From Far Formosa:

The Suffering and Theology in George Leslie Mackay's Mission

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Abstract

Rev. Dr. George Leslie Mackay (1844-1901) contributed greatly to many aspects of Taiwanese society, such as education, medicine, mission, and even theology. Although not publicly recognized as a renowned theologian by many Christians and other well-known Western theologians, he nonetheless lived his Christian life according to his own theological beliefs, and faithfully incorporated them into his own mission. Thus, broadly speaking, he can be regarded as a theologian in action.

Rev. Mackay's theology was not merely a dialogue about abstract ideas. On the contrary, he had practiced his theology in his calling to God, especially when he encountered difficulties and suffering. While many theologians devoted themselves to solving theological problems in hopes of becoming renowned authors of Christianity, Rev. Mackay evaded such crowd-pleasing theological forums and instead dedicated himself to become a missionary in the then undeveloped society of Formosa. He did not choose to use his intellect to solve complicated theological problems, but chose to promulgate the gospel despite encountering many hardships, so that the Taiwanese people could witness God's grace and know God's begotten Son Jesus.

Today, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) has established the Taiwan Graduate School of Theology, Aletheia University, and three Mackay Memorial Hospitals in Northern Taiwan; all of which carry on the revered legacy of Rev. Mackay. However, his contribution in Taiwan seems exclusively limited to a part of the PCT mission, and many Taiwanese Christians of other denominations have yet to understand Rev. Mackay and his legacy. The fact is that Rev. Mackay should be both a theological and missionary model of virtue for all Christians in Taiwan, with his mission being introduced to every Taiwanese Christian and their denomination. With a close reading of *From Far Formosa* and his diary, this research attempts to help Taiwanese Christians better understand the suffering and theology behind Rev. Mackay's preaching.

Key words: From Far Formosa, Mackay's Diary, Suffering, Theology, Mission

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"For Formosa¹ is dear to my heart. On that island the best of my years have been spent... And when my day of service is over I should like to find a resting place within sound of its surf, and under the shade of its waving bamboo"

(Mackay, From 1).

Mackey's Mission and Suffering

Rev. George Leslie Mackay (1844-1901) demonstrated a good example of serving God in his mission while enduring various kinds of suffering at the same time. As a British Canadian, he was the first Presbyterian missionary sailing to Northern Formosa. According to Alvyn J. Austin, Rev. Mackay grew up in an Oxford-County community which had been moved nearly completely from Sutherlandshire, Scotland. He embodied both the brave spirit of his grandfather, who had fought in Waterloo and the stern Calvinist Presbyterianism which included a group of ministers in Mackay's family. After finishing his primary education in Zorra and at the Woodstock Grammar School, he became a teacher for two years and then took art at Knox College, Toronto, where he received a fame of industrious lunacy in 1865-67 ("Biography"). His relative Robert Peter MacKay, who was a secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church in the Western Division of Canada, recalled, "He sometimes lost control of himself and became painfully violent. He could scarcely be described as social" (qtd. in Austin). After finishing his study at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1870, he continued his post-graduate degree in Edinburgh under Alexander Duff, who was an "apostle to India" (qtd. in Austin). The church ordained him on September 19, 1871, and one month later he departed from Toronto "like Abraham, not knowing whither he went" (qtd. in Austin). After six months of staying in the English Presbyterian missions in the Chinese port of Shantou, China, and in south Formosa, he "took over" his mission field, Northern Taiwan. After he founded the headquarter in Tamsui, he recorded, "Here I am in this house, having been led all the way from the old homestead in Zorra by Jesus, as direct as though my boxes were labelled, 'Tamsui, Formosa, China'" (qtd. in Austin).

Although successful foreign missionaries won praise and respect from the local people they served, their reputations cannot usually be defined merely from their achievements because they also simultaneously caused controversies in their missions. Rev. Mackay built sixty churches, constructed a seminary, and founded the first Western hospital in Taiwan, and then Taiwanese Christians used his name to build a medical university and five hospitals, but

¹ Formosa is the former name of Taiwan. It means "Beautiful Isle" proclaimed by Portuguese mariners when they sailed and passed this island in 1544.

his achievements are not the best reason for people to research his success. James R. Rohrer states that to realize the early progress of Christianity in Taiwan it is required to find out "the flesh and blood" of Rev. Mackay, not the bronze sculpture at Tamsua [Taiwan] and Woodstock [Canada]. The polemic Canadian missionary caused both enthusiastic commitment among his neophytes and almost correspondingly opposers in Canada ("George" 3).²

The typical example displaying Rev. Mackay's flesh and blood in suffering is his sickness during the traveling to Taiwan. Traveling in a cross-continental distance did not look enjoyable back then. On November 1, 1871, he prepared to travel on a ship from San Francisco to Japan, "At 10 A.M. went on board the S.S. 'America'. Went into my berthroom and turned over to Psalm 46. Then asked God to guide and keep me all the way" (Mackay, Diary 1). One day later, however, he encountered "sea sick," but he still read some part of Baxter's "Saints rest" and some Psalms; he continuously prayed, "Keep me Lord near to Thee. Comfort this poor heart. Increase my faith" (Mackay, Diary 1). He did not consider himself a brave man who had no possibility to be defeated by the boisterous environment; instead, he asked God's grace and protection so that he could have more chances to reach the destination and start his mission. On November 8, 1871, he even read Acts of the Apostles (Mackay, Diary 1), probably because he wanted to encourage himself in the situation of uneasy travel. He commented, "at 8 P.M. Miss. and Miss ladies some bound for China, some Japan, and some Siam all met below for prayers. Sweet, sweet time. How good our God is to us all!" (Mackay, Diary 1). Rev. Mackay did not feel the anxiety caused by the uncertain environment but the peaceful mood of the mutual prayer from each member of the ship.

It is normal that missionaries have days of raining or other bad weathers in their missions, but their bad circumstances make them sick not only in physical but also mental way. Rev. Mackay sincerely remarked about the inclement weather in Formosa on November 22, 1871: "Most stormy day since we left. Couldn't read. Sick as a dog. Couldn't think of anything but vomiting" (Diary 2). He had some days that could not do anything but merely rest. On the surface, he might think that doing nothing but resting was a waste of time. However, he should stop everything even without any reason in order to recuperate from physical sickness. Rev. Mackay also had accidents in life as every common person may encounter:

Traveling was not the simple affair it is to-day. There were no through tickets from Toronto to Hong Kong. The missionary traveled over several roads and had to deal with various companies. There was no recognized "missionary rate." But the railway

² See Rohrer, "Biography" 200-3 for Rev. MacKay's heroic or mundane journey in Formosan mission.

authorities were generous, and granted me a reducing over their roads. At Omaha the agent looked doubtful when I told him I was a missionary bound for a heathen land and asked for the favor granted by the three roads over which I had already traveled. "I do not know you," he replied. "Where are your credentials?" I had no credentials, nor any formal document by which I might be certified. I was at a loss what to do. No one knew me (From 27).

Rev. MacKay not only had a hard time when facing predicament in mission, but also found himself trapped in the dead-end because he cannot find any solution.

Rev. Mackay's mission in Formosa also contained political and social volatility. James R. Rohrer explains the background of his complicated mission work: The area that Rev. Mackay chose as his headquarter of mission was the center of a historical financial and social change that primarily transformed Formosan culture at the end of the Qing Dynasty. Because of three unequal treaties with Great Britain in 1860, three Formosan ports in Tainan, Tamsui, and Keelung grew drastically in their tea, sugar, and camphor trades. Suddenly, Taiwan became a part of the mainstream marketplace in the world. Many Taiwanese immigrants replied to long-lasting social and political fluctuations by joining private associations that could provide security, mutual care, and a sense of hope. Some of the associations relied on clan membership, others were constructed from ethnic societies or shared political targets, and still others were religious believers. However, the Qing-Dynasty government treated them as "heterodox," aimed to dominate their power, and determined to conquer them (Rohrer, "George" 3).

It is possible that the sense of suffering came from the rejection of the mission board or the missionary's Christian friends. Even when Rev. Mackay started to set up his mission to Formosa or share his mission plan after graduation from Princeton Seminary, his idea was not appreciated by his fellow Christians:

To [Rev. Professor MacLaren, D.D.] I stated my desire to go abroad as a missionary. He encouraged me, and invited me to meet the committee early in Cotober. I have never forgotten that meeting. It was not very hopeful or enthusiastic. It was a new experience for the committee. They scarcely knew what to do with a candidate for foreign work. When I formally offered my services to the Presbyterian Church, and asked to be sent as a missionary to the heathen, one member looked me in the face and said, "Mr. MacKay, you had better wait a few years." Another argued for delay: "As he is going to Scotland, let him go, and on his return we can think over the matter for a year or two" (Mackay, From 19).

It is common that missionaries and their people at home church are not on the same page with their callings. Like Rev. Mackay, although he had a sincere heart to do mission in Formosa, his fellow Christians did not support him. Mission in another country may be important, but if missionaries were not supported by their own people, no matter financially or spiritually, it is easy for missionaries to feel discouraged and at last they give up.

People unanimously agree that the most controversial action Rev. Mackay arose to his Western Christian friends was his marriage to a local Formosan woman because the process had caused their Canadian comradeship to suffer a lot. From the Canadian perspective, choosing a Western wife should be more helpful in Rev. Mackay's mission than with a Formosan woman. However, he did not follow his people's recommendation. Rohrer explains the background of Rev. MacKay's decision: The mission board in Toronto taught him to build a Western-style house in order to work with a new Canadian couple who became his assistants. Then, he was able to abandon the ill-conceived attempts to become too much like native Formosans. So, after hosting the Frasers couple in this Western house, they would send an "attractive" Canadian lady to help him. Although Rev. Mackay reluctantly built his own house, he explicitly refused the Canadian committee's wish. Alternatively, he accepted a suggestion from his student to marry a Formosan lady. In May 1878, he married Tiu Chhang Mia (literally means "green onion" in Hokkien language, but he changed her name into "smart" after marriage). She was a "little sister" who was famous to all the Taiwanese preachers. Rev. Mackay's determination was a great change because his Canadian leaders never persuaded him to wed with other Canadian women, and his strange living style was preserved by the cross-cultural marriage. "Chhang-a," who interacted between Rev. Mackay and his students, later turned into a spiritual mother during the growth of the mission (Rohrer, Legacy 224).³ Although Rev. Mackay's Canadian fellows did not understand why he wanted to marry a Formosan woman and tried to persuade him from doing so, his controversial decision did not cause him to lose the mission. Instead, his Formosan wife turned to be his best helper in the evangelism.

In order to make his mission go smoothly after arriving Formosa, Rev. Mackay not only got married to Chhang-a but also determined to learn Hokkien language, a Chinese dialect that most Formosans spoke. Although his learning may not be an unbearable burden, he still considered it quite a challenge. He described on January 9, 1872, that the learning started from recognizing "tones" when he was in Takow, and he remarked: "This day O Lord I need to consecrate myself to thee. This language is between me and the people—I'll die or remove it, so help me God" (MacKay, Diary 6). Not like many 21^{st} -century Taiwanese who learn

³ See also Chen 118-121.

English simply for passing examinations, Rev. MacKay had a very clear goal to learn Hokkien language because he understood its practicality of communication with Formosans. Later, on January 20, 1872, he confessed his lack of ability when learning the new language: "Drilled myself on all learned so far. I like the study in spite of all difficulties—" (MacKay, Diary 7). He implied that the best way to learn a new language effectively is diligent repetition and review:

In 1872

- January 12 Rev. MacKay got up at 6 A.M. for studying the Chinese characters, and he felt that these words became good friends of him.
- January 15 He studied character and colloquial all day long.
- January 16 Reviewed his Chinese and practiced until "long past midnight"
- January 17 Having new work and keeping learning new Characters every day. Also, reviewing many day's work.
- January 18 After getting up, he had 100 new Characters he did not know previously.
- January 19 Another 100 characters but slept very little.
- January 22 Probably Rev. MacKay had been exhausted since he started to learn
 Hokkien language: "Put another 100 new Characters into this poor brain.
 Then went out and over all learned so far."
- January 23 He went out to the sea-side and aloud repeated all he had learned, such as Tones.
- January 24 He practiced Colloquial Phrases and shouted aloud.
- January 25 He covered another 100 new Characters, read out long parts of John in 'book-Reading' like Formosans' speak, and then practiced Romanized Colloquial.
- January 26 He diligently studied all day.
- January 27 His theory of learning language is to "read aloud all learned so far."
- January 29 Other 100 more new characters were studied. He regurgitated them until they looked like old friends. However, he still questioned, "What make them so slippery though?"
- January 31 He had few sleeping because of the study of Hokkien language. (MacKay, Diary 7)

Rev. MacKay's attitude toward learning the Chinese dialect illuminated his determination of doing Formosan mission in the future, and he was good at transforming the laborious work of language learning into the sweet sense of enjoyment and accomplishment. He wrote on February 12, 1872: "Studied the delicious characters and colloquial. Nothing I

believe like drilling, Repetition, and that aloud" (MacKay, Diary 8). As shown on February 10, he sometimes learned Hokkien language with a mixture of other occasions because he may not have time to study all day long: "Went with R. to *Pi-thau*. Studied after arriving—Also went through the city into the Temples—" (MacKay, Diary 8). With the correct way of acquiring Chinese characters, his learning made rapid progress recorded on February 13 and 14: "Worked away at many more new Characters, wrote them, took them to pieces. Drilled myself again on the Radicals 214, all right", and "Radicals again. Wrote them all from Memory, backwards as well. Went over their sounds, meaning and again drilled on them." (MacKay, Diary 8).

Also, according to *From Far Formosa*, Rev. MacKay explained his sense of urgency to master the new language even under the poor learning circumstance:

My first duty was to learn the language. Already I had mastered the eight tones of the Formosan dialect and had learned a few words. But what was that compared with the task scarcely begun? I had no teacher, and there were then no books of much use to a beginner (136).

At his time, he did not have a plenty of learning sources that people have in the twenty-first century, such as the Internet, APPs, and language tutors. What he could do to make his Hokkien language better was limited; the only way he had was his Formosan companions. This may be a good choice because he had native Hokkien speakers' help to learn the language, but this may also a bad idea because none of his Formosan friends are professional instructors. Rev. MacKay commented on his snail pacing of language learning with a frustrated mood: "It was slow and vexatious. Without a teacher or a helper, and having none of the improved dictionaries, it sometimes took hours to find the meaning of one character" (From 137).

If Rev. MacKay's experience of learning the Chinese dialect is a process of tolerating frustrations, his attention of conversation with Formosan locals in Hokkien language can be understood as being discriminated by Formosans. Being an English native speaker, his Hokkien-language ability was very limited during 1872, but he still needed to use the poor skill to communicate with people in order to survive in the society. The lack of new language fluency and the obvious cultural differences made him the object of violence: "Crowds, dense crowds pressed around us. When started stones were thrown and thousands rung out the words 'Foreign dog,' 'Foreign devil,' 'kill him'" (MacKay, Diary 25). On June 12, 1873, he described the encounter with several robbers surrounding him (MacKay, Diary 53). Formosans did not always treat Rev. MacKay very well, and some crowds specifically not

welcome him because of his Western identity. Although he had simple intention to contact people, they may not think as he assumed. In fact, his purpose of approaching people partially is because of the motivation of learning Hakkien language with the locals, but when a dozen boys observed his coming, they shouted "Foreign devil, foreign devil," waived their large sun-hats, and run away very fast (MacKay, From 136). At the time when Formosans did not have enough knowledge to talk to or interact with foreigners, they may react to strangers in a violent way. Rev. MacKay also experienced the fierce attitude of a woman, and he recorded this event in the Diary on March 1, 1873:

Came out another road to Tamsui, walked all the way visiting people on the road-side. Were insulted by an excited old woman who was carrying out of the house a bucket. Some men nearby shouted to her and she immediately threw the contents at us and reviled us bitterly the same time (42).

There were still many cases Rev. MacKay mentioned about his humiliated experiences from Formosans in the diary:⁴

On May 2, 1872, Rev. MacKay went to a countryside with *A-Hoa* in order to visit an old friend. A farmer saw them, scorned them, and released two big black dogs to chase them. Children also shouted and ridiculed them (Diary 16). Three days later, the pastor went out with *A-Hoa* until sunset, and they sang hymns. However, there were several people throwing pig's dung, small stones, and pieces of soil to them (MacKay, Diary 16).

On February 21, 1873, several people were very angry at him. They threw stones and set dogs on them or shouted to them. Also, on February 24, Rev. MacKay and the co-workers went to a big village called *Chiu-nih*, and later a group came together. Many people verbally attacked them. Some entered the low roofed houses and put pig's dung down from their head (MacKay, Diary 41-2).

On February 25, 1873, many people felt angry about Rev. MacKay's street evangelism; however, there were still several people who favorably heard his preaching and treated him and the co-workers nicely (Diary 42). Then, on February 26, Rev. MacKay encountered the most serious protest in his mission. They prepared "proclamations" on which his pictures with a long nose and a large knife held by his hand were illustrated. The photos showed that Rev. MacKay was taking out people's eyes and hearts, so he and his team took several posts out of the wall. Later, they went to other temples and found worse proclamations (Diary 42).

On February 27, 1873, the conflict between Chinese culture and Christian doctrines was

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⁴ See also Lin 34-5.

largely uncovered. People still used proclamations to intimidate Rev. MacKay: "At every place, on temple doors, private dwellings, trees, bridges and pieces of boards put up were horrible proclamations calling on all true Chinamen to combine and drive the Foreign devil away from the Island, threatening to drive from village, town, or city and one who dared listen to the devils doctrine" (Diary 42). The Chinese descendants in Northern Formosa thought they already had inherited the doctrine of Confucianism, so receiving a new Christian teaching was not necessary. Rev. MacKay seemed to realize that he was not welcome from the locals' response because he had caused disturbances to their culture.

On January 19, 1874, the team went to a small village for singing and preaching, and they met a group of people at a big house of a large enclosure. When they enter the gate, two fierce-looking dogs were barking at them, and many school children inside the house relentlessly insulted them. Still several women walked back and forth while they were blaming the mission team. Finally, some men appeared and indicated them to leave the house (MacKay, Diary 63).

On April 7, 1874, Rev. MacKay mentioned that there were around 50 boys and 6 men scorned him and the team in the street of a town. When mocking at them, the people were barefooted, and they followed the mission team outside the gate yelling and running before the team. The people waited until the team reached them, and then they threw stones after stones, including pigs' dung. However, Rev. MacKay did not remember how his team escaped from the people's attack (Diary 67).

In the very beginning years of Rev. MacKay's mission in Northern Formosa, he had reached countless times of misunderstanding or mistreatment by locals. Many people thought that he interfered, or in worse, damaged their original way of thinking and living styles. In this case, people violently treated him because they did not want Rev. MacKay to change them. Maybe the locals thought that he was not only an outsider but also an intruder. People treated him in an abusive way merely because they wanted to protect themselves, and they did not want to let their own original culture be offended. However, Rev. MacKay's beginning years in Northern Formosa mission reflected his tremendous toleration of suffering and his optimistic hope of transcultural evangelism.

Besides the scourges of physical suffering from the Formosan environment during his mission, Rev. MacKay also underwent indescribable psychological pain from his circumstances. In *From Far Formosa*, he remembered a real event of the aboriginal Pe-po-hoan (plain savages) vengeance, and he called this "Pe-po-hoan cruelty" (206-7). There was a drunken party for celebrating a new-engaged couple, but the girl was lost. After

searching by a rescue team, she was found dead and naked. So, her fiancé was suspicious of murdering the girl. Although the boy tried to run away, he was caught and put in the stocks in an improvised way. Then, people bound him upside down with stretching out his hands. After couple days of binding, he was moved to the sandbank beside the sea. The girl's father and mother took an old knife, sliced the boy's limbs, and cut a part of his body. They put the partial body into his mouth, and left him "on the burning sand with the blood oozing from his wounds and drying in the heat of the sun" (207).

The process of the boy's death was detailed reported in *From Far Formosa*, and Rev. MacKay implied that the boy was powerless and anxious about his outcome in the Pe-po-hoan vengeance:

His thirst became intolerable, and he cried piteously for some one to end his misery. But no; his sister was not allowed to go to him with one small "bamboo" of water to quench his thirst. There he perished, and his body was left to the ravenous dogs of the plain. Such is Pe-po-hoan vengeance (From 207).

For readers, Rev. MacKay's implication of being an outsider was obvious because even himself was helpless to interfere the cruelty event when the aboriginal people wanted to infuse death penalty to the guilty boy. All what Rev. MacKay can do was to record the event and transform his negative experiences of mission into his understanding of Christian faith. As a missionary, he had encountered a lot of cultural shocks and different standards of thinking about how to treat people.

The personal experience of the Pe-po-hoan vengeance not only provided Rev. MacKay an opportunity to evaluate what mission was, but also offered a good time to judge its purpose. He observed two distinctive ways of living between two major communities of inhabitants: the aborigines and the Chinese groups. He had an incisive observation of his new mission about the deep root of the racial conflict between the Pe-po-hoan and the Chinese. He said that because many aboriginal tribes were undeniably invaded by Chinese settlers in Kap-tsu-lan (Yilan Plain), the Pe-po-hoan had to retreat from many cultivated lands to waste jungle (From 206). He even seriously commented on the intentional Chinese "settlement" in the aboriginal life and culture:

And very often, when [the Pe-po-hoan] had succeeded in reclaiming land to grow rice and vegetables enough to supply their meager wants, the greedy Chinese would again appear, and either by winning their confidence or by engaging them in dispute, would gain a foothold and in the end rob them of their lands. Being unable to read and being

ignorant of law, they are almost entirely at the mercy of their enemies. It sometimes makes one's blood boil to see the iniquities practiced upon these simple-minded creatures by Chinese officials, speculators, and traders (From 206).

Although Rev. MacKay had discovered the inner conflicts among different races in Formosa island, he still not suggested anything to solve the unfair treatment in Formosan racial conflicts probably because he was uncertain about good recommendations to change the social reality. The more negative events Rev. MacKay had observed, the clear reason he realized why the Christian faith was important in Formosa.

Besides the detail report of racial conflicts among Formosans although not many solvable suggestions provided to many problems, Rev. MacKay empathetically indicated the result that pushes "the mountain tribes" to receive the reality without any other choices:

But all this was changed when [aborigines] bowed their necks to the yoke of civilization. Their conquerors forced upon them not only the cue and their style of dress, but also the whole paraphernalia of Chinese idolatry. Whenever a tribe submits, the first thing is to save the head in token of allegiance, and then temples, idols, and tablets are introduced. At the present time the religion of the Pe-po-hoan is the potpourri of Confucian morality, Buddhistic idolatry, and Tauistic demonolatry, to which they have added relics of their own nature-worship and superstition (From 208).

From Rev. MacKay's point of view, the Pe-po-hoan had lost their original culture and identity because of their love of Chinese idolatry, which seems to remind readers of the Hebraic story of idolatry in Deuteronomy 12:32-13:18 and Joshua 23:1-16. The Hebrew people were warned by Moses and Joshua that the chosen people should not lose their own faith to God after leaving Egypt. Like the Hebrews, the aboriginal tribes were reminded by Rev. MacKay that they were fragile when defeated by the Chinese-culture invasion. The aborigines had been merged into the same vessels of Chinese culture, philosophy, and religion.

There was not much definite explanation of how Rev. MacKay suffered from the conflict between Chinese immigrants and aborigines because he usually recorded events with a sense of distance, or even disinterest, from the third-person viewpoint. However, readers still notice his insinuated understanding of the Pe-po-hoan burden with which they were conquered in every aspect of lives:

Some of the younger devotees are the most bigoted idolaters in [Formosa], but very many of the people hate the new order of things. Idolatry does not suit the average

Pe-po-hoan, and it is only of necessity that he submits to even the formal observance of its rites and ceremonies. It is political rather religious, and to the large majority is meaningless, except as a reminder of their enslavement to an alliance race (From 208).

Rev. MacKay estimated the aboriginal tribes' disability of resisting Chinese-culture attack and found that they may not easily recover from their surrender to the immigrants, especially when young Pe-po-hoan were deeply obsessed by the new culture.

Maybe the aborigines' suffering from the conflict with Chinese immigrants did not cause too much direct trouble to Rev. MacKay, but the Sino-French War (December 1883 to April 1885) really made him trapped in severe destructions. He had a clear report in *From Far Formosa*: "Threatenings—The first shot—Hostilities" because he was deeply involved in the war between Qing China and France (189). He did not choose the war, but the war had been waiting for him since he stayed in Formosa as a missionary. The war was an inescapable suffering if he wanted to continue his mission in Formosa, and he realized how great he needed to suffer from his mission. We can see at least two aspects of his suffering during the war: the hatred of non-Christian Formosans and the ruin of his missionary work.

First, the Sino-French War had formulated a symbol of hatred for many Formosans to despise foreigners. The end of the nineteenth century is called the era of imperialism and colonialism because many European countries dominated third-world countries in Asia and African. Since the nineteenth century, the Qing-Dynasty China had been forced to launch many wars with foreign countries such as the First Opium War (1839-1942), the Sino-Burmese War (1765-1769), and the Sino-Sikh War (1841-1842). However, China was haunted by its losing result in wars, so most Chinese people think Westerners occupied their own homeland with technology and weapons. The historical context of colonialism makes many Chinese people hate Westerners.

Rev. MacKay was deeply trapped in the atmosphere of Chinese hatred toward Westerners during the time of the Sino-French War. When he wrote *From Far Formosa*, it was even in the time of the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895. He argued that China had become the center of attacks from many countries although it was ruled by the Qing Emperor (From 189). The news of the Sino-French War was dispersed all around the Northern Formosa, so the heat of people's hatred toward Westerners was in climax:

The people were both alarmed and enraged. Their animosity was aroused against all foreigners and those associated with them. The missionary was at once suspected, and the native Christians were accused of being in league with France. Torture and death

were threatened against all our converts (From 189).

Although Rev. MacKay loved Formosa so much, he thought about leaving the mission field for a while because of personal safety on October 23, 1884 (Diary 219). He noticed that Formosans cannot distinguish between Western imperialism and Christian faith. People blamed Western missionaries for implanting imperialism to Formosa in the name of religion. Maybe people infused their hatred to church and missionaries because they were powerless to defeat the attack of French fleets. People excoriated him with a mocking epitaph: "MacKay, the black-bearded devil, lies here. His work is ended" (From 191). Formosan people thought that Rev. MacKay never had an opportunity to restore his mission anymore after leaving for safety.

Second, under the siege of the Formosa locals, Rev. MacKay personally explained the none-stop suffering from social riots which caused destruction to his mission work. "From the commencement of hostilities" he said, "until that date I had no rest night or day" because "after the bombardment I was ill and unconscious for some time" (From 195). In 1884, he wrote very short sentences to indicate the tension in war: "Bombardment of Tamsui" on October 2, "A.M. we gave up hope" on October 7, and "Called on Missionaries left 4 P.M." on October 23 (MacKay, Diary 219). Also, there were few descriptions of the war in the diary, but several phrases in his writing revealed his uneasiness toward this war. For example, "no sleep" on September 2, "English Gun boat went out side. : Stones in boats put down" on September 4, "2 hours sleep" on September 6, "Very ill" on October 6, and "Sick" on October 26. During the sixty-one days, there were thirty-six days blank with nothing recorded in the diary, and there were merely question marks but no words in several days of this period (MacKay, Diary 218-220).

Readers clearly identify how serious Rev. MacKay was physically and psychologically hurt by Formosans during the Sino-French War. He was overwhelmed by the war and riots because he thought most of his missionary achievement was demolished by the war. Rev. MacKay had recorded six cases of destruction and martyrdom. In case one, there were an old couple in their sixties caught to the water's site before the church and asked to choose whether refusing their God or drown to death, but they ignored people's thread. Then, they were brought to the knee-deep water and asked to abandon their Christian faith with a temptation of money, but they rejected the offer three times. Eventually, they were drawn, "to whom death was nothing compared with dishonoring their Lord" (From 192). In case two, another man from the same church was tortured with splits of bamboo put between fingers, and tightly fasten with cords. He was forced to turn back to his father's religion, but he stood

faithfully in his Christian faith. So, the cords were strained more firmly, and his blood came out from his fingers. Later, he was hit and became senseless. After gaining consciousness and recovering from hurt, he became more faithful to Christ than ever before. His brothers even mocked him and asked, "Where is your God now? Why cannot your God protect you?" (From 192) In case three, another Christian was caught, and his head was bound with a ring of bamboo. Also, his legs were fastened with splits of wood until he fainted. He was almost dead because of being kicked and stricken. Eventually he was recovered. Hostility did not beat him, and he did not forsake God (From 192). In case four, a young man was captured by the anger persecutors and taken to a tree. People put his cue to cross a branch, and they pull it until his feet left the ground. They did not reduce their enraged anger even expressing this frightful action. After mocking this man, they said, "This is one who joined the barbarian's church" (From 192-3). In case five, an elder and his family hid in a coal-mine. After staying there for ten days, they went out in a field at night for seeking potatoes to eat. Because cooking may betray their location, they usually ate raw food. Around thirty-six auspicious families became homeless and poor at that time (From 193). In case six, the whole town at Kelung was abandoned by riot. There was an elder woman who had a small house and several properties banding a dead body on her shoulders with her handkerchief. She covered the dead with her garments. Because her feet were bound, she crippled with a staff. However, she was caught, and her garment was stripped. People saw the dead body, and they took it. The woman was beaten with the side of people's long knives until she was terribly hurt from head to feet, and then they let her go (From 193).

Although Rev. Mackay had suffered countless difficulties in mission, his physical condition, especially the throat cancer, burdened him with the heaviest strike. Clyde R. Forsberg states: Although in his final years Mackay obtained missionary achievements, such as building churches, schools, and hospitals, he was almost voiceless as a martyr of throat cancer. He acted like a forerunning agent of change and/or action in this situation (Life 105). Rev. Mackay also mentioned his health situation on October 23, 1900, which indicates his own awareness of his body: "Have not spoken a word since week to-day—O it is hard. Using every means recom: by Dr. Wilkinson to relieve my throat... Have to use many slips of paper in writing as I don't attempt to speak" (Diary 667). His symptom of throat cancer started much earlier than his diary recorded in October 1900. The following list is a complete description about his symptom and treatment in the diary (660-673).⁵

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See Hong-wen Chen for Rev. MacKay's son in law Koa Kau reported to R. P. Mackay about the death of Rev. MacKay; Zhu for Rev. MacKay's cancer at his old age.

In 1900:

June 6. His voice was still hoarse.

June 10. His voice was still hoarse.

June 18. The throat was still unwell and hard to speak.

June 26. The voice was hoarse, and he felt never suffered like this before.

June 30. He lost his voice ever since.

July 20. His throat was still not recovered.

July 28. His throat still not become well, and it was difficult to speak.

August 3. He still felt not well about the throat.

August 6. His throat was better.

September 26. Dr. Kuroiwa examined his throat.

September 29. His voice was not better.

October 1. His voice was not stronger yet.

October 5. His voice was not improved.

October 9. His voice was not improving. Dr. Wilkinson called him and was

anxious, but he cannot provide more help than his recommendation.

Rev. MacKay used Inhaler several times a day.

October 16. Dr. Wilkinson and Miss Dr. Crowther called him and examined his

throat in the hospital. A kind of Tubercle was diagnosed on one of his

vocal cords.

October 19. Dr. Wilkinson examined his throat at 11 am in the hospital and found a

little better.

October 23. Dr. Wilkinson used all ways of recommendation to relieve his throat.

October 24. He had less spitting and no cough in any day.

October 26. After examining, Dr. Wilkinson found two spots in his throat, but they

are not malignant.

October 30. It has been two weeks that he had not spoken a word.

November 6. **He arrived Hong Kong** in Connaught Hotel at 11 am, and he went to

see Dr. Stedmans with Dr. Wilkinson. Dr. Stedmans examined his

throat and said there was a specific ulcer.

November 7. He had examination again at 3:30 pm.

November 8. Dr. Stedmans painted his throat for the first time at 4 pm.

November 9. Also examination and paint. Dr. Stedmans said, "It is a little better."

November 10. Much like yesterday.

November 11. Examined and painted by Dr. Stedmans at 12:30 am. The doctor said a

little better.

- November 12. George came to see Dr. Stedmans at 4 pm., and the doctor said a little better.
- November 13. He went to see Dr. Stedmans at 4 pm. His weight was 119 lbs., so the doctor said his cancer was not malignant because of his weight.
- November 14. He saw Dr. Stedmans at 4 pm, and his throat was painted.
- November 15. He went to see Dr. Stedmans at 4 pm., and another doctor also examined his throat.
- November 16. It is a glorious day because he felt well physically. He noticed that he did not cough last night, and there was no spitting.
- November 17. See Dr. Stedmans at 4 pm.
- November 18. He saw both Dr. Stedmans and Dr. Hoffman at 12:30.
- November 19. Dr. Stedmans painted his throat at 4pm and said it was better.
- November 20 to 24. He saw Dr. Stedmans at 4 pm, weighted 122 lbs., and was told that the cancer cannot be malignant (Nov. 23). The doctor said it was a little better (Nov. 24).
- November 25. He went to Dr. Stedmans at 12:30 am., and Dr. Hartigan also checked his throat. Dr. Stedmans replied he looked better bodily.
- November 26. He saw Dr. Stedmans at 4 pm, and the doctor said the front part was a little better.
- November 27-28. Routine check with Dr. Stedmans at 4 pm.
- November 29. He met Dr. Stedmans at 4 pm. Dr. Hoffman also attend and After the examination, Dr. Stedmans said, "It looks like a broken down Gummata," and he also said Rev. MacKay did not look like having malignant cancer. Dr. Stedmans confirmed. Rev. MacKay wrote a voice told him, "You will preach for Jesus in North Formosa again."
- November 30. He affirmed that his Soul will preach again in North Formosa.
- December 1-30. He saw Dr. Stedmans at 4 pm. As long as he was gaining weight, it must be well. The meeting was at 12:30 am. on the 9th and 16th. There was no record of medication on the 23rd, the 25th, the 27th, and the 30th. On Dec.29, Dr. Stedmans told him the caner was smaller and the swelling had gone down if they persisted, and he recommended no more thing they should do because the cancer will be cured.

In 1901:

- January 1-2. He visited Macao.
- January 3. Regular meeting with Dr. Stedmans.

January 7. The last time to see Dr. Stedmans.

January 11. Returned to Tamsui.

January 23. Dr. Wilkinson and another Japanese doctor came and examined his throat; then they prescribed.

January 25. He did not feel well.

January 26. Dr. Wilkinson visited and examined his throat. The comment was "Much better." Rev. MacKay put a special remark about medication: "Every day under the influence of Medi: Miserable! Wretched! Not good sleep at nights."

February 10. Dr. Wilkinson and Dr. Myers called, and they examined his throat. The agreed to inject Morphia.

February 12. The last record in the diary: "Ther. 52°. At A.M. Had good sleep, feel better."

Rev. MacKay passed away on June 2, 1901, but he stopped writing diary on February. Readers may not sure why he did not keep the diary until June, but many blank days in the diary on January and February of 1901 indicates that he may not have strength to maintain writing. He even thought there were more important things to do comparing with keeping diary. We do not see complaints in the diary although he was very ill probably because he had focused more on God and the grace. Readers may wonder how he felt during the two months of treatment in Hong Kong when doctors told him the cancer was not malignant and became better. Maybe Rev. MacKay had understood that his cancer was not easily cured although the doctor expressed positive news. However, we are certain that he was still eager to serve God although he had lost his voice (Diary, 669).

Suffering in Mission and Theology

Rev. MacKay was not the first Christian who went to mission fields under the circumstance of suffering and difficulties. Many examples are narrated in missionary biographies and the Bible. When James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) the founder of the China Inland Mission and the coeval missionary of Rev. MacKay arrived China in 1854, he immediately encountered difficulties. A group of renegades called "Red Turbans" had occupied the native city of Shanghai, and the Imperial Army about forty to fifty thousand soldiers surrounded the city. The Chinese troop was larger and more dangerous than both the small European group and the renegades. When the ship was landing, Taylor was informed to

stay outside the Settlement for his safety (Seven "Chapter 9").

Besides missionaries' suffering stories, the Christian apologist C. S. Lewis, also a Professor at Oxford University and the chair of Mediaeval and Renaissance Literature at Cambridge University, exposits the meaning of suffering from his personal experiences such as his military service in World War I. According to Robert MacSwain, Lewis became an eyewitness of horrible scenes in the wars: seriously damaged man still walked like half-broken beetles and the sitting or standing zombies. When he was injured by a mortar, a man next to him was killed, so his rest of life carried the wounds with him. However, Lewis' experiences in the battlefield was one of his traumas because he was deeply haunted by the death of his mother at the age of nine, and later by his cruel schoolmaster who was diagnosed insane afterwards. His autobiographical movie *Shadowlands* raises the inquiry of suffering and displays Lewis' numbness of his early lose; *The Problem of Pain* in 1940 gives a convincing answer of why suffering: "Pain is God's megaphone to rouse a deaf world" (203).

Besides Taylor and Lewis' examples, M. Douglas Meeks offers a fathomable perspective to interpret Christian mission and provides an opportunity to ponder the significance of suffering when serving God. Meeks explains the fundamental problem in church administration is that theology and ministry have been tear apart (148). The result of the separation is that, when people suffer, theology seems not to have opportunity to be engaged in the whole process of ministry, and ministry becomes more to lean on worldly sciences and intellect in order to fulfill the operation of church life. In fact, as Meeks emphasizes, theology and ministry are not two distinctive practices. However, Christians are used to assuming that one important standard of building Christian mission will end up with the syncretism that unites the covenant principle and the practice of "urban industrial technocratic society" (148). Accordingly, Meeks presents five levels of values in order to keep ministry distinctive and faithful to Christian ecclesiology, instead of "social ecclesiology" (148).

First, the credo or belief system is the fundamental level for the Christian ecclesiology. Like Christian church, Meeks indicates that secular corporations are talented to shape their credos because they feel confident in their belief systems, so they have many good examples of successful "evangelization" and "mission." The development of multinational corporations relies on close relationship with the broadcast of their own thoughts or beliefs (149). "The greatest threat in Christian church management theory would happen," Meeks asserts, "if faced with the crisis of biblical faith, we would take over unawares the credo and interests of the corporations, so impressed are we by their organizational success" (149). If Christians are overwhelmed by the success of secular institutions, they may have higher chance to shake

their faith and then compromise their original belief with secularism.

Second, the secular institutions have become very successful on the level of values. According to Meeks, all values in the globe are no more than the quest for freedom, power, and justice, but these questions are not exclusive to Christian tradition and churches because everyone shares opinions about these issues in society (149). Then, Meeks asserts that Christian churches eventually lose their concentration on setting goals of policies in ministries and communities because a large amount of churches have been so uncertain about their values when comparing with the values of other people groups in the society (149). Because churches lose their Christian values, church members think that secular values have the same standard with church, and they usually apply worldly values to their own faith.

Third, the level of worship plays an important role in their conspicuous achievement of many secular institutions. Meeks defines worship as "the way we embody our deepest interests and values in our everyday decisions, actions, and communal/social relationships" (149-50). In other words, worship becomes a habitual activity in people's hearts, and it makes people inescapable to repeat their actions. Meeks comments that the more secular institutions are successful in dominating a person or a community, the mainline Christian churches will become powerless to persuasively express the standard or lifestyle based on the gospel or biblical values (150). If something has become people's worship, the desire of obsession has grown deeply in their hearts.

Fourth, Meeks emphasizes when secular institutions reach the level of law, they substantially have power to spread their concerns, values, and even "worship" because they have authority to make laws (150). On this level, secular institutions officially have authority to dominate the legislation of the government, and they normally do not choose Christian stance to make laws. Thus, Meeks exponents when secular institutions have more power to make laws, Christian churches will have fewer opportunities to discuss law in Christian ways or participate in the economic/political issues of the society (150). In other words, the legislative success of secular institutions and its supremacy over the law signifies the right of controlling the legal system in a country. Suffering may be imposed more than before to missionaries on this level when the conflict between Christian values and secular laws increases because secular authorities do not allow missionaries to do several Christian works.

Finally, the level of organization has made secular institutions, in Meeks' words, "the epitome of modern organizational genius" (150). On this terminal level, secular organizations are representatives of each professional fields, and people make decisions based on their recommendations. For example, Taiwan government intends to make laws to prevent

Christians from talking about Christian faith in class because religious issues are not compatible to scientific subjects that teachers instruct. Meeks concludes why secular institutions are qualified to be called brilliance: "It seems that the genius of their organization results from the fact that they integrate so systematically the four deeper levels of their existence into the form and substance of their organization and management" (150). It is almost impossible for Christians to change anything if secular institutions have become genius on the level of organization because Christianity has failed to influence the society. Under this circumstance, missionaries may suffer in every aspect because social norms have abandoned Christian standards.

Whereas the five levels of values indicate the circumstance of mission under the influence of secularism, the power of weakness denotes Christians' perseverance when suffered from the environment. Mary Motte reminds Christians of the power of the crucified Christ when they encounter weakness and suffering during the time of mission (470). Understanding Christians' suffering is not like facing the reality of failure in the secular world because mission is closely related to the Kingdom of God. Thus, suffering denotes a paradoxical effect on missionaries. Motte provides several examples of suffering to explain the lesson of "victory through the cross": the situation of the aboriginal people in Australia and the assassination of Monsignor Romero in El Salvador, the suffering examples in South African, and actions taken against workers in South Korea (470-71). The meaning of suffering in mission is not a symbol of defeat, but an opportunity for missionaries to open people's hearts with Christ's story of crucifixion. Thus, Motte indicates: "when the oppressed poor come together in community, when they experience renewal/conversion through a continual confrontation of their lives with the Word of God, they then are impelled to share their experience of Christ with others" (472).

Although suffering is normally understood as an overpowering force coerced to Christian mission from outside, it is also a noticeable phenomenon happened inside Christian circles. Michael W. Stroope, a former Baptist missionary and the professor of mission at Truett Seminary of Baylor University, clarifies that mission is not a pure act of evangelism from Christian church, but it is a fusion of "humanitarian and social activities" (Introduction xv). From the angle of historical development, mission does not simply mean "spreading the gospel" because it has contained many activities which may not have a close relation to biblical allusion of mission. Stroope explains the decaying meaning of mission: "Mission as received in my youth and seminary education, collided headlong with the mission legacy of colonialism" (Introduction xiv-xv). Westerners' understanding of mission has been unconsciously involved in the dark history of colonialism.

History pushes people to move forward and face its reality, especially the issue of colonialism, and Christianity has no exception. Christian missionaries chose colonialism when doing evangelism in the nineteenth century because their mindsets were ingrained in the idea of the Crusades. David Bosch indicates that the influence of the Crusades originates in 1452 Constantinople when the center of the Eastern church was conquered by the Muslims (231). "Just war" happened, according to Bosch, whether at the Age of Discovery or in the period of European colonization was deep rooted in the medieval understanding of the Crusades (231). In other words, most Christian missions had lost the goal of evangelism commended by Jesus in Matt. 28:19-20, and missions have gone astray into the business of secularism. Bosch provides one important reason that Christian missions were never identical to the original commend:

Now, however, European Christians met people who were not only physically, but also culturally and linguistically very different from them. One of the most appalling consequences of this was the imposition of slavery on non-Western peoples (232).

During the history of Christian mission, evangelists are not able to stop the spread of slavery in which Europeans sold people of color from African to Western countries although Christian missionaries were not directly responsible for selling slaves. Bosch reminds us the unforgeable history of slavery: Westerners, including Protestants, involved in the profitable business of slave trade, such as the pope granted the opening or slave market in Lisbon in 1537, so around twelve thousand Africans were sold to the West Indies every year; thoroughly 880 slave ships sailed from Liverpool to the Americas during the ten years from 1783 to 1793 (232).

Historically, many Western missionaries misinterpreted and misused mission, but Christians never give up thinking about its significance in every stage of eras. Richard W. Taylor's perspective of mission comes from the reflection of mission in India and the organization of mission called "Christian ashrams," which also defined "mission without missions" (281). As explained by Taylor, "At best it was a kind of bastard; indeed because 'the mission' so appalled some Indian Christians and missionaries, they turned to the Indian ashram pattern to claim it for Indian Christianity" (281). Because many Western missionaries have either intentionally or unintentionally infused non-biblical factors into mission, evangelism has not been as pure as its original meaning in the Bible. Under this circumstance, Taylor introduces how Christian ashrams play an important role in Indian mission: First, providing missionary equipment to contact advocators of non-Christian religion; second,

⁶ For the missionary root of the Crusades, see Kahl 11-76; Hoekendijk 317; Eugene 4-45.

affording sufficient knowledge of medicine to relieve physical suffering by nursing and to cure all common diseases; third, supporting the training of artificers, such as carpenters or weavers, in order to let people have ability to work (283). Western missionaries may not realize Indian culture when spreading the gospel, but the Christian ashrams fills the gap between the Western misunderstanding of mission and the local surrounding of the missionary field.

The purpose of Christian mission, based on Jesus' original command, is to connect all people groups under the Kingdom of God as a part of discipleship and fulfill the calling of the Mission of God (*Missio Dei*) although the process of mission contains difficulties and suffering. In the secular world, people fight or even hurt with each other in order to dominate their enemies so that losers in combat will be inflicted in suffering as punishment. However, Christian mission leads humankinds to cross barriers, although full of suffering, and enters the Kingdom of God. Van Aarde AG explains that the Gospel of Matthew uses two terms, "the Israelite crowd" (oi $\delta\chi\lambda$ oi) and "the Gentiles" (τ à ϵ θνη), to describe different characteristic roles, but both kinds are on the same purpose of Jesus' mission, including the mission of the disciples and later at the age of church (418). The target of people groups in Jesus's mission may be different, but they will share the same biblical content after they were evangelized.

The Bible provides an explicit answer to the question of why missionaries still suffer in their mission fields although Christian mission is a part of the *Missio Dei*. Mission for spreading the gospel is different from making corporational profits because it is a calling from Jesus whereas doing business is aimed at selling products and making money. Schuyler Brown argues that Christian mission is derived from Matthew's Central Section which defines the meaning of mission as the Evangelism for Jews in Matt. 9:35-11:1 (90). Mission was initiated from Jesus' calling of the twelve disciples ($\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\alpha\zeta$, Matt 10:1), and they were also called apostles ($\alpha\sigma\sigma\tau\delta\lambda\omega\nu$, Matt. 10:2). These twelve were summoned under a warning: "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt 1:5). Jesus disclosed that their mission will be "like sheep into the midst of wolves" (Matt 1:16), and they will be arrested and brought to the local councils and be whipped in the synagogues (Matt 1:17). The disciples' suffering is obviously caused by their own Jewish people.

⁷ For the *Missio Dei*, see Bosch 399-401 Wieland 101-118; Cronshaw 119-141; Gahl 301-13.

⁸ See Matt. 4:25; 5:1; 7:28; 8:1, 18; 9:8, 23, 25, 33, 36; 11:7; 12:15, 23, 46; 13:2, 34, 36; 14:5, 13-15, 19, 22.

⁹ See Matt. 4:15; 6:30; 10:5, 18; 12:18, 21; 20:19, 25; 21:43; 24:7, 9, 14; 25:32; 28:19.

¹⁰ For the universal mission, see Kim 153–155; Hare 359–369.

Besides the narrative of suffering in mission, Christian theology provides a system to illustrate the significance of suffering. Generally, people choose a religion because they need an explanation of why they suffer and how they may escape from suffering. In this case, it is unavoidable for Christianity to uncover the complex issue of the mystery about suffering. Human realization of suffering is connected to the doctrine of God because suffering connotes a close relationship with guilt, and "finally [links] to the possibilities of removing suffering" (Link-Wieczorek, "Suffering"). OT authors usually adopted the ancient Near Eastern model of the relation between sinful events and the suffering circumstances although they are not always caused by Yahweh. For instance, the later Wisdom literature raises a question of theodicy because of the suffering in innocent people, and the OT may only have obscure answer. Suffering could be indirectly (but sometimes also directly) originated from Yahweh, such as the test of Job, e.g., Job 5:17, or propitiatory punishment for the chosen people's violating the law, e.g., Exod. 16, 21:18-22, Prov. 3:11-12, 13:24. Except assuming suffering as propitiatory punishment for human beings when they fail, the OT refuses the accusation that Yahweh should be responsible for the cause of the world's suffering (Link-Wieczorek, 'Suffering').

Whereas the OT portrays human suffering from the transgression of the law and the justice of Yahweh, the central theme of the New Testament is on Jesus' crucifixion as a model of salvation toward human suffering. In other words, the NT delineates not only human's suffering but also the engagement of God's Son in human suffering. God's image in the NT is not as a judge to decide human's sin, but as an incarnational savior in human form. For example, although the gospel of Mark is the shortest one in the Synoptic Gospel, it contains a very important message of Jesus' suffering identified as "the Son of God" (Mk 1:1). Different from a shallow reading that considers Mark a random collection of disconnected stories, Walter R. Bouman claims that its structure is well composed to illustrate the crucifixion of Jesus (328). After a long passage about Jesus' mission in Galilee from Mk 1:14 to 8:21, Mark reaches the climax of the Jesus' suffering and crucifixion in 8:22 to10:52. Bouman argues, "Jesus is the Christ not in spite of his suffering and death but because of it" (329). The NT also explains the reason of Jesus' suffering in Paul's letter:

who, though he was in the form of God,
did not regard equality with God
as something to be exploited,
but emptied himself,
taking the form of a slave,
being born in human likeness.

And being found in human form,

he humbled himself

and became obedient to the point of death—

even death on a cross. (Phil. 2:6-8)

On the one hand, God the Son incarnated into human shape in order to release the burden of sin on humankinds. On the other hand, every person is welcome to share the suffering cross of Jesus Christ in a part of the discipleship. As Bouman remarks, "to be disciples of Jesus means that we share in his suffering and death" (329).

Theologically, Jesus is "the suffering servant" because of his sacrifice on the cross, but genealogically he is the descendant of King David, as Roy A. Rosenberg mentions, "the messianic priest-king" (386). The Gospel of Matthew reports Jesus' family tree in the royal linage:

So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations; and from David to the deportation to Babylon, fourteen generations; and from the deportation to Babylon to the Messiah, fourteen generations. (Matt 1:17)

As the suffering servant, Jesus is called "the Lamb of God" because his mission is to remove the sin of the world and is defined as another Isaac, the prototype of the suffering servant in the OT (Rosenberg, 386). Matthew intends to compare the cycles between Isaac and Jesus in his three divisions of the fourteen-generation genealogy. In the first division, Isaac is the first son of Abraham and is prepared to sacrifice on the altar with Yahweh's commend to his father Abraham. Also, Jesus as the Son of God is ready to be sacrificed on the altar, and several midrashic traditions provide the parallelism of resurrection from the dead like Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer 31. Throughout Jews' familiar idea about Isaac, Jesus is paralleled in the Gospel of Matthew that he lives and dies during the first jubilee of the fourth cycle after Abraham (Rosenberg, 387).

The image of the suffering servant has been deeply ingrained in Christians' heart since Matthew was published, but sometimes the idea of scapegoat is not applicable for the hermeneutic perspective of Judaism. Christians are too easy to insert the understanding of suffering servant into their Scriptural reading. As argued by D. Brent Sandy, John the Baptist's proclamation "Behold the Lamb of God" in John 1:29 has nothing to do with Jesus' image of "the sacrificial Lamb of God" (447). Generally, Christians assume that John the Baptist recognized Jesus as the sacrificial Lamb to fulfill the atonement because of their

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¹¹ For the Lamb of God, see Nortjé-Meyer 141-150; Kotrosits 473-502; Reddish 65-79; Schneiders 1-29.

connection to Isaiah 53. However, the Christian hermeneutic on John the Baptist's claim is not based on the root in the second Jewish commonwealth, in which Jesus should be interpreted as the Messiah to restore the kingdom of David by force (448). From Jewish perspective, sheep or lamb have broader meaning than Christian's, such as a triumph conqueror, thus John the Baptist's proclamation should be interpreted, "Look, here is our deliverer who will purge the world of evil" (449).

Unlike Jewish understanding of the Messiah sent from God for restoring triumph from many losses in Jewish theology, Christian theology endeavors to search for the significance of suffering in mission and tries to explain the origin and development between its biblical context and the missionary fields. Mission happens when evangelists carry the gospel message into another new environment, but it also displays many challenges, problems, or suffering when evangelists interpret its biblical burden to non-Christians. The shaping of theology in mission happens with evangelists' experiences of suffering as well. Thus, Rev. MacKay asserts on March 1, 1873, "So [mission] is, sweet and sour, warm and cold, good and bad, friend and foe" (Diary 42).

MacKay's Theology: Nec Tamen Consumebatur

"Yet it was not consumed" (Nec Tamen Consumebatur) is the OT allusion in Exodus 3:2. When Moses led his father in law Jethro's flock to the wilderness of Horeb, the Mountain of God, he saw the appearance of the angel of God and the burning bush. The Bible narrates that a flame of fire was on the bush, but it was not consumed. In 1691, the image of the burning bush became the emblem of the Church of Scotland introduced by the printer of The Principal Acts of the General Assembly, George Mossman, with the Latin motto ("Church"). The emblem conveys the liberational significance of the Church of Scotland suffered from Episcopalianism and Royal Absolutism in the Stewart era (Christie, Abstract i).

As Nec Tamen Consumebatur originated from the suffering of the Church of Scotland, Christians' world mission also revealed suffering when missionaries were called to fulfill the *Missio Die*. Michael W. Stroope notes that "modern mission movement" has become an artificial and nominal tradition since the nineteenth century (322). Also, Eric Hobsbawm, the former President of Birkbeck College, University of London, categorizes three types of "invented traditions" in missiology: First, the organizing social cohesion or any real/virtual community; second, the authorizing institutions; third, any groups of socialization¹² (qtd. in

¹² Stroope also provides eight reasons that "modern mission movement" became a trend in the nineteenth century: (1) Social cohesion is enforced in the practice of Christian institutions; (2) outstanding Christian persons become the token of the

Stroope, 324). When "modern mission movement" became the center of many Western mission boards after the nineteenth century, missionaries never did evangelism as the Four Gospel and the Acts recorded.

Rev. MacKay's mission in Formosa was also in the same era of the modern mission tradition. The circumstance of mission in which he was involved can be displayed in the Edinburgh Conference 1910, that had been nine years after MacKay passed away. The Records of the Conference indicates: mission is not only "justified or historicized", but also "theologized" because "God is the great Missioner"; thus, "mission is a divine enterprise" (qtd. in Stroope). Because the conference has assumed God as the beginner of mission, everything that missionaries do will be automatically connected to mission language. "For the delegates at Edinburgh, mission was the idea whose time had come, the emblem of right belief, and the language of the faithful—the Christian tradition" (Stroope 330-1). Evangelists have assumed that mission is important because God initiates and participates in the great business since the Conference gave a definition.

Rev. MacKay, however, had different perspective from other evangelists who reached conclusion in the 1910 Conference in which mission is an extraordinary business managed by God. He set up an example when he converted the first Formosan into a Christian, as illustrated in *From Far Formosa*: 13

There was something about the young man [Giam Chhen Hoa] that attracted my attention and made me think more about him after he had gone than about any of the others with whom I had met. ... I had been pleading with God to give me as the first convert an intelligent and active young man. Long before I had reached Formosa that had been the burden of my prayer. ... In a day or two the young man returned, bringing with him a graduate of some note, who discussed questions of religion with me for some time. ... Question after question was put to them touching their three religions, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Tauism. They were surprised at the "barbarian's" knowledge of their sages and their teachings (138-9).

MacKay have dialogues with people when doing evangelism, instead of coercing non-Christians to receive his faith or trying to propagate Christianity with business strategy. He also prays to God for bestowing him proper opportunities of conversation with Formosans.

movement; (3) the meaning of the invented tradition contains more than modern outstanding heroes; (4) mission publications and favorite missionary histories are models for nineteenth-century mission frontiers; (5) funding mission makes Christians have fewer obstacles to participate in mission; (6) mission conferences provide opportunities to remember the success of mission movement; (7) modern mission tradition is also defined "modern Protestant missions; (8) many concise phrases epitomize the spirit of the mission tradition (324-6).

See also MacKay, Diary 14 (April 19-24, 1872).

The reason MacKay spread the gospel to non-Christian Formosans is that he let God work in people's hearts, instead of persuading people with his own rhetoric as doing business.

On the surface, Rev. MacKay's success in the mission of Northern Formosa has helped him earn great reputations, ¹⁴ e.g., "the apostolic evangelist, an example of the glorious result, a peerless missionary hero, and a potent icon" (Rohrer, "George" 10-11). His achievement contains the construction of seminary, school (Oxford CoIIege), hospital, and church. Decades later, Rev. MacKay's construction became Taiwan Graduate School of Theology (Taiwan Theological College and Seminary), New Taipei Tamkang High School, Aletheia University, Mackay Memorial Hospital, and other sixty churches. Although Rev. MacKay reached a tremendous success during his mission from 1872 to 1901, the total number of Formosan people baptized by him was still rare comparing with the whole number of Formosa populace. It is estimated that Rev. MacKay converted 3,000 people in round-off number, but the whole population of Formosa was about 2,650,000; in fact, only 0.11% of the whole island became Christian before Rev. MacKay passed away¹⁵ (Rohrer, "George" 9).

Under the missionary context of the "modern mission movement" in the nineteenth century, Rev. MacKay strived to maintain the orthodoxy Christian teaching in his mission although many kinds of suffering came very close to him. As mentioned in the former section, M. Douglas Meeks' five levels of values offer an insightful measurement for Christian mission. Here, the values are applied to Rev. MacKay to see his endeavor of maintaining Christian faith through suffering in his Formosan mission.

First, Rev. MacKay's mission is based on the credo of quasi "three-self church," which was introduced by an American minister Rufus Anderson (1796-1880)¹⁶ although both MacKay and Anderson's contemporaries paid little attention to this ideal. In order to let himself absorb more materials about the principle of three-self church, Rev. MacKay sailed to Edinburgh before his graduation from Princeton Seminary for auditing Alexander Duff's lecture on "evangelistic theology," which was the first college-level course on missiology (qtd. in Rohrer 32).¹⁷ Because of his strong belief that the mission in Formosa should be administrated by the local people, Rev. MacKay's churches were considered "strange" from the perspective of his co-workers. Jennie Fraser, the wife of Dr. James B. Fraser, M.D., commented that MacKay should make his mission normal if he did not "always accompanied

¹⁴ For Rev. MacKay's reputation and success in mission, see Machar 332-341; W. A. MacKay 1899 384-397; W. A. MacKay 1900 136-148.

¹⁵ For the evaluation of Christian and the whole populace in Formosa, see Davidson 598; Kerr 73; Lamley 195-254.

¹⁶ The idea of "three-self church" is encapsulated as "self-governing, self-propagating, and self-financing native churches" (Rohrer 31). See also Beaver 94-7; Harris 113-4; Heideman 157-164; Shenk 168-172.

¹⁷ George Leslie Mackay to Thomas Wardrope, 23 April 1891, Formosa Mission Correspondence (FMC).

by his Chinese" (Rohrer, "George" 28). Since the beginning of mission in Northern Formosa, Rev. MacKay concentrated on the Formosan people with almost all his efforts, instead of the Canadian mission committee or other assistants, so they "felt abandoned and totally alien to the real life of mission" (Rohrer, "George" 28).

Rev. MacKay's fullhearted belief on the credo of "three-self church" reveals his attitude of pricing his first convert and student Giam Chheng Hoa. Although Giam was a first-generation Christian, Rev. MacKay treated him "as a co-founder of the Presbyterian Church in North Taiwan" (Rohrer, "George" 39). In his Diary, Rev. MacKay portrayed Giam not merely as a servile student but a companion who can learn knowledge and share Christian faith together (Rohrer, "George" 39; Diary 16-8):

In 1872

- A-Hoa (the nickname of Giam Chheng Hoa in Hokkien language) read six chapters of John for Rev. MacKay's hearing, and MacKay repeatedly read the verses in Chinese for A-Hoa's feedback. "Splended fellow, just a 'God send'," highly appraised by MacKay. Also, A-Hoa was meticulous covering the rough boards of MacKay's bookcase which were not painted and the damaged part of the furniture with newspapers.
- May 10. They read a part of the NT and A-Hoa explained it. Then, Rev. MacKay talked about the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer to A-Hoa. Last, Geography was discussed.
- May 13. They discussed the "tables" in Geography of Palestine. Rev. MacKay commented that he never had a student like A-Hoa in Canada who enthusiastically studied geography.
- Rev. MacKay asked A-Hoa to pray. He not only records the contents of A-Hoa's prayer, but also scrupulously described the horrific sound caused by the damaged and split legs of an old bamboo chair when A-Hoa sat on it and prayed. The detail of A-Hoa's prayer is recorded although Rev. MacKay consider his prayer a form to an idol: "O thou art the True God. I did not know Thee a few months ago. Help me to [sic] know more and more of thee, for I now know that these idols which our people worship cannot save their souls. From the bottom of my heart. I thank thee for bringing Pastor MacKay to Formosa. Help me, help us by the Holy Spirit to bring my parents and relatives to Jesus. Our light is very poor (Wo do not know much! But O God help me, help us.

¹⁸ See also Qing-yi Chen 73.

Sim-so-goan! [Amen]) for our lamp is bad, help us to get better light and a better lamp for we are working away at Thy Word. We wish and hope that thou wilt bring another young man to be with us, and then many, many more everywhere. These things our hearts truly desire" (MacKay, Diary 18).

A-Hoa had become a part of MacKay's life since they met on April 19, 1872. Rev. MacKay narrated the unspeakable feeling about him: "I couldn't tell why; but took a great liking to him and prayed a great part of the night for him as I slept very little" (Diary 14). James R. Rohrer also notes that there was "an authentic mutuality, a true give and take relationship" between this teacher and student ("George" 39). What these two men had in their relationship was not merely employment but true love and trust in Christ.

Second, the level of value in mission between Rev. MacKay and the Foreign Mission Committee in Toronto are at stake because MacKay stayed too close to the local people concerning almost all missionary policies. James R. Rohrer argues that Rev. MacKay were facing two conflicting worlds in his mission: On the one hand, he had obligation to connect and report to the Canadian mission board and his home-church supporters. So, the mission board doubtlessly expected him to consult with them about the mission and accepted their supervisory authority when talking about policies. On the other hand, Rev. MacKay had been in the unexpected stage of busy mission after few months arriving the Northern Formosa. He generally lived in an expanded group of Formosan people, so they only spoke in Hokkien and shared with each other specific local culture and tradition, in which they caused MacKay's Canadian colleagues difficult to participate ("George" 23). Because of his faster learning pace of Hokkien language and Formosan culture than other Canadian missionaries, Rev. MacKay had easier capability to do mission.

The result that Rev. MacKay paid very little attention to his Canadian mission board is the worsen relationship among them. As he gradually gained success in the Formosan mission, his social status at church became higher. Around 1875, he had built a set of seven churches, and each one of the growing churches respected him as a spiritual father (Rohrer, "George" 23). However, MacKay's Canadian colleagues treated him as a mulish person on the issue of Formosan mission, and they even thought he was "an arrogant and self-righteous tyrant" (Rohrer, "George" 26). Jennie Fraser gave her personal observation (qtd. in Rohrer) that she never saw a person having various conceit before because he threatened the Canadian committee to resign if they decided to send the couple, Dr. James and Jennie Fraser, back to Formosa again ("George" 27). James R. Rohrer also notes that MacKay's attitude toward the

Fraser couple was not friendly because he "[left them] in a strange land as he does. He [did not] do a thing but train the [Formosan] helpers" ("Legacy" 227).

From MacKay's perspective, both Canadian mission board and co-workers did not provide enough support for his mission although they had complained his missionary style. Graeme McDonald explains that he always felt frustrated when the Canadian assistants were not very helpfully enough. MacKay had asked Canada to send more people, but few Canadians were willing to come to Formosa because his reputation of unyieldingness and peevishness became notorious when he return to Toronto in 1880 (161). For example, John Mutch refused to be assigned to Formosa, so he answered "I am afraid that I would not be patient enough, or maybe wise enough, to be able to work with Dr. MacKay" (qtd. in McDonald 180). Probably, MacKay's stubborn reputation had intimidated many missionary candidates in Canada, thus it became difficult for him to find matching co-workers to serve with him in Formosa.

Third, the level of the worship in mission was revealed in Rev. MacKay's arrangement of the worship style in church. As a pragmatist, MacKay generally followed the social norm of his age instead of his Western Ecclesiology on church service, which contained "a dogmatic certainty and aura of self-righteousness" held by most of his Canadian contemporaries. So, he easily made those "policymakers in Toronto" feel hopeless (Rohrer, "George" 23). G. M. Milligan commented that Rev. MacKay was a person who usually did not have pre-organized plan in his mission (qtd. in Rohrer, "George" 23). Because of his ad lib style in mission, Rev. MacKay was easy to connect Formosan people and share the gospel. However, Rev. MacKay's Canadian mission board thought his strategy was absurd because he did not use the Western methods to do mission, e.g., he should have a Canadian wife and teach the gospel at school (Rohrer, "Charisma" 231).

The worship style in Rev. MacKay's mission reflects the social context of the nineteenth-century Formosa. During this century, Formosan people had undergone many social instabilities, e.g., four unequal-treaty ports at Tainan, Tamsui, and Keelung were forced to open according to the Treaty of Tianjin in 1885. Formosa suddenly was driven into the world marketplace (Rohrer, "George" 17, "Charisma" 232). Russia, U.S.A., Great Briton, and Second French Empires signed the Treaty with the Chinese Qing government, and eventually fifteen countries opened ports in Formosa: Russia, U.S.A., Great Briton, and Second French Empires, Germany, Portugal, Denmark, Netherlands, Spain, Belgium, Italy, Austrian, Japan, Peru, and Brazil (Jian 169). Even in the island, the Chinese immigrants and the aboriginals

¹⁹ See *FMC*, No. 1,183, July 26, 1883.

usually have conflicts and wars. During the late nineteenth century, the attitude of the Qing government toward Formosa was ambiguous because the island was not considered a province but merely a prefecture. On the one hand, the government oppressed social disorders caused by economic expansion and international business among the Han Chinese residence; on the other hand, it used strict methods to treat aborigines so that many armed conflicts rose (Rubinstein 179).

Under the government of the Qing Dynasty in the late nineteenth century, heterodox religious sects thrived in Formosa and other Southern provinces because the safety in society was unstable. James R. Rohrer attests that Formosa, Fukien, and Kwangtung contained more sectarians with about less than hundred members inside one sect:

Generally they formed around a charismatic teacher whose authority radiated out to the believing community through pupil disciples who shared the task of leadership (Rohrer, "George" 20).

The tradition of sectarianism can be traced back to the middle age of Chinese history, the Tang dynasty (618-907), in which Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism were together recognized as three major religious sects by emperors. Structurally, the Confucian educated elites were successors of political rulers, and the Buddhist monks and Daoist priests kept a close relationship with the elites (Seiwert 13). Rev. MacKay may be unintentionally adopted the Chinese sectarianism in Christian mission, but the influence of his decision has lasted until the twenty-first century. The difference between Rev. MacKay's and our contemporary's church is the contents of sectarianism. Nowadays, modern people choose a church based on their favorite political stances.

Since arrived at Formosa, Rev. MacKay had shrewdly observed the difference between Christian worship and the ancestor/idol worship in Formosan religious sects. The most obvious religious ritual of Formosan non-Christians was the preparation of incense-sticks and the burning of mock money to ancestors or idols (From 127). He gave a detail about the process of idol worship in Northern Formosa:

Idol-temples are common throughout the country, and idols may be seen under trees and near bridges for travelers and chance devotees to burn money and toss the divining-blocks. Their method of petition is saddening to behold. Divining-blocks are used. There are made of bamboo roots split into two pieces, each piece having one side convex, the other flat. With these two blocks, two or three inches in length, the petition is presented in the form of a question; e.g., "O idol, will you give me wealth?" (From 128)

Rev. MacKay indicated that the core of Formosan temple worship is the exchange between the idol's will and the believers' wish. Formosans' idol worship was very different from Christian ways in which Christians do not treat God as an object of fulfilling human needs and request. Accordingly, he remarked on the purpose of the idol worship in Formosa: "Idolatry has a power hold on their minds, but is only when reverses and troubles come that the average man will resort to the temple" (From 129).

Besides the temple worship, more negative description were presented in MacKay's writing about Formosans' worshipping ghost: "The most elaborate and hideous scene I ever witnessed was the 'Seventh Moon Feast'" (From 129-30). The scenery of the Feast was recorded in detail:

"Out of the night and the other world" the dead were given time to come and to gorge themselves on the "spiritual" part of the feast, the essence, that was suited to their ethereal requirements. Meanwhile a very unspiritual mob—thousands and thousands of hungry beggars, tramps, blacklegs, desperadoes of all sorts, from the country towns, the city slums, or venturing under cover of the night from their hiding-places among the hills—surged and swelled in every part of the open space, impatiently waiting their turn at the feast. ... At length the spirits were satisfied, and the gong was sounded once more. That was the signal for the mob... Screaming, cursing, howling, like demons of the pit, they all joined in the onset (From 130-1).

The Feast was prepared for the ghosts who were permitted to leave hell during July of the lunar calendar, but simultaneously it was an opportunity for mobs to enjoy the feast as well after the ghosts ate the food. However, the scenery that mobs were eating looked just like the ghosts. Because of the disorder and "the demoralizing effects," the Qing governor Liu Ming Chuan finally claimed to stop the religious worship, so "the barbarities of the 'Seventh Moon Feast" have been entirely abolished in Formosa" (From 131).

Rev. MacKay did not keep his comment of the idol (ghost or ancestor) worship silent in From Far Formosa, and he seemed to provide a balanced answer to connect Formosans who were doing idol worship. He never assumed that idol worship should be castigated or blamed if it was deeply treasured; instead, he considered that idol worship also revealed a part of truth or beauty. Thus, he thought Christians can use it as an "open sesame" to idol worshippers' heart (From 133). From MacKay's sight, idol worship was not the cause for Christians to blame Formosan worshippers but an opportunity for them to hear the gospel. He said,

Many, many times, standing on the steps of a temple, after singing a hymn, have I repeated the fifth commandment, and the words "Honor thy father and thy mother" never failed to secure respectful attention. ... Prejudices have been overcome in this way, and minds disposed to the truth of the gospel (From 133).

Ancestor worship was not a dead end for evangelism in Rev. MacKay's heart. Although he may not have a convincing answer to solve the conflict between Christian faith and idol worship, he believed that the Bible has prepared an understandable perspective to think about Formosa's religion and culture.

Forth, the level of law in Rev. MacKay's mission lies in his insistence on the idea of the organic church. As previously discussed on the first level of credo, he believed that Formosan churches should have enough amount of autonomy concerning the Canadian mission board's authority to them. For example, he started to explain from the biblical source that "Formosan Bible women" (female Christians in Formosa) had capacity to spread the gospel without the help from the Canadian ladies. He argued that Jesus, being the head of the church, has several women accompanying with the disciples in the village preaching, and he praised that many faithful women had done very good job in mission. So, Jesus understood the special serving of women in church. In Formosa, some heartful and successful workers who had endured loneliness and persecutions were women (From 297). Although the Canadians were friendly and enthusiastic in mission, they do not have ability to complete the mission:

The foreign lady finds she is confined almost entirely to the seaport; for a week or ten days inland means more fever, and the suspension of her work for a time, if not permanently. ... No foreigner has ever spent many days there without suffering, and no medical man who knows the country would dare give his consent to a foreign lady making the attempt. ... At the end of the fourth or fifth year of faithful study and effort, compared with the little Chinese woman at her side, she is still almost helpless in teaching (MacKay, From 302).

The reason Formosan Bible women were better than the Canadians is that the latter's limited cultural understanding and linguistic proficiency became obstacles in mission. Rev. MacKay thought Western missionaries generally cannot help the locals; to the worse, they even make mission become difficult to continue.

What Rev. MacKay was doing concerning this level is to break the law formally constructed by the Canadian mission board. Broadly speaking, almost all Victorian social institutions undertook business models. Western Christian mission boards had no exception,

so they set up denominational system into the new mission fields. Even evangelists may be raised into another higher position in the institution if they passed the test which gives profits to leadership, or if the one on the highest rank assigned the duty to them. Moreover, most Western missionaries, no matter they were preachers, teachers, or physicians, held an attitude of remaining a social distance from those they served (Rohrer, "George" 41-2). Rev. MacKay deeply realized this missionary context, but he would rather not to follow the Victorian mindset and method of mission because he wanted to build "an enduring community" in this new mission field (Rohrer, "George" 40).

The most noticeable example that Rev. MacKay broke the law of the Canadian mission board is his marriage with a Formosan lady Tui Chhang Mia (a smart one), formerly named Chhang-a (a green onion). When he informed the mission board that he prepared to wed Tui, a Western woman cannot accept and not willing to share his mission report in the countryside ("George" 44).²⁰ Also, because of his bitter relationship with Jennie Fraser, he might think that many Canadian women's remark of his intimacy with Formosans was hard to believe (Rohrer, "George" 44). Rev. MacKay's decision of marrying the Formosan lady means that he not only did the mission in a foreign country but also determined to be a citizen of the mission field.

Finally, the level of organization in Rev. MacKay's mission shows his shocking idea of independence from the government of the Toronto supervisors although the process did not go smoothly. James R. Rohrer elucidates the background:

MacKay probably hoped that given enough time he could oversee a natural transition to Taiwanese control, but as events turned out time was the one precious resource he lacked. Cut down by cancer in the prime of his life, his death fell upon the Taiwanese Christian community like a bombshell. And with his passing, his fourth assistant William Gauld, a large and notably lethargic man who had little appreciation for either Taiwanese culture or the mission policies of George Leslie MacKay, became the "Senior Missionary" in Tamsui ("George" 48).

Rohrer also states Rev. MacKay's implementation of independence when working with other Canadian colleagues:

Like [Gauld and his wife Margret's] first flush of enthusiasm soon waned, and they settled down to a life on Tamsui tending to their household, gardening and keeping the mission accounts while all the substantive work of teaching and evangelizing was

²⁰ See George Leslie Mackay to William McLaren, 17 December 1877, FMC; Rohrer, "Legacy" 224.

conducted by MacKay and the Taiwanese leaders. Although Gauld kept his resentment carefully hidden, over time he came to dislike MacKay as well as Giam Chheng Hoa, and privately believed that MacKay's trust in native agency was misplaces ("George" 49).

Rev. MacKay's intention of independence had caused a great seism between the Canadian and Formosan side. The Canadian wo-workers complained that they did not have the opportunity to participate in the mission, but they did not dare to speak out because MacKay was the director of the Formosan mission before his death.

Another factor that may cause the hurting gap between two sides to become worse is his reversing attitude toward the budget from the Canadian mission board. On the one hand, he asked Toronto to give Formosan churches more space for autonomy; on the other hand, he "turn the equation of mission upside down" requiring Canadian sponsors to donate money for Formosan chapels and preachers' expanses because he wanted local Christians to own the permanent chapels and the land (Rohrer, "George" 33-4). MacKay put all efforts and help from Toronto to Formosan churches, but he seemed not to provide equal feedback to his home church. The firing tension that Rev. MacKay produced was with the Women's Committee because they thought he had put obstacles "in the path of other equally devoted servants of God" (Rohrer, "George" 30). Then, several Canadian leaders privately assumed that he was a faithless dictator and obsessed to control those Formosan new-born Christians. Rev. MacKay also notice this accusation, but he felt being oppressed and misunderstood by his home-church friends (Rohrer, "George 30).

On the level of organization in MacKay's mission, his refusal of building a Formosan presbytery became the greatest seism between MacKay and his colleagues. James R. Rohrer explains that during the period between late 1880 and 1890, the Canadian mission board suggested to send more missionaries to Formosa so that they can formulate the presbytery, and the English Presbyterian missionaries from the South suggested to merge these two groups together. Although Western missionaries would thoroughly control the presbytery even just in the beginning, Westerners generally thought their decision was democratic in the system and trusted that the formation of formal Presbyterian government by their hand was the undoubted priority in order to accomplish the self-governed Formosan church. However, Rev. MacKay disagreed, saying "In Toronto it is the nineteenth century, but here it is the first century" (Rohrer, "George" 35). Rev. MacKay wanted to skip the very first step in which the local mission administration should be accomplished by Westerners' hand.

After Rev. MacKay's death, the tension between local Formosan churches and other

Canadian missionaries did not become milder. The mission in Formosa continued even Rev. MacKay passed away, but Christians' suffering did not merely happen outside church; instead, several cases of suffering came among Christians' circle. For example, the progress of organizing the presbytery still not went smoothly because MacKay's successor William Gauld had different opinion on the organization. Both Thurlow Fraser and William Gauld agreed that Formosan pastors, such as Giam Chheng Hoa and Tan Chheng Gi, did not have authority to influence the decisions made by the Canadian supervisors (Rohrer, "George" 55).²¹ The Canadian missionaries also formed a "mission council" in every month without inviting any Formosan pastors as observers, so this group served as superior inspection to the new North Formosan presbytery. This council had final authority to decide missionary funds, and more importantly had ultimate power to oversee all missionary originations, including the key schools in which Formosan laity and church leaders were trained. Ironically, although Rev. MacKay's essential policies were expelled to trash heap, the Foreign Mission Committee still preserve his memory as a heroic figure of the cross (Rohrer, "George" 55-6).

Besides the five levels proposed by M. Douglas Meeks to evaluate suffering in Rev. MacKay's mission, the Japanese Colonization (1985-1945) revealed a large amount of suffering cases. Before the eighteenth century, Taiwan was not recognized as a province for the Qing-Dynasty China, and sometimes the government considered Formosa merely an uncultivated island, so seashore inhabitants of the Mainland China were forbitten to migrate to the island. The government did not pay too much attention to its development. Historically, Taiwan had been governed by Span and Holland (1624-1662), the exiled Ming Dynasty government (1662-1683), the Chin Dynasty government (1684-1895) before the Japan colonialization.

Rev. Mackay was a witness of the important change of eras in the Formosan history when this island became a colony of Japan. He finished the second furlough and returned to Tamsui in November 19, 1895, after two years in Toronto for reporting the mission of Formosa to his home church. Formosa had shifted its dominance from the Qing government to Japan because of losing the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. Rev. Mackay recorded the riot on January 1 to 3, 1896: In the morning at 4 A.M., there was fire on the top of Quanyin Mt. because many Formosans attacked Japanese troops, so he went down to the town and saw Japanese soldiers on guard. Two days later, he heard rumors scattered that Formosan insurgents gathered in large numbers a few miles from his house and that Japanese soldiers were very alert. Finally, he heard firing, and a dozen people were executed on January 5 (MacKay, Diary 565).

 $^{^{21}\ \} See\ Thurlow\ Fraser\ to\ R.P.\ Mackay,\ 1\ January\ 1904;\ William\ Gauld\ to\ Foreign\ Mission\ Committee,\ 9\ May\ 1904,\ FMC.$

Unlike Rev. MacKay's submissive attitude toward the Japanese troops and governance, many Formosans were not willing to be dominated by Japan. In the context of the late nineteenth century, Formosa was ensnared in many cases of armed resistance against the Japanese Imperialism, e.g., the war of resistance broke out on May 29, 1895, five days before the formal transference of Formosa in the similar area of Keelung, thus, the Japanese military considered that the occupation of the island by force was necessary (Rubinstein 206). Xu Qian-xin reports that around twenty chapels were occupied in Northern Formosa and seven hundred Christians were missing; *Tainan Church News* records that there were twenty churches in Southern Formosa occupied by the Japanese troops (qtd. in Wang 130). Christians were accused guilty of treason with foreign countries and became the target of attack from many Formosan people after 1860 when churches greatly expanded (Wang 116).

Many scenarios of suffering in Rev. Mackay's mission were encapsulated in his writings and other scholastic researches; however, suffering itself was not the reason to end his mission. Cyril H. Powles states that missionaries are sometimes considered in oversimplified terms to be eyewitness to the gospel or agent of imperialism, but the reality is more complicated (51). Although suffering is not always clearly defined in Christian mission because of its subjective and hidden characteristics, James A. Scherer provides two spheres that Western missionaries played their roles in Formosa's Japanese Colonization era: First, Anglo-Saxon missionaries worked under the government of Japanese imperialism; second, missionaries generally were cultural and political mediators between Japan and the West, instead of merely religious agents (164). As a British Canadian, Rev. Mackay did not choose to settle down in his safe Western country; otherwise, he received the calling from God to spread the gospel and touch unreached Formosans (no matter the Han Chinese or aboriginals). The process of Rev. MacKay's mission is also understood as a great toleration for suffering generated from his own body or the Formosan environment. He concluded the significance of being suffered when most of his churches were destroyed like ashes during the Sino-French War. Then, he realized the theological meaning of mission under the raid of suffering:

New churches were erected in place of those destroyed. ... Month by month and year by year the work prospered. Pointed after point was occupied. Chapel after chapel was built. The forty became fifty, and the fifty increased to sixty. That was how the mission was wiped out! The fire of God was indeed in the bush, but over it all was inscribed "Nec Tamen Consumebatur" (Form 202).

Conclusion

Many troubles or difficulties happened during Rev. MacKay's mission in Formosa. He also encountered countless examples of suffering either on himself or in the Formosan society, e.g., the relational conflict between Rev. MacKay and the Canadian mission board, Formosans' maltreatment to him, the Sino-Western wars around Formosa, and his own cancer. Suffering is not only noticeable in the Christian mission of the nineteenth century, but also originated in biblical text and theology because Jesus Christ has incarnated to the world as a suffering servant. Many twenty-first-century Christians are used to reckoning that mission should happen with plenty of blessings and prosperity from God. However, Rev. MacKay's mission conveys the deep message of "Yet it was not consumed" (Nec tamen consumebatur) which is the foundation of mission. Christians are needless to escape from suffering if they have a calling in mission, and suffering will help them understand the authentic meaning of Christian faith. Through the research of suffering and theology in Rev. MacKay's mission, not only Presbyterian Christians understand his achievement in Formosan mission, but also Christians of other denominations know many contributions he brought to Formosa.

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台灣遙寄:馬偕牧師宣教中的受苦與神學

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摘要

馬偕牧師(又稱偕叡理博士,1844-1901)對台灣社會各方面貢獻卓著,如教育、醫療、宣教、甚至是神學。雖然他未曾獲得許多西方偉大神學家們公認為一代神學大家,他已用自己的神學實踐活出了基督教信仰,並實踐於自己的宣教裡。因此,廣義而言,馬偕牧師是實至名歸的行動神學家。

馬偕牧師的神學不僅僅是泛泛空談神學抽象詞彙而已,相反地,他將神學實踐於上 主的呼召裡,特別是當他遇到了空前的困難與苦難之時。很多神學家終身致力於解決所 有出現的神學問題,最終成為炙手可熱的基督教作家。但是,馬偕牧師迴避了眾人擁戴 的神學論壇,卻將自己的一生埋在福音的宣揚行列裡,在宣教裡嘗盡苦頭,為了就是讓 更多台灣人看見上主的恩典與相信神的兒子基督。

今日,台灣基督長老教會已經在北台灣建立了台灣神學研究學院、真理大學、三間馬偕紀念醫院,為的是繼續傳承馬偕牧師的不朽傳奇。然而,馬偕牧師對台灣的貢獻似乎成為長老會宣教獨有的成果,許許多多非長老會基督徒並未瞭解馬偕牧師的宣教遺產。事實上,馬偕牧師應該成為台灣每一位不同宗派基督徒的神學與宣教典範。本論文近身於《台灣遙寄》與《馬偕日記》的行文裡,希望研究成果讓更多基督徒認識馬偕牧師宣教中的受苦與神學意義。

關鍵字:《台灣遙寄》、《馬偕日記》、受苦、神學、宣教

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