# 99 年人文教育革新中綱計畫 子計畫三 人文領域人才培育國際交流計畫

【補助類型-如國際學術研討會】

【2010年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與臺灣」國際學術研討會】

# 期末成果報告

指導暨補助單位:教育部

指導單位:教育部顧問室人文領域人才培育國際交流計畫辦公室

執行單位:真理大學人文學院

計畫主持人: 陳志榮院長/教授

執行日期: 99年06月08日至99年06月14日

中華民國 99 年 06 月 28 日

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#### 一、 計畫名稱

2010年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與臺灣」國際學術研討會

#### 二、計畫目標

2011 年馬偕博士來台將屆滿 140 年,透過舉辦【2010 年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與臺灣」國際學術研討會】做為系列紀念活動的開始,透過台灣與加拿大馬偕研究的學術成果之交流,有效展現馬偕認同本土犧牲服務的精神。因此,除了進行台灣北部基督教會源起與基督教會文化意象之傳承相關議題之研討外,並將討論基督教會西方特色與本土特色之交錯等議題。特邀請美國「University of Nebraska Kearney」附設「Department of History」教授 Dr. Jame Rohrer 及加拿大「Queen's University」附設「Department of History」教授 Dr. Marguerite Van Die 擔任 keynote speaker。並徵求國內外學者專家,就「馬偕」相關議題進行論文發表。期望透過理論與實務的結合,提供給關心馬偕議題之相關人士,一個學術交流研討的重要機會。

#### 三、 執行情形

# (一) 學術活動舉辦情形

						參與	健人數	•			
<b>競/た/子形</b>			校內	建人!	Ţ.	校外人數					
學術活動	時   數	±4-	博	碩	大	±4-	博	碩	大	   其	合
名稱		教	士	<b>±</b>	學	教	±	±	學	其他	合計
		師	生	生	生	師	生	生	生		
主題演講	2	35	0	10	18	12	0	10	0	13	98
論文發表	8	23	0	10	15	12	0	10	0	11	81
總計	10	58	0	20	33	24	0	20	0	24	179

<sup>※</sup>以上表格不足處可自行增刪

#### 五、 執行成果分析與檢討

#### (一)執行成果與貢獻

- 1、本次國際研討會為馬偕逝世 109 週年紀念活動之一,是近年來難得一見的台、美、加學者最新「馬偕研究」之交流。 其中台灣學者與美加學者各貢獻五篇文章。
- 2、美國與加拿大的學者主要重心在馬偕新史料的發現,馬偕的跨國婚姻之探討以及跨文化宣教的議題;而國內學者則對馬偕的原住民宣教事蹟記載之更新、偕張聰明的女性主義論述、以及有關「馬偕日」活動襶相關意義有深入的探討。
- 3、會議中也邀請國內相當多重量級歷史學者主持並與談,包 括黃富三教授、查時傑教授、薛化元教授等;北部長老教 會的正副議長與幹部也全程參加,顯見對此次會議之重 視。
- 4、此次會議動員了本校人文學院「宗教文化與組織管理學系」與「英美學系」的老師、助理與學生。除了有效整合了不同學系合辦大型國際學術會議的人力分工之外,也讓兩系學生無論在國際觀、活動策劃與執行、應對進退等方面,都得到很好的訓練。
- 5、參與此次會議的美國加州大學聖塔巴巴校區美國宗教研究所長 J. Gordon Melton 教授,他本身同時又是「世界新興宗教學會」常務理事,非常讚賞此次會議的整個流程,提到 2011 年世界新興宗教協會年會有意在台灣舉行,甚至期待與本校合作。「世界新興宗教學會」是知名的世界性宗教學術組織,其成員遍及世界近兩百餘國,若能在台灣舉行,將對台灣的學術知名度有大大的幫助。
- 6、此次會議的研究成果將作為「2012 紀念北部宣教 140 年 馬偕國際學術研討會」之基礎,屆時希望能將馬偕對台灣

的貢獻與影響作更全面的回顧。

#### (二)活動檢討

本次活動仍有部分進步空間,茲分為「行政連絡」「硬體設備」 以及「語言部分」三方面討論之。

#### 1、在「行政連絡」部分:

- (1)此次會議時間原本是訂於六月初,但因為配合外國 學者的時間,故改至六月 9~10 日,並設計參訪活動 至六月 13 日。但該週正好是畢業週,一些老師與學 生人力運用因此產生吃緊現象。
- (2)此次國外學者主要是邀請來的,雖大部分皆為國際 知名學者,但是畢竟不是每個人都精通「馬偕研 究」,因此論文程度還是有差異。若 2012 年要再辦 理「馬偕國際研討會」,論文的審核是不能缺少的。
- (3)由於不同國家在舉辦國際會議的行政流程不必然相同,而學校又嚴格規定各種行政流程(如核銷方式),造成行政同仁與國外學者的溝通問題;幸好行政同仁都相當有耐心並積極解決外國友人的問題,而外國友人也頗為合作。
- (4)此次會議有聘用一位「會議助理」,該助理相當盡責 地分擔了許多行政事務,他與兩位系助理(綜管系與 英美系)的搭配讓會議之流程順暢,這部分建議以後 的會議都能比照辦理。

### 2、在「硬體設備」部分:

(1)由於本校並未有「同步翻譯機」,因此幾乎所有與會學者在交談時皆使用英文,一些大學部學生在參與上便造成了語言的不習慣;而本國學者發表時,有些是使用國語,這也造成外國學者不理解相關內容。因此,若再舉辦「國際學術會議」時,應將相

**關翻譯硬體設備準備完整,以收良好溝通之效。** 

(2)本校舉辦國際會議之標準場地為「牛津會議廳」,除了「同步翻譯」之設備有待加強外,其他設備都相當完唄。可惜的是其空間僅能容納 80~90 人,若超過 100 人以上就顯得擁擠。建議學校應盡速設置一間能容納 200 人以上,設備齊全的國際會議廳。

#### 3、在「語言強化」部分:

學生的英文對話能力實在應該加強。雖然在會前已對接待 同學有幾次的語言訓練,但是在面對外國學者時,甚至會 緊張到連最簡單的對話都結結巴巴;而宗管系學生在場內 參加會議時,對論文的內容(無論閱讀或聽力)之理解都未 達三成,這代表學生的英文程度實應加強。反而是負責接 送參訪的同學,由於不得不使用英文與教授們對話,反而 表現得相當穩定。這代表語言的使用主要在於「敢不敢」 而不是「會不會」,這也將是以後訓練學生的重點。

### 六、 結論與建議

- (一)國際學術會議的舉行是以後學術會議的主流。不但可以更清 楚理解某議題的國際研究現況,同時可以透過國內外學者的 互動,讓台灣的曝光率更為加添;另依方面,也可以增加學 生的國際觀、以及深化學術深度。雖然辦理起來相當繁瑣, 但是仍有其必要性。
- (二)建議校方能盡速設置一到兩間合乎國際會議規格的會議廳。 一方面是因為未來本校舉辦國際學術會議會更加頻繁,實在 需要有專門使用的會議廳;另一方面,有好的國際會議廳也 代表了一個學校的學術程度與學術格調,對學校的評鑑與社 會觀感都是加分的。

- (三)建議學校訓練一~兩組的「外賓接待大使」,由「國際關係室」、 「公共事務室」與「觀光學院」一起訓練,成為本校的接待 門面,另外也建立「翻譯人才庫」,讓校方能有效掌握無論人 文、科技或財經各領域內能做即席翻譯的人才,讓本校的國 際學術會議更具專業性。
- (四)學校為了有效扭轉社會觀感,最近所有的行政事務流程都嚴格要求合乎制度規範,這是相當正確的作法;然而有時候校方所訂定的標準(如設備廠地的借用、核銷項目、核銷程序) 甚至比教育部的規定更嚴格。這反而會引起引一些外國友人的抱怨,建議在國際會議的預、結算審核標準可以更具彈性。
- (五)就此次會議主題:「馬偕學在台灣與西方」來反省,馬偕博士 的宣教事積在台灣,亦埋骨於台灣;但是許多為公開之珍貴 史料及文物尚在加拿大,希望政府或教會高層能建立更暢通 的管道,讓台灣與加拿大在馬偕史料文物的流通阻礙更少, 也讓有志於馬偕學研究的學者能有更便利的研究環境。

### 七、附錄

# (一)報名網頁及成果網頁樣式

2010年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與台灣」國際學術研討會

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http://www.au.edu.tw/ox\_view/edu/religious/My%20work/index.htm

2010/7/29

	Moderator	Presentes	Topic	Respondent.	
Second Session			馬特歷史研 究及其歷史 再規	并化元酰胺	
1310-1500	神化光散	中级其余收收	同女性主義 超號基件/張 連明/雷戒, 為營的一生	领电风间电视	
1500-			44		

		第二天:2010年08) Thursday, June						
8800-8830		概则(根取音減量時)Registration						
土現案項	工作人	五排人		<b>非太祖</b> 自				
Spench 0630-0930	林州地區市代	Prof. Marguerite Va	n Die V	Growing Up Prosbyterian is ictorian Casada: Childhood riends and Paith Formation.				
0930-1010			9 dt					
	5.45 A. Moderator	發表人 Presenter	粉文機用 Topic	育組人 Respondent				
第一樓 First Session		Rev. Nichael Stainton	More Treasure Preserved Abrox New Mackay letters in th Presbeterian Archives	sl: c 工资各标理教授				
1016-1200	雄志蘭教授	Prof. J. Gordon Melion	Religious Outsiders:Looking Beyond Conventional Christian Figures Like Mackey for Insight into Taiwenese National Identity					
1200-1346			十卷時間					
12 = 12	王得人 Moderator	Ø A A. Presenter	株文教 B Topic	ALEA Respondent				
Secret Secret Session (340-1520	至可排制性	影像民间教授	鎮企所與教會器 也互動研究-以沒 「為借目」活動 例	A ASSESS				
		Prof.Clyde R.	馬俊博士對待國 鄉的看法	Prof. James Robrer				

2010年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與台灣」國際學術研討會

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報事式 Closing 1520-1530	五持人:维名荣托表	
1530-	84	

#### [MEER]

五趟演講:主持人10分鐘、主講人50分鐘

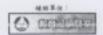
論文發表: 主持人5分績、發表人30分鐘、與護人10分鐘、綜合討論25分鐘

撤近所有到2010年「交融與時越:為信學在而方與台灣」國際學詢研討會有興趣的朋友幹來爭加! 核名目期為即 出起至05月21日止,報名人數有限,忽不接受延期或規疇報名。本會議採cmil 成傳真報名,退出復請乘電查詢是 否報名定成。參加者將提供「确習協」。

協辦單位鄉格電話: (02)2621-2121轉5123 辛获舒小姐

傅真號碼:(02)2829-2355 電子軟件:nul8818mail.ou.edu.tw

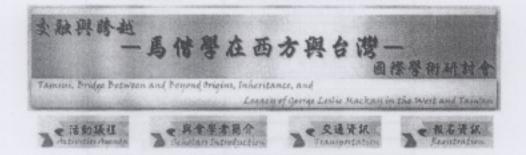
主辦單位:<u>直理大學人文學院</u> 協辦單位;<u>京教文化與麻蟆管理學系·茲基請文學系</u> TEL: 02-06212121 ext. 5101 | <u>251台北縣流水線直理與22號</u> | 網頁设計/Yu Ting



# (二)報名成員清單

2010年「交融與跨越:馬倍學在西方與台灣」國際學術研討會

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單位	姓名
真理大學英美語文學系	李龍英剧教授
真理大學資訊管理學系	黄雄仁剧教授
真理大學校牧室	黄奉銘牧師
真理大學財經法律學系	李福隆副教授
台陽工業股份有限公司	遊楚軒先生
真理大學通識中心	王世永渊師
真理大學英美與文學系	何旻蓉副教授
北投社區大學	洪德揚剛教長
牧館	弹度文牧师
牧館	吳文燧牧師
台灣大學附設體院	質關探程式員
真理大學宗教文化與組織管理學系	王鎮玲副數授
<b>乌班大學宗教文化與組織管理學系</b>	局景明同學
真理大學宗教文化與組織管理學系	尊进轮调动
真理大學董事會	鄭献仁牧師
真理大學宗教文化與組織管理學系	林芸類同學
霧峰貓羅新莊女史	阮淑真助理
中國科技大學通識	張文忠助理教授
中國醫藥大學	黃國超象任講師
真理大學校史創	郭銘玉秘書
中國醫藥大學PBL	群態玲
清華大學研究生	鉄維計
林口長庚醫院免疫風濕料	蒸文彬
牧師	高型塩
龍瑋文史社	林政誠
福登文教基金會	随朝荣
佛光山	林文相
真理大學財務金融系	蘇秋縣
基隆安樂長老教會	林信明
<b>算理大學宗教文化與組織管理學系</b>	洪震信同學

http://www.au.edu.tw/ox\_view/edu/religious/My%20work/activity.htm

2010/7/29

<b>车型大學宗教文化與組織管理學系</b>	魏倩如同學
真理大學經濟系	影賽貴老師
港都鄉土人文閣懷協會	白糖仁先生
自然人文影音室	周凌筝小姐
長老教會	林昌華牧師
去務部行政執行署高雄行政執行總	陳祝滿小姐
高雄術武督都會公園	許東來先生
交化局志工	鏡美雲小姐
公職退休	黄志民先生
超尾文史工作室	紀榮遠
淡江中學	Louise Gamble
國立體育大學	周宏室老師
真理大學透識教育中心	杜偉瑛老師
金玉盟股份有限公司	謝豐忠先生
群組股份有限公司	林橋姬小姐
報名名類已滿、已得並接受	株名!成市!
<b>董和史新日期</b> :2010.06.0	2 上午11:22

報名日期:為即日起至05月21日止(報名人數上限為100人,忽不接受延期或現場報名)

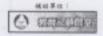
本會議樣exail或傳真報名,送出後請來電查詢是否報名完成。參加者將提供「研習條」。

協辦單位聯絡電話:(02)2621-2121轉5123 辛菝鲚小姐

傳真號碼: (02)2829-2355 電子郵件: au1861@mail.au.edu.tw

【据名表下载】

主辦單位:直理大學人文學院 諮詢單位:法教文化與組織管理學系、展表語文學系 TBL: 02-26212121 ext.5101 | <u>251台北縣達水鎮夏運搬32號</u> | 網頁設計/Yu-Ting



# (三)2010年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與臺灣」國際學術研討會 宣傳海報設計樣本



2010 International Conference— Tamsui, Bridge Between and Beyond Origins, Inheritance, and Legacy of George Leslie Mackay

交融與跨越:馬偕學

在场方與各份

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#### BRIDE

Recentering Mackay:The Bi-Culture of Native Christian Leadership and Canadian Missionaries

Growing Up Presbyterian in Victorian Canada: Childhood Friends and Faith Formation

#### 協文録で

Design, Christian Rationalism, and the New Enlightenment:The Resilience of Mackay's Theological Belief's

馬格研究在台灣:数位與確的角度 馬依世史研究及其歷史再限

従女性主義関議部分/強縮明/撤収・高価的一生

Talwanese Christianity in Canada:The Taiwanese United Church, Toronto

Religious Outsiders:Looking Beyond Conventional Christian Figures Like Mackay for Insight into Taiwanese National Identity

地方政府與地方宗教勢力之互動研究-以沒水鎮 馬偕紀名為例

馬爾博士對評議婚姻的看法

#### 90.0

Prof.James Rohren/University of Nebraska, Keamey

Prof.Marguerite Van Die/Quoen's University, Canada

#### mn.

Prof.Hugo Meynell/University of Calgary

摩志蘭教授/真亚大學人文學院

**國資村教授**(政治大學台灣研究所、 **王懿祖博士生/张琦祥**教大學台灣文化 及語言文學研究所

李婧英裔教授/真母大學英美洁文學系

Rev.Michael Stainton/York University Centre of Asian Research

Prof.J.Gordon Melton/University of Celifornia, Santa Barbara

類據民期教授/真理大學宗教文化向是 语管理學系

Prof.Clyde R/真理大學英美語文學系

主四草位:直镜大學人文學際

观志荣教授/真理大學人文學院

林四島劉教隆/直収大學英英語文學系

異寫三研究與/中央研究統合灣史研究所

事維氏關數權/高度大學宗教文化與組織管理學系 王標勗助聯教權/高度大學宗教文化與組織管理學系

Prof. James Rohre/University of Nebraska, Kearney

舞化光教提成:治大學台灣史研究所

施吉斯教授/真市大學人文學問

查特學教技/中原大學宗教研究所

查時景教提/中京大學宗教研究所

强突離教授/期間史給前员 静化先教报/政治大學台灣史研究所

接具實教提/院議史報前長

與認人

11日平日:人文領域人才培育福際交流計算 直理大學宗教文化與組織資格等基

與英國文學系 和古年(2) 教育部原知原 同用實施提供有限公司

作编码统:http://www.au.ndu.tw/nz\_view/edu/religious/My%20work/Index.htm

聯名方式:於65月21日南光會議總統下藏錄名表,東寫後Mail:aul361@mail.au.edu.tw

表得真(02)2629-2355。(您不验受延起或现場報名) 詳細資訊可必需給電訊(02)2621-2121轉5123 早發好的理

# (四)工作人員名單

2010 年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與臺灣」國際學術研討會 工作人員簽到表

序號-組別	姓名	系別	6/9 簽名處(請	6/10 簽名處(請
			簽上時間)	簽上時間)
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18-議事組	李淑芬	宗管系	A++ 1235	A-XX 129
19-攝影組【攝影】	郭修文	宗管系	1. 30 2:10	2/17/12/
20-攝影組【照相】	尤啟任	宗管系	力胶原	KEG 7:15
			1:24	, -

八、 2010 年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與臺灣」國際學術研討 會會議論文及乙冊【如附件】



# 真理大學

# Aletheia University

# 2010年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與臺灣」 國際學術研討會

2010 International Conference—Tamsui, Bridge
Between and Beyond Origins, Inheritance, and Legacy
of George Leslie Mackay

主辦單位:真理大學人文學院

承辦單位:真理大學宗教文化與組織管理學系、英美語文學系

指導單位:人文領域人才培育國際交流計畫

補助單位:教育部顧問室、阿瘦實業股份有限公司

## Organized by:

College of Liberal Arts, Aletheia University

Department of Religion Culture and Organization Management Studies

Department of English

#### **Sponsors:**

Ministry of Education Advisory Office Shui-Mu International Company Ltd.

2010年06月09、10日

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# 2010年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與臺灣」 國際學術研討會

主辦單位:

真理大學人文學院

承辦單位:

真理大學宗教文化與組織管理學系 真理大學英美語文學系

指導單位:

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Proceedings

# 會議概況

#### 一、會議宗旨

2011年馬偕博士來台將屆滿 140 年,透過舉辦【2010 年「交融 與跨越:馬偕學在西方與臺灣」國際學術研討會】做為系列紀念活動 的開始,透過台灣與加拿大馬偕研究的學術成果之交流,有效展現馬 偕認同本土犧牲服務的精神。

#### 二、會議主題

- (一)台灣北部基督教會源起與基督教會文化意象之傳承
- (二)基督教會西方特色與本土特色之交錯

#### 三、會議內容

(一)活動日期:2010年06月09、10日(星期三、四)

(二)活動時間:08:00~16:30

(三)活動地點:真理大學淡水校區 大禮拜堂 B1 牛津會議室

臺北縣淡水鎮真理街 32 號

### (四)參與對象:

主持、與談人:9人

論文發表:11人

來賓:約80人

# 2010年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與台灣」國際學術研討會議程表

2010 International Conference—Tamsui, Bridge Between and Beyond Origins, Inheritance, and Legacy of George Leslie Mackay

時間: 2010 年 06 月 09、10 日(星期三、四) Time: June 9~10, 2010 (Wednesday, Thursday) 地點: 真理大學大禮拜堂 B1 牛津會議室

Venue: Oxford Conference Room B1, Aletheia University

#### 第一天:2010年06月09日(星期三)

Wednesday, June 9, 2010

Wednesday, June 9, 2010						
0800-0830		報到(領取會議資料) Registration				
開幕式 Opening 0830-0900	主持人:陳志榮院長 Moderator					
0900-0905	預備時間					
主題演講 Keynote Speech 0905-1005	主持人 Moderator	主講人 Speaker		論文題目 Topic		
	陳志榮教授	Prof.James Rohrer		Putting Taiwan's People in the Center of the Story: Reflections on the History of Christian Mission in Taiwan		he History of
1005-1015	預備時間					
第一場 First Session 1015-1205	主持人 Moderator	發表人 Presenter		論文題目 Topic		與談人 Respondent
	張炎憲教授	Prof.Hugo Meynell	Reflection on Religious and Political Differences		黄富三 研究員	
		陳志榮教授	馬偕台灣東岸宣教旅行		張炎憲教授	
1205-1310	午餐時間 Lunch					
第二場	主持人 Moderator	發表人 Presenter		論文題目 Topic		與談人 Respondent
Second Session 1310-1500	4t /1 - 41 14	戴寶村教授 王韶君博士生	馬偕歷史研究及其歷史再現		薛化元教授	
	薛化元教授	李健美副教授	從女性主義閱讀蔥仔/張聰明/蜜 妮·馬偕的一生		蔡維民 副教授	
1500-				再會		

主題演講:主持人10分鐘、主講人50分鐘

論文發表:主持人5分鐘、發表人30分鐘、與談人10分鐘、綜合討論25分鐘

# 2010年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與台灣」國際學術研討會議程表

2010 International Conference—Tamsui, Bridge Between and Beyond Origins,

Inheritance, and Legacy of George Leslie Mackay

時間: 2010 年 06 月 09、10 日(星期三、四) Time: June 9~10, 2010 (Wednesday, Thursday) 地點: 真理大學大禮拜堂 B1 牛津會議室

Venue: Oxford Conference Room B1, Aletheia University

#### 第二天:2010年06月10日(星期四)

Thursday, June 10, 2010

0800-0830	報到(領取會議資料) Registration					
主題演講	主持人 Moderator	主講人 Speaker		論文題目 Topic		
Keynote Speech 0830-0930	林四皓副教授	Prof.Marguerite Van Die		Growing Up Presbyterian in Victorian Canada: Childhood Friends and Faith Formation.		
0930-1010		茶敘 Tea/Coffee Break				
第一場 First Session 1010-1200	主持人 Moderator	發表人 Presenter		論文題目 Topic	與談人 Respondent	
	陳志榮教授	Rev.Michael Stainton	New Mackay letters in the		王榮昌 助理教授	
		Prof.J.Gordon Melton	Beg Fig	eligious Outsiders:Looking yond Conventional Christian ures Like Mackay for Insight o Taiwanese National Identity	陳志榮教授	
1200-1340	午餐時間 Lunch					
第二場 Second Session 1340-1520	主持人 Moderator	發表人 Presenter		論文題目 Topic	與談人 Respondent	
	查時傑教授	蔡維民副教授	鎮	公所與教會團體之互動研究-以 淡水「馬偕日」活動為例	查時傑教授	
		Prof.Clyde R.	Nor	e Victorian Creation Science, dic Origins, and Interracial riage The Interesting Case of George Leslie Mackay	Prof. James Rohrer	
閉幕式 Closing 1520-1530	主持人:陳志榮院長					
1530-	再會					

主題演講:主持人10分鐘、主講人50分鐘

論文發表:主持人5分鐘、發表人30分鐘、與談人10分鐘、綜合討論25分鐘

# 會議事項

- 一、本研討會於「真理大學大禮拜堂牛津會議室」舉行,研討會期間, 請各場主持人、發表及與談人於會議開始前半小時抵達會場簽 到,以便接待。
- 二、發表及與談討論時間,請參考下表說明:

#### 主題演講

主持人:10分鐘

演講者:50分鐘

#### 論文發表

主持人:5分鐘

發表人:30分鐘

與談人:10分鐘

綜合討論:25分鐘

#### \*每場時間計 110 分鐘

三、計時說明:

	主持人開場	發表人	與談人	綜合討論
時間限制	5分鐘	30 分鐘	10 分鐘	25 分鐘
按鈴一聲	第4分鐘	第 25 分鐘	第9分鐘	第 20 分鐘
按鈴雨聲	第5分鐘	第 30 分鐘	第 10 分鐘	第 25 分鐘

#### 四、其他事項

- (一)交通自理、與會者除事先報名者外,當天旁聽者恕不分發論文。
- (二)會後請將您的識別証交回服務台或服務人員。
- (三)為響應環保政策,本次活動請自行攜帶個人環保餐具。

# 會議籌備及執行

#### 總指導

真理大學校長

吳銘達教授

#### 總召集

真理大學人文學院院長

陳志榮教授

#### 總策劃

真理大學宗教文化與組織管理學系主任 真理大學英美語文學系主任 蔡維民副教授 李健美副教授

#### 專案主持

真理大學宗教文化與組織管理學系主任 真理大學英美語文學系主任 蔡維民副教授 李健美副教授

#### 策劃委員

真理大學宗教文化組織管理學系 真理大學宗教文化組織管理學系 真理大學宗教文化組織管理學系 真理大學宗教文化組織管理學系 真理大學宗教文化組織管理學系 真理大學宗教文化組織管理學系 真理大學宗教文化組織管理學系 真理大學英美語文學系 真理大學英美語文學系 真理大學英美語文學系 直理大學英美語文學系 真理大學英美語文學系 真理大學英美語文學系 真理大學英美語文學系 真理大學英美語文學系 真理大學英美語文學系 真理大學英美語文學系 真理大學英美語文學系 真理大學英美語文學系

真理大學英美語文學系

張家麟教授 林志欽副教授 王鏡玲副教授 高怡萍助理教授 張雅惠助理教授 王榮昌助理教授 蕭進銘講師 林四皓副教授 朱森榮副教授 何旻蓉副教授 施琳達副教授 吳坤暉助理教授 藍伯捷助理教授 加得助理教授 蘇一菁助理教授 葉雅茹助理教授 蔡慧琿講師 陳雅齢講師 謝克廉講師

白狄藍講師

#### 會議執行秘書

真理大學宗教文化組織管理學系 真理大學英美語文學系 辛筱婷系助理楊穎欣系助理

#### 會議執行助理

#### 機動組

辛筱婷宗管系助理、金世傑同學、賴韻竹同學、林君翰同學 蔡鑫宇宗管系助理、林詩惠同學、許恕慎同學、許哲民同學 司儀組

楊穎欣英美系助理

#### 接待組

蔡宜臻同學、潘思羽同學、謝明芹同學、駱佩淇同學、 林紘任同學、胡嘉雯同學、馬羽廷同學、劉美玉同學

#### 議事組

李淑芬同學

#### 攝影組

郭修文同學、尤啟任同學

# 2010年「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與臺灣」 國際學術研討會

2010 International Conference—Tamsui, Bridge Between and Beyond Origins, Inheritance, and Legacy of George Leslie Mackay



### Putting Taiwan's People in the Center of the Story:

#### Reflections on the History of Christian Mission in Taiwan

James R. Rohrer
Associate Professor of History
University of Nebraska at Kearney

The field of Taiwan studies has flowered in recent years. During the past decade prestigious academic publishers have released a stream of well-received monographs on many facets of Taiwan's past. Students around the globe can now readily locate detailed accounts of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan, the development of distinctively Taiwanese strands of Buddhism and Taoism, the island's evolving commercial relations with the world, and its tangled political history. We even have two academic monographs on the history of Baseball in Taiwan.

Yet when we turn to the History of Christianity in Taiwan, the bibliography of published critical studies remains quite short, and many of the studies which have been published appear in small journals with very limited circulation. As a result, the global community of scholars who study the history of religion remains largely unaware of the rich and complex story of Christianity in this remarkable island. I could cite many examples to illustrate the pattern of invisibility, but will mention only one striking instance. Samuel Hugh Moffett, the distinguished professor of Ecumenics and Mission at Princeton Theological Seminary and a lifelong student of Christianity in Asia, recently produced a critically acclaimed two volume synthesis of Asian Christian history. His second volume (2005), covering the period from 1500-1900, is a massive tome of 740 pages. Moffett, who grew up in Korea as a missionary kid, devotes two chapters to Korea. He has several chapters on India, and several more on Japan. The Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand, all receive chapters. Christianity in China takes up approximately one quarter of his book. Yet Moffett

allots only three and a half pages to a discussion of the 17th century Dutch mission in Formosa, and fails to mention the nineteenth century Catholic and Protestant communities at all. One searches in vain his extensive bibliography, which runs to an amazing 68 pages, for sources on the birth of Taiwan's Christian communities.

My point is not that Samuel Moffett or other scholars are intentionally slighting Christianity in Taiwan, although in some cases that may be true. My point is that few scholars beyond Taiwan have taken a deep interest in the history of Christianity here, and fewer have published in venues that capture the attention of generalists like Samuel Moffett. In my own graduate training in history I learned nothing about Christianity in Taiwan, although I read many books and articles about Christianity in Africa, Latin America, and other Asian societies. It was not until I taught history for several years here in the 1990s—and married a Taiwanese Christian--that I became aware of the tremendous complexity and importance of Taiwan's Christian communities.

The relatively undeveloped state of Taiwanese Christian historiography stems in part from the fact that Taiwan was not colonized in the nineteenth century by any Western nation and has always had a relatively small foreign mission force. Until recently the vast majority of scholars writing about the church in the non-Western world were missionaries or indigenous scholars trained in mission affiliated colleges and universities. In societies colonized by Western powers, such as India and Africa, very large mission communities emerged to establish a plethora of colleges with ties to educational institutions in the West. These schools, which received favorable treatment from colonial governments, required students to study and write in the colonial language. Over the decades these institutions have produced significant numbers of indigenous Christian scholars who have entered history graduate programs and published their research in English or French, in venues that are reviewed in major Western journals and that appear in standard bibliographies shelved

by libraries around the word. As a result we now have thousands of books and articles on African Christianity, many penned by African scholars, which can be accessed via Inter-library loan from almost any Western library.

The relative challenges confronting students seeking information about Taiwan's Christian history are formidable, and will not be overcome quickly. But it is important that we begin to confront them, and work more aggressively to create a research infrastructure that will put Taiwanese Christianity on the radar screens of scholars around the world. I know that today I am preaching to the choir. This conference offers concrete proof that there is a small but lively international community of scholars who find at least some aspects of Taiwan's Christian history worth studying. I hope that we might build upon this conference and begin to strategize together about ways to increase international interest in this important field of research.

It is fitting that an international gathering devoted to Christianity in Taiwan should meet here in Tamsui, a city that perfectly symbolizes the intercultural forces that have always shaped Taiwan's historical development. In his book Maritime Taiwan, Shih-Shan Henry Tsai has argued that Taiwan's distinct identity has been forged by its long history of interaction with seafaring nations. Always a crossroads for traders and migrant settlers, pirates and military schemers from around the world, Taiwan society has been forged by intercultural exchanges. Shih counts British and Canadian missionaries like George Leslie Mackay among the cross-cultural influences that have helped to mold modern Taiwan. This approach recognizes that missionaries like Mackay, and certainly their native converts, are central components of the Taiwanese historical narrative, not merely exotics on the fringes of society.

This awareness reflects a major historiographical shift in the past generation. Mission history was for most of the 20th century dominated by missionary practitioners who wrote self-consciously for Christian audiences. Now a growing

army of scholars from many disciplines is being drawn to study the history of mission. Historians increasingly recognize that missionary activity has been among the major influences in World History, central to the concerns of anthropologists, sociologists, economists, and political scientists as well as Church historians and students of religious studies. The historiography of Christian mission, and the methodological sophistication of mission history, has grown exponentially as a result. As we study the history of Christianity in Taiwan, we need to consciously be in dialogue with scholars in varied disciplines who are working along parallel lines in other cultural settings.

Among other things, this means that we must avoid the tendency to focus too narrowly upon the person of the missionary. Without denying that conversion is an essentially religious phenomenon, we must remember that every missionary encounter is shaped by a complex interplay of social, political, psychological, and cultural factors. The missionary is only one among many variables at work in the process of conversion, and not necessarily the most important. While the precise configuration of personal, religious, and environmental factors differs from setting to setting and individual to individual, in all cases conversion occurs within a unique cultural matrix and derives its meaning for the convert from within that context. Lewis Rambo, a leading scholar of religious conversion, has concluded that "the process of conversion is a product of the interaction among the convert's aspirations, needs, and orientations, the nature of the group into which she or he is being converted, and the particular social matrix in which these processes are taking place."1

To understand the infant church in North Formosa, this means that we need to go beyond the well known exploits of George Leslie Mackay and focus instead upon the complex environmental forces within Taiwan that conditioned his work, as well as the agency of the Taiwanese people who heard and responded favorably or unfavorably to his presence. Too often mission history has followed the lead of missionary narratives,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lewis R. Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 7.

which invariably are tales about missionary initiative and indigenous responses. Even in Mackay's book, From Far Formosa, which concludes with a ringing defense of native agency,2 the literary formula required the subordination of the converts to the missionary. The Holy Spirit, working through Mackay, is presented as the real agent of change. The converts appear as largely passive figures, acted upon more than actors in their own right. With a few exceptions they remain largely anonymous, an abstract collective known simply as the "native helpers."

To take seriously the contextual nature of religious conversion is to ask why several thousand Taiwanese people in the late Ch'ing period found in the "Jesus doctrine" an attractive religious option. Who, specifically, were these converts? What were their aspirations and struggles? What factors impelled them to embrace openly a heterodox ideology, and to regard the small, bearded Scots-Canadian not simply as an irritating foreigner but as a spiritual guide? What led some of them to take up the task of preaching the Jesus doctrine themselves? How did they understand their newfound commitments and integrate these into their lives as Taiwanese people? In short, what did Christianity mean to them within the context of their myriad social relationships?

Christian mission—to the extent that it is successful—triggers the formation of new "bicultures." A biculture can be defined as a localized society in which people from different cultures relate to one another according to clearly defined social roles. It is thus a stable society with institutionalized roles regulating the members, as distinct from a casual meeting between strangers in the marketplace or a brief conference such as this one. Bicultural communities constitute new and very complex subcultures within society. They originate when people from one culture (in this case missionaries) move into another culture with the intention of settling down, becoming integrated, and introducing cultural innovations that will transform the people. As

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mackay, From Far Formosa, pp. 335-38.

these cross-cultural innovators engage the local people, they trigger diverse reactions. often reflecting existing tensions and conflicting interests within society. Over time some people choose to embrace the innovation (in this case missionary teaching), thus bringing into existence a new type of community that is composed of people from two or more different cultures. As this new "biculture" evolves, the members draw selectively upon the ideas, rhetoric, values, rituals, and artistic expressions of both contributing cultures. Thus a biculture is a distinctive hybrid that serves as a meeting point and place of exchange between two worlds.

George Leslie Mackay called into existence such a biculture when in 1872 he decided to cast his lot among the people of North Formosa. Obviously his Canadian beliefs, ideas, and values decisively shaped the growing Christian community here. But the values and beliefs of the Taiwanese were equally decisive. The converts shaped Mackay, and the contours of the nascent Christian movement in Taiwan, just as surely as Mackay shaped them. It is crucially important that we learn far more about the Taiwanese side of the equation.

For example, Protestant missionaries like Mackay typically assigned supreme importance to the act of preaching. Mackay devoted most of his time and energy to the task of training native preachers. We know that he jealously claimed for himself the sole authority to select and train the men who would become the first indigenous cadre of preachers in North Formosa. During the course of his career he personally trained more than one hundred native preachers.

How does a foreign teacher with an imperfect grasp of the local language and culture go about training his students to preach to their own people, especially given the significant differences between Chinese rhetorical tradition and the rhetorical conventions of Victorian Canada? What methods should be used to teach the art of preaching in a mission context? What manner of delivery should preachers employ? What mode of argumentation? We know that Mackay attended Princeton Seminary,

where he studied Alexander Vinet's textbook Homiletics; or The Theory of Preaching. We know, too, that he drilled his students in elocution, a system of body motions, hand gestures, and principles of vocalization that was designed to elevate public speaking to a high art. It is difficult to imagine Mackay's students actually following the homiletical principles of Vinet or practicing elocution when they stood before their fellow Taiwanese to proclaim their faith in Jesus. What did Mackay actually teach, and more importantly, what did his students actually appropriate from his lessons? Week in and week out for a generation, the native preachers were the crucial face of the Christian movement in dozens of Taiwanese villages. To understand the development of Christianity in Taiwan it is just as important to know what they were preaching as what Mackay was teaching. Indeed, it may be more important.

For example, how did Mackay's students handle Confucius? Throughout the late nineteenth century missionaries in China debated heatedly how to appropriate the teachings of Confucius. Most missionaries believed that Chinese preachers needed a working knowledge of Confucius in order to gain a hearing, since familiarity with the classics was the mark of a scholar. At the same time many missionaries feared that too much acquaintance with the sage would spoil native preachers. The problem, they thought, required careful discernment. Certain rhetorical principles drawn from the Confucian canon seemed to complement Christianity, such as the emphasis upon ethos as crucial to persuasion. After all, Aristotle stressed the importance of virtue, as did the New Testament. Missionaries also had no problem with the Confucian appeal to ancient tradition rather than personal belief. Here, too, the sage resonated with Christian conceptions of divine revelation and biblical authority.

Yet most missionaries did not want Chinese preachers to appeal to the authority of Confucius himself, or to Chinese tradition, in support of Christian claims. If not carefully handled, quoting Confucius in a sermon might leave the impression that Jesus should be followed because he supports Confucius, rather than the sage of

China pointing toward the far greater sage from heaven as the ultimate authority. Moreover, many missionaries disliked the emphasis upon ritual propriety and the Confucian rejection of appeals to emotion. Confucian influence, missionaries sometimes charged, caused Chinese preachers to be lackluster in their delivery, and to refrain from directly confronting the sinfulness of their audience when a prophetic confrontation was necessary.

We know that Mackay read the Confucian classics and taught them at Oxford College. He wanted preachers who could accurately recite both Confucius and scripture as ancient authorities that demonstrated the truth of Christianity. But in their day to day teaching and preaching, how did Mackay's students actually weave the two traditions together? It would be wonderful if we could answer this question.

Mackay also wanted native preachers who possessed a basic grasp of natural science. Like virtually every Victorian evangelical, he assumed that God was both creator of the natural world and author of the Bible. At Knox College and at Princeton he had been taught that science and scripture cannot contradict, that inductive study of the Bible and of the natural world will both point unerringly to the same God who became flesh in Jesus. Mackay relished zoology, botany, geology, and anatomy. He assumed that the truly educated human, who had learned to seek God's revelation in both nature and the Bible, could see, in the words of evangelical geologist William Whewell, "the evidence of God in every mechanism of the Universe."

This belief in the unity of science and scripture still flourishes today in the world of Anglo-American evangelical Christianity, in Fundamentalist Bible Colleges and the so-called Creation Science movement. It continues to exert a powerful influence upon popular culture in the West. But at the time that Mackay brought these ideas to Taiwan, the Victorian fusion of science and theology was already in eclipse among academic scientists in the United States. Canadian universities began to turn away from Natural theology about the time that Mackay died in 1901. In both church and academy, the

20th century witnessed a split between evangelical biblical theology on the one hand, and the methodology of natural science on the other. The Victorian faith in the unity of theology and science gave way to a perceived "warfare" between authentic science and evangelical models of biblical inspiration.

Mackay introduced his faith in the unity of science and scripture to Christians in Taiwan. He spent countless hours teaching his students the rudiments of geology, botany and anatomy as an essential part of their preparation to preach and teach. He dissected pigs and fish to convince them that there is a design in nature that proves the existence of a creator God. He used microscopes to open to his students "a new world . . . of which they never dreamed." As he noted in his diary for 29 April 1873: "Nothing like having as clear a conception as possible of the God we worship. It brings Him nearer to us when we study what He made. When we take a flower between our fingers and ponder every part, then we can see Jehovah our God."3

We know that at least some of the larger churches in North Formosa were set up as classrooms, equipped with astronomical and anatomical charts, microscopes, and natural science specimens. Mackay's preachers served as village teachers as well as evangelists, and presumably were expected to make some use of this scientific apparatus in the classroom. Again we are led to ask what they actually appropriated from Mackay's teaching. Day by day, as they preached and taught school, what elements of Mackay's science lessons, if any, did they incorporate into their own lessons? And did the introduction of Victorian natural science and natural theology have any long term impact upon Christianity in Taiwan?

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Mackay's views reflect an almost universally shared evangelical worldview that typified Protestantism in Britain, Canada, and the United States in the early nineteenth century and which lingered until the turn of the century in Canada. For more on this topic see Carl Berger, Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada (Toronto, 1983); Theodore Dwight Bozeman, Protestants in an Age of Science: The Baconian Ideal and Antebellum American Thought (Chapel Hill: U of NC, 1977); Michael Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression (Montreal & Kingston: McGill Queen's, 1991); Herbert Hovenkamp, Science and Religion in America, 1800-1860 (Philadelphia: U of PA Press, 1978).

Mackay's medical work raises parallel questions. At the time Mackay arrived in Taiwan, regular physicians (those trained in university medical programs) had not yet achieved domination of Western medicine. In Mackay's youth, rural families in Upper Canada commonly self-diagnosed and treated themselves. Popular volumes of materia medica were widely available for home use. In addition to regular doctors, Canadian towns were served by practitioners of numerous contending systems of healing. Among the most popular were the Eclectics, medical pragmatists who freely used whatever concepts and therapies seemed to achieve practical results. In 1871 at least 1000 eclectics practiced medicine in the Dominion of Canada. These doctors might have a smattering knowledge of the science taught in medical colleges, but were just as likely to employ folk remedies and new fads not approved by regular physicians.

Mackay himself seems to have been something of an eclectic. While he had taken a few undergraduate courses that were part of any regular medical program, he had no medical college diploma and apparently did not believe that regular doctors were necessarily the best physicians. He himself began to study materia medica as a teenager, likely a volume owned by his family, in preparation for missionary work, and he felt himself perfectly competent to instruct his students in materia medica once he reached Taiwan. He cultivated warm relations with most of the regular British physicians stationed in Tamsui, and relied upon them to perform the most serious surgical cases in the mission clinic. He had his students at Oxford College assist and observe these physicians as a basic part of their training for ministry. Yet he steadfastly opposed adding missionaries with regular medical college diplomas, and insisted that his Taiwanese students were better equipped than any Western physician to serve as healers of their own people. Although the training his students received was rudimentary by the standards of the rapidly evolving medical profession in Canada, Mackay did not hesitate to provide them with surgical equipment and

Western drugs and to send them forth to practice medicine on their own in the churches scattered around North Formosa.

What did Mackay's students actually appropriate from their medical lessons, and what use did they make of the drugs and surgical instruments that Mackay provided to them? If, as I believe, Mackay himself best fits within the world of the medical eclectics, this left plenty of room to mix Western medical procedures with traditional Chinese medical beliefs and remedies. What role did Chinese medicine play in the Christian community of North Taiwan? Given the fact that Mackay regarded the medical work of his students as the single most effective aspect of their ministry, these are very important questions.

They are questions that cannot be answered by the remaining archival records alone. All historians confront the challenge posed by incomplete and fragmentary sources. In the case of mission history, we face the additional challenge that our fragmentary archival sources are heavily skewed toward the missionary perspective. The published mission memoirs, newspapers, field reports and conference records, as well as the private correspondence produced by missionaries and their sending agencies, tend to assume for us a dangerous degree of authority. For all the light that they throw on the cross-cultural process, they cast deep shadows as well. In order to recover the indigenous voice in the story, to gain a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of Christian origins in Taiwan, we need to read existing documentary records with more sensitivity to the suppressed native contribution. Most importantly we need to preserve and disseminate as widely as possible other forms of source material.

I began these reflections by urging that we collectively take steps to increase international awareness of Taiwan's Christian history. I want to conclude by making several concrete suggestions, the first of which is that we focus upon saving the local

memories that have not been recorded and archived. This is a task that can best be accomplished by students here in Taiwan.

During my years of teaching in Taiwan, I visited many local churches scattered around the island. I was always intrigued by the stories that pastors and elderly church members shared with me about the history of their families or congregations. Often people would pass on to me stories of Mackay and other missionaries that they had heard from their parents. Often they would tell me details about how their own families became Christian, and of how Christianity had impacted the fortunes of their families.

I suspect that most of these rich stories have never been recorded and archived. I am concerned that with each passing year precious source material is disappearing as people age and die. Although the publication of missionary journals is a worthy and important project, I believe that the most crucial need is systematic oral history to record and disseminate the vitally important memories of Taiwan's Christians. I would love to see an army of Christian youth groups and Christian college students fanning out to record the memories of their own families and extended communities. I am thinking of a program similar to the Veteran's History Project sponsored by the National Archives in the United States, which seeks to document the experience of war veterans across the US. The Veterans History project relies not only upon historians and teachers, but also countless students and volunteers across the nation who interview veterans in their own communities. Volunteers follow a format established by the National Archives, and send the tapes of their interviews to the archives, which digitalizes them and puts them online for scholars to use. In my history department, we routinely require our students to participate in this and other oral history projects as graded assignments. We find that such assignments not only create important historical sources, but just as importantly they get students interested and involved in discovering and writing their own family and local histories.

I know that many important sources for Taiwan Christian history have already been recorded in locally published newspapers and books here in Taiwan. The Taiwan Church News, for example, has been published for many generations. Even as we take steps to publish missionary letters and diaries, we need to be equally aggressive in reprinting and disseminating more widely the local sources in Taiwanese. Obviously this is a big job, complicated by the fact that even many Taiwanese today cannot read the old Romanization used by early Christian publications. Some sort of organized effort to translate and publish the most important early Taiwanese sources would be an invaluable aid to making Taiwan Christian history more accessible to scholars in the rest of the world.

Finally I want to urge that the growing interest in Mackay be extended to the English mission in the South, to the various Catholic missions, and to the many foreign and indigenous expressions of Christianity that have taken root here in the 20th century. I recall once, after speaking about Mackay, being gently chided by a Presbyterian pastor from Tainan who reminded me that Tainan also had many missionaries who made important contributions to the church in Taiwan. Of course, he was right. But my concern is not simply to give the English Presbyterian missionaries equal time. Far more importantly, it is a mistake to tell the history of Christianity in Taiwan through the lens of Western denominationalism. Missionaries may have been members of separate and often rival organizations, but all of them were being conditioned by common environmental forces within Taiwanese society. We will better understand those forces if we examine as rigorously as possible all of the manifold encounters between Christianity and Taiwan culture rather than selectively focusing only upon our favorite team.

I could easily extend my remarks but I am afraid that I have already tried your patience for too long. I will close by saying that I am excited to be here with other

scholars from around the world to discuss Taiwanese Christianity, and eagerly look forward to learning from all of you in the days ahead.

# Reflection on Religious and Political Differences

## Prof.Hugo Meynell

When I was interviewed for my job at Calgary in 1981, I was asked what I thought my function would be. I said that I intended to be a generalist. I did not aspire to become the world's greatest authority on chapter 23 of Ezekiel, or the legend of St. Ursula and her ten thousand virgins; but to explore comparatively unimportant questions like, why believe in God, if at all? Why be a Christian, or a Buddhist? Isn't Marxism in some respect a religion? I want to raise two big questions --- the relation of Christianity to the other religions; and the relation of Christianity, and of religion in general, to the social and political good. 'Oh, you ought to stick to something more limited and scholarly --- perhaps a particular individual, or, at worst, a particular situation or movement.' Blame Clyde for bringing me in; he knows I'm a generalist. Generalities can be tedious, vacuous or platitudinous; I hope to persuade you that not all need be so. I might, rather pompously, have called this paper 'Prolegomena to Missiology.' What, in the most general terms, were George Leslie Mackay, and thousands like him, up to in devoting their lives to the propagation of the Christian faith? And what benefits, if any, might they be supposed to have been conferring on the recipients?

Anthony Bloom, who later became an archbishop in the Greek Orthodox Church, was brought up as a good Russian Marxist, with the belief that religion was something that was soon to wither away, and that while it lasted it could only be a force for obscurantism and reaction. During his adolescence, he attended a kind of holiday camp, at which he met a man who struck him simply for his outstanding human goodness. This set him to wondering what the man's secret could be; he turned out to be an Orthodox priest. Reading From Far Formosa, I was rather similarly struck by the figure of Mackay. He devoted his life not merely to proclaiming the Gospel, but

also in so doing to improving the moral and social life of the people of north Taiwan. One aspect of this was persuading his hearers to treat women with greater consideration and dignity than they had been used to do. We have all of us as it were an inbuilt notion of the moral, social and political good; it is a function of religion in general, and Christianity in particular, to clarify and enhance this. The Dalai Lama is another person who impresses the sense and sensibility of the ordinary decent person as essentially and deeply good; the official spokesperson of a government which I will not name, who denounced the Dalai Lama as 'a wolf in a monk's clothing,' merely branded as ridiculous himself and those whom he represented.

When one dares to flout fashion so far as to speak of missionaries bringing moral, social, or political benefits, the spectre of value-relativism raises its ugly head. So I will state roundly my opinion that a culture which encourages clitoridectomy or footbinding is to that degree and in that respect absolutely worse than one which does not. It is worse in that or because these practices are unfair on those who have to undergo them, and cause far more suffering than happiness. I am prepared to defend this view at length, but have no time to do so here and now. This is not to deny that the cultures in question may not have other positive features from which those who do not share them may have something to learn. Modern missionaries, I imagine, would be more sensitive on this point than would be usual for those of Mackay's time. I was moved and impressed by recent recognition on the part of Chinese authorities, mentioned by Alvyn Austin1, of genuine love of China among at least some of the missionaries. And so we proceed to our main topics.

(1)On the relation of Christianity to other religions, or, more generally, the relation of the religions to one another, we have Karl Barth at one extreme, John Hick at the other. Barth, of course, was a Protestant Christian, and how; but it's easy to generalize his position, which I now proceed to do, as follows. 'My own religious

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(or irreligious) position is true; all others are false. There is no argument about it; the basic principles of my religion are either accepted in faith, or rejected in sin. (Similar moves, one should observe, may be made by Freudians or Marxists --- 'You only fail to agree with us because your potty-training went wrong, because you're a petty-bourgeois rentier.') Other religions are a matter of human self-assertion against acceptance of divine grace. In fact, such is the uniqueness of my faith that it should not count as a 'religion' at all, as though its rivals were in any way comparable. To suppose that our reasoning powers are in principle capable of dealing with the issue is sheer illusion, fallen beings as we are; faith cannot argue with unbelief, it can only preach to it.' You might do just the same for Islam as Barth did for (his particular form of) Protestant Christianity. King Abdullah of Jordan received death threats when he proposed, in my view very commendably, to host a meeting of leaders and thinkers of different faiths. It is easy to discern the underlying assumption --- it is not the business of the good Muslim to discuss matters of faith with infidels, but to convert them.

It tells rather heavily against Barth's position that there does, at least at first sight, appear to be much in common between the great religions, and not just the theistic religions. They speak of a supreme being, or at least a supreme state, to gain which, or to gain fellowship with which, is highest possible bliss and the ultimate aim of human life. There is somehow an ideal order in things to which we are aware of more or less corresponding or, more usually, failing to correspond. Though in one sense this supreme being or state is infinitely distant, in another sense she or it is intimately close to us, closer than our very selves. The way to this being or state is through love of her or it, and this includes love of one's neighbour; furthermore, it involves sacrifice and renunciation.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This view is argued strongly, and with a great deal of corroborative detail, by F. Heiler, 'The History of Religion as a Preparation for the Cooperation of Religions', in M. Eliade and J. Kitagawa (eds.), *The History of Religions* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1959).

A kind of generalized Barthism is very common nowadays, and is often argued as follows. No-one can really argue their position as it were from the ground up; some premisses have to be basic, just plumped for. Otherwise one is involved inevitably in infinite regress; with any proposed foundations, one can ask, 'What are the foundations for those?', and so on for ever. Attempted foundations for knowledge or justified belief have all broken down; one may take logical positivism as a fairly recent and notorious instance of this. The foundations proposed by the logical positivists self-destructed. All meaningful statements, they said, are either true by definition, or such that they are in principle verifiable or falsifiable by sense-experience. The trouble is that this statement itself is apparently neither true by definition, nor such that you can verify it or falsify it by sense experience. Rudolf Carnap heroically proposed that it might be the one important kind of nonsense which stopped you from asserting any other kind of nonsense; but most people thought, really, at this rate one had to go back to the philosophical drawing-board. Once the search for foundations is abandoned, theists can thus propose that 'God exists' is a 'properly basic statement', to employ Alvin Plantinga's useful expression. The trouble with this view is that everyone can take what is essentially the same line about their

religious (or irreligious) position: 'These are my basic statements, for which I do not have to argue.' So each religion and denomination has a splendid excuse for retreating to its own intellectual ghetto.

Opponents can be shrugged off over differences deemed trivial; where they are not deemed trivial the only possible resort is to the guns and the thumbscrews.

The antithesis of Barth's view is that represented by John Hick. For Hick, all the great religions are saying what amounts to the same thing each from its own social, cultural, and linguistic point of view. In a memorable analogy, he compares the relation of his own view to that which generally prevailed earlier on the one hand, with that of the geocentric Ptolemaic cosmology to the heliocentric Copernican one

on the other. God, and not one's own religion, is at the centre of the universe of faiths; different religions are reflecting the same God each from its own social, cultural and linguistic point of view. In later formulations of his position, Hick was inclined to speak of 'Reality' rather than 'God' --- a modification which is of some significance, as we shall see.

When I met Hick,3 I had a question to put to him. What would he do with the Buddhists, who do not believe in a God at all? He gave me what I thought was a rather foxy look, and suggested that they worshipped the impersonal side or aspect of God, while Christian and Muslims worshipped the personal. Now it happens that I have a friend and former colleague who is a committed and learned Buddhist; and at the first opportunity I asked him, do you worship the impersonal aspect of God? He answered, as I thought he would, 'No. I don't believe in God at all.' And what about the non-religious or anti-religious? Are they too right in their way, on Hick's view? If not, why should their views be excluded a priori? If so, if there is no real cognitive difference between religious assertion, however vague (say, 'There is a spiritual realm'), and denial of such assertion, then religious belief does not seem to amount to anything at all.

Against Hick --- to whose view, I may say, I am much more sympathetic than I am to Barth's --- I would urge that there are at least four obvious differences in religious belief, or perhaps rather beliefs about matters relevant to religion, which won't go away in the inter-cultural wash, unless indeed one is to abandon Aristotle's principle of non-contradiction. And if you deny that, you have to content yourself, if you are to be consistent, with never really making or implying any judgment at all, but just indulging in groans, gurgles and whistles. (How can one really make any statement about anything, if one admits that its strict contradictory is equally true?).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I find him, by the way, an extremely nice man, as well as a brilliant one.

Here are the four: (1) For weal or woe, we, or at least some of us, are to expect some kind of life after death (in the form of survival of the soul, or reincarnation, or bodily resurrection, or some combination of these); that it is somehow not the case that, as they say, 'when you're dead you're dead.' (2) That there is a real distinction between good and evil; that this is not a matter that individuals or societies must decide by fiat; (3) That to commit oneself to evil is to rebel against something like a God (who may be conceived in a range of ways); (4) that this God has communicated the divine nature and purposes for humankind through some kind of special revelation, through a body of writings, a community, a combination of the two, or in some other way. On (1), most religious believers differ from most secularists (one could, in principle, believe in life after death and be a secularist; but I take this to be unusual). When it comes to (2), I think secularists are apt to be divided against one another as well as against religious believers; many secularists, though by no means all, would feel qualms at the attitude expressed in the title of J. L. Mackie's book, Ethics. Inventing Right and Wrong. As to (3), to be worth calling 'God', a Being has not only to have 'aseity', to exist independently of anything else; and to be analogous to a person or conscious subject (to believe that there is a 'matter-energy on which all else depends, but is not itself dependent on anything, is not to believe that there is a God).

But how are we to make up our minds between these alternatives, an issue which can hardly be claimed by any sane person to be unimportant? It seems boring to say it, but reason is the only honest broker we have, if we are not just to shout one another down or resort to more sinister methods of persuasion. As the great Islamic theologian Al-Ghazzali said, reason is God's scale on earth. Arguments for or against God's existence may be broadly categorized as metaphysical; there are no strictly speaking scientific arguments confirming or refuting God's existence. Some people may infer atheistic or fideistic conclusions from this --- that there is no God, or that God's existence is to be accepted or rejected by sheer act of faith, without the support of reason either way. On behalf of rational theism, on the other hand, it might be urged

that the very success of science at once presupposes and confirms that we live in an intelligible universe, one shaped to our investigating minds; and that this is best accounted for, in the last analysis, by something like a mind on which the universe is dependent.

Are there any reasons to suppose that this being, assuming that she or he exists, has made a revelation of the divine nature and purposes for humankind? Arguments on this matter, I think, must be of a moral and historical nature. Does the alleged revelation tend to reinforce or go counter to our best autonomous reasonings on moral matters; and does the most objective possible historical investigation tend to confirm or impugn that an institution, or group of writings, or both, which are the divine means or instruments of this revelation, really exist?

In the next few decades, I should hope that the various religions and irreligions would regard it as a main duty to listen to rather than just preach at one another. Each party should be ready to admit its own faults; and running-down one's opponents in order to feel smug should not be countenanced. In listening we should always expect to have something positive to learn. A Muslim or a Christian can take to heart the typical secularist gibe, that it will not do to be preoccupied with heavenly things in such a way that one leaves earthly affairs to go to perdition.4

One can insist that there is something useful to be learned from every religious and irreligious point of view, without abandoning the principle of non-contradiction. If one believes in an infinite transcendent God, as I happen to do, it would be blasphemous to presume that one's statements exhaust the truth about the divine being, even if they are true so far as they go. Those who insist that there is no real contradiction between the religions are apt to cite the Hindu parable of the blind men and the elephant. When one man has grasped the tail, and another the trunk, their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This is no new complaint; one finds medieval Confucians making it against the Buddhists. The Buddhists were always harping on what preceded birth and came after death; whereas what ought to concern us, say the Confucians, is what happens between birth and death.

statements are bound to seem contradictory, without really being so. There is an important truth there. But 'this is definitely a leg', 'this is definitely not a leg', can't both be right, when the same limb is in question. The common Advaita Vedanta position, for all its exemplary tolerance, reminds me a bit of that of the pigs in Animal Farm, who amended the slogan 'All animals are equal' by adding, 'but some animals are more equal than others.' Similarly, 'All religions are aiming at the truth in their way, but the truth they're aiming at is what is proclaimed by the Advaita Vedanta.' It is fairly obvious that all religions can play at that game.

(2) Where morals, society and politics are concerned, we have a basic intuition of what's bad and what's good, just as we do of factual truth and falsity; it may be useful to spell it out more than people usually bother to do. I believe that it is of the first importance to distinguish between the kind of religion which encourages us to pursue intellectual and moral autonomy, and that which tends to discourage or replace It would be a great mistake to regard the former attitude as apt to render religion trivial or superfluous; we need all the encouragement we can get to think hard about what is really morally and politically good and bad, and to act in accordance with the result of our thoughts. Perhaps one might put it that the role of religion is not to give us a detailed moral and political map; but rather to motivate us to think objectively about these matters, in spite of all the prejudices due to our individual situation or social and economic class, and to act accordingly. If it is really true, for example, that our way of life is wrecking the earth for our descendants, it is our duty before God not to find excuses for deluding ourselves on the matter. Someone remarked that it would need three Earths to support the standard of living enjoyed by the average Canadian, if this was extended to the whole population of the Earth. The thought is sobering.

The essence of the social, political and social good, I should say, is that the happiness and fulfilment of human beings (and surely other sentient beings) should be

maximized, without fairness being impugned. One might expect every society to have ideas and institutions which are worth preserving and encouraging to promote the social and political good in this sense; but also to harbour ideas and institutions which tend to frustrate and hinder it. Confucianism, and the 'right', seems representative of one extreme; Maoism, and the 'left', of the other. There is a splendid quotation from the work of the late Chairman Mao; I wish I could reproduce it accurately, or give you the reference. But I am sure of its general drift. The revolution, says Mao in effect, will not be achieved politely, decorously, with consideration for everyone's feelings, or in deference to the hallowed precepts and traditions of our ancestors. He is deliberately citing Confucian values. In the nineteen-twenties, the general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party noted the enormous liberation he experienced as a result of the materialist doctrine to the effect that, as Democritus put it, there was nothing but atoms and the void; it seemed that the throttling hold of traditions and values could immediately be swept away on the basis of that slogan. On the other hand, it would generally be agreed now that 'the cultural revolution' and the 'great leap forward' sponsored by Mao were a mistake, and underestimated, in what might be regarded as typical Marxist fashion, what good there was in the permanent ideals, habits and human tendencies fostered by tradition. Deng Xiao Ping --- in deliberate contrast with Mao --- has compared efforts towards social advancement with feeling for one's foothold while fording a river.

We all know, however many footnotes have to be added, that it is by and large good to make people happy, bad to make them miserable; the other important basic moral intuition is, that it is bad to be unfair. Marxism trades on our sense of fairness and unfairness; it is not fair that the vast majority of people should do nearly all the burdensome labour, with only just enough remuneration to get by; while a few others live off the fat of the land, but have to do very little work for it. Capitalism, on the other hand, plays on another of our basic intuitions, that those who work harder than others for the benefit of their fellows deserve some privilege, typically financial, over

those who are as lazy as the average or more so. But how much should the ordinarily lazy or inefficient, let alone those who are exceptionally so, be penalized in comparison with the hard-working and successful? We have a basic intuition that people should be able to do good for their children; but if this includes purchasing them a better education than others, don't you soon get an unjust class-system?

Marxism and liberal capitalism have curiously similar ideals, the existence of happy, free, creative, cooperating people; their main difference is in how you bring this about. Marx thought that, in most societies, force would be necessary; the owners of the means of production would be unlikely to give up their privileges without a struggle. But occasionally he suggested that, in comparatively enlightened bourgeois societies like Britain, Holland, and the USA, revolution might be achieved with relative smoothness. Too much violence was for him a sign, not so much of revolutionary zeal, as of incompetence.

It is said that, when the communists were in power in East Germany, there were three parties in the German Lutheran Church. The first two were legal, the third illegal. Of the first two, one accepted and applauded whatever the government said or did as a matter of course, while the other opposed it. The former evidently were no problem; the latter could be conveniently dismissed as a bunch of reactionary and counter-revolutionary bourgeois capitalists. The third was much more awkward and unpredictable; it sometimes commended the government, sometimes criticized it, in accordance with how far its acts seemed to promote or impugn the true social and political good. I would like to put in a good word, in this connection, for the present Pope's splendid recent encyclical Veritas in caritate, which is addressed, by the way, not only to Roman Catholics, but to all people of good will. To ask, 'Is he commending socialism or capitalism?', is to show oneself a slave of the very sort of binary-opposition thinking which is one of the things that the Pope is criticizing. (In his work in north Taiwan, Mackay conceived of himself as not just converting

people to Christianity, but of bringing into their lives a force which would improve the social situation with respect to both happiness and fairness--- for example, with regard to the treatment of women by men.)

Margaret Thatcher, quoting Winston Churchill as I understand it, said that every society needed nets and ladders; the ladders so that the entrepreneurs could be motivated to better themselves and their dependents, the nets so that the foolish, the feckless, and those who just had bad luck (it is essential to entrepreneurship that one takes risks) should no fall too far or too fatally. (When I was subject to suicidal depression some five years ago, due partly to long-standing mental illness, but mainly to persecution by the ineffable administration of the university which had employed me, I was very glad of the nets.) To go too far to the left is to emphasize the nets at the expense of the ladders; to go too far to the right, the ladders at the expense of the nets. Some years ago, the NDP government in Ontario, under Bob Rae, was succeeded by a conservative government under Mike Harris. The former were all for the expansion of the social services, at the expense of what is called 'fiscal responsibility'; the latter all for fiscal responsibility at the expense of such publicly-paid for services as education, hospitals and the police. I asked a political philosopher, who I imagined would be sympathetic to Rae, what she thought of the change; and she remarked that her son was on the dole under Rae, but got a job under Harris. On the other hand, to quote the title of a book by Susan George, perhaps there is A Fate Worse than Debt.5

Some months ago I heard an eloquent and persuasive talk on how urgent it was that the Alberta government should provide more funding for women's shelters. This is certainly a very worthwhile cause; but, given people's frequently-expressed objections to increase of the tax burden, I wondered which existing services the speaker thought should be cut. In a recent issue of the New York Review of Books, Tony Judt claimed that, according to many surveys, U. S. citizens are very apt to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> If anyone thinks that every able-bodied person would really rather work than scrounge, they should read *The Glass Castle*, by ( ).

confess that much is wrong with their society, like the prevalence of crime and drugs, and inadequate provision for health. When told that things are better in these respects in such countries as Sweden or the Netherlands, but at the expense of higher tax and more interference by the State in the running of people's lives, they are inclined to protest, 'But that would be socialism!', and align themselves firmly with the traditional American suspicion of 'big government'. The really significant question to ask, I think, is what government is big enough, and why. When it comes to the choice between pure socialism and pure capitalism, it is hard not to sympathize with the view of Nicholas Berdyaev, that someone who seriously thought that laissez-faire capitalism was more in accordance with Christianity than was socialism needed his head looking into.

Judt remarked that, with the swing towards the right which has been such a conspicuous feature of Western society since the 1980s, and the general discrediting of Marxism, there was a danger that many of the real and hard-won gains of the earlier twentieth century, especially those associated with the welfare state, would be lost. What with the concern for the poor which seems to everyone but the 'religious right' to be rather central to the Christian gospel, not to mention the compassion which is such a magnificent feature of the Buddha's teaching, one would have thought that the matter ought to be of some concern to religious people. The religious ought to set examples to everyone in trying clearly to conceive, and then to implement, what J. K. Galbraith bluntly calls 'the good society.' The essence of this good society, so far as I can judge, is to strike the balance between freedom and fairness, and so in effect between capitalism and socialism.

One could wish that members of opposed political parties, whether of the left or the right, were not so inclined to treat one another as knaves or fools. Some people are not inclined to value the disposition to say of one's opponents, 'what they are getting at is this'; yet to promote the habit, I believe, is one of the main proper aims of a humane education. It was an agreed principle in medieval scholastic disputation, that one should be able to put one's opponents' views in terms which they themselves would accept.

Marxism seems to underestimate the inherited element in dispositions to human behaviour, and correspondingly to exaggerate the degree to which that behavior is malleable by the environment. Marx thinks that unfettered reason tends to show that the cupidity, aggressiveness and radical selfishness of the old Adam are merely due to the class-system which goes with early industrial and previous forms of society, and will be abolished in time after the socialist revolution. In the circumstances of late industrial society, and consequently under communism, he considers that there will be no grounds for radical human conflict either within or between societies; so we will need no army, and no police. In the light of what we know now about the inherited aspect of human behavior (and that of other animals), this is clearly too sanguine. But I think a soft form of Marx's doctrine can be affirmed; at least the more we learn of the nature of human beings, the more we are in a position to set things up in such a way that benign behavioral tendencies are encouraged, undesirable ones counteracted. The Buddhist, Christian or Jew, or the kind of Muslim represented by the late Benazir Bhutto or Queen Noor, may use theistic or other religion both to envisage likely conditions of the just and happy society with intellectual rigour, and to strive, one might say by the proper kind of jihad, to promote them. It may be added that in fairness to our descendants, we ought not to be content to leave them starving on heaps of filth. The reckless manner in which the oilsands of north Alberta are considered by some to be being exploited for the short-term benefit of Albertans should give us pause in this connection.

## 馬偕台灣東岸宣教旅行

## Mackay Missionary Activity in Eastern Taiwan

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## 一、前言:

馬偕在1890年9月4日到9月11日在花蓮奇萊平原作了一次訪問與傳教旅行。雖然這次的訪問僅有短短的一週,馬偕作了詳細的紀錄。在他的日記與後來出版的旅行傳記 From Far Formosa 皆以相當篇幅描述在當地的見聞。

「頭人邀請我們一行人和他一起,叫了四個男孩每個人挑著兩個籃子跟在後面,我們每個村子的家家戶戶都去,讓他們把拜偶像的一切行頭都丟到籃子裡,然後挑到廟的附近一個大空地,把金紙、神像、神主牌、香及旗幟等堆成一大堆,很多人對於又髒又油膩的神像表示輕蔑,有一個頭目特別覺得撥弄在燒的東西好玩,而每當有正在然燒的「觀音像」被撥出舉起來時,大家就哄然大笑。」「這個部落被稱為加禮宛,無疑是依著噶瑪蘭那地方的某個名字而取的,因為這些人都是來自那裡的。此地有五個村落,即大社,那裡目前已有教會;竹仔林、武暖、煙高、七結,總共約有五百戶居民。約有五百個拜偶像的人在我們的面前除去他們家中的偶像,並宣告說願意敬拜救世主。他們也把一間為偶像而建的廟獻出來做為聚會和敬拜唯一活的真神的地方。宣教是失敗的嗎?」」

令人感興趣的是,馬偕在旅行傳記 From Far Formasa 對花蓮傳教之旅以盛大的成功來形容;但是在這個章節的結語中卻對當地的噶瑪蘭族部落的前景表達悲觀,並質疑應否繼續在此地進行宣教的努力。

本研究試圖重建當時馬偕赴花蓮傳教的社會背景,以瞭解馬偕宣教成功背後的社會因素。另一方面也探究,儘管馬偕對當地的傳教工作表達了悲觀的看法,而且事實上,馬偕返回淡水後也不曾再赴花蓮傳教。但是在一個世紀後,馬偕在短短幾天的傳教過程所撒下的種子,卻神蹟式的發展出豐碩的成果。現今位於花蓮鬧區中山路旁的花蓮港長老教會就是當時馬偕傳教時撒下的種子所結成的果實;更令人驚訝的是,花蓮港教會傳承自昔日馬偕於新城鄉加禮宛地區教會與信徒捐贈的土地竟達一千九百多坪。

從台灣東部發展歷史紀錄中得知,馬偕來到奇萊平原進行傳教旅行的 12 年

**I** 馬偕:福爾摩沙紀事:馬偕台灣回憶錄 (From Far Formosa 1895), 譯者: 林晚生,臺北。 頁: 221。

之前,原居住於蘭陽平原的噶瑪蘭族移民至東岸的六社在 1878 年與清軍發生的慘烈的戰役。本研究欲探索,爲何馬偕短短幾天的宣教旅行竟能獲致重大成功,是否當時噶瑪蘭族的後裔藉由馬偕的傳教工作表達對清朝統治的不滿;而信奉傳統泛靈信仰與巫師制度的這些噶瑪蘭族後裔的家中又如何會有漢人奉祀的神像與神主牌,這需由當時清朝政府的「理蕃政策」來理解。透過當時花蓮發展歷史的分析可理解,除了馬偕本人的傳道熱誠之外,可能這一連串歷史的巧合更是促成馬偕這次重大的宣教成功的因素。

## 二、 馬偕 1890 年台灣東岸宣教過程

馬偕於 1890 年 8 月底由淡水出發, 荆基隆、頭城、蘇澳, 而後搭船前往花蓮現今新城鄉地區進行旅行傳道。這趙馬偕的傳道旅行近一個月, 不過在東岸花蓮奇萊平原僅停留近 7 日。此次旅行的紀錄有幾個不同的版本, 本文採用在「台灣基督長老教會百年史」的紀錄:

「奇萊地方即台灣東部海岸地帶。1890年8月27日上午8時,偕牧師帶三個門徒,即陳火(陳榮輝)、葉順仔、柯玖(柯維思),由淡水出發沿台灣東海岸南下,往訪噶瑪蘭地方的各禮拜堂,並深入南方的仔來地方。他們先乘汽船溯淡水河至艋舺,而後乘火車至水返腳(今名汐止),繼步行至基隆。由基隆經鍊子寮、南仔吝、頂雙溪、鼻頭、林東至新社,再走一天路程到達頭城附近的海岸地方,叫作打馬煙從此,再承小船到達番社頭,途中向南沿溪流經過流流社及加禮宛到達蘇澳灣的南海岸叫做南方澳的地方。偕牧師與門徒們沿路一邊訪問教會、施洗、舉行聖餐典禮,一邊爲許多患者拔牙行醫。」<sup>2</sup>

「1890年9月3日下午5時偕牧師一行及六個平埔族基督教櫓夫,利用僅十二呎長的幾乎是無蓬艙的小船,由南方澳出發,日夜不眠不休,白天又暴露在一百二十度(華氏)的烈日下,順沿海岸駛進花蓮港,即奇萊平原的商港,時已9月4日中午,這是偕牧師過去常常想要來的地方。因噶瑪蘭地方的平埔族,由於漢人的壓迫,曾移居此地,並且過去也曾有一位任淡水牛津學堂的廚師,自願到此地向平埔族傳道的,常寫信要請偕牧師到花蓮傳教因許多人渴望者聽信福音。」

「偕牧師到達花蓮時,受官界及一般人民的大歡迎,因爲他們之中有人知道他在北部台灣的傳道工作,也有一個兵士在淡水用過他的藥,另一個人曾在基隆禮拜堂受過醫療。4日下午,偕牧師在花蓮港騎一官員爲他預備的小馬,繫有一串小鈴,由一馬夫陪行,往訪住在郊外的加禮宛的傳道者,即以前淡水牛津學堂的廚師 此社歡迎偕牧師至爲熱烈,廚師的屋裡及其門前,立刻擠滿了人。」'

「偕牧師在未作講道之前,因聽說官方要求原住民信福音之外,必須繼續拜偶像,以爲服從的表示。他隨即騎回兵營洽談,得到他們親切接待,准他自由傳道。他立刻又騎馬回加禮宛社,勸勉人信上帝棄除家中的偶像,以表改信基督教。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 「台灣基督長老教會百年史」,頁:92~93。

<sup>3</sup> 如前引文。

<sup>4</sup> 如前引文。

此地五個村莊的頭目及全村民眾都同意信上帝,廢除偶像,並將最近以钜款蓋成的神廟做爲禮拜堂。翌日頭目帶者四個青年,挑八個空竹筐,請偕牧師及其門徒做逐戶訪問,把每個人家所有的偶像及全部器物收入竹筐中,燒毀於附近廟庭,致使火光通天,在天黑以前,許多人進入廟裡,偕牧師指導著大家大聲同唱:「天下萬邦萬國萬民,一起來倚上帝面前,大聲吟詩讚美祂真,上帝至尊人人當敬」。這次奇萊地方遊歷傳道之結果,約五百人肅清了他們的偶像,願意信奉上帝及救主,並奉獻一座偶像的廟宇作爲基督教集會與崇拜唯一真神之用。」

馬偕在 1809 年在 9 月 4 日抵達花蓮傳教,受到了噶瑪蘭族部落盛大的歡迎。 9 月 8 日 收集在花蓮加禮宛六社居民家中的神像與神主牌,集中燒毀。根據馬偕的紀錄: 眾人將家中的神主牌與神像交給馬偕銷毀,當地的部落的五社頭目共同決定將興建中的「天公廟」改爲教會。馬偕與這些自宜蘭遷移至此的噶瑪蘭族後裔舉行的盛大的聚會。馬偕在 1890 年 9 月 8 日的日記作了以下的紀錄:

我們舉行了一場盛大的聚會。一座原本要作為祭拜偶像的寺廟改為敬拜耶和華上帝的教會。每個參與的人們都充滿的熱切的狂喜。(We had a grand meeting -- A temple for idols made a house for worshipping Jehovah! All seemed in great Joy and not a few were enthusiastic.) <sup>6</sup>

在此產生的問題是,爲什麼馬偕僅在五天不到的時間就能讓這些部落的噶瑪蘭族人甘心樂意信服基督宗教,並將原本集資興建的天公廟改爲基督教會。對馬偕而言,能將原本籌建的天公廟改爲敬拜「耶和華上帝」的基督教會,意味著他宣教的重大成功。但是,這個重大的宣教成功背後有著非常特殊的歷史社會背景。1878年正巧在馬偕舉行此盛大聚會的地點發生了清軍鎮壓花蓮奇萊平原平埔族的重要戰役。當馬偕在12年後來此地傳教時,當地的噶瑪蘭人正經歷清政府的對當時台灣平埔族的「理蕃政策」:

「在 1874 年的化番俚言三十二條裡,清朝政府制定了治理番政上的漢化政策,以政治的力量將漢文化強加之於原住民族群。如,『分別五倫以知大體;學習規矩以知禮儀,薙髮打辮以遵體制。』噶瑪蘭人除了必須遵守這些人倫關係外,也必須接受漢人的宗教信仰:『禮宜祭喪以安先靈;分記歲月以知年紀,建立廟祠以安神祖(村莊設聖帝君、天后聖母、文昌帝君等;又建祠以安設祖宗牌位。)』 1 由此看,顯然噶瑪蘭人接受漢人民間宗教神明的崇拜是屬於漢人對熟番教化的重要一環。」

由此可以理解,爲何居住在加禮宛社的噶瑪蘭家庭會有漢人的神像與神主牌,以及何以他們未經過任何勸服的過程,非常樂意的配合馬偕的要求,將自己

<sup>5</sup> 加前引文。

<sup>6</sup> 馬偕日記 1890 年 9 月 8 日(可參考中文與英文兩種版本)

http://www.au.edu.tw/mackay/index3.htm

翁佳音,平埔族漢化史考略。見:台灣風物,1984,34(1):頁 1-27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 陳志榮,噶瑪蘭人的宗教變遷。見:平埔研究論文集,潘英海、詹素娟主編,1995:頁 85-86

家中的漢人宗教物品交給馬偕的學生集中焚燬。原來這是清朝政府對噶瑪蘭族的漢化政策,由馬偕的紀錄看來,這些平埔族後裔並不十分樂意配合這樣的「理蕃政策」。以這個角度來看馬偕這次在奇萊平原宣教的盛大成功,顯然必須重新詮釋。對這些噶瑪蘭族後裔而言,將家中的神像、神主牌燒毀,以及將六社合建的「天公廟」改爲基督教會。就這些行動的意涵來看,與其說是對基督宗教的信服,不如說是對清朝政府「理蕃政策」的抗議。這也可以解釋,爲何馬偕記錄中,這次的宣教旅行是如此盛大的成功,可是在結語的部分馬偕卻對本地區的教會工作表示悲觀之意。

### 三、奇萊平原不同族群的互動與晚近的發展

最近於 2007 年,居住在花東縱穀與花東海岸之噶瑪蘭族後裔爲了紀念過去 先祖在加禮宛舊社區域建立六社以及 1878 年的加禮宛事件,在現今花蓮新城地 區沿岸立碑。碑文引註自台灣通誌說明,在 1853 年噶瑪蘭人在這個區域沿著溪 流建立了六個部落,分別是:加禮宛、竹林、武暖、瑤歌、七結、談秉。人口最 多時達 6 千人左右。在 1878 年經歷清軍鎮壓戰役後,族人遭流放置花東縱穀之 馬佛(光復西富村)、建平(光復大全村)、打馬燕(瑞穗瑞北村)以及花東海岸 之磯崎、新社、姑律(立德村)、石梯等地。

在日治時期警察局建立了以種族區分的戶口謄本,在現今花蓮縣新城鄉戶政 事務所留有約於 1900 年開始記錄的戶籍資料。經筆者初步的統計,當地記錄爲 「熟番」者約有 1168 人。 經花蓮縣新城鄉戶政事務所慨予協助,其所藏的的 日籍戶政資料提供了以下的幾點資訊: 1) 日籍戶政資料在新城地區最早記錄大 正 5 年。 2) 日籍戶政資料有「種族」與「種別」的區分欄位。「種族」大概有 以下五類:生(山地及平地原住民)、熟(平埔族)、福(大陸福建閩南移民)、 奥(大陸客家族移民)、內(日本移民)。「種別」大概分成一至三等國民:一般 平民無論種別(包括:內、福、奧、生、熟)皆是二等,一等國民就所查考的資 料來看,是以職業來判定。一位來自日本在新城擔任小學校訓導,另一位種別爲 「生」的原住民,擔任花蓮港廳警手,也記錄爲一等國民。 3) 大約在昭和 12 年,日籍戶政資料對種族的紀錄方式有部分的改變:過去以「熟」、「生」來區分 平埔族以及原住民。在1937年起改以「平」、「高」的方式來區分「平埔族」與 「原住民」(高砂族)。4)約在昭和17年以後,戶籍資料不再有「種族」與「種 別」這類的欄位來進行人民中不同人種與地位的區分。 5) 在統計日籍戶籍資料 各種族的人口數字過程中發現,部分的人口是日治初期由蘭陽平原遷移至花蓮新 城地區居住。因此,這個統計得出的人口數量僅顯示在日治時期初期在此地區居 住的噶瑪蘭族之約略人口數。 6) 噶瑪蘭族東移的潮流是由 1796 年中國福建地 區移民進入蘭陽平原引發的。在 1810~1820 年代開始遷移。這個移民的過程可 能在 1860~70 年代達到高點。值得注意的是,在 1878 年的清軍鎮壓之後,這個 移民的潮流似乎沒有因此而停止。 7) 移民人口數字應是處於持續動態的狀態。 蘭陽平原的噶瑪蘭族似乎未因新城地區社會政治情況變遷而停止。這個噶瑪蘭族 人統計數字顯示的僅是,在日治初期時間點,由一個動態過程中取出的靜態數 字。無法認爲這個數字,新城地區的噶瑪蘭族在 1878 清軍鎮壓之後,人口流失 的結果。正確的解讀方式應考慮被清軍強制遷往花東縱穀與花東海岸的人數,後 亦有同族人持續由蘭陽平原在遷入新城地區。

值得注意的是,經過了一個世紀多,自從噶瑪蘭族被現今台灣政府正式承認 爲原住民族後,在新城鄉已逐漸有恢復登訂爲「噶瑪蘭族」的人口。根據新城鄉 公所提供的人口統計資料,在 2010 年 4 月底的結算,共有 111 人恢復登記爲噶 瑪蘭族。<sup>9</sup>

馬偕在他的旅行記錄中,對噶瑪蘭族的命運卻是十分悲觀的。馬偕提到:「這個部族的人,一邊有生蕃的連發槍與長矛,另一邊有漢人。。。貪婪的侵佔,在沒有多餘的持續力可以來對付生蕃及漢人的情況下,他們只好不斷地被侵食。」「南勢蕃的未來是不難預料的。他們對於道德社會的概念既然沒有,也不會去吸取任何可使部族增添活力的文明生活。」。 馬偕一世紀前對噶瑪蘭族的評論在今日看來,有幾分的正確性。但是觀察同樣以奇萊平原爲主要生活空間的太魯閣族與阿美族的發展,爲何同是原住民族會有如此不同的命運。這個問題的解答可能在經濟生業活動。阿美族與太魯閣族的生業方式與漢人相去甚遠,除了狩獵以外,種植以旱地的蕃薯、花生、小米爲主;而已相當程度漢化的噶瑪蘭族與漢人的生業活動十分類似,他們對土地的需求是重疊的,都是種植靠水灌溉的水稻所需的濕地。或許這可以解釋,何以漢人與噶瑪蘭族的衝突遠大於奇萊平原其他的原住族群。

### 四、 平埔族歸信基督宗教的分析與晚期的發展

1890年9月8日馬偕在花蓮宣教旅行的第四天,當地的平埔族人曾告之,清朝政府派駐花蓮的武官陳得勝有令,不得放棄對漢人民間宗教神明的崇拜,以示對清朝政府的臣服。經馬偕與之理論後,陳才收回成命。"當馬偕向清朝的武官陳得勝的命令提出異議並且成功如願,之後又收集並燒毀漢族的宗教象徵,這些舉動在噶瑪蘭人的心目中無異是對漢族統治權威的挑戰,由此可看出噶瑪蘭人當時接受基督教絕不可能只因基督教本身教義的吸引,而是以基督教來替代漢人所強加的民間宗教信仰。

馬偕如何能單獨的面對領有2至3千士兵的陳姓武官而抗議如願,這可能有幾個因素,在1868年英軍因在南台灣的樟腦買賣與傳道工作受阻而出兵安平,迫使清朝政府重申自由傳教的條例。其次,在1885年馬偕因北部數個教堂於中法戰爭中受損向清政府求償,因而結識當時駐台的欽差劉銘傳,劉欽差慷慨的提供了一萬墨西哥銀元做爲重建教堂之用,再加上中國大陸常發生的因傳教而引起的事端,西方的傳教師在清朝官員的眼中自是棘手的人物。基於這些因素駐花蓮的陳武官自然沒有理由去得罪馬偕,而引發另一樁教案。12

馬偕在東岸宣教旅行後寫下了下列的感想:「因爲他們的平原很不容易到

<sup>9</sup> 根據花蓮縣新城鄉戶政事務所於 2010 年 4 月之人口統計資料。

**馬偕:福爾摩沙紀事:馬偕台灣回憶錄(From Far Formosa 1895**),譯者:林晚生,臺北。 頁:**240**。

Geoge Mackay, From Far Formosa。1895。中譯本見:周學普譯,臺灣六記。 1960,臺北。頁 96。

<sup>12</sup> 陳志榮,噶瑪蘭人的宗教變遷。見:平埔研究論文集,潘英海、詹素娟主編,1995:頁 86。

達,而航行到那地方又很危險,所以要讓他們基督教化,就需要有特別專門對當地的宣教工作。因爲在北部仍有許多較具穩定性的市鎮及部落『仍待去把它們基督教化』,所以我們若也花費不少經歷在這個不穩定且將會消失的部族,似乎是不智之舉。在現在及未來漢人的主控下,這些原住民將無法繼續存活下去。這個部族的人,一邊有生蕃的連發槍和長矛,另一邊有漢人毫無德行、貪婪無厭的侵佔,在們有多餘的持續力可以來對付生蕃及漢人的情況下,他們只好不斷地被侵食。」(From Far Fomosa, 福爾摩沙紀事,頁 240)

住在花蓮縣豐濱鄉新社村的偕萬來先生出身傳統基督教家庭,曾擔任新城基督長老教會的長老。偕先生得自其祖先遺傳擁有清朝貓裏霧罕社(即麻裏目罕社)頭目的印章。偕萬來的祖父偕九脈是當時麻裏目罕社的頭目,他因著馬偕的影響帶領全族受洗入教。偕九脈信教之後並囑咐其次子偕八寶至淡水牛津學堂(臺灣神學院前身)就學,接受神學教育,以成爲將來本地教會的領袖。1907年畢業後偕八寶受派至花蓮加禮宛,即現今新城鄉嘉禮村。當年二十六歲的偕八寶集合由宜蘭移民至此地的噶瑪蘭信徒創立了加禮宛教會,即現今花蓮港長老教會之前身,偕八寶於1907年至1910年在加禮宛教會擔任傳道者。<sup>13</sup>

#### 五、 結語

綜合來看,馬偕在奇萊平原的宣教旅行的盛大成功可以歸因爲歷史的巧合。由花蓮各族群發展歷史來看,這個傳教旅行正值噶瑪蘭人與清軍戰後時期。根據清朝政府的「理蕃政策」,平埔族群被要求放棄其傳統的宗教與價值觀,以接受漢人的宗教文化與價值觀。馬偕來到花蓮東岸傳教的時機恰好在這個原有社會價值因經歷戰敗而鬆動,而新的價值觀尚未穩定的建立。更何況,這個新的社會價值是來自於族群爭戰的結果,戰勝的一方強加給戰敗者,要求其接受以表示臣服之意。所以當這些噶瑪蘭人在當時那種難堪與屈辱的社會情境中,看到不同於漢人傳統的基督宗教,會如此熱切的歡迎,可能也期盼藉此能改善其處於弱勢的社會地位。

<sup>13</sup> 如前引文,頁:91。

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# 馬偕歷史研究及其歷史再現

戴寶村\*、王韶君\*\*

摘要

1872 年 3 月,馬偕正式抵達北臺灣淡水,並在臺展開近三十年的宣教事業,以宣教、醫療和教育三方面的貢獻最為顯著。馬偕在北臺灣透過醫療宣教,逐漸展開其宣教志業,亦有感於教育的重要,為解決女子無法接受教育、臺灣長期醫療資源分佈不均,以及一般民眾迷信傳統宗教、偏方所延伸的相關問題,陸續建立「牛津學堂」、「偕醫館」「女學堂」,以因應一般人民在教育和醫療方面的不足。同時,馬偕在臺行跡過及北臺灣的淡水、宜蘭、中臺灣,甚至東臺灣,其留心臺灣住民(漢人、平埔、原住民)之間相異的習俗與文化,留心自然環境的巧妙、觀察萬物生息的變化,不僅賦有宣教師的慈愛,亦具有冒險家的精神。馬偕留下的日記、回憶錄等相關史料,是研究當時臺灣的住民、習俗、社會、歷史等議題的重要基礎。特別是,其所引進的人文教育、現代醫療技術和宗教理念的精神素養,至今仍在臺灣流傳著。目前與馬偕有關的史料及研究成果甚為豐碩,本文首先回顧現階段有關「馬偕研究」的重要史料及研究成果,其次,討論馬偕的歷史事蹟與宗教精神如何再現於當代表演藝術創作之中。

關鍵字:馬偕、偕叡理、黑鬚番、淡水、馬偕研究

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## 一、 前言: 敘說馬偕

馬偕(George Leslie Mackay,1844-1901),漢名偕叡理,臺灣人亦以「黑鬚番」稱之。出生於加拿大安大略省(Ontario)牛津郡(Oxford)佐拉村(Zorra)。1855年就讀多倫多師範學校,畢業後曾任數年小學教師。1866年進入諾士神學院(Knox college)就讀。1867年,轉往美國普林斯頓神學院(Princeton Seminary)就讀,1870年4月畢業,9月即向加拿大長老教會(Canada Presbyterian Church)總會海外宣教委員會提出申請,自願成為海外宣教師,唯當時加拿大長老教會尚未有海外宣教的經驗,因此婉拒馬偕的申請。1870年11月,馬偕赴英國愛丁堡(Edinburgh)大學神學院進修。1871年4月,接獲加拿大長老會總會海外宣教委員會通知核准馬偕赴海外宣教的申請,被派往中國進行宣教。同年11月啟程,期間經舊金山、日本橫濱、香港、廣州,再返回香港,於12月29日抵達高雄港。馬偕原先並未決定定居何處宣教,其在回憶中記述:「我沒有原先計畫,但一條看不見的繩子把我拉到『美麗島』。」「於是,馬偕決前往臺灣作為其服事之處,成為加拿大長老教會首任海外宣教士。

1872 年 1 月,馬偕前往阿里港與英國長老教會宣教師李麻會面,臺灣南部的宣教師告訴馬偕,北臺灣的宣教事業尚無基礎,馬偕在回憶錄中提及,當他聽到這些話時,「立刻感覺到,我被呼召去做這份工作。有一天,我向李麻先生說:『我決定在北臺灣定居。』」²之後,馬偕啟程前往北臺灣,同年 3 月 9 日抵達淡水,開始以淡水作為宣教據點,進行長達 30 年的宣教活動。馬偕在宣教過程中,觀察到臺灣在傳統教育和醫療方面的不足,開始陸續在臺建立教育、醫療等設施,奠定宣教事業的基礎。於 1882 年興建「牛津學堂」帶入西方教育的理念,1883 年建立「滬尾偕醫館」,解決臺灣長期醫療資源分佈不均及一般民眾迷信傳統宗教、偏方的問題,3其中,以治療瘧疾和拔牙之事蹟最為著名。「偕醫館」由馬偕設計,於 1879 年 9 月 14 日落成,聘請當地泥水匠洪仔泉所建,後因求診者與日俱增,於是在 1890 年 5 月另租民房做為診所,是為「滬尾醫館」。

馬偕在臺灣藉由醫療方式執行宣教活動,在宣教過程中,有感於其在語言所

<sup>」</sup>馬偕,《福爾摩沙紀事:馬偕臺灣回憶錄》(臺北:前衛,2007),頁 20。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 馬偕,《福爾摩沙紀事:馬偕臺灣回憶錄》(2007),頁 31。

<sup>3</sup> 馬偕,《福爾摩沙紀事:馬偕臺灣回憶錄》(2007),頁 297-306。

造成的隔閡,雖然自身也努力學習臺語,但觀察到若欲順利推展宣教理念,避免語言造成的誤解,唯有借重臺灣當地人的人脈和語言優勢,方能協助其傳教,故有了培養臺灣當地傳教士的構思。同時,馬偕在宣教過程中亦發現臺灣社會中婦女地位的問題,為抒解臺灣婦女無法接受教育的問題,在鄰近牛津學堂之處興建「女學堂」,專門招收女學生,教授識字、閱讀、歌唱聖經史和聖經教義問答等課程,同時,有鑑於臺灣傳統社會習俗中男女有別的差異,馬偕亦藉女子教育培養不少本地女性宣教師,以利向本地婦女宣教。1878年5月,馬偕和張聰明(五股坑人)在淡水英國領事館舉行婚禮,更成為一段美談,亦對婦女宣教有所助益。

馬偕為北臺灣的宣教事業奠下基礎,建立學堂作為宣教場所,採用西方教育方式的理念,除宣揚聖經教義、相關神學思想,為培養宣教師的人文精神,亦教授天文、地理、醫學、地質、植物、礦物、歷史和倫理等自然科學、社會科學和人文科學領域的知識。從宣教、醫療到教育,馬偕完成身為宣教師志業的社會實踐,同時,其所引進的人文教育、現代醫療技術和宗教理念的精神素養,至今仍在臺灣流傳著,為紀念馬偕精神,淡水教會於 2001 年將馬偕在 1872 年 4 月 14 日,向牧童學習臺語後,第一次使用臺語講道之日,訂為「設教紀念日」以茲紀念。將馬偕逝世「6 月 2 日」當日訂為「馬偕日」,使人們記得並繼續實踐馬偕對臺灣的愛。

撰稿人之一戴寶村為淡水鄰鄉三芝人,馬偕之子早年曾前往設立小基隆長老教會,筆者二十多年前在碩士論文中即曾探述馬偕史事,今馬偕醫學院在三芝設校,亦「奉召」前往授課,故持續維持與馬偕的歷史聯結。目前有關「馬偕研究」的史料及研究成果甚為豐碩,本文首先回顧現階段有關「馬偕研究」的重要史料及研究成果,其次,討論馬偕的歷史事蹟與精神如何再現於當代表演藝術之中。希望藉此延續馬偕歷史研究之學術傳承,也彰顯馬偕精神之實踐。

# 二、 「馬偕研究」史料及相關研究

目前有關「馬偕研究」集中在宣教、醫療和教育三方面,早期主要以 From Far Formosa 作為研究素材,隨著馬偕相關手稿、日記等史料陸續出土,以及近年來數位化典藏、展演的方式結合馬偕歷史,不僅豐富馬偕研究的深度,亦對馬偕形

<sup>4</sup> 論者指出「馬偕研究」(Mackay Study)一詞最早爲賴永祥教授於 1988 年提出。

象與研究皆有了更為精確而具體的面貌。

#### (一) 「馬偕研究」史料

#### 1. From Far Formosa

馬偕於 1895 年返加拿大述職時,為向加拿大介紹臺灣風土,故著手撰寫 "From Far Formosa",於 1896 年 1 月正式出版。目前譯有三種中文版本:1959 年,由林耀南譯為《臺灣遙記》,由臺灣省文獻委員會出版。1960 年,再由周學普譯為《臺灣六記》,由臺灣銀行經濟研究室出版。2007 年,由林晚生翻譯、鄭 仰恩校注,是為《福爾摩沙紀事:馬偕臺灣回憶錄》,5由前衛出版社出版。

全書分六部三十六章,「第1部:導言」記載馬偕早年生活以及來臺經過。「第2部:島嶼」記載臺灣的地理、歷史、人種及動植物種類。「第3部:漢人」記載臺灣住民情況、社會、政府、司法以及馬偕開始建立教會、受清法戰爭之累等。「第4部:被征服的原住民」記載平埔族的生活、社會,以及宣教情況。「第5部:山上的生蕃」記載馬偕深入臺灣山林向高山原住民宣教的情況,幾至險遭遇生命危險,因依靠上帝信仰而無畏無懼。「第6部:淡水的宣教總部」記載馬偕以北臺灣淡水作為宣教據點所開始的建設,訴說如何培訓本地傳教者、建立學校及醫院幫助臺人。書中亦收錄數張地圖,以及馬偕全家福照片、或與學生旅遊照、拔牙、搭舟行過奇萊平原、牛津學堂、新店教堂及原住民等照片,極為珍貴。

#### 2. 馬偕日記手稿

該批日記由馬偕之子偕叡廉提供,早期,由陳宏文根據偕叡廉所摘譯的日記,翻譯出版為中文版《馬偕博士日記》。6目前,日記已捐贈給臺灣基督教長老教會,並保存於北部長老教會史蹟委員會(淡水真理大學牛津學堂)。7日記中記載教會創立時間、受洗人數等,可以作為對照北部教會發展的史料之一。同時,日記屬個人私文書,透過馬偕日記的出土,可望彌補在研究馬偕時相關史料缺漏之憾。

<sup>5</sup> 馬偕,《福爾摩沙紀事:馬偕臺灣回憶錄》(臺北:前衛,2007)。

<sup>。</sup>陳宏文,《馬偕博士日記》(臺南:人光,1996)。《馬偕博士日記》是 1972 年《馬偕博士略傳· 日記》的改版。除保留原有內容,並增加「馬偕與臺灣」一文。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 吳文雄,〈馬偕研究與史料介紹〉,吳密察等撰,**《愛在臺灣——**馬偕博士收藏臺灣原住民文物》 (臺北:順益博物館,2001.05),頁 16。

## 3. 《黑鬚番》(The Black-Bearded Barbarian)<sup>8</sup>

本書作者 Marian Keith 是為筆名,本名 Mary Esther MacGregor,出生於加拿大安大略省。本書是作者於 1912 年依馬偕自撰的回憶錄 "From Far Formosa"為素材,寫成的小說體裁傳記,全書共分十三章,由馬偕的幼時生活開始寫起,接著描寫馬偕如何克服在異地宣教的艱辛過程,以及最後回歸主懷的人生。經年研究馬偕有成的賴永祥在本書序中表示:「《黑鬚番》原著初版含本文及索引共 307 頁,附 15 張相片及一張臺灣地圖。除了加拿大長老教會海外宣教委員會在多倫多發行者外,由「美加宣教師養成運動」(Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada) 在紐約發行,也有紐約 Eaton & Mains 發行的版。」<sup>9</sup>

## (二) 馬偕相關研究

## 1. 《宣教心·台灣情——馬偕小傳》<sup>10</sup>

本書由鄭仰恩編定、臺灣神學院的教會歷史資料中心和學生會共同編著,是 為普及馬偕歷史與精神所作,希望藉此喚起人們的歷史意識。收錄:馬偕牧師略 傳、馬偕大事記、馬偕對臺灣的貢獻、馬偕開拓的教會、馬偕逸事、紀念與追憶 等。

## 2. 《馬偕博士在臺灣》11

作者陳宏文,經年從事馬偕研究,本書是 1982 年版的修正版,增加:「馬偕博士的宣導思想」、「馬偕博士的宣教方法」、「馬偕博士日記原稿」三篇文章,作者也於 1994 年獲得馬偕孫女們提供的照片,增補於卷頭。

## 3. 《重新發現馬偕傳——幾種英文傳記作品之介紹》12

作者陳俊宏,長年旅居加拿大,經年從事馬偕研究,卷頭收錄有牛津郡長

<sup>8</sup> Marian Keith 著,蔡岱安著,陳俊宏編註,《黑鬚番》(臺北:前衛,2003)。

<sup>9</sup> 賴永祥,〈序〉,《黑鬚番》(臺北:前衛,2003),頁1。

<sup>10</sup> 鄭仰恩編,《宣傳心,臺灣情——馬偕小傳》(臺南:人光,2001)。

<sup>11</sup> 陳宏文,《馬偕博士在臺灣》(臺北:基督教中國主日學協會,1997)。

<sup>12</sup> 陳俊宏,《重新發現馬偕傳——幾種英文傳記作品之介紹》(臺北:前衛,2000)。

Mark Harrison 的推薦函,作者亦是加拿大牛津郡(牛津郡的佐拉村是馬偕的出生地)和臺灣淡水鎮締結姊妹市的促成者。本書共選出七種英文馬偕傳記加以介紹,有:"From Far Formosa"、"The Black-Beared Barbarian","Life of George MacKay, D. D. 1844~1901"、"Zorra's Famous Missionary, Rev. George Lexlie Mackay"、"G. L. Mackay, D. D."、"George Leslie Mackay, Pioneer Missionary in North Formosa"及"George Leslie Mackay: Missionary Success in Nineteenth-Century Taiwan"。附錄有:〈馬偕故鄉牛津拾珍錄〉、〈馬偕北台宣教源流軼事考〉、〈今馬偕如沐春風的何基博士〉、〈淡水牛津學堂源遠流長〉及「1881年10月11日馬偕惜別晚會全程報導」。後記收錄「馬偕牧師年表」、「馬偕牧師五代家譜」。

## 4. 《寧毀不銹——馬偕博士的故事》13

作者曹永洋,期能將馬偕「寧願焚毀,不願銹壞」(Rather Burn than Rust Out)的奉獻精神及事蹟傳達給大眾,全共共分四部:(1)往普天下去,(2)在東方榮耀神,(3)無愧的工人,(4)佳美的腳蹤。附錄收有「馬偕博士年表」。是親切易讀的小書。

#### 5. 《來自遙遠的福爾摩沙》14

由林昌華編著,是以青少年為對象,具有引領青少年認識臺灣文化的用心。本書內容是依據目前有關馬偕著作的日記、書信、筆記、會議報告書與相關文獻,輔以作者個人長期研究所編成。介紹馬偕從立志宣教、在臺宣教活動、傳教旅行、馬偕眼中的漢人社會與臺灣原住民等,編者透過介紹與說明,深入淺出,閱讀馬偕歷史,亦能理解臺灣文化。

在學位論文方面,集中在馬偕透過宣教所執行的教育事業有:高榮輝《馬偕博士教育精神在真理大學實踐之研究》, 15以馬偕所創的牛津學堂為起點,討論教會所創之學校發展模式及其特質。採取深度訪談、實地訪問的研究方式。探究馬偕實施的教育內容及其教育精神主體價值、解讀真理大學是否傳承馬偕辦教育的

<sup>13</sup> 曹永洋,《寧毀不銹:馬偕博士的故事》(臺北:文經社,2001)。

<sup>14</sup> 林昌華編著,《來自遙遠的福爾摩沙》(臺北:日創社文化,2006.10)。

<sup>15</sup> 高榮輝,《馬偕博士教育精神在真理大學實踐之研究》,臺北:輔仁大學教育領導與發展研究 所碩士論文,2005。

精神及其實踐馬偕教育精神的現況,以及對真理大學實踐馬偕教育精神,作合理 且客觀的評估及反思。曾柏翔《馬偕教育志業之研究》,<sup>16</sup>採用歷史研究法探究馬 偕教育思想的起源、內容、來臺所設立教育機構成立的背景與教育活動,詮釋馬 偕的師道與開創性的教育精神,對臺灣教育史的意義與啟發,並深深影響百年來 臺灣社會的發展。陳立宙《馬偕教育活動之研究》,<sup>17</sup>同樣採用歷史研究方法,闡 述馬偕教育思想的背景脈絡,以教育的觀點來評價馬偕教育活動的成效及意義。

## (三)「馬偕與牛津學堂」

# 1. 「真理大學典藏數位化計畫——馬偕與牛津學堂」18

為傳承馬偕歷史與精神,真理大學校史館將所藏馬偕相關文物數位化,成為 具有歷史價值的資料,提供學術界與有與趣的民眾作為參考資源。同時,透過馬 偕史料數位化,有助於了解整個北部教會的發展歷史。目前,真理大學數位化的 重要史料有:「馬偕博士手記有三十份」(約一萬多筆資料),提供英文電子版和 漢譯本的節錄、「三百多幅與馬偕行腳事蹟相關照片」、「數十項相關文物」,以及 「數百本的珍貴文書」的目錄檔案。

## 2. 「數位典藏與數位學習」19

該計畫主要是結合真理大學數位化系統,收錄馬偕相關史料共 8,844 筆,包含馬偕手稿日記、與馬偕有關的建築(牛津學堂、馬偕墓園)圖片等資料。從地區性的史料,到國家型數位科技整合,亦可見馬偕史料的重要性。

## 3. 「賴永祥長老史料庫」20

賴永祥長老經年從事教會史研究,在史料庫檢索中 輸入「馬偕」二字,便可以查尋到與馬偕相關的文章,史料庫集結賴永祥長老自 1988 年 1 月至 1990年 3 月在《台灣教會公報》(第 1871至 1985期)上發表的文章,文章議題含蓋

<sup>16</sup> 曾柏翔,《馬偕教育志業研究》,臺北:臺北教育大學社會科教育所碩士論文,2006。

<sup>17</sup> 陳立宙,《馬偕教育活動之研究》,臺北:臺灣師範大學教育學系碩士論文,2006。

<sup>18 「</sup>真理大學典藏數位化計畫——馬偕與牛津學堂」,http://www.au.edu.tw/mackay/default.htm。 瀏覽日期:2010/05/10。

<sup>19 「</sup>馬偕與牛津學堂」,

http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/dacs5/System/Organization/List.jsp?ContentID=4890&CID=5035。瀏覽日期:2010/05/10。

<sup>20 「</sup>賴永祥長老資料庫」,http://www.laijohn.com/Index.htm。瀏覽日期:2010/05/10。

馬偕史料及其研究現況、教會在臺發展史、來臺相關宣教士事蹟等。可提供在從 事馬偕研究之際,也理解臺灣基督教長老教會在臺的重要性與發展,由馬偕及相 關宣教士之間的交友情況,亦能理解當時教會發展的網絡。

## 三、 紀念馬偕

馬偕在臺灣實踐長達近三十年的宣教志業,其宗教家的精神與理念仍繼續流傳在世人心中,為紀念馬偕在臺宣教之貢獻與事蹟,各界在馬偕逝世一百週年時,曾舉辦相關紀念活動、研討會,如:2001年,馬偕逝世一百週年,加拿大皇家博物館來臺展出一百多年前馬偕收集的臺灣原住民文物、馬偕醫院舉辦馬偕博士逝世百週年系列活動聖火傳遞、聖德基督學院馬偕傳音樂劇晚會,以及2002年3月10日,「馬偕登陸一三○週年紀念與偕叡廉紀念公園揭幕」系列活動,<sup>21</sup>這些紀念儀式都證明了馬偕歷史與精神的重要性,以下僅就紀念物、表演藝術加以介紹。

#### (一) 紀念活動

#### 1. 「沉寂百年的海外遺真」

2001年6月2日為馬偕百年冥誕,臺灣各界有系列慶祝,臺灣郵政總局發行25元的紀念郵票,臺北順益原住民博物館亦舉辦「沉寂百年的海外遺真」,展出近兩百件馬偕早期收藏在臺灣博物館的文物,該批文物為馬偕在1893年返國逃職時,贈予母校諾士神學院的六百件原住民收藏品中的部分文物,這些珍貴的收藏在諾士神學院併入多倫多大學後,於1915年轉贈給安大略皇家博物館。

2. 「沒齒難忘——馬偕博士逝世 100 週年紀念國際研討會」(2001. 5. 31)

研討會於 2001 年 5 月 31 日,在台北市立圖書館總館舉辦,因 2001 年 6 月 2 日適逢馬偕逝世一百週年,在臺灣基督長老教會、加拿大駐臺北貿易辦事處的協助下,行政院文化建設委員會與國立臺灣歷史博物館籌備處特別舉辦「沒齒難忘——馬偕博士逝世 100 週年紀念國際研討會」,研討會子題有「馬偕相關歷史研究」、「馬偕相關文物研究與保存」與「馬偕研究發展之未來展望」,便是希望在紀念馬偕對臺灣的理念之同時,亦能激盪未來馬偕相關研究發展之可能性。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> 〈馬偕蒞台 130 年 淡水感恩思源〉、《中國時報》 20 版 (2002.03.10)。

## 3.「2007年淡水馬偕日 慶祝馬偕來台 135 週年慶祝活動」

2007年5月26日起至6月3日,淡水鎮公所為紀念馬偕來臺135週年,舉辦相關慶祝活動,有馬偕現代音樂會、馬偕街尋訪馬偕的足跡之展覽和導覽、馬偕石像前的獻花活動、聯合禮拜等。

#### 4. 「福爾摩沙信簡----黑鬚深情特展」

該展覽於 2008 年 8 月 30 日至 11 月 30 日,在國家音樂廳文化藝廊展出,由真理大學、淡江中學校史館提供的資料作為素材,以圖像方式訴說馬偕在臺事蹟。展覽內容分為三部分:一為「經典的馬偕 Remarkable MacKay」,展出馬偕遍行臺灣的傳道、行醫等事蹟。二為「深情的馬偕 Dedicated MacKay」,展出馬偕與其家人在各時期的照片(例如:著漢服的全家福、著洋服的全家福之溫馨對照),以及馬偕與學生、病人相處的相片,包括馬偕蒐集的原住民文物等圖片。三為「永恆的馬偕 Forever MacKay」,將文物與歷史照片交錯,影像與文物重疊、印證。同時展示 21 件「鬍鬚仙創意活動——裝扮馬偕創作徵件」得獎作品。

#### (二) 紀念物---馬偕雕像

#### 1. 淡江中學圖書館前的馬偕銅像

設立於淡江中學圖書館前,圖書館於 1938 年動工,翌年(1939)4月完工,並樹立馬偕銅像,為古樸風格的黑色銅像基座。銅像落成後,1941 年時逢太平洋戰爭爆發,日本與英美等國為敵,馬偕銅像則成為相當敏感的文物,當時日籍校長有坂一世認為銅像具該校特色精神,避免銅像被拆除作軍器原料(因當時臺灣的巴克禮銅像被作為砲彈原料),故將銅像藏於學校倉庫內。戰後,馬偕之子偕叡廉回台欲尋回父親銅像,才發現已遭竊失蹤。目前校園內的馬偕銅像,是校方於 1993 年依原始雕像的照片重新立像。

#### 2. 馬偕街與中正路的馬偕雕像

1995年11月立於馬偕街與中正路的圓環安全島上,作者為張子隆,任教於臺北藝術大學。雕像鄰近淡水長老教會與滬尾偕醫館,是淡水當地極富盛名的景點。在石像前有馬偕博士的介紹文字。1995年立像揭幕時,馬偕的兩位孫輩偕安蓮女士和偕納翰博士,以及施乾的遺孀施照子(清水照子)都曾親臨開幕式。

## 3. 「觀潮藝術廣場」前的馬偕雕像

2007年12月27日,在淡水河岸興建「觀潮藝術廣場」,同時設立「馬偕上岸處」新地標及銅像,匯聚淡水在地藝文景觀。該銅像立於星巴克咖啡(STARBUCKS COFFEE)河岸門市前,馬偕銅像以半跪、雙手合十的姿態,在一艘小舟前感恩禱告,舟上放著一本聖經與一袋醫藥箱,代表著當年馬偕來臺宣傳福音與醫療

#### 4. 臺灣神學院內的馬偕雕像

該像設於臺灣神學院,是為了紀念並緬懷馬偕堅定的宣教精神而立,臺灣神學院以馬偕的座右銘——「寧願焚毀,不願銹壞」的精神,作為臺灣神學院在臺灣實踐宣教活動時的理念。

#### 5. 臺北市馬偕醫院前的馬偕雕像

1999 年,設於臺北市中山北路馬偕醫院旁,為全身立銅像,作者為楊柏林。該座雕搭配水景,營造馬偕在雨中撐傘趕赴患者家的景象,使人聯想早期來臺的宣教士,胼手胝足,宣揚福音的用心。

## 四、 再現馬偕:布袋戲與歌劇

馬偕為臺灣帶入的醫療、教育制度,其影響甚大,為紀念其宣教精神,2008年分別由「亦宛然掌中劇團」推出布袋戲演出的「馬偕在臺灣」,以及由文建會委託創作完成的舞臺歌劇「福爾摩沙信簡——黑鬚馬偕」,這兩部以表演藝術形式展出的作品,不僅再現了馬偕精神,亦將臺灣本土文化推向國際。

#### (一)「馬偕在臺灣」

劇本編輯為林俊育,由亦宛然掌中劇團黃僑偉主演,全片共 90 分鐘,2008年9月在臺南正式公演。演出語言以閩南語為主,語言選擇有傳統臺羅、漢羅、日語、客語及英語等形式。在馬偕戲偶的部分,對於馬偕的面容:高額頭、大鬍子、藍眼睛、深輪廓等特徵,皆是依照老照片雕刻,極為講究。「馬偕在臺灣」共分為六幕,「序曲:明志」、「第一幕:學語言」、「第二幕:起教堂」、「第三幕:婚姻」、「第四幕:艋舺」、「第五幕:天命」。「序曲」以馬偕向上帝祈求其海外宣教的志願開始,馬偕感念上帝「為世間人受苦е精神,我 beh 做一個十字架 e

戰士,立志作一個宣教師,往普天落去,傳福音 ho 萬民聽,主啊,求你幫幫我」。

「第一幕:學語言」,呈現因馬偕的外國人口音,在學習臺語初期,尚無法掌握臺語音調,將「鹽」的音,唸成「閹」,而鬧了笑話。為幫助馬偕學習臺灣,嚴清華介紹牧童給馬偕認識。在「第二幕:起教堂」中,首先以出場的是臺灣傳統宗教中的乩童,陳炮向乩童求取為醫治兒子雲騰患「臭腳黏」的藥,有意呈現當時臺灣社會現代醫療觀念不足的現像,又演出馬偕初到艋舺宣教被村民圍毆,後由弟子阿華告知臺灣的地方風俗,在臺宣教要以十誠中的「孝訓父母」講起,較易被接受。透過陳塔嫂的介紹,張聰明也在此時現身。「第三幕:婚姻」呈現馬偕與張聰明結婚時,由英國領事證婚,舉行基督徒式的婚禮。「第四幕:艋舺」演出艋舺當時流行「寒熱病」,因馬偕的「雞納霜」村民的病才得以醫治,村民為感謝馬偕並歡送馬偕返加拿大探親,艋舺村長及村民舉行「辦桌」、陣頭以示感謝之情。「第五幕:天命」在「淡水暮色」的配樂下展開,此時馬偕已患病,但仍掛心醫館的醫生、護士不足,妻子聰明要其別擔心,大家會「tue 你 e 腳步,行你所行 e 路,一世人直到永遠」。

片尾曲為〈最後 e khia 家〉,是以馬偕在晚年所寫一首作品「最後的住家」的詞所譜成的歌曲。歌曲內容為:

我衷心所摯愛的臺灣啊!我把一生全奉獻給你。

我衷心所摯愛的臺灣啊!我一生的歡喜全在此。

我望穿雲霧看見群山,從雲中隙口俯視大地,

遠眺波濤大海遠眺彼方,我喜愛在此不停遠眺。

我衷心難割捨的臺灣啊!我把有生之年獻給你。

我衷心難割捨的臺灣啊!我一生的快樂全在此。

誠願在生涯終了之時,在大浪拍岸的響聲中,

在竹林摇曳的蔭影底下,找到我一生最後歸宿。

「馬偕在臺灣」的演出著重馬偕在臺宣教精神,並有為保留臺語之美,推廣 臺灣文化之用心,劇中亦有現代人已難得一見的「北管陣頭」,揮舞著大旗、扛 轎、踩高蹺,並配合多首台灣歌謠的音樂,包括「淡水暮色」、「青春嶺」等做為 背景音樂,透過布袋戲演出,突顯臺灣文化的特色與歷史精神。

## (二)「福爾摩沙信簡——黑鬚馬偕」

2002 年,文建會委託臺灣作曲家金希文及編劇邱瑗,創作以臺灣在地故事為背景的歌劇。2003 年,歌劇「黑鬚馬偕」正式獲得文建會委託創作,並由金希文譜曲。2004 年,歌劇「黑鬚馬偕」創作完成。2007 年,兩廳院規劃「年度旗艦節目」,歌劇「黑鬚馬偕」雀屏中選。2008 年初,跨國製作團隊成型,演出角色確定,開始練唱,並於同年 11 月 27-30 日在兩廳院公演。邀請在法國聲譽卓著的德籍歌劇導演漢伯斯(Lukas Hemleb)、國家交響樂團首席客座指揮簡文彬,以及歐美亞三地頂尖歌劇人才,跨國製作全球第一部以臺語和英語演唱歌劇「福爾摩沙信簡——黑鬚馬偕」。歌劇名稱「黑鬚馬偕」,是由旅法德裔藝術家盧卡斯·漢柏斯(Lukas Hemleb)命名,並負責舞台燈光設計。全劇音樂由國家交響樂團演奏、臺北愛樂合唱團演唱。「黑鬚馬偕」共分三幕,共 159 分鐘,劇中主要人物由跨國際團隊組合而成:「馬偕」由美籍男中音湯瑪士·梅格蘭札(Thomas Meglioranza) 飾演、馬偕之妻「張聰明」由女高音陳美玲飾演、高音崔勝震(Seung-Jin Choi) 飾演、「吳益裕」由男低音廖聰文飾演、「陳塔嫂」由女中音翁若珮飾演、「林孽」/「葉順」由男中音林中光飾演。

「第一幕第一景:天·天父的旨意」,全劇一開始以張聰明守護馬偕於病塌前,並吟唱感謝馬偕教其識字、讀聖經,使其獲得啟蒙,看見全新的生命風景。除舞臺場景的佈置,並以馬偕臥病時的病容與眼神為舞臺背景,同時,馬偕吟唱所作的〈最後的住家〉。以倒敘的手法開場,似有意突顯以馬偕的視角回顧由最初到最後,在臺灣所奉獻的一生,重病中的馬偕回想起母親的呼喚,猶如在聖母懷中的新生兒,預告著馬偕即將回到主的懷抱。「第一幕第二景:地·美麗之島福爾摩沙」,訴說馬偕決意到臺灣時的心情,「無懼、無恨也無喜」,搭船前往臺灣的海上,心中雖有恐懼,便對主祈禱:「知道祢神聖的話語,將卸除我的恐懼」。同船的亦有決心前往臺灣的漢移民,面對海上的風浪,漢人向媽祖祈求平安,最後,即將抵達臺灣時,馬偕說出:「是的,這就是召喚著我的土地」。「第一幕第三景:落腳淡水·向牧童學臺語」,時值1872年4月7日,馬偕向牧童學習後,臺語有所進步得以更順利傳教,開始傳教,此時,馬偕的大弟子嚴清華亦出現,

表現對生命的疑問,「想知道生命所為而來,誰能開啟我的眼界」,突顯馬偕透過 聖經教義對人們生命意義的啟發。

「第二幕第一景:衝突」,以臺灣傳統宗教的陣頭儀式出現,對比另一旁正在為人拔牙的馬偕,將兩種場景對立,暗示了當時外來宗教在臺宣教的不易,也呈現當時臺灣社會對疾病的治療,仍以吃草藥、喝符水為治療之道。馬偕曾面臨住民舉刀欲取其性命的危險時刻,教會、十字架被毀,被指為邪教,但其無懼的心,最後感動住民。「第二幕第二景:牛津學堂」,演出馬偕疲於募款建校、興建學堂、設計課程、招收學生等事宜,以及馬偕夫婦相互扶持的堅定感情。本劇不同以往在史料中缺乏「張聰明」的個人形象,本劇經常出現張聰明與馬偕的對話及個人獨白,使其形象更為鮮明。

「第三幕第一景:游走海外·戰地鐘聲」,時值清法戰爭,馬偕所興建的學校、教堂及醫館,受戰爭所累,被反對外國人的激進住民所毀,學生為保護馬偕,力勸馬偕暫避海外香港。「第三幕第二景:告別馬偕·天國鐘聲」,此時的馬偕已患病,有感於自己為「陌生的異鄉人」,感謝妻子張聰明的陪伴與付出,才能從事醫療宣教。當馬偕在回顧其一生時,舞臺背景又播放今淡江中學的場景,最後以馬偕觀看世人的眼作為結束。

「黑鬚馬偕」回顧了馬偕在臺奉獻的一生,將馬偕的個性鮮明化,並呈現以 往較少被關注到馬偕與妻子張聰明的互動,使張聰明的形象更為具體化。本歌劇 透過舞臺藝術再現其在臺宣教的事蹟,並藉由跨國團隊的合作,將這段深具時代 意義的臺灣歷史推向世界舞臺。

#### 五、 結語:馬偕精神在台灣

馬偕遠自加拿大來到臺灣,本著宣教師的精神與理念,實踐向上帝許下的承諾,抵達臺灣後,為臺灣帶入現代化的醫療與教育,啟蒙臺灣人民,同時,其腳蹟遍及整個北臺灣,亦曾探訪中臺灣及東臺灣,勇敢深入臺灣山林接觸臺灣原住民,馬偕所具有的不僅是宗教家的理念,亦極具冒險家的精神。為紀念馬偕精神,時人會在馬偕登臺之日「3月9日」追思當年事蹟,將馬偕第一次以臺灣宣教日「4月14日」訂為「設教紀念日」,並將馬偕逝世「6月2日」當日訂為「馬偕

日」,相關的紀念活動、研討會及紀念物,皆是人們為感念馬偕為臺灣付出的貢獻,並期望後人能記取此精神,繼續完成其「未完的志業」。同時,馬偕精神亦被再現於當代表演藝術之中,亦宛然掌中戲團以布袋戲形式,演出馬偕在臺的生命史,亦具有保存、推廣臺語及臺灣文化的用心。文建會結合跨國際的表演藝術家、音樂家,成為首部結合臺語和英語的大型歌劇型式,將馬偕歷史推向國際舞臺,提升臺灣歷史的能見度與主體性。期待透過「馬偕研究」持續增廣馬偕歷史的向度,深化臺灣文化的內涵。

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# A Feminist Reading of "Tsung-ze"/Chang sung-Ming/Minnie Mackay's Herstory

# 從女性主義閱讀蔥仔/張聰明/蜜妮·馬偕的一生

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#### **Abstract**

It has been 138 years since George Leslie Mackay first stepped on Formosa in 1872, and the annual celebration in his name has become a custom at Aletheia University and in Tamsui County, the famous tourist resort in northern Taiwan. Mackay's legend and legacy is assured. In most of the scholarship surrounding him, the focus has been on the great man, missionary, medical doctor, and educator. In contrast, due to the predominantly patriarchal predilection that persists in academia and despite the gains and insights of feminist scholars, comparatively much less, and nothing devoted exclusively to the experience of native Christian women of Mackay's ministry, has been written. The subject of Mackay's native women missionaries is more difficult because of a lack of archival materials and documents. Given that Mackay scholars have nearly all been men and with a singular vision—the life and legacy of George Leslie Mackay, my study aims to focus on the most important woman in his Mackay's life in Formosa, Mrs. Mackay, as she is crucial to Mackay's success, and it is high time that her story be told.

Keywords: George Leslie Mackay, Tsung-ze, Chang Tsung-Ming, Minnie Mackay, true womanhood, native women missionaries, Christian feminism

#### Introduction

George Leslie Mackay (1844–1901) was the first Presbyterian missionary to northern Formosa (Taiwan). He served with the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, and arrived at Tamsui, northern Formosa in 1872, which remained his home until his death in 1901. Starting with an itinerant dentistry practice amongst the lowland aborigines, he later established sixty churches, two schools and a hospital practicing Western biomedicine. He learned to speak the vernacular Taiwanese fluently, and married Chang Tsung-Ming (張聰明; known as "Minnie" in the West), a Taiwanese woman. Even today, some families in Taiwan, particularly of lowland-aboriginal Kavalan ancestry, trace their surname '信' ('Kai' or 'Kay') to their family's conversion to Christianity by Mackay.

In Canada, he was honored during his two furloughs. In 1880, Queen's College in Kingston, Ontario awarded him an honorary Doctor of Divinity; in 1895, Dr. Mackay was elected moderator of the General Assembly of his church, and visited many points throughout the Dominion, in the United States, and in Scotland, addressing congestions and conventions. Everywhere and on all occasions the impression made was that of a great man and a hero (MacDonald 3). Consequently, the demand for a fuller record of his life and work became increasingly urgent. And with assistance, especially from J. A. MacDonald the editor, *From Far Formosa* was complete in 1896. Even today, the book is considered an important early missionary ethnography of Taiwan and an important contribution to the anthropological understanding of the culture and customs of the people of Taiwan during that period. But, in it Minnie is hardly mentioned as though she didn't exist.

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¹ MacDonald makes it clear the necessity of persuading Mackay to write down his life for more than two decades in Formosa: "Friends who knew that his information about Formosa was more extensive and more reliable than that of any other living man, and who believed that an account of his experience and work would stimulate the faith and zeal of the church, but who feared lest, amid the uncertainties and perils to which his life is constantly exposed, his career should be cut short before any record that might be given to the public had been prepared, impressed upon him the duty of meeting this reasonable demand. To a man of ardent temperament and active habits prolonged literary work is the most irksome drudgery. He would rather face a heathen mob than write a chapter for a book. But convinced of its importance, he undertook the task" (MacDonald 3-4).

Both in Taiwan and Canada Mackay continues to be remembered. 2001, the centenary of his death, was marked by exhibitions, conferences, and a commemorative stamp. In the year leading up to this, Tamsui County (Taiwan) joined with Oxford County (Canada) to hold several memorial activities to honor this beloved Canadian missionary and defender of Taiwanese sovereignty. On June 30, 2004, a large bust statue of George Leslie Mackay was dedicated outside the Oxford County offices in Woodstock, Ontario. In November 2006, a Canadian Television documentary was aired titled The Black Bearded Barbarian of Taiwan. It was broadcast in both Mandarin and English. In 2008, the production of the world's first-ever Taiwanese/English-singing opera, based on Mackay's life, Mackay: The Black Bearded Bible Man was brought on the stage. It is the first of its kind with over a hundred professional opera singers and an international production crew from Europe, Asia, and the United States. The internationalism of the production is fitting given Mackay's devotion to the idea of crossing cultural divides, Significantly, an archive of Mackay has been established and digitalized in Aletheia University. In addition, the transcription and translation of his thirty years' diary (1871-1901), both in English and Chinese, is complete and published in 2008. There are two statues of Mackay and one street named after him in Tamsui--all making Mackay unforgettable and the only foreigner to enjoy such honor in Taiwan. Permanently, Mackay is specially remembered on 2 June every year in Tamsui as "Mackay's Memorial Day."

So Mackay's legacy is assured, but the women in his life remain mostly voiceless and absent. There is a saying prevailing in China, "Women hold up half of the sky." This is even so in church as women make up more than half of the congregation. So, it's high time for the silenced women of Taiwanese Christian history be heard, their stories—herstory—be written to fill up the other missing half belonging rightly to them.

#### Christian/Chinese Womanhood in the Nineteenth Century

In order to understand better the experience of Mackay's "Bible women," the experience of Victorian evangelical women, the parallels and, indeed, the fact that

Western ideas of womanhood travelled to Formosa in religious garb, bears repeating—although in brief. The ideal female in nineteenth-century America was gentle, refined, sensitive, and loving, acting as "the guardian of religion and spokeswoman for morality" (Smith-Rosenberg 79). This went hand in hand with the idea that women were "fitted by nature" for Christian benevolence. Christianity was thought to perform a unique service for women, giving them social opportunities and spiritual hope, but with certain moral strings attached (Cott 126). While men, as the "self-styled lords of Creation," pursued wealth, politics, or mere pleasure, it was the divinely-appointed duty of "the dependent, solitary female" to concentrate on the heavenly pursuits. As Reverend Joseph Buckminister believed:

[I]f Christianity should be compelled to flee from the mansions of the great, the academies of the philosophers, the halls of legislators, or the throng of busy men, we should find her last and purest retreat with woman at the fireside; her last altar would be the female heart; her last audience would be the children gathered around the knees of a mother; her last sacrifice, the secret prayer, escaping in silence from her lips, and heard perhaps only at the throne of God.<sup>2</sup>

Importantly, nineteenth-century Christianity in America was largely female in nature and composition (Cott 131), and related to this was the belief that Christianity "made men willing to treat females as equals" (Chaplin112), "exalted women to an equal rank with man in all felicities of the soul, in all the advantages of religious attainment, in all prospects and hopes of immortality" (Clarke 11), and "redeemed human nature from the base passions and taught reverence for domestic relations" (Worcester 12-13). Western womanhood was thus a "different but equal" doctrine with important social and cultural implications for society (Cott 157). In church settings, evangelical wives and mothers worked tirelessly to advance the cause of the Gospel, but as Cott also points out, "God has made known that it is his will that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Joseph Buckminster, "A Sermon Preached before the Members of the Boston Female Asylum, September 1810."

females should not be public teachers or religion, nor take an active part in the government of his church on earth" (qtd. in Cott 157). As so, despite her elevated moral position in society, evangelical women were subordinate to men, confined to acts of pious self-expression and gender-specific roles. Ironically, such cultural confinements had the opposite effect, giving impetus to a female social and religious activism that took many woman well outside the bounds of home and family, endowing women with a strong sense of identity and purpose among their female and male peers (Cott 159).

Western evangelical women throughout the nineteenth century, if we can generalize for the sake of argument, viewed their non-Western or "heathen" sisters as simply "ignorant—degraded—oppressed—enslaved" (qtd. in Cott 131). Rebeccah Lee, the wife of a Marlborough, Connecticut pastor, illustrates this cultural bias very well. Commenting on the state of her "sex" in "those regions of the globe unvisited and unblessed with the light of Christianity," she writes: "we see them degraded to a level with the brutes, and shut out from the society of lordly *man*; as if they were made by their Creator, not as the companions, but as the slaves and drudges of domineering masters. . . . Let each one then ask herself, how much do I owe?" To be sure, advances in Western society that clearly benefitted a certain class and race of Western women had yet to make an appearance in China, where a two-thousand-year-old tradition of male superiority was deeply ingrained into the political, social, and economic consciousness of the Orient; thus, there was a grain of truth to the Western feminist critique of Eastern womanhood however colonialist it might have been.

In the East, in Chinese society the women's status has always been low. The degradation and devaluing of women is illustrated by the familiar Confucian saying, "Of all people, women and small-minded men are the most difficult to keep in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mrs. Rebeccah Lee, An Address, Delivered in Marlborough, Connecticut, September 7, 1831 (Hartford, 1831), p. 4. It was also pointed out that "There is not a town or village in our country, perhaps, where females are not actively engaged in this good cause, and from us much is expected in the present day."

house." Chinese women were deprived of an education because of the generally held Confucian idea, and in stark contrast to the Western idea of womanhood, that "inability in women is a virtue." Marriage was not in any sense a matter of freedom of choice for most Chinese women who were under the complete control of husbands or parents. Every Chinese woman was required to abide by the "Three Obediences," that is, obedient to her father before marriage, her husband when married, and her son in widowhood. In old China, most women lived lives of quiet desperation, lacking a sense of self identity and purpose beyond their domestic duties.

In those days, Western visitors to China were particularly critical of the practice of taking concubines and foot binding. Taking a concubine was justified in Chinese society as a perfectly "legitimate" avenue open to any Oriental patriarch without as yet a male heir to carry on the family name. Concubines were also a measure of male social status, debasing Eastern women as mere tools of reproduction. Of course, polygamy and prostitution were twin social problems that Americans had to contend with at home, too. Likewise, Chinese foot binding found a Western counterpart in the controversy surrounding the corset and the rise of the so-called "dress-reform movement (Haller 46).

In general, women in the 19th-century China adhered strictly to Confucian social and gender norms wherein the family was the primary social unit and the domestic sphere synonymous with true womanhood. The birth of a daughter was regarded as something of a calamity. The inferiority of women was taken for granted: useful, but the death of a wife or mother was trivial compared to that of a brother or son.<sup>4</sup> Within the average 19<sup>th</sup>-century Chinese home, daughters deferred to parental authority, assisted their mothers in domestic tasks, and only in elite families were taught to read and write. Young women married into a family of the parents' choosing and once married, occupied a position of social importance relative to her husband's place in the family, subject to the whims of mother-in-law and husband respectively. Such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> George Leslie Mackay, *From Far Formosa* (Taipei, Taiwan: SMC, 1991), 120. Subsequent citation is from this version, abbreviated as FFF.

marriages had little regard for the feelings or preferences of the bride and groom. Prenatal betrothals were rare but did take place, the average age for girls, between fifteen and twenty years of age. It was not uncommon for a family to purchase a young girl to be raised in the home of her future husband as one way of avoiding the expense of a dowry. Although a member of the family, such "child brides" were often treated little better than slaves (FFF 120). When the appropriate time for marriage came, it was rare indeed for the son not to marry his betrothed since this was thought to bring great shame and even calamity to the family (FFF 121). Being cloistered within the home was a sign of propriety and restraint, qualities highly valued in neo-Confucian culture. Rural women, on the contrary, had more freedom, regularly leaving home to tend to the fields or visit the market. Finally, as a woman advanced in years in Chinese society, more respect and compensation were her reward for a life of selfless devotion (FFF 120). Among the Chinese of Formosa, women occupied a slightly higher status than that of native/aboriginal women per se, albeit lower than women living in Christian lands (FFF 119-120).

#### Woman Missionary and Missionary Wife

Due to the phenomenon of the feminization of Protestantism, contact with, and then instruction of, the women was seen as a key to the spread of evangelism. In fact it had to be recognized that notwithstanding the contempt in which heathen women were held, their influence in the household was boundless—unless it could be secured for Christ there could be no such thing as family regeneration. And to reach the heathen women, female missionaries and missionary wives become essential and effective.

Actually, in the beginning, the leaders of the evangelical missionary societies were conservative. They accepted that a woman's place was in the home, subject to male control and protection, and that it would be wrong in most circumstances to expose them to the unpredictable indignities of missionary life. Missionary wives

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> B. Douglas, *The Rise and Progress of Women's Work for Women in Heathen Lands* (London, CMS Papers, 1888).

were, however, accepted, indeed welcomed, and inevitably they undertook some missionary work, particularly among secluded women and in female education. Yet domestic and family responsibilities often limited their capacity to achieve their missionary objectives, and the case of single women missionaries began to be made (Williams 44). But the criteria for selecting the right candidate are strict.

Opportunities for worthwhile careers were limited for middle-class women in Victorian Britain (and America).<sup>6</sup> Protestant missionary societies argued about the desirability of sending out women to 'heathen lands,' whether as single women or as wives of male missionaries. In either case, it was middle-class women of suitable character, in good physical health and ideally with some training, who were recruited (Bowie, Introduction 6). Missionary work criteria were certainly strict. For those accepted there were occasions for independent actions and challenges which would stretch the woman missionary's abilities. Learning new languages, Bible translation, setting up schools and clinics, establishing women's groups of various kinds, conducting religious services, as well as meeting the challenges of running a home in a new culture and climate, more than occupied their time (Bowie 6).

If women missionaries and missionary's wives did find new and rewarding spheres of activity not open to their sisters at home, the cost was also high. Health was a major problem for both women and men, with women often having the additional burden of pregnancies, more likely to end in miscarriage. Stress was another problem mentioned by missionaries. The sponsoring societies were hungry for success stories of "heathen conversions" and rapid growth, whereas there was often little to show for the missionary's expenditure of time, health and energy (Bowie 7).

It was hoped that married women would serve as models of domestic virtue within the context of Christian monogamous marriage. Thus missionary's wives were 'incorporated' in their husbands' work to the extant that they were not only "married to the job" but they were often "married for the job" (Kirkwood 40, 27). Indeed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> During mid-1800s, nine out of ten women who applied to emigration societies, though not necessarily as missionaries, were rejected.

women missionaries and missionary's wives have done a lot, but being "adjuncts to men, rather than a historical protagonists in their own right," they "have been systematically written out of historical and anthropological records" (Bowie 1). Reports from the field to head office commonly began "Dear Fathers and Brethren," womanly details were edited out of letters when prepared for publications. In many cases we know little of the roles played by women in the mission field. The invisibility of women in history, scripture, anthropology and other literary sources and academic disciplines has become a commonplace, and only more publications about women's lives can rectify this situation by reclaiming women's history and highlighting women's experience (Bowie 2).

The relative 'invisibility' of missionary's wives poses a problem for researchers. Sometimes, headstones in a missionary graveyard tell their own story (Kirkwood 28).<sup>7</sup> In the end, missionary wives' achievements were entirely credited to their husbands or to their names as well as their mark on history (Bowie, Introduction 6). This provokes Hans Kung to announce that the "whole of the other half of Christianity, women, were losers" (16). Traditional historiography has long neglected the question of women as subjects of history. (Kung 16).<sup>8</sup>

Now, with the growing interest and development of feminist theology, the story of the silenced Christian women may rightly be written. Sheila Briggs claims that feminist theology is the largest and most enduring movement in the theology of the Western world in the late twentieth century and that feminists are "in the position to determine what theology will look like" (164).

Over the past decade the most controversial political and intellectual topic in feminist theory has been its approach to women's experience. In Davaney's opinion, "on the most elementary level, feminist theologians noted that women's lives and experiences had been absent from theological reflection, considered either

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In Mackay's case, his headstone is at the central of the graveyard and twice the size of that over Mrs. Mackay's; she lies alongside her great husband as secondary and the other even after death, which is not the common practice in Chinese society of juxtaposing the couple's (husband's and wife's) headstones/graves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Kung studies the negligence of the Christian women's voice from the very early stage in Christianity.

insignificant on their own or subsumed under the male-defined category of human experience, and thereby rendered invisible" (199). What should be advocate is "a shift from talking about women's experience to representations of women, from talking about women to talking about gender" (Briggs 167). Women's experience is normative of feminist theology. With this declaration, feminist engaged the field of theology, intending to dismantle its patriarchal foundations, to recover women's past, and to transform their present and future in the religious traditions of our culture (Briggs 167). Verily, the life experience of women missionaries and missionary's wives provide rich reservoir of facts for writing a new version of her-story.

Furthermore, with particular force, women of color have criticized feminist theology's emphasis on commonality--its essentialist undercurrent, and its prioritizing of gender as an analytical tool all conspired to conceal the racial and class differences among women, and hence allowed white feminists to avoid responsibility for our complicity in the oppression of other women (Davaney 203). Attempts have been made to give specificity to the lives of the women and communities that have previously been absorbed and rendered invisible by white feminist thought. Concurrently, feminists, including both white women and women of color, who work explicitly out of historicist theoretical perspectives, including what is widely termed postmodernism, have also strongly challenged essentialist notions of the self. Thus there has been a move away from humans or females in general toward the particular, the concrete, the local, and the specific (Davaney 204). With this in mind, we can now focus on our heroine, Minnie Mackay, and weave herstory.

#### Mackay's Mission to Taiwan and Marriage

While the Western women were encouraged to participate eagerly in the church work in the Victorian Age as religious piety was considered one of the main features of True Womanhood, in China women were generally forbidden to venture outside of their private sphere of home, let alone enter the church—outside home—established by the heathen devil/foreigner. So, soon after arriving in Formosa, Mackay faced a challenge: "How are women in such a state of society, with such social customs, and

such a country as Formosa, to be reached and taught the gospel of Jesus?" (FFF 300). Mackay's answer to the thorny question of the plight of women in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Formosa was to take a Taiwanese "child bride" and bring her up in the ways of a Western Bible-woman. Indeed, interracial marriage was Mackay's solution to the problem, as he saw it, of "heathen womanhood." At the same time, native Bible-women served his evangelizing purposes all too well, for they were by their very nature better equipped to navigate the difficult social, cultural, and linguistic problems associated with attracting other native women into the church—a task any foreign/non-native female missionary wouldn't be on a par with the native. In fact, the idea of Bible-women first emerged in England, where working class women were trained to go into the homes of poor families after middle-class women had failed miserably due mainly to their inability to cross class lines. In Formosa, Mackay would cross racial lines with the same idea in mind.

Mackay did not let Victorian prejudices against inter-racial marriage stop him from what some considered an audacious act when he married Chang Tsung Ming.<sup>10</sup> He defended his marriage by arguing that the Lord in heaven made no distinctions on the basis of race and neither did he.<sup>11</sup> However, his marriage to Minnie was for the greater good of the mission and glory of the Lord. He wrote the Foreign Board of Missions Committee in 1877, five years after arriving in Formosa, explaining:

I have been for a long time grieved at heart to see the women here despised and left within their homes, whilst husbands and brothers attend services. I have pleaded and prayed and wept. Sometimes amongst 200 hearers only two or three women are present. Such being the case, after long and prayerful

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Hellen Ranyard (1809-1879) is the one who initiated the ideal of "Bible woman," and Prochaska described her Bible women as such: "This missionary cum social worker, a working class woman drawn from the neighborhood to be canvassed, was to provide the 'missing link' between the poorest families and their social superiors . . . . Given a three month training . . . in the poor law, hygiene, and scripture, Mrs Ranyard agents sought to turn the city's outcast population into respectable, independent citizens through an invigoration of family life" (49).

Alex MacLeod, "George Mackay: Canadian Poineer to Taiwan Part 1." 11 Nov. 2008 <a href="http://www.urbana.urbana.org/wtoday.witness.cfm?article=62">http://www.urbana.urbana.org/wtoday.witness.cfm?article=62</a>>.

Even his colleague Rev. Kenneth F. Junor doesn't think Mackay has made a right decision of marrying Minnie and he writes of his opinion on the inter-racial marriage to FMC (Foreign Mission Committee No.784, March 8, 1878).

consideration, I have determined, God willing, to take a Chinese lady to become my helpmeet, and labor for these perishing thousands. She is a young, devoted, earnest Christian who will, I believe, labor until death for the salvation of souls. My great motive in this is that I may be more instrumental in the salvation of souls. I cannot reach that class myself, and as I believe that Chinese and Canadians are alike in the presence of our Lord, I act accordingly. It matters nothing to me what some people may think, if I can only win more souls, and I think I can. Brother R. just sent me a note saying there are 'charming ladies in Canada, one of which would come out as my helpmeet.' I am not thinking about 'charming ladies.' I am thinking how I can do most for Jesus. This is a trying climate for foreign ladies. A foreign lady cannot live in the chapels in the country, and she can not reach the women by living in the port. This lady can go from chapel to chapel and thus gather perishing souls. (qtd. in P.Mackay 33-34)

After the marriage, an obvious increase in the number of female converts lent credence to Mackay's unorthodox decision to marry as he did. His biographer, Rev. R. P. Mackay, defends Mackay's decision by referring to the wise words of a Dutch missionary to Formosa, arriving before Mackay and whose sage advice, in hindsight, Mackay had followed to the letter:

He should bring out a wife with him, that he may escape the snares of Satan and may with his family be unto the people as a mirror and living example of an honest, virtuous and proper life. But for several reasons a much better arrangement would be for him, being un-married, to take to wife one of the native women. It would also be very expedient, were ten or twelve of our countrymen to take up their abode in the island's persons of good and virtuous conduct not without means and inclined to marry the native women of the place. These would be the magnets that would attract the whole country; and in this way the undertaking would succeed and God would grant his blessing thereon. (qtd. in P. Mackay 33)

What's more admirable in Mackay's case is that there is an absence of the colonialism implied in the quotation above. Mackay's eventual goal is to nurture a locally self-sufficient church independent of foreign aid.

On the other hand, from the Chinese perspective, the following description sheds another light on this interracial marriage:

That a [Western] foreign university graduate should marry a [Eastern] country girl of no education is a daring adventure. Marriage is a lifelong matter, and besides social customs and language barriers, there must be major differences in perspectives, thinking, and life style between a foreign university graduate and a country girl of no knowledge. Thus, marriage of this kind is constantly on the breaking point. However, in Mackay and Minnie's case, their marriage ends up satisfactorily. Of courses, several factors are involved, making their marriage bond solid and tight. But the bride has great disadvantage. (Guo Her-lieh 126)

As it turned out, Minnie lived up to what Mackay characterized her as "a young, devoted, earnest Christian," and an able minister to other local women. Her capacity for learning, her diligence in study, her gifts as a home-maker and a companion--all were soon clear for all to see. In one Mackay's biography, for example, Minnie is described as "a beautiful Christian character . . . a great help in the church. But as Mrs. Mackay . . . a marvelous assistance to her husband." In another, she is described as a devoted and loving wife and Christian co-worker and that Mackay "never found occasion to regret his unusual and independent action" (P. Mackay 34). In yet

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Mary Esther Miller MacGregor, The Black-Bearded Barbarian: The Life of George Leslie Mackay of Formosa.

Mackay's son William recalled that whenever his father was about to take a trip in the country, he was always hit by an unnamable grief. As he often heard people say it was extreme dangerous to enter the mountainous territory of the savages—the headhunters, who wouldn't hesitate cutting an intruder's head off. Thus, whenever Mackay bid his family farewell to go into the dangerous area, William was worried that it might be the last time of saying goodbye, but his mother was always calm and comforted the children that their father would return safe. After some time, a few weeks or months, Minnie would hire people to deliver vegetables, letters and other stuffs to Eastern Taiwan, where Mackay was not hard to find as he was constantly surrounded by the people there and his whereabouts was known to all. Mackay's safe return was always a great joy, and he often brought back some indigenous products such as shells, necklace, spears, cages, monkeys, and even a black bear (Recorded in *Church Historical Remarks* 503 (教會史話 503 六十年週年廣播紀念. Collected in *Presbyterian* 

another, "Miss Chang... made her husband a loving and devoted wife to the day of his death" (Malcolm 48). Eventually, Minnie was regarded as no less than "the spiritual mother of the growing Presbyterian Church in Taiwan." <sup>14</sup>

Unbelievably, they spent their honeymoon going from chapel to chapel preaching the Gospel, Minnie taking charge of the conversion of scores of local women. "At every station," Mackay wrote friends back in Canada,

women who never entered the chapel before attended and listened as she, sitting amongst them, told the story of redeeming love. Women who had formerly attended but seemed afraid to come forward, now took their places confidently by her side. Having visited all the northern stations except Kelung, we started south and arrived at Liong Lik drenched with rain and with blistered feet. On the following day we were again overtaken with pouring rain. Mrs. Mackay was blown off the chair in which she was borne and the men who were carrying her were prostrated beside the muddy path. We reached a chapel in the evening and it was ample compensation for our slight inconveniences to witness such prosperity in the work. In the evening quite a number of women were present, and after worship Mrs. Mackay spent an hour in teaching them to sing several hymns. We travelled over beds of burning sand and under scorching sun. Mrs. Mackay went from house to house exhorting the women to attend the service, and the result was gratifying. (qtd. in Mackay R. P. 36, italics added)

Not unlike Mackay, Minnie endured endless physical discomforts to bring the Gospel to native women by the scores. With a Formosan wife, Mackay's missionary work moved forward, penetrating the boundaries of Chinese and Taiwanese womanhood, reaching out to the spiritual and material needs of the mothers, wives, and daughters of independent farmers, mechanics, laborers, and merchants.

Record, V. 57no. 6. 24 July 009<a href="http://www.laijohn.com/book2/194.htm">http://www.laijohn.com/book2/194.htm</a>.)

<sup>14 &</sup>quot;Reverend George Leslie Mackay 1844-1901," *Ontario Heritage Foundation*. 2001. 16 Nov. 2008 <a href="http://www.heritagefdn.on.ca/userfiles/page\_attachments/Library/1/975022\_Reverend\_Mackay\_EGG.pdf">http://www.heritagefdn.on.ca/userfiles/page\_attachments/Library/1/975022\_Reverend\_Mackay\_EGG.pdf</a>.

The Girls' School that Mackay and Minnie established is a case in point. It stands side by side Oxford College, the two buildings of equal size and grandeur. More importantly, it took into account social conventions in Formosa wherein young women were not permitted to reside in a boarding school unless accompanied by a senior relative, a provision the school made allowances for. Single and married Taiwanese women, young and old, pursued their studies together while fathers, husbands, and brothers did likewise at the College across the way. Minnie, assisted by two native assistants, ran the school with remarkable skill, the progress of her students nothing short of phenomenal. In fact, there was something very Chinese about the way Minnie worked. Female converts often brought two or three girls with them to the Girls' School in keeping with the custom of mothers entrusting their daughters with another woman when far from home. As a result, this boosted numbers at the Girls' School to as many as eighty during a single session, outnumbering male enrollment at the Oxford College on occasion (FFF 306).<sup>15</sup>

At the Girls' School, women were taught to read, write, and sing, along with courses in Bible history and geography, the Larger and Shorter Catechism. Their days were spent reciting and evenings in exercises of various kinds. This included teacher training which was intended to equip them for the job of spreading the Gospel. Upwards of forty female students at a time worked as itinerant preachers, travelling from station to station and even remote parts of the island where they offered their services, spiritual and material, to women (P. Mackay 38). In *From Far Formosa*, Mackay singles out A-So, the first female convert and his grandmother-in-law, as one such exemplary Bible-woman:

There is A So, a gray-haired widow, one who has reared a family, has grandchildren, and will, therefore, command respect. Some of her sons are married, and she has an influence over their households. At one time she knew not of Jesus, but a chapel was opened near her door. At first she reviled the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> After Mackay passed away, Rev. William Gauld took over the running of Oxford College, and the Girls' School was temporarily turned into the missionary family's abode under Mrs. Mackay's charge (Chern Horng-wen 103).

'foreign devil,' but liked to hear the singing through her lattice-window. Then she listened to the preacher, and noticed the students, who seemed so neat, clever, and affable. At last she began to enjoy the services in the building, and more and more was delighted with expositions of the truth. Especially did she love the psalms and hymns, for she found comfort in their consolatory truths. Her idols were thrown away and she publicly declared herself a Christian. By and by Canadian ladies gave a large sum of money, and the Girls' School was erected. Having spent several sessions there, A So was sent to a chapel, where her time was fully occupied in teaching children and young girls, visiting the neighbors, answering their thousand queries regarding the mission, the missionaries, God and heaven, and in telling them of the truth that she had learned, and of how she came to cast her idols away. She reads and they are surprised; prays, and they listen; sings, and they are delighted. She finds out their ailments and afflictions, and, in common with the preacher and his wife, she endeavors to comfort them. She knows when and how to appear in a neighbor's dwelling, and how to act in such a way that her visits may be acceptable. She is respected on account of her gray hairs, neat appearance, and woman-like manners, and the heathen women look up to her because, like the preacher's wife, she is better posted in all the affairs of life than they are. She sympathizes with the women, for she has suffered just as they. She knows all about foot-binding. Sickness and death have been in her home, and when the little ones they love are taken away she knows how to sympathize, and with the comfort wherewith she herself was comforted of God in the dark days of her own sorrow she goes in to bereaved mothers, and not in vain talks of the Shepherd and his fold. Every Saturday she visits the houses of new converts, and tells women to be ready at a certain hour the next day, when she will call for them to go to worship. Gradually and almost imperceptibly the women are drawn toward the truth, and they scarcely know how much they have learned to love this devoted Bible-woman till she is transferred to another station. Not

a few of these Bible-women are most enthusiastic and efficient workers, and all are of great assistance to the native preachers. Some of them have been the means of bringing whole families to Christ, and more and more is the Master's seal set to the work of these native workers. (FFF 303-304)

It was A-So, a woman, who built the first chapel in North Formosa (FFF 149). She was also a "matchmaker," introducing Mackay to Minnie, her adopted granddaughter,<sup>16</sup> whose conversion to Christianity and future role as a wonderful help-meet to Mackay's ministry owed much to A-So (FFF 151).

The importance of women, indeed native Bible-women, was fully understood by Mackay, who wrote in *From Far Formosa* that only with a "large, flexible, and Chinese-like plan," which relied much on native Bible-women, would "North Formosa ever be evangelized" (306). He went on to expound the practical advantages of a native female ministry:

The expense of maintaining a large foreign staff is so great, the language and social customs of the people present such formidable obstacles, the climatic conditions are so wasteful of life, making the field, except in and about Tamsui, a hungry devourer of men, and the success which by God's manifest favor has attended the work of those native Bible-women has been so real and abiding, that I have stood and still stand, now as confidently as ever, for the plan that is least expensive, most effective, and that succeeds. In North Formosa that plan is native workers for native women. (FFF 307)

At each of the sixty chapels Mackay and Minnie established, a native preacher and trained native Bible-woman were installed.

#### Tsung-ze's Tale

To many people, the life story of Chang Tsung-Ming from Go-ko-khi, a country

<sup>16</sup> There is still controversy whether Tsung-ze is A-So's adoptive granddaughter-in-law or she is A-So's granddaughter by birth. Guo Her-lieh argued strongly that because Tsung-ze keeps her surname as Chang, she is definitely not A-So's granddaughter by birth (131). Tsaur Yeong-shyang 曹永祥 and Jeng Yeang-en 鄭仰恩 point out that A-So is Tsung-ze's grandmother by birth, and she later ransoms her back (93; 33).

village ten miles up river from Tamsui, remains a mystery; however, it is possible to piece together a rough approximation of this remarkable Taiwanese girl. As she was given away since little, she was more or less an orphan.<sup>17</sup> In keeping with Chinese custom, her Chinese name provides an important clue to her status. Before her marriage, she was called simply "Tsung-ze (蔥仔)," which means "young green-onion," indicating something or someone "insignificant and dispensable." Not an aboriginal as Austin argues, <sup>18</sup> Tsung-ze was, nevertheless, an adopted "child bride."

Actually, Tsung-ze had three brothers. In accordance with the custom practiced in the Northern Formosa, she was given away as a child bride to a family that had only a son. According to Tsung-ze's nephew, Chang Iue-hann (張約翰), Tsung-ze's husband-to-be died of a certain disease when she was twelve. Since then, she was much tortured by her adoptive mother who regarded her as a curse, causing the death of her son. Several ways were used to torture young Tsung-ze. She had to peel as much as two deciliter (a unit of dry measure) of dry peanuts daily, which made her fingers swollen and cracked. On the twenty-ninth (Chinese New Year Eve), while everyone enjoyed a big feast, she could only eat the left-over. Chang Iue-hann's mother, Tsung-ze'z sister-in-law, once said this event to him: One heavy raining day, Tsung-ze was beaten so badly that she ran away from home at midnight to come back

<sup>17</sup> From Mackay's thirty years' diary, Tsung-ze's birth parents were rarely mentioned. However, two diary entries did mention the father: In one, her father is said to be ill (30 Sep. 1888), and in the other, he passed away the next day (1 Oct. 1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Alvyn Austin says, Mackay "learned the Taiwanese language and married a Taiwanese wife, and, more significantly, an aboriginal" ("George Leslie Mackay" 14-19).

<sup>19</sup> The true cause of Tsung-ze's adoption is unknown. In the nineteenth century, girls were much less important than boys, so girls born in the poor family were often given away/sold for adoption by a better family. The purposes for adopting a girl were various—to re-sell her at a better price; to bring her up as a profitable prostitute; to induce a married-in husband/half-son (for a family without a male heir); to be a maid. Thus, the fate of an adoptive daughter is more miserable than a "child bride" because the latter would eventually become "a bride" while the former might not fare this way. There are two Chinese phrases that describe fittingly the status and fate of an adoptive girl and a child-bride: "the fate of the adoptive-bride-to-be (child-bride)" and "the tears of the adoptive daughter"—obviously, the latter's life is much more miserable than the former, who still has the prospect of getting married years later (Guo Her-lieh 132). As a devoted Christian, A-So wouldn't think of profiting from Tsung-ze; she would rather store up her fortune in Heaven. So, according to Guo Her-lieh, the public marriage ceremony held at the British Consul is the best way to protect Tsung-ze and their marriage from being ridiculed or mocked by the locals (132).

to her natural mother's home. When she called outside of the door for entrance, Tsung-ze's mother asked her son, Tsung-ze's elder brother, to give Tsung-ze a "raincoat" (a straw/palm-bark rain cape) and send her back to her adoptive family. As it was raining so heavily, Tsung-ze's sister-in-law suggested that they should allow Tsung-ze to come inside the house to take off the wet clothes and have a shower, then wait for the daybreak. Tsung-ze's mother wouldn't allow it and asked again her son to send Tsung-ze back. From then on, Tsung-zs had an even more miserable daily life, which words couldn't express.<sup>20</sup>

Tsung-ze's life was made worse by the fact that she refused to bind her feet, making her unfeminine in the eyes of her adopted family.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, they might never have been rid of her, too, for what sort of man would want to marry such a woman. For this she was beaten daily. Defiantly, she would go on to become an outspoken critic of the Chinese practice of foot binding.<sup>22</sup>

The only person who felt sympathy for Tsung-ze at her adoptive family was the grandmother, A-So, Mackay's first female convert.<sup>23</sup> A-So would listen kindly to Tsung-ze's grief and justified complaint, and she would also try to exempt her from punishment. More important, she is the one who initiated the spreading of the gospel to Wuu-Guu Keng; she is also the perfect model of Native Bible woman, which certainly helps prepare Tsung-ze for her future role as a missionary's wife. A-So was baptized at the age of 62, a firm believer, devoting herself to church work. As she was wise and had a talent of speech, often settling argument over differences for others,

This is recorded in Church Historical Remarks 2.189 (教會史話, 第二輯, 189 媳婦仔蔥仔). 24 July 2009<a href="http://www.laijohn.com/book2/189.htm">http://www.laijohn.com/book2/189.htm</a>.

<sup>21</sup> It was a common saying in Taiwan society at that time that "only through foot binding is a girl feminine; otherwise, she is not feminine." (「纏足才像娘,不纏足不像娘」). So, to be ladylike, a woman had to have her feet bound since a child (starting at the age of four), till her feet were withered to the size of a fist. The process was long and painful, but to marry well, Chinese women had no other alternative. That Tsung-ze dares to defy this social convention and chooses to be beaten daily by her adoptive parents-in-law indicates that she has the understanding that a woman's beauty lies not in her outward appearance, such as the footbinding, but in her inner virtue (Guo 127-28).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Guo Her-lieh (127).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Guo Her-lieh (136). In Taiwanese, the adoptive-granddaughter-in-law is called "Sun Sim-Pu-a" (孫 媳婦仔) and this is what Tsung-ze is to A-So.

she earned the title of "female general manager."<sup>24</sup>

Because of A-So and the need of mission work, Mackay often stayed overnight at A-So's house and came to know of Tsung-ze's pitiable life there. Tsung-ze's miserable life changed for a little better when she could bring home some money. When Mackay spread the gospel to Wuu-Guu Keng (五股坑), he sent out notice for teaching Romanization (for the sake of Bible teaching), nobody came for a whole month. Then to entice young people, a silver dollar, which could buy five decalitres of rice, would be given every month to anyone twelve years old, or above, who came to learn. Soon every Sunday over one hundred wanted to come and learn. Among them, Tsung-ze was the best, and she soon could already read the Bible. Because she could "make money," her adoptive-mother stopped torturing her. In one contest of Bible reading, Tsung-ze won the first price of "Three Silver Dollars," which was given to her adoptive mother and that pleased her. Mackay was of course much impressed by Tsung-ze's diligence and intelligence. Tsung-ze not only elevated her status in the eyes of A-So's family, but she also managed to master the English language. By now, Tsung-ze was seventeen years old, that is, she and Mackay had already known each other for five years. Through Mackay's student-disciple's prodding, Mackay proposed marriage, for Tsung-ze was finally ready it seems to fulfill the role of Christian missionary, wife, and mother.

In regard to the premarital courtship between Mackay and Tsung-ze, there are different sayings. One is that before marriage, Tsung-ze has no emotional attachment to Mackay as a betrothed young woman would normally have; in short, they do not fall in love in the common sense (Chern Horng-wen 118). Another saying is that since Mackay and Tsung-ze have known each other for five years before marriage, they have got to know each other pretty well, which fits the Formosa custom of going through a period of the betrothhood, during which the bride-to-be and the bridegroom-to-be would get to know each other better and prepare themselves for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Recorded in *Church Historical Remarks* 2.190 (教會史話,第二輯,190 北部首位女性徒). 24 July 2009<a href="http://www.laijohn.com/book2/190.htm">http://www.laijohn.com/book2/190.htm</a>.

marriage (Guo 136). Therefore, there is a period of "courtship" before their marriage, which means their wedding is not something done rashly, and their marriage contract is proof enough.<sup>25</sup>

Interracial marriage is something unusual, even forbidden, at that time and it is interesting to know who brought this matter up to Mackay. According to Chang Iue-hann, a student<sup>26</sup> of Oxford College asked Mackay if he wanted to be assimilated (through marriage)? Mackay answered yes. When asked whom he would like to marry, Mackay said Tung-ze, because she is really smart ("tsung-ming"). With this, the student acted as the matchmaker and went to Tsung-ze's adoptive-mother to propose for Mackay. The adoptive mother gave her assent with the settlement of the dowry of thirty silver dollars and another three silver dollars monthly paid after marriage until one hundred years old.<sup>27</sup> Tsung-ze was once more "sold" to a man—this time a black-bearded-foreigner who is older than she.

It is also interesting to know how Tsung-ze was beautified before the wedding. Cheng Yun-terng's granddaughter Chen Chwen-Miin (陳純敏) recalls her grandparents telling her: "When Yan Ching-hwa's was the minister of Wuu-Guu Keng, he advised Mackay to get married as soon as possible. Mackay said he was willing to consider it, and the qualifications of his bride should be a girl of good health, decent looking, and no footbinding.<sup>28</sup> Ching-hwa and A-So had a discussion, and A-So thought her adoptive granddaughter Tsung-ze meet the qualification. But as Tsung-ze had often exposed herself under the scorching sun feeding ducks, her skin was dark and her hands were coarse. To improve Tsung-ze's appearance, Ching-hwa asked his sister (Cheng Yun-terng's wife) to take good care of Tsung-ze, feeding her with good food and sparing her from doing heavy chore. After six months' caring,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The marriage vow expresses Tsung-Ming's firm love for Mackay (Lin Chang-hwa 林昌華 19). From the vow it is also clear that the bride is confident in herself to be a good wife.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The student is Cheng Yun-terng (陳雲騰) (1851-1914), who became Mackay's student in 1873 and he married Mackay's first disciple Yan Ching-hwa's (嚴清華) sister.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Recorded in *Church Historical Remarks* 2.194 (教會史話, 第二輯,194 爲馬偕作媒). 24 July 2009<a href="http://www.laijohn.com/book2/194.htm">http://www.laijohn.com/book2/194.htm</a>>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> This is contrary to contemporary Chinese social custom, which considers foot binding as one the essential qualifications of choosing a bride.

Tsung-ze's face became "whiter," and consequently she became Mackay's "fair lady."<sup>29</sup>

Another preparation is Tsung-ze's baptism. Tsung-ze was baptized on 3 February 1878, and her name changed by Mackay to "Tsung-Ming (即用)," which is similar in Taiwanese sounds to Tsung-ze but means "intelligent and smart." A few months later (27 May 1878), with the blessing of her adopted mother, she was married to Mackay, the so-called "Bearded Barbarian." There are even two formal marriage documents, stating the total agreement of the inter-racial marriage on both the bride's and her adopted mother's part. Indeed, with these two documents, Chang Tsung-Ming married G. L. Mackay with dignity and this is, in a sense, very much "a Chinese Cinderella story," for she went from Tsung-ze to "Mrs. Mackay," now the wife of a highly respected Canadian missionary. Marrying Mackay served her social and cultural needs very well, for she would travel the world, seeing more of it than many Western women. 30

On the other hand, however, it was regarded as debasing one's own status for a Taiwanese female to marry a foreigner in the Chinese society and Mackay must have been aware of this mentality (Lin Chang-hwa 19). Consequently, they chose to be married in a public ceremony at the British consulate of Fort San Domingo, where local prejudice against interracial marriage would fear to rear its ugly head.<sup>31</sup>

After the marriage, the gospel spread faster and wider. "By forsaking bachelorhood," as Malcolm argues, "Mackay was able to interest many more Taiwanese women in Christianity. Mrs. Mackay, with her attractive personality,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Recorded in *Church Historical Remarks* 2.194 (教會史話, 第二輯,194 爲馬偕作媒). 24 July 2009<a href="http://www.laijohn.com/book2/194.htm">http://www.laijohn.com/book2/194.htm</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> This refers to the two furlough trips to Canada and back to Formosa. The places and countries they went through include Hong Kong, Macau, Malaysia, Ceylon, India, Jerusalem, Egypt, Italy, German, France, England, America, etc.

Guo Her-lieh argued strongly that had the wedding ceremony not been held in the British consul, the consequence might have been catastrophic—the native who were hostile to the foreign devil marrying the local girl would have yelled out such vulgar words like "Come and look! The foreign barbarian is marrying other family's adoptive daughter," or they might resorted to using other means to raise hell, obstructing the procedure of the ceremony. Thus, it is very wise of Mackay to decide to have the wedding ceremony held not in a church but in the British Consul, intimidating the possible riot provokers (130).

brought many Chinese women to Christ" (48). Moreover, Minnie's "charm" was legendary in Canada following their trip to Canada in 1880.<sup>32</sup> "Now prosaically called Minnie Mackay," she "disarmed criticism by her earnest convictions and forceful nature" (Austin, *Saving China* 31). Dressed in her hometown's attire, Minnie makes a speech, translated by Mackay, on the farewell party on 11 October, 1881, and from this event, her life can be summarized in such way: From a child tortured for refusing foot binding, going through an underdeveloped country life as an illiterate adolescent, to crossing the Pacific and Atlantic Ocean, exuberating fully her gracefulness—her life can be considered legendary. Chen Hong-Wen admiringly calls her "Madame of Number One Scholar (in the imperial examination)" (狀元夫人) (120). R. P. Mackay writes that their Canada trip was "a whirlwind," and the "reception was everywhere an ovation" (9).<sup>33</sup>

Minnie was also the object of much envy, her Canadian counterpart in Formosa Annie Jamieson writing the Woman's Missionary Society to complain that, unlike Mrs. Mackay, she "did not grow up among the people." "I have not been at their homes," Annie writes, "I do not know their children and aunts and uncles and neighbors, and all about their family troubles. How could they be expected to come to me?" (qtd. in Austin, *Saving China* 33). Obviously, any foreign missionary's wife would simply pale besides Minnie Mackay in executing mission work among the native females.

With such an extraordinary life, Tsung-ze/Chang Tsung-Ming/Minnie Mackay's personal accomplishment and contribution to her husband's glamorous career as a missionary should be worth writing about in Mackay's diary, if not in his famous book *From Far Formosa*. But, as we shall see, this is certainly not the case.

# Mrs. Mackay in Mackay's Diaries

Given Minnie's obvious importance to Mackay's ministry and success in Taiwan, it is surprising to discover that she is barely mentioned in *From Far Formosa*,

<sup>32</sup> Alex MacLeod

<sup>33</sup> Missionary Heart and Formosa Sentiments (宣教心·台灣情), 16.

Mackay's official autobiography, and only shows up a bit more in the Mackay Diaries, which spans three decades. MacDonald, who co-authored From Far Formosa, suggests that Mackay meant no disrespect. Instead, it was a factor of wanting his life with Minnie to remain a very private affair.<sup>34</sup> That said, there is indeed "much" we can learn from the Mackay Diaries about Minnie, which can be classified according to the following nine general categories:

- 1. Visiting female converts by entering into their domestic spheres.
- 2. Conducting women's meetings.
- 3. Visiting the sick, for example, Jamieson's death and her bedside manner.
- 4. Visiting chapels and tending to the needs of local congregations.
- 5. Teaching at the Girls' School (the only female teacher of the six teachers in all), 35 which is in contravention of the Pauline interdiction "I suffer not a woman to teach; but to be silent" (Corinthian I, 14: 34).
- 6. Raising her children, more or less alone, for Mackay, always busy elsewhere outside home, was not a doting father in any sense.<sup>36</sup>
- 7. Issues surrounding her health and expressions of concern.
- 8. References to her "taking the (sedan) chair" as a token of respect.<sup>37</sup>
- 9. References to her as "Mrs. Mackay" throughout, which is very Chinese as well as British and suggests both a high degree of mutual respect and even a degree of equality in the marriage.

The following 28 diary entries also give us some idea of what Minnie's life was like.

36 According to Chern Ching-her 陳清河, one of Mackay's disciples, Mackay itinerates from church to church every day; thus, he spends less than ten days at home every month (qtd. in Guo Her-lieh 128). Mackay's second son-in-law, Ke Wei-en 柯維思, said, "Mackay loves to read, and he hardly holds his three children. Although he occasionally holds the second daughter, he indulges himself much more in his reading; thus, he almost cut himself from his family life" (qtd. in Guo Her-lieh 129). Even when at home, Mackay keeps himself extremely busy doing research on botany, flora, fauna, religion, medicine, and teaching (qtd. in Guo Her-lieh 129).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> J. A. MacDonald describes Mackay's personality as a man not willing to talk about his private self, which may explain partially why Minnie is hardly mentioned in From Far Formosa. With chances of intimate contact with Mackay during the period of editing From Far Formosa, MacDonald comes to have great admiration for Mackay for "his modest self-effacement," which is "the secret of his success" (5).

Wu Ming-shyue 吳明學, ed. 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> In Chinese society, only women of upper-class would take a sedan chair when going out. Before marriage, Minnie would very likely have never taken a chair.

- 1. "one man holding a long lighted torch put it in chair to burn Mrs. M. cried out 'let us beat them,' excited crowd all around in front, back" (11/17/1879).
- 2. "Mrs. M. by chair" (11/28/1879).
- 3. "Mrs Mackay called on Li-ko-kang wife. Many old converts called throughout the day" (02/24/1886).
- 4. "Mrs. Mackay and children and A Hoa came at 12 A.M. all wearied" (05/20/1886).
- 5. "Mrs Mac. And children left at 10 A.M. to call on her father, mother and converts (05/21/1886).
- 6. "Mrs. M. visiting converts etc-Returned late" (05/24/1886).
- 7. "Mrs. Mackay Sun-a and myself started very early and went to Sin-tang chapel then on to Tho-a-hng, had dinner, Spoke, sung a hymn and came back" (09/21/1886).
- 8. "Mrs. M all day attending to me because down with fever" (09/22/1886).
- 9. "Mrs. M not well" (10/16/1886).
- 10. "Mrs. Mackay Slept on the floor wearily?" (12/11/1886).
- 11. "Mrs. Mackay, myself and eight preachers went first to Toa-tiu-tiaN and examined the new building closely" (12/25/1886).
- 12. "Busy the whole time with Church Matters. Mrs. Mackay not very well" (11/09/1887).
- 13. "Mrs. Mackay very ill with 'Quiney" (11/13/1887).
- 14. "All night in the room seeing to Mrs. M" (11/14/1887).
- 15. "Mrs. Mackay's birth day" (12/03/1887; 11/22/1888).
- 16. "All day attending to Mrs. M" (03/25/1888).
- 17. "Mrs. Mackay and children" (04/15/1888; 05/12/1888; 05/19/1888; 05/26/1888; 10/21/1888; 10/28/1888; 11/04/1888; 11/18/1888; 04/12/1889; 04/13/1890; 05/03/1890).
- 18. "Mrs. M. down with fever" (8/24/1888).
- 19. "Mrs. Mackay's father had cholera and not expect to live" (9/30/1888).

- 20. Mrs. Mackay's father died" (10/01/1888).
- 21. Mrs. Mac. And myself being very busy till late at night (11/07/1888).
- 22. "Mrs. Mackay helping wonderfully" (11/08/1888).
- 23. "meeting in the Col. Mrs. M. called on the women to read also our little children read aloud" (5/25/19889).
- 24. "Mrs. Mac' Donkey breathed his last" (05/30/1889).
- 25. "Preacher's wives etc. all met in Girl's School for prayer meeting. Mrs. Mackey led. Some sang, some read a chap., others prayed continued two hours. Student preachers met in the Col. For prayer. I addressed the [w]hole in the hall afterwards and we had a splendid meeting . . . The women enjoyed so much their meeting" (08/04/1889).
- 26. "Went at 6 a.m. to see Jamieson. He was conscious . . . Went over at 6 p.m. and remained till near midnight. Mr. Crichton, Mrs. M, and Dr. Rennie were there" (04/17/1891).
- 27. "At 6 a.m. saw Jamieson. Was weak but conscious. . . Became conscious said 'Dr. Mackay will always do what is sensible.' 'I have high respect for Dr. Mackay'" (04/23/1891).
- 28. "Jamieson breathed his last. Dr. Rennie, Kau-a, Mrs. Jamieson, Mrs. Mackay and myself were at the bedside . . . He was unconscious the whole time" (04/23/1891).

From these diary entries, it is clear that Minnie was an indispensable help to Mackay and in many cases they were on equal footing.<sup>38</sup>

From Tsung-ze to Mrs. Mackay (Minne), Minnie's was an inspiring life. A victim of Chinese patriarchy and servitude, she went on to become a model of true Eastern womanhood and Western Christian piety.<sup>39</sup> When her husband died in 1901, it is said that an era died with him (Austin, *Saving China* 34). Minnie outlived

<sup>38</sup> This is how Alex MacLeod evaluates Mackay's attitude towards the local pastors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> To know more about Chinese gender ideology in regard to the Chinese women's "Three Obediences" and "Four Womanly Attributes," see Mei-Mei Lin's "The Episcopalian Women Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China: What Did Race, Gender and Class Mean to Their Work." Dong Hwa Journal of Humanitic Studies 3 (July 2001): 133-188.

Mackay by some twenty-four years, but she is remembered only as "Mrs. Mackay" and little more. But whoever knows her respects, remembers, and misses her (qtd. in Yang Shyh-yeang 12). Given her obvious importance it is high time that something more be done to correct this terrible oversight and lost opportunity. Chang Tsung Ming's story is surely well worth the effort, promising to shed light on the lives, the personal sacrifices, and the achievements of native women of faith at a crucial juncture in Taiwanese religious history.

Never again will there be another Mackay, who would rather burn in flames than rust away; nor has there been anyone quite like Chang Tsung Ming, who lived up to her new name, a woman of intelligence and promise, a "new woman," and, importantly, an Asian model of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Christian femininity. Intelligent and lovely, she rightly deserves to be labeled as the first Formosa woman of prescient consciousness, <sup>40</sup> sowing the seed of women's consciousness—raising on a much greater scope. Her story has yet to be explored and written in full.

At the age of 52, Mackay purchased a piece of land about 180,000 square feet. He then encircled it with bamboos and planted fruit trees on it, intending to live there after retirement. Unfortunately he passed away at the age of 57. As a widow, Mrs. Mackay generously donated a good part of that land to Tamsui High School, which was established by her son George William Mackay, for building new dormitory, field track and sports courts (Chern Horng-wen 127). Thus, Chang Tsung Ming again helped another Mackay—her son—to establish a new career. Today this school is labeled as one of the best quality high schools in Taiwan. Both her two daughters married local pastors and devoted their life here in Taiwan.

Retrospectively, it's a pity that after her distinguished and heroic husband passed away, Minnie Mackay soon "vanished" from the public's attention and people's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Yang, Shyh-yeang 楊士養, ed. *Biographies of the Great Men of Faith*. 信仰偉人列傳. (Tainan, Taiwan: 人光 Publisher, 1989.) p.12.

memory. The "Mackay Dynasty" in Formosa did not last, and this is something worth pondering over.

#### **Postscript**

### Christian Feminism, Feminist Theology and Contemporary Asian Women

Feminism has altered predominant perspectives in a wide range of areas within Western society, ranging from culture to law. Most feminists reconstruct the gender paradigm in order to include women in full and equal humanity. A few feminists reverse it, making females morally superior and males prone to evil, revalorising traditional male and female traits. <sup>41</sup> However, very few feminists have been consistently female-dominant in their views; more often there has been a mix of egalitarian and feminine superiority themes

Christian feminism is fascinated by the vision of equality, wholeness, and freedom expressed in Gal 3:28: in Christ Jesus "there is neither a Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor free, neither male nor female." This magna carta of Christian feminism was officially affirmed by Vatican II in the Constitution on the Church (no. 32): "Hence there is in Christ and in the Church no inequality on the basis of race and nationality, social condition or sex, because there is neither Jew nor Greek . . . ." Yet this vision was never completely realized by the Christian Church throughout its history (Fiorenza 201).

Feminist theology is driven by the impetus to make the vision of Gal 3:28 real within the Christian community. It is based on the conviction that Christian theology and Christian faith are capable of transcending their own ideological sexist forms (Fiorenza 203). Christian feminists still hope against hope that the Church will become an all-inclusive, truly catholic community. A critical analysis of the Christian tradition and history, however, indicates that this hope can only be realized if women are granted not only spiritual but also ecclesial equality (Fiorenza 203). The very character of the hierarchical-patriarchal church structure has to be changed if women

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Mary Dale is the best-known feminist separatist. Her view has been developed in works such as *Pure Lust: Elemental Feminist Philosophy* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press 1984).

are to attain their place and full authority within the Church and theology. The Christian churches will only overcome their patriarchal and oppressive past traditions and present theologies if the very base and functions of these traditions and theologies are changed. "If there is no longer a need to suppress the Spirit who moves Christian women to fully participate in theology and the Church, then Christian theology and community can become fully liberated and liberating" (Fiorenza 203).

As scripture as well as theology is rooted in a patriarchal-sexist culture with its biases and prejudices, to get in touch with their own roots and tradition, women have to rewrite the Christian tradition and theology in such a way that it becomes not only his-story but as well as her-story recorded and analyzed from a feminist point of view (Fiorenza 195). Thus, feminist theology can be regarded as "a critical theology of liberation," or "an emancipatory ecclesial and theological praxis" (Fiorenza 195).

Most recently liberation theologians have pointed out that theology in an American and European context is 'white" theology and, as such, shares in the cultural imperialism of Europe and America. Theology as a discipline is the domain of white clerics and academicians and thus excludes, because of its constituency, many different theological problems and styles within the Christian communities. Thus, Christian theology is not only white-middle-class but white-class-male, and shares as such in cultural sexism and patriarchalism, making the "maleness" and "sexism" of theology much more pervasive than the race and class issue (Fiorenza 197). On the other hand, Ellen Armour's coinage of "whitefeminism" is a crucial reminder that the "outside" of the focus on gender is (still) the notion of race. Extending Derrida's "difference" with Irigaray's sexual difference, Armour shows ways in which race is continually elided in the feminist theological invocation of woman—a system of racial othering is actually functioning. Feminist theology, then,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> See F. Herzog, "Liberation Theology Begins at Home," *Christianity and Crisis*, May 13, 1974, and "Liberation Hermeneutics as Ideology Critique?" *Interpretation* 28 (1974): 387-403.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ellen T. Armour, *Deconstruction, Feminist Theology, and the Problem of Difference: Subverting the Race/Gender Divide* (University of Chicago Press, 1999).

is founded on an other that disrupts the unity, when we can be made to see the (invisible) marker of race privilege (Fulkerson 119).

Since feminist theology deals with theological, ecclesial, and cultural criticism and concerns itself with theological analysis of the myths, mechanisms, systems, and institutions which keep women down, it shares in the concerns of and expands critical theology. Insofar as it promotes new symbols, myths and life styles, insofar as it raises new questions and opens up different horizons, feminist theology shares in the concerns and goals of liberation theology. But because Christian symbols and thought are deeply embedded in patriarchal traditions and sexist structures, and because women belong to all races, classes, and cultures, its scope is more radical and universal than that of critical and liberation theology. This brings philosophy to our deep concern.

Since its earliest days in Ancient Greece, women have been excluded by western philosophy (Anderson 40). So the ultimate goal to the prominent feminist theologians is to enter the picture of philosophy advocating less partial methods, tools, and aims for philosophy of religion—to make it possible to write about "feminist theology as philosophy of religion" (Anderson 41). This involves exploring new dimensions of philosophy and theology. Actually, feminist theology and philosophy of religion have begun to influence each other, making it possible that "they will be mutually informative in the twentieth-first century for women and men" (Anderson 41). The time may come when "theologians and philosophers can be transformed individually and collectively by thinking from the standpoint of others" (Anderson 43).

In the West, feminist theory and Christian feminists continue to find means "to make the modern world more equitable and inclusive of women" (Chopp 217). In the East, Christian women of Asian origin are beginning to articulate a feminist theology they can call their own. For too long, the meaning of Christian faith has been defined

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Prompted by the second wave of feminism (1960s-1980s), Mary Fulkerson points out "liberation from multiple forms of oppression, understood as social sin" to be the key concerns of feminist theologians (112). And since the '80s, the openings and fissures make manifest by post-structuralism are potential sources for feminist theologians to create "new emancipatory discourses" (Fulkerson 115)

by their colonizers--the Western world, the academy and the church and its decidedly male scholars and spiritual advisers respectively. Their understanding of the founder of Christianity can be seen as an active engagement that strives to bring the humanity of Jesus into being--christology (Fabella 211).<sup>45</sup> Verily, Chang Tsung Ming's story, and her role in bringing the Christian faith to so many of her Chinese and aboriginal sisters, is exemplary.

The present reality suggests that a mission and missionary like Minnie is still needed. Women's status in Asian cultural and the popular patriarchal consensus have proven degrading and dehumanizing to women in all areas of life—not to mention the internalization of this "ideology of female subordination" by many Asian women themselves.

In all spheres of Asia society, women are dominated, dehumanized and dewomanized . . . viewed as inferior beings who must always subordinate themselves to the so-called male supremacy . . . treated with bias and condescension . . . [E]everywhere the myth of the subservient, servile Asian women is blatantly peddled to reinforce the dominant male stereotype image. 46

Part of the work of an Asian feminist theology is "the emancipation of women" (Fabella 219-220). Freeing Asian women from the patriarchal institutions of family, church, and society, using the experience of Jesus Christ but adapted to their own cultural needs is reason for hope. Such hope gave us Minnie Mackay. As Kyung explains, "Asian women as meaning-makers jump into an unknown open future shaping a new Christianity out of their own experience that never before existed in history" (232). This emergent Asian Christian feminism, Carr notes, "encourages the autonomy, self-actualization, and self-transcendence of all women (and men)" (208). It recognizes the uniqueness of each woman's story and affirms her choices, a new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Virginia Fabella points out that christology is "at the heart of all theology," for it is Jesus who has revealed to the believers the deepest truths about God (212). Historically, however, "christology has been patriarchalized and has been the doctrine of the Christian tradition most used against women"; thus, an Asian christology needs constructing (Fabella 212).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> "Proceedings of the Asian Women's Consultation," Manila, Philippines, November 21-30, 1985.

vision for the Christian tradition based on the female experience of God and sense of Christian service to others.

To the question of the impact of Christian Mission on women as either liberating or enslaving,<sup>47</sup> one answer is surely Chang Tsung Ming: Bible woman, missionary wife, and in every way equal to her famous husband, George Leslie Mackay, in short, an ideal of Christian womanhood in the past and for the future.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Bowie, Introduction 11.

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# "Growing Up Presbyterian in Victorian Canada: Childhood Friends

## and Faith Formation."

Prof. Marguerite Van Die

#### Introduction

I would like to thank you for your gracious invitation to speak this morning on the faith formation and upbringing of George Leslie MacKay. MacKay's Canadian roots have received relatively little scholarly attention until recently when a strong relationship was created between the twinned municipalities of Tamsui, Taiwan and his ancestral home, Zorra in Oxford County, Ontario, Canada. In a quite different way that connection was established very early in GLM's mind. In his autobiography, *From Far Formosa*, he recalled that on 10 March 1872, the day he arrived in Tamsui and realized this would be his mission field, he had written in his diary, "Here I am in this house, having been led all the way from the old homestead in Zorra by Jesus, as direct as though my boxes were labeled, "Tamsui, Formosa, China."

The question I raise in this paper is simple: "What were some of the influences from the old homestead in Zorra which George Leslie MacKay took with him in those boxes labeled Formosa?"

Anyone who has any familiarity with MacKay's work in Formosa may wonder if this is a meaningful question to raise in coming to grips with the missionary activity of this eccentric individual. MacKay was famous for his intense approach to 'go it alone,' to shed all previous Canadian cultural distinctiveness and instead identify

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> George Leslie MacKay, From Far Formosa: The Island, its People and Missions, ed. J.A. Macdonald (New York: Fleming H.Revell 1896), 38. The original Diary entry is for 9 March and reads, "Greatly taken with the place. At once my mind made up. This is the very field waiting for me. No other laborer ever before me. O blessed Lord I rejoice till feeling like clapping my hands in Joy." MacKay's Diaries, Original English Version, 1871-1901, transcribed and ed. by MacKay's Diaries Working Group, p. 16.

completely in dress, language and manners with the natives of his chosen mission field even to the point of selecting as his wife and partner in missions, a Formosan woman, Tui Chang Mia. When collaborating with the Rev. J.A. Macdonald on his autobiography, *From Far Formosa*, he was reluctant to talk about his personal life, and in this publication, as in the daily entries to his diary, the focus is on his evangelistic work in Formosa, not on his memories of home and family, nor on much at all that could be considered personal.

Nevertheless, though one must look long and intently at the few scraps of evidence that are available, there are a number of compelling reasons to select MacKay's Presbyterian childhood and youth in Zorra as a meaningful topic to understand this enigmatic and complex missionary. In the first place, while his context was Formosa, he was sent out by and was responsible to the Canadian Presbyterian Church. Much of what we know about his life and work comes from his own hand, for he was, in the words of a recent study, "a born propagandist." However, as that study has also noted, in his reports on the Formosan Mission to Canadian readers, "MacKay might have told the truth and nothing but the truth, but not always the whole truth." He was not alone in this. Late nineteenth-century writers generally saw the purpose of their work to be one of edification, and therefore were selective in what they chose to feature. Few expressed this as succinctly as GLM's kinsman, W.A. MacKay, in a book published in 1900 entitled Zorra Boys At Home and Abroad or How to Succeed. It was a study of twenty-four men, including GLM, all of whom had been raised in Zorra, and who according to the author were only part of at least a hundred who by the end of the century had "made their mark in the world." In describing these men, it was his intent he pointed out, "to paint with the finger of charity...revealing only the beautiful, the true and the good."

The historian writing in the early twenty-first century has a somewhat more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Geoffrey Johnston, "Formosa for *The Record*," Papers of The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History (2000), 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> W.A. MacKay, Zorra Boys At Home and Abroad or How to Succeed (Toronto: William Briggs 1900), 9.

comprehensive task, not to edify, but to seek to understand. This means not taking our subject's writings at face value, but placing the person within a wider context, which includes looking at contemporaries who underwent similar influences. Thus friends and social networks are important. Here too GLM is not an easy subject. One who knew him well, yet another MacKay and Zorra boy, Dr. R.P. MacKay, foreign missionary secretary for the Presbyterian Church in Canada from 1892 to 1926, offers the brief comment, that GLM "Could scarcely be described as social. Reserved even among his friends, among strangers he was often silent." His reserve, R.P. MacKay noted was at times a detriment to extending his influence at mission conferences, but it was only the surface GLM. "He had an affectionate nature," it was emphasized. "He loved in after years to trace the record of the companions of his boyhood. ... He had a tender, transparently sincere and lovable nature, and he was loved by those who knew him best." 4 Indeed, as is evident in his diaries of his continuous round of visits to congregations and church meetings when on furlough in Canada in 1880-1 and 1893-5, and in his unanimous election as Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1894, GLM successfully spoke to and understood the mentality and religious interests of his fellow Presbyterians. At those times, there was no doubt that he was a Zorra boy who by any Canadian Presbyterian measurement was an example of success "at home and abroad." In the paper that follows, I want to examine this Presbyterian culture in some detail, but also, more briefly, how it was crafted and propagated by writers during MacKay's adult years. Then in my concluding remarks I will suggest that this "Presbyterian culture" which was part myth, part fact, was indeed a factor of GLM's success at home, and also contributed to his success abroad. In this way I will corroborate W.L. MacKay's title Zorra Boys at Home and Abroad: or How to Suceed, but perhaps not quite in the way intended by the author.

My remarks will be divided into three topics: family, education, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> R.P. MacKay, "Life of George Leslie MacKay, DD, 1844-1901," in *Effective Workers for Needy Fields* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions 1905), 44

religion, all of which are interrelated and thus, alas, resistant to the tidy pattern suggested by my tripartite division.

First, family. It must be emphasized that both GLM and his cohort of "Zorra" boys belonged to a third generation of immigrants in a settler society. They grew up, therefore, with the stories of the ideals and challenges of their ancestors, but they also witnessed the social changes of their own time. It was in a very different environment from that of their grandparents and parents that they built their careers and memorialized the past, including one another's current Although its earliest non-aboriginal inhabitants were United accomplishments. Empire Loyalists, by the 1830s, Zorra/Embro had become a colony of transplanted Opened to settlement in the early 1820s it had attracted Sutherland Highlanders. two brothers, William and Angus MacKay who had emigrated first to Nova Scotia, and then after working on the Erie Canal, had moved west to Zorra where they began the arduous work of clearing the land and planting crops. In 1829 they went to Scotland and the following year returned to Canada accompanied by their mother, Isobel and their father, George, both well into their 80s, along with 360 Sutherland people. Though a number allegedly "possessed property," most had been impoverished in the current economic depression in Scotland and had experienced the wrenching dislocation caused by the clearing of their small holdings for large scale This first group would be followed with an even larger influx in sheep raising. By 1833 Zorra had 110 Sutherland families; immigration, though in smaller 1831. numbers, and again with financial encouragement by the Earl of Sutherland, would continue into 1851. The various waves of Highlanders appear to have adjusted well. According to one contemporary observer, politician Thomas Rolph, though Zorra's Highland families were "not skilled in agriculture" they were "eminently successful [for] they are frugal, loyal, faithful and a correct body of people," who possessed "strength, goodwill and perseverance." 5 They had brought these qualities from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lucille H. Campey, *The Scottish Pioneers of Upper Canada, 1784-1855: Glengarry and Beyond* (Toronto: Dundurn Group 2005), 135.

Highlands, and GLM, in turn, would transfer them to the Formosan mission field. This included such eccentricities as going barefoot, a custom from his boyhood in Zorra that went back to the early pioneers who would walk barefoot to church, carrying their shoes in their hands.<sup>6</sup> Frugality and austerity were not the only Scottish virtues to be transmitted to Formosa. Quoting his mentor, Scottish Presbyterian missionary, Alexander Duff, GLM pointed out four requirements for successful evangelism to Toronto students during his furlough in 1881: entire consecration, humility, perseverance, and common sense.<sup>7</sup>

In the early days of Zorra communal help was a requirement for survival, and family, clan and community were intricately intertwined among these Highland settlers. 8 One could pretty well know where a family lived by their name. The first MacKays had settled on various farms to the east of Embro. Isobel, mother of the two MacKay brothers, Angus and William, who had opened up the Zorra settlement, died only three months after her arrival, at age 84, leaving behind her widowed husband, George MacKay [distinguished as 'Relochan' the name of his Sutherlandshire home]. His remaining years were spent with his oldest son on the 9th concession. Literally hewn in the early 1820s out of the forests, the farm belonged to William, the original MacKay settler, who was known as "Captain" because of his rank in the 93<sup>rd</sup> Sutherland and Argyleshire Highland regiment with which he had served during the peninsular war prior to coming to Canada. On the 10<sup>th</sup> concession lived William's son, George, his wife Helen Sutherland, and their six children, of whom George Leslie MacKay was the youngest and the smallest. 10

Education.

<sup>7</sup> MacKay Diaries, January 26, 1881, p. 335.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> W.D. McIntosh, *One Hundred Years in the Zorra Church* [Knox United, Embro](Toronto: United Church Publishing House 1930), 7-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> MacKays appeared to be everywhere, thirteen of them settling on the sixth concession north of Zorra. In the area known as "Little Ireland." W.A. Ross, *History of Zorra and Embro: Pioneer Sketches of 60 Years Ago* (Embro: Embro Courier Office 1909), 14.
<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> His siblings were Alexander, James, John, Bella and Mary. Mary died in 1872. See *MacKay Diaries*, 9 February 1872, (p.67). His parents both died in 1885. See *MacKay Diaries*, December 31, 1885 (p. 471).

Victorian didactic literature liked to state that "the people of Scotland have always been noted for their love of learning," a love that allegedly went back in time to John Knox's institution of parish schools, and even earlier to 563 A.D. when St. Columba coming from Iona "established a Christian college from which missionary educators went forth."11 In actual fact elementary education had penetrated the Highlands only in the first decades of the nineteenth century thanks largely to the efforts of the Moderates in the Church of Scotland. Educating their young was one of the treasured goals of the Highland immigrants and among the first communal structures in the Zorra settlement was a log schoolhouse. 12 Located a half mile from the MacKay farm, the school was initially accessible only on trails blazed through the forest. In 1850, which would have been around the time George Leslie began school, the province's Superintendent of Education, Egerton Ryerson, had introduced a Free School System, but it took some time before its benefits were felt. 13 From the account of a contemporary, William A. Ross, who attended one of the other two schools in the area, it appears that learning took place haphazardly and that there was plenty of opportunity for student mischief. With a few notable exceptions, teachers proved to be indifferent, all were poorly paid and expected to teach in one room. pupils of all ages, whose attendance was intermittent at best. 14

Despite these less than ideal conditions, there was no ambiguity about the moral and religious purpose of education. Each day was opened with the teacher reading a chapter of the Bible and prayer, followed by questions from the Shorter Catechism. The principal subjects were reading, spelling, writing and arithmetic. The New Testament featured as reading, with the lessons of the alphabet soundly linked to moral lessons. The letter H, for example, reminded the budding scholar to "Honor your father and mother." The best way to learn was through memorization,

W.A. MacKay, Pioneer Life in Zorra (Toronto: William Briggs 1899), 235.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid 236

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Previous to this a school was erected wherever there were enough families to support a teacher, each family subscribing in proportion to the number of children attending. See Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1988), 33-88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ross, *History of Zorra*, chpt. 3.

beginning with verses of the Psalms. Those who could or would not learn were subject to the 'taws' or strap administered to the hand or posterior. Flogging was imposed for such infractions as whispering in school, for incorrect recitation of the lists of names that constituted history and geography lessons, and for failure to recite correctly the Shorter Catechism. Speaking of the benefits of the Shorter Catechism, American historian, David B. Calhoun says," For generations Scottish children were brought up, it was said, on porridge and the Shorter Catechism- a blessing for both heart and mind. Oatmeal is now touted as one of the most heart-healthy foods we And the discipline of learning the Shorter Catechism strengthened can eat. generations of Scottish minds." 15 Wrote Robert Lewis Stevenson, "The happiest lot on earth is to be born a Scotchman [but] you must pay for it in many ways, as for all other advantages on earth. You have to learn the [Psalm] paraphrases and the Shorter Catechism." Scotland's youthful transplants in Zorra were less grateful: "Oh! How the Presbyterians envied the other denominations for their privilege of exemption from the Catechism." reminisces W.A. MacKay. "It was a premium put upon Methodism, and had it been left to "us boys", all Zorra would be Methodist today,"17

In later years, GLM's generation of Presbyterian ministers would speak affectionately of the place of the Shorter Catechism in their own lives and its method of memorized questions and answers became George Leslie MacKay's preferred method of instructing converts in the basic teachings of the Christian faith. As young boys, however, the favourite ways of learning took place not inside, but outside the classroom. In Zorra this included regular visits to nearby Indian camps, where they observed with admiration the skills of their Indian peers. The fact that the

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David Calhoun, "Loving the Westminster Confession and Catechisms," *Presbyterion* 32:2 (Fall 2006): 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ibid., 66. Cited from "The Foreigner at Home," in Stevenson's Scottish Stories and Essays, Kenneth Gelder, ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1989), 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> MacKay, Zorra Boys, 249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> John G. Paton, nineteenth-century missionary to the New Hebrides from Scotland's Reformed Presbyterian Church called it "the solid rock-foundations" of Scottish Christian lives." Calhoun, Loving the Westminster Confession," 65. Examples of the method can be found in *MacKay's Diaries*, p. 23, 26, 56, 140.

latter appeared to ignore the curiosity of their white observers and carried on as if they were not there, would be an experience repeated years later by MacKay in Formosa, as he described his first day of attempting to learn the language through observation and listening. In his journals comparisons also surface from time to time between Canada's natives peoples and the Formosans. Thus he would note on March 29, 1872 "Twenty savages came on the eve....Well I was not much surprised, for I was accustomed to see North American Indians. My brethren [Dr. Dickson and Mr. Ritchie.] were not – and looked astounded – I thought them a much Inferior race to the Mohawks, Delawares etc. Sioux – <sup>19</sup>

A second popular opportunity for learning happened on the days when children were needed at home, and through observation and participation acquired the skills of logging, clearing, and the raising of barns and houses. It was this kind of physical work that inspired one of the few anecdotes we have for the childhood of George Leslie, found in Marian Keith's 1912 juvenile biography, The Black Bearded Barbarian. Apparently taken from the tales she heard from his older brother, Alexander, the anecdote is set in a moral framework designed for young readers and emphasizes that though the smallest and youngest of a group of boys, GLM refused to countenance the idea of "I can't." As the story goes, at the end of a long day spent splitting stones, it was he who, contrary to the predictions of his older brothers, insisted that the one remaining stone, a formidable four feet in diameter boulder could be broken. By galvanizing everyone to help him to gather wood and build a bonfire near the stone, success had followed. Keith's story does not overtly mention GLM's competitive nature, a point hinted at by several biographers, and evident in his choice of Formosa as "the very field waiting for me. No other laborer ever before me." 20 as a mission field. Instead she underscores his tenacity and persistence, two qualities that in his case trump age and size in developing leadership.

Those are the same character traits that late nineteenth-century historians of

19 MacKay's Diaries, p. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Saturday, March 9, 1872, *MacKay Diaries*,16. On his ambition as a young boy and youth to be first, see W.A. MacKay, Zorra Boys, 139, and R.P. MacKay, "Life of George Leslie MacKay," 40-1.

the early years in Zorra and other settler communities would emphasize as immigrants who had never handled a chopping axe endured the backbreaking work of clearing the land. These stories of pioneer tenacity, along with the martial exploits of grandfather William MacKay who had fought with Wellington, became part of the lore handed on to GLM and his cohort. No matter how adamantly educators might proclaim that 'brain is mightier than brawn', and that the pen supersedes the sword, in the eyes of the young it was the feats of brawn and muscle which really had heroic dimensions. In his adult years, GLM, though short of stature, took pains to be known to meet only the intellectual and religious, but also the arduous physical, challenges of life on the mission field. Indeed, the spiritual and physical were often inseparable, as is evident from a diary entry in December 1885:

Went out to Bang-kah and took off my coat. Worked at the fire-place with two masons...Put on a fire. Splendid. Not smoking. Crowds in looking at the success. All for Christ. Thanks my humble home was on a farm. Dear home! <sup>21</sup>

Religion. By the time of the third generation, whose youth spanned the 1850s, the framework that gave coherence to the family ties and moral and physical training I have just outlined had become a clearly defined Presbyterian culture. Local histories and biographies say little of the religious influences the Sutherlandshire Highlanders brought with them to Zorra. Instead they emphasize the profound communal nature of religious life during the early years of settlement. From other sources, we know that as a result of parliamentary legislation, in the early 1820s the Church of Scotland had begun a church building programme in the Highlands.<sup>22</sup> The Earl of Sutherland was one of the landlords who availed himself of the programme.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> MacKay Diaries, 27 December 1885, p.471.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Fifteen hundred pounds per parish were made available to construct a church sufficient to hold a congregation of 400 and provide the resident minister with a manse and a glebe. Given the large size of parishes, church buildings offered in this way might relieve a landlord of his obligations to make religious provisions for his people. Allan I. Macinnes, "Evangelical Protestantism in the nineteenth-century Highlands" in *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland*, eds. Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 43-68.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 45-46. The spread of evangelical religion in these communities, however, was largely the work of the secession churches that had originated in the eighteenth century.

Influential also were dissenting travelling preachers and teachers in the early 1800s such as Neil Douglas, and the brothers James and Robert Haldane. Their revivalist preaching helped spark a renewed interest in Sabbath observance, and in the sacramental season or 'holy fairs' within the Gaelic speaking congregations of the Church of Scotland. Theirs was an evangelical Calvinism, rooted in God's sovereignty and providence, the authority of Scripture, Christ's atonement for sin, and the need for repentance and spiritual renewal.<sup>24</sup> In his autobiography GLM wrote that while some might see it as narrow, this was a theology "deep and high" in its simple doctrines and biblical foundations. <sup>25</sup> As is evident from his journal entries, this evangelical Calvinism shaped his evangelistic work in Formosa from the day he arrived until his death.

Two complementary cultural influences contributed to the vitality of evangelical Presbyterianism in the Highlands in the years immediately preceding the Sutherlandshire emigration. One was the spread of Gaelic through spiritual poetry and song, including the Psalms, and through the Gaelic School Societies, financed by public subscription and run from Edinburgh, Glasgow and Inverness. The second formative influence were lay leaders known as *na daoine* (the men). Crucial to both these developments was the household prayer meeting, seen as the godly alternative to the *ceilidh*.

Church building programmes, the Gaelic language, song and poetry, lay leaders, Sabbath observance and household religion were forms that readily lent themselves to cultural transmission by the immigrants of Zorra. Sunday schools and young people's societies did not appear until well after GLM's boyhood, a point he noted in his semi-autobiography *From Far Formosa*. Religious socialization into the Presbyterian faith began, therefore, in the household, with morning and evening Bible reading and prayer, led by the father or in his absence, the mother. In the annual ministerial reports to Presbytery, the consistent practice of household religion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Allan W, MacColl, Land, Faith and the Crofting Community: Christianity and Social Criticism in the Highlands of Scotland, 1843-1893 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2006), 19-74.

outranked even church attendance as a sign of vital Christianity. Grateful acknowledgment of religion learned at one's mother's knee in godly homes was formulaic in the biographies and autobiographies of Canadian denominational leaders like GLM which began to proliferate in the latter decades of the century. Quite typically, the first chapter of *From Far Formosa*, is devoted to these hallowed memories.

The home also offered a public setting for communal catechizing. In selected homes special catechizing sessions were held from time to time; called by the minister, these events would bring together several generations of families in the region. In these communal household settings, old and young, sometimes with discreet prompting from friends and neighbours, were expected to be able to recite the answers to the questions called out by the minister.

As had been the case in Scotland, spiritual songs continued to be a favourite means of expressing and transmitting the faith at home, at school and in the church. Sung without the accompaniment of an organ or choir in church, and lined out in church by a precentor in Gaelic or English, depending on the language of the service, the words, not the tune, were paramount in offering praise to the Almighty. In addition to the Psalms and patriotic Scottish verses the sentimental, religious poems and songs of Dugald Buchanan and Peter Grant were also popular among the early Zorra immigrants. With such evangelical subjects as "The Love of My Redeemer," "Eternal Home," and "The Song of the Missionaries," they served a purpose similar to the Catechism, in that they helped religious knowledge enter the heart as well as the mind. Anyone who has read GLM's journals describing his work in Formosa will note how much he enjoyed singing. His first gift to Ahoa, offered on their very first meeting on April 19, 1872 was a hymnbook, and ever thereafter singing became a favourite way to publicize the Gospel and to socialize converts into the Christian faith. Unhampered by any need to rely on musical accompaniment (it was not until

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> MacKay, Pioneer Life in Zorra, 185-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See for example *MacKay Diaries*, Sunday May 12:, 1872 "Afternoon went with A Hoa to several villages singing hymns." (p.25) and Saturday April 27, 1872 "A-Hoa making rapid progress, both in

1900 that the Zorra church admitted an organ)<sup>28</sup> and with the words of the Catechism stamped on his heart and mind since childhood, he was thus also socializing his Formosan converts into the Presbyterian form of Christianity with which he had grown up in Zorra.

That form, it should be pointed out, unlike the Presbyterian Church that had evolved in Canada by the mid 1870s when he left for Formosa, was defined more by communal than by ecclesiastical structures. Hierarchical in nature, this was a religious culture that in the Highland tradition of na daione (the men) valued personal testimony, Biblical exposition, and leadership of those seasoned by experience and respected by the community. This lay leadership continued in the first four decades of immigrant life even after the arrival of an ordained minister. During the first two years in Upper Canada, the settlers held weekly prayer meetings in homes, all the while petitioning the Church of Scotland for a minister. Although the denomination had been slow to persuade its clergy to emigrate, the Zorra/Embro Presbyterians turned out to be unusually favoured. Shortly after they had decided to build a log church, they were successful in calling a minister, Donald Mackenzie, who in 1835 began a ministry that would last 38 years, ending in 1871, the year GLM left for Formosa. <sup>29</sup> Though never excelling as a preacher, he was revered for his deep faith and his wise counsel which often saw him adjudicating conflicts between congregational members.

In 1844, the year GLM was born, the Free Church established itself in Canada, only a year after the Disruption in Scotland. In accounting for the Free Church's entry into Canada, in a context quite different from the formative political and ecclesiastical issues present in the mother country, historians have underscored the

Singing and Reading the Romanized Col."(p.27)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> McIntosh, One Hundred Years, 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> McIntosh, *One Hundred Years*, 18-20; MacKay, *Pioneer Life*, 254-271. Born in Inverness in 1798, Mackenzie completed his course of theological studies at King's College. Aberdeen, and studied one session in Edinburgh under Thomas Chalmers, ever thereafter inspiring his audience with his stories about the great leader of the Disruption. Sent as a missionary to his expatriated countrymen in Canada upon his ordination in 1834, Mackenzie traveled around to various groups of Highlanders in western Ontario before being inducted into the pastoral charge of the Zorra congregation.

role of evangelical missionary ministers sent to the colonies by the Church of Scotland, especially through the Glasgow Missionary Society.<sup>30</sup> The close fit between the congregation's and the minister's faith evident already at the time of Mackenzie's inductions, ensured that to a man the Zorra congregation voted to enter the Free Church in 1844, and then later in 1861 to enter the Canada Presbyterian Church formed by the union of the Free and Secessionist churches.<sup>31</sup>

Highland customs of worship such as the annual long communion or sacramaid continued intact in the Gaelic speaking congregations of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church during the first few decades of GLM's life. Stretched over five days, the annual sacramental season was a time of solemnity and community under patriarchal leadership. Although there was initially a continuation of the Highland tradition of open-air sacramental services; by the time of GLM's youth, the solemnities took place inside the Zorra church. Some of the services would be in Gaelic, others in English, and each day had its own significance. Thursday was "fast day" with no work to be done as families gathered from far and near for a day of Friday was "Men's Day," or "Question Day," a day of rest and worship. self-examination shaped by a service of singing, a searching sermon, and preceded and followed by testimonies by laymen known for their mature religious experience. This was a time when the young and the female part of the community kept silent, for it was not deemed appropriate that they enter the discussion. Saturday, a time of private, family and public prayer was "preparation" day, when communion tokens were distributed to members in good standing. The Sunday communion services were the highlight of the sacramental season. These began with the distinctly Highland custom of "fencing the tables," as the Minister gave a solemn warning against any unworthy partaking of "the Supper," followed by an invitation to come forward to the tables to all "who truly love the Saviour and are seeking to serve him."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Richard W. Vaudry, *The Free Church in Victorian Canada*, 1844-1861 (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 1989), 14-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>. W.D. McIntosh, One Hundred Years in the Zorra Church (Toronto: United Church Publishing House 1930), 109-10

After a short address, the sacrament was administered in silence, followed by an exhortation to remember their vows and go forth to live so that others might know that they had been with Jesus. Monday, the final day, was a time of "Thanksgiving," a theme elaborated in psalms, Scripture readings, prayers and the sermon. Never failing would be the reminder that though the Communion services were over, their results must continue to be felt. To cite a sympathetic observer, "True worshippers returned to their homes spiritually enriched by the mountain-top experience with their Saviour and one another."

By 1930 when this history was published, the "long communion" was an event of the distant past. Already in 1863, after much deliberation Session had decided to hold communion services twice yearly, and gradually their length was curtailed. By 1878 the Gaelic services had lost their place of prominence, and so by the time of GLM's adult years, and his departure for Formosa this distinctive sacramental celebration was receding into memory and history. To try to transplant it to an Asian mission field would have little point. However, the sense of solemnity and awesome self-searching that traditionally had marked the communion season in the Zorra of his boyhood is evident in his brief description of his first communion service on the "second Sabbath of 16 February, 1873." As described for Canadian readers, it was a "day of tender memory." To new converts the celebration was "a solemn and mysterious performance. When the warrant for the ordinance was read, after the Scottish fashion, one of the converts broke down completely, sobbing out,'I am unworthy' 'retired for a season and "then returned and partook of the sacred emblems." <sup>34</sup> Although there was no traditional Monday Thanksgiving service, "in the eve," as he noted in his journal, "we had a glorious thanksgiving." Other journal entries show how he further adapted both the Sunday services and the Presbyterian communion season to the Formosan context. In the tradition of Christianity's founder who healed on the Jewish holy day, he was not averse to combining dental

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<sup>32</sup> McIntosh, One Hundred Years, 60.

<sup>33</sup> McKay Diaries, 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> As described in MacKay, *Pioneer Life*, 392-393.

work with evangelism on the Sabbath.<sup>35</sup> So too to meet the needs of the mission field, the communion service followed closely upon the baptism of new converts,<sup>36</sup> and also might close with women exhorting the unconverted of their own sex.<sup>37</sup>

This last innovation diverged from one of the significant features of the awesome celebration of the sacrament, namely the Highland institution of the "Men." Originating in Ross-shire and Sutherland, the Na Daoine or "old Christian inquirers" were part of a tradition of messianic peasant leaders since the Middle Ages. Often employed as lay preachers and catechists, they played a considerable role in widespread acceptance of evangelical influences prior to the Disruption of 1843 and have been credited as a major influence in carrying the Highlands into the Free With little formal education and of humble social origins, these men owed Church. their spiritual leadership in the evangelical crofting communities to their ability to draw on native powers of imagination and language to interpret passages of Scripture. 38 This tradition had been faithfully carried over to Presbyterian communities in Cape Breton, Glengarry and Zorra, and in the early years because of the scarcity of ministers, "the men" functioned as lay preachers and catechists. On the Friday of the communion season, they were the ones, who to quote historian Laurie Stanley-Blackwell "offered searching commentary on the "marks" or "tokens" of genuine grace."<sup>39</sup> Among the legendary "Men" of the early Zorra community would be GLM's great-grandfather, the first George MacKay, who in his mid 80s had left the Highlands for Upper Canada. It was recalled how on "Men's Day" this "aged saint.... tottering into the grave".... "with a heavenly glow upon his countenance" spoke to the gathered young people and children of his decision many

<sup>35</sup> See for example Ibid., Sunday May 1, 1898 (p. 1159)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> See for example MacKay Diaries, February 9, 1872 (p.67), and Sunday, March 17, 1878 (p.239).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ibid., Sunday December 13, 1891 (p.842).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Laurie Stanley, "Tabernacles in the Wilderness: the Open-Air Communion Tradition in Nineteenth- and Twentieth- Century Cape Breton," in The Contribution of Presbyterianism in the Maritime Provinces of Canada, eds. Charles Scobie and G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal/ Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1997), 93-117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ibid., 96.

years earlier "to follow the Man." It was noted with approval sixty years later that "Such an appeal coming from a veteran Christian, covered with the scars of battle made a powerful impression."

By the end of the century when this reverential memorializing was published, the tradition of the Men, as had that of the long communions, had faded into memory. In Scotland the Free Church, intent on exercising a restraining institutional influence in the Highlands following the revivalist waves of 1859-6, placed the Men under greater ministerial control by encouraging them to serve on kirk sessions as elders. 41 Analyzing their declining influence in Cape Breton, historian Laurie Stanley-Blackwell notes that a similar strategy of clerical intervention was evident here also by the 1870s. In the interests of controlling the earlier spontaneity, ministers gradually took over the role of spiritual testimony traditionally offered by the Men prior to communion. Even more devastating to the influence of the Men was the synodical decision to replace the traditional Gaelic catechist with a probationer, that is, a divinity student.<sup>42</sup>

Order and sobriety were the moral imperatives of a new generation of Presbyterian clergymen, not only in Cape Breton, but also in Ontario. GLM's youth spanned a similar shift in social and religious life within the Zorra settlement. In 1847 the cornerstone had been laid for a brick building to replace old log church as log houses gave way to frame and stone and brick, and the bush trails gradually developed into graveled roads. By 1855 the first buggy appeared in Zorra, and with improved communication the village of Embro became a separate municipality, which only five years later boasted a population of 550, two schools and two newspapers. In this more sophisticated environment with greater opportunities for education, there are hints that the young became less content to wait quietly until that distant time when the mantle of "the Men" would fall on them. As children of the covenant, they were expected not simply to follow the faith of their parents, but to give witness to a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> MacKay, *Pioneer Life*, 78-99, 101-113. For the reference to George MacKay, see p. 94

<sup>41</sup> Macinnis, "Evangelical Protestantism,"58-9.

<sup>42</sup> Stanley Blackwell, "Tabernacles," 114-5

personal experience of the faith.<sup>43</sup> GLM states that in his case this occurred by age 10.44 With this emphasis on youthful decision and conversion, the preaching and spiritual direction of ministers and evangelists acquired a new more intimate influence. They would be remembered in ways similar to Zorra's minister, Donald Mackenzie, "tall, erect, and with a kingly brow," whose countenance glowed and whose eyes gleamed with fire as he preached, and who left no doubt in the hearts and minds of his listeners "that he was fully alive to the realities with which he was dealing." During his lengthy tenure, some thirty-eight men entered the ministry, and reference to his role as a model and mentor abound. In Pioneer Life in Zorra, W.A. MacKay devotes the final third of his book to Mackenzie and the three ministers who with him shared the Presbyterian pulpits in nineteenth-century Zorra and Embro. Different in temperament and personal appearance these were "all manly men who kept back nothing that was profitable but each regarded himself 'a messenger of grace to guilty men.",45

Alongside the ministers and the theological professors who trained them, came another group of spiritual leaders, missionaries. In GLM's account of the spiritual mentors and models of his youth, it is not the minister but the revivalist preacher and missionary who stands out. Foremost was William Chalmers Burns, who laid the 1847 cornerstone of Zorra's new church, and that same year went as missionary to China with the English Presbyterian Church, where until his death in 1868 he would adopt Chinese dress and habits in ways later practiced by GLM.<sup>46</sup>

Juvenile missionary societies, which began to appear in Britain in the 1840s as a fundraising agency and a means to implant the mission spirit in 'the rising generation,' would not become part of the experience of Canadian children and youth until well after GLM's removal to Formosa.<sup>47</sup> According to his own testimony and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Robert S. Rayburn, "The Presbyterian Doctrines of Covenant Children, Covenant Nurture, and Covenant Succession," *Presbyterion* 22/2 (1966): 76-112.

<sup>44</sup> MacKay, From Far Formosa, 16.

<sup>45</sup> MacKay, Pioneer Life, 323

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Alvyn J. Austin, Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1986), 28-30.

Brian Stanley, "Missionary Regiments for Immanuel's Service': Juvenile Missionary Organizations

that of others, he had taken the decision to become a foreign missionary at an early age. He maintained it unwaveringly during his schooling in Embro and Woodstock, his brief time as a teacher in Maitlandville and Maplewood, and his subsequent studies at the Omemee Grammar School, followed by undergraduate work at the Free Church's Knox College in Toronto.<sup>48</sup> In choosing Princeton rather than Knox for his theological education, GLM was part of a large exodus, of 277 men born in Canada who between 1812 and 1929 attended that institution.<sup>49</sup> In his case the decision to be a missionary probably helped determine his choice, given the longstanding interest of Princeton's students in foreign missions.<sup>50</sup>

At Princeton, like many other students, he fell under the spell of Charles Hodge, renowned for his unwavering adherence to the traditional standards of Presbyterianism. It may seem incongruous that someone as innovative in the mission field as GLM would at the same time see as a mentor the man who fought so tenaciously to maintain the standards of a Presbyterianism that was under siege. However, and here I am bringing

this paper to its conclusion, as I have noted in my analysis, the old and the new had long been held in tension in the Presbyterian culture of MacKay's childhood and youth. The early 1870s when he set out to Formosa was a time when change became more evident.<sup>51</sup> In many ways his decision to take on the task of missionary

in English Sunday Schools, 1841-1865," in *The Church and Childhood*, ed. Diana Wood (London: Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society 1994), 391-404.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> He attended school in Embro and Woodstock (1850-55) and then taught several years at age 14, in order to finance his further secondary school education. See Ontario Heritage Foundation, "Reverend George Leslie MacKay, 1844-1901,"p.2 [2001]. Thereafter he completed his secondary schoolong at the Omemee Grammar School, which had opened its doors in 1858, and which lists him on its website "Elementary Education in Victoria County" as the institution's "most distinguished graduate."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Peter Bush, "Princeton Theological Seminary and The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1820-1929," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (2006), 1-2. Bush also notes that probably because of the unsatisfactory nature of theological education available in the 1860s, the flow was especially large during GLM's time, and in the period 1868 to 1873 an average of 18 Canadians annually were in attendance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> David B. Calhoun, Faith and Learning (1812-1868), vol. 1 of Princeton Seminary (Carlisle, PA: The Banner of Truth Trust 1994), passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> See the description of these changes as experienced by Canadian novelist, Charles Gordon (Ralph Connor) who in 1870 moved to Zorra from Glengarry as a ten-year old son of the manse, Charles W. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart 1938), 29-38.

reflected a new and exciting period in Presbyterian self-awareness. The year 1875 saw the formation of a large united Canadian Presbyterian Church whose resources and confidence would extend to an ever-increasing sphere of influence in home and foreign missions. However, with that institutional growth also came a new ethos, a more centralized, businesslike and efficient approach to religious and church life. Those who like GLM chose the mission field often engaged in a love/ hate relationship with the bureaucracy and the institution that sent and supported them. Jim Rohrer has analyzed this so effectively elsewhere that I do not need to elaborate. GLM frequently chafed against efforts at institutional control, but he also, on his visits to Canada appeared to flourish in the Presbyterian culture of the congregations in which he spoke, and even at times in the deliberations of church courts, as is evidenced by his election as moderator.

These were years when home-bound Presbyterians like his cousin W.A. MacKay were memorializing the bygone ways of an earlier Highland Presbyterian culture in the of their boyhood. Speaking of the faith-driven people of those early years, the latter rhapsodized "The pioneers, like the apostle, were 'filled with the company of the brethren'," and concluded 'May we be worthy of noble sires.' It is not without significance that having memorialized three of Zorra's pioneer ministers, MacKay chose as his fourth and final subject, George Leslie MacKay. Reading GLM's semi-autobiography and his daily journal entries of his early years in Formosa, I found myself asking to what extent this new field of work provided him with the space to create a spirit-filled community no longer possible in the urbanizing and industrializing Canada of the 1870s. And to what extent during his two extensive furloughs back to Canada, MacKay's stories in turn kindled the hearts and imaginations, but also the memories, of the many Presbyterians who flocked to hear his stories of facing and overcoming the challenges to faith and life in distant Formosa. There is indeed some explicit evidence from GLM that such an interpretation has

<sup>53</sup> W.A. MacKay, *Pioneer Life*, 400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> James R. Rohrer, "George Leslie Mackay in Formosa, 1871-1901: An Interpretation of His Career, "Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 47: 3-58.

some substance. Describing in his journal a service with his converts on Sunday April 18, 1875 he exulted, "Glorious time! Sang for hours together....Though indeed not up in time and tune to suit Modern fashion. Still Just as good as what used to pour into our younger ears in dear Zorra in days gone by forever."<sup>54</sup>

Those years in "dear Zorra were indeed gone forever, not only for GLM, but also for the Canada he had left behind. However, thanks to the mission field, the earlier intensity of faith would continue. As in the pioneer days of Zorra, in Formosa the faith could take root in new soil under the ministry of spirit-filled leaders. This time, however, it would be adult men and women, and not children who would be socialized into the faith by song, memorization, prayer, Scripture and sacrament.

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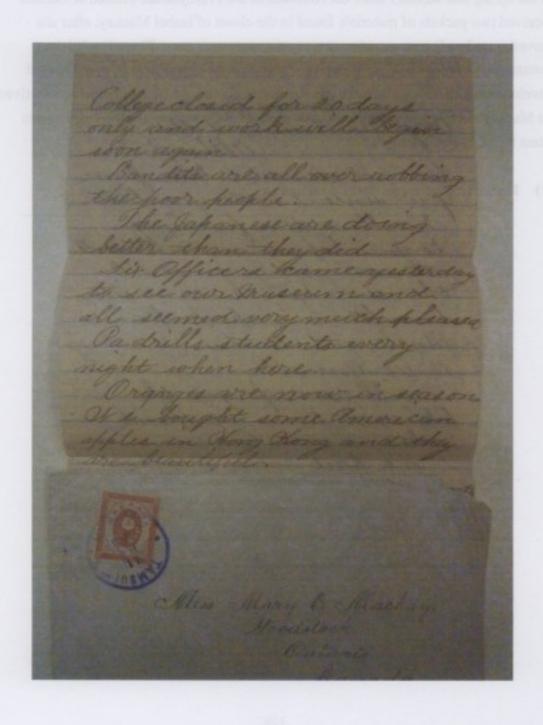
(18 April 2010)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> MacKay Diaries, p.158.

# More Treasures Preserved Abroad: New Mackay letters in the Presbyterian Archives

## 新發現的 "海外遺珍": 加拿大長老教會歷史資料館更多馬偕書信

Presented at the Conference on George Leslie Mackay Aletheia University 真理大學, Tamsui, June 9-10, 2010



## Rev. Michael Stainton 史邁克牧師 York Centre for Asian Research & Canadian Mackay Committee

# More Treasures Preserved Abroad: New Mackay letters in the Presbyterian Archives

新發現的 "海外遺珍":加拿大長老教會歷史資料館更多馬偕書信

In the spring and summer 2009 the Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada received two packets of materials found in the closet of Isabel Mackay, after she moved from her Toronto apartment to a retirement residence. These English and Romanized Taiwanese (白話字) letters and recollections, some still with stamped envelopes, are precious artifacts, and important documents offering new perspectives on Mackay and his life. Here I introduce some of the more interesting finds in this latest Mackay treasure trove.

(1)	Letter from George Leslie Mackay to his wife Tiu~ Chhang-mia~

Tam-sui, Tai-eng 21st, 1883

My beloved Chhang-miâ~, you are in Hong Kong with the children, I am worried here. Now you should not let them go out to get sunburned or in the rain, and be careful about eating uncooked food. You should buy *Ko-lo-din* in case you get sick, and eat *sān-tō-liân* in case of worms. No matter who wants to take the children swimming or somewhere else, you must be careful and not let them. You and the children should eat beef, and beef soup, and other good foods. Buy fish (*hái-a*).

You yourself should listen to them read 10, 40, 41 in the room. Kiss Pai-chi-a for me, tell I-li and Ma-lian that I miss them. Mail their pictures, taken that day, to me. You must not scold the children there or let other people be in charge  $(n\bar{a} \ [m\bar{a}?] \ gin-\dot{a}, i\dot{a}h \ p\dot{a}t-l\hat{a}ng \ ts\grave{o}e \ th\hat{a}u-ke)$ .

I have itinerated churches. San-Hsia, Hou-lung, Hsi-chih, everywhere. Some are truly happy to see me, in others people cling to idols (na kui), really evil. As far as I know you are in Hong Kong. The French are in Keelung. Boats from Hobe can only go as far as the harbor, they can't enter the harbor to turn around. People in the interior are really bad.

Thiam-a has not come, his father came to say that he is busy doing account books. Kiok-a came to ask me. I have sent Cheng Ho back to the hills. Sunday afternoon I accepted Giam (Giam Chheng-hoa) and He (Tan He?) to be ministers. Rev. Giam, Rev. Lau, I have increased other people's pay (? Giâm Bok-su, Lâu Bok-su, góa u ko seng pat lâng gûn). 12 people wanted Sun-a to be minister. 20 people chose Lien Ho but not to be (iah bo). I only accepted two.

My mother is going to her heavenly home. My father is there. Mary is also there. Gradually drawing closer. Everyone here is OK (pêng-an). When Mrs. Kai (Kai Bok-su niû) has the opportunity mail lemons (leng-bong) to me.

G.L. Mackay

(I must write again (when?) you can come. Say hello to Mr. Ko for me.

This personal letter from Mackay to his wife Kai (Tiu~) Chhang-mia, (偕張聰明) was clearly written October 21, 1884 (not 1883). Mackay's reference to the French being

in Tamsui, the harbor being closed, and the French in Keelung all confirm this.

Mackay's Diaries (2007:404 October 12, 1884) record "Rev. J. Jamieson, Mrs. Mac & children left Tamsui." This is 10 days after the French bombardment (Oct 2) and their defeated landing attempt (October 8). The French fleet lay off of Tamsui. On October 19 the French announced there would be a blockade of Taiwan beginning on October 23. Mackay left Tamsui for Amoy on October 21, on what must have been the last boat, and arrived in Hong Kong October 25. Thereafter Tamsui was blockaded by the French. Mackay was not able to return to Tamsui until April 19, 1885. As the letter is dated the 21<sup>st</sup> it must have been carried out on that day. It appears Mackay wrote the letter, then suddenly decided to go to Hong Kong himself, along with Sun-a, on the last boat out, the <u>Fukien</u> which left at 5PM (Diaries 2007 p. 405. October 21). The letter itself gives signs of haste and being written under considerable stress—viz. the wrong date, rather confused contents and reference to deaths of family members.

A document just found in papers given to me by Margaret Mackay May 16 this year explains this confused state of mind. A note from Dr. Johansen, dated 17<sup>th</sup> May 1888<sup>1</sup>, tells us:

"... During the time of the French invasion. In the beginning of the war Dr. Mackay was overburdened with work and in anxiety about the Christians belonging to the Mission. This connected with the pernicious influence of the hot Tamsui climate brought about an inflammation of the brain. During 32 days Dr. Mackay was without any sleep, and strong delirium brought on utter exhaustion of his system. The fever was never less than 100 during these days ... all medicines having failed to produce sleep in the patient. I fortunately heard that the S.S. Hai-loong has brought ice to Tamsui for Mr. Dodd. At my request Mr. Dodd gave me all the ice he had to soak Dr. Mackay's burning head. Dr. Mackay nearly immediately after the application of the ice fell into a sound sleep which lasted for 36 hours without interruption."

Mackay's diaries for August to October 1884 are very sparse. Clearly he was feeling the stress of the French attack (the French bombarded Keelung on August 4). On October 7 he wrote "7 AM. We gave up hope". The reference to accepting Giam and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Why he wrote this four years later we can only guess. Mackay's diary for May 16<sup>th</sup> 1888 (2007:589) records "In the eve Dr. Johansen called up and we had a long conversation on the Verandah about various Scientific."

He as ministers on Sunday afternoon must refer to Sunday October 19<sup>th</sup>. Was Mackay making arrangements anticipating his possible explusion (if the French –who were Catholic- took over Taiwan) or his own death? However, the actual ordination of the only two people Mackay ordained as full ministers did not happen until May 17, 1885 after his return from Hong Kong. And the two ordained were Giam Chheng-hoa and Tan Eng-hoe. I assume the "He" referred to is Tan-He.

Mackay's touching "my beloved Chhang-mia", his protective parental concern for the safety of the children, concern for them eating healthy food, instructions to drill them in hymns (more likely hymns than the obscure psalms with these numbers) and urging her not to scold them all indicate a deep love and strong family life, contradicting the idea that Mackay had no personal emotions or that his marriage was only for the mission.

Indeed, it must have been his feelings for them that prompted him to board the last ship out later the same day he wrote this letter. In From Far Formosa he recounts that "On the 21st I was induced to board the steamship "Fu-kien" to make a round trip and return to Tamsui. Four days afterward, as we entered the Hong Kong harbour, we heard that Tamsui was blockaded and we could not return". Whether or not Mackay was "induced" and did not know that there would be a blockade is something people can debate, but in view of his strong commitment to staying in Taiwan famously stated only a couple weeks earlier, the departure seems unusual. In early October Mackay had been urged to by a British officer to board a British warship and leave Tamsui and "to bring my wife and all my precious belongings on board. I told these good friends, "My precious belongings are in and around the school and I know they cannot be brought on board. What could be more valuable than them? They are the children of the God I have served. They traveled with me, took care of me when I was ill, crossed rivers, climbed mountains, and faced dangers on land and sea with me. They are not afraid of any enemy. They are my precious belongings. As long as they are on the land, I will not board the ship. If they must suffer I will suffer with them" (From Far Formosa: p 192. Chapter XX The Coming of the French).

In the Archives there is also a 69 page account in Mackay's own handwriting recounting 36 cases of persecutions of Christians in northern Taiwan during the 1884-5 French blockade. Unlike the brief account in From Far Formosa (pp. 189-193 Chapter XX The Coming of the French), this gives names and personal details about the victims.

#### (2) Letters from Kai Tiu~ Chhang-mia 偕張聰明

There are two letters written by Kai (Tiu~) Chhang-mia. One from Canada in Romanized Taiwanese to Mrs. James Maxwell in London (England) written January 1881, and one in English written to her neice Mary Ellen Mackay Canada, May 20,1896. These are the only extent writings of Minnie Mackay. The 1881 letter in the Archives consists of 3 drafts but only minor variations in them, so it appears that Minnie was practicing her letter writing. We can see that her written Taiwanese is quite accomplished. The letter evokes the first experience of a Taiwanese with Canadian winter - "Every day it is cold, snowing, the water frozen, and people ride wooden sleighs pulled by horses to get around". (Tak-jit chin kôa~ loh seh tsúi kian peng, iah lâng che bok-kiak bé thoa iah gâu tsáu.)

The 1896 letter gives a lively description of her life in the late mission years. She cannot teach at the Girls School because "I am very busy just now". By now life is very different from the early years – they brought back from Canada a stove, irons, tinware, seeds from the Woodstock Fair. She bakes pies, has a large rose garden and small farm with "50 chickens, 2 pigs, one rabbit two pigeons and several varieties of birds" Also two dogs – Tom and Prince. She asks "I wonder why Mrs. Jamieson did not write ... we wrote to her since we came back but she never answered." She signs the letter "Minnie Mackay".

#### (3) Letter from Dr. James Fraser to Giam Chheng-hoa

There is an undated Taiwanese note from Dr. J.R Fraser (華雅各 Hoa Na-kok) to Giam Chheng Hoa (嚴清華) concerning "The Minister" (*Bok-su* 牧師) sick with smallpox in Sin-tiam (新店). Because of the diaries we are able to date and understand this note.

Mackay's Diaries (2007:210-212) record him as being sick with smallpox in Sintiam from January 7, 1877. Wednesday 10<sup>th</sup> records "Sick. Dr. Fraser arrived in eve". Mackay continued to be very sick through February 4. This letter, still with the original envelope, is not dated except for "10AM" Ho-be. It appears to have been sent

by hand. As Fraser came to Sin-tiam on the 10<sup>th</sup> it must have been sent either the 8th or 9<sup>th</sup> January 1877. Fraser was the first missionary sent to work with Mackay, in Taiwan from 1875 to 1877. Yet his written Taiwanese is quite good.

#### (4) Three monthly letters from Giam Chheng-hoa to Mackay

Three monthly letters from Giam Chheng-hoa to Mackay in February, April and May 1880 report on the situation of the church after Mackay has left for Canada, assuring him that all are "peng-an" and urging him to return soon. They give insights on the relationship between himself, Mackay and K.F. Junor (Lun Bok-su, 閨虔益牧師). A-hoa refers to Mackay as "this man, like a Sage of China" and reports "I can see that Rev. Junor loves you, because everywhere he goes he speaks your name, comparing you to Paul (chhin-chhiu~ Po-lo) and praises you". On the other hand in his February 24 letter he asks:

Now I need to ask you, Rev. Junor has asked me, he wants to know how many account books for the chapels there are (ū tôe kong-gûn ê siáu-phō). I don't know if I should let him look at the account books or not. You must tell me. I will write you again in another month to keep you informed.

Giam's letters are all dated in two systems, which resolved a puzzle for us, like the Rosetta Stone. Mackay and Minnie's letters give dates using "Tai Eng" but we had no idea what this was, until we read:

6<sup>th</sup> Year of Guang-Xu, First Month 15<sup>th</sup> Day, which is Tai-eng February 24, 1880 So in Tamsui at least they referred to the western calendar as the "Great Britain" calendar.

#### (5) Letters from Bella, Mary and William

Fascinating and important, because of the insights they give to life in Tamsui between 1896 and 1901, are 37 letters in English, from Mary and Bella, then in their late teens, and Willie (only 2 letters), almost all to their cousin Mary Ellen in Canada. These give lively details of life in Tamsui, and the first years of Japanese rule, richly supplementing and enlivening laconic entries in Mackay's diary. It is hard to resist the temptation to read them all. One of the best examples is Mary Ellen's letter of September 21, 1898:

"Some one of us writes every month and now it is my turn. It is not at all here like with you. Now there are Post Offices and letters are brought right to our house. Every day and can't tell when letters may come. These are from all over North Formosa. They are sent to Pa. We open and read them very often. Well, all kinds of troubles, sickness, disputes, deaths and persecution and robbing and all of us think and talk. Pa's work is attending to other peoples affairs al the time. Besides carry on the Hospital and College and We are all concerned also. We have no going out calling on the neighbors. No shows etc. We are every day and every night going to the College. George was home and left for Hong Kong. We miss him. Life here is not at all like anything you have seen. The Gauld's play lawn tennis every night. They go home in spring. We prefer our way of living every day. You saw Pa in Canada trying to get rest but you have no idea of all the troubles, cares and work he has to bear. As I write people are at the back of the house waiting to talk about the rebels. Rebels and robbers are all around here we don't know what may take place tomorrow."

Japanese and rebels<sup>2</sup> are frequently mentioned – "The Japanese are very numerous here. The Rebels are in the hills and catch natives to get money" (Mary Nov 3, 1896); "Very many so called 'Rebels" are up arms against the Japanese, and seize, and rob natives" (Bella Dec 16<sup>th</sup>, 1896). "We don't know exactly how many churches have been destroyed by Rebels. Japanese come and go" (Bella February 11, 1897); "Trouble, trouble, robbing all over, not peace yet in Formosa. You cannot understand very well how things are here, it is so different from Canada" (Bella Oct 18, 1898). "The Japanese seem to get on some what better with the natives; but the people do not like them. (Bella, Nov 30 1899).

And indeed it is fascinating to read about the differences. There was a bad drought in 1896 and with it "grasshoppers came a week ago and flew in black clouds so that in places the sun was darkened" (Bella Sept 4, 1896). Typhoons in 1898 "and boats were turned right over before our eyes here. Hundreds of people were killed or drowned." (Bella Oct 18, 1898). In 1899 "The rebels are quiet here in the north ... there is "plague" here all over in the towns and cities, tho worse in the south ... Pa is busy arranging about twenty chapels that were destroyed last year by foods and typhoons. We are just now repairing the college and girls school" (Bella May 15,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The terms "bandits" and "robbers" are also used in some letters.

1899).

Along with the Japanese and rebels, "Pa's Museum" is a major fact of life — "Pa's museum is getting full again and very interesting. Japanese come in large numbers to see it and buy his book "From Far Formosa". "I caught a butterfly and put it in the museum" (Bella April 1, 1896); "The Governor General and Officers called at our house to see Pa. The Governor was so glad to see the museum in our house" (Bella Dec 16, 1896). "A Taoist priest came today and brought his things for Pa he will be a student" (Mary Aug 25, 1897); "A Man near Tamsui caught a wild creature like a cat and stuffed it and now we have it in our museum" (Mary Jan 22 1897). "Our museum is getting larger and larger every week. A man brought in an albatross alive, he caught him on the seashore when asleep. From tip to tip of wings is 7 feet and 4 inches. George likes natural history so Pa bled the bird and students helped to stuff it. It is a fine looking bird" (Bella Feb 8, 1899).

One of the most touching letters is Bella's report of her marriage to Koa Kau on March 9<sup>th</sup>, 1899 (March 16, 1899, to "My Dear Uncle Alex, Auntie and Cousins"):

"Since returning I have seen many people here and have thought a great deal. I saw Pa's great respect for Koa Kau and saw how he thought more of him than any one in all North Formosa and I began to think why was this? And I saw he was truly a sincere, honest, genuine young man and has been so all his life and I just came to have respect then affection and love for him. And on the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst. We were married in our house. Private ceremony still Preachers, Students, Bible women and the Gaulds were present. Pa was 27 years that day in Formosa. I was dressed in silk orange color and had an orange colored Rose. Our dining hall was decorated and lighted beautifully and everybody seemed happy. Then Pa and Ma, Mr. and Mrs Gauld, A Hoa and George, Mary and her husband and Mr. Koa and I sat down to a big dinner. I send you a piece of the wedding cake. How strange it all seems and how we are led on by our Father in Heaven."

Mary Ellen writes a shorter letter the next day:

"I now write you a very short letter; but it is not like any one I ever wrote you. Pa was here 27 years on the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst. And I was

married that day to Cheng-gi, a son of Rev. Tan-He. Our dining room was nicely fitted up... How strange it all seems but that is the way in this world."

Interesting that neither mentions that is was a double wedding, and that they both use the phrase "How strange it all seems."

#### (6) Mackay's Death

The first mention of the throat cancer in the letters is from Mary (Oct 29, 1900) "Pa has a sore throat", and one from Bella the next day: "Pa is at his usual work but suffers with is throat a student reads for him." Mackay left for treatment in Hong Kong November 1. Letters in the spring of 11901 detail the progress of his disease, and the worry it causes everyone, but even in April hope is expressed.

There is an 8 page letter, dated June 2, but written over several days, from Mrs. Gauld to Mrs. Alex Mackay recounting the death and funeral of George Leslie Mackay. "There is also a 13 page letter from Bella (July 20, 1901, which she says is copied from her diary) and a typed transcript of the same recounting these sad events. There is an old photocopy of the first page of a longer letter to "my dear cousin Mary Ellen" which appears to be in William Mackay's handwriting: "I felt as if I could never be happy again, as in days of yore".

#### (7) Mackay 1880-81 Diaries (originals) and longer recollections

There are two pocket diaries for 1880 and 1881 used on the road by Mackay. The contents are reproduced in the diaries at Aletheia, but differ in some details. These record individual contributions from many meetings, that vary from "a boy 50 cents" to "Mrs. Mackay Windsor \$500 not pd yet." Notes specify their intended use - "for me", "for the mission", "for Bangkah ch." There is a note about cash received from Dr. Reid for \$1,343.56 "1000 for passage to Formosa, 300 for my salary, and a little more then all square".

Mackay's often perilous health (or his enduring medical interest) are reflected in a scribbled recipe:

good for chronic diarrhea"
Wire (nails) Iron ½ oz + nitric acid tonic
One ounce & half by measure
Water 7 or 8 oz by measure
Acid mix water with iron
In 12 hours all night
Add then as much water
As fill two ale bottles
Then dose = teaspoonfull
2 or three times a day
when taking mix a little water

There is more. A small booklet with a 40-page biography of Gō Ek-ju (吳益裕 1843-1920) in Romanized Taiwanese, handwritten sometime after 1913 by his wife; small Christmas cards mailed by the daughters to their cousin; drawings of Minnie, the farmhouse in Oxford County, and a Japanese Geisha; an original typed 9-page manuscript for a newspaper report on the 1881 meeting that gave the donation for Oxford College (not the same as the report in the Woodstock Sentinel-Review). Coming to the 20<sup>th</sup> century there are two maps of the Formosa mission (1930's?) and diaries and reports from George William Mackay. So there is enough for a few more papers here!

#### Do these new discoveries tell us anything "new"?

Yes. I find the letter from Mackay to Minnie absolutely fascinating, revealing a far more emotional and loving Mackay than we see in his diaries. He was clearly a worry wort – maybe because of the stress of the situation, but the letter suggests that he was a 19<sup>th</sup> century soccer mom. I can imagine that the concern he shows here was also the kind of deeply personal, even motherly, concern he had for his students.

You can see the returned devotion in the letters from Giam Chheng-hoa, which also give other insights (not discussed here) into the situations of some of the early pastors and their difficulties with the church. Giam's scholarly background comes through in his dating and the bold, almost calligraphic hand of his letters. He also seems to have been very methodical – the letters were written on the 23/24<sup>th</sup> of each month. Can we hope that the other monthly letters will appear someday?

All these letters show how accomplished they all were in using Romanized Taiwanese. Consider that Fraser had been in Taiwan less than two years yet writes Taiwanese well. We have found some new terms (to us and the dictionaries at least) which reflect the language as they spoke it in Tamsui — hai-a, Tai-Eng, na-kui; and a baby name for George William — Pai-chi-a — which appears once in his diaries. But what does it mean? The only guess I can make any sense of is be 破肢仔 (which I translate "little crawler").

The two letters from Drs. Fraser and Johansen show us how close the world came to losing George Leslie Mackay in 1877 and 1884, and how perilous his health often was, yet he survived because of his amazing strong constitution, and a shipment of ice from Amoy. Mackay's medical history as part of his story is worth someone doing a research paper on.

The letters from the teenaged Mackay children give us a rich picture of life in the first years of Japanese colonial Taiwan, and how high an opinion the Japanese had of Mackay. The frequent foreign visitors and many letters show how much the mission was now part of a larger world. The references to the museum, "getting larger and very interesting", might lead us to reassess how important it was in the life of Taiwan, and as a central teaching tool of the College, which the letters show was now the central focus of Mackay's work. He is teaching day and night, and the meetings at the College every evening are attended by the whole family. The letters suggest the mission was now a family affair, certainly with George Leslie at the centre of everything, and adored by his children as well as his students. Bella's account of her marriage to Koa Kau suggests how influential her father's opinions were in this choice. The letters show us a whole Mackay family farm, presided over by Minnie. There are frequent mentions of new additions to the menagerie, reports on roses, corn, beets, squash etc. and a request for caraway seeds from Canada.

One thing that struck me was the absence of pious ejaculations and Bible quotes that to characterize much evangelical missionary writing today. We know that Mackay was a man of powerful faith, and his children also, but they did not fill their letter with religious rhetoric. Was this typical of that era or just being Presbyterian?

These Mackay children's letters help us see the continuities as well as changes in Mackay's life. The world of Tamsui in 1896-1901 was completely unlike the Northern Formosa in the 1870's. At the end Oxford College became the centre of Mackay's

work, and the daily flow of letters and visitors from all over north Formosa shows a mission becoming routinized despite all the troubles. The peripatetic single hero has become a paterfamilias of a large family church. With his charismatic energy he continued to be at the centre of that world, admired and loved by those around him.

At the end of her June 2, 1901 letter, Mrs. Gauld writes:

Dr. Mackay is gone, but his works do follow him. We may not have seen eye to eye with him in all things but we are glad we never had the semblance of a quarrel or any unkind words whatever. For this we thank God. The Dr. was always ready to do us a kindness if he could.

Michael Stainton Toronto May 21, 2010

## Religious Outsiders: Looking Beyond Conventional Christian Figures Like George Mackay for Insight into Taiwanese National Identity

Prof. J. Gordon Melton

We have gathered this week to discuss, analyze, and from a variety of perspectives reflect upon the life, work and legacy of George Leslie Mackay. Now more than a hundred years after his death, Taiwanese historians honor him as a towering figure in the country's history and culture. Missiologists view him as one of a handful of forward-looking thinkers among the host of Christian missionaries who spread the faith globally during the nineteenth century, while Taiwanese church historians see him as a founding pioneer whose dedicated effort launched the contemporary development of Protestantism through the island republic.

The radical religious pluralism that Taiwan now experiences calls for another very different if complementary perspective, emphasizing Mackay's role in the development of the relatively free atmosphere of religious expression now permeating the country. Like most nations in the contemporary world with even a modest degree of functioning religious liberty, Taiwan is now home to literally hundreds of different religious groups representative of the spectrum of the world's religions, each vying for the allegiance of the general public. In this context Mackay emerges as one of the more successful of a stream of founders of new religious movements that have over the last few centuries completely remade the spiritual life of the Taiwanese people.

The term new religious movement or new religion is a somewhat ambiguous term, having been adopted by Western scholars in the midst of heated polemics about religious developments in the West in the 1960s as part of an effort to rid themselves of terminology that had, at least in English, accumulated a variety of derogatory connotations that increasingly hindered the work of analysis. Through the twentieth century, attempts to describe the many new religious movements that were appearing in North America and Europe were usually written by scholars who were themselves

adherents of the older more established religious bodies and who often harbored concerns about the competition that any fresh expressions of spirituality posed for their own religion.

The term "new religion" was applied to the many religious options that appeared in the 1960s but was quickly seen as the applicable term for a host of new religious movements that had appeared decade by decade since the separation of religion from state control and support in different countries toward the end of the eighteenth century. The West had experienced the emergence of different churches independent of the state-supported established Christian churches since the sixteenth century when the Reformation movement has weakened many established churches and opened space for a variety of dissenting movements—almost all variations on Christianity. However, even as the Protestant churches were remaking the face of Catholic Europe, a fresh set of new religions were emerging as expressions of the third Western religious tradition—Western Esotericism—almost the textbook example of new religious movements. They would be overlooked in the concern for the more extreme of the Christian movements—the Munsterites, the apocalyticists, and the communal separatists.

As we began to explore the development of variant forms of faith in the twentieth century we began to see several distinct types of religious organizations. First were the established religious groups. These were the state supported churches of Europe and those religions identified with a people—Burmese Buddhism, Tamil Saivite Hinduism, or the Hanafite Islam of the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, most countries that had an established religion would also make room for communities of people of a distinctly different ethnic background to exist in their midst and continue their distinctive worship as a minority ethic religion. This Armenian Christians formed enclaves in Turkey and Lebanon, Indian Hindu communities emerged in such unexpected places as Fiji, Trinidad, and Guyana, and with the destruction of their homeland, Hebrew-speaking Jewish enclaves appeared around the world.

In this context, new religions appeared as very different phenomena, distinct from either the state established religions, the local variations on such state supported religions (the sects), and the ethnic enclaves. New religions appeared as an intrusion into the religious community and the spiritual harmony it reputedly expressed and supported. New religions were noted for the "discontinuity" they represented relative to the dominant spirituality they expressed and the disruption of religious harmony they often brought. While in their second and later generations, new religion may assume a more harmonious place in the religious landscape, especially if identified with a occupying colonial power, during their first generation, they are at best the pearl in the oyster, and more than likely viewed as a lance thrust in the side. New religions offer a radical critique of the traditional religion in whatever context they emerge.

New religions are of two basic types. Some are the products of the religious ruminations of a local visionary. As we are more than aware, not everyone is socialized in the religion of their parents. For a variety of reasons, individuals will reject the religion they were offered in childhood and develop a very different religious gestalt. A few will decide to share their different new approach with others and a very few will find a following for their new approach to things spiritual. In the last few centuries, those distinctly different new religions have found an increasingly tolerant community in which to perpetuate themselves and the number has grown steadily as we approach the present.

New religions are also the product of missionary efforts. That is, representatives of a faith from one location will take their religion from a land in which its part of the dominant thought world, to a land where it is unknown. Traditionally, religious movements spread as armies conquered new lands and representatives of the new ruling powers moved among the people. However, over the past millennia we have seen the spread of a number of missionary movements quite apart from any military action—Manichanism, Vajrayana Buddhism, and more recently the Baha'i Faith, the Jehovah's Witnesses, The Ahmadiyya Movement of

Islam, and the Latter-day Saints.

The key defining elements of new religions are their attempt to convert people in any given cultural setting to a faith that is significantly discontinuous with the dominant faiths(s) of that culture—the discontinuity being in theology, practice, piety, behavioral patters, or a combination thereof. Thus, new religions offer a new religious gestalt to the population. Such new religions are typically (with notable exceptions) founded and led by a single individual, the founder of the faith or a single representative of the founder. If successful, the founder will be joined by other representatives and will build local leadership to spread the faith. Frequently at issue with new religions is the language problem, as the original material of the faith is written in one language and has to be translated into another, a process that usually lags behind the production of material in the religion's homeland.

What we term new religions today are overwhelming variant forms of the older larger religious traditions that arise in search of a new place to make their home. In the nineteenth century all the variant forms of Christianity moved from their homelands in the West to make new homes in lands that had never heard of Christianity. Thus representatives of French Catholicism, British Anglicanism, American Methodism, and Canadian Presbyterianism, moved to lands which already had what most locals thought of as a perfectly adequate religion and began converting locals to this new faith so different from anything previously available in the neighborhood. By the end of the nineteenth century, the movement of new religions into the West had begun, led by the Ahmadiyyas and Baha'is, soon to be followed by the first Indian gurus and Japanese Zen masters.

#### New Religions in Taiwanese History

When we turn to Taiwanese religious history, we can begin to sketch out the ways that new religions taking up home on the island have altered the religious landscape to the point that the pluralistic environment so evident today has come into being. We can begin with some prominent examples of new religious intrusions into

Taiwan with the movement of a number of immigrants from mainland China during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), which in 1684 annexed the island and assigned it to Fujian province.

Even as those assigned to rule the island began to establish Buddhism, the accompanying wave of immigrants to Taiwan brought several relatively new religions, among the first being the worship of Matzu (aka Tien Hou). This new deity, at least to Taiwan, was a water deity and viewed by many immigrants as the protector of those who ventured across the Taiwan Strait, and then the guide who assisted farmers in the control of water for irrigating their new farms. As Fujian immigrant communities formed, they erected temples to Tien Hou. Her popularity increased steadily as she was credited with assisting the expulsion of the Dutch in 1662, aiding the Qing conquest of the island twenty years later, and directing the suppression of a rebellion to Qing authority in 1721.

Matzu was introduced into northern Taiwan at Guanxu in the 1660s and by 1721 worship of her had grown to the point that a more adequate temple was deemed necessary. With building materials brought in from Fujian, a new temple was constructed at the river's edge. That temple has now grown to be one of the most prominent in Taiwan. In fact, the Matzu religion has been a real success story as her veneration has grown from the practice of a few immigrants to a national movement that now touts the Queen of Heaven as the island's patron saint.

Another success story began in the 1720s with the arrival of Chinese immigrants in what would become modern Taipei. As the story goes, several Chinese gentlemen hung a pouch of burning incense on a tree. As the men bedded down for the evening, they noticed the pouch glowing especially bright, and the men took the light as a sign of a deity's presence, and not just any deity, but Quan Yin. They understood what they were experiencing as a sign that the spot should become the site of a temple. The resulting Lung-Shan Temple would become a beachhead for the development of popular Buddhism on Taiwan. It would again be modeled on a Fujian original, Lung-Shan Temple in the Chuanchow prefecture. That same temple would

later inspire a half-dozen additional Lung-Shan temples across Taiwan. In its early years, the Taipei temple, besides its focus on Quan Yin, housed a variety of protective deities brought from different parts of Fujian by the first generation immigrants, but soon led the way for the integration of Quan Yin worship into Taiwanese indigenous religion. In succeeding centuries, Quan Yin worship overtook and now adherents outnumber that of Matzu.

The Matzu and Quan Yin worship, of course, had a level of resonance with traditional Taiwanese religions. However, in the 1860s and 1870s, a very new religious gestalt was introduced into Taiwan by Drs. James Maxwell and George Mackay respectively. While there had been various attempts at introducing Christianity—Portuguese Catholicism and the Dutch Reformed Church—their Presbyterianism would be the first to have any success. This variant form of Christianity traced its beginnings to sixteenth century Switzerland as later filtered through seventeenth century British Puritanism. While both Maxwell and Mackay had their successes, Mackay's career especially highlighted the problems of the founder/leaders of new religious movements in making their faith acceptable to an alien cultural context. He had to master the language (and in this case create a written version of it) and suppress the strangeness factor represented by the Western mores in which he had been raised. He would become a model of what twenty-first century Christian missionaries speak of as indigenization.

Mackay's attempt to open Taiwan to Presbyterianism overlapped with new era of island life introduced by the arrival of the Japanese occupation in 1895. While many of the Japanese leaders were followers of Shinto, an indigenous Japanese faith to which non-Japanese are largely excluded, many were Buddhists, and by the end of the century, Japanese priests began erecting uniquely Japanese Buddhist temples. The Japanese would, for example, open the first Vajrayana Buddhist centers in Taiwan in the form of Shingon temples. Originally established to serve the growing Japanese community, the Japanese temples came to serve an increasing number of non-Japanese through the early decades of the twentieth century.

The introduction of new Japanese religious movements was facilitated by the self-conscious manner in which the Japanese approached their occupation of Taiwan. The officials who were placed in charge of the new administration were trained in Taiwanese culture and were handed policies designed to impose Japanese mores gradually In 1901 an Ancient Chinese Customs Investigations Bureau was set up to continue the study of Taiwanese culture and train Japanese leaders in cultural sensitivity. Such leaders would have become aware of the differences between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, differences highlighted by the changed forced on the Buddhist community by the Shinto authorities who assumed control of Japan in the 1860s.

Most noticeable to Taiwanese Buddhists, the Japanese introduced a married priesthood, the Meiji regime having previously forced Japanese monks to forsake their ordination vows and marry, a practice that had been firmly established among Japanese Buddhists by the time the Japanese took control of Taiwan. This issue served to block the integration of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism and kept the latter on the fringe of the island's religious culture.

As proved the case for the rest of the world, World War II became in many ways a watershed event for Taiwan, and was made all the more traumatic as a result of the Chinese Revolution that followed. As the Republic of China government was push aside on the mainland, it chose Taiwan as the place to make its last stand and overwhelmed the local authorities as it transferred the exiled offices of the Republic to Taipei. With the government came hundreds of thousands of mainland Chinese, especially from those provinces immediately on the other side of the Taiwan Strait. Among the many new immigrant residents were adherents of numerous small religious groups never before represented in Taiwan.

The Japanese had, for example, allowed only a few other Christian group to initiate work in Taiwan, most notably the Holiness church, which was founded by Japanese Christians in the 1920s. The Jehovah's Witnesses and the Seventh-day Adventists also made it in, though neither made much headway until after the

Japanese left. And the China-based True Jesus Church, later to make a significant impact, founded a few pioneering congregations.

But beginning in 1949, the number of representative of different religions swelled year by year. There the first half of the twentieth century, China had become the number one target of Western Christina missionary efforts and dozens of denominations from the Seventh-day Baptist to the Apostolic Pentecostals had congregations in China. The expressed hostility of the new Chinese government to religion projected Taiwan forward as a popular site for the relocation of both missionaries and believers. Within a few years several dozen different Christian communities settled on the island and dozens more would be added in the decades since.

The variants of Christian faith would have a certain advantage in 1950s Taiwan. The head of the government Chiang Kai-shek identified with it as did his major ally, the United States. At the same time, he looked out on his new regime and saw a potentially chaotic situation. So many different religions in such a small space. He saw a potential powder keg, poised to explode in his face. Officially, his government was still at war. He imposed martial law on the country and hegemony over religious affairs. At the same time, as the leader of a somewhat democratic republic, he could only go so far without loosing the support of the population he represented and his western allies.

While few saw it immediately, a decisive change had occurred which was impossible to undo. Dozens of new religions had been thrust into the side of Taiwan, and they created a context in which dozens more would be added in succeeding decades. Their growth would defy any attempts to control the religious community.

Through the 1950s, one could see two sets of religions, those that had arisen prior to World War II, distinguished by their use of various Taiwanese and south Chinese dialects, and the religions introduced in the 1950s that used Mandarin. While remnants of that distinction still exist, it would be challenged both by the changing political situation and by the significant growth in population, which moved

from the three million at the beginning of the twentieth century, to fourteen million in 1970 and above twenty-two million in 2000. The seven-fold growth allowed for rapid change in the relative strength of old religions and the emergence into prominence of new religions.

Just as the many Asian religions (Buddhist and Hindu) that entered the West in the 1960s were seen as new religions, so we can see the many Christian groups introduced into Taiwan in the 1950s as equivalent new religions. Each of them found a niche and each grew somewhat. However, two emerged in prominence. While not overtaking the older Presbyterian Church in size, both shot out well ahead of the other Protestant groups with which they competed. These two churches were unique among the many new Christian bodies. Both the true Jesus church and what were called the Local Church or Assembly Hall Churches, had been founded by and led by Chinese Christians, most of the other new Christian movements still being under western leadership. This slight alteration in structure, along with their criticism of their competition, appears to be the factor projecting them into prominence. In the new post-World War, Post-Revolution pluralistic society created in Taiwan, these three churches (along with the Roman Catholics) have play a uniquely dominate role in Taiwanese Christianity.

The larger Buddhist community also faced a discontinuity. Already divided into several communities separated by their relationship to succeeding governments and the enthusiastic piety around the veneration of Matzu, Quan Yin, and other local deities, the majority of the Mandarin-speaking immigrants appeared to be Buddhists and brought with them new current of Buddhist thought. Possibly of equal importance, the new government moved to get a handle on the Buddhist community by encouraging the formation of the Buddhist Association of the Republic of China (BAROC), into which all Buddhist centers were to register, as well as a similar organization through which Taoist centers would be registered.

The new Buddhist Association represented an attempt to impose some sameness on the Buddhist community at the same time that it was undergoing rapid

development and differentiation. The Association would in many ways stifle the growth of the Buddhist community but at the same time establish a platform through which a host of new Buddhist movements indigenous to Taiwan would emerge. By way of illustration, let us mention just two. Along with many immigrants to arrive in Taiwan in the 1950s would be one high priest named Gon Zhu, a lineage bearer of the Gelugpa Vajrayana Buddhism of Mongolia. He would establish a small temple in Taipei and gather a Vairayana community, the first apart from the small surviving Shingon movement introduced by the Japanese a generation earlier. He would train students and pass his lineage to several, including one who moved to Hong Kong and established a temple there. A young Taiwanese Army officer, Lu Sheng-yen, who had found his way to Buddhism and developed a small following because of his psychic abilities, would make his way to Hong Kong and study Vajrayana Buddhism, eventually receiving Gon Zhu's lineage. Once he finished his Army service, he emerged as the founder of a new movement, the True Buddha School, that quickly spread across the island, and more recently across Southeast Asia and to the West. As the True Buddha School spread, so a spectrum of Tibetan teachers began to appear in Taiwan and establish even more Vajrayana centers.

Also arriving from China with the post-Revolution immigrants was one Yin Shun, a Buddhist monk in the tradition of Taixu (1890-1947), one of China's more creative early twentieth century Buddhist reformers. He proposed a new current in Buddhism that became known as Humanistic Buddhism, which Yin Shun introduced to Taiwan. The new perspective would influence a new generation of Taiwanese Buddhist teachers in the 1970s, each of whom would found a new Buddhist movement, that would quickly spread across the island, then through southeast Asia and finally to the West. The most notable would be the Tzu Chi Buddhist Compassion Association, led by the nun Master Cheng Yen (b. 1937), the largest of the new Buddhist groups and Foguangshan, founded by Master Hsing Yun (b. 1927), closely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fu Chi-ying, *Handing Down the Light: The Biography of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*. Trans by Amy Lui-Ma (Hacienda Heights, CA: His Lai University Press, 1995).

followed by Dharrma Drum Mountian, a Zen Buddhist association led by Master Sheng-yen.<sup>2</sup> As the regulation laid down by the government were loosened in the 1970s and finally lifted in the 1980s, these new religious communities flourished, as did a dozen others.

Possibly larger than any of the Buddhist groups, however, was a Buddhist-Taoist syncretist groups various called Tien Dao or Yiguandao. movement was founded around 1930 by Zhang Tianran (1889-1947), from Shandong province, in eastern China, Zhang had previous been a senior leader in a small Daoist group whose membership he reorganized to create the original Tian Dao community. He dropped several practices which had made the previous group less attractive (vegetarianism, celibacy) and simplified the rituals. It grew significantly through the thirties, including areas occupied by the Japanese, and growth continued through the war year in the early 1940s. The movement's connection with the occupation government cost it dearly after World War II and it was suppressed. Many of its leaders and members fled to hong Kong and Taiwan following the revolution and it primarily survived in Taiwan. Again it began to grow, in spite of the fact that for twenty years it was officially banned. It emerged in the 1970s, however, as one of the larger religious communities in Taiwan, though divided into several factions. When martial law was finally lifted, it emerged as the single largest organized religious community in Taiwan. Even more than the two largest growing Christian groups, Tian Dao had integrated proselytization efforts into the heart of its organization. Members were trained in the idea that it was the best means by which members gained merit, merit that could then be transferred to other family members. A member who recruits one hundred initiates, for example, could request the performance of a ritual by which a deceased relative's soul could be pulled into the heavenly realms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For a brief introduction to Sheng Yen and Dharma Drum Mountain, see *Tilling the Soil, Planting Good seed: The 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies* (Jinshan, Taipei County, Taiwan: Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2001) and Sheng-yen, *Dharma Drum: The life and heart of Ch'an practice* (Elmhurst, NY: Dharma drum Publications, 1996).

#### Discussion

Taiwan entered the modern era as the home to a set of indigenous polytheistic tribal religions inhabiting an island that successively became a prize for different larger powers to take and hold for a period of time. During the reign of each successive government, attempts were made to change the primary religion being practiced on Taiwan and thus new religions were one by one injected into the island's life blood. No one of the new religions succeeded in becoming the pervasive force on the island, but each made a home for itself and most have survived to the present. Prior to 1950, most new religions came to Taiwan one by one, and had by gradually by the mid-twentieth century created what amounted to a pluralistic culture with the surviving indigenous religions, a spectrum of Buddhist groups, and several Christian groups each having settled in for the long haul.

Then within a few years, the sudden influx from mainland China completed a process that seemed inevitable, the jump into a modern globalized world in which urban centers become home to the broad spectrum of the world's religions—especially in urban areas with international airports.

Today, in any urban area in any country with a modest degree of religious freedom, one can find literally hundreds if not thousands of different religious groups vying for the attention of the public. Certainly the older more established groups have a certain advantage, but as Tian Dao has demonstrated here and the Latter-Day Saints in the United States, relatively new groups, often for reasons the group itself does not realize, can emerge to become a significant player on the religious scene. And those groups that do have some success with in turn make a variety of often unintended contributions to the culture that can only be seen form the advantage point of the future.

All of which brings us back to George Leslie Mackay. In one sense, placing him in the larger context of the modern pluralistic scene might appear as an act that diminishes him, that transforms him into just another founder of a minority religious

group. Quite the opposite is the case. Mackay stands out for his pioneering work, his building one of Taiwan's most important religious communities and his contributions to education. These and more things we could say about him place him among those Taiwanese religious figures whom history will remember century by century and whose name will stand beside the likes of Yin Shun in the country's long-term memory. There are actually very few nineteenth century Taiwanese religious figures who rise to his stature and upon whom we can look back and say, they altered the course of the country in a similar positive manner.

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## 鎮公所與教會團體之互動研究——以淡水「馬偕日」活動為例

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### 一、前言

淡水是東南亞海陸的中途站,大屯山又是極好的航途指標,因此至今七千年來一直有人類入居淡水,以部落形式過著漁獵、放耕的生活。淡水原住民皆屬居住於臺北一帶的凱達格蘭平埔族住民,早期中國和日本的船隻,經常停泊淡水,和他們從事貿易。到了十六世紀,西方海權強國,開始逐鹿亞洲,西班牙人於1629年的秋天,築聖多明哥城、建教堂,以做爲殖民和宣教的基地,與赴中國、日本貿易及宣教的跳板。他們由淡水溯河入臺北平原,降服諸部落,並擴張勢力到新竹和宜蘭一帶。1641年,荷蘭爲防止中日貿易路線被西班牙截斷,遂驅逐西人並重新築城(即今之「紅毛城」)。他們除了鎮撫平埔族,也招聚漢人來此拓墾,並致力於硫磺、鹿皮及土產的運銷,更利用淡水爲港口和中國互市。

1661年,鄭成功渡海東征,驅逐南台灣的荷蘭人,淡水也暫歸明鄭。此後, 淡水除了原有「漢番交易」之外,漢人已漸漸到此從事拓墾,直到明鄭降清。漸 漸的,淡水因與大陸最近,本身又爲良港,「滬尾」由漁村漸成街莊和通商港口。 「康熙年間淡北開治設防,淡水由番社漸成村莊,山區也逐漸開拓。嘉慶年後, 淡水不僅成了附近聚落的日常生活消費和物產集散地,也成了地區文化和祭祀的 中心,主要廟宇也都先後建立。

鴉片戰爭之後,淡水逐漸爲列強所注意,各國船隻私下到淡水港貿易,漸被 視爲具有潛力的市場。1872年三月九日馬偕博士也抵達淡水,並以此爲其宣教、 醫療和教育的根據地。西式醫院和新式教育得在淡水創設,對早期的台灣開通思 想、啟迪民智均有深遠的影響。1884年的清法戰爭更肯定了淡水在經濟、國防 和政治上的重要地位。到了日本時代,淡水渡過了黃金歲月,但卻因河道日漸淤 淺、大型船舶出入不便,加上日人領台後,大力建設基隆港,兼以臺北、基隆間

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 早期港口發展在南岸之八裏,1792 年清廷才正式開放八裏坌與大陸對渡,但因泥沙淤積腹地有限,港埠遂又逐漸移至北岸淡水。1808 年,水師守備由八裏坌移駐淡水。此後,淡水街民環福佑宮形成街衢。見郭廷以,《台灣史事概說》,臺北:正中,1984,頁 145~151。

#### 鐵路之便,終而取代淡水。2

繁華的淡水港淡出了台灣的歷史,但是馬偕在淡水留下的基業,雖經過時代的變遷,其後繼者在理念和技術上卻一直調整經營方式、繼續造福今天的淡水。他所創辦的醫療中心滬尾偕醫館,已發展成全台聞名的馬偕紀念醫院。他所開設的牛津學堂、台灣第一所女子學校淡水女學堂也延伸成今日的淡江中學及真理大學。而親手設立爲北台灣開基教會的淡水教會,到今天仍是淡水最具代表性的教會。

六月初到淡水的遊客會發現,整個淡水鎮插滿寫著「馬偕日」的旗幟,每年的六月二日是淡水鎮的「馬偕日」。這是在2001年,馬偕博士逝世百週年時,當時的淡水鎮長郭哲道宣佈訂定每年六月二日爲淡水鎮「馬偕日」,這是全台第一個爲外國人所訂定的紀念日。是爲了紀念馬偕一生對台灣所作的貢獻,特別是以淡水作爲根據地,在淡水開設許多開創性的建設。但是,有趣的是,雖然是由鎮公所與鎮代會通過的「鎮民日」,但是實際主導紀念活動的,還是淡水長老教會,到了2007年才又變成淡水地區諸教會聯合舉辦。透過這種「宗教性歷史人物紀念日」活動的舉辦,我們可以看看公部門是如何定位這樣的節慶?公部門與教會團體如何互動?而這樣的節慶對於教會團體又具有怎樣的意義?本文期盼透過文獻資料的分析整理與關鍵人物³的深度訪談,能杷梳出鎮公所與地方教會團體 的互動模式的一些脈絡。

## 二、馬偕與淡水的發展

#### (一) 馬偕來台簡史

馬偕博士,加拿大安大略省(Ontario)牛津郡(Oxford)人,生於西元 1844年。馬偕少時曾聽聞英國宣教師賓威廉(Rev. William C. Burns)牧師講述在廈門傳教的情形,內心深受感動。自美國普林斯頓(Prinston)神學院畢業後不久,馬偕向長老教會申請海外宣教獲准,受命和英國長老教會合作,但是在廈門、汕頭、台灣這三個選擇中,他選擇來到台灣,於同治十年(1871年)奉派來臺。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 請參考:http://www.tamsui.gov.tw/about\_tamsui/index.php?type\_id=10。

<sup>3</sup> 此次訪談的對象包涵三位曾經參與過去馬偕日活動規劃的牧師與長老,以及一位嫻熟淡水文化 政策與活動的民意代表。

來臺後先在臺灣南部學習閩南語,因爲著「不在基督的名被稱過的地方傳福音」的開拓精神,決定在北部宣教,隔(1872)年3月9日,在李庥牧師、德馬泰醫師的陪同下到滬尾,並以淡水爲根據地,對臺灣北部開始進行佈道、醫療與教育等多項事業,於是這日成爲北部設教紀念日。馬偕以自己住處允充診所,就他在多倫多及紐約所受的短期醫學訓練從事醫療傳道。包括免費提供「白藥水」<sup>4</sup>、拔牙<sup>5</sup>、以及提倡公共衛生的注重<sup>6</sup>。光緒五年(1879年),馬偕在美國底特律馬偕船長遺孀捐助三千美金的協助下,創辦「滬尾偕醫館」,此爲今日馬偕醫院之前身,亦爲臺灣北部新式醫學發展的濫觴。中法戰爭時,偕醫館曾因協助救治傷兵有功,而獲劉銘傳褒揚。

馬偕熱愛台灣,努力學台語,來台五個月就首次以台語講道,是出色的演講家:第三年開始編「中西字典」<sup>7</sup>(6664個漢字,後來增補爲9451字)。光緒四年(1878年),馬偕與五股坑女子張聰明結婚,育有一子二女。光緒八年(1882年),馬偕獲家鄉牛津郡人士贈金,在臺創立「理學堂大書院」(Oxford College),做爲本地傳教師的培育學校;兩年後,又創辦「淡水女學堂」<sup>8</sup>,此兩者皆爲北臺新式教育的開端。當時馬偕教學的內容除了神學和聖經,還包括其他一般學科,上午讀書,下午去偕醫館實習,晚上有講道練習,互相批評討論。

馬偕的早期宣教(1872-1878)是以淡水河、新店溪、和基隆河沿岸——也

<sup>4</sup> 馬偕的「白藥水」乃醫治瘧疾的特效藥金雞納霜加檸檬汁調製而成。不少人看見裝「白藥水」的玻璃瓶子很好看,裝病向他需索,而後將藥水倒掉,收藏玻璃瓶玩賞。

<sup>5</sup> 據馬偕博士自己記載:「往往我們旅行到鄉間時,即先在空地或寺廟臺階上唱一、二首聖詩,然後替人拔牙,繼而開始講道。病人常站立不動,俟牙被拔出後,牙即被置於也們的掌上,如果我們保留了他們的牙齒,則將引起懷疑:我常在一小時內拔取一百顆牙齒,自一八七三年以來,我親手拔起了二萬一千顆以上的牙齒。」《台灣遙寄》,p.244。

<sup>6</sup> 當時臺灣虐疾猖獗,很多居民均得此病死亡。馬偕研究虐疾猖獗的原因,發現一般民眾住屋的 周圍雜草叢生,竹林茂盛,水溝不通,污水宣洩,蛟蠅滋生,環境衛生極爲不良。故開始倡導 公共衛生,鼓勵民眾除草,通水溝,以減少傳染性蚊蟲的繁殖。

<sup>7「</sup>中西字典」,是最早的台語音漢字典,刊於 1893 年,共 226 頁。英文書名是"Chinese Romanized Dictionary of the Formosan Vernacular"。書背面寫著:「耶穌降世一千八百七十四年英屬加拿大國偕叡理作中西字典大清光緒十七年臺北耶穌聖教會寄印上海美華書館復版」。馬偕博士獲得上海美華書館(American Presbyterian Mission Press)的字表,是依部首及字劃編排者,共有6664字。他把這些字抄寫在筆記簿,逐漸完成其注音及釋義,1874年初稿成,後來慢慢增加字數。此書所收字數有9451字;每字以羅馬字註台灣的讀音並解釋其義。詳見賴永祥撰「台灣史話」(23)〈馬偕「中西字典」〉,《台灣教會公報》 1897 期,1988年7月10日。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 女學堂第一屆即招收 34 名學生,不但學費全免,還補助交通費、提供吃住與衣著。但當時的 漢人受到傳統禮教的約束,有錢人不希望家中女子拋頭露面;窮苦人家則不知受教育這件事, 結果最捧場的卻是馬偕曾去傳教的宜蘭噶瑪蘭族。馬偕著、周學普譯,《台灣六記》,頁 124-129。

就是臺北盆地-爲主,後期(1886-1891)才往蘇澳、宜蘭擴展,向南也到苗栗、 公館一帶。;在台宣教三十年,馬偕建立教會 60 間,本地籍傳道師 60 人,本地 籍牧師 2 人<sup>9</sup>,本地女宣道婦 24 名,陪餐者 1738 人,受洗者 2633 人,診所 60 處。明治三十三年(1900 年)馬偕最後一次巡視宜蘭的教會,回到淡水後因爲 罹患喉癌導至聲音沙啞,連牛津學堂開學,他都無法教課,後來喉嚨潰爛,吞下 去的食物都從喉嚨的洞流出來,他自知上帝召喚的時刻到了,就趁家人和輪流看 護的學生不注意,突然跑到學堂大聲敲鐘,把學生召集起來,吃力的上完最後一 堂課。隔(1901)年,馬偕因喉癌去世於淡水,年五十八歲。

馬偕在淡水的時代,正是淡水港由極盛到沒落的年代,馬偕早年傳教被當地人奚落及潑糞驅趕,數度在強盜和「生蕃」刀下餘生;馬偕曾因傳教與辦學而遭清廷查禁;清法戰爭時多名宣教士被誣陷而殉教;台灣割讓給日本初期,台灣和日本雙方誣指馬偕通敵。另一方面,馬偕也當過清朝巡撫、日本總督的座上賓,也曾被八人大轎抬著遶境,備享尊榮。雖然馬偕逝世了,但是他的影響卻深遠至今。

#### (二) 馬偕、教會與當時公部門的關係

筆者曾在〈停下來,想一想--陳水扁時代之後長老教會政教關係意識的轉變〉<sup>10</sup>一文中討論到 19 世紀英國與加拿大差會的宣教士來台灣宣教時,如何影響到台灣的政教意識。早期宣教士採取的宣教方式有兩個重點,那就是「本土認同」以及「社會服務」。前者應該是具有清教徒傳統中「因時因地制宜」的遺產,後者直接關心到人民實質生活。也因此「認同本地」以及「實際生存」便成爲從宣教士精神中移植到教會意識底層,成爲教會與當時公部門互動的原則。

這樣的情形也可以在馬偕與當時公部門的關係中程度上得到佐證。在馬偕《台灣遙寄(From Far Formosa)》之記載中,我們特別可以注意他與西方領事、外國紳士、外國軍艦艦長朋友們的關係。在淡水的教堂中,從一開始,他就常邀請停泊淡水的軍艦艦長、水手、外國商人等許多人,來到教堂中做禮拜。我們可以想像,這些有宣示效果的動作,對那些圍繞在教堂四周、對洋教有反感的淡水

<sup>9</sup> 爲落實本土化和「自給」, 他於 1885 年封立嚴清華和陳火(榮輝)爲牧師。

<sup>10</sup> 本文收錄於張家麟主編,《亞洲政教關係》,臺北:韋伯文化,2004,頁 27~64。

台人之中,所引起的印象。後來,馬偕以鄉村包圍城市的策略,先在艋舺四週的小鄉村建立許多的教堂與吸收信眾,經過五年的準備,才於1877年正式打入北台灣「異教徒」的中心:艋舺。在《台灣遙寄》的第17章中,他回憶「如何拿下艋舺」,除了感謝上帝的力量、還有拔牙技術外,很明顯地,清朝官府的力量、淡水英國領事的權威,都是幫助馬偕順利在艋舺宣教的重要原因。事實上,對馬偕宣教的研究者幾乎都同意:馬偕爲求傳教工作的順利,從未(至少在表面上)顯示對清朝官員的敵意。另外,在1885年中法戰爭中,馬偕的教會受到台人仇外風潮、還有法軍火砲等相當大的打擊。雖然如此,馬偕仍在偕醫館收容許多傷兵,因此在戰爭結束後,劉銘傳派淡水防衛司令孫開華,親至偕醫館致謝,並捐款給偕醫館,以後每年清政府均繼續捐助醫館事業。11

另外,馬偕與日本殖民政府的關係也頗能玩味。台灣接受日治初期,由於日本尙屬叢薾小國,並不敢與世界列強的英國爲敵,所以對當時在台灣的傳教士表現出百般容忍的態度。因此在領台初期與外籍傳教士接觸時,答應要保護基督徒。總體來說,傳教士大多支持日本這個新政權,認爲這個新政權有利於基督教在臺灣的傳布。而在日治初期,傳教士跟日本政府的關係都不錯,例如宋雅各醫師的醫學知識、醫療技術爲日本政府重視,偕醫館也得到日本政府的許多協助,甚至日本的殖民總督府曾頒贈勳章給馬偕博士。一般而言,日本政府對於基督教的教育、醫療機構,還是採取積極管理的措施。如1899年馬偕寫給《加拿大長老會記錄》(Presbyterian Record)<sup>12</sup>的信函中指出:「現在一切都在日本政府的管理下,在牛津學堂教授的課程、課本必須給日本政府審查。而牛津學堂、偕醫館也必須得到政府的許可,才能繼續營運,我目前正在爲學校和醫院向政府申請許可證。」<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> 臺灣基督長老教會馬偕紀念醫院,《臺灣基督長老教會馬偕紀念醫院創設 105 週年紀念冊》, 頁 68。

<sup>12</sup> 加拿大長老會記錄(以下簡稱記錄)為月刊,是加拿大長老教會的官方刊物,創刊於1875年,當時是馬偕來台的第三年,記錄的內容包含有,議長或主編的信息,短文,過世的牧者名單和簡介,書籍介紹,各地教會情況的報告,以及最後的兒童與青年人的專欄。在這些不同性質的欄位當中有關台灣的消息大部份出現在各地教會消息中,但這並不是一定如此,它有時出現於別的欄位當中。記錄提供了日記與議錄所沒有的資料,那就是許多時候它將由台灣寫去的書信或報告以全文照登的方式呈現,提供了許多有關北部教會早期寶貴的第一手史料,這對於研究早期教會活動的情形,當時社會狀況,甚至宣教師與本地教會之間的互動關係都可經由記錄獲知。

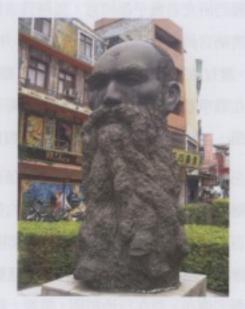
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Presbyterian Record, 1899.12.,p.372.

馬偕帶來了基督教信仰,也在程度上影響了台灣基督徒對政治之態度,便是 教會與日本政府的一種「若即若離」的關係。這種同時存在的「親近政府」與「不 合作態度」便在長老教會中形成了一種張力,而後來在長老教會面對執政政權 時,便同時出現了兩種態度。

## 三、「馬偕日」與淡水鎭公所

(一)公部門對於馬偕博士的紀念作爲

1995 年臺北縣政府在民進黨執 政後,推動為「鄉裏人傑立像」的交 化政策。淡水鎮選擇馬偕博士和施乾 <sup>14</sup>為鄉裏代表人物。縣文化中心托淡 水名雕塑家張子隆教授創作兩米高 馬偕石雕大雕像,由淡水鎮公所提供 馬偕街與三民街口昔稱「三角公園」 之土地以供立像。



2001年6月1日,正值馬偕逝世百週年,台灣郵政總局於發行了一枚面值 25元的「馬偕逝世百週年紀念郵票」一百萬枚。這是該局成立一百多年來,首 次爲外籍人士發行郵票。按郵政總局之介紹說明:「2001年適逢馬偕

博士逝世百週年,爲緬懷其對臺灣無私的奉獻,增 進臺灣與加拿大之友誼,特印製「馬偕逝世百週年 紀念郵票」1枚。郵票圖案以馬偕博士肖像爲主 題,左側以其隨地施醫、露天爲民眾拔牙之情景,



<sup>14</sup> 施乾,1899年誕生於還尾米市街(今清水街146號),1912年自滬尾公學校畢業後,考進臺北州工業學校。1917年畢業,爲日本總督府商工課延聘爲技士。在職中因曾調查艋舺的貧民生活狀態,看見困苦無依的乞丐同胞的生活,油然生起側隨之心,便自掏腰包醫治患病的乞丐並教導其兒女讀書。爲了幫助更多的乞丐,於是轉託伯父施煥說服父親支助金錢,並向施叔施坤山施合發木材行募得木材,於1922年在今大理街蓋了一座房舍,作爲乞丐救濟收容所,題名曰「愛愛寮」。施乾此時已辭去總督府的職務,至力照顧愛愛寮的乞丐及無家可歸者,並親自爲他們清潔身體、上藥、教導手工編織,又在後院空地養豬、種菜、培養他們自給自足的能力。經費來源,只靠有限的募捐所得。最困難的時候,施乾甚至變賣全部家產予以維持。施乾之義行,曾得日本文豪菊池寬撰文報導而廣爲日人所知,並獲日皇銀赐賞金。施乾石像亦是由張子隆塑製,立於淡水國小操場出口。

右側以其親自設計、監造之臺灣第 1 所西式學府「牛津學堂」爲配襯。」「5可惜郵票上沒有印上馬借的英文名字"George Leslie MacKay"或其綽號
"The Black-Bearded Barbarian"。

2002 年,文建會委託台灣作曲家金希文及編劇邱瑗創作以台灣在地故事為背景的歌劇,耗時五年籌畫以馬偕博士的生平事跡的歌劇成型,兩廳院在董事長陳郁秀女士策劃下,於 2008 年推出跨國製作,長達三小時,以台/英語演唱的三幕歌劇《福爾摩沙信節---黑鬚馬偕》(Mackay—The Black Bearded Bible Man) 16。

1872年3月9日下午3時,馬偕博士搭 「海龍號」客輪抵淡水,一位陳姓船夫以舢 飯接他登陸。馬偕博士的上岸處即是在今日 淡水郵局後方的碼頭水岸邊。2007年12月 27日,在馬偕博士當年登陸地點,淡水鎮公 所樹立了馬偕博士藝術銅像。該銅像爲臺北 縣政府補助淡水鎮公所辦理的「藝術街坊發 展方案第二期工程」的項目之一,是由臺北 藝術大學美術系教授王志文參考幾位教會牧 長和鎭長的意見所作。



作品呈現馬偕博士面向淡水在一艘小舟前感恩禱告,舟上放著一本聖經與一袋醫藥箱,代表著福音與醫療,這是馬偕人生下半場的理想與實踐。銅像一路連接「觀潮藝術廣場」、藝術街 298、馬偕醫館到馬偕銅像三角公園,成爲淡水的藝術展示中心。鎖長蔡葉偉表示:藉由對淡水這片土地有所貢獻並建立深厚情感的馬偕博士的溯源,鋪陳出淡水在地居民與遊客透過融入新創意、建構新淡水以延續淡水在地歷史傳承的精神。17

17 見淡水鎭刊《金色淡水》,111 期,2008 年 1 月。

<sup>15</sup> 見網站: http://www.post.gov.tw/post/internet/w\_stamphouse/stamphouse\_index\_ch.htm =

<sup>16</sup> 本劇總共分爲三幕,第一幕有三景,分別爲「天一天父的旨意」、「地一美麗之島福爾摩莎」、「落靜淡水,與牧童學台語」:第二幕名爲「突破與融入」,分有「衝突」與「牛津學堂」兩景:第三幕亦分有「避走海外,戰地鐘聲」與「告別馬偕,天國鐘聲」兩景。

#### (二)「馬偕日」的由來與發展

2001 年是馬偕博士逝世百週年,爲了紀念 1872 年這位加拿大宣教士一生對台灣所作的貢獻,特別是他以淡水爲根據地,在淡水開設許多開創性的建設,當時的鎮長郭哲道在陳俊宏先生的牽線下,便讓淡水鎮與馬偕博士的故鄉加拿大安大略省牛津郡結爲姊妹市,<sup>18</sup>更宣佈訂定每年六月二日爲淡水鎮「馬偕日」,藉以紀念馬偕一生無私的付出與奉獻。此爲全國首次由鄉鎮訂定之紀念日,並年年爲此舉行紀念活動。

茲簡單整理各年馬偕日活動內容19:

馬偕日年代	活動時間	活動內容	公部門配合或主導
2001馬偕	3/6	象徵薪火相傳的聖火在真理大學內的牛津學堂點燃,以五天的時間傳遞過馬偕生前宣教的北台灣七縣市。	長老教會北部大會 主辦,臺北縣政 府、淡水鎮支持參 與
	3/9	牛津郡Woodstock市長John Geoghegan率 領Embro的英格索風笛隊、左拉高中女子 拔河隊一行29名應邀抵淡水,參加淡江中 學校慶以及馬偕盃拔河賽。3月9日在風笛 隊的開路下在中正路遊行街民放炮夾道 歡迎。	淡水鎮公所主導, 淡江中學、淡水地 區教會出席配合

<sup>18</sup> 約在 2000 年,僑居加拿大的陳俊宏先生,是對台灣史也對馬偕史料有高度興趣的民間學者,在與當地郡民接觸的同時,也將台灣和馬偕宣教事業的現況告知幾近忘了馬偕存在過的今日牛津郡民。引起牛津郡(Oxford County)郡治首長的興趣。因此,在陳俊宏兩地奔走下,當時的淡水鎮長郭哲道先生,透過代表會的同意,決定與牛津郡締結姊妹市。於是鎮長、李文德縣議員(他也是校友)和淡江校長、老師、拔河隊員組成了一支 27 人 的締盟團隊,到加拿大進行締結姊妹市活動。6 月 30 日早上在牛津郡郡政廳前完成締約儀式時。牛津郡還在郡政廳前當場種了一株銀杏,作爲兩地結盟的見證。翌(2001)年三月,已經是淡水姊妹市的牛津郡爲了兩地禮尚往來,由 Woodstock 市長 John Geoghegan 率領 Embro 的英格索風笛隊、左拉高中女子拔河隊一行 29 名 應邀抵淡水。

<sup>19 2001~2006</sup> 馬偕日資料爲訪談並鎮公所資料室;2007~2010 資料則由淡水教會蔡維倫牧師題供。

	T	T	
	-	1.在馬偕大雕像前舉行追思禮拜,會中郭	
		哲道鎮長頒給偕約翰博士(馬偕博士之	
	6/2	孫)爲淡水鎭永久榮譽鎮民,並當場宣	
		佈每年6月2日爲淡水馬偕日。	
		2.老街踩街遊行。	
		(Mr. & Mrs. David Jenkins)來台,爲偕	
		叡廉紀念公園(郷土文化教學園區)和淡	淡江中學主導,淡
	三月	江中學校史館剪綵開幕,也參加了北部長	水鎮公所配合參與
2002馬偕		老教會和淡水教會設教一三〇週年系列	
日		的活動。	·
		1.台灣基督長老北三區教會聯合禮拜於淡	淡水教會主導,淡
		水教會。	江中學、長老教會
	6/2	2.三角公園馬偕銅像獻花活動、淡水街道	北三區會、淡水鎮
		插旗活動、老街踩街遊行。	公所配合參與
2003馬偕			
		因SARS暫停慶祝活動	
		牛津學堂正式設立、「淡水中學校」的九〇	
	三月	週年,淡江中學舉行盛大校慶活動,邀請	淡江中學主導,淡
		   萊絲禮夫婦來台,這次活動英格索風笛隊	水鎮公所配合參與
		也有來參加	
200 A ET É /b/c	5/30	1.台灣基督長老教會北三區教會聯合禮拜	淡水教會主導,淡
2004馬偕		於淡水教會	江中學、長老教會
日		2.三角公園馬偕銅像獻花活動、淡水街道	北三區會、淡水鎮
		插旗活動	公所配合參與
	9月~10月		淡水長老教會主
		淡水教會2004馬偕社區音樂比賽	辦,淡水鎭公所補
			   助

2005馬偕	5/29	1.台灣基督長老教會聯合禮拜於真理大學 2.三角公園馬偕銅像獻花活動、淡水街道 插旗活動	淡水教會主導,淡 江中學、長老教會 北三區會、淡水鎮 公所配合參與
	6/3下午 3:00	淡水河邊金色水岸舞臺舉辦「馬偕音樂 節:看馬偕徒子徒孫的演出」,由淡江中 學音樂班	淡江中學主導,淡水鎮公所協調補助
2006馬偕	6/3~4	1.淡水馬偕街百年老照片展/重現馬偕街百年風貌(馬偕街全線現場今古對和說明)。 2.淡水禮拜堂前空地,連易宗「淡水懷舊」影像展:民國五〇年的淡水。 3.吳金華、黃於芬滬尾偕醫館義診:看牙不用拔牙(下午1:00至4:30)。 4.馬偕街街民獻寶盒:看馬偕的鄰居數家珍 開放參觀單位:滬尾偕醫館、淡水禮拜堂、馬偕街五號淡水街長多田榮吉故居、淡水海關小白宮(門票40元)牛津學堂、淡江中學。	淡水鎮公所協調, 淡水教會、淡江中 學、淡水古蹟園區 配合執行
2007馬偕	5/26 (六) 下午 5:00~8:30	馬偕現代音樂會(淡水鎭公所河邊金色水 岸舞臺),由北區各大專長青團契樂團、 詩班演唱,以及淡水各教會團體舉行聯合 音樂會演出。	1.淡水地區教會聯 合策會主導,鎮公 所配合參與並補 助
	6/2 (六)	1.到馬偕街尋訪馬偕的足跡之展覽和導 覽。 2.下午4:00馬偕石像前獻花活動。	2.踩街遊行臺北縣 騎警隊參與遊行 3.淡水古蹟博物館

		1.上午10:00淡水鎭內各教會在真理大學	配合馬偕日活
		大禮堂舉行聯合慶祝禮拜活動,會後由	動,一日免費讓淡
	6/3 (日)	鎮長及牧長們至淡江中學校園內的馬偕	水鎭民入園區內
		墓園獻花致敬。	參觀
		2.下午1:30老街踩街遊行。	
		1.上午10:00由淡水鎭內各教會爲主體舉	
į		行聯合慶祝禮拜,在真理大學禮拜堂舉	
		行聯合慶祝禮拜。	
		2.下午1:00~4:00馬偕日傳愛嘉年華會,在	
2000 E ##	;	淡江中學純德小學前後廣場設置會場,	淡水地區教會聯合
2008馬偕	6/1 (日)	提供遊戲攤、服務攤(馬偕醫院健康諮	策會主導,鎮公所
		詢),及飲食攤、禮物閣等。配合淡水古	配合參與並補助
		蹟日的 <b>免費參觀</b> 。	
		3.下午2:00,邀請鎮長、古蹟園區館長及	
		牧長們和民眾,前往淡江中學內的馬偕	
		墓園獻花致敬。	
	5/31(日)	1.上午10:00由淡水鎮內各教會爲主體舉	
		行聯合慶祝禮拜,在真理大學禮拜堂舉	
		行聯合慶祝禮拜。	
		2.中午12:30邀請鎮長及牧長們和民眾,前	
2009馬偕		往淡江中學內的馬偕墓園獻花致敬。	
		3.下午1:30-4:30馬偕日傳愛嘉年華會,在	淡水地區教會聯合
		真理大學體育館一樓廣場設置會場,提	策會主導,鎮公所 第20章 第274世界
		供遊戲攤、服務攤及飲食攤三種;現場	配合參與並補助
		並搭設表演舞臺,邀請非洲鼓、管弦樂	
		團、教會詩班、戲劇演出、帶動唱、各	
		項樂器獨奏等各項表演。	
		4.下午1:30-4:30馬偕日三項球類邀請賽活	

	1		T
		動,於真理大學體育館舉辦桌球、三對 三籃球、雙打網球活動,以淡水鎮上各 教會成員爲基本對象,邀約社區民眾配	
		合組隊參與。	
		1.上午9:30 由淡水鎮內各教會爲主體,在	
		真理大學禮拜堂舉行聯合慶祝禮拜,結	
	5/30(日)	束後邀請鎮長及牧長們和民眾,前往淡	
		江中學內的馬偕墓園獻花致敬。	
		2.下午1:00-4:30於真理大學舉辦馬偕日園	
		遊會暨趣味競賽。	
		3.下午1:00-4:30馬偕日三項球類邀請賽活	
		動,於真理大學體育館舉辦桌球、三對	
2010E /tk		三籃球、雙打網球活動。	淡水地區教會聯合
2010馬偕	6/4 (五)	第二屆北台文史與資產保存學術研討會	策會主導,鎭公所
		一2010馬偕研究學術研討會	配合參與並補助
	6/6(日)	1.下午4:30~9:00在老街藝術穿廊搭設舞	
		臺,由輔大音樂系老師、教會聖歌隊、	
		並邀約社區中合唱團、小學合唱團等,	
		一起舉辦馬偕社區音樂會。	
		2.晚上7:30-9:00在淡水教會禮拜堂,旅	
		美聲樂家演唱。	
	6/9~10	真理大學「交融與跨越:馬偕學在西方與	
	(三~四)	台灣」國際學術研討會	

(表格資料:筆者自行整理繪製)

馬偕日從 2001 年至 2010 年,至今已經十年。除了 2003 年因為 SARS 的原因停辦一次之外,活動不曾間斷。在 2006 年之前,主要是由淡水長老教會主導或協調,鎮公所則補助並參與。只是各項活動規模都比較小,除非結合該教會本身慶典(如設立 130 週年)或是淡江中學的各項慶典(如偕叡廉紀念公園和淡江

中學校史館剪綵開幕、或是校慶等),才有可能擴大舉辦,只是時間便不一定是以 6/2 馬偕日當天舉行了。2006 年剛好淡水古蹟博物館開幕,新鎮長也有心表現,所以便以淡水教會爲主體,配合古蹟園區舉辦系列活動。到了 2007 年之後,因爲淡水地區教會擴大慶祝「馬偕來台宣教 135 週年」,便參考 2006 年活動內容,開始聯合舉辦系列活動,由於效果相當好,而鎮公所亦每年提撥約 30 萬元經費補助,故變成每年舉辦的活動。

#### (三)歷屆「馬偕日活動」現象之整理

從各屆「馬偕日」的舉辦中,我們可以看到幾個相當值得玩味的現象。

### 1、2006年之前的馬偕日活動,缺乏凸顯淡水與馬偕關係的特殊性

2006年之前的馬偕日活動,除了 2001年之外,其他幾乎都沒有妥善規劃、缺乏凸顯淡水與馬偕關係的特殊性活動。2001年因爲是首次辦理馬偕日,所以內容豐富,從三月份開始便有聖火傳遞、姊妹市來訪、拔河比賽、風笛隊繞街等;六月3日更正式宣佈馬偕日的設立。但是到了 2002年之後,就不再有大型特殊的紀念活動。頂多是在街上懸掛旗幟,到馬偕銅像或墓園獻花致敬。反而是教會團體一一尤其是淡水長老教會以及淡江中學因著歷史淵源以及本身的慶典,會有相關的紀念活動。淡水鎮前鎮長郭哲道(他也是在淡水教會聚會的基督徒)雖有心凸顯馬偕與淡水的歷史淵源,但是畢竟缺乏深黯馬偕精神的規劃設計者,因此還是得由教會團體來主導馬偕日活動;而最主要的規劃單位一一淡水長老教會則因 2003~2005沒有主任牧師駐堂牧養,因此也無法有整合性的活動規劃,故活動無可避免地流於形式。

#### 2、2006年是辦理馬偕日活動模式區隔的分界年

如同筆者之前所說,2006年之前的馬偕日活動,幾乎都是小型的活動;但是 2007年之後,就由淡水地區教會聯禱會承接辦理。鎮公所的角色一直以來都是指導、補助活動經費,並參與需要活動之角色。因爲原來只有淡水教會主導,在人力物力偕有線的情形下,無法有大型活動之舉辦。2006年剛好是郭哲道鎮長卸任,由現任鎮長蔡葉偉接任。剛接任的蔡鎮長由於本身也是基督徒,也是在淡水長老教會聚會(雖然不是那麼常出現),因此也有意繼續透過馬偕日活動來

延續淡水人對馬偕博士的特殊記憶,所以在 2006 年剛上任時配合「淡水古蹟博物館」的成立,協助淡水教會擴大舉辦馬偕日活動。2007 年淡水地區教會擴大慶祝「馬偕來台宣教 135 週年」,便參考 2006 年活動內容,開始聯合舉辦系列活動,變成了真正每年都舉辦的大型活動。而因爲規模與活動內容大幅增加,加上政府文創政策的加持,因此鎮公所也大幅增加經費之補助。

### 3、「馬偕日」活動成爲團結淡水基督教各教會的重要因素

如前所說,2007年之後,馬偕日活動的辦理模式從單一教會單獨辦理變成 地區教會聯合規劃辦理。其活動宗旨便寫明:

「自 2007 年適逢馬偕博士登陸淡水 135 週年開始,由長老教會發起, 嚐試連結淡水區各基督教會和學校,除呈現馬偕博士在淡水地方所作 的種種貢獻,並呈現現今淡水地區眾多基督教會的多樣性發展,讓地 方民眾更多認識到社區文化的內涵。」<sup>20</sup>

提到淡水地區各教會的聯合,就不能不提到「淡水聯禱會」。淡水聯禱會是淡水地區各教會牧者自發性組成的跨教派聯合組織。成立約在2000年左右,只要是淡水地區的基督教會都可以參加,以牧長爲代表。原來淡水長老教會張思聰牧師是發起人之一,但是2003年張牧師離開之後,淡水教會與聯禱會的聯繫便幾乎中斷。一直到2006年底,淡水教會蔡維倫傳道才又再加入。因此,2007年當淡水教會要再辦理馬偕日活動時,便在聯禱會提出聯合辦理的想法,獲得成員的支持,因而催生了2007馬偕日大型聯合活動。只不過負責規劃的還是當時蔡維倫傳道(現在是蔡維倫牧師)。後來每年的「聖誕節」與「馬偕日」活動就變成淡水地區各教會重要的合辦活動。

不過有趣的是,馬偕日是淡水各教派教會團結的契機;但是也是因爲馬偕日,也讓淡水地區各教會的內、外問題浮現出來,而造成新的問題,但是這以不是本文討論範圍。下表是 2007~2010 年共同參與辦理「馬偕日」活動之教會團體。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> 詳見《2010年淡水鎮慶祝馬偕來台 138 週年馬偕日慶祝活動企劃書草案》前言。

	2007~2010 年共同參與辦理「馬偕日」活動之教會團體 <sup>21</sup>
2007	台灣基督長老教會臺北中會北三區、淡水聯禱會、三芝長老教會、淡水國語禮拜堂、
	竹圍長老教會、關渡長老教會、淡農長老教會、雅歌長老教會、淡水靈糧堂、淡水
	基督教會、淡水讚美基督教會、淡水倍加教會、淡海長老教會、關渡長老教會、迦
	南教會、淡江中學、馬偕醫護管理專科學校、真理大學
2008	台灣基督長老教會臺北中會北三區、淡水聯禱會、北新基督教會、竹圍長老教會、
	竹圍信友堂、青年使命團、活泉教會、毗努以勒教會、紅樹林教會、淡水布農長老
	教會、淡水迦南教會、淡水基督教會、淡水國語禮拜堂、淡水聖教會、淡水讚美基
	督教會、淡水靈糧堂、淡江教會、淡海長老教會、雅歌長老教會、福樂倍加教會、
	聖公會降臨堂、磐石家庭、淡江中學、馬偕醫院、真理大學、臺北縣立淡水古蹟博
	物館、淡水社區大學、淡水文化基金會
2009	台灣基督長老教會臺北中會北三區、竹圍長老教會、淡水國語禮拜堂、淡海長老教
	會、三芝長老教會、關渡長老教會
2010	台灣基督長老教會臺北中會北三區、竹圍長老教會、淡水國語禮拜堂、淡海長老教
	會、三芝長老教會、關渡長老教會、真理大學、馬偕醫院、淡水聯禱會

(表格資料:筆者自行整理繪製)

值得一提的,是 2008 年參與的教會數最多,而 2009 年銳減。根據蔡維倫牧師表示:原來 2007 年的活動是將「馬偕日」與「傳愛嘉年華」分開,而 2008 年時,聯禱會認爲可以將兩者合併,故 2008 年參加的教會數目非常之多;但是卻也因爲所耗的人力與時間太多,許多小教會難以負荷,因此造成 2009 年參與的教會數目減少許多。

# 四、從「馬偕日」來看鎮公所與地方基督教會之互動

就本質上來看,「馬偕日」是歷史記憶與文化產業結合的產物。淡水鎮得天獨厚,能透過馬偕及其影響發展出特殊的現代化歷史進程,也透過這位異國的淡水人,將淡水與國際接軌,甚至可以締結姊妹市。雖然,「馬偕日」的出現是公部門的決定(鎮長加上鎮代會通過),但是就馬偕日活動的辦理,卻不是由公部

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> 本表格參考 2007~2009 的「馬偕日成果報告書」,以及《2010 年淡水鎮慶祝馬偕來台 138 週年馬偕日慶祝活動企劃書草案》。

門作主禱,而是民間教會團體所推動。我們可以從「馬偕日」來思考鎭公所與教會團體的一些互動狀況。

### (一)活動觀點的差異:馬偕消費 v.s.馬偕精神的發揮

在2002年之後,台灣提出「文化創意產業」的產業政策,並將之列爲「2008:國家重點發展計畫」中的一項,視爲是國家建設的重大工程。這種文化政策中經濟論述的不斷增強,並與經濟產業政策密切整合的情形,在2006年周錫瑋擔任縣長後更是清楚。<sup>22</sup>因此,在公部門的觀念,馬偕或許代表了淡水發展的重要面向與記憶片段;但是,他更是一個「文化消費品牌」,是淡水鎮自我行銷的重要媒介。我們可以看到在淡水鎮公所的網頁中,有關馬偕的景點介紹是最多的,而馬偕的故事是最完整被傳訟的一一當然,有可能是因爲其他古蹟廟宇的文史重建工作遲滯不前,但是,公部門以「文化消費」的觀點來看待「馬偕日」,卻是不爭的事實。

相對於公部門,教會團體則是以發揚「馬偕精神」<sup>23</sup>作爲辦理馬偕日活動的基點。事實上,這也只有教會團體才能較深刻地認識。因爲除非有相當程度的馬偕意識,否則很難在相關慶祝或紀念活動中真正帶出馬偕精神。不過,就 2007年~2010年相關活動來看,如「馬偕日傳愛嘉年華會」、「馬偕足跡尋訪」等活動多少帶出一些馬偕精神之外,餘如「球類競賽」、「音樂會」以及「獻花活動」似乎也沒能帶出什麼「馬偕精神」。反而像是 2006年的「滬尾偕醫館牙科義診」,讓淡水鎭民體會早期馬偕幫人拔牙齒的精神,還比較具有意義。

2010年,真理大學開放「教士會館」<sup>24</sup>,以餐廳模式對外營業,讓有意對 馬偕懷舊訪者多了一個選擇。可惜裡面的餐點與服務內涵還是與馬偕有所不同, 若能夠在「馬偕日」推出「馬偕行動劇」、「馬偕餐」、「馬偕下午茶」等等,相信 對於馬偕記憶的深化必定有所助益。

<sup>22</sup> 在 2004 年四月舉辦的「2006 臺北縣經濟發展會議」中,認為是將產業、活動及觀光結合,透過公私部門有效的資源整合與行銷,塑造一個企業化經營模式,不僅帶動觀光人潮,更希望為周邊產業挹注商機,創造更高的附加價值。見「2006 臺北縣經濟發展會議大會手冊」,頁12。

<sup>23</sup> 也就是「寧願燒盡、不願钄壞」的精神。

<sup>24 「</sup>教士會館」位於真理街一號,隔壁便是馬偕的故居。教士會館爲吳威廉設計,乃未來道台灣的外籍宣教士所建,其格局與馬偕故居相同,是,西班牙式白堊孤廊建築,不僅適合熱帶氣候,優美的造形,配合青翠的埔頂,可展望淡水河和觀音山。

### (二)宗教族群的考量

淡水是台灣早期便發展的港市,早在嘉慶年間,淡水不僅成了附近聚落的 日常生活消費和物產集散地,也成了地區文化和祭祀的中心,主要廟宇也都先後 建立。因此,在馬偕來之前,淡水民間信仰的發展便相當鼎盛。「清水祖師廟」、 「關渡宮」、「福佑宮」、「鄞山寺」等都是非常著名的廟宇,當然也有相當熱鬧的 廟會與繞境活動。特別是在農曆 5 月 6 日的 <sup>《</sup>清水祖師》,繞境和大拜拜的慶典節 期,正好與「馬偕日」活動有部份重疊。而畢竟在淡水,非基督徒的人數遠比基 督徒多得多;因此,就算郭哲道鎮長公開深明定初「馬偕日」為「鎮民日」,蔡 葉偉鎮長增加了「馬偕日」的補助金額,但是畢竟作爲鎮長,仍須顧慮到大多數 淡水人的信仰傳統,必須將馬偕的宗教氣味降低,將之轉化爲「文化財」的範疇。

我們必須理解,在台灣的宗教團體比起其他人民團體多了相當程度的自主性。在「政教分離」的傳統下,有些宗教團體也許會申請公部門的某些補助,但是絕不容忍政府過度干涉宗教信仰的自由。因此鎮公所在宗教文化活動的看待方式,是將其劃爲一區塊,補助其相關活動,只做形式上的輔導(如環保、核銷等),鎮公所自己將更多經費資源投注於自己可以掌握的領域——如藝術踩街活動、淡水藝術街坊工程等等。在公部門的認知中,「馬偕日」幾乎已被劃歸爲淡水「五月文化季」的一部分,其原來特出的地位已經逐漸消淡了。

也因此,教會團體對於鎮公所的意義,便會回歸到一般人民團體的地位,成爲爭取活動補助的諸單位之一:其後果,便是純以「企劃書」撰寫的優劣來作爲評斷活動舉辦者的篩選標準。這可能會產生兩個令人擔憂的結果:第一,某些很會撰寫企劃書的宗教團體,不必然真的適合舉辦該項活動;第二,若原來的宗教團體自覺性不夠高,很可能在企劃書中忽略了該活動的真正精神,整個層級就被拉下來了。

#### (三)文化政策的演變:從文化產業到文化創意產業

從 1995 年以來,台灣的文化政策之演變呈現出相當大的轉向。從 1995 年 到 2002 年的這段期間,文化政策中的「文化產業」概念是與「社區總體營造」 的概念一起被理解的。只要是在地歷史文化的發揮與活化所成的產業,都可以計 算在「文化產業」的範疇中。<sup>25</sup>然而到了 2002 年之後,台灣正式提出「文化創意產業」的產業政策。「文化創意產業」政策相關的概念除了「文化產業」外,更接近 2000 年政府大力提倡的「知識經濟」的概念,認爲文化創意產業正是「知識經濟產生附加價值最高類型」。簡單來說,「文化創意產業」的概念是必須以「知識經濟」的概念一起被認知。

我們將兩個概念做意義上的簡單比較:「文化產業」傾向以傳統、鄉土、人類學式的生活內涵來思考文化的定位,具有高度地方關懷與社區認同的情調,並不完全從經濟價值來思考;而「文化創意產業」則模糊文化的邊界,將具有生產文化符號意義的產品(例如視覺藝術、音樂與表演藝術、工藝、設計產業、出版、電視與廣播、電影、廣告、文化展演設施、休閒軟體等)都視爲文化的展現。在這樣的情形下,我們可以看到,文化政策使用的語彙從「文化補助」轉爲「文化投資」;文化政策的目的也開始強調「文化產業產值的提升與就業人口的增加」等等。

如筆者之前所言,臺北縣的文化政策,從 2006 年以來,都是朝向與經濟產業政策有密切整合的可能性在發展;文化政策所強調的價值從美學、社會轉向經濟價值;文化政策中經濟論述的不斷增強。因此,若要配合文化政策的走向,鎮公所有可能會從產業、效益、資源整合與行銷、觀光人潮、周邊產業的商機與附加價值等角度來思考未來「馬偕日」活動之辦理。事實上,在今(2010)年的「馬偕日」籌備會議中,鎮公所的代表便曾以如此的角度質疑某些活動辦理的可行性。對這樣的情形,我暫不做評論;但是,我舉出一個可能性:無論是郭哲道鎮長或是蔡葉偉鎮長,都至少是基督徒——長老教會信徒,起碼會知道馬偕與長老教會的淵源與聯結的必要性;若有一天,換成一個對馬偕淵源完全陌生的人當鎮長,會不會在純以經濟效益與價值的考量下,逐步地遺失了馬偕活動中所不可替代的部份?

# 五、結論

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> 在這個階段的文化政策論述中,可以明顯感受到「文化產業」是與「文化工業」相對立的、結合社區與區域經濟發展的計畫、最終將文化與藝術活動本身及其產品作爲地方產業來發展。見王俐容,〈文化政策中的經濟論述:從精英文化到大眾經濟〉,文化研究學會年會「靠文化 By Culture」, 2003, 頁 7。

任何文化活動的舉辦,不可能一成不變,否則很快便會被摒棄。宜蘭的「童玩節」、「綠色博覽會」、彰化的「花博會」就是鮮明的例子——內容必須要更新才能持續長久,「馬偕日」紀念活動也一樣。「馬偕日」作爲一個淡水歷史紀念人物的象徵,它不能只有宣教性,也不能只具有觀光娛樂性;更重要的,它必須具有教育性,必須想盡辦法,在各種不同的活動——或者歷史行動劇、或者體驗活動——中不斷灌注馬偕熱愛台灣人民、犧牲奉獻的精神。讓所有信徒與非信徒,都能透過對馬偕的記憶體驗到上帝的愛。教會界要自覺地持續爭取「馬偕日」活動的舉辦,在不變的主軸下容納各種可能的元素。也許不必然每年舉辦大型的馬偕日活動,但是就算是小小的馬偕日活動,都能讓人感受到創意與驚喜。

「馬偕日」活動該怎麼舉辦?從過去的經驗來看,「領導者」具有相當關鍵的地位——特別是教會領袖。今年淡水長老教會即將有新的主任牧師——呂秉衡牧師——上任。呂牧師是一位藝術家,他將如何理解並規劃「馬偕日」相關活動,是相當令人期待的。

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# Late Victorian Creation Science, Nordic Origins, and Interracial Marriage—The Interesting Case of George Leslie Mackay

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While recognized in Taiwan as a monumental figure and force for good, George Leslie Mackay is rarely mentioned in North American histories of the Presbyterian Church. Brian J. Fraser's The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915<sup>i</sup> is a case in point, for Mackay is nowhere to be found. Alvyn Austin's seminal Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom devotes a mere five pages to him. Austin is hard on the "Zorra Boy" as perhaps "the strangest character nineteenth-century Canada ever produced." There were, according to Austin, two Mackays: the beguiling missionary abroad and firebrand at home. His marriage to a Taiwanese native, for example, did not sit well with some Presbyterians in English Canada. iii For Dominic McDevitt-Parks, Mackay was a pawn of Western imperialism, his representation of Formosan peoples 'Orientalist' in nature. iv Mark Eric Munsterhjelm, adds a charge of cultural genocide for admonishing converts to destroy their ancestral tablets, Mackay's collection of native artifacts at the Royal Ontario Museum in Canada a kind of aggravated burglary. Even church historians admit that Mackay proves problematic. James R. Rohrer theorizes that Mackay was a charismatic leader and founder of a Taiwanese sect. vi And despite his expressed sympathy for "dark-skinned peoples," Michael Stainton argues that Mackay's belief in the southern theory of Taiwanese origins was politically motivated and anti-Chinese. VII However, Mackay was also critical of the Fomosan natives he came to save from sin as well as Chinese brutality. viii

Here in Taiwan, politics has played an important role in Mackay's meteoric rise to fame of late. The oriental opera at the National Theatre of Taiwan in 2008.

(November), "The Black Bearded Bible Man," literally sang his praises. However, it is important to remember that criticism of the Chinese and Confucian religious practice in his famous autobiography, From Far Formosa, was censored by the Kuomintang (KMT) or Chinese ruling party. And so, Mackay's celebrity in Taiwan, equal to that of Chang Kai Shek in some respects, begins where military dictatorship and one-party rule ends, that being, the creation and rise to power of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) or Taiwanese independence movement under Chen Shui-bian in 2000. However, Taiwanese Mackay scholars and churchmen who credit the Presbyterian missionary to Formosa with a kind of political prescience, defending Taiwanese independence long before it become fashionable or tenable, might be said to reel history backwards.

Had Mackay come to Taiwan in the 1950s and bravely preached the same anti-Chinese and iconoclastic gospel, then truly he would deserve all of the praise laid at his feet as an early champion of Taiwanese independence. ix But he arrived on the shores of northern Formosa in the 1870s, the little island under the control of the Qing Dynasty of China at the time and then the Japanese in 1895. Importantly, the Treaty of Shimonoseki (17 April 1895) and Japanese rule gave impetus to a doomed Taiwanese independence movement led by the Taiwanese noble Chiu Feng-Chia (丘逢甲) and Qing governor-general T'ang Ching-Sung (唐景崧) who agreed to become the republic's first President. A formal declaration of independence was drafted. The fledgling "Republic of Formosa" lasted all of five months before the Japanese took control of the island by force a second and final time. This first Taiwanese independence movement did not succeed in gaining international support or legitimacy. In concert, Mackay supported the Japanese occupation of Formosa to his dying breath. Taiwanese independence for Mackay was religious in the main vis-à-vis his ordination of native preachers and sectarian church governance. Siii

Mackay's mission to the aborigines of Taiwan and any political, social, economic, and religious motivations he may have had require a better understanding and appreciation of the times and cultural context in which he lived. The intention, indeed

motivation of my own study of the man, is born of respect for Mackay as a remarkable specimen of late nineteenth-century Christian faith and social justice that calls for an approach that attempts to celebrate the man rather than the myth and, ironically perhaps, as the Calvinist doctrine of grace requires: Mackay warts and all. Accordingly, the issue is not the quality of Mackay's many good works, but to what degree they can be attributed in part to his extensive reading and faith in late Victorian, bourgeois racial theorizing and interracial marriage in particular.

Mackay's decision to take a Taiwanese wife was almost certain to raise eyebrows back in Canada and a courtship in accordance with Chinese custom. Tsung-Ze satisfied Mackay's criteria of "good health, decent looking, and no footbinding," but the Chinese record of events also states that "her skin was dark and her hands were coarse" a consequence of working outdoors too much and tending ducks. To "improve Tsung-Ze's appearance," she was fed better food and kept out of the sun for six months, her face becoming "whiter" and qualifying her as "Mackay's fair lady." However, the latter requirement can be attributed to Chinese class prejudice and partiality to white skin, ironically.

Mackay's general attitude regarding Chinese culture and 'savage' mountain tribes as decadent and inferior respectively was typical of late, nineteenth-century Canadian racial prejudice—religious and secular. Critical of Darwinism because it contradicted the Bible, he favored an opposing scientific worldview that was Eurocentric and, by implication, anti-African. A defender of Formosa's aborigines and harsh critic of the abuses of their Chinese occupiers, his beloved Taiwanese were nonetheless inferior, "less solid and stable." In religious parlance, he hated the sin not the sinner, but his held true for both Chinese and Taiwanese. Importantly, Mackay had no doubts about the superiority of his Christian faith and British social, economic, and political tradition. He came to Formosa to elevate natives to a higher religious and material plane as he understood it, but in that order.

### What Mackay Read and What More It May Tell Us

A very private man, MacKay wrote comparatively little his diaries

notwithstanding. As James Rohrer explains, Mackay's "correspondence and even his diaries reveal relatively little about his inner life, leaving us in many cases to read between the lines and to conjecture." However, they do provide us with a near-encyclopedic bibliography of his nocturnal reading, which was extensive, as well as some indication of his likes and dislikes. As Trevor Colbourn's The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution has shown, a personal library is one way to chart the myriad intellectual forces at play in the life and mission of eighteenth-century thinkers. Using a similar approach, a reassessment of Mackay vis-à-vis his library and works of early creation science and racial theory that he claimed to read, is the goal.

What soon becomes clear is that theology was not Mackay's true passion. The little fiction that he read--not counting John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress-does not merit comment. The same can be said for the biography, adventure travel logs, anti-Catholic diatribe, hypnotism, and Canadian politics that he read.xx Mackay was first and foremost a Christian naturalist, taking issue with Darwin's theory of natural selection but not evolution per se. xxi He read Darwin's Origin of the Species (1859) Herbert Spencer's Principles of Biology (1864), and Thomas H. Huxley's "Agnosticism" (1889) and "Physiography." However, Wilberforce, Gladstone, and Campbell the 8th Duke of Argyll had the final word. XXIII Mackay went to great lengths to know his enemy, Thomas Paine a favorite while a student at Princeton, also noting in his diary that Karl Robert Eduard von Hartman's The Philosophy of the Unconscious: Speculative Results According To The Inductive Method Of Physical (1869-1890) proved "dangerous," leaving "no room for a personal God." xxiv Importantly, he did not remain silent when the Christian tradition came under attack.xxv In most cases, when science and philosophy appeared to challenge faith, it required but a slight correction. xxvi Like many conservative evangelical apologists, Mackay's reading of the best in science was a balancing act or sorts. xxvii In fact, Mackay spent the bulk of his time cataloguing proof for intelligent design in nature.xxviii

Mackay was no backward-looking, Bible-thumping fundamentalist, but an interesting mixture of religious devotion and scientific discipline. As David N. Livingstone has shown, several prominent conservative evangelical divines embraced Darwinism, the Harvard botanist Asa Gray but one example, and a Godsend vis-à-vis the work of Swiss biologist, secularist, and racist Louis Agassiz at Harvard. Others to take the side of Darwin were Thomas Chalmers, Hugh Miller, Benjamin Silliman, and James Dwight Dana. However, a vocal minority resisted the temptation to jump on the Lamarckian-Darwinian bandwagon: McGill University Principal John W. Dawson, Princeton theologian Charles Hodge, and President of Princeton when Mackay was there, James McCosh.

Mackay credits James McCosh and Charles Hodge at Princeton, Alexander Duff at the University of Edinburgh, and Dawson at McGill as a guiding force in his early life. XXX McCosh authored several influential apologies for intelligent design that Mackay may have read. XXXI Of course, Hodge would prove to be Darwin's most perceptive religious critic, arguing that the theory of natural selection was materialism, pure and simple. XXXII Dawson penned three works of creationist apologia, one of which Mackay certainly read. XXXIII Dawson's position, as Livingstone explains, was "a theistic form of evolution ... distinct from Darwinian or Neo-Lamarckianism ... the universe as the development of His plans by secondary causes and His own institution. XXXXIV Likewise, Mackay believed that God "use[d] laws of nature as means. XXXXIV And so, Mackay occupies a middle position and attempt to see in Darwinism proof of something divine in purpose. XXXVI

Related to this was a theory for the Asian and Arctic origins of the American Indians and in which Mackay certainly took an interest. The logic and attraction of a Polar or frozen Eden for Bible-believing Christians like Mackay was essentially contrarian. Darwinian man was African. And so, the biblical Adam was Nordic by default, the varieties of humankind descended from a single Arctic-Asian-Scandinavian bloodline. By merely turning the globe on its axis, early creation science asked readers like Mackay to consider an argument from modern

science, mythology, and Jewish antiquity for the North Pole as the Garden of Eden. XXXVII

William F. Warren's <u>Paradise Found: The Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole</u> Exxisting is perhaps the most famous example, Warren the President of Boston University. The other, ironically, was Charles H. Eden's <u>Frozen Asia; Together With an Account of the Native Tribes Inhabiting That Region</u>. Importantly, Mackay read and thought well of both. "Thought much about the Theory that the Garden of Eden was at the North-pole. Subject of great interest, wonderful," Mackay writes. "I took up Man in Eden, where it was and the 'cradle' of mankind."

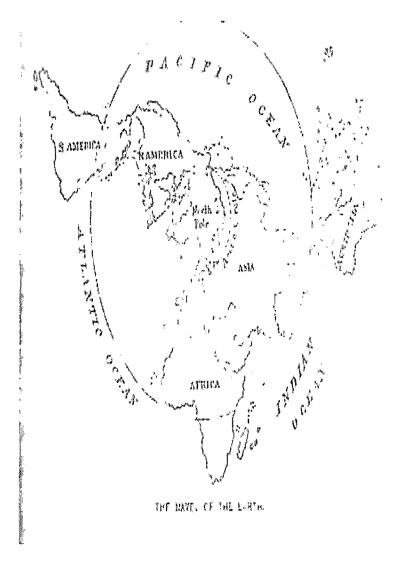


Figure 1: "Navel of the Earth" in William F. Warren's <u>Paradise Found: The</u>

<u>Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole</u> (1885)

A work of comparative mythology and religion in the main, Warren takes issue with Darwinian geography and thus Africa as the birthplace of the human race. "Though less positive, Darwin and Lyell seem favorable to the same location or to one in the adjoining portion of Africa." Warren goes on to argue:

Most of the recent maps of the progressive dispersion of the race over the globe have been constructed in accordance with this theory.... But while biological speculation, especially in the hands of Darwinists, has strongly inclined toward the chief habitat of the ape tribes in its attempts to find man's primitive point of departure, comparative philologists, mythologists, and archæological ethnographers have of late very strongly tended to place the cradle of mankind on the lofty plateau of Pamir in Central Asia.... The cradle of the human race, the Eden of primitive tradition, was situated at the North Pole, in a country submerged at the time of the deluge.<sup>xli</sup>

Moreover, what Warren calls "Homos Darwinius,"

descended from a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in his habits, and an inhabitant of the Old World ... a blackish, woolly-haired, prognathous, ape-like being, with a long, narrow head. His body was entirely covered with hair, and he was unable to speak.<sup>xlii</sup>

Warren's ideas had the support of such anti-Darwinian luminaries as Principal Dawson who is quoted as saying:

We must now be prepared to admit that God can plant an Eden even in Spitzbergen; that the present state of the world is by no means the best possible in relation to climate and vegetation; that there have been and might be again conditions which could convert the ice-clad Arctic regions into blooming Paradises.<sup>xliii</sup>

The famous arctic explorer Baron Nordenskjöld is also quoted as saying that "an extensive continent occupied this portion of the globe when these strata were deposited ... [an] ancient polar continent as something already accepted and universally understood among scientific men."

Eden's <u>Frozen Asia</u> chronicles the arctic exploits of Scandinavian explorers Johannessen and Nordenskjöld and their search for a North-East Passage from Europe to the Pacific as proof of "regular sea-communication between Siberia and Northern Europe" and along the "great rivers of Northern Asia and [Western] Europe." For Eden, "America is not distinct from the Old World," arctic trade and polar traffic in goods and persons as old as time itself. Accordingly, the Woodland Indians are said to descend from Norse invaders and adventurers who remained behind. Alviii

William Speers, ethnologist, missionary to China, and author of <u>The Oldest</u> and the Newest Empire: China and the United States was but one of many evangelical writers that Mackay consulted to champion the theory of the Nordic origin of the American Indians, adding that Mongols, Turks, Chinese, and Japanese had crossed the Atlantic by land and sea into the New World:

It should be remarked here that the Indians of the New World have sprung from several sources. From the Northwest there descended, probably from a period many centuries before the Christian era, the Turanian tribes [Mongolian/Turkic], of which we have spoken, who crossed at Behring's Straits, and formed the bulk of those which dispersed themselves in time over North and South America. And another distinct element is to be recognized in the cultivated Toltecs, Otomis and Aztecs of Mexico, who were certainly Buddhists, and came, at least in part, from Chinese and Japanese stock. North and South America.

Indeed, Alexander von Humboldt no less drew a slight line, connecting the Toltecs and Aztecs to the Huns of northern Siberia. xlix

In Mackay's case, we have only a few clues, odd comments here and there, to go by and consistent with such pan-Nordic theorizing. For example, in <u>From Far Formosa</u>, he writes: "the Chinese, like the Anglo-Saxons, are gregarious." His discussion of the variety of native dialects in Formosa also employs Nordic parallels, "Scandinavians in Caithness, Finland, Orkney, and Iceland speak dialects or languages quite different from their kinsmen in Norway and Sweden," adding that a similar phenomenon exists in "the Highland settlements of Canada." "Germans

seem more like Americans than like English men. A Britain has more reserve. But religion and science make all nations akin.—success to the Ethnologist." On his second furlough to Canada (1893), he writes: "Formosa like Vancouver." And this was the important point.

Nordic theorizing in the anti-Darwinist camp, right or wrong, lent considerable moral support to the mission in China broadly conceived. For Mackay in Formosa, not to have understood or incorporated this in some form into his missionary vision makes little sense. The above observations that Mackay made are consistent with a missiology of racial concord and international cooperation.

"Aryans follow the sun" or so the argument went. The emergence of modern Europe, England, and the United States was understood by many as the logical conclusion of a long westward trek that originated in Asia. As Reginald Horsman explains:

Those Aryan tribesman who had begun their march with the sun thousands of years before were now to return home. What had so long been prophesied was to come to pass: arts, science, religion, the whole of civilization were to return to their original birthplace after completing the circle of the globe.<sup>Iv</sup>

From this, "the Dominion of the United States" was born,

stretching the entire extent of America, the rich and fertile plains of Asia, together with the intermediate isles of the sea, in fulfillment of the great purpose of heaven, of the ultimate enlightenment of the whole earth, and the gradual elevation of man to the dignity and glory of the promised millennial day.<sup>lvi</sup>

For Robert J. Walker and Arthur Davies, pan-Celtic-Anglo-Saxonism pointed to the emergence of a new Rome. The Open Poesche and Charles Goepp in The New Rome; or, The United States of the World also defend interracial marriage as essential to the spread and consolidation of American power and influence, "the most perfect and the most gross examples of the same species" joined in holy matrimony, "the ovum of the latter being thus untainted ... the ovum is improved." In other words, a "white washing ... of the black race not capable of advantageous admixture with the

white."

Celtic-Anglo-Saxonism was both carrot and stick. On the one hand, it waxed rhapsodic on Europe and Asia as "one great family." On the other hand, the discovery of Indo-European supplied the necessary linguistic proof and a pretext for interminal Western expansion and colonial rule. Celtic-Anglo-Saxonism was the invention of two Americans: Thomas Hart Benton, a Missourian, and a New Englander, Caleb Cushing, both of Scottish descent. Benton defends Mongolians, or "Yellow," superior to the all the races by "White,"

a race far above the Ethiopian, or Black—above the Malay, or Brown, (if we must admit five races), and above the American Indian, or Red: it is a race very above all these, but still, far below the White; and, like the rest, must receive an impression from the superior race whenever they come in contact. <sup>lx</sup>

Indeed, what Benton called "the arrival of the van of the Caucasian race (the Celtic-Anglo-Saxon division) upon the border of the sea which washes the shore of the eastern Asia," or California and Oregon, promised to be the greatest event "since the dispersion of man upon earth." Moreover, by "impression" an injection of Western culture is meant, Asia awakened to its true economic, social, economic, political and religious manifest destiny and role in the emergent Celtic-Anglo-Saxon Empire.

Cushing, took a harder line, contending that genocide—cultural and physical—of all non-whites was inevitable, the command given Adam and Eve to multiply and replenish the earth and genocidal race warfare two sides of the same millennial imperial coin. "It is the Irish and Scotch and English and German blood of our fathers which constitutes our greatness, our power, and our liberty." America's mission was "to Christianize and to civilize," adding that "men. nations, races, may, must, will, perish before us.... There can be no change for the better save at the expense of that which is. Out of decay springs fresh life." George Fitzhugh, the famous pro-slavery historian, comes straight to the point on the dangers of trade with the America, who "by the arts of peace under the influence of free trade ... can march

to universal conquest ... gradually extirpate or reduce to poverty the original owners ... [and] oppress and exterminate the weaker....

Mackay was most certainly proud of his Canadian and Celtic heritage, lumping Britannia and the United States together as one and the same great ruling power and force for good in the world. Mackay's diaries are littered with declarations to Celtic-Anglo-Saxon manifest destiny. "Yes old English I love thee, let me die under the flag. Then next dear American stars & stripes I love thee. One race one religion," he writes in 1885. lxiv One may compare this to Hiram Bell's defense of the annexation of Canada (1853), Canadians "bone, as it were, of our bone, flesh of our flesh, deriving their origin from the same Anglo-Saxon source." In 1892, as Mackay prepared to return to Canada one last time, he writes in his diary: "O how I log to see the whole of Britain's possessions united in one Great and glorious Empire—Rule Britannia, rule!" The little bit of fiction that Mackay found time to read, Sir Walter Scott in particular (and his hugely popular Ivanhoe one presumes) conforms to the pattern here of a true Celtic-Anglo-Saxon.



Figure 2: Political Cartoon Satirizing U.S. Chinese Immigration Policy

At the same time, Mackay was critical of American foreign policy. "America haul down your [h]oisted flag of liberty!," he recorded in his diary in 1893, indeed "Shame on Christian America for such treatment of Heathen China." It was a long

time in coming. Ixix On his second furlough to Canada, Mackay was deeply offended when Vancouver port authorities insisted that he pay the poll tax for his Chinese wife when, in his view and not the common understanding, she was "a British subject and of course [his] children too." In fact, he was reduced to borrowing the requisite fifty dollars before entering Canada. Indeed, by the time he got back to Formosa in 1894, his sense of national, cultural, and political oneness with America had clearly waned. Taking issue with the barbarism of the American West and its treatment of Asian immigrant workers, he writes in his diary: "Ah! American laws to debar a Chinaman from entering. How the land of Liberty is damaged by an ignorant mob out West! How thou art fallen O America! Britannia, My father land I love thee for Liberty is dominant there."

However, Britannia had more than its fair share of political problems about which Mackay does not comment one way or the other--at least in his dairies. In fact, he writes glowingly of British expansion into Tibet and the occupation of Christmas Island in 1888. Mackay did not attack British abuses of power and mistreatment of locals under its alleged protection to the same degree as other missionaries in China, Chester Holcombe, for example, excoriating his native England for the opium trade and other crimes of empire. Ixxiii

Based on what we know Mackay read, another unitary theory that enjoyed a short run in conservative evangelical circles, the Hebraic origin of the Chinese, bears repeating. As Justus Doolittle explains in his <u>Social Life of the Chinese</u>: with some account of their Religious, <u>Governmental</u>, <u>Educational</u>, and <u>Business Customs and Origins</u>: lixxiv

The question has long ago been stated whether the Chinese are not the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel? An American missionary in China, several years ago, stoutly advocated the opinion that the Chinese were the posterity of Abraham through Keturah. There does not seem sufficient evidence to lead to the adoption of the former or the latter opinion. There are, however, many customs prevalent among this people which bear a very striking

resemblance, in some of their most important features, to customs which are mentioned or referred to in the sacred Scriptures. lxxv

Another mission ethnology that Mackay read, S. Wells Williams' The Middle Kingdom: A Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts, and History of the Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants, states categorically that the Chinese were originally "God's people ... from the land of Sinim" in the Bible. W.L.G. Smith's Observations on China and the Chinese, which Mackay read, takes for granted that China is "that country spoken of in the sacred records of the Old Testament as the land of Tsin or Sinim. Accordingly, the Chinese had simply wondered east of Eden; and if the Chinese were not direct descendants of the fabled Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, the existence of a Chinese-Jewish community, the Qiang People of northern Sichuan, was reason for pause.

Biblical prophecy, many believed, was not silent on the matter of the Orient, an obscure passage in the 49<sup>th</sup> chapter of Isaiah concerning "the land of Sinim" a veiled reference to the Qin dynasty (221 B.C.). The prophets had foretold of the day when all the children of Adam--which included Buddhists, Taoists, and Confucians--would providentially find their way back to the Christian fold. In his diary, Mackay writes: "How people in the west remain ignorant of the real worth of some Chinamen, Poor China! Let God arise and all His enemies be scattered, and let 'Sinim' get great light." In From Far Formosa, he exclaims: "The Isles shall wait for His law! That Old Testament prophecy has been an inspiration in my life. I have seen it fulfilled in Formosa." However, Mackay's tacit acceptance of such biblical ethnology was a factor of his belief in the essential unity of the human race.

The mission to China gave impetus to a unitary theory of the races that mediated between the Enlightenment, or environmental understanding known as monogenesis, and its nemesis, polygenesis. Robert Brown's <u>Peoples of the World</u>, which Mackay read, emphasizes the biological similarities of black and white:

The skin of a negro is, moreover, of exactly the same structure anatomically as that of a flaxen-haired Norseman. The 'wool' of the negro, the lanky horse-tail

locks of the North American Indian, and the fine silky hair of the Caucasian races have each some peculiarities. Links connecting them are not difficult to find.... Nor is there any ground for believing, as has been argued from imperfect premises, that ... hybrid nationalities become in time incapable of increase, a fact which goes far to prove that the different families of men are 'races' of the same species. Ixxxv

Importantly, Brown rejects the racism inherent to the Enlightenment understanding that "savage races are only degraded specimens of a people who have fallen from a higher grade of civilization" and about which he says "there is nothing to support this view." Likewise, polygenesis, or the argument for separate creations, an Adam and Eve for each of the five stock races is described as a "Topsy-like hypothesis" and the notion that peoples of the world "spring into existence just where they are" hard to fathom. Ixxxvi Moreover, he rejects the Hebraic argument as little more than a "charming Semitic hypothesis," enjoying the slender support of "some semi-Jewish customs" and, of course, Mormonism as the premier defender of the theory. Ixxxvii

That said, Brown's <u>Peoples of the World</u> is unquestionably racist in its depiction of African character and destiny:

The Negro character is lethargic, dull, and flabby.... Accordingly, corporeal punishments do not give his dull insensitive body the same torture as they would a man whose nervous system was more delicately strung. Whatever may be said of individual instances and they are sufficiently few[,] no unprejudiced observer can deny that his intellectual abilities are not high; while the average "facial angle," or angle at which the forehead retreats from a line drawn perpendicular to it, is about 76.1, in the Negro it is to 63, and in the orang-outang 45. The brain is small, and has few convolutions, and is 78 especially small in front, where the intellectual in contradistinction to the animal faculty are usually believed to have their seat. In disposition he is childish and fickle, affectionate, and easily affected by kindness or ill treatment. Like many savages, his powers of mimicry soon enable him to attain a certain degree of superficial civilization by aping the

manners and conversation of those around him, but if left to himself, like a wild plant brought into cultivation, he is apt again to relapse into barbarism, in the same way as the Bush Negroes of Guinea. Ixxxviii

In fact, Brown does not put any stock in racial equality in the social, economic, or political sense, arguing that the abolition of slavery in England and America was a "grand error ... equalising that which is unequal ... lower[ing] the Negro character and [making] the black man a reproach. Like a horse without harness, he runs wild, but, if harnessed, no animal is more useful." Brown's anti-African prejudice is a symptom surely of his belief in the British colonial system, Africans in his view unable to accept the responsibility that comes with the freedom and independence bestowed upon them by mother England:

The English insist upon their own weights and measures as the scales for human excellence, and it has been decreed by the multitude, inexperienced in the Negro personally, that he has been a badly-treated brother; that he is a worthy member of the human family, placed in an inferior position through the prejudice and ignorance of the white man, with whom he should be upon equality.... However severely we may condemn the horrible system of slavery, the results of emancipation have proved that the Negro does not appreciate the blessings of freedom, nor does he show the slightest feeling of gratitude to the hand that broke the rivets of his fetters.... Now as the Negro was originally imported as a labourer, but now refuses to work, it is self-evident that he is a lamentable failure. Either he must be compelled to work by some stringent law against vagrancy, or those beautiful countries that prospered under the conditions of Negro forced industry must yield to ruin under Negro freedom and independence. \*\*C

The popular American understanding of "Sinim" at the time held that the Chinese--and by implication Taiwanese—descended from Ham and Canaan, their posterity falling under a curse of interminable servitude. As Speer explains in <u>The Oldest and the Newest Empire</u>:

Sinim ... is found in the Hebrew of Isaiah ... in a prophecy of the conversion of the distant East to Christ; "Behold, there shall come from far (the south), and lo! These from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim [or the east] ... by whom they no doubt mean the patriarch Shem, it is barely possible, may be the source of it. Yet the opinion of scholars lean more toward placing the Chinese among the descendants of Ham, one of the advocates of which view is Sir William Jones, or among those of Japhet. The Mohammedan writers hand us down an old legend of Persia and Arabia, that Japhet had eleven sons, of whom Gin or Chin was the eldest; that as such his father sent him for his portion to the fertile countries of the far East, and that his descendants early became distinguished for painting, carving and the cultivation of silk. \*\*Ci

Human migration, originating in Central Asia, fanned out in two directions: "Some of the ancient legends of Persia assert that Tsin, or Gin," he explains,

was not the eldest son of Japhet, but that older than he was another, named Turk, who gave his name to the countless and widely-dispersed Turanian or Turkish tribes. In the Sanskrit of India also is found the name Turushka, applied to the same race. They were followed by Aryans, who pushed them to the extremities of the great peninsulas, to the large islands upon the coast of Asia, up into the mountain tracks, and out into the deserts.... The Aryans, who, as had been said, pressed forward the Turanians, and occupied the best lands of Southern Asia, and who gave us the inexhaustible literature of the Sanskrit, sent members of their race into the West. They are the Indo-European family to which we belong. \*\*Cii

He speculates that "in the Indian wars of the New World, after a lapse of more than three thousand years, the renewal of the same transactions which occurred in Central Asia—the descendants of the more civilized Aryan race dispossessing and exterminated those of the earlier and barbarous Turanian."

Derogatory comments in Mackay's diaries concerning people of color are mild compared to that in Brown's <u>People's of the World</u>. "I spoke on Jeremiah 13:23; 'Can the Ethiopian etc. He can't change. Nor can the Leopard. Man [a] diversity of gifts.

Can't change. Can change moral nature." Despite the racist nature of his language, Mackay holds out hope for Africans as capable of moral uplift. One diary entry, written in Hong Kong and on route to Canada in 1880, is problematic to be sure but in no sense malicious. "Negroes," Mackay writes, are called "Seedy boys" by the Chinese. Victorian racists did not speak in such muted tones.

Mackay also abandoned the largely American belief that Asians were the cursed offspring of Ham and Canaan in the Bible, defending Formosan aborigines against the charge of Africans ancestry and mixing all together. "It is contended by some," he writes in From Far Formosa,

that the aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa were of the negro race, and that they were driven back into the mountains by the Malayans. I cannot admit the contention, as I have failed to find the slightest trace of the negrito element, nor is the presence within the mountains of such a people suspected by any known tribe.... They were all positive that there were not woolly-headed races within the mountains or anywhere else in the island. \*\*evii\*

To be sure, his defense of the southern or Malaysian theory of Taiwanese origins came with an anti-African caveat albeit mild in comparison to others in the mission field and academy at the time. As he explains in <u>From Far Formosa</u>:

The inhabitants of North Formosa may be classified as belonging to either one of two great races: the aborigines, both civilized and savage, are Malayan, the Chinese are Mongolian. The classification of all the aboriginal tribes as Malayan may, however, be regarded as an open question. xcviii

Whether Mackay meant some descended from African stock, or were not Hebraic or Nordic in origin is not clear.

Given the virulent nature of the racial alternatives, polygenesis in particular, Mackay's beliefs and practices were quite daring in some respects. Polygenesis had outlived its usefulness, more or less undone by Darwin's theory of natural selection by this time. However, polygenesis had captured the imagination of such luminaries of enlightened thinking as Atkins, Voltaire, Hume, Meiners, Foster, Virey, Pinkerton,

Kames, White, and the darling of American racial theorizing and defender of slavery, Louis Agassiz at Harvard, in particular. xcix

Samuel G. Morton's influential <u>Crania Egyptiaca</u>; or, <u>Observations on Egyptian Ethnography</u>, <u>Derived from Anatomy</u>, <u>History and the Monuments</u>, his extensive collection of human crania and catalogued according to their race, size, and facial angel, was still proof of Anglo-Saxon superiority in the minds of many. In Morton's great racial chain of being, Mongolians were inferior to whites but superior to American Indians and thus a type of Mongol.<sup>c</sup>

Closely related to this, Phrenology (also known as Anthropometry) supported Morgan's essentially racist agenda, widely respected such early nineteenth-century ethnologists as Laveter, Camper, Blumenbach, Edwards, Quetelet, Tiedemann, Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe. Moreover, the influential <u>Phrenological Journal</u> to which this academic school contributed was published in Edinburgh. Phrenology, in short, operated according to six basic rules or conditions:

- 1. Physical shape of the head rather than skin color.
- 2. Facial angle: the sharper the angle the less intelligent, the "Greek angle" 100%, African 70%, the others falling in between.
- 3. Size of the brain.
- 4. "Temperaments" based on the shape of head, bumps, etc..
- 5. Genetic inheritance not environment.
- 6. Growth: possibility of development, with exercise, but limited by the "original cerebral organization" or race, Caucasians credited with the greatest capacity for growth.<sup>ci</sup>

Although Phrenology was an evolutionary theory, it excluded people of color as allegedly not possessing the basics necessary to advance to any significant degree.



Figure 3: Craniometric Skull, 1902

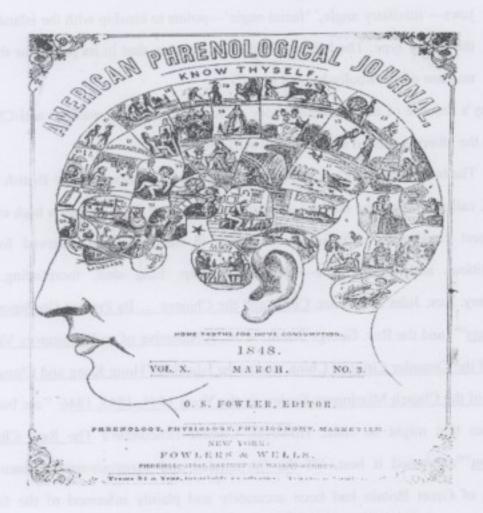


Figure 4: American Phrenological Journal, 1848

Mackay's diaries suggest a passing interest in Phrenology, but adapted to his own purposes and against the secular ethnological mainstream: "Read largely of Hartman. Can't see all his points. Much prefer Darwinism and Phrenology. But all their writings only strengthen my belief in a personal God." In fact, he employs Phrenology to defend Chinese and Asian craniometry, round and akin to Europe, that of the Taiwanese and Malaysia "belonging to the lower races" but also round in the main. "It is contended by some," he writes in From Far Formosa,

The Chinese in Formosa are round-headed, the aborigines medium between long and broad. The sutures or lines where the bones of the skill are united, I find in the skulls of the young to be only slightly traced; the skull has the appearance of a round ball or bone. This is characteristic of the islanders belonging to the lower races. So, too, prognathism or projection of the jaws—'mixillary angle,' 'facial angle'—points to kinship with the islanders of the Malay type. The hair is round, thus showing that in its possessor there is no trace of the woolly-headed race. Ciii

Mackay's defense of the southern theory of Taiwanese origins was not anti-Chinese but, as the aforementioned suggests, anti-African in the main.

The bulk of Mackay's reading on the Chinese took issue with the British in the region, calling for greater cultural sensitivity and respect for China as a high culture and great civilization. Criticism is religious in the main and reserved for the superstitious and misogynistic—ancestor worship, fung shui, footbinding, and polygamy. Rev. John L. Nevius, China and the Chinese ... Its Present Condition and Prospects<sup>civ</sup> and the Rev. George Smith, M.A., A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China, and to the Islands of Hong Kong and Chusan, in Behalf of the Church Missionary Society in the Years 1844, 1845, 1846 cvare but two examples that might be cited. However, Chester Holcombe's The Real Chinese Question cvi expressed it best. "If the fair-minded and generous-spirited men and women of Great Britain had been accurately and plainly informed of the facts," Holcombe writes.

if they have known what ruin was being wrought upon the Chinese ... if they had understood the infamous purpose for which British soldiers and British ships of war were sent to China, and used there, and blood was shed, and lives wasted ... it is not possible to believe that their government would have been allowed to persist in the opium traffic, and to work such a cruel wrong upon China.

Mackay hoped that foreign missionaries and the merchant marine might work hand-in-hand, but to bring Christianity to a civilized people. The criticism of Mackay for being Orientalist and thus a pawn of Western imperialism does not consider the important fact the conservative evangelicals came with a decidedly religious and moral agenda that challenged the secular economic agenda. And although Mackay boasted of good relations in the case of Formosa, it was a factor of making Christians of British soldiers and officials in the region rather than pandering to colonial hopes for the region. In fact, critics have it backwards, as the Rev. R.P. Mackay (no relation) and author of The Life of George Leslie Mackay of Formosa, explains: "While sometimes the missionary led the way, ordinarily the Church waited until the way was opened by national and commercial considerations." Moreover, Mackay's marriage to a Taiwanese woman is cited as incontrovertible proof that "he did not advocate ... colonization."



Figure 5: Mackay and Prize Student A-Hao Pulling Teeth

Ironically, Mackay's marriage to Tsung-Ze proves problematic in some

respects, opening the door to potential criticism of another and potentially more damaging kind vis-à-vis a social debate that divided modern science and its evangelical acolytes, that is, eugenics.

#### Mackay, Anti-Darwinism, and the Eugenics Debate

Mackay was a dentist not an abortionist. His lack of interest and use for the Presbyterian women's auxiliary militated against aligning himself with the hugely popular eugenics movement. Coming out of Darwinism and undoubtedly a factor in Mackay's rejection of eugenics given his marriage practices suggests that his support for the Nordic defense of Asian character and destiny may have been strategic in the main. Lest we forget, the compulsory sterilization laws in the United States and the Nordic countries of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, but Japan as well in the decades that followed Mackay's death in 1901 were all passed on the good word of eugenics as scientific fact; cxii the Armenean genocide and Jewish holocaust characterized and defended as experiments in eugenics; exiii and the implications for civil society of a famous 1936 Nazi eugenics poster, entitled "Wie Stehen Nicht Allein." As the following attempts to show, Mackay unorthodox marriage practices and beliefs locate him opposite this virulent medical, social, medical, and militaristic after clap of Darwinian evolution.

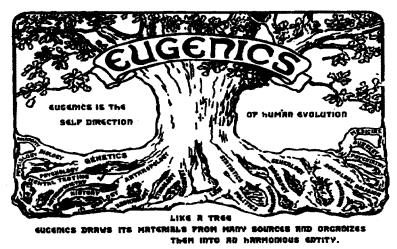


Figure 6: Second International Eugenics Conference, 1921

Harry H. Laughlin, The Second International Exhibition of Eugenics held

September 22 to October 22, 1921, in connection with the Second International

Congress of Eugenics in the American Museum of Natural History, New York

(Baltimore: William & Wilkins Co., 1923).

Wie stehen nicht allein

| State | Sta

Figure 7: "Wie Stehen Nicht Allein" Nazi Germany, 1936

Eugenics was the brainchild of Darwin's half-cousin, in fact, Sir Francis Galton (1883). CXIV Early advocates include Margaret Sanger, CXIV founder of the American Birth Control League, the British feminist and defender of contraception Marie Stopes, and the father of American vegetarianism and Adventist John Harvey Kellogg to name but a few. CXIVI For Galton, a social and economic conservative, the issue was not race but class. CXIVII In an article published in 1865, entitled "Hereditary Talent and Character," he attributes genius to heredity in the main, the British aristocracy in his view "a highly gifted race of men by judicious marriages during several consecutive generations, CXIVIII whereas the working class were libidinous and thus a threat to England's better sort. CXIVII He suggested a two pronged strategy to protect British culture from being overrun by the lower classes: (i) increased fertility among the upper classes and enforced contraception among and sterilization if need be among the lower classes. It is perhaps telling that Mackay makes no reference to Galton's published works that I can find; any reference to heredity is also conspicuously absent.

A restriction on Chinese and Japanese immigration to the United States and Canada, beginning in the 1880s was a direct result of eugenics. In Canada, "The Chinese Immigration Act of 1885," which Mackay attacked vociferously from the pulpit, only went as far as a mandatory poll tax of \$50 and intended to discourage China's poor from entering the country; but when it proved ineffectual, it was increased ten-fold in 1903 to \$500. Twenty years later, Canada would adhere more closely to the American example, "The Chinese Immigration Act of 1923" denying Chinese immigrants, rich and poor, entrance and solely on the basis of race.

Say what you will, but it took real daring and courage for Mackay to marry a woman of color and ostensibly for the good of the mission in Formosa. One may consider the reaction to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's no less scandalous Adventure of the Yellow Face, published in 1894 but set in 1880s. In short, Holmes solves the mystery of a white woman in this case, her secret marriage to an African-American man, and most important of all, the child of mixed race that she bore him, and whether polite society should accept one and all—arguing in the affirmative. Anti-miscegenation reached a fever pitch in the years that followed the mutiny of sepoys of the British East India Company in Meerut, escalating into the Indian Rebellion of 1857-58. Defenders of the empire and white womanhood exaggerated incidents of war-time rape to justify reprisals, moreover, giving impetus to the stereotype of the "Indian dark-skinned rapist." England did not enact anti-miscegenation laws as such, but an unwritten law militated against marriage to an Indian national, which for military and diplomatic men was tantamount to professional suicide.



Figure 8: Sir Francis Galton



Figure 9: The Eugenics Society Archives, Wellcome Library for the History and
Understanding of Medicine



Figure 10: Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's The Adventure of the Yellow Face (1894)

Of course, native woman played an important role in the spread and consolidation of imperial rule, but as colonial Malaysia illustrates all too well, as so-called "sleeping dictionaries" with whom a true English gentleman knew better than become romantically entangled and, God forbid, bring to dinner for poor

mummy and the rest of the family to meet. In fact, Mackay did one better, parading his Taiwanese wife and their three children in the Canadian press—critics be damned.

Whether Tsung-Ze was more than a "sleeping dictionary" to Mackay and thus a cultural conduit rather than friend, lover, wife, is hard to gage from what he wrote. She is barely mentioned in his diaries, for example, although this may well be a factor of his British upbringing and sensibility, a true gentleman one who does not kiss and tell and most especially concerning his wife. That said, Tsung-Ze was most certainly Mackay's secret weapon in the battle to win the hearts and souls of native Formosan women. It bears repeating that he and Minnie spent their honeymoon in the service of the Lord.

A sore point for many back in Canada, especially married couples and single women eager to come to Formosa and do their part to spread the Gospel, Mackay had no use for Canadian female missionaries, married or no. "Natives can live in a climate and under conditions where any foreigner would die," he writes in From Far Formosa, "happy where I would tremble with chills and fever. And the cost of a native preacher and his family is so much less." Mackay's modus operandi was "native workers for native women" and so native Bible women like Minnie "bridg[ing] the chasm that exists between Caucasian and Mongolian ... reaching women to whom the customs, ways, and ideas of their Western sisters are altogether incomprehensible, and in many cases ludicrous and absurd?" And lest anyone in the Women's Missionary Society misunderstand, he continues:

The foreign lady, in the simple act of going out on foot into their streets, offends against their ideas of propriety ... and why foreign ladies bind their waists and not their feet....At the end of the fourth or fifth year of faithful study and effort, compared with the little Chinese woman at her side, she is still almost helpless in teaching. This native Bible-woman is thoroughly familiar with the language and customs of her own people, and has been trained in the Holy Scriptures so that

she can quote and explain with aptness and effect, while her foreign sister struggles with the idioms of the language, and is in perpetual danger of violating one of the thousand rules of Chinese society. exxvii

Even more astonishing, his rationale for the interracial marriages between Chinese and Taiwanese that he arranged and solemnized, that is, the "placing of the right man in the right place ... an earnest Chinese preacher whose wife was a Pe-pohoan ... brought up from childhood, and who received careful Christian instruction." Moreover, it is interesting to ponder whether interracial marriage lay at the heart of his famous declaration: "What would succeed in Europe or America would fail in Asia. China is not India, and Formosa is not China" (285). In other words, Mackay conceded that segregation in Europe, America, and India made perfect sense, perhaps even in China and the Inland Mission, but not in his beloved Formosa.

The cloud that hung over much of Mackay's dealings with the Women's Foreign Missionary Society had a silver lining. Many Canadian Protestant women's organizations believed strongly that miscegenation was tantamount to "race suicide." Exercising very considerable moral suasion if not power, evangelical women lobbied against foreigners taking British names lest they disappear into the Canadian woodwork. The WFMS, but the WCTU or Women's Christian Temperance Union, were strong advocates of eugenics and what Bernard Semmet rightly calls "social imperialism." Mackay's rejection of eugenics, though he does not say, may have been a factor in his decision to distance himself and his mission from that of evangelical feminism and its racists and imperialist predilections.

Mackay's famous rejoinder, to the effect that what worked in Canada did not work in Formosa, may well have saved him from fall prey to the cultural blind spots the Presbyterian mission in Western Canada is infamous. As Brian Fraser has shown, the agenda of Canadian Presbyterianism at home boasted of the creation of a modern.

democratic society "shaped by the spirit of Christ" and thus Canada destined to become a model for the world. As Fraser explains, Presbyterian uplift at home,

strove for an ethical Christian community characterized by those vital virtues they felt necessary for the regeneration of the world—a strong work ethic, sobriety, probity, thrift, charity, and duty informed by a democratic Christian conscience. They united evangelical zeal with moderated reason in their attempt to establish a universal consensus on individual morality and social responsibility. Taken together, these qualities of character would reform, in an ascending pattern, the family, the city, the province, the nation and ultimately the world. exxxi Celtic-Anglo-Saxon chauvinism figured prominently in the nineteenth-century Presbyterian plan for the creation of a "responsible Christian citizenry in Canada guided by the best that Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture had to offer." Moreover, a Canadian melting pot was the end in sight. W.D. Reid's mission in Western Canada is a case in point and where Native Indians (Blackfeet), Irish Catholics, French and Russian Doukhabours, German/Austrian Anabaptists (Mennonites and Hutterites), Eastern European Russian Orthodox and Ashkenazi Jews, Chinese Buddhists, and even polygamous Mormons tilled the same red Prairie soil, waiting to be civilized in the precious blood of Jesus Christ. "Woven into the texture of the life of this great nation," Reid writes,

shall be the impulse of the Celt, the endurance of the German, the patience of the Slav, the daring of the Northman, the romance of Italy, the suavity of France, the buoyancy of Ireland, the shrewdness of Scotland, and the enterprise and leadership of England. What a nation it should be. exxxiii

This was not the mission that Mackay brought to Formosa and quite the opposite, in fact. As the late history of Western Canada, Howard Palmer, argued long ago now, Canadians were "reluctant hosts" at best and when Mackay found himself arguing with the Vancouver port authorities over his wife's claims to British and Canadian

citizenship. "There has been a long history of racism and discrimination against ethnic minorities in English-speaking Canada," Palmer explains, "along with strong pressures for conformity to Anglo-Canadian ways." For British Columbians, Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians were particularly worrisome amid fears of "Asian hordes" threatening to wash away Anglo-Saxon self-government. "The introduction in Canada of a head tax on Chinese immigrants," Palmer continues, "was based in considerable part on the assumptions of Anglo-conformity—immigrants who were culturally or racially inferior and incapable of being assimilated either culturally or biologically, would have to be excluded." And so, knowingly or not, it must be said the Mackay, in hindsight and as much as that was possible, was on the right side of history.

## Reassessing Mackay in Light of His Colonial Context and Religious Agenda

Mackay came to Christianize Formosan natives and in concert with such creationist and anti-Darwinian theorizing as the Arctic or Siberian origins of the races, a Northeast Passage between Europe and the Pacific, the Mongolian origins of the American Indians (which we still believe today), and the alleged Chinese origins of the ancient Toltec, Mayan, and Aztec civilizations. The question was not so much whether the Taiwanese were Malaysians, but whether one and all were not Europeans of some very ancient and quasi-Hebraic kind. Had he come to civilize in the name of Western Christianity, then surely he would have chosen a wife from among the Presbyterian female missionaries and arch-civilizers back in Canada. "Chinese girls and women are not in need of foreign ladies to teach them sewing, dressmaking, and embroidery," he writes in From Far Formosa, "they are experts in the art." And although his mission and defense of Formosan aboriginal culture is laudable, there is nothing very much in what he read or recorded in his diaries to support a separatist or republican understanding of Mackay as a defender of Taiwanese independence—past or present. Instead, and like everything he did, it was religious and ecclesiastical.

"Why am I here? Is it to study the geology, botany, or zoology of Formosa? Is it to examine into questions about the racial relations of the inhabitants? Is it to study the habits and customs of the people?" Mackay asks in <u>From Far Formosa</u>, going on to say:

No; not for that did I leave my native home.... Whatever else may be done must have a real and positive hearing on the fulfillment of that commission. Whatever of history, geology, sociology, or of any other subject may engage the missionary's attention must be regarded in its relation to the gospel. exxxvii

Praised for his courage and vision, taking a local wife and agreeing to be assimilated through marriage, let it be said that his behavior and Christian good works, if not everything he read, put him in a class by himself as a late Victorian man of faith and science with a mind and mission both very much his own.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Brian J. Fraser, <u>The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915</u> (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988).

<sup>&</sup>quot; Alvyn J. Austin, <u>Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom</u> (University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 30.

One hazards to guess what English Canadians made of the picture of Mackay and his family and story published in the Toronto Globe, 9 December 1893, for example.

See in this respect, Dominic McDevitt-Parks, "19th-century Anglo-American representations of Formosan peoples." Freeman Summer Grant, 2007.

The most vociferous of such criticism is certainly that of Mark Eric Munsterhjelm, "Aborigines Saved Yet Again: Settler Nationalism and Narratives in a 2001 Exhibition of Taiwan Aboriginal Artefacts," M.A. Thesis, University of Victoria, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>quot;James R. Rohrer, "Charisma in a Mission Context: The Case of George Leslie Mackay, 1872-1901," <u>Missiology: An International Review</u>, Vol. XXXVI, no.2 (April 2008), 227-236.

Michael Stainton, "The Southern Theory of Taiwanese Origins," in <u>Taiwan: A New History</u>, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein, 1999, pp. 27-44.

viii See George Leslie Mackay, From Far Formosa: The Island, its People and Missions, ed. Rev. J.A. MacDonald (Taipei, Taiwan: SMC Publishing, Inc., 1896,1991). "We have, therefore, on the island aborigines in all stages of civilization.... The most important are the Pe-po-hoan.... The Pe-po-hoan is by nature simple, easily imposed upon, thriftless, and improvident. He still has a streak of the savage, and in those qualities that go to insure success he is distinctly inferior to his Chinese conqueror.... The Chinese settlers came in, enterprising, aggressive, and not overscrupulous, and little by little the weaker went to the wall.... It sometimes makes one's blood boil to see the inquities practiced upon these simple-minded creatures by Chinese officials, speculators, and traders. When foreigners first come in contact with the Pe-po-hoan they are delighted with their frankness of manner and warmth of emotion, and forthwith express the opinion that this race is superior to the Chinese. I never shared this view. The longer my experience among them the plainer appears to me the inferiority of the Malayan. For downright cruelty and cut-throat baseness the Pe-po-hoan far outdistance the Chinese.... But all this was changed when they bowed their necks to the yoke of civilization.... Idolatry does not suit the average Pe-po-hoan, and it is only of necessity that he submits to even the formal observance of its rites and ceremonies" (206-208), "Under the Japanese regime all this is likely to be changed, and the various aboriginal tribes may look forward to a bright day under the flag of the 'Rising Sun.'" (214), "I had already learned something of the Pe-po-hoan character, and was prepared to find them more emotional, approachable, and responsive than the Chinese, although, perhaps, less solid and stable. The obstacles to the gospel among them were not different from those meeting us everywhere" (Ibid., pp. 206-214).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>ix</sup> See in this connection, Clyde R. Forsberg Jr., "Learning Chinese the Mackay Way: 'Repetition, Repetition', What Can Be Accomplished in a Single Year and What Cannot," <u>Aletheia Conference on Foreign Language Teaching and Cross-Cultural Studies</u>, 2009 (May 30), 221-230.

Yosaburo Takekoshi, <u>Japanese Rule in Formosa</u> (London, 1907), pp. 82-84.

See Davidson, J. W., <u>The Island of Formosa, Past and Present</u> (London, 1903), pp. 279-280.

Takekoshi, <u>Japanese Rule in Formosa</u>, p. 81. Also see in this connection, McAleavy, H., <u>Black Flags in Vietnam: The Story of a Chinese Intervention</u> (New York, 1968) and Paine, S. C. M., <u>The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895: Perceptions</u>, <u>Power, and Primacy</u> (Cambridge, 2003).

See in this connection, James R. Rohrer, "George Leslie Mackay, 1871-1901: An Interpretation of His Career," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, XLVII (2005), 3-58.

To be clear, Tsung-Ze was a former child bride and chattel slave. Marriage to Mackay saved her from a pretty miserable life under the arbitrary and cruel hand of her adopted mother following the death of her first husband-to-be. Initially, it was the promise of one silver dollar and other cash rewards for learning to read the Bible that brought her to Oxford College. Mackay chose her, too, employing a traditional Chinese matchmaker who proposed marriage on his behalf, paying a dowry of thirty silver dollars and three dollars every month thereafter. See Church Historical Remarks, 2.190-194.

\*\* <u>Ibid.</u>, 2.194. English translation thanks to the generosity of Prof. Jane Lee, Chair of English Department, Aletheia University.

Rohrer, "George Leslie Mackay in Formosa, 1871-1901: An Interpretation of His Career," 4.

viii (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1998). Many thanks to my dear friend Dr. Gordon D. Pollock for this title and important methodological reminder in his review of my paper.

Neng-Che Yeh and Chih-Rung Chen (Tamsui: The relic Committee of the Northern Synod of the Taiwan Presbyterian Church, Aletheia University, 2007). Mackay's reading and study of Christian theology per se took a back seat to science, consisting of a much shorter list of authors and works: the Puritan Divine Richard Baxter and his Saints Everlasting Rest: or, a Treatise on the Blessed State of the Saints (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1872) and John Bunyan's classic Christian allegory, The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which Is to Come (first published in 1678) and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>xvi</sup> Mackay, From Far Formosa, pp. 207, 215.

from which he derived a great deal of comfort; the Presbyterian theologian Charles Hodge at Princeton and his <u>Systematic Theology</u> (New York: Charles Scribner and Co., 1872); Samuel Harris at Yale and his <u>Philosophical Basis of Theism: An Examination of the Personality of Man to Ascertain his Capacity to Know and Serve God, and the Validity of the Principles Underlying the Defence of Theism (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888); and Charles H. Spurgeon, the British "Particular Baptist" and his missionary magazine <u>The Sword and the Trowel</u>.</u>

xx "Read Gulliver's travels. . . . Can't see any pleasure in reading Gulliver's Travels' (Mackay's Diaries, 12-13 Oct. 1892). "I received a new book Sir Walter Scotts Journal.... Wonderful genius.... Land of my fathers, Scotland forever" (Mackay's Diaries, 5 Feb. 1890). See The Journal of Sir Walter Scott (Edinburgh, 1890). Mackay enjoyed biography in the main, none of it very light: Sir Morell Mackenzie's The Fatal Illness of Frederich the Noble London: Low, Marston, Searle, 1888), which proved prophetic since Mackay also died of throat cancer; Uchimura Kanzo's How I became a Christian (Tokyo, 1895); the Canadian Roman Catholic and convert to Presbyterianism, Charles Chiniquy's Fifty Years in the Church of Rome: The life story of Charles Chiniquy, who was a priest in the Roman Catholic Church for 25 years (Toronto: Toronto Willard Tract Depository, 1887); Hugh Miller's The Cruise of the Betsy; or a Summer Holiday in the Hebrides with Rambles of a Geologist (Edinburgh: W.P. Nimmo, Hay, and Mitchell, 1889). He read Albert Moll's Hypnotism (London: Walter Scott Ltd., 1889) out of pure medical curiosity perhaps. Politically, Mackay was fond of Charles Tupper, the Canadian Father of Confederation, Premier of Nova Scotia, and Prime Minister of Canada. Tupper was a staunch Anglophile and British imperialist. "Read Tupper on Imperial Federation. O how I long to see the whole of Britain['s] possessions united in one Great and glorious Empire—Rule Britannia, rule!" (Ibid., 24 Nov. 1890).

Study of the Protestant Struggle to Come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) and, of course, David N. Livingstone, Darwin's Forgotten Defenders: The Encounter Between Evangelical Theology and Evolutionary Thought (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company and Scottish Academic Press, 1987).

Later published in a fifth volume of essays, entitled <u>Science and Christian Tradition</u> (London: Macmillan and Co., 1909).

Study of the Relations of Scientific Thought, Natural Theology, and Social Opinion in Great Britain, 1790-1850 (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), Morgan B. Sherwood, 'Genesis, Evolution, and Geology in America before Darwin: The Dana-Lewis Controversy, 1856-1857," in Toward a history of Geology, ed. Cecil J. Schneer (Cambridge; MIT Press, 1969), 305-316, and James R. Moore, "Evangelicals and Evolution: Henry Drummond, Hebert Spencer, and the Naturalization of the Spiritual World," Scottish Journal of Theology 38 (1985), 383-417.

After reading E.P. Evan's essay in the <u>Popular Science Monthly</u>, entitled "Progress and Perfectibility in the Lower Animals," an early defense of animal rights and denunciation of orthodox Christian doctrine and practice later published as <u>Evolutional Ethics and Animal Psychology</u> (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1898), Mackay points out that unlike Polynesians and Chinese, Formosans treated their pets with more respect (<u>Mackay</u>'s <u>Diaries</u>, 11 Feb., 1892).

Sir John Herschel's <u>Preliminary Discourse</u> on the Study of Natural Philosophy (1831, 1840) is but one example which Darwin credits as a major inspiration for his work. Mackay thought Herschel's book was good creation science at bottom, "bring[ing] him who first gazed at thee in the heavens before us." See <u>Mackay's Diaries</u>, 12 Aug. 1872.

Mackay vis-a-vis a purely mechanistic theory of evolution (1736). Thomas Chalmers' The Christian Revelation Viewed in Connection with the Modern Astronomy (New York: American Tract Society, n.d.), is another example. However, Mackay made it a point to know both sides, reading George F. Chamber's Handbook of Descriptive and Practical Astronomy (1861) and Urban Le Verrier's Annales de Chimie et de Physique (Paris, 1835), both critical of the faith. Cf. Peter Johnson, "George F. Chambers, 1841-1915," Journal of the British Astronomical Association, V. 100, No.1, 13-16. Note that Mackay claims to have read Chambers' Astronomy prior to its publication (Mackay's Dairies, 9 Apr. 1890) and so it was perhaps Chambers' Handbook since his Astronomy was published in 1907 six years after Mackay's death.

"Well, now Evolutionist what do you anyhow make of the Monkeys belong[ing] to the Miocene period, being like our Pet Monkey from the mountains of Eastern Formosa. Mesopithecus, sure enough is very similar" (Mackay's Diaries, 6 Feb.

Mackay's Diaries, 16 Oct. 1885.

1892).

Evangelical Theology and Evolutionary Thought (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company and Scottish Academic Press, 1987).

See in this connection, James Cosh, <u>The Method of the Divine Government: Physical and Moral</u> (Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox, 1850-1867), <u>Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation</u> (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1856), and <u>Christianity and Positivism: A Series of Lectures to the Times on Natural Theology and Christian Apologetics</u> (London: Macmillan, 1871).

\*\*\*\* Charles Hodge, What Is Darwinism? (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Company, 1874).

Nature and the Bible (1875), and Modern Ideas of Evolution (1890). Mackay read Story of the Earth and Man. See Mackay Diaries, 4 Feb. 1892.

Livingstone, <u>Darwin's Forgotten Defenders</u>, p. 227.

xxxv Mackay, Mackay's Diaries, 30 Nov. 1889.

New Walks in an Old Field (Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 1841, rpt. 1877); the writings of Scottish-Canadian oceanographerand creationist John Murray; Cassells' Natural History: The Feathered Tribes (New York: Alexander Montgomery, 1854) and C.W. Gedney's Foreign Caged Birds (London, 1887) where the "God of grace—of Nature," Mackay writes, can be "seen even in the cage birds" (30 Nov. 1889); Samuel Kinns' Moses and Geology; or, the Harmony of the Bible with Science (Cassell Petter Galpin & Co., London, 1883); James D. Dana's Manual of geology: Treating of the Principles of the Science with Special Reference to American geological history (New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor and Co., 1880) and author of Science and the Bible: a review of "the six days of creation" of Prof. Taylor Lewis (Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1856); Sir George Gabriel Stokes' Burnett Lectures, entitled On Light (New York:

xxx See Mackay, From Far Formosa, pp. 18, 20, 24.

Macmillan and Co., 1887, 1992), the fourth lecture arguing that "Scientific investigation is adverse to the hypothesis of the spontaneous origination of life ... difficulties of the Darwinian theory if regarded as a solution of the problem ... [and] evidences of design afforded by an examination of the structure of living things" (<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 324); the Rev. John G. Wood's Insects abroad; being a popular account of foreign insects, their structure, habits, and transformation (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883) and Homes Without Hands; Being a Description of the Inhabitants of Animals, Classed According to Their Principle of Construction (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1886), both "constructionist" or creationist and couched in terms of the beneficence of Nature; Louis Figuier's The Ocean World; Being a Descriptive History of the Sea and Its Living Inhabitants (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1868), and author of The World Before the Deluge (London: Cassel, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1872, First Edition 1863); Henry Drummond's Natural Law in the Spiritual World (1883); Balfour Stewart and Peter Guthrie Tait's The Unseen Universe; or, Physical Speculations on a Future State (London: Macmillan and Co., 1875) where a scientific case is made for life after death; Robert Brown's Science For All, five volumes in total (1877-1882); and The Peoples of the World: A Popular Description of the Characteristics, Condition, and Customs of the Human Family (London: Cassell, Fetter, Galpin, 1882) which kept him abreast of the latest in popular anti-Darwinian exploration, discovery, and ethnological research vis-à-vis a unitary theory of the human species in which Central Asian, Siberia, and the Arctic figure prominently.

Sacred geography was an important part of this. "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates." (Genesis 2:10-14 KJV). Josephus claimed that Eden was "watered by one river, which ran around the whole earth, and was parted into four parts, and Phison, which denotes a Multitude, running from India, makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called Ganges. Euphrates also, as well as Tigris, goes into the Red Sea... and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes what arises from the East, which the Greeks call Nile." (Flavius Josephus, Antiquities, Book I:I:3.) Cf. Mackay, Mackay Diaries, 24 Sept. 1885. Perhaps the most famous contemporary advocate of the Arctic origins argument is the Russian scientist, Vilary Deymen.

<sup>(</sup>Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1885)

(New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1879). Mackay, <u>Mackay Diaries</u>, 25 Apr. 1891.

Ibid., p. 88. Cf. Sir J. William Dawson, Eden Lost and Won: Studies in the Early History and Final Destiny of Man as Taught in Nature and Revelation (New York: Fleming H. Revell and Co., 1896).

xlviii William Speers, <u>The Oldest and the Newest Empire: China and the United States</u> (Chicago, Ill.: Jones/Junkin & Co., 1870), pp. 43-45.

see Alexander von Humboldt, <u>Tableaux de la Nature</u>, I, 53, and <u>Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain</u>, I, 101, cited in Speer, <u>The Oldest and the Newest Empire</u>, p. 446.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>\*</sup> <u>Ibid</u>, 6-7 Oct. 1888.

Warren Paradise Found, pp. 35-36,48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>xlii</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 102.

warren, Paradise Found, p. 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>th</sup> Eden, Frozen Asia, pp. 290, 281.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>xtvi</sup> Ibid., p. 252.

xlvii Ibid., p. 43.

Mackay, From Far Formosa, p. 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 97-98.

Mackay, Mackay's Diaries, (18 Feb. 1892).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Ibid., (1 Oct. 1893).

The following is intended to give some idea of the prevalence of such ideas in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Henry W. Hilliard of Alabama: "Civilization and intelligence started in the East, they have travelled and are still travelling westward" (cited in Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny, p. 287). Cornelius Darragh of Pennsylvania: "we shall be neighbours of the Chinese" (Ibid, p. 287). H.W. Halleck, on California: "no other portion of the globe will exercise a greater influence upon the civilization and commerce of the world. The people of California will penetrate the hitherto inaccessible portions of Asia, carrying with them not only the arts and sciences, but the refining and purifying influence of civilization and Christianity" (Ibid., p. 287). Presley Ewing of Kentucky: "The march of civilization ... from East to West" (Ibid., p. 288). E. L. Magoon,: "travels of men, and the trade-currents of God, move spontaneously and perpetually toward the West" (Ibid., p. 288).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>hv</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 286. See in this connection what U.S. Secretary of Treasury Robert J. Walker said on trade with Asia and conversion of the "heathen" there: "the light of Christianity, following the path of commerce, would return with all its blessings to the East, from which it rose" (cited in Ibid., p. 289).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16i</sup> See <u>De Bow's Review</u>, 12 (June 1852), 614-631.

Reginald Horsman. Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxons (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 292-293.

Theodore Poesche and Charles Goepp in <u>The New Rome</u>; or, <u>The United States of the World</u> (New York, 1853), pp. 99-100, 55-57.

like Mackay, Schlegel writes: "The dwellers in Asia and the people of Europe ought to be treated in popular works as members of one vast family, and their history will never be separated by any student, anxious fully to comprehend the bearing of the whole.... As in popular history, the Europeans and Asiatics form only one great family, and Asia and Europe one indivisible body, we ought to contemplate the literature of all civilized people as the progressive development of one entire system, or as a single perfect structure" (Ibid., pp. 522-526).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1x</sup> Cited in Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny, p. 252.

lxi Ibid.

Horsman, <u>Race and Manifest Destiny</u>, pp. 158-164. See in this connection, William A. Caruthers, <u>Knights of the Horse-Shoe</u> (1841), "Anglo-Saxon race which was and is destined to appropriate such a large portion of the Globe to themselves, and to disseminate their laws, their language, and their religion, over such countless millions," Cited in Horsman, <u>Race and Manifest Destiny</u>, p. 168.

hissionary Movement, 1900). "If the fair-minded and generous-spirited men and women of Great Britain had been accurately and plainly informed of the facts," he writes; "if they have known what ruin was being wrought upon the Chinese ... if they had understood the infamous purpose for which British soldiers and British ships of war were sent to China, and used there, and blood was shed, and lives wasted ... it is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>lxii</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 253.

York: Burt Franklin, rpt. 1854), pp. 231, 266-267, 287.

Mackay, Mackay's Diaries, Dec. 26, 1885.

tx Cited in Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny, p. 284.

Mackay, Mackay's Diaries, Nov. 24, 1892.

hackay, Mackay's Diaries, May 27, 1893.

Volume 2 (New York; W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), pp. 56-58.

hackay, Mackay's Diaries, Sept. 26, 1893.

Ibid., Jan. 23, 1894.

Ibid., Oct. 15, 16, 1888.

not possible to believe that their government would have been allowed to persist in the opium traffic, and to work such a cruel wrong upon China" (<u>Ibid.</u>, p. v).

(London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston, 1866). See Mackay, Mackay's Diaries, 7 Nov. 1871.

(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, revised version, 1882). Cf. Mackay, Mackay's Diaries, 17 Nov. 1871.

S. Wells Williams, The Middle Kingdom: A Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts, and History of the Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, revised version, 1882). "The promise of that Spirit will fulfill the prophecy of Isaiah, delivered before the era of Confucius, and God's people will come from the land of Sinim and join in the anthem of praise with every tribe under the sun" (Ibid., pp. xvi-xv) and W.L.G. Smith, Observations on China and the Chinese (New York: Carleton Publisher, 1863) where China is said to be "that country spoken of in the sacred records of the Old Testament as the land of Tsin or Sinim" (Ibid., p. 14).

whether the Chinese are not the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel? An American missionary in China, several years ago, stoutly advocated the opinion that the Chinese were the posterity of Abraham through Keturah. There does not seem sufficient evidence to lead to the adoption of the former or the latter opinion. There are, however, many customs prevalent among this people which bear a very striking resemblance, in some of their most important features, to customs which are mentioned or referred to in the sacred Scriptures" (<u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. II, p. 363). Cf. the 20<sup>th</sup>-century evangelical defense of the Hebraic origin of the Chinese made famous by

Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese, Vol. II, p. 363.

Williams, The Middle Kingdom, pp. xvi-xv.

<sup>(</sup>New York: Carleton Publisher, 1863).

Mackay, Mackay's Diaries, 6 Nov. 1871.

Smith, Observations on China and the Chinese, p. 14.

Rev. R.F. Torrance, <u>China's first missionaries: Ancient Israelites</u> (1937) and Ernest L. Hartin, "China in Prophecy," <u>A.S.K. Associates for Scriptural Knowledge</u> (July 1, 1995), askelm.com/prophecy/p950701.htm

Ibid., pp. 297-298. Brown concludes with a quote from the so-called "White Pasha," Sir Samuel Baker, and his rather negative assessment of Africans after years of extensive travel in the region:

[T]he black man ··· is a curious anomaly, the good and bad points of human nature bursting forth without any arrangement, like the flowers and thorns of his own wilderness. A creature of impulse, seldom actuated by reflection, the black man astounds by his complete obtuseness, and as suddenly confounds you by an unexpected exhibition of sympathy···. So long as it is generally considered that the Negro and the white man are to be governed by the same laws and guided by the same management, so long will the former remain a thorn in the side of every community to which he may unhappily belong (Ibid., p.299).

Speer, The Oldest and the Newest Empire, pp. 39-40. "H.R. Schoolcraft, in his numerous and valuable works on Indian antiquities," Speer writes, "often takes occasion to speak of the Oriental origin of the language, legends, religions and customs of our aborigines" (Ibid., p. 448). Also see W.L.G. Smith, Observations on China and the Chinese (New York: Carleton Publisher, 1863). Importantly, the vastly important discovery of Jones that English and Sanskrit were related, gave us "Indo-European" which was an evolutionary theory for the origin of both vastly different languages and

Mackay, Mackay's Diaries, Nov.5, 1885.

Mackay, From Far Formosa, p. 182.

Brown, The Peoples of the World, p. 2-3.

Ibid., p. 3.

Ibid., pp. 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>lvxxix</sup> Ibid., p.299.

xc <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 299-301.

races. See in this connection, Frederich Von Schlegel, The Esthetic and Miscellaneous Works of Friedrich von Schlegel, trans. E. J. Millington (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889). "Theories concerning the race of the Noachidae, and the true situation of Paradise, do indeed revolve in rapid succession and countless numbers.... It tells us that man was created in the image of God, but that by his own sin he voluntarily debased that divine image, and fell from the pure light of happiness in which he had first rejoiced... sin and superstition wrapt [sic] the world around, to guide the chosen few into the divinely appointed way of light and salvation. Thus the Indian records reveal the first growth of error and superstition, which, when the simplicity of divine faith and knowledge had once been abandoned, became continually more false and exaggerated, yet ever retained, even in its darkest gloom, some feeble beams of celestial and glorious light... The divinely appointed prophet of the Hebrews has frequently been reproached with intolerance in so severely rejecting other families or people, and keeping the Hebrew nation and doctrines so completely separate from every other nation in the world... Let them remember, that although the wisest and most civilized nations of antiquity inherited some few lingering gleams of sacred light, yet all were distorted and confused, and frequently, among both Persians, and Indians, the noblest and and purest truths had become polluted springs of fatal error and groveling superstition... (<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 515-517).

Speer explains in The Oldest and the Newest Empire, pp. 41-42.

Ibid., p. 43.

xciv Mackay, <u>Mackay's Diaries</u>, 13 Feb. 1885. Cf. William Stanton's <u>The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Towards Race in America</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960).

Mackay, <u>Mackay's Diaries</u>, Feb. 13, 1885. Cf. William Stanton's <u>The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Towards Race in America</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960).

xcvi Mackay, Mackay' s Diaries, Jan. 14, 1880.

Mackay, From Far Formosa, pp. 95-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>xcviii</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

"We are told by merchants, officials, and travelers that the missionaries are weak, narrow-minded, entirely without influence, and that their work is a failure or a fraud," he writes in <u>From Far Formosa</u>. "Missionaries, on the other hand, hint that the foreign merchants are worldly, the military and naval officers and men loose livers ... whose presence in the vicinity of a mission is a distinct calamity," and he goes on to suggest in Formosa, and because of him one presumes, "the most cordial relations have ever existed between the workers in the mission and the resident or transient foreign community" (<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 318-319).

community for missionaries and their work.... We are told by merchants, officials, and travelers that the missionaries are weak, narrow-minded, entirely without influence, and that their work is a failure or a fraud. Missionaries, on the other hand, hint that the foreign merchants are worldly, the military and naval officers and men loose livers ... whose presence in the vicinity of a mission is a distinct calamity.... But speaking of Formosa, and looking back over the entire history of our mission there, I am bound to say that the most cordial relations have ever existed between the workers in the mission and the resident or transient foreign community" (Ibid., pp.

xcix See, of course, Edward Lurie's <u>Louis Agassiz</u>: A <u>Life in Science</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

<sup>&#</sup>x27; (Philadelphia, 1844), pp. 1-3,8,15; pp. 6,81-82.

Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny, pp. 54-59.

cii Mackay, Mackay' s Diaries, Oct. 16, 1885.

Mackay, From Far Formosa, pp. 95-98.

<sup>(</sup>New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1869).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>cv</sup> (New York: Harper & Brothers, publishers, 1857).

evi (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1900).

CVII Ibid., p. v.

318-319).

- Robert Proctor, <u>Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis</u> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), p., 96. Originally published in <u>Neues Volk</u>, March 1, 1936, 37.
- Edwin Black, War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race
- Galton, Francis Galton, (1883). <u>Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development.</u> (London: Macmillan, 1883), p. 199.
- Margaret Sanger, <u>The Selected Papers of Margaret Sanger</u> (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, n.d.), p. 319. Also see Franks, Angela Franks, <u>Margaret Sanger's eugenic legacy</u> (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2005), p. 30 and Linda Gordon, <u>The Moral Property of Women: A History of Birth Control Politics in America</u> (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), p. 196.
- Everett Mendelsohn, Ph.D., "The Eugenic Temptation," Harvard Magazine, March-April 2000, John Maynard Keynes, "Opening remarks: The Galton Lecture, 1946," The Eugenics Review, Vol. 38, No. 1, 39-40.
- exvii Francis Galton, "Hereditary talent and character", Macmillan's Magazine, 12 (1865): 157-166, 318-327.
- Existing Francis Galton, Hereditary genius: an inquiry into its laws and consequences (London: Macmillan, 1869), p. 1.
- In 1869, Galton published <u>Hereditary Genius</u> and then a second such tome in 1883, entitled <u>Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development</u> (London, Macmillan, 1883) where the term "eugenics" first appears (<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 17, fn1). Also see Galton, "<u>Eugenics</u>: <u>Its definition</u>, scope, and aims," <u>The American Journal of Sociology</u>, 10:1 (July 1904).

ex (Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions, 1913), p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>cxi</sup> <u>Ibid</u>., p. 33.

- See Paul Lombardo, "Eugenics Laws Restricting Immigration" <a href="http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/essay9text.html">http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/essay9text.html</a>. and <a href="https://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/essay9text.html">Stephen Jay</a> <a href="https://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/essay9text.html">Gould, The mismeasure of man (New York: Norton, 1981)</a>.
- First published in Strand Magazine in 1894 with illustrations by Sidney Paget.
- See in this connection, the 2003 film, <u>The Sleeping Dictionary</u>, by <u>Guy Jenkin</u>, filmed in Sarawak, formerly a British Protectorate, and set during the 1930s where the practice is criticized.
- See in this connection, Ruth Compton Brouwer, New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876 1914 (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
- exxiv Mackay, From Far Formosa, pp. 286-287.
- <sup>cxxv</sup> Ibid., p. 307.
- <sup>cxxvi</sup> Ibid., p. 297.
- Ibid., pp. 301-302.
- cxxviii Ibid., p. 224.
- cxxix See in this connection, Barbara Nicholson, "Feminism in the Prairie Provinces to 1916," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1974.
- Carol Bacchi, "Race Regeneration and Social Purity: A Study of the Social Attitudes of Canada's English-Speaking Suffragists," in <u>Readings in Canadian History:</u> <u>Post-Confederation</u>, eds. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1986 edition), pp. 308-321.
- Fraser, The Social Uplifters, p. xiii.
- <sup>cxxxii</sup> Ibid., p. 94.
- W.D. Reid, "The Non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada—Their Christianization and Nationalization," Pre-Assembly Congress, p. 125; cited in Fraser, The Social Uplifters, p.

89).

Twentieth Century," in Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation, p. 186.

exxxv <u>Ibid</u>., p. 188.

Mackay, From Far Formosa, p. 305.

Extrui <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 135.