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西班牙台灣的宗教與合法性
Religion and Legitimacy in Spanish Formosa

Student: 馬佐迪 Jordi Mallol Sala
Advisor: 藍適齊 Mike Shi-Chi Lan

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研究生：Student: 馬佐迪 Jordi Mallol Sala
指導教授：Advisor: 藍適齊 Mike Shi-Chi Lan

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Abstract

This thesis explores the role of religion in legitimizing conquest during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' Spanish Empire through the colonization of Taiwan as a case study. The emergence of the modern states, the changes in understanding the world, religion, and the role of men experienced during the Modern Era affected how the ideas of morality and legitimacy were understood. The analysis is made through the understanding of the Church and State relations, the central role of religion in the power structures, the use of religious conversion to transform the native spaces, and the concept of 'frontier institution,' in which the Spanish missions served as a fundamental piece in the frontier opening system. This thesis defends that, first, religion was a central element of the Empire and that, although the shortness of the Formosan colony, the main features of Spanish imperialism were present in each stage of the conquest. Second, the success of the religious justifications was high among the state structures and more limited among the native societies. And third, even though most of the colonizer's actions responded to the moral justifications, some events might suggest conflicting interests in the colonization process.

Key words:

legitimacy, religion, colonialism, colonization, imperialism, Spanish Empire, Spanish Formosa,
Sixteenth Century, Seventeenth Century

摘要

本論文旨在探討西班牙帝國於十六、十七世紀間，宗教在征服合法化中的作用，並透過台灣殖民化為案例研究。現代國家的出現、對理解世界和宗教的改變，及人類在現代時期中所扮演的角色，都影響了人們對道德與合法性觀念上的理解。此分析基於對教會與國家關係之間的理解、宗教在權力結構中的核心作用、利用宗教皈依來改造本土空間以及西班牙傳教士以“邊境機構”的服務作為邊境開放系統的基礎概念下進行。首先，本論文認為，宗教是帝國的首要核心元素，儘管在台灣殖民時期短暫，但仍然體現西班牙帝國主義在每個佔領階段的功能。其次，宗教辯護在國家結構中的成功率很高，而在本土社會中則較為有限。第三，儘管殖民者大多數的行為都符合道義，但有些事件可能都意味著殖民過程中存在的利益衝突。

關鍵詞

合法性、宗教、殖民主義、殖民化、帝國主義、西班牙帝國、西班牙福爾沙、十六世紀、十七世紀

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Research proposal.....	2
1.1.1. Research motivation.....	3
1.1.2. Research method.....	4
1.1.3. Thesis structure.....	5
1.2. Clarification on the use of terms.....	6
1.3. Spanish Formosa.....	8
1.4. Theoretical Framework.....	11
1.4.1. The concepts of colony and empire.....	11
1.4.2. Legitimacy.....	14
1.4.3. Legitimacy and colonialism.....	17
1.4.4. Religion and legitimacy.....	19
1.4.5. Analyzing legitimacy.....	21
1.4.6. Conclusion.....	22
2. The Spanish Empire.....	24
2.1. The international environment.....	24
2.1.1. Colonial empires.....	27
2.2. The configuration of the Empire.....	30
2.2.1. A paternalistic structure.....	33
2.3. Religion in the Spanish colonial system.....	36
2.3.1. The missions as ‘frontier institutions’.....	39
2.4. The morality and legality of the conquest.....	43
2.4.1. Francisco de Vitoria.....	47
3. Religion and legitimacy in Spanish Formosa: the political level.....	51
3.1. The power structure.....	51
3.2. Reasons and justifications of the conquest.....	55
3.2.1. The reasons for the conquest.....	55
3.2.2. The Justification.....	62
3.2.3. The idea of the ‘other’.....	67
3.3. Rituals and ceremonies.....	75
4. Religion and Legitimacy in Spanish Formosa: the societal level.....	80
4.1. The Indigenous views on the Spanish.....	80
4.2. Frontier institutions.....	87

4.2.1. Conversion.....	88
4.2.2. Economic and political functions of the missions.....	91
4.2.3. Civilization, hospitals, and schools.....	94
4.3. Time and place differences.....	98
4.4. Comparison with the Dutch colony.....	99
5. Conclusion.....	101
5.1. The state level.....	101
5.2. The societal level.....	104
5.3. Controversies between justifications and facts.....	106
5.4. Final discussion and comments.....	108
6. References.....	111



1. Introduction

The arrival of the European powers in the Asia-Pacific region in search of new trade routes marked the beginning of a fascinating period of human history. The encounter between these two completely distinct worlds resulted in multiple interactions that concluded with the establishment of the first European colonies in Asia.

After decades of conflicts and the defeat in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), the Spanish Empire lost its dominant position in the international system in favor of other emerging powers such as the French, British, or Dutch empires. In this context, the presence in Formosa (1626-1642) was one of the last attempts that the Crown took to increase its colonial hegemony. José Eugenio Borao, the most prominent scholar on this topic, describes this episode as a “metaphor of the decline of the Spanish Empire, which became a secondary power after the treaties of Westphalia in 1648¹.” The competition between European powers in the Modern period marked the beginning of Taiwanese history, as these foreign rulers began developing the island to exploit it for strategic and economic purposes.

Some of the most important historical events in this period, including the Reformation, the Counter-Reformation, and the wars against the Ottoman Empire were framed within the ideas of religious struggle, a clear example of how religion became intertwined with politics in Modernity. As a result, it is not accidental that religion had a central role within the multitude of institutions and actors configuring the Spanish Empire, becoming instrumentalized in the imperial system for its crucial function as the primary moral justification for the subjugation and

1 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2007. “An Overview of the Spaniards in Taiwan.” Pp 1

domination over newly conquered lands. Hence, the specific episode of Taiwan's conquest has to be understood within the framework of the relationship between religion and politics.

1.1. Research proposal

The Church and the widespread use of religion were arguably the most distinctive elements of the Spanish Empire, with their power and influence becoming essential in the development of the colonial projects. The expansion in Formosa was in part possible thanks to the efforts made by the religious orders, who showed much more interest in establishing a sustainable colony than the state. They actively pushed the Crown to launch the expedition, played a crucial role in the colony's development, served to legitimize the Spanish colonial presence, and pressed for maintaining it at its final stages. Considering these initial remarks, this study will try to answer the following questions:

- How was religion used as a tool to legitimize the conquest at the state level?
- How were religious institutions used to legitimize the presence of the Spanish among the native populations?
- Did the state and its actors act accordingly with the religious justifications?

By attempting to answer these questions, the main contribution of this thesis will be the analysis of the transformations in the understanding of legitimacy and religion in international relations throughout the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries using the Spanish colonization of Taiwan as a case study, together with, understanding how the concepts of colonization and legitimacy of conquest were framed and made power relations legitimized and morally accepted.

1.1.1. Research motivation

Even though the episode of the colonization of Taiwan in the Seventeenth Century remains ignored in Spanish historiography, the development of these European overseas colonies is, however, crucial for understanding Taiwanese history. Taiwan also represents a significant yet mostly overlooked chapter of European colonial history, and a better understanding of it can also contribute to decentralize the Eurocentric trend in Western scholarship.

My interest in this topic also comes from my background in the history of art and Asian studies. In these, the importance of cultural aspects throughout history has been one of my interests, studying how artistic representations, religion, or language have been instrumentalized by ruling powers for political purposes to create bonds between people or as legitimizing tools. These reflect the importance culture has on politics and international relations with religion, in particular, being one of the most efficacious elements of culture used throughout history as a source of legitimacy and to control the population. Specifically, it became one of the core elements used by the Spanish Empire to sustain the colonial system.

With this research, I also look forward to getting a better understanding of Taiwanese history in its early stages of development, how the presence of the European powers started to change the societies inhabiting the island at that time, and establishing a linkage between European and Asian history.

1.1.2. Research method

This project will use secondary sources and a selection of primary sources. The secondary sources will provide the historical background and a framework to contribute to a better understanding of the concepts of legitimacy and the function of religion in the Spanish Empire in a more broad sense to interpret the primary sources. Additionally, these will help analyze how conquest and domination were made legitimate in the Spanish case and explaining the role of religion and its relation with the state.

The analysis of the primary sources will be done through the ideas presented in the theoretical framework and compared to the concepts described in the first chapters. The purpose will be to understand how the colonization of Taiwan was made legitimate and how religion was used in this process. Knowledge of Spanish Formosa relies on primary sources that describe the events before, during, and after the conquest, with many of these being letters written by members of religious institutions, combined with official letters and memoirs of their presence in East Asia. These sources have been translated into English and compiled by José Eugenio Borao in the 2001 publication of the two volumes titled *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*². In these volumes, which are the most important material to study the Spanish presence in Taiwan, more than fifty sources describe the religious activities before and after the conquest, providing a deep understanding for answering the proposed research questions. For this reason, these selected primary sources will be the core of the documents used for this research.

2 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*.

1.1.3. Thesis structure

The introduction will also provide a theoretical framework to analyze the primary sources through the topics of legitimacy, empire, and colonialism, together with their relationship with religion and the legitimation of conquest. And lastly, a review of the existing literature on the Spanish colonization of Taiwan.

The second chapter will first explore the common trends in the international system throughout the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, especially considering the role of religion and the emergence of the Modern states. Secondly, it will explain the configuration of the Spanish Empire and the importance of the Church in the process of colonization, considering the legal structure of the Empire to understand the power structures and the relationship between state and the religious institutions. And lastly, explore the creation of moral and legal systems for the colonization processes, resulting from the intellectual debates on the morality of the conquest during the Sixteenth Century to comprehend how the ideas of colonial domination were justified and the transformation in the understanding of the power structures and legitimacy throughout the Sixteenth Century.

The last part will consist of the analysis of the primary sources. First, the third chapter will explore the use of religion to justify the conquest at the political level in Formosa, mainly analyzing the documents written by Fr. Bartolomé Martínez in 1619 and Fr. Domingo González in 1626 to understand the rationale behind the conquest. Other sources used in this section will combine letters and diaries to interpret the views on the natives and explain the resulting power structures.

And lastly, the Fourth chapter will analyze the legitimacy at the societal level in Formosa, how the use of religion justified the presence of the colonizers among the natives, with the role of the missionaries being especially crucial. The sources utilized will be mainly missionary accounts and documents written by religious and secular officials describing the activities performed by the priests to understand their relation to the legitimation of the conquest and their effect on the colonization of Formosa as a whole.

1.2. Clarification on the use of terms

The following terms are extensively used throughout this project, and even though some of them will be further explained in the second chapter, some initial clarification will be needed to avoid misunderstandings:

1) Spanish Empire: All the kingdoms, regions, territories, and colonies under the authority of the King of Spain, the Emperor. These essentially included the Iberian peninsula, several European dominions, and the overseas possessions in Asia and the Americas. The Portuguese and Dutch territories were also under the Spanish Empire until the 1640s.

2) Crown, monarchy: The governing institution at the top of the hierarchy of the political system with absolute powers, legitimized by the idea of divine rule under the Roman Catholic moral authority of the Pope. The events of the conquest of Formosa occur during the reign of Philip IV of Spain.

3) Religious Orders: Religious institutions independent from the state, under Papal jurisdiction. Their goals developed mainly to monastic and missionary purposes, materialized in

the conversion of the natives in the Modern era. Generally speaking, their relationship with the state was cooperative and became crucial actors in the imperial system. During the Spanish presence in Formosa, the Dominican Order had a central role, but other orders such as the Jesuits were also present.

4) Missionaries: Priests whose primary goal was engaging with the locals for their conversion. They often traveled alone and lived with the natives to gain their esteem and convert them through preaching, example, or other means depending on the religious order.

5) Formosan societies: Mostly referring to the Austronesians that inhabited the island before the arrival of the European colonizers. They were tribal societies that were not homogeneous, with different languages, traditions, and with rivalries between some of them. There was also a limited presence of Chinese and Japanese, making some of the priests consider attracting more to work or to educate them as priests or to use them as settlers.

6) The Dutch: Referring to the members of the VOC, the Dutch East Indies Company, a trading company that enjoyed a high degree of autonomy and functioned almost like a state within the state. Even though the Dutch provinces were part of the Spanish Empire, the independence war in the Netherlands made their government and the VOC direct competitors of the Spanish. They were established in the Southern part of the island in 1624 for their geostrategic location, becoming substantially harmful to the colony in the Philippines.

6) Who seeks legitimacy from who? The actors seeking legitimacy were those interested in promoting the conquest and looking for state promotion, the authorities in Manila and the religious orders, who tried to make it legitimate among the state structures, or the local society to

which they were trying to assert their authority. Therefore, the targets of legitimacy will be the multiple state actors and the Formosan natives.

1.3. Spanish Formosa

Most of the literature related to the Spanish Empire does not mention the conquest of Formosa. Scholars tend to focus on broad topics, such as the development of the American colonies. When it comes to the Spanish presence in Asia, most of the scholarship studies the development of the Philippines, trade, and relations with other colonial powers. Therefore it is not an easy task to find extensive information about this particular event in the history of Spain and Taiwan.

Borao's book *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan: 1626-1642: The Baroque Ending of a Renaissance Endeavor*³ is the most extensive and clear overview of the Spanish presence in Taiwan. In this book, he dedicates an entire chapter to describe the missionary presence in Formosa, their reasons, and their activity during this period. This work is the most in-depth research to date, and the best source for the study of this colonial project.

Borao's argument for the Spanish conquest of Formosa is the consequence of two main reasons. First, a strategic goal. The political situation in the neighboring countries, specifically Japan, made the Crown consider establishing an outpost in Formosa for the first time in 1596. After the wreckage of a ship full of silver near the coast of Japan, Hideyoshi, the new ruler of the newly unified country, saw the chance of making a profit by taking over the Spanish colony in the Philippines. Considering the perspective of a Japanese attack, the Spanish contemplated establishing an outpost in Formosa as a defense line, but the death of Hideyoshi put an end to

3 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2009. *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan: 1626-1642: The Baroque Ending of a Renaissance Endeavor*.

this chapter. The relation between Spain and China, Japan, Siam, and other neighboring states became complicated because of their domestic disputes, with China banning overseas trade from 1543 to 1683, and to make it more difficult, the Portuguese presence in Macao, represented an obstacle for the Spanish to access China. Additionally, the growing threat of the Dutch in the region and their constant blockades in Manila made the situation even more complicated for the Spanish. The governor of the Philippines eventually decided to establish an outpost in Formosa to expel the Dutch from the southern part of the island and secure economic exchanges from Macao to Manila⁴ with the opposition of only few individuals like Governor Tavora and Juan Cevicos⁵.

The second reason why the Spanish Empire settled a colony in northern Formosa was to serve as a middle point in the spiritual expansion in China and Japan. The religious orders, acting more or less independently from the states, looked for new areas to expand their influence and gain new converts⁶. However, the establishment of the new outpost in Formosa was never the ultimate goal of the State, as securing trade and gaining access to China and its markets were the actual purpose of the Empire, which made the first governors of Formosa sent diplomatic expeditions to China looking to enhance diplomatic relations and opening of the Chinese markets⁷.

Borao has also published some other works regarding religion and missionary work in Taiwan. “The Formosa Catholic Mission, 1626-1895⁸,” “Some notes about the Misericordia of

4 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2009. “An overview of the Spaniards in Taiwan (1626-1642).” Pp. 1-3

5 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2009. *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan: 1626-1642: The Baroque Ending of a Renaissance Endeavor*. Pp. 51-52

6 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2000. “The Catholic Dominican Missionaries in Taiwan (1624-1642).” Pp. 108-110

7 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2009. “An overview of the Spaniards in Taiwan (1626-1642).” Pp. 5

8 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2017. “The Formosa Catholic mission, 1626-1895.” Pp. 15-38

Isla Hermosa⁹,” “The ‘Justification’ of the Spanish Intrusion in Taiwan¹⁰,” “The Catholic Dominican Missionaries in Taiwan, 1626-1642¹¹.” “The aborigines of Northern Taiwan according to the 17th Spanish Sources¹²,” “The Spanish Presence in Taiwan (1626-1642)¹³,” and he has also published in Spanish regarding this topic in “La llegada de Españoles a Isla Hermosa en el contexto del mito orientalista¹⁴,” and his work results from decades of investigation examining the Spanish presence in Taiwan. Borao’s work is based in part on the study of primary sources and also based on the Aduarte’s *Formosa Geográfica e Históricamente Considerada*¹⁵, published in 1930 by José María Álvarez, a classic work for the study of Spanish Formosa, and all secondary sources build upon Aduarte’s books.

Some other academic projects related to the Spanish presence in Taiwan are, for instance, J. Christopher Soper and Joel S. Fetzer in their project *A History of Church and State in Taiwan and Hong Kong*¹⁶, which includes a chapter with the title “Church and State in Spanish Formosa” relevant to the topic of this research, focusing on the relationship between the state and missionaries. Other publications that mention this topic are: *How Taiwan Became Chinese*, by Tonio Andrade¹⁷, a remarkable work in which the author gives a general idea of the early stages of Taiwanese history. He dedicates two entire chapters explaining the Spanish presence on the island using primary sources published by Borao and Aduarte in his research. It is notable how he portrays the work of the missionaries describing their activity and impact on the Formosan societies in comparison with the Dutch colony.

9 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2005. “Some notes about the Misericordia of Isla Hermosa.” Pp. 101-111

10 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2004. “The ‘Justification’ of the Spanish Intrusion in Taiwan.” Pp. 338-372

11 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 1998. “The Catholic Dominican Missionaries in Taiwan, 1626-1642.” Pp. 33-76

12 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 1993. “The aborigines of Northern Taiwan according to the 17th Spanish Sources.”

13 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 1992. “The Spanish Presence in Taiwan (1626-1642).” Pp. 315-330

14 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 1992. “La llegada de Españoles a Isla Hermosa en el contexto del mito orientalista.”

15 Álvarez, José María. 1930. *Formosa geográfica e históricamente considerada*.

16 Fetzer, Joel S.; Soper, Christopher. 2014. “Church and State in Spanish Formosa.”

17 Andrade, Tonio. 2008. *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*.

1.4. Theoretical Framework

1.4.1. The concepts of colony and empire

The concepts of empire and colony are broad and complicated to define, as they are used to describe many different experiences throughout human history. Dwyer and Nettelbeck¹⁸ identify the shared features of empires as: “multi-ethnic, asymmetrical and repressive power structures, governed by authoritarian powers that could be linked together by common (racial) ideologies,” and their dominant position is “maintained through the constant threat or exercise of violence.” They argue that the concepts of empire and colony are “necessarily intertwined,” as empires are expansionist by definition. For Dwyer and Nettelbeck, colonialism is the “relationship in which foreign rulers impose their authority, law, and culture on peoples over whom they exert political, social, and military control.” Young¹⁹ defines imperialism as the process of empire-building and the “process of constructing a relationship of domination.” She also adds that imperialism makes the distinction between two societies, the dominant and the dominated, with a “one-sided pattern of intervention that emerges” and establishes a distinction between imperialism and interdependence, resulting in the dominated society being unable to “reject those interventions.” For Osterhammel, imperialism is, rather than a colonial policy, a world policy, in which colonies are not goals but instruments in the global power competition²⁰.

An essential contribution to understanding the concepts of colony and colonization is Jürgen Osterhammel’s work, in which he attempts to explain and differentiate between the notions of colonization, colonialism, and colony. The first one is described as the conquest and

18 Dwyer, Philip; Nettelbeck, Amanda. 2018. *Violence, Colonialism and Empire in the Modern World*. Pp. 1

19 Young, Louise. 1998. *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. Pp. 11-12

20 Osterhammel, Jürgen; Jansen, Jan C. 2012. *Colonialismo: Historia, formas, efectos*. Pp. 31

appropriation of land; a colony is a specific political and social configuration of people; colonialism is the power relation. He argues that the inherent shared element in these three concepts is a society expanding beyond its traditional borders²¹. Lastly, Osterhammel²² argues that because colonization is a process of settlement, not every colonization results in the creation of a colony, and not all colonies are a consequence of colonization. Moreover, colonies tend to be integrated into colonial empires and dominated by a hierarchical relationship with the metropolis in an asymmetrical relation.

Another issue that scholarship has been interested in understanding is the difference between colonial experiences and the distinction between types of colonies based on multiple factors. A frequent classification establishes two categories, settler and exploitative, such as in the Dwyer and Nettelbeck's theorization on the concept²³. While exploitative cases focus on the economic aspect and resource extraction for the benefit of the metropolis, the settler form is based on gaining control of the territory by taking possession of the lands through settlement. For the scope of this paper, it has to be considered that this definition is limited and not enough to analyze colonial experiences beyond their main area of study, which is colonialism in contemporary history. Instead, the interpretations that Abernethy²⁴ and Osterhammel²⁵ propose are more valuable to analyze colonial history in the period that concerns the present study. Abernethy's idea of colonialism divides it into five different categories instead of the two already explained, identifying colonial systems according to their number of foreign settlers compared to the native population. He distinguishes between 1) settlement colonies, 2) mixed colonies, 3) plantation colonies, 4) colonies of occupation, and 5) trading settlements or naval

21 *Ibid.*, Pp. 8

22 *Ibid.*, Pp. 17-18

23 Dwyer, Philip; Nettelbeck, Amanda. 2018. *Violence, Colonialism and Empire in the Modern World*. Pp. 4

24 Abernethy, David B. 2000. *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415– 1980*. Pp. 55-56

25 Osterhammel, Jürgen; Jansen, Jan C. 2012. *Colonialismo: Historia, formas, efectos*. Pp. 18-20

bases. Osterhammel gives a very different categorization of colonization by highlighting three different types: 1) colonies of domination, in which after a military occupation the purpose is economic exploitation 2) colonies based on the connection from a point of support, with indirect commercial use of the territory or contribution to the logistics of the development of maritime power, and 3) settlement colonies, with the purpose of land use and cheap labor²⁶.

In contrast to the Spanish Americas, which rapidly became settler colonies, the early European colonial activities in Asia would become closer to Abernethy's notion of trading settlements or Osterhammel's theory of a connection from a point of support. These colonies did not focus on inland military expansion or settlement, and their purpose was to secure trade and commercial activities²⁷. In these cases, only a few Europeans resided in these territories mainly to ensure commercial relations²⁸.

Considering the number of categorizations, and definitions of empire, colony, colonialism, and colonization, it can be argued that each colonial experience has its particularities and responds to many historical, social, economic, and cultural factors, which makes theorization and the establishment of universal categories an endless debate. However, all the studies highlight the establishment of power structures between the center and the periphery, creating unequal hierarchical systems based on the subordination of one territory for the center's benefit.

26 *Ibid.*, Pp. 18-20

27 *Ibid.*, Pp. 18-20

28 Abernethy, David B. 2000. *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415– 1980*. Pp. 55

1.4.2. Legitimacy

Because the focus of this study is the analysis of legitimacy in colonialism, it is essential to explore the concepts of legitimacy and their importance to the ideas presented in the previous section. Regarding these issues, numerous publications focus on the topics of legitimacy, as it has been one of the central topics of study for political science and international relations theory.

To put it in Arora's words, the "Acquisition and maintenance of legitimacy is a major function of all political regimes. Legitimacy provides the psychological security and moral sanctions for ruling elites." He further explains that legitimacy is necessary for stability as it "provides the framework within which desired policy orientations can be translated into actuality. It facilitates or at least gives the illusion of permanence²⁹." In this sense, legitimacy is the desired tool that provides a framework to the rulers to make their actions and goals seen as morally and or legally appropriate.

Most scholarship frequently defines legitimacy by separating it into two different approaches, 'normative' and 'descriptive.' Meyer³⁰, O'Neil³¹, and Peter³² emphasize this distinction explaining that the 'normative approach' refers to the legal aspect of legitimacy. The 'descriptive' approach, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of the 'belief' system in the configuration of a legitimate order and is based on the theories of Max Weber.

Some authors like Christopher Thomas³³ go beyond the traditional separation, adding a third level that results in a division into three categories that he labels as 'legal legitimacy'

29 Arora, Satish K. 1970. "On Acquisition of Political Legitimacy." Pp. 129

30 Meyer, Lukas H. 2009. *Legitimacy, Justice, and Public International Law*. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 2

31 O'Neil, Patrick H. 2010. *Essentials of comparative politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Pp. 35-38

32 Peter, Fabienne. 2017. "Political Legitimacy." Pp. 2

33 Thomas, Christopher A. 2014. "The Uses and Abuses of Legitimacy in International Law." Pp. 734

(normative), 'moral legitimacy,' and 'social legitimacy' (descriptive). He defines the first one as the "property of an action, rule, actor or system which signifies a legal obligation to submit to or support that action, rule, actor or system³⁴." This concept is related to the degree an action is seen as legal and, therefore, valid. An example of legality in legitimizing power would be, for instance, the family relationship in absolutist monarchic regimes, as an individual becomes the ruler as the heir of the previous king or emperor, which is understood as valid in that specific legal frame³⁵.

The second type refers to it as the process of making the power structure and submission to the ruler morally justified. Finally, the third type defines legitimacy as a "social fact, not a normative goal," based on the 'belief' in the moral system or laws. In this sense, legitimacy is subjective and a social factor rather than a normative one, and the belief and acceptance of the power structure are what makes them legitimate³⁶. In the same line, John Fraser³⁷ argues that legitimacy is psychological, responding to individual values, and built around the concept of belief. In sum, legitimate orders exist when the members of the community are convinced that those in power behave accordingly.

Following this concept, the acquisition of legitimacy, defined as 'legitimation,' is "the process by which actors come to believe in the normative legitimacy of an object³⁸." It responds to the ability to influence people's understanding of the norms that configure the system, and a variety of symbolic elements are used to justify the power structure and make it legitimate. The

34 Thomas, Christopher A. 2014. "The Uses and Abuses of Legitimacy in International Law." Pp. 735-737

35 Fraser, John. 1974. "Validating a Measure of National Political Legitimacy." Pp. 117-118

36 Thomas, Christopher A. 2014. "The Uses and Abuses of Legitimacy in International Law." Pp. 735-738

37 Fraser, John. 1974. "Validating a Measure of National Political Legitimacy." Pp. 118

38 Thomas, Christopher A. 2014. "The Uses and Abuses of Legitimacy in International Law." Pp. 742

lack of legitimacy and political support forces the rulers to adopt coercive means to achieve their political goals³⁹.

Many studies focusing on the issues of legitimacy continue the work of Max Weber, who, in his theory, argued that the bases of legitimacy are tradition, faith, and enactment⁴⁰. Tradition makes something valid because it has always been like that, having a sense of permanence, a habit built over time, related to history, and strongly institutionalized. Faith or charismatic legitimacy relates to the emotional and belief component around norms and a figure of a charismatic leader and is not institutionalized. Lastly, positive enactment or regional-legal legitimacy in how the ruler performs what is believed to be legal, a system strongly institutionalized and based on legal codes. He further argues that “Submission to an order is almost always determined by a variety of interests and by a mixture of adherence to tradition and belief in legality unless it is a case of entirely new regulations⁴¹.”

Another issue related to the legitimacy of states is the degree of centralization or decentralization of power. In the case of a federal state, for instance, some essential tasks such as collecting taxes or legislating are given to the regional governments. Unitary states, on the contrary, restrict the authority of regional actors making the central government administrate the policies of most of the areas. O’Neil argues that while centralized governments tend to be more efficient, the process of decentralization can increase the perception of the central government’s legitimacy by dividing political power, for instance, by giving more autonomy to ethnic or religious groups⁴².

39 Fraser, John. 1974. “Validating a Measure of National Political Legitimacy.” Pp. 119

40 Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpreting Sociology*. Pp. 36-38 and O’Neil, Patrick H. 2010. *Essentials of comparative politics*. Pp. 37

41 Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpreting Sociology*. Pp. 38

42 O’Neil, Patrick H. 2010. *Essentials of comparative politics*. Pp. 39

As a summary of the main arguments of this section, the acquisition and maintenance of legitimacy are crucial for the sustainability of political regimes. Legitimacy provides the state with the legal, moral, and sociological framework that makes political goals achieved without the need of coercive means.

1.4.3. Legitimacy and colonialism

Scholars focusing on colonialism and imperialism explore the relationship between violence and state control, and argue that violence is one of the commonalities throughout diverse colonial experiences. Considering that the colonial forces are often in a weaker position outnumbered by the natives, the colonial structure has to rely on various forms of violence to deter any challenge their dominance. In this field, it is prominent the work of Johan Galtung as the coiner of the terms ‘structural violence’ in his work “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research⁴³,” and ‘cultural violence’ some decades after in his work titled “Cultural Violence⁴⁴.” Many other authors have studied violence and legitimacy in the context of colonial experiences, such as Richard Price in “The Psychology of Colonial Violence⁴⁵,” or the recent book by Philip Dwyer and Amanda Nettelbeck *Violence, Colonialism and Empire in the Modern World*⁴⁶. In this sense, their idea is that violence “legitimated the political marginalization and social disempowerment of colonized peoples,” achieved by “imposed legal norms, religious institutions, education, surveillance and policing systems, as well as through sheer brute force⁴⁷.”

43 Galtung, Johan. 1969. “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research.”

44 Galtung, Johan. 1990. “Cultural Violence.”

45 Price, Richard N. 2018. “The Psychology of Colonial Violence.”

46 Dwyer, Philip; Nettelbeck, Amanda. 2018. *Violence, Colonialism and Empire in the Modern World*.

47 *Ibid.*, Pp. 2

Violence, however, is not only physical. The use of symbolic violence through cultural elements such as education, language, assimilation programs, or religious conversion⁴⁸ also aims at asserting power and dominance over the population and is sustained by the belief in “cultural and racial superiority⁴⁹.” These ideas are directly related to one of the main ideas concerning the relationship between religion and legitimacy, Galtung’s concept of ‘cultural violence.’ As he argues, this idea refers to “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence, exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics), that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence⁵⁰.” Following this idea, he further continues by saying that “cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right or at least not wrong,” which means that cultural aspects make structural violence legitimized and made accepted by society⁵¹.

The use of violence is closely related to the concepts of race, racism, and the understanding of a hierarchy between different human groups. Violence proves the existence of racial hierarchy exposing the differences between groups, and it is the result of a particular ideology and a way of seeing the world⁵². Richard Price argues that violence is related to the narrative of displacement, the process of de-humanizing the natives and framing their spaces as places without values or ethics to make violence fit in with the moral values system and, therefore, acceptable⁵³. In the same line, Fannon describes that colonizers see the native as “insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values but also the negation of values. He is, let us dare to admit, the enemy of values, and in this sense, he is the absolute evil⁵⁴.” To serve as an example of this, Enrique Dussel explains how the racist component was present in how the

48 Dwyer, Philip; Nettelbeck, Amanda. 2018. *Violence, Colonialism and Empire in the Modern World*. Pp. 10

49 *Ibid.*, Pp. 15

50 Galtung, Johan. “Cultural Violence.” 1990. Pp. 291

51 *Ibid.*, Pp. 292

52 Price, Richard N. 2018. “The Psychology of Colonial Violence.” Pp 29

53 *Ibid.*, Pp 42

54 Fannon, Franz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Pp. 40

Spanish conquerors viewed the natives in the American continent, seeing them as childish or immature, which gave them the moral justification to believe that they had to be evangelized⁵⁵.

1.4.4. Religion and legitimacy

The issues of violence and legitimacy of conquest described above are closely related to the use of religion as a form of cultural violence to assert a state's power over its population and conquered territories, a crucial concept in the study of history and international relations. Many publications explore the relationship between religion and politics and between the governments and religious institutions.

As Maoz and Henderson argue⁵⁶, religion's role has frequently been neglected in the study of politics and international relations, even though it has played a significant role in many conflicts throughout history. They highlight that mainstream international relations theories, such as realism and liberalism, have frequently downplayed its importance in interstate politics, with one of the only exceptions being the Marxist paradigm, which sees religion as a crucial tool used by elites to assert their power over the working classes. In this sense, the general approach to religion in international relations theory is related to its functionality as a source of legitimacy for other political purposes, as Mona Kanwal Sheikh explains⁵⁷.

In contrast, Maoz and Henderson defend that religion is essential in international relations because it “forms and sustains communal institutions that bind people together in profound

55 Dussel, Enrique. 1995. *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of “the Other” and the Myth of Modernity*. Pp. 54

56 Maoz, Zeev; Henderson, Errol A. 2020. *Scriptures, Shrines, Scapegoats, and World Politics: Religious Sources of Conflict and Cooperation in the Modern Era*. Pp 2.

57 Sheikh, Mona Kanwal. 2012. “How does religion matter? Pathways to religion in International Relations.” Pp. 371

ways⁵⁸.” Additionally, because religions are based on common rituals and behaviors that define the group identity, the boundary between them and the outsiders, or non-believers, is also established. The purpose of religious institutions is to “define or interpret the principal values, rituals, and moral codes that constitute a specific religion⁵⁹.” In this regard, because of the central role that religion has in the establishment and binding of communities, its importance in state politics and international relations should not be overlooked.

Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper⁶⁰ use Anthony Gill’s work⁶¹ to argue that the relationship between state and religion is determined by the needs and legitimacy of the state, as religion is used according to the necessities of the ruling power to obtain political leverage and gain economic stability. According to their theory, even movements that promote secularization respond to the need of the government to gain legitimacy, not because the society has become, for instance, less religious. They also defend that religious groups will fight for their interests by opposing or supporting the governments depending on the context. For example, an anti-government approach would make them more appealing to the poorer sectors of society. Therefore, their theory relies on the assumption that religious groups and their relation with the state will depend on these groups’ ability to maximize their resources and spread their influence.

Also related to the relationship between state and religion, Jaco Beyers identifies three types of interaction throughout history when it comes to the relationship between these two entities: those religious institutions governed by the state, religious leaders complying with government authority, and mutually beneficial relationships⁶².

58 Maoz, Zeev; Henderson, Errol A. 2020. *Scriptures, Shrines, Scapegoats, and World Politics: Religious Sources of Conflict and Cooperation in the Modern Era*. Pp 2.

59 *Ibid.*, Pp 2.

60 Fetzer, Joel S.; Soper, Christopher. 2014. “Church and State in Spanish Formosa.”

61 Gill, Anthony. 1998. *Rendering Unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*.

62 Beyers, Jaco. 2015. “Religion as a Political Instrument: The Case of Japan and South Africa.” Pp. 143

And lastly, it is essential to present Moyser's idea that, in the pre-Modern world, no distinction between religion and politics existed. In this regard, religious practices were integrated into politics, and only after the processes of secularization in Modernity, religion and politics became distinct. As he describes it, "Religious beliefs and practices underpinned and entered into the heart of the political process, supporting and sustaining the exercise of power⁶³," with laws, social hierarchy, and education being indivisible from religion. In other words, religion and government were "the two major society-wide institutions of social control, form an integrated religiopolitical system⁶⁴."

1.4.5. Analyzing legitimacy

To analyze and comprehend legitimacy in empirical cases, Weigand proposes a five-level model that will be useful for this project⁶⁵. These five elements are:

The **referent object**: the authorities will be considered as the objects of legitimacy. The impression of legitimacy will be influenced by factors such as the ruler's charisma or the ideology associated with it, how power was obtained, and its overall conduct related to what is considered just.

The **perspective**: Legitimacy must be analyzed from two perspectives, the authorities' justification and the target's perception of it.

63 Moyser, George. 1991. *Politics and Religion in the Modern World*. Pp. 13

64 *Ibid.*, Pp. 12-14

65 Weigand, Florian. 2015. *Investigating the role of legitimacy in the political order of conflict-torn spaces*. Pp 15-16

The **audience**: Because of diverse attitudes and interests in different circumstances, people's perceptions of legitimacy may change.

The **degree**: To comprehend the legitimation process, examine people's conduct toward authority and identify their level of support and resistance to it.

The **sources**: Analyze if the authority responds to the shared needs and if it responds to the shared values (the Weberian concept of tradition, faith, and enactment).

1.4.6. Conclusion

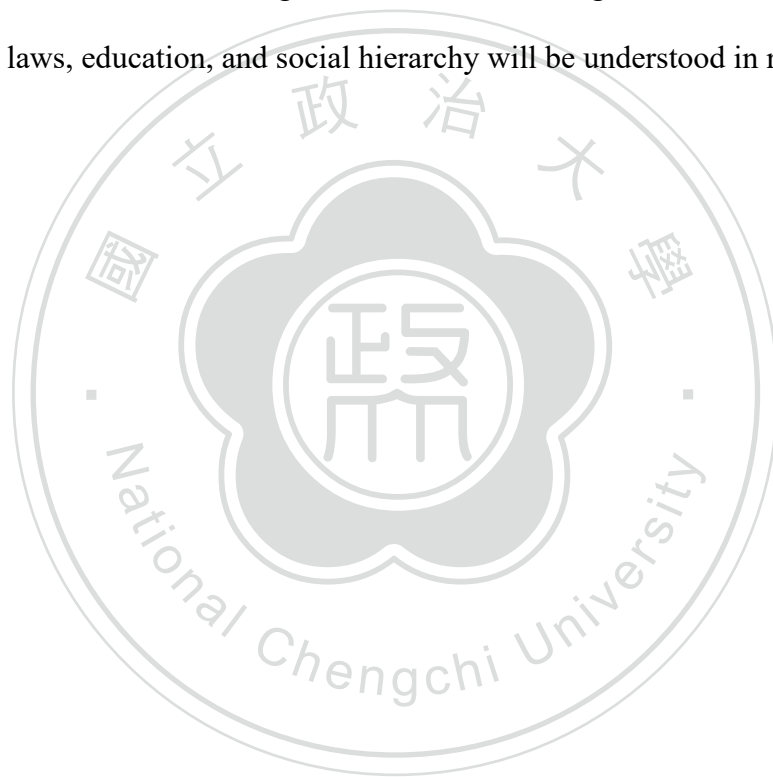
The main concepts of the theoretical framework that will be used to analyze the importance of religion and legitimacy in the colonization of Taiwan by the Spanish Empire throughout the thesis are the following:

1) Power structures: Imperialism and colonialism are based on the creation of power structures. The morality of colonial domination is related to how the concept of otherness is constructed and the hierarchy is imagined. Violence is based on the concept of 'displacement,' which aims at framing the native spaces as backward or without values or ethics, giving the moral obligation and responsibility to those on the top of the hierarchical structure to help the backward nations, exemplified in the ideas of 'humanitarian intervention' or 'civilizing mission.'

2) Cultural violence: Dominance is performed by violence, which can be physical or symbolic through cultural elements such as education, language, assimilation programs, or religious conversion. Cultural aspects are essential to make structural violence legitimized and

accepted by society. Within this framework, religion is understood as a tool used to assert power over the population of the newly conquered territories.

3) Religion and state: The degree of independence of the state actors will depend on the degree they can be instrumentalized for political purposes. The relationship between state and religion will be determined by the needs of legitimacy by the governments and the degree religion can be instrumentalized. In the pre-Modern world, politics and religion will be frequently intertwined and even merged into the same thing, the idea of a ‘religiopolitical system’ in which laws, education, and social hierarchy will be understood in religious terms.



2. The Spanish Empire

For a better analysis of the Spanish presence in Taiwan and the role of religion in the legitimization of the conquest, this section will explore the literature related to the Spanish colonial empire. This chapter will serve as a historical background to analyze the events and the rationale that led to the conquest and settlement in Northern Formosa.

2.1. The international environment

The beginning of the Modern Era was characterized by the constant political struggles and instability in Europe resulting from power competition and religious conflicts. It is the era of the Lutheran Reformation, the appearance of the idea of the Reason of State, the power ambitions beyond Europe, and the increasing fear of the Ottoman threat⁶⁶. Within this hostile international environment, the Spanish Empire emerged after the *Reconquista* and the first contact with the Americas, and created an imperial structure built to rule over different kingdoms and extensive distant territories, in which religion became one of the most effective tools in sustaining the colonial endeavor and serving to justify conquest and control its diverse subjects.

One of the main changes experienced in the international system between the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Centuries that differentiates them from the previous periods is the emergence of the belief in a nation-state equal and legally independent to other states. Europe's politically divided and competitive environment throughout these centuries made political entities develop in constant conflict with their rivals. In other words, power competition contributed to the exponential

66 Valenzuela-Vermehren, Luis. 2013. "Empire, Sovereignty, and Justice in Francisco de Vitoria's International Thought: A Re-Interpretation of "De Indis" (1532)." Pp. 283

evolution toward more centralized political communities. The proximity of Asia and the Middle East fostered economic growth by allowing new products to be imported⁶⁷ and, as states simultaneously supported economic growth by creating a property-based system, individuals became more motivated to increase their profit⁶⁸. In this sense, the centralization of states increased internal stability, promoted commerce, and developed infrastructures that facilitated the homogenization of their population. Similarly, the development in the printing of education documents and legal codes contributed to the standardization of language and the beginning of the notion of state communities with a shared identity⁶⁹. And also importantly, the diverse geography in Europe made the linguistic and cultural differences increase among territories⁷⁰.

Following the gradual centralization of states in the late Medieval period and the beginning of Modernity, governments began to produce legislation that would reflect the reality of these political changes, as the legitimacy of the states started to rely on rational and legal foundations, but without abandoning the traditional aspect of legitimacy in many cases, as O’Neil argues⁷¹. States began to emphasize creating legislation that would reflect the process of giving the state the legal identity and separate it from other actors⁷².

At the same time, many theories of state and legitimacy in the wake of the Reformation questioned the Pope’s authority, aiming to move away from the Roman Catholic Law and achieve full state sovereignty⁷³. Both Catholic and Protestant rulers began to challenge the Papal authority over them. On the one hand, Catholics advocated for a distinction between political and religious authority, and on the other, Protestant reformers advocated for eliminating the Church’s entire

67 O’Neil, Patrick H. 2010. *Essentials of comparative politics*. Pp. 31

68 *Ibid.*, Pp. 32

69 *Ibid.*, Pp. 32

70 *Ibid.*, Pp. 31

71 *Ibid.*, Pp. 37-38

72 Thornhill, Chris. 2011. “Political Legitimacy: A Theoretical Approach Between Facts and Norms.” Pp. 148-150

73 *Ibid.*, Pp. 147

structure⁷⁴. The rise of Modern governments provided them with the power to regulate religious matters within their borders without the intervention of outside authorities.

The Thirty Years War represented in part a struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism, which challenged the Pope's authority in Europe and severely limited his influence. After the end of the conflict, the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 formalized state sovereignty⁷⁵. Reformists defended that religious leaders did not have the moral authority over men and that everyone was able to read and interpret the sacred scriptures⁷⁶. In this sense, states began to move away from the Medieval concept of a Papal power acting as a supra-national entity that dictated the actions of the Christian Kingdoms, with spiritual and political jurisdiction over them and with the right to depose their rulers when they became unfaithful⁷⁷.

Absolutism eventually became the most desirable political system in Europe, which attempted to establish solid centralized and powerful states based on the principles of Machiavelli and Bodin⁷⁸. Machiavelli represents the first intellectual to advocate for independent and centralized states eliminating the Papal influence on them. He was the first writer in the Modern Era to understand the State as independent with a defined territory, culture, and ethnicity, with the government having the monopoly of power without any supra-national entity interfering in domestic affairs. The rejection of the Papal authority also came from the tendency to favor the most powerful states taking advantage of the weaker ones. In this sense, the ideas of the nation-state that would evolve during the Modern Era began to emerge from the Machiavellian thought⁷⁹.

74 Alvares, Claudia. 2008. "New World Slavery: Redefining the Human." Pp. 143

75 O'Neil, Patrick H. 2010. *Essentials of comparative politics*. Pp. 33

76 Chatterjee, Deen (ed.). 2011. *Encyclopedia of Global Justice*. Pp. 709

77 Cooper, J. P. (ed.). 1971. *The New Cambridge Modern History: Volume 4. The Decline of Spain and The Thirty Years War 1609-48/59*. Pp. 106

78 Cooper, J. P. (ed.). 1971. *The New Cambridge Modern History: Volume 4. The Decline of Spain and The Thirty Years War 1609-48/59*. Pp. 112

79 Mathur, A. 1991. "Machiavellian Theory of the State." Pp. 419

Similarly, Bodin's notion of State sovereignty resulted from his idea that the monarch represented God on Earth, who had full power and authority over its territory and governed for God and the benefit of all its subjects⁸⁰.

2.1.1. Colonial empires

Another essential feature of Modernity is the emergence of colonial powers. According to the arguments that Abernethy presents in *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415– 1980*⁸¹, the first stages of colonialism and exploration have to be understood as a consequence of interstate competition in Europe. State-building processes and increased centralization happened simultaneously with the establishment of colonial empires, as overseas expansionist projects became a way to deal with domestic and international instabilities. In this context, the Portuguese and Spanish Empires were built during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries and rapidly became the two most powerful colonial empires, and were followed by the Dutch, French Great British in the Seventeenth Century⁸².

European military expansion came together with naval and technological supremacy, which allowed them to reach every part of the world unchallenged by regional powers. Competition often ended in a conflict between these colonial powers, with disputes sometimes starting in the old continent, and sometimes it being the race for colonial dominance what sparked the military struggle. Colonial expansion at the early stages primarily focused on gaining control of strategic overseas outposts, pursuing economic profit by trade, and seeking places with low production costs, which molded economic development in European states⁸³. In this sense, interactions

80 Cooper, J. P. (ed.). 1971. *The New Cambridge Modern History: Volume 4. The Decline of Spain and The Thirty Years War 1609-48/59*. Pp. 118

81 Abernethy, David B. 2000. *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415– 1980*.

82 *Ibid.*, Pp. 47-52

83 *Ibid.*, Pp. 46-57

between colonies and metropolises shaped the development of states⁸⁴. Abernethy argues that it is impossible to understand colonial expansion without considering the constant competition between different colonial powers and the configuration of stronger centralized governments. In this regard, colonial expansion and the strengthening of the states were two interlaced processes⁸⁵. Powers were majorly uncontested, with only stronger states being able to take measures to avoid colonial domination. For instance, the Japanese government prohibited foreign activities that threatened inner stability, resulting in the country closing its borders except for the Dutch traders⁸⁶.

Other essential works on the topic of colonialism are Lynch's John Lynch books titled *Spain Under the Habsburgs. Vol. 2: Spain and America 1598-1700*⁸⁷, and *Spain 1516-1598: From Nation State to World Empire*⁸⁸. As he argues, while Portugal focused more on naval exploration in the African continent, the Spanish colonization emerged from the experience of the benefits of political and religious expansion and the advantage of being the first state with Modern institutions capable of managing an overseas empire. As Lynch argues, "The awareness of the power to be delivered from imperialism, were far more dominant in Spanish policy than in that of Portugal⁸⁹."

Another essential aspect of these colonial empires was the difference between the experiences in Asia and the Americas. In the American continent, the focus was on inland exploration by taking advantage of technological superiority, followed by massive waves of migration. From 1506 to 1650, approximately 450,000 migrants settled in these colonies, attracted by the idea of economic profit that the government used to encourage migration to

84 *Ibid.*, Pp. 57

85 *Ibid.*, Pp. 49

86 *Ibid.*, Pp. 48

87 Lynch, John. 1981. *Spain Under the Habsburgs. Vol. 2: Spain and America 1598-1700*

88 Lynch, John. 1991. *Spain 1516-1598: From Nation State to World Empire*. Pp. 214-215

89 Lynch, John. 1981. *Spain Under the Habsburgs. Vol. 2: Spain and America 1598-1700*. Pp. 267

newly conquered lands. Mining and slavery became the fundamental features of the economy in the colonial system in the Americas⁹⁰, while Asian colonies remained majorly as trading posts⁹¹, serving as naval bases in which the presence of colonizers was limited.

The expansion of the Spanish Empire in the Asia-Pacific region started in 1521 when the Crown began searching for a route in the Pacific Ocean leading to the Spice Islands in today's Indonesia. However, since the signing of the Treaty of Tordesillas, which was promoted by Pope Alexander VI in 1494⁹², divided the colonial world between the Portuguese and Spanish empires, those islands became inaccessible and left only the possibility of colonizing what soon became the colony in the Philippines.

Additionally, as China and Japan rapidly became the two major markets for the exports of these colonial empires, especially for silver trade, outposts in places like Macao or the Philippines served as a middle point for the ships coming from the American continent, becoming a central location for trade and for the Crown to make a profit⁹³. The first two centuries of the Spanish colonization of the Philippines constituted the colony as a trading post, as a defense line for the Americas from any aggression coming from the Pacific, and as a middle point to expand Christianity in Asia. The transformation of the Philippines as a settlement and exploitation colony only happened after the dynastic change resulting from the Spanish Succession War⁹⁴.

90 Lynch, John. 1991. *Spain 1516-1598: From Nation State to World Empire*. Pp. 214-215

91 Abernethy, David B. 2000. "The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415– 1980." Pp. 55

92 *Ibid.*, Pp 52

93 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2009. "An overview of the Spaniards in Taiwan (1626-1642)." Pp 1-3

94 Blanco, D. John. 2009. *Frontier Institutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines*. Pp 31



1) Formosa 2) The Philippines 3) Macao 4) China 5) Japan

2.2. The configuration of the Empire

The configuration of the Spanish colonial system happened between 1520-1570, comprising the time separating the conquest of the Aztec Empire and the Colonization of the Philippines. The establishment of the colonial administration was a response to the need to manage the newly conquered territories, and at its first stages was mirroring the Medieval system of conquest experienced in the Iberian peninsula. The Empire's organization evolved to be the first European state to have a significant bureaucratic administration, which resulted in the creation of numerous laws and legal principles⁹⁵.

95 Osterhammel, Jürgen; Jansen, Jan C. 2012. *Colonialismo: Historia, formas, efectos*. Siglo XXI Serie Historia. Pp. 41

Several remarkable works focusing on the colonial configuration follow Ricardo Leverne's 1950s work, with the title *Las indias no eran colonias*⁹⁶ (The Indies were not colonies), a pioneer study in the conceptualization and understanding of the Spanish colonial system. His work is equally reviewed and criticized by subsequent scholarship, but the importance of this book is that it shifted the emphasis of the study to the legal principles in the imperial administration. More recent works used in the present study to understand the configuration of the colonial empire are Rafael García's "Revisiting the America's Colonial Status Under the Spanish Monarchy"⁹⁷, John Lynch's *Spain Under the Habsburgs. Vol. 2: Spain and America 1598-1700*⁹⁸, and *Spain 1516-1598: From Nation State to World Empire*⁹⁹, Yvette Saavedra's "The Spanish Colonial Project"¹⁰⁰, and Frank Jay Moreno in "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach"¹⁰¹.

Scholarship's emphasis on legal issues reflects one of the essential features of the Spanish Empire, the establishment of a colonial system revolving around a highly bureaucratic centralized administration under the royal authority, which scholarship refers to as a 'patrimonial-bureaucratic system'¹⁰². By the end of the Sixteenth Century, a substantial amount of legal principles was already present, with the first compilation of laws appearing in 1596 in Diego de Encinas' work, but an appropriate codification would not appear until 1681 in the *Recopilación de las leyes de Indias* (Recompilation of the Laws of the Indies). These laws represented the Crown's intentions and the responsibilities of the governors and the individuals

96 Leverne, Ricardo. 1951. *Las Indias no eran colonias*.

97 García Pérez, Rafael. 2015. "Revisiting the America's Colonial Status Under the Spanish Monarchy."

98 Lynch, John. 1981. *Spain Under the Habsburgs. Vol. 2: Spain and America 1598-1700*.

99 Lynch, John. 1991. *Spain 1516-1598: From Nation State to World Empire*. Pp. 214-215

100 Saavedra, Yvette J. 2018. "The Spanish Colonial Project." *Pasadena Before the Roses: Race, Identity, and Land Use in Southern California, 1771-1890*."

101 Moreno, Frank Jay. 1967. "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach."

102 Osterhammel, Jürgen; Jansen, Jan C. 2012. *Colonialismo: Historia, formas, efectos*. Siglo XXI Serie Historia. Pp. 85

under their jurisdiction¹⁰³. The Spanish colonial system relied on the legal framework established in the Laws of the Indies, which set the rights and duties of each individual, the extent to which the King could intervene in the development of the overseas colonies, and the rights and privileges given to the missionaries¹⁰⁴.

Osterhammel identifies four of the unique features that distinguished the Spanish Empire from the colonial experiences of other European powers which, in his eyes, challenge the argument that this was the first entirely Modern colonial empire. First, No other expansionist project instrumentalized religious institutions as much as the Spanish Empire did, becoming the most effective tool of frontier opening. Second, there was an increasing influence of the creoles starting from the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, making the power of the colonies and urban oligarchies become higher than the Crown's authority in those territories. Third, high levels of corruption existed within all levels of bureaucracy, a consequence of the low wages received by public servants and a system opposed to meritocracy, with the buying and selling of positions in the administration becoming frequent. And finally, a highly fragmented system that existed despite the centralization of powers around the monarchy. Local authorities and institutions enjoyed high levels of autonomy, constituting an Empire that was absolutist only on paper. In practice, this system represented a continuation of Medieval structures that benefited more the colonies and the conquerors¹⁰⁵. Following these ideas, the fragmentation of the Empire and the role of the religious institutions will be the focus of the discussion in the following sections.

103 Elliott, J. H. 1984. "The Spanish Conquest and Settlement of America." Pp. 296

104 Blanco, D. John. *Frontier Institutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines*. University of California Press, 2009. Pp 32

105 Osterhammel, Jürgen; Jansen, Jan C. 2012. *Colonialismo: Historia, formas, efectos*. Siglo XXI Serie Historia. Pp. 85

2.2.1. A paternalistic structure

The Spanish imperial structure was based on the concept of divine rule and justice. The King was above the law and expected to act justly for the benefit of the Empire, an idea of absolute power that developed in the Castilian kingdom during the Fourteenth Century, giving the King the authority to establish laws at the same time he was not subject to them¹⁰⁶. However, the Spanish Empire under the Hapsburg dynasty was not a centralized state¹⁰⁷, and even though Castile was the metropolis of the Empire, all the other territories, kingdoms, and regions enjoyed a high degree of constitutional autonomy¹⁰⁸, with the Crown mainly being the political entity that unified these different political entities creating of a plural monarchy¹⁰⁹. The authority of the Crown mainly resided in its ability to legislate. Its power, rather than absolute, was closer to a paternalistic role that granted autonomy to every piece of the system at the same time that was expected to rule justly for the benefit of everyone¹¹⁰. In other words, the King did not have the monopoly of power and a state that was shaped in a high level of autonomy¹¹¹. Rather than hierarchical, Moreno¹¹² describes the system as circular with the King in the center, as any individual could address directly to the Crown regardless of the position in the chain of command, making the hierarchy only an artificial construct. He presents the hierarchical system as meaningless, with the legal structure only as a symbol of domination, being one of the main aspects why religious institutions enjoy such freedom of action¹¹³ and, as Blanco describes it, with

106 Moreno, Frank Jay. 1967. "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach." Pp. 311-312

107 García Pérez, Rafael. "Revisiting the America's Colonial Status Under the Spanish Monarchy." Pp. 45

108 Lynch, John. 1981. *Spain Under the Habsburgs. Vol. 2: Spain and America 1598-1700*. Pp. 267

109 García Pérez, Rafael. 2015. "Revisiting the America's Colonial Status Under the Spanish Monarchy." Pp. 45

110 Moreno, Frank Jay. "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach." Pp. 311-312

111 Blanco, D. John. *Frontier Institutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines*. University of California Press, 2009. Pp 33

112 Moreno, Frank Jay. 1967. "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach." Pp. 316

113 Blanco, D. John. *Frontier Institutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines*. University of California Press, 2009. Pp 32 and Moreno, Frank Jay. "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach." Pp. 308-318

a very loose administration that granted many concessions and privileges to local authorities and religious authorities to administer “affairs pertaining to sites of missionary activity¹¹⁴.”

The performance of the Empire revolved around the concept of *se acata pero no se cumple* (the rule is accepted but not complied with), granting a high degree of autonomy to local institutions and governments. In some cases, although the authority of the chain of command was broadly accepted, the rule was not executed as higher officials were not familiar with the conditions on the field¹¹⁵. Every member in the hierarchy had the privilege to disobey when the commands were considered unjust, which gave the Crown a moderating role rather than absolute power¹¹⁶. Disobeying became normalized, being frequent that individuals did not comply with laws that they believed to be unfair. The failure of the hierarchy eventually became beneficial for the empire, resulting in the absence of any internal challenge to the system¹¹⁷.

The most important institutions in the colonial system were the “Viceroy or governor, the *audiencia*, the *cabildo*, and the Church”¹¹⁸. The New Laws of 1542 established the colonial government through the figure of the viceroy at the highest level of the administration. The viceroys mirrored the royal authority by performing executive and ceremonial functions similar to those of the King and divided their areas of jurisdiction into multiple units that formed a chain of command¹¹⁹. The colonial orders were issued in the Council of the Indies in Spain, and a highly bureaucratized system put them into practice in the colonies. However, the multiple interests of each division of the structure, which included multiple secular and religious groups of power,

114 Blanco, D. John. *Frontier Institutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines*. University of California Press, 2009. Pp 32

115 *Ibid.*, Pp 33

116 Moreno, Frank Jay. 1967. “The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach.” Pp. 317-318

117 *Ibid.*, Pp. 308-318

118 Moreno, Frank Jay. 1967. “The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach.” Pp. 319

119 Elliott, J. H. 1984. “The Spanish Conquest and Settlement of America.” Pp. 293

made royal authority not complied when the laws were not beneficial for any of the actors in the structure¹²⁰.

All these institutions had different but sometimes overlapping functions that led to constant conflicts of interest inside the imperial structure. This made the entire system even more dependent on the Crown and more legitimate, as its institutions could act independently and engage directly with the King to deal with their issues, making the colonial structure remain unchallenged¹²¹. The colonial system, therefore, remained stable and generally accepted by its members thanks to this paternalistic structure, as the actors in the hierarchy benefited from the monarch's benevolence, who was required to act accordingly¹²².

John Blanco¹²³ explains how the shift from the Hapsburg to the Bourbon dynasty transformed the relationship between the colonies and Spain during the Eighteenth Century. The dynastic change started a centralization process also reflected in cultural homogenization efforts based on Hispanization¹²⁴. However, the paternalistic relationship between the metropolis and the colonies prevailed until the Nineteenth Century, when the Spanish monarchy was replaced by the Napoleonic system¹²⁵. In this process of centralization, the power that some religious orders had accumulated became an issue for the State, and the removal of the Jesuits from the Spanish system during the Eighteenth Century responded to the needs to centralize all the powers to the monarchy and limit the autonomy of the religious institutions¹²⁶.

120 *Ibid.*, Pp. 303

121 Moreno, Frank Jay. 1967. "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach." Pp. 319

122 *Ibid.*, Pp. 320

123 Blanco, D. John. 2009. *Frontier Institutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines*. University of California Press, 2009. Pp 30-34

124 García Pérez, Rafael. 2015. "Revisiting the America's Colonial Status Under the Spanish Monarchy." Pp. 45

125 Moreno, Frank Jay. "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach." Pp. 320

126 Blanco, D. John. *Frontier Institutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines*. University of California Press, 2009. Pp 34

2.3. Religion in the Spanish colonial system

Because of the essential role of the Church in the Spanish system, numerous publications focus on the influence religion had within the Empire. Some relevant works are Ivette Saavedra¹²⁷ in “The Spanish Colonial Project,” or Mark Goldberg¹²⁸ in “Conquering Sickness: Race, Health, and Colonization in the Texas Borderlands,” among many other studies that focus on more broad issues, such as Jürgen Osterhammel’s study on colonialism¹²⁹. Additionally, because numerous scholarship on these particular topics study the practices in the Americas, the understanding of these colonial experiences will be essential for analyzing the events in the Asian continent. Some distinguished studies in this regard are J. Elliot’s¹³⁰ “Spain and America in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” or Schwaller’s¹³¹ “The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond.”

As a consequence of the Empire’s paternalistic structure, the Church and its institutions enjoyed a high degree of autonomy in the imperial system¹³². Having experienced the effects of religious colonization in the Iberian peninsula¹³³, the Spanish system instrumentalized the Church as its most effective mechanism for conquering the Americas as no other colonization process has ever done¹³⁴. The Church in Spain was the first reformed in Europe, and its hierarchy and administration resulted in a hierarchical structure from the Papal authorities to the local

127 Saavedra, Yvette J. 2018. “The Spanish Colonial Project.” *Pasadena Before the Roses: Race, Identity, and Land Use in Southern California, 1771–1890*.

128 Goldberg, Mark Alan. 2016. “Conquering Sickness: Race, Health, and Colonization in the Texas Borderlands.” *Borderlands and Transcultural Studies*.

129 Osterhammel, Jürgen; Jansen, Jan C. 2012. *Colonialismo: Historia, formas, efectos*.

130 Elliott, J. H. 1984. “Spain and America in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” in Bethell, L. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America, vol. 1*.

131 Schwaller, John Frederick. 2011. “The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond.”

132 Blanco, D. John. *Frontier Institutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines*. University of California Press, 2009. Pp 32

133 Lynch, John. 1991. *Spain 1516-1598: from nation state to world empire*. Pp. 215

134 Osterhammel, Jürgen; Jansen, Jan C. 2012. *Colonialismo: Historia, formas, efectos*. Siglo XXI Serie Historia. Pp. 84-85

friars¹³⁵, in which the Pope served as the religious and political authority exercised through Papal Bulls over the Catholic Monarchs¹³⁶. Religion was so embedded in Spanish politics that foreign policy and religion became merged into the same thing. In this regard, Mathes recognizes this unique feature in the engagement with Japan, arguing that “Evangelization was a sine qua non for Spanish relations and pure commercial contact was unthinkable¹³⁷.”

The religious institutions were divided into regular and secular clergy. The former operated outside the colonial administration in many cases and depended on the Papal authority, while the latter fell under the State’s jurisdiction¹³⁸. The regular clergy included multiple orders, which developed different structures and established themselves into provinces performing significant roles for the colonial project. Some of the most relevant religious orders were, for instance, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, Carmelites, Mercedarians, or Augustinians¹³⁹. Even though each order varied in its administrative and hierarchical nature, the basic structure went from the local friars at the lowest level to priors, abbots, and the general of the order, responsible for engaging directly with the Papal authority¹⁴⁰. In John Schwaller’s work “The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond,” he explains how this religious hierarchy was somewhat democratic, with the bishops being the piece that controlled the structure. He also stresses the central economic aspect of the religious institutions, as they played an essential role in tribute collection. They acted with a high level of independence that allowed them to establish their institutions, such as monasteries, upon arriving in new territories. The secular clergy, on the other hand, depended on the highly bureaucratized

135 Schwaller, John Frederick. 2011. “The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond.” Pp. 75

136 García Pérez, Rafael. 2015. “Revisiting the America’s Colonial Status Under the Spanish Monarchy.” Pp. 45

137 Mathes, Michael. 1990. “A Quarter Century of Trans-Pacific Diplomacy: New Spain and Japan, 1592-1617.” Pp 1

138 Schwaller, John Frederick. 2011. “The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond.” Pp. 88

139 *Ibid.*, Pp. 73

140 *Ibid.*, Pp. 75

state administration. After legally constituting their territorial jurisdictions, the secular clergy relied on state promotion, the establishment of dioceses, and the confirmation of the Pope¹⁴¹.

The hierarchy that characterized the religious institutions evolved and differed from the Middle Ages as features from the Spanish Church in the colonies became adopted. Equally important and as a direct consequence of the Council of Trent, which impeded the importance of the episcopal authority, local bishops became the basis of an ecclesiastical structure divided into smaller units such as the parishes. Dioceses under episcopal authority were created after conquering new territories and were crucial for administration, control, stability, and economic growth. Bishops resided in a particular church with their throne, the diocesan cathedral, or *cabildo eclesiástico*¹⁴², were in charge of the missionary activities, legislation, the training of priests¹⁴³, and had a vital economic function in the collection of the thite, the ecclesiastical tax which supposed the ten percent of the annual agricultural production, giving the cathedral a significant influence on market prices. Other sources of income also included charity through various institutions of 'pious work,' solidarity communities known as *cofradías*, and the charge for religious duties such as baptisms and burials. The monarchy declared that these sources of income would directly fund missionary activities¹⁴⁴.

Lastly, Imperial Catholicism incorporated local religious traditions and put them under diocesan authority. Local rituals became institutionalized in a Catholicism merged with folklore¹⁴⁵, with local ceremonies and customs accepted and transformed to fit in the Christian faith. Similarly, the natives perceived Christianity as an expansion of their indigenous traditions, as their local

141 *Ibid.*, Pp. 76

142 *Ibid.*, Pp. 78

143 Elliott, J. H. 1984. "The Spanish Conquest and Settlement of America." Pp. 516-518

144 Schwaller, John Frederick. 2011. "The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond." Pp. 77-84

145 Edmonds, Ennis B; Gonzalez, Michelle. 2010. "Early Colonial Catholicism." Pp. 47

deities reappeared in Christian form, and their customs changed to suit the Church calendar. In this sense, both the Spaniards and the indigenous peoples understood religious symbols based on their own cultural experiences, resulting in the emergence of a wide range of religious traditions in Latin America¹⁴⁶.

2.3.1. The missions as ‘frontier institutions’

Relevant to the study of the relationship between the empire and the religious institutions is Bolton’s idea that all colonial powers had ‘frontier institutions’ to help the state expansion by engaging with the local population¹⁴⁷. This concept has been followed in all subsequent scholarship, for instance, in John Blanco’s *Frontier Institutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines*¹⁴⁸. While some states relied more on trade-based relations, such as the French or the British, the missions became the central element of engagement with the natives as civilizing agents essential for the Spanish pioneering system.

This emphasis on the use of missionaries in the colonization process became crucial after conquering the Aztec Empire in 1521, when Spain changed the approach to the conquest of new regions, making that at least two priests should be part of every exploration of any new territory. Religious orders started playing a decisive role as the state began to recognize the benefits of their cooperation, as conquest through cultural and social rather than sole military control would facilitate the success of the occupation, the economic growth, and sustainability of the newly occupied territories¹⁴⁹.

146 Schwaller, John Frederick. 2011. “The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond.” Pp. 85

147 Bolton, Herbert. 1917. “The Mission as Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies.” Pp 43-52

148 Blanco, D. John. 2009. *Frontier Institutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines*.

149 Saavedra, Yvette J. 2018. “The Spanish Colonial Project.” *Pasadena Before the Roses: Race, Identity, and Land Use in Southern California, 1771–1890*.”

These institutions frequently acted independently, out of the colonial administration and the colonial borders. The relationship with the secular institutions was broadly cooperative as the states provided financial support and the religious institutions served to convert the local populations, aiming to enhance views of the locals and make the state's rule over them legitimate¹⁵⁰. In the case of the protestant states, the role of religion and missionaries was less emphasized, showing little interest in converting the natives to Christianity. Abernethy argues that this different conceptualization of the locals and the Protestant view on them as 'pagans' served as a justification for "exterminating them and taking their land¹⁵¹."

The instrumentation of the religious institutions linked them to the State in a symbiotic relationship equally beneficial. The colonial process involved constant frontier opening in which the religious institutions acted as pacifiers and promoters of the State, with missions being built around the natives to promote the spiritual and cultural expansion¹⁵². As their function would go beyond religious expansion, the State would promote their activities with direct funding¹⁵³.

The following features are essential to understand the nature of the missions. First, missions were supposed to be temporary by definition, as conversion would only be necessary when the natives had embraced the new faith. After that, they would move to new territories, leaving their tasks to the secular administration¹⁵⁴, especially to the local secular or diocesan clergy¹⁵⁵. Religious conversion was the main objective of the missions, and each religious order followed a different approach. For instance, Franciscans relied on converting by example, whereas

150 García Pérez, Rafael. 2015. "Revisiting the America's Colonial Status Under the Spanish Monarchy." Pp. 45

151 Abernethy, David B. 2000. "The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415– 1980." Pp 62

152 *Ibid.*, Pp 62, and Bolton, Herbert. 1917. "The Mission as Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies." Pp 43-46

153 Bolton, Herbert. 1917. "The Mission as Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies." Pp 47-52

154 *Ibid.*, Pp 43-46

155 Bannon, John Francis. 1979. "The Mission as a Frontier Institution: Sixty Years of Interest and Research." Pp. 308

Dominicans believed more in preaching to gain new converts. Even though they were among other colonizers, missionaries would often work alone or supported by armed forces, being easier to get involved in the native daily life to look for converts¹⁵⁶. Engaging with the natives included learning the local languages to convert them to Christianity, as understanding their language would be essential to approach them with respect and promote peaceful relations¹⁵⁷. Jesuits, for instance, highly emphasized the importance of language learning and established schools for missionaries¹⁵⁸. In this sense, the conversion process an essential way of integrating new territories in the empire, seen by state officials as a crucial instrument to stabilize frontiers¹⁵⁹.

Second, the missions were very effective civilizing agents, and as such, they became a crucial part of the Spanish expansion system. The civilizing aspect of the missionaries revolved around their understanding of the natives as having an inferior culture, seeing them as “children needing much guidance, discipline, and protection¹⁶⁰.” Priests, therefore, would help state expansion through diverse civilizing tasks, as natives would become more disciplined subjects¹⁶¹. In this regard, welfare became one of the main concerns for missionaries, not only to improve social conditions but also to make their activities more attractive to natives for individual benefit. As a result, missions established hospitals and social care systems that attempted to improve the lifestyle of the colonizers and the colonized¹⁶². There are many examples of these institutions, for instance, in the hospitals the Jesuits founded in Japan. Concerning one of these institutions established in 1555, Fujitani argues that “The primary goal of the Jesuit hospital was not to

156 Schwaller, John Frederick. 2011. “The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond.” Pp 73

157 Borao Mateo, José Eugenio: “The ‘*Justification*’ of the Spanish Intrusion in Taiwan.” Pp 361

158 Bannon, John Francis. 1979. “The Mission as a Frontier Institution: Sixty Years of Interest and Research.” Pp. 315

159 Schwaller, John Frederick. 2011. “The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond.” Pp 74

160 Berg, Carol. 1993. “Missionaries and Cultures.” Pp 30-31

161 Bolton, Herbert. 1917. “The Mission as Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies.” Pp 43-52

162 Goldberg, Mark Alan. 2016. “Conquering Sickness: Race, Health, and Colonization in the Texas Borderlands.” *Borderlands and Transcultural Studies*. University of Nebraska Press, 2016.

introduce exotic medical techniques, but rather to offer appropriate social and spiritual support to the community¹⁶³” which was made, in part, by adapting the institution to the local culture and the needs of the people¹⁶⁴. In this sense, it became generalized that the natives voluntarily joined the missions for personal benefit rather than religious fervor, as living in the mission granted them food supply and security from external threats and the abuses of other colonizers and their usual practices of forced labor¹⁶⁵.

Third, missions became instrumentalized for political functions. In the early stages of conquest, missionaries would perform exploring and diplomatic activities, acting as state promoters in territories out of government jurisdiction. As explorers, they would write about geographic features or native traditions and get involved in indigenous life spreading positive images of the state and religion that would make further conquest easier¹⁶⁶. The missionaries pursued positive relations, attempting to convince locals of the moral authority of the Spanish Empire and attempting to suppress dubious or defiant attitudes among them¹⁶⁷. Priests were also valuable for the state for the legitimacy they provided, essentially because the presence of a missionary in a community was generally seen as a symbol of protection by the Spanish military in the event of foreign aggression. In this sense, villages often sought for priests to live in their communities, legitimizing the presence of military forces¹⁶⁸.

163 Fujitani, James. 2019. “The Jesuit Hospital in the Religious Context of Sixteenth-Century Japan.” Pp. 79

164 *Ibid.*, Pp. 82

165 Bannon, John Francis. 1979. “The Mission as a Frontier Institution: Sixty Years of Interest and Research.” Pp. 307-310

166 Bolton, Herbert. 1917. “The Mission as Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies.” Pp 47-52

167 Fetzer, Joel S.; Soper, Christopher: “Church and State in Spanish Formosa.” *Review of Religion and Chinese Society*. Pepperdine University, 2014.

168 Andrade, Tonio: *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2008

Lastly, their presence became crucial for their essential role in tribute collection¹⁶⁹. As the Empire was growing, the Crown established that the indigenous populations would pay taxes to the state, and the tax income from the newly acquired territories would be in part used to fund the missionary activities in those territories, promoting their work and rewarding the beneficial job that the missions were performing on behalf of the empire¹⁷⁰. Their activities would facilitate the success of the occupation, fostering the sustainability and the economic growth of the newly occupied lands. As Saavedra argues, in the end, the mission's success was based on the extraction of indigenous labor¹⁷¹.

2.4. The morality and legality of the conquest

Throughout the Sixteenth Century, several debates over the morality of the conquest sprouted in the intellectual circles in Spain, and many in-depth studies of this episode are relevant to comprehend the role of religion in the legitimation of the imperial policies, such as in Koskenniemi's "Empire and International Law: The Real Spanish Contribution¹⁷²," Dussel in "Origen de la filosofía moderna: Las Casas, Vitoria y Suárez (1514-1617)¹⁷³," Brennan in "The Ideology of Imperialism: The Spanish Debates Regarding the Conquest of America, 1511-51¹⁷⁴," and Valenzuela's "Empire, Sovereignty, and Justice in Francisco de Vitoria's International Thought: A Re-Interpretation of "De Indis" (1532)¹⁷⁵." These works focus on the development of Spanish philosophically through three of the most relevant intellectuals and their understanding

169 Schwaller, John Frederick. 2011. "The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond."

170 *Ibid.*, Pp 80

171 Saavedra, Yvette J. 2018. "The Spanish Colonial Project." *Pasadena Before the Roses: Race, Identity, and Land Use in Southern California, 1771-1890*."

172 Koskenniemi, Martti. 2011. "Empire and International Law: The Real Spanish Contribution." Pp. 1-36

173 Dussel, Enrique. 2005. "Origen de la filosofía moderna: Las Casas, Vitoria y Suárez (1514-1617)." Pp. 35-80

174 Brennan, Edward J. 1958. "The Ideology of Imperialism: The Spanish Debates Regarding the Conquest of America, 1511-51." Pp. 66-82

175 Valenzuela-Vermehren, Luis. 2013. "Empire, Sovereignty, and Justice in Francisco de Vitoria's International Thought: A Re-Interpretation of "De Indis" (1532). Pp. 66-82

of the right of conquest, Ginés de Sepúlveda, Bartolomé de Las Casas, and Francisco Vitoria. Other complementary works that focus on the issues related to the encounter of the ‘other’ and the morality of conquest are, for instance, Alvares’ “New World Slavery: Redefining the Human¹⁷⁶,” and Boucher’s “Invoking a World of Ideas: Theory and Interpretation in the Justification of Colonialism¹⁷⁷.”

The controversy regarding how conquerors should deal with the local populations emerged from the contact with the natives in the newly conquered territories. These encounters raised the essential questions of whether the Spanish could rightfully subjugate them and if they had the right to be treated as equal humans or harshly as uncivilized beings¹⁷⁸. The debates were centered mainly on property rights issues, also known as *dominium*, and the idea of *Ius Genitum*, or the Law of the Nations.

These considerations represented the beginning of Modern philosophical thought, sparking from the European experiences on colonization, territorial expansion, the understanding of the otherness and the power structures, and the right of conquest as the main topics of the Early Modernity¹⁷⁹. According to Koskenniemi, the emergence of new philosophical doctrines was a direct consequence of the political changes that states experienced throughout the Modern Era. Such were the cases of the appearance of the concept of otherness, the colonized peoples, the emergence of more centralized states requiring loyal citizens, the development of a more private property-based economic system, and the constant rivalries in Europe¹⁸⁰. In this particular case, the needs of the Spanish Crown to prevent the emergence of a noble class that would threaten the

176 Alvares, Claudia. 2008. “New World Slavery: Redefining the Human.”

177 Boucher, David. 2016. “Invoking a World of Ideas: Theory and Interpretation in the Justification of Colonialism.”

178 Brennan, Edward J. 1958. “The Ideology of Imperialism: The Spanish Debates Regarding the Conquest of America, 1511-51.” Pp. 67

179 Dussel, Enrique. 2005. “Origen de la filosofía moderna: Las Casas, Vitoria y Suárez (1514-1617).” Pp. 38

180 Koskenniemi, Martti. 2011. “Empire and International Law: The Real Spanish Contribution.” Pp. 12

monarchy made them willingly embrace the new ideas of universalism and condemn the abuses of power in the colonies¹⁸¹.

The Modern Era brought significant changes in understanding the role of men in the world and its relation to God. Even though these did not challenge the belief in a hierarchy of peoples, the different judgments of this structure gave the Christians the moral obligation to enlighten the lower nations, with the Papal authority as a powerful legitimating actor¹⁸². These debates resulted in a new perception of warfare and domination that fit with the new values of the Modern Era¹⁸³, which, together with the novel discourses around legality and morality, was materialized in the apparition of legal formulations setting the foundations for imperialism serving the Empire needs. In practice, however, the Spanish remained paternalistic and did not recognize the Indians as equals, only inventing codes of conduct to subjugate other states under the pretext of universalism, civilization, evangelization, commerce, trusteeship, and progress while hiding their true interests¹⁸⁴.

In this process, two opposing theorizations on the right to subjugate the natives collided. On one side, the traditional Aristotelian idea of ‘natural slavery’ argued that domination was justified because lower or less civilized nations existed to serve the higher ones¹⁸⁵. This idea originated in the middle ages, during the rules of Gregory VII (c. 1020-1085) and Innocent III (c. 1160-1216), who represented the intellectual basis of the concept of a worldwide empire under the Papal

181 Alvares, Claudia. 2008. “New World Slavery: Redefining the Human.” Pp. 136

182 Boucher, David. 2016. “Invoking a World of Ideas: Theory and Interpretation in the Justification of Colonialism.” Pp. 11

183 Koskenniemi, Martti. 2011. “Empire and International Law: The Real Spanish Contribution.” Pp. 12

184 *Ibid.*, Pp. 10-11

185 Brennan, Edward J. 1958. “The Ideology of Imperialism: The Spanish Debates Regarding the Conquest of America, 1511-51.” Pp. 67, 72

authority, the idea of a *sacrum imperium*¹⁸⁶ that deprived the infidels of any ownership rights¹⁸⁷. In this sense, the Pope provided an extra element of legitimacy and unique privileges for the colonization of the Americas¹⁸⁸. Following the Papal Bulls that gave Spanish monarchs jurisdiction over the Indies, the Crown materialized this doctrine in the creation of the *Encomienda* system, an institution whose purpose was to subjugate and exploit the natives to tax them and convert them to the Christian faith¹⁸⁹, and legalized in the *Requerimiento*, the legal document written in 1513 that established the authority of the Spanish Empire over the Indians¹⁹⁰. This legislation was the result of the *Juntas de Burgos* in 1512 and proclaimed the superiority of Christianity and its right to rule over all the world, giving the Spanish the power to take any territory by force to convert its subjects. This text was an effort to obtain political legitimacy for the Crown's acts and to lay the basis for the concept of a 'just war'¹⁹¹. Even though these laws aimed to protect the welfare of the Indians, the *Encomienda* system of exploitation of the natives continued to receive state funding¹⁹².

The first important intellectual in this period was Ginés de Sepúlveda, a humanist and imperial historiographer who argued that the Spanish were culturally superior to other European nations, and compared the native Americans with animals without ownership rights, giving the Spanish the absolute power to take their properties¹⁹³. In 1550-1551 the famous 'controversy of Valladolid' was celebrated, in which Sepúlveda challenged the Salamanca intellectuals to a debate in the court to

186 Valenzuela-Vermeiren, Luis. 2013. "Empire, Sovereignty, and Justice in Francisco de Vitoria's International Thought: A Re-Interpretation of "De Indis" (1532)." Pp. 272

187 Boucher, David. 2016. "Invoking a World of Ideas: Theory and Interpretation in the Justification of Colonialism." Pp. 8

188 Elliott, J. H. 1984. "Spain and America in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Pp. 161-163

189 Brennan, Edward J. 1958. "The Ideology of Imperialism: The Spanish Debates Regarding the Conquest of America, 1511-51." Pp. 70

190 Valenzuela-Vermeiren, Luis. 2013. "Empire, Sovereignty, and Justice in Francisco de Vitoria's International Thought: A Re-Interpretation of "De Indis" (1532)." Pp. 272

191 Boucher, David. 2016. "Invoking a World of Ideas: Theory and Interpretation in the Justification of Colonialism." Pp. 9

192 Brennan, Edward J. 1958. "The Ideology of Imperialism: The Spanish Debates Regarding the Conquest of America, 1511-51." Pp. 71

193 *Ibid.*, Pp. 75-76

address the Indian question. Emperor Charles V organized the gathering with an academic committee to consider the conditions of the conquest of the Americas¹⁹⁴.

On the other side, the intellectuals of the School of Salamanca, with Bartolomé de Las Casas as its first important figure were the rivals of Sepúlveda in the Valladolid debates. In 1537, he wrote that conversion should be the result of intellectual persuasion rather than the use of violence¹⁹⁵, publicly defending the rights of the natives against slavery, and his contribution was eventually essential for the abolition of slavery and the *encomienda* system¹⁹⁶. He opposed the idea that the Pope had ownership over the non-Christian nations, giving him only the responsibility to promote evangelization¹⁹⁷. One of the main objections Las Casas and the other critics made on documents like the Papal Bulls was that they saw them as examples of the Papal temporal authority ambitions¹⁹⁸. Las Casas even promoted the idea of the restoration of the Inca Empire, arguing that all the non-Christians had the right of ownership over their territories and to lawfully administrate their lands, making it illegitimate to violate their *dominium* against their will. However, the desired outcome was that the Indians should eventually embrace the Christian faith and become loyal to the Spanish Empire¹⁹⁹.

2.4.1. Francisco de Vitoria

The third and the most influential scholar of these philosophical discussions was Francisco de Vitoria, the head of the School of Salamanca and the most influential thinker of this period. In

194 Brennan, Edward J. 1958. "The Ideology of Imperialism: The Spanish Debates Regarding the Conquest of America, 1511-51." Pp. 76

195 *Ibid.*, Pp. 73

196 *Ibid.*, Pp. 75

197 Koskenniemi, Martti. 2011. "Empire and International Law: The Real Spanish Contribution." Pp. 11

198 Brennan, Edward J. 1958. "The Ideology of Imperialism: The Spanish Debates Regarding the Conquest of America, 1511-51." Pp. 69

199 Dussel, Enrique. 2005. "Origen de la filosofía moderna: Las Casas, Vitoria y Suárez (1514-1617)." Pp. 47-48

1539 he started the first university courses in Europe related to the Indian question²⁰⁰, defending that the Indian nations were equals with the Spanish, challenging the idea that the Pope had authority over all the nations, and rejecting the Aristotelian concept of ‘natural slavery²⁰¹.’ For these reasons, he is often presented as the founder of the notion of international law and the father of the juridic Modernity in the European overseas expansion²⁰².

The basis of his thought defined non-Christian nations as sovereign, legitimate, with property rights, and the ethical limits to the use of force restricting the authority of the Christian states and their institutions. Property rights and the international order were founded on justice, the essence of interstate relations²⁰³. In his thought, some of the central concepts were men’s ability to reason, their moral agency, integrity, and how their position was understood vis-à-vis other nations, opposing the idea that religious motivations for conquest were legitimate enough to deprive others of their rights. His theory, therefore, saw all men as equal, even though the existing cultural and religious differences²⁰⁴. He envisioned the world as a system based on equality among states, depriving the Pope of his ownership over territories out of his control. In this sense, the Papal authority should not have possessions, its dominion being only spiritual and only over Christian communities²⁰⁵, who asserted its jurisdiction through conversion as part of the natural law²⁰⁶. Vitoria’s understanding of spiritual conversion confronted the crimes committed in the name of the Faith, arguing that the process should be carried out in a model way using intellectual persuasion rather than coercion²⁰⁷.

200 *Ibid.*, Pp. 49

201 Brennan, Edward J. 1958. “The Ideology of Imperialism: The Spanish Debates Regarding the Conquest of America, 1511-51.” Pp. 73

202 Dussel, Enrique. 2005. “Origen de la filosofía moderna: Las Casas, Vitoria y Suárez (1514-1617).” Pp. 50

203 Valenzuela-Vermehren, Luis. 2013. “Empire, Sovereignty, and Justice in Francisco de Vitoria’s International Thought: A Re-Interpretation of “De Indis” (1532).” Pp. 263-265

204 *Ibid.*, Pp. 265

205 *Ibid.*, Pp. 289-291

206 *Ibid.*, Pp. 289-291

207 *Ibid.*, Pp. 276-278

Vitoria defined the concept of the state as the protector of the common good. He believed in the existence of an international community and the idea that humankind had inherent sociability not restricted by national boundaries, the concept of the Law of Nations, or *Ius Genitum*. The capability of all men to reason provided them the ability to behave under just and universally recognized norms and values, a shared morality and legality between peoples that asserts the existence of an international community²⁰⁸.

In Vitoria's thought, the rights and duties inherent to the human condition included the rights of immigration and residence in foreign territories, trade, preaching religious ideas, or the principle of freedom of the seas. Men, therefore, had the right to travel and reside in foreign lands without infringing any harm to the natives. However, if they were prevented from their rights as travelers or preachers and treated with violence, they would have the right to defend themselves. Considering that the natives were converted or agreed to submit to the Spanish King's authority, the local governments could be forcefully removed and replaced with Christian ones²⁰⁹. In other words, Vitoria argued that there could be a just war based on the principle of self-defense, protecting the preachers, traders, or other individuals from the attacks from the natives²¹⁰.

Lastly, he offered a scenario in which a state could rightfully take over another state's jurisdiction. If a regime deprived its population of their natural rights, performing human sacrifices or cannibalism, their neighbors should protect them and make them abandon those practices. Such a scenario represented a morally accepted reason for a just war, as states had to preserve and promote the rights of all men beyond their national borders. Sovereignty was understood, therefore, as the authority of the over its subjects and the international society²¹¹.

208 *Ibid.*, Pp. 283-285

209 *Ibid.*, Pp. 289-291

210 Koskenniemi, Martti. 2011. "Empire and International Law: The Real Spanish Contribution." Pp. 15

211 Valenzuela-Vermehren, Luis. 2013. "Empire, Sovereignty, and Justice in Francisco de Vitoria's International Thought: A Re-Interpretation of "De Indis" (1532)." Pp. 293-294

The main criticism made on Vitoria's theories focuses on him eliminating all the native agencies, depriving them of the right to oppose the activities of the foreigners in their lands. The interactions between the Spanish and the natives were not based on equality, with the natives not having the legal right to oppose these relations. For this reason, the ideas of fair trade would not apply, specifically when the Spanish focused on resource exploitation relying on institutions such as the *encomienda*, which aimed to exploit the locals and extract natural resources without any compensation for them and their authorities²¹². In this sense, Las Casas gave more rights and agency to the natives by limiting the power of the Spanish over other states, defending that it was illegitimate to impose authority over the natives even in the event of humanitarian intervention. Lastly, even though Vitoria and other like-minded intellectuals agreed that the earlier conquest had not been legitimate, they did not criticize the Spanish presence in those territories, arguing that the Spanish should remain there to protect the preachers and the natural rights of the Indians²¹³.

212 Dussel, Enrique. 2005. "Origen de la filosofía moderna: Las Casas, Vitoria y Suárez (1514-1617)." Pp. 51

213 Koskenniemi, Martti. 2011. "Empire and International Law: The Real Spanish Contribution." Pp. 8

3. Religion and legitimacy in Spanish Formosa: the political level

The present chapter aims to analyze the use of religion in legitimizing the conquest of Formosa among the structures of the Spanish Empire. For this purpose, the first section will describe how the Spanish colonizers understood their position with other nations, with the native Formosans, and how religion fitted in their idea of colonization. The second section will present the reasons and justifications that the Spanish colonizers gave for conquering the Island. And lastly, it will aim to comprehend how the religious ceremonies and rituals and their importance as legitimizing acts among the Spanish.

3.1. The power structure

The idea of colonialism results from the way the colonizers perceive the world, a particular vision that sees the different nations fit in a hierarchical structure, forming a relationship of domination²¹⁴ in which all of them are given a different role, and based on the belief in an existing cultural and racial superiority²¹⁵. As introduced in the previous sections, the Spanish Colonial project understood this hierarchy from the belief in their religious superiority and the existence of the Pope as a legitimating actor, which gave them the moral obligation to bring Christianity to those who ignored it²¹⁶. The sources referring to the conquest of Formosa follow this same idea, for instance, in what the Dominican Fr. Domingo González wrote in 1626:

214 Young, Louise. 1998. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. Pp. 11-12. and Osterhammel, Jürgen; Jansen, Jan C. 2012. *Colonialismo: Historia, formas, efectos*. Pp. 8

215 *Ibid.*, Pp. 24

216 Boucher, David. 2016. "Invoking a World of Ideas: Theory and Interpretation in the Justification of Colonialism." Pp. 11

The Supreme Pontiff, Alexander VI has personally entrusted the King and Queen of Spain with the task of sending preachers to all these kingdoms and provinces. In doing so, it is understood that the Supreme Pontiff has the right and even the divine duty to propagate the Gospel to all parts of the world, following the Lord's command to his apostles and their successors²¹⁷.

In this piece, he acknowledged the existence of a structure where the figure of the Pope had the right and duty to administer the spiritual actions of the Christian Kingdoms, who had the moral duty to follow the Papal rule. At the bottom of this structure, there were the non-Christian nations. Because they were not knowledgeable of the Faith, the Christian Kingdoms entrusted by the Pope had the right to spread their religion to them. As it can be seen from this description, the power structure is understood with the figure of the Pope at the top of the hierarchy:

By this precept and also by virtue of his office as Head of the Church and successor of St Peter, the Pope has full authority to do this. And he entrusted this mission to the kings of Castile and Portugal who have -and will – dutifully send preachers to these kingdoms in the Indies which are ruled by pagans²¹⁸.

This hierarchy, however, was not based on the Aristotelian concept of 'natural slavery' that would grant the Pope property rights of the whole world, and in which the less civilized nations would exist to serve the higher ones²¹⁹, rather, he emphasized the act of sending preachers instead of occupying their lands forcibly, an idea that fits in all the different lines of thought regarding the morality and legitimacy of the expansionist projects. All the intellectuals from Vitoria, Las Casas, to Sepúlveda saw the superiority of the Christian faith and the necessity to spread the religion. However, Domingo González's thought was more aligned with the concepts that

217 González, Domingo. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 58-59

218 *Ibid.*, 58-59

219 Brennan, Edward J. 1958. "The Ideology of Imperialism: The Spanish Debates Regarding the Conquest of America, 1511-51." Pp. 67, 72

Francisco de Vitoria explained in his works, as he defended that the Kings of Spain had to spread the religion, but without giving them authority to take any lands by force. Following these ideas, the expansion of the state was equal to the spread of the Faith, with the enemies of the Crown also being the enemies of the religion. In this line, Diego Aduarte in 1626 referred to the Dutch threat following this notion of colonization as the expansion of the True Faith:

The Dutch, who are indeed bent on weakening Spain's might and reducing the number of the Children of the Church [...] as well as the passage of preachers of the Holy Gospel who eagerly desire to evangelize Great China²²⁰.

Conquest and colonization were seen as civilizing acts that the superior nations had the moral responsibility to perform, aiding the people that fell under the rule of kings and governments that did not know the Christian faith. Colonization was, therefore, an act of benevolence of freeing the soul of the ignorant, reflecting the ideas exposed by Vitoria, Las Casas, and the members of the School of Salamanca who saw all humans as equals. This line of thought is contrary to Ginés de Sepúlveda's view of the natives as slaves and can be exemplified by many of the writings from this period. For instance, in the Archbishop of Manila's request for more priests from the Dominican Order to come to the newly conquered island, arguing that "as Isla Hermosa is populated, there arises once more the obligation to send ministers to the gentiles living there, for they need the light of the holy gospel." In which he further adds that "it would be a pity that, due to the lack of ministers, they remain blind to the light of the light of our Holy Catholic Faith²²¹." The same reasoning is present in the 1633's document by the Brotherhood of the Santa Mesa of the City of San Salvador, in which they stated that:

220 Aduarte, Diego. 1626. Published In: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 71

221 García Serrano, Miguel. 1626. Published In: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 79-80

We know that the purpose of maintaining these lands is none other than the disinterested dissemination of the faith, the greatest task that can ever be carried out in this world. Innumerable souls will be saved through this means because of the labor and loving vigilance of everyone involve in it²²².

This statement clearly shows how they presented themselves as saviors, coming to these lands only to save the poor souls of those who do not know the Catholic faith. Finally, there is yet another example of this line of thought in one of the writings by Fr. Melchor Manzano, who sent a letter to the King with the following argumentation for the conquest of Taiwan:

I beg your Majesty to realize that if God our Lord had kept a handful of Spaniards amidst so many pagan kingdoms that may and can easily crush them, then, undoubtedly it is because they are to be the instrument by which His holy Gospel may enter the kingdoms that have been under the devil's power for so many years²²³.

Overall, a trend that follows the ideas of the Vitorian thought can be seen in all these pieces. As the general understanding of the power structure, the main idea that supported it was the belief in their religious superiority and the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction over them, which was a recurrent theme in the reasons and justifications of the conquest that were written for the case of Formosa.

222 Brothers of the Santa Mesa of the City of San Salvador. 1633. Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 200

223 Manzano, Melchor. 1627. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 112-114

3.2. Reasons and justifications of the conquest

The reasons and justifications of the conquest were closely related to these ideas of an existing power structure, which gave the Empire the authority to conquer other peoples and their lands. The sources consider the benefits that the island would provide to the Empire, mentioning economic and geostrategic advantages as well as religious reasons. However, as it can be seen from these writings, in some cases both the state and the religious orders arguably seemed more interested in the economic and political aspects of the conquest, leaving religious conversion only as a legitimizing factor. Among the sources that mentioned the purposes for colonizing this island, the most important is Fr. Bartolomé Martínez's 1619 proposal. Other sources that referred to the reasons are the writings of Dr. Juan Cevicos, the Archbishop of Manila, Diego Aduarte, Fr. Melchor Manzano, and the Jesuit annual report from 1628.

3.2.1. The reasons for the conquest

The crucial role that the Dominicans played during the establishment of the outpost started before the conquest. The Dominican Fr. Bartolomé Martínez, one of the key figures in this process, wrote the reasons for establishing an outpost in northern Formosa in 1619. This writing was titled "Thesis: the advantage of establishing a port in Isla Hermosa²²⁴" and aimed to convince the authorities of the advantages this strategically located island would provide to the Crown. His reasoning highlighted the excellent location, the absence of other better options, the disadvantages of founding a port in China, the location as a strategic footing against the Dutch, to evade the humiliation suffered by the Portuguese, to avoid navigating dangerous coasts, or the accessibility to China when collecting payments for debts among others.

224 Martínez, Bartolomé. 1619. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated.

One surprising fact of Bartolomé Martínez's proposal is that the religious goals were not emphasized or even mentioned at all. Even though the spiritual expansion *was* the primary legitimizing factor in the Spanish Empire and the only reason to rightfully subjugate the natives in Vitoria's thought, this piece contrarily shows that the reasons Fr. Martínez presented for the Spanish Crown to take these lands were not related to the conversion of the natives, introducing only geopolitical goals. In this regard, it makes sense to argue that religion could be instrumentalized to justify other interests, to make colonization be seen as morally acceptable, hiding other purposes such as trade and security.

His reasoning for the conquest was divided into ten points: 1) the perfect location is for trade, as the lands are rich, and the kingdoms of China, Japan, and Siam are close. 2) Trade is convenient and less costly than in Macao, free from the influence of the mandarins, making goods and silver trade cheaper, increasing competitiveness which will eventually ruin the Dutch in the area. 3) Many legal restrictions and taxes difficult the presence in China, together with the limited security because the Chinese authorities would not accept the establishment of military presence, making it fragile to Dutch attacks. 4) A strategic location against possible invasions. 5) Here it will be the Chinese the ones who would pay taxes, not being their slaves like the Portuguese in Macao. 6) Freedom from the Chinese, and avoid the misstatement that the Portuguese receive there. 7) Chinese coasts are dangerous to navigate for their shallow areas, reefs, and presence of enemies. 8) Daily messages and trips to collect debts from the Chinese can be sent to China. 9) The island has iron, flour, and other military supplies. And 10) other practical reasons, such as the availability of wood for ships, the fact that Manila would receive the benefit of the taxes collected there from the trade, the easy access to China for sending messages, to provide a safe port for the galleons coming from the Americas, and the fact that Manila would need a bigger army to defend should this not be carried further. He finally

mentions the threat that it would suppose if this would be delayed, allowing the Japanese and the Dutch to establish themselves on the island²²⁵.

Following a similar argumentation, in 1628, two years after establishing the outpost, Dr. Juan Cevicos wrote about the motivations for coming to this Island and discussed the importance of this project to counter the Dutch presence in the southern part. He claimed that these enemies had already been harmful to the Philippines and Macao and that expelling them should be a priority higher than sending missionaries to Japan²²⁶:

And I say, avoid annoying the Japanese emperor for the sake of the conversion and also because it can be the [...] only way to expel the Dutch from that island where they have a factory, from where they have done great damage on the Philippines, the Moluccas, East India and the conversion itself²²⁷.

However, what is different from Fr. Martínez's writing is that he further mentioned the importance of spiritual expansion. He linked the conquest of Formosa to the greater good of spreading the religious faith to all the parts of the world, following the belief that the Pope had the moral authority of the Christian religion, who asked the kings of Spain and Portugal to spread Christianity to all the pagan nations, which is similar to Fr. González's argumentation. Under his idea, the conquest of Taiwan fits in the project of Christianizing the world to bring it under the spiritual authority of the Pope. Nevertheless, it is essential to highlight his argument that facing the Dutch threat was more important than the religious expansion, which means that the geopolitical goals surpassed the religious reasons. His general point for it was that the

225 *Ibid.*, Pp. 40-47

226 Cevicos, Juan. 1628. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 55

227 *Ibid.*, Pp. 55

missionaries should not focus on going to Japan and remain to convert the natives in the lands where the Crown had already political jurisdiction:

And we order you by virtue of the Holy Obedience... that you send and are obliged to send to these lands and islands virtuous men, God-fearing, wise, educated, and adept to teach our Holy Catholic faith and good behavior to those who live and inhabit them, this, His Majesty spends members of the orders at the expense of the royal treasury, [...] But they have gone to convert Japan, abandoning the islands for whose sake they had been sent. [...] There remains much to be conquered besides these islands of the Philippines, as these lands are within the reach of the members of the orders who venture into them and suffer martyrdom for their conversion²²⁸.

On the other hand, some sources solely focus on the religious aspects when referring to the reasons for the conquest. As an example, when the Archbishop of Manila Miguel García Serrano granted the Dominicans the faculty to proceed with the conversion of the natives of Formosa in 1627, he asserted that conversion had been the purpose why Fr. Bartolomé Martínez invested many resources to bring the Faith to the natives and to make the island a middle point to access and convert China²²⁹. The Archbishop granted the Order with this privilege in the following way:

For the present, in the name of His Holiness, in our best capacity and as our laws permit it, we grant the Order of Lord St Dominic [...] to preach and instruct them in our Holy Faith, and to give them doctrine in the same way as the other religious orders and native sectors do in Cagayan and in other places; and so that the Father Provincial and whoever has the authority may assign ministers to convert, preach and teach in the said island²³⁰.

228 *Ibid.*, Pp. 56

229 García Serrano, Miguel. 1627. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 95

230 *Ibid.*, Pp. 95

Another piece, written by the Dominican Diego Aduarte in his *History of the Holy Rosary* in 1640²³¹, framed the geopolitical disputes with the Dutch in the context of divine expansion, understanding territorial conquest as a holy enterprise. In this sense, these enemies were not only political but also religious, an idea that fits into Moyser's theory of a religiopolitical system in which politics and religion somewhat merged into the same thing²³²:

The Dutch, who are indeed bent on weakening Spain's might and reducing the number of children of the Church, saw that to achieve both goals it mattered that they position themselves in Isla Hermosa so as to block the route of Chinese merchants passage of preachers of the Holy Gospel who eagerly desire to evangelize Great China²³³.

Aduarte also referred, in 1640, to both the religious and the material benefits, which he defines as 'temporal,' the Empire would get from this project. He describes Formosa having:

Many known gold and silver mines, and because the natives do not know how to benefit from them, these in time will belong to the Spaniards if they persevere there, as would the other fruits of the land which Chinese in their greed seek); then, it was for the common good that our nation set foot on the island: for what is spiritual, because it seems that the arms needed for the spiritual conquest of the great China are being set in motion from there, which is so desired by the apostolic men of our times and of times past, ever since our Europe came to know about it. As for the temporal, close by is trade with the said kingdom that is so rich and abundant in merchandise, precious like no other that has been discovered or imagined could exist in all that remains to be discovered...²³⁴

231 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated.

232 Moyser, George. 1991. *Politics and Religion in the Modern World*. Pp. 13

233 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 73

234 *Ibid.*, 153

One year after the conquest started, the Dominican Fray Melchor Manzano wrote a letter to the King asking for more resources to reinforce the outpost in Formosa for the many benefits it would provide to the Empire²³⁵. In this case, the political and economic reasons surpassed the spiritual reasons, but it seems reasonable to argue that he used the religious aspect to make his argument more convincing. He explained the numerous economic benefits in the same line with the other previous proposals, referring to the abundance of resources, the good weather, and the perfect geographical location close to China. What this piece shows is the value of religion to support geopolitical and economic reasons, in which he described the importance of spreading the Faith as follows:

The main reason and what should move Your Majesty more a great Catholic prince that he is, heir of the Christian zeal of the ... kings, his ancestors is that the post is the master key to open the doors of the kingdoms of China to the Gospel. From afternoon till morning, the religious Fathers can pass through the rivers of China aboard small boats. We left Spain, driven by this intense desire, and sailed 5,000 leagues. I trust in God that by means of an amicable trade and commerce, they are to be allowed to teach the faith in the true God²³⁶.

This fragment evidences how Fr. Manzano explained the justification for colonization through Vitorian reasoning. He argued that the intentions of the Spanish were related to ideas of commerce and spreading the Catholic Faith among the nearby kingdoms, not taking the lands by force but amicably. In this sense, he understood that the primary purpose for establishing an outpost was related to the religious expansion in the nearby kingdoms, being especially easy for the priests to enter China from this island. He further continued:

235 Manzano, Melchor. 1627. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 112-114

236 *Ibid.*, Pp. 112-114

The Christian converts in Manila -and they are many- and those who will be converted in this island, have to be, even if they are young, a great help for the ministers of the Gospel to enter China. [...] And so, in the name of Great China, whose case I take up by virtue of the general authority given me in Manila, and by the heart of our Lord Jesus Christ, I ask Your Majesty to command the governor of the Philippines to fortify and favor that port and Isla Hermosa; for from the service rendered to Your Majesty in these parts, will come other greater kingdoms, and that of Heaven; and I will receive a singular reward²³⁷.

An interesting case to point out is the argumentation that the Jesuits gave for their interest in establishing themselves in Formosa. A Jesuit report from 1628 mentions that they intended to remain in for the conversion of the natives, but to make it easier to enter Japan in the times of the prosecution of the Christians. The Jesuit Provincial in Macao sent them to Formosa to find ways to enter Japan: “because as the doors of Japan are tightly shut, due to the persecution, our Jesuit brothers seek extraordinary means to enter, to aid that afflicted Christian people²³⁸.”

In sum, these different sources present two general trends. Firstly, they show the diversity of interests that all the involved actors had, from the Crown to the Dominican and Jesuit orders. It seems that the religious orders were aiming to get access to Japan and China while the Crown was trying to get material benefits and secure the smooth trade between Manila and Macao by expelling the Dutch. In this regard, every actor had different motivations for their presence in Taiwan, which was arguably a consequence of the high level of fragmentation of the Empire. And secondly, it might be argued that religious motivations were relevant to make the geopolitical goals morally acceptable. For these two reasons, religion was an important factor among the justifications given for the colonization.

237 *Ibid.*, Pp. 112-114

238 Jesuit Father account. 1628. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 129-131

3.2.2. The Justification

The process of justifying the conquest exposed in the previous section was grounded in religious reasoning and highly influenced by the ideas of the School of Salamanca. The most important document that explains the justification of the conquest of Formosa was written in 1626 by the Dominican Fr. Domingo González²³⁹.

Fr. González's justification was based on the principles of the Dominican Francisco de Vitoria, especially applying the idea of *Ius Genitum*, one of the pillars in his works. The writer himself refers to Vitoria as the intellectual source for the justification on several passages, such as in: "The Supreme Pontiff has approved all these, and so have all the learned men in Spain, among them Professor Vitoria²⁴⁰," which highlights the extent to which this figure was perceived as an authority whose doctrine became deeply rooted in the imperial thought.

In González's justification, two of the main ideas from Vitoria's notion of *Ius Genitum* can be seen, which are the right to preach and the concept of free trade among nations. However, it can be seen throughout this document how Fr. González understood religious expansion through preaching as the fundamental justification, following the belief in the power structure that granted authority and jurisdiction to the Pope over the Christians, together with his duty to spread the gospel:

It is understood that the Supreme Pontiff has the right and even the divine duty to propagate the Gospel to all parts of the world, following the Lord's command to his apostles and their successors [...] he entrusted this mission to the kings of Castile and Portugal who have -and will – dutifully

239 González, Domingo. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated.

240 *Ibid.* Pp. 59

send preachers to these kingdoms in the Indies which are ruled by pagans. [...] And thus our Lord the King without need for further consultation, as the matter has been consulted so many times, has granted permission to go and settle in this island, like other ones²⁴¹.

As said in this fragment, the Pope granted the King jurisdiction to send preachers to these lands, not to take them by force. The Papal authority remained only spiritual without having ownership over the whole world, noticeably opposing the Aristotelian doctrine. The Vitorian notion of *Ius Genitum*, which defended that all men possess the essential rights of traveling, residing in foreign lands, and spreading ideas amongst others, granted the King the right to send preachers to expand the Faith. Fr. González's justification is aligned with the understanding of the world and the power structure that in this period put God and the Pope above the Christian Kingdoms, mainly Spain and Portugal. These ideas of shared rights and universalism served as a justification for colonialism, surrounding the actions within an aura of humanitarian ideas of spreading civilization, trade, progress, or religion²⁴².

The second right from the *Ius Genitum* emphasized in González's argumentation is the right of trade. As he claims, "Foreign trade and commerce is a human right in so far as this is not carried out to the detriment of the inhabitants of a land²⁴³." Even if the men sent to this island are not preachers, they have the right to establish trade relations, and the natives do not have the right to reject the foreigners that come with the purpose of trading²⁴⁴. The main reasoning behind this idea of trade is that it is beneficial as it promotes friendly relations among nations:

241 *Ibid.* Pp. 58-59

242 Koskenniemi, Martti. 2011. "Empire and International Law: The Real Spanish Contribution." Pp. 10-11

243 González, Domingo. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 61

244 *Ibid.* Pp. 60

The Lord had it that all things not be found in one kingdom alone, thus encouraging communication, friendship and trade. And these tendencies are so intimately rooted in human nature that no matter how barbaric these people surrounding us may be, all of them value the warm welcome they extend to foreigners who, in turn, come to these parts without the intention to do harm, which is a great sign of good judgment²⁴⁵.

Another essential point in Fr. González's justification is his argumentation that foreigners should enter these lands accompanied by military forces. These would solely aim to assure the safety of the preachers or other individuals, not to be used to present a threat to the natives. Fr. González suggested that the Spanish had in previous encounters experienced many hardships from natives and, consequently, had reasons to believe it wiser to be guarded by armed units. Not doing so, the natives and the Dutch could attack them without difficulties and deprive them of their rights. Their function would be only to provide security, and the only acceptable conflict would be a defensive one, an idea taken from the Vitorian doctrine that a war can be justified to defend the preachers or traders from the attacks from the natives²⁴⁶.

Fr. González understood that the natives had the right to be suspicious and refuse to make deals with the Spanish, an assumption based on the possibility of them feeling intimidated by a superior force with higher technology. Also, they might have known of previous Spanish conquests and try to prevent that from happening to them. For these reasons, he argued that it would not be fair to conquer them by force against their will. However, González mentioned that because of these factors, "Even if they rightly fear us and try to impede our [presence], the Spaniards may still send ambassadors to assure them – in some manner – that they do not intend to harm the natives" and that "the fear of the natives is not enough to cause for the Spaniards to lose the right to trade and security in Isla Hermosa. Thus, they can justly defend themselves

245 *Ibid.* Pp. 59

246 Koskenniemi, Martti. 2011. "Empire and International Law: The Real Spanish Contribution." Pp. 15

against anyone who might want to deprive them of this right²⁴⁷.” Aligned with Vitoria’s doctrine, this idea recognized the property rights or *dominium* of the natives, as their land could not be taken by force. However, the likelihood of a hostile encounter also granted the Spanish the right to protect themselves, the main argument that he gave for the establishment of a fort to have protection from the natives and the Dutch that were enemies with the Spanish:

If the safety of these preachers can not be assured, then the authorities may have to provide them some protection, as it is but right and just to defend the innocent [...] And since the safety of these soldiers – who accompany the preachers – can not be assured unless they build a fort to defend themselves, then they can rightfully ask permission from the barbarians to do this [...]. But if is difficult to do so or if it is too dangerous to be waiting for an answer, they can of course start building it. This is even clearer in our case, not only in view of the grave risk posed both by the barbarians and, more so, by the Dutch²⁴⁸.

The idea from this argumentation of González’s Vitorian discourse is that in the case of a conflict the colonizers become the victims and have the right to retribution, a reasoning that makes the victim to appear as the aggressor. The Spanish attacked by the natives are deprived of their rights to trade and preach or their right to be there and conduct their businesses. This idea that the colonizers have the right to be there and the natives should not oppose their rights frames the conquest of Formosa as not only morally acceptable but also makes the colonizers believe that they are there because it is their right and that they have to spread the word of God to all the barbarians that live in such far lands.

The Spanish, in this sense, frame the whole idea of the conquest as a right they have as men, and the natives should not prevent the Spanish from their dealings. The following fragment from

247 González, Domingo. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 60

248 *Ibid.*, Pp. 59

Fr. González's writing shows how the colonizers were seen positively, arriving with only good intentions and convince the natives of these. As a result, should the natives oppose the right of the Spanish to be there, not only the establishment of military facilities but also punishing them would be justified:

And thus if they still want to make trouble despite our having done everything within our power to convince them that we wish them no evil, then the Spaniards can make use of force to build a fortress and even punish those natives for any injuries that they inflicted on our people, even if this means confiscating their towns and lands. That is what justice dictates in the *Ius Genitum*²⁴⁹.

In another document written during the first years of the conquest, Fr. Domingo González was asked whether the process had been legitimate or not, to which he answered that it happened, indeed, among many debates over its justification. However, he argued it had been proper even if the soldiers had committed any violations. In such a scenario, he mentioned that Fr. Bartolomé Martínez, “a holy and learned man, very much respected by all, was in charge of everything²⁵⁰.” However, in the case they provoked the Spanish and started the fighting against them, they would then lose their privileges and be punished, making them “more indebted now and therefore deserving of more punishment which is being delayed for the sake of peace²⁵¹.” In his discourse, he was asked about the right the Spanish had to force the natives to pay tributes to the Crown, to which he diverted the question by answering that they would find out what is just only “after hearing many other opinions²⁵².” His response means that the idea of forcing the natives to pay tributes was, at least, not dismissed at the beginning, which is something that would go against the Vitorian principles, who defend that the native nations could only be induced by conversion and accept being part of the Empire by choice.

249 *Ibid.*, Pp. 61

250 *Ibid.*, Pp. 213

251 *Ibid.*, Pp. 213

252 *Ibid.*, Pp. 214

Fr. González also agreed that *sangleys* (mestizos) coming from the Philippines could pay a price, a tribute that he preferred to see as a payment for a permit, to the state to work in these lands. He further added that: “In my opinion, the Governor is entitled to do this even without orders from his Majesty²⁵³.” He also mentioned that the military authorities, the *cabos*, had entered into many trading deals without breaking oaths of loyalty to the King:

Can the *cabos* (i.e. military authorities), like the ones in Isla Hermosa, the Moluccas, and Cagayan engage in trading without breaking the oath of loyalty or the orders from the King? Answer: In the case of the Moluccas, the *cabo* can decide for himself; in the case of Cagayan, it is mainly the responsibility of the *alcalde mayor*, while be a military official is an additional responsibility; he takes an oath against making such deals and is obliged by the laws and therefore sins against these and against the oath if he breaks them. As for the one in Isla Hermosa, we have already seen that he may enter into these kind of deals²⁵⁴.

The present section shows how the Vitorian thought had a significant impact on how the conquest was understood. The justification was framed within the idea of the universal rights, the *Ius Genitum*. Religion, and trade to a lesser extent, were the main reasons why Fr. González justified that the Spanish could rightfully establish themselves in Formosa. All these documents emphasize the religious motives for coming to these lands which, as a result, made religion arguably the main instrument to justify the process of colonization.

3.2.3. The idea of the ‘other’

Framing the native populations as backward, dehumanizing them, or seeing their cultures as places without ethics is a process defined as ‘displacement,’ a theory that gives space to

253 *Ibid.*, Pp. 214

254 *Ibid.*, Pp. 214

discourses defending that the colonizers had the right to rule over them²⁵⁵. In this regard, the Spanish views on the Formosans followed this idea of racial and cultural superiority, which makes the use of religion for the legitimation of the conquest necessarily understood according to how the Spanish colonizers saw and understood the natives, their nature, and their role in the world.

Several sources from this period mentioned how the Spanish saw and engaged with the indigenous populations. The first recorded encounter between the Spanish and the natives happened in 1582 in the context of the shipwreck that brought the travelers from Macao to Japan to the island for a short period. Fr. Pedro Gómez, Fr. Alonso Sánchez, and Fr. Francisco Pirez recorded these first encounters. Their descriptions introduced the natives as pagans or *negros*, without probably no king of authority, very poor, and, therefore, they saw no point in engaging with them in any trade dealings. Describing them as ‘pagans’ does not have to be overlooked, as they were being referred for their condition as non-believers. This resulted from the idea of dividing the world between those aligned with the Faith and those ignoring it, an ideology related to the whole idea of the structure of the world. These natives were seen as hostile and dangerous, who attacked the members of the shipwreck on several occasions to steal the goods that they could gather²⁵⁶ and, as Fr. Pedro Gómez recorded, “The Portuguese had to prepare their shotguns to defend themselves from the *negros* of the land who, like bothersome flies, swarm around to check if they could get the remains of our boat that would be washed ashore²⁵⁷.” Another survivor of the shipwreck described also the same events, how the natives stole their

255 Price, Richard N. 2018. “The Psychology of Colonial Violence.” Pp 29 and Fannon, Franz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Pp. 40

256 Gómez, Pedro. 1582. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 5-6

257 *Ibid.*, Pp. 6

goods as they arrived at the shoreline²⁵⁸, to which Fr. Francisco Pirez referred as ‘barbarians²⁵⁹.’ This first encounter shows how the Spanish saw the natives as uncivilized and brutal inhabitants, and when both groups engaged was for personal survival, mainly for trading goods.

The idea that the natives were uncivilized and lived a sinful life became even more spread in the written records after the beginning of the colonial project. The Dominican Diego Aduarte described the first encounters of the Spanish with the indigenous by portraying them as barbarians that became civilized only after living in contact with the Spanish and the Christian Faith²⁶⁰. He described the importance of the religious conversion to pacify the natives and bring order to their towns. For instance, in his description of Father Esquivel’s work in Taiwan:

The village of Taparri had the worst kind of people in the entire Island. All of them were pirates who raided and killed at sea as many people as they could. [...] And when this saintly man arrived, he resolved to live in this village by himself, amidst such people, and to work at their conversion, unmindful of the risks to which he exposed himself, as one who desired death for such a just cause. Thus, he was the first to purposely live among these people and the one who worked the most at converting them²⁶¹.

In this fragment, it can be seen how religious practices and conversion were seen as an instrument to civilize the natives and move them away from their backward activities. They were described as ‘pirates’ and ‘killers’ that were pacified thanks to the efforts of a priest. He further continued:

258 Sánchez, Alonso. 1582. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 11

259 Pirez, Francisco. 1583. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 15

260 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 204

261 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 204

And the barbarians who had lived as savages who drank the blood of their neighbors and ate the flesh of their enemies, were domesticated by their contact with the members of the order... such that they humbly and peacefully brought their wives and children to the church...²⁶²

It has to be highlighted how Aduarte mentioned that this process was made peacefully, that the natives offered themselves to the priests, but without mentioning their reasoning for that. Whether there was some persuasion or incentive that made them decide to offer themselves to the priest, which in the Vitorian doctrine would be the only way to carry out the conversion, not through coercive means²⁶³, it was not mentioned in this writing. It is also relevant how he used the word ‘domesticated,’ which could imply a particular vision of the natives in a rather dehumanized way. In another source, he explained how thanks to the baptisms:

They have started to undo those gentile beliefs which, as regards their customs, were like an enclosed jungle inhabited only by wild beasts, where not even the basics of human discipline and property have ever existed [...] A few years back, no foreigner could enter their land without [the natives] having drunk his blood in the manner of carnivorous wolves²⁶⁴.

He also highlighted how the Formosan natives were seen as infantile and primitive peoples surrounded by superstitions and traditions that, to the eyes of the Spanish, were seen as backward. They did not have any knowledge, were careless, negligent, and their only motivation was profit. Furthermore, they did not have any values or ethical and moral codes to guide them toward proper behaviors:

262 *Ibid.*, Pp. 73

263 Valenzuela-Vermehren, Luis. 2013. “Empire, Sovereignty, and Justice in Francisco de Vitoria’s International Thought: A Re-Interpretation of “De Indis” (1532).” Pp. 276-278

264 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 219

Their ways are similar to those of the others – somewhat inept and slow but naturally candid and simple [...] Some are extremely greedy and constantly go about begging. I believe that this is due to the poverty and want in which they live. This is why mothers kill their infants by burying them alive or giving them away in exchange for stones, clothing material or *carayo*, all this due to their lack of clothing or food. The natives show no form of charity or respect for each other, more so with those afflicted with repulsive diseases, like leprosy. To avoid contamination, lepers are left to die unattended. [...] Their idols range from the chirping of some small bird, which we call *cauda tremula* (sic), to the heron, to good or bad dreams, and even to sneezing. [...] They do not have any kind of rites or sacrifices, or any sign of deference or reverence to anyone; neither do they have words to express these ideas in their language²⁶⁵.

This piece revealed how poverty, begging, drunkenness, idolatry, among other vices were seen with great disguise by the Spanish, describing them in a rather negative and undeveloped way. Their poverty made them live in a negative and dehumanized environment, deprived of any values, in which individuals had to live a sinful life. This vision made the presence of Spanish colonizers gain authority as civilizing agents. Another example of this idea is related to how their activities and traditions were seen with great disguise, especially the celebrations that involved alcohol drinking:

Drunkenness. This is their primary vice. The feasts would last for three full days, day and night [...] ²⁶⁶ They are a filthy lot who eat deer entails without first cleaning these of excrement. They celebrate with drinking sprees when they harvest and when the rice grains appear, and after headhunting, they have a chant just for this purpose. They also drink much when relatives come and when their old women, called *majurbol*, recommend it²⁶⁷.

265 Unknown Author. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 179

266 *Ibid.*, Pp. 179

267 *Ibid.*, Pp. 180

The natives were not only perceived as backward by the Spanish but also their medical treatments were seen as superstitious traditional practices, recognized as a sinful and wrong way of treating the ill. In these tribes, old women usually were the ones taking care of the sick, and the Spanish saw their methods as malicious and a product of the devil. As described in a source from 1632: “These old women of whom I speak are like sorceresses who speak with the devil²⁶⁸.”

How the natives were seen morally justified the belief in their inferiority and, as a result, legitimized their evangelization²⁶⁹. In other words, the way the Spanish saw the natives reinforced the idea that their actions were legitimate, and that religion was the only way to bring them under the umbrella of civilization:

The people of Taparri and the Quimaurri are neighbors of the Spaniards, but are not yet Christianized. Their women are prone to a thousand vices and are easily fooled by *cuentas* (sic) and stones (sic). Even the children, through the daily coming of the Spaniards, have learned Spanish so well that there is no vulgar or coarse expression that does not escape their lips. As this has become a habit in such a short time, there is no telling what the future holds for the children in such neighborhood²⁷⁰.

Seeing the natives in such a negative way gives space to justify the reasoning that the Spanish would rather be cautious. Because their general idea of the natives regarded them as hostile, backward, and dishonest, the argument that defended that the priests should be accompanied by military personnel was justified, an idea that perfectly fits in the justifications in Vitoria’s thought. In this regard, for instance, the previous section explained how Fr. Domingo

268 *Ibid.*, Pp. 180

269 Dussel, Enrique. 1995. *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of “the Other” and the Myth of Modernity*. Pp. 54

270 Unknown Author. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 183

González described the natives in such a way that justified the presence of armed forces on the island. Fr. González's idea portrays the priests as 'innocents' in the face of the barbarians that might cause harm to those who go to these lands in a mission of God. The soldiers that accompany the priests can only defend themselves against the natives:

If the safety of these preachers can not be assured, then the authorities may have to provide them some protection, as it is but right and just to defend the innocent. [...] Our experience is that these barbarian provinces have not guaranteed the safety of our priests. Therefore whoever will be sending preachers must also give them armed escort, not because the Gospel must be preached through violent means, but simply because their safety has to be assured. However, these soldiers must never use their weapons unless they are gravely provoked²⁷¹.

In the same line, Jacinto Esquivel argued that because the natives were dangerous, it was necessary to assign some military members for protection to the expeditions that the missionaries made. This would also prevent them from killing themselves and attacking other natives that are friends with the Spanish.

The second reason is to prevent the natives from pillaging and killing the other natives of the island who live near our port, and who are our friendly with us; these are the natives of Senar and those living along the Tanchuy river whom get summarily beheaded when the harvest season comes²⁷².

Some other sources also argued that the natives did not have any authority, each village having its government and frequently being at war with each others²⁷³. Juan de Medina's

271 González, Domingo. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 58-59

272 Esquivel, Jacinto. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 115

273 Jesuit annual report. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 88

description of the natives also reflected the idea that the natives were dangerous and that Chinese that came to the island did so only caring about profit:

Its inhabitants are fierce, and live without reason, but as the chiefs dictate. Ours have suffered significant hardships there. [...] The Chinese came and offered many things when the soldiers had money; but, when money failed, all was about to perish²⁷⁴.

The idea that the Chinese were treacherous and only cared about profit was further emphasized by the episode of the death of Fr. Esquivel, murdered by the crew of a Chinese boat on his way to Japan. The Japanese were rewarding them for killing the priests that attempted to go to their country:

After a few days at sea, it seemed that the Chinese were delaying the voyage to Japan. And they fell upon and killed the innocent priests, unaware as they were of any treachery, both joyfully offering their lives to the lord. Afterwards, they cut off their noses and ears, salted them and brought them to Japan, presenting them to the judges who were butchering the holy martyrs in Nagasaki. They thanked them and rewarded them with objects of great value and a great quantity of silver²⁷⁵.

Lastly, it has to be mentioned that not all the sources have such a negative view of the natives. An exception is the 1626 Jesuit annual report, which described the natives as intelligent and civilized, questioning the reasons why the Spanish pillaged the village once the natives fled out of fear in one of the first encounters:

274 Medina, Juan. 1630. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 115

275 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 210

As our men entered the port, the whole population fled. They numbered a full thousand houses of natives who settled there. Entering the houses, they were able to see, by the articles that they found, that those people were intelligent and civilized²⁷⁶.

In sum, the general idea that can be grasped from these pieces is that the result of framing these native groups as spaces without values, ethics, and morality, allowed the process of colonization to fit in the idea of the civilizing mission. Bringing culture, progress, and morality to those who did not know them allowed the Spanish to present themselves as saviors rather than conquerors. Religion was seen, by authors such as Aduarte, as the main instrument to civilize these natives, mentioning in his work how their lives changed when they came in contact with the Christian faith. In other words, the general trend perceived from these pieces is the widespread understanding of colonization as a positive act by these authors, which for them was a humanitarian action of helping those who lived in much worse conditions.

3.3. Rituals and ceremonies

Daily actions such as prayers or celebration of the Mass demonstrate to what extent religion was present in everyday activities. Rituals, ceremonies, and even political actions were surrounded by an aura of solemnity and legality, a spirit of sacredness, and legitimation that religion provided. Religion was present in the lives of individuals, and some accounts are explicative of the uses of the Faith both in everyday life as well as in certain rituals and ceremonies. For instance, In Fr. Pedro Gómez's record of the 1582 expedition, it is shown how religion was fundamental for the crew of the ship:

276 Jesuit annual report. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 73

When the junk ran aground, they called me to the cabin and there, with the Head of the Virgins in my hands, I began to console the people and move them to repent for their sins. [...] they were all praying and weeping that God in his mercy would at least spare their lives for they had lost all their belongings. We, the four priests, then began to hear confessions²⁷⁷.

This piece reflects how the worshiping of icons and saints became one of the fundamental elements of the Catholic faith after the Counter-Reformation²⁷⁸, something also present in other writings whose authors saw the introduction of holy images to the natives as important religious symbols for adoration and prayers²⁷⁹. Secondly, the piece highlights the importance of the priests, not only for their purpose of conversion but also to serve as a moral authority amongst the members of the expedition, whom they could trust in case of difficulties. Fr. Gómez explained how after the shipwreck, a chapel was ordered to be built in the camp “where Mass may be celebrated every day, and litanies recited daily” He further continued:

We celebrated four masses daily and preached many times. Many confessed and received communion [as we did among ourselves]. Everyday we recited litanies in the chapel, to where we brought the Head of the Virgins in procession. We raised a large cross that we made on top of a mountain, bearing it to the spot in procession, barefoot and bareheaded and to the music of the *cantores*. The Head of the Virgin accompanied it until it was set in place. There, we entrusted ourselves to her²⁸⁰.

Ceremonies were also crucial to enhance the views of the natives on the Spanish. Aduarte explained how the first converts on the island, the two daughters of a Japanese Christian, were

277 Gómez, Pedro. 1582. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 4

278 Barnadas, Josep M. 1894. “The Catholic Church in Colonial Spanish America.” Pp. 516

279 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 223

280 Gómez, Pedro. 1582. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 7

celebrated with “solemnity and pomp. The godfather of the two was the Sergeant Major and Officer Antonio Carreño Valdés. There was shooting of artillery and those with harquebuses fired a military salute²⁸¹.”

The ceremony of taking possession of the island was made with great solemnity and involved in great symbolism with all the procedures to make it legitimate, and at in which the religious orders and Fr. Bartolomé Martínez were present, as Antonio Carreño de Valdés described the act that took place on May 16th 1626²⁸². He explained that the process was made only after attempting to negotiate with the natives through the members of the religious orders. After the negative response of the natives, the Spanish took possession in a gesture that, on principle, would go against the ideas defended by Francisco de Vitoria and Bartolomé de Las Casas. In this way, it seems that this was an act that would happen regardless of the response of the natives when asked to fall under the jurisdiction of the King of Spain, a deed that would deprive them of their natural rights in a way rather close to the Aristotelian line of thought. This act challenges the multiple justifications that had been made about the legality and morality of the conquest of Formosa and reveals how the actions taken by the state did not always fall under the same line of thought. Furthermore, it shows how the religious justifications were not goals by themselves, as taking possession of the land happened without the consent of the natives.

However, there are numerous actions taken by the state that follow the Vitorian thought of protecting the natives’ natural and property rights, for instance when Aduarte explained how because of the injuries and robbery that the Spanish inflicted upon the natives after the first

281 Aduarte, Diego. 1582. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 73

282 Carreño de Valdés, Antonio. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 75

encounters, they would get a compensation²⁸³, as Fr. Domingo González mentions that Fr. Bartolomé Martínez “promised the natives compensation for the abuses and also for the land that the Spaniards seized²⁸⁴,” which is stated as a principle in Vitoria’s thought. A few lines written by Carreño can be more illustrative of these arguments and the events that took place that day:

Antonio Carreño de Valdés [...] declared that by virtue of the order from Lord Fernando de Silva, Knight of St James and Governor and Captain of the Philippines, he begins the fortification and, in the name of His Majesty, acquires possession of the island, fort and the native towns. That because after having tried to negotiate with some of the natives through his retinue of members of the religious orders and captains, offering them friendly dealings and after waiting for their answer for four days, the natives refused to render obeisance to His Majesty. On this day, Mass was celebrated, a cross raised up, and the royal standard set up with the required solemnity and honor. And so that this day may be forever recorded, he said that in the best form and manner that can be lawfully allowed, he took possession of the said port and fort to represent all the other things in the island in the name of His Majesty, and as his royal patrimony²⁸⁵.

Another example of a solemn ceremony is the episode of the installment of the Virgin of the Rosary in the church of Senar, which shows how essential images and saints were to religious activities, and how the natives willingly accepted them. As it was described by Aduarte:

The Sky cleared and the sun came out, seemingly to rejoice over the feast; and a Mass of the Virgin of the Rosary was celebrated. They brought her out in procession, with the soldiers firing their harquebuses and setting fireworks ablaze in her honor. The dance symbolized the Queen of Heaven’s taking possession of the land, casting off the devil’s ancient power over it... And the

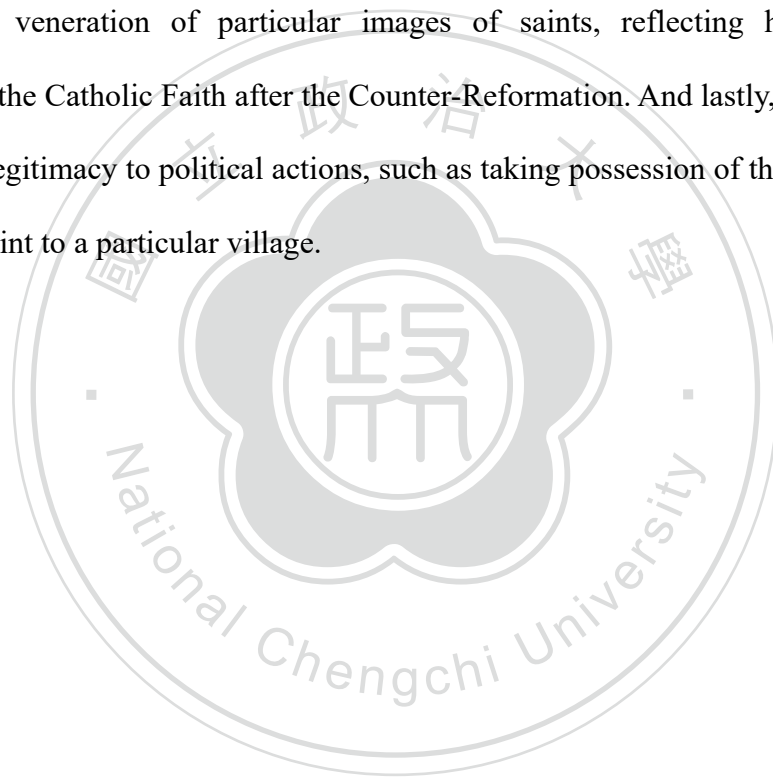
283 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 73

284 González, Domingo. 1627-1633. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 213

285 Carreño de Valdés, Antonio. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 75

natives showed great rejoicing. The captain invited the native leaders to eat, something that they greatly appreciated. To show their pleasure, they suddenly performed their customary dance, which seemed disgraceful to us, but not to them because they were very happy doing it²⁸⁶.

The main point of this section has been to illustrate how religious ceremonies became relevant both in everyday practices and in the celebration of particular events. Religion was so essential for these Christians that even in the worst conditions, such as in the event of the shipwreck, a place for celebrating the Mass every day was erected. Besides, worshipping highly focused on the veneration of particular images of saints, reflecting how these became indispensable in the Catholic Faith after the Counter-Reformation. And lastly, Ceremonies would give an aura of legitimacy to political actions, such as taking possession of the island or bringing the image of a saint to a particular village.



286 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 222

4. Religion and Legitimacy in Spanish Formosa: the societal level

The previous chapter has explored how the conquest was made legitimate among the colonizers, and the present sections will aim to analyze how religion was used to enhance how the natives saw the Spanish conquerors. These sections will follow the idea that the Catholic Faith was essential in a frontier system built around the missions and the work of the priests as pacifiers, engaging with the natives and living amongst them, and will be organized as follows. The first section will analyze how the locals saw the Spanish, and the second will use the concept of the frontier institution to analyze the engagement with the natives, the process of conversion, and the establishment of schools and hospitals to understand how the missions operated.

4.1. The Indigenous views on the Spanish

For understanding religion in the process of ‘pacifying’ the natives and legitimizing the conquest among them, it is relevant to consider the perception that the natives had on the Spanish conquerors. Throughout the previous sections, it has been argued that Vitoria’s principles were predominant among the justifications of the conquest, especially emphasizing the process of persuading the natives rather than getting jurisdiction of their lands by force. His reasoning also accepted that the natives had the right to be suspicious and refuse their dealings with the Spanish, but they would not deprive them of their rights of being there and spreading their ideas.

As the native societies did not produce written documents, studies can only rely on sources written by the foreigners themselves or others that studied them to analyze how the natives saw the Spanish conquerors. In this regard, native’s views are reflected through others’ points of

view and, therefore, can be subjected to their particular interests or perception of them. This section will attempt to analyze these through the writings the Spanish produced.

The Spanish established themselves in two main areas, the present day Keelung and Tamsui. In 1632, Fr. Esquivel wrote a document in which he listed the tribes, towns, and villages in these areas, mentioning their features, available resources, and some additional comments about the natives among other kinds of suggestions²⁸⁷. The territorial distinction he made divided them into three main areas, the villages Northeast and Northwest of San Salvador and the towns South of Tamsui.

The first area, the northeastern region, combined more than forty villages, including Quimaurri, Caquiuanuan, Caraban, Turoban, Rarangus, and Patibur among others. He mentioned that soldiers had to be sent to Caraban to protect its gold mines and “to prevent the natives there from pillaging and killing the other natives of the island who live near our port.” These neighboring villages Fr. Esquivel referred to were the natives of Senar from the northwest, and he also wanted to prevent Caraban from killing Spaniards, because they murdered the survivors of a shipwreck in 1632. In another incident, some natives from Rarangus and neighboring villages killed ten members of a group coming from Manila²⁸⁸. He explained that there was a common language among all these communities, known as Bacay. A Jesuit record from 1626 mentioned that each village surrounding San Salvador governed itself, and some were at war with each other²⁸⁹.

287 Esquivel, Jacinto. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 162

288 *Ibid.*, Pp. 163

289 Jesuit annual report. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 88

The second area, northwest of San Salvador, was comprised of the villages of Taparri and Senar. He mentioned that the Taparris were the ‘pirates’ close to the city of San Salvador, the ones that escaped from the Spanish upon their arrival, and the ones that were robbed and promised restitution afterward. He mentioned that there were Taparris all along the northwest coast, and he advised having them moved inland because they murdered twenty or thirty Spaniards²⁹⁰. The natives of Quimaurri and Taparri “have the same customs and traits. They are divided and try to outshine each other²⁹¹.” Several sources coincide that the Indians from Quimaurri and Taparri were the ones with less good nature, probably because they lived in great poverty²⁹², and also “because these Taparris and the Quimaurris used to be the pirates in this island and are craftier than the other natives; they are not as simple and as good-natured as the rest²⁹³.” As Aduarte described them: “The village of Taparri had the worst kind of people in the entire Island. All of them were pirates who raided and killed at sea as many people as they could²⁹⁴,” mentioning that the work of Fr. Esquivel brought peace between the Taparris and Quimaurris²⁹⁵.

After the Taparris, and closer to Tamsui, there were the natives of Senar, who also escaped from the Spanish at their first encounter, and the natives of Quipatao²⁹⁶. The Jesuit account of 1628 mentioned an incident that occurred in the area surrounding Tamsui. The natives there acted very friendly to the members of the Dominican and Jesuit order but were enemies with their neighbors. However, having made peace with their rivals, they betrayed the Spanish and

290 Esquivel, Jacinto. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 165

291 *Ibid.*, Pp. 166

292 Unknown Author. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 179

293 *Ibid.*, Pp. 183

294 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 204

295 *Ibid.*, Pp. 205

296 Esquivel, Jacinto. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 166, 168

murdered the priests and soldiers with them²⁹⁷. Another example was recorded by Aduarte, in which “One wicked native chief of Tamchuy, at whose instigation some villages staged an uprising and ambushes where they killed some Spaniards. The first one who fell under their weapons was the holy martyr Fr. Francisco [Váez] de Santo Domingo [...]²⁹⁸,” this being the result of the rivalry between Pantao and Senar when the priest attempted to bring peace among both villages. The natives of Pantao welcomed the idea of having their own church, and the village of Senar also accepted at the beginning, but after discussing the matter among themselves, resolved that it was not a good idea, and murdered the priest²⁹⁹. Likewise Fr. Luis Muro was killed by the natives of Senar after visiting them in order to bring them back to their town after they left and burned down the Church³⁰⁰. What can be seen from these pieces is that the enmity towards the Spanish in these encounters was the result of a political calculation. The natives of Senar probably did not wish to establish peace with those of Pantao, and then decided to eliminate those who attempted to establish good relations among them. In this sense, these acts were arguably not an action taken explicitly against the Spanish, but it was more like a political move.

Lastly, Fr. Esquivel referred to the natives south of Tamsui until the Dutch fort, including the natives of Pantao. He described them as friends with the Spanish, who were able to securely travel through those lands. However, these natives had constant hostilities with their neighbors, and they practiced headhunting among each other. They were enemies of the natives of Senar, who were rivals of the Palauan and Cabalan as well³⁰¹.

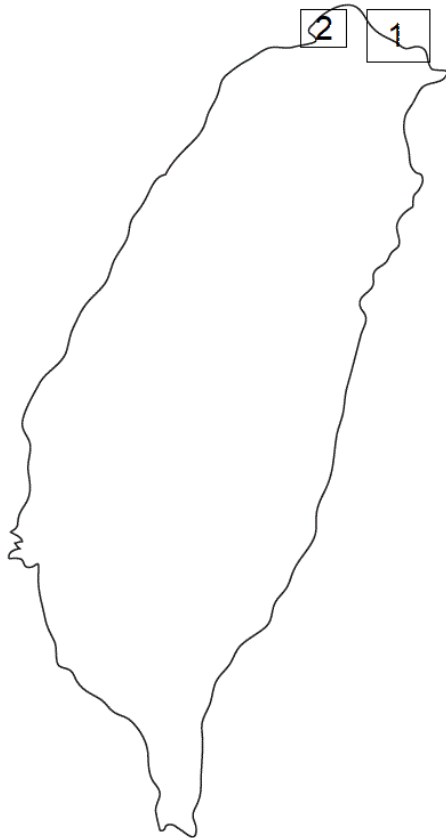
297 Unknown Jesuit Father. 1628. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp.131

298 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 239

299 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 240-241

300 *Ibid.*, Pp. 244

301 Esquivel, Jacinto. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 166, 169



The two main areas of Spanish influence:

- 1) San Salvador. Present day Keelung.
- 2) Tamsui area.

The first important point that has to be highlighted regarding the views that the natives had on the Spanish is that the outcome of their engagement was highly dependent on the context. In some cases, especially when the locals were not outnumbered, these did not fear the conquerors and demanded action to attack them. Numerous violent encounters demonstrate that their relationship was not always smooth and that the natives did not embrace everything that the Spanish conquerors did. In the first encounter in 1582, it can be seen from the descriptions that the natives were not intimidated and instead tried to take advantage of the members of the shipwreck, which were only around three hundred, and harassed them on several occasions to steal their goods. As Fr. Alonso Sánchez described the first encounter, “Later, some of the natives, naked and [armed] with bows and quivers, fell on us and with great spirit and determination, without hesitating and without hurting anyone, divested us of everything that we

had³⁰².” The other two sources that refer to these first encounters, Fr. Gómez³⁰³ and Fr. Pirez³⁰⁴ also mentioned the hostile attitude coming from the indigenous tribes, and overall, in this first episode, the natives engaged with the Spanish seeing them as equals.

However, a completely different story was the arrival of the Spanish at the Keelung area in 1626. The natives living there escaped out of fear, as the technological, and probably numerical superiority of the Spanish made the natives move to another area. This event has been already mentioned in the previous sections, which was recorded by Diego Aduarte in 1640³⁰⁵ and several other sources³⁰⁶ portraying negatively the attitude the Spanish had with the natives depriving them of their goods once they left the place.

The Jesuit annual report of 1626³⁰⁷ noticed that some locals amicably approached the Spanish, but without making clear if they did that out of fear or trust. This record also mentioned that the natives brought presents and goods for trade, and even offered two children for baptism. It also explained that every village was independent of the others, so the actions described in this piece could have been a political move from a particular group, not reflecting a widespread attitude towards them which, as mentioned before, highly depended on the context and the political needs of the natives. The Jesuit father’s account from 1628 reflected very clearly how the locals saw the Spanish as another faction, another tribe in the diversity of groups. In this

302 Sánchez, Alonso. 1582. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 11

303 Gómez, Pedro. 1582. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 2

304 Pirez, Francisco. 1582. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 12

305 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 73

306 Jesuit Annual Report, 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 87

307 *Ibid.*, Pp. 88

sense, the conquerors entered the existing system of balance of power between native tribes.

This piece is very self-explanatory:

When it arrived, the ship witnessed a disaster that had befallen our men. There was a chief on the river of Tamchuy, not far from our fort, who professed great friendship with our men for reasons of state, which exist even among barbarians. These reasons were that that chief had longstanding wars with another whose domain was on the other side of the river -and he wished to have our men on his side for whatever might happen³⁰⁸.

This piece demonstrates how the interactions between these tribes and with the foreign colonizers were the result of political interests and alliances. The writer used the idea of ‘reason of state’ to explain how their relations reflected the political needs and goals of the tribes and explained how that particular village wanted to have military aid against the threat of another tribe, this being the reason why they allied themselves with the Spanish.

The descriptions of the interactions between the natives and the Spanish follow a general trend, which is how the natives saw the conquerors as a new faction in the multipolar system previously existing on the island. Not knowing their reasons and goals, the locals close to San Salvador feared them when they arrived in 1626, clearly intimidated and “terrified by the Spanish arquebuses³⁰⁹,” leaving the place afraid of the harm that the conquerors would infringe on them, but agreements were eventually made for trade and military support against other tribes. And most importantly, the presence of the priests was crucial for improving the overall perception that the natives had of the Spanish, viewing them as a benevolent figure and symbol of protection by the conquerors and from the Spanish forces as well.

308 Jesuit Father Account. 1628. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 129-131

309 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 73

4.2. Frontier institutions

As discussed in previous chapters, the missions were one of the most important institutions of engagement with the natives in the Spanish Empire, which is also reflected in the case of the colonization of Taiwan. The missions there would be distributed in separate areas and among different religious orders, the most important one being the Order of Saint Dominic. As an example, a source from 1632 mentioned how the missions should be distributed, in which the Dominicans would take most of the villages: “As we are the first ones to come, we then have the privilege of choosing a prime spot even if we already started [evangelizing] among the natives of Quimaurri and Taparri³¹⁰.” The other religious orders that would participate in this system would be the Recollects, the Jesuits, and the Augustinians³¹¹.

Missions would frequently fall under the protection of the state, and the particular case of F. Esquivel in Taparri is explicative of how military forces would be present to guard him: “All the soldiers and their captain lived inside the fort that was well locked and secured; and their church was also inside it. Only the little house of the priests was outside, but under the protection of the fort’s artillery³¹²” and, it is mentioned by Aduarte that also when moving to another village the priest was accompanied by soldiers, the reason being “As regards founding the faith, or preserving it among barbarians there are always many and grave difficulties³¹³.”

As introduced in previous chapters, the function of the mission system as a frontier institution had different purposes, mainly conversion, civilization, political, and exploitation

310 Unknown Author. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 183

311 *Ibid.*, Pp. 188-189

312 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 206

313 *Ibid.*, Pp. 207

goals. In the case of Taiwan, it can be seen from the sources that the function of these institutions followed these exact same patterns.

4.2.1. Conversion

One of the main functions of the missionaries was preaching to convert the natives. Missionaries would frequently live alone among them: “he resolved to live in this village by himself, amidst such people, and to work at their conversion, unmindful of the risks to which he exposed himself, as one who desired death for such a just cause³¹⁴,” and would frequently visit other villages to expand their activities and extend their area of influence³¹⁵.

Regarding conversion, the sources show some disagreement in how widespread it was. Even though the sources mention several episodes of natives accepting the new faith, its extent and success are not clear. Aduarte mentioned that the priests went slow in conversion so “the seed of faith may fall on good soil,” also suggesting that it was harder to convert adults than children because they had been surrounded by superstitious beliefs for all their lives³¹⁶. Another added complexity is that the majority of the sources mention only specific events, such as the conversion of some natives in a particular town, like seventeen children in Camaurri by Fr. Francisco de Acevedo³¹⁷, without giving a broad image of the degree that the conversions were succeeding.

Considering the many difficulties that had been encountered so far, a council was gathered in 1637 to consider whether the forces in Formosa should be withdrawn. Most of the participants

314 *Ibid.*, Pp. 204

315 *Ibid.*, Pp. 207

316 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 220

317 *Ibid.*, 226

of this discussion agreed that the colony had been a burden to the Crown and, hence, the position there should be retreated. In this discussion, the degree of success of the conversion was also one of the topics open to debate, and the council suggested that there had been many difficulties in converting the natives, arguing that, up to the date, “the numbers have been so low that they hardly reach a hundred, without counting their children³¹⁸.” They followed their argument by implying that those who decided to convert did not do it because of religious conviction, but for the interest in selling their products, accepting the new faith mostly to gain material benefits rather than out of religious belief, and they further criticized that the priests had baptized the natives without making sure they were doing that out of conviction. However, a contrary opinion offered by Alonso García Romero, a Sergeant Major taking part in the discussion, defended that in 1635 alone, around 800 natives were converted and that the faith had been accepted in three of the towns, with the surrounding areas requesting for more priests³¹⁹. Essentially, this episode demonstrates that it is not clear the degree of success of the religious conversion, which probably was a difficult and slow task.

The introduction of the Faith included frequent adoration of holy images and, of course, religious acts. Aduarte mentioned the devotion that the natives of Senar developed towards the Virgin of the Rosary, which among them became a symbol of the presence of the priests. When they decided to move it back to the fort, the locals thought the priests would leave with it, but it was replaced with a crucified Christ. As introduced in the previous sections, the adoration of saints and images was highly emphasized by Catholic states in the wake of the Counter-Reformation Aduarte describes the religious acts in Senar as follows:

318 Act of the Council that Sebastián de Corcuera convoked. 1637. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 263
319 *Ibid.*, Pp. 269

Whenever the father celebrated mass, the natives would watch from outside because the church was built in a way that everything could be seen from without. More came in the afternoons to listen to them sing the *Salve*³²⁰.

The conversion was a process done through persuasion, and the case of Fr. Esquivel is illustrative of how the priests made efforts to gain the sympathy of the natives and make themselves willingly trusted by those communities. Aduarte mentioned that the villages voluntarily accepted the presence and activities of the priest according to their belief system, in which the natives understood the singing of a particular bird as a good omen. They saw that as a sign of the good things that the priest would bring and, therefore, accepted Fr. Esquivel to live among them. After that, they allowed him to build a church and begin with his task of conversion³²¹. Fr. Esquivel also exemplifies how missionaries learned how the locals spoke and translated the religious text to those languages³²². His efforts for the conversion of the natives would include several activities, such as visiting the sick:

He would leave after doing his thanksgiving and go to the village to visit the sick and win them for God, even at the moment of death, baptizing many, children as well as adults, who were not ready for more, bound as they were by their sins and passions, and very pained to leave behind what they and all their ancestors had always lived, knowing neither law nor fear of God... And with all this, the power of the truth and his good example moved them to allow their children to learn Christian doctrine. Fr. Jacinto though them, even if they were infidels, and made them pray at times at the foot of the Cross beside the church... and he prayed aloud, as master of that new chapel...³²³

320 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 223

321 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 207

322 *Ibid.*, Pp. 207

323 *Ibid.*, Pp. 208

4.2.2. Economic and political functions of the missions

As argued by Abernethy and Saavedra³²⁴, one of the essential purposes that missions served as frontier institutions was to extract resources, collect taxes, and facilitate economic exploitation. In other words, build a sustainable economy beneficial for the Empire as a whole. Hence, this aspect has to be considered in the case of the Spanish presence in Formosa, even though the shortness of this period.

In this particular case, resource exploitation was not emphasized much at the early stages of the conquest, as the available sources do not stress enough the aspect of economic benefit through labor. However, arguably some of these sources reveal that there was a desire by the religious orders to establish a sustainable colony. For instance, Fr. Esquivel argued that “Here in Tamsui it would be wise to bring Japanese or Chinese farm laborers to work on the vast tracts of lowlands suited for cultivating wheat and rice”, as the natives only plant what they need for self-sustenance, and he continued: “The natives neither work with farm animals nor know how to use them³²⁵.” Additionally, to establish a sustainable colony, he argued that it would be also wise to send women from Manila to be married here and assure the population³²⁶.

Additionally, several other sources written by members of religious orders mention how important the island would be for the economic benefits it would provide. For instance, the many references to the natural resources that Fr. Martínez suggested in his proposal³²⁷ or the

324 Abernethy, David B. 2000. “The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415– 1980.” Pp 62, and Saavedra, Yvette J. 2018. “The Spanish Colonial Project.” *Pasadena Before the Roses: Race, Identity, and Land Use in Southern California, 1771–1890.*”

325 Esquivel, Jacinto. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents.* Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 170

326 *Ibid.*, Pp. 171

327 Martínez, Bartolomé. 1619. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents.* Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 40-47

description of the native villages by Fr. Esquivel³²⁸ including some notes on the resources available, among others. In this sense, some members of the orders would see Formosa as more than a religious purpose, but also as an economic goal itself by converting it into a sustainable colony for settlers. Additionally, some priests also saw the natives and the Chinese as an instrument to be used to get an advantage in the conflict with the Dutch. The case of the Chinese, as Manzano argues, is because the Spanish had always been good to them, whereas they had been mistreated by the Dutch, which in his understanding would make them prefer to make dealings with the Spanish³²⁹.

Regarding the political functions of the mission system, there are arguably two general lines that can be observed from the work of these authors. First, in several encounters, the natives perceived the presence of the priests as a symbol of protection from other tribes and the abuses of the colonizers. In this sense, the use of religion and the work of the priests became crucial in improving how the locals viewed these foreigners, making them essential actors in legitimizing the conquest at the societal level. Priests and religion became effective political instruments in the state's frontier system, and its success can be exemplified through the fact that some tribes began to seek the presence of religious members for their towns after seeing the benefits of having them in their village. An example of this was recorded in a document from 1632:

One of their leaders told me that he and his fellow villagers wish to resettle near our fort because they want to build a church and have a priest of their own. Another leader of Lichoco, upon witnessing in Taparri that I have asked the Spaniards to free some native prisoners and to return

328 Esquivel, Jacinto. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 165

329 Manzano, Melchor. 1627. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 112-113

them their corn stock, also say, “is this a priest? Well, if the other leaders want one, then I, too, want a priest for my town³³⁰.

This document exemplifies perfectly how the figure of a priest was crucial to enhance how the natives perceived the colonizers and served as a symbol of protection not only from other tribes but also from the Spanish themselves. The writer explains how, in the beginning, the natives of Tapparri thought that the priest had come to make them his prisoners and send them to Manila³³¹. However, after getting closer, they developed a great affection toward him to the point that when the priest had to leave, they threatened to escape if he did not return to the village to sleep, because, as the author wrote, “They believe that without a priest, they can never be sure of what the Spaniards will do to them³³².” These events depict clearly how the natives were constantly suspicious about the real intentions that the Spanish conquerors had and, for this regard, the engagement with the priests provided them some sort of assurance that no harm would be infringed upon them as long as the members of the religious orders continued living in their community. The author further continued explaining how other villages began asking for priests and churches of their own:

Each day they get to understand better what a priest is. The natives of Caguiuanuan [or Santiago], where a Japanese Christian has been living for some 40 years, are asking for a priest. The natives of Pantas in Tamchui are likewise asking for a priest. The residents of Quimaurri already have constructed a church, although they, too, have no priest³³³.

330 Unknown Author. 1632. Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 182

331 Unknown Author. 1632. Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 181

332 *Ibid.*, Pp. 181

333 *Ibid.*, Pp. 181

And Second, priests would often act as pacifiers by trying to establish friendly relations between different tribes. For instance, such was the case of Fr. Vázquez attempt to cease hostilities between Pantao and Senar³³⁴, in which he did not succeed and got murdered as a result, or the successful case of Fr. Esquivel between Taparri and Quimaurri³³⁵. These events illustrate how the mission system was crucial as an instrument to pacify the natives and make them fall under the jurisdiction of the Empire. Aduarte explained in 1640 the work of fr. Esquivel:

Once that of Taparri was finished and the great cross -the standard of the Christian army- raised in a plaza fronting it-, he tried to put up another church in a village less than a league away from the said place, [...] He dedicated it to St Joseph and took charge of both churches. He established peace between both towns, which were distant and in very bad terms with each other, even if they were neighbors. This is why the Father could not unite them, although he managed to stop them from harming each other³³⁶.

The examples presented in this section illustrate how religion and priests had functions beyond their primary religious conversion tasks. Their actions as political actors were beneficial for the State as they allowed better and more peaceful relations with the colonizers. In this sense, they were crucial to legitimizing the conquest at the societal level.

4.2.3. Civilization, hospitals, and schools

And lastly, the civilization aspect of the missions was also crucial in the development of the colonial system, which included institutions for the education and the health of society. In this regard, it could be argued that the civilization goal and the establishment of these institutions

334 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 240

335 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 205

336 *Ibid.*, Pp. 205

targeting the natives could be closely related to the conversion process, as the schools would educate the children in the new faith, and the health institutions would provide care and security to the natives making them willingly accept the new rulers³³⁷. However, considering the short duration of the Spanish presence and all the difficulties encountered, most of the plans made for the establishment of hospitals and schools were left at their early stages.

The first important point here is that all the inhabitants were seen as equals, both colonizers and colonized, a view that was emphasized in Vitoria's thought. In this regard, in 1632, Fr. Jacinto Esquivel argued that "It would be convenient that a hospital was built in each fort to treat the ailments of the Spaniards, their spouses, and the natives or black slaves who serve them." He further continued saying that "To finance the building and maintenance of those hospitals, let the Crown establish monopoly stores for products, like liana, animal skins, or crops that grow abundantly³³⁸."

Another example is a source from an Unknown author, which Borao supports that would most likely have been written by Fr. Jacinto Esquivel, who argued that a hospital was required in the area of Tamsui, to "treat sick sangleys, Japanese -if any- and natives who are fed up with the futile medications of their old women³³⁹." He mentioned how these would go to the Spanish fort when they were injured, which implies that a hospital would be needed in the area. The same source argued that a similar institution should be established in the city of San Salvador³⁴⁰.

337 Goldberg, Mark Alan. 2016. "Conquering Sickness: Race, Health, and Colonization in the Texas Borderlands." *Borderlands and Transcultural Studies*.

338 Esquivel, Jacinto. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 170-175

339 Unknown Author. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 183

340 *Ibid.*, Pp. 185-186

Schools were another essential part of the Spanish mission frontier institution system. Education would fall under the religious aspect of indoctrination and acculturation, following Galtung's idea of cultural violence, in which education is understood as a crucial part of integration into the colonial system. Schools provided the teachings to the young members of the community as they would grow to get in contact with religion on a daily basis. Schools had, hence, religious and civilizing goals, which aimed to promote both good behavior and the knowledge of the Faith among the pupils. A 1632 source from an unknown author described that:

It will be necessary to follow the footsteps of the priests and others like them in the education of children in the faith through reading, writing, playing musical instruments, singing, and serving at home and at the altar. These children will grow up obeying the lord because this is what they have learned from the priest. When they get married, they will govern their towns and with their good example lead others away from their drunken feasts and superstitious beliefs³⁴¹.

The same source referred to the necessity of establishing a school in San Salvador, where Chinese and Japanese children would be taught Latin and theology to send them to those kingdoms in the future to serve as priests. The author also refers to the schools being considered crucial to learning the local languages from the pupils, where the professors and other members of these schools would learn how the natives speak, which would also enhance their position among the natives and make them “more welcome in their lands³⁴².”

And the last example of this is taken from a document written in 1633, the time the Brothers of the Santa Mesa of the City of San Salvador sent a petition to Manila to establish a school for the children of the neighboring kingdoms. This school would serve to educate the children to

341 *Ibid.*, Pp. 188-189

342 *Ibid.*, Pp. 185-186

then send them to those kingdoms, namely China and Japan, that had their doors closed to missionaries, making it more difficult for them to be discovered than having Spanish priests sent there. The project was proposed by Fr. Jacinto del Rosario and was not intended to be an ordinary school, as it would aim only to educate the children to become priests through reading, writing, singing, and theology. They wrote the following words about the advantages it would provide:

The ministers from Europe can learn the language directly from the natives, making it easier for them to come and live in these lands. They will enjoy the favor of the parents and relatives of the students and thus open doors to the preaching of the Gospel. Likewise, they will partake of incomparable wealth security, friendship, and trade with the two powerful kingdoms because their children are under our custody. Above all, by a grave and solemn responsibility of spreading the faith by providing these people ministers and the necessary means for the Lord and His holy Church to continually grow among them. This is the brotherhood's primary goal³⁴³.

Overall, it could be argued that these schools served two main purposes. The first one was to indoctrinate children and educate them with religious values and Catholic morality in an attempt to eradicate the local culture and their belief system, making them become subjects of the Empire. However, the case of the schools in Taiwan also shows a different trend, as it seems that they served also the purpose of creating individuals capable of becoming priests in their home countries. In other words, the particular geographic location of Formosa allowed the priests to establish schools with the strategic calculation of training Chinese, Japanese, and other children from neighboring kingdoms to send them and proceed with the conversion of the natives there in the times of prosecution.

343 Brothers of the Santa Mesa of the City of San Salvador. 1633. Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 200

4.3. Time and place differences

Considering that the Spanish presence in Taiwan was short, it is challenging to establish time or place differences when exploring the degree of success of the legitimation process. The short duration, and the absence of documents related to the scope of the study for some of the years that these events took place, make it complicated to analyze and consistently develop a clear judgment. However, as a general idea from the reading of these sources, it can be seen that there was opposition in all the areas with Spanish presence, with killings happening in the areas of San Salvador and Tamsui, and with acceptance of the priests among the villages in both territories. For instance, the case of the priests being killed by the natives of Senar stand out because they show how these acts were motivated by the native's political goals³⁴⁴.

The only difference between these territories is that it would seem that the villages around San Salvador had become more obedient to the Spanish colonizers. They appeared to willingly accept Fr. Esquivel in their villages, peace was made with the Quimaurris³⁴⁵, with no significant conflict was mentioned after that. Three main ideas come to mind to explain this trend. First, the presence of an enemy tribe could make the local political agenda change and make the natives hostile towards the colonizers, like in the case of Senar, which did not happen close to San Salvador. Second, the threatening proximity of the Spanish military, exemplified by Fr. Esquivel's case, whose house in one of the native villages was in the range of the fort's artillery³⁴⁶, could have been essential in dispelling any rebellious behaviors. And third, the idea of the priests successfully pacifying the natives through persuasion cannot be discarded.

344 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 240-241

345 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 205

346 *Ibid.*, Pp. 206

In essence, applying coercive methods would have been indispensable in the dealings with the natives, which combined with the symbolism of the Faith would become the essential way of engaging with the locals. Nevertheless, these are only assumptions, and the lack of sources and evidence in this regard is not enough to develop any clear judgment on these issues.

4.4. Comparison with the Dutch colony

The Dutch presence in Formosa presents some similarities, but essentially differences, with the Spanish colony. First, even though the Dutch case is often analyzed through the perspective of a trading company, their process was also framed within the idea of a ‘civilizing mission,’ with the involvement of the Dutch Church instrumentalizing the VOC to bring the Formosans under the Christian Faith, similar to the idea that the Spanish colonizers had. The legitimacy of the structure relied on the authority of the Princes of Orange, which also contributed to the trading company, with the colonization of Formosa becoming one of the first experiments on “state, capitalism, and Christianity in a colonial project³⁴⁷.” The success of the conversion efforts was high in the central areas of the Dutch domain, with the converts reaching more than six thousand by 1659³⁴⁸. The spreading of religion was understood by both the Dutch and the natives as a political calculation, as the locals had to obey but gained protection from the colonizers. In other words, in exchange for military support, they would be obedient and convert to Christianity³⁴⁹.

However, the Dutch engagement with the natives evolved around two essential factors that clearly distinguish it from the Spanish colony. The first contrasting factor of the Dutch presence was its reliance around a dual colonization process based on establishing a Dutch rule and

347 Chiu, Hsin-hui. 2008. *The Colonial ‘Civilizing Process’ in Dutch Formosa, 1624-1641*. Brill Academy Pub. Leiden, Boston. Pp. 7-8

348 *Ibid.*, Pp. 11

349 *Ibid.*, Pp. 193

administration and the settling of Chinese entrepreneurs³⁵⁰. The second was the founding of institutions to govern the natives, with the implementation of the *landdag* as the central system of engagement, a ceremony in which the governor appointed the elders for the following year, represented the symbolic power and authority that mirrored the feudal system that the Dutch implemented. Andrade argues that they instrumentalized this ceremony to secure their influence over the natives and gain their assistance to control the Chinese. In contrast to the Spanish, the Dutch established an annual tribute they would collect from the aborigines, making their relationship evolve towards a feudal system in which the natives would pay taxes in exchange for protection and respect from the Dutch, a process that was symbolized by the *landdag* ceremony and as a result, many villages sought to enter into this system to benefit from these dealings. The government was based equally on persuasion and recurrence to coercion and physical violence, and Andrade argues that according to existing evidence, the natives would see the Dutch rule positively and have a generalized cooperative and obedient behavior, resulting from the success of the *landdag* system and the exploitation suffered by the Chinese settlers³⁵¹.

In sum, the Dutch rule became more successful in the engagement with the natives, resulting from the creation of a system that respected the natives' authority and jurisdiction over their territories in exchange for annual tributes and obedience. However, considering that the Spanish presence was significantly shorter, it remains unclear whether the Spanish colonizers would have implemented a similar approach to engage with the natives. The degree of success in the conversion process in the Dutch case is also unclear, but it is evident that it was not the main instrument that the Dutch utilized to gain the esteem of the locals.

350 *Ibid.*, Pp. 7-8

351 Andrade, Tonio. 2008. "Lord and Vassal: Company Rule over the Aborigines". *How Taiwan Became Chinese*. <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/andrade/andrade09.html>

5. Conclusion

The study of this period is complicated for the absence of a large body of primary and secondary sources. Additionally, most of the references to religious activities are more abundant in the first years of the conquest, with an almost complete absence of writings related to these issues in the colony's decay period. However, the cases explained in these materials have a clear comparative value in the light of the Spanish Empire as a whole, as most of the defining features of Spanish colonialism are present in the case of Formosa, and can be valuable to understand the role that religion had in the process of legitimation of the conquest.

This last chapter will summarize the main ideas developed throughout this project and compare them to attempt answering the research questions proposed at the beginning of this project. These questions were, first, how was religion used as a tool to legitimize the conquest at the state and international level? Second, how were religious institutions used to legitimize the presence of the Spanish among the native populations? And lastly, were the actions taken by the state and its actors made accordingly with the moral justifications?

5.1. The state level

In short, it could be argued that not only was religion essential in the legitimation of the conquest but it also *was* the central element that legitimated all the structure of the Empire, gluing together all the multiple actors with all their diverse interests and principles. The legitimation of the conquest among the state structures was made through the creation of moral, ethical, and legal principles based on religious superiority and the understanding of the natives in a negative way, which perfectly mirrors the definitions of imperialism as the creation of

power asymmetries based on common ideologies³⁵². In this sense, the following general ideas have been argued throughout this project:

First, Colonial legitimacy was linked to a particular view of the world based on the belief in a hierarchical power structure supported by ideas of cultural and religious superiority. Religion *is* clearly the central element that legitimized their superior position in relation to other nations and the Formosan natives. The examples of Fr. Domingo González³⁵³, Fr. Aduarte, the Brothers of the Santa Mesa of the city of San Salvador³⁵⁴, and Fr. Melchor Manzano³⁵⁵ were introduced to support this idea as they understood the idea that the Pope had the right and the duty to spread the Catholic Faith.

Second, religion was used to legitimize the conquest as it became the main factor to build the morality and legality of the colonization process. In both Vitorian and Aristotelian views, religious superiority was the central element that legitimized conquest, with the difference being in the understanding of the nature of the natives and the degree of the Papal jurisdiction over them. The Vitorian doctrine, which became the mainstream discourse, revolved around universalism and human rights concepts based on their belief in their duty as Christians to spread the true Faith among the natives living under such backward conditions. In this sense, domination was legitimized through the ideas of justice, equality, civilization, and trade. The justifications provided by Fr. González present enough evidence of the degree these ideas were deeply grounded in the minds of these colonizers³⁵⁶.

352 Arora, Satish K. 1970. "On Acquisition of Political Legitimacy." Pp. 129

353 González, Domingo. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 58-59

354 Brothers of the Santa Mesa of the City of San Salvador. 1633. Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 200

355 Manzano, Melchor. 1627. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 112-114

356 González, Domingo. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated.

Third, the colonial discourse created to downgrade the natives is related to Richard Price's theory of 'displacement'³⁵⁷. The natives were persistently seen in a negative way that made them perceived as childish, incapable, and dependent on the conquerors. Religion was essential in this regard as the conquerors saw it as the main instrument to pacify and civilize them. Several sources that relate to this idea have been presented in the third chapter, among the cases of Fr. Aduarte³⁵⁸ stand out and are explicative enough to support this idea.

Fourth, the presence of religion in rituals, ceremonies, and political acts illustrates their importance not only in everyday practices but also in giving an aura of legitimacy to political actions. "Rituals and ceremonies all help to reinforce traditional legitimacy by providing actions and symbols that are ancient, unique, and dramatic"³⁵⁹.

And lastly, the nature of the Spanish system has to be considered to comprehend how religion played a role in legitimizing the conquest. The highly fragmented nature of the Empire with many state actors and religious orders with their particular interests made a shared ideology even more necessary as a unifying factor dispelling any possible challenges to the central authority. In this sense, greater autonomy would increase the perception of the ruler's legitimacy, as O'Neil argues³⁶⁰.

The different cases explained in the third chapter suppose sufficient background to support that the use of religion in the legitimation of the conquest was highly effective. Through Weigand's model on the analysis of legitimacy³⁶¹, it can be considered that the deeply rooted

357 Price, Richard N. 2018. "The Psychology of Colonial Violence." Pp 42

358 Esquivel, Jacinto. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 115

359 O'Neil, Patrick H. 2010. *Essentials of comparative politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Pp. 36

360 *Ibid.*, Pp. 39

361 Weigand, Florian. 2015. *Investigating the role of legitimacy in the political order of conflict-torn spaces*. Pp 15-16

values shared by both objects and targets of legitimacy were essential for the success of the process. The objects of legitimacy were those interested in promoting the conquest, essentially state actors in Manila and the religious orders, mainly the Dominicans, who focused their claims on ideological values based on spiritual or strategical principles. The perspective was shared between the objects and targets as the justifications were accepted by both. The audience, mainly state officials, including the King, had similar interests, with no fundamental difference in their goals, as the colony was presented to be beneficial for the Empire as a whole. The degree of legitimacy was high, as the colonization process was majorly seen as positive, with only a few individuals opposing it. And finally, the sources were based on the shared values, tradition, history, legal systems, and the legal authority that the Pope and the King represented. In this sense, Legitimacy was understood for its traditional and, to a lesser extent, legal principles, Weber's traditional and enactment principles³⁶².

5.2. The societal level

How were religious institutions used to legitimize the presence of the Spanish among the native populations? In short, religion and religious institutions became the pivotal point in the relationship between colonizers and colonized, with four main elements of interaction. First, as an essential element in frontier opening and engagement with the natives of newly conquered lands. Second, acting as pacifiers and bearers of civilization, aiming at improving the lives of the locals through, for instance, the establishment of welfare institutions. Third, as essential performers of the state's cultural violence through the act of religious conversion and the establishment of religious schools. And fourth, as political actors promoting peaceful relations among villages and providing symbolic protection to the native communities. However, even

362 Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpreting Sociology*. Pp. 38

though their central role during this process and throughout all the Empire, their success in this particular case can be questioned for the lack of evidence and the shortness of the Spanish presence in Taiwan.

As seen in the cases presented in the fourth chapter, it could easily be argued that the degree of success of religion as a tool to legitimize conquest among the natives was limited and unsatisfactory, even becoming an element of disagreement between the authorities. Using Weigand's and Weber's ideas on the bases of legitimacy applied to this case³⁶³, the general failure to make the Spanish presence legitimate through religion among the natives would arguably result from the absence of any of the three elements, tradition, faith, and enactment, deeply rooted in the native societies. The native's culture answered to their particular beliefs and legitimate systems, and the acceptance of some priests could arguably be understood based on the priest's appeal and role within the community rather than belief in the values he represented. In this regard, religion would also have had some degree its charismatic sense to some degree.

However, had the Spanish authorities held the colony much longer, the process of conversion could have become as successful as in many other parts of the Empire. Because changing the deeply rooted native beliefs for the Catholic values would probably take several generations, making the effects of cultural violence a long-term investment. In the short term, as seen in the cases presented, the use of coercion to include the locals under the jurisdiction of the Empire would become essential. Intimidation, material incentives, political alliances, and protection were much more effective to make the natives fall under the Spanish authority, as the majority of the natives in this context would behave according to their political agenda, for

363 Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpreting Sociology*. Pp. 36-38 and O'Neil, Patrick H. 2010. *Essentials of comparative politics*. Pp. 37 and Weigand, Florian. 2015. *Investigating the role of legitimacy in the political order of conflict-torn spaces*. Pp 15-16

personal profit, to obtain security, or out of fear from the colonizers, and attempting to assert traditional or legal legitimacy. The success of coercive means was essential for the success of the Dutch in subjugating the natives, creating a system that granted rights and authority to the locals in exchange for protection and the collection of tributes.

5.3. Controversies between justifications and facts

The third research question, were the actions taken by the state and its actors made accordingly with the moral justifications? Has a more nuanced answer, as different and occasionally contradictory actions were taken during the process of colonization. The existence of conflicting ideologies reflects the changes in the understanding of the world, from a late Medieval way of thinking to a Modern vision, from the Aristotelian to the Vitorian view. This battle of ideas is present in the conquest of Formosa and most of the cases exposed fall into one of these categories.

On the surface, the overall idea that can be taken from the sources is that most of the events respond to the moral principles defended by Vitoria which, in this sense, became the mainstream line of thought in the Empire during the second half of the Sixteenth Century. Because Vitoria defended that religious conversion and trade were fundamental reasons to reside in a foreign land, and the inclusion of the natives under the political jurisdiction of the Empire should happen only after they willingly accepting to fall under the Catholic faith, it is not surprising that the majority of the actors in the actions exposed behaved accordingly. The case of Fr. Esquivel exemplifies this perfectly, living among the natives for their conversion after the natives accepted him and agreed with his activities³⁶⁴. Other examples are, for instance, the many

364 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 207

reasons and justifications of the conquest following only religious principles, such as in the 1628 Jesuit Father account³⁶⁵, or the retributions given to the natives for the damages caused by the Spanish military³⁶⁶.

In some cases, the actions diverted from the justifications and can arguably present some evidence of a conflict of interests. First, Fr. Bartolomé Martínez's reasons for the conquest did not provide religious motivations, focusing mainly on economic gains and strategic calculations³⁶⁷. Second, the act of taking possession of the island even though the natives refused the deals with them³⁶⁸. Third, the first encounters with the natives resulting in the pillage of their villages³⁶⁹. Fourth, the ideas related to property, such as the projects of establishing a sustainable economy in a land³⁷⁰. And lastly, it could also be argued that the use of the military was not only for the protection of the priests, but also as an intimidating instrument for their superior weapons³⁷¹, or seen in the case of Fr. Esquivel, whose house in one of the native villages was in the range of the fort's artillery³⁷².

In short, to answer whether the actions were made according to the moral justifications, it can be argued that it generally depended on the context and the individual. They were mostly

365 Jesuit Father account. 1628. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 129-131

366 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 73

367 Martínez, Bartolomé. 1619. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated.

368 Carreño de Valdés, Antonio. 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 75

369 Jesuit Annual Report, 1626. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 87

370 Esquivel, Jacinto. 1632. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 165 or Manzano, Melchor. 1627. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 112-113

371 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 73

372 Aduarte, Diego. 1640. Published in: Borao Mateo, José Eugenio. 2001. *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents*. Taipei SMC Publishing Incorporated. Pp. 206

made according to Vitoria's principles, but there were clear contradictions in some of the described events.

5.4. Final discussion and comments

José Eugenio Borao's research is so deep and extensive that it is challenging to contribute significantly to the existing knowledge on Spanish Formosa. Therefore, this project has many points in common with his arguments and observations, the main difference being the theoretical approach used to analyze the primary sources. In this regard, what makes this project distinct from the previous scholarship is the attempt to link the episode of Spanish Formosa to the theories of imperialism, colonialism, and legitimacy to understand better the case and its implications to try to reach new conclusions.

The study of the colonization of Formosa fits perfectly with the definitions of imperialism and colonialism given in the first chapter. It is argued that imperialism is the process of creating 1) **asymmetrical power structures** supported by 2) **racial ideologies** as legitimizing discourses based on 3) **de-humanizing the native spaces** emphasizing **cultural superiority** materialized in the constant 4) **recurrence to violence** as the main instrument to sustain the hierarchy, a violence that can be coercive or persuasive, in the forms of 5) **cultural violence**. Considering these implications, the following findings are the main result of applying these theories to this case study and differentiate this project from previous scholarship.

First, the analysis of this case through these theoretical implications presents **religion as the ideology supporting the structure and legitimizing the conquest** and the main instrument of territorial expansion and social control. All the justifications and moral theorizations about

religion respond to higher political goals, showing an **intertwined relationship between economic and religious aspects**, an asymmetrical dialogue in which religion is not a goal but the instrument to support and legitimize higher political and economic interests.

Second, Spanish Formosa also reflects how the Spanish Empire followed the general trend of **power struggles between the Modern states with the Pope**. As political entities in Europe became more powerful and centralized, the process of moving away from the Papal political authority over the Christian kingdoms was materialized in the adoption of new doctrines that valued universalism, independence, and equality among nations. The case of Formosa shows an already constituted Empire with a well-defined strategy for territorial expansion and a clear imperial doctrine in which the Pope becomes a moral legitimizing factor rather than a political one. The Orders highly depend on State promotion, and the political power ultimately resided on the state structures under the authority of the King.

And third, the analysis of the **degree of success of legitimacy** helps understanding how and when religion was used to legitimize political actions and under what conditions it was beneficial to supplement it by coercive means. In the early stages, intimidation, incentives, or alliances were essential, whereas, in the long term, persuasion and cultural conquest remained the central goal.

Considering this case within the Spanish Empire as a whole shows that the uniqueness of this colony essentially resided in its value for accessing China and Japan. The case of Taiwan was arguably another piece to gain leverage in the global power competition, as the colony's purpose was not the island itself but the geopolitical calculation of using it to access crucial markets, exemplified in the use of Formosa for the training priests to send them to the

neighboring countries. This unique feature makes these events different from the experiences in the Americas, where colonization was more focused on land occupation, resource exploitation, and settlement. The dealings with the natives also differ from previous experiences, with Vitoria's doctrine being already widespread among the conquerors, for instance, seen in the absence of forced labor and the cases of abuses being less frequent. These are the essential differences with the previous colonial experiences, and what makes this colony important in the understanding of how the process of territorial expansion was executed.

Throughout this project, it has been argued that religion was essential in all the changes that Modernity brought. The ideas of legitimacy that emerged in the Early Modern Era relied on religious justifications and reflected the political, economic, and social changes in Europe. States became gradually more powerful and centralized, emerging from interstate disputes and the creation of the first colonial empires, and attempted to justify their power through religious principles. The encounter between colonizers and colonized not only changed the native spaces but also shifted dramatically how the colonizers understood themselves in the world. The appearance of colonial subjects supposed an essential breakthrough in the emergence of notions such as universalism and equality among nations in the European intellectual circles and made religion the central argument for subjugating the natives in any newly discovered lands. Consequently, the inclusion of Formosa in the Spanish Empire has to be also considered within the scope of the religious developments in this period.

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