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The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy

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The Presbyterian Church In Taiwan and The Advocacy of Local Autonomy

Christine Louise Lin

Christine L. Lin, "The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy."
Sino-Platonic Papers, 92 (January, 1999)

For my grandfather, Dr. Albert Wu-fu Chen

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PREFACE

Taiwanese, Mandarin Chinese, and Japanese words appear in italics when used as a translation for an English word or phrase. To the best of my ability, I have tried to standardize the spellings of words written in Taiwanese and Mandarin. I have used the PCT romanization system for writing Taiwanese and the Wade-Giles system for writing Mandarin. In direct quotations, I have used the spelling system of the original source. While I have written Taiwanese names with the last name preceding the first name, I have written Mandarin names in the order most commonly used for a particular name. The macron in Japanese spellings is represented by "ô". I did not have a program for writing all the Taiwanese tone marks, but have written them in by hand where appropriate. I apologize for any missing tone marks and other inconsistencies in spelling that are not mentioned above.

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My parents, Tommy and Joyce Lin, for their constant support as well as their assistance in providing me with contacts and materials that were crucial in making this book happen.

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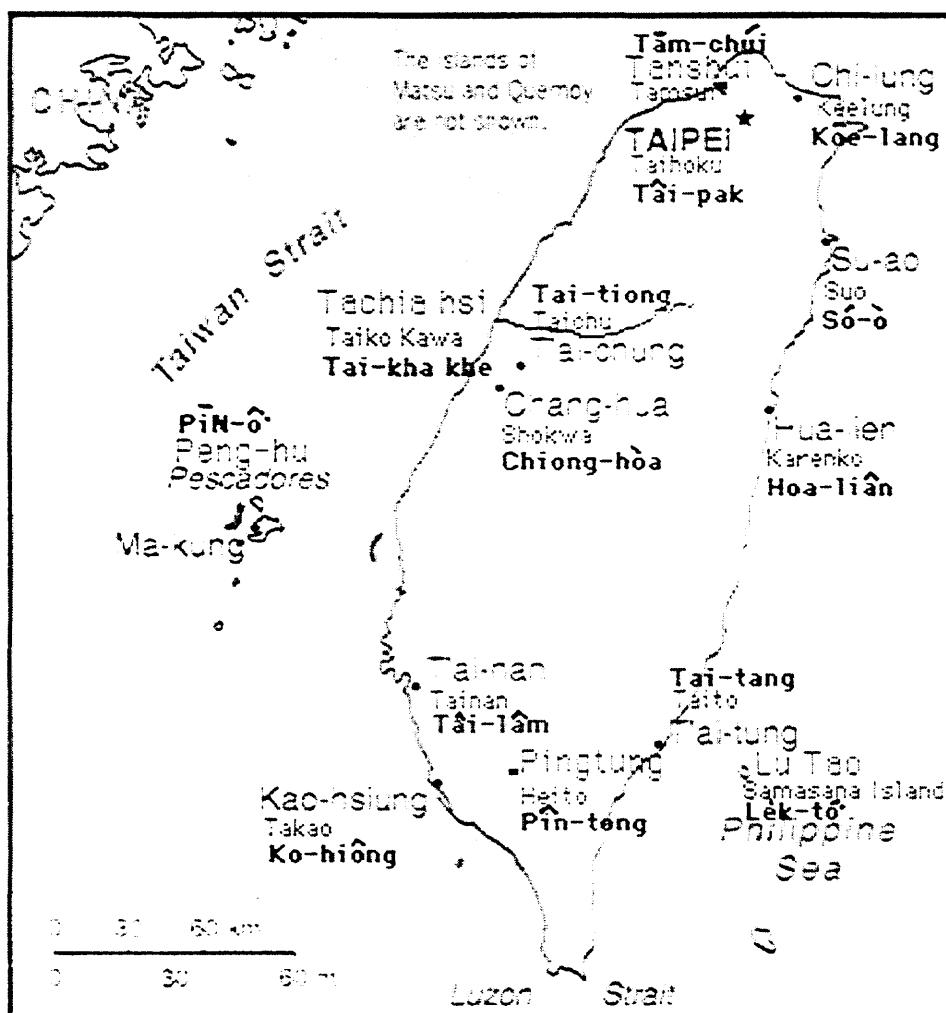
Anne Kanyusik for patiently proofreading a previous draft.

Chris Houpt for editing the final draft of this book.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CTIR	Center for Taiwan International Relations
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
FAPA	Formosan Association for Public Affairs
KMT	Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party)
NT\$	New Taiwanese Dollars
PCT	Presbyterian Church in Taiwan
PKU	Pōe Ka Ūn-tōng (Double the Church Movement)
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
TAIP	Taiwan Independence Party
TIM	Taiwan Independence Movement
UN	United Nations
U.S.	United States
WCC	World Council of Churches

MAP OF TAIWAN



Adapted from CIA 1997 World Factbook Home Page, Taiwan page
<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/country-frame.html>

Note: This map represents important cities in Taiwan in Mandarin, Japanese, and Taiwanese romanization. The "N" in PiN-o designates nasalization, and is usually written as Piⁿ-o.

INTRODUCTION

On June 28, 1997, three days before Hong Kong's reversion to China, the Committee for the "Say No to China" Rally, comprised of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) and over fifty other grassroots political and social organizations, sponsored the "Say No to China" Peace Rally in the parking lot of Taipei's World Trade Center. The purpose of the rally was threefold:

1. To protest the application of the Hong Kong formula of "one nation, two systems" to Taiwan;
2. To emphasize that Taiwan is already an independent sovereign nation;
3. To call upon China to use peaceful means to resolve disputes with Taiwan.¹

I was in Taiwan during this time and had the opportunity to attend the rally. As an outside observer, I was struck by the strong presence of the Presbyterian Church at a secular rally.

While over fifty organizations united at the rally to voice their concerns for Taiwan's future, the PCT appeared to have a proportionally larger number of representatives than the others. Out of a crowd of approximately 50,000 to 60,000 people, there were 20,000 Presbyterians.² All 1300 Presbyterian congregations in Taiwan arranged for buses to transport interested members to the rally, and there were at least ten members present from each congregation. Prior to the rally, thousands of Presbyterians gathered near the site of the rally for an outdoor prayer service, despite the fact it was raining.³ During the rally itself, a Presbyterian minister led the crowd in singing several phrases to the tune of "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah." In Taiwanese, the participants sang, "Oppose China's annexation of Taiwan. Make Taiwan independent."

The strong presence of the PCT at the "Say No to China" Rally prompted me to take a closer look at the Presbyterian Church and its reasons for participating in the rally. I

¹ Committee for the "Say No to China" Rally, "Say No to China, Say Yes to Taiwan," Pamphlet, (Taiwan: June 1997), p. 1.

² While at the rally, I estimated that there were 50,000-60,000 people there. Newspapers in Taiwan reported anywhere from 40,000-80,000 participants at the rally. During an interview on July 7, 1997 at Tainan Theological College Rev. D. John Jyiggiok Tin informed me that there were 20,000 Presbyterians at the rally. The "Say No to China" Rally was the largest of its type to be held in Taiwan. Although organizers of the rally were pleased with the outcome, they had originally expected a crowd of 100,000.

³ Organizers felt that the rainy weather deterred many people from attending the rally, and believed that numbers would have been better if it had not been raining.

was interested in why the PCT, a Christian organization, would become entangled in highly controversial political affairs. Moreover, I found it intriguing that the PCT appeared to be the only church in Taiwan with such strong concern for Taiwan independence.

This book examines the role of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan in its advocacy of local Taiwanese autonomy and identity between the years 1865 and 1987. While identity and autonomy encompass a wide range of issues, my work focuses on the PCT's promotion of Taiwanese language and human rights, two historically verifiable areas connected to local identity and autonomy. When using the term "native Taiwanese" or "Taiwanese," I am referring to the people who came to Taiwan prior to 1945: the Hoklo, from the Chinese province of Fukien, and the Hakka, from Kwangtung province.⁴ While there have been strong divisions between the Hoklo and Hakka, who have traditionally maintained separate identities, the invasion of the foreign powers prompted the Hoklo and the Hakka to set aside their differences and unite together as Taiwanese. Therefore, the Taiwan identity discussed in this book is the unified Taiwanese identity that formed in response to the island's foreign rulers.

Native Taiwanese are not to be confused with Taiwan's original inhabitants, the aborigines. There are nine aboriginal tribes in Taiwan that are both racially and linguistically related to the Malayo-Polynesian people. While Presbyterian missionaries did succeed in converting a large number of aborigines, this book deals only with their missionary work among the native Taiwanese.⁵ The people referred to as Mainlanders or *waishengren* (people born outside) are those who came to Taiwan with the Chinese Nationalists after 1949. Beginning in the 1970s, the PCT and opposition parties have used the term "people of Taiwan" to include all inhabitants of Taiwan.

In 1557, Portuguese sailors navigating in the Taiwan Strait saw a lush, green island, and exclaimed, "Ihla Formosa" (Beautiful Island).⁶ For the next several hundred years, people referred to the island as "Formosa." However, when the Chinese Nationalists invaded the island in 1945, they began calling the island by its Chinese name,

⁴ According to the Barbara F. Grimes, ed., *Ethnologue*, 13th ed., (Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc., 1996), <http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/countries/Taiw.htm>, out of the 21.5 million people in Taiwan, 11% are Hakka, and 66.7% are Hoklo.

⁵ The aboriginal people of Taiwan represent under 2% of the 21 million people in Taiwan. 70% of these are Christians, and 30% of the Christians are members of the Presbyterian Church.

⁶ Su Bing, *Taiwan's 400 Year History*, (Taiwanese Cultural Grassroots Association, Inc., 1986), p. 8.

"Taiwan." Some people who strongly oppose the Nationalist Chinese choose to identify themselves as Formosans rather than Taiwanese because the name Taiwan comes from the Chinese. While some sources prefer to use the words "Formosan" and "Formosa" over "Taiwanese" and "Taiwan" to express their concern with local consciousness, I have chosen to use "Taiwanese" and "Taiwan" unless I am quoting or citing from a source that prefers "Formosan" and "Formosa."

While this book mainly centers around the period after the 1960s, it is necessary to examine the historical background of the PCT to gain an understanding of why the PCT has become the church of the native Taiwanese. The PCT's history dates back to 1865 when the Presbyterian Church in England sent Dr. James Laidlaw Maxwell to southern Taiwan. Even though the Dutch had sent missionaries to Taiwan in the 1600s, it was not until the Presbyterian Mission arrived in Taiwan that Christianity began to spread across the island. The Presbyterian missionaries introduced many modern institutions to Taiwan, including the first hospital and the first printing press. While various foreign governments colonized Taiwan from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, Taiwan was considered independent of China until the Ch'ing Empire made Taiwan a province in 1887. Because Taiwan has been politically separated from China since the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895,⁷ the PCT chooses to recognize Taiwan as a nation separate from China. Furthermore, the PCT supports the sovereign rights of the people in Taiwan to determine their own future without outside interference.

Because the PCT already had well-established roots in Taiwan prior to Japanese rule, it continued to promote the use of the Taiwanese language even though the Japanese government strongly discouraged this practice. Although the Japanese provided elementary education for all children in Taiwan, they opposed secondary education for Taiwanese. The PCT felt it was necessary for all children to have educational opportunities and began to establish secondary schools for the Taiwanese in 1914. In 1931, the relationship between churches and the Japanese colonialists took a turn for the worse. As Japanese nationalism grew stronger, the government accused church-managed schools of being "unpatriotic" and "anachronistic" forms of education and forced them to use the Japanese language in their schools.⁸ Throughout this period of "Japanization," the Presbyterian Church became the guardian of the Taiwanese language until 1942 when the Japanese forced the churches to conduct services in the Japanese language. The Japanese continued

⁷ There is some ambiguity about Taiwan's political sovereignty between 1945-49, but it is irrelevant to the way the PCT views Taiwan.

⁸ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 104.

to rule in Taiwan until they surrendered to the Allied Powers in 1945. The Chinese Nationalist government then took over Taiwan by military occupation on behalf of the Allied Powers.

The February 28, 1947 Uprising (2-28 Uprising) and subsequent March Massacre, which began when a Monopoly Bureau officer confiscated the cigarettes of a Taiwanese vendor and ended with the massacre of thousands of Taiwanese, gave rise to various movements for Taiwan independence. While historians often refer to these movements collectively as the Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM), there were actually many different independence movements that were not all necessarily connected with each other. In response to the 2-28 Uprising, Thomas Liao, a member of the PCT, began the first Taiwan independence movement in Hong Kong. While many participants in the first Taiwan independence movements were members of the Presbyterian Church, the PCT as an organization did not publicly support the independence movements during the twenty years following the 2-28 Uprising. Instead, PCT mainly worked on spreading evangelism and developing its ministry to support the changes in society under KMT rule. The PCT continued to grow stronger and succeeded in doubling both its number of churches and members during the Ten-Year Double the Church Movement between 1955 and 1965.

Because the Presbyterian Church came to Taiwan before both the Japanese colonialists and the Nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) government came into power, PCT has maintained a strong sense of social concern for Taiwan's inhabitants and for the future of Taiwan. In my book, I use the memoirs of Peng Ming-min, a Presbyterian Formosan independence leader, and Shoki Coe, a Presbyterian minister, as case studies to illustrate the complexities involved in understanding Taiwanese identity. Both men grew up in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule and witnessed the change from Japanese to Chinese rule. At various points in their lives, they encountered problems with identity and had difficulties determining whether they were Taiwanese, Japanese, or Chinese. After watching the Nationalists destroy the lives of many native Taiwanese, both men came to the realization that they were indeed Taiwanese, and that, as Taiwanese, they needed to speak up for the rights of the Taiwanese people. Included in the identity issue is an examination of how KMT restrictions on the use of Taiwanese language violated the human rights of the native Taiwanese.

Before the Japanese colonialists came to Taiwan, Taiwanese was the colloquial language in Taiwan. While the literati learned to read and write in Chinese characters, the local Taiwanese did not have an established written language for the local vernacular until English and Canadian Presbyterian missionaries introduced them to the romanized Taiwanese alphabet. The missionaries wanted to build a literate congregation and chose to

teach the locals to read and write in the romanized vernacular because it was easier to learn than Chinese characters. To promote communication through the romanized Taiwanese script, Rev. William Barclay published the *Taiwan Church News* in 1885. Barclay and the other missionaries also provided the local congregations with Bibles and hymnals in their native language allowing the local people to read and understand the word of God in their native tongue.

In order to fully understand and analyze the involvement of the PCT in promoting the human rights of the Taiwanese people, I found it necessary to look at the historical events which led it to issue three public statements and to examine the importance of the Taiwanese language at each stage of the PCT's development. At each interval of the PCT's history, the language issue is a recurring theme. Thus, the usage and representation of language is a central analytical focus for this work. While there is a divergence of views among specialists in linguistics as to what extent the dialects spoken in Taiwan -- Amoy, Southern Min, Hokkien, Holo -- differ, for purposes of this book, I do not get into the complexities of the linguistic issues and simply refer to the language as Taiwanese unless otherwise specified. There is also debate over whether Taiwanese is considered a dialect of Chinese or is its own separate language, but again, the linguistic aspect of language and dialect lie outside the scope of my book.⁹ Written representation of language is viewed as an identity issue that exists in the interface between the PCT and human rights in Taiwan: the PCT's legitimization of Taiwanese as a language has become closely related to the PCT's concern for Taiwan independence, self-determination, and the human rights of the Taiwanese people.

During the twenty years that the PCT concentrated on developing its ministry, the social and political situation in Taiwan continued to worsen. The KMT declared Mandarin the national language of Taiwan and set about "Mandarizing" the island by restricting the use of Taiwanese and forcing schools to conduct all courses in Mandarin. When the PCT realized that the KMT was not going to stop intruding into the lives of the Taiwanese, it decided that the Church needed to uphold its Christian duty to protect the Taiwanese people and issued three public statements during the 1970s: "Public Statement on Our National Fate,"¹⁰ "Our Appeal - Concerning the Bible, the Church, and the Nation,"¹¹ and "A

⁹ According to linguistic standards, Taiwanese is not a dialect, but rather, a language or a topolect. For further insight into this distinction, refer to Victor H. Mair, "What Is a Chinese 'Dialect/Topolect' Reflections on Some Key Sino-English Linguistic Terms." *Sino-Platonic Papers* 29 (September 1991), published by The University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰ Refer to Appendix A for full text of "Public Statement on Our National Fate."

¹¹ Refer to Appendix C for full text of "Our Appeal."

Declaration of Human Rights."¹² When U.S. President Richard Nixon announced his intentions to visit China, the PCT responded with the "Public Statement of Our National Fate" on December 29, 1971 which stated 1) all inhabitants of the island, whose human rights are guaranteed by God, must determine the future of Taiwan and 2) a general election must be held in Taiwan.¹³ In 1975, after the KMT confiscated romanized Bibles and prohibited the printing of romanized texts, the PCT issued "Our Appeal - Concerning the Bible, the Church and the Nation" which asked that the government respect religious freedom and carry out political reform. This was followed by the "Declaration on Human Rights" in 1977 which stated that the government should take effective measures "whereby Taiwan may become a new and independent country."¹⁴ According to the PCT, "human rights and a homeland are gifts bestowed by God,"¹⁵ and, therefore, the residents of Taiwan had the right to self-determination, independence, and freedom.

After the PCT issued its first public statement, the Nationalist government increased surveillance of Presbyterian activities and openly accused it of taking a political stance against the government. The PCT emphasized that it did not intend to make these statements political, and stated that its purpose for issuing them was to protect the God-given human rights of the Taiwanese people, not to overthrow the Nationalist government. Since God had given the inhabitants of Taiwan their own language, culture, and identity, the PCT wished to preserve these gifts from God which the Chinese Nationalists wanted to eradicate. Although the PCT initially wanted to stay out of political affairs, the nature of the issues it supported became highly politicized, and the PCT could not help but become involved in the political realm. The Nationalists continued to accuse the PCT of attempting to overthrow the government, and tried to pass regulations and laws to inhibit the actions of the PCT.

Beginning in the 1970s, the Nationalists branded the PCT as a "terrorist organization" that supported the allegedly hostile tactics of the Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM), but historical evidence does not support the KMT's assertion. Rather,

¹² Refer to Appendix D for full text of "A Declaration on Human Rights."

¹³ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, *Public Statement on Our National Fate*, Public Statement, 29 December 1971.

¹⁴ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, *A Declaration on Human Rights*, Public Statement, 16 August 1977.

¹⁵ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, *A Declaration on Human Rights*, Public Statement, 16 August 1977.

the PCT sought to resolve matters in a peaceful, non-violent, Christian way and did not have any intentions of using violence to make its voice heard; it practiced "politics of love" rather than "politics of violence."¹⁶ Moreover, in later years, many of the "terrorist acts" that the KMT blamed on pro-independence activists were later traced to the KMT itself. Since the KMT held all the power, it was able to exculpate itself and convince the people of Taiwan and the international community that anti-government "terrorists" were responsible for these actions.

The 1979 Kaohsiung Incident was an example of a government ploy to frame opponents of the KMT. The staff of *Formosa*, a political magazine, planned to hold a peace rally in Kaohsiung on December 10, 1979, International Human Rights Day. What was supposed to be a peaceful event turned into one of disaster and chaos when police used riot trucks and tear gas to disperse the crowd. Although the police had started the rioting, the government arrested many prominent opposition leaders, including the staff of *Formosa* magazine and members of the PCT. By enlisting the help of the police, the government had succeeded in framing a number of individuals who publicly spoke out against the government. The KMT used the Kaohsiung Incident as an excuse to arrest Rev. C.M. Kao, the General Secretary of the General Assembly of the PCT, and nine other Presbyterians who were involved in the hiding of Shih Ming-teh, the General Manager of *Formosa* and organizer of the Human Rights Day Rally. A military court tried the Kaohsiung Ten for violating "the seventh provision of the first item under the fourth clause of the regulations governing crimes of rebellions, which deals with crimes of hiding rebels,"¹⁷ and sentenced them all to prison. The KMT hoped that the imprisonment of Rev. C.M. Kao, a major force behind the PCT, would put an end to the PCT's advocacy of self-determination and independence. However, to the dismay of the KMT, the PCT not only persevered, but also managed to gather international support for the release of Kao and the other prisoners. No matter how hard the KMT has tried to suppress the PCT, the PCT has still continued to stand firm in its beliefs and has not been afraid to express its views.

The 133-year history of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and its strong support of local community interests against the Japanese and Nationalist governments have allowed the PCT to become influential in recognizing local identity. Since the PCT has used romanized Bibles and hymnals before Japanese colonial rule and before the KMT established the ROC on Taiwan, the Taiwanese vernacular has become an inherent part of the Church. Moreover, the PCT views the restrictions on the Taiwanese language as a

¹⁶ Song, *Testimonies of Faith*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁷ Song, *Testimonies of Faith*, p. 25.

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violation of basic human rights. As an organization, the PCT has upheld a strong interest in the native Taiwanese community and, in its advocacy of local autonomy, has made the preservation of the Taiwanese language and the promotion of human rights two of its major goals.

CHAPTER I

PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY WORK IN TAIWAN

Although the first Christian missionaries came to Taiwan in the early seventeenth century during the period that the Dutch occupied Taiwan, the missionary movement did not stabilize until after the Tientsin Treaties of 1858 which opened two Taiwan ports for trade and guaranteed the toleration of Christianity in Taiwan. During the fall of 1860, Carstairs Douglas of the English Presbyterian Mission at Amoy in Fukien, China visited northern Taiwan. Since the language used in Amoy and Taiwan were virtually identical, Douglas felt that it was logical that the mission in Amoy should also evangelize Taiwan.¹ As a result of Douglas' appeal, the Presbyterian Church in England sent Dr. James Laidlaw Maxwell to southern Taiwan in 1865, which is considered the beginning date of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT).² Several years later in 1872, the Canadian Presbyterian Church sent Reverend George Mackay to establish a mission in northern Taiwan. Tai-kah khe (*Ta-chia hsi*), a river that runs through the middle part of Taiwan, became the dividing line for the English and Canadian missions; the English spread Christianity south of the river, while the Canadians worked north of the river. While the two Presbyterian missions in Taiwan kept in contact with each other, they remained as separate entities and used their own versions of translated texts, until they merged to form the Taiwan Synod in 1912.

Maxwell did not gain immediate acceptance when he first arrived on the island because an anti-alien sentiment swept over the native population, and caused them to resist the foreign missionaries. Hostilities between the Ch'ing officials and the "red-haired barbarians" reached an apex during the Camphor Church Incident of 1868.³ The Ch'ing officials persecuted the Christians and went so far as to murder a Presbyterian evangelist, Chng Chheng-hong, who became the first martyr in Taiwan. To protest against the persecution by the Ch'ing officials, the British Consul sent warships to occupy Anping. Finally, the Ch'ing government agreed to provide indemnity to the churches and reaffirmed its toleration of Christianity.⁴ Although the first few years of the new

¹ Hugh MacMillan, *Then Till Now in Formosa* (English and Canadian Presbyterian Missions in Formosa, 1953), p. 20.

² In Taiwanese, Tai-oân Ki-tok Tiúⁿ-ló Kàu-hōe.

³ The Ch'ing Empire began in the early seventeenth century and lasted until 1911.

⁴ D. John Jygiokk Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," in *Christianity in Asia.*, ed. by T.K. Thomas

missionary movement in Taiwan were difficult, by the end of 1869, Maxwell had established a strong Christian base in southwest Taiwan that laid the foundation for subsequent Christian missions.

Shortly after he arrived in Taiwan, Maxwell realized that medical care in Taiwan was poor. Because Maxwell felt it was necessary to provide the natives with medical as well as religious services and to provide adequate medical care for missionaries in Taiwan, he founded a Christian hospital at Tainan in 1868. An integral part of both Mackay and Maxwell's missionary service was the introduction of Western medicine to Taiwan. At first, the natives were skeptical of the foreign missionaries and spread rumors that the "red-haired barbarians" were cutting up the bodies of Taiwanese.⁵ The natives even set fire to the homes of the foreigners and stoned them. However, after a few years, they gradually came to accept the foreign missionaries and even began to trust their medical knowledge. They found that Western medicine was much more effective than the herbal medicine practiced by local physicians. The early Presbyterian missionaries soon discovered that their "medical missions" were paramount in reaching out to the native Taiwanese people. By combining the functions of healing the body and saving the soul, Maxwell successfully attracted local Taiwanese towards Christianity. Medical missionary work became an important part of the Presbyterian Mission and resulted in the conversion of many non-Christian patients to Christianity.

Missionaries founded Mackay Memorial Hospital at Tamsui in 1880 to provide further medical care to the local people. By holding a religious service for patients every morning, missionaries helped spread the Gospel to the Taiwanese people. During this short service, a medical missionary led the congregation in singing a hymn. Following the hymn, the missionary read a chapter from the Bible, gave a brief explanation of the passage, and then concluded with a prayer.⁶ After the service, pastors discussed Christianity with patients who were waiting to be treated and their families. Through their medical missions, missionaries succeeded in attracting many native Taiwanese to the Presbyterian Church.

(Singapore: Christian Conference of Asia, 1979), p. 97.

⁵ Edward Band, *Barclay of Formosa* (Ginza, Tokyo: Christian Literature Society, 1936), p. 59.

⁶ Richardson, "Christianity in Taiwan Under Japanese Rule," p. 130.

Literacy and Conflicts with Tradition

Besides setting up hospitals specializing in western medicine on the island, the missionaries also introduced other modern institutions to Taiwan. Since the Presbyterian missionaries intended to have local leaders take over the Church's ministerial responsibilities, they founded Taiwan's first institutions of higher learning. The English Presbyterian Mission established Tainan Theological College in 1876 and Reverend Mackay from the Canadian Presbyterian Mission founded Oxford College at Tamsui in 1882.⁷ The Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of England sent women missionaries to Taiwan in 1880 to help spread the Word of God to Taiwanese women. To promote women's education, the Canadian Mission opened the first girls' boarding school in Tamsui in 1884, and the English Mission founded the second girls' school in Tainan on February 14, 1887.⁸ In addition to ministerial education, the missionaries also felt it was important to establish primary and secondary schools for general education, so they set up a boys' school in Tainan in 1885. To promote literacy and mass communication in Taiwan, the Presbyterian missionaries set up the first printing press in Tainan in 1885. Thomas Barclay, an English Presbyterian missionary who dedicated his life to promoting the romanized vernacular, published the first mass media publication on Taiwan, *Taiwan Church News* (*Kàu-hōe-pò*), which was written in romanized Taiwanese. *Taiwan Church News* not only reported Church and international news, but also allowed the native population to express their opinions through editorials.⁹ The press also printed pamphlets and doctrines in the romanized vernacular to provide Christian literature for the people of Taiwan.

In spite of the missionaries' hard work and dedication, the Taiwanese did not always appreciate their good intentions. The Taiwanese attempted to drive out the foreigners by attacking them and setting their homes on fire, but, in spite of these hostilities, the missionaries persevered. Since Chinese intellectual tradition was based on the Confucian Classics, the educated class tended to oppose the propagation of Christianity in Taiwan, and in the beginning, the missionaries only succeeded in converting illiterate, impoverished peasants into Christians.

⁷ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 100.

⁸ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 100.

⁹ See Appendix E for a copy of the first issue of *Taiwan Church News*. Appendix F is an excerpt from the April 5, 1998 issue of *Taiwan Church News* and contains a hymnal written in romanized Taiwanese, Chinese characters, and Japanese.

As George Mackay observed and recorded:

To attack "Confucianism" as a whole, without recognizing that it underlies the structure of the whole polity and society here, and thus recognizing that it has much within it which is positive and good, for it has equipped men to know a splendid empire for more centuries than we even yet know for sure, is to beg defeat. The missionary who would truly be a success here must realize who and where his enemies are, and take great care not to earn the enmity of the powerful social leaders when that is unnecessary. It is the devil-worshipping shamans, the idol-selling "priests" which we must undertake to displace, not the literati and mandarins. In this way we shall be able to fit into the society peacefully, and save these perishing millions. I have lived amongst the people, not beside them.¹⁰

Mackay understood that Confucian values were an integral part of the society and that to completely rebuke them would not win him any supporters. Instead, he challenged practitioners of the traditional religions to debate the merits of their religion over Christianity.¹¹ Mackay won these debates and even succeeded in converting some of those whom he debated against. Even though he did not convert all Confucian scholars and officials, he did win their respect as an intellectual.¹² The educated upper class began accepting western society and Christianity in 1879 after Mackay succeeded in converting the prominent and influential Lim Family, the de facto authorities in the North.

Although the Presbyterian missionaries accomplished a considerable amount during the first twenty years of their arrival, the war between the Ch'ing Empire and France in 1884-1885 hindered further developments. After French warships attacked the port of Chi-lung in northern Taiwan, occupied the Pescadores, and declared a blockade over the entire island, the Chinese government became suspicious of all Christians because they had heard rumors that the French supported Roman Catholicism. Since the Chinese associated Mackay's mission with the French, they destroyed five churches in northern Taiwan and murdered several Christians. These events instilled fear in Christian groups across the island, but despite these disturbances, members of the Presbyterian Church still maintained their faith in God. Although Mackay was in Hong Kong during the war, the Church was able to withstand the severity of the attacks because the

¹⁰ Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, No. 586, March 30, 1875, in Graeme McDonald, "George Leslie Mackay: Missionary Success in Nineteenth-Century Taiwan," in *Papers on China*, vol. 20, Cambridge: East Asian Research Center, February, 1968, p. 144.

¹¹ Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, No. 586, March 30, 1875, in Graeme McDonald, p. 146.

¹² Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, No. 586, March 30, 1875, in Graeme McDonald, p. 147.

missionaries had laid a strong Christian foundation in Taiwan and had encouraged local churches to become self-sufficient from the start. When the war ended in 1885 and the Manchus made Taiwan a province, Mackay demanded \$10,000 in reparations which helped the native Christians rebuild and rehabilitate their churches.

Cultivating an Indigenous Church

Church expansion declined for several years after the conflict between the Manchus and the Ch'ing Empire as the Presbyterians refocused their goals and placed emphasis on self-support.¹³ From the start, the objective of the missionaries was to develop an indigenous church. While the missionaries planted the seeds for cultivating an indigenous church, they believed it was the task of the natives to evangelize the entire island and that in order for this to occur, the roots of the church needed to be planted deep into self-support.¹⁴ Because they felt that the nascent church needed to be confronted early on with its missionary responsibility for spreading evangelism around the island, the missionaries taught the native Taiwanese the democratic procedure practiced in the Presbyterian form of government. The missionaries found that proper planning and organization were necessary in order for a young church to "learn early of democratic procedure and take responsibility for its own community structure."¹⁵ Although this program hindered the actual spread of Christianity for several years, it strengthened the spirit of self-support and self-government that were crucial to the development of an independent church.

Ideally, the missionaries wanted to establish a church in Taiwan that was self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating. In terms of self-government, the missionaries felt that "the principle on which the Mission was started was that the converts were not to be treated like little children in leading strings, or like servants, taking a lower place, in respect of privilege, than the Missionaries. They were treated from the beginning as brethren, and taught their responsibilities and duties to God, to one another, and to their countrymen."¹⁶ By instilling the idea of self-government into the

¹³ Some sources refer to this as the Manchu-French War.

¹⁴ Hugh MacMillan, *Then Till Now in Formosa*. (Taipei: English and Canadian Presbyterian Missions in Formosa, 1953), p. 63.

¹⁵ MacMillan, *Then Till Now in Formosa*, p.50.

¹⁶ James Johnstoun, *China and Formosa: A Story of the Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England* (London: Hazell, Watson, & Viney, 1897), p. 364.

native population, the missionaries encouraged responsibility by granting them power and cultivated a spirit of independence which became important in the PCT's later leadership role in supporting local Taiwanese autonomy. While the missionaries did influence some of the values of the native congregation, the direction that the PCT ended up taking and the choices it supported came from the members' own convictions and came through their own independent actions. The ordination of the first two Taiwanese pastors, Phoa Beng-tsü and Lau Baw-khun, took place in 1896. To emphasize self-sufficiency, the missionaries implemented a rule whereby churches had to raise enough money to cover a pastor's full salary for one year before they could hire an ordained pastor for their church.¹⁷ Over the years, the native pastors gradually took over the pastoral oversight of the churches from the foreign missionaries, and successfully conducted church matters in an orderly fashion.¹⁸

Although the missionaries helped establish new churches, they wanted each congregation to become financially self-supporting. When local congregations first started out, they often did not have the financial means to support a pastor, but they quickly learned to raise, save, and budget their money to meet their financial needs. With this money they could pay for the pastor's salary, build a humble building for worship, and allocate money to care for the poor and other philanthropical causes. The missionaries were pleased with the eagerness of the Taiwanese to become self-supporting. Even though many of their members lived in poverty, the local congregations still managed to save enough money to become financially self-sufficient and did not need to rely on the help of the foreign missionaries. By 1897, the missionaries felt confident that, if by chance they were forced off of the island, the native churches could still stand on their own feet and operate without their assistance.¹⁹

In terms of building a self-propagating church, the goal of the missionaries was to have the Taiwanese convert their own people. The local congregations not only reached out to non-Christians on the island, but also sent missionaries to spread the Gospel to the Pescadore Islands (Penghu Islands). In later years, through programs such as the Ten Year Doubling Movement (*Pōe Ka ɻn-tōng - PKU*), the PCT dramatically increased its Church membership and became the largest Protestant church in Taiwan, attracting mostly native Taiwanese. The three ideals of the Presbyterian missionaries -- self-

¹⁷ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 116.

¹⁸ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 49.

¹⁹ Johnstoun, *China and Formosa*, p. 367.

support, self-government, and self-propagation -- thus served to promote the spirit of independence which permeated the Church, and laid the basis for the PCT's leadership in promoting Taiwanese language, human rights, and independence in later years.

The PCT and the Period of Japanese Rule

Despite the social and political disturbances on the island that resulted from the Sino-Japanese War at the end of the nineteenth century, the Presbyterian missionaries continued to attract native Taiwanese to their churches. In 1895, the Sino-Japanese War was concluded by the Treaty of Shimonoseki which stated that Taiwan was to be ceded to the Japanese "in perpetuity."²⁰ Because the Manchu Court ceded Taiwan to Japan against the wishes of the Taiwanese inhabitants, the Taiwanese protested Japanese occupation by establishing an autonomous and self-dependent (*tzu-li*) Formosan Republic on May 25, 1895, the first republic in Asia.²¹ In resisting the Japanese, the leaders of the Republic employed the Western concepts of international law, popular rule, and parliamentary government.²² Four days after the Taiwanese established the Formosan Republic, Japanese troops entered northern Taiwan.²³ Despite frequent uprisings and rebellions by the Taiwanese, the Formosan Republic succumbed to the military power of the Japanese on October 21, 1895 when Japanese troops entered Tainan, the southern capital of Taiwan, and put an end to the Formosan Republic.

Because the governing authorities in Taiwan were unwilling to submit peacefully to the Japanese, Christians in Taipei took pity on the soldiers and offered them assistance. In attempt to establish friendly relations with Japanese leaders, Roman Catholics in central Taiwan went out to greet and welcome the Japanese, but the native population felt betrayed by these actions and thought that the Roman Catholics were siding with the Japanese against the Taiwanese.²⁴ To express their anger, local Taiwanese destroyed a Roman Catholic chapel at Tau-Lauk, but did nothing to a Presbyterian building in the

²⁰ John F. Copper, *Historical Dictionary of Taiwan* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1993), p. 95.

²¹ For a more detailed rendition of the Formosan Republic, see Harry J. Lamley, "The 1895 Taiwan Republic," in *Journal of Asian Studies* 4:7 (August 1968): 739-762.

²² Lamley, "The 1895 Taiwan Republic," p. 740.

²³ Lamley, "The 1895 Taiwan Republic," p. 739.

²⁴ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 88.

same area. While they advanced towards Tainan (*Taiwanfu*), the Japanese asked for escorts to lead them into the capital.²⁵ They preferred to employ Christians over non-Christians because they felt they could count on Christians to follow through with their word.²⁶ This led non-Christians to spread rumors that the Christians were acting as spies for the Japanese. In October 1895, a massacre occurred at Moa-tau when local mobs murdered fifteen Christians and four non-Christians.²⁷ Persecution against Christians for helping the Japanese continued into the following year. In Taitang (*Taitung*), angry non-Christians looted Christian houses, burned down two chapels, and killed four Christians. Rewards were even offered for the capture of two pastors: \$1000 for each dead body, and \$1500 for each live body.²⁸

Since many Christians were murdered for helping the Japanese, local merchants asked the missionaries to intervene and help bring the Japanese into the capital, Tainan. At first, the missionaries were reluctant to comply because the locals had previously murdered many Christians for siding with the Japanese, and they were afraid that if they led the Japanese troops into Tainan, angry locals would murder even more Christians. Finally, the missionaries compromised by agreeing to deliver letters of petition stamped with the merchants' seal to the Japanese if the merchants agreed to send escorts with them.²⁹ Rev. Thomas Barclay and Rev. Duncan Ferguson then went to see General Nogi Maresuke at his headquarters and they agreed to lead the Japanese into Tainan.³⁰ Barclay proceeded to Tainan with several Taiwanese to have the city gates opened and brought General Nogi's message to the people: "If the city surrenders peaceably no harm will be done to anybody, but if there is any armed resistance, I will level the city to the ground."³¹ The Taiwanese then spread General Nogi's message throughout the city. Barclay and Ferguson had succeeded in saving Tainan from bombardment. Both the Taiwanese and the Japanese were grateful for the missionaries' intervention: the Japanese

²⁵ Tainan, also known as Taiwanfu, was the capital of Taiwan during this time.

²⁶ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 90.

²⁷ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 91. It is not certain why the locals murdered the non-Christians.

²⁸ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 93.

²⁹ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 96-97.

³⁰ General Nogi Maresuke was Governor-General of Taiwan from 1896-1898.

³¹ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 101.

Emperor rewarded the two missionaries with the Order of the Rising Sun (Fifth Class) and the Taiwanese presented them with scrolls.

The part played by the Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church--Messrs. Barclay and Ferguson--when the capital of the island, Tai-wan-fu, was about to be besieged by the Japanese, shows in a very striking light the position they occupy in the esteem and confidence of the population in time of danger. By their bold and judicious arrangements they were able to save the city and the inhabitants from a bloody assault, when many lives would have been lost and the city plundered and destroyed, as was the case in many places in other parts of the island.³²

By interfering and speaking with the Japanese authorities, the missionaries had saved the lives of thousands of people. Despite the initial difficulties encountered with the change in government, the Presbyterian missionaries did not appear perturbed, but instead welcomed Japanese takeover because it signaled the end to Chinese rule.³³

To minimize Taiwanese resistance to Japanese occupation, the Japanese government gave the inhabitants of Taiwan the option to choose their citizenship under Article 5 of the Shimonoseki Treaty. Those unwilling to become Japanese subjects could emigrate to China by May 8, 1897. In 1899, the Japanese implemented the Nationality Law in Taiwan, and in March 1906, the Governor-General declared that all people who had been in Taiwan since May 8, 1897 were Japanese nationals.³⁴ Since Taiwan was Japan's first colony, the Japanese lacked previous experience ruling a foreign territory, but they quickly set up effective rule on the island by establishing the role of the Governor-General. Under the 1896 "Law concerning Laws and Regulations to be enforced in Taiwan," also known as Law 63 (*Rokusan hô*), the Governor-General of Taiwan had legislative authority for three years. Law 63 allowed for "delegated legislation" (*inin rippô*) which was a compromise between the Imperial Diet, who wanted sole legislative power, and the Taiwan administration, who strongly opposed the Meiji Constitution.³⁵ The Governor-General oversaw the colonial government and had total

³² Johnstoun, *China and Formosa*, p. 325.

³³ A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: Volume One: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990), p. 15.

³⁴ Edward I-te Chen, "The Attempt to Integrate the Empire: Legal Perspectives," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, ed. by Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 245.

³⁵ Edward I-te Chen, "The Attempt to Integrate the Empire: Legal Perspectives," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, p. 248.

control over the island's affairs under Law 63 which was in effect until 1921. However, the Japanese faced resistance from the Taiwanese and found it difficult to secure peaceful rule on the island. The native attacks which lasted until 1902 determined much of Japanese rule. Governor-General Kodama Gentarô, who ruled from 1898-1906, changed his policy of dealing with guerrillas and enlisted the use of colonial police in Taiwan. The colonial police assisted in local government by managing general administrative affairs and promoted infrastructure, technology, and education. During the beginning of colonial rule, the Japanese targeted instilling Japanese values and cultural ideas into Taiwan's aboriginal people and taught them the Japanese language. Although the Japanese tried this with the Taiwanese, they found that the Taiwanese were not as willing to accept "Japanization" as the aborigines. The resistance of the Taiwanese to become "Japanized" was demonstrated by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan which continued to use Taiwanese in its church services and schools, and refused to pay respects to the Shinto shrines until the end of Japanese rule, when it had no choice but to comply. For the most part, the Presbyterians and the Japanese maintained friendly relations during the first thirty-five years of Japanese rule: the Church accepted the new regime and the Christians proved to be law-abiding citizens whom the Japanese could trust.³⁶

Rev. Duncan Ferguson summarized the relationship between the Christians and the Japanese in the following statement:

In a sense and under compulsion, the Christians have been guilty of 'leading in' the Japanese. The Japanese have forced into their service as many Christians as possible, as guides and in other ways; always declaring, 'if you are Christians we can trust you.'³⁷

As long as the Christian schools conducted their classes in the Japanese language, the Japanese were not opposed to Christian education. They also did not object to romanized Bibles and hymnals.³⁸ During the first decade of Japanese rule, church membership doubled as the missionaries continued to encourage self-government and self-support of the local ministries. In 1896, representatives from Christian communities gathered in Tainan to form the Southern Presbytery, the first democratic conference system introduced in Taiwan. The PCT's exposure to a democratic system early on may

36 MacMillan, *Then Till Now in Formosa*, p. 27.

37 *The Monthly Messenger*, No. 598 (January, 1896), p. 6 as quoted in W.J. Richardson, "Christianity in Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945" (Ph.D. Dissertation, St. John's University, 1972), p. 59.

38 Hollington K. Tong, *Christianity in Taiwan: A History* (Taipei: China Post, 1961), p. 57.

have influenced its concern and promotion for democracy in Taiwan in later years. Following the formation of the Southern Presbytery, a Northern Presbytery encompassing the area of the Canadian Mission was formed in 1904. The organization of these Presbyteries was based on an increasing spirit of self-support. The Northern and Southern Presbyteries continued to maintain separate ministries and used different versions of translated texts until 1912 when they merged to form the Taiwan Synod. To both the English and Canadian missionaries, the union of the two Presbyteries into one body demonstrated that the Church was self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating.

A message to the Synod in England showed the gratitude the missionaries felt towards the mother church for making the mission in Taiwan a success:

"Fifty years ago," it said "there was not a single worshipper of God in Formosa, but now those who call on the name of our Heavenly Father number about thirty thousand. . . . Were it not that the Mother Church spent much money, and sent many teachers to labour and earnestly pray for us, how could we now enjoy this prosperity? . . . Owing to God's good hand upon us, our North and Southern Presbyteries have met in Chiang-hoa on 24th October 1912, and united into one Synod, to show that we are one body in Christ."³⁹

After uniting the Northern and Southern Presbyteries, the missionaries began standardizing the salaries of pastors, establishing a uniform curriculum for Christian schools, and using copies of the same hymnal in Presbyterian churches throughout the island.⁴⁰ The following year, the Taiwan Synod adopted its present day name, the "Presbyterian Church in Taiwan" (PCT).

Even though the Japanese and the foreign missionaries maintained cordial relations during the first thirty years of Japanese rule, the missionaries did encounter several matters of inconvenience. Language became a problem for the missionaries, who had to master the vernacular language to communicate with the local Taiwanese, but needed to learn Japanese to communicate effectively with the government officials who did not all understand Taiwanese. According to a Japanese census of this period, there were three language categories on Taiwan: 1.9% spoke Japanese, 96% spoke Taiwanese, and the rest spoke foreign languages (mainly European).⁴¹ While 11.8% of all Japanese residing in Taiwan could speak Taiwanese, only .38% of Taiwanese could speak

³⁹ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, pp. 137-138.

⁴⁰ Richardson, "Christianity in Taiwan Under Japanese Rule," p. 160.

⁴¹ Richardson, "Christianity in Taiwan Under Japanese Rule," p. 85.

Japanese.⁴² Under the Japanese, the missionaries also found it more difficult to operate their educational, medical, and evangelistic work on their limited budget because the Japanese set certain standards and regulations that they could not meet with monetary restrictions.⁴³ Although the missionaries had introduced modern medicine to Taiwan, government hospitals during Japanese rule actually became superior to missionary hospitals. A lack of funds and trained physicians made it difficult for the missionaries to keep up to par with Japanese standards.

Even though the Japanese provided for island-wide elementary education, they limited the opportunities of secondary education for Taiwanese. The missionaries felt everyone should have the opportunity to secondary education, and therefore, the Canadian Presbyterians established a boys' secondary school at Tamsui in 1914. Barclay realized that in order for Christian education to be recognized on an equal level as government schools, the mission's educational institutions would have to fit into the Japanese educational system. While he would have liked to have established Christian institutions of higher education, Barclay's immediate goal was to bring the quality of the Mission's middle schools to the same level as the Japanese schools.⁴⁴ In order to gather ideas to realize this goal, Barclay toured educational institutions in Japan and attempted to establish greater contact with Christian institutions in Japan. Edward Band, one of Barclay's fellow English missionaries, wrote:

. . . [F]rom the very first Barclay was seriously concerned over the problem of providing an adequate Christian education that would conform to the Japanese system and meet not only the intellectual but the spiritual needs of the new generation. He did not wish to restrict the scope of the Middle school merely to a preparatory course for theological students. He desired to make adequate provision for all the young people of the Christian community and any others who wished to receive a Christian education.⁴⁵

In 1900, the colonial officials did not disturb the educational institutions of the Canadian and English Presbyterians since the enrollment of students in such schools was so small that the Japanese did not feel it was worth the effort to devote much attention to them. Though the Japanese allowed the Presbyterians to operate Oxford College in April

⁴² Richardson, "Christianity in Taiwan Under Japanese Rule," p. 85.

⁴³ Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, Vol. 1, p. 141.

⁴⁴ Barclay encouraged Taiwanese who wanted higher education to study at mission schools in Japan. He even financed the education of several students since they could not afford it.

⁴⁵ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, pp. 129-130.

1914, they closed down some of the smaller schools with religious affiliations, and forced those students to attend government schools. However, school officials at Oxford College ran into difficulties when they tried to obtain government recognition for their school. Without official recognition, graduates of the mission schools could not take entrance exams into Taiwan's institutions of higher education, but some of the wealthier graduates did continue their studies abroad in Christian colleges in Japan. It was not until 1938 that the middle school at Oxford College finally received official recognition.

The price of inflation that occurred during World War I (1914-1918) caused some financial difficulties for newly established churches, but in spite of this, the PCT continued to push for self-support and financial independence from the mother churches. Since many of the foreign missionaries returned home for wartime duties, Taiwanese Christian leaders were left with greater responsibility and independence during the war. In 1913, Barclay and three translators, Rev. Lim Un-jin, Rev. Ng Ma-hui, and Mr. Lu Lok-tia, began revising the New Testament translation in Amoy, China. The missionaries felt Barclay would have fewer disturbances and would be able to concentrate fully on the translation work if he resided in Amoy rather than Taiwan during this time. Although Barclay completed the work in Amoy, he revised the New Testament especially for the Taiwanese people. Barclay expressed his sentiments on the romanized translation in the pamphlet, "Some Thoughts on the New Translation of the Vernacular New Testament" where, "After pointing out the vast superiority of the Vernacular Version for use in Public Worship, as compared with the Character edition, he explains that his hope is that this new Vernacular Version will become the standard version in the Church, for it was made for that purpose."⁴⁶ The publication of the revised romanized Amoy-Taiwanese New Testament in 1916 allowed the Taiwanese to read the Scripture in their own language.

The relationship between the Christians and the Japanese began to deteriorate in 1931 when an aggressive military party took over the government in Tokyo and sought to mobilize Taiwan behind the Japanese cause.⁴⁷ The turning point in Japanese domestic and international politics as well as the Japanese-Christian relationship in Taiwan occurred after the Manchurian Incident (or Mukden Incident) on September 18, 1931 when the Japanese Kwantung Army attacked Chinese soldiers near Mukden.⁴⁸ During this time, the PCT came under Japanese oppression as the Japanese accused church-

⁴⁶ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 146.

⁴⁷ Dorothy A. Raber, *Protestantism in Changing Taiwan: A Call to Creative Response*. (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978), p. 49.

⁴⁸ Richardson, "Christianity in Taiwan Under Japanese Rule," p. 168.

managed schools of being "unpatriotic" and "anachronistic" forms of education and demanded that they conduct all classes in Japanese.⁴⁹ The Japanese regarded the Christian schools as threats to Japanese nationalism. In attempt to counteract the effects of Japanese nationalism, Christians established Sunday School programs to help strengthen the faith of their youth. As Japanese nationalism heightened, Japanese officials prohibited the use of romanized Bibles, required both Christians and non-Christians to install Shinto shrines in their homes to perform Shinto rituals, and ordered the Christian churches to perform Shinto worship before Sunday services. Compulsory attendance at Shinto shrines began to deter some Christians from attending church services. Although the Taiwanese Christians struggled to keep shrine replicas outside of their churches and homes, they did have the sympathy and support of two Japanese Christian leaders, Pastor Kami, a Japanese Presbyterian, and Pastor Ohashi, an Episcopalian, both of whom also opposed Shinto worship. When Japan began making preparations for World War II, Japanese officials used excessive police control to scrutinize the lives of the Taiwanese and to observe their relationships with foreigners. Because of their strong relationships with foreign missionaries, Christians came under intense surveillance, and the government regarded them with suspicion.

Up until the 1930s, there was little sense of a distinct Taiwanese nationalism, and virtually no feeling of Mainland Chinese nationalism existed on Taiwan.⁵⁰ However, after the Japanese began implementing stricter rules and restricting the use of the Taiwanese language, local sentiments also changed and the Taiwanese began to recognize the importance of preserving their language and identity. During this period of Japanization, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan became the guardian of the Taiwanese language as it continued to conduct services in Taiwanese and continued to use hymnals and Bibles written in the romanized vernacular. The colonial government finally forced the PCT to conduct services in Japanese in 1942 even though many of its members did not know Japanese.

By 1940, all foreign missionaries had withdrawn from Taiwan, and at first the PCT was left in the care of the Presbyterian Church of Japan. However, because the PCT had established a strong ministry over the last eight decades, it was able to break off from the Presbyterian Church of Japan later that year. The PCT then became completely independent and was controlled by the native Taiwanese. The strength of the Church was tested during World War II when the Japanese persecuted Taiwanese Christians and

⁴⁹ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 104.

⁵⁰ Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, Vol. 1, p. 15.

accused them of being disloyal to the Japanese because of their relationships with foreign missionaries. However, many Presbyterians in Taiwan noted that they had established strong ties to English and Canadian missionaries beginning in 1865 and did not have contact with the Japanese until 30 years later. The Japanese did not have evidence to prove that Taiwanese interactions with foreign missionaries were indicative of betraying the government. Historically, Taiwanese Presbyterians had always interacted with foreign missionaries, and their contact with foreigners did not imply disloyalty to the colonial government.

Although the Japanese officials designed plans with Japanese interests in mind, Japan did succeed in making Taiwan economically self-sufficient. They emphasized the production of primary products and exported rice and sugar to Japan. Taiwan also supplied military labor during the China War in 1937. Social reforms that took place under Japanese rule included an increase in the literacy rate, improvement of technical skills, and a smaller gap between the rich and the poor. Overall, the Japanese treated the local people well, but they did not consider them equal to the Japanese. When the Japanese finally withdrew from Taiwan, they left her a more developed, technologically advanced and economically self-sufficient country. Although Taiwan's legal status was never formally discussed in the surrender agreement, the Allied Forces requested that Chiang Kai-shek send his Nationalist troops to Taiwan to replace the Japanese and to temporarily take over Taiwan by military occupation on behalf of the Allied Powers.

When Japan surrendered in 1945, she accepted the terms of the Potsdam Declaration which included stipulations from the 1943 Cairo Declaration whereby "all territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China."⁵¹ As indicated in George Kerr's *Formosa Betrayed*, there are problems and inaccuracies with the wording of the Cairo Declaration. Historically, the Japanese occupied a Taiwan that was "stolen" from her rightful inhabitants, not from the Manchus or the Chinese, so "returning" Taiwan to China was not a reasonable request since Taiwan did not belong to China in the first place.⁵² When U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and China's Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-Shek made the decision to hand Taiwan over to China after the Japanese surrender, they did not take into consideration the wishes of Taiwan's inhabitants. This contradicted and violated the conditions of the Atlantic Treaty concluded by Roosevelt and Churchill in 1941 which stated that "they

⁵¹ George Kerr, *Formosa Betrayed* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976), p. 26.

⁵² Liao, *Formosa Speaks* (Chicago: The Formosan League for Re-Emancipation, 1950), preface.

desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned," and that "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have forcibly deprived of them."⁵³ By speaking out against the Cairo Declaration and citing it as a violation of the Atlantic Charter, proponents of Taiwan independence claimed their rights to independence and their basic human right to self-determination.

Furthermore, the cession of Taiwan by Japan renounced all of Japan's claims to Taiwan, but did not provide for a beneficiary. Therefore, the sovereignty of Taiwan is still undetermined and should be decided by the people of Taiwan.⁵⁴ The Cairo Declaration further violates the Atlantic Charter by denying the rights of the people to choose their own form of government. By giving Taiwan to China, the Cairo Declaration does not comply with the wishes of the Taiwanese who want to live under a democracy, not nationalism or communism, the forms of government on the Mainland. Between V-J Day (Victory over Japan Day) in 1945 and the San Francisco Peace Conference in 1951-52, Taiwan was only temporarily under Nationalist control and was still considered "international soil" and neutral. The status of Taiwan remained undecided:

if the general well-being of the seven million Formosans outweighs the personal interest of one Chiang Kai-shek, the refugee KMT tyranny must be replaced by an international administrative committee appointed by the United Nations pending the holding of a plebiscite for independence. To justify such an unjust action as committed [sic] at Cairo is irrational; to declare the present status of Formosa undecided but continue recognizing the refugee tyranny there is self contradiction.⁵⁵

The decision made at Cairo was a declaration of intent that was never made legal under the guidelines of international law. Neither China nor Taiwan were invited to attend the San Francisco Conference because there was disagreement as to whether Taipei or Peking presided over China. Therefore, neither the Communists nor the Nationalists signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951 when the Taiwan issue should have been settled. While they disagreed on most issues, the Nationalists and the

⁵³ Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Atlantic Charter," reprinted in *The Atlantic Charter*, ed. by Douglas Brinkley and David R. Facey-Crowther (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

⁵⁴ Marc J. Cohen and Emma Teng, eds., *Let Taiwan Be Taiwan: Documents on the International Status of Taiwan* (Washington, DC: Center for Taiwan International Relations, 1990), p. 25.

⁵⁵ Liao, *Formosa Speaks*, p. 58.

Communists both agreed that Taiwan was a "lost province" stolen by the Japanese. They failed to accept that under the Treaty of Shimonoseki, China had ceded Formosa to Japan in perpetuity, and that only a postwar peace treaty could effect a legal retrocession.⁵⁶ The San Francisco Peace Treaty, the last international treaty to deal with the status of Taiwan, renounced Japanese sovereignty over Taiwan, and concluded that "the future status of Taiwan will be decided in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."⁵⁷ Article 1.2 of the Charter of the United Nations states that one of the purposes of the UN is "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people."⁵⁸ Therefore, in accordance with this principle of self-determination, the people of Taiwan have the right to decide the status of Taiwan.

Unlike the years of Nationalist rule in Taiwan, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the Presbyterians fared well during the early years of Japanese rule and did not face "any of the complications of denominational diversity."⁵⁹ Because the Japanese did not allow other Protestant denominations to enter Taiwan, the PCT was the only Protestant Church in Taiwan for sixty years. Although there were Catholic missions in Taiwan, they were not successful in attracting members during this period. The Presbyterians succeeded in romanizing the spoken Taiwanese language and introduced useful western techniques and practices. Presbyterian missionaries also provided Taiwan with practical services such as education and health care that other churches did not provide. Until 1925, the PCT was the only Protestant church in Taiwan. In 1926, the Taiwan Holiness Church, which originated in Japan, and the True Jesus Church which resulted from an indigenous Chinese Pentecostal movement, established churches in

56 Kerr, *Formosa Betrayed*, p. 21.

57 As quoted in "The San Francisco Peace Treaty," *Milestones in Taiwan's History*, <http://www.taiwandc.org/hst-1624.htm#1952>, (21 April 1998).
This is part of the *Taiwan, Ilha Formosa* Homepage, maintained by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) Mission in the US, the Center for Taiwan International Relations (CTIR), *Taiwan Communiqué*, Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA), and the Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP). These organizations are dedicated to promoting human rights and democracy in Taiwan, and hope that Taiwan will become a free and independent nation.

58 As quoted in "The San Francisco Peace Treaty," *Milestones in Taiwan's History*, <http://www.taiwandc.org/hst-1624.htm#1952>, (21 April 1998).

59 Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan: Mission, Seminary, and Church* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991), p. 21.

Taiwan.⁶⁰ Unlike these two churches, the PCT looked upon itself as a Taiwanese church representing Taiwanese, Hakka, and aborigines. A church-state relationship existed between the PCT and Taiwan, and Presbyterian activists gradually became involved in the political realm while other churches distanced themselves from politics. Although the PCT did not have political intentions in mind when it restructured its organization after the KMT took over, the PCT eventually became a church with a political vision that many Taiwanese found attractive.

Presbyterian missionaries, who worked under the United Council of Presbyterian Missionaries rather than separate Canadian and English missions, returned again to Taiwan between 1945-46 to help the churches with post-war reconstruction. Church growth was spontaneous as Mainland missionaries and Chinese Christians fled from the Communists and sought refuge in Taiwan. However, when they arrived in Taiwan, most Chinese Christians joined the Methodist Church, the denomination to which Chiang Kai-shek belonged. Though the PCT continued to grow, it attracted mainly native Taiwanese rather than Mainlanders. Because the PCT is the largest church on Taiwan that represents the Taiwanese, its leaders view the Church as the voice and conscience of the Taiwanese ethnic and linguistic majority.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 103.

⁶¹ Rubinstein, *The Protestant Community*, p. 4.

CHAPTER II

THE PUSH TOWARDS TAIWANESE INDEPENDENCE

As tensions between the Taiwanese and the Japanese heightened during the last fifteen years of Japanese colonial rule, the Taiwanese actually looked forward to a change in administration and welcomed the Chinese Nationalists (Kuomintang or KMT) in hopes that they could attain both material prosperity and spiritual liberty.¹ October 25, 1945 marked the day that the KMT officials assumed political control in Taiwan. The central government established Taiwan's Chief Administrator Office and appointed Chen Yi as its first Chief Administrator. The responsibility of taking over Taiwan was then left in Chen Yi's hands. Unlike other provincial governments on the Mainland, the Chief Administrator in Taiwan had great administrative, legislative, judicial, and military power, similar to that of the Japanese governor, whom people on Taiwan had strongly criticized. After taking over Taiwan, Mainlanders held the majority of high-ranking positions while the Taiwanese held lower-level jobs. Taiwanese received lower pay than Mainlanders for same level jobs. The inequity between Taiwanese and Mainlanders angered the Taiwanese and made them feel like second-class citizens in their own home.

To the dismay of the islanders, who had hoped Chinese rule would be an improvement over Japanese rule, the Chinese Nationalists were dishonest, corrupt, and domineering, as was proved by their Chief Administrator, Chen Yi, whose rule was characterized by corruption, tyranny, and robbery. It did not take long for the Taiwanese to become disappointed in the Nationalists. They soon realized that they were under military rule, and that the Nationalists had not made the island a province as they had expected. Chen Yi and his men accused the Taiwanese of being "Japanized" and branded them as traitors for serving in the Japanese military and showing loyalty to Japan. Economic, education, and health standards also declined during the first few years of Nationalist rule, and the Taiwanese soon realized that their existence under Chinese rule would not be any better than under Japanese rule.

¹ Liao, *Formosa Speaks*, p. 10.

The February 28, 1947 Uprising and its Aftermath

Both the native Taiwanese and the Mainland Chinese on Taiwan were infuriated by Chen Yi's corrupt administration, and on February 28, 1947, an island-wide revolt against KMT tyranny and robbery began. Although the KMT continued to blame the Taiwanese for causing trouble, the 2-28 Uprising (*Er er ba*), actually began when a Chinese, not a Taiwanese, anti-smuggling officer from the Monopoly Bureau seized the cigarette tray of a Taiwanese street vendor who was selling imported cigarettes. When she shouted in protest, he brutally beat her and shot to death another innocent bystander. The following morning unarmed Taiwanese went to the Monopoly Bureau and the Tobacco Monopoly Building to protest the actions of the officer. However, as soon as the protesters arrived, guards from the Office of the Chief Administrator fired at them, killing four and wounding eleven. An island-wide anti-government movement broke out and conflicts between the KMT and the Taiwanese increased. Chen Yi blamed the 2-28 Uprising on the Taiwanese and insisted that the Communists had inspired the Taiwanese to rebel. He asked Chiang Kai-shek to send reinforcements to Taiwan to help restore order, and between March 8th and March 13th, the Nationalist troops shot, killed, looted, arrested, and imprisoned many innocent Taiwanese. The KMT murdered between 18,000-28,000 people during the March Massacre.² In addition, the KMT used the national and international radio stations and cable services to its advantage and distorted the facts of the Uprising by placing the blame on the Taiwanese. These falsified broadcasts damaged the reputation of the Taiwanese and made it difficult for the international community to find credibility in their rendition of events and to heed their appeals for help.

Finally, Chiang Kai-shek removed Chen Yi from office and ordered him to be executed. However, Chen Yi's execution was not the result of his connection in the 2-28 Uprising and the massacre of thousands of Taiwanese, but, rather, for his collusion with "Communist bandits."³ By executing Chen Yi, Chiang Kai-shek was trying to instill fear of communist infiltration into Taiwan. Although Chiang did cancel military rule, declare Taiwan a province of China, and appoint some Taiwanese to political positions, the damage had already been done. Chiang Kai-shek then appointed Wei Tao-ming as Chief Administrator to replace Chen Yi. Matters did not improve during Wei's term in office

² *Taiwan Communiqué*, 65 (April 1995), p. 1.

³ Shoki Coe, *Recollections and Reflections*, introduced and edited by Boris Anderson, 2nd ed., (New York: Formosan Christians for Self-Determination, 1993), p. 143.

from May 15, 1947 to January 5, 1949 because his government continued to blame the 2-28 Uprising on the Taiwanese. To punish the Taiwanese for the outcome of the Uprising, Wei took away their civic freedom by reorganizing his administration to suppress free press, free speech, and free association.⁴ For many years, it was taboo to mention 2-28. However, in 1987, the PCT and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) pressed the KMT to stop hiding the facts of the 2-28 Uprising, and finally, in 1990, the KMT complied by opening its records.⁵ A monument built in memory of the 2-28 Uprising was unveiled on February 28, 1995, and President Lee Teng-hui formally apologized to the families of the victims on behalf of the KMT. President Lee admitted that the KMT was at fault for the 2-28 Uprising and asked the Taiwanese people to forgive the government for the outcome of the event.⁶ Forty-eight years after the Uprising, on March 22, 1995, the Legislative Yuan passed a proposal which allowed for up to NT\$ 6,000,000 of compensation to relatives of 2-28 victims, and declared February 28 "Peace Memorial Day."⁷ However, the DPP still was not satisfied because it had wanted higher compensation for the families of victims, and had wanted the government to identify and prosecute those who were responsible for the massacre.⁸

Although a government official had instigated the 2-28 Uprising, the KMT blamed the Taiwanese for starting it and arrested and imprisoned several local Taiwanese. Among the prisoners were several members of the Presbyterian Church. During the 2-28 Uprising, the KMT victimized several members of the PCT: the Nationalists executed Siau Tiyau-kim, preacher of the Kangshan Presbyterian Church, for being a communist shortly before his ordination, and killed Taan Lyeng-thong, headmaster of Tamsui Presbyterian Middle School, along with two teachers and one student.⁹ According to a foreign missionary at Tainan Theological College in 1962, almost every student at the College had a relative who was killed in the aftermath of the 2-28 Uprising. "Christian Formosans were one of the groups resented by the

⁴ Joshua Liao, *Formosa Speaks*, p. 15.

⁵ *Taiwan Communiqué*, 65 (April 1995), p. 1.

⁶ *Taiwan Communiqué*, 65 (April 1995), p. 2.

⁷ *Taiwan Communiqué*, 65 (April 1995), p. 2.

⁸ *Taiwan Communiqué*, 65 (April 1995), p. 2.

⁹ Chong-gyiau Wong. "The Emergence of Political Statements and Political Theology in the History of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church," (Th.D. Dissertation, Boston University School of Theology, 1992), p. 44.

Nationalists," he explained, "because of their contact with foreigners, and their known devotion to the Formosan language and welfare."¹⁰ Although the government did target members of the PCT during the March Massacre, it was too dangerous for the PCT to publicly display its outrage during this period.

Since little is written about the PCT between the 2-28 Uprising and the early 1970s, one assumes that the PCT generally kept to itself during this period and concentrated on developing its ministry. Although the PCT realized that the KMT were not sympathetic towards the Taiwanese people, it was in the PCT's best interests to stay out of political matters. Because of the ruthless nature of the KMT, the PCT kept a low profile during this time and did not engage in any public activities that promoted Taiwanese identity or spoke out against the government. During this period, the PCT continued to conduct services in the Taiwanese language and did what it could to preserve Taiwan identity. From the beginning of Nationalist rule until the 1970s, the PCT mainly focused on developing its ministry. As an institution, the PCT was not involved in the first movements for Taiwan independence. While there were some Presbyterians who did become involved in movements for Taiwan independence, it is difficult to prove that membership in the PCT necessarily provided a link to the support of Taiwan independence. Perhaps the PCT, which had been greatly influenced by foreign missionaries, did provide a more westernized, more democratic way of thinking that caused some Presbyterians to become involved in the early Taiwan independence movements, but because of the sensitivity of the issue, there is little evidence from the twenty years after the 2-28 Uprising to confirm this assumption. Moreover, these activists were most likely acting in response to KMT invasion and tyranny, and were primarily responsible for the resistance movement outside Taiwan and the underground movement in Taiwan. The 2-28 Uprising proved that the KMT did not have any qualms about persecuting, torturing, and murdering thousands of innocent people. The PCT did not want to take any risks during this period and felt that it was in its best interest to stay out of controversial matters.

The 2-28 Uprising altered the political situation in Taiwan, and thousands of Taiwanese left Taiwan for Japan and Hong Kong to seek refuge from the brutal KMT government.¹¹ Some of these Taiwanese were so disillusioned with the Nationalists that they joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in hopes that it would be able to

¹⁰ Douglas Mendel, *The Politics of Formosan Nationalism*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970), p. 36.

¹¹ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 12.

"'liberate' their island home,"¹² while others became proponents of Taiwan independence and hoped to gain the support of the UN and the international community. The 2-28 Uprising became the catalyst for the organization of the Formosan League for Re-Emancipation which was originally aimed at local autonomy with the rest of China. However, by the end of 1947, leaders of the League gave up hope for any realization of democracy and local autonomy. Taiwanese disgusted with the Chinese response to the 2-28 Uprising then began a movement to overthrow the KMT and turn Taiwan into an independent nation. Thomas Liao (*Liao Wen-yi*), a doctor and member of the Presbyterian Church, and Hsieh Hsüeh-hung, the Communist leader in the 1948 Taichung Uprising began the first Taiwan independence movement when they founded the Alliance for the Re-liberation of Taiwan (*T'aiwan tsai-chieh-fang t'ung-meng*). In 1948, Joshua Liao (*Liao Wen-kwei*), brother of Thomas, was arrested for his alleged involvement in the 2-28 Uprising. Thomas was in Hong Kong at the time of Joshua's arrest, but sent individuals to Japan to spread information regarding the 2-28 Uprising to the Taiwanese residing in Japan. The Taiwanese in Japan began asking the governments of democratic countries to sponsor a Formosan plebiscite which they felt would be the fairest way to determine Taiwan's future status.¹³

On September 1, 1948, Thomas Liao, leader of the Formosan League for Re-Emancipation, and the leaders of ten other Formosan organizations signed a manifesto and petition demanding independence for Taiwan through a plebiscite conducted by the United Nations and the world's democratic countries.¹⁴ After Joshua's release, the two brothers began a Taiwan independence movement in Hong Kong. In March 1949, the Formosan League for Re-Emancipation in Hong Kong sent a petition to the United Nations requesting a plebiscite to determine Formosan independence. The League also stated that the decision made at the Cairo Conference in 1943, which handed Taiwan to China after the Japanese surrender, was a violation of the Atlantic Charter which provided for racial self-determination and freedom for inhabitants to choose the form of government under which they wished to live. However, the Cairo Declaration did not comply with the wishes of the island's inhabitants and, thus, violated the Atlantic Charter.

¹² Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 12.

¹³ Joshua Liao, *Formosa Speaks*, (Chicago: The Formosan League for Re-Emancipation, 1950), p.20.

¹⁴ Thomas Liao, *Inside Formosa: Formosans vs. Chinese Since 1945* (Tokyo: Taiwan Min Pao She, 1956), p. 6.

On December 9, 1949, Chiang Kai-shek declared Taipei the capital of China and insisted that the Nationalist government on Taiwan was the legitimate government of all of China.¹⁵ In September 1950, Joshua Liao, submitted a memo, "Formosa Speaks," to the United Nations in support of Formosan independence. On May 23, 1950, the Nationalists declared that they had finished investigating and trying those responsible for the 2-28 Uprising, and officially closed the case. However, this did not deter the angry Taiwanese from protesting. When Joshua died in 1950, Thomas moved to Japan, started the Formosan Democratic Independence Party in Tokyo, and also organized an underground independence movement in Taiwan. It is interesting to note that many members of the Formosan Democratic Independence Party were Presbyterian, but the PCT as an organization did not support the Party. During the 1950s and the 1960s, Taiwanese living in Japan actively protested against the Nationalist government through public demonstrations, anti-Nationalist publications, and other activities. Both the KMT and overseas Taiwanese considered Thomas Liao the leader of the Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM) during this period. While movements for Taiwan independence were often referred to collectively as TIM, in actuality, there were many Taiwan independence organizations and movements that existed and often worked separately from each other. However, their main goal was to remove the dominant KMT party and replace it with a government that sympathized and identified with the Taiwanese rather than the Mainlanders. In 1965,¹⁶ personality conflicts between Thomas Liao and other members of the Formosan Democratic Independence Party caused this organization to fragment into several groups, including the Democratic Independence Party, the Freedom Independence Party, and the Young Formosan Association.¹⁷ While Liao was in Japan, his seventy-year-old sister-in-law and her son were jailed for sedition.¹⁸ The Nationalists promised Liao that if he returned to Taiwan and swore allegiance to the Chiangs, they would free his nephew and sister-in-law. When Liao gave in and returned to Taiwan, the

¹⁵ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 14.

¹⁶ Peng Ming-min's *A Taste of Freedom* indicates that the year of the break up was 1965, but Marc Cohen's *Taiwan at the Crossroads* has this date as 1964.

¹⁷ Lai Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers, and Wei Wou, *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 189.

¹⁸ Another discrepancy: Peng says that Liao's sister-in-law was in jail, but Cohen says Liao's brother was in jail and makes no mention of the sister-in-law. Because Peng's book is autobiographical and a primary source, I have chosen to use the information written in his book.

government viewed his abandonment of the movement as an act deserving clemency, and released his sister-in-law and her son from jail.¹⁹

Building a Strong Christian Ministry

Although the Catholic Church had sent missionaries to Taiwan as early as 1859, it did not have many members until after the Nationalists came to Taiwan. Catholics from the Mainland established missions in Taiwan after 1949 and succeeded in attracting nearly as many members as all the Protestant Churches combined in a matter of years. Since there were few native Taiwanese leaders in the Catholic Church, the Catholics attracted more Mainlanders than Taiwanese, and served as a "China Catholic Church in exile in Taiwan"²⁰ rather than a Taiwan Catholic Church. Because of the denominational chaos that occurred with the influx of Chinese Christians, church leaders in Taiwan formed the Taiwan Evangelical Fellowship in 1950. In 1963, Catholics, Presbyterians, and several other Protestant denominations organized the Taiwan Ecumenical Cooperative Committee which emphasized "a more inclusive understanding of the Gospel."²¹ The PCT also joined the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1952 to form international connections and to gain support from churches worldwide.

During the period that the independence movement was occurring in Japan, the Presbyterian Church was focusing on its ministry and developing its membership. In 1951, the Northern and Southern Presbyteries merged to form the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in hopes that the unification would help strengthen the PCT during this period of denominational chaos. The PCT then made a conscious effort to spread its evangelism and launched a ten-year campaign that took place between 1955-1965 and is known as the "Double the Church Movement" (*Pōe Ka Īn-tōng* – PKU). During this decade, the PCT experienced its most rapid growth, and succeeded in doubling both church membership and the number of congregations. In 1955, the PCT had 59,471 members and 233 congregations, but succeeded in doubling both numbers by

¹⁹ Peng Ming-min, *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of a Formosan Independence Leader* (Irvine, CA: Taiwan Publishing Co., 1972), p. 167.
Liao's sister-in-law was suffering from high blood pressure and her son was under death sentence. Incidentally, she was held in the cell next to Peng Ming-min.

²⁰ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 107. In 1979, there were only 23 native Taiwanese priests, but 354 Mainland ones.

²¹ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 107.

1965, the Centennial of Modern Protestant Missions to Taiwan. The PCT also developed its ministry to support the changes in Taiwan's social situation under KMT rule. The PCT established the Urban-Industrial Missions Program in 1959 to stimulate churches to reshape their ministries so that they were more relevant to the new social environment. To meet the needs of the Church during this period of change, the PCT established the Development of the Concept of Ministry and the Re-discovery of the Ministry of Laity.²² In an attempt to integrate the Church into the community, the PCT established the Christian Community House in 1967. During the 1960s and 1970s, when Taiwanese society was changing, the PCT became a haven for many young people who viewed the PCT as an authentically Taiwanese institution that guarded them from the harsh restrictions of the Nationalist government.²³

Because the Japanese had occupied Taiwan for the fifty years prior to KMT rule, many Taiwanese identified with Japanese ideology, and some even considered themselves Japanese. Even Taiwan's current president, Lee Teng-hui, admitted that he considered himself Japanese until he was twenty-two.²⁴ Lee also acknowledged that the KMT was a party that "represented an 'outside' force that had occupied Taiwan for decades."²⁵ The Mainlanders who came to Taiwan after World War II held drastically different views from the Japanese and felt that the Japanese had brainwashed the Taiwanese. These differences caused extreme tension between the Mainlanders and the Taiwanese. In addition, many Taiwanese had optimistically awaited the change to Chinese rule and had expected that matters would run as efficiently as they had under the Japanese, but with democratic rule. However, the Taiwanese were disappointed with the corrupt and oppressive manner in which the KMT decided to run the government. The goals and expectations of each group conflicted with the other.

While the Taiwanese wanted the Chinese to focus on economic development which had improved significantly under the Japanese, the Chinese merely regarded

²² D. John Jyigiokk Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," in *Christianity in Asia*, ed. by T.K. Thomas (Singapore: Christian Conference of Asia, 1979), p. 108.

²³ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 192.

²⁴ Tu Weiming, "Cultural Identity and the Politics of Recognition in Contemporary Taiwan," *The China Quarterly* 148 (December 1996): 1131.
Lee admitted this in during an interview with Japanese writer, Shima Ryutaro, which was conducted in Japanese, technically Lee's mother tongue. Ryutaro's article, "The sorrow of being born a Taiwanese" first appeared in *Asahi Daily*.

²⁵ Tu Weiming, "Cultural Identity and the Politics of Recognition in Contemporary Taiwan," *The China Quarterly* 148 (December 1996): 1131.

Taiwan as a supplier of resources for Mainland battles and did not want to waste their energy on economic development to benefit the Taiwanese.²⁶ Since Taiwan was more developed than the Mainland and had a higher standard of living, the Mainlanders felt that the Taiwanese should have greater responsibilities than "other Chinese" in the battle against the Communists and the quest for modernization. The Mainlanders believed that the Taiwanese were indeed Chinese and had a moral obligation to the Mainland, but many Taiwanese did not feel any connections to the Mainland because their families had lived in Taiwan since the seventeenth century and considered Taiwan their home. These Taiwanese did not feel any obligation to the Mainland, but instead felt obligated to promote democracy in Taiwan and demanded their right to self-determination. While the KMT claimed it supported democracy, its political actions proved to be authoritarian rather than democratic. Even though the KMT spoke out against Communism and Japanese totalitarianism and claimed it supported democracy, it advocated combining democratization with Confucian ethics and opposition to Communism.²⁷ The KMT did not believe that the Taiwanese were ready to live under a full-fledged democracy and wanted to slowly introduce democratic elements into society. Corruption within the KMT as well as poor planning led to a shortage of public funds which resulted in the unemployment of 36,000 Taiwanese officials, and decreased the ratio of Taiwanese bureaucrats from 56% under Japanese rule to 22% in 1945.

Struggles with Identity: The Cases of Peng Ming-min and Shoki Cee

The Presbyterian missionaries greatly influenced the family of Professor Peng Ming-min, a Formosan independence leader and the DPP presidential candidate in Taiwan's first presidential election in 1996. Peng's grandfather had served as a cook for Rev. Thomas Barclay and had become a devoted and active leader in the Presbyterian Church. While most non-Christian families were entrenched in Confucian values and Chinese culture, both sides of Peng's family had converted to Christianity in the 1870s. Therefore, Peng grew up in a family that had been strongly influenced by Western culture and ideas. Peng's Presbyterian background may have had an influence on his more liberal way of thinking as well as his concern for local autonomy and support for Taiwan independence.

²⁶ Lai et al, *A Tragic Beginning*, p. 169.

²⁷ Lai et al, *A Tragic Beginning*, p. 169.

Born in 1923, Peng grew up under Japanese colonial rule and later attended Japanese schools. Until 1922, primary schools remained segregated: Taiwanese students attended *kong hak-hāu* (*ko gakko* in Japanese) and were not allowed to attend *sho gakko*, Japanese primary schools, because the Japanese claimed that the Taiwanese could neither understand nor speak proper Japanese.²⁸ During World War I, the Taiwanese organized the first movement for home rule and demanded that the Japanese stop discriminating against them.²⁹ The home rule movement did have an impact on the Japanese, and in 1935 the colonial government allowed elections for local assemblies. By 1945, Taiwanese were granted voting rights equal to those of the Japanese. To the leaders of the home rule movement, this was a triumphant victory that would enable them to participate in all government elections. However, they were not able to enjoy this victory for long because Japan surrendered Taiwan to the Allied Powers later that year, and the Nationalist Chinese took control of Taiwan.

In 1960, Peng attended the Harvard-Tokyo conference and presented a speech discussing his newly developed political views. He stated that because the legal status of Taiwan had not been formally settled, the people of Taiwan were entitled to determine their own future.³⁰ Later that year, the Foreign Ministry appointed Peng as the advisor of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations Assembly in New York and asked Peng to look into the Taiwan Independence Movement in the United States while he was there. When he returned from New York, Peng reported to Nationalist headquarters and summarized his experiences at the conference. When asked about the Taiwan Independence Movement, Peng told the representatives present the following:

. . . [T]heir advocacy of independence . . . was not a matter of personal or isolated experience and belief, but a general reaction to the basic policies of government in Formosa. They objected to the *structure* of government in Formosa. They were not content to take part only in provincial organization while being excluded from an effective place in the national administration that absorbed provincial taxes and made decisions binding on the provincial administration.³¹

²⁸ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 13.

²⁹ For a detailed account of the home rule movement in Taiwan, see George Kerr, *Formosa: Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement, 1895-1945*, (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1974).

³⁰ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, pp. 99-100.

³¹ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 116.

Upon hearing this, the government representatives felt that they needed to change the views of the Taiwanese students overseas. When President Chiang Ching-kuo summoned Peng to his office to discuss the Taiwan Independence Movement in the United States, Peng felt that the nature of their conversation was rather trite and meaningless and thus concluded that the purpose of the visit was to instill in him a sense of obligation to Chiang after Chiang had given him personal attention.³² After this episode, Peng finally realized what his true obligations were: "My inner thoughts were in turmoil. The government and party bosses had made a great mistake in sending me to New York. This experience finally politicized me, and I was to lead a dual life thereafter, for many months, until I made a final commitment to challenge the dictatorship with a public demand for reform."³³

In 1964, Peng and two law school graduates, Hsieh Tsung-min and Wei Ting-chao, began drafting a manifesto *Taiwan Tzu-chiu Yun-Tung Hsuan-yen* ("A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation").³⁴ After finding a printer who was willing to make 10,000 copies of the document, they took the copies to their hideout and prepared to mail them all over Taiwan. However, the police arrested them before they were able to distribute their manifesto. Newspapers all over Taiwan printed articles about the arrest of the three men, saying that they had planned to sabotage the government. Meanwhile, the authorities detained and interrogated Peng, Hsieh, and Wei. While serving his sentence at a military camp at San Chang Li, Peng met Wu Chung-hui, a young chemistry student from Tunghai University who, along with 200 students, had been arrested for participating in "a big plot case."³⁵ According to Peng, "Wu proved to be one of the most idealistic youths I have ever met . . . He had his own scheme for the romanizing of the Formosan dialect for use on a typewriter and in print, so that we could cut ourselves off from traditional Chinese writing."³⁶ Like other Taiwanese who wanted to preserve the Taiwanese language and to promote the romanized vernacular as the standard means of written communication in Taiwan, Wu felt that Chinese characters did not accurately convey the meaning of Taiwanese words, and that the romanized system was much more

³² Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 110.

³³ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 120.

³⁴ See Appendix G for summary of points. (Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 127)

³⁵ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 153. According to Peng, "a big plot case" referred to "an incident involving students from nearly every university, and one or two military academies. Hundreds had been questioned, and some shot."

³⁶ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 153.

efficient. Peng was later moved to another compound and was interrogated by a prosecutor about his conversations with Wu, which had been recorded since their quarters were bugged. In February 1965, the court formally charged Peng with "an attempt to overthrow the government by illegal means."³⁷

After Peng was released and placed on surveillance, he became aware of the situation facing the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. In his memoir, Peng examines how the PCT's historical background has led it to stand up for the rights of the Taiwanese people:

Before 1945 the number of Christians in Formosa, although comparatively small, formed an important minority, almost an elite leadership group, exercising an influence far exceeding their numbers in the total population. Through the churches, the schools, and the mission medical services, Formosan attention had been drawn to the Western world for a century. Late in the Japanese era the Presbyterians came under heavy pressure, for they continued to use the Formosan dialect in the mission schools and church services, and resisted attempts to impose emperor-worship and the Japanese state religion, Shinto, upon Christian converts. From 1945 until 1949 the Christian community was relatively undisturbed, but from 1950 to 1965 the situation was altered. On the one hand everything was being done by the government to revive extravagant traditional Chinese folk-customs, so long condemned by the missionaries and discouraged by the Japanese. This was done in an attempt to recover and strengthen popular ties with continental China. On the other hand many missionaries and diverse Christian sects were brought into Formosa under quasi-official encouragement.³⁸

Until the early 1960s, Peng focused on academic affairs and was not as involved with the Christian community as other members of his family were, but in 1962 he began speaking to various church groups. When he spoke at Tainan Theological College, where all classes were conducted in Taiwanese, he chose to address the audience in Taiwanese rather than Mandarin, the "official" language of Taiwan. While speaking in Taiwanese, Peng found himself "discussing the problem of Formosan self-determination, speaking more bluntly than ever before in an open meeting."³⁹ Like many Taiwanese who were drawn to the PCT, Peng felt comfortable expressing his true feelings in the Presbyterian environment. The Presbyterians accepted and respected his views, and did not ridicule him. Moreover, they encouraged him to discuss opinions in Taiwanese, his mother tongue, rather than in Mandarin, the language of the Chinese Nationalists. Beginning in

³⁷ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 167.

³⁸ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 185-186.

³⁹ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 123.

1965, the Nationalist government realized that the Presbyterians were becoming more of a threat, and felt that the best way to suppress their influence was to "obliterate all sense of Formosan identity"⁴⁰ by insisting that schools use only Mandarin Chinese.

Like many other Taiwanese who lived during both Japanese and Chinese rule, Peng struggled with his identity:

From my earliest childhood the problem of being a Formosan had become psychologically more and more complex. I spoke Japanese perfectly and usually stood high in my class; nevertheless I was always self-conscious, constantly aware that I was different from my Japanese classmates. My name embarrassed me; the Chinese character for *Peng* is in Japanese pronounced "Ho," and when it was called out in the classroom it often provoked laughter. Mother wore the conventional dress of an upper-class Formosan woman, but when she came to the Japanese school on public occasions I was embarrassed because she looked so different from the other mothers present.⁴¹

Peng was not alone in his conflict over identity. Many Taiwanese who grew up under Japanese rule were also confused about their identities. Those who were educated under the Japanese school system spoke, read, and wrote Japanese as fluently as a native of Japan, yet the Japanese treated them as second-class citizens. Because these Taiwanese had received Japanese indoctrination in all aspects of their lives -- Shinto shrine worship, education, language, culture -- they were confused why they were not considered equal to Japanese and even began to despise their Taiwanese background. The identity issue only worsened when the Nationalists took over Taiwan and told all of its inhabitants that they were Chinese even though most of them had never been to the Mainland and did not speak a word of Mandarin.

Like Peng Ming-min, Dr. Shoki Coe, a prominent Taiwanese theologian who decided to take on his Japanese name, also faced conflicts over identity. Born on August 20, 1914 as Ng Chiong-hui,⁴² Coe grew up in a devout Presbyterian family in Taiwan. After he graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in Japan, he further pursued his studies at Westminster College of Cambridge University in England and eventually became a British citizen. In 1947, Coe moved back to Taiwan with his British wife and son, and after his ordination as a Presbyterian minister in 1949, he became the principal of Tainan Theological College. Shortly afterwards, Coe initiated the independence of the

⁴⁰ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 186.

⁴¹ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 17.

⁴² In Mandarin, Huang Chang-hui.

Taiwanese Church from the foreign missionaries and the unification of the Northern and Southern Presbyteries. Shoki Coe continued to promote evangelism and unify Christians island-wide until 1965, when he left Taiwan to become the associate director of the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches.

A close examination of Coe's background will provide an understanding of identity issues in Taiwan as well as insight into the PCT ministry during the years after the 2-28 Uprising. Coe's father, a Presbyterian minister, taught at the Presbyterian-run Tainan Boys' Middle School and worked closely with Rev. Edward Band and other foreign missionaries. After the Manchurian Incident in 1931 when Japanese nationalism heightened and the government ordered all inhabitants of Taiwan to install Shinto Shrines, Coe's father was forced to resign after he refused to comply with government demands and refused to teach in Japanese. During this time, Shoki Coe was studying philosophy in Japan in hopes that he would some day become a Presbyterian minister. In light of what had happened after the Manchurian Incident, Coe's father felt that the Christian ministry in Taiwan would soon deteriorate and asked his son if he was certain that he did not want to reconsider his career plans.⁴³ Indeed, matters did not look favorable for the Taiwan Christians when all foreign missionaries were forced out of Taiwan and Tainan Theological College was closed down in 1940. However, Shoki Coe was not discouraged by these events and was ordained as a Presbyterian minister on August 22, 1949, and was subsequently appointed the Principal of Tainan Theological College, which had reopened on April 1, 1948. Inspired by his work with the "All-Island Christian Youth Rally" held at Tamsui in 1948, Coe set about unifying Christians island-wide during the next fifteen years that he served as principal of the College.

When the KMT declared martial law in 1949, members of the PCT gathered to discuss how they should respond to martial law. They also decided to make preparations in case the Communists invaded Taiwan. Coe noted, "From then on, our life, work and thinking had to be done in consciousness of these two warring parties, between which we were being sandwiched."⁴⁴ When the Korean War broke out in June 1950, U.S. President Harry Truman sent the U.S. 7th Fleet to the Taiwan Strait to prevent the infiltration of communism into the area. The Church then became caught between three fronts for the next twenty years while the U.S. supported Chiang's government and provided it with military and economic aid. Nineteen fifty-one was the turning point for both Tainan Theological College and the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. During this year, the

⁴³ Shoki Coe, *Recollections and Reflections*, p. 71.

⁴⁴ Shoki Coe, *Recollections and Reflections*, p. 128.

College's student body increased from seventeen to forty-six students, and the College began formulating its plans to expand.

Prior to 1949, the overwhelming majority of Christians on Taiwan belonged to the Presbyterian Church, but when the KMT formally established its regime on Taiwan in 1949, it brought with it several non-Presbyterian Chinese Churches. The influx of these new churches resulted in denominational chaos, and the Presbyterian Church felt that it was necessary for the Northern and Southern Synods to unite.⁴⁵ As a result of the unification, the PCT created the General Assembly (*Chóng-hōe*) in 1951, which marked the first time that Missions from the North and the South were truly unified.⁴⁶ In 1953, the Northern and Southern Presbyteries of the Canadian and English missions merged to form one body, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. The two Presbyteries were able to unite successfully under the leadership of both Shoki Coe and Ng Bú-tong, the first General Secretary of the General Assembly. After 1951, with the reorganization of the Church, the PCT entered a new era and succeeded in building a strong ministry that was able to combat the anti-theological influences that threatened its existence.

In 1953, Dr. H. H. Harms, Associate Director of the Division of Studies of the World Council of Churches invited Shoki Coe to attend the preparatory meetings for the Second Assembly of the WCC. Coe accepted the invitation and spent one week in Geneva working with theologians from the international community. As part of the preparatory committee on evangelism, Coe worked closely with D. T. Niles, the secretary of the East Asia Church Conference, who announced that evangelism and mission were to be the themes for the second Assembly.⁴⁷ This was the first time that Coe had understood the distinction between evangelism and mission: evangelism took place in the Christian world while a mission occurred in the non-Christian world.⁴⁸ The Geneva meetings inspired Coe to work on evangelizing Taiwan. Coe shared his thoughts with Ng Bú-tong who was also enthusiastic about the matter. In their efforts to evangelize Taiwan, they launched the "Double the Church Movement." During the Geneva meetings, participants discussed the controversial "China question," and identity issues

⁴⁵ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 106.

⁴⁶ Although the Northern and Southern Missions did hold joint meetings under the Taiwan Synod, they maintained separate missions until the formation of the General Assembly.

⁴⁷ Shoki Coe, *Recollections and Reflections*, p. 168.

⁴⁸ Shoki Coe, *Recollections and Reflections*, p. 169.

for Coe arose when D.T. Niles asked him what he thought of the matter "as a Chinese Christian."⁴⁹ In his memoirs, Coe wrote:

I began by saying that I knew I was 'a Chinese' – or thought I did – and that was one of the reasons why, six years previously, I had gone back from England to Taiwan; but after having been back there all those years and lived under the Chiang regime's martial law, I had begun to wonder whether I was really a Chinese, or just a Taiwanese. For there was little difference really between Japanese rule and Chinese rule – in either case we Taiwanese remained second class citizens . . . Actually I had never been to China and so was not qualified to speak 'as a Chinese' as 'D.T.' had asked me to do. There are Chinese and Chinese in Taiwan: we refer to those who came after the war as 'A-soan-á' (mainlanders) and to ourselves as 'Hân-chû-á' (Taiwanese – literally 'sweet potatoes' from a jibe about the shape of the island).⁵⁰

Coe admitted to his own identity confusion and said that during the ten years he lived in England, he often talked about Christians and China as if he was a 'Chinese Christian.' However, after returning to Taiwan and experiencing KMT rule, he realized that he was not Chinese, but Taiwanese. At the Geneva meeting, Coe also stated that he did not feel that a two-China policy would really work, and proposed that there be "one China and one Formosa, like one India and one Ceylon."⁵¹ Until the Geneva meeting, Coe had not given much thought to the issue and was even surprised by his own proposal that China and Taiwan exist as separate countries. However, from that day on, Coe dreamed of the day that Taiwan and China could peacefully co-exist as distinct nations. To this day, forty-five years later, Coe's dream, which has also become the dream of many native Taiwanese, has yet to come true.

After serving as President of Tainan Theological Seminary from 1949 to 1965, Moderator of the PCT in 1957 and 1965, and Director of the Theological Education Fund for the WCC, Shoki Coe became the chairperson of the international movement "Christians for Self-Determination in Taiwan" after his retirement in 1979. In his 1982 address to the Subcommittee on Human Rights of the International Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives regarding the religious persecution of the Presbyterian Church in Asia, Shoki Coe began by demonstrating how his struggle with identity was an

⁴⁹ Shoki Coe, *Recollections and Reflections*, p. 172.

⁵⁰ Shoki Coe, *Recollections and Reflections*, p. 172.

⁵¹ Shoki Coe, *Recollections and Reflections*, p. 173.

example of how the government had denied him of his right to self-determination.⁵² He began by giving a lengthy introduction of himself:

I have introduced myself to you as Shoki Coe. The name given to me by my parents should be pronounced in our mother tongue -- Ng Chiong-hui. This is how I am known among my fellow Taiwanese both in Taiwan and abroad. However, not so long ago, between 1937 and 1947 when I was in England as a student, I had to carry a Japanese passport in which my name had to be pronounced as KO shoki. As you will recall, that was the period when Taiwan -- like Korea -- was a colony of Japan, and that Japanese was the so-called "Koku-go," the national language in Taiwan. Then between 1947 and 1967 I was known by yet another name, Hwang Chang-hui, because in travelling abroad, I had no alternative but to carry a passport issued by the Nationalist (Kuomintang KMT) regime on Taiwan. And Mandarin, another foreign language, has now superseded Japanese as the national language for the Taiwanese.

In saying all this about my name, I wish to emphasize to you that I am a Taiwanese whose identity has been complicated and distorted by the intrusion of the Powers into Taiwan from the outside, and this unsatisfactory situation is the main cause of the problem and predicaments of Taiwan and the people in a nutshell. We have to live in our homeland as second class citizens. We have to use our mother tongue as the second class language, very often with an imposed sense of shame and guilt. In essence we are denied our inalienable right to self-determination.⁵³

Coe's introduction of himself illustrates that those who lived in Taiwan during both Japanese and Chinese rule were forced by the respective governments to adopt Japanese and Chinese pronunciations for their Taiwanese names. By prohibiting the Taiwanese from using their mother tongue, both governments tried to make the local people feel ashamed of their native language and culture. As a result, the Japanese and Chinese succeeded in "Japanizing" and "Mandarizing" many native Taiwanese. The Taiwanese thought that if they complied with the demands of the government, they would be able to leave behind all traces of their Taiwanese background, and would finally be accepted as equals. However, this was not the case, and even though many Taiwanese became fluent in the "national" language, no matter how "Japanized" or how "Mandarized" the people of Taiwan became, the ruling government still considered them inferior and treated them as second-class citizens. While most Taiwanese quietly accepted their position in society during Japanese rule, many Taiwanese found the persecution by the Nationalists insufferable and decided that it was necessary to voice their concerns and stand up for the rights of the Taiwanese people. This resulted in the establishment of organizations which

⁵² *Taiwan Communiqué*, 9 (October 28, 1982) p. 7.

⁵³ *Taiwan Communiqué*, 9 (October 28, 1982) pp. 7-8.

advocated self-determination, democracy, and independence in Taiwan, and spoke out against the KMT.

When asked why he became involved in political matters, Coe concluded:

I am involved [politically] because I am a Taiwanese, and because I am a Christian - and a minister at that. In other words, my political involvements are the outward expression of a twofold inner 'wrestling' for the meaning of being a Taiwanese and the meaning of being a Christian . . ."What is a Taiwanese?" someone may ask. That is precisely the point. There are many in the world who are not even aware that millions like me are longing to be known as Taiwanese. There are others too - quite a lot of them, in fact - who are trying to prohibit us from calling ourselves Taiwanese!!⁵⁴

As a Taiwanese Christian, Shoki Coe refused to allow the Chinese Nationalists to suppress Taiwanese human rights and eradicate Taiwanese consciousness and identity. After witnessing the massacres of the 2-28 Uprising, many local Taiwanese were afraid to speak out against the KMT and continued to comply with the KMT's demands. Many Taiwanese refrained from criticizing the government because they feared further persecution by the KMT. Coe felt that it was necessary to expose the human rights situation in Taiwan to the international community in hopes that the Taiwanese could gather support from abroad. Coe's Christian duty compelled him to stand up for the rights of his fellow compatriots, and to seek the assistance of all countries in the world in the fight for local Taiwanese autonomy.

The PCT Withdrawal from the WCC

Mainland churches typically supported the KMT and linked anti-communism with Christianity, two words which the KMT frequently juxtaposed to spite the PCT. While the PCT did not support communism, it was the only church in Taiwan that belonged to the WCC which had "recommended that the PRC become a member nation of the United Nations and that the future of Taiwan should be dealt with in a way satisfactory to all parties concerned."⁵⁵ This angered the KMT, who urged the PCT to withdraw from the WCC because it felt that the WCC promoted communism. Since 1952, the PCT had been the only church in Taiwan that was a member of the WCC, and it had joined the WCC for its international connections to other churches, not because it

⁵⁴ Coe, *Recollections and Reflections*, pp. 233-234.

⁵⁵ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 110.

tolerated communism. The KMT continued to harass PCT officials about the Church's membership in the WCC. Several visiting Japanese pastors wrote and published essays regarding their impressions of Taiwan and the PCT. One pastor had written about the situation the PCT faced against the KMT and was arrested and forced to sign a "confession of guilt."⁵⁶ After the pastor signed the confession, the government informed him that they could prosecute and imprison him at any time and insisted that he campaign to force the PCT to withdraw from the WCC.

Peng Ming-min's sister, Peng Hsu-yuan, was president of a college run by the PCT in Tamsui during this time, and, although she had never been politically active, the government placed her school under surveillance. Peng Ming-min writes in his memoirs:

One day two groups of garrison security agents appeared at the Tamsui campus. While one group waited outside, the other slipped in quietly to tack up posters that read "Down with President Chiang Kai-shek! Up with the College President!" Then the second security squad rushed in with a great tumult, to tear down "subversive posters" which were then used as evidence to discredit the school and my sister.⁵⁷

The church finally succumbed to the pressure of the government and withdrew from the WCC in 1970. In its statement of withdrawal, the PCT stated that "confessing Jesus as Savior" and "anti-communism" were equally important in the Christian faith. It is suspected that the KMT forced the PCT to link the two phrases. However, after members of the PCT criticized the juxtaposition of these two phrases as heretical, the 1971 Presbyterian Assembly subsequently separated them.

When the ROC lost its seat in the United Nations in October 1971, and U.S. President Richard Nixon announced that he would visit China in early 1972, many Taiwanese became concerned that the U.S. would sever diplomatic relations with the ROC and establish formal relations with the PRC. In response to these events, the Executive Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan issued the "Public Statement on Our National Fate,"⁵⁸ on December 29, 1971 which stated that "the future of Taiwan must be determined by all inhabitants of the Island, whose Human Rights are granted by God," and that "there must be a general election in Taiwan."⁵⁹ After issuing this

⁵⁶ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 187.

⁵⁷ Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*, p. 187.

⁵⁸ See Appendix A for full text.

⁵⁹ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 110.

statement, the KMT government regarded the Presbyterian Church with even greater suspicion and increased surveillance of its activities.

The 2-28 Uprising and the subsequent March Massacre prompted some Taiwanese to speak out against the Nationalist government and advocate Taiwan self-determination and independence. During the two decades that followed the 2-28 Uprising, the PCT did not participate in the self-determination and independence movements, but instead concentrated on developing its ministry. As the political situation in Taiwan continued to worsen over the next twenty years, the Taiwanese found themselves in a state of perpetual victimization by the KMT, which reprimanded the Taiwanese for using their native language and forced them to learn Mandarin and use Chinese names. Although many Taiwanese became ashamed of their background, they realized that even after they adopted Chinese names and spoke Mandarin, the Nationalists, like the Japanese rulers, still refused to consider them as equals. Many Taiwanese became confused over their identity: they thought that because they carried ROC passports with Chinese names, they were Chinese. Even though they complied with government demands and attempted to replace their Taiwanese heritage with a Chinese one, the Taiwanese found that the Nationalist government still refused to regard them as fellow Chinese citizens, and continued to treat them as second-class citizens. When the Taiwanese realized that the KMT continued to differentiate between locals and Mainlanders, many Taiwanese felt that they, too, wanted to distinguish themselves from the Chinese, and uphold their Taiwanese identity. In addition, they also wanted the international community to recognize Taiwan as a separate country, independent of China.

It was during this time that the PCT decided to speak out on behalf of the Taiwanese people. For the past century, the Presbyterian Church had worked with the local people and had grown accustomed to its role as a church of the native Taiwanese. Thus, the PCT supported maintaining a separate Taiwanese identity and a separate Taiwan nation. After concentrating on developing its ministry for the twenty years following the 2-28 Uprising, the PCT also came to realize that an important part of its Christian mission was to protect the people of Taiwan in their time of need.

Christine L. Lin, "The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy."
Sino-Platonic Papers, 92 (January, 1999)

Although the Presbyterian Church was aware of the risks involved in expressing such views, it firmly believed that, as a church representing the native Taiwanese, it was the PCT's duty to speak out on their behalf.

Christine L. Lin, "The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy."
Sino-Platonic Papers, 92 (January, 1999)

CHAPTER III

PRESERVING THE TAIWANESE LANGUAGE

When Presbyterian missionaries first arrived in Taiwan in 1865, they found that the majority of Taiwan's inhabitants were illiterate. One reason for the low literacy rate was that there was not a written language for the local vernacular. The Presbyterian missionaries felt that it was important for the Taiwanese to be able to read and understand the Word of God in their native language so they developed a written language for Taiwanese and the other languages spoken in Taiwan. The written Taiwanese language created by the missionaries proved to be a quick and efficient way for church members to achieve literacy, and until Nationalist rule, it was the primary medium for written communication among Presbyterians in Taiwan. Unlike Chinese and Japanese which requires one to spend years memorizing thousands of characters, romanized Taiwanese uses the Latin alphabet and can be learned in a matter of months. Because romanized Taiwanese is not widely used outside of the Presbyterian Church, proponents of the romanized system are mostly Taiwanese Presbyterians.

Translating the Bible into Romanized Taiwanese

From the seventeenth century until the Nationalist takeover in 1949, Taiwanese, a derivation of the Amoy Chinese dialect, was the most widely spoken language of the people in Taiwan. While the literati learned to read and write in Classical Chinese (*wenyan*),¹ the common people did not have an established form of written communication for Taiwanese. In the seventeenth century, Dutch missionaries developed writing systems for several of the languages spoken on Taiwan. Although the Dutch missionaries simplified the various languages spoken on Taiwan and encouraged a general spoken and written language, Koxinga drove the Dutch out of Taiwan in 1662 before they could translate the Bible into all the native languages.² The first Bible (*Sēng-*

¹ The use of Classical Chinese as a written language can be analogous to the use of Latin in Medieval Europe. Although people who spoke all different dialects of Chinese could communicate and understand the same Classical texts, there was not a uniform pronunciation system for these materials and people pronounced them in literary languages closely related to their regional dialect. The differences between colloquial and literary Taiwanese will be discussed later in the chapter.

² This includes the dialects of the indigenous mountain people as well as Taiwanese.

keng) that the Dutch translated for the inhabitants of Taiwan appeared in 1661 when the missionaries published the Gospels of Matthew and John in romanization for an aboriginal tribe near present day Tainan.³ The Dutch mistakenly thought the language of this tribe was the primary language spoken on the island of Formosa, and called the language "Formosan."⁴ Although the missionaries had finished translating the other books of the Bible into "Formosan," Koxinga drove out the Dutch while the translated works were at the printing press, and they were never published.⁵

Edward Band writes in his biography of Thomas Barclay:

Barclay always maintained that one of the reasons why the work of the Dutch missionaries among the aborigines died out so rapidly after their withdrawal was because they left no Bible in the hands of the people. This was their misfortune rather than their fault, for copies of the Gospels in the native dialects were being printed in Holland at the time when the Dutch were driven out of Formosa.⁶

Band's statement applies to the native Taiwanese as well as the aborigines since none of the inhabitants of Taiwan had copies of the Bible in their native languages during that time. After the period of Dutch rule, the romanized writing systems developed by the Dutch for the languages spoken on Taiwan were not widely used until the Presbyterian missionaries reintroduced them to the island in 1865. John Van Nest Talmage from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and his Taiwanese colleague, Reverend Yiu'n Su-iong, developed a romanized phonetic system for the colloquial Taiwanese language in 1851.⁷ Although there are several systems for

³ This aboriginal tribe is now extinct.

⁴ Eugene Nida, ed., *Book of a Thousand Tongues*, (London: United Bible Societies, 1972) lists Formosan as a separate entry from Taiwanese and Chinese. It is interesting to note that "Formosan" in *Book of a Thousand Tongues* refers to this aboriginal language, not Taiwanese. Moreover, the book lists Taiwanese as its own language, and does not consider it a dialect of Chinese. However, the Foochow Colloquial (Min) which is closely related to Taiwanese, is listed as a dialect of Chinese and has an entirely different translation history than the Taiwanese. Foochow (Fukien, China) is where the descendants of the native Taiwanese came from. See Appendix H for excerpts from the Bible in each of these languages.

⁵ The American Bible Society Library has the only remaining copy of the Dutch translation of the Gospel according to Matthew (reprinted in the 19th century) which the Dutch translated into the aboriginal language that they called Formosan.

⁶ Edward Band, *Barclay of Formosa* (Ginza, Tokyo: Christian Literature Society, 1936), p. 68.

⁷ The romanized system that Yiu'n and Talmage devised was technically for the Amoy language spoken in Amoy in Fukien where the ancestors of most of the native Taiwanese originated. Taiwanese is almost identical to Amoy, but it has some differences in tones and accents. Taiwanese can tell the if a person is from Amoy by his or her accent and vice versa.

writing romanized Taiwanese, the system developed by Talmage and Yiu'n is the one used by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan.⁸

In 1852, Elihu Doty, a Dutch Reformed missionary in Amoy, China, translated the Gospel of John into the romanized Amoy dialect. American and English missionaries completed and published the New Testament and the Book of Psalms in 1873. In 1884, the British and Foreign Bible Society published the completed translation of the Bible in the Amoy dialect. The Amoy dialect is very similar to Taiwanese, and the people of Taiwan can read and understand the Bible written in romanized Amoy. In fact, until 1967 when a group of Roman Catholics and Protestants published the Gospels in Taiwanese, all Scripture translations of the Bible were technically in Amoy, not Taiwanese. However, even though the previous versions of the Bible were in Amoy, the missionaries had translated it specifically for the Taiwanese people, not the Amoy-speaking people in China. There was a separate Bible translation history for the people in Fukien. In Eugene Nida's *Book of a Thousand Tongues*, translations for Fukienese are classified as a dialect of Chinese while Taiwanese is listed as its own language and is not considered a dialect of Chinese.⁹ Although missionaries and other Christians welcomed the first version of the translated Amoy Bible, the translation was still far from satisfactory since most of the work done on it was finished before the publication of the revised English Bible.¹⁰

In order to reach out to the local community, the Presbyterian missionaries needed to learn the colloquial Taiwanese language. When Reverend John Maxwell of the Presbyterian Church in England came to Taiwan in 1865, he realized that in order to make his mission successful, he needed to provide the local Taiwanese people with Biblical texts in their native language. Maxwell returned to England in 1871 and began

⁸ Currently there are several systems of romanization used for writing the Taiwanese language. Church romanization used by the PCT remains the most widely used form. Church romanization gives the tones with numbers or intonation marks, but the Modern Taiwanese Spelling System (MTSS) uses different spellings for words that have the same phonetic pronunciation to represent the different tones so that the tones are actually embedded into the spelling in MTSS. There are advantages and disadvantages with each system: MTSS is more cumbersome and more difficult to learn, but proponents of MTSS feel that it is a better system to use when teaching foreigners and second generation Taiwanese because it allows them to take into consideration the tones. Church romanization is predominately used in the PCT, approximately 2% of the population, (Xiamen), Fukien, invented the Church Romanization system in the 19th century. Prior official documents.

⁹ See Chapter III, footnote 4.

¹⁰ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 142.

translating the New Testament of the Bible into the Amoy dialect, but a serious illness left him bed-ridden and interrupted his work. After his recovery, he finally returned to Taiwan in 1883.

While Maxwell was recovering in England, the English Presbyterian Mission sent Rev. Thomas Barclay to Taiwan. Barclay began his missionary work in Taiwan in 1875 and founded Tainan Theological College in 1876, which became a major influence on Taiwan's intellectual growth.¹¹ Barclay became one of the greatest Presbyterian contributors to the romanized Taiwanese language and devoted the majority of his life to translation work because, along with the rest of the mission staff, he felt that, in order to develop a stable church, it was necessary for the native members to be able to read and understand the Scriptures.¹² Since many of the converts were illiterate, the missionaries needed to devise a practical and efficient method to teach them to read. Teaching them to read a Bible written in complex Chinese characters, the language of the literati, was a long and cumbersome task equivalent to learning a new language because the pronunciation of literary Taiwanese was much different from the colloquial vernacular.¹³ Strictly speaking, academic or formal Taiwanese, a literary language, was merely a set of pronunciation rules for reading Classical Chinese texts or Mandarin while colloquial Taiwanese was a spoken language.¹⁴ This paralleled the use of Latin in Medieval Europe during the Holy Roman Empire when people in Italy spoke in Italian, but wrote in Latin. Likewise, because academic Taiwanese was extremely formal and far removed from the vernacular, people in Taiwan spoke in colloquial Taiwanese, and those who were literate wrote in Chinese characters (*hanbun*). Because the majority of Taiwan's population was illiterate, the missionaries found it much easier to communicate with the locals in colloquial Taiwanese rather than in academic Taiwanese, which few people could understand. The missionaries conducted their services in the vernacular and devised a system for transcribing spoken Taiwanese which is often called "Church white language writing" (*kàu hōe pēh ū jī*).¹⁵ After the Japanese assumed power in 1895, missionaries

¹¹ Douglas Mendel, *The Politics of Formosan Nationalism*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970), p. 21.

¹² Hollington K. Tong, *Christianity in Taiwan: A History* (Taipei: China Post, 1961), p. 40.

¹³ Chinese characters and the Taiwanese vernacular language are analogous in the manner that Hebrew is to Aramaic. Except for the books of Daniel and Ezra which are written in Aramaic, the language that Jesus spoke, the Old Testament is mostly written in Hebrew.

¹⁴ Daniel Wu, "Taiwanese writing system," Personal e-mail to Alvin Lin, 9 March 1998. Daniel Wu is a graduate student in computer science at the University of California Santa Barbara, who has studied the Taiwanese writing system in great detail.

¹⁵ Daniel Wu, "Taiwanese writing system," Personal e-mail to Alvin Lin, 9 March 1998.

tried to devise a writing system for Taiwanese using *katakana* (Japanese phonetic alphabet), but this practice did not catch on, and most Church members continued using the romanized system. Romanization was much more convenient than Chinese characters: one only needed to learn seventeen letters of the English alphabet, the seven tones of the Taiwanese language, and the system of tone shifts in order to read romanized text. For these reasons, the missionaries promoted and developed material printed in the romanized vernacular language and successfully built up a literate congregation.

In 1881, Barclay wrote, "Among our present church members, I know of no woman, with perhaps one or two exceptions, who can read Chinese characters, and almost certainly, no more than 10 per cent of the male members can do so."¹⁶ However, he reported that almost half of the church members had learned to read Scriptures written in romanized Taiwanese. Both before Japanese colonialism and during the first half of Japanese rule, Barclay promoted the use of romanization so effectively in Taiwan that it became central to the life and growth of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan.¹⁷

To help with the translation of Biblical texts, the English Presbytery sent a printing press to Taiwan to provide the Presbyterian missionaries there with their own publishing facilities.¹⁸ The dedication of the missionaries to this task is reflected in Barclay, who spent his sabbatical leave at a Glasgow printing plant learning the techniques necessary for running a printing press. On May 24, 1884, the Church Press in Tainan printed the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan's first publication. In July 1885, Barclay published the first issue of the monthly *Taiwan Church News* (*Kàu hōe-pò*),¹⁹ the first mass media effort in Taiwan to promote communication through the new romanized script. The newsletter not only contained Church news, but also included current events and world news. It also became a popular medium for Church members to express their opinions and concerns. At the time, *Taiwan Church News* had a monthly circulation of 2000 and contained information on current world events as well as religious subjects. Since then, it has become a weekly newsletter with a circulation of 8000, and is believed to be the oldest church newsletter in the Far East.²⁰

¹⁶ Tong, *Christianity in Taiwan*, p. 40.

¹⁷ George Hood, "Almost All Their Eggs: Some Pros And Cons Of A China Concentration," *United Reformed Church Historical Society Journal* 5:1 (1992): 25.

¹⁸ Tong, *Christianity in Taiwan*, p. 41.

¹⁹ Refer to Appendix E.

²⁰ See Appendix F for a recent issue of *Taiwan Church News*.

Throughout his sixty years in Taiwan, Barclay continued to advocate the use of romanized Taiwanese because it was the most efficient way to educate illiterate Church members. Barclay and his fellow missionaries succeeded in realizing their goals by making the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan a Bible-reading Church:

Soon after my arrival in Formosa I became firmly convinced of three things, and more than fifty years experience has strengthened my conviction. The first was that if you are to have a healthy, living Church it is necessary that all the members, men and women, read the Scriptures for themselves; second, that this end can never be attained by the use of the Chinese character; third, that it can be attained by the use of the alphabetic script, the Romanised [sic] Vernacular. I also thought that to describe this Romanised [sic] Vernacular as a system suited to women and children and uneducated persons, while scholars like myself used the character, was to condemn it as a failure from the outset. Accordingly I resolved to do what I could by way of personal example by using it instead of the Chinese character. During all my term of service I have only on one occasion used the Character Bible in the pulpit, and that once I regret. I knew of course that this was done at the risk of losing one's reputation as a scholar, but that was a small matter compared with the hoped-for result.²¹

Since the majority of people on Taiwan were illiterate, Barclay felt that teaching them to read the romanized alphabet rather than Chinese characters was more practical. However, to prevent major divisions in society between those who could read Chinese characters and those who could not, Barclay believed that everyone should learn to read and write the romanized colloquial language and that it should become the primary means of written communication in Taiwan. Barclay found that the romanized system was simple enough that it enabled "even ignorant country folk to acquire in a very short time a knowledge of the Scriptures for themselves in their every-day familiar speech."²² Prior to the Nationalist takeover, only the Taiwanese literati, who had dedicated their entire lives to studying Classical Chinese, could read the Chinese character Bible. In addition to memorizing the thousands of characters necessary for reading the Bible, non-literati would also have to learn an entirely new list of vocabulary words used to discuss scholarly subjects. This process would have taken an additional ten or twenty years to learn while even the slowest learner could master the romanized vernacular within a matter of months. During Japanese rule, there were Bibles in the Japanese language, but, likewise, to become literate in Japanese also required that one learn to read thousands of characters. Barclay felt it was important for the native congregation to have the ability to

²¹ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 67.

²² Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 68.

read and understand the Bible in their own language and not depend solely on the preacher's interpretations of the Scriptures.

Romanized Bibles and Hymnals

Between 1913 and 1935, Barclay spent most of his time doing translation work: he revised both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible and worked on a supplement to the Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular which Carstairs Douglas had originally published in 1873.²³ Barclay's devotion to translating the Bible into romanized Taiwanese is demonstrated by his slogan "The Bible in the Mother-tongue."²⁴ Although most missionaries retired from the Mission at age sixty-five, Barclay, who turned sixty-four in 1913, continued his mission work in Taiwan until his death in 1935. To revise the Bible, Barclay not only had to master the Amoy dialect but also needed to be able to read Hebrew and Greek so that he could render an accurate translation of the Bible from its original. In 1915, Barclay finished revising the New Testament. His motto became:

Everyone must learn Romanised [sic], and as many as possible learn 'character.' Let every member have a copy of the New Testament, and by prayer, example and admonition let all readers "be guided to the daily prayerful study of the Word, that on a basis of a Bible-reading and Bible-loving people, there may be established a living, healthy, growing Church that can never be shaken.²⁵

Barclay completed and published the supplement to the Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular in 1923, which contained new scientific terms and words that Western civilization had been introducing to Taiwan since 1873. On December 30, 1930, Barclay, who was then eighty-one years old, finished translating and revising the Old Testament into the Amoy vernacular. Unfortunately, the Japanese bombed the Commercial Press building where the new version of the Old Testament was being printed during the Shanghai Incident on January 28, 1932, completely demolishing the building. Luckily, Barclay's original manuscript and the semi-final proofs survived the incident, but the

²³ Appendix I contains an excerpt from the Old Testament in romanized Taiwanese. Appendix J contains an excerpt from the New Testament in romanized Taiwanese.

²⁴ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 130.

²⁵ Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, p. 147.

publishers were not able to complete the finalized version of the Old Testament until 1935.²⁶

For over thirty years, Taiwanese Presbyterians used Barclay's Amoy dialect Bible. While Church members in Taiwan could read and understand the Bible in the Amoy dialect, Taiwanese Christians decided that it was necessary to translate the Bible into the romanized Taiwanese vernacular specifically for the Taiwanese people because the infiltration of Japanese and Mandarin distinguished the colloquial Taiwanese language from the Amoy dialect. Also, the phonetic notation of Amoy did not account for all the accents of Taiwanese.²⁷ In 1966, several Taiwanese Christians began translating the Bible into Taiwanese. The Catholic Church in Taiwan published the Four Gospels in Taiwanese between 1968 and 1969, and both the Catholic Church and the PCT published the Taiwanese New Testament in 1972. However, Chiang Kai-shek confiscated the revised version of the Taiwanese New Testament immediately after its publication. Fortunately, the churches had sent several copies of the Taiwanese translations to the United States. Taiwanese translators have recently completed a translation of the entire Bible for the Taiwanese, but at the time of writing, it has not yet been published.

During the first period of the Presbyterian mission in Taiwan, the Church used hymnals (*sèng-si*) that were originally composed and translated by missionaries in Amoy. However, English missionaries in the Southern Presbytery felt that it was necessary to prepare a hymnal that would cater to the needs of the Church in Taiwan. At first, the missionaries in Taiwan tried to cooperate with the missions in Amoy, where the dialect is closely related to the Taiwanese dialect, but because of Taiwan's isolated position communication was difficult, and the English Presbyterians realized that they would have to work independently in order to attain their goals in a timely manner.²⁸ The Southern Presbytery finished assembling and printing a new romanized Taiwanese hymnal in

²⁶ A Chinese character edition of this Bible was published in 1996.

²⁷ "Writing Taiwanese," <http://daiwanway.dynip.com/tw/writing.shtml>. The *Taiwanese Language Page* is maintained by Pai Chou, a graduate student in computer science at the University of Washington. After Chou came to the U.S. from Taiwan, he found that he was losing command of the Taiwanese language and began gathering materials to help him build up his Taiwanese. Although Chou used to teach Taiwanese to second-generation Taiwanese, time constraints prompted him to put Taiwanese language material on the Web rather than teach. Chou compiles his information from books (John DeFrancis and Jerry Norman for Socio-linguistic topics) and from his own observations. His web site deals with the technical aspects of Taiwanese language, not the political ones. Chou also runs a Taiwanese internet relay chat (IRC).

²⁸ William Campbell, *Sketches from Formosa* (London, Edinburgh & New York: Marshall Brothers, Ltd., 1915, reprinted by Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1996), p. 244.

October 1900, creating the first hymnal suited to the needs of native Taiwanese Christians.

The missionaries encountered language difficulties in 1895 when the Japanese government began colonial rule in Taiwan after the Sino-Japanese War. Despite the language barrier, the missionaries and the Japanese remained on good terms until 1931. During the beginning of Japanese rule, the Japanese did not try to impede the development of Christian education as long as Christian day schools used the Japanese language; they also did not object to the circulation of the Bible in romanized Taiwanese. In 1913, Reverend William Campbell and Tân Toa-lwo edited a romanized Chinese-Taiwanese dictionary which not only helped people pronounce Taiwanese names correctly, but was also used by the population registrars for writing Taiwanese names. In 1916, Barclay published the Taiwanese New Testament, which marked a milestone in Taiwan Church history as well as the history of Amoy-speaking churches in China and Southeast Asia.²⁹

In the 1920s and 1930s, a group of Taiwanese intellectuals who wanted to write about native Taiwanese culture and history for a Taiwanese audience debated over which language to use when writing their literary works: Classical Chinese, the language of Chinese intellectuals; Taiwanese written in Chinese characters; romanized Taiwanese; or Japanese.³⁰ However, a period of strong Japanese nationalism came about, and in an effort to "Japanize" Taiwan, the colonial government prohibited the printing of languages other than Japanese in 1936, leaving Taiwanese writers with no choice but to write in Japanese.

During this period of hostility between the PCT and the Japanese government, Barclay and Rev. Yiu'n Su-iong finished translating the Old Testament into romanized Taiwanese. As Japanese nationalism grew stronger, the government accused Church-managed schools of being "unpatriotic" and "anachronistic" forms of education and forced them to use the Japanese language in their schools.³¹ The PCT continued to conduct services in Taiwanese throughout this period of "Japanization," and served as the guardian of the Taiwanese language until 1942 when the Japanese also forced all churches to use the Japanese language. The Japanese government insisted that everyone

²⁹ D. John Jyigiokk Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan" in *Christianity in Asia*, ed. by T.K. Thomas (Singapore: Christian Conference of Asia, 1979), p. 103.

³⁰ Marc Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads: Human Rights Political Development, and Social Change on the Beautiful Island* (Washington, DC: Asia Resource Center, 1988), p. 162.

³¹ Tin, "Christianity in Taiwan," p. 104.

speak Japanese, and they forced pastors who could not deliver sermons in Japanese to resign. At each church service, they made pastors and elders lead their congregations in singing the Japanese national anthem and in bowing three times towards the direction of the Imperial Palace in Japan.³² The colonial government also condemned the use of romanization as a hindrance to the spread of the Japanese language, the official language of Taiwan. The Japanese made the use of romanized Taiwanese Bibles a criminal offense punishable with harsh penalties. The Japanese colonialists even went so far as to make accusations that the romanized Taiwanese script concealed codes and secret revolutionary messages.³³

By the end of World War II, Japanese was the primary means of written communication among the educated. However, churchgoers who did not know how to write in Japanese continued to use romanized Taiwanese to communicate with each other. The romanized Taiwanese vernacular was mostly used by Taiwanese Christians and was not a widely used means of mass communication outside of the Presbyterian Church.³⁴ Although romanization was an easier system for people to learn, the government prohibited non-church publications from using it, and the knowledge of Taiwanese romanization was regarded as a symbol of being Christian.³⁵ Tainan Theological College promoted literacy in Taiwanese by using romanization for the register used for teaching classes.³⁶ The College also used romanized Taiwanese script for drafting sermons, reading the Bible, and singing hymns.

32 Chong-gyiau Wong, *The Emergence of Political Statements and Political Statements and Political Theology in the History of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church*, Dissertation Boston University School of Theology, 1992, p. 36.

33 Wong, *The Emergence of Political Statements and Political Statements and Political Theology in the History of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church*, p. 35.

34 Cheng, "Language Unification in Taiwan," p. 361.
According to Cheng, people outside of the church only used Chinese characters to write Taiwanese folk songs and to read Classical Chinese texts.

35 Cheng, "Language Unification in Taiwan," p. 361.

36 Jean DeBernardi, "Linguistic Nationalism: The Case of Southern Min," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 25 (August 1991), published by The University of Pennsylvania, p. 4.

Taiwanese Language Under Nationalist Rule

Restrictions on the Taiwanese language did not diminish when the Nationalists formally took over Taiwan in 1949. An influx of Mainlanders who spoke various regional dialects followed the Nationalists to Taiwan. Most of these Mainlanders did not speak Taiwanese, and therefore, Mandarin, the Northern dialect used by Chinese government officials, became the language of communication among the people on Taiwan. Since few Taiwanese spoke Mandarin, the Nationalists set about "Mandarizing" the island, and declared Mandarin the official language of Taiwan. Under Japanese colonial rule, the people on Taiwan were called "Taiwanese," but the Nationalists prohibited the use of the word "Taiwanese" when they came into power, and labeled all people on Taiwan as "Chinese." The government banned the teaching of romanized Taiwanese and prohibited the printing of new romanized texts. The ban on romanization mainly affected the PCT because, at that time, the PCT was the only organization that published texts in romanized Taiwanese. In order to decrease the amount of Taiwanese spoken in Taiwan, the KMT prohibited the use of Taiwanese in schools and severely limited the time allotted for radio and television programming in Taiwanese.

Television was first aired [in Taiwan] in 1962 and Taiwanese shows were most popular, which caused some jealousy. So in 1972 the government ordered that all television stations could not air more than one hour per day of Taiwanese-language programs and that hour had to be broken up into two segments at lunch and at night. During the 6:30 P.M. prime time hour, only one of the three stations could air a Taiwanese-language program. In 1976, another rule was passed which said that all television shows had to be in Mandarin and the shows in Taiwanese would be gradually phased out over the year.³⁷

Even though Taiwanese shows were exceedingly popular, programming in the Taiwanese language was limited to one hour of Taiwanese game shows and soap operas a day until martial law ended in 1987.³⁸ In late 1987, the government finally allowed the television networks to show twenty to thirty minute news segments in Taiwanese, and

³⁷ Lin, "T'ai-wan chiao-yu mien-mu 40 nien" (Faces of Taiwan's Education Over 40 Years), p. 114, as cited by Alan M. Wachman, "Competing Identities in Taiwan," in *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*, ed. by Murray Rubinstein (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc. 1994), p. 53.

³⁸ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 165.

provided simultaneous Taiwanese translations of Mandarin television shows over the radio waves.³⁹

The restrictions placed on the Taiwanese language, the native tongue of the majority of Taiwan's inhabitants, angered the native Taiwanese who did not all understand Mandarin. By limiting the use of Taiwanese and branding it as the language of lower-class, uneducated people, the Mainlanders wanted to make the Taiwanese feel inferior to them. The government went out of its way to single out and ridicule non-Mainlander children. When Rev. William J.K. Lo, the present General Secretary of the General Assembly of the PCT, was in elementary school, the school officials forced him to wear a sign around his neck that told everyone he spoke the Hakka dialect. He had to find one person by the end of the school day who spoke Hakka in order to retain his dignity.⁴⁰

Although native Taiwanese still continued to speak Taiwanese at home, the government insisted that students speak only Mandarin at school. If teachers caught students speaking in Taiwanese, they punished the students through fines, corporal punishment, and humiliation.⁴¹ By chastising the students for using Taiwanese, the government tried to instill in the students' minds that Taiwanese was a base and undignified language that should be prohibited, and that they should feel ashamed of being Taiwanese. The penalties inflicted upon those who were caught speaking Taiwanese scared many students into speaking only Mandarin and made them despise their native language. On the other hand, it also angered others who were subjugated to punishment for using Taiwanese, and made them despise the government for denying them the basic human right to converse in their native tongue. The KMT deliberately designed the education system to inculcate Chinese culture into the minds of the Taiwanese students and to suppress any form of Taiwanese culture. Antonio Chiang, who was educated under the KMT, expresses his feelings of repression in the following statement:

Under KMT indoctrination . . . we not only don't know much about Taiwan . . . we learn[ed] to despise Taiwanese, Taiwanese language. They said Taiwan has no language, no culture. Taiwanese history started from the day the KMT arrived in Taiwan. Taiwan has no purpose in itself. The purpose of Taiwan is to be a stepping stone to go back to China. It is a transition. It is like a hotel. So, the only hope for Taiwanese is the

³⁹ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 165.

⁴⁰ William J.K. Lo, Personal Interview, 1 August 1997.

⁴¹ Wachman, "Competing Identities in Taiwan," p. 53.

Mainland.... The KMT brought that kind of philosophy, that kind of view to Taiwan and imposed that . . . view on Taiwanese. So, we feel humiliated.... We have no hope because we are too small. We have no culture.⁴²

Through the education system, the KMT attempted to brainwash the younger Taiwanese generation in hopes that they would support the views and ideals of the Nationalist government and rebuke those of their native Taiwanese parents. Although it worked in some cases, it also caused some Taiwanese to feel even greater resentment towards the KMT. Those who grew up in the Presbyterian Church felt especially strongly against the KMT because they faced not only persecution at school, but also in their churches.

In 1974, copies of a Taiwanese-English dictionary, compiled by a Canadian Presbyterian missionary, Bernard L. M. Embree, under the auspices of the Taipei Language Institute were smuggled into Taiwan after the Nationalist government had banned their circulation on the island.⁴³ The Nationalists banned the dictionary because it contained romanized Taiwanese. A government official said, "We have no objection to the dictionary being used by foreigners. They could use it in mimeographed form. But we don't want it published as a book and sold publicly because of the Romanization it contains. Chinese should not be learning Chinese through Romanization."⁴⁴ The irony of this statement was that the dictionary not only gave the romanized forms of words, but also the Chinese characters. The romanization was present since it allowed for a more accurate pronunciation of the words. However, the government did not find any use of romanization tolerable since it believed romanization promoted the Taiwanese language. From the beginning of Nationalist rule in Taiwan, the KMT government limited the use of Taiwanese and implemented a program of "Mandarization," in which they forced schools, the military, and the government to use only Mandarin Chinese. Native Taiwanese, who were much more comfortable with their own language, despised this policy since the government limited television programming in Taiwanese to only one and a half hours per day.⁴⁵

⁴² Interview with Antonio Chiang, Taipei, May 20, 1991, as cited by Wachman, "Competing Identities in Taiwan," in Rubinstein, p. 55.

⁴³ "Guide to Dialect Barred in Taiwan," *New York Times*, 15 September 1974, sec. 1, p. 15.

⁴⁴ "Guide to Dialect Barred in Taiwan," *New York Times*, 15 September 1974, sec. 1, p. 15.

⁴⁵ "Guide to Dialect Barred in Taiwan," *New York Times*, 15 September 1974, sec. 1, p. 15.

On Sunday, January 12, 1975, ROC government officials interrupted the church service of an aboriginal Presbyterian congregation and confiscated the romanized Tayal Mountain-Taiwanese Bible and hymnals. Four days later, they confiscated all romanized Taiwanese Bibles from the Taiwan Bible Society and banned further printing of romanized texts. The ROC government condemned romanization for hindering the promotion of Mandarin Chinese as the national language. KMT officials declared that church members were to read the Biblical text in Mandarin in order to demonstrate patriotism. According to supporters of Taiwan independence, patriotism as defined by the KMT was to love the KMT not the Taiwan of the native Taiwanese. Since many of the KMT leaders were Christian, they did not have a problem with the actual text of the Bible as long as it was written in Chinese characters. However, they forbade the use of the romanized Bibles which posed a large problem to many older Christians who could read romanized Taiwanese and possibly Japanese, but could not read Bibles printed in Chinese characters. The Taiwan Bible Society reacted by first demanding that the government return the confiscated Bibles, and then asked the government to permit them to print editions using Chinese characters and romanization on facing pages.⁴⁶ However, the government refused because they did not approve of romanization. The PCT could not help but feel that the KMT's actions were aimed directly at the PCT because, while the government prohibited the Taiwanese from worshipping in their own language, they did not place any restrictions on foreigners who worshipped in other languages, such as English, French, Hebrew, and Spanish. It is also interesting to note that the ROC government not only banned Taiwanese romanization, but also prohibited the use of the PRC's pinyin romanization system and the use of the Mainland's simplified Chinese characters. Although Taiwan employs the use of simplified characters and a romanized system for Mandarin, it is different from the system used in the PRC.

To protest the confiscation of the romanized Taiwanese Bibles, the PCT issued its second statement "Our Appeal" in November 1975, to voice concerns about the Taiwanese Bible, the Church, and the Nation.⁴⁷ According to the PCT, the Taiwanese language is granted by God to the people of Taiwan, and by prohibiting the use of

⁴⁶ Appendices J and K are examples of Christian material during Nationalist Rule. Appendix J contains the "Lord's Prayer" written in both romanized Taiwanese and Chinese characters. Appendix K contains a hymnal written in both Chinese characters and Taiwanese characters. Today, virtually all Taiwanese Bibles and hymnals are in this format (romanized Taiwanese accompanied with Chinese characters).

⁴⁷ Refer to Appendix C for full text.

Taiwanese, ROC officials were denying the human rights of the island's people. With respect to the language issue, the PCT requested that the government accept its proposal:

**TO PRESERVE THE FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS FAITH WHICH IS
GUARANTEED TO THE PEOPLE IN THE CONSTITUTION.**

The people in every nation in the free world enjoy full religious liberty. Thus every person should be able to enjoy the freedom to use his own language to worship God and to express his own religious faith. Most regrettably, Bibles published in some of the local languages by the Bible Society have been investigated and confiscated. When this happened it was a great shock to people both here and abroad. The authorities concerned regard the printing of the Bible in local languages as a contravention of the policy to promote the use of the National language and this is their reason for suppressing it. However, one such decision can never contravene the basic spirit of the constitution. Now, although after several negotiations the old edition of the Bible in Roman characters has been returned, we are continuing to press this matter with the government in the hope that, in order to preserve the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of faith, the new translation of the romanized Bible may also be returned; but most important of all we urge that the freedom to continue to publish and distribute the Bible in any language be guaranteed.⁴⁸

The PCT was not afraid to represent and protect the rights of the Taiwanese people by speaking out against the government. In "Our Appeal," the PCT clearly states that it supports the continued use of romanized Taiwanese Bibles and the Taiwanese language. The PCT objects to the limitations placed upon the Taiwanese language by the Nationalists and opposes the promotion of Mandarin as the national language. By trying to eradicate the Taiwanese language, the KMT hopes to obliterate Taiwanese identity and culture. However, because of organizations like the PCT who possess a strong Taiwan consciousness, the KMT has not succeeded in suppressing Taiwanese identity. In fact, government restrictions have perhaps invoked an opposite reaction by causing Taiwanese Presbyterians and other native Taiwanese to feel even stronger sentiments for upholding local autonomy and preserving Taiwanese language, culture, and identity.

In a discussion with Reverend D. John Jyigiokk Tin, Professor Emeritus of Tainan Theological College, and Director for the Christian Institute for Social Transformation, about the historical events which led the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan to support Taiwanese independence, Rev. Tin stressed the importance of the spoken Taiwanese language as well as its romanized script in maintaining a separate Taiwanese identity from that of the Mainland Chinese. Since the spoken Taiwanese language differs from

48 The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, *Our Appeal - Concerning the Bible, the Church, and the Nation*, Public Statement, 18 November 1975.

Mandarin Chinese in grammar, syntax, and pronunciation (seven tones and a complicated system of tone shifts in Taiwanese, as opposed to four tones that basically do not shift in Mandarin), Chinese characters cannot adequately express the Taiwanese language. Moreover, up to one-fourth of Taiwanese words cannot be adequately expressed in Chinese characters.⁴⁹ Under the Ch'ing and subsequently under Japanese occupation, the PCT had access to the Bible only through the romanized version. After the Nationalist Chinese took control of Taiwan, government attacks on the romanization of Taiwanese helped push the PCT into the pro-independence camp. In 1978, while Rev. Tin was chair of the Church Press, members of the PCT complained that there were not any Bibles to read since the Nationalist government had confiscated them. Rev. Tin secretly printed 2000 romanized Taiwanese Bibles. Although this was a dangerous step to take, Rev. Tin felt it was important to provide Church members with text in their native language since the stability of the Church depended on the ability of the congregation to read the Scriptures in Taiwanese. Rev. Tin goes as far as to say that Chinese characters have led to the decadence of Chinese society, and in order for Taiwan to progress, she must get rid of Chinese characters and replace them with romanization. Today, there are approximately 150,000 Taiwanese who use Taiwanese romanization.⁵⁰

In 1983, the Ministry of Interior proposed the "Law to Protect Religion," which not only required each church to register its property, rules, membership lists, and leaders, and provide information about its beliefs, but also required them to abide by the "national policy."⁵¹ "National policy" encompassed issues such as using Mandarin and accepting that Taiwan was part of China. Although this law failed to pass, many Presbyterians felt that the proposal was targeted at them, particularly the section regarding national language, since the PCT was virtually the only church that conducted services in Taiwanese, Hakka, and aboriginal languages.

In 1986, the ethnic composition of the Christian community in Taiwan consisted of 43% native Taiwanese, 29.2% Mainland Chinese, 24.2% mountain Taiwanese, and 2.9% Hakka.⁵² Because the PCT has a long history of working with the native Taiwanese, the majority of native Taiwanese Christians belong to the Presbyterian Church. While the PCT tends to attract a native Taiwanese congregation, the Methodists,

⁴⁹ "Writing Taiwanese," <http://daiwanway.dynip.com/tw/writing.shtml>.

⁵⁰ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, "PCT and Taiwan Identity," E-mail to Christine Lin, 11 May 1998.

⁵¹ Marc Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 198.

⁵² Swanson, *Mending the Nets*, p. 34.

Baptists, Catholics, and other Christian denominations tend to draw Mainlanders to their churches and conduct worship services in Mandarin rather than in Taiwanese. Although studies show that the Mandarin-speaking community was about three times more receptive to Christianity than the Taiwanese, both Mandarin-speaking and Taiwanese-speaking churches during this time grew at about the same rate.⁵³ However, during this period, there was an increase in the number of services conducted in Mandarin, which is indicated by the fact that while one-third of church leaders were Mainlanders, 50% of the churches conducted services primarily in Mandarin.⁵⁴ Until the Nationalists came to Taiwan, the predominant language of church services was Taiwanese and the majority of Christians in Taiwan belonged to the PCT. As a result of the KMT's declaration of Mandarin as the national language in Taiwan, many younger Taiwanese hardly speak and understand Taiwanese. Therefore, most churches, including the PCT, conduct services in both Mandarin and Taiwanese. In addition, most Chinese-speaking, non-Presbyterian churches have a tendency to support the Chinese Nationalist government in Taiwan. The Taiwanese-speaking Presbyterian Church has asked the KMT government to identify with the majority of the people in Taiwan and to establish democracy for the people in Taiwan.

Out of all the public statements issued by the PCT, Rev. Tin considers the "Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan," which he helped draft on April 11, 1985, the most important statement issued by the Church.⁵⁵ From a religious standpoint, faith and order are of utmost importance in religious belief. However, this statement also signified the first time that the General Assembly of the PCT had written a statement in romanized Taiwanese and declared the faith of the PCT in their native language. In accordance with the laws of the Nationalist government, the PCT had no choice but to write the previous public statements in Mandarin using Chinese characters. Thus, writing this statement in Taiwanese was a breakthrough for the PCT because the KMT had forced it to issue the other statements in Mandarin, the language of the Chinese Nationalist government, not the language of 85% of Taiwan's population.

According to Rev. William J.K. Lo, the mission of the PCT leaders is to carry out God's will to protect the human rights of the people of Taiwan and to preserve the Taiwanese language which God gave to the people of Taiwan. The Presbyterian Church's

53 Swanson, *Mending the Nets*, p. 34.

54 Swanson. *Mending the Nets*, p. 101.

55 See Appendix M for full text in romanized Taiwanese as well as English translation.

133 year history in Taiwan as well as its strong support of local Taiwanese interests against the Japanese and Nationalist governments have allowed the PCT to become influential in its advocacy of local autonomy and its promotion of the Taiwanese language. Since the PCT used romanized Bibles and hymnals well before the KMT established the Republic of China on Taiwan, preservation of the Taiwanese language is a major goal of the Taiwan Presbyterians. As an organization, the PCT upholds a strong interest in the native Taiwanese community and emphasizes the importance of keeping the Taiwanese language alive in order to maintain Taiwanese culture and identity.

Before either Japanese or Nationalist rule in Taiwan, Presbyterian missionaries had institutionalized the local Taiwanese language when they developed a written vernacular. Although the main goal of the missionaries was to build up congregations where all members could read and understand the Bible in their native language, they promoted the Taiwanese language to an even greater extent when they published the *Taiwan Church News*. As the first mass media publication in Taiwan, the *Taiwan Church News* served as a means for church members to communicate through the use of romanized Taiwanese. While the romanized vernacular was widely used within the Presbyterian Church, it was seldom used by non-Church members, and never caught on as a means of written communication for the entire island. As a result of their advocacy of romanized Taiwanese, the Presbyterian Church faced constant criticism and oppression during the periods of "Japanization" and "Mandarization," under Japanese colonialism and Nationalist rule. Because both of these governments denied the Taiwanese the right to communicate in their native language, language became an emblem of local identity and human rights.

Since the end of martial law in 1987, the loosening of restrictions placed on the usage of Taiwanese has allowed the Taiwanese language to make a comeback in the political world, as many opposition leaders campaign in Taiwanese. In the 1989 elections for the Legislative Yuan and Provincial Assembly, Taiwanese became the language of the political campaigns, and even KMT leaders found that knowledge of Taiwanese was a necessary requirement for a successful political career.⁵⁶ The re-emergence of the Taiwanese language illustrates the importance of preserving Taiwanese identity and culture to the people of Taiwan. With the end of martial law, the Taiwanese are not afraid to express their views and to speak out openly against the government.

56

"Taiwan's Language of Independence," *The Economist*, 7 August 1993, p. 59.

Prominent Mainlanders, including Chiang Kai-shek's son, Chiang Wei-kuo, found that they needed to learn Taiwanese, the language they had tried so hard to suppress. KMT officials have found that in order to appeal to a country comprised of about 85% native Taiwanese, it is necessary to communicate in Taiwanese if they want to win the support of the people, especially since opposition leaders have embarrassed KMT bureaucrats by asking them questions in Taiwanese because they know that the officials do not understand the language.⁵⁷ Rather than the romanized Taiwanese system that was convenient for teaching foreign missionaries and the illiterate, a new text using Chinese characters was developed to help Chinese-reading Mandarin speakers learn Taiwanese.⁵⁸ Taiwan has become increasingly bilingual since 1987, as Mainlanders find that both Mandarin and Taiwanese are necessary to be politically successful in Taiwan.

57 "Taiwan's Language of Independence," *The Economist*, 7 August 1993, p. 59.

58 Alan Wachman, *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1994), p. 150.

Christine L. Lin, "The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy."
Sino-Platonic Papers, 92 (January, 1999)

CHAPTER IV

CHURCH, VERNACULAR, AND THE EMERGENCE OF A HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

In other parts of East Asia, it has not been uncommon for churches to affiliate with political parties. Over the years, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has associated itself with liberal connections and adopted values in response to the political situation in Taiwan, but has not developed formal ties with any political party. Although the PCT had kept quiet in the two decades following the 2-28 Uprising, it became increasingly vocal in the 1970s when it issued three public statements: "Public Statement on Our National Fate," "Our Appeal," and "Declaration on Human Rights." While the PCT did not have political intentions when it issued these statements, it was forced to react in a political manner because the subject matter was so highly politicized. Rev. C.M. Kao used to say that, "We have political ideal[s], but no political ambition."¹ Rather than being a political church, the PCT is a prophetic church with a political vision.

Although Article 13 of the Republic of China Constitution guarantees that "the people shall have freedom of religious belief,"² in reality the KMT government placed restrictions on certain religious groups in Taiwan, and did not allow them to exercise their freedom to worship. In the past, the Nationalist government has banned certain religious groups, and has harassed, intimidated, and suppressed the actions of religious organizations which appeared to challenge government policies.³ In particular, the KMT has closely monitored the actions of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and has even sent government officials to attend services of the PCT to make sure that organized political activity does not take place. Because Chiang Kai-shek and many other KMT officials were Christian, his government was not opposed to Christianity as a religion, but rather disapproved of church groups that did not support the policies of the Nationalist government.

¹ Yang-en Cheng, "A Reply," E-mail to Christine Lin, 5 May 1998.
Dr. Yang-en Cheng, a Presbyterian, is a professor at Taiwan Theological College and Seminary in Taipei, Taiwan.

² Joe Hung, "Religious Activities on Taiwan," *Asian Culture Quarterly* 4:1 (Spring 1976), p. 72.

³ Marc Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads: Human Rights Political Development, and Social Change on the Beautiful Island* (Washington, DC: Asia Resource Center, 1988), p. 185.

The PCT as the Church of the Native Taiwanese

Unlike the Methodist and Baptist churches that came to Taiwan with the Mainlanders in the late 1940s, the PCT has been in Taiwan since 1865. Although the Catholic Church sent missionaries to Taiwan in 1859, it did not attract many native Taiwanese followers and its Mission did not take off until after the Nationalists arrived in Taiwan. After 1949, the Catholic Church sent many missionaries to Taiwan to convert the Mainlanders, and succeeded in attracting approximately the same number of members as the entire Protestant population on Taiwan. Since the majority of Catholics on Taiwan are Mainlanders who came to Taiwan with the KMT, they are not as concerned with promoting Taiwanese as the PCT even though they began their Mission in Taiwan prior to Nationalist rule. As an organization, the Catholic Church does not have strong ties to the native Taiwanese, and the majority of its members are Mainlanders who sympathize with the KMT. However, beginning in 1966 the Catholic Church in Taiwan did help the PCT with the translation of the Bible into romanized Taiwanese. Therefore, even though the Catholic Church consists mostly of Mainlanders, unlike the KMT, it is not against promoting the Taiwanese language. While the Mainland churches on Taiwan support the KMT, the PCT has always supported the indigenous people of Taiwan and refuses to give in to the demands of the Nationalist government which it feels suppresses the human rights of the people on Taiwan. Because the Presbyterian Church has been in Taiwan since 1865 -- before Taiwan became a province of China, before Japanese colonial rule, and before KMT rule -- the PCT sympathizes with the people of Taiwan and serves as the church of the Taiwanese people. The PCT is an inclusive church that aims to serve all the people of Taiwan and conducts services in Aboriginal languages, Mandarin, and Hakka, as well as in Taiwanese.

Beginning in the 1970s, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan became increasingly concerned with both the self-determination and human rights problems in Taiwan. When U.S. President Richard Nixon announced in December 1971 that he would visit the PRC, the PCT understood this to mean that the U.S. would soon end its diplomatic and military relationship with the ROC. The PCT responded with the "Public Statement on Our National Fate" on December 29, 1971 to express their "extreme concern over developments in the world which could seriously affect the lives of all who live on this island."⁴ The statement declared that the people of Taiwan did not wish to be governed

⁴ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, *Public Statement on Our National Fate*, Public Statement, 29 December 1971.
See Appendix A for full text.

by the PRC government and that they "oppose any powerful nation disregarding the rights and wishes of fifteen million people and making unilateral decisions to their own advantage, because God has ordained and the United Nations Charter has affirmed that every people has the right to determine its own destiny."⁵ The PCT issued the "Statement" to protect the human rights of the people of Taiwan because it believes that Taiwan's international status should be decided by the people of Taiwan, rather than by external world powers or member countries of the United Nations.

After issuing the "Public Statement on Our National Fate," the PCT faced increased surveillance by the KMT. In January 1975, government officials not only confiscated romanized Atayal Bibles and romanized Taiwanese Bibles, but also banned the printing of all romanized texts.⁶ By placing restrictions on the use of romanized Bibles, the KMT government denied members of the PCT the freedom to worship in their own language, and thus blatantly violated Article 13 of the ROC Constitution which guarantees the right to religious freedom. The authorities eventually returned some of the confiscated Bibles, but refused a request by the PCT Bible Society to print bilingual Bibles with Chinese characters and romanized local languages on facing pages.⁷ By proposing bilingual editions of the Bible, the PCT sought to appease the government by including Chinese text in the Bible, but the KMT adamantly refused because it did not approve of using local languages in church services. In response to the government's violation of religious liberty, the PCT issued its second statement, "Our Appeal,"⁸ on November 18, 1975.

In "Our Appeal," the PCT reaffirmed its support for self-determination and requested that the government accept the following proposals:

1. To preserve the freedom of religious faith which is guaranteed to the people in the constitution.
2. To help overcome our [Taiwan's] isolation in foreign relations.
3. To establish a relationship of mutual trust and confidence between the government and the church.

⁵ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, *Public Statement on Our National Fate*, Public Statement, 29 December 1971.

⁶ Atayal is an aboriginal language.

⁷ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 193.

⁸ See Appendix C for full text.

4. To help toward the reconciliation and working together of all people living in Taiwan.
5. To preserve human rights and the welfare of the people.⁹

Furthermore, the PCT urged the government to guarantee the freedom to publish and distribute the Bible in any language; to allow the PCT to join the World Council of Churches (WCC), the World Presbyterian Alliance, and other international church organizations; to establish a direct relationship between church authorities and government; to treat all people in Taiwan as equals; and to adopt effective measures to protect human rights and the welfare of the Taiwanese people.¹⁰

In 1977, when James E. Carter became President of the United States, the PCT was certain that the U.S. would hasten the normalization of relations with the PRC which former President Nixon had begun.¹¹ Since the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué¹² left the future of Taiwan up to "the Chinese" on either side of the Taiwan Strait, the PCT was afraid that normalizing relations would encourage the PRC to take over Taiwan by force.¹³ On August 16, 1977, the day before U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance left for a visit to China, the PCT issued "A Declaration on Human Rights."¹⁴ The PCT mailed over 200 English copies of the "Declaration" overseas, sent 1000 Chinese copies to the Premier, the KMT, and all local Presbyterian churches, and mailed over 4000 copies of the *Taiwan Church News* with the "Declaration" on the front page. However, most copies of the *Taiwan Church News* did not reach their final destinations, and the PCT believes that the KMT government was responsible for the disappearance of these issues. In the "Declaration," the PCT requested that President Carter "continue to uphold the principle of human rights while pursuing 'the normalization of relationships with Communist China' and to insist on guaranteeing the security, independence and freedom of the people of Taiwan."¹⁵ According to the PCT, since "human rights and a homeland

⁹ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, *Our Appeal - Concerning the Bible, the Church, and the Nation*, Public Statement, 18 November 1975.

¹⁰ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, *Our Appeal - Concerning the Bible, the Church, and the Nation*, Public Statement, 18 November 1975.

¹¹ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 194.

¹² Refer to Appendix N for Shanghai Communiqué.

¹³ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 194.

¹⁴ See Appendix D for full text.

¹⁵ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, *A Declaration on Human Rights*, Public Statement, 16 August 1977.

are gifts bestowed by God,"¹⁶ the residents of Taiwan should be entitled to independence and freedom and should have the right to decide on the fate of Taiwan. The KMT viewed this declaration as a violation of national policy because the PCT advocated its wish that Taiwan become an independent country. Moreover, the government misinterpreted the PCT's intentions for issuing the "Declaration," and falsely accused the PCT of conspiring with Taiwan independence terrorists to overthrow the Nationalist government. Although the PCT officially promotes Taiwan independence, it is not formally linked to any of the TIM groups. The General Secretary of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, Rev. C.M. Kao, denied the accusation that the PCT was engaging in terrorist attacks to overthrow the KMT and clarified the PCT's true intentions:

The Declaration was written as part of our Christian response to the critical situation in which those of us living in Taiwan find ourselves. We hold no political ambitions, nor do we owe allegiance to any political organization here or overseas. Our motivation was not to destroy, but to build. This Declaration sprang out of our love for God and our country, concern for our fellow countrymen and a desire to contribute what we have to offer at this time. The passage in Ezekiel 33:1-6 has been much in our minds. "But if the watchman sees the enemy coming and doesn't sound the alarm and warn the people, he is responsible for their deaths." Our country is meeting dangers, how can we stand by in silence? Our Christian conscience requires us to speak. It is our responsibility to speak the truth in love and to state our constructive ideas so that they may be heard and considered.¹⁷

According to Rev. Kao, the PCT did not have political motives in mind when issuing the "Declaration," but felt that it was the PCT's Christian duty to express its concern for the welfare of the people in Taiwan. Rev. Kao emphasized that the main points of the "Declaration" were that the Lordship of Christ governed over the world, that human rights and a motherland were gifts bestowed by God, and that the future of Taiwan should be determined by the island's 17 million residents.¹⁸ In order that the people of Taiwan could live in a "new and independent country," the PCT called for the support of President Carter in maintaining the security, independence, and freedom of

¹⁶ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, *A Declaration on Human Rights*, Public Statement, 16 August 1977.

¹⁷ Melinda Liu, "Church Takes Independent Line," in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 4 November 1977, reprinted in *The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan Under the Cross*, prepared by Formosan Christians for Self-Determination, p. 6.

¹⁸ Letter to All Board Secretaries, from C. M. Kao, pp. 4-5.

Taiwan's inhabitants and requested that the Nationalist government lead the way towards the establishment of a new and independent country.

Rev. Kao further stated that the PCT was upholding Christian beliefs and loyalty to God when it issued the "Declaration" :

The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan through preaching and service to 17 million people here aims at their salvation and the restoration of their true humanity. The Declaration is an expression and crystallization of our prayers. It is not written from a political viewpoint but from the standpoint of our Christian faith. Politicians of all parties will be dissatisfied with it, but our aim was to make a clear statement of what we believe, not to please politicians. What is important is that we should be loyal to Christ who has dominion over all principalities and powers and reigns with righteousness and love.¹⁹

Rev. Kao's statement clearly demonstrates that the purpose of the "Declaration" was religious rather than political. The PCT felt that as an organization that follows and believes in Christ, it needed to take responsibility and make sure that God's gifts to the people on Taiwan -- human rights and a homeland -- were not taken away from them by outsiders who knew little, if anything, about Taiwanese culture and language. While the KMT did not understand the sentiments of the native Taiwanese, the PCT, one of the largest native Taiwanese organizations, believed it was morally obligated to speak on behalf of its Taiwanese members.

The KMT continued to distrust the PCT and told the Presbyterians that it was afraid that "overseas elements would misunderstand the Church's use of the word 'independent'"²⁰ in the phrase "new and independent country," and encouraged them to change the controversial sentence. To clear up any misunderstandings over the phrase, Rev. Kao defined the terms of the "Declaration on Human Rights" in an interview with *The Journalist* magazine: "What we meant by a 'new country' is a society where justice prevails, where special privileges do not exist, and where no inhumane acts are committed. 'Independence' means that Taiwan has a sovereign government, which is not a regional government of Communist China."²¹ However, the KMT did not find Rev. Kao's explanation satisfactory and continued to press the PCT to change the wording of

¹⁹ Liao Bang-tai, "The Nationalist Chinese Government Persecuting the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan," in *Sing-Tao Jih Pao*, New York edition, 18 April 1978, reprinted in *The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan Under the Cross*, prepared by Formosan Christians for Self-Determination, p. 39.

²⁰ Liu, "Church Takes Independent Line," reprinted in *The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan Under the Cross*, p. 6.

²¹ *Taiwan Communiqué* No. 32 (10 December 1987): 7.

the sentence. When the PCT refused to comply, the KMT realized that the Presbyterian Church was not willing to back down in its cause and felt that more severe measures were necessary to subvert PCT activities.

After the PCT issued the "Declaration," more and more issues of the *Taiwan Church News* did not reach subscribers through the mail system. These issues probably disappeared because officials opposed to the PCT wanted to eliminate factual evidence of the PCT's activities so that the government-controlled media could give their own rendition of events.²² Since the KMT controlled the media, it took advantage of its position and engaged in false reporting and propaganda to deter people from joining the PCT, and even caused some members of the PCT to disaffiliate from the Church. Furthermore, military officers and instructors discouraged young people from joining the Presbyterian Church.²³ To further scrutinize the activities of the PCT, the KMT managed to get several of its Presbyterian members elected as elders in local churches so that KMT elders would have the power to hire and fire pastors as well as manage church funds.²⁴ The KMT continued to brand the members of the PCT as "independence terrorists" and accomplices in the Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM) which supposedly wanted to overthrow the Nationalists through violent means, and the KMT warned the people of Taiwan not to join the Presbyterian Church. The TIM, which actually consisted of several separate pro-Taiwan independence organizations, was active in the U.S., Hong Kong, Japan, and Europe, and some of its activists were Presbyterians. However, the PCT as an organization did not formally support the TIM. While some TIM organizations did resort to violent tactics, most groups involved with the TIM wished to resolve the situation through peaceful means. Rev. C.M. Kao responded to rumors about the involvement of the PCT in terrorist attacks by saying, "We are not at odds with the Kuomintang and we do not advocate overthrowing the present Government."²⁵ Many historians feel that the idea that the PCT was a breeding ground for "independence terrorists" is ludicrous because the Church's religious beliefs prohibit the use of violence, and the Church adheres to peaceful measures in settling issues regarding Taiwan's future. The PCT had no intention of destroying the government; its main concern was to protect

22 Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 195.

23 Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 195.

24 Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 195.

25 Liu, "Church Takes Independent Line," reprinted in *The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan Under the Cross*, p. 6.

the human rights of the people of Taiwan. The KMT intentionally misinterpreted Church statements and activities as ploys to oust the Nationalist government and continued to spread false rumors to blacken the name of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. In an editorial in the April 9, 1978 issue of the *Taiwan Church News*, the wording and purpose of the "Declaration" were further clarified:

Regarding the phrase 'a new and independent country' in the Declaration, as a matter of fact, it absolutely has nothing to do with Taiwan Independence Movement. 'In this critical situation,' the Presbyterian Church respected our government and urged 'our government to take effective measures' whereby an ideal country may be built. We, as citizens of the Republic of China, must actively support and practice the ideals of democracy, freedom and government by law. Therefore, we must constantly reform and rebuild our society, in order that such ideals may be fulfilled.²⁶

All the major newspapers in Taiwan reported that the three statements issued by the PCT represented the views of only a minority of Church officials, and accused Rev. C.M. Kao of using the PCT to promote his own political ideas. Presbyterian Church pastors Rev. C.C. Chen and Rev. C.Y. Wu, who held pro-Japanese views on colonial policies in Taiwan, sided with the KMT and spoke out against Kao, and became tools of the KMT in its attacks against the PCT. To increase the credibility of these men, the press portrayed them as having high positions in the PCT. The *United Daily News* said that C.Y. Wu was an official in charge of the PCT, and the *Central Daily News* said he was an executive director of the PCT.²⁷ However, neither of these positions actually exists within the PCT, and both men are notorious for breaking Church rules and instigating trouble within the Church. For years, the Nationalists used Wu and Chen to foment divisions within the Presbyterian Church, even though they knew that Wu and Chen did not represent the views of the PCT, but rather those of the Nationalist government. By including the opinions of pastors who were sympathetic to the KMT in their reports, the media gave the public the impression that these ministers represented the views of the majority of PCT members, but this portrayal was rather inaccurate. In reality, these pastors represented the views of the minority, as demonstrated by the results of the plenary meeting of the 25th General Assembly on March 28, 1978 when the General Assembly re-elected Rev. C.M. Kao as General Secretary by a vote of 255-57.

²⁶ Song Choan-seng, *Testimonies of Faith: Letters and Poems from Prison in Taiwan* (Geneva: Studies from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1984), pp. 23-24.

²⁷ Taiwan Presbyterian Weekly, March 18, 1978, Editorial "Sternly Protest False News Reporting," in *The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan Under the Cross*, p. 20.

During this meeting, the General Assembly also approved and adopted the "Declaration on Human Rights" by a vote of 235-59. The re-election of Rev. Kao and the support for "A Declaration on Human Rights" indicated that the statements issued by the PCT did indeed speak for the majority of Church members.

In 1979, the government proposed a "Law Regulating Temples, Shrines, Churches, and Mosques," which was clearly targeted at the PCT. The proposed law forbade any religious body to act "in contravention of its established aim or against public interest,"²⁸ and stated that religious organizations could only participate in religious activities.²⁹ If passed, the law would also give the government the right to dismiss personnel, appoint new governing boards, and seize assets of institutions that violated this rule. Although this law did not pass, the mere proposal of such a law indicated that the government was willing to go to any extent to meddle in the activities of the PCT. The proposed law, which clearly infringed upon religious freedom, demonstrated that the KMT was not above violating the ROC Constitution and would deliberately suppress the basic human rights of the Taiwanese people in order to promote its own interests.

The 1979 Kaohsiung Incident and the Kaohsiung Trials

In August 1979, Shih Ming-teh and several others founded the magazine *Formosa (Meili-tao)*, which focused on social and political problems and served as a source of advice and action for those concerned with promoting democracy in Taiwan. The magazine also sponsored public meetings to discuss human rights and labor relations, which the government deemed "subversive."³⁰ To show their concern for human rights, members of the magazine organized a rally in Kaohsiung on December 10, 1979 to commemorate International Human Rights Day. During the month before the rally was to be held, intruders broke into and vandalized *Formosa's* Kaohsiung, Taipei, and Pingtung offices. On December 9th, the day before the rally, police arrested and physically assaulted two *Formosa* workers while they were driving through Kaohsiung

²⁸ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 196.

²⁹ The proposed law did not distinguish between religious and non-religious activities.

³⁰ Anne Ming, *Taiwanese Voice: The Kaohsiung Incident* (London: The Division of International Affairs of the British Council of Churches, 1981), p. 10.

and announcing the rally on the loudspeakers of a truck.³¹ Organizers of the event protested the arrest, but the police refused to admit to any wrongdoing. The two workers were not released until after the police forced them to sign papers saying that their wounds were self-inflicted.³²

Despite all the crimes committed against the *Formosa* in the month preceding International Human Rights Day, staff members were not dissuaded from holding the Kaohsiung rally. Although organizers had planned the rally as a peaceful event, chaos broke out and the rally turned into a violent riot. Members of the audience tried to get closer to the platform to hear the speeches, but the police pushed them away. Since it was difficult for them to see or hear what was going on, the audience became restless, and the police decided to employ the use of riot trucks and tear gas to break them up. For awhile, amidst the riot trucks and tear gas, organizers of the rally tried to continue with their activities, but finally called an end to the event when matters became completely out of control.³³

While newspaper reports immediately following the Kaohsiung Incident stated that over ninety civilians and forty policemen were injured during the rally, government authorities claimed that 182 policemen and only one civilian were injured.³⁴ Although the injuries were minor, authorities also exaggerated the seriousness of the injuries by sending important government officials and famous actresses to the hospitals to comfort the injured policemen.³⁵ By inviting news crews to tape these visits and requesting that they televise these clips, authorities tried to convince the public that the blame lay on the unruly participants of the rally, not the innocent policemen.

31 Anne Ming, *Taiwanese Voice: The Kaohsiung Incident*, p. 10.

32 Anne Ming, *Taiwanese Voice: The Kaohsiung Incident*, p. 11.

33 This is the account of the Human Rights Day event summarized from complete tapes of the rally that the Court refused to admit as evidence during the Kaohsiung trials. The contents of the tapes clearly demonstrate that the organizers were not the cause of the riots that broke out. See Ming, *Taiwanese Voice*, pp. 12-14 for further details concerning the tapes. International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan, *The Kaohsiung Tapes*, (Seattle, Washington: February 1981) contains the actual transcripts of these tapes. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain a copy of this publication.

34 "The Kaohsiung Incident of 1979," *Taiwan's 400 Years of History Homepage*, <http://www.taiwandc.org/hst-1979.htm>, (8 April 1998). This information comes from the *Taiwan, Ihla Formosa* Homepage maintained by the DPP, CTIR, TAIP, FAPA, and *Taiwan Communiqué*. See footnote 54 in Chapter I for more details regarding the homepage.

35 "The Kaohsiung Incident of 1979," *Taiwan's 400 Years of History Homepage*, <http://www.taiwandc.org/hst-1979.htm>, (8 April 1998).

Following the Kaohsiung Incident, police arrested people all over the island whom they believed were connected with the rally. Members of the PCT were among those arrested, including: Rev. C.M. Kao and nine others who helped hide Shih Ming-teh, the coordinator of the Human Rights Rally; Lin Yi-hsiung, Chen Chu, and Lin Hung-hsuan, staff members of *Formosa* magazine, as well as the entire editorial board of the *Taiwan Church News* and several pastors who supported *Formosa* magazine.³⁶ However, the board members of the *Taiwan Church News* were later released. Wu Wen, a former Lutheran pastor and now a member of the PCT, hid Shih, whom he did not know, for three days after the rally. The government was offering a reward of NT\$ 2,500,000 for the capture of Shih, and at first, Shih feared that Wu would turn him in for the money, but Wu reassured him by saying, "Don't worry, my Christian faith is stronger than two and half million dollars!"³⁷ After staying with Wu, Shih turned to Chao Chen-er, another Taiwanese pastor for help, and Chao contacted Rev. C.M. Kao. Since Rev. Kao was under police surveillance, he could not provide shelter for Shih in his own house, so he asked his secretary, Ms. Shih Jui-yun, to get in touch with Ms. Lin Wen-chen, principal of the Calvin Bible Institute in Taipei, who agreed to house Shih.³⁸ Although Shih Ming-teh successfully eluded the police for twenty-two days, they eventually arrested him. For several months, officials interrogated Shih and seven of his colleagues at *Formosa* magazine for their participation in the Human Rights Rally.

During the trial of the Kaohsiung Eight in March 1980, the military court tried Shih Ming-teh, and seven *Formosa* staff members for sedition.³⁹ The prosecution asserted that *Formosa* magazine was the center of a conspiracy to overthrow the Nationalist government. The court based the verdicts on "confessions" that the defendants had made under duress. Officers forced confessions out of the defendants by

36 Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 197.

37 Song Choan-seng, *Testimonies of Faith*, p. 14.

38 Song, *Testimonies of Faith*, p. 15.

39 The trial of the Kaohsiung Eight took place between March 18-28, 1980. All eight individuals were connected with *Formosa* magazine and were tried for sedition. The Kaohsiung Eight included: Shih Ming-teh, General Manager of *Formosa*, who spent 15 years in prison on charges of sedition; Huang Hsin-chieh, Publisher of *Formosa* and member of the Legislative Yuan; Lawyer Yao Chia-wen, Chairman of the *Formosa* magazine foundation, and member of the Provincial Assembly; Lu Hsiu-lien, Deputy Director of *Formosa* and an author and women's rights activist ; Chang Chun-hung, Editor-in-chief, *Formosa* and member of the Provincial Assembly; Chen Chu, Deputy Director, *Formosa* Kaohsiung office and board member of Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights (SPEAHR), New York; Lawyer Lin Yi-hsiung, Circulation Manager, *Formosa* and member of Provincial Assembly; and Lin Hung-hsuan, General Secretary, *Formosa* Kaohsiung office.

threatening them and torturing them for several months before their trials. Since the defendants were held incommunicado, their families were not allowed to visit or send them letters, and they were not allowed to see lawyers. Officials subjected them to as many as 70 hours of non-stop interrogation and showed them gruesome pictures of executed "communist spies," which they hoped would convince them to plead guilty and confess to sedition.⁴⁰ The tactics worked since all eight defendants "confessed" and were consequently found guilty after transcripts of the "confessions" were produced in court. When the prosecution cross-examined each defendant separately in court, each defendant repudiated his or her "confession" and stated that the "confessions" had been coerced out of them after brutal interrogation.⁴¹ However, the court did not allow the defense counsel to cross-examine the prosecution and did not allow for witnesses. In addition to confiscating all of the defendants' property, the court sentenced Shih to life in prison, Huang Hsin-chieh, Publisher of *Formosa* and member of the Legislative Yuan, to 14 years in prison, and the others to 12 years in prison.

The mother of lawyer Lin Yi-hsiung, Circulation Manager of *Formosa* magazine and member of the Provincial Assembly, visited her son in jail while he was held for charges of sedition. On February 27, 1980, his mother made a telephone call to Japan saying that her son was being tortured in prison.⁴² The next day, intruders broke into Lin's house, which was under secret police surveillance, stabbed to death his mother and his six-year-old twin daughters, and severely injured his eldest daughter. To the present day, the murderers are still at large, but the KMT government is suspected to have played a role. Ironically, the tragedy occurred on February 28th, exactly thirty-three years after the 2-28 Uprising. After these tragic murders, the PCT consecrated Lin's home as a Presbyterian Church. Many Presbyterians active in the Taiwan independence movement gathered for worship at Gikong Church, as it is known, and families of political prisoners gathered there for weekly prayer meetings.

Following the trial of the Kaohsiung Eight, the civil court tried thirty-three people charged with inciting the riot that broke out at the Human Rights Rally. All but one were found guilty and sentenced to prison. Among these thirty-three were two Presbyterian ministers. While one of the ministers, Rev. Hsu Tien-hsien, was delivering a Christmas sermon to his congregation, security agents interrupted the service to arrest him and

⁴⁰ Ming, *Taiwanese Voice*, p. 16.

⁴¹ Ming, *Taiwanese Voice*, p. 21.

⁴² Ming, *Taiwanese Voice*, p. 17.

dragged him out of the church.⁴³ Like the Kaohsiung Eight, these defendants were also tortured and interrogated before the trial; their verdicts were also based upon confessions extracted under duress.⁴⁴

The third and final trial of the Kaohsiung Incident occurred in May 1980, when the military court tried Rev. C.M. Kao, Wu Wen, Lin Wen Chen, Shih Jui-yun, and six others,⁴⁵ for having "violated the seventh provision of the first item under the fourth clause of the regulations governing crimes of rebellions, which deals with crimes of hiding rebels."⁴⁶ The trial of the ten Christian defendants who allegedly assisted Shih turned into one of Christian testimony: defendants referred to passages from the Scripture which had reminded them of their Christian duty to assist those in need, and had inspired them to risk their own lives to help Shih. Through extensive media coverage, these Christian testimonies spread the Christian message of love and hope to people all over the island and throughout the world.⁴⁷ Officials had also subjected these ten defendants to extensive interrogations, and most of them confessed to helping Shih because they were acting out of concern for someone they did not believe was a criminal.⁴⁸ The court found all ten of the Christian defendants guilty and gave them sentences ranging from two to seven years in prison.

Rev. C.M. Kao and other Presbyterian leaders tried for their involvement in the Kaohsiung Incident emphasized that in accordance with their Christian faith they were playing "politics of love" over "politics of violence."⁴⁹ By introducing "politics of love" into Taiwan society:

⁴³ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 197.

⁴⁴ Ming, *Taiwanese Voice*, p. 3.

⁴⁵ The Kaohsiung Ten included ten members of the PCT who were tried for helping Shih Ming-teh. They include: Kao Chun-ming, General Secretary, Presbyterian Church in Taiwan; Lin Wen-cheng, Principal, Calvin Theological Institute for Women, Taipei, who sheltered Shih in her home for 11 days; Wu Wen, a Lutheran minister who joined the PCT after the trial, and had sheltered Shih in his home for 2 days; Hsu Ching-fu, a businessman who sheltered Shih in his home for 11 days; Chiang Chin-ying, wife of Hsu Ching-fu, who also sheltered Shih in her home for 11 days; Shih Jui-yun, Secretary to Kao Chun-ming at the PCT office; Chao Cheng-er, Taiwan Bible Society, and volunteer at *Formosa* Taipei office; Chang Wen-ying, a dentist who had given Shih plastic surgery; and Lin Shu-chih, fellow prisoner with Shih in Green Island Prison who became a member of the PCT while in prison.

⁴⁶ Song, *Testimonies of Faith*, p. 25.

⁴⁷ Song, *Testimonies of Faith*, p. 17.

⁴⁸ Ming, *Taiwanese Voice*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Song, *Testimonies of Faith*, pp. 13-14.

The Church rose to the occasion to demonstrate that the power most vital to the life of a nation is the power of love. Like human beings, a society, a nation, even the world, left without that power, would degenerate, become corrupt, and finally die. . . In the politics of love the Church has found its vocation not in the struggle for political power, not in the enhancement of prestige or fame, but in efforts to reach the heart of the nation and the conscience of its people through acts of love.⁵⁰

In practicing the "politics of love," several Presbyterians risked their own lives and reputations to help Shih Ming-teh, a complete stranger, who was wanted by the government for allegedly advocating violence during the Human Rights Day Rally. The Presbyterians who helped hide Shih believed that his true intentions were peaceful and that he did not instigate the riot that broke out on December 10, 1979.

During his trial, Rev. C.M. Kao told the judge that "based on Christian love and mercy,"⁵¹ he decided to sacrifice himself to help Shih. Although he would not turn Shih in to the police, Rev. Kao urged Shih to turn himself in. If the PCT is indeed involved in political affairs, its political practice consists only of the "politics of love," inspired by the power of Christian compassion based on mutual trust and care, not the "politics of violence," motivated by the fear and suspicion inherent in the tyranny of power. The PCT's practice of the "politics of love" rather than the "politics of violence" further demonstrates that it would not have become involved in any of the TIM groups that employed violent tactics. Moreover, the PCT's support of Taiwan independence was out of its genuine concern for the welfare of the Taiwanese people, not because it was trying to condemn and overthrow the Nationalist government. Rev. Kao was originally sentenced to seven years in prison, but the government finally gave in to worldwide pressure, and released him on August 15, 1984, although he had only served four years. While Rev. Kao was in prison, the PCT still continued to recognize him as the General Secretary of the General Assembly of the PCT despite government pressure to take away his power. He resumed his position immediately after his release and continued to promote human rights.

By upholding the "politics of love," the PCT succeeded in converting several non-Christians imprisoned for their alleged involvement in the Kaohsiung Incident to Christianity. Liu Fun Sung, who was sentenced to three-and-a-half years in prison for openly criticizing the government and advocating democracy and freedom, converted to

⁵⁰ Song, *Testimonies of Faith*, pp. 13-14.

⁵¹ Song, *Testimonies of Faith*, p. 16.

Christianity while in prison. Christians from other denominations, such as Shih Ming-teh, raised Catholic, and Wu Wen, a pastor of the Lutheran Church, joined the Presbyterian Church when they realized that the PCT truly upheld its Christian values and would go to any extent to protect the human rights of the Taiwanese people. Even if it meant persecution by the Nationalist government, the PCT continued to stand firm in its Christian beliefs and did everything it could to stand up for the people of Taiwan.

The three trials that took place after the Kaohsiung Incident raised international awareness and concern for the people of Taiwan. Because the KMT actually allowed limited numbers of foreign and local reporters to attend and report on the trials, the results were known worldwide. Not surprisingly, a majority of those tried and sentenced during the three trials were members active in the Tangwai Movement and the Presbyterian Church, which both advocated democracy in Taiwan.⁵² By using the Kaohsiung Incident to imprison leaders of the Tangwai and the PCT, the government hoped to stifle the voices of those who favored democracy and sought to deter Tangwai candidates from running in the 1978 election.⁵³

After the Kaohsiung Trials, many angry Taiwanese questioned the KMT's claims that the trials were both legal and just. When the court imprisoned Rev. Kao for not revealing the whereabouts of Shih, it failed to recognize the right of the clergy to maintain their professional confidentiality. Dr. You Ch'ing, a prominent lawyer in Taiwan, said, "Imagine that a minister has heard in confidence that someone has stolen something, do you think the minister should be arrested and sentenced together with the thief?"⁵⁴ Dr. You's remark parallels the relationship between Rev. Kao and Shih Ming-teh and illustrates the conflict between the legal system and religious organizations in Taiwan. Rev. Kao's imprisonment indicates that the laws in Taiwan did not account for the protection of religious freedom.

In addition, the Taiwanese blamed martial law for eradicating legality and justice, and pointed out that under the normal constitution of Taiwan, the military court could not

⁵² The Tangwai, literally "outside the party," i.e. not part of the KMT, advocated Taiwan democracy and independence. Since Taiwan was still under martial law in 1980, it was technically illegal to establish an opposition party. Those who opposed the KMT did not officially belong to a party, and were grouped as "Tangwai."

⁵³ After the Tangwai announced a Twelve-Point Manifesto demanding an end to martial law, the freeing of political prisoners, and proper elections, the government responded by increasing watch on those who participated in "subversive" activities. Since the KMT did not want to risk losing seats to non-party members, eight days before the December 1978 elections, the government announced that the elections were to be postponed indefinitely.

⁵⁴ *Taiwan Communiqué*, 9 (28 October 1982), p. 16.

try citizens for holding human rights demonstrations or for assisting others in organizing such demonstrations.⁵⁵ Furthermore, they did not believe that the defendants in the Kaohsiung Trials were tried in a fair environment: the court did not allow the defense counsel to cross-examine the prosecution or to call witnesses, and did not allow the actual tape recordings of the rally to be submitted as evidence. International observers noted that the tapes of the Human Rights Day Rally actually proved that the Taiwanese were not guilty of the charges made against them. U.S. Congressman James Leach (R-Iowa) testified before a House subcommittee, "I have personally reviewed at length a transcript of speeches delivered at the Kaohsiung rally and would like to stress that I find no credible evidence for the [Taiwan] government's claim that those arrested advocated sedition or violent overthrow of the government. Repeatedly, speakers appealed for calm."⁵⁶ The government continued to make every effort to place the blame of the riots on the Taiwanese. Since the government dominated the media, it was able to manipulate news reports to convince the public that the accused were indeed guilty as charged.

Years after the Kaohsiung Incident, several members of the military police confessed that government authorities had staged the outcome of the Kaohsiung Incident. After the Incident, a former military police officer revealed the details of their plans to frame the organizers of the Human Rights Rally:

The Strategy was to surround the oppositionists with three layers. The first layer was the military police, the second layer was the army and the third layer was the police. They received orders from their superiors that they should not fight back if they were beaten. Between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m. in the afternoon of December 10, 1979 (four hours before the demonstration commemorating Human Rights Day started, and before any irregularities had taken place -- Ed.), the military police, the army and the police had already taken up positions.⁵⁷

The officer also admitted that authorities had exaggerated the number of injured policemen, and had even hospitalized those with minor scratches to make the televised reports of the hospital visits look more tragic. The perceived injustice committed by the KMT compelled many Taiwanese in Taiwan and overseas into political action and forced them to become increasingly more vocal. Even though they were aware of the potential

⁵⁵ Ming, *Taiwanese Voice*, p. 23.

⁵⁶ Don Luce, "The forgotten prisoners of Taiwan," *Christianity and Crisis*, 28 May 1984, p. 204.

⁵⁷ "The Kaohsiung Incident of 1979," *Taiwan's 400 Years of History Homepage*, <http://www.taiwandc.org/hst-1979.htm>, (8 April 1998).

consequences, they felt that it was necessary to stand up for the rights of the Taiwanese people and to speak out against KMT tyranny and corruption.

Ten years after the Kaohsiung Incident, many of those imprisoned for their alleged involvement in the Incident agreed to interviews with the magazines *The Journalist* and *Freedom Era*. During these interviews, they revealed the gruesome details of their months in detention prior to the trials. These confessions provided further evidence that the KMT had deliberately framed the defendants of the Kaohsiung Trials in hopes that it could suppress the power of the opposition. Lin Yi-hsiung revealed the verbal abuse that he had to endure:

If the investigators were not satisfied with an answer, they would keep hitting me until I couldn't bear it any longer. I shall never forget the verbal intimidation, and what some of the investigators said to me: "If you don't talk and give us the evidence, we will beat you. If you get beaten to death, we will just say that you committed suicide out of fear or guilt. If you don't talk we will knock all your teeth out."⁵⁸

Huang Hsin-chieh, the former Publisher of *Formosa*, recounted the interrogation process:

I was taken to the basement of An Kang Detention Center of the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice. The interrogation continued non-stop for seven or eight days. They wanted me to confess to things that I completely had no knowledge of. When I refused to cooperate, they pounded the table and shouted at me. They used intimidation and coercion. They threatened to give me harsh treatment, if I did not cooperate. They told me that if I cooperated with them, they would let me go home to spend the Lunar New Year with my family. The "confession" was prepared by them. They asked me to copy it but I refused to put my signature on it. Then they threatened to arrest my brother and my daughter. I finally gave in.⁵⁹

Others tried during the Kaohsiung Trials also gave similar accounts of their days in detention. The authorities subjected them to days of non-stop interrogation and beat them if they did not cooperate. The constant torment and abuse that the prisoners had to endure caused them both mental and physical anguish. The authorities saw that the defendants were beginning to weaken and continued to torture and threaten them until they agreed to sign the false confessions.

⁵⁸ "The Kaohsiung Incident of 1979," *Taiwan's 400 Years of History Homepage*, <http://www.taiwandc.org/hst-1979.htm>, (8 April 1998).

⁵⁹ "The Kaohsiung Incident of 1979," *Taiwan's 400 Years of History Homepage*, <http://www.taiwandc.org/hst-1979.htm>, (8 April 1998).

The Tangwai Movement

The Tangwai Movement began in 1975 when non-KMT candidates openly advocated an end to martial law and a presidential election. During the 1977 supplementary elections for the Legislative Yuan and the 1977 provincial elections, Tangwai candidates were arrested for criticizing Chiang and the KMT. The government proceeded to blacken the names of the Tangwai candidates by saying they were communists who wanted to overthrow the Nationalists. To instill fear of communist infiltration, the KMT tried to convince the people of Taiwan that a vote for the Tangwai was a vote for the Communist Party. Despite Nationalist efforts to deter people from voting for non-KMT candidates, the opposition still succeeded in gaining twenty-one seats (27%) in the 1977 Provincial Assembly elections.⁶⁰

Like the independence movements following the 2-28 Uprising, the Tangwai Movement was a secular movement. However, in contrast to the aftermath of 2-28 when it distanced itself from political entanglement, the PCT publicly supported the Tangwai Movement and Taiwan independence. The push for democracy in Taiwan can be credited to both the Tangwai Movement and the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. Many leaders of the PCT were actively involved in the Tangwai Movement and openly discussed their support for democracy and their concern over human rights issues.⁶¹ Many people affiliated with the Tangwai and the PCT, having studied and lived abroad, had gained exposure to various systems of government. After reaching a better understanding of the type of democratic government they would like to see implemented in Taiwan, many of these Taiwanese returned to share their insights.

To prevent further victimization by the KMT, the PCT realized that it needed the support of the international Christian community. In April 1980, the PCT decided to reapply for membership in the World Council of Churches from which it had withdrawn in 1970 after the government accused the PCT of supporting communism. Since the WCC recognized the governments of the PRC and other communist countries, the KMT equated PCT membership in the WCC with pro-communism. The Presbyterian Church felt that it was important to join the WCC in order to gather international Christian support, promote ecumenical theological thought, and gain recognition for the Taiwanese

⁶⁰ Tien, *The Great Transition*, p. 186.

⁶¹ Tun-Jen Cheng and Stephan Haggard, eds., *Political Change in Taiwan*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992), p. 49.

people. The KMT was against PCT membership in the WCC because it did not want the international community to learn about the human rights violations in Taiwan that the PCT was sure to disclose to WCC members. The PCT's reaffiliation with the WCC came at an opportune moment since Rev. C.M. Kao was arrested shortly afterwards, and the PCT's connections with churches worldwide helped gather international pressure for his release.

As Anne Ming writes in *Taiwanese Voice*:

The Kaohsiung Incident had at last provided the pretext for the long-cherished aim of the K.M.T. government - to attempt to silence the Presbyterian Church by attempting to silence the person without whom, as they believed, it would be forced to give way. The Presbyterian Church's long stand on human rights, and its strong overseas links and supports, were equally obnoxious to them.⁶²

To the dismay of the Nationalist government, Kao's arrest and imprisonment did not hinder the activities of the PCT, which continued to protest the human rights conditions in Taiwan. The PCT even gathered the support of overseas Taiwanese and awakened the international community to the violation of human rights in Taiwan. Instead of appointing a new General Secretary while Rev. Kao was in prison as the government demanded, the PCT chose an acting replacement.

To further suppress the opinions of the Tangwai and the PCT, the government banned new publications that spoke out against the KMT. Although the KMT never banned the *Taiwan Church News*, it did confiscate several issues that expressed views unsatisfactory to the government and stopped them from reaching the hands of subscribers. The KMT even placed fliers attacking the PCT in issues of the *Taiwan Church News* that were mailed to subscribers. In 1981, the government also attempted to revive the 1979 "Law Regulating Temples, Shrines, Churches, and Mosques," which would give the Ministry of Education control of all theological colleges and seminaries. This new law was targeted at the education institutions of the PCT and, if passed, would have allowed the Ministry of Education to tighten control on the PCT's educational institutions. This legislation would also have given the government the power to appoint administrators and to choose curriculum that it found satisfactory. Furthermore, if the Ministry of Education governed PCT institutions, the government could insure that educators conducted their courses in Mandarin, not Taiwanese. In addition, the Nationalists created the "Consultative Committee on Religious Affairs," which required local churches to register their property. The "Law to Protect Religion" proposed by the

⁶² Ming, *Taiwanese Voice*, p. 18.

Ministry of Interior in 1983, also insisted that local churches register their property and demanded that they provide information about their beliefs, rules, membership lists, and leaders.⁶³ Churches that failed to comply with these requirements would lose their tax exemptions. The most obvious attempt to hinder PCT activities with this proposed law was the stipulation that all religious observances must adhere to national policy, which included using Mandarin to conduct services and accepting that Taiwan is a part of China. After much domestic and international protest, the government withdrew this proposal, but the fact that they even considered such a law clearly illustrated their contempt for the PCT.

Originally supported by students of Tainan Theological College, Tainan's mayor, Su Nan-cheng, turned against the PCT in 1983 when he demanded the demolition of a Presbyterian community center and pastor's residence owned by the PCT because it did not have a building permit. For nine years, the PCT had tried without success to obtain a building permit. Finally, the PCT decided it was necessary to build a new house for the pastor even without obtaining permission because a rain storm had demolished his old house. When the building was near completion, city officials informed the Church that it did not have a building permit, so the Church submitted another request for a permit and petitioned Mayor Su Nan-chen.⁶⁴ However, the authorities still refused to grant them a permit and ordered police to tear down the building. This event was another example of Mayor Su's outright vengeance towards the PCT, especially since he did not insist upon the demolition of neighboring buildings which also lacked permits.

In 1984, Su declared that because Tainan Theological College had neglected to register with the Ministry of Education, it was conducting classes illegally, and ordered the PCT to shut down the College. The PCT felt that Su's demands were unreasonable and unjust because the proposed legislation regarding religious education had not yet been passed. The KMT was trying to limit Presbyterian influence by accusing the College of violating a law that had yet to be enacted. As with all religious institutions in Taiwan, the College fell under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior, not the Ministry of Education. Authorities representing the College also pointed out that the institution's history dated back to 1875, well before the existence of either the KMT or the Republic of China.⁶⁵ When churches worldwide became outraged after they heard about the event,

⁶³ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 198.

⁶⁴ *Taiwan Communiqué*, 14 (8 January 1984): 31.

⁶⁵ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 199.

the Ministry of Education responded by saying that the entire situation was a misunderstanding. However, the damage to the College had already been done.

The persecution of both Presbyterians and non-Presbyterians by the KMT provoked the Tangwai to take further measures. In the summer of 1986, the Tangwai, with the help and support of Taiwanese-Americans, announced its intention to form the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). Under martial law, the formation of an opposition party was technically illegal, but the KMT did not take any steps to prevent the Tangwai from establishing a formal party. The KMT's acceptance of the DPP was an indication that the political climate in Taiwan was changing: the KMT was finally giving into international pressure and moving towards a democratic system. The creation of the DPP led to the weakening of the KMT's authoritarian rule and prompted the government to lift martial law on July 15, 1987.

The PCT's concern for human rights and Taiwan's future has increased the promotion of democracy and freedom both in Taiwan and abroad. As the largest organization on the island to allow Taiwanese to speak and express themselves freely in their native language, the PCT has always strived to maintain the rights of the Taiwanese people. Beginning in the 1970s, the PCT issued a series of public statements to show its concern for the future of Taiwan and the Taiwanese people. While the PCT did not intend for them to be political, the public statements did relate to highly sensitive issues that were at the center of political controversy and tension. Since the Nationalists condemned those who spoke out against the government and refused to recognize the freedom of expression, they did not approve of the PCT's public statements and felt that they were personal attacks against the government. Tensions between the KMT and the PCT increased in the 1970s and 1980s as is evidenced by the proposed "Law Regulating Temples, Shrines, Churches, and Mosques" and the imprisonment of PCT leaders after the Kaohsiung Incident. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan became a victim of KMT persecution during this period: the KMT regarded all PCT activities with suspicion and misconstrued the PCT's intentions as "terrorism."

However, despite government attacks on the PCT, the PCT refused to back down, and instead, called for "love, peace, and forgiveness"⁶⁶ to counter the acts of violence. The PCT's practice of those principles was evident in the testimonies of Rev. C.M. Kao and other Christians during the Kaohsiung Trials. The PCT also continued in its mission

⁶⁶ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 198.

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to raise international awareness of the human rights situation in Taiwan. By using its connections with the WCC and other international Christian organizations, the PCT also succeeded in obtaining outside support for Taiwan self-determination, democracy, and independence. As a church representing the Taiwanese people, the PCT felt compelled to uphold its Christian morals and beliefs, and continued to support the people of Taiwan in their battle against the Nationalist government no matter what the consequences.

CONCLUSION

As the movements for Taiwan self-determination, democracy, and independence became politicized after the February 28, 1947 Uprising, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan reorganized its mission and began to strengthen its ties with the local Taiwanese community. The PCT attracted many native Taiwanese followers because it was willing to respond to KMT repression: the PCT became the voice of the voiceless when it began issuing public statements to show its concern for the future of Taiwan. Despite government attempts to stifle the activities of the PCT, the PCT persevered and continued to represent the Taiwanese people in their battle against the Nationalist Chinese government. As a result, the PCT became the emblem for local Taiwanese identity.

The PCT played an important role during the transition period of the 1970s when Taiwan enjoyed economic success but was plagued by political tensions between Mainlanders in both the PRC and Taiwan and the native Taiwanese. In response to the PCT's "Public Statement on Our National Fate," four Presbyterian leaders, Chao You-yuan, Huang Chang-hui (Shoki Coe), Huang Wu-tang, and Lin Tsung-yi, began a Taiwan Self-Determination Movement in the United States because they felt that the inhabitants of Taiwan should be given the right to self-determination.¹ This was viewed as a dissident, non-violent movement against the KMT, and when it became involved with the Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM), its goals shifted from being a moderate movement in favor of the self-determination of Taiwan's future by its inhabitants to a radical movement that supported Taiwan independence. When the KMT learned about their involvement with the TIM and anti-government activities, the government exiled the four Presbyterian co-founders of the Taiwan Self-Determination Movement from Taiwan.

After learning that the KMT had refused to issue visas to the Presbyterians involved with the independence movement abroad, the PCT became outraged, and enlisted the help of Lee Teng-hui, a member of both the KMT and the PCT, to resolve the situation. Beginning in the 1970s, two members of the Northern Presbytery, Lee Ch'ang-kuei, a sociology professor, and Lee Teng-hui, then Mayor of Taipei City, became important mediators between the PCT and the KMT and helped ameliorate tensions between the two organizations.² Lee Ch'ang-kuei served as the chairman of the Council

¹ Yang-sun Chou, "Social Movements and the Party-State in Taiwan: Emerging Civil Society and the Evolving State Corporatist Structures," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1988), p. 199.

² Chou, "Social Movements and the Party-State in Taiwan," p. 201.

of Social Affairs in the KMT Secretariat, which was responsible for the KMT's relationships with various societal elements.³ However, Lee Ch'ang-kuei was forced to resign when he failed to prevent the publication of the PCT's "Declaration on Human Rights" in 1977. As opposition movements gained greater support, Lee Teng-hui served as an important liaison between the KMT and the opposition.⁴ However, to the KMT, Lee Teng-hui's most valuable political asset was his Presbyterian background, because it helped him earn the respect of many Presbyterians which helped ease tensions between the KMT and the PCT.⁵ In 1987, Lee Teng-hui finally convinced the government to grant visas to the four blacklisted Presbyterian leaders so that they could return to Taiwan for the PCT's annual conference.

Under the leadership of Dr. Hong Chi-chang, a psychiatrist at Mackay Memorial and a member of the DPP, and other prominent figures, the PCT increased its dedication to social justice and community development, and worked to achieve a just society without violence. Through the Ecumenical Cooperative Committee, which is registered with the government but remains independent from the KMT, the PCT increased social and theological cooperation with other Christian churches in Taiwan.⁶ In 1986, the PCT asked authorities to release the remaining political prisoners in order to "speedily and surely bring about harmony and solidarity amongst all our people."⁷ They also demanded an end to martial law and the replacement of the National Security Law with constitutional democracy. In March 1987, the KMT confiscated copies of a PCT publication that contained an article discussing the 2-28 Uprising. After Presbyterians in southern Taiwan protested this confiscation, the government finally returned the materials.

The PCT was optimistic that its vision for the future of Taiwan would be carried out with the election of eleven Presbyterian members, eight representing the DPP and three representing the KMT, in the 1986 legislative elections. Relations between the PCT and the KMT government began to improve with the end of martial law in 1987. In 1988, the PCT remained hopeful that the relationship between the DPP and the KMT would continue to progress because Lee Teng-hui, Chair of the KMT, and Yao Chia-wen,

³ Chou, "Social Movements and the Party-State in Taiwan," p. 201.

⁴ Hung-mao Tien, *The Great Transition*, (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1989), p. 114.

⁵ Hung-mao Tien, *The Great Transition*, p. 115.

⁶ Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 200.

⁷ *Occasional Bulletin* III:1 (1986): 7 in Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads*, p. 201.

Chair of the DPP, were both native Taiwanese Presbyterians. The PCT was optimistic that the common backgrounds of Lee Teng-hui and Yao Chia-wen would help bridge the differences between their respective parties.

Since the 1970s, the PCT has continued to express its concerns for the Taiwanese people. However, the lifting of martial law on July 15, 1987 changed Taiwan's social and political environment. The formation of opposition parties became legal, and Taiwan's government was no longer a one-party, authoritarian system, but instead, had shifted towards democracy. In addition, the KMT placed fewer restrictions on the press, and did not prohibit people from speaking Taiwanese. There was an increasing number of television and news shows in Taiwanese, and many politicians campaigned in Taiwanese. Moreover, because most DPP candidates preferred to use Taiwanese over Mandarin, many KMT officials, who had previously scorned the use of Taiwanese, found it necessary to learn the colloquial language in order to gather support from the native Taiwanese population.

Although the PCT has previously used language as a vehicle for expressing human rights values, the lifting of martial law permitted the use of the Taiwanese language. Therefore, language is no longer an issue associated with human rights violations. However, the PCT has continued to promote the Taiwanese language because it feels that Mandarin has taken over as the native tongue of many younger Taiwanese. Many members of the PCT are afraid that Taiwanese will become extinct if the younger generation does not continue to speak it. Some Presbyterians are also trying to re-introduce Taiwanese romanization into society by setting up and teaching Taiwanese language courses. While most Taiwanese feel that the replacement of Chinese characters with the romanized vernacular language is highly unlikely to occur, the introduction of Taiwanese language programs into certain DPP-controlled school districts indicates that there are people who are making a concerted effort to expose the Taiwanese language to the island's youth. Those who continue to promote the Taiwanese vernacular believe that language is an inherent part of Taiwanese identity and culture and that they need to take precautions to insure that it is spoken by future generations in Taiwan.

While the lifting of martial law allowed for increased freedom in Taiwanese society, the government still continued to arrest and imprison those who advocated Taiwan independence in the immediate aftermath. Although the end of martial law changed the focus of the PCT's stance on language and human rights, the Church still maintains its concern for local Taiwanese autonomy. While the PCT still does not formally support any political party, it openly advocates Taiwan independence. As is evident by the strong representation of the PCT at the "Say No to China" Rally on June

Christine L. Lin, "The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy."
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28, 1997 in Taipei, the PCT's past involvement in promoting Taiwanese consciousness has made it an eminent part of today's movement for Taiwan independence.

APPENDIX A
PUBLIC STATEMENT ON OUR NATIONAL FATE
BY
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN TAIWAN

December 29, 1971

The Executive Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan which speaks for 200,000 Christians in Taiwan, wishes to express its extreme concern over developments in the world which could seriously affect the lives of all who live on this island. Based on our belief that Jesus Christ is the Lord of all men, the righteous Judge and Savior of the world, we voice our concern and our request, and in doing so we are convinced that we speak not only for the church but for all our compatriots.

TO ALL NATIONS CONCERNED

We, the people on Taiwan, love this island which, either by birth or chance is our home. Some of us have roots here going back a thousand years, the majority count a residence of two or three centuries while some have come since the Second World War. We are all well aware of our different backgrounds and even conflicts, but at present we are more aware of a common certainty and shared conviction. We long to live here in peace, freedom and justice. We do not wish to be governed by Peiping.

We note with concern that President Nixon will soon visit the Chinese Mainland. Some member countries of the United Nations are advocating the transfer of Taiwan to mainland rule, while others insist on direct negotiation between Taipei and Peiping, which means substantially the same betrayal of the people on Taiwan.

We oppose any powerful nation disregarding the rights and wishes of fifteen million people and making unilateral decisions to their own advantage, because God has ordained and the United Nations Charter has affirmed that every people has the right to determine its own destiny.

TO THE LEADERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Our nation has recently become the victim of international political bargaining in world affairs. If this trend is not soon reversed, some day in the near future the people on Taiwan may share the tragic fate of people in countries of eastern Europe which have been oppressed by communism. In order to maintain our position and reputation in the international community, we therefore request our government and people better to grasp the opportunities available, to raise our demand for justice and freedom, and for thorough internal renewal.

Recently the government has stressed the use of new people in official positions. Therefore we earnestly request that within the Taiwan area it hold elections of all representatives to the highest government bodies to succeed the present representatives who were elected 25 years ago on the mainland. The Federal Republic of Germany, is not yet unified with East Germany, but its people have been able to elect a new representative government under a temporary constitution. This is an example which our government might consider. Such a political system has enabled the Federal Republic of Germany to find an honourable place among the world nations, even though so far it is not a member of the United Nations.

We believe that such demonstration of renewal and progress will give the people of other nations, as well as our own, the assurance that justice and internal harmony reign within.

中華民國六十一年十二月廿九日

聯合會總幹事
高俊明
議長劉華花
台灣基督長老教會總會

保證和內在的和諧。

我們相信這種革新與改進必能使國際人士及本國人民感到確有公義的參考。故國雖未成爲聯合國會員却因這種革新政策而贏得國際上的尊重。

德臨時制憲使自由地區人民得以選出代表組成國會。此例可供我政府之參考。年前在大陸所產生的現任代表。例如德國目前雖未完成全國統一，但因兩自由地區（台、澎、金、馬）作中央民意代表的全面改選，以接替二十一條

最近政府一再強調起用新人，所以我們切望政府於全國統一之前能在我

以維護我國在國際間的聲譽與地位。

。因此我們呼籲政府與人比更加把握機會伸張正義與自由並徹底推進的悲慘遭遇。

最近我中華民國在聯合國成爲國際間政治交易的犧牲品是有目共睹的。

一、向國內的建議。

定他們自己的命運。

我們反對任何國家佔據台灣地區一千五百萬人民的人權與意志，只顧私利而作出任何違反人權的決定。人權既是最上者所賦予，人民自有權利決定

主張的本意無異於出賣台灣地區的人民。

台灣歸併中共政權，也有國家主張讓台北與北平直接談判。我們認為這些我們對尼克森總統即將訪問中國大陸的事甚為警惕。有些國家主張將

下波日。

一、向國際的聲明。
爲家鄉，我們希望在和平、自由及公義之中生活，我們絕不願在共產極端二百年前移入。有些是第一次世界大戰後遷來的。雖然我們的背景與見解現居台灣的人民，其祖先有的遠自幾千年前已定居於此，大部份於兩

同胞的心靈作如下的聲明與建議。

台灣基督長老教會總會聯合會委員會，鑑於可能嚴重地威脅台灣地區全民主存的當前國際局勢表示深切的關懷。基督耶穌基督是全地的主宰，公義的審判者，也是全人類的救主之信仰。我們代表甘肅基督教徒也願意代表我們

台灣基督長老教會總會聯合會委員會的聲明與建議

APPENDIX B

The leading article in the March, 1972 issue of Tai-oan Kau-hoe Kong-Po (the then monthly, now weekly, magazine of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan), was written by Rev. C. M. Kao, PCT Former General Secretary (1970-1989), concerning the "Statement on the National Fate". The three pages following this article featured photostatic copies and translations of responses to the Statement, which had been received from overseas bodies such as the Vatican, the Department of State of the U.S.A., World Vision, the National Christian Council of Japan, the Presbyterian Church in Canada. A translation of Rev. C.M. Kao's article is given below:

STATEMENT ON OUR NATIONAL FATE Motivation Based on Faith and Theology

March 1972

After the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan published its "Statement on Our National Fate" on the 29th December, 1971 we received responses from many quarters. In my capacity as General Secretary of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, I would like to express deep gratitude to all those inside and outside the Church who have offered us their comments. In order that all our friends, who are concerned about the "National Fate" statement, may have a better understanding that the Church's motive in producing the "Statement on Our National Fate" was founded on faith and theology, I am taking this opportunity to report and explain several points:

1. We are extremely grateful to many friends, who, by their positive support of the Statement, have given us great encouragement and comfort. Certainly, Christians living in a time of national distress should be able to speak out in more than simply polite terms. In the past we have usually accepted "Thou shalt not offend anyone" as the first commandment, and have disregarded the responsibility which Christians ought to have to society and the nation. This Statement is founded on the conviction of our Christian faith that Christians have such a responsibility.
2. Should the Church get involved in political matters? After the Statement was issued it caused many people to raise this question. Since the Reformation, the development of modern history and the trend toward the separation of politics and religion, the Church has indeed not become bound up in politics again as it was in the Middle Ages. Except for a few extremely conservative groups, however, most orthodox Protestant churches have encouraged their members to be responsible citizens and to participate in constructive activities in society and politics, and thus to be "the light of the world" and "the salt of the earth". This shows that individual Christians do have a responsibility in the rise and fall of nations.

But should the corporate Church, which acts in the name of Christ, keep absolute silence on social and political issues? Not necessarily, as in the following two situations: (i) When political power from without violates the nature of the Church and the carrying out of her mission on earth, and when, (ii) similarly, political power from without violates human rights, that is, the dignity of human existence.

Therefore, looking at it from the point of view of Christian faith and ethics, if the two situations cited above should occur (or even have the possibility of occurring), that is, if the Church's life and human rights are violated, then (i) the Church cannot but contend

vigorously for the truth of the Gospel and its own life, and (ii) also fight to protect God-given human rights, for the origin of human rights lies in man's having been created in the image of God (*Gen. 1:26-27*). When the Church of Christ in either of these two cases produces a statement, this kind of statement is not basically political, but is a confession of faith. It is like the Barmen Declaration of the Confessing Church in Germany under the Hitler regime, and, more recently, the statements issued by Churches in South Africa and Rhodesia.

3. Even this proposal that the government "hold elections of all representatives to the highest government bodies" is motivated by the belief that human rights are given by God. For we believe that only in this way can there be any internal reforms. The government can then merit the respect of people at home and abroad, we can recover from our national decline, and so receive the blessing of God.

To sum up, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, in producing the "Statement on Our National Fate" in this present time of crisis, has done so from the standpoint of our Christian faith, and so it is essentially a confession of faith rather than a political action.

APPENDIX C

OUR APPEAL

Concerning the Bible, the Church and the Nation

When the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan issued its "Statement on our National Fate" at the end of 1971, it attracted considerable attention and aroused a warm response both at home and overseas. The issuing of the "Statement on Our National Fate" was based on our church's faith in the Lordship of Jesus Christ over the world, and was concerned for human rights for all people in Taiwan, and indeed for the destiny of our nation. Although some, both within the church and outside it, misunderstood or opposed the Statement, our church, as its conscience dictates, has continued to stand by this firm expression of its faith. In the few years since then our church, in accordance with the principles and faith of the Statement, has repeatedly advocated that no external world power should interfere with our nation's destiny. Only our own people have the right to determine our own destiny. Our church has not moved from this original purpose, and firmly believes that only if all the rights which are guaranteed under the constitution are actually observed - which would mean a political reformation - can we have a really democratic government. Our church has not been negligent in its efforts to achieve this goal.

Conditions change very rapidly; our nation has become isolated in its relations with other countries, and we face an impending world economic crisis. In these circumstances the church must not carelessly take its ease and abandon the role of prophet. We know that if we only praise what is commendable, this is not adequate expression of the church's responsibility to the nation and is no way to help the government overcome present difficulties. Only by speaking the truth in love can we show positive concern for our nation's future; only thus can we help in the developing of a democratic, just and honest government.

In view of the danger in which our country stands at this time, the church must take responsibility with regard to the nation's survival, and once again honestly express to the government our church's position on the national fate. We must, at the same time, appeal to the church itself to get rid of a psychology which is concerned only with the individual. In order to save the nation in this time of crisis we in the church must be really united so that we can fulfill our responsibility to promote justice, liberty and peace. Then the church may be worthy to be called a servant of Christ for these times.

Because of this we appeal to the government to view with concern several problems closely related to our national destiny, and we earnestly request the government to accept these proposals:

1. TO PRESERVE THE FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS FAITH WHICH IS GUARANTEED TO THE PEOPLE IN THE CONSTITUTION.

The people in every nation in the free world enjoy full religious liberty. Thus every person should be able to enjoy the freedom to use his own language to worship God and to express his own religious faith. Most regrettably, Bibles published in some of the local languages by the Bible Society have been investigated and confiscated. When this happened it was a great shock to people both here and abroad. The authorities concerned regard the printing of the Bible in local languages as a contravention of the policy to promote the use of the National language and this is their reason for suppressing it. However, one such decision can never contravene the basic spirit of the constitution.

Now, although after several negotiations the old edition of the Bible in Roman characters has been returned, we are continuing to press this matter with the government in the hope that, in order to preserve the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of faith, the new translation of the romanized Bible may also be returned; but most important of all we urge that the freedom to continue to publish and distribute the Bible in any language be guaranteed.

2. TO HELP OVERCOME OUR ISOLATION IN FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Since our government withdrew from the United Nations, our nation's foreign relations have suddenly sunk into a state of isolation. Now the government is encouraging people at every level positively to develop foreign relations and to promote cultural and economic contracts. Therefore it ought not to prevent the church participating in the World Council of Churches and other church organizations of an international nature. Because some of the views held in such organizations may not be the same as those of our government, we cannot abandon the opportunity of participating in these international church bodies.

3. TO ESTABLISH A RELATIONSHIP OF MUTUAL TRUST AND CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH.

It cannot be denied that the church is a powerful force in helping to promote the nation's progress and security. Between government and church there must be an atmosphere of trust based on respect for each other.

We suggest that the government should establish a direct relationship with the church authorities, and that both sides share their views of the future of the nation and the reforming of society honestly together. This is the only way in which we can achieve this mutual trust and confidence.

4. TO HELP TOWARD THE RECONCILIATION AND WORKING TOGETHER OF ALL PEOPLE LIVING IN TAIWAN.

At this time and in this place we should not permit differences, arising out of one's place of origin and whether one is a member of a Party or not, to create unfortunate divisions which would ruin our living and working together.

Immediately before us is a very difficult situation, and it is only as we realize that we are all in the same boat that we can weather the crisis. In order to eliminate discrimination based on provincial origin or party membership we should not countenance any feeling that one person is superior to another. Everybody should enjoy the opportunities of equal privilege and responsibility. Basically, we are all brothers and sisters living together in Taiwan and we ought to treat each other in an attitude of understanding, help and acceptance.

5. TO PRESERVE HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE.

The economy of Taiwan has grown and developed very quickly and it has, of course, brought with it an affluent society, but has also brought a loss of personal worth, moral decadence, rampant pollution, a wide gap between the rich and the poor, and the increasingly serious problem of public peace and order. The church, on the basis of its mission to protect human rights and preserve human dignity, appeals to the government to strengthen the development of society, to focus its attention on the problems of the atmosphere of corruption in society, of unequal distribution of wealth, of avarice, public peace and order and pollution, and to adopt effective measures to safeguard human rights and the welfare of the people.

In order that the church may take up its mission for today we also appeal to it to give attention to the problems that lie before us all, and we beseech the help of the Holy Spirit to lead us and to enable the church to give expression to its true role of prophet and priest.

1. TO GIVE HONEST EXPRESSION OF ITS CONCERN FOR JUSTICE.

It is very easy for the church to seek to avoid giving offense and causing trouble, and so fail to be sensitive to the question of social justice. If the church is concerned only for its own interests and ignores its conscience it will become paralyzed. We must constantly be subjecting ourselves to re-examination by the standard of the spirit of Christ.

2. TO PROMOTE UNITY WITHIN THE CHURCH AND TO CALL THE CHURCH TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ITS OWN FAITH.

Recently a divisive spirit has been eroding the unity of the church and positive action needs to be taken to ensure observance of our regulations and to deal strictly with any behaviour that threatens the order and unity of the church.

Because ministers and church members are confused and uncertain about their faith and the position of their church they have often been easily influenced and misled by other groups. It is right that we should cooperate with other denominations, but it is very important that we first understand our own doctrine and church order. There must be an attitude of mutual respect among the churches before any real cooperation can be achieved.

3. TO STRIVE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH.

Although we have a history of over one hundred and ten years and local congregations have reached self-support, the General Assembly as a whole has to admit "We are still a receiving church." From now on we must put forth greater effort to become "a giving church." This is not in relation to finance only, but has to do even more with the whole missionary task of the church. We must move from a position of dependence on overseas mission boards to one of independence and mutuality in which we share together with the world church in the responsibility for mission. And on the basis of our own faith we must be prepared to proclaim God's justice and uphold freedom and peace in our own land.

4. TO ESTABLISH A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CHURCH IN THE WHOLE WORLD.

A lack of confidence in the world-wide church has been a cause of division within our church, but in our confession of faith we profess to believe in the holy catholic church. The various churches throughout the world ought to respect each other's opinions while accepting each other and working together towards a greater unity.

We appeal to our own church members to pay attention to, and try to put a stop to, the kind of harmful activity that damages our relationship with the world church. We should seek to enter into an exchange of personnel and work with other branches of the world church so that we can understand and support each other better.

5. TO BE MORE CONCERNED FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND WORLD PROBLEMS.

The church should become the servant of justice and truth: the aim of the church's existence is to communicate the message of God's love, and because of this the church must, in the

Christine L. Lin, "The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy."
Sino-Platonic Papers, 92 (January, 1999)

spirit of real love, get involved in the actualities of modern society and through service seek to change the conditions of society.

The world is full of the fear of injustice and war. Humanity's greatest suffering is the result of its own selfishness in the world. The world's problems of hunger, overpopulation and human rights still urgently call for concern and solution. Our church here and the church in the whole world must stand together to extend a helping hand to each other, so that the love of God may truly be spread throughout the world.

The church cannot, here and now, keep silence, sitting by and watching the world sink into ruin; besides participating in the spreading of the gospel and leading men to repent and believe in the Lord, it must express concern for the whole nation, for society, and for the whole of mankind. Only in this way will it not fail to live up to the mission entrusted to it by God.

N.C. Wang
Moderator, 22nd General Assembly

C.M. Kao
General Secretary

18 November 1975

"Our Appeal" was adopted unanimously by the Executive Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, meeting in Taichung on the 18th of November, 1975, as expressing the position of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. This English version was also approved to be sent to overseas churches for their information and to seek their prayerful support.

APPENDIX D

A DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
BY
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN TAIWAN

August 16, 1977

To the President of the United States, to all countries concerned, and to Christian Churches throughout the world:

Our church confesses that Jesus Christ is Lord of all mankind and believes that human rights and a homeland are gifts bestowed by God. Therefore we make this declaration, set in the context of the present crisis threatening the 17 million people of Taiwan.

Ever since President Carter's inauguration as President of the United States he has consistently adopted "Human Rights" as a principle of his diplomacy/policy. This is an epoch-making event in the history of foreign policy.

We therefore request President Carter to continue to uphold the principle of human rights while pursuing the "normalization of relationships with Communist China" and to insist on guaranteeing the security, independence and freedom of the people of Taiwan.

As we face the possibility of an invasion by Communist China, we hold firmly to our faith and to the principles underlying the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. We insist that the future of Taiwan shall be determined by the 17 million people who live there. We appeal to the countries concerned - especially to the people and government of the United States of America - and to Christian churches throughout the world to take effective steps to support our cause.

In order to achieve our goal of independence and freedom for the people of Taiwan in this critical international situation, we urge our government to face reality and to take effective measures whereby Taiwan may become a new and independent country.

We beseech God that Taiwan and all the rest of the world may become a place where "Mercy and truth will meet together; righteousness and peace will embrace. Truth shall spring out of the earth; and righteousness shall look down from heaven."

(Psalm 85:10, 11) [Today's English Version and King James Version]

Signed by:

H. E. Chao, Moderator of the General Assembly
(At present out of the country)

H.K. Weng, Deputy Moderator of the General Assembly
(Acting in the absence of the Moderator)

C.M. Kao, General Secretary

(Translated from the Chinese text. The Chinese text governs.)

台灣基督長老教會人權宣言

——致美國卡特總統、有關國家及全世界教會——

本教會根據告白耶蘇基督為全人類的主，且確信人權與鄉土是上帝所賜，鑑於現今台灣一千七百萬住民面臨的危機，發表本宣言。

卡特先生就任美國總統以來，一貫採取「人權」為外交原則，實具外交史上劃時代之意義。我們要求卡特總統繼續本着人權道義之精神，在與中共關係正常化時，堅持「保全台灣人民的安全、獨立與自由」。

面臨中共企圖併吞台灣之際，基於我們的信仰及聯合國人權宣言，我們堅決主張：「台灣的將來應由台灣一千七百萬住民決定。」我們向有關國家，特別向美國國民及政府，並全世界教會緊急呼籲，採取最有效的步驟，支持我們的呼聲。

為達成台灣人民獨立及自由的願望，我們促請政府於此國際情勢危急之際，面對現實，採取有效措施，使台灣成為一個新而獨立的國家。

APPENDIX E

Taiwan Church News, First Issue

**TÂI-OÂN-HÚ-SIÀ[^]
KÀU-HŌE-PÒ.**

TE IT TIU^{*}
KONG-SU XI M¹, 6 goéh:

Tâi-oân-hú-sià^{*} & Kàu-su māng Kàu-hōe-lái & hia^o-ti chí-moái^{*} pêng-an :
Goán Siōng-tè siú^o-sù lín tâi-ke tōa in-tián.

Goán kòe-lái chit-pêng sī in-üi ài thôan Thian-kok & tō-lí, hō läng
bat Siōng-tè lai tit-tiôh kiu. Só thôan & tō-lí lóng sī Sèng-chheh só
kà-si-ô ; nā^o m̄-si Sèng-chheh & tō-lí, goán m̄-ká^o kóng. Só-i goán tauh-
tauh khó-khang lín tiôh thák-chheh lai khða^o Sèng-keng, ñg-bâng lín
ná^o-kú ná^o-bat Siōng-tè & tō-lí ; iá m̄-bián tek-khak oá-khò Bók-su á-si
Thôan-tō-lí & läng lâi kóng tō-lí hō lín thia^o ; in-üi lín pún-sin khða^o
Sèng-chheh, siu Sèng-sin & kám-hða, sui-jian bō läng lâi kà-si, lín iáu
kú & chai Siōng-tè & chí-i. Khð-sioh lín pún-kok & jí chin oh, chíó
chíó läng khða^o & hiáu-tit. Só-i goán ü siat pát-mih & hoat-tō, éng
péh-oé-jí lâi in-chheh, hō lín chèng-läng khða^o khah khoài bat. Iá kin-
lái ti chit-ô Hú-sià^{*} goán ü siat chit-ô in-chheh & khí-khû, thang in-ji
chhin-chhiú^{*} chit hō & khoán-sit. Ta^o goán ñg-bâng lín chèng-läng beh
chhut-lát ôh chiah-ô péh-oé-jí ; aú-lái goán ná in sím-mih chheh lín lóng
& hiáu-tit khða^o. Läng m̄-thang phah-sng in-üi i bat Khóng-chú-jí só-
i m̄-hiáu ôh chit-hō & jí ; iú m̄-thang khða^o-khin i, kóng sī gín-á só
thák-ô. Nâng-iá^o & jí lóng ü ló-éng ; put-kò in-üi chit-hō khah-khoài
iú khah-l-bung, só-i läng tiôh tâi-seng thák-i. Aú-lái ná^o beh sòa thák
Khóng-chú-jí sī chin hō ; chóng-sī péh-oé-jí tiôh khah tâi-seng, kia^o-liú
ná^o m̄-thák, lín bō hiáu-tit khða^o goán pát-jit só in-ô. Só-i goán khð-
khû^o lín chèng-läng, jip-kàu i-kíp thia^o tō-lí & läng, lâm-hû ló-iù, bat-
jí, sa-iwt-jí & läng lóng-chóng tiôh kín-kín lai ôh. Chhin-chhiú^{*} án-ni^o
lín chíu & hiáu-tit thák chit-hō & Kàu-hōe-pò kap gða-chheh kap Sèng-
chheh ; ñg-bâng lín-ô tō-lí ná^o-chhim, lín-ô tek-héng ná^o-chiáu-pí.

Péh-oe-jí & Li-ek.

[E-máng è Bók-su, Tong Hián-lí kú-i¹ ü chhut chit-è lún, chhiá² Chiang-choán Tai-oán kok kau-hoe è láng lái chò : Té-buk chiu-al "Péh-oe-jí è Li-ek". Aü-lái ü chih-tiöh kau láng è lún ; chiü chhiá² Mú I-seng, Kam Bók-su kap i tàu-khoä³, phêng chhú koän-ké ; té-it miä⁴ siú⁵ gin gó-e, té ji miä⁴ siú⁵ gin sa⁶-e, té si miä⁴ siú⁵ gin näng-e, té si miä⁴ siú⁵ gin chit-e. Phêng-liú chhú :—

1. Iáp Bók-su, tòa ti Sio-khe.
2. Lâu Bó-chheng, Tai-oán-hú-siù⁷.
3. Lí Chhah-lái, Kó-lóng-sú⁸.
4. { Ng Ték-siün, E-máng.
 { Ló Sam-goán, Kó-lóng-sú⁸.

Tong Bók-su ta⁹ tág-khi Tai-Eng-kok : ü chiong chiah-e lún kau góan : góan siú⁵ tiöh in hó Kau-hoe è láng chiâu chai, hó tiük láng him-bó thák péh-oe-jí. Ta⁹ chiong té-it té-ji chit näng miä⁴ è lún chiâu chhù-sú lái in ti è-té. In-üi thâu-chit-tiu¹⁰ è Kau-hoe-pò in-bé-liú, thêng-hau té ji tiu¹¹ chiah koh in.]

Lún Péh-oe-jí è Li-ek.

Si Iáp Hán-chiong Sian-sí¹² chò-e.

Lún chòe Péh-oe-jí è Iau-kin.

Ta⁹ khí-thâu chòe chit-è péh-oe-jí è, i-e i-sù si chái-iú¹³ ah ? Chiu-al beh hó láng kóe-bat, só-i chí èng ji-cháp-ss¹⁴ è ji-bú tiü¹⁵-tiü¹⁶, chiu-al a, b, ch, chh, e, g, h, i, j, k, kh, l, m, n, ng, o, σ, p, ph, s, t, th, u ; che si beh hó láng kóe jin. Koh ti ji-cháp-ss¹⁴ è ji-bú è tiona-kan ü

hun-piat tân-im, chhi-im, chih-im, aú-im, phí-im è koh-iü¹⁷ ; chhin-chhiü¹⁸ b, p, ph, u, si tân-im ; ch chh, g, k, kh, s, si chhi-im ; h, i, j, l, t, th, si chih-im ; o, σ, e, si aú-im ; m, n, ng, si phí-im ; che si beh hó láng thák-liú oè hun-beng. (Khòe¹⁹ i Ko-lim-to 14: 9.)

Koh ü èng pat-im chòe ki-hó, lái hun-piat piá-cheh, hó láng khui-chhùi chiu ü koái-ké tàng-khin è chhù-sú, m-sái hún-loán. Koh èng chhiat-im chòe hoat-tó lái tàu chia²⁰ ji, a-e näng-ji tàu chiu²¹ chit-ji, ü è sa²²-si-ji gó-ji tàu chit-ji, che si beh hó láng kóe thák. Chóng-zi ji-bú sui-jian chio, ná èng i pat-liat sa²³-täu, chiu ü chhian-piän bän-hòe èng lóng bōe liú. Che si thûu-sú, é-bin pat-liat gó-to²⁴ tai-liók lái gi-lén.

Té-it-to²⁵.

Lún thák péh-oe-jí khah-ji²⁶ thák Tiong-kok ji, chiu-sí kóe thák, koh m-sái láng-góa kóe-seh, in-üi Tiong-kok ji put-chí chòe, kóe-seh put-üi oh ; kóe-khó Khong-hi ji-tián è ji bōe sióng-tit, chit-ji sióng-sióng ü kúi-ná²⁷ hó kóe-seh.. Gín-ná tui chhit-poeh hè jip-oh, tiöh thák-chhieh kau chhit poeh ni, cháp-láng tiona chhang-mia²⁸ kiám-chhái ü chit-ung láng tái-khái òa bat khah-chhián è ji, chí ü bat ji-im-tü²⁹-tiü³⁰, lóng bōe hiáu-tit kóe-seh ; tiöh koh thák cháp-góa ni chiah òe kóe-seh. Kíin-chhái só kóe ü si iah òe chhd-gó, oh tit ték-ji ték-kù hun-beng, che m-sí Tiong-kok ji è m-hó, ték-tók si in-üi hák-ban è oh-tit cheng-kong,

koh kde-sch boc it-teng ò ian-kò.

Ta' tali-liok kú-khí chit-núg ji chde pín-kù. Chhin-chhiú' kó-jí, ù só-chái kóe chde ian-kò, ù só-chái kóe chde pún-jian, ù só-chái kóe chde só-i. Koh chhin-chhiú' f-jí, ù só-chái kóe chde éng, ù só-chái kóe chde thang, ù só-chái kóe chde in-fí. M-ná án-ni, iáu ù chóe-chóe oh-tit kóe è ji, sui-jián chiu phok-hák è láng iah boc-éo tak ji kde-sch káu beng. Khoá Bók-su ù si chhiá' Siú-chái lúi kà Sèng-chheh, iah bat kóe-sch m-tiöh, m-si in-fí i m-bat ji, á-si boc hiáu-tit kóe-sch, tok-tok si in-üi ji-gi è kóe-sch boc è it-teng è ian-kò. Ta' hit-hó ù hak-bún è láng sióng-chhia' boc-éo kóe-sch káu tú-hó, hó-lóng chhián-hák è láng thài-thó è kóe-sch Sèng-chheh káu boc chhd-gó ah? Ná boc-éo kóe-sei Sèng-chheh, beh thái è beng-pék tö-lí ah? Só-i ù aim siat-káu è láng ài thoán tö-lí ti tak-kok, tek-khak tiöh chiong Sèng-chheh hoan-ék hit só-chái è ji káu beng, hó láng thang thák.

- Chóng-ai Tiong-kok ji put-chí oh-tit kóe-sch, só-i chiah chde chit-é peh-é-ji hó lóng-chóng è láng thang óh; kóe chiong Sèng-chheh knp tak-hó è chheh hoan-ék peh-é-ji, hó bat peh-é-ji è láng thang ka-kí thák, ka-kí kóng-kiú chheh-lái è tö-lí. Siat-sú boc chit hó peh-é-ji, chiu put-chí chio láng è hiáu-ti thák Sèng-chheh. Che si hián-beng thák peh-é-ji ù khah-iá' thák Tiong-kok ji.

(Ti té ji Tiu' beh koh ln.)

Lén Siat-lip Tiong-óh.

Siat-lip Tiong-óh è i-sú si chái-iú'? Si in-üi láng ti biab-ó Sio-óh thák boc iú chhim, iú si kun-ta thák-jí lá-tiá', boc sím-mih óh pát-hung; só-i goán siu' ti Hú-siá' tiöh siat chit-é Tiong-óh hó láng thang siu tak-hung è kú-si, chhin-chhiú' Sèng-chheh è tö-lí, Thák Pek-é-ji Tug-lóng-ji, Siá-jí, Té-lí, Tak-kok è kí-liok, Sèng-siú, Thian-bún, hit-hó. Só-i ú chhia' chit-é Eng-kok è Sian-si' kde-lái si tiáu-kung beh liú-lí chit-hó è tali-chi. Láng ná' boc chue i-ú hau-si' lúi chia thák, i tiöh kia-phoe hó goán chai, á-si tiöh thong-ti Thuan-tö-lí è láng; hó in thung thong-ti goán. Sian-si' è sin-kim geán lóng chhut; put-kó tak-lóng tiöh tam-tng ka-kí hóe-sit è só-lúi ná'-tiá', chit goéh jit chha-prt-to chit-é gin-chi'. Chit-é Tiong-óh tiöh S goéh chhe-nih chiah ù khui; hit-tiüp Töe-óh thák-chheh è hak-seng beh koh-lái Hú-nih chü-chip, chiu hiah è Tiong-óh è hak-seng thang kap-in sa'-kap lái. Beh lái è hak-seng, chí-chio tiöh cháp-ji hóe chiah thang.

Kin-ní è Tai-hóe.

Kú-ní' goán ù gi-lün beh Tai-hóe; aú-lái in-üi Tai-Hoat-kok kiáu-jiáu peh-só' só-i boc chü-chip. Ta' in-üi chit-é 4 goéh 26 jit nág kok ù sa'-hó, peh-só' lóng an-chéng, goán siú' kin-ní tiöh ù Tai-hóe, só-i chhia' tak Káu-hóe è tiú'-ló-chip-sú káu pún-ní ù goéh chhe-chhit-jít chiu-si pái-sa' lái Hú-siá', ti pái-si, pái-gó, pái-lák chiu-si chhe 8, 9, 10 jit chü-chip Tai-hóe, chiáu kú-ní è toa' lái gi-lün tai-chi.

Tai-hóe è tai-seng goán beh khó Thoán-tö-lí è láng: in ti pái-lák è hng chiu-si chhe 3 jit tiöh lái Hú-siá'. Iú-goán si boc chiu kú-ní è toa'.

Kau-hoe & Siau-ait.

1885, kin-ni i-kong chiap-láp è hia-tí chí-moái", i-e siúu ki ti 5-té. 1885
 ní, chia' goéh chhe it jit chiu-sí Kong-sú 10 ní, 11 goéh 16 jit, só-i tióh tui
 hit-chit-jít ang-khí.

Hia-tí Chí-moái'			
Kong-sú X, 12, 24 jit, Thờ Bók-su ti Tang-kang	chiap-láp	3 2	
" XI, 1, 1 jit,	Tek-á-kha	2 0	
" "	Lâm-gán	3 5	
" "	Lau-chhù-chng	3 0	
" "	Tô-kun-eng	2 2	
" "	A-kau	1 3	
" "	Hú-sia	3 1	
" "	Ka-gí	5 0	
" "	Tôa-sia	1 3	
" "	Tôa-po-sia	2 0	
" "	Giam-chéng	5 2	
" "	Ka-tang-á	8 3	
" "	Thờ Bók-su	Gú-khùn-soa	1 2
" "	O-gú-lan	1 0	
" "	Ku-pda-soa	2 1	
" "	Ka-fah-po	0 2	
" "	A-li-káng	2 0	
" "	Kam Bók-su	Kam-á-ná	0 2
" "	Bak-sa	1 1	
" "	Pa Bók-su	Thien-sia	3 1
		48 30	

Chiú-sí chí lák goéh è tiona-kan chóng-kióng ú chiap-láp 78 làng. Léng-goa ú chiap-láp sè-hàn è gín-ná" 85 è.

☞ Chit-é thâu-chit-tiu" è ☞
 Kau-hoe-pò goán kia khì sàng
 làng ; bat-ji è làng bô-lùn tòa sè tòk
 làng tióh thèh chí tui". Aú-lái si
 beh bô-làng müü tui" lák-á-i" ; làng
 ná" ài bô, i tòk hí thoan-tô-lí è làng
 kóng thang theng-ti goán ; hò goán
 xú-lái thang in kau tú-hó kiu-giáh.

Hú-sia" Tôa-óh kú-ní peh-goán ji-
 chhit-jit ú chiám-sí theng, pàng hák-
 seng tò-khì in chhù ; si in-ai Hoat-
 kok è kiáu-jiáu, Siá-lái è peh-sò" chin
 loán è ián-kò. Kau kin-ni ji-goéh
 chhe-peh-jit koh khui. Ta" chiong
 hák-seng è miú" è, jíp-óh tai-seng
 lo-boc kap in só siók è kau-hoe pár-
 liát ti è-to:—

- Phoa" A-Uí, O-gú-lan.
- Phoa" Bún-béng, Tôa-sia.
- Phoa" Sêng-chhun, Gú-khùn-soa".
- Iáp Áng-khe, Ka-gí-sia".
- Tin Iú-sóng, Ka-gí-sia".
- Lau Bô-khun, A-li-káng.
- Lim Pán, Liú-khiú.
- Cheng Bún-chin, Ka-tang-á.
- Ng Sln-ki, Ka-gí-sia".
- Huang Bô-chhun, Ka-pda-soa.
- Ng Léng-kiét, Tang-káng.
 Iau-ú nûng làng, Lim Oán, Tin Hui-
 lók, sui-jián m-ai Tôa-óh è hák-seng,
 iú-goán tl óh-nih teh thák-chhch.
- Léng-goa ú chhia" Pi-thâu è Hoa-
 só lái kap Sian-sc"-niú" thák-chhch,
 ng-bang chiong-lái chò Lí-óh è ló-
 eng.

APPENDIX F

Taiwan Church News, April 8, 1998

台灣基督長老會新聞稿

上帝的恩恵慈悲 極高無處比

◎蘇慶輝

小學時代，我唱取悅人的面前做禮物、真靈。大概是此個原因，我的體育及勞作的成績真好，總是音樂及體育的成績數一數二格若定。出聲唱歌是無法度想像的代號。

我的老母是長榮女中畢業，特別學習音樂真寶（gāo）愛琴。她從教會可專事奉，應招學生教師琴，嗚嗚教學校的音樂老師。可說是我的音樂成績真好，所以老母就看歌，從來唱會叫我看樂譜學習音樂，嗚嗚會叫我學彈琴，也無聲地我學習音樂。

我自己嘗試打拚學着樂譜，所以到現在猶如當好好看樂譜。佇教會歌唱四部合唱的時，我總是唱主調，男高音、男低音對我來說是真困難唱、唱不出来，嗚嗚最唱。

這是基督教會用真讚音樂，常常唱的聖詩歌能當背唱，但是欲唱熟熟的詩歌或是新的聖詩就有困難，唱了無好。因為按呢我真愛唱簡單的聖詩，就像田仔聖詩或是佈道詩歌。

佇這個簡單的聖詩內底，有一首唱「上帝的恩恵慈悲極高無處比」（日本讚美歌第492番）。我非常愛唱此首聖詩，若有聖會或是同樂會時，受邀請表演，我還是唱此首「上帝的恩恵慈悲極高無處比」。

1. 聖の恩みは いと高し、仰ぐ高嶺の 白雲に、
朝日匂える ヘルモンの、山にも勝り 高きかな。
2. 聖の恩みは いと深し、深いも知れぬ 海原に、
夕日輝く ガリラヤの、海にも勝り 深きかな。
3. 聖の恩みは いと広し、果てしもあらぬ 僕渺地に、
月夜木波る アラビヤの、原にも勝り 広きかな。

一九六七年當我離開花蓮美富教會轉來台北城中教會的時，阮夫人接觸佇就任典禮的時間人做詩唱歌獻詩。我想此個代表真好就參詳歌唔哈物歌・阮決定唱「上帝的恩恵慈悲極高無處比」，唱這首歌用唱的感恩台灣話唱此首聖詩。想愛互唱聽日本話的人，也會當理解歌詞的意思內容。

阮就寫幾豆已經退休的賴先春牧師，聽先春牧師是台南神學院院長藉達牧師令尊・阮弄托伊萬日本話歌詞翻譯做台灣語。

聽先春牧師所翻譯的詩句是非常優美的台灣話演誦，又將原詩歌的意思完全表現出來，真無簡單。

後來，阮常用台灣話或是日本話唱此首聖詩。此首聖詩就是阮，也立真大的安慰。阮亦向臺灣人能夠唱此首聖詩。

1. 上帝的恩惠慈悲
極高無處比
仰望高山嶺高遙
白雲端邊是
遙早黑門山花園
日頭登光明
這山高大人敬畏
主恩更崇高
2. 上帝的恩惠慈悲
極深無處比
海墘水邊的沙岸
大湧港伸延
晚增加利利海岸
日光島永安
這海墘深水長遠
主恩更崇高
3. 上帝的恩惠慈悲
極廣無處比
一望無際的荒漠
遙遠的沙場
遙寄阿拉伯晴空
月光在風輕
這荒漠深山大
主恩更崇高

Siōng-tē ê un-hūi chū-pí
Kek koân bō tē pí.
Giông-bōng koân-sos'-nié
Pēh-seh áoá pián sī.
Thâu-chí hék-bún-sos' hoe khui
Jít-thâu hoat kong-hui.
Ché son' koân-tōa lâng hin-soan
Chú-un koh khah koân.

Siōng-tē ê un-hūi chū-pí
Kek chhin bō tē pí.
Béi-kî chíi thè ê sos-phî.
Tao éng posh tî his.
Ngé-po' ka-lî-lî hái-jón.
Jít-kng iú bōe sôa.
Ché hái sui chhin chíi tîg in
Chú-un koh khah chhin.

Siōng-tē ê un-hūi chū-pí
Kek khah bō tē pí.
It-bōng bō-chè ê hong-bō
Iau-oán ê sos-po'.
Chi-chhin A-lat-peh khóng-ló
Góeh-kng teh chiô siâ.
Ché hong-bō sui-bóng khah tûn
Chú-un koh khah khah.

APPENDIX G

"A Declaration of Formosan Self-Salvation" (*Taiwan Tzu-chiu Yun-Tung Hsuan-yen*)

Manifesto drafted by Peng Ming-min, Hsieh Tsung-min, and Wei Ting-chao

Summary of Eight Points

1. The world must recognize that there is one China and one Formosa. The Chiang regime has been able to survive only because of American support; nevertheless American policy is moving toward recognition of Communist China, and uses the Formosa issue as a bargaining point.
2. Return to the mainland is not even remotely possible. The military forces under Chiang's control are a defensive force, entirely dependent upon the United States for supplies. It is too small to conquer the mainland, and much too large for peacetime purposes, consuming eighty percent of the budget. While preaching freedom and democracy Chiang Kai-shek violates basic human rights at will, monopolizes political power, and through use of secret police imposes dictatorial rule. The political commissar system weakens the military organization and reduces its efficiency. Formosan conscripts drafted to replace aging continental Chinese soldiers must wear the Nationalist uniform, but they remain Chiang Kai-shek's silent enemy.
3. The slogan "Return to the Mainland" enhances the position of the Chiang regime externally by exploiting an American neurosis concerning communism and Communist China, and as an excuse internally for martial law, enables the Chiangs to enforce dictatorial rule.
4. The Nationalist government represents neither the people of continental China nor those on Formosa. The Generalissimo's regime was driven from the continent only two years after the elections of 1947. The Formosans who constitute eighty-five percent of the population have less than three percent representation in the national legislature. Although for external propaganda purposes, the government says that the continental Chinese and Formosans must cooperate, in practice it employs every means possible to divide them and set them against one another in order that they will not unite in overthrowing the dictatorship. Chiang's manipulation of factions within the ruling party is here extended to the general population.
5. A top-heavy military expenditure and a high birthrate are the two greatest internal problems. Chiang's own statistics in this year (1964) showed that military expenditures account for more than eighty percent of the budget, but this does not include many hidden or indirect costs. Unemployment daily grows worse. Advocates of birth control are considered defeatists, and a high birthrate is encouraged only to produce conscript soldier's for Chiang's armies twenty years hence.
6. The army and party elite, under Chiang's direction, pursue policies designed to eliminate opposition leadership by destroying the economic base of the middle class. When community leaders everywhere rose in 1947 to protest economic exploitation after the first eighteen months of Nationalist rule, about 20,000 were killed or imprisoned on Chiang's order. This was followed, in 1950, by the so-called land reform, manipulated to impoverish the well-educated middle class.

7. Economic policy is irrational, designed to support the huge military establishment rather than to develop a healthy agricultural and industrial life suited to Formosa's resources and manpower. The farmer, heavily taxed in an artificial price system, produces principally to feed the army rather than the productive laborers. Genuine tax reform would necessitate a reduction in the military budget. Social instability is growing acute as a few collaborators become very rich and the farmers and laborers remain impoverished and driven to meet the tax burden.

8. Can Formosa be an independent country? Since 1949 the island has in fact been independent. On the basis of population Formosa ranks thirtieth among the members of the United Nations. We must cease imagining ourselves to be a big power and face reality, establishing a small but democratic and prosperous society. Some say that Chiang has become an emperor, and we must only wait until he dies. But we must not overlook the possibility of a desperate young Chiang handing Formosa over to Communist China, nor should we even for a moment forget that Formosa may become again the victim of international power politics. We cannot wait passively for "progressive reform"; the history of the Nationalist party and government clearly shows that any form of compromise with Chiang is either an illusion or a deception designed to trap the intellectual appeasers who hope that the passage of time will bring an ultimately peaceful transfer of government to Formosan hands. Formosans who collaborate with the party government for economic gain must be warned that they may pay a heavy penalty one day at the hands of an angry people.

Summary of Three Principal Objectives

1. To affirm that return to the mainland is absolutely impossible, and by unifying the island population, regardless of place of origin, to bring about the overthrow of the Chiang regime, establishing a new country and a new government.
2. To rewrite the constitution, guaranteeing basic human rights and obtaining true democracy by establishing an efficient administration responsible to the people.
3. To participate in the U.N. as a new member, establishing diplomatic relations with other countries striving together for world peace.

Taken from Peng Ming-min, *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of a Formosan Independence Leader*. (Irvine, CA: Taiwan Publishing Co., Inc., 1994).

APPENDIX H

Excerpts from the Bible: Formosan, Taiwanese, Chinese: Foochow

CHINESE: FOOCHOW

- 1 Sóng-Dé Cō Tá-Bé Gr-Dé-ké bok-ing gí ki-tha;
- 2 Sóng-dí gí oé ó gé góng. Ngudi chéh-kóng Ngudi sín-cá lóh Ng sieng-dán, tsé-bé Ng gí díh;
- 3 Diéh kudang-iá ó nòng gí niang-ing gác góng. Èn-bé Cíe gí dia, sié-hí Cíe gí dié-góng bang-dik.
- 4 Iok-hang h, lóh kudang-iá nít ag-lóh, diéh huái-oéi gá-guo gí aí-lóh, nái oéi dâih sié.

Mk 1. 1-4 1903

TAIWANESE

- 1 Sóng-ké t Kiú U-er Kit-ek hak-im é khí-thâu Chhi-chéh t ian-é l-áh-é t chhoh só ki-tái kóng.
 Góo chhe góa é sú-chéh u li é bin-chéng.
 Lái am-chéng li é li;
 3 U iah bié t khong-ié t, i é miú kóng.
 Tiéh pi-pán Tsé t kó.
 Sin té l é miú li.
- 4 Iok-hán lái t khong-ié kíh aé-ké, thónn hóan-hóe é aé-ké,
 3 kíh, hó-lóng tít-téh ná-téh. Thong lú-thái tóe kap lá-ké.

Mk 1. 1-4 1948

CHINESE CHARACTER

馬可傳福音書
 上希子耶穌基督福音書第廿四章
 汝前斗預備汝其路着嘸野務从其聲音呼講預備主其路修理主其路徑
 平直約輪來落嘸野施洗禮傳福音改過其洗禮該算健得赦免通猶太地
 方連耶路撒冷其仆都出去伊而認自家美界落約但河受約輪洗禮約輪
 捕路託手做其衣其履綁皮帶憲她蟲夫野宿伊就傳道講務喇從後我來
 伊裡能故裏過我我聽禮普伊解鞋帶也休中我用水普汝施洗禮惟獨伊
 利利海邊經過見西門共伊兄弟安得烈猶大西門因伊是討魚其仆耶
 伊誘來服我我制使汝討从共討魚一梭伊就要趕跟耶穌耶
 穌再距追

FORMOSAN

- 1 KA un wai l'hana si-koen
 ta i Jeannes ta Toma Ze-
 leung man-áhun un pao-pao-
 lung ta Jules
- 2 Kuan; li iah (pa-ahlong-4
 li ven-omni hi ryg) ta si-koen
 tsuk ta pao-pao-un li ven-omni li
 rukkuvelum.
- 3 Li un ta i am ta si-
 koen-un li Matsu-un ta i La-
 ju, koua; Yngu li Makou-ha-
 peng un pao-pao-un), Si-fa
 Fung-4 pa-ahlong-4 li derung li
 Meirang, pa-chuk-en n'oh-
 hawen tyu.
- 4 Tasi un i Jeannes ta si-

Mt 3. 1-4(2) 1888

Mk 1. 1-19(2) 1910

Source:

Eugene Nida, ed. *Book of A Thousand Tongues*. London: United Bible Societies, 1972.

APPENDIX I

Romanized Old Testament: Genesis 1:1-26

CHHÒNG-SÈ-KÌ

- 1 Goân-khí-thâu Siōng-tè chhòng-chó thi² kap tōe. Tōe si khang-khang hūn-tün; chhim-ian & bin-chiu³ o·-ám; Siōng-tè & Sin-un-tóng ti chui-bin. Siōng-tè kóng, Tiōh u kng, chiu u kng.
• Siōng-tè khòe⁴ kng, si hó; Siōng-tè chiong kng ám pun-khui.
• Siōng-tè kiò hit & kng chòe Jit, kiò ám chòe Mi. Ü &-hng ü chákhi, si thâu chit-jit.
• Siōng-tè kóng, Chái chui & tionsg-kan tiōh u kiong-chhong, chiong chui kap chái pun-khui.
• Siōng-tè chiu chò kiong-chhong, lāi bun-khui kiong-chhong-& chui kap kiong-chhong-téng & chái; chiu u án-ni. Siōng-tè kiò kiong-chhong chòe Thi⁵. Ü &-hng ü chákhi, si tó-ji jit.
• Siōng-tè kóng, Thi⁶-é chiah & chui tiōh chü-chip kiu chit só-chái, tō-tōe tiōh chhut-hiúo; chiu u in-ni. Siōng-tè kiò tōe chòe Tōe; kiò chü-chip & chüi chòe Hái; Siōng-tè khòe⁷-i si hó.
• Siōng-tè kóng, Tōe tiōh hoat-chháu, i-kip kiat-chí & chhái-soe, kap chiêu-lui si⁸ kí-chí & chhiú, lāi-bin u i & chí; Siōng-tè khòe⁹-i si hó.
• Ü &-hng ü chákhi, si tó-ji jit.
• Siōng-tè kóng, Thi¹⁰-nih & kiong-chhong tiōh u hoat-kng & thé, lāi bun-piat jit-mi; i th |ang chòe tiâu-thau, si-khi, jit, ni; i th | hó in chòe kng-thé ti thi¹¹ & kiong-chhong, chid-kng ti tōe-chiu¹²; chiu u án-ni. Siōng-tè chiu chò tōe & kng-thé ning-& tōe
• kng-thé lāi kian jit-st, sòe & kng-thé lāi kian mi-st; i th | chò chhi¹³-sin. Siōng-tè hé in tī thi¹⁴-nih & kiong-chhong, hó in chid kng ti tōe-nih; i th | beh kian ü jit mi, hun-piat kng ám. Siōng-tè khòe¹⁵-i si hó. Ü &-hng ü chákhi, si tó-ji jit.
• Siōng-tè kóng, Chái tiōh si¹⁶-thò¹⁷, chòe-chòe u oah-miá & tóng-bát; chiu pe ti tōe & téng-bin, thi¹⁸-nih & kiong-chhong.
• Siōng-tè chiu chhòng-chò hái-nih & tōe-hí, i-kip chái só si¹⁹ chòe-chòe u oah-miá & tóng-bát, koh chiu i & lüi, koh chhòng-chò ták-iú²⁰ & pe-chiâu, chiâu i & lüi; Siōng-tè khòe²¹-i si hó. Siōng-tè st-hok in, kng. Tiōh si²²-thò²³ ke-thí²⁴ chín-chòe, chhiong-móna ti hái-nih & chái, si hó chiu-chiah si²⁵-thò²⁶ chòe-chòe ti tōe-nih. Ü &-hng ü chákhi, si tó-ji jit.
• Siōng-tè kóng. Tōe tiōh si²⁷ u oah-miá & tóng-bát, chiâu i & lüi, cheng-ai²⁸, thang-thòe, tōe-chiu²⁹ & chén-siú, chiâu i & lüi; chiâu u án-ni. Siōng-tè chiu chò tōe-chiu³⁰ & chén-siú chiâu i & lüi, cheng-ai³¹ chiâu i & lüi, tōe-chiu³² it-chhá & thang-thòe chiâu i & lüi; Siōng-tè khòe³³-i si hó.
• Siōng-tè kóng. Lán tiōh chò láng chhin-chhiú³⁴ lán & sióng, chiâu lán & kian; hó in kian-if hái-nih & hí, thi³⁵-nih & chiâu, kap cheng-ai³⁶, kap chien-tōe, i-kip tōe-chiu³⁷ teh só & thang-thòe.
• Siōng-tè chiu chhòng-chò láng chhin-chhiú³⁸ I ka-ki & sióng,

Tô 20 chéat: "chái", pán-ban, "si sié & iú"; Kéh, "kiong-chhong", pán-ban, "Hong-chhong & hín".

Taiwanese Han Character Old Testament: Genesis 1:1-29

創世記

創世記

上帝的創造

1 ¹ 源起頭，上帝創造天及地。
2 地是空空混沌，深淵的面上黑暗；上帝的神運動佇 (tī) 水面。

3 上帝講：「著有光」，就有光。
4 上帝看光是好，上帝將光暗分開。
5 上帝叫彼個 (hit ê) 光做「日」，叫暗做「暝」。有下昏 (è-hng)，有早起，是頭一日。

6 上帝講：「諸個 (chiah ê) 水的中間著有穹蒼 (kiong-chhong)，將水及水分開。」
7 上帝就造穹蒼，來分開穹蒼下的水，及穹蒼頂的水。就有按呢。
8 上帝叫穹蒼做「天」。有下昏，有早起，是第二日。

9 上帝講：「天下諸個水著聚集到一所在，乾地著出現。」就有按呢。
10 上帝叫乾地做「地」，叫聚集的水做「海」。上帝看伊是好。

11 上帝講：「地著發草以及結子 (kiat-chí) 的菜蔬，及照類生果子的樹，彼內面有伊的子佇地上。」就有按呢。
12 地就發草及照類結子的菜蔬，及照類生果子的樹；內面有伊的子。上帝看伊是好。
13 有下昏，有早起，是第三日。

14 上帝講：「天裡的穹蒼著有發光的體，來分別日暝，亦通做光頭 (tiāu-thâu)。四季、日、年，
15 亦互個做光體佇天的穹蒼，照光佇地上。」就有按呢。
16 上帝就造大的光體二個，大的光體來管日時，細的光體來管曠時，也造星辰 (chhī-sin)。

17 上帝下 (hé) 困佇天裡的穹蒼，互個照光佇地裡，
18 也欲管有日暝，分別光暗。上帝看伊是好。
19 有下昏，有早起，是第四日。

20 上帝講：「水著生濁 (thòa) 多多 (chōe-chōe) 有活命的動物；鳥飛佇 (tī) 地的頂面，天裡的穹蒼。」

21 上帝就創造海裡的大魚以及水所生多多有活命的動物，各照伊的類；闔創造逐樣 (tak-lü) 的飛鳥，照伊的類。上帝看伊是好。
22 上帝賜福個，講：「著生濁加添 (ke-thi) 真多，充滿佇海裡的水；也互鳥隻生濁多多佇地裡。」
23 有下昏，有早起，是第五日。

24 上帝講：「地著生有活命的動物，照伊的類；犧牲、蟲蟻 (thâng-thòa)、地上的走獸，照伊的類。」就有按呢。
25 上帝就造地上的走獸，照伊的類；犧牲，照伊的類；地上一切的蟲蟻，照伊的類。上帝看伊是好。

26 上帝講：「咱著造人親像咱的像、照咱的款，互個管理海裡的魚、天裡的鳥、及犧牲，及全地，以及地上啲趨 (teh-sô) 的蟲蟻。」
27 上帝就創造人親像伊家己的像，照上帝的像創造伊，創造個男者女者。

28 上帝賜福個，上帝闔對個講：「著生濁真多，充滿佇地上，來卡贏伊，也著治理海裡的魚、天裡的鳥，及地上一切所振動的活物。」
29 上帝講：「我有互恁遍地上一切結子 (kiat-chí) 的菜蔬闔一切的樹，其中有結子的樹的果子擅互恁做食物 (chiāh-mih)。」
30 論到地上一切的走

From The Holy Bible Taiwanese Han Character Edition, 2nd ed., (Taipei, The Bible Society in the R.O.C., 1996).

APPENDIX J

Romanized New Testament: Matthew 1:1-25

MÁ-THÀI HOK-IM TOĀN

1 A-peh-lah-hán é bō-é. Tai-pít é bō-é, Iá-so Ki-tok é tm-phó.	• a. m. n m. t. m. b. m. n f. m. l n. m. t l. k. m. n s. m. m l. m. t t. m. m l. m. t s. m. m l. m. t k. m. m	bu ; chhengchòe Ki-tok é Iá-so, tai chí chit é Mâ-li-a m. é.
2 'A-peh-lah-hán m. I-sat ; 'I-sat s. Ngé-kok ; 'Ngé-kok m.	• l. m. m o. m. m f. m. m n. m. m l. k. m. m s. m. m l. m. m t. m. m l. m. m s. m. m l. m. m k. m. m	17 Án-ni, tài 'A-peh-lah-hán kiu Tai-pít, khòng chháp-sí tài ; tài Tai-pít kiu chhian-sóa khi Pa-pi-lan é s. i, iabcháp-sí tài : tài chhian-sóa khi Pa-pi-lan é s. i kiu "Ki-tok, iabcháp-sí tài.
3 Iú-tái kap i é bia'-ti ; 'Iú-tái tài Tai-má-sí m. Hoat-lék-só kap Sat-lék ; Hoat-lék-só m.	• l. m. m o. m. m f. m. m n. m. m l. k. m. m s. m. m l. m. m t. m. m l. m. m s. m. m l. m. m k. m. m	18 Iá-so Ki-tok é chhut-sí, kí t. é-tóe : I é "Má-bé Mâ-li-a Hong chòe Lok-sek fí-tiob, iú-bé chhúa kó-máng, chíu "tai Sóng Sin n sin-m. I é tióng-hu Lok-sek s. g. é láng, "m. ái bián-ján pán i, án-sóng beh Ám-cói" hóe-chbin. Teh m. é s. i, "U Chú é thi'-sí t. i é bin-bang-tiong chhut-hián kóng, Tai-pít é bō-é, Lok-sek ah, bôh-tit kia", tiob chhúa li é bô Mâ-li-a kó-máng ; in-ti i só hóai-in
4 I-sú-lün ; I-sú-tái s. A-lán ; A-lán s. A-bí-ná-tát ; A-bí-ná-tát m. Ná-sún ; Ná-sún m. Sat-bón ; Sat-bún tài 'Lat-báp-sí s. Pho-súl ; Pho-súl tài Ló-tek-sí s. O-peh ; O-peh s. Iá-es ; "Iá-es s. Tai-pít	• l. m. m o. m. m f. m. m n. m. m l. k. m. m s. m. m l. m. m t. m. m l. m. m s. m. m l. m. m k. m. m	19 Sóng Sin n sin-m. I é tióng-hu Lok-sek s. g. é láng, "m. ái bián-ján pán i, án-sóng beh Ám-cói" hóe-chbin. Teh m. é s. i, "U Chú é thi'-sí t. i é bin-bang-tiong chhut-hián kóng, Tai-pít é bō-é, Lok-sek ah, bôh-tit kia", tiob chhúa li é bô Mâ-li-a kó-máng ; in-ti i só hóai-in
5 I-sú-lün ; I-sú-tái s. A-lán ; A-lán s. A-bí-ná-tát ; A-bí-ná-tát m. Ná-sún ; Ná-sún m. Sat-bón ; Sat-bún tài 'Lat-báp-sí s. Pho-súl ; Pho-súl tài Ló-tek-sí s. O-peh ; O-peh s. Iá-es ; "Iá-es s. Tai-pít	• l. m. m o. m. m f. m. m n. m. m l. k. m. m s. m. m l. m. m t. m. m l. m. m s. m. m l. m. m k. m. m	20 Ám-cói" hóe-chbin. Teh m. é s. i, "U Chú é thi'-sí t. i é bin-bang-tiong chhut-hián kóng, Tai-pít é bō-é, Lok-sek ah, bôh-tit kia", tiob chhúa li é bô Mâ-li-a kó-máng ; in-ti i só hóai-in
6 I-sú-lün ; I-sú-tái s. A-lán ; A-lán s. A-bí-ná-tát ; A-bí-ná-tát m. Ná-sún ; Ná-sún m. Sat-bón ; Sat-bún tài 'Lat-báp-sí s. Pho-súl ; Pho-súl tài Ló-tek-sí s. O-peh ; O-peh s. Iá-es ; "Iá-es s. Tai-pít	• l. m. m o. m. m f. m. m n. m. m l. k. m. m s. m. m l. m. m t. m. m l. m. m s. m. m l. m. m k. m. m	21 Ám-cói" hóe-chbin. I beh s. kia", li tiob kid I é mié chòe Iá-so ; in-fí I beh "kia I é peh-sí"
7 Só-ló-bún ; "Só-ló-bún s. Ló-pho-ám ; Ló-pho-ám s. A-pí-s. ; A-pí-s. A-sí A-sí ; A-sí m. Lok-en-boat ; Lok-en-boat s. Lok-lán ; Lok-lán s. O-ee-a ; O-ee-a s. Lok-tán ; Lok-tán s. A-khap-sí ; A-khap-sí s. Hi-se-ka ; Hi-se-ka s. Mâ-ná-se ; Mâ-ná-se s. A-bún ; A-bún s. Iok-se-a ; peh-sí s. chhian-sóa kiu Pa-pí-lün é s. "Iok-se-a s. Iá-ko-ní-a kap i é bia'-ti.	• l. m. m o. m. m f. m. m n. m. m l. k. m. m s. m. m l. m. m t. m. m l. m. m s. m. m l. m. m k. m. m	22 "Lá khòa", "khái-sek-lú beh sin-in s. kia"; Láng beh kid I é mié chòe "I-má-ké-lí ; hoan-ék chhái-si Sióng-sé "kap
12 Chhian-sóa kiu Pa-pí-lün láu-én. "Iá-ko-ní-a s. "Sat-láp-thiat ; "Sat-láp-thiat s. Só-ló-pé-pak ; Só-ló-pé-pak s. A-pí-ut ; A-pí-ut s. I-li-a-kim ; I-li-a-kim s. A-só ; A-só s. Sat-tök ; Sat-tök s. A-kim ; A-kim s. I-lút ; I-lút s. I-li-a-sat ; I-li-a-sat s. Mâ-tán ; Mâ-tán s. Ngé-kok ; Ngé-kok s. Iok-sek, chíu s. Mâ-li-a é töng-	• l. m. m o. m. m f. m. m n. m. m l. k. m. m s. m. m l. m. m t. m. m l. m. m s. m. m l. m. m k. m. m	23 lán t. tib. Lok-sek khùn-chhí khí-kái, chíu Chú é thi'-sí só bin-bang-láng khí kia", chhái i é bô kó-máng ; bô kap i tàng pang kiu i s. kia"; chíu "kid I é mié chòe Iá-so.

Té mokat: Khòa° I-sí-a 7-14

From the Amoy Romanized Bible, Rev. Ed. No. 2152, published by The Bible Societies in Hong Kong & Taiwan.

APPENDIX K

The Lord's Prayer

CHÚ Ê KÎ-TÓ-BÛN

Goán tī thiⁿ--nih ê Pē, Goān Lí ê mià sèng.
Lí ê kok lím-kàu. Lí ê chí-ì tit chiàⁿ, tī tōe--nih
chhin-chhiūⁿ tī thiⁿ-nih. Goán ê jit-sít, kin-á-jit
hō' goán. Sià-bián goán ê ko'-hū, chhin-chhiūⁿ
goán iáh ū sià-bián ko'-hū goán ê làng. Bóh-tit
chhōa goán jíp tī chhì, tióh kiù goán thoat-lí hit ê
pháiⁿ--ê. In-üi kok, koân-lêng, êng-kng lóng sī
Lí só' ū, tâi-tâi bô chīn. A-men.

(Má-thài 6 : 6—19).

主 稿 文

阮在天裡的父。願袮的名聖。袮的國臨到。袮的旨意
得成，在地裡觀像在天裡。阮的日食今仔日給阮。赦免阮
的事負，觀像阮亦有赦免事負阮的人。勿得導阮入於試，
著救阮脫離彼惱惡的。因為國，權能，榮光屬是袮所有，
代代無盡。阿們。

Source:

Sèng-si, Tâi-oân Ki-tok Tiúⁿ-ló Kàu-hoe Chóng-hoe Sèng-si Úi-oân-hoe, 1984.

APPENDIX L

Taiwanese Hymn

Siōng-tēng 講美上帝至高至尊 511

O-LÓ SIÖNG-TÈ CHÌ KOÀN CHÌ CHUN

PENTECOST WILLIAM BOYD, 1847 - 1928

8 8 8



O-ló Siōng-tè chí koán chí chun,
Chō-hòe è Chú, bǎn hok guān-pún,
Thí"-téng sèng-sài, thí"-é bǎn bin,
Eng-oán o-ló Pé, Kiá", Sèng Sin. A-men.

Anonymous

Source:

Sèng-si, Tâi-oân Ki-tok Tiúⁿ-ló Kàu-hoe Chóng-hoe Sèng-si Úi-oân-hoe, 1984.

APPENDIX M
CONFESSTION OF FAITH
OF
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN TAIWAN

We believe in God, the only true God, the Creator and Ruler of human beings and all things. He is the Lord of history and of the world. He judges and saves. His Son Jesus Christ, the Savior of humankind, was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born a man of the Virgin Mary and became our brother. Through His suffering, crucifixion, death and resurrection lie manifested God's love and justice, and through Him we are reconciled to God. His Spirit, which is the Holy Spirit, dwells among us, and grants us power, so that we may bear witness among all peoples until the Lord comes again.

We believe that the Bible is revealed by God, the record of His redemption and the norm of our faith and life.

We believe that the Church is the fellowship of God's people, called to proclaim the salvation of Jesus Christ and to be ambassador of reconciliation. It is both universal and rooted in this land, identifying with all its inhabitants, and through love and suffering becoming the sign of hope.

We believe that through the grace of God human beings are brought to repentance, their sin forgiven, that they may glorify God through lives of devotion, love and dedication.

We believe that God has given human beings dignity, talents and a homeland, so that they may share in God's creation, and have responsibility with Him for taking care of the world. Therefore, they have social, political and economic systems, arts and sciences, and a spirit which seeks after the true God. But human beings have sinned, and they misuse these gifts, destroying the relationship between themselves, all creatures, and God. Therefore, they must depend on the saving grace of Jesus Christ. He will deliver humankind from sin, will set the oppressed free and make them equal, that all may become new creatures in Christ, and the world His Kingdom, full of justice, peace and joy. Amen.

(This translation, based on the original Romanized Taiwanese text authorized by the 32nd General Assembly, April 11, 1985, was officially adopted by the Faith and Order Committee of the General Assembly on 10 January 1986.)

TÂI-OÂN KÌ-TOK NIŪⁿ-LÓ KÀU-HŌE
SÌN-GIÔNG KÒ-PÉK

Chú-aū 1985 n̄ 4 gōeh II jilt Chóng-hōe Thong-kōe

Goán sìn Siōng-tè, chhòng-chō, thōng-tī lāng kap bān-mlh e tōk-it Chin Sın. I sī lēk-sū kap sè-kài e Chú, si-hēng sīm-phōaⁿ kap chín-kiù. I e Kiāⁿ tūi Sèng Sın tāu-thai, tūi chāi-sek-ló Mā-lí-a chhut-sī chōe lāng, chōe lán e hiaⁿ-tī, chiū-sī jīn-lūi e Kiù-chú lā-so' Ki-tok, tūi I e siū-khō, tēng sīp-jī-kē sī, koh-oáh, hián-bēng Siōng-tè e jīn-ái kap kong-gī, hō' lán kap Siōng-tè koh-hō. I e Sın, chiū-sī Sèng Sın, tiām-tī lán tióng-kan, siúⁿ-sū khùi-lát, hō' goán tī bān peh-sīⁿ tióng chōe kiàn-chēng, tī-kàu I koh-lai.

Goán sìn, Sèng-keng sī Siōng-tè sō' khé-sī--e, kī-chāi I e kiù-siòk, chōe goán sìn-giōng kap seng-oáh e chún-chek.

Goán sìn, Kàu-hōe sī Siōng-tè peh-sīⁿ e thoân-khè, siū-tiāu lāi soan-iōng lā-so' Ki-tok e chín-kiù, chōe hō-kái e sū-chiā, sī phō'-sē--e, koh tēng-kun tī pún-tōe, jīn-tōng sō'-ū--e chū-bñ, thong-kōe tháuⁿ kap siū-khō, lāi chiāⁿ-chōe ñg-bāng e kī-hō.

Goán sìn, lāng tūi Siōng-tè e un-tiān lāu hōe-kái, chōe tit siā-bián, ēng khiān-sēng, jīn-ái kap hiān-sin e seng-oáh kui ēng-kng Siōng-tè.

Goán sìn, Siōng-tè hō' lāng ū chun-giām, chāi-lēng, t-klp hióng-thō', lāi ū hūn tī I e chhòng-chō, hū chek-jīm kap I koán-lí sè-kài. Tūi sān-ni, lāng ū siā-hōe, chēng-tī kap keng-chē e chē-tō', lā ū bān-gē, kho-hák, koh ū tui-kiù Chin Sın e sim. Chóng-sī lāng ū chōe, gō'-iōng chāih-e un-sū, phō-hoai lāng, bān-mlh, kap Siōng-tè e koan-hē. Sō'-ī lāng tit-oá-khō lā-so' Ki-tok e kiù-un. I beh hō' lāng tūi chōe-ok tióng tit-tiōh tháu-pāng, hō' siū ap-chē--e tit-tiōh chū-iū, pēng-tēng, tī Ki-tok chiāⁿ-chōe sin chhòng-chō e lāng, hō' sè-kài chiāⁿ-chōe I e Kok, chhióng-mōa kong-gī, pēng-an kap hoaⁿ-hī. A-men.

APPENDIX N

Joint Communique Between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America

Issued in Shanghai 28 February 1972

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant to the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tsetung of the Communist Party of China on February 21. The two leaders had a serious and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, extensive, earnest and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides. In addition, Secretary of State William Rogers and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei held talks in the same spirit.

President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured Hangchow and Shanghai where, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, they viewed similar places of interest.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America found it beneficial to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact, to present candidly to one another their views on a variety of issues. They reviewed the international situation in which important changes and great upheavals are taking place and expounded their respective positions and attitudes.

The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution-this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal: big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries. The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the elaboration of February this year on the two key problems in the proposal, and to the Joint Declaration of Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples. It firmly supports the eight-point program for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". It firmly opposes the revival and out-ward

expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace: just, because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving communication between countries that have different ideologies so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to reexamine its own attitudes for the common good. The United States stressed that the People of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Viet Nam and the United States on January 27, 1972 represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement the United States envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each county of Indochina. The United States will maintain its close ties with and support for the republic of Korea; the United States will support efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan; it will continue to develop the existing close bonds. Consistent with the United Nations Security Council Resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favors the continuation of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of great power rivalry.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use of threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

--progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;--both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;

--neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and

--Neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese Side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan", "one China, two governments", "two Chinas", an "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined".

The U.S. side declared: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes.

The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples. To this end, they discussed specific areas in such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges.

Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interests of the peoples of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their two countries.

The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior U.S. representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

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