

**臺勢教會**  
**The Taiwanese Making of  
the Canada Presbyterian  
Mission**

**Mark A. Dodge**

**Series in World History**



**VERNON PRESS**

Copyright © 2021 by the author.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of Vernon Art and Science Inc.

[www.vernonpress.com](http://www.vernonpress.com)

*In the Americas:*  
Vernon Press  
1000 N West Street, Suite 1200  
Wilmington, Delaware, 19801  
United States

*In the rest of the world:*  
Vernon Press  
C/Sancti Espiritu 17,  
Malaga, 29006  
Spain

Series in World History

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020947486

ISBN: 978-1-64889-119-9

Cover design by Vernon Press. Cover image: George Leslie Mackay, native pastors, and students during itinerating in North Formosa. Aletheia University Archives AUP0000111.

Product and company names mentioned in this work are the trademarks of their respective owners. While every care has been taken in preparing this work, neither the authors nor Vernon Art and Science Inc. may be held responsible for any loss or damage caused or alleged to be caused directly or indirectly by the information contained in it.

Every effort has been made to trace all copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publisher will be pleased to include any necessary credits in any subsequent reprint or edition.

# Table of contents

	<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>v</i>
	<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>vii</i>
	<i>A Note on the Romanization of Chinese</i>	<i>ix</i>
	<i>Introduction: The Miracle Mission</i>	<i>xiii</i>
Chapter 1	<b>The Arrival</b>	1
Chapter 2	<b>Preaching in a Hostile Land</b>	19
Chapter 3	<b>The First Mission Station</b>	37
Chapter 4	<b>The Medical Mission</b>	53
Chapter 5	<b>The Brilliant Tiu<sup>n</sup> Girl of Go Kho-Khi<sup>n</sup></b>	71
Chapter 6	<b>Narrating the Life of a Superstar</b>	91
Chapter 7	<b>The Model of Efficiency: The Self-Supporting Mission</b>	109
Chapter 8	<b>Giam and Tan's Miracle Mission</b>	127
Chapter 9	<b>Mackay's "Helpers"</b>	145
Chapter 10	<b>The Japanese Wildcard</b>	165
	<i>Conclusion 臺勢借番教會: The Taiwanese-Powered Mission</i>	<i>189</i>
	<i>Appendices</i>	<i>201</i>
	<i>Notes</i>	<i>203</i>
	<i>Bibliography</i>	<i>231</i>
	<i>Index</i>	<i>245</i>



# List of Figures

<b>Figure 1.1.</b> Map of the North Formosa Mission reprinted with permission of the Canada Presbyterian Church.	xi
<b>Figure 2.1.</b> Photograph of Giam Chheng-hoa. Aletheia University Archives AUP000007.	24
<b>Figure 3.1.</b> Photograph of Tan Thah-so Aletheia University Archives AUP 000024.	46
<b>Figure 4.1.</b> George Leslie Mackay and students pulling teeth at a chapel in Gilan in 1893. Aletheia University Archives AUP000156.	63
<b>Figure 5.1.</b> George Leslie Mackay, native pastors, and students during itinerating in North Formosa. Aletheia University Archives AUP0000111.	72
<b>Figure 5.2.</b> Women and girls culling tea leaves in Toa Liong-pong c. 1890. Xin Fang Chun Cha Hang (新芳春茶行).	85
<b>Figure 5.3.</b> Number of Female Converts in Northern Taiwan. (Compiled from Mackay's Baptismal Records Aletheia University Archives 馬偕受系名單 1873-1899).	90
<b>Figure 6.1.</b> Mission Statistics from the Presbyterian Record September, 1887.	95
<b>Figure 6.2.</b> Statistical Summary of Protestant Missions in China—December 31, 1886. Reconstructed from data found in <i>The Chinese Recorder</i> .	100
<b>Figure 7.1.</b> Jim Sui and Wife. Aletheia Archives AUD000039.	113
<b>Figure 8.1.</b> Record of baptisms at Jia-li-si, from Mackay's Baptismal Records Aletheia University 馬偕受洗名單 1873-1888.	130
<b>Figure 8.2.</b> Sin-Tiam Church: One of three great churches built with jiaoan funds Aletheia Archives AUP 000107.	135
<b>Figure 8.3.</b> Drs. Rennie and Tan perform surgery at Howei Hospital while George Leslie Mackay and his brother-in-law assist. Aletheia Archives 000075.	141
<b>Figure 9.1.</b> Tombstone of Anne Jamieson's son.	154
<b>Figure 9.2.</b> Honoring George Leslie Mackay on the 100 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of his Death: June 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 2001 photo by Michael Stainton.	160
<b>Figure 10.1.</b> Mackay with native preachers, 1896. Colorized. Aletheia Archives AUP000100.	180



# Acknowledgements

When I finally sat down to defend the dissertation upon which this book was based, there were six professors on my committee. Four were present in person (along with my son who came as an audience), the other two attending remotely via phone or skype from distant locations in North America and Asia. Generally, a dissertation committee is only comprised of three professors, but because I had insisted on maintaining my career as a Buffalo Public Schools teacher while studying for my Doctorate part-time, I had spread my research out across ten years and been involved with a wider than customary array of personal mentors. It wasn't until that moment, that I realized how many people I was indebted to for their assistance in the creation of this work.

My advisor, Kristen Stapleton, deserves the most credit in guiding me along the way of this project. She inherited me as a student when my prior advisor, Roger Des Forges, retired. Stapleton took me on despite my many weaknesses and checked every source I found and reread every word I wrote at least five times as she guided me toward the completion of this project. Mark Nathan, Yan Liu, and Sasha Pack all contributed significant comments and guidance, and Chen Chirong offered expert guidance in the location and translation of Taiwanese sources. Roger Des Forges, who returned from retirement to sit on my committee emeritus, was the first professor to believe in me, and stuck with me until the very end.

Michael Stainton, the secretary of the Canada Mackay committee and former president of the Taiwanese Human Rights Association of Canada, supplied many of the connections which made this research possible. In addition to introducing me to several of Mackay's living descendants, his friendships at Aletheia University and in the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan and the Canada Presbyterian Church provided me with the opportunity to complete this research. The Toronto Evergreen Society, composed of numerous Taiwanese expatriates also provided much help in locating living and teaching accommodations while I conducted my research, as well as providing other forms of support. Bob Anger or the Canada Presbyterian Archives in Toronto was particularly helpful in this regard. Louis Gamble and Chen Kuan-chou were instrumental in finding and reviewing the archival materials in Taiwan.

In addition to the large number of people who enabled the intellectual work of this book are a greater number of friends and family who suffered through me while I undertook this work in addition to an already overloaded plate of

commitments. My children who waited patiently for me while I finished my work, my extended family and friends who supported me during this work, my wife, who suffered a summer in tropical Taiwan for this work, all made this possible. Lastly, the teachers and administrators of Buffalo Public Schools afforded both financial assistance and the time to conduct my research. Without their support, I should never have accomplished this.

# A Note on the Romanization of Chinese

Chinese is a very difficult language, and one that is particularly difficult to transliterate into the Latin alphabet. This is further complicated by the fact that every region of China has its own local dialect with its own distinctive pronunciation. In 1958 the Communist government of China introduced Hanyu Pinyin—a standardized system for writing Chinese in Latin letters that was meant to be universal, and is learned by most students of Chinese today. In 1958, however, Taiwan was considered the Republic of China, still at war with People's Republic of China, and therefore did not adopt the PRC's universal new system, opting instead to continue to use a nineteenth-century standard known as the Wade-Giles system. Before 1892, when Herbert Giles published the system that he and Francis Wade developed, there was no universal standard for spelling Chinese in transliteration, and the same word was often spelled differently by different people depending upon the regional dialect that the writer was familiar with.

In Taiwan, where Herbert Giles spent several years developing his transliteration scheme not far from the Canada Presbyterian Mission, most English speakers used a system of transliteration known as Pe-oe-ji. Pe-oe-ji was developed by missionaries from the English Presbyterian Church and was based on the Amoy dialect, also known as Hokkien. About the same time that Giles was collaborating with Wade to develop a more universal standard for writing Chinese, the Japanese acquired Taiwan subsequent to the first Sino-Japanese war. The Japanese called this Taiwanese dialect Fukkien or Fukkienese, and transliterated Chinese character based on their own standard, and the Japanese pronunciation of those characters. In short, this means that every word used in nineteenth-century Taiwan has at least three and sometimes as many as five or six variant spellings that were in common use at that time, and two variant spellings that are upheld as “standard” today.

When I began this work, I intended to avoid this confusion by spelling every word precisely the way I found it spelled in my sources, but soon found this to be untenable, especially when my sources disagreed. Wherever possible I have opted to be true to the Canada Presbyterian Mission that I am writing about and use the original Pe-oe-ji spellings for proper names and common terms. The first time I introduce each term, and again in the index, I include in parentheses after the word both the Chinese character and the contemporary pinyin spelling. In some cases, the Pe-oe-ji spelling for otherwise common words is so distinctive that I could not in good conscious use it. I felt, for example, that Beng (明, Ming) would be unduly confusing to most readers. On

the other hand, since it was used so many times in the work, I opted to keep the Pe-oe-ji term Chheng (清, Qing) which is not spelled much different than the Wade-Giles “Ch’hing” and looks to be pronounced similarly.

For people and places whose names were never, to my knowledge (or in my sources), recorded in Pe-oe-ji, I kept the prevailing transliteration from the literature. In many cases this meant using Wade-Giles transliterations that are standard in Taiwan today, but there are some Hanyu Pinyin transliterations as well. In each case I have done my best to provide multiple transliterations to promote disambiguation, but there are some names for which I still have not been (and may never be) able to locate the original characters. My hope is that the great many names that I have been able to identify, in conjunction with the appendices previously published by Louise Gamble and Chen Kuan-chou will provide help future researchers to accurately identify many of the people and places written about by the Canada Presbyterian Church.





# Introduction: The Miracle Mission

I first came across George Leslie Mackay while studying the rise of the Spanish silver trade in the “early-modern” Pacific in a footnote in an article about a small Spanish fort, Forte San Domingo, in Tamsui (淡水, Danshui), Taiwan. As it turned out, Mackay’s birthplace, Embro, Ontario, was only an hour’s drive from Buffalo where I was doing my graduate work at the time, so I decided to look into him further. Soon after, I met Michael Stainton of the Canada Mackay Committee, an important cultural and political advocate for the Taiwanese community in Canada. Stainton introduced me to several of Mackay’s living descendants, and to a vibrant religious community that reveres Mackay almost as a Saint.

As a student of comparative coloniality, I was intellectually unprepared to find a British Imperialist so popular among the people he helped to colonize. I immediately dismissed this positive image, choosing to believe it was merely the imaginary of a small group of religious expatriates, hardly representative of the Taiwanese people in general. The history of imperialism, after all, offers an abundance of examples of imperialists who, because of the political and economic alliances they forged, were beloved by one group of colonized people and simultaneously despised by others. Those who had benefitted from Mackay’s had certainly left their imprint on the historical narrative of his mission, but I was sure that there were other people who had been disenfranchised, dispossessed, or abused in Colonial Taiwan who had a different untold perspective of the Presbyterian missionary. But my suspicions were not confirmed. The deeper I studied Mackay, the more I realized that he truly was as beloved as the standard narrative claimed. The prevailing image of Mackay throughout Taiwan continues to be overwhelmingly positive—even amongst non-Christians.<sup>1</sup>

Mackay’s positive image was even more surprising, in light of Ryan Dunch’s assertion that over the past three-quarters of a century the historiography of Christian missiology has increasingly adopted the pejorative trope of “cultural imperialism” to describe the interactions of missionaries and the people they attempted to convert. “Missionaries,” Dunch claims, “are routinely portrayed in both literature and scholarship as narrow-minded chauvinists whose presence and preaching destroyed indigenous cultures and opened the way for the extension of colonial rule.”<sup>2</sup> While there remains some prejudice against Christianity as a foreign religion in Taiwan today, and a general

atmosphere of distrust for anything considered to be too “western,” there are also seven larger-than-life statues of George Leslie Mackay scattered about Taiwan. In addition, a dozen or more museum and historical gardens have been built in his honor, and three hospitals are named after him. Unlike the oft-attacked effigies of Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石, Jiang Jieshi) that adorn the island, nobody has defaced any of the statues of Mackay. The question that initially piqued my interest in this line of research was how did this Canadian missionary become so popular among the Taiwanese people he colonized?

Mackay’s life accomplishments were impressive. A bright young man from a Scottish farming community in the borderland region of Zorra County, Ontario, Mackay pledged his life to missionary work at a young age, and found his way to Tamsui Taiwan with little more than a trunk full of books and a few Christian pamphlets translated into Chinese. He had spent a few months studying Chinese on his own with books he had acquired at Knox College in Toronto, and at Edinburgh in Scotland, but could not hold a basic conversation in Chinese when he was left alone with a single “helper” to plant his mission in Northern Taiwan. After nearly six months of travelling, he arrived in the northern port of Tamsui, a mere fishing village of only a few hundred souls, which he chose specifically because no other Christian worker had been there before him.

With limited resources and no significant outside support, he proceeded to build 60 mission stations, Taiwan’s first “western”-style hospital, a theological college, and Taiwan’s first school for girls. At the time of his death in 1901, an incomplete census conducted by his successor, William Gauld, enumerated 2,617 baptized Taiwanese, 59 native preachers, 41 registered elders, and 57 deacons.<sup>3</sup> The size of the Christian community that Mackay founded leads most scholars of his mission to agree that he was one of the most successful missionaries of the nineteenth century.

Some have argued that Taiwan was a particularly hospitable environment for the building of Christian missions.<sup>4</sup> In some respects I will provide new evidence that supports these arguments by arguing for the existence of an exceptional class of disenfranchised elites in Chheng (清, Qing) Taiwan who had as much to gain from embracing Christianity as mainland elites hoped to gain by banning it. But building a Protestant mission in Taiwan was, by no means, an easy undertaking. The language was difficult and non-uniform. The Taiwanese were more than a little xenophobic, and rock- and dung- throwing and physical attacks were not uncommon reactions to foreigners. In the inland mountains, interpersonal violence was a regular affair, as indigenous tribes fought a guerrilla war against Han Chinese encroachment, regularly killing settlers and taking their heads as prizes. The Chheng, in return, sponsored regular pogroms to destroy villages and exterminate their inhabitants.

Disease was also endemic to the island. Malaria, cholera, encephalitis, leprosy, tuberculosis, and influenza were all common. Nearly every year of the twenty-nine that Mackay kept diaries for during his mission to Taiwan noted at least one epidemic that spread through the country and took a toll in human life. Mackay, himself, was incapacitated due to illness forty-two times during the first eighteen years of his mission—three of these times for a month or more, nearly dying on at least two separate occasions. Interestingly, in the last twelve years of his mission he was sick only three more times before he began to experience the symptoms of the throat cancer that he died of in 1901.<sup>5</sup>

Over the thirty years of his career in Taiwan, eight colleagues joined Mackay from Canada, but all but the last two, William and Mary Gauld, did not make it in the harsh environs of Taiwan. Two died of illness, two lost children to illness and three of the four others left amid accusations of incompetence, driven out by locals who did not want them there. The Gaulds, who survived George Leslie Mackay and became the *de facto* heads of the Canada Presbyterian Mission when he died, were also the subjects of scathing indictments drafted by the Taiwanese members of the mission. Mary Gauld, too, eventually left Taiwan with her children, never to return. The experiences of Mackay's Canadian "helpers," I hope, will illustrate that while Taiwan might have been particularly receptive to Christian proselytization, proselytizing there was not a safe nor easy venture. Even amongst missionaries who worked entirely in Taiwan, Mackay's work stands out as exceptional.

Hamish Ion says the Mackay mission must be judged as "phenomenally successful" by any standard.<sup>6</sup> "Any standard," of course, being a reference to the quantifiable victories noted from Gauld's reports above—the sixty mission stations, hospital, college, girls' school and three thousand baptized converts he left behind. In comparison, David Livingstone, the famed missionary whose work in Africa was one of the inspirations for Mackay's "native mission," baptized only one convert in his lifetime. The China Inland Mission, co-founded by Mackay's childhood idol, William Chalmers Burns and Hudson Taylor, which became the central body in the strategic evangelization of Chheng China, had 89 more missionaries than the Canada Presbyterian Mission in 1886 and had been established fifteen years earlier, but could claim only 186 more communicants than Mackay and his two colleagues boasted.<sup>7</sup>

According to Jane Hunter, missionary activity on the mainland was "largely unsuccessful." It took ten years of proselytizing in Foochow (福州, Fuzhou) before missionaries could claim their first convert, and by 1860 the fifty missionaries in that city could boast only sixty-six converts between them.<sup>8</sup> Even Matteo Ricci, the first Jesuit missionary to China, whose work was so respected by the Chinese that the Chheng Emperor later expelled all Christian missionaries who did not agree to follow Ricci's teachings, "conceded that

despite his efforts, ‘the number of baptized individuals was not what was desired.’”<sup>9</sup> After nearly fifty years of work by dozens of missionaries in several of China’s largest cities, the Jesuits had fewer than two thousand Chinese communicants—far fewer than Mackay managed in just thirty years, mostly alone, in the rural wilderness of Northern Taiwan. As Rohrer put it, [by 1900] “there were some 3000 Protestant missionaries labouring in China, yielding a mere 30-40 Chinese Christians for each foreign missionary. Without any question, then, the response to Mackay’s efforts in Taiwan was remarkably favourable.”<sup>10</sup> And still, few scholars have made any serious attempt to study the underlying reasons for that success, or the legacy it has had for the people of Taiwan.

Scholars who have analyzed other Christian missions in East Asia have come up with several different hypotheses about the conditions that led to mission success. Some, like Alwyn Austin, have suggested that the personal genius of individual missionaries and the strategies they chose were the keys to their success.<sup>11</sup> Liam Brockey, in studying Jesuit missions in China during the sixteenth- and seventeenth- centuries, also appears to suggest that the skills and training of individual missionaries was the main ingredient for their early successes. Matteo Ricci’s astounding intellectual and linguistic abilities, for example, allowed him to command the respect of Ming (明, Ming) intelligentsia despite having very little structural or outside economic support to rely on.<sup>12</sup>

Ricci donned the robes of a Confucian scholar and attempted to utilize the strategy of proselytizing the nobility that his predecessors, Francis Xavier, Comte de Torres, and Juan Fernandez had developed with such success in Japan fifty years earlier. In Japan, these early Jesuits were able to convert entire communities by proving their intellectual value to the individual daimyo. In the first 50 years of the Jesuit mission to Japan, a few dozen missionaries had converted as many as three-hundred-thousand Japanese to Catholicism. But these successes were short-lived. Toyotomi Hideyoshi began executing and expelling Jesuits in 1597, and his successor, Tokugawa Ieyasu outlawed Christianity entirely in 1614, leading to mass executions of those who refused to repent the faith.<sup>13</sup>

Ricci never achieved the level of mass conversion that the Jesuit Mission in Japan enjoyed during its “Christian Century,” but his thought and writing were so esteemed that when the Kang-hsi Emperor (康熙, Kangxi) decided to follow the Japanese example and expel Christian missionaries from China, he made special provisions allowing those that followed the rules of Ricci to remain.<sup>14</sup> Brockey concludes that the Jesuits’ lack of political (and by this he primarily means military) support was the difference that limited the success of early Catholic missions in comparison to nineteenth-century Protestant ventures. [In China,] “The Jesuits could not summon a European army to

force a change of heart among those who rebuked them or denied the veracity of their theological arguments... Had European soldiers and settlers rather than other missionaries joined them, perhaps their spiritual legacy would have been as enduring in China as it was in other lands where they established missions."<sup>15</sup>

Chung-Shin Park, concurs with Brockey in the importance of politics to the success of Christian missions. In his analysis of Protestant success in Korea, he concluded that specific local political conditions were the primary factor in missionary success.

Underlying the remarkable growth of the new religion from the West was a new spirit of reform amidst feelings of frustration with the encroachment of Japan and, later, a desire to regain independence from Japanese colonial rule. After the liberation from Japan in 1945, church growth accelerated. This was achieved in a pro-Western, pro-Christian atmosphere created by secular political forces. Following the Korean War, along with the social and political unrest accompanying rapid economic growth and urbanization in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the congregations continued to grow.<sup>16</sup>

While Park's analysis of Protestant endeavors in Korea extends much further into the twentieth century than this study of the Canada Presbyterian Mission in Taiwan, I will argue that similar anti-imperial political sentiments to those Park finds behind the adoption of "western" religion in Korea also played an important role in Northern Taiwan. Ironically, in these contested colonial spaces, Protestantism was associated with nationalist movements rather than foreign colonial designs.

James Rohrer also contends that the political climate in Taiwan was a critical, and over-looked factor, in the success of the Canada Presbyterian Mission. According to Rohrer,

It is clear that conversion occurs more often in societies experiencing cultural strains than in stable societies. New religions take root and grow most readily in societies which are being strongly impacted by foreign cultures, in which social controls are weak and inadequate to provide individuals with security, and in which traditional sources of authority fail to satisfactorily meet the felt needs of individuals who are undergoing crisis. A partial list of factors associated with conversion includes wars and other forms of foreign aggression; dislocations caused by rapid economic change; epidemic disease; and political revolution. Converts are also more likely to be people who lack stable personal

PAGES MISSING  
FROM THIS FREE SAMPLE

# Bibliography

- Ahern, Emily Martin. *Chinese Ritual and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Alsford, Niki J.P. ed. *Chronicling Formosa (1886-1876) Setting the Foundations for the Presbyterian Mission*. Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosa Aborigines, 2015.
- Alsford, Niki J. P. *The Witnessed Account of British Resident John Dodd at Tamsui*. Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc, 2010.
- Andrews, Bridie. *The Making of Chinese Medicine 1850-1960*. Toronto: UBC Press, 2014.
- Arnold, David. *Toxic Histories: Poison and Pollution in Modern India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Atwell, William, "Another Look at Silver Imports in China, ca. 1635-1644\*" *Journal of World History* Vol 16 No 4 (December, 2005): 467-489.
- Austin, Alwyn. *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905*. Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2007.
- Austin, Alwyn. "George Leslie Mackay." in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Vol XIII. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994.
- Austin, Alwyn J. "'Hotbed of Missions': The China Inland Mission, Toronto Bible College, and the Faith Missions—Bible School Connection" in *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home*. 134-151. Edited Daniel H Bays. University of Alabama Press, 2003.
- Austin, Alwyn J. *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom*. University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- Bayly, C. A. *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Bays, Daniel H. *A New History of Christianity in China*. Chichester, West Sussex and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Bell, Linda. "From Comprador to County Magnate: Bourgeois Practice in the Wuxi County Silk Industry." *Chinese Local Elites and Patterns of Dominance*. Ed. Joseph Esherick, Mary Backus Rankin. Stanford: University of California Press, 1993. 113-140.
- Bickers, Robert. "'Good work for China in every possible direction': The Foreign Inspectorate of the Chinese Maritime Customs, 1854-1950" in *Twentieth-Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the everyday and the world*. ed Byrna Goodman and David S. G. Goodman. New York: Routledge, 2012. pp. 25-36.
- Borao, Jose Eugenio. "The Dominican Missionaries in Taiwan: 1624-1642" in *Missionary Approaches and Linguistics in Mainland China and Taiwan*. edited Ku Wei-ying. Leuven: Verbiest Foundation, 2001.
- Bossen, Laurel, and Gates, Hill. *Bound Feet, Young Hands: Tracking the Demise of Footbinding in Village China*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2017.
- Bray, Francesca. *Technology, Gender and History in Late Imperial China: Great transformations reconsidered*. London: Routledge, 2013.

- Brockey, Liam Mathew. *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*. Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2007.
- Brown, Melissa. "Footbinding, Industrialization, and Evolutionary Explanation: An Empirical Illustration of Niche Construction and Social Inheritance" *Hum Nat*. Vol 27. New York: Springer Science and Business Media, (2016): 502-532.
- Burger, Werner. *Ch'ing Cash: Qing Qian Bian Nianpu* 清錢編年譜. [Minting Records of Qing Cash]. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, March 1 2016.
- Burger, Werner. "How China Lost a Century: Ch'ing Monetary Policy in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century." Lecture. Hong Kong: The Foreign Correspondents Club, May 17, 2016.
- Burleigh, Michael. *Earthly Powers: The Clash of Religion and Politics in Europe, From the French Revolution to the Great War*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2005.
- Buswell, Robert E. Jr. and Timothy S. Lee, eds., *Christianity in Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- Catalogue of the Anglo-Chinese College, Foochow, China For the 19<sup>th</sup> Year of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu 1893-1894*. Foochow, China: Methodist Episcopal Mission Press, 1893.
- Cha, James (Shih-Chie-Cha) ed. *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*. Taipei: NTU Press (2011) 66 Volumes.
- Chen Chi-rong. 陈志蓉. *Gamalan Ren de Zongjiao Bianqian* 噶瑪蘭人的宗教變遷。in *Maxie Chuanqi* 馬偕傳奇。["The Religious Transformation of the People of Gamalan" in *Tales of Mackay*] *Taiwan Tamsui Zhenli Daxue*, 2014。126-146.
- Chen Chi-rong 陈志蓉。Taiwan Jiaohui Bentu Wenhua 台灣教會本土文化。in *Maxie Chuanqi* 馬偕傳奇。["The Cultural Foundations of the Taiwanese Church" in *Tales of Mackay*] *Taiwan Tamsui Zhenli Daxue*, 2014。24-31。
- Chen Chi-rong 陈志蓉。Maxie Taiwan Dongan Xuanjiao Fangxing 馬偕台灣東岸宣教放行。in *Maxie Chuanqi* 馬偕傳奇。["Mackay's Missionary Method on Taiwan's Eastern Shore" in *Tales of Mackay*] *Taiwan Tamsui Zhenli Daxue*, 2014。62-70。
- Chen Hong-wen ed. 陳宏文編者。Maxie Boshi Zai Taiwan Jianada Zhanglao Jiaohui Zai Taixuanjiao Xianfeng. 馬偕博士在臺灣：加拿大長老教會在臺傳教先鋒 George L. Mackay D.D. in Taiwan. [Dr. Mackay in Taiwan: the vanguard of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission] Taipei: China Sunday-School Association, July, 1982.
- Chen Meiliao 陳梅聊。"Maxie Jiaoshi Jiqi Jia Zai Tai De Shengya." 馬偕教師及其家在台的生涯 [Teacher Mackay and his Family's Careers in Taiwan,] in *Taiwan shihua* 台灣史話, April, 2001. 89-98.
- "China and Chinese Missions." *The Home and Foreign Record of the Canada Presbyterian Church*. Montreal: W. C. Chewett & Co. Vol XI No 2-3. (February, March 1872) [2 parts]: 35-8, 66-70.
- Chu, Samuel C." Liu Mingchuan and modernization of Taiwan" *The Journal of Asian Studies*. Vol. 23, No. 1 (Nov., 1963), 37-53.

- Chuang Ying-Chang and Arthur P. Wolf. "Marriage in Taiwan, 1881-1905 An Example of Regional Diversity." *Journal of Asian Studies*. Vol 54, No. 3. Association for Asian Studies, August, 1995. 781-795.
- Clark, Anthony E. *A Voluntary Exile: Chinese Christianity and Cultural Confluence Since 1552*. Lanham, MD: Lehigh University Press, 2014.
- Cohen, Paul *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- "Confession of the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan" adopted by the 32<sup>nd</sup> General Assembly 10 January, 1986. [http://english.pct.org.tw/enWho\\_con.htm](http://english.pct.org.tw/enWho_con.htm)
- Convention of Beijing. (British Version) October 24, 1860. Original text at [http://www.chinaforeignrelations.net/treaty\\_beijing](http://www.chinaforeignrelations.net/treaty_beijing)
- Copper, John F. *Taiwan: Nation State or Province*. Boulder: West View Press, 2013 [1975] 6<sup>th</sup> ed.
- Davidson, James Wheeler. *The island of Formosa, past and present. History, people, resources, and commercial prospects. Tea, camphor, sugar, gold, coal, sulphur, economical plants, and other productions*. London: Mcmillan and Co., 1903.
- Davis, Bradley Camp. *Imperial Bandits: Outlaws and Rebels in the China-Vietnam Borderlands*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017.
- DeBernardi, Jean. "Wudang Mountain and Mount Zion in Taiwan: Syncretic Processes in Space, Ritual Performance, and Imagination." *Asian Journal of Social Science* 37, no. 1 (2009): 138-62
- Des Forges, Roger. "China's Role in History and Historiography" Draft of August 2012. Cited with permission of the author.
- Des Forges, Roger. *The Mythistorical Chinese Scholar-Rebel-Advisor Li Yan: A Global Perspective, 1606-2018*. Boston: Brill, 2020.
- Dodge, Mark. "The Last Kindness of a Child," The Presbyterian Connection. Issue 14, Summer, 2020, 15.
- Doolittle, Justus (1876). *Social life of the Chinese: with some account of their religious, governmental, educational, and business customs and opinions. With special but not exclusive reference to Fuchchau*. New York: Harper, 1876.
- Drake, Fred W. *China Charts the World: Hsü Chi-Yü and His Geography of 1848*. Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, 1975.
- Du Congming. 杜聰明. *Taisheng Chaye Zhifu Li Chunsheng de Shengping*. 台省茶葉之夫李春生的生平. [Li Chunsheng, The man who made Taiwan the Tea Capital] in Taiwan Xinwen Bao. 台灣新聞報. Taipei, September 21, 1963. <http://www.laijohn.com/archives/pc/Li/Li,CSeng/brief/Tou,Cbeng.htm>
- Du, Yaqiong. *Ritual music in a North China Village: The Continuing Confucian and Buddhist Heritage*. Chicago: Chinese Music Society of North America, 2004.
- Dubois, Thomas David. *The Sacred Village*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005.
- Dunch, Ryan. "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," in *History and Theory*. Wesleyan University, October 2002 vol 41 pp 301-325.
- Elliot, John H. "The Decline of Spain," *Past and Present* No. 20, (Nov. 1961): 52-75.

- Elman, Benjamin A. *A Cultural History of Modern Science in China*. London, England: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Esherick, Joseph, Paul Pickowicz and Andrew G. Walder. *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Fairbank, John King. *The Great Chinese Revolution 1800-1985*. New York: Harper and Rowe; 1986.
- Forsberg, Clyde R. *The Life and Legacy of George Leslie Mackay: An Interdisciplinary Study of Canada's First Presbyterian Missionary to Northern Taiwan*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2012.
- Forsberg, Clyde R. "George Leslie Mackay, Miscegenation, and Mormonism: Having the Courage or Lack Thereof to Cross the Color Line for Christ?" A paper presented at The 2009 CESNUR Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 11-13, 2009.
- Forsberg, Clyde R. "Pan Celtic Anglo-Saxonism, the Polar Eden, and Crossing Racial Divides: The Interesting Case of George Leslie Mackay." *The Life and Legacy Of George Leslie Mackay: An Interdisciplinary Study of Canada's First Presbyterian Missionary to Northern Taiwan*. ed. Forsberg. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2012.
- Gamble, Louise. "Minnie Mackay: Taiwan's Hidden Treasure" unpublished copy of Jan 2018 cited with permission of the author.
- Gamble, Louise and Chen Kuan-chou ed. *North Formosa Mission Reports Series I-III Vol 1-5*. Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2012.
- Goodman, Byrna and David S. G. Goodman. "Colonialism and China." In *Twentieth-Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the everyday and the world*. ed Byrna Goodman and David S. G. Goodman. New York: Routelage, 2012. 1-22.
- Goodman, Byrna and David S. G. Goodman. "Colonialism and China." In *Twentieth-Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the everyday and the World*. ed Byrna Goodman and David S. G. Goodman. New York: Routelage, 2012. 1-22.
- Gordon, Leonard H. D. "Taiwan and the Powers, 1840-1895." in *Taiwan: Studies in Chinese Local History*. ed. Leonard H. D. Gorgan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970. 93-117.
- Grant, John Webster. "Missions and Missionaries" in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Toronto: Historica Canada, (February 7, 2006).
- Green, Abigail. "Humanitarianism in Nineteenth- Century Context: Religious, Gendered, National" *The Historical Journal*, Cambridge University Press; Vol 57, No 4 (2014): 1157-1175.
- Greenhalgh, Susan M. "Bound Feet, Hobbled Lives: Women in Old China" *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring, 1977): 7-21.
- Gundlach, Bradley J. "McCosh and Hodge on Evolution: A combined Legacy." in *The Journal of Presbyterian History*. Vol. 75 No. 2 (summer 1997): 85-102.
- Hall, Captain W. H. *The Nemesis in China: A History of the Late War in that Country with a Complete Account of Hong Kong*. London: Henry Colburn, 1846.

- Hanley, Mark Y. "Revolution at Home and Abroad: Radical Implications of the Protestant Call to Missions, 1825-1870," *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home*. Edited Daniel H Bays. University of Alabama Press, 2003. 44-59.
- Hansen, Valerie. *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Heixu Maxie*. 黑鬚馬偕 [The Black Bearded Bible Man] by Joyce Y Chou, directed by Lucas Hemlab of Flagship Opera Productions, *Guojia QujuyuanTaipei* 國家戲劇院·台北 [Chiang Kaishek Memorial Opera House] 11/27-11/30 2008 DVD Recording and Pamphlet.
- Hinrichs, TJ and Linda L. Barnes, eds. *Chinese Medicine and Healing: An Illustrated History*. Cambridge: Bellknap Press, 2013.
- Ho, Samuel Pao-San. "Colonialism and Development: Korea, Taiwan, and Kwantung." In *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, edited by Myers Ramon H. and Peattie Mark R., 347-98. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Hobson, John M. *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- 謝大立。〈從馬偕在台宣教的歷程探討宣教師養成的重要〉。《華神期刊》9 (2018): 112-148。[Hsieh, Ta-li. "Exploring the Importance of the Formation of Missionaries from Mackay's Mission in Taiwan," *China Evangelical Seminary Journal*] 9 (2018): 112-148.
- 謝大立。〈邁向本土化宣教的旅程：馬偕在北台灣宣教的發展模式〉。《華神期刊》10 (2019): 67-94。[Hsieh, Ta-li. "A Journey of Inculturation: Mackay's Mission Model in Formosa", *China Evangelical Seminary Journal*] 10(2019): 67-94.
- Huang Chun-chieh. *Humanism in East Asian Confucian Contexts*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2010.
- Hung Chien-chao. *A History of Taiwan*. Rimini: Il Cerchio Iniziative Editoriali, 2000.
- Hunter, Jane. *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*. Yale University Press, 1984.
- Ion, Hamish. "A Case Study of Canadians in the Japanese Empire" in *Canadian Missionaries Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*. Eds Alvyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005. 177-204.
- Ion, Hamish. *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990.
- Israel, Jonathan I. *Enlightenment Contested*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Jameison, Mrs. Anne Strait. "A-hoa—The Formosan Evangelist" in *Mission Review of the World*. New York: Funk and Wagnall, Vol XXIII No. 2 (February 1910): 97-103.
- Jones, Stephen. *Folk Music of China: Living Instrumental Traditions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

- Jordan, David K. "Folk Filial Piety in Taiwan: The Twenty-four Exemplars." In *The Psycho-Cultural Dynamics of the Confucian Family, Past and Present*. ed. Walter H Slote. International Cultural Association of Korea, 1986. 47-106.
- Jordan, David K. "Chinese Matchmakers of Tianjin & Taoyuan" delivered at the Conference on Anthropological Studies in Taiwan Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, March 21-3, 1997. Online at <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/index.html>
- Kao Tien and Ha Hongchie. 高田和哈鴻潛 · *Taiwan Zaoqi Zhijiao Hui Yixue* "台灣早期之教會醫學" ["Early Missionary Medicine in Taiwan"] in China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing house. <http://www.cnkinet> 1994-2017.
- Katz Paul R. "Germs of Disaster: the impact of epidemics on Japanese military campaigns in Taiwan, 1874 and 1895." In: *Annales de démographie historique*, 1996. Morbidité, mortalité, santé.
- Ke Cixian, and Su Wengui, Wang Huyi, Chen Youxin eds, 柯賜賢主編跟蘇文魁, 王朝義, 陳有信. *Tamsui Zhong Xuexiao Lishi Qian YiCe*. 淡水中學校 史全一冊. [Tamsui Highschool History Volume I]. Xibeishi: Sili Tamsui Gaoji Zhongxue, May, 1997.
- Keith, Marian [Mary Esther Miller]. *The Black-Bearded Barbarian: Mackay of Formosa*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart LTD, 1912, 1930.
- Kentaro, Miyazaki, "The Encounter Between Japan and Catholicism in the Age of Discovery," in *Handbook of Christianity in Japan* ed. Mullins, Mark R., Leiden: BRILL, 2003.
- King, Michelle T. *Between Birth and Death: Female Infanticide in Nineteenth-Century China*. Stanford University Press, 2014.
- King, Sandra L. *The 1857 Hamilton, Ontario Revival: And Exploration of the Origins of the Layman's Revival and the Second Great Awakening*. Hamilton: McMaster Divinity College, 2015.
- Ko, David. 柯基生. *Xing Huanyu Jinlian*. 性歡欲金蓮. [The Lotus Step: Chinese Footbinding Culture] Taipei: Duli Zuoja, 6/2016.
- Ko, Dorothy. *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Ko, Dorothy. *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Laamann, Lars Peter *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China*. Routledge, 2013.
- Lai Yong-xiang 賴永祥. *Lai Yong-xiang zhanglao shiliao ku*. 賴永祥長老史料庫. [Elder Lai's historical materials] <http://www.laijohn.com/Index.htm>
- Lamley, Harry J. "The 1895 Taiwan Republic: A Significant Episode in Modern Chinese History." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 27, no. 4 (1968): 739-62.
- Lamley, Harry J. "The 1895 Taiwan War of Resistance: Local Chinese Efforts against a Foreign Power" in *Taiwan: Studies in Chinese Local History*. ed. Leonard H. D. Gorgan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970. 23-77.
- Langfur, Hal. *The Forbidden Lands: Colonial Identity, Frontier Violence, and the Persistence of Brazil's Eastern Indians, 1750-1830*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.

- Laqueur, Thomas W. "Mourning, Pity, and the Work of Narrative in the Making of Humanity," in *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*. eds Wison and Brown. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Lee, James Z and Wang Feng. *One Quarter of Humanity: Malthusian Mythology and Chinese Realities*. Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Lee, Jane. (李健美) "Portrait of the Heathen/Bible Womanhood: Minnie Mackay, Aboriginal Converts to Christianity and Victorian Female Association" unpublished paper presented at the 2009 CESNUR Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 11-13, 2009.
- Li Jianmei (Jane Lee) *Maxie de "xuanjiao hunyin"—"Congzi" /"Congming"/ "Mine"xiaozhuan zhaiyao. Maxie chuanqi*. 李健美。馬偕的“宣教婚姻”—“蔥仔”/“聰明”/“蜜妮”小傳摘要。馬偕傳奇。["Mackay's Mission-Marriage—"Little Onion"/ "Brilliant"/ "Minnie" a Summary of Sources" in *Tales of Mackay*.] Taiwan Tamsui: Zhenli Daxue, 2014. 30-61.
- Li Congxian, ed. 李聰顯. *Da Dao Cheng Jiaohui 120 Zhounian Tecao 1875-1995*. 大稻埕教會 120 週年特刊 1875-1995. [The Dadaocheng Church, 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary special report 1875-1995] Taipei: Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, June 30, 1997.
- Li Pei-chen. "Subordinate of Collaborate: Dual Roles of Compradors in South Taiwan (1860-1895)" *Taiwan Historical Research* Vol 20, No. 2. (June 2013): 31-76.
- Li Minghui, ed 李明輝編. *Li Chunsheng de Sixiang Yu Shidai*. 李春生的思想與時代. [Li Chunsheng's Thought and Times]. Taipei: Taichuban, 1995.
- Lin, Man-houng. *China Upside Down: Currency, Society, and Ideologies 1808-1856*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006.
- Lin, Man-houng. 林滿紅. *Cha, Tang, Zhangnaoye yu Taiwan Zhi Shehui Jingji Bian Qian (1860-1895)* 茶, 糖, 樟腦業與臺灣之社會經濟變遷 (1860-1895). [*Changes in the Tea, Sugar, and Camphor leave industries in Taiwan (1860-1895)*] Taipei: Lianjing, 1997.
- Lin Wansheng 林晚生. "Translator's Introduction" in *Fuermosha Jishi: MaxieTaiwan Hui Yilu*. 福爾摩沙紀事: 馬偕臺灣回憶錄. [From Far Formosa: Mackay's Memoires of his time in Taiwan] Trans. Zheng Yangen 鄭仰思 and Lin Wansheng 林晚生. Taipei, Exchange Publications, 2007.
- Lin Zhefu 林哲夫. *Ganen Zhi Taiwan Jian Guo Lu: Aiyu Fei Baoli De Jian Guo Lu* 感恩執台灣建國路: 愛與非暴力的建國路. [The Hopeful Path to build a Taiwanese Nation: Resistance for the Love of Taiwan's Nation-building path] Taipei: Taiwan Jidu Zhangliao Jiaohui, 2010.
- Lin Zhefu 林哲夫. *Shi Taiwan Bu Zai Bei Zhengfu: Rouxing Guoli De Fahui*. 使台灣不再被征服: 柔性國力的發揮. [Taiwan Will Not Be Reconquered: Bringing Forth Soft Power]. Taipei: Taiwan Jidu Jiaohui Zonghui, Taiwan Guojia He Pingan Quan Yanjiu Xie. 台灣基督長老教會總會, 台灣國家和平安研究協, November, 2017.
- Livingstone, David N. *Darwin's Forgotten Defenders: The Encounter Between Evangelical Theology and Evolutionary Thought*. Vancouver: Recent College Publishing, 1984.
- Lyim Hong-Tiong. *Beyond 150 Years Envision a New Taiwan: PCT 150<sup>th</sup> Mission Anniversary English Handbook* 台灣基督長老教會總, 2015.

- Ma Kanwen. "Classical Chinese Medical Literature in Contemporary China: Texts Selected for Modern Editions and Problems Associated with the Work." in *Approaches to Traditional Chinese Medical Literature*. ed Paul U Unschuld. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1986.
- Macdonald, Graeme. "George Leslie Mackay: Missionary Success in Nineteenth-Century Taiwan" in *Papers on China Vol 21 From Seminars at Harvard University*. Harvard University: East Asian Research Center, February 1968. 131-183. United Church Archives, Toronto, ON.
- Macdonald, Rev J. A. "The Apostle of Formosa—Rev. George Leslie Mackay, D. D." *Presbyterian Laborers at Home and Abroad*. ed. Rev. W. S. MacTavish. Toronto: Musson Book Co. LTD, 1907. 194-20.
- Mackay, George Leslie, D.D. *From Far Formosa: The Island, its People and Missions*. Ed. Rev J. A. MacDonald. London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1900. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.
- Mackay, Rev Dr George Leslie. Mackay's Diaries Original English Version 马偕日记 英文版 1871~1901 年 ed./trans Mackay's Diaries Working Group. Neng-Che Yeh, Chih-Rung Chen etc. Taipei: The Relic Committee of the Northern Synod of the Taiwan Presbyterian Church, 2007.
- MacPherson, Duncan. *Two Years in China: Narrative of the Chinese Expedition from its Formation in April, 1840 to the treaty of 1842*. London: Sanders and Oatley, 1842.
- MacTavish, WS. "Mackay of Formosa" in *New York Evangelist*. Vol 72 No. 27 (July 4, 1901): 24.
- MacTavish, Rev. W. S. ed. *Presbyterian Laborers at Home and Abroad*. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. LTD, 1907.
- Malthus, Rev T. R. *Summary View of the Principle of Population*. London: John Murray Albemarle Street, 1830.
- Mann, Susan. *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Mann, Susan. *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Maxie Jinian Yiyuan Jianyuan 135 Zhounian Tegan 馬偕紀念醫院建院 135 週年特刊 : [Mackay Memorial Hospital 135<sup>th</sup> Anniversary edition]. Taipei: Mackay Memorial Hospital, December, 2015.
- McIntosh, W. D. *One Hundred Years in the Zorra Church*. Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1930.
- McPhearson, D. MD. *Two Years in China: The Chinese Expedition from its Formation in April 1840 to the Treaty of Peace in August, 1842*. London: Sanders and Otley, 1843. 338-43.
- Meissner, Werner. "China's Search for Cultural and National Identity from the Nineteenth Century to the Present," *China Perspectives*. Vol 1 No 68 (2006): 41-54.
- Meskill, Johanna Menzel. *A Chinese Pioneer Family: The Lins of Wu-feng, Taiwan, 1729-1895*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979.

- Meskill, Johanna M. "The Lins of Wufeng," in *Taiwan: Studies in Chinese Local History*. ed. Leonard H. D. Gorgan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970. 16-22.
- Mizoguchi, Toshiyuki. "Consumer Prices and Real Wages in Taiwan and Korea under Japanese Rule." *Hitotsubashi Journal of Economics*, 13(1): 40-56.
- Mullins, Mark R. *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Growth Movements*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998.
- Munsterhjelm, Mark. "Mackay's unburnt legacy: heroes-rescue-Aborigines organizing narratives in the exhibiting of Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts," *Settler Colonial Studies* 4:1. 82-99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2013.784237>
- Myer, Prudence R. "Stupas and Stupa-Shrines." *Artibus Asiae* 24, no. 1 (1961): 25-34.
- Myers, Ramon H., and Mark R. Peattie, eds. *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1984. Accessed September 13, 2020.
- Nevius, J. L. *China and the Chinese*. New York: Harper & brothers, 1869.
- Oak, Sung-Deuk. *The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions, 1876-1915*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013.
- Olds, Kelly B. "Female productivity and mortality in early-20<sup>th</sup>-century Taiwan." *Economics and Human Biology*. Vol 4 (2006): 206-221.
- Olds, Kelly B. "Cross-section population. Land and agriculture data for Taiwan, 1902-1920, 1930, 1935-36, 1955, 1961, 1966" 魏凱立老師的首頁 [Professor Olds Homepage] <http://homepage.ntu.edu.tw/~olds/>
- Ouchterlony, Lietenant John F. G. S. *Chinese War: An Account of All the Operations of the British Forces from the commencement to the Treaty of Nanking*. London: Sanders and Oatley, 1844.
- Park, Chung-Shin. *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.
- Pickering, W. A. *Pioneering in Formosa*. London: Hurst and Blackett LTD, 1898.
- Rejali, Saman. "From Tradition to Modernity: Footbinding and Its End (1839-1911)-the History of the Anti-Footbinding Movement and the Histories of Bound-feet Women in China" *Prandium: The Journal of Historical Studies* Vol 3. No. 1 (2014).
- Ringmar, Erik. "Malice in Wonderland: Dreams of the Orient and the Destruction of the Palace of the Emperor of China" *Journal of World History*. Vol 22 No 2. (June 2011): 273-298.
- Rogaski, Ruth. *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Rohrer, James R. "George Leslie Mackay in Formosa, 1871-1901: An Interpretation of His Career." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*. Vol. XLVII, (2005): 3-58.
- Rohrer, James R. "The Legacy of George Leslie Mackay." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*. Vol 34 No 4, (2010): 221.
- Rohrer, James R. "Putting Taiwan's People in the Center of the Story: Reflections on the History of Christian Mission in Taiwan." in *The Life and Legacy of George Leslie Mackay: An Interdisciplinary Study of Canada's First Presbyterian*

- Missionary to Northern Taiwan*. ed. Forsberg. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2012.
- Rosenthal, Jerome "Voltaire's Philosophy of History" *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 16, No. 2. April, 1955. 151-178.
- Rotberg, Robert I. "Biography and Historiography: Mutual Evidentiary and Interdisciplinary Considerations." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. Vol 40 No. 3. (Winter 2010): 305-324.
- Rowe, William T. *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Rubenstein, Murray A. "The Shaping of Taiwan's Landscapes" in *Taiwan a New History*. ed. Murray A Rubenstein. Toronto: ME Sharpe Inc, 1999.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
- Scott, James C. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Scott, Llyn. "The Black Bearded Bible Man: Flagship Opera, Formosan Epic, Emblem, and Enigma." *The Life and Legacy of George Leslie Mackay: An Interdisciplinary Study of Canada's First Presbyterian Missionary to Northern Taiwan*. ed. Forsberg. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2012.
- Seitz, Jonathan "Liang Fa (Liang A-fa) Leader in Chinese Indigenization" in *Builders of the Chinese Church: Pioneer Protestant Missionaries and Chinese Church Leaders*. Ed. G. W. Doyle. The Lutterworth Press, Cambridge, 2015. 49-64.
- Seitz, Jonathan, "Surveying Taiwanese Christianity: Results from the 2012 and 2017 Studies of Taiwanese Christianity" unpublished paper presented at Princeton Theological Seminary World Christianity Conference March 15-18, 2019.
- Seitz, Jonathan, "Unity Through Shared Adversity: A Case Study of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan," *Taiwan Journal of Theology* No. 42 (2016)
- Sekora, John. "Black Message/White Envelope: Genre, Authenticity, and Authority in the Antebellum Slave Narrative" in *Callaloo* No. 32 (Summer 1987): 482-515.
- Shao Luoqiao and Chen Junhong. 沙螺殼 and 陳俊宏. "Yi Xian Qianjin de Li Chun-sheng." 逸獻千金的李春生. [The Contributions of Li Chunsheng]. *Taiwan Jiaohui Gong Bao*. (1985年11月17日): 5.
- Shih-Shan Henry Tsai. *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West*. London: M.E. Sharpe, 2009. 83.
- Singmaster, Elsie. *A Cloud of Witnesses*. Cambridge: Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1930.
- Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. ed. Edwin Cannan. New York: Modern Library, 1937 [1776].
- Spence, Jonathan. *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996.
- Stainton, Michael. "More Treasures Preserved Abroad: New Mackay letters in the Presbyterian Archives." York Centre for Asian Research and Canadian Mackay Committee. Unpublished paper presented at Alethia University, Tamsui. June 9-10, 2010.

- Stainton, Michael. "The Politics of Taiwan Aboriginal Origins." In *Taiwan a New History*. Ed Murray A. Rubenstein. New York: ME Sharpe Inc, 1999. 28-46.
- Stainton, Michael. "George Leslie Mackay and the Poll Tax." In *International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies*. Volume 6 No. 2 (July, 2010): 49-69.
- Su Wengui 蘇文魁. *Taiwan Nuxu Heixu fan: Maxie Boshi Shuoqi*. 台灣女婿 黑鬚番：馬偕博士說起。[Taiwan's Black-Bearded Barbarian Son-in-law, Tales of Doctor Mackay] Tainan: Catuan Faren Taiwan Jiduzhanglao Jiaohui, 2012 [2015].
- Sweeten, Alan Richard. *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province, 1860-1900*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2001.
- Swinhoe, Robert. "Notes on the Island of Formosa." *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 34 (1864): 6-18 reprinted in Niki Alford ed. *Chronicle of Formosa (1865-1876 An Archival Collection of the Presbyterian Church of England in Taiwan (1865-1939)* Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosa Aborigines, 2015.
- Taipei yanjiu yuan* 台北研究院. [Taipei Research Institute] "*Mingqing shiliao wubian*" 明清史料戊編 [Ming/Qing historical material, Volume Five]: Taipei: Zhonghua Publishing Bureau, 1987.
- Taiwan Jidu Zhanglao Jiaohui Beibu Jiaohui Daguan* 台灣基督長老教會北部教會大觀 1872-1972. [Overview of the Northern Synod of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church 1872-1972] Taipei: Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, 1972.
- Takekoshi Yosaburo. *Japanese Rule in Formosa*. trans. George Braithwaite. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1907.
- Tang Zhenan, 湯振安. *Taiwan Beibu Di Yi Jian Libaitang: Shejiao 128 Zhou Nianji Maxie Boshi Shishi Bai Zhounian Jinian Tekan*. 台灣北部第一間禮拜堂設教 128 週年暨馬偕博士逝世百週年紀念特刊. [Northern Taiwan's First Church: 128th Anniversary, the hundredth anniversary of Doctor Mackay's Passing Memorial]. Taipei: Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, 2001.
- Treaty of Tientsin. (British version) signed June 26 1858. Original text at: [http://www.chinaforeignrelations.nettreaty\\_tianjin](http://www.chinaforeignrelations.nettreaty_tianjin)
- Tsai, Shih-shan Henry. *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West: Historical Encounters with the East and the West*. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Tsurumi, E. Patricia. "Colonial Education in Korea and Taiwan." In *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, edited by Myers Ramon H. and Peattie Mark R., 275-311. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Van Die, Marguerite. "Growing up Presbyterian in Victorian Canada: Childhood Influences and Faith Formation." *The Life and Legacy of George Leslie Mackay: An Interdisciplinary Study of Canada's First Presbyterian Missionary to Northern Taiwan*. ed. Forsberg. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2012.
- Wang, Dong. *The United States and China: A History from the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. New York: Bowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2013.
- Wang Zheng. *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment: Oral and Textual Histories*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

- Wen Hongyu 溫宏欣. *Li Chunsheng Jidu Zhanglao Jiaohui Shejiao wushi zhounian Jinian Ce Zhu Hou 1935.5.5 – 1985.5.5*. 李春生紀念基督長老教會設教五十週紀念冊主後 1935.5.5-1985.5.5. [Fifty Years of the Li Chunsheng Memorial Presbyterian Church and beyond] Taipei: Taiwan Jidu Zhanglao Jiaohui; 1985.
- Wen, Ku Ya. "Anti-malaria Policy and Its Consequences in Colonial Taiwan." In *Disease, Colonialism, and the State: Malaria in Modern East Asian History*, edited by Yip Ka-che, 31-48. Aberdeen, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009.
- Wills, John E. "The Seventeenth- Century Transformation" in *Taiwan a New History*. ed. Murray A Rubenstein. Toronto: ME Sharpe Inc; 1999. pp. 84-106.
- Wu, Chia-rong. "Re-Examining Extreme Violence: Historical Reconstruction and Ethnic Consciousness in Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale" in Asia Network Exchange: <https://www.asianetworkexchange.org/articles/10.16995/ane.72/galley/.../download/> Spring 2014 Vol 21 No. 2. pp. 24-32.
- Wu, Ka-Ming. "Tradition Revival with Socialist Characteristics: Propaganda Storytelling Turned Spiritual Service in Rural Yanan," *The China Journal*. No. 66 (July, 2011).
- Wu Yung-hwa. 吳永華. Maxie Zai Yilan: Riji, Jiaohui yu Xianchang. 馬偕在宜蘭: 教會與現場. [Mackay in Yilan: Mackay's diary and Church Sites] Taizhong: Zixiang Wenhua Shenghua Guan, November, 2016.
- Wu Wenxing 吳文星. *Qing Ji Li Chunsheng de Zi Qiang Sixiang—Yi Taishi Yilun Wei Zhongxin*. 清季李春生的自強思想—以臺事議論為中心 [Li Chunsheng's Philosophy of Self-improvement at the Heart of Qing-Taiwan] in Li Minghui, ed 李明輝編. *Li Chunsheng de Sixiang Yu Shidai*. 李春生的思想與時代. [Li Chunsheng's Thought and Times] Taipei: Taichuban, 1995.
- Wynne, Mervyn Llewelyn. *Triad Societies: Western Accounts of the History. Sociology and Linguistics of Chinese Secret Societies Vol 5*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2000. [1941].
- Xie Jialiang ed. 謝嘉梁編者。"Fa Jun Qin Tai Dang Xia." in *Taiwan Lishi Wen Xian Cong Kan*. 法軍侵臺檔下。臺灣歷史文獻叢刊。["Files on the French Invasion of Taiwan" in *Taiwan History Collection*.] Taipei: Taiwan Shengwen Xianwei Yuanhu, 1997, 533-556.
- Yang C.S. ed. *Public Statements*. Taipei: The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan. 1991. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 2002.
- Yeh Nengche. 葉能哲. Zhenli Daxue 40 nian. Diyizhang yuanqi—maxieboshi yu niushi xuetang 真理大學 40 年. 第一章源起—馬偕博士與牛津學堂 [Alethia University Fortieth Anniversary. "Chapter One—Origins: Doctor Mackay Founded Oxford College"] [www.yehnengche.com/page8.php](http://www.yehnengche.com/page8.php)
- Yip Ka-che "Colonialism, Disease, and Public Health: Malaria in the History of Hong Kong." In *Disease, Colonialism, and the State: Malaria in Modern East Asian History*, edited by Yip Ka-che, 11-30. Aberdeen, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009.
- You Ci Wei Guoyu Er Xia* 油桐為國語二下. [*The Tung Blossom Nation, Second Grade Reader*] Taipei, 1993.

- Young, Ernest P. *Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Zhan Sujuan 詹素娟. Maxie Xuanjiao Yu Gamalan Fang Qun Jian 馬偕宣教與噶瑪蘭族群間 [Mackay's Mission to the Peoples of Kavalan Space] in *Images Spanning the Ages 3: Special Album of "The Dr. MacKay Collection of Formosan Aborigines Artifacts—Treasures Preserved Abroad," Supplement to the Special Exhibition*. Taipei: Shenye Museum, 2001. 9-17.
- Zhang Jianlong, Su Wengui. 張建隆, 蘇文魁. *Ni Suo Bu Zhidao de Danshui shi*. 你不知道的淡水史. [Everything you didn't know About the History of Tamsui] New Taipei City: Tamkang High school, March 2018.
- Zhang Jilin and Gu Weiyin. 張季琳和 古偉瀛 Li Chunsheng Xiangguan Dashi Nianbiao Fulu. 李春生相關年表附錄 [Timeline of Li Chunsheng] in Li Minghui, ed 李明輝編. *Li Chunsheng de Sixiang Yu Shidai*. 李春生的思想與時代. [Li Chunsheng's Thought and Times] Taipei Taichuban, 1995. 255-309.
- Zhang Tanhui ed. 張炎輝敬編. Zhang Huari Zupu di Wufang Ershishi Yisun 張華日族譜第五房二十世裔孫. [The Zhang Sunflower Genealogy, 5<sup>th</sup> generation including the 20<sup>th</sup> Century] 西天二〇〇六年九月增編. Family-published, 2006.
- Zhang Yuehan. 張約翰. Shang Zhu Da Neng gujin Xian Xianzai Xin Zhu ZhiJia. 上主大能古今顯現在信主之家. [The Story of Our Family's faith in God, from ancient times to today] April 1987 Handwritten manuscript courtesy of Jaffa Chang, granddaughter of Zhang Yuehan.
- Zheng Yang-en 鄭仰思. "Introduction" in *Fuermosha Jishi*: Maxie Taiwan Hui Yilu 福爾摩沙紀事：馬偕臺灣回憶錄. [From Far Formosa] Trans. Zheng Yang-en 鄭仰思 and Lin Wansheng 林晚生. Taipei : Exchange Publications, 2007.
- Zhou Hongxin 周弘欣. *Xindai Taipei Diqu De Funu Huadong Kongjian Jiqi Yingxiang—Yi Huangjiao Niang, Zhuang Dou Niang, Zhang Congming Weili*. 近代台北地區的婦女活動空間及其影響—以黃腳娘·莊斗娘·張聰明為例. [Reflections Of The Modern Woman's Movement in Taipei—The Examples of Yi Huangjiao, Zhuang Dou, and Zhang Congming]. Tamkang University Master's Thesis, June, 2017.



# Index

## A

Amoy (廈門, Xiamen): ix, 3-6, 9-15,  
25-26, 85, 114, 146, 176  
Amoy Dialect: ix, 4, 24, 26

## B

bible-women: xx, 111, 128, 138,  
192, 194  
Bang-kah (艋舺, Mengjia): 16, 30,  
38-9, 50, 128, 135, 137, 141-2,  
186  
Bax, Colonel: 43-44, 51  
Boxer crisis: 20, 38, 41, 197  
Burns, William Chalmers: xv, 97-8

## C

Changhwa (彰化市, Zhanghuashi):  
123  
Chien Lung emperor (乾隆,  
Qianlong): 6, 55  
Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石, Jiang  
Jieshi): xiv, 188, 189  
China Inland Mission (CIM): xv,  
xvii, 4, 89, 96-9, 109, 121  
Chinese Rites Controversy: xxii, 19  
Comte de Torres: xvi  
Confucianism *see Neo-  
Confucianism*  
Convention of Peking: 12-4, 97

## D

Dickson, Dr.: 19-22

Dodd, John: xxiii, 1, 4-5, 15-7, 19,  
22, 25-6, 30, 38, 43, 51, 81, 88,  
117, 131, 143

Doolittle, Justus: 48

Douglas, Carstair: 3-4, 15, 26, 104

Duff, Alexander: 40

## E

Edinburgh: xiv, 40, 66-7  
Elles and Company: 12, 14

## F

Fernandez, Juan: xvi  
Foochow (福州, Fuzhou): xv, 10, 16,  
42, 48, 51, 114-116, 122, 151  
Foot-binding: 45, 69, 79, 83-5, 105-  
6, 151, 161  
Forte San Domingo: xiii, 2-3, 22,  
Fraser, Dr. J. B.: 72-3, 110, 152-4,  
169-70, 191  
Fraser, Thurlow: 183-6  
Frater, Alexander: 88, 117, 120, 124

## G

Gauld, Margarette: xv, 170, 182-7,  
Gauld, William: xiv-xv, 161, 165,  
170-8, 182-7, 195  
Giam Chheng-hoa (嚴清華, Yan  
Qinghua): xx, 23-32, 24, 43, 46-7,  
49-52, 63-4, 71-4, 72, 86-7, 89,  
102, 110-1, 116, 118-21, 127-43,  
145-6, 156, 164, 167-71, 178,  
182-6, 193  
Gilan (宜蘭, Yilan): 15-6, 25, 51, 63,  
115, 124, 129-31, 134, 145, 198

Go Ek-ju (吳益裕, Wu Yiyu): xx, 31-2, 45, 196  
 Go Kho-khi<sup>n</sup> (五股坑, Wugukeng): xxvii, 16, 30, 46, 50-2, 72, 80, 86, 89, 114, 135, 155, 183, 191, 201

## H

Hokkien (復健, Fujian or 閩南, Minnan) dialect: ix, xxvi, 4, 23-5, 34, 43, 68  
 Hong Xiuquan (洪鏡揚): 11, 27  
 Hsien-feng Emperor (咸豐, Xianfeng): 12

## J

Jamieson, Annie: 25, 117-8, 137, 148-9, 153-7, 166, 170, 192  
 Jamieson, John: 117-8, 137-40, 146-8, 153-7, 166, 170  
 Japan: ix, xvi-xviii, 41-3, 55, 58, 79-84, 120, 124, 132-3, 165-188, 189, 195-7, 199  
 Jesuits: xvi, 31, 55-6, 61, 98  
 Jiangxi, China (江西): xvii-xviii  
 Jiaoan (教案): xxiv, xxvii, 20, 120-1, 125, 135, 139, 141  
 Junor, Kenneth: 87-8, 110-4, 129, 134, 146-7, 151-3, 155-7, 168, 170-1, 184, 186, 192, 198  
 Junor, Mary: 83, 107, 149, 151-3, 155, 170

## K

Kang-hsi Emperor (康熙, Kangxi): xvi, 14, 31-2, 55  
 Kao-hsiung (高雄, Gaoxiong): 2, 4, 22, 53, 61, 153, 178

Kee-lung (基隆, Jilong): 16, 30, 116-7, 120-2, 125, 128, 133, 174, 176, 195  
 Knox College: xiv, 1, 26, 77, 91  
 Korea: xvii, xxv, 22, 158, 173-4, 179, 195-6  
 Koxinga (鄭成功, Zheng Chenggong): 3, 24, 42

## L

Li Ang-kau: 136-7, 145, 193  
 Li Chhun-seng (李春生, Li Chunsheng): xxviii, 5, 9-16, 21, 23, 25, 31, 33, 50-1, 71, 89, 114-5, 123, 125, 133, 139, 176-80, 184, 187, 189, 193, 194-5, 197  
 Li Ko-kong (李高盛, Li Gaosheng): 121, 139, 193  
 Lim Chiau-tung (林朝棟, Lin Chaodong): 122, 176, 194  
 Lim Clan (林, Lin): 32-5, 37, 89, 115, 122-6, 137, 142, 175-7, 193-5  
 Lim Wei (林維源, Lin Weiyuan): 121-2, 133, 176  
 Liu Ming-chuan (劉銘傳, Liu Mingchuan): xxviii, 50, 116-7, 120-122, 125, 133, 176, 195  
 Liu Yung-fu (劉永福, Liu Yongfu): 115  
 Livingstone, David: xv

## M

Mackay, Minnie *see* Tiu<sup>n</sup> Chhang-mia (張聰明)  
 MacGowan, John: 56-7, 85  
 Mackenzie, H.L.: 3-4

Maxwell, Dr. James Laidlaw: 4, 15,  
26, 37, 53, 59, 128

## N

Nanking (南京, Nanjing), treaty of:  
7, 12, 41

native mission: xv, xviii, xxvii-  
xxviii, 157-9, 164

Neo-Confucian: xvi, 3, 11, 14, 20-  
21, 28-35, 48, 66, 78, 82, 86-8,  
105-6, 112, 142, 158, 160, 179,  
185, 193

Nevius, John Livingstone: xviii-xix,  
48, 125, 158-9, 199

Nogi Maresuke (乃木 希典): 178, 180

## O

Opium Wars: 3, 6-15, 19, 21, 33, 56,  
96-7, 157, 173-4

Oxford College: 47, 105, 108, 112,  
114, 127, 129, 136, 139-42, 145-7,  
175, 180-4, 187

## P

Pak-tau (北投, Beitou): 112

Peking (北京, Beijing): 12-14, 25, 28,  
97, 123, 193

Pe-oe-ji: ix-x, xx, 25-6, 64, 86-7,  
104, 111, 121, 129, 156, 186, 192

Princeton: 2, 47-8, 66-7, 158, 161

## R

Ricci, Matteo: xv-xvi, 31-2, 55, 61

Ritchie, Hugh: 4, 19, 22, 26, 37, 59,  
128, 153

## S

San-Hsia (三峡, Sanxia): 118

Shanghai, China (上海): xviii, 10-1,  
48, 97-8, 143

Sin-kang (新市區, Xinshiqu): 23

Sino-Japanese War: ix, xxiv, xxviii,  
172, 187, 197

Swatow (汕頭, Shantou): 4, 154

Swinhoe, Robert: 3-4, 14-5, 22, 26,  
51

Sun Kaihua (孫開華): 117

## T

Taipei (台北, Taipei): xxvii, 5, 15-6,  
50, 80-1, 122-3, 130, 133, 139,  
143, 171, 174, 176-8, 189, 197

Taiping uprising: 11, 14-5, 19, 25,  
27, 33, 97, 116

Tamsui (淡水, Danshui): xiii-xiv,  
xxvii, 1-5, 14-6, 19, 22-3, 25-6,  
28-30, 37-8, 43, 45-6, 49-50, 59-  
62, 66, 68, 71-2, 87-9, 104, 107-8,  
111, 114, 116-8, 120, 123, 136-7,  
140-3, 146-8, 151-5, 158, 161,  
165, 174-6, 182, 184, 186-7, 189,  
191, 193, 196

Tan (陈, Chen) clan: xxvii, 15-6, 32-  
33, 37, 47-52, 71, 80, 86-7, 89,  
119, 187, 191, 193, 194, 198, 201

Tan Ching-gi (陳清義, Chen Qingyi):  
47, 177-8, 182, 186-7, 193, 201

Tan Foo-Chhien (陳福謙, Chen  
Fuqian): 15, 33

Tan Go-chien (陳却先, Chen  
Quexian): 65, 141, 141-2, 193

Tan He (陳河, Chen He): 32-3, 47,  
50, 71, 118-9, 121, 124, 127-43,

145-6, 164, 167-8, 171, 177-8,  
182, 201

Tan Pao (陳抱, Chen Bao): 47, 49-  
50, 73, 87, 201

Tan Thah-so (陳塔嫂, Ta Sao): 46, 47,  
49, 86

Tao-kuang Emperor (道光  
Daoguang): 10

Taylor, Hudson: xv, 97, 192

Tek-chham (新竹, Xinzhu): 30

Tiong A-Hok (中阿華, Zhong A-  
Hua): 114

Tiu<sup>n</sup> Chhang-mia (張聰明): xix-xx,  
xxvii, 71-90, 91-3, 101-104, 107,  
112-4, 117-119, 138-9, 141-2,  
146, 150-2, 155, 161, 165, 183-7,  
191-6, 198

Tiu<sup>n</sup> Jim-Sui (張仁壽, Zhang  
Renshou): 112-113, 113, 142, 193

Tiu<sup>n</sup> Sin-tiam (張新添, Zhang  
Xintian): 121, 141, 141-2

Toa O-khau (大湖口, Dahukou): 112

Toa-tiu-tia<sup>n</sup> (大稻埕, Dadaocheng):  
16

Treaty of Tientsin: 3, 12-15, 32,  
116, 190

Tokugawa Ieyasu: xvi, 19, 55  
Toyotomi Hideyoshi: xvi, 178

## V

Viscount Kodama Gentarō: 176-9

## W

Women's Foreign Mission Society  
(of the Canada Presbyterian  
Church—WFMS): 103-8, 117,  
150-1, 192

## X

Xavier, Francis: xvi, 55

## Y

Yung-cheng Emperor (雍正,  
Yongzheng): 19

## Z

Zeelandia: 3  
Zorra county Ontario: xiv