

The Dutch Deserter Hugo Rozijn and his Activities in East Asian Waters during the Ming-Qing Transition

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The Long Siege and Defectors

From 30 April 1661 to 1 February 1662, the Chinese warlord Coxinga (a westernization of Chinese Guoxingye 國姓爺, literally “Lord with the Imperial Surname”; Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功, 1624–1662) laid siege to the headquarters of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (short: VOC, Dutch East India Company) in Taiwan, Fort Zeelandia, with a vanguard force of about ten thousand soldiers, with whom he had crossed the Taiwan strait from his army base at Amoy on the Chinese coast. In May 1661, not long after his surprising appearance, a general survey was made of the garrison in the fortress. In total 1,733 persons were recorded to be in Fort Zeelandia, consisting of:

- 35 gunners
- 870 other soldiers and officers
- 63 male citizens
- 218 women and children
- 547 male and female slaves and slave-children¹

During the summer season, Coxinga’s troops (including fifteen thousand soldiers who landed later) suffered from food shortages, while the Dutch garrison and the slaves in the fort were ailing owing to the detrimental hygienic conditions and a lack of medicines and fresh vegetables. In the fortress, which was situated on a sand dune in the sea, they had only limited access to fresh water, because the connection with the mainland was cut off.² In the middle of July, 400 patients were in the hospital when the summer heat struck the island.³ By the beginning of September, the number of patients had dropped to 200. During the most severe summer heat, every day six to eight people died.⁴ A rescue

1 VOC1235, 374; *Dagh-Register 1661*, 498.

2 Andrade 2011, 190-191.

3 Herport 1930, 71.

4 *Dagh-Register 1661*, 425.

fleet led by Jacob Cauw (or Cau, 1626–?) arrived in September, and added 712 soldiers to the garrison of the castle, and on the sixteenth of that month the Dutch even launched an attack on Coxinga's siege-line, costing the former about 214 troops (killed or captured), but to little avail.⁵ After the Dutch fleet was forced to leave on account of stormy weather, there remained about 868 people in the garrison of the fort, including the newly supplied troops. Meanwhile, the number of patients in the hospital had risen to 300.⁶

Coxinga's soldiers were also considerably reduced in number and were waiting for the following harvest, seeking relief from the famine, but they still were able to deter the Dutch garrison from attempting to break the siege.⁷ They eventually obtained rice from other army stations on the Chinese coast.⁸ When the season turned into deep autumn, the besieged Dutch garrison found it was constantly lacking fuels.⁹ According to another survey, as of 20 November 1661, 378 military personnel had succumbed to illness since the siege began. Although it is said that 950 personnel (including 100 gunners) were still able to defend themselves when the rescue fleet was driven away by storms, this number was only a little more than when the siege began in May 1661.¹⁰ This means they could barely maintain their resistance against the siege by Coxinga's army. A new reinforcement fleet could not arrive before the following summer, so a counter-strike was out of the question. In the middle of November, governor Frederik Coyett (or Coyet, 1615–1687) ordered about 200 women, children and slaves to be shipped away by the *Rode Vos*, including his own family.¹¹ An-

5 *Dagh-Register 1661*, 512, 515. The newly arrived fleet led by Jacob Cau delivered 712 new soldiers and sailors and sent them to the battlefield. We know that only 498 soldiers of these survived after the siege-breaking attempt. Therefore it can be inferred 214 souls were lost during this unsuccessful attack. Because the unknown number of sailors who either survived and left or were lost after the battle is not counted into remaining new soldiers, this estimate of the number lost during the siege-breaking attempt is somewhat overestimated.

6 *Dagh-Register 1661*, 512, 515.

7 Andrade 2011, 189.

8 Andrade 2011, 238.

9 Andrade 2011, 272.

10 *Dagh-Register 1661*, 519; VOC 1238, 541'. Since the remaining earlier garrison in the fort amounted to 370, it can be inferred that in the 500 soldiers who perished during the siege, aside from those 378 who died in the fort, 122 must have been either killed or captured on the battlefield or became defectors.

11 VOC 1238, 580'; *Dagh-Register 1661*, 159; Elisii (1663), 94-97; Cheng Shaogang (1995), 494, 507.

other batch consisting of eighty high-ranking officials and their families sailed on 28 December 1661 on the ship *Hasselt* to Batavia.¹²

These evacuations must have been perceived by the soldiers as a foreboding of surrender. After all, governor Coyett and commander Jacob Cauw had sent their families to a safe place. The morale dropped, and therefore the only thing holding the army together was severe disciplinary punishment and promotions promising higher salaries.¹³

According to Tonio Andrade, late October and early November were the watershed for the defectors.¹⁴ Before autumn, Chinese soldiers ran over to the Dutch side, but from then on Dutch soldiers began to run over to the Chinese siege fronts. During the long siege, both camps relied on defectors to estimate the remaining strength of the opposite side. Three of the Chinese defectors had originally served as Manchu troops, before being captured by Coxinga's army in an earlier battle near Amoy.¹⁵

These Manchus ran over from the Chinese town on the east side of the fort. They must have looked up at Fort Zeelandia from the front line at the west edge of the Chinese town. The upper fort of Zeelandia was built on a small plateau on a sand hill in order to control the Canal connecting a lagoon inside, where vessels could take shelter in gale conditions. Four bastions were built on top of the hill, which extended from the four corners as the core part of the whole defence structure. Along the north slope of the plateau facing the canal, a large stone house was situated on the plain, which was to serve as the house of the governor and a warehouse. To defend this building and an open plaza in front of it that was surrounded by houses and served as accommodations for low-ranking employees, a lower fort was built. The second level under the upper fort was built as tall as the wall of the lower fort. Four half-moon bastions were situated on this level on the slope of the small plateau. According to the diary of Fort Zeelandia, at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning of 26 December 1661, just one day after Christmas, a soldier named Hugo Rozijn ran away from his post under the east side bastion of the upper fort, when he took his night watch

12 Blussé *et al.* 2000, 610, 612, 617.

13 Blussé *et al.* 2000, 639-660.

14 Andrade 2011, 227-230, 272-273.

15 These soldiers were brought by the Dutch fleet under the admiral Balthasar Bort (see below) to seek aid of the Manchus on the Chinese coast in order to restore control over Taiwan in December of 1662. They may even have been the actual designers behind the scenes, taking certain parts in bridging between the Dutch and Manchus. Cf. *Ming Qing gongchang Taiwan dang'an huibian* 5, 86-87; Andrade 2011, 253-268.

shift.¹⁶ He had been guarding the post where the opposite Chinese soldiers must have been looking when they aimed with their muskets from the ditch on the siege front.

Since the whole fort was situated on a small plateau, the exposed soil base was covered with lime, while the second level of the fort and the uppermost castle were all well covered by stone walls. Hugo Rozijn was assigned to the southeast corner of the second level, using his musket to snipe at the Chinese town on the east side at about a cannon-ball-shot distance.¹⁷ The Chinese city was occupied by Coxinga's elite troops, who blocked the access of the Dutch to the bay.

The spot that Rozijn guarded was relatively remote from the residential area of the lower fort at the north side, and thus drew less attention during the night. This may have encouraged him to run to the Chinese siege front and to surrender. According to the VOC record, the platform on which Rozijn stood was 26 feet above sea level. The stone wall of the second level was 15 feet high and it was situated on the soil base, which was 11 feet high. Behind him there was the wall of the upper fort, approximately 18 feet high.¹⁸ It is said he took a belt to abseil the steep 26-foot slope. If his belt could extend about 6 feet (the length of one person) it should not have been very difficult to reach the level of the soil base. Once he could descend the first 15 feet, the remaining 11 feet would not have posed any difficulty for his escape.

After he ran over to the Chinese town, he was received by the Chinese troops, to whom he submitted. He had only served the VOC for two and half years. He sailed on the *Gekroonde Leeuw* of the Enkhuizen chamber to Batavia, departing on 25 June 1659 and arriving on 21 April 1660.¹⁹ He therefore quite likely belonged to the group of newly supplied soldiers that arrived on Taiwan on 6 October 1660. This batch of 600 personnel was sent by the Batavian authorities when they heard that the invasion of Chinese warlord Coxinga was brewing. In the two-and-a-half month journey from Batavia to Taiwan, the ships twice ran into fierce typhoons before they reached the Taiwanese shore, and only six vessels brought 250 soldiers onto land, while other people remained on board and returned to Batavia later. All of them had to be taken to

16 Blussé *et al.* 2000, 618.

17 About 250 metres. Cf. Satow 1900, 7, note 3.

18 VOC 1131, 263-264.

19 VOC 11709, 29^v; VOC 11711, 115^v; Bruijn 1987, 132.

the hospital right away.²⁰ Mostly they suffered from dropsy or “beriberi” and had to take some time to recover.²¹

Apart from defending Fort Zeelandia, this batch of soldiers was originally supposed to conquer Macau (Macao, Aomen 澳門) under the command of Jan van der Laan (or Joannes, who served the VOC in East Asia during 1643–1667, earning his reputation as a war hero during the siege of Colombo in 1655). The Batavian authorities were not convinced that Coxinga was going to invade Taiwan, but thought it was a golden opportunity to take over Macau. Hugo Rozijn, who was from Tournai (Doornik) in the Habsburg lowlands, apparently spoke Portuguese, which may have been a reason why he was picked up to join this expedition. Ironically, instead of exploiting his language skills to talk the Portuguese into surrender at Macau, he deserted the Dutch Fort Zeelandia and ran over to Coxinga’s camp. As far as we know, in the enemy camp there were indeed some Portuguese *mestizos* serving Coxinga as interpreters, and thus his language skill may really have been of some help in his post-desertion career.²² Another possibility was that he came to Taiwan with the second batch of troops carried by Jacob Cauw’s fleet during August 1662, just like another Danish defector, Jan Smits, who ran over to the Chinese side about one month earlier than him.²³

Living Together with Other Dutch Prisoners

On 25 January 1662, Coxinga’s troops conquered the elevated redoubt Utrecht on the Southwest side of Fort Zeelandia. The lower fort of Zeelandia from now on was exposed to Coxinga’s cannons. Facing an impossible situation, the Dutch negotiated surrender with honour a few days later, and arranged for their embarkment to Batavia. Governor Frederik Coyett requested that Coxinga release all those captured during the war, and this term was agreed on, but some Dutch prisoners eventually were left behind accidentally.

20 VOC 1235, 450^r-451^r; Herport 1930, 37-38.

21 According to Albrecht Herport (1930, 37-38), 600 people were sick and needed medical aid, while the minutes of the council of Fort Zeelandia revealed only 250 of them were soldiers. After the soldiers landed there, there were still fewer than 900 soldiers to guard the fortress, which is not far from the account given in May 1661.

22 Jiang Shusheng 2003, 45. Philip Meij met a Portuguese *mestizo* translator who worked for Coxinga and his father Iquan (Zheng Zhilong 鄭芝龍) for 18 years. Therefore Hugo Rozijn might have gotten this interpreter’s help to communicate with the Zheng authorities.

23 Blussé *et al.* 2000, 598; VOC 1328, 288^r.

The smaller Dutch fort *Provincia*, situated across the bay on Taiwan, had already surrendered to Coxinga in May 1661 because the regional administrator (Landdrost) Jacob Valentijn (or Jacobus, arr. 1648, d. ca. 1663)²⁴ had no confidence he could hold that position for a long time. Several families were imprisoned during the period when Fort Zeelandia was still under siege. When the rescue fleet of Jacob Cauw arrived in September, Coxinga took them as hostages to Amoy (Xiamen, an island near the Chinese coast) in order to prevent the Dutch fleet from attacking his headquarters over there.²⁵ These prisoners did not join the Dutch personnel that departed from Taiwan in the following months after they surrendered on 1 February 1662. Later the Batavian authorities accounted for some thirty-eight personnel who were accidentally left behind.²⁶ They were transferred to Taiwan again in 1663 accompanied by Coxinga's son, Zheng Jing 鄭經 (1642–1681); Coxinga had died four months after the Dutch surrender. In contrast with those left-behind Dutch prisoners, it seems that Hugo Rozijn and other defectors preferred to stay in Taiwan rather than returning to Batavia with governor Coyett to confess their desertion.

The Batavian authorities later decided to dispatch a fleet under admiral Balthasar Bort (ca. 1620–1684, well known as governor of Malacca) to reconquer Taiwan in 1662. He was instructed to contact the Manchus in Fuzhou and organize a joint attack against Zheng Jing's base on the islands of Amoy, Quemoy (Kinmen, Jinmen 金門) and Taiwan. It took almost a whole year before the court in Beijing at last agreed to this alliance. Later when the fleet arrived again in August of 1663, admiral Bort soon dispatched expedition troops to Quemoy, but stiff resistance forced them to retreat.²⁷ When the fleet was mooring in Liaoluo 料羅 bay, Zheng Jing sent a letter to persuade them not to cooperate with the Manchus, and instead to conclude peace with his regime. He claimed not only that the widow of the regional administrator Jacob Valentijn was still alive, but also that there were about 100 Dutch persons (including teachers, women and children) still living well on the main island of Taiwan.²⁸

24 "arr." means "arrived in Asia"; "d." means "died"; "ca." means "circa".

25 Jiang Shusheng 2003, 43–44.

26 VOC 678, 53–54. According to the list there should have been 38 Dutch people.

27 Wills 1974, 71.

28 Valentijn 1724–1726, vol. 3, pt. 1, 10; Dapper 1670, 322. The widow of Jacob Valentijn is named Rachel Muller; Blussé *et al.* 2000, 517.

When the VOC troops re-occupied Jilong 基隆 at the north tip of Taiwan in 1664, Coxinga's son Zheng Jing dispatched an envoy to negotiate with them in 1666.²⁹ In the letter delivered to the Dutch commissioner Constantijn Nobel (arr. 1650, d. 1678), Zheng Jing tried to set new terms to establish trade relations with the VOC. This delegate also brought a letter written by the Dutch prisoners in Taiwan.³⁰ Nobel, however, refused to enter negotiations, and the prisoners had to stay in Taiwan. He later also heard that the defectors were treated well in the Zheng camp and had been transported to Amoy to serve in military actions against the Manchus.³¹

When the Batavian authorities found out that the English East India Company (short: BEIC) was going to dispatch ships from Bantam to Taiwan in 1670, they asked the English merchants to contact those prisoners in Taiwan and find a way to rescue them or bail them out. They listed eleven names for this rescue action.³² Upon their return, the English sailors said that they had met two Dutch males and a child about twelve years old during their stay. They also heard that the widow of Jacob Valentijn and their two children were still alive.³³ The English merchants in Taiwan actually obtained a reply from these people secretly, and delivered the letter to Batavia in 1673.³⁴ No records explain how those English merchants were able to make this contact. However, when Hugo Rozijn appeared again in the VOC's archive later, he was employed by those English merchants as a translator.³⁵ His acquaintance Alexander van 's-Gravenbroek (who served in 1685–1687 as a junior merchant in the tributary embassy to Beijing) was one of the Dutch prisoners left behind, so there may have been a link between them, and he could have become the core of this secret channel. Through this channel, the English merchant John Dacres (arr. 1669, Chief at Taiwan since 1672) passed two letters from the prisoners to Batavia in 1677.³⁶

Because none of these letters mentioned the names of the other VOC defectors, it is not possible to obtain information about how Hugo Rozijn lived

29 Vogels 1988, 26-29.

30 Vogels 1988, 26. VOC 1264. 186; *Generale Missiven* 3, 541.

31 Blussé *et al.* 2000, 484.

32 *Dagh-Register 1672*, 151-152; Wills 1974, 152.

33 VOC 1290, 65f.

34 *Dagh-Register 1673*, 329-330.

35 VOC 1415, 965f.

36 *Dagh-Register 1677*, 74-76.

under the Zheng regime in Taiwan. However, another defector suddenly appeared in the archival papers. Jan Smith, born in Copenhagen, was employed by the chamber of Amsterdam, and sailed to Batavia in 1660. He once was an apprentice officer (Adelborst) and was assigned to the bastion Groningen in the castle Batavia. He was a member of the new troops carried by Jacob Cauw's fleet in August 1661 to Taiwan. During the siege he ran over to Coxinga's side just a month ahead of Hugo Rozijn. Afterwards he served in Amoy as a soldier and was carried on a junk to Fuzhou during the 1670s, when Zheng Jing began to smuggle Chinese goods there to Japan despite the Manchu prohibitions on all sea-going traffic and the evacuation of the coastal areas. Smith married a girl from the Coromandel Coast. She may have been one of the female slaves who had run over during the siege of Fort Zeelandia. His wife gave birth to five children. When the VOC merchants in the 1670s met Jan Smith at Fuzhou, Zheng Jing's troops had been driven out from there by the Manchu troops. Either willingly or under coercion, Jan Smith surrendered to the Manchus and thus changed his hairdo to Manchu style to show his obedience. In Manchu fashion, he shaved his forehead and tied the remaining hair back in a queue. According to him, the Dutch prisoners always stayed together and were taken good care of by the Zhengs.³⁷ Hugo Rozijn's marriage may have occurred during this period. Although there are no records to trace his wife's origin, she may have been a left-behind Dutch prisoner or a female slave. His wife gave birth to two children.³⁸

As translator, Hugo Rozijn was exposed to a wide range of cultural encounters. Taking care of the needs of the weakened and aged Dutch prisoners, he may also have had access to Chinese medical treatments. In a letter sent by a Dutch prisoner, Harmanus Verbiest, who was a land surveyor, it is mentioned that his wife, a woman from Bengal named Antonica, once happened to be very ill. Due to a lack of western medicine, she got treatment from several Chinese doctors.³⁹ Since Hugo Rozijn served as translator at the time, he must also have become the intermediary in this medical practice.

37 VOC 1328, 288^v.

38 VOC 1440, 2301^r.

39 *Dagh-Register 1681*, 182.

Serving as Ship Surgeon

After the rebellion of the three feudatories began, Zheng Jing made an alliance with the lord of Fujian, Geng Jingzhong 耿精忠 (d. 1682), and thus re-occupied Amoy as his frontier harbour.⁴⁰ Zheng Jing was not able to keep this port in 1680 after the rebellions of coastal provinces of China were put down by the Manchus. The Manchus began to build up a navy and sent a long expedition to attack Taiwan in 1683. After the Zheng forces lost the Pescadores (Penghu 澎湖), they decided to surrender Taiwan on honourable terms. Although it was later decided to transfer most of the Zheng officials to China, the fate of the Dutch prisoners in Taiwan remained uncertain. At this juncture, admiral Shi Lang 施琅 (1621–1696) contacted one of the Dutch prisoners, Alexander van 's-Gravenbroek, in private to seek more possibilities of developing future business with the Dutch. During his years of detention, van 's-Gravenbroek had learned the Minnan (Southern Fujian) dialect well, and he soon gained admiral Shi Lang's trust.⁴¹ The last remaining Dutch prisoners were eventually able to leave Taiwan freely via the Chinese coast in the end of 1683. Because the Siamese king's junk the Syamea happened to anchor at Amoy, admiral Shi Lang signed the passes for the Dutch prisoners and let the Siamese junk carry them away on 30 December 1663.⁴² Including van 's-Gravenbroek, seven adults and ten children had survived. Because the Siamese junk was fully loaded, two widows (Susanna van Bercheim and Geertruy Totanus) with three children stayed behind until the next sea-going transport.⁴³ The BEIC used to have a factory at Amoy during the days of the Zheng regime's occupation in the 1670s. Shi Lang thus allowed the English merchants to be accommodated there. Since we know from later records that Hugo Rozijn was working there under the BEIC, he must have also helped the two widows and children settle down in Amoy. All three children of those two widows were born in Taiwan.⁴⁴

40 Wills 1974, 154-157.

41 *Generale Missiven* 4, 722; about the interactions between Shi Lang and 's-Gravenbroek, cf. Zheng 2016, 295.

42 Chang *et al.* 1995, 561.

43 Warnsinck 1930, 179; Farrington and Pombejra 2007, 881-888.; *Generale Missiven* 4, 722. According to this report sent by the Dutch authorities in Batavia to Amsterdam, there were another two people on board: Joan Brummer and Maria van Lamey.

44 Warnsinck 1930, 179. The three children were identified as borne in "Saccam" (Secamse ingebornen). Saccam indicated the town nearby the Fort Provintia. After the Dutch left Tai-

Among these five liberated people arriving in Siam, three clearly show the extent of mixed relationships at the time. The son of the local administrator Jacob Valentijn, Salomon Valentijn, had gotten married with a Formosan aborigine woman. A widow of the late sergeant David Kortenbergh (or Cotenburch, who in 1661 served in Fort Provintia as a deputy regional administrator), Maria van Lamey, was a Dutch-educated Formosan aborigine woman. The widow of the land surveyor Harmanus Verbiest, Antonica van Bengal, was as the name indicates from India.⁴⁵

When the five survivors arrived in Siam in February 1684, the last VOC vessel large enough to carry them had already departed to Batavia. They thus decided to take a good rest in Ayutthaya, and waited until the end of the year to continue their journey.⁴⁶ They eventually arrived in Batavia in February of 1685.⁴⁷ Alexander van 's-Gravenbroek was summoned to meet the governor general Johan Camphuys (1634–1695) in May on recommendation of the VOC merchant Joannes Leeuwenzoon (or Johan Lievezon, arr. ca. 1674, depd. 1687).⁴⁸

Meanwhile during van 's-Gravenbroek's stay in Siam, the Manchu Emperor had decided to allow all the coastal areas to be reopened to foreign trade. Shi Lang's special position as the conqueror of Taiwan was soon replaced by other imperial officials, and thus he could no longer intervene in imperial policy on foreign trade.⁴⁹

wan, it soon developed into a prosperous Chinese town where upper-rank Chinese officials in the Zheng administration dwelt. This message may imply that they were offspring of Chinese lords, because some Dutch females (either from Europe or other places) used to be distributed to Chinese families as concubines. However, it could merely be a way to comment on them, in order to differentiate them from those who were born in Fort Zeelandia during the war.

45 *Generale Missiven* 4, 722. Lamey (Xiao Liuqiu 小琉球) is an island near southwestern Taiwan. In the 1620s, a ship named Gouden Leeuw was stranded there, and the entire crew was killed by the inhabitants. The VOC took revenge in 1630s and massacred most of the inhabitants, while about 40 girls were raised with Dutch education and married to the VOC servants. Maria van Lamey must have been one of them. She got married with sergeant David Kortenbergh on 21 December 1659, when she was already the widow of Adriaen Juriaen Lambertsen. Cf. Heyns and Zheng Weizhong 2005, 252. A general account about the Dutch attack on Lamey Island. Cf. Blussé 1995, 153-182.

46 VOC 1403, 307^v-308^r.

47 *Generale Missiven* 4, 781.

48 VOC 700, 214-216.

49 VOC 700, 214-216. Stapel 1927–1954, vol. 2.1, 760.

This situation was described by the Dutch merchant Joannes Leeuwenzoon. Governor general Johan Camphuys considered the excellent personal connections between admiral Shi Lang and van 's-Gravenbroek, and thought this might help to obtain a better position for Dutch trade in China. He promoted van 's-Gravenbroek from assistant to junior merchant, and assigned him on a new mission.⁵⁰ Van 's-Gravenbroek thus joined a new tributary embassy led by ambassador Vincent Paets (or Paats, 1658–1702), and departed to Fuzhou in the summer of 1685.⁵¹

After the embassy arrived in Fuzhou, van 's-Gravenbroek did not have a chance to visit Shi Lang until November.⁵² On 15 October, van 's-Gravenbroek forwarded a letter written by Hugo Rozijn to ambassador Vincent Paets. Rozijn requested the Batavian authorities pardon him and allow him to return to Batavia with his family, even though they were not part of the left-behind Dutch prisoners. He mentioned that he was about to board a Chinese junk bound for Batavia.⁵³ He must have remained in Amoy, because later when van 's-Gravenbroek visited admiral Shi Lang in Amoy, he and his assistant kept their gifts in Hugo Rozijn's house there.⁵⁴

The letter arrived in Batavia during the spring of 1686. Because van 's-Gravenbroek emphasized that it would be unwise to let Rozijn serve the English merchants, as he could speak the local dialect fluently, the Batavian authorities decided to grant him a mercy letter and even hired him again.⁵⁵ The mercy letter was signed by the governor general Johan Camphuys on 29 June 1686, and attached to the letter of 11 July 1686 to Fuzhou.⁵⁶

In the summer, two ships, the *St. Maartensdijck* and *Draeckstein*, were dispatched to Macau and Amoy separately.⁵⁷ The latter may have delivered the letter to Fuzhou, where Hugo Rozijn had brought his family to the embassy's residence and hoped to sail together with the Dutch ships. Somehow Rozijn met a Jesuit father there. The father knew Rozijn was going to return to the Dutch Protestants, and was apparently angry about this plan, and must have shouted

50 VOC 700, 214-216.

51 Zheng 2016, 303-304.

52 VOC 1438, 738^v-739^r.

53 VOC 1415, 965^r.

54 VOC 1438, 739^r; *Generale Missiven* 5, 46.

55 VOC 701, 306.

56 VOC 913, 443; VOC 913, 432.

57 Stapel 1927-1954, vol. 2.1, 767.

and cursed at Rozijn in very unpleasant words.⁵⁸ Under such emotional bombardment, Rozijn brought the mercy-letter back to the VOC residency. Together with his family he returned to Amoy. Once he returned to Amoy and escaped from the control of the Jesuit father, he became extremely frustrated and turned to the Dutch merchants at Amoy again to file his complaints and regrets. Knowing the governor general had signed this mercy-letter, the Dutch junior merchant Pieter Goodschalk (or Godschalk, arr. ca. 1687, dept. 1698)⁵⁹ at Amoy immediately signed another letter to verify the validity of the mercy-letter, and began to arrange for the transportation of Rozijn, his wife and two sons. Additionally, the son's Chinese wife was also included.⁶⁰

On the final day of 1687, the ship *Drakenstein* departed from Amoy on its return journey to Batavia. The Rozijn family was on board. The junior merchant Goodschalk also recommended Rozijn to the Batavian authorities in an attached letter as a fine wound healer, and suggested therefore that he should be re-hired as a junior surgeon.⁶¹

The Rozijn family arrived in Batavia in January of 1688. On the thirteenth, the Batavian authorities examined him and thus confirmed that he had sufficient knowledge of Chinese medicine.⁶² Afterwards he was hired on a salary of twenty guilders per month. It was more than double the soldier's salary (nine guilders) that he had received when he arrived in Taiwan in his twenties.

One of his sons was still remaining in Amoy because he wanted to stay with his Chinese wife.⁶³ The Chinese subjects were free to sail abroad at the time, so his son must have bowed to his wife's wishes. The evidence shows that Rozijn returned to the Chinese coast the following summer. He served on a VOC ship as a junior surgeon, and when the circumstances required, he offered his special language skills. During February of 1689, he was on the *St. Martensdijk*, anchored near Macau. The merchant Goodschalk dispatched him to solicit a German sergeant, Frans Flettinger (who served the VOC during 1678–1680 and 1685–1687 in China), who had been captured by the Portuguese at Macau

58 There is no record that can prove who this Jesuit father was. Charles Maigrot or Bernardino della Chiesa are reasonable guesses. Another candidate is Juan de Yrigoyen S. J., who visited the Dutch embassy in Fuzhou in 1685. Cf. Wills 1985, 273.

59 "dept." means "departed from Asia and returned to Europe".

60 VOC 1440, 2301^r.

61 VOC 1440, fol. 2299^{rv}.

62 VOC 1432, 83^{rv}.

63 VOC 1432, 83^{rv}.

around 1688, and later Flettinger sent notes in secret, begging the Batavian authorities to rescue him from the Portuguese authorities.⁶⁴ Although Rozijn had done a great job as a Portuguese translator, the meeting ended up in conflict. The St. Martensdijk was even shot at by Macau cannons and was thus driven away. The Batavian authorities felt the tax was getting heavier under the new Chinese foreign trading system, and because the pepper market was blooming in Europe, they decided to terminate any further direct trade with China.⁶⁵

In the meantime the Chinese officials encouraged the VOC to import copper from Japan to China, thus the Batavian authorities assigned a smaller yacht, the *Wijk op Zee*, to test this business.⁶⁶ Since Hugo Rozijn preferred to serve in Chinese waters, he may have been transferred to the yacht, too. The other possibility was to serve on the ship the *Eemland*, which was under the command of Alexander van 's-Gravenbroek and departed from Batavia on 4 July 1689 to Amoy.⁶⁷ The voyage of the *Wijk op Zee* to Japan proved that the revenue in copper export business could not support the re-investment in the Japanese market exclusively, and therefore the ship sailed back to Batavia via Malacca in January 1690.⁶⁸ In the summer of 1690, it was sent to Bengal and returned to Batavia in December.⁶⁹ Before it departed again to Japan in the summer of 1691, its crew were counted. Hugo Rozijn was registered as a junior surgeon with a salary of 24 guilders per month.⁷⁰ In June 1692, the *Wijk op Zee* was dispatched to Bengal.⁷¹ Maybe because the *Wijk op Zee* was not dispatched to Japan in the following summer, Rozijn was moved to a flute ship, the *Walenburg*, and sent to Japan in 1693.⁷² In the summer of 1695, the *Walenburg* was dispatched to Bengal, while Rozijn was still serving on board.⁷³ After this voyage, all traces of Rozijn were lost.

64 VOC 1462, 43^r-44^r. About the career of Frans Flettinger and his role in the Dutch embassy to Beijing. Lots of details have been revealed by John Elliot Wills (1985, 275-277, 279-282).

65 *Generale Missiven* 5, 317.

66 *Generale Missiven* 5, 318.

67 *Generale Missiven* 5, 318.

68 *Generale Missiven* 5, 319, 361.

69 *Generale Missiven* 5, 414.

70 VOC 11706, 119^r-120^r; *Generale Missiven* 5, 464.

71 *Generale Missiven* 5, 540.

72 VOC 11709, 29^r; *Generale Missiven* 5, 628.

73 VOC 11711, 104^r-105^r; *Generale Missiven* 5, 758.

A Taiwanese Folk Tale

In 1951, a Taiwanese lyric writer, Chen Daru 陳達儒 (1917–1992), was commissioned to write the lyrics for a newly created melody. When he looked for inspiration in his wife's hometown in Tainan city, which the VOC used to control 289 years ago, a folk tale was told to him. The writer wrote the lyrics based on that story.⁷⁴ When the record was released, the song was overwhelmingly embraced by the Taiwanese audience in the 1960s because it merged exoticism with local nostalgia. The song told how a Dutch ship surgeon left behind a bastard child, a mixed blonde girl, who then fell in love with another sailor. It expressed her bitterness while contemplating her sorrowful fate.

Although the lyricist claimed that he was inspired by local folklore, similar stories could not be found in any known Chinese sources. Some people suspected that the story may have been a fabrication of the writer himself. As explained below, there's no other written evidence showing memories of the Dutch inhabitants which referred to any particular common person beyond the 1740s, although some vague general impressions were still alive then. A prefectural governor of Taiwan, Liu Liangbi 劉良璧 (who served at the Qing court during 1708–ca. 1747), inspected Fort Zeelandia in 1729, which were then in use as the barracks for 1000 Chinese soldiers. He climbed to the uppermost level of the fort, and found not only that the main structure of the upper castle was intact, but also the offices were still in good shape. He wondered why the military officers did not resume using the building as offices, but an officer replied that the place was said to be haunted by “ghosts wearing red robes”.⁷⁵ During the same period, on the main island of Taiwan, in the aborigines' villages on flat land, the Dutch figures on the front doors could still be identified.⁷⁶ These traces gradually faded away after the last generations bearing memories of Dutch people in Taiwan disappeared in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The famous pioneer of the history of the Dutch East Indies, François Valentijn (1666–1727), went to Java and Ambon in 1687 for the first time. Although he did not linger in Batavia for long, he still had the chance to meet those Dutch survivors from Taiwan, because they were liberated and returned to Batavia in exactly the same year. In his book, *Oud- en Nieuw Oost Indiën* (*Old and New East Indies*), written 30 years later, he devoted much space to the

74 Zheng Henglong and Guo Lijuan 2002, 118.

75 *Chongxiu Fujian Taiwan fuzhi*, 557.

76 *Chongxiu Fujian Taiwan fuzhi*, 437.

story of the VOC's business in Taiwan. Salomon Valentijn, the son of Jacob Valentijn (who surrendered Fort Provintia in Taiwan), belonged to the last survivors returning to Batavia in 1687. Salomon's son (a Dutch-Formosan mixed child) Jacob Valentijn, named after his grandfather, was hired by the VOC as a junior merchant and was one of the shipmates with François Valentijn on his second journey to the East Indies in 1705.⁷⁷ Jacob Valentijn later served as a chief merchant at Pulau Ai in 1711, and died there in 1715.⁷⁸

It is reasonable to infer that memories of the Dutch among the Taiwanese people gradually became vague and morphed after the 1740s, since no more Dutch people returned to Taiwan. If the folk tale collected by the lyric writer in 1951 was really a memory buried deeply in local oral tradition for three hundred years, the chance of it having turned into a legend in the middle of the eighteenth century is high. The legend may have been directly related to Hugo Rozijn's activities and indirectly to all other left-behind Dutch people, because they were still alive in the beginning of the eighteenth century. As a ship surgeon with a son married to a Chinese girl, Hugo Rozijn tallies with some features of the folk tale, although the most important figure, the bastard Eurasian daughter focused on by the lyrics, cannot not be found in Hugo Rozijn's documented story. She may have been unrecorded, or may have come from other left-behind people.

Just in the following year, 1689, when Hugo Rozijn took his family back to Batavia, so did another deserter, named Jan Roelofzoon Kloek, of Eurasian origin. After he begged for mercy, the VOC decided to pardon him and hire him as a gunner and translator, so he was allowed to bring his wife and children to Batavia from Amoy.⁷⁹ Due to lack of information, it is not possible to tell under what circumstances he began to live with the Chinese in Taiwan. He did bring his wife and three children to Batavia after receiving the mercy letter. For unknown reasons, his eleven-year-old daughter was kept in admiral Shi Lang's house after they left. In 1690, when Kloek returned to Amoy as a VOC gunner, he solicited the admiral Shi Lang to hand over his daughter. He got her after twenty-five guilders were paid.⁸⁰ Thereafter the girl was taken away to Batavia. In Kloek's case, the eleven-year-old daughter had to wait for her father in Amoy for at least half a year. The exotic scene of a Eurasian girl waiting for her father

77 Valentijn 1724–1726, vol. 3, pt. 1, 136.

78 Valentijn 1724–1726, vol. 3, pt. 1, 104.

79 VOC 1453, 293^a.

80 VOC 8361, 36–37.

at the harbour may have made a very dramatic impression. It may explain why the folk tale was focused on a Eurasian girl.

No matter whether the story was based on real stories or just coincidentally tallies with historical records, the popular song represents a strong desire of Taiwanese people to remember the historical scenes of Taiwan under the Dutch. Conventional historical research cannot verify whether it was true or not, unless new evidence is discovered. But whatever the case may be, the two stories of 1687 and 1951 may have more than random connections in common.

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