

Mobility and Consistorial Discipline in Dutch Formosa: An Examination of *Kerboek*, 1643-1649, Tayouan Consistory

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ABSTRACT

This article is part of an ongoing project featuring 17th-century Dutch handwritten manuscripts pertaining to Taiwan, then referred to as Formosa. The manuscript entitled *Kerboek van Formosa* is an ecclesiastical document commenting on the spiritual welfare of the Dutch community and the progress made by the church in evangelizing the natives. The analysis of the text has been inspired by research questions from a “literary turn in historical studies” approach, a contextualist perspective that seeks out points of thematic reference, one of which is the observation of social and economic changes. Social changes are mainly recorded in terms of educational expansion and the development of the Calvinist community, but the minutes also document the scope of mobility by preachers, attendants-to-the-sick, schoolmasters and VOC personnel returning to Batavia or the Dutch Republic. Reading the historical materials from different perspectives sheds light not only on the “conventional practices of time” and their evolution; but also on the unusual and various methods that individuals resorted to in response to policies from above and how the Calvinist spirit played out in the lives of its members. These dynamics will be illustrated through the notion of mobility. What were voyagers’ prospects for mobility in going overseas in the service of the VOC, and how did they work out once the travelers arrived in the distant settlement? My findings suggest that although the voyagers to the East Indies were originally driven by the incentive for upward mobility, for many who landed in Formosa this eventually translated into a sequel of spatial mobility.

Keywords: Dutch Formosa, Mobility, Reformed Church, United East India Company, Literacy

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1. Introduction

The manuscript *Kerboek van Formosa* is a transcription of the consistory records in the Tayouan consistory from October 1643 to June 1649, hardly insignificant for research on Dutch Formosa and the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, hereafter VOC).¹ As stated by Heyns & Cheng, surviving manuscripts comprise the daily registers, resolutions, and missives.² This manuscript has been preserved as *Resoluties van de kerkenraad van Taiwan (Formosa), 1643 oktober 5 – 1649 juni* and counts as one of the significant parts of the Resolutions of the Tayouan consistory.³ Instead of dwelling at length on the contribution of church texts to a post-structuralist interpretation of Dutch Formosa studies, my research documents the overseas Dutch community in Formosa (present-day Taiwan) through these texts as a case study in social and spatial mobility.⁴

¹ I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments. Also thanks to Benjamin Hlavaty (†) and Robert Fox for editing the article.

² Pol Heyns and Wei-chung Cheng, trans., *Helan shidai Taiwan gaolingji hunyin yu xili denglubu* [Dutch Formosan Placard-book, Marriage, and Baptism Records] (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2005), pp. 3-4.

³ *Resoluties van de kerkenraad van Taiwan (Formosa), 1643 oktober 5–1649 juni*, Hoge Regering (hereafter HR) 4451, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (hereafter Anri), Jakarta.

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The text *an sich* constitutes a particular category of historical writing known as mission history materials. It is written by the clergy commenting on the moral state of the Dutch community and the progress made by the church in evangelizing the natives. The analysis of the text was inspired by research questions from a “literary turn in historical studies” approach.⁵ This contextualist perspective seeks out points of thematic reference as they are related to the record of important events, the observation of social and economic changes, and the evaluation of personalities. A general reading of the text reveals that social change is mainly recorded in terms of educational expansion of the mission and concern for the spiritual welfare of the Calvinist community (*gemeinte*). Another textual strategy recovers the structure of career opportunities through the scope of spatial mobility of preachers, schoolmasters, attendants-to-the-sick, readers and other low-ranking VOC personnel on the island. This also spans their return either to Batavia or the Dutch Republic, the hiring of new attendants-to-the-sick under way on some vessels, as well as the decisions that wives from the patria could join their husbands. Additionally, demands for stipends for widows and/or decisions on how much money would be allocated in view of the number of children and health matters are also disclosed.⁶ Findings from this multi-method reading do not merely enable us to note the “conventional practices of time” and how they may have changed; we can also decipher the unusual and various methods that individuals resorted to in response to policies from above and how the Calvinist spirit played out in their lives.

Within the totality of Formosa-related documents, church texts are the least studied. Extrapolating this to the study of the VOC, Formosa-related documents are at best complementary, especially in view of the longstanding Dutch presence in other VOC and Dutch West India Company (WIC) settlements. Reasons for the focus on the years 1643-1649 are not arbitrary. The Hollanders had been in Formosa for 20 years; in 1642 the Spanish left, and the Dutch mission post came to include the central and northern parts of the island. At the same time, Batavia implemented new policies, and the VOC expanded with the

the time to transcribe and translate the manuscript from 17th-century handwritten Dutch into English.

⁵ The approach is exemplified in C. W. Watson, *Of Self and Nation: Autobiography and the Representation of Modern Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).

⁶ A preliminary version has been published as Ann Heylen, “Brievenboek, Kerkboek van Formosa: Illustrating Thematic Reference Points,” in Chuen-rong Yeh, ed., *Nanying History, Society, and Culture III: Religion in Transformation in the Tainan Area* (Tainan: Culture Affairs Bureau, Tainan City Government, 2014), pp. 395-406.

gain of control over the Strait of Malacca. A limited number of reference works on the settlement of a Dutch community in 17th-century Formosa have been published, but to date the main emphasis has been on tracing the cultural and geographical history of the indigenes' interaction with Dutch and Chinese, or positioning Taiwan as a trading depot in the larger framework of Dutch East India relations with neighboring states and ethnic communities.⁷ The Dutch arrived in Formosa not long after the VOC had been established in Batavia and, interestingly, came at a time when the Reformed Church had not been long established in the Dutch Republic. Recent studies on the Protestant mission in Formosa offer new interpretations through *Kerchoek*.⁸ The contribution of this research is an intellectual exercise in geospatial humanities that visualizes the *Kerchoek* narrative.⁹ For these reasons, the *Kerchoek* narrative will be used as the main historical source, though reference will be made to complementary sources such as *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia*.¹⁰

2. The Meaning of Mobility

Mobility is a transdisciplinary term that caught on in literary and cultural studies after having been the main emphasis in the disciplines of sociology and

⁷ See for example the work by Natalie Everts and Wouter Milde, "We Thanked God for Submitting Us to Such Sore but Tolerable Trials, Hendrick Noorden and His Long Road to Freedom," in Leonard Blussé, ed., *Around and About Formosa: Essays in Honor of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), pp. 243-272; Hsin-hui Chiu, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process' in Dutch Formosa, 1624-1662* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008); Pol Heyns and Wei-chung Cheng, trans., *Dutch Formosan Placard-book, Marriage, and Baptism Records*; Chang-hua Lin, "Zhimin beijing xia de xuanjiao: shiqi shiji Helan gaige zongjiaohui de xuanjiaoshi yu Xilayazu [Mission in a Colonial Context: Dutch Reformed Church Missionaries and the Sirayian Tribe in the 17th Century]," in Ying-hai Pan and Su-chuan Chan, eds., *Pingpu yanjiu lunwenji* [Symposium of the P'ingpu Studies] (Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Preparatory Office, Academia Sinica, 1995), pp. 333-363.

⁸ Hsin Cha, "Helan gaige zongjiaohui zai shiqi shiji Taiwan de fazhan [The Dutch Reformed Church in the Seventeenth Century Formosa]," (Ph.D. diss., Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2011).

⁹ The current MOST project features a visual narrative of *Kerchoek* through the application of historical GIS digital humanities (MOST 104-2420-H-003-006-MY2, 2015-2017).

¹⁰ J. Leonard Blussé, Wouter E. Milde, Yung-ho Ts'ao, and Natalie C. Everts, eds., *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662, Deel II: 1641-1648* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995). (Hereafter DR). The spellings of some personal and place names in the manuscript differ from the spelling in DR. For reasons of consistency in the text and its representation on the map, I have followed to the extent possible the spellings adapted in DR.

history.¹¹ Mobility is usually understood in the context of enhancing one's social position and status. For instance, "trapped mobility" refers to the inability to climb to higher rungs on the social ladder. Especially these days on the work floor, mobility is often brought up in connotation with gaining experience abroad or going overseas. The same act of going overseas in the 17th-century in service of the VOC or WIC could entail an opportunity for upward mobility. Society in the 17th-century Dutch Republic consisted of a combination of hierarchically organized social groups, with varying levels of income, estate, religion, family relations, and educational levels, dominated by a class of regents that "played to" the lower social classes with favors and protégé, enabling upward mobility for these groups.¹² Intellectual professions, seafaring, and the colonies offered such opportunities – as noted by Groenhuis, "the ones who had the highest functions overseas more often than not belonged to the lower social classes. They managed to reach the top by rising through a series of social ranks".¹³

While going overseas did provide opportunity, there was not always a surplus of people in these professions who were available or even sufficiently qualified to join the ships. Early career preachers were sent overseas, and experience as a town preacher usually entailed a higher VOC salary.¹⁴ Especially in the first half of 17th-century, demands placed on the clergy were not that onerous: "the Acts dating to the 16th-century regularly mention the requests of the consistories to nominate a trusted schoolmaster to preacher."¹⁵ Between the 1620s and the 1650s, the practice of allowing quasi-illiterate attendants-to-the-sick to become preachers was discontinued. Theologians in the academies and universities put pressure on the consistories to stop nominating "idiots". The acts of the synods and classes reveal the success in working

¹¹ Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹² Cited in G. Groenhuis, *De Predikanten: De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor 1700* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1977), p. 71.

¹³ G. Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 70, cited from F. Oudschans Dentz, *Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck* (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen, 1938). Also see Heert Terpstra, *De Nederlanders in Voor-Indie* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1947) and Heert Terpstra, *Buitenlandse getuigen van onze koloniale expansie* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1944). The famous example is Anthonie van Diemen en Jan Pietersz. Coen, cited in G. Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 70. For an opinion of the men of elite merchant families in the VOC, see Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁴ J. C. de Jonge, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche zeewezen*, 5 delen (Haarlem: A. C. Kruseman, 1858-1862).

¹⁵ G. Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 164. Usually the classis examined the schoolmaster and agreed if the result was satisfactory. If not, he had a chance to take the exam again and was still allowed to pass.

towards the ideal of the educated preacher.¹⁶

Income-wise, the positions of schoolmaster, soldier and attendant-to-the-sick, including that of preacher, belonged to the lower echelons, as VOC servants differed from merchants “who came to seek their fortune in trade,” or the VOC administrators in the bureaucracy, the regents, and the nobility.¹⁷ Scribes, clerks, assistants, under-merchants and merchants employed in Castle Zeelandia, and the civil administrators stationed in the villages formed the core of the VOC’s administrative officials. They were responsible for executing the VOC trading policy, which included taking note of cargo, holding public auctions and tax collection. As time progressed, they organized the annual *landdag*, during which the indigenous vassals paid homage to the governor. These men were also commissioned with the construction and repair of official residences, warehouses, fortresses, ships and roads, as well as the management of the hospital, the company stables, and other public facilities. A number of these tasks were outsourced to Chinese farmers, fishermen, merchants, skilled construction workers and slaves.¹⁸ In addition to administrative officials, other Company employees were craftsmen (carpenters, coopers, locksmiths), those engaged in law enforcement and the legal profession (executioners, ushers, provosts, bailiffs), and surgeons and nurses. The military command and its army of professional soldiers was fairly extensive: it protected the VOC’s commercial interests, kept peace in the regions and garrisoned Castle Zeelandia and the island’s other strongholds. This army was often reinforced with indigenous auxiliary troops during military expeditions. Shipping mates, sailors and the higher naval ranks were also counted among the military, which added up to a third of the total of professions in the settlement. Educational personnel consisted of the schoolmasters who taught in the indigenous villages and provided for the Dutch settler community. The preacher, holy proponent, reader, and attendant-to-the-sick each had their role in seeing to the spiritual welfare of the community.

¹⁶ G. Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p. 165. The preacher held the highest rank in the category of education, a position equal to those of the regents who with university educations.

¹⁷ For a general overview of Company personnel, see Femme S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), chapter 3.

¹⁸ Pol Heyns and Wei-chung Cheng, trans., *Dutch Formosan Placard-book, Marriage, and Baptism Records*, pp. 23-24. This work has a listing of the professions in the Marriage records, see *Ibid.*, pp. 28-34. Also see, Wei-chung Cheng, “Luelun Helan shidai Taiwan fazhishi yu shehui zhixu [Some Discussions on Legal History and Social Orders in Dutch Formosa],” *The Taiwan Folkways* (Taipei) 52: 1 (Mar. 2002), pp. 11-40.

Though the opportunity to go overseas has to be seen in relation to bettering one's livelihood and as a marker of income and status, it remains a challenge to reconstruct what precisely these general prospects for social mobility entailed. Providing such an answer in full is beyond the scope of this article. Rather, my narrative analysis is intent on revealing relatedness and context, and thus places mobility within the larger set of relationships that embody descriptions of literacy and church discipline. Such a focus on historical understanding is not surprising: 17th-century society witnessed the advancement of popular literacy that had begun in the previous century with the advent of the Reformation.¹⁹ Literacy defines the commonality among these different professions in education, and as such helps us to reflect on processes of both upward and downward social mobility. However, this demand for literate personnel was conditioned by the role the church played. It is easy to believe that the Dutch in Formosa thought that being a schoolmaster was a better position than being an attendant-to-the-sick, but this does not appear to have been the case, as this article will show. What was so enticing about being an attendant-to-the-sick? These and other questions of social mobility for career advancement will be addressed in the article. In the end, was the frequency of relocation to other villages, as a first reading of the manuscript reveals, really about opportunities for upward mobility or were there other mechanisms at play? Although voyagers to the East Indies were originally driven by the incentive for upward mobility, for many who landed in Formosa this translated into a sequel of spatial mobility. The desire to depart or serve in Batavia was often heard and concurs with research findings regarding the Tayouan Factory, which mention the "lack of personnel and complaints," and, more specifically, how the clergy dealt with these problems. There were additional ramifications and difficulties, not necessarily stemming from the natives, but precisely tallied to the *modus operandi* of the Tayouan consistory. Irrespective of rank, all VOC personnel had to show letters of attestation (*geloofsbriefven*) of proper moral conduct if they wished to settle and be admitted into the Calvinist community. In that sense, the church kept a close watch on its member congregations.

¹⁹ Robert Allan Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500-1800* (London; New York: Longman, 1988); Harvey J. Graff, *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

3. Moving into the Text

Kerboek (Consistory Records) of the Tayouan consistory is an ecclesiastical writing consistent with the church regulations in Calvinist countries. Consistories or church councils (*kerkeraad*) were assemblies of ministers and elders who administered church discipline, which also translates into some form of ecclesiastical justice. Although it was exercised in a purely spiritual way, it reveals the all-powerful and pervasive force of religion in the lives of the believers. In that fashion, the Tayouan consistory kept records duly noted the moral state of mind of its members. The consistory sessions were chaired by the minister, who acted as the *praeses* (or president) and who was assisted by the scribe, and each session bore signatures of approval from the elders, the deacon, and the political commissioner. Consistories were not independent bodies; the Tayouan consistory was under the supervision of the Batavia consistory and the Amsterdam classis. When disputes occurred among the clergy or with the churches in other overseas settlements, these issues had to be dealt with by the Amsterdam classis.²⁰ But in reality, the VOC authorities (the state) controlled the responsibilities of higher-placed church institutions, and the overseas consistories' function as a classis or special synod remained a dead letter.²¹ The clergy after all were paid employees of the VOC, which naturally allowed the state to intervene in church matters. Put firmly in place in 1620 were issues of preaching language, arrangement of the Lord's Supper, and the formation of a

²⁰ The classis was organized at the regional level, and formed a larger unit than the consistory. Its main responsibility was to maintain discipline among its parish clergy members and examine candidates for the ministry. But it could also intervene in disciplinary cases involving laypersons if the offense was serious or circumstances unusually complicated. See Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 56. For a number of theological disputes that required the intervention of the classes, see Chang-hua Lin, "The Dutch Reformed Church in a Colonial Context: A Comparative Study of the Taiwan and American Experience (1624-1664)," (Master's Thesis, Holland: Western Theological Seminary, 2006), pp. 68-84.

²¹ Synods consisted of the classes grouped together at the provincial level, with the participation of lay representatives from the consistories and political delegates from the secular bodies. The focus was on general issues of church discipline and policy, adjudicating disciplinary cases involving clergymen and interpreting the rules regarding lay discipline. See Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*, p. 56. According to C. W. Th. Baron van Boetzelaeer, the overarching decision making power of the VOC had a nefast effect on the development of the church in the Indies. C. W. Theodorus Baron van Boetzelaeer van Asperen en Dubbeldam, *De protestantsche kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië: Haar ontwikkeling van 1620-1939* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1947), pp. 37-39.

consistory with two preachers and the election of two elders, to be approved by the Council of India. Following amendments in 1624, the final approval of the Governor-General was needed on decisions where the preachers and attendants-to-the-sick were to be stationed. In 1643 Governor-General Van Diemen (in office 1636-1645) ordered the Final Regulations; its execution was stated for use in Batavia, but was given room to adapt to local circumstances, the churches in the other VOC territories were encouraged to implement the regulations as well.²² But there was more to it. It was not unheard of that Company servants generated illicit profits to improve their financial situation. Ward refers to the inherent social and economic tension within the VOC, and notes that “The Company tried to resolve these tensions by creating a legal system that would help maintain peaceful order and productivity. It did so partly by imposing social, religious, and ethnic categories that in turn determined one’s legal identity and consequently the punishments that could be imposed for transgressions against Company law.”²³ Against this background, the state had her say regarding the appointment or displacement of preachers, moral sanctioning and the appearance of a political commissioner with a seat in the consistory. Hence, on 15 January 1644, Pieter Anthonissen Overtwater was appointed as the political commissioner in Formosa.²⁴

The combination of the ecclesiastical and secular systems proved to be one of the major underlying causes of conflict in the field. Propagating Christianity was tolerated by the VOC authorities insofar as it served the needs of territorial conquest and the further colonization of the island. In other words, it had to be done in the interest of promoting social stability. The missionaries entered the political arena to promote the welfare of the natives, whereas the VOC authorities came to regard them as pawns.²⁵ The churchmen won the support of

²² For a discussion of the ambiguous hierarchal relationship between the Tayouan and Batavia consistories, see Hsin Cha, “The Dutch Reformed Church in the Seventeenth Century Formosa,” pp. 51-52, fn 190-191.

²³ Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company*, p. 78.

²⁴ Session 12, 15 January 1644, *Resoluties* HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta. Overtwater became governor of Formosa 1646-1649.

²⁵ Most research focuses on this conflict between church and state, as shown by Leonard Blussé, “Retribution and Remorse: The Interaction between the Administration and the Protestant Mission in Early Colonial Formosa,” in Gyan Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 153-182; J. J. A. M. Kuepers, *The Dutch Reformed Church in Formosa, 1627-1662: Mission in a Colonial Context* (Immensee: Schriftenreihe der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 27, 1978), and more recently by Hsin Cha, “The Dutch Reformed Church in the Seventeenth Century Formosa”.

the local peoples, and more importantly, mastered their languages. The dependency on native language speakers for political purposes, more often than not, caused setbacks to missionary activities.²⁶ The world of the early Dutch mission was thus one in which a genuine threat came not only from the nature of their surroundings, but also from their own culture; theirs was an administration that proved helpful at times, but at other times held interests hostile to the Christian community. For political reasons the VOC authorities encouraged educational expansion, but they were in fact rather reluctant to provide financing and manpower. The Tayouan consistory repeatedly requested Batavia to send more clericals and schoolmasters. If the church in Formosa operated under constant financial strain and struggled with an acute labor shortage, how is this struggle exemplified in *Kerboek*? What solutions are suggested, and how do they bring about the relatedness between spatial and social mobility to Company personnel?

Four main threads run through the text-narrative. First, missionary work among the natives mainly consisted of religious education, evangelizing, and administrative control. The regulated visits to the northern and southern villages feature as a record of important events, and also contain observations on the number of schoolgoers proficient in spelling, reading, and writing, as well as the number of administered baptisms. These visits were conducted alongside the stipulated quarterly visitation (*ommeganck*) in the Calvinist community and denote the second main thread, namely church disciplinary procedures. Church members who were confirmed and had accepted church discipline voluntarily could partake in the Lord's Supper, the most important ceremony for believers, which united them at the Lord's Table. The focus of the Supper was on peace and reconciliation, not only with God but also with one's fellow believers. Prior to the organization of the Lord's Supper, church members were censured; if they had sinned, this could result in admonitions from the Lord's Table, and when they refused or proved unable to better their lifestyle and reconcile, excommunication from the congregation could follow. The member would then be cut off the tree of life like a rotten apple. Third, the text documents the day-to-day administration

²⁶ Political services resulted from the cooperation between church and state in the process of conquest. William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records, with Explanatory Notes and a Bibliography of the Island* (London: Kegan Paul, 1903), p. 540. Also see, Ann Heylen, "Dutch Language Policy and Early Formosan Literacy (1624-1662)," in Wei-ying Ku, ed., *Missionary Approaches and Linguistics in Mainland China and Taiwan* (Leuven: F. Verbiest Foundation and Leuven University Press, 2001), pp. 213-214.

of the Tayouan consistory; and fourth, the flow of incoming and outgoing correspondence with Batavia and the homeland provides information on postal service history and literacy practices.

The social significance of church discipline is not to be underestimated, and observations on the moral code of the Dutch community as members of the Calvinist church provide background that helps explain the dynamics in mobility. One should not ignore the fact that the voyagers were living far from home in a climate to which they were not accustomed, which created a great amount of mental stress and resulted at times in questionable behavior, prolonged illness and a high mortality rate. The pressure to behave properly and the sanctions or punishment that could result from sinful behavior was not a sinecure but something to be taken seriously. The exemplary function of church discipline had all to do with establishing a growing Calvinist congregation where members were in control of their emotions and worked for the respectability of the community. Letters of attestation were testaments to proper behavior, bearing evidence of an individual's morality, and were a necessity for gaining career opportunities.

4. The Interplay between Relocation, Displacement, and Requests by the Attendants-to-the-sick

One of the standard historical surveys of the Dutch mission on Formosa is Willy Abraham Ginsel's 1930 doctoral thesis, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa of de lotgevallen eener handelskerk onder de Oost-Indische Compagnie, 1627-1662*. According to Ginsel, towards the end of 1646, when Reverend Joannes Bavius (in service 1640-1646) passed away, there were two preachers, those being Reverend Simon van Breen (in service 1643-1646) and Reverend Joannes Happart (in service 1644-1647), one proponent named Hans Olhoff (died in 1651), five attendants-to-the-sick, and 29 schoolmasters (Dutch and natives). They took charge of evangelizing and services in Castle Zeelandia (Tayouan).

Attendants-to-the-sick take on a prominent role in the text. Even though they are not the most significant of the voyagers, their presence tells much of the politics and relationship between church and state. To a certain extent, the

prevalence of attendants-to-the-sick reflects the reality of what sailing to the Indies was about in combination with the newly established Dutch Republic. Aside from being needed to care for the sick during the hazardous maritime journey, they temporarily substituted for the lack of preachers both on and off the ships. The majority of them, however, did not go ashore but remained onboard to read the daily prayers, conduct sermons during Sunday services, and tend to the sick. Sometimes they were authorized to baptize or preach, which provided a path toward upward mobility, i.e., to become an ordained minister and/or prepare for the office of holy proponent. At times, attendants-to-the-sick also fulfilled the position of reader (*voorleeser*).

Upon arrival, the attendants-to-the-sick presented themselves to the consistory and showed their letters of attestation together with a letter from the captain testifying to their behavior onboard. Letters of attestation represented the regional control that the Calvinist church was able to implement.²⁷ In the Dutch Republic, believers who moved from one location to another also had to present these letters, which noted whether they had been sanctioned by church discipline in their previous habitats and how well versed they were in church doctrines.²⁸ Moving away did not imply that one could start over with a clean slate. As a rule, an exam was taken which consisted of testing the subject's ability to sing and read well, as well as his biblical knowledge.²⁹ Although *Kerckboek* does not mention explicitly if the exam was administered, the presentation of the letters is meticulously recorded, and, especially in the later years (1646 onwards), candidates were asked if they could sing and read. Hence, we come across the first point regarding the specificity of the attendant-to-the-sick in Formosa: his duties were divided between serving the Dutch community, mainly in Castle Zeelandia in Tayouan, and serving the converted villages, which required both assistance in the schools and in communicating in the local language. Specific mention of "being able to sing and read aloud" is only made when it concerned an appointment to the Castle. Of immediate interest is the extent to which the

²⁷ Herman Roodenburg, *Onder censuur: De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578-1700* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990).

²⁸ Gorski translates the letters as "certificates-of-good-conduct, certifying that they were confessing members of the reformed Church and were not currently under censure," see Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*, p. 63.

²⁹ C. W. Theodorus Baron van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam, *De protestantsche kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië: Haar ontwikkeling van 1620-1939*, pp. 109-110.

appointment as attendant-to-the-sick with duties as schoolmaster in the villages was seen as an improvement in status and salary.

In October 1643 there were two attendants-to-the-sick in Soulang “who don’t have much to do,” thus it was communicated to Reverend Bavius to relocate them.³⁰ One of them was Joost Gillisz. who was to be relocated to Backluan to replace Hendrik van Beek who had fallen ill and was not recovering. The following month, van Beek’s request to be dismissed was granted, but his wish to be repatriated still had to be communicated with Reverend Bavius.³¹ In the meantime, the Tayouan consistory had received two requests from attendants-to-the-sick on ships, those being Jan Bouwensz. van Leeuwarden on the *Breskens* and Daniel Jonasz. van Enkhuisen on the *Castricum*, who were to be stationed in Formosa for a contract period of seven years. The matter was communicated to Bavius whose written reply agreed to the hiring of the two, suggesting that Daniel Jonasz. be stationed in Mattauw but to wait before assigning a location for Jan Bouwensz. The preacher also agreed to the departure of van Beek from Formosa but disagreed with the relocation of Joost Gillisz. from Soulang to Backluan.³² A third attendant-to-the-sick, Gerrit Jansz. Hartgring van Hasselt arrived from Kelang and was hired under the same conditions as Jan Bouwensz. At the subsequent meeting it was decided that Jan Bouwensz. was to be stationed in Sinckan and Gerrit Jansz. Hartgring in Soulang. Also, attendant-to-the-sick Cornelis Verbeecq in Soulang’s request to leave Formosa because of physical incompetence and inability to learn the local language had been granted. After Joost van Bergen had left in December, a vacancy in Sinckan opened, and it was debated whether or not Daniel should be relocated from Tavokan to Sinckan and Jan Toornenburg from Mattauw to Tavokan.³³

³⁰ Session 3, 28 October 1643, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta. Reverend Bavius was not in Tayouan, but residing in Soulang and made his opinions known in writing.

³¹ Session 4, 23 November 1643, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

³² The consistory records do not explain why Reverend Bavius in his letter was objecting to the relocation of Joost Gillisz. from Soulang to Backluan more than that it was not deemed appropriate. The consistory overruled the objections made by Reverend Bavius and relocated Joost Gillisz. to Backluan. *Dagregisters II* on 6 September 1644 inform us that Joost Gillsz. is in Backluan but will move to Sinckan. DR 06.09. 1644, F fol. 171, p. 317.

³³ Session 7, 5 December 1643, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta. Joost van Bergen had requested to be exempted from his duty as attendant-to-the-sick in order to be fully employed as substitute-political commissioner, for the reason that he could not combine both positions. For the relocation of Jan Toornenburg, see Session 15, 1 February 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

In brief, the calculation for the year 1643 shows that one new position was created in Sinckan, which was filled by Jan Bouwensz. With the departure of Joost van Bergen, another position opened, and this raised the question of appointing a proponent. All the other posts of attendants-to-the-sick that were vacated due to granted requests for leave for various reasons were filled through a relocation of others who had been stationed elsewhere. Relocation was often closely related to the official findings from the visits to the villages and depended on what had been reported in terms of progress, morality, and other matters. For example, following the visit to the south and their reports regarding the *modus operandi* of proponent Andreas Merkinus and Hans Valland, it was decided to relocate Hans Olhoff to Sinckan, answering the question raised earlier of whether or not to send a proponent. Meanwhile, proponent Merkinus was to be stationed in Soulang, Gerrit Jansz. Hartgring in Tapouliang, Jan Boudewijnsz. in Tirozen, Hans Valland in Backluan, Jacob Sandbergen in Tavokan, and schoolmaster Daniel Hendriksz. in Soulang.³⁴ The above excerpt is fairly representative of the consistory records (hereafter Minutes). The reader today is given names and places, but one has to look elsewhere in the document or find other sources to complement knowledge of the context in which these men and women had come to the attention of the consistory.

Is it possible to discern a pattern in what constituted dynamics in mobility? Let us zoom in on Gerrit Jansz. Hartgring van Hasselt's career path as attendant-to-the-sick in Formosa (1643-1648) for a moment. Gerrit Jansz. arrived in Tayouan from Kelang in 1643, where he also passed away in 1648.³⁵ Even though it were only his final few years as a VOC employee in the Tayouan Factory, it does give us an impression of social mobility in his working life, the spatial mobility of which has been mapped out in Figure 1.

Gerrit Jansz. Hartgring was first stationed in Soulang, and assigned to Tapouliang in February 1644. The text is not explicit as to whether he had studied the language in Soulang. Once on post, he requested a horse because he was given supervision of Tapouliang, in addition to other southern villages.³⁶

³⁴ Session 14, 27 January 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

³⁵ *Kerboek* refers to his passing away on 19 August 1648 (session 82), although Gerrit Jansz. may have passed away as early as September 1646 soon after his relocation to Tayouan if the wording "wechnemen" be understood as "taken away from us" in the religious sense of the word.

³⁶ *Dagregisters II* bring up Gerrit Jansz.'s writings from Tapouliang and Nettne on the state of affairs of the villages and some cases that demanded attention between September and November. DR 21.09.1644, F fol. 180, p. 325; DR 11.10.1644, F fol. 185, p. 330; DR 03.11.1644, F fol. 206, p. 352.

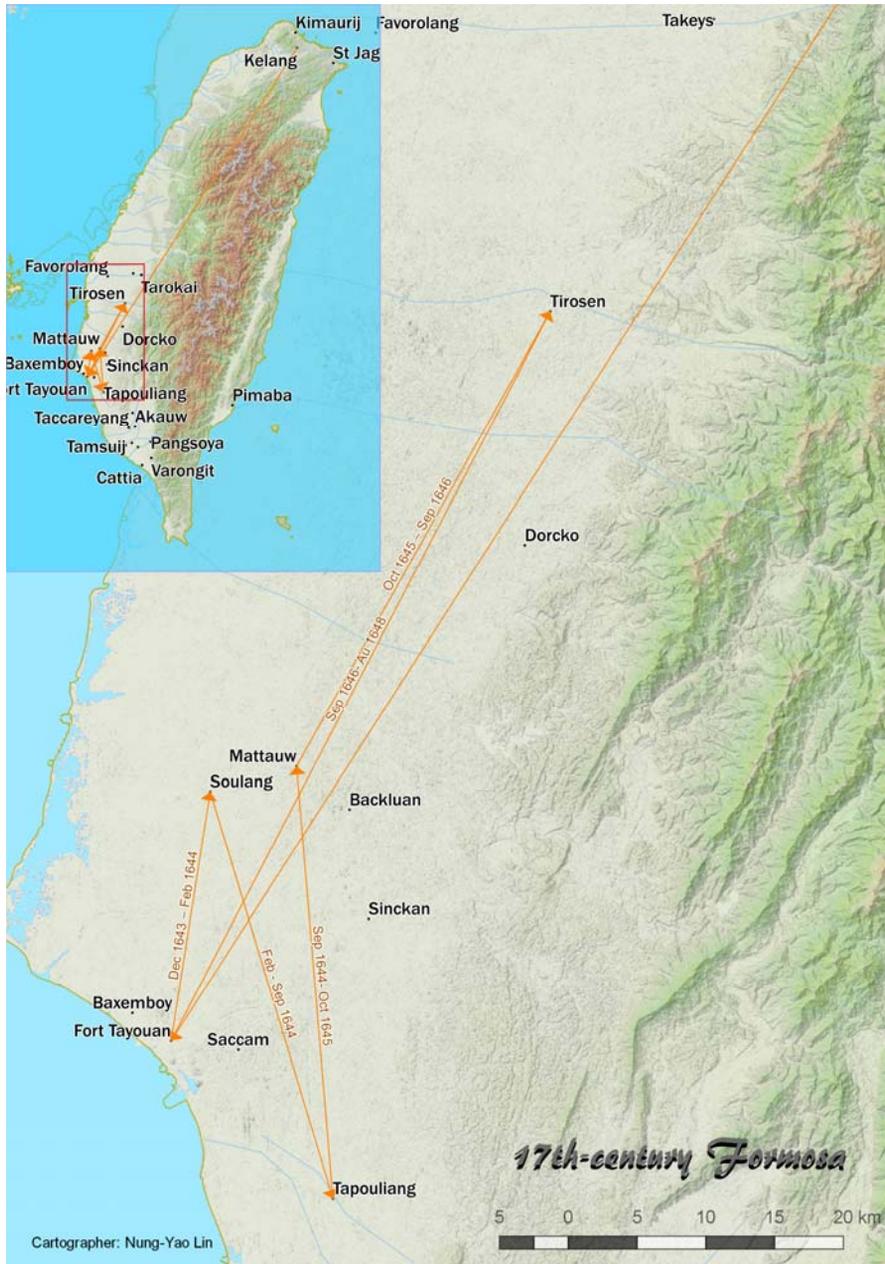


Figure 1: 17th-Century Formosa; spatial mobility of Gerrit Jansz. Hartgring van Hasselt (1643-1648)

Credit: adapted from <http://www.jspacesystems.or.jp/ersdac/GDEM/J/> and <https://gist-map.motc.gov.tw/Complex/MapTopic>, copyright in the public domain.

Within the totality of settlements under Dutch control, the south was the least favorable region, being especially notorious for an insupportable climate and disease. Interestingly, the horse request was granted; horses and greyhounds were considered symbols of prestige and status and not dealt out freely. At the same time, Gerrit Jansz. also sought instruction, but he was ordered to continue carrying out his present duties unless specifically told otherwise.³⁷ The Minutes dated 1 October 1645 record that Gerrit Jansz. was moving to Tirozen and his vacancy in Mattauw would be taken by Tobias Stael, newly arrived from Batavia via Siam.³⁸ The entry agreed to grant his request for a salary raise when his contract expired on 6 November 1645. One year later, on 3 September 1646, Gerrit Jansz., who was still in Tirozen, was invited to serve the Dutch community in Tayouan, replacing Frans Salomonsz.³⁹ His position in Tirozen was taken over by Frederick van Amstelveen, provisional schoolmaster from Soulang.⁴⁰ On 19 August 1648, the Minutes record the passing away of Gerrit Jansz., attendant-to-the-sick and reader. Bastiaen Drioeen would take on the singing and reading duties in the church and the evening prayers in the castle.⁴¹

The text reveals the reasons behind Gerrit Jansz.'s relocations from Tapouliang to Mattauw in 1644, and from Tirozen to Tayouan (Castle Zeelandia) in 1646. In both cases, the explanation comes through the reports of the visits to the villages and the *ommeganck* that mention Gerrit Jansz.'s dealings with schoolmaster Cæsar van Winschooten and attendant-to-the-sick Frans Salomonsz. Both illustrations point to deep-lying personal issues, the first of which concerns the conflict that had arisen between Cæsar and Gerrit Jansz. Cæsar appears in the text in the course of May 1644, when he requested to be accepted into the community, and is appointed schoolmaster in Tapouliang.⁴² In the entry for 26 July, Gerrit Jansz. in Tapouliang complained about Cæsar in his letters to the consistory.⁴³ The case obviously came to the full. The next entry on 28 July

³⁷ Session 15, 1 February 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

³⁸ Session on 1 October 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

³⁹ *Dagregisters II* on 23 and 24 March 1647 mention that Gerrit Jansz. was put in charge to do the service to the Castle by himself, because the schoolmaster (and attendant-to-the-sick) Cornelis Eeckenhooren moved away to Favorolang, where he unfortunately is reported to have died in May. DR 23/24.03.1647, J fol. 572, pp. 558-559; DR 25/26/27.05.1647, J fol. 591, p. 575.

⁴⁰ Session 60, 11 September 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁴¹ Session on 28 December 1648, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁴² Session 19, 6 May 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁴³ *Dagregisters II* complement on the correspondence in which both Gerrit Jansz. and Cæsar explain themselves over their behavior, as was customary to do. DR 06.09.1644, F fol. 170, p. 316.

1644 reports that both had been summoned to a hearing. The accusations against Gerrit Jansz. reveal his negligence in looking after the schools and church, and that he had used the locals for his own purposes. In both cases he contributed the negligence to his long-standing illness and was reprimanded. Cæsar was suspended for two months and his salary was cut.⁴⁴

The August 1644 expansion of the mission ordered Reverend Simon Van Breen to go to Favorolang and proponent Hans Olhoff – stationed in Soulang – to be sent to the south while Reverend Johannes Happart was to stay in Tayouan at the Castle.⁴⁵ From that time on there was a relocation of personnel, as the Minutes of 3 September report that Gerrit Jansz. was to be relocated to Mattauw and Cæsar van Winschooten to move to Akauw, among other reshufflings.⁴⁶ At the same time, the relocation also ended the (references to the) dispute between Gerrit Jansz. and Cæsar. One is left wondering to what extent the relocation of both these men was the result of (immediate or not) the complaints, either as a solution to keep matters in good order or as a form of admonishment for having disturbed the good order in the first place.

Two years later, in 1646, Gerrit Jansz. replaced Frans Salomonsz., who was censored due to reports of his behavior. In fact, both cases of Frans Salomonsz. and Cæsar van Winschooten, in contradistinction to that of Gerrit Jansz., reveal instances where the reality of daily life overseas exerted much mental and even physical strain. Gerrit Jansz.'s accusations made against Cæsar depict traces of violent behavior, who had threatened to shoot Gerrit Jansz.'s servant boy; moreover, during the same summon, Gerrit Jansz. also accused Cæsar of assaulting a Chinese man.⁴⁷ Frans was attendant-to-the-sick and reader of the community. He, too, was reported to have difficulty controlling his emotions – he once chased the hospital surgeon with a knife due to longstanding

⁴⁴ Session 22, 28 July 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁴⁵ Session 23, 9 August 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta. Olhoff came to Formosa as attendant-to-the-sick, was promoted to proponent in 1643, and from 1644 onwards acted as political commissioner in the south. DR 23.10. 1643, C fol. 417, p. 204; DR 25.08. 1644, F fol. 162, p. 309, ftn 15.

⁴⁶ Session 25, 3 September 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta. The Minutes mention that Van Breen could take two of the new attendants-to-the-sick and six competent schoolmasters with him to Favorolang, but no names are included. Hans Olhoff was on his way to the south and was replaced by Joost Gillisz. in Tapouliang, Hans Valland stayed in Sinckan, and schoolmaster Hendrik Veer replaced Gerrit Jansz. in Tapouliang, and provisional schoolmaster Caspar Christiaensz. moved to Dorcko. *Dagregisters II* confirm this in their entry on 6 September 1644. DR 06.09.1644, F fol. 171, p. 317.

⁴⁷ The Chinaman's wife was involved as well. Session 22, 28 July 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

disagreements between the surgeon and Salomonsz.'s wife.⁴⁸ This bad behavior is brought up again in subsequent Minutes. Aside from failing to reconcile with the surgeon, Frans Salomonsz. assaulted attendant-to-the-sick Cornelis Eeckenhooren. For this, he was not allowed to attend Supper.⁴⁹ The November Minutes record that there was no sign of improvement. In addition to being excluded from Supper, he was to be suspended and sent back to Batavia.⁵⁰ No explicit mention is made of his excommunication from the community.

5. Career Prospects: Soldier to Schoolmaster and Interpreter to Political Commissioner

Assuming a new position in the Tayouan Factory proved to be a venue for mobility and relocation. In terms of social hierarchy, the rank of schoolmaster occupied a central position and was in high demand. This is understandable, as education had to be in the local languages, which took several years to master and thus was a key issue in the schoolmaster-related entries. Likewise, learning how to write and acquire fluency in Dutch literacy skills was necessary for those teaching the Dutch community. A period of language training took place in the Castle, and when approved, the schoolmaster was sent to Sinckan to study the Sinckan language and engage in educational matters. Attendants-to-the-sick and soldiers usually filled the gap in schoolmaster vacancies; however, this path toward upward mobility – as it seemed at first to be – did not always prove successful or even desirable.

In April 1644, the Tayouan consistory appointed attendant-to-the-sick Frans Salomonsz. to assist in education: “In order for the youth to be instructed in an orderly manner in the Christian religion and be educated into the congregation, it has been approved that in accordance with the custom in the homeland, a catechism for the youth will be started here. The attendant-to-the-sick Frans Salomonsz. will instruct the young girls and the preacher Simon van Breen the young men.”⁵¹ The next reference to Frans Salomonsz. is in August 1645, when

⁴⁸ Session 55, 10 July 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁴⁹ Session 58, 3 September 1646, and also Session 61, 15 October 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁵⁰ Session 62, 2 November 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁵¹ “Op dat de jeugt in Christelijke religie met ordre mocht onderwesen en tot de gemeente aengequeekt werden, is goed gevonden, dat men na Vaderlands gebruik, een catechisatie der jeugt hier sal aenrichten: en

he requested to be dismissed from the position and to leave to Batavia on the next ship.⁵²

A similar case is that of attendant-to-the-sick Anthonij van der Hedens, promoted to schoolmaster in Tayouan in September 1644.⁵³ Less than three months later, he requested to be discharged from the position. The reason given was that a longtime illness had made him unfit.⁵⁴ The request was granted and a suitable replacement would be sought. That individual was attendant-to-the-sick Alexander Abrahamssen, who presented himself to be appointed as schoolmaster in Tayouan and reader of prayer services for the soldiers in the castle, duties that had been unfulfilled for some time.⁵⁵ There is reason to believe that he may have been the same Alexander who was kept in waiting until the arrival of the new Governor François Caron (in office 1644-1646).⁵⁶ In September 1646, the Tayouan consistory records the departure of Alexander Abrahamssen, noting that the position of attendant-to-the-sick and schoolmaster had been vacant for some time. The decision was made to send for the newly arrived attendant-to-the-sick Cornelis Eeckenhooren, who would also be charged with reciting the daily prayers in the bastion and Sunday service on the redoubt, Zeeburg aen Baxemboy.⁵⁷

Whereas in the above cases, the attendants-to-the-sick did not prove successful in their promotions to schoolmaster, such was not the case for soldiers. The notion of abecedarian literacy comes to mind, but it may equally indicate that being a soldier in the Indies could be a stepping-stone to a better life. Gaastra in this respect noted that soldiers were recruited from the lowest social classes and that there were a large number of foreigners among them, although he added in readjustment of van Gelder's analysis that not all belonged to the "uneducated, almost criminal scum of the nation."⁵⁸ The following are examples

sullen de dochters bij den krankbesoeder Frans Salomonsz., ende de jongelingen bij den predikant Simon van Breen onderwesen werden." Session 17, 4 April 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁵² Session 42, 14 August 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁵³ Session 27, 23 September 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁵⁴ Session 31, 2 December 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁵⁵ Session 32, 20 December 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁵⁶ Session 21, 26 July 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁵⁷ Session 59, 10 September 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁵⁸ Femme S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline*, pp. 88-91. More research is warranted for the status and mobility prospects of the soldiers in the totality of the VOC. Large garrisons were maintained to assist with expeditions, but also to offer protection to the sick and those incapacitated, as well as guarding convicts and exiles. See Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company*, pp. 65-66.

of soldiers who had become promising schoolmasters. The first case was recorded on 5 January 1644; soldier Thomas Putval van Leyden had been schoolmaster in Tevorang for two years. Given his positive performance, it was debated whether to increase his salary and allow him the schoolmaster state income (*tractement*).⁵⁹ On 20 December 1644, following the death of schoolmaster Jacob Sandbergen in Tavokan and the longstanding illness of Jan Toornenburg in Sinckan, it was decided that those men be replaced by two good soldiers. After having received training in the language in Sinckan, they would be commissioned to Sinckan and Tavokan together with another competent person to look after the schools.⁶⁰

Likewise, the soldier Frederick Wouters requested to be employed in church matters and was approved. He was to be stationed under the supervision of Reverend Bavius in Soulang.⁶¹ In the Minutes of 11 September 1646, we read that Jan Borst from Tavokan was to be relocated to Mattauw and replaced by Jan Wagenaer in Sinckan. In addition, three soldiers, two of whom were in Soulang and one who was in Sinckan, were to look after the schools.⁶² Evidently, replacements were required when personnel passed away as well. The entry on 14 August 1645 records, “Two of the temporary schoolmasters, Anthonij Scholtens and Jaques Flotier, formerly employed in the northern villages under the supervision of the preacher have died, and it has been agreed that with the approval of the Governor two other people from the garrison will come and replace the deceased”.⁶³

When schoolmasters were proven incompetent in the results of the visitations, they were relocated and put under the supervision or in the vicinity of a preacher or a holy proponent. Such was the decision in relocating schoolmaster Jan Toornenburg from Mattauw to Sinckan, where he was to be

⁵⁹ Session 10, 5 January 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta. *Dagregisters III* record the passing away of Thomas Putval early June 1647 in Tevorang. The loss was mentioned in the context of the correspondence received from the schoolmaster on 1 June about some disciplinary cases, but whose medical condition prevented Putval to appear in person in the castle on 5 June, followed by the recording of his death in the entries between 8 and 11 June. DR 8/9/10/11.06.1647, A fol. 278, p. 6.

⁶⁰ Session 32, 20 December 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁶¹ Session 46, 6 November 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁶² Session 60, 11 September 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁶³ “Alsoo twee der provisionele schoolmeesters Anthonij Scholtens ende Jaques Flotier, voor desen gebruikt inde noordelijcke dorpen gehoorende onder het opsicht D. Presidis overleden sijnde; wert goetgevonden dat naer voorgaende approbatie van Hr Gouverneur twee andere personen uijt het guarnisoen gekomen ende in den overledenen plaetse gestelt werden.” Session 42, 14 August 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

under the close supervision of Hans Olhof.⁶⁴ The January 1646 Minutes report that schoolmaster Andries Meerman in Backluan proved unfit as a teacher and that Lambert Simonsen, schoolmaster in Mattauw, was found incompetent; it was decided to move Lambert Simonsen to Verovorongh, where he would be placed under the supervision of Hans Olhoff.⁶⁵

The position of schoolmasters in the social strata warrants some explanation. Irrespective of their levels of education and intelligence, schoolmasters' *tractement* was fairly meager. However, their literacy enabled them to fill some sideline positions, such as secretary, tax collector, or notary, thus providing the possibility for better provisions and upward mobility. This is revealed by the case of schoolmaster Steven Dircksen in Verovorongh, who was given a raise when he proved able to read aloud the February daily register.⁶⁶ The 2 March 1646 Minutes report that he was to be relocated to Nettne to replace schoolmaster Lambert Meindertsen, who in his capacity as political interpreter would have been frequently absent.⁶⁷

Both school and church had to be financed from the earnings of Chinese hunting licenses, poll taxes and fines, which the missionaries were put in charge of; these were called political services. Political services resulted from the cooperation between church and state in the process of conquest. For want of funds and suitable men, the administration was unable to appoint trading agents familiar with the language, civil officers for collecting taxes, or police in those regions over which lordship was exercised. The ministers were consequently burdened with administrative tasks such as interpreting, collecting taxes, selling hunting licenses, or buying deerskin and other local produce.⁶⁸ A fine, which usually amounted to one deerskin, was levied on school absenteeism and failure to attend services.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Session 15, 1 February 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁶⁵ Session 49, 24 January 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁶⁶ Session 16, 22 March 1644 and Session 35, 16 January 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁶⁷ Session 52, 2 March 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁶⁸ William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records, with Explanatory Notes and a Bibliography of the Island*, p. 540.

⁶⁹ John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 66; Chiao-min Hsieh, *Taiwan -- Ihla Formosa: A Geography in Perspective* (London: Butterworth, 1964), p. 144; Willy Abraham Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa of de lotgevallen eener handelskerk onder de Oost-Indische-Compagnie, 1627-1662* (Leiden: P. J. Mulder, 1931), p. 118.

The post of political commissioner and interpreter provided mobility for schoolmasters. These opportunities became available in 1644, following the decision by the Governor and the Council of Justice to regulate the responsibilities of the political commissioners and separate them from church matters, meaning that the clergy should oversee schools and churches, and not fine collection or administrative work.⁷⁰ It was decided in the September Minutes to appoint eight schoolmasters as interpreters to assist Pieter Anthonissen Overtwater as political commissioner; among them were Cæsar van Winschooten in Tavokan, Lambert Meindertsen in Nettne, and Daniel Hendricsz. in Soulang.⁷¹ The *Dagregisters* elucidate the activities and responsibilities of the interpreter. Hence, we are informed that on 20 August 1645, “the schoolmaster Lambert Meindertsen and some natives troops had been on the road for five days, but returned empty-handed.”⁷² And further down on 10 September, “Today we also received a message from the proponent preacher Hans Olhoff in Verovorongh, dated yesterday, which made clear that because of his illness, he had sent the interpreter Lambert Meyndertsen on the 27th to Varongit and nearby villages to inquire about gathering the village heads (which kept them quite busy), and according to our regulations, both he and Olhoff were to report back within eight to ten days.”⁷³ Daniel Hendricsz. in Soulang, on the other hand issued a very serious request to remain with the school.⁷⁴

Cæsar van Winschooten, who was dismissed as schoolmaster in Akauw and appointed as interpreter for the political commissioner, requested to be extended a letter of attestation for his service as schoolmaster, according to the January 1645 entry. This request was refused until he could prove himself worthy.⁷⁵ In October 1645, Cæsar van Winschooten then requested to be dismissed as

⁷⁰ Session 26, 8 September 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁷¹ Session 27, 23 September 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁷² *Dagregisters II* “[...] den schoolmeester Lambert Meyndertsen met eenige troupen der inhabitanten vijff dagen op de been geweest, maer onverrichtersaken weder thuysgekeert.” DR 20.08.1645 G fol. 720, p. 422.

⁷³ “Bequamen oock vandage schrijvens uyt Verovorongh van den proponent domino Hans Olhoff, gedateert op gisteren, daeruyt verstonen hoe dat hij vermits sijne continuerende sieckte op 27en passato den tolcq Lambert Meyndertsen naer Varingit ende bijgelegen dorpen gesonden hadde omme naer gelegentheyte dier plaetsen, item wegens ‘t t halen van hoofden (dat daer soo dapper in swangh gingh) te inquiren, opdat daervan volgens onse ordre, gelijk hij, Olhoff binnen 8 à 10 dagen voornemens was, rapport mochte doen.” DR 10.09.1645 G fol. 760, p. 459.

⁷⁴ “Heden hebbe den schoolmeester Daniël Hendricxs, die wij tot tolcq gestelt hadden, op sijn ernstigh versoecq bij de schoole gelaten.” DR 23.09.1644, F fol. 180, p. 325.

⁷⁵ Session 35, 16 January 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

interpreter and hired as an attendant-to-the-sick, with a three-year contract. Likewise, this was not granted, and it was even discussed whether to dismiss him altogether.⁷⁶ He repeated his request but to no avail, and instead the Tayouan consistory reinstated him as schoolmaster.⁷⁷ The Minutes in January 1645 had already reported that the three villages, Akauw (where Cæsar van Winschooten and Hans Herewijns had been teaching since September 1644), Nettne and Cattia were in need of schoolmasters.⁷⁸

In briefly overviewing the social mobility among soldiers, attendants-to-the-sick, and schoolmasters, hierarchy surfaces, especially in regard to those who hoped to continue their career elsewhere. Some cases support the view that the position of village schoolmaster was less attractive than that of teaching the Dutch community in Tayouan. However, it does not explain why attendants-to-the-sick did not fare well as schoolmasters. Likewise, schoolmasters did not necessarily desire promotion to political interpreter. In both cases, proficiency in the local languages was required. Nonetheless, being literate was one of the basic requirements for social mobility anywhere. Soldiers promoted to schoolmaster performed better than others, as it truly was a step up in their career and status. A schoolmaster's *tractement* was higher than a soldier's *gagie*, and an appointment as schoolmaster could clear the path to political success for those who were truly ambitious and smart. However, it remains to be seen to what extent this degree of upward mobility existed in other regions of the East Indies. Would a soldier promoted to schoolmaster in Formosa be automatically hired as schoolmaster in Batavia? Did Cæsar van Winschooten have such career opportunities in mind when he put in his request for a letter of attestation, congruent to making known his wish to depart from Formosa? Was it the same as Frans Salomonsz.'s motivation? The following section will illustrate the social significance of church discipline and the repercussions it could have on one's chances for mobility and career opportunities.

⁷⁶ Session 45, 1 October 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁷⁷ Session 46, 6 November 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁷⁸ Session 35, 16 January 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta. It is decided to appoint a resident from Tapouliang, and Hans Olhoff has to make sure that the children from these villages go to school.

6. The Downside of Mobility

Cases of downward mobility were just as frequent those of upward mobility in the VOC. The former was usually the result of improper behavior, which was regulated by church discipline during the Minutes' sessions devoted to censuring members. These took place shortly before the Lord's Supper. The president of the Tayouan consistory summarized the number of complaints of sinful behavior that were collected during the *ommeganck* and presented the efforts made by the consistory to admonish the sinner(s). An overview reveals that the most frequent sins and complaints that were presented can be divided in three categories: public drinking and alcohol abuse that could result in verbal abuse or fighting; whoring or adultery; and longstanding personal animosity and lack of competence or vigor in carrying out one's duties. There were gradations in the degree of sinful acts, but gestures of repentance or reconciliation usually were decisive in determining whether further steps were to be taken, such as making the alleged sinner's name known in the church, banner the sinner from the Lord's table, cuts in salary, demotion, or finally banishment from the community, which resulted in expulsion from the Tayuoan Factory altogether. In the case of demotion, relocation could follow. Jan Pietersz. van Amersfoort was demoted to soldier, and his request in May 1644 to be reinstated as attendant-to-the-sick was declined due to lack of improvement in his behavior.⁷⁹ The Minutes also record, "Schoolmaster Heijndrick Veer in Tapouliang will be given the musket again for being a drunk and replaced by someone else."⁸⁰ This decision was made half a year after it was decided that Veer would replace Cæsar van Winschooten and Gerrit Jansz. Hartgring in Tapouliang when those two men were relocated to Akauw and Mattauw respectively, also as a result of resolving a case of personal animosity.

The Minutes on 28 August 1645 record that attendant-to-the-sick Hendrik Hanton de Jonge showed attestation from the Classis van Walcheren and decided to be stationed in Tavokan to replace Joost Gillisz., who was scheduled to depart

⁷⁹ Session 18, 3 May 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁸⁰ "Heijndrick Veer alsoo hem menichmael in dronckenschap verlopen heeft, sal uijt Tapoeliang gelicht, ende het musquet wederom op 't schouder gegeven ende een ander in sijn plaetse versocht werden." Session 36, 10 March 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

for the patria in 1646.⁸¹ This was acted upon favorably, and Hendrik Hanton would be employed in Backluan because schoolmaster Andries Meerman was needed in Sinckan every morning and evening for one hour to teach the young Lamey youth.⁸² The death of Reverend Johannes Happart necessitated this relocation.⁸³ However, Hendrik Hanton was accused of unlawful sexual acts in 1648. He was suspended from his position and not allowed to attend the Lord's Supper, a penalty that was enforced for about a year.⁸⁴ Initially, mention was made to have him deported, but by April it appears that he had sufficiently repented when he was about to leave for Tamsuij, and had requested to be allowed into the congregation again.⁸⁵

Illness was the reason generally given for bad or illicit conduct, as can be seen by Jan Toornenburg's request for immediate repatriation. His case was put to the Governor and granted on grounds of his long-term illness and the expiration of his duties over seven months before.⁸⁶ Some cases were more serious and resulted in expulsion to Batavia. This decision was the third or last "step" when reconciliation or contrition had been to no avail and the sinner proved incapable of "reformation." Because of its severity, several sessions were usually held, and the decision for expulsion – or at worst, excommunication – had to be approved by the Governor. Examples of this kind were Jan Rossenraet, who was considered to be useless and of bad character, Jan Boudewijnsz. in Tirosoen, and another schoolmaster whose name is not disclosed.⁸⁷

The Minutes agree to dispatch Jan Boudewijnsz. to Batavia for drunkenness and inability to learn the Formosan language.⁸⁸ It was not so much his linguistic incompetence as it was his alcohol abuse that earned him his ticket out of Formosa. Accusations of drunkenness and reasons given in defense of one's drunken state of mind – such as illness – were regularly heard, but were not exceptional and were equally common in 17th-century Holland.⁸⁹ What brought

⁸¹ Session 43, 28 August 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁸² Session 44, 28 September 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁸³ *Dagregisters II*, DR 1 & 2. 12. 1647, K fol. 443, p. 613.

⁸⁴ Session 81, 14 July 1648, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta. He remained suspended from Supper, Session 83, 12 September 1648, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁸⁵ Session, 2 April 1649, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁸⁶ Session 38, 9 June 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁸⁷ Session 26, 8 September 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁸⁸ Session 36, 10 March 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁸⁹ Herman Roodenburg, *Onder censuur: De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578-1700*, pp. 338-344.

the situation to a head was a combination of factors, usually involving additional infractions or the fact that the individual in question had become expendable. Against that background, let us reconsider the dismissal of Frans Salomonsz. and Cæsar van Winschooten. In August 1645, Frans put in a request to leave, which was not immediately granted; during consideration of his request Frans blatantly displayed behavior unacceptable to the Calvinist rules, which caused him to be reprimanded. It was not until November 1646 that the decision was made that he must leave. Frans' excommunication was due to his ardent refusal to reconcile with attendant-to-the-sick Cornelis Eeckenhooren, pointing to a relapse in violent behavior.

Cæsar's asking for attestation was not so much proof that he had looked after the children and made sure that they did their homework on a daily basis (as we would see it now), but that he had professed good conduct and was sufficiently versed in the Christian doctrine. When we keep in mind that Cæsar had been summoned previously, it is understandable that the Tayouan consistory did not grant him the attestation until he had shown improvement. A year later, when he requested to be dismissed from the post of political interpreter and be commissioned as an attendant-to-the-sick, that request was also denied; he was simply reinstated as schoolmaster. The question this raises is why? Was it dictated by church discipline that he had to show proof of improvement, or was the church acting on the immediate need that to fill a teaching spot? The Minutes do mention that Akauw had been in want of a teacher since the beginning of 1645, and that Cæsar had been relocated to that village in September 1644.

One should not be misled by the impression that the church had complete power over the location and relocation of its members when administering church discipline. Sinners were summoned before the consistory; in the case that they were located too far from Tayouan, letters were sent in, which put in writing a church member's reasons for accusing another member, as well as the accused's defense against such accusations. One significant element that has also been revealed through research on church matters in the 17th-century Dutch Republic is that members highly valued their respectability within the community, regardless of class. The accusations that attendant-to-the-sick Joost Gillisz. made against political commissioner Cornelis Cæsar's moral character reveal the tension between those attached to the church and those in the service of the VOC. Joost's defense and apologies were taken into account, but in the end, he was seriously reprimanded. Joost reappeared two years later, accused

this time of misconduct at the wedding of an attendant-to-the-sick; that offense, coupled with the previous reprimand in his record, resulted in him calling himself unworthy and suspended from sitting at the Lord's Table.⁹⁰

Obviously, not all requests for expatriation resulted from sanctions. Cases of expiration of contract or having served longer than was stipulated were not uncommon either. The request in writing was directed to the consistory and specified urgency. One case is that of Hans Herewijns, schoolmaster in Akauw.⁹¹ In spite of an ongoing shortage of resources, not every request to serve in Formosa was accepted. The assistant Isaak van Soest, who would oversee the prayers on the ship, requested to be appointed as provisional attendant-to-the-sick.⁹² He was deemed unfit and his request was declined.⁹³ He resubmitted his request but was advised that he could not be used in Formosa and would be of better use in Batavia. He was given a letter stating that he could continue overseeing the prayers and other services onboard; the missive also suggested that he be given a raise in salary.⁹⁴ Mobility was thus possible for attendants-to-the-sick on vessels sailing in the East Indies. Alternately, the route to Japan could prove popular as well.⁹⁵

Requests for salary increases were made and sometimes granted. Sinckan schoolmaster Hans Valland's request for a raise was put to the Governor and agreed upon.⁹⁶ However, it was hoped that he would show more zeal in his teaching profession, especially after his marriage to a native woman. After grave accusations were made against him, it was agreed that his *tractement* be taken away and that he be dismissed from his position and punished (by chains or other means), after which he was to be sent away or demoted.⁹⁷ It is not always clear from the text that these requests were made. Caspar Christiaensz. in Dorcko would be upgraded from provisional schoolmaster to schoolmaster after two years of service and given a raise in pay, yet there is no information as to

⁹⁰ Session 55, 10 July 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁹¹ Session 20, 16 June 1644, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta. Illegibility of the writing makes it unclear if his request is being granted in Session 26 (8 September 1644).

⁹² Session 45, 1 October 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁹³ Session 46, 6 November 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁹⁴ Session 57, 8 August 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁹⁵ Session 41, 4 August 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁹⁶ Session 38, 9 June 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁹⁷ Session 41, 4 August 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

whether he had requested the promotion.⁹⁸

The southern region – Pangsoya, Dolatok, Verovorongh, Tapouliang, Akauw, Swalatauw, Nettne, and Cattia – remained as difficult as ever.⁹⁹ The case of schoolmaster Nicolaes Reijersz., deployed in Pangsoya, is worrisome; the report by proponent Hans Olhoff mentions tardiness, laziness, and accusations of dishonesty and whoring. The entry concludes, “if the schoolmaster is found guilty of these rumors of dishonesty, he will have to be punished appropriately,”¹⁰⁰ which also implied that he would be replaced by another person. A follow-up to this entry find is included in the Minutes on 1 October 1645; proponent Hans Olhoff returned from the southern villages and handed in his daily register to the consistory, which revealed his diligence and noted with satisfaction that much of his previous ongoing questionable conduct had now been abandoned. Olhoff takes the opportunity to request help in awarding him the licentiate salary, as he had already been serving as a licentiate for about two years. The Tayouan consistory agreed to bring this to the attention of the Governor.¹⁰¹ The same entry mentions that it had been agreed that another suitable person would be looked for as replacement now that Pangsoya had been deprived of a Dutch resident following the departure of Reyer Barends.¹⁰² Newly arrived attendants-to-the-sick Hoenout Verhoeven and Michiel Smits presented letters of attestation. Smits was destined for the south, while Verhoeven’s southern posting was to be decided on at a later time.¹⁰³

There are also some new findings that shed light on the progress made in the settlement. The names of newly arrived schoolmasters are listed in the Minutes of 14 August 1647: Erasmus Vos, who was to be stationed with Reverend Joannes Happart; Pieter Ambrosius, destined for Soulang; and Neander Archelius, who was appointed to educate the slaves in the castle Tayouan.¹⁰⁴ The entry for 9 May 1649 records that Pieter Ambrosius was promoted to regular schoolmaster, and that Neander Archelius would work full time for the education

⁹⁸ Session 60, 11 September 1646, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

⁹⁹ For the listed division, see Hsin-hui Chiu, *The Colonial ‘Civilizing Process’ in Dutch Formosa, 1624-1662*, appendix five, p. 311.

¹⁰⁰ “op dat indien voornoemde schoolmeester aen desen oneerlijcke geruchten schuldich bevonden wert, verder ende na behooren mochten werden gestraft.” Session 42, 14 August 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

¹⁰¹ Session 45, 1 October 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

¹⁰² Session 45, 1 October 1645, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

¹⁰³ Session 71, 14 August 1647, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

¹⁰⁴ Session 71, 14 August 1647, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

of both male and female slaves and other servants of the burghers. The burghers would be notified of this news, which was meant to be helpful, and soon a second person would be appointed to assist Neander.¹⁰⁵ The references toward educating the slaves could be seen as a sign of a more consolidated community. By the 1650s, there was reason to believe that the Dutch community was starting to grow, resulting in the visibility of Dutch families through the servants. The text remains very allusive on the mobility of women. Occasionally, a man would put in a request to the Tayouan consistory that his wife be allowed to join him, but the main references concern decisions of expulsion to Batavia because of immoral behavior and lack of reconciliation or signs of redemption. Women did work, though, but the text does not specify the nature of their employment, merely mentioning cases where a woman was deemed fit to provide for herself and was no longer dependent on the church welfare fund.

7. Concluding Remarks

Mobility was not always a sign of economic change and betterment, but could indicate the opposite. The desire to stay in one place was sometimes countered by the necessity of having to move, and this was a directive imposed by the Tayouan consistory, which in turn was dependent on the decisions made by the authorities in Batavia. As a rule, if one wanted to sail to the East Indies, all requests and approvals had to go through the VOC administration. This also meant that the evangelizing spirit was subordinate to the Company and its priorities. Accordingly, seeing to the spiritual welfare of the Christian communities overseas was a priority, as opposed to evangelizing the natives or those who held other religious beliefs (Islam, Buddhism, etc.). But the flipside was that the churches in the Indies preferred to be under VOC rule rather than the authority of the Reformed Church in the Dutch Republic. Common motives for serving the church in the Indies were of a financial nature; the VOC did offer a higher salary. The opportunity to pay back student loans offered by the VOC through a few years of service after graduation was also a factor. Other reasons were to feel freer, gain working experience, or to be away from family pressures for a time. In some cases, compulsory VOC service resulted from grave

¹⁰⁵ Session on 9 May 1649, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

misconduct back home.¹⁰⁶ If going overseas proved a means of upward mobility, once arrived, these opportunities were played out further or even curtailed. The church kept a close watch on the Dutch community – one’s behavior was crucial. But as the text also shows, the interplay between church and state and the degree to which correspondence was mobile in the 17th-century could complicate an individual’s chances to achieve mobility.

Although voyagers to the East Indies were motivated by the prospect of upward mobility, for many this translated into a sequel of spatial mobility. Few were inspired by the evangelizing spirit as such, and even if being appointed to schoolmaster meant a move upward on the financial scale, many may not have wished to learn the local languages and live among the natives. This was also true for the appointment of political interpreter. These observations put the career advances of those who went to Formosa in perspective and explains why many retained the desire to attend to the Dutch community in the Castle. However, relocation was not synonymous with demotion. In the case of Gerrit Jansz. Hartgring, spatial mobility could result from good performance, as the geocultural mapping image shows in Figure 1. In applying digital humanities methods to the *Kerboek* narrative, data extraction on the cluster representation of certain villages will bring up findings on the frequency of relocations in correlation with a high turnover of VOC servants from the frontier to the vicinity of Castle Zeelandia.¹⁰⁷

While earlier research has noted that Formosa was the exception among the VOC Factories, this mainly refers to the absence of other large literate communities that facilitated the inland evangelizing missions early on.¹⁰⁸ These

¹⁰⁶ Sentences to a tour of duty in the East Indies is mentioned by Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*, p. 65. This article does not discuss the mobility of forced migration for prisoners, convicts and exiles. Batavia using the Cape as part of its network of political exiles and convicts on penal transportation sent there to be imprisoned by orders from Batavia and Colombo, and how their use as forced labor reflects differently on the construction of race and status as analyzed in earlier research, see Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company*, pp. 65-66, 286-287.

¹⁰⁷ “Mapping Mobility through 17th-Century Dutch Formosa Historical Writings: GIS on 17th-Century Dutch Textual Information in Taiwan and related to the Spatiotemporal Mapping of the Region” (MOST 104-2420-H-003-006-MY2, 2015-2017) embodies geocultural deep mapping and procure a historical map that will be linked to an encompassing scholarly database on Dutch Formosa. Final results will be uploaded to <http://apsti.nccu.edu.tw/>.

¹⁰⁸ C. W. Theodorus Baron van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam, *De protestantsche kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië: Haar ontwikkeling van 1620-1939*, pp. 132-133.

were not in the interests of the VOC, which hired clergy and personnel to look after its own kind, and it was not until later years that the Dutch language was introduced as the medium of instruction among the natives. The fact is, that from the start, schoolmasters and attendants-to-the-sick were sent out into the field, which contributed to a larger degree of spatial mobility. This was not only due to the climate and health conditions on the island, but also to the entanglement with the early years of the Dutch Republic that was intent on spreading out a Calvinist community and adhered to church discipline as essential for sustaining the respectability of the community within an expanding VOC and migration from the homeland. Prak in his discussion of religious citizenship underscores that the letter of attestation was definitely one of the preconditions of acquiring citizenship.¹⁰⁹ We see the same mechanism at work in granting admittance to the Calvinist community in Formosa, though the mention of citizenship is not explicit. In spite of the so-called state control of the VOC over the churches in the Indies, the Governor approved most of the suggested decisions made by the Tayouan consistory regarding the mobility of its members. Hence, one may agree with Gorski that also overseas “the consistory appeared to be a local appendage of the territorial state that played a crucial role in the regulation of individual conduct.”¹¹⁰ Finally, I would like to conclude this article with a Minutes’ session as an illustration of the visibility that can be given to the social world of the VOC servants. Departures for Batavia included expelled members along with voluntary requests to leave. Hence, it would be interesting to follow up the extent to which the letters of attestation had an impact on the servants’ future appointments as one of the dynamics supporting the hypothesis of Formosa as one of the stepping stones stretching across colonial hierarchies.

¹⁰⁹ Maarten Prak, “The Politics of Intolerance: Citizenship and Religion in the Dutch Republic (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries),” in R. Po-chia Hsia and H. F. K. van Nierop, eds., *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 159-175.

¹¹⁰ Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*, p. 59. Also see Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company*, pp. 50-57, 302, in his discussion of the Company’s strategy of social control that exercised partial sovereignty according to conditions with individual nodes.

1648 Session 81, 14 July Chair and Scribe Simon van Breen

(fol. 137) The members were examined alongside Egbert de Cuiper on 19 October 1647, who was excluded from Supper, and shortly thereafter left for Batavia but already having returned; his case will be dealt with after those who made the visits have shown proof of clarity. Thomas de Roek shall be punished for his drunkenness and wild life, and exhorted to sobriety and propriety. Niclaes Reyersz., who has bettered his manners and been behaving with propriety following the last visit, shall be dealt with accordingly. Henricq Hanton remains prohibited from taking part in the Lord's Supper. Maximus Schipper will be interrogated as to the reason why he was absent from the previous Supper. His unwillingness to listen to the sermon will be punished, and he will be admonished to be more diligent. The attestation of Frederik Coijet and his wife, now first brought by Reverend Hambroek from Batavia, has been read aloud and approved. (fol. 138) Anna Hambroek and Theunis Croonenburgh have been admitted to the Supper based on their attestation from Batavia. Likewise for Gerard de Ridder, though he first should give confession of his faith. A couple of days ago Reverend Hambroek, having been sent over here from Batavia in the capacity of preacher, appeared before the meeting, and after praiseworthy remonstrance of his letters of attestations, which were both ecclesiastical and political testimonies from the fatherland and from Batavia, he has been accepted as a member of this consistory with its blessing and grace.

Simon van Breen
 Philippus Heijlmann
 Cornelis van Dam
 Lowijs Isaacx¹¹¹

¹¹¹ "1648, 81 *Sessie* 14e Juli Praeside et Scriba Simone van Breen. (fol. 137) De ledematen werden gecensureert met Egbert de Cuiper, den 19 *october* 1647 van 't Avondmaal afgehouden, en kort daarop na *Batavia* vertrokken, maar nu wedergekeert, sal gehandelt werden na dat de visiteerders uit bevinding van saken verstaan sullen te behooren. Thomas de Roek sal over sijn droncken drincken en wild leven werden bestraft, en tot nuchterheid en sedigheid vermaant. Met Niclaas Reijersz. diende voorgaande visitie vrij wat bequamer sich aangestelt heeft, en sedert sich wel so sedig heeft gedragen, sal gehandelt werden na bevindinge van saken. Henricq Hanton blijft het gebruik des *Heeren* Avontmaals geinterdiceert. Maximus Schipper, 't voorleden avondmaal uit sich self afgebleven sal na d'oorzaak werden ondervraagt over sijne traagheid in 't gehoor der predikatie bestraft en tot meerder naerstigheid sijner vermaant. D'Attestatie van Frederik Coijet ende sijn huisvrouw, nu eerst door *Dominee* Hambroek van *Batavia* gebracht voorgelesen en geaprobeert. (fol. 138) Anna Hambroek en Theunis Croonenburgh werden op attestatie van *Batavia* ten Avondmaal toegelaten. So mede Gerard de Ridder mits eerst door belijdenis rekenschap van sijn gelove geve. *Dominee* Hambroek voorleden dagen in qualiteit van *predikant* van *Batavia* herwaert gesonden, verschijnt voor de vergadering, en werd na verhoog loffelijke attestatie so kerkelijk als politieke item van credentie brieven beide uit het Vaderland en van *Batavia* in qualiteit voornoemt mitsgaders tot een lid deses kerkerads met toewensing van des kerken genade ende segen aangenomen." Session 81, 14 July 1648, HR 4451, Anri, Jakarta.

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荷蘭時代的基督教規訓與社會流動： 以〈大員宗教會書〉大員小會 1643 至 1649 年的 教會手稿為中心的探討

賀安娟

摘 要

這篇論文是進行中的十七世紀荷蘭臺灣手稿研究計畫的部分成果。該手稿題為〈大員宗教會書〉(Kerboek van Formosa)，是關於在臺荷蘭社群之屬靈福利與對臺灣原住民宣教之進展的教會文獻。分析這份文獻的取徑受到了「歷史研究的文學轉向」所提出之研究問題的影響。在此研究取徑下，重視脈絡的研究者會從文獻中尋找主題參考架構，而這些參考架構中的一例就是社會與經濟的變動。社會變動的相關資料主要反映在教育推展以及喀爾文基督教社群的發展。除此之外，會議紀錄中也反映了牧師、探訪傳道、學校教師，以及其他荷蘭東印度公司職員回到巴達維亞或荷蘭共和國的文獻。從多重面向閱讀這些文獻，不只可以讓我們超越「時間常規」，還可以從中解讀個人回應上級政策時展現的多樣性，以及喀爾文宗教精神如何在信徒的生命中產生影響。這樣的動能可以藉由社會流動來呈現。筆者的研究問題在於觀察社會流動以什麼形式被認知，以及社會流動所帶來的預期進展為何。具體來說，就是加入荷蘭東印度公司前往海外，以及這樣的移動經驗如何在抵達海外之後產生轉變。筆者的研究發現，前往東印度的旅行者最初都是受到向上流動的期待所驅使，而這些抵達臺灣的人，也將社會流動轉變為連串的空間流動。

關鍵詞：荷蘭時代、流動、喀爾文宗教、荷蘭聯合東印度公司、識字認識能力