Formosan indigenous peoples and the Spanish (1626–1642)

by

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For my mother and father, my sister and my Aunt Barbara.

Personal statement

In *Hard Times*, Dickens described the fictional town of Coketown, which was, at least in part, inspired by Preston (Lynch, 2002, p. N/A[1]):

> It was a town of red brick, or of brick that would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it [...] It contained several large streets all very like one another, and many small streets still more like one another. (Dickens, 2013, p. N/A)

Preston is the site of today's University of Central Lancashire, and it is also my hometown. Having studied an MA in Spanish, followed by over a decade learning Mandarin, I spent many years searching for a thesis topic that would combine these two interests. When Professor Niki Alsford, of the University of Central Lancashire, suggested studying the indigenous people related to the Spanish settlement in Taiwan, finally I found the topic I could study for over three years.

I have been asked many times during the course of my PhD why a Prestonian would want to study the Spanish settlement in Taiwan. In attempting to answer the question, I was reminded of another quotation from *Hard Times*:

> Now, what I want is Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the mind of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them. (Dickens, 2013, p. N/A)

Characters like Gradgrind, who spoke those words in the book, argue that education is only about utilitarian facts, for children who will eventually become cogs in local factories. The quotation begins the book, and it sets up Dickens' counter-argument that education and life are about much more than just facts. To my surprise, this quotation has turned out to be highly relevant in my thesis, which is a history which in itself attempts to look beyond facts, questioning the discourses of truth and power relating to indigenous people in Spanish documents from the 1600s. Such issues in themselves proved fascinating, with the Spanish and Taiwanese context making them all the more interesting.

As someone from Preston, with no ties to either Taiwan or Spain, just a passion for both places, I hope to have shed new light on an overlooked part of the history of Taiwan and of the Spanish empire, whilst opening up a space for others to explore.

[1] N/A is used to denote 'not available'. It is used when the author or the page numbers are not known or, as is most often the case, where page numbers have not been applied to online resources.

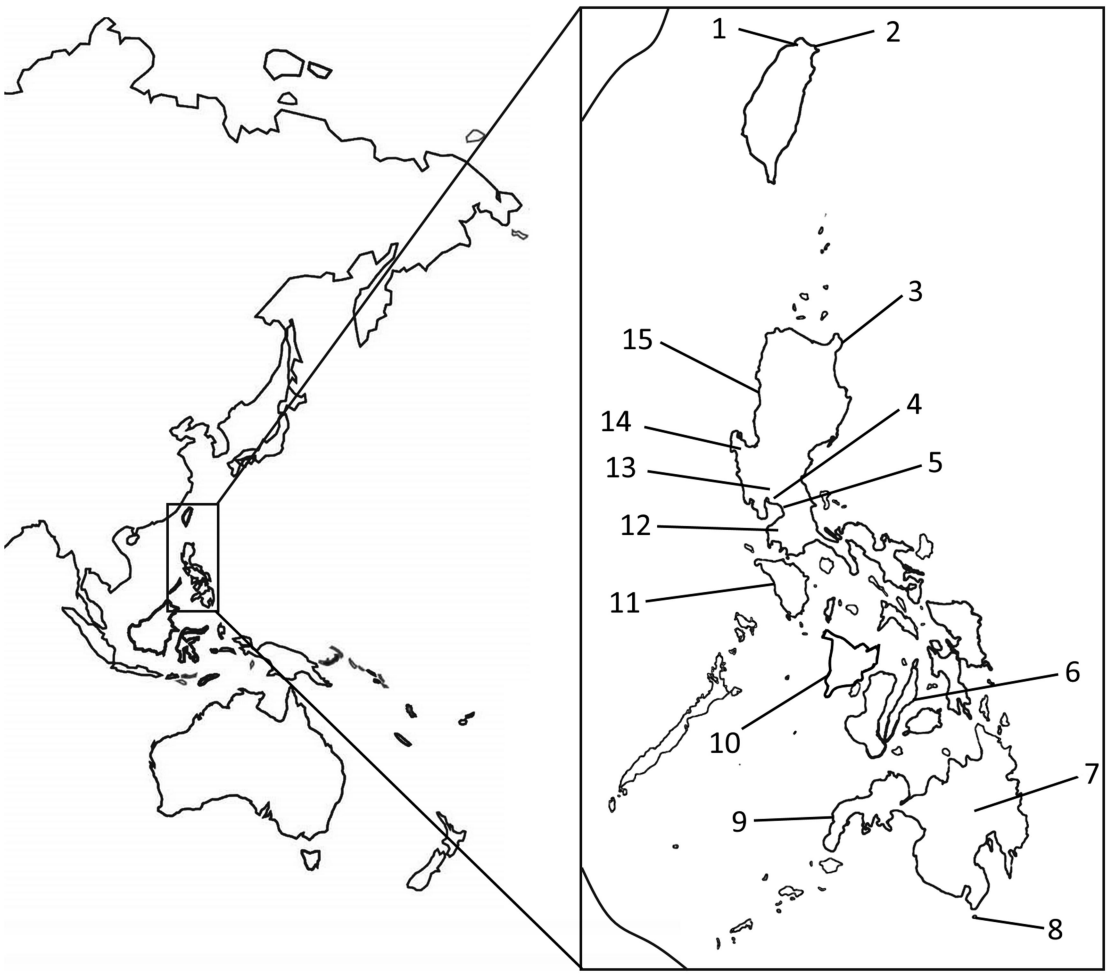
Thanks

Thank you to my supervisors, Professor Niki Alsford and Lara Momesso. It was an unbelievable stroke of luck that I should come across Professor Niki Alsford, an expert in my precise area of interest, in my hometown of Preston. It has been an extraordinary honour to work with him, and no less of an honour to work with Lara Momesso. I could not have wished for a more inspiring and helpful supervisory team.

Thank you to the European Association of Taiwan Studies, whose 2019 Fieldwork Grant enabled me to undertake an incredible tour of archives in central Spain.

I would also like to thank my family. Undoubtedly, this thesis would not have happened without their unwavering support.

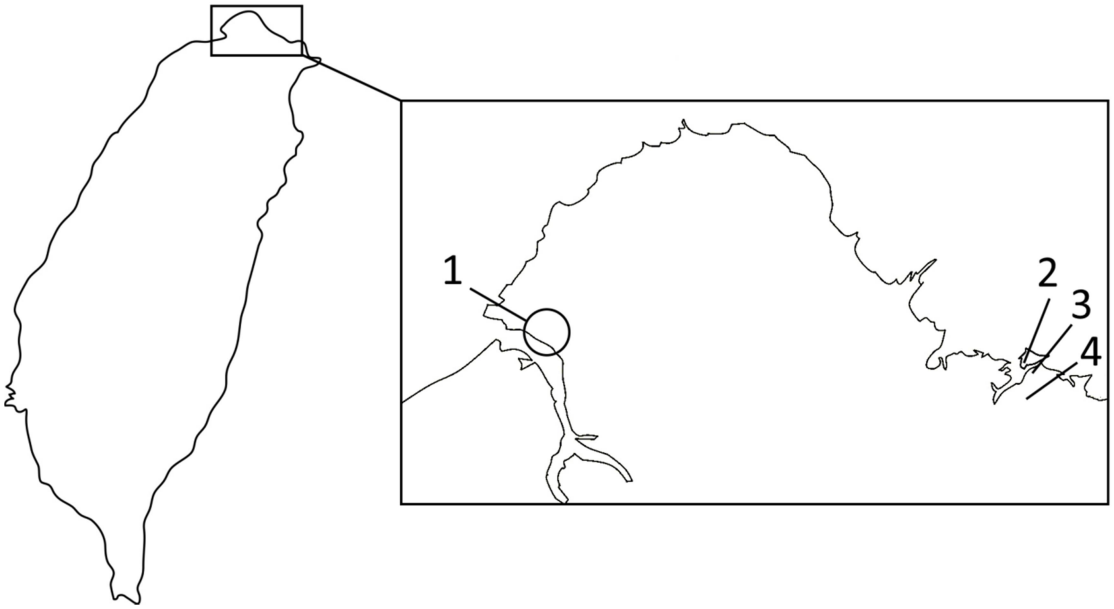
Thanks to everyone who helped along the way, during difficult Covid days.



Map 1: Outline of Taiwan and the Philippines, showing their location in the Western Pacific. Annotated to show locations of principal place names mentioned in this thesis.

The names were mentioned in source documents from the 1500s and 1600s. This map is for general reference only, to help readers locate place names rather than rather than to delimit or define, for example, provinces, regions or towns. Locations are approximate and names are subject to variations throughout source documents.

1. Tamsui
2. Keelung
3. Cagayan
4. Bulacan
5. Manila on Luzon Island
6. Cebu settlement on Cebu island
7. Mindanao island
8. Sarangani island
9. Zamboanga (peninsula)
10. Panay island
11. Mindoro island
12. Tuy
13. Pampanga
14. Pangasinan
15. Ilocos region



Map 2: Outline of Taiwan, annotated, showing principal placenames in this thesis, for general reference.

The placenames used have been rendered inconsistently in various languages over many centuries. This thesis prioritises the names in the first column below. The principal exceptions, in the second column, appear mostly in quotations. For more details on the definitions of such place names, see: Borao Mateo (2009) and Chiu (2008).

Principal name used in this thesis	Some name variants:	Notes:
1. Tamsui	Danshui Tanchuy Tamchuy Santo Domingo	Surrounding areas contain Tamsui villages such as Pantao and Senar (Borao Mateo, 2009, p. 58).
2. Keelung	Kelung Jilong Quelang Santísima Trinidad [port] San Salvador [fort] Santiago [cove]	The Spanish names refer to different parts of the 'Keelung' settlement. We used the following quotations as definitions: 'The port of Santísima Trinidad and the fort of San Salvador' (Carreño de Valdés, 1626, p. 75). 'On 10 May [1626] [we] reached a cove that they called Santiago.' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73) The ambiguity of such terms is shown in these quotes: 'Finally, they arrived in the city of San Salvador so broken and exhausted that he confessed to having gone through much.' (Aduarte, 1640b, p. 208) 'San Salvador the main port, can host two other ministries.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 185)
3. Quimaurri	Kimaurij Kimauri Camaurri	(Borao Mateo, 2009, p. 76)
4. Taparri	Tapparij	(Borao Mateo, 2009, p. 76). Cabalan is to the east.

Abstract

In their description of an unsuccessful and short-lived attempt to settle Formosa (1626–1642), Spanish documents contain what may appear to be an unimportant story. It is extraordinary, however, that documents describing indigenous life in northern Formosa in the early-to-mid-1600s exist at all, even if those descriptions focus on a Spanish colony from a Spanish perspective. These groups of indigenous people, sometimes only mentioned in passing, witnessed one of the first concerted efforts to colonise Taiwan, the first of many waves that would come to transform the island and its indigenous inhabitants. Furthermore, this thesis will show how these people exposed the weaknesses of a Spanish empire that was stretched to its limits, and in this way successfully resisted that early wave of colonisation.

This thesis aims to refocus investigations into Spanish Formosa away from the Spanish to look at the people who were in the majority on the island during this time. It is the first time the whole of the Spanish colony has been studied from the point of view of its indigenous inhabitants. Using a theme-based discourse analysis and cultural history, this thesis shows that, despite the unpromising apparent lack of sources, there is a great deal that we can know about indigenous people through Spanish documents.

This is a history of Formosa in a Spanish-empire context that is dominated by the Philippines. Bearing this in mind, this thesis takes a fresh, inclusive approach to source documents, considering Formosa to be part of the same discursive area as its neighbours to the south. In this way, the array of sources considered relevant is significantly increased, opening up a range of analytical possibilities.

This thesis argues for different emphases regarding Taiwan's Spanish colonial history and indigenous history. It shows that, although the Dutch are often given sole credit for ousting the Spanish from Formosa in their attention-grabbing final battle, Taiwan's indigenous people played a not insignificant part in the failure of the Spanish settlement. This thesis also makes the case for the complexity of the colonial situation in northern Taiwan. Tempting as it is to see the Spanish and the indigenous people as simple diametric opposites, as the coloniser and the colonised only, this thesis shows how the two groups interacted both negatively and positively, not just with each other but with the wider milieu of people in northern Taiwan at the time, reflecting the area's status as a Pacific island entrepôt linking Japan, the Philippines and the mainland. This 'history from below' shows how these people interacted on everyday terms, as human beings, beyond the battles of major powers, at this crucial moment in Formosan and Spanish-empire history.

Glossary

An explanation of certain terms to clarify their meaning in the context of Formosa during the time of the Spanish settlement, and in the Spanish colony in the Philippines until that point.

Augustinians: One of the Catholic religious orders in the Philippines. They created some writings about Formosa, but were not amongst the main missionaries in Formosa.

Bishop: The principal bishop, in this thesis, is of the Philippines, which also included Formosa at that time. There was no separate bishop of Formosa.

Bohol: Island in the Philippines.

Cabalan: (Also: Cabaran / Kavalan) Indigenous group near to the Keelung Spanish settlement.

Cagayan: Indigenous people from the Philippines who served as soldiers for the Spanish in Formosa.

Caguinauran: Village mentioned by Esquivel, in the Keelung area.

Cebu: (Also: Zubu) Island in the Philippines, site of the first permanent Spanish colony.

Chichimecos: Group of people mentioned in the Philippines.

Chincheo: (Also: Zhangzhou) Place on mainland China.

Dutch: In the context of the Western Pacific in the early 1600s, the Dutch were enemies and rivals of the Spanish. By the 1620s, the Spanish Philippines had existed for more than half a century. The Dutch were expanding in the area, having established their principal base in Jakarta, then called Batavia, in 1619. The Dutch created their settlement on south-west Taiwan in 1624, two years before the Spanish founded their first settlement in the north of the island. See Chiu (2008); Andrade (2009).

Dominicans: The principal religious order whose missionaries worked in Formosa. Most documents written by missionaries were written by Dominicans.

El Cubo: 'The Cube'. The smallest of the four Spanish fortifications in Keelung, quickly overrun by the Dutch in the final battle for Keelung.

Encomiendas: Defined as follows by *Britannica online*: 'A grant by the crown to a conquistador, a soldier, an official, or others of a specified number of "Indios" (Native Americans and, later, Filipinos) living in a particular area. The receiver of the grant, the encomendero, could exact tribute from the "Indios" in gold, in kind, or in labour and was required to protect them and instruct them in the Christian faith.' (Encomienda, n.d.)

Formosa: (Also: Hermosa) Formosa ('beautiful') is the Portuguese name given to what would eventually be known as Taiwan. Formosa is used in this thesis as opposed to Taiwan in order to make clear the historic separation between the island of yesteryear and today's political reality.

Franciscans: After the Dominicans, the Franciscans were the most common religious order in Formosa.

Fujian: The region of China nearest to Taiwan.

Gavi: Indigenous village near to the Spanish Cebu settlement in the Philippines. Noted enemies of the Spanish.

Governor: Formosa and the Philippines each had governors. The governor of the Philippines was senior to the Governor of Formosa.

Harquebus: 16th-century firearm used by the Spanish.

Heping: Modern transliteration of the name of the island ('dao' in Mandarin) where the Spanish Keelung settlement was located.

Hermosa: Spanish alternative to the Portuguese name Formosa ('beautiful'). Used often, but uniquely, in Spanish documents.

Isla [Hermosa]: 'Island' in Spanish.

Ium Gentium: A term used by Spanish thinkers that, for the sake of brevity in this glossary, refers to natural law, or laws that are innate.

Jesuit: A religious order who worked in the Philippines and are mentioned infrequently in reference to Formosa.

Keelung: The first and principal Spanish settlement was located on an island in the Keelung area. Keelung is the term used most generally in this thesis to refer to the name of the Spanish settlement. There are many variants of this name – see the map 2 for more details.

Koxinga: Koxinga, in the context of this thesis, is most famous for ousting the Dutch from Taiwan in the 1660s. Although Beijing was taken in 1644, marking the transition between the Ming and the Qing dynasties, the 'rump' of the Ming court struggled on for some years. Resistance in mainland China was over by 1650 (Roberts, 2011, p. 139) but some of the last challenges to Qing power came at the hands of Koxinga, with his bases in Xiamen and Taiwan.

La Mira: 'The Viewpoint'. One of four Spanish strongholds in Keelung quickly overrun by the Dutch during the final battle for the island.

La Retirada: 'The Retreat'. The second largest of the Spanish fortifications in Keelung. Subject of the fiercest fighting between the Spanish and the Dutch. Defended for five days before Keelung fell to the Dutch.

Lichoco: The name of a village or group of indigenous people near to the Tamsui settlement.

Luzon: The largest island of the Philippines that, by 1626, was under Spanish control. Location of Manila, the main stronghold of the Spanish.

Manila: (Also: Menilla) By the time of the Spanish settlement in Formosa, Manila was already the location of the main Spanish settlement in the Philippines.

Matan: (Also: Matam) Around 1565, the time of the earliest Spanish settlements in Cebu in the Philippines, the Matan people were the principal indigenous enemies of the Spanish.

Mindanao: The principal island in the southern Philippines. If Formosa marked the northern limits of Spanish expansion in the 1630s, Mindanao marked the southern limits. Spanish grasp of this part of the Philippines, in the 1620s, was similarly tenuous.

Ming: Chinese dynasty 1368–1644, with remnants and supporters holding out until the 1660s, not least Koxinga and his family in Taiwan.

Moros: (Also: Moors) In the Philippines in the late 16th and early 17th century, this term was used to refer, in very general terms, to Muslims of any ethnicity.

New Spain: Today's Mexico. Location of the principal authorities for Spain's overseas territories. In practice, this meant that Formosa was controlled by the Philippines, which was controlled by New Spain, which was controlled ultimately by the King of Castile.

Pampanga: Indigenous people from the Philippines who served as soldiers for the Spanish in Formosa.

Panay: (Also: Panae) Island in the Philippines.

Pantao: Indigenous village near the Tamsui settlement.

Philippines: The Philippines' Spanish colony was founded in 1565 and was just over six decades old when the attempt to settle Formosa began.

ROC: Republic of China. Official name for Taiwan.

Qing: Chinese dynasty 1644–1912. Note that the earliest date is almost contemporaneous with the Spanish settlement in Formosa. However, during the early years of the Qing dynasty, Formosa was distant from political changes that were focused on Beijing. For more details on the Qing dynasty and Formosa see: Chiu (2008); Rubinstein (2007).

Quimaurri: The principal indigenous village mentioned in Spanish documents, next to the Spanish settlement in Keelung.

San Salvador: The name of the Spanish fort at Keelung. The principal Spanish stronghold in Taiwan.

Sangley: Term used to describe overseas Chinese traders, particularly in the Philippines, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

Santísima Trinidad: 'Most Holy Trinity'. The Spanish name for the Keelung port area.

Sarangani (Also: Sarangan) Small island off the southern tip of the Philippines. Subject of an early, failed attempt at Spanish colonisation in 1548.

Senar: The principal indigenous settlement near Tamsui during the time of the Spanish settlement.

Taiwan: During the dates of this thesis, 1626–1642, the name Taiwan was not used to refer to the whole island.

Tamsui: Site of the second of the Spanish settlements c. 1630–1637. See map 2 for alternative spellings.

Taparri: The second most frequently mentioned indigenous village in Spanish documents, near to the Spanish settlement in Keelung.

Zeelandia: Name sometimes used to refer to Dutch Formosa.

Table of contents

1. Introduction

The sites of the former Spanish settlements in Taiwan are located in today's Keelung and Tamsui, which are bustling coastal communities fewer than 30 kilometres to the north-east and north-west of Taiwan's modern capital, Taipei. Heping Island, at the entrance to Keelung harbour, is where the Spanish settlement was located. Today it is a busy working port. The site of the Spanish settlement in Tamsui, in contrast, has become something of a tourist attraction, despite being the less significant of the two Spanish settlements.

During the centuries since the Spanish left Taiwan, any remains of the original settlements on the northern tip of Taiwan have been almost completely obliterated. In 2011 digs began at the Keelung site on Heping Island, revealing some of the last remains extant (Berrocal et al., 2018, p. N/A), including foundations and walls of a Spanish church. This archaeological site is now open to the public (Keelung Tourism, 2020), the only visible reminder of the original Spanish settlement in Keelung. With a working port dominating the area, however, these remains have not been fully exploited for their historic Spanish links.

The Tamsui museum commemorates the long history of that area. The Spanish did not construct any stone buildings in Tamsui (Lee, 2006, p. 165), however, so any remains were lost long ago. The present-day constructions instead evince the Dutch and even the British time in the area (Tamsui Historical Museum, n.d.). The nearby estuary is the ideal location for sightseers to enjoy the sunsets of western Taiwan.

After four centuries, it may be unsurprising that so little remains of the short-lived Spanish colonies. The Keelung settlement lasted only 16 years, between 1626 and 1642, whilst the Tamsui settlement lasted around seven years, up to 1637. The last significant remains of the Spanish presence in Keelung were demolished in 1937 after a clash between 'protectionists and developers' (Borao Mateo, 2002, p. xxiv). The site of the Spanish fortress was replaced, partly, by a dry dock: 'All the ruins were demolished; the terrain levelled and, in 1937, construction began on the first dry dock that probably overlapped a part of the old castle.' (Borao Mateo, 2002, p. xxvii)

What is all the more noteworthy is how overlooked the Spanish sites were even before those ruins were completely demolished. In 1867 a British writer, Cuthbert Collingwood, described Keelung and Heping Island, listing many variants of Heping's name without once mentioning any Spanish influence: 'The harbour of Kelung [Keelung] is hollowed out of the sandstone strata which are here very thick, and inclined at an angle of about 15 degrees. The cliffs are worn into numerous picturesque ravines on either side, which are mostly well wooded and have several villages along their bases. […] Palm Island [Heping/Sheliao Island,

Hepingdao/Sheliaodao, 和平島、社潦島], at the entrance of the harbour, produces no palm trees, as its name would seem to indicate.' (Alsford, 2015, pp. 85–86)

The same man, when he described Tamsui, again overlooked the Spanish angle, but did mention the Dutch, the people who ejected the Spanish from Taiwan in 1642: 'Immediately on the left hand, on entering [the Tamsui estuary], is a small Chinese fort; and half a mile higher are the ruins of an old Dutch fort – a square red-brick, casemated building, once, no doubt, of great strength, and elevated 50 or 60 feet above the water's edge.' (Alsford, 2015, p. 73)

A map of northern Taiwan from 1717 (Teng, 2004, p. 91), printed less than a century after the departure of the Spanish from the island, also does not mention the Spanish settlements. Nor did Yu Yong-he in the travel diaries he wrote documenting his stay in the north of the island from 15th June to 17th November 1697. He visited the sites of both of Spain's former settlements but again did not mention their Spanish connection.

Fewer than 60 years had passed since the Spanish were ousted, but those six decades had been tumultuous times for Formosa. There were many power grabs and waves of colonisation in the 1600s, involving the Dutch (1624–1668), Koxinga and his heirs (1661–1683), and the Qing dynasty (1683–1895), but in those early years in particular they were all focused on the south-west of the island. There seems to have been no concerted effort to forget the Spanish settlements – they merely lost their importance and slipped into near-oblivion. The Spanish settlements disappeared into further irrelevance down the centuries, as their short history was sidelined by subsequent Dutch, Qing, Japanese and ROC narratives of Taiwan.

Until recently it could have been argued, therefore, that if the Spanish settlement was to be studied at all, it was despite its insignificance to Taiwan's history, rather than because of its importance. In their description of an unsuccessful and short-lived attempt to settle Formosa, Spanish documents may appear to contain an unimportant story. Even Borao Mateo, a preeminent expert in this area, openly stated this in an overview of his own work: 'The Spaniards stayed in Taiwan in the 17th century for only 16 years. In such a short time they did few things and left behind little influence in the island when they left (a huge fortress, some place names, more than one thousand converts, etc.).' (Borao Mateo, 2007, p. 1)

Borao Mateo focuses on Spanish aspects of the history, and it is true that Spanish documents do not describe, in Spanish terms, a 'successful' conquest, nor is this even a notably outstanding failure. At most, according to Borao Mateo, the Spanish experience in Formosa

is: 'A metaphor of the decline of the Spanish empire.' (Borao Mateo, 2007, p. 1) When we look at the Spanish documents through certain lenses, however, we can say that they are much more important than Borao Mateo suggests. What they detail is not just a 'metaphor' but a concrete example of that Spanish decline, showing how the European conflicts of the time, as discussed in the *historical background* section, were affecting the distant shores of its empires. Events in Formosa illustrate that the Spanish empire had reached its apex and was no longer able to hold on to its outer limits. The Formosan indigenous people, therefore, witnessed and participated in the moment when the Spanish empire began its long decline. They would have seen it differently, however: this was the centre of their world, not the periphery of an empire.

It is extraordinary that documents describing indigenous life in northern Formosa in the 1620s exist at all, even if those descriptions were written from a Spanish perspective. These are amongst the first significant accounts of these indigenous people at a defining moment of the histories of both colonised and coloniser. As well as contributing to the beginning of the Spanish empire's long decline, these groups of indigenous people witnessed some of the first concerted efforts to colonise Taiwan, the first of many waves that would come to transform the island and its indigenous inhabitants. In the following quotation, Peel writes in terms of missionaries but his comments apply to all of the Spanish source documents about Formosa: 'Missionaries were among the first outsiders to make sustained contact with indigenous peoples, and their writings frequently contain the accounts of local culture and society, oral traditions etc. which, whatever their deficiencies, have an indispensable documentary value precisely for standing right at the beginning of modern cultural change.' (Peel, 1996, p. 71) The long sunset of the Spanish empire is not the focus of this thesis but we will show how, at this moment, indigenous people exposed the growing weaknesses of this colonial power, successfully opposing one the largest empires on the planet and resisting one of Formosa's first waves of colonisation.

It is only since the publication of Borao Mateo's *Spaniards in Taiwan*, beginning in 2001, that researchers have had straightforward access to the vast majority of Spanish Formosa documents in one collection, opening up the possibilities for an in-depth analysis of this history. As Borao Mateo notes himself in the introduction to *Spaniards in Taiwan*: 'Historical studies on 17th century Taiwan has *[sic]* not yet fully developed because the European materials have not been thoroughly exploited. But recently we are witnessing a real springtime in Taiwan studies.' (Borao Mateo, 2014, p. xi)

Heylen confirmed how this 'springtime' has affected views of Taiwanese history: 'Increasingly there has been felt the need to write Taiwan history as a story that is important

in itself, and not merely as an epiphenomenon of events elsewhere.' (Heylen, 2010, p. 29) Pointing to one way in which this can be achieved, she states: 'Generally speaking, there is agreement that studies on the intercultural interactions between Chinese, Aboriginals, Japanese and Europeans during Taiwan's early history are still in the incipient stage.' (Heylen, 2010, p. 28)

Jenco and Tremml-Werner made a similar point in their paper *Historiography of the other: global history and the indigenous pasts of Taiwan* (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021). Twenty years after the first publications of *Spaniards in Taiwan*, and over a decade after Heylen's comment on 'intercultural interactions', Jenco and Tremml-Werner stated that indigenous narratives in particular tend to be marginalised: 'Present-day narratives of global history tend to ignore Taiwan, and marginalise the contributions of its indigenous people – particularly in the early modern period.' (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021, p. 240) With a phrase that she relates to 'plains aborigines' but which could equally apply to the indigenous people of northern Taiwan[2] and the Spanish, Heylen adds further weight to Jenco and Tremml-Werner's assertion when she states: 'Such a putting of the so-called periphery (or peripheries) at the center of the larger imperial story is crucial.' (Heylen, 2010, p. 27)

A typical overview of the history of the Spanish settlement is offered in *How Taiwan Became Chinese*. Tonio Andrade begins the Spanish section of his 2008 book with the following passage, which serves as a useful summary of the settlement's Spanish timeline but is also reflective of how the Spanish story has been prioritised until now:

> The Spanish established a fortress in the Bay of Jilong (雞籠) [Keelung] in northern Taiwan in 1626, just two years after the Dutch established their colony in southern

[2] The Spanish made few distinctions between the various groups of indigenous people they encountered in northern Taiwan. Such differences that they did find will be discussed throughout this thesis. In terms of Taiwan in general, Teng discusses the complexity of their origins in *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*: 'With regards to the Formosan aborigines, much is open for debate, even down to their origins: Modern anthropologists consider the indigenous people of Taiwan, or Formosans, to be Malayo-Polynesian, or Austronesian.' (2004, p. 104)

Blundell discussed their origins in *Austronesian Taiwan*: 'The Austronesian-speaking peoples of Taiwan, also known as the Formosan Aboriginal peoples, are generally regarded as the descendants of the early Neolithic inhabitants of this culturally diverse island. The first Austronesian speakers may have settled in Taiwan 6,500 or more years ago. Over the millennia, their descendants spread out over the island and diversified culturally, resulting in the many Formosan languages spoken on the island in historic times.' (Blundell, 2009, p. xv)

This spread of people has led to an enormous variety of indigenous groups, as reflected in the question of how many indigenous languages there are, as discussed by Blundell: 'How many different Formosan languages are spoken in Taiwan? This is the question that I am very often asked, but unfortunately this is not an easy question to answer [...] The ways of sub-grouping and the ethnic or language names [...] differ depending upon different interest fields, such as ethnology, linguistics and politics. Furthermore, the numbers and the ways of sub-grouping differ according to the time period of each linguistic grouping's placement: Qing dynasty, the period of Japanese occupation, and after World War II.' (Blundell, 2009, p. 71)

What we can know is that the northern Taiwan indigenous people were quite isolated from groups in the south, perhaps reflected in the following quotation which states that groups could become so isolated that it was possible to have no knowledge of the ocean: 'One could say that its [Taiwan's] complex, treacherous terrain made it larger than it actually was, so that a given culture could become entirely land-based and forget its connection with the sea, even though the sea was never more than 70 kilometers away at any point. The mountain-dwelling Atayal people, for instance, as recorded in ethnographic materials, had no knowledge of the ocean.' (Blundell, 2009, p. 382)

> Taiwan. Shortly thereafter the Spanish built a fortress in Danshui (淡水) [Tamsui], and by the mid-1630s they had brought much of northern Taiwan under their control. But the Spanish colony was beset with a fatal weakness. It did not serve its primary purpose: to check the advance of Spain's enemies – the Japanese and the Dutch – toward the Philippines and to protect Manila-bound Chinese junks from enemy attack. At the same time it brought in few revenues of its own, being dependent on relief missions from Manila. Spanish officials therefore began to see the colony as a waste of scarce resources. (Andrade, 2009, p. 80)

Andrade does not mention the indigenous people of Formosa in this summary of events on the island. He goes on to mention them late in the paragraph that follows, but only as the targets of Spanish missionary work: '[missionaries] made converts among the island's aborigines.' (Andrade, 2009, p. 80)

This construction of events is understandable in chapters whose discourses are as much guided by as forged from Spanish colonial documents. As Jenco and Tremml-Werner state, however: 'This risks registering indigenous peoples only as objects of colonial intervention or reformation by a dominant (typically European) power.' (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021, p. 240) This focus on the Spanish has led to a temptation to 'colonise' the history of the Spanish settlement *ex post facto*, prioritising a Spain-centric version of history, as if, on some level, the Spanish succeeded in their attempts to create long-lasting settlements in Formosa[3]. The indigenous people, who had lived in the area for centuries and were still in the majority during those times, somewhat ironically play second fiddle to a few Spanish colonisers in this colonial view of Taiwan's history.

This thesis aims, therefore, to refocus investigations into Spanish Formosa to look at the people who *were* in the majority on the island as the Spanish attempted to create their

[3] In the Spanish context, this view of Taiwan's history particularly emphasises European rivalry on the island, between the Spanish and their main European enemies at the time, the Dutch. Such a framing of the history, in turn, has led to a version of Taiwanese history which generally states that the Dutch ejected the Spanish from the island.

There is no doubt that one of the principal reasons why the Spanish set up their colony in the north of Formosa was to counter the Dutch presence in the south-west: '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. The Spanish occupation of northern Formosa was a strategic move in reaction to the Dutch menace.' (Chiu, 2008, p. 77–8) This specific link between the Dutch presence in the area and the creation of a settlement is repeated by Andrade in *How Taiwan Became Chinese*: 'The arrival of the Dutch in Far Eastern waters gave Spanish proponents of colonization a new argument. In 1618, the governor-general of the Philippines dispatched Bartolomé Martinez, a Dominican priest, to warn Chinese officials that the Dutch were attacking Chinese ships sailing to Manila. During his journey he twice sought refuge in southwestern Taiwan, and he came away from the experience feeling that Spain should add the island to its empire.' (Andrade, 2009, p. 82)

There is also no doubt that the Dutch did oust the Spanish, but the following Dutch-focused version of history, for example, portrays the final ejection of the Spanish only as a European event, overlooking any Formosan indigenous role. 'In August 1642, after besieging Quelang [Keelung] for five days, Captain Hendrik Harrouzee commanding some 700 soliders and sailors forced the remaining 330 Spaniards and Pampangans to surrender' (Chiu, 2008, p. 88). That the Spanish and the Dutch were enemies is made very clear in Spanish documents. For example the last governor, Gonzalo Portillo, uses the word 'enemy' synonymously with the Dutch, as pointed out in square brackets in *Spaniards in Taiwan*'s translation: 'The enemy [ie the Dutch] came, in fact, to seize La Mira from me.' (Portillo, 1641, p. 328) However, this emphasis on a European version of Taiwanese history excludes the indigenous people from their own island's history.

colony. As Armitage et al. put it, this thesis is concerned with: 'The reinterpretation of conventional imperial histories to foreground and understand implications and viewpoints from an indigenous perspective.' (Armitage et al., 2018, p. 74) It is the first time the whole of the Spanish colony has been studied from the point of view of its indigenous inhabitants. The theme-based discourse analysis and cultural history of this thesis show that there is a great deal that we can know about indigenous people despite an unpromising lack of source documents.

More narrowly, this thesis argues for different emphases regarding Spanish colonial history and Taiwanese history. We show that although the Dutch are given credit for ousting the Spanish from Formosa in their attention-grabbing final battle, the indigenous people played a not insignificant part in the failure of the Spanish settlement. The Dutch and the Spanish had clear enmity; the Dutch did eject the Spanish, and the Dutch colony lasted until the 1660s, well beyond the lifespan of the Spanish settlement. These details are all Eurocentric, however, and indigenous people, although constructed by Europeans in their documents, do not have to be seen through this orientalist and colonialist lens alone. This thesis will attempt to redress this balance.

We point out, for example, that the indigenous people, in proving reluctant to convert to Catholicism, removed one of the main Spanish justifications for the settlement. Indigenous people consistently disrupted Spanish trade with the mainland, undermining another such justification. They proved unwilling to cooperate with the Spanish at any point during these attempts at colonisation, contributing to the demoralisation of a settlement that failed to become self-sufficient yet was starved of resources from the Philippines' authorities. Finally, in supporting the Dutch, the indigenous people enabled them to surround and eventually take over the final Spanish stronghold, ousting the Spanish for good.

This thesis also makes the case for the complexity of the colonial situation in northern Taiwan. Tempting as it is to see the Spanish and the indigenous people as simple diametric opposites, we show how the two groups interacted both negatively and positively, not just with each other but with the wider milieu of people in northern Taiwan. This 'history from below' shows how people interacted on everyday terms, as human beings, beyond the battles of major powers, at this crucial moment in Spanish-empire and Formosan history.

Although indigenous people will be at the fore of this thesis, the Spanish empire will generally play a more significant part than in most histories of Spanish Formosa. When we illuminate a phrase such as 'Spanish Formosa' in an empire context, particularly when looking at the people who made up this society, we can see how inadequate and reductive the use of the word 'Spanish' is. Where it is tempting to see the story of Spanish Formosa as one

of attempted conquest only, which therefore only involves 'conquistadors'[4], a 1640 list of people in Formosa by the last Spanish governor, Gonzalo Portillo, reminds us that this 'conquistador' society included '6 blacksmiths', '1 carpenter' and '1 surgeon', along with 22 men from Pampanga and 96 from Cagayan in the Philippines (N/A, 1640a, p. 324).

The Dutch invaders, when they took over the settlement in 1642, listed 446 'souls' (N/A, 1642a, p. 397) but categorised only 115 of them as 'Spaniards'. This discounts 331 people from this conquered society. Some of these non-Spaniards were, with some clarity, described as being from 'Pampanga' and 'Cagayan'. Others are less straightforwardly described as 'women', 'slaves', 'priests' and 'children' – somehow not belonging to that category of 'Spaniards'. This leads to a myriad of questions relating to identity and categorisation, but there is one overriding conclusion: this was a complex society.

Most of the documents used in this thesis were written by missionaries, governors and other relatively powerful men in the life of Formosa's settlement. Spanish Formosa was much more heterogenous than this implies, however. The 'history from below' here focuses on indigenous people, but in moving the focal point away from those powerful Spanish men – generally in early-to-mid-adulthood – this thesis will illuminate the other people in this society. The elderly, the young, women and people from Pampanga and Cagayan, amongst others, will be examined separately and together, all in an indigenous context.

Previous histories have generally extracted Formosa-related documents from their wider Spanish-empire context to bind them together into a Taiwanese history, most literally in the case of Borao Mateo's *Spaniards in Taiwan* (Borao Mateo, 2014, 2002) and the Chinese-language volumes *A Compilation of Historical Materials Relating to Taiwan and Spain*[5] (Lee, 2015, 2013, 2008). This thesis will place those documents back in their context, using the Spanish-empire source materials, particularly those relating to the Philippines, to explain and expound on Spanish discourses of indigenous people in Formosa, providing a reminder, in the process, that Taiwanese history is also Pacific history.

Historical background

Three reasons for the Spanish empire's expansion are given in David Arnold's *The Age of Discovery 1400–1600* (Arnold, 2002), with Columbus' first voyage across the Atlantic in

[4] Dominguez Ortiz gives some of the background of such 'conquistadors' and explains their motives in the following quotations, from *The Golden Age of Spain, 1516–1659*: 'The social background of the discoverers, with rare exceptions, was not of the highest of society, but there was no preponderance of the low-born. The lead was taken by an intermediate class of hidalgos - second sons, soldiers and officials. Their cultural level was not as low as has been alleged. This is proved by the abundant historical writings of the conquistadores themselves.' (Dominguez Ortiz, 1971, p. 288)

The motives of such men are explained by Dominguez Ortiz here: 'What compelling motives could they have had for braving such dangers? The desire for gain of course – not in the sense of greed, but as a way of asserting their identity, of obtaining positions of command and honours [...] Ambition, the thirst for command, for acquiring nobility and renown, for leaving an honoured name behind – these were ideals of the Renaissance Spaniard, and he found in the Discoveries an opportunity to exploit them to the full. (Dominguez Ortiz, 1971, p. 289)

[5] Original Mandarin title: *臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編*.

1492 serving as a starting point. Firstly, at that moment the economy was growing due to overseas trade, motivating it to expand further. Secondly, the empire was confident, having just ousted the Moors and regained control of its territories on the Iberian Peninsula, adding to its religious zeal. Thirdly, technological progress meant that old-fashioned superstition and deference to the authorities were entering a new phase, manifested in better ships and navigational techniques (Arnold, 2002, p. 60).

The Spanish empire's Pacific island explorations began just over a quarter of a century after Columbus' first voyage. In 1519, Magellan embarked on his voyage around the world, navigating the southern tip of South America and making the first documented journey across the Pacific. This journey would involve the first meetings between the Spanish and indigenous people of the Pacific islands, including the islands that would eventually make up the Philippines. Magellan was killed by indigenous people on a Philippines island, yet it is noteworthy that the former person's name is world famous while the latter names have never been widely known. This reflects how European voices have dominated histories even when, as in this case, indigenous people took part in a world-changing moment. It is a reflection of recent historiographical developments that, in 2017, 27th April was declared Lapu-Lapu Day in the Philippines, the date when the group headed by Lapu-Lapu killed Magellan (Musico, 2018).

After some exploratory attempts to find east-to-west routes across the Pacific, the Spanish established their first permanent settlements in the Philippines in 1565. It is with the documents created by the early explorers, settlers, soldiers and missionaries of the Philippines, that we will expand on the sources generally used when telling the story of the Spanish period in Formosa.

However, by the time the Spanish began their settlement in Formosa in 1626, their empire had undergone over a century of westerly expansion into the Americas, the Pacific and beyond, with the Philippines and Formosa being at the western limits of that expansion. The slow fragmentation and retreat of the Spanish empire began, arguably, with the retreat of the Spanish from Formosa in 1642.

Despite covering a short period (1626–1642) and indigenous peoples based on the northern tip of Taiwan only, this thesis focuses on a moment that straddles monumental transitions in global history, involving not just the Spanish but also some of the world's other most significant empires. The Japanese, Chinese, Dutch and Portuguese were all involved, to varying extents, in the development of these Formosan settlements.

Spain, in today's political terms, did not exist during those years. The Spanish empire of the early 1600s was a loose collection of territories (Dominguez Ortiz, 1971, p. 15) rather than one large monolithic block, with the only connection between the territories being the fact that they were ruled by the same king (Dominguez Ortiz, 1971, p. 8).

The main European protagonists in the Asia-Pacific in the early 1600s, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Spanish, were all theoretically part of that same empire. However, during the time of the Spanish settlement of Taiwan, the Spanish empire was undergoing a number of existential shifts: it was crumbling.

The Iberian Union, which had loosely united the royal houses of Spain and Portugal since 1580, fell apart in 1640, leading to the decisive separation of the Spanish and Portuguese empires. Rivalry with Portugal had been another longstanding reason for the Spanish empire's success during its decades of expansion. Both nations were constrained by an Iberian Peninsula that, nevertheless, gave them access to the Atlantic. Portugal had similar issues to the Spanish. 'For a country as small and as impoverished as Portugal, with little prospect of expanding its territory at the expense of its sole European neighbour, overseas expansion assumed great political and economic importance.' (Arnold, 2002, p. 22)

The two countries were rivals, but were also part of a Europe full of further rivalries, which meant that adventurers could move between countries, tempting rulers with prospects of wealth. In this way, Spain and Portugal had access to the knowledge of Europe while also bringing their own ocean skills and ships to the table. The Iberian countries were also poor relative to other parts of Europe, which meant they were more open to taking risks at a time when places such as the wealthier Italian states felt no similar needs (Arnold, 2002, p. 22). Gold and spices, rare in Europe but obtainable on distant shores (Arnold, 2002, p. 24), were sought-after commodities, but other goods were now coming from overseas, such as corn from Morocco, suggesting that there were many opportunities for making money abroad (Arnold, 2002, p. 14).

The two countries, at least initially, took different positions with regards to their overseas territories. Portugal expanded into trading ports at first, not concerned with controlling any quantity of land (Arnold, 2002, p. 24). Spain, however, saw its expansion as land based specifically, helped by shepherds from Extremadura and cattlemen from Andalusia (Arnold, 2002, p. 25).

This meant that when the empires began their expansion into Asia, Portugal continued to develop trading ports just as the Dutch, with a growing desire to expand and trade at the

beginning of the 1700s, were developing their own empire by moving into Java (Arnold, 2002, p. 39). This led to the Dutch developing their own settlement in Formosa from 1624.

With continuing wars back in Europe, not least the Eighty Years' War for Dutch independence (1568–1648) and the parallel Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the eventual loss of Formosa was a sign that the empire's limits had been reached. As Dominguez Ortiz states: 'It was only later that both Spaniards and foreigners became aware of the price which Spain had paid for waging interminable wars.' (Dominguez Ortiz, 1971, p. 98) As a result, in the 1640s the Spanish empire officially lost its Portuguese and Dutch territories. During that same decade, on the other side of the world, it also lost Formosa.

This thesis focuses on the Spanish empire, but other empires in the Western Pacific were also undergoing seismic shifts during this crucial period in world history. Only two years after the Spanish abandoned Formosa, another epoch-defining change took place in China when one centuries-old dynasty came to an end. The 276-year-old Ming dynasty 'collapsed' in 1644 (Roberts, 2011, p. 155) when Manchu rebels invaded Beijing on 24th April, and the emperor hanged himself (Roberts, 2011, p. 135).

Although Beijing was taken in 1644, the 'rump' of the Ming court struggled on for some years. Resistance in mainland China was over by 1650 (Roberts, 2011, p. 139) but some of the last challenges to Manchu power came at the hands of Koxinga, with his bases in Xiamen and Taiwan: 'Zheng Chenggong died in Taiwan in 1662, but resistance [to the Qing dynasty] from his family and supporters continued for a further twenty years.' (Roberts, 2011, p. 139)[6] Koxinga and his family would have significant consequences for the history of Taiwan, not least with their ejection of the last European invaders, the Dutch, from the island in 1662[7].

The Chinese presence on the island during the time of the Spanish comprised Chinese traders from the mainland, referred to as 'sangleys' by the Spanish, who sometimes landed and stayed in Formosa, and are occasionally mentioned in Spanish documents. One example of their trading network with indigenous people is given here: 'There is another sulphur mine in Taparri, where the natives used to get huge quantities to sell to the sangleys before the arrival of the Spaniards, but now they have stopped working in the mines because they claim

[6] For example, he is referred to as a 'Ming loyalist' in the following quotation: '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.' (Chiu, 2008, p. 5) He is also referred to as a 'Ming loyalist' by Ronald G. Knapp in his chapter in *Taiwan: A New History* (Knapp, 2007, p. 13).

[7] '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 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.' (Chiu, 2008, p. 221) The Dutch time in Formosa was all but over, but they did, however, manage to remain in the north for some time: 'They managed to re-occupy Quelang [Keelung] between 1664 and 1668.' (Chiu, 2008, p. 223) In this case, the local indigenous people have been credited for ousting the Dutch from the north: 'The Cheng forces found favor among the Tan-shui [Danshui] aborigines and induced them to cause trouble for the Dutch.' (Shepherd, 1993, p. 95)

that it gives them bad luck. For sulphur, the sangleys would barter *chininas*, printed clothing material and other trinkets.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 168)[8]

Early evidence of Japanese links with the island[9] is confirmed by the presence of a Japanese Christian in Formosa at the time of the Spanish incursion. This Christian was one of the first people to create a bridge between the Spanish and the indigenous people in the area during the earliest days of the Spanish settlement (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73[10]). We will examine this man's relations with indigenous people in a later chapter, but here it is relevant to note that the 'small' story of his life on the island, and his Christianity, reflect the results of recent shifts in another major empire.

The Tokugawa period began in Japan in 1603, leading to a period of increasing Japanese isolationism. From the 1590s until a series of edicts in the 1630s, increasingly strict restrictions were placed on both Spanish and Portuguese missionaries and trade with these European powers (Gordon, 2003, p. 3; 17). One of the aims of the Spanish settlement in Formosa was to encourage the development of trade and missionary links with Japan, something that was ruled out by these developments in Japan even before the Spanish settlement had managed to establish itself. As Ribeiro put it in her paper *The Japanese diaspora in the seventeenth century*: 'It is probable that, during these decades [1610s and 1620s], in the face of the mounting persecution and martyrdoms to which the missionaries and Christians were subject, various Christian Japanese opted to emigrate to regions outside.' (Ribeiro, 2017, p. 62) Macao and Manila counted amongst the destinations of these evicted Japanese (Tremml, 2015, p. 207), and with Formosa standing between Japan and both these destinations, the Japanese Christian in Formosa, one of the very earliest of Christians to live on the island[11], could easily have been amongst these Japanese evictees, showing how 'micro' histories in Formosa connect with the wider histories of empires.

Theoretical framework and methodology

In her paper *Taiwan in late Ming and Qing China*, Heylen states: 'To date we speak of the Taiwan-centric and the Sino-centric interpretation of history.' (Heylen, 2016, p. 8) In *From local to national history*, Heylen describes how versions of history reduce the Dutch and Spanish periods to: 'A European mercantile intermezzo, during which the Han immigrants supposedly suffered from the "red haired barbarians".' (Heylen, 2001, p. 42) In the meantime, Heylen explores possible alternative versions of Taiwanese history that move

[8] For more examples see: Borao Mateo, 2014, p.165, 172 .
[9] For example: 'The attraction of the island was its strategic location as a stopping place for water refreshment for ships on the way to and from Japan. Hence, there was also the presence of a Japanese community on the island [...].' (Heylen, 2016, p. 9)
[10] For primary sources, the page number, as in this example, refers to the page number in the source book.
[11] There is evidence of Spanish shipwreck survivors also living in Formosa. For example: 'One of the leaders of these places [Pantao] claims he is the son of a Spaniard, one of those who disappeared long ago.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 169) Borao Mateo suggests that this person could be a descendent of a 1582 shipwreck in Formosa (Borao Mateo, 2014, p. 169 footnote).

away from this Han-centrism in *The transnational in Taiwan history: a preliminary exploration* (Heylen, 2010).

In discussing 'the transnational', Heylen points to constructions of Taiwanese history proposed by the Taiwanese historian Ts'ao Yung-ho, who: 'Drew attention to the need to study Taiwan as, or from the perspective of, an island situated in the Pacific and to take the realities of its historical development into account.' (Heylen, 2010, p. 19) Heylen, through Ts'ao, identifies a need for a Taiwanese 'people's history,' (Heylen, 2010, p. 20) one that casts a wide net to include the wide range of 'cultures, peoples, languages and traditions' (Heylen, 2010, p. 19) rather than focus only on the Han story. In the context of the Spanish settlement studied specifically, further related issues arise with the Hispano-centrism in such histories, understandably but nevertheless notably marginalising the other groups the Spanish met on the island, including the majority indigenous people.

In order to display the full richness of 'cultures, peoples, languages and traditions' of the Spanish period, therefore, this thesis hopes to shine a light on aspects of Taiwan's history that exist in Spanish source documents but have been peripheral until now. It is a history that focuses on indigenous people, but one that considers 'northern Formosa' less as a political concept in today's terms and more within Heylen's transnational concept of a place where Spanish, Formosan indigenous people, Philippines indigenous people and others, such as the Japanese Christian mentioned previously, all played their parts during a unique moment when pockets of northern Formosa had closer links with Pacific Manila than with mainland China. As such, we will add breadth to that Sino-centric version of Taiwanese history by shining fresh light on one small part of the country's multifaceted story.

In moving away from the former grand, Han-centric narrative of Taiwan's development (Heylen, 2010, p. 21), this thesis also moves away from the fact-based accounts that have also dominated histories of Spanish Formosa. It is a process, as Given states in her essay *Historical discourse analysis*, which involves: 'Decentering the authority of the historian as a neutral recorder of facts and the claim of historical writings as objective reconstructions of past events.' (Given, 2008, p. 2) This thesis aims not to examine Spanish source documents for 'truths about past events or to identify the origins or causes of past events,' (Given, 2008, p. 2) but instead expose the 'contingent, ambiguous, and interpretive' (Given, 2008, p. 2) nature of the Spanish documents relevant to Formosa.

To illustrate how this change in perspective changes our analysis of Spanish sources, the following is an assertion by one the key chroniclers of Spanish Formosa, Jacinto Esquivel, who we will look at in more detail in the next chapter:

Chicasuan: a village with gold and silver mines. (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 164)

This statement is taken from Esquivel's 1632 list of the villages of northern Taiwan. The missionary's comment about gold and silver mines is an apparently straightforward assertion of facts that is tempting to take at face value. However, if we choose to assess this statement not as a fact but rather as a part of a missionary discourse, which in turn is part of Spanish-empire discourses, we take away a different understanding of the phrase.

The two research questions asked in this thesis illustrate these two ways of viewing Esquivel's sentence:

- What do we know about the Formosan indigenous peoples through Spanish documents?
- What can we know about the Formosan indigenous peoples through Spanish documents?

The first of this thesis' questions harks to that type of history that searches for scientific truths about past events, in our case by assessing the facts about the indigenous peoples of Formosa. Chen Zong-lin, of the Institute of Taiwan History at Academia Sinica, used a similar style of analysis in *An analysis of Missionary Jacinto Esquivel's 1632 report* (Chen, 2010a), a paper that looks at Esquivel's comments on Formosa. As part of the analysis, Chen states that Esquivel's text is 'trustworthy' in the following quotation: 'Fr Jacinto Esquivel's report [...] is an important and trustworthy document about the history of the Spaniards in Taiwan.' (Chen, 2010, p. 33) Taking this interpretation at face value, we can presumably believe what Esquivel says when he tells us that there was a village called Chicasuan with gold and silver mines. On the other hand, we could try to disprove this fact.

Although such an assessment of 'scientific' truth might seem straightforward, Foucault highlights the complexity of such issues not least because no fact can be value-free (Eagleton, 1996, p. 125). Although this could be seen as a reason not even to try to search for a truth, according to Eagleton, Foucault is not concerned with undermining the existence of facts altogether. Rather he wants to highlight that such facts cannot be as value-free as an empiricist might like to assume (Eagleton, 1996, p. 125). Looked at through this lens, in the context of this thesis, the trustworthiness of Esquivel, as claimed by Chen, is not our principal concern. Esquivel's statement might or might not be true, but more important for this thesis is an analysis of the version of Formosa that the missionary wanted to construct.

The second research question therefore is most important to this thesis, offering a new way to look at the Spanish settlements, widening the analysis to look beyond 'brute' facts and examining: 'how societies interpret, imagine, create, control, regulate and dispose of

knowledge, especially through the claims of disciplines to truth, authority and certainty.' (Munslow, 1997, p. 134) In the case of Esquivel's statement, the second question asks us to analyse the discourses comprising it and consider why Esquivel constructs an indigenous world of named villages containing gold and silver mines. As O'Farrell states: 'No system of order, in Foucault's view, should ever be taken for granted or regarded as fixed, and therefore should, as a consequence, be subject to constant challenge in terms of its relation to truth and to the effects of power it is exercising.' (O'Farrell, 2013, p. 170)

With this new focus, an examination of the discourses in Esquivel's short statement above reveals a colonial hierarchy already being constructed in Formosa when he lists villages with mines. Esquivel's assertion is part of a series of empire and missionary discourses that strike at the core of what makes a colony worthwhile to the Spanish: bringing civilisation to indigenous people and making money.

A devout missionary, Esquivel wanted the settlement to succeed so he could continue and expand his missionary work. The report reveals what Esquivel thought the authorities wanted to see to encourage the development of Spanish power in the area: gold and silver mines. As Scott discusses in relation to censuses (Scott, 2009, p. 239), when he lists villages, Esquivel brings them into existence within the empire context, naming them and thus claiming them for the Spanish empire, a sign in itself that the Spanish process of 'civilising' had begun. It is the first step that will, in theory, lead to missionary work, control and taxation. A phrase that in fact says little about whether the indigenous people worked with gold and silver, therefore, also hints at the Spanish plans for these people, and made the first steps towards putting them in action. The Spanish are pushing the boundaries of their empire into indigenous territory, as Scott surmises: 'Ethnicity and "tribe" begin exactly where taxes and sovereignty end – in the Roman Empire as in the Chinese.' (Scott, 2009, p. xi) We will look in more depth at Esquivel's writing in the chapter *Constructing Formosans* and discuss such Spanish-empire discourses in relation to the indigenous people in the chapter *Indigenous people and the Spanish empire*.

The primary sources relating to Formosa are very limited. This, in turn, leads to questions of how we can compile a history using sparse resources when clear gaps are present. The discourse analysis undertaken by this thesis will consider source documents through a range of lenses in order to gain insight into Spanish constructions of indigenous people. There will be three specific points of focus: looking at materials 'against the grain'; investigating power relations, especially 'othering'; and examining narrative elements of documents.

Using the first lens, this thesis will examine materials 'against the grain' rather than taking them at face value. The subaltern studies essay *The Prose of Counter Insurgency* (Guha and

Spivak, 1988), points out how colonial documents: 'can be seen, on close inspection, to be less solid than at first sight.' (Guha and Spivak, 1988, p. 60) Postcolonialism, or subaltern studies in this case, involves actively rooting out the subjectivity in supposedly objective colonial documents. Said points out how an analysis of the colonial circumstances of the writer and the discourses they employ, rather than merely undermining our grasp on the facts, actually adds to our understanding of a text: 'My whole point is to say that we can better understand the persistence and the durability of saturating hegemonic systems like culture when we realise that their internal constraints upon writers and thinkers were productive, not unilaterally inhibiting.' (Said, 2003, p. 14) Through this lens, we can see how a list of gold and silver mines exposes discourses of Spanish ambition as much as it reveals the presence, or not, of such mines.

Using the second lens of unravelling power relations is, according to O'Farrell, one way to find 'ever more finely grained differences' in a text. Power relations are central to such discourses: 'Grounded in the works of poststructuralist (or postmodernist) theorists such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes, and Jean-François Lyotard, historical discourse analysis approaches history as discursively produced and, more important, understands discursive productions as always and already power-laden enterprises.' (Given, 2008)

Spain's time in Formosa is an example of failed colonisation. Subsequent waves of Dutch, Japanese and mainland Chinese colonisation, moreover, obliterated any influence that the Spanish had on Taiwan. What is interesting in the Formosan context therefore is that, when Said writes about an 'uneven exchange' (Said, 2003, p. 12) between coloniser and colonised, we can note that Formosa was not definitively colonised by the Spanish. This, in turn, leads to a nuanced set of power relations that will be analysed in this thesis, not least because documents such as those by Esquivel employed discourses of empire without knowing that the Spanish would only survive in Formosa for 16 years.

Said delineated the different types of power that can comprise a colonial situation:

> [Orientalism] is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power shaped to a degree by the exchange with political power (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what 'we' do and what 'they' cannot do or understand as 'we' do). (Said, 2003, p. 12)

The Spanish differentiated themselves politically, intellectually, culturally and morally from indigenous people, as we will see throughout this thesis. This often involved notions of 'us and them', 'in-group and out-group' and even 'superior and inferior', which can all be summarised in the word 'othering'. Brons offers one definition of the term here:

> Othering is the simultaneous construction of the self or in-group and the other or out-group in mutual and unequal opposition through identification of some desirable characteristic that the self/in-group has and the other/out-group lacks and/or some undesirable characteristic that the other/out-group has and the self/in-group lacks. Othering thus sets up a superior self/in-group in contrast to an inferior other/out-group, but this superiority/inferiority is nearly always left implicit. (Brons, 2015, p. 70)

Othering, as understood here, will also be key throughout this thesis, in documents that often describe Spaniards as individuals and almost always generalise indigenous people as a nebulous group. The notable exceptions to this rule, the chiefs, the old people, the dying and the children, are often constructed as a part of discourses that firmly place indigenous people in a hierarchy, where the Spanish are at the top, indigenous leaders are supplanted and the weak and dying, if they are noticed at all, are to be saved.

The third lens is discussed by White when he points out that even the most 'indisputable' facts, when arranged in different ways, can be used to create tragedy or comedy (Doran, 2013, p. 110). In this way, he adds another dimension to what the 'truth' can be, and offers another way to interrogate source documents. He points out that because of fictionalised elements, no history can ever be completely true: 'And as for the notion of a true story, this is virtually a contradiction in terms. All stories are fictions. Which means, of course, that they can be true only in a metaphorical sense and in the sense in which a figure of speech can be true. Is this true enough?' (Doran, 2013, p. 109) That final question, 'is this true enough?' is particularly valid for the Spanish documents when they describe the Formosan indigenous peoples.

One striking example includes one of the principal sources for 'facts' on the history of Formosa, Aduarte's *The History of the Province of the Holy Rosary*[12] (Aduarte, 1640). Until now, this history has not been analysed in terms of discourses. In this thesis we will pay attention to the narrative structures of Aduarte's text, particularly his focus on religious discourses. Aduarte could not have witnessed many of the events he describes, leading us to question the effects he was attempting to create when he chose to prioritise certain details in his history. This will be discussed in more detail in the chapter *Constructing Formosans*.

[12] Original Spanish title: *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario*.

We have illustrated, therefore, that when looking at documents, moving the question away from what we 'do' know towards what we 'can' know opens up a range of analytical possibilities. A focus on discourse analysis rather than a search for scientific facts fundamentally changes the type of history produced. The resulting difference can be illustrated by two examples, from the Spanish empire-related sections of Chiu Hsin-hui's *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process' in Dutch Formosa, 1624–1662* (Chiu, 2008) and from Borao Mateo's *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan* (Borao Mateo, 2009). Both books appear to have mined the source documents for facts. For example, Chiu comments on the enmity between indigenous groups: 'The Spanish Father Jacinto Esquivel noted that the people of Pantao were the enemies of their neighbours. Chinaar, opposite Pantao on the other side of the Tamsuy River, was the enemy of Pantao, Pulauan, and Cabalan.' (Chiu, 2008, p. 18) When we introduce the framework of this thesis into the analysis, however, particularly by analysing colonial discourses, we will be less concerned with the details of such rivalries, instead prioritising an analysis of why Esquivel discussed such enmities between indigenous people, and how discourses of friendship and enmity morphed over time. In this way, this thesis hopes to give more breadth to the theme of indigenous relations and add to the 'richness' of Taiwan's history (Heylen, 2010, p. 19).

This form of analysis avoids listing facts, whether as prose, as in the above list of Chinaar's enemies, or as literal lists. The clearest examples of such lists in Chiu's work are in the *Maps* section (Chiu, 2008, p. xxv–xxvii), which contains maps of Formosa together with a list of 108 Formosan villages. These are not just reference maps, like the ones that begin this thesis, but rather appear to be an integral part of this type of history. Chiu uses Dutch transliterations for villages such Tapparij and Kimaurij (generally called Taparri and Quimaurri, respectively, in Spanish documents). In the chapter on indigenous people in Borao Mateo's *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan* (Borao Mateo, 2009, pp. 53–101) there are more maps of indigenous villages, also making them central to Borao Mateo's sifting of evidence for information about such villages. Once again, the notion of mapping indigenous people is prioritised. Both examples are striking heirs to Esquivel's list of indigenous villages from 1632, and although they are all interesting in themselves, the knowledge gained about indigenous people is limited to 'true or not true' facts and little more.

Instead of creating a traditional history based on facts, therefore, this thesis required a solution that added focus and structure to the discourse analysis to be undertaken. The required methodology needed to be able to incorporate the ideas discussed above into a history that was on the one hand small, but whose empire context was relatively vast. Gregory suggests a solution in his paper *Is small beautiful?* when he quips: 'Enter the micro-scale.' (Gregory, 1999, p. 101)

In discussing Ts'ao's suggestions for Taiwanese history, Heylen refers to relevant methodologies in the following quotations: 'Ts'ao looked at Taiwan's demographics in the light of the Annales School's fundamental understanding that mentalities and ideologies deal with ways of thinking over the long term (longue durée).' (Heylen, 2010, p. 19) Heylen goes on to state: 'In Ts'ao's opinion, it was time for Taiwanese historians to follow the new trend in historical interpretation, that is, to leave the political (top-down) model behind and focus on people's history (bottom-up).' (Heylen, 2010, p. 20)

Two examples of cultural history – also known as microhistory, or the *histoire des mentalités* mentioned by Ts'ao – offer examples of methodologies that were adapted for the purposes of this thesis. *The Great Cat Massacre* (Darnton, 2010) and *The Cheese and the Worms* (Ginzburg, 2013), offered methodological sources for how to structure a discourse analysis of Spanish documents. These books both incorporate 'history from below' or 'people's history'[13], also mentioned by Ts'ao, involving the stories of 'ordinary' people. Taking into account the particular colonial perspective, we can create a 'history from below' of the people the Spanish attempted to rule in the 1600s.

According to Burke in his book *What is Cultural History?*, cultural history can be traced as far back as the 1780s (Burke, 2008, p. 6), and had its first significant growth spurt in the early 20th century (Burke, 2008, p. 8). During these years it became associated with Annales history and, at least in France, overlapped with the term 'l'histoire des mentalités' (Burke, 2008, p. 33). It was between the 1960s and the 1990s, however, that cultural history took off, particularly due to its 'turn to anthropology' (Burke, 2008, p. 31). Robert Darnton in particular, author of *The Great Cat Massacre*, worked closely with anthropologist Clifford Geertz (Darnton, 2010, p. xvii) and acknowledges him, and other anthropologists, as a source of ideas (Darnton, 2010, p. xviii).

Cultural histories such as *The Cheese and the Worms* and *The Great Cat Massacre* both use unconventional sources and focus on unusual subjects. The former looks at a 16th-century miller in Italy, attempting to recreate his interior and exterior world, whilst the latter looks at a range of people in 18th-century France, from workers at a printing firm to a policeman writing up his accounts of the writers he is charged to watch. All of these people, like the Formosan indigenous peoples in the 1600s, would have been ignored by history if a book hadn't been published looking at the few documents that existed about them.

The titular chapter of *The Great Cat Massacre*, in particular, gives a practical example of how cultural history can work in the context of this thesis. Describing how and why

[13] '"People's history" focuses on the lives of ordinary people, with an eye to their struggles, everyday practices, beliefs, values, and mentalities.' (Port, 2015, p. 108)

apprentices at a printing firm killed cats, this chapter proceeds by using the following methodology, as explained by Burke: '[Darnton] places the incident in a series of contexts, from labour relations to popular rituals and from attitudes to cats to views of violence. In this way he not only helps the reader to understand why the apprentices did what they did, but also makes the incident a point of entry into a lost world.' (Burke, 2008, p. 39) Darnton therefore uses a text as a starting point for an analysis that considers the events described in a series of contexts, in this way attempting to recreate 'a lost world'.

Serendipitously, Darnton's methodology helps us with one of the most challenging aspects of working with colonial documents. Bolotnikova, in a *Harvard Magazine* article *History from below*, summarises this issue: '[Brown[14]] and others working on "histories from below," like the history of slavery, face a fundamental challenge: how to represent the ideas, plans or desires of the enslaved when virtually all documents left behind present the view of their masters?' (Bolotnikova, 2020, p. 69) This thesis has a parallel challenge: analysing indigenous people through Spanish colonial documents. Darnton's analysis offers a solution by focusing on specific documents but seeing them not merely as sources of facts but as this noted 'point of entry' around which a historical analysis can be constructed.

Burke highlights problems with cultural history's focus on very specific documents: 'The temptation to which the cultural historian must not succumb is that of treating the texts and images of a certain period as mirrors, unproblematic reflections of their times.' (Burke, 2008, p. 20) By ignoring present-day political boundaries and taking advantage of, rather than overlooking, Spanish Formosa's relationship with the Philippines at the time, we can analyse the shared Spanish-empire discourses these documents contain and sidestep this temptation to rely exclusively on documents with direct mentions of Formosa. In this way, added depth can be given to the history of Formosa.

Some criticisms of *The Great Cat Massacre*, in particular, are that it is unfocused, populist and not a serious version of history (Lane, 1985, p. 275). This thesis hopes to address such concerns, in part, by looking towards methods used in the social sciences. Braun and Clarke's suggestions for a thematic analysis in psychology offered a way to systematise our examination of the many volumes of documents analysed for this thesis, including Spanish-empire source documents in 55 volumes of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* (Blair and Robertson, 2004–2014) and documents related directly to Formosa in the two volumes of *Spaniards in Taiwan* (Borao Mateo, 2014, 2002).

Braun and Clarke suggest six steps for analysing the documents:

[14] Historian Vince Brown, discussed in the article.

Phase		Description of the process
1	Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2	Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3	Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4	Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire dataset (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5	Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6	Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Table 1: Phases of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

The analysis began by reading through the data and taking notes, creating a series of codes that were then grouped together to identify themes. Within those themes, we could analyse the discourses of relevant sources, prioritising the three points of focus mentioned earlier. Combining the principal sources of data – from Formosa and the Philippines – proved invaluable for the analysis. Information that could easily be overlooked because it was only mentioned once in *Spaniards in Taiwan* took on extra importance when considered in the wider context of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*.

The themes were combined into chapters, forming the overall structure of the thesis. The first main chapter focuses on four key groups of Formosan documents, each of which illustrates a different way in which Formosan indigenous people are constructed by the Spanish. In this way we begin by showing that the writer and the type of document being written are key to the construction of indigenous people. After this, chapters were divided into three periods in order to structure the themes discussed and provide a narrative impetus to the history: establishing the settlement; the middle years; decline and loss. Within these sections are further chapters based around the themes that were identified as part of the analysis. For example, we look at the original plans for the settlement and how indigenous

people were constructed as part of those plans. The investigation into the middle years of the settlement looks at the indigenous role in the Tamsui settlement. This thesis also examines some of the ways in which the indigenous people influenced the end of the settlement.

Literature review

Although a small story in itself, the range of empires involved in this history of the indigenous people at the time of the Spanish settlement in Formosa means that there were many potential avenues for research. At some point, the sheer breadth of topics available had to be defined and limited for the purposes of this thesis. In this section, we will examine some of the avenues that were explored in the literature, from non-Spanish descriptions of indigenous people in Formosa to the more general topic of indigenous people as constructed by colonisers. The main focus of this section, however, will be studies of the Spanish in Formosa, to illustrate the gap that exists with regards the indigenous story in this context.

Before Borao Mateo's *Spaniards in Taiwan*, the most significant book covering the Spanish period in Formosa was possibly *Formosa Considered Geographically and Historically*[15] (Álvarez, 1930). Although it could be said to have been superseded by Borao Mateo's work, it is worth noting that *Formosa Considered Geographically and Historically* contains an alternative version of one of the most important source documents about Spanish Formosa, Esquivel's *Record of affairs concerning Isla Hermosa* (Álvarez, 1930). Álvarez's version is shorter and contains some differences, making it clear that one is not just an edited version of the other, including minor additions that are nevertheless not substantial enough to lead to significantly different changes in meaning. In itself, this is a reminder that, although Borao Mateo's work is to a large extent a definitive compilation of documents directly related to Formosa, it is still worth considering other sources.

Issues relating to Formosa's indigenous peoples in contemporary times have attracted recent scholarly attention in works such as *Taiwan's Contemporary Indigenous Peoples* (C.-Y. Huang et al., 2021). Huang et al. argue that: 'Although there has been plenty of high-quality research on the topic, much of the literature is historical, with issues related to modern Indigenous peoples less well covered.' (C. Huang et al., 2021, p. 2) Despite Huang et al.'s assertion that much recent scholarly literature has been historical, it is also clear that certain periods of the island's history have received more attention than others, particularly with regards to Taiwan's indigenous peoples. Although the indigenous people during the Japanese and Qing periods are the subject of in-depth monographs, there is no such similar study of the Spanish period.

[15] Original Spanish title: *Formosa geográfica e históricaments considerada.*

The Japanese period has been discussed in significant works such as *Outcasts of Empire* (Barclay, 2018) and *Becoming Japanese* (Ching, 2001). Barclay, in *Outcasts of Empire*, stresses the continuity of certain themes throughout the island's colonial history, beginning with Chen Di in his 1603 *Record of the Eastern Savages*[16]: 'The themes of victimization, trade dependence, and exploitation punctuate descriptions of indigenous-outsider relations from the very first written records about Taiwan.' (Barclay, 2018, p. 172)

The Qing era is the principal focus of *Taiwan's Imagined Geography* by Emma Jinhua Teng (Teng, 2004), which was a key source of inspiration for this thesis, giving one example of how documents can be analysed with relation to indigenous people. Teng's work, which does not discuss the Spanish period, will be quoted extensively throughout this thesis. Documents relating to indigenous people during the Dutch period were compiled by Blussé, Everts and French in *The Formosan Encounter*, while the period was discussed by Chiu in *The Colonial Civilising Process in Dutch Formosa* (Chiu, 2008), and was the main focus of Tonio Andrade's *How Taiwan Became Chinese* (Andrade, 2009). Significant histories of the Spanish period, such as Borao Mateo's work, Tonio Andrade's *How Taiwan Became Chinese* and Chen's *Keelung Mountain and Tamsui Sea*[17] (Chen, 2011) broach the subject of indigenous people and the Spanish, but do not focus on this subject specifically.

Also considered as part of the analysis were the earliest non-Spanish constructions of indigenous people, particularly Yu Yong-he's 1697 *Small Sea Travel Diaries* (Yu et al., 2004) because of its description of northern Formosa. Teng's discussion of early Chinese accounts of Formosa in *Taiwan's Imagined Geography* includes the aforementioned Chen Di, along with Lin Qiang-guang[18] and Lan Ding-yan[19]. In her analysis, Teng describes two contrasting 'historical metaphors' that have proved useful for this thesis: 'With the "rhetoric of privation" the savage is constructed as backward and culturally inferior. With the "rhetoric of primitivism," the savage is romanticised as the preserver of an ancient righteousness lost among the moderns – a "Noble Savage" of sorts.' (Teng, 2004, p. 62) Teng goes on to give examples, stating that Lin Qian-guang, in his *Brief Notes on Taiwan*, uses the former 'rhetoric of privation'. This contrasts with Chen Di, who, Teng asserts, evokes the latter 'rhetoric of primitivism.' (Teng, 2004, p. 69) We will discuss such binary distinctions, which develop into descriptions of indigenous peoples as 'raw' and 'cooked' or 'mountain aborigines' and 'plains aborigines' (Teng, 2004, p. 122–123) throughout this thesis.

[16] Translation of the title *東番記* used by Teng (Teng, 2004, p. 350).
[17] Original Mandarin title: *雞籠山與淡水洋*.
[18] Including *Brief Notes on Taiwan*, which Lin Qianguang based on the four years he worked as an instructor in Confucian schools between 1687 and 1691. (Teng, 2004, P68)
[19] Including *The Pacification of Taiwan* from 1723 and *Records of an Eastern Campaign* from 1721.

Jenco and Tremml-Werner also looked at the early Mandarin-language accounts of indigenous people by the aforementioned Ming writer Chen Di, along with Zhang Xie's 1603 description of Southeast Asian countries, *Investigations of the Eastern and Western Oceans*[20]. Jenco analyses *Record of the Eastern Savages* in more depth in her paper *Chen Di's* Record of Formosa *(1603) and an alternative Chinese imaginary of otherness* (Jenco, 2021), which also discusses Zhang Xie's *On Countries in the Eastern and Western Oceans* and Yu Yong-he's 1697 work. Jenco argues against the temptation to see Chen's account as an attempt to 'straightforwardly evoke' (Jenco, 2021, p. 21) an idealised primitive, referring to Teng's term 'rhetoric of primitivism' (Jenco, 2021, p. 3). Such points are a reminder that all classifications, such as 'raw' and 'cooked', can lead to a temptation to generalise to the point where any subtle interactions, which don't fit into such categories, are left out of the analysis. This thesis will therefore look specifically at the glimpses of how the Spanish interacted with indigenous people in day-to-day terms, avoiding this temptation to see relations only in terms of binary oppositions.

This thesis is not a history of the Philippines *per se*, but is nevertheless a history of Formosa in a Spanish-empire context that is dominated by the Philippines, considering Formosa to be part of the same discursive area. As such the 55 volumes of translated source documents contained in Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* (Blair and Robertson, 2004a), first published between 1903 and 1907 (Cano, 2008, p. 3), proved central to the analysis of this thesis. Cano points to certain issues with these volumes, as hinted at in her paper's title: *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898: scholarship or imperialist propaganda?*. She points out that these books were 'an indispensable tool of historical propaganda' (Cano, 2008, p. 3) embedding the Philippines in colonial discourses rather than releasing them from such notions, just after the US took the islands from Spain in 1898. Despite these reservations, these volumes are, according to Cano: 'still considered to be the best and most comprehensive source of historical materials on the Philippines during the Spanish regime […].' (Cano, 2008, p. 10)

Monographs have been published that focus on the Spanish and indigenous people of the Philippines covering the 16th and 17th centuries, including *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Phelan, 2011) and the much older but more directly relevant work *Hispano-Indigenous Contact on the Philippines* (Prieto Lucena, 1993)[21]. Both titles use significantly different theoretical viewpoints to this thesis, placing indigenous people in 'fact'-based investigations that do not choose to analyse colonial discourses in relation to indigenous people. The former looks at how Catholicism and Spanish political systems were imposed on

[20] Translation of the title *東西洋考* used by Jenco (Jenco, 2021, p. 2).
[21] Spanish title: *El contacto hispano-indígena en Filipinas*.

indigenous people and in this way constructed indigenous people as subjects of colonisation. The latter is a compendious attempt to catalogue indigenous people as documented by the Spanish, but, as with Phelan's work, it is primarily concerned with indigenous people as exotic others in sections such as 'Bodily adornments' 'The influence of animals on indigenous life' and 'Indigenous beliefs and ceremonies'.

Matsuda, in a review of *Navigating the Spanish Lake*, makes a point that is particularly relevant to the above works. The former Spanish Philippines, as a single political unit, was very much an 'imagined' concept that, according to Matsuda, relied on indigenous participation: 'It is not surprising that "[t]he Spanish presence in the Pacific Ocean was accidental, never en-compassing, largely imaginary, and in the end unsustainable" [...].' (Matsuda, 2015, p. 602) This idea of an imagined settlement, a term Teng also used as the title of her book *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, has been overlooked when discussing indigenous people in the context of the Philippines during the Spanish period. A reappraisal of the lives of indigenous people during those times, which examines discourses of indigenous people as part of this 'imagined' Spanish Philippines, looking more directly at lived indigenous lives rather than indigenous people as 'others' ruled by Europeans, could offer a corrective to the traditional colonial view of the history of the Philippines.

A recent resurgence of interest in the Spanish Pacific is reflected in the publication of the work *The Spanish Pacific, 1521–1815, A Reader of Primary Sources* (Lee and Padrón, 2020), which contains a selection of Spanish source documents relating to the Pacific, along with detailed introductions. One document in this volume, *Domingo de Salazar's Letter to the King of Spain in Defence of the Indians and the Chinese of the Philippine Islands (1582)* (Lee and Padrón, 2020, p. 37), proved particularly helpful to this thesis and will be quoted a number of times.

In order to grasp the wide range of peoples and societies in the Pacific, and Taiwan specifically, works such as *The Austronesians* (Bellwood et al., 1995) and *Austronesian Taiwan* (Blundell, 2009) offered a useful background, although, in their attempts at a wide overview, none touch on the type of cultural history attempted in this thesis. In order to gain a better understanding of source documents, works such as *The Bible and The Flag* (Stanley, 1990) and particularly *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues* (Bickers and Seton, 1996) helped to understand the issues relating to documents written by missionaries and wider members of colonial society. These works, however, principally looked at the British empire, so this is the first time similar considerations have been applied to the Spanish documents about Formosa. *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples: Struggle and Survival* (Coates, 2004) and *Colonial Voices: The Discourses of Empire* (Nayar, 2012) offered one route to

understanding discourses of colonialism, but two works in particular pushed the analysis of this thesis into new areas. *Guns, Germs and Steel* (Diamond, 2005) offered a way of representing indigenous people that avoided othering, particularly in its overview of indigenous societal structures. *The Art of Not Being Governed* (Scott, 2009) illustrated one way in which traditional views of indigenous societies can be turned on their head, putting them at the centre of a history rather than on a periphery often defined by colonisers. This book in particular will be referenced a number of times in this thesis.

Indigenous people and the Spanish in Formosa

José Eugenio Borao Mateo's *Spaniards in Taiwan* (Borao Mateo, 2014, 2002), as has already been stated, was key to opening up studies in the Spanish settlement in Formosa. Most if not all other recent books and papers written about Spanish Formosa quote this work. Borao Mateo has also written extensively about the Spanish settlements and some of his work has focused on the Formosan indigenous peoples.

According to Manel Ollé Rodríguez in his paper *Colonial contact and interacting ethnic groups: Tamsui and Keelung in the early 17th century*[22] (Ollé Rodríguez, 2017, p. 89), Borao Mateo uses a 'precise positivist approach'[23] when analysing the Spanish settlement, which echoes our criteria for the first research question of this thesis, involving a search for 'scientific' truth. For example, one phrase Borao Mateo uses in the introduction to *Spaniards in Taiwan*, hinting at the methodology he uses, is 'as we go over the facts,' (Borao Mateo, 2002, p. xvi) in this case in relation to governor Portillo's dilemma as the Dutch threatened the Spanish settlement. Other than *Spaniards in Taiwan*, Borao Mateo's principal book on the Spanish settlement is *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan, 1626–1642* (Borao Mateo, 2009). This is the only monograph that aimed to look exclusively at the Spanish settlements in Formosa in their entirety. The book was published in 2009, was reviewed by Roderich Ptak in the *Journal of Military History* (Ptak, 2012, p. 1265) and was the subject of an analysis by Chen Zong-lin (Chen, 2010b), who states: 'In 2009 Borao's masterpiece was finally published, becoming a great event in Taiwan's academic world.' (Chen, 2010, p. 212)

Borao Mateo's monograph comprises a series of essays on different themes related to the Spanish in Formosa. Ptak's review summarises some of the book's complexity: 'The narrative does not follow a simple chronological arrangement restricted to the principal stage; rather, it embeds Taiwan into larger geographical, economic and political contexts, offering a set of variegated, yet interrelated themes and approaches.' (Ptak, 2012, p. 1235) Both reviewers, overall, are positive about the book's complicated structure while pointing out that they might have expected a more 'popular' type of history. As no such popular history exists, in

[22] Original Mandarin title: *殖民接触与族群互动:17 世纪早期的淡水与基隆*.
[23] Translated from Mandarin: *确的实证主义方法*.

particular one that focuses *only* on the Spanish in Formosa, it is perhaps worth questioning why Borao Mateo chose not to write that history and instead wrote a book with this 'variegated' approach.

One answer can perhaps be found in Tonio Andrade's *How Taiwan Became Chinese* (Andrade, 2009). Andrade's work contains, away from Borao Mateo, the only other recent attempt to tell the full narrative history of Spanish Formosa from beginning to end. This history comprises two of the book's 11 chapters, taking up only 34 pages, with around ten of those being notes. Borao Mateo's *Spaniards in Taiwan* is used widely in these chapters. Most of the rest of *How Taiwan Became Chinese* (Andrade, 2009) narrates the Dutch history of Formosa. A possible conclusion from Andrade's analysis is that historians who have looked at the available sources previously concluded that there are not enough source documents to produce a single book-length narrative about the Spanish history of Formosa.

In Borao Mateo's monograph, the most important chapter for this thesis is called *The Encounter* (Borao Mateo, 2009, p. 53), which focuses on indigenous people. This chapter separates off indigenous people from the predominantly Spanish history. Moreover, the lack of Spanish sources is revealed even here when it begins with a discussion of Dutch sources of information about the Formosan indigenous peoples. Borao Mateo relies heavily on the volumes of *The Formosan Encounter* (Blussé et al., 1999, 2000, 2001, 2012) as well as his own work, *Spaniards in Taiwan* (Borao Mateo, 2002, 2014). The first 30 pages of this 50-page section are an attempt to list and describe all the groups that the Spanish and the Dutch encountered in the north and north-east of Formosa, along with those previously mentioned maps. It has a 'precise, positivist' (Ollé Rodríguez, 2017, p. 89) style, mining source documents for facts and assessing them in 'scientific' terms, with no in-depth analysis of the ontological and epistemological issues that they prompt, and without considering the discourses involved in source documents. As such, Borao Mateo leaves a theoretical and methodological gap for this thesis to exploit, incorporating Dutch documents into his analysis, whilst this thesis prioritises Spanish-empire sources as a way of expanding the analysis of indigenous people.

Borao Mateo wrote several relevant papers before and after the publication of the above books. Papers relevant to this thesis include *Contextualising the Pampangos (and Gagayano) soldiers in the Spanish fortress in Taiwan (1626–1642)* (Borao Mateo, 2013); *Observations about translators and translations on the cultural frontier of the China Sea (16th and 17th centuries)*[24] (Borao, 2013), and *The Formosa Catholic mission (1626–1895)* (Borao Mateo, 2018). The paper that seems most pertinent to this thesis is titled *The*

[24] Original Spanish title: *Observaciones sobre traductores y traducciones en la frontera cultural del mar de la China (siglos XVI y XVII).*

aborigines of northern Taiwan according to 17th-century Spanish sources (Borao Mateo, 1993). Although the title of the paper seems to coincide entirely with the subject of this thesis, Borao Mateo again focuses on an evaluation of facts: 'I will first explain the nature of the sources and the background of the authors as well, so as to evaluate the worth and scope of the sources themselves. Then I will describe the geographical picture of the territories; in the last part I will present an ethnological description of the tribes belonging to the Basay language group.' (Borao Mateo, 1993, p. 99)

A number of Taiwanese researchers have looked at the Spanish settlement in Formosa, with the work of Chen Zong-lin being most closely related to the period and documents studied in this thesis. His paper, *Comments on Borao's 'The Spanish Experience in Taiwan'* (Chen, 2010b)[25] has already been quoted. Two of his most relevant papers to this thesis are *An analysis of Missionary Jacinto Esquivel's 1632 report*[26] (Chen, 2010a) and *The Manila Manuscript: The late 16th century description of Keelung and Tamsui's people and era*[27]. (Chen, 2013)

At first glance, *An analysis of Missionary Jacinto Esquivel's 1632 report* (Chen, 2010a) promises to answer similar questions as those proposed by this thesis. However, as with Borao Mateo's paper *The Aborigines of Northern Taiwan according to 17th-century Spanish sources* (Borao Mateo, 1993), a focus on 'scientific' facts leaves room for further analysis. We will discuss Chen's paper about Esquivel in more depth in the next chapter: *Constructing Formosans*.

Other Taiwanese researchers have touched on the subject of the Spanish and Formosa in the 1600s, with their work having some relevance for this thesis. Lee Yu-Chung of National Tsing Hua University researched the Spanish settlement in Formosa extensively, particularly related to the Spanish and marine culture. More recent research has led to the publication of the *Hokkien Spanish Historical Document Series* (Lee, 2019), containing documents resulting from his research in Philippines archives. He has also published the aforementioned three volumes collecting and annotating Spanish documents from the Spanish period, similar to Borao Mateo's *Spaniards in Taiwan*, although with Mandarin-language translations (Lee, 2013, 2008, 2015).

One paper by Lee Yu-chung, *Human landscape construction types in Taiwan during the Spanish colonial period*[28] (Lee, 2006), looks at the buildings created by the Spanish during their time in Formosa. Although the paper does not analyse indigenous people's lives at the

[25] Original Mandarin title: *評鮑曉鷗著《西班牙人的臺灣體驗.*
[26] Original Mandarin title: *1632 年傳教士 Jacinto Esquivel 報告的解析.*
[27] Original Mandarin title: *十六世紀末《馬尼拉手稿》有關基隆人與淡水人的描繪及其時代脈絡.*
[28] Mandarin title: 西*班牙殖民時期北台灣人文景觀的模擬建構.*

time, it uses a technique that shadows the methodology of this thesis. In an attempt to describe long-lost constructions built by the Spanish in Formosa, Lee looks to the Philippines for evidence of Spanish-empire buildings that would have informed constructions in their Spanish settlements, much in the same way that this thesis will use discourses of indigenous people in the Philippines to inform our analysis of the Spanish and indigenous people in Formosa.

Kang Pei-te has written prolifically about many aspects of history around the 17th century in the Asia-Pacific. Kang has studied the Formosan indigenous peoples in depth in books such as *Colonial Imagination and Local Variations*[29] (Kang, 2016), and in papers including *Encounter, suspicion and submission: the experiences of the Siraya with the Dutch from 1623 to 1636* (Kang, 1998). However, his work on indigenous peoples, with the exception of the document mentioned below, has focused on the Dutch settlement.

Fang Chen-chen, of the National Taipei University of Education, has done in-depth research into Spanish documents related to Spanish trade with Formosa and mainland China. Papers such as *Shipwrecks, colonisation and commerce: relations between the Philippines and Taiwan in the 16th and 17th centuries*[30] (Fang, 2014) and *Research on Trade between Manila and South Asia in the Seventeenth Century*[31] focus on the latter part of the 1600s (Fang, 2017), and as such her focus has been on documents related to trade after the Spanish settlement in Formosa was withdrawn.

Just as certain missionaries have dominated histories of Formosa due to the lack of sources available, certain stand-out incidents have also attracted the attention of researchers, giving them a possibly exaggerated importance in Formosan historiography. For example, one missionary death, of Fr. Francisco Váez, has gained the attention of three relatively recent papers: *The Manila Manuscript: The late 16th century description of Keelung and Tamsui's people and era* (Chen, 2013) has a section focusing on this theme; Liu Bi-de's paper, *The Tamsui aborigines' struggle against Spanish colonisers in 1636*[32] (Liu, 2010) covers the same topic, as does Kang Pei-te's in his paper *The Lin-tsai people and the Spanish*[33] (Kang, 2006, p. 209). Other deaths, however, not least of indigenous people, go relatively uncommented, reflecting the way in which the Spanish-produced source documents have led, unsurprisingly, to histories where Spanish deaths dominate.

[29] Mandarin title: *殖民想像與地方流變*.
[30] Spanish title: *Naufragio, colonización y comercio: relaciones entre Filipinas y Taiwán en los siglos XVI y XVII*.
[31] Mandarin title: *十七世紀馬尼拉與南亞的貿易研究*.
[32] Original Mandarin title: *1636 年淡水原住民反抗西班牙殖民者的斗爭*.
[33] Original Mandarin title: *林仔人與西班牙人*.

As we have seen, most researchers have focused on certain chroniclers or events rather than looking at Spanish Formosa in its entirety. This issue is highlighted in a question posed by J.D.Y. Peel when looking at missionary archives specifically: 'So what does the Archive contain, when read substantially and across its range, rather than just dipped into to find nuggets of information about particular topics?' (Peel, 1996, p. 74) Peel points out the many riches that an investigation of a whole archive can provide (Peel, 1996, p. 74). As we have mentioned, Borao Mateo and Andrade are two of the few researchers to attempt an overview of the Spanish settlement in its entirety. Very few other monographs even touch on the subject of the Spanish in Formosa, with Chen Zong-lin's *Keelung Mountain and Tamsui Sea*[34] (Chen, 2011) being an exception, although, as with Andrade's work, the book's focus is elsewhere, as shown in the subtitle: *Maritime East Asia and Early Taiwan Research 1400–1700*[35]. This thesis is therefore one of very few attempts to engage with the history of the Spanish settlement in its entirety.

Other than the above researchers, few people have looked specifically into the Spanish settlement in Formosa. Manel Ollé Rodríguez is another Spanish academic who has written about it, specifically in his paper: *Colonial contact and interacting ethnic groups: Tamsui and Keelung in the early 17th century* (Ollé Rodríguez, 2017)[36]. Most recently, Jenco and Tremml-Werner revived interest in indigenous pasts in particular with their aforementioned paper: *Historiography of the other: global history and the indigenous pasts of Taiwan* (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021), where the authors argue that, although it is tempting to invoke postcolonial civilisational discourses in Esquivel's documents (one example of which is the quote about silver and gold mines above), his records: 'had a more practical than a judgemental character.' (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021, p. 232)

Other than key researchers such as Borao Mateo, Chen and Andrade, there have therefore been few recent attempts to engage with the history of the Spanish in Formosa. Although researchers have analysed particular aspects of the Spanish settlements, or have separately looked at descriptions of indigenous people, there have been no attempts to give a full overview of constructions of indigenous people throughout the time of the Spanish settlement. Moreover, there have been few, if any, attempts to engage with the Spanish period in its wider context, considering Formosa as a part of the Spanish empire. This thesis hopes to address these significant gaps in the literature.

[34] Original Mandarin title: *雞籠山與淡水洋.*
[35] Original Mandarin subtitle *東亞海域與台灣早期研究 1400–1700.*
[36] Mandarin Title: *殖民接觸與族群互動：17 世紀早期的淡水與基隆.*

Sources

This thesis takes a fresh, expansive approach to source documents, encompassing the full range of Formosan source documents whilst also considering related documents from the Philippines. The sources for Spanish Philippines documents were principally the previously mentioned 55 volumes of edited and translated documents available in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* (Blair and Robertson, 2004b). For this thesis, volumes 1 (Blair and Robertson, 2004a) to 36 (Blair and Robertson, 2009), containing documents from as late as 1650, were taken into consideration. These volumes contain English-language translations of principally Castilian Spanish-language documents.

For the first time, other collections of Castilian Spanish source documents are also being incorporated into the Formosan history, such as volume five of *Collection of unedited documents regarding the discovery, conquest and organisation of the old Spanish possessions in America and Oceania*[37] (Mendoza, 1866), volume two of *Collection of unedited documents regarding the discovery, conquest and organisation of old overseas Spanish possessions* (*Ultramar Volume two*[38], 1886) and volumes four and five of *Collection of the journeys and discoveries that the Spanish made by sea from the end of the 15th century*[39] (Navarrete, 1837), amongst others.

These unedited, untranslated, transcribed sources are available online at the National Library of Spain. The sources comprise many types of documents – letters, memoirs, histories and court transcripts – written by a wide range of people – bishops, governors, soldiers and explorers. All were part of the Spanish empire.

[37] Original Spanish title: *Colleccion de documentos ineditos relatives al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanea*.
[38] Original Spanish title: *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*
[39] Original Spanish title: *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV*.

2. Constructing Formosans

In the previous chapter we discussed the value of looking at the full breadth of source documents available about Formosa, and even of extending those source documents to include related documents from the Spanish empire. However, in such a small archive, it is noteworthy that a few key voices dominate the construction of Formosans. Therefore, before looking at the full range of documents to gain an insight into the people who wrote them – the same people who met Formosan indigenous people and then constructed them in words – we will examine some of the key chroniclers of Formosa and how they constructed their texts. These primarily include: Jacinto Esquivel and his two short documents about Formosa; Diego Aduarte's history of the Philippines, including sections about the Spanish in Formosa; Gonzalo Portillo, the last governor of Formosa, in letters documenting the final days of the settlement; and a group of 17 soldiers whose testimonies and official statements were recorded as part of in the deliberations that took place after the colony was abandoned. These voices stand out in themselves, comprising some of the most significant descriptions of events involving indigenous people. Striking in all four cases, however, is how the authors and the purpose of the documents directly, in different ways, affected how indigenous people were described.

Esquivel

Portillo's letters and the soldiers' testimonies have been relatively overlooked in histories of Formosa. The opposite, however, is true of Esquivel's documents, which have dominated many histories. Esquivel's work is the focus of papers by both Jenco and Tremml-Werner (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021) and Chen (Chen, 2010a), and features heavily in Andrade's *How Taiwan Became Chinese* (Andrade, 2009). In their paper, Jenco and Tremml-Werner acknowledge the 'load-bearing' role of Esquivel's work: 'These texts [by Esquivel], like those in Chinese, thus played an obvious load-bearing role in developing both a history of Taiwan since its earliest colonial moment and the global historical narratives sufficient to contain it.' (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021, p. 222)

Esquivel is such an important figure in descriptions of Spanish Formosa that it is worth looking in particular depth at this man, and how and why he described indigenous people. In this section we will take a look at how Esquivel has been analysed until now and point out how, using a different lens, we can shed new light on such analyses. By moving beyond facts and questioning the missionary's biases, we can broaden our analysis of his documents. In this section, we will also examine Esquivel's source documents to uncover overlooked details about the man himself to flesh out his personality in ways that will add to our understanding of this important chronicler of Formosa and help us to understand how he described

indigenous people. In the process, we will show that Esquivel was by no means an objective chronicler of the island's indigenous people. Indeed, he was wholly and actively invested in the Spanish-empire project and, we will argue, his superficially moderate descriptions all stem from a colonialist viewpoint.

Esquivel's two main works are *Record of affairs concerning Isla Hermosa* (Esquivel, 1632a) and *A situationer on the conversion of Isla Hermosa* (Esquivel, 1632b). They contain some of the principal extant constructions of indigenous people and are vivid and accessible documents, taking up less than 30 pages of Borao Mateo's *Spaniards in Taiwan* (Esquivel, 1632a, 1632b, p. 162, 179). It is no surprise, therefore, that they dominate accounts of Spanish Formosa.

Of all Formosa's chroniclers, the importance and relative richness of his documents mean that Esquivel most clearly illustrates the usefulness of questioning the epistemological and ontological dilemmas that arise when working with Spanish documents. In the introduction to *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Bickers and Seton identify some of the issues that arise when looking at documents by missionaries in particular:

> Uncritically viewing the world through the mission prism can be profoundly misleading, [...] it does, in fact, require much more patience and work on the part of the reader. The contents of the mission archives themselves are problematic. They might be termed a 'tainted' source; they are mostly in languages other than those of the societies they refer to – trying to identify individuals from missionary transliterations of their names can often be impossible. (Bickers and Seton, 1996, p. 3)

Bickers and Seton, it should be noted, are referring to whole archives, whereas in this case we are looking at two documents written by Esquivel, and two further documents by Aduarte. Before giving up on the usefulness of missionary documents altogether, however, Bickers and Seton go on to state that these biases also have their advantage:

> The biases of the missionary reporter are often much more clearly acknowledged and better known than those of other writers, which adds to their usefulness. Once their prejudices and assumptions are recognised [...] missionary sources offer valuable insights into social developments. (Bickers and Seton, 1996, p. 4)

Knowing that the points of view of Esquivel, and also Aduarte, are explicitly biased, Bickers and Seton argue, can help us to unravel, in our case, the way they construct indigenous people.

Esquivel arrived in Formosa in 1630 with ambitions to go on to Japan. Three years later, he finally began that voyage but was killed *en route*. Esquivel rarely refers to himself in his own documents, casting himself as a wise describer of events and sometime giver of advice. Some sections of his text read almost like travelogues, suggesting that Esquivel himself made the discoveries described in his documents, and isn't, for example, reporting explorations done by soldiers: 'Along this branch that stretches toward the island, a short distance from where the river branches, there is on one side a small estuary through which one can enter a cluster of eight or nine villages called Quipatao, where many natives live.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 167)

Although details are scarce, by delving into the work of Esquivel's colleague, Aduarte, we can find a number of disregarded details about Esquivel, which add extra depth to our understanding of the man and the descriptions he makes of indigenous people. In his *History of the Province of the Holy Rosary*, for example, Aduarte gives the following overlooked description of his colleague: 'He [Esquivel] was of a Biscayan nation, of noble lineage, and very virtuous [...] in humility and self-deprecation, he did not seem to be the son of who he was but of some poor shepherd, born and raised in his cabin.' (Aduarte, 1640, p. 301) Esquivel had already passed away by the time this description was written, and Aduarte seems to be creating a positive construction of his colleague. Further overlooked details emerge when Aduarte goes on to describe some of Esquivel's habits. Although Aduarte probably saw the following description in similarly positive terms, when he describes Esquivel's pious self-flagellation, we begin to understand that Esquivel is a very particular type of man: a devout 17th-century Spanish missionary.

> He knew that the conversion of a sinner would cost birth pains [...] Every night he underwent cruel discipline, collecting the blood in a thick sheet [...] so much that the blows of discipline were heard from far away. His bed, [...] the one he always used in this province, was without blankets or pillow. In a warm land this was tolerable but on Formosa, which is a cold land, blankets were necessary. Instead, for the short time he slept at night he wrapped himself in a worn, patched cape. With him he had a cross of his size that, it was understood, served as his bed at night and a place where he would rest for some moments during the day [...] but as this was done on his own, with no witness, this was never seen. His food was only rice [...] not very clean. When it is like that it is usually full of small stones which damage the teeth. (Aduarte, 1640, p. 306)[1]

[1] This text is from Aduarte's original 1640 history but is particularly rare because it was edited out of the summarised version of this chapter that appears in Borao Mateo's *Spaniards in Taiwan*. Thanks to Professor Adam Lifshey of Georgetown University, USA, for pointing out this description of Esquivel.

Esquivel beats himself until he is bloody and sleeps on a cross. Through modern eyes, Esquivel's behaviour – to put it euphemistically in order to avoid being censorious – is markedly different to that of an average person in the 21st century. Looked at from Esquivel's point of view, we can see how such powerful, pious beliefs must have informed what he wrote about indigenous people.

The following quotation is one example of Esquivel's style of description:

> Cabaran: […] It would be good to assign a company of soldiers from Manila to this village, first so that the Dutch would not seize it, which they probably could have already done had they known about the many gold and silver mines nearby and the abundant rice, fish and game […] The second reason is to prevent the natives from pillaging and killing the other natives of the island who live near our port, and who are friendly with us […] Likewise, [the presence of our soldiers] would prevent those natives from slaughtering people who are shipwrecked near their ports. (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 162)

The accessibility of Esquivel's work means that it has been tempting for researchers to view it by default as an authoritative and even objective overview of Spanish Formosa in the 1630s, choosing to overlook or underemphasise any biases. We have pointed out that Chen asserts that Esquivel's words are 'trustworthy'[2]. In his paper *An analysis of Missionary Jacinto Esquivel's 1632 report* (Chen, 2010a), Chen analyses the above passage as follows: 'The main points of this paragraph are: Kavalan is near to a gold and silver producing area and to a food production area; Kavalan people pose a threat to the Spanish and the Dutch East India company also poses a threat to the Spanish.' (Chen, 2010a, p. 8)[3] Chen extracts and summarises information, using that methodology that Ollé Rodríguez defined as 'positivist' (Ollé Rodríguez, 2017, p. 89), involving a search for 'trustworthy' (Chen, 2010, p. 33) facts, a methodology that chooses not to consider issues such as those described by Bickers and Seton.

By questioning the epistemological foundations his work, therefore, we can push our examination of Esquivel's much-analysed documents into new areas. We can analyse the quotation above 'against the grain', looking at Esquivel's particular colonial perspective and the discourses of 'othering' that he introduces in his text. When we do so, to use Chen's phrase, a very different set of 'main points' emerges.

[2] 'Fr Jacinto Esquivel's report […] is an important and trustworthy document about the history of the Spaniards in Taiwan.' (Chen, 2010, p. 33)
[3] My translation of: 本段敘述的重點是噶瑪蘭鄰近金銀產區、是食物產區、噶瑪蘭人對西班牙人的威脅、荷蘭東印度公司對西班牙人的威脅。(Chen, 2010a, p. 8)

Esquivel consistently makes the case for *more Spanish empire* in Formosa, in this case concretely comprising soldiers. This may seem, for a missionary, to involve a somewhat incongruous mix of religion and power, but it is not unique to Esquivel. Stanley identifies and describes this mixture in relation to the missionaries in the British empire in his work *The Bible and The Flag* as: 'Combining calculated national self-interest and lofty philanthropic idealism without awareness of incongruity.' (Stanley, 1990, p. 36) Not only does Esquivel assert that there are many gold and silver mines and lots of rice, fish and game on the island, but he frames the bountifulness of the area as part of a competition, a prize-winning contest against the Dutch, showing that he is not passively making these recommendations but is actively promoting a sense of urgency for the project. Also, Esquivel portrays the Spanish as civilisers and the indigenous people as pillagers and killers first, who, by extrapolation, not only need to be enlightened but would benefit from such civilisation. Finally, he argues that *more empire* would stop the violent attacks that prevent the development of trade. Other documents actively argue against the Formosan settlement[4] but, here, by stating the benefits of the island, Esquivel is notably biased in favour of growing the settlement and increasing the empire's presence.

If there was any doubt about the agency of his documents, one detail reveals that Esquivel's influence is not passive: these are reports that aim to promote the development of the settlement and to position Esquivel himself within that process. How Esquivel constructs his own influence is shown in the following passage, where he discusses Tamsui specifically: 'As we are the first ones to come, we have the privilege of choosing a prime spot even if we already started [evangelizing] among the natives of Quimaurri and Taparri.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 183) He repeats the same sentiment some paragraphs later: 'Following all that has been said, we lay claim on the better ministries. It will be good to distribute what remains to the other Orders.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 188) Here we see that a hierarchy of religious men has been created and that Esquivel assumes that he has 'first come first served' privileges when more missionaries arrive. Esquivel is actively involved in the future of missionary work, and sees himself at the centre of future operations, at least as constructed in this document.

In the inset quotation about 'Cabaran' above, Esquivel repeats what we could call clichéd constructions of indigenous people, complying with what Bashford terms 'A peculiar European view of the world [which] invented "savage" societies in the Pacific.' (Armitage et al., 2018, p. 81) He constructs such a savage noticeably near to the beginning of his document, showing that he reaches for extreme representations as his starting point, not as a reasoned conclusion after thoughtful consideration. If we can say that Esquivel supports the

[4] For example: Juan Cevicos, captain and skipper of the Manila galleons, presented a well thought-out argument against maintaining the forts in Isla Hermosa. (Cevicos, 1627, p. 106)

Spanish-empire project and, as a missionary, is wholeheartedly engaged in the Spanish process of 'civilisation' of indigenous people, we can see how in this quotation he gives the authorities the version of indigenous people that they need in order to justify investing more money and resources into the settlement.

Esquivel treads a fine line when portraying indigenous people, as Jenco and Tremml-Werner note: 'One prominent example [...] detailed the capture and killing of the entire crew of a ship coming from Manila, and reports that the indigenous people drank the Spaniards' blood [...].' (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021, p. 230) The researchers point out that Esquivel *does not*: 'exploit these dramatic events to create a stereotypical image of savage, bloodthirsty indigenes.' (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021, p. 230)

Here is the quotation about drinking blood mentioned by Jenco and Tremml-Werner: 'The girl said that they filled a kind of pail with the blood of the victims, then drank it; afterwards they ate their corpses and heads. When the Spaniards went there recently, they captured a Cabalan native who confessed all this to be true.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 164) Continuing their previous point, Jenco and Tremml-Werner state: 'While it seems tempting from a postcolonial perspective to read a civilisational discourse into Esquivel's account, his records had more of a practical than a judgemental character.' (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021, p. 230)

A closer examination of these events shows that Esquivel's 'more practical than judgemental' style does in fact mask discourses intended to portray a very negative view of indigenous people, in order to promote civilisational discourses. Esquivel states that indigenous people drank human blood. An indigenous girl saw it. A Cabalan indigenous person confirmed this to an imprecise group of 'the Spaniards' who somehow got this information to Esquivel, who then wrote it down, insisting it was true. At this point we are at least four steps removed from events tenuously reported. Esquivel's 'trustworthy' style might appear to be 'practically' reporting information without exploiting the events, but this analysis makes his assertion here seem very like third or fourth-hand gossip rather than an authoritative depiction of events.

Although Jenco and Tremml-Werner's arguments suggest that Esquivel moderates rather than exploits such dramatic events, a full analysis of this phrase, revealing the insubstantiality of its assertions, shows the decisions Esquivel has made in constructing his document. Inevitably, we see that one concrete purpose of such a bold, bloodthirsty claim is that it adds to the sense, in the reader, that indigenous people are barbaric, that missionaries are the solution to this problem, and that the Spanish empire needs to increase its presence on the island. Esquivel may not necessarily be wallowing in fiery indignation, but in this light

it is hard to see he is doing anything other than exploiting this somewhat questionable incident in order to manipulate the opinion of his audience.

There is something of a conflict here between the violently passionate, pious man described by Aduarte and the 'trustworthy' man who is 'practical rather than judgemental' as described by Jeno and Tremml-Werner. One conclusion is that, in order to promote the growth of the settlement and of missionary work, Esquivel, clearly a thoughtful man, is aware that he has to construct a particular version of an indigenous person. He has to make them seem uncivilised, but not so uncivilised that they are beyond the reach of missionary work. We can see a man who is passionate in his beliefs but who knows that practical solutions are needed when working with indigenous people.

When we look at Esquivel's descriptions of indigenous people, therefore, we can look at all his words through this lens. The following quotation contains another of Esquivel's apparently practical descriptions of indigenous people: 'Their ways are similar to those of the others – somewhat inept and slow but naturally candid and simple.' (Borao Mateo, 2014, p. 179) Although Esquivel does not reel in horrified condemnation here, this generalisation does seem somewhat dismissive of indigenous people, if not outright judgemental.

As well as saying indigenous people are 'inept and slow', Esquivel makes another dismissive claim in the following quotation: 'The native tongue is easy to learn.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 181) If Esquivel's document is a trustworthy and authoritative source, we should presumably take these statements at face value and can therefore conclude that these natives are, to paraphrase all of Esquivel's comments, placid and pliable, and their language is easy to learn. However, these apparently mild words were written by a passionately religious man who, in the light of this passion, must have had strong opinions about the people whose lives he wanted to transform. An assumption that the natives are compliant and potentially servile is a useful conclusion to reach in a document that actively promotes the development of the new colony.

To illustrate how such bias is, ultimately, a choice, we can contrast Esquivel's dismissal of the local language with Aduarte's description of language learning on the island. Language learning, Aduarte states, was 'The first and the most difficult part of the task of conversion.' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 191) Esquivel looks forwards in his descriptions, whilst Aduarte looks back on the same task. Aduarte's aim in his history is to portray success in retrospect, so he shows language learning as a difficult challenge overcome. Esquivel, on the other hand, is promoting future colonisation, so portrays language learning as a simple task involving compliant locals. The two men's discourses are shaped by their points of view as much as, if not more than, the ease of learning the language. Here we see the extent to which an

assertion of 'trustworthiness' does not help our analysis. One man's assertion does not necessarily contradict the other's: they merely have their own points of view. What both arguments have in common is that they promote the case for missionary work.

Those were, however, examples of relatively mild descriptions of indigenous people by Esquivel. When we use the same lens to look at the beginning of the second of Esquivel's surviving documents, *A situationer on the conversion of Isla Hermosa* (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 179), we can expose the harshness of what he describes. In this document, our introduction to the indigenous people is that not only are they poor, greedy scroungers and child murderers, but also unfeeling, uncaring and disease-ridden:

> Those of Taparri and Quimaurri are the keenest [and quickest] of all, but are not as good-natured. Some are extremely greedy and constantly go about begging. I believe that this is due to the poverty and want in which they live. This is why mothers kill their infants by burning them alive or giving them away in exchange for stones, clothing material or carayo, all this due to their lack of clothing or food. The natives show no form of charily or respect for each other, more so with those afflicted with repulsive diseases, like leprosy. To avoid contamination, lepers are left to die unattended. (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 179)

Esquivel is not making a case to leave these people alone, or to kill them. By evoking such ugly discourses, Esquivel again makes his case for more empire and missionary work[5]. This is exposed particularly when Esquivel goes on to change the subject, making the purpose of his document clear. He had made a strong case for the barbarity of the indigenous people, and next he talks about the Dominicans and what they are doing and can do to alleviate this situation. He assumes that the number of missionaries will grow, making his case for a hospital in Tamsui and a school in Keelung, amongst many other suggestions. These solutions are all linked to developing the Spanish missionary presence on the island. Even the indigenous people themselves, Esquivel claims, see that the Spanish are the solution to their problems: 'Each day they get to understand better what a priest is. The natives of Caguiuanuan [or Santiago], where a Japanese Christian has been living for some 40 years, are asking for a priest.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 181)

One final detail arises when we compare how Esquivel represents indigenous people with how he comments on his fellow colleagues. There is a revealing passage towards the end of this document where Esquivel discusses some issues relating to the unhappiness of

[5] Here are more of their vices: They are drunks, 'their primary vice.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 179); they believe in superstitions: 'They have thousands of *marnaches*, or omens.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 179); they steal from each other (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 182). Esquivel, at one point, states that the vices of indigenous women are practically limitless: 'Their women are prone to a thousand vices and are easily fooled by trinkets and stones.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 184)

missionaries on the island. Father Bravo is discussed: 'He cannot take this kind of life' (Esquivel 1632b, p. 186). In addition, Father Mola appears to have been removed from Formosa due to an unspecified dispute involving Father Angel: 'I think Father Angel would have returned to Manila if he [Father Mola] had not been removed.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 186)

What can be noted from these passages is the contrast between the three Dominicans above, who emerge as specific people taking part in their own anecdotes, and the indigenous people, who, in Esquivel's document, never take on such specificity. Dominicans are people; indigenous people are 'others.' Not one indigenous person is named in Esquivel's document, despite this being one of the principal sources of information about these people.

Further to this, there is a curious contradiction in Aduarte's account of Esquivel when compared with Esquivel's own documents. Esquivel never gives us a sense that he became friends with any indigenous people, yet Aduarte states that Formosan indigenous people 'loved' Esquivel: 'Finally, they came to love him so much that they could not do without him.' (Aduarte, 1640, p. 305)

Aduarte does not state that Esquivel 'loves' indigenous people in return. Instead, Aduarte tells us of Esquivel's hard work with these people. We are reminded of his piousness: 'He stayed there for a year [in Taparri], in continuous prayer and practice of mortification.' (Aduarte, 1640, p. 308) Esquivel's love is reserved for God: '[Esquivel] burned with the greater love for God and the desire to see himself in a land where much is being done and suffered for his love.' (Aduarte, 1640, p. 311) (Esquivel was killed on his way to Japan, which is the 'land' mentioned in this quotation.)

In the chapter on missionaries and indigenous people in particular we will look at more incidents involving Esquivel. He was clearly a devout man and a passionate Catholic. Esquivel wrote documents that might appear, on first reading, to be moderate and practical, containing many suggestions for the development of the settlement and including clear-eyed descriptions of indigenous people. This apparent moderateness perhaps reveals both Esquivel's intelligence and his subtle appreciation of at least what he thinks his audience wants: redeemable barbarians. He writes documents that actively promote the development of the Formosan settlements, and that wholeheartedly support the Spanish empire and its discourses. These clear-eyed descriptions of indigenous people consistently employ discourses that support the case for incorporating those people into the Spanish empire. When looking at Esquivel's documents, therefore, we cannot ignore that ultimate aim.

Oddie, in his essay on missionaries as social commentators, emphasises this issue with missionary accounts. Esquivel was not objectively documenting indigenous traits for future

anthropologists, he was pointing out their flaws and their potential, diagnosing a problem for authorities in the Philippines and offering up an inevitable solution. In doing so he gives a view of indigenous people that supports his arguments for empire while leaving out information that might have given a 'balanced view', as described by Oddie: 'There is the problem of selectivity, the all-too-familiar process whereby commentators ignore material that might have given a more balanced view.' (Oddie, 1996, p. 206) Everything he writes about indigenous people can be seen in this light. The solution he is proposing is clear: these people need more empire, more missionaries, more 'civilisation' and more Catholicism.

Aduarte

Aduarte, according to *Dominican Missionaries in the Far East*, had a long religious career that appears to have peaked in the early 1630s: 'He was a councillor in the provincial capital from 1629 and once more chosen as prior of Manila's convent of Santo Domingo. On 3rd December 1632 he received the decree naming him bishop of Nuevo Segovia [Northern Luzon].' (Ocio and Neira, 2000, p. 65) Aduarte was therefore a more senior figure amongst the Philippines' church authorities than Esquivel. Jacinto Esquivel and Diego Aduarte both died soon after their stays in Formosa, and were at very different stages of their lives and missionary careers while on the island. In 1632, when it is likely that both men were in Formosa, Esquivel would have been 37 while Aduarte would have been 63. Whereas Esquivel spent more than two years in Formosa, writing his documents whilst he was there, Aduarte stated: 'I was there for a few months.' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 190)[6]

For the purpose of this thesis, Aduarte's most important work is *History of the Province of the Holy Rosary of the Order of Preachers in the Philippines, Japan and China* (Aduarte, 1640),[7] which was first published in 1640. The original edition of the work, in two volumes, contains over 800 pages, covering the histories of the Dominicans in Japan, China and the Philippines. Aduarte died before the work was finished, and his history was completed by Domingo González (Blair, 2013a, p. N/A; Ocio and Neira, 2000, p. 65). This is an official history written by and for Dominicans.

There are marked differences between Esquivel's documents and Aduarte's history, which in themselves illustrate how the type of document created influences its content. Whereas Esquivel, in his reports, wrote primarily about the place he resided, creating a direct link between what he wrote and what he depicted, it is clear that Aduarte, in his longer, reflective history, could not have had first-hand knowledge of most of the events he describes. It is an

[6] Translation of the following phrase: 'estuve allá pocos meses'.
[7] A number of versions of this book have been used in this thesis. A copy of the original is available online at the National Spanish Library in Madrid (Aduarte, 1640). *Spaniards in Taiwan* (Borao Mateo, 2014) contains passages most relevant to Formosa, including English translations. *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898 volumes XXX–XXXII* (Blair and Robertson, 2013a, 2013b, 2012) contain passages relevant to the Philippines, translated into English.

issue that Oddie identifies with missionary documents in general when he states: 'It is difficult to identify the author's sources of information [...] It is not always easy to distinguish second hand information from comments which were based on experience and observation.' (Oddie, 1996, p. 206)

Another contrast between Esquivel and Aduarte is that the former wrote a contemporary description of Formosa's settlements, replete with suggestions, whilst Aduarte's history offered something of an omniscient narration of past events, giving him the ability to construct episodes of his history teleologically, as we will see in the examples in this section. Attitudes to missionary histories such as that of Aduarte, with its emphasis on 'mission triumphs and successes', have evolved over time, according to Bickers and Seton: 'There is no longer a dominating scholarly concern with discourses of mission triumphs and successes [...] Instead, a broad cross-section of social scientists and humanities scholars are finding the missionary enterprise a fecund, if often frustrating source of material to work on.' (Bickers and Seton, 1996, p. 1)

Aduarte is clearly aware of what his audience wants from its official history, and the indigenous people described. He recreates events as mock-biblical discourses, emphasising heroic religious martyrdom, the progress of missionary work and, as we will subsequently see in the chapter *Missionaries and indigenous people*, even stories of Judas-like betrayal. The 'frustrating' yet fascinating result is that Aduarte's writing is somehow specific yet general at the same time, conflating some years yet describing other moments in detail, whilst always aware of its religious audience, knowing that they will believe the miracles he casually recounts.

More than once in his work, Aduarte presents an idealised, neatly teleological version of the missionary process. For example, this is from a section of his history that appears just after the incursion into Keelung:

> And the barbarians who had lived as savages who drank the blood of their neighbours and at the flesh of their enemies, were domesticated by their contact with the members of the order [...] such that they humbly and peacefully brought their wives and children to the church. (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73)

Aduarte writes evocatively, specifically about Formosa here, yet there are no details that identify a uniquely Formosan missionary experience. His narration is very general, comprising discourses rather than detailed descriptions.

The following summarised passage, about the earliest churches in Manila, involves another 'specific yet general' discourse, which illustrates other issues arising from Aduarte's account.

> the first church and convent were but small and poor buildings, made of wood, they were very precious in the sight of the Lord, who manifested therein many miracles. The candles in the chapel of our Lady burned without wasting […].
>
> It was not two years before the larger chapel fell to the ground, warning of the fall having been given to one of the novices in a dream. In response to his prayers, the Lord granted that the church should fall without harming any person, injuring the sanctuary, or damaging the image of our Lady of the Rosary […].
>
> By the favor of God, they received a number of bequests and other gifts, which enabled them to build a handsome stone church, large and strong, two large dormitories, a sacristy, a chapter-house, a refectory, a porter's lodge, and such other offices as a convent has need of. The enterprise went on so rapidly that, though the wooden church had fallen toward the end of the year 1589, the new one was finished on the ninth of April, 1592 […]
>
> It seemed that the work was to stand for many years, but it was not to be. In the year 1603, toward the end of April […] fire broke out in the town […] There were lost seventy-two buildings, fourteen Spaniards, and many more Indians and negroes. (Blair, 2012, p. N/A)[8]

The passage shows how events in Aduarte's world occur 'in response to prayers' or 'by God's favour', reminding us of the biases of the writer and the intended audience. Aduarte calmly mentions miracles and highlights religious aspects of the story. For example, the safety of the image of the Lady of the Rosary, in the context of a church falling down, is a version of events created for a religious audience.

These quotations span 20 years in a few paragraphs. Aduarte refers to Manila but these events could refer to almost anywhere, something which can be useful when applying such passages to Formosa. Caution is needed, however, when trying to apply these descriptions to the Formosan settlements. The miracles and emphasis on religion prompt epistemological issues that must inform our analysis of Aduarte's documents in relation to indigenous people.

The following passage illustrates just how far the missionaries' religiosity affected their view of indigenous people, whilst simultaneously reminding us of the direct epistemological issues at play in Spanish source documents. It is curious how the lines between Esquivel and Aduarte begin to blur in the following episode. Amongst the many mini-biographies of

[8] These quotations are from Aduarte's text as translated into English in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, Volume XXX (Blair, 2012).

missionaries included in Aduarte's history is one of Esquivel himself. It includes one memorable incident, summarised here by Tonio Andrade in *How Taiwan Became Chinese*:

> Esquivel was determined to continue this work, but when he arrived in Senar he found the inhabitants wary. They decided to ask a bird oracle whether Esquivel should be allowed to build the church. Versions of this ceremony, in which how a question was answered was based on whether a particular bird sang its song, were common among many Formosan Austronesians. According to Dominican annals, Esquivel, for his part, 'turned to God with fervent prayers, fasts, and mortifications [disciplinas],' asking that the devil be resisted and the bird's response be favorable. The bird arrived, 'nearly landing in the hand, as is usual,' and gave its answer: Yes. Esquivel began constructing his church. (Andrade, 2009, p. 89–90)

Indigenous people use a bird to help them make their decision: it could be interpreted as a quaint, interesting tradition. Esquivel doesn't see it that way, however. He: 'turned to God with fervent prayers, fasts, and mortifications [disciplinas]' (Andrade, 2009, p. 89). When we look at the source text itself, we see further details that have often been overlooked by researchers, perhaps because such an extreme personal reaction seems irrelevant to a fact-based history. Esquivel, Aduarte reports in his 1640 history, reacted vehemently to the bird ritual: 'He resisted the devil will all his force, and thus the bird took some days to respond to the proposal, during which the father prayed to God, with more fasting and penitence, asking that the devil not be allowed to use his wickedness on this occasion.' (Aduarte, 1640, p. 307)

This incident, involving a simple bird, is curious for two reasons. One is Esquivel's reaction to events, the other is Aduarte's writing up of them. It leaves us in no doubt that the men's beliefs affect their view of indigenous people, and their ceremonies and beliefs, but it is difficult to see where Aduarte ends and Esquivel begins. Esquivel could not bear being the beneficiary of the bird ceremony. Aduarte reports Esquivel's penitence, stressing the reluctance with which Esquivel resisted the indigenous 'devil', the older missionary seeming determined to maintain the reputation of his now-deceased colleague.

Esquivel's extreme reaction does not end there, however. When the church is eventually built, there is a feast, and we read more about Esquivel's behaviour: 'The father [Esquivel] found himself there, and at everyone's behest he exceeded his usual abstinence: during the night he reprimanded himself upon retiring, punishing himself with words, and worse by deeds, disciplining himself so cruelly that it frightened anyone who heard from afar […] One lay

brother, upon hearing this, embraced him, begging him not to kill himself.' (Aduarte, 1640, p. 307)[9]

Although Esquivel's departure from Tamsui has been noted in other histories, researchers have not previously questioned the reasons for it. It is soon after this drunken episode and his near-suicidal penitence that Esquivel is told to leave Tamsui. He did not volunteer to leave: 'The father obeyed without objection, as he was no less obedient than humble.' (Aduarte, 1640, p. 307)[10]

The bird incident has been reported in histories such as Andrade's as quoted above. The incident has not, however, previously been linked to the near-suicide of Esquivel and his departure from Tamsui. This reveals a new angle on this incident: the bird incident was an act of belief; Esquivel and Aduarte were both fervent believers, so their reaction could not be neutral. Researchers have reported events here as if they were 'facts'. For Esquivel, however, this bird ceremony was powerfully overwhelming. Was Esquivel's reaction dramatic and extreme, or was Aduarte's version of events the source of the melodrama? Whatever the answer may be, Esquivel's reaction, through the words of Aduarte, informs us of the gravity with which both men could react to indigenous ceremonies and indigenous people as a whole. Aduarte, a Spanish missionary whose history contains many teleological religious discourses, had a vested interest in portraying indigenous people in ways that backs the case for missionary work, and thus portrayed a curious bird belief as a battle between God and the devil, which in turn had significant consequences for the pious Esquivel. Any temptation to view descriptions of the bird incident as authoritative, objective recounting of an indigenous tradition must therefore be countered with this realisation.

Gonzalo Portillo

Missionaries actively mingled with indigenous people. The work of some missionaries included writing down what happened to them, in letters, memoirs or histories. Non-missionaries, however, did not have the same motivations to work with those people or, in the case of Formosa at least, the same desire to document them.

Although precise numbers of Spanish-settlement dwellers fluctuated a great deal during the life of the colony, a 1641 list mentions that there were around 220 wage earners being paid by the Spanish-empire authorities in Formosa (N/A, 1641a, p. 336–342). A slightly earlier list of 'those who remain on Isla Hermosa' adds up to 200 (N/A, 1640b, p. 324). On the other

[9] Full quotation in Spanish: 'Vos fray Iacintho, decia, comer con soldados ¿ vos con capitanes? vos comer platos regalados? y a cada racon de estas se dava cruelissimo acotes, y esto duro por un gran rato, tanto, que obligo a un hermano donado, que la oya a que se abrasecon el rogandole, no se matasse, a lo qual el respondia: dexeme hermando castigar a este malvado, que a pasado much la raya de sus obligaciones, y otras racones semejantes, que oyeron con no poca edificacion los soldados, que andavan de ronda.' (Aduarte, 1640, p. 307)

[10] Obedecio el padre sin replica, por que no era menos obediente que pobre.

hand, an inventory made by the Dutch after conquering the island lists 446 'souls' (N/A, 1642a, p. 397). The discrepancy in the numbers is because Spanish lists only seem to include men employed by the Spanish empire's non-religious authorities, whereas the Dutch figure includes 42 women, 2 priests, 29 'servants of the priests' and 18 children along with a greater number of troops than a year earlier. None of these numbers hint at the level of integration that indigenous people may have had with those in the settlements, these indigenous people only notably being present, as it were, in their absence from these lists. If we were to take these lists at face value, we could assume that indigenous people were not on the payroll of the Spanish empire, yet Gonzalo Portillo mentions 'the paid native [workers]' in one of his letters (Portillo, 1642a, p. 373), whilst a document from the trial of the governor of the Philippines for the loss of Formosa lists 233 wage earners in Formosa, adding 'not counting the religious fathers, the natives of the land, servants and slaves who would number to 300' (N/A, 1642b, p. 510).

The vast inconsistency in the numbers shows how a reliance on 'facts' is problematic. In terms of constructing Formosans, however, these numbers at least give us some indication of the quantity people whose comments about indigenous people did not make it into Spanish-language archives. Amongst the Formosan documents there are many letters from Philippines' governors and other officials reporting on Formosa to the King, but, strikingly, we rarely have the accounts of non-religious people who lived on the island itself. We do not have the views of any women or children, or of the surgeon, the carpenter, the blacksmiths or the slaves who were part of the Spanish settlements (N/A, 1640b, p. 324). The letters of Gonzalo Portillo, the last governor of Formosa (1639[11]–1642) to the governor of the Philippines, are therefore noteworthy for this reason. In our 'history from below' we are, by necessity, ironically relying on descriptions written by the governor of the island.

According to the 1642 letter from Portillo defending his behaviour during the final battle that led to the Spanish loss of Formosa, he was 60 years old that year and had been 'serving in different military posts' for 33 years (Portillo, 1642b, p. 398). A close reading of the source documents has unearthed details that have previously not been noted. Gonzalo Portillo, for example, was stationed with his wife in Formosa (N/A, 1643, p. 443), illustrating a commitment to the island that perhaps belies the easy conclusion that the Spanish were expecting the post to be lost soon.

Portillo was a controversial figure by the mere fact of being in charge during the fall of the island. The following words about Gonzalo Portillo were said by José de Arellano, a soldier who declared himself to be 21 in 1644 (N/A, 1644a, p. 533) during his interrogation as part of

[11] The testimonies of a number of soldiers state that he arrived in 1639 to take up his post.

the fallout from the loss of Formosa: 'The said Sergeant Major Gonzalo Portillo is a veteran solider who has served on these Islands and in the forces of Terranate for over 30 years. In these forces he was a soldier of courage and experience and of good repute, with a satisfactory military record among his superiors.' (N/A, 1644a, p. 536) Despite José de Arellano's youth, he spent seven years on the island (N/A, 1644a, p. 533), and so was witness to the whole tenure of Portillo's governorship of the island. His words, although positive, are nonetheless not overwhelming in their praise. As part of the interrogation, the solider had been invited to comment on statements such as the following about Portillo's career: '[He was] Captain in Caraga, a town that is not entrusted to any one but a brave and experienced soldier.' (N/A, 1644a, p. 528)

Another man who was witness to the whole of Portillo's tenure was Antonio Pérez, a 30-year-old 'fiscal promoter of the Royal Treasury.' (N/A, 1644b, p. 491) Amongst the comments we have about Portillo, the consensus generally appears to be that he was a good solider, but Antonio Pérez picks at that consensus by pointing out some of the former governor's limitations: '[Portillo was] a man who knew not how to read or write and who had no experience in matters of government.' (N/A, 1644b, p. 491) This quotation comes from a soldier who lived on Formosa for 17 years (N/A, 1644b, p. 491).

When we consider Portillo's words, therefore, we know that he was a relatively old man, particularly compared to his compatriots in Formosa. He had long, respected experience as a solider but, if Antonio Pérez's comments are to be believed, his education was limited, as was his experience of governing. Despite apparently not being able to read or write, Portillo was able to leave behind some of the most detailed accounts of non-religious life in Formosa. One further clue to the authorship of the letters comes when the same witness states that, during the first attempt by the Dutch to take over Keelung in 1641, his was the hand that wrote Portillo's letter refusing to surrender (N/A, 1644b, p. 492).

It is striking that such an experienced and generally respected solider would put his name to the following sentence, which was written before the fall of Formosa: 'The pressure and danger which this fort now faces is very great, due to the lack of provisions and because the Dutch enemy has returned too soon, before summer, to rally the natives to their side and so force us to leave.' (Portillo, 1642, p. 372)

Peel discusses one way in which letters, in our case from Portillo, can differ from more reflective documents such as the reports and history written by Aduarte and Esquivel: 'Memoirs and periodicals are never so full or close to the originating experiences as journals or letters, especially those written from the field, and are of course edited to suit particular audiences and functions.' (Peel, 1996, p. 70) As well as five principal letters written by

Portillo, the following documents are signed by him: a short letter refusing to surrender to the Dutch a year before the final battle (N/A, 1641b, p. 326); one of the above lists of remaining people in Formosa (N/A, 1640a, p. 324); and a copy of meeting minutes (N/A, 1642c, p. 367).

This is no self-conscious attempt to summarise Formosa, but the timespan of Portillo's letters covers some of the most dramatic moments in the life of the settlement. These are letters 'close to the originating experience', as Peel states, reflecting a governor's priorities during events leading up to the eviction of the Spanish by the Dutch. The final letter gives Portillo's account of the battle itself, written three or four months after the events in Batavia, modern-day Jakarta. Whereas the missionaries, to a certain extent, had to focus on indigenous people, Portillo's letters reveal the plethora of immediate issues he was managing, all showing a constant deference to their recipient, 'Your Lordship' (Portillo, 1642, p. 372), the governor of the Philippines.

We see in Portillo's letters a specific construction of indigenous people in the context of his writing to his superior, giving an impression of how these people affected his work. Oddie points out this contrast between missionaries and government officials when he states: 'Missionaries, perhaps unlike some government commentators, were open and frank about what they were trying to achieve.' (Oddie, 1996, p. 210) We never, on the other hand, see Portillo discuss any policy towards indigenous people, despite being the person on the island who had the most potential effect on their lives. In Portillo's letters, indigenous people are just another group, and not one that has any priority in the light of the governor's daily administration of the Spanish, as well as relations with the indigenous Philippines peoples from Pampanga and Cagayan[12], the sangleys working between China and Keelung, and the ongoing enmity with the Dutch.

The glimpses of indigenous people we do see through Portillo's documents are rare but nevertheless unique in Formosan documents, revealing a construction very different to that of the missionaries. For Portillo, indigenous people are either useful or threats. The slightly contradictory, even binary construction is reflected in the following quotations:

> The enemy [i.e. the Dutch] came, in fact, to seize La Mira from me. I thank God for the report that I received the day before from a native who was in the Tamchuy [Tamsui] river. He is one of the friends who had remained there. (Portillo, 1641c, p. 328)

[12] Portillo uses the same term, 'natives', to describe these people from the Philippines (e.g. Portillo, 1640, p. 317).

> We learned from the natives that they have gladly allowed the Dutch to set up fort there [in Tamsui], even if they have not done so. [I also found out] that Icoa, a sangley mandarin, was accompanying the Dutch to this fort, arranging with the natives to travel by land and by sea. (Portillo, 1641b, p. 331) [13]

In the first quotation, Portillo it talking about the first failed attempt by the Dutch to take the Spanish settlement in Keelung. La Mira is one of the Spanish buildings. We see an unnamed indigenous person referred to as 'a friend'. Through Portillo we know that the Spanish frequently received news from such individual indigenous 'friends'. The second quotation, however, reveals that the Tamsui indigenous people were now working with the Dutch. Also telling in the second quote is that the sangley mandarin is named whilst no indigenous person is ever named in Portillo's documents, perhaps reflecting the status, or non-status, of indigenous people for a Spanish governor.

We will revisit Gonzalo Portillo's story, and these quotations, in the later chapters *Indigenous relationships* and *Decline and loss* with a more detailed analysis of Portillo's interaction with indigenous people and a look at their role in the end of the Spanish settlement. Portillo was the governor who presided over the defeat of Spanish Formosa, and his comportment during the last battle in Formosa was the subject of harsh criticism. He stayed in Jakarta, where the Dutch had taken their Spanish prisoners, in order to avoid the Spanish authorities, assuming he would be beheaded if returned to the Philippines (N/A, 1643, p. 432). As the first reckonings for the demise of the settlement took place back in the Philippines, Portillo, *in abstentia*, was the focal point of investigations, being pitched almost directly against the governor of the Philippines, Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera as the scapegoat who would take the blame for the loss of the settlement. Some statements would be excoriating, demanding that he should have done nothing less than die in defence of the Spanish empire: 'The said Sergeant Major Gonzalo Portillo neglected his duty to defend it to the death, according to the oath that he made.' (N/A, 1643, p. 441)

Spanish soldiers

We have mentioned the irony of looking at a governor's letters to create a 'history from below' about indigenous people, yet the remaining set of documents discussed here, remarkably, give the viewpoints of ordinary soldiers who lived and worked in Formosa. These 17 voices were transcribed as part of the process of reckoning that took place after the fall of Spanish Formosa. These testimonies and statements are made by men largely in their 30s, although exceptions include the Captain and Sergeant Major of San Salvador, the main Spanish

[13] The original Spanish uses the verb 'apercebir', which is translated here as 'arranged with'. In *Spaniards in Taiwan* it was translated as 'calling to'. The meaning, however, seems to be that the sangley somehow worked – 'arranged with' – with the indigenous people to travel to 'this fort'.

fortress, called Jara Quemada, who was 52 at the time of making his statement. Other soldiers, such as Fernando Basilio and Sebastián Martín, were in their 20s. There are striking details. For example, José de Arellano claimed to be 21 years old 'more or less' (N/A, 1644a, p. 533), showing how even the most basic information, in this world, is open to question. He also stated that he had spent seven years in Formosa despite his youth; 44-year-old Francisco Contreras stated that he had spent 17 years in Formosa. Such longevity contrasts markedly with Esquivel's three years on the island, and particularly the few months spent by Aduarte in Formosa, perhaps giving added weight to these soldiers' comments despite their unfortunate, relative brevity. Contreras, veteran of the islands, stated: 'The natives of Tanchuy [Tamsui] did not submit to the faith as expected when this spot was conquered.' (N/A, 1644a, p. 529). Contrast this with Aduarte's optimistic and confident statement that was, nevertheless, mistaken: 'In the end, their conversion will be similar to that of other natives.' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 191)

These documents include official statements about the fall of the island, as well as legal testimonies made during the trial the governor of the Philippines, Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, both for the prosecution and the defence. These testimonies do not give great detail about the indigenous people, but as a 'history from below' they give an interesting insight into how Spanish soldiers, of various ranks, viewed events that were taking place. Taking into account the soldiers' literal 'prosecution or defence' bias, we can gain some clues as to the indigenous role in events and how indigenous people were incorporated, or not, into a Spanish soldier's life.

The earliest of these documents was compiled by the Philippines' governor Hurtado de Corcuera himself and dated 1st July 1643, around nine months after the final battle that ousted the Spanish from Formosa. Hurtado de Corcuera appears to have ordered this document as part of an initial investigation into why the island was abandoned (Borao Mateo, 2002, p. 423). The eight eye witnesses were asked to respond to the following comment on the role of indigenous people in the Dutch invasion: 'If the natives of Isla Hermosa – those who were subject to them and who had received Baptism, as well as the infidels – came and cooperated in the intelligence operations of Sergeant Major Portillo or helped the enemy who invaded the posts.' (N/A, 1643, p. 424) However, indigenous involvement is just one of 13 points to be discussed by the witnesses. The low priority of the indigenous role perhaps therefore helps us to understand why the responses are unclear. It is also worth remembering that the Spanish created these testimonies when Formosan indigenous people were already practically irrelevant to the Spanish empire. As the Spanish lost their power in Formosa, they also lost any need to be interested in its indigenous people.

The soldiers' accounts are vivid, direct and opinionated, but the opinions are principally about the fall of Formosa rather than indigenous people. This is where looking at 'against the grain' documents becomes particularly useful. We have few, if any, direct descriptions of indigenous people in these official testimonies and statements, but we can glean some details from direct and indirect mentions of indigenous people as seen by Spanish soldiers. One example is the following statement by the previously mentioned 21-year-old solider José de Arellano, which at first glance reveals little, but, when looked at in the context of Spanish documentation as a whole, goes some way to illustrate the relationship between the two groups: 'And with their swords [the Dutch] drove out of the fort the Spanish and native soldiers who retreated to the main fortress, losing three Spanish soldiers, two natives, and with five soldiers badly injured.' (N/A, 1644a, p. 535)

What makes this phrase unique is that it is the only mention of 'native' people dying for the Spanish. Other soldiers mention deaths, with all others talking in terms of Spanish deaths only. That the Spanish had a hierarchy is unsurprising, but that it reached the extent that 'native' people's deaths are barely ever mentioned reveals the priorities of Spanish soldiers giving official testimonies. At this point, in documents produced after the fall of the island, the deaths of indigenous people were barely worth mentioning, except, in this one case, by José de Arellano.

Taken together, the soldiers' testimonies are confusing and contradictory. One question that is never clearly answered is the role of Formosan indigenous people in the final battle for Formosa. Although Arellano states that 'native' people died at this point in the battle, one more layer of detail is revealed when we look at this soldier's testimony together with those of others. Arellano is not actually referring to Formosan indigenous people but rather indigenous people from the Philippines who had been brought over to fight and work with the Spanish. Even José de Arellano's consideration of the deaths of 'natives' therefore shows how he conflates non-Spanish from the Philippines and Formosa, illustrating the hierarchy that exists, for the Spanish, amongst these people. Other testimonies specify that they were Cagayan people or Pampanga people from the Philippines[14], but here we see José de Arellano conflate them all. At this crucial time in Formosa's history, in this Spaniard's eyes, there were Spanish people and there were the 'others'.

Histories of the Spanish in Formosa have been dominated by a few voices. One voice, that of Jacinto Esquivel, stands out above all others, with Aduarte providing so many details that his accounts of the history of the Spanish on the island also cannot be ignored. Yet, in this section, we have seen that the dominance of these voices does not make them either

[14] For example: (N/A, 1643, p. 446).

objective or definitive, despite the temptation to view them as such. Moreover, analysing the subjectivity of these voices reveals further dimensions of the documents involved. We have shown that biases do inform the way these men wrote about indigenous people.

This section has revealed that there are many nuances to the voices of Esquivel's and Aduarte's words that have not previously been considered as part of the story of Formosa. Furthermore, we have seen how documents by Aduarte, and particularly Esquivel, have come to dominate histories of Formosa so much that that they have eclipsed other chroniclers of the island. Although documents by Portillo and the 17 soldiers do not specifically focus on the lives of indigenous people, the glimpses we see of them as part of their Spanish lives nevertheless help us to contextualise them as part of this society. Some of these testimonies are by men who witnessed the Spanish settlements from beginning to end, a much longer period than either of those principal missionary chroniclers, giving their words added weight. By examining those accounts closely, we see how indigenous people were viewed by the Spanish as part of the maelstrom of their own lives, particularly helping us to reconstruct the indigenous role in the latter days of the settlement, up to a decade after Esquivel and Aduarte left the island, adding breadth to the island's colonial and indigenous history.

3. Establishing the settlement

Before the incursion

Spanish accounts of Formosa began some years before their attempts to settle the island. In pre-settlement documents relating to Formosa, indigenous people are constructed in two general ways, both of which help to solidify that notion of indigenous people as 'other'. There are documented accounts of shipwrecks in Formosa, and there is a debate on how the indigenous people should be treated if a colony were to be created. This chapter will examine those early glimpses of Formosan indigenous peoples, placing them in the wider Spanish-empire context. In doing so, this chapter will show how early impressions of Formosan indigenous people reflected and repeated discourses that had been established for over a century before Keelung was taken over by the Spanish.

The earliest Spanish documents about Formosa

Before the earliest Formosan documents there had of course been many meetings between indigenous people and the Spanish in the Western Pacific, not least in two of the most famous events: the Magellan fleet's circumnavigation of the world beginning in 1519, leading to Magellan's death, and Legazpi's first attempts to set up colonies in the Philippines beginning in 1565, on the modern-day islands of Cebu, followed by Panay and eventually Manila on Luzon island. The issues that arose during all these events are similar to those that emerged during the early settlement of Formosa, and will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

The first documents about Formosa itself emerged after a shipwreck in July 1582. There was no Spanish link between the Philippines and Formosa in the early 1580s, and the ship that was wrecked in Formosa was actually sailing from Macao to Japan, carrying missionaries who were hoping to spread Christianity to the latter country. Three missionaries documented this event and the resultant interaction between Europeans and indigenous people. By that year, the Spanish settlement in the Philippines was already 17 years old and the Spanish were exploring and settling other islands in the area. Not long after this shipwreck, the Spanish in the Philippines would begin to actively discuss occupying Formosa.

Between the year of this shipwreck and 1626, when the Spanish finally established their first colony on the island, we see a particular construction of the indigenous people developing over the decades. Although they have no direct connection, the few references to Formosa that exist build on the same discourses, illustrating the potential riches offered by the island and highlighting the dangers of its indigenous inhabitants. There is also a growing

perception of these people as a group that cannot be ignored and a problem that needs to be solved, and potentially as benefitting from Spanish intervention.

The three accounts of the first shipwreck stand alone, however. They exist in a 16th-century world of Spanish-empire discourses, but are unlike most Spanish documents in that they not written with the intention of evaluating Formosa as part of that empire, future, present or past. One of the accounts was written in Spanish by a Jesuit, Fr. Alonso Sánchez (Sánchez, 1583, p. 10), and one in Portuguese by another Jesuit, Francisco Pirez (Pirez, Undated, p. 12). The remaining account is the longest, written in Portuguese by a Spanish Jesuit, Fr. Pedro Gómez (Gómez, 1582, p. 2). In terms of motivations, Gómez appears to have no reason to write his document other than to exchange an account of interesting events: 'My soul desires to give each of my beloved brethren of that College an account of the shipwreck. [Nevertheless] I will write [only to] Your Reverence so that everyone may partake [of the adventures] in detail, as though I had written to each one.' (Gómez, 1582, p. 2)

There are many clichés associated with the first encounter between Europeans and indigenous peoples, particularly on Pacific islands, and not only involving the Spanish. Armitage et al., in *Oceanic Histories*, summarise one aspect of these clichés. The indigenous peoples might be expected to behave in a way that involved: 'exchange and violence on beaches and ships between visitors and locals.' (Armitage et al., 2018, p. 74)

Initially, the most detailed account by Gómez appears to repeat this cliché, although some details vary:

> Soon, around 20 pagans of the land approached us. They were naked and covered only by a loincloth like the ones of the Canary Islands. Their hair was lose [*sic*] and reached down to their ears. Some of them wore strips of white paper like a crown. All of them bore arches and a fistful of arrows with very sharp and long tips. They came and, without saying anything, began to gather all the white cloth that was around us. (Gómez, 1582, p. 5)

Many aspects of this scene are unsurprising: nakedness and loincloths; long hair; bows and arrows. In contrast with Armitage et al.'s cliché, however, the 'exchange and violence on beaches' does not take place at that moment: the violence would erupt later.

On the same page of Borao Mateo's published version of this document, Gómez calls these people 'pagans', 'infidels' and 'negros', reflecting the language of those times used to describe these people. Particularly striking is that Gómez is quick to 'other' Formosans, comparing them with other indigenous peoples from the Canary Islands and Brazil (Gómez, 1582, p. 5), without noting any similarities he or his compatriots may have had with these people.

Instead, we see him reverting to constructions involving cannibalism and danger that had been established for decades, even appearing in Pigafetta's 1525 description of indigenous Brazilians during Magellan's circumnavigation of the world: 'They eat the human flesh of their enemies, not because it is good, but because it is a certain established custom.' (Pigafetta, 1525, p. N/A) Gómez evaluated the indigenous people in the same terms: '[the Portuguese] did not know what kind of people they were, whether they ate human flesh or not. They dared not defy them in any way, principally because [they] did not want provoke [the natives] to shoot or kill us with arrows, leaving no one alive.' (Gómez, 1582, p. 5)

All three accounts of the 1582 Formosan shipwreck contain intriguing glimpses of the indigenous people on the island, but it is worth noting that each missionary spends almost as much time discussing religion as he does the Formosan indigenous people. As with the vast majority of Formosan sources, indigenous people are peripheral to European proceedings.

The events that play out foreshadow what would eventually take place when Formosa was settled by the Spanish. An initial optimism would quickly turn sour, followed by a stage of conflict between the two populations leading to the final stage where indigenous people are perceived as little more than a potential threat.

The initial good intentions documented by Gómez in themselves illustrate the discourses employed by the missionary: 'The course of action taken was to ally ourselves with those pagans. Since the island was inhabited, we would follow the infidels and approach them, and, if through sign language, they would say yes, they would introduce us to their king who would give us rice to eat.' (Gómez, 1582, p. 5) Gómez simultaneously dismisses these people as pagans and infidels, while supposing that they have a king, and expecting that king to give them food.

Communication will be a constant issue during the life of the future settlement. Here, however, there are early, relatively successful, attempts to interact: 'A young boy of the race of Luzon whom Fr. Alonso brought from Manila managed to communicate with one of those barbarians and went with them to their village [...] The next day [...] the young boy who had gone with the barbarians returned with some 70 armed men. They gave us a friendly welcome.' (Pirez, Undated, p. 13–14)

According to Pirez, however, any initial good will was soon squandered when members of the shipwrecked party showed the Formosans a gun and shot it into a piece of wood to frighten them, an act which damaged relations. Gómez describes how relations deteriorated: 'Later, due to some disorder, the negros [i.e. natives] became so upset that they ceased to be our

friends and to bring us aid. Instead they shot arrows at us and spied on us as they would their enemies.' (Gómez, 1582, p. 6)

In the midst of this pattern of power play, glimpses of indigenous lives appear even in these three short documents. There are some surprising details in Pirez's account, once again perhaps foreshadowing events that would take place during the time of the Spanish settlement: 'Once, there came some boats sewn through with roots that look like vines. They brought rice, squash, figs and salted meat, and they even had a bear's paw. It was out of miscommunication or mistrust that they cut off the head of a gentile and left, never to be heard of again.' (Pirez, Undated, p. 15) Early successes at communication proved short-lived, therefore, with this 'miscommunication or mistrust' being a constant issue for the Formosan settlement where attempts at trade, rather than developing, seem subject to constant setbacks.

Even in these documents we can see how indigenous people are constructed as distinct and different, as cannibals and 'others' who are more similar to indigenous people from the Canary Islands and Brazil than the shipwrecked people themselves. They are generally defined in negative terms, by their lack of faith and knowledge, as well as their potential for violence and cannibalism. Professed initial hopes at friendship are soon dashed, but it is difficult to know how much the Europeans are constructing a self-fulfilling prophecy, with Sánchez, even as he describes the departure from the island, stating that they had to leave because their only other option was: 'To be the next meal for those barbaric people whom we knew to be cannibals.' (Sánchez, 1583) Somehow, in the discourses they were employing, there is a sense that they were never not going to 'know' that these people were cannibals.

The survivors of the shipwreck stayed in Formosa for over two and a half months. The fact that the 1582 shipwreck was as well-documented as it was, is something of a one-off before the arrival of the Spanish in Formosa. The sparse information about the indigenous peoples in the three documents amounts to abundant detail when compared to known documents produced between the shipwreck and the year of the takeover of Keelung over 40 years later. One thing these subsequent, disparate documents have in common, however, is that they set the scene for the eventual creation of settlements on the island.

One phrase in a 1586 list written by the council of Manila reveals a significant discourse used in arguments for colonisation: colonisation would benefit not only the Spanish but also the indigenous people. The document refers to the local people in a number of places, including Formosa: 'it will be necessary for their good and our safety to pacify them.' (N/A, 1586, p. 16)

The most significant single document from this period is referred to as *The Boxer Codex* (Souza and Turley, 2016). It is the most notable document about Formosan indigenous people that does not appear in Borao Mateo's *Spaniards in Taiwan*. This book was produced in the late 16th century in the Philippines (Crossley, 2014, p. 116) and includes illustrations and text regarding the history, geography and people of the Western Pacific in the late 1500s. Most significantly, amongst pictures of people from as far afield as Borneo and Japan, it includes sketches of Formosan indigenous people from Tamsui and Keelung along with short explanatory texts. Both pictures show a man and a woman. In his paper *The Manila Manuscript: the late 16th century description of Keelung and Tamsui's people and era* (Chen, 2013), Chen analyses these two pictures.

The Tamsui indigenous person depicted shows a woman holding a 'golden' skull. Chen points out and that for the Spanish it can be seen as a 'memento mori' (Chen, 2013, p. 23), and would, to the Europeans of the time, suggest that the aborigines were cannibals (Chen, 2013, p. 23). He also proposes that the golden skull, along with other gold adornments such as the earrings worn by the Keelung inhabitants, would be a way to attract the attention of the Spanish, given that the search for wealth had already fuelled their ambitions in the Americas (Chen, 2013, p. 30). Similarly the Keelung image shows an indigenous person carrying a fish, another desirable product for any Spaniard hoping to settle the area (Chen, 2013, p. 23). Chen therefore concludes that the images do not just show how much or little (Chen, 2013, p. 17) the Spanish know about the indigenous people of Formosa, they also reflect what the Spanish want to know about them. Even in these simple images we semi-naked savages and potential cannibals, with the Spanish also noting sources of gold and of fish. We can see the dangers and potential rewards offered by Formosan indigenous people as identified by the Spanish. The groundwork is being laid for the decisions that will lead to the settlements in Keelung and Tamsui.

The riches and dangers of Formosa are pointed out in *The Boxer Codex*'s images, but one incident from the early 1590s involving a missionary called Juan Cobo[1] made those dangers more explicit, and turned indigenous people from a theoretical danger into a problem that needed to be solved. This incident took place when the Japanese rammed a ship onto Formosa. The ship contained the aforementioned Juan Cobo and Captain Llanos, whom Formosan 'barbarians' killed, even though the passengers were unarmed (Borao Mateo, 2014, p. 23 footnote).

In a document called a 'memorial,' which is undated but assumed to be from around 1596, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, governor of the Philippines, writes to his successor about sending

[1] According to *Dominican Missionaries in the Far East*, Cobo died in 1592 in Formosa but the news took two years to reach the Philippines (Ocio and Neira, 2000, p. 57–58).

troops to visit Formosa: 'The following are the reasons and the advantages of Your Lordship's sending a military expedition to Isla Hermosa [Formosa] this year.' (Pérez Dasmariñas, 1597a, p. 21) In this document, he uses the killing of Juan Cobo as evidence showing that the island and its indigenous people were going down 'the most dangerous path.' (Pérez Dasmariñas, 1597a, p. 23) From this incident the Spanish concluded that the Formosan native peoples killed strangers who landed on their shores: 'When the ships land under extreme need or due to the weather, the natives kill and rob [the passengers and the crew]. They have done this to many and this was how Fr. Juan Cobo [...] and the captain Llanos were killed.' (Pérez Dasmariñas, 1597a, p. 23) With the death of Cobo, the warlike nature of the Formosan indigenous peoples was now clearly, in Spanish eyes at least, established. The evolving discourses already encompassed the rewards and dangers of Formosa, with a further element now added: a need had been identified for the Spanish to pacify these people. Luis Pérez Dasmariñas moves on from this conclusion in another 'memorial' which emphasises prudence when dealing with these potentially brutal people: 'And if a Christian approach and prudence are not enough for this, then those who would go will try to win the friendship of the natives, or depending on how things go, declare war on them.' (Pérez Dasmariñas, 1597b, p. 27) For the first time, in the documents available, we see war with the Formosans become an option.

There is one other notable indirect mention of a meeting with Formosan indigenous peoples before 1626. Cosmographer Hernando de los Ríos, in one 1597 document written to the King of Spain, states: '[I have learned] from someone who stayed there that it is a fertile land inhabited by people like the natives of these islands [the Philippines]. These natives rob and kill sea travellers who happen to come their way. [Keelung] is blocked at the northeast by an island inhabited by some 300 natives.' (de los Ríos, 1597, p. 34–35)

This is the first comment in a Spanish document to discuss a specific group of Formosan indigenous people, and the first extant document to identify Keelung as a potential place for settlement. That intriguing comment about 'someone who stayed there' possibly confirms that outsiders had visited Formosa and returned to tell others about the island, a notion confirmed by the existence of *The Boxer Codex*, hinting at the lost interactions between the Spanish and indigenous people, indirect or direct, during those years.

Even from these few glimpses of indigenous people we can see the discourses gathering force. It begins with those shipwrecks, where indigenous people are immediately seen as barbarians and cannibals, conflated with other indigenous people from all corners of the world. These are followed by *The Boxer Codex*'s tempting images of gold, fish and converts. Subsequent to this are those alarming reports of deaths in Formosa at the hands of its

indigenous people, building on the discourse that the indigenous people are a problem that need to be solved, remembering that, according to Spanish arguments, both they and the Spanish would benefit from Spanish intervention. Although we perhaps need to be cautious about seeing too much of a teleological structure in these mere glimpses, we can nevertheless see consistent attempts to fit indigenous people into a narrative of colonisation before colonisation begins. Those attempts would become much more explicit nearer to the time of the incursion into Keelung itself.

Formosa and Spanish moral debates about indigenous people

Just one year after those first documented shipwrecks in Formosa, in 1583 the first Bishop of the Philippines (Lee, 2020, p. 38), Domingo de Salazar, wrote a detailed document from the Philippines expounding specifically on indigenous–Spanish relations around that time. Salazar was 60 years old when he wrote this document and had spent 23 years working in the city of Mexico, gaining a reputation in the Spanish court as a defender of indigenous people in the colonies (Lee, 2020, p. 38), even questioning the right of the Spanish to conquer territory in the Americas (Lee, 2020, p. 38). Salazar's document shows us the state of indigenous–Spanish relations in their principal colonies in the Western Pacific at that point, by which time these colonies had been established for almost two decades.

Salazar accuses the Spanish of stealing from indigenous people, and flogging, enslaving and starving them (Salazar, 1583, p. N/A). The bishop describes what the indigenous people, as a result of this behaviour, think of the Spanish: 'Your Majesty may be assured that heretofore these Indians never have understood, nor have they been given to understand, that the Spaniards entered this country for any other purpose than to subjugate them and compel them to pay tributes.' (Salazar, 1583, p. N/A) This is an example of a convoluted but curious *Spanish* construction of what the indigenous people thought of the Spanish.

The document does not just cast around blind accusations but goes into detail, describing exactly how the Spanish blighted indigenous lives: 'A great number of Indians went to the mines of Ylocos [Ilocos region on Luzon island], where they remained during the time when they ought to have sowed their grain. Many of them died there, and those who returned were so fatigued that they needed rest more than work.' (Salazar, 1583, p. N/A)

In this document, however, we also see the absoluteness of Spanish-empire discourses. Christina Lee hints at this in her introduction to one translation of Salazar's document: 'Salazar was a paradoxical figure. Once he arrived in the Philippines in 1581, he contradicted his former stance regarding Spanish sovereignty and showed unquestioning support of the Spanish Crown's right to rule over the islands. Salazar continued to advocate on behalf of

Philippine natives, however, arguing for the reform of the encomienda system[2] – though never opposing the institution itself – and repudiating all forms of slavery.' (Lee, 2020, p. 38) A Spaniard – a bishop in this case – vehemently criticised the Spanish with regards to indigenous people. This discourse happened entirely within a colonial context, however, with no glimpse of an independent indigenous world. Indigenous people are only victims in a document that simultaneously purports to support them yet emphasises their disempowerment. The bishop identifies Spanish problems and Spanish reforms, removing indigenous people's agency and keeping them fixedly in the colonial system he is decrying. It is therefore indicative of the discourses employed by Spanish documents, showing the way indigenous people are inescapably constructed within the colonial world, in this case as victims. This is the same empire that would eventually attempt to settle Formosa. As such, we see another foreshadowing of a possible future for the indigenous peoples even around the time the first ship containing Europeans was shipwrecked on the island.

The bishop's criticism of relations between the Spanish and the indigenous people of the Philippines slotted into moral debates that had long been raging in the Spanish empire. As Spate points out in *The Spanish Lake*: 'Many a missionary friar and some courageous officials made full use of the right, positively encouraged by the Crown, to comment freely to the authorities in Spain on any aspect of Spanish activities in the Indies: the testimony and the protest are not from partisan outsiders but from Spaniards themselves.' (Spate, 2004, p. 81) As such, insider-opinions of Spanish activities were permitted, but, as we have seen in the example of a bishop criticising other colonials, such opinions often reinforced empire discourses rather than attempting to overthrow or undermine them. The Spanish empire created the problem and the Spanish empire would provide the solution.

Looking specifically at Formosa, in a document dated 7th February 1626, just before the Spanish settlement was established, Father Domingo González gave a detailed moral justification for the invasion of Formosa (González, 1626, p. 59). As part of his argument, González mentions the work of philosopher and theologian Professor Vitoria (González, 1626, p. 59), placing his arguments for settling Formosa squarely amidst those same moral debates about indigenous people in the Spanish empire.

In Spanish-empire terms, these deliberations can be traced back to the aforementioned Vitoria and other prominent figures such as Bartolomé de las Casas, who would go on to inspire figures such as the Philippines' Bishop Salazar (Lee, 2020, p. 38). Bartolomé de las Casas is renowned for his denunciation of the Spanish treatment of indigenous people in the Americas in the 1510–1520s: 'In its own day the burning protests of Dominican Bartolomé de

[2] Encomiendas are the Spanish colonial system of farmsteads, which will be discussed in the section *Indigenous people and the Spanish empire*.

las Casas – himself a one-time encomendero – provoked much heart-searching and some real, though mostly ineffective, action by the royal authorities.' (Spate, 2004, p. 81) Such 'heart-searching' in turn prompted Vitoria's lectures on 'the very fundamentals of Faith and Empire', which would lead him, as Spate states, to be: 'the virtual founder of International Law, at the University of Salamanca in 1539.' (Spate, 2004, p. 81)

Vitoria's discussion of *Ius Gentium*, 'law common to all humankind' (Tierney, 2007, p. 103), in particular is used in González's justification for settling Formosa. Vitoria's arguments – for the right of the Spanish to trade freely with the indigenous people, as well as to access coastal lands, to journey through indigenous territories and even to establish settlements in such territories (Tierney, 2007, p. 109) – were used as arguments to justify settling Formosa, not forgetting one of the main drivers of Spanish colonialism: 'Vitoria also claimed for the Spaniards a right to search for gold and to export it.' (Tierney, 2007, p. 109)

As Tierney points out: 'As [Vitoria's] argument goes on it becomes more and more unpersuasive, and not only to a modern reader.' (Tierney, 2007, p. 109) Nevertheless, he adds, Vitoria's ideas chimed with the 'age of dawning mercantilism' (Tierney, 2007, p. 109), where kings expected the right to control trade.

Using Vitoria's claims, Domingo González makes a case in his documents justifying the settlement of Formosa:

> The Lord had it that all things not be found in one kingdom alone, thus encouraging communication, friendship and trade. And these tendencies are so intimately rooted in human nature that no matter how barbaric these people surrounding us may be, all of them value the warm welcome they extend to foreigners who, in turn, come to these parts without the intention to do harm. (González, 1626, p. 60)

González's claims place the indigenous people at the heart of a number of no-win discussions, for example:

> And since the safety of these soldiers – who accompany the preachers – cannot be assured unless they build a fort to defend themselves, then they can rightfully ask permission from the barbarians to do this (if this were possible). But if it is difficult to do so or if it is too dangerous to wait for an answer, they can of course start building it. This is even clearer in our case, not only in view of the grave risk posed both by the barbarians and, more so, by the Dutch. (González, 1626, p. 59)

Here, the Spanish want permission from the Formosan indigenous peoples to build a fort, on the assumption that they are capable of friendship. However, if the Spanish perceive that it is too dangerous to ask permission, they can build the fort anyway.

Although on the one hand it is understandable that the Spanish would have been wary of any threats, on the other, such arguments effectively gave the Spanish *carte blanche* to do what they wanted. At this point, the Spanish had never had any significant dealings with the Formosan indigenous people. The text considers indigenous people as theoretical, generic 'others' only, human enough to ask for permission in principle, but barely able to take part in such a civilised discussion in reality, leaving the Spanish to draw their own conclusions and build a fort anyway.

Concluding the document, Fray Domingo González makes another argument that indigenous Formosans can only lose. If fear causes the Formosan indigenous peoples to deprive the Spanish of their right to build a fortress and to begin trading from Formosa, they will be subject to a form of self-deception: 'Because they perceived that the Spaniards intend to harm their land (which is not the case) […] the self-deceived party (which are the natives) is not in a better moral position than that of those that know with certainty that do not intend to cause any harm (that is the Spaniards).' (González, 1626, p. 60)

The Formosan indigenous people, it seems, would be victims of their own naivety: unable to see that the Spanish mean no harm, they would provoke the Spanish into harming them. The document talks about war with an air of inevitability. There is no concerted effort to avoid war, just an assumption that war could take place: 'This could be a case for a just war on both sides – the natives and the Spaniards.' (González, 1626, p. 61)

Father Domingo González's concluding statements contain an interesting foresight, which could perhaps lead us to believe that, in reality, the writer was aware that there would be fighting despite any professed good intentions. The Spanish knew what would happen when they invaded Formosa and understood how the Formosan indigenous peoples would react, perhaps more than they cared to admit: 'And thus if they still want to make trouble despite our having done everything within our power to convince them that we wish them no evil, then the Spaniards can make use of force to build a fortress and even punish those natives for any injuries that they inflicted on our people, even if this means confiscating their towns and lands. This is what justice dictates in the *Ius Gentium*.' (González, 1626, p. 61)

Why settle Keelung?

In histories of the Spanish settlement in Formosa, the indigenous people have, until now, often been a footnote only, or even overlooked altogether. This is despite the fact that the

Spanish incursion into northern Taiwan did not involve taking over empty, undiscovered lands. When the Spanish established their settlements in Formosa, they took over territory that was specifically indigenous just as much as it was Formosan.

One example of how this detail has been overlooked in histories of Spanish Formosa is in the following quotation, where Borao Mateo summarises the reasons why the Spanish settled Keelung: 'In May 1626, the Spaniards founded a settlement at Quelang [Keelung] on the northern end of Taiwan, calling it La Santísima Trinidad, intended not only as a strategic counterweight to Dutch Zeelandia, but also as an entrepot for trade and the gateway for missionaries to China and Japan.' (Borao Mateo, 2014, p. ix)

Here, Borao Mateo gives the broader reasons why the Spanish settled northern Taiwan. Although a *Spanish* settlement was established at Keelung in 1626, Borao Mateo's statement overlooks the detail about taking over an indigenous settlement. In a Spanish-focused history, this particular emphasis is understandable. The focus of this thesis on the indigenous people as documented by the Spanish, however, gives new emphasis to that unconsidered detail: the Spanish chose to settle Keelung not *despite* the indigenous presence on the island but *because* they already had an established presence there.

Archaeological digs have established that the settlement that the Spanish 'founded' in 1626 had existed for many years, even centuries, before their arrival. Berrocal et al., in their paper produced as a result of these archaeological digs, *A comprised archaeological history of Taiwan through the long-term record of Heping Dao, Keelung,* suggest that this pre-existing indigenous settlement was specifically why the Spanish chose to settle northern Taiwan: 'The Chinese and native interaction was a probable key factor for the Spanish settlement in Heping Dao [Keelung] […] the conditions for the survival of the colonial contingent – provision of food, wood, as well as the contact point with the Chinese export goods – had already been established, and most importantly, the connections themselves existed and could be reproduced or co-opted.' (Berrocal et al., 2018, p. 14)

The Spanish chose Keelung, Berrocal et al. argue, because trade links already existed with China, and because it was far easier to take over an existing settlement, where supply chains of daily provisions were established, than build a completely new one. There is evidence that the Spanish themselves were aware of Keelung's long history as a trading post in the following quotation from Friar Juan Medina in his history of the Augustinians: 'For many centuries, the Japanese have traded with the Chinese in this post because they cannot go to China.' (de Manzano, 1627, p. 113) Tonio Andrade, in his work *How Taiwan Became Chinese*, uses Esquivel's documents as evidence that:

> In northern Taiwan, which had the longest-standing trade links with Fujian, some aboriginal peoples made their living as traders, buying iron and textiles from Chinese merchants and then exchanging them for products Chinese merchants sought, such as coal, sulfur, gold, and venison. It was not a high-volume business, but it was enough to allow these aboriginal intermediaries to make their living entirely through trade and handicrafts, a means of sustenance unique among Formosan Austronesians. (Andrade, 2009, p. 31)

Taiwan's location meant that it was a site of 'prime cultural exchange': 'Since Taiwan is located where the sea currents of Eastern Asia gather north and south at the Tropic of Cancer, it's a prime cultural exchange and transfer region, a stepping stone between Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific' (Blundell, 2009, p. 405). Although trade with China and Japan, along with the threat of the Dutch, were key strategic reasons why the Spanish attempted to settle northern Taiwan, that specific site appealed for more practical, day-to-day reasons: its viability and sustainability had already been proven by the indigenous people who lived there. In this regard, Formosa was not unique. Indeed, the same processes were repeated by different explorers and settlers throughout the Spanish Pacific empire in the century leading up to the Spanish arrival in Formosa. This applies not least to two of the Philippines' principal early settlements in Cebu and Manila. Regarding Cebu, in 1565: 'It was determined to take the village and populate it amongst ourselves,' (Rodríguez, 1565, p. N/A) whilst Manila also existed before the Spanish arrived, being taken over on 6th June 1570 after a brief battle with two local 'kings' named Soliman and Raxa (de Goite, 1570, p. N/A).

Keelung compared to Manila and Cebu

That same determination to take the village and populate it with Spanish, defeating any indigenous people who got in the way, was applied to Keelung. The fact that this *modus operandi* is so similar in these locations makes it worth comparing the differences between the three early settlements at the time they were taken over by the Spanish, particularly in the light of the fact that the Spanish were forced to leave Keelung so quickly but stayed for centuries in the Philippines.

Some differences between the Philippines' Manila and Cebu settlements and the Formosan settlement are immediately striking, for example the human geography and location. When the Spanish arrived in Manila and Cebu they were not just populated but appeared to be thriving centres. In Cebu, we see this when both Magellan visited in 1521 and over 40 years later in 1565 when Legazpi chose to colonise this location. Pigafetta stated in 1521 that Cebu was: 'the largest [port] and the one with most trade.' (Pigafetta, 1525, p. N/A) In 1565, an account of Legazpi's arrival and settling of Cebu describes the settlement as follows: 'In Zubu

[Cebu] there were many people, very rich, and lots of supplies of rice, millet, and there was a good, safe port, and they saw lots of gold.' (N/A, 1565a, p. 322)

Although on the coast, the Cebu settlement was centrally located, surrounded by other islands and near to the midpoint of the long eastern coast of Cebu island itself. Manila is located in central Luzon in a wide bay that was well populated in those years, as reported in an early Spanish voyage to Luzon called *Relation of the Voyage to Luzon*: 'The land all around this bay, in the part where we anchored, and which the guides declared to be the port of Menilla [Manila], was really marvellous. It appeared to be tilled and cultivated [...]. We sailed along a thickly settled coast.' (N/A, 1570a) It is striking that during the voyage they encountered a wide range of people, and heard about many more, such as on Luzon's neighbouring island, Mindoro: 'Mindoro is also called "the lesser Luçon [Luzon]." All its ports and maritime towns are inhabited by Moros. We hear that inland live naked people called Chichimecos.' (N/A, 1570a) The Spanish also encountered a number of Chinese ships during this voyage. (N/A, 1570a)

What would become the Spanish settlement in Keelung, on the other hand, was comparatively isolated, located on a small island off the north-eastern tip of Formosa. Keelung's wider strategic location was excellent, something noted as early as 1519 in a document by Bartolomé Martínez about the advantages of taking Formosa: 'Since this island is very close to Chincheo [Zhangzhou], where the bulk of Chinese trade takes place, and because it is also near China's wealthier areas, small and light merchandise may be transported quickly at any time of the year. It is already happening now with the sampans that ply the waters, carrying firewood or fish.' (Martínez, 1619, p. 40) Even in this quotation, however, it is noticeable that Formosa's location was excellent because it was near somewhere else, not because it was a thriving centre in itself. There was not quite the same sense of prosperous populations and bustling societies in northern Formosa that could be seen in Cebu and Luzon. Indeed, as we will see, the indigenous people of Keelung are described as something of an exception, standing apart from other indigenous people of north Taiwan, whereas the people in Cebu and Manila appeared to be at the heart of population centres.

The Cebu and Manila settlements were key points on relatively large central and northern Philippine islands, respectively. Keelung's Spanish settlement, by being isolated on a small island off the mainland, offered a different set of advantages and disadvantages. It was perhaps easier to defend from invasion, but, set apart from the Formosan mainland, it was also not such a good base for exploring and taking over the local area. The Spanish themselves seemed to acknowledge this, although it is not specifically documented, when

they soon attempted to develop another settlement in Tamsui, which, as we will see, had more similarities with Cebu and Manila. The Spanish were relatively isolated and protected on their island stronghold, but this difference between Cebu, Manila and Keelung also perhaps meant that controlling, or establishing constructive relations with, the local population was not so easy.

In *The Spanish Lake,* Spate summarises the scene in Cebu when Legazpi's fleet first arrived: 'On 27 April 1565 the fleet anchored of Cebu; an attempt to negotiate peacefully failed. Women and children were fleeing to the hills, fighting men and praus were assembling: the Cebuans were obviously in apostasy and rebellion.' (Spate, 2004, p. 102) Over one hundred houses were burnt in the battle that ensued (N/A, 1565a, p. 333). Key to the eventual establishment of peace was reaching an agreement with Tupas, the principal chief in the area. The subsequent ceremony involved the exchange of blood and included another chief, Tamuñan: 'The Governor [Legazpi] bled from the chest into a cup, similarly Tupas and Tamuñan. Blood taken from the three was mixed with a little wine, which was served in three glasses, as much in one as the other, and the three drank at the same time, each one their part.' (N/A, 1565a, pp. 342–343)

In Manila, the Spanish had evidently entered an area that already had a complex political structure. A group of 'moros' approached the Spanish, complaining about their leaders: 'Moros came out in praus from some of the towns to complain of the Raxa Soliman.' (N/A, 1570a) Some Chinese also complained to the Spanish about the 'Moros of Menilla [Manila].' (N/A, 1570a)

As with Cebu, the Spanish attempted to negotiate with local chiefs: 'Captain Juan de Sauzedo having arrived in view of this port of Manilla, entered in peace, and under the safe-conduct of two native chiefs of the said village. One of these was called Laya, lately deceased, who died a Christian; the other was called Raxa Solimán. With these two chiefs were drawn up articles of peace.' (N/A, 1570b)

The Manila Moors professed that they wanted to be allies of the Spanish, but according to one account they: 'were waiting an opportunity for treason.' (N/A, 1570a) Eventually, according to this Spanish account, the Moors: 'Opened the war; and without any warning, fired three cannon-shots, one after another.' (N/A, 1570a)

The Spanish easily won this resultant battle: 'After this first artillery had fallen into their hands, they immediately took the town, and set fire to it, on account of its being large. The Moros abandoned the burning town, for they were unable to resist the attack of the

arquebusiers, or rather the will of God, who had ordained it so – a self evident fact, since for every Spaniard there were a hundred Moros.' (N/A, 1570a)

When we look at the accounts of the incursion into Keelung, we see that the ways in which the Cebu and Manila settlements were taken contrast with events in Formosa in a number of significant ways. In the accounts of the taking of both Cebu and Manila, as we have seen, named chiefs are part of the process of the pacification of the respective settlements. In Keelung this appears not to have been the case.

In his work *Guns, Germs and Steel*, Diamond shows us the importance of this detail when he looks at one of the most famous examples of the Spanish usurping an indigenous leader, involving the conquistador Pizarro's dealings with the Incas, which included the killing of Atahualpa: 'The Inca Empire also had a centralized political organization, but that actually worked to its disadvantage, because Pizarro seized the Inca chain of command intact by capturing Atahualpa. Since the Inca bureaucracy was so strongly identified with its godlike absolute monarch, it disintegrated after Atahualpa's death.' (Diamond, 2005, p. 78) The position of indigenous people could, ironically, be weakened if they had strong leaders.

We can see how similar events played out, although not quite so dramatically, in Cebu and Manila. When the local leader was usurped – Tupas in Cebu and Laya and Raxa Solimán in Manila – a whole population of indigenous people in one move came under at least nominal Spanish control. This, however, simply did not happen in Formosa.

Diamond's work also defines the terminology that allows us to view other fundamental differences the Spanish encountered in Cebu, Manila and Keelung when the invasions took place. In *Guns, Germans and Steel*, Diamond identifies four types of societies: band, tribe, chiefdom and state (Diamond, 2005, p. 268). The definitions of these terms help us to understand how the indigenous groups encountered by the Spanish in northern Formosa differed from Manila, Cebu and even the Incas. They also help to explain the differences between the leaders the Spanish encountered.

The first of Diamond's societies involves: 'Mobile bands of hunter-gatherers [who] are relatively egalitarian, and their political sphere is confined to the band's own territory and to shifting alliances with neighbouring bands.' (Diamond, 2005, p. 30) Larger societies, termed 'tribes' by Diamond, had fixed dwellings comprising 'a village or a close-knit cluster of villages [...] Each hamlet was involved in a kaleidoscopically changing pattern of war and shifting alliances with all neighbouring hamlets.' (Diamond, 2005, p. 270) As societies became larger still, and it was no longer possible for each person to know everyone in the

group, ‘chiefdoms’ arose along with a ‘permanent centralised authority.’ (Diamond, 2005, p. 273)

Diamond’s descriptions of the types of leaders involved in these different groups is particularly relevant when we look at the differences between northern Formosa and other areas. For bands, according to Diamond: ‘“Leadership” is informal and acquired through qualities such as personality, strength, intelligence, and fighting skills.’ (Diamond, 2005, p. 269) For tribes, the concept of a ‘big man’ came into play, but responsibilities were limited to influencing decisions because of perceived attributes such as strength or wisdom. Chiefdoms emerged in the meantime when there was a leader who: ‘made all significant decisions, and had a monopoly on critical information [...] Unlike big-men, chiefs could be recognized from afar by visible distinguishing features.’ (Diamond, 2005, p. 273)

Using this analysis along with Diamond’s terminology, we can see how the larger societies of Manila and Cebu fitted into Diamond’s definitions of a chiefdom or large tribe while the society encountered in Formosa, with its smaller population and apparent lack of leaders with ‘distinguishing features’, suggests societies made up of tribes or even bands. Chiefs are mentioned in Spanish source texts about Formosa. For example, one missionary called Medina wrote: ‘Its inhabitants are fierce, and live without law or reason, but as their chiefs dictate.’ (Medina, 1628, p. 115) But in Diamond’s terms, these ‘chiefs’ perhaps equate to ‘big-men’ – no powerful single chief, with distinguishing features, stood out amongst Medina’s ‘chiefs’.

Although imposing a teleological explanation of progress to explain the differences between the societies Diamond identifies seems attractive, referring to what Teng calls ‘the dual vision of history as both progress and degeneration,’ (Teng, 2004, p. 79) Diamond resists such temptation to, as Teng puts it: ‘denigrate and idealize the indigenes, and both to legitimate colonization and critique colonial abuses.’ (Teng, 2004, p. 79) Instead, he explains the reasons for the differences between such societies in economic terms, independent of colonisers: ‘That's because all able-bodied hunter-gatherers are obliged to devote much of their time to acquiring food. In contrast, once food can be stockpiled, a political elite can gain control of food produced by others, assert the right of taxation, escape the need to feed itself, and engage full-time in political activities. Hence moderate-sized agricultural societies are often organized in chiefdoms, and kingdoms are confined to large agricultural societies.’ (Diamond, 2005, p. 89–90)

Ironically, what might be viewed as weaknesses of the indigenous people of northern Formosa – their lack of centralised ‘chiefs’, their relatively small population and the fragmentary nature of their communities – in fact proved to be a strength when dealing, or

avoiding dealing, with the Spanish. This lack of 'chiefs' by Diamond's definition in fact made the indigenous people of Formosa less susceptible to being overwhelmed in one simple action. No one could claim to speak for a substantial group of indigenous people in northern Formosa, so unlike the Incas and their leader Atahualpa, or the leaders of Cebu and Manila, there was no 'one' to be conquered or usurped.

Incursion: Keelung

In Cebu and Manila, as we have shown with women and children fleeing to the hills in the former location and people coming to the Spanish to complain about their leaders in the latter, the local populations were clearly aware of the Spanish arrival before any battle took place. In this light it is interesting to read Aduarte's account of the Spanish arrival in Keelung. No mention is made of indigenous people in the following passage, nor do the Spanish describe a thriving population centre as they voyage up the coast, but it seems unlikely that the following events would not have gained the attention of indigenous people in some way:

> They spent three days sailing along the coast and on 10 May reached a cove that they called Santiago. The Provincial and the chief pilot, Pedro Martin de Garay, explored the coast in two boats and went up to the main port in the North. In five hours they discovered a port that they called Santísima Trinidad. Having informed the fleet about this, they approached and in His divine name, placed it under the protection of Spain. And on an island whose circumference measures little more than a league, they set up a fort called San Salvador and one more bastion atop a hill 300 feet or more in height making the spot impregnable. The first port that they established, they named Santiago. (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 72)

This passage is typical of Aduarte, as we examined in the chapter *Constructing Formosans*, containing proceedings that must have spanned days or even weeks. Timings range from very specific – 'five hours' – to very vague – when did they set up the fort and the port? As such, we have an impression of what happened without being sure about events.

To add to the confusion of timelines, indigenous people are mentioned in a paragraph that follows soon after, as part of events that must have taken place before the San Salvador fort was established. In both Cebu and Manila, indigenous people were aware of the Spanish arrival some time before any battles took place, leading us to speculate that they must have had some awareness of the Spanish presence in the Keelung area before these Europeans landed on the shore. Yet the first we hear of the Formosan indigenous people is when they flee the Spanish attack.

There are two primary descriptions of the battle for Keelung. One was written by Diego Aduarte in his history, while the other comes from a Jesuit report on Formosa dated 1627. As we will see, both texts construct a version of these events from a specific and different point of view, despite the many similarities between the writers. Examining these particular constructions of events can help us to gain a broader view of what might have happened when the Spanish entered Keelung in May 1626.

Aduarte's construction of events

In the previous quotation we saw that when the Spanish arrived in Keelung the first event described was the naming of the 'port' area as Santísima Trinidad (Most Holy Trinity). The Spanish then placed the area 'under the protection of Spain.' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 72) In the following paragraph , the 'Father Provincial' then sailed to the island and founded a church: 'where they heard the confessions of the Spaniards and acted as their parish priests.' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73)

Through modern eyes, the main event here is the invasion and settling of Formosa. That Aduarte precedes these events with a declaration that the area is to be protected by Spain and a church is to be founded reveals his particular construction of events. Aduarte chooses to prioritise notions such as empire, protection and religiosity to the exclusion of other significant details about these events. Through the lens of this thesis, we prioritise the invasion of an indigenous village, but Aduarte prioritises the bringing of Catholicism to the island. The invasion is described as follows:

> The inhabitants of that place had fled from their houses, having been scared away by the Spanish harquebuses but they sought to avenge themselves. It offended them to see the Spanish soldiers have their fill of the rice that they left behind and live in the houses that they built. In order to completely pacify them and to restore what was taken from them, the priests went and worked at learning their language. With a very minimal understanding of their tongue, they began to communicate with the natives, and cajole and win them through gifts and their good example. (Aduarte, 1640c, p. 86)

Despite its short length and lack of specific details – as we now expect of Aduarte – the text clearly evokes a Spanish attack. The first two sentences sit somewhat uncomfortably with the latter two. After invading the village with guns, taking their houses and eating their food, the Spanish attempt to make friends with the village's former residents. It seems self-contradictory that someone would want to be friends with someone who steals their house, yet it is part of the same construction of events where violence and robbery are overlooked in a discourse that is fundamentally, as Aduarte would like to portray it, about bringing religion to the area.

Formosan indigenous people have, until now, been constructed by the Spanish as the subjects of decades-old moral debates (González, 1626, p. 58), or the antagonists of murderous anecdotes (Pérez Dasmariñas, 1597a, p. 23). Here their othering takes on a new hue as they become part of not just colonial discourses – with the Spanish empire looking on from afar – but discourses of colonisation processes – with the Spanish empire now actively affecting indigenous lives. The indigenous people have become, in Spanish eyes, a people who are being conquered and civilised. In *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, Teng quotes a prefect of Taiwan, Shen Qi-yuan, from 1729, who describes a strikingly similar process, albeit using Qing terms: 'He argued, "we can transform the immigrants into settled locals, transform the cooked savages into Han people, and transform the raw savages into cooked savages".' (Teng, 2004, p. 138) In this quotation we see the colonisation discourse that will march on when the Spanish leave, with the Spanish terms 'cajoling' and 'winning' eventually morphing into the Qing dynasty's use of terms such as 'raw' and 'cooked' to define levels of perceived incorporation into the coloniser's world, as colonisation continues to strengthen its grip.

The Jesuit construction of events

The second principal source text referring to the attack of Keelung is from a Jesuit annual report (N/A, 1626, p. 87). Although the events described in this passage are the same as those in Aduarte's version, they are constructed in a noticeably different way. This difference is particularly noticeable in the passages preceding the invasion itself. In the Jesuit report there is less context. We are not told what happened before the invasion, just the reasons for it and the fact that vessels were sent for this purpose:

> In order to counter balance that scheme and the designs of the Dutch, Don Fernando formulated another scheme. He went to seize another port on the same island of Hermosa [Formosa], some 20 leagues away from China and 30 from the enemy post. For that purpose he sent in this year of 1626 two galleys with many small boats, an infantry, and all that was necessary for the settlement under the command of an experienced captain called Carreño. They occupied the said port, and it is very good and suitable for our purpose. (N/A, 1626, p. 87)

This document is labelled a 'Jesuit' annual report. When compared to Aduarte's construction of events, however, the comparative lack of religion is striking. In the Jesuit version, the military aspect of the Formosan endeavour is given more prominence, and there is no mention of the missionaries who are often a key reason for justifying the invasion.

The Jesuit report goes on to describe the invasion itself:

> As our men entered the port, the whole population fled. They numbered a full thousand houses of natives who were settled there. Entering the houses, they were able to see, by the articles that they found, that those people were intelligent and civilized. Our soldiers took some food, of which they kept account in order to pay for it – as they ought to do. I know not what pretext they could have for showing hostility to the natives, since they had received no injury from them. (N/A, 1626, p. 87)

Here we see the same events but the construction of indigenous people is somewhat different. The indigenous people here flee but are not 'scared', 'offended' or ultimately 'pacified'. They are referred to as a 'population', as 'people' and 'natives', whereas Aduarte refers to the indigenous people as 'they' or 'them' nine times. The Jesuit text quantifies the indigenous people, calling them 'intelligent and civilized'. A few short sentences, describing the same events, construct indigenous people in notably different ways, giving us a direct example of how the Formosan documents are not just sources of facts but contain discourses that can illuminate our understanding of events. As we have stated, White contends that even 'indisputable' facts, arranged in different ways, can create tragedy or comedy (Doran, 2013, p. 110). In our case we see how the different constructions create scenes where missionary progress is key, or where soldiers take priority; where indigenous people are portrayed differently, as 'they' who are 'scared' and 'offended', or as 'the people' who are 'intelligent and civilized'.

In searching for a reason for these different narrative constructions, we can point to Aduarte's emphasis on religion. Aduarte, as a Dominican, would have had a direct link with the Dominicans at work in Formosa. He created a narrative of missionary progress that was an integral part of his description of the incursion. His version of events instantly turned indigenous people into the victims who would be helped by Spanish missionaries. The Jesuits, on the other hand, were not directly involved in missionary work on the island, which means this version relies less on a discourse of indigenous people as 'due to be civilised', leading to an account that is perhaps more willing to accept their humanity and intelligence from the offset, and less openly sees them as merely religious pawns.

This difference is a reminder of the caution that is needed when we only have one account of events, which is often the case with Formosa, and often involves documents written by Aduarte. The relative abundance of this man's accounts means that he dominates all histories of Spanish Formosa, whereas the Jesuit report is a standalone, brief account of the settlement's earliest days only. Rubies, in particular, points to the dangers of taking Aduarte's descriptions at face value: 'Aduarte failed to describe Asian countries and peoples in any detail, concentrating instead on the hagiographic narrative.' (Rubies, 2003, p. 427) He

refers to Aduarte when he summarises a history of the Dominicans in Japan by Jacinto Orfanell, stating that both men were: 'Mostly concerned with providing an apology and glorification of Dominican efforts to penetrate areas'. As we have confirmed by contrasting these two short accounts of the same events, Aduarte is actively representing indigenous people as part of a discourse of missionary progress. In doing so, it is worth remembering what he has chosen not to mention: the more bloody details of a Spanish battle.

The Jesuit account of events is less concerned with this missionary discourse, but there is also a great deal of euphemism here: the Spanish 'entered' the port. There is no blood or firing of weapons. The last sentence in the Jesuit quote in particular seems to be very finely worded. The writer mentions 'hostility' almost in response to an unasked question: was there violence? Yet it chooses to avoid answering that question. The Spanish have no reason to show hostility to the indigenous peoples, but the writer doesn't preclude the possibility that the indigenous peoples have reason to show hostility to the Spanish. As in the Aduarte construction of events, the writer hints at violence but holds back from stating it openly.

Other fragments

The euphemistic nature of the above documents is perhaps emphasised by a Dutch passage from September 1627. The Dutch, enemies of the Spanish with no reason to produce a positive version of Spanish actions, offer a construction of events that is more explicitly violent. The document gives information about the Spanish settlement in Formosa as obtained from some Spaniards: 'When they first arrived, many Spaniards and men from Pampanga lost their heads. The indigenous people fled with their wives and children, and very few have shown up.' (Pessaert and Romeijn, 1627, p. 92)

Despite its brevity, it is a notably less smooth version of events. The first sentence is much more revealing about the violence of the Spanish arrival on the island, while the second reveals how initially, and possibly consistently, reluctant the Formosan indigenous peoples were to deal with the Spanish.

There is one final version of events worth noting. At the other end of the scale, we have the final part of a letter written by Fr. Melchor de Manzano to the King of Spain (relevant text underlined): 'Therefore, they can and will be of great help to the Spaniards in fighting the Dutch, and for any other noble purposes, as this ought to be expected from this able people, <u>who did not oppose our entry</u>.' (de Manzano, 1627, p. 112) In light of all the other accounts of events, it seems euphemistic in the extreme to imply that the indigenous people did not oppose the Spanish entry in any way, but it still shows how a few fragments can construct events in completely different ways.

There are gaps in these accounts that are worth noting. The fact that the Formosan indigenous people fled shows the Spanish plans to offer friendship to the people they encountered either did not occur, or at least did not succeed. There is no explicit mention of an attempt to offer friendship to or communicate in any way with the Formosan indigenous people before this attack. Also significant is that there is no mention of any indigenous leader. We can see, therefore, that even from the start, a tactic that had worked in both Manila and Cebu, one that had, most famously, worked with Pizarro for Atahualpa and the Inca empire in the 1530s, was not repeated in Formosa.

(Re)constructing Spanish battles

The details given by Aduarte and the Jesuit report about the Keelung incursion are very limited, yet a battle of some sorts appears to have taken place when the Spanish entered Keelung. We do not need to look far to find more bloody details about Spanish battles with indigenous people. The following description is from the battle for Manila in 1570, where the firing of guns and the resultant deaths are much more explicit than in the descriptions of the taking of Keelung. Of course, we cannot directly transpose the events here to Formosa, but at least we have another perspective of a bloody battle in Formosa, one hinted at but not directly described. In this case, the author is not given, but this account is unlikely to have been written by a religious person, which perhaps explains the different construction of a battle here: 'The master-of-camp, having captured the enemy's artillery, fired upon them with their own pieces, while they were fleeing, thus inflicting upon them severe losses, both on land and water. About one hundred dead were found on land, having been burned to death, or slain by arquebus bullets; more than eighty persons were taken captive; and many others were killed in the *praus*, as they fled up the river.' (N/A, 1570a) There is a striking difference between the euphemisms of the religious men who wrote the Formosan accounts and the direct descriptions of death in the latter.

The following quotation is taken from a letter dated 1598, in a letter from Juan Ronquillo, a nephew the governor of the Philippines (Morga, 1909, p. 397) and General of Galleys (Morga, 1909, p. 294), to another colonial official, Antonio de Morga who wrote one key history of the Philippines: *Events in the Philippines* (Morga, 1909). The letter describes a campaign in Mindanao, the principal island in the southern Philippines, which was another frontier at the limits of the country as defined in those days, with consequent parallels with Formosa. This description, by a soldier not a religious person, is also more explicit than the Formosan accounts. In this case, by contrast, fire plays a significant role in the battle:

> At daybreak we arrived at the first village, close to the sea. [...] The enemy made a stand, but at the first encounter we overpowered them, and killed or captured more

> than two hundred persons; the troops stopped for food, and then I had the village burned. (Ronquillo, 1598)

The passage that follows is worth quoting here as it provides details about indigenous people that usually go unmentioned:

> I would have liked to attack another village, which lay a day's march inland, and which has two thousand houses. I left it, because I could have done nothing at that time; for the fugitives from the first village had warned them, and they had all gone to the mountains. This stroke had terrorized the whole coast, and not a vessel appeared over its whole extent; for, as there were Indians in many places, they had all received news of it without delay. (Ronquillo, 1598)

Here we are given a rare sense of how the indigenous people reacted to such battles, not just in the invaded village itself but throughout the surrounding area. It is a detail that rarely appears in documents concerned with the Spanish version of events, and doesn't appear at all in the documents about the Spanish settlement in Formosa. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to suppose that a similar 'terror' was involved in the Formosan incursion. There can be little doubt that news about events in Keelung would have spread throughout the whole area. Noting the possibility of such a reaction helps to explain later events when indigenous people proved truculent in their dealings with the Spanish.

In this section, we have seen that the different constructions of the same events are influenced by the motivations and beliefs of their writers: whether a religious man or a solider; a Dominican or a Jesuit; a Dutch person or a Spaniard. By analysing and making explicit the discourses of these different versions we can gain a broader understanding of events involving indigenous people.

By looking at similar incursions involving indigenous people in other areas, we have added breadth to previous descriptions of this battle, exploring the possibility that indigenous people would have been aware of the Spanish before they reached shore, showing that more violent depictions of events were possible and illustrating how indigenous people throughout an area could quickly have knowledge of events.

Fleeing

In our analysis of events so far, indigenous people have mostly remained the 'others' in the Spanish story. In the English translations of both principal accounts of the invasion of Keelung, the indigenous people are described as fleeing: 'The inhabitants of that place had fled' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73), and, 'As our men entered the port, the whole population fled.'

(N/A, 1626, p. 87) It is the only thing the indigenous people are directly reported as doing when the Spanish invade.

Before ascribing too much significance to the word 'flee' specifically, it is perhaps worth noting that the verbs translated as 'flee' in the two original Spanish documents are different, being 'salir' in the former quotation, which would could be translated to 'depart', 'leave' or 'go out', and 'huir' in the latter translation, which is the more standard translation for 'flee' ('SpanishDict,' n.d.).

The two verbs give a different impression of how the indigenous people left the village. In the first quotation, it is stated that they 'had left' because they were scared by the Spanish harquebuses. The convoluted grammar – not 'left' or 'have left' but 'had left' – places the largest possible distance between writer and written. Aduarte implies, but does not clearly state, that the indigenous people departed before the Spanish entered. In the latter quotation, the indigenous people fled as the Spanish soldiers entered. We have already discussed the potential ambiguity of Aduarte's timeline and the possibility that the indigenous people had spotted the Spanish arrival, and so, as happened in Cebu, were leaving before they landed. Also, we have commented on the euphemistic nature of both phrases. Whatever verbs are used, and whatever the precise details of timings, it is clear the indigenous people left their homes due to an incursion into their village.

Although his work principally refers to the uplands of mainland South-East Asia, Scott, in his work *The Art of Not Being Governed*, notes that the notion of moving away from incomers was a phenomenon that had a significant history in the Philippines, before and during the Spanish period: 'Even before the arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century, some of the island population was moving inland out of the range of Islamic slave-traders who raided along the coast. [...] The reasons for evading bondage, however, increased severalfold once the Spanish presence was felt.' (Scott, 2009, p. 135)

The Formosan indigenous response to the Spanish incursion, therefore, was by no means unique. Scott describes a process that also took place in Formosa when he states that people were forced people to flee inland 'to the hinterlands and to the hills' (Scott, 2009, p. 136). Similar responses by indigenous people are documented in many, if not all, of the major incursions into indigenous settlements in the Philippines, not least in Cebu (Rodríguez, 1565, p. 421), Manila (N/A, 1570b, p. N/A) and Sarangani Island on the southern tip of today's Philippine islands chain (Descalante Alvarado, 1548, p. 121). Although fleeing from the Spanish is documented in all three cases, what the indigenous people fled towards is not so well described. The Sarangani case is an exception because it is a small island and the indigenous people could not completely disappear. In this case they fortified themselves at

the top of a hill and refused to cooperate with the Spanish, who were eventually forced to leave the island, principally due to lack of food (Descalante Alvarado, 1548, p. 121).

The people of Sarangani headed towards the hills; Salazar, the Bishop of the Philippines, also noted this tactic in his criticism of indigenous–Spanish relations: 'At times they go so far away that they are absent four or six months; and many of those who go die there. Others run away and hide in the mountains, to escape from the toils imposed upon them.' (Salazar, 1583, p. N/A) Scott reports a similar process of fleeing as described by a Karen elder in Myanmar, where the importance of escaping to the hills is also noted. This description resonates with the situation in Formosa:

> The quickest available refuge lies, generally, farther up the water courses and higher in the hills. 'If we have to run, we will run up into the hills,' reports a Karen village elder. If they are pursued, they retreat still farther upstream to higher altitudes. [...] The advantage of such refuges is that they are not very far, as the crow flies, from one's village and fields but are nevertheless far from any road and virtually inaccessible. (Scott, 2009, p. 181)

Scott makes a strong case for the political significance of such departing. Indigenous people fleeing an incursion can be seen passively, as an act of last resort, a response to events controlled by the Spanish. In Spanish eyes, fleeing might be seen as a sign of indigenous defeat, but that version of events places the Spanish at the centre of this colonial story with the indigenous people as the 'others'. If we place indigenous people at the centre of these events we can see, using arguments by Scott, that fleeing is a significant political act in itself, with its own ramifications (Scott, 2009, p. 181).

Scott argues that indigenous people, when they flee, are bound in a complex set of decisions and consequences. Scott quotes Jean Michaud describing the Montagnard people in the uplands of Vietnam, delineating what indigenous people are escaping when they try to evade state control: 'To some extent Montagnards [were] choosing to remain beyond the direct control of state authorities who sought to control labor, tax productive resources, and secure access to populations from which they could recruit soldiers, servants, concubines and slaves.' (Scott, 2009, p. 129–130)

By 1626, the year of the incursion into Formosa, the Spanish settlements in the Philippines had existed for over 60 years. As such, we have a detailed example of how the Spanish affected indigenous people in practice in their Pacific empire. Scott's quote from Michaud seems particularly pertinent in this context. Picking out three details from his quotation –

tax, soldiers and slaves – we can find evidence that the Spanish used indigenous people from the Philippines for all these purposes.

The collection of tributes, the first topic from the quotation, is the subject of much discussion in a series of documents from 1591 in the seventh volume of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* (Blair and Robertson, 2005), including *The collection of tributes in the Filipinas Islands* (Cuenca, 1591, p. N/A) and *Discussion and conclusions of the bishop concerning the matter of tributes* (Domingo, 1591, p. N/A). Both examined taxing indigenous people. Indigenous people from the Philippines were used as soldiers, the second topic, in Formosa, as evidenced in a document from 1640 that lists three types of soldier on a voyage from Formosa to Manila: Spanish, Pampanga and Cagayan, the latter two groups being indigenous people from the Philippines (N/A, 1640b, p. N/A). As regards slavery, the third topic, the previously quoted 1583 document by the Bishop of the Philippines lists slavery amongst the many 'wrongs' committed against indigenous people, stating: 'Another wrong is done to the Indians – not to all in general, but to many; it is, to hold them as slaves.' (Salazar, 1583, p. N/A)

When the Formosan indigenous people fled the Spanish, therefore, they weren't just fleeing for their lives due to a Spanish incursion, they were also fleeing the consequences of being part of the Spanish empire's colonising processes, which had been playing out for decades in Formosa's neighbouring islands to the south. They were fleeing being collected into the Spanish system of farmsteads called *encomiendas*, enacted throughout the Americas and the Philippines. In the following quotation, the Bishop of the Philippines lists other roles that indigenous people had taken up as part of Spanish colonial society in the Philippines, and some consequences:

> In regard to the many occupations in which the Spaniards employ the Indians, such as setting them to row in the galleys and fragatas despatched by the governor and officials on various commissions, which are never lacking. […] Others the Spaniards employ in cutting wood in the forests and conveying it to this city, and other Indians in other labors, so that they do not permit them to rest or to attend to their fields. Consequently, they sow little and reap less, and have no opportunity to attend religious instruction. (Salazar, 1583)

Scott looks not only at the reasons for fleeing the state and its repercussions, but at what indigenous people are fleeing towards. Indeed, fleeing is seen by Scott as one of many possible options available to them: 'They, or a section of them, may be incorporated loosely or tightly as a tributary society with a designated leader (indirect rule). They may, of course, fight to defend their autonomy – particularly if they are militarized pastoralists. They may

move out of the way. Finally they may, by fissioning, scattering, and/or changing their livelihood strategy, make themselves invisible or unattractive as objects of appropriation.' (Scott, 2009, p. 209)

Physically, the residents of Keelung and Tamsui headed away from the Spanish towards a particular type of existence. Scott writes about this in terms of a debate the Hmong people have when viewing their history in opposition to 'long-running' battles with Chinese/Han authorities: 'Some Hmong debating points: they have emperors and we are all (notionally) equal; they pay taxes to overlords and we pay none; they have writing and books and we lost ours while fleeing; they live crowded in lowland centers and we live free, scattered in the hills; they are servile and we are free.' (Scott, 2009, p. 216)

When Formosan indigenous people fled the Spanish, according to this debate, they fled towards a more egalitarian society, a tax-free existence outside the coloniser's system of education. While the Spanish were constructing indigenous people as fleeing barbarians, all they ultimately meant was that they were not yet be able to exploit them as part of their empire (Scott, 2009, p. 217). Scott uses the term 'jellyfish' to describe this type of constantly evolving, flexible existence outside state systems: 'Here we are dealing not merely with "jellyfish" tribes but with "jellyfish" lineages, villages, chiefdoms and, at the limit, jellyfish households.' (Scott, 2009, p. 219) Somewhat like a jellyfish, it is a form of life that the Spanish empire simply could not grasp.

There is little description of the immediate aftermath of the Keelung residents' fleeing, although as the weeks, months and years passed, some indigenous people returned to the area to live in Quimaurri, the village neighbouring the Spanish settlement. Concerning Tamsui, however, we have a quote from Aduarte that reflects Scott's 'fissioning, scattering and/or changing': 'When they saw the Spaniards, they feared their proximity and therefore went further into the land and divided themselves into smaller groups. The majority settled in a place called Senar, a league away from their old homestead, and a league and a half from our fort.' (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 221)

Fleeing, in the case of Sarangani in 1548, led to a version of indigenous 'victory': the ultimate departure of the Spanish from the island after only six months. There is also a thread of intransigency and uncooperativeness that connects the initial fleeing of the Formosan indigenous people from the Spanish in 1626 and the would-be colonisers' premature, and final, departure from the island only 16 years later. That jellyfish existence (Scott, 2009, p. 219) also seems to have applied in Formosa. Scott describes an indigenous group from northern Luzon in the Philippines: 'Nothing is more difficult than to conquer a people [the Igorots] who have no needs and whose ramparts are the forests, mountains, impenetrable

wildernesses, and high precipices.' (Scott, 2009, p. 165) The indigenous people, according to the Spanish construction of events, were scared away: 'intimidated by our [the Spanish] superior force, tools and weaponry.' (González, 1626) With Scott's reading of events, however, we can see that the English word used, 'flee', is in danger of constructing indigenous people wholly as the passive victims of the Spanish, when the act they performed can also be seen as an intelligent choice and common sense when faced with a potentially transformational threat.

Finally with regards to Scott, in his work he makes a link between the events of five hundred years ago, when the Spanish first arrived in the Philippines, and today, showing the long-term ramifications of interactions with indigenous people. He does this in the context of looking at the differences between upland and lowland people in the Philippines' largest island, Luzon, quoting Felix Keesing. He concludes: 'The differences can be traced to the long Spanish period and to the "ecological and cultural dynamics operating upon an originally common population." The overall picture once again is of flight going back more than five hundred years.' (Scott, 2009, p. 135)

Scott's arguments remind us that the indigenous act of fleeing in Formosa in 1626 is not just an isolated event but part of a historical process. When the Spanish created their settlement in northern Taiwan, it was not just a European first. The Spanish also prompted one of the first documented coloniser-effected indigenous migrations in Taiwan, an early documented example of a process that would be seen many times with the repeated colonisations of the island, whose consequences are still felt today.

After the incursion

The main source of documents about Formosa used by this thesis, *Spaniards in Taiwan* (Borao Mateo, 2014, 2002), principally contains Spanish documents about the settlement in Formosa. However, some relevant Dutch documents are also included, including one we quoted when looking at the Spanish incursion into Keelung. This document is titled: *A description of the fortress and the strength of the Spaniards in Formosa by David Pessaert and Vincent Romeijn* (Pessaert and Romeijn, 1627).

The following quotation shows that a more violent construction of the initial invasion of Keelung existed than the principal versions presented by Aduarte and the Jesuit text. It contains a rare hint at the life of the Spanish settlement after that initial incursion. As was noted with the Aduarte text, precise timelines are unclear:

> When they first arrived, many Spaniards and men from Pampanga lost their heads. The indigenous people fled with their wives and children, and very few have shown up. (Pessaert and Romeijn, 1627, p. 92)

That latter phrase 'very few have shown up' is one of the few details we have about the immediate aftermath of the Spanish incursion into Formosa. The passage continues: 'Therefore the Spaniards cannot reap any benefits from the land, the available quantities of rice being too small and insufficient to feed the indigenous people themselves. The Chinese navigate there from time to time to acquire sulfur, some sand-gold and wood, which they cut there.' (Pessaert and Romeijn, 1627, p. 92)

It is only by reading these documents against the grain that details such as 'very few have shown up' take on importance. Although easy to overlook, here is a concrete example of how indigenous intransigence led to Spanish suffering. Not only did the indigenous people flee, but, initially at least, they stayed away, and the Spanish struggled as a result. Pessaert and Romeijn outline the instant enmity between the Spanish and the indigenous people in the following statement: 'The situation was so grave that if any force would have appeared last year, it would certainly have been victorious, subjugating the Spaniards to the last man, unless the Spaniards would flee to the island among the indigenous population. But such a thing would have been highly unlikely, since they are enemies.' (Pessaert and Romeijn, 1627, p. 92)

After a signpost event such as the attack and takeover of Keelung, the source documents present us with a number of difficulties. Few or no major events are mentioned regarding the very earliest period of the Spanish settlement, yet this is a key period in its existence. At some point during or around that time, the main fort in Keelung was built, along with other fortifications, but there are few details about how they were planned and constructed. The Spanish must have faced many challenges and difficulties: they would have had decisions to make in order to establish food supplies, to be able to maintain their boats – a recurring issue in Philippines' documents – to establish relations with indigenous people and begin trading with people from further afield. There is no detailed description of any of this in Spanish documents about Formosa.

The lack of documentation can perhaps be partly explained by the fact that the settlement seems to have almost immediately been left to fend for itself, with one Spanish ship finding the Spanish starving when they arrived in late 1627, well over a year after the initial incursion. When this ship arrived, according to Medina's Augustinian history, they found the settlement in a parlous state: 'At length they reach Isla Hermosa [Formosa] at a time that proved the redemption of those men, for already they were eating rats. They were in extreme

necessity; for neither did any Chinese come, nor had the Spaniards any silver to attract them.' (Medina, 1628, p. 115)

Other than that phrase 'very few have shown up', there are only hints in these colonial documents of relations between the Formosan indigenous peoples and the Spanish at that crucial time. When talking about the first year in Formosa, Medina states: 'it befell that many of the troops died, for the island is very cold [...] Ours have suffered significant hardships there.' (Medina, 1628, p. 115) Noticeably, it is a non-Dominican, an Augustinian this time, who once again is more frank and less euphemistic about events on the island.

Another document from that time, in Spanish eyes, formalises the taking of this part of Formosa. In it, Carreño de Valdés states that his reason for taking possession of the island and building fortifications is as follows: 'Because after having tried to negotiate with some of the natives through his retinue of members of the religious orders and captains, offering them friendly dealings and after waiting for their answer for four days, the natives refused to render obeisance to His Majesty.' (Carreño de Valdés, 1626, p. 75)

Reading this description against the grain shows that it hides as much as it reveals. In the context of the taking of a village, a construction of events saying that the Spanish tried to negotiate and offer friendly dealings is problematic. There is no description of how the Spanish made their attempts to negotiate with the indigenous people but all the evidence suggests that both parties were not able to communicate fluently. The idea that the indigenous people 'refused' to render obeisance to the Spanish King seems to be a simplification of the situation to suit Spanish purposes.

The lack of details about the early months of the settlement means that the fragments we do have take on extra significance. In Medina's *History of Augustinians in the Philippines* is the first explicit example of violence between the Spanish and the Formosan indigenous peoples during the time of the Spanish settlement: 'Captain Antonio de Vera [who had been in Formosa] had gone out with 20 men; but some native chiefs daringly killed him and his men. Captain Lázaro de Torres [from the relief ship] rallied to this necessity. He went outside, relieved the fort, gave what food he had.' (Medina, 1628, p. 115) A separate description, by the then Governor General of the Philippines, Juan Niño de Tavora, confirms these events, whilst giving slightly different details: 'Taking advantage of some negligence and the trust we have shown them, they have killed up to 30 men, among whom were Captain and Sergeant Major Antonio de Vera. I punished them and demonstrated to them our weapons in such a way that so frightened them that they asked for peace and even pardon for their abuses. Keep on distracting them with these dialogues until time will show us what to do.' (Niño de Tavora, 1628, p. 135) The old discourse of indigenous people as violent and dangerous is repeated

here. Such details perhaps help the Spanish to justify further colonisation activities, and the document constructs these events wholly as the Spanish granting trust and the indigenous people breaking that trust.

Another fragment from those early days begins another set of discourses involving indigenous people that will be explored in depth in a later chapter: their interactions with missionaries. This involves the Japanese Christian mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, who had settled in the area before the Spanish arrived. His presence in Formosa is one small example of the results of Japan's increasing isolation and rejection of Christianity (Ribeiro, 2017, p. 62). This man, according to Aduarte, was key to early attempts to establish relations between the indigenous people and the Spanish, and was responsible for the first baptisms in Formosa: 'The first children who were baptized were the two daughters of a Japanese Christian who had lived there and was married to a pagan of the island [...]. being Christian, he came to the point of asking that his daughters be baptized.' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73)

Taking all these fragments together, we can begin to show, even at this early stage, how the early heavy-handedness of the Spanish worked against them. Those moral arguments about making friends with the Formosan indigenous peoples and asking for permission to build a fortress seem not to have been effected at all before the incursion, and only seem to be acknowledged in a token way after those events. In Spanish documents we see how Carreño de Valdés ('having tried to negotiate with some of the natives' (Carreño de Valdés, 1626, p. 75)) and Niño de Tavora ('Taking advantage of some negligence and the trust we have shown them' (Niño de Tavora, 1628, p. 135)) both attempt to create a discourse where it is the indigenous people who are being obdurate despite Spanish attempts to make peace with them. Missionary work had already begun but, nonetheless, men such as Antonio de Vera were killed by indigenous people. The fact that the Spanish were reduced to eating rats during their first months on the island illustrates just how widespread the suffering was. There is no indication that the indigenous people helped them.

Between the incursion in 1626 and Esquivel's accounts of 1632, therefore, we have little information about the indigenous people in Formosa. The undocumented developments that took place during that time are demarcated in two quotations. The first takes place two months after Keelung was taken, when the Archbishop of Manila wrote to the King of Spain explaining the island's potential and its need for missionaries: 'This island is teeming with people and it will be a pity that, due to the lack of ministers, they remain blind to the light of our Holy Catholic Faith.' (García Serrano, 1626, p. 80) Moving on to Esquivel's documents from six year later, we see that churches have been constructed in villages such as Quimaurri,

Taparri and Senar: 'The residents of Quimaurri already have constructed a church [...] The natives of Taparri and Senar [in Tanchuy[3]] already have a church and a priest.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 181) To find more details about what might have happened between these two quotations, and to see how different styles of interaction with indigenous people during the early days of a settlement resulted in more propitious and more lethal consequences for other colonisers, we will compare what we do know about the development of the Formosan settlement in its early days with other settlements in the Philippines.

Cebu in the central Philippines was one place Magellan visited in 1521 as part of the first circumnavigation of the globe. Based on this early reconnaissance and Magellan's agreements with the local indigenous people, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi decided to settle the area in 1565.

The documents resulting from the establishment of this settlement are amongst the most vivid and complete accounts of a new Spanish settlement in the Pacific empire. There are three 1565 documents, the first two of which details the journey of Legazpi from New Spain to the Philippines, and include the invasion of Cebu and the earliest days of the creation of Spain's first permanent settlement in the Philippines (N/A, 1565a; Rodríguez, 1565). The third document continues from the first two, describing the early days of that settlement (N/A, 1565b). Although the occupation of Cebu and Keelung took place just over 60 years apart, the Spanish faced parallel challenges in trying to establish a viable community that, in some ways, involved the local indigenous people.

The Spanish reached Cebu on 27th April 1565. We have already described the taking of Cebu and how the indigenous people fled the village, leaving the Spanish to take it over. The Legazpi document then goes on to describe a striking scene showing that the separation of indigenous people from the Spanish was not the result of an organic, casual set of circumstances. In early June, the Spanish held a meeting with the indigenous people where they delineated exactly where the Spanish would live in detail, and told the indigenous people where, separately, they could place their dwellings:

> And then the said Governor went in person with the same chiefs and natives along the beach ahead, towards the west, an arquebus shot from said point. There he pointed out a palm tree, and that the site of the Spaniards went up to there. And from the said palm he pointed to another tree, heading inland, and on it he had a cross made, and from there another tree further inland where he put another cross, and from there right until he came to an estuary of salty water that enters from the sea; and the estuary heads out to the east before reaching the sea; and from there back to

[3] Tamsui.

> the first point of departure. He was identifying and identified the site of the house and fortress of HM and the Spanish population, and that all the rest would be left for the Indians, so that they could make their houses and farms and, from the indicated line, could begin to build their village and houses. (N/A, 1565b, p. 105)

The sentences that follow reveal the extent to which the Spanish governor made the active separation between the Spanish and the indigenous people clear. In this scene, the Governor literally others the indigenous people, ordering them and the Spanish onto either side of the line he has created:

> The Governor pointed to the trees where the crosses had be placed as limits and signs of the said place and he let the chiefs understand that this line was the boundary limit for the Spanish; and they said that this was how they wanted it; and the Governor gave orders that all the chiefs and the indians leave to the other side of the line to the part he had pointed out, and to the Spanish he ordered that they place themselves inside the line. (N/A, 1565b, p. 106)

No similar event is described in Formosa, but Keelung became Spanish-empire territory, 'inside the line', in a comparable way, helped further by being located on a small island itself. In a similar way, on the other side of the water from the Spanish settlement was Quimaurri, where indigenous people lived. This difference, as has already been stated, perhaps proved crucial to the success and failure of both settlements. The natural water barrier protected the Spanish from indigenous people but also isolated them, whereas Cebu's line perhaps proved a more flexible barrier for the Spanish.

The importance of having allies amongst the indigenous people is stressed in another comment from the Cebu document. Whereas in Keelung the Spanish never seem to make significant allies amongst the indigenous people – certainly no individual is named – in Cebu, the early alliance with the chief Tupas proves key: 'Tupas in turn said that he would try to find out where they[4] had gone and to call them and to bring them in peace: the Governor requested that he do this. Those from Matan were always very obstinate and rebellious, not wanting peace. It was previously understood that they advised those from Cebu and others that they did not want peace with us, saying, that they would kill us, or they would at least starve us out of here.' (N/A, 1565b, p. 116) Although Matan proved resistant, other chiefs followed Tupas' lead, perhaps illustrating a more significant ability to represent whole populations. According to the second Cebu document, they: 'Offered themselves as vassals to the Royal Crown like the others, and they said that they would communicate with other friends so they would come for the same purpose.' (N/A, 1565b, p. 109)

[4] Enemies of the Cebu indigenous people, including people from Matan and Gain.

The Matan quotation is useful in a number of ways. It shows that in Cebu, although some indigenous people purported to be allies of the Spanish, one indigenous group did not speak for all. In both Cebu and Keelung, indigenous people resisted the Spanish. The marked difference, however, is that the Spanish in Cebu established a powerful alliance with at least one indigenous leader: Tupas. One detail worth noting about the Matan enemies, which perhaps has parallels in Formosa, is that we also see that indigenous people understood non-cooperation as a tactic, at least as reported in this Spanish document in the phrase 'they would at least starve us out of here' (N/A, 1565b, p. 116).

The difference between Cebu and Keelung becomes more noticeable in the following passage where we see that, after the Cebu incursion, a form of normality begins to emerge, at least from the Spanish point of view. Note how it contrasts with the first winter of the Keelung settlement, when the Spanish starved and were forced to eat rats:

> The native indians, they began to gather and come, and they brought their women and children, and little by little a number of people came together, and a few days later they began to lose their fear and brought some goats, swine and a number of Castilian chickens, which they gave in exchange for beads and other payments. (N/A, 1565b, p. 110)

Although allies had been found amongst some of the indigenous people, many others had still not been contacted and could become enemies. Relations with the local indigenous people at that moment were relatively peaceful. In the Cebu documents, however, we can see that the Spanish faced many dangers in establishing their new settlement. Looking at early priorities in Cebu, we can gain an impression of the most urgent issues for the Spanish in Formosa.

We have noted that there is little mention of the evolution of Spanish buildings in Formosa. In Cebu, however, the building of a fort was one of the initial tasks, with the creation of a strong, safe building being a priority for a new colony. We are given a relatively detailed description of the earliest wooden fort to be built in Cebu. Clearly, as well as being home to the Spanish, it was designed to be defensive, reflecting the ambiguous attitude of the Spanish despite those tentative alliances. The Spanish needed to project power:

> After the Governor arrived on this island, he proposed and organised the building of a fort, putting works in place, and everyone in the morning and afternoon went to work, without deference or exclusion of any person because the Governor, Captains and Officers themselves worked as much as they could. The resulting fort comprised

> a palisade of palm trees enforced with branches and embankments in between, owing to a lack of stone and earth, where it was made being sandy. (N/A, 1565b, pp. 118–119)

The toil involved in building the fort is detailed here, with the indigenous people having no involvement:

> And because the land is hot and the food was bad, and because all the materials were brought from far away on the shoulders, and without help from any of the natives, because it was too much to ask, although they would have been paid [...]. (N/A, 1565b, p. 119)

The sentence continues, explaining the result of this toil on the Spanish. This highlights another area of danger for the early settlement in Cebu, rarely mentioned in such detail in Formosa - the threat of illness:

> For this reason some illnesses generally occurred throughout the field, affecting the chest and nasal passages, leading to diarrhoea, and lastly worms and fever, which was common throughout the settlement. And despite all these illnesses God Our Lord made it that the danger passed. And although there was a lack of food, the people laboured on the works mentioned, putting their backs into their exertion and fatigue; suffering in order to serve God and HM. (N/A, 1565b, p. 119)

Fire and illness were dangers that could wipe out a settlement altogether. Although the Cebu settlement proved to have a much longer life than the Formosa colonies, we can see here that it wasn't without its problems. This perhaps pinpoints the significance of that key difference between the two settlements: both suffered, but in Cebu constructive relations with indigenous people were soon established. Amidst the many dangers that could have threatened the settlement – fire and illness, and, as we will see later, lawlessness and rebellions amongst the Spanish themselves – indigenous cooperation could make the difference between life and death.

In this colonial scenario, we are used to thinking of the Spanish as the powerful force and the indigenous people as the victims. We can see in the following incident, however, that day-to-day power relations could be much more variegated than any simple binary distinction implies. As a group, the Spanish were powerful, but when reduced to individuals, roles could be reversed:

> Wednesday 23 May, in the morning, after the sentries had finished, a gentleman from my company called Pedro de Arana left, on his own, and went walking along the sea coast more than an harquebus shot away from the settlement, being pronounced with

> an edict that no person should leave the settlement with serious penalties. And going along the same bank next to a palm grove he was ambushed by indians who, seeing him alone, attacked him. And as he had no defensive weapons other than an harquebus in his hand, they pierced him with a spear through his body, without giving him the opportunity to use the harquebus, and thus they killed him, cutting off his head in a moment. (N/A, 1565a, pp. 347–348)

There is nothing surprising in the construction of the indigenous people as bloodthirsty, violent decapitators, but this anecdote nevertheless gives some sense of the dangers facing the Spanish settlers in that new land. It shows how crucial peace with the local population was, and how limited and dangerous life was when relations were not stable. As we see here, the Spanish at this point in the life of the settlement were unable to take even a walk outside the confines of the Spanish area. In Formosa, in Keelung's small island, the Spanish must have felt this separation even more keenly.

The freedom of the colonists to move about was certainly an issue in Formosa. In Esquivel's *Record of affairs concerning Isla Hermosa*, he highlights being able to 'come and go' as a key sign of good relations, overlooking the fact that such achievements would only be noted in an environment where safety was an issue: 'The natives living along the two branches of the Tamsui River, those of Senar (and those of Taparri, Quimaurri and Caguinauran, also known as Santiago, and who live next to the Cabalan) are our friends. One can go to these villages in utmost security. Any soldier, Cagayan, or priest can confidently come and go by himself.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 169)

Another Cebu scene that reflected the immediate dangers posed by indigenous people during the early days of the settlement occurred when 'four or five' (N/A, 1565b, p. 116) indigenous boats were spotted sailing amongst Spanish ships. When the Spanish went to investigate, the boats fled but the Spanish managed to capture one canoe containing almost 20 people. The subsequent accusations, discussions and negotiations, and the clear struggles the Spanish had to unravel the web of groups, chiefs and indigenous alliances and enmities, not least between the people of Matan and Cebu, and three Cebu chiefs, together highlight the fragility of the Spanish relations with indigenous people. They illustrate the underlying tension, and a perpetual need to stay on guard, that must always have existed with indigenous groups in Formosa (N/A, 1565b, p. 116). The unsolicited presence of indigenous people near to Spanish possessions, even in Cebu, was automatically assumed to be dangerous. Legazpi eventually makes clear that if canoes approached the Spanish without making their presence known, or if they were acting suspiciously: 'They would be shot at because they would be enemies.' (N/A, 1565b, p. 117)

In the Cebu document we get more of a sense of a society in action than occurs in the Spanish documents about Formosa. Not only were there tensions between the Spanish and the indigenous people, the Spanish had to deal with their own internal conflict.

Fire plays a significant role in many early Spanish settlements, to the point where it is actually noticeable because it is not mentioned regarding Formosa. The attack that would eventually lead to the Spanish taking over Manila in 1570 is accompanied by a large fire (N/A, 1570a, p. N/A)[5]. The account of these events states: 'Due to this it will be understood that our enemies are not only on the outside, but are also in the settlement itself, but inside the camp, those bad people can cause and do more harm as thieves at home, for which reason the need and convenience of the prompt arrival of help from New Spain is understood.' (N/A, 1565a, p. 351) It is discovered that two Spaniards were responsible for the blaze, forcing the authorities to recognise that enemies can live within the camp. Nevertheless the above quotation reiterates that enemies are primarily outside, somehow bringing indigenous people into a discussion about Spanish crimes.

This aspect of Spanish wrongdoing takes an unexpected turn in the following event. As this incident began, the indigenous people were given as one of the reasons for a Spanish rebellion in Cebu. By October and November 1565, there was not enough food in the settlement, yet the Spanish soldiers were prohibited from taking indigenous supplies: 'At this time there was a lack of food in the settlement, all that there was to eat was a piece of millet, which, due to scarcity, led to rations being cut. [...] The natives suffered hunger and great difficulties, eating herbs and shellfish, and starting to cut the head of palms to eat [...] and as the governor would not consent nor would approve of harm being done to the natives, or their effects being taken without payment, the people were demotivated and unhappy.' (N/A, 1565b, pp. 139–140)

The subsequent rebellion's aim was to capture a ship and escape Cebu, the mutineers wanting to somehow make it back to Europe. When the plot was discovered, the ringleader Pablo Hernandez fled the settlement. The indigenous people play a key part in his return, capturing him and then, after his escape, reporting to the Spanish: 'In the morning, the indians came to the settlement to tell the story, and they brought the dagger and sword that they had taken from him. The governor ordered that if they see him again they should capture him, and if they could not capture him they should kill him, and bring him dead or alive.' (N/A, 1565b, p. 147)

We see that Pablo Hernandez was forced to return to the Spanish settlement precisely because the indigenous people had been ordered not to help him and seemed to be following

[5] 'They immediately took the town, and set fire to it, on account of its being large.' (N/A, 1570a, p. N/A)

those orders. 'Pablo Hernandez, seeing that he would have no favour amongst the indians, returned to the religious brothers, begging them to save his life in whatever way they could [...]' (N/A, 1565b, p. 147) This episode concludes with the hanging of Pablo Hernandez: 'after, they took off his head and then nailed it to the gallows as a reminder and a lesson to others.' (N/A, 1565b, p. 148)

The above episode, still in the very early days of the Cebu settlement, shows how relations were developing. Friendship and enmities were blurring, despite the Spanish and indigenous people living physically on different sides of that line. The only examples of indigenous people collaborating with the Spanish in Formosa came much later in the life of the settlement, as we will see in those letters from the last governor, Gonzalo Portillo.

Another aspect of the Cebu document that helps to broaden our understanding of the priorities and issues that could have arisen in Formosa is in the fact that, whilst Formosan documents are dominated by missionary accounts, the Cebu documents remind us that the Formosan settlement was comprised principally of military men. During the formative months of the Cebu settlement, soldiers began to enjoy the local palm wine, leading Legazpi to attempt a ban on such alcohol:

> The governor ordered, that wine should not be brought or sold in the settlement, or purchased [...] as the Spanish were not from this land and had only recently arrived, drinking it made them unwell, and some of them had fallen ill; he requested that they do not consent to the bringing of wine to the Spanish, or giving it to them, and although they promised that they wouldn't do it they did not stop bringing large quantities, secretly, at night and the governor ordered that everything that was brought be poured away, and he put guards in the entrances and watches, which improved things but there was no way to stop it altogether. (N/A, 1565b, p. 110)

Not only did the soldiers enjoy the indigenous wine, but the women who brought the wine also 'invited the soldiers with their bodies,' (N/A, 1565b, p. 111) providing another reminder of the day-to-day reality of such a settlement and of relations between the Spanish and the local people. This phrase constructs the indigenous women as the initiator of such behaviour, but it is worth remembering that such construction has been identified by Said as typical in the representation of oriental women, as summarised by Shabanirad and Marandi in their paper *Eduard Said and the representation of oriental women in George Orwell's Burmese Days*: 'Oriental women are represented as the oppressed ones, they are also regarded as being submissive, voiceless, seductive and promiscuous.' (Shabanirad and Marandi, 2015)

The intermingling of soldiers and indigenous women led to attempts to stop the latter entering the soldiers' houses: 'The governor called Tupas and the other chiefs, and he said, that it did not seem good to him that Indian women walked amongst the soldiers in the settlement from house to house. He requested that they make provisions and orders that they stop coming to this settlement, and that Indian men come to sell and do business, not women.' (N/A, 1565b, p. 111) Despite banning women from houses and discouraging trade by women, Legazpi also designated a place as a market, showing the importance of trade with indigenous people despite these early teething troubles. The Spanish needed a market, a place where they could encourage and control trade with the locals: 'where everyone went and publicly sold what they wanted without going from house to house.' (N/A, 1565b, p. 111)

We can therefore see here a level of engagement in the Cebu settlement with indigenous people that is not discussed in Formosan documents. In Cebu, at the very least we can say that there were some sorts of transactional relationships between the Spanish and indigenous people even during the early days of the settlement. Despite the explicit separation of the two groups, the populations were intermingling to the point where Legazpi felt obliged to make rules limiting that interaction. We saw a stronghold, a market and rules being put in place, all to manage relations with indigenous people during the earliest moments of the settlement. In Formosa, in contrast, it's only some years into the life of the settlement that we see hints of interaction between indigenous people and the Spanish, particularly in Jacinto Esquivel's comment: 'They [lay brothers] enter a furnace burning with occasions [of sin], and end up facing consummate scandal which they need not seek.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 189)

Moving away from the two principal Cebu documents, we can find other details of the attitudes of the Spanish to indigenous people when a settlement was first created. Insofar as the expedition to the Philippines was a money-making exercise, it should perhaps come as no surprise that the Spanish see indigenous people as targets for plundering. Although there is no documentation to say that plundering took place in Formosa in the same way, the following episode perhaps does go some way to explaining how the Spanish constructed indigenous people. Note that, in the following quotation, soldiers are not being chastised for robbing the graves of indigenous people. Rather, in a centuries-old version of tax avoidance, they are being reprimanded for not reporting their finds to the authorities: 'Many Spanish soldiers and sailors have, on this island, Cebu, opened many graves and burials of the native indians, and within they have found a quantity of gold and other jewels. The people who have opened and found the said gold have not come to report it to his honour nor to the officials of his majesty, so that his majesty can collect his royal fifth and rights.' (N/A, 1565c,

p. 355) It seems that plundering, at least in Cebu in 1565, was an expected part of Spanish life. Robbing indigenous people was not an issue; robbing the Spanish empire was.

To conclude this chapter, in contrast with the relatively good relations established between the Spanish and indigenous people in Cebu, we will look at one Philippines example where good relations were not established on any level. This attempted colonisation took place in 1542, 23 years before the settling of Cebu, when the Spanish landed on Sarangani island on the southern tip of today's Philippines. We saw in the section on fleeing how the Sarangani islanders eventually forced the Spanish to leave their island due to the lack of cooperation. Relations began badly:

> We arrived at Sarangan [...] Martin de Islares went out in a boat so that they would sell us some food. They understood him but didn't want to sell us any item of food, which we needed a great deal, especially the sick, of whom there were many [...] they wounded five or six men without our colleagues doing any harm to them at all, although they could have with their harquebuses; the General, seeing our dire need and the inhumanity of those barbarians met in his ship with the captains and principles and suggested taking food by force. (de Santisteban, 1548, p. 154)

Staying on the island from early April until November (de Santisteban, 1548, p. 154), the Spanish time there became a constant search for food throughout the whole region: 'After six months the hunger that took us to Sarrangan, forced us to leave.' (de Santisteban, 1548, p. 156) The methods used by the Spanish to attempt to win the indigenous people over are documented here, as is the devastating impact of their failure:

> A lot of work was done with the natives of the island to return and collect them and bring them to peacefully populate their land. We believed that we had agreed with one of the island's leaders, and made peace with him by following their customary ceremonies. [...] Despite there being no reason to break the friendship, they induced their friendly neighbours to be our enemies and not to sell us any supplies. Due to this, we suffered much hunger and were so in need that there was nothing with a body left that hadn't been enjoyed as a delicacy, including snakes, lizards, mice, dogs and cats and other poisonous vermin. (Descalante Alvarado, 1548, p. 125)

In terms of relations with indigenous people, the difference between Cebu and Sarangani was marked, yet what they had in common is the way the Spanish relationship with indigenous people fundamentally affected the development of the settlement. If Cebu is an example of relatively smooth relations with indigenous people, Sarangani is an example of the opposite. The indigenous people helped the Spanish in Cebu in ways that must have

helped them to stabilise and develop the settlement, whilst those in Sarangani actively conspired to make sure that the Spanish settlement had no food, leading to their early departure. There are noticeable parallels between the Spanish being forced to eat vermin in Sarangani and rats in Formosa.

In this chapter, we have therefore examined a number of ways in which the Spanish and the indigenous people are constructed in Spanish documents during the early days of a settlement. We showed how some form of relations was crucial, not least for creating supply chains that could be the difference between a settlement that struggles to find food but survives, such as in Cebu, and one that has to be abandoned, such as Sarangani.

We've seen that indigenous people and the Spanish interacted in a number of ways, adding more detail to the sparsely documented early days of Formosa. We showed the initial wariness of the Spanish and their need to build a fortress as soon as possible. In Cebu, the creation of a market, and the attempts to ban the supply of local wine and women walking freely around the settlement show how early colonists and indigenous people might have interacted. We have also seen how this life on the edge of the known Spanish world presented many dangers to the Spanish themselves. In the early days in particular, this sense of danger was reflected in a constant wariness and mistrust between the Spanish and the indigenous people of Cebu, despite their purported alliances, as shown when indigenous boats approach the Spanish. The Cebu documents, above all, bring the early Spanish settlement to life, giving us glimpses of the types of issues that could have arisen in Formosa during its earliest moments.

4. The middle years

Indigenous peoples and the Spanish empire

When we cross reference documents about Spanish dealings with indigenous peoples in the Philippines with those in Formosa, we can see the strategies and tactics the Spanish used in order to create relationships with indigenous people and to embed Spanish colonies on the islands involved. For example, the following quotation is from a section of Aduarte's history: 'Until now, the hardest thing to do is to get them back to their old settlements, [the places] from where they had first fled from Spanish arms into the interior. But now that they have seen the advantage of dealing with us, it is like a magnet that attracts hearts of iron. […] they are now returning to their old homesteads.' (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 220)

The Spanish had to stabilise and preferably develop relations with indigenous people if they were to survive and thrive in their settlements. This was just as much the case in the Philippines as it was in Formosa. Aduarte points towards a key tactic of the Spanish in their dealings with indigenous people. This is reflected in the following quotation, which is part of a list of instructions given to the Spanish during their expeditions to lands such as Mindanao in 1579: 'And since all the importance of this expedition lies in patience and comfort (because the Indians, having seen that they would soon have to yield, refuse to come down from the mountains), you shall try to make yourself as comfortable as possible.' (de Sande, 1579)

Jared Diamond discusses the many ways in which Europeans differed from indigenous people in terms of technology, involving the prevalent use of metals in weapons, as well as a more widespread use of machines and wheeled transport (Diamond, 2005, pp. 358–359). Although it was technology, particularly ships and harquebuses, that enabled the Spanish to take over Keelung, the same tactic identified in Mindanao came into play once Keelung was taken. Time and patience were also key weapons in the Spanish arsenal for establishing a new colony.

In order to win over the indigenous people and to root the Spanish settlement, it was important for the Spanish to project the sense that they were not going away and that the indigenous people would have no choice but to deal with them eventually. This is reflected in the following quotation about the Cebu settlement:

> Many natives from Cebu and the whole of this region who had left their lands in order to take up our friendship, had moved to that province, but when they saw that they were not safe there, many of them attempted to return to their lands, and some of them came to the governor to be pardoned and to be given licence to return to their

> houses and villages, which was given to them freely, except for those from Matam and Gavi, who have never wanted peace, nor to take up our friendship. (N/A, 1565b, p. 162)

Noticeable in the above quotation is the notion that the Spanish, who have just invaded and taken over this land, are now granting the indigenous people the ability to return as part of a process which simultaneously others them and allows them back into their own homes. The Spanish projection of power is also reflected in their ability to grant such permission, or not as in the case of Matam and Gavi. The Spanish are asserting a colonial discourse that puts them firmly in charge.

This idea of projecting a sense of permanence occurs throughout the Spanish documents. In Formosa, for example, Esquivel requests that a certain type of man be sent from Manila to Formosa: 'To establish and expand our commerce with China through Isla Hermosa, it is imperative that this republic of Manila take this [proposal] seriously and send to the port of San Salvador three or four of her more influential citizens who are married and trustworthy, and may represent the other Spaniards there.' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 193)

The reasons for sending married Spanish men are made more explicit in a 1575 document from Guido de Lavecaris in the Philippines to the Viceroy of New Spain: 'Your Excellency should also try to send all the married men who can possibly come. For with the existence of settled communities the natives of this land will feel more secure, and the married Spaniards will devote themselves to sowing and raising the products of the land; but, if married men do not come, order and harmony will be lacking, as they have been hitherto.' (de Lavecaris, 1575)

De Lavecaris goes so far as to say that the arrival of Spanish married men would help the indigenous people to feel safer, in part by engendering that sense of permanence. Note the last part of the following quotation, however, which firmly puts the indigenous people in their place: 'If your Excellency orders many to come, and if a community of married people is established, the natives will become totally reconciled and will serve us better.' (de Lavecaris, 1575)

There is even an example of Tupas, the leader of the Cebu indigenous people, needing proof that the Spanish were not about to leave: 'Tupas, the leader of those from Cebu, says that when the fleet from New Spain comes he will be baptised. This is so that he can see if women come from Castile [...] because until they come they will not take us for certain, they believe that we will not stay and will have to go.' (N/A, 1565b, p. 204–205) Tupas would be baptised if Spanish women came to Cebu, as evidence that the Spanish presence was permanent.

Amongst the many suggestions that Esquivel makes about the future of the Formosan settlements, he highlights the need for women in order to create more stability. The steadiness engendered by the presence of women is something that has been noted more widely in studies of the Spanish empire, as McEwan states: 'By all accounts, [Spanish] women provided a measure of balance and stability to the colonial enterprises with which they were involved.' (McEwan, 1991, p. 33) Whereas Tupas' demands involved women from New Spain, Esquivel suggested that women should come from the Philippines: 'If these forts are to preserved [*sic*], then it is necessary to send women from Manila who can get married here. Thus, the population would be assured, and the men will not live and die as bachelors, without descendants.' (Primary Esquivel, 1632a, p. 171) Esquivel is a little more frank later in the same document: 'In this way, we would lessen the scandals derived from women of loose-living who move around there. By settling these lands we render service to the King and set aright the souls of the unmarried men living in dissolution with the women natives.' (Primary Esquivel, 1632a, p. 171) Once again we see indigenous women portrayed as 'submissive, voiceless, seductive and promiscuous.' (Shabanirad and Marandi, 2015)

A number of themes converge here. We see that stability and permanence, the sense that the Spanish are not going to go away, is an important tactic for the Spanish in their dealings with indigenous people. Marriage is one part of the projection of that stability. In the example of Tupas, the permanence of the Spanish settlement not only links to his relations with the Spanish but is even a contributing factor as to whether he will agree to convert to Catholicism. In Esquivel's text, indigenous women are portrayed as a problem to be solved in order to create stability – the implication of his words being that promiscuous indigenous Formosan women need to be replaced by more marriageable women from elsewhere. However, the portrayal of indigenous women in this context is not straightforward, as there are examples of the Spanish marrying Formosan indigenous women during their time on the island. Marriage with indigenous people was, according to McEwan, actively encouraged by Spanish authorities in the Americas due to that same stabilising effect: 'The chronic shortage of preferred marriage partners [i.e. Spanish women] resulted in a regular pattern of intermarriage between Spanish men and Native American women from the earliest years of colonization' (Deagan, 1985, p. 304) 'This was not only sanctioned but encouraged by the Spanish government as a means of stabilizing and converting the native element.' (McEwan, 1991, p. 36) In Formosa, we have the following examples showing that Spanish men married indigenous women: 'Besides, we have to attend the encampment, and an incipient village of soldiers who marry native women, which is a place that also receives some other young native women that have escaped from their towns and came for the same purpose.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 187–188) Also: 'The women natives of the land loved well the Spaniards. Many of them married those Spaniards.' (N/A, 1644c, p. 516)

The Spanish had not landed in Formosa expecting to share or become equal partners in their endeavours with the indigenous people on the island. This actively cultivated stability was not just to make the Formosans feel secure. The Spanish were also concerned with controlling and changing the indigenous people, 'converting the native element' as McEwan states (McEwan, 1991, p. 36). Another part of Spanish strategy in this regard was to consolidate indigenous people in new settlements. Hints of this tactic in Formosa can be brought into focus by looking at documents from the Philippines.

In 1630, the governor of the Philippines, Juan Niño de Tavoro, wrote a report to the King stating that the gathering of Formosan indigenous people into settlements had begun: 'The gathering together of the natives of Isla Hermosa under obedience of His Majesty is on its way. Until recently they have remained recalcitrant, but in the last ship that came from there, the [governor] reported that over 300 of them have been gathered.' (Niño de Tavora, 1630, p. 144)

In his 1632 record of affairs concerning Formosa, amongst Esquivel's suggestions are ideas for consolidating various villages into one: 'From Taparri to Tanchuy [Tamsui] there are two or three small villages of Taparris along the beach and the mountains. It would be wise to remove them from there and resettle them into a single village with the Taparris who live by the bay. Or they can live with the other natives elsewhere.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 166)

Gathering people into settlements was a key tactic for controlling indigenous people, not least as part their conversion to Catholicism. One example of such a process is explained here in a report on the island of Bohol dated 1601:

> In accordance with the direction of your Reverence I visited the island of Bohol and gave my first attention to collecting the people, who were scattered everywhere, into one place. [...] We also attempted to attract a number of barbarian inhabitants of the mountains, who had never looked upon any mortals before they saw our fathers, making use of all of the offices of humanity and of the allurements suitable to their nature, and we succeeded. We assigned them a settlement near the river, where they have now built a church, to which they flock on Sundays. We have baptized one hundred and twenty of their children, or even more. The adults have not only laid aside all of their fierceness, but pray for baptism with the greatest ardor, singing chants, and night and day recite the Christian faith. (Váez, 1601, p. N/A)

Particularly notable in this quotation is the discourse that places indigenous people on a journey that starts with 'barbarian inhabitants' and moves on to them to laying aside

'fierceness' by becoming Christians – the same journey that the Spanish expected of the Formosan indigenous people.

Although settlements of indigenous people do not appear to have progressed to a great extent in Formosa, those previous quotations illustrate that some gathering of indigenous people did take place and would have been developed further in a more successful colony. This process of assembling indigenous people into villages was not just a religious exercise, of course. As discussed previously, James C. Scott summarises the effect of joining a state in this way in his book *The Art of Not Being Governed*: 'Living within the state meant, virtually by definition, taxes, conscription, corvée labor, and, for most, a condition of servitude; these conditions were at the core of the state's strategic and military advantages.' (Scott, 2009, p. 7) In one document from the late 1590s, the governor of the Philippines, Dasmariñas, makes clear that such systems of Spanish settlement, and the taxation of indigenous people that came with it, were fundamental to the survival of the Spanish in the area: 'We should consider how little there is in this country besides the tributes, for the support of the encomendero or such person who has to represent him; and that, if the Indians should cease to pay the tributes, all would go to destruction.' (Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, 1591, p. N/A)

In the Philippines, such treatment of indigenous people was exemplified in *encomiendas*, the Spanish system of farmsteads[1]. This system was widely employed in the Philippines but perhaps reflects a sharp difference between the Spanish version of success with indigenous people in the Philippines and the failure to engage significantly with indigenous people in Formosa. There are no documented plans to gather indigenous people into such farmsteads in Formosa. Given their widespread nature in the Philippines, however, it is not difficult to imagine that the Spanish would have wanted to recreate the same system on the island. For example, the King of Spain, in his instructions to the new governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas as he took up his post in 1590, makes it clear that farmsteads are a key part of dealings with indigenous people in the Philippines, stating not *if* but *how* they will be gathered into such farmsteads and related settlements.

> As far as the natural fitness of the land and the settlements of the Indians permitted, it would be advisable to order that encomiendas of not less than eight hundred or one thousand Indians be granted, for there are tithes for the instruction, and the other expenses of maintenance, which small encomiendas cannot bear; and that those who have but few Indians be allowed to transfer or sell them at their pleasure to other and neighboring encomenderos [...] You shall endeavor to establish the Indians in

[1] See the glossary for a definition of *encomiendas*.

> settlements, which shall have adequate instruction. This you shall attend to with the most rigorous care and attention. (Felipe II, 1590, p. N/A)

Here we see the King constructing the control and manipulation of indigenous people as a *fait accompli*. No debate is needed about whether the indigenous people will be consulted about the changes to be made to their lives: they will not. In Spanish discourses relating to their colonies, therefore, the Spanish govern and the indigenous people have, by default, little control of their lives. This notion also manifests itself in other ways in which the indigenous people in the Philippines were treated by the Spanish.

As has been noted, the Philippines colony was already over 60 years old by the time the Spanish arrived in Formosa. Documents about the settlements note some of the roles employed, such as rowers, builders, woodcutters and miners. We've given examples from Bishop Salazar's discussion of the Spanish treatment of indigenous people in a document that is not unique in its call for reforms[2]. When we compare Formosa with the Philippines, however, even allowing for the short time on the former island, the comparative lack of accounts of indigenous people working for the Spanish is striking. For example, there is as much, if not more, evidence of sangleys working on farms than any indigenous people: 'The sangleys are setting up a small parian [market] in this area. This is bound to grow in time with those sangleys that have announced that they will go to sow the fields and plant sugarcane.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 185) Amongst Esquivel's suggestions for the Tamsui settlement in 1632 is another quote about the need for more workers to help build a fortress in Tamsui, which proves revealing when we read it against the grain: '100 laborers are precisely needed to work on the fortress, the construction of which has just started. [These men] are also needed to row the vessels. […] This year, native blacksmiths, carbon makers, iron workers, box makers and gastadores are urgently needed. […]' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 195) Notable here is that Formosan indigenous people are not even considered for these roles, even ones as unspecialised as rowing. Instead, Esquivel adds, listing areas of the Philippines: 'They can be recruited from the provinces of Bulacan, Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan.' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 195) There appears to be no possibility that they could be recruited from Formosa.

Aduarte's comment, above, is from his 1632 document. It is a sign in itself that the Spanish were not integrating Formosan indigenous people into their colonies in Formosa. Although it is not a point that is actively considered in Spanish source documents, we can see this lack of workers as a sign of how limited the scope of Spanish Formosa was. Without indigenous help,

[2] Quotation from a document itemising many possible reforms: 'Therefore, in order that a reform be instituted, two things, Sire, are extremely needful: first, the wise appointment and choice of men for the offices […] and second, that the superfluous and unnecessary officials should be dismissed' (N/A, 1597, p. N/A)

those ‘urgently needed’ blacksmiths, carbon makers, iron workers, box makers and gastadores had to be recruited elsewhere. In the Philippines, indigenous people worked as rowers, builders, woodcutters and miners, but there are no signs of similar roles being fulfilled by indigenous people in Formosa. In turn, this must have stifled other aspects of colonial society, from missionary work to external trade, keeping the Formosan settlements forever in a nascent state, being part of the reason why they never gathered momentum and ultimately failed.

We could, in the meantime, suggest that the fact that the Spanish had only been in Formosa for six years by 1632 was why there are so few examples of the Spanish working with indigenous people. In contrast, however, we can look at the following quotation referring to the Manila area, written just four years into the life of the settlement there. It shows that the paying of tributes was an important issue in the Philippines even in the earliest years:

> We have required the people to be friends, and then to give us tribute. At times war has been declared against them, because they did not give as much as was demanded. And if they would not give tribute, but defended themselves, then they have been attacked, and war has been carried on with fire and sword; and even on some occasions, after the people have been killed and destroyed, and their village taken, the Spaniards have sent men to summon them to make peace. And when the Indians, in order not to be destroyed, came to say that they would like to be friends, the Spaniards have immediately asked them for tribute, as they have done but recently in all the villages of Los Camarines. (de Rada, 1574)

This quotation was written only nine years after the Spanish set up their very first colony in the Philippines. In a 1639 letter, written 13 years after the establishment of the Keelung settlement, Teodoro de la Madre de Dios gives no sense that the locals are working for the Spanish in Formosa: ‘By a natural process, the waters in this area draw out more gold than the natives actually do. Imagine how rich they would be if they worked as hard as any good Spaniard.’ (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 300) Gonzalo Portillo’s letters from the latter days of the settlement contain an intriguing comment: ‘The paid native [workers] are ambivalent’ (Portillo, 1642a, p. 373), pointing out that they have no sense of obligation towards the Spanish. The contrast with events in Manila, where local people were forced to become friends and immediately required to pay taxes, is striking. We can therefore see a fundamental difference between the two settlements: in Manila after four years, indigenous people were being forced into becoming an integral, albeit subservient, part of colonial society. The Spanish never established such control in Formosa.

The indigenous people in the Philippines viewed the Spanish as subjugators and taxers (Salazar, 1583, N/A), but those in Formosa could not, by definition, see the Spanish precisely in this way. There appears to have been no taxation of the indigenous people in Formosa at all. The Spanish struggled to become friends with them, and also did not manage to turn them into taxed subjects.

To explain the reasons for the difference in the treatment of the indigenous people in Formosa and the Philippines, we can look at a document written by Juan Cevicos, the captain of one of the Manila galleons, who argued against maintaining the settlements in Formosa as early as 1627:

> One must also consider the heathen natives of Isla Hermosa; but, admitting this, even for them at present, I conclude that his Majesty is under no obligation whatsoever because he has in the Philippines not a few Indians who pay tribute, but who do not have sufficient ministers to instruct them. Also there are many heathen, who, because their land is not yet conquered, are without any knowledge at all of the holy Gospel. (Cevicos, 1627, p. 111)

This quotation suggests that even from the earliest days of the Formosan settlement, the Spanish were thinking in terms of how to prioritise their dealings with indigenous people, with the Formosans, on the periphery of the empire, not being high on the list. One undated document, probably from the late 1590s, between two governors of the Philippines, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas and Francisco Tello, illustrates a developing change in attitude when settling new islands, and a change in priorities when dealing with indigenous people. In Cebu and Manila, indigenous people were an immediate concern when creating new settlements. By the late 1590s the creation of a stronghold, according to the following quotation, became the first priority, before any significant interaction with the indigenous people was even considered:

> I think that once they have arrived on that island, they should, with all possible swiftness and urgency, try to occupy the port which is the strongest and most secure place around, and erect a good fort on it without delaying or distracting themselves with attempts at subjugating or pacifying the natives. Rather, they must finish things one at a time: first, the fort to defend the island against any enemy – Japanese, natives or others. [...] Once this is accomplished, there will be time; and the pacification, conquest or any other suitable measure may be done with more confidence and ease. (N/A, 1597b, p. 29)

The quotation assumes that 'pacification' would follow once the stronghold was created but in Formosa that proved not to be the case. Here, the strongholds were created but the 'conquest' did not follow. As the missionary de la Madre de Dios states: 'They made no attempt to conquer the natives but instead engaged in trade and business.' (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 300) One report written after Formosa had been abandoned alludes critically to the assertion that the Spanish made no attempt to conquer the indigenous people: 'Instead of spending the royal funds on what the King commands, which is to conquer the natives for God and to make them the King's vassals, they spend money on their own comforts.' (Quirós, 1643, p. 455) Once again we see the long-term consequences of the decisions made during the first moments of the settlement. The issue of indigenous–Spanish relations was, from the Spanish point of view, swiftly and significantly resolved in Cebu and Manila, but would never be resolved in Formosa.

This is not to say that there were no ambitions to incorporate indigenous people into the empire. There is evidence that the Spanish expected Formosans to be taxed eventually. Even after the settlement had been established for six years, however, according to the following quotation by Aduarte, the time to begin taxing indigenous people had not yet arrived: 'What is known is that this land has gold, silver and sulphur mines – and not just a few [...] On these [mines] tribute may be imposed on the natives, once it is deemed just and reasonable to do so.' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 193)

One of the only other mentions of taxation in the Formosan documents is revealing because it does not mention the indigenous people at all. Instead, referring to Tamsui, Esquivel reports that Japanese workers could be imported: 'They said that this year, they would give any spare fields, tax free, to workers who wanted to cultivate them, which would greatly suit some houses of poor labourers from Japan.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 185)

This difference in the treatment of indigenous people is perhaps also reflected in a document written between 1627 and 1633 by Domingo González, where he discusses the potential taxation of the Formosan indigenous people. This is the same moralist who justified the creation of a settlement in Keelung. This document takes the form of a series of questions and answers:

> Question: What form of just tribute may be imposed on the natives of Isla Hermosa, considering that they are not going to render obeisance to our King, unless through force, and without having to cite [the cases] of the other provinces of the Indies? These very same doubts may apply to almost all of them at the onset.

> Answer: This is a very serious matter. We will find out what is just only after hearing many other opinions. (González, 1627?, p. 214)

We can see that taxing indigenous people was clearly an issue, and was certainly planned and expected if the Formosan settlement was to be maintained and expanded. However, rather than giving a straightforward recommendation, González chooses not to give a definitive response, reflecting a complex situation but also giving an early hint that the Formosan settlements were not going to gain any long-term traction: no solution would be found to this 'very serious matter'.

One final detail illustrates that the long-term plans that the Spanish had for the indigenous people of Formosa. Esquivel in particular saw that if the colony was to become entrenched, dealings with the indigenous people would have to become intergenerational. This meant that indigenous people should be not only taxed and turned into workers but schooled by the Spanish. Kooiman identified the importance of education to missionaries in Africa in his essay about missionary education in Travancore in the 1930s: 'Right from the beginning education formed an important and legitimate part of the missionary endeavour.' (Kooiman, 1996, p. 155) Kooiman goes on to explain why education was important for missionaries: 'The general idea was that before people could acquire knowledge of the Christian truth, their mind had first to be cleared of all superstition and ignorance.' (Kooiman, 1996, p. 158) In Formosa, education was also seen as an important way to legitimise missionary work:

> Finally, assuming that the situation of these ministries are such and that the natives remain so meek and peaceful that we may be able to do something among them, it will be necessary to follow the footsteps of the priests and others like them in the education of children in the faith through reading, writing, playing musical instruments, singing, and serving at home and at the altar. These children will grow up obeying the Lord because this is what they have learned from the priest. When they get married, they will govern their towns and with their good example lead others away from their drunken feasts and superstitious beliefs. (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 188)

The Spanish wanted to project an image of permanence. We've seen how marriage, dwellings, work, taxation and education were issues that the Spanish were looking at when trying to embed their colony in Formosa and incorporate indigenous people into the larger Spanish empire's state, in ways delineated by Scott (Scott, 2009). We have looked at the plans to tax indigenous people in Formosa but also noted how, compared to the Philippines, they did not take shape. In itself, this reveals the lack of Spanish success in Formosa in the 1600s,

enabling us, for the first time, to express what the Spanish both did and didn't achieve, in their own terms.

Expansion and retreat: Tamsui

In the Spanish documentation, specific dates are given for the incursion into Keelung, not least in Aduarte's account (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 72). There is no such equivalent account of the expansion into Tamsui and precise dates are unknown, although the Spanish were in that area by 1628 (Andrade, 2009, p. 89). This section focuses on the indigenous people's role in the second Spanish settlement at Tamsui. Most of the information available about Tamsui was written, once again, by missionaries. We will look at the missionary work done on the island in the chapter *Missionaries and indigenous people*, but here focus on the relations between indigenous people and the Spanish in general to gain as compete a picture as possible of the cosmos (Ginzburg, 2013) of indigenous people in the 1600s here at the time of the Spanish settlement.

There are even fewer details of the taking of Tamsui than there are of Keelung, but the details that we do have construct a story that is, by now, familiar. Aduarte wrote, in the following quotation from a chapter of his history *Regarding the first church founded amongst the natives of Tamchuy [Tamsui] in Isla Hermosa [Formosa] and the events surrounding this*:

> When they saw the Spaniards, they feared their proximity and therefore went further into the land and divided themselves into smaller groups. The majority settled in a place called Senar, a league away from their old homestead, and a league and a half from our fort. (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 221)

The taking of Tamsui has barely been noted in previous analyses because these are almost the only details available. Instead, the settlement is often presented almost as a *fait accompli*, as the second main feature of the Spanish story in Formosa[3]. Nonetheless, when we look at events from the indigenous point of view, we can see that there was nothing automatic or inevitable about the Tamsui settlement. Phrases such as the following, which appears in the paragraph following the previous quotation, hint at the violence that took place:

> After the first sounds of war have died down and the fears of the natives dispelled, two priests went to reassure them, to offer them peace and to try to found a church among them. (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 221)

[3] 'The Spanish established a fortress in the Bay of Jilong (雞籠) in northern Taiwan in 1626, just two years after the Dutch established their colony in southern Taiwan. Shortly thereafter the Spanish built a fortress in Danshui (淡水) [Tamsui]'. (Andrade, 2009, p. 80)

Most noteworthy here are the phrases 'first sounds of war' and 'offer them peace'. As with the Spanish descriptions of the incursion into Keelung, a few short words, when looked at against the grain, allude to an untold story that involves invasion by the Spanish and fleeing by the indigenous people. These short phrases suggest that peace needed to be forged after battles and deaths between the Spanish and the indigenous people. Despite their moral debates, it appears that the Spanish once again failed to gain permission from the indigenous people to occupy their land, which ultimately led to violence.

It is rarely commented on but, given the circumstances, it is difficult to view the creation of a second settlement as reflecting positively on the first. Rather, in the light of the brevity of the Spanish settlement as a whole, it can be seen as an attempted reboot of the colony to improve the situation of the Spanish in Formosa. There are precedents for similar moves. After four years in Cebu, for example, the Spanish searched for a new, better settlement, on an island called Panay, according to Spate: 'Legazpi left, not for New Spain but for Panay, better-found than Cebu (whose resources were now badly strained).' (Spate, 2004, p. 103) Just a year later, the Spanish went on to explore and take over Manila, a site that proved much more advantageous, as explained in one letter to the King of Spain: '[Legazpi] left, in the year following (of seventy-five) the island of Panae [Panay], where he had settled, for that of Luzon, because the latter is well populated and has a considerable trade with the neighboring islands and the mainland of China.' (Pachecho Maldonado, 1575, p. N/A) The Spanish were possibly hoping that a rebooted settlement in Tamsui would be similarly successful in Formosa. No specific reason for settling Tamsui is given in the documentation, yet some fragments do allude to the advantages of the second settlement, which by extrapolation point to some disadvantages of Keelung:

> I know that fish, our common staple which has been scarce in the island this year, is more abundant in Tamchuy [Tamsui]. The ministries that we may choose to undertake with natives of the Tamchuy river are those of Senar [...] The area is cool, pleasant and mountainous, covered with wild peach and orange trees, with a brook and pristine water springs. Located about a half a league from the fort, amidst scenic and peaceful meadows. (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 184)

What made Tamsui inviting, according to Esquivel, was that fish, peaches, oranges and water appeared to be widely available. The clue to the quality of the water was, of course, in the location's name, which stems from 'clear water' when translated into languages spoken in the area. Although consistency is not a component of any descriptions of northern Formosa at the time, the pristine water of the above description contrasts with a description of Keelung's

water by the aforementioned Passaert and Romeijn: 'The quality of the water was so bad that no man stayed healthy.' (Pessaert and Romeijn, 1627, p. 92)

The construction of indigenous people in Keelung and Tamsui

As we pointed out in the section *Why settle Keelung?*, the uniqueness of the indigenous people in the Keelung area at the time of the Spanish settlement was noted in Andrade's *How Taiwan Became Chinese*. Unlike in the south, the lifestyle of people in the Keelung area in particular principally involved 'trade and handicrafts.' (Andrade, 2009, p. 31)

Andrade goes on to delineate the way in which the nearest neighbours of the Spanish in Keelung, the Quimaurri and the Taparri people, were unique: 'They were, so far as we know, the only Austronesian people on Taiwan who relied on neither agriculture nor hunting and gathering. Instead, they made their living through trade. To the Chinese they offered sulfur, deerhides, and gold in exchange for beads, ironwares, and textiles.' (Andrade, 2009, p. 84)

This conclusion is drawn from information given in Jacinto Esquivel's documents, where he describes the people as traders rather than, for example, farmers or hunter-gatherers:

> The natives of Quimaurri and Taparri are of the same stock and all those from Quimaurri are Taparris. They have the same customs and traits. They are divided and try to outshine each other, but not to the extent of preventing inter-marriages or other forms social relations. They live on fishing, hunting, salt making and fashioning arrows, houses, clothes, and knives. They do not plant as the other natives do because they do not know how. Still, they serve as farmhands for the rest, the way the sangleys work for us, as they are always bustling about. They are friendly and mingle with the other villages with whom they barter manual work for rice and corn. (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 166)

Esquivel gives more details about the people of Quimaurri in his other document, *A situationer*: 'They live like gypsies or sangleys, going from one village to another, making for them houses, arrows, clothes, hatchets and pre-selling their cuentas and stones. After they have consumed the rice that they had gathered during that period, they would go back for another two months to engage in the same activity.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 183)

Taking into account the reluctance of Keelung's indigenous people to interact with the Spanish, as introduced in earlier chapters, the livelihood of these indigenous people takes on added importance. The Spanish, in taking Keelung, had occupied their first stronghold on an island. We've already highlighted Keelung's advantages and disadvantages, being strategically excellent on an overseas, regional scale but relatively isolated in local terms. In

addition, the nearest indigenous people were not farmers, meaning that the Spanish could not simply take over control of nearby farmland and integrate its people into the empire.

On the other hand, as the people of Keelung appear to be traders, we might expect to find evidence of them trading with the Spanish. However, this is not the case. Instead, Esquivel constructs what we might define as 'trade' in a pejorative way:

> These Taparris and the Quimaurris used to be the pirates in this island and are craftier than the other natives; they are not as simple and as good-natured as the rest. (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 183)

In the 1600s, one person's 'trade' was perhaps another's 'piracy'. Esquivel does not see the way these people make a living in positive terms. These circumstances make it all the more unsurprising that the Spanish strove to set up a second settlement on the island with more potential to become self-sustaining, and with indigenous people who were less 'crafty' and more 'simple and good-natured'. Esquivel constructs Tamsui's indigenous people in a much more positive light:

> The residents of Tamchui [Tamsui] are farmers who live off their own fields and consequently remain in their towns, unlike those of Quimaurri who do not plant nor harvest. (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 183)

Aduarte confirms this opinion of the indigenous people of Tamsui, saying that they are 'a good population of natives who have their fields nearby.' (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 220) He points out that Tamsui was noted specifically for its bountiful lands: 'In Tanchui [Tamsui] of Isla Hermosa, there are beautiful lands to live in and all types of fields, fruits and vegetables.' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 198)

It's worth noting that, in the case of these indigenous peoples, we see traders (pirates?) in the Keelung area and farmers in the Tamsui area, but there is no mention of hunter-gatherers, for example. Both communities appear to be stable and settled in villages, somewhere between Diamond's 'bands' and 'tribes' described previously (Diamond, 2005, p. 268). Esquivel seems to prefer the people of Tamsui, but this is because of that perceived simplicity and good-naturedness. We can understand why Esquivel might prefer these traits when we look at a pithy comment on farming by Mark Elvin in *The Retreat of The Elephants*: 'It must be remembered: fields end freedom.' (Elvin, 2006, p. 87) Esquivel, in describing farmers, is fitting Tamsui's indigenous people into discourses that are convenient, in our case, for the Spanish empire. Elvin writes of the disadvantages of farming: 'The work was backbreakingly hard. Those who did it were exposed to the extraction of rents and taxes, to conscription for wars and public works, and to the raids of human predators from outside.

Farming provided a less varied and healthy diet than hunting and gathering.' (Elvin, 2006, p. 87) In short, what Elvin describes as disadvantages for indigenous people are in many ways, from the colonialist's perspective, advantages. Elvin describes indigenous people who are controlled, subservient tax payers. From Esquivel's point of view, these Tamsui people are already some steps along the process of being integrated into the Spanish empire.

We have seen that one way in which Keelung contrasted with Cebu and Manila was that it was relatively peripheral to the local population. Tamsui, in the meantime, appears to have been more like its well-populated Philippine counterparts, as suggested in the following quotation: 'They entered the river of Tanchuy [Tamsui], which is very beautiful, and densely inhabited by natives.' (N/A, 1628, p. 132) In the Tamsui area, Esquivel talks of eight villages near to Senar, a further 'eight or nine' villages nearby in a place called Quipatao, and then another group of indigenous people in another area, named as Lichoco. (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 184)

Keelung and Tamsui are generally dealt with separately in descriptions of the Spanish settlement, but there is evidence that the indigenous groups from these areas were not isolated from each other, and even worked together: 'The sangleys, who go about bartering their trinkets for the natives' gold, sulphur, liana, hide and such things, have, in their greed, required the natives of the island to ask us to pay for what they sell us in silver so that they (the sangleys) could collect more from them; and they have succeeded in getting more silver that way. The natives of Quimaurri and Taparri, who are worldlier and who know this way around, taught this practice to the natives Of Tamsui, who were previously ignorant of the value of silver.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 177)

Events in Tamsui reveal Esquivel's characterisation to be reductively optimistic. When looking at the events that took place, we can see that the brief story of the Spanish settlement in Tamsui is dominated by indigenous rebellions that begin even before the settlement was established, and includes attacks on soldiers, missionaries and the fort of Tamsui itself. Eventually the Spanish were forced to abandon the area, making one last face-saving gesture before retreating to Keelung.

In Keelung we have no documentary evidence that leaders were identified and usurped. In Cebu and Manila, agreements were made with local leaders, giving the Spanish access to a local power base. Tamsui, in this regard, was once again more like the settlements in the Philippines as there is concrete evidence showing that the Spanish identified and dealt with local leaders here. Where Tamsui differs from Cebu and Manila is that there is never a sense of the Spanish having a significant, definitive grasp on the area: it seems that these are more 'big men' rather than 'chiefs', as defined by Jared Diamond (Diamond, 2005, p. 268–273).

The following quotation shows that the indigenous people of Tamsui at some point appeared to see some prestige in allying themselves with the Spanish: '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.' (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 222)

This is not the only example of indigenous people actively wanting to work with the Spanish, at least in documents by Esquivel and Aduarte: 'Another leader of Lichoco, upon witnessing in Taparri that I have asked the Spaniards to free some native prisoners and to return to them their corn stock, also say, "Is this a priest? Well, if the other leaders want one, then I, too, want a priest for my town".' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 182)

Noteworthy here is that we can see a rivalry between indigenous groups at least seeming to be to the benefit of the Spanish: if one leader has a priest, it leads to another leader wanting the same. Events are very much seen through Spanish eyes, however, and we can also, looking at these texts against the grain, ultimately see these quotations as evidence of Spanish weakness in the area. The Spanish make alliances but they are not strong enough to dominate all indigenous groups. The rebellions seem to take place when such indigenous groups, instead of fighting each other, join forces and fight the Spanish.

Leaders in the Tamsui area become a significant part of the Spanish story, in particular, as part of two documented rebellions in Tamsui, the former by a 'Jesuit father' (Primary N/A, 1628, p. 129) and the latter by Aduarte. We can see the convoluted web of allegiances in play in both incidents. The first of these rebellions is recounted in a document dated 30th July 1628. A relief ship from the Philippines arrived in Formosa, and the following was reported:

> There was a chief on the river of Tanchuy [Tamsui], not far from our fort, who professed great friendship with our men for reasons of state, which exist even among barbarians. These reasons were that the chief had long-standing wars with another whose domain was on the other side of the river – and he wished to have our men on his side for whatever might happen. Trusting his friendship, and forced by want, the commander sent Captain Antonio de Vera with 20 Spaniards to the said river of Tanchuy to bring back rice for our men, for that is their ordinary bread, and that country abounds with it. Captain Antonio Vera and his 20 Spaniards remained one or two months with the chief of Tamchuy [Tamsui], who feasted with them but did not end up giving them the provisions to return. The captain became suspicious about the delay and so he sent for more men from the fort to negotiate with harquebuses what they could not with good will; but these were not sent. The chief secretly met with his

> opponent and made peace with him. One day, he went hunting with Don Antonio and the other Spaniards and they suddenly attacked them, killing the said captain and seven others, who first sold their lives, and desiring death itself, killed some of these false friends who were really their enemies – among them, the very chief who contrived that treachery. (N/A, 1628, p. 131)

The structure of alliances and enmities here has interesting parallels with a second rebellion, also in Tamsui, this time focusing on the missionary Francisco Váez:

> Wishing to spread the name of our Lord God and his holy Faith, Fr. Francisco tried to establish a church in another village called Pantao, whose natives were friends of the Spaniards but enemies of Senar [...] Fr. Francisco informed those of Pantao about his idea and desire, and they welcomed it. They indicated the day that the Father was to go and start constructing the church. This was why he returned to Senar with great joy. And he invited their chiefs so that, as people who had known the Father and the church for a few days so that they might accompany him in this act and to help celebrate the dedication of the new church. The natives [Senar] responded favorably at that moment, but when they discussed the matter among themselves that night, they did not think it was a good idea. They drank and thought worse about the matter and ended up deciding to kill Fr. Francisco. A native friend heard of this and told Fr. Francisco about it. (Aduarte, 1640e, p. 240)

Váez's death is described as follows:

> When they saw him approach, they began to shoot arrows at him. At the lead was the chief of the uprising [...] cruel barbarians as they are; and they continued to shoot at him. The holy martyr fell on his knees and, invoking the Most Sweet Name of Jesus, offered Him his blessed soul, his holy body pierced with arrows everywhere. (Aduarte, 1640e, p. 240)

What is striking about these two scenes is that, once the different writing styles are taken into account, the structures of both accounts are very similar, ultimately replicating the same discourse while describing different events. The anonymous Jesuit father who wrote the former text gives his scenes a more military framing, while Aduarte emphasises religion in his scene, as we now come to expect. This contrast notably replicates the framing of the two texts that describe the initial invasion of Keelung, also by an anonymous Jesuit and Aduarte.

The discourses of both texts begin with professions of friendship and trust between one group of indigenous people and the Spanish. Captain Antonio de Vera is 'trusting his friendship' with a Tamsui chief; Váez works with a village who are 'friends of the Spanish.'

A third party, another indigenous group, appears in both scenes. In both cases they are the enemies of the former indigenous group. For example, there is a reference to the chief's 'opponent' in the former account, and the 'enemies of the Senar' in the latter.

Suspicions are noted in both accounts. The former account's captain is 'suspicious of the delay,' whilst in the latter 'the natives did not come'. Next is the most uncertain part of both accounts, being a discussion behind the Spanish protagonists' back where the indigenous people plot their betrayal.

In the former account, 'The chief secretly met with his opponent and made peace with him'; in the latter, 'they discussed the matter among themselves that night.' This is the point in both accounts where a certain amount of artifice is possibly revealed: how could the Spanish know what the indigenous people did? Aduarte acknowledges this paradox, adding: 'A native friend heard of this and told Fr. Francisco about it.' (Aduarte, 1640e, p. 240) It is a rather unsatisfactory explanation leading to more questions, such as how Aduarte could have learned this information from Fr. Francisco, who died during the events recounted.

Both accounts conclude using the same structure. The indigenous group, now allied with their former enemies, contrive to kill the Spanish. In the former account, they suddenly attack the Spanish, 'killing the said captain and seven others.' Váez, according to Aduarte's actively religious account, dies a martyr's death involving five hundred arrows.

Said talks about texts as being 'representations as representation' rather than true depictions of the Orient, when he says: 'My analysis of the Orientalist text therefore places emphasis on the evidence, which is by no means invisible, for such representations as representations, not as "natural" depictions of the Orient. [...] The things to look at are style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances, *not* the correctness of the representation nor its fidelity to some great original.' (Said, 2003, p. 21) In this light, we can see the similar structures of these two accounts as evidence of such 'representations as representations,' reminding us that the texts contain hints of fictionality and narrativisation (Doran, 2013), paralleling a religious discourse of Judas-like stories of betrayal. As well as, or instead of, pointing us to the truth of what happened, these texts reveal the underlying discourse behind Spanish representations of dealings with indigenous people, one that puts the Spanish in a positive light and reveals the indigenous people to be treacherous and untrustworthy, reflecting that most notorious example of betrayal from the bible.

Although it is difficult to reframe such accounts from an indigenous point of view without resorting to fictional speculation, we can reflect on this fundamentally colonial situation that very much favours the Spanish. Therefore, reading these accounts against the grain, we could

speculate that there is an undocumented alternative version of these rebellions where the indigenous people are not painted in such a negative light. It is not difficult to understand why the Spanish would want to see friendship and trust at the beginning of their accounts. However, it is equally easy to see that the indigenous people involved, far from 'only' being treacherous personifications of barbarism, could have a completely different initial view of such supposed friendship and trust in this colonial context: just because the Spanish were saying they were friends, this does not mean that the indigenous people ever had a reason to think in the same way. This in itself perhaps goes some way to help us understand why the two indigenous rebellions recounted here took place, as well as the one that is yet to come.

The Spaniards' attempt to found a more propitious settlement seems to have merely resulted in them splitting their resources in two, for little reward. Intransigent indigenous people proved a decisive factor in the failure of Tamsui. Meanwhile, any difficulties in Tamsui compounded the ones in Keelung just by the fact that two settlements now needed supplies. Travel between the two was problematic: 'Because it is very difficult to provide fish and other basic necessities from the fort [Sto. Domingo/Tamsui], much less from the island [Santísima Trinidad/Keelung] which is some six leagues away – one league through rough terrain and five flanked by rough and stony banks that are difficult to trek.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 184) Aduarte, in the meantime, describes a journey by Esquivel from Tamsui to Keelung, concluding with the following: 'Finally, they arrived in the city of San Salvador so broken and exhausted that he confessed to having gone through much.' (Aduarte, 1640b, p. 208)

Esquivel's documents date from 1632 but, despite his optimism about the local inhabitants, the Tamsui settlement would be short-lived. The order to abandon it came within five years of Esquivel's document, as evidenced by a letter from the Spanish governor of the Philippines, Sebastián de Corcuera, to the King, dated 20th August 1637. In what can only be taken as a face-saving move, indigenous people are mentioned as part of the Spanish retreat: 'All the forces, artillery and ammunition should be gathered in the castle of San Salvador. And having first dealt the natives a good blow to punish them for the past disorder, he [Palomino[4]] should have the fort of Tamchuy [Tamsui] and the other smaller forts demolished and burnt.' (Hurtado de Corcuera, 1637, p. 276)

Hurtado de Corcuera mentions a third rebellion as part of his reasons for abandoning the settlement: 'It is two years today since they assaulted the fort of Tamchuy and burned the houses inside. That fort housed 50 Spaniards and it was very difficult and laborious for the soldiers to survive in a hut from where they tried to recover what was lost.' (Hurtado de Corcuera, 1637, p. 276)

[4] The Spanish governor of Formosa at that time.

Confirming a discourse that was already being forged with those parallel rebellions described above, Hurtado de Corcuera states: 'As regards the conversion to Christianity, there is nothing to expect from the natives because they are a terrible folk. Their treachery during this period has done considerable damage.' (Hurtado de Corcuera, 1637, p. 276) His words contrast markedly with Esquivel's initial, hopeful descriptions of the residents of Tamsui, when he said they were unworldly, simple and open, especially when compared to the people in the Keelung area.

Indigenous people and missionaries

In a document dated 18th July 1627, the Archbishop of Manila gave official permission to the Dominican order to 'administer the holy sacraments' (García Serrano, 1627, p. 95) to the Formosan indigenous peoples in the area. This granting of permission seemed to be something of a formality, particularly because the same document stated that one missionary, Fray Bartolomé Martínez, was already working at 'converting those souls' (García Serrano, 1627, p. 95) of the Formosan indigenous people he encountered.

The document gives some idea of the plans for Dominican missionaries on the island:

> We grant the Order of Lord St Dominic (the faculty to) administer the holy sacraments to the inhabitants of Isla Hermosa [Formosa] – to preach and instruct them in the Holy Faith, and to give them doctrine in the same way as the other religious orders and native sectors do in Cagayan and in other places. (García Serrano, 1627, p. 95)

The above quotation confirms that the type of missionary work done in Formosa was similar, if not the same, as in other areas such as Cagayan in the Philippines. When exploring the theme of missionary work, therefore, this comment, in linking Formosan missionary work with the Philippines, enables us to incorporate discourses of indigenous people and missionary work from both areas into our analysis.

Many reasons were given for invading and settling Formosa. The Spanish adventure in Formosa had the potential to increase their wealth, land and political power. It was this moral battle for the conversion of indigenous people, however, that swept away doubts as to the legitimacy of the endeavour to take the north of the island. If the Spanish could argue to themselves that they were fighting God's fight, the discourse of taking Formosa wouldn't just be about earthly concepts such as money and power. This is reflected in this quotation by Fr. Domingo González in Manila, in his document justifying the conquest of Formosa in 1626: 'It is understood that the Supreme Pontiff has the right and even the divine duty to propagate the Gospel to all parts of the world.' (González, 1626, p. 58) Viewing the taking of Formosa as

a *duty* meant that it could be seen as a moral obligation. Extending this logic, the priests working in such a dangerous situation would need protecting while doing their 'divine duty': 'Our experience is that these barbarian provinces have not guaranteed the safety of our priests. Therefore whoever will be sending preachers must also give them armed escort.' (González, 1626, p. 58) Here, the missionary discourse is modified to a point where sending troops alongside missionaries begins to sound not just advisable but, from a moral point of view, mandatory: the spiritual battle becomes closely linked to a more material form of conquest.

Such chroniclers of Formosa are part of a strikingly narrow band of people: Spanish, Catholic priests. They are the principal documenters of Formosan indigenous people, yet we have barely seen them considering indigenous people as anything other than generalised pawns in this spiritual, and colonial, conquest. In this section we therefore hope to analyse the specific role of missionaries in the Formosan settlements in depth to understand how they worked with, and knew, the indigenous people they documented.

The following quotation from Aduarte is about Formosa but its content, fitting in with that generalised style that we have noted from Aduarte, means that it can be seen as Aduarte's discourse of 'perfect' missionary work:

> Another lay brother [probably Francisco de Acevedo] [...] went to Isla Hermosa [Formosa] with the first fathers, lived among the natives, unharmed and unmolested by anyone, some five years before they were finally subdued. He somehow learned their language through his dealings with them, and they, and their own, loved him as they would a father. He baptized about 17 of them, children and dying adults. He brought many of them down from the mountains, to the place where they had fled from the Spaniards, in order to live with them along a small inlet in the middle. And they have formed a fairly-populated village called Camaurri [Quimaurri], whose neighborhood increases by the day. It already has a house and a church in the event that a father should come and settle there. Meanwhile, those of the convent visit them from time to time. There are sick people among them, which is not unusual, and they render them many good works which, up to now, is like fishing with a rod – [that is,] one by one. (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 224)

This passage is particularly fruitful, in many ways both summarising and establishing the written discourse with regards to missionary work for us to analyse in this chapter.

Some of the factors summarised in this passage, including language learning, fleeing and returning, have been mentioned previously. Looking at the above quotation, we can summarise some of the elements of missionary work we will analyse in this section:

1. The process of fleeing from the Spanish then returning to villages.
2. The importance of different types of indigenous people in the missionary process, in this case children and the sick.
3. Language learning.
4. Missionary techniques, involving 'many good works', 'fishing with a rod' and the previously mentioned 'befriending them through gifts.' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73)

The first element involves looking at how missionaries created opportunities to meet indigenous people. This is followed by looking at patterns in the types of indigenous people the Spanish met, showing for example the prominence of old people and children in missionary accounts but noting the relatively high value of adults compared to the very old and young. The third element examines one of the key elements of communication between indigenous people and the Spanish – language learning – looking at achievements and failures in this regard. We will then analyse the techniques missionaries used, including 'befriending through gifts', and also look at explicit displays of power and spectacle when dealing with local inhabitants.

After examining these factors, in this section we will go on to examine missionary life in practice amongst indigenous people, looking at glimpses of everyday interaction between the two groups. Finally, to conclude this section, we will focus on the glimpses of missionary work we can find in the less well-documented later years of the settlement, moving beyond the optimism of Aduarte and Esquivel, who both left the island in 1632, to look at the settlement's decade of decline.

Meeting indigenous people

After the incursion into Keelung but before missionary work could begin, a problem presented itself. Spanish soldiers had caused 'offense' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73) to the indigenous people, but the missionaries now needed to create opportunities to meet these same people. Various ways of doing this were used, from actively going out and looking for potential converts, to creating an environment where indigenous people would themselves introduce new converts to the missionaries.

The discourse of the wandering missionary as explorer is one key way in which missionaries are constructed in Spanish documents. Such missionaries, both exploring and settling villages, are not restricted to Formosa, one version of this being the 'itineration' described in

the following quotation: ‘One of the classical methods of evangelism was through what was known as itineration: going on long tours for days or weeks at a time.’ (Oddie, 1996, p. 198) The discourse of the missionary searching for converts in new places had long been developed in Spanish documents about the Spanish Pacific empire. For example, Fr. Pedro Chirino’s 1604 account of the Philippines describes evangelism near to Manila: ‘The principal village of this district is called Balayan [...] During several years an apostolic man of that order preached there, named Father Juan de Oliver, whose holy teaching shone forth in the piety and devotion of that people.’ (Chirino, 1604)

The idea of looking for people to work with is deployed by Chirino himself: ‘I was in the habit of walking through the principal streets twice a day, morning and night, when I would send boys on both sides of the street to discover and indicate to me those who desired confession and baptism.’ (Chirino, 1604) He gives more details here, illuminating one encounter between the missionary and indigenous people:

> One day, when busied in this my occupation, I passed by a group of their chiefs, who, upon perceiving me, formed a row on one side of the street and saluted me all together, uncovering their heads, and making a low bow. I, inclining my head, removed my cap and passed on. They appreciated my politeness, and considered themselves so favored and honored by it that, upon my return, they displayed the same courtesy, standing in line, and then they all fell upon their knees, as if they desired to excel me in politeness; for that which I had shown them when I first approached seemed to them all too much. (Chirino, 1604)

Noteworthy here is that the missionary emphasises the politeness and courtesy with which missionaries, in this context, presented themselves to indigenous people. It was a style of behaviour, the ‘good example’ – a phrase used by both Aduarte (Aduarte, 1640c, p. 86) and Esquivel (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 188) – that Chirino at least wants to construct as reaping rewards.

Jacinto Esquivel, alongside Aduarte, exemplifies this discourse in Formosa. Esquivel himself stayed on the island for up to two years, settling in two principal locations: in Keelung for eight months, and then for some months in Tamsui (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 162). He moved between exploring and settling. Note Aduarte’s heroic construction of Esquivel in the following passage from his history of the Philippines: ‘And when this saintly man arrived, he resolved to live in this village by himself, amidst such people, and to work at their conversion, unmindful of the risks to which he exposed himself, one who desired death for such a just cause. Thus, he was the first to purposely live among these people and the one who worked the most at converting them.’ (Aduarte, 1640b, p. 204) Esquivel also appears to have spent

much time exploring the north of Taiwan, leading to descriptions such as the following: 'If one walks from the fort [Tamsui] along the sea coast towards the Dutch fort, the first villages that he finds are those of Pantao.' (Esquivel, 1632, p. 169)

Esquivel isn't the only example of such a missionary in Formosa, however. Aduarte's report of Francisco Váez emphasises this construction of the missionary as an explorer, looking for souls to covert. He reports the confidence of this missionary as he walks alone amongst the indigenous villages: 'Walking through the land he went through those villages and walked among them alone and confident – or so he thought – as if he were in his own land.' (Aduarte, 1640e, p. 239) Such an action appears to be a badge of honour, a sign that the new land is being successfully pacified. Nevertheless, in this passage Aduarte cannot help but add that sour note – 'or so he thought' – being one example of explicit narrativisation, the dramatic irony reflecting the fact that this chapter of Aduarte's work is actually about the death of Váez at the hands of the indigenous people of Tamsui.

Chirino wrote about the frontier in the Philippines in his 1604 work, showing how missionaries went out to look for indigenous people. Esquivel did the same about Formosa, as did other missionaries such as Váez. However, there was another way in which missionaries managed to find people to convert, nearer to the Spanish stronghold. We have discussed fleeing, as well as patience and a sense of permanence as tactics used by the Spanish. Missionaries played a part in this, attracting indigenous people to nearby settlements after the material conquest took place.

When he discusses Tamsui, Aduarte describes the way in which the Spanish missionaries attempted to make friends with indigenous people after a battle: 'After many days and after having calmed down, the father and his companion visited them. Through his modesty and example, he [Fr. Bartolomé Martínez] got what he wanted from them, which to establish on that spot a church named after the Virgin of the Rosary; and this, to the great pleasure of those same natives.' (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 221) A similar process occurred in Keelung, as has previously been noted in the phrase: 'now that they have seen the advantage of dealing with us, it is like a magnet that attracts hearts of iron.' (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 220)

Referring to Tamsui, Aduarte talks in terms of 'modesty and example', but, reading this account against the grain, particularly exploring the power relations involved here, reveals the complexity of this situation. Remembering that Aduarte wants to portray a positive version of events involving Spanish success and particularly Dominican achievement, we see hints of another version of events: a group of indigenous people has been attacked and then visited by members of the attacking group, who tell them the fighting has ended and that friendship is now expected. It is difficult to see how such an act would elicit a positive

response unless there was a concrete motive. In Tamsui, we are given one such reason why the indigenous people returned to their old lands: 'The natives came, although with some difficulty, to gather the harvest from their fields nearby.' (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 225) As soon as the indigenous people returned, the missionary work began: 'Because of this, Captain Luis de Guzmán went to the spot with his camp laborers and, in a few days, built a house and a church of wood and straw common to that land and brought there the image of Senar.' (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 225)

This appears to have been the most successful way of meeting indigenous people in Formosa. When the Spanish were forced out, with Spanish Tamsui having been abandoned five years early and with little direct evidence of work with indigenous people during the later years in Keelung, even the most negative of accounts of relations with indigenous people concede that most converts were in Quimaurri, the indigenous village neighbouring the Spanish settlement. This is from the testimony of one soldier, Andrés Carrillo, after Formosa had been abandoned by the Spanish: 'Only one village of Isla Hermosa [Formosa], and no other, called Quimaurri, which would have more or less 50 houses, submitted to the faith.' (N/A, 1644a, p. 550) Perhaps, in order to understand this, we can see a form of selection, voluntary or involuntary, taking place. In patterns repeated in both Cebu and Manila, residents of Quimaurri must have known that the Spanish were nearby and that staying involved cooperation on some level.

We've looked at the explorer-settler missionary and the role of missionaries in encouraging indigenous groups to return to their homes near Spanish settlements. In these two situations, the missionaries made contact with indigenous people. Looking at the early settlements in the Philippines, we can see another key way in which missionaries attracted indigenous people. For example, during the earliest days of the Cebu settlement, we see this early interaction with indigenous people:

> On Tuesday 5 June [1565], the chiefs returned to our camp and said they came to spend time with the Governor [Legazpi], who received them well, and he gave them lunch and a drink at their pleasure, and the most beneficial thing occurred: they brought with them other chiefs who live high in the mountains, and they came to submit and swear allegiance to HM, kissing the hands of the Governor they promised the same as those before them. (N/A, 1565b, p. 108)

Here we see how friendly dealings with indigenous people attract other groups to the side of the Spanish. Instead of going out and looking for indigenous people, in this case the Spanish hope to encourage indigenous people to come to them. When considering the significance of such tactics in the Philippines, we can see that similar hints of such tactics have already been

described in Formosa, for example in the rivalry that caused some indigenous groups to request more priests,[5] and in those early dealings with the Japanese Christian who helped the Spanish make contact with other indigenous groups: '[the Japanese Christian] went to the Real, knowing that the Spaniards came in peace. He made this known to the natives and played a great role in convincing them to make contact with the newcomers.' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73) In Formosa, as in Cebu, we see that missionaries developed their relationships with one group of people, hoping that friendly groups would introduce them to other friendly groups.

Who did the Spanish meet?

Throughout Spanish documents about the Pacific empire in the 1500s and early 1600s there are many examples of missionaries meeting indigenous people. Patterns quickly emerge with regards to the type of person encountered, which were replicated in Formosa in the 1620s and 1630s. Noticeable in particular is that these encounters could involve individuals. These are indeed some of the few times that 'ordinary' indigenous people – that is, non-leaders – are represented in Spanish documents as individuals, not just as part of amorphous groups. In this context, however, they are always part of a religious discourse and rarely, if ever, develop individual traits. For example, they are rarely anything but very young or old, ill or dying. It is nevertheless interesting to see the patterns of people met by missionaries in Formosa, uncovering a largely unmentioned part of society, perhaps a 'history from below' within a 'history from below'.

Episodes such as the following fit into the same groups of idealised missionary discourses we have previously mentioned. This quotation describes events in a place listed as Dulac in a 1602 letter written by Father Francisco Váez:

> Two of Ours, happening to enter a wretched rustic hut, found a man more than eighty years old lying upon some reeds. He was deprived of all his senses and his whole body was so worn out that the skin scarcely adhered to his bones – a living image of death. Our fathers pitied the man, and prayed to God for him that He would not deny His compassion to this most pitiable of men. Soon after, the dying man revived, and with great joy received baptism. As soon as he had received it he was again deprived of his senses, and, gently calling on the names of Jesus and Mary, he rendered up his soul to God. (Váez, 1601)

All of the details fit in with the general discourse the Spanish created of indigenous people: the 'wretched rustic hut' and the pitiable indigenous man are unsurprising constructions of

[5] 'Another leader of Lichoco, upon witnessing in Taparri that I have asked the Spaniards to free some native prisoners and to return to them their corn stock, also say, "Is this a priest? Well, if the other leaders want one, then I, too, want a priest for my town".' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 182)

an indigenous person. The discourse of the Spanish missionary as saviour is repeated once again, this time offering compassion and joy.

In Formosa, a strikingly similar event is recorded that would be easy to overlook if the wider Philippines context were not considered. The discourse in the following quotation almost exactly replicates the previous one – the pitiable indigenous person is rescued at the last minute by missionaries:

> There was an old man, apparently over 90 years old, in a wretched condition. As he was so old, at the brink of death and no more than a bundle of skin and bones, [the Brother] presented to Him the things of the faith through an interpreter who accompanied him. [The man] was far from believing these and, refusing to listen, put his head between his legs and stuck his fingers into his ears. (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 224)

The missionaries left, returning two days later, and after more attempts at persuasion, the incident culminates here:

> The Brother told the interpreter to try talking to the old man again, since he was about to breath [*sic*] out his soul. A marvelous thing and very much of God's hand and to the great credit of that holy man: he said that he greatly desired to become a Christian, and that he was rejecting all his superstitious beliefs and idolatry, and that he was very sorry for having offended God, that he believed in Him, who is One and Three, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. [...] He who was then unreachable became as soft as wax; and he embraced Brother in a way that he did not want to let him go, and he offered him his entire house. (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 224)

It is striking how often old indigenous people, female and male, play an important part in missionary work. They are vulnerable and weak; they cannot run away, and their closeness to death perhaps opens them up to discussions of religion that would simply not interest healthier people. Working with old people and giving them the promise of salvation, as shown in the following quote about events on Cebu Island in the Philippines, can attract more people to the faith:

> Father Miguel Gomez [...] after he had sufficiently demonstrated the vanity of idols and the truth of the Christian belief, he imparted baptism, with so great a degree of consolation to them all, although they were old men, that they all marveled. But before dawn, behold some others, men and women of very great age, who had hidden by the gate of our house that they might be initiated by means of the same sacrament. Accordingly sixty, along with six children, were initiated; and in this number was included the chief of the place, a man already more than sixty years old. (Váez, 1601)

The elderly are not only sick and dying in Spanish accounts. Here we have an example of the elderly as 'left behind' when the rest of the residents of an area have fled. It leads to a remarkably domestic scene. The power relations between the protagonists of this quotation are subtler than usual – it isn't 'the strong hero' and 'the weak dying' here – nevertheless there is a certain amount of powerplay worth unravelling:

> Father Fray Andres and those who were on land said how they had spent time with an old man and an old indian woman who would have been his wife, and a girl who would have been his daughter [...]: the language could not be understood other than with gestures and they were given some beads and some items to make peace. This reassured the old man. He seemed very content and showed the Spanish the houses and edible fruits that they had, and he gave them some, as well as some of the great quantity of fish that he had [...] and through signs he said that they should not leave that he would send for the people of that land and they would all come and they would spend time with them. When he saw that they wanted to return he showed that he was sad that they were leaving. (*Ultramar Volume 2*[6], 1886, p. 228)

This is not the only case where fitter, younger people have fled, leaving the sick and elderly behind. In terms of power relations, we can see here that there are no agendas, at least superficially, in this incident. This old man poses no threat and the Spaniards see no need to impose themselves. There is no explicit use of weapons here but the Spanish missionary is nevertheless backed by the Spanish state, whilst the old man is possibly backed by the group of people who have fled. Ultimately, both groups retreat, but it is not difficult to see how such innocuous, pleasant introductions could lead to further meetings. Note how the old man offers to introduce the Spanish to other indigenous people. In this way, apparently powerless old people can offer a route towards gaining contact with other indigenous people.

This relative powerlessness, it seems, is often key for missionaries when choosing which indigenous people to prioritise. Children, for example, are often the protagonists of missionaries' stories of the conversion of indigenous people: 'On two different days having gone to two children near to death, and deprived of the power of speech, with the [...] antidote of the gospel and of holy water, he restored both to their former health, so that one of them went so far as to jump suddenly out of his bed and return to his boyish sports.' (Váez, 1601)

There are many examples of missionaries working with the old and the dying but when talking about children a different, more optimistic, discourse is involved. The two ends of the

[6] Full Spanish title: *Colección de documentos inéditos de relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar.*

spectrum are illustrated in this quotation from Aduarte's history: 'Many children have been baptized. Their parents have [wanted this] without our forcing them. There have been a few adult baptisms, most of which have been done at a person's deathbed. The reason is that for such persons, bad habits – inherited from their ancestors – must first be uprooted before the goods of Christianity are introduced.' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 191) Although dying adults take up much of the work, to fundamentally change the 'bad habits' of indigenous people, according to this Spanish text, children must be the focus.

We have one detailed description of the process of missionary work with children in Formosa, which refers to a period around the middle of the 1630s. Aduarte once again presents a fantastical version of events, but the more we examine the following passage, the larger the gaps in this fantasy appear:

> The children and young of some towns visited by the members of the order are so familiar with the entire Christian doctrine, that it seems like they had drunk it from their mothers' breasts. Every night, they pray at the foot of the crosses that stand in their towns; and they are not yet baptized, but are still catechumens. The priests go slowly in this matter, with 'leaden feet' – as they put it –, so that the seed of the faith may fall on good soil. Some of them are already baptized and they serve the priests in the churches. They manifest such abilities that they do not appear to have come from among savages; for [indeed] they are not. Instill in them well the Christian order and they usually laugh at the superstitions which their parents and elders are given to. These superstitions are so many that they hardly move without referring to some of them. This is why it is very hard to subject the adults to the human order and to our holy faith, but many of them surrender daily, and pave the way to achieving the goal, which is their conversion. (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 220)

This passage attempts to construct a discourse of fruitful missionary work amongst children. The first sentence implies that the missionary work is very successful, but those that follow, whilst remaining doggedly positive, nevertheless report the limits of that success only. Evangelisation is proceeding with 'leaden feet'; the children are enthusiastic but only a few have actually been baptized; the children will laugh at their parents' 'superstitions', but they hardly move without referring to them. In the meantime, it is very hard to convert adults.

Aduarte, in the following quotation, makes clear that the process being undertaken in Formosa was well rehearsed. Children were clearly a vital part of the process of converting indigenous people if it was to have any long-term success: 'The adults who have long fed on their old rituals make little progress; but as for the newly baptized children who have been

nurtured on the milk of faith, at the bosom of their ministers, they will grow like them in age.' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 191)

We do not need to analyse the source documents in too much depth to find examples of children becoming pawns in the powerplay that is sometimes part of missionary work. As a form of punishment, the children of some leaders were taken as hostages to be taught the new faith, as documented by the governor of the Philippines, referring to Formosa, in 1628: 'As regards the native inhabitants, they write that they had the luck of taking some of the children of their leaders as hostages in our fort, which may be the start of much spiritual and temporal good.' (Niño de Tavora, 1628, p. 136) The notion of separating children from their parents as a form of punishment is not unique to Formosa, as we can see in the following 1609 quotation about the chief of Bantal and Buguey in Tuy, Luzon, a man named Ybarat: 'The captain told Ybarat that he would set him at liberty, if the latter's children would remain as hostages. As soon as their father told them this his children said, with great humility, that they would do as he ordered. The captain did the same with a chief who had been arrested as a disturber of the peace.' (de la Vega, 1609) This quotation is not directly related to missionary work but another quotation confirms that the Spanish thought it was useful to separate children from indigenous parents. This letter is written by a visitor of the Jesuit missions, Diego Garcia, to King Philip III of Spain, showing that such ideas were explored even at the highest level of Spanish society: 'If there were several seminaries where the education of the youth might be carefully attended to, taking them out of the power of their heathen parents, while still children (for the latter would give them up willingly), inside of a few years there would be a very prosperous Christian community in the sight of God and men.' (Garcia, 1601) The quotation ends with the following sentence, emphasising the importance of working with children: 'In my opinion there is no more effective means to establish the faith firmly among these barbarians than this.' (Garcia, 1601)

The priority given to children with regards to missionary work is reflected in the various quotations that refer to the number of baptisms on the island. Of such quotations, the following one is particularly illustrative because it shows both the importance and, in many cases, the inherent limits of baptising children: 'And in the other branches, in Senar, Taparri and Quimaurri, and Pantas [Pantao], a great number of infants were baptized. If we wanted to, we can do the same with the infants and the older children of the Quimaurri and Taparri. However, we have held back until many more people are adequately instructed and so that a baptism can take place with solemnity.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 182)

Here Esquivel alludes to a simple dilemma: baptising children is not necessarily difficult in itself, but that does not necessarily make these children followers of the religion. That

difficulty is reflected in the dismissiveness of the following quotation. Children may have been baptised but, as the Philippines governor Cerezo de Salamanca stated in 1634, it was adults who counted: 'Up to now, the members of the religious orders have not brought a single mature person to Baptism; and they are 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.' (Cerezo de Salamanca, 1634, p. 218) Vulnerable people such as the very old and the young, along with the sick, were relatively easy converts, but their lack of power ultimately gave them less immediate value. Here we can see explicit evidence in Formosa of what Willis, in his paper *The nature of a mission community*, summarises as: 'the varying status of converts' (Willis, 1996, p. 129). Cerezo de Salamanca, it seems, could dismiss all missionary work because, as he said, no 'mature person' had been baptised.

One final aspect of the role of children involves young babies. Aduarte discusses one aspect of dealing with the youngest members of society:

> The task to which [the ministers] are frequently called to is that of the poor woman natives of Isla Hermosa, as well as those of China and Japan, who kill their newly born infants when they can no longer support them. We have announced that they can bring their children to our garrison; there, they will receive pay and be raised at our expense – not to be slaves, but Christians. In this way, some children have already been baptized. They are few at the moment, but many more will come. This, more than mere words, well proves our intentions. (Aduarte, 1632, p. 192)

The discourse of the pitiful indigenous person due to be saved by the missionary is developed in a particularly powerful way here. Aduarte portrays missionaries as literally saving babies: it would be difficult to invent a more pathos-infused way to justify missionary work. Simultaneously, Aduarte also takes the opportunity to develop the discourse of the barbaric indigenous person, in this case the women who kill their children, something, as we have seen, that Esquivel also chooses to exploit early on in his document *A situationer on the conversion of the Isla Hermosa*[7]. The discourse contrasting the saviour missionary and the barbaric indigenous person couldn't be clearer here: indigenous women kill babies and missionaries save them.

When Spanish missionaries write about the elderly, the young or the infirm, women are included as part of these groups, but there is rarely anything that distinguishes between women and men in these cases. Elderly indigenous women are just as pitiable and suitable for rescue as elderly indigenous men: 'There were two old women whose conversion showed the special and admirable providence of our Lord. One of them, at least, showed an age of

[7] 'This is why mothers kill their infants by burying them alive.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 179)

more than one hundred years; and both came down with the rest from the mountains, desiring holy baptism. Hardly had they received it when, leaving this mortal life (for they could no longer sustain the burden of so many years), they were renewed and bettered by the eternal life for which our Lord in his infinite mercy had preserved them during so many years.' (Chirino, 1604)

Although no female chiefs in the Philippines and Formosan documents have been uncovered during the reading for this thesis, there are examples of influential women playing a crucial role in encouraging indigenous people to convert to Christianity. Here we see again the importance of influential, 'powerful' adults in the missionary process, illustrating why they are so highly valued. Due to the influence of the wives of chiefs, many indigenous people are converted in the examples that follow. This quotation is from chapter 74 of Chirino's *Relation of the Filipinas Islands*, titled *The many conversions to the Christian faith in Carigara and its district*: 'Father Alonso Rodriguez held another mission in a little village called Ugyao, where he baptized twenty-eight persons, among whom was the wife of the chief of the village; she was afterward an instrument for the conversion of many.' (Chirino, 1604)

There is a similar example in Magellan's first voyage across the Pacific in the following incident where the queen of Cebu is baptised, an event which, it seems, is key to the acceptance of the Spanish in Cebu and the sudden spate of baptisms that follow.

> After dinner the priest and some of the others went ashore to baptize the queen, who came with forty women. We conducted her to the platform, and she was made to sit down upon a cushion, and the other women near her, until the priest should be ready. She was shown an image of our Lady, a very beautiful wooden child Jesus, and a cross. Thereupon, she was overcome with contrition, and asked for baptism amid her tears. We named her Johanna, after the emperor's mother; her daughter, the wife of the prince, Catherina; the queen of Mazaua, Lisabeta; and the others, each their [distinctive] name. Counting men, women, and children, we baptized eight hundred souls. (Pigafetta, 1525)

Although there is no similar example of a chief's wife playing a major part in the conversion of indigenous people in Formosa, these examples at least illustrate how a high-ranking woman can be the key to the success of missionary work. There are also hints that relatively powerful women played other important roles in the conversion of indigenous people in Formosa. Santiago notes that spiritual figures in the Philippines were often women: 'When the Spaniards began the twin processes of colonization and Christianization of the Philippines in 1565, they found that the vast majority of spiritual ministers in the Islands were priestesses.' (Santiago, 1995, p. 154) The same situation was noted in Formosa, for

example when Esquivel pays specific attention to indigenous beliefs, including a 'treatment' offered by one 'sorceress': 'These old women of whom I speak are like sorceresses who speak with the devil. They say that if one wishes to be cured, he has to give them a certain sum for their services, butcher a pig and hold a drunken feast. With this, the bad spirit will be exorcised and the person will be cured.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 180)

In the *Esquivel* section of the chapter *Constructing Formosans*, we already saw how harshly Esquivel reacts to indigenous ceremonies. In Formosa, Esquivel nearly killed himself and was told to leave Tamsui due to his drunkenness. We can see similarly fervid behaviour in the Philippines, showing that Esquivel's case was not isolated and illustrating generally how serious, threatening and dangerous Spanish missionaries saw such indigenous faith to be. In the following example from the Philippines in 1596, quoted from a paper by Luciano P. R. Santiago, the fervour is not limited to a personal chastisement; rather, the priestesses themselves are punished: 'From these women [priestesses], he took all the instruments and artefacts and gathering them in the patio of the church ordered everything burned. On another day, he ordered one of these women to be whipped and the others to be unmasked, all the while destroying all the places where they used to hold their idolatries.' (Santiago, 1995, p. 158)

Santiago notes the vast gulf between indigenous belief systems and those of the Catholic priests: 'It is obvious that the western monastic values of solitude, common life which excluded one's family, male hierarchy, obedience, poverty, and celibacy (except among widows), were almost entirely alien concepts to priestesses and native women in general, which they had to adapt to with the coming of Christianity.' (Santiago, 1995, p. 158)

Such marked differences in Formosa actually proved to be advantageous for missionaries such as Esquivel, particularly when indigenous treatments were found to be ineffective. It gave the Spaniard the opportunity to pit those 'false' beliefs against the 'genuine' cures offered by the Spanish, as the missionary notes with regards to the need for a hospital in Tamsui: 'In addition, a small hospital is needed to treat the sick sangleys, Japanese – if any – and natives who are fed up with the futile medications of their old women. They go to the priests and to the Spaniards in the fort to be cured.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 185) If an indigenous cure should prove futile, Formosans could be driven to the Spanish to seek help with their illnesses.

There were other ways in which such spiritual figures could prove helpful to missionaries. If the following example is illustrative, those spiritual figures, male or female, could turn out to be some of the most valuable proponents of Christianity:

> On another mission performed by the rector of the college and another priest, there was a mighty fruit of their labors reaped in hearing confessions, in reconciling enemies, and in recalling the perverse to a better life. Twenty adults were initiated by the sacrament of baptism, having been imbued with the Christian faith by a certain blind man. He, though deprived of the use of his eyes, yet took such care of his catechumens that if a single one out of any number, however great, was missing, he regularly informed the father. We think the more of this from the fact that he who formerly was numbered among the catalons – that is, petty priests of idols – now since his conversion has become a teacher of Christian doctrine. (Váez, 1601)

It seems that, on this occasion, the indigenous priest saw potential in converting to Catholicism and assuming the religion of the conqueror. Such influential conversions – of chiefs' wives, or of significant spiritual leaders – are tellingly absent in Formosan documents. In such a generally hagiographic document as Aduarte's history, it is safe to assume that any such significant conversion would have been celebrated, which in turn is perhaps evidence of the lack of such conversions.

One of the few examples of the Spanish religion being accepted by influential leaders, documented by Aduarte in his passage about the life of Esquivel, involves the previously-described bird ceremony which so offended Esquivel, wherein 'native leaders' were responsible for interpreting the message: 'The bird came just when the Father began to doubt their intentions and was about to be sent off by the native leaders. It arrived, as it always did, and sang to them. And since they imagined this to be a sign of good tidings, they gave the Father the answer he desired: that a church be built in good time and give rise to their conversion to Christianity.' (Aduarte, 1640b, p. 206) In Tamsui, therefore, we can see that the approval, or not, of a 'big man' was the deciding factor in issues relating to religion, although we have already seen how this event negatively affected Esquivel.

We have seen how power structures were a factor when missionaries met indigenous people. This missionary focus on the ill, elderly and children means that such people are strikingly prominent in documents that often seem to be dominated by chiefs and missionaries. Despite the frequency of their appearance in such documents, however, we can see that the status of different converts can vary (Willis, 1996, p. 129). Missionaries must consider two factors whilst doing their work: the present salvation of souls, particularly those of dying people; and the self-sustaining establishment of Catholicism in the area. As we have seen, these factors involve different groups of indigenous people: the dying will die but children can lead the religion into the future. In the meantime, it is adult men and women, including

chiefs, their wives, and spiritual leaders, female and male, who are the most valuable converts for the success of missionary work.

Language

When a missionary met a Formosan indigenous person, important issues instantly arose. The learning of the local language, Aduarte stresses repeatedly in his documents, was of primary importance during the early days of the settlement in Formosa, with even the most elderly of ministers taking on this task: 'Fr Jerónimo de Morer, a man advanced in age, dedicated himself to learning the language in order to be of service during his stay there [...]' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73) In his Formosan document, *Memoir of Isla Hermosa*, Aduarte highlights both the difficulty and the primacy of learning the language, and hints at the processes involved: 'For the moment, the few of our own who are there have begun to learn the native tongue, organize it into a grammatical system, and came up with a dictionary so that others may also learn.' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 191) Although it was a key task early in the timeline of the settlement, language issues never stop taking precedence. Later in his history, Aduarte goes on to be somewhat more frank about this task in Formosa: 'Our priests experienced their most arduous ministry, learning a new and extraordinary language, without grammar or vocabulary or some other help from the land. They could not manage at the start, even paying a native to stop and to listen to him speak, and to try to learn some words. At that time, the task was dry and barren.' (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 219)

It is striking here that Aduarte points out the challenge of learning the language in Formosa as exceptionally difficult. That early 'offence' between indigenous people and the Spanish apparently meant that there were few opportunities to interact with local people and learn their language. We've noted how Esquivel, keen to promote the development of missionary work on the island, constructed language learning as simple[8], but even Aduarte seemed to see Esquivel as an exception, hinting that language learning did not really have any success before Esquivel's arrival: 'Although the religious men had attempted to learn the language of the indians, they had not lived amongst them. And when this holy man [Esquivel] arrived, he chose to go and live in this village [Taparri].' (Aduarte, 1640, p. 304) If this is the first example of linguistic success, the Spanish, it seems, had achieved little during the first six years of the settlement.

The question of how many indigenous people converted to Christianity runs throughout the Spanish documents and will be discussed in the chapter *Decline and loss*. Perhaps as pertinent to the question of indigenous–Spanish relations, however, is how many indigenous people learned Spanish. In one rare indigenous voice in the documents about the Spanish –

[8] 'The native tongue is easy to learn.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 181)

this one actually being a Dutch document about the Spanish settlement written in 1644, two years after the Spanish left the island – an indigenous person named Theodore was asked how many indigenous people spoke the language of their former European colonisers. This was his reply: 'All from Kimauri [Quimaurri], as well the adults and children, understand Spanish. However, the ones from St Jago [Santiago/Keelung] only understand Spanish partially because their priest could speak the native language.' (Theodore, 1644, p. 478)

When we attempt to analyse such statements quantitatively, gaps are revealed. We cannot unravel what Theodore means by 'understanding' Spanish, partially or otherwise. However, the key point we can take away is that the Spanish had only imposed themselves enough on 'Kimauri' [Quimaurri] – that village which immediately neighboured the Spanish settlement in Keelung – for the indigenous people to have learned the language to any notable level. This, once again, shows how important a neighbouring village was to the Spanish in their attempts to settle a land. Records indicate that Esquivel wrote a document about the arts and language of Tamsui indigenous people, which has been lost (Ocio and Neira, 2000, p. 138). Esquivel may have studied the indigenous people, but we see little evidence that indigenous people reciprocated and learned the language of the colonisers to any significant degree. This is one hint that Spanish missionary work, and relations in general, in Formosa barely ever got beyond an embryonic state.

Techniques

Formosa was not a unique testing ground for new missionary techniques. Such tactics had been used many times elsewhere in the Spanish empire before the Spanish arrived on the island. One technique used by missionaries at the earliest stages of the Formosan settlement can be traced back to the very first European voyage across the Pacific by Magellan. Here Pigafetta chronicles the meeting between Magellan and the King of Cebu: 'He embraced the captain-general to whom he gave three porcelain jars covered with leaves and full of raw rice, two very large *orade*, and other things.' (Pigafetta, 1525, p. N/A) We have seen how Aduarte, referring to Formosa just over a century later, uses the phrase 'befriending them through gifts' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73) to describe a similar way for missionaries to make friends with indigenous people.

In Cebu in the 1520s, and by extrapolation in Formosa in 1626, the indigenous peoples' status as 'others' was embedded as they accepted gifts that placed them in the colonial hierarchy, 'subject' to what Aragon terms 'asymmetrical' giving, in her paper *Twisting the gift: translating precolonial into colonial exchanges in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia* (Aragon, 1996, p. 44). Aragon describes an explicit use of gift giving in Sulawesi in the early 20th century, but similar processes, we can see, took place in Formosa: 'In western Central

Sulawesi, however, the position of political and technological strength from which Europeans initiated their exchanges left the highlanders in an unexpectedly subordinate status.' (Aragon, 1996, p. 44) That gift giving could be a specific missionary *tactic* and not just an act of altruistic generosity is explained in Aragon's paper, where she describes a specific – in this case, Protestant – process. Missionaries gave apparently unconditional gifts 'without initially asking for any material return' (Aragon, 1996, p. 44). Following this, however, the missionary expected the receiver to 'visit the religion and tell stories', which would in turn lead to more concrete demands: 'a second twist – the church collections and other requested compensations.' (Aragon, 1996, p. 44) In Aragon's description of gift giving, we see a possible example of the full implications of Aduarte's 'befriending them through gifts' phrase.

At the beginning of this section on missionaries and the indigenous people, we listed four themes to be investigated here, derived from a quotation by Aduarte. We have seen how missionaries contrived to meet indigenous people in order to convert them to Christianity; we have analysed who they prioritised and, contrastingly, who they most valued in their missionary work; we investigated how language learning was documented in Formosa; and we have looked at 'befriending through gifts'.

Moving away from Aduarte's description of idealised missionary work, one further missionary technique stands out. Indigenous people converted to Catholicism not only due to acts of generosity. Friendliness wasn't enough: it was backed by solemn Spanish power.

The following event involved the previously mentioned Japanese Christian, responsible for encouraging indigenous people to interact with the Spanish during the early days of the settlement. In the same passage, Aduarte reports that the man volunteered to have his daughters baptised, which became one of the first baptisms performed by the Spanish in Formosa. The key phrase in the following quotation is 'solemnity and pomp': 'And being Christian, he [the Japanese man] came to the point of asking that his daughters be baptized. And so that the natives might realize that this was a sublime event, he ordered the Baptism to take place with solemnity and pomp. The godfather of the two was the Sergeant Major and Officer Antonio Carreño de Valdés. There was shooting of artillery and those with harquebuses fired a military salute.' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73)

The 'solemnity and pomp' of this situation, we can see when we look at Aduarte's description against the grain, was specifically formulated in order to impress indigenous people. Aduarte explicitly states this. The firing of weapons during a religious ceremony was a choice made in order to make the natives 'realise that this was a sublime event'. This euphemistic phrase ultimately means that the Spanish were displaying their power, an action that can only also

be a tacit threat and, ultimately, a statement that the indigenous people had no choice with regards to them. This 'solemnity and pomp' was linked to religion, moreover, making clear that the missionaries' work was not just a gift-giving, language-learning, friend-making enterprise, and that indigenous choices as to whether or not to accept the friendship was being removed.

The above event took place in Keelung, but similar types of ceremony took place in Tamsui, where soldiers, with the help of indigenous people, put together the following celebration:

> With their [the indigenous peoples'] help, they made a canopy of tree branches and put together a modest display of fireworks. They were ready for this and performed an amusing sword dance. When the image arrived in the town on her platform bedecked in the best possible way, they placed her in the church. The sky cleared and the sun came out, seemingly to rejoice over the feast; and a Mass of the Virgin of the Rosary was celebrated. They brought her out in procession, with the soldiers firing their harquebuses and setting the fireworks ablaze in her honor. The dance symbolised the Queen of Heaven's taking possession of that land, casting off the ancient power over it [...] And the natives showed great rejoicing. (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 222)

Once again we see religion combined with displays of power. Here we also see Aduarte constructing the indigenous people as acquiescing completely to the symbolism of the dance and the event as a whole. Later events in Tamsui suggest that the indigenous people did not interpret these celebrations in such a straightforward way, once again exposing the particular bias of Aduarte's account.

Doubts

Aduarte gave us an idealised discourse of missionary work at the beginning of this section on missionaries and indigenous people. Esquivel, in contrast, in the following passage gives us a less perfect version of how indigenous people reacted to missionaries, which also gives some sense of a missionary working in the field:

> When I first came, they spread rumors that I carried shackles in a pouch to bind them and take them as prisoners to Manila. They directly accused me of this once, in the presence of another priest. They asked where my wife, children and possessions were. When I told them that priests neither get married nor own anything, they called me a big liar and a deceiver. The same thing happened — what's more they thought me insane — when I tried to explain to them from the catechism that we will all rise from

> the dead. They argued that some of those whom we have baptized were now dead and buried beneath their houses. (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 181)

This passage is a rare glimpse of direct interaction between Spanish missionaries and indigenous people, although it is, almost self-consciously, a Spanish missionary's version of indigenous doubts. Indeed, reading against the grain, these doubts seem a little too tidy. They construct an image of a missionary diligently working with indigenous people, listing the doubts of a typical future convert, but not mentioning any individual indigenous person or one specific discussion.

In Aduarte's description of Esquivel's life in Formosa, we get a hint of the routine of a missionary: 'He would leave after doing his thanksgiving and go to the village to visit the sick and win them for God [...].' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 208) In passing, however, Aduarte gives a detail that illustrates that, despite his generally idealised view of missionary work, out in the field the indigenous people were not necessarily as open to the new religion as he would have liked. The following words continue directly from the previous quotation: 'even at the moment of death, baptizing many, children as well as adults, who were not ready for more, bound as they were by their sins and passions, and very pained to leave behind what they and all their ancestors had always lived, knowing neither law nor fear of God [...].' (Aduarte, 1632, p. 208) Amidst idealised discourses on missionary work, the phrase 'very pained to leave behind' stands out as a reflection of what indigenous people were thinking, as opposed to what Aduarte would like them to have been thinking. It shines further light on that construction of the indigenous person as falling to their knees on cue and gratefully adopting the new religion. There are hints of reluctance and doubts.

Esquivel writes about how his relations in one indigenous village, Taparri, developed over his eight-month stay, giving further hints as to how indigenous people reacted to the missionaries in their villages in the following, somewhat ambivalent, passage:

> We have slowly grown in affection for each other to the point that they would offer me a wife. But they are disappointed to see that we do not even allow women to enter the priest's House. They had such affection for me in Taparri, where I was assigned for eight months, that when they would see me leave for another village where other Spaniards live, they would threaten to escape to the mountains if I did not return to sleep there. They believe that without a priest, they can never be sure of what the Spaniards will do to them. (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 181)

Esquivel previously gave us evidence that indigenous people questioned the new religion that was being presented to them. In the above quotation, he uses the word 'affection' to describe

his relationship with indigenous people. However, the other details in the quotation curiously undermine the affection he has professed.

The phrase 'they can never be sure of what the Spanish will do to them' reveals more powerfully than the word 'affection' why the indigenous people tolerated missionaries. It perhaps is linked to that 'solemnity and pomp' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 73) that was part of the first baptism on the island: a gentle religious ceremony backed by gunfire. When unravelling the indigenous response in this context, we are reminded of Bishop Salazar's comment that that the indigenous people of the Philippines thought of the Spanish as subjugators only (Salazar, 1583, p. N/A). Missionaries were useful, in this context, because they were able to mitigate the worst excesses of Spanish power, and if there was affection, it was a by-product of the indigenous concerns about such power.

Even in Esquivel's statement that this affection was growing, there is one further detail that undermines his own words: the use of the word 'slowly'. It is a revealing adverb, particularly when we remember the generally positive way in which Esquivel represents missionary work. Despite the people of this village apparently feeling affection towards him, paradoxically he later wrote that Taparri people had not been Christianised: 'The people of Taparri and the Quimaurri are neighbors of the Spaniards, but are not yet christianized.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 183)

However, there is also evidence that some missionary work on a day-to-day basis was having some success. Esquivel mentions officiating at a marriage ceremony between a Spaniard and a 'native girl': 'I was once officiating the marriage of a Spaniard with a native girl from a town along the river. As it is customary, the girl was bought from her relatives with clay jars, carar [*sic*], cloth, and stones. But they refused, asking instead to be paid in pesos, which was and will be done, since they had lands.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 177–178)

Nevertheless, another quotation later in the same document shines a light on an author who is clinging on to hope for improvements in the future, rather than one who is describing the events of the day: 'Finally, assuming that the situation of these ministries are such and that the natives remain so meek and peaceful that we may be able to do something among them, it will be necessary to follow the footsteps of the priests and others like them in the education of children in the faith.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 188) The phrase 'assuming' that the indigenous people 'remain meek and peaceful' reveals an underlying tension that, reading against the grain, appears nowhere near to being resolved, especially in the light of an earlier phrase in the same document: 'They [the indigenous people of Tamsui] are still extremely afraid and suspicious of us.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 181)

Aduarte appears to confirm this in *Memoirs of Isla Hermosa* where, once again, a typically positive statement from the man, when examined closely, reveals that missionary work could be better in future, rather than stating that things are going well today: 'From the letters of some and spoken words of others we know that for the conversion of the island's natives the only requirement is ministers to engage in that work.'[9] (Aduarte, 1632, p. 191)

Esquivel worked with the people of Taparri for eight months, at a point six years into the life of the Spanish settlement, yet in this village, relatively near to the Spanish in Keelung, Christianity had not gained a foothold. The missionary work in this village, by Esquivel's own admission, must have failed if these people were still not Christians: relationships between the missionaries and the indigenous people had clearly not blossomed in those six years. These details help us to judge just how 'slowly' the affection actually grew between Esquivel and the indigenous people – and more generally between Spaniards and these same people. It is not difficult to conclude affection was barely growing at all, even despite Esquivel's optimism for the future. As it turned out, any optimism was misplaced, with Esquivel's documents themselves perhaps marking the zenith, such as it was, in the life of the Spanish settlements in Formosa.

Until 1632, the date of Esquivel's documents, day-to-day missionary work had some success, within the limits described above, and missionaries such as Esquivel showed optimism for the future. With the arrival of Esquivel, language learning appeared to gain some momentum and there is evidence of missionary work being carried out enthusiastically and of indigenous people listening to missionaries. There is no single event that caused this optimism to end or prompted the decline of missionary work, but the indigenous recalcitrance that has already been noted became more serious in events such as the following, in Tamsui, in 1632:

> [The presence of our soldiers] would prevent those natives from slaughtering people who are shipwrecked near their ports, as what happened this year (1632) to a sampan of the Crown that sailed from here to Manila during the Holy Week. There were around 80 people in the boat: Spaniards, sangleys and Japanese, whom they all put to the knife. Then, to punish them, about 30 Spaniards and some Cagayan natives burned up to seven small hamlets, killing in the process 10 or 12 natives. (Aduarte, 1632, p. 163)

Missionary work is swept aside in this quotation, which is striking in its evocation of Tamsui in 1632 as a multinational society: Spaniards, Chinese, Japanese, Formosan indigenous people and Cagayan indigenous people from the Philippines all intermingle in this somewhat chaotic scene. The Spanish try to punish the indigenous people for the above incident but it

[9] My translation from the Spanish.

backfires as the same passage continues: ‘But since the natives outnumbered them, they could not do more, which made them even more arrogant, and scornful of the other natives who, out of fear of the Spaniards, made friends with them.’ (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 163) Instead of proving Spanish power, the incident appears to bolster the confidence of groups of indigenous people: they feel they can resist the Spanish in an event that also undermines the ability – the power – of missionaries to do their work.

Here we see the Spanish inability to impose themselves on Tamsui, and Esquivel, in requesting more troops, points to the source of the problem. Missionary work could not hope to be successful if there was not sufficient Spanish power to back it up. Esquivel confirms this in the following passage: ‘It would be good to assign a company of soldiers from Manila to this village.’ (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 162) The first reason Esquivel gives for requesting these soldiers is to protect the village from the Dutch. The second reason, however, is more significant: ‘To prevent the natives from pillaging and killing the other natives of the island who live near our port and who are friendly with us; these are the natives of Senar and those living along the Tanchuy [Tamsui] river whom get summarily beheaded when the harvest season comes.’ (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 162) Here we have more evidence of inter-group rivalry stopping the Spanish from gaining control of the area. In suggesting the solution, Esquivel highlights the problem. Troops were needed in Tamsui so that all indigenous people could be dominated and conquered. But Esquivel’s suggestions were not heeded. Instead, the Spanish soon retreated from the area.

We have emphasised Esquivel’s documents as arguments for developing the settlements, but as his second document, *A situationer on the conversion of the Isla Hermosa* (Esquivel, 1632b), progresses his tone changes somewhat with regards to Formosans. For example, the following plans do not mention indigenous people, and it is the Chinese and Japanese children here who are to be given a Christian education: ‘San Salvador [Keelung], the main port, can host two other ministries: the parian [market] of the sangleys that already exists and a hospital for sangleys, natives and Japanese which will be built by the La Misericordia. Later on, this hospital shall be turned over to a religious order that may be interested in it. The third shall be our present house that will have to be rebuilt into a convent where Chinese and Japanese children may be taught Latin and a little of moral theology.’ (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 185)

This quote reveals the limits of Esquivel’s optimism when considering the various people in Formosa. There is no hint of a burgeoning Hispanicised indigenous community. As the document progresses, optimism fades away completely as Esquivel’s tone becomes increasingly impatient and direct, to the point where, referring to the ‘consumate scandal’

faced by lay brothers, he complains: 'I myself have been offered such opportunities a number of times in the places where I lived among the natives.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 189)

In the light of Esquivel's generally forward-looking documents, also evidenced in Aduarte's rather fantastical discourses about missionary work and other protestations that things will go well in future, such bald denunciations of the society of Formosa, and the temptations faced by missionaries, prove to be eye-opening. Esquivel gives more details about how one missionary struggled with life in Formosa: 'It is known that even Father Francisco Bravo is constantly going around saying that he will end up leaving because he cannot take this kind of life, so burdened by the many who live in concubinage that he was driven to the point of madness because neither warnings nor punishments were sufficient to stop thein.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 186)

We've mentioned that indigenous women married Spanish soldiers on the island. Although we could have used this as evidence of the harmonious integration of distant cultures, the following description of missionary work with indigenous women paints a more problematic picture: 'He [Father Bravo] was forced to enter the houses of these wretched native women, trying to fix up their marriages to stop their miserable husbands from killing them; he had to solve so many matrimonial conflicts. [...] Above all, he had to find out what the trouble was in order to bring to the sacrament [of marriage] these unmarried soldiers who are filled with frailties and miseries.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 187)

Everyone mentioned in this incident is constructed in a negative light except Father Bravo. The women are concubines at risk of being killed, and Spanish soldiers are frail and miserable, presumably the ones doing the killing, although it isn't completely clear. This is, however, undoubtedly a vastly different scene from Aduarte's idealised discourses of relations with indigenous people.

All the above comments lead up to 1632, so we can see the type of society that emerged in Formosa only six years into the life of the settlement. Missionary work until 1632 was relatively well documented, specifically because of Aduarte and Esquivel. There are few missionary accounts after this date and it is no coincidence that most positive aspects of missionary discourses disappeared along with Esquivel and Aduarte. The optimism in a 1639 letter from another missionary, Fr. Teodoro de la Madre de Dios, ironically proves to be the exception that proves the rule. If Esquivel promised gold and silver mines in one of his 1632 documents, de la Madre de Dios goes beyond this: 'Who knows if diamonds might be discovered [...]?' (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 300) Despite his own attempts at hopefulness, de la Madre de Dios reveals the attitude of the authorities in the Philippines towards the Formosan settlement in the late 1630s when he attempts, somewhat defeatedly,

to dismiss the governor of the Philippines Corcuera's pessimism: 'Corcuera's gloomy reports of our presence in this island were born of ill will, as he was not the one who conquered it [...] this, the door to China and Japan.' (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 300)

Whereas previously we saw descriptions of missionaries confidently strolling through the countryside meeting indigenous people, later on in the life of the settlement, in 1638 for example, we see the governor of Formosa, Pedro Palomino, squabbling with the Dominicans over whether to build a church out of stone in neighbouring Quimaurri: 'In the town of Quimaurri [...] the Dominican fathers tried to build a house of stone. As they began the construction, I ordered them to stop and not to proceed with it because I did not want to have a structure higher than ours (padastro), for the enemy could (easily) take advantage of it. Despite this, they carried on and are finishing it. I have suffered much reproof from those priests over this matter.' (Palomino, 1638, p. 288)

Even in 1638, four years before the Spanish were ejected from Formosa, the governor was speaking in defensive terms. There is a revealing debate about whether the church in the neighbouring village Quimaurri should be made of stone: a sign in itself that the local indigenous people were not embracing the colonisers' religion. The missionaries wanted to push on with their work in the indigenous village but we are reminded how the spiritual conquest was linked to the military conquest. The missionaries could optimistically build as many churches as they wanted, but the governor made the decisions that had a definitive impact on the Spanish settlement. Palomino did not want a stone building because it could be used as a stronghold by any attacking force: this is not a sign that the neighbouring indigenous people, who initially fled the Spanish and then only reluctantly returned to Quimaurri, had since become committed hispanophiles and Catholics.

That same year, Palomino listed only three ministries on the island. Previously, there were frequent pleas for more missionaries to add to the current contingent. The governor wrote of that contingent slipping away: 'The members of the religious orders who came from that city [Manila] divided the ministries into three: two, the towns of Santiago [Keelung] and Quimaurri, went to the friars of St Dominic; the town of Taparri went to those of St Francis. This town [Taparri] was left with none because four of Your Lordship's friars went to China.' (Palomino, 1638, p. 291) Any indigenous people who had formerly been tempted into Spanish settlements appeared to be returning to the mountains, and Palomino constructs an image of lost souls. 'How will these natives be, for without a priest, they are like a body without a soul? It has been days since the natives went to the mountains, burning down their village one night because even though Fr. Antonio, of Ciudad Rodrigo, a Franciscan, used to visit the said village it would always end with raised voices.' (Palomino, 1638, p. 288)

We saw how Esquivel, towards the end of one document, seemed to lose patience and began to explain the trials faced by missionaries on the island. The above missionary, Fr. Antonio, is mentioned a number of times in documents from the late 1630s but the details are *about* him, unlike Esquivel and Aduarte who write their own documents. The accountant Jerónimo de Hererra reported on the missionary's behaviour, stating that he had fallen out with the governor, Palomino, and even publicly excommunicating him (de Herrera, 1638, p. 285).

Palomino himself describes Fr. Antonio in the following way: 'There is an incorrigible Franciscan in this fort by the name of Fr Antonio. No one here, not even the friars themselves, can suffer him or bear his mean, dishonest ways, the worst of which is drinking.' (Palomino, 1638, p. 293) There is a marked contrast between Aduarte's reports of missionary heroes and martyrs and Palomino's later descriptions of an incorrigible, dishonest drunk. Those more hopeful chroniclers of Formosa, Aduarte and Esquivel, are long gone by 1638. Aduarte's missionary hagiographies are replaced by the unpleasant gossip of Palomino's letters. Now we can only find scraps of information about missionary work by non-religious men who, despite being part of the Spanish empire's apparatus, are nevertheless willing to portray missionaries in this unfavourable light, something quite inconceivable from Aduarte or Esquivel. Once again we see how different writers in themselves can change the constructions of events and people. Also notable at this point is that documentation about missionary work with indigenous people during this later period is conspicuous in its absence. The missionaries had moved away, taking any hope for the future of missionary work in Formosa with them.

In this section we have examined many aspects to the theme of indigenous people and missionaries, looking at the techniques these Spanish men used in their attempts to meet and convert local people. This involved language learning and gift giving along with extravagant displays of power, all aiming to place indigenous people in the colonial hierarchy. A close examination of the documents showed that the missionaries in Formosa had only limited success, perhaps best reflected in the lack of noteworthy converts in Formosan documents when compared with the chiefs' wives or the spiritual figures who converted to Catholicism in the Philippines, people who were, in turn, important for influencing other people to the faith. Missionary achievement perhaps reached its peak in 1632 but, as we shall see in the chapter *Decline and loss*, by the time the settlement ended a decade later, the numbers of converts was at best, questionable.

Indigenous relationships

Us and them

Dasmariñas, the governor of the Philippines in the late 1500s, often talked in terms of extremities when referring to relations with indigenous people. Here is a quotation from a 1597 document: 'We will try to win the friendship of the natives or, depending on how things go, declare war on them.' (Pérez Dasmariñas, 1597b, p. 27) This way of constructing relations, of thinking in terms of extremes, and even in this case in binary oppositions, is not uncommon. We see it again in a Dutch document referring specifically to Formosa: 'They [the Spanish] were sometimes at peace and sometimes at war with the inhabitants.' (Putmans, 1633, p. 211)

Another binary opposition we often see is the Spanish speaking in terms of friend and enemies:

> On their way to the fort of Tamchuy [Tamsui] on a small boat, the natives who are our enemies killed them. [...] When I came to this island, I found some natives from Senar, near the old fort of Tamchuy. They came with the Spaniards of Tamchuy when they dismantled that fort; and since we had withdrawn from the fort, they had left one by one, even if I did all that I could for them. The others settled in friendly villages. (Palomino, 1638, p. 289)

This is part of a discourse with a long history, going as far back as the initial plans to settle Formosa. In the following quotation from the previously mentioned 1597 document, Dasmariñas constructs a hypothetical situation whilst arguing that a great deal of ammunition and supplies would be needed in a future fort in Formosa.

> [Another reasons is] so that the scarcity of provisions may not force the men to seize the food and properties of the natives. This would pose dangers and difficulties to our befriending them, and give rise to the contrary [effect]. They may get the idea that we have come to steal from them and to collect [...] which will make them hate us and keep us from settling there and from desiring our friendship. (Pérez Dasmariñas, 1597b, p. 29)

Being hypothetical, we can perhaps see this text as revealing the type of discourse that the Spanish employed when discussing such relations with indigenous people. It shows, once again, how Dasmariñas liked to construct relations with indigenous people in terms of extremes, swinging between friendship and enmity. There was no apparent discussion of the possibility that indigenous people could be amiable or indifferent to the Spanish, or that they could be mildly annoyed by them. Dasmariñas instead notes the 'dangers and difficulties' of

attempting 'friendship', assuming the indigenous people will think the worst and then will 'hate' the Spanish.

Despite a frequent use of such binary oppositions, Formosan indigenous people never seemed to be totally at peace with the Spanish, nor were they ever fighting an all-out war on the island. In this section, therefore, we go beyond 'us and them' and other binary descriptions of relations to look at broader examples of how the Spanish interacted with the indigenous people in Formosa. In the process, we will see that, amidst those sometimes overblown reports of indigenous crimes and treachery, there are hints of nuance.

We have already discussed one significant incident that occurred in Tamsui during the early years of the settlement: the killing of Captain Antonio de Vera and around 20 of his men in the Tamsui area. We discussed the Judas-like discourse this event. It is tempting to view the death of Vera *only* in terms of discourses of betrayal and treachery. However, there are further details that add nuance to the relationships here.

The reason for de Vera's interaction with the chief – who was apparently friendly at first – was because the former was searching for food supplies for the Spanish. De Vera spent some weeks with this chief, so this was significantly more than a momentary meeting. It leads to the following description of the relationship between de Vera and the chief involved, which has previously been quoted but has not been considered in terms of relationships: 'Trusting his friendship, and forced by want, the commander sent Captain Antonio de Vera with 20 Spaniards to the said river of Tanchuy to bring back rice for our men.' (N/A, 1628, p. 131)

Here we see an added dimension to relations between the Spanish and the indigenous people, with a concrete example of why the Spanish needed to work with indigenous people: the Spanish needed food. The simplicity of binary representations of indigenous people is eroded somewhat when we understand that the Spanish in this case didn't just want to be friends with indigenous people: they needed them. Power relations, and the colonial hierarchies that were never quite imposed on the indigenous people, were reversed somewhat in this situation. The Spanish 'conquerors' were in the weaker position, being 'forced by want'. In such circumstances, 'othering' and a sense of 'us and them' are useless fripperies in the hunt for food.

Esquivel's descriptions of indigenous people are also noteworthy because he says they did not instantly reach for extremes, as pointed out by Jenco and Tremml-Werner: 'Esquivel's attempt to add nuances to his descriptions is also the part that makes it difficult to classify Esquivel's taxonomy as the result of haughty culturalist essentialism of the Christian European.' (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021, p. 232) In Esquivel's *A situationer on the*

conversion of the Isla Hermosa (Primary Esquivel, 1632a), we can see evidence of relations moving away from mere enmity or friendship when Esquivel notes, rather disconsolately, that relations between indigenous people and the Spanish had developed enough for the former to be able to say 'improper and disgusting expressions' in Spanish, particularly when drunk:

> Some of them are surprisingly fluent in Spanish, learning even to say improper and disgusting expressions – the consequence of their close dealings with our Spaniards. None of the natives are given to quarreling or scandal. The worst they could do is to occasionally exchange heated words especially when they get drunk. It is only during such occasions that they tend to be vulgar, abusive and defiant. (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 182)

Here is evidence that there was significant interaction between the Spanish and indigenous people beyond war or simple binary oppositions. It seems that the two groups mixed and drank alcohol, for example. There are hints of further complexity of such interaction, as noted by Esquivel when he mentions those examples of alcohol-induced defiance, illustrating the ultimately ambivalent relations between the two groups.

In the following quotation, Esquivel recommends two men as captains of the Tamsui fort. He uses the word 'fatherly', revealing another aspect of indigenous–Spanish relations: 'The men who are very well suited to be captains of the Tamsui fort, in case Captain Guzmán is recalled, are Captain Juan Baquedano, or the adjutant Montalba. Both of them have been very fatherly towards the natives, who, in turn love them very much. This will be important to maintain the peace with the natives, which remains to [*sic*] easy to break.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 172)

On one level, Esquivel himself clearly sees 'fatherly' as a positive term. He nevertheless evokes another colonial discourse, an aspect of Teng's 'rhetoric of primitivism' that renders indigenous people as childlike figures, whilst the state, and particularly the emperor in Teng's example quoted here, is cast in a paternalistic role: 'This was the strategy employed by Zhou Zhongxuan, who justified his calls for administrative reforms by appealing to the paternalistic ideology of the Qing state, which cast the emperor as the protector of the weak. During his term as acting magistrate of Taiwan county in 1722, Zhou used the rhetoric of primitivism to appeal to the governor general in defence of the exploited indigenes.' (Teng, 2004, p. 78)

This paternalism reflects a different set of relations between the Spanish and the indigenous people – no killing here, at least – but such relations are nonetheless part of a discourse that

creates a particular hierarchy. This is not a relationship of mutual interaction between equal cultures. Just as noteworthy here is Esquivel's comment on the fragility of relations with the Formosan indigenous people being 'easy to break' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 172). We are reminded of another dimension to Spanish–indigenous relations that Esquivel has described in relation to Father Bravo, and his disgust at the 'concubinage' taking place in Formosa, driving him 'to the point of madness.' (Esquivel, 1632b, p. 186)

Although, by the late 1630s, Esquivel and Aduarte were no longer writing about the island, surprisingly concrete examples of interactions between indigenous people and the Spanish nevertheless exist in later documents. We can see this particularly when we look at documents by three of the previously mentioned chroniclers of the late period of Spanish Formosa: Pedro Palomino, Teodoro de la Madre de Dios and Gonzalo Portillo. None of their documents are as wide-ranging as those by Esquivel and Aduarte but the glimpses they do contain help us to understand events on the island.

Pedro Palomino, the sixth of the eight governors of Formosa, was in charge of the island between 1637 and 1639 (Borao Mateo, 2014, p. xxvii). His governorship took place after the Tamsui settlement had been abandoned, and so he had to deal with the new reality of the failed second settlement and the consolidation of Spanish forces in Keelung. The following quotation has already been used to illustrate one use of the binary opposing terms of friends and enemies, but we can see the phrase from a different angle when we examine the actions it describes:

> When I came to this island, I found some natives from Senar, near the old fort of Tamchuy [Tamsui]. They came with the Spaniards of Tamchuy when they dismantled that fort; and since we had withdrawn from the fort, they had left one by one, even if I did all that I could for them. The others settled in friendly villages. (Palomino, 1638, p. 289)

Until now, we have principally spoken of the Tamsui settlement in terms of rebellions and failure. It comes as a surprise, therefore, to see that when the Spanish abandoned it and retreated to Keelung, some indigenous people chose to go with them. Considering the previously described reality of Spanish–indigenous relations, however, and looking back at the Spanish time in Tamsui, we can see that indigenous relationships involved much more than such rebellions, for example during missionary work.

That some indigenous people went with the Spanish to Keelung suggests that alliances of some sort were made in Tamsui. Palomino's account is confirmed in another version of events: 'The report that the Dutch had occupied the post of Tanchui, which we had left, is

said to be false. On the contrary, the inhabitants of Tanchui came to beg friendship with the Spaniards, to which the only answer given was that they should come safely to the fort with their goods, which would furnish them safe passage.' (N/A, 1639, p. 296)

Although there is no more information about this move from Tamsui to Keelung, the alliances that were forged can perhaps be explained by those positive comments by Teodoro de la Madre de Dios. We have quoted him pointing out that the governor of the Philippines' 'gloomy reports' on Formosa were 'born of ill will.' (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 300) He also notes the following about the mid-1630s: 'During the time of Sergeant Major Alonso García Romero, the natives and sangleys were well treated and the land was prosperous' (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 302) This is a rare positive statement about past Spanish success on the island, which de la Madre de Dios ascribes to García Romero, who was governor of the Formosan Spanish settlements between 1634 and 1635 (Borao Mateo, 2014, p. xxvii). This period came after Esquivel's documents in 1632 but two years before Tamsui was abandoned in 1637. De la Madre de Dios's positive version of events points to a period of relatively peaceful relations, in contrast to those reports of Tamsui rebellions. Such episodes of comparative peace could in turn have led to indigenous people forging positive relationships that led them to move to Keelung during the Spanish retreat.

Later on in de la Madre de Dios's document, the missionary goes on to detail how the indigenous people view the Spanish. The view is so over-embellished, however, that it is difficult to take at face value: 'I am a good witness to all this because no one else has seen this land as much as I have; and no one else knows the nature and customs of these people than I, as I have lived among them. Know that I am (with) another priest in Santiago [Keelung]. Your reverence, see what a Scipio, a Hannibal, a Cid or a Bernardo Carpio we are that the natives of Cabalan fear us and do not attempt to enter the village or harm anyone. They come running to the priest, whom they consider the non plus ultra of courage and wealth, qualities which they esteem the most.' (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 303)

The linking of the Spanish with a number of history's most famous military commanders and the legendary Philippine causer of earthquakes Bernardo Carpio is representative of de la Madre de Dios's colourful writing style. Such flourishes expose the discourses at play. The ultimately militaristic framing of relations is particularly noteworthy from this optimistic, religious man, especially at this point, 13 years into the life of the settlement. Seven years after Esquivel's documents, the eccentric flourishes of de la Madre de Dios reveal the unique personality of this missionary, but the colonial discourses have not evolved. The construction ultimately involves Spanish paternalism and a clear hierarchy where the Spanish lead and the indigenous people follow. De la Madre de Dios conflates the Spanish with military

leaders and takes pride in the intimidation of the indigenous people, showing that even in a supposedly positive account of relations between the two groups – in Spanish terms – the discourses are forged from the imposition of power, threatened or actively imposed, rather than mutual respect. Whereas some individual indigenous people were, at least, hinted at in Esquivel's document – even if not named – there is no individual indigenous person in de la Madre de Dios's accounts.

The remaining person providing more details of indigenous relations with the Spanish is Gonzalo Portillo, the last of the Spanish governors on the island, discussed in the chapter *Constructing Formosans* as one of the most significant non-religious chroniclers of Formosa. His documents are unique because of his position as the man in charge of Spanish Formosa before and during the final Dutch invasion. Unlike other writers, therefore, Gonzalo Portillo was not attempting to point out the potential of the island or discuss why it should be abandoned. The last governor had been placed in a position where he had to defend himself for the loss of the island. For example, one of Portillo's documents, Borao Mateo states, attempts to 'clear himself of the blame for the loss of Isla Hermosa.' (Borao Mateo, 2002, p. lxi)

The fall of Formosa will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. However, Portillo gives some intriguing glimpses of a further set of relations with indigenous people. For example: 'The enemy [i.e. the Dutch] came, in fact, to seize La Mira from me. I thank God for the report that I received the day before from a native who was in the Tamchuy [Tamsui] River. He is one of the friends who had remained there.' (Portillo, 1641, p. 328)

This is not the only time that Portillo mentions Tamsui indigenous people helping the Spanish against the Dutch. Here is another example from the same document: 'On the first of September, a note arrived from a native of Tamchuy – one of those friends whom we met along the way. […] He said that the Dutch were on the river.' (Portillo, 1641, p. 328) Men and women both seemed to be involved in this enterprise: 'After the enemy retreated to the River Tamchuy, I sent from here a native spy, a woman whose father lives in that province.' (Palomino, 1641, p. 335) Portillo is not the only person to mention such informants. In a document written after Keelung was abandoned, de la Madre de Dios also mentions a spy from Tamsui: 'This was clear from the information given by the native of Tamchuy.' (N/A, 1642)

Indigenous people therefore appeared to help the Spanish to find out about Dutch movements in Tamsui, illustrating, again, that Spanish relations with Formosans could not be considered only in terms of binary oppositions. If we look at such help 'against the grain', considering the general ambivalence towards the Spanish, we could speculate why some

indigenous people would have offered it. Possibly, some individuals saw themselves as friends of the Spanish, but equally they could have been fuelling the enmity between the two European powers, or even supporting the Dutch and stoking Spanish concerns. We will examine these alliances around the time of the final battle in the next chapter.

Pulling all these examples of relations between the Spanish and indigenous people together, we can see a range of interactions between the two groups. We have seen how the Spanish needed indigenous people's help to get food. They drank alcohol together. Spanish men mixed with indigenous women and even, as we have seen previously, married them. Despite the temptation to reach for binary oppositions, therefore, we can see that the two groups did mix. There was also an occasional indigenous sense of defiance that suggests a confidence and bravura that belies the simplistic colonialist conclusion that indigenous people were only weak victims subject to Spanish oppression. Later in the life of the settlement, we see hints of a relatively stable period of relations in the mid-1630s, leading to some indigenous people moving with the Spanish from Tamsui to Keelung. Later still, we see that some indigenous people do appear to help the Spanish even towards the final moments of the Spanish settlement.

These more multifaceted relations were perhaps not the 'conversion' required by the religious establishment or the 'conquest' approved of by military authorities, but they nevertheless existed. They construct a version of associations that is not usually noted. Here, by looking beyond the superficial judgements of Esquivel in particular, we see hints of people simply mingling and dealing with each other on a day-to-day basis.

Them and them

In looking at indigenous relationships it would of course be a misrepresentation to portray only indigenous people on the island relative to the Spanish. In Spanish documents, relationships inevitably focus on the colonisers but there are nevertheless glimpses of wider interactions on the island during the time of the Spanish settlement. Although easy to overlook from a general overview of the source documents, it quickly becomes clear, when looking at the documents specifically for examples of such relations, that northern Formosa in the 1630s was a highly multicultural place, the Spanish only contributing to the mix of groups who lived on the island. Many indigenous villages and groups were described by the Spanish[10] and, although few concrete details are given, the rivalries between the groups are sometimes discussed in source documents. Formosan indigenous peoples, however, were not the only people to visit or live in Formosa in those years. A rarely noted detail is that there are clear records of numerous indigenous people from the Philippines working in Formosa

[10] Borao Mateo looks for evidence of specific indigenous settlements, using Dutch and Spanish sources in chapter three of his work *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan* (Borao Mateo, 2009, pp. 53–101)

for the Spanish during those years. Members of the Chinese diaspora, known in Spanish documents as sangleys, are also mentioned, and occasionally in a context including indigenous people.

The range of nations represented in Spanish documents does not stop there, however. We have already mentioned the Japanese Christian who the Spanish encountered when they first settled Keelung. However, the following quotation gives one detail not noted until now: 'The first children who were baptized were the two daughters of a Japanese Christian who had lived there and was married to a pagan of the island.' (Aduarte, 1640a, p. 72) The Japanese Christian was married, according to this text, to an indigenous person. There had been glimpses of Christianity on the island even before the Dutch and Spanish reached Formosa, and here we have an example of a Christian marrying an indigenous person, illustrating one of the ways in which Christianity made an early appearance there.

We've already noted some aspects of relations between different indigenous groups as documented by the Spanish. We've seen that the indigenous people of the Keelung area, the Quimaurri and the Taparri taught the indigenous people of Tamsui the value of silver[11]. Note Esquivel's comment here: 'The natives of Quimaurri and Taparri have friendly dealings with all the other groups.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 169) There is a general impression that, by being traders, the indigenous people of Quimaurri and Taparri had developed friendships with other groups.

The same quotation continues, detailing the various rivalries between indigenous groups as known by Esquivel: 'But those from Pantao are enemies of those from Senar. And those from Senar are enemies of those from Pulauan, Pantao and Cabalan. Those who live along the two branches of Tamsui River are enemies of the Cabalan.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 169)

As described by the Spanish, indigenous rivalries are divided into three: in the Tamsui area there are various groups (Senar, Pantao and Pulauan are mentioned here) with inter-group rivalries; the people called the Cabalan by the Spanish appear to be enemies of Tamsui indigenous people in general; the Keelung people (in Quimaurri and Taparri villages), according to Esquivel, are itinerant traders on friendly terms with other indigenous groups.

De la Madre de Dios describes the rivalry between various groups, shedding some light on the 'Cabalan' people in particular, generally assumed to be linked to today's Kavalan people, adding to the sense that they are enemies of Tamsui indigenous people:

[11] 'The sangleys, who go about bartering their trinkets for the natives' gold, sulphur, liana, hide and such things have, in their greed, required the natives of the island to ask us to pay for what they sell us in silver so that they (the sangleys) could collect more from them; and they have succeeded in getting more silver that way. The natives of Quimaurri and Taparri, who are worldlier and who know this way around, taught this practice to the natives Of Tamsui, Who were previously ignorant of the value of silver.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 177)

> Your Reverence may ask from more objective sources about how much the natives fear us. They are very few and are a cowardly lot at that. They even fight amongst themselves. The natives of Cabalan are the majority and considered the bravest among them. But you should have seen how they trembled like a leaf when Alonso Romero punished them. Besides, they are such mortal enemies of the Tamchus [Tamsui people] (who have caused much trouble too) that, at the slightest hint, they will readily ally themselves with us against them. (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 303)

Violence was frequently involved in such indigenous rivalry, according to the Spanish, as documented in the following quotation, which also gives one of the few examples of the Spanish suggesting how they might have changed indigenous habits during their time on the island:

> Before the Spaniards came, they were all cutting off each other's heads and celebrating this with drunken feasts [...]. To honor the bravery of those who managed to cut heads, they would paint their necks, legs and arms. But later on, they realized how much trouble they caused their villages due to their treachery, and they no longer dare even to kill their fellow-villagers, considering this to be bad luck. Only the Cabalan natives still practice head-hunting. (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 169)

By understanding such structures, the Spanish could identify potential alliances. However, we saw, particularly in Tamsui, how attempts to create alliances with one group backfired and, ultimately, exposed the Spanish inability to dominate all indigenous people.

It is clear from the Spanish texts, but rarely mentioned explicitly in analyses, that numerous indigenous people from the Philippines lived in Formosa during the time of the Spanish settlement. Such a detail nevertheless adds an extra dimension to the plurality of relations that existed on the island during those times. A list of wage earners from 1641, for example, has a subsection titled 'Pampanga infantry' followed by over 30 names, and a heading 'Cagayan infantry' containing four names (N/A, 1641).

There is evidence that such people from the Philippines were extremely unhappy on the island, as discussed by Esquivel in the following quotation, which refers to such men having to leave their wives and children to come to Formosa: 'Moreover, the native men [from the Philippines] would be spared of vexation every time they are taken from their families to serve as soldiers to guard another land and who serve here as slaves since the time this place was occupied (now, seven years). They abandon their children, wives and their lands, and the next time they see them, many out of hunger would have sold themselves into slavery.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 171)

Such was the plight of these men that many attempted to escape the Spanish: 'Recently, it was ascertained that at most 17 of them were reported to have escaped.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 171) These men escaped by boat to the Babuyan islands between Formosa and the Philippines. Another man, however, is reported escaping into indigenous territory: 'In the same period, one was hanged for desertion. He had escaped to the mountains of Quimaurri in uniform and with spear.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 171)

In Spanish documents, this is the most common interaction between indigenous people from Formosa and the Philippines. Such encounters, with indigenous people from the Philippines escaping into Formosan indigenous territory, are documented a surprising number of times: 'Likewise, three natives from Cagayan had fled and joined our native enemies. I have tried to make them come and negotiate.' (Palomino, 1638, p. 289) Formosan indigenous groups were also the destination of another Philippines indigenous person, this time on the western coast below Tamsui: 'Beyond Pantao there are many other native villages along the shore with whom we are neither friendly nor at enmity; we simply have no contact with them. [...] Among them is a Cagayan, one of those who fled the Tamsui forces towards the Dutch. [...] The Pantao natives do not dare bring him unless he is dead because he is living with their enemies.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 169)

Indigenous people from the Philippines are rarely mentioned in any other context, the only suggestion of relations being in the following quotation. In it, we see the Cagayan people separated out in a list of some of the various people in northern Formosa at the time, including a number of indigenous groups, as well as soldiers and priests. The 'Cagayan' people, like soldiers and priests, are able to walk freely to certain villages, showing that, at least in this version of events, indigenous people from the Philippines were able to mix with indigenous people from Formosa:

> The natives living along the two branches of the Tamsui River, those of Senar (and those of Taparri, Quimaurri and Caguinauran, also known as Santiago, and who live next to the Cabalan) are our friends. One can go to these villages in utmost security. Any soldier, Cagayán, or priest can confidently come and go by himself. They would move from one fort to another, passing by the shore or the river banks through these villages to barter rice in the villages of Pulauan and Pantao. (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 169)

The quotation also reveals an interesting dynamic in the construction of relations between the Spanish, Formosan indigenous people and Cagayans, the latter being categorised between soldiers and priests, perhaps the result of 60 years of Filipino colonisation on the status of its indigenous people relative to those of this newly settled land. The only remaining detail is the following quotation from Esquivel: 'The sangleys neither know nor are capable

of serving in the expeditions of the Spaniards, just like the cagayanes, whom the natives of the land fear as house robbers.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 173) This brief phrase constructs the Cagayans from the Philippines as part of the colonial hierarchy, in conflict with indigenous people rather than natural allies. At this point, at least in these accounts, there is a clear distinction in Esquivel's eyes between these different indigenous peoples, although, as we will see in the next chapter, such distinctions seem to dissolve for the soldiers who participated in the final battle for the island.

We only see the barest of glimpses of indigenous people from the Philippines in Formosa, but we can see how they contrast completely with the final group to be discussed here: the sangleys. Interactions between sangleys and indigenous people are principally documented by Esquivel in his *Record of affairs concerning Isla Hermosa*. He brings all groups together in one quotation, also pointing to the different ways Philippines indigenous people and those of Formosa are constructed. The following description of evil Formosan indigenous people who deserve to be disciplined is completed when the group receive their punishment: 'Afterwards, on various occasions, they killed some Spaniards, Cagayanes and sangleys who were coming to do business in the port. [...] they were punished by burning their houses and injuring some of the natives [...].' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 165)

In Spanish documents, we have seen how interaction between Formosan and Philippines indigenous people is sometimes constructed as individual Philippines people fleeing the Spanish into Formosan indigenous lands. When the sangleys are mentioned, there is much more of a sense of daily interaction rather than dramatic events such as people escaping the Spanish. Trade takes place between the two groups, although descriptions are once again sparse. Berrocal's quotation here suggests that indigenous people in Formosa, particularly Keelung, would have had knowledge of Chinese visitors: 'The whole region was a recipient of Chinese imports since early on with the Chinese and other Southeast Asian navigators sailing throughout the region.' (Finlay, 2010; Wu, 2016; Berrocal et al., 2018) This is confirmed by Esquivel when he says that indigenous people once sold 'huge quantities' of sulphur to the sangleys before the Spanish arrived. (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 168)

According to the following 1632 quotation from Esquivel's document, the Spanish appear to have disrupted, or to be disrupting, relationships between the Formosan indigenous people and the sangleys: 'Therefore, I believe that it is not true when the sangleys say that they can not buy; they only want to buy from the natives at a price lower than usual.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 172)

We see here that the Spanish are going to great lengths to insert themselves between the indigenous people and the sangleys to make sure they control trade on the island, even using

the same weights system as the sangleys. Esquivel suggests that the granting of licences could solve the problem of indigenous people dealing directly with sangleys: 'The sangleys can also be encouraged to bring in silk and valuable clothing material; in return, those who will be willing to lower their prices, can be granted the license to barter with the natives, which is very profitable for them.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 177) Once again, however, Esquivel is making suggestions for an imagined future that doesn't arrive.

As regards indigenous rivalry, the Spanish construct themselves as the solution to problems between sangleys and indigenous people. In the following quotation Esquivel states that the Spanish defend the sangleys from indigenous people: 'Besides knowing that there is sulphur, liana, animal hide, and nut for dyes, imposing a levy on a single item for a common need, such as medical attention for Spaniards, who are the ones defending the sangleys from the natives who are after their heads.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 176) On the other hand, here Esquivel suggests that the Spanish help will protect 'naive' indigenous people from sangleys. This case involves a 'store' run by sangleys where fake coins are exchanged: 'A store as famous as this one is not set up only to take advantage of people as naive as these natives.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 172)

Despite protestations of the naivety of indigenous people, the Spanish attempts to disrupt interaction between the sangleys and indigenous people show, even in these glimpses, that dealing with sangleys was part of the everyday life of indigenous people. Although the Spanish attempt to portray themselves as the solution to problems in indigenous–sangley relations, such glimpses, read against the grain, show us that trade patterns between the groups were well established, and that the Spanish were indeed the ones disrupting such relations in the north of the island in those years, not the indigenous people or the sangleys.

In this chapter we have explored the various relationships of indigenous people as described in documents during the time of the Spanish settlement. We have focused on indigenous relations with the Spanish, illustrating how such relations were often constructed in binary or extreme terms, which in turn led us to look for the exceptions to that 'rule' to illustrate how relations manifested themselves beyond 'peace and war', 'friend and enemy' and even 'parent and child'. Despite portrayals of relations often being negative, we have seen how the Spanish did build up alliances with some indigenous people in some ways.

By closely examining the Spanish sources, we have found evidence that life in northern Taiwan during the time of the Spanish settlement involved a wide range of people and a varying set of interactions. Indigenous people were not just dealing with the Spanish, they were also trading with sangleys, helping escaping indigenous people from the Philippines, and navigating the complex web of indigenous inter-group rivalries that existed in the north

of the island. When we add a Japanese man into the mix, along with the Spanish themselves, we get a sense of a complex multinational indigenous, European, Pacific, seafaring and continental Asian society in action in and around the 1630s.

5. Decline and loss

In source documents about the Philippines in the late 1500s and early 1600s there are moments when we see constructions of an idealised version of how an early Pacific settlement, involving indigenous people, should be, at least from a Spanish point of view: 'Hitherto the Spaniards have not experienced misfortune, but much profit in traffic; and trade [with Nueva España] is being regulated and put in order. The natives are content and happy; the Chinese are more fond of trading with the merchandise which they bring from that kingdom.' (Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, 1592, p. N/A)

This quotation appears in a letter from the Spanish governor from 1590 to 1593, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, to the King. The governor paints an actively positive picture in his letter, something that is not rare in letters between governors and their superiors[1]. This positive version of events involves a 'content' and passive-seeming indigenous people, as well as trade being well regulated and flowing smoothly. The Spanish authorities, according to this discourse, have brought happiness, order and wealth to the Philippines.

Chirino, similar to other missionaries – such as those principal chroniclers of Spanish Formosa, Esquivel[2] and Aduarte[3] – also constructs a broadly positive version of events, this time relating to missionary work in the Philippines in 1604:

> I will now tell you of [...] the two little islets of Maripipi and Limancauayan [...]. The people were most eager to have some father to instruct them; and when they knew that Brother Francisco Martin and I were going to them, they made a great feast, and adorned with branches of trees the streets of the village, and the shore as far as the church. The boys and girls came forth, singing the doctrine and bearing a cross, which was to me a most gratifying reception. Afterward, in the church, I thanked them with tears for the affection which they showed us. From the time of our arrival until we departed from those islands, they were continually bringing us gifts from the products of the land, such as wax, rice, and bananas, and other articles of more value. When I undertook to make a list of those who sought baptism, they asked me not to do so, since all those who were not converted (who were very few) desired to become

[1] For example:
- Juan Niño de Tavora, the governor of the Philippines from 1626 to 1632, writes to the King: 'The town of natives that was discovered had a great number of houses in it, and rice and iron, a sign that these exist in these Islands, which is no small reason for rejoicing.' (Niño de Tavora, 1626, p. 76)
- Fernando de Silva, the Governor of the Philippines from 1624 to 1626, writes to the King: 'They have supplies for a year; and the enterprise is already proving advantageous.' (de Silva, 1626, p. 82)
- Juan Niño de Tavora writes to the King: 'What is new in this city is the arrival of a ship that left in August to bring aid to Isla Hermosa. It brings fresh news about the progress of our affairs, as well as high hopes for finally establishing trade with China. (Niño de Tavora, 1630, p. 145)

[2] Although Esquivel's *Record of affairs concerning Isla Hermosa* lists many problems with the settlement, it emphasises many positive aspects, not least in listing many villages 'with gold and silver mines' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 163)

[3] One example of a positive construction of events: 'Some children have been baptized, as their parents willingly offered them for this purpose.' (Aduarte, 1640d, p. 220)

> Christians; so I did as they wished. The old men, who elsewhere are usually obdurate and stubborn, and answer that they are now too old to learn the doctrine and begin a new manner of life, here used this very same argument to induce me to baptize them, saying: 'Father, consider that we are already old, and soon shall end our lives; do not let us die without baptism, since we are so anxious to be Christians.' (Chirino, 1604, p. N/A)

The happiness of this scene, the 'eagerness' of the indigenous people, their thankfulness and, in particular, the request by those usually 'obdurate and stubborn' old men to be baptised, ultimately makes the text, if not unbelievable, then at least rather exaggeratedly utopian. Chirino is clearly constructing a wholly positive version of events.

These quotations reveal an idealised version of Spanish life with indigenous people. Looking at the discourses here reveals just how far the reality in Formosa was from what the Spanish would have liked to have achieved. As we have seen in quotations from Esquivel and de la Madre de Dios, optimism in Spanish Formosan documents often survived in plans and hopes for the future, even when the present was not quite so positive. Some of the most affirmative accounts of Formosa somewhat ironically appeared after the colony had been abandoned altogether. As such, we see that constructing Spanish Formosa was about not just the present but defining the past, in the process attempting to define how the history of Formosa would be handed down into the future. This is particularly the case in reporting dealings with indigenous people, as we will see in this chapter.

After the most final of events, the ejection of the Spanish from Formosa, the governor of the Philippines at that time (1635–1644), Sebastián de Corcuera, was put on trial for the loss of Formosa. Corcuera, who would eventually be found guilty of the fall of Formosa, had held a consistently negative point of view when discussing missionary work with indigenous people. As far back as 1637, five years before the settlement's demise, he was involved in the production of a report (N/A, 1637, p. 262) that saw a change in policy towards Formosa, and included the closing down of the Tamsui post altogether. Even at this stage, Corcuera used the failures in developing relations and spreading Catholicism amongst indigenous people as reasons to abandon the island, as explained in a letter to the King: 'In the 11 or 12 [years of its occupation], it has not been beneficial [to the Crown], or achieved the conversion of the natives to our Holy Catholic Faith.' (Hurtado de Corcuera, 1637, p. 275)

Corcuera's 1637 report signalled the end of active support for the Formosan settlement by the authorities in the Philippines. From that point the end of the settlement seemed inevitable, even if the authorities had not officially abandoned it. For most commenters there was no potential any more, just failure when discussing attempts to convert indigenous

people to Catholicism: ‘Once these natives return to their own, they mock and deride the ceremonies of our holy catholic faith. And they do not wonder that they do such things, obstinate as they are in rejecting the faith.’ (N/A, 1637, p. 262)

In 1644, in an official statement by Antonio Pérez de Herrera, then a 30-year-old lieutenant who had lived in Formosa for 17 years (N/A, 1644b, p. 491), summarised his view of how Corcuera’s 1637 change in policy affected Formosa itself: ‘Since Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera had come to govern these islands [the Philippines, beginning in 1635], most of the men in these forces were recalled, and the trade and commerce reduced, until they were left with 40 men who could handle the weapons in the said forces of Isla Hermosa [Formosa].’ (N/A, 1644b, p. 491)

One aspect of missionary relations with indigenous people not discussed in the chapter *Missionaries and indigenous people* was that much of the discourse around missionary work was ultimately reduced to numbers. Such numbers became increasingly pertinent in the latter years of the settlement and after the Spanish had been ejected from the island altogether. They were not only relevant for missionaries but, with Catholic conversion being one of the main moral ways to justify the Spanish colony in Formosa, such statistics proved vital in arguing for and against the future and, ultimately, the past of the settlement.

From 1636 we have the following quotation: ‘Over a thousand converted to Christianity; the other towns asked for more priests.’ (García Romero, 1636, p. 258) From 1637 we have the following from Corcuera’s 1637 report: ‘[Alonso García Romero said] that last year, 1635, Isla Hermosa had over 800 native converts to Christianity.’ (N/A, 1637, p. 269) Apparently straightforward statistics could hide a myriad of details, however, and this latter example chooses not to include children in the numbers of converted. As we have pointed out, children were relatively easy converts but less valued as a result. That 1637 report as a whole also offers the opinion of many non-religious men, therefore giving a much more critical view of missionary work than we see in documents by Esquivel and Aduarte: ‘As regards the conversion of these natives to the Catholic religion, their numbers had been so low that they hardly reached a hundred, without counting their own children. They would convert more out of a particular interest to sell fish than out of their interest in the religion itself.’ (N/A, 1637, p. 263)

The same report confirms how easily the numbers could be manipulated: ‘And the fathers of St Dominic, in order to not fail in their purpose and carry on with what they began, have baptized and continue to baptize “left and right” – as someone would put it – without properly catechizing the natives, or making sure that they receive the faith out of genuine interest.’ (N/A, 1637, p. 263)

After the demise of the settlement, documents from 1644 recording the trial of Corcuera provide more statistics. In the case for the prosecution, two testimonies in particular, by Diego Felipe Tamargo and Juan Pérez de Rueda, painted an idealistic picture of the former settlement. The men were being asked to comment on the following statement: 'The Catholic religion lost over 1,800 souls who had received religious instruction from the fathers of St Dominic and St Francis, having nurtured great hopes for an increase in the religion because they were baptised.' (N/A, 1644c, p. 514) As there was no longer any reason to be positive about the settlement's present, these overwhelmingly optimistic testimonies can clearly be seen as an attempt to manipulate the discourse about the past, counting amongst the first attempts to define the history of Formosa.

This first testimony is by Diego Felipe Tamargo, who is described as a lieutenant, a 'seasoned soldier [...] having proven himself true to his military garb.' (N/A, 1644c, p. 515) He was stationed in Formosa during the time of the final battle with the Dutch:

> The Island had many Christians, men and woman natives of the land and young people who received the sacrament of Baptism with fervor. And the young people lovingly and willingly went to church and learned to read and write, being taught by the fathers of St Dominic. And this witness is sure that much fruit could be gathered from among those natives because he saw how all of them wept and were greatly pained when the said forces were defeated. And had the Spaniards continued to maintain the said forces in Isla Hermosa, the souls of the natives of that island would continue to be nurtured because they greatly loved the fathers who administered to them the holy sacraments, and the women natives of the land loved well the Spaniards. (N/A, 1644c, p. 515)

We can see an idealised version of the settlement in his representation of indigenous people weeping due to the defeat of the Spanish and the reports that they 'greatly loved' the missionaries. These are images that we more frequently see from missionaries. As with Chirino's descriptions, however, they seem idealised to the point of being exaggeratedly positive.

The other testimony is by Juan Pérez de Rueda, described as 'one who for 17 years had helped out in the armed forces of Isla Hermosa [Formosa].' (N/A, 1644c, p. 517) It has a strikingly similar tone, albeit less directly positive towards missionaries specifically:

> The said forces of Isla Hermosa had many native men and women, young people of various ages, who fervently converted to the Holy Faith and that great fruits were expected from them. And Isla Hermosa had as many as a thousand Christians and

> that the native women loved the Spaniards and married them. And the young people would go to church with great devotion, learning the prayers and how to read and write. Some already read Latin and helped read the doctrine to their own people whenever the minister would be busy. (N/A, 1644c, p. 518)

These testimonies were produced as part of the case for the prosecution of Corcuera. Andrés Carrillo, on the other hand, spoke for the defence when he stated that only the village nearest to the Spanish settlement, Quimaurri, with some 50 houses, had submitted to the faith (N/A, 1644a, p. 550). All nine soldiers in the document for the defence of Corcuera were asked to comment on the following statement: 'Contrary to what was expected, there was neither conversion to the faith among the natives nor trade with the sangleys. […] The witnesses are to answer what they know and address themselves to the present council.' (N/A, 1644a, p. 526) None of the soldiers contradicted this statement and most chose to evade the question, giving answers similar to the following by Cristóbal Sánchez: 'He refers to the Council mentioned in the question, where the truth of the matter is affirmed.' (N/A, 1644a, p. 543) As an answer, this appears to say that whatever the authorities say is the answer, that is Sánchez's answer. All of these soldiers, for the prosecution and the defence, seem to want to give the people they represent the story that they want to hear, although it is noticeable that testimonies confirming the success of conversions are more descriptive than those alleging its failure. Perhaps it was easier for soldiers to tell the authorities a positive story about Formosa rather than outline its failings. Either way, that 1,800 figure no longer seems so definitive.

Such opposing constructions show how different versions of the Formosan story were actively being fashioned within two years of the settlement's demise. In this context, the trial of Corcuera seems like one not just to ascribe blame to the governor for the settlement's abandonment, but for the future construction of the history of Spanish Formosa itself.

Taking this into account, note how, in the following quotation from *How Taiwan Became Chinese*, Andrade only speaks of interaction with indigenous people in terms of missionary achievement:

> The colony failed because it did not achieve its non-spiritual goals at a time when Manila's economy was in the doldrums. It failed as a bulwark against the Dutch […]. And it failed to help the Manila trade […] The Formosan colony did, to be sure, serve as a transit point for missionaries en route to and from China and Japan, and the Dominicans had notable successes converting the natives. But the fact remained that the colony drained Philippine coffers. When Manila's economy faltered in the 1630s and 1640s, Formosa was a prime candidate for downsizing. (Andrade, 2009, p. 100)

Andrade characterises Spanish missionaries' work with indigenous people as having 'notable successes,' stating that other 'non-spiritual' areas provided the reasons for the settlement's failure. If we take Tamargo and Pérez de Rueda's testimonies as attempts to construct and promote an *ex post facto* discourse of missionary success on the island, this quotation from Andrade suggests that they achieved their aims. Noting that alternative evidence disputes Tamargo's and Pérez de Rueda's accounts, we can see that focusing on indigenous people reveals a story that is more complicated. The colony did not achieve its non-spiritual goals, and there is little concrete evidence that it achieved its spiritual ones.

Tamargo's and Pérez de Rueda's testimonies above seem to suggest that the settlement failed despite missionary success with indigenous people, while Andrés Carrillo's testimony and Corcuera's opinions suggest that missionary work was not so successful. A report by Teodoro Quirós into the fall of Formosa alludes to these attempts to shape the narrative, even as he lays the blame for the loss of the territory squarely on the shoulders of the governors of Formosa and the Philippines: 'Those who have no sympathy for Isla Hermosa said that the natives rejected our holy Faith. To this I answer that the reason is clearly not the fault of the natives, but of the Governors of the said Island and of the Philippines.' (Quirós, 1643, p. 455) Quirós, although defending indigenous people, simultaneously reaffirms the lack of success of missionary work by apportioning blame to the governors.

Whatever conclusions we try to draw from these opinions, we can say that the success of work with indigenous people was a factor that was taken directly into consideration when assessing the fall of Spanish Formosa. The trial of Philippines' Governor Corcuera itself seems to have been something of a face-saving exercise. According to Borao Mateo, Corcuera faced 59 charges, of which the Formosan case was only the 29th in a long list that included accusations of nepotism and even despotism (Borao Mateo, 2002, p. xiii). Corcuera was convicted, given a fine of over 800,000 pesos and sent to prison for five and a half years (Borao Mateo, 2002, p. xiii), but his prison sentence was eventually suspended after being judged excessively harsh. He was eventually pardoned. (Borao Mateo, 2002, p. xiv)

The indigenous role in the end of Spanish Formosa

The Dutch invaded Keelung and ousted the Spanish; Chinese sangleys had been reluctant to trade with Formosa, and the Spanish authorities eventually preferred trade to be focused on Manila. Many reasons are given for the departure of the Spanish from Formosa (Andrade, 2009, p. 100). Up to this point, in this chapter, the role of indigenous people has been discussed in terms of the effectiveness – or not – of missionary work only, but during the time of the settlement in Formosa, indigenous people were clearly not seen in terms of their religion alone.

Trade and indigenous people are treated, in the quotations by Corcuera (Hurtado de Corcuera, 1637, p. 275) and Andrade (Andrade, 2009, p. 100) above, as mutually exclusive: trade failed and, separately, missionary work with indigenous people failed (Corcuera) or had notable successes (Andrade). Looking at trade in isolation, however, we can see that indigenous people also had their part to play in its success, and failure. As such, when looking at indigenous influence on the end of the settlement, here we will examine the part they played in stifling that trade.

We already gave one example from 1628 in the chapter on indigenous relationships, where a Chinese mandarin had the contents of his boat pillaged after an indigenous attack.[4] It is not difficult to find more examples of trade being disrupted by indigenous people. The following quotation mentions the burning of a village called Taparri el Viejo as punishment for robbing a Cambodian junk: 'If ever they are necessary, the Spaniards would know how to get hold of a native and, through torture, force him to lead them to the houses and the tambobos, as they did this year when they burned down Taparri el Viejo because the inhabitants had robbed the property of the Cambodian junk that ran aground there.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 173)

The following quotation describes Cabalan indigenous people beheading passengers of 'four or five' sampans, some, but not all of which were heading to Manila: 'Everyday there are many who sail out but shipments are lost due to the rough sea coast. This year, just after a little over six months, four or five sampans have been lost. Three of them were on their way to Manila, one of them carrying Spaniards. This one ended up in Cabalan, and the passengers were beheaded.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 174) In the light of such events, it is no wonder that, as Esquivel states talking about cloth specifically: '[Sangleys] do not come with their abundant cloth because this port has acquired a very bad reputation.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 176)

On land, in the meantime, it was clear that indigenous people were expected to play their part in trade processes, but there is sparse evidence that indigenous people significantly fulfilled this role. Amongst Esquivel's suggestions for the development of Tamsui, indigenous people were expected to be the ones garnering the products that the Spanish would eventually sell: 'To finance the building and maintenance of those hospitals, let the Crown establish monopoly stores for products, like liana, animal skins, or agricultural crops that grow abundantly. Entrust this to a trustworthy person, agreeing with the natives regarding

[4] 'There, the natives cut his moorings on night, and drawing the ship to land, entered it and pillaged whatever they wished, and treated the mandarin with contumely. In the morning, when the commandant got wind of the affair, he sent a troop of soldiers to attack the natives. They had orders not to kill them (for the soldiers shot their bullets into the sky) and captured some of the chiefs. Thereupon, the chiefs restored to the Chinese mandarin what they had pillaged from him; and, in order to regain their liberty, they handed their sons to us as hostages, and are being reared in our fort.' (N/A, 1628b, p. 133)

weights and measures, the same as those used by the sangleys in trading with them.' (Esquivel, 1632a, p. 175)

The plans for trade, in the Spanish documents, never evolve into anything other than that: plans. It is curious that the indigenous people in Keelung already had a long history of being involved in trade, as we discussed in the chapter four's section *The construction of indigenous people in Keelung and Tamsui* yet there is little evidence in Spanish documents of a significant amount of trade being developed between this group and the Spanish. Tamsui, in the meantime, was said to be abundant in many resources yet, similarly, there is little indication of substantial trade taking place with its locals. Whenever Esquivel does mention trade between the Spanish and the indigenous people, as we saw in the chapter on indigenous relationship, sangleys are often involved[5].

If we were to assume that such trade between the Spanish and indigenous people just happens not to be mentioned in Spanish documents, the opposite is the case with the sangleys. The Spanish, willing to point out any good news, specifically mention an abundance of trade: 'The sangleys were going to the said fort [in Keelung] with a great quantity of merchandise, doing much harm to the Dutch enemy since they lost a great part of their trade and commerce to us.' (N/A, 1637b, p. 270) This is a somewhat positive assessment of trade with the sangleys by one of Formosa's governors, Alonso García Romero, but even the most optimistic chroniclers of the Formosan settlement never draw such happy conclusions about trade with indigenous people.

We have already quoted one writer, Teodoro de la Madre de Dios, stating that the Spanish chose to trade with the indigenous people rather than conquer them (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 300)[6]. A closer look at the same document, however, shows that even this is part of an argument for the future development of trade rather than a description of the present. Madre de Dios goes on to talk of Formosa's potential for trade in this quotation: 'If people knew that one can make money on this island, then all the sampans around would not fit into its port. […] Who can doubt that this island would become like another Tyre if trade is established here.' (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 302) Clearly wanting to place indigenous people at the centre of that trade, de la Madre de Dios goes on to mention boats made by the locals as a product that could be developed: 'On this island grows a fragrant wood out of which the natives make their boats. Such vessels can last 50 years on water, as their own vessels prove it. May your Reverence contemplate whether this would benefit the King or not.' (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 302) This missionary sums up his comments about indigenous people with more thoughts for the future: 'They tend to be a lazy lot. They will

[5] For example, Esquivel (1632b, p. 177).
[6] 'They made no attempt to conquer the natives but instead engaged in trade and business.' (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 300)

soon come with arms crossed and willing to pay tribute.' (de la Madre de Dios, 1639, p. 302) Even as late as 1639 we see a generally optimistic man such as de la Madre de Dios writing about indigenous trade and tax revenues in terms of future potential, not of current success, while indirectly reporting indigenous reluctance ('a lazy lot') to work with the Spanish in the present.

The indigenous role in the fall of Formosa did not just involve a reluctance to take on the religion, therefore. There is no sense that the indigenous people were playing other roles the Spanish would have liked to define for them, involving work, trade and taxes. Looking at such intransigence, so far in this examination of the indigenous role in the fall of the Spanish settlements we have focused on Formosa alone. When we include the Philippines in the analysis, however, we see that the Formosans were not the only uncooperative indigenous people in those years. Indeed, the Spanish colony in the Philippines was going through particularly turbulent times: throughout the islands, indigenous people were rebelling.

Corcuera's 1637 document discusses 'the advisability of withdrawing the forts of Isla Hermosa and Zamboanga' (Borao Mateo, 2014, p. 263), revealing that Formosa was not the only settlement marked for abandonment in that crucial document. It is also made clear that Formosan indigenous people were not the only recalcitrant indigenous group the Spanish were dealing with at that moment. This quotation begins by saying Formosa should be abandoned so that men can return to the Philippines to punish other rebellious natives:

> These natives are from Nueva Segovia, the Negritos of Playa Honda, others from the north of this island of Luzon, and others from Laguna de Bay, who, for the past 50 years, could not be pacified or dealt with the due courage. Likewise, the island of Mindanao, which has done [the King] much damage, for its natives go about sacking the other islands and carrying away native slaves [...] All this requires remedy. (Hurtado de Corcuera, 1637b, p. 263)

A wider picture emerges here, showing that problems with indigenous people were not at all limited to Formosa and in fact were being tackled along the whole length of today's Philippine Islands, from Luzon to Mindanao. Formosa was at the northern extreme of this area, and Zamboanga, the other area discussed in Corcuera's document, was similarly distant from Manila in the opposite direction, being a peninsula of Mindanao. This quotation reveals the role of not just indigenous people in Formosa but peoples throughout the Philippines in the withdrawal of Spanish troops from the fringes of the Spanish Pacific-island empire. It was a longstanding issue, pointed out as early as 1586 in a document addressed to the King titled *Memorial to the Council* which highlights the difficulties of administering a wide network of islands such as the Philippines. In a chapter discussing 'matters pertaining to the

Indians' (N/A, 1586, p. N/A), the council confirms the logistical difficulty of administering indigenous people, in particular taxing them, over such a wide and complicated terrain. Even in 1586, the council could not financially justify administering every island:

> His Majesty should be informed how little instruction is given in these islands, the difficulty of many [encomenderos] in furnishing it, and the much greater difficulty which arises from the topography of the country – because it is all islands, and several, or many, of them are so small that they do not allow an entire encomienda, since three hundred, four hundred, or five hundred tributes are not sufficient for the expenses of an encomienda; and many of these have only one hundred or two hundred tributes. (N/A, 1586, p. N/A)

Corcuera's 1637 document signalled the moment when this issue could, or would, no longer be overlooked in Formosa. If that 1637 document marked the moment when Philippines officialdom gave a collective shrug about the future of the settlement, it was another four years before the demise of the remaining Keelung settlement evolved from 'conceivable' to 'inevitable'.

Analysing the documents about the months before the final battle of Formosa and the battle itself, it is unsurprising but nevertheless curious to see how discourses are framed in European terms: the Dutch versus the Spanish, and nothing more. In the following 1641 quotation from Dutch documents, indigenous people are nevertheless prominent: 'Our expedition army made peace with the inhabitants of Tamsui and took them under our protection in the same way as what has been done with the other Formosans. […] In October, the inhabitants of Tamsui came to Tainan and handed over their villages and territory to the States of Holland.' (N/A, 1641, p. 327) The Dutch did not appear to take over Tamsui violently but instead seemed to ally themselves with the indigenous people. The Spanish governor of Formosa also reported that Tamsui's indigenous people were now fraternising with the Dutch: 'This summer, they [the Dutch] have shown up along the Tamchuy [Tamsui] River to "escort" [the Chinese] who gather sulfur, hide, or other goods. They made friends with the natives, promising to drive us out from here and to put us to the sword. […] We learned from the natives that they have gladly allowed the Dutch to set up fort there [Tamchuy/Tamsui], even if they still have not done so.' (Portillo, 1641b, p. 331)

When the battle proper began, as we will see, the role of indigenous people became unclear, but here indigenous people were clearly participating in events, supporting the Dutch over the Spanish. They were effectively allowing the Dutch to inch towards the Spanish settlement without any documented opposition. Even though the final battle is often constructed as one of European powers, the indigenous people clearly played their part.

For example, indigenous people were key in the first major act of belligerence by the Dutch in September 1641:

> The enemy showed up on the fifth of this month. They penetrated the encampment with their vessels and numerous war banners [...] The Dutch knew very well that we lacked men. [...] The next day, to their satisfaction, they landed a great number of natives who triumphantly entered the town of Quimaurri with multicolored flags. [...] At nine in the morning, a great troop of Dutchmen and natives climbed to the top of a hill, where they flaunted their strength to us. [...] I summoned some of our native friends and called a truce. [...] on that same day, the enemy retreated [...] As they did this, they set the town and the church on fire, razing everything to the ground. The enemy retreated into their vessels. [...] As they did this, they set the town and the church on fire. [...] They did not take any prisoner, except for the natives who took from me the aide-de-camp Carvajal, two men from Cagayan and four natives of this land. They were killed on the day we received the first news about the enemy. (Portillo, 1641, p. 332)

Portillo, the last governor of Formosa, in a separate letter to the governor of the Philippines dated 9th September, reveals himself to be particularly bitter about the role of the indigenous people at this moment: 'I have not been able to bring them [indigenous people] to this island [Keelung], and they left their town [Quimaurri] undefended, positioning themselves on a high hill where they met and spoke with the Dutch. [...] They are godless people, lawless, and if they tell Your Lordship another thing, they lie, for I report the truth of the whole matter.' (Portillo, 1641, p. 329) Considering these are European events dominated by the Dutch, it is noticeable how vehemently negative Portillo is about indigenous people. He clearly felt that the indigenous people had their role to play.

The final battle for Spanish Formosa took place in August 1642. Between September 1641 and August 1642, tension increased between the Dutch and the Spanish, with indigenous people playing their part.

In the minutes of a meeting that took place in the fort in Keelung, dated 28th February 1642, there were reports that the Dutch, having made alliances with the indigenous people in Tamsui, to the west of Keelung, were now attempting to win over the people of Cabalan, to the east: 'At present, the natives report an oared vessel plying the coast of Cabalan. It is suspected to come from the Dutch enemy to spy on [the arrival] of our relief ship, as well as to speak to the natives of Cabalan who [...] tried to win [the people of Cabalan] from friendship with us so that they may ally with them [the Dutch] against us.' (N/A, 1642c, p. 367)

The Europeans were now attempting, with the help of different groups of indigenous people, to surround the Spanish before the final assault. In governor Portillo's documents, despite some attempts to make suggestions and ask for help from the Philippines' authorities, there is a general sense that the settlement is inevitably, finally, going to fail. There is a feeling of abandonment and despair in the following quotation, written five months before the final battle: 'Everything is in such a sorry state, much like a sick person left to die.' (Portillo, 1642, p. 374)

Over those months, the Dutch strengthened their presence in the area, increasing the threat to the Spanish. What the documents also make clear, however, is that indigenous people were part of these events too. For example, we see here that the Dutch are 'rallying' the indigenous people to fight against the Spanish: 'Likewise, today, on this date, they have sent us a native – the same one who informed us three days before about the arrival of the Dutch enemy, giving us the chance to arm ourselves in the tower of this fort – [to tell us] how a sampan with eight Dutchmen and their captain is in the Tamchuy [Tamsui] river, rallying the natives [for an uprising] in April.' (N/A, 1642c, p. 367)

We can also see in this quotation another important role for indigenous people during this period, as intermediaries between the two European powers. Despite Portillo's bitterness towards the indigenous people in general, he is grateful for the help of some indigenous spies: 'But God revealed [this] to some barbarians who came to warn us. Your Lordship must give credit to all the friends we have made here.' (Portillo, 1642, p. 375)

When we survey the general scene before the final battle we see a significant difference between the relations of the Spanish and the Dutch with indigenous people. The Dutch, even in Spanish documents, were creating alliances and 'rallying' indigenous people. Peace treaties were being signed between the parties as far back as 1636 (Heylen, 2016, p. 10). Just as we showed that the absence of evidence of indigenous trade with the Spanish was revealing, it is notable that there is no evidence of the Spanish making new alliances with indigenous people at this crucial time. Nor, apparently, is any help being sought from them. This absence of attempts at building alliances, the only exceptions being those few individuals acting as informants, is perhaps the most telling detail, not least when Portillo lamented that there were: '40 Dutch vessels allying themselves with the entire Tamchuy province and the other natives of this island.' (Portillo, 1642a, p. 373) Portillo appeared to be losing all hope when he made statements such as: 'The paid native [workers] are ambivalent and if the enemy approaches us amidst such dire want and deprivation, who would not think that they would abandon us for them?' (Portillo, 1642, p. 373) Rather than forging positive

alliances with his neighbours, Portillo is thinking of them in terms of betrayal. Even he cannot see why the indigenous people would remain loyal to the Spanish.

The documentation about the fall of Formosa is more copious than that about the initial invasion of the island, mainly due to the detailed deliberations about who was to blame for its loss. We have shown that, indigenous people played a significant part in events leading up to the final battle in allowing the Dutch to approach and acting as intermediaries. During the final battle, however, those same people became somewhat diffusive; their role became intriguingly ambivalent. As we have stated, the temptation is always to frame the story of the fall of Formosa as a battle between the Dutch and the Spanish, and as part of this analysis, such a framing makes us question which side the indigenous people supported. What emerges when we analyse Spanish sources is that the indigenous people were not a homogenous group. They supported both sides; they opposed both sides and neither side; they were present and absent. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that the indigenous people were a third party dealing practically with events prompted by European powers.

When the Dutch landed on the island that had been the Spanish power base for some 16 years, there were four strongholds, which the invaders proceeded to take over, from the smallest to the biggest. In stage one, the invaders quickly took two minor strongholds called El Cubo and La Mira. Events slowed drastically in stage two as the Dutch spent five days based at La Mira battling for a small fort called La Retirada. Stage three, the final stage, involved the fall of La Retirada, prompting the Spanish to surrender their main fort, San Salvador. Borao Mateo gives a detailed overview of the five-day battle in volume 2 of *Spaniards in Taiwan* (Borao Mateo, 2002, p. ix–xii), summarising the fascinating but somewhat anticlimactic end to the Spanish settlement as follows: 'Portillo was caught in a serious dilemma: to save the life of his men or to have them massacred in a suicide mission. It also seems quite possible that, from the start, he favored the first option, which was why he organized a kind of symbolic resistance.' (Borao Mateo, 2014, p. xvi) After this 'symbolic' resistance, Portillo appeared to accept the inevitable and surrendered.

The Dutch initially landed on Keelung island on the opposite side from the Spanish stronghold. De los Ángeles reports, in his description of the fall of Formosa, that this initial landing was met with '12 Spanish soldiers, eight Pampangos, and 30 or 40 native archers.' (de los Ángeles, 1642, p. 413) De los Ángeles specifically mentions the role of indigenous people in the battle: 'And the native archers, who were very skilful, also inflicted much damage on the Dutch.' (de los Ángeles, 1642, p. 413) This event took place at the very beginning of the invasion by the Dutch. Borao Mateo, in his overview of the battle, notes that the assertion about native archers was made by de los Ángeles (Borao Mateo, 2002, p. x). It

stands out because, sifting through the other testimonies regarding the final battle, this is the only time that indigenous people are said to have fought in it. The identity of these indigenous people is, however, unfortunately ambivalent.

We introduced the soldiers' groups of testimonies about the final battle for Formosa in the chapter *Constructing Formosans*. The first set of testimonies, from 1643, was compiled by the Philippines' Governor Corcuera in the aftermath of the loss of Formosa but before any trial began. As explained previously, these eight eye witnesses were asked to respond to 13 points, only one of which was about the indigenous role in the Dutch invasion (N/A, 1643, p. 424). These eye witnesses provided fascinating accounts that are certainly verisimilitudinous, but their details can confuse rather than clarify our understanding of events.

For example, one 36-year-old lieutenant, Antonio Pérez, refers directly to Formosan indigenous people in the following, stating that they were no help at all during the battle: 'This witness does not know if the baptized natives of the Island[7] collaborated with the Dutch, but he knows they did not help us.' (N/A, 1643, p. 432) Other evidence suggests that Formosans did take part, but their precise role was unclear.

Looking at the first stage of the battle, the taking of El Cubo and La Mira, Juan Pérez de Rueda's testimony adds further weight to de los Ángeles's assertion that indigenous people fought for the Spanish. Pérez de Rueda, described as 'fiscal promoter of the Royal Treasury' (N/A, 1644c, p. 517), mentions 'armed natives' going to La Mira in the following quotation: 'Sergeant Major Portillo had sent his lieutenant, the adjutant Villanueva, with what remained of the company of the Spanish infantry under him, including the armed natives, to march from the main fort itself to the Mira.' (N/A, 1643, p. 436) Second lieutenant Julio de Tapia, meanwhile, is specific about the different people who fought in the battle. In his description of the men stationed at La Mira, he states that there were Spaniards and Pampangos present, and adds: 'All together, they were not more than 20 persons, including the natives of that land, servants of His Majesty, Christians and gentiles.' (N/A, 1643, p. 446) This adds weight to the claim that Formosan indigenous people fought at La Mira.

On the other hand, Matías Calderón, a 34-year-old witness described as a 'solider of the camp' (N/A, 1643, p. 442), describes the same first stage of the battle, going into detail about who fought, using the terms 'Cagayanes' and 'Pampangos'. He only uses the term 'natives' much later on in his testimony when referring to the third stage of the battle and the 'rebel natives' on the side of the Dutch (N/A, 1643, p. 443). Definitions are further confused in the following quotation in another testimony about the first stage of the battle by an 'adjutant' (N/A, 1643, p. 436) named Andrés Carrillo. In this quotation, the term 'natives' appears to

[7] Phrase discussed later.

mean people from Cagayan and Pampanga: '[Portillo] ordered his lieutenant, and a portion of his company and some reinforcements from Cagayan and Pampanga (their number and those of the Spanish being around 80, with more Spaniards than natives).' (N/A, 1643, p. 433)

With El Cubo and La Mira taken by the Dutch forces, the testimonies go on to describe the five-day stand-off between the Spanish at La Retirada and the Dutch at La Mira. There are further hints that point to the role of Formosans in events during the battle for the Spanish settlement.

It was noticeable that Antonio Pérez had previously been very specific when referring to Formosans, using the phrase that was previously underlined: 'baptized natives of this Island.' (N/A, 1643, p. 432) During this second stage of the battle, Pérez confirms that around 30 indigenous people were in La Retirada, but his phrasing is ambiguous: 'They retreated to the Retirada where they remained under the command of the said Captain Valentín de Aréchaga with other 30 natives, more or less, penal laborers, Pampangans and Cagayanes.' (N/A, 1643, p. 430)[8] It is unclear if the natives he mentions include penal laborers, Pampangans and Cagayanes, or if he mentions these groups separately, although the former seems more likely.

One hint that the people in La Retirada could have included Formosan indigenous people is provided by another witness, Andrés Carrillo, who stated that governor Portillo ordered the indigenous people in La Retirada to be shot if they should start to flee: 'they were to be shot with the harquebuses; this, however, was not executed.' (N/A, 1643, p. 434) If we link Portillo's ignored command to his previously noted bitterness towards Formosa's indigenous people, we can infer that this is further evidence that the people in La Retirada were from Formosa and also that he was expecting them to rebel. This attempt to definitively link those '30 natives' with Formosan indigenous people, however, is not conclusive, with one witness, Julio de Tapia, undermining this theory when he states that the men who eventually fled La Retirada were Pampangos and Cagayanes (N/A, 1643, p. 447). It is worth noting that the 'natives' in La Retirada, whoever they were, did not have the opportunity to defend the Spanish. Aréchaga, mentioned in Pérez's testimony, was the commander at La Retirada and one of the most senior men to give a testimony. He noted that these 30 'native workers' in La Retirada: 'could do no more than to load the ammunition, because there were not even ready-made cartridges, and to go about doing other chores.' (N/A, 1643, p. 426) It seems

[8] The original translation, in *Spaniards in Taiwan*, is even more ambiguous and has been adjusted above. Here is the text from *Spaniards in Taiwan*: 'They retreated to the Retirada where they remained under the command of the said Captain Valentín de Aréchaga with other 30 natives, more or less, some penal laborers, and others from Pampanga and Cagayan.' (N/A, 1643, p. 430) Compared to this English translation, the original Spanish implies that it is more likely that the 30 natives include the penal laborers, Pampangans and Cagayanes, although there is still some ambiguity.

that the indigenous people, Formosans or not, were unable to help due to a lack of appropriate artillery.

Aréchaga describes El Cubo as a 'small wooden fortress' and La Retirada as 'then being constructed and just about to be finished', hinting at the weakness of the Spanish defences. According to de Aréchaga, when La Retirada fell, the indigenous people: 'abandoned the witness, leaving him with only one Spaniard.' (N/A, 1643, p. 426)

The only other aspect to indigenous involvement discussed in the Spanish documents is their role fighting with the Dutch. Later in the same testimony, Aréchaga goes on to say that: 'the native infidels and some other mutinous Christians, and also a sangley allied themselves with the enemy.' (N/A, 1643, p. 428) The term 'infidels' could suggest that these people were Formosans, if we assume that the Pampangos and Cagayanes who worked for the Spanish would have to be Christian in order to do so. This is the only time Formosan indigenous people are said to switch sides, which in turn suggests that some Formosans began the battle fighting on the side of the Spanish, although the testimonies are never precise enough to allow us to know when or where. Antonio Pérez, in the meantime, separately provides evidence that indigenous people fought on the side of the Dutch, being fortuitously specific when he states that these people are 'of the same island': 'And the enemy landed 500 men, all Dutch, and some rebel natives of the same Island, including some fugitives.' (N/A, 1643, p. 430) We should note that Francisco de los Reyes, in his testimony, contradicts Pérez, stating that the invading forces were all Flemish: 'All were Flemish and this witness thinks that they were over 700.' (N/A, 1643, p. 450)

To summarise: Formosan indigenous people, therefore, were most likely on the Dutch side and seem to have been present on the Spanish side, although the firmest evidence only appeared when they swapped sides. In these Spanish testimonies, it is unclear what their role was on either side. De los Ángeles asserts that Formosan indigenous people took part as archers in the first stage of the battle, a statement that is neither directly contradicted nor wholly supported. There is no hint of Formosan indigenous people fighting for the Spanish after this. Indigenous people, however, were present during stage two of the battle in La Retirada, although the possibility that they were from the Philippines is never clarified. As La Retirada fell during stage three, these indigenous people fled, but they are not specifically said to be from Formosa. There is direct evidence that some Formosan indigenous people switched to the Dutch side during the battle and there is an account that indigenous people fought on the side of the Dutch from the beginning of the battle.

These accounts are vivid and direct, and ironically are all the more believable because of their ambiguities. What emerges is something very rare in the Spanish documents: a sense of

the voices of people telling their own stories, each with their versions of events and their own definitions of certain terms, including 'natives'. We read that Matías Calderón was wounded in the chest during the first stage of the battle and taken to hospital; Juan Pérez de Rueda, in contrast, spent the whole battle in the main fort, so was reporting third-hand accounts without actually having been present in any battles. Together, these testimonies paint a simultaneously confusing and vivid picture, which is perhaps unsurprising in a battle for the life of a colony.

We have mentioned the lack of evidence of trade between the Spanish and Formosan indigenous people. There is also no sign that the Spanish tried to forge any new alliances as the final battle approached, despite their clear need for help. When we read these witnesses' descriptions of the final battle, further gaps become clear. For example Quimaurri, the village neighbouring the Spanish, is strikingly absent from the testimonies, despite playing a significant role in the brief Dutch invasion a year earlier. We can see how indigenous people, so clearly mentioned by Portillo in events before the final battle, become an ambivalent, ill-defined group during the final events themselves. This could mean that Formosan indigenous people were not present, but just as easily mean that the Spanish soldiers giving their testimonies did not really care who the indigenous people were enough to mention their place of origin. We have seen how indigenous people from the Philippines could have a status different from those in Formosa, as discussed in the section *Them and them*. Here, however, ordinary Spanish soldiers are unclear on the details, something that in itself perhaps reveals the irrelevance of Formosan indigenous people in Spanish hierarchies, and as a result in the daily lives of these men, despite living alongside them, in some cases for over 16 years.

Despite the brevity of the three stages of this battle, as each testimony is analysed in turn, the indigenous role becomes less not more clear. In the testimonies, it is difficult to find any definitive statements about the presence of indigenous people but we also cannot affirm that they were not present. Looking elsewhere, in the chapter on *Constructing Formosans* we already noted the roll call of wage earners in the settlement including 'the natives of the land', suggesting that indigenous people did somehow earn wages in the Spanish settlement, but this does not explain how many there were, where they lived, or what they did when the Dutch invaded.

However, this is perhaps to focus too much on these latter events merely as a European battle between Dutch and Spanish protagonists. What emerges clearly from this lack of clarity is that the Formosan indigenous people of the north were not integrated into any European empire. As such, indigenous people were a third party in this battle. They were not

united, and they certainly were not united on one European side over the other, although those who were present do appear to have increasingly backed the Dutch as the Spanish resistance fell apart.

We see little evidence, ultimately, that the indigenous people had any loyalty towards the Spanish at this point. If they did fight for the Spanish, it is not easy to see what they would have been fighting for, or why they would fight for a weakened European power that had never totally conquered or made alliances with them. In indigenous terms, the battle begins to look like a free-for-all between two similar, distant European powers. With sides seeming almost irrelevant in this context, we can suggest that they would have done what another group of indigenous people did in Manila in 1579 when they found themselves participating in someone else's battle between the Spanish and the pirate Limahon, as shown in the following example.

In a document about a 1579 voyage to the Philippines by Fray Pedro de Alfaro, the threat posed by a pirate, Limahon, to Manila is discussed. At first, the 'friendly Indians' (González de Mendoza, 1586, p. N/A) fought for the Spanish against the pirate. However, the indigenous people switched sides when the pirate attacked: 'for the inhabitants of this region, as soon as they saw the city attacked by the pirate, had risen against the Spaniards – believing that the latter could not escape so great a force.' (González de Mendoza, 1586, p. N/A) The rebellion was soon crushed, but it shows that, ultimately, these indigenous people, not unlike the Formosans, had little reason to be loyal to the Spanish when an alternative, stronger power came along. In both cases, it seems that most of the indigenous people involved backed the side that seemed most likely to win. Such a tactic sometimes favoured the Spanish, as pointed out by Diamond: 'However, many [indigenous people] would not have become allies if they had not already been persuaded, by earlier devastating successes of unassisted Spaniards, that resistance was futile and that they should side with the likely winners.' (Diamond, 2005, p. 75)

We have looked at the indigenous people's role in the demise of the Spanish settlement in Formosa. The lack of success of missionary work with indigenous people led to calls by the governor of the Philippines to abandon the settlement as early as 1637; indigenous people showed no enthusiasm for the roles they were expected to assume and disrupted trade in a number of ways; Tamsui people allied themselves with the Dutch as the Spanish settlement declined, allowing these European rivals ever closer to the Spanish; also, a year before the final invasion, indigenous people were involved in the 1641 stand-off when they went to the top of a hill and, with the Dutch, 'flaunted their strength' (Portillo, 1641, p. 332) at the Spanish. In the final battle, in the meantime, the most curious detail is the disappearance of

clear information about the role of indigenous people, with the firmest conclusion being that they principally fought on the side of the Dutch, with some switching sides from the Spanish to the Dutch.

Amongst the many reports about the fall of Formosa, the Dominican Father Teodoro Quirós summarises what the loss of Formosa's indigenous people meant for the Spanish, in the process perhaps repeating the Spanish empire's core reasons for working with them: 'There is no doubt that had more people been sent from Manila, he would have shortly pacified the entire Island. Thus, the natives would have given their glory to God by converting to his Holy Law, and the King would have profited from their taxes.' (Quirós, 1643, p. 457)

6. Conclusion

Diego Felipe Tamargo's positive testimony about the lives of indigenous people with the Spanish, given during the prosecution of the governor Corcuera, revealed the fate of at least some of those who apparently chose to remain with the Spanish after the fall of the final Spanish settlement in Formosa. As he recorded in the following statement: 'Many of them married those Spaniards and these [women] are presently in this city [Manila], as it is known that they have come here to accompany their husbands.' (N/A, 1644c, p. 516) There is some evidence that the Spanish influence in Formosa lingered for some time. A document written by Victorio Riccio in 1667 reports a sighting of indigenous people near Keelung 20 years after it was abandoned by the Spanish: 'The natives, seeing that we were turning back, began to call and shout at them in the Spanish tongue, saying, "We are men of peace and friend of all Christians" (and they made the sign of the cross).' (Riccio, 1673, p. 611)

The Dutch and Spanish dominate the documents about the 1642 battle for Spanish Keelung, with the indigenous people from the area sidelined, even though they had lived in the area for centuries. By 1697, however, 45 years after the Spanish left, the Dutch had also been evicted from the island and Yu Yong-he, in his 1697 travels around northern Taiwan, did not even differentiate between these two European groups in his *Small Seas Travel Diaries* (Yu et al., 2004).

Despite writing diaries covering a five-month stay in Formosa, including a long stretch in the north, Yu Yong-he does not mention the Spanish time in Formosa at all, and even when he refers to the Philippines he conflates the Spanish with the Dutch, and presumably all westerners, calling them 'Red Hairs.' (Yu et al., 2004, p. 199) For Yu Yong-he, it appears, the Spanish settlement did not merit a mention.

When Borao Mateo named his monograph, the principal work about the Spanish in Formosa, *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan 1626–1642* (Borao Mateo, 2009), the title reflected the ambivalent situation of the Spanish on the island. The temptation is to assume that the Spanish colonised the north of Taiwan yet their settlements were always small, didn't thrive and did not come to dominate Formosa, leading them to be memorably described by Heylen as nothing more than a 'mercantile intermezzo in Taiwan.' (Heylen, 2012, p. 30) The Spanish didn't even convincingly dominate the north of the island. As Borao Mateo's title implies, the Spanish experienced Taiwan but did not come close to ruling the island.

Pushing Borao Mateo's work forward, however, this thesis argues for the resituation of the documents that he compiled in the two volumes of *Spaniards in Taiwan*. Those documents tell us much more than an irrelevant, almost-forgotten European story. They give us some of

the earliest glimpses of indigenous lives in Formosa during the very first attempts to colonise the north of the island, a history that until recently has, in the words of Jenco and Tremml-Werner, been 'marginalised.' (Jenco and Tremml-Werner, 2021, p. 240) The value of these documents is in not only the evidence they provide for the Spanish story that ended in 1642, but also the earliest written details they contain of an indigenous history that continues to this day.

This thesis, with its thematic analysis and microhistory, has delineated that story of indigenous people during the time of the Spanish settlement, despite the lack of sources available. In the process, this thesis demonstrates not only that such a history is possible but that, in answer to the second research question, there is a great deal we can know about indigenous people through Spanish documents.

By focusing wholly on the indigenous people, this thesis has foregrounded previously overlooked details. The Spanish took over an indigenous village, for example, when they invaded the island. When the Spanish arrived they met a Japanese Christian who had married an indigenous person, showing that Europeans weren't the only people to introduce Christianity to the island. Formosans sheltered indigenous people from the Philippines when they escaped the Spanish. Indigenous people worked with sangleys in trade patterns that were disrupted by the Spanish. Even after the demise of the settlement, relations between the Spanish and indigenous people continued with those Formosan indigenous people who had married Spaniards and moved to the Philippines.

By identifying the gaps in the story and then using Spanish sources from parallel events in the Philippines, this thesis has shown that it is possible to find out more about what could have happened when the Spanish landed on Formosa. This thesis analysed the indigenous reaction to the Spanish invasion, showing how the Spanish inability to take full control over the north was partly because they could not find and usurp powerful chiefs, leading to an inability to grasp and dominate 'jellyfish' (Scott, 2009, p. 219) local people.

This thesis has also demonstrated that the indigenous story with the Spanish did not just involve empire as a monolithic institution. Individual Spanish missionaries tended to sick and elderly indigenous people. We've looked at festivals and ceremonies, analysed how indigenous people interacted with the Spanish and the limits of that interaction. By comparing the development of the Spanish empire on nearby islands, we have examined what the Spanish mapped out for the Formosan indigenous people and looked at why and how those plans failed in Formosa.

At every stage, indigenous intransigence stifled the progress of the Spanish colonies in Formosa. During the early days, indigenous people did not help as the Spanish starved in Keelung. Their lack of easy acquiescence meant that the Spanish did not come to dominate Tamsui, eventually leading to a rare Spanish retreat. Particularly in the early days, the Spanish repeatedly attempted to dominate, work with or forge alliances with indigenous groups in Formosa, but never managed to rule whole populations as they did in Cebu and Manila, contributing to the ultimate failure of the settlement. In allying themselves with the Dutch, meanwhile, indigenous people made the Dutch victory all the more inevitable. The Dutch swept the Spanish aside in September 1642, grabbing the headlines of history in the process. However, the indigenous people of the north also had a significant part to play in the Spanish retreat from the island.

7. Appendix

Notes on personal names

Both Chinese and Spanish names vary in structure from English names, which leads to them being referenced in many ways in different works, particularly in English versions of documents. This thesis, where possible, quotes both Spanish surnames, for example, Borao Mateo rather than Borao, unless the writer is widely known by one surname.

Chinese names can undergo a range of permutations when they are used in Spanish or English documents. This thesis therefore places the family name first. The given names will follow, and if there is more than one given name it will be separated by a dash, for example: Chen Zong-lin. With both personal names and place names, local variants of the name will take precedence over Mandarin/pinyin renditions, or European adoptions of names, for example: Tamsui rather than Danshui; Lee Yu-chung over Li Yu-zhong; and Kang Pei-te over Peter Kang. Practicality will override any rigid adoption of these guidelines.

For reference, here are the principal Chinese names mentioned in this thesis, in Chinese characters:

Chen Zong-lin: 陳宗仁

Fang Chen-chen: 方真真

Kang Pei-te: 康培德

Lee Yu-chung: 李毓中

Liu Bi-de: 刘彼德

Xu Xiao-wang: 徐晓望

Yu Yong-he: 郁永河

Notes on terminology

Such is the nature of this thesis that the meaning of almost every word of its title could be the subject of its own essay. Working on this thesis has also been an exercise in noting how attitudes to different groups of people, political entities and geographical areas have evolved over centuries. Source documents from the 1500s and 1600s, in volumes often edited in the 1800s and 1900s, were produced by people who presumably thought they were 'good' in the terms defined by their eras, yet the terms they have used, or attitudes they have adopted, have developed unsavoury connotations down the years, perhaps unwittingly, perhaps

passively, perhaps justifiably condemning these 'good' people. I hope that at least an attempt at goodwill can be acknowledged in my work as attitudes and the connotations of terms continue to evolve and in themselves become antiquated.

I chose to use the word 'Formosa' as opposed to Taiwan in order to make clear the historic separation between the island of yesteryear and today's political reality. The term is used deliberately to reflect the ambiguous status of the island in those years. 'Formosa' is used to refer to the old island and Taiwan to refer to modern times, the principal exception being in Spanish quotations that often use the term 'Hermosa,' which is the Spanish equivalent of the Portuguese 'Formosa'.

Looked at from the point of view of an indigenous person in the early 1600s in particular, any term used to describe the residents of the island of Formosa can seem reductive, not least because the indigenous peoples were and are by no means a homogenous group. As recently as 1995, there were up to six different groups of indigenous languages identified on mainland Taiwan and Orchid Island, speaking up to 19 languages. Many of those languages were identified in 1995 as being extinct (Blundell et al., 2009, p. 71–72).

Words such as 'aborigine' and 'native' were considered for this thesis, both of which are used in many contexts, along with less common terms such as Emma Jinhua Teng's 'indigene' (Teng, 2004). Ultimately, 'indigenous peoples' was used in the title to reflect the multiplicity of groups in Taiwan. It is a term with a slight awkwardness that, hopefully, constructively acknowledges the discomfort involved in using any term at all. The term 'indigenous people' (people not peoples) is used more generally throughout this thesis, when membership of one group over another is not at issue.

The Spanish referred to their settlements in a number of ways in source documents. Subsequently, many names were given to these locations, something that is discussed in the introduction. In order to reduce ambiguity and potential confusion, the modern terms Tamsui and Keelung were used to refer to the locations of the Spanish settlements.

The original titles of some Spanish works used in this thesis use non-standard Spanish, meaning that some accents do not appear in the original titles. Some spellings differ from standard modern Spanish. In all cases, the original spelling has been maintained, without comment. Similarly, where traditional or simplified Chinese characters are quoted, the source's writing system is maintained. In the main body of the thesis, English is used, including for the titles of non-English documents. The original-language titles are included in footnotes and the bibliography for reference.

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