possessed inalienable power. The elders used their staffs just as if it were a common stick to beat unruly villagers. When the staff was burned or the silver insignia dropped off, the elder requested a new one from the authorities without displaying signs of terror of supernatural sanctions.[22] They cunningly negotiated for whatever they wanted, such as gifts, or expressed their opposition to the

presented to the Japanese Crown Prince when he visited Taiwan in 1923. *See* Inez de Beauclair, 'Dutch Beads on Formosa? An Ethnohistorical Note', *BIE* 29 (1970), 385-402 at 388. Staffs and gowns with or without Company insignia were also used in other Company settlements such as the Minahassa and the Maluku to symbolize the transfer of authority to local rulers and headmen. Illustrations of a particular ceremonial staff have not been found. For an impression of an ordinary cane with a silver knob, see the portraits of two different commanders of the return fleet in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, by Aelbert Cuyp 1640-50 (inv. nr. SK-A-2350); and by Samuel van Hoogstraten ca. 1672 (inv. nr. SK-A-158). *See* Kees Zandvliet (ed.), *De Nederlandse ontmoeting met Azië* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum and Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2002), 181-3, Ill. 88; and ibid, 188, Ill. 91.

[19] The quotation is from Andrade, 'Political Spectacle', 77-8. The term 'sleeping draught' was used by the Reverend Van Breen. *See DZ* II-G: 672.

[20] One example can be found in the east. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 39.

[21] Here is one example from 1648. When one of two elders of the village of northern Drau did not attend the Southern *Landdag*, and therefore did not send his staff back, the other elder was ordered to remind him of the rule (*DZ* III-A: 299). Should the bearer die or be sick, his/her staff had to be returned to the nearest Dutch resident (*DZ* II-J: 562). However, the Dutch authorities would take staffs back if the local elders did not regularly attend the meeting. In 1650, for example, a staff of a West Smackedaiadaia elder was retrieved by the Company for this reason (*DZ* III-B: 1004).

[22] For example, in 1648, the Company gave a new staff to the elder of East Smackedaiadaia because when he used the staff to punish a subject, the silver insignia dropped off. *See DZ* III-A: 302. For the record of the burned staff, *see DZ* III-B: 991.

Dutch authorities by claiming to have thrown the staffs away.[23]

Symbolic control was accompanied by substantial investigation for administrative purposes. A survey of Formosan censuses of households and populations was made in the period around the *Landdag*.[24] The Dutch authorities were now able to correct, confirm, or increase their local knowledge at the *Landdag*. The mistaken spelling of village names known only from hearsay before an encounter was revised by the elders. Different terms denoting the same villages from their neighbours could also be identified.[25] However, the complicated relationship among the different indigenous groups in the broad region of the Central Mountain Range easily confused the Dutch authorities. Judging by the information obtained from the locals living on the west and east sides of Formosa, three villages noted as the allies of the Dutch in the Kinitavan Gorge were indeed identical to the recorded 'unpacified' villages in the Bacanan Gorge north of Pimaba, which were probably the opponents of Dutch local allies.[26]

In the proceedings of the *Landdag*, the freedom to express a personal opinion which characterized Formosan village politics was also found. Take the Sirayan meetings of the *Tackakusach* Council as an example. The Reverend Georgius Candidius commended the participants by saying: 'I think Demosthenes himself could not have been more eloquent and more fluent with words.'[27] Likewise, the *Landdag* itself was declared by the Dutch authorities to be a meeting with the freedom to come and speak.[28] Nevertheless, the *Landdag* also led to some transformations in Formosan politics. In terms of the Sirayan big-man leadership in the core area, the appointment of elders from among several local big men delegates was an effective way to establish Dutch authority over the native populations. Despite the continuing affirmation of the transfer of authority from old elders to new elders in accordance with the Dutch custom, the Dutch authorities only inducted new elders when the old elders were no longer qualified for various reasons to serve as elders.[29] In order not to cause disorder and confusion, Governor François Caron recommended that his successor, Pieter Anthonisz. Overtwater, not replace or appoint others.[30] Non-office-holding Sirayan big men who according to their tradition used to

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[23] Since the Dutch authorities instructed their local residents that 'any time some new [elders] will show up who have never attended before, you will have to present them with a few *cangans* or other pieces of cloth, to encourage them to return in future occasions' (*Formosan Encounter*, III, 328). The elders tended to request gifts as happened in the case of Kimassauw, *see Formosan Encounter*, III, 479. The case of Taraboan in Chapter Six shows the opposition to the Dutch.

[24] For the details of carrying out the censuses, *see* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 1-55; Kang, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih*, 167-86.

[25] *See* the examples of the Northern and Southern *Landdagen* in 1646 and 1647. *DZ* II-H: 295-300, 316; *DZ* II-J: 557-62.

[26] *See* the census in Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 21, 35; Mabuchi, 'Takasagozoku no idou oyobi bunpu' (part 2), 321-2. These three villages belong to the present-day Rukai: Maga, Tona, and Mantauran.

[27] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 89; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 121. Demosthenes (384-22 BC), prominent ancient Greek orator and speech writer.

[28] For example, the Northern *Landdag* of 1646, *DZ* II-H: 303.

[29] Replacement would occur in the cases of adultery, drunkenness, incapability, laziness, old age and so on. *See* Kang, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih*, 159.

[30] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 128. In 1650, Governor-General Cornelis van der Lijn stressed the same opinion to Governor Nicolaes Verburch. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 310.

serve on the council of *Tackakusach* for only two years were now given the title '*capitang*', and allowed to keep their position until they died.[31] As mediators between the Dutch and the inhabitants, the elders had a duty to bring village matters to Dutch notice. Some became unpopular among their own people and some were even accused of abusing their authority. Governor Caron apparently had reservations about the elders' reports, since they were criticized of being over-eager to please the Dutch authorities at the expense of their countrymen.[32] By 1646, through the inception of a new procedure of gift-giving and punishment at the *Landdagen*, the practice of carrot and stick had created the rich native elite who owned the similar status of a European 'Stand'.[33]

Since these elders were sent by their fellow countrymen, the Dutch authorities had to accept local political reality and appoint them. Dika, the key trouble-maker in Dutch eyes but titled the 'King of Formosa' (*Coninck van Formosa*) by the Japanese at the time of the Hamada Yahei event, was one of four to five appointed elders for Sincan from 1641 until his death in 1649.[34] In accordance with the local rule of primogeniture in the villages in the south, the Dutch authorities also appointed young or female chiefs who hardly ever attended the meetings in person but sent their proxies instead.[35] Notably, apart from local Formosan elders, the case of a localized 'Chinese elder' attracts attention. By 1645, Lacko had become one of the two 'official elders' of Great Tackapoelangh (also called Nakanawangh), a village located in the mountains. Lacko retained this 'seat' until 1651 and his son, Lackoma, later 'succeeded' to this position.[36] To show the Company generosity and respect for the Formsan elders, the Dutch authorities usually granted the latters' requests to release their locals who were in chained or in prison in Tayouan.[37]

On the frontiers, the *Landdag* served as a significant device for connecting with the Formosans. Here it could be held only when the Dutch authorities were able to maintain power balances among the villages in these remote areas. For example, the reason for the cancellation of the Eastern *Landdag* of 1646 was poor attendance. Upon their arrival in Pimaba and seeing no elders from the enemy village of Vadan, the delegates from Supra

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31 In the Sirayan language, several related words denoted a man who ruled: king (*bonte*, from Fukienese); governor (*ong*, from Fukienese); and master (*meisisang*). *See* 'Utrecht Mss.', 134-230.

32 *DZ* II-E: 286; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 128, 130.

33 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 130; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 116. For the details of gift-giving and punishment at the *Landdagen*, *see DZ*. Kang also indicates that the *Landdag* created a new group of local elite. *See* Peter Kang, 'Ho-lan shih tai ts'un lo t'ou jen chih te she li yü Si-la-ya she hui ch' üan li chieh kou te chuan pien' 荷蘭時代村落頭人制的設立與西拉雅社會權力結構的轉變 [The inauguration of village head system and the transformation of social power structure among the Siraya during the Dutch period], 臺灣史蹟/*Taiwan shih chi*, 36 (2000), 118-35 at 121.

34 *DZ* III-B: 961-2. For more details about Dika, *see* Ang Kaim, 'Hsin-kang you kê T'ai-wan wang: shih ch'i shih chi tung ya kuo chia chu ch'üan fên chêng hsiao ch'a ch'ü' 新港有個臺灣王：十七世紀東亞國家主權紛爭小插曲 ['King of Formosa' in Sincan: The episode in the conflict of sovereignty in East Asia], paper presented at International Conference on Nations and Aborigines: History of Ethnic Groups in Asia Pacific Region. Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica. 24-25 Nov. 2005.

35 For example, at the Southern *Landdag* of 1654, the young chief of Kololauw and female chiefs in the region of Lonckjouw were not able to attend the meeting (*DZ* III-C: 659-62; *DZ* III-E: 386-90).

36 *DZ* II-H: 298; *DZ* III-C: 640. Even though there is seemingly no further information about this Lacko, it is highly possible that Lacko was originally a trader in this remote mountain area, married a local woman, and was suited to the role of middleman.

37 *See* the cases at the Southern *Landdag* in 1654 (*DZ* III-E: 384-6).

wished to return to their village as soon as possible fearing it would be attacked by Vadan.[38] In view of the local situation, the Dutch authorities encouraged the elders to attend the meeting by liberal gift-giving. In 1650, Governor Nicolaes Verburch instructed Junior Merchant Simon Keerdekoe, who resided in the northern frontier of the Tamsuy region:

> We seriously recommend and order that you continue the general annual *landdag* in that quarter … And, any time some new [elders] will show up who have never attended before, you will have to present them with a few *cangans* or other pieces of cloth, to encourage them to return on future occasions. These *landdagen* are highly necessary and useful to the well-being of the government of Formosa; particularly because they serve to bind the indigenous peoples to the Company's authority.[39]

The same strategy was encouraged in the east. Governor Verburch stressed the presentation of *cangans* at the *Landdag* was a bait to 'instil some civilization' into the inhabitants.[40]

By unifying different Formosan groups who used to live in a state of chronic hostility, the Dutch formed an alliance (*bondtgenootschap*) called 'united villages' (*verenigde dorpen*) under the Dutch-centred federation.[41] The *Landdagen* were to benefit the Commonwealth of the 'Dutch Republic in Formosa'. As the announcement at the initial *Landdag* stated, it was time to benefit all the communities in Formosa, so that symbolized harmony might conjure up the picture of 'imaged community'.[42] This imprint on the Formosan mind was especially reproduced by the happy ending in the form of the long-awaited party, the *Landdag* feast, which together with gifts enticed the elders to attend the meeting. It was the sole moment when the Dutch Governor behaved as a competent 'host' and entertained his Formosan 'guests'—the inversion of playing their original roles.[43]

Local Administration

Political ministers and clerical 'politieken'

Bureaucratic experiments other than the *Landdag* were also in the making. They were developed in tandem with missionary work in the core area. Since the second half of the 1620s, the Dutch authorities had transformed their native administration from a

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[38] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 37-9. Caesar prepared a hundred staffs for the Eastern *Landdag* in 1646. He invited the headmen of all the villages and planned to send some staffs in the course of his expedition. But only one could be sent to the headmen of Taraboan. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 33.

[39] Ibid. 328.

[40] Ibid. 448-9.

[41] Cheng Wei-chung, 'Lüeh lun Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan fa chih shih yü shê chih hsü' 略論荷蘭時代台灣法制史與社會秩序 [Some Discussions on Legal History and Social Order in Dutch Formosa], *The Taiwan Folkways*, 52/1 (2002), 11-40 at 15.

[42] *DZ* III-A: 288; *DZ* II-E: 286; Van Veen, 'How the Dutch Ran a Seventeenth-Century Colony', 77.

[43] About the role of the Governor at the feast, *see* the example of the Northern *Landdag* of 1655. *See DZ* III-F: 591.

centripetal tendency towards unification to centrifugal tendency towards separation in terms of religion and politics. To connect with the indigenous elite and spread the imprint of their rule among the inhabitants, the Dutch authorities relied on 'residents' stationed in villages. Because of their local knowledge of Formosan societies, two pioneering ministers, the Reverends Candidius and Robertus Junius, contributed not only ideas but also personally participated in the early Dutch colonial experiments. Both ministers would have preferred to hold themselves aloof from the local political administration. In 1631, Candidius suggested setting up a political judge or 'dictator' in Sincan, thereby bringing the villagers under 'political law'. Nevertheless, Governor Putmans preferred to maintain local autonomy whereby the Sincandians settled their own affairs through the *Tackakusach* council under the supervision of the ministers.[44]

In 1634, Candidius again stressed the same necessity to appoint 'judges' in Sincan, Soulang, and Bacaluan. Considering that these appointments would incur more expense and the judges would hold more direct authority over the inhabitants than the Governor, the High Government in Batavia failed to approve Candidius' suggestion. The High Government suggested that the Sincandians should be summoned before the Tayouan Council, in analogy with the case in Ambon.[45] Since this solution implied using punishment to force the Sincandians to do so, the political administration remained as before: the ministers directed local matters in collaboration with the council of *Tackakusach* whose native councillors executed the decisions.

In November 1634, the Governor and Council decided to appoint Sergeant Jan Barentsen to take over Junius' political duties in Sincan. But there is strong reason to doubt that this appointment was carried out satisfactorily. Until March 1635, the ministers were still collecting fines from the inhabitants, giving rise to irritation among them. Their position was crystal clear to the Sincandians. Lexical evidence shows that the Sirayan word for envoy, *padadingiang* was also applied to a Christian minister. Quite evidently, Dutch missionaries were considered by the Siraya to have close connection with the political authorities.[46] To obviate this invidious situation, Governor Putmans indeed requested the High Government to install a person to be in charge of local political matters.[47] In 1636, Junius complained to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber that the judicial duties from which the ministers had requested to be freed without much success, still caused them more labour and trouble than did their sacred duties.[48]

In 1641, the Dutch authorities exempted the missionaries from what had become their customary political services, not for long. Two reasons can explain the difficulties in separating Moses from Aaron. First and foremost was their familiarity with the native language which allowed the missionaries more privileges than other men in holding a

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44 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 190; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 103.
45 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 252, 270.
46 'Utrecht Mss.', 185. *Padre* was another word for minister and clergyman.
47 *DZ* I-G: 232; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 110; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 270.
48 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 142, 148, 152-3.

predominant position in village life. Secondly and more pragmatically from the perspective of the authorities in Tayouan, employing the missionaries for political matters also saved a goodly sum of money.[49]

Later, in the core area, Merchant Jan Barentsz. Pels was stationed in Soulang where his duties would encompass political and judicial affairs (*de politijcke bedieninge*) in February 1643. He was soon replaced by Merchant Cornelis Caesar in September of the same year.[50] In addition, Joost van Bergen, a former catechist or sick visitor (*krankbezoeker*) and corporal who was proficient in the Sirayan language, was deputized as Company interpreter in charge of political affairs. By 1644, the title of Substitute (*Substitute* or *Substitute Politiek*) was bestowed on him.[51]

In the regions of Favorlangh and the newly subjugated territory farther north, by April 1645, the Reverend Simon van Breen was engaged in political services. Five months later, in September, when Caesar was dispatched to Japan, his office of *politiek* in Soulang was again taken over by a clergyman, the Reverend Johannes Claesz. Bavius, who was in charge of the villages of Soulang, Mattauw, Dorcko, Tirosen, Tevorang and the east of Tevorang, where Van Breen were also stationed. The Reverend Joannes Happart was in charge of Sincan, Bacaluan, and Tavocan.[52]

In the south, *Proponent* Andreas Merquinius, who was stationed at Tapouliang, requested to be discharged from his clerical office and be appointed to a judicial position in 1643. His petition was granted because he was better acquainted with the local language than anyone else.[53] In 1645, Anthony Boey, a former tax-collector (*ontvanger*), succeeded to Merquinius' position. The south was considered such a notoriously unhealthy place that even the natives (possibly the Siraya) were said to die or at the very least to catch a disease after having visited the region, even for a short time. To encourage Boey to take up this appointment in the south, Governor Caron promoted him to the rank of merchant with a monthly salary of 60 guilders. *Proponent* Hans Olhoff was also sent to do missionary work in the south. However, Boey was soon recalled accused of serving only his own interests. Olhoff hence found himself in charge of both political and religious matters and changed his station to Verovorongh.[54] Therefore, for a brief interval of some two years, political matters island-wide again fell into the lap of the missionaries. In 1647, Merchant Eduard aux Brebies was appointed *politiek* (political

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[49] *DB*, Dec. 1641. Even schoolmasters (teachers), either Dutch or native, were ordered to engage in juridical services. Hence the Consistory decided that from then on the schoolmasters should restrict themselves to its service in the schools (*Formosa under the Dutch*, 203).

[50] *DZ* II-C: 267, 408.

[51] *DZ* II-E: 281. This office allowed Joost van Bergen to inspect the broader region of the whole west plains. *See* Substitute Van Bergen's mission of inspection in Favorlangh, the territory of Quataong, Tamsuy, Pocael, Tivora. etc. (*DZ* II-G: 657, 662, 679; *DZ* II-H: 309, 341). Van Bergen was trained by Junius and married a Sincandian woman. Before his official appointments, he had undertaken several trips to Formosan villages (*Formosa under the Dutch*, 137, 179). It seemed that the dominion of this office included the whole sweep of the western plains, which made it similar to that of the later office of the *landdrost*. *See* the following discussion.

[52] *DZ* II-G: 726.

[53] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 197.

[54] *DB*, Jan. 1645; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 198; *DZ* II-G: 699; *DB*, Dec. 1645.

administrator) in Soulang; but in the southern periphery, Schoolmaster Johannes Olario became *politiek*, when *Proponent* Olhoff died in 1651.[55]

To compensate the missionaries for their political duties, the authorities in Tayouan allowed them to share the revenues received from dealing with political matters. For example, Junius salted his income by selling hunting licences to Chinese hunters. Van Breen also gained considerably from the services he rendered to the Chinese settlers. He was allowed to receive one-third of the fines paid by the Chinese, and even when cases of his region were finally dealt with in Tayouan, he still received one-quarter of the payments.[56]

Non-clerical politieken

As the fore-going section has shown the move to non-clerical *politieken* was not an easy step for either the political or the religious authorities. In 1646, Governor Caron insisted that a civil or judicial office was only a nominal one, and that the clergymen were able to settle most affairs. His motivation was strengthened by the fact that the conflict between the clerical and the judicial persons confused the Formosans. Therefore, Caron abolished the civil or judicial office as he claimed that 'indeed judicial persons are not required as long as the minds of these poor and benighted people are not opened by religious and secular instruction.'[57] In November 1650, the Tayouan Council reported that it would entrust the political office to the Reverend Johannes Cruyff as successor to the Reverend Daniel Gravius, saying that 'as Moses and Aaron acted like one person, we think that this combination will produce the greatest amount of peace and satisfaction in Formosa.'[58]

In August 1651, during the sojourn of Commissioner Willem Verstegen in Tayouan, regular meeting days (*zittingsdag*) of Formosan Council were re-organized to receive and address complaint from the Dutch and Chinese civilians and also from the Formosans who had become accustomed to the function of the Dutch court.[59] At this juncture, the local administration was about to be changed by the High Government in Batavia. Early in May 1651, it decreed that the combination of political and clerical duties in Formosa would no longer be allowed, thereby separating the political from the religious sphere in the local administration. This change in policy, as Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker said, was to introduce a secular government (*politicquen staet*) in the manner of the Dutch ('*na de maniere van ons lant*') to the Formosans.[60] The institution of the non-clerical *politiek* was therefore established during Commissioner Verstegen's sojourn in Tayouan. Five *politieken*, originally merchants with writing skills, were to be paid a monthly salary of 65 guilders and sent to the following regions in the core area: (1) Soulang, with authority

[55] *DZ* II-J: 592, *DZ* III-C: 700.
[56] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 180; *DZ* II-G: 675.
[57] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 217.
[58] Ibid. 265.
[59] *DZ* III-D: 278-9; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 340.
[60] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 526, 534.

over political matters in Soulang, Sincan, Tavocan, and Bacaulan; (2) Mattauw, with authority over Mattauw, Dorcko, Tirosen, and Tevorangh; (3) Favorlangh, with authority over the Favorlangh District; (4) Tackays, with authority over the Tackays District. Besides these core appointments one was sent to (5) Verovorongh with authority over the southern frontier.[61] In October 1652, while each capital village in the four head regions was totally garrisoned with a complement of thirty-eight soldiers, twenty-six troops were sent to Verovorongh.[62]

Obviously, the authorities in Batavia comprehended that their decision could not change well-entrenched situations in Formosa, as Governor-General Carel Reniers (1650-3) reported to the Gentlemen Seventeen that:

> Seeing, then, that the judicial offices throughout the country were held by the respective clergymen, whose incomes drawn from this source were often so substantial that they enriched themselves in a short time and became homesick, the … Governor [was] ordered to consider, after consulting with others, what would be the best way to discharge the ministers from their judicial offices;—whether immediately and altogether, or by degrees and opportunity offered,—so that the least possible commotion would ensue, and due care be taken in every case to guard against the clergymen being treated with disrespect or contempt, because of their dismissal from the judicial office.[63]

Since the 1640s, the social engineering of the Dutch authorities had steadily created a political infrastructure. As civil officers the *politieken* had not only to keep up a regular correspondence with the Tayouan authorities, but also to engage in local inspections, sentence criminals, distribute famine relief, and supervise the transportation of deerskins, venison and so on. Instead of the missionaries, they paid the wages of the Formosan labourers in order to show them who the real boss in the villages was. The *politieken* had also to take the local census regularly in their regions after 1645. In the frontier region to the north of the Wancan River, Van Breen had the authority to deal with most local conflicts requiring capital punishment. At the *Landdag*, the Dutch authorities requested the Formosans report any conflicts within the village or with other villages to their local *politieken*.[64] The political duties of local management covered the Chinese residing in the Formosan countryside as well. From 1643, in addition to the sale of hunting licences and the supervision of the Chinese in the interior, the *politieken* had also been collecting the Chinese poll-tax, which was already levied as early as 1639 in accordance with the 'standard' policy of Batavia.[65]

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[61] *DZ* III-D: 281. In 1653, six *politieken* were employed in five places: Favorlangh District (2), Mattauw, Soulang, Sincan, and the South (*Formosan Encounter*, III, 469). By 1655, it seemed that Sincan and Tirosen had been separated and one *politiek* was stationed in each one (*See* Appendix 2).

[62] *GM*, 24 Dec. 1652, 361.

[63] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 280.

[64] *DZ* II-F: 206; *DZ* II-G: 657, 659; *DZ* II-G: 675; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 541.

[65] Andrade, *Commerce, Culture, and Conflict*, 198-202 and *DZ* II, p. 7. For the detail of the Chinese poll-tax, see Chapter Eight.

The Landdrost

Even after the High Government made a clear distinction between politics and religion at the local level, conflicts and competition between missionaries and *politieken* never vanished. As soon as *Politiek* Johannes Danckers and the Reverend Rutger Tesschmaker arrived in Soulang, they were quarrelling about who should have the better residence. The Tayouan Council solved this by deciding that the *politiek* had the right to live in a better house since he was obliged to receive visitors.[66] It was not until 1652, when an unexpected Chinese uprising occurred, that this local dual administration changed.

From 1648, in the wake of the political turbulence in China, the number of Chinese refugees fleeing to Formosa from Fukien had been mushrooming. To settle these refugees in Saccam, the Dutch authorities revived the project of building the coastal town of Provintia.[67] Unrest and discontent had been brewing for sometime and in September 1652, approximately 4,000-5,000 rural settlers, 30 per cent of the Chinese sojourning population at that time, rebelled against Dutch rule under the leadership of Kuo Huai-I (Quo Fa-yit). Within two weeks, this rebellion was quelled. With the exception of those who perished from hunger, most of the dead were beheaded by the nearly 2,000 allied Formosan volunteers from the south-west and southern plains who sought to reap the Dutch rewards: one piece of cloth for each Chinese head.[68] A reward measure had been developed to capture runaway Company slaves by 1643, when the Formosans in the north and the south were recompensed for the capture of Quinamese - and Panpang slaves: ten *cangans* or 5 reals for one slave alive. Later, in the anti-piracy campaigns, it was again applied to the seizure of Chinese pirates dead or alive.[69] Nevertheless, now to suppress the uprising, this measure was extended to the actual killing of Chinese opponents. It proved effective—about 2,600 Chinese dead—the perfect incarnation of officially sponsored punitive raids. Two years after this suppression, during the *Landdag*, the authorities were still announcing that the same rewards would be given for quashing similar rebellions in the future.[70] Formosan allies behaved as if they were enthusiastic Company native forces, receiving rewards for their service and therefore headhunting raids continued to acquire this added bonus provided by the Dutch authorities.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, the High Government introduced a third powerful political office to the island, the *landdrost* (sheriff), whose task was to deal with

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66 *DZ* III-D: 302.

67 The project failed in 1625-6. About the building of Provintia, *see* Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, I, 116-17; II, 81-2; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 48-9.

68 *GM*, 24 Dec. 1652, 356-60; 31 Jan. 1653, 366-7; *The Deshima Dagregisters*, XII, 104, 107. For detailed research on this revolt, *see* Johannes Huber, 'Chinese Settlers Against the Dutch East India Company: The Rebellion led by Kuo Huai-I on Taiwan in 1652', in E. B. Vermeer (ed.), *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 265-96; Marné Strydom, 'Pride and Prejudice: The Role of Policy and Perception Creation in the Chinese Revolt of 1652 on Dutch Formosa', *Itinerario*, 27/2 (2003), 17-36.

69 *DZ* II-C: 282, 286. For the detail of the reward measure in rounding up the pirates, see Chapter Six.

70 *DZ* III-E: 379.

island-wide political matters under the supervision of the Governor in order to preserve law and order in the Formosan plains. The *landdrost* and the *politieken* would organize a joint committee with two members of the Council of Justice to decide on important issues in the garrison town Provintia where Fort Provintia was later built. The less important issues and internal matters would be left to the local chiefs and elders as usual.[71] The *landdrost* was also expected to make irregular tours of inspection through the Formosan countryside.[72] A total of three Company personnel held this office up to the end of Dutch rule: Albert Hoogland (1653-4); Fredrick Schedel (1655-7); and Jacobus Valentijn (1658-62).[73]

Even though it seemed that the *landdrost* had been installed to control the Chinese, this office also served to mediate between missionaries and *politieken*. In his letter to the Gentlemen Seventeen in January 1657, Governor-General Maetsuyker explained that the missionaries behaved as if they were superior to the *politieken* by downplaying the latter's secular authority, and this was the reason a superior had been installed over both of missionaries and *politieken*. The *politieken* therefore were reduced to being the regional assistants of the *landdrost* who gave a face to political authority to all the local Formosan subjects.[74] It suggested that the Company had to restore its authority, especially after relying on Formosan force to subdue the Chinese Revolt.

'Civil interaction'

One of the reasons for the Chinese Revolt was related to the abuses in the collection of the poll-tax from all Chinese residents in Formosa.[75] The Chinese obligation to pay the poll-tax was based on the way the Dutch designed their civil administration in the colonies. The most expedient way for the Dutch authorities to manage to control Chinese settlers and Formosan inhabitants alike was deemed to be by creating a separate judicial system: the former were classified into a group of their own alongside the group of Company employees and free burghers.[76] The Formosans were ruled as has been sketched above. The Dutch judged different Formosan groups on a scale of civilization, and also intentionally offered the Formosans a taste of 'civilization' through their

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71 *DZ* III-E: 435, 438; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 447-8. The construction of Fort Provintia commenced in 1652. It was garrisoned in 1654, and finished by February 1656 (*DZ* III-E: 414; *GM*, 1 Feb. 1656, 441). About the labour for building Fort Provintia, *see GM*, 26 Jan. 1655, 419.

72 For example, *Landdrost* Schedel's journey in the region of the Northern *Landdag* in March 1655. *See DZ* III-F: 573-4.

73 *GM*, 19 Jan. 1654, 394; *DZ* III-E: 438; *GM*, 14 Dec. 1658, 509. The three top ranks of political office in Formosa were Governor, 'The second man' (*Tweede persoon*, also councillor in the Council of Tayouan), and the *landdrost*. *DZ* III-D: 277; *DZ* III, p. 306, note 11.

74 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 469; *GM*, 31 Jan. 1657, 463; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 388.

75 Huber, 'Chinese Settlers'.

76 In the Instruction to the College of Alderman (*het Collegie van Schepenen* or *schepen bank*) in the cases of both Batavia and the town of Zeelandia, the Chinese were called 'Chinese burghers' (*Chineesse borgers*). *See* Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 234, 246. However, the Chinese had to pay poll-tax, the Dutch did not. Their civil cases were also handled by Chinese *cabessas*.

political administration and missionary work.

In other words, the Formosans were incorporated into the Dutch idealism of formulating a barbarism-effacing 'civil society'.[77] In 1629, Governor Pieter Nuyts had suggested 'civil interaction' (*civilen ommegangh*) as a medium to transform Formosan 'pagan customs'.[78] Over twenty years later at the beginning of the 1650s, non-clerical political administrators were finally established. As Governor-General Maetsuyker hoped, this change in administration was to implant as much civil sense of public responsibility or 'civil politeness' (*burgerlijcke civiliteyt*) in the principal Formosan villages. Maetsuyker's idea could possibly have been inspired by Governor Verburch who had already used the same term to praise the Siraya villagers nearby Tayouan.[79] Verburch even drew an analogy between tackling 'Formosan barbarity' and pruning trees:

> For the time being, we shall have to face up to their barbarity our eyes open, until they finally become a little more civilized, although we surely still have to do some stringent pruning of that wild tree for a very long time.[80]

Spatial layout

Public infrastructure as a method of constructing space was introduced to the Formosan villages. The local *politieken* had to maintain official buildings, roads, bridges, ferries, churches, and schools.[81] In 1650, Junior Merchant Anthonij Plockhoy in Tamsuy reported to Governor Verburch that the inhabitants of all the ruined villages in northern Formosa had been ordered to rebuild their houses so as they aligned along one street in order to benefit commercial activities and local Company supervision.[82] This same policy was carried out in the 'old' communities in the south-west plain. By 1654, the inhabitants of Sirayan villages around Tayouan had had to rebuild their houses in a straight line to enable the road through the village to be widened. To this end, whenever an old house collapsed, the owner built a new one in the proper location. Since this policy was introduced fairly mildly without any coercion to reconstruct old houses, the change was accepted. This new layout offered the local villagers more convenience, especially in their use of ox carts.[83] Since the Dutch

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[77] The revival of natural law theory in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, indicating a return to pre-Christian notions of natural law, stressed reason as the 'founder' of modern natural law theory, Hugo Grotius, advocated. *See* Adam B. Seligman, *The Idea of Civil Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), 19-21. Early modern thinkers about civil society preserved the essential distinction between civilization and barbarism, which means rational thinking about the private and public good. *See* John Ehrenberg, *Civil Society: The Critical History of an Idea* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999), 72, 83.

[78] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 143.

[79] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 525, 534, 541, 482, 491. It was possible that the instruction from Governor-General Joan Maetsuijcker written in July 1654 had a direct connection with Verburch who had returned to Batavia and became a member of the Council in the same year. *See* Cheng Shaogang, in *GM*, p. xxxiii.

[80] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 348.

[81] *DZ* III-F: 742, 605, 566, 713, 737; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 535, 541.

[82] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 320.

[83] Ibid. 535-6.

had imported cattle and also introduced cart-driving, cattle-drawn carts emerged as a new means of land transportation. The Siraya were praised for their driving skills.[84]

Planting coconut palms in the village was encouraged. In 1648, the Dutch authorities convinced the inhabitants in the core area and in the south to plant and grow coconut palms, ten to twelve coconuts for each household, in a communal village garden supervised by local elders. This plantation project was also carried out in Chinese communities where coconut palms and other kinds of fruit trees were to be planted. Verburch's predecessor, President Pieter Anthonisz. Overtwater, expected to have no less than a thousand coconut palms planted from the north to the south of Formosa. Even though the President had claimed that it was all for 'the public welfare' (*desselffs gemene beste*), Governor-General Cornelis van der Lijn stressed the profits should be left to the inhabitants, since 'the Company does not desire the inhabitants' gardens, or coconut palms, nor do we wish to exploit their labour!'[85] In 1654, this project was still supported by the High Government, stating that, 'The planting of coconut palms in the villages is also an excellent idea, and should be stimulated as much as possible'.[86]

According to Dutch colonial planning principles and settlement typologies, the ideal scheme for a city, including the elements of public space, involved such aspects of civil as a pattern of straight-streets and gardens to promote the social function and self-sufficiency of the settlement. Dutch laid-out cities, for example, Batavia, Colombo in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and Tayouan in Formosa, even featured more complicated civil engineering works such as water-filled moats or canals.[87] Casting an approving eye on the installation of straight streets and communal gardens, both Overtwater and Verburch praised the approach of 'civil interaction' and created a spatial milieu for it, which eventually marked the initial involvement of a statist power in Formosan settlement formation.

Inter-ethnic marriage and indigenous citizenry

The 'civil interaction' approach was especially developed in social relationships. Owing to the necessity of marriages between Asian women and European men if the Dutch were to form settler societies in the Indies,[88] the Dutch authorities also fostered mixed

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[84] Ibid. 285 in 1650. For the details of carts, *see* Chen Kuo-tung, *T'ai-Wan te shan hai ching yen*, 103, 424-5. According to Chen, this vehicle was probably introduced from South-East Asia.

[85] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 211-12, 266 (citation).

[86] Ibid. 536.

[87] For the details of Dutch colonial planning overseas, *see* Ron van Oers, 'Dutch Colonial Town Planning between 1600 and 1800: Planning Principles & Settlement Typologies', APARP: Southeast Asia Research Paper Series. No.56. April, 2002. About canal construction in Batavia, *see* Blussé, *Strange Company*, 80. About canal construction in Tayouan, *see* Oosterhoff, 'Zeelandia'; Hung Chuan-Hsiang 洪傳祥, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia Ta-yüan kang pu t'i hsi te hsing ch'êng yü k'ung chien k'ai fa' 荷蘭人統治下大員港埠體系的形成與空間開發 [The Formation and Spatial Development of the Tayouan Harbor System under Dutch colonization], 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊/*Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History*, *Academia Sinica*, 39 (2003), 1-60.

[88] Blussé, *Strange Company*, 156-61; Eric Alan Jones, *Wives, Slaves, and Concubines: A History of the female underclass in Dutch Asia* (Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2003).

marriages in Formosa. Not only did the Reverend Candidius unfilled wish to marry a Formosan girl himself, he also expressed the wish that his successor should do so. As it claimed, 'This way we hope to gain God's blessing more and more,' the High Government instructed the Tayouan authorities to allow Company personnel to marry native women as well.[89] Inspired by the loyalty shown by the local mestizo population formed by intermarriages in Portuguese Ambon, such Dutch authorities as Governor Putmans also dreamed that marriages between Dutch burghers and 'the native or black nation' would assure the safety of the Company in Formosa.[90]

Intermarriage enabled the Western husband to gain access to the ownership of land or other resources belonging to the tribal communal economic system. For example, the Dutch Spanish captive, Domingo Aguilar, owned sulphur mounds and a gorge through the family ties of his Kimaurij wife with the headmen of Tapparij in the region of Tamsuy.[91] Several Company employees also owned land belonging to the natal village of their Sirayan wives.[92] In Batavia, 'Christian Asian brides', who had to be true converts and not Christian only in name were accorded the same juridical status as Dutch wives by the Company and their children's full European status was legitimized. Consequently, these Christian Asian brides of Dutchmen faced the same procedures in civil and criminal proceedings as European women, including punishment in a women's house of correction (*vrouwentuchthuis*).[93] Balanced against this they also enjoyed privileges, especially the right of inheritance. In this manner, the Company was able to build its colony by retaining the property of the deceased husbands (in due consideration of the high mortality rate among Company personnel) in the hands of their local Asian wives. These codes made the social world of Batavia a socio-political centre: enterprising men sought out rich widows and women raised their children in the Asian fashion.[94]

The social world of Tayouan was no different from that of Batavia in terms of a hybrid mix of cultures. Women and men from all over Europe, South Asia, South-East Asia, and even Spanish America flocked to Tayouan.[95] Christian Formosan brides of Dutchmen, namely 'Formosan Dutch burghers', formed a special local group in Tayouan society. They enjoyed an alternative status to their Formosan counterparts. Nevertheless, following the colonial law in Batavia, Asian brides had to fulfil the 'spiritual' requirements of 'Dutchness' when the Commission for Matrimonial Affairs were set up under the Court of Aldermen (*Schepenbank*) for non-Company-residents in 1632.[96] Mindful of the strict requirements, the Tayouan authorities hence sought to create 'qualified' Formosan

89 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 142, 149; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 100-1.

90 Jones, *Wives, Slaves, and Concubines*, 79; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 284-5.

91 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 324. *See* also Chapter Six.

92 *See* the example of *Politiek* Joost van Bergen and Schoolmaster Jan Druyvendaal in *DZ* III-E: 412.

93 For the details of the requirement of profession of the Christian religion for Asian brides in Batavia, *see* Blussé, *Strange Company*, 169-71. For the juridical part, *see* Jones, *Wives, Slaves, and Concubines*, 109-13; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 341-4.

94 Blussé, *Strange Company*, 172-6; Id., *Bitters Bruid: Een Koloniaal Huwelijksdrama in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 1998); Jones, *Wives, Slaves, and Concubines*, 75-6.

95 Heyns and Cheng Wei-chung in *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 33.

96 Ibid. 71-109.

girls for Company men through inculcating the Dutch way of life and religious education. Lamey girls were brought up to play such a role as 'preparatory Company wives'.[97] Most Lameyan girls were married to different professions and ranks of Company personnel, such as merchants, assistants, *politieken*, catechists, teachers, officers, soldiers, gardeners and so forth. Some married several times because of their husbands' short life span (See Table 7.4). However, frequent matrimonial relationships only intensified the social relationship among the Lameyans themselves and between them and other nations and formed Lameyan affinities. The social circle of Hans Balthazar Wolf, van Laubach, a German manager of the Company arsenal may serve as an example. In 1659, Wolf married a Lamey woman named Catharine, a widow of a man from Batavia. After this marriage, he frequently attended baptisms of Lameyan and Formosan children.[98]

In contrast to their favouring of Dutch-Formosan intermarriage, the Dutch authorities forbade marriage between Chinese and Christian Formosan inhabitants in the frontier as this was accounted a 'pernicious infringement' from the beginning.[99] In the core area, since hardly any Chinese were Christians, Chinese-Formosan marriages were not common in Tayouan.[100] However, while Company men might seek rich Lameyan widows to promote themselves, Chinese entrepreneurs seemed to covet Christian Lameyan maiden to benefit from the Dutch affiliations of the latter. Cheng highlights the case of Chinese Zaqua and his Lameyan wife. In 1648, a Lameyan woman resettled in Soulang was adopted, educated, and married to Zaqua by the Reverend Junius. They had four children who were baptized as Christians. However, Zaqua showed no sign of wanting to abandon his old way of life with several concubines, but also utilized the connections of his Lameyan wife and the Church to maximize his profits which were then sent back to China. In 1657, this poor woman and two of her children died of smallpox. The other children were left behind with their father who intended to convert them to the Chinese religion and to subject the girl to the custom of binding women's feet.[101]

The process of creating a viable citizenry (*burgerschap*) of Lameyan orphans, both boys and girls, commenced at an early age. In 1643, the Dutch authorities established an Orphan Chamber (*Weeskamer*) to function as a modern probate court.[102] Most of the Lameyan orphans had already been settled in Dutch families, who became their guardians rather than the State which would have placed them in orphanages.

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97 Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 342.

98 The case discussed is based on the marriage and baptism records from *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*.

99 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 565.

100 Heyns and Cheng Wei-chung in *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 65. In September1644, the Tayouan Council decided that if a Chinese wanted to stay with his local Christian wife, he had to receive a Christian education and to be baptized before the beginning of the next year. Otherwise, this couple would not be allowed to live together (*DZ* II-F: 173-4). However, this does not seem to have been pursued in reality.

101 Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 347-51; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 512.

102 *DZ* II-C: 408. On the function of the *Weeskamer*, *see* Jones, *Wives, Slaves, and Concubines*, 88-9.

Table 7.4 Marriage between Lameyan women and European men, 1650-1661

	Christian name (Lameyan name)	Date of marriage	Husband's name	Career	Origin
1.	Maria	~1650	Adriaen de Heems		
2.	Catrina	~1650	Adam Henningh	Se	
3.	Anniken,	6 Mar. 1650	Hendrick Crambeer		(G) Lubeck
	Annica	12 May 1658	Anthonij de Buck	G	(B) Gent
4.	Monique,	24 Apr. 1650	Claes Theunissen	E	(NL) De Steeg
	Monica	14 Apr. 1652	Joannes Olario	S, Po	(NL) Deventer
	(Taguatel)	29 Nov. 1657	Anthonij van Arckel	PS	(NL) Gorcum
		7 Nov. 1658	Joannes Renaldus	A	(NL) The Hague
5.	Catarina,		Willem Gerrits	T	
	Catrina	30 Apr. 1651	Harman Willem Eickmans	A	(NL) Amsterdam
		25 Jan. 1660	Christoffel Oliviers	S	(NL) Amsterdam
6.	Sara (Vongareij)	3 Feb. 1652	Sicke Pieters	Pi	(NL) Amsterdam
7.	Sara	29 Sep. 1652	Marinus Hendrick	So	(NL) Hoedekenskerke
	(Tivorach,	1 Jul. 1657	Jasper Simons	So	(NL) Amsterdam
	Tivarach)	20 Jun. 1660	Jan Juriaans	So	(NL) Amsterdam
8.	Sara	29 Dec. 1652	Jan Mol	M, Po	
9.	Maria		Hendrick Hamton	K	
		16 Feb. 1653	Juriaen Scholten	Sc	(G) Lubeck
		13 Jun. 1655	Gerbrant Jans Koster	St	Bont.
10.	Anna		Jan Hendricxs	F	(NL) Enschede
		10 Aug. 1653	Albert Volckers	So	(G) Greetsiel
11.	Hester	~14 Sep. 1653	Jacob Meijer	F	(G) Augsburg
12.	Maria	14 Sep. 1653	Jacob Meijer	F	(G) Augsburg
		12 May 1658	Egbert Jans de Haes	Pr	(G) Osnabrück
13.	Anna Carrij		Anthonij Six	F	
		21 Dec. 1653	Thomas Jans	Sv	(NL) Arnhem
14.	Sarival	~21 Dec. 1653	Steven Jansen	S	(NL) Amsterdam
15.	Anna	~8 Feb. 1654	Salvador de Costa	F	
16.	Sara	8 Feb. 1654	Salvador de Costa	F	
17.	(Teijsou)	8 Aug. 1655	Barend Stuurman	[S]	(NL) Amsterdam
18.	Hester	30 Jan. 1656	Pieter Jans(sen)		(NL) Dordrecht
19.	Elisabeth		Pieter Preekstoel	So	
		17 Sep. 1656	Jacob Adix	Se	(G) Oldenburg
		30 Jun. 1658	Francois Melcherts	R	(D) Alsen
20.	Maria		Jan Hendrixen	V	(NL) Haarlem
		14 Apr. 1658	Adriaen Juriaen Lamberth	I	(NL) Ijzendijke
		21 Dec. 1659	David Cotenburch	Se	(NL) Amersfoort
21.	Sara	~1 Sep. 1658	Nicolaes Barents	MJ, Po	(S) Gothenburg
22.	Catharine	8 Jun. 1659	Hans Balthazar Wolf	Ma	(G) Laubach
23.	Catharina		Gabriel Vivan	Se	
		15 Feb. 1660	Jacob Jans Keijser	So	(NL) The Hague

Source: *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 174-267, 328, 334, 336, 358, 423-8

Abbreviation in the item of profession (or status): [ ]:provisional
A: assistant; E: equerry; F: free burgher; G: gardener; I: inspector of the butcher's hall; K: catechist; Ma: manager of Company's armoury; MJ: junior merchant, *ondercoopman*; Pi: pilot of Tayouan canal; Po: *politiek*; Pr: provost in service; S: schoolmaster; R: rudder maker in service; V: vendrich (standard-bearer); Sc: schieman (boatswain or skipper) ; Se: sergeant; So: soldier; St: sexton; Sv: Company's servant; T: interpreter;
Abbreviation in the item of origin from the current country:
B: Belgium; D: Denmark; G: Germany; NL: The Netherlands; S: Sweden

They belonged to the juridical category of 'minors' (adolescents)—persons who had not yet reached legal adulthood ('majority') at the age of twenty-five as codified in both the Netherlands and the colonies in 1642.[103] These Lameyan orphans were provided with juridical and financial remedies after the depopulation scandal was exposed in 1647, and the age of legal adulthood was adjusted to twenty.

In 1649, the High Government in Batavia requested Dutch host families dwelling on Formosa to treat and pay their Lameyan servants properly according to the latter's age: by the age of twelve, these children earned their subsistence and clothes, and from twelve to sixteen, they earned 8 reals a year, which would be increased to 12 reals a year at the age of twenty. At that age they became free burghers, including those girls who were engaged by the age of twenty, unless they were willing to continue in service.[104]

'*Sign of loyalty*'

Even though the Formosans were not citizens, they had to pay recognition imposed by the Dutch authorities in the form of an annual tribute—quasi-taxes in feudal terms. Instead of the pots with *pinang* trees and coconut palms as the symbols of the transfer of sovereignty, we have already seen, an annual tribute, known as the 'sign of loyalty', became the only acceptable price the Formosans could pay to transform Dutch violence into protection. Facing administrative costs, the Dutch authorities were poised on the threshold of transposing symbolism into pragmatism.

During the early period of their settlement, the Siraya villages in nearby Tayouan had received an annual allowance from the Dutch for the use of their land. But givers and receivers were to change roles in the wake of the Dutch establishment of power and authority. In October 1625, the High Government in Batavia had suggested that the Dutch authorities in Tayouan should persuade the Formosans to donate a voluntary contribution (*vrijwillighe contributie*) and if that did not succeed, they could try to press them to pay the Company some subsidies (*eenighe subsidien*). Shortly before his death, Governor Sonck replied that if he had been able to induce them into voluntarily donating any revenue, he would have already done so. Sonck believed that forcing the Formosans to pay could lead to resistance and they had nothing to give anyway, since 'their only care is to collect their daily bread.'[105] Therefore, even though the High Government proposed levying taxes on the Formosans, the Dutch authorities in Tayouan reported that they could not carry out its orders.

In November 1629, in the first draft of the peace treaty, the Dutch authorities demanded an annual tribute (*erkentenisse*) from both the defeated villages of Mattauw and

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[103] On the minors and majority in juridical terms, *see* Jones, *Wives, Slaves, and Concubines*, 86-9.

[104] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 265. In Batavia, native Christians would receive a small monetary allowance, and they could not be sold into slavery for debts. *See* Blussé, *Strange Company*, 166.

[105] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 43-5.

Bacaluan. Later this demand was withdrawn.[106] In May 1636, the Spaniards in Quelang imposed taxes on the locals in the guise of an annual tribute consisting of two fowls and three *gantang* of rice for every married person. This stirred up resistance.[107] The refractory attitude to the imposition of a Spanish tax was no different from the contemporaneous Dutch independence struggle begun more than sixty years earlier against the tithes imposed by the Spanish Crown.[108] When Governor Putmans was writing his memorandum for his successor, Governor Van der Burch, he still objected levying a 'tax' on the Formosans:

> For the time being taxes (*lasten*) should not be levied on the inhabitants of Formosa: Coming to this subject we would like to mention that (notwithstanding that the people of this island are rude, blunt, and filthy as well as ugly barbarians and pagans, yet they have a natural understanding and conception of how to discriminate between right and wrong and to comprehend something with their minds, and they are willing to learn something) any judgment we make should not administer these weak stomachs with an overdose of the victuals of our multiple national customs and praiseworthy laws (although it surely would be laudable if we could do so without running the risk of irritating them), nor should we impose any levies on them such as tolls or impositions (because they are impecunious).[109]

Despite such reasonable advice from its men-on-the-spot, in 1643, under pressure from the High Government, the Dutch authorities in Tayouan began to demand the levying of local products from Formosan villages. Reviewing the territorial conquests in the island, Governor-General Anthonio van Diemen emphasized that the Company goal was to make a profit from its conquests instead of burdening its account. He disagreed with the criticism raised by the Reverend Junius who urged that levying tribute be delayed and argued that the Company was in dire need of some profits to counterbalance the enormous administrative drain on its expenses.[110] The Dutch authorities couched their request for the tribute from their Formosan vassals in terms of European feudal obligations and as the payment for the benefit of enjoying law and order. Governor Traudenius required that the Formosans should submit a surplus of rice as tribute to their 'lord' in exchange for the peaceful life they could enjoy under Dutch protection. Governor-General Van Diemen was adamant that in recognition of their lord and protector and as a sign of their loyalty, the Formosans had to pay tribute. He instructed the Tayouan authorities to collect the tribute properly, and stated that any village which refused to pay should be admonished.[111] By claiming that the paltry sum could not defray the costs of the Company generosity, as Andrade points out, levying tribute served to gain more symbolic capital for the Company.[112] Such symbolic capital demonstrated the intrinsic inequality of the 'debt relationship' between the Formosans and the Company.

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106 Ibid. 166-8, 171-2.

107 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 125.

108 Leonard Blussé and Natalie Everts, 'Introduction', in *Formosan Encounter*, III, p. xxiii. The Dutch fought against the Spanish Crown between 1568 and 1648.

109 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 132-3.

110 Ibid. 390-1.

111 Ibid. 351, 354, 390-1 (Abstract).

112 Andrade, 'Political Spectacle', 78-9.

In his study of the Tagalog under Spanish colonization, Vicente Rafael stresses that since the full payment of debts would be always deferred, the payment was demanded in a timetable of sorts which formed a system of 'indebtedness' in the colonial context.[113] Tribute was then an obligatory payment of indebtedness on a yearly basis.[114]

From the beginning, the Dutch treated the Formosan agreement to provide rice as a 'voluntary contribution', disregarding the subservient position the Formosans were in. When the villagers of the southern villages made a 'voluntary contribution' of rice to the Tayouan authorities by 1643, Governor Traudenius ordered the Council of Formosa:

> Your Excellencies … will continue to levy the excise that the inhabitants of the villages situated in the south have voluntarily contributed this year to the Company, following our request, to wit ten bundles of paddy.[115]

In return for the staff as a symbol of Dutch authority, the Dutch authorities demanded a sign of Formosan loyalty, the tribute.[116] The survey of Formosan censuses of households and population during the *Landdag* laid the foundations for imposing the annual tribute on every Formosan household. It indicated that the colonial administrators would 'tax' their Formosan vassals, over and above the usual taxes imposed on Chinese citizens in Formosa.[117] This marked another step towards establishing the monopoly of taxation in the process of state formation.[118]

In May 1643, the Tayouan Council announced that it would not impose the tithe, as President Maximiliaen Lemaire stated: 'The Company does not require tithe, nor did we request them to do so.' Nevertheless, Governor-General Van Diemen continued to refer to the tribute as a tithe.[119] The Company servants in Formosa were also confused about these two systems. Apparently, in their understanding, although the Tayouan authorities had never imposed a tithe on the Formosans, in substance tribute was a kind of tax.[120] The Dutch authorities explicitly turned these 'voluntary' contributions into mandatory

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113 Vicente L Rafael's research on the situation of the Tagalog people under Spanish colonization in 'Confession, Conversion, and Reciprocity in Early Tagalog Colonial Society', *Comparative Studies of Society and History*, 29 (1987), 320-39 at 334-5.

114 However, it seemed that not all villagers had to pay tribute. All families of principals who were in power as well as destitute people were excused. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 507.

115 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 351.

116 Andrade points out that the staff and the annual tribute were both a material-cultural symbols of Dutch rule. *See* Andrade, 'Political Spectacle', 78.

117 *DZ* II-H: 304. The opinion of the Tayouan authorities was illuminated in Heyns' research. Heyns stresses that as vassals not citizens the Formosans were exempted from paying taxes. As he notes: All taxes were levied upon the Chinese subjects, not on the aboriginal vassals. Aborigines did not pay taxes since the peace treaties did not require this. These treaties investiture feudal tenure in Dutch Formosa demanding that they paid the VOC homage and fines, but the payment of 'a real burden', as described by Grotius, was not demanded. *See* Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 130.

118 Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 344-62.

119 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 376, 391.

120 From the VOC archives, we notice the confused usage of terminology concerning the matter of 'tribute', namely, the terms of 'tribute' (*recognitie*) and 'tithes' (*tienden*). Before Corporal Van der Linden came to Pimaba as a manager of eastern Formosa, President Lemaire instructed him to persuade the people in Pimaba pay the *tribute*. Curiously, in August 1643, Van der Linden reported back that: 'They [the villagers of Pimaba] also promised to pay the *tithe* in due time' (*Formosan Encounter*, II, 409).

ones in their relationship with the Formosan allies.

Villages situated in the southern plain first paid ten bundles of paddy per household to the Dutch authorities as tribute. Later, because their bundles were bigger in size, households in the east were expected to pay five bundles per year. In the south-west plain, even though the Reverend Junius thought it was still too early to do so, the Tayouan Council decided to persuade the villagers of Sincan, Bacaulan, Tavocan, Mattauw, and Soulang to grow more rice than needed for their daily consumption in order to pay tribute.[121] Since some areas were already accustomed to producing skins for exchange, the Dutch authorities added deerskins to the list of acceptable tribute items. The new rule was the following: twenty catties of pure paddy or instead four deerskins *cabessa* (the best quality), or two elk-skins, whichever suited the Formosans best.[122] Deerskins, an important commodity in the trade with Japan, soon became the most favoured item as annual tribute. In 1644, President Lemaire claimed that for the convenience of the Formosans and also because deerskins suited the Company better, the Dutch authorities encouraged the locals to pay their tribute in skins at any time throughout the whole year except at the rice harvesting season. The rules changed as follows: in future every household had to pay annually, two elk-skins or four deerskins *cabessa*, or eight *bariga* (the middle quality) or sixteen *pee* (the lowest quality), instead of paddy.[123] Local produce later forced Governor Caron to allow the usual rice payment. In the southern plain, as well known for its rice as the region of Cavalangh, Caron had to order the local Company servants to collect the tributes in rice because it was more convenient for the people, even though the Company preferred to be paid in deerskins. However, unlike the Cavalangh persistence in paying tribute in rice, evidence showed that some southern plains villages did indeed pay in skins in response to Company preference.[124]

Collecting and shipping local tribute to Tayouan became a significant event in specific seasons. In 1644, for example, January and February emerged the season to collect tribute to both the north and the south of Tayouan. In the plain regions of the Northern *Landdag*, rice tribute would be transported to Soulang. Tribute in skins came mainly from the regions of Favorlangh and Davolee.[125] In the south, the plains inhabitants were urged to prepare their rice tribute and ship it to Tancoya and from there to Tayouan.[126] From March to April, the inhabitants living in eastern and northern Formosa were supposed to submit a certain quantity of paddy and skins to Pimaba, Tamsuy, and Quelang, where the tribute was collected and then forwarded to Tayouan.[127] In 1646, because some villages

121 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 351-2, 376.

122 Ibid. 396.

123 Ibid. 432-3; *DZ* II-E: 283.

124 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 507. Tapouliang submitted deerskins instead as in the example of 1645 (*DZ* II-G: 679). For the case in the region of Cavalangh, see Chapter Six.

125 *DZ* II-D: 33, 42; *DZ* II-E: 281.

126 *DZ* II-D: 33-4, 42.

127 *DZ* II-E: 281; *DZ* II-G: 679-80. The cases of 1646 show more records of quantities of tribute. In April 1646, the tribute collected from Pimaba for Tayouan was as follows: 3,425 catties of paddy and 1,552 pieces of all kinds of skins (*DZ* II-H: 328). In May 1646, the total tributes included 7,270 pieces of skins and also paddy were collected in northern Formosa. *See DZ* II-H: 335, 338.

feared to deliver their tribute in person to Tamsuy, the Tayouan authorities agreed to send a junk to the estuaries of the Sinkangia and Tixam Rivers, to pick up and transport the tribute.[128]

The levying of the annual tribute was carried out in a milder way in order not to provoke opposition from the Formosans. In 1644, the villages which had newly joined the Dutch-Formosan alliance were exempted from paying an annual tribute for the first year. Furthermore, by 1646, the mountain inhabitants, the poor in the east and the elderly, the widows, and the poor in the regions of Tamsuy and Quelang were said to have been exempted from paying the tribute.[129]

In Dutch eyes these may have been reasonable concessions, but the introduction of tribute met with local obduracy in way of payment, considerable ignorance, and even resistance in the region of Cavalangh. In 1645, the Dutch authorities considered punishing the Cavalangh people because they submitted too little tribute. Again, two years later, only two out of forty-six villages paid the tribute in 1647.[130] The Cavalangh people were not the only one who balked at meeting their 'obligations'. In September 1646, Governor Caron wrote in his letter to Junior Merchant Jacob Nolpe, *Opperhoofd* in Tamsuy: 'We notice increasingly that the payment of the tribute mightily vexes the inhabitants all over Formosa, and makes them averse of the Honourable Company.'[131] Caron expressed his sympathy, as he pointed out that had the Dutch not mentioned the obligation of paying a tribute to the Formosans, no cause for rebelliousness would have been given. The resistance from the villages situated along the north-western coast between Taurinab and Tamsuy, in Pocael, and Dockedockol all stemmed from the same reason as that which had provoked the region of Cavalangh to rebel. The Governor maintained that the proceeds of the tribute itself were less important than the honour and respect paid by these people to the Company.[132] Meanwhile, the Reverend Junius and the former Governor Putmans, at a meeting with the Gentlemen Seventeen after their return to Holland, also expressed the same sympathy on behalf of the Formosans.[133] Caron instructed a new rule of 'moderate' imposition. First, the poor, the widows, and the elderly continued to be exempted from paying tributes. Second, local residents had to collect the tribute in a less insistent manner. Third, only half of the initial tribute was imposed on the allies north of Tirosen.[134]

Although in March 1647 more Cavalangh villages began to agree to pay their tribute, the Dutch authorities learned two months later that most of the Cavalangh people were busily engaged in warfare and refused to pay the tribute.[135] In the north-west, the Baritsoen people also refused to unite with the Company arguing that tribute was the only thing in

128 *DZ* II-H: 365-6; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 107, 114.
129 *DZ* II-E: 283; *DZ* II-G: 759; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 116, 120-1, 129, 138.
130 *DZ* II-G: 708; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 111, 196; *DZ* II-H: 339.
131 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 120.
132 Ibid. 129-31.
133 Ibid. 133.
134 Ibid. 129.
135 *DZ* II-J: 555, 587.

which the Company was interested, and they would rather take up arms against the Dutch than pay.[136] In the east, three soldiers were murdered by Terroema people when they visited that village to claim the tribute. When the High Government in Batavia was informed about this loss of lives on a later occasion, it rapped President Overtwater over the knuckles in a letter: 'Why did you put our men at risk by sending them over to claim a few deerskins or a little paddy? That is nothing compared to the loss of three lives.'[137]

In July, several headmen from the region of Cavalangh went all the way to Tayouan to lodge an appeal against the tribute. Coincidently, on the same day, Governor-General Van der Lijn signed a letter ordering the cessation of the collecting of tribute all over Formosa without any exception. As Van der Lijn wrote to President Overtwater:

> We notice it is carried out not at all according to our intentions; robbing these poor naked people from their food and clothes even before they themselves have any is definitely not the Company's highest goal. … We will be satisfied if they want to live in peace with us, and demonstrate their obedience to us.[138]

One month later, the Tayouan authorities began to announce this change of policy to their local residents in the expectation that their relationship with the Formosans would greatly improve.[139]

Competitive Formosan order

More experiments at introducing the civilizing process met local challenges. At the *Landdag* meeting, the Dutch authorities announced their regulations to the Formosan inhabitants. Cheng argues that the *Landdag* transformed from a meeting of reaffirmation of a feudal relationship between the Governor and the elders into that of a *Standstaat* in which the Dutch Governors and the governed Formosan formally met.[140] Through the oral transmission of regulations to the Formosan elite, the Dutch intended to make all the Formosans 'more civilized and obedient' and to 'improve their standard of living'.[141] These regulations regarded the punishment of those who failed to pay the annual tribute, rules about trading with the Chinese, and corvée labour demands and so forth.[142] Some of these rules appeared to conflict with the Formosan social order and were hard for the inhabitants to follow.

'*Misbehaviour*' *and punishment*

136 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 197.
137 Ibid. 200.
138 Ibid. 199.
139 Ibid. 202-3.
140 Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 121.
141 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 534, 542.
142 *DZ* II-H: 301-3; *DZ* III-C: 653. The Northern *Landdag* of 1646 is one of the examples of the announcement of the punishment of those who failed to pay the tribute (*See DZ* II-H: 304).

From the beginning, Dutch administrators and Formosan elders dealt with Formosan juridical cases together consulting local tradition; as the Reverend Junius pointed out, the Formosans could not be judged by Dutch law without taking their language, customs, and manners into consideration. The Formosan notions of misbehaviour and punishment and the way in which punitive measures should be meted out were very different from those of the Dutch. In Sirayan society, the Reverend Candidius observed that the Sirayans had a different definition of 'sins', which he considered were merely 'fanciful inventions' not forbidden by the Law of God. But some 'manifest sins', such as lying, stealing, and murder, also belonged to the indigenous category of 'crime'.[143]

Such grievous misbehaviour as robbery and murder was punished in private in most Formosan societies. For example, when a murder was discovered, the murderer had to escape the revenge of the kinsmen of his victim. Significantly, the Formosans equated wealth and a life.[144] Paying a ransom was the customary way to resolve a case of manslaughter. In the case of a murder, the kinsmen of the victim and the murderer would negotiate with each other to seek a settlement in the form of such material offerings as pigs or deerskins. Candidius indicated that the Siraya possessed no prisons, no chains, nor any type of corporal punishment, not even the death penalty. The wrongdoers would be fined with payments of piece-goods, deerskins, rice, jars full of their strong drink, the amount of all these depending on the seriousness of the case.[145] The same custom was adhered to the negotiation of peace after open warfare or raids on rivals from the societies with a more centralized leadership. In 1647, villagers of Kaviangangh beheaded some people from Potnongh, both these hierarchical societies inhabited the mountain region of the south. To the surprise of *Politiek* Hans Olhoff, the headmen of Potnogh were satisfied with a mere ransom of big iron pans, *parings*, and beads offered by the people of Kaviangangh.[146] In northern and eastern Formosa, the same practices were followed.[147]

Consequently, the Formosans experienced a culture shock when Dutch ideas of 'law' and 'punishment' were imposed on their societies. In European society, corporal punishment or public executions were usual as these were deemed to set an example and act as a deterrent. The Tayouan authorities preferred to send military or civil Company servants to the local villages and carried out sentences on the 'criminals' in public to set an example on an *ad hoc* basis.[148] When an elder of Pangsoya, Tacomey, was murdered by

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143 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 142; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 131. Concerning the Formosan 'sins', as Cheng indicates, these were more akin to the modern understanding of taboos. *See* Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 125-7. A great gap yawned between the Dutch missionaries and the Formosans about the identification of 'sin' pertaining to gender and sexual relationships. *See* Chapter Nine.

144 The chief of Pangsoya in southern plain was said to impose death penalty on his subjects. *See* Chapter one.

145 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 121, 123. The meaning of chain can be seen in the Siraya word of '*tatakir*' ('Utrecht Mss.', 195) and Favorlangh '*kakoen*'. In the Favorlangh language, '*ka koen-an*' meant prison ('Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect').

146 *DZ* II-J: 589.

147 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 287; *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 178-9.

148 In 1637, the Sincan murderer of a Lameyan child had been flogged in public as we have seen in Chapter Four.

his fellow villagers, Tacomey's party damaged the crops and killed the pigs of the murderer's party in accordance with their tradition. Governor Putmans, however, decided to lead 140 solders on a punitive expedition in order to hold a trial to punish the murderers in the presence of all the villagers and elders from the neighbouring villages.[149] In 1642, three villagers of Soulang who had murdered several children were hanged and their bodies were left bound to the gibbet at the entrance of the village. Such a penalty caused the villagers to flee from their villages since they were afraid that the Dutch would engage in more killing.[150]

Conflict between the sense of community and of individuality was unavoidable. Cheng notes that the Siraya lived in close communion with each other.[151] Such a communal sense was also shown by other Formosan groups. Even though it may have been because they were afraid of the ravage which might be wrought by the party of wrongdoers, perpetrators of crimes were pointed out and sent to the Dutch expediently only to serve as scapegoats to prevent the Dutch from destroying the whole village. The Dutch authorities learned to manipulate this aspect of the Formosan character. By 1644, the measure of offering a reward was also applied among the Formosans. When serious events happened, fellow Formosans were encouraged to capture runaway 'criminals', 'suspects' or 'offenders' by the offer of rewards from the Dutch authorities.[152] In 1649, Catechist Elias Pietersen was murdered in Tackays. The Tayouan authorities tortured the suspects but still could not find the identity of the murderer. The High Government in Batavia suggested that, 'all the male villagers over fifteen years of age should draw lots, and ten of them be condemned to wear chains till the real murder be discovered'. This penalty would remain in force for the rest of their lives, but the Tayouan authorities considered this was too harsh a measure to visit on innocent parties.[153]

In 1643, owing to rampant crime in the south, for the first time the Tayouan authorities ordered the criminals be sent to Tayouan for punishment in order to set an example.[154] In the north, two such 'criminals' from the region of Favorlangh were sentenced in Tayouan two years later. 'Potential wrongdoers' were ordered to be sent to Tayouan as well. Three poor, idle young men who loafed about in the village of Turchara were sent to Tayouan and distributed among the Dutch households.[155]

From 1645, the Council of Justice of Zeelandia Castle, which was first established to deal with Chinese matters in 1636, now also began to try Formosan cases.[156] In 1655, this Council of Justice and some local *politieken* formed a special committee to resolve

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149 *DZ* I-K: 443-5; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 76-84.
150 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 189.
151 Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 323-4.
152 *DZ* II-F: 159, *DZ* II-G: 691.
153 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 253.
154 *DZ* II-C: 303
155 *DZ* II-G: 672, 691, 693.
156 In November 1636, the Company begun to interfere in legal matters related to the Chinese through a provisional committee, which was later to transform into formal council of the Company and the Court of Justice. *See* Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 185-6.

Formosan cases.[157] After a permanent committee was established, the suspects in such 'significant' cases as stealing, defrauding, and murder were sent to prison in Zeelandia Castle and then their sentence carried out on the designated execution ground of Tayouan after a trial. Execution became a public spectacle in Formosan daily life. The inhabitants were invited to witness the execution of native or Chinese wrongdoers in Tayouan or at the *Landdag* in Saccam. In 1651, many inhabitants from Sincan, Mattauw, and Soulang came to Tayouan to witness the execution of a man who had murdered his wife. In 1654, Rongino, a villager of Cattia located in the south, was publicly executed in Tayouan for murder.[158]

Those who were rounded up could not tolerate transportation and imprisonment. For Formosans, to be sent in shackles to Tayouan usually meant a journey of no return. In May 1655, a Favorlangh murderer committed suicide one day after he had been detained in the prison of Zeelandia Castle, and his body was hanged on the gallows.[159] Apart from the death penalty, flagellation, chain labour, and banishment were often used to deal with Formosan criminals. The remote and unhealthy south became a place of banishment for the Formosan offenders. In 1648, some Soulang arson suspects were exiled to the south, even though there was no evidence to prove their guilt.[160]

In the cases of Lamey and Lonckjouw, 'insubordinate' Formosans were sent into exile in Batavia. In 1642, Governor-General Van Diemen urged that obstinate Formosans should be punished by sending them over to Batavia.[161] In the following year, Catechist Andreas Merquinius working in the south sent five mountain villagers of Pagiwangh to Tayouan for stealing in the plains village of Swatalauw. These thieves were then sent to Batavia. This event impeded the elder of Pagiwangh, Tipapi, from attending the *Landdag* of 1648 because one of the thieves was his brother.[162] In addition, two thieves from Favorlangh, who had been condemned to eight months of labour in chains in Tayouan, were shipped to Batavia. To root out rebellion, one headman from the region of Tamsuy in the north who was said to have stirred up his subjects against the Company was also shipped to Batavia.[163]

Regulation of mobility

Traditionally, migration was a frequent occurrence among the Formosans in reaction to warfare, the demands of a subsistence economy, changing conditions in the environment, failure of harvests, and even simply accidental outbreaks of fire. In the wake of such disasters, the inhabitants would leave their original villages to live with friendly

157 *DZ* III-C: 676; *DZ* III-F: 763.
158 *DZ* III-C: 676-7; *DZ* III-E: 501.
159 *DZ* III-F: 624-7.
160 *DZ* III-A: 340.
161 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 298.
162 *DZ* II-C: 303, 394; *DZ* III-A: 299.
163 For both cases, *see DB*, Feb. 1645.

neighbours or to build new settlements.[164] These kinds of spontaneous indigenous migrations were later interfered with by the colonial administration. Formosan villagers could no longer move as they wished without first reporting this to local administrators in order to obtain permission. When Substitute Joost van Bergen found out that a couple from Tevorang had moved to Tarraquangh in the region of the Northern *Landdag* in 1644, he ordered them to return to their former dwelling-place. In 1646, the regulation about fixed settlement was announced at the *Landdag*.[165] To what extent the policy was carried out is arguable. Much must have depended on the different degree of local Dutch rule.

For their part, the Dutch authorities promoted removals from one place to another for reasons of missionary work, religious education, and administrative convenience. They especially encouraged the inhabitants in the mountain areas to move freely down to the plains and live in plains villages or to build a new settlement. The reverse, migration from the plains to mountains, was forbidden. In 1643, Barbaras, Tacabul, and Calingit, three villages located along the Tacabul Route to Pimaba, were constantly urged to resettle in the plains village of Pangsoya despite opposition from the Pangsoyans. On his way to Pimaba, Sergeant Christiaen Smalbach again admonished these villages to move to the plains. The inhabitants asked to wait until they had finished harvesting the crops which were still growing. In the north, the villagers of a mountain village, Wangh, were punished by the Dutch when they insisted on continuing to live in the mountains.[166] In 1648, this unilateral migration from the mountains into the plains was endorsed at the Southern *Landdag*; delegates from several newly built plains settlements founded by inhabitants from Sotimor and Polti in the mountains attended.[167] In the 1650s, the Dutch authorities promised to reward the elders of plains villages in the regions of both the Northern and Southern *Landdagen* if they could persuade the inhabitants of nearby mountain villages to move down to the plains.[168]

Another regulation imposed on communities in both the plains and the mountain regions was the forced merger of several small neighbouring settlements into a bigger one. Early in October 1637, the inhabitants of the small scattered villages of Teopang, Tivalukang, Tagupta, and Ritbe were ordered to resettle in the village of Tavocan where a school had been established by the missionaries.[169] After moving to the new settlement, the migrants were not allowed to return to their former dwellings. For instance, in the mid 1640s, more than sixty villagers from New Tavocan moved to Sincan to receive

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164 For example, because of drought, several families from the villages of Tavocan and Sincan moved to Swatalauw in the south in 1651 (*DZ* III-C: 725). In 1655, because frequent flooding destroyed their fields, the villagers of Tarragorrogo asked for permission to abandon their settlement and live with the villagers of Babausack (*DZ* III-F: 569-70).

165 *DZ* II-J: 563.

166 *DZ* II-C: 280, 295, 297, 300; *DZ* II-E: 311.

167 *DZ* III-A: 303. For example, two groups from Sotimor, located in the southern part of the Central Mountain Range, moved onto the plains of Swatalauw and Tedackjan and built the villages of Sonaelbulck and Souvannevey. The villagers of Tamomomoron, a new settlement with seventeen households, were originally from Polti, another village in the region of the Central Mountain Range (*DZ* III-A: 293-4).

168 *DZ* III-B: 976, 983.

169 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 159.

Christian education, but then left there, building new houses and establishing new rice-fields somewhere else. Not long afterwards, they were forced to return to Sincan, leaving their houses to dilapidate and fields to go to waste. The ringleaders of this defiance were put in chains.[170] In 1644, *Politiek* Caesar went to the south to merge neighbouring villages into bigger communities in order to offer more effective Christian education. In the region of Favorlangh, the authorities of Tayouan approved the shifting of the population of three small villages, including Terriam with only five households, to the village of Favorlangh on the suggestion of the Reverend Van Breen.[171]

During the decade 1645-55, more villages were forced to merge together. These villages were also requested where possible to construct straight streets in the villages. In 1645, the headmen of Potnongh and Dalissiouw in the southern mountains were detained by the authorities because these villagers refused to move down to the plains and live in the village of Netne. Fearful of the consequences later the villagers capitulated. It took the Dutch authorities no less than five months to force Pangsoya to accept more than ninety households from several nearby small villages.[172] In March 1655, when *Landdrost* Schedel visited Talacbajan, a well-built village in the north-west, he found that only one old man remained in the village; his conclusion was that it was because all the other villagers wanted to avoid meeting him. To punish these villagers, he forced them to move to Dovaha. According to the report by the local *politiek*, the villagers of Talacbajan were 'very glad' (*zeer gaarne*) to comply with this order, demolishing their own dwellings and moving to Dovaha two months later.[173]

Putative Frontiers

Outside the core areas deep-seated local practices such as headhunting raids and tribute patronage among the Formosan villages continued unabated. Even though the Dutch authorities recognized that showing their 'teeth' every now and then might inspire more awe than could be generated by the *Landdag* proceedings, they were restricted in the use of their military power.[174] Initially, the Dutch were willing to play the role of arbitrator between Formosan rivals as they had been doing so successfully in the core area. But the over-extended colonial administration was forced to face its limitations on the frontiers where its authority had never taken root.

The south

170 Ibid. 205-6.
171 *DZ* II-D: 46; *DZ* II-G: 740-1.
172 *DZ* II-G: 688-9, 730, 733.
173 *DZ* III-F: 568-9, 629.
174 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 315.

Maintaining overland routes was no less difficult than opening a new route in a newly pacified frontier. Local hindrances continued to affect the safety of passage from one place to another. However, evidence shows that the Dutch presence may have been a cause of the kindling of inner-village and inter-village conflicts between pro- and anti-Dutch factions.

After the Dutch established their monopoly on taxation, they became the sole legitimate overlords with the right to demand and receive tribute; old channels for demonstrating regional power were effectively closed. In the region of the Quataongh territory, for instance, formerly subordinate villages refused to continue paying traditional tribute to the successor of its ruler, young Kamachat.[175] Local chiefs in the hierarchical societies of the southern mountain region faced the same resistance to paying a tribute, not only from satellite villages but also from their subjects in their main village. If the chiefs continued to demand their customary privileges, they ran the risk of violating the new Dutch order. In 1646, the inhabitants of Barbaras complained that their headman, Kadourit, had deprived them of venison, deerskins, millet and other goods. Kadourit was arrested on the charge of demanding his formerly lawful tribute from Talaravia, a village under Barbaras. He was sent to Tayouan where he died in prison. Later the Tayouan authorities learned that Kadourit had been set up by his brother, Laula, the leader of the anti-Company faction in Barbaras.[176] Such conflicts could again be observed in Tarikidick, a village located on the New Pimaba Route.

The Dutch authorities in Tayouan sought to clamp down on headhunting raids among the villages along the overland routes as quickly as possible.[177] In March 1647, men from Tarikidick were accused of raiding some nearby villages. When the Dutch requested that the villagers of Tarikidick, the Tarikidickers, hand over the raiders, they refused to do so, but showed their willingness to pay compensation for the victims in accordance with their convention. This suggestion was summarily dismissed and the villagers had to suffer the consequences of their behaviour. In April, Senior Merchant Philip Schillemans and Captain Pieter Boon led 120 soldiers in a punitive campaign, without the loss of one single Company soldier. The whole village of Tarikidick was burned down.[178]

In May 1647, Tarikidick sued for peace but in December another accusation was lodged claiming that the Tarikidickers had seized eight heads from Karitongangh. This time the Dutch authorities decided to encourage the neighbouring allies to raid the Tarikidickers freely by offering rewards: one head with four *cangans*, and one live captive with ten *cangans*. Three months later, in March 1648, Tarikidick and its allied village Suffungh located in the Toutsikadang Gorge were accused of hostility towards Company-associated villages. The Dutch authorities even persuaded one pro-Dutch elder to move away from Tarikidick in order to avoid the raids, and announced a reward of

175 *DZ* III-F: 574.
176 *DZ* II-H: 329; *DZ* II-J: 566, 570.
177 *DZ* II-G: 732.
178 *DZ* II-J: 571, 574; *DZ* II-J: 579; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 154-5, 156-69.

thirty *cangans* for whoever caught the leader of anti-Dutch party, alive or dead, at the Southern *Landdag*.[179]

A new pattern now began to emerge. Whenever conflicts occurred, the injured party would request Dutch help or at least permission to take revenge. The Dutch were inclined to try to prevent further hatred, but if it could not resolve conflicts by punishing certain wrongdoers, the Company simply rewarded its allies by allowing them to raid the villages incriminated, which might be 'rebellious' allies or enemies. Pro-Dutch factions were forewarned to save their lives.[180] Rewarding punitive raids as had been developed in the core area was adopted to deal with problems on the frontiers. Encouraged by *Proponent* Olhoff, in 1648, Suffungh was attacked four times by the people of Lonckjouw and Verovorongh who were given the same reward as in the Tarikidick case. These Formosan allies acted as surrogates in carrying out the Dutch 'military custom' (*krijchsgebruyck*) of punitive expeditions to burn down entire villages, including granaries and crops standing in the fields. Famine was the ultimate penalty suffered by the Suffungh people.[181] This was the method adopted by the Tayouan authorities in their efforts to resolve the problems of manpower shortages and long-distance control.

In the 1650s, the conflicts between the plains and mountains intensified. In a similar fashion to the dichotomy of upstream versus downstream in South-East Asia,[182] the upland (the mountains) versus the lowland (the plains) dichotomy has continued to formulate ethnic boundaries among the people in Taiwan for centuries. This local category was also adopted by the Dutch to distinguish the Formosan villages.[183] On the one hand, the Dutch authorities forbade inter-village war except for self-defence. On the other hand, they continued to reward their plains allies for punishing enemies from the mountains.[184] Although there was a greater incentive offered to take captives alive, rewarding allied raiders eventually fostered Formosan headhunting. This was at a cost to their civilizing mission as the Dutch authorities ran the risk of promoting the forbidden practice of headhunting. In March 1659, the inhabitants of Verovorongh, the official residency village in the south, conspired to murder *Politiek* Hendrick Noorden on his return from the *Landdag*. Because various people were involved in this plot, the Tayouan authorities had to deal with it by keeping a low profile, but managed to transport the

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179 *DZ* II-J: 590; *DZ* II-K: 446; *DZ* III-A: 297, 306.

180 *DZ* II-G: 720; *DZ* III-A: 297.

181 *DZ* III-A: 271, 273, 310, 313, 323; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 158, 161; Cheng Wei-chung, 'Ts'ung lien mêng ts'un tao shêng shu fan: nan T'ai-Wan Ho-lan shih tai ling pang ts'un lo lien mêng chih tu te hou hsü ying hsing yü ch'ing tai shêng/shu fan tsu ch'ün pên chih te ch'üeh li' 從聯盟村到生熟番：南台灣荷蘭時代領邦村落聯盟制度的後續影響與清代生/熟番族群本質的確立 [From *verenigde dorpen* to raw and cooked barbarians: The influence of village alliance in the south during the Dutch era and establishment of ethnicity of raw-/cooked barbarians in the Qing], unpublished draft, 10.

182 Barbara Watson Andaya, 'Upstreams and Downstreams in Early Modern Sumatra', *The Historian* 57/3 (1995), 537-52.

183 For example, '*bergh dorpen*' (mountain villages) were especially noted in the census of 1650. VOC 1176 (1651 I), List of the Formosan villages, houses and inhabitants submitted to Company rule, 1 May, 1650, fos. 781-9 also *Formosan Encounter*, III, 289.

184 *GM*, 24 Dec. 1652, 355; *GM*, 31 Jan. 1657, 461.

main conspirators to Batavia.[185] Despite all their best efforts to the contrary, the Formosans fell prey to 'barbarism' which was exactly what the Dutch authorities had hoped to prevent.[186] The logic of local practice became deeply entrenched under the Dutch rule.

The east

After the expedition to the east in 1642, the Dutch authorities had to face two challenges to their administration of the newly conquered regions: how to levy an annual tribute and how to deal with the internecine warfare among the villages. In the same year, Governor Traudenius first demanded the eastern region cultivate more rice to pay for the annual tribute imposed, but since shortages of rice occurred there, the Dutch authorities granted the villagers the right to pay in such local crops as millet, potatoes, yams, and various fruits.[187]

In March 1643, Sergeant Christiaen Smalbach took up residence in Pimaba and demanded the inhabitants pay their annual tribute. He encouraged villagers to cultivate more rice by saying that because peace had been restored, there would be no more disturbances of those working in the fields.[188] Smalbach was referring to the success of the punitive expeditions to Lonckjouw and Tipol. Before his arrival, Tipol, located in the mountains near Pimaba, had been punished by the Dutch. The chastened inhabitants of Tipol then asked permission to rebuild their settlement in a new place, promising to send representatives to Tayouan. Smalbach granted permission for a new settlement near the Tipol River.[189] But, when the representatives of Tipol refused to visit Tayouan, Assiro, one of the principal people in Tipol, explained to Smalbach how he hoped to keep his villagers together. Smalbach therefore appointed Assiro to be the chief of Tipol. In return Assiro agreed to cultivate a rice-field solely for the benefit of the Company.[190]

In July 1643, Corporal Cornelis van der Linden succeeded Smalbach after his death in Pimaba. Van der Linden first excused the locals from paying tribute in rice or paddy because of the poor harvest owing to the heavy rains; therefore, skins were paid instead. Then he put an end to headhunting raids between the people of Tawaly and Luypot, stressing that the reciprocal raids were forbidden by the Dutch authorities.[191] When Van der Linden died the following year, it did not take long for the old practice to surface

185 *GM*, 16 Dec. 1659, 514.

186 War against each other was treated as 'barbarism' as Governor Caron expressed in his instruction to the *politiek* in the south, Merchant Antony Boey in 1644. *See Formosan Encounter*, II, 507.

187 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 351.

188 *DZ* II-C: 297-8.

189 Ibid., fo. 294; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 346, 358, 361. There is not much information about this punitive expedition to Tipol. The only record is in the *Dagregister*. *See DZ* II-C: 283. But in March 1647, war against Tipol was waged again. The punitive force of nineteen Dutch soldiers and 150 Pimaba people met little resistance (*DZ* II-J: 564, 573).

190 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 367-8.

191 Ibid. 407-9.

again. More headhunting raids occurred between the opposing groups of Sipien (Sibilien) and Lavarikaer, Tawaly and Orkoudien, as well as those of Vadan and Supra.[192]

In 1644, Corporal Albert Thomassen, who was commissioned to supervise Company business in the east after the death of Van der Linden, was murdered by the villagers of Sipien because he refused to compensate them for the pigs he had 'robbed' from the inhabitants. Governor Caron decided to send another punitive expedition as a warning to the others.[193] The target was not only Sipien, Vadan and Talleroma were to be taught a lesson as well. The wrath of the colonial authorities against these two villages had been mounting since 1643. Talleroma, a village near Taraboan, had shown itself to be uncooperative towards Captain Boon when he passed by on his gold expedition. The villagers of Vadan, even though they had shown friendship to Governor Traudenius on his arrival there in 1642, later killed a Dutch soldier.[194]

In November 1645, after completing the gold exploration to Taraboan, Commander Cornelis Caesar decided the time was ripe to punish the three villages on his way back to Tayouan. However, he had to change the plans. Since Sipien was located in the fastness of the mountains, the troops could not reach, let alone attack, it. Then, when it transpired that Sakiraya and Talleroma were conspiring to ambush the troops while they were supposed to be making huts for the soldiers, Sakiraya was burned as punishment. Observing the Dutch revenge, the villagers of Talleroma attempted to avoid the same fate and sent fifteen pigs, more than had been requested by Caesar. Hence Talleroma escaped being burned by showing humility. In Vadan, the situation was different. Governor Caron made much of its large size writing it was: 'according to our knowledge, one of the largest and most considerable villages in Formosa'. It was deemed that punishment of this big, obdurate village would set a good example to unruly neighbouring villages. The villagers of Pimaba, who accompanied the troops, initiated the battle. The villagers of Vadan fled from their village and left all their houses, granaries and livestock to be plundered by the troops and finally the whole village was burned.[195]

Kang argues that the appearance of the Dutch in the east during the 1640s changed the balance of power between two traditionally antagonistic groups, namely, those led by Patsiral and those by Vadan. When the punitive expedition ordered by Traudenius defeated the union of eight villages under Patsiral, this outcome resulted in the rise to power of Vadan. Consequently, the people of Vadan felt free to destroy Patsiral's allies, Serus and Supra, until they themselves were defeated by another Dutch expedition led by Caesar in 1645. This situation gave Patsiral another chance to revive its power and to expand southwards to the region of Pimaba. In 1647, Patsiral launched several headhunting raids on Supra, Tavoron, Verekiel, and Vadan. Alarmed by the situation, the

192 Ibid. 429-30, 447; *DZ* II-F: 175.
193 *DZ* II-F: 177, 182; *DZ* II-G: 678; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 490.
194 *DZ* II-C: 299.
195 *DZ* II-G: 760; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 573-80; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 36-7.

Dutch authorities granted the Pimaba request to curb Patsiral expansion.[196]

Pimaba—the pillar of Dutch power in the east—gradually scrambled to the top of the pyramid of power among the villages in the east. Unlike the workings of the relationship between Lonckjouw and Tayouan, Pimaba revealed its own dynamics. The brothers of the rulers of both Lonckjouw and Pimaba had visited Tayouan and witnessed the superior position of the Dutch entrenched in Zeelandia Castle. While Caylouangh utilized this experience as individual 'political capital' and masterminded the separation of Lonckjouw, the noble siblings in Pimaba made cunning use of their visits to the Dutch headquarters to accumulate more power for their kinsmen.[197] Being the pillar of Dutch power also had disadvantages as it made it the target of anti-Dutch parties. To protect Pimaba, Governor Caron sent a dozen soldiers to be stationed there.[198] During the 1650s, Pimaba grew strong enough to act as a *de facto* regional power. Wright says that its warriors who were more expert in the use of weapons than all the other Formosans and that the 'governor' of Pimaba was 'proud to serve under the Dutch as sergeant of the Company.'[199] This remark corroborates Kang's argument that Pimaba benefited most from the Company by being able to establish its dominance in the east. As Kang has demonstrated, through 'reciprocal cooperation' between the Dutch and Pimaba, the latter became a subsidiary Dutch military force and helped to collect tribute for the Company.[200] In 1638, warriors from Pimaba who joined Company expeditions penetrated the northern part of the eastern region, the territory of their enemies. Six villages located on the seashore complained that Van der Linden had sent the people of Pimaba to rob them because they could not pay their tribute. Pimaba also raided Tipol when its population was suffering from famine. In an attempt to terrify other villages, Pimaba refused to reconcile itself with its enemy Taroma and forced its inhabitants to withdraw into the mountains.[201] The Eastern *Landdag* in 1655 demonstrated the central status of Pimaba among the Dutch allies in the east. By assuming this mantle, the power of Pimaba extended spatially northwards to Daracop and southwards to Patsibal.[202]

Undeniably, the Dutch made continuous efforts to extirpate headhunting raids in this region as well. In 1645, Governor Caron gave Sergeant Michiel Jansz., successor to Van der Linden, the following precise instruction:

Even though war has been forbidden to them, even as a means of defence, all the eastern

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196 Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui: Hualien ti chu yüan chu min shih ch'i chih shih chiu shih chi te li shih pien ch'ien* 殖民接觸與帝國邊陲：花蓮地區原住民十七至十九世紀的歷史變遷 [Colonial Contact and Imperial Periphery: History of the Austronesian Population of Hualien from the 17th century to the 19th centry] (Taipei: Tao-hsiang, 1999), 103-4; *DZ* II-J: 608, 615-16.

197 According to oral tradition in Pimaba, the rise of one leading family, Rara, was said to have been connected to the exercise of Dutch power. *See* Sung, Lung-sheng 宋龍生, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih: Pei-nan tsu shih p'ien* 臺灣原住民史：卑南族史篇 [The History of Formosan Aborigines: Puyuma] (Nantou: The Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province, 1998), 134-6, 173-80.

198 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 142.

199 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 7.

200 Kang, 'Inherited Geography'.

201 *DZ* II-F: 175; *DZ* II-J: 614-15; *DZ* II-K: 448.

202 Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 60-1.

> villages of Formosa continue to wage war whenever one of them feels offended by another. In that way they have frequently damaged each other very much, which we will no longer tolerate. You should, on any possible occasion, pay attention to warn Pimaba as well as the other villages not to raise up arms against any supposed opponent anymore, because from now on the Company will take care of that.[203]

Despite these measures, headhunting raids persisted and the locals who were involved in intensive power competition of which headhunting was an ineluctable part often ignored the Dutch orders. In 1650, Supra, Patsiral, and Tervelouw threatened such neighbouring Company-allied villages as Sapat, Daracop, and Sorigol so much that their villagers wanted to move to Pimaba. In contrast, the Supra people broke the Company staff and threatened to kill Dutch residents in Sapat. Sergeant Jan Jansz. van den Berch resorted to allowing the Company allies to raid their enemies on whose heads he put rewards since there were no sufficiently strong Company forces at hand.[204] His successor, Sergeant Jan de Bleu, continued to allow punitive raids in the region. Inexorably, chronic warfare was the result.[205]

Therefore it might well be wondered whether the following report on the warning from Smalbach to the local people in the east was really a very realistic one:

> Take the words of His Excellency the Governor seriously. … Do not think as you once did that we, the Dutch, only come here once in three or four years … No, we can come at any time to punish you for the misdeeds you have committed. … For the Company's sake, we will come here four, five, six to ten times or even more, on the way to find you, if you from now on still harbour stubbornness and disobedience in your hearts. Yes, the whole village, people, and property will be punished.[206]

The tyranny of distance indeed mattered. Should it have to be meted out, punishment should be carried out swiftly but practically this often proved impossible. When the Dutch gradually awoke from their golden dream, and started to reconsider the significance of the eastern occupation of island within the total colonial project in Formosa, they were no longer so sure whether they should continue to maintain their presence on that side of the island. In his report about the situation in Formosa upon his retirement from his office in 1646, Governor Caron proposed abandoning the east: 'Our only reason for exploring the route along Formosa's eastern shore was to find the gold mines but, now that there are not any, it is of no use to the Company any longer.'[207]

Sending punitive expeditions and concluding peace treaties were absolutely no guarantee of peace in the area. Caron believed it no longer made sense to maintain a garrison in Pimaba, which cost about 3,000 guilders a year, only to protect that village as he claimed.[208] In 1647, Governor-General Van der Lijn therefore instructed Caron's

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203 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 515.

204 *DZ* III-A: 271-2, 316. For more evidence of this policy being carried out in the east, *see Formosan Encounter*, III, 200.

205 *DZ* III-A: 349; *DZ* III-B: 1012, 1066-7.

206 *DZ* II-C: 297.

207 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 142.

208 Ibid.

successor Present Pieter Anthonisz. Overtwater:

> As for the said eastern side of Formosa, to the Company not only is it unprofitable, but even harmful; therefore we will consider abandoning this area. In the meantime, Your Honour will not make any farther efforts there, and we certainly do not wish you to send another armed force again.[209]

At no time were the Dutch willing to establish a regular political administration to support their *Pax Neerlandica* in eastern Formosa as they had done in the western side of the island. *Landdag* meetings were held only intermittently, as has been mentioned before, proof of which is that only six meetings were held in the 1650s (see Table 7.3).[210] No *politiek* was stationed in the east, although a Company servant, as a local correspondent and manager, resided in Pimaba to keep an eye on Company trade in the region and take care of a Company warehouse, garden, and some cattle.[211] These Dutch residents tended to have a high mortality rate, as we have seen. The garrison in Pimaba had only twenty-two soldiers, a very small number considering that the entire garrison in Formosa amounted to 910 men in 1653.[212]

Dominion of the Tamsuy authorities

The east was not the sole region in which the Dutch authorities lost their original interest. The regions of Tamsuy and Quelang also became a burden to the Company. The reason for their fall from grace was that they did not turn out to be satisfactory depots for developing trade with China. By May 1646, only fifteen Chinese had settled in Tamsuy and fourteen in Quelang. In 1654, a small Chinese quarter was mentioned, located on the opposite side of the bay in Quelang.[213] Direct shipping from China to Tamsuy and Quelang was allowed on condition that all transportation of goods was taxed just as in Tayouan, but only a few Chinese junks visited Tamsuy or Quelang each year with trinkets from China.[214] In 1656, Governor-General Maetsuyker suggested that Chinese junks had already become so accustomed to trading with Tayouan that they were unwilling to trade in Tamsuy and Quelang. The Company business in these two depots was consequently confined to transporting local products, especially coal and deer products, to Tayouan. The profits could not meet the 40,000 guilders which were needed annually for the upkeep of these two settlements and the Tamsuy authorities often complained about their financial hardship.[215]

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209 Ibid. 200.

210 Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 57-70.

211 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 286; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 395.

212 Dam, Pieter van, *Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie,* Book Two, Part I, ed. F. W. Stapel ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), 712.

213 *DZ* II-H: 339; Ang Kaim, *Ta T'ai-pei ku ti t'u k'ao shih* 大臺北古地圖考釋 [A Study of an Old Map of Taipei] (Taipei: Taipei County Cultural Centre, 1998), 106-11, 118; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 565.

214 *DZ* II-H: 311, 355.

215 *GM*, 1 Feb. 1656, 434; *GM*, 22 Dec. 1661, 543; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 506, 520.

The Dutch residents in Tamsuy and Quelang also had a hard time adjusting to the local environment. In 1644, the first non-military officer, Junior Merchant Johannes Keyssel, was stationed in Tamsuy.[216] From 1648 to 1662, no fewer than eleven merchants were dispatched to serve as *opperhoofd* of the two settlements in northern Formosa. The local climate, sulphurous vapours and water plus such plethora of endemic diseases as fever, diarrhoea, and dysentery made sojourns short.[217] Three *opperhoofden*, Pieter Elsvier, Johannes van den Eynde, Pieter Boons, and Substitute Pieter van Mildert, died successively during their terms of office in the second-half of the 1650s (see Appendix 2). No wonder the Gentlemen Seventeen considered Tamsuy and Quelang a heavy burden on the Company. The High Government in Batavia which could only agree with its supervisors on this issue actually expressed its hope that both Tamsuy and Quelang would be abandoned, if the situation did not improve.[218]

Politically speaking, this was not an option as Governor-General Maetsuyker pointed out. The Chinese settlers there might take over these places and incite the Formosans to resist Dutch rule. Certainly, after they recognized the very real possibility of an invasion of Formosa by Cheng Ch'eng-kung, a Dutch retreat from Tamsuy and Quelang became even less an option.[219] Paradoxically, this threat from the Chinese in Tamsuy and Quelang was the direct result of the Dutch policy of welcoming Chinese migrants during the 1640s and 1650s to help sustain Dutch residents in these two remote settlements. The Dutch garrisons in both places originally consisting of thirty to forty soldiers each in August 1643, were increased to a total of 188 in 1656, but reduced again to 104 in 1659.[220] Every year the Tayouan authorities transported supplies from Tayouan to Tamsuy and Quelang. In order to guarantee the sustained upkeep and preservation of the newly conquered settlements, in May 1643, Lieutenant Thomas Pedel requested the Governor and Council in Zeelandia Castle to send Chinese fishermen, farmers, tailors, and bakers to support the soldiers' daily lives there. Likewise, Captain Hendrik Harrouzee also expected to have seventy to eighty Chinese living under the fort at Quelang to sell food to the soldiers.[221] In 1644, 150 Chinese arrived in Tamsuy and Quelang on Company supply ships with various duties to carry out, including the construction of the new Redoubt Anthonio. In March 1646, the Tayouan authorities encouraged Chinese from different walks of life to move to the north of the island by exempting those who did so for several years from paying any taxes related their occupations, such as agriculture or fishing. Those who moved to Quelang would also be exempted from paying poll-tax as well.[222] Therefore, the Dutch had no alterative but to retain this territory.

The Formosans frustrated the Dutch authorities more than the Chinese. Peaceful

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216 *DZ* II-B: 667.
217 About the sulphurous vapours and water, *see GM*, 6 Jan. 1658, 494.
218 *GM*, 14 Dec. 1658, 508.
219 Ibid and *GM*, 22 Dec. 1661, 539.
220 *DZ* II-C: 402; *GM*, 31 Jan. 1657, 462 and 16 Dec. 1659, 514.
221 *DZ* II-C: 308, 351, 367.
222 *DZ* II-E: 291; *DZ* II-H: 311. For more details of poll tax, *see* Chapter Eight.

interaction with the Formosans had squeezed the Dutch local residents dry because they had to treat the headmen and villagers with food, arrack, and tobacco at their own expense; let alone the rebellious Cavalangh inhabitants who challenged the Dutch policy of imposing tribute and also that of rewarding headhunting raids.[223] Since the Cavalangh warriors were far more powerful than local Dutch allies, *Opperhoofd* Symon Keerdekoe failed in his attempts to encourage these to attack the Cavalangh people, even with the promise of reward of three pieces of *cangan* for one head.[224] The Company could not wage a punitive expedition which would involve crossing the mountains to the region of Cavalangh, even though its allies threatened to surrender to the enemies.[225]

In 1652, in the region near the Redoubt in Tamsuy, Keerdekoe could finally take revenge on the villagers of Pinorouwan who had murdered two insolent Dutch interpreters. He put an embargo on the import of salt and iron until the inhabitants had handed the murderers over to the Dutch.[226] Salt and iron were in great demand among the local Formosans and the Dutch were not the only suppliers. For example, the Coulon people once claimed that they had no need to rely on the Dutch since the Chinese would provide them these goods.[227] In addition to economic sanctions, material impositions which were often demanded with violence aroused considerable local annoyance. In 1655, because *Opperhoofd* Thomas van Iperen asked for rice and game to be sold at the redoubt by the inhabitants, four Dutchmen were murdered by the villages dwelling to the south of Tamsuy.[228]

Local custom also contested the Dutch authority. Since 1654, Pocael had continued to request its customary tribute from the neighbouring villages which were now the Company allies. In 1659, the Tayouan authorities decided to send an expeditionary force to subjugate Pocael. This expedition ended up reducing the village to ashes but many soldiers fell ill after the protracted return journey to Tayouan.[229] The same conflicts between local practice and Dutch rule lingered to the last days of the Dutch presence. In May 1661, when the news of Cheng Ch'eng-kung's attack on Formosa reached Tamsuy, Ensign Christiaan Lipach and sixty soldiers were sent to attack Pocael, Sarrasar, and Gingingh—the final but doomed expedition on the Formosan frontiers.[230]

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223 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 544-5.
224 Ibid. 450.
225 *GM*, 26 Jan. 1655, 425-6.
226 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 454-5, 469; *GM*, 19 Jan. 1654, 392.
227 *DZ* III-E: 419.
228 *DZ* III-F: 767-8. They were Parrigon, Sinannay, Mattatas, and Parricoutsie.
229 *DZ* III-E: 446, 611, 696, 768; *GM*, 16 Dec. 1659, 515.
230 *DB*, Dec. 1661, 262-3 [Japanese edition]. For the information about Lipach, *see DZ* IV, p.668 note 159.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DEVOURING PROSPERITY

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Formosa became the third most profitable establishment among all the Company factories in Asia and Africa. Such an achievement was attributed to the position of the Tayouan factory as a *rendezvous* in East Asia for the Company's inner-Asian trade network.[1] This fortuitous position in no way detracts from the efforts made by the Tayouan authorities to develop Formosa proper as a colony. Expenditure on manpower, fortifications, food requirements, military pacification, explorations for gold, missionary work, and maintenance of the Tayouan factory, and later two remote outposts in Tamsuy and Quelang, turned out to be very costly.[2] All the Governors did their utmost to cover costs in one way or another. In addition to the profit from the Company's maritime trade, by adopting effective administrative facilities and techniques, the Formosan colony itself managed to balance income and expenditure, and continued to produce a surplus every year from the financial year of 1646-7.[3] Dutch Formosa may be rated as the first economic miracle in the history of Taiwan.[4]

The prosperity of the colony burgeoned from the control over land, money, and labour for production. Rooted in virgin Formosan soil and irrigated by the flow of money, this sweet fruit grew in inverse proportion to the loss of local resources which were extracted using the labour of the Formosans and of Chinese settlers. Unavoidably, not only did the Formosans, especially in the core area, encounter a revolutionary transformation in production and consumption, *Ilha Formosa* saw its landscape change forever.

Colonial exploitation and labour relations

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[1] Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 341; Ts'ao Yung-ho, 'Taiwan as an Entrepôt in East Asia in the Seventeenth Century', *Itinerario*, 21/1 (1997), 94-114; As Van Veen points out the trade networks connected the large Far Eastern and South-East Asian markets and regulated the traffic of VOC ships, merchandise, money, and bullion to and from Japan, China, Siam, Quinam, Patani, and Batavia. *See* id., 'How the Dutch Ran a Seventeenth-Century Colony', 73.

[2] In the year 1635-6, the expeditions to Mattauw, Taccareyang, and Soulang cost 129,439 florins. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 337. Van Veen calculates the average monthly allowance (16.67 guilders) and the average monthly cost of the rations (5.34 guilders) per man. Therefore, a short expedition such as the six-day expedition to Favorlangh in 1637 involving near 300 men would have cost about 1,600 guilders. *See* id., 'How the Dutch Ran a Seventeenth-Century Colony', 74.

[3] Nakamura and Van Veen have done their research on the management of the Formosan colony on the basis of the list of profit and loss of the Tayouan factory from *GM*. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 321-6, 338-41 and Van Veen, 'How the Dutch Ran a Seventeenth-Century Colony'.

[4] Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*; id., 'A Note on Western Impact on Dutch Formosa, 1624-1662', *Itinerario*, 29/3 (2005), 93-109.

Chinese honeybees and Dutch apiarists

Given that capitalism may be defined as a system of production, distribution, and exchange to maximize profits and to reward private enterprise,[5] the Company commenced its efforts to run the system first by finding labour. Chinese immigration to Tayouan was fostered from the mid-1630s.[6] In the eyes of the Dutch authorities, the diligent immigrant Chinese worked, as President Pieter Anthonisz. Overtwater put it, 'just like honeybees'. Governor Nicolaes Verburch even went so far as to claim that the Chinese were the only bees to produce honey: without them, the Company would not be able to survive in Formosa.[7] Around 1640, there were 10,000 to 11,000 Chinese living in Formosa, over 3,500 of them in Tayouan and Saccam. In the wake of the turmoil caused by internal disorder and famine in costal China at this time, a large number of Chinese refugees arrived in the island in search of a new beginning. In 1648, the number of adult male Chinese amounted to 20,000.[8]

While the Chinese 'honeybees' provided their hard work which sustained the Formosan colony, the Dutch authorities played the role of the apiarists who extracted the honey from the combs by imposing taxes on the Chinese and their various activities.[9] As in Batavia, where a basic tax system had been introduced at an earlier date, the same taxation on the Chinese population was principally levied by means of the poll-tax which became the Company's most important source of Inland Revenue (*landsinkomsten*).[10] As from 1640, adult male Chinese in the town of Tayouan paid a monthly tax to obtain a residence permit from the local authorities; while those scattered about in the local villages paid their dues to the local missionaries or *politieken*.[11] According to Heyns' calculation, the ratio of the poll-tax to the income of a Chinese worker was 9.7 per cent.[12] From 1653, Chinese women had to pay the poll-tax as well and the collection of the tax was auctioned off to Chinese tax-farmers.[13]

Even though supplied with this goodly harvest of 'honey', the Dutch apiarists also taxed such various Chinese activities as fishing, deer-hunting, manufacturing, agriculture,

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5 The definition comes from Burns et al., *Western Civilizations*, 544.

6 Andrade, *Commerce, Culture, and Conflict*, 199.

7 VOC 1169 (1649 II), Missive Overtwater to Van der Lijn, 9 Jan. 1648, fo. 400; *DZ* III, p. 97.

8 Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 285-7; *GM*, 18 Jan. 1649, 302.

9 For more details about the occupation of Chinese immigrants, *see* Kuo Shui-tan 郭水潭, 'Ho jên chü T'ai shih ch'i te Chung-kuo i min' 荷人據臺時期的中國移民 [Chinese immigrants in Dutch-ruled Taiwan], *TWH* 10/4 (1959), 11-45.

10 Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 327, 265.

11 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 143. Reflecting on the initiation of the Chinese poll tax, Nakamura has suggested that Chinese had to apply for new residential permits every three months at the end of 1629. Heyns indicates that the institution of the Chinese poll tax originated from the Chinese contribution in 1638-9, which was institutionalized in 1640. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 281-92, 327; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 73, 142.

12 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 145 about the case of 1644; *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 83.

13 Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 287-8; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 143-6, 182. To compensate the expenditure on the construction of Fort Provintia, Chinese women had to pay poll-tax. See *DZ* III, p. 294.

and trade. From 1637, the Company's Inland Revenue included: direct taxes on goods imported and exported from and to China; fishing and deer-hunting; house-related matters; business transacted in the market place; arrack distilling; oysters-gathering; the slaughter of cattle and so on. Indirect taxes were imposed on the lease of Lamey Island, mullet sales, the slaughter of the pigs, the export of venison, the import of Chinese beer and salt, the rice harvest, production and sale of firewood, indigo cultivation, inland river- and lake-fishing, the weigh house, the trade in the Formosan villages and so on.[14] Although they were a godsend to the colonial administration, the influx of Chinese immigrants and their activities represented a direct challenge to the environment and the Formosans, therefore the Dutch authorities sought to balance Chinese (over)exploitation and Formosan rights, a problem which intertwined with all the economic activities now to be discussed.

Agriculture

The Dutch apiarists did not wait to harvest the honey in the wild. They built up a 'stable and secure environment' for making profits. As Heyns suggests by instituting a judicial system, the Company provided Chinese entrepreneurs with the financial instruments, including obligations, sureties, and mortgages, to create legal security for purchasing real estate and promoting various kinds of Chinese investment in trade, land development, construction, tax-collection, and fishing.[15] Since the majority of Chinese settlers were engaged in such agricultural pursuits as growing rice, sugar cane, wheat, yams, and indigo,[16] Chinese *cabessas* donned an entrepreneurial cloak to carry out the major part of the project purveying the soft credit and other incentives offered by the Dutch authorities.[17]

Dutch observers had noticed that the Formosan soil was fertile and ripe for cultivation, but the Formosans were not natural farmers according to the Dutch. Consequently, the image of 'the lazy Formosans' was conjured up especially in the matter of agriculture.[18] To fulfil the vision of the burgeoning of agriculture, Chinese farmers

[14] Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 128-86; Van Veen, 'How the Dutch Ran a Seventeenth-Century Colony', 67.

[15] Heyns, 'A Note on Western Impact'.

[16] Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 287, 72-4. The planting of indigo started in 1643 under the instruction of a Dutch specialist, Bocatius Pontanus. But this initial plantation ended in failure. In 1647, Chinese farmers continued a three-year plantation. In 1650, the Company took over the fields of indigo and leased them to the highest bidders. *See* also Chiang Shu-sheng, 'T'ai-Wan ching ying lan shu, lan ting te k'ai shih' 台灣經營藍樹、藍碇的開始 [The Beginning of Indigo Cultivation in Taiwan], *TWH* 53/4 (2002), 239-53.

[17] Pol Heyns and Cheng Wei-chung, 'A Portrait of Dutch Formosa's Cabessas', paper presented at the International Association of Historians of Asia 18th Conference, 7 Dec. 2004. A parallel study can be found in the case of eighteenth-century Makassar. *See* Heather Sutherland, 'Money in Makassar: Credit and Debt in an Eighteenth Century VOC Settlement', in Edi Sedyawati and Susanto Zuhdi (eds.), *Arung Samudera: Persembahan Menperingati Sembilan Windu A.B. Lapian* (Depok: Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Indonesia, 2001), 713-43.

[18] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 21, 29, 114.

were invited over to contribute their labour, knowledge, and techniques to the Dutch agricultural project in Formosa. Since the first half of the 1630s, Governors Hans Putmans and Johan van der Burgh, in co-operation with the Reverend Robertus Junius, assumed the role of agricultural developers by promoting the cultivation of rice, sugar cane and other crops in Saccam and Sincan.[19] They imported Chinese strains of rice and sugar cane to be planted in Formosa.[20] Chinese capitalists were the engines to drive the progress of agriculture. Lampack was authorized to initiate sugar cane cultivation in 1633. Another Chinese, the former Chinese *Capitein* of Batavia, Bencon (So Bing Kong), transported Chinese farmers from China to Formosa and moved himself to Tayouan to supervise this venture.[21] The Dutch authorities stimulated such enterprises by providing capital, supplied as loans in cash or pepper to entrepreneurs who then paid farmers a daily wage.[22] Initially, to encourage cultivation, no taxes were levied but in 1644 the Dutch authorities began to impose a tithe on the rice harvest and auctioned off the collection of this tax to Chinese tax-farmers.[23]

The land destined for agricultural activities was located mainly on the south-west plain.[24] Through the conclusion of treaties, as Heyns and Cheng show, the Formosans symbolically transferred sovereignty over their land to the Dutch authorities, that is to say, they retained their collective rights to the land by the grace of this Dutch overlord. The Dutch authorities became the sovereign owner of Formosan land, and hence Chinese had to conduct any negotiations relating to land, production, and property rights with the Dutch.[25] As the land was already inhabited by fairly populous indigenes, how to settle the Chinese farmers in this region was not merely an issue of economic development but potentially a loaded political issue for the Dutch authorities. In the beginning, in dealing with the influx of newcomers the authorities preferred ethnic segregation rather than assimilation, since in the early period of occupation the Chinese had been suspected of inciting the Formosans to resist Dutch rule. In 1629, no Chinese was allowed to live in Bacaluan, Mattauw, Soulang, Sincan and its satellite villages without the Governor's permission.[26]

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[19] In 1635, the harvest of sugar cane was also expected in Saccam. In 1634, under the supervision of the Chinese merchant Hambuan, the cultivation of hemp, cotton, and indigo was initiated there. *See* Ibid. 284.

[20] The endemic species of rice which the Siraya grew was red rice. Ibid. 16, 29. Even though there was sugar cane in Formosa, the Dutch authorities agreed to grow Chinese sugar cane in Sincan in 1633. Ibid. 29, 227, 267. According to Chinese gazetteers, several species of vegetables were imported by the Dutch from Patria or the Indies. These included beans, cabbage, jackfruit, oranges, ginger and so on. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 75-6.

[21] B. Hoetink, 'So Bing Kong: het Eerste Hoofd der Chineezen te Batavia', *BKI* 73 (1917), 344-415; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 94; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 51-3.

[22] Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 106-7.

[23] Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 303-14; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 173-5.

[24] Chinese also reclaimed some land in the Districts of Favorlangh and Tamsuy. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 62.

[25] Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 77-84; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 101.

[26] Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 284; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 152-3. Governor Pieter Nuyts ordered Chinese settlers to renew their residence permits in these villages every three months.

As agriculture throve, from 1633, Saccam emerged as the main agricultural centre. In October 1644, Chinese farmers in Sincan and Tavocan were told to move to Saccam. By 1657, no less than fourteen polders had been created there from fallow land.[27] Meanwhile, the land around Bacaluan, Soulang, and Mattauw had also been opened up to Chinese farmers at an annual rent of 2 reals for one *morgen*. This land, known as the Tickerang Fields, gradually developed into another centre of agriculture alongside Saccam. Records show that the Dutch authorities granted Chinese and Company personnel ownership of the land in Sincan, Soulang, and Tavocan. Some of these landowners enjoyed tax-free privileges.[28] In 1647, Chinese were also granted the ownership of the Tickerang Fields by the Tayouan Council, but the High Government in Batavia refused to countenance Chinese agriculture on land belonging to the Formosans and these Chinese suddenly found themselves deprived of their farmland. This lack of consistency inevitably stirred up controversy. To solve the problem, Governor Verburch permitted the Sirayan elders to hire Chinese farmers to cultivate their land. These Chinese tenants had to hand over one-third to one-half of their harvest to the Formosan landowners.[29]

The Dutch authorities admitted that the Siraya now pragmatically enjoyed the profits earned by the Chinese without putting their own hands to the plough. At the end of 1653, the High Govenment ordered Governor Cornelis Caesar (1653-6) to induce the villagers of Soulang, Mattauw, Bacaluan, and Sincan to cultivate the Tickerang Fields.[30] However, one year later, Caesar reached an agreement with these villages by which they rented the Tickerang Fields out to the Chinese who used to claim this land for six to seven years. By this time, the High Government in Batavia considered the Formosans either too lazy or less capable of making a profit from this fertile land. Therefore, leasing the land out became a way to benefit the Company.[31] It continued to be a bone of contention and conflicts between the Formosans and Chinese over this land continued to upset the apple cart until the end of the last rent period, the year 1660. The solution of Governor Frederik Coyett (1656-62) was to resort to the expedient of moving the Chinese farmers to new land, in one fell swoop abolishing agriculture in Tickerang. The new land for the project, initially planned in 1647, was now extended to include Tavocan, eastwards as far as the foot of the Little Mountains, westwards as far as the sea, and southwards beyond the Fresh River.[32] The deliberate purpose of this new agricultural

[27] The Dutch authorities first named the polders after the six Chambers of the VOC, namely Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen and then after the Governors, from Sonck to Coyett and Commissioner Nicolas Coeckebacker. Beside the Dutch name every polder also had another name, perhaps from native or Chinese. For example, Amsterdam was also called Orakan, Delft was Leyseykoeyen, Hoorn was Tonglouw and so forth. *See* Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, II, 74-5. This dual system of naming land revealed the divergent nomenclature of the Dutch authorities and the Chinese farmers.

[28] By 1658, Company personnel privileges had been withdrawn, but the Chinese *cabessas* kept their privilege since it was to encourage them to bring their families and start new lives in Formosa. *See GM*, 6 Jan. 1658, 496.

[29] Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 86-7.

[30] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 472, 476.

[31] *GM*, 7 Nov. 1654, 406; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 549, 557.

[32] The northern border of the land was no farther than the Tavocan sowing-fields in the original plan of 1647. But in 1659, after the villagers of Tavocan had moved to Sincan in 1658, the Company purchased their land at the price of 1,500 reals, and then leased it to Chinese farmers from which the Company could

project was to move Chinese farmers into a special area where they would not clash with Formosan interests. The Dutch authorities claimed that in the land farther south there were no villages for at least 10 miles (approximately 74 kilometres), and that it was just waiting to be reclaimed by Chinese farmers.[33] Apart from some reclaimed land south of the Fresh River and Jockan, this project had to grind to a halt when Dutch rule came to an end.[34]

Inland fishing

Tax-farming of Chinese activities to do with the extraction and exploitation of such natural resources as fish, minerals, and forest products, was not simply a measured attempt to raise revenues; it was also an endeavour to control and regulate resource production. Fishing for a seasonal migratory fish like the mullet had already attracted Chinese fishermen to the sea fisheries off the coast of Formosa before the arrival of the Dutch. In 1647, the Dutch authorities leased out more than ten sea fisheries and oyster banks. By 1650, in the costal and deep-sea fisheries, the authorities forbade the Chinese to fish in the river mouths in order to ensure the fish could enter the rivers from the sea, and hence the Formosans could fish in the rivers. The profits from the deep-sea fisheries leased to the Chinese accrued solely to the Company.[35]

Inland fishing was almost entirely the province of the Formosans. Fish was an important part of the Formosan diet and many indigenous villages were located near the rivers. The Reverend Georgius Candidius reported that the Siraya considered fish, crabs, shrimps, and oysters their most important daily dish besides rice.[36] As early as 1643, Chinese fishermen were no longer allowed to fish upstream in the rivers. However, they continued to fish using poison which led to low fish catches for the Formosans. Eventually, in 1647, the Dutch authorities forbade the use of either poison or nets.[37]

As of 1648, the fishing in some rivers, lakes, and ponds was farmed out.[38] This met with opposition from the High Government in Batavia which disagreed with reaping profits to which the Formosans were entitled. To maintain the leasing system, in 1650 the Tayouan authorities changed tactics and leased out these inland fisheries to 'benefit

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make a profit from the tithe. *See GM*, 16 Dec. 1659, 516-17.

33 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 179.

34 The above discussion of land tenure is based mainly on Heyns' research. *See* Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 84-125. And also Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 60-1; Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, II, 76.

35 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 264, 285. More about the exclusive fishing rights to fish along the coast, *see* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 292-8; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 176-7. It seemed that local elders also participated in the leasing. For example, Tackerey, the elder of Swatalauw, who showed his support for the lease, was rewarded with 50 reals in 1647. *See DZ* II-J: 583.

36 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 115.

37 *DZ* II-C: 411; *DZ* II-J: 610; *DZ* II-K: 437.

38 Indeed, the Mattauw River had been included in the leasing of sea fisheries in April 1647. *See DZ* II-J: 581. In May, the authorities continued to lease out the Hauwan River, which had disappeared at the auction of 1648. *See DZ* II-J: 583, *DZ* III-A: 315; *DZ* III-B: 1020-2.

indigenous welfare'.[39] Local Formosans not only obtained the revenues generated, but could also continue their fishing in any leased fishery in their territory. One of the conditions of the auction of the same year was that Chinese leaseholders had to benefit the inhabitants by offering them cheap fish twice or even four times a week. The villagers of Soulang, Sincan, and Mattauw paid only 10 cents for a pound of fish. The Reverend Antonius Hambroeck personally leased out the Oenij fishery in the Mattauw River on the condition the Chinese leaseholder offered fish to the villagers of Mattauw at the same low price.[40] By 1653, the Tayouan authorities had ceased to lease out some inland rivers because of local disagreements.[41]

In 1650, Chinese leaseholders were permitted to use twelve sampans, hooks, and also nets; but within four years, stricter regulations on fishing were set. Chinese leaseholders were allowed to use only one *coya*, two to three sampans and three to four stake nets (*staaknetten*) in order to protect fish resources.[42]

Sulphur and coal

Sulphur and coal were both obtained from northern Formosa. During the months of September to December, the local Basay villagers of Kipatauw, Tapparij, and St Jago mined sulphur from the mountain later known as Mount Sulphur (*swavelbergh*) to the Dutch. By 1632, the people of Tapparij had stopped mining sulphur because they considered that the mining brought them bad luck. The inhabitants of St Jago were often mentioned as sulphur-producers who divided the ownership of the sulphur mounds on the basis of kinship ties.[43] According to Spanish accounts, Chinese traders (*sangleys*), even mandarins, were involved in the sulphur trade. In 1631, the Chinese shipped 1,000 *pikuls* of sulphur to China.[44] The Spaniards bought sulphur from the local people at the price of 16 reals for one *pikul*. Father Jacinto Esquivel once suggested adopting the Chinese trade pattern and paying for sulphur in kind, offering Chinese curiosities and trinkets in exchange. Despite toying with such ideas, during their occupation, the Spanish did not 'officially' establish a trade relationship for sulphur with the Formosans.[45]

The Dutch by contrast had a ready market for the mineral and sulphur figured on the list of commodities the VOC sold to Surat, Malabar, Cambodia, and Tonkin. By 1642, the Company considered buying sulphur from the Chinese traders, Peco and Campe,

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39 *DZ* III-A: 314; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 261-6, 309. The letter from Batavia was dated on 5 August 1649. Therefore it began at the auction of 1650.

40 *DZ* III-B: 1020-2.

41 *DZ* III-E: 409.

42 *DZ* III-B: 1021; *DZ* III-E: 420-1.

43 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 168, 172, 300; *DZ* II-C: 337; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 324.

44 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 168, 172; *DZ* II-B: 667. In 1631, a certain Chinese mandarin bought two large sampans of sulphur and sold it in China for 16-20 taels per *pikul*. In addition, Chinese junks went to Japan with silk and then returned with a cargo of sulphur. Both were from *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 172.

45 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 172; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 195.

who obtained raw sulphur from Tamsuy to boost the supply for Malabar and elsewhere.[46] After expelling the Spanish, Commander Johannes Lamotius built Fort Anthonio, of which one part was called 'the Sulphur Point', to keep a check on the sulphur trade between the Chinese and the local people.[47] Although Lamotius suggested gaining control of the sulphur-mines, the Basayos seemingly still dominated the production of and trade in this commodity.[48] In 1643, the Company issued passes to Chinese traders, including Chinese mandarins, *cabessas* in Tayouan, and Dutch free burghers, to trade sulphur in Tamsuy and Quelang, and also imposed a tax on sulphur.[49] Apparently, the trade flourished to such an extent that, in 1645, the Company had to set up a special area for refining raw sulphur in the town of Tayouan and in Saccam.[50] Anxious to protect the profit from the taxing of sulphur, the Dutch sent ships to the north to investigate the smuggling of this commodity.[51] It seems the tax was of more interest than the commodity itself. Even though several instances show that the Company also traded Formosan sulphur and shipped it to Batavia, the Chinese were the main buyers of sulphur.[52]

Although it never plunged fully into the sulphur trade, the Company was actively involved in the production of coal in Quelang. Coal-mining was never easy work. The coal-mines were located at a great distance and needed a plentiful supply of labour to bore through the rock along the coast. In 1643, the Commander in Quelang, Hendrik Harrouzee, sent Spanish Cagiaen slaves to mine coal. The labourers set to work in the mines were soon changed for the Basayos, mainly from Kimaurij, who were paid for the amount they produced. In 1645, the Company received only over 2,000 *pikuls* of coal debris since the Basayos did not have sophisticated tools with which to mine the mineral. In the following year, better tools such as sledge-hammers, wedges, and pickaxes were requested. In 1647, the headmen or Captain of Kimaurij and also the Company interpreter, Theodore, requested the payment be increased.[53] In 1655, Theodore promised that, if the Company agreed to raise the payment again, the Basayos would dig tunnels into the mountains in order to increase the annual production figures. This project was carried out; however, it was found that mine was unstable and threatened to collapse. Therefore it was deemed too dangerous for the miners.[54]

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46 *DZ* I-M: 41, *DZ* I, p. 506.

47 *DZ* II-B: 678.

48 Ibid., fo. 673.

49 Ibid., fo. 677; *DZ* II, p. 360; *DZ* II-C: 402; *DZ* II-D: 41; *DZ* II-G: 689, 750. For more details about *cabessas* in Tayouan in the sulphur trade, *see* Heyns and Cheng, 'A Portrait of Dutch Formosa's Cabessas'.

50 *DZ* II-G: 706.

51 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, II, 391.

52 In 1643, the yacht the *Vos* was sent to Quelang to load sulphur, which then shipped to Batavia and laid up in Batavia, 1644. *See DZ* II-D: 27-8; Bruijn, J. R., F. S. Gaastra and I. Schöffer. *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987), II, 72-3.

53 *DZ* II-C: 367; *DZ* II-G: 744; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 50-1, 182. The payment was five buckets each 326 ponds for one real. *See* also *DZ* II-J: 588.

54 *DZ* III-F: 612, 632.

Forest products

Since the earliest days of their occupation of Tayouan, the Dutch had to negotiate with the Siraya to gain access to forest resources to construct housing. Incontrovertibly, the south-west core area was the first to be devastated by the intense exploitation of the forest. In general, wood from this region was only used as firewood and for planking. In 1631, Governor Putmans was already aware of the risks of Chinese deforestation around the neighbourhood of Saccam as the Chinese chopped down trees without bothering to preserve saplings. To avert a shortage of usable timber and firewood, the Company established a felling area and imposed a fine on any felling of trees beyond its boundary or without permission.[55] Despite such seemingly effective measures, deforestation in Saccam continued. In 1643, the Long Forest (*Lange Bos*) had been completely felled. The William Ebbens Forest (*Willem Ebbens Bosch*), the Hagenaars Forests (*Hagenaers Bos*), and the Three Little Forests (*De Drie Bosjens*) were being exploited.[56] In 1645, it was noted that the authorities had banned the export of wood to China since 1642. Three years later, only four Chinese were licensed to chop wood, burn charcoal, and sell their produce at a fixed price for one year.[57]

As this area seemed to being irrevocably devastated, the south gradually replaced Saccam as the source of the wood supplied to Tayouan in the 1640s. In 1635, Chinese were already shipping wood and firewood from the southern Tamsuy River to Tayouan. Apprised of the situation, the Dutch authorities were prompted to conduct an investigation into the feasibility of timber-getting along that river the following year.[58] During the 1630s, the Dutch authorities had had to rely on imported Chinese staves to make the barrels for sugar, but within a decade this material was gradually supplied from the south.[59] By 1648, the Chinese were sawing staves for sugar barrels at Taykon's Wood near Tancoya. Six years later, in 1654, the elders of Netne and Cattia began to lodge complaints, stating that the Chinese were overexploiting the wood in their regions.[60] Their pleas probably fell on deaf ears as a compelling need for wood and timber followed the cancelling of the annual supplies of wood from Batavia. This setback forced the Tayouan authorities to seek the wood and timber they needed in Formosa itself. In the south, a forest was found on the far side of Mount Table (present-day Takang Shan in Kaohsiung County) which had timber suitable for buildings and ships.[61]

Northern Formosa presented itself as another location which could yield valuable

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55 *DZ* I-B: 593; *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 99, 154-5; *DZ* I-I: 844; *DZ* I-L: 669; *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 99-101.

56 *DZ* II-C: 275, 290.

57 *DZ* II-G: 662-3; *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 85, 148; *DZ* III-A: 306-7 (The year of 1648); Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 177.

58 *DZ* I-G: 242; *DZ* I-H: 409-10.

59 *DZ* I-H: 410; *DZ* II-H: 374.

60 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 379; *DZ* III-E: 385.

61 *DZ* III-F: 627-8. Tayouan was supplied with teak from Batavia probably for ship- and house-building. *See* Peter Boomgaard, 'The VOC Trade in Forest Products', in Richard H. Grove, Vinita Damodaran and Satpal Sangwan (eds), *Nature and the Orient: The Environmental History of South and Southeast Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 375-95, esp. 389.

timber. As earlier as 1626, Chinese were cutting wood in Quelang. The Spaniards learned that the indigenous inhabitants lived in houses built of excellent timber, that they used a fragrant wood to build their vessels, and they also sold a kind of 'incorruptible' wood to the Chinese to construct tombs.[62] In 1647, the Company planned to reward the Basayos from the village of Tapparij with an ample payment for cutting trees into heavy beams, long boards, and planks. However, this project caused jitters among the principal residents of Tapparij, as *Opperhoofd*, Junior Merchant Jacob Nolpe, reported:

> They pretended this was far too strenuous for them and for all their fellow countrymen, because they would have to chop wood from forests that did not grow next to flat beaches or on the plain, but they would have to traverse several high mountains and deep valleys to accomplish the work with many men, as became clear to us. Therefore they would like to request Your Honour not to impose this heavy burden upon them. Any other job would be fine, and they were willing to perform it as best they could. It is true that fine boards of camphor, which can be used for the construction of small objects like chests, gun-carriages etcetera, can be found here. These people are prepared to chop those boards … but it is beyond the limits of human labour to demand such large wooden beams as Your Honour have ordered from them.[63]

The Tayouan authorities hastened to reassure the Formosans that their intention was not to force them to deliver the timber against their will, but only to request various samples of timber from the trees which the inhabitants were wont to fell.[64]

In March 1654, Governor Caesar requested an investigation into the quality of trees on Mount Marinats (present-day Jiantan Shan, namely Yüen Shan in Taipei City), a place taboo for the inhabitants. It took some time but, in April, Merchant Thomas van Iperen finally 'persuaded' the Basayos to fetch the samples of trees under military supervision. But no oak or camphor was found. Despite this rather disappointing result of the investigation, the Tayouan authorities decided to use the timber from Mount Marinats to repair the buildings in Tayouan which had been destroyed by earthquakes as no supply of timber would be sent from Batavia. In July, Junior Merchant Antonij Plockoy was appointed the first official in charge of the Company timber supply from this region.[65]

The new search continued and, in 1655, Captain Thomas Pedel as Commissioner was ordered to investigate the timber in the region of Tamsuy. The forest of Catchieuw in the upstream region of the Pinorouwan River was brought to Dutch attention.[66] Meanwhile, the felling of timber on Mount Marinats had begun using Basay labour. After negotiations with Theodore and the elder Gravello, the villagers of Kimaurij and St Jago promised to provide planks for a gun-carriage. It was all too much of a struggle owing to the difficulty of transporting timber from the mountains to the river and the sulphurous fumes in the vicinity had a debilitating effect on human health. Bowing to the inevitable, the Tayouan authorities had to give up the plan and rely on timber imported from Batavia and

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62 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 92, 165, 302.
63 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 197.
64 Ibid. 203.
65 *DZ* III-E: 361, 410, 436. *Formosan Encounter*, III, 479-80, 506-7; Ang, *Ta T'ai-pei ku ti t'u k'ao shih*, 43; Kang, 'Shih ch'i shih chi shang pan te Ma-sai jên', 17-18.
66 *DZ* III-F: 606, 631-2; Ang, *Ta T'ai-pei ku ti t'u k'ao shih*, 63.

Siam.[67] This left the way open for others and in 1657 Chinese could apply for a pass to fell timber in the region of Tamsuy and this was shipped to China after the tithe was paid.[68]

In the instances of requiring strenuous, more regular labour such as coal-mining and logging, the Dutch authorities actually established labour relations with the Basayos. Doing a job parallel to Chinese *cabessas* who acted as contractors and labour-brokers in the core area, on the northern frontiers the local Basay Captains played a similar role and were also given the title *cabessa*. Since the earliest interactions between the Formosans and the Dutch, the latter had paid for Formosan labour service in construction, carriage, deliveries and so on either in kind or in cash in order to maintain a good relationship.[69] In dealing with Basay workers for Company-assigned extraction industries, the Dutch initially paid headmen, who had been the Company interpreters and acted as agents for the inhabitants, in cash for what was produced, not for the labour. This pattern caused problems. Whenever Theodore requested more payment on behalf of his people, even though they had never received any complaints about him from his people, the Dutch authorities could not help presuming that this headman did not treat his labourers fairly, suspicious of the fact that he paid them not in cash but in cloth. In order to set matters straight, the Tamsuy authorities asked Theodore to pay his labourers in cash.[70] Later in 1655, although Theodore requested a fixed payment for delivering timber, Pedel preferred to pay the Basay labourers a daily wage.[71] The Basayos became wage-labourers and thereafter worked for the Company-assigned extraction industries in an incipient wage economy on the frontier.

Although timber was the top priority, the Formosan forest also yielded non-timber products such as bamboo, rattan, and dye-stuffs. Bamboo was the main raw material used for the construction of houses. On the south-west plain, it was only in 1644 that the Chinese began to pay the Formosan owners for bamboo. By that time, the authorities were issuing licences for one real per month for the cutting of bamboo. To protect Formosan rights, the inhabitants of Sincan, Soulang, Mattauw, Bacaluan, Tevorang, and Tavocan again retained their right to demarcate a cutting area or to refuse to allow the Chinese to cut bamboo in their villages.[72] In the early 1650s, there were regulations in place forbidding the Chinese to cut bamboo in or near Formosan villages unless it was done at a certain distance from the villages.[73]

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67 *GM*, 1 Feb. 1656, 439.

68 VOC 1222, Missive Boons to Coyett, Quelang, 28 Oct. 1657, fo. 438r. In 1657, the Dutch authorities also considered paying Chinese workers to cut down timber in the region of Tamsuy (fo. 428v).

69 For example, *Formosan Encounter*, I, 74; *DZ* III-E: 380, *DZ* III-F: 569; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 22.

70 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 192, 197.

71 *DZ* III-F: 612, 632. Theodore requested 10 reals for the length of 5 *vadems* and 8 reals for 4 *vadems*. Pedel mentioned that the daily wage for a native labourer was 8 stivers. In Tayouan, a 7.5-8 reals beam would fetch only 2.5-3 reals as a wage. In 1657, a plank of 6-7 feet long, 2.5 feet wide, and 5-6 inches thick could be bartered with cloth and salt worth less than one real. Therefore, the Tayouan authorities considered their system was cheaper than having the same planks imported from China or Japan. *See* VOC 1222, Missive Coyett to Boons, Tayouan, 3 Sep. 1657, fo. 374r.

72 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 82-3; *DZ* II-H: 303; *DZ* II-J: 563. Moreover, owing to convenient transportation, they had to pay more for bamboo from Sincan and Tavocan. *See GM*, 24 Dec. 1652, 354.

73 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 310.

In 1634, for the first time rattan was found listed in the cargo of junk from the south. Later in 1643 it was registered as cargo in those from Tamsuy. According to Spanish accounts, all the inhabitants in Tamsuy sold lianas, climbing tropical plants with long and slender stems, to Chinese traders who exported to China for 2 or 3 taels a *pikul*. These became one of the important north Taiwan products besides sulphur. By 1644, Formosan rattan was a recorded export commodity to China.[74] In addition, the inhabitants of Senar in Tamsuy produced a root crop used for dyeing nets. The Chinese bartered and sold it in China at a price of one *pikul* for 4 to 5 taels.[75]

Trade monopoly

In the wake of the Dutch arrival, the local trade between the Chinese and the Formosans was geared to the shipping rhythms of the colony. As a background to the inland trade, the business of the Tayouan factory can be summarized as being of two kinds: the Company Asian network and Tayouan-Formosa domestic trade (see Table 7.2). All year round, leading Chinese merchants shipped such luxury commodities as silk, fine cloth, gold, and fine porcelain from Fukien Province to Tayouan.[76] These trade goods were then purchased in Tayouan by the Company and shipped out to other factories. When the south-west monsoon began to blow, the principal goods from South-East Asia—pepper and spices—arrived in Tayouan. The factory was then a hive of activity sorting out and loading these goods as well as Formosan sugar and deerskins on to ships bound for Japan. In December or January, when the north-eastern monsoon season (coinciding with the trade winds) set in, ships from Japan returned to Tayouan carrying silver. The Japanese silver then used to buy Chinese goods and Formosan sugar for the Persian market which were first forwarded to Batavia.[77]

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[74] *DZ* I-F: 51; *DZ* II-C: 302, 389; *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 168; John E. Wills Jr., 'The Dutch Reoccupation of Chi-lung, 1664-1668', in Leonard Blussé (ed.), *Around and About Formosa*: *Essays in Honour of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), 273-90 at 281.

[75] *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 168. This kind of root crop can be *shu-lang* (薯榔, *Dioscorea matsudai Hayata*), which grows in Formosan hilly region as low and middle height above sea level. *See* Cheng Wu-tsang 鄭武燦, *T'ai-Wan chih wu t'u chien* 臺灣植物圖鑑 [The Illustrated Flora of Taiwan], vol. II (Taipei: National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 2000), II-2979, 1490.

[76] According to David Wright, the Chinese came from the coast of China at most seasons of the year. *See* 'David Wright', 74. Since these merchants were indispensable middlemen in the Company trade with China, their names were frequently recorded in Company correspondence. *See* Ang Kaim, 'Shih ch'i shih chi te fu lao hai shang' 十七世紀的福佬海商 [Maritime Hoklo in the Seventeenth Century], in Tang Shi-Yeoung 湯熙勇 (ed.), *Chung-kuo hai yang fa chan shih lun wên chi* 中國海洋發展史論文集 [Essays in Chinese Maritime History], vol. 7 (Taipei: Sun Yat-sen Institute for Social Science and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 1999), 59-92; id., 'Shih ch'i shih chi tung ya ta hai shang hêng wan shih chi ch'u k'ao' 十七世紀東亞大海商亨萬 (Hambuan) 事蹟初考 [A Preliminary Examination of Hambuan: The great sea trader of seventeenth century East Asia], 故宮學術季刊/*The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 22/4 (2005), 83-101. From the *Dagregisters*, it can be seen that some of them developed their trade in areas which overlapped with the domain of VOC Asiatic trade. For example, Peco traded in Cambodia, Kimtingh, Samsoe, and Boycko traded in Quinam.

[77] *DZ*; Chen Kuo-tung, 'Chuan yün yü ch'u k'ou: Ho chü shih ch'i te mao i yü ch'an yeh' 轉運與出

The Chinese sampan trade across the bay from Tayouan to the Formosan mainland, constituted a supply line provisioning the daily consumption needs in both regions. Small, anonymous itinerant traders and fishermen also played a role in this trade alongside ordinary merchants. According to the records, they brought various kinds of goods which can be classified into two types: manufactured commodities and daily necessities. The former included materials for constructing buildings, distilling arrack as well as cultivating rice, sugar, indigo and so on. Salt, oil, food, beverages, cloth, clothes, iron pans, and coarse ceramics composed the latter category. On the way back to China, these traders and fishermen shipped various kinds of Formosan goods, including fish, rattan, and such deer products as venison, antlers, sinews, hair, and organs.[78]

Village leasehold system

In 1631, the Dutch authorities had issued the Chinese trading-licences in order to get a grasp of the extent of their involvement in the trade in deerskins with the Formosans. After a six-year preparatory survey, in 1637, the Company launched itself into the trade in deer products with China.[79] The resultant nightmare—the Formosan resistance incited by the Chinese who were forced to withdraw from the trade—touched a raw nerve with the Dutch authorities. The local situation was indeed a hotbed rife for rebellion. In 1640, the Chinese living in Formosan villages were too poor to pay for hunting-licences. To acquire the piece of paper they needed to earn a living, they preferred to borrow from the Dutch rather than from Chinese usurers. They were not the only victims; Junius presumed that these Chinese would cheat and defraud the even poorer Formosans daily if they could not repay the Dutch loan.[80] To deflect attention from themselves, the Chinese would incite the oppressed Formosans to vent their rage on the 'Dutch loan sharks.' Apprehensive of such developments, in 1642, the Dutch authorities began to expel all the Chinese from the Formosan villages to the north and south of Saccam and Tayouan, with the exception of the villages Soulang, Bacaluan, Sincan, Mattauw, Tavocan, Tirosen, and Favorlangh, which to ensure good order were put under the supervision of local *politieken*. In the remote areas where the Chinese were forbidden to trade without paying for a monthly trading-licence, this caused the locals even more inconvenience.[81] At the *Landdag* of 1644, the Dutch authorities promised the Formosan elders to solve this problem. They actually toyed with the idea of taking over this trade themselves or

口：荷據時期的貿易與產業 [Transit and Export: Trade and Commerce in Taiwan during the Dutch Period], in Shih Shou-chien 石守謙 (ed.), *Fu êrh mo sha: shih ch'i shih chi te T'ai-Wan, Ho-lan yü tung ya* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2003), 53-74; Shuichi Nara, *Zeelandia, the Factory in the Far Eastern Tading Network of the VOC*, in Leonard Blussé (ed.), *Around and About Formosa*, 161-74; About the export of Formosan sugar, *see* Lin Wei-sheng, *Ho chü shih ch'i tung yin tu kung ssu tsai T'ai-Wan te mao i.*

78 From the registrations of arrival and departure of ships in *DZ*.

79 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 155-7; *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 85-7.

80 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 187.

81 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 85; *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 119-23. The licences only allowed the traders to trade but not to reside in the villages.

hiring some Chinese as their agents although, as was written in the resolution, the Dutch admitted that 'we could not make a profit like the Chinese by peddling pieces of cloth'.[82] Clearly, the Dutch authorities would have faced an almost insurmountable difficulty in replacing Chinese peddlers or retail traders.

In April 1644, the Dutch authorities decided to allow six to ten Chinese to live and trade in Favorlangh, Tirosen, Dorcko, and Tevorang: 'This would be permitted provided they pay a reasonable amount of money annually for their permission.' This measure led to the institution of a village leasehold system under which Formosan-Chinese economic exchanges were maintained, while the Company collected revenue from this trade.[83] On 1 May 1644, this system was finally opened under regulated conditions to the highest bidders in the most important northern villages and the southern region.[84] Commencing in this year, the Dutch authorities held a tax-farming auction after the two *Landdagen* (see Table 7.3). Even though the Dutch were also allowed to bid, the Chinese showed far greater enthusiasm for the auction.[85]

This system linking tax-farms and the domestic trade essentially imposed a Chinese trade monopoly upon the Formosans because, as Shepherd points out, most of bidders were the Chinese. That is, Chinese leaseholders as the highest bidders at public auctions acquired the right to trade with the inhabitants of leased Formosan villages, buying their local products and selling them trade goods for a period of one year.[86] These Chinese leaseholders and their workers (*congsias*) acquired exclusive rights to live in the leased regions in order to collect deer products and supply the inhabitants with trade goods. They had to carry their trading-licences with them at all times and wear silver medals engraved with the name of the leased region as they went about their business.[87] In the riverine lowlands, the rivers became the hub of the peddling trade, since the traders were required to remain on their sampans as they were not allowed to spend the night in the villages. In the mountains, leaseholders were allowed to lodge in the leased villages from where they traded with villagers living farther inland.[88] Chinese leaseholders were not allowed to trade in the people's houses in the villages near Tayouan, but this rule did not apply in the regions where either Christianity or Dutch residence had not yet been established.[89]

To protect the exclusive rights of the leaseholders, the authorities strictly controlled

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[82] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 435.

[83] Ibid. 434-6. This argument comes from Heyns, *see* Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 157-8. About the origin of the system, Ang argues that deer-hunting licences issued to the Chinese led to the setting up the system. *See* Ang Kaim, 'Ti fang hui i, p'u she yü wang t'ien: T'ai-wan chin tai shih yen chiu pi chi' 地方會議、璞社與王田:臺灣近代初期史研究筆記(一) [Landdag, Village-leasing and Crown Land: Research notes on Taiwan's early modern history 1], *TWH* 51/3 (2000), 263-82 at 269.

[84] *Formosan Encounter*, II, 489-90. According to *GM*, 18 Jan. 1649, 299, the system started in 1642.

[85] Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 156-8.

[86] Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 266; Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 77, 115.

[87] *GM*, 18 Jan. 1649, 299; *DZ* II-G: 656. About silver medal, *see GM*, 18 Jan. 1649, 299 and also *Formosan Encounter*, III, 255.

[88] *DZ* II-G: 720. Many headhunting raids happened while the inhabitants of interior mountain areas were on the way to trade in leased village or after they had traded there. *See DZ* II-G: 690-1.

[89] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 509.

the Formosan–Chinese trade. Chinese bamboo- and wood-collectors were not allowed to trade directly with the locals. In 1645, Chinese farmers living in Sincan, Tavocan, Soulang, Mattauw, and Bacaluan now had to move out of these villages because their residence there conflicted with the interests of the Chinese leaseholders.[90] The Dutch authorities also kept a weather eye on Chinese smuggling. In 1645, a team was sent to investigate alleged Chinese smuggling along the coastal areas between Wancan and Tamsuy, because some 'pirates' holding Company licences were said to be committing robberies in the region of Favorlangh. It was not long before the trade in the region between Tamsuy and Taurinab was forbidden and the Chinese were no longer allowed to reside in or sail to the local villages. In 1646, after the Dutch authorities had established a better relationship with the local Formosans, they leased five rivers, namely the Sinkangia, Ticksam, Lamcan, Pangsoa, and Goemach, to Chinese in recognition of the benefit the latter would bring the locals in the following year.[91] The Dutch authorities hence controlled both the Formosan–Chinese trade and their interaction. At the *Landdagen*, Formosan elders were encouraged to apprehend illegal Chinese traders on the promise that the Company would reward them with *cangans*.[92]

The so-called leased 'villages' usually consisted of a community or an area containing more than one community under the leadership of one leading village or a representative designation of its district, for example, Favorlangh.[93] Most of these villages, including the entire core area on the south-west plain, were located in the coastal or riverine lowlands in the western part of Formosa. Some were situated in the more upland terrains or in the mountains.[94] All the leased 'villages' sent representatives to the *Landdag*. How the lease divisions were demarcated is not exactly clear, but arguably pre-existing local regional divisions were followed. For example, the Lonckjouw District was one single lease. Chinese local knowledge also played a role. Four villages which may have been related to the present indigenous group of Tsou were lumped together in one lease since the Chinese referred to them using the same term.[95] The system was expandable as a great volume of trade could lead to new leases being issued, especially in the regions rich

90 *DZ* II-F: 160; *DZ* II-G: 675.

91 *DZ* II-G: 655, 701-10, 731; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 60, 64. The order of these five rivers is based on the amount of lease money. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 282-3.

92 *DZ* II-H: 302. About Dutch dual category of Chinese, *see* Andrade, *Commerce, Culture, and Conflict*, 209.

93 Before describing leased divisions in more detail, as previous research has noted, both the terms 'village' (*dorp*) and 'district' (*district*)' need to be clarified. *See* Ang, 'Ti fang hui i, p'u she yü wang t'ien', 267; Kang, 'A Brief Note', 114-22; From the perspectives of contemporary Dutch understanding, 'village' and 'district' may have approximated to local spatial knowledge/perception.

94 These villages have links with modern Taiwanese Indigenous Groups. For example, Big Tackapoulangh, whose villagers were related to the present Taiwanese indigenous group—the Bunun. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 269-77. Laywangh was possibly the village of another group, the Tsou, inferred from the journal of Substitute Political Administrator Joost van Bergen to the region. *See DZ* II-E: 310-11. *See* also Wang Sung-shan 王嵩山 and Wang Ming-huey 汪明輝, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih: Tsou tsu shih p'ien* 臺灣原住民史：鄒族史篇 [The History of Formosan Aborigines: Tsou] (Nantou: The Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province, 2001), 96.

95 The Chinese used the term 'Y-U' to designate the inhabitants of these four villages, Leywangh, Lissingangh, Marits, and Tarraquangh. *See DZ* III-C: 685. Chinese traders in that region might have acquired this knowledge from the local people. About the villages and their possible relationship with Tsou, *see* Wang and Wang, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih*, 96.

in the production of deerskins and venison. The splitting up of Favorlangh and Basiekan (Davolee) into two leases in 1654 is a good example. One reason for breaking leases up into smaller areas may have been that the rent shot up to such heights it was no longer affordable for one leaseholder. Even though its size was diminished, Favorlangh continued to fetch the highest bid among all the leases (see Appendix 3).[96]

Some lease divisions appear to have been formed at the request of prospective leaseholders.[97] On the northern frontiers, both the Dutch and the Chinese vied to rent the villages south of the Tamsuy River. In 1651, after Governor Verburch had refused to allow Company personnel to lease Parricoutsie (Lamcan), Chinese leaseholders could continue to rent this village.[98] In the following year, Chinese traders from Tamsuy won the right to trade in the north-west from the Tayouan authorities. Again there was a division into two leases: one was Lamcan, incorporating Sasaulij and Tarrisan; the other was the district of Baritsoen, including the Coulon Mountains, even though this lease was not considered advisable by the local Tamsuy authorities.[99]

Old issue, new context

In the leased regions, by 1648, a traditional barter economy functioned alongside the newly introduced monetized economy.[100] The Formosans paid cash for salt in the areas between the Favorlangh District and Tayouan, but leaseholders had the option of obtaining venison and deerskins with either money or cloths. In the south it was the Formosan custom to barter paddy or venison for cloths and iron pans.[101] Although there was money available, monetization was not wholeheartedly embraced by Formosans on the south-west plain. Not until 1654 did Governor Caesar speculate that: 'It seems the inhabitants are beginning to become somewhat acquainted with money now.'[102] Interestingly, the so-called 'monetization' of Formosan societies may have taken a different route. This was hinted at when the Dutch authorities complained that the Formosans 'hoarded' silver

[96] From the leasing record of 1654, *see DZ* III-E: 407. But it was possible that the lease under this condition began in 1652.

[97] Besides, one example was said to be have been set up in response to a local request to comply with the convenience of the inhabitants' trade. The lowest rent happened to be Leywangh and nearby villages, but rather dubiously, the inhabitants of these villages argued that they hoped the Chinese would not come to their villages. *See DZ* II-J: 563.

[98] They were Junior Merchant Plockhoy, Ensign Jacob Baers, and the sergeant stationed in Tamsuy. Verburch's reason for disapproval was: 'It simply is not done to sell such leases underhand to some individual person.' But they were sold by auction. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 316.

[99] *DZ* III-C: 685. The Tamsuy authorities suggested Governor Verburch stop leasing out these regions in order to prevent Chinese traders from causing them more trouble. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 353. But the leasing still continued on condition that the Chinese leaseholder offered cheaper venison as a food supply for the Company personnel in Tamsuy which suffered shortages in its food supply from Tayouan.

[100] Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 161-2. Governor Putmans had reported to the Amsterdam Chamber that there is very little money in circulation except the money used by the Company in 1629. *See Formosan Encounter*, I, 154-8.

[101] From the price list of 1648, *see* Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 161-2.

[102] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 558.

coins.[103] Money was not just a token of exchange; it could be a collectable symbol of wealth.[104]

In this period of flux and economic change, the village leasehold system needs some re-assessment. Incontrovertibly, it was an easy option for the Dutch to farm out the responsibility, but how did the Formosans fare? The village leasehold system had an enormous drawback in that it allowed Chinese leaseholders unilateral price control in their trading with the Formosans.[105] The focus of the critical discussion lay on the Chinese 'exploitation' of the 'poor' Formosans. When the Chinese leaseholders raised interest rates at the expense of the Formosans who were dependent on the trade goods, the Dutch authorities wrestled with the problem of whether to maintain or abolish the system. This section will concentrate on Dutch efforts to satisfy the Formosan need for trade goods under conditions closely controlled by the authorities.

The inhabitants of the leasehold villages did not reap any benefit from the abolition of tribute in 1648. Through the medium of the village leasehold system, these inhabitants still had to 'express their gratitude' and contribute to the Company. Ex-Governor Verburch once proudly indicated: 'So at present they have to bear no burden other than the leasing-out of the Formosan villages, which has brought in about 100,000 guilders a year on average during the four-year term of my rule.'[106] The Dutch authorities considered that implicit in the tribute and the village leasehold system was a means to tax their Formosan subjects. Since the system was moulded on existing Formosan-Chinese exchange activities, the Dutch authorities believed they could apply the system, 'so gently that the inhabitant hardly notices it.'[107] Shepherd argues that the primary advantage of the system was to allow the Dutch to squeeze revenue out of every aspect of Chinese-Formosan trade, even though it was not their deliberate aim to exploit the Formosans or to ignore the consequences.[108]

The Dutch may have been brimming with good intentions but Chinese 'exploitation' had already been noticed before the system was introduced, which begs the question of why the Dutch espoused it. By 1644, Chinese traders were being accused of cheating the locals both in the north and in the south, even though some of them held legal Company trading-licences.[109] Symptomatic of the relationship was the upsurge in Formosan violence against Chinese traders. In the early days in the late 1620s, Chinese peddlers ran

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103 Ibid. 557. The Formosans hoarded *Statendaalders*, and consequently Governor Caesar thought to 'raise' its value in order to reduce the accessibility of this money.

104 While the Dutchmen or the Chinese tried to increase their wealth by clipping coins, the Formosans tended to collect coins. These collected coins were perforated and used in jewellery and on costumes as observed in the post-Dutch era. *See Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 118-19; Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 379. Similar material evidence can be found in the ethnological collection of National Taiwan University, Museum of Anthropology. A Formosan headdress from Central Taiwan was adorned with a perforated fake Spanish real. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, p. xlvii.

105 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 159-60.

106 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 491.

107 Ibid.

108 Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 77-8.

109 For example, Chinese traders were criticized by the inhabitants of Pangsoya in 1638, *see DZ* I-K: 463. In 1643, the same things happened on the south-west plain (*DZ* II-C: 283-4).

very little risk of any physical harm. Thirty years later in the 1650s, the murder, injury, or robbery of Chinese leaseholders were perpetrated on a large scale in all the leased regions.[110] Institutional hassles in the levying of taxation seemed to trap both the Chinese leaseholders and the Formosans in a dead-end situation. In 1644, matters deteriorated as the Dutch authorities also began to levy import taxes on black sugar, grease, candles, tobacco, arrack, oil, fat, rattan, beads and other similar peddler's wares. The inordinate desire for taxes did not stop there. Junks used for shipping these trade goods to villages needed to apply for licences as well.[111] The Chinese leaseholders compensated their increased tax burden by raising the sales price of imported goods and reducing the purchasing price of Formosan products. Consequently, the Formosans had to pay more for less and grew 'poorer and poorer'.[112]

The Dutch authorities had no option but to protect Chinese leaseholders from Formosan violence and they also took preventative measures to combat the problem of Chinese 'exploitation'. In 1643, President Maximiliaen Lemaire suggested opening up a market in several villages in order to create an arena for fair trade for the Formosans and Chinese traders who were selling their goods at a price higher than was asked in Tayouan. In 1648, the scheme was launched when a weekly market was set up in Hoorn (Provintia) to allow the Chinese and the inhabitants of such nearby villages as Tavocan, Bacaluan, Sincan, Soulang, and Mattauw to trade their goods with the flood of Chinese immigrants. It was not a resounding success as it was said that the Chinese had purchased all the goods brought by the Formosans while the latter was still on the way to the market. Consequently, since the Chinese leaseholders in those villages could not make a profit, they requested to be able to lease these villages again, this time at a lower price.[113] Trying to put matters in order, the authorities introduced a fixed rate on the principal commodities in a strenuous attempt to control prices.[114]

In yet another step, in 1649, the Formosans were further discharged from their obligation to sell goods to the leaseholders in their own villages. They were encouraged to take their goods to the market or to trade with other leaseholders outside their own villages if this was more profitable to them. Leaseholders were in the invidious position of only being able to trade in their leased regions.[115] This change was meant to restrain the dominate position of Chinese leaseholders in their trade monopoly, even though the

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110 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 163 and Chapter Three; *DZ* I-A: 390. Cases of violence towards Chinese leaseholders happened in the north, for example, *see DZ* III-C: 677. In the Longkiouw District, *see DZ* III-E: 386. However, violence related to the trade was also frequent among the Formosans themselves.

111 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 434-5, 489-91. But a tithe was never levied on cloth. In 1647, the authorities in Batavia rejected a proposal from the Tayouan authorities that a tithe be levied on all cloth because it was not a good time to obtain revenue from that which the Formosans needed most. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 179.

112 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 160. Especially in the opinion of the Church in p. 166.

113 *DZ* II-C: 284; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 225-6, 240; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 162-3.

114 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 160.

115 Resolution, 6 Apr. 1650, *see Formosan Encounter*, III, 284-5. The rule was followed Resolution in 18 Mar. 1649.

Dutch authorities were perfectly well aware that Chinese leaseholders had to trade in other leased regions; otherwise they would not have been able to pay the rent.[116] This policy was not successful. In 1650, the Formosans were still under pressure in their trade, especially when the number of deer was fast dwindling. An example reported to the authorities in Batavia clearly reveals the problem:

> We are informed about a certain leaseholder who was trading a Chinese coat with an inhabitant, and insisted on getting sixteen heavy haunches of venison in return. Whereupon the inhabitant replied: 'Once, I used to buy such a coat from you for six haunches'. But he was answered that it could not be sold for less, because coats and clothes had become more expensive in China, without even taking into consideration that the price of venison had risen twice as high in China, too. The inhabitant, however, (who really needed the coat) simply had to deliver the sixteen haunches that, as Your Honour knows, are very hard to catch nowadays.[117]

'*Invention of dominion*'

In 1649, the Gentlemen Seventeen were finally drawn into the debate about maintaining or abolishing the village leasehold system. They decided to continue the system after having examined both the opinion of the High Government and that of the Tayouan authorities but only five years later in 1654.[118] During the period of 1649 to 1654, this debate had been a heated point of discussion among the political authorities and the Church in Holland, Batavia, and Tayouan. The most important spokesman was certainly the Governor of Tayouan, Nicolaes Verburch.

In the course of the discussion, Governor Verburch underwent a transformation from being a doubter to becoming a supporter of the system.[119] When he embarked on his term of office, he attempted to postpone the annual auction of the leaseholds, and even remarked that: 'It would have been better if this system would never have been introduced at all.' The longer he spent in Formosa, the more Verburch's perception of both the Chinese and the Formosans led him to alter his views. Verburch formed the opinion that the diligent Chinese honeybees would make any effort to pursue more profits, in contrast to the Formosans who were not keen on seizing opportunities but seemed content to remain attached to their Chinese leaseholders. Therefore, Verburch believed that, even if the system were abolished: 'The Formosans would still be cheated by the Chinese, perhaps even more than before, as they will continue to frequent the villages.'[120] This argument solidified into his tacit support for continuing the system.

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116 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 339-40.

117 Ibid. 309.

118 *GM*, 18 Jan. 1649, 299-300; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 507. Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 299.

119 Governor Verburch's confession: 'I shared this negative opinion upon entering my office, due to deception by others', *see Formosan Encounter*, III, 491. Verburch was the sort of person who caused controversy among the Church, his colleagues, and also Commissioner Verstegen from Batavia. *See DZ* III-D. For more details about the conflicts between Verburch and the Church, *see* Ang, 'Ti fang hui i, p'u she yü wang t'ien', 268.

120 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 340-2.

The revenues from the village leasehold system yielded much more than the Dutch authorities expected. Prospective Chinese tax-farmers eagerly vied to outbid others regardless of the location of the regions leased.[121] In Verburch's own words, the system was 'a gambling-like invention of dominion, and an example of something we think has never before been learned of or seen in any government.'[122] In 1649, Verburch still believed that the poor Formosans could rise against the Company when their frustration reached boiling point and they could no longer endure being exploited by Chinese leaseholders.[123] Against all expectations it was not the Formosans, but the Chinese 'honeybees' who rebelled in September 1652. This rebellion, as Heyns suggests, may have been related to the 'desperate state of debt-ridden leaseholders' after the inflated lease-prices had spun out of control.[124]

In fact, before the rebellion, Commissioner Willem Verstegen had warned that the system of raising rent was in imminent danger of collapse. He tried to convince the authorities in Batavia that the village leasehold system damaged the Company trade in deerskins and suggested an alternative solution to replace the system: Company servants should be allowed to open shops to supply what the inhabitants needed.[125] Nevertheless, even after the Chinese Revolt, Verburch still preferred the Chinese-dominated village leasehold system to Dutch-run shops. Leaving aside such local difficulties as climate, transport, and the diversity of the Formosan languages, the tenor of Verburch's argument was: How could a Dutchman manage on the sale of exceptionally small peddler's wares as a Chinese did if he were to set up a shop in a village?[126] The simple truth was that the Dutch could not replace the Chinese peddling or retail trade, the patterns which predominated in the local trade. The authorities in Batavia nevertheless launched an attempt to set up shops in several important villages such as Soulang, Sincan, Bacaluan, Mattauw, and Tirosen, where it was thought that the Dutch could more or less overcome the difficulties Verburch described. But in the final analysis of 1654, Verburch's argument convinced the Gentlemen Seventeen that the time was not ripe for the Company to open shops in Formosa.[127]

Since the Dutch authorities could not take over the Formosan-Chinese trade, they were forced to observe the Formosan-Chinese connection closely. It was agreed that, if the Chinese were completely shut out of the country, the Formosans would be deprived

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121 The record of auction in 1654 shows that one leaseholder could lease more than one region. *DZ* III-E: 406-8.

122 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 341

123 *GM*, 31 Dec. 1649, 315.

124 Heyns argues that three Chinese land-developers as principal rebels could also have been active in the village lease auctions before the rebellion. *See* Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 168-72.

125 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 416-8. Since Chinese leaseholders forced the Formosans to produce more deerskins, the number of deer would decrease and the Company's trade of deerskins would eventually be harmed.

126 Ibid. 445-6.

127 Ibid. 464, 507. Perhaps shops had been established in several villages, including those in the District of Favorlangh. According to the Favorlangh word list, a shop was called '*moto*', the same word as 'corner'. *See* 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect', 163.

of necessities. After this was established, the next hurdle had to be overcome. It was clear that the operations of the Chinese leaseholders should be better controlled. After the Chinese Revolt had been crushed with the help of Formosan allies, Formosan 'friendship' was valued even more highly than before.[128] Therefore, the local Dutch administrators, the *landdrost* and *politieken*, who were assumed to have their ear to the ground and served as 'watchdogs' in Formosa, were ordered by the High Government to ascertain the Formosans were not being cheated by Chinese leaseholders. More importantly, they should also take steps to ensure that the Chinese and Formosans did not forge closer friendships. There were 'political reasons' behind this:

> While the spreading of the Chinese over Formosa might be very disadvantageous for the prosperity of this state, as we noticed that people of that nationality always try to make the Formosans abhor us.[129]

This doctrine echoed the earlier anxieties expressed by Commander Reyersen in 1623, who said before the Dutch even established themselves in Tayouan that: 'They [the Chinese] could incite the natives to make war against us, which would be greatly to our disadvantage.'[130]

Trade on the frontiers

The trading domain beyond the control of village leasehold system was far-flung. Compared to the total list of Formosan households and population, on which nearly 300 villages are recorded, the number of leased 'villages' is rather low (see Appendix 3). In the southern frontier area, several villages were leased out. However, local inter-village warfare had been hindering the smooth functioning of the village leasehold system there. In 1650, Lieutenant Ridsaerd Weyls, the leaseholder of the villages Swatalauw and Tedackjan in the south, had to petition for a refund of 1,200 reals in rent because 'serious irritation had risen and even open war had broken out between the said two villages and some other mountain villages.'[131]

Most of the east, northern, and north-east frontier areas were free of the village leasehold system, with the exception of the five rivers of Sinkangia, Ticksam, Lamcan, Pangsoa, and Goemach, and the regions of Lamkan and Barissoen to the south of the Tamsuy River. The Chinese and the Company each established their own type of trade relationship with the Formosans. The former continued their peddling trade; the latter relied on the local people's visiting their residences or markets. The Company introduced some European-style luxuries such as mirrors, pince-nez, buttons, and rings, presented as

128 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 464, 496-7.
129 Ibid. 538-9.
130 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 4.
131 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 312.

gifts in their encounters with the headmen in the north and the east.[132] At this stage, these goods remained gifts pure and simple and had yet to become commodities in the local trade.

In the east, the Company had begun its trade of deerskins in Maerten Wesselingh's time. To obtain deerskins, the Dutch had to compete with Chinese traders in the local trade for this commodity and also had to resort to offering such Chinese goods as clothes, beads, and iron pans to local deerskin vendors.[133] In 1642, a Company warehouse was built on the beach in Pimaba to store both these popular Chinese goods brought over from Tayouan and the deerskins collected. The inhabitants of Pimaba ordered fine *cangans* and *lanckins* and certain coloured beads, especially the yellow beads with the Chinese name: *Chitiatso* (Fukienese: 一條索, literally 'a piece of string'). They even refused to barter their deerskins unless the Company complied with their requests.[134] When the annual supply ship from Tayouan arrived, the deerskins collected would be loaded on her and sent to Tayouan. In 1647, the Chinese *cabessa*, Kimtingh, was allowed to send six Chinese to live and trade in the villages of Pimaba and Tawaly.[135]

In the northern part of Formosa, as we have seen the Company set about developing the gold trade in Tarraboan to take its place alongside the sulphur and coal trade in the regions of Quelang and Tamsuy. Despite the later importance of the trade in these minerals, it was the food trade which initiated the Dutch trade on this frontier. Since the Company personnel in Tamsuy and Quelang were often running short of provision, the trade started with food as the medium. Directly after the expulsion of the Spanish, the Formosans brought their foodstuffs and livestock to sell at newly established markets in Quelang and then Tamsuy.[136] The Tamsuy authorities prepared *cangans* and tobacco in exchange for their daily necessities, especially rice. Although some of the local rice tribute was used as food in Tamsuy, the Dutch had to send delegates out to buy sufficient rice.[137] In these transactions, the importance of the Basay captains was revealed to the full light of day when the Company took steps to develop its trade relationship with the inhabitants in the north where the Basayos had been the traditional agents in the Formosan-Chinese trade. By 1646, the Basay Captain, Don Lucas Kilas, headman of Tapparij and the Company interpreter, had regularly been purchasing rice on behalf of the Tamsuy authorities from the villages along the Tamsuy River with cash or with cloth.[138]

Technically, the Dutch were interlopers as Chinese traders had established their trade prior to the conquest of 1642. Lieutenant Thomas Pedel soon noticed that the inhabitants looked forward to the arrival of the Chinese.[139] In 1650, the Company started

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132 Ibid. 26, 33; *DZ* III-C: 317-23, 333.

133 In the south and the east, the peoples of Paiwan, Rukai, and Puyuma believe that their multi-coloured glass beads were obtained from the Dutch who were called 'Balaka.' *See* De Beauclair, 'Dutch Beads on Formosa?'.

134 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 286-8, 295.

135 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 183.

136 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 327; *DZ* II-B: 667; *DZ* II-C: 309, 335.

137 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 89, 123.

138 *DZ* II-E: 346; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 51, 62, 123. Rice from the Tamsuy region was used to sustain the North Holland Fort in Quelang. *See DZ* II-J: 616.

139 *DZ* II-C: 323-4.

to concentrate on the trade in deerskins in these regions from where not only had private traders once sent over half a ship's cargo of deerskins to Tayouan a year but the Company had also been used to receiving plenty of deerskins as an annual tribute.[140] After consultation with the local officer, *Opperhoofd* in Tamsuy, Junior Merchant Plockhoy, he said he estimated he would be able to collect more than 17,000 or 18,000 deerskins yearly from northern Formosa, including the leased-out regions. Different skins such as those of stags, elks, hinds, and serow were bartered in various exchange rates. Consequently, he requested *chintz* and *cangans* from Tayouan to be bartered for a large quantity of various kinds of deerskins.[141] Through instigating an early form of market research, the Tamsuy authorities learned that *Guinees lijwaet* and *cangans* yielded the best profits.[142] In 1651, the Company reached an agreement with the people living along the Pinorouwan River establishing that the latter would collect deerskins in exchange for fine *cangans*. However, the Formosans breached the agreement in order to barter their skins for salt from Chinese traders in Tamsuy, who were granted permission to transport goods such as salt, iron, iron pans, and sugar from Tayouan.[143] In 1654, the Company also tried to supply the inhabitants with cloths, iron, pans, and crude ceramics, as well as such wares prized as indigenous ornaments as bells and beads used for the adornment of clothes and bracelets made of copper wire. The Tayouan authorities sent samples of beads, which cost as much as 7 or 8 reals a piece, to Batavia in an attempt to locate these beads in India.[144]

Barter and monetization operated side by side in the regions of Tamsuy, Quelang, Cavalangh, and Taraboan, but on balance the local inhabitants did experience more monetization than those in the south-west core.[145] They had been accustomed to 'money' even before the arrival of the Spanish. Agate beads had been used as a sort of stone money among the Formosans. These semi-precious gemstones were probably brought from China by the Chinese traders and were called *quinnogara* and *chinachanes* by the locals. The value of this stone money was set by Chinese traders. The Basay traders then circulated the stone money in their trading network extending to the eastern side of Formosa.[146] During their occupation, the Spaniards introduced silver coins, *pesos* and *tortones*, into the local trade. From the coast of Quelang, the popularity of silver coins gradually reached to the region of the Tamsuy River. Soon even bride wealth which had

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140 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 319, 327.

141 Ibid. 319-20. Chinese and Dutch private traders engaged in the Chinese way of conducting the peddling trade with the permission of the Tayouan authorities. In 1653 and 1654, for example, free burgher Nicolaas Vermeer traded in Quelang and Tamsuy; the Chinese trader, Pau, was also permitted to trade in the same areas. *See DZ* III-E: 396, 406.

142 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 377.

143 Ibid. 359, 391-2.

144 Ibid. 509-10. The Dutch established a factory in Surat, region of Gujarat in north-west India, where beads were produced. *See* D. W. Davies, *A Primer of Dutch Seventeenth Century Overseas Trade* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961), 90.

145 Nevertheless, the similar inclination to fetishize coins as a collectable commodity was presumably also developed if they followed their previous practice of bead money.

146 *DZ* II-E: 307; Thompson, 'The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts', 176-7; *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 163, 172, 178.

once been calculated in trade goods began to be paid in *pesos*.[147] The demand for this new-found trade medium was so great it led to abuses and Chinese traders circulated cunningly-made, silver-plated counterfeit coins among the Formosans.[148] Since using bead money would be profitable to the Spaniards, Father Esquivel suggested encouraging the use of this means of exchange rather than introducing silver coins.[149] It was an astute suggestion but the trend in using silver coins was also introduced to Cavalangh by Basay traders and it went from strength to strength. In the middle of the 1640s, the people of Cavalangh were said to welcome traders prepared to buy their rice with money, and Spanish silver was also in demand among the gold-traders in Taraboan.[150] Since the Spanish silver was already in circulation in northern Formosa, the Dutch decided not to introduce Japanese silver coins, *schuitgeld*, simply because the inhabitants knew neither how to weigh it to estimate its value nor how to spend it.[151]

Such a monetized arena supported the creation of a relationship of financial transaction between the Company as creditors and Formosan *cabessas* as debtors. For the latter, it offered access to capital, not only for Company assignments but also for individual business transactions. When Junior Merchant Simon Keerdekoe was sent to replace Plockhoy, he brought plenty of cash to Tamsuy with him. The old order did not change and Keerdekoe still had to rely on local Basay captains whom he called *cabessas*. In 1651, already remunerated, the *cabessas* of Tapparij and Kimaurij, including Theodore and Loupo, were dispatched to deliver deerskins to the Company. Keerdekoe's custom of paying Formosan *cabessas* money in advance, at the risk of creating loans, was later forbidden by Governor Verburch.[152] The reason for this was that the Company had been the creditor of several local headmen from Kimaurij, Tapparij, and Cavalangh and these headmen were apparently unimpressed by the Company generosity and were not in a very great hurry to pay their debts off. For example, Plockhoy once complained that the Cavalangh headmen cajoled the Company into advancing more reals, with which they claimed to do business but afterwards paid it back 'in dribs and drabs'. A similar tough line was taken, when Lucas Kilas intended to leave his post as Company interpreter, he was requested to settle his debts.[153]

Another reason laid in the volatile nature of the trading partnership between the Basayos and the people of Cavalangh. In the Basay trading season of 1648, Theodore and more than ten Kimaurij men were attacked at night by the people of Sagol Sagol and Kipottepan in the Cavalangh region. The Kimaurij traders were either murdered or

147 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 177-8. Even though silver and gold coins bear the name 'peso', *see* Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire*, 514. The peso here is silver coins. The Spanish had a seemingly inexhaustible supply as their galliots carried the American silver from Acapulca to Manila. *See* Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade*, 58.

148 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 170. These Chinese traders bought these fake *tortones* at one real and fake *pesos* at 2 reals from the public shop. One *peso* in Tamsuy could buy five pieces of clothing material. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 172.

149 Ibid. 178.

150 *DZ* II-E: 307; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 75.

151 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 510, 520-1. *Schuitgeld*, also called *schuitzilver*, was a kind of bullion some of which originated from Japan, some from Canton. *See* Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade*, 58.

152 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 327, 353, 359, 365.

153 Ibid. 51, 242, 272, 315, 278-9, 366.

injured and robbed of their goods. On the basis of Lucas Kilas' testimony, Plockhoy learned that the Kimaurijers had displayed force rather than friendship to their partners in Cavalangh. Considering the incident to have been an isolated fracas, the Dutch authorities decided to turn a blind eye to this assault.[154] It was not long before this supposition was proved incorrect and another assault had occurred. In July 1651, Theodore was robbed completely of the funds he had been given. This prompted the authorities to ban this long-running Kimaurij trade in Cavalangh, but they later resumed it at the request of the people of Kimaurij.[155] In 1655, the Tamsuy authorities still sought to ban this local trade in order to force the Cavalangh people to come to trade in Quelang.[156] By the end of 1658, the Dutch finally managed to develop a trade in the Cavalangh region. Assistant Van der Meulen was sent to Taloebayan (Trobiawan), a local village, to build a trading-post for rice and skins.[157]

Production and consumption in transition

The village leasehold system essentially joined Formosan production and consumption. The Formosans gave their produce in exchange for their daily necessities from Chinese leaseholders. In a nutshell, the village leasehold system accelerated the transformation of the Formosan way of life from a subsistence economy to a consumption economy, especially when the number of deer dwindled and the need for trade goods proved insuperable. This major shift made a substantial impact on both the people and the ecology of the core area in particular.

Crises of ecology and subsistence

Through the hunting-licence system, as we have seen, Chinese hunters became the main suppliers of deerskins and venison. Although the Formosans still hunted and sold their deer products to Chinese leaseholders under the village leasehold system, they also needed licences to hunt in their own hunting preserves. In November 1644, some elders at the Northern *Landdag* regions were evicted from their own hunting grounds. Eventually, the authorities did issue them twenty to thirty free licences. In the first half of the 1640s, the hunting season in both the north and the south was fixed to the period from November to the following February. In 1645, the Dutch authorities issued fewer hunting-licences to Chinese deer hunters. Governor François Caron suggested prohibiting a person from hunting for one year after two hunting seasons.[158] Not until

154 Ibid. 230, 238-40, 278.
155 Ibid. 389-91; *DZ* III-C: 720.
156 Ang, *Ta T'ai-pei ku ti t'u k'ao shih*, 182; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 565.
157 *GM*, 6 Jan. 1658, 495-6; 14 Dec. 1658, 508.
158 *DZ* II-F: 208-9; *DB*, 11 Mar. 1645. In the hunting season of 1644, only 364 licences were issued fewer than the 400, the usual number of licences.

the end of 1646 did the Dutch authorities begin to curtail Chinese deer-hunting, prompted by the evidence that the issuing of hunting-licences to the Chinese had been reducing the Formosans' source of livelihood during the period of 1637 to 1646.[159] At this time although Chinese deer-hunters were not allowed to catch deer, but they probably still played a role in the production of deer products as they were praised for their skills in flaying the hide as well as salting, and drying venison, jobs at which they were said to be more proficient than the Formosans.[160]

Matters had reached such a pass that Chinese hunters had introduced new ways of deer-hunting such as digging pitfalls, setting up snares, nets, or ropes. These new hunting methods led to a considerable reduction in deer herds compared to that incurred by the traditional Formosan ways of using assegais and bows. Since 1638 the Dutch authorities had tried to protect the deer population by forbidding improper trapping methods, introducing a closed season on deer-hunting, and eliminating unsuitable hunting dogs.[161] These measures had little effect because under the village leasehold system Chinese leaseholders persuaded Formosan deer-hunters to adopt their ways of hunting and some village people were indeed skilled in the setting of snares and the spreading of nets. Besides, the Dutch authorities also continued to lease out Formosan preserves for hunting.[162] Consequently, Formosan communities saw this source of livelihood threatened, especially the villages on the south-west plain to the south of the Poncan River suffered economic hardship. In 1650, when the inhabitants of Sincan and Soulang went out hunting in large groups without catching one single deer, protection measures were again imposed.[163]

This crisis led to disputes over hunting grounds. The inhabitants had to register the areas if they wished to retain their rights.[164] Such well-intentioned regulations were not very efficacious as more conflicts arose from both hunting and agricultural activities. In the Northern *Landdag* regions, farmland was gradually extended until it encroached on

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159 This record can only be found in *GM*. Since part of November and December 1646 in the *DZ* is missing, the timing could have been at the end of 1646. *GM*, 15 Jan. 1647, 286. Ang therefore suggests that the Dutch authorities also leased out the issuing of hunting-licences to Chinese leaseholders. *See* Ang, 'Ti fang hui i, p'u she yü wang t'ien', 268.

160 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 419. In the early eighteenth century, smoked venison, replacing salted- and dried venison, became the favourite type of venison which was much esteemed by the Chinese. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 506.

161 In 1639, pitfalls were banned. In 1647, it was not allowed to set sharp objects in snares. *See DZ* I-L: 680; *DZ* II-K: 437. For more Dutch policies of the restoration of deer resources, *see* Chiang, 'Sika Deer'.

162 In 1644, hunters had to pay 1¼ reals to hunt in the fields of the north, and one real in the south. *See DZ* II-F: 210. In 1651, because the hunters set snares which would seriously decrease the deer population, the leasing of hunting fields in Tirosen and Mattauw was abolished. *See GM*, 19 Dec. 1651, 333. About the Formosans adoption of the methods of setting snares and nets, *see Formosan Encounter*, III, 363.

163 *See* the resolution of 4 May 1650, *Formosan Encounter*, III, 297-303; Chiang, 'Sika Deer', 58-62 (Chinese translation). As Chiang points out that since the Chinese hunters had been forbidden to hunt, it was the Formosans who had to obey the later regulation on deer-hunting. Ibid: 58. In this resolution, the yearly season for hunting was to take place in the months April, May, June, and July to protect fawns. Even though the missionaries had claimed that the deer were still abundant in the Favorlangh and Tackays Districts, nobody was allowed to hunt or catch fawn from May until the end of September.

164 *See* the example of Terriam in 1646. After moving to Tavocol, the people of Terriam had to register their original fields, since other people wanted to have some of these. *DZ* II-H: 304.

the traditional hunting grounds.[165] After the expansion of Saccam arable land, the best hunting grounds of Sincan and Tavocan were now ploughed and cultivated mainly by the Chinese. The elders of these two villages therefore requested to be allowed to share the hunting grounds of their neighbours. In Soulang, the hunting grounds had been ruined by Chinese digging pitfalls. In May 1650, the authorities granted the communal ownership of hunting lands to the five villages of Soulang, Bacaluan, Mattauw, Tirosen, and Dorcko. Those of Sincan and Tavocan were exempted from this common agreement. As an exception, only they were allowed to hunt in the Saccam territory and in grounds stretching along the coast. In 1651, to compensate the loss of their hunting grounds, the villagers of Sincan and Tavocan now received a financial aid amounting to 1,500 reals annually from the tithes of the Company.[166]

Governor Verburch suggested several measures to alleviate the poverty of the former deer-hunters, for example, by learning all kinds of handicrafts and shopkeeping. To offer more employment for the Formosan women in particular, Verburch even tried to establish silkworm-breeding on the island, which later failed. These measures were all rather half-hearted because the main consideration of the Dutch authorities was to promote plough agriculture.[167] Pertaining to the gender role in silkworm-breeding and plough agriculture, Verburch accidentally conjured up an image akin to 'men ploughing, women weaving'—the typical Chinese gender identity pattern in agricultural life in the later Chinese times.[168]

The Dutch authorities expected that the Formosans would adopt the Chinese methods of cultivation, although rice cultivated in the traditional way helped relieve the rice shortage in Tayouan when overseas supplies proved insufficient in 1648.[169] Governor Verburch permitted the Chinese to cultivate sugar on Formosan land in an attempt to transfer the Chinese techniques of sugar cane cultivation to the Formosans. It was a pious wish. The Formosan landowners proved intractable and would rather receive a part of the harvest than cultivate themselves.[170] Undeterred Verburch did not relinquish his policy because he considered it the principal measure by which to improve the living conditions of the Formosans. With the Company's financial support, the Reverend Daniël Gravius bought plough-oxen and sold them to the inhabitants. When it was reported that the villagers of Soulang had begun to use a bull-drawn plough for the

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165 In 1650, the inhabitants in the regions were reminded not to damage the Chinese farmlands. *See DZ* III-B: 980.

166 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 302-3, 422; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 91. From the example of 1655, this subsidy was distributed to a total of 1,319 villagers (Sincan: 895, Tavocan: 424) in *cangan* from Surat and cash. *See DZ* III-F: 714-15.

167 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 494-5. The Dutch authorities indeed promoted silkworm-breeding and the manufacture of silk possibly in Soulang where Chinese entrepreneur Zaqua had lived. Zaqua had applied for the Company loan to develop such an engagement. However, he was later in debt to the Company because of his 'neglect and heedless lifestyle'. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 512; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 74 and Chapter Seven.

168 Shepherd has elaborated the point of an expanded male role in the change of Formosan subsistence in agriculture. *See Statecraft and Political Economy*, 82, 366.

169 *DZ* III-A: 363. During the period of rice shortage at Tayouan, Formosan rice purchased in Tamsuy and Quelang was also given to the Tayouan population as relief. *See DZ* III-A: 357, 364, 374, 377.

170 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 87.

cultivation of their land, Verbugh permitted himself to imagine that, once the stock had multiplied and the price had been reduced, one day cattle would be distributed among the inhabitants all over Formosa so that they would become farmers.[171] But this new technology was not spread farther. In the Favorlang District, the inhabitants retained their old methods of cultivation, even though ploughing may have been introduced among them.[172]

Natural disasters worsened the problem of subsistence. In 1654, Formosa was hit by a widespread locust plague, which left famine in its aftermath.[173] In northern Formosa, even the following year, the Basayos had to depend on the Company's rice relief. The people in the Tackays District managed to overcome the famine by returning to their local traditional foodstuffs. The villagers of Mattauw asked to do labouring work for the Company to earn a daily wage.[174] Other Formosans still pinned all their hopes on deer-hunting. Although the Dutch authorities recognized deer-hunting was the only original source of income for the inhabitants, they continued to complain:

> The Formosans are of such a lazy and slothful nature, that they themselves are inclined to neglect their prosperity. They are so addicted to the deerhunt that they fail to pursue any other useful things, and only break open just as many fields as they need to fill their hungry bellies, so that at times when they have a poor yield of rice, they are almost famished.[175]

The villagers of Soulang and those of Swatalau, Akau, and Tapouliang in the south tried to increase their share by using snares and prolonging the hunting period. Both measures needed Dutch permission since the Dutch authorities had forbidden the Formosans to hunt deer using nets and snares in 1651.[176] The villagers of Soulang now petitioned the authorities to lift the prohibition on setting snares. The Soulang petitioners revealed that Chinese, who had actually been forbidden to hunt deer, were continuing to set snares in their fields. The Dutch authorities ordered Captain Thomas Pedel to stop this illegal hunting and announced a new prohibition in order to protect the deer resources.[177]

The Soulang petitioners also requested to be allowed three periods of *Tackoley* (general hunting activity), since the usual hunting pattern of two *Tackoleyen* could no longer meet their needs (Table 8.1).[178]

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171 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 248-9; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 285-6, 494-5.

172 Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 77; Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 82, 365. The Favorlangh term for plough '*chummonchos*' can be found in the Favorlangh word list. *See* 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect'.

173 In early November 1653, the locust plague started in the region of Quelang and then ruined most of the Formosan crop fields. It later brought about serious famine. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 473; *DZ* III-E: 412.

174 *DZ* III-F: 671, 712; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 548-9.

175 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 493.

176 *DZ* III-C: 680; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 363; *DZ* III-F: 738. The population of Soulang, Swatalau, and Tapouliang was all over 1,500 in 1654. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 1-38.

177 About the rule of fines in April 1651, *see Formosan Encounter*, III, 363-4. In October 1654, the severity of the new regulation of fines was increased, including death penalty. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 547-548. In 1656, the villagers of Soulang again requested *Tackoley* for the third time. But it was not allowed. *See DZ* IV-A: 199.

178 *DZ* III-E: 491-5, 510.

Table 8.1 Formosan deer hunting regulation in 1654

Region	Times/Period	Hunting team	Hunting duration
South of the Poncan River	1/week	1 *coeva*[179]	Friday-Saturday
	1/2 months	2 *coeva*	Friday-Saturday
	2 *Tackoleyen*/year	male villagers	mid-Sep. to end-Oct.
North of the Poncan River	same rule	all villagers	2-3 nights

Source: *Formosan Encounter*, III, 539-40.

In March 1655, Favorlangh and Gaumul (Docowangh), both located to the north of the Poncan River, also requested the permission to hunt more frequently than usual.[180] However, by then deer-hunting was no longer producing venison as food but as a trade item, since the meat had been commoditized and had became too pricey to retain its original function as a local foodstuff. When the lack of rice persisted into June of the same year, villagers in the Favorlangh District and also those in the south needed more venison in order to barter for rice.[181] The Captain of Favorlangh beseeched the Tayouan Council to supply a large quantity of rice from its leaseholders. Therefore, the Council decided to grant the villagers one extra hunting period in order to produce more venison to barter for rice. It also granted the leaseholders a delay in the payment of rent on the condition that they would send the villagers rice for famine relief as soon as possible.[182] There could have been no clearer evidence that the village leasehold system had come to dominate Formosan-Chinese exchange activities and had replaced the old infrastructure of Formosan societies.

Changes in Formosan consumption

When the famine worsened, the villagers of Mattauw had to barter their 'treasured possessions' such as beads and cloth, which they had originally purchased from the Chinese leaseholders, for rice.[183] This counter-movement of trade goods would seem to indicate that such goods had attained the top of the hierarchy in Formosan material classification. This leads to a question: To what extent did Formosan consumption continue to change under the system?

Various kinds of trade goods were flowing into Formosan societies during the 1640s and the 1650s (Table 8.2). According to the records, Chinese trade goods sold by the leaseholders formed the bulk of Formosan daily consumption. Among trade goods, salt,

[179] *Coeva*: a group organized by twelve to fourteen households belonging to the same men's house called a *coeva* (*couva*). *See* Kang, 'Shih ch'i shih chi te Si-la-ya jên shêng huo', 10. *Coeva* seemed to have been formed of the elderly and adult persons. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 539.

[180] *DZ* III-F: 569.

[181] *DZ* III-F: 641. This showed that the rice-producing centre in southern Formosa suffered severely in the famine. The elders of Swatelau, Ackauw, and Tapouliang hoped to get more venison to exchange for rice. *See DZ* III-F: 738.

[182] Ibid., fo. 641.

[183] *DZ* III-E: 500.

textiles, and iron pans were in great demand.[184] Salt was being produced in Formosa by 1651, but the supply of iron pans and textiles still relied on import.[185]

There is evidence that imported cloth had made a considerable impact on the local societies on the south-west plain even before the leasehold system had been set up. Being cultural brokers, Chinese traders introduced a new kind of lifestyle which gradually altered Formosan societies.[186] As described in the early eyewitness accounts, the local inhabitants usually went about naked, but they also produced fabrics made of bark, roots, and dog's hair. The only goods the villagers owned were 100 to 200 baskets with assorted pieces of cloth, including Chinese linen. When villagers died, the possessions of the dead, namely these baskets containing cloth, were placed on the grave until the third day to demonstrate the status and wealth of the deceased.[187] Since they symbolized wealth, foreign cloths like *cangans* and Chinese piece-goods were used as wedding presents. The rich, who possessed at least 100 to 150 *cangans*, would give twenty or thirty pieces of cloth or Chinese clothes to the bride's family.[188]

Table 8.2 Trade goods from Tayouan to Formosa

Regions	The Northern *Landdag*				The Southern *Landdag*
Harbours	Lamcan Pangsoa	Sinkanja Taurinab	Ticksam Gilim	Goema	Tancoya, southern Tamsuy Lonckjouw
The 1640s					
empty bottles of Chinese beer, salt, *cangan*, beads, black sugar, rice, sugar, white *cattekintjens*, iron shovels, white *cangan*, porcelain cups, big plates, iron pans, arrack, blue-brown *cangans,* pots, Chinese tailcoat, trousers, *paring* (sword), *Guinees lijwaet,* clothes, *samsoe* (Chinese alcoholic drink)*,* tobacco*, inhabitant's dress, chits* (chintz)					salt, sugar, arrack pots, iron pans,
The 1650s					
coloured cloth, coarse woollen blankets, Japanese tobacco, Japanese tailcoat, big rice cookers or pans, *sarassen,* knives, Chinese *lijwaet*, clothes, linen, black *cangans*, black *baftas*, Chinese trousers, rice bowl, needles, black cotton, Chinese and Japanese *cangans*, Chinese arrack					tobacco*, cangan*, Chinese arrack, *samsoe*, coarse *chits*, *Guinees lijwaet* cups, Japanese tailcoat

Source: *DZ*.
Note: This is not to suggest that fewer kinds of trade goods were in use in the south.

184 Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 161-2.

185 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 419. In 1623, the Chinese imported salt to Tayouan from China in order to keep the secret of producing salt from the Formosans. *Formosan Encounter*, I, 14.

186 Terms like 'brokers' and 'mediators' in social network theory have been used in the analysis of small communities in larger 'world-systems'. *See* Daniel K. Richter, 'Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York-Iroquois Relations, 1664-1701', *The Journal of American History*, 75/1 (1988), 40-67.

187 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 1, 15, 22, 125.

188 Ibid. 125.

In the Dutch eyes, nakedness more than their exotic choice of decorations revealed the 'barbaric' characteristics of the Siraya. Candidius' 'civilized' Christian mind made a direct connection between nakedness and shamelessness.[189] The popularity of foreign cloths in daily life, which was motivated rather by native 'impulse buying'—fetishistic 'capricious fancy'—than their 'advance in the frontiers of shame and the threshold of repugnance,' dramatically changed the traditional nakedness.[190] Only for the purpose of the harvest was nakedness still adhered to as a rule. During the period of the three months of the rice cultivation, the Siraya had to walk around stark naked to ensure that rain would be sent by their deities. Candidius reported that the councillors of the *Tackakusach* kept a watch on the roads in the morning and in the evening as the people were going to and from the rice-fields just to check if this custom was being obeyed. Even in the period when clothes were allowed to be worn, luxury silk garments were not allowed on pain of confiscation, fines, or corporal punishment of those who broke this rule. In other words, the councillors of the *Tackakusach* had the right to judge people's clothing. If women were thought to be wearing too many clothes or taking too much pride in what they wore, their clothes would be publicly cut to ribbons.[191]

Under the impact of the availability of foreign clothes, local ideology revealed its persistence in and even resistance behind these restrictions on 'beauty'. In the Sirayan world of deities, the thirteenth and last deity called *Farikhe* was held most in awe by the people. Since *Farikhe* could make the people ugly with pockmarks or other disfigurements, they prayed to him not to harm them. *Farikhe* was said to have once been a man living in Sincan. Because of his 'stern countenance', *Farikhe* was jeered at by his fellows. He then prayed to the gods to take him away from the world of men and put him in Heaven. His wish was granted. When he descended to the earth again, he came in the guise of an intractable god, ordering the people to obey a code of conduct implicitly during a certain period in every month which was called *Karichang*. During this period, the Siraya were not allowed to buy or to sell *cangans* or painted cloths, or to bring these objects into their houses.[192] Through his power to make people ugly, *Farikhe* served as an icon of local resistance to the radical material changes which accompanied the flourishing trade.

Nevertheless, the influx of foreign textiles was inexorably reinforced by Dutch politico-economic institutionalization. Since the 1640s, Formosan clothing had undergone changes through rewards bestowed for Company-ordered headhunting raids, gift-giving at the *Landdag*, and exchanges accomplished under the village leasehold system. At the *Landdag*, the Company compensated itself for the expense of gift-giving to the elders with the revenue received from the village leasehold system.[193] Gift-giving was seen as an essential act of 'generosity' to the local elite and consisted mainly of fine textiles. In the 1650s, exotic and more expensive textiles, such as *niquania*, *perpetuana*, as

189 Ibid. 32, 113.
190 The quotation is from Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 118, 414-21.
191 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 122.
192 'David Wright', 72-6; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 132. For more details about Sirayan deities, *see* the next chapter.
193 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 199-200.

well as suits, hats, and Japanese cotton or silk coats gradually replaced *cangans* as gifts.[194] Common *cangans* were no longer esteemed proper ceremonial gifts because various other kinds of textiles had saturated the market.[195] Chinese and Japanese tunics as well as textiles made from different fabrics such as cotton, linen, and wool were no longer exotic in the eyes of the Formosans.[196] Both cloth and clothes were imported into Formosa via Tayouan. Especially, various cotton cloths like *cangan, Guinees lijwaet* (guineas, guinea cloth), *chintz, sarassa* (sarasa), and *bafta* show that Formosan societies did not escape the rising trend in the consumerism of cotton textiles during early modern period.[197]

Even though it is hard to obtain evidence from the archival sources available to illuminate how the Formosan agency or local culture was 'mystified' in this era of relative 'abundance', it is possible to identify some regional preferences in textiles.[198] An official pricelist of 1648 indicates that a Chinese-style lined garment (to wear around the waist) and long lined tailcoat were popular in the Favorlangh District. Chinese brownish-blue *cangans* found particular favour in the south.[199] Apart from Chinese fashion, the Dutch efforts to spread Christianity also led to changes in dress. In 1651, the Dutch authorities planned to create a cloth market so that 'the women of the inhabitants can be brought up to a decency and beauty that is more compatible with Christians than with heathens, because their clothing and ornaments are too strange and unusual.'[200] In fact, in such a 'civilizing process', 'nakedness' no longer made an impression on visitors; both Chinese and European styles could be observed in the account of a visitor the previous year. Struys described that 'the people of Soulang were apparelled as Europeans, but all the others as Chinese.' It seemed that the Formosan 'adoption' of both European and Chinese clothing was in the ongoing process of shaping local preference.[201]

An examination of the linguistic data on Siraya reveals that more than fifty words

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194 *Cangan* and *niquania* were cotton. *Cangan* mainly came from China, *see* Chen Kuo-tung, *T'ai-Wan te shan hai ching yen*, 451-78. *Niquania* came from Surat and Bengal. *Perpetuana* was wool cloth and produced in England and Holland, in such towns as Leiden. *See* Ruurdje Laarhoven, *The Power of Cloth: The Textile Trade of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) 1600-1780* (PhD dissertation, Australian National University, 1994), Appendix A: VOC Textiles.

195 *DZ* I-L: 678.

196 For example, the Reverend Daniël Gravius (1647-51) punished a villager of Soulang because of his illegal marriage. He was beaten while wearing a Japanese coat. *See DZ* III-D: 280, 28 Aug. 1651.

197 About consumerism in China, *see* S. A. M. Adshead, *Material Culture in Europe and China, 1400-1800*: *the Rise of Consumerism* (Basingstoke etc.: Macmillan Press, 1997). *Guinees lijwaet*, *chits, sarass*, and *bafta,* they were all Indian cotton cloths, but *bafta* could be mixed with silk or gold threads. *See* Laarhoven, *The Power of Cloth*, Appendix A; John Guy, *Woven Cargoes: Indian Textiles in the East* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998), 187.

198 As Marshall Sahlins points out that, 'A history of the world system, therefore, must discover the culture mystified in the capitalism'. *See* id., 'Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of "The World System"', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, *LXXIV* (1988), 1-51.

199 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 223; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 161-2.

200 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 418.

201 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 256. Local preference may have been a key element in the issue of indigenous dependency on foreign trade goods. In his research on the fur trade in North America, James Axtell argues that the 'first consumer revolution', as he calls it, occurred among the Eastern Woodland Indians in the seventeenth century, and shows the Indians' dependency on foreign trade goods. *See* James Axtell, *Beyond 1492*: *Encounters in Colonial North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 125-51. But in the case of the Indians in the region around the Great Lakes, Richard White argues that the Indian consumption of trade goods remained relatively low, which is also supported by archaeological research. *See* White, *The Middle Ground*, 138. Therefore, the case of the Formosans has to be examined at a local level.

referring to foreign objects were interwoven into the local material world (Table 8.3). Most of trade goods had acquired a local name, which indicates the process of social formation was occurring in Sirayan societies. For example, textiles of various materials with a distinct function were further discriminated by different specific names. Some goods clearly retained their original Chinese (Fukienese) or Malay names. These loanwords are the vestiges of a colonial past.[202]

Table 8.3 Foreign objects recorded in the seventeenth-century Siraya language

Category	Siraya (English)
FOOD	Arissim (cinnamon) Camsia (sugar) Machat, Veia (salt) Moe (meal)
CLOTH	Loumoa (sackcloth) Napavavare (linen) Poty (bag, purse) Tatagof (blanket, sailor's blanket) Tmagof, Tmapach (blanket, cover) Touang (silk) Vallatong (*cangang*, Chinese cloth)
CLOTHING	Korasy (coat, skirt) Koulamog (dress) Taloctock (hat)* Tatapil (shoes)* Tatavo (stockings)* Tigp (handkerchief)
ORNAMENTS	Kilikili (bell) Sackig (bells)
UTENSILS	Chouto (plane) Gagitgit (saw) Kakato (scissors) Lakim (pin, needle) Ouging (candle) Ourot (knife) Paliape (pen) Pasagoualalingauang (looking-glass) Pasingingang (lamp) Patougingang (lantern) Roukol (Chinese pot) Tagley (clock) Tagousong (parasol) Tangia (cups) Tarinis (pan) Tatakir (chains) Tatingtingang (scale) Tatkong (axe) Tatoutou (hammer) Vanta (curtain, pavilion)
WEAPONS	Avo (ashes, gunpowder) Lalto (musket)
METALS	Kim (gold) Many (iron) Ouga (copper) Vannitock (silver, money)
OTHERS	Poukong (fort, chest) Soulat (book, letter) Tamako (tobacco) Valangavong (paper) Tatoucktouck (bill) Vino (ink)

Sources: 'Utrecht Mss.', 154-203; Tsuchida Shigeru 1998.[203]
* indicates the possibility out of original context

[202] K. A. Adelaar, 'Malay and Javanese Loanwords in Malagasy, Tagalog and Siraya (Formosa)', *BKI* 150/1 (1994), 50-65 at 59; Tsuchida Shigeru, 'Camels, grapes, and hypocrites', *Studies of Taiwan Aborigines*, 3 (1998), 197-202; id., 'English Index of the Siraya Vocabulary by Van der Vlis', *Studies of Taiwan Aborigines*, 3 (1998), 281-310. In Siraya, 'washing linen' (*gmamagag*) was especially distinguished from 'to wash' (*tououl*). *See* 'Utrecht Mss.', 161, 199.

[203] Murakami reprinted the Utrecht MSS (Manuscripts). *Vocabularium Formosanum*, *see* Murakami, *Sinkan Manuscripts*. But Asai Erin has argued that this version was originally printed in Van der Vlis's edition, which already contained many errors and misprints. *See* Asai, 'Gravius's formulary of Christianity', 4. Heylen quotes from L. Riess (*Geschichte der Insel Formosa*, 1897) that Candidius and Junius possibly compiled and finished this word list, which would mean that these words were collected during the period of 1627 to 1643. *See* Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 115, note 94.

The Dutch unintentionally introduced tobacco, especially Chinese tobacco, into Formosa. Constant and Pessaert played this role in their encounter with the villagers of Soulang:

> They are surprisingly eager to get Chinese tobacco, which we also sometimes hand out together with pipes. Neither women nor men have the latter over there, nor do they know how to use them properly. It is strange that among all the people we have seen and met so far, only this black nation lacks this plant and its smoke-producing leaves. They will draw on the filled pipe but once, throwing away the rest as useless.[204]

Tobacco took its place alongside the much sought-after *cangans* as a present with which to please and reward the Formosans on various occasions, including the *Landdag*, in every part of Formosa. From chiefs or headmen to ordinary inhabitants who rendered labour service, all received tobacco packed into envelopes or pouches (*brieven-*, *pampieren toeback*).[205] In northern Formosa, the Dutch found the inhabitants already had a pattern of exchange for tobacco which could have been introduced by the Spaniards.[206] This was an isolated incident, the same story of the Formosans surprising the Dutch with tobacco unfolded in other remote frontiers. The Formosans quickly comprehended the magic of these 'smoke-producing leaves' since the Dutch not only introduced tobacco but also pipes as mentioned in the encounter between the Siraya and Constant and Pessaert. It did not take long for smoking tobacco to spread to the far-flung frontiers. The people of Favorlangh called smoking or tobacco *chatto* and pipes *eichaman chatto* to give but one example. Formosan wooden or bamboo pipes used in the mountain areas proved to be very good simulations of Spanish or Dutch clay pipes.[207]

Smoking was introduced by European outsiders. Alcohol was a different matter as the Formosans already had their own intoxicating beverages. Nonetheless, imported liquor did have a detrimental effect. Commenting on the similarities between the Dutch colonial encounters with the local populations in Formosa and New Netherland in North America, Laurence Hauptman and Ronald Knapp compared the cases of Dutch-Indigenous interaction with the Formosans and American Indians.[208] In contrast to their estimate of the 'tremendous impact' which alcohol indulgence exerted on Indian

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204 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 20.

205 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 156, 188, 288, 528; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 2. *See* the *Landdagen* of 1655 in *DZ* III-F: 579-87, 594-601.

206 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 343. In 1632, the Spaniards requested tobacco for the garrisons in Formosa. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 196.

207 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect'; Alfred Dunhill, *The Pipe Book* (London: Arthur Barker Limited, 1969), 107. The connection between the Westerners and tobacco can be found in the oral tradition of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples. For example, 'Valaka' was said to have brought tobacco to the people of Puyuma. *See* Mabuchi, 'Migration and Distribution', 344. Recent archaeological finds reveal more evidence of the Dutch role in introducing smoking tobacco to the Formosans. *See* Wang Shu-jing 王淑津 and Liu Yi-chang, 'Shih ch'i shih chi ch'ien hou T'ai-Wan po li chu shih yü yen ts'ao, yen tout e shu ju wang lo' 十七世紀前後臺灣玻璃珠飾與煙草、煙斗的輸入網絡：一個新的交換階段 [The trade network of seventeenth-century Formosan glass bead ornaments, tobacco, and pipes: A new stage of exchange], paper presented at the Conference of Foreign Objects in Taiwan: Beads and Glass Ring and Chyüeh [台灣地區外來物質：珠子與玻璃環玦形器研討會]. Taipei: Institute of History and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 22-23 Oct. 2005.

208 Laurence Hauptman and Ronald G. Knapp, 'Dutch–Aboriginal Interaction in New Netherland and Formosa', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 121/2 (1977), 166-182 at 180.

societies, Hauptman and Knapp underestimate the same problem in Dutch Formosa.

Traditionally, the Formosans produced their own range of alcoholic beverages.[209] In the case of the Siraya, liquor such as *makousagh*, *musakkauw* (*massecau*, *massichau*), and *cuthay* was mostly made from their harvested rice. When they brewed their 'wine', the women had to chew smoked rice flour, spit it out into a bowl for their 'yeast', and which was then mixed it with the dough and water and left to ferment for two months.[210] At Sirayan rituals and festivals, drunkenness was well known before the arrival of the Dutch. The Siraya labelled drunkards *tamahausong*. In 1623, in Soulang, Constant and Pessaert noticed that 'drunkenness is by no means uncommon among them.'[211] Given their own long-standing use of alcohol, Formosan societies would have had no difficulty in accepting and domesticating the different kinds of intoxicating drinks or liquors which were offered as a sign of courtesy and hospitality in both Chinese and Dutch society. Therefore, the sharing of arrack, Chinese beer, and *samsoe* figured in most formal and informal meetings between the Dutch and the Formosans.[212] When greater quantities of *samsoe* and arrack made as merchandise were imported, the Formosans had greater access to foreign liquors other than their own home-made brews for ritual consumption. On the basis of cargo manifests, the Formosans may have consumed a considerable quantity of the Chinese *samsoe* which was imported into Formosa during the 1640s (See Table 8.2).

Since the late 1630s, Dutch missionaries had been criticizing the inhabitants in the south for their indulgence in drink.[213] Formosan drunkenness was not rare in the records of the *Landdagen* after 1646 (Table 8.4). In the late 1640s, drunkenness was rampant among the elders in the regions of the Northern and Southern *Landdagen*. At least after 1651, drunken behaviour was invariably remarked upon in the agenda of the *Landdag*. The Dutch authorities were convinced the drunken elders set a bad example to the younger generations, since drunkenness led to misbehaviour and caused conflicts, even murders. In Commissioner Verstegen's understanding, the inhabitants drank away what they had earned from their trade with Chinese leaseholders as quickly as possible.[214] Therefore, what the sources showed might only be a tip of the iceberg. Indeed, alcoholism has been reported to be prevalent in the later centuries.[215] The easy access to

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209 For example, in the region of the Tamsuy River, a special feast called *masitanguitanguich* was noted as 'drunken feast' in Spanish archives. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 179.

210 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 115; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 48, 187; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 132; 'Utrecht Mss.', 174; 'David Wright', 61. Nakamura has indicated that *massecau* or *massichau* could have possibly been borrowed from Ambon by Company servants to refer to a wine-like local alcoholic beverage made by indigenous people. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 183-218. In Commander Claes Bruyn's description of Lamey Island, *massycauw* seemed to be the crop growing on the Formosa mainland which was used to make wine. *See* Ts'ao and Blussé, 'The Disappearance of the Siou-Liqiu Aborigines', 220.

211 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 22; 'Utrecht Mss.', 194. Since this word list may have been collected before 1644, I presume that it originates from local Sirayan socio-cultural context.

212 For example, in the first meeting between the Dutch Captain Van Linga and the chief of Pimaba, arrack was the present from Van Linga to the latter (*Formosan Encounter*, II, 193).

213 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 164, 214.

214 *DZ* III-C: 653; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 417.

215 For alcoholism in the Ch'ing period of Taiwan, *see* Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 390. That in the Japanese colonial period, *see* Paul D. Barclay, '"Gaining Confidence and Friendship" in Aborigine Country: Diplomacy, Drinking, and Debauchery on Japan's Southern Frontier', *Social Science Japan Journal*,

alcoholic beverages has exercised a profound impact on Formosan societies, passing far beyond the sheer ceremonial drinking conventions.

Table 8.4 Drunkenness from the records of the Landdagen

Year	Region of the Northern *Landdag*	Region of the Southern *Landdag*
1646		Verovorongh, Tapouliangh, Akauw, Netne
1648	Tevorang, Favorlang	Pandangdangh, Tedackjan
1650	Mattauw, Dalivo, Dovaha, Basiekan, Favorlang, Dobale Baota, Dobale Bayen, Tackays, Tavocol, Taurinab	
1651	Tevorang, Dorcko*, Dobale Boata, Asock	Cattia
1654	Docowangh, Tavocol	
1656	Mattauw	

Source: *DZ* II-IV.
* Drunkenness was reported to have happened among all the villagers, not just elders.

CHAPTER NINE

CONVENTION AND CONVERSION

The overseas missionary activities of the Protestant Dutch Reformed Church under the auspices of the Company have been seen as a new engagement of a 'commercial church' or a 'missionary enterprise'. Not only did such endeavours meet the spiritual needs of Company personnel, they also earned it 'spiritual profit' from the conversion of 'the Heathen' in competition with the Roman Catholic Church and such other deeply-rooted world religions as Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism.[1] In the Company domain in Asia, the Dutch Reformed Church tasted its first success in Formosa—the land full of 'sheep' without 'shepherds'.[2]

Throughout the thirty-five years (1627-62) of the Protestant mission in the island, a total of thirty-two ministers were sent to Formosa by the High Government in Batavia. Right from the era of the two pioneering ministers, Georgius Candidius and Robertus Junius, missionary progress had promoted territorial expansion and vice versa. The achievement gained a glowing reputation in the Indies which extended even to Europe.[3] In 1659, a total of 6,078 Formosans was estimated to have become familiar with the Protestant version of the Christian doctrine in the core area of Dutch rule.[4] Yet, behind the glory, it is still uncertain how the Formosans perceived their encounters with

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[1] Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 148-9; Blussé, 'Retribution and Remorse', 156-7. Ginsel called the church 'a commercial church (*handelskerk*) under the East-India Company'. *See* Willy Abraham Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa of de Lotdevallen eerner Handelskerk onder de Oost-Indische-Compagnie 1627-1662* [The Reformed Church on Formosa or the fortunes of a commercial Church under the East India Company 1627-1662] (Leiden: Boek-en Steendrukkerij P.J. Mulder & Zoon, 1931) [Chinese translation: Ang Kaim, *TWH*, 51/4 (2000); 52/1, 2, 4 (2001)]; Shepherd, on the other hand, describes it as a 'missionary enterprise'. *See* id., *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 63.

[2] Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 149, 163-4. In 1605, when the Company replaced the Portuguese in Amboina, it was faced with 16,000 Roman Catholic converts, apart from those who were either Muslim or Animists. Dutch proselytising activity in Ambonia shared similarities with that in Formosa in rejecting idolatry and loose sexual behaviour, promoting church and school attendance and the like. *See* Gerrit Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen: De VOC en de Bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696* [Cloves and Christians: the VOC and the inhabitants of Ambon 1656-1696] (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2004), 108-13.

[3] Governor Nicolaes Verburch authorized the spread of a report about the successful conversion of the 'heathen' in Formosa, not only in the Netherlands but throughout Europe. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 294. Especially Robertus Junius became a well-known figure to the Dutch public. His portrait was painted on Delft ware. *See* Blussé, 'Retribution and Remorse', 154. A Delf tile, dated 1660, with the painted portrait of Junius based on the engraving of 1645 by C. van Queborn, can be found into the collection of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. *See* Elisabeth Neurdenburg, *Oude Nederlandsche Majolica en Tegels Delftsch Aardewerk* (Schiedam: Interbook International B.V., 1978), 118.

[4] *See* the report of inspection in 1659. Junius was hailed as a hero in contemporary Dutch society, with a record achievement in converting 5,900 'Formosan Indians'. *See* W. M. Campbell (ed.), *An Account of Missionary Success in the Island of Formosa*, vol. I (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc, 1996[1889]), 28-46; J. J. A. M. Kuepers, 'The Dutch Reformed Church in Formosa 1627-1662: Mission in a Colonial Context'. Reprinted from *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft/ Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire*, 33 (1977), 247-67; 34 (1978): 48-67 at 10; Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 149; Blussé, 'Retribution and Remorse', 153-7.

Protestant Christianity which came to offer righteous salvation emphasizing 'rationalization' and 'Predestination' in the colonial 'civilizing process'. This chapter approaches the Formosan perception of and experience with Christianity, introduced through the missionary efforts of the Dutch Reformed Church in the core area, and by the Spanish Roman Catholic Church in northern Taiwan, where Dutch missionaries later faced a new challenge from the 'Christian Formosans'. Since the Siraya were more intensely involved in Dutch missionary work than the other Formosans, the history of the Sirayan conversion is the focus of the following discussion. To do so, it is necessary to record the Sirayan religious world.

Sirayan religious practice

Deities and devotion

The Siraya shared their world with more than one deity. David Wright says that the Siraya worshipped thirteen 'idols', including six pairs of deities who watched over such important aspects of human life as cultivation, healing, hunting, war, and festivals in accordance with their specific power in their ranking of the world of deities (see Table 9.1).[5] Lee Ko-min argues that the Siraya seemed inclined to pragmatism since higher ranking deities administered the domain closest to man's life.[6]

Tamagisangang was the first and supreme deity residing in the western quarter of Heaven (*vullum*). His wife, *Takakraenpada*, was positioned opposite him, in the eastern part of Heaven.[7] In a parallel to human space, the west, which was associated with the highest rank, was the sea, in the east the association was with the mountains. Therefore, the domains of *Tamagisangang* and *Takakraenpada* between them encompassed the village. They were the most powerful deities who did not have a specific task but protected the communal welfare of the village. The Siraya held them in great reverence: 'For if any war lays desolate their cities, or sickness and famine oppress the people, they say all proceeds from the neglect of their duty in worship of these gods.' In contrast to their aloof majesty, the other deities listened to individual petitions in specific domains. Sirayan worshippers sacrificed and made self-gauged offerings in exchange for good fortune in the divine domains. In other words, they were able to haggle over in their 'reciprocal exchange' with these deities.

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[5] The following discussion of deities and festivals is based on the account of Wright. For the Dutch edition, *see* O. Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig Bedrijf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappye op de Kuste en in het Keizerrijk van Taising of Sina* [Memorable Enterprise of the Dutch East India Company on the Coasts and in the Empire of the Great Ch'ing of China] (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1670), 30-3; For the English edition, *see* 'David Wright', 69-72.

[6] Lee, *Ethnic Groups, History and Ritual*, 142-3.

[7] In the English edition of Wright's account, the first and the third deities carried the same name. Following the edition of Dapper, it was *Tamagisangang* for the first deity. *See* Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig Bedrijf*, 33. About the Sirayan word, *see* 'Utrecht Mss.'.

Table 9.1 Sirayan deities

Rank	Deities (gender-residence)	Domain	Worshipers	Details
1	*Tamagisangang* (♂-west of Heaven)	chief	men, women	
2	*Takakraenpada* (♀-east)			
3	*Tamagisangak* (♂-south)	cultivation	women	shapes handsome people, sending rain
4	*Teckarupada* (♀-east)			growing crops, fruits, ordering to rain (thunder)
5	*Tugittellaegh* (♂)	healing*	women	both in curing the sick
6	*Tagisikel* (♀)			
7	*Tiwarakahoeloe*	hunting	men	both in the domain of
8	*Tamakakamak*			forest, woods
9	*Tapaliat*	war	men	both in giving martial affairs
10	*Tatawoeli*			
11	*Takarye*	Festivals	men, women	presiding feasts and
12	*Tamakading*			punishing omission of custom
13	*Farikhe (♂-north)*		men, women	deforming handsome people; supervising *Karichang*

Sources: 'David Wright', 71-2; Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig Bedrijf*, 33; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 131-2.
Notes: Candidius mentioned five deities in his account with different spelling and he missed the first couple.
* There were two other deities relating to healing, namely *Takafoclac* and *Telunalum*. *See* 'David Wright', 66.

This prosaic pattern of interaction would have been inadequate in the worship of the first pair, especially *Tamagisangang*. Since reverence for them could never be profound enough, the worshippers seemed to experience their relationship with the first pair of deities in the sense of inequality and indebtedness. As a consequence, they felt they would never be able to repay their debt to them completely. Being 'ashamed (*mangala*)' of not satisfying their Almighty was the overriding emotion expressed by the Siraya once the village was plunged into a crisis. When it is compared to the sense of 'indebtedness' towards their secular overlords which the Dutch authorities tried to instil in the Formosan mind through imposing the annual tribute, the Sirayan indebtedness towards *Tamagisangang* had a far deeper divine inspiration, which can be read in the sense of a genuine deep-seated Sirayan piety.[8]

The forms of Sirayan devotion can be divided into two parts: private devotion at a home altar and communal devotion in what the Dutch called their 'church'. There is evidence that the Siraya prayed to their gods at their home altar and, besides this domestic focus of worship, every fifteen or sixteen households shared a 'church' (namely a shrine). In Soulang, there were seven 'churches' constructed of bamboo which were adorned with a great number of jaw-bones of deer and pigs.[9] Initially the Dutch seemed

[8] *See* Chapter Seven. Since there are no futher data to support my inference, a parallel study on an Austronesian society based on more source materials can be found in Vicente L Rafael's research on the Tagalog case in the Philippines. *See* Rafael, 'Confession, Conversion, and Reciprocity', 329-35.

[9] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 30, 120; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 15. In Siraya, both *attatallachang* and *sasongdagang*

unaware of the Sirayan 'idols' in their encounters with these people. In 1626, Commander Gerard Frederiksz. de Witt (1625-7) predicted that the Formosans might be easily nudged towards Christianity, since there seemed to be no special idols, 'images or especially conspicuous features to which they attach superstition or magic' among the inhabitants.[10] The reason for this oversight might perhaps be sought in the appearance of the Sirayan altar. Constant and Pessaert reported that those they saw were piled high with the skulls and bones of enemies seized in the war so that it looked 'shoddy, dirty and rundown, shrouded and soiled with cobwebs and other filth.'[11] The Siraya did not attempt to depict their deities in 'graven images'. In an account written by John Thomson in 1871, he recorded the appearance of the images from what he observed in the house of a Sirayan descendant:

> Their chief idols are supposed to represent a male and a female spirit. … These images were standing against the wall of a dim-lighted chamber, alive with spiders and festooned with cobwebs. The female idol looked like a stunted may-pole, with the skull of a deer fixed by the antlers to the top. The stem of the pole was wreathed with withered flowers. The male idol reminded me of a child's bamboo chair; it too supported a skull, as well as one or two wine-cups used in making offerings.[12]

Communal devotion, which involved invocations and offerings, was expressed at seven so-called festivals which followed the lunar calendar (Table 9.2). On these occasions, the Siraya slaughtered pigs and brought some smoked rice, betel nut, and a great quantity of saliva-fermented liquor, *musakkauw*, to their churches, where they placed these in front of the skulls of deer and boars. The Siraya believed the harvest of rice was a blessing bestowed on them by their deities, and they offered most of it as a token of their gratitude to their divine benefactors.[13]

Three festivals were specially set aside to pray for rainfall. Why did the Siraya betray so much anxiety about rain? The answer is simple: the region was subject to severe droughts.[14] According to the *Dagregister*, in the year 1646 Saccam was hit by a drought which ruined the crops for half a year.[15] In ancestral times, the Siraya had suffered from severe droughts as well. Oral tradition recalled that after their ancestors' landing in

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meant 'church' without mentioning a distinction between the native church and the Christian church. *See* 'Utrecht Mss.', 156, 190.

[10] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 53.

[11] Ibid. 18.

[12] John Thomson, *China and Its People in Early Photographs: An Unabridged Report of the Classic 1873/4 Work* (New York: Dover Publications, 1982), plate IV; Yeh Chuen-rong 葉春榮, 'Si-la-ya P'ing-p'u tsu te tsung chiao pien ch'ien' 西拉雅平埔族的宗教變遷 [The Religious Transformation of the Siraya Peipo], in id. (ed.), *Li shih wên hua yü tsu ch'ün T'ai-wan yüan chu min kuo chi yen t'ao hui lun wên chi* (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2006), 231-57 at 245. As Shepherd notes, nowhere were the idols described and suggests that it is unlikely that they were carved, anthropomorphic images. *See* Shepherd, 'Sinicized Siraya Worship', 35 and id., *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 463. The description of the idols in the nineteenth century is rather convincing, since it consists of the same elements as in the accounts of the seventeenth century.

[13] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 132, 115.

[14] On the south-west plain generally, the Siraya experienced a five-month dry season (*amigang*). *See* Chen Cheng-hsiang, *T'ai-Wan ti chih*, I , 70; Kang, 'Shih ch'i shih chi te Si-la-ya jên shêng huo', 5.

[15] *DZ* II-H: 335, 393-4.

Formosa, they had suffered a seven-year drought, and so they prayed to their deities to send them rain.[16]

Table 9.2 Sirayan festivals

Festivals	Luner Calender	Site	Role	Partici-pants	Purposes	Activities
Trepaupoe Lakkang	March	sea side	priestesses (*inibs*) old men	all villagers	rain to crops	praying, offering, sacrifice, drinking
Warabo Lang Varolbo fast **	May	house		women* and men	good fortune etc.	praying to deities 3-4 and 9-10, offering
		'church'	priestesses	women*	rain	praying, spirit possession, drinking
Sickariariang greatest	June (night and day)	house, sea side	priestesses elders	women* men* young men	crops avoided tempests and beasts; against enemies	pray, offering; performing running and martial skills
Limgout (Lingout) harvest**	August	seashore near mouth of river		women* men*	rain, store crops, crops avoided tempests	young men wining the maiden's preference; running races
*Piniang***	September night	village	elders, priests	all clothed		drumming, run about artificial tortoise-shell
Itaoungang	Morning, evening in two days		elders, priests	men		dancing, offering and drinking
Karouloutaen	October			all ?		with white feather decoration

Sources: Wright's account. See Shepherd 1984: 69-71; Dapper 1670: 30-2; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 19, 30-1.
* Women wore a cloth at their privacy. Men were stark naked.
** Including all manner of 'villain' in terms of sexual activities.

Two of the three festivals were held near the seashore where power was thought to originate as the location was associated with *Tamagisangang* and accordingly held the higher rank in human space. As Lee has argued, this is a set of 'hierarchical contrast' between the core (village) and the periphery (sea).[17] This argument explains one characteristic of seventeenth-century Sirayan worship, namely the involvement of 'atypical idols on an atypical altar'. The Siraya did not attach any great supernatural significance to the altar itself, as Constant and Pessaert observed they even seemed to be unmoved by people touching, moving, or even treating their idolatrous artefacts cavalierly.[18] The obvious assumption is that this was because the realm in which the deities resided was far removed from the human setting and hence had to be invoked and reified specifically in the rituals.

[16] Lee, *Ethnic Groups, History and Ritual*, 135-6.
[17] Ibid. 171-7, 200-3. Lee's argument was constructed by taking account of historical data and modern observation of the Sirayan worship of A-li-tsu. Lee raised a difference in principle between the Sirayan worship and the Han Chinese worship, which he postulated as 'the core is open to the periphery, the periphery is located at a higher hierarchy than the core'.
[18] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 18-19.

Priests and priestesses

Religious specialists, including priests and priestesses, were those members of society who had the power to invoke their deities. In the Sirayan system of belief, priests instructed the young men participating in ceremonial activities related to war.[19] Most famous among the religious specialists were the priestesses, called '*inibs*' or '*ibis*' by the locals. The Dutch gave them the appellation 'female teachers' (*leraressen*).[20] As the servants of their deities, priestesses enjoyed a higher status than priests, an earthly reflection of the ranking order of the deities.[21] These priestesses were elderly women, who invoked the deities by consecrating offerings, subjecting themselves to spirit possession, and by conducting shamanistic rituals during festivals.

Both the priests and the priestesses had a role to play in praying for rain during rain-making festivals. In the first festival, *musakkauw* was spat from the mouths of 'elderly men' onto the reeds and lances which they held in their hands. Examining saliva-fermented *musakkauw* and its ritual usage, Lee has argued that this can be conceptualized as the transformation of 'civilized' objects into something supernatural through the vehicle of human mouths.[22] Still following the same symbolic transformation through the body, however, the most exotic performance was that of the *inibs*. Candidius witnessed the ritual:

> One or two of their priestesses will stand up and invoke their gods in a long sermon. During the invocation they roll their eyes and they fall down to the ground, wailing pathetically. Thereupon their gods appear. These priestesses lie on the ground as though dead and they cannot be stood upright, not even by five or six people. Then finally they come to their senses, shivering and trembling and very much out of breath. … After one hour the priestesses climb on to the roof of the 'church' and stand one at each corner. Again they hold a long oration to their gods. At the end they take off the loincloth they are wearing, revealing their private parts to their gods and tapping on them, and order water and wash their entire bodies, standing there naked in the presence of all the people. But the majority of those standing by are women, who in the meantime have been drinking so extensively that they can hardly stand or walk.[23]

Climbing up on the roof, which was the highest part of the church, was a symbolic expression of the desire of the people to reach Heaven. They took off their clothes since nakedness was a strict requirement at these festivals. Once they had divested themselves of their garments, they called for water to wash their bodies which may well have been a symbolic gesture supplicating rain to begin cultivating their rice. However, why did the *inibs* tap on their private parts? The performance of a certain *inib*, Tiladam Tuaka, at the festival of *Warabo Lang Varolbo* provides a vivid answer. After climbing up on the roof of

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[19] Ibid. 30.

[20] Ibid. 85. The usage of 'intellectuals' was from David Wright, 69.

[21] Lee, *Ethnic Groups, History and Ritual*, 143.

[22] Ibid. 167-8. *Musakkauw* was made from rice which was transformed from being a natural object into a civilized object through chewing the rice, as Lee argues. For the details of making *musakkauw*, *see* Chapter Eight.

[23] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 132-3.

the 'temple', Tiladam Tuaka called for drink-offerings and held a great pot with liquor grasped in both hands. She drank it and pulled off all her clothes. This signalled the commencement of a highly symbolic performance:

> "Because the children of God", said she, "cannot enter into Heaven with any Earthly Robes." Thus standing in sight of all people, she began to evacuate what she had so greedily swallow'd, saying, "That the gods, according to the quantity of her Vomit, would send them Rain; whereupon the People force upon her more Liquor, that they may have plenty of Rain: If the Priestess chances to Urine throw the Roof of the Church, then the Spectators promise to themselves a fruitful year, but if not, great scarcity, so that they often drink the more to satisfy the People; then bidding the whole Congregation look up, she Tabors on her private parts a considerable time, which Taboring the Spectators observe with as much Zeal, as in our country the Auditors give ear to the preaching of a sermon.[24]

The *inibs* besought *Tamagisangak* to send rain as they were playing the role of *Teckarupada* (Table 9.1), not through using their voices to represent *Teckarupada*'s thunder, but through their bodies. These mediators of the deities drank a large quantity of *musakkauw* and produced urine to symbolize rain from their god. In what can be compared to the male performance in the first festival, the *inibs* imitated the precipitation of rain—a natural phenomenon controlled by supernatural deities.

Marriage and abortion

Although both men and women appeared naked, Constant and Pessaert had the impression that the Siraya were not any more lascivious than any other nation they had encountered.[25] Judging from the contemporaneous seventeenth-century accounts, however, the Siraya were said to engage in 'all manner of the "villainies"' such as 'vitiating' (presumably committing incest with) their sisters and daughters at some festivals in spite of the marriage restriction up to and including the fourth generation in their system of kinship. Festival occasions offered opportunities for gender interaction. For the young Siraya, the festival of *Limgout* was the time at which to seek a spouse. The lads attracted the maidens by adorning themselves with decorations of greenery fashioned from boughs and garlands as well as by their physical prowess demonstrated in the running races. Only during the period of *Karichang* were sexual relations between males and females forbidden.[26]

It seemed that parents did not put many restrictions on children's sexual activities. Candidius complained that, when their children were promiscuous, their parents only laughed it off and did not tell them to desist. Early marriage was permitted in Sirayan society, but divorce and remarriage were also allowed according to their custom. Without any ceremony or celebration, the marriage was sealed by the presentation of bride wealth

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[24] 'David Wright', 70.
[25] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 17.
[26] About marriage restriction, *see* ibid. 127. For the details of festivals, *see* 'David Wright', 70-1, 75.

offered by the man, which remained at the bride's house. If the couple wanted to divorce, the woman could keep her gifts, but if she had committed adultery with another man, she had to return them to her husband. Customarily, the practice of monogamy was considered proper by the Siraya. However, as Candidius observed, 'neither fornication nor adultery are considered sinful, as long as they are committed in secret.'[27]

As we have seen in Chapter Two, the life-circles of both males and females were inextricably bound up with the male age-grade institution. Not until the husband's retirement from age-grade service for headhunting warfare could the couple take up conjugal co-residence. The wife then stopped practising mandatory abortion and started to raise their children. Nevertheless, the Sirayan did not forbid the couples sexual relations before their co-residence. The Sirayan husbands usually visited their wives at night and left them early the next morning before dawn. Many women therefore had aborted fifteen or sixteen foetuses before they delivered their first live birth.[28] The *inibs*, as Shepherd points out, served both as teachers of the principle of mandatory abortion and as masseuses to induce abortions.[29]

Despite their suffering during the abortion, the Sirayan women explained the reasons for continuing this practice in response to Candidius' exhortation to abandon this custom:

> In the first place, they say, 'this custom has been handed down to us from our ancestors and we do not want to revoke it'. Secondly, 'our female teachers who speak daily with the gods know the customary law and teach us accordingly, as do our elders'. Thirdly, 'were we to abandon such a habit we would be shamed and despised among our fellowmen'. In the fourth place, 'our gods would be angry with us, possibly not give rice, and send enemies against us, who would chase us away and kill us'.[30]

Healing and funerals

The *inibs* were very versatile and performed the ritual of blessing a newly built house, to strengthen it against enemies and to keep the swine fat. They also made offerings to the souls of decapitated enemies at the headhunting festival, delivered oracles, forecast fortune, misfortune, and the weather, and also blessed accursed places.[31] Nevertheless, one of their most important functions was as healers.

From the account written by Wright, it seems Sirayan healing practice was the province of women.[32] When the Siraya fell sick, they went to their female doctors called

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27 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 131, 124, 127.

28 Ibid. 125-6; Shepherd, *Marriage and mandatory Abortion*.

29 Shepherd, *Marriage and mandatory Abortion*, 51. Candidius described the way an abortion was induced: 'They call one of their priestesses, who when she arrives makes them lie down on the bed or some place else. They then push and press until the foetus is released, which causes more pain than giving birth to a living baby.' *See Formosan Encounter*, I, 126.

30 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 87.

31 Ibid. 133; 'David Wright', 63-5.

32 'David Wright', 66-7.

tamatatah for a cure. If the illness proved recalcitrant, the patient was sent to the *inibs* where they made offerings to the gods of healing, *Tugittellaegh* and *Tagisikel*. In the event of a serious or chronic illness, the *inibs* would join the *tamatatah* in seeking help by means of charms and incantations, and practising divination to find out whether the patient would live or die. If the patient recovered, he/she would be sent to the *inibs* to make a thank offering. The *inibs* also cured some Dutchmen who recovered right away without taking any medicine.[33]

The Siraya blamed the 'devil', whom they called *schytinglitto*, for any incurable disease. The final stage resorted to in a healing seemed to be a performance of exorcism. This included driving the devil out of the possessed body. Before embarking on this risky venture, the *inib* prayed to the gods to strengthen her against the devil and banish all fear from her. She then used a sword and a pot of *musakkauw* to hunt the devil out of all the corners of the house. The *inib* was not alone in her search for evil. The assistance of several of the stoutest youths was also called upon. Once the *inib* found the devil, she would cry out and drive it away with the help of the youths. Outside the house, the devil would be relentlessly chased a long way, as far as a river bank or some other running water. Then the *inib* would use her power to exorcise the devil 'with fury and shouting' in order to force him to jump into the water and drown. If the devil were chased to woods with no water nearby, the *inib* would use the pot of *musakkauw* in her hand to expel the devil. When the process was complete, the *inib* would plant a cane in the ground.[34]

When everything to induce healing had failed, death for the Siraya was conceptualized as setting out on a long journey. The soul of the dead person would come to a wide, filthy trench. If that person had not behaved well in this life, he or she would fall into the trench and suffer torments inside it. Those who had behaved well could cross it without mishap and enjoy a delightful life.[35] To announce a death, a drum made from a hollow tree trunk was beaten in front of the house of the deceased. The family of the dead person then prepared for the funeral. They would wash the corpse in warm water, and dress it in its best clothes and ornaments. Beside the corpse, weapons, rice, and *musakkauw* were placed, along with a slaughtered pig, to furnish it with provisions on its journey. In front of the house, a long bamboo pole with a pennant on the top was raised, and near it was placed a tub filled with water for the soul to bathe in. Candidius considered the preparation of water for the returning soul of the deceased to be proof that the Siraya believed in the existence of a soul.[36] Showing solidarity and joining the family, the villagers would come to visit the deceased bearing a pot of *musakkauw*. Then they mourned for the dead. After drinking a small amount of *musakkauw*, the women

33 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 429.

34 'David Wright', 67; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 133.

35 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 130.

36 'David Wright', 67-8. However, Candidius gives a different description of the setting of this outdoor bathing: 'When someone has died, they build a small platform in front of his/her house in the form of a miniature hovel, attach foliage all around it, decorate it with many other ornaments, and place four waving flags on it, one at each corner. Inside this little house, they place a large gourd full of fresh water and put a small piece of bamboo next to it to scoop out water from the gourd, because they think that the soul of the deceased will come everyday into this miniature house to bathe and wash.' *See Formosan Encounter*, I, 130.

would dance in front of the house. They would stamp on a large, upside-down hollow trough made out of a big tree, and would form two rows while dancing back-to-back. They would move their arms and feet slightly, proceeding slowly around the trough. This dancing was called *smaghdakdaken*. After the corpse had lain on the rushes for two days, they would remove and wash it several times. Then they would kindle a gentle fire under the corpse for nine days. When this period had elapsed, they would wrap the corpse in a mat and hold a great feast, slaughtering ten or twelve pigs as offerings to the deities and as provisions for the journey of the departed soul.[37]

Presence of Dutch Protestant Christianity

Laying the foundations

In March 1625, Governor Martinus Sonck requested the High Government to send over two or three ministers or pastors to 'spread the name of God among the barbaric inhabitants of the island.' Mindful of the ever-present threat of giving possible offence to China and Japan, the High Government would go no further than permitting some catechists to initiate missionary work among the Formosans.[38] In 1627, the Reverend Candidius ignored this order and moved to mainland Formosa where he settled in Sincan. Candidius was certainly not the first Dutchman to reside in this Sirayan village, but he was the first Dutchman who went to convert the Siraya free of his own will. The Sincandians were unaware they had accepted a 'cuckoo's egg' among them.[39] To blandish the Sincandians, Candidius lavished gifts on them until his allowance was cut by Governor Pieter Nuyts, about which Candidius complained directly to Governor-General Jan Pietersz. Coen.[40]

Candidius benefited from the prevalent custom of gift-giving to observe the Sirayan way of life, and estimated that it would be easy to convert the people because there were no communal religious leaders among them, who might rally support and religious ideas appeared to be fairly protean among this non-literate society.[41] He was confident that one day Formosa could be transformed into the main Christian congregation in the Indies. He intended to baptize some Sincandians and forwarded their names to Governor-General Coen as proof of his initial achievements, after having spent just one year in Sincan.[42] Candidius preached diligently among the Sincandians, but in reality his words bore little fruit. His frustration was born of the changing attitude of the inhabitants. The greatest risk was that the people who rejected his teachings could easily

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37 'David Wright', 68.

38 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 40; Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 12.

39 In Blussé's terms, Candidius was a 'cuckoo's egg' among the Sincandians. *See* Blussé, 'Dutch Protestant Missionaries', 164.

40 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 78.

41 Ibid. 136.

42 Ibid. 86, 136.

undo the progress he had made among those who did listen to him. Therefore, Candidius petitioned Governor Nuyts and the Council to endorse his authority among the Sincandians. At the end of August 1628, Nuyts was finally persuaded to visit Sincan. Resorting to the carrot and stick tactic, Nuyts recommended Candidius to the villagers and promised to protect them as a father if they were to prove receptive to Candidius' teaching. After the departure of Nuyts, the eagerness of the Sincandians to hang on to Candidius' words day and night almost exhausted him.[43]

Within the space of four months, Candidius claimed that more than one hundred Sincandians could say their prayers, and that by Christmas Day 1628 they had a basic knowledge of the Christian Faith. But none of them was baptized.[44] This inaugural Formosan 'congregation' failed to comply with the requirement because, as Candidus explained, their deeds did not correspond to their confession as they still did not abstain from idolatry, superstition and other irregularities.[45] Since the overseas Dutch Reformed Consistories in Asia at that time followed the separation of the sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion (the Lord's Supper), the Asian adult converts were baptized fairly easily at first, but they had to receive additional catechism and prove their religious zeal for a Christian lifestyle in order to participate in the Holy Communion, which was held four times a year in accordance with the Calvinist practice.[46] However, on Candidius' insistence, the Siraya could not be baptized easily unless they changed their lifestyle. Local religious practices had indeed represented a direct challenge to Candidius, and before Nuyts' endorsement on Candidius' preaching in Sincan it had happened that:

> They [the Sincandians] suggested to me that I should teach only one house, which house would discard its rules and customs and adopt ours. Should the gods now bless this house, give plenty of rice and other products, two or three years in succession, then they would accept our religion. They come to me to put me to the test, want me to perform miracles, make rain or wind or dissipate the same again, tell the future, or explain what is happening. And since I cannot do such things they hold me in contempt, saying that their priestesses can do this.[47]

Sirayan pragmatism was obviously the key reason that they showed no desire to make a headlong rush into the new faith, but Candidius blamed the *inibs* for this recalcitrance.

To Candidius' great grief, abortion continued to be practised even among those pregnant women who already had absorbed a good knowledge of Christianity.[48] Among the innocent foetuses were those begotten of mixed Dutch-Sirayan partnership. A

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[43] Ibid. 87, 140; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 98; Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 21.

[44] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 93, 98; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 133.

[45] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 86.

[46] Blussé, *Strange Company*, 167, 170; Cha, Hsin Samuel 查忻, 'The Dutch-Formosan Religious Encounter: The 'Second Phase' of Protestant Mission 1643-1662', paper presented at the International Association of Historians of Asia 18th Conference, 7 Dec. 2004, 10; Hendrik E. Niemeijer, *Batavia: Een Koloniale Samenleving in de 17de Eeuw* [Batavia: A colonial society in the seventeenth century] (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2005), 269-70.

[47] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 86-7. Ginsel considered that this challenge was from the *inibs*, not from the common Sincan villagers. *See* Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 20.

[48] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 174. These kinds of reports can still be found in 1630.

notable case was that of Governor Nuyts himself and a non-Christian Sirayan woman called Poelohee. As Poelohee understood matters, she had married Nuyts according to the local custom as she kept her bride wealth, including texiles, a necklace of silver coins, and the silver crown which had been brought from Japan by Dika but was confiscated by Nuyts. The Governor behaved like a true Sirayan husband, visiting his wife at night, leaving her in the morning when the cock crowed. This marriage agreed to by the couple concerned was, however, judged to be throughly immoral by Candidius. Most likely, Poelohee's fellow villagers started to disapprove of it as well after Nuyts' threat to have Dika arrested. Poelohee was still pregnant by this husband when later, after Nuyts' departure, she married another Sirayan man. She then underwent a customary abortion at which her mother, sister, and other female kin were ritually present.[49]

In the summer of 1629, the Reverend Junius accompanied Governor Hans Putmans to Tayouan in the aftermath of the Sirayan war against the Dutch.[50] The two ministers then joined hands to demonstrate Dutch military force in order to propagate Christianity among the Formosans. The defeat of the Sincandian enemies, the people in Tampzui, was hailed as a triumphant victory for Christianity as well. To some extent convinced by such empirical evidence, several headmen in Sincan were said to have repudiated their idolatry, but with reluctance. Therefore, before his departure for Batavia in 1631, Candidius was able to baptize fifty Sincandians.[51]

How was Junius to set about continuing the propagation of Christianity among the Siraya? The ministers had the privilege of consultation in the council of the *Tackakusach*. Consequently, Junius set his sights on changing Sirayan practices through the intervention of this native institution. The *Tackakusach* promised Junius it would forbid those who had not yet converted to live among them and that the *inibs* would refrain from their heathen performances.[52]

The Sirayan resistance continued, however. In the eyes of the ministers, the war against Mattauw at the end of 1635 was waged for religious reasons. In 1633, the Mattauwers had posed a serious threat to the lives of the missionaries in Sincan, and undermined missionary efforts. Whenever Candidius or Junius reproached the Sincandians, urging them to change their ways, the latter would move to Mattauw. On one occasion, a headman said that they would leave for Mattauw if the Dutch forbade their dancing of the *smaghdakdaken* around the trough during funerals.[53] In spite of all their efforts, any kind of regulation was hard to impose on the intransigent people of

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[49] Ibid. 174, 179-80. The crown may have been confiscated by Nuyts earlier, in June 1628. *See Formosan Encounter*, I, 77. Candidius only obscurely mentioned that 'considerable irregularities and scandals occurred' during his absence, when Nuyts was with the Sincandians most of the time (Ibid. 173). For Nuyts' action in arresting Dika, *see* Chapter Three. Witnesses testified that Poelohee had carried Nuyts' son (Ibid. 179-80).

[50] They arrived at Tayouan eight days after the outbreak of the war. *See Formosan Encounter*, I, 157; Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 30.

[51] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 189, 190, 192. Candidius returned to Tayouan in 1633. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 78; Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 27, 31-2.

[52] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 202, 203.

[53] Ibid. 214, 223.

Sincan. A good instance of this is that, since 1631, the Dutch authorities had forbidden the breeding of the Company hunting hounds without permission. Hence, the Sincandians were requested to hand over their hounds and to claim compensation.[54] In the presence of a Mattauwer, a Sincandian refused to hand over his hound saying:

> Should the greyhound be taken away from me, then I will again become a pagan and abandon the God of Heaven and I will conduct myself very differently from the way I have done so far.[55]

Displaying an inclination towards Mattauw was not only a Sincandian tactic employed to resist Dutch influence. There were deeper reasons. Mattauw was a Sirayan religious centre, to which the Siraya made a pilgrimage called *zapuliung*.[56] By now, it seemed that Mattauw was the only powerful village left trying to ward off the Dutch who were determined to stamp out Sirayan customs. It seemed a stalemate had been reached but not long after an outbreak of smallpox occurred on the south-west plain, which actually proved to be a breakthrough in establishing the power of Christianity in the eyes of both the Dutch and the Siraya. They believed that 'the Dutch God', whom the Siraya were later taught to call *Deus*, had sent the epidemic and thereby brought the Mattauwers on their knees.[57] While the Dutch sought ways to punish Mattauw, the warriors of Sincan for some reasons had their own plan. In September 1635, the Company had to send eighty soldiers to eliminate a conspiracy to murder all the Dutchmen residing in Sincan and capture three headmen, including two priests, the leaders of their 'church'.[58]

Conversion in awe

In the wake of the Dutch conquest of Mattauw, many villages, including those located in the mountains, dispatched their delegates to Sincan to make peace with the Dutch. Junius

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54 For the decrees on hunting hounds, *see Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 97-9 and *Formosan Encounter*, I, 265.

55 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 224.

56 'David Wright', 76.

57 *See* Chapter Three. In Siraya, the God of Christianity was called *Deus*. God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit were therefore *Deus Samma*, *Deus Allack* and *Deus Spiritus*. *See* 'Utrecht Mss.', 159. In the Favorlangh language, God was also called *Deos* (*Deus*), *see* 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect', 138. That *Deus* retained its Latin form may have been because of the ministers' conviction that it could not be translated into the local concept of deity, following Rafael's explanation in the Tagalog's case. *See* Rafael, 'Confession, Conversion, and Reciprocity', 324-5. But there was another term for god, *Alid*, which can be seen in the translation by the Reverend Daniel Gravius. *See* W. M. Campbell, *The Gospel of St. Matthew in Formosan* (*Sinkang Dialect*) (London: Trubner & Co.,1888). *Alid* is seen more as a Sirayan term for a deity. *See* Lee, *Ethnic Groups, History and Ritual*, 148; Lin Chiong-hua 林昌華, 'A li, T'a ma chi shan ha yü Hai po: hsüan chiao wên hsien so chien T'ai-Wan pên t'u tsung chiao yü Ho-lan kai kê tzung chia hui te chieh ch'u' 阿立(Alid)、塔瑪吉山哈(Tamagisanghach)與海伯(Haibos)：宣教文獻所見台灣本土宗教與荷蘭改革宗教會的接觸 [Alid, Tamagisanghach and Haibos: The interaction between Formosan religion and Dutch Reformed Church viewing from the missionary archives], paper presented at the International Symposium on the Image of Taiwan during the Dutch Period. Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History (Planning Bureau), 2001, 103.

58 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 281-3. *See* Chapter Three and discussion under the heading *Purification* in this chapter.

appreciated the 'favourable results' of the war: 'How great your acquisition of territory has been! How wide a door has been opened to us for the conversion of the heathen!' Junius sought to make the most of the victory. After the peace ceremony held in February 1636, Junius started his round of visits to those villages whose delegates had attended the ceremony. The Formosans invariably received Dutch visitors with customary hospitality. They welcomed these visitors to their village with the Prince's flag and they plied them the best dishes and beverages. Quite obviously the Dutch had a double agenda in these visits. Junius persuaded the inhabitants to renounce idolatry and begin to worship the God in Christ, as he claimed that the Sincandians, who had cast away their idols five years ago, had enjoyed prosperity and more abundant harvests of rice than ever before.[59]

Conversion was an essentially a political move not merely in the eyes of the Dutch authorities; the Formosans thought in the same view. They had had first-hand experience of 'the rage of *Deus*', the Old Testament God wreaking His vengeance in warfare. The Formosans had no choice but to behave obediently before *Deus* and His servants; but some Formosan headmen knew how to manipulate this power to protect themselves. When two headmen were asked whether they would cast away their idols and serve the only true God, they declared that they were prepared to do so, but they requested Dutch assistance in resisting their enemies, which was the promise given to them on the condition that they remained 'obedient children'.[60]

Under Dutch compulsion, mass conversion to the Reformed Church prevailed among the Sirayan villagers on the south-west plain from 1636 to 1639 (see Tables 9.3 and 9.4). In May 1636, the inhabitants of Tavocan burned their idols in the presence of Junius. In the following year, the same renunciation of idolatry took place in Soulang and Mattauw. This time, Governor Johan van der Burch and two ministers witnessed the ceremonies which were attended by seventy-five soldiers. The said ceremony was considered substantial and there was 'an additional ceremony of submission in which the aborigines renewed their oath of fidelity.' In 1638, one of the material symbols of submission, the black velvet coat, was bestowed on the elders of Bacaluan as a recompense for their zeal in supporting the missionary work.[61]

In the second half of the 1630s, a group of buildings, including a church, a school, and a house for teachers, was built in the centre of the Sirayan villages. According to the inspection report in 1638, the churches were far and away the most impressive constructions in the villages. In Soulang and Mattauw, these buildings were 165-185 feet long and 35-36 feet wide.[62]

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[59] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 140, 132-3, 135.

[60] Ibid. 177, 157.

[61] Ibid. 139; Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 65; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 165, 162. Renewing the oath of fealty occurred on these occasions of inspections, as Governor Van der Burch stressed that they 'should remain loyal and faithful to the Netherlands'. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 180.

[62] *DZ* I-K: 460. It was approximately 46 metres to 57 metres long and 10 metres to 11 metres wide. One Dutch feet (*voet*) is 28 centimetres (*Amsterdamse voet*) to 31 centimetres (*Rijnlandse voet*). *See VOC-glossarium*, 122.

Table 9.3 Missionary progress among the Siraya, 1631-1639

Year	Church	Idol destruction	Baptism	School	Sabbath	Marriage
1631		Sincan	Sincan			
1636		Tavocan		Sincan Bacaluan	Sincan	
1637	Bacaluan Mattauw	Mattauw Soulang		Tavocan Mattauw	Bacaluan	
1638	Soulang			Soulang	Soulang Tavocan	
1639			Bacaluan Soulang Mattauw			Sincan

Source: *Formosa under the Dutch*, 103-78.

Table 9.4 Missionary progress among the Siraya in 1639

Village	Population	Warriors	Baptized	Native teacher	Pupils	Training of penmanship	Marriage (pairs)
Sincan	1,047	154	1,047		70		119
Bacaluan	1,000	150	261	3**	87	12	
Soulang	2,600	500	282	4	130		
Mattauw	3,000		215		140		
Tavocan*	1,000		209		38		
Total	8,647		2,014		395		

Source: *Formosa under the Dutch*, 168, 179-80, 183.
* included three villages, namely Tavalikan, Teopan and Tagupta.
** indicates native assistants.

Symbolism was laid on with a trowel, as Shepherd has pointed out, the Dutch used to summon the villagers to attend church service by firing muskets or cannon instead of the ringing of bells.[63] It is not surprising that the Sirayan congregation was said to be 'very orderly and decorous'.[64]

The school system which was inextricably linked to the missionary activity was established in order to commence Christian teaching at the first opportunity.[65] Compared to the sober decoration in the Reformed churches, these schools were probably furnished with what was known as a 'Print Bible' with illustrated maps and prints framed and hung on the wall to help students understand the Scriptures.[66]

63 Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 66.
64 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 162.
65 Ibid. 156.
66 Zandvliet argues that *The Baptism of the Eunuch*, which was a popular theme in Dutch art, may possibly have been found in the schools to show one of the two Calvinist sacraments: baptism and the Lord's Supper. The printing of large series of prints and maps had been booming since 1637. The series published by Claes Jansz. Visscher, partly printed on what was known as Royal paper (48 x 58 cm), was bound as a 'Print Bible' or bound together with the Bible, based on the official format of the *Statenbijbel*. A copy of such a Print Bible can be found in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RPK 329-A-7a. *See* Zandvliet, 'Art and Cartography', 83-5, 87.

Conversion and 'civilization'

The idea of bringing civilization seemed to be the inevitable corollary of the propagation of Christianity. In October 1636, when Governor Van der Burch was introduced to his native 'subjects' by ex-Governor Putmans, he was impressed by 'the docile Formosans':

> It is impossible for me to refrain from praising the docility and tractability of these folk; they are so easily governed … and so willing to be taught by Mr. Junius the doctrines of the Christian faith, especially when they have already profited by his instruction; those who have not yet received any such instruction being also very docile when Mr. Junius asks them if they do not feel inclined to cast away their idols, in order to serve the only true God. All this is truly surprising, and even amongst good men there are many who would hardly believe it. No one can judge of this matter without having seen what these people were in their natural savage condition.[67]

Van der Burch remarked on the contrast between savagery and civilization. Compared with their recent 'savage past', the Formosans now appeared to be 'docile'. Kuepers notes that the Dutch authorities were determined to implant Christianity and Dutch civilization simultaneously, by which they meant to have the Formosans 'adopt our customs and to embrace our religion.'[68] But how and to what extent the Dutch form of civilization to be acquired or even required? Food and eating habits, important parts in the Western civilizing process, mattered less to the Dutch in their efforts to transform 'Formosan barbarism'.[69] The Formosans seem to have shown scant interest in Dutch table manners; only one rare example showed a Mattauw elder inviting the Dutch visitors to his house and serving them food 'in the Dutch way'.[70] A German who served as a soldier in the Company was present at the ritual feast of the *Landdag* of 1648. He noticed that after the ceremony, when the Formosan elders were invited to sit at long tables on which plates and knives had been put, as soon as the food was being served to them, without murmuring any platitudes about the tasty dishes set before them, they wolfed the food down.[71] As far as the Dutch were concerned the discrimination between savage and civilization clearly lay in physical discipline judged by Dutch standards. On the occasion of the initial proclamation of the Sabbath as a day of rest on 7 February 1638, the headmen of Soulang made their own announcement in the Dutch presence:

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67 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 152. This indicates the Calvinistic idea that the Formosans were seen to be still living in a near 'natural state' lagging behind, as it were, Christians. *See* Natalie Everts, 'Indigenous Concepts of Marriage in 17th Century Sincan (Hsin-Kang): Impressions Gathered from the Letters of the Dutch Ministers Georgius Candidius and Robertus Junius', in Yeh Chuen-rong (ed.), *Li shih wên hua yü tsu ch'ün T'ai-wan yüan chu min kuo chi yen t'ao hui lun wên chi* (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2006), 89-104 at 95.

68 Kuepers, 'The Dutch Reformed Church in Formosa', 21.

69 Table manners in the Western civilizing process, *see* Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 72-8. According to the placard-book, selling only Dutch foodstuffs such as bread was allowed in the market in Tayouan. *See Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 105. To produce Dutch-style bread, the authorites ordered the Chinese not to put any rice in the flour. *See Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 131. It seems that the Dutch did not force the Formosans to change their cuisine. The example of 1654 shows the Dutch authorities considered supplying the Formosans with bread baked by Chinese for famine relief. See *DZ* III-E: 490.

70 *DZ* I-K: 460.

71 Schmalkalden, *Die Wundersame Reisen*, 146.

> From henceforth the people were to desist from all lewdness and fornication; that the women when pregnant should no longer practise abortion; and that polygamy, which is most shamefully practised, should be done away with. Further, that the men should cover their nakedness, and henceforth live as Christians and not as beasts.[72]

The seeds of this Formosan declaration of discarding the lifestyle of 'beasts', to which such practices as abortion and male nakedness were reckoned, was certainly planted by the Dutch ministers who intended to transpose the Sirayan objects of shame from the ecclesiastical domain to the secular domain.[73] With the exception of imposing physical discipline, the initial proclamation of the Sabbath, accurately measured by hourglass, was to delineate the Church's time expressed in weekly sermons and concomitant with the daily school classes which, in the long run, also implied the creation of a discipline in economic production.[74]

In 1639, after having responded to an inquiry into the principal articles of the Christian faith, the qualified inhabitants of Bacaluan, Soulang, and Mattauw were baptized. As Kuepers points out, the conversion was not compulsory, and the missionaries did not accept people for baptism indiscriminately.[75] In the eyes of the Dutch political and religious authorities, these converts were baptized not only into Christianity but also into civilization: the true premise of Christianity. As Governor Putmans declared, 'if these people received daily instruction in school and congregation, and see in us the example of a sanctified life, they will become civilized, and many will be made true members of the Church of Christ.'[76] This prompts the question: How did the Formosans learn to be civilized and Christianized at school? Some of the most cogent examples could be found in Sirayan villages. In May 1636, the school in Sincan was opened for seventy boys aged ten to thirteen and older. Soon, another school was opened for sixty girls between twelve to fourteen years of age, and even younger. These pupils were given Christian instruction for two hours every morning. In addition, their first task was to learn the alphabet in order to read and write in Latin script, since penmanship was deemed a characteristic of civilization, setting them apart from savages who had no written language. They also learned to sing the melody of the Hundredth Psalm of David before and after the sermon on every Sabbath. By the end of 1639, the adults were receiving religious instruction twice a week in school, repeated the prayers, and took time to read and write on the other days.[77]

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72 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 162; *DZ* I-K: 459-60.

73 About the discussion of shame in the Western civilizing process, *see* Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 414-21. It seems that no measures were taken against tattoos and the blackening of the teeth, since when French Jesuit priests Father De Mailla visited Formosa, in 1714, he still noticed such body decoration among the native inhabitants. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 509.

74 About time measurement in Dutch Formosa, *see Formosa under the Dutch*, 308. About the Church's time, *see* Le Goff, *Time*, *Work*, *and Culture*, 29-42.

75 Kuepers, 'The Dutch Reformed Church in Formosa', 21.

76 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 153.

77 Ibid. 138, 140, 147, 182; Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 86-7. The first textbook compiled by Junius for the children was the ABC Boek, containing the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments and various prayers and psalms. *See* also Ann M. F. Heylen, 'School, Language and Textbooks in Dutch Formosa', in Andrew Ryan (ed.), *Tales of Dutch Formosa*.

In 1643, Junius administered Holy Communion to the chiefs of Soulang and more than sixty people of Sincan, who were described as partaking of the Lord's bread and drinking from His cup 'with proper reverence' to observe the Lord's Supper. Since the strict requirement of 'the moral life' based on Christian values characterizes Calvinism, these Formosan converts had been approved of as having reached a qualified standard of Christian morals.[78] Without doubt, as Putmans expected, they had become civilized and were allowed to be the true members of the Church of Christ.

The routine of missionary work involved frequent inspections, punishments, and rewards.[79] From 1644, attendance in school and church was regulated by the punishment of paying a fine or flagellation.[80] In order to ensure its smooth running, it had to depend also on charity, a continuing tradition of gift-giving, since the time of Candidius. Because the parents would have preferred these pupils to labour in the fields, Junius had to reward diligent pupils with gifts of *cangans*, rice, or cash to encourage their attendance at school. In the years 1638 to 1639, Junius consistently bought rice and garments for the pupils of five schools from the income gained from the sale of deer-hunting licences. The poor were also given alms in exchange for their sundry services.[81]

Localizing Christianity

Dutch missionary work in Formosa employed two different approaches to promote conversion and civilization among the Formosans. These approaches could perhaps be designated localizing Christianity and Dutchization. Junius was the key figure in the first trend. Following the Calvinist tradition, the Dutch Reformed Church disseminated Christianity by the vernacular transmission of evangelization. The Sirayan language was used in church and school on the south-west plain and its vicinity.[82] Junius compiled several sets of teaching materials in the Sirayan language, including the First Shorter

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A Radio Docudrama in Four Episodes (Taipei: Radio Taiwan International, 2004), pp. xv-xxxix at xix. The writing pens needed for the Formosan schoolchildren were sent from Holland via Batavia, at the request from the ministers. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 254.

78 Cha, 'Dutch-Formosan Religious Encounter', 9-10. These Formosan participants had to be accepted by the *censura morum* board. Blussé, *Strange Company*, 167, 169-70.

79 The inspection seemed to have been a matter of annual routine. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 225. There are at least five reports on the years 1638, 1639, 1643, 1647, and 1659. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 161-3, 179-83, 195-6, 225-6; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 103-33.

80 *DZ* II-E: 283, the announcement in the *Landdag* of 1644. It seemed that this regulation had been decided by the church authorities and was continued for at least one decade. In 1654, ex-Governor Verburch criticized it as a severe punishment for the poor Formosans, since they were 'so poor that they cannot always produce a deer-skin; often, they do not even have enough rice in their dwelling in order to fill their hungry bellies.' *Formosa under the Dutch*, 296. This description was probably meant as an attack on the clerics in Tayouan, the bitter result of the long conflict he had had with them. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, entries 85, 87-97, 101. But it later convinced the Gentlemen Seventeen to abolish this punishment. *See* the last section.

81 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 149, 167-73.

82 Therefore, there were many words in the list of Sirayan vocabulary which related to teaching. Examples are: to repeat the words (*kmougitting*, *kmoulaling*); to read or to count (*kmoutkout*); to teach (*mattoutougog*); to follow or to imitate (*smaladilong*); and to write (*smoulat*). *See* 'Utrecht Mss.'.

Catechism, a Formulary of Christianity, and a Larger Catechism.[83] In addition to adopting the local language, as Kuepers notes, Junius 'had freely simplified and adapted Christianity so that it was acceptable to these tribal people.'[84] Some examples from Junius' First Shorter Catechism, including the Sirayan version of the Ten Commanderments, demonstrate the endeavour to transform the Sirayan custom of worshipping multiple deities, offering sacrifices, working time and committing abortion and adultery:

> 2. *How many Gods are there*?
> One.
> 3. *And yet your forefathers have said there were many Gods. Is that true*?
> No: our forefathers have erred.
> 26. *But would the flesh of swine, pinang, stewed rice, and other things, not be acceptable to Him*?
> No: if He desired these He would simply take them.
> 36. *Repeat these ten words*.
> (3) Do not enter your fields on Sunday, remain within doors, and listen to My Word proclaimed in My house.
> (6) Do not kill other men, and do not commit abortion.
> (7) Do not commit adultery, and do not visit women in secret.[85]

It was not all plain sailing. The spread of the version of Christianity based on Junius' teaching materials was hindered by the lack of personnel. An exasperated Junius exclaimed: 'The Lord be praised that so great a door has been opened unto us; the harvest is truly great, but the labourers are few.'[86] This was true, but it was not merely an issue of manpower, it was also of establishing an enduring Church of God in Formosa. The only solution to this problem was to increase the number of personnel, especially local personnel, including ministers and schoolmasters. To address this, Candidius and Junius suggested sending four or five Sincandian youths to Holland to receive a Dutch education under the supervision of one of them, so that they would eventually be ordained as ministers. The aim was clear: Let the locals spread Christianity using their own languages. Practical though it may have been, this project was unfeasible.[87]

This dearth of manpower was exacerbated when many villages, as Junius had expected, reached a point at which they were deemed ready to accept this new religion in the wake of the Dutch military victory. Because it was not possible to increase the number of ministers within a short space of time, Junius hoped that more schoolmasters

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[83] Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 86-7; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 237-8.

[84] Kuepers, 'The Dutch Reformed Church in Formosa', 32.

[85] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 336-8.

[86] Ibid. 137.

[87] Ibid. 108-9, 143. Referred to J. A. Grothe, *Archief voor de Geschiedenis der Oude Hollandsche Zending* [Archives for the history of the old Dutch mission], III: Formosa: 1628-1643 (Utrecht: C. Van Bentum, 1886), 72, 124-6; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 262-3. This project was initially discussed in 1634. However, it seemed the authorities in Batavia feared making another mistake after the failure of a training project for Amboina children. Junius tried to convince them that 'even though the attempt with the children of Amboina did not succeed, they can still make another with the children of Sincan.' *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 143. For more information about the training of the ministers, *see Formosa under the Dutch*, 144-5.

could be sent to offer the villagers basic teaching. Taking matters into his own hands, in January 1636, Junius started to train Dutch schoolmasters chosen from selected Christian soldiers who were able to write, so that they could teach the villagers. While engaged in their duties, they could learn the local language.[88] Training native schoolmasters (*inlandtsche leermeesters*) proceeded alongside the training of the Dutch schoolmasters. After the school system had been institutionalized, excellent pupils began to receive instruction in penmanship in order to become schoolmasters. In 1639, four native schoolmasters were in residence at the school in Soulang. In September 1643, the Company paid one real each as as monthly salary to fifty native schoolmasters in Soulang (12), Mattauw (10), Sincan (7), Bacaluan (12), Tavocan (5), and Tevorang (4). These native schoolmasters were later also assigned to such other villages as Dorcko.[89]

Besides his educational duties, Junius was entrusted with establishing a consistory (*kerkeraad*) in Formosa by the Batavia Consistory. He performed his work assiduously and, before his departure in October 1643, two consistories had been formed at Tayouan and Soulang. The elders of the latter consistory were drawn from among the Dutch and the native inhabitants. This was an essential step in promoting the autonomy of Dutch missionary work among the Formosans.[90] According to the report of the Formosa Consistory to the Classis of Amsterdam, Junius baptized 5,040 persons, and taught about 600 students in the villages of Soulang, Mattauw, Sincan, Bacaluan, Tavocan, and Tevorang. More than a thousand couples were united in holy wedlock. Although he had achieved a great deal, Junius' approach fell by the wayside after his departure. The indigenous celebration of the Lord's Supper was not held regularly.[91] Unfortunately, the Soulang Consistory had to be dissolved as well.[92] In 1649, the teaching materials compiled by Junius were either revised or replaced in accordance with the precepts of the Heidelberg Catechism.[93] The training of native schoolmasters continued, but from the year 1644 their number was reduced to seventeen, although each now earned 4 reals per month plus a ration of rice from the villagers.[94] From the *Landdag* of 1646, the elders were requested to provide for their own native schoolmasters by offering them paddy from every household.[95] In 1650, the High Government ordered this contribution of

88 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 148.

89 Ibid. 179, 192-3.

90 Ibid. 247; Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 51; Cha, 'Dutch-Formosan Religious Encounter', 6-11.

91 Cha argues that, in the entire period of Reformed mission on Formosa, the Formsans only participated once in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, administered by Junius, in 1643. *See* id., 'Dutch-Formosan Religious Encounter', 9, 11.

92 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 192-3; Cha, 'Dutch-Formosan Religious Encounter', 6-9.

93 Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 93-6.

94 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 202. In 1644, the number of native schoolmasters was increased to fifty-four, including those in the newly built school in Tirosen. The villagers of Tirosen had to offer them land and meat. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 193; *DZ* II-E: 285-6. At the *Landdag* of 1646, the elders were requested to offer their native schoolmasters rice. *See DZ* II-H: 302; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 214. Perhaps as part of their attemp to attack Junius, in 1648, the Tayouan Consistory indicated that all fifty native schoolmasters had been discharged from their functions because of their misbehaviour, which included excessive drunkenness, whoredom, adultery, theft, and many other forms of wickedness. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 240.

95 *DZ* II-H: 302; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 214.

fifteen bundles of paddy at that time to be abolished as it was deemed nothing short a second tribute (*tweede recognitie*), come back to haunt the poor people after the abolition of the tribute. Therefore, from July of the same year, the Company decided to grant all the native schoolmasters a payment in cash.[96]

Rapids and undercurrents

The Dutch territorial expansion, which involved encountering more and more Formosan groups speaking different languages, entailed the missionaries having to learn new languages all the time in order to persist in their vernacular missionary approach. From 1644, the Northern and Southern *Landdagen* were held regularly. At the Northern *Landdag*, the languages in the four main regions, namely: Sincan (Siraya); Favorlangh; Quataong; and one of many mountain languages (but not specified) had become official languages. Three languages such as Tapouliang, Parruan, and Tonghotaval were singled out to be used at the Southern *Landdagen*.[97] In the same year, the western part of Formosa was divided into three regions according to the language groupings. They were the core regions in the vicinity of Tayouan which used Siraya; the north, namely the Districts of Favorlangh and Tackays, which used the Favorlangh and Tackays languages; plus the south.[98]

In 1646, the Reverend Johannes Bavius admitted to having postponed Formosan participation in the Lord's Supper a long time ago. His main reason, as he pointed out, was the lack of sufficient knowledge of the native languages.[99] The time had come to bring some order in the linguistic confusion and the solution was to introduce the Dutch language in schools and missionary work in 1648. Besides the controversy with Junius and the theological debate, this choice seemed to be an inevitable step towards coping with the reality of the wide variety of Formosan languages in the aftermath of the expansion.[100] As Ann Heylen has commented, it was a short cut to establishing a Calvinist Church and reducing the pressure caused by the dearth of clergymen and

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[96] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 307, 317, 342. According to the competence of a teacher, the payment given to native schoolmasters varied from 2 to 4 reals, which was raised from 3 to 6 reals. The Company had to spend 70 reals per month the equivalent of the yield of fresh paddy for a month.

[97] Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 91. Tapouliang or Pangsoya was used in the southern plain. Parruan (modern Paiwanese) and Tonghotaval (modern Rukaic dialects) are the languages of the mountain inhabitants.

[98] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 198.

[99] Cha, 'Dutch-Formosan Religious Encounter', 10-11.

[100] To find out more about the controversy with Junius, *see* Kuepers, 'The Dutch Reformed Church in Formosa', 27-33. As for the theological conflict between Junius and his successors, *see* Lin Chiong-hua, 'Shih min pei ching hsia te hsüan chiao: shih ch'i shih chi Ho-lan kai kê tzung chia hui te hsüan chiao shih yü Si-la-ya tsu' 殖民背景下的宣教：十七世紀荷蘭改革宗教會的宣教師與西拉雅族 [The Missionary Work in the Colonial Context: The missionaries of the seventeenth century Dutch Reformed Church and the Siraya]. In Pan Ying-hai and Chan Su-chuan (eds.), *P'ing-p'u tsu yen chiu lun wên chi* (Nankang: Institute of Taiwan History Preparatory Office. Academia Sinica, 1995), 333-64 at 338-44. For these issues and the articulation of language and power, *see* Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 91-6.

schoolmasters. Elsewhere in the Dutch colonies in South-East and South Asia, either Portuguese or Malay was being used as a *lingua franca*, therefore introducing Dutch in Formosa was considered to be an experiment. This is endorsed by the fact that the Tayouan Consistory claimed that: 'Till now, it has been an unheard of thing that other nations or people should be taught to speak our language.'[101]

In February 1648, the youngest Sirayan pupils began to learn Dutch. A compilation of *Dialogues in Formosan-Dutch* is an example of the bilingual teaching materials.[102] It lauded the students' eagerness in attending school, which is reflected in four conversations between two boys each bearing a Dutch name. In November, President Overtwater reported to the High Government that recently many Sincandians had come to the schoolmaster and requested a list of Dutch names because they planned to use those names in the future.[103]

In 1644, the Reverend Simon van Breen was sent to the region of Favorlangh and to its neighbours, the Tackays. Within two and a half years, Van Breen had established six schools and compiled a dictionary of the Favorlangh language.[104] In March 1648, the Reverend Jacobus Vertrecht also introduced Dutch teaching in the region of Favorlangh. Although he was confident of this project, no progress had been made after half a year. Apparently matters did not improve. By 1654, the Tayouan authorities were astonished that no single inhabitant was baptized in the Districts of Favorlangh and Tackays. Judging by this meagre result, the authorities considered the inhabitants too 'rude and uncivilized' to receive any higher Christian instruction.[105]

Although many other native languages were taken into consideration as a medium to spread the Christian faith, the clergymen still preferred to use either Dutch or 'the Formosan language' eight years after Dutch had been introduced.[106] In view of their intense interaction with the Dutch, the so-called 'Formosan language' was in fact Siraya. As a result, Sirayanization represented another trend which can be seen as undercurrents in conjunction with the linguistic rapids towards the introduction of Dutch. Linguistically, Sirayanization had in fact already been implemented for two decades in the south.[107] When Junius extended the Christianization campaign to the south in 1637, he was keen to start to learn the local language and handed a preliminary collection of vocabularies to the first Dutch resident there.[108] The inhabitants of Pangsoya, Dolatok, Verovorongh,

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101 Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 95; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 242, 311; Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 103.

102 Campbell (ed.), *An Account of Missionary Success*, 207-14. According to Campbell, this contains the words represented in the list of 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect' (p. 214). However, after checking the vocabulary of Siraya and Favorlang, it was found that this was indeed the Siraya language. The evidence is taken from 'Utrecht Mss.'.

103 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 232.

104 Ibid. 202, 241-2; Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 94, 96. By 1650, Reverend Jacobus Vertrecht compiled all the teaching materials in Favorlangh.

105 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 228, 230, 290, 297.

106 Ibid. 301, 311.

107 Lee noticed this trend. The two decades of Sirayanization in the south later misled researchers to conclude that the groups in the south were part of the Siraya. *See* Lee, *Ethnic Groups, History and Ritual*, 71-6.

108 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 136. Today, the said list is not existent.

Tapouliangh, and Pangdandangh enthusiastically built their own schools, even churches, in an effort to entice Dutch teachers to reside in their villages. In 1643, the south, consisting of twenty-three villages, formed a separate region.[109] However, the later development was disappointing.

By 1640, local environmental conditions had emerged as the biggest obstacle to the spread of Christianity in the south. Junius concluded that: 'The unhealthiness of the place and the insalubrity of the air deter many of our people from settling there. May God have pity upon those sheep without a shepherd!' Since 1644, one or more clergymen had been requested to inspect the region three times a year in order to baptize the Formosans there. Given those highly unpropitious conditions, it is no wonder that the Formosans in the south were criticized for being Christian in the sense of merely bearing Christian names.[110]

In September 1644, Proponent Hans Olhoff, who had served in Sincan for eight years and who was proficient in Siraya, took up residence in the south and re-opened the schools. In October, the authorities gave the south priority in promoting regional missionary progress.[111] In 1647, the region was the biggest dominion with more than seventy villages extending right to the southern tip of the island, but the vanguard of the missionary work, the schools, was established only in the plain.[112] In 1651, Governor Nicolaes Verburch foresaw the loss of much ground, indeed even the disappearance of the Christian religion in the south after Olhoff's death. The missionary work then fell on the shoulders of schoolmasters under the supervision of the *politiek*. Later, a controversy broke out regarding the issue of whether the southern inhabitants should be made 'good citizens' or 'good Christians'. Finally, the Church authorities of Tayouan insisted that the region should remain under the superintendence of the Consistory.[113]

The whole situation in the south was troubled and far from inducing any feelings of complacency. Local resentment towards the missionary work flared up. By 1651, not only did the inhabitants hardly bother to attend either the church or the school, the church in Akauw was burned down more than once, and the authorities suspected that these were deliberate acts of arson. In 1654, the Council of Formosa reported to the High Government that the southerners disliked attending church and school. Matters were complicated because the clergymen showed their reluctance to serve in the 'unhealthy' south which had been labelled 'a death trap' (*moordcuyl*) because of the high death rate among the Dutch residents.[114]

It was only in 1657, the reason for their discontent became clear. The said inhabitants were taught in Siraya which was almost unintelligible to them, even though the Church authorities had been aware of this problem twelve years earlier in 1645, and had

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109 Ibid. 156-7, 193.
110 Ibid. 188, 199-200, 208, 211.
111 *DZ* II-F: 171; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 194, 206, 215, 204, 206.
112 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 214, 234-5; *See* Appendix 4.
113 Ibid. 276, 287, 304, 312-13.
114 *DZ* III-C: 656; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 253, 291, 298. The term *moordcuyl* is from *GM* 31 Dec. 1649, Dutch edition, p 266. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 298.

promised to teach them in their own dialect, namely the Tapouliang language.[115] In fact, both the religious and political authorities of Tayouan had no option but to recognize the multi-lingual reality in Formosa. In 1649, this reality was used to criticize Junius. The Tayouan Consistory suggested stopping Junius' project for training future Formosan missionaries in the Sirayan language at the expense of the Company, because Siraya was only one of the languages used in the island.[116] Obviously, the root of the problem lay in the fact that the clergymen were not able to master the local language during their short sojourn. Even the sole person who had been a long-time resident, Mr Olhoff, later ordained a minister, continued to use the Siraya tongue. In 1657, to retain its superintendence over the south, the Tayouan Consistory delegated the Reverend Antonius Hambroeck to tidy up the situation and requested a sanction from the Council of Formosa to employ native speakers with a knowledge of Siraya to assist Hambroeck in learning the three languages in the south.[117] The path of good intentions turned out to be a short one, given the brevity of the time left to the Dutch in Formosa.

Triumphy of bilingual formulation

The year 1657 marked two transformations in Formosan missionary work. The first change was that the High Government ordered that the domain of missionary work be restricted, a command which ran parallel to the restriction in the political domain as we have seen. Early in 1650, faced with a shortage of ministers, the Council of Formosa planned to limit the missionary work done in the villages in the near vicinity of Tayouan, as its members argued: 'We think, however, that if the inhabitants of the nearer villages are thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of Christianity, the Gospel will, as it did, transplant itself to other places.' In 1654, ex-Governor Verburch had to recall the clergymen from the regions of Favorlangh and Tackays temporarily, but he did not intend to abandon those places altogether because of their economic importance as hubs for the collection of deer products.[118] Following upon Verburch's suggestion, no more clergymen would reside either in the north or in the south until the inhabitants showed 'greater signs of civilization', and all the schools were to be supervised by the local *politieken*.[119] The clergymen residing in distant places would be brought in to fill the vacancy caused by the death of any clergymen stationed in the core area. The reason given was that the inhabitants of such remote areas could not muster sufficient religious

115 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 302-3.
116 Ibid. 244.
117 Ibid. 304-5, 314-15.
118 Ibid. 252, 295. As Verburch said, 'We cannot withdraw the clergymen from that part of the country, where there is a far greater prospect of catching a good number of deer than of converting any souls.' (Ibid. 295). The authorities maintained a minister in this area. In 1659, the Reverend Johannes Leonardus supervised thirteen villages in the Districts of Favorlangh and Tackays, and was later transferred to Soulang. *See* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 103-33; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 317, 325. The Reverend Peter Mus was sent from Tirosen to fill this vacancy. *See DZ* III, p. 542.
119 *GM*, 6 Jan. 1658, 497; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 295.

knowledge to benefit from receiving higher instruction from the clergymen, and consequently the clergymen only needed to inspect churches and schools from time to time.

The second alteration in the pattern was that the teaching of Dutch was criticized by the High Government as setting an unattainable standard.[120] Vernacular preaching was again advocated. However, as Heylen points out, introducing Dutch had been the idea of Batavia itself. Verburch's return to Batavia worsened the relationship between both the political and the religious authorities involved in Formosa affairs in the headquarters, and among the local servants. Over a decade earlier, in 1643, Governor-General Antonio van Diemen had already suggested introducing Dutch to the Formosans. In 1645, Governor François Caron decided to retain the vernacular approach, but using only two or three regional languages as the vehicles. Apparently, this was all forgotten history because, in 1657, the Church in Tayouan explained to the Governor-General that teaching Dutch was not a novel idea which had burst upon it during the deliberations of the Consistory, but that it had been suggested by the Governor of Tayouan, Pieter Anthonisz. Overtwater.[121]

The approval in 1657 to establish a seminary at Soulang symbolized a compromise. For this project, Dutch-Siraya bilingual education was officially adopted for training young natives to become preachers, even though the learning of Dutch was emphasized as a requirement for enrolment, and that Dutch was the only language required to be used during lectures.[122]

Facing Formosan Roman Catholics

In northern Formosa, Protestant missionary work did not automatically follow the victory subsequent on the Dutch conquest of 1642. By the end of the same year, the High Government in Batavia suggested extending the dominion of the Reverend Van Breen in Favorlangh and Tackays by including Tamsuy and Quelang, but the Consistory deferred such a move because of the information that the people in the region were still 'very wild and unsettled'. Nevertheless, the political authorities continued to request that more missionaries be sent from Batavia in order to inaugurate the spreading of the Gospel in Tamsuy, Quelang, and even in Cabalangh.[123] The lack of ministers and the policy of restriction were major causes impeding the spread of Christianity in the remote

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120 *GM*, 6 Jan. 1658, 497.

121 Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 100; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 206-7, 306.

122 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 306-9, 315; Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 101. Even though it was proposed late in 1657, Ang Kaim argues that the plan had been carried out and established in Soulang. Quoted from id., 'Shih ch'i shih chi ti T'ai-wan chi tu chia shih' 十七世紀的臺灣基督教史 [The History of Taiwanese Christianity in the Seventeenth Century], in Lin Chih-p'ing 林治平 (ed.), *T'ai-wan chi tu chiao shih shih liao yü yen chiu hui ku kuo chi yen t'ao hui lun wên chi* (Taipei: Cosmic Light Publisher, 1998), 19-32 at 27.

123 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 206-8.

areas. Dutch schoolmasters who were sent to those areas instead of ministers, many of whom were recruited from among the soldiers, often brought the local administration more trouble than peace. A number of them, the 'goats' among the sheep or 'the claws of hawks', lapsed into scandalous lives characterized by drunkenness, fornication, and adultery.[124] Some Dutch schoolmasters abused their authority and even perpetrated violence against the local people. In 1654, the *politiek* of the Favorlangh District warned that the Favorlanghers harboured a deep resentment against their Dutch schoolmaster, which would ultimately cause turmoil.[125]

Under such difficult circumstances, in 1655, a minister, the Reverend Marcus Masius, was finally sent to the regions of Tamsuy and Quelang, where only one provisional catechist had resided since 1654.[126] Why did the Dutch, especially the political authorities, make such a great deal of effort to propagate the Christian faith in these remote and putatively dangerous regions? The answer lies in the inhabitants themselves, the Basayos, who had already been 'converted' during the Spanish presence by the Roman Catholic Church—the competitors of the Dutch in their quest to accumulate 'spiritual profit'.

After the conquest, the parents of several native children applied at Fort San Salvador in Quelang to have them baptized.[127] In 1644, the Dutch learned from Theodore, the headman of Kimaurij, that there were two Roman Catholic villages in the region, Kimaurij and St Jago. The inhabitants of Kimaurij, children as well as adults, were said to understand some Spanish, and the same could be said for half the inhabitants in St Jago. Many local people bore a Spanish baptismal name.[128] How far had conversion to Roman Catholicism gone and how deep were its roots? To set the scene it is essential to glance at its history.

Fetishistic perception of Roman Catholicism

José Eugenio Borao reports that the Province of the Holy Rosary of the Dominican Order was entrusted with the missionary work in northern Formosa.[129] The Dominicans departed from the Philippines and arrived in Formosa, seeing it as a stopover from which to continue their journey to the nearby 'Kingdoms' of China and Japan, even though this might be fatal to them owing to the persecutions and eventual martyrdom which almost inevitably would await them there.[130] On the basis of the accounts of Father Jacinto

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[124] Ibid. 127, 191, 207, 211. The metaphors of the goats and the sheep were from Governor Verburch, *see* ibid., 296. The raptor one was from Verburch and his Council (Ibid. 278).

[125] *DZ* III-E: 504. Another example was from Soulang. A local schoolmaster flogged a girl to death by whipping her neck. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 277.

[126] *DZ* III-E: 361; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 299. *See* Appendix 4.

[127] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 204.

[128] *DZ* II-E: 305. Because the Spanish priest in St Jago knew the local language.

[129] José Eugenio Borao, 'The Catholic Dominican Missionaries in Taiwan (1626-1642)', in Lin Chih-p'ing (ed.), *T'ai-wan chi tu chiao shih shih liao yü yen chiu hui ku kuo chi yen t'ao hui lun wên chi* (Taipei: Cosmic Light Publisher, 1998), 35-76 at 37, 52-4. The Jesuits, the Augustinians, and the Franciscans either failed to arrive or to make progress in their efforts to travel onwards to China.

[130] Borao, 'The Catholic Dominican Missionaries', 37, 66-8. For example, the most famous Dominican

Esquivel and Father Diego Aduarte, the story of this Christian contact may be summarized as follows.

In May 1626, the Provincial Father, Bartolomé Martínez, and five Dominicans arrived in Quelang in the company of Sergeant-Major, Antonio Carreño de Valdés, the first Spanish Governor of Formosa. The Dominicans set about befriending the Basayos through gift-giving and by learning their language. Their first landing was the village of Caguinauaran, which they named Santiago (the Dutch Sint Jago, St Jago). There they built up a small church. Jacinto Quesaymon, the Japanese who played a role in the later Dutch explorations for gold as we have seen, had mediated in the initial encounter between the Spaniards and the Basayos there. Being a Christian himself, Quesaymon treated the Spaniards as comrades and persuaded the villagers to make contact with these strangers instead of fleeing away. He asked the Dominicans to baptize his two daughters born by his native wife from Kimaurij. The godfather of these two girls was the sergeant-major, and, as it turned out, the baptismal ceremony was a splendid, solemn spectacle for the local inhabitants: 'There was shooting of artillery, and those with harquebuses fired a military salute.'[131]

This promising beginning, nevertheless, did not pave the way for a peaceful interaction, let alone mass native conversion. 'The Formosans' refused to render obedience to the Spaniards. From then on, conflicts shattered the peace in the regions of both Tamsuy and Quelang, and the Formosans were punished by the Spanish powers-that-be. Despite the confusion and ill-will, the missionary work did proceed, albeit gradually. By 1630, the Dominicans gave Roman Catholic instruction to a congregation of over 300 natives.[132] More villages asked for a priest, as we have seen, and even constructed a church without there being a priest to minister in it. A great number of infants were baptized in the villages of Pantao (Pantas), Chinaar, Tapparij, and Kimaurij. By 1634, more than 2,000 were said to have received baptism, and four native churches, out of a total of six churchs in the regions, including two for the Spaniards, were built in the vicinity of the Tamsuy River, and in the villages of St Jago, Kimaurij, and Tapparij.[133]

All this does not answer the question: What was the perception of indigenous people of the Spaniards, especially the missionaries who befriended them? As suggested by their

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during this period, Father Jacinto Esquivel, was murdered on his way to Japan in 1633. *See* Álvarez, José María, 'Chapter two: The Spanish Dominican Missionary Work in Formosa' in id., *Formosa, Geográfica e Históricamente Considerada*, 2 vols (Barcelona: Luis Gili, 1930), tr. Wu, Mon-jien 吳孟真 and Li, Yu-chung 李毓中, *TWH* 54/4 (2003), 307-23; 55/1 (2004), 282-96 at 285.

131 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 72-3. According to Aduarte, the idea of baptizing these girls had come from this Japanese Christian in order to demonstrate a 'sublime' event to the natives. To find out more about identifying 'the Japanese Christian' in the Spanish archives and 'Jacinto Quesaymon' in the Dutch archives as the same person, *see Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 73, 181 and *DZ* II-C: 271-3. Apparently, Jacinto Quesaymon decided to remain silent on his relationship with the Spaniards in a Dutch interrogation (in *DZ* II-C: 271-3).

132 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 75, 131-2, 135, 144, 165.

133 Ibid. 169, 181-2; Borao, 'The Catholic Dominican Missionaries', 62. To maintain a unity, village names in this section would follow the Dutch spelling except for those are hard to identify their connection with the Dutch records.

encounters with the Spanish and the Dutch, the northern Formosans tended to make a fetish of the material or personal protection they sought. This inclination had tied in neatly the fetishism inherent in the ceremonies and rituals in Spanish Catholicism. Prior to the Spanish arrival, the inhabitants had valued beads. These trinkets were used to pay ransoms and bride wealth, and functioned as a medium of exchange for virtually everything.[134] The women of Kimaurij and Tapparij were said to be easily 'fooled' by *cuentas* (necklace) and gemstones. It would not be stretching the imagination too far to presume the inhabitants took a liking to the rosary while interacting with the Roman Catholic Church. The Dominicans, by the same token, tried to indulge this wish going by the fact Father Esquivel urged the Manila authorities to send rosaries to Formosa because the natives were intensely drawn to them.[135]

Despite having an inordinate liking for beads, as Esquivel claimed, the inhabitants worshiped no idols and performed no rites of sacrifice to their spirit world.[136] Therefore, the Dominicans made an effort to foster an interest in the Catholic custom of worshipping a statue of the Blessed Virgin among the inhabitants. In 1634, Captain Luis de Guzmán and the Dominicans held a procession to install a statue of the Virgin of the Rosary, of medium height, in the church of Chinaar where Father Francisco Váez held the cure.[137] The impressive procession consisting of fireworks, the firing of harquebuses, and a sword dance continued until a Formosan interlude:

> To show their pleasure, they [the natives] suddenly performed their customary dance, which seemed disgraceful to us, but not to them because they were very happy doing it. As they turned about in pairs, they would gulp a shot of their horrid wine. … Once in a while, the native chiefs go out to shout defiantly at the other towns, as they used to do then, airing out old grievances and setbacks and challenging the other people, saying that no one else was like them: they had Spaniards, a priest and churches while the others had none.[138]

When Father Váez decided to return the statue to Tamsuy, the villagers of Chinaar expressed their sadness, and therefore he promised the inhabitants to send it back on the same day. It was said that the villagers carried the statue to their church on their shoulders with great rejoicing. Seeing the native passion for the statue, Brother Andrés Jiménez seized the chance to introduce the crucified Christ to the inhabitants and asked them to follow his example, kneeling and adoring this image.[139]

The native passion was not for the statue or for the image, nevertheless, as Aduarte pointed out, the villagers were worried the priest would go with the statue and leave them behind, since the message of the chiefs of Chinaar to other villagers was clear: They had

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134 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 178-9.

135 Ibid. 163, 183, 189.

136 Ibid. 179. The examples of 'idols' which Esquivel mentioned were more like portents, for example, the chirping of some small birds, dreams, and sneezing.

137 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 221-2.

138 Ibid. 222.

139 Ibid. 223-4. Brother Andrés Jiménez stayed in Formosa between 1629 and 1637. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

a Spanish priest to protect them.[140] Apparently, the Dominicans were not aware of such strong native attachment to them or of the reason behind it: They themselves were also fetishized by the inhabitants. This led to the murders of two Dominicans.

In 1636, Fathers Váez and Luis Muro were set upon by the villagers of Chinaar and died as martyrs. It was reported that when Váez planned to build another church in an enemy village, Pantao, the chief of Chinaar, Pila, who had been freed by Váez, now led the villagers to ambush and kill him. After this murder, the villagers of Chinaar burnt down their village and its church before fleeing to other villages. In his description of Father Váez' death, Aduarte wrote that before he died Váez exclaimed, 'Why, Pila?' Even though he was forewarned of the conspiracy by a native friend, the priest refused to doubt the intentions of his people because of the great affection they displayed towards him.[141] The events did not surprise the Spanish authorities. In the eyes of the Spaniards, the Formosans were 'such a treacherous people that when it seems that they are peaceful, it is when they suddenly change and kill those whom they catch off guard', as the Governor in the Philippines, Juan Cerezo de Salamanca had concluded in 1634. After the murders, Philippine Governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera made a report to the King, claiming that it was impossible to convert the natives. Any attempt win the Formosans to Roman Catholicism would require the same amount of effort as to do the same with the Moors and that would create huge holes in the treasury.[142]

Contesting baptism

In 1632, Father Esquivel drew up a scheme for the future development of missionary work. According to this plan, two parishes, namely, Tamsuy and Chinaar as the first, and Kipatauw as the second, were to be established under the control of the Order of St Dominic. Not only conversion but also education was to play an important role in Esquivel's scheme, which included the founding of a school in each parish to teach half a dozen young boys among them, Formosan, but principally Chinese, Japanese, and even Koreans. Esquivel thought it would be a good chance to learn the local languages, to preach the gospel, and to 'capture' the children of China and Japan for the sake of the trade with these two nearby kingdoms. He planned to teach the pupils reading, writing, singing, and moral theology.[143] Notably, Esquivel took more of an interest in musical education as, besides suggesting teaching pupils to play such musical instruments as harps and rebecs, he also requested three or four Cagayan singers from the Philippines to serve as schoolmasters and sacristans.[144] By 1642, most of the scheme, above all the

140 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 223.
141 Ibid. 239-44.
142 Ibid. 218 (the quotation), 256, 277; Borao, 'The Catholic Dominican Missionaries', 62.
143 Borao, 'The Catholic Dominican Missionaries', 55-6; *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 186, 188.
144 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 188-9; 686. The model he followed was that which was started in Binondo, a place in Manila.

school, had yet to be accomplished.[145]

The major achievement of the Dominicans was baptism, which had been depicted as an impressive inauguration ceremony during the Spanish presence in Quelang. It was estimated that nearly 4,000 Formosans were baptized in the space of sixteen years. Father Muro also baptized inhabitants of the villages of Pinorouwan, Camaco, Maupe, Parakucho and others before his death.[146] No doubt the Dominicans were diligent but this still leaves the question: In what spirit did the northern Formosans receive the baptism? Several cases show that the enthusiasm to receive baptism happened during the outbreak of smallpox. In 1635, this epidemic struck not only the south-west plain, but also swept the north and the north-east. On his own account, Father Teodoro Quirós baptized 320 inhabitants of the Tamsuy River in eight days, and 141 children were baptized within five days around the feast of St James. In the same year, Spanish troops led by the fourth Sergeant-Major Alonso García Romero 'punished' the inhabitants in the region of Cavalangh—'the bravest' Formosans and the 'mortal enemies' of the people in the region of the Tamsuy River—in an expedition similar to the Dutch punitive expedition to Mattauw. Quirós wrote in his letter to the Superior of the Dominicans in Manila: 'It must have been providential that our Lord had allowed many young and robust natives to die of smallpox and lung disease in order to facilitate this conquest.' In the aftermath, Father Juan García went inland and baptized many Cavalanghers during the epidemic. Quirós arrived there later and baptized 186 children in eight days.[147]

Such mass conversion, of which baptism was the outward and visible sign, and for the Spanish at least for which it was not necessary to offer much instruction, does indeed seem to have been a response to death and desperation, as Kang has stated.[148] The incidence of baptism by Father Andrés Jiménez shows an even closer link between death and baptism in Formosan perception. One ailing headmen in Chinaar expressed his fervent wish to be a Christian and said that he 'wanted to wait until the actual moment of death.' Another old man teetering on the brink of death finally agreed to be baptized 'with his hands in humble repose' after several visits. The Father also made efforts to baptize a dying newborn baby with pagan parents after he had been informed about the case by a native in Tapparij.[149] Indeed, as Aduarte said: 'This is no small matter for a man who had never heard of such a thing in his whole life.' From the perspective of the Dominicans, this attitude denoted that these converts at least understood that being a Christian was a way to have 'a good death' and to avoid going to Hell.[150] There is no record of whether the northern Formosans had the ideas of afterlife similar to those of

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145 This is from Borao's inference because the principal promotor, Father Esquivel, died shortly after it was proposed. *See* Borao, 'The Catholic Dominican Missionaries', 62. But books indeed somehow reached the inhabitants'hands as we have seen.

146 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 243; Álvarez, 'Chapter two', 285; Borao, 'The Catholic Dominican Missionaries', 64.

147 Borao suggests it was the year 1635. *See* Borao, 'The Catholic Dominican Missionaries', 53. For more details about the conquest and baptism, *see Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 303 and II, 456-457.

148 Kang, 'Lin tsai jên yü His-pan-ya jên', 11.

149 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 224-6.

150 Ibid. 224.

the Siraya, but as in Sirayan society, old women whom the natives called *majuorbol*, were healers, even though they may have been more akin to sorceresses, as Esquivel denigratingly indicated. Their duty was to exorcise the evil spirits from the patients. Should the patients die, the inhabitants buried the dead with their knees bent in a very small hole in the ground under their houses. Consequently, when Esquivel tried to explain that: 'We will all rise from the dead,' his audience argued that those who had been baptized and had died were still buried beneath their houses.[151]

Baptism in association with death, suggested that the curative powers of a 'medicinal baptism', may also have been found in Formosa as the last hope for the dying to 'rise'.[152] The magic element may have lain in the consecrated water. The Dominicans themselves at that time believed holy water served as a cure for disease. To heel himself, Esquivel used water from a well dug by Father Mateo de Cobiza, who was considered to have special power and died after having prophesying many events.[153] Perhaps inadvertently, the Dominicans may have crossed the threshold of healing, the domain of the native spirit world, by administering holy water to them. When García Romero recalled the missionary work in Formosa, he said that because of the scarcity of priests, the inhabitants had received nothing but the water of baptism.[154]

Dutch missionary work in northern Formosa

After the period of Spanish evangelization came to an end, the Roman Catholic Formosans began their interaction with a different form of Christianity. They requested the continuation of Spanish charity to local poor Christians, and also seriously questioned the tenets and observances of Dutch 'Christianity' which did not offer either the Mass or baptism.[155] In his letter to the High Government, President Overtwater reported that these 'converts', who had learned from Roman Catholic missionary books, expressed their confusion about the gulf between Dutch and the Spanish 'Christianity':

> The inhabitants, partly in earnest and partly in jest, have sometimes inquired if we Dutch people really be Christians, seeing that we make no show of Divine service, or try to bring them to the faith and baptize their children—which latter they have, in truth, often and earnestly asked us to do.[156]

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151 Ibid. 180-1.

152 John Leddy Phelan uses the term of 'medicinal baptism' in the Filipino case. *See* John Leddy Phelan, 'Pre-Baptismal Instruction and the Administration of Baptism in the Philippines during the Sixteenth Century', in J.S. Cummins (ed.) *Christianity and Missions*, *1450-1800* (Aldershot etc.: Ashgate, 1997), 139-59 at 153-4.

153 Álvarez, 'Chapter two', 320-1.

154 Borao, 'The Catholic Dominican Missionaries', 63.

155 In 1651, the elders of Kimaurij reported that the poor Christians had been provided for by the Spanish priests, and therefore the Company decided to follow this example and provide rice to the twenty poor inhabitants in the village. *Formosan Encounter*, III, 358, 365-6, 377.

156 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 230-1. About books from the Roman Catholic Church, in 1632, the Dominican Father Esquivel requested religious books and song books to be sent from Manila. *See Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 189.

Indeed, in 1655 the coming of the Reverend Marcus Masius was at the request of the locals.[157] In April of that year, the inhabitants asked for a priest to baptize their children. In May, a more desperate plea, also including baptizing the elderly, reached Tayouan because the Christian villages of Kimaurij and St Jago were suffering from famine.[158] Caught in a cleft stick between the different requirements for baptism demanded by the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Churches, the inhabitants were not given the quick baptism they wished.[159]

In 1657, Masius submitted a report to Commissioner Daniel Six, in which he revealed the detailed results of his evangelization.[160] Since 1654, the Dutch had established two schools for teaching local children; one in Tamsuy, and the other in Kimaurij. They also planned to establish a third school in Quelang to offer education to the offspring of Dutchmen, local Basayos, the children of Chinese-Basay and Dutch-Basay intermarriages, and slaves. More than sixty Basay children were taught in the school. Masius complained that they had to force the local parents to allow their children to attend school. Even when they could persuade them to do so, these parents tended to allow only one child to go to school. By 1661, another school was established at Tapparij, but it was later partly or completely demolished because of its dilapidated state.[161]

Masius eventually followed the approach of Dutchization in spreading the gospel. Children were taught in Dutch, even though Masius agreed that bilingual teaching would be a better vehicle for offering religious instruction to the inhabitants. In view of the difficult local language and the presence of various other tongues in the region, Masius decided not to learn a local language and concentrate himself on teaching Dutch instead. Although Esquivel had described Basay, used as a *lingua franca* in this region, as easy to learn and a necessity for communication as the inhabitants in different villages spoke their own tongues, the difficulty of learning the native language provided a strong argument for teaching Dutch in the school system.[162] The Spanish-speaking population

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157 By 1654, Schoolmaster Bastiaan Jansz. had been sent to Kimaurij and had run a school there. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 514.

158 *DZ* III-F: 611-12, 632-3.

159 This had to do with the fact that the Batavia Church Council in 1648 had decided to combine the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper: Heathens were no longer baptized right away, but had to be instructed in the Catechism first as to prepare them eventually to participate in the Lord's Supper. *See* Niemeijer, *Batavia*, 272.

160 The following discussion is based on the report which has been transcribed and translated into Chinese by Lin Chiong-hua, 'Shih ch'i shih chi chung yeh Ho-lan kai kê tzung chia hui tui pei pu T'ai-wan yüan chu min ti chia hua: i Marcus Masius mu shih ti Tan-shui yü Chi-lung chia wu pao kao shu wei chung hsin êrh shu' 十七世紀中葉荷蘭改革宗教會對北部臺灣原住民的教化:以 Marcus Masius 牧師的淡水與基隆教務報告書為中心而述 [The Mission of Dutch Reformed Church in North Formosa of 17th century: According to Marcus Masius (1655-1662) manuscript on Tamsuy and Quelang's representation], paper presented at the Conference of the Spanish in Taiwan, Taipei, 2003.

161 *DZ* IV-D: 492.

162 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, 181. Esquivel finished his *Vocabulario muy copioso de la lengua de los indios de Tanchui en la Isla Hermosa* (An Extensive Vocabulary of the Language of the Natives of Tamsui in Isla Hermosa). Quirós wrote a grammar book *Arte de la lengua de Formosa* (The Art of Language in Formosa) and a dictionary *Vocabulario en la misma lengua* (Vocabulary in the Native Tongue). These manuscripts were lost a long time ago. *See* Borao, 'The Catholic Dominican Missionaries', 61, 65, 73-4. These books bear witness to

gradually decreased, since the majority of this population had died of the pestilence; and the new generation could not understand Spanish. Therefore, Masius found it was an advantage to teach 'the basic Christian religion' in Dutch.

Masius' efforts seemingly failed to win over the former Formosan Catholics since Roman Catholic ritualism had been both more impressive and less onerous in its demands on them. In 1666 the Dominican, Father Victorio Riccio, visited Quelang twice and met many Basay Catholics who were said to continue to keep the Cross and icons of the Apostles. He heard their confessions and baptized their children. These Formosan Catholics were praised for their 'incredible stubbornness and firmness the faith in God and love for the Spaniards.'[163]

Pragmatic conversion

The Dutch authorities had given the top priority in the missionary work to the core area, including six villages, Soulang, Mattauw, Sincan (incorporated Tavocan in 1658), Bacaluan, Tirosen, and Dorcko.[164] By 1651, before his departure, the Reverend Daniel Gravius witnessed the progress in these villages:

> Old and young of both sexes are fairly instructed in the Prayers and Formularies of the Christian Religion: many young men also are laudably trained in the understanding of the same: while the children especially have made astonishing progress in the elements of religion, reading, writing, etc., and even (in some places) in acquiring a knowledge of the Dutch language.[165]

According to the inspection report of 1659, over 60 per cent of the total population in this region was familiar with the Christian doctrine. Meanwhile, this figure reached 76 and 83 per cent in Sincan and Bacaluan respectively.[166] Such a high rate was improved and maintained by implementing a new method of instruction which had allotted more time to educating the young and the elderly since 1648. Men and women were grouped separately to attend a two-hour instruction period on weekdays. Children had to attend this from morning until evening as set out in accordance with the Dutch custom.[167] To what extent did the Siraya absorb Christian doctrine through the school system quite apart from profiting from the training of practical skills in reading and writing? Keeping

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the same efforts the Spanish missionaries made in Tagalog. *See* Vicente L. Rafael, Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), 37-9.

163 *Spaniards in Taiwan*, II, 611-12, 625-6; John E. Wills, Jr. 'The Hazardous Missions of a Dominican: Victorio Riccio, O.P., in Amoy, Taiwan, and Manila', *Actes du IIe Colloque International de Sinologie*, *Chantilly, 1977* (Paris 1980), 231-57. Álvarez, 'Chapter two', 293-5.

164 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 295; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 110; Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 81.

165 The account was written in May 1661. *See* Campbell, *The Gospel of St. Matthew*, pp. XII-XIII.

166 The 61 per cent was computed from this report, *see* Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 131. The other two were from Nakamura's calculation.

167 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 239-40, 242.

pace with the propagation of the Christian faith, the local challenges never stopped. It seemed that the most salient part of the Sirayan ideology remained untouched by the missionary efforts. Therefore it is essential to examine this and its implication and ramifications in greater detail.

Purification

In Protestantism, 'purification' in terms of morality was another way to denote 'civilization' to pave the way for the installation of 'sacred Christianity'. In his elucidation to the project of sending Sincandian youths to Holland, Junius had emphasized the necessity of removing these youths from the 'contamination' of the 'wiles of Satan', among which he included uncivilized people, especially 'loose women'.[168] Consequently, Junius' localizing Christianity acted as the first axe to make an effort to chop down the Sirayan jungle of 'the sins of the flesh' such as fornication, adultery, debauchery, and even incest.

In Junius' eyes, Sirayan festivals promoted the proliferation of sexual sins. The Sincandian conspiracy of 1635, which planned to murder the ministers, their children and soldiers, and had involved half the villagers, proved to be a 'violent protest' against the Dutch prohibition of the festival of *Limgout* in March 1636. As the alleged ringleaders, the priests were taken into custody. The basic purpose of *Limgout* was to provide an occasion on which men looked for their spouses. Earlier in 1629, the Sirayan men had been appalled by the approval of the High Government in Batavia of marriage between Dutchmen and Sirayan women. Their anxiety about seeking and acquiring a spouse may have spawned the conspiracy which had been connived by young bachelors.[169] In 1636, Governor Putmans claimed that the victory over Mattauw had led the Sincandians to abandon their 'heathen festivals'.

Fluid Sirayan gender relationships had been challenged by the Christian ideal of faithful conjugal life. Nevertheless, according to Everts' research on marriage cases in Sincan by 1636, the Siraya tended to 'bend and filter Christian values in order to fit them into the reality of their original cultural code' in their struggle with the old and new teachings.[170] Three years later, changes were finally revealed in Commissioner Nicolaes Couckebacker's report: The Sincandians not only followed Christian rites, but had also adopted conjugal co-residence and stopped abortion. All of these rapid changes surprised Junius, just as much as seeing couples acting in contradiction to what they had practised formerly during Candidius' time.[171] In 1642, Junius compiled the Larger

[168] Ibid. 144-5. This anxiety was represented again in the Tayouan edition of the seminary project by the orthodox Consistory, concerned to separate students from their parents and settle them in Mattauw where the surrounding rivers would prevent these students fleeing away from the seminary (Ibid. 306); Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 101.

[169] *Formosan Encounter*, I, 143, 281-7, 291; *Formosan Encounter*, II, 39.

[170] Everts, 'Indigenous Concepts of Marriage', 13.

[171] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 182-3, 186. This is despite the fact that Junius was later criticized because

Catechism to teach native schoolmasters. One of the questions stressed the sacredness of the marriage bond and the punishment of the sin of adultery:

> 38. *Has God now commanded us, their posterity, to follow the same example*?
> Yes, He has; for God says, 'Ye men, if your hearts be inclined to love a woman, I command you to be united in the bonds of marriage in the church of your community. Likewise, any woman who loves a man must be married by joining hands with him in the house of God; for My wrath shall be against those who reject My words and My institutions. I will punish all adulterers and whoremongers; and all who do not follow this My ceremony, I will cast them into hell.'[172]

The local schoolmasters played a role in guarding the maintenance of such sacred bonds. In 1647, more than sixty villagers of Tevorang fled to the mountains because they had threatened Schoolmaster Thomas Putval with pestles and choppers. The Dutch authorities sent over twenty-five soldiers to investigate the incident which was later known to have been caused by Putval's violence against a villager whose sister-in-law wanted to divorce her husband.[173]

Different attitudes towards the Dutch teachings exposed the generation gap. The 'obstinacy' of the elderly provided a contrast to the acceptance of Christianity by the younger people. In 1642, the Tayouan authorities were still aware of the persistence of superstition among the elderly. A pair of tropes, weeds versus lilies, was used in the report to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber:

> We still find many weeds growing there [in Formosa]. For, according to the nature of the first Adam, the older generation still secretly practise their former idolatry, and in their blind zeal endeavour to stir up the others. On the other hand, the conversion of the young people is progressing gloriously. … We do not doubt but that when the noxious weed of evil example from the old people has withered and fallen off, those young lilies will flower luxuriously, and be watered by the refreshing dew of God's blessing.[174]

Waiting for the natural fading away of the elderly needed patience, especially since in 1648 most of the native headmen, with the exception of those from Sincan, were still not Christians. The Tayouan authorities requested many aged men and women who had lived together as husbands and wives to undergo Christian matrimonial rites; otherwise, they would not be allowed to live together any longer.[175]

The most dangerous among the elderly were certainly priests and priestesses. After the arrest of some priests said to be involved in the *Limgout* conspiracy, the *inibs* in particular represented paganism. The Dutch ministers had no compunction about declaring a 'gender war' on these women who controlled the traditional 'rites of passage'.[176] In the summer of 1636, the seemingly inviolable status of the *inibs* began to

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marriage was solemnized without conforming to the usual practice of proclaiming the banns (Ibid. 240).

172 Ibid. 240, 348; Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 92.

173 *DZ* II-J: 592-3.

174 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 190.

175 Ibid. 200-2. Their marriage rites could be recognized in th presence of the judicial functionary.

176 Leonard Blussé, ' De Formosaanse Proeftuyn der Gereformeerde Zending' [The Formosan

change. The bumper harvest of rice convinced the inhabitants to accept Junius' instruction. Junius understood that this was exactly the test to which the Sincandians had subjected Candidius:

> Many old persons in Sinkan, especially among the former priestesses, ventured to prophesy to the people at the time of their conversion that, if they neglected their idols and began to serve the God of the Dutchmen, their fields would no longer yield them their crops of rice. Not only, however, have they seen that the contrary has happened, but that the crops have been even much more abundant than before their conversion. This fact has seriously interfered with the native forms of worship, so much that the people themselves now laugh at their priestesses, whose words were formerly received as oracles.[177]

The charge made against these old women was that of serving their idols as a pretext for extorting the inhabitants' possessions, and hence they were marginalized even more. In 1640, Junius reported to Governor-General Van Diemen that the *inibs* were not allowed to enter any house except their own, and were thereby prevented from practising idolatry.[178]

In the winter of 1641, severe misfortune befell these old women. A veritable persecution of the *inibs* was launched. The Dutch authorities lost their patience and were no longer prepared to wait for the *inibs*' natural demise. They decided to 'uproot' them from the 'vineyard' of Christianity. They were sent to Tirosen under the supervision of a local elder Gravil. The banishment of the *inibs* from Mattauw, Soulang, Bacaluan, Tavocan, and Sincan was speedily carried out within four days. In fact, a great number of them were from principal families and had been baptized by Junius in the hope that they could persuade others to convert. The authorities promised to send them home as soon as they abandoned their 'malpractices'.[179] Nevertheless, a yet more severe order came from Van Diemen in June 1642. The *inibs* already banished were considered '*old witches*,' and they were still said to exert their pagan influence on the people of Tirosen. Therefore, they had to be transported to Batavia. This time even Junius stood up to object to this decision, but the response from Van Diemen was '*quite absurd*'. He assumed that 'Junius flattered these old crones far too much'. The order of banishment to Batavia was partly carried out.[180]

In 1643, the inhabitants of Tirosen abandoned idolatry, and the *inibs* there could still be introduced to Christianity. In 1646, Governor Caron still insisted on banishing the *inibs*, 'this pernicious breed of vermin' from Tevorang and other villages with Dutch residents.[181] In the following years, some elders of Tirosen, among them Gravil, came to

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experimental garden of the Reformed mission], in G. J. Schutte (ed.), *Het Indische Sion: De Gereformeerde Kerk onder de verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2003), 189-200 at 193.

177 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 140.

178 Ibid. 183, 186.

179 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 276; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 288; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 451-2; *DZ* II-E: 285, *DZ* II-K: 441. This persecution did not include priestesses in the Favorolangh District, whom the locals called '*ma-arien*'. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 430; 'Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect', 143.

180 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 298, 369-70; Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 50.

181 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 219-20; Leonard Blussé, 'The Eclipse of the *Inibs*: The Dutch Protestant Mission in 17th Century Taiwan and Its Persecution of Native Priestesses', in Yeh, Chuen-rong (ed.), *Li shih*

Tayouan saying that they refused to accommodate the *inibs* in their village.[182] In 1651, Hambroeck moved the exiles from Tirosen to Dorcko. However, in the following year, the High Government sent a message contravening this banishment to Dorcko, another Christianized village. It ordered the expulsion of the *inibs* from any Christian area and their exile to, for example, Lamey Island instead. This time, the Tayouan authorities considered that the *inibs* would no longer pose any threat to the inhabitants. After the *inibs* had made their plea for mercy, beseeching to be allowed to live among their friends and relatives in their twilight years, the Tayouan political and religious authorities colluded to disobey the order. According to the calculation made by the Council of Formosa, among the total of 250 banished *inibs*, 202 had already died of old age or destitution, and only forty-eight still survived after more than one decade of banishment. The Tayouan authorities decided to send them back to Mattauw, Soulang, Sincan, Bacaluan, and Tavocan from Dorcko under the supervision of the clergymen. In order not to offend the High Government, they offered a persuasive measure: 'In case you do not approve of the action we have taken, they can be expelled from the villages within 24 hours.' Their persistence in this decision was confirmed to the Batavia authorities in 1654.[183]

Tie with the spirit world

During the period from the late 1630s to the mid 1650s, the terms of '*cangan*-Christians' or 'rice-Christians' constantly recurred to describe the Sirayan converts.[184] The Sirayan conversion has posed questions not only to contemporary observers but also to its modern researchers. Shepherd argues that the missionaries offered the Siraya not new values but new routes for the achievement of traditional values. Cheng follows the same trajectory and stresses that the Siraya accepted Christianity adapting it to their animism.[185]

The translation of the Christian doctrine into the vernacular had to bridge a formidable conceptual gap. Hampered by a word-for-word but not an intellectual translation, many theological notions retained their original form. The Formosan converts listening to the minister talking, just as Rafael describes in the Tagalog case, was bombarded with untranslatable words—signs of God.[186] To what extent the converts

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wên hua yü tsu ch'ün T'ai-wan yüan chu min kuo chi yen t'ao hui lun wên chi (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2006), 71-88.

182 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 193; *DZ* II-K: 441. The reason was not clear, however, Tirosen still had kept its own priestesses living among the villagers five years later in 1652. *See Formosan Encounter*, III, 430.

183 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 288-9, 292; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 429-30, 435, 451-2, 466-7, 477; Blussé, 'The Eclipse of the Inibs', 9.

184 The term '*cangan*-Christian' was mentioned by Traudenius before his tenure as Governor in 1638, *see* Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 117. As for 'rice-Christians', this was used by Governor Verburch, *see* Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 163.

185 Shephard, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 66; Cheng Wei-chung, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui*, 324-5.

186 Rafael, 'Confession, Conversion, and Reciprocity', 324, 327. In the Formosan case, at least three approaches to a vernacular translation can be perceived. Some secular terms were used to express ecclesiastical meanings, for example, *gmoulong* for both 'baptize' and 'to water'. Some Formosan concepts

comprehended these codes of Christianity is questionable. But, incontrovertibly, the Siraya found parallels between their practices and those of Christianity; as a result, in their own thinking at least, conversion still allowed them to retain some of their original features. Baptism was a case in point. Since water had traditionally been prepared at funerals for the soul to bath in, the Siraya may have comprehended the symbolic function of water to purify the souls in the ritual of baptism.[187] Vocal expression through the medium of prayer serves as another example. Actually prayers and teaching in schools provide more evidence of confusion. In the schools, the Sirayan students were requested to repeat and memorize what they were taught, including prayers, only to be criticized by later examiners for acting like magpies or parrots. Despite these disparaging remarks about rote learning, this method was applied in the school system for the entire period of Dutch Formosa.[188] Candidius had praised the Siraya for their excellent memory and their eloquence in speech when he attended the meetings of the *Tackakusach* Council.[189] Heylen points out that the Formosans were skilled wordsmiths since, as most other non-literate indigenes, they transmitted their culture and experience through listening, memorizing, and singing.[190] The inspection report in 1638 shows that Sirayan students were daily instructed in morning and evening prayers. In 1639, the Sirayan converts were described by Governor Van der Burch in his inspection tour with Commissioner Couckebacker as follows:

> Some of them can repeat fluently the morning and evening prayers, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and the articles of faith; making confession of their belief in such a way as would put many a Christian to shame….Many of them are so versed in prayer that they could pray aloud extemporarily on whatever subject was proposed. When they go out hunting, they first kneel down, and one of the most intelligent among them prays aloud to God to give them success in their hunting expedition; and they are already so sincere in their faith as to feel convinced that, without such prayer, they will not be successful. In the same way they also pray for a plentiful crop, kneeling down in their fields, with much fervour.[191]

The Siraya were obsessed with praying.[192] In both their private and communal devotion, even the common Siraya who were not religious specialists had been eloquent in the

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were retained to indicate their corresponding ecclesiastical meaning. For example, such Formosan words for the devil as *Litto* in Siraya and *Haibos* in Favorlangh. Some religious terms had two forms, including one localized form which may have been from the original local terms or possibly created according to Formosan morphology to make it easier for people to understand. Several examples can be found in Siraya: God (*Deus* and *Alid*), angel (*anglos* and *Tama-Gnau*), the Lord (*Jehova* and *Meirang*), and 'the Holy Spirit' (*Spiritus* and *Joep-pan*). The localized form tended to be preferred in the translation of the gospel by Gravius. *See* 'Utrecht Mss.'; Campbell, *The Gospel of St. Matthew*.

187 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 344 and Section One of this chapter.

188 Ibid. 241, 293. Even though Junius' introduction of this method was also criticized by the Tayouan Consistory with the remarks: 'The instruction given was not fitted to enrich the mind, but merely to burden the memory,' the method was not changed. The High Government in Batavia was urged to send a printing press, since books would help students remember the instructions (Ibid. 240-1, 259).

189 Ibid. 89; *Formosan Encounter*, I, 121. *See* also Chapter Seven.

190 Heylen, 'Ho-lan t'ung chih chih hsia te T'ai-Wan chiao hui yü yen hsüeh', 88.

191 *DZ* I-K: 460; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 179, 182.

192 With the exception of several Sirayan prayers in Wright's account, hardly any records still exists. For a description of Austronesian prayer, see Peter Metcalf's research on Berawan prayer: *Where Are Your Spiris: Style and Theme in Berawan Prayer* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989).

ritual speech associated with offerings to their deities in the past. Since iconoclastic Calvinism dismissed such material objects as ritual offerings and idolatry, distinguishing these from 'true' religion, Junius taught in his First Shorter Catechism they should be replaced with 'the homage of our tongues, of our mouths, and of our thoughts, and that in all sincerity'.[193] With the removal of material vehicles, praying consequently became the approved mediation between the visible human world and the invisible divine world. The 'pious' Sirayan prayers appeared to run their usual course, interceding for blessings to be bestowed on them from the realm of the spirits.

Perhaps the putative gap was not as unbridgeable as it may appear at first sight. The Siraya perceived the ritual meaning of prayers and their effectiveness from Junius' intentional prayers asking they be granted victory in war.[194] To the Siraya, the actions of the Sirayan religious specialists and the Dutch minister of religion praying for victory did not display any striking differences to the ritual they had performed before headhunting raids. The Sirayan first impression of *Deus* in warfare would also have shown a correspondence to the Sirayan deities of war, *Tapaliat* and *Tatawoeli*. Either the Siraya continued to view the Dutch God as a deity of war or they may have found it easier to serve one god combining all functions than to maintain a pantheon of divine beings for a wide variety of domains, nevertheless, the precarious victory of Christianity had to confront a series of natural disasters which displayed the pragmatic characteristics of the Sirayan coversion.

In 1651, the worst nightmare of the Siraya, a severe drought, caused famine in Sincan and Tavocan, forcing households to move farther to the south.[195] From 1654, locust plagues and epidemic diseases, storms, and earthquakes befell Formosa. When the locust plague hit Formosa in 1654, the Dutch authorities considered it a sign of the wrath of God, so they lost no time in ordering a prayer ceremony (*Bededag*) at every local residence. More practically, the Siraya requested to be dismissed from school to catch the locusts in order to slow down the inexorable approach of the imminent famine which later struck the core area.[196] In August, Mattauw was severely damaged by a storm, and its inhabitants suffered from an epidemic illness.[197] In the summer of 1655, nearly 34 per cent of the population of Soulang was sick. The Dutch authorities had to cancel the Northern *Landdag* because of an outbreak of smallpox on the south-west plain in 1657.[198] By 1656,

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193 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 337, the question 25; Pels and Salemink, 'Introduction', in id. (eds.), *Colonial Subjects*, 10. About the history of Iconoclastic Fury (Beeldenstorm) in the Low Countries, *see* Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 147-54. In the seventeenth century, Calvinist missionaries in Formosa still equated sincerity with praying. But in the twentieth century, the Calvinists in Sumba were aware that utterance and words have also materiality and can be viewed as the fetishised objects. *See* Webb Keane, 'Calvin in the Tropics: Objects and Subjects at the Religious Frontier', in Patricia Spyer (ed.), *Border Fetishisms*: *Material Objects in Unstable Spaces* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), 13-34 at 23-8.

194 The war against Taccareyang in 1635 proved Junius' deliberation. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 123.

195 *DZ* III-C: 725.

196 *DZ* III-E: 412-14, 433, 447, 490; *GM*, 26 Jan. 1655, 411-12. The Tayouan authorities immediately repeated their ban on the export of rice put in place in 1653. *See DZ* III-E: 414, 512.

197 *DZ* III-E: 486-7. About the disease, *see DZ* III-E: 486-7.

198 About the case of Soulang, according to the census of 1655, nearly 500 inhabitants were said to be sick out of the total population of 1,485. *See DZ* III-F: 649; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 11. The cancellation of the *Landdag* in 1657, *see GM*, 6 Jan. 1658 (Dutch edition), p. 444.

several earthquakes had hit Tayouan and the nearby areas, accompanied by heavy storms which caused floods. One Sincandian was said to have been killed by a thunderbolt.[199]

Pertinently, Sirayan pragmatism asserted itself after *Deus* had failed to stop these disasters. The Siraya recalled the results of their neglect in serving the deities of *Tamagisangang* and *Takakraenpada*: war laid desolate their villages, or sickness and famine oppressed the people. An overwhelming sense of shame and indebtedness for having forsworn the first pair of deities revived the old worship and practice. The Siraya now turned especially to *Tamagisangang*, the Sirayan Almighty, who still occupied the western part of Heaven which, as Lee's postulation of 'hierarchical contrast' describes, held a higher rank than the centre of the village where the church dedicated to the Dutch God stood.[200]

By 1655, the rekindled flame of old practices swept through the Sirayan land. Nakedness was once more the fashion and funeral rites were performed again in some villages. Betrothed senior pupils started to request their right to marriage before finishing their education in school. Moreover, such sexual misbehaviour as incestuous offences was reported to Tayouan from the frontiers. To stop further contamination in the core area, the 'sinners' were sent to Tayouan and put in chains as an exemplary punishment.[201] In March 1658, the Tayouan authorities were forced to issue a proclamation warning those who were guilty of incest should be severely whipped in public and have to wear chains for six years.[202] However, a direct connection with the spirit world now threatened the religious and political authorities even more. They found themselves combatting Formosan idolatry again. A new wave of persecution started, including the severe punishment of public whipping and banishment announced on the same proclamation, which was translated into the various local languages affixed to churches and schools, and which would be read aloud in public once a month.[203]

The revival of former pagan practices included headhunting. In the eyes of the Dutch, as Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker said, the general peace of the *Pax Neerlandica* benefited the Formosans:

> Let us hope that they [the Formosans] will increasingly recognise the fairness of the rule of the Company and will understand how fortunate they are nowadays and what peace and prosperity they are now enjoying compared to the past, when each village was divided from and at war against their neighbours and they were constantly bringing ruin upon each other. This should be made perfectly clear to them and also that in case they sometimes, to our regret and against our will, suffer some injustice at our hands, which will happen once in a while in spite of strict orders given against it, this will bear no comparison with the massacres, violence and robbery

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[199] For the details of earthquakes, *see DZ* III-F: 501, 575, 627, 635, 744. The earthquake in mid-December was said to have continued for seven weeks. *See Formosa under the Dutch*, 7. About the thunder bolt accident, *see DZ* III-F: 637. For storms and floods, *see GM*, 31 Jan. 1657, 459-60.

[200] Lee, *Ethnic Groups, History and Ritual*, 202-3.

[201] *Formosan Encounter*, III, 537; *DZ* III-F: 570; *Formosan Encounter*, III, 278, 315, 326-7, 330; *DZ* III-F: 722-3. The pupils were not allowed to get married without the permission of the minister, and the latter still needed the approval of the local *politiek*. If the pupils did not obey this rule, they would be punished (*Formosan Encounter*, III, 536-7).

[202] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 316.

[203] Ibid.

> that were previously rife among them and that must still be fresh in their minds.[204]

However, not all the Formosans may have shared the same view, with some reason.[205] To their Formosan opponents, the Dutch certainly introduced a pattern of 'total war' and brought even more killing and destruction. On the other hand, for the Formosan allies of the Dutch, indigenous agitation against the prohibition of headhunting was relieved by participation in Company organized or authorized expeditions. These 'converted' warriors harvested even more heads in such formal military expeditions which may not have seemed unlike genuine headhunting raids. Apparently aware of this paradox, the Dutch made efforts to stop the keeping of such war trophies as the skulls and the bones besides religious reasons. At the end of 1641, Junius reported that the Sincandians had buried all the trophies they had seized in the past. Soulang was said to have followed suit.[206] Even though this symbol of the past vanished in the Christian village setting, it was not difficult for the Siraya to revive their ritual of a headhunting victory.

By April 1660, after prosecution had already been carried out for two years, the Gentlemen Seventeen were informed about the proclamation against idolatry in Formosa. They demurred at it by saying that:

> We are quite averse to their [measures] being employed; it being our conviction that, if they are used, the people will show more and more aversion to our rule, and will be led at last to adopt desperate measures. … We cannot refrain, therefore, from declaring that these measures sorely displease us, inasmuch as they may be considered harsh and cruel, though the object be to Christianize the natives; they are also contrary to the spirit and character of the Dutch nation.[207]

The Gentlemen Seventeen gave orders stating that even though the measures might not be publicly withdrawn, they were not to be put into execution. Moreover, they insisted on relieving the Formosans from 'too stringent rules about school attendance', namely paying a fine or even flagellation as we have seen.[208] But such orders nudging in the direction of a change towards a moderate policy could not be carried out to prevent the Formosans from 'adopting desperate measures' against the Dutch rule, as the Gentlemen Seventeen had predicted.[209] After their return from a punitive expedition to Durckeduck, a village located in the Toutsikadang Gorge, the Mattauwers held their former

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204 *Formosan Encounter*, III, 463-4. The letter from Governor-General Maetsuyker to Governor Verburch and the Formosa Council on 26 May 1653.

205 Cheng Wei-chung, 'Lüeh lun Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan fa chih shih yü shê chih hsü', 18.

206 *Formosan Encounter*, II, 276.

207 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 317-18.

208 Ibid. 325.

209 On 21 June 1661, the Governor-General and Councillors of the Indies in Batavia wrote the letter containing the instruction of the Company Directors to the Governor and Council of Formosa. Hermanus Klencke, who was appointed the new Governor of Formosa on the same day, may have brought this letter with him on his journey to Tayouan. He anchored off Tayouan on 30 July 1661 and delivered the documents from Batavia to Governor Frederik Coyett by a sampan. It is immaterial if the letter reached Governor Coyett or not, the Chinese conquest had already irrevocably changed the situation on Formosa. *Formosa under the Dutch*, 324-5; Appendix 1; *DZ* IV-D: 715-16; *GM*, 29 July 1661, 536-8; 22 Dec. 1661, 539-40. *See* the following discussion and the next chapter.

'heathenish' headhunting celebration.[210] This time, when the servant of *Deus*, Hambroeck, admonished these Christians for their pagan lapses, the Mattauwers insolently contradicted him in a disrespectful fashion.[211] This act of defiance reveals the fact that the Siraya at this point dared to turn their backs on the Dutch God, as later they would also seize the chance to desert their Dutch overlords when the right opportunity presented itself.

[210] *DZ* IV-A: 209; *DZ* IV-D: 512-13; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 321-2. The warriors of Mattauw, Bacaluan, and Sincan took part in this expedition. For the details of this event, see *DB*, Dec. 1661 (Chinese edition, III, 275). The location of Durckeduck (Duckeduck, Dunckeduck) can be found on the map of 'De Kust van China en de Straat Formosa' in Johannes and Gerard van Keulen, *Die Nieuwe Groote ligtende Zee-Fakkel Amsterdam 1716-1753* (Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm LTD., 1970), 70. However, it does not tally with the description in the *Dagregister*.

[211] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 321-2.

Part Four

Transition and Retrospection

CHAPTER TEN

THE FORMOSANS IN THE COLONIAL 'CIVILIZING PROCESS'

The Formosans in the Chinese Conquest

On Saturday 30 April 1661, when several hundred war vessels with about 25,000 soldiers on board appeared at sea off the Formosan coast at daybreak, the persistent rumour of an attack on Formosa by the Chinese warlord Cheng Ch'eng-kung, known as Koxinga, turned out to be an unbearable reality for the Dutch.[1]

As early as the end of 1646, the Batavian headquarters had been forewarned by the head of the factory in Nagasaki in Japan that Koxinga intended to take Formosa.[2] In 1651, the Dutch authorities in Tayouan discovered that since the time of his father, Iquan, the Cheng family had been imposing an annual tax on Chinese fishermen in Wancan, threatening to harm their families in China if they failed to pay. In the eyes of the Dutch authorities, such a 'custom' was not only extortion perpetrated on their Chinese residents, it was also a serious offence against the Company sovereignty over the island.[3] The following year, the Dutch authorities presumed that Cheng's influence in Formosa had encouraged the Chinese Revolt, although there was no direct evidence.[4] Claiming his right to his father's legacy, a decade later, Koxinga carried out his open secret desire to attack Formosa in conjunction with waging a more intensified war against the Manchu Tartars in China. After Fort Provintia was the first stronghold to fall on 4 May 1661, Koxinga began to occupy mainland Formosa. Not until 24 June did the High Government in Batavia receive the news of the conquest, but all the efforts it set in motion to struggle against the harsh reality were in vain. The Dutch Governor, Frederik Coyett, was forced to surrender Zeelandia Castle on 9 February 1662, after a nine-month siege.[5]

How did the Formosans perceive this decisive event and their position in the power transition during these nine months? Much to the regret of the High Government, the

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1 *DZ* IV-D: 513-18; *Neglected Formosa*, 44.

2 *Neglected Formosa*, 16.

3 *DZ* III-C: 682-4, 687-8; 690-1.

4 *Neglected Formosa*, 16; Huber, 'Chinese Settlers', 288.

5 *Mei shih jih chi* 梅氏日記 [Journal of Philip Meij], tr. Chiang Shu-sheng, *Echo Magazine*, 132 (2003), 31, 40-1; *GM*, 29 July 1661, 536; 22 Dec. 1661, 539-40; 30 Jan. 1662, 547; 22 Apr. 1662, 554-5. For the details of the siege, *see Mei shih jih chi*; *Neglected Formosa*; Lin Wei-sheng, 'Tui chih: jê lan chê ch'êng liang pai ch'i shih wu jih' 對峙：熱蘭遮圍城兩百七十五日 [Confrontation and Opposition: The siege of Fort Zeelandia'], in Shih Shou-chien (ed.), *Fu êrh mo sha: shih ch'i shih chi te T'ai-Wan, Ho-lan yü tung ya* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2003), 75-104.

Tayouan authorities failed to organize a Formosan force to crush Cheng's landing troops as they had done earlier in the suppression of the Chinese Revolt.[6] The loss of Formosan support was later blamed on the postponement of the *Landdag*, for which the reason given was that the Formosans would be thrown into a state of disorder if their elders were not in the villages when an attack occurred.[7] However, as we have seen, discontent among the inhabitants in the core area, the Siraya, with the Dutch authorities had been accumulating after the imposition of severe punishments for the revival of old practices. While the besieged Governor of Fort Provintia, *Landdrost* Jacobus Valentijn, expected the local *politieken* would bring a strong Formosan force to fight the enemy, sixteen elders from Sincan, Soulang, Mattauw, Dorcko, and Bacaluan, dressed in the complete costume of a Chinese mandarin, namely a silk, embroidered robe, plus hat and sash, had met Koxinga on the day before their withdrawal from the fort.[8] After occupying Fort Provintia, Koxinga sent a letter to the Formosans in the name of Valentijn, stating that if the Formosans would submit to the authority of the invading Chief, he would grant them the same terms as he had given to the surrendered Dutch garrison in the fort. Nevertheless, Koxinga's offer did not strike a completely amicale note in the Formosans' ears. Under threat of severe punishment, Formosan Christians who bore Dutch (Christian) names were required to change their names.[9] Moreover, the elders of Sincan, whose villagers were once the 'beloved children' of the Dutch, became the executioners who beheaded the Dutchmen by order of the Chinese mandarin.[10]

On the frontiers, the situation was more complicated. After confirming that Koxinga had also sent two large junks with forces on board to the southern shore on 1 May, *Politiek* of the south, Hendrick Noorden, accompanied by more than thirty Dutch people and some Chinese tenants who were taken along as hostages sought refuge in Pimaba in the east. Thanks to the help of their Formosan wives, kinsmen and enough *cangans* to reward all kinds of Formosan services to their envoys, Noorden, Interpreter Willem Paulus, and a total of sixty Dutchmen, including those who resided in Pimaba, finally succeeded in escaping from the chaos on the island on a relief yacht anchored off Lamey Island, which took them to Batavia in early 1662.[11] On their perilous journey, Noorden and his party did not reveal the truth about their flight, despite the fact that they took an unusual overland route which made the local leaders suspicious. After adopting a wait-and-see attitude for a long time, on 17 May 1661 some villages on the plains and in the mountains surrendered to Koxinga. Sets of clothes, plus a pair of Chinese boots were bestowed on the elders. Being freed of having to attend school, the Southern Plains

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6 *GM*, 30 Jan. 1662, 546.
7 *Neglected Formosa*, 39-40.
8 *Mei shih jih chi*, 27, 39-41.
9 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 321, 323.
10 Ibid. 324. These Dutchmen were the crewmembers of a vessel the *Urk,* which was shipwrecked in August 1661.
11 For details of Noorden's journey, *see* Natalie Everts and Wouter Milde, 'We Thanked God for Submitting Us to Such Sore but Tolerable Trials: Hendrick Noorden and His Long Road to Freedom', in Leonard Blussé (ed.), *Around and About Formosa: Essays in Honour of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), 243-72.

Formosans were jubilant as they destroyed their textbooks on Christian edification and went out headhunting Dutch residents when the news of the conquest reached the region.[12] By the end of May, the whole southern mountain region was also said to be under Chinese control. The elders had been to Saccam to receive their gifts and had brought back an order offering rewards in exchange for Dutch heads: seven *cangans* for one head. When the order reached Pimaba, the price for Noorden's head rose to ten *cangans* and seven iron pans. In Pimaba, the pro-Dutch party could only insist that their ancestors had made peace with the Dutch in order to suppress a growing inclination among their people towards the Chinese.[13]

In June 1661, Koxinga launched his policy of military colonization in order to sustain his armies. Without interfering with already cultivated fields, he dispatched his officers and soldiers to reclaim new land and build new towns in the north around Dockedockol and at Lonckjouw near the southern tip of the island. The Formosans living outside the south-west plain now witnessed Cheng's army at work. These soldiers diligently cultivated farmlands, including those located along the road to the Tackays District.[14] In July, Cheng's troops encountered local resistance in Lonckjouw. More than 800 Chinese soldiers were killed, but the local chief was also killed and the village was destroyed. Forewarned the mountaineers in the south decided to defend their villages against the Chinese invasion. By November 1661, most of the Plains Formosans considered it impossible for the Company to regain power from the Chinese hands, and persuaded their mountain friends to surrender.[15]

In the north, the inhabitants living in the domain of former Quataongh still nevertheless ambushed Cheng's troops and killed nearly 1,500 soldiers.[16] In the regions of Tamsuy and Quelang, the Basayos seized the chance to burn the Chinese quarters after failing to set fire to the Company storage places and houses. They were said to have fled to Cavalangh and Taraboan in an attempt to incite resistance on a larger scale to the Dutch.[17] This can be verified since Dutch residents in Taraboan were later murdered by the local inhabitants who had been forced to accept the residence of these Dutchmen in their village.[18] In the second half of 1661, the Dutch had sought to retreat from northern Formosa, yet they managed to re-occupy Quelang between 1664 and 1668. They exported small quantities of gold valued at about 3,000 guilders obtained by the usual method of trading iron for gold with the neighbouring Basayos, after peace had been restored.[19] The gold-mines were later leased to Chinese traders by the Chengs

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12 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 318.

13 Everts and Milde, 'We Thanked God', 254, 257-8.

14 *Mei shih jih chi*, 50-2; Shepherd, '*Statecraft and Political Economy*', 93.

15 Everts and Milde, 'We Thanked God', 258-65.

16 *Mei shih jih chi*, 54; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 92.

17 *DB*, Dec. 1661 (Chinese edition, III, 262-3).

18 *GM*, 30 Jan. 1662, 546; Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 242.

19 *GM*, 22 Dec. 1661, 542; 30 Jan. 1662, 549; 22 Apr. 1662, 556; John E. Wills Jr., 'The Dutch Reoccupation of Chi-lung, 1664-1668', in Leonard Blussé (ed.), *Around and About Formosa: Essays in Honour of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), 273-290 at 277, 288.

following the tax farm policy inherited from the Dutch.[20]

In 1683, the Cheng regime was ended by the Manchu Ch'ing Empire. Shih Lang, a Ch'ing admiral, at once investigated the Company's intention to re-occupy Formosa through the mediation of a Dutch captive in Tayouan, Assistant Alexander van 's-Gravenbroeck. In 1686, the Company finally reached the conclusion that there would be no more occupation of Formosa, except for establishing a small trading base there. The exception was never realized.[21] This epilogue opened up a new era in Taiwanese history—irretrievable and irrevocable Chinese dominance in Formosa.

'*Formosan nostalgia*'?

Discussing the achievement of the Dutch Reformed Church in the domain of the VOC, C. R. Boxer indicates that only in Ambon did the success last longer than the Company.[22] However, despite only less than four decades of occupation of Formosa, the Dutch mission efforts in Formosa did not vanish after the Company's departure. Since the Formosans were already accustomed to the Chinese presence, the Chinese conquest may have meant the defeat and expulsion of the Dutch rather than the overwhelming influx of the victorious Chinese. And indeed the image and memory of the Dutch colonial past was about to be produced and reproduced among the Formosans in the new Chinese colonial context.

Formosa became a part of the Chinese sphere after 1662. At the foot of the former Zeelandia Castle, a Chinese new fort, Anping, was constructed in Tainan, the capital of the island, Taiwanfoo.[23] The Formosans were incorporated into the broad category of barbarians (*fan* '番'), consisting of all the Indigenous Peoples within the Empire distinguished in contrast to Han Chinese citizens (*min* '民'). The lowland Formosans, including the Siraya, were called '*Pepohoan* (平埔番)', literally 'plains barbarians', and were categorized according to a cultural-political classification of 'cooked barbarians (*shu fan* '熟番')' or 'civilized' Indigenes, whereas their mountain counterparts were named 'raw barbarians (*sheng fan* '生番')'.[24] In this scheme which transposed ethnic barriers in terms of cultural barriers, the Han Chinese demonstrated their superior status in the island. During the entire eighteenth century, Plains Formosans totally transformed their means

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[20] Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, II, 90; Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 115.

[21] Ibid. 87, 89, 91.

[22] Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 161.

[23] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 506.

[24] Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 109. This scheme also included the 'transformed barbarians' (*hua fan* '化番') to which the inhabitants in Cavalangh once belonged. *See* Chan Su-chuan and Chang Su-fan 張素玢, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih: P'ing-p'u chu shih p'ien (pei)* 臺灣原住民史:平埔族史篇(北) [The History of Formosan Aborigines: Pepo Tribes (the north)] (Nantou: The Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province, 2001), 2-3, 32. For a discussion of this scheme in the framework of Chinese culturalism and ethnic politices, *see* Ka Chih-ming 柯志明, *Fan t'ou chia: Ch'ing tai T'ai-Wan tsu ch'ün chêng chih yü shu fan ti ch'üan* 番頭家：清代臺灣族群政治與熟番地權 [The Aborigine Landlord: Ethnic Politics and Aborigine Land Rights in Qing Taiwan] (Taipei: Institute of Sociology, 2001), 35-61.

of livelihood from deer-hunting to ox-herding and cart-driving—a slow but continuous change in their colonial civilizing process under the legitimate order of the Confucian doctrine.[25]

Before his departure for Siam after being released, Van 's-Gravenbroeck had noticed that the Siraya had changed their mind and expected the return of the Company in order to rid themselves of the yoke which the Chinese had laid on them as he interpreted.[26] The Siraya indeed continued to follow the Dutch style of personal fashion and house decorations, apparently at a material, visible level.[27] However, more had survived than met the eye. In 1714, French Jesuit priests led by Father De Mailla were dispatched by the Manchu Emperor to map the peripheral island. Before their arrival, they had been informed that there were Christians in Taiwan. They did find several traces of Christianity among the Indigenes in Taiwanfoo:

> We have met several who are able to speak the Dutch language, who read Dutch books, and who, in writing, use their characters. We have even found in their hands fragments of our five books (? the *Pentateuch*) in Dutch. They worship no idols; they have a horror of anything approaching such an act; but they perform no religious rites, and recite no prayers. Still, we have met with those who acknowledge a God, Creator of Heaven and Earth,—a God in three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; who say that the first man was called Adam, and the first woman Eve; that, having disobeyed God, they had drawn forth His anger upon them and all their descendants; and that it was necessary to have recourse to baptism to efface the stain, of which rite, too, they even know the formula. Nevertheless, we were unable to discover for certain if they were in the habit of baptising. The Chinese who served us as interpreters assured us that as soon as a child was born, they take cold water and pour it upon its baby; but as these interpreters are untrustworthy, and as at that time they were very imperfectly acquainted with the language, we were unable to satify ourselves on this point. It seems, from what we were able to gather, that they had no idea of rewards or punishments in the next world; wherefore it is quite probable that they are not at any pains to baptise their children.[28]

In short, it turned out that these former Sirayan Protestant converts had retained their knowledge of the Dutch language and religion, as well as the skills in reading and writing. They had lost their own traditional idea of rewards and punishments through crossing the trench in the Afterlife, but kept the Christian narratives of the punishment of the original sin of Adam's posterity which native schoolmasters had learned from Junius' Larger Catechism.[29] The image of vengeful *Tamagisangang* was now superimposed on that of the Dutch God among the Siraya. To explain the Formosan marginality through generations in the Chinese domination, accumulated indebtedness to *Tamagisangang* was

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[25] Shepherd's study of the transformation of the Plains Aborigine cultures in the eighteenth century describes the general situation of the economic adaptations of the Plains Aborigines in terms of sinicization, kinship and gender changes, internal stratification, and migration. *See* Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 362-94.

[26] Zandvliet, *Tai-wan lao ti t'u*, II, 90.

[27] Shepherd has compiled Dutch influence from the accounts of Kang-hsi-era (1662-1722) writers. For example, the Dutch-style sash, costumes, and ornaments with Dutch coins, tattooing in Dutch letters, and the drawing of Dutch figures on the doors of the houses. *See* Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 379.

[28] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 510.

[29] Ibid. 348.

shifted to *Deus* who showed His anger by sending sickness and many difficulties for the length of people's days on the earth and by casting the souls of all sinners into hell in their Afterlife.[30]

After such a prolonged 'punishment', change was to bring them relief. In 1861, under the pressure of the call for trade with China from the European powers, China was defeated in the Opium Wars (1840-2, 1856-60) and forced to end its era of Isolationism. Several ports, including Tamsuy and Takao (Tancoya or Kaohsiung), were opened to foreigners who entered Formosa exerting their victorious superiority over the Chinese.[31] For the Formosans, the reappearance of white men in Formosa marked the return of a strong ally who would render them protection, as Shepherd argues, in a new context of a power relationship among the Formosans, the Chinese, and the Europeans.[32]

Robert Swinhoe, a British consul, arrived in Tainan in July 1861. He heard that there was 'a race using Roman characters and boasted of their origin from the Dutch':

> When one morning a military officer, a thoroughly Chinese looking individual, came to visit me, and informed that his ancestor was a red-haired man (Dutchman), and was one of 3000 soldiers left in the island during Koxinga's time, who had shaved their heads and acknowledged allegiance to the Chinese; that his village, Sinkang, chiefly composed of the descendants of these soldiers, … and that they still preserved clothes and papers which belonged to their forefathers; … others of their race, intermarried with Chinese, were distributed over various parts of the island.[33]

Swinhoe subsequently met more of these people and found that only a few of the elderly could still speak their own language. The rest spoke Fukienese. They brought him some clothes, including a large white smock, which Swinhoe inferred had once belonged to a Dutch missionary. The papers cherished by the Pepo as sacred heirlooms were written in the Latin alphabet which none of them could read.[34] Such documents, later entitled the 'Sinkan Manuscripts' by scholars, were in fact records of the Sirayan and Makatao languages set down on paper in Latin script as late as 1818. Most of the manuscripts, including bilingual handwritten Chinese and Formosan texts, were sales contracts, mortgage bonds, leases, and lists or memoranda of monetary transactions.[35] The Sirayan

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[30] Ibid. 348-9.

[31] John R. Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries in Ch'ing Taiwan, 1859-1895' (Unpublished draft of 28 Feb. 1988), 5-6.

[32] Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries'; id., 'From Barbarians to Sinners: Collective Conversion Among Plains Aborigines in Qing Taiwan, 1859-1895', in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*: *From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Standford: Standford University Press, 1996), 120-37. The following discussion relies heavily on Shepherd's research of 1988.

[33] Sinkang and Sinkan were different spellings of Sincan. *Formosa under the Dutch*, 551; Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries', 6.

[34] Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries', 6-7; Murakami, *Sinkan Manuscripts*, p. xiii.

[35] Murakami, *Sinkan Manuscripts*, p. xv; Li Paul Jen-kuei, 'Hsin fa hsien shih wu chien Hsin-kang wên shu te ch'u pu chieh tu' 新發現十五件新港文書的初步解讀 [Preliminary Interpretations of the 15 Recently Uncovered Sinkang Manuscripts], *THR* 9/2 (2002): 1-68; Ang Kaim and Wu Kuo-sheng 吳國聖, 'Hsin-kang wên shu yen chiu: tien ch'i te chieh tu yü kê shih' 新港文書研究：典契的解讀與格式 [Research on Sinkan Manuscripts: Interpretations and format of mortgage contracts], paper presented at the Conference of Constructing the Siraya: Tainan County Pingpu Groups, Tainan County Government, 17-18 Dec. 2005.

schoolmasters and pupils showed adequate proof of their acquired knowledge of spelling and writing in their own language inculcated by Dutch education and transformed it into a cultural weapon to fight for indigenous rights and privileges.

Language became the key to their past. In the case of the Siraya, in 1873, even the elderly could only remember words without knowing how to compose a sentence.[36] Dr Patrick Manson offered a record of an impressive meeting with an old Sirayan woman:

> Their language is dead already; … Many of them believe our language to be identical with their own forgotten one. The Chinese call us 'whan' or foreign, just as they call the Pepos 'whan', and so the latter come to consider our races the same. One afternoon we visited in a village where Europeans had never been before. A visit from a fair-skinned foreigner had evidently been long looked for by the villagers, as an opportunity of testing this theory of identity. No sooner had we sat down than an old woman, blind, grey and venerable, was escorted to where we sat, and began to address us in a language we could not understand. She was a relic of the past, and spoke in the language of her childhood, the old Pepo tongue. She was evidently much disappointed, as were the bystanders. "No", she said, addressing them in Chinese, "No, we are not the same."[37]

Seeking a language connection proved disappointing, but the kindred connection was reinforced even more beyond the conclusion of 'we are not the same'. In the past Formosan-Dutch connection 'relatedness' was symbolized in the kinship idiom of son and father in both the secular and ecclesatical domains.[38] Since the Europeans belonged to the category of '*whan* (*hoan*)' in the Chinese order, as Manson describes, the term 'red-haired man' in Swinhoe's account was a polite way to denote the Dutchmen who were indeed called 'red-haired hoan', namely 'red-haired barbarians'. In other words, the Dutch and white foreigners, who were related by whiteness in Formosan eyes, shared an equal status with the Formosans in the same 'family of barbarians'. In 1865, an earlier visitor, William Pickering, a British customs officer in Tainan, visited Sinkan and experienced a warm welcome by the local people: 'They welcome any Europeans as being, in their eyes, relations of the Dutch.'[39] At the invitation of the Sinkan chief, Pickering visited Kong-a-na, a Sirayan village migrated to the lower hills, a touching scene unfolded before him:

> It was really very touching to hear them, the old women especially, saying, 'You white men are our kindred, you do not belong to those wicked shaven men, the Chinese. Yet what kind of people do you call yourselves? Ah! For hundreds of years you have kept away from us, and now, when our sight is dim, and we are at the point to die, our old eyes are blessed with a sight of our 'red-haired relations'![40]

Benefiting from Formosan-Dutch relatedness, white newcomers were overwhelmed by an unexpected Formosan favour—the 'stranger effect' began to take effect in the

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[36] According to Joseph B. Steere's account of 1873, *see* Li, 'Hsin fa hsien shih wu chien Hsin-kang wên shu te ch'u pu chieh tu'.

[37] Quotation is from Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries', 8.

[38] *Formosa under the Dutch*, 345.

[39] Quotation is from Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries',19.

[40] Ibid. 22.

post-Dutch colonial era.[41] Pickering appreciated: 'So beneficent was the Dutch rule that their memory is still beloved by the aborigines.' The same sentiment was uttered by Manson in these words: 'the memory of the Dutch settlers of more than two centuries ago is still fondly cherished by the people. They must have been kind and wise rulers.'[42] The inference of 'the beneficent Dutch rule' on the basis of Formosan-Dutch relatedness was therefore made.

Pertinently, Dutch colonial manipulation of ethnic matters had had a trans-cultural influence in promoting negative images of the Chinese among the Formosans. The Dutch authorities had never spared their efforts to break the Formosan-Chinese connection. At the *Landdagen*, one official announcement had invariably been a request for the Formosan elders to watch the Chinese who would harm them to promote their own interests.[43] For the Formosans, the post-Dutch reality of Chinese domination called to mind such a warning. By contrast, their image of the Dutch colonial past took root in the memory of the Formosan-Dutch alliance in which they had enjoyed the Dutch patronage of 'fatherly protection', as the headman of Kong-a-na said to Pickering that even the great Chinese mandarins were afraid of the 'red-haired hoan'. The Siraya expected to rebuild the bonds of friendship with the white foreigners to seek protection against the Chinese.[44] Thanks to the image of 'the benevolent Dutch rule', local desperation for protection, and a feeling of deep indebtedness to the Dutch God, the English Presbyterians successfully revivified the Christian faith among the Siraya who had now retreated to live in the hilly interior. It was not a unique case. Some of the Pazeh, a Formosan group in the former Quataong region where the Dutch missionaries were refused entry, decided to accept this same new religion because of a certain legend predicting the return of the Dutch.[45]

Seeing through the eyes of these white newcomers, the Formosans as the colonized felt nostalgic themselves for their colonized past and even for the colonizers, which was in sharp contrast to Rosaldo's coinage of 'imperialist nostalgia' expressing the mourning of the agents of colonialism for the 'traditional' colonized culture destroyed by them.[46] Nevetheless, Shepherd claims the cross-cultural 'myth of benevolent Dutch rule' was indeed created between these foreigners and the Pepo, especially the Siraya, who expected to unite with the former as a powerful ally who had defeated the Chinese in the

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41 About the 'stranger-effect,' *see* Felipe Fernández-Armesto, 'The Stranger-Effect in Early Modern Asia', *Itinerario*, 24/2 (2000), 80-103.

42 Both phrases are quoted from Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries', 19.

43 *Formosan Encounter*, I, 297-8; *See* records of the *Landdagen* in *DZ*.

44 Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries', 22.

45 *Formosa under the Dutch*, 6. About the conversion, *see* Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries', 23-40; id., 'From Barbarians to Sinners', 129. The legend recounted by the Reverend Thomas Barclay is as followed: 'when Coxinga came, the foreigners [the Dutch] who were staying among them were obliged to leave; that on leaving they took a piece of bamboo, a few inches long, but with about 100 joints, which they split in two, leaving one half as a token, telling the people, "For 500 years you belong to China; after 500 years you revert to the foreigner." I do not know if the token is still in existence. I fear not.' *See* Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries', 36.

46 'Imperialist nostalgia' is coined by Rosaldo, *see* R. Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 68-87.

recent wars. Among the white foreigners, the myth was found to 'fit their own conceit about the superiority of Western culture compared to Chinese'.[47] It seemed to be clear that the two marginal groups of the white foreigners and the Pepo formed a mutual sympathetic bond in imitation of the past Dutch-Formosan alliance. Even in very recent times, parallel to the phenomenon in the plains, the reproduction of a 'myth of benevolent Dutch rule' among the Mountain Indigenes as a starting point to forge a kind of indigenous nostalgia for the Dutch colonial time still bewilders white foreigners: 'Peace and prosperity for the aboriginal tribes—the memory of which has remained among them as that of a Golden Age.'[48] The echo of Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker's statement that 'what peace and prosperity they are now enjoying compared to the [hostilities of the] past' has continued unabated to reverberate in the Formosan encounters for centuries.

From 'the Formosans' to 'the Pepo', for the Plains Indigenes, shaping collective memory has been essentially a strategy to survive in the colonial 'civilizing process' under both the Dutch and the Chinese. To comprehend Formosan strategy in a relatively powerless situation, Shepherd theorizes about the politics of cultural prestige and argues that the Pepo may have consciously made a cost-benefit calculation in order to obtain more than a short-term advantage and fleeting prestige in their local power struggles. As the Chinese settlers held lower status in the Dutch order, the Chinese cultural influence probably remained rather limited among the Formosans until the growing dominance of Chinese settlers during the eighteenth century when Taiwan was increasingly incorporated within the Ch'ing Empire.[49] Shepherd's conceptualization touches upon an essential point in Elias' theorization of the civilizing process in the West—in the exertion of pressure for foresight in order to allow long-term interests and restrain all inclinations which promise short-term satisfactions at the cost of more remote ones—a 'civilizing' mindset which the Dutch also intended to instill into the Formosans.[50] However, the Formosans in the seventeenth century seemed to respond to the contemporary challenges by trying to obtain immediate short-term advantages rather than by circuitously seeking long-term results. It may not have been so different from their adroit practice of cost-benefit calculation of heads lost or obtained in the changing balance of power in chronic tribal warfare. The pre-colonial image of 'unpredictable' Formosan

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[47] Shepherd, 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries', 19-22. Shepherd also raises a parallel of 'a myth of benevolent Spanish rule' in the region of I-lan, the region of Cabalangh. *See* also 'Plains Aborigines and Missionaries', 45.

[48] Until 1922, Janet B. M. McGovern, a white person, reports that she was regarded as the reincarnation of one of the seventeenth-century Dutch. The quotation of this 'Golden Age' is from her description of the Dutch era. *See* id., *Among the Head Hunters of Formosa* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1972 [1922]), 52-4. Blussé also mentions about the legend of the Dutch ancestors in the Tsou. *See* Blussé's preface in *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, p. xxxi; and also Ang Kaim, 'Li shih chi i yü li shih shih shih: yüan chu min shih yen chiu te i kê ch'ang shih' 歷史記憶與歷史事實：原住民史研究的一個嘗試 [Between Legend and Historical Fact: A tentative study of the Taiwanese Aborigines in early modern history], *THR* 3/1 (1996), 5-30.

[49] Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy*, 362-94; Shepherd, 'From Barbarians to Sinners', 32; id., 'Rethinking Sinicization: Processes of Acculturation and Assimilation', in *State, Market and Ethnic Groups Contextualized* (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 2003), 133-50.

[50] Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 379-82 at 380.

pragmatism continued to display in the awareness of their position in the ranking of power and prestige in their relationship with the deities and with various Formosan groups and even outsiders. This persistent Formosan situational logic which dominated the practice of local politics and determined the conduct of the competitive indigenous power-holders characterized the colonial 'civilizing process' in the period of Dutch rule.

Exploring images of the Formosan colonial past

In this study it is demonstrated that the presumed Dutch superiority regarding their own level of civilization—as for instance became clear from some early accounts in which the Formosans were depicted as being 'altogether barbaric people' yet 'willing to learn something'—paved the way for the colonial 'civilizing process' of the Formosans.[51] This process manifested itself in the dynamic transformation that took place after the introduction of statist power, capitalism, and Christianity by the Dutch in the core and on the frontiers with various shades of colonial rule. Although the different parties in Dutch Company service, the administrators, military men and missionaries, expressed conflicting attitudes about what strategies had to be followed in governing the Formosan subjects, as a rule they intentionally carried out a civilizing mission which they believed to be beneficial to the Formosans: 'for their well-being' (*tot haren welstant*).[52] Nevertheless, the 'mercy of civilization' was constantly challenged by the local reality such as linguistic diversity and headhunting practices. In the core area, Dutch control was established through language acquisition, political administration, and Dutch authorized Formosan elders who were to mediate between the inhabitants and the power centre. In Formosan comprehension, feudal patronage and tributary obligations became parts of colonial state formation. However, these two approaches had different results. The former reached its zenith in the ceremonial spectacle of the *Landdag*; the latter had to be abandoned under pressure from the frontiers where the Dutch authority was over-extended and lacked the power to quell the disorder caused by local aversion to paying tributes. The inner frontier where headhunting still played a dominant role in local relations obviously indicated the horizon of the colony.

To sustain the colony, various Company-supported Chinese enterprises benefited greatly from the *Pax Neerlandica* created among the Formosans. In the scheme of Dutch institutionalized village leasehold system, the Formosans were incorporated into the global economy as producers of local commodities for export and as consumers of imported merchandise. When the subsequent ecological crises impacted on the local subsistence on the one hand and a saturation of import commodities changed the traditional way of life on the other hand, both the Dutch and Formosans made efforts to soften these impacts by their own methods. Some changes were irresistible. The

[51] For the quotations, *see* Chapter Three and Chapter Seven.

[52] For example, in Governor François Caron's report about the situation on the island in 1646, *see Formosan Encounter*, III, 134, 138.

Formosans accommodated themselves to the commercialization of their daily lives and had to accept markets and the beginning of a monetized economy. On the northern frontier, not only did a deeper extent of the monetized economy make a widespread impact, but a wage economy associated with extraction industries was later implanted among the local labourers as they were employed by the Dutch in the exploitation of the region's natural resources.

Conversion to Christianity, the epitome of the Dutch civilizing mission in Formosa, waxed and waned keeping time with the fluctuations of Dutch power and authority in the pragmatic minds of Formosan converts. In the south-west core, the Dutch Reformed Church collectively converted the Siraya under the auspices of a military victory, but occasional conflicts between Sirayan convention and Christianity conversion continued. Old practices tended to revive in times of crises when the Siraya resorted to their own deities after they were hit by a series of natural disasters. Partly because of severe punishment to be meted out for reversion to old practices announced by the Dutch authorities, the Siraya chose the Chinese camp at the critical moment of power transition. The Formosan 'civilizing process' under Dutch colonialism was ruptured and replaced by another phase of the 'civilizing process' under Chinese colonialism, which had already been an undercurrent in the Dutch era but now became a mainstream until it was cut off by Japanese Imperialist power at the end of the nineteenth century.

The history of Taiwan as a 'colonial laboratory' for different colonial powers has been recognized to offer an opportunity for the studies of comparative colonialism in a frontier zone in East Asia.[53] The nature of colonialism and the practice of a 'colonial rationale' in the political economy on the Taiwan frontier have attracted scholarly scrutiny.[54] From a Formosan perspective, the historical process of colonization has swallowed up Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples, first those from the coastal area and finally those of the interior. The Japanese era marked the end of the Formosan era on the inner frontier where local practices continued throughout the Dutch and Chinese colonial periods. For example in the Paiwanese periodization, the Japanese era ('*rinipungan*') was only preceded by the epoch of '*kinacaLisian*' (the era of 'the mountain people').[55] Such a paradigm of local periodization based on the arrival of the colonizers mirrors the Formosan perception of the past.

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[53] Eskildsen, 'Taiwan', 290-1.

[54] Shepherd's research of *Statecraft and Political Economy* marks an earlier diachronic observation in this approach. The scholarly efforts represented in the recent issue of *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 64/2 (2005) devote more attention to comparative studies of colonial political economy in a frontier zone. Moreover, in recent Taiwanese historiography, the discussions of sovereignty, the civilizing project, and colonial governmentality in a comparative framework of colonial modernity in the domain of Japanese Empire such as Japan, Korea, Manchu, and Taiwan show the potential of such an approach in synchronic research on the related areas. *See* Wakabayashi Masahiro 若林正丈 and Wu Mi-cha (eds.), *K'ua chieh tê T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu* 跨界的臺灣史研究：與東亞史的交錯論文集 [*Transcending the Boundary of Taiwanese History: Dialogue with East Asian History*] (Taipei: Appleseed, 2004).

[55] This local periodization corresponds to Ferrell's dating on the retreat of 'Aboriginal Taiwan' to the east and mountain areas. About the example of Paiwanese periodization, *see* Chiu Hsin-hui 邱馨慧, *Chia, wu yü chieh hsü: i i kê P'ai-Wan shê hui wei li* 家、物與階序:以一個排灣社會為例 [Houses and objects: a study of Paiwan hierarchy] (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 2001), 106.

Being involved in the colonial 'civilizing process' under different forms of colonialism, the Formosans still managed to participate actively in shaping their colonial reality. From generation to generation, Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples have witnessed the recurrence of similar colonial phenomena—'colonial *déjà vu*'—in their encounters with Western and Oriental colonizers who introduced them to 'civilization'. The change of personal name was always imposed in accordance with the authorized cultural scheme after the transition of power. Gift-giving, ceremonial exchange and invitation to visit the core of authorities were all meant to demonstrate the florid trappings of power. Material adoption, marital alliance, agricultural promotion, collective migration, military expeditions, economic sanction, bans on traditional practices were also common in colonial practices. Observing 'colonial *déjà vu*' is a matter of involving not only indigenous witnesses and their audience, but also the readers of the Dutch, Ch'ing, and Japanese accounts. The scenes of 'colonial *déjà vu*' convey multiple layers of message and create various narratives in different times. Through ritual performance, Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples tend to juxtapose, overlap, and/or superimpose their colonial experience which has been comprehended as images rather than as events.[56] This tendency reveals a viable cultural strategy in the expression of Formosan autonomous history. In searching for the 'images' of the Formosan colonial past, the unchanging plot behind the scenes is that Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples themselves have exerted a profound influence on their colonial 'civilizing process' which demonstrates their salient agency in the inexorable retreat from 'the Age of Aboriginal Taiwan'.

[56] Strathern, 'Artefacts of History'. In modern ethnological research, 'superimposed images' represented in the ceremonial song and dance of the ethnic group of the Saisiyat reflect their contradictory feelings in facing outsiders. *See* Hu Tai-li 胡台麗, 'Sai-hsia ai jên chi kê wu chi i te tieh ying hsien hsiang' 賽夏矮人祭歌舞祭儀的「疊影」現象 [The 'superimposed images' in Saisiat Pasta'sy ceremonial song and dance], *BIE* 79 (1995), 1-61. Another case is seen in the Puyuma ritual of sea, *see* Lin Chih-hsing 林志興, 'Nan-Wang Pei-nan tsu jên te hai chi' 南王卑南族人的海祭 [The Ritual of Sea (*muLaLyyaban*) in Nanwan Puyuma], 臺東文獻 *Taitung Historical Journal*, 2 (1997), 55-78.

APPENDICES

1. Batavia Governors-General and Governors of Formosa, 1624-1662
2. Dutch local political administration in Formosa, 1643-1662
3. Yearly rent of leased divisions, 1644-1657
4. Dutch Protestants and Spanish Dominicans in Formosa, 1626-1662
5. Dutch missionaries in Formosa, 1624-1662

APPENDIX 1

BATAVIA GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND GOVERNORS OF FORMOSA, 1624-1662

Governor-General	Tenure	Governor	Tenure
Jan Pietersz Coen	1619-1623	Cornelis Reyersen	1622-1624
Pieter de Carpentier	1623-1627	Martinus Sonck*	1624-1625
		Gerard Frederiksz. de Witt	1625-1627
Jan Pietersz Coen	1627-1629	Pieter Nuyts	1627-1629
Jacques Specx	1629-1632	Hans Putmans	1629-1636
Hendrick Brouwer	1632-1636		
Antonio van Diemen	1636-1645	Johan van der Burch*	1636-1640
		Paulus Traudenius	1640-1643
		Maximiliaen Lemaire	1643-1644
		François Caron	1644-1646
Cornelis van der Lijn	1645-1650	Pieter Anthonisz Overtwater	1646-1649
		Nicolaes Verburch	1649-1653
Carel Reniers	1650-1653		
Joan Maetsuyker	1653-1678	Cornelis Caesar	1653-1656
		Frederik Coyett	1656-1662
		[Hermanus Klencke 1661-06-21]♣	

* Died in Formosa during the tenure.

♣ H. Klencke was appointed new governor on 21 June 1661. But the appointment was soon cancelled because of the Chinese conquest. See *DZ* IV, p. 479, 576; *GM*, 29 July 1661.

APPENDIX 2

DUTCH LOCAL POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION IN FORMOSA, 1643-1662

I. The north and the south

Landdrost — *Politiek* —
[1653] [1651]

- Soulang District—Soulang Sincan Tavocan Bacaluan
- Mattauw District—Mattauw Dorcko, Tirosen, Tevorang
- Favorlang District
- Tackays (Gilim) District
- The South
- Sincan (1654~)
- Tirosen (1655~)

Landdrost (Magistrate at Saccam, Provintia) [1653~1662]
Albert Hoogland (1653-1654)
Fredric Schedel* (1655~1657-12-13)
Jacobus Valentijn (1658-1662)

Politiek [1643-1651-1662]
1. 1643~1651-08
Jan Barentsz.Pels (M:1643-02) *DZ* II-C:267
Cornelis Caesar (MS:1643-09) *DZ* II-C:408
Deputy/ Substitute/Substitut Politiek Joost van Bergen (K:1643,1644) *Formosa under the Dutch*, 197; *DZ* II-E:281
Soulang: Soulang, Mattauw, Dorcko, Tirosen, Tevorang, the east of Tevorang
Johannes Claesz Bavius (D:1645-09) *DZ* II-G:726
Eduard aux Brebis (M:1647) *DZ* II-J:592
Daniel Gravius (D:?-1651) *Formosa under the Dutch*, 265
Sincan: Sincan, Bacaluan, Tavocan
Joannes Happart (D:1645-09) *DZ* II-G:726

The South
Tapouliang
Andreas Marquinius (P:1644--03) *DZ* II-E:288
Anthony Boey♠ (MA: 1645) *DB*, II, Jan. 1645; *DB*, II, Dec. 1645
→Verovorongh
Hans Olhoff* (P:1645-08~1651-05) *DZ* II-G:715,726
Johannes Olario (S:1651~1657) *DZ* III-C:700
Cornelis van Dam* (M:1651-07,08) *DZ* III-C:708,718; *DZ* III-D:273; *Formosa Encounter*, III, 285
Richard Weils (Ridsaerd Weyls) (1651) *Formosa under the Dutch*, 276; *Formosa Encounter*, III, 333
Johannes Olario (S:1651~1657) *DZ* III-C:700; *Formosa under the Dutch*, 311
Hendrick Noorden (S:1657~1661) *Formosa under the Dutch*, 311; *GM*, 22 Apr. 1662

Favorlang District
Simon van Breen (D:1645-04) *DZ* II-G:675

2. 1651-09~1662
Soulang District—Soulang, Sincan, Tavocan, Bacaluan
Johannes Danckers ♠ (MS:1651-09) *DZ* III-D:289, *Formosa Encounter*, III, 350
Cornelis Verburg (MJ:1655) *DZ* III-F:649
Gillis Bocx (1662) *Mei shih jih chi*, 25
Mattauw District—Mattauw, Dorcko, Tirosen, Tevorang
Thomas van Nieulandt (M:1651-09~1656?) *DZ* III-D: 289
Favorlang District
David Harthouwer (M:1651-09) *DZ* III-D:289
Jan Pieterss. Moll*(M:1657~1662) *DZ* III-D:293
Tackays District
Jan Pieterss. Moll(M:1651~1657) *DZ* III-D:293
Nicolaes Barents (MJ: 1658~) *Dutch Formosan Placard-book*, 242
The south [Verovorongh]

Ritsaert Weils* (L:1651-09~1652) *DZ* III-D:285
Johannes Olario* (S:1653~1657-06-30) *DZ* III-C:700
Hendrick Noorden (S:1657-07) *DZ* III-E:506

Sincan
Joost van Bergen (MJ:1654-03) *DZ* III-E:364
Pieter Boons (MJ:1655~1657) *DZ* III-F:567
Leonard Verhagen* (~1661) *DZ* IV-D: 476; *Mei shih jih chi*, 60

Tirosen
Nicolaas Loenius♠ (W:1655~) *DZ* III-E:445

II. The east [Pimaba] Company's representatives/commander-in-chief
Maerten Wesseling* (MJ:1638-02~1641-09) *DZ* I-K:462, *DB*:1641-12
Christiaen Smalbach* (Sec,T:1643~1643-07-13) *DZ* II-C:281,391
Cornelis van der Linde* (C:1643-07~1644-07-06) *DZ* II-C:393
Albert Thomassen* (C: 1644~1644-09-07) *Formosa Encounter*, II, 490
Michiel Jansz. (S: 1645-01~1645-07) *Formosa Encounter*, II, 513
Abraham van Aertsen (S: 1645-07~) *Formosa Encounter*, II, 544
Jan Jansz. van den Bergh* (Se:1646-07~1648-07-20) *DZ* II-H:320, *DZ* III-A:349
Jan de Bleuw (Se:1648-07-20~) *DZ* III-A:349, *DZ* III-B: 1012
Jacob Dusseldorp (Se:1651~) *DZ* III-D:302
Pieter Gerritsz. (1656-05~1661-03) Kang, 'Inherited Geography', 10
Jan Goulois (1661-04~1662-02) Kang, ibid.

III. The regions of Tamsuy and Quelang
1. Quelang supervised Tamsuy, 1642~1643
Quelang
Joannes Lamotius (Veldoverste, Field Commander: 1642-09~1642-11) *DZ* II-B
Captain-Mayor: Hendrik Harrousse (Captain: 1642-08~) *GM*, 12 Dec. 1642
Jacob Baers (Se,V:1643~) *DZ* II-B:678

Tamsuy
Thomas Pedel (Captain:1642~1644-08) *DZ* II-B:679

2. Tamsuy in the transit
Marten Gitner (provisional V, Se:1644-08) *DZ* II-F:160
Johannes Keyssel* (MJ:1644-02~1645-08) *DZ* II-B:667, *DZ* II-G:722

3. *Opperhoofd*: Chief of Tamsuy and Quelang [Seated in Tamsuy]
Jacob Nolpé (MJ:1645-08~1646-08) *DZ* II-G:724, *DZ* II-H:373
Antonij Plockhoy (MJ:1646-08~1650-08) *DZ* II-H:373, *DZ* III-B:1085
Symon Keerdekoe♠ (MJ:1650-08~1653) *DZ* III-B:1085; *GM*, 19 Jan. 1654; *Formosa Encounter*, III, 349
Thomas van Iperen (M:1653~1655-03) *GM*, 19 Jan. 1654; *DZ* III-F:603
Pieter Elsvier* (M:1655-03~1655-08-28) *DZ* III-F: 603, 606, 761
Substitute Pieter van Mildert (MJ:1655-08-28~) *DZ* III-F: 761; *GM*, 31 Jan. 1657, 462
Commissarie Pieter van Borselen (MJ:1656) *DZ* IV-A: 302, *GM*, 31 Jan. 1657, 462
Johannes van den Eynde* (MS:1656-03~1656-04-08) *DZ* IV-A: 196, 256
Substitute Egbert Codde (MJ:1656-11) *DZ* IV-A: 302
Pieter Boons* (M:1657-05~1658) *DZ* IV-B: 144; *GM*, 14 Dec. 1658
Nicolaes Loenius (M:1658~1661-08) *GM*, 14 Dec. 1658, 508; *DZ* III, p. 371

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*Died in Formosa; ♠ improper behaviours; * killed by the Formosans

A: assistant; C: corporal; D: dominie, minister; J: young man; K: sick visitor (*krankbezoeker*), catechist; M: merchant, *coopman*; MS: senior merchant, *oppercoopman*; MJ: junior merchant, *ondercoopman*; MA: assistant *coopman*; P: *proponent*; S: schoolmaster; Se: sergeant; Sec: secretary; So: soldier; Sv: servant; T: interpreter (*tolcq*); V: ensign (-bearer), troop leader (*vaandrig*); W: manager of orphanage (*weesmeester*); Z: manager of hospital (*ziekenvader*)

APPENDIX 3

YEARLY RENT OF LEASED DIVISIONS, 1644-1657 (REALS)

Year / Name	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648	1650	1651	1654	1655	1656	1657
Sincan	695(2)	200	305	420	(610) 410♠	980	300	170	105	100	120
Soulangh		305	410	460	(800) 550	1,900	875	690	410	400	330
Tavocan		145	200	330	(400) 230	375	200	95	10	20	20
Bacaluan		210	315	440	(700) 480	1,400	650	380	230	200	220
Mattauw		500	690	900	1,400	2,850	1,200	660	450	550	670
Tevorang	140	140	340	500	740	1,500	550	360	210	200	240
Dorcko	140	140	330	480	600	1,250	450	180	170	225	280
Tirosen	285	285	650	1,100	1,800	5,250	3,850	3,425	2,110	2,750	2,800
Dalivo	115	115	400	420	750	3,000	1,900	2,025	1,600	2,000	2,225
Great Doubale		360	500	640	1,400	5,000	3,500	2,000	1,270	1,300	1,025
Little Doubale	555(3)							950	610	710	770
Tackays/Gilim		310	410	520	820	3,550	1,300	1,425	1,000	1,500	1,250
Taurinab/Dorenap		252	330	530	740	2,600	650	680	410	510	580
The Poncan River	220	300	300	320	200	1,200	650	625	100	110	110
Dovoha			230	440	680	3,000	2,000	1,300	810	1,070	1,300
Gaumol/Docowangh			250	440	500	2,500	1,300	700	300	450	470
Goemach			180	80	40	100	10	60	40	100	40
The Lamcan River			210	170	160	600	600	475	480	—	—
Terrisan +Sasaulij											
Baritsoen +Coulon moutains							200				
Pangsoha/Pangsoa			190	150	140	250	100	130	130	—	—
[Rivers]* Ticksam, Sinkangia			500	940	1450	2,700	1,400	1,550	1,500	—	—
Favorlangh	300	400	400	400	2600	7,550	5,550	4,325	2,900	3,640	3,775
Basiekan/Abasie/Davolee				(1240)♣				2,350	1,470	1,800	1,850
Turchara					440	2,150	750	440	240	350	400
Tavocol					280	1,600	800	630	330	370	430

Tausa Talachey/Lamtau + Tausa Mato/Pactau						850	800	860	670	600	660
Great Tackapoulangh				160	40	300	100	100	40	90	50
Arrisangh				180	200	750	250	380	200	180	200
Asock				100	100	900	450	325	160	190	200
Doridas three villages + Babarian				200	500	2,000	1,500	1,025	630	720	800
Babausack						150	150	130	40	95	70
Leywangh+ Leysingangh+ Maurits + Tarraquangh				75	70	200	100	30	25	40	30
The Lonckjouw District			280	300	600	850	450	625	480	560	390
Pangsoya	800	800	270	170	200	300	225	140	120	280	390
Cattia + Netne			290	250	250	650	650	170	140	360	450
Verovorongh			380	100	120	400	300	280	150	270	350
Tapouliangh			400	370	540	750	550	330	200	140	140
Akauw			380	370	400	800	500	400	140	120	150
Tadackjan + Swatalauw			520	450	480	1,200	400	550	550	680	750
Kiringangh									110	130	100
Karakan									100	150	20
Sivokan									40	45	20
Lamey Island♦	[70]	70	70	150	150	175	175	175	200	200	200
Total	3,390•	4,532	9,730	12,555	20,900	61,580	35,385	30,970	20,880	23,155	23,675

Sources: Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 269, 282-3; Heyns, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan te ching chi, t'u t'i yü shui wu*, 158.
[The year is fiscal year, for example: 1644-11-12~1645-04-30, 1645-04-30~1646-04-30.]

Notes:
1 Since 1646, the South had been divided into 6 divisions. At least in 1651, some leased divisions had been separated or incorporated.
2 Because the *Dagregister* of 1649, 1652, 1653, 1658-1662 is missing, other information (from *GM*) about the rent was: in 1642: 1,600 reals (village lease); in 1653: 26,715 reals (total general lease); in 1658: 105,585 reals (total general lease); and in 1659: 25,000 (village lease).
3 About the initial year of attending the *Landdag*: most of the villages sent their delegates in 1644. In the record of the *Landdag* in 1645, the following names can be found: Taurinab, Docowangh (Gaumul), Goemach, Taytoet (Tuchara), Tausa Talachei (Lamtau)+Tausa Mato (Packtau), *Tavocol*, Babausack, Asock, *Dorridas*+Babarian and *Lonckjouw*.
* At least in 1651, the title of division became Ticksam and Sinkangia.
♠ (num1) num2: num2 was the amount of the second auction.
♣ The original bid price for this region. However, the Governor promised to lease in the price of 400 reals.
♦Lamey: This Island had been populated since 1633. Several hundreds of Lameyans were resettled in Sincan. Since 1650 the total rent had been used for the subsistence of the Lameyans in Sincan. See Chapter Four.
• The amount was calculated from three actions by April 1645, which was marked by the number behind of the rent. This amount did not contain the rent of Lamey. It seemed to be leased separately by 1645.See Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu shang chüan*, 268-70.

APPENDIX 4

DUTCH PROTESTANTS AND SPANISH DOMINICANS IN FORMOSA, 1626-1662

Dutch Protestant ministers	Tenure	Spanish Dominican ministers	Tenure
Georgius Candidius	1627-1631, 1633-1637	Bartolomé Martinez*	1626, 1629
Robertus Junius	1629-1641, 1641-1643	Francisco Váez***	1626-1636
Assuerus Hoogestyn*	1636-1637	Angelo Cocchi	1627-1632
Joannes Lindeborn	1637-1639	Mateo de Cobiza (Cobissa)*	1628-1630
Gerardus Leeuwius*	1637-1639	Jacinto Esquivel	1631-1633
Joannes Schotanus	1638-1639	Domingo Aduarte	1632
Joannes Bavius*	1640-1646	Teodoro Quirós	1632-1642
N. Mirkinius	1641-1643	Juan García	1634(?)-1637
Simon van Breen	1643-1647	Luis Muro***	1634-1636
Joannes Happartius*	1644-1647	Juan	1636-1642
Daniel Gravius	1647-1651		
Jacobus Vertrecht	1647-1651		
Antonius Hambroek*	1648-1661		
Gilbertus Happartius*	1649-1653		
Joannes Cruyf	1649-1662		
Rutger Tesschemaker *	1651-1653		
Joannes Ludgens*	1651		
Gulielmus Brakel*	1652		
Joannes Bakker	1653-1657		
Abrahamus Dapper*	1654		
Robertus Sassenius*	1654		
Marcus Masius	1655-1661		
Petrus Mus*	1655-1662		
Joannes Campius*	1655-1662		
Hermanus Buschhof	1655-1657		
Arnoldus a Winsem*	1655-1662		
Joannes de Leonardis*	1656-1662		
Jacobus Ampzingius*	1656-1657		
Gulielmus Vinderus*	1657-1659		

* Died in Formosa during the tenure; * killed by the Formosans.
Sources: The Dutch part is revised from *Formosa under the Dutch*, 86 also see Appendix 5. The Spanish part is selected based on *Spaniards in Taiwan*, I, p. xxxiii-xxxv.

APPENDIX 5

DUTCH MISSIONARIES IN FORMOSA, 1624-1662

Region and Village	Institution	Name (Status: Period) Sources[1]

Tayouan: Zeelandia Castle

Michiel Theodori (K:1624) 78 Dirk Lauwrensz. (K:1625~7) 78 Cornelis Jacobsz. de Jong (K:1625) 78 Herman Bruyning (K:1626) 78 Georgius Candidius (D:1627~9) 78,101 Jan Janszoon van Fekkeren (K:1627) 78 Robertus Junius (D:1629~31) 110 Jan de Lange (K:~1631) 78 Pieter Bonnius (P:1631) 105 Jan Gerritez* (K:1634) 108 Ahazueros Hoogensteyn (D:1636) 149 Geraldo Levius* (D:~1638~10 Oct. 1639) 181 Jacobus Viverius (K:1642) *DB*, May 1642 Joannes Happartius* (D:1644~7) 203, 224 Johannes Claesz Bavius (D:1640~4) *DZ* II-C Gerrit Jansz. Hartgringh (K:1647) *DZ* II-J:572 Johannes Kruyff (D:1649~51) *DZ* III-B:960 Cornelius Kopsma* (D:1650~1) *DZ* III-B:960, D:273 Bastiaen Erwens* (K:~1651) *DZ* III-D:273 Joannes Ludgens* [died in Pehou] (D:1651) 271 Johannes Kruyff (D:1655) 299 Gilbertus Happert (D:1651) *DZ* III-D:291 Wilhelmus Braeckel* (D:1652) *GM*, 31 Jan. 1653 Abraham Dapper*[died on the way to Formosa] (D:1654) *DZ* III-E:433 Ackersdijc (K:~1654) *DZ* III-E:448 Vincent Druyse (K:1654~) *DZ* III-E:448

Saccam:

Joannes Schottanius (D:1638) 80 Arnoldus Wincemius* (D:1655~62) *DZ* III-F:728 Johannes Leonardus (D:1661) *DZ* IV-A, p. 92

Sincan

Church Georgius Candidius (D:1627~31, 1633~7) 101 Robertus Junius (D: 1631~5, 1635~41) 104,110 Jan Gerryts van Noorden (R:1633) *Formosan Encounter*, I, 214 Pieter Heere (K:1633) *Formosan Encounter*, I, 206 Jan den Tijt (K:1634) *Formosan Encounter*, I, 239 Ahazueros Hoogensteyn (D:1636) 151 Johannes Lindenborn♠ (D:1636) 160; *DZ* I-I:861 Joannes Schottanius (D:1638~9) *DZ* I-L:724 Caesar van Winschoten (S: 1638) 163 Andreas Marquinius (S:1639~43) *DZ* II-C:279 Josephus Balbiaen (K:1638) 166 Simon van Breen (D:1643) 194 Joost Gilles (K:1644~) *DZ* II-F:171, 201 Hans Olhoff (P: 1644) 206 Arnoldus Wincemius* (D:1655~62) 328; *DZ* III-F:728

School Andreas Marquinius (S:1635~9) Caesar van Winschooten♠ (S: 1644) *DZ* II-F:171 Johannes Horstman (S:1651) *DZ* III-C:725 Bartolomeus Eyekelkelck♠ (S:1654) *DZ* III-E:423

Bacaluan Magkinam, Amamoliangh

Church Robertus Junius (D:1635~41, 1641~3) 159 Ahazueros Hoogensteyn* (D:~16 Jan. 1637) 155; *DZ* I-I:853 Joost Gilles (K:~1644) 201; *DZ* II-F:171 Pieter Outhuysius (P:1655) *DZ* III-F:733 Harmanus Bushof (D:1655) 299 Petrus Holthusius (P:1655) 299 Arnoldus Wincemius (D:1659) Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-Wan shih yen chiu hsia chüan*, 126

School Jan Pietersz. (K:1633) Andreas Marquinius (K:1637, P:1639) 159, 177; *DZ* I-K:460 Lambert Simonse (S:1637) Andreas Marquinius (S:1635~9) Pieter Outhuysius (P:1655) *DZ* III-F:733 Dirck Bauwman* (?) *Mei shih jih chi*, 52

Tavocan (~1658) Teopang Tivalukang Tagupta-Ritbe

Church Arnoldus Wincemius (D:1655) 299

School Carolus Agricola♠ (K:1636,1639) 180; *DZ* I-I:882 Bartolomeus Eyekelkelck (S:1654) *DZ* III-E:423 Jan Druyvendal (S:1655) *DZ* III-F:570

Soulang

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Favorlang

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School Abraham van der Dussen♠ (S:1643) Samuel Minnes♠ (J:1642~3) Pieter Mulder♠ (S:1643) *DZ* II-C:281,292 Jan Vesevelt♠ (S:1643) *DZ* II-C:411 Hendrick Veer (S:1644) 201 Caesar van Winschooten♠ (S: 1644) *DZ* II-F:170

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Sources[1]: number behind *Name (Status: Period)* indicates the page from *Formosa under the Dutch*.
* Died in Formosa; ♠ improper behaviours; ***** killed by the Formosans; [ ] provisional

C: corporal; D: minister; K: krankbezoeker (sickvisitor), catechist; P: proponent; R: reader; S: schoolmaster; Se: sergeant; So: soldier; S: schoolmaster; T: tolcq, interpreter

Notes:
1. Sincan, Bacaluan, Tavocan had been under the control of the minister residing at Tayouan (*Formosa under the Dutch*, 199).
2. Bavius, at Soulang, supervised the four villages: Tevorang, Mattauw, Dorcko and Tirosen (Ibid. 203).
3. Church and school in the south, see *Formosa under the Dutch*, 214.
4. In 1648: the north: Rev Jacobus Vertrecht; Soulang, Sincan, Bacaluan-Rev. Daniel Gravius; Mattauw, Tevorang, Dorcko, Tirosen-Rev. Anthonius Hambroeck (Ibid. 242). Since 1655, the south was visited by the ministers resident at Sincan and Soulang by turns (Ibid. 299). 1655: Jacobus (H) Amsingh; 1656: Johannes Kruyff and 1657: Anthonius Hambroeck (Ibid. 301).
5. From 1658 onwards, Tavocan was incorporated into Sincan due to economic reason. See Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa*, 81.
6. The last dispatch of the missionaries from Batavia was three schoolmasters who had served in Formosa, Daniel Hendrickx Dirck Schlten and Hendrick Straatingen after June 1661. See *Formosa under the Dutch*, 326.

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SAMENVATTING

Deze studie behandelt het koloniale 'civilisatie proces' op Formosa waaraan de oorspronkelijke bevolking ten tijde van de Nederlandse overheersing (1624-1662) werd onderworpen. De komst van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) luidde het einde in van 'Inheems Taiwan'. De aan Norbert Elias ontleende term van het koloniale 'civilisatie proces' die de auteur introduceert, wordt niet alleen toegepast op de Nederlandse periode, maar ook in bredere zin op het proces van de onverbiddelijke teloorgang van de eigen traditionele cultuur van de Austronesische talen sprekende oorspronkelijke bevolking onder invloed van de verschillende beschavingsoffensieven die sinds de vroeg-moderne periode door respectievelijk de Nederlandse, Chinese en Japanse kolonisatoren op de Formosaanse bevolking zijn losgelaten.

Terwijl de bestuurlijke, kerkelijke, en militaire vertegenwoordigers van de Compagnie op Formosa zich wijdden aan wat zij zagen als een 'koloniale opdracht', ondergingen de tribale samenlevingen van het eiland hun eerste diepgaande koloniale 'civilisatie proces'. In deze studie wordt beschreven hoe dit proces in gang werd gezet en hoe een en ander werd geëffectueerd aan de hand van Nederlandse opvattingen over beschaving die waren ingebed in de drie-eenheid staat, marktwerking, en Christendom.

In dit proefschrift staat de reactie van de Formosanen centraal en wordt vooral gekeken naar de wijze waarop zij de ontmoeting met de Nederlanders beschouwden, in welke mate zij in de daaruit voortvloeiende samenwerking participeerden, en hoe zij in de praktijk daarmee omgingen. Tegelijkertijd kan de Nederlands-Formosaanse ontmoeting niet los worden gezien van de continue instroom van Chinese immigranten die zich op uitnodiging van de VOC op het eiland vestigden en bijgevolg steeds verder de leefwereld van de Formosanen binnendrongen.

Het proefschrift bestaat uit vier delen. Hoofdstuk één van het eerste deel situeert het eiland Formosa in de vroeg moderne periode temidden van de maritieme mogendheden die elkaar in het Chinese Zee gebied beconcurreerden. De Chinese machthebbers lieten toe dat de VOC, die aanvankelijk uit was op het verkrijgen van een handelsvestiging op het Chinese vasteland, een handelsnederzetting bouwde op het schiereiland Tayouan voor de kust van het eiland Formosa. Deze buiging voor de Chinese machtspolitiek zou gezien kunnen worden als voorbode voor de latere inname van Formosa door de Chinese *warlord* en Ming loyalist, Cheng Ch'eng-kung, die in 1662 een eind maakte aan vier decennia aanwezigheid van de VOC op het eiland.

Het tweede hoofdstuk schetst pre-koloniaal inheems Formosa aan de hand van door VOC-personeel opgetekende bronnen. Toen de VOC haar gezag over de inheemse Formosanen probeerde te bestendigen ontstond de noodzaak de verschillende groepen 'onderdanen' in kaart te brengen en te administreren. Dit unieke bronnenmateriaal vormt het kader voor het (re)construeren van een 'autonome' lokale geschiedenis van het eiland.

Het tweede deel van het proefschrift, de hoofdstukken drie tot en met zes, documenteert de uitbreiding van het Compagniegezag over heel Formosa. De Siraya, die de vlakten aan de zuidwest zijde van het eiland bewoonden, waren de eersten die kennismaakten met verschijnselen als strafexpedities en feodaal aandoende patronageverhoudingen. De flexibele geopolitiek van de jagerssamenlevingen der Siraya dorpen, bracht de Nederlanders ertoe hun non-interventie politiek ten aanzien van de inheemse bevolking te herzien. Nadat met behulp van inheemse bondgenoten een aantal opeenvolgende overwinningen op vijandige dorpen was behaald, werd de VOC, en daarmee de Staten Generaal der Verenigde Nederlanden, de feitelijke leenheer van het nieuw veroverde gebied. Hiermee was een begin gemaakt met de vestiging van de *Pax Neerlandica*. De gedwongen ontvolking van het eiland Lamey, een zwarte bladzijde in de

geschiedenis van Nederlands Formosa, leidde tot een ware diaspora van de overlevende eilandbewoners.

De hoofdstukken vijf en zes laten zien dat een commerciële impuls ten grondslag lag aan de exploratie van het achterland met als doel de lucratieve hertenjacht te exploiteren en de vindplaatsen van het 'vermeende' goud te lokaliseren. De Compagnie liet Chinese hertenjagers toe op de jachtgronden in de omgeving van het dorp Favorlangh, en enkele expedities werden via de zuidpunt van Formosa naar de oostkust uitgezonden, waar zich goudmijnen zouden bevinden. Tijdens de expedities maakten de Nederlandse manschappen dankbaar gebruik van Chinese bemiddelaars. Ook speelden zij locale leiders van langs de route gelegen rivaliserende dorpen tegen elkaar uit en moedigden hen aan verdragen met de Compagnie te sluiten om zich zo aan het Compagnies gezag te onderwerpen.

Na de verdrijving van de Spanjaarden uit het noordelijke deel van Formosa in 1642, kon een nieuwe route langs de westkust worden verkend, die de hoofdvestiging Tayouan met de forten in Tamsuy en Quelang moest verbinden, hetgeen resulteerde in ontmoetingen met de inwoners van die noordwestelijke gebieden. Ook hoopten de Nederlanders nu vanuit het noorden te kunnen doordringen tot de gebieden aan de oostkust waar goud te vinden zou zijn. Tevens werd onderzocht of er aan de zuidkant van de centraal op het eiland gelegen bergketen een kortere passage naar de oostkust kon worden gevonden. Ondanks deze inspanningen werd er, tot teleurstelling van de Compagnies bewindhebbers in *Patria*, geen noemenswaardige hoeveelheid goud gevonden.

In het derde deel, dat de hoofdstukken zeven tot en met negen beslaat, worden de verschillende fasen van gezagsuitoefening, het economisch exploiteren van de verworven gebieden, en de inspanningen van de christelijke missie onder de Formosanen geanalyseerd, zoals die zich voltrokken gedurende de Nederlandse aanwezigheid in Formosa. De Formosanen, met name degenen die ten tijde van het koloniale 'civilisatie proces' in het kerngebied van het Nederlands bestuur leefden, werden daarbij geconfronteerd met drie dynamische koloniale krachten die door de VOC werden geïntroduceerd: staatsvorming, (gedwongen) marktwerking, en christendom. Tijdens een jaarlijkse ceremoniële samenkomst, de *Landdag*, benoemde de Nederlandse gouverneur Formosaanse dorpsoudsten als dorpshoofden en loste hij onderlinge conflicten op. De dorpshoofden stonden onder het gezag van de lokale Nederlandse gezagsvertegenwoordigers en fungeerden als bemiddelaars bij het handhaven van het koloniale gezag over de Formosaanse onderdanen. Dit netwerk van loyale gezagsdragers werd verder onderbouwd door de introductie van Nederlandse wetten en plaatselijke verordeningen, waarmee de dorpsbewoners onder andere werden aangezet hun huizen in rechte lijnen naast elkaar te bouwen zodat de dorpen makkelijk toegankelijk en overzichtelijker werden. Ook werd het aangaan van gemengde huwelijken, tussen Christelijke Formosaanse vrouwen en Europese mannen, gestimuleerd.

In eerste instantie probeerde de Nederlandse overheid een jaarlijkse belastingheffing dan wel een tribuutheffing in te voeren, maar deze maatregelen werden weer afgeschaft onder druk van opstandige dorpen aan de grenzen van de Nederlandse invloedssfeer. In het oosten, het zuiden, en het noorden van Formosa was de Compagnie niet bij machte om de oorlogsvoering tussen dorpen onderling uit te bannen. Er was met andere woorden sprake van een vroeg voorbeeld van '*imperial overstretch*'.

Het achtste hoofdstuk belicht de exploitatie van de natuurlijke rijkdommen van het eiland door de Compagnie. In de landbouw en de visserij werden veelal Chinese arbeidskrachten gebruikt, terwijl in de mijnbouw en de houtkap Formosanen werden ingezet. Beide laatste activiteiten vonden vooral plaats in het noorden waar zij de aanzet gaven voor het ontstaan van een looneconomie. Naast betrokkenheid bij het

productieproces vestigde de Nederlandse overheid een handelsmonopolie door het verpachten van het recht om belasting te heffen op het drijven van handel in de dorpen van een bepaald gebied. Op die wijze gelukte het de Compagnie de reeds bestaande handel tussen Chinezen en Formosanen te institutionaliseren en daarop winst te maken.

De handel in hertenvellen en hertenvlees, de belangrijkste producten van Formosa, had een buitengewoon intensieve jacht tot gevolg die al snel een ecologische crisis veroorzaakte: de hertenstand liep drastisch terug en zo verloren de dorpsbewoners hun middelen van bestaan. De Compagnies autoriteiten namen hun toevlucht tot het instellen van beschermende maatregelen om de herten voor uitsterven te behoeden. Bovendien probeerden zij de Formosanen ertoe te bewegen zich op de landbouw te gaan toeleggen door op de Chinese wijze, met ploegen, hun velden te gaan bewerken. Het genoemde systeem resulteerde ook in een groeiende consumptie van uit China ingevoerde goederen door de Formosanen, en bijgevolg in een verandering van hun materiële cultuur.

In hoofdstuk negen worden de pogingen van Nederlandse Protestantse dominees om de inheemse bevolking tot het christendom te bekeren onderzocht. Hun aandacht richtte zich vooral op de Siraya en de bewoners van de noordelijke gebieden. Keerpunt voor de Siraya was de Nederlandse militaire overwinning op het machtige dorp Mattauw, waarna de bewoners, uit ontzag voor de overwinnaars, hun eigen goden verwierpen, en zich massaal tot het christendom bekeerden. Vervolgens werden overal scholen gebouwd, zodat de Siraya, in het bijzonder de jongeren, de christelijke normen van de Nederlandse beschaving kregen ingeprent. Oorspronkelijke gebruiken zoals het aanbidden van meerdere goden, rituele abortus en een vrije seksuele moraal werden uitgebannen, religieuze festivals werden verboden en inheemse priesteressen werden verbannen. Dat alles werd vervangen door de leefregels van het nieuwe geloof zoals het christelijk huwelijk waarbij levenslange trouw van huwelijkspartners werd geëist. In het noorden hielden de inwoners, die eerder door Spaanse missionarissen waren gedoopt, vast aan hun eigen vorm van Katholicisme, waarin plaats was voor bepaalde vormen van fetisjisme, dat hen meer aansprak dan de door de dominees verkondigde leer.

Een prangend probleem waarmee de dominees bij hun zendingswerk te maken kregen was de verscheidenheid aan lokale inheemse talen. Toch ging de bekeringsarbeid onder de Siraya betrekkelijk eenvoudig in zijn werk, omdat de inheemse bewoners vele christelijke gebruiken niet als strijdig ervoeren met hun eigen godsdienstige traditie waarin bijvoorbeeld de rituele doop en gebeden van oudsher een belangrijke plaats innamen. Toen de Siraya in de jaren vijftig van de zeventiende eeuw door een reeks natuurrampen werden getroffen, keerden zij zich gedeeltelijk af van het christendom en zochten zij weer troost in oude religieuze gebruiken ondanks strenge maatregelen van de koloniale autoriteiten.

In het slothoofdstuk, wordt de rol die de Formosanen speelden tijdens de Chinese machtsovername in 1661-62 nader beschouwd. Nadat de Siraya zich aan Cheng Ch'eng-kung hadden overgeven werden zij overweldigd door het effect van het Chinese beschavingsoffensief, de volgende fase van het koloniale 'civilisatie proces', dat hen door de nieuwe machthebbers werd opgedrongen. In de negentiende eeuw, toen zij voor het eerst weer ontmoetingen met Westerlingen hadden, bleek dat de Formosanen hun beeld over de periode onder Nederlands bestuur hadden bijgesteld en dat zij met een illusie van nostalgie dat Hollandse verleden koesterden. Dit weerspiegelde de Formosaanse strategie om hun *agency* te handhaven in een koloniale context, een strategie die zij ook volhielden tijdens hun latere onbarmhartige ervaringen in het koloniale Chinese en Japanse 'civilisatie proces'.

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