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Towards an Understanding of Taiwan: (Area Profiles and Annotated Bibliography) A Research Guide for New Missionaries

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T O W A R D S A N U N D E R S T A N D I N G O F T A I W A N :

(AREA PROFILES AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY)

A RESEARCH GUIDE FOR NEW MISSIONARIES

BY

MARGARET M. NELSON

A research project submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN RELIGION

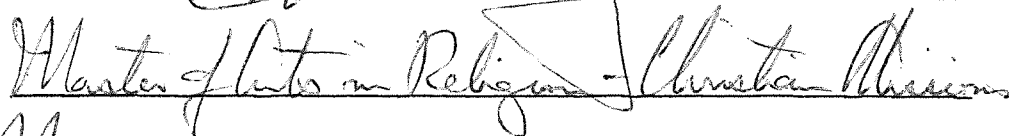
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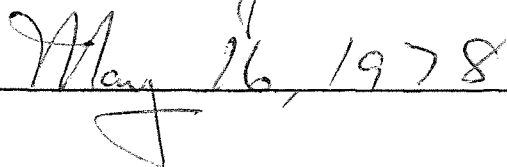
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INTRODUCTION

Involvement in cross-cultural missionary service is demanding.

The new missionary arriving on the field is immediately confronted by a new language, a new culture, a new climate, and new obstacles to Christianity. The tasks of coping with strange customs, adapting to a different climate, learning the language, getting acquainted with the people, and fitting into the existing missionary program all at once result in a heavy burden on the new missionary.

Most mission organizations agree that such an abrupt, and often painful, introduction to one's new field of service is not necessary and should be avoided as much as possible. Most offer some sort of orientation to their new staff before they arrive on the field. However, this usually consists of orientation to the missionary task in general, and not to specific countries. The mission boards contacted by the writer offer bibliographies on the missionary task to guide the new missionary's reading; while a few schedule special orientation periods for new missionaries, which usually include a session on the country to which they will be going.

However, many of these mission groups do not give specific orientation to the country until the new missionary arrives there. It is true that one usually learns best when immersed in the experience. There is much to be said, however, for preparing a new missionary for his field of service ahead of time by guiding him to resources on such areas as the culture, history, and geography of the country to which he is going. Any reading and study on his new country that the missionary accomplishes before arriving there cannot but lessen the culture shock, help him avoid

embarrassing faux-pas, and give him insights and information that will speed up the acculturation process. It would be hoped that early exposure to the country would result in a more effective missionary in that culture. Most mission boards today require prospective missionaries to raise support or go on deputation before leaving the United States. This period of time can be made all the more productive if the missionary is reading key books and articles on his field of service, as well as books on the missionary task in general.

Any one mission board will usually have only a few missionaries going to any one specific country at a time. Thus, it is not profitable for them to spend time compiling all the resources on all the countries to which they send missionaries. This Research Guide on Taiwan is an attempt to fill the gap for new missionaries to Taiwan, providing them with resources which will enable them to learn what they desire about the country and its people before arriving there.

This research guide has been compiled primarily for use by newly-appointed missionaries to Taiwan while they are still in the United States preparing to go overseas. It is intended to present a brief introduction to important aspects of Taiwanese life, while listing resources available in the United States for further study by the new missionary. Thus, it is not an end in itself, but a tool for the missionary to use in directing his study of the country before arriving there. (This guide may be adapted for orientation use on the field, but the resources and information have been compiled with reference to the availability of the resources in the United States. Some of the resources cited in this guide may not be available in Taiwan, and some excellent resources available in Taiwan may be left out, thus limiting its use in Taiwan.)

This research guide is not a manual on the general task of missions,

nor does it discuss interpersonal relationships, job descriptions, or mission policies. These areas are the responsibility of each individual mission board and usually are adequately covered in board orientations or reading lists.

This guide also does not deal directly with the missionary's relationship with the culture (i.e., causes of culture shock). Aspects of Taiwanese culture are presented as they exist in Taiwan, and the missionary must come to his own conclusions on areas that may cause him problems.

This resource guide has further been purposefully limited to Taiwan. Missionaries to Taiwan cannot help but be aware of mainland China, and some study should be done on this subject. However, the missionary to Taiwan will be dealing on a day-to-day basis with the unique Taiwanese expression of Chinese life and culture. Since Chinese culture on the mainland has been on a divergent path from that of Taiwan since 1949, the mainland expression of this culture is a vast subject in itself, which this writer did not have the time to pursue if justice was to be done to the main emphasis of this research guide: Taiwan.

Thus, this research guide focuses on introducing the new missionary to Taiwan and on guiding him to the resources available here in the United States that will help him in understanding the land, the people, and the culture.

The approach used in this guide is a combination of brief profile sketches and annotated bibliographies on six areas of Taiwanese life.

The six basic areas covered are as follows:

Section I - "AN OVERVIEW OF THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE" covers geographical features, the people of Taiwan, and the economic situation.

Section II - "CULTURE" deals with social values and behavior,

family life, and creative expression and major festivals.

Section III - "RELIGION" discusses the three major religious groups on Taiwan: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, as well as the Taiwanese folk religion which combines elements of all three.

Section IV - "HISTORY" traces Taiwan's history from the prehistoric coming of the aborigines, through the various foreign occupations, to the island's current status as the refuge of the government of the Republic of China.

Section V - "GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS" covers the governmental structure of the Republic of China on Taiwan, the past and current political situation, and the question of Taiwan's future.

Section VI - "MISSIONARY INVOLVEMENT" deals with the history of missions in Taiwan, the current status of Christianity, and the obstacles and opportunities facing the Church in Taiwan today.

The profile sketch in each section contains introductory comments on that topic, and is not meant to be comprehensive by any means. The sketches point out emphases the reader will want to follow up with further reading.

The annotated bibliographies in each section comprise the most significant portion of the guide. Both books and magazine articles¹ are included. Each entry discusses the central focus of the book or article and the value to the new missionary.

In tracking down the resources to be included in this research guide, the writer has corresponded with seven of the main mission boards

¹The magazine articles included are a representative selection chosen from the period 1970 to the present, as many city libraries only keep five years of back issues of magazines.

in Taiwan² and with the Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center (MARC) of World Vision International. The writer has also been in contact with key missionary leaders in Taiwan. Each contact made suggestions of resources, and the writer also consulted bibliographies in books on Taiwan. The emphasis has been on including those resources most readily available to the new missionary while still here in the United States.³

The writer lived in Taiwan for 11 months in 1974 as an Air Force wife. She and her husband plan to return to Taiwan as missionaries in the near future. The combination of past experience and future plans has resulted in the impetus for this research guide.

²The following mission boards selected from the Missions Handbook, 11th ed. (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1976), pp. 454-6, responded to the author's inquiries for assistance: the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society, The Evangelical Alliance Mission, Overseas Missionary Fellowship, OMS International, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and Far Eastern Gospel Crusade. The Southern Baptist Convention Foreign Mission Board, Overseas Crusades, and the Presbyterian Church in Canada were also contacted but did not respond.

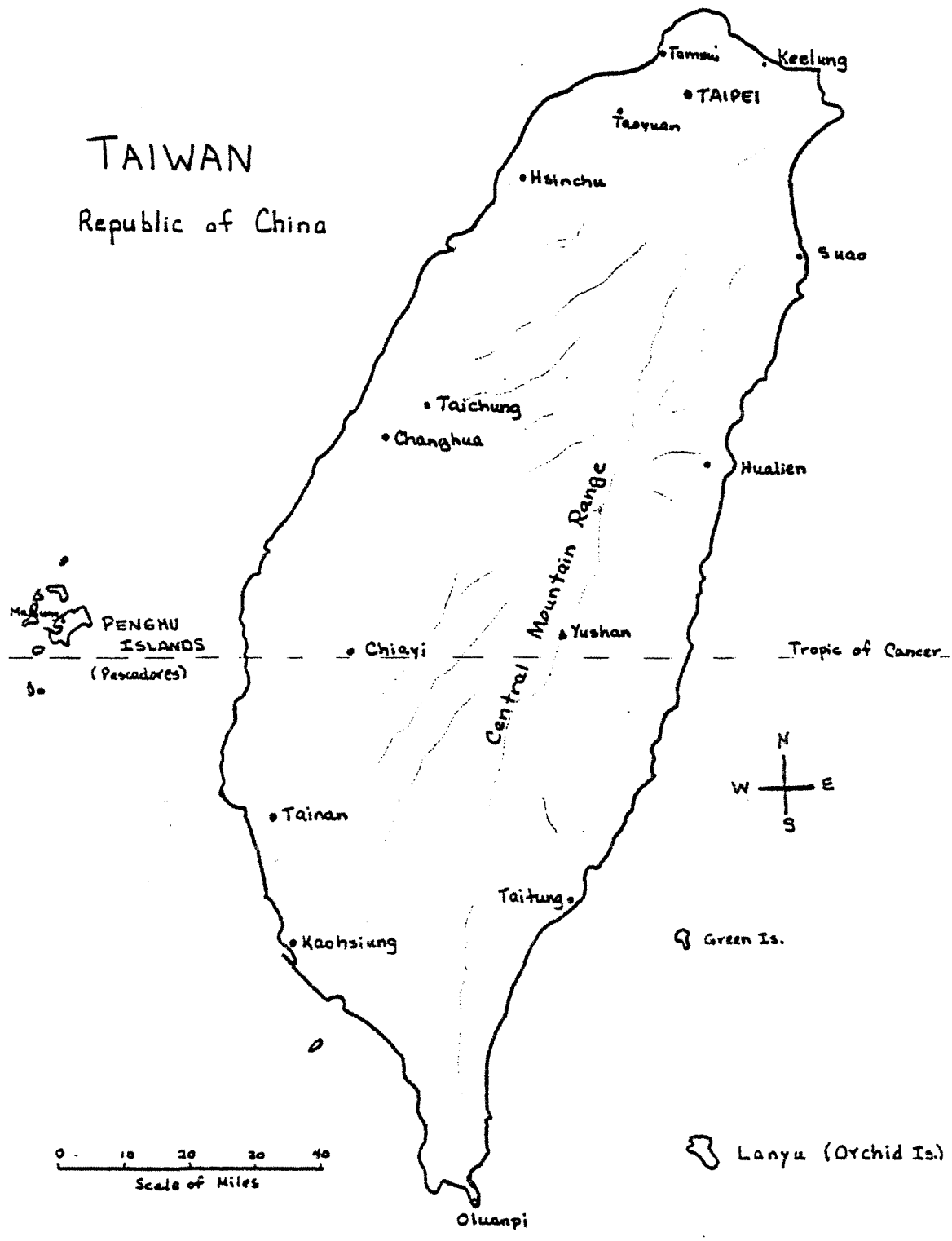
³In locating a specific book, these resources should be remembered: church libraries, public libraries, college/university libraries, Inter-library loan, used book stores.

SECTION I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

TAIWAN

Republic of China



PROFILE SKETCH

Geographical Features

The island of Taiwan lies astride the Tropic of Cancer about 100 miles off the southeastern coast of mainland China, midway between Japan in the north and the Philippines in the south. Seventy-seven other islands surrounding Taiwan, including the Penghu (Pescadores) group, are administratively included in the Taiwan province of the Republic of China. The Republic of China also controls two island groups just off the mainland: Kinmen (Quemoy) and Matsu.

The main island of Taiwan is approximately 250 miles long and 60 to 90 miles wide,¹ with no place in Taiwan being more than 50 miles from the sea. The total area of Taiwan and its surrounding islands is 13,885 square miles, making it slightly smaller than Massachusetts and Connecticut combined, and slightly larger than Holland.

Rugged, forested mountains take up two-thirds of the area of Taiwan, with 30 peaks exceeding 10,000 feet. The Central Mountain Range forms Taiwan's backbone, with gentle slopes on the western side, but a precipitous drop into the ocean on the east. The tallest peak in north-east Asia is Taiwan's Yushan (Mt. Morrison), rising to 13,114

¹Exact statistics about Taiwan are sometimes difficult to determine: different sources listed the length of the island variously as 230, 240, 245, 250, and 260 miles long. In this case it is not important. In other cases, the reader may find a wide variation in dates, numbers, and statistics, even among different government releases from the Republic of China. Since footnotes are rarely found, the reader will have to make his own evaluation of the data whenever differing statistics and details are encountered.

feet above sea level.

The western half of the island is generally flat and fertile, providing Taiwan with the 24% of its land that is arable. These alluvial plains have been formed by the short, swift rivers, which are also good sources of hydroelectric power.

Taiwan does not abound in natural resources, but does have limited reserves of coal, natural gas, limestone, marble, gold, silver, and copper.

Taiwan's climate ranges from tropical in the south to sub-tropical in the north, which means high temperatures and high humidity. The average temperatures range from 75.7° F in the south to 70.9° F in the north, with a relative humidity of 75-80% annually. Summers are long and hot, lasting from May to October, with July being the hottest month (80° F). January and February are the coolest months, with an average temperature of 60° F. There are variations in both temperature and humidity from north to south and from east to west.

Rainfall in Taiwan is heavy, with an average of 101 inches per year. The north gets its heaviest rain in the winter, while the south has more rain in the summer. The highest mountains usually have some snow in winter.

In addition to the rains and strong seasonal monsoon winds, Taiwan averages two typhoons a year during the July to October typhoon season. The violent winds and torrential rain of the typhoons are destructive to crops and homes, often causing flooding inland and tidal waves along the coast.

Taiwan is also in the Pacific earthquake zone, averaging over 1000 quakes a year. However, few are felt and only rare ones cause damage.²

²Statistics on this page are from Chiao-min Hsieh, Taiwan - ilha Formosa (London: Butterworths, 1964), Section I.

The People of Taiwan

Many Westerners know of Taiwan by the name given the island in the 16th century by Portuguese sailors who discovered the island and named it "ilha Formosa," or "beautiful island." However, the people living on the island today call it "Taiwan," meaning "terraced bay."³

Taipei, a city of over two million people, is the capital of Taiwan and the headquarters of the displaced government of the Republic of China. The other major cities of the island are Kaohsiung (one million), Taichung (575,000), Tainan (550,000), and Keelung (375,000).⁴

The total population of Taiwan as of January 1977 was 16.5 million people,⁵ of which 43% are under 15 years of age and 63% live in urban areas.⁶ The population density is 1178 people per square mile, one of the highest in the world. Currently, the annual rate of population growth is 1.9%; thus, it would take 36 years to double the population, assuming no change in the rate.

The birth rate in 1976 was 23 births per 1,000 population, compared with a death rate of 5 deaths per 1,000 population. Life expectancy at birth is 69 years. The infant mortality rate is 26 deaths annually to infants under one year of age per 1,000 live births.⁷

³W. G. Goddard, Formosa: A Study in Chinese History (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1966), p. xvii, discusses the background of Taiwan's names.

⁴City populations in this section are 1976 figures, taken from the U.S. Department of State Background Notes: Republic of China, Department of State Publication 7791 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976).

⁵China News and Views, March-April 1977, p. 2.

⁶These and following statistics are from the 1976 World Population Data Sheet (Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, April 1976).

⁷For comparison, the same statistics for the United States are: Population: 215,300,000; 27% under 15; 74% urban; .8% annual rate pop. growth; 87 years to double pop.; 15/1000 birth rate; 9/1000 death rate; 71 years life expectancy at birth; 17/1000 infant mortality.

The earliest known residents of Taiwan are the aboriginal mountain tribes of today. They are thought to be of Malayan and Polynesian origin, and currently are divided into ten distinct linguistic groups.⁸ They were forced into the mountains by succeeding invasions of emigrants, and were formerly headhunters. They currently make up 2% of the population of Taiwan.

The rest of the population, 98%, are various groups of ethnic Chinese. The Taiwanese, or Minnan peoples, began coming from the mainland sometime between the 6th and 12th centuries, with the biggest influx coming in the 17th century after Koxinga liberated the island from Dutch control. They originated in Fukien province on the mainland, and currently make up 74% of the total population.

The second group of ethnic Chinese on the island are the Hakkas. They have descended from the educated, moneyed peoples of northern China who migrated over the centuries to southern China, and from there to Taiwan, beginning about 1000 A.D.⁹ Today they are farmers and merchants, residing in the foothills of Taiwan. They have a very strong people-consciousness. The Hakkas make up 14% of Taiwan's population.

The final group of Chinese are the Mainlanders who fled to Taiwan with the Nationalist government in the early 1950's. They were generally the wealthy, educated elite and soldiers who did not want to

⁸Taiwan - Status of Christianity Country Profile (Published by MARC for International Congress on World Evangelization, 1974), p. 2.

⁹Goddard, op. cit., p. 24, claims the Hakkas came to Taiwan as early as the sixth century. David C. Liao, The Unresponsive: Resistant or Neglected? (Chicago: Moody Press, 1972), p. 78, has the latest dates for Hakka migration to Taiwan: the 18th and 19th centuries. Other writers vary in between these two extremes. See Section III - History for more details.

live under the Communist regime on the mainland. They make up only 10% of the population, but tend to dominate the Taiwanese, causing friction between the two groups.

The official language of Taiwan is Mandarin Chinese, which has been taught in the schools for the past thirty years. The native Taiwanese also speak a variant of the Amoy, or Minnan, dialect of southern Fukien. The Hakkas speak their own Hakka dialect, while the dialects of the mountain tribes are from a Malayo-Polynesian family.

Due to a half century of Japanese rule, many Taiwanese over fifty years of age are able to speak Japanese. Younger people in business and travel occupations also learn Japanese due to a large number of Japanese tourists and businessmen visiting Taiwan. English is taught in many secondary schools.

Taiwan has a nine-year compulsory free educational system, with 27% of the population in school.¹⁰ When a child reaches six years of age, he begins six years of primary education. However, many children spend up to three years prior to that in Kindergarten to prepare for the difficult writing system and vast amount of rote memory work required in the elementary schools.

Ninety per cent of the children completing elementary school go on for three years of Junior High School, and one-third of the Junior High graduates go on to three-year high schools and vocational schools.

Taiwan has an extensive system of universities, colleges, junior colleges, and other institutions of higher education. Students are assigned to these schools on the basis of competitive enrollment exams. At present there is only enough space in the schools to accommodate one-quarter of those taking the exams. Of the present population, 2%

¹⁰ 141 Questions and Answers About the Republic of China (Taipei: Chung Hwa Information Service, 1977), p. 27.

have had some college education.

At present, Taiwan is 85% literate, with adult education programs in progress aiming for 100% literacy by 1980.

Students in Taiwan are highly motivated to learn. In traditional China, education was seen as the key to power and influence.¹¹ Today, education is viewed by all as a means to a better life, and thus is valued very highly. Poor parents will push their children to study harder in order to earn more money, become rich, and support their parents. Family conflicts often result if the child does not like to study, and failure is seen as a waste of the parents' money, as well as resulting in a serious loss of face for both parent and child.¹² Failing college entrance exams causes some young people to consider suicide rather than facing disappointed parents.

Traditional attitudes toward learning "tend to promote education for degrees rather than a serious interest in the content of the curriculum,"¹³ As a result, rote memorization is stressed and emphasis is given to those subjects required for passing the college entrance examinations, rather than encouraging critical analysis of subjects and working toward a balanced education.¹⁴

The Economic Situation

Taiwan's economy can be summed up in one word: booming! Political setbacks, such as Taiwan's dismissal from the United Nations in 1971 and a growing number of countries breaking official diplomatic

¹¹Area Handbook for the Republic of China (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 106.

¹²See Section II: "Social Values and Behavior."

¹³Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 119.

¹⁴Ibid.

ties in order to recognize Red China, have not adversely affected Taiwan economically. Economic growth from 1953-1976 averaged 8% annually, with 11.5% growth in 1976. The 1976 GNP exceeded \$17 billion.¹⁵

Taiwan has made a dramatic change in the past twenty years from an agricultural society to an industrialized economy. Now one of the fastest growing economies in Asia, Taiwan's only foreign economic assistance is through loans.

In 1974, an economic stabilization program, including ten major construction projects costing \$7 billion, was established to stimulate economic activity. These ten projects, in various stages of completion, include:

1. Nuclear power development, with three nuclear power plants under construction;
2. A new North-South freeway linking Keelung in the north and Kaohsiung in the south, due for completion in 1978, which will cut travel time in half;
3. An integrated steel mill in Kaohsiung to aid Taiwan's growing heavy industries;
4. Electrification of the mainline railroad to increase fast, economical transportation and reduce pollution;
5. Development of a petrochemical industry to supply industrial raw materials;
6. A new airport to serve Taipei, scheduled for completion in 1979;
7. A shipyard in Kaohsiung for building supertankers (already completed);

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 41-42. Note: All dollar figures are U.S. dollars.

8. A rail project connecting the cities of Suao and Hualien on the east coast, a line the Japanese said could not be built due to the extremely rugged coastline;

9 & 10. New port facilities at Suao and Taichung.¹⁶

Taiwan's industry up to the present has been concentrated in light and medium manufacturing, producing a wide variety of export goods. One unique industrial development is Taiwan's three Export Processing Zones. These areas are set aside for the manufacture, often by foreign firms, of export products only, featuring no import duties on raw materials, a reduction of governmental red tape, low income taxes, and cheap local labor.

The industrial growth in 1976 was 23.7%, with mining, manufacturing, public utilities, and construction as the leading industries. The largest export industries are textiles, electrical machinery, and plastics. Taiwan's industry is currently expanding and upgrading in the areas of electronics, petrochemicals, machinery, steel, and shipbuilding.¹⁷

In each five year period since 1955, Taiwan's total trade has tripled, with industrial products accounting for 84% of export earnings. Raw materials account for 61% of Taiwan's imports, and capital goods for 32%.¹⁸

Taiwan's principal trading partners are the United States and Japan, with two-way trade increasing 32.9% between 1975 and 1976.¹⁹

Until a few years ago, agriculture was king in Taiwan's economy.

¹⁶Lui K'ang-sheng, "Biggest 'little' economy," Free China Review, October 1977, pp. 13-17.

¹⁷141 Questions, op. cit., pp. 41 ff, 53 ff.

¹⁸Background Notes, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁹141 Questions, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

Due to the fact that all the arable land is already being cultivated (often producing three crops a year), and the rapid growth industrially, agriculture is slowly declining in its relative importance in Taiwan's economy. However, agricultural production still grew 7.3% in 1976, and Taiwan is nearly self-sufficient in food production.²⁰

Major agricultural products include sugar (an important export commodity), rice (per acre yield has increased 60% in the past 20 years), asparagus and mushrooms (Taiwan is the world's biggest exporter of the latter two).

Taiwan also boasts a successful land reform program, undertaken after the Nationalist Chinese government arrived in 1949. Now 90% of the land is owned by the farmers who till it, and the average farm income doubled in the decade following the land reform program.²¹

Presently, one-third of Taiwan's population lives on farms, but this number is steadily dropping as young people move to the cities seeking better paying jobs.

Taiwan's standard of living is second only to Japan in Asia. The 1976 per capita income was \$809, up 9.1% over 1975.²² Inflation is currently being kept under 5% a year, and unemployment is less than 2%.²³

²⁰Ibid., pp. 41, 47. ²¹Ibid., pp. 47 ff. ²²Ibid., p. 41.

²³Ts'ai Ch'ing-yuan, "Taiwan's Good Life," Free China Review, October 1977, pp. 20 ff.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Pamphlets

Area Handbook for the Republic of China. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969. 434 pages.

This volume is part of a series prepared by Foreign Area Studies of The American University in Washington, D.C. It is a compilation of basic facts about the social, economic, political and military institutions and practices of the Republic of China. Although it is somewhat "dry" reading, it is one of the most comprehensive, yet concise, sources of basic information on Taiwan available to the prospective missionary at a reasonable cost.

The current edition (1969) is out-dated statistically, yet this fact does not seriously detract from the book's usefulness in objectively discussing other aspects of Taiwanese life and culture. Extensive bibliographies add to the value of the book as a convenient reference volume. Hopefully an up-dated edition will soon be forthcoming.

The book is available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Any library which is a Government Repository will also have a copy.

Government Releases

A number of books and pamphlets published in Taiwan are available in the United States through the Consulates of the Republic of China in major cities. The prospective missionary should visit or write the nearest Consulate if at all possible. Following is a representative list of materials available:

141 Questions and Answers about the Republic of China (May 1977), 100 pages.

This booklet is set up in question and answer style and is a comprehensive summary of pertinent information about Taiwan. A handy reference tool for checking statistics and other details, the booklet is updated regularly. Of all the materials available at the Consulate, this is probably the most valuable to the new missionary.

National Flag and Anthem (1975).

This small pamphlet explains the flag of the Republic of China and gives the words (both Chinese and English) and music to the national anthem.

Republic of China 1977 (1977), 110 pages.

This is a pictorial introduction to Taiwan and is updated each year. All the pictures are in color. It would be valuable for use in deputation work, as well as giving the new missionary a preliminary view of his field of service.

Taiwan Travel Guide (no date), 65 pages.

This booklet is geared primarily to the tourist in Taiwan, but can be helpful in orienting the new missionary to places to shop, eat and visit, festivals and holidays, currency, transportation, and so forth.

Tourist Map of Taiwan

One side is a map of Taiwan showing major cities, roads, railways, rivers, scenic spots, etc. On the reverse side are detailed downtown maps of Taipei, Keelung, Tainan, Kaohsiung, and Taichung. One of the most valuable features to the new missionary is that both the English and Chinese characters are given for city, street and building names.

Hsieh, Chiao-min. Taiwan - ilha Formosa. London: Butterworths, 1964. 372 pages.

Hsieh's book can be described as a comprehensive geographical analysis of Taiwan. It is divided into three parts. Part I is a technical geographical discussion of the physical environment of Taiwan, complete with detailed charts, maps and statistical tables. This section would be of interest to the serious student of geography, but the technical style does not lend itself to easy reading.

The prospective missionary will find Part II of the book the most helpful in the book, as well as the most interesting reading. In it, Hsieh traces the occupance patterns of the different cultural groups which have settled on Taiwan. He discusses the history of each group, their customs, housing, economy, accomplishments, and their effect on the population in general. Chapter 15 is a very interesting discussion of place names in Taiwan and their probable origins.

Part II is a discussion of the "present" cultural landscape, such as population, transportation, the economic situation, and so forth. However, since the book was published in 1964, this section is quite out of date, and there are now more recent materials available on the subject.

The book is available in public libraries or through Inter-Library Loan.

Ray, Andrew T. On Asia's Rim. New York: Friendship Press, 1962.

Roy wrote this book for the church in the United States to introduce American Christians to the Asian situation. There are sections on Korea, Okinawa, and Hong Kong, as well as Taiwan. In the section on Taiwan (pages 84-121), Roy covers history, present conditions, ethnic composition and relationships, the religious situation, problem areas, and hopeful situations. The statistics are out of date, but Roy's comments and analysis of the general situation are helpful as a brief introduction. If the book is readily available, it is worth reading, but is not a top priority. The author was a missionary in the Orient for 30 years on mainland China and in Hong Kong.

U.S. Department of State. Background Notes: Republic of China. Department of State Publication 7791. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976. 8 pages.

Part of the "Background Notes" series prepared by the Department

of State, this useful pamphlet is a well-done summary of Taiwan's geography, people, history, government, political situation, economy, and foreign relations. A map, travel notes, and a reading list are included. Order blanks are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. This series is revised regularly, providing up-to-date, objective information in a well-organized format.

Vondra, J. Gert. The Other China: Discovering Taiwan. Melbourne, Australia: Lansdowne Press, 1970. 98 pages.

Vondra, an Australian, wrote this book for young people after a very brief exposure to the country. It is a tourist's view of Taiwan, written in diary style. If it is available in a local library, it is easy reading, but its value for new missionaries is limited.

Yang, Martin C. M. Socio-Economic Results of Land Reform in Taiwan. Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1970. 563 pages.

An in-depth discussion of Taiwan's land reform program, this book seeks to discover the long-term, social and economic results of the program in order to evaluate its effectiveness (especially for other countries interested in a similar program). The author first covers the need, reasons, objectives, and methods of the land reform program. He then discusses the emotional responses of the people involved, agricultural improvements, living conditions, and social relationships as they were affected by the program.

Most prospective missionaries to Taiwan will not have time to read the entire book, but if the book is available and the person is interested in the subject, time spent reading the book will enhance a person's understanding of rural life in Taiwan.

Magazines

Ames, Edmund and Muriel. "Taiwan's Developmental Typhoon," The Nation, Vol. 214, No. 12 (March 20, 1972), pp. 370-372.

This is a short article discussing the problems which have accompanied Taiwan's economic boom. It is a needed supplement to the many articles praising Taiwan's successes and ignoring its problems. The article is old enough that some problems mentioned may have been dealt with and new ones arisen. However, most of the problems related to rapid urban development, as mentioned in the article, only increase with time, and the new missionary needs to be aware of these problems.

Busch, Noel F. "The 'Other' China is Alive and Doing Well," Reader's Digest, December 1972, pp. 217-224.

Although the statistics are out of date, this is an easy reading "popular" style article giving a brief overview of Taiwan and discussing the recent economic development. Being in Reader's Digest, it may be more easily available than some of the other articles listed herein.

Chang Shuhua. "The Gentle Yams of Orchid Island," National Geographic, Vol. 151, No. 1 (January 1977), pp. 98-109.

Mainly a picture story from an anthropological point of view, this recent article is a good introduction to one of Taiwan's aboriginal tribes.

Chinese Information Service

Two periodicals published in Taiwan in English are available in the United States through the Chinese Information Service. Its two U.S. offices are:

Chinese Information Service
159 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Chinese Information Service
Room 918
3440 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90010

The Free China Weekly is a weekly newspaper containing short articles and news items on trade, economy, politics, sports, tourism, mainland China, etc. The current U.S. subscription rate is \$2.50 per year.

The Free China Review, a monthly magazine, is available from the same source at \$3 per year. Regular features include a summary of the month's newsworthy events in Taiwan, excerpts of important articles from various local and foreign newspapers and magazines, texts of political speeches, economic news, news from the mainland, picture stories, and articles on culture, science, education, sports, and so on. A subscription to Free China Review will give a prospective missionary a valuable, up-to-date, and in-depth introduction to many aspects of Taiwanese life and culture.

"Educational Trends in Taiwan," Intellect, February 1974, pp. 287+.

If available in the local library, this short article is worth reading for an evaluation of education in Taiwan from an American perspective.

Schreider, Helen and Frank. "Taiwan: the Watchful Dragon," National Geographic, Vol. 135, No.1 (January 1969), pp. 1-45.

This article is one of the excellent, timeless articles for which National Geographic is famous. Although written in 1969, the authors avoided soon-outdated statistics as much as possible and captured the mood of Taiwan so well that even now this is still the best general overview article on Taiwan available--a must for all prospective missionaries.

"Taiwan, 'Orphan' of Asia--Making Good on Its Own," U.S. News and World Report, November 13, 1972, pp. 101-102.

A well-done, "news magazine" style article on Taiwan's reactions politically and economically to its ouster from the United Nations.

Other

The following resources listed elsewhere in this Resource Guide also have relevance to this Section:

Liao, The Unresponsive (Missions), has the longest and most detailed discussion of the Hakkas as an ethnic group.

Mackay, From Far Formosa (Missions), includes a fascinating section on the geography, geology, flora and fauna, and ethnology of Taiwan as viewed by the author in the 1890's.

Sih, Taiwan in Modern Times (History), includes essays on geography and economic development.

Taylor, "Taiwan Transformation" (Missions), begins his article with a brief, well-written summary of Taiwan's social and economic development in the past 20 years.

SECTION II

CULTURE

PROFILE SKETCH

Introduction

Chinese culture has been in existence for at least two thousand years. While the Communist regime on the mainland of China has sought to destroy Chinese culture, the government of the Republic of China seeks to preserve and perpetuate the Chinese way of life.

A nation's culture has been defined as "the sum total of the ways in which its people conduct themselves and express themselves: social and political institutions, thought and value systems, customs and folk ways, arts and letters."¹ Cultures undergo constant change and development, and China's culture has shown a remarkable ability to adapt and assimilate foreign influences over the centuries.

Since the majority of Taiwan's population has its cultural origins on the mainland, Taiwan's culture is definitely Chinese. Despite the fact that Taiwan has at times been out of the mainstream of Chinese culture in the past, there have not been many deviations from the main cultural patterns due to the agricultural base of the culture and its system of social relationships.

Today Chinese culture is facing one of its greatest challenges in the impact of Western culture on Taiwan, especially among the urban and educated segments of the population. However, tradition has a strong hold on the Chinese, and traditional patterns remain the base from which changes take place.

¹Ch'u and Winberg Chai, The Changing Society of China (rev.) (New York: The New American Library, 1969), p. 252.

Social Values and Behavior

The Chinese character is incredibly complex, yet one of its component qualities is simplicity. The Chinese have described themselves as patient, industrious, cheerful, easily contented, frugal, moderate, and as loving life, family, nature, and humanity.² Lin Yutang summarizes the Chinese character with the word "mellowness." He says, "A mellow understanding of life and of human nature is, and always has been, the Chinese ideal of character, and from that understanding other qualities are derived, such as pacifism, contentment, calm and strength of endurance which distinguish the Chinese character."³

These characteristics have been greatly influenced by the Confucian system of ethics, which permeates all of Chinese life.⁴ It has been said that "regardless of religious affiliation or lack of it, all Chinese may be considered Confucianists."⁵ This philosophy of living emphasizes the family system, respect for humankind, and the brotherhood of man. All human relationships are to be governed by "jen," defined as an altruistic love of humanity, benevolence, or fellow-feeling.⁶ Confucius also defined four characteristics of good conduct: "li" - propriety (accepted procedures in human relations), "i" - righteousness in one's dealings with

²Ibid., p. 125; and Lin Yutang, My Country and My People (New York: Halycon House, 1935), p. 43.

³Lin, op. cit., p. 42.

⁴Although Confucianism is not a religion but a philosophy, it has been more influential than religion and its expression in Chinese life is religious in nature. Confucianism will be discussed at greater length in Section III: Religion.

⁵141 Questions and Answers About the Republic of China (Taipei: Chung Hwa Information Service, 1977), p. 16.

⁶Ibid., p. 16; and Area Handbook for the Republic of China (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 164.

others, "lien" - integrity, and "ch'ih" - sense of shame. As a person puts these characteristics into practice, he will be loyal and submissive to his superiors, obedient and respectful to his father and other elders, and act in good faith towards his friends and associates.⁷

Although most Chinese tend to live below their ideals, the Confucian ethic holds a strong grip on the minds of the Chinese. Social pressure to conform, especially strong in rural areas, is often expressed through the concept of "face." Face can be defined as one's moral reputation, dignity, integrity, and prestige. Face is "saved," or enhanced, by adhering to the ethical norms of society in all human dealings. Deviations from the norm result in "losing" face in the eyes of one's community, something no Chinese, even an educated, urbanized one, cares to experience. The Chinese custom of using go-betweens in negotiations ensures that neither party will lose face if things do not work out. While the concept of face preserves the status quo, it has been criticized for stifling individual initiative and hampering progress.⁸

The distinction of authority is also prescribed by the Confucian system of thought and helps to ensure its perpetuation. Traditionally, the chain of command is elder over younger, father over son, and male over female. A father's exercise of authority over his son was to be a model for the exercise of authority over any subordinate. Loyalty to political authority was based in part on the idea of the emperor being a "father" of his people.⁹

The objective of Chinese philosophy which ties these concepts together is to achieve and maintain an orderly society.¹⁰ Confucius

⁷ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 164. ⁸ Ibid., p. 167.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 163, 168.

¹⁰ Chai, op. cit., p. 79.

emphasized human relationships, responsibilities and duties, for "if every man knows his duty and acts according to his duty, social order will be secured."¹¹ Of the many institutions developed to conserve and perpetuate society and strengthen the proper relationships between people, the basic and most characteristic Chinese institution is the family.¹²

Family Life and Organization

Although the family is an important part of any culture, the Chinese have emphasized the family more than most other nations. For thousands of years, the family has been the focus of Chinese social life. Lin Yutang explains, "Confucius . . . meant the moral training in the family as the basis for general moral training, and he planned that from the general moral training a society should emerge which would live happily and harmoniously together."¹³ Thus, the family system was and is the root of Chinese society; from it all the social characteristics of the Chinese are derived, such as face, privilege, courtesy, public institutions, schools, justice, and even official corruption.¹⁴ Throughout the centuries the Chinese family has played a leading part in the nation's economic life, social control, moral education, and government.¹⁵

The ideal Chinese family organizationally is the "joint" family, in which the parents, their unmarried children, their married sons, their wives and children all live under one roof as one economic unit with one head. This system is especially adapted to an agrarian society, for a joint family can function as a self-contained unit of production.

However, due to the tensions and pressures generated by the social demands of the various relationships within the family, or the fact that

¹¹Ibid., p. 81. ¹²Ibid., p. 79. ¹³Lin, op. cit., p. 179.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 175. ¹⁵Chai, op. cit., p. 79.

many young Chinese are moving to the cities, or due to other circumstances, two other Chinese family types are often encountered. The "stem" family is one in which the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son, his wife and children live together as a family unit. The "conjugal" family consists of the husband, his wife, and their unmarried children.¹⁶

As more and more young adults move to the cities for employment and education, they prefer to set up their own households there upon marriage, leaving the elderly parents or grandparents in the country to tend the family farm. Often young couples living in the city will invite the husband's parents to live with them, but the older generation cannot easily adjust to city life, and the tensions between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law usually result in the parents returning to the country.

Chinese kinship is patrilineal (descent is reckoned through the father's line) and patriarchal (the father is the highest authority). Males are traditionally the heirs. Daughters are only temporary members of the household, since at marriage they become members of their husbands' families.

Beyond the immediate household, there are other kinship relationships important to the Chinese. Both the father's and the mother's relatives are a part of the larger group drawn upon for economic, political, social, and religious aid.

In the Chinese family, the individual's needs and desires are subordinate to the needs and desires of the entire group. Each member of the family is held responsible for the social behaviour of each of the other members. The Area Handbook of the Republic of China provides a concise description of the traditional functioning of the Chinese family

¹⁶ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 65. There are variations of the main types involving widowed parents, families without sons, etc. Any family group may change from type to type in a matter of years.

system:

The stability and fortunes of the family were the first concern of the individual. He worked to benefit the family treasury, and he protected its name above all things, for a man's personal status depended on the status of the family. He would continue to live in and support a tense and unhappy household rather than leave and in this way weaken its solidarity.

In return, the individual was provided with a stable source of identification, livelihood, sustenance, and perpetuation. He was given all the basic necessities of life within the limits of family means, and the family provided help in finding him a job, in obtaining him a wife, and so on.¹⁷

Margery Wolf reports that

Chinese children are taught by proverb, by example, and by experience that the family is the source of their security, and relatives the only people who can be depended on. Ostracism from the family is one¹⁸ of the harshest sanctions that can be imposed on erring youth.

In past times, this strong sense of family obligation resulted in each extended family group providing its own welfare and relief for its poor and aged members, instead of relying on the government for these services.¹⁹ As urbanization and industrialization have made their inroads into Chinese life and culture, some aspects of traditional family life are beginning to break down. The government has taken over former clan and family responsibilities in such areas as welfare and disaster relief. In urban areas, unifying economic and religious forces are not as strong as in rural areas, and family members develop affiliations, loyalties, and obligations to people who are not relatives. Western views and education foster a desire for individualism and self-reliance, lessening the family's control over an individual's behavior. However, even in times of social change, the Chinese retain a strong sense of family responsi-

¹⁷Ibid., p. 168.

¹⁸Margery Wolf, Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 35. She continues, "One of the reasons mainlanders as individuals are considered so untrustworthy on Taiwan is the fact that they are not subject to the controls of (and therefore have no fear of ostracism from) their families."

¹⁹Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 103-4.

lity and continue to regard kinship ties as highly important.²⁰

As mentioned previously, the Confucian philosophy includes a hierarchy of authority which is still basically in effect in Taiwan. Traditionally, the oldest male (father or grandfather) of a household has absolute authority over the rest of the family. His responsibility is to produce virtue in his sons, which he does by example. Total obedience is expected from children until marriage, and even then they are still under the father's authority if they remain a part of his household. Children are not expected to speak up or offer suggestions to adults, nor are they praised for successes for fear that praise would lead to complacency.²¹

The children's response to their parents' authority as dictated by Chinese culture and Confucian philosophy is found in the concept of "filial piety," regarded as the "first of all virtues."²² A filial son (or daughter) is one whose life is devoted to his family; he obeys his father as long as he lives and does everything possible to see that his parents are comfortable and happy, especially in their old age. The filial son is loyal to his father and will never do or say anything to bring shame to his father or the family name. The motivation behind filial piety is to be appreciation and respect for one's parents as the source of one's existence and of one's nourishment and care during infancy.

Intimately connected with the concept of filial piety is ancestor worship. A Chinese man defines his family as "a large group that includes the dead, the not-yet-born, and the living members of his household."²³

²⁰Ibid., pp. 64, 163, 169.

²¹Norma Diamond, K'un Shen: A Taiwan Village (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1969), p. vi.

²²Lin, op. cit., p. 179.

²³Wolf, op. cit., p. 32.

The ancestors of a family are a symbol of unity; worshipping one's ancestors binds a person to all preceeding generations, ensuring the stability of the family.²⁴ In The House of Lim, Margery Wolf expresses the essence of ancestor worship:

[The ancestral tablets] are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese . . . it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives²⁵ meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger.

To continue the chain of ancestors, children are essential. Thus, one of the key aspects of filial piety is the reproduction of life, and a man is not considered truly an adult until he is a father. The older generation still feels that the main reason for marriage is to produce children, especially sons, and thus they do not completely accept a new bride into the family circle until she bears a child. Sons are especially important in Chinese culture since they are the ones who will care for the parents in their old age, worship them after their death, and provide grandsons to continue the family lineage. Failure to have sons is a major offense against filial piety.²⁶

In recent years, smaller families have become the preference for a number of reasons. The land reform program reduced the size of land-holding any one family could own, and as a result it was no longer economically feasible to have many children to help till the land. The number of children surviving to adulthood has also increased. However, every

²⁴Chai, op. cit., pp. 83-5.

²⁵Margery Wolf, The House of Lim (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), p. 26.

²⁶Chai, op. cit., p. 86.

family still desires at least one son, and filial piety is promoted by the government.²⁷

Christians and the urban, educated Chinese are rejecting ancestor worship and the traditional authoritarianism of Confucianism, but children are still expected to respect and obey their parents and to care for them in their old age. A man will not deliberately invite criticism from his father, and young people living in the cities are expected to return home to the country to visit their parents at least two or three times a year.

In a culture in which the family and the production of children are of such importance, marriage is also of vital importance. Because marriage is seen as the means of perpetuating the family line, the mating of couples is regarded as the concern of the entire family, especially the elder members who can be trusted to wisely choose a proper mother for future sons of the family.²⁸ As a result, the parents arrange the marriages of their children, and see these unions as joining families, not merely individuals. In the past, the young people involved usually did not meet their mates until the wedding day.

Chinese society has traditionally separated the sexes before marriage and even today there are not many opportunities for Chinese young people to meet the opposite sex and develop casual friendships. An unmarried couple seen together is assumed to have a serious relationship, and casual acquaintances are often forced into marriage by the pressures of a society in transition between the Chinese ideal of arranged marriage and the Western model of romantic love.

Today, Chinese young people have more to say about whom they will marry, but the parents' role in choosing or approving a prospective mate

²⁷ Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 3, 63. ²⁸ Chai, op. cit., p. 86.

is still vitally important in most cases.

The services of a go-between are used to look for prospective mates and to work out the details of engagement and marriage. The marriage ceremonies, attendant feasts, and the bride's dowry are as elaborate as the family can afford, and they may even go into debt for such occasions.²⁹

In the past, poor families often adopted a young girl as a future daughter-in-law while their son was still young, and brought her up to be his wife when both were old enough. This practice is increasingly rare now, as both young men and women strongly object to marrying a person they have grown up regarding as a brother or a sister.

The Chinese do not intermarry with patrilineal kin, nor even with totally unrelated persons who happen to have the same surname.

Upon marriage, the wife leaves her natal family, becoming a member of her husband's family and worshipping his ancestors. The new wife's immediate supervisor is her mother-in-law, and when they disagree, her husband is expected to side with his mother rather than his wife.

If a family does not have any sons and has not been able to afford the adoption of a son, the parents will try to find a husband for one of their daughters, who will then join her family, take her surname, and worship her ancestors. However, a great deal of stigma is attached to this kind of marriage and the men who do so are considered somehow inferior to other men.³⁰

One of the major tenets of Confucianism, unfortunately for Chinese women, is that the inequality of the sexes is necessary for social harmony. Although the wife may theoretically be equal to her husband, in all

²⁹ Area Handbook, p. 80.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 65.

practicality Confucius considered her to be a somewhat inferior helpmate to her husband, and her proper place was in the home.³¹ Unlike her husband, she was not a part of a long chain of venerable ancestors, but had to earn the respect of her husband's family by being submissive and obedient. The woman's chief role was to bear sons and bring them up to be filial to their parents. She was under her husband's and mother-in-law's authority (until she herself became a mother-in-law).

Daughters were groomed for marriage from early childhood and were usually denied any education, since this would only benefit the girl's husband's family and "waste" the investment of her natal family. Even now in rural areas of Taiwan, although elementary education is compulsory, if a choice must be made between educating a son or a daughter, the son is given preference.³² However, since girls can now make good money as factory workers and supplement their family's income, and since the factories require educated workers, more daughters are encouraged and allowed to attend school.

Since the Nationalist government enacted and began enforcing laws regarding women's rights in the 1930's, the status of Chinese women has been increasing, especially in urban areas. Today's Chinese woman has the right to vote, to political involvement, to equal inheritance with her brothers, to higher education, and to enter any profession she chooses. By their own choice, most Chinese women today still prefer marriage over a career, since the family-centered orientation of the society does not yet allow single women to feel comfortable about remaining single.

Madame Chiang Kai-Shek has been the chief spokeswoman for the women of free China, and has actively promoted women's involvement in

³¹Lin, op. cit., p. 139. ³²Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 109.

community service, politics, and the professional world.³³

The family is still the most important unit of social organization for most people in Taiwan, and the great majority express approval of traditional values even while accepting the inevitability of some changes. Tradition is strongest in the rural areas, but many urbanites still adhere to traditional forms of behavior for the sake of convention.³⁴

Although women are rapidly gaining more status, men still tend to dominate the scene due to having a wider sphere of activity than the woman at home, to controlling more property, and to having the advantage in patrilineal descent.³⁵

The factors influencing changes in Chinese family life include urbanization, industrialization, increasing contact with Western ideas, and increasing mobility, education, and freedom for women.³⁶ On the other hand, the government's support of Confucianism, the forces of convention, and the ethnocentric belief of the Chinese in "a natural superiority of Chinese people as the bearers of a long and glorious cultural heritage,"³⁷ work together to prevent radical deviations from the cultural norm.

Artistic Expression and Celebrations

In considering a nation's culture, it is important to note how its people express themselves creatively and what celebrations and festivities fill their leisure time. The Chinese have a rich history of artistic expression including drama, folk dance, painting, calligraphy, works of

³³Ts'ai Ch'ing-yuan, "Women of free China," Free China Review, August 1976, p. 16.

³⁴Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 63-64, 163-164. For example, ancestor worship is still quite strong even in urban areas because even the educated Chinese feel uneasy about being the one to break up such a long and prestigious chain of ancestors.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 77. ³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 63. ³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 165.

bronze, jade, marble and clay, literature, music, and architecture. Nearly all of the major artistic and literary forms of China were brought to Taiwan by its early settlers and have undergone very little change through the years. Even the period of Japanese occupation had little impact on the traditional Chinese modes of artistic expression.³⁸

The three arts held in highest esteem by the Chinese are painting, calligraphy, and poetry. These were traditionally the province of the scholar-gentry class who could afford the leisure time to express themselves in these forms. Some of the main characteristics of Chinese art include perfection of form, symbolism and brevity, naturalism, and "romanticism" (a total emotional absorption in the subject).³⁹ A love for and harmony with nature distinguish both Chinese art and literature.

Painting and calligraphy are "twin" arts, with calligraphy being the "highest and purest form of art" to the ancient Chinese.⁴⁰ It is still regarded very highly in Taiwan.

Two types of literature developed through the years of China's history. The Confucian Classics set the example for the formal style of the scholar-gentry's poetry and prose, while the common people passed on stories from generation to generation through storytellers in the teahouse and market place. On Taiwan, the stories and songs were similar to those of south China, but substituted Taiwanese names and heroes for the main characters.⁴¹

Ancient Chinese authors avoided writing about heroes, love, or social conditions. Instead they "described nature and illustrated virtues."⁴² Today's young Chinese authors in Taiwan, many of them women,

³⁸Ibid., p. 123.

³⁹Chai, op. cit., p. 183.

⁴⁰Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 124. ⁴¹Ibid., pp. 131, 123.

⁴²Chai, op. cit., p. 160.

write with a strong, nationalistic flavor about conditions on the mainland and about the Taiwanese situation. Their tone is optimistic and confident, their stories usually convey a moral, and the ending is always happy.⁴³

Drama is very popular in Taiwan today, despite the fact that actors and players were traditionally held in low esteem. The government now encourages artists and entertainers to help restore the best of China's artistic and intellectual heritage.⁴⁴ Chinese theater today combines dancing, singing, symbolic actions, and acrobatics to tell a story. The "Peking Opera" form is the most popular and is broadcast over radio and television. The traveling puppet show, the other extreme, is also a neighborhood favorite, drawing its stories from Chinese legends and mythology.⁴⁵

In 1949, many Chinese art treasures were transferred to Taiwan, with the bulk now residing in the National Palace Museum in the suburbs of Taipei. This collection of over 240,000 objects spans thirty centuries of Chinese art (1766 B.C. to 1911 A.D.), and it would take twenty years for every item to be exhibited once.⁴⁶

The festivals and holidays celebrated by the people of Taiwan fall into two categories: those of religious nature and others of political or historical significance. Religious festivals form by far the largest group, as there is usually something going on somewhere in Taiwan at least twice a month. These celebrations are figured according to the lunar calendar, by which the rural people regulate their agri-

⁴³Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 134-5.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 124.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 135.

⁴⁶Mary B. Smith, ed., Taiwan: China's "Island Beautiful" (Sunset Travel Books) (Menlo Park, CA: Lane Books, 1968), p. 55.

cultural, religious, and leisure activities. The three most important festivals are the Lunar New Year (falling between January 21 and February 21 each year), the Dragon Boat Festival (coming between May 28 and June 28), and the Mid-Autumn (Moon) Festival (celebrated between September 4 and October 4).⁴⁷

The Chinese (Lunar) New Year is THE most important holiday of the entire year, with everything closing down for several days so that everyone can return home. Debts are settled, families and friends get together, and there are lavish feasts.

The Dragon Boat Festival commemorates an attempt centuries ago to rescue a great poet of ancient China who leapt into a river. The Mid-Autumn Festival features the moon, a symbol of fertility, longevity, and family unity, and associated with the god of marriage.⁴⁸

Other festivals involve salutes to the dead, visiting and cleaning family graves, celebrating the birthday of Matsu, the goddess of the sea, and so on. Every city or family patron deity has a special feast called a "pai pai," and other occasions for celebration include weddings, births of male children, induction into the army, betrothals, and other special family events. Families are always skimping to save money for the next festival or working too hard to pay off the debts of the last one, motivated by a fear of the gods whom they are honoring.

The leading government holidays include:

January 1	The anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China
March 29	Youth Day

⁴⁷141 Questions, op. cit., p. 14.

⁴⁸Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 100-1, and Smith op. cit., pp. 77 ff.

September 28	Confucius' Birthday
October 10	Double Tenth National Day (Date the revolution began in 1911 which resulted in the Republic of China)
October 25	Retrocession Day (Anniversary of Taiwan's return to China by Japan)
October 31	Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday
November 12	Sun Yat-sen's Birthday
December 25	Constitution Day (Date the Constitution became effective in 1947) ⁴⁹

Each of these holidays is usually celebrated by special ceremonies and parades.

⁴⁹ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 101; Smith, op. cit., pp. 77 ff; 141 Questions, op. cit., p. 14.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Chai, Ch'u and Winberg Chai. The Changing Society of China (Rev.). New York: The New American Library, 1969. 261 pages.

This small paperback is packed full of valuable insights on Chinese society: traditional, on the mainland, and on Taiwan. The authors (a father and son team) grew up on the mainland, emigrated to Taiwan in 1949, and since 1955 have pursued academic careers in the United States.

The three major sections of the book are: Part I - Social and Political Institutions; Part II - Chinese Thought and Learning; Part III - Reform and Revolution.

The authors have done an excellent job of summarizing a vast and complex subject, producing a valuable, well-written reference tool for those interested in the many aspects of Chinese society. Being in paperback, it should fit into most new missionaries' budgets.

Diamond, Norma. K'un Shen: A Taiwan Village. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969. 111 pages.

This case study in cultural anthropology deals with a Taiwanese fishing village on the coast near Tainan. Most of the findings are similar to those of Gallin and Wolf. The author covers the background of the village, its economic life, the life cycle of the villager, family life and organization, and religious life. The book is not as in-depth and detailed as Gallin's work, and the writing style is not on the same level as Wolf. However, the book is well-written, is short enough to be read quickly, and presents a good summary description of rural life in Taiwan.

Freedman, Maurice, ed. Family and Kinship in Chinese Society. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1970. 269 pages.

This book is a collection of papers originally given at a conference on kinship in Chinese society in 1966. All of the authors represented in the book have had firsthand experience with the Chinese scene.

The articles cover subjects such as Chinese child training, farmer's families, land and lineage, Chinese genealogies, rituals related to kinship and marriage, and so forth. Some of the selections are quite technical and are not that crucial to the new missionary's understanding of the culture. However, if the book can be easily located in a local library, the reader can choose those chapters which are of interest to him.

Gallin, Bernard. Hsin Hsing, Taiwan: A Chinese Village in Change. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press,

1966. 324 pages.

Gallin's book is the most extensive ethnographic study of a Taiwanese community available at present. The village studied is an agricultural community on the west-central coastal plain of the island, near Taichung. Besides the basic and very comprehensive description of village life, Gallin also emphasizes the changes taking place with the industrialization of the nation's economy. Although the study was done in 1957-58, changes of the same nature are still taking place, so the conclusions reached can still be considered valid.

The study covers the setting of the village, its economic life (land, agricultural processes, effects of changing land tenure, etc.), family and kinship, inter- and intra-village relationships, the life history of a villager, and religion and magic. Thus, it gives an excellent overview of Chinese culture in action.

In spite of the necessary technical research data included in the book, the writing style is very readable (much more so than Wilson's book mentioned below), making this book a high priority on a prospective missionary's reading list.

Lin Yutang. My Country and My People. New York: Halycon House, 1935. 382 pages.

This book is THE classic description of Chinese culture and should be a top priority for new missionaries. Lin's style is conversational, making for enjoyable reading. He covers all aspects of Chinese life and culture quite extensively: the origins of the Chinese people, their character, mind and ideals of life, women's life, social and political life, literary life and artistic life.

Lin has some caustic comments about Christianity in this book, but he later accepted Christ. The reader may be interested after this book in reading Lin's story of his life and conversion, From Pagan to Christian. (See Section V - Bibliography.)

Although the book is long, it is easy reading, and gives the reader an excellent introduction to and background in traditional Chinese culture with which he can compare other, more recent works.

Wilson, Richard. Learning to Be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1970. 203 pages.

This is an interesting study dealing with group life, authority relationships within the group (the "political culture"), and how Chinese children on Taiwan come to be members of a group with certain political attitudes and behaviors. The concept of "face" is heavily involved in the training techniques used, so persons interested in this concept would find the book of interest.

The chapters in the book include such subjects as group orientation and development, leadership style, ways of expressing hostility, and conclusions. Although the casual reader may be slowed down by the extensive research details and vocabulary, the book is still interesting reading and gives some valuable insights into several aspects of Chinese culture and how it actually functions in life situations.

Wolf, Margery. The House of Lim. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968. 148 pages.

Mrs. Wolf and her husband, an anthropologist, lived in a small country village in northern Taiwan from 1959 to 1961. This book is the story of the family with whom the Wolfs lived during their stay. The relationships between members of the Lim family are discussed at length, presenting an excellent account of village life in Taiwan. Although some of the outward details of life in Taiwan may have changed in the years since Mrs. Wolf lived there, the basic fabric of Chinese village life and the character of the people themselves as described in this book have not changed.

One of the author's purposes in writing the book was "to tell a good story." This she does while remaining anthropologically accurate. Without intending to, the author also gives the prospective missionary a compelling picture of the deep spiritual needs of the people of Taiwan.

The House of Lim should have top priority on the new missionary's reading list. The book gives valuable insights into rural village life and the Chinese character, while reinforcing the missionary's conviction that the people of Taiwan need Jesus Christ.

Wolf, Margery. Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972. 235 pages.

This is a book by a woman about women in a society that usually focuses on men. Mrs. Wolf has done an excellent job of showing the reader Chinese life and culture through the eyes of its women. She has drawn upon her experiences and observations after living in a variety of places in Taiwan while accompanying her husband on field trips. Her style of writing is extremely interesting and readable.

The main portion of the book follows the life cycle of the rural Taiwanese woman, discussing each major portion of the cycle in great detail. Although the urban Chinese woman today has a life of higher status and more freedom than that described in this book, she still has come from the same background as the rural woman.

The prospective missionary wife should make this book a very high priority, for it will give her some very valuable insights into the lifestyle, needs, and desires of the women she will soon be living among, making friends with, and seeking to win to Jesus Christ. Her husband will also benefit from reading this book and gaining some insights into the world of the Chinese woman and the dynamics of family relationships.

Magazines

Ching Feng (Quarterly Notes on Christianity and Chinese Religion and Culture)

This magazine is published by the Lutheran Church in Hong Kong, and as intimated by its title, has articles on Christianity as it relates to Chinese religion and culture. The address is: The Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, Tao Fong Shan, Shatin, N.T., Hong Kong. The subscription rate in 1969 (the latest copy available to this writer) was \$2.00 U.S. for a one year subscription. The magazine would appeal to the more theologically and philosophically minded.

ECHO of Things Chinese

This magazine is published in Taiwan and would be an excellent source of information on Chinese culture, except that airmail subscriptions to the United States in 1974 cost \$17.50 U.S. (The magazine is not that good!) The address in ECHO Magazine Co., Ltd., 5-2 Pa Teh Road, Sec. 4, Lane 72, Alley 16, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.

Quinn, Edward J. "The Taiwanese Goals-Values System," Missiology, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July 1973), pp. 357-365.

This brief article deals with three important values and goals of Taiwanese culture: happiness, wealth, and long life; and how they have been adapted in modern Chinese life. The author, a Catholic missionary to Taiwan, has written especially to help missionaries better understand Taiwanese culture. The article offers no conclusions, but is meant to stimulate thought.

Ts'ai Ch'ing-yuan. "Women of free China," Free China Review, August 1976, pp. 13-18.

This article summarizes the achievements professionally, socially, and politically of women in the Republic of China since 1911.

Other

The Area Handbook of the Republic of China (Overview) has excellent sections on family and kinship, values, social structure, arts, and so forth.

The Free China Review periodically has articles on Chinese culture, art, drama, etc. The December issue each year contains an index to all of the year's articles.

An excellent resource on Chinese culture available to those new missionaries living near larger colleges and universities are graduate students from Taiwan here in the United States to do further research and study.

Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture (History) covers all aspects of Chinese culture in the second half of the book.

SECTION III

RELIGION

PROFILE SKETCH

Introduction

China's religious heritage embraces three great traditions: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Although of diverse character and origin, these three have existed side by side throughout the centuries; each influencing and being influenced by the others; each having periods of dominance in Chinese history. The men behind these three traditions all lived at approximately the same time: in or about the sixth century B.C.

Before looking at each of these religious traditions in detail, it is important to note some general characteristics of all Chinese religion.

First, Chinese religion is highly eclectic. One reason behind this is that "Chinese philosophy teaches that the field of knowledge is unlimited in extent, so that no man nor any age can claim to comprehend the whole truth. To learn from all persons at all times is the pathway to wisdom."¹ The Chinese are also suspicious of dogmatic ideas and doctrines. They prefer to avoid extremes and compromise differences.² None of the three major religions of China requires dogmatic adherence to creeds or doctrines, so that they are "less

¹Y. C. Yang, China's Religious Heritage (New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943), p. 39.

²Ch'u Chai and Winberg Chai, The Changing Society of China (Rev.) (New York: The New American Library, 1969), p. 150

important as distinct value systems and organized religions than as contributors of elements to the religious attitude . . . of the people."³

In addition, each religious system has its limitations and areas where it fails to meet people's needs. Thus, they are supplementary to one another rather than mutually exclusive: Confucianism is practical, Buddhism is metaphysical, and Taoism is mystical.⁴

As Chinese culture has absorbed and modified these religions, the various beliefs and modes of worship have become so jumbled and mixed together that it is practically impossible to apportion the people among the various groups. They all reverence Confucius and worship their ancestors; they all employ Buddhist funeral customs; they all resort to Taoist blessings of health and wealth, without worrying about inconsistencies or differences in beliefs.⁵ There have even been priests in some country temples who were not certain to which religion they really belonged.⁶

A second key characteristic of Chinese religion is its "diffusion." C. K. Yang explains:

. . . we can discern two structural forms of religion. One is institutional religion, which has a system of theology, rituals, and organization of its own, independent of other secular social institutions. . . . The other is diffused religion, with its theology, rituals and organization intimately merged with the concepts and structure of secular institutions and other aspects of the social order. The beliefs and rituals of diffused religion develop their organizational system as an integral part of the organized social pattern. In the diffused

³Area Handbook of the Republic of China (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 143.

⁴Yang, op. cit., p. 39. ⁵Chai, op. cit., p. 154.

⁶C. K. Yang, Religion in Chinese Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), p. 25.

form, religion performs a pervasive function in an organized manner in every major aspect of Chinese social life.⁷

Thus, although strong, centrally organized religions have not played a major role in Chinese history, religion is still a major influence in the lives of the Chinese people, being "so woven into the broad fabric of family and social life that there was not even a special word for [religion] until modern times" ⁸

Although there are occasions of "public" worship, most of Chinese religious life centers around the home. The public side of religion is considered just a part of good citizenship and is often performed perfunctorily. Congregational worship does not exist, for each individual in the throngs at a temple worships alone, not as part of a group.

The traditional Chinese home can, in a sense, be considered as a religious shrine, for it contains the ancestral tablets and idols of various household deities, besides being the site of the many family-oriented religious observances involving food, clothing, shelter, marriage, birth, death, travel, and other important family events.⁹

A third characteristic of Chinese religion is that the Chinese people are highly moral in their values and ideals, yet there is no one supreme deity in any of their religious systems which can be equated with the God of Western religion. Chinese religious beliefs emphasize relationships now with the invisible world (a countless

⁷Ibid., p. 20.

⁸Laurence G. Thompson, Chinese Religion: An Introduction, The Religious Life of Man Series (2d ed.; Encino and Belmont, CA: Dickenson Publishing Co., Inc., 1975), p. 1.

⁹C. K. Yang, op. cit., p. 16.

host of different deities and spirits are worshipped, each for different purposes) and the certainty of the future supremacy of virtue and the eventual punishment of evil.¹⁰

Confucianism

K'ung Fu-Tsu (meaning "Kung, the master;" Westernized as "Confucius") was born in 551 B.C.¹¹ at a time when the feudal system of China was falling apart. Society and civilization were in a chaotic state. Confucius and the students he gathered around him felt that the only hope for society lay in returning to the social and cultural institutions and traditions of the past. Often called China's greatest teacher, Confucius restated and amplified traditional beliefs and values into an organized philosophy which has been the official value system of the Chinese governmental structure for the past 2000 years.¹²

The original indigenous religion of China upon which Confucius enlarged emphasized the worship of Heaven (the supreme anthropomorphic power of the universe) and the worship of ancestors. It also contained the essence of the theology of Yin and Yang (negative and positive) and of the Five Elements (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth) which later penetrated both Taoism and Confucianism.¹³

Confucianism today is the accumulation of Confucius' own teachings plus the writings of his followers and interpreters throughout the centuries. One of these men, Mencius, contributed to Chinese

¹⁰Thompson, op. cit., p. 6-7; and Chai, op. cit., p. 153.

¹¹Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 156.

¹²Ibid., p. 148.

¹³C. K. Yang, op. cit., p. 17, 23-4.

thought the doctrine that human nature is innately good.¹⁴ The primary appeal of Confucianism has been to the official and learned classes, for it fostered education and learning.

Confucianism is basically humanistic, emphasizing proper relations among men in order to establish and maintain an orderly society. One aspect of proper conduct is knowing one's place in society and exercising the proper duties and responsibilities of that position. (For example, the concept of filial piety, discussed in detail in Section II.) Another requirement for harmonious human relations is a spirit of reasonableness, involving common sense, tolerance, avoidance of excesses one way or the other, willingness to compromise, and reciprocity. (It is interesting to note that Confucius taught the essence of the Golden Rule in negative form several centuries before Christ.)¹⁵

The motivation behind man's proper behavior was to be a spirit of love for others, known as "Jen." This concept, also defined as "human-heartedness" or benevolence for others, was the supreme virtue in human relations. The other cardinal virtues of Confucianism are "Yi" - righteousness; "Li" - propriety; "Chih" - wisdom; and "Hsin" - fidelity.¹⁶

The one subject on which Confucianism is silent is the supernatural. Confucius emphasized the rational, practical aspects of this life here and now. He offered no heaven or hell, no formulas for

¹⁴Chai, op. cit., p. 135.

¹⁵Y. C. Yang, op. cit., p. 64-5.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 80.

immortality, no future punishment to fear for not living up to his standards, no solutions to the riddle of the universe.¹⁷

It is due to this omission that many have debated whether or not Confucianism can be considered a religion. Strictly speaking, it is a philosophy, a system of ethics with high ideals. However, its effect and influence upon Chinese society has been equal to that of a religion. The people of China have accepted Confucianism as true and its rules for moral conduct as binding. The Confucian norms of conduct have come to be regarded as natural human behavior.¹⁸

Sometime between 206 B.C. and A.D. 220, Confucius was elevated to the rank of divinity by the Chinese government and a state cult of Confucianism developed.¹⁹ Today, Confucian temples are not places of worship, yet the people who visit them are motivated by religious, not philosophical reasons. Incense is burned and prayers are offered before the image of Confucius, and at least once a year, public sacrifices are offered.²⁰

Whatever it may be called, Confucianism alone was not adequate to meet the deeper spiritual needs of the Chinese people.

¹⁷Lin Yutang, My Country and My People (New York: Halycon House, 1935), p. 121.

¹⁸Chai, op. cit., p. 147; and Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 143.

¹⁹Allie M. Frazier, ed., Chinese and Japanese Religions, Vol. III, Readings in Eastern Religious Thought (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1969), p. 19.

²⁰Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 149; and 141 Questions and Answers About the Republic of China (Taipei: Chung Hwa Information Service, 1977), p. 16.

Buddhism

In the sixth century B.C. an Indian prince named Gautama Shakyamuni began searching for the meaning of life. His eventual "enlightenment" on the subject developed into the religious system known as Buddhism (his title, "the Buddha," means "the Enlightened One"). As Buddhism developed and flourished in India, its influence began spreading throughout Asia. Sometime around A.D. 65, Buddhism made its way into China, where it became the only religion of non-Chinese origin to become thoroughly integrated into the Chinese culture.²¹ Between A.D. 220 and 589, Buddhism enjoyed its most extensive period of growth in China and became a major influence in Chinese civilization, affecting language, food, religion, philosophy, the arts, literature, sculpture, architecture, and the whole world of imagination.²²

When Buddhism was first introduced into China

. . . it taught asceticism, celibacy, and individual salvation through contemplation and the arrival at nirvana, thus escaping the repeated incarnation, which was otherwise considered inevitable. . . . Much emphasis was placed on detachment from all desire and all emotion The physical world was considered to be unreal, like a dream.²³

However, Chinese culture soon exerted its powers of absorption and transformation, producing a distinctly Chinese variety of Buddhism,

²¹Frazier, op. cit., p. 25; Thompson, op. cit., p. 1. In contrast to all the other sources consulted, which emphasized the thoroughness of Buddhism's entrenchment in Chinese culture, David K. Jordan in Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors: Folk Religion of a Taiwanese Village (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1972), commented that from his observations "The Buddhist faith is considered foreign in some way, and Chinese delight in explaining that it is ultimately Indian." (p. 30).

²²Frazier, op. cit., p. 25; Lin, op. cit., p. 123; Chai, op. cit., p. 149.

²³Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 145.

which became a spiritual refuge for the people. Local gods and heroes were accepted into the Buddhist pantheon, Chinese traditions were recast into a Buddhist mold, and Chinese philosophical ideas interacted with the Indian Buddhist beliefs, changing their "other-worldliness" into a "this-worldliness" more popular with the Chinese people.²⁴

Chinese Buddhism developed into four main schools of thought.

Common to all are the "Four Noble Truths:"

1. Life is suffering;
2. Desire is the cause of suffering;
3. By bringing about the cessation of desire we can put an end to the cause of suffering, and thus remove suffering itself;
4. The way for the elimination of desire is through the accumulation of good deeds by always striving to do right in seeing,²⁵ thinking, doing, speaking, living, effort, idea, and attitude.

The most popular school of Chinese Buddhism on Taiwan is known as "Ching-t'u," the "Pure Land" School. This group teaches salvation through faith in the Amitabha Fu ("Buddha of Infinite Splendor"), a monk who lived a perfect life and created a "Western Paradise" of eternal bliss. This salvation is achieved merely through meditating upon Amitabha Fu and repeating his name, rather than having to do strenuous acts of moral discipline or intellectual endeavor.²⁶

The second most important school of Chinese Buddhism is the "Ch'an" or "Contemplative" School. This branch emphasizes the importance of meditation alone to bring about a sudden illumination, resulting

²⁴Chai, op. cit., p. 149, 154; and Y. C. Yang, op. cit., p. 110.

²⁵Y. C. Yang, op. cit., p. 118, 120.

²⁶Ibid., p. 131; and Frazier, op. cit., p. 27.

in the realization of Nirvana. This school is favored by intellectuals, and was carried to Japan, where it is known as Zen Buddhism.²⁷

The "Sycretist" School (T'ien-t'ai) teaches that there are a variety of paths to illumination: meditation, the Buddhist scriptures, teachers, discipline, etc. They believe that different methods work for different people, and urge tolerance between the different groups of Buddhists.²⁸

The fourth school is known as the "True Word" (Chen-yen) School. This group is preoccupied with spells, magic, and fetishism, playing upon the superstitions of the Chinese people. Their belief in the miraculous power of the words of Buddha has affected Chinese funeral rituals.²⁹

Popular virtues to be cultivated by Buddhist followers include kindness and compassion, meekness and nonviolence, charity and almsgiving, reflection and meditation, and a pure heart like the lotus flower, which is not affected by the filth in which it grows.³⁰

One of the most-worshipped of Buddhist deities on Taiwan is Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy. According to legend, she reached Nirvana but did not enter, preferring to stay where she could hear the cries of needy humans and come to their aid. She is believed to take a personal interest in the smallest difficulties of her devotees, whereas Buddha is only concerned with the spiritual perfection of man. "In many Buddhist temples her statue is in the place of highest honor,

²⁷ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 159.

²⁸ Frazier, op. cit. p. 27.

²⁹ Ibid., and Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 154.

³⁰ Y. C. Yang, op. cit., p. 133-38.

while those of Buddha and several Taoist deities are relegated to places of secondary importance."³¹

Taoism

It has been said that "The term Taoist is often used in Taiwan to cover everything that is not Buddhist, Christian, or Moslem."³² This is due to the fact that Taoism began as a speculative and mystical philosophy, but its practice as a religion degenerated into a disorganized system of idolatry, superstition and magic.

Taoism was founded in the sixth century B.C. by Lao Tse ("Old Master"), who lived some 20 years before Confucius. The name "Taoism" came from the Book of Tao which Lao Tse wrote, considered by some to be "the most important single Chinese philosophical work in existence."³³

"Tao" is said to be one of the oldest and most common words in Chinese literature, in existence long before Lao Tse adopted it.³⁴ It has been variously defined as "the great cosmological principle that governs the operation of the universe;"³⁵ "the ultimate everlasting Absolute underlying the reality of all else;"³⁶ "the eternal Law of Nature;"³⁷ and "the metaphysical first principle of life."³⁸ It is never conceived of as a deity.³⁹

Philosophical Taoism was a revolt against the artificiality and

³¹Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 159.

³²Jordan, op. cit., p. 29. ³³Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 155.

³⁴Y. C. Yang, op. cit., p. 149. ³⁵C. K. Yang, op. cit., p. 2.

³⁶Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 155.

³⁷Thompson, op. cit., p. 6. ³⁸Y. C. Yang, op. cit., p. 149.

³⁹Thompson, op. cit., p. 6.

responsibilities of Confucian culture. Lao Tse and his followers felt that the answer to the problems of society lay in a retreat from civilization, going back to nature and the simple life. The world's troubles were said to have arisen from losing harmony with the Tao, nature being its principal manifestation. Harmony with the Tao might be achieved by knowing nature, being natural, accepting one's destiny, and not interfering with the course of nature.⁴⁰ As a result, "Taoism has always been associated with the recluse, the retirement to the mountains, the worship of the rural life, the cultivation of the spirit, the prolongation of man's life, and the banishment of all worldly cares and worries."⁴¹

Desire and greed are considered as sins; man's proper action should be inaction: "An enlightened passivity which refrains from interfering with the course of nature."⁴² In this doctrine of "in-action," Lin Yutang detects a philosophy of self-protection:

Lao Tse . . . taught the wisdom of stupidity, the strength of weakness, the advantage of lying low, and the importance of camouflage. One of [his] maxims was, 'Never be the first of the world' for the simple reason that thus one ⁴³could never be exposed to attack, and consequently never fall.

As philosophical Taoism sought to discover the mysteries of nature, it appealed to the mystical side of human nature, which Confucianism and Buddhism failed to do. In competition with Buddhism

⁴⁰Chai, op. cit., p. 134; Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 155; and Y. C. Yang, op. cit., p. 155.

⁴¹Lin Yutang, op. cit., p. 118.

⁴²Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 155; and 141 Questions, op. cit., p. 18.

⁴³Lin Yutang, op. cit., p. 119.

for the allegiance of the Chinese masses, Taoism began to borrow from Buddhism and to absorb folk beliefs and practices, eventually coming to have "more in common with folk religions practiced before Lao Tse was born than it has with the ideas expounded in the Book of Tao."⁴⁴

In A.D. 666, Lao Tse was canonized, hastening the development of Taoism into a superstitious, idolatrous folk religion of the ignorant and unlearned.⁴⁵

Folk-Taoism, as distinguished from philosophical Taoism, is probably the oldest popular religion of China.⁴⁶ It has accumulated a large pantheon of deities, immortals, and spirits, such as door gods, kitchen gods, spirits of natural objects, personal ancestors, and so forth. The Taoist supreme deity on Taiwan is known as "T'ien K'ung" (the God of Heaven) or "Yu-ti" (the Jade Emperor); however, since he is considered to be distant and unapproachable except through intermediaries (something like a Chinese emperor), prayers and offerings are usually directed to the lesser deities, spirits, and ancestors.⁴⁷ The most prominent and popular deity of folk-Taoism on Taiwan is Matsu, the Protectress of Seafarers.

One of the primary objectives of folk-Taoism has been the search for a way to immortality, meaning to Taoists the "indefinite

⁴⁴ Area Handbook, op. cit. p. 145.

⁴⁵ Chai, op. cit., p. 148; and Y. C. Yang, op. cit., p. 167.

⁴⁶ Frazier, op. cit., p. 22. Note: The following discussion of folk-Taoism should not be regarded as describing a system of beliefs different from that of the next section on "Folk Religion." The two are practically one and the same in many instances.

⁴⁷ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 151; and Chai, op. cit., p. 148.

prolongation of the present earthly existence."⁴⁸ It also emphasizes divination, fortune-telling, astrology, and witchcraft.

Folk-Taoism is not an organized religion. Taoist attitudes towards life and the supernatural are considered simply as the traditional beliefs of the people. There are no distinctly "Taoist" temples, but folk temples where all the local deities, Taoist, Buddhist or whatever, are worshipped. Persons become Taoist priests out of personal desire, and are indistinguishable from the rest of the population, having no special garb, diet, or way of life as do the Buddhist clerics.⁴⁹ Except for officiating at funeral ceremonies, "Taoist priests do not play an important role in the religious lives of the people. Beliefs are passed on informally within the family, which also carries out most of the religious observances."⁵⁰

Whereas Confucianism may be seen as too serious and formal, and Buddhism is too pessimistic and resigned, folk-Taoism contributes a cheerful, playful outlook on life.⁵¹ It is often said that "every Chinese is a Confucianist when he is successful and a Taoist when he is a failure."⁵² As mentioned earlier, each of the three great religious traditions of China appeals to a different aspect of the Chinese personality and operates on a different level. The amalgamation of the three into the actual daily religious practices of Taiwanese folk religion will be considered next.

⁴⁸Y. C. Yang, op. cit., p. 167.

⁴⁹Jordan, op. cit., p. 29-30; and Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 143.

⁵⁰Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 152.

⁵¹Y. C. Yang, op. cit., p. 171, 173.

⁵²Lin Yutang, op. cit., p. 117.

Folk Religion on Taiwan

The folk, or popular, religion practiced in daily life by the Taiwanese has been described as "the fusion of Confucianism and animism, permeated with Taoist elements and often placed in a Buddhist framework."⁵³ Folk beliefs on Taiwan have been modified slightly from those prevalent on the mainland due to contact with the Taiwanese aboriginal religions.

The world view of the Taiwanese folk religion might be called animistic: there is a strong belief in an invisible world, peopled with all sorts of spirits (both human and from the world of nature), gods, demons, ghosts, and so forth, which is intimately related to the world of men. Gods can take on human form, and heroes or sages may be deified.⁵⁴ Man is seen as a part of the universe, but only a part, with nature being just as important a part. The Chinese see the world of spirits as being like the world of men: since one needs money and food to survive in this life, the members of the spirit world also need food and money to exist. This belief has led to the custom of setting out food for departed ancestors and burning paper money to cover their expenses in the other world.⁵⁵

The spirits in Taiwan's folk religion can be either benevolent or malevolent. When a person dies, it is believed that his spirit will either go to heaven and become a divinity, or descend to the underworld to become a ghost. The result is totally dependent of the amount of good or bad deeds accrued by the deceased during his lifetime.⁵⁶ The

⁵³Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 3. ⁵⁴Chai, op. cit., p. 151-2.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 152.

⁵⁶Ibid.

Taiwanese are not sure "whether positive aid can be obtained from one's ancestors or other spirits, but there is general agreement that misfortune can be averted only through the protection of friends in the spirit world."⁵⁷ As a result, burial rites and sacrifices to ancestors are carefully maintained in fear of the dead becoming a vengeful demon, and in hopes that he might become a benevolent god.⁵⁸ Ancestral spirits which are not properly worshipped are thought to become evil. Due to this belief, Christian residents cause a great deal of anxiety in rural areas: "Because Christians have ceased to worship their ancestors, their ancestors' spirits are believed to roam throughout the area causing trouble."⁵⁹

Many of the folk beliefs and practices can be considered as magic, for they have "no ethical content and [are] concerned only with the manipulation or coercion of supernatural forces for specific and limited ends."⁶⁰ Magic especially plays an important role in the field of health. When the traditional herb medicines, acupuncture, or Western medicines have no effect on an illness, it is assumed to have a supernatural origin, and steps are then taken to effect a supernatural cure.

Important in the village life, both to cure such diseases, exorcise demons, and handle misfortunes of supernatural origin, are the "practicioners" of Taiwanese folk religion: the shaman, the medium, and the geomancer. Most villages will have at least one shaman,

⁵⁷ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 149.

⁵⁸ Thompson, op. cit., p. 10.

⁵⁹ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 150.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

who is thought to have personal supernatural powers available to care for the supernatural needs of the villagers. He (or she) usually works with a medium, who claims to be the instrument of a specific spirit or god.⁶¹

The geomancer is in some ways even more important to village life than the shaman or medium. "His principal function is to determine the auspicious time for any important event, such as marriage, burial, house construction, or starting a business venture."⁶² This is done by means of astrology and various other supernatural principles. It is interesting to note that while "shamans and mediums are important only in rural areas, geomancers are just as likely to be consulted by urban people."⁶³

Aboriginal Religions

Although Taiwan's aboriginal tribes are slowly being assimilated into the general Chinese population, it is worth noting the general characteristics of their religious beliefs. The aborigines are all basically animistic. They worship their ancestors and the spirits of various natural objects and events (such as rain, grass, and the sea). They are polytheistic, and only two tribes have any concept of gods as creators.⁶⁴ In the past they were headhunters. It is important to realize that Christianity has seen its greatest success in Taiwan among the mountain aboriginal tribes.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid., p. 151.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 38, 40.

Present Status

Freedom of religious belief is guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of China and is upheld by its government. In education and at the higher levels of government, secularism combined with Confucian ethics is emphasized. The older generation is still strongly religious, especially in rural areas, while the youth and educated urbanites are rejecting the beliefs of their parents in favor of agnosticism.⁶⁵

Of the organized religions, Buddhism "probably has the greatest influence beyond its own membership."⁶⁶ As practiced on Taiwan, Buddhism has incorporated more non-Buddhist elements than on the mainland. Recently it has been strongly influenced by a number of Christian practices (such as Sunday School).⁶⁷ It was estimated in 1977 that there were eight million followers of Buddha in Taiwan, worshipping in over 2,500 temples (350 of which are dedicated to Kuan Yin and only 90 to Buddha), and ministered to by nearly 7,500 monks and nuns.⁶⁸

In comparison, there are approximately 2,000 Taoist temples on Taiwan, plus 330 temples honoring Matsu.⁶⁹ Each town or village will also have a temple or shrine for its patron deity. The two deities most important in the daily religious life of the Taiwanese people are Kuan Yin and Matsu.⁷⁰

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 144. ⁶⁶Ibid., p. 159. ⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 144, 146.

⁶⁸141 Questions, op. cit., p. 17. ⁶⁹Ibid., p. 18.

⁷⁰Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 144.

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Ch'en, Kenneth K. S. Buddhism: The Light of Asia. Woodbury, NY: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1968. 297 pages.

. Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964. 560 pages.

These two books by Kenneth Ch'en will be of interest to those desiring to study Buddhism and its influence in China in greater depth than at an introductory level. Buddhism: The Light of Asia is a detailed treatment of the Buddha's life and teachings, along with chapters on Buddhism in China, Japan, and Tibet, plus comments on Buddhist literature, art, ceremonies, and festivals.

Buddhism in China is an extensive history of Chinese Buddhism, covering each dynasty of Chinese history in depth. The final chapter discusses the contributions of Buddhism to Chinese culture.

Both books are well-written, and the new missionary might wish to read sections here and there, as he has time, to supplement his other reading on Buddhism.

Creel, H. G. Confucius and the Chinese Way. New York: Harper and Bros., 1949. 363 pages.

In this book, Creel attempts to get through the traditions to discover the "real" Confucius. He discusses the China of Confucius; gives a lengthy, detailed biography of the man, focusing on him as teacher, scholar, philosopher, and reformer; and covers the history of Confucianism since Confucius. The book is scholarly and well-documented, yet is well-written enough to be enjoyable reading also. This book is not a priority for new missionaries, but is a good resource for those who have a special interest in Confucianism.

Frazier, Allie M., ed. Chinese and Japanese Religions. Vol. III, Readings in Eastern Religious Thought. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1969. 272 pages.

This volume of readings was put together with the Westerner in mind who is approaching Eastern religious thought for the first time. There are selections directly from Confucius' writings and the various

writings associated with Taoism, along with interpretive essays on the religions of China, Chinese philosophy, Confucianism, and Taoism. (The second half of the book deals with the religions of Japan.) This seems to be one of the more readable introductory books on Chinese religion, with the added benefit of selections from the original documents for those interested.

Jordan, David K. Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors: Folk Religion of a Taiwanese Village. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1972. 197 pages.

This book is a field study on Chinese folk religion in a rural village of southern Taiwan. The author especially examines the relationship between religion and society in Taiwan. He discusses in detail the three kinds of supernatural beings with which the folk religion deals: gods, ghosts, and ancestors, giving an excellent introduction to the actual day-to-day religious life of the rural Taiwanese.

The book is very well-written and is interesting reading as well as being informative. It is the best in-depth treatment of folk religion available, and is well worth the reading.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. Introducing Buddhism. New York: Friendship press, 1956. 63 pages.

This is a brief survey of Buddhism written for Christians. The beginnings of Buddhism, major changes since the beginnings, and its outreach around the world (including China) are discussed. The book is easy reading and would be understandable down to the junior high level. Unless the prospective missionary is especially interested in the theological and philosophical aspects of Buddhism, this book would probably provide an adequate introduction to Buddhism.

Reichelt, Karl L. Religion in Chinese Garment. London: Lutterworth Press, 1951. 180 pages.

This book is a very detailed, philosophically-oriented treatment of Chinese religions and is not easy reading. Chapters cover such subjects as Animism and Its Philosophical Background, Confucianism, ancestor worship, Taoism, Chinese Buddhism, Chinese Mohammedanism, and various sects. Other books in this bibliography are easier and more interesting reading and are just as informative.

Thompson, Laurence G. Chinese Religion: An Introduction. The Religious Life of Man Series. 2nd ed. Encino and Belmont, CA: Dickenson Publishing Co., Inc., 1975. 139 pages.

This book claims to present a clear, nontechnical description and interpretation of Chinese religious life. However, the language used and the style of writing do not make for easy reading, and probably the philosophically-minded would enjoy reading the book the most.

All aspects of Chinese religious life are introduced: animism, folk religion, the family, relationships to the State, festivals, Buddhism, Taoism, and so on. One good feature of the book is a list of "Selected Readings" for further study at the end of each chapter.

Of the general introductory books on Chinese religion, Frazier's or Y. C. Yang's books would be a higher priority.

Wolf, Arthur P., ed. Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974. 377 pages.

The papers included in this book came from a conference on Chinese Society held in 1971, and are all based on field research in Taiwan and Hong Kong. The articles discuss various aspects of Chinese religion and ritual, some being more detailed and technical and others of more general interest. The reader will want to pick and choose according to his own interests. Being based on field studies, the information here provides examples of how the theories and theologies explained in other books are really put into practice in life situations.

Yang, C. K. Religion in Chinese Society. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961. 473 pages.

This book takes a sociological approach to the place of religion in traditional Chinese society, and is not a systematic presentation of information on Chinese religion. The author does not agree with the popular viewpoint that Chinese culture was basically agnostic, and he seeks to show how religion functioned as an integral part of Chinese life and society. He covers the relationship of religion to the family, to social and economic groups, to politics and the government, and to the moral order.

The book is a very comprehensive study (the best one of its type done so far), including much statistical research data, but the author writes well and gives some valuable insights into the place and function of religion in Chinese society. If the prospective missionary has the time and an interest in the sociological approach, he will benefit from any reading done in this book.

Yang, Y. C. China's Religious Heritage. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943. 196 pages.

Yang has written this book from a Christian viewpoint especially for missionaries. He asserts that the most effective way to win the Chinese for Christ is to know what they believe, determine points of contact with Christianity, and then endeavor to show them how Christianity is even better than their own system of belief.

He discusses the basic religious significance of Chinese culture, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Christianity. His description of the basic tenets of each religion is clear and easy to understand, and he points out both strengths and weaknesses of each system.

The style is very readable, but the reader needs to be aware that the author sometimes gets carried away finding points of contact between Christianity and the Chinese religions. In spite of this, the author does make some valid points and gives good insights into the nature of Chinese religion. Even the date of the book (1943) does not hinder its value to the prospective missionary (except that the book might be difficult to locate), as the comments and insights are still quite applicable today.

Magazines

Chan Wing-tsit. "Perspectives on religion," Free China Review, January 1976, pp. 24-28.

This article is a rather shallow treatment of the conflicting

Western and Chinese views on the nature of God, creation, and salvation. The author evinces the traditional Chinese eclectic attitude towards matters of religion. The new missionary would benefit from reading this article in order to get an idea of the prevalent attitude he will encounter in Taiwan towards religion.

Ching Feng (See reference in Section II)

This Hong Kong-based Lutheran magazine often has articles dealing with Chinese religions. Some sample titles include "Folk Religion in an Urban Setting" (Vol. XII, No. 3 & 4, 1969); "Confucianism and its Significance to Christianity in China" (Vol. XII, No. 1, 1969); and "Christ and Chinese Cultural Heritage" (Vol. X, No. 1, 1967).

Other

Liao, The Unresponsive (Missions) has an excellent chapter discussing the problem of ancestor worship and Christianity among the Hakkas.

Lin Yutang, My Country and My People (Culture) has about thirty pages on Chinese religion, with good insights.

Chai, The Changing Society of China (Culture) has two chapters on Chinese Philosophy and Religion, giving a good summary of the history of each.

Area Handbook (Overview) has an excellent chapter on Religion, focusing on current expressions in Taiwan, a subject not found in many of the other books on Chinese religion.

SECTION IV
HISTORY

PROFILE SKETCH

Introduction

The history of the island of Taiwan is a fascinating subject. It is intimately linked with the history of China, yet with important variations brought about by foreign occupants and conquerors. Taiwan has been China's "frontier," settled by hardy and adventurous pioneers with a passion for freedom. The island has often been ignored or dismissed as unimportant by "serious" historians of China, and scholars disagree as to when its "authentic," recorded history actually began.¹

Although the Chinese Empire did not exert actual political authority over Taiwan until 1683, the majority of its settlers have been Chinese peoples who brought with them the cultural heritage and historical backgrounds of the mainland. Due to these ties between Taiwan and mainland China, the following chart summarizing the history of China is presented as background for this section:

¹L. H. D. Gordon, "Introduction: Taiwan and Its Place in Chinese History," Taiwan: Studies in Chinese Local History, ed. L. H. D. Gordon, Occasional Papers of the East Asian Institute of Columbia University (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 1; W. G. Goddard, The Makers of Taiwan (Taipei: China Publishing Co., n.d.), p. i; and Area Handbook for the Republic of China (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 19.

NAME OF DYNASTY	DATES OF DYNASTY	ACCOMPLISHMENTS, EVENTS, COMMENTS
<u>I. ANCIENT DYNASTIES</u>		
A. The Age of the Five Rulers	2357 - 2205 B.C.	The beginning of Chinese recorded history A 365-day calendar invented The people lived a pastoral agricultural life in the Yellow River Valley.
B. Hsia Dynasty	2205 - 1766 B.C.	The territorial boundaries of China began to take shape. A system of land taxes was developed. The first dynasty to set up a nation-wide governmental structure based on hereditary kingship.
C. Shang Dynasty (Yin)	1766 - 1122 B.C.	Feudalism dominant Emergence of the big family system.
D. Chou Dynasty	1122 - 221 B.C.	Longest dynasty in Chinese history
1. West Chou		Feudal dynasty
2. East Chou		Widespread education: scholars, writers, thinkers were highly esteemed;
a. Age of Spring & Autumn (300 yrs.)		culture flourished.
b. Age of Warring States (200 yrs.)		In the sixth century, four great philosophical systems of China arose: Confucianism, Taoism, Moism, Legalism.
<u>II. MEDIEVAL HISTORY</u>		
A. Ch'in Dynasty	221 - 206 B.C.	Unified China; no more feudalism, but a totalitarian regime. Organization of the "prefecture-county" governmental administration system First uniformity of written characters First common system of communications, currency, weights & measures. Great Wall of China built

NAME OF DYNASTY	DATES OF DYNASTY	ACCOMPLISHMENTS, EVENTS, COMMENTS
B. Han Dynasty	206 B.C. - A.D. 221	One of the great dynasties in medieval China. The country was generally strong, powerful, stable, prosperous. Education flourished; academic studies encouraged. Confucianism became the state cult. Trade routes opened between east and west. Paper invented. Territorial expansion of Chinese influence took place.
1. West Han (12 emperors)		
2. East Han (14 emperors)		
C. Three Kingdoms	A.D. 221 - 265	Three-way fight for supremacy
1. Wei, in the north		
2. Shu, in the west		
3. Wu, in the east		
III. <u>CHINA'S DARK AGES</u> - "Period of Five Barbarian Tribes and Sixteen Kingdoms"		
A. Tsin Dynasty	A.D. 265 - 420	Reunified the country. Barbarian invasions from the north. Mass migration of people to south China to escape barbarians.
1. West Tsin		
2. East Tsin		
B. Fragmentation	A.D. 420 - 589	The cultural center of China shifted from the northwest to the southeast. Spread of Buddhism, Taoism. Barbarians eventually were assimilated into the Chinese race.
1. Southern Dynasties		
a. Sung		
b. Chi		
c. Liang		
d. Chen		
2. Northern Dynasties		
a. Wei (North, East, West)		
b. North Chi		
c. North Chou		

NAME OF DYNASTY	DATES OF DYNASTY	ACCOMPLISHMENTS, EVENTS, COMMENTS
C. Sui Dynasty	A.D. 589 - 618	Reunified China Grand Canal built by hand
IV. <u>CHINA DISCOVERS THE WORLD</u>		
A. Tang Dynasty	A.D. 618 - 907	Most powerful dynasty since the Han dynasty Second emperor was the "Great Khan" who subdued barbarians. Government was enlightened; the people were happy and prosperous. The Golden Age of art and literature; freedom of thought and belief. Nestorian Christianity introduced to China. Invention of printing.
B. Age of Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms	A.D. 907 - 960	Period of civil wars
C. Sung Dynasty 1. Northern period 2. Southern period	A.D. 960 - 1279	One of China's weakest dynasties Harassed and invaded by Tartars, Mongols Maritime developments along the southern sea coast Two minor dynasties at the same time: Liao Chin (Kin)
D. Yuan Dynasty (Mongol)	A.D. 1280 - 1368	Founded by Kublai Khan Extensive conquests; greatest territorial possessions at its height of any empire in world history. Visited by Marco Polo Harsh and oppressive government

NAME OF DYNASTY	DATES OF DYNASTY	ACCOMPLISHMENTS, EVENTS, COMMENTS
E. Ming Dynasty	A.D. 1368 - 1644	<p>Period of extensive overseas exploration sponsored by the government</p> <p>Jesuits introduced Western culture</p> <p>Mass emigration overseas at end to flee Manchus</p> <p>Time of Cheng Cheng-kung (Koxinga)</p>
F. Ch'ing Dynasty (Manchu)	A.D. 1644 - 1911	<p>Fixed China's present national boundaries with military exploits.</p> <p>Manchus appeased Chinese rather than oppressed them; eventually were assimilated with the Chinese; their rule was comparatively successful</p> <p>Towards the end, isolationism policy</p> <p>1840 - Opium War with England</p> <p>1851-64 - Taiping Rebellion</p> <p>1894 - War with Japan/loss of Korea and Taiwan</p> <p>1898 - Reform movements</p> <p>1900 - Boxer Uprising</p>
G. Republic of China	A.D. 1912 - present (on Taiwan)	<p>Led by Sun Yat-sen (d. 1925); then Chiang Kai-shek(d.1975)</p> <p>Three Principles of the People: Nationalism, Democracy, Social Well-being</p> <p>Early days - warfare with warlords</p> <p>1928-31 - Progress</p> <p>1937-45 - War with Japan weakened government</p> <p>1949 - Retreat to Taiwan</p> <p>1971 - Ouster from United Nations</p>
<p>Taken from: Chen Chih-ping and Chen Shih-fu, <u>Chinese History</u>(Taipei: China Publishing Co., 1975), all; and</p> <p>Frederic H. Chaffee, et. al., <u>Area Handbook for Communist China</u> (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), chart facing p. 34.</p>		

Pre-History and Earliest Contacts, ? - A.D. 1500

The first Chinese to arrive on Taiwan found the island already inhabited by the ancestors of today's aboriginal tribes. Authorities do not agree on where these people came from or when they arrived on Taiwan. The aborigines themselves repeat legends of their ancestors arriving on the island from somewhere overseas. The various theories suggest that the majority of the original inhabitants had a Malayo-Polynesian background, although the mainland of south China is another possibility.²

The coast of China opposite Taiwan began to be settled by Chinese in the third century A.D. These settlers reported seeing the mountains of an offshore island on clear days, and there are references to an imperial military expedition during that century to an island believed to be Taiwan.³

Between the third and thirteenth centuries, there are vague reports and fragmentary evidence of Chinese settlers on Taiwan. The Penghu (Pescadores) Islands seem to have been settled before Taiwan itself. The aboriginal tribes were a force to be reckoned with by any would-be settlers.⁴

It is thought that small groups of Hakkas began arriving on Taiwan in the twelfth century. As the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279) on the mainland began to fall before the Mongol invaders in the thirteenth

² Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 22.

³ Ting-yee Kuo, "History of Taiwan," China and the Question of Taiwan: Documents and Analysis, ed. Hungdah Chiu (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 4; and Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 22.

⁴ Robert J. Bolton, Treasure Island: Church Growth Among Taiwan's Urban Minnan Chinese (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976), p. 5, 14; Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 22; W. G. Goddard, Formosa: A Study in Chinese History (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1966), p. 25.

century, many Chinese, both Minnan and Hakka and mostly from Fukien and Kwangtung provinces, migrated to Taiwan. As they went, they carried with them their Chinese traditions, culture, and national consciousness.⁵ By 1368, the Yuan (Mongol) government had formally established an administrative post on the Penghu Islands, bringing them under the jurisdiction of Fukien Province.⁶

Although the Chinese government was made aware of the existence of Taiwan as early as the third century, and was reminded of it from time to time by seafaring adventurers reporting their discoveries to the emperor, little effort was made to bring the island under imperial authority. This was partly due to more pressing matters, such as barbarian invasions, claiming the attention of the government. However, the main reason lay in the traditional Chinese concept of suzerainty:

Chinese civilization rather than Chinese swords must conquer. All that China demanded was that her civilization, as represented by the Emperor, be recognized as superior to all others and tribute be paid as a sign of such recognition. In all things else, others could do as they pleased.⁷

As the island seemed to be unclaimed, foreign nations becoming aware of Taiwan's existence considered it to be available for their exploitation.

Foreign Rivalry and Exploitation, 1500 - 1662

The first non-Chinese country known to take notice of Taiwan was Japan. In the thirteenth century, Japanese pirates established bases of operation on the northern coast, and in the fifteenth century a few

⁵Ting-yee Kuo, "Early States of the Sinicization of Taiwan, 230-1683," Taiwan in Modern Times, ed. Paul K. T. Sih (New York: St. John's University Press, 1973), pp. 21-22; Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 26; Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 22.

⁶Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 5.

⁷Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 38.

immigrant villages were started on the island.⁸ The Chinese court became alarmed in the sixteenth century by Japanese plans to invade Taiwan in order to conquer the Ryukyu Islands. In 1628, however, Japan instituted a new policy of national seclusion and withdrew from the rivalry over Taiwan for the time being.⁹

The Portuguese were responsible for bringing Taiwan's existence to the attention of Europe during the sixteenth century. As they were already well-established in trade with China through their base on Macao, the Portuguese were not interested in Taiwan themselves.

However, the Dutch East India Company was determined to give Portugal competition in trade with China, and began seeking permission from China for a trading post location somewhere along the coast. Under Portuguese influence, the Chinese government repeatedly turned down the Dutch petitions, until the Dutch took matters into their own hands and occupied the Penghus. Finally in 1624 the Dutch were permitted to locate on Taiwan, which they subsequently annexed as a colony of Holland.

Unfortunately, the Company's only purpose in Taiwan was "to make the maximum of profits in the shortest possible time."¹⁰ To this end they ruthlessly exploited both the local population and the island's natural resources. The aborigines were fairly submissive to Dutch rule, but the Chinese resented being forced to work for Dutch land owners, to use the Dutch language, and to pay heavy taxes. There were several uprisings against the Dutch during their occupation of Taiwan, but they were forcibly and brutally controlled each time.

⁸Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 22; and Bolton, op. cit., p. 14.

⁹Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 6; and Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 22.

¹⁰Parris H. Chang, "Cheng Cheng-kung (Koxinga) and Chinese Nationalism in Taiwan, 1662-1683," Taiwan in Modern Times, op. cit., p. 66.

The Dutch impact on Taiwan was minimal. They did encourage the cultivation of sugar cane (still a major agricultural product) and introduced draft cattle to the island. The native tribesmen were responsive to the message of the Protestant missionaries employed by the Dutch East India Company, with over 7,000 becoming baptized church members by 1650.¹¹ However, the missionaries were controlled by the Company and were often restricted in their ministry. The Chinese population, in resisting the Dutch oppression, also rejected their religion.

The Dutch occupation of Taiwan was viewed with alarm by both the Spanish and Japanese, who feared that their ships passing through the Taiwan Strait would be in jeopardy of Dutch interference. In order to protect their trading ships, the Spanish established a fort at the entrance to Keelung harbor in 1626. They had no colonizing plans, but did allow Dominican missionary activity on Taiwan.¹²

The Dutch, in turn, saw the Spanish as directly threatening their colonization plans, and built up enough military force by 1642 to expel the Spaniards from the island.

While the Dutch were greedily amassing their fortunes at the expense of the local Chinese population, a Chinese pirate named Cheng Chih-lung was contributing towards their eventual downfall.

In the years 1620-40, south China was experiencing a period of drought, harvest failure, and famine. There was not enough fertile land to support the population, and the government was involved with other concerns. At this same time, Cheng Chih-lung was amassing a large fleet and fortune by combining trade with piracy, mainly preying upon the Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese. Between his contacts with destitute farmers on

¹¹George M. Beckman, "Brief Episodes--Dutch and Spanish Rule," Taiwan in Modern Times, op. cit., p. 46.

¹²Ibid., p. 43.

the Chinese mainland and the Dutch (who were encouraging migration to Taiwan in order to profit from increased cultivation of the land), Cheng developed a plan to use his fleet to transfer poor Chinese farmers to the available farm lands of Taiwan. As a result, approximately 100,000 Chinese immigrated to Taiwan during the Dutch occupation of the island.¹³

These Chinese, resisting the Dutch colonizing efforts, were to have a part in the next period of Taiwan's history.

Cheng Cheng-kung, "Hero of Taiwan," 1662-1683

Besides being a trader, pirate, and migration-organizer, Cheng Chih-lung was also a patriot of the Ming Dynasty, which in the early seventeenth century was slowly being overpowered by the Manchu invaders from the north. Cheng dedicated his fleet and the men under him to the support of the Ming cause. One of his chief assistants was his son, Cheng Cheng-kung, in whom he had inspired a similar degree of patriotism. When the elder Cheng introduced his son to the Ming emperor, he was so impressed with the young man that he bestowed the imperial surname upon him and appointed him to a court position. Cheng Cheng-kung was popularly known from then on as "Kuo-shing-yeh," "Lord of the Imperial Surname," pronounced by Europeans as "Koxinga."

As the Manchu forces relentlessly overwhelmed the remnants of the Ming government, Cheng Chih-lung was captured and executed, leaving his fleet of ships and the leadership of the Ming cause with his son. The elder Cheng also left with Cheng Cheng-kung the knowledge that Taiwan was a strategic base from which he could recover China from foreign usurpers. Thus, when the Manchus began to exert pressure on Cheng's¹⁴ coastal

¹³Chang, op. cit., p. 20; Goddard, Makers, op. cit., p. 6.

¹⁴From this point on, "Cheng" will refer only to Cheng Cheng-kung.

garrisons, he decided to transfer his base of operations to Taiwan.

To do so, however, required that something be done about the Dutch. With his large fleet and the assistance of the Chinese on Taiwan, Cheng expelled the Dutch East India Company from Taiwan in 1662.

Cheng Cheng-kung's first move after gaining control of the island was to wipe out all traces of Dutch rule and replace them with Chinese laws, customs and institutions. His desire was to preserve the Ming way of life on Taiwan and reintroduce it to the mainland as soon as possible.

Soon after Cheng's arrival on Taiwan, the Manchus declared that all inhabitants on the south China coast must move ten miles inland to avoid cooperating with Cheng and his men when they arrived to overthrow the Manchus. Instead of obeying, thousands of peasants migrated to Taiwan. In addition, a large number of scholars from south China moved to Taiwan at this time, where they set up schools for the promotion of Chinese culture.¹⁵

In spite of the challenges he faced, Cheng was an able administrator, leading the people of Taiwan into one of the most prosperous periods of their history. He regarded himself, not as a self-appointed king, but as caretaker of the Ming way of life, which must someday be renewed on the mainland. To this end he instituted a number of reforms.

Economically, peasants were given land free if they would settle on it. Politically, Chinese forms of government, with which the people were already familiar, were established, and a national purpose and unity were born out of Cheng's pledge "to restore China from the Manchus and to unite Taiwan with mainland China."¹⁶

¹⁵Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 80.

¹⁶Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 13.

Culturally, schools were established and education was promoted throughout the island. The arts flourished, and Cheng built the first Confucian temple on Taiwan as a symbol of the introduction of Chinese culture.

With Taiwan prospering and peaceful under his control, Cheng decided to conquer the Philippines before tackling mainland China. Before he could launch this campaign, however, Cheng Cheng-kung died unexpectedly at the age of 39.

In spite of his premature death, Cheng had laid the foundations for the later economic and political development of Taiwan.¹⁷ Parris Chang gives this evaluation of the man:

Although described by various Western writers as an atrociously cruel and dastardly pretentious pirate, Cheng Cheng-kung was, in many ways, a great man and one of the most remarkable characters that Chinese history has produced. Unlike many vulgar pirates before, during, and after his time who fought for personal¹⁸ gains, he was a man with a mission and a man of great vision.

Following Cheng's death, his son, Cheng Ching, carried on. He capably ruled Taiwan for sixteen years and continued to harass the Manchus on the mainland. He encouraged migration from the mainland, set up the first sugar refining plant, reduced taxes, and developed trade with Japan, the Philippines, Siam, and the British.¹⁹

Upon Cheng Ching's death, the government passed to his illegitimate son, whom many of the Taiwanese refused to recognize as the rightful ruler. Palace intrigue and internal dissension hastened the decline of the Cheng government, and with it, the Ming cause.²⁰

¹⁷Kuo, "Sinicization," op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁸Chang, op. cit., p. 80.

¹⁹Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 87; Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 23.

²⁰Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 23; Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit.,

Imperial Administration, 1683 - 1895

In 1683, the Ch'ing (Manchu) government took advantage of the internal power struggle on Taiwan and captured the island "virtually unopposed."²¹ Taiwan was then placed under the jurisdiction of Fukien province, finally becoming an administrative part of the Chinese Empire.

Unfortunately for Taiwan, the Ch'ing government in Peking was preoccupied with numerous national problems and paid little attention to the state of affairs on its newest offshore island. Government officials sent to Taiwan were only appointed for two years, and were paid such low salaries that resorting to corruption was necessary just to survive, while most of them also "sought in that brief space of time to make a fortune sufficient to enable [them] to live in comfort for the rest of [their lives]".²² Such practices did not endear the Ch'ing administration to the local population. It is reported that "during the period 1683-1843 there were 15 major rebellions in Formosa against the Government."²³

Lack of leadership from the government eventually led to a state of "unending civil warfare," where "each man took the law into his own hands, All who bore the same name banded together to fight the officials as well as those who bore another name."²⁴

In spite of the chaotic political situation, progress was made economically as migrants continued to flock to Taiwan from the mainland and bring more and more land under cultivation. For a while, the Ch'ing government tried to prohibit migration to Taiwan, but due to lack of

²¹Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 23.

²²Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 99.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., p. 95, 99.

enforcement, migration continued uninterrupted.²⁵ The Area Handbook for the Republic of China notes that:

By the first decade of the nineteenth century, there were already about two million Chinese occupying most of the level and fertile land, and the aborigines had been pushed into the mountains of the interior and to the eastern coast.²⁶

Culturally, the civil disorder and unrest resulted in a period of creative activity, as people turned to the arts to express their frustrations and longings. Poetry clubs, known as "shih she," became popular throughout the island. These clubs developed into centers of cultural and patriotic activities, and were an important force in Taiwan's history, especially during the Japanese occupation.²⁷

By the mid-eighteenth century, Western nations were forcing China to come to terms with the modern world. The British, American, French, Japanese and other governments all either wanted to or tried to take over Taiwan. In 1884, the French made an attempt to gain control of Taiwan in order to set up a base from which to attack the mainland. This forced the imperial court to realize Taiwan's importance to China's national defense. As a result, Taiwan was made a province of China on October 12, 1885. Appointed as the first governor was Liu Ming-ch'uan, former governor of Fukien and leader of the Chinese troops against the French in defense of the island in 1884.²⁸

Liu turned out to be an excellent administrator with progressive ideas. In his six years as governor of Taiwan, he saw the island develop into a model province which was on its way to becoming "the most modern

²⁵Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 13.

²⁶Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 24.

²⁷Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 90, 106-7.

²⁸Ibid., p. 129; Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 16.

and progressive province of China."²⁹ The capitol was moved from Tainan to Taipei; telegraph lines were extended; education was made available to all inhabitants, including the mountain tribes; and Taiwan's camphor trade reached its highest export figure ever. In 1887, Taipei became the first city of the Chinese world to have an electric power station, and in 1889, Taiwan's first railroad was opened between Taipei and Keelung.³⁰

Liu is also noted for allowing freedom of expression. Protestors against the government were not punished, and there was "a greater degree of intellectual freedom in Formosa at that time than on the Chinese mainland."³¹ This attracted large numbers of intellectuals to the island, who wanted to observe the application on Taiwan of "the latest scientific methods of the West, [while] retaining [China's] ancient Confucian foundation."³²

Unfortunately, Governor Liu's successes on Taiwan were not appreciated by everyone. Back in Peking, the more conservative officials who bitterly opposed change of any kind managed to have Liu recalled to the mainland in 1891.³³ Before the Chinese government had time to do much about the situation on Taiwan, even more drastic changes took place.

The Japanese Occupation, 1895 - 1945

In 1894, China and Japan became embroiled in a war over Korea, over which China had had suzerainty. When Japan emerged the victor, she demanded Taiwan and the Penghu Islands as part of the spoils of war. In spite of the fact that the entire nation of China strongly opposed the

²⁹Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 136.

³⁰Ibid., p. 130-3; Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 16-17.

³¹Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 134.

³²Ibid., p. 136.

³³Ibid.

cession of Taiwan to Japan,³⁴ the Japanese were adamant. On May 8, 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was ratified by China and Japan, and Taiwan and the Penghus became part of the Japanese empire.

The response to this treaty on Taiwan reflected the passion for freedom that had been the island's heritage from its earliest days. On May 25, 1895, the Governor of Taiwan proclaimed the formation of an independent Republic of Taiwan, recognizing the suzerainty of China. The most remarkable thing about this short-lived republic was its leadership: the intellectuals of the island--poets, artists, and writers.

They were shocked out of their timelessness to a realization that the future of their civilization was now at stake. The very values for which that civilization had stood through the centuries were now threatened. It was imperative that they emerge from their seclusion and become active in the affairs of state.³⁵

These literati, in their desire to preserve Chinese culture and rule on Taiwan, became "the first Chinese to experiment with limited forms of popular rule and representative government within the Ch'ing realm."³⁶

It was not just the intellectuals of the island, however, who opposed the Japanese occupation. The entire population of the island--intellectual and peasant, man and woman, Hakka, Minnan, and mountain tribesman--"united in a single effort to drive back the Japanese invader."³⁷ Thus, when the Japanese forces arrived off Keelung on May 28, 1895, they were met by an army of 50,000 Taiwanese. Unfortunately, the Japanese proved stronger and occupied Taipei by June 8. However, it took them

³⁴Ibid., p. 143; Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 17.

³⁵Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 109-10.

³⁶Harry J. Lamley, "A Short-lived Republic and War, 1895: Taiwan's Resistance Against Japan," Taiwan in Modern Times, op. cit., p. 303.

³⁷Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 18.

another five months to subdue the entire island, and order was not completely established until 1902.³⁸

The Japanese viewed Taiwan as the first step in an imperialistic expansion campaign, and to that end they instituted a program to assimilate the Taiwanese people with the Japanese. All teaching in the schools was in Japanese, towns and villages were renamed with Japanese names, and all official business was carried on in Japanese.³⁹ Migration from China to Taiwan was not allowed, and Taiwanese were restricted from traveling to China.

This assimilation program was a "conspicuous failure."⁴⁰

After fifty years of occupation by Japan, the basic features of the Taiwanese family, the viewpoint of the average man toward the world, and even the essential ethnocentrism of Chinese culture were untouched by the Japanese.⁴¹

In addition, there were nineteen major uprisings against Japanese authority between 1895 and 1945.⁴² The harshness of Japanese administrators and their disregard for Taiwanese sensitivities caused widespread resentment. After the first decade of Japanese rule, "the dominant attitude toward the Japanese administration was acquiescence rather than antipathy."⁴³ This was due to an efficient police system which incorporated the group responsibility concept of the Chinese family structure:

Since an entire extended family would suffer for the delinquent

³⁸ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 25.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 26; Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 158, 162-3.

⁴⁰ Richard L. Worsnop, "Future of Taiwan," Editorial Research Reports, Vol. I, No. 20 (May 26, 1972), p. 405.

⁴¹ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 2.

⁴² Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 21.

⁴³ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 26.

acts of one individual, there was ~~strong~~⁴⁴ social pressure for the observance of prudent conduct.

The aborigines were not so easily subdued and had taken a large number of Japanese heads by the time their last major uprising was severely suppressed in 1930.⁴⁵

Economically, the Japanese were able to build upon the foundations laid by Liu Ming-ch'uan to increase Taiwan's prosperity and advancement. This economic progress, however, was achieved by exploiting the island's resources and labor force, with 90% of Taiwan's export production benefiting Japan.⁴⁶

At the end of World War II the defeated Japanese were required to return Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to the Republic of China. Fifty years of Japanese domination resulted in an economically prosperous island, but left a people unable to organize or govern themselves: "For five decades the Taiwanese had been discouraged from forming organizations to support local interests, [and] local organizational talent gradually atrophied under this suppression,"⁴⁷

The Taiwanese had come to respect the "orderliness of Japanese administration,"⁴⁸ but their basic outlook on life remained essentially Chinese.

The Republic of China, 1945 to the present

As a result of the Cairo Declaration (December 1, 1943) and the Potsdam Proclamation (July 26, 1945), Taiwan and the Penghu Islands were formally restored to the Republic of China on October 25, 1945.⁴⁹ The

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Goddard, Formosa, op. cit., p. 160; Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 19.

⁴⁷Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 56. ⁴⁸Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 31; Kuo, "History of Taiwan," op. cit., p. 23.

people of Taiwan, exuberant at their liberation from Japan, welcomed the Chinese Nationalists "with open arms."⁵⁰ However, the Chinese government blundered unfortunately by placing the island under the military rule of an arrogant despot named Chen Yi. He proceeded to exploit the island's resources to support the Nationalists on the mainland, and to suppress the people just as the Japanese had done. Arrivals from the mainland, some ignorant peasants who had never seen an electric light before, appropriated the best residences and 90% of the commercial and industrial enterprises left behind by the Japanese.⁵¹ As a result, as Worsnop states,

During 1946 there was progressive deterioration in almost every phase of Taiwanese life. Economic activity slowed down, unemployment mounted, the cost of living multiplied many times in a runaway inflation, educational standards dropped, and the public health service broke down.⁵²

A bitter animosity developed between the native Taiwanese and the Nationalists from the mainland; ". . . the native Taiwanese . . . were incensed at violation of their property rights and at the breakdown of public order and domestic tranquility which they had taken for granted under the Japanese."⁵³

A major uprising against the corrupt government authorities erupted in February 1947. It is estimated that 10,000 Taiwanese were killed in the indiscriminate slaughter that followed as troops from the mainland violently restored order.⁵⁴

As soon as President Chiang Kai-shek (then in Nanking) was alerted to the conditions on Taiwan, he quickly removed Chen Yi and his associates

⁵⁰ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 3, 31. ⁵¹ Ibid., p. 32.

⁵² Worsnop, op. cit., p. 406. ⁵³ Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 32.

⁵⁴ Ibid.; Worsnop, op. cit., p. 407.

and gave Taiwan her full political rights as a province of China. However, the resentment and bitterness generated at this time has subsided very slowly.

Another major adjustment was forced upon Taiwan in 1949 when the Nationalist government, many of its best troops, and thousands of Chinese citizens fled the Communist onslaught on the mainland. Taiwan's population increased by almost 20% in just a few years,⁵⁵ further straining relationships and resources on the island.

Chiang Kai-shek immediately launched a number of reform programs to improve the conditions of the Taiwanese, including the successful land reform program.⁵⁶

Since 1949, Taiwan and the Republic of China have continued to survive and prosper despite numerous setbacks. The government's aim has been to make Taiwan province "a model to be aspired to by all of China;"⁵⁷ an aim which is being met very successfully.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Allen J. Swanson, Taiwan: Mainline versus Independent Church Growth (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1970), p. 66.

⁵⁶See Section I, "The Economic Situation."

⁵⁷Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 3.

⁵⁸As most of the important historical events on Taiwan since 1949 have been basically political in nature, the contemporary history of the island will be covered in greater detail in Section V - "Government and Politics."

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Pamphlets

Chen Chih-ping and Chen Shih-fu. Chinese History. Taipei: China Publishing Co., 1975. 51 pages.

This small booklet, which should be available from the nearest Consulate or China Information Service office (see Section I-Bibliography for details), is an excellent summary of Chinese history and is a top priority resource for new missionaries. The events and accomplishments of each dynasty and/or historical period of China's history are outlined as clearly as possible, presenting a good introduction to the high points of Chinese history in very readable form. A comparative time line at the end parallels developments in China with those in the rest of the world.

Goddard, W. G. Formosa: A Study in Chinese History. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1966. 229 pages.

This is probably the best book-length treatment of Taiwan's history. However, it is not meant to be a strict, chronological description of dates, battles, places, events, etc., but rather an historical interpretation of Taiwan's place in the world. The author's style is that of a storyteller, making for easy, interesting reading. He portrays the Taiwanese throughout their history as having a passion for freedom. He also suggests that answers to future problems may be found in Taiwan's past, with Taiwan being the pattern for the China of the future.

There are no footnotes, which proves frustrating when Goddard's information does not fully agree with that in other books. The author also tends to ignore the weaknesses of his "favorite" people and movements in Taiwan's history, often waxing quite eloquent over their good points. (This does balance out those writers who tend to downgrade the same people and movements.)

In the early chapters of the book, dealing with Taiwan's "pre-history," Goddard accepts many legends and traditions as "fact," writing a somewhat fictionalized account of what probably took place. In later chapters, the author emphasizes events and personages often ignored or slighted in other histories of Taiwan.

This book is top priority for new missionaries to Taiwan, but should be supplemented by one of the shorter, more chronological and factual summaries of Taiwanese history listed elsewhere in this bibliography.

The Makers of Taiwan. Taipei: China Publishing Co., n.d. 163 pages.

This book, which should be available in libraries or from a China Information Service office, brings together a series of lectures given by the author on various important figures in Taiwan's history. Many are men left out of or only mentioned briefly in other historical surveys.

Goddard's work is thus a valuable addition to other works on Taiwanese history, and is interesting reading besides. (Much of the material is duplicated in his book Formosa listed above.) Goddard at times gets somewhat carried away in praising his subjects and ignoring their faults, but his portraits give the reader valuable insights into the men who made Taiwan what it is today. Some of the men featured include Cheng Cheng-kung (Koxinga), Liu Ming-ch'uan (Taiwan's first governor), and Chiang Kai-shek. The new missionary may not have time to read the entire book, but anything read in it will be beneficial to one's understanding of Taiwan's history.

Gordon, Leonard H. D. Taiwan: Studies in Chinese Local History. Occasional Papers of the East Asian Institute of Columbia University. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970. 124 pages.

This book deals with different aspects of Taiwan's history during the 19th century, basically examining how the Ch'ing dynasty on the mainland made an imprint on life in Taiwan. The four papers included discuss the social, political, economic and international phases of Taiwan's nineteenth-century history. This is not a top-priority book for new missionaries, but one who is interested in the smaller details of history, and who has the time to read it, would find this book of interest to him.

Kerr, George W. Formosa Betrayed. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1965. 514 pages.

This is a very lengthy, detailed account of the transfer of Taiwan from Japanese to Chinese rule after World War II and the historical and political developments immediately thereafter (centering on the uprising of February 1947). The author strongly supports the cause of an independent Taiwan. As this issue is not as crucial now as it once was, the book is not top-priority for new missionaries. Selected readings in the book might be helpful for those interested in the relationship problems between Taiwanese and mainlanders.

Kuo, Ting-yee. "History of Taiwan," China and the Question of Taiwan: Documents and Analysis, ed. Hungdah Chiu. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973, pp. 3-27.

This article is one of the better, short (but not too short) summaries of Taiwan's history. It is well-written, including essential details but not merely long lists of dates, places, and names. One of the author's emphases is the fact that Taiwan is an integral part of China and has been from its very early days. Kuo does have a problem with quoting key sentences from Goddard's book, Formosa, without giving proper credit.

The documentary section of this same book (see Section V - Bibliography for a complete description) includes such relevant documents (in translation) as Koxinga's treaty with the Dutch, pertinent portions of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, documents relating to the Republic of Taiwan, and the Cairo Declaration.

This article would be a good supplement to Goddard's Formosa.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. The Chinese: Their History and Culture, 4th ed., Rev. New York: Macmillan Co., 1964. 714 pages.

Although Latourette rarely mentions Taiwan, this book is an excellent resource on the history of China in general. Each dynasty and

historical period of China's past is covered in detail. The second section deals with Chinese culture, including government, economic life, religion, social life and organization, art, literature and education. The prospective missionary may not have time to read the entire book, but the book is probably one more readily available in local libraries than some others, and those sections of the book in which the reader is interested will prove beneficial.

Sih, Paul K. T. Taiwan in Modern Times. No. 13, Asia in the Modern World Series. New York: St. John's University Press, 1973. 521 pages.

Although named Taiwan in Modern Times, the bulk of this book deals with Taiwan's history. It will be of most interest to those interested in in-depth treatments of the various periods of Taiwan's history. Various authors cover in great detail all the major segments of the history of Taiwan: its early years, Dutch and Spanish rule, Koxinga, as part of the Chinese Empire, the Republic of Taiwan, and the Japanese occupation. Other chapters deal with Taiwan's modern political, social and economic development (i.e., since 1945). It is not a high priority book for the prospective missionary.

Magazines

Chang Meng-hao. "In the days of the Dutch," Free China Review, March 1968, pp. 18-22.

This article discusses the activities and accomplishments of the Dutch occupation of Taiwan from 1624-1662. It is well-written and is objective in its assessment of the contributions of the Dutch to Taiwan, as well as their weak points. The same material is covered in other books and articles, but this is a good summary, if available, for the author does not get bogged down with dates, places, etc.

Other

Bolton, Treasure Island (Missions) has a good, short summary of Taiwan's history in chapter 1.

Free China Review occasionally includes articles of historical interest.

Hsieh, Taiwan-Ilha Formosa (Overview) covers the history of Taiwan in Part 2 as he discusses the various groups of people who have inhabited the island.

Liao, The Unresponsive (Missions) discusses the history of the Hakka peoples in chapter 6. However, his dates for the coming of the Hakkas to Taiwan are later than any other resources reviewed by this author, and Liao gives no documentation for his conclusions.

Mackay, From Far Formosa (Missions) gives an excellent picture of "history as it happens" for the period from 1871 to 1895.

Pearson, The Head-hunter's Bride (Missions) includes a vivid description of life among the aborigines and of the Japanese attempt to conquer the mountain tribespeople.

SECTION V
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

PROFILE SKETCH

Governmental Structure - National

The government of the Republic of China is based on the teachings of Sun Yat-sen, known as the "Founding Father" of the Republic. Sun was influenced in his thinking by his Chinese heritage (including its emphasis on moderation), by Western culture and science (due to being educated in Western schools), and by the Russian Communist Party (because he admired the success of the Bolshevik Revolution).¹

In response to the deterioration of the Ch'ing dynasty's administration, Sun Yat-sen strove to establish a "stable and decent government."² The principles he established for carrying out his aims are known as "San Min Chu I," the "Three Principles of the People." They are: Nationalism - the need for national identity and cohesion; Democracy - the adoption of Western concepts of representative government combined with elements from traditional Chinese governmental practices; and People's Livelihood - the need for economic reform and education in preparing the people for their new responsibilities as part of the Republic.³

¹141 Questions and Answers About the Republic of China (Taipei: Chung Hwa Information Service, 1977), p. 21; Ch'u and Winberg Chai, The Changing Society of China (rev.) (New York: The New American Library, 1969), pp. 213, 216.

²Yang Ming-che, "Ongoing revolution," Free China Review, October 1977, p. 9.

³Area Handbook for the Republic of China (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 191.

Although the Republic was established in 1911, the continuing turmoil on the mainland hindered Dr. Sun and his successor, Chiang Kai-shek, from effectively putting these principles into practice. A Constitution was finally drawn up and promulgated on January 1, 1947, and national elections were held in 1947-48. When the Nationalists retreated to Taiwan in 1949, a large number of the government officials and elected representatives were able to escape from the mainland, setting up a complete central government for all of China on the island of Taiwan.

The governmental structure of the Republic of China (henceforth the ROC), according to the 1947 Constitution, gives the people the four political powers of initiative, referendum, election and recall. These powers are to be exercised by elected representatives in the National Assembly and local assemblies.⁴ However, due to the state of emergency caused by the continuing war with the Chinese Communists, these powers and other constitutional rights of the people have been restricted by martial law for the duration of the Communist "rebellion."⁵

Delegates to the National Assembly are ideally elected on a territorial and occupational basis, with each county or municipality electing at least one representative. A total of 3,045 seats are allowed by the Constitution, and 2,961 delegates attended the Assembly's first meeting in 1948.⁶ However, "since the first election in November 1947, succeeding elections have been impossible because of the withdrawal

⁴Ibid., p. 174; 141 Questions, op. cit., p. 21; and U.S. Department of State, Background Notes: Republic of China, Department of State Publication 7791 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 3.

⁵Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 171, 175. ⁶Ibid., p. 179.

of the government to Taiwan."⁷ The original delegates (fewer than 1,300 are still alive and residing in Taiwan⁸) have continued in office by presidential decree. To meet the need for younger blood in the National Assembly and more representation for the people of Taiwan, fifteen new seats were created in 1969 and another 53 in 1972. Those representatives elected in 1972 have six-year terms, but all others hold their seats "indefinitely."⁹

The primary function of the National Assembly is to elect the President and Vice President of the Republic. The Assembly also has power to amend the Constitution, alter national boundaries, and act on impeachment proceedings introduced by the Control Yuan.¹⁰

Due to the above-mentioned restrictions in carrying out the Constitutional provisions for the people's political rights and regular elections, a strong presidential system of government has developed.¹¹ Constitutionally, the President is Chief of State and stands above the five branches of the government (described below). In addition to representing the State in foreign relations and commanding the armed forces, the President has the power to promulgate laws, issue decrees, declare martial law, war or peace, grant amnesties, and confer honors, subject to the restraints of various branches of the government.¹² However, in 1948, virtually unlimited emergency powers were granted to the President "during the period of civil war to avert danger to the security of the state, among other things."¹³ A limit of two six-year

⁷Ibid., p. 181. ⁸Background Notes, op. cit., p. 4.

⁹Ibid., pp. 4-5; 141 Questions, op. cit., p. 22.

¹⁰Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 179.

¹¹Ibid., p. 182. ¹²Ibid., p. 181. ¹³Ibid., p. 177.

terms for the President was also suspended at that time.¹⁴

The five-power arrangement of the ROC governmental structure is a unique feature devised by Sun Yat-sen. Governmental powers are separated into five branches or "Yuan": Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Control, and Examination.¹⁵

The Executive Yuan is the administrative branch of the government, resembling the cabinet in a Western country. It is composed of a President (commonly known as the Premier) who is responsible for policy and administration, a Vice President, eight ministries, two commissions, several ministers without portfolio, and other auxiliary staff.¹⁶ The eight ministries are: Interior, Foreign Affairs, National Defense, Finance, Education, Justice, Economic Affairs, and Communications. The two commissions handle Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs and Overseas Chinese Affairs.

The Premier (President of the Executive Yuan) is nominated and appointed by the President of the Republic with the approval of the Legislative Yuan. The Premier is third in the line of succession after the President and Vice President of the Republic. He is responsible for nominating the other members of the Executive Yuan, for reporting to the Legislative Yuan regarding administrative questions, and for counter-signing the laws and decrees of the President of the Republic.¹⁷

¹⁴141 Questions, op. cit., p. 22.

¹⁵Yung Wei, "Political Development in the Republic of China on Taiwan," China and the Question of Taiwan: Documents and Analysis, ed. Hungdah Chiu (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 88.

¹⁶141 Questions, op. cit., p. 22; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5; Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 182-3.

¹⁷Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 183.

The Legislative Yuan is one of the two branches of the government whose members, according to the Constitution, are elected by the people.

Its function is lawmaking, including passage of budgetary bills, approval of treaties, initiation of constitutional amendments, settlement of disputes between the national and local governments, and so forth.¹⁸ However, due to the Communist occupation of the mainland and the resulting "state of emergency" on Taiwan, the actual powers of the Legislative Yuan are restricted and its membership has dwindled. In 1948, 760 members were elected to three-year terms from regional and occupational groups on the mainland, with approximately ten percent of the members being women. By 1969, this original membership, still in office by presidential decree, had dropped to 370. In 1969, eleven seats were created with "indefinite" terms to reflect the increased population of Taiwan. In 1972, another 52 seats were established with three-year terms of office.¹⁹

The highest judicial organ of the ROC is the Judicial Yuan. Its members are appointed for life by the President of the Republic with the approval of the Control Yuan. The Yuan is divided into four bodies: the Council of Grand Justices, responsible for interpreting the Constitution and unifying the interpretation of laws; the Supreme Court, handling appeal cases from lower courts; the Administrative Court, dealing with administrative suits; and the Committee on the Discipline of Public Functionaries, which metes out punishment and other disciplinary restrictions to those public officials referred to the Committee by the Control Yuan.²⁰

The Control Yuan is "a carryover from the traditional Chinese

¹⁸Ibid., p. 184. ¹⁹Ibid.; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁰Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 185-7.

system of supervision and control of public functionaries."²¹ In checking on the efficiency and honesty of the government, its powers include consent (approval of appointments), impeachment, censure, and auditing. According to the Constitution, its members are popularly elected by various regional groups. As in the case of the National Assembly and Legislative Yuan, the surviving original members of the Control Yuan have retained their seats during the civil war with the Communists. Of 180 members elected in 1948, only 56 are left. Another two members were elected to "indefinite" terms in 1969, and 15 seats with six-year terms were created and filled in 1972-3.²²

The Examination Yuan, which functions somewhat like the U.S. Civil Service Commission, also has its origins in traditional Chinese government. Capable individuals are selected to fill government positions on the basis of competitive examinations.

A President, Vice President, and nineteen commissioners are appointed by the President of the Republic with the consent of the Control Yuan. Two ministries deal with Examinations and Personnel Matters (salary scales, promotion, retirement, etc.). Most of the policy-making officials in the government are appointees.²³

Governmental Structure - Provincial and Local

Due to the irregular situation in which the central government finds itself on Taiwan (including a top-heavy central government actually administering only one province, and the lack of national elections),

²¹Ibid., p. 187.

²²Ibid.; 141 Questions, op. cit., p. 22; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5.

²³141 Questions, op. cit., p. 22; Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 186-7; Yung, op. cit. p. 88; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5.

the ROC government has made "a major effort to promote local self-government on Taiwan through popular elections of public officials and legislators."²⁴ The Taiwan Provincial Government was set up in 1951 in Chung-hsing New Village near Taichung, and in 1967, the city of Taipei was designated as a "Special Municipality," making it co-equal with Taiwan Province.²⁵ These two governmental organs are under the jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan, and have been delegated limited administrative and legislative powers over local affairs. Presently the Governor of Taiwan Province and the Mayor of Taipei are appointed by the central government, although the 1947 Constitution calls for their election by the people.²⁶

The policy-making body of the provincial government is the 21-member Provincial Government Council, of which the Governor is ex-officio chairman. The Provincial Assembly exercises legislative powers in matters of the provincial budget and property and the rights and obligations of the people. Of the 73 members of the Provincial Assembly, twelve are women and four are aborigines. Members hold their seats for four-year terms.²⁷ If the Executive Yuan feels that the Provincial Assembly is not acting in the interests of national policy, it has the power (as yet unused) to dissolve the Assembly and call for a new election.²⁸

Affairs of Taipei Special Municipality are conducted by a 51-member City Council which is popularly elected.²⁹

²⁴Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 200.

²⁵Taiwan: Island Province of the Republic of China (undated government publication of the Republic of China), p. 3; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁶Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 188; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5; Taiwan, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁷Taiwan, op. cit., p. 3; Area Handbook, p. 189.

²⁸Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 189.

²⁹¹⁴¹Questions, op. cit., p. 23; "The Month in Free China," Free China Review, February 1978, p. 2.

Taiwan Province is divided into sixteen counties and four municipalities (Kaohsiung, Tainan, Taichung, and Keelung). The county governments are headed by magistrates, while each municipality is under the leadership of a mayor. Each county, municipality, town, and rural district also has its own representative assembly. These bodies may not be dissolved by higher authorities, but are under the supervision of the provincial government. The local assemblies have authority in such areas as education, public health, public utilities, agriculture, and local budgets and ordinances.³⁰

Political Parties

The dominant political party in the ROC is the Kuomintang (henceforth the KMT), or Chinese Nationalist Party, which was established by Sun Yat-sen in 1894. The party is "organized along Leninist lines [and] closely parallels the government at all levels."³¹

Due to the continuation of martial law and the resultant inability to apply the constitutional system of popular elections in Taiwan, the KMT has "pursued a policy of guiding political development at all levels of government."³² It is able to do this because most of the top government officials, senior military officers, and holders of key government positions at all levels are KMT members, thus permeating the government with its policies and platforms.³³

The primary reason for the KMT's dominance of the ROC political scene is the desire to make Taiwan "a model state based on political,

³⁰141 Questions, op. cit., p. 23; Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 189-90; Taiwan, op. cit., p. 3.

³¹Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5.

³²Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 192. ³³Ibid., p. 195.

social, and economic reform, which will act as tangible proof that the government of the Republic of China could provide effective administration once it regained its status on the mainland."³⁴

Membership in the KMT is open to all Chinese who formally apply, pay dues, and believe in the Three Principles of the People. It was estimated in 1976 that there were approximately one million dues-paying members, of whom two-thirds were native Taiwanese.³⁵ Intellectuals from the mainland tend to dominate the Party's leadership, but the influence of the Taiwanese is rising rapidly.

Thus far in its history, the KMT has had three leaders: Sun Yat-sen (died 1925), Chiang Kai-shek (died 1975), and Chiang Ching-kuo (the current Chairman).³⁶

There are two other, minor political parties currently in existence on Taiwan: the Young China Party and the Democratic Socialist Party. Both originated on the mainland and have equal legal status with the KMT. However, neither is strongly opposed to the KMT, nor does either have significant influence in the government.³⁷

While KMT candidates have distinct advantages in elections, candidates from the other parties are elected. However, most of the successful non-KMT candidates have run as independents.³⁸

³⁴Ibid., p. 192.

³⁵Ibid., p. 194; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5.

³⁶141 Questions, op. cit., p. 23.

³⁷For example, both parties hold a total of 107 seats in the National Assembly, 18 in the Legislative Yuan, and 6 in the Control Yuan. See 141 Questions, op. cit., p. 23 and Background Notes, op. cit., p. 6.

³⁸Area Handbook, op. cit. pp. 197, 201; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 6.

Political Awareness and Involvement

Political awareness is quite widespread in Taiwan. Because of the high degree of literacy and the small size of the island, information about the Constitution and the people's political rights has been widely and easily propagated.³⁹ The nature of Chinese family and kinship group organization has provided political aspirants with ready-made supporters. Thus, in local elections personalities have been more important than political issues.

All Chinese citizens over 20 years of age have the right to vote. To run for an office, a candidate must be at least 23 years old (40 years for President or Vice President of the Republic) and have a high school education or the equivalent.⁴⁰ Women have been guaranteed at least 10% of all elective offices since the earliest days of the Republic.⁴¹ Public funds are available to subsidize a candidate's expenses, so that the poor are not left out.⁴²

In spite of the fact that the democratic process runs contrary to the traditional habits and customs of Chinese society, voter turnout in elections has been consistently high. In 1964, 77% of the eligible voters exercised their right to vote,⁴³ and in November 1977 (the "biggest local election of the last two decades"), over 70% of eligible voters voted in the Taipei City Council election and over 80% turned out for provincial elections.⁴⁴

³⁹Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 178, 241.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 176, 182; 141 Questions, op. cit. p. 24.

⁴¹141 Questions, op. cit., p. 24. ⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 200-1.

⁴⁴"The Month in Free China," op. cit., p. 2.

Political History Since 1949

Yung Wei, in his essay "Political Development in the Republic of China on Taiwan," has divided the history of the ROC on Taiwan into five periods, which are useful in organizing this subdivision:

1949-1953	Struggle for survival and reconstruction
1954-1958	Consolidation
1959-1965	Economic growth and social progress
1965-1969	Prosperity and transformation
1970 to the present	Accelerated economic growth, combined with difficulties and uncertainties in relations with other nations. ⁴⁵

1949-1953. When the Nationalist government first arrived on Taiwan in 1949, morale was at a low ebb. The armed forces were disorganized and lacked equipment, the economy was struggling to absorb the influx of refugees, relations between the mainlanders and Taiwanese were tense, and the political leadership was somewhat confused when the acting president left the country.⁴⁶ Political observers were agreed that it was only a matter of time before the Chinese Communists took over Taiwan and ended the existence of the ROC government.⁴⁷

In line with the predictions, the Communist forces launched an amphibious attack on Kinmen (Quemoy) in October 1949. To everyone's surprise, the Nationalist forces on Kinmen successfully defended the island, killing or capturing all the Communist forces that landed.⁴⁸ This defeat caused the Chinese Communists to reconsider the "easy" capture

⁴⁵Yung, op. cit., pp. 76-81.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 77.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 76.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 77; Hungdah Chiu, "China, the United States, and the Question of Taiwan," China and the Question of Taiwan, op. cit., p. 116.

of Taiwan, and greatly encouraged the Nationalists.

The year 1950 saw a number of developments which helped to stabilize the Nationalist government's position on Taiwan. On the domestic scene, Chiang Kai-shek resumed the presidency of the ROC and began working towards the implementation of provincial self-government and land reform.⁴⁹

The most important event of the year for the Nationalists was the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950. The United States suddenly realized the strategic position of the island and the Seventh Fleet was ordered into the Taiwan Straits to prevent a Communist takeover of the island. It was not long before U.S. military aid and economic assistance were also made available to the ROC government.⁵⁰ William Bueler calls the Korean War "Chiang Kai-shek's salvation."⁵¹

With their position more secure than it had been for some time, the ROC government turned its attention to improving social, economic, and political conditions on Taiwan. In 1951, the Taiwan Provincial Government was set up, and by 1953 the "Land to the Tiller" land reform program was being carried out. The first of Taiwan's long-range development four-year plans was also begun in 1953.⁵²

1954-1958. In 1954 the ROC signed a mutual defense treaty with the United States. Yung Wei explains the significance of this treaty: "This treaty formalized the relations between the ROC and the United States as allies having a mutual obligation to defend each other in the face of aggression, presumably from Communist China."⁵³

⁴⁹Yung, op. cit., p. 77

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹William M. Bueler, U.S. China Policy and the Problem of Taiwan (Boulder, CO: Colorado Associated University Press, 1971), p. 10.

⁵²Yung, op. cit., pp. 77-8.

⁵³Ibid., p. 78.

Communist China responded to this treaty by announcing "an all-out drive to capture Taiwan and the other islands under the control of the Republic of China."⁵⁴ In early 1955, the ROC forces were forced to evacuate two small island groups north of the Matsus, but the Matsu group was saved by the Nationalist troops supported by a U.S. show of force.⁵⁵

On the domestic scene there was significant progress in many areas. The land reform program was proving very successful, and newly-landed farmers were getting involved in local politics. Educational facilities were expanding, and everyone's economic status was improving.⁵⁶

In 1958, the Chinese Communists made another attempt to conquer the off-shore islands and invade Taiwan. Kinmen and Matsu were subjected to heavy bombardment for over a week. Tensions mounted rapidly and the United States began gathering its forces to come to the aid of Taiwan. The continued determination of the Nationalist forces, who effectively defended the islands against the Communist attack, and the threat of U.S. intervention, coupled with the lack of expected Soviet support for the Communists, eventually brought the crisis to an end. After being defeated in 1949, 1954, and 1958, the Chinese Communists began to realize that Taiwan could not easily be taken by force.⁵⁷

1959-1965. The resolution of the offshore island crisis in favor of the

⁵⁴Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 33.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Yung, op. cit., p. 78.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 79; 141 Questions, op. cit., p. 86; Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 34. However, Richard L. Worsnop, "The Future of Taiwan," Editorial Research Reports, Vol. I, No. 20 (May 26, 1972), p. 410, says that the Communists scaled down their bombardments because the United States persuaded the Nationalists to reduce their forces on the offshore islands.

Nationalists gave the ROC government and people new confidence and self-assurance, and the next few years saw unprecedented economic growth and social progress. Inflation was effectively arrested, and industry began to overtake agriculture in output. It was in this period that the United States ended their economic aid to Taiwan.⁵⁸

The Communist Chinese continued with only sporadic bombardment of Kinmen and the other offshore island after 1958 as token opposition to the Nationalists. In 1960, a visit by Eisenhower to Taiwan provoked a short, but intense, artillery assault of Kinmen.⁵⁹

1965-1969. The next period saw continued rapid economic growth on Taiwan, with the standard of living becoming second only to Japan in Asia. Epidemic diseases were eradicated and life expectancy increased. Free, compulsory education was extended from six years to nine years at this time.⁶⁰

On the political scene, the government worked out a plan for adding seats to the elected bodies of the government, and held the first national election since the late 1940's. In international relations there was increasing support and cooperation. However, in 1969, the United States began to consider improving its relationship with the Chinese Communists on the mainland. To open the way for such negotiations, the Seventh Fleet was withdrawn from its patrol of the Taiwan Straits in December, 1969.⁶¹

⁵⁸Yung, op. cit., p. 79.

⁵⁹Worsnop, op. cit., p. 410.

⁶⁰Yung, op. cit., p. 80.

⁶¹Ibid.; Worsnop, op. cit., p. 400.

1970 to the present. The decade of the seventies has seen a continued high rate of growth economically, but politically, this has been a period of growing uncertainty in international affairs.

In 1970, Canada withdrew her recognition of the ROC in favor of recognizing the People's Republic of China (henceforth the PRC) on the mainland. This act has had a far-reaching impact on other nations which up to this time had recognized the ROC as the legal government of all China. The United States' continuing thaw toward Peking also has radically affected Taiwan's status in world affairs.⁶²

Although the question of China's representation in the United Nations had come up annually since 1949,⁶³ it never reached the stage of a decisive vote until 1971. That year the United States announced it would support the seating of the PRC in the United Nations as long as the ROC would be allowed to retain its seat. However, on October 25, 1971, the General Assembly of the United Nations voted to seat the Communist Chinese and expel the Nationalists. Since then the ROC has lost its seat in almost all U.N.-affiliated and other international organizations.⁶⁴

The ROC's closest and long-time ally, the United States, has continued to worry the people of Taiwan with its overtures to the PRC, especially after President Nixon's trip to Peking in 1972 and the resulting Shanghai Communique.⁶⁵ In 1973, the United States ended its grant military assistance to the ROC.⁶⁶

⁶²Yung, op. cit., p. 81. ⁶³Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 206.

⁶⁴Background Notes, op. cit., p. 8; Worsnop, op. cit., p. 401.

⁶⁵Yung, op. cit., pp. 81-2. The ramifications of these developments will be discussed later in this section.

⁶⁶Background Notes, op. cit., p. 8.

Another momentous event during this period was the death of President Chiang Kai-shek on April 5, 1975. He had been the principal political and military leader of the ROC for nearly fifty years.⁶⁷

Theodore Chen describes the impact of Chiang's death upon the people of Taiwan:

The role of Chiang Kai-shek in modern China will long remain a subject of debate that arouses strong emotions, but the reactions of the people to his death may direct attention to some facets of the Chinese scene that heretofore have been given scant notice. The millions of people who stood in lines to view his body lying in state . . . and the additional millions who lined the streets of Taipei and tearfully bowed to the hearse in the funeral procession were not there in response to a government order or any form of external pressure. . . . They expressed deep and spontaneous emotions that were astonishing in their intensity and sincerity. They seemed to have forgotten Chiang's shortcomings and remembered him as a man who had fought a valiant battle and brought prosperity to Taiwan.⁶⁸

Wilfred Bockelman notes that "there were estimates that one out of every six inhabitants of the island made the trip to Taipei" to participate in the funeral services for the deceased President.⁶⁹

Upon his death, Chiang Kai-shek was succeeded in office by his Vice President, Yen Chia-kan, who as Premier from 1963 to 1972 "is widely considered to have played an important role in Taiwan's economic success."⁷⁰

However, the real successor to Chiang Kai-shek's leadership position in both the government and the KMT has been his son, Chiang Ching-kuo, Premier at the time of his father's death. Having been

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 5.

⁶⁸Theodore Hsi-en Chen, "Taiwan After Chiang Kai-shek," Current History, September 1975, p. 90.

⁶⁹Wilfred Bockelman, "Two Million Mourners in Taipei," Christian Century, May 28, 1975, p. 549.

⁷⁰Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5.

groomed for leadership by serving as Minister of National Defense (1965-9) and Vice Premier (1969-72), as well as Premier, Chiang Ching-kuo had assumed "most of the day-to-day responsibility of governing the country well before his father's death, and the succession was smooth and uneventful."⁷¹

When Yen Chia-kan's six-year term expired in 1978, Chiang Ching-kuo was elected President of the ROC by the National Assembly, becoming the third person to hold that position in the Republic's history.⁷²

Before Chiang Ching-kuo was appointed Premier, he was not readily accepted by some in the KMT (they were afraid he might sell out Taiwan to the Russians), and his capabilities were questioned. However, the younger Chiang has turned out to be "a new phenomenon" in Taiwan's political life, proving more effective and capable than anyone dared to expect.⁷³

Although Chiang Ching-kuo has made "little apparent effort to relax the system of strong central control established by his father,"⁷⁴ he has instituted strong and effective anti-corruption reforms, and has been bringing more native Taiwanese, as well as younger men, into the decision-making levels of the government.⁷⁵

⁷¹Ibid.; see also Yang Ming-che, "President C. K. Yen favors Premier Chiang as his successor," Free China Review, February 1978, p. 9.

⁷²Yang, "Yen favors Chiang," op. cit., p. 9.

⁷³Chen, op. cit., pp. 90-1, 93.

⁷⁴"Father, Now Son . . . What to Expect on Taiwan," U.S. News and World Report, April 21, 1975, p. 72.

⁷⁵For example, in 1972, upon his appointment as Premier, Chiang Ching-kuo appointed thirteen new members to the 23-member cabinet of the Executive Yuan, including six native Taiwanese; see Yung, op. cit., p. 99; Robert R. Simmons, "Taiwan and China: The Delicate Courtship," Current History, September 1973, p. 112; and Chen, op. cit., pp. 90-1, 93.

The newly-elected President Chiang also is sensitive to the views of the people, spending his weekends traveling throughout the island to visit with farmers and workers where they live and labor, as well as urging government officials to be more attentive to their constituencies.⁷⁶

Chiang Ching-kuo is fervently committed to his father's basic policies of anti-communism and a future return to the mainland.⁷⁷ The changing international scene, however, encourages much speculation about Taiwan's future under a new generation of leadership. Theodore Chen comments:

The present political leadership vows to carry out Chiang Kai-shek's basic policies. Nevertheless, the political scene is undergoing an observable change. The personal style of Chiang's successors is different from Chiang's. His successors tend to be more flexible in the execution of policies; they are more approachable and more open to direct personal contact with the people. Youthful energy contrasts with the restraint and relative conservation of age.⁷⁸

The Current Political Situation

In considering the current political situation on Taiwan, it is important to realize that "Taiwan is not a democracy in the American sense."⁷⁹ However, the political stability of the country, due in large measure to the social and economic progress in the past thirty years, is second only to Japan among the nations of Asia.⁸⁰ The people are aware that certain personal rights and freedoms are guaranteed in the Constitution, but that some of these have been restricted by the state of martial

⁷⁶Chen, op. cit., p. 90-1, 93; Yang, "Yen favors Chiang," op. cit., p. 9.

⁷⁷"Father, Now Son," op. cit., p. 72; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5.

⁷⁸Chen, op. cit., p. 92.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 93.

⁸⁰Yung, op. cit., pp. 95, 103.

law. As long as the topics of mainland recovery and governmental shortcomings are avoided, the people of Taiwan have as much freedom of speech as any other country facing the threat of invasion.⁸¹ For the most part, the people of Taiwan have accepted these limitations, realizing that they are much better off than the Chinese on the mainland. In recent years, there has been some relaxation of control, with a large number of political prisoners being released.⁸²

Problem areas. In spite of progress in some areas, the ROC is still struggling in others, such as their commitment to recovering the mainland, the lack of democratic national elections, and the conflict of interests between the mainlanders and native Taiwanese.

Although no one on Taiwan wants the island to be taken over by Communist China, the actual recovery of the mainland by the ROC has become a fading dream for many.⁸³ The government, however, would have difficulty justifying its claim to be the sole legal government of all China, and thus its very existence, if it were to give up its ultimate goal of returning to the mainland. The problem of national elections is also involved here. Until the people on the mainland are able to join the people in Taiwan in voting for new representatives, truly "national" elections are impossible.⁸⁴ As noted earlier, however, the government is attempting to make at least Taiwan's representation more democratic.

The friction between native Taiwanese and those arriving from

⁸¹Chen, op. cit., p. 93; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5; Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 246; Harold Lindsell, "Harold Lindsell Reports from Taiwan," Christianity Today, August 26, 1977, p. 15.

⁸²Chen, op. cit., p. 93; Background Notes, op. cit., p. 5.

⁸³Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 4.

⁸⁴Lindsell, op. cit., p. 16; Yung, op. cit., p. 86.

the mainland in 1949 has been a serious problem that might have been avoided. In addition to the tensions caused by the uprising of 1947,⁸⁵ the mainlanders "placed the Taiwanese in the same category as those Chinese on the mainland who had collaborated with the Japanese."⁸⁶

In addition, such differences as language (the mainlanders speak Mandarin, while the Taiwanese originally knew only their own dialects and Japanese), occupation (the Taiwanese have dominated agriculture and commerce, while the mainlanders have been primarily employed in government, military and academic careers), and residence (a majority of mainlanders have lived in urban centers, while most Taiwanese reside in rural towns and villages) only increased the gap between the two groups.⁸⁷

A major, continuing topic of contention is lack of Taiwanese influence and involvement in the central government. There has been marked improvement in this area since Chiang Ching-kuo's emergence into a leadership position, but there is still a problem of popularly-elected officials not being given full authority in handling their affairs, and of the KMT exercising "undue influence in the selection of candidates for election and in the functioning of elected officials and civil servants."⁸⁸

Friction has gradually diminished with the passage of time and as the two groups have been mutually assimilated. Local politics is dominated by the Taiwanese, with 64% of local government officials being natives of Taiwan.⁸⁹ On the national level, Taiwanese involvement

⁸⁵See Section IV - History.

⁸⁶Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 245. ⁸⁷Yung, op. cit., p. 91.

⁸⁸Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 242.

⁸⁹Taiwan, op. cit., p. 3.

and influence have been increasing slowly, with the most recent development at this level being the election of a native Taiwanese as Vice President of the Republic in March 1978.⁹⁰

Defense. The Republic of China currently maintains a standing army of over a half a million men, which absorbs over 7% of the GNP.⁹¹ The necessity for such a large army stems from the fact that all of mainland China is considered to be in rebellion, in addition to the fact that Taiwan is considered "a vital link in the chain of islands stretching from Japan to Indonesia . . . the free world's first line of defense in the western Pacific."⁹²

The offshore islands are a key part of Taiwan's defense system, protecting the freedom of navigation in the Taiwan Straits as well as protecting the main island of Taiwan from Communist attack. Since the early 1960's, artillery barrages between the mainland and Kinmen have taken place by informal agreement only on odd-numbered days. Instead of containing explosives, the shells of both sides are now filled with propaganda leaflets.⁹³

In recent years, the Nationalists have adopted the policy that their eventual victory over the Communists on the mainland will be 70% political and only 30% military.⁹⁴ To this end, the propaganda shells are fired from Kinmen, loudspeakers daily woo the mainlanders with

⁹⁰Hsieh Tung-min, who was previously Governor of Taiwan Province (1972-78).

⁹¹Background Notes, op. cit., pp. 7-8. ⁹²Taiwan, op. cit., p. 6.

⁹³Fay Willey, "China: Paper Tigers," Newsweek, March 7, 1977, p. 51; Chiu, op. cit., p. 160; 141 Questions, op. cit., p. 88.

⁹⁴According to an understanding between the U.S. and ROC over the Defense Treaty of 1954, the ROC may not start a counteroffensive against the mainland without the consent of the U.S. Area Handbook, op. cit., p. 208.

tales of free Chinese life, and any defectors to the Nationalist side are treated as heroes.⁹⁵

The people of Taiwan, on the other hand, are convinced that their life is highly preferable to that on the mainland, and Communist propaganda has little effect on them.⁹⁶

International Relations. For twenty years, most of the free world respected and recognized the ROC's claim to be the sole legal government of all China. It was only in the late 1960's, after the PRC became a nuclear power, that the nations of the world began reassessing their China policy.⁹⁷ Since the 1971 seating of the PRC in the United Nations, most countries have withdrawn their recognition of the ROC and established diplomatic relations with the Communist Chinese, including all the nations of East Asia except the Republic of Korea.⁹⁸

So far, the United States has continued to maintain diplomatic relations and the 1954 Mutual Defense Treaty with the ROC. At the same time, however, the United States has actively been seeking the normalization of relations with the PRC, hoping to find some way of equally recognizing both governments.

Thus far, Taiwan has been able to both "survive and prosper in spite of her expulsion from the United Nations and the diplomatic desertion of erstwhile friends and allies,"⁹⁹ because of her importance in

⁹⁵Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 243, 245.

⁹⁶141 Questions, op. cit., p. 87; Willey, op. cit., p. 51; Yung, op. cit., p. 85.

⁹⁷Chiu, op. cit., p. 164.

⁹⁸Background Notes, op. cit., p. 8.

⁹⁹Chen, op. cit., p. 99.

international trade. Although Taiwan maintains diplomatic relations with no more than twenty-five countries, she has trade missions and "cultural exchange" offices in over 130 countries and territories.¹⁰⁰

Taiwan's Future Status. The Republic of China and the island of Taiwan have been facing an uncertain future ever since Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government sought refuge from the Communists on the island in 1949. Before the outbreak of the Korean War, the world fully expected Taiwan to fall to the Communists at any time. Even after the United States' sudden support of the ROC in the face of the Korean War in 1950, the island could not relax when the offshore islands were repeatedly being assaulted by Communist troops.

With the advent of the Sixties, things began to look brighter for Taiwan economically, socially, and politically. The unstable conditions on the mainland during the "Great Cultural Revolution" revived hopes that the Communist regime was crumbling and the ROC might actually have a chance of recovering the mainland.

The 1970's, however, brought the alarming developments of a free world falling over itself in its eagerness to establish "detente" with its former enemies, the Chinese Communists, whose first demand has been to agree that Taiwan is rightfully theirs.

Accompanying all this has been a continuing legal discussion over Taiwan's status and ownership. Hungdah Chiu explains the circumstances of this debate:

Before 1949 there was virtually no discussion of the so-called question of Taiwan on the international level, and it

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 92.

was generally agreed that it was an internal Chinese question. Moreover, it was widely expected that the peace treaty with Japan would explicitly provide for the return of Taiwan to China. It was not until mid-1949, when the Chinese Communists were about to take over the Chinese mainland, that the so-called question of Taiwan gradually emerged.¹⁰¹

The Korean War caused the United States to decide that this strategic island should not be controlled by a hostile regime. Therefore the United States had to devise a legal basis to justify its intervention to prevent the Chinese Communist's "liberation" of Taiwan. From the United States point of view, if Taiwan's status could be rendered "undetermined", then legally the United States would be in a better position to justify its dispatch of naval forces to the Taiwan Straits.¹⁰²

Since June 27, 1950, when President Truman changed the American position on Taiwan, the question of Taiwan has become a major issue in international politics.¹⁰³

The means by which Taiwan's legal status became "undetermined" involved the Japanese relinquishing all claim to the island in the various peace treaties signed after World War II, without assigning the island to any country as its new owner.

The United States' purpose, until recent negotiations with the PRC, seemed to be to bring about a "two Chinas" answer for the question of Taiwan's status. Taiwan was recognized as being "strategically important to the defense of East Asia," but at the same time the United States did "not want to be involved in any nationalist attempt to 'recover' the mainland."¹⁰⁴ In the 1972 Shanghai Communique, the United States made a major concession to the PRC and a major change in its China policy by stating that it recognizes Taiwan as a part of China.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹Chiu, op. cit., p. 114.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 122.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 171.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 170.

Another group campaigning for a different solution to the Taiwan problem has been the various Formosan Independence Movements, which had their origin in the Taiwanese-mainlander conflicts in 1947. These groups, based mainly in the United States and Japan, claim that the Taiwanese have the right to determine their own future, as fifty years under Japanese rule supposedly brought about enough changes that the Taiwanese are now somehow different from their mainland relatives.¹⁰⁶ Estimates of the strength of this group vary widely. The ROC government has treated leaders of the independence movements harshly, thus squelching any expression of support for the idea from the general populace. One major leader of the movement forsook the cause in 1967 and returned to Taiwan.¹⁰⁷

In contrast to the solutions suggested by these various groups, it is quite interesting to note the approach of both the ROC and the PRC to the question of Taiwan's future: both governments agree that Taiwan is historically, geographically, and culturally an integral part of China - one China. John K. Fairbank has pointed out that "Chinese politics for two thousand years has been focused on the unity of all Chinese under one rule."¹⁰⁸

A number of considerations should be noted in evaluating the various possibilities for Taiwan's future. First of all, J. Verkuyl points out that

. . . it is almost totally impossible to conceive of a future settlement to the Taiwan problem which would have the joint approval of all three of these parties [the Taiwanese, the Nationalists, and the Communists]. The various solutions . . . stand no more than a slight chance of winning . . . the

¹⁰⁶Yung, op. cit., pp. 92-3.

¹⁰⁷Area Handbook, op. cit., pp. 204, 244.

¹⁰⁸John H. Fairbank, The United States and China, Rev. ed. (New York: The Viking Press, 1958), p. 277.

approval of at most two of the three parties.¹⁰⁹

In the light of recent developments on the international scene, the "two Chinas" solution has virtually been abandoned in principle, as nations recognizing the PRC have agreed that Taiwan is a part of China. However, in practice most nations are continuing to deal with two Chinese governments, and will probably do so until the present balance of international politics changes. United States policy will make the "crucial difference" in this situation, for it is the last major world power supporting the ROC government.¹¹⁰ The U.S. has already moved in the direction of upsetting the status quo by its concessions in the Shanghai Communique mentioned earlier.

In considering the ROC's view of the "two Chinas" suggestion, one should realize that in giving up its claim to the mainland, the ROC government would be eliminating its primary reason for existence. In addition, even if the Nationalists decided to be satisfied with their achievements on Taiwan and forget the mainland, all the existing evidence indicates that the Chinese Communists have no intention of relinquishing their claim to the island.¹¹¹

These same arguments hold true for the possibility of an independent Taiwan. The ROC government refuses to consider such a suggestion that would destroy their position in the island's political organization, while the PRC would not consider its rights to the island to be diminished by the establishment of an upstart "bourgeois democracy."¹¹² Additionally, an independent Taiwan could not survive without support from the United

¹⁰⁹J. Verkuy, et. al., "The Problem of Taiwan," Lutheran World, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1973, p. 173.

¹¹⁰Chen, op. cit., p. 99.

¹¹¹Yung, op. cit., p. 103.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 93.

States, which the U.S. is not likely to give while trying to strengthen its own relationship with Peking.¹¹³

Many have debated the likelihood of a Communist takeover of Taiwan by force. Peking knows from past experience that "Taiwan, with a 500,000-man army and one of the best air forces in the world, could put up stiff resistance to any invasion from the mainland."¹¹⁴ Worsnop doubts that the PRC has the military capability to launch an invasion across the Taiwan Straits and maintain the lengthy, costly and violent war that would be necessary to vanquish the very anti-communist population of the island. He adds that "an invasion of Taiwan might well destroy the very industrial base which Peking presumably covets."¹¹⁵

On the other hand, the ROC recovery of the mainland seems even less likely. The Nationalist view of the situation should, however, be recognized. Morton Kondracke summarizes:

[The Chinese Nationalists] remind Americans that, whereas our history is 200 years long . . . , theirs goes back 3400 years. Viewed from this perspective the nearly 30 years of Communist domination of the mainland is but "a page or two" in a history book. The Nationalist grand strategy, as a result, seems to be to hold fast, gain strength, never stop struggling--and hope for a miracle, divine or political.¹¹⁶

Also enlightening are the following comments by then-Premier Chiang Ching-kuo on the basis for the ROC's continuing claim to be the government of all China:

We've received letters from the mainland recently saying our Government was not very satisfactory when it was on the mainland, but even so it was still better than the Chinese

¹¹³Ibid., p. 94; Chiu, op. cit., p. 170.

¹¹⁴"Surviving with the Other Chiang," Time, April 21, 1975, p. 38.

¹¹⁵Worsnop, op. cit., p. 413.

¹¹⁶Morton Kondracke, "Taiwan's Future," The New Republic, September 24, 1977, p. 15.

Communist regime they have now.

Also, many people on the mainland remember the firm anti-Communist stand of our President [Chiang Kai-shek] in the past, and they know he is and will continue to be anti-Communist. So he is still considered the leader of the Chinese people.¹¹⁷

Many China watchers seem to think that reconciliation between the PRC and ROC is a more likely eventuality than either party conquering the other. While the PRC would welcome such a reunion on their own terms, compromise with the Communists is anathema to the Nationalist Chinese on Taiwan. Wilfred Bockelman quotes an excerpt from the China Post after Chiang Kai-shek's death which expresses the ROC attitude quite clearly:

During [Chiang Kai-shek's] lifetime, one thing which distinguished him from many foreign leaders of today was the fact that he perfectly understood the motives and policies of the Communist aggressor. He knew there could be no compromise with the Communists. He never believed in any sort of detente as a means to ease the rivalry between the democratic and the Communist camps. He was absolutely convinced that Communists are determined to destroy the democratic world. He repeatedly warned the free peoples against falling into the Communist traps, but his warning was ignored by many foreign leaders who should have known better¹¹⁸

The Nationalists, who have had first-hand experience of Chinese Communist deceptions, are deeply concerned that the United States seems determined to give a former enemy "preferential treatment" while rejecting a long-time friend and faithful ally.¹¹⁹ Howard Lindsell reports that

The ROC officials seem to be genuinely puzzled by Jimmy Carter. From their perception of America's role in the world they see no possible gain for the nation to break diplomatic relations with the ROC and establish them with Red China

They think it incredible that Red China should make demands that the U.S. must first fulfill if diplomatic relations are to be established. Rather, they feel the U.S. should set up conditions that the Red Chinese should meet, not the least of

¹¹⁷Robert P. Martin, "From Taiwan: Another Side of the China Question," U.S. News and World Report, December 10, 1973, p. 116.

¹¹⁸Bockelman, op. cit., p. 551. ¹¹⁹Lindsell, op. cit., p. 17.

which is to grant the people human rights, religious and political freedom.¹²⁰

In conclusion, Theodore Chen has aptly summarized the current situation with regard to the question of Taiwan's future:

As long as most nations adhere to the present policy of recognizing one China in principle and dealing with two Chinese governments in practice, Taiwan will probably continue to be a stable and prosperous country where 16 million people live in peace and relative contentment. . . .

Her survival may be adversely affected by radical changes in international politics. Countries now eager to trade with Taiwan without diplomatic relations may later adopt a different course of action dictated by political considerations. . . .

As long as U.S. policy remains basically unaltered, as long as the present balance of international politics is maintained, and as long as trade relations are not disrupted, Taiwan may look to the future with confidence.¹²¹

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 16.

¹²¹Chen, op. cit., p. 99.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Bueler, William M. U.S. China Policy and the Problem of Taiwan. Boulder, CO: Colorado Associated University Press, 1971. 141 pages.

For those interested in U.S. governmental views of and policies toward Taiwan, this book is well-written and readable. The author traces the development of U.S. China policy through the administrations of each president from Truman to Nixon. He also discusses the assumptions underlying U.S. China policies and compares them to the "political realities" on Taiwan. He presents both Taiwanese and mainlander views objectively, but does seem to favor the idea of an independent Taiwan. He writes clearly and concisely and knows when to leave out unnecessary dates and details. Since the book was written before Nixon's trip to the mainland, the book does not cover the most recent developments in U.S. policy.

Copp, DeWitt, and Marshall Peck. The Odd Day. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1962. 212 pages.

Although an older book, The Odd Day does an excellent job of capturing the attitudes and emotions of the people of Taiwan even today in their opposition to Communist China. The authors interviewed 150 men and women on Quemoy, Matsu and Taiwan and wove their stories together to fit into one 24-hour period. The title comes from the fact that mainland China and the offshore islands exchange fire only on odd days.

The authors' literary skill is evidenced in combining so many diverse elements into a very interesting and enlightening (while remaining factual) book. The new missionary's understanding of attitudes on Taiwan towards Communist China will be greatly enhanced by reading this top-priority book.

Chiu, Hungdah, ed. China and the Question of Taiwan: Documents and Analysis. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973. 395 pages.

The most valuable section of this book to the new missionary in reference to Government and Politics is Chapter 3, "Political Development in the Republic of China on Taiwan," by Yung Wei. This article is a clear, concise, well-written discussion of the political situation on Taiwan. The rest of the book would be of interest only to those interested in historical details relating to Taiwan's government and politics. Chapter 4 covers the question of Taiwan's status in great detail. The Documentary Section of the book contains over 100 documents relating to Taiwan and its history, government, and political situation.

Mendel, Douglas. The Politics of Formosan Nationalism. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970. 315 pages.

This book is a detailed discussion of the political views of native Taiwanese, as observed by the author during a Fulbright lectureship on Taiwan in 1961-62 plus interviews since then with Taiwanese both on Taiwan and in Japan and the United States. The author is more objective than George Kerr, Formosa Betrayed (See Section IV - History), yet he is definitely sympathetic to the cause of an independent Taiwan.

It is difficult to know if the political attitudes discussed in the book are still current on Taiwan, since those supporting Formosan nationalism are still restrained by the government. Most sources in recent years feel that Taiwanese-mainlander tensions have significantly decreased since 1970, when this book was written. The missionary who plans to work directly with the Taiwanese should probably have some exposure to this book in order to understand past attitudes and be sensitive to present developments in this area.

Magazines

Chen, Theodore Hsi-en. "Taiwan After Chiang Kai-shek," Current History, September, 1975, pp. 90-93, 99.

This article is a priority for new missionaries because it is one of the few articles written since Chiang Kai-shek's death which discusses Taiwan's situation fairly objectively and in some detail. The author does not indulge in speculating about Taiwan's future, but summarizes her current progress economically, politically and in foreign and domestic relations.

"The Chinese are Coming," Newsweek, November 8, 1971, pp. 22-28.

If the prospective missionary can find a library which keeps magazines back to 1971, this article is worth reading. It describes the seating of Communist China and other related events at the United Nations and the reaction of the Republic of China. It is interesting to compare the speculations about the future in the article with what has actually happened since 1971.

Crozier, Brian. "The Art of Survival," National Review, December 6, 1974, pp. 1400-02.

Crozier presents the current situation in Taiwan economically and politically and then discusses Taiwan's future. His suggested solution to the Taiwan problem is to accept the idea of one China controlled by several sovereign states, including a "Chinese Republic of Taiwan." The article provides an interesting and somewhat different perspective of the issue of Taiwan's future, and is well-written.

"Father, Now Son . . . What to Expect on Taiwan," U.S. News and World Report, April 21, 1975, p. 72.

This brief article discusses the death of Chiang Kai-shek and introduces his son, Chiang Ching-kuo, to the American public. It is an objective, well-written article.

Kondracke, Morton. "Taiwan's Future," The New Republic, September 24, 1977, pp. 15-17.

Kondracke's attitude in this article is somewhat sarcastic, portraying the Republic of China as a naive dreamer in the face of "inevitable" normalization of U.S. relations with Communist China. It is not a top priority article, but is probably more readily available than others.

Lindsell, Harold. "Harold Lindsell Reports from Taiwan," Christianity Today, August 26, 1977, pp. 15-17.

This is an excellent recent article from a Christian perspective. Lindsell is sympathetic to the Republic of China and urges continued U.S. support of the Nationalist government. He emphasizes Taiwan's progress as well as noting weak areas objectively. This is a priority article for prospective missionaries.

Martin, Robert P. "From Taiwan: Another Side of the 'China Question'," U.S. News and World Report, December 10, 1973, pp. 115-117.

This article reports on an interview with (then-Premier) Chiang Ching-kuo. The issues discussed (basically relations between the U.S. and Taiwan, and Communist China) are still crucial ones today. The new missionary should be acquainted with the viewpoints expressed in this article.

Shaplen, Robert. "Letter from Taiwan," The New Yorker, June 13, 1977, pp. 72-95.

This fairly lengthy article discusses Taiwan's future in the light of the possible normalization of relations between the United States and Peking. All the various ramifications of the various possible solutions to the problem of Taiwan are dealt with in "educated guess" style, with no real conclusions reached or solutions suggested. This is one of the more comprehensive summary articles on the subject available at present.

Simmons, Robert R. "Taiwan and China: The Delicate Courtship," Current History, September 1973, pp. 111-114, 134.

This article discusses the problem of Taiwan's future. He covers the historical backgrounds of the problem and the implications of the 1972 Shanghai Communique resulting from Nixon's visit to the mainland. The author seems to think that Taiwan will be peaceably and profitably (for both sides) reunited with the mainland within the foreseeable future, and be allowed to remain autonomous. This view, however, does not take into account Taiwan's rigid anti-Communist stance, and ignores the fact that Communist governments historically have not allowed nations under their control to remain autonomous, prosperous, and capitalistic.

The new missionary may want to read this article to be acquainted with the viewpoint expressed. The historical backgrounds are well-presented, and this writer only disagrees with the author's conclusions.

"Surviving with the Other Chiang," Time, April 21, 1975, pp. 36-38.

This brief article provides a good description of Chiang Kai-shek's funeral and discusses the probable effects of his passing on the country's future.

"Taiwan's Uncertain Future," Eternity, May 1972, pp. 8-9.

This article, although somewhat dated now, is a thoughtful Chris-

tian approach to the question of Taiwan's future. The new missionary will appreciate the spiritual dimension added by this article to the political questions discussed in so many other articles.

Verkuyt, J., et. al "The Problem of Taiwan," Lutheran World, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1973, pp. 167-176.

This article is a study on the relationship between China and Taiwan. It covers the history of the problem, the various groups involved (the Taiwanese, the Nationalists, the Communists, Japan, and the U.S.), and the various proposals which have been suggested for the future of Taiwan (one China, two governments; two Chinas, two governments; one China, one government; one China and a Taiwanese Republic). The authors tend to support the cause of an independent Taiwan on the basis of the right of self-determination for the Taiwanese. The article is a well-done summary of all the issues involved, and if readily available, would provide an adequate introduction to the question of Taiwan's future.

Willey, Fay. "China: Paper Tigers," Newsweek, March 7, 1977, p. 51.

For those who read The Odd Day, this article provides an up-to-date report on the situation on Quemoy.

Worsnop, Richard L. "Future of Taiwan," Editorial Research Reports, Vol. 1, No. 20 (May 26, 1972), pp. 397-414.

This article was written shortly after President Nixon's trip to Peking, and it examines the question of Taiwan's future in light of the issues raised during that visit. The author covers the island's role in U.S.-Asian relations, the historical struggle for the control of Taiwan, and alternatives for Taiwan's future. The article is well-written and is a good, short summary of the crucial issues involved. If available in a local library, this pamphlet will give the prospective missionary helpful insights into the problems surrounding Taiwan's future.

Yang Ming-che. "Ongoing revolution," Free China Review, October 1977, pp. 9-12.

This article discusses the historical backgrounds of the governmental system of the Republic of China and how this system functions on Taiwan. It is not a complex, detailed treatment, but a basic introduction to Taiwan's form of government.

Other

Area Handbook (Overview), Section II - Political, contains five chapters on the Governmental System, political dynamics, foreign relations, public information, and political values and attitudes. This is probably the most complete resource available on all of these areas, although it must be supplemented by more recent magazine articles to cover events and developments since 1969.

Background Notes (Overview) has an excellent, concise, up-to-date summary of the governmental system, political conditions, defense, and foreign relations.

Bockelman, "Two Million Mourners in Taipei" (Missions) contains some thought-provoking insights on Chiang Kai-shek's role in history and on U.S. recognition of Communist China.

Chai, The Changing Society of China (Culture), in chapters 17-18 gives some historical backgrounds of the governmental system of the Republic of China.

Goddard, Formosa (History), discusses the backgrounds of the Republic of China (including Sun Yat-sen's role) and its early years on Taiwan in Chapters 10 and 11. Goddard is a staunch supporter of the ROC government and is somewhat blind to any shortcomings.

_____, Makers of Taiwan (History), includes chapters on Chen Cheng, ROC leader in charge of the land reform program, and Chiang Kai-shek.

Kerr, Formosa Betrayed (History), deals with the issue of Formosan nationalism.

Sih, Taiwan in Modern Times (History), contains a chapter by Richard Walker on "Taiwan's Movement into Political Modernity, 1945-1972."

SECTION VI
MISSIONARY INVOLVEMENT

PROFILE SKETCH

History of Missions Involvement

Earliest attempts. After the Dutch East India Company established itself in Taiwan in 1624, missionaries were sent out from Holland to assist the company in winning over the local inhabitants by means of religion. In 1627 the first of 37 missionaries from the Dutch Reformed Church, Rev. George Candidius, arrived on the island.

These missionaries were employees of the Dutch East India Company, under the control of the governor and his council, and one of their primary tasks was to act as chaplains to the Dutch population on Taiwan. In relation to the local population, "their purpose, from the Company's point of view, was to transform the natives into profitable servants of the Company"¹ Candidius and his fellow workers, however, seriously endeavored to win the inhabitants of Taiwan to Jesus Christ.

Although hampered and restricted at times by the Company, the Dutch missionaries "extensively preached the Gospel and built chapels and schools in every important village."² The aborigines were the most responsive to the Gospel, and as a result, the missionaries concentrated their efforts among this group. It is not known whether the Dutch converted any of the Chinese population on the island.³

¹George M. Beckman, "Brief Episodes - Dutch and Spanish Rule," Taiwan in Modern Times, ed. Paul K. T. Sih (New York: St. John's University Press, 1973), p. 46.

²Robert J. Bolton, Treasure Island: Church Growth Among Taiwan's Urban Minnan Chinese (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976), p. 84.

³Ibid., p. 87; Chang Meng-hao, "In the days of the Dutch," Free China Review, March 1968, p. 20.

Candidius and his colleagues developed an elementary education system on the island, planted churches, and engaged in Bible translation. The Gospels of Matthew and John were translated into one of the aboriginal dialects, and in 1657 a theological school was established to train mountain preachers.⁴ By 1650, the work among the aborigines had resulted in over 7,000 baptized church members.⁵

The ministry of the Dutch Reformed mission on Taiwan was brought to an abrupt end in 1662 when Cheng Cheng-kung ousted the Dutch East India Company from the island. At least five Dutch missionaries were put to death by Cheng's troops and repressive measures were taken against the Christians once Cheng gained control of the island.⁶

In assessing the impact of this first missionary effort on Taiwan, the main problem the missionaries struggled with continuously was their subordinate position to the authority of the Dutch East India Company. When Japan began suppressing Christianity, the Company, not wanting to antagonize one of their chief trading partners, restricted the evangelistic activities of the missionaries. Since at this time Church and State were still inseparable, the missionaries could do nothing but make the best of a difficult situation.⁷

On the positive side, the Dutch missionaries learned and used the local aboriginal dialects. They pioneered schools to train civil and church leadership, and their missionary outreach had a solid Biblical basis.⁸

⁴Bolton, op. cit., p. 86; Hollington K. Tong, Christianity in Taiwan: A History (Taipei: China Post, 1961), p. 138.

⁵Beckman, op. cit., p. 46.

⁶Tong, op. cit., p. 20.

⁷Bolton, op. cit., p. 85.

⁸Ibid., p. 86.

Due to Cheng Cheng-kung's efforts to stamp out every bit of Dutch influence on Taiwan, only traces of Dutch missionary work survived. In 1715, a Jesuit working for the Imperial Government encountered a number of aborigines on Taiwan who could speak some Dutch, and who clung to a few basic Christian beliefs.⁹

During the short period of Spanish control of the northern part of Taiwan, Dominican missionaries from the Philippines were active on the island. The first priest arrived in 1628 and encountered severe opposition from the local population. Several of the early workers were killed, but by the time the Dutch drove out the Spanish in 1643, 4,500 converts had been won from among the local Chinese population.¹⁰ Twenty years later some Dominicans visited the island briefly and were asked by several Taiwanese to hear confession and administer baptism.¹¹

In 1673 and 1694, the Dominicans made attempts to place missionaries on Taiwan, but were opposed by the Chinese rulers, and the Christian witness on Taiwan eventually died out from lack of encouragement.¹²

A beachhead is established. In 1859 when Taiwan's ports were reopened to foreigners, the Dominicans were the first to re-enter the island and begin mission work. They began their ministry in the south near modern-day Kaohsiung and developed northward. Severe persecution was encountered, and by the time of the Japanese occupation 36 years later, they had only recorded 1,300 conversions.¹³

⁹Chang, op. cit., p. 20; Charles Henry Robinson, History of Christian Missions (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 245.

¹⁰Allen J. Swanson, TAIWAN: Mainline versus Independent Church Growth (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1970), p. 79; Tong, op. cit., pp. 205-6.

¹¹Tong, op. cit., p. 207. ¹²Ibid. ¹³Ibid., p. 210.

In 1860, Dr. Carstairs Douglas of the English Presbyterian Mission in Fukien province visited Taiwan and took with him on furlough the burden of establishing a Christian Church on the island.¹⁴ As a result Dr. James Maxwell arrived in Taiwan in 1865 and began medical work in the area around Tainan. In 1867 he was joined by Rev. and Mrs. Hugh Ritchie.

These pioneers faced extreme and continuous persecution during their first decade on the island. Foreign merchants had offended some Chinese officials, who deliberately stirred up extreme anti-foreign feelings among the people, and the missionaries were caught in the cross-fire. The national church had its first martyr in 1868.¹⁵ Dr. Maxwell's effective medical work among the people eventually helped open the doors for evangelism; his first hospital was opened in Tainan in 1868.¹⁶

During the 1870's church growth continued to be slow due to a shortage of educated Chinese evangelists and the illiteracy of the people. To avoid the extreme length of time necessary to learn to read Chinese characters, a Romanization of the vernacular was used in translating the Bible and teaching the people to read.¹⁷

An encouraging development during this period was a people movement among the Pepohoan ("barbarians of the plains"), a "semi-accultured aboriginal people who lived in the foothills"¹⁸ By 1875 there were 22 churches in southern Taiwan with 1000 members, 75% of whom were Pepohoans.¹⁹ This blessing brought with it new problems, however. The

¹⁴Bolton, op. cit., p. 89.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 93; Tong, op. cit., pp. 25-27.

¹⁶Tong, op. cit., p. 39.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 40, 33.

¹⁸Bolton, op. cit., p. 94.

¹⁹Ibid.; J. Herbert Kane, A Global View of World Missions (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1971), p. 232.

aborigines needed a great deal of supervision and guidance if they were to mature as Christians, but the small ministerial staff was already overworked. In addition, because the Chinese held the aborigines in contempt, few Chinese wanted to become members of a predominately Pepohoan church.²⁰

During the 1880's, the missionaries spent much of their energy on education. A Christian college was opened in Tainan in 1880 under the direction of Thomas Barclay, and in 1887 the first girl's school was established, paving the way to a new status for women on the island.²¹

Also during this decade, William Campbell was engaged in two special forms of outreach. In 1885 he produced a Braille edition of the dialect translation of Matthew for use among Taiwan's blind population. In 1886, he visited the Penghu Islands, where Taiwanese Christians later started three churches.²²

In the years immediately preceeding the Japanese occupation of Taiwan the churches made little additional progress. There was a lack of full-time evangelistic workers, and what growth did take place was offset by purging backsliders from the church rolls. By the time of the Japanese takeover in 1895, "the English Presbyterian mission in central and south Taiwan totalled 1,445 communicants."²³

In 1872 the Canadian Presbyterians sent a man to Taiwan to begin missionary work in the northern part of the island, an area the understaffed English Presbyterians had not been able to reach yet. George Leslie Mackay turned out to be God's man for the tremendous challenge awaiting him. Allen Swanson has this to say:

²⁰Tong, op. cit., p. 45.

²¹Ibid., pp. 37, 42.

²²Ibid., pp. 187, 155.

²³Bolton, op. cit., p. 96; see also Tong, op. cit., p. 44.

. . . Dr. George Mackay is considered one of the great figures in nineteenth century missionary history. Unique gifts of preaching, teaching and healing, together with unbounded energy, faith and courage enabled Mackay to make a profound impact in the northern part of the island.²⁴

Mackay suffered extreme hatred and hostility in the early years of his ministry, but finally gained admiration through his perseverance and sacrificial ministry to the Taiwanese people. He was not a medical doctor, but used the skills he had acquired to great advantage, including the extraction of some 40,000 teeth during his ministry in Taiwan!²⁵

Mackay laid the foundations for a strong church under national leadership, preferring to develop leaders from among his converts rather than obtaining reinforcements from Canada. In the first eight years of his ministry, Mackay had trained twenty Christians for the ministry by taking them with him on his journeys around the island. In this "itinerant college" the men learned theology, Bible, botany, medical care and dentistry. As they matured in their faith, the men were put in charge of congregations.²⁶ By the end of Mackay's first term in Taiwan he had founded 20 chapels with 300 converts.²⁷

During Mackay's second term, several educational facilities were established, including Oxford College (now Taiwan Theological College) in 1882 and a girl's school in 1883.²⁸

The Sino-French war of 1884-85 was the cause of severe persecution of the northern churches. Because the French had been supporting Roman Catholic missionary endeavors in Taiwan, all Christians were subject to harassment and suffering. Several were martyred and seven church buildings

²⁴Swanson, op. cit., p. 86.

²⁵Tong, op. cit., pp. 47-8.

²⁶Bolton, op. cit., p. 97.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Tong, op. cit., p. 50.

were destroyed. The missionaries' lives were also in danger during this period.²⁹

The final decade before the Japanese occupation saw continued growth among the Canadian Presbyterian churches, with 69 churches in existence at the time of Mackay's death in 1901.³⁰

Under the Japanese. Hollington Tong has divided the years of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan into two periods. Between 1895 and 1931 relations between Taiwan's Christians and the Japanese government were fairly good. In the period from 1931 to 1945, after the militarists took over the Japanese government and the Sino-Japanese War was developing, Christians suffered increasing persecution and restriction of personal freedoms.³¹

1895-1931. During the brief period of the Taiwan Republic, Christians were generally treated well by the leaders. However, as the Japanese gained increasing victory over the resistance forces, the Christians were caught in the middle. They were accused both of aiding the Japanese, which stirred up the local populace to violence, and of aiding the guerilla revolts, which provoked reprisals by the Japanese. The northern churches suffered the most at this time, with an estimated 700 native Christians being killed.³²

Once the Japanese gained control of the island, things settled down and the Christians were left alone for the time being. The strong Japanese rule curbed the hostile Chinese mobs that had previously bothered the Church from time to time.

The uncertainty of the first decade of Japanese rule resulted in

²⁹Ibid., p. 41; Bolton, op. cit., p. 98. ³⁰Bolton, op. cit., p. 96.

³¹Tong, op. cit., p. 69.

³²Ibid., pp. 52, 54, 60, 211.

church membership doubling in southern Taiwan between 1895 and 1905. In 1896, a Southern Presbytery was formed, and the first two Taiwanese clergy in the English Presbyterian mission were ordained. Steps were taken toward self-support at this time. In 1911, leprosy work was begun by Dr. Gushue-Taylor.³³

The Canadian Presbyterian Church in the north lost its pioneer leader in 1901 when Dr. Mackay died. For the next 20 years, "membership did not rise above the peak of growth experienced in Mackay's day." This was due to missionary energies being channelled into institutional work rather than church planting, to corrections and purging of membership rolls, and to poor follow-up of the aboriginal converts.³⁴

Despite these setbacks, the years up to 1931 saw "solid growth and consolidation," as a self-governing Northern Presbytery was formed in 1904. In 1905, Canadian Presbyterian membership totalled 2,143 communicant members, evenly divided between the Taiwanese and the Pepohoan.³⁵

In 1913 the two Presbyterian groups consolidated and formed a united Synod. At that time the total membership of the two groups was 6,550. By 1940, the membership had grown to approximately 19,500.³⁶

To improve relations with the Japanese, a church was begun among Japanese residents in Taipei (which became one of the largest Christian churches in the Japanese Empire), and a Japanese Presbyterian missionary was sent from Japan to carry on evangelistic work among the Japanese in Taiwan.³⁷ Japanese Christians stationed on the Penghus encouraged the Church there.³⁸

³³Ibid., pp. 55, 62, 63, 180.

³⁴Bolton, op. cit., p. 99.

³⁵Ibid.; Tong, op. cit., p. 50.

³⁶Bolton, op. cit., p. 103.

³⁷Ibid.; Tong, op. cit., p. 60.

³⁸Tong, op. cit., p. 155.

During the early period of the Japanese domination, two other church groups were begun in Taiwan. In 1926, the True Jesus Church, an indigenous, independent Chinese movement in the Pentecostal tradition, came to Taiwan from the mainland, where it had started in 1917 under the ministry of Paul Wei.³⁹

In 1929, the Taiwan Holiness Church was begun by Japanese pastors and Christians, becoming the "only church in Taiwan established by non-Chinese Asian Christians."⁴⁰

1931-45. During the second period of the Japanese occupation, the Japanese, who saw Taiwan as an important part of their defense strategy, decided to wipe out all "subversive and anti-Japanese elements in the population."⁴¹ The Church suffered particularly from resulting regulations and restrictions. The enforced use of only the Japanese language resulted in pastors unable to preach in Japanese being forced to resign. Bibles in the Romanized script were banned because "the Japanese suspiciously charged that the Romanized script concealed codes and secret revolutionary messages."⁴² Japanese soldiers occupied many Church buildings as barracks, and worship services had to be held in pastor's homes. As time went on, all outdoor meetings were banned and Japanese spies attended all public services, for which detailed reports also had to be prepared to turn in to the police.⁴³

In the area of education, Christian Japanese administrators had

³⁹Kane, op. cit., p. 235; see also Swanson, op. cit., pp. 52ff, 171ff.

⁴⁰Allen J. Swanson, "Lessons from Taiwan Church History," Taiwan Church Growth Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 3 (September 1976), p. 2.

⁴¹Tong, op. cit., p. 77.

⁴²Ibid., p. 78.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 71, 79.

to be found to replace the Chinese in most church-operated schools. One of the worst developments was the rigid enforcement of Shinto worship by all school children. Many Christian schools closed rather than comply, and a strong Sunday School movement developed instead.⁴⁴

Finally, any one connected in any way with any British or Americans was suspect of being a spy for them. The anti-British boycott by the Japanese led to all church property being turned over to the Chinese Christians.⁴⁵

By 1940 all foreign missionaries were forced to leave Taiwan and the national church was on its own. Hollington Tong summarizes:

Throughout the eight-year period from 1937 to 1945, the church was on trial in Taiwan. Suspected of disloyalty to the Japanese, distrusted because of their links to the English and American missionaries, the lot of the Taiwanese Christians was one of increasing persecution.⁴⁶

At this same time, the aborigines suffered even more. At the beginning of the Japanese period, Christianity was not widespread among the mountain tribes. All missionaries (even Japanese ones) were forbidden to enter the mountain areas. The non-Christian tribes proved extremely difficult for the Japanese to subdue, with over 10,000 Japanese heads taken by the aborigines.⁴⁷

Out of this setting came a massive people movement, called the "Pentecost of the Hills," that captured the attention of the Christian world. The catalyst was a frail, 68 year old Taiyal woman named Chi-oang. In the early 1930's she had attended the Presbyterian Bible school near Taipei at the encouragement of Rev. Jim Dickson. Trained as a Bible Woman, she returned to her tribe.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 57, 71.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 71.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 76.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 139.

After the missionaries were forced to leave, Chi-oang began going from village to village in the mountains preaching the Gospel. Thousands of the tribespeople responded to her message, despite severe persecution by the Japanese, and turned to Christ. The Japanese were afraid of her effectiveness and put a price on her head; however, the tribespeople and the Lord protected Chi-oang.⁴⁸

When the missionaries were able to return to Taiwan in 1945, they found over 4000 Taiyal Christians. By 1960, the revival had spread throughout the rest of the mountain tribes, with over 80% becoming Christians.⁴⁹

As World War II neared its end and the Japanese perceived they were losing, the Japanese government announced "the fact that they planned to massacre all Christians, men, women and children, if American troops landed on the island."⁵⁰ Despite this threat (which fortunately was never carried out), most of the Christians stood firm.

At the end of the war and with the return of Taiwan to the Republic of China, the church emerged stronger than ever, having "passed through this test period with fortitude and undiminished faith."⁵¹ The approximately 50,000 Christians in Taiwan in 1945 were divided among the Presbyterians (30,000), Roman Catholics (13,000), the True Jesus Church (6,000) and the Holiness Church (1,000).⁵²

Development to modern times. The return of Taiwan to Chinese control and the overthrow of the Nationalist Chinese government by the Communists on

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 80ff; see also James Dickson, Stranger Than Fiction (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, n.d.), and others listed in the Bibliography.

⁴⁹Kane, op. cit., pp. 232-3.

⁵⁰Tong, op. cit., p. 76.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 83. ⁵²Swanson, "Lessons," op. cit., p. 2.

the mainland in the late 1940's brought not only an influx of mainland Chinese refugees to Taiwan, but also a sudden entrance of hundreds of ex-China missionaries looking for a place of ministry. The first mission groups included the Southern Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, Assemblies of God, and the Assembly Hall Church. The latter is another indigenous group from the mainland, started in 1922 by Watchman Nee and others. By 1954, 30 more denominational mission groups had arrived in Taiwan, after making sure the country was not going to fall to the Communists.⁵³

The unstable condition of Taiwan's society at this time resulted in great responsiveness to the Gospel, especially among the mainlanders and the aborigines. The conditions were "ripe" for harvest, and with the availability of an experienced missionary force who already knew the language, unprecedented church growth took place during the decade of the 1950's. Allen Swanson lists the various conditions which worked together to produce this growth: an unstable society; an early beginning; sufficient workers; uni-lingual outreach to homogeneous units of society; early training of national workers; and lay enthusiasm.⁵⁴

Almost any method worked, and many evangelistic techniques were employed: lay witnessing, home churches, evangelistic rallies, English Bible classes, radio evangelism, and so on. Many missions worked together in highly effective mass evangelism campaigns.⁵⁵

Ten Bible schools and seminaries were opened in Taiwan in the decade of the 1950's in an effort to produce desperately needed national workers (some who were trained in haste at this time later proved to be

⁵³Ibid.; Swanson, TAIWAN, op. cit., pp. 57ff.

⁵⁴Swanson, TAIWAN, op. cit., p. 143.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 144-6, 222-3; Swanson, "Lessons," op. cit., p. 2.

disappointments).⁵⁶

An independent ministry started at this time which also proved highly effective was the Chinese Women's Prayer Group begun in 1950 by Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Originally just one small group of friends, the women involved began ministries among wounded soldiers, prisoners, and the hopelessly sick. Prayer cells were planted throughout the island, and in just 10 years, 10,000 people had been won to Christ through the ministry of this group.⁵⁷

The early Fifties saw the establishment of several cooperative organizations on Taiwan, including the Taiwan Missionary Fellowship, the China Sunday School Association and the Taiwan Evangelical Fellowship.⁵⁸

By 1955, according to Allen Swanson

. . . about two-thirds of all the missionaries in Taiwan were working among the mainlanders, a group which comprised only a bit over 10% of the total population of Taiwan. This, of course, was inevitable since most of them had come as transfers from their fields in mainland China.⁵⁹

During the same period, the Roman Catholic Church was also experiencing phenomenal growth. They had an even larger work force available than the Protestants and were among the earliest groups to begin their ministry. Over 70% of the Catholic membership gains were among mainlander and aborigine populations.⁶⁰

In 1955, the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan undertook an evangelistic "Double the Church Movement" to be completed by their centennial in 1965. This goal was reached, with the largest gains coming in the first few years. An outgrowth of this movement was the establishment

⁵⁶Swanson, "Lessons," op. cit., p. 3.

⁵⁷Tong, op. cit., pp. 124-130. ⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 198-9, 203.

⁵⁹Swanson, "Lessons," op. cit., p. 3.

⁶⁰Swanson, TAIWAN, op. cit., pp. 81-3.

in 1959 of an Overseas Missions Committee, which sent out national missionaries to work with overseas Chinese in a number of Asian countries.⁶¹

By 1958, the receptivity of the mainlanders began to diminish, and problems arose in areas such as training lay leadership, missionary-centered programs and over-reliance on inferior church growth methods which only had worked earlier because of the tremendous receptivity of the people.⁶²

The 1960's were a period of consolidation, slow maturation, and re-evaluation. Both the Catholics and Protestants experienced a growth slump, due in part to the "increased security of the people and the burgeoning economy"⁶³ The churches began struggling with the problem of adapting their methods to a rapidly urbanizing, mobile society. The two indigenous, independent groups, the True Jesus Church and the Assembly Hall church, did not experience a decline in growth, however, but continued to experience steady growth during the Sixties, attracting one-third of the non-Catholic community into their membership.⁶⁴

Two more Third World missionary societies were organized in the late 1960's. In 1967, the "Burning Bush Society" was formed under the sponsorship of Lillian Dickson's agency, "Mustard Seed, Inc.," to send tribal missionaries to their ethnic relatives in Sarawak.⁶⁵ In 1968, "Chinese Missions Overseas" was established under the leadership of Elder Wu Yung. This group has experienced difficulty in recruiting

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 94-5. ⁶²Ibid., pp. 89, 102, 144-6, 222-3.

⁶³David Woodward, "Taiwan," The Church in Asia, ed. Donald E. Hoke (Chicago: Moody Press, 1975), pp. 610-11.

⁶⁴Christianity in Taiwan: A Profile (Taipei: Overseas Crusades, Inc., 1974), p. 9.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 22.

candidates and getting visas for those who do respond.⁶⁶

The 1970's have seen renewed hope and vision among the Christian churches of Taiwan. There has been a pickup in church growth, and reports of revival in some of the mountain tribes.⁶⁷ In 1971 Dr. Donald McGavran visited the island and introduced new church growth approaches and methods.

A new interdenominational graduate school of theology, China Evangelical Seminary, was founded in Taipei in 1970 by 14 evangelical church groups to combat the encroaching liberalism of other indigenized seminaries on the island. An integral part of this seminary's program has been Theological Education by Extension, begun in 1971.⁶⁸

James Taylor, Jr. writes:

The year 1975 will undoubtedly go down in Chinese church history as one in which the Church of Taiwan had an unprecedented opportunity for evangelistic outreach. This came about primarily through two very different and unrelated events."⁶⁹

The first event was the death of President Chiang Kai-shek on April 5, 1975. In his will the President "publicly and unequivocally reaffirmed . . . his lifelong commitment to Jesus Christ."⁷⁰ His funeral was thoroughly Christian, unusual for any head of state of any country in the world, and was broadcast by television throughout the island. The respect which the Taiwanese people had for their President has led to a new openness and responsiveness to the Gospel.⁷¹

⁶⁶James H. Taylor, Jr., "The Taiwan Transformation," Christianity Today, February 13, 1976. p. 16.

⁶⁷Woodward, op. cit., p. 611.

⁶⁸James H. Taylor, Jr., "New seminary established in Taiwan," Evangelical Missions Quarterly, Fall 1971, pp. 38-41.

⁶⁹Taylor, "Transformation," op. cit., p. 19. ⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid.; Wilfred Bockelman, "Two Million Mourners in Taipei," Christian Century, May 28, 1975, pp. 549-51.

That same year, a Billy Graham Crusade was held in Taipei October 29 - November 2, 1975, with unbelievable results. One night's attendance of 65,000 broke the attendance records for the stadium, and the total attendance figure of 250,000 is remarkable in light of the fact that it rained every night of the Crusade but one. Over 11,500 decisions were recorded at the end of the five days.⁷²

The Crusade also provided the opportunity for interdenominational cooperation among the churches of Taiwan, and they amazed themselves at the power and unity possible through such a venture.

Since then, national Chinese evangelists have discovered that mass evangelism is once again effective among the people of Taiwan. In the year and a half after the Billy Graham Crusade, 300,000 people had attended cooperative mass evangelism campaigns throughout the island, with 11,000 decisions.⁷³

August 21 - September 30, 1977 saw the media campaign for "Here's Life, Republic of China," with responders using the telephone, mail and coupon boxes. The campaign centered in 15 cities, where over 8,000 workers from 370 churches were trained in outreach and personal evangelism. Out of 64,321 responses, 16,817 were given a Gospel presentation, with 6,148 decisions recorded. Follow-up Bible studies have been conducted with 1,200.⁷⁴

The churches of Taiwan have been active participants in the past decade in numerous Asian Church Fellowships and evangelism congresses.

⁷²"Harvest Time on Taiwan," Christianity Today, November 21, 1975, pp. 51-2; Taylor, "Transformation," op. cit., p. 19.

⁷³Chow Lien-hwa, "Christian Ministries in Taiwan Today," China Evangelical Seminary News Bulletin, No. 61 (May-June 1977), p. 2.

⁷⁴"Taiwan: A Will and the Way," Worldwide Challenge, March 1978, p. 39.

Among these have been the All-Asia Missions Consultation in 1973, the Asia Theological Association, the Asian Evangelical Fellowship Congress in 1974, and the Chinese Congress on World Evangelization in Hong Kong in 1976.

Current Status of Christianity

The national church. Currently in Taiwan there is freedom to proclaim Christianity, and a new responsiveness to the Gospel is resulting in encouraging signs of growth in the national church. Leadership in all the major denominational groups is now in the hands of national leaders and most local congregations have become self-supporting. The Church is looking ahead with confidence, making plans and setting goals for increased growth. Missionary outreach beyond Taiwan is increasing.⁷⁵ Dr. Hollington Tong claims that the new president, Chiang Ching-kuo, and his wife are Christians.⁷⁶

At the same time, the national church is going through a "period of painful growth in seeking identification."⁷⁷ After years of missionary control and support, the Church must seek and define new roles for both itself and the missionary. The process often results in poor Church-Mission relationships.

Another problem area is that of interpreting the Christian message in terms of the Chinese culture. Up until now, theological colleges and seminaries have trained pastors to use Western forms and practices in carrying out their duties. The Church has also been accused of being "isolated from culture" and being politically and socially

⁷⁵Taylor, "Transformation," op. cit., p. 16; Swanson, "Lessons," op. cit., p. 4.

⁷⁶Tong, op. cit., p. 132.

⁷⁷Chow, op. cit., p. 2.

irrelevant.⁷⁸

Laymen in Taiwan have become used to church work being dominated by the clergy and missionaries, and are content to leave it that way. However, church growth takes place fastest when laymen are involved and excited. Correction of this problem has been given impetus by the Billy Graham Crusade and "Here's Life, Republic of China."

The Church in Taiwan also suffers from a "brain drain;" college and university students go abroad for training, but few return, including many Christians. This is serious in a society which highly respects intellectuals.⁷⁹

In relation to the statistical status of the national church in Taiwan, there are three basic groups to consider: the Protestants, the Independents, and the Roman Catholics.

Of the Protestant groups there are over 40 different denominations, with a communicant membership somewhere around 150,000 in 1974,⁸⁰ and about three times that in the total Protestant community. The Presbyterian Church of Taiwan is the oldest and largest group (44% of the churches in Taiwan are Presbyterian), reporting 62,000 adult members in 1974 and 950 congregations in 1976, of which 60% were Taiwanese and 40% aborigines. In 1976 the Presbyterian Church made plans to plant 100 new churches in

⁷⁸Swanson, "Lessons," op. cit., p. 5; Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 27.

⁷⁹It has been estimated that 93% of all emigrants do not return to Taiwan; Swanson, TAIWAN, op. cit., p. 111; Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 27.

⁸⁰Taiwan Church Statistics (Protestant): 1974 (Taipei: Overseas Crusades, Inc., 1974), p. 4. Note: Accurate statistics of church membership are extremely difficult to track down. Definitions and reporting procedures vary from group to group, and there seems to be a five year lag in publications (i.e., in 1978 the most reliable recent statistics were from 1972).

the next five years.⁸¹

Other large denominations in Taiwan are the Taiwan Baptist Convention, the Seventh Day Adventists, the United Methodists, the Lutheran Church and the Taiwan Holiness Church.

The two independent groups mentioned earlier, the True Jesus Church and the Assembly Hall Church, are the second and third largest non-Catholic groups, with a membership of 65,000 (total community - 78,500) in 1972.⁸² The True Jesus Church has its ministry mainly among the Taiwanese and aborigines, while most members of the Assembly Hall group are from the mainlander community.

The Roman Catholic Church has approximately 300,000 members,⁸³ with two to three times as many Hakka converts as the Protestants.⁸⁴

The missionary community. The Protestant missionary force in 1972 consisted of 770 missionaries from 80 different mission boards from around the world.⁸⁵ The North American force, accounting for 75% of these missionaries, was listed in 1976 as having 597 missionaries in Taiwan.⁸⁶ More short-term missionaries have been serving on Taiwan in recent years.

In 1972 the total Roman Catholic Mission force in Taiwan was about 875 with 161 missionaries from North America. The 1976 representa-

⁸¹Swanson, "Lessons," op. cit., p. 4; Chow, op. cit., pp. 2-3; "Witnessing Together Around the World, International Mission Annual Report, 1976-77," Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (Mimeographed), p. 9.

⁸²Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., pp. 9, 15.

⁸³Ibid.; 141 Questions and Answers about the Republic of China (Taipei: Chung Hwa Information Service, 1977), p. 19.

⁸⁴David C. Liao, The Unresponsive: Resistant or Neglected? (Chicago: Moody Press, 1972), pp. 35-38.

⁸⁵Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 20.

⁸⁶Edward Dayton, ed., Mission Handbook, 11th ed., (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1976), pp. 454-56.

tion from North America had grown to 204.⁸⁷

The largest Protestant mission groups include the Presbyterians, the Southern Baptist Mission, the OMF, and TEAM.⁸⁸

In the 1970's, with church administration being taken over by experienced national leadership, missionary activities are shifting and the missionary's role is changing. Missionaries are welcomed now as partners in ministry and servants of the national church, roles hard to accept in practice after years of being in control. Institutional ministries are still mostly under missionary control and funded by foreign funds, but the transfer to indigenous leadership is taking place slowly and carefully.⁸⁹

Christian programs and activities. The following is a brief summary of some of the current ministries carried on by the Church in Taiwan.

Evangelism. Many evangelistic methods are currently being utilized. Some recent experiments have been reformatory witnessing, industrial evangelism, mass evangelism campaigns, and utilization of the media (television, drama, art, etc.).⁹⁰

Broadcasting. Both radio and television broadcasting have been effective tools for spreading the Gospel. There are no Christian broadcasting stations in Taiwan, but the missionaries are not restricted in their use of government and commercial stations. In the 1960's, 24 missions used 200 hours a week of radio programming, and Christian

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 456; Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 22.

⁸⁸Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 21.

⁸⁹Woodward, op. cit., p. 613; Taylor, "Transformation," op. cit., p. 16.

⁹⁰Swanson, TAIWAN, op. cit., pp. 147-8; Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 29.

television programs began in 1962.⁹¹

Literature and Bible translation. With the high literacy rate in Taiwan, literature production and distribution have been useful tools for the Church. There are 18 Protestant bookstores on the island, plus several Catholic ones. A number of Christian newspapers and magazines are published. In 1975, the Bible Society of Taiwan distributed a total of 5,933,182 Bibles, Testaments, and Scripture portions. They also reported a 49% increase in demand for these in 1975 due to President Chiang's Christian testimony.⁹²

Bible translation is taking place both in modernizing Chinese versions and in preparing first-time translations for the mountain tribes. The tribal dialect translations use Romanization, which has caused some problems with the government due to its policy of emphasizing the sole use of Chinese characters. Three new Chinese translations have been completed and put on the market since 1975.⁹³

Theological education. In 1972 fourteen seminaries and seven Bible schools had an enrollment of 846 full-time and 224 part-time students, of whom two-fifths were women.⁹⁴ In 1977, China Evangelical Seminary had 47 graduates, 40 students in its residence program, and over 200 enrolled in Theological Education by Extension in five centers throughout Taiwan.⁹⁵

⁹¹Kane, op. cit., p. 236.

⁹²China News and Views, January-February 1976, p. 4; Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 31.

⁹³Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 29; Kane, op. cit., p. 236.

⁹⁵China Evangelical Seminary News Bulletin, No. 64, November-December 1977, p. 1.

Christian education. The Protestants operate eight colleges and universities (14,800 students in 1970) and 12 pre-college level schools. The Roman Catholics have one university (the only Chinese-speaking Catholic university in the world)⁹⁶ and 53 other schools. Both groups operate a number of student centers and hostels throughout the island.⁹⁷

Recently, a number of Christian scholars have been returning to Taiwan to teach in secular colleges and universities after graduate study abroad. Their witness on campus has been influential and extensive. Another development in this area has been the "selection of evangelical Christians as presidents of four government-accredited colleges and universities" ⁹⁸

Social concern. Despite the booming economy and rising standard of living, there are still many areas of need for social action and concern. Several agencies are active, including Taiwan Christian Service, World Vision, and "Mustard Seed, Inc.," organized by Lillian Dickson in 1952.

Since the first mission hospital was opened in 1896, medicine has been a channel for sharing the good news of Christ with the people of Taiwan. Today there are 18 hospitals and clinics, plus several mobile clinics.⁹⁹

Missionary outreach. Cross-cultural outreach by the national Church has been gaining momentum in recent years. James Wong, et. al., in Missions From the Third World list three sending agencies in Taiwan with

⁹⁶Tong, op. cit., p. 225.

⁹⁷Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

⁹⁸Taylor, "Transformation," op. cit., p. 16.

⁹⁹Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

a total of 26 reported missionaries. These groups are Mustard Seed (the "Burning Bush Society"), the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, and the Taiwan Baptist Convention. Their missionaries have been ministering in East Malaysia, Brazil, Hong Kong, Japan, Mauritius, the Penghus, Tahiti, Korea, and Thailand, mainly working among overseas Chinese groups.¹⁰⁰ The most recently-organized mission outreach organization is "Chinese Missions Overseas," mentioned previously.

Obstacles and Opportunities

Impact on the culture. The following table¹⁰¹ shows the extent to which each major segment of Taiwan's population has been reached for Christ (by both Protestants and Catholics):

Group	% of Population	% Christian
Mountain tribes	2 %	80 %
Mainlanders	10 %	19 %
Hakkas	14 %	.2 %
Taiwanese	74 %	2 %

Approximately 4.5% of the total population of Taiwan are considered Christians.

Each of the above segments of the population has its own obstacles to the Gospel and other problem areas. The second generation of the mountain tribes needs to be evangelized. The strong people-consciousness of the Hakkas must be taken into account if they are to be effectively won to Christ. The missionaries have tended to work mostly among the middle and upper classes, made up primarily of mainlanders, and thus the Taiwanese farmers and others in the rural areas are more or less neglected. The

¹⁰⁰James Wong, et. al., Missions From the Third World (Singapore: Church Growth Study Center, 1973), pp. 17, 28.

¹⁰¹Christianity in Taiwan, op. cit., p. 19.

rural church is also losing its leadership and financial support as many of its young adults "are moving to urban and industrial areas for education and employment."¹⁰²

In 1956, the responsive group of people in Taiwan was the soldier/civil servant block of the population, who had been uprooted from their homes on the mainland. Today, the most responsive are the students and young people. As they reject the religions of their parents and search for something more "scientific" and satisfying, many are being attracted to Christianity.¹⁰³

Since the death of President Chiang Kai-shek, there has been "a great deal of popular interest in the subject of Christianity, and where previously there had been some social stigma attached to becoming a Christian or inquiring about Christianity, this has been largely changed."¹⁰⁴

Allen Swanson explains the characteristics of the independent churches that have led to their continued growth while other churches were declining:

1. The independent churches are "free of foreign subsidy, management, influence, organization or anything else that might encroach upon their own freedom;"
2. They have "no sterile institutions," but are busy winning people to Christ and planting churches;
3. There is "reduced class resistance with a minimum of denationalization" for those joining the independent churches;
4. The independent churches have effectively mobilized their

¹⁰²Ibid., pp. 11-13, 27.

¹⁰³Taylor, "Transformation," op. cit., p. 16.

¹⁰⁴Daniel O. Whallon, "1975 Report from Taiwan," Presbyterian Church in the U.S. Field Report (mimeographed), p. 2.

laity.¹⁰⁵

It is interesting to note that the greatest gains in Christianity in Taiwan coincide with the periods of stress and strain the population experienced during two world wars.¹⁰⁶ However, over the past 25 years, fear of attack from the mainland has subsided, and an increasingly materialistic society with new-found economic security has become largely indifferent to the Gospel.¹⁰⁷

On the part of the Christians, Allen Swanson notes

Few criticisms of the Taiwan Christian Church are more frequently heard than the charge that Christians do not practice what they preach, their life is inconsistent with their faith, and their worship services betray the congeniality, warmth and concern which they claim as their characteristic.¹⁰⁸

On the other hand, when Christians do live up to their convictions, the non-Christian Chinese are impressed. Lin Yutang suggests that

In actual fact, Christianity in China never made converts by doctrines, but it did make converts whenever a Chinese came into personal contact with a Christian personality who followed the Christian teachings; namely, those few words "Love ye one another."¹⁰⁹

The Chinese are also not impressed by the multitude of denominations imported to Taiwan from the West.

A number of Chinese cultural values and institutions affect the response of the people to Christianity. Although Christianity offers the power to live up to the ideals of the Confucian ethic, most people do not care that they live below their ideals. The eclectic nature of Chinese religions makes Christianity's claim to be the only way seem offensive

¹⁰⁵Swanson, TAIWAN, op. cit., pp. 19ff. ¹⁰⁶Kane, op. cit., p. 232.

¹⁰⁷Swanson, TAIWAN, op. cit., p. 84. ¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁰⁹Lin Yutang, From Pagan to Christian (London: Heinemann, 1960), p. 232.

and unnatural.¹¹⁰

The biggest obstacle Christianity faces in Chinese culture is the nature of Chinese family organization with the attendant features of ancestor worship and filial piety, symbols of family unity. Although Christians do continue to honor and respect their ancestors, and are the ones who are really the most filial sons and daughters while their parents are alive, the lack of the ritual of ancestor worship represents to the non-Christian Chinese a denial of all that is right and true about life. Allen Swanson explains:

It was not just a question of rejecting ancestor worship. In his rejection of family unity, the missionary was challenging the very cornerstone of society, that moral, ethical function that was as veritable as the universe itself. The eternal unity of man with nature and the corollary harmony of man with his ancestors could not be rejected. In the end, a religion that called for man to terminate such relationships was a denial of reality itself.¹¹¹

For this reason, it is extremely important to emphasize winning entire families to Christ, instead of pushing individuals to take their lonely stand for Christ, denying the basic structure of their culture.

Church-Mission relations. With both the national Church and the missionary community seeking to establish new roles and to discover their identities in a period of rapid social change, relations between church and mission have been strained. After decades of missionary dominance in administration, evangelism, church planting, education, and distribution of funds, national Christians have been convinced that missionaries are somehow better at these jobs than they are, and that various projects cannot be properly done without foreign leadership and subsidy. At the same time, the national Church is demanding autonomy and independence in order to

¹¹⁰Swanson, TAIWAN, op. cit., p. 84.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 70.

conduct their own affairs by themselves.¹¹²

The missionaries have agreed theoretically that the national Church is quite capable of administering its affairs, but "many missionaries are still not ready to accept the autonomy and leadership of the local churches."¹¹³ Those who have turned over the reins to national leadership often become so involved in institutional programs and administration that they lose touch with ordinary people on the growing edge of the church.¹¹⁴ Swanson also notes that "missions have continued to be notorious in their inability to pass on their missionary burden and vision to local national churches."¹¹⁵

Both the national Church and the missionary community are aware of these problems and are seriously studying and praying about solutions that will lead to a productive partnership of Church and Mission in winning the people of Taiwan to Christ.

Future prospects. As a famous Asian missionary once said, "The future is as bright as the promises of God."

Numerous suggestions have been made by both missionaries and national Church leaders for more effective cooperation and outreach in the future.

Concerning Church-Mission relations, there is a need for greater cooperation and trust between the two groups. Ways of developing this are for missionaries and national leaders to cultivate appreciation for one another and to spend time fellowshiping and sharing together as friends, not just in professional roles. Both sides would benefit from spiritual renewal and a new understanding of the dynamics of the Holy

¹¹²Ibid., pp. 140, 146. ¹¹³Swanson, "Lessons," op. cit., p. 6.

¹¹⁴Ibid. ¹¹⁵Ibid.

Spirit.¹¹⁶

For more effective outreach and church growth, new strategies must be developed to reach receptive groups, especially in urban areas. Robert Bolton suggests the following considerations in developing an urban strategy of outreach:

1. Keep goals in view;
2. Develop teamwork between missionaries and nationals;
3. Gather a basic group of believers in each area;
4. Utilize kinship and family associations;
5. Mobilize the laity;
6. Use a variety of evangelistic methods;
7. Develop house churches, multiple-parish ministries, and circuit ministries; and
8. Keep on the alert for people movements.¹¹⁷

Attention must also be given to decreasing the amount of Western, foreign-dominated patterns of Christianity in the national Church, and to developing a truly Biblical, Chinese theology. Related to this concern is the need for more multi-level theological training for national pastors to educate them in Chinese theological patterns relevant to the people among whom they will be ministering. Theological Education by Extension is beginning to meet this need.¹¹⁸

Allen Swanson has delineated four types of leaders the Church of Taiwan needs at present:

1. Specialists in such ministries as television and radio outreach, campus ministries, evangelism, etc.;

¹¹⁶Ibid.; Bolton, op. cit., pp. 264ff.

¹¹⁷Bolton, op. cit., pp. 290ff.

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 264ff; Swanson, TAIWAN, op. cit., p. 227.

2. Mature pastors for central urban churches;
3. Multiple-parish pastors in rural areas; and
4. Lay "tent-makers" (like Aquila and Priscilla) to lead satellite churches of the central urban churches.¹¹⁹

The need to train and develop lay leadership is also an area for concern. As mentioned earlier, church growth increases as laymen are actively involved in evangelizing their family, friends, relatives, neighbors, business associates, and so on.

Allen Swanson adds this concern:

The Mandarin Christian community in Taiwan today is built upon the hope that it is preparing a Christian army fit and able to carry the Gospel back to the mainland when the time arrives. But . . . what . . . would happen to a Christian community suddenly confronted with a whole new country to evangelize if she came from an environment that was utterly dependent on a) a pastor, b) church buildings, c) foreign subsidy? . . . How well is the Mandarin Christian community training its laity to be independent priests of the Kingdom? When the day of return to the mainland dawns, will the laity know how to replant their faith on a new soil? Could they independently begin new churches wherever they went--without a pastor, a church building, or financial assistance?¹²⁰

In conclusion, the Church in Taiwan faces a future full of opportunities and challenges. There are obstacles to be overcome and problems to be solved. None, however, are insurmountable with thoughtful, prayerful planning and goal-setting, cooperation and organization of the resources of both national and missionary leaders, and the help and power of the Holy Spirit.

¹¹⁹Swanson, TAIWAN, op. cit., pp. 254-56. ¹²⁰Ibid., p. 246.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Bolton, Robert J. Treasure Island: Church Growth Among Taiwan's Urban Minnan Chinese. South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976. 396 pages.

One of the most recent books on church growth in Taiwan, Treasure Island deals specifically with the history, current status, and future strategy of mission work/church growth among the Minnan Chinese (often referred to as "native Taiwanese"). Bolton begins by discussing the historical backgrounds, locations, and cultural characteristics of the Minnan Chinese, including a helpful discussion on all the various names by which this group of people is called (something no other book encountered by this writer bothers to do). He then reviews the history of missions, both on the mainland and on Taiwan, in reference to the beginnings of the Minnan Chinese Church. A detailed discussion of urbanization in the Bible and around the world is followed by comments on urbanization in Taiwan and its effects on the Minnan Chinese. The remainder of the book reports on case studies concerning patterns of conversion and urban church growth among the Minnan Chinese, followed by a suggested strategy for the future to reach even more Minnan Chinese for Christ. There are extensive appendices and an excellent bibliography.

This book is a definite priority for new missionaries to Taiwan, especially those who anticipate a ministry among the Minnan Chinese or in urban areas. The book is well-written, and the author is optimistic about the future of the Church in Taiwan.

Christianity in Taiwan: A Profile. Taipei: Overseas Crusades, Inc., 1974. 34 pages.

This booklet, which was compiled by the Church Growth Society of Taiwan, was the basis for the MARC Country Profile on Taiwan. As it contains additional information of a useful nature to the prospective missionary that was not included in the MARC Country Profile, it has been included in this Bibliography. It is not widely available in the U.S., but copies should be obtainable from Overseas Crusades, Box 555, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C., if the reader is interested.

Dickson, James. Stranger Than Fiction. Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, n.d. 47 pages.

This booklet is one of the earliest reports on the people movement among the aborigines of Taiwan. It contains a more detailed account of the early development of the movement and the persecution suffered under the Japanese than is found in more recent books. If the prospective missionary can locate the booklet in a church, Christian college, or seminary library, it is a fast-reading, inspiring book.

Dickson, Lillian. These My People. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1958. 121 pages.

This book describes Lillian Dickson's work among the mountain tribes of Taiwan. Most of the material in the book is also included in Kenneth Wilson's book, Angel At Her Shoulder (see below). The writing style is simple and straightforward, making for easy reading. The entire family would enjoy this book.

Keith, Marian. The Black-Bearded Barbarian. New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1912. 307 pages.

If the prospective missionary can find this book in some obscure corner of a church or seminary library, the whole family will enjoy reading it together. Marian Keith (a pseudonym for Mary Esther MacGregor) wrote this biography of George Leslie Mackay especially for young people. It is a good supplement to Mackay's own book (see below), for it describes details not in his book and is a more chronological recounting of his work in Taiwan.

Liao, David C. The Unresponsive: Resistant or Neglected? Chicago: Moody Press, 1972. 160 pages.

In this book David Liao examines the problem of groups of people resistant to the Gospel by studying the example of the Hakka people on Taiwan. Liao suggests that many "resistant" groups may be such because of neglect, and not due to real opposition to the Gospel. He covers their history as an ethnic group, the responsiveness among Hakkas on the mainland and in Roman Catholic work on Taiwan, the ways in which the Hakkas have been neglected by modern Protestant missionary work on Taiwan, and suggestions for harnessing their strong people-consciousness for church growth. He also has a valuable chapter on "The Crucial Issue of Ancestor Worship," a problem to be reckoned with in sharing the Gospel with all Chinese peoples.

The book is well-written and is a high priority for prospective missionaries to Taiwan. Even those who think they will have little contact with the Hakkas should be aware of the needs and characteristics of this important segment of the Taiwanese population.

Lin Yutang. From Pagan to Christian. London: Heinemann, 1960. 251 pages.

Lin Yutang, in his Preface, describes this book in this way: "This is a record of one man's experience in his quest for religion. It is a record of his adventures in belief, in doubts and perplexities, his encounters with different philosophies and religions of the world, and his explorations of the best that has been said and thought and taught by the sages of the past." (p. 13) It is not completely autobiographical, but it is personal. In describing his quest, Lin gives detailed explanations of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, in addition to discussing materialism and modern philosophies. In conclusion, he explains how he came to believe that Christianity is superior to all of man's philosophies and religions.

The book may not appeal to all, but it provides valuable insights on Chinese attitudes towards religion and how one man came to know Jesus Christ as his personal Savior.

Mackay, George Leslie. From Far Formosa. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1895. 346 pages.

This is THE classic in missions history on Taiwan and a must for

all new missionaries. Mackay pioneered the Canadian Presbyterian mission work in northern Taiwan almost singlehandedly. His book is a complete record of life on Taiwan in the late 1800's, including, among other things, descriptions of geology, animal life, the government and the economy; tales of his travels and mission work; the social and cultural characteristics of the people; and the slow, but encouraging advancement of church growth as the years progressed. The pictures in the book are fascinating.

The book is slow reading due to its length, but the variety of Mackay's interests and adventures helps keep the reader from losing interest part way through.

Pearson, B.H. The Head-Hunter's Bride. Los Angeles: Cowman Publications, Inc., 1951. 224 pages.

This book is a fictionalized account of the people movement to Christ among the aboriginal tribes of Taiwan during World War II. It is based on fact, but this writer was unable to find out how much of the story is fact and how much is fiction. Aside from that, it has an excellent description of life among the tribespeople and vividly recounts the persecution suffered by the Christians at the hands of the Japanese.

The author is an excellent storyteller, making it difficult to put the book down once one has started reading it. If the book can be located, it is worth reading.

Status of Christianity Country Profile - "Taiwan". Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1973. 8 pages.

This small publication has great value for the prospective missionary. Part of the series prepared originally for the Lausanne International Congress on World Evangelization in 1974, the profile covers unreached peoples, the current status of Christianity, the national church, foreign missions, and major Christian programs and activities, plus a brief summary of the nation and its people. Also included are a list of Church membership statistics and a selected bibliography. Future revisions are projected by MARC.

The profile (along with those of 54 other countries of the world) is available from MARC, 919 West Huntington Drive, Monrovia, CA 91016 at \$.60 each, and should be a part of the prospective missionary's personal library.

Swanson, Allen J. TAIWAN: Mainline versus Independent Church Growth. South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1970. 300 pages.

This book studies the church growth patterns of four mainline (Presbyterian, Southern Baptist, Assemblies of God, and the Taiwan Lutheran Church) and two independent (True Jesus and Assembly Hall) Churches on Taiwan. The strengths and weaknesses of each group are discussed and suggestions for future improvement and progress are made. The book is thought-provoking and upsets many pet ideas and preconceived notions of traditional missionary thinking. The independent churches are emphasized due to their continued growth when other churches have declined.

This book is top priority for the new missionary, who needs to seriously consider the issues raised by the book before becoming involved in his/her ministry on Taiwan.

Tong, Hollington K. Christianity in Taiwan: A History. Taipei: China Post, 1961. 249 pages.

This is probably the most complete account available of the history of Christian missions in Taiwan. Dr. Tong has done a momentous job in compiling all the facts necessary to present this readable and interesting history. The early history of both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary endeavors and the account of the period of the Japanese occupation are probably the most valuable portions of the book, as the statistics on the "current" (1960) status of the church are helpful now only as reference points in determining growth since then.

Dr. Tong covers all aspects of missionary involvement and activity on Taiwan, including that of the indigenous churches, Roman Catholics, and the sects such as the Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses, groups often neglected in Protestant books.

The chapters on early missions history up through 1949 are a priority for the new missionary, with the rest of the book left up to the individual reader's interests.

Wilson, Kenneth L. Angel at Her Shoulder. Old Tappan, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1964. 240 pages.

This book (available in paperback) is the story of Lillian Dickson's unbelievable ministry among the people of Taiwan. Arriving in Taiwan in 1927, Mrs. Dickson was "just a missionary wife" until her two children were grown. Then she began getting involved with the mountain tribes, lepers, orphans, prisoners, TB patients, handicapped children, etc., etc. Faced with unbelievable needs, Lillian Dickson decided to do her part in meeting those needs with God's help.

Kenneth Wilson has done an admirable job of capturing on paper the personality and ministry of a woman who can't sit still as long as there are still needs to be met. This book is a high priority and will be enjoyed by the entire family.

Woodward, David. "Taiwan," The Church in Asia, ed. Donald E. Hoke. Chicago: Moody Press, 1975. pp. 609-623.

This brief article is complementary to the MARC Country Profile on Taiwan: it covers essentially the same subjects, but with different emphases and a somewhat different perspective. Topics covered are church growth, the church today, the nation and people, national and Christian history, and national religions. A bibliography is included. The author is currently a missionary in Taiwan and takes a basically optimistic view of the future of Christianity, the Church, and missions in Taiwan.

Magazines

Asia Theological News

P.O. Box 73-119 Shihlin, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C. 111
Editor - Bong Rin Ro

This magazine is the quarterly publication of the Asia Theological Association. U.S. subscriptions are \$4 per year air mail; \$2 per year surface mail. Theological news and articles from all over Asia are included. The goal of the A.T.A. is to train Asians to evangelize Asia. This is a valuable, inexpensive periodical to which the new missionary will want to subscribe.

Bockelman, Wilfred. "Two Million Mourners in Taipei," Christian Century, May 28, 1975, pp. 549-551.

This article is subtitled "Reflections on the Passing of Chiang Kai-shek." The author shares his thoughts on President Chiang's Christian witness and thoroughly Christian funeral, on missions in general, and on the political question of Taiwan's place in the world. Mr. Bockelman has some good insights, and has written a thought-provoking article from a Christian viewpoint.

Chao, Jonathan. "Foreign and theological education: Taiwan, a case study," Evangelical Missions Quarterly, Fall 1972, pp. 1-16.

This article takes a hard look at problems faced by mission-run, denominational theological education in Taiwan. The author feels quite strongly that denominational seminaries do not meet the needs of the Chinese church, as he believes they are merely imitations of Western institutions. He suggests that missionaries must "die" to denominational loyalties before they can assist the church in Taiwan in developing national Chinese theological education.

There are a number of "strong" statements in the article which should not be totally accepted without further reading: since 1972 there has been real progress on Taiwan in a number of the areas he criticizes. The prospective missionary will benefit by reading this article, for he needs to be aware of the attitudes he may encounter among national Christians.

China Evangelical Seminary News

P.O. Box 627, Lexington, Mass. 02173.

P.O. Box 28004, Shihlin, Taipei 111, Taiwan, ROC.

This news bulletin comes out six times a year, in both Chinese and English, and names are added to the mailing list upon request. Items of interest from C.E.S. campus activities are reported on, testimonies of new students and graduates are included each year, prayer and praise items are noted, up-to-date reports on campus development and T.E.E. are spotlighted, and articles by staff and students pertaining to theological education are featured.

Every prospective missionary should be on the mailing list for the CES News Bulletin.

Feng Shang-li. "The Chinese Church and Chinese Culture," Ching Feng, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1968, pp. 5-19.

This article is a thought-provoking study into the failure of Christianity to penetrate Chinese culture in almost 400 years of Christian witness in China. The author suggests definite possibilities for developing an indigenous Chinese theology firmly based on the Bible, but relevant to Chinese culture. Although this author is advocating basically the same thing as Jonathan Chao (see above), Feng's attitude is much more irenic and positive than Chao's.

"Harvest Time in Taiwan," Christianity Today, November 21, 1975, pp. 51-52.

This brief article is a report on the Billy Graham Crusade held in Taiwan, October 29 - November 2, 1975. It describes the response to the crusade and gives some preliminary evaluation of the crusade.

"Taiwan: A Will and the Way," Worldwide Challenge, March 1978, pp. 39-40.

"Here's Life, Republic of China" is reported on in this article. The "I found it!" media campaign took place in 15 cities throughout Taiwan August 21 - September 30, 1977.

Taiwan Church Growth Bulletin

Box 165, Taichung, Taiwan, R.O.C. 400.

Editor: Rev. Hugh D. Sprunger

This periodical, published three times a year, is available upon request (voluntary contributions are welcome) and is published by the Taiwan Church Growth Society. It includes articles of interest by Taiwan missionaries, book reports, and news articles pertaining to church growth on Taiwan. The prospective missionary should definitely consider subscribing to this periodical.

Taylor, James H., Jr. "New Seminary Established in Taiwan," Evangelical Missions Quarterly, Fall 1971, pp. 38-41.

This article describes the founding of China Evangelical Seminary and the reasons it was established. Up-to-date information about the seminary to supplement this article is available in the China Evangelical Seminary News Bulletin listed above.

Taylor, James H., Jr. "The Taiwan Transformation," Christianity Today, February 13, 1976, pp. 15-19.

In this article, Dr. Taylor describes the changes in Taiwan economically, politically, socially, and spiritually between the two Billy Graham Crusades held there in 1956 and 1975. His evaluation of changes in the Church is especially valuable, pointing out the many areas in which the Church in Taiwan has "grown up" in the past twenty some years. Taylor also describes and evaluates some of the "behind-the-scenes" experiences of the Billy Graham Crusade.

This article is one of the key recent summary statements on the Church in Taiwan.

Other

Ching Feng (Culture) often has good articles on Christianity in relation to Chinese culture and religion.

Current denominational and other mission society brochures and pamphlets will inform the prospective missionary of and bring him up to date on his own group's ministries and current status on Taiwan, as well as educate him on other missions' activities and growth. Names and addresses of U.S.-based mission groups currently in Taiwan are available in the latest MARC Missions Handbook (see address listed above for MARC).