

ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

# Formosa Under the Dutch

Described from Contemporary Records

Rev. Wm. Campbell



*Routledge Revivals*

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by

**Rev. Wm. Campbell**



**Routledge**  
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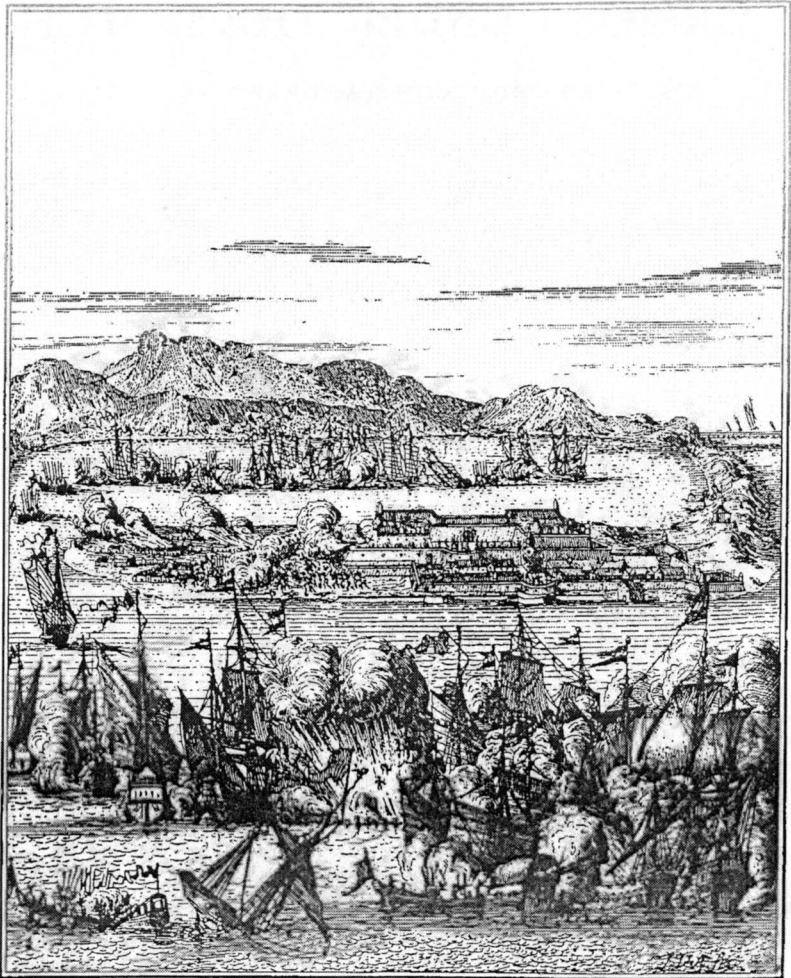
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KOXINGA'S FORCES ATTACKING FORT ZEELANDIA.  
From *Verwoestde Formosa*.

# FORMOSA UNDER THE DUTCH

DESCRIBED FROM CONTEMPORARY RECORDS

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES

AND A

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE ISLAND

BY

REV. WM. CAMPBELL, F.R.G.S.

ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN MISSION

TAINAN

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TO

A. W. BAIN, ESQ.

CONSUL FOR THE NETHERLANDS

AT TAIWAN



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## P R E F A C E

**F**ORMOSA came into considerable notice when ceded to Japan in 1895, and since that time the new Authorities have made great progress in developing its resources, while competent observers now admit the strategic importance of the Island in view of those serious questions which are beginning to loom up in the Far East.

We are almost exclusively indebted to the Dutch for particulars regarding the early condition of Formosa. It formed one of their East Indian colonies from 1624 till 1661, and during that period they not only carried on a very profitable trade, but made successful efforts in educating and Christianising the natives; one missionary alone having established a number of schools and received over five thousand adults into the membership of the Reformed Church.

Manchu invaders were then overrunning China, and the Chinese Chieftian Koxinga came much to the front in opposing them, but his power was completely broken at Amoy, where he had to save his life by flight. He embarked his remaining forces on an immense flotilla of war-junks, crossed the channel, expelled the Dutch from *Castel Zeelandia* after nine months' siege, and then proclaimed himself Sovereign Ruler of the Island.

Those events give rise to inquiry about some matters which are of special interest at present; because missionaries of the Presbyterian Churches of England and Canada are now working throughout the Chinese towns and villages of Western Formosa,

Formosa, and the Japanese are about to open up that mountainous eastern region in which the aboriginal inhabitants have remained isolated since the time of the Dutch occupation. It may therefore still serve some useful purpose to know more about the management of this early colony, the missionary work referred to, and that very protracted siege which the Dutch sustained in their stronghold at Tayouan.

In order to bring such knowledge within reach, it was open either to use early records as the basis of an independent narrative; or, by means of simple translation, to place English readers themselves as near the sources of information as possible: which latter method is the one followed here, even although it has involved no small amount of prolixity and repetition.

The *First Part* is made up of selections from the *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* of François Valentyn, who is often quoted as the main authority on the subject. All his notes on the Topography, Trade, and Religion of the Island have been reproduced here; and to these have been added the best Account of the Inhabitants which has come down to us, that reported by van Rechteren from Rev. George Candidius, the pioneer missionary of 1624.

The *Second Part* is somewhat voluminous, but this diffuseness could not be avoided in stating all that should be known about a Christian crusade among heathen people which took place long before the modern missionary work of the Church was entered upon. With the view of collecting materials for it, the writer visited Holland twice, and received much courtesy from officials connected with several of the University Libraries and Public Offices. The late Mr. J. A. Grothe of Utrecht was especially kind in giving free use of his then newly-issued *Archief voor de Geschiedenis der Oude Hollandsche Zending*; and a translation of his entire collection of contemporary letters and decisions of Church and Civil Courts relating to Mission work  
in

in Formosa will be found in the following pages. English versions of the Catechisms and a Sermon by Rev. R. Junius have also been included, to show what kind of teaching the native converts received, and because controversial references are made to them in several of the preceding letters. Students will thus be able to form some fairly correct estimate as to the leading actors in this Christian propaganda of the seventeenth century, as to their methods of work, the extent of their labours, and the apparently complete effacement of their Mission whenever Koxinga appeared upon the scene. No doubt, it has often been remarked that failure to supply a vernacular version of the Bible to Formosa was sufficient of itself to account for the sudden collapse which took place; but the following records show that theories of this kind present only a very partial aspect of the case, and that mere possession of Christian books by converts from heathenism still leaves room for the Apostolic inquiry, 'Understandest thou what thou readest?' In short, this fragment of Church History teaches us that it is a very questionable missionary policy to persist in purely aggressive efforts without making adequate provision for meeting the spiritual wants of those who have already broken with idolatry. So far as the manward side of Mission work is concerned, there is no cheap, superficial, and rapid method of enabling masses of converts to stand the test of insidious temptation or fiery persecution.

The *Third Part* narrates the events which led up to, and culminated in, the nine months' siege of Castle Zeelandia. It is taken from the only separate volume which was published on the subject, '*t Verwaerloosde Formosa* of A.D. 1675. All readers of the story will probably have their sympathies awakened towards Frederick Coyett, the last Dutch Governor of Formosa; an honourable, brave, but ill-used man, whose character should yet be vindicated by one of his own scholarly fellow-countrymen.

Several

Several papers in the *Appendix* also throw side-lights on the early history of Formosa. Section A, referring to the Spaniards, is a translation from Fr. Juan Ferrando's *Historia de las PP. Dominicos en las Islas Philipinas y en sus Misiones del Japon, China, Tung-kin y Formosa*; the Notes on Early English Trade at Formosa were copied at the India Office through kind permission of F. C. Danvers, Esq.; and the English version of Father de Mailla's Narrative first appeared in the *Shanghai Celestial Empire*.

Although larger than any that has yet been published, the *Bibliography* at the close is submitted with some diffidence. It is not an exhaustive one, because these sheets had to be seen through the press during a brief furlough which was much occupied with other duties, and the writer could not venture to make use of his considerable collection of Chinese and Japanese works on Formosa without the assistance of a native teacher. The titles of books and articles are all noted only once (under the names of their respective authors arranged alphabetically in capital letters); but examination should also be made under the few headings which are printed in Clarendon type, *e.g.* British Consular Reports, Charts and Maps, Chinese Customs' Reports, Formulier des Christendoms, Medical Reports, Parliamentary Papers, and Peking Gazette Notices. It seemed unnecessary to burden the pages with many cross-references, or to give an account of every reprint and translation of any book or paper. Thus, a fairly complete working List is all that is offered here; in the hope, however, that it may prove fully more serviceable than Möllendorff's *Manual*, or even the Formosa part of Professor Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*.

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*PART FIRST*

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF FORMOSA



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## PART FIRST

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF FORMOSA

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1. \*Notes on the Topography.—This large island was called by the natives themselves, Pak-an or Pak-ande; by the Chinese, Tai Liu-khiu (that is, Great Lu-Chu, there being also a Little Lu-chu); by the Portuguese or Castilians, *ilha Formosa*, on account of its pleasant and attractive appearance, and by the Netherlanders, island of Formosa.

From north to south, it is forty \*Dutch miles long, and fourteen or fifteen miles broad from east to west; having its southern extremity forty miles, and its northern, seventeen miles, distant from the province of Fokien, to which it now belongs.

Formosa lies within the Tropic of Cancer, and extends from  $120^{\circ} 7\frac{1}{2}'$  to  $122^{\circ} \frac{1}{4}'$  east longitude, and from  $21^{\circ} 54\frac{3}{4}'$  to  $25^{\circ} 18\frac{3}{4}'$  north latitude, being about forty miles long on the east side, and fifty on the west. At the northern end, it is eight miles broad, only four miles at the south, and eighteen or nineteen in the middle part; its whole circumference amounting to between one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty miles. Some, however, state that it is only three degrees long.

Here and there Formosa is very mountainous, but not without beautiful plains and large meadows interspersed, especially along the sea-coast, from which one has a free and pleasant view; while no island could be found more convenient for trade; with China to the west, Japan to the north, and the Philippines to the south.

To give as full a description of the island as possible, we shall begin at its south-east corner. A reef extends from it towards the south for about a mile and a half, and northward towards the coast; the southern half of this reef being a good half-mile in width, and the other becoming gradually narrower towards its northern end.

Along the eastern side of the island, towards the north-east, and about a mile from the south-east, corner, lies the island of Little Tobago; one mile further north, a village called Matafar, and a mile beyond that, the island of

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\* Asterisked clauses and words throughout the text are commented upon in the 'Explanatory Notes' which form E of the Appendix.

Great Tobago. Three miles in a north-easterly direction (this part of the coast trending in that way) there is seen, about four miles from the shore, the small island of Moaritus. Five miles north-east of it is the village of Alangâr, and two miles further, Natsibay and Laruhali.

Continuing about eight miles in the same direction, you reach a broad cape, called Penimbo, which extends three and a half miles towards the east, and is about half a mile wide. A little to the south of this are two small islands lying east-south-east—the furthest, three and a half miles from shore—called Seagull island. Directly south of the cape, a river is found; and to the north of it, six miles off, there is a bay, which is fully a mile wide from north to south and a mile deep from east to west, stretching mostly east by north or east-north-east.

Half a mile from this, to the north-east and near the shore, we have the small island of Lesser Doatri; while three miles distant can be seen the island of Sapiat, which is about three miles long from north to south, and barely half a mile broad. The small triangular island of Denuai is a little further on, this name being also given to a bay situated between the two islands.

One mile from the northern cape of Sapiat are the river and town of Doero; and proceeding another mile in the same direction, you reach the bay of St. Laurence; to the east of which, seven or eight miles off the coast, and lying north-by-east, are three small islands about a mile apart from each other, called Dos, Reys, and Magos. Of these islands, the middle one is the largest—being three miles long and one broad—and the most north-easterly the smallest.

One mile north-east of the beautiful bay of St. Laurence is the sharply projecting promontory of Caydan; a mile north from this, Tranquidan; and still another mile further on, the broad headland of St. Jacob. The small island of Gaelay is here seen a mile from shore towards the east; and after three miles more, one reaches the north-east cape.

After passing the north-east cape, about two miles towards the north-west cape, two small islands are found close together, lying south-east and north-west of each other. A little further towards the north-west cape, the island of Kelang (also called Quelang) stands out a mile from the shore towards the north-east, while between it and the coast there is yet another, but somewhat larger, island, one mile broad and seven and a half miles long. It lies at the mouth of a large river, near two towns, the names of which are unknown.

A couple of miles beyond, two small capes appear, with a little bay between, and the rock Tellada in the neighbourhood; while three miles further on is the north-west cape called Cape Camatiao, which is a mile and a half broad from east to west, two miles long from north to south, and covered with thick shrubs. After this, and immediately on passing round towards the west, you come upon the town of Tamkay, and two others called Medoldarea and Sabragoga. A little distance from these is the bay of Casidor with its heavy reef, in the middle of which a small river is seen.

Eleven miles to the south-west there is a small cape, from which a narrow

reef runs along the shore for about six miles, with two small bays near the middle a mile and a half from each other, and also having a narrow reef—one mile long and the eighth of a mile broad—projecting very sharply into the sea to the south-west. This latter is called Fisherman's reef, and on the shore opposite it there are many sand downs. From the Fisherman's, a narrow reef runs along the shore for two or three miles to where there is another but wider reef, and to the south of the bay of Casidor there is a broad cape; two miles further on bringing you to the town of Geruys.

Two or three miles to the south of Fisherman's reef, there is a large reef along the shore—in some parts a mile, in others a mile and a half, in width—which extends as far as the large river Tafarian, about six miles along the coast. Four or five miles south-east of Fisherman's reef, several large forests are seen.

On the river Tafarian there is a town of the same name; and south of it there are six small islands close together, with a reef round them, and another narrow island, of the shape of a long, crooked pruning knife, two miles in length from north to south.

The river Tafarian divides into three branches, of which one rises in the south-east, another in the south, and the third in the north-east. They unite about five miles from the shore, and the river falls into the sea close to the six islands. Two or three miles up this river, towards the east and north, there is a thick forest.

South of the Tafarian river, a heavy reef extends for nearly five miles along the coast, to the river Mattajar; near which it is only a mile broad, although it gradually becomes broader for three or four miles, and then runs, with a point a mile broad, towards the west. After this, it narrows on the shoreward side, but broadens up again up to two, three, and four, miles in the distance.

The river Mattajar debouches against Fisherman's shoal, immediately west of the island of the same name, forming a channel between that and the shore, and extending three miles to the west and one to the north; while it is over against the large reef just referred to and close to the shore, that the small island called Fisherman's island, is situated, there being two more islands one or two miles further on, to the north.

A mile west of Fisherman's island there are six islands close together, north of the channel, and the eighth of a mile from the southern shore of Fisherman's cape. A little more to the west is the long Fisherman's island, a mile long from north to south, but very narrow. A mile to the north-west there is another island, a mile long from east to west and three in circumference, called the Fisherman's shoal; while a little further west there is still another, which has no name. This latter island is rugged on both sides, but especially on the west, and is about two miles in circumference.

Half a mile to the south-west of Fisherman's island is seen an island about a mile long, lying north-east and south-west, and also the island of Wankam. The channel here is called Wankam channel. To the north-west of Wankam island there lies another small island, and to the south two more, lying south

and north of each other, and close together near the adjacent reef. Moreover, these two islands lie close to the shore, and surrounded by a small reef, each of them being one or two miles in circumference.

The Fisherman's cape on the mainland runs with four broken points towards the south-west. On the third of these points, somewhat inland, we have the town of Farmers'-barn, and a mile southwards, Murderer's river. To the north of this is a small bay, with one of the two islands just mentioned close inshore. The other island, to the south, is somewhat further from the shore, and lies opposite the river Hamba, where there is a town of the same name.

Continuing a little to the south, we come upon the small river Toahimpau, which runs into a channel, having the southernmost of the islands close to the shore, on the one side; and on the other, a very long and narrow island, which extends a mile and a half north-east and south-west. Near this latter island there is another like it, somewhat crooked, like a snake, which lies north and south. All these islands are situated on a reef from two to three miles long, which commences about half a mile from the shore, and runs south-west from the river Toahimpau. From east to west it is a mile and a half wide; and beyond that island which resembles a snake, it extends to a sharp point for another mile towards the south-west.

On this reef, towards the north, there are three other islands lying east and west of each other, about half a mile apart. The middle one is a mile and a half long from north to south. On the south-east side of this reef are three more islands, lying close together, north-east and south-west of each other. That furthest to the south-west is called Whalebone island.

While these outermost islands on the reef form a semicircle extending two or two and a half miles from the shore to the west, the circle is continued further towards the south-east by a small island on the reef, lying east by north and west by south, and after that by another island as long and as narrow as the third of those mentioned above. This last curves, first towards the south, and then towards the south-east. It is called Zeeburg, and is situated on the reef, which runs along the whole east side of the island, half a mile in breadth. On its western side, the reef extends only half the length of the island from the north-west corner, terminating in a narrow point, about a quarter of a mile long, and running towards the south-west.

Southwards from the island of Zeeburg lies another similar island, called Tayouan, which is very narrow, a mile and a half long, and lying nearly north and south. This island runs very nearly against a narrow cape to the north of a river, and has a small reef round it, except on the north. On it are situated the village and fort of Zeelandia.

Between this island and the island of Zeeburg there is the entrance to a very large bay, about three good miles wide, and some two miles deep from west to east.

If we now return and proceed along the Formosa mainland from the Murderer's river towards the south, we come upon the southernmost of the small islands which lie close inshore; and a little past the small river

Toahimpau, a large channel which runs into the sea south of that small island. This channel extends along the broad reef on which the six small islands besides the Whalebone island are situated; while immediately outside of it two other small islands are seen. The channel is formed by four or five small rivers which flow into the sea there.

From the southernmost of the little islands to the town and river of Soulang the coast extends for about two miles towards the east, indented in the shape of a half-moon. To the north of Soulang there is a thick forest.

South of the river Soulang a sharp cape is seen, with a small reef alongside the large bay which lies almost immediately before the island of Zeeburg, and partly before the island of Tayouan. In the middle of the bay is found another small river, the Dorealam, flowing from a lake which lies north and south two miles inland. There is a little town near this lake.

Three and a half miles south of the river Soulang, another river flows in a north-easterly direction, called the river Sakam, from a town of that name, situated about a mile north of it beside two other towns. Somewhat north of this latter river, there is still another called the Salt river; at the mouth of which, and stretching several miles inland, some dense forests come into view.

At the river Sakam the coast-line takes a sharp trend westward, and a good deal south from the point thus formed, lies Fisherman's island, which is a mile long, half a mile broad at its northern end, and gradually becomes narrower towards the south. There are also five small islands in a large bay here, which is about a mile broad, and two miles long from north to south. The cape at the south of this bay turns towards the north, leaving a channel between it and Fisherman's island, and has the appearance of a triangle; while the northern cape shows itself immediately behind the island.

Continuing southward from this point there is a little bay—very narrow at the entrance, but wider inside, with a small reef along its northern shore—which provides a roadstead for coasting junks. The coast then forms a broad cape, running about half a mile towards the south-west, called Tankoya, after a town of that name. Immediately to the south of this cape, which is the eighth of a mile broad, there is yet another bay, two miles in circumference, with a broad reef to seaward; and Traders' island, close to the shore. It, too, has a narrow entrance; south of which, and right opposite the southern end of the bay—extending far to the north-west—stands Monkey hill.

The coast-line then runs towards the south-east for three miles; and about a mile from the middle of this strip of land lies Golden Lion island or Lamey, three-quarters of a mile long from north-east to south-west, and barely half a mile wide. Near it are the island of Golamto and another of which the name is unknown.

Fully three miles south-east of Ape's hill there is another small, narrow bay, with a reef on either side. It has a narrow entrance, and is somewhat broader towards the middle, with several creeks towards the north-west and south-east.

The cape south-east of this bay is very broad. There we have the river of Dolatok, called after a town of that name; while a little further on in the same direction we come to the town of Pangsoya and river of the same name. The coast then runs for four miles towards the south-east with a long deep bend, which stretches round to the south-west corner of Formosa, forming a broad and somewhat prominent cape, immediately beyond which the southern island on the south-west side shows itself beyond the shore.

For ten miles inland from this part of the west coast the land appears low and level, but on towards its eastern side Formosa is seen to be very mountainous and covered with excessively thick forests, except for about a mile from the eastern shore, where the country again becomes level.

David \*Wright, a Scotsman who was a resident some years after the time of Rev. G. \*Candidius, has stated that Formosa is not under the jurisdiction of one single governor, but stands divided into eleven shires or provinces, besides many less known lordships in the mountain region.

He goes on to say that the *first* of these provinces, lying northward, is under the control of the *Hollanders*, and includes the townships of Sinkan, Tavakan, Bakloan, Soulang, Mattau, Tevorang, Favorlang, Takkais, Tornap, Terenip, and Assok.

The *second* province is called the Bay of Kabelang by the *Hollanders*, and contains seventy-two towns and villages; all of them governed by their own peculiar laws, and living in amity with each other. As the *Hollanders* were never able to subdue the province, they made peace with the inhabitants, and not only traded with them in several kinds of merchandise, but sold their sons and daughters to them as slaves; usually obtaining ten rix-dollars for every youth about thirteen years of age.

The *third* dominion belongs to the king of Middag, and lies against the north-east of Tayouan, southward of the river Patientia. This prince has seventeen towns that obey him, the largest being called Middag, which is also his chief seat and place of residence. Sada, Boedor, Deredonesel, and Goema, are four other of his eminent towns, the last-named being a handsome place, and situated on a plain five miles from Patientia, whereas the others are built on hills. The king of Middag had formerly twenty-seven towns under his jurisdiction, but ten of them threw off his yoke. He keeps up no great state, and has only one or two attendants accompanying him when going abroad. He would never suffer any Christians to dwell in his dominions, allowing them only to travel through it. About seven leagues to the northward of Middag and four from the sea, lies Mount Gedult, so called from its steep and difficult ascents. Rising up from the adjacent plains, this bramble-covered mountain appears smooth and square like a table, as if it were a work of art, not of nature. Moreover, the river which glides along its foot on the southern side has so strong a current that the stoutest of the natives (who are very able-bodied) dare not attempt the fording of it alone; between twenty and thirty persons requiring to hold fast together in the effort to cross. It is on this account that the Spaniards have ironically called it Rio Patientia, the Patient River,

because the passage of that rapid stream calls for great labour and also for patience.

The *fourth* jurisdiction is that of Pimaba, including eight towns and several villages, the most important of which is Pimaba, where the Governor resides, and whose inhabitants are stout-hearted and war-like, more expert in the use of weapons than all the other Formosans. The king himself is also regarded as a brave person, has always a body-guard, and is constantly quarrelling and fighting with his neighbours. He was formerly in friendship with the Hollanders, and proud to serve under them as sergeant of a company.

The *fifth* province is Sapat, lying quite on the other side of Formosa. It has ten towns, and their Governor is in league with the Chief and people of Pimaba.

The *sixth* is called Takabolder, with eighteen towns and a number of villages. In Takabolder there is an exceedingly high mountain which may be seen from Tayouan.

The *seventh* lordship is that of Cardeman, governed by a woman, who, for her kind reception of the Christians, was called 'The Good Woman' by the Hollanders. She controls five villages. When the Hollanders arrived, she supplied them with provisions, having great authority over her subjects; and, being a widow at the time, was married to one of the princes of the country.

The *eighth* territory has twelve villages connected with it, the principal of which are Deredou, Arrazo, Porraven, Barraba, Warrawarra, Tamatanna, and Cubeca.

The *ninth* is called Tokodekal, and has seven towns, with seven villages; the most important of which is Tokodekal, where the Governor has his residence.

The *tenth*, named Pukkal, consists of only one handsome city, which maintains a continual war against the seven villages of Tokodekal; as also against Percuzi and Pergunu; these two towns forming the *eleventh* of the Formosan provinces or dominions.

Both Formosa and the adjacent little island of Tayouan suffer terribly from earthquakes. On 14 December 1654 there happened a mighty one which, with short intermissions, continued for seven weeks. Indeed, some have been so unusually violent that the valleys, mountains, and houses moved like a ship on the waves, as if the whole of the land were about to sink altogether.

It also rains here very much, the only time when one can safely travel being in December and January. The fairest weather occurs during these two months, the heaviest rain in July and August. There are two monsoons; the one the northern, and the other the southern, monsoon; the first beginning in October and ending in March, and the second commencing in May and holding on till September, which latter month the Hollanders call 'The Inconstant Month,' because of its frequent changes of weather.

During 1655, abundance of locusts spread themselves over the islands of Formosa and Tayouan. Their first appearance was in Tayouan, where they fell down from the sky like a great fall of snow, and covered all the

ground. After two or three days they directed their way to Sakam, the village on Formosa opposite Tayouan, and multiplied in such numbers that no place was free from them. The people of Sakam tried to destroy them, and in four or five days the bodies of those they collected weighed thirty thousand *piculs*; but it proved in vain and efforts were given up, for the locust continued to increase until all the sugar-cane and rice crops were utterly destroyed.

It may be added here that the island of Tayouan lies off the south-west coast of Formosa, its extreme north point being distant about a league, and its southernmost within a bow's shot, of the land. From the south end people are able to wade over the narrow channel which separates it from Formosa, while across from its northern end there is a depth of about thirteen feet at low water.

Tayouan spreads south-east and north-west, being two and a half leagues in length, and a quarter of a league in breadth. It is an expanse of barren sand, producing only pineapples and other wild trees, yet here resided over ten thousand Chinese traders, not to speak of the aborigines.

On a sandhill towards the north, the Hollanders in 1632 built Fort, or Castle, Zeelandia, which is surrounded with a double wall, one investing the other, and the outer being fortified with bulwarks and redoubts; while under the Castle westward lies another Fort which is square, and guarded at two points by the sea.

A bow's shot distance from Zeelandia stands the main defence of the Castle, a strong outwork called Utrecht, which is built up sixteen feet high with stone, and protected with several palisades. Eastward from this lies the town of Tayouan, which was built and so named by the Hollanders, and adjacent is the harbour of Lokhau or straits of Tayouan.

On the other side of the Castle, can be seen a rising sandbank called *Baxemboy*, near which are a few scattered villages.

We conclude this section with a few words about the Pescadore, or Fishermen islands, seeing that reference must be made to them in the sequel. They are situated about seven miles to the west of the island of Formosa, in about  $20^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude.

The largest of the group is called the island of Phekno. It is almost triangular, having one angle to the north-east, one to the south-west—from which another small point runs out towards the south-west—and the third to the east, the whole island being about eight or ten miles in circumference. In the middle of it a castle is seen, while at the eastern corner there is a town with another Chinese castle.

Towards the north of Phekno, we have the island of Pehoe, which is a mile long from north-west to south-east, but very narrow, and situated very close to the north-east point of Phekno. It lies against a broad reef on the south-west side; and to the west-north-west of it, there is another small island on the same reef, which extends for a mile towards the north-west. There are three more small islands at the end of this reef.

A large number of other islands are seen towards the north, south, east, and

west of those two large islands of Pehoe and Phekno ; but the real Fishermen's island, after which all the others are named, lies a good mile west of Pehoe. On its western side, it has a beautiful bay called Fishermen's bay.

2. \*Account of the Inhabitants.—This island of Formosa, to which it hath pleased our Lord God to send me [Candidius] to preach the Gospel of Christ, is situated twenty-two degrees north of the line. It has a circumference of a hundred and thirty Dutch miles, contains many villages, and is exceedingly populous. The inhabitants do not speak one, but several languages, and they have neither king, governor, nor chief. They do not live at peace with each other ; one village being continually at war with another village.

The country is intersected by many beautiful rivers, containing abundance of fish, and is full of deer, wild swine, wild goats, hares and rabbits, with woodcocks, partridges, doves, and other kinds of fowl. The island contains also animals of the larger kind, such as cows and horses, the former having very thick horns with several branches. The flesh of these animals is considered very delicious. They are found in great numbers in the mountains, and are called by the natives *olawang*. There are also tigers, and other beasts of prey called *tinney*, which are of the same form as the bear, but somewhat larger, and whose skins are much valued.

The land is exceedingly rich and fertile, though very little cultivated. The trees generally grow wild, some producing fruit of which the natives are very fond, but which Europeans would not touch. Ginger and cinnamon are also found. Moreover, it is said that the land contains gold and silver mines, the report being that the Chinese have visited them and have sent some of the ore to Japan on trial. I have not myself seen those mines, nor has the attention of the Dutch as yet been drawn to them.

After these general remarks, I shall now describe those places in Formosa which I well know, and with whose language, manners, and customs, I am well acquainted. They are eight in number: Sinkan, Mattau, Soulang, Bakloan, Taffakan, Tifulukan, Teopan and Tefurang. The inhabitants of these places have the same manners, customs and religion, and speak the same language. Their position also is much the same, stretching from the shore towards the mountains, all of them being within one day's journey from headquarters at Fort Zeelandia. The most remote village is Tefurang, which lies between the mountains. To visit this place, and return again to the Fort, three days are required. The inhabitants are very barbarous and savage, the men being generally very tall and exceedingly robust, in fact almost giants. Their colour is between black and brown, like most Indians, but not so black as the Caffirs. In summer they go about perfectly nude, without any feeling of shame. On the contrary, the women are very small and short, but very fat and strong, their colour being between brown and yellow. They wear some clothes, and possess a certain degree of shame except when they wash themselves, which they do twice a day with warm water. At such times, if a man passes by and sees them, they do not mind it very much, if at all.

On the whole, the people of Formosa are very friendly, faithful and good-natured. They are also very hospitable to foreigners, offering them food and drink in their kindest manner and according to their means; but too many Europeans may not come among them, nor will they allow any liberties to be taken or any incivility to be shown. They are not at all prone to steal, but will rather restore to the possessor anything they find which does not belong to them—the village of Soulang forming a marked exception to this rule, as the people there are well known to be thieves and robbers.

Further, the Formosans are very faithful to their friends and allies. They are not at all treacherous, but would rather die or suffer discomfort themselves than bring suffering upon others by treachery. They have also a good understanding and an excellent memory, so that they can easily comprehend and remember anything. It must be added, too, that they are great beggars, and I may safely say that throughout the whole East Indies their effrontery in this respect could not be surpassed. Yet, though so ready to covet and so impudent in demanding what they desire, they can easily be pacified with a trifle.

The people occupy themselves principally in cultivating their fields and sowing rice; but, though they possess such abundance of excellent and fertile land that those seven villages could easily support an additional hundred thousand souls, they do not cultivate any more than is absolutely necessary; indeed, the yearly produce is sometimes barely sufficient for their wants. The women, who are complete drudges, do most of the farming work; and, since neither horses, cows, nor ploughs are used, all the work has to be slowly done by means of pickaxes. Moreover, whenever the rice appears aboveground, much labour is needed for the process of transplanting, as the young shoots stand very thick in some places and not in others. Again, when the rice becomes ripe, they do not use sickles to cut it down or scythes to mow it, but have a certain kind of instrument in the form of a knife, with which they cut off each stalk separately at about a handbreadth from the ear.

After the rice has been cut they carry it to their dwellings without thrashing it or taking the husks off, and every day they pound just so much as may be required. At night, two or three bundles are hung over the fire to dry; and, next morning, the women rise two hours before daylight, pound the rice, and prepare the quantity required for the day. Thus they continue to do day after day and year after year, never preparing more than is daily needed.

Three kinds of fruit are cultivated—of which the first is called *pingh*, the second *quach*, and the third *taraun*, which is very much like our millet—besides two kinds of vegetable somewhat resembling our Dutch beans, with three kinds of bulb which they use instead of bread, so that if bread, rice, or other fruits were wanting, they could subsist entirely upon these bulbs. The island also produces ginger, sugar-cane and melons, but the people plant just sufficient for their own wants. Bananas, cocoa-nuts and pinang are found in great abundance, with some other kinds of fruit which are not of great

importance, and the names of which I am unable to pronounce in our language. This is all that their fields and gardens produce for sustaining their bodies.

The people in this south-western part of Formosa have neither wines nor other spirituous liquors extracted from the trunks of trees as in other parts of India; but they have an exceedingly strong and deliciously flavoured beverage of their own, which has the same effect as Spanish and Rhine wine in intoxicating a person. The women prepare this beverage in the following manner: They take a quantity of rice, which, after simmering for some time, is kneaded into a dough. They then chew rice flour and spit it into a pot or jar until a pint of liquid is obtained. This is mixed with the dough just mentioned, in order to be used as leaven, after it has become as fine as the baker's dough of which we bake our bread. The dough having been thus prepared, is afterwards put into a large jar, water is poured over it, and it is allowed to stand for about two months, fermenting like new cider in a cask; by the end of which time it becomes a beautiful, strong, and delicious beverage. As the strength of the liquor increases the longer it is allowed to stand, it is sometimes kept five, ten, twenty, and even thirty years, before being touched; it reaching the highest degree of perfection at the end of this longer period. When the beverage does come to be used it seems to consist of two parts, that at the top being as clear as the purest water from a fountain, while the part at the bottom of the vessel is as thick as pulp. This thick part is usually supped with a spoon; when used as a beverage, it must be mixed with water. When the people go to their fields, they always take with them some of this mash in a jar or piece of bamboo, and a quantity of water; this forming their food and drink for the whole day. The top part they take only in very small quantities to strengthen and cheer them, not to quench their thirst. It may be added that the greater part of the rice crop every year is used in preparing this beverage.

When the women are not at work in the fields they go out in their \*sampanns to catch crabs and shrimps, or to collect oysters. Next to rice, they consider fish to be their nicest and most important kind of food. The fish caught are salted, with the scales and entrails; and, after having been preserved for some time, they are eaten with all the filth included. It is difficult to distinguish the fish when taken out of the jars on account of the worms and mites, but in this condition the people consider them more palatable and more delicious than ever.

While the women work, the men go about doing nothing, especially the strong young men from seventeen to twenty-four years of age. The older men—those from forty to sixty—are generally in the fields with their wives day and night. There, small huts are built, in which they rest and sleep, and for about two months at a time they do not appear in the village unless some festivity or other is going on. The younger men seldom assist their wives in the fields; their principal occupations being hunting and fighting.

In hunting they have three ways of securing their game: snares, assegais or spears, and bows and arrows. They have two methods of using snares. One way is to set them in the woods, or in places which the wild swine and

deer are known to frequent in great numbers, and then to surround the deer and drive them towards the snares, which are made of cane or bamboo. The other method is to set the snares either in narrow paths or in the open fields. A bamboo is fixed very deeply and firmly into the ground, and then bent down and secured by means of a small bit of wood. The snare is afterwards tied to it and slightly covered over with earth. When the deer, which are roaming about the fields by hundreds, sometimes by thousands, now touch the snare, the bamboo springs back to its upright position and the animal is caught by the leg. The native then approaches and kills it with a spear. In this way many thousands are caught every year.

When they hunt with spears, the men of a whole village—sometimes of two or three villages—go out together, each person carrying two or three spears. They have also their dogs to start the game. On reaching the appointed field, they form in a circle, a mile or half a mile in circumference, and then each man moves forward towards the centre. The game which may have been enclosed has very little chance of escape: an animal once struck by a spear being usually secured.

The spear used is made with a bamboo shaft about six feet long, to which, by means of a long cord, a small bell is attached. This cord is also fastened to the head, which has three or four barbed hooks. When an animal is struck, the head of the spear sticks fast; while the shaft, which is not firmly attached to the iron, falls out, and the animal dragging it along by the cord, is either entangled in the bushes or bleeds to death. The bell betrays to the hunter the direction in which the deer has fled, and in this way very many are caught. Many are also slaughtered with bows and arrows. One, two, or three men go into a field where deer are, and simply run after them—for they can run nearly as fast as the deer—discharging one arrow after another till their game is mortally wounded.

The flesh of the animals killed is bartered for wood, articles of dress, and other things, to the Chinese. The natives seldom keep a carcass for themselves, but they keep the entrails, which they eat with all the filth attached. Should they have too great a quantity, they salt it, but without taking any trouble to cleanse it first. This they consider a savoury kind of food. They will eat a piece of raw flesh cut from the body of a newly killed deer, the blood trickling from their mouths. The young of the deer—found within the body—they devour, skin and hair.

When war is declared against a village, due notice is given that the peace is broken. Twenty or thirty men, or as many as feel inclined, then set out, sometimes in a sampan. On reaching their destination they wait till nightfall, that they may not be seen or betrayed. In war, they are very treacherous; treachery and war meaning, with them, much the same thing. At the fit moment they stealthily creep into the fields, and first find whether any persons are asleep in their huts; for, as already mentioned, the greater part of the elderly natives sleep in their fields. Any one they find, young or old, man or woman, they instantly kill, and cut off their heads, hands and feet. Some-

times they take the whole body along with them, cutting it into as many pieces as there are warriors; each being desirous to have a part, so that on returning home he may boast of his prowess to the extent demanded by the occasion or the danger that has been run. But, if the enemy turns on them and they are obliged to flee, they take the head only; if in danger of being intercepted, they take the hair only, and then make off as best they can. Should they find no one in the fields—as sometimes happens—they enter the village. Waiting for a favourable opportunity, they surprise one of the houses, kill every one they find within, and hastily cutting off the heads, arms and feet, retreat with all possible speed to escape an attack. Sometimes they have only time to cut off the hair of the slain; for they can scarcely surprise a house without disturbing one of the inmates, whose cries of alarm being instantly heard throughout the village, the inhabitants arm themselves in the twinkling of an eye and repair to the spot. Sometimes the treacherous assailants succeed in killing a person, but have to take to their heels without getting possession of either head or hair. Sometimes they only kill their enemies; sometimes they can effect nothing if the night is dark and the people hide themselves in their dwellings; and sometimes they themselves are surprised and even killed.

A method of warfare practised at other times is to make a great noise and entice the enemy to follow them to where their sampans are lying, whereupon a hand-to-hand fight ensues, in which much valour is shown. If they are overpowered, or if some are killed or wounded, they take to flight. The death of one of them is considered as serious a matter as the rout of a whole army would be in Europe.

Their weapons consist of shields, swords and spears. The spears are not of the kind with which they kill the deer, as they have no barbs, cords, or bells, and the head is firmly attached to the shaft. Their shields are very long and broad, so that they can easily conceal themselves behind them; their swords are very short and broad. Japanese hatchets with bows and arrows are also sometimes made use of.

At times a whole village attacks another in open warfare. In their wars, they have no captains or chiefs, but any one who has got possession of many heads, or who is considered to have cut off a head; in short, any one who feels inclined for fighting, can easily get ten or twenty men to regard him as their nominal chief and to follow him in waging war or in pretending to do so.

Again, the natives are exceedingly cunning and full of stratagems. When they go out with five or six sampans, that is, with fifty or sixty men, the greater part of the warriors generally disembark at night and lie in ambush on one side of the village they are about to attack. The remainder, landing early next morning, approach the village from another point, their task being to provoke the inhabitants and make as much noise as possible. The villagers, taking the latter party for the whole force of the enemy, advance to the attack, leaving the village unprotected. Those in ambush now make their appearance suddenly, killing all who come in their way. Having taken two or three

heads, they hastily retreat to their sampans, where the others join them, and they now fancy they have gained a great victory. Villages that lie too far inland are often attacked in this way. A few men appear before such a village and make a great noise. The inhabitants come out, and a regular hand-to-hand fight ensues. The attacking party fight till they are overpowered, and then take to flight. In the meantime the rest, who have been placed in ambush, suddenly make their appearance on all sides, and the villagers find themselves attacked both in front and behind.

Another method of warfare, when they wish to surprise a house by night in a hostile village, is to lay traps everywhere in the roads leading to it, so that their pursuing enemies may be caught in them, the assailants taking care to keep a safe road open for themselves. These traps are made of some kind of cane or other with very sharp points, and are not like the traps we use, being about half a yard in length and not placed quite perpendicularly in the ground, but somewhat inclined in the direction whence the enemies are expected to come; who, when in pursuit—in a state of perfect nudity, and running as fast as deer—strike their shins against these traps, and receive so frightful wounds that they are obliged to desist. Nor do the natives hesitate to surprise their enemies by feigning friendship and then openly attacking them, as has happened in my time.

There is a certain island about three miles from Formosa, called Tugin in the native language [*i.e.* Lamey or Lambay]. We called it the Golden Lion island; because it was there that the captain of the ship *Golden Lion* was murdered with all his crew, when attempting to take in some provisions. The inhabitants of Tugin are constantly at war with the people of our island, and do not permit men of any other nation to land. Now and then the Chinese visit the place for the purpose of trading. Those visitors do not land, however, but remain in their junks, and the inhabitants row out and hand to them the things they wish to sell with the right hand and receive the price of them with the left. Indeed, they are exceedingly careful about the exchanges on both sides, neither party trusting the other.

Lately, some sixty inhabitants of Soulang village, belonging to us, sailed with some Chinese to the Golden Lion island. They were dressed like Chinese, and pretended to have gone for the purpose of bartering. On one of the natives approaching the junk and handing up what he wished to sell, he was suddenly seized by the arm, dragged into the ship, and cut into many pieces. Thereupon, they returned home, and fancied they had obtained a great victory. Such is their manner of carrying on war.

When they succeed in cutting off an enemy's head; or, failing that, get some of the hair, or merely seize a spear, and return home, great feasts are held, they sing and shout, in short the whole village becomes jubilant. First they take the head and carry it about the village—a great triumph for the man who has taken the head—singing hymns and songs in honour of their gods or idols, to whom they consider themselves indebted for the victory. To whatever dwelling the party goes in the village, they are received with accla-

mations and heartily welcomed, and the very best kind of beverage is presented to them. They then proceed with the head to the idol house—for every fifteen or sixteen families have such a house—and boil it in a pot till all the flesh falls off, whereupon it is put in the sun to dry, and the very best kind of their strong liquor is poured over it. On these occasions a great number of pigs are slaughtered in honour of their gods, and grand festivities follow. The celebration of victories like this generally lasts a whole fortnight without any interruption. The same festivities are indulged in when they have succeeded in getting some hair, or only a spear, of their enemies.

These heads, arms, legs, or other parts of a body are held in high esteem, and valued by them as much as we value gold, silver, pearls or other precious stones. When a house is on fire they will save these relics first and leave other things to perish. The man who has obtained a head is much honoured and respected: during the first fortnight nobody daring to address such a hero. This is the way they act towards their fallen enemies.

These villages have no general chief who rules over them, but each village is independent. Nor has any village its own head-man who governs it; although it may have a nominal council, consisting of twelve men of good repute. Every two years the councillors lay down their office, and others are chosen in their stead. Councillors must be about forty years of age, and all of them of the same age. Although they know nothing of the number of years, and no one really knows how long he has lived, still they do remember on what day, and in what year and month, they were born. When councillors have been in office two years, each causes the hair on both sides of his forehead to be plucked out, which is a sign that he has fulfilled his term and is no longer in office. Then, other councillors of the same age are chosen.

The dignity and power of the councillors, however, is not so great that their laws must be obeyed or their commands listened to; but whenever a difficulty arises they meet, and deliberate about the best way of solving it. Having come to a decision they call all the people of the village together to one of the palaver or idol houses, the question is propounded, and for half an hour they discuss the *pros* and *cons* of the matter. When one speaker is tired, another takes his place, and they thus endeavour, by dint of many words, to persuade the people to accept their proposal. Perfect order is maintained; for, while an orator is speaking, no one would think of interrupting him, though there were a thousand hearers. At their eloquence I have been thoroughly astonished, for I actually believe Demosthenes himself could not have been more eloquent or have had a greater selection of words at his command. The councillors having finished speaking, the people deliberate about the proposal among themselves; and they may accept what the councillors propose or not, as they think fit. There is no compulsion; every one judging for himself of the advantages or disadvantages of the proposal.

It is also part of a councillor's office to see that the commands of their priestesses are duly obeyed, and to prevent everything that they fancy may provoke the anger of their gods. Whenever anything has occurred which

they think may incense their gods, or when a private interest is at stake, these twelve persons are considered competent to judge concerning the matter, and they have the power to inflict certain punishments. These punishments never take the form of imprisonment, chains, or any other corporal punishment; but of fines, it may be of some piece of clothing, a deer skin, or a jar of their strong drink, according to the offence.

At certain times of the year the natives go about for three months in a state of perfect nudity. They declare that, if they did not go about then without any covering whatever, their gods would not send them any rain, and consequently there would be no rice harvest. If any councillor meets a man transgressing this law, he has the power to take away whatever clothing the culprit may have on, and also to inflict a fine of two small garments, or two deerskins. For this reason, these councillors go and sit by the side of the roads in the morning and at night, when the people are either going to or returning from their fields, in order to see who among them may be wearing any clothing, in which case they take away the garment and fine the offender. That this is so, I have myself seen, on my journey from Sinkan to Mattau. On one occasion there I met some inhabitants of the latter place returning from their fields. One of them who had some raiment on, seeing a councillor in the distance sitting by the roadside, asked me to take care of it till we had passed the councillor, as otherwise he would be punished. At the man's request I did so, and on coming near the councillor I showed him the garment, saying it belonged to one of the persons who were with me. He would willingly have used force to obtain possession of it, and insisted upon my saying who the owner was; but I refused to answer this question and went my way; and, when entering the village, I returned his property to the native, who declared that I had done him real service.

There are also times when they may wear a garment, but it may not be made of silk. If by chance the councillors meet any one wearing a garment made of silk, they force the transgressor to hand it over to them and a fine is inflicted. When, on certain festival days, the women deck themselves out and make a great show, if one of them seems to have on more garments than is necessary, or to have vainly decked herself out in an extravagant way, she is likewise punished by the councillors; who, in presence of all the people, cut the clothes into pieces, pretending that this is done to prevent the women from showing themselves off in too splendid attire.

Further, there is a period when these councillors must desist from fulfilling certain offices or duties. For example, during the time that the rice is half ripe or not yet quite full grown, they may not become intoxicated, nor touch sugar, *pietang*, or any kind of fat. I asked them the reason of this, and they told me that, if they became drunk or ate any of these things, the deer would get into their rice-fields and destroy them, and that if they did not keep this law strictly, the people would look down upon them with contempt. Let, then, these remarks suffice as regards their mode of government.

Theft, murder, manslaughter, and adultery, are not punished by law;

every one revenging himself when he fancies he has been wronged. Thus, when some one steals a thing, and the theft becomes publicly and notoriously known, the person who has been robbed takes some friends with him, and they enter the house of the thief and take as many things as they can lay hold of, or compel the offender to make some kind of compromise. If, however, the thief does not consent to this mode of procedure, the owner of the stolen article makes use of his sword, and calls all his people and friends together to wage war against the offender. A somewhat similar course is followed when a man is found to have been unduly intimate with the wife of another. The aggrieved husband goes to the house of the offender and takes two or three pigs from the stable: this is the punishment for adultery. When a person is murdered, the friends of the murderer and of the murdered meet, and the matter is compounded for by the payment of a number of skins; and when the injured parties are satisfied, the murderer is allowed to return.

Although there is in reality no distinction of rank among these people, and therefore no superiors and inferiors, no servant, no master—and consequently no words for master and servant in their language,—yet, according to their peculiar customs, they treat one another with much respect and courtesy. They consider age to be the great mark of distinction; and show more respect for it than on account of any one's mere social position, power, or riches. Thus, when two persons meet on the road or in the street, the younger will invariably go a little out of the way for the elder, and turn his back towards him till he has passed; and even when younger persons meet on the road and speak on matters of business, they will take great care to turn their backs to an older person till he has entirely passed by. When an older man bids a younger one do anything for him, the latter will not have the courage to refuse to do it, although he should require to go two, three, or four miles to execute the commission. In company the younger will never venture to speak while the older ones are doing so. At their public meals, or when they meet to drink, they invariably serve the more aged persons first; age alone being considered. They show their respect for each other in this way.

Let us now see what their marriage and funeral customs are. As regards marriage, no man is allowed to marry just as he pleases. The men must have attained to the age of twenty or twenty-one before they can marry; for, although this people do not keep any account of years, they thoroughly remember who is older and who is younger. Those who are born in the *same* month, or in the same half or whole year, are considered to have been born at the same time, and to be of the same age. In their language this is called *saat cassiuwang*. On reaching this age they may marry; but those who are *cassiuwang*, or too young, may not marry. This they remember and never fail to observe.

From their youth till about their fifteenth or seventeenth year they may not let their hair grow longer than just to cover their ears. They also practise the art of shaving as we do, but they have neither scissors nor razors. Instead of using a pair of scissors they employ a *parring*; they lay their hair

upon a piece of wood and cut it off with a *parring*. The hairs of the beard they do not cut off with a razor, but pluck them out with a copper or iron instrument. For this purpose they sometimes take a thread made of bamboo, double it up, fix the hair in it, and then, with a sudden jerk, pull the hair out. They have a great dislike to beards, for which reason they in the same way remove the hair on the face as well as on other parts of the body. From their seventeenth year, they allow their hair to grow as long as they like, just as the Chinese do. When their hair is long they begin to woo. Thus much as regards the men.

As regards the women, they are allowed to marry as early as they are thought fit to do so. The women let their hair grow, and do not cut it.

The following is the way in which they enter upon marriage or go a-courting. When a young man feels a regard for a young woman, the first thing he does is to send his mother, sister, cousin, or any other female friend, to the house where the object of his affection resides, sending at the same time the gifts which he has destined for her as his wife. His messenger asks the father, mother, or friends to give the young woman in marriage to the youth, and displays the things she has brought as a dowry. If the father, mother, or other friends are satisfied with the proposal, the goods remain in the house and the marriage is considered as settled; no other ceremonies being required. There is no wedding either, but the young man may pass the following night with the woman he has chosen.

The value of the goods forming the dowry varies considerably, one giving more than another, every one according to his means. The richest give seven to eight petticoats, as many dresses, three or four hundred armlets and bracelets made of bamboo, and ten or twelve rings for the fingers. These rings are made of metal or of the horn of the deer, and each is as large as an egg of which the top and bottom are cut off, being so broad that they entirely cover a joint of the finger. By way of ornament, they wear on each finger such a ring, which is kept in its place by means of a little red cord made of dog's hair. When they have these rings on, their fingers (according to the size of the ring) stand as far apart as possible, sometimes causing the wearer much pain. This gives the hand anything but a beautiful appearance; but, according to their ideas, it is something very elegant.

The presents also include four or five girdles of very coarse linen, ten or twelve small dog's hair garments which they call *etharao*, twenty to thirty *cangans* or Chinese garments—the price of one being three-eighths of a *real* of eight Dutch shillings—a large tuft of dog's hair called in their language *ayam mamiang* and highly prized by them, a straw and dog's hair ornament for the head, like a bishop's mitre and beautifully wrought, with four or five pairs of stockings made of deerskins, not tanned, but taken from the rough skin so as to be bound to the legs by means of thongs. A collection of the above-named articles is the most that the rich would give, and the price of the whole would be valued by a Dutch trader at about forty *reals*.

Others who are not so rich will give three or four bracelets or armlets of

bamboo, two or three petticoats and as many little garments, altogether amounting to the value of two, or at the most three, *reals*. The middling classes give somewhat more, as much as they think proper and can afford.

All these articles having been handed over and approved of, the young man may pass the following night with the woman he has chosen. It is not the custom, however, for the wife to take up her abode in the house of her husband. The woman remains in her own house, eating, drinking, and sleeping there; and the husband remains in his house. At night the husband enters the house of his wife, but not openly; as he has to steal in like a thief at night. Neither may he approach the fire or the candles; he is expected to lie down on the couch immediately and without speaking a word. If he wishes to have some tobacco or anything else he may not ask for it; but the custom is that he shall give a slight cough, whereupon the wife approaches him and gives him what he requires, and then returns to her own folk. When they have retired, she lies down beside her husband on the couch, but next morning before daybreak he is expected to rise, and to disappear as mysteriously as he came the evening before, without saying one word; in fact, he must very much act like a cat sneaking out of a hencoop. Nor is the husband allowed to enter the house during the daytime.

Their couches are not provided with pillows and mattresses or straw beds. Instead of a straw bed they have a deerskin, and instead of pillows they put pieces of wood under their heads. The couches are made of bamboo, on which is placed a board, and on the board a deerskin. Sometimes they simply lie on the floor with a deerskin underneath them.

The women possess their own fields with the women-folk of their own generation. These they cultivate for their own support. They always live together, and eat and drink in the same house. The husband follows the same rule; he and his folk possessing their own fields, and he remaining in his own house with his own kindred. The wife does not garner for the husband, nor the husband for the wife: each house provides for itself. During the day the men work in their fields; and the women work in their fields at night. Husband and wife very seldom meet, unless they wish to do so in secret, in a place unknown to others, and in the presence of other people they seldom address each other. It does, however, sometimes happen that the husband enters the house of his wife during the day; but then all the other women must be absent. Before venturing to visit his wife he must send some one to tell her that her husband is standing without and begs permission to enter. If the woman comes out, it is a sign that he may enter, and he is permitted to follow her within-doors; but if she is not inclined to come out, poor John may go his way again.

If children are born to them, they mostly remain with their mother in her house; but when they reach the age of twenty-three, they take up their abode with their father. In the first years of marriage the wife has no children; for, according to the laws and customs of this people, a woman is not allowed to bear children till she is thirty-five, thirty-six, or thirty-seven, years of age;

for, when she is with child, the fruit of her womb is destroyed. This is brought about in the following way : They call one of their priestesses, and, on her arrival, the woman lies down on a couch or on the floor, and is then pushed, pinched, and roughly handled till abortion follows, which occasions more pain than if the child had been brought living into the world. It is not for lack of maternal love among these women that this system is followed, but because their priestesses teach them so to act. It would be considered a great shame, a great sin, if women bore any children before the age mentioned above, and thus the fruit of their wombs is generally destroyed. They themselves have often confessed to me that they have been with child fifteen or sixteen times and had practised abortion each time. One woman told me that she was with child the seventeenth time, but would now be allowed to bring her child into the world and to be born in the natural way; so that it is only when women are about thirty-seven to thirty-eight years of age and are with child that they allow their children to see the light of day without practising the sin of abortion.

When the husbands reach the age of fifty, they leave their gods, their dwellings, and their kith and kin to take up their permanent abode with their wives, who, of course, are now stricken in years. But they are seldom at home; the greater part of their time being spent in the fields, where they build a hut to sleep in at night. This, then, is the nature of their married life.

It is not a law, however, that the husband must remain with his wife to the end of her days without leaving her or separating from her. If he no longer feels any pleasure in her or any inclination for her, he may leave her and marry another; but if he cannot bring forward any other reason than disinclination, he must leave the things which he had given her on asking her in marriage in the woman's possession. If there are other reasons, however, if, for instance, the woman has committed adultery, or followed other men, or has struck her husband, or committed any other misdemeanour, then the husband is entitled to all the things that he had given her; which law applies not only to the men, but to the women also. Thus it often happens that as many women are repudiated and others taken in their stead by one man as there are months in a year.

It is the custom for a man to marry only one woman, and not two or three at the same time. There are some who have two wives, but this is very seldom the case, and it is not considered a proper or right thing. And yet, the men are great whoremongers: for, although they have their own wives, they neglect no opportunity of committing adultery. It is, however, a rule that the wife of the husband and the husband of the wife should remain in ignorance of it. Another of their customs is that no one can marry into his own family, not even to the fourth generation.

Contrary to our custom, it is also considered exceedingly uncivil, and somewhat of an affront, to ask a relative of any woman, in the presence of others, how she does, or if she is ugly or beautiful, or to say, by way of joke,

that you would like to marry or woo her. Such expressions seem to be painful to them, and to cause them great embarrassment.

We have heard it stated that married men live in houses of their own, but sleep in those of their wives; but the rule is for unmarried men, and men who, though married, do not sleep with their wives, to have separate places in the village appointed them where they pass the night. Every group of twelve or fourteen houses has its own separate dormitory; and these dormitories being supplied with sleeping-berths, which are occupied at night by the men, and even by children till they have reached four years of age; each one sleeping in the dormitory to which he belongs.

The Formosans possess large and beautiful houses. I may safely say that I have seen none finer and more beautifully built in all India. The floors are made of bamboo; and each house has four doors, facing east, west, north, and south. Sometimes they have eight doors, two facing in each direction. All houses are built on eminences. They generally consist of clay, and are about a man's height from the ground.

The ornaments with which they usually deck their houses within and without are the heads of stags and boars. Their own finer apparel is obtained from the Chinese, to whom they sell or barter their rice and the flesh and skins of deer. These skins they use instead of gold and silver, which metals they do not possess. They have also pickaxes for delving the ground, with the spears, swords, and bows and arrows which are used in hunting and in warfare. But their best and most highly prized ornaments are the skulls, hair, and bones of the foes they have slain.

The vessels which they use in preparing and serving up food are made of wood, like the troughs for swine; their drinking-vessels are earthen pots or pieces of bamboo; while the vessels kept for cooking are earthen pots or jugs. Their food, with the exception of rice, is excessively filthy and stinking; although their beverages are good, wholesome, and nice; but only to people who are not very fastidious.

The Formosans have neither days of rest nor holidays, every day being the same with them. However, they do keep some festive days. On these occasions they assemble in great numbers and disport themselves merrily, each party in its own village meeting-house. There they dance, jump about, and display the most singular performances. The women are all decked out, according to their fashion, in their best and finest apparel, which they could willingly describe and express in Dutch, but I cannot, and my time made much better employed. The most precious of their garments are made of sheep's hair; for as we in our country have sheep of whose wool we make cloth, so they have dogs, whose hair is every year plucked out and made up into small bundles before being dyed. With this hair they ornament their clothes, much as we do ours with gold or silver galloons, lace, or costly braid.

The natives do not, as we do, bury their dead according to the general custom of the world; nor do they burn their corpses like the Malabarese and the Gentoas on the coast of Coromandel. After performing many ceremonies

in honour of the deceased, which generally takes place two days after his death, they bind the corpse hand and foot and place it on a kind of stage or platform made of bamboo split into small pieces. This stage, which is about two Dutch ells high, is built within their houses. Then a fire is kindled beside the corpse, but not under it, so that it may be thoroughly dried. Many funeral ceremonies are then performed; such as the slaughtering of pigs, each man according to his means, and passing the time in eating and drinking without measure. Many villagers come to see the corpse, for as soon as any one dies, a drum, made from a part of a hollow tree, is beaten before the house, whereupon the people come running to the place, because they know that a person has died. The women, also, bring jars filled with strong liquor, and after having taken most copious draughts of it, they begin to dance before the house of the dead man. Their way of dancing is most singular. They have large troughs cut out of immense trees, so as to resemble East Indian chests, but somewhat longer and broader. These they turn upside down and dance upon them; producing, of course, a most hideous noise. On every trough stand two rows of women back to back, each row consisting of four or five women. They do not leap or jump or run; but, gently moving hands and feet, they dance round the surface of the inverted trough. When one party grows tired, another takes its place. Generally this dancing continues for two hours, and it may be considered their usual method of solemnising funeral rites.

In the meantime the corpse is left to dry for nine days, but every day it is washed and cleansed. On the ninth day it is removed from the platform, the survivors wrap it in a mat, and another platform is raised within the house. This platform is surrounded with many garments, thus forming a kind of pavilion, the corpse is placed upon it, and the people again celebrate a feast in honour of the dead. The body thus remains lying during the space of three years; after which period the skeleton is removed and buried in the house, an occasion which is also followed by many festivities. The above, then, is a short description of how they act with their dead.

Another custom may be mentioned here which is found in only one of these seven villages I have referred to. Whenever a person is very ill and suffers acute pain, they put a cord round his neck and pull him up as if they were going to strangle or hang him, and then let him suddenly fall; their object being to deliver the sufferer from his pains and to hasten his death.

Let us now see what the native religion is, a religion which I am sent out here to change by introducing the Christian faith. Although there are no books to be found on this island, although there is not one single individual who can read or write a single letter (if we except the Chinese immigrants, who can write as well as we can but have quite another kind of language and religion), yet they have a form of religion which is orally handed down from one generation to another.

They know nothing whatever about the creation of the world; nor that it will one day be destroyed. They fancy that our world has existed from all eternity, and that it will continue to exist for ever.

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul, however, is known amongst them, whence the following custom arises. When a person dies they build for him on an elevation a small and light hut, surround it with all kinds of foliage, profusely adorn it, and place upon it four flags, one on each corner. Within the hut they put a large bowl of water, and a small bamboo ladle beside it with which to take the water out; for they believe that the deceased daily visits the hut in order to bathe and wash himself. This custom as regards the dead is very strictly observed, but not one person in a hundred has any idea what reason there is for it. They only imagine that so it ought to be because it is the custom; nor do they think any more of the departed. Very aged persons, however, who have communicated the foregoing to me, are well acquainted with the meaning of this national custom.

They are also acquainted with the doctrine that the soul, after death, meets with either punishment or reward. The aged amongst them are particularly familiar with this idea. They say that when a person has conducted himself badly in this life, he will, after his death, have to suffer many torments in a broad canal or river of dirt and filth; but that those who have led a good life will pass that canal (or river), and will find again a pleasant and delightful life thereafter. According to their belief, an exceedingly narrow bridge, made of bamboo, leads across that river, over which the souls of the deceased must pass before they can reach the *Campum Eliseum*, or Land of Promise. Moreover, those who have led a bad life, and who attempt to cross that bridge, will find it suddenly turning round; and, instead of entering the Land of Promise, they will fall into the filthy stream, there to suffer great torment and pain. But very few among the natives know anything about this doctrine, there being, I believe, but one among a hundred who is the least acquainted with the idea.

As regards the sins for which they think men will have to suffer pain, they are not the sins mentioned in our ten commandments, nor any sins forbidden according to the Law of God, but sins which they themselves invent or imagine, sins to which no real importance may be attached. For instance, at certain seasons of the year they may only appear in perfect nudity, again at certain times they must wear clothes, but not of silk, they may not bear children before their thirty-sixth or thirty-seventh year, at certain seasons of the year they may not fetch oysters, and they must attend to the singing of birds before beginning a matter of unusual importance. There are many other similar things which they must or must not do, which it would require too much time to mention here. Later on we hope to do so, however, and to give some further particulars about those singular beliefs and practices.

But there are some things forbidden to us as sinful, which they too consider unlawful, such as lying, stealing, and murder. And although they really have no *juramentum*, they have, like ourselves, a certain form of oath. This is taken by the contending parties breaking a small piece of straw and rigidly keeping the promise thus made. On the other hand, drunkenness is not considered to be a sin; for they are very fond of drinking, women as well as men; looking upon drunkenness as being but harmless joviality. Nor do they regard

fornication and adultery as sins, if committed in secret; for they are a very lewd and licentious people. It would, however, be somewhat difficult for a Dutchman to persuade them to commit unchastity. They declare—when I have rebuked them for fornication—that their gods find pleasure in it. Hence, when parents know that their children commit fornication, provided it be not done in public, they laugh about it and do not forbid it. As has been already mentioned, a man may not marry before he is about twenty-one, but fornication with them is a very trifling affair.

The natives know nothing of the resurrection of the body; nor do they acknowledge only one God, but many, on whom they call and to whom they bring sacrifices. Two of these are their principal gods. One is called *Tamagisanhach*, who is supposed to live in the South. They think that he is the one who creates men, and who makes them good-looking and beautiful. His wife lives in the East, and is called *Taxankpada*. When thunder is heard in an easterly direction, the natives suppose that the goddess is speaking with her husband and reprimanding him for not sending rain; whereupon he listens and sends the rain. It is this goddess and her husband that are principally served, and to whom most sacrifices are brought,—chiefly by the women. There is also another god, who lives in the North, and whose name is *Sariafingh*; but they think he is not of much consequence. Their god *Tamagisanhach* creates man beautiful, but this god makes him ugly, full of pockmarks and similar defects. Therefore, they call upon him and pray him not to do them any harm, and implore also the other god *Tamagisanhach* to protect them against *Sariafingh*; for he is the principal god and has most power. They have two other gods on whom they call when going out to wage war; one is called *Talafula*, the other *Tapaliape*. These two are most worshipped and served by the men. They have a great number of other gods besides—too many to mention here—on whom they call and whom they serve.

All other nations that I have ever known have male priests, popes, or teachers, who instruct the people and are the priests of their gods; but this nation has only priestesses, whom they call *Inibs*. The public service these *Inibs* perform in a religious capacity is twofold; calling upon their gods and bringing sacrifices to them, which sacrifices are chiefly offered in their temples, and consist of slaughtered pigs, cooked rice, pinang, and a great quantity of their beverage, as also the heads of stags and swine.

After offering sacrifice, one or two of the priestesses generally arise and call upon the gods in a long sermon or address. While so doing, these prophetesses roll their eyes, fall down upon the ground, and scream most hideously; then their gods appear to them. The priestesses lie like corpses upon the ground, and cannot be raised from it, even by five or six persons. When at last they recover consciousness, they tremble and shiver as if in extreme distress, which is a sign that the gods upon whom they called have really made their appearance. In the meantime the people who surround them do nothing but cry and weep. I have been witness of this ceremony, but have never seen any of their gods nor been able to find out what the prophetesses had seen. After

this ceremony has lasted an hour, the prophetesses climb on the roof of the temple, stand each on a corner, and again make long speeches or orations to their gods. At last they take off their garments, and appear to their gods in their nakedness, strike their naked bodies with their hands, cause water to be brought, and wash their entire bodies, now perfectly naked, in presence of all the people; but the greater part of the bystanders are women; who, however, are so intoxicated that they can hardly stand. Never have I seen their gods or any apparitions appear. This service or ceremony is public, and takes place in their temples.

Each house has a place of its own where the inhabitants call upon their gods and bring them sacrifice; but, if any difficulty occurs, they call their *Inibs* into their houses to perform the service, which takes place with many fantastic ceremonies.

It is the office of these *Inibs* to prophesy good or evil, whether it will be rain, or whether fine and beautiful weather may be expected. They judge concerning unclean places, and banish evil spirits or devils; for, as they say, many evil spirits or devils dwell amongst the people, and these spirits the *Inibs* banish with much noise and clamour. They also carry hats in their hands, and chase the devil till he jumps into the water and is drowned.

In the public roads also they everywhere place sacrifices for these gods, which I have more than once kicked or thrown down.

Such then are the principal manners, customs, and religious beliefs and practices of the inhabitants of the island of Formosa, to which I have been sent. I have used great diligence to learn their language, and from the outset to instruct them in the Christian faith; and I have succeeded so far that a fortnight before Christmas of the year 1628 there were a hundred and twenty-eight persons who knew the prayers and were able to answer in the most satisfactory manner with regard to the principal articles of our Christian faith; but for certain reasons none of these have been baptized. The time I have been among them till to-day is exactly sixteen months. I trust the Lord our God will bless this work, and that he will build up a church unto Himself, serving Him in all singleness of heart and mind.

**3.\*History of the Dutch Trade.**—With reference to the recent history of Formosa, it is certain that the Portuguese and Spaniards arrived in the island long before the Dutch, and gave to it its name; but it is not known when they first came, or what they accomplished.

There are those who maintain that the English were here before us; that they built a fort on the largest island; and that, without any reason being assigned, they were maliciously expelled. Since, however, they give no year or date when this happened, we hold that this is only one of the silly tales of the envious Tavernier.

As to the arrival of the Dutch, we can speak more definitely and with more certainty. When they first began to sail to China, their real object was to trade with that country, and procure goods to take over to Japan, that they

might thus force the Portuguese out of it. But, since the Chinese were forbidden by law to allow strangers to enter their country, and many delays and difficulties were thereby experienced, it came about, for these reasons and through other accidents, that they first anchored off the island of Pehoe, one of the Fisherman's islands, which lie in  $23^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, directly under the tropic of Cancer, twenty-two miles east of the island of Lamo, and twelve miles from Formosa.

Thus, the first Hollander who is known to have arrived here was admiral Wybrand van Warwyk. He sailed from Patani on 27 June 1604 for China, and, being prevented by a storm from sailing to Macao, came to anchor on 7 August off the island of Pehoe, in a very good bay on the western side. There, on 29 August, the yacht *Sphæra Mundi* joined him, after having been exposed to great danger in the same storm.

He lay there for a long time waiting for news from the Chinese, who would not allow him to go to the mainland. On 15 December he and his party left Pehoe without trading at all, partly because urged to do so by the Touzy—a Chinese official who appeared on the scene with fifty junks to prevent their landing,—and partly because they had not received the decisive answer which had been promised.

Later on—in 1607—the admiral Cornelis Matelief departed for China, and anchored off the island of Lamo, in the hope of establishing a trade; but the Chinese would agree to nothing more than that we should first go to Pehoe, whither they would then send junks to trade with us, making great promises, which came to nothing. The Dutch, seeing what the Chinese wanted, and not being accustomed to be deceived by any one, decided to follow up this attempt.

Accordingly, captain Cornelis Reyerszoon was sent out, and steered again for Pehoe, to see whether he could come to terms with the Chinese there. But the inhabitants, being only fishermen, were afraid of us and took to flight, making it impossible for us to get near them. At last, however, we succeeded; for, when the chief merchant, Johan van Melder, was sent to them in a yacht with a white flag of peace hoisted at the stern, he managed to get them to confer with us; and when they saw that we sought nothing but peace, they requested Mr. van Melder to come into the bay to speak with their chief, which he did.

As a result of this meeting, three yachts were got ready, with which Mr. van Melder sailed to the Chinchew river; but there, also, the natives took to flight on the approach of our people. At last, however, Mr. van Melder managed to speak to a mandarin, to whom he explained that he simply came to trade, and to ask the Chinese not to trade with the Spaniards in Manila. Thereupon, the mandarin promised to bring an answer after he had spoken with his superiors and they with their king; but he besought Mr. van Melder first to depart from the river and thus prevent all complications, promising that he himself would immediately go for instructions to Hokchiu, a city about seventy miles from Amoy.

After this mandarin had returned, he sent to Pehoe four junks with

messengers, amongst the latter there being a very handsome and eloquent man, named Ong Sofi, who announced to our Council that permission to trade was granted them on condition that we should depart from the island of Pehoe, as it **was the king's personal property, and he would not trade with us before we left**; it being impossible for him to approve of treating with people who came to his country, and who built forts therein without permission. He added that, if we wished to go to the island of Formosa, and to fortify ourselves there, the king would have no objection; but our men were not at liberty to undertake this, on account of the command they had received at Batavia not to abandon their position.

After having thus spent several years in fruitless expeditions to China, the Company decided, in 1622, to send captain Reyerszoon again to China, either to conquer Macao, or to go to the Fisherman's island and see if he could in this way establish a trade with China.

He undertook to attempt the former, but did not succeed; and he also fared very badly through the explosion of some powder-barrels. Thereupon the two English ships, with the ship *Faithful*, having on board Mr. Jaques le Febre, sailed off to Japan on 27 June. And after the vessels *Bear* and *St. Cross* had run to Lamoia to watch the Chinese coast more closely, the other ships—excepting the *Hope*, the *St. Nicolas*, and the *Palikatte*, which had to remain till the end of August to watch the ships from Malacca coming to Macao—departed on 29 June for Pehoe, where they anchored on 10 July behind one of the highest islands, which looks like a table. Between the islands there, twenty armed junks were seen on guard; and some fishermen, who ran off.

They, therefore, weighed and entered a beautiful bay, where they again anchored in eight or nine fathoms of water. The land in view was found to be flat and stony, without trees, and having nothing but long grass. Nor is any fresh water to be found there, except a few small wells, which are somewhat brackish in the dry season. Provisions all came from the mainland.

Since, however, our men had strict orders to settle down somewhere in this neighbourhood, they fixed on a haven at the south end of Formosa, and near the small island of Tayouan, where they found some Chinese settled for trading purposes. To this, they afterwards brought supplies with yachts, it being about twelve or thirteen miles from the Pescadores; not, however, without much inconvenience, since there was only eleven feet of water in the haven, which was also very crooked, so that no large vessels could enter. It may be added that this Tayouan is only a small island or dry sand-bank, barely a mile in length, and separated from Formosa by a distance of about half a mile.

On 19 July the ships *Groningen* and *Bear* weighed anchor to cross over to the Chinese coast. On the twenty-first, they sighted the mainland and passed opposite the Chinchew river, which is easily recognised from its having two hills on the north-east side, one of which resembles a pillar. On the other side of the river the land is very low and full of downs, except that just within the south-west corner there is a tower or something of that kind.

On 25 July they saw very rough land, which they took to be the island of Lanquyn, and where they anchored in fifteen fathoms of water.

On 9 August these vessels again sailed for some distance and anchored in fifteen fathoms of water, close to several islands on the coast of China; and on the eleventh they steered for Lanquyn, which was found to lie in  $28^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, and to be provided with a fairly good haven on its northern side, and tolerably good water, but little in the way of provisions. While lying there, they were visited by a sampan or inland boat with some Chinese on board, who presented each vessel with five baskets of white sugar, although our men suspected them to be pirates.

On 18 August, the vessels reached the western side of this island, and anchored in a better bay, where they were protected from all winds. The pirates also followed us, and handed over some supplies which proved to be of very little use. Our men afterwards found it necessary to get rid of those questionable characters, as it was noticed that they were carrying on their piracies under the protection of our own flag.

For this reason, it was decided to return to Pehoe or the Pescadores, where they again anchored on 22 August. There they found our people busy erecting a fortress, with four corners, in which twenty guns were to be placed. They also found three more vessels than they had left, namely the *Golden Lion*, the *Samson* and the yacht *Singapore*. Near the fortress was a place called Seacape, where six or seven guns were to be mounted. The fortress itself lay eighteen miles from Macao, and was meant to be very useful for intercepting the trade between the Chinese and the Spaniards.

On the day after the arrival of these vessels—*i.e.* 23 August—two more yachts arrived from the coast of China and reported that they had been compelled to leave a ship behind them near that coast, and to place her crew with their arms under concealment; the local Chinese having rendered much assistance in this matter.

These yachts, really sent out to see whether trade with China could be established, were first delayed for a long time by the Chinese, and ultimately sent away with the promise—which had often been given before—that they would send a messenger to the Pescadores to inquire further about the matter. This they eventually did, but no decision was come to in favour of trade. So our men soon noticed that they did not want them there, and merely wished them to leave the place, which the Dutch were very unwilling to do.

It was, therefore, decided to proceed to the coast of China on 18 October with eight sail, to see if we could induce the Chinese to trade by force or from fear; but, in making for the Chinchew river, our ships ran three miles too far south, where three of them sailed away by themselves, and five of them steered into a bay, where they seized sixty or seventy junks. Here, while our men were busy getting on board two of the captured junks, they were compelled by the strong wind to cast the fore anchors. But during the night they were unfortunate enough to lose some of their anchors, and the junks began to drift

away without the men of the yacht *Victoria* being able to help them at all, though she lay close to them.

In one of these junks, besides two Chinese, twenty-three Dutchmen were drifted away, and were captured by the Chinese, only one of them turning up again, several years afterwards. At the time of the accident, our men could neither discover the junk nor any sign of the men along the coast, and consequently left. Meanwhile, their companions in the other junk, seven in number, got into the boat, and set fire to the junk; but, as the boat could not bear any sail, and they were on a lee-shore, they cast out the grapnel. Two hours after, the rope broke, and their lights went out as they were stranded upon the beach and left to the mercy of the piratical natives.

Having, then, nothing before them but a miserable end, they prayed to God for a merciful deliverance, and remained sitting in the boat, awaiting the morning in great fear. Before morning, hearing some Chinese approach the boat, they grasped their swords, and by means of shouting and yelling turned back the Chinese, who could not, on account of the darkness, see how many of them there were. This they took as an encouraging sign.

At daybreak, they left the boat, since it had stuck too far from the land, and they put it to sea again; so, with shouldered musket and girded swords, they set out for the Sammitjoe river, before which our two yachts were lying.

Some Chinese seeing this, approached, and sent two men ahead to speak to them. Our men, however, not trusting them, levelled their muskets, and were thus allowed to pass unmolested.

On the road, they came to a house with a man and a woman in it, where they again lit their tinder, sorted their guns which had got out of order owing to the rain, procured some rice to eat from the man for which they thanked him, and departed. They afterwards found on the shore six or seven dead Chinese being preyed upon by dogs and birds, and who had evidently been slain by our men; this leading them to conclude that no help could be looked for there, but rather a sad end, by way of avenging the massacre of these fellow-countrymen.

Continuing their journey, they met a troop of about two hundred Chinese, who all fled from them; and, towards the afternoon, they reached our yachts, and fired a few shots to attract attention with the hope that they might be sent for. Instead, however, of our people coming to help or fetch them, the shooting attracted seven or eight hundred Chinese from a neighbouring town. On seeing that these came armed with knives and pikes, our men expected nothing but death; but in order if possible to prevent this, they fired several volleys among them; whereupon the Chinese, seeing that our men were determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, fell back, except a few who remained at a distance throwing stones. As these people seemed never to have heard firing before, they were very much astonished at it and greatly afraid—so much so that they asked for peace, and invited our men to enter their town.

Our men accordingly entered, and found some two thousand Chinese

standing there, who stared at them with great astonishment, never having seen any Dutchmen. They also took them into a temple, where they gave them food, drink, and tobacco. Our men, however, were always on their guard, kept close together, and held their guns in readiness, so as not to be taken by surprise.

While they were sitting there their tinder was gradually burning out, so that they tore pieces from their shirts which they twisted and made into a fresh supply of tinder. Soon after, they left the town with gratitude, and were glad to see that no one was following them, as they had only four more charges of powder. They reached their yachts in the morning by means of two native catamarans or rafts.

In the meantime the Chinese had plundered the boat of everything, but the *St. Nicolas*—having sailed for that purpose—found her again on 2 November; after which, on 4 November, our men burnt several junks.

On 9 November the boat of the ship *Bear* was lost, with the skipper Jan Janszoon and seventeen men.

On 29 November our men once more skirmished with the Chinese, and lost the surgeon of the above-named vessel. They did not know whether he was killed or captured. They burnt two junks and one village, and returned on board with many sucking-pigs, goats and fowls.

On 2 December they plundered another village and burnt it; whereupon the Chinese sent two burning junks in our direction, thus exposing us to great danger. However, we lost only one sampan.

On 13 or 14 December the ship *Haarlem* came from Japan to the coast of China and joined our ships, her men being desirous of accompanying us to the Pescadores. It departed for Batavia with eighty-four Chinese, captured by our men from time to time, on 4 January 1623.

In the meantime our men, in this same month, vainly attacked several junks. On 28 January, however, they captured a small junk, with some dried and salt fish, and eight Chinese.

On 20 February they again made an expedition, with fifty armed men, two miles inland. They overran two villages, and returned on board again, with some bags of garlic and onions.

On 28 February they captured a junk with fourteen Chinese, who had come from the Chinchew river, and who said that commander Reyerszoon had made a treaty with the people of Chinchew. This, however, did not prevent our men from taking those Chinese with them.

On 30 March they captured two more junks and a fishing-boat, with twenty-seven men; while in the month of May they captured a junk with a valuable cargo, bound for Manila, and having two hundred and fifty souls on board. The greater number they took over to the Pescadores, to be near several hundreds who were already in captivity there. Some of these captives had such long hair that when they stood upright it hung to their feet. They wore it twisted round their heads, and fastened by having a pin stuck through it.

Those Chinese were greatly afraid of our men, possibly on account of an old prophecy current amongst them, to the effect that their land would be taken by people having red hair and beards—meaning by this, fair hair. And when skipper Bontekoe—who had a red beard—was here, they seemed to fear him more than the others; believing that their prophecy was literally fulfilled by the arrival of this man with a red beard.

When brought to the Pescadores, all these Chinese, with others of their fellow-countrymen, were bound two and two, and employed in carrying baskets of earth to the new fortress. After that was finished, some fourteen or fifteen hundred of them were transported to Bantam, where they were sold into slavery, the officials not being willing to release a single one of our men in return for those Chinese captives.

Some time after, it was again decided to make use of the chief merchant, Johan van Melder, by sending him this time as an ambassador to Amoy. A letter in Chinese characters, explaining the object of his mission, was accordingly written and ceremoniously carried before him on a large board.

On his arrival at Amoy, van Melder was taken to an upper plateau surrounded with trees, where there was a house, under the verandah of which seven tables were set, each covered with a cloth down to the ground, and each having a senator sitting at the head. These senators then demanded that, before beginning the conference, Mr. van Melder should show them the customary reverence by kneeling down and tapping the ground with his head so energetically that the bystanders could hear the sound. He, however, considering that to be beneath the dignity and honour of a Christian, refused, but said he was quite willing to show them respect according to the customs of his own country. This he did, and then addressed them with uncovered head, after having introduced himself. He afterwards received many tokens of honour, but was compelled to return without accomplishing his purpose.

When an account of his journey and experiences at Amoy was laid before commander Reyerszoon—who was then at the head of affairs in the Pescadores—the latter decided to take a trip overland himself in order to become personally acquainted with the state of matters. He therefore departed with Mr. van Melder from the Pescadores to Amoy, and so on to Hokchiu, the capital of the province of Chinchew, a journey of twelve or fourteen days up the river from Amoy.

Every six miles they were taken into a building belonging to the king or governor, and entertained in a stately way. They came across many towns, which lay barely a gunshot from one another, and of which no foot of ground was unoccupied. They also found the crowds of people so great that they had difficulty in proceeding further.

On arriving at Hokchiu, they were taken into a magnificent palace or house of amusement for a Chinese who had sixteen wives, each of them being provided with a similar house. It lay in the suburbs, a mile and a half from the Town-hall, and there they appeared before the council, but only to be told, as before, that there was no possibility of trade being begun till they left the

Pescadores or Pehoe and went to Formosa. Commander Reyerszoon replied that this was beyond his power till he received orders from Batavia. However, mutual promises were made, that we should send one ship and the two junks to Batavia to negotiate with their Honours there. They then parted in friendship after seeing that the ship and the two junks were sent off to Batavia.

As for this ship and the two junks, they were detained by contrary winds, and prevented from reaching Batavia during that year; so that, the voyage lasting longer than was expected, our Chinese friends began to suspect mischief, and again sent several junks to Manila. Of these we captured four, and this gave rise to a fresh war.

In order, therefore, to establish a good understanding and resume the former negotiations, it was decided by Mr. Reyerszoon and his councillors, on 25 October 1623, that the vessels *Groningen*, *Samson*, *Muyden* and *Erasmus* should proceed under commander Franszoon to the Chinchew river to blockade it, and prevent any junks from going to Manila or any other hostile bay; but, especially, to ask for free trade on Taiwan, and to carry an offer of friendship; which, if refused, would lead to a declaration of war by land and water, according to the written instructions taken away.

They sailed on the same day, and arrived at Chinchew river on 28 October, proceeding from it to Pagoda island; where they hoisted the white flag as a signal, but no one responding, they wrote a letter to the Totok of Amoy, and sent it to him by the Chinese who lived on the island. The letter conveyed only a notice of our arrival there to trade peacefully, with a request—such as had often been made before—that this might be allowed; its concluding part containing many affectionate expressions and offers of friendship.

On 1 November a Chinese named Cipzuan came on board in a sampan, and said that if we merely came to trade in peace it would be very agreeable to them, since three hundred Chinese merchants had decided to petition the Combon of Hokchiu to be allowed to trade with us, as they had already lost much in the war, and would be ruined if it continued.

He also stated that where he lived there was a hermit who dwelt in the mountains, a man of illustrious descent and great wealth; who, since the death of his tenderly beloved wife, had always lived in solitude, and interested himself only in pleading the cause of the poor before the great of the land; and, on account of this, was respected by every one, and looked upon as a prophet or fortune-teller. This hermit had also foretold that, when our offer was received, if the Chinese fought against us, they would bring their whole country into danger.

Hereupon Mr. Christian Franszoon requested Cipzuan to bring forward this hermit if possible, which he promised to do; and accordingly he—in a somewhat stealthy way—brought him and another Chinese to the ship on 3 November.

The real reason of our presence and the purity of our intentions having been explained to this man, he said he would do his best in laying the matter

before the Totok ; and to this end we also sent another letter to that official in keeping with the terms of the former one.

Two or three days later Cipzuan came with a reply from the Totok, stating that he understood from ours we were anchored below Pagoda island and only requested peaceful trade ; that if we sincerely meant this, and had no deceit lurking behind our request—implying that that had been the case before—such a thing would be most agreeable to him. He also stated that, so far as he was concerned, a good understanding might be hoped for, but that in the former negotiations he pointed out two ways by which this could be brought about, namely, by our liberating the imprisoned Chinese, or forsaking the Pescadores—both of which proposals had been rejected.

We replied that our intentions had always been good and upright ; and that, although he thought we came to rob the Chinese and had brought neither money nor merchandise with us, this was entirely false, as our intention, now as ever, was simply to engage in peaceful trade—a request we first made twenty-three years ago.

Thereupon he asked us to send an officer who had complete authority to act in all matters ; but we replied by requesting permission to come close to Amoy with a yacht for our greater convenience ; and having obtained leave to bring up two of our vessels, we decided on 13 November that the commander Franszoon should sail thither with the yachts *Muyden* and *Erasmus*. This was done next day, while two vessels still remained below the island.

On 18 November some of our men went in a boat to the yachts to see how it was that matters were not concluded, when the treachery of the Chinese appeared clear as daylight. For, on coming near, they saw that one of the yachts was on fire already, while the other was surrounded by three fire-ships. And although some fifty more were sent to surround the *Erasmus*, our men bravely saved themselves. They were unfortunate enough, however, to lose the *Muyden*, which was past saving, and which was blown up with man and mouse.

We afterwards learned from the yacht *Erasmus*, that so soon as the vessels reached Amoy, the Totok requested that some of the principal men should come ashore to converse with him about all matters. This Mr. Franszoon respectfully refused, professing to have no sufficiently able interpreters, and requesting him, on the other hand, to send some of his men on board with full powers to treat with us.

They accordingly sent several men with full powers, who, having conversed with our men, decided to trade with us at Taiwan, and to bring as much silk thither as we could pay for with the money we were able to hand over.

They also agreed that they would not sail to Manila, Cambodia, Siam, Patani, Djambi, Andragiri, or any other places without a pass from us ; and that they would send four or six junks to Batavia to treat with His Honour there about the Pescadores, which they were very anxious we should leave.

This treaty having been made, they went ashore, but returned on board

again to request that some of the principal men should go to the Totok in order that the treaty might be written in Chinese on the one side and Dutch on the other, and attested; so that the Totok might send word to the Combon of Hokchiu, informing him how everything had been decided on in his presence. According to the custom of their country, they also brought three mandarins as hostages, and three arrows, as a pledge of their sincerity.

It was thereupon decided to send ashore Mr. Franszoon, besides Doedoe Floriszoon Kraag, skipper of the yacht *Muyden*, and Willem van Houdaan, chief merchant of the yacht *Erasmus*, Jan Pieterszoon Reus, her skipper, and a company of attendants—in all about thirty men—to settle these matters.

On landing, they were apparently very well received, tables being placed on the shore for the sailors, and plenty of provisions served out; but commander Franszoon ordered skipper Reus to keep a sharp look-out, to be very careful that the men did not wander too far away, and to take them on board again as soon as possible.

Accordingly, Mr. Reus, whose suspicions were aroused, lost no time in taking the men on board; but, on the boat of the yacht *Muyden* going in the evening, according to agreement, to fetch the three officers who had been left ashore, they were all detained, while those in the yachts did not know the cause of the delay until the fire-ships burst forth, and the whole treachery of the enemy became manifest. Besides this, the Chinese had sent on board some poisoned native beer; which, however, was discovered before it did any harm.

The commander and his companions and the other men being thus kept prisoners, it was decided to provide the necessary supplies and continue the blockade of the Chinchew river with the other three vessels, skipper Bontekoe acting as head of the expedition till February 1624, when his orders would take him to the Pescadores, and from thence to Batavia—after commander Reyerszoon had gone with the most of his ships to Taiwan.

The result of these movements was that, on 12 May, the head Chinese official was sent with a letter from the mandarins requesting that some friendly understanding should be come to; a consummation which this same official had no small share in bringing about.

Thereafter, on 1 August 1624, the ship *Zeelandia* arrived at the Pescadores, having on board the chief merchant, Pieter Muysert, and the physician, Maarten Sonk, the latter coming to relieve commander Reyerszoon, and to take over the management of our affairs there.

Meanwhile, the following understanding was come to: that we should leave Pehoe and settle at Taiwan, and that the mandarins should induce their people to go thither to trade with us.

And we were the more easily persuaded to do this on being told that the Chinese were preparing fifteen thousand fire-ships, war-junks, and stone-junks to fill up the bay of Pehoe; a state of things our men did not think it advisable to wait for, preferring to leave for Taiwan with everything, and there to prepare places for receiving merchandise and carrying on their trade. They,

therefore, destroyed the fortress on Pehoe, the Chinese lending a helping hand in this work of demolition.

We had not been long settled on the dry sandbank of Tayouan, till we found that trade with the Chinese was not forthcoming as they had promised. Later on, however, matters took a different turn.

When everything had been brought into proper order, Mr. Reyerszoon, having been succeeded in 1624 by Mr. Maarten Sonk—who afterwards became Governor and chief ruler of Taiwan—departed with six thousand pounds of raw silk and a chest of other materials for Batavia; but, after his departure, the head official of the Chinese, who had been long inland with the Totok and Combon, conferring with them on matters relating to the Dutch, turned up with some raw silk, and a letter from the Totok of Amoy to Mr. Sonk, of which the contents ran as follows:—

‘This will serve as a reply to what Your Honour asks of us.

‘The captain in China has repeatedly represented that the fort in Pehoe has been forsaken and the place properly restored, from which we observe that you have been acting truthfully. We, therefore, assure ourselves of your friendship. The vice-roy understands that the Dutch people, coming from distant lands, requests to trade with us, to the south of the line, in Batavia, and, on this side, in the island of Formosa. We have, accordingly, decided to proceed to Hokchiu to speak with the Combon and the Council there, that we may place ourselves in a relation of friendship to you.

‘The commander may freely sail to Batavia to acquaint the Governor-General with everything, since the trade is sufficiently secured for Your Honour.

‘Written in the fourth year and eighth day of the Emperor’s reign, on the twentieth day of the month.

TOTOK FOA.’

Subsequently, and with the approval of his Council, Mr. Sonk began vigorously to erect a fort, since they were very much exposed without some such protection. A site was chosen on that high sandy ground to the west of the Tayouan river. It was surrounded with planks, and the interior filled with sand in the meantime, until they secured a sufficient quantity of stone from China to build a wall round about it, and so make a strong foundation.

When finished they called it Zeelandia, probably after the name of the vessel in which Mr. Sonk came thither. It was square, neatly built of baked brick, with surrounding walls six feet thick at the strongest part, the inside walls being four feet thick. Besides this, it was strengthened with another parapet three feet high, of the thickness of half a brick. All the corners, however, were hollow and filled up with sand.

If this fort had been examined properly, it would have been discovered that it was of very little use for the purposes of assault and defence, since the guns lay so high that, even if tilted but a little, they would have shot straight into the ground and hit no one.

The fort was also badly planned otherwise ; for there was no moat round it, and no palisade or other outworks, as there should have been for further security, so that one could, as the expression is, walk in with shoes and stockings.

An additional part was afterwards built, which was surrounded by a single wall and strengthened with embrasures, but this really weakened the main fort, whose guns could not cover so isolated a position, thus causing greater needless trouble to the Company, inasmuch as more men were required to defend it.

It must be added, however, that fort Zeelandia appears to have been planned for defence, not so much against some great enemy, as against the islanders and some Chinese farmers, for which purpose it was strong enough ; but in placing it, they appear to have made their selection of a spot where they could more easily land and ship their wares. Otherwise, much could be said against the bad position of the fort. One or two wells were made in it, but the water was so brackish and unwholesome that drinking water had to be brought from the Formosa mainland.

Meanwhile, a considerable number of junks kept arriving, on board of which our men sent presents of cloth, and so fraternised with those people from China, that there was some reason to look for a successful development of our trade. As for those Chinese, they had been driven from China on account of the war, and had been increasing in Tayouan and Formosa from time to time ; until now, they formed a colony of some twenty-five thousand fighting men, besides women and children. They occupied themselves in trade and agriculture, by which latter means much rice and sugar was produced here, so that whole shiploads were annually sent to other places, from which the Company derived much profit from customs duty.

Not long after the period referred to, a serious dispute about payment of this duty and other such questions arose with the Japanese, who strongly objected on the plea that they were there six years before the agents of the Company had arrived, and were therefore the first in possession. And the truth of this statement Governor-General Koen had acknowledged in his instructions to Mr. Reyerszoon in 1622, while free trade on the island had likewise been granted to the Japanese by Mr. Reyerszoon. This, however, did not free the Japanese, any more than the other inhabitants of Formosa, from the payment of taxes, tolls and other duties, seeing that the land did not belong to them but to the Emperor of China, who had granted it to our Company in place of Pehoe, which we had evacuated on that condition, and with it the Company had got, as landlords, the duties honestly coming to them from all the inhabitants, and still more from the Japanese, who were strangers. For, although they had been there ever so long before, that did not free them from the payment of taxes and duties to the landlords ; and if any had a right to claim these payments, it was undoubtedly the Chinese.

The Japanese, however, had the impudence to ignore our Governor as lord of the land, stating that they were in no wise subject to him and had nothing to do with him. Accordingly, when Mr. Sonk sent notice of this to Batavia,

he was distinctly ordered by Their Excellencies to claim and exercise supreme power in Tayouan in Their name, without fearing any one or apologising; and to inform the Japanese that, if they were inclined to trade there, they must pay the same taxes and duties as others. What trouble their refusal to do so brought upon us, we will mention in the proper place in the sequel.

On 20 January 1625, Mr. Sonk, having been made Governor, amicably bought from the Formosans on the mainland as much land as he thought the Company would need, in order to have some decided right and possession in Formosa itself. He bought this in Sakam for fifteen cangans or viquamas—a kind of clothing. The purchase is clearly proved by a resolution passed on 19 February and signed by the following members of Council: Maarten Sonk, Gerard Frederikssoon de With, Adriaan Verhee, Gysbert van Zuylen, and Gerard Hendrikssoon.

This is a completely different story from that of Tavernier, who tells us (vol. ii. p. 186 *et seq.*) that we made the English—who had taken the land from the Spaniards—drunk, and then overmastered them and slew them all—a falsehood which has no foundation in the world.

In the time of this Governor, a small fort was placed on the shore, a good half-gunshot from the other fortress, at the place where vessels enter the harbour. It was sixteen feet high, built of stone, with seven flankings and twelve guns, and was garrisoned by twenty-eight men; and it could easily prevent a vessel from gaining entrance to the harbour.

Mr. Sonk, who started from Holland in 1619 and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope—as may still be seen from an inscription cut in a rock at the Cape—with Mr. Jacob Dedel in 1620, did not perform much more in Tayouan; nor had he the opportunity, for he died there in December 1626.

He was succeeded in the same year by Mr. Gerard Frederikssoon de With, the second in command, who thus became the second chief ruler there. He had first the title of Commander, and was afterwards made Governor. He cannot have conducted himself very well; for he did not remain long, and did not deal very wisely with the Japanese; although it seems that he merely followed out former instructions, since Their Excellencies had enjoined his predecessor to make it so unpleasant and unprofitable for the Japanese—without giving open reason for dissatisfaction—that they would of their own accord give up the trade there, if they continued unwilling to pay the duties and taxes. It is in keeping with this that, when Mr. Pieter Janssoon Muysert was chief merchant and ambassador in Yedo at the Court of Japan in 1626, he noticed that there was great dissatisfaction amongst the Japanese magnates on account of the injustice done to the Japanese in Taiwan.

Mr. de With did not remain there longer than 1627, and had then to give everything over to his successor, Mr. Pieter Nuyts, who became the third Governor of Formosa.

This gentleman arrived at Batavia in the *Golden Seahorse* on 10 April 1627, and sixteen days after, was appointed Governor by Governor-General de Carpentier. He was also instructed to go as ambassador to Japan, in

addition to Mr. Muysert mentioned above, since matters had become complicated at the Court there, owing to the mismanagement of some affairs connected with the Japanese in Taiwan, and an energetic man was required to put things right without delay. He strongly urged upon His Excellency that he was still young and inexperienced in Indian affairs, and wished to be excused; but it was all of no avail, and this matter was as it were forced upon him.

He departed on 4 May, and reached Taiwan on 28 June; and after having taken over everything belonging to the Honourable Company from Mr. de With, he made preparations for going to Japan. Before leaving he wrote the following letter to Mr. Nyenrode:—

‘CASTLE ZEELANDIA, 16 June 1628.

‘SIR,—Your missives, transmitted by the *Heusden* and *Chinchew*, duly reached us. Shortly thereafter, when the vessel *Vrede* arrived in the roadstead here, it was sent off with a full cargo under commander de With, in company with the yachts *Erasmus*, *de Haan*, *Slooten*, and *Heusden*, armed with the bravest men, to the coast of China, leaving this place garrisoned by three hundred and twenty men.

‘Up till the present time nothing has returned of all this force; excepting a small junk, in which the Dutch had fled, with news that His Honour was to have sailed from the Chinchew river to a place called Tamsoia, situated close to Lamoia, at the request of the Combon, Totok, Hayto, and other Chinese magnates, to put down the pirate I-quan; in return for which the Combon had given a written promise that the Dutch should certainly obtain permission to trade from the king.

‘The said commander, on arriving there, was so overwhelmingly attacked by the Pirate’s fire-ships that he had to make his escape to Java with the *Vrede* and *Erasmus* without firing a shot, having previously instructed the remaining yachts and junks to return hither. But, as we have said, not one of them has appeared yet.

‘The yacht *Ouwerkerk*, with Mr. Nicolaas Ketting on board, was burnt in the river and the crew captured in Macao, so that had any one arrived here on the twentieth day after the departure from Costi, he would have found us with no naval force and in a very defenceless state. God be praised that the enemy did not put in an appearance at that time, or verily they would have captured this place without resistance.

‘The Pirate was so enraged at this, that—having over a thousand junks with him—he injured us in every possible way. For example, he seized a large junk with eighty-five Dutchmen; after that, another with two anchors and ropes sent from here to the commander; also, our junk *Sinkan*, with merchandise belonging to different merchants, to the value of over eighteen thousand *reals* which they meant to take over to China in safety; and then

two junks, in one of which was Mr. Joannes van der Hagen, who was sent to Chinchew to take over our silk from the hands of Simsou. This Simsou was himself likewise taken and killed; all his possessions taken, the land of Amoy occupied; the Totok expelled, and the whole coast brought under his tyranny. Lastly, the Pirate also captured our yacht *West-Kappel* with everything in it.

‘Such, then, is the fruit of this imprudent undertaking. Since these things happened, we have spent more money in providing for daily supplies than would be required to provide a cargo. No vessel can show itself on the coast of China, or I-quan has it in his power. We are waiting here powerless with three hundred and fifty men; and if we are not relieved immediately, I doubt whether Your Honour will receive anything from here; except, perhaps, a ship to repair.

‘After this, there followed the arrival of several Japanese junks with four hundred and seventy men; whose captain, Jaffioen, while yet outside the roads, loudly called out to skipper Heyn and Franz Kanon—the former having been sent out to him as pilot—proposals of a most insulting kind, and also acted in a very suspicious way. We were obliged because of this—as well as in obedience to our secret instructions from Your Honour and from Mr. van Firando,—to be diligently on our guard and to watch everything with double care in order to secure our position here.

‘When, therefore, these junks were within the bay and out of danger, we placed them alongside our ships, overhauled them thoroughly, and took away all their weapons; partly on account of the impudent proposals mentioned above, and also because of the whole extraordinary incident itself. For we found those junks exceptionally well armed and equipped, the largest one—not much larger than the others—having six field-pieces mounted on deck, and nine more below among the ballast. It was thus no wonder we were warned by some Chinese who had come over as passengers, and had been put ashore immediately on arrival, that there was evil brewing.

‘The captain repeatedly sent to me about the examination of the junks; but I disregarded all his messages, replying that if he had anything to ask, he should come ashore and make his requests personally in the usual way; but he, suspecting mischief, would not consent to this, until he saw matters could not be settled otherwise. When, therefore, he did come to the house, I made him appear before me; and after listening to his harangue about examination of the junks, I answered that although such a thing had never happened before nor had been practised under commander de With—who governed according to his own ideas,—the governorship of that honoured gentleman had expired, but now I was here and my orders must be obeyed by former examining the junks, as our vessels in Japan were, both on arrival and departure; and that he need not be astonished at this, as his own outrageous proposals had given double cause for it. Seeing, however, that he would in no wise give his consent, I left him in a separate room, and went aside to confer with our lieutenant, Mr. Muysert, and a few military officers. Here he was detained for five or six days, with several merchants who had accompanied him, until

the unloading and due examination had been properly carried out. We removed from the junks fifteen pieces of cannon, quantities of swords, guns, pikes, soap-knives, arrows, bows, and other articles; which we afterwards fully restored in as good a condition as when we removed them; while during the interval, we allowed the captain to have them cleaned as often as he wished.

‘I also told him that it was unnecessary thus to appear before his friends with so many soldiers and so much ammunition of war; adding that we had men, fortresses, and ships to defend ourselves against all enemies. He, seeing his deceit was exposed by the discovery of his weapons, did not know what position to take or how to account for everything; for he was not prepared for the step we had taken. Ultimately, he replied that he had brought them for defence on the voyage. I replied that the danger was past now, and when he departed everything would be restored to him—as was afterwards done. Hereat he was greatly enraged, and seeing no other way of escape, he threatened to make serious complaints in Japan about the Dutch. He even dared to say openly in my presence that he and his master, the Phosodonne, were the cause of our not obtaining an audience, boasting in addition that those who were in favour with the Phosodonne, had at the same time the goodwill of the king. Many other blasphemous and contradictory proposals did he make, too devilish for me to attempt to send them to Your Honour.

‘After he had been some time in his lodgings, he did not cease—for an unsteadfast and godless spirit never rests—to seek by dishonest and roundabout ways to get his weapons out of my hands; but in vain. Because, too, not a penny was to be gained here, he desired that I would allow him to fetch from China the merchandise he had left there in former years; and be permitted to hire or buy seven or eight junks and to man and arm them with his men, that they might be sent out for this purpose; but I returned a negative answer to all these proposals, as before.

‘Seeing, however, that—in keeping with his insolent boasting—he could cause much trouble by false complaints in Japan, and that you would not have to be responsible for us; and seeing that he would continue his threats for compensation till he got it, we ultimately granted his request—although this was beyond the limits of his pass—as appears from an original writing signed by him and his principal merchants, which cannot be safely sent by this junk.

‘But, after consent had been given, it so happened that the junkmen did not want to run the risk of going out on any such service, plainly declaring that it was against their laws, and they would rather be slain there by me than cause the execution of fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, wives, children, and their whole families; which would certainly take place if they thus illegally brought in Japanese who had been banished from their country. Accordingly, nothing further came of this abortive attempt. They afterwards informed me that they wished to go in their junks to Pehoe, there to draw up some kind of proposals, but they again changed their intention, and said they would go direct to Japan. These, then, are the principal matters that passed between us.

‘I may add here that the loss of ten thousand *taels* to the Company this year is of less consequence than our being without a good interpreter. Had Your Honour sent us a more competent man, or sent Mr. van Firando in a Dutch ship, according to the understanding come to when I was at Yedo, it would have been possible to describe everything to you more clearly and vividly; whereas we must now hold back that which, for want of an abler man, we cannot accomplish.

‘I-quan has formed an agreement with the king and Combon, and seeks our friendship, and as a proof of his sincerity he has restored at our request the yacht *West-Kappel*, with the money—one thousand one hundred and eighty-two and an eighth *reals*, or eight hundred and sixty-three *taels*, treasure which our sailors and the Chinese appropriated at the time of the occupation—a quantity of arrack, and everything sent by Your Honour for our table at Java.

‘From want of reinforcements our hands are virtually bound. Within four or five days we hope to get relief and orders. Trade will then—God permitting—gradually increase. Whenever it increases, Your Honour may expect a ship and cargo from here. Hitherto there is no appearance of our being able to spend any great amount for the Company on Chinese wares.

‘The ship *Edam* did not pass this way, so that, by having lost it and the *Vrede*, trading in wood is rather difficult.

‘Your Honour informed us that you had written by the Japanese junk; but, on its arrival here, they denied that they had any letters, and as no letters came by the *West-Kappel*, our suspicions were confirmed that the Japanese are not to be trusted any longer.

‘Having written thus far, the friends were called together to express their opinion about the silent departure of the Japanese junks; and they have decided—lest these our letters should not be handed to Your Honour, and the Japanese arriving first should fill the whole land with calumnies and evil reports, Your Honour may not have anything to say in reply—that the above-mentioned junks should be detained here till the arrival of the vessels from Java (which I hope will be within six days), so that in case a ship from there bound for Costi incidentally touches at this place, our letters might be sent with it, thus making sure that our friends will have a way of defending themselves.

‘But, further, seeing that Jaffioen is supposed to be a man who has committed high treason against the State—by treacherously introducing the Sinkanese,—a disturber of the public peace, and in every way an enemy and obstructor of the interests of the Company both here and in Japan, and who has been banished from that country for life as a punishment—his life having been granted him by special grace—we have to-day decided to tell him and all other merchants that the junks will be detained, but that if they should come again in a subsequent year, when trade is established, and with a captain who is reasonable and not quarrelsome, all respect and assistance—more than ever before—will be shown them by Your Honour’s representative here.

‘Finally, among the supplies sent by the *Waerden* there are a hundred *taels*

wanting; also, from the thousand bales of rice by the *Heusden*, there is a deficiency of ten *catties* per bale.—Your Honour's affectionate

PIETER NUYTS.'

In the meantime, some Japanese—probably at the suggestion of the Portuguese—quietly took sixteen Formosans from Sakam to Japan; and having formed a deputation to the king, they—as some affirm, although falsely, as will hereafter appear—induced these Sakamese to present their island of Taiwan to that prince. Contrary to expectation, however, those Japanese were refused even a hearing by the king, were commanded to depart, forbidden ever to bring any Formosans there, and ordered to take back those they had brought.

After Mr. Nuyts had made everything ready for his embassy, he undertook the voyage to Japan on 24 July of the same year, taking Mr. Muysert as his subordinate, because the latter gentleman had gone before in the same capacity.

That the Japanese are obstinate was seen in this matter; for although they had very badly injured themselves in their attempt to obtain supreme rule in Taiwan, yet they never forgot the injury done them by us here; and as long as they could, they sought to revenge themselves in every possible way. For this purpose they secretly followed us to Japan four days afterwards, intending by every means in their power to oppose the embassy of Mr. Nuyts, and make his visit a fruitless one. Mr. Nuyts was too late in discovering this and suffered for it; for the Japanese had succeeded in so arranging matters that he could get no hearing. As far as possible, however, he put the affairs of the Honourable Company in Japan in due order, and returned again to Taiwan.

How afterwards he treated the Japanese who came back from Japan with the Sakamese, and how they took His Honour captive in his own house, and he had to be redeemed by our people for a large sum of money, will be seen in due order from the following account of His Honour's imprisonment, drawn up by the Council at Tayouan:—

*'Journal of what passed between the Honourable Governor Nuyts and some Japanese, with an account of the treacherous attack of the latter on Taiwan—from 29 June till 5 July 1628. Written by a friend.*

'On 29 June an exceptionally daring deed was committed here. The Japanese came—as they said—to ask permission to depart and to say farewell; but permission was in a kindly way refused by the Governor. As they were by no means satisfied with this refusal, they boldly insisted on departing, to which the Governor replied by saying that according to the decision of the Council they should not go; whereupon they flew upon him like roaring lions, took him by the head, bound his hands, feet, and waist with a long cloth band, and threatened to cut off his head if he called out.

'The chief merchant, Jacob Hooman, who had just left the room before this scene, on returning again heard the noise, and ran back calling the men to arms by shouting that the Governor was being murdered. This caused great

consternation ; and some Japanese outside the hall, who had knowledge of the plot, immediately attacked those of our soldiers who were on guard in or near the hall ; but these, being taken at unawares, and not having their guns in order, were easily put to flight, so that the field was soon cleared and our enemies left in full possession. On both sides, several were killed and others wounded, the merchant Hooman, seriously.

‘When this disturbance began, I was with the merchant Hartman in Hooman’s room, and heard the noise there. We sprang out sword in hand ; but met with such opposition that Mr. Hartman was compelled to jump through Hooman’s room window, and I through the passage door, to save our lives. Another chief merchant, Joannes van der Hagen, not being well, was lying on a chest with only his shirt on, and in a wonderful way escaped by means of a split pole through the window, otherwise—for so Jaffioen afterwards assured us—he would have been a dead man. His narrow escape also appeared from the fact that when the Japanese were vainly searching for him in his room, they cruelly murdered the servant of the Governor and his cousin, whom they found there ; and secretly buried the bodies in order to conceal their crime, as they afterwards acknowledged that they were ashamed of it.

‘On coming into the Court, we immediately called the soldiers to arms and occupied the Fort. In the meantime two or three shots were fired among the Japanese, which did some damage. I then climbed up to the gallery and came opposite the windows of the Governor, where I saw His Honour sitting so painfully bound that, partly from compassion and partly from disappointment, tears came into my eyes.

‘His Honour besought us to cease firing, or he would certainly lose his head ; and the Japanese, who desired to have me also a prisoner in the room, declared that if I did not stop the firing, the head of the Governor would be thrown out at my feet ; whereupon I sprang from the gallery and stopped the shooting in order to save the Governor’s life.

‘Immediately afterwards, it was reported to us that the men had quietened down, and that everything would soon come to a favourable termination. So the Governor commanded us to restrain ourselves, which we tried to do as far as possible. But when we learned in the meantime that large companies of Japanese were collecting, and that they amounted by noon to one hundred and fifty strong, we began to prepare for defence ; seeing they plainly declared that they were about to attack the Fort with the assistance of both the natives and the Chinese.

‘I therefore went to the Fort and called together the Council, and after full consideration it was decided to inform the Japanese that they must deliver the Governor to us before evening, or we would rescue him by force ; and that if they should have the audacity to take his life or that of his little son—who was with him in the room—they might depend upon it that not one Japanese would escape alive. It was also agreed to intimate this decision to the Governor in the first place, and to ask his opinion about it.

‘ Thereupon Simon van Remortre and the private secretary of the Governor were sent to him. They soon returned with his request that no hostility should yet be shown, as matters might be attended to next morning early; his hope being that a peaceful agreement would be come to. He added, however, that on the following day a party of soldiers should be brought before the house to demand him; while he also would see whether he could not escape by jumping through a window.

‘ On receiving this reply, and after much discussion, the Council decided to grant His Honour’s request, and to postpone hostile measures till the morning, in the meantime doubling all the sentries, and warning them to be on their guard.

‘ Early on the morning of 30 June the Council again considered the proposal to appear before the house with soldiers, and for several reasons it was disapproved of; but they again sent a deputation to the Japanese, requesting them in a friendly way to liberate the Governor, and intimating that if they did not do this within two hours, we should take His Honour out of their hands, dead or alive, by main force.

‘ The Japanese and the Governor sent the reply to the Council, that they were negotiating, and would soon come to an agreement; they therefore requested that nothing hostile should be done in the meantime, but that we should wait till the afternoon, when they hoped that everything would be arranged—a request which was granted by the Council.

‘ In the afternoon His Honour wrote to the Council that the agreement for his release and the free departure of the Japanese had been made, and would be submitted to the Council. It was that His Honour should deliver five persons—his little son Laurens Nuyts, the merchants Pieter Muysert, van der Hagen, Mourcourt, and Jan Hartman—into the hands of the Japanese to be taken to Japan as hostages; while, on the other hand, the Japanese would deliver up five of their principal men; the latter to be taken to Japan by our yachts, where hostages should be exchanged and set at liberty; all of which being agreed to, the Governor would be liberated, and the Japanese would depart within four days.

‘ Much was said for and against this proposal in the Council; the members finding great difficulty in seeing how the Japanese could be made to return our hostages from Japan; but all the objections were sent to the Governor in writing, with the request that he would answer immediately.

‘ His Honour replied at once that everything was safe, and that there was no cause for fear, since the Japanese merely wanted hostages as an assurance on account of what they had done to him; whereupon the Council agreed to accept the proposal. Meanwhile a good watch was kept on both sides, as they did not trust one another.

‘ That evening it rained—to the astonishment of many, the weather having been very hot—and on 1 July it still rained hard all day.

‘ When the time came for the hostages to be handed over, the Japanese were asked if this should be done or if they had anything more to propose. They replied that they had: and, in the first place, demanded back two

hundred *piculs* of silk, which they said remained due from the Chinese merchants, but of which they had been deprived—Simsou's misfortune and the piracy of I-quan being the reasons given why they were forbidden to fetch it; secondly, they demanded that the Sinkan prisoners should be liberated; and, thirdly, they required the return of all the goods and gifts which had been taken from the aforesaid prisoners.

‘The Governor and the Japanese negotiated for a long time about these things without the knowledge of the Council. To the first, the Governor would in no way agree; but about the two other demands he seemed not to have so much difficulty.

‘Meanwhile, however, the Council met together in the Fort, and anxiously awaited an answer to their question about the hostages. At last, beginning to think that the delay might only give time to carry out some act of treachery, they decided that, if they received no answer before noon, they would shoot down everything in their way and do their best to liberate the Governor by force; a decision which was communicated to His Honour by his private secretary, with the request that he would reply immediately.

‘His Honour's answer was given under great agitation, as might well be imagined, and pleaded the Council to have patience a little longer, as he hoped that everything would come to a favourable termination; adding also that he would send to them a written statement of his whole meaning in the afternoon; after which they could proceed as they thought fit.

‘They again granted His Honour this request, and waited till they received his written reply in the afternoon. After discussing it, they thought best, so as to save the Governor's life, to wait two or three days without taking any hostile steps, hoping that in due time all would come right. Of this decision they sent notice to His Honour, who was very much pleased with it.

‘On Sunday morning, 2 July, the Governor sent to ask whether we still abstained from hostilities according to the decision of the day before; and stating that, if we were doing so, he hoped for a favourable termination of the matter, since the Japanese were formulating their demand. When it was ready—and they promised on oath that nothing more should be added to it—it would be sent to us as soon as possible to decide as we considered best.

‘Towards evening, His Honour sent their demands, consisting—as translated from the Japanese by Mr. François Caron—of the following items:—

‘*First*: That the little son of the Governor, the commander Pieter Muysert, van der Hagen, Hartman, and Mourcourt should be taken as hostages in their junks to Japan; they offering that Sibutta Fatsesemedro, cousin of Phesodro, Sayngo Soyemondonno, captain of the soldiers, Jammaocka Sinseymondeyno, overseer, Famada Sinsodeyro, son of Jaffiojodro the captain, and Onnamits Croyemondeyro, chief of the merchants, should accompany them in a Dutch yacht to Japan; thus securing the interests of His Honour and the Council.

‘*Second*: That the eleven inhabitants of Sinkan—of whom four had run away—should be looked for in their houses, as also the two Chinese interpreters, and delivered over to them or restored to complete liberty.