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## Dutch Protestant Missionaries in Formosa in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century

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### Abstract

The history of Dutch Protestant missionaries Formosa in the seventeenth century made a great contribution to the Christian spread in Asia. The beginning of the 1620s was the starting point of the establishment of the churches in Formosa. This study focuses on the Christian conversion in Formosa, which is based on the Dutch published archives and current research. The research aims to describe the process of Christian propagation in this area. Methodologically, the book “The Formosan Encounter. Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, I: 1623-1635; II: 1636-1645; and III: 1646-1654 that published in two languages, Dutch, and English” will be used as the main source in which qualitative approach is used to collect the primary and secondary data for analyzing this article. As a result, this research comes to the following conclusions, such as the missionaries used the educational method as a foundation for propagation and the result of giving the education was opposed by the Formosan’s old religion.

## INTRODUCTION

The Dutch arrival in Tayouan Bay in October 1623 marked the beginning of the Dutch-Formosan encounter. Not much after their arrival, the Dutch Commander Colonel Reyerszoon set to build a fortress, Fort Zeelandia which was to serve as the center of the Dutch activity in Formosa. To develop a stable trade relationship with the natives, which was indispensable for importing profitable Chinese goods such as silk, porcelain, textiles, etc., the Dutch started to interact with the Siraya people; the natives living in the Tayouan area. Interaction between the Dutch and Sirayan people created contradiction among them, in which the Dutch wanted to spread their influence - either social, politic, and religious believe – and the Sirayan did not co-opt with the Dutch schemes. Thus, this chapter will focus on several questions: How did the Dutch deal with the Sirayan groups? What kinds of relations did the missionaries have with the inhabitants of Siraya? How did the Dutch missionaries and officers look at these people? What opportunities did the Dutch missionaries see for conversion? Against this background, I will then try to depict the role of the Dutch missionaries in the spread of Christianity among the Siraya people, followed by an analysis of the Christian influences on Sirayan society.

## METHOD

This paper, firstly, is using historical method and bibliographical methods for understanding the process of Christianization in Formosa. Secondly, the tool is a scheme that is used to read the sources of the Dutch by describing their letters in Formosa. It is a method to find out the differences and similarities of the general information in Formosa. The sources are from “The

Formosan Encounter. Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, I: 1623-1635; II: 1636-1645; and III: 1646-1654. This year of 1628 until 1635 is crucial because the beginning of the Dika incident that influenced by the coming of the Dutch, where Candidius came to Formosa, and the result of Dutch Christian Propagation in Formosa.

## RESULT

### VOC in Formosa

The Dutch ship, "Zeelandia" arrived in Formosa in August 1624 and settled in Tayouan, which is in the southwestern part of Formosa. The Dutch had chosen Tayouan as their entrepôt because they aimed to seize control over the trading route between Mainland China and Japan. Tayouan became the Dutch marine base and was used to create trading factories. The structure of the Dutch Company in Formosa was: A Governor and Council to manage the trading affairs and to rule the natives (Shepherd, 1993, p. 49). Meanwhile, the Dutch officers in Formosa were fewer than the Dutch employees in Batavia with some among them, missionaries. At that time, there were: the Chief Merchant Pieter Muysert, the Physician Maarten Sonck, and the Commander Cornelis Reyerszoon. After they arrived on the island, Reyerszoon successfully analyzed the condition of the Sirayan society and formed a relationship with the inhabitants. The Dutch established Fort Zeelandia in the Bay of Tayouan where the inhabitants of Formosa were called the Sirayan. In the Sirayan community, there were four main villages dominating the society: Baccaluan, Mattau, Sincan, and Soulang. That was useful knowledge for the new Dutch settlers to begin interaction with the natives. The location of the villages can be seen on this map.

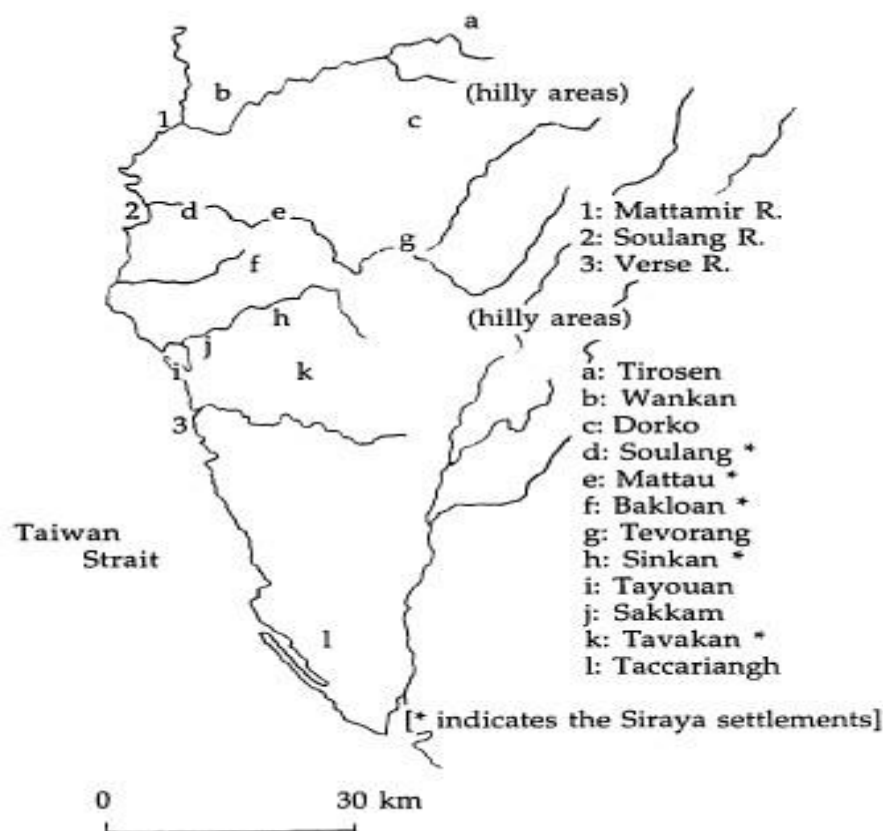


Figure 1. Map of Sirayan society in the Seventeenth Century

Source: Kang, 1996

The first village that was visited by Commander Cornelis Reyerszoon was Baccaluan. The Baccaluaners welcomed the foreigners to their villages and accompanied the Dutch to collect bamboo for their construction purposes (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 33). The second village that was visited by the Dutch was Soulang, which was the subject of the earliest report of the Chief Merchant Jacob Constant and the Under – Merchant Barent Pessaert (Kang, [1996](#), p. 198). Between 1624 and 1625, Mr. Maarten Sonck became the Governor and chief ruler of Formosa. He continued to develop Fort Zeelandia in the Bay of Tayouan. The reason why the Dutch built their fort so solidly was to prevent any damage from any attack by foreign powers. The historical sources state that the villages started a discord with the Dutch in January 1624 (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 35). The Baccaluaners burned the new Dutch fort with support from the Mattauers. The Dutch fought back with their canons and muskets to show the inhabitants that they were superior. The conflict between the local villages and the Dutch was due to incitement from the Chinese merchants who felt that their local trading area would be badly affected by the Dutch coming to Formosa.

Among the Sirayan society, the Sincandians and Soulangians had a good relationship with the Dutch, as shown by their even offering an invitation to the Dutch to stay in their villages. The reason behind their invitations to live with them was inter-village warfare. In the progress of creating relationships with the four villages, the Dutch became an integrated power (Kang, [1996](#), p. 199) that could dominate the local villages. It also showed that the presence of the Dutch in certain villages would be a sign for them to win a war against the others. With the purpose of the Company to build trading enterprises, it imposed a levy on all the ships anchored in the region of Tayouan. This customs duty brought the Company much profit (Campbell, [1992](#), p. 36) which the Chinese and Japanese paid. It can be noted also that Maarten Sonck submitted his title to Gerrit Fredericksz. Later, De Witt (1625-1626) became the second Governor of Formosa. He had a short time in his position as Governor, however, and could not form a good relationship with the Japanese merchants.

Mr. Pieter Nuyts (1627-1629) became the third Governor but during his regime, the Japanese had a problem with the customs duty since they felt that they were being treated unjustly by the Dutch. The relationship that was built between Japan and the Dutch in Formosa in trade influenced the connection between the Dutch and the indigenous people, especially the Sincandians. The Japanese had interfered in the relationship between the Dutch and the Sincan people in the name of Dika Jaffioye who had kidnapped 16 Sincandians. It was noted that he had a close relationship with Japan and did not appreciate the Dutch nation's being in Formosa. (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 72) The disaffected Sincandians wanted to arouse seething indignation against Japan, so the Japanese brought them to Japan as delegates from Formosa. They were taken to Edo, the Japanese capital city, to meet with the Japanese Shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu. The aim was to transfer their sovereignty to the Shogunate (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 35). But, unfortunately, this was unsuccessful, and the Japanese had to bring the Sincandians back to their homeland. After the Sincandians arrived in Tayouan in 1628, Pieter Nuyts did not allow them ashore, and the villagers were embittered. Due to this situation, the Sincandians were angry like “a lioness whose cubs had been violently taken from her” (Campbell, [1992](#), p. 94). They were crying and throwing many bad names at the Dutch with result that this situation became the beginning of the “Dika incident”.

In January 1629, Nuyts besieged Sinkan and searched for the men that were involved with the Dika incident, one of whom was indeed named Dika, a Sinkan person that hid among his people. At that time Candidius was away and Nuyts sought revenge for his motives. He used Candidius only for his political purposes and as a pawn against the power of the Japanese merchants in Formosa (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 165). Nuyts issued an ultimatum to the Sincandians. Because he could not find the people he wanted, he threatened to burn their village to ashes.

On 26 January 1629, Candidius on his return to the Sincandian village, began to be hated and lost the people's trust (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 166; Campbell, [1992](#), p. 99). The missionary work that had been done by Candidius so far, seemed futile and the Sincandians saw him as a Governor's man. The result of this incident was that other native villages started to attack the Dutch. On 2 April 1629, the Soulang people did the same as the other villages and killed a visitor of the sick Jan Harmensz, whom Mr. Nuyts had introduced to the Soulang people to learn their language. The Soulang people lit a fire and burned Mr. Nuyts' and Reverend Candidius' houses in Sincan completely. In this event, at least 70 Dutch people were killed on the tributary rivers near the Mattau and Baccaluan villages, probably due to the provocation of the Japanese merchants (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 14). On 5 November 1629, there was an incident when Dutch soldiers were killed around Saccam by the Mattauers (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 162). They were celebrating by worshipping a reputable victory over their enemies. The requirement for an appraisal of the principal action of the Christian conversion that Candidius asked of the natives was that the people should listen to him through laws and punishment, something which could endanger the relationship between the natives and the Dutch Company (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 143). The natives should be taught by practice rather than by being lectured.

### **The VOC Priests and the Church in Formosa**

The church that was established in the native village was created by the Dutch missionaries with the Company giving donations for its construction, underlining that the role of the Company was significant in Christianizing the natives. In this subchapter, the development and relationship between the Church and the Dutch Company in Formosa will be reconstructed, by analyzing how the Church and the Company maintained their relations with the natives.

#### *The Development of the Church in Formosa*

On 4 May 1627, Rev Georgius Candidius arrived at the Fort of Zeelandia. He was not the first minister to come to Formosa, but he was the first to propagate to the Sirayan people. He aimed to change the native faith to Christianity. With Candidius' missionary work, the Dutch officers faced many difficulties while Candidius stayed in Sincan. Later, Candidius was sent to Batavia for his preaching mission, but he was deeply attracted to the necessity for a Formosan Church. His successor was Rev Robertus Junius, also named de Jonghe who arrived in the middle of 1629.

In May 1633, Candidius returned to Sincan village and accepted their call with several conditions such as the provision of a stone house for him; His monthly salary, and to become a minister in Batavia after his mission was finished (Campbell, [1992](#), p. 78). In 1636, the Dutch Company started to focus on Formosa where they made peace treaties and expanded their trading territories to the southern part. The ministers had different approaches that were taking effect among the indigenous people. They aimed to Christianize the natives with the approval of the Dutch Reformed Church in Formosa, but the practical aim was to civilize them (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 19). The civilizing process should create a stabilization of protection for the Dutch trading company in Formosa. This protection was created inside the community of the natives and would result in decreasing the inter-village warfare, especially in Sirayan society.

Another effort that Junius and Candidius made besides their missionary work, was to produce ABC primers in the Sirayan language which were sent to Batavia (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 172); They aimed to conquer other regions besides Sirayan villages so they also became tax officials and agricultural developers with the help of the Company. The ABC books were printed to help the ministers to organize activities in the native society. Although Junius was focusing on his second career as a tax official, he also was concerned about a Sincandian issue. On 29 June 1636, Rev Robertus Junius sent a letter to Governor Hans Putmans that the

Sincandians were starting to feel guilty in sexual encounters with the other natives, including both adults and young people (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 85; Fetzer, [2019](#)). These did not only occur among the Sincan inhabitants but also among the Chinese with Christian women; a situation, Junius asked the Governor to solve by an order against this criminal activity.

While Rev Robertus Junius was taking care of the mission work and educational duties, he also contributed to the work of civil administration, though after the coming of his successor, Joannes Bavius (1640-1646), the ministers did not take part in political duties (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 25). Junius pressured the civil administration to expand its territories to include the indigenous villages so that the conversion to Christianity could be broadened to the other regions of Formosa. With the success of the Christian propagation among the inhabitants, the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church was disappointed that Junius took the matter of the translation of the Bible as not very serious. The translation that Junius made did not use the right grammar, as the Sirayan and Dutch languages were grammatically different, resulting in the translation not being simulated in the right way. Another problem was that the Consistory could not find a Christian model in the Church of Formosa, which they wanted to showcase as a true Dutch Church (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 32); Junius oversimplified the adaptation of Christianity so that the Formosan inhabitants could accept it easily. His successor, J. Bavius immediately learned the Sirayan language when he arrived in Tayouan. He did not stay long in the Zeelandia Fort but was assigned to go to Sincandian village. He progressed rapidly in missionary work, such as in conducting divine service in Sincan and once a week, he also conducted the service in Tayouan. After Bavius came to Formosa, the work of the ministers became lighter but unfortunately, he died on 23 December 1646.

A new team, including Daniel Gravius (1647-1651) arrived in Formosa in 1647 (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 34). Gravius continued the ministers' missionary work and translated the Dutch Prayers into the Formosan language as well as the Gospels of Matthew and John. Other work that he did was to set a new catechism and put in some explanatory notes and Biblical quotations. He also gave protection to the Sirayan community. Between 1647 and 1653, eight ministers arrived and some of them died in Formosa. The ministers that died were Brakel, Joannes Ludgens, Gilbertus Happartius, and Rutger Tesschemaker. Daniel Gravius and Jacobus Vertrecht went back to Holland. During those years Formosa suffered an epidemic and famine that caused the mission work of the Church to be slowed. In 1653, a new minister arrived in Formosa. His name was Rev J. Bakker and he belonged to the new generation of missionaries (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 39). His mission was firstly to stay in the Sirayan villages with the assistance of Rev Hambroek, but he did not stay long in Siraya before departing to the northern villages of Formosa. Until the beginning of 1654, the ministers preferred to use the Formosan language or the Dutch language. The Formosan language came from the Sirayan language, and it was spread by the Dutch ministers through their schools and the propagation of Christianity. From the scheme of Dutch colonization in Formosa, the progress of Sirayanization became an identical linguistic trend due to its Dutch introduction to the Formosan society (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 35).

#### *The relations between the Church and the VOC Officials*

In 1624, the Company was informed about the conditions at Fort Zeelandia, Zeeburch, and the houses in Sincan where they needed to adjust the work that the Governor had given to the officers with their conditional approval of the work, such as: To restrain the sea; To strengthen the fort; and spread the Christian Faith to the Sincandians (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 199). The Company was still unsure whether the result would be successful or not in the trade relationships with Japan and China, so it questioned the basic costs and extensions of the mission. Although the Company was pleased to know that Reverend Candidius and others had



success in growing and spreading Christianity among the Sincandians, the High Government in Batavia complained that the cost of this was too high and decided not to pay a single penny for Candidius' missionary work. Several times, Candidius had arguments with the Company and referred to the assistance of the people of Sincan against the people of Tampzui, which was Sincan's enemy. The Company made promises about Candidius' and Junius' suggestions that the Governor should ensure that the spreading of Christianity should not only be among the Sincandians but also among the other villages.

The establishment of the Church in Sirayan society was supported by the two pioneering ministers, Candidius and Junius, which both had their missionary methods. Candidius made missionary progress by creating a closer relationship with the natives, while Junius established a new mission style by increasing the number of native schools and teaching new technology to advance the natives' agricultural skills. In these efforts, the Company helped the missionaries and thus succeeded in spreading Christian propagation among the Sirayan inhabitants.

### **Priests and Indigenous People in Formosa**

The description of the Sirayan people created by the missionaries was significantly related to the methods of Christian propagation in Formosa. This subchapter will explain the Sirayan native groups and describe how the Dutch missionaries and officers analyzed the natives. Further explanation relates to the attitude of the Dutch missionaries toward the Sirayan society.

#### *The Sirayan Group in Formosa*

Because of many uprisings of the inhabitants against the Dutch, the Company began to create a method for implementing Christianity among the Sirayan natives, such as those in Sincan, Soulang, Mattau, and Baccaluan. These four villages were the Dutch priority for converting to Christianity. With the inter-village warfare, Christianization could be one way to structuralize them to the Company's sovereignty.

#### *The Description of the Indigenous people by Dutch officers and missionaries*

In the report of *Formosan Encounter I*, the description of the Sirayan native villages was created and through this, the Dutch discovered and learned from their own experience about the situation, wars, the daily life of the people, etc. as well as how the Formosan indigenous people acted towards the Dutch. In the report of 1623 in VOC 1081 vol. 105-109 (Blussé, 1995, p. 4). The Dutch mention that the indigenous people are curious. From the Dutch perspective, the natives investigated the Dutch appearance following their clothes and attitudes that were very different from those of the Dutch. The Dutch also noted that if they gave something to a person in the presence of another person, it would embed a dispute between them. According to the Dutch report, the Sirayan people were jealous of themselves (Blussé, 1995, p. 20). However, the Formosan people did not know about money, silver, and gold and were still in the period of barter, exchanging for salt, and other daily needs with the Chinese. The description of the Sirayan people, who were classified by different tribes was of a well-built and sturdy people; the men were tall and skillful runners (Blussé, 1995, p. 18). In their community, no ruler or leader organized the society. The indigenous Formosans, especially the Siraya people, were at the same level in society, with the lowest rank equal to the highest rank. In addition to this, there was no slave or servant so there was no selling or lending of people. In other words, it can be said that in the structural life of the indigenous Formosans, one person was no master over another. In the Company structure, however, someone who sat among the officials was the one that had fought many enemies in the wars. He received praise and was honored since he contributed many heads to his village. If they contributed enemy heads to

their villages, they became national heroes. As well, they were honored and gained prestige by that the Dutch were willing to visit their wives' houses.

In the report of VOC 1096, vol. 199-202 it was written that Candidius had a report from the Dutch missionaries about the structure of the indigenous society. This was contained in the Missive of Reverend Georgius Candidius to Governor General Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Sincan, 20 August 1628, in which Candidius wanted to notify Coen about the situation in Sincan. He reported that in Formosa there were no certain leaders or central authority, which made it even more difficult for Candidius who could not speak in the name of the entire people (Blussé, 1995, p. 87; Shepherd, 1993, p. 60; Campbell, 1992, p. 96). They did not have someone to obey as there was no king, lord, or chief to govern. Although they did not have any leaders, if someone needed to collect many heads and was apt to fight, then he could gather 10 to 20 men to join him in a fight. This man would be the leader of the expedition. Their lives were not in peace in each village; indeed, it can be said that it was full of wars. The villages of Siraya shared the same manners, customs, religion, and language and only showed small differences. They had different kinds of languages. Their appearance was barbaric, uncivilized, and rude, with the men tall and well built, like semi-giants, and the women short and small, but with a strong power.

In common opinion, they were friendly, good-hearted, loyal, and faithful; easy to satisfy and good-natured, but very lazy and poor (Blussé, 1995, p. 113). They were truthful and did not steal anything if they found someone's property, they would return it where it belonged. Their disgrace would be treacherous in that they would rather die; they would suffer hardship rather than give sorrow to others. They bartered their haul, such as deer, to the Chinese for salt and other bagatelles. Only a few priestesses shared their knowledge about religion, so it was only an opinion or habit for doing what the religion required. Candidius also shared his opinion that in other regions there were male clerics, priests, and teachers that performed their services to the gods and taught the people but only this nation had women priestesses called *Inibs* (Blussé, 1995, p. 136). Candidius knew that the inhabitants followed the Moors and some of them were pagan which differentiated them to eat or not eat pork. They did not practice any kind of religious ceremony but had one special altar that was shrouded by cobwebs and especially dirty. Only priestesses (*Inibs*) could become representatives of their God whom they respected, and every village only had one priest. The older people told Candidius that the way to pray changed very often at that time. Although they did not have a *juramentum* (an oath), they considered the same, sins, that were unlawful and forbidden to us, for example, lying, stealing, and killing. The indigenous Formosan people recognized many Gods that they worshipped. The most important deities that they needed to worship were *Tamagisangach* and *Tekarukpada*, who lived on opposite sides of an indigenous village. *Tamagisangach* lived in the western part of Heaven and was the predominant deity because he was the creator of mankind and made people beautiful. His wife, *Tekarukpada*, lived in the eastern part of Heaven. There was a belief that if the goddess was talking and scolding her husband for not sending rain, it could be seen in thunder in the east. It was interpreted that in human space, *Tamagisangach* lived in the west and was in the sea, while *Tekarukpada* lived in the mountains (Hsin-hui, 2008, p. 182). This location showed that they covered the village as their domain which should be protected through the welfare of the village. The Siraya worshipped them with great honor, while the other deities only listened to their adherents in specific regions. The indigenous people did not have any written sources for their religion or their deities but transmitted the knowledge through oral tradition from the before the next generation and believed that the world would exist for eternity.

## The Attitude of The VOC Priests Towards the Sirayan Society

After Candidius arrived in Tayouan, he went to Sincan to live and easily blended with the Sincandians without the help of the Dutch officers (Kang, [1996](#), p. 199). He did not doubt that the Formosans would become Christian, receive the Christian faith, and throw away their religion that was opposed to the law of God (Campbell, [1992](#), p. 96). Candidius believed that the conversion to Christianity would become a great success. Meanwhile, the Dutch Reformed Church had a slogan that Formosa was “a land full of ‘sheep’ without a ‘shepherd’ (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 182). While Nuyts went to Japan, Candidius did not stay long in the fort but lived among the Sincandians. He was accompanied by a catechist Jan Janszoon van Fekkeren who had started to learn the local languages, which was helpful for further preaching. Georgius Candidius was welcomed and preached easily in Sincan where the inhabitants learned and remembered everything that he said. Candidius predicted that in about sixty years their religion would disintegrate because they did not have any records or written sources of their beliefs, such as scriptures or books which could lead to its spread.

### *Ministers’ Preaching Methods*

In the Christian propagation among the natives, Candidius submitted two methods that could be used. Firstly, he wanted to work with devout ministers and assiduous Christians to marry native women which would be an example of pious Christian life for the entire Formosa. Secondly, for the sanctification of native people to be Christian, Candidius suggested that the natives need to enter Dutch political rule and insert their influence as magistrates (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 44). The first method was practical and was used to progress conversion. It was supported by the succeeding ministers who went to Formosa. They could accommodate the natives to learn to be Christians and know the native cultures. The second method did not fulfill the needs of the Company and was only recognized as a suggestion. On the one side, Candidius believed that the Formosans would be easily converted to Christianity the fact that the Formosan society could not exist without rules and laws (Campbell, [1992](#), p. 93). On the other, he needed help from the local magistrates to protect the native villages in Siraya which should follow the Dutch rules. By these methods, the introduction of True Faith could be established and at the same time eradicate the idolatry and superstition of the Sirayan people. Candidius tried hard to preach to the native people, and he spent all his time learning their language. However, success was hard to attain. While Candidius preached all day long, some of the natives could not come as they needed to work in their fields. Some of them would pressure others not to follow what Candidius taught because it was against their faith. Although he accepted that the natives had doubts about his teaching, Candidius insisted that they should change their attitude and be baptized into Christianity (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 190).

After Candidius, Robertus Junius was the second most important missionary and could be referred to as a “new style missionary” as Blussé claims in his paper (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 169). He became a modern missionary who implemented a new way of introducing technology and agricultural methods, besides propagating Christianization in the native schools. His new style of missionary activity brought changes to the native socio-economic lifestyle. He also was the key figure in approaching two different kinds of mission work to promote conversion and civilization among the Formosans, which could be called localizing Christianity and Dutchization. He used the Sirayan language for teaching and translating Christian materials, although he was still learning. The teaching materials were a Shorter Catechism, a Larger Catechism, and a Formulary of Christianity that was simplified and adapted freely by him to make the inhabitants understand them more easily (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 197). In a further Christianization process, Junius was criticized by the surrogates that he had oversimplified the Gospel but at that time his teaching was obstructed by the lack of personnel in the Church.



### *Native Revolts in the Progress of Christian Propagation*

In 1628, Candidius noted that the Sincandians' feelings were bitterly hurt by what the Dutch had done to their brothers after the Dika incident. The ministers also recognized that in April the Sincandians changed their attitude towards them because their allies were imprisoned by Mr. Nuyts. After one year, the Dutch finally had a deal with the Japanese, which had a particular condition, namely that the prisoners could be freed. The Sincandians were delighted and their people who were still in prison were released. On the way back to their village, the Sincandians were accompanied by a huge number of Chinese. This situation resulted in the process of propagation that Candidius was attempting in the indigenous villages being more successful. The purge of paganism, savagery, idolatry, and superstition could not make any progress by what Candidius had done so far, while the propagation of Christianity went the same way. The inhabitants supposed that Candidius wanted to cast away their religion and convert them to Christianity. He was in a difficult situation while the indigenous community tested him to show them miracles, to make rain and wind, predict what would happen, and explain about the future (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 87). He could not do these kinds of things which the inhabitants claimed their priestess could do.

This happened also because the power of the *Inibs*, the old female priests, was huge and they criticized Candidius' way of preaching Christianity, a new religion that the priestesses opposed (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 184; Campbell, [1992](#), p. 94; Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 33). For Candidius, the inhabitants would not leave behind their superstitions and idolatries because of several factors such as their customs which had existed from their ancestral times and which they did not want to relinquish. They believed that their priestesses, who spoke with God every day, knew their laws and customs, and taught them as their elders had done. They would be ashamed and hated by their people, if they abandoned their traditions and as a result, their God would be resentful and not give them rice and send them enemies to pursue and kill them. If the Dutch succeeded in turning them into Christians, they believed that their God would be angry with them. The key factor in this situation came from the Sirayan society which did not have any inclination to have a new religion in their lives (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 191). Some of the inhabitants suggested that Candidius should teach in only one house which might dispose of their customs and rules gradually and convince them to try to accept Dutch traditions. Others believed that the immortality of their souls allowed them to follow certain kinds of customs (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 130). such as building a small platform in front of their houses and putting herbage and four waving flags around it to indicate that someone had died. They knew about the reward and punishment of the dead souls as was told by the elders and they believed that when someone did not behave well in this life, then his soul would suffer in the Hereafter. Candidius thought that the sins for which the inhabitants had to suffer pain were the sins of fancy that they made up and were not the sins of the Ten Commandments or sins forbidden by the Law of God (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 131).

In 1636, the Dutch Company started to focus on the mainland of Formosa where they made peace treaties and expanded their trading territories to the southern part. Then too, the ministers had different approaches that were taking effect among the indigenous people. Their aim was Christianize the natives with the approval of the Dutch Reformed Church in Formosa, but the practical aim was to civilize them (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 19). The civilizing process of the natives should be made to create a stabilization of protection for the Dutch trading company in Formosa. This protection was created inside the community of the natives and would result in decreasing inter-village warfare, especially in the Sirayan society.

The description of the natives that were created by the Dutch officers and missionaries brought several methods for the ministers to use among the natives. The native revolts

influenced the propagation of the Christian Faith and the relations between the Dutch and the natives worsened. The *Inibs* also had a significant effect which inhibited the natives from becoming Christians.

## DISCUSSION

The outcome of Christian propagation was influenced by the methods used by the missionaries. Two of the pioneering ministers, Candidius and Junius, created their methods to increase the number of Christian indigenous adherents. This subchapter explains how the results were achieved and analyze the process of Christianization in the Sirayan society.

The result of the Christianization generated by Robertus Junius and Candidius was that fifty Sincandians were baptized in 1631. The missionary approach became paternalistic, and the superiority of the Dutch protection and culture became important motives for Sirayan society to be Christian (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 16). Junius was succeeding in casting away the idols of the inhabitants of Sincan in 1632 and by 1634, the greater part of Sincandian society had converted to Christianity. From this result, the ministers decided to expand their territory of mission work to other villages. To support this missionary work, it would be useful to send Sincan people to Holland to study the ministry of the Word. In 1635, Candidius and Junius made three requests to Governor Putsman and the Council members, to send 4 or 5, young Sincandians to Holland to become Protestant ministers (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 15). Relief from the obligation of administrative responsibilities in Sincan and the preaching of the Sunday sermon in Tayouan was their last request.

On 28 October 1635, Governor Putsman wrote about his feelings regarding the requests. The Company put in a requisition for a third minister to assist the Dutch Community, which increase the number of teachers who could convert the heathens to new Christians in the small villages close to Sincan. On 26 May 1636, the first school was opened by Junius in a Sincandian village, where seventy boys around the ages of ten to thirteen were allowed to register to study (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 20). It was not long after the boys' school was opened that the girls' school was also publicly opened. Sixty girls from the ages of twelve to fourteen and younger were registered. The first lesson was to teach the alphabet to the students for reading and writing the Latin script (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 196). The characteristic of civilization was thought to be penmanship which obliged the student to master it and be released from the heathen society. Other lessons were done before and after the sermon on every Sabbath. This included the teaching of the melody of the Hundredth Psalm of David (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 196). With this effort by Junius the student numbers increased drastically in the school where the students also learned to write the native language using the Latin script. The letters of the Latin alphabet used by Junius for the native language were successful enough to attract the indigenous society to convert to Christianity.

With the increasing number of indigenous adherents of Christianity, the lack of personnel among the ministers in Formosa was a big problem at that time so the Church wanted to employ local inhabitants as ministers and schoolmasters. In this situation, the selection was derived from the Christian Dutch soldiers and the native people, whom Junius himself trained to become schoolmasters (*inlandtsche leermeesters*) (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 198). To become a schoolmaster and ministers, the Dutch ministers implemented several standardizations. The pupils who would become ministers and schoolmasters needed to have the ability to read and write Latin words and know the Articles of Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments which would lead them to fear God, with the lifestyle of godly, honest, Christian people. They should not only master the Latin language but also Dutch, Greek, and Hebrew to understand more about the meaning of Christianity. In the case of the Dutch schoolmasters, they were recruited from among Dutch soldiers that were stationed in Tayouan

and could write and read the Latin alphabet. Unfortunately, after they became well-regarded schoolmasters and had learned the native language, their time of service had elapsed, or they had died. Their places were filled by succeeding schoolmasters. However, the improvement in the quality of schoolmasters was hampered by the lack of knowledge of the language. In the progress of the missionary work, there occurred success at the end of 1636 and the beginning of 1637 when the villages around Sincan, such as Tavakan and Bacaluan, cast away their idols. The people around Sincan village invited the Governor to celebrate this progress which showed that in the peoples' minds, the Company and Christianity had a close relationship (Kuepers, 1978, p. 21). With the progress of missionary work in the society of Siraya, the Christian and Dutch civilizations became successful advancement.

The population of Christians in Sirayan villages increased greatly over the next ten years. Through this progress, on 5 February 1638, the Governor of Formosa and Rev Robertus Junius visited the school in Sincan in which the students were taught to read and sing the Creed to the melody of the 100<sup>th</sup> Psalm and the Lord's Prayer in the Sirayan language (Campbell, 1992, p. 161). With the assistant Rev Mr. Livius, they went to Bacaluan and Soulang to inform the inhabitants that the next day they would hold a morning Sermon. Following good preparation, the inhabitants were attending the Church in numbers of about one thousand and eight hearers (Campbell, 1992, p. 162). This included the village of Bacaluan and the surrounding villages. This achievement resulted in thousand and forty-seven of the Sincan inhabitants receiving baptism and increased the next year. The progress of Christianizing the inhabitants was growing rapidly in 1643. Junius was mandated by the Consistory of Batavia to establish a Consistory (*Kerkeraad*) in Formosa which was formed in October 1643. There were two Consistories, in Soulang and Tayouan which became autonomous of the Dutch Reformed Church in Formosa (Hsin-hui, 2008, p. 198). In 1647, the progress of the school was also significant with the students making great advances. Although their parents preferred that their children should work in the family fields the students who were diligent, later were given a little present of rice by the ministers. As a result, they were encouraged to study and help their parents. Meanwhile, the students started to learn the Dutch language in 1648 and the translation that Junius made was rewritten to have a closer meaning to that in the sources (Kuepers, 1978, p. 33; Hsin-hui, 2008, p. 199). The perspective of the Dutch officers and ministers of the inhabitants came from the Dutch points of view without thinking or allowing the traditions of the inhabitants to be adapted and judged to become a true reflection.

The year 1652 was a peaceful time for the Dutch and the native villagers in Formosa. They built a good relationship with the Governor, Nicolaes Verburch, who visited Soulang, Bacaluan, Mattauw, and Sincan (Blussé, 1995, p. 427). He and his two Councillors received nice feedback from the people and were treated well. Meanwhile, the Dutch ministers were still facing the problem of the *Inibs*. With their lifestyle in Formosa, the Sirayan should have been aware of their traditions that were entirely uncivilized and needed to be changed and deepened, especially those of kindness, obedience, and politeness (Campbell, 1992, p. 146). These standards were set because the ministers were afraid if the *Inibs* stayed in Formosa, the people would never let their superstition and idolatry go. In March 1651, a group of *Inibs* was deported from Tirozen to Dorko (a village near Mattauw and Soulang) without approval from the Church Council or other ministers. There arose an opposing general opinion from the clerics and political members of the Company in Formosa because the Church members could not decide which region the *Inibs* should go to so as not to cause any trouble for the Christian villages where the ministers were still living in their houses. In 1652, Reverend Hambroeck recommended that they should indeed migrate to Dorko which was supported by the Former Fiscal expert Dirck Snoeck and the Governor General of Batavia (Blussé, 1995, p. 435). They wanted the *Inibs* not to cause obstruct the propagation of Christianity and be banished from the

region of the Word of God in Formosa (Campbell, [1992](#), p. 288). It happened because the *Inibs* were treated like deities by almost all the Formosan people and poisoned some of the Dutch officers in Tirozen as reported by Daniel Gravius in 1652. Commissioner Gerard Demmer asked the Batavia Church Council to destroy or deploy the *Inibs* to another region so the community would not be influenced by them anymore. Gerard Demmer proposed the suggestions from the Church Council to Gravius to make a comment about that issue.

From the Dutch perspective, the *Inibs* should be stopped from carrying on their superstitions and opposing God's Word as shown by the "blind heathens". The *Inibs* had a disgraceful attitude towards the Gospel and continued old superstitious practices and daily sacrifices (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 429). They also sacrificed food and drink to their idols and did exorcisms; purified houses that had inclement air; tried to cure sickness; and took care of the hunting fields from which they indirectly profited from the citizens on these occasions. The Dutch had not heard any kind of news about what had happened in Tirozen from the other village when the *Inibs* went away. With the release of the ministers from political duties, the places could be given to the people who were capable of following instructions and the Dutch ministers suggested that they could have more time to spend with the "blind heathens" to convert them to Christianity.

In 1660, the Consistory of the Formosan Church decided to expand their territories to the south, and it became a huge challenge for the ministers to convert that region. Although schools and a church had been built in that area only a clergyman and schoolmasters stayed there. The Consistory of Batavia refused to accept that the southern schools be placed in the hands of Formosan ministers which resulted in more effort to civilize the people. These conditions worsened in 1661 when Koxinga (Cheng Ch'eng-kung) tried to conquer the Formosan islands. He was a Chinese-Japanese merchant and also a chief of a pirate group that wanted to evacuate from Mainland China to Formosa. On 30 April 1661, the soldiers of Koxinga arrived on the coast of Formosa (Hsin-hui, [2008](#), p. 221). Meanwhile, the Formosan Christians and the natives that were attending the Church continued to be educated by their teachers. The Dutch were giving their best efforts to maintain their power in Formosa, while Koxinga took control over Fort Provintia which was in Saccam, in the northern part of Formosa. This fort became the first to fall during the Dutch regime on 2 May 1661 (Blussé, [1995](#), p. 444). It was not hard to conquer the northern part of Formosa where the inhabitants were willing to surrender to the new power. In Siraya, the people had gradually decreased their honor of the Dutch and went back to their old superstitions although in this area was the strongest influence of the Dutch. However, the minister, Hambroek could not do anything to stop the people's old superstitions and was being disobeyed by the natives. The Christian or Dutch names of the natives were forcefully removed and changed to their original names (Kuepers, [1978](#), p. 43). The next year on 1 February 1662, Fort Zeelandia was surrendered. The propagation of Christianity was almost stopped and the indigenous people in Sirayan villages showed little resistance to the new regime of Koxinga.

With the successful propagation among the Sirayan society, results among the Christian indigenous adherents significantly increased during the tenure of Candidius and Junius. The establishment of the native schools influenced the progress of Christian propagation among the Sirayan and the power of the *Inibs* decreased.

## CONCLUSION

The establishment of the Dutch Company in Formosa obliged the Dutch to deal with the Sirayan society. The description of the natives that were created by the Dutch officers and missionaries resulted in some conclusions about the situation where the Sirayan villages had inter-village warfare. The Company made peace treaties with the native villages through their



analysis of the conditions in those native villages. It became easier for the ministers to propagate their Christian religion by interacting with the natives and living among them. The methods of the ministers were effective and the natives such as Sincandians, Soulangians, Bacaluans, and Mattauers had a close relationship with the Dutch ministers. Alongside this relationship, the ministers investigated the natives and using their perspective, created methods for converting the natives to Christianity. The ministers recognized that the beliefs of the natives did not have any kind of records or written sources and only the *Inibs* had full knowledge of these beliefs. The natives' beliefs were not on a strong foundation, and this was an opportunity for the Dutch to propagate the new religion. The conversion was supported by the establishment of churches, schools, and the translation of the Bible into the Sirayan language. The result of the Christian conversion of the natives was successful since most of the Sirayan were converted to Christianity.

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