

# Spanish Reports Concerning 19th-Century Taiwan: A Partial Bibliography

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## Book-length Sources:

Ferrando, Juan. *Historia de Los Pp. Dominicos En Las Islas Filipinas y En Sus Misiones Del Japon, China, Tung-Kin y Formosa, Que Comprende Los Sucesos Principales de La Historia General de Este Archipiélago, Desde El Descubrimiento y Conquista de Estas Islas Por Las Flotas Españolas, Hasta El Año de 1840*. Madrid, 1870.

A long history of the Dominicans in East Asia, which however includes only one direct mention of the mission in Taiwan: "This missionary spirit, which (the Order) inherits from its great father and Patriarch Saint Dominic, as well as from its founders, is that which has always dominated in it up to our days; thus, without counting that each of the fathers who ministers in the parishes of indigenes can be considered as a true missionary, it has not ceased to order at all times evangelical operatives where it has desired to discover souls to win to Jesus Christ, and China, Japan, Tun-kin, Formosa, Ituy and Paniqui, the Batans, and in our days Formosa, reveal that the spirit of the great Patriarch of the preachers perseveres incarnated in the sons of this Province" (236).

Mengarini, Juan. *Formosa: Apuntes para un Estudio*. Manila: 1895.

A general overview of Taiwanese geography, society, and history directly after the conquest by Japan, always with a focus on the island's relevance to Spanish and Philippine interests. The book is split into two parts: **Part One** focuses on geography, culture, and economics, especially maritime trade and natural resources. Mengarini shows great interest in the origins and varieties of the indigenous Taiwanese, speculating on whether they come from a "pure race" or are a "mix" of different groups. He also mentions any possibility of Spanish or Catholic activity on Taiwan, including the 6 Dominican missionaries then active, as well as a single Spanish merchant house operating from Xiamen, a number of shipwrecked Filipinos who settled on the island, and the potential remnants of Catholic worship among natives living close to the old Spanish forts of Tamsui and Jilong. This section includes 15 pages of accounts detailing information about the foreign exchange of the ports of Tamsui and Tainan. Thereafter provides an overview of Taiwan's natural resources, with a special focus on

sugar and Manila hemp, both of which industries Mengarini fears the new Japanese regime will be able to expand to the point that Japan will no longer need to import these goods from the Philippines. **Part Two** gives a summary of Taiwan's history, starting with its supposed discovery in 1436 by a shipwrecked Chinese mariner. Most of the history is spent on the period of Spanish colonial activity, the failure of which Mengarini both excuses and bitterly regrets. Then follows a narrative of Zheng Zhilong and Koxinga, and their eventual defeat by the Qing. The 18th and 19th centuries are dispatched quickly, until Mengarini reaches the Japanese conquest, which is described in depth. The book then finishes with a discussion of the peril which the warlike and industrialized Japanese present for the European colonies of Southeast Asia, in particular the Philippines. Mengarini includes a simple map of Taiwan and Luzon on page 109.

### Articles:

Sainz, Fernando. "Most Revered Father Provincial Fr. Domingo Treserra, Ban-kim-cheng, January 23, 1865." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 5-6.

Sainz begins by saying that he wishes to follow the example of the Fujianese mission by reporting his mission's affairs to the provincial seat in Manila, but that he is not immediately able to provide a full account of the "toils" and "dangers" which have beset the Taiwanese mission. Says that he is accompanied by two other missionaries, Fr. Herce and Fr. Chinchon. Says that progress is poor with adult catechumens, but that the baptized children are progressing well in their Latin lessons, already able to read and write. Unfortunately, the funds intended for the schoolchildren were robbed, and Sainz says he is considering investing in land to secure a stable income.

Sainz, Fernando. "Most Revered Father Provincial Fr. Domingo Treserra, Chem-kim, March 30, 1865." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 7-38.

Sainz relates a journey from Ban-kim-cheng to Cheng-kim, on which he passed by the ruins of a former mission of his at "Kaoki," and by the town of "Bantan," at which on November 23, 1863, he was robbed and nearly hung, apparently under suspicion of making opium out of human brains. On this trip, however, he arrived without trouble, and was well-received by local Christians. Relates an early trip to Ban-kim-cheng, where Sainz spoke with a small group of Christians whose church had been destroyed and crucifix stolen about the frequent threats and injuries they received from their non-Christian neighbors in the absence of a missionary. From there Sainz recounts a story about a feast in which one group of Taiwanese natives killed and ate another out of revenge, which he takes as occasion to discourse on how "commerce" is not necessarily a "civilizing" force, and on the degree of violence general in the Taiwanese countryside. Complains that Protestant missionaries are having greater success on Taiwan than the Catholics because they make no demands on converts, and thus win "bodies" but not "souls." To make his point, he narrates a story about an indigenous Catholic who saved a woman imprisoned by his own tribe. Sainz goes on to tell the story of a rebellion in Dagao and its impacts on Ban-kim-cheng. Talks of the

difficulties in dealing with the Cantonese of southern Taiwan, given the language barrier, and requests for a new missionary to be sent to learn their dialect and aid the two native preachers currently at work among the Cantonese, who at one point threatened to burn down the mission in Ban-kim-cheng. Describes the first Cantonese catechist, who resides in Go-Kau-chúi. Ends the letter with a description of an aborted massacre of Christians by the residents of Ban-kim-cheng, which ended without harm except for the arson of a single Christian residence.

Herce, Francisco. "Most Revered Father Provincial Fr. Domingo Treserra, Ban-kim-cheng, April 18, 1865." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 39-42.

Herce starts with a quick description of Ban-kim-cheng as the "head" village for the few natives who survived the "devastation and rapine" of the Chinese. It is situated at the foot of a tall mountain range, making it defensible, beautiful, and suitable for preaching to the highland "Igorrotes." Tells of a tantalizing, one-day encounter with a group of these "Igorrotes," whose language he compares to that of the native Filipinos, but laments that a lack of manpower prevents the Dominicans from preaching effectively in the mountains. Also mentions requests from native "catechumens" to the north, and even north of Tainan, where Herce has heard that some memory of the 17th century Spanish missionary work survives; however, these, too, must go unanswered due to the small number of available missionaries. Despite this, "every day new catechumens flow in unceasingly," and Herce finishes by recording ten upcoming baptisms. In a post-script, Herce writes of a meeting with an indigenous "mandarin," who came to speak with him in person about setting up a mission among the natives of northern Taiwan. This representative requested "instruction" from the Spanish, as the Chinese government only robbed the natives. Herce concludes from the fact that the northern natives date the start of the year to the beginning of January, as opposed to the Chinese new year, that some vestiges of Catholicism remain from the Spanish colonial period, and writes that the north of Taiwan "is now in season, and promises much fruit, but the hands to pick it are lacking."

Sainz, Fernando. "Most Revered Father Provincial Fr. Domingo Treserra, Ban-kim-cheng, June 9, 1865." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 44-52.

Sainz traveled to the town of Kao-ki, but was not able to stay there because the quarters which four local Christians built for him were not yet finished. On May 30, Sainz travelled to preach to the Igorrotes, bringing two Tagalogs and one Malay-speaking photographer from Singapore in the hope they could interpret. The Igorrotes are "pacifist-warriors:" pacifists by nature and warriors by custom, i.e., they are only forced into violence by the domination of the Chinese. Describes his journey among the Igorrotes: their dress, customs, architecture, language (as it turns out not mutually intelligible with those of three interpreters), and history. The expedition fails to win converts, but allows Sainz to describe the requirements for a future permanent mission. One piece of the plan is to purchase several Igorot children, teach them Christianity, and then send them back to preach to their own people. When Sainz returned to Kao-ki

from the mountains, he discovered that the house being built for him was destroyed by a group of locals; as a result Sainz decides to give up Kao-ki for good. Ends the letter with a request for more provisions, including food, jewelry for barter, and above all clothing.

Herce, Francisco. "Most Revered Father Provincial Fr. Domingo Treserra, Ban-kim-cheng, October 4, 1865." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 53-61.

Writes about a meeting with the provincial vicar, on a visit from Xiamen. On a trip to Cheng-kim from Ban-kim-cheng, Herce is stopped by a group of 40 Chinese and pressed for money; when they realize he has no money, they merely question him curiously about his knowledge of Chinese dialects. Herce later resolves a similar situation by threatening to complain to the local mandarin. After arriving at Cheng-kim he describes the constant violence between the natives of Cheng-kim, the mountain tribes, and the Cantonese — the Igorrotes and Cantonese in particular are locked in a cycle of revenge killings. Describes how the death of a Chinese patient under the knife of a Dutch surgeon led to the invention of a rumor that Christian priests were killing Chinese to turn their bodies into opium. Ends by describing the difficulty of preaching among the Chinese and of his recent success in baptizing 12 natives of Cheng-kim.

Sainz, Fernando. "Most Revered Father Provincial Fr. Domingo Treserra, Cheng-kim, November 23, 1865." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 62-63.

A cholera epidemic is ravaging the region. An earthquake shook Cheng-kim but caused no damage. Complains that earthquakes and typhoons cause the missionaries' buildings to break down quickly.

Sainz, Fernando. "Most Revered Father Provincial Fr. Domingo Treserra, Soa-ka, January 16, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 64-88.

Relates the visit by four Protestant missionaries to Ban-kim-cheng, where they were received coldly; the Protestants then set up a residence in Takao. Describes a theological debate between a Protestant convert and one of Sainz's catechumens in Dagao. Complains that the Protestant translation for "God," "Siong-te," adopts the name of a Chinese "idolater." Thereafter describes the news told him by a native catechist whom Sainz sent to the north of Taiwan, where the locals had earlier requested the presence of a missionary. This catechist reached the region of the old Spanish colonies at Taiwan's northern tip, only to witness the Chinese burn fourteen of thirty-six native villages in the area, which caused the locals to flee to the interior, and led the catechist to return to Ban-kim-cheng in defeat. At home, describes the conflict between Christians and "gentiles" over idols. The recent earthquakes damaged Ban-kim-cheng's church. Relates the dialogue of a native catechist with some locals of Kao-ki. A group of converts asks Sainz whether the Europeans plan to conquer Taiwan, and in response he translates an article from the *China Overland Trade Report* titled "Prussia's Designs on the Island of Formosa," reproduced in full. Sainz opines that Taiwan is defenseless, but that a European conquest would not harm the Dominican mission there. Ends the letter by praising the local children's

progress at Latin, and by complaining that all three missionaries are in poor health due to the summer heat.

Viladés, José. "Most Revered Father Provincial Fr. Domingo Treserra, Itbayat, February 20, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 89-96.

Viladés is a priest on the island of Itbayat, in the Batans. He describes his attempt to convince the locals to comply with an order to move to the central island of Basay. However, the Itbayatans refuse, and Viladés sympathetically lists their reasons. Describes the poverty, storminess, and unhealthy climate of Itbayat. From there, complains about the total failure of his mission, which Viladés blames on the poor character of the locals, extensively described. Ends by complaining of his solitude, and by arguing in favor of moving the locals to the island of Calayan rather than Basay.

Herce, Francisco. "Most Revered Father Provincial Fr. Domingo Treserra, Cheng-kin, March 6, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 97-98.

Gives news about the missionaries' health, including that of the new fourth missionary, Father Colomer. Asks for funds to construct or repair various buildings, including a planned orphanage in Ban-kim-cheng.

Chinchon, Andres. "Most Revered Father Provincial Fr. Domingo Treserra, Ban-kim-cheng, April 3, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 99-104.

As of the letter's writing, Ban-kim-cheng counts 130 baptized Christians, plus a number of catechumens. The mission at Kao-ki is under reconstruction by a local catechist. Chinchon relates a trip to the large village of "Tao-kun-ien," during which the locals followed him with curiosity and listened to his explanations of the goals and beliefs of the Dominicans. The villagers ask him whether he is like the English, who passed through their community recently, and he explains that those Europeans' goals were temporal, while his are spiritual. Ends on a note of optimism that the Catholic message is spreading among the natives.

Colomer, Ramon. "Most Reverend Father Prior Fr. Benito Rivas, Cheng-kim, April 9, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 1 (1866): 105-111.

Begins with a description of the rituals of the Holy Week celebrated in Cheng-kim. Colomer reviews his progress in learning Chinese, then describes the church and mission house of Soa-ká. Says that relations with non-Christian neighbors have been gradually improving, but that certain "gentiles" suspect the missionaries of collaborating with English travelers recently seen in the region.

Colomer, Ramon. "The Reverend Father Colomer to the Provincial Father of the Philippines, Cheng-kim, June 2, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 7-12.

The letter begins with a long editor's footnote describing the location, geography, and history of Taiwan, citing Swinhoe's *Notes on the Island of Formosa* (1863). The letter is further footnoted throughout with translations of Latin phrases and

explanations of Dominican terminology. Colomer's letter starts with the claim that the Ban-kim-cheng mission has become a "hospital" for priests and converts alike. Colomer then thanks the provincial father for a recent shipment of supplies, mostly religious images and adornments, and describes how these ornaments have been used to beautify the Dominican churches and appreciated by the converts. Includes details about several holidays, and mentions that the fathers have switched to singing festival songs in Chinese.

Sainz, Fernando. "The vicar of Formosa to the father provincial of the Philippines, Cheng-kim, July 1, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 13.

A very short letter in which Sainz reports that Herce is moving to Hong Kong to recuperate from an illness, that Chinchon is on the verge of death, and that Sainz himself is "very delicate."

Herce, Francisco. "Father Herce to the father provincial of the Philippines, Hong Kong, July 15, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 14-18.

Herce informs the father provincial of his recent move to Hong Kong, undertaken in the hopes that the climate there will serve to expel his "calenturas" (heats, fever). Gives the story of recent conflicts with the Cantonese, "our capital enemies," whose "calumnies" have led a Taiwanese official to promulgate a decree banning Christianity on the basis that Christian missionaries were spies for a "European" conspiracy to conquer Taiwan. Said decree is included in full, translated by Herce, on pages 15-18. Because the decree went out only two days before Herce left Taiwan, he says he is unable to report on its consequences for the Dominican mission.

Herce, Francisco. "Father Herce to the father provincial of the Philippines, Hong Kong, August 10, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 19-21.

Herce declares that he has recovered fully and is on his way back to Taiwan. Reports that the decree mentioned in Herce's last letter has been "ripped from the public space," but that this fact is not enough to quiet the missionaries' anxiety. Herce reproduces a letter from Father Carreras of Fuzhou, who reports that the governor of Taiwan has reported his accusations against the Christian missionaries to the viceroy of Fujian, who Carreras fears may soon take action to expel all Europeans. Herce says that there is nothing much the missionaries can do to appeal their case, but says that he will try to bring a letter of recommendation from a prominent Chinese resident of Macao to the viceroy of Fujian. In a post-script, Herce thanks the father provincial for a further crate of supplies which the latter has shipped to Taiwan via Xiamen.

Sainz, Fernando. "The vicar of Formosa to the father provincial of the Philippines, Cheng-kim, August 24, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 22-28.

Sainz starts the letter by complaining of all the fathers' ill health, and relates a story of a Chinese doctor, whose diagnosis of Chinchon's illness as being caused by maldigestion rather than parasites Sainz mocks. In any case, both Herce and

Chinchon are reported to have healed completely at the time of the letter. Sainz goes on to describe and translate the anti-Christian decree previously translated by Herce, with small differences. Sainz decries the "great force of the evil will of the devil against man," which he sees as the ultimate cause of this decree, and affirms that the mission will go on as before despite the new challenges.

Sainz, Fernando. "The vicar of Formosa to the father provincial of the Philippines, Cheng-kim, October 22, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 28-32.

Sainz writes of the recent death of a catechist, who Sainz had diagnosed with dysentery and hoped to cure with the methods prescribed in a book by one Mondiere, but who instead elected to be treated by a Chinese doctor. According to Sainz, it was the "venom" which this doctor prescribed which killed the patient, causing much occasion for Sainz to critique Chinese medicine. Nonetheless, the catechist's death was "exemplary," as even the most "tearful women" did not cry, understanding the Christian doctrine of death as a mere transition. Sainz goes on to praise the "wisdom" and "disinterest" of the late catechist. Sainz finishes the letter by reporting that he is in contact with an association of religious orphanages in Madrid, and that the new Dominican orphanage in Tainan currently houses six girls; by Sainz's estimation, it will be possible for the orphanage to take in one of every thirty girls born in Tainan, but "boys are impossible: such is the care of the parents" [for male children].

Sainz, Fernando. "The vicar of Formosa to the father provincial of the Philippines, Cheng-kim, November 6, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 32-35.

Begins the letter by saying that his previously reported trip to Tainan did not take place because of various administrative demands caused by Herce's return and a resurgence of Chinchon's fever. Reports a rumor that the "mandarin" of Taiwan was planning a personal visit to Ban-kim-cheng to inspect the mission. In the end, however, the "mandarincillos" [minor mandarins] of Ban-kim-cheng were sent to report to Tainan instead. The results of this mission are not clear as of the writing of the letter, but Sainz fears a "calamity."

Sainz, Fernando. "The vicar of Formosa to the father provincial of the Philippines, Cheng-kim, October 20, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 35-36.

This letter, apparently received late despite being written earlier than the previous two, begins with a report of recent visit to Cheng-kim by the English consul to Xiamen along with a naval commandant. Tells briefly of a missionary trip taken by Herce and Colomer to the interior. Sainz finishes by saying that Colomer needs more experience preaching to "evil gentiles," as he has not yet internalized the truth that the missionaries "do not speak except among enemies; do not look except at enemies; do not listen except to enemies; do not move except among enemies; and finally do not live except in the middle of enemies."

Chinchon, Andres. "Father Chinchon to the father provincial of the Philippines, Cheng-kim, November 24, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 37-42.

Talks with optimism about the progress of the mission in Kao-ki, where a new image of the Virgin Mary inspired great curiosity among the locals. Relates that Sainz left for Kao-ki on the 20th of November to inaugurate a new mission house and baptize five new Christians. Tells a story of a "gentile" family struck by illness, where a dispute between the Chinese "gods" [*Kui*] and the Christian God was resolved by the expulsion of the few Christian members. Ends the letter with the story of the anti-Christian edict and a mention of the burning of the church of Ban-kim-cheng, but says that both tales will be told or have already been told in letters by other missionaries.

Colomer, Ramon. "The Reverend Father Colomer to the father provincial of the Philippines, Ban-kim-cheng, December 19, 1866." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 43-47.

Colomer begins by summarizing the dramatic events related in the other recent letters from Taiwan, and then announces his intention to tell of two new happenings: the reconstruction of a church in Kaoki, and the burning of the church in Ban-kim-cheng. This church was apparently burned on November 29, during a native festival, as punishment for the local Christians not contributing to the communal funds. Colomer particularly mourns the loss of many books, as well as clothing for novitiates. The letter ends with an appeal for an additional missionary.

Sainz, Fernando. "The vicar of Formosa to the father provincial of the Philippines, Kao-ki, January 12, 1867." *Correo Sino-annamita* 2 (1867): 48-65.

Sainz describes the first masses of his third mission to Kaoki, which he views with optimism despite the opposition of the nearby Cantonese. Talks about the humility of his service, which took place with only an elevated stone as an altar, with both bitterness and nostalgia; Sainz is reminded of the first mass he gave in Taiwan, in a prison cell in 1859. From there Sainz relates his reception in Kao-ki, both positive and negative. One particularly hostile local asks, in English, "are you good man?," then accuses Sainz of grave-robbing. Conflicts continue with the locals, and just when Sainz thinks he has found peace, the news of the burning of the church of Ban-kim-cheng arrives. This story depresses Sainz, and causes him to reflect on his arrival in Ban-kim-cheng, and the initial challenges which he faced there. Ends the letter by suggesting that, while the missionaries are surrounded by enemies, those enemies are also working together, so that those who burned the church are the same as those who started the rumors leading to the anti-Christian decree, and even the same who caused Taiwanese officials to investigate Ban-kim-cheng in 1863.

Herce, Francisco. "Father Herce to the Father Provincial of the Philippines, Kao-ki, October 15, 1867." *Correo Sino-annamita* 3 (1868): 7-18.

After a brief congratulations to the new Father Provincial Pedro Payo, Herce launches into the story of the "miseries and more miseries" which faced the Dominican mission in the ten months since Sainz's last letter. Complains that after a year the rebuilt Kao-ki mission has only celebrated 12 new baptisms.



Follows by relating how Sainz was kidnapped by "Cantonese" from "Ban-ban" and ransomed for 1,800 pesos. In response, an unnamed missionary visits a mandarin in Tainan, who, perhaps due to pressure from the English counsel as well as one Portuguese and two Filipino visitors, agrees to send troops to rescue Sainz. In the end, Sainz is released for just 50 pesos. The peaceful resolution of this episode disgusts the locals of Ban-kim-cheng, who consider the lack of violence against their "Cantonese" enemies a sign of weakness. Herce then moves to a description of the "war of all against all" which dominates Taiwanese life, in what is among the most negative accounts of the natives in any of the letters of the *Correo Sino-annamita*. Complains that the locals disparage the Christian doctrine for being useless in commerce and war, and that they spend all their time fighting with the Cantonese. The local officials do nothing, as they are only interested in financial gain; a truth which Herce affirms is true in all of China, but especially on Formosa, the government of which is "the most incomprehensible of all". Blames the violent and selfish disposition of the local people ("if indeed they deserve this name") for the slow progress of the mission. However, Herce ends on a positive note, telling the story of a particularly beautiful feast of the Rosary, after which some gentiles were heard exclaiming that they wished to make themselves Christian.

Sainz, Fernando. "The Vicar of Formosa to the Father Provincial of the Philippines, Taiwan-fu, December 11, 1867." *Correo Sino-annamita* 3 (1868): 19-35.

The letter begins with Sainz describing at length how a mandarin of Tai-wan-fu threw Sainz from a house he purchased there, and how Sainz attempted to gain compensation (invoking the Treaty of Tianjin between China and France; Sainz carried a French passport). As further proof of the lawlessness of Taiwan, Sainz tells of a convert whose brothers were kidnapped by Chinese bandits. When Sainz tries to purchase vacant land on Tainan's outskirts, the neighbors protest and an official decree is posted banning Christians from settling in the city (Sainz's translation is on pp. 24-25). After his personal petition to the city officials is rejected, Sainz writes them a letter, the translation of which he also includes (28-33). Most of the letter consists of an argument that Christianity should be tolerated along with all the other sects (according to Sainz, 6) allowed in Tainan, on the basis that the state should either support one religion or all, followed by an apologia for Catholicism. Sainz's Chinese name is "Kue-tieq-këng." In the end, the decrees banning Christians were torn down, although Sainz believes this happened at the behest of "good men" who "went with their heads down," rather than being a decision of the high officials.

Colomer, Ramon. "Father Colomer to Father Terrés. Ban-kim-cheng, December 26, 1867." *Correo Sino-annamita* 3 (1868): 36-42.

Describes a recent battle between the natives of Ban-kim-cheng and their Cantonese neighbors, after which Colomer claims two Cantonese prisoners were decapitated and their hearts eaten by the village's inhabitants. Fearing a Cantonese reprisal, the natives fortify the church, and ask Colomer to use mission funds to buy gunpowder, which he refuses after great moral anguish. A Cantonese mandarin visits Ban-kim-cheng to negotiate a peace settlement with

Colomer, who agrees (with Sainz's approval) to pay a part of a demanded indemnity to the families of the murdered Cantonese on behalf of the village. For a short time there is peace, but on March 4 the same mandarin returns, and seeing that the missionary has no more money to give, threatens to burn the church. However, the mandarin becomes embroiled in a corruption scandal, and nothing comes of the threat. At the time of Colomer's letter, the villagers continue to slowly pay off the full indemnity of 600 pesos with partial assistance from Colomer's church.

Colomer, Ramon. "Father Colomer to Father Guirro. Ban-kim-cheng, December 26, 1867." *Correo Sino-annamita* 3 (1868): 43-46.

Colomer begins his letter by congratulating his "brother" on news of his (and numerous "companions'") recent arrival at Manila from Ocaña.<sup>1</sup> From there, he answers two of the freshly arrived Guirres' questions: whether the language is difficult to learn (yes, but "one can learn it"); and whether he has converted many people (only 25 in each of the past two years). Colomer goes on to describe his philosophy on conversion, saying that the missionary should not concern himself with numbers of converts, since faith is ultimately God's gift to dispense — "*multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi*." Describes the challenges of his first two years on Taiwan, and says "frankly" that he was brought to tears many times in the early months; now, however, he has found peace by keeping his mind consistently on God and the saints. Colomer ends his letter with an injunction to Guirres not to fear the challenges of missionary life.

Chinchon, Andrés. "Father Chinchon to the Provincial Father of the Philippines. January 5, 1868." *Correo Sino-annamita* 3 (1868): 47-54.

Chinchon begins by saying that he has taken over the mission at Dagao after Sainz's recent move to Tainan, where he is monitoring the status of a new orphanage. Complains that as of Christmas, the Dagao mission had only celebrated two new baptisms; Chinchon suggests a number of possible causes before ultimately settling on the locals' commitment to "idolatry". Relates the story of a wealthy "gentile" woman who dies after begging a "demon" to trade her life for that of her bedridden son. To Chinchon's horror, rather than seeing this woman's death as a just punishment from God, her family celebrates her piety and spends much money fêting a local "Sai-kon," or "priest of idols." By contrast, Chinchon reproduces a recent dialogue in which a local Christian helped a co-congregationalist who "lapsed" into gambling mend his ways by reminding him of the love of Jesus Christ. Ends by complaining of the encroachment of Protestant missionaries, and brags that an attempt by one Protestant group's efforts were sabotaged when their petition to buy land in Dagao ended up in the hands of a converted Catholic.

Chinchon, Andrés. "Father Chinchon to the Most Reverend Provincial Father of the Order of Preachers of the Philippines. Cheng-kim, April 18, 1868." *Correo Sino-annamita* 4 (1869): 7-15.

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<sup>1</sup> Presumably Ocaña, Spain, located in modern Toledo province. Perhaps where Colomer was educated?

Begins with a promise to give a short account of the recent "revolts" on Taiwan, expecting that Sainz will provide a fuller summary of the situation. First, in Kao-ki, the church was burned after Father Herce refused to contribute to a parade honoring the god "Ong-ia." The locals of Kao-ki apparently intend to kill the local priest and catechist, citing a rumor that the Christians are poisoning the food of gentiles, but both manage to escape. In response, Herce and Chinchon visit the English consul, asking him to help "contain" the villagers. Impatient to return to Kao-ki, Herce went to visit the mandarin in Tainan personally, only to find the city in a state of "revolt" against Christians after a Chinese woman died while visiting a Protestant missionary. An angry mob attacks Herce just as he arrives at the doors of the local "tribunal"; Herce himself is rescued by the mandarin, and is eventually secreted out of the city in disguise after dark. The missionaries discuss taking up arms themselves, but eventually decide that, in the event of a serious attack, their only choice is to flee to the English consulate. Ends with news that a "thief"<sup>2</sup> living in the interior has promised monetary rewards to anyone who kills a Christian; the highest prize, of 1000 pesos, is for the murder of a European.

Chinchon, Andrés. "Father Chinchon to the Provincial Father of the Philippines. Cheng-kim, May 15, 1868." *Correo Sino-annamita* 4 (1869): 16-20.

Begins by saying that he hopes the current letter, sent via Hong Kong, will arrive after his last one, which had to go through Shanghai due to a lack of contact "for one season now" with Xiamen. Tells that the orphanage in Tainan was harassed by a mob, and that the catechist was imprisoned when he sought aid from the mandarin; the orphanage was then burned for the second time in under a year. Once again the missionaries ask the English consul to intervene with the high mandarins of Taiwan. Chinchon also says that, while letters are not able to reach Xiamen reliably, Herce will go in person to ask the Spanish consul there for assistance. In a postscript, Chinchon tells of the mandarin of Tainan's lukewarm response to the anti-Christian riots, suggesting that even the high officials distrust Europeans due to the suspicion that they want to conquer Taiwan.

Colomer, Ramon. "Father Colomer to the Most Reverend Provincial Father of the Philippines. Ban-kim-cheng, May 22, 1868." *Correo Sino-annamita* 4 (1869): 21-25.

Colomer begins the letter with a complaint that nobody wishes to convert to Christianity when all can see that the Christians are powerless to punish those who do violence to them. Says that the entire island has been thrown into panic by "four peaceful missionaries"; apparently many villages have closed their taverns and restaurants due to fear of Europeans poisoning food. Claims that a mob attempted to burn the Cheng-kim church on May 11, but turned back at the last minute. The mandarins are afraid that if they support the Christians, they will be killed by their own people.

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<sup>2</sup> "The principal head of the disorder reigning in the interior is none other than the thief who last year robbed the Vicar of 200 pesos." Could this be the Cantonese mandarin who charged the Christians of Ban-kim-cheng a part of that village's indemnity?

Colomer, Ramon. "Father Colomer to the Most Reverend Provincial Father of the Philippines. Ban-kim-cheng, December 29, 1868." *Correo Sino-annamita* 4 (1869): 26-28.

Starts with a brief description of Ban-kim-cheng's location "within sight of the four races of men which dwell on Formosa," and then complains that at the moment it is impossible to move freely to neighboring villages due to the harassment of the locals. The only hope for the missionaries is to wait and see what interventions the English and Spanish consuls can make. For this reason, the progress of conversions is even slower than before: Colomer reports that he only baptized two adults in 1869. Ends his letter with a quote from a book by the "celebrated missionary" Acosta, about managing tears.

Jimenez, Federico. "Father Federico Jimenez to the Father Prior Provincial of the Order of Preachers in the Philippines, Kao-a-ki, February 14, 1871." *Correo Sino-annamita* 7 (1872): 7-10.

Eight months have passed since Jimenez was sent by the vicar to Kao-a-ki. In that time the Christian population of the village has grown to 56 adults. Says that the major obstacles to conversion are family disapproval and aversion to giving up property. Apparently the church was threatened with arson during a parade honoring the god "Ma-cho" in May of 1870, but nothing came of it because Father Colomer dispatched 40 nearby Christians plus a contingent of soldiers provided by a local official to protect the church. Since that time the only crime committed against the Christians of Kao-ki was a single robbery of two sets of priestly robes, which were recovered after the intervention of the "Mandarin," who pressured Kao-ki's "mayor," Lau-toa.

Colomer, Ramon. "Father R. Colomer to the Father Provincial, Formosa, August 7, 1871." *Correo Sino-annamita* 7 (1872): 11-14.

Begins by telling the story of Ni, a "very holy" Christian woman from "Chia-soa," near Ban-kim-cheng, who maintained her faith and virtues despite her fortune turning "from bad to worse" after her baptism. Then says that all four missionaries "and the Tonkinese father"<sup>3</sup> are in good health.

Chinchon, Andrés. "The Father Vicar of the Formosa Mission to the Father Provincial. Cheng-kim, September 2, 1871." *Correo Sino-annamita* 7 (1872): 15-22.

First, apologizes for replying late to a letter from July 15, saying that the lines of communication between Taiwan and "Hong Kong or Amoy" are inconsistent. Gives an account of the life of a recently deceased catechist, "Guiam Vicente China," who was the child of Christians from "Au-poa" in Zhangzhou *fu*. Guiam came to Taiwan as a porter of Chinchon's in 1862, and thereafter served as a laborer in the church, where he was admired for his humility and piety. After teaching himself to read, he was regularly sent to Taiwanfu to find orphans to be

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<sup>3</sup> I have not been able to identify this man's name, when he arrived in Taiwan, or what his relation to the Spanish missionaries was, but he is also mentioned as having occupied the missionary seat of Kao-ki before Jimenez's arrival in that missionary's letter of February 14, 1871.

converted. Guiam turns out to be the catechist who, after knocking on a mandarin's door to escape an anti-Christian mob during the 1868 riots, was beaten and arrested. After finishing Guiam's story, Chinchon mentions that Colomer is in Taiwanfu, attempting to rent a house, but is being opposed by some "evil ones." Concludes with a story of a Catholic Chinese convert debating the proper name for God with a Protestant convert in the hospital in Dagao.

Colomer, Ramon. "Father Ramon Colomer to the Father Provincial. Taiwanfu, December 5, 1871." *Correo Sino-annamita* 7 (1872): 23-30.

Begins with a brief description of Taiwanfu, a "true Babylon" with a population of around 100,000. Relates the oppressions suffered by the Christians of that city in 1867-1868, including the punishments inflicted on the aforementioned Guiam Vicente. Despite these ongoing challenges, Colomer affirms that the mission in Taiwanfu will slowly progress. Describes the two worst enemies of the missionaries in Taiwanfu: the "Bonzos," ascetic priests of the cult of "Mauli," and the Protestants, of whom Colomer estimates there are 1000 in Taiwan, and around 30 in Taiwanfu. Apparently an indigenous community of about 500 people 6 leagues from the city has entirely converted to Presbyterianism. This information comes from a visit Colomer makes to a different indigenous village, "Sing-kam," previously visited by Sainz in 1859. Colomer briefly describes the locals of Sing-kam, who still remember Sainz fondly, before returning to a discussion of the problems caused by the Protestants. Finishes by describing how he has managed to rent a house for four pesos per month.

Chinchon, Andrés. "The Father Vicar to the Father Provincial. Cheng-kim, December 27, 1871." *Correo Sino-annamita* 7 (1872): 31-35.

Relates the story of how a European (apparently Catholic) sailor was killed after he and his shipmates robbed the idol from a coastal Chinese village's shrine. Chinchon fears that this event might have negative repercussions for the missionaries, who until this point are enjoying a period of peace. A factfinding mission by a major mandarin, the English consul, and the captain of the murdered sailor ends with nothing but the return of the corpse and a large bribe to the mandarin; however, Chinchon relates rumors that European steamships are *en route* to Taiwan to settle matters.

Chinchon, Andrés. "The Father Vicar to the Father Provincial. Cheng-kim, January 7, 1872." *Correo Sino-annamita* 7 (1872): 36-40.

Chinchon writes with an inventory of the Order's possessions on Taiwan. The mission includes three seats, with a fourth being prepared in Taiwanfu. The oldest, that of Cheng-kim, is presided over by the Vicar, now Chinchon himself. The "Tonkinese father" lives in a church about one league away, in Soa-ha; both Chinchon's church and that of Soa-ha possess some land which they rent to both Christians and gentiles. Second, Chinchon describes the mission of Ban-kim-cheng and Chia-soa, home to Father Herce. This mission counts the most Christians, and the church is "quite large." Herce returned in April of 1871 from Manila, but Chinchon does not say why he left Taiwan. Third is the mission of

Kao-a-ki, run by Federico Jimenez. The church, its lands, and its congregation are all smaller than in the first two missions, a fact which Chinchon in part attributes to the fact that the natives there live among Chinese, who "make them lose the good qualities they have." Finally, the mission Taiwanfu is being constructed by Father Colomer, with the goal of serving as a "stage" for the conversion of the northern indigenes. Ends by thanking the Father Provincial for providing the Taiwan mission with 1000 pesos, but it is unclear whether this was a one-time gift or the annual budget of the mission.

Jimenez, Federico. "Most Reverend Father Provincial Fr. Pedro Vilanova, Formosa, April 27, 1873." *Correo Sino-annamita* 9 (1874): 7-8.

A letter from Fr. Federico Jimenez to Fr. Pedro Vilanova. Jimenez claims to have little news to share from his "beloved mission," but does mention the recent baptism of three youths from the village of "Lan-piu." An older missionary, P. Herce, baptized the first two adults in said village some time prior. Since that time, an additional 8 adults and 4 children were baptized by priests other than Jimenez and Herce. Jimenez reports that the "P. Vicario" (head vicar of the Formosa mission?) plans to give Lan-piu to a Father Vicente Gomar.

Nebot, José. "Father Nebot to the Father Provincial, Cheng-kim, October 14, 1876." *Correo Sino-annamita* 12 (1878): 129-132.

Describes the ongoing attempts to proselytize in the north of Taiwan. A catechist was sent to a village which had repeatedly asked for a missionary, only to leave after determining the villagers merely expected economic gain from European contacts. However, in October of 1875, a new (unnamed) father was sent to the same (also nameless) village to set up a new mission, while Nebot himself moved further north to begin preaching from Soa-luna, a village which was chosen in April 1876 after five months of arduous searching. It lies two days' journey north of Tainan, near the mountains, for which reason its people are "relatively simple." At the time of writing Nebot has baptized "some" adults, as well as three infants, two of whom died shortly afterwards.

Nebot, José. "The Same Father to the Father Provincial, Ban-kim-cheng, September 22, 1877." *Correo Sino-annamita* 12 (1878): 133-134.

Writes telling how the recent death of Federico Jimenez has forced Nebot to move to Ban-kim-cheng, to take over the mission there. Soon after moving, Nebot is robbed of 200 pesos and a holy icon; the mandarins are unable to find the thieves. A rumor starts that Spain has declared war on China, leading to much movement of troops and an increase in food prices. "Three or four" Protestants were recently decapitated in the capital. Nebot has counted 15 new baptisms in his time in Ban-kim-cheng, a number he considers unsatisfactory.

Chinchon, Andrés. "From Father Chinchon to the Father Provincial, Cheng-kim, August 23, 1878." *Correo Sino-annamita* 13 (1879): 111-120.

Begins by declaring his intention to talk of nothing except the progress of evangelization in his mission. Declares that while progress on the Formosa mission is slow, it is not "paralyzed," despite what certain others say. Says that while some people are docile and simple, and thus easily converted, the Chinese tend to be "haughty and arrogant," and so when even one is converted it is a "grand triumph" or a "miracle." Writes briefly of the sinfulness of the Chinese, among whom "the devil... has his throne." Chinchon then tells of how he sent a catechist to a new village 5 *li* from Cheng-kim. However, the interested layperson who asked for the catechist turns out to only wish to convert to Christianity in order to intimidate his debtors; "for here the gentiles still conserve some fear of Tien-chu-kau [the Christian religion]," a fact which Chinchon says is sometimes a boon and sometimes a burden to the mission. Despite the false pretenses on which the missionaries were invited, Chinchon still has the catechist rent a house in the new village, which quickly becomes a center of the local social life. Even so, only one villager is considered truly ready for baptism; however, this villager is unwilling to part with his familial tablets (a requirement for baptism) because he fears the damage to his reputation. The same catechist, on a recent trip to the capital, spoke to a "bachelor" and who not only listened carefully about Christianity but even accepted a religious book. This bachelor soon announces that he is ready to convert, but that he fears the damage to his good name.

Nebot, José. "Father Nebot to the Father Provincial, Ban-kim-cheng, September 13, 1878." *Correo Sino-annamita* 13 (1879): 121-122.

In contrast to Chinchon's previous letter, Nebot repeats that the progress of Catholicization in southern Taiwan is "somewhat paralyzed." Claims however that the Protestants are doing even worse, having now lost many of their initial converts in the region due to their religion's increasingly bad moral reputation, and that the locals have finally learned to distinguish Catholics from Protestants. Nebot concludes by reporting that the telegraph was recently introduced to Taiwan, and that some say a railroad will soon be built, although Nebot is skeptical that this will come to pass any time soon.

Gomar, Vicente. "Father Gomar to the Father Provincial, Formosa, September 17, 1878." *Correo Sino-annamita* 13 (1879): 123-126.

Begins by congratulating the new Father Provincial on his accession. Says that the mission's progress is still slow, and lists the characteristics of the Chinese which impede conversion. Adds that the mission does not have enough resources to work effectively, and that in particular there is a great need for catechists. Describes how the island's missionaries attempted two times to build a school for catechists, but that their efforts failed despite great expense; Gomar does not clarify what went wrong. There are also not enough missionaries: of the five present on the island three years before, one (Colomer) went to China, while another (Jimenez) died.

Chinchon, Andrés. "From Father Chinchon to the Father Provincial, Cheng-kim, October 30, 1878." *Correo Sino-annamita* 13 (1879): 127-130.

Continuation of Chinchon's letter of August 23, in which he promised to relate an "extraordinary occurrence" which happened in Tainan the previous March. Goes on to tell the story of how a Chinese woman who visited the Tainan church with a Christian relative fainted immediately after the service, and awoke proclaiming that the Virgin Mary had appeared to her in a dream and commanded her to become a Christian. The woman's family, after at first resisting her conversion, came to see positive changes in her personality, and all converted as well. Since Tainan is without a missionary, and Chinchon is ten hours' journey away by land, the new Christians are all cared for by a Chinese catechist.

Chinchon, Andrés. "From Father Chinchon to the Father Provincial, Cheng-kim, November 3, 1878." *Correo Sino-annamita* 13 (1879): 131-134.

Begins the letter by apologizing for having not read an earlier letter from the Father Provincial, which was lost on the way, and by thanking the Father profusely for sending a new missionary, named Celedonio Arranz. Asks for one more missionary, explaining that the ultimate goal is to open five residences each at one day's distance from the nearest neighbor, thus making a continuous circuit along Taiwan's western half. Also asks the Father Provincial not to call any missionaries away from Taiwan, as the "immutable" character of the Chinese means that switching from one priest to another with small differences in personal style, vocabulary, etc. might confuse them and cause them to lose their faith.

Chinchon, Andrés. "From Father Chinchon to the Father Provincial, Cheng-kim, November 13, 1879." *Correo Sino-annamita* 14 (1880): 7-12.

Chinchon has only baptized one new adult in the past two years. Even so, he writes about the other kinds of progress the mission has made (in calming anti-Christian rumors, and delegitimizing "idolatry"). Tells the stories of a few particularly "sincere" converts, particularly those whose conversion harmed their economic status or family relations. One recent convert steals his familial tablets in order to prove that his name is not inscribed on them; having proven this, he is immediately granted baptism. Chinchon goes on to talk about how Taiwan is facing fewer "rebellions and popular tumults" than just a few years earlier, which he largely attributes to the "great physical and moral force" which the mandarins of Taiwan have gained due to their contact with the Europeans. Chinchon ventures that the "civilizing influence" of Catholicism may also have played a role in calming local hostilities.

Chinchon, Andrés. "Father Chinchon to the Father Provincial, Cheng-kim, January 4, 1882." *Correo Sino-annamita* 16 (1882): 7-10.

This letter details Chinchon's recent voyage from Manila to Formosa, though he does not mention his reason for going to Manila in the first place. Chinchon left Manila on December 1, 1881, stopped at the Dominican mission in Hong Kong on December 4, and from there arrived at Xiamen on December 8th. Finally he arrives at his *residencia* on the 22nd of January. Admits that progress on



converting the locals is slow, but insists that the mission is progressing, "step by step." Says the periphery of the mission's area is the size of five days' travel, and is served by only three European missionaries, along with one "indigenous" pastor.<sup>4</sup> Asks the provincial father to send some of the young missionaries whom Chinchon met in Manila.

Chinchon, Andrés. "Letter from Father Chinchon to the Father Provincial, Cheng-kim, August 2, 1882." *Correo Sino-annamita* 17 (1883): 33-37.

Chinchon repeats that progress on the Taiwan mission is slow but not stopped. Says that there are 5 open *residencias*, one in Tainan, and then two to the north and two to the south. Requests one more missionary, so that an additional *residencia* can be opened north of Tainan, which would allow the full area of the mission to be served by missionaries no further than one day apart from one another; even then it would take another one or two missionaries to adequately serve the entire western half of the island, not counting the "Igorrotes" of the mountains. Reports that an imperial Chinese "high functionary" arrived in Taiwan with a decree stipulating that Christianity was to be tolerated, Christian missionaries to be respected and assisted, and converts to be allowed to exempt themselves from local rituals. Chinchon was given news of this edict by a "Mr. Philipps," but was not able to secure a written copy.

Arranz, Celedonio. "Father Arranz to the Father Provincial. Formosa, December 26, 1882." *Correo Sino-annamita* 17 (1883): 38-43.

Writes to the Provincial Father with a report on the customs of the locals. Claims that the "paganism" which the Dominicans are "combating" is so "monstrously absurd" that the priests find it easy to win debates with even the most illustrious officials. For this reason, it is not the "superstitions or beliefs of paganism," but primarily the "passions and vices of paganism" which prove challenging to combat. Gives a list of common reasons given for not converting, including: the inconvenience of ceasing work on Sundays; attachment to the tradition of idol/ancestor worship even among agnostics; "certain calumnies" arising from envy that such an "immaculate" religion could be the work of foreigners, among which was the rumor that missionary work was a mere pretext for an illegal business in medicine made from Chinese cadavers; finally, "all the rest" simply could not be shaken from their belief in "idols" and "ancestral tablets." Claims that the "cult of the progenitors" is the "primary, maximum, and indispensable dogma" of the Chinese, above the worship of any deities or spirits. Arranz ferociously counters the notion that Chinese ancestral rites are purely civil; on the contrary, he claims that the "ancestor cult" is as incompatible with Catholicism as paganism is. At the same time, Arranz seems confused as to the origins of the cult, claiming at the end of his letter that it was introduced as part of Buddhism, with "totally religious views."

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<sup>4</sup> This is presumably the "Tonkinese pastor" occasionally mentioned in earlier letters. See f. ex. Jimenez, "Kao-a-ki, February 14, 1871," *Correo Sino-annamita* 7, 7-10; and Colomer, "Formosa, August 7, 1871," *Correo Sino-annamita* 7, 11-14.

Chinchon, Andrés. "Father Chinchon to the Father Provincial, Cheng-kim, December 27, 1882." *Correo Sino-annamita* 17 (1883): 44-48.

A brief summary of activities at each of the five Dominican residences on Taiwan. 1) Three miles from Dagao, in the village of Cheng-kim. The provincial vicarial center, with a small church and the vicar's residence, which includes space for visiting missionaries and 12 rooms for students. One hour to the north, there is a small chapel for the administration of basic rites. 2) A day's journey east from Cheng-kim, in the "totally aboriginal" village of Ban-kim-cheng, administered by Fr. José Nebot. This seat has a church undergoing "reconstruction" and Nebot's home. Christians live in four nearby villages, one of which, Kau-á-ki, has a second small church. A newer third church is located in the town Lan-pi, an hour further north. 3) "A good day's journey" north of the vicariate, a two-story mission house is administered in Tai-uan-fu (Tainan) by an "indigenous" pastor from Tonkin, but there are few Christians there. 4) Three days north of Tainan, in a town called Co-chu-cheng, Fr. Celedonio Arranz presides over roughly 100 Christians from a new and "very pretty" church. 5) Two days north of Tainan, Fr. Ramon Colomer preaches to 54 Christians and 20 catechumens from a small chapel in Soa-lun. A catechist recently moved into a small house in the nearby village of Po-kiu-lun.

Chinchon, Andrés. "Father Chinchon to the Father Provincial, Cheng-kim, January 8, 1884." *Correo Sino-annamita* 18 (1884): 33-35.

Includes the yearly catalog of sacraments performed on Taiwan. Reiterates that although progress is slow, it's moving "step by step." Largely describes the joy with which a papal encyclical on the Holy Rosary was received, and details the celebrations for the Feast of the Holy Rosary, wherein Chinchon's congregation was joined by that of Fr. Nebot. 1883 was the first year when a proper procession was performed in Cheng-kim, and he writes with relish of the good order of the parade and of the incorporation of Chinese instruments, fireworks, and "gunpowder lions," to the apparent joy of all, including non-Christian neighbors. Also points out that the visiting Christians were hosted by Chinchon's congregation without having to pay.

Clemente, Isidoro. "Father Clemente to the Father Provincial, Ban-kim-cheng, June 3, 1884." *Correo Sino-annamita* 18 (1884): 36-37.

Writes about the construction of a new church in Ban-kim-cheng. Relates how the natives are impressed by its size, but also concerned that the church's tall towers might be a fortress concealing soldiers and weapons. This rumor reaches the governor of Taiwan, who writes to the Spanish consul, who then informs Fr. Clemente. However, once the church is completed and its doors opened to all, the locals' suspicions are apparently calmed.

Colomer, Ramon. "Father Colomer to the Father Provincial, Soa-lun, September 10, 1884." *Correo Sino-annamita* 19 (1885): 197-203.

Begins with the story of a house rented by two catechumens in the village of Pokiulun, 10 leagues from Soa-lun. After the Christians move in, they are confronted by locals claiming they are breaking the law; however, after Colomer calls in a local mandarin, the "ruffians" are forced to leave. Further attempts to intimidate the new catechist of the village are frustrated by continued support from the high mandarin "Hien." Although the Christians cannot be expelled, one rich villager named "Tiong-kieng" continues to insult and threaten the catechist, with the result that only two of the village's families are brave enough to hear his teachings.

Colomer, Ramon. "The Same to the Father Provincial, Soa-lun, October 20, 1884." *Correo Sino-annamita* 19 (1885): 204-208.

Colomer provides a translation of the edict of the Intendant ["Totai"] of Taiwan on the recent French declaration of war. The Intendent commands the people of Taiwan to attack any French people or ships they see, but to leave other European "kingdoms" alone; the English and American consuls<sup>s</sup> are singled out by name for protection. The proclamation also includes the rewards for killing or capturing different ranks of French soldiers and ships, and is posted along with an example of the French flag. Colomer appends a brief description of the storms and plagues troubling Taiwan along with the war.

Clemente, Isidoro. "Father Clemente to the Father Provincial, Cheng-kim, August 1, 1885." *Correo Sino-annamita* 19 (1885): 209-226.

Despite Colomer's claim in his letter of October 20, 1884, that the war with France would not prejudice the Spanish missionaries' efforts, Clemente says that many people did in fact come to distrust the Catholics. The "Totai" sent two "military mandarins" to investigate the mission at Ban-kim-cheng, and three other mandarins to Cheng-kim. Both commissions were satisfied with the innocence of the Spaniards, and attempted to calm the local peoples' rumors. Clemente goes on to describe the preparations for war in Dagao, and the difficulties caused by the blockade. Next, Clemente relates the story of a family quarrel in Lan-pi, 5 leagues from Ban-kim-cheng, where a "gentile" was infuriated by his Christian relatives' refusal to contribute funds to a family ritual. This quarrel escalated to the point where a skirmish in the streets left two non-Christians dead. In response, a mob gathered from thirteen villages trapped the Christian community of Lan-pi in the local church, attempting to massacre them. In the end, while the officials in Tainan declined to help, the local mandarin of Pitao interceded, saving the Christians. In the end, Clemente was able to start rebuilding the church, despite the continued resistance of those who started the fight. Clemente finishes by celebrating a larger-than-usual crop of baptisms.

Herce, Roberto. "Father Herce to Father Provincial, Takaw, July 6, 1886." *Correo Sino-annamita* 20 (1886): 53-62.

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<sup>s</sup> The consuls are given Chinese names: Gierk is the English consul in the south, Hui the English consul in the north, and Ke the American consul in Danshui.

Says that the number of missionaries on Taiwan is now four Spaniards and one Tonkinese, with Chinchon and Nebot having left the previous year (having apparently been reassigned). To defend his request for more missionaries, Herce gives a description of Taiwanese geography, demographics, agriculture, and politics. Mentions that "Kucsin" / "Cocsinga" (Zheng Chenggong) conquered the island from Fujian. Says that Sainz estimated the island's population at four million in 1860, but that more recent Protestant missionary estimates suggest three million inhabitants. Herce then proceeds to a census of the missionary residences, their assigned fathers, and their Christian populations. Mentions a church in a northern town called "Ló-chü-chüg," with a congregation of 160 people.<sup>6</sup> Laments that the Catholics have no presence on the east of Taiwan, where the Protestants have made their "greatest progress," though Herce believes that all of the more than 30 Protestant chapels on that side of the island were burned during the Sino-French war. After the war (in June of 1886), Father Arranz toured east Taiwan to investigate rumors that the locals were tired of Protestantism and desired instruction in Catholicism. Herce concludes by asking for two new missionaries in order to establish a new residence in Tamsui, both to preach to gentiles and to block the Canadian Presbyterians currently operating there. Briefly describes the English and Canadian Presbyterian missions. Herce mentions on page 56 that he included a "sketch" of the island with all of the missionary residences marked. Map is reproduced on page 221.

Herce, Roberto. "Father Herce to the Father Provincial, Takaw, July 6, 1886." *Correo Sino-annamita* 20 (1886): 225-228.

A brief note, printed in the appendix. Herce describes the administrative changes caused by Taiwan's recent upgrade to provincial status. First, it will be governed by a *Bu-tai*. In place of the single prefecture (*fu*) present before, Taiwan will be divided into four: Chiang-hoa, Tai-pak, Tai-lam, and Pi-lam. Further, a separate *chui* will be created for the capital city. The number of *Hien* (districts) will be increased from six to fourteen. There will now be two *To-tai*, in Tai-lam-fu and in Tai-pak-fu, and three *Tien* (military governors), in Kelung, Pe-o (the Pescadores), and Tai-lam. The new capital will be built in the center of the island, near Lo-chu-chug, to the detriment of Tai-lam and to the benefit of the other prefectures. Describes the importance of the Pescadores, not included on his previous map of Taiwan. Finally, Herce relays a rumor that a foreign Catholic has been trying to set up a mission in Tai-pak-fu, making it even more urgent that the Dominicans move on Tamsui than before.

Herce, Francisco. "The Father Vicar to the Father Provincial, Takau, September 20, 1886." *Correo Sino-annamita* 21 (1887): 7-13.

Gives a brief note assuring his superior that the mission on Taiwan is peaceful and secure, which he attributes to Chinese state orders not to harass Christians after the "grave events" which occurred in northern China the previous July. Includes a translation of a letter sent from the English consul of Takao, informing

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<sup>6</sup> Presumably this is simply a different name for the town which Father Chinchon called "Co-chu-cheng" in his letter of December 27, 1882.

Herce that the "Tao-tai" of Taiwan orders all missionaries to inform the government whenever they travel, so that the authorities can provide "complete protection." Herce then includes a translation of the dispatch from the Tao-tai himself, dated September 3, 1886. The "Tao-tai-Clén" says that, as per orders from "magistrate Tsai of Chang-hoa," foreign missionaries are to provide complete records of their comings and goings to the local authorities, in order to prevent "some disturbance." Apparently this letter was motivated by the unauthorized visit of a Protestant missionary to the Pescadores, as well as to a village named "Hu-lu-tun." Herce ends with a brief note of complaint that the "audacity and imprudence" of the Protestants has inconvenienced the Catholics by association.

Herce, Francisco. "The Father Vicar to the Father Provincial, Takau, April 4, 1887." *Correo Sino-annamita* 21 (1887): 14-16.

Begins with the news that Father Arranz finally opened a new chapel in Tamsui, on March 19. Copies a note from Arranz on the early progress of the chapel, and his success in winning converts from the Protestants despite a relative lack of funds.

Giné, Francisco. "Father Giné to the Father Provincial, Takau, April 2, 1887." *Correo Sino-annamita* 21 (1887): 17-23.

Tells the story of the recent visit (beginning January 12) of Chinchon, now invested as a bishop, to Taiwan. Describes how Chinchon was received and the sacraments he performed. The young Giné accompanies Chinchon to Ban-kim-cheng, and is greatly impressed by the celebrations with which the bishop is greeted there. On the 30th of January, Chinchon designates the church on Ban-kim-cheng as the Cathedral of Formosa. Chinchon leaves the island on February 7, after missing the ship he was meant to take on February 4. Giné concludes with a brief description of the robbers infesting the island's interior, and with a note on how the "Igorrotes" of the mountains, after having suffered a severe massacre, are descending to trade with the Chinese as opposed to making war; in this way, "one can see that within little time [the Chinese] will make themselves owners of everything."

Clemente, Isidoro. "Father Clemente to the Father Provincial, Ban-kim-cheng, June 22, 1887." *Correo Sino-annamita* 22 (1888): 7-17.

Repeats the sentiment that the missionaries live in peace with both the authorities and the people of Taiwan. Reports that the area around Ban-kim-cheng is Christianizing rapidly, and hopes that soon the entire population of the region will have converted. Describes the character of the local "Indians," i.e., plains indigenous groups. Clemente is satisfied that most converts pray daily and generally follow the requirements of Christianity, a few exceptions granted. Describes the ideal recent deaths of three converts, each of whom gave off signs of being a "predestined soul." The third of these was a Christian baptized by Father Colomer, who persisted in his religion despite the hostility of his fully "gentile" village and family. This lone Christian travelled frequently to Ban-kim-

cheng and other Christian villages despite his age, and called for a priest when he was on his deathbed; seeing this, some forty of his family members and neighbors apparently asked to hear the Christian doctrine. Describes how the "Igorrotes" have begun to descend to trade with both indigenous and Cantonese locals, and although isolated interethnic murders still occur, they rarely lead to long blood feuds as they did in the past. A company of soldiers recently lodged in Ban-kim-cheng and nearby villages. Clemente includes a translation of the edict which apparently explained their mission, written by one "Commander Tó." The soldiers' stated purpose is to maintain peace between the "natives" and the "Igorrotes," i.e., the plains and mountain indigenous tribes, with the goal of banning warfare and turning both groups into "civilized peoples" who "recognize and obey the Emperor." The Igorrotes are expressly commanded to descend to the plains villages to communicate and trade, and are ordered to attend Chinese-run schools. The edict ends with this injunction: "Make yourselves one family while you live together." Clemente is cynical about the odds the Igorrotes can be assimilated, but appreciates the security afforded by the new garrison constructed at the site of the old market. Clemente concludes with a brief note that the Cantonese, old enemies of the Ban-kim-cheng mission, are slowly beginning to convert.

Giné, Francisco. "Father Giné to the Father Provincial, Soa-lun, July 31, 1887." *Correo Sino-annamita* 22 (1888): 17-22.

Complains that Soa-lun's district is the least successful operated by the Taiwan missionaries; the villagers of Po-kinlun are especially recalcitrant. Thereafter the young missionary complains at length about the roads, weather, clothes, food, poverty, indifference, and competition he faces. Ends with a plea for more resources.

Arranz, Celedonio. "Father Arranz to the Father Provincial, Tam-súi — Toa-tiú-tia, August 10, 1887." *Correo Sino-annamita* 22 (1888): 23-46.

Arranz writes that the locals of Tam-sui still dimly remember Catholicism from the times of the Spanish colony in the 17th century, and maintain certain Christian habits, such as observing Sunday feasts. Describes the recent history of Tam-sui: first the special treatment which the Qianlong emperor afforded the natives there, then the colonization by Chinese, due to which the "extinction" of the natives is "painfully" "inevitable." Arranz predicts that the Igorrotes will soon be extirpated as well, and describes in great detail his observations of the Chinese mistreatment of the mountain tribes. The central conflict is between the aborigines' desire to enjoy their "patrimony" in peace, and the Chinese desire to utilize the natural resources of the interior. Arranz describes how the governor recently recognized the legal right of the Igorrotes to their territory, but leaves no doubt that the Chinese will destroy the natives before long. Arranz describes the growing "emporium" established on the Tam-sui river, which he believes is overdue for a Catholic mission as a modern town possessing a railroad and telegraph. Arranz predicts that Tam-sui will grow to the point that it will be the most appropriate seat for the vicariate of the entire island. Finishes with a summary of his activities in opening the new mission. He meets a village of

Fujianese Catholics, recent migrants who were converted by Father Guixá while still in China. Arranz is accompanied by a new missionary named Pitarch. The Governor of Taiwan, associating the Dominicans with the French, orders Arranz to retire to the south; Arranz is harassed by local officials until the English consul Giles intervenes. The Spanish consul in Xiamen, Tomás Ortuño, debates with the Taiwanese Governor. Arranz describes the governor's three official charges against him, voluminously dismissing each on in turn. At the time of the letter's writing, the governor has given up charging Arranz personally and has moved on to persecuting the landowner who rented the house in which Arranz's church is located.

Arranz, Celedonio. "Father Arranz to the Father Provincial, Toa-tiú-tia (Tam-súi), November 10, 1887." *Correo Sino-annamita* 22 (1888): 47-77.

Continues the relation of the negotiations between the Spanish consul and the Governor of Taiwan over Arranz's new church. The Governor is forced to allow Arranz to reside in Tam-sui, but on three conditions: 1. That no women or criminals be allowed to enter the church; 2. That the church be moved to a different location, away from the marketplace; and 3. That neither the missionary nor catechists enter private homes for marriage or funeral ceremonies. Arranz indignantly appends a copy of the sections of the 1860 Anglo-Chinese and Franco-Chinese treaties dealing with free practice of Christianity in China, as well as of an 1846 Chinese imperial edict guaranteeing freedom of movement and property ownership to Christian missionaries. Upon hearing of the governor's conditions, Arranz sailed in person to Xiamen to draft a response with the Spanish consul. The two reject the first and third points, but agree to move the church somewhere less crowded; Arranz concludes on a deeply bitter note about the poor state of the new church and the frustrations of dealing with several layers of bureaucracy at once. To escape his vexations, Arranz travels to a "lovely" town on the east coast named Ka-chu-lang. Also relates a trip to "Ke-lung," Jilong, where Father Herce had, twenty years earlier, encountered the ruins of the old Spanish fort and Dominican church. Apparently "many Chinese" remember that Herce managed a mission at Jilong from 1867 to 1869. Arranz laments that Herce tried to preach to the Chinese of Jilong rather than to the nearby aborigines at Ka-chu-lang. Arranz is moved by the "lovely panorama" he sees upon climbing the mountain Sam-tiau-nia near Jilong. Continues his journey down the coast, stopping in various villages along the way, and always conversing with Protestant converts, whom he claims are impressed by what he tells them of Catholicism. Arranz stays in Ka-chu-lang for five days, and leaves convinced that it would make a fine center for a Catholic mission to Taiwan's east coast. Thereafter he has an interview with the Chinese commander of an army fighting the Igorrotes nearby. On the way back, Arranz is briefly lost in the mountains, before being saved by an "affectionate" native guide, and describes the signs of Chinese incursion into the interior. On his return, Arranz reads a number of letters promising support from the Spanish and English consuls, as well as the Vicar of Fujian. Ends by describing the rituals devoted to the "idol" "Sieng-ong-kong," worshipped by the Chinese of Quanzhou (and, therefore, of Manila); this god is honored by the Chinese who man the steamboats connecting Taiwan to Xiamen and the South China Sea.

Giner, Francisco. "Father Giner to the Father Provincial, Soa-lun, October 15, 1888." *Correo Sino-annamita* 23 (1889): 7-10.

Reports that the island is in general revolt and that bandits are everywhere. The cause is a new land tax, in response to which the people have called "death to the mandarins and their satellites!" Chiang-hoa has been under siege by rebels for 12 days. Giner hears that the residents of a neighboring village want to "pay him a visit," and fears for his life.

Herce, Francisco. "The Father Vicar to the Father Provincial, Takaw, October 26, 1888." *Correo Sino-annamita* 23 (1889): 11-15.

Herce, having personally shipped Giner's preceding letter, confirms that the center of the island is in revolt. He describes the history of this uprising in more detail, blaming it on Governor Liu-ming-choang's excessive taxation, carried out to help modernize Taiwan "a la European." All four major groups on the island hate Governor Liu for their own reasons, as do even the Europeans. The revolt began on October 10, while the military was occupied avenging an Igorot uprising on the east coast, and by the time of Herce's writing Chiang-hoa has fallen. Includes the most recent news of negotiations between the governor's troops and the rebels currently attacking Ka-gi. The rebels have cut off all overland communication between Taiwan-fu and the north of the island, even burning the telegraph posts.

Colomer, Ramon. "Father Colomer to the Father Provincial, Formosa, May 22, 1890." *Correo Sino-annamita* 24 (1890): 7-12.

Begins with a complaint that the people of Taiwan are slow to convert because they are overly concerned with material wealth. Describes how the small size of the Christian community makes marriage within the religion difficult, especially for orphans raised by the church. Ends with a brief description of his debates with Chinese "idolaters," and the unwillingness of most people he encounters (including a German missionary) to properly read Christian texts.

Adana, Blas Saez. "Father Adana to the Father Provincial, Tam-sui, February 16, 1891." *Correo Sino-annamita* 25 (1891): 91-94.

Begins with a litany of complaints: the new priest is alone in Tam-sui without even a catechist. Describes the first two baptisms he performs, and promises to send a facsimile of the familial tablets which the two new novitiates give him. The letter includes a brief summary of the meaning of the Chinese characters on this facsimile; the tablet itself is not reproduced in the *Correo Sino-annamita*. Also promises to ship "idols" to Manila when possible.

Adana, Blas Saez. "Father Saez to the Father Provincial, Tam-sui, June 18, 1892." *Correo Sino-annamita* 26 (1892): 7-10.

Describes Arranz's attempts to open a mission in Ho-bue, at the invitation of the "Cheng-li" (translated "mayor"). In the end, almost no one in the village comes to



listen to the catechist, and the Cheng-li sours on Christianity, even attempting to sue the catechist. In the end, the case is settled, but the Cheng-li replaces the Catholic catechist with a Protestant missionary, who Saez accuses of bribing the locals to convert. In a post-script, Saez says that the Protestant villagers plus "bandits" hired by the Cheng-li, numbering some 150 in all, attacked the Catholic base in Ho-bue, but were driven off by the Dominican catechist and followers, many of whom were sent there from Toa-tiu-tia. The English consul promises to prosecute the pastor held responsible, but Saez is skeptical that the case will reach any court.

Colomer, Ramon. "Father Colomer to the Father Provincial, Formosa, March 10, 1893." *Correo Sino-annamita* 26 (1893): 139-143.

Colomer returns to Ban-kim-cheng after over 20 years of absence. Describes the difficulties of educating children. The missions at Kaoki and Laupi have been fully abandoned, with their flocks having relocated to Ban-kim-cheng; the Christian population of this town is now 600. An earthquake in 1892, along with outbreaks of disease, drought, and frost, have immiserated the town. Local poverty has led to an increase in banditry. The Igorrotes occasionally visit, but schemes to incorporate them into the lowland community or to hire them for European mines have both failed. Colomer ends with brief biographies of the first three Catholic martyrs of Formosa: Mateo Cobiza, Francisco de Santo Domingo, and Luis Muro (all Dominicans killed in the 17th century).

Arranz, Celedonio. "Father Arranz to the Father Provincial, Chiang-hoa - Ló-chüchng, August 20, 1893." *Correo Sino-annamita* 27 (1893): 144-148.

Primarily describes the legal conflicts issuing from Arranz's attempts to spread Christianity to a town called "Lau-lau."<sup>7</sup> Arranz is in frequent contact with a "tribunal" in Shanghai which is tasked with mediating between the Dominicans and local officials, who continue to oppose the Catholic mission on Taiwan. The catechist of Lau-lau is accused of theft and imprisoned. Further, Arranz is forced to defend 100 Christians accused of failing to pay tribute; after a "disgraceful" trial in Jilong, Arranz has a personal audience with the Governor, whom he bribes to release most of the accused. Arranz travels from Jilong to Tam-sui, stopping in Ho-bue somewhere in the middle. This town is a port, some 8 *li* distant from "Hing-hoa-tiam." This town has 30 catechumens, and Arranz wants to build a church. Arranz further describes the new missions to the towns of Huan-sia, Toa-chúi-kuť, and Po-taú.

Colomer, Ramon. "Father Colomer to the Father Provincial, Formosa, January 24, 1894." *Correo Sino-annamita* 28 (1894): 7-12.

A brief biography of the Chinese catechist Plácido Asien-ko, surnamed Cheng, an early convert of the Ban-kim-cheng mission. His conversion to Christianity in 1863 caused him to lose his job in a pottery business, and led him to leave his friends, wife, and children. He then worked without pay for the mission until

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<sup>7</sup> This town is somewhere near Jilong, in what Arranz refers to as the "land of gold."

the end of his life. He was instrumental in the establishment and survival of the Kaoki mission, and helped oversee many construction efforts. As a reward for his piety and devotion, he was made a preacher in 1873, in which capacity he worked until his death in 1894.

Colomer, Ramon. "The Same Father to the Father Provincial, Formosa, July 10, 1894." *Correo Sino-annamita* 28 (1894): 13-15.

Colomer announces his intention to give a brief history of the Dominicans on Taiwan. The first Dominicans arrived from the Philippines in May of 1626. After the expulsion of the Spanish from Taiwan in 1642, the Dominicans did not return to the island until Sainz's arrival at Takao on May 18, 1859. After mentioning the next few missionaries who joined Sainz, Colomer moves to a demographic description of the island. Taiwan has 4 million inhabitants, 3000 of whom are Catholics (1350 living in Ban-kim-cheng).<sup>\*</sup> Divides the population into four classes: Chinese from Fujian, Cantonese (of various dialects), indigenes/aborigines/pepojuanes, and igorotes/savages.

Arranz, Celedonio. "Father Arranz to the Father Provincial, Tam-sui, September 8, 1894." *Correo Sino-annamita* 28 (1894): 16-23.

Arranz promises to describe the "skirmishes" if not quite "victories" of Catholicism with the "idolatrous heart of the great Oriental people." Describes how Catholic principles have begun to "germinate" in Taiwanese minds, even among those who have not converted. Attempts to answer the question of why Christianity has not spread more quickly among the Chinese. The major barriers, in Arranz's opinion, are the officials and the particularly diverse and complex forms of "idolatry" practiced in China. Describes the corruption of the major Chinese political and religious institutions.

Clemente, Isidoro. "Father Clemente to the Father Provincial, Taotiutia, September, 1895." *Correo Sino-annamita* 29 (1895): 8-13.

After hearing of the Japanese invasion, Clemente hurried to central Taiwan, where his catechumens were especially hard-hit. Arranz has left for Xiamen after becoming paralyzed by disease, and the young missionary sent to replace him, Nemesio Fernandez, died suddenly. Clemente quotes a letter from Fernandez, describing the progress of the Japanese army southwards against Hakka resistance; the Japanese distrust the aborigines, expecting them to be in league with the Cantonese. The missionaries receive many Japanese visitors, with whom they communicate by writing in Chinese. The Christians of Kagi were slaughtered by Chinese resistance fighters; further, Dominican residences have been destroyed at Soaluna, Taulak, Talibu, and Chichkuke, apparently by Chinese who suspected the Christians of collaborating with Japan. Clemente hopes for a swift Japanese victory. The letter ends with news that Arranz has returned from Xiamen.

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<sup>\*</sup> Note that this number is more than twice the estimate given by Colomer himself in his letter of 1894.

Arranz, Celedonio. "Father Arranz to the Father Provincial, Tam-sui, September, 1895." *Correo Sino-annamita* 29 (1895): 14-24.

Arranz begins by telling about Nemesio Fernandez's death from cholera. Fernandez was apparently optimistic about the possibility of cooperating with the new Japanese government. Arranz is skeptical that any good will come of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, since the literati are circulating pamphlets exhorting all Chinese on Taiwan to resist the occupation. A Republic of Formosa has been proclaimed under the president Thng, former governor of the island. Describes the progressive Japanese defeat of the "Republican" Chinese troops, beginning with the capture of Kelung, Tamsui, and Taipakhu. The Japanese troops are ill-disciplined and leave many "scandals of morality" wherever they go. One month after the start of the Japanese invasion, the Hakkas of the mountains rose in rebellion under the Viceroy of Canton, Chan Chih Tung.<sup>9</sup> The rebellion reaches the west side of the Tamsui river, before two Japanese columns wipe out the rebels and burn much of the countryside; the urbanites of Taipakhu / Toa-tiu-tia / Bankam do not rise up. At the time of Arranz's letter, the Japanese have taken Chiang-hoa and are only three days' march from "Tayoanfú." Arranz imagines the war will be over by the equinox.

Alvarez, José. "Father Alvarez to the Father Provincial, Toa-tiu-tiâ, October, 1895." *Correo Sino-annamita* 29 (1895): 25-58.

Writing from Tamsui, Alvarez reports that the north has been fully pacified by the Japanese, "who treat us well." He is impressed by their behavior and by the high quality of goods available at the new Japanese shops, and reports that there are already 300 Catholics among the occupying army.<sup>10</sup> Provides a brief summary of his first impressions of Taiwan, particularly the greed and iniquity of the Chinese, which he contrasts with the simplicity of the natives and the "honor" of the Japanese. An ethnographic sketch of the Japanese (culture, character, physiognomy) follows. Alvarez expresses his bitterness that Spain did not hold on to Taiwan, "which justly belongs to [Spain]," especially given the "invincible" "situation" of the old fort at "Taipajú."<sup>11</sup> He then goes on to describe the geography and nature around Tamsui. The port is called Ho-bué / Tamsui, while the urban nucleus of the region is dominated by Taipajú (west), Toa-tiu-tiâ (north), and Banka (south); the port is 22-24 km from Toa-tiu-tia, connected by the river Jaki / Zapien, which is navigable by smaller steamships. Alvarez next briefly describes Ki-lón / Ke-lung. Twenty miles east of this port lay the ruins of

<sup>9</sup> This is the first mention I have come across of the term "Hakka" in these letters; the novelty of this name is well-demonstrated by the fact that it appears transcribed as *Ibakka* several times in this letter.

<sup>10</sup> These new coreligionists do not appear to be included in official Church statistics. According to the table on page 532 of this volume of the *Correo Sino-annamita*, there are 1290 Catholics on Taiwan, of whom 982 are in Ban-kim-cheng and 82 are in Tam-sui. This represents an increase of 95 converts relative to 1894 (see *Correo Sino-annamita* XXVIII, p. 419).

<sup>11</sup> The following sentence is of particular interest as a display of the Dominican memory of their former colony on Taiwan, as well as on the perceived connection between this branch of Catholicism and Spanish political power: "How often has the memory come to me of the name of Spain, which for a short time possessed, more as depositary than as owner this Island, and that, judging by the ordinary course of affairs, Formosa, which does not in vain carry this name, would be a Catholic region as are those in which wave, or for some time waved the banner of Castille!" (pages 29-30).

Fort Santiago. Taipajú proper is surrounded by a wall of 6-8 km. Brief description of the Chinese surrender of the city: the Totai fled, leaving the gates in the hands of an old woman, who delegated a young boy to open them to the Japanese; this boy was "taken" by the Japanese to be rewarded. Finished with his natural-historical descriptions, Alvarez describes the changes brought by the Japanese, viz. hygiene, construction, roadwork, etc. Next tells of his and Arranz's long but successful battle before the Tribunal of the Japanese "Viceroy" to win the right to reside in Toa-tiu-tia. Praises some of the artwork at the Tribunal, which he says falls only just short of the quality of Rafael and Murillo. Describes a Chinese funeral procession which he followed (through binoculars) on one of his first days in Taiwan, with a special focus on the hired "weepers." The procession walks to the graveyard at Chiu-nih, one league east of Toa-tiu-tia. Describes Chinese tombs as exemplars of the "materialist" values of the Chinese in general; these problematic values are described in detail. The primary challenge of the missionary is thus to cultivate sincerity and humility in his catechumens, which often brings about "the blackest ingratitude the centuries have ever seen." Alvarez spends one week in Chiu-nih administering to a handful of Christians there. On his journey, he is stopped by a group of Chinese accusing him of being Japanese, whereas the Japanese themselves consider him "a *neutral* being without precedent or genealogy." Three catechists bring news of the destruction of churches and slaughter of Christians by the Chinese resistance to the south. Alvarez ends by proposing the construction of a cathedral in Taipajú, taking advantage of the Japanese demolition of much of the old town.

Giner, Francisco. "Father Giner to the Father Provincial, Chen-kim, November, 1895." *Correo Sino-annamita* 29 (1895): 59-63.

Begins by describing a battle between Chinese rebels and 300 Japanese soldiers stationed near Soa-lun. After being defeated by the Japanese, the Chinese attack the Christians in frustration; Giner cannot personally confirm what happened, but he believes that Soa-lun was destroyed and all its Christians killed. The English send a boat to relieve the missionaries, but Giner refuses to flee the island. Giner was in Ta-kao during the Japanese bombardment of October 17, which he says prevented a plot by the "son of the president of the Formosan Republic" to burn down the Catholic church at Chen-kim. The major urban centers have been pacified, but Giner fears that the Cantonese near Ban-kim-cheng remain obstinate, and may soon attack their Christian neighbors. Giner describes the propaganda of the president of the Formosan Republic, who remains an icon of resistance despite the fact that said "president" fled early on. Giner ends by lamenting the state of Christianity on Taiwan, though he is hopefully that the new regime will clear many of the old obstacles standing in the missionaries' way.

Clemente, Isidoro. "Father Clemente to the Father Provincial, Chen-kim, December 16, 1895." *Correo Sino-annamita* 29 (1895): 517-529.

From the appendix. Follows on his previous letter. After fleeing central Taiwan, Clemente returns to Lo-chu-cheng ("thanks to the Japanese viceroy, who allowed us to travel by rail *gratis*"). Lo-chu-cheng was relatively safe during the

Formosan Revolution, and served as a sanctuary for the region. The nearby Christians of Kagui tell the father of their sufferings, some one hundred families having been reduced to "the greatest poverty." The church and mission house of Táu-lak were looted and burned, along with the houses of many Christians. Most of the Christians escaped, but one child who was left behind was murdered by Republicans. The villages of Ta-li-bú and Sái-lê were both burned by the Japanese in reprisal for guerrilla activity. The church of Soa-lun was destroyed just like that of Táu-lak. Clemente estimates that 10-12 catechumens of the Lo-chu-cheng district were killed in the course of the war, and tells the stories of two who were decapitated by the Republicans. A catechist in Taiwan-fu was murdered the day before the Japanese arrived. Soon after his first tour of central Taiwan, Clemente goes to the Japanese official in Táu-lak to ask for compensation; afterwards he visits a tribunal in Ka-gui for the same reason. At the time of his letter, he has received only vague though courteous promises. Clemente complains of the "rude and thieving" Japanese soldiers. The war finally ended ten days before Clemente's letter, with the Japanese pacification of the countryside near Ban-kim-cheng, where the Christians had been forced to fight against their Hakka neighbors. Concludes with the news that all six Dominican fathers are learning Japanese, and have started to dress in the Japanese fashion.

Arranz, Celedonio. "A Memory: To the worthy Spaniards who labored in Formosa. Historical notices on the domination of Spain in Isla Hermosa." *Correo Sino-annamita* 30 (1897): 7-45.

Affirms that the Spanish colony on Taiwan is worth historical notice, especially given the island's recent prominence in world affairs after its conquest. The Spanish colonization began after recognizing Taiwan's great agricultural, mercantile, and geopolitical value. Two motivations for the conquest of Taiwan are mentioned: 1) to counterbalance the Dutch fort at Anping, founded 1624, and 2) to prepare for the greatest goal of the Dominican order: the conversion of "the great China." Arranz lists the missionaries present on the first colonization fleet, one of whom was Japanese. The fleet sailed via the "Kurs chiwo" current to the bay of So-o, before settling at the island of Palm / Sia-liau / San Salvador, near Kelung. Another Spanish fort was built in modern Kelung, at the "parian of the Chinese." The Spaniards built their fort at Tamsui in 1628, to be closer to China, to observe the Dutch fort at Zant / Tiekcham, and to prevent the natives from killing shipwrecked sailors forced to stop there. Arranz's major primary source is Father Jacinto Esquivel's *Memoir of affairs pertaining to Isla Hermosa in 1632*. Pages 18-25 reproduce Esquivel's description of the natives of Taiwan, including the various tribal names, locations, populations, habits, foodstuffs, resources, history of contact with Spaniards, etc. Esquivel's final comment is that the natives of north Taiwan formerly made war on one another, but now (1632) live in peace due to their mutual fear of the Spanish. After 1632, however, several Spanish priests were killed by the natives. Relates how a Polish count once fled from Russia to Taiwan, where he led a native tribe in war against their neighbors. Arranz repeats the notion that traces of Christianity can still be seen in the manners of the northern natives. Citing W.E. Retana, Arranz blames the fall of Formosa on Governor Corcuera of the Philippines, who withdrew his

troops there to deal with the 1639 uprising of Chinese in Manila. Corcuera's failure to return these troops after the uprising was defeated disgusts Arranz, who rails at length against the governor. Betrayed by their leaders, the Spanish were forced to surrender the fort at Kelung to the Dutch in 1642, and the missionaries were briefly imprisoned ("against the rights of men!") in Batavia. Brief description of Koxinga's conquest of Taiwan and his attempt to invade Manila; Koxinga's ambassador, Father Victorio Riccio, was the last Dominican missionary to Taiwan, leaving for Manila in 1666. Future Dominican efforts to win the right to preach on Taiwan were frustrated by Qing restrictions until the treaties of 1861.

Arranz, Celedonio. "Father Arranz to the Father Provincial, Tamsui, July 7, 1896." *Correo Sino-annamita* 30 (1897): 46-48.

Some 50,000 Chinese have risen in revolt in Tainan and Chiang-hoa.<sup>12</sup> Father Giner is once again obliged to flee with his congregation, particularly fearing the revenge of certain resistance fighters who the Christians had accused before the law. The causes of the rebellion are: 1. The instigation of certain Chinese mandarins; 2. The "liberality" with which the Japanese troops rob and harass the locals; 3. The Chinese perception that the Japanese are uncivilized, especially due to their lack of "public honesty;" 4. The "despotism" with which the Japanese treat the Europeans; and 5. The harshness of the Japanese legal system, which often executes the accused without a fair trial. Despite these criticisms, Arranz believes that the Japanese, if "well instructed," are capable of a "very superior grade of civilization and culture," more so than the "genus *sino*."

Giner, Francisco. "Father Giner to the Father Provincial, Tau-lak-chug, July 12, 1896." *Correo Sino-annamita* 30 (1897): 49-60.

Describes the "excited" state of the district of Hun-lim, site of a recent rebellion. Explains how the local literati are forced to "mediate" between two powers they fear: the Japanese mandarin, desirous of personal gain from his position, and the "brute force" of the natives, who often rob prosperous Chinese communities. Describes how minor officials must travel with armed guards, and even then are liable to be robbed by bandits and fined by the mandarin. The literati, who at first welcomed the Japanese as a counterweight to the natives, have now induced the latter to rebellion after seeing themselves stripped of their former position by the new bureaucracy. Small Japanese forces sent to suppress local bandits failed on three occasions, inspiring the rebels, who are also encouraged by rumors that Japan is at war with Russia, Germany, and /or England. Tau-lak is taken by rebels, and the Japanese are pushed back to Chiang-hoa. The rebels sack churches and kill Christians wherever they dominate. In particular, they burn the newly rebuilt church of Tau-lak and decapitate two of its congregants. Giner complains of being associated with the Japanese, but admits that he appealed to a Japanese colonel with whom he is on "very good terms" for legal restitution after his return to Tau-lak in 1895. Giner plans to bring his flock to Pokinlun, which he believes is more peaceful.

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<sup>12</sup> "Tainan" is used here for the first time in the *Correo Sino-annamita*.

Alvarez, Jose. "Father Alvarez to the Father Provincial, Toa-tiu-tia, February 3, 1897."  
*Correo Sino-annamita* 30 (1897): 61-82.

Alvarez sets out to tell the story of the new rebellion. The Japanese force on Taiwan was reduced from 50,000 to 6,000 after the conquest of Taiwanfu. Alvarez blames the rebellion on the Chinese being accustomed to living in "anarchy," and therefore chafing under the European-style Japanese legal system. Lau-gi, former president of the Republic of Formosa, is the hero of the rebels, and sends support from the mainland; however, the first ship full of troops he sends to Taiwan promptly turns back to Fujian upon seeing the situation on the island. The rebellion is signaled first by the flight of many rich Chinese from the cities to the country along with their valuables. The uprising begins around Kelung, but when it reaches the walls of Tai-pak-hu, the rebels turn back. Even so, the Japanese are forced to retreat into the city, and the Chinese execute those caught outside the walls. Over time, the Japanese slowly win back the countryside, burning any villages which resist, and by February the last rebels have fled to the mountains. Describes some of the tragedies caused by the war, in particular the frequent infanticides apparently performed by Chinese forced to hide in hills or fields. The Japanese now have 20-30,000 soldiers on the island, and the war is all but over. Alvarez is of the opinion that the Chinese have brought their suffering on themselves, and that Japanese domination will ultimately be beneficial. In particular, he appreciates the Japanese respect for Christianity, claiming that any Chinese prisoners who prove to be Catholics are immediately released by the new government. The last hope of many Chinese is the rumor that Russia is at war with Japan, and is even sending troops to take Taiwan. Meanwhile, a child born at the moment his mother watched a field being opened has been proclaimed by some as the destined savior and future king of Taiwan. The ongoing violence has been prejudicial to the mission, but Alvarez hopes that the harrowing experiences of the previous years will prove the seeds of a future faith in many Chinese. Alvarez is asked by a group of sobbing women to intercede with the Japanese troops about to execute the women's husbands; he privately sides with the Japanese, but promises to help. When Arranz hears that an entire Chinese village is condemned to death, he lists the Christian members of the village, and the judge at once releases them; another resident of the village promises to convert, and is saved as well, but Alvarez catches him sacrificing to an "idol" just ten days later. Despite the "ingratitude" of the Chinese, Alvarez is optimistic about converting Japanese, and has even welcomed a number of Christian immigrants from around Nagasaki. Banditry remains general wherever the Japanese are not.

Clemente, Isidoro. "Father Clemente to the Father Provincial, Takao, May 16, 1897."  
*Correo Sino-annamita* 30 (1897): 83-91.

Recapitulates the 1895 rebellion in central Taiwan, wherein the region between Tau-lak and Chiang-hoa (ten leagues to the north) was dominated by revolutionaries. The Chinese there killed three Christians in June, on top of three "innocent" Christians executed by the Japanese that May. Further, a number of Europeans were robbed in Tau-lak: "Mr. Bain" lost 3,000 pesos, the German Catholic Mannich had his cargo of camphor stolen, and a Persian was murdered

and robbed. When the Japanese retook Tau-lak, they burned more than 50 villages, further infuriating the locals. Giner, who briefly visited the affected region, was forced to go to Hong Kong due to illness. The missionaries' passports are rescinded by the Japanese, and the police consequently harass the priests. In the end, Clemente is forced to go in person to request six passports from the tribunal in Taiwanfu, which request is finally granted; however, the new passes are only valid for one year, causing Clemente great consternation. While Europeans are allowed to reside in port cities, they will no longer be able to buy land more than six *ri* from the coast, and will therefore have to transact via Chinese Christian intermediaries. The Spanish government has finally decided to send their own Consul to reside in Taiwan, and Clemente reproduces the first letter from the new ambassador, D. Luis de la Barrera. Clemente ends by describing the Japanese plans to reform Taiwan, and especially their desire to turn Takao into a major port city.