

Aborigines Saved Yet Again: Settler Nationalism and Hero Narratives

in a 2001 Exhibition of Taiwan Aboriginal Artefacts

by

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ABSTRACT

Drawing upon field work, mass media accounts, and Canadian government internal documents, this thesis considers how settler/Aboriginal power relations were reproduced when Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts owned by the Royal Ontario Museum were used in a 2001 exhibition in Taipei to commemorate the centennial of the death of the Taiwanese nationalist hero, George Leslie Mackay (1844-1901). I argue that this exhibition and related Taiwan-Canada state Aboriginal exchanges have been hierarchically structured by organizational narratives in which coalitions of settler state institutions function as adept heroes who quest to help inept Aboriginal peoples deal with various reified difficulties such as “cultural loss” or “economic development.” Aboriginal participants are portrayed as thankful for the heroes’ sacrifices and thereby morally validate the heroes’ quests and relations between settlers and Aborigines. Helping Aborigines thereby allows for moral claims by involved institutions that justify the use of Aboriginal exchanges to advance multiple institutional agendas including Canadian government nation branding, Taiwanese government informal diplomacy, and corporate advertising.

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All photographs in this thesis are by Mark Munsterhjelm.

Notes on Romanization and List of Chinese Words

In this thesis I utilize the Chinese name order of surname first followed by given names such “Chen Shui-bian” except when people use an English given name. This thesis utilizes the romanizations of Chinese words that are commonly used in Taiwan today and which are the forms used in most of my other primary sources and books. Therefore, I have included a list of popular Taiwan romanizations and their pinyin equivalents. Please note that there can be several spellings of a place depending which romanization system is used and whether it is Mandarin Chinese or Taiwanese (South Minnan language).

<u>Taiwan Spelling(s)</u>	<u>Pinyin Spelling</u>	<u>Traditional Chinese</u>
1. Ching Dynasty	Qing Dynasty	清朝
2. Kuomintang	Guomindang	國民黨
3. Cheng Ch’eng-kung	Zheng Chenggong	鄭成功
4. Chiang Kai-shek	Jiang Jieshi	蔣介石
5. Chiang Ching-kuo	Jiang Jingguo	蔣經國
6. Lee Teng-hui	Li Denghui	李登輝
 <u>Place Name</u>		
1. Kaohsiung	Gaoxiong	高雄
2. Hsinchu	Xinzhu	新竹
3. Taitong	Taidong	台東
4. Taichung	Taizhong	台中
5. Taipei	Taibei	台北
6. Tanshui (Tamsui, Tamshui)	Danshui	淡水

Institutional Titles and Acronym List

There are a number of institutions involved in this event. There have been three different English language titles used for the Taiwan government's cabinet level department on Aboriginal affairs that was founded in 1996. Currently it is called the "Council of Indigenous Peoples" (CIP), however, during 2000-2001 it was the "Council of Aboriginal Affairs" (CAA) while in 1998 documents term it the "Aboriginal Affairs Commission" (AAC). I will refer to it as the Council of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) since that was the title used in documents during the 2000-2001 timeframe most relevant to this thesis. As well, the Shung Ye Museum of Formosa Aborigines is referred to as the Shun Yi and Sheng Yi.

The main institutions and organizations involved in this thesis are:

1) Canadian Government:

- a) Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT)
- b) Canadian Trade Office in Taipei (CTOT)
- c) Royal Ontario Museum (ROM)

2) Taiwan Government:

- a) Council of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA)
- b) Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (TECO)

3) Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT)

4) Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines (順益台灣原住民博物館)

5) Canadian Mackay Committee (CMC)

Preface

I worked as an English teacher in Taiwan from 1992 until 2001. My interest in this 2001 exhibition of Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts derives from my earlier research on the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, Canada-Taiwan state Aboriginal exchanges and the Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts owned by the Royal Ontario Museum. I had since 1995 visited the conglomerate affiliated Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines on a number of occasions, eventually writing a 1999 article entitled "Killing Paiwan: the Dark Truth about Mitsubishi, CMC [China Motor Company], and the Shung Ye Museum" that was published in the *Lih Pao* newspaper. As well, I have followed Taiwan-Canada state Aboriginal exchanges since 1998, writing a few letters to the editor and a 1999 article also published in *Lih Pao* entitled "Canada's First Nations: Myth and Reality." Finally, I made an inquiry by e-mail in 1999 to the Royal Ontario Museum concerning their collection of Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts collected by MacKay (Irwin, 1999). It was the conjuncture of these earlier interests in the 2001 exhibition entitled "Treasures Preserved Abroad: The Dr. Mackay Collection of Formosan Aboriginal Artefacts" that sparked my interest and would eventually lead to me writing this thesis. This thesis itself builds upon two earlier conference papers I wrote about the exhibition. I presented the first paper, entitled "Happy Aborigines Dance for Benign Patriarchs: Ideologies Implicit in Some Recent Institutional Constructions of Taiwan Aborigines," at the 2002 Canadian Anthropology Society (CASCA) Conference and the second, entitled "Mackay's Unburnt Legacy: Settler Nationalism and Public Relations in a 2001 Exhibit of Taiwan Aboriginal Artefacts," at the 2003 North American Taiwan Studies Conference.

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Dedication

*In memory of my dear friend,
Derek "Dez" Mearns
(1969-2002)*

Chapter One: A Modernizing Hero and Aborigines in Taiwanese Settler Nationalism

Although we came from different places, and although there were once differences between the Hoklos, the Hakkas, the indigenous peoples and more recently arrived residents, we are now all merged in the Taiwan Spirit, sharing both our fortunes and mishaps
(Chen Shui-bian, 2000).

We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians.
Italian statesman d'Azaglio (quoted in
Nietschmann, 1995:229).

Introduction

Concepts such as the Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian's "Taiwan spirit" or former Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui's "new Taiwanese" meld settlers and Aborigines into a unified whole (Lee, 1999:193). However, Aborigines' social conditions are generally far worse than those of settlers. These include rapid loss of Aboriginal languages, shorter life expectancies, and much lower income.¹ How do settler state ideologies claim Aborigines yet help rationalize and reproduce these and other inequalities? This thesis argues one way that settler institutions do this is with hero-rescues-Aborigines organizational narratives. These narratives involve a capable modernizing hero helping inept Aborigines deal with some external threat or internal dysfunction. This thesis analyzes how these narratives are acted out in Taiwan and Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal exchanges when involved state institutions assist Aborigines with various reified threats including "cultural loss" or "economic difficulties." These acts of rescue validate both the morality

¹ A 1999 survey found that while 50 percent of Aboriginal adults could speak an Aboriginal language fluently, only nine percent of Aboriginal children could (United Daily News, 1999). Life expectancy for Aboriginal men stood at 63 years compared with 73 for settler men while Aboriginal women had an expectancy of 73 years compared to settler women's 79 (D. Wu, December 5 2003). Average monthly household incomes for Aborigines stood in 2001 stood at \$38,087 compared to the settler average of NT\$87,000 (Central News Agency, 2001).

of the heroes and the morality of the heroes' relationships with Aboriginal peoples thereby reproducing Settler/Aboriginal power relations. Organizers' supposed benevolence towards Aborigines advances various goals including Canadian nation branding, Taiwan government informal diplomacy, and corporate advertising.

Methodology

This analysis is based upon various forms of primary evidence including books, newspaper and magazine articles, e-mail information requests made to government officials, personal field notes and photographs, and Canadian government documents obtained under Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Access To Information Act request No.A-2001-00459/aeb (DFAIT, 2002). This request regarded Canadian Trade Office in Taipei activities involving or related to Aboriginal peoples of any jurisdiction for the period January 1997 to March 2002 and produced 920 pages of documents.

Dr. Mackay and Aborigines in Taipei

The 2001 exhibition of Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts honouring the centennial of the Canadian Presbyterian missionary to Taiwan George Leslie Mackay (1844-1901) involved the hierarchically structured intersection of two powerful sets of symbols within Taiwanese nationalism, those of Mackay and Taiwan Aboriginal peoples.² The rise of these two sets of symbols during the 1990s is part of the eclipse of One China symbolism by Taiwan symbolism. It is difficult to pass more than a few days in the city of Taipei without encountering some aspect of what is sometimes described as the "legacy" of

² "MacKay" with the capitalized *K* was how this surname was printed in Mackay's 1896 book *From Far Formosa* (Mackay, 1896). However, the documents, exhibition title and other materials usually spell it "Mackay" with a lower case letter *k*. For the sake of consistency, I will use this spelling.

Mackay who arrived at the coastal port of Tanshui (a few miles north from what is now downtown Taipei) in 1872 and died in Tanshui on June 2 1901. Mackay is popularly credited as having left a “legacy” to Taiwan by helping introduce, for example, Western education, medicine, science, and human rights. There have been TV shows about him on the Taiwan’s Public Television Service, as well as, various commemorative ceremonies, conferences, calendars, web pages, and books. All of these, in one way or another, repeat the popular stories of Mackay as a modernizing Taiwanese settler hero whose sacrifices and contributions to Taiwan are still revered.

In sharp contrast to when I arrived in Taiwan in 1992, it is also now difficult to pass a day in Taipei without running into some symbolism of Taiwan Aboriginal cultures. Taiwanese nationalist ideologies need for distinctive Taiwanese cultural identity to counter One China state ideologies was a central reason for the embrace of Aborigines, a process that began 20 years ago (Hsiau, 2000:161). In 1996, the new Taiwanese nationalist mayor Chen Shui-bian, with much fanfare, changed the name of the street in front of the Presidential Palace from one honouring the late military dictator Chiang Kai-shek to Ketagalan Avenue after the Ketagalan Aboriginal people of the Taipei area.³ As well, the Sediq Aboriginal leader, Mona Rudao, who led the 1930 Wushe Uprising, the last large-scale Aboriginal military resistance against colonialism, now appears on twenty New Taiwan dollar coins.⁴ Aboriginal themes are popular on TV commercials, TV variety shows, in mass tourism, museums, pop music, news programs, cultural festivals, and international exchanges. Michael Billig (1995) has termed such routine

³ According to American historian Richard C. Kagan’s 1998 authorized biography of Chen Shui-bian, “To replace a street honoring Chiang Kai-shek with one honoring aborigines of Taiwan was a huge slap in the face of the KMT and a marvelous nod of recognition for the Taiwanese” (Kagan, 1998:225).

⁴ The Wushe rebellion was also the subject of a twenty episode TV drama series on the Public Television Service (Public Television Service).

symbolization of the nation in such things as street names and currency as "banal nationalism" since it is routine and, after a while, unquestioned. Therefore, the everyday visibility of Taiwan symbols such as Mackay and Aboriginal peoples illustrates the rise of Taiwanese nationalism and attendant decline of One-China symbolism in Taiwan. Today, Aboriginal peoples may now replace dead Chinese dictators as Taipei street names. However, when these two important sets of Taiwan symbols met in the 2001 Mackay centennial exhibition, it was 192 Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts that were renamed, "...The Dr. Mackay Collection of Taiwan Aboriginal Artefacts" indicating the persistence of symbolic hierarchies between settlers and Aborigines.

I was very interested when I found this conjuncture of Aborigines and Mackay as I read a February 19th 2001 *Taipei Times* newspaper article announcing a series of three Mackay commemorative lectures on February 20th 2001 at the Taiwan government's top research institute, Academia Sinica, in Taipei's Nankang suburb (Taipei Times, 2001).⁵ The article also mentioned an upcoming exhibition at the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines of some of the Royal Ontario Museum's collection of Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts to honour the centennial of Mackay's death. The lectures by "...three renowned Canadian scholars..." were presented by the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei (CTOT) "...to commemorate Mackay and his legacy" (CTOT handout from Feb. 20 2001 lecture). These were not critical lectures but rather friendly eulogies by what one of the

⁵ This description is based upon field notes I took during the lectures on February 20 2001. Michael Stainton is a former Presbyterian missionary to Taiwan who is now an anthropology Ph.D. student at York University, Alwyn Austin is history professor affiliated with York University and A. Hamish Ion is a professor of history at the Royal Military College of Canada. Stainton's talk was entitled "Mackay and Bethune as "hero" symbols in the state historical narrative," Austin's was entitled "Our wild colonial boy: Mackay as a Canadian missionary in Taiwan" and Ion's was called "Other than St George: Canadian Presbyterian missionaries and Taiwan, 1872-1941" (Taipei Times, February 19 2001).

lecturers termed the “Mackay fan club” (Stainton, 2001:1; DFAIT, 2002:811-816).⁶ The lecturers made frequent mentions of the upcoming Mackay exhibition with York University’s Alwyn Austin showing a number of slides of the artefacts. A CTOT handout from the lecture described that, “...the exhibit, hailed as one of the most significant extant pre-Japanese aboriginal collections, is set to open at Taipei’s Shun[g] Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines on June 2nd” (CTOT pamphlet, 2001). Throughout their lectures was the implicit premise that Mackay had saved these Aboriginal artefacts. This version of history these lecturers were advocating conflicted with what I had learned in my previous research so I decided to ask them why.

During the discussion period that followed the lectures, I began my question to the panel by quoting from a chapter entitled “Mission Work Among the Pe-Po-Hoan” [Ping-pu Aborigines] in Mackay’s 1896 book *From Far Formosa: The Island, its People and Missions*. Mackay wrote about his rough apartment in a recently converted Aboriginal village:

To that place the cast-off machinery of idolatry was brought, and more than once I dried my clothes before fires made of idolatrous paper, idols, and ancestral tablets. Three men were employed to carry other paraphernalia of idol-worship to the museum in Tamsui [Tanshui] (Mackay, 1896:219).⁷

I continued my question with whether organizers omitted such conflicting information since the purpose of this event was to further involved institutions’ respective agendas. One of the lecturers, Michael Stainton of York University, denied anything had been intentionally suppressed. Another lecturer, Alwyn Austin, utilized the analogy of

⁶ (DFAIT, 2002: page number). This refers to documents I obtained from the Canadian government’s Department of Foreign Affairs, Industry and Trade (DFAIT) under a 2002 Access to Information Act request. See References for complete list of documents used in this paper.

⁷ A question I am unable to answer, due in part to my still limited Chinese abilities, are the reasons for the willingness of Aboriginal converts to part with these non-Christian religious objects. Mackay’s description seems to indicate these objects may have been Chinese folk religion artefacts so burning the objects may have been part of a rejection by Aborigines of the Chinese colonizers’ cultures. Unfortunately, such interesting questions regarding Aboriginal conversions were not dealt with during these events.

Mackay's life as an alphabet and said that this kind of event could not cover the whole alphabet of his life but rather emphasized "X and Y." Austin also said that it was likely Mackay and his converts had burned far more artefacts than they had saved. The lecturers' responses showed they were aware of Mackay's contradictory actions and attitudes but, nonetheless, they followed the organizational narrative that Mackay's actions had saved these Aboriginal artefacts. They were intent on constructing these Aboriginal artefacts as part of this modernizing hero's "legacy" in Taiwan.

The Opening Ceremony of the Hero's Centennial Exhibition

This narrative of Mackay saving the Aboriginal artefacts structured the exhibition ironically titled, "Treasures Preserved Abroad: Dr. Mackay's Collection of Formosan Aboriginal Artefacts" that opened on June 2nd 2001. These 192 Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts were among those collected (rather than burned) during the late 1800s by Mackay, then carried to Canada in 1893, and eventually donated to the Royal Ontario Museum in 1915 (DFAIT, 2002:665, 843). In keeping with the organizing hero narrative, everything symbolically served to glorify Mackay, including the exhibition's title, the June 2 2001 date of the opening ceremony 100 years after his death, banners, or ubiquitous pictures of him. On the podium, an array of VIPs gave their eulogies for Mackay.⁸ According to a Taiwan Government Central News Agency report, former President Lee Teng-hui, "...lauded Mackay for his dedicated services to Taiwan. 'He helped sow the seeds of Western education and modern civilization in Taiwan. His contributions won him the Taiwan people's eternal respect and remembrance,' the former

⁸ Also on the podium were: Trudy Nicks, a curator at the Royal Ontario Museum; Yohani Isquaquvut, then chairman of the Taiwan government's cabinet level Council of Aboriginal Affairs; David Mulrone, executive director of the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei; C. F. Lin, the wealthy industrialist and philanthropist whose collection of Aboriginal artefacts is housed in the Shung Ye Museum; and Ross Mackay, who is George Leslie Mackay's octogenarian grandson.

The June 2 2001 Opening Ceremony in Pictures



Figure 1: Council of Aboriginal Affairs Chairman Yohani Isquaquvut speaking. Flanked by VIPs, he stands under a Chinese language banner with the event name, behind a podium with the Shung Ye emblem, and with Dr. Mackay's image in the background.



Figure 2: After the eulogies, Aboriginal young people dance. Aboriginal dances of some form are common at exchange events. On the podium, David Mulroney (left) can be seen clapping. The suited men standing around the VIPs are part of Lee Teng-hui's security detail.



Figure 3: Crowd and mass media assembled to watch ribbon cutting ceremony. In the background are two news trucks (Formosa TV and Public Television Service) with their satellite dishes pointed skyward. TVBS also had a satellite news truck there.



Figure 4 - VIPs Cut Ribbon. From left to right: David Mulroney, Trudy Nicks, Yohani Isquaquvut, Lee Teng-hui, Ross Mackay, and C.F. Lin. In the lower bottom right corner is Dianar Jenror, the host of a Public Television Aboriginal Affairs weekly call-in show.



Image 5- Panel at the entrance to the exhibition. This contains Mackay's image, a brief description of the exhibition, and the names and logos of its organizers and sponsors. An Air Canada advertisement is visible to the left in the background.



Figure 6- Inside the exhibition. Some of those in attendance view displays of woven garments. There are also pictures of Aborigines from the late 1800s in the displays.

president said” (S. Wu, 2001). Lee, in accordance with settler modernization ideologies, recounted Mackay contributions to Taiwan's modernity. After the VIPs’ speeches were completed, a group of Aboriginal young people performed a dance. Then, before the assembled crowd and mass media (some broadcasting live), the VIPs cut the ribbon. The opening ceremony was complete, the exhibition was now open, and the assembled crowd poured into the museum. The hero story of Mackay also structured the exhibition:

The exhibition is divided up into eight main subject areas:

1. Origins of this special exhibition.
2. Who was Dr. Mackay?
3. Taiwan’s First Museum.
4. Aboriginal villages visited by Rev. Mackay.
5. Aboriginal artefacts collected by Rev. Mackay.
6. How much do you know about Aboriginal beliefs and rituals?
7. Do you recognize Aborigines’ daily utensils?
8. Commemorating Rev. Mackay.

Mackay was the center of this opening ceremony and exhibition visually, textually, and symbolically. In effect, the organizers used the Aboriginal artefacts to glorify Mackay as a modernizing hero on the centennial of his death in what was an event structured within dominant settler modernization ideologies.⁹

I could not help but be struck by the ironies of these academics, and VIPs praising Mackay, given Mackay’s incendiary practices as well as the colonial context in which he worked. However, this was understandable for these lectures and exhibition were not really about history but rather about hero stories that recounted how the hero’s great deeds had transformed his adopted homeland. The Mackay hero stories that were the

⁹ Within Taiwanese nationalism, Chinese culture serves as an antagonist that is “...inflexible, feudalistic, reactionary, oppressive and earthbound...” while Taiwanese nationalism is like a hero that is “...flexible, modern, progressive, democratic, and ocean oriented...” (Hsiao, 2000:22). Taiwanese culture while predominantly Chinese in origins is supposed to have undergone a hero’s journey of sorts that has transformed it and now distinguishes it from the repressive tyranny of China. This heroic journey was evident in President Chen Sui-bian’s 2000 National Day address: “We have successfully gone through the stages of hard-won economic development and difficult democratic reform.” Taiwan through its struggles has gained the hero’s knowledge of successful development and democratization and as a result is now a “new paradigm of democracy for all Chinese societies” (Chen Sui-bian, 2000).

basis of this exhibition represent state origin myths, which help explain why things are as they are today. In these stories, Taiwan has good hospitals, good education, democracy, human rights, women's rights, even biotechnology, in part, because of actions by Mackay or by institutions that he started. By recounting this “legacy,” a series of associations with these Aboriginal artefacts was created thereby transforming them into the “Dr. Mackay Collection of Taiwan Aboriginal Artefacts,” a hitherto unrecognized part of the Mackay “legacy.” Such a mythic narrative structure has strong moral pretensions, that in order to be plausible, involved not only a marginalization of the conflicting personal actions and attitudes of MacKay towards the artefacts but also a marginalization of Taiwan's colonial history.

Taiwanese Nationalism’s Rise and the Fall of One China

This exhibition symbolically reflects the shift in state ideologies in Taiwan over the last two decades as the state has constructed Taiwan centred symbols including Mackay and Aborigines. Attempts to instil this identity continue to be contested by One China ideologies both domestically and internationally. Considering the threat of rising Chinese nationalism in the PRC, former Taiwan President, “Lee [Teng-hui] said he hopes the government will strive to ingrain Taiwan's national recognition into people's minds, so that in six years, 90 percent of the entire population will acknowledge Taiwan to be their homeland” (Lin Mei-chun, July 25 2002). This comment by Lee is typical of the conscious top-down indoctrination of Taiwanese identity carried out through institutions such as schools, mass media, and museums (Chou and Marshall, 2000:154). In order to differentiate Taiwan from China, concepts such Lee Teng-hui’s “New Taiwanese” or

Chen Shui-bian's "Taiwan Spirit" discourse involve melding Aborigines and settlers into an ethnically inclusive unifying identity (Rudolph 2001).

Situated 100 miles off the southeast coast of China, Taiwan is approximately 36,000 square kilometres, a little bit bigger than Vancouver Island. It has a population of 22 million people of which some 400,000 to 500,000 are Aborigines.¹⁰ The ongoing disputes between the People's Republic of China and Taiwanese nationalists over sovereignty of the island tend to marginalize the historical fact that colonization of the island only began along the western coast adjacent to China in 1624 when the Dutch first landed. The Dutch were defeated by the Ming Dynasty loyalist Cheng Ch'eng-kung in 1662. This regime then surrendered to the Ching Dynasty in 1684. Despite this succession of colonizers and extensive Chinese settlement, as recently as 100 years ago, the mountainous Eastern half of the island, constituting nearly half the island's territory, remained under the complete control of various Aboriginal peoples. Therefore, there is a strong argument for unextinguished Aboriginal sovereignty continuing over much the island since no treaties (except under coercion) were ever signed and the land was conquered by force. Taiwanese nationalists view Aboriginal sovereignty claims as threats to the unified Taiwanese state (Shih, 1999; D. Wu, August 31 2003). Taiwanese nationalism selectively claims Aboriginal peoples to distinguish it from One China claims but rejects Aboriginal peoples' sovereignty. Consequently, state institutional recognition of Aboriginal peoples occurs in a manner that is supportive of a unified Taiwanese state.

¹⁰ The settler population is made of the Taiwanese majority (70 percent) also known as Hoklo who speak "Taiwanese" which is the local variant of the Southern Minnan language, the Hakka minority (12 percent) whose ancestors came from southern China, and the "Mainlanders" (15 percent) who fled China in the aftermath of World War II and the Chinese Civil War.

When George Leslie Mackay arrived at Tanshui (just north of Taipei) in 1872, Taiwan's international status was being transformed from a Chinese empire border region to a place of international commerce and contestation between the declining Ching Dynasty, Western European nations, the United States, and the upstart Japanese state. From the time of its takeover of Western Taiwan in 1684, the Ching Dynasty had viewed Taiwan as a frontier region and adopted a cost minimizing approach to operating its colony in Western Taiwan (Shepherd, 1999:121-2). However, the 1858 Treaty of Tianjin, part of the Second Opium War, opened some of Taiwan's ports to Westerners including officials, missionaries (including Mackay), and merchants. While there were frequent disputes between the Ching officials, Taiwanese compradors, and Western merchants, all nonetheless benefited from the booming export trade in tea and camphor that developed during this period. The huge profits from these industries drove the invasion of Aboriginal territories (Davidson, 1903: 379, 415; Lin, Huang, Ang, vol. 1, 1997:451). For example, in 1893, the year Mackay and the Aboriginal artefacts left Tanshui for Canada, tea and camphor accounted for nearly 97 percent of the value exports from the port of Tanshui (Lin, Huang, Ang, Vol. 2, 1997:1013). During period of 1858 to 1895, Taiwan was transformed into a potentially rich prize coveted by the Western powers and Japan.¹¹

Ching Imperial claims to the entire island of Taiwan, despite real Aboriginal control on the ground over much of the island, were the basis of the island's transfer to the Japanese following China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. The Japanese

¹¹ Indeed there were proposals floated without consequence in Washington during 1850s that the East Coast of Taiwan be annexed, supported by some including Commodore Perry, but the Civil War put an end to these proposals (Davidson, 1903:171-2). In 1874-5, there were Japanese military expeditions to attack Paiwan Aborigines in southeast Taiwan. Later in 1884-85, the French attempted to invade at Keelung (northeast of Taipei) but were beaten back by Ching forces.

colonization of Taiwan began in 1895.¹² However, Aboriginal armed resistance ceased only after 35 years of sustained warfare by the Japanese imperial army and police forces in which many thousands of Aborigines were killed and over half were eventually forcibly resettled (Hsu, 1991:25). Following Japan's defeat, Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese nationalists (Kuomintang) were given Taiwan as part of the Allies' break up of the Japanese empire. The takeover of Taiwan from the Japanese by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang (KMT) armies in 1945 involved the continuation of Japanese imposed institutions and social control measures (Chiu, 2000:117; Alliance of Taiwanese Aborigines, 1993).¹³ The colonization of Aboriginal territories by the Japanese and KMT colonial regimes was vital the industrialization of island. During colonization, Aboriginal territories were ruthlessly exploited for camphor, timber, hydroelectricity and so on. Thus, "Taiwan" as a centrally administered and controlled capitalist state dates to only within the last century and is very much a cumulative product of colonialism. Today, the relations of domination imposed by earlier colonialisms remain essential for capitalist reproduction in what is now the state of Taiwan. However, this continuity raises serious issues of legitimacy for the Taiwanese nationalists since they purport to represent all of Taiwan's peoples.

¹² According to Ka, the Japanese killed over 12,000 Taiwanese guerrillas by the time organized settler resistance ended in 1902, including 2998 that were executed following their capture (Ka, 1995:84).

¹³ The KMT soon came to be viewed as an occupying army by the settler population. On February 28 1947, a botched arrest by KMT police of an elderly woman for selling contraband cigarettes quickly blew up into a major settler uprising. The subsequent KMT repression of the uprising involved the massacre of 10,000 to 30,000 of the settler population. Today, this is known in Taiwan simply as "2-2-8" and February 28 is a national holiday. Aborigines did not play any major role in the rebellion.

Aboriginal Rights Movements Emergence and Selective Recognition

The emergence of Aboriginal rights movements intertwined with the rise of Taiwanese nationalism during the transition from a police state to multiparty democracy.¹⁴ Both had close ties to the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. The Presbyterian Church had long been a thorn in the side of the KMT with its first public statements supporting Taiwanese independence in 1971 (Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, 1971). Presbyterian Church educated and affiliated Aboriginal intellectuals utilized Presbyterianism as well as biblical stories such as Exodus to create a sort of "liberation theology" (Stainton, 1995:177-205; Rudolph, 2001).¹⁵ These ideologies were to prove powerful in organizing open resistance including the protests and marches of the "Return Our Lands" movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s (Rudolph, 2001).¹⁶ Presbyterian Church affiliated Aborigines and Taiwanese nationalists shared experience of resisting the KMT police state appears to lead frequently to the conflation of Aboriginal interests with those of Taiwanese nationalism.

¹⁴ For a detailed account of these efforts see Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (1993) and Stainton (1999:419-435).

¹⁵ Ironically, Taiwanese nationalists also make use of Exodus interpretations. Lee Teng-hui has compared himself to Moses and Taiwan to the Israelites (Chang Yun-ping, 2003). This was evident in a speech Lee made at an October 2003 Presbyterian Church organized event (also attended by President Chen Sui-bian) that supported changing the country name from Republic of China to Taiwan and creating a new constitution. Lee asserted that, "The Israelites didn't acquire the promised land without reason, but they made a long-term effort, including experiencing the pains of war, to establish their nation...Likewise, people who identify with Taiwan must have great passion for this land" (Chang Yun-ping, 2003). Aboriginal territories are the Promised Land in the Taiwanese escape from China's tyranny.

¹⁶ Soon after gaining control of Taiwan, the KMT regime "nationalized" much of the territories of Taiwan's Aboriginal peoples which transformed unauthorized Aboriginal use into theft of public property (Hsu, 1991:107). Land registration processes were also used by the KMT regime to annex Aboriginal territories (Simon, 2002). More recently, the limits of Taiwan courts has been illustrated by the failure of the Taiwan government to enforce its own August 2000 court decision in the case of a group of Truku (Taroko) Aboriginal landowners, which returned some lands that had been illegally occupied since 1973 by the Asia Cement Company (Shiban, 1997; Scott 2002). When involved Truku Aborigines and their supporters attempted to reoccupy the lands in March 2001, Asia Cement workers violently stopped them. An Asia Cement spokesman, Chou Wei-kuen (周維崑), even made public death threats against the Truku: "There will definitely be bloodshed next time. We'll kill you one by one" (Chuang Chi-ting, 2001). Though it has talked tough about dealing with corruption, the Chen Sui-bian administration has been unwilling to challenge Asia Cement since it is owned by the Far Eastern Group, a powerful conglomerate. Aboriginal peoples' rights continue to be publicly trampled on by the powerful. However, such concerns do not prevent the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei from regularly cooperating with Far Eastern Group's hotels in public affairs events. According to one CTOT document, "The Far Eastern Hotel, our partner in many food promotions, provided pancake batter and maple syrup" for the 2000 Terry Fox Run in Taipei (DFAIT, 2002:783).

Within Taiwanese politics during the democratic transition, Aboriginal legislators (several Presbyterian Church educated and affiliated) were frequently able to advance their agendas due to the close competition that occurred between the KMT and the Democratic Progress Party (Shih, 1999). In the 1990s, a series of vaguely worded constitutional changes were made that, for the first time, recognized Aboriginal rights within the Republic of China's (Taiwan's) Constitution.¹⁷ In 1996, the Taiwan Parliament passed legislation that formed the cabinet level Council of Aboriginal Affairs (later renamed the Council of Indigenous Peoples).¹⁸ Therefore, Aboriginal peoples were successfully able to influence and create positive change during Taiwan's democratic transition.

Nevertheless, a number of sources note that Aboriginal successes have been constrained by what is acceptable to settlers. Shih Cheng-Feng of Tamkung University, described in his analysis of 1994 and 1995 government legislation allowing Aborigines to use their own names that "...the government is willing to come to terms with Indigenous peoples' demands as long as they do not jeopardize the fundamental structure of the asymmetric Han-Indigenous relations" (Shih, 1999). Pu Chung-cheng (浦忠成), deputy chairman of the Taiwan Government's Council of Indigenous People (formerly the

¹⁷ According to Shih Cheng-Feng, "Replicating Articles 168 and 169 of the Constitution, both the Second and the Third Amendments of the Constitution (1992, 1994) provide that the state ought to ensure the status and political participation of Indigenous peoples and to promote their education, culture, welfare, and economy. However, the well-intended goal is to offer paternalistically humanistic protection, guidance, and support to minorities, rather than reparations to indigenous peoples for the past injustice" (Shih, 1999)

¹⁸ The Council of Indigenous Peoples is somewhat similar to the Canadian state's Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Its mandate covers a wide area including Aboriginal education, land use and development, and promotion of Aboriginal cultures. However, into particularly contentious issue of land, it has been affected by the lobbying of a small but politically well-connected anti-Aboriginal rights organization, the *Pingquanhui* (平權會). According to Martin Williams, an Australian Ph.D. candidate studying Taiwan Aboriginal history, "DPP legislator Peng Pai-hsien, who has also acted as an advocate for the group, put forward amendments to a 1996 bill establishing the executive level Council of Aboriginal Affairs which limited its powers" (Williams, 1999). This organization continues to try to undermine Aboriginal land rights. In April 2004, some Aboriginal people held a protest in Taipei against legislation put forward by the *Pingquanhui* that would have legalized some earlier illegal occupations of Aboriginal reserve lands by settlers (Hong, 2004).

Council of Aboriginal Affairs) summarized how settler approval constrained Aborigines in his discussion of potential autonomy plans: "More than 98 percent of Taiwanese society is non-Aboriginal, and the plans for the Aboriginal people are heavily dependent on this 98 percent's level of tolerance. Whether the law on autonomy will be passed in the legislature depends on their will" (D. Wu, August 31 2003). The U.S. State Department 2002 Human Rights Report on Taiwan summarized the overall effects of settler/Aboriginal power relations: "Although they face no official discrimination, Aborigines have had little impact, over the years, on major decisions affecting their lands, culture, traditions, and the allocation of their natural resources" (U.S. State Department, 2002). What these sources point towards is the fact that the settler dominated state that emerged after the democratic transition has continued to maintain fundamental power relations imposed by earlier colonial regimes.

The Pangcah (Ami) Aboriginal activist, Isak Afo, argues state and mass media representations of Aboriginal peoples help reproduce these power relations:

In Taiwan, the structure of political parties, the state and the country's ethnic mix combine to form a duplicate of colonial relations. This takes the form of internal repression -- an internal colonialism in fact. In accordance with the strategy of orientalism, and relying on the electronic and print media, the myths of the Other are created and perpetuated. In Taiwan, the myth of the Aboriginal drinking culture is presently the most popular and pernicious of these (Afo, 2000).

Afo further argues that these power relations involve a repetition of negative stereotypes that is important to the settler repression of Aboriginal peoples. This repression is evident in a persistent pattern of dichotomization between stereotypes of settlers and Aboriginal peoples:

The colonial myth-makers have characterized the Aborigines of Taiwan as "inherently lazy," "unproductive," "hooked on booze" and "lawless," or else as "good at singing and dancing" and "natural born athletes." The colonizers meanwhile see themselves as "benevolent and generous," "active and assertive" and

"disciplined." The media repeats these stereotypes, with superficial understanding (Afo, 2000).

Afo, a graduate of the Presbyterian Church's Taiwan Theological College, concisely summarizes the hierarchical dichotomies of abilities and disabilities between settlers and Aboriginal peoples. Similarly, Shih Cheng-Feng describes negative settler attitudes in which, "... the popular perception of Indigenous peoples is invariably in one form or another of social pathology in need of social relief at best, or to be condemned to their own miserable destiny resulting from genetic defects at worst" (Shih, 1999).¹⁹ Though Aborigines are claimed as "New Taiwanese," it is with an implicit understanding that they occupy a lower position and, therefore, require assistance from the more capable settler population.

This hierarchy between modern settlers and Aborigines becomes the basis of the hero-rescues-Aborigines organizational narrative in which settler dominated institutions assist Aborigines against various reified external opponents including "cultural loss" or "economic difficulties." What is important about this story type is that it not only provides a way of rationalizing settler/Aboriginal relations but also a means of reproducing these relations (Cooren, 2000:191-2). In the case of the Mackay centennial exhibition, there was an overall organizational narrative story in which this Taiwanese nationalist hero rescued Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts from destruction by colonialism, heat, and humidity. This hero story provided the shared organizational narrative for a coalition that involved Canadian and Taiwanese government agencies, the Presbyterian Churches of Taiwan and Canada, a conglomerate affiliated museum and a variety of corporate sponsors (Cooren and Taylor, 2000; DFAIT, 2002:666). This shared coalition

¹⁹ A search of the Medline medical research database reveals many instances of Taiwan government funded genetics research into "genetic factors" in Aboriginal alcoholism (For example: Chen WJ et al, 1997:703-9; Chen CH et al, 1996, 488-90).

organizational narrative, however, did not prevent each of the participants from advancing their own respective agendas including Canadian government nation branding strategies, Taiwan government informal diplomacy, and corporate advertising. Public accounts show that organizers advanced an organizational premise that one of the exhibition's primary purposes was to help Aborigines and that this justified various "secondary" usage such as advertising and informal diplomacy. However, internal planning documents obtained under the Canadian Access to Information Act (DFAIT, 2002) show the exhibition's primary purpose was actually to advance involved institutions' respective agendas through helping Aborigines. Organizationally, the central goal of helping Aborigines allows disparate institutions to interact and thereby advance their respective goals.

In order to function organizationally, this hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative had to be believable. This required the marginalization of some of MacKay's own actions and much of his historical context. Mackay's practices of burning non-Christian religious objects and referring to those he collected as "paraphernalia of idol worship" (Mackay, 1896) briefly created some consternation for the organizers (DFAIT, 2002:842). As well, Mackay lived in Taiwan during a period of intensified invasion and colonization of Aboriginal lands driven in large measure by the export oriented camphor and tea industries. Indeed, Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) concerns that using Aboriginal artefacts to honour a missionary might constitute a celebration of imperialism threatened their participation at one point (DFAIT, 2002:666). By removing such contradictory actions and historical context, the organizers were able to construct Mackay as an

idealized Taiwanese state hero who had helped rescue these Aboriginal artefacts. Then they were able to advance their respective agendas.

Summary of Thesis

Chapter One, summarizes how the rise of Taiwanese nationalism has created a space for the articulation of Aboriginal identity. However, the scope for Aboriginal agency in affecting and enforcing their rights is contained and constrained by their marginal power within the settler dominated state. This is clearly apparent in the hierarchies of symbolism that structured the Mackay 2001 exhibition events in which Aboriginal artefacts were mobilized to celebrate a modernizing state hero.

Chapter 2 consists of a theoretical model in which hero narratives are analyzed based upon a socio-semiotic approach developed by the communications theorist Francois Cooren of the University of Albany. First, settler state hero narratives are analyzed as being structured by hierarchies of abilities in which the able hero assists hapless Aborigines against various reified external threats such as globalization or "development", creating what I will term a hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative schema. This hero story can then be translated into multiple institutional narratives so that cooperation occurs between different coalition partners even though they may not agree upon the meaning of the event. For example, an Aboriginal cultural festival can be a sign of part of a government's multiculturalism policy, Aboriginal cultural event, and corporate sponsorship opportunity all at the same time. This process of translation means that an actant's participation in a coalition occurs through their willingness to associate themselves with this coalition hero story. The hero-rescues-Aborigines story is therefore central to the organization of these events.

Chapter 3 analyzes the presence of heroes-rescue-Aborigines narratives in accounts of settler/Aboriginal relations by the coalition participants: President Lee Teng-hui, the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, the Presbyterian Church, and the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei. It analyzes Lee Teng-hui's 1999 book *The Road to Democracy: Taiwan's Pursuit of Identity* brief account concerning Aborigines "social welfare" in which capitalism is portrayed as a naturalized force against which settlers have been more successful than Aboriginal peoples. It then considers how a hero-rescues-Aborigines organizational narrative structures the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines; by analyzing a fifth anniversary book/DVD package entitled *A Dream to Comes Alive: CF Lin's Cultural Pursuit* published by the Museum. Next, hierarchies between settlers and Aborigines in the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan are analyzed by contrasting two press releases. One release celebrates the opening of the new €86 million Mackay Memorial Hospital in the city of Hsinchu. The second concerns an appeal for funding for the Yushan Theological College, which has been a major center for the training of Taiwan's Aboriginal leadership. Finally, I consider how the representations of Aboriginal peoples are structured by the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei's public affairs strategy to re-brand Canada as a "dynamic, competitive, high-tech and multicultural society." This public relations strategy also utilizes the Taiwanese government's informal diplomacy practices to gain access to Taiwan government resources by portraying these events as part of Taiwan-Canada relations.

Chapter 4 is an analysis of the 2001 exhibition organizational process. First, it shows how institutions' internal and public created portrayals of Mackay as a hero who rescues Aboriginal culture despite Mackay's destruction of Aboriginal artefacts and

colonial context. Finally, the chapter shows how the hero story was translated into multiple narratives including informal diplomacy, corporate advertising, and Canadian nation branding related public relations strategies.

Chapter 5 contains my conclusions.

Chapter Two: Hero-Rescue-Aborigines Narratives' Moralizing and Organizing Roles in Settler/Aboriginal Power Relations.

Introduction

My central contention in this thesis is that the exhibition's organizational coalition of corporations, churches, and government agencies followed a hero-rescues-Aborigines-narrative that reproduced settler/Aboriginal power relations. This occurred because a set of interrelated organizational narratives recounting the hero's sacrifices to the state and Aborigines was able to mobilize and coordinate these disparate institutions. The recent work on socio-semiotics and the organizing role of narratives in organizations by the communications theorist Francois Cooren of the University of Albany (1999, 2000, 2001) demonstrates the role of narratives in constituting coalitions. Cooren's approaches are central to this thesis but, in order to understand how hierarchies of abilities structure the hero-rescues-Aborigines organizational narratives, I draw selectively upon critical theory and cultural studies. Francois Cooren's work when combined with John B. Thompson's work on ideology and relations of domination (1990:61-67), as well as the cultural studies analysis of Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (1994), allows me to analyze how these institutions agreed upon the necessity of helping Aborigines.

This theoretical approach has been dictated by the variety of primary materials on which I've drawn. I attended two of the Mackay Centennial events exhibition in 2001 and I gathered extensive media accounts. Later in 2002, I received extensive internal planning documents through the Canadian government's Access to Information Act request including e-mails, reports, letters, and faxes for the Mackay exhibition and Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal exchanges in general. This array of primary materials created a

conundrum of sorts regarding theoretical approaches. There is an extensive body of research that deals specifically with representations of Aboriginal peoples in museums (For example: Clifford, 1988; Cruikshank, 1992; Haas, 1996; Errington, 1998; Phillips, 2000). However, such approaches do not match up well with my primary materials. I do not have sufficiently detailed primary materials, such as extensive photos or videotape of the texts on the exhibition panels. As well, though I have an official book about the exhibition published by the Shung Ye Museum (2001), my Chinese language skills are not yet sufficient to allow me to do a proper analysis. Similarly, there are many studies of nationalism and settler/Aboriginal power relations, some of which I have drawn upon in analyzing these events' hierarchical symbolic relationships between settlers and Aborigines (For example: Hsiau, 2000; Moran, 2001; Hsieh, 1999). Similarly, I considered the potential use of the Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman's propaganda model (Chomsky and Herman, 1988), internal colonialism, and Pierre Bourdieu's forms of capital concepts. Though these approaches all provided various insights, none were able to fully account for detailed organizational processes. The necessity of analyzing how "macro-level" policy narratives were enacted at the "micro-level," including the e-mails and faxes used in organizing this exhibition, led me to finally settle upon Francois Cooren's work on organizational narratives. This then allowed me to deal with the pattern of Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal exchanges being portrayed as "helping" Aborigines that I had identified in earlier research and which recurred throughout the internal government planning documents.

Settler Hero Narratives and Aboriginal Peoples

The hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative has overlapping temporal, causal, moral, and rhetorical aspects. Cooren's work (2000, 2001) adapts Lithuanian linguist A. J. Greimas's four phase universal narrative schema. In this schema, any narrative begins with the *manipulation* phase when the quest is given to the hero. This is followed by the *competence* phase in which the hero carries out the quest. The *performance* phase involves the success or failure of the quest, and *sanction* is the rewarding or punishment of the hero depending on the quest's success or failure. Narratives in which heroes rescue Aboriginal peoples, in order to be internally coherent in their plots and assignment of roles and abilities, frequently involve the use of various ideological strategies of symbolic construction including *naturalization*, *symbolization of unity*, and *narrativization* to ensure that narratives are constructed that support hierarchies of power (Thompson, 1990: 61-67). The use of these strategies of symbolic construction allow for structuring within the narrative of a hierarchy of abilities in which the hero has the "ability to do" or "knows how to do" while Aboriginal peoples lack this (Cooren, 2000:205). This hierarchy of abilities is central to the plot because as the hero quests to help Aborigines to deal with some reified enemies or difficulties. This submission by the heroes to the needs of Aborigines may include various sacrifices including their time, energy, and even their lives. If the heroes are successful, Aborigines are grateful to the heroes for their sacrifices. This exchange creates a bond between the heroes and Aboriginal peoples that validates the heroes' morality.

Morality claims were central to rhetorical strategies at work in organizing this exhibition since institutions sought to associate with what was in their view considered

moral and disassociate with what they viewed as immoral (Cooren and Taylor, 2000). For the purposes of this thesis, morality concerns, “the distinction between good and bad or right and wrong behaviour” (Collins Dictionary, 1990). Morality claims are important aspects of rhetoric since rhetoric involves attempting to persuade, influence, or please others. Today, in the Canadian and Taiwanese settler states formal respect of Aboriginal cultures is considered moral. While, in contrast to less than century ago, intentional destruction of Aboriginal cultures is now considered immoral, and even illegal under international law. These morally based rhetorical strategies of association and disassociation are structured within the organizational narratives of coalitions such as the one that organized this exhibition (Cooren and Taylor, 2000:171-190).

These narratives provide the organizational basis for this project among participants in the coalition even though the disparate institutions each have their own distinctive agendas. Narratives are central to organizational processes, that is, that narratives such as job descriptions, contracts, laws, procedures, and rules are vital to the functioning of any organization (Cooren, 2000:205-212). Coalition formation occurs through processes of translation between various narratives, in which the project narrative is translated into terms that are compatible with each coalition participants’ narratives. This process of translation means that, for example, a cultural festival can at once be an advertising opportunity for a corporate sponsor, celebration for a cultural group, and public manifestation of government multiculturalism policies. Therefore, though shared meanings at an institutional level or participant level are not necessary, by adopting a project’s overall helping Aborigines organizational narrative these institutions can interact. By doing so, the institutions reproduce hierarchies of settler/Aboriginal relations.

Settler State Narratives as Ideological Vehicles

Nationalisms for the purposes of this paper are ideologies that attempt to construct a multifaceted system of meaning and beliefs (including historical, theological, and socio-political aspects among others), which attempts to legitimate, and (potentially) helps organize centralized control and power over a particular geographic jurisdiction.²⁰ Settler nationalism constitutes a particular type of nationalism that must deal with the fact that its relationship to the land, over which it claims sovereignty, is one that nonetheless originated through the dispossession and displacement of Aboriginal peoples (Moran, 2001:1013-14). The British sociologist John B. Thompson writes that narratives have important roles in legitimating hierarchies of power:

For ideology, insofar as it seeks to sustain relations of domination by representing them as legitimate, tends to assume a narrative form. Stories are told which justify the exercise of power by those who possess it, situating these individuals within the tissue of tales that recapitulate the past and anticipate the future (Thompson, 1984:11).

The moral aspects of hero-rescue-Aborigines narratives are one such way for settlers to justify their power over Aborigines. Now if we consider Thompson's ideas in conjunction with Cooren's ideas on the organizational role of narratives then narratives have a role in the perpetuation of Aboriginal/settler power relations.

In this thesis, I will use the definition of narratives drawn from Francois Cooren's work on the Lithuanian linguist Algirdas Julien Greimas's universal narrative schema.

This universal schema posits that any narrative consists of four basic stages, *manipulation*, *competence*, *performance*, and *sanction* (Cooren, 2001:182; 2000:71-74):

Manipulation- Something is out of balance and this imbalance must be fixed-- this begins the quest. The *sender* gives the mission to the *receiver subject* by either

²⁰ In the case of Taiwan, there are competing claims over the entire island between One China and Taiwanese nationalisms.

convincing them or communicating it to them in some way. In a heroic rescue narrative, for example, the hero as the *receiver subject* might receive their mission to help others from a *sender* such as God in a vision, by fate through some chance encounters, the nation, or through witnessing injustice. The hero is driven to action and takes on the quest -- to carry out God's will, deal with their fate, or see justice done—this *object* of the hero's quest has been identified and the hero submits to it. This creates something of a fiduciary contract between the hero and the *sender* of the quest (Cooren, 2000:74). In Joseph Campbell's terminology the subject "crosses the threshold" after which the hero is committed to the quest come what may (Campbell, 1988:245). The resulting tension between the hero and the object of the hero's quest then drives the narrative.

Competence- This stage of the quest is a phase of *being able to do* or *knowing how to do* (Cooren, 2000:71). The hero has various *helpers* in this phase who give aid and *opponents* which create obstacles. *Helpers* and *opponents* can be human, or nonhuman such as storms or mountains. The events involved in the competence phase themselves constitute narrative subschema that can in turn be analysed by the *manipulation, competence, performance, and sanction* framework.

Performance – This is the success or failure of the quest. The hero learns the secret, steals the magical device, or kills the dragon, thereby achieving the goal of the quest.

Alternately, the hero may be killed and/or fail in his quest.

Sanction – The *subject* is rewarded or punished by the original *sender* of the quest depending upon its success or failure.

Within narratives, there are what Greimas termed actants, which can be human or non-human such as objects, animals, and natural phenomena. Actants occupy "...structural

positions that are *narratively constituted*” [italics in original], that is their position depends upon their actions within the narrative (Cooren, 2000:73). As described above, narratives have six main types of actants: *senders* and *receivers*, *subject* and *object*, *receivers* and *helpers*. This makes actants different from actors who correspond “...to the thematic figures of this story” (Cooren, 2000:73). During the course of a long story, several actors could potentially hold a position of hero in the case of a coalition, and alternately a single actor can hold several actant roles. This occurs in particular because of the presence of narrative subschema that are embedded within an overall narrative. Each narrative subschema such as a test or obstacle can involve actors holding different roles. For example, in one narrative subschema helper A saves the hero by killing a monster while later in the story helper A in a fit of rage tries to kill the hero. Therefore, helper A is a helper in the first subschema to the hero but helper A in a fit of rage is an opponent in the second when A tries to kill the hero. Nonetheless, the overall hero tale involves the privileging of the hero over others. For example, in a 007 movie, the hero James Bond is the focus of the story so while it might be possible to follow other characters; the movie itself is hierarchical in its privileging of the James Bond character over those of the other characters (Cooren, 2000:189). It might be noted that this imposition does not prevent readers from privileging other characters, something central to critical analysis, but rather demonstrates the manner in which a particular view is imposed and begs the question why this view is privileged.

Now considering the above universal narrative schema, how would organizational narratives of the settler state regarding its relations with Aboriginal peoples in an exchange event be constructed? Writing from a psychological perspective, Theodore

Sarbin (1987:16) argues that narratives are an essential organizing device in various areas including history, journalism, and sciences. Sarbin further argues that narratives' plot structures guide selection and interpretation of events as well as what is excluded.

Similarly, the historian, Hayden White (1973), argues that emplotment is a fundamental part of historical writing. That is, that plots allow writers and historians to make sense out of events in processes that make history inherently ideological (Jenkins, 1995:134-6).

Gergen (1998) contends that the selection of end points and values associated with these shape what events are selected and how they are interpreted. He notes that, "...historical narration is inevitably linked to cultural values and morality" (Gergen, 1998). Therefore, if the end point is to legitimate settler/Aboriginal relations in an exchange event we should expect to find a plot that guides the selection of historical events and interpretations in narratives which serve that goal, as Thompson describes above (Thompson, 1984:11).

Thompson's work on the ideological strategies and symbolic constructions (Thompson, 1990: 61-67) involved in relations of domination and Shohat and Stam (1994: 139-140, 156) are useful in analyzing settler government narratives concerning state relations with Aboriginal peoples. Though Cooren and Taylor did research on coalition formation by the Cree and Inuit against the Hydro Québec Great Whale Project, and Cooren (2000:191-2) described the reproduction of hierarchies of power within organizations, their analysis does not extend to the sustained reproduction of inequality between Aboriginal peoples and settlers.²¹ It is therefore useful to draw upon these other authors' work to better understand how these strategies help construct the actants, their

²¹ Francois Cooren and Taylor (2000) as well as Cooren (2001) articles on coalition formation by the Cree and Inuit against the Hydro-Quebec Great Whale project provide an useful analysis coalition formation in a resistance situation (Cooren and Taylor, 2000:171-190; Cooren, 2001:178-200).

roles, and their relative abilities as well as the plot required for the internal logic of the narrative to function. Of particular relevance to this thesis will be *symbolization of unity*, *narrativization*, *naturalization*, and *eternalization* (Thompson, 1990:61-67).

Narrativization involves the construction of narratives in such a manner as to legitimate the present power relations. In the case of settler states, the *symbolization of unity* is frequently interwoven with *narrativization* so that an endpoint of the narrative is constructed in a teleological manner that culminates in the formation of the present state with its hierarchies of power (Thompson, 1990:64). This leads to the settler state taking on a transcendent character in which it is eternalized. If all history leads toward its construction, the state can then claim historical predecessors as ancestors (Duara, 1995:17-51). For example, the settler states of Canada and Taiwan claim Aboriginal peoples living within their respective territorial boundaries as the first so-called “Canadians” or first so-called “Taiwanese” (Rudolph, 2000). Also crucial to this is *naturalization*, a form of *reification*, in which the capitalist state system is constructed as driven by universalized naturalized forces such as Progress, market forces, science, and technology. These strategies allow the creation of threatening actants and plots that are crucial to a rescue narrative’s functioning. If, instead, threatening actants (such as “cultural loss”) are “unpacked” and analyzed, not as external threats or enemies, but as humanly imposed and maintained relations then resulting accounts of relations between the settler state and Aboriginal peoples would be transformed into narratives about conflict and repression. Rescue narratives may also involve gendering of roles with the hero being a masculine protagonist out to rescue the effeminized victim from some opponents (Shohat and Stam, 1994:156). As well, the use of the infantilization trope

positions Aborigines in need of rescue since they represent an earlier stage of human development, one that is incapable of dealing with modern life, so the patriarchal hero must assist them (Shohat and Stam, 1994:139-140). The infantilization trope fits well with the teleologies inherent in modernization ideologies. Both feminization and infantilization strategies position Aboriginal peoples as requiring rescue or mentoring by the modern heroes to be able to cope with the naturalized forces (Shohat, 1998:3). Typically, a rescue narrative will involve various combinations of these symbolic strategies helping structure internally coherent hero-rescues-Aborigines narratives.

In his work on political myth, Christopher Flood cites the work of Susan Sulieman in literary theory that defines two specific types of hero plot. The first is "...a structure of apprenticeship, an individual hero undergoes a process of ideological self-discovery" (Flood, 1996:131). This first hero type allows the hero's errors to serve as moral lessons, which in the end improve the hero's morality. This type is useful in analyzing, for example, settler government accounts of its past repression of Aboriginal peoples, which claim that the lessons learned from these past "errors" have transformed the state for the better. The second type is "the confrontation structure":

[This type involves]...the triumph of a set of ideological values, which the hero and his group already hold... The destiny of the individual hero is merged with that of the group, and the confrontation is a struggle constructed around a binary division between the forces of ideological good and those of ideological evil. At stake directly or indirectly is the fate of the whole society (Flood, 1996:132). This second type of hero is fully developed and thereby unwavering in his beliefs so his struggles against external opponents transform the world. A relationship between these two story types in hero-rescue-Aborigines narratives can involve the fully developed hero providing an example for the hero (or would-be hero) on their voyage of ideological self-discovery to both honour and emulate. In the case of this exhibition, organizers

considered that because Mackay had collected these Aboriginal artefacts and the artefacts had survived, they should honour and in a way emulate him. By following the example of the fully developed hero, these organizers can too become heroes by helping Aboriginal peoples.

Rescue narratives involve heroes showing their fundamental morality and spiritual development by selflessly helping others. Joseph Campbell, the noted scholar of mythology, considered rescuing another as a moral act since it involves some form of sacrifice on behalf of another (Campbell and Moyers, 1988). When asked by Bill Moyers, “Does the heroism have a moral objective?” Campbell replied, “The moral objective is that of saving a people, or saving a person or saving an idea. He is sacrificing himself for something. That’s the morality of it” (Campbell and Moyers, 1988).²² In the rescue narrative, the central figure is the capable hero who engages in moral acts of assisting or rescuing the less capable Aboriginal peoples against opponents. There is an exchange in which the hero gives abilities to the Aborigines or confronts their enemies directly for which the Aborigines give the hero positive *sanction*. Organizationally, the rescue narratives’ transfer of abilities to the Aboriginal people constitutes a moral act. These moral aspects of a rescue story become central organizationally in giving them persuasive force.

Hero Stories and Coalition Formation

The moral aspects of a hero-rescues-Aborigines story can be very important in coalition formation by providing a shared organizational narrative. For example, the Mackay

²² Bill Moyers is an American liberal journalist and he interviewed Joseph Campbell at the film mogul George Lucas’s Skywalker ranch. The Star Wars movies were part based upon Campbell’s work on hero myths.

exhibition involved the interaction of a diversity of institutional actors that all seem to have agreed upon the hero centennial project as worthy of support. The hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative allowed project organizers to mobilize numerous other coalition partners by persuading them that this project was both morally sound and in their interests to support. Cooren's work on the organizing property of narratives argues that narratives are central to reproducing organizational structures including hierarchies (Cooren, 2000:191-2). Therefore, a hero-rescues-Aborigines organizational narrative's hierarchies of abilities and plot will structure the event in a way that reproduces Aboriginal/settler power relations.

Narratives' Roles in Constituting Organizations

A number of organizational theorists in recent decades have focused on the central organizing role of narratives in institutions (Cooren, 2001:179-180). Texts of various forms play vital roles in organization. Legal codes, constitutions of nations, records, archives, procedural guidelines, religious texts, and other documents are all narratively constituted. As Cooren and Fairhurst note in their analysis of a police force's emergency response procedures, following organizational texts "...enables people to fulfill their objectives either by allowing them not to be negatively *sanctioned* [punished] or by providing the means through which they can actually perform their tasks" (Cooren and Fairhurst, 2001:15-16). If something goes wrong but the official has followed established organizational procedures then the official gains a measure of protection for having

followed the procedures. Organizational narratives define what is possible and provide protection to an official so that they are important guides to action.²³

A large institution will have multiple internal narratives at work at any given moment. A coalition involving several large institutions will therefore have to accommodate both coalition organizational narratives as well as the participating institutions' internal narratives. Co-ordinating this involves *translation*, that is, processes of negotiating and accommodating for the diversity of internal narratives frequently involves putting your institutional narratives and associated actions in terms that the others can accommodate and authorize within their respective narratives. Cooren has incorporated *translation*, a central aspect of Bruno Latour and Michel Callon's work in actor-network theory, into his organizational and communications studies. Latour (1986:264-280) argues that power in this context is dependent upon a chain of *translation* occurring. Therefore, the "force" of a directive or appeal of a project is actually defined by its ability to drive this process of *translation*, that is to appear as different things to different people but in such a way that all can agree on supporting it. Cooren describes that, "As a semantic and organizing device, translation becomes the means by which a network of actors gets organized" (Cooren, 2001:192). In the case of building a coalition, this process of translation is essential because it allows multiple institutional narratives to interact without the necessity of any sense of a shared meaning between them (Weick, 1995 cited in Cooren, 2001:185). A corporation may view a cultural event as a sponsorship opportunity while the organizing cultural group sees it as an important expression of their identity. These two very different institutional meanings of the same

²³ The actual interpretation and implementation of narratives is overdetermined and complex since it involves personnel's personalities, local conditions, conflicts with other narratives, and not infrequently acts of resistance in which things are not "done by the book" (Cooren, 2000:96).

event do not prevent their cooperation since the event can be accommodated within both institutions' respective narratives. Cooren describes this process as:

Organizing a coalition (or something else) is...dependent on the creation of multiple narrative schemas in which actors insert other actors in order to fulfill their respective quests. It is therefore the associations of multiple actors within a series of embedded narratives that will structure the social and physical reality and constitute what we'll call an organization (Cooren, 2001:195).

This has crucial consequences in explaining the interaction of disparate institutions in public events that reproduce the dominant ideologies of the time. This means that provided translation can be accomplished between the various organizations the event can go forward. As well, when a breakdown in the translatability of other's actions occurs, unless a mutually acceptable compromise can be reached, the coalition will either change shape or dissolve altogether. We can therefore say that the apparently unified voice of a coalition represents a cumulative interaction of multiple narratives that submit to a particular course of action. In the case of the hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative, it is helping Aboriginal peoples.

The rescue narrative's persuasive force is important if the coalition organizers are to attract other partners and thereby mobilize their resources. Cooren and Taylor describe this as a process in which, "Rhetoric becomes the *art of detour*, an art that consists in proving that a project is what one could call an "*attractive passage point*," a point presented as the means of fulfilling the respective objectives of the various participants" [italics in original](Cooren and Taylor, 2000:185). The morality of the hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative justifies the advancement of other agendas. For example, event related corporate advertising is justified because the event helps Aboriginal people. Persuasive rhetoric is central to the project organizers' efforts to associate it with the interests of others in order to mobilize them:

An *articulation* -- that amounts to associating any two or more projects by finding any common point -- can create a *translation* -- that consists in establishing the equivalencies between these different projects -- resulting in *identification*, that is, the fact that these diverse projects are now united, while each actor keeps his, her, or its own agenda (Cooren and Taylor, 2000:185).

The rescue narrative structured event functions as a collective project with which those associated now identify. As members of the coalition, the new partners are now committed to and identify with the coalition quests to help Aborigines. This shared hero-rescues-Aborigines story thereby allows the coordination of the disparate institutions involved in this coalition.

Conclusion

The narrative of the hero's sacrifices to help Aborigines provides a morally acceptable way of reproducing hierarchies of settlers/Aboriginal power relations. Helping Aboriginal peoples against some threat becomes a way of validating the hero's morality. These stories however require plots that allow the capable heroes to help Aborigines against some threat and then have Aborigines (or the representatives) positively *sanction* the heroes' quest. In order for such plots to be believable, such narratives rely upon complex, frequently subtle, strategies of symbolic construction including the naturalization of capitalism into a set of abstracted foes such as "poverty," "economic downturn," or "cultural loss." This moralizing function of such stories in settler/Aboriginal power relations allows for the formation of coalitions of disparate institutions that can all engage in helping Aborigines.

Chapter Three: Cooperating to Help Aborigines: Rescue Stories as Organizational Narratives in Four Contexts

Introduction

The 2001 Mackay exhibition (taken up in the next chapter) was exceptional in the array of high-level state institutions, VIPs, and the uniqueness of the Aboriginal artefacts hence its usefulness as a thesis case study. It was nonetheless common in terms of being structured by and reproducing a hero-rescues-Aborigines organizational narrative. The institutions had little difficulty accepting the Mackay centennial exhibition's premise of the exhibition helping Aborigines for it is common in their own discourses. This chapter will deal with how the hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative structured these coalition member's discourses in four other contexts: a 1999 book by then Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui; a 1999 book/DVD package commemorating the fifth anniversary of Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines; two press Presbyterian Church press releases, one concerning a 2002 appeal for funds for the Aboriginal centred Yushan Theological College and the other for a Mackay Memorial hospital opening; and Taiwan-Canada state Aboriginal Exchanges. Like the Mackay centennial exhibition, helping Aborigines helps advance the multiple goals at work within these contexts. President Lee Teng-hui says the Taiwanese state will help Aborigines since they are part of the "new Taiwanese." The Shung Ye Museum helps Aborigines by using them in Mitsubishi motor vehicle advertising. Giving money to the Presbyterian Church's Yushan Theological College can help educate Aborigines. Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal exchanges, by advancing Taiwan government informal diplomacy and Canada government nation branding strategies, also help Aborigines. The prevalence of this hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative among these institutions is troubling since it continues to define a set of power relations in which

Aborigines' roles are constrained by the necessity to validate and advance the dominant institutions' narratives.

Taiwan's Pursuit of Identity

While some might say Lee Teng-hui is a person not an institution, in the Mackay 2001 exhibition he gained his significance because of his past presidency. Lee Teng-hui was the president of Taiwan (the Republic of China) from 1988 to 2000. It was during his tenure that Taiwan shifted from an official China-centric to a Taiwan-centric dominant symbolic and ideological framework among state institutions (processes that he is given some credit for). Lee's 1999 book entitled *The Road to Democracy: Taiwan's Pursuit of Identity* is a mixture of personal autobiography and reflections upon Taiwan's past, present, and future. There are prophetic sounding aspects in his Taiwan centred identity, which involves the inclusion of Aboriginal peoples and settlers into a new mythic unifying construct of the "new Taiwanese people" (Lee, 1999:193).²⁴ He describes that, "All of us who grow and live on this soil today are Taiwanese people, whether we be aborigines or descendants of the immigrants from the mainland who came over centuries or decades ago" (Lee, 1999:193). Though he grandly claims Aboriginal peoples as "new Taiwanese," asserting that they have been equal contributors to Taiwan (Lee, 1999:193), Lee's only discussion of Aboriginal issues occurs (along with care for the elderly) under the heading of "Adequate Social Security" (Lee, 1999: 213-214). He thereby contextualizes Aborigines as an important social problem, which government policies must address.

²⁴ This book also contains Lee's own heroic story with its various trials and tribulations including claims he was interrogated in 1969 by the KMT's Garrison Command (1999:37, 51), as well as subsections entitled "The Lure of Marxism" (1999:31-33), finding God in "From Marxism to Christianity" (1999:35-38) and "Believing the Invisible" (1999:38-41) as well as working his way up through politics including tutelage by the former dictator Chiang Ching-kuo (1999:195-199).

Lee considers that though Aborigines may have been equal contributors to Taiwan they have not benefited equally: “Taiwan's national wealth has increased very rapidly, but some of our people have not yet been able to share in that affluence. In the case of indigenous people, they lost the base for their traditional lifestyles but failed to adapt to another way of life” (Lee, 1999:213). Lee avoids the issue that the expansion of “Taiwan's national wealth” has been dependent in part upon the colonization and expropriation of Aboriginal lands and resources. Rather he says Aborigines “failed to adapt,” putting some of the blame on the Aboriginal peoples. Lee’s rhetorical approach eliminates government and corporate agency by *naturalizing* and *universalizing* capitalism’s expansionism, such *reification* is useful in avoiding issues of colonialism. To support this he continues, “Think of African-Americans and the struggle they have had, or the poor whites in the American South. Clearly this problem is unimaginably difficult.” Lee’s argument now leads to his proposed solution: “In Taiwan, our goal, as expressed by the "new Taiwanese" concept, is to provide everyone with the same opportunities. We plan to formulate a financial assistance policy for the indigenous people to pursue economic prosperity while holding onto their ancient cultures. This process will take time and patience” (Lee, 1999:214). These arguments allow Lee to deal with the hierarchies of power between settlers and Aborigines way that is supportive of the moral foundations of the settler dominated state.

Lee Teng-hui’s repetition of hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative stems from his framing of Aboriginal issues within the settler state’s dominant modernization ideologies. These modernization ideologies were again evident in his Mackay 2001 exhibition

opening ceremony eulogy, which stated that Mackay had, "...helped sow the seeds of Western education and modern civilization in Taiwan" (S. Wu, 2001).

Mitsubishi-Aborigines in "Safe C.F. Lin's Cultural Pursuit"

The Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines was an important organizer of the Mackay 2001 exhibition. It provided personnel, extensive financial support, and the site of the June 2nd 2001 exhibition opening ceremony and the Mackay 2001 exhibition. Similar to the Mackay 2001 exhibition, the Shung Ye Museum is structured by an overall organizational narrative in which a heroic industrialist turned philanthropist helps Aborigines. This is reflected in the book/DVD package entitled *A Dream Comes Alive-Safe C.F. Lin's Cultural Pursuit* (Chang, 1999). This package is described on the front cover as "A special publication to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines" (Chang, 1999:front cover). The Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines in Taipei's Shihlin suburb opened in 1994. It was built by a Taiwanese industrialist turned philanthropist, C.F Lin, to house and publicly display his collection of Taiwan Aboriginal Artefacts. C.F. Lin is chairman of the Shung Ye Group which is a major Taiwanese conglomerate and Mitsubishi Motors affiliate. This book published by the museum states of its founder, "In his slogan "**In loving our native place - we must cherish each other's cultures,**" Chairman Safe C.F. Lin encapsulates the museum's sense of mission" [bold in original] (Chang, 1999:5). According to the book because of his many acts of kindness, "He was chosen as representative of R.O.C. "Good People Doing Good Deeds" and honoured as an "Outstanding Businessman of the ROC [Republic of China]" (Chang, 1999:18). It is this strong underlying morality and sense of

purpose that motivates Lin's sacrifices to Aboriginal peoples.²⁵ The hero cannot exist without the Aborigines in the story since the story recounts his acts of benevolence and giving to Aborigines in order to support his claims of morality and status as a hero. Aboriginal peoples' role is to be helped so those with the capacity to do so can act out the hero narrative. This creates an intimate relationship between the hero and Aborigines in which there are linkages, associations, and equivalencies made between their interests.

The Museum's overall organizing narrative is of a philanthropic quest by Lin to make his dream of helping Aborigines real. This fifth anniversary book begins with a brief poem by the Paiwan Aboriginal poet Monanung which reads "Carefully pickup our blood, that is boiling once again, recollect our songs, our dances, our ceremonies, our traditions of coexisting unselfishly with Mother Earth" (Chang, 1999:i). In the overall narrative structure of the book, Aborigines are sending out a request for help in their cultural revival that is received by the hero, in what constitutes the book's *manipulation* phase. The relationship is hierarchically structured in terms of abilities, "Because Taiwan's Aborigines have long occupied a somewhat underprivileged position, they are in need of more concern and therefore constitute the main theme of the museum" (Chang, 1999:6). In positioning itself socially, the Museum claims to be responding to demands by Aborigines yet it implicitly maintains its superior position in relation to Aborigines consistent with the familiar hierarchy of abilities of the hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative.

²⁵ Other good deeds are also described in "A Biographic Sketch of Mr. N. W. Lin", "This included the many supplementary wood and stone carvings by Professor Lee Mei-shu at what is considered the artistic palace of the Far East, the Tzushih Temple at Sanhsia. It also included building the N.W. Lin activities hall at his alma mater, the Hsintien Elementary School; providing emergency typhoon relief; donating polio vaccine throughout the world and helping with charitable work" (Chang, 1999:18).

Organizationally this Museum's hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative involves C. F. Lin industrialist turned philanthropist as its patriarchal hero. Aboriginal artefacts function as *senders* in this sub-narrative concerning the origins of Lin's interests in collecting Aboriginal artefacts, "I was captivated by the direct beauty of Aboriginal artefacts. From the first instance of contact, I felt completely under the spell of their arts and wholeheartedly joined the ranks of collection and research" (Chang, 1999:27). This engendered narrative involves Aboriginal artefacts functioning as objects of masculine desire, somewhat analogous to muses, which captivate Lin. This captivation was such that eventually after two decades he had accumulated a collection of over 800 Aboriginal artefacts (Chang, 1999:27). Lin recounts that, "Initially it was just a search for a location to house my own collections but, under the encouragement of various learned friends[;] finally, I vowed to construct a museum" (Chang, 1999:19).²⁶ The museum itself was constructed and furnished at a cost of some 500 million New Taiwan dollars (US\$20 million) and opened in 1994 (Chang, 1999:54). As well, the Shung Ye Group continues to provide funding to cover the Museum's operating deficits.²⁷ The Museum is the embodiment of Lin's heroic quest to help Aborigines. To claim success in this quest, positive *sanction* in the form of praise from various institutions and prominent figures is cited. The third page of this book features a photo of Lee Teng-hui with the title, "The President of the Republic of China," under this there is an inscription of congratulations

²⁶ Lin gained further allies when, "In addition, after learning of Mr. Lin's ambition and plans, many Aboriginal friends generously donated family heirlooms, and friends from the world of business returned Aboriginal articles Mr. Lin had previously given them" (Chang, 1999:27). As well, other Aboriginal artefacts were purchased abroad to bring the total to some 1100 artefacts (Chang, 1999:27).

²⁷ A 1999 article in the Taiwan Government publication *Sinorama* states of this benevolence, "Although daily attendance has risen from 40 to around 80 persons, self-sufficiency cannot be achieved through ticket sales, and the museum still requires the support of C.F. Lin's Sheng Ye Group. As museum staff joke, the ticket money isn't even enough to pay the electric bill!" (Lin, Eric, 1999).

from Lee that can be translated as “cultural treasures.”²⁸ This is followed by three more pages of “Messages of Congratulation”, including one from Nobel Prize winner and president of Academia Sinica, Lee Yuan-tseh (who also visited the Mackay 2001 Exhibition) (Chang, 1999:2). The Council of Aboriginal Affairs Chairman Hua Chia-chih’s message repeats C.F. Lin's cherishing cultures slogan and adds that, “By developing research, collection, exhibition, and educational facilities, it has played its part in advancing and exalting indigenous culture” (Chang, 1999:2). Hua’s praise for the Shung Ye Museum’s activities provides Aboriginal positive *sanction* that affirms both Lin’s and the Museum’s moral worth. Further endorsements come from other senior officials of various Taiwan government agencies, museums, and universities.

Prestigious Western institutions seem to be of great symbolic importance for the Shung Ye Museum. This is because according to the book “All the important civilized countries of the world have established ethnological museums” (Chang, 1999:10). Not surprisingly then, there are congratulatory letters from three foreign universities, Oxford University, the University of Tokyo, and the University of California at Berkeley, all of which have received funding from the Shung Ye Museum to research Taiwan Aboriginal peoples. As well, a number of congratulatory notes from Western museums are reprinted (Chang, 1999:4). The Shung Ye Museum is an ethnological museum dedicated to the preservation and study of Taiwan Aboriginal cultures; C.F. Lin’s assistance to Aborigines confirms Taiwan's modernity and civilization.

²⁸ This is a 題字 or *tizi* (ti2zi4), an inscription of congratulations written in calligraphy, on the occasion of the Shung Ye Museum’s fifth anniversary that reads 文化瑰寶 or “wen hua gui bao,” roughly translated as "cultural treasures." This is followed by Lee Teng-hui’s name and seal, dated December 1998 (Chang, 1999:1).

Symbolic Associations and Linkages

The Shung Ye Museum considers that its fulfillment of this quest to open a museum and its extensive funding of Aboriginal cultural related research make it appropriate for it to utilize Aboriginal cultural elements within Museum and Shung Ye Group corporate activities. This fusing of interests is reflected in the book's description of how the museum emblem based upon rhombi shapes, symbolically fuses together Taiwan Aboriginal peoples, Taiwan, and the Shung Ye Group's Mitsubishi derived symbol (Chang, 1999:8).²⁹

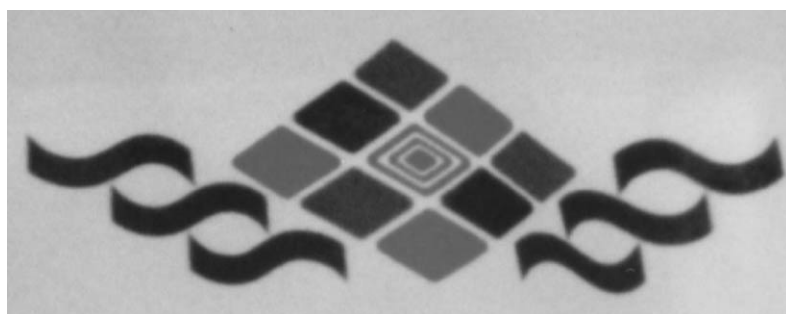


Figure 7- Shung Ye Museum Emblem. This is from a roadside banner outside of the Museum on June 2nd 2001 (photo by author).

Discursive Closure and Dissociation

The Shung Ye Museum's emblem is a mixing of Mitsubishi, Taiwanese nationalism, and Sediq Aboriginal symbols. However, just as Mackay destruction of Aboriginal artefacts presented a problem for the Mackay 2001 exhibition, Mitsubishi companies' participation in repeated aggression against Aboriginal peoples raises similar problems for the Shung Ye Museum. Historically, Mitsubishi reaped great rewards for providing troop transport for the Japanese attacks on Paiwan Aborigines in 1874-5 in southeast Taiwan. Today, a

²⁹ "The nine rhombi shaped emblem adopted by the museum is commonly used among Taiwan's aboriginal peoples. The nine rhombi therefore represent the nine extant tribes, which together combined to form a large rhombi. The red rhombi at the center is taken from the design on an Atayal woven article in the museum's collection. This motif is synonymous with 'eye' in the language of the Sediq subgroup of the Atayal and happens to be similar to the corporate logo of the Shung Ye Group (Mitsubishi). It therefore symbolizes both of the Shung Ye Group and the aborigines of Taiwan" (Chang, 1999:8).

Mitsubishi corporate history describes how its founder, “Yataro [Iwasaki] made a public display of patriotism in 1874, providing ships to carry Japanese troops to Taiwan. That earned the gratitude of the government, which rewarded him with 30 vessels.”

(Mitsubishi Public Affairs Committee, 2004).³⁰ The Shung Ye Museum emblem as a corporate Aboriginal symbolic hybrid involves the erasure of the fact that Mitsubishi companies’ successes have been since their inception and continue to be, in part, tied to violence, dispossession and environmental destruction wreaked upon Aboriginal peoples and their territories.³¹ In short, with its interests in forestry, car manufacturing, oil, mining, nuclear power, and so on, the Mitsubishi group of companies is one of the most environmentally destructive in the world. Certainly, it is one of the most offensive in its widespread systematic pattern of both complicity and direct involvement in aggression against Aboriginal peoples. Such a persistent pattern of present-day abuses certainly makes it very ironic that Aboriginal symbols and interests be conflated with those of Mitsubishi.

Translations Into Advertising and Linking of Mitsubishi With Taiwan Aborigines.

The book’s account of the Shung Ye Group success is structured by settler modernization ideologies. The book recounts that the Shung Ye Museum founded in 1947 by N.W. Lin,

³⁰ According to the University of Wisconsin’s Brian Burke-Gaffney, the expeditions “...established a link between Mitsubishi Shosha and the Japanese military complex that would gain tremendous strength in subsequent years, and it resulted in a government decision to provide protection to the company that virtually ensured its future success” (Burke-Gaffney). Mitsubishi’s Nippon Yusen Kwaisha (NYK) ships helped provide troop transport between Taiwan and Japan during the Colonial period (Davidson, 1903:619). Mitsubishi had investments in the paper industry, and it eventually held a significant position in the highly profitable Taiwan sugar industry by the 1930s which it, along with two other conglomerates, Mitsu and Nito, dominated (Ka, 1995:80-1, 120).

³¹ During the 1980s and 1990s Mitsubishi affiliated companies were involved in the clear cutting of Aboriginal territories in the eastern Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak (Pratt and Urquhart, 1994:169-170). Elsewhere logging and paper operations owned by Mitsubishi companies have adversely impacted Aboriginal peoples in Canada, Brazil, Bolivia, Siberia, Chile and Papua New Guinea (Karliner, 1997:123-126). As a subcontractor to General Electric (another American corporation), Mitsubishi Heavy Industries is producing turbines for the highly unpopular fourth nuclear power plant in Taiwan (Dobson, 2001). Some 100,000 barrels of radioactive waste from Taiwan’s nuclear power plants are currently stored off Taiwan’s South East Coast on Pongso No Tao (Lanyu Island) the island homeland of the Tao Aborigines (Greenpeace, 1997; Shiyman Feaien, 1995; Lassen, 2000).

the Shung Ye Group and eventually gained a local monopoly on the distribution of Mitsubishi heavy vehicles in 1958 (Shung Ye Group History). This relationship became the basis of its business success. This relationship is valued as Lin's biographic page in the anniversary book recounts that, "In 1998, the head of Mitsubishi's franchise division personally visited Taiwan and honoured Mr. Lin for his contribution to the Mitsubishi automobile industry in Taiwan" (Chang, 1999:18). Shung Ye's success is due to its relations with Mitsubishi. This success has in turn become the basis of its ability to help others as it asserts, "Sales were outstanding, Mitsubishi's new sedan and RV market was extended, which all helped to create an island wide service of excellent standards and allow the Shung Ye Group the surplus energies to be able to put something back into society" (Chang, 1999:18). In this account, the Shung Ye's success is attributed to its relations with Mitsubishi and Taiwan's modernization, which in turn have allowed Shung Ye to assist others, including Aborigines, through various forms of philanthropy. This set of articulations and linkages are used to create an equivalency between the interests of the Shung Ye Group and Aborigines. This provides the basis of advertising justification.



Figure 8: A banner outside a Shung Ye Mitsubishi car dealership in Taipei in June 1999. This highlights their sponsorship along with China Motor Company of a 1999 Aboriginal Children's Summer Camp. This is an example of cause related marketing.

Advertising use is rationalized as helping Aboriginal cultures. In the January 1999 issue of the Taiwan Government Information Office publication, *Sinorama*, use of Aboriginal cultures in advertising by the Shung Ye Group is justified:

“It should be mentioned that the Sheng Ye Group and its generous financial support is closely bound to the museum's image. Seeing aboriginal culture used as a central theme in advertising Sheng Ye's automobiles, people naturally make a connection with the Sheng Ye Museum and its efforts to conserve aboriginal culture” (E. Lin, 1999).

This government publication reasons that the Shung Ye Group's corporate philanthropy will be associated by the public with the use of Aboriginal themes in Shung Ye Mitsubishi motor vehicle advertising. Advertising here is considered to be a way of supporting Aboriginal cultures rather than the more obvious Aboriginal cultures are away of supporting advertising. Advertising efforts to sell Mitsubishi cars helps Aborigines so such usage is morally justified not exploitative. Implicit in this rationale is the conflation of Mitsubishi's interests with those of Aboriginal peoples. Philanthropy towards Aboriginal peoples has become part of the Shung Ye Group's brand. The Mackay 2001 exhibition with its pretensions of Mackay as a modernizing hero who helped Aboriginal peoples therefore fit very well with the Shung Ye Museum's organizational narrative of how C.F. Lin, the successful industrialist turned philanthropist, helps Aboriginal peoples.

Rescue Narratives and Hero Stories in the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan.

The Mackay 2001 exhibition's organizational narrative of the capable modernizing hero rescuing Aboriginal artefacts reflects the Presbyterian Church's own hierarchies between settlers and Aborigines. The Presbyterian Churches in both Canada and Taiwan were very active in the organization of the Mackay 2001 exhibition of Aboriginal artefacts as part of the centennial celebrations marking Mackay's death. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has been one of the major promoters of the importance of the modernizing hero

Mackay's "legacy" in Taiwan. In Taiwan, the Church's extensive institutional infrastructure of hospitals, universities, theological colleges, and churches is frequently framed as part of this "legacy," most prominently the Mackay Memorial hospitals. The hierarchies between settlers and Aborigines are evident in a comparison of two press releases from December 2002: one celebrating the opening of a new 86 million Eurodollar Mackay Memorial hospital, and the other an appeal for funds for the Aboriginal centred Yushan Theological College.

As noted earlier, the Presbyterian Church institutions have long been important for both Taiwanese nationalists and Aboriginal social movements. For example, Lee Teng-hui, who is described by Michael Stainton as "a devout Presbyterian," is a graduate of the Presbyterian Church's Tam Kang High School (DFAIT, 2002:487). Similarly, a significant proportion of the Aboriginal leadership such as Yohani Isquaquvut and Isak Afo studies at Church institutions including Yushan Theological College, and Taiwan Theological College. However, the Church has acknowledged within its own discourses that it is settler dominated. A 1996 article described how Mandarin Chinese had finally been made an official Church language since most Aborigines speak it: "Up to now, the dominant and de facto official language of PCT has been Hoklo, commonly known as Taiwanese, due to the dominance (in population and in power) of Han Taiwanese in the church..." (Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, December 1996). Though the 1996 language article acknowledged the need for reforms, hierarchies between settlers and Aborigines remain evident within the church. On one hand, the Presbyterian Church claims to represent Aboriginal rights interests, but, on the other hand, it has a powerful set of institutional and symbolic linkages to the new Taiwan state ideologies. Two December

2002 Church press releases demonstrate persistence of this symbolic hierarchy between settlers and Aborigines. The first, about the new Hsinchu Mackay Memorial hospital, repeats the Mackay state hero stories but the second portrays the Aboriginal dominated Yushan Theological College as “needy.”

The dominant settler modernization ideology appears to shape the hospital announcement: “The North Central region of Taiwan's West Coast recently got a new modern medical facility with the opening of the Hsin-chu branch of Mackay Memorial Hospital” (Lin Yi-ying, 2002). The announcement also quantifies this stating that this facility cost, “...three billion Taiwan Yuan (86 million Euros) to build and equip. It is located near to the Hsin-chu Science Based Industrial Zone...” (Lin Yi-ying, 2002). This large cost points toward the ability of the Mackay hero stories to mobilize resources that expand the Presbyterian Church's institutional infrastructure. Mackay as a hero is evident in the conclusion of the release:

[Presbyterian Church in Taiwan] General Assembly General Secretary William J. K. Lo said that the Hsin-chu branch is a hospital of love. He declared that whole person healing and the value of life were hallmarks of Rev. Mackay, who died 100 years ago, and of the hospital that bears his name today. He noted that people all around the country are familiar with the name "Mackay", and that the Hsin-chu facility will only serve to spread that fame further (Lin Yi-ying, 2002). Mackay Memorial Hospitals serve to propagate the symbolism of Mackay. In some regards, Mackay and his modernizing “legacy” function rather like a type of brand for the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan.

The triumphal tone of the Mackay hospital narrative contrasts sharply with the hero-rescues-Aborigines structure of the December 2002 Presbyterian Church’s press release that appeals for funds for the Yushan Theological College (Li Shen-ren, 2002). The quest is outlined as, “In a time of economic downturn and higher than average

unemployment in Taiwan, Yushan Theological College, an agency of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) devoted to the education of Aboriginal church workers faces financial difficulties” (Li Shen-ren, 2002). Though the College has already received some help, it still requires more: “The deficit for the current semester is already a million Taiwan Yuan (30,000 Euros).” College vice-president Chen Nan-chou “...hopes that church members nationwide will show their concern for Aboriginal brothers' and sisters' theological education. He suggests that each church devote a portion of their year end surplus to Yushan and other needy institutions.” This appeal concludes with a final request for help: “Anyone wishing to make contributions to meet the school's needs in these difficult times is welcome to contact Yushan directly.” Yushan is presented as “needy” in “difficult times” (Li Shen-ren, 2002).

In this there is a set of exchanges between the donors and Aborigines in which power relations are once again acted out with the donors having the resources (able to do) which the Aborigines need (unable to do). The economy and rising unemployment are themselves forces against which the donors and potential donors must help protect Aborigines. The Aborigines are positioned in a subservient manner in this appeal for help from their better off “brothers and sisters.” In comparing these two press releases, familiar hero-rescues-Aborigines narratives hierarchically co-exist with the glories of monuments to the Mackay “legacy.” In light of these sorts of hierarchies between Aborigines and the Mackay “legacy,” it is understandable why the Presbyterian Church chose to utilize Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts to celebrate the “legacy” of Mackay on the centennial of his death.

Canada Brand Aborigines

The Canadian Trade Office in Taipei was one of the main organizers of the Mackay 2001 exhibition while the Taiwanese government provided extensive funding. Their agreement upon Mackay as a modernizing hero who helped Taiwan Aborigines is consistent with their declared use of state-to-state Aboriginal exchanges as a way of helping Aboriginal peoples. These exchanges were formalized in a December 1998 Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on Aboriginal Exchanges: “Purpose: The Parties agree that international cooperation is one of the best ways to elevate and enhance the dignity and rights of Aboriginal peoples. The Parties will increase the well-being of Aboriginal peoples through joint efforts and cooperation” (DFAIT, Memorandum of Understanding, 2004). This memorandum’s “Article 3: Scope of Cooperation” includes academic exchanges, exchange of “Aboriginal related information”, “Aboriginal handicrafts” promotion, reciprocal visits by Aboriginal cultural groups, exchanges on economic and development policy, “environmental stewardship”, and athletic exchanges. Helping Aboriginal peoples will help improve Taiwanese and Canadian governments relations, as these governments will act “...in a spirit of goodwill [to] promote the well-being of Aboriginal people and to enhance the substantive relationship between the Parties” (MOU, 1998). These claims of assistance provide the basis for moral claims since these informal diplomatic exchanges frequently involve substantial organizational efforts and mobilizations of resources to help Aborigines. The exchanges have been high-profile affairs in Taiwan though receiving little coverage in Canada. There have been four visits by Elijah Harper, as well as a number of conferences covering mapping projects, park co-

management, self-government, and economic development.³² These exchanges operate on the pretensions of assisting Aboriginal peoples, acts of assistance that both motivate and justify these exchanges.

Translation and Aboriginal Exchanges

The Canadian Trade Office in Taipei (CTOT) is Canada's de facto embassy in Taiwan drawing its personnel from the Department Of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Aboriginal exchanges are fit within an overall public relations strategy because, “The Canadian Trade Office in Taipei pursues a unified public affairs strategy co-ordinated among all sections of the mission” (DFAIT, 2002:407). The strategy is part of the CTOT’s program of nation branding. DFAIT’s Canadian Trade Commissioner Service developed this in consultation with public relations firms, which included the Antima Group of Ottawa (Baillie-David, 2002). These efforts involve attempts to “rebrand” Canada in Taiwan:

The CTOT’s public affairs goal is to build an image of Canada as a “dynamic, competitive, high-tech, multicultural society.” We see this rebranding—or as we prefer to call it “image enhancement”—as a necessary antidote to the common Taiwanese perception of Canada as pleasant but dull, peaceful but sluggish (DFAIT, 2002:394, 407).

In order to achieve these goals of transforming Taiwanese perceptions of Canada

this CTOT document described how this re-branding process works in practice:

One of the key criteria for any public activity supported by the CTOT is that it be compliant with its “Mantra”: all speeches, press releases, interviews, and other interactions with the Taiwanese public reinforce the message that Canada is dynamic, competitive, high-tech, and multicultural (DFAIT, 2002:407).

There is to be consistency in the CTOT’s narratives intended for Taiwanese, as part of the

CTOT’s quest to alter favourably Taiwanese perceptions. These public affairs efforts are translated into larger internal Canadian Government and DFAIT branding narratives by

³² Harper's visits included heading a 2000 Aboriginal business delegation, attending the December 2002 Assembly of Austronesian Leaders conference in Taipei, and with a 2002 tour of a Canadian Aboriginal performance group.

claiming they bring "...positive spill-over effects in such areas as trade (particularly the high-tech sector), inward investment, academic and technical cooperation, and foreign student recruitment" (DFAIT, 2002:394). This rebranding strategy is a form of quest that seeks to shift the Taiwanese view of Canada as "pleasant but dull, peaceful but sluggish." Success of this Canadian Trade Office public relations quest to change Taiwanese perceptions of Canada to "dynamic, competitive, high-tech, and multicultural" will provide indirect economic benefits to Canada.

How this public affairs strategy shapes Aboriginal exchanges is evident in the 1999-2000 proposed public affairs budget, which contains a section entitled "Cultural Industries-Aboriginal" with brief assessments of seven proposed projects. For example, the proposal for the 2000 "Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal Cultural Festival II" lists its "Overall goals and objectives" as "Extremely high-profile festival with positive spill-over effects on tourism, education, small business" (DFAIT, 2002:423). Another project entitled "Potlatch" involved the Squamish First Nation holding a "large traditional feast in Taipei to thank Taiwanese host for the last two visits to Taiwan and to announce the British Columbia Aboriginal Arts Festival (June 2000)." The "Overall goals and objectives" of this potlatch were "media exposure, focus on tourism." (DFAIT, 2002:422). Another example is the third anniversary of the Taiwan government's Council of Aboriginal Affairs. The CTOT planned to "...invite two high-profile aboriginal leaders or small performing group..." with the "overall goals and objectives" listed as "Very high-profile ceremonial event. Opportunity to interact with highest level govt [sic] contacts" (DFAIT, 2002:422). This planning document shows how Aboriginal

exchanges, like all other public affairs events, are structured by the CTOT's unified public affairs strategy.

CTOT public affairs strategies also shape CTOT sponsored Aboriginal related academic research. The CTOT's Weldon Epp made this clear in a planning document for "The 2002 Canada-Taiwan Research Scholarship competition." The Canada nation branding "mantra" extended to this scholarship competition:

This year we want to encourage research in specifically identified "mantra" compliant areas which we consider strategic. Namely those which fit within CTOT's assessment of where academic complementarity [sic] to political, trade/investment, immigration and other Canadian interests/policies is possible and strategically desirable within Taiwan (DFAIT, 2002:730).

Epp mentions that proposals from other areas will also be considered. He then lists four possible Canadian studies areas to be emphasized as relating to the WTO, biotechnology, film, and "Aboriginal Affairs (eg. self-rule; parks management; community econ[omic] development)" (DFAIT, 2002:730). Therefore, these exchanges on these important issues affecting Aboriginal people are structured by the public affairs branding "mantra" at a time of considerable changes in Taiwanese government Aboriginal policies. As well, Epp's view of Aboriginal research as "'mantra' compliant" shows how it is to be used to support Canadian government policies, not challenge them.

In addition to the Canadian Trade offices branding strategies shaping Aboriginal exchanges, cost/benefit considerations are another major factor. Aboriginal exchanges provide a low-cost way of "rebranding" Canada in Taiwan due to de facto Taiwan government subsidies. This is because, in effect, the Taiwanese government pays for informal diplomatic recognition from the Canadian Trade Office. The CTOT's apparent use of this willingness by the Taiwanese government to pay for Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal exchanges was evident in an internal DFAIT letter regarding the original 1998

Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). This letter asserts that, “We believe the MOU has enhanced and will enhance the image of Canada in Taiwan, at minimal cost.” This was because “There are no resource implications for the CTOT from this MOU; [since] the AAC [Taiwan government’s Council of Aboriginal Affairs] is well funded, and will absorb most of the costs of the annual plan of activity...” (DFAIT, 2002:13-14). In justifying this MOU, the Canadian official appears to take into account the Taiwan government as a source of resources to subsidize the CTOT’s Canada brand public affairs events.

The CTOT clearly cites Taiwan government funded informal diplomatic policies in a report about a proposed 1998 visit by the Chairman of the Taiwan government’s Aboriginal Affairs Commission (AAC) to Canada:

Although we haven't been able to ascertain the Commission's exact budgets, they seem to be very well funded. They freely draw financing from other government organs such as the Ministry of Education or the Council for Economic Planning and Development. Against this background, the AAC is a very useful contact for CTOT in the cultural and academic fields (DFAIT, 2002:21).

Later in the same report, the CTOT reiterates the potential benefits of providing the Taiwan government with informal diplomatic recognition: “This visit squarely falls under the "people-to-people" element of the CTOT/TECO [Taipei Economic and Cultural Office] mandate and the Aboriginal Affairs Commission and Chairman Hua are potential CTOT allies when the time comes to pursue further cooperation in this area.” The report then bluntly states the financial benefits: “...IE: the AAC has considerable funds and contacts that could be put to good use should we be in a position to organize cultural tours to Taiwan by Canadian First Nations’ groups...” (DFAIT, 2002:22). Through Aboriginal exchanges, the Canadian government provides symbolic recognition to the

Taiwanese government in exchange for Taiwanese government resources that can be utilized to advance Canadian nation branding.

“Helping” Aborigines creates opportunities not only for the CTOT to re-brand Canada as "dynamic, competitive, high-tech, and multicultural society" in Taiwan but also to gain de facto subsidies from the Taiwanese government to do so. Not surprisingly, linkages and equivalencies are made between Taiwan informal diplomacy, the CTOT’s public affairs activities, and helping Aboriginal peoples. In analyzing both Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal exchanges and the Mackay 2001 exhibition, there is a familiar pattern of helping Aborigines as a way to advance Canadian Trade Office public affairs and Taiwan informal diplomacy.

Conclusion

Helping Aboriginal peoples is the publicly stated end, one that provides a means to other ends. It seems all these institutions like to help Aborigines but no one likes to deal with why they must be helped since all of the institutions analyzed here engage in the *naturalization* of capitalist relations imposed by colonialism. This allows for the construction of enemies that are rather akin to natural forces, such as Lee Teng-hui’s “capitalist economy’s expansion” or the Presbyterian Church’s Yushan appeal’s villain of “economic downturn and higher than average unemployment”. Similarly, the Shung Ye Museum describes Aboriginal peoples as economically "underprivileged" and suffering from settlers’ negative stereotypes. Finally, the Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal exchanges Memorandum of Understanding seeks to advance, for example, “cultural protection” and “economic development” thereby implies the enemies of cultural loss and poverty respectively. There is no shortage of publicly stated determination by these institutions to

help Aboriginal peoples against various abstracted villains. In short helping Aborigines provides an organizational narrative that advances Taiwanese nationalist claims, motor vehicle advertising, Taiwan informal diplomacy, and Canadian government public relations. Helping Aboriginal peoples allows these other ends to be met.

Chapter Four: Mackay 2001 as Reproduction of Settler/Aboriginal Relations

“The counsel on public relations not only knows what news value is, but knowing it, he is in a position to *make news happen*. He is a creator of events” [Emphasis in original].
Edward L. Bernays, *Crystalizing Public Opinion*, (1923:197).

Introduction

My major goal in this chapter is to demonstrate that the Mackay hero narrative was systematically disassociated from colonial contexts so symbols of his work with Taiwanese Aboriginal peoples and settlers could be used to mobilize and authorize multiple institutional narratives. The involved institutions willingly, both publicly and internally, associated themselves with a hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative that reproduced the hierarchies of the status quo as the coalition of institutions positioned itself as helping Aborigines. The plausibility of this hero story required disassociation of the hero from European imperialism and the hero's practice of burning converts' non-Christian religious artefacts. If the exhibition had emphasized that the artefacts had been collected rather than burned by the hero, during a period of violent tea and camphor industry related invasions of Aboriginal Lands by a combination of Chinese settler colonialism and Western imperialism, this would have created a mixed and likely controversial message. Such a story would have conflicted with and been negatively *sanctioned* by multiple institutional narratives. Indeed as things were, the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei (CTOT) had to organize meetings between Taiwan Aboriginal leaders and a curator of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in order to overcome this museum's worries about the potential imperialistic implications of a missionary focused exhibition

of Aboriginal artefacts (DFAIT, 2002:666). Instead, the exhibition's idealized story of a national hero preserving invaluable Aboriginal artefacts was translatable and positively *sanctioned* within multiple institutional narratives including Canada nation branding, Taiwan informal diplomacy, corporate advertising, and mass media coverage. Rather than giving a chronological account of the actual organization of the exhibition, my central aim is to show how Mackay as an idealized Taiwanese hero narrative guided the organization of this exhibition by a coalition of Canadian and Taiwanese government agencies, the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, the Presbyterian Church both in Taiwan and in Canada, and the artefacts' owner, the Royal Ontario Museum.

Making Heroes

The exhibition organizers used the Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts held by the Royal Ontario Museum to produce an event promoting Mackay as a hero. A number of involved coalition personnel described their respective involvement in portraying Mackay as a hero. Alwyn Austin and Michael Stainton both saw themselves and the exhibition as part of a larger institutional framework involved in creating Mackay hero stories. In an April 19 2001 e-mail to the Canadian Trade Office Taipei's (CTOT) James Mitchell, Michael Stainton wrote, "Of course I can clear my non-schedule for a chance to participate in a serious meeting discussing the future of the Mackay industry, and to be present for the June 2 culmination of four years of propaganda, nagging and midwifery" (DFAIT, 2002:834).³³ An April 22 2001 e-mail from Alwyn Austin to James Mitchell likewise referred to the "Mackay industry" (DFAIT, 2002:835).³⁴ The use of the term "Mackay

³³ Stainton's description is a little quest narrative that recounts the obstacles overcome in "...four years of propaganda, nagging and midwifery..." and then anticipates the positive *sanction* of seeing "the June 2 culmination" of his quest (DFAIT, 2002:834).

³⁴ Austin was busy on June 2nd 2001 with the unveiling of a plaque in Zorra County Ontario Canada where Mackay was born and therefore unable to attend the Taipei events. However, Austin suggested James Rohrer of Northwestern

industry’ involves a production metaphor. Similarly, in another e-mail, Austin named a number of past Western historical figures related to China then wrote that, “I found my calling in the old-fashioned craft of saint-making. Now we are creating another” (DFAIT, 2002:806). If we continue the logic of these production metaphors than the Aboriginal artefacts were utilized by the organizers to produce Mackay as a hero. This conscious process of creating Mackay also structured an e-mail from the CTOT’s James Mitchell to the ROM curator, Trudy Nicks. Mitchell stated that the Mackay Conference on May 31 2001 was “... not meant to be an academic conference, but a working meeting to both review what has been done (in academic research, preservation of historical artefacts and documents, and in commemorative/recognition activities) and to begin mapping our future work”(DFAIT, 2002:836). We see a consistent pattern among these personnel of their conscious organizational roles in creating Mackay as a hero. Therefore, the development of Mackay as a hero figure has not been some spontaneous manifestation of public recognition but rather is the product of concerted and sustained efforts by a number of interested academics and institutions.

The Mackay hero story that structured the exhibition followed a hero-rescues-Aborigines organizational narrative. The title "Treasures Preserved Abroad” posits that this preservation of Aboriginal artefacts occurred because Mackay collected the artefacts which he then carried to Canada where they were preserved. Now after over 100 years, they were finally returning to Taiwan to mark the centennial of Mackay’s death. The rest of the title, “the Dr. Mackay Collection of Formosan Aboriginal Artefacts” clearly

College in Iowa: "He is the key historian in the Mackay industry here, compared to him we are all pikers. He is writing a chapter for our Mackay book, and is working on a biography of the Great Man. He knows the sources better than anyone, and has gathered material we can only dream of. Any discussion of the sort you mention [referring to the May 31 2001 Mackay conference] would be incomplete without him. I cannot recommend him more highly” (DFAIT, 2002:835).

identifies the artefacts with Mackay and implies that Mackay had preserved these. Taiwan Aborigines today could recover part of their cultural past because of this hitherto unrecognized feat of the hero.

Public statements by representatives of participating institutions all portray Mackay as a Taiwanese hero and that honouring Mackay through an exhibition of Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts was morally just. Royal Ontario Museum curator Trudy Nicks, who participated in the exhibition's organization and opening ceremony, was quoted in the October 16th 2000 edition of *Maclean's*, a Canadian weekly national news magazine, as saying, "This exhibit will be important for contemporary people to see...Mackay was committed to the country" (Fennell and Deziel, 2000). In Taiwan, the Royal Ontario Museum president William Thorsell's letter of congratulations, was translated into Chinese and appeared in the introduction to a book published in Taiwan by the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines for the exhibition (Wu Mi-cha and et. al., 2001:5). It is congratulatory in tone and clearly links the exhibition of Aboriginal artefacts with Mackay:

It is always a pleasure to see collections come out of storerooms and into public galleries. It is a double pleasure for the Royal Ontario Museum to be able to share the George Leslie Mackay collection with the people of Taiwan through the exhibition created by the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines on the occasion of the centennial of Dr. Mackay's death" (DFAIT, 2002:764).³⁵

An English/Chinese exhibition pamphlet I collected at the exhibition opening from the Shung Ye Museum summarized the exhibition's significance:

This exhibition sheds light on interactions between Taiwan's Chinese, indigenous peoples and Western missionaries at the end of the Qing [Ching] dynasty and beginning of Japanese rule. Furthermore, on this, the centennial of Mackay's

³⁵ I confirmed that these DFAIT Access to Information request document No. 764 and 765 were English version of this letter in an information request to ROM curator Trudy Nicks to which she replied on August 13th 2003.

death, it allows us to cherish the memory of his contribution to, and influence on, Taiwan (Shung Ye Museum pamphlet, 2001).³⁶ There is the familiar *symbolization of unity*, and *eternalization* of the Taiwanese state to which Mackay contributed and for which he is thereby worthy of centennial commemorations. These were evident in a Mackay biography written by Michael Stainton:

"Investigated by Taiwanese anthropologists, the collection is now recognized as the most important and earliest collection of Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts in the world. In 2001, as part of the commemorations of the centenary of his death, part of the Mackay collection has been returned to Taiwan for a special exhibition, scheduled to be opened by two Taiwanese Presidents-- the current and the former-- on June 2." (DFAIT, 2002:487)

Stainton describes the collection as the world's greatest, which is worthy of being opened by two Taiwanese Presidents (eventually only Lee participated however). Again, Stainton repeats the significance of the artefacts within the Mackay hero story with its Taiwanese nationalist narrative structure and normative assumptions. A Canadian Trade Office report stated, "For the CTOT, the centrepiece of the many events commemorating Dr George Leslie Mackay was the opening of "Treasures Preserved Abroad" the Mackay collection at the Shun[g] Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines in Taipei."³⁷ Though each of the organizers had their own take on Mackay, there is a relative consensus on the merits of this exhibition and its significance, that Mackay is a Taiwanese hero and therefore that this centennial exhibition was a suitable usage of the Aboriginal artefacts.

CTOT narratives publicly and internally portrayed Aboriginal leaders as thankful for the coalition's help in organizing this exhibition. In this way, these Aboriginal leaders' comments served to validate the organizational narrative premise of helping Aboriginal

³⁶ The Chinese version of this pamphlet's text was also featured on the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines web page (Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2002).

³⁷ This article dated June 11th 2001 appeared in the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei's *From Far Formosa* weekly public affairs bulletin. This bulletin takes its name from the title of Mackay's 1896 book of the same name.

people and thereby legitimize the exhibition. The CTOT's *From Far Formosa* article on the opening ceremony describes how, "Aboriginal leaders have said that the "rediscovery" of this collection is an almost miraculous opportunity to gain an insight into a more "pure" state of aboriginal culture and society" (CTOT, *From Far Formosa*, June 11 2001). Similar rescue imagery appeared in an internal CTOT report of the exhibition: "Bayandalu, an aboriginal legislator, described the re-emergence of the collection as "divine assistance" for Taiwan's Aboriginal peoples in their quest to rediscover their cultural roots" (DFAIT, 2002:666). In these comments, the premise that the exhibition assisted Aboriginal peoples is validated. As well, direct praise of Canada is cited, as "Yuhunni Isquaquvut thanked Canada for preserving part of Taiwan's aboriginal heritage, and praised Canadians for their international vision and conscience dating back to Mackay's time" (DFAIT, 2002:666-7). Isquaquvut's comment positively *sanctions* not only the exhibition but also the overall Mackay hero story and Canada. The CTOT narratives utilize the statements by Aboriginal leaders to claim Aboriginal support for the exhibition.

The Mackay hero stories generally involve the dissociation of him from colonialism and a strong association of him with Taiwan. The artefacts Mackay collected are portrayed as very significant are the only collection that predate Japanese and Kuomintang colonialism. For example, a May 27 2001 *Taipei Times* article stated of Mackay's use of the Christian doctrine that all are equal in God's eyes to defend his marriage to a Taiwanese woman against Church criticism: "Such principled thinking has helped make Mackay a foreigner who can be safely venerated in Taiwan without evoking controversial memories of colonialism" (Bartholomew, 2001). A June 1 2001 article

published by the Taiwan Government Information Office entitled “Looking Back On Mackay's Legacy” states that:

Mao Yung-ho, a researcher at the Academia Sinica, noted that around the end of the Ching dynasty, Western imperialist attitudes toward East Asia were oppressive and exploitative. In contrast, Mackay took a Chinese name (Chieh Jui-li) learned to speak Hokkien [Taiwanese], and took a Taiwanese wife (Chang Tsung-ming). When he died he was buried in Taiwan, in a special section of Tamsui's [Tanshui] Foreigners' Cemetery (Central News Agency, June 1 2001). Mackay 2001 narratives also portrayed Mackay as an early advocate of antiracism citing his progressive work in challenging the Canadian government head tax on Chinese immigrants (Stainton, 2001:17; DFAIT, 2002:665). Michael Stainton's paper presented at the Academia Sinica on February 20th 2001 concluded, “Mackay's own practice reveals the essential values of pluralism, equality, and non-discrimination that lie at the emergent Histories of two multicultural nations of immigrants -- Taiwan and Canada.” (Stainton, 2001:24). Elsewhere, he was credited with converting many Pingpu (Plains) aborigines and the June 1 2001 Central News Agency report stated “...many lowland [Pingpu] Aborigines changed their surnames to Chieh [Mackay's Chinese surname] in thankfulness for his kindness. The Taiwanese people will long remember and feel thankful for his contributions, especially toward the culture of northern Taiwan, Mao [Yung-ho] said” (Central News Agency, June 1 2001). This disassociation of Mackay from colonialism carries with it implications of him even being anti-colonial and anti-imperialist. This when combined with the emphasis placed upon actions such as his marriage to a Taiwanese woman and his opposition to the Canadian government's head tax on Chinese immigrants render him as someone who challenged the social conventions typical of late 1800s European high imperialism. Such actions confirm the morality of the hero and worthiness of his present day commemoration and emulation. Given the

profundity that such assessments of Mackay's time in Taiwan invokes and since these Aboriginal artefacts were mobilized to honour the centennial of his death, I think it worth briefly considering his historical record regarding Aboriginal peoples.

History as Organizational Threat to the Hero Story in Mackay 2001

Mackay's ethnocentric actions and historical context in late 1800s Taiwan both constituted threats to the Mackay 2001 exhibition's hero-rescues-Aborigines organizational narrative. This is because, in order for the organizational narrative to function as the basis for collective action, it had to be believable. Therefore, events and related interpretations of history that fit the rescue story were emphasized. This is clear in the above public statements by involved institutional officials regarding the exhibition. However, two major problems threatened to undermine the credibility of this central organizational narrative and thereby weaken its capacity to organize the exhibition. The first of these was the geopolitical and historical context of late 1800s European high imperialism within which Mackay operated that could have potentially threatened the ROM's participation at one point. The second of these threats was Mackay's own ethnocentric attitudes towards Aboriginal non-Christian religious artefacts which included destroying many and saving some for use in his museum which he rationalized as advancing his mission work (Mackay, 1896:219, 289). Managing these threats to the credibility of the hero-rescues-Aborigines organizational narrative was a vital part of the organizational processes because contradictory narratives would have interfered with the functioning of the coalition.

The first threat that had to be overcome in order for the exhibition to proceed was dealing with Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) concerns about the missionary as hero

premise of the exhibition. While the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei (CTOT), Presbyterian Church, and Shung Ye Museum were in consensus about the merits of the Mackay hero story, the ROM was worried. A July 4 2001 CTOT report recalls that, “The CTOT’s first task was getting the ROM onboard...” (DFAIT, 2002:666). The CTOT had to get the ROM to associate with the exhibition by resolving its concerns. The ROM had three major worries: the missionary premise of the exhibition, relations with the People’s Republic of China, and the safety of the artefacts.³⁸ The CTOT July 4 2001 report states that the “...ROM was nervous that the premise of the show, a missionary’s collection of indigenous artefacts, might be construed as a celebration of imperialism” (DFAIT, 2002:666). Rhetorically, the ROM was nervous about being associated with a celebration of imperialism. The CTOT’s rhetorical strategy was to dissociate the exhibition from imperialism and associate it with positive evaluations of Mackay made by Aboriginal leaders so that the ROM would be willing to be publicly associated with the exhibition.³⁹ A Canadian Trade Office in Taipei (CTOT) report recalls that, “The CTOT invited ROM

³⁸ The CTOT report states that “ROM management was concerned about the possible impact on their ties with China if they worked on a high-profile Taiwanese show” (DFAIT, 2002:666). This concern was handled through direct negotiations between the CTOT and ROM (DFAIT, 2002:666). The safety of the artefacts eventually did become a major issue in negotiations over a proposed tour of the exhibition in Taiwan. The Shung Ye Museum was viewed by some within the ROM’s Collections Management as having failed to comply with the loan agreement. For example, Cara McEachern said, “We know, however, from first-hand accounts of ROM staff members that the situation on the ground [at the Shung Ye Museum] was largely unsatisfactory and unacceptable and presented significant risk to the well-being of the collection...” (DFAIT, 2002:879). Despite extensive negotiations, persistent ROM doubts about the Shung Ye Museum’s ability to oversee a tour of Taiwan and problems regarding exhibition conditions and safety at three proposed venues in Kaohsiung, Taichung, and Taitong, led to a breakdown in negotiations and the proposed tour was cancelled (DFAIT, 2002:642-3, 669-70, 736, 865, 868, 895-6, 897, 913).

³⁹ROM concerns may have been due, in part, to institutional memories of the ROM’s 1989-90 public relations disaster concerning an exhibition about 19th century white missionaries in Africa. According to the University of British Columbia’s Julie Cruikshank, “In 1990, the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto mounted an exhibition, “Into the Heart of Africa,” which called attention to Canada’s complicity in colonizing Africa. Curator Jeanne Cannizzo attempted to document the cultural arrogance of Canadian soldiers and evangelists in Africa, and to demonstrate the contradictions involved in ‘collecting’ culture - tracing the life history of objects ‘... from ritual object to missionary souvenir and finally to museum specimen...’ (Cannizzo 1989:12). Both the subtlety of the message and the absence of clear coalition with Africans in Toronto resulted in a boycott of the exhibit groups claiming to represent Africans and charging that the exhibit was racist” (Cruikshank, 1992).

curator Trudy Nicks to Taiwan (using PIF [Post Initiative Fund] money)⁴⁰ in order to set those fears to rest having her meet with indigenous leaders...” (DFAIT, 2002:666).

Therefore, the meetings with Aboriginal leaders were central to this process of disassociating Mackay from imperialism. According to Nicks, “It was very apparent from talking with these people [the Aboriginal leaders] that Dr. George Leslie Mackay is held in high esteem in Taiwan, and that the exhibit proposed by the Shung Ye Museum would be a welcome opportunity to see some of the materials he collected in the 1890s” (Nicks, e-mail, August 13 2003). Therefore, the disassociation of Mackay and the exhibition with imperialism allowed for the ROM's association with the Mackay centennial exhibition to occur. The basis of the ROM's disassociation of the Mackay exhibition and Mackay with imperialism appears to have been more concerned with potential present day negative reactions by Aborigines rather than any particular concerns with the actual history of imperialism and colonialism in Taiwan.

A critical analysis yields sharp incongruities between the hero narrative that guided the centennial exhibition and Mackay's attitudes expressed in his 1896 book *From Far Formosa: The Island, its People and Missions*. Contrary to the anti-colonial figure portrayed in Mackay 2001 hero narratives, even a cursory analysis reveals that Mackay's attitudes were generally typical of the historical context of high European imperialism in which he lived and worked in Taiwan. Mackay conspicuously said nothing of the over 200,000 pounds of opium that Western merchants imported at Tanshui annually.⁴¹ He

⁴⁰ PIF stands for *Post Initiative Fund*. *Post* refers to a diplomatic mission of some form such as an embassy or trade office and *initiative fund* means money used at its discretion to advance DFAIT goals.

⁴¹ For example, in 1876 some 1831 piculs (247,513 pounds) of opium were imported at Tanshui (Huang, Lin, Ang, Vol. 2, 1997:246). Alwyn Austin's February 20 2001 lecture at Academia Sinica said that Mackay writings (unlike some missionaries in China) were not full of criticism of the English role in the opium trade; in fact Mackay hardly ever mentioned it. Austin erroneously interpreted Mackay's virtual omission of it as meaning that opium was not a problem in Taiwan (Authors Feb 20 2001 field notes). However, for example, 1583 piculs (210,406 pounds) of opium

was uncritical of camphor and tea industry related invasions of Aboriginal Lands (Mackay, 1896:56-7, 71-72). In describing Aboriginal military resistance, Mackay seemed incapable of acknowledging the effectiveness of Aboriginal tactics including extensive intelligence gathering and timing of attacks in order to inflict maximum damage while minimizing casualties.⁴² This is evident in the way he described these tactics: "They know where and when their victims may be found, and rely more on the surprise attack and sudden thrust than on the skill or strength of open combat. With all his daring the savage is at heart a coward "bold in ambush, base in open field"" (Mackay, 1896:270). As well, he portrayed headhunting as some kind of grotesque cultural practice thereby ignoring its role in the context of Aboriginal resistance to settler invasion (Mackay, 1896:270-1, 289). Not only did Mackay ignorantly denigrate Aboriginal resistance, but he even thanked Western merchants involved in the tea trade for helping his mission (Mackay, 1896:318-9).⁴³ In addition, Mackay failed to criticize opium imports or export driven tea and camphor industry related invasions of Aboriginal

were imported at Tamshui in 1882 accounting for 62% of the value of all net foreign imports (Lin, Huang, Ang, vol. 2, 1997:588-9). The British Maritimes customs official Henry J. Fisher wrote in the 1882 Tanshui Trade Report that: "An excellent authority says 45 percent, men and 3 percent, women-- in the towns 70 percent, men--smoke opium. The best informed Chinese say one-third adult men smoke. This is probably correct...." (Lin, Huang, Ang, vol. 2, 1997:582).

⁴² At its most successful Atayal Aboriginal resistance allowed the export of only 399 pounds of camphor in 1885 from Tanshui (Lin, Huang, Ang, Vol. 2, 1997:690). The Ching government made extensive military actions to suppress Aboriginal resistance in support of the camphor trade during this period. Writing in 1887, Edm. Farago, Commissioner of British Customs at Tanshui considered: "The Camphor trade, which was thought to be doomed to a rapid extinction, is again showing signs of revival. Some degree of success having attended the military operations on the hills, densely wooded districts, hitherto dangerous to approach, have been rendered accessible" (Huang, Lin, Kaim, Vol. 2, 1997:716).

⁴³ In 1893, 3.6 million pounds of camphor worth 596,608 Haikwan Taels and tea exports of 21.89 million pounds worth 4,050,980 Haikwan Taels from Tamshui accounted for over 96 percent of the value of exports (Lin, Huang, Ang, Vol. 2, 1997:1013). Contemporaries of Mackay such as James Davidson described how tea cultivation and camphor extraction drove the invasion of Aboriginal lands (Davidson, 1903:379, 415). Davidson noted that, "Formerly the savages in the extreme north were but rarely disturbed, and boundaries of their districts remained the same year after year; but now, with the vision of ample profits from the Tea trade, the colonists made great progress in annexing the "hill barbarians" land and within ten years (1868 to 1878) the greater part of two ranges of hills, varying in elevation from 1000 to 4000 feet, lying to the east of Taipehfu [Taipei], had been cleared of all heavy lumber and forest trees, and the jungle with its savage occupants had been replaced by little plantations of Tea and other agricultural products" (Davidson, 1903:379). British Commissioner of Customs, Walter Lay, in the 1880 "Tanshui Trade Report" described the relationship between tea cultivation and invasion of Aboriginal territories: "As fast as fresh territory is conquered from the savages, it is devoted to Tea... Such industry has been displayed by the Chinese in the cultivation of Tea during the last few years that whilst in 1865 our total export was 180,824 lbs., it now amounts to over 12 million lbs. a year, and there is every probability of this figure even being exceeded" (Lin, Huang, Ang, vol. 1, 1997:451).

territories, rather he was very congenial in his assessments of relations with Western merchants involved in these invasions.⁴⁴ A critical reading of Mackay's *From Far Formosa*, severely contradicts the exhibition's portrayals of him as anti-imperialist or anti-colonial in his attitudes and actions.

Though not racist, Mackay was ethnocentric, repeatedly describing non-Christian Chinese settler as "heathens" and Aboriginal peoples as "savages." He criticized Chinese settlers for practices such as eating Aboriginal captives (1896:276) which was a common Western criticism of the time (Davidson, 1903: 254-5; Yosaburo, 1907: 228; McGovern, 1922:10; Rutter, 1923: 224-5). Finally, he engaged in the intentional burning of Aboriginal non-Christian artefacts though he saved some artefacts for his museum's collection, a practice that he rationalized as advancing his mission's work (Mackay, 1896:219, 289-290). What this brief outline demonstrates is that the Mackay 2001 portrayal of Mackay as an anti-colonial hero does not stand up to a critical analysis of his historical actions in the context of late 1800s Taiwan. However, due to the coalition's organizational narrative of Mackay as a rescuing hero, such things were ignored. The ROM's decision to join the coalition appears to have been based upon worries about present day Aboriginal reactions rather than any kind of a critical historical assessment of Mackay or late 1800s Taiwan.

Mackay's practice of burning non-Christian Aboriginal religious objects appears to have caused some brief consternation within the coalition in the weeks prior to the June

⁴⁴ Despite the role of tea exports in the invasion of Aboriginal territories, Mackay describes two prominent tea exporters, Tait and Co. and Boyd and Co. as "great foreign firms" that took a "genuine interest in our work" (Mackay, 1896:319). His general assessment of relations with Westerners was similarly positive, "One hears of a chasm deep and wide between the missionaries and the other foreigners in the cities and port towns of China and Japan," with each having various negative attitudes towards the other (Mackay, 1896:318). Mackay continued "... There may be a chasm such as has been referred to, and, if so, it has probably been dug by both parties. But speaking of Formosa, and looking back over the entire history of our mission there, I am bound to say that the most cordial relations have ever existed between the workers in the mission and the resident or transient foreign community" (Mackay, 1896:318-9).

2nd 2001 exhibition opening. Judith Nagata of York University's Department of Anthropology (on behalf of Michael Stainton) appears to be reacting to criticism regarding Mackay's incendiary tendencies in a May 18 2001 e-mail to the CTOT's James Mitchell:

Elsewhere he [Mackay] refers to saving some gods for his museum from the burning of "idols" carried out by new converts. Whatever we may think of this today, this was an essential part of the process of religious catharsis, even institutionalized in the service book of the PCT [Presbyterian Church in Taiwan], a service for casting out idols (DFAIT, 2002:842).

Nagata describes Mackay's destruction of Aboriginal artefacts as a form of "catharsis," one prescribed in church policy narratives.⁴⁵ This attempt to shift the blame somewhat on to church policy is actually correct since as Coleman notes, mid to late 1800s American Presbyterian missionaries were, "Convinced of the worthlessness of almost every Indian cultural manifestation..." (Coleman, 1985:140). Mackay was acting in accordance with the cultural assimilationist norms of Presbyterian Church missionaries. She concludes the e-mail with a reassertion of the importance of Mackay's actions:

Mackay's museum is long gone, and many of the artefacts he mentions in FFF [Mackay's 1896 book *From Far Formosa*] have disappeared. It is the good fortune of Canada and Taiwan that a small selection (16 boxes) came to Canada in [18]93, where they are well preserved, and now will be available for the celebration of Taiwan's cultures, both here and elsewhere. That's the answer Michael says he would give! (DFAIT, 2002:842).⁴⁶

In short, Nagata says Mackay's burning services were church policy and that we should be happy that he saved what he did. Her argument utilizes the church policy "for casting out idols" as coercive actant, which made Mackay burn the artefacts. Implicit in Nagata's argument is that Mackay burned non-Christian religious artefacts in order to avoid

⁴⁵ Nagata describes herself as "Michael's advisor" likely meaning she is part of his Ph.D. committee. She served as his MA thesis supervisor (Stainton, 1995). Alwyn Austin also utilized the concept of catharsis in his explanation for Mackay's burning of artefacts when I talked to him after the February 20th 2001 lecture at Academia Sinica.

⁴⁶ This was followed by another e-mail by Alwyn Austin on May 19 2001 which is entitled "Re: It's Ours!!" in which he recounts these were everyday items that Mackay used as teaching tools "...not the loot from the Summer Palace" (DFAIT, 2002:843). While the rest of this thread is missing from the documentary records, from what I have been able to ascertain the issue of Mackay's destruction of Aboriginal artefacts was never a major issue during exhibition.

negative *sanction* by Church organizational narratives (Cooren and Fairhurst, 2001:15-16). By blaming what is now considered an immoral policy of systematic cultural destruction, Nagata attempts to protect the morality of the hero.⁴⁷ Rhetorically, Nagata attempts to reassert this central premise of the exhibition's organizational narrative of Mackay as a rescuing hero Mackay carried the artefacts to Canada in 1893, today Taiwan and Canada both benefit. This argument clearly outlines how the exhibition's central premise relied upon the creation of first a set of linkages, and finally an equivalency between Mackay's collecting and then carrying the artefacts to Canada and the artefacts' eventual preservation.

Settler State Hero Organizational Consensus

Again, as a whole, contrary to the anti-colonial social justice image that was propagated in the Mackay 2001 spectacle, George Leslie Mackay was quite respectful of the discursive boundaries typical of high European imperialism. He praised (and was praised by) Western merchants and government officials for their assistance and omitted any criticism of opium imports as well as tea and camphor related invasions of Aboriginal territories from his accounts. Though he was not racist, considering Aboriginal peoples as capable of redemption through conversion to Christianity, such was his ethnocentrism that he was generally disdainful of Aboriginal non-Christian cultures.⁴⁸ This disdain was

⁴⁷ I wrote a letter to the editor critical of the lectures and the exhibition that was published in the February 26 2001 edition of *The Taipei Times*. The only mention of Mackay burning of artefacts in Taiwan's three English language dailies was one sentence in reference to statues of Chinese deities notes, "...the majority was simply burnt, however." in a feature article in the pro-Kuomintang *China Post* by Mark Caltonhill June 1 2001 the day before the exhibition opening ceremony.

⁴⁸ This ethnocentrism was typical of late 1800s Presbyterian missionaries. Michael C. Coleman in his analysis of Presbyterian missionary attitudes towards American Indians during the 1800s writes that, "This missionary denunciation of Indian ways might suggest that these Presbyterians, too, had imbibed some of that racism of their age, but this would be to mistake extreme ethnocentrism for racism" (Coleman, 1985: 140). He also writes "Convinced of the worthlessness of almost every Indian cultural manifestation, the missionaries were equally convinced of the capacity of Indians to rise above this [what the Presbyterians considered as] entrapping yet anarchic heathenism" (Coleman, 1985: 140).

clearly reflected in his burning of Aboriginal non-Christian religious items and his rationales for his collection of Aboriginal artefacts. The image propagated in the Mackay 2001 events does not stand up to any sort of sustained historical analysis. Rather a critical perspective of Mackay places him ideologically within the colonial context within which he functioned and within which his “legacy” was originally constituted. Rhetorically this indicates how the strategy of dissociation which marginalized Mackay’s imperial historical context and Mackay's own personal actions prevented conflicts with the coalition’s hero-rescue-Aborigines organizational narrative. This insured the coalition cohesion required for the exhibition to be organized.

Translating the Hero Story

In the previous two sections, firstly I considered how the hero narrative functioned as an overall guiding narrative and secondly how dissociation from imperialism and some of Mackay’s own actions and attitudes was necessary to maintain the plausibility and persuasiveness of the hero narrative. The next step in this analysis is to consider how this heroic Centennial narrative was translatable into multiple institutional narratives so that disparate institutions would agree to participate and contribute resources of various forms to the exhibition. I will focus upon the *translation* of the Mackay hero exhibition into the following types of narratives: informal diplomacy, media coverage, corporate sponsorship, and Canadian nation branding. Central to these *translation* processes was putting the exhibition into terms that were compatible with the varied goals, aims, and sensibilities of prospective coalition partners.

Mackay in Canada-Taiwan Informal Diplomacy

One of the central rationales for Mackay based exchanges is that the promotion of Mackay as a hero in Canada will help Taiwan's international standing.⁴⁹ According to the "Foreign Relations" section of the Taiwan Government's "Republic of China--Taiwan 2002 Yearbook", "A series of activities [which] were held commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the death of Canadian missionary George Leslie Mackay, in recognition of his great contributions to Taiwan." The Taiwan Department of Foreign Affairs provided funding for the Mackay 2001 events and its name was on promotional materials, in effect paying for diplomatic recognition from Canada.⁵⁰ Mackay as a hero figure has important diplomatic utility since it provides the basis for informal diplomatic relations. Not surprisingly, the Presbyterian Church with its close linkages to Taiwanese state was an important agent in the organization of the Mackay 2001 Centennial events. According to a Presbyterian Church of Canada 2001 Assembly report, the Canadian Mackay Committee, "...includes representatives of the Presbyterian and United churches, the local Oxford County government, the Taiwan Economic and Cultural Association in Toronto [a de facto Taiwanese diplomatic mission] and Taiwanese in Canada" (Presbyterian Church of Canada, 2001:34). This coalition's expressed goal of promoting

⁴⁹ The origins of the Mackay 2001 events are themselves rooted in earlier events and relationships. The institutional roots of this particular exhibition however date back to the 125th anniversary commemorations of Mackay's arrival in Taiwan in 1997. Michael Stainton and Alwyn Austin organized this Mackay conference at York University at which the Mackay artefacts were publicly viewed (albeit humbly) for the first time in almost a century. As well, the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei (CTOT) was involved in a series of events. There are a number of letters in the Access to Information documents from late 1996 and early 1997 between Michael Stainton and the CTOT on how to utilize the 125th anniversary of Mackay's arrival in Taiwan to advantage (DFAIT, 2002:493-4,535, 541-4). Therefore, we have a concrete connection in 1997 between the CTOT and the Presbyterian Church in which their respective interests were articulated and linked through the shared view of Mackay as a hero.

⁵⁰ An Exhibition brochure gathered by the author on June 2 2001 at the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines lists the exhibition's sponsors as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Council of Aboriginal Affairs, Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei, Taipei City Government, Ministry of Education, Air Canada, Taian Insurance, and the Imperial Intercontinental Taipei Hotel.

Mackay as a Canadian of "historic significance" conceptualizes Mackay as a state hero in both Taiwan and Canada, which provides a theme for informal diplomacy.⁵¹

A January 23 2001 e-mail from Michael Stainton to the Canadian Trade Office's James Mitchell showed how the Mackay hero narrative structured the February 2001 Mackay lecture tour:

Now back to the main topic -- the theme of this expedition. I think we need to look upon this as a chance to raise general knowledge about Mackay and his importance as a Canada-Taiwan symbol. I will be ready to talk about Mackay and Norman Bethune in Canada, their respective fates as heroes, and what this tells us about the creation of state narratives of History. The footnotes to the talk are how do we go about making Mackay important in Canadian state "history". A matter that brings us back to the theme above. I think Alwyn [Austin] and Hamish [Ion], being the real historians, can present the case for Mackay's historical significance, as well as stimulate interest in Mackay as a research topic for Taiwan history (DFAIT, 2002:797).

Stainton by comparing Mackay with the relatively well-known Canadian hero, Norman Bethune, attempts to create an association between them.⁵² Stainton clearly sees his role in these lectures and the exhibition as promoting Mackay as a Canadian of historical significance, a Canadian hero.

There were some attempts to gain air transportation sponsorship, government funding, and VIP participation for the exhibition by promoting the Mackay Centennial exhibition as improving Taiwanese-Canadian relations. Presbyterian Church connections that stretched up into the presidential office were evident in a series of three e-mails between Danny Huang and Michael Stainton of the Canadian Mackay Committee and the CTOT's Mark McDowell concerning getting sponsors to provide air transport for the

⁵¹ "The mission of this committee is three-fold, 1) to promote Dr. George Leslie Mackay as a Canadian of historic significance; 2) to cooperate with, support, and facilitate the work that the Taiwan Church and the Taiwanese and Canadian governments have undertaken to commemorate, in both Taiwan and Canada, the 100th anniversary of the death of Dr. Mackay, and 3) to act as a bridge to promote the relationship and friendship between Taiwanese and Canadians. The commemorative events in Taiwan will begin on March 6, 2001 in Tamsui, Taiwan, and will continue throughout the year" (Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2001:34).

⁵² Norman Bethune died in 1939 while working as a doctor for the Communists in the war against the Japanese. He later was made into a national hero in the PRC. He was the subject of the 1990 feature film "Bethune" which starred Donald Sutherland as Bethune.

Aboriginal artefacts. Huang, suggested contacting Michael Tsai who is a Presbyterian and Taiwanese Parliament member and Dr. Thomas Chen director of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (TECO is a de facto Taiwanese diplomatic mission in Canada). Huang then cited a conversation with the director of TECO Information Division that considered the main points that a proposal for airline sponsorship must deal with. Among these were, "...How important [sic] of this business can improve the relationship between Canada and Taiwan..." and "What is the benefit sponsors can have in this sponsorship." Huang considered that, "People here all agree that Mackay is a very good case that we should be able to [sic] get the sponsorship either from Evergreen [Airlines] or China Airlines" (DFAIT, 2002:799). He then considered how a visit by Stainton and Austin (during their Mackay lecture tour) with the presidential adviser (a Presbyterian and former political prisoner) Rev. Kao Chun-ming (高俊明) might help the coalition obtain air transportation sponsorship:

"Rev. Michael Stainton and Alwyn Austin, two members of CMC [Canadian Mackay Committee], will be in Taiwan from February 16 to 26. We have arranged [for them] to see Rev. C.K. Kao, the policy adviser for the President Chen Shui-bian. Hope[fully] Rev. Kao who has a good relationship with both [the] previous and current presidents could ask them to help this" (DFAIT, 2002:799)⁵³.

Huang saw the February 2001 Mackay lecture tour as an opportunity to seek further exhibition related sponsorship. This demonstrates how organizationally the lecture tour and the exhibition were mutually reinforcing.

Mark McDowell's response to Huang in a February 2 2001 e-mail mentioned troubles with Evergreen Airlines and considered that Air Canada looked promising (Air

⁵³ Rev. C.K. Kuo was a political prisoner under the KMT dictatorship who spent four years in jail from 1980 to 1984 for helping hide the prominent political dissident Shih Ming-teh in the KMT's crackdown following the so-called Kaohsiung Incident of 1979 in which a peaceful political march was broken up violently by state security forces and the march's organizers arrested. The Kaohsiung Incident is popularly considered a vital turning point in Taiwan's democratization.

Canada eventually provided air cargo). McDowell then concluded that “What might be the most useful way to use political connections like Michael Tsai is in making the case to government funding agencies to contribute, and the presidential office to participate in the opening and other festivities” (DFAIT, 2002:798).⁵⁴ McDowell was considering how to best use contacts to gain access to Taiwanese government resources to pay for the exhibition costs. As well, he wanted to have high-level Taiwanese politicians involved in the exhibition related events, likely in order to attract media attention. What becomes abundantly clear in these e-mail exchanges were how well the Mackay hero story and exhibition narratives *translated* through the various networks of Presbyterians all the way up to Taiwan’s presidential office. The Aboriginal artefacts were of minimal importance and everything was in reference to Mackay. The coalition organizers by portraying the Mackay Centennial exhibition as a means of improving Taiwan-Canada relations were attempting to gain air cargo sponsorship, Taiwan government funding, and Presidential participation.

Courting the Media

A public relations event by its nature attempts to attract attention in order to spread its messages. Not surprisingly, the Mackay events could not have been considered successful if nobody paid attention so coalition organizers were quite concerned with gaining media coverage. In order to gain media attention, a public relations event must have a compelling story (McMahon, 1998). In 2001 Mackay Centennial, this compelling story was about a state hero's collection of Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts returning to

⁵⁴ Stainton in the February 2 2001 e-mail that followed Huang’s makes a suggestion on maximizing their effectiveness in approaching potential sponsors that, “I want to be sure that the funding applications have everyone’s (eg. CTOT, Mackay Committee, Museums, PCT, politicians) collective endorsement so it is as strong as possible, and be sure we are not going to be separately approaching anybody twice” (DFAIT, 2002:798). Stainton considered group cohesiveness would improve the coalition’s credibility and persuasiveness.

Taiwan to mark the Centennial of his death. The manner in which the organizers made the actual media contacts regarding Mackay 2001 unfortunately did not show up in the documents I received under the Access To Information Act. However, an earlier 1997 letter related to Mackay commemorative celebrations should provide us with some cues about how this might have been carried out. In 1997, the CTOT's Media Officer, Sylvia Yan, sent a calendar that commemorated the 125th Anniversary of Mackay's arrival in Taiwan to Ms. Shen Wen-tze of the TVBS television network along with a letter:

...I know you share our pride in Rev. Mackay's contributions to Taiwan and in how the ties that he began between the people of Canada and Taiwan have strengthened in recent years. We look forward to working with you to build new bridges of friendship and cooperation in the coming year.

Next month there will be celebrations of the 125th anniversary of Mackay's arrival on March 9, 1872, with a seminar at the Mackay Hospital and several educational and aboriginal activities with the Tamsui Oxford College University (started by Dr. Mackay) and the Presbyterian Church on Taiwan. As a member of the media, I would appreciate it if you give some thought to informing your readers about the Mackay legacy and these commemorative activities. (DFAIT, 2002:559)

The use of terms such as "Rev. Mackay's contributions" and the "Mackay legacy" the Canadian government official is clearly attempting to create interest by appealing to Mackay's status as a national hero. As well, by mentioning links between Canada and Taiwan there are international relations aspects. This shows how the Mackay hero story was utilized to attract media attention to these 1997 events.

As Chapter Three outlines, attracting media attention is central to the CTOT's public affairs strategy and this was evident in all stages of the Mackay 2001 exhibition: planning, event management, and post-event assessment. Organizers intended the February 2001 lecture tour and the exhibition opening on June 2nd 2001 to be mutually

reinforcing.⁵⁵ For example, Michael Stainton in a January 2001 e-mail to the CTOT's James Mitchell dealing with various aspects of the organization of the February 2001 lecture tour wrote regarding attracting media coverage:

“Are you going to maximize the publicity value by arranging some reports in local media, and feedbacks to Canadian media? There are two reporters from the China Times [newspaper] who were very interested in doing an interview with me (and I suggested that Alvyn was really the one they wanted) about the ROM collection.” (DFAIT, 2002:796)

Stainton is focused on maximizing press coverage and links the reporters' interests to the ROM collection of Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts. Stainton, a few lines later, gives a brief analysis of the ideological positions of three major Canadian papers and the possibility of them carrying Mackay related stories: “The bleeding heart Toronto Star will not likely be interested but the National Post (perhaps because of the reactionary politics that it espouses) does have excellent pieces on history and the church... And the Globe [and Mail] is usually good for a thoughtful piece” (DFAIT, 2002: 796).⁵⁶ To Stainton's media suggestions, the CTOT's James Mitchell responded that local media outlets would be contacted but that getting Canadian media attention would be more difficult (DFAIT, 2002:795).⁵⁷ Stainton and Mitchell discussion of media strategy links the exhibition with the lecture tour and sees them operating in a synergistic manner by mutually reinforcing each other, with the February 2001 lecture tour being used to build interest towards the summer 2001 exhibition and other centennial events.

⁵⁵ An February 20 2001 event pamphlet I collected at Academia Sinica reads, “This series of talks kicks off a series of events, both in Canada and Taiwan, to commemorate Mackay and his legacy. These events will include the opening of a major exhibition of Mackay's extensive collection of free-Japanese Taiwanese aboriginal artefacts, on loan from Canada's Royal Ontario Museum. The exhibition hailed as one of the most significant extant free-Japanese aboriginal collections, is set to open at Taipei's Shun Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines on June 2nd.”

⁵⁶ Stainton's assessment was reasonably accurate as the National Post did carry a June 18th 2001 story on Mackay (Williamson, June 18 2001).

⁵⁷ The Taiwan events faced some difficulties because there were no Canadian “stringers” (a type of journalist) since Mitchell had been the only Canadian one prior to joining the CTOT the previous year. Mitchell's jump from journalism to the public affairs department of the CTOT is a typical example of the permeability between journalism and public relations. A significant proportion of journalism graduates do not cover news but rather are involved in public relations (McMahon, 1998).

The synergy between the lecture tour and the exhibition was put in slightly different terms by the CTOT Mark McDowell in a letter to Chen Yi-ting of the Shung Ye Museum. In reference to a planned meeting, McDowell comments, “At that time I will get my colleague Jimmy Mitchell to tell you about a Mackay lecture series we are organizing for late February with Sun Yatsen University. It will be a good opportunity to do some Mackay propaganda” (DFAIT, 2002:788). McDowell’s use of the phrase “Mackay propaganda” quite clearly links the lecture series to promoting the Mackay exhibition at the Shung Ye Museum. What was evident in these media strategy discussions is that there was a very conscious effort to bring as much media attention as possible to the event.

This public affairs event involved the organizers considering ways to sustain media interest in the exhibition. For example, the CTOT’s Mark McDowell in an e-mail to his colleague James Mitchell assessed the possibility of the time between closing of the Shung Ye Museum exhibition in Taipei and the beginning of the proposed Kaohsiung exhibition be “...used for copying some of the traditional Aboriginal clothes for use in contemporary ceremonies (I believe there was some wedding memorabilia). I think that this would be a very good media hit” (DFAIT, 2002: 850). The officials were trying to come up with further events based around the artefacts in order to gain further mass media attention.

The sustained media interest was cited in reports to other Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) departments. For example, Lee Yuan-Tse’s late July 2001 visit to the exhibition attracted media attention including a report on the TVBS television station. Mark McDowell described the TVBS story in an e-mail to other

DFAIT officials: “Lee, Taiwan’s only Nobel Prize winner is one of Taiwan’s most respected figures...Lee comments that we all have much to learn from the story of Mackay’s efforts to improve the welfare of the Taiwanese people” (DFAIT, 2002:672). These examples clearly show how throughout the exhibition, from start to a finish, media attention was a central concern since attracting media attention is cheaper than buying it. As well, public relations techniques emphasize that third party attention generally carries greater credibility with viewers than direct appeals to them such as advertising (McMahon, 1998). Therefore, for example, when Taiwanese VIPs attended the opening ceremony or the exhibition afterwards their endorsement of the exhibition was transmitted through the mass media. Throughout the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei reports, there was an emphasis on the quality and quantity of mass media coverage of the Mackay exhibition. Throughout all the stages of the Mackay exhibition, there was a strong emphasis on mass media coverage in accordance with the CTOT’s public affairs strategies.

Gaining Corporate Sponsorship

By controlling access to the artefacts in the exhibition and related events, the coalition organizers made various exchanges with corporate sponsors in which these businesses would be publicly associated with this event in exchange for providing various resources. This creates what Cooren has described as an “attractive passage point,” (as opposed to Callon’s “obligatory passage point”) through which the coalition members attempt to persuade potential sponsors to pass. The Mackay hero story was of minimal importance in appeals to businesses (unlike that of the mass media) rather the exhibition of Aboriginal artefacts was *translated* into terms compatible with business narratives.

Approaching Air Canada Airline for free transportation was described in a February 2001 e-mail by CTOT's Mark McDowell as, "Air Canada is finally gearing up to promote their brand in Taiwan after a long hiatus during the airline merger, so I am optimistic about them" (DFAIT, 2002:798). McDowell considers that the exhibition can provide a means for Air Canada to promote itself in Taiwan. Air Canada eventually provided the artefacts' transportation and exhibition related promotional materials featured Air Canada logos. As well, I photographed an Air Canada sign at the Mackay exhibition entrance in the Shung Ye Museum on June 2 2001 (See Image 5).

Similar business oriented *translations* were apparent in a draft of a May 1st 2001 letter to the Imperial Intercontinental Taipei Hotel regarding sponsorship of the summer 2001 Bata Shoes Exhibition at Taiwan's National History Museum and Mackay Centennial Events. It states that, "In return for your contribution of 45 complementary rooms we can offer the following benefits...." (DFAIT, 2002:903). In this exchange, first the "Logo of Imperial Inter-continental Taipei will be publicized through the promotional materials produced by both of the museums in Taipei, including the National History Museum and Shung Ye Museum of Formosa Aborigines". Secondly, special event access was offered, stating the hotel "...will be provided with invitations for the opening receptions organized for both the exhibitions." Thirdly, the hotel "...will be provided with a private tour program to entertain your hotel clients by both the museums." Fourthly, the hotel "will be able to make use of the exhibitions to create 'synergy activities' built around the exhibitions (i.e. 'Shoes' chocolate, or aboriginal cuisine festival promotion) benefiting your hotel and the exhibitions." In effect, the CTOT letter was claiming there was a win-win situation between the hotel's PR and the promotion of

the exhibition. The final benefit was listed as “Press release or opportunity of extra publicity related to these activities can be included in the press conference for the two exhibitions” (DFAIT, 2002:903). The exhibition’s organizing coalition, due to its ability to control access to the artefacts, was able to appeal to the Taipei Imperial Intercontinental Hotel by offering them unique advertising venues, private tours of the exhibition of Aboriginal artefacts for clients, an opportunity to rub shoulders with VIPs, and appear as good corporate citizens.⁵⁸ In short, there were linkages and equivalencies made between the advancement of business goals with those of the exhibition.

Canada Brand Narratives in Mackay 2001

The exhibition's overall narrative of Mackay as a modernizing Taiwanese hero narrative fit quite well with the CTOT’s public relations “mantra” of Canada as a “dynamic, competitive, high-tech and multicultural society.” The Mackay 2001 events were first mentioned in a planning document entitled "Academic Affairs Funding Proposal Taipei 2000-2001" which lists eight projects (DFAIT, 2002:407-411). The “Mackay Lectures” describes bringing over a Canadian professor to the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan’s Aletheia University on the 130th anniversary of Mackay's arrival in Taiwan. It contextualizes Mackay as a hero stating, “Missionary Mackay is a folk hero in Taiwan, remembered for introducing modern medicine and education for women to Taiwan, and for his empowering work among Taiwan's aboriginal people” (DFAIT, 2002:410). It then states under the heading “Goals and objectives: capitalize on celebrations which will be organized in March-June 2001 to commemorate various Mackay anniversaries” (DFAIT,

⁵⁸ Corporate sponsors did appear to embrace these “feel good” aspects of the exhibition organizational narratives. In an e-mail to the CTOT regarding return air cargo transport for the Aboriginal artefacts, an Air Canada representative, Gissing Chen, commented "Air Canada is pleased to advance culture exchange between Taiwan and Canada" (DFAIT, 2002:715).

2002:410). The proposal presented these Mackay anniversaries as opportunities to promote the Canada brand in Taiwan. A CTOT report described how Canadian Government nation branding policies shaped its participation in the Mackay 2001 commemorations:

Mackay is a household name in Taiwan and held in universal esteem, but it is not generally known that he was Canadian. For the CTOT, our twin challenges in participating in the 100th anniversary were to highlight the fact Mackay was Canadian, and to focus on those aspects of Mackay's contribution – medical science, education, and empowerment of Taiwan's aboriginal people—that fit within our broader public affairs objectives. (DFAIT, 2002:390)

This clearly shows that existing narratives of Mackay as a modernizing Taiwanese nationalist hero were to be adapted to fit Mackay within the CTOT's overall branding strategy. As well, in keeping with the Mackay heroic rescue narrative Aborigines were “empowered” by Mackay, something that justified the exhibition. Clearly, celebrating Mackay as a modernizing Taiwanese hero that helped Aborigines allowed the CTOT to utilize these events to advance its public affairs agendas.

The public speeches given by David Mulroney, the CTOT Executive Director, at Mackay 2001 events emphasized Taiwan-Canada relations and the CTOT public relations “mantra” of Canada as a “dynamic, competitive, high-tech, and multicultural society.” How this was to be done was clearly outlined in the document entitled “Mackay speeches for David [Mulroney]” (DFAIT, 2002:763). The outline of the three minute speech for the May 29 press conference begins “**Message emphasis: CTOT supports Mackay work as part of Mantra** [bold in original].” It then outlines in point form that the “exhibit is [an] example of historic ties between Canada and Taiwan” then saying that Mackay projects are good for current relations between Canada and Taiwan. The next point is “Mackay's legacy [is] evident in medicine, education, and culture (mantra)” in

accordance with the CTOT's public affairs brand. The next point is the CTOT is "grateful and encouraged by cooperation between ROM, [and] Shun[g] Ye [Museum]." Finally, reiterating the informal diplomatic functions of these events, "[the] CTOT [is] committed to fostering greater Canada-Taiwan ties, and Mackay projects provide common ground for synergy." Mulroney's repeated references to Canada-Taiwan ties in effect validate and thereby positively sanction Taiwan's informal diplomatic narratives. The "mantra" references attempt to construct Mackay in accordance with the Canada Brand.

The notes for the two to three minute speech for the May 31st 2001 Mackay conference begin "**Message emphasis: Mackay work, why important** [bold in original]." It recounts that the "CTOT has been assisting various organizations with Mackay-related projects since (7? 8? 9? years ago)[sic], [and] has worked before with many of the people gathered here today". It then invoked the Mackay hero story with "Mackay emblematic of Canada's pioneering spirit, brought to Taiwan through his life and work." Finally, the closing line repeats the mantra message:

Mantra message – Mackay's legacy evident in medicine (Mackay hospital, development of Western medicine), education (establish schools still flourishing today) and culture (his ethnological interests, see Shun[g] Ye Museum) – it has grown far beyond his missionary roots, and should be explored from a far wider variety of disciplines (DFAIT, 2002:763).

Again, the speech encourages and advocates more Mackay related events. The three to four minutes speech for the June 2nd 2001 exhibition opening ceremony at the Shung Ye Museum does not mention the term "mantra" specifically unlike the earlier two speeches. However, it is similar in tone with "**Message emphasis: Broader significance of Shun Ye exhibit**" [bold in original]. It gives a brief account of the artefacts' history then says "Mackay emblematic of Canada's pioneering spirit, brought to Taiwan through his life and work [sic]. Exhibit will help solidify Mackay's place in Taiwan's history." Here the

hero story is reiterated once again. It then continues with the familiar informal diplomacy aspects of the “Exhibit is prime example of historic ties between Canada and Taiwan, and of continuing interests that intersect in the form of historic recognition, preservation work and historical research.” It then closes with “Future directions: Mackay will continue exhibit in Kaohsiung, Taichung, and even to Canada, where it will continue to increase awareness and help renew links he created between Taiwan and Canada over a century ago” (DFAIT, 2002:763). Within these speech outlines, Aborigines are not once mentioned directly. Rather the emphasis is upon portraying Mackay in a way that fits with the CTOT’s Canada Brand public affairs narratives. Therefore, the speeches stress the importance of the exhibition and praise its organizers, place the exhibition within the context of Canada and Taiwan’s historical links, and throughout focus upon Mackay’s “contributions” to Taiwan. All of these speeches were also shaped according to the Canada brand “mantra”, which demonstrates how important public relations methods were both to the speeches delivered and to the Mackay 2001 events overall. Furthermore, there are repeated references to Mackay's role in Taiwan-Canada relations that validate Taiwanese informal diplomacy policy narratives. These speech notes indicate the willingness of the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei to continue to give informal diplomatic recognition through Mackay related events in exchange for Taiwanese government resources that advance the CTOT’s Canada brand public affairs strategies.

Canada Nation Branding and Related Internal DFAIT Policy Narratives

Canadian Trade Office in Taipei (CTOT) officials in their reports to DFAIT agencies associated the Mackay 2001 events with larger Canadian government branding policy

narratives. This becomes evident in a three page July 4th 2001 CTOT report I obtained in the Access to Information request. This report opens with a summary:

Guiding this exhibition to completion was the most complicated cultural project that CTOT has yet undertaken, but the results were worth it, in terms of the huge media success, in terms of the ties cemented with important figures in Taiwan's cultural, academic, and political spheres, and in terms of taking part in a project with real historical significance (DFAIT, 2002:666).

This summary attempts to positively associate and thereby insert this narrative within larger DFAIT policy narratives in which efficiently run public affairs efforts serve Canadian interests abroad. It is claiming to be translatable within DFAIT public affairs narratives: firstly by citing large media coverage and secondly the development of relationships with prominent Taiwanese figures. The CTOT report by positively associating itself with DFAIT policy narratives, in effect, claims positive *sanction* under them. Interestingly, in order to make this claim of positive *sanction*, it adopts a hero narrative in the report's overall structure. The organizers undertook their own quest to put together an exhibition of Aboriginal artefacts to honour the hero Mackay on the Centennial of his death. They overcame numerous obstacles, gained allies, successfully opened the exhibition on the centennial of the hero's death, and were positively *sanctioned* in Taiwan for it. They were in this report, now claiming *sanction* under DFAIT policy narratives (DFAIT, 2002:665-7).⁵⁹

The summary makes a third claim of participating in a "cultural project" of "real historical significance." This introduces the exhibition as a heroic quest. There are two major intertwined initial quests outlined in the opening paragraphs of the report, primarily celebrating Mackay's centennial and secondarily, Aborigines' "quest to

⁵⁹ The document reviewed here was sent to the following DFAIT units: Arts and Cultural Industries Promotion Division (ACA), Media Relations Office (BCM), Korea and Oceania Division (PKE), Asia Pacific Regional Planning and Coordination Unit (PNSP),

rediscover their cultural roots” (DFAIT, 2002:666). In effect, Mackay was honoured by establishing the lost significance and “provenience” of the Aboriginal artefacts as part of the Mackay legacy; the Aboriginal artefacts were honoured by being associated with state Mackay hero narratives. Consistent with the heroic rescue narrative, all major agency was given to non-Aboriginal institutions. Aboriginal agency was limited to reassuring the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) the exhibition was not a celebration of imperialism, which then allowed the ROM to translate the exhibit to accord with its dominant institutional narratives. In addition, Yohani Isquaquvut, the chair of the Council Aboriginal Affairs-- a Taiwanese government official-- issued a cabinet decree that guaranteed immunity from seizure (that solved yet another of the ROM’s worries), and at the opening ceremony he thanked the heroes.

The narrative structure is not unlike a Discovery Channel documentary’s plot of heroic archaeologists finding and excavating ancient artefacts (Shohat and Stam, 1994:151-3). The story begins with Michael Stainton and Alvyn Austin rediscovering the artefacts during their research. Stainton then contacted the Canadian Trade Office in 1999, and then the Canadian Trade Office contacted the Shung Ye Museum. The Shung Ye Museum sent a pair of Taiwanese experts to the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) to investigate. The report then recounted that, “When the first team of two scholars returned from their exploratory trip in Toronto in early 2000, they brought the news that the collection was in fact the gold mine that Stainton had suspected. The CTOT and Shun[g] Ye [Museum] shifted into high gear” (DFAIT, 2002:666). The CTOT and Shung Ye Museum were now committed to their quest of bringing the artefacts back in time for the Centennial.

In the report's *competence* phase, the CTOT and Shung Ye Museum overcame various organizational obstacles particularly the fears and concerns of the Aboriginal artefacts owner, the Royal Ontario Museum. In this series of sub-narratives, the artefacts are only briefly mentioned, with the Shung Ye Museum beginning research on the artefacts and contracting the ROM to do preservation work to prepare the artefacts for transport. The sub-narratives concerning how the CTOT got and kept "...the ROM onboard" occupy most of the *competence* phase. These included overcoming the ROM's aforementioned worries about the exhibition as a celebration of imperialism and safety of the artefacts by bringing ROM curator Trudy Nicks to Taiwan to talk with Taiwan Aboriginal leaders and visit the Shung Ye Museum. As well, the CTOT negotiated with the ROM to overcome concerns about possible negative reactions by the People's Republic of China. Once their coalition was solid, the CTOT and Shung Ye then obtained numerous Taiwan government and corporate sponsors. However, another obstacle occurred when the ROM became concerned about the possible seizure of the artefacts in Taiwan. The CTOT solved this problem by helping negotiate a guarantee of immunity from seizure that was eventually issued by the Council of Aboriginal Affairs chairman, Yohani Isquaquvut. Maintaining organizational unity was the primary focus of the CTOT in this account of the *competence* phase.

The shift from the *competence* phase to the *performance* phase occurred when the report then claimed to have completed its quest. It recounted the obstacles and difficulties that had been overcome: "All of these issues proceeded in tandem and the threat of catastrophe--in the form of the ROM's cold feet, legal problems, escalating costs, fragile artefacts, etc.--hung over the project throughout" (DFAIT, 2002:666). The claim of

performance then came in the following, “It was only when the artefacts arrived in Taiwan 60 days before the show, accompanied by the first of three waves of ROM installers and greeted by Taiwan paparazzi, the Shung Ye [Museum] and CTOT could feel secure about meeting this once in a century deadline” (DFAIT, 2002:666). The Centennial date of Mackay's death was framed in terms of meeting a ritual deadline imposed by the coalition's guiding Centennial organizational narrative.

Having successfully fulfilled its quest to hold the exhibition, the report then proceeds to recount the positive *sanction* received from VIPs including Lee Teng-hui and Yohani Isquaquvut.⁶⁰ Participation of such VIPs is crucial both in attracting media attention and in positively *sanctioning* the event. It then recounts Lee's comments as an example of positive *sanction* by a significant public figure, “Lee eulogized the important legacy GLM[George Leslie Mackay] left behind, pointing to his contributions to educational and medical developments, as well as his love of all Taiwan's peoples” (DFAIT, 2002:666-7). Again, we have the familiar concept of Mackay as modernizing hero who embraces all of Taiwan's peoples. Next the positive *sanction* by the Aboriginal representative, Yohani Isquaquvut, was cited: “Yuhani thanked Canada for preserving part of Taiwan's aboriginal heritage, and praised Canadians for their international vision and conscience dating back to the time of Mackay” (DFAIT, 2002:667). Positive *sanction* within public affairs narratives that stress the visibility in the mass media of CTOT events was then claimed:

The importance of the event was evidenced in the huge turnout by Taiwan's mass media---television stations carried much of the event live and nearly all the major

⁶⁰ The report reads, “Leading the list of dignitaries was former Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui, with Council of Aboriginal Affairs Chairman Yohani Isquaquvut, ROM curator [Trudy] Nicks, Mackay's octogenarian grandson John Mackay, Shung Ye Foundation Chairman Lin and CTOT HOM [Head Of Mission] David Mulroney rounding out the lineup” (DFAIT, 2002:666).

newspapers, both Chinese and English, gave it considerable importance. The exhibit itself was mobbed as several hundred visitors went through in the first hour (DFAIT, 2002:667).

Creating a centennial for a hero is itself a form of hero quest. The report finally mentions that there will be a tour of the exhibition in Kaohsiung and one in Canada.

The exhibition hero story completed the report then concludes with the heading of “Accounting,” “The CTOT will incur total costs of \$7-9,000 from the PIF [Post Initiative Fund] spread over two FYs [financial years]. This represents less than 5% of the total cost” (DFAIT, 2002:667). This low-cost concluding paragraph appears to be making a claim of efficiently utilizing government budgets something outlined in chapter 3.⁶¹ This report’s overall narrative illustrates the way in which within the Canadian Trade Office’s public affairs department portrays itself as positively branding Canada in a cost efficient manner.

Conclusion

A week before the exhibition opening there was a May 27 2001 *Taipei Times* article appropriately entitled "Making A Hero From A Missionary." In it, Chen Chi-rong (陳志榮), chairman of the Department of Religion at the Presbyterian Church’s Aletheia University (真理大學), considered that "we remember him [Mackay] for our own contemporary reasons, which may be very different from the reasons he had as his own purpose" (Bartholomew, 2001). In Mackay 2001, this assessment was very accurate. The involved institutions all had their various and disparate reasons for supporting the

⁶¹ When a dispute arose with the Shung Ye Museum over C\$11,000 in freight handling costs, involved CTOT officials refused to budge. Mark McDowell wrote, “I asked Yiting [Chen Yi-ting of the Shung Ye Museum] if she wants to start a fight with the CTOT over this and she gave the “no no buhaoyisi” spiel. We have to hold the line on this one, even if it means a week or two of strained relations, so if either of you are talking to the Shun[g] Ye [Museum], do not open up any room for compromise on this. You can refer them to me, and I am unfortunately going to be unavailable for comment. We are picking up a lot of expenses here and there but this would break the bank” (DFAIT, 2002:841). The term “buhayisi” roughly translates from Mandarin Chinese as “very embarrassed.” McDowell was likely worried about negative *sanction* under DFAIT departmental cost efficiency narratives.

exhibition. These were frequently quite dramatically different from those that Mackay had stated as his own. However, the institutions were able to associate their diverse interests through participation within the Mackay exhibition. In this manner, the exhibition functioned as a *synthesizer of interests* that allowed the various agendas of the participating institutions to match (Cooren and Taylor, 2000:178). There was a consensus that Mackay was a rescuing hero among the institutions participating in the Mackay 2001 events. The exhibition's title, "Treasures Preserved Abroad: The Dr. Mackay Collection of Formosan Aboriginal Artefacts" was implicitly structured by a narrative of Mackay as a preserver of Aboriginal culture. This functioned as the overall narrative within which the institutions could tell their own stories citing the example of Mackay in influencing their actions (Cooren and Taylor, 2000:178). In Cooren and Taylor's terminology it helped construct an *attractive passage point*, a form of shared public narrative, through which the coalition could form and organize itself (Cooren and Taylor, 2000:178). It functioned in the manner of an overall theme that each institution could translate into its own internal narratives. However, this overall exhibition narrative was only attractive as long as it was plausible. This required that the selection and interpretation of events be compatible with the exhibition's narrative plot and in particular did not conflict with it. Rhetorically, this required that the hero be dissociated from the highly dissonant contexts of European imperialism and his practice of burning converts' non-Christian religious belongings. The heroes-rescue-Aborigines narrative could then be translated into multiple institutional narratives including informal diplomacy, Canadian nation branding, corporate sponsorship, and as a mass media event.

Chapter Five--Thesis Conclusions

Introduction

George Leslie Mackay (1844-1901) was the focus, rather than Aborigines, of the Mackay 2001 exhibition because of the organizing power of the state hero-rescues-Aborigines narrative. The organizers construction of an exhibition to primarily honour a state hero and secondarily help Aboriginal cultures was not only a moral end but also a useful means to other ends. This is because the organizers created a series of linkages and equivalencies. The major exhibition premise of *Mackay preserved Aboriginal cultures* involved the creation of a linkage then an equivalency between the survival of this collection of Aboriginal artefacts and Mackay collecting of these artefacts. This was then associated with the Mackay “legacy” of Western education, medicine, human rights, Aboriginal empowerment, and numerous other contributions to Taiwan. It was then possible to portray Mackay as a modernizing hero who had preserved Aboriginal cultures and left the “Dr. Mackay Collection of Taiwan Aboriginal Artefacts.” Through this set of linkages and equivalencies, the artefacts could be used to celebrate the hero’s centennial.

Theoretical Framework and Potential Implications

In analyzing this centennial exhibition of Taiwan Aboriginal artefacts, I have drawn heavily upon Cooren’s work (2000) and his collaborations with Taylor (2000) and Fairhurst (2001). However, it was necessary to combine this work with that of Thompson (1990:61-68) and Shohat and Stam (1994:137-177) in order to elaborate upon the hierarchically structuring properties of the hero-rescues-Aborigines narratives (Cooren, 2000:188-191). Methodologically, this has involved analyzing organizational narratives, actants’ roles and abilities, moral claims, and translations. I used Greimas’s universal

narrative schema of *manipulation*, *competence* (with its sub-narratives), *performance*, and *sanction* phases to understand the structure of organizational narratives. Within these narratives, the roles and attendant hierarchies of abilities assigned to human and non-human actants determined the characteristics of their interactions. The plausibility of these narratives' plot of the modernizing heroes rescuing the inept Aborigines relied upon the use of various strategies of symbolic construction. These included the *naturalization* of colonization and modernization, the *symbolization of unity* in which the settler state was the normative reference, and use of the *infantilization* trope. Use of these allowed the favourable representation of settler/Aboriginal relations and the glossing over of the role of states and corporations in maintaining and expanding hierarchies imposed by earlier colonization. The rescue narrative allowed for moral claims that supported the rhetorical persuasiveness. This allowed the rescue story to be favourably translated into potential allies' respective institutional narratives. Such translations allowed the exhibition to be different things to different institutions, which was important to persuading allies to join the coalition. The powerful organizational and moral legitimizing properties of the hero-rescues-Aborigines narratives make it important in the routine reproduction of settler/Aboriginal power relations.

One of the main implications of the framework used in this thesis is that it points toward the utility of including narratives, as powerful nonhuman actors, into analysis of how Aboriginal/settler power relations are constructed, maintained, and I think can potentially be challenged. Policy narratives such as the Canadian state's Indian Act, laws, and constitution, when wielded by powerful settler state bureaucracies have been important in the imposition and maintenance of relations of domination. However, the

meanings, and resulting potential mobilization of such narratives are not set in stone, so these narratives can potentially be reinterpreted and mobilized against the state. In this way, for example, treaties signed long ago between the British government and the successor Canadian state with Aboriginal peoples, have been mobilized by Aboriginal peoples in the courts. Another area for potential research is how state organizational narratives function in more overt conflict situations such those that occurred during the sieges at Oka in 1990 and Gustafsen Lake in 1995, and more recent conflicts at Burnt Church, and Kahnawake. For example, analysis of the organizational narratives involved in state “perception management” strategies during conflicts, such the RCMP disinformation campaign during the 1995 siege at Gustafsen Lake, may be useful in identifying points of intervention. Such research may be useful in anticipating likely state reactions and identifying inconsistencies and weaknesses within state organizational narratives where application of pressure may be advantageous in conflict situations.

In contrast, this exhibition was a non-controversial routine reproduction of settler/Aboriginal relations structured by a hierarchy of state, corporate, and church institutional agendas and settler hero stories in which Taiwan Aborigines did gain temporary access to these valuable artefacts. Due to various reasons, this thesis has only focused upon settler institutions and has not dealt with Aboriginal views of this exhibition nor Aboriginal participants’ rationales for being involved in this exhibition or other Aboriginal exchanges.⁶² This thesis’s theoretical framework does not preclude various (potentially) counter-hegemonic agendas being advanced by Aboriginal participants through these exchanges; rather it predicts that, in general, the range of

⁶² Limitations imposed by the primary materials, my own language skills, geographic location, and thesis length were also considerations.

Aboriginal actions will be constrained by whether Aboriginal actions are translatable in way that can be positively sanctioned within participating institutions' narratives. Put another way, any Aboriginal counter-hegemony will be done in such a way as to not offend (and be negatively *sanctioned* by) the organizing government institutions.⁶³ These are issues that I will address in future research on Aboriginal participation in these routine state organized exchanges.

Mackay 2001 Exhibition and Settler/Aboriginal Relations

The organizers utilized the exhibition of Aboriginal artefacts, the centerpiece of the Mackay centennial events, to advance numerous other goals. The Canadian Trade Office in Taipei got what its Executive Director termed "...a public relations coup for Canada in Taiwan" (DFAIT, 2002:642). The Presbyterian Church had a great commemoration for one of their founders, one that further promoted the Mackay myths and strengthened Taiwan-Canada relations. The Taiwan government received informal diplomatic events that strengthened its domestic and international standing. Involved businesses had excellent advertising opportunities, with logos and banners prominently displayed and

⁶³ Based upon my research on the Access to Information Act request documents and press coverage of these exchanges, there appears to strong public conformity to the status quo. A glaring example of this sort of ideological conformity, was evident in a January 27 2000 Taipei Times article about the visit by a Canadian Aboriginal business delegation headed by Elijah Harper. This article concluded, "As James Richardson puts it, both Taiwanese and Canadian Aborigines are "becoming a part of a rich diverse economy, rather than a drain on the economy" (Yu Sen-lun, 2000). Richardson was described in the article as "national director of Aboriginal banking at the Business Development Bank of Canada" and here restated a familiar negative Aboriginal stereotype (Yu Sen-lun, 2000). Another example of this conformity occurred during a 1999 exchange when the Metis photographer Rosalie Favell visited Lanyu Island, the home territory of the Tao Aboriginal people. The Taiwan Power Company stores 100,000 barrels of nuclear waste on Lanyu, which has been criticized internationally (Greenpeace 1997) and which Tao leaders contend is poisoning them and their homeland (Shyman Feaien, 1995). According to Mark McDowell of the Canadian Trade Office during the tour, they stopped and Favell looked at the nuclear waste facility (McDowell, e-mail with author, 1999). However, an article in the Aboriginal newspaper, *First Perspective*, read, "According to Favell, the Yami [Tao] are less affected by mainstream culture because of the relative isolation of their island. But they have not been totally unaffected by modern living. Back in the 1960s, the government built concrete structures for the Yami despite the island's location in a typhoon and earthquake zone. Their traditional dwelling is an underground structure which they prefer to live in" (Lamirande, 1999). Favell commented about the impact upon traditional dwellings by concrete buildings but glaringly omitted a very powerful product of modernity-- the 100,000 barrels of leaky nuclear waste that are poisoning this small 45 square kilometre earthquake and typhoon prone island (Shyman Feaien, 1995). These Aboriginal participants, publicly, at least, reaffirmed the status quo.

business guests entertained. The Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines got its highest profile international event yet to date. This was no doubt a boost to the public relations activities of the Shung Ye Group. The mass media got low cost interesting news items replete with experts, VIPs, and Aboriginal artefacts unseen in over nearly a century to attract audiences; access to these audiences was then sold to advertisers (Chomsky and Herman, 1988:18-19; McMahan, 1998). The organizational power of the Mackay narrative allowed multiple settler institutions to all create linkages in one way or another between their disparate activities and those of the exhibition. These associations were both ends in themselves such as the status (positive moral *sanction*) of being associated with Mackay commemorative events and/or helping Aborigines and as a means to other ends including public relations, informal diplomacy, and advertising.⁶⁴

In the coalition discourses, both public and internal, the artefacts as actants were passive and fragile treasures (protected by a guarantee of immunity from seizure). These 192 artefacts were carefully selected (some were too fragile to make the trip), subjected to preservation work, then carried from Canada to Taiwan, where they were displayed with much pomp and ceremony at a conglomerate affiliated museum. As the “Dr. Mackay Collection of Taiwan Aboriginal Artefacts,” they were honoured guests who through the exhibition told everyone how Mackay had saved them (Errington, 1998:4).

Mackay 2001 organizationally involved a relationship between morality and rhetoric. Personnel and institutions were comfortable in being perceived as being

⁶⁴ Some joy was also evident among the organizers at a personal level. An e-mail that Alvyn Austin wrote to James Mitchell showed how much he enjoyed the February 2001 Mackay lecture tour. Austin considered that, “This was the bestest, happiest, over-the-top introduction to Taiwan I could have conceived. I gloat as I tabulate the list, counting on my fingers: 1 desk, 1 ambassador, 2 mayors, 3 cabinet ministers and the Premier! The last person who had a prayer meeting with the premier of Free China was probably Eisenhower” (DFAIT, 2002:825). Austin engages in a kind of accounting of his personal meetings with powerful officials as well as assessing his own position in history with a reference to Eisenhower.

associated with something moral. However, crisis emerged when there was a possibility of them being associated with something that was immoral. This was evident, for example, in early organizational stages when Aboriginal leaders had to reassure the Royal Ontario Museum that the exhibition was not a celebration of imperialism. However, Mackay's action of burning Aboriginal non-Christian religious artefacts created a contradiction with the coalition's own conceptions of what was immoral so the coalition resolved this contradiction and potential crisis by ignoring or attempting to shift the blame for Mackay's cathartic pyres to church policy (DFAIT, 2002:842). Rather the coalition instead focused upon what he saved which however led to another contradiction. The exhibition of the artefacts was "Treasures Preserved Abroad," which implied that Mackay had valued these artefacts when actually he scorned them, terming some "paraphernalia of idol worship." He had carried these to Canada for use in a tour, which was how they ended up in Canada. A chain of events that may have indeed been miraculous subsequently preserved the artefacts but their survival was incidental to Mackay's mission work. Mackay's relation to the artefacts in conjunction with his complicit attitudes towards Western imperialism, including the tea and camphor industry related invasions of Aboriginal lands, and Western merchants' massive opium imports contradicted the professed moral standards of the coalition and the idealized hero image attributed to Mackay.

The resolution of the contradictions between Mackay the historical figure and Mackay the hero who rescued Aboriginal cultures in Mackay 2001 raises an important question for future research: how do settler state hierarchies of the living construct the hierarchies of the dead? The Spanish philosopher Jose Gil considers that, "If the gods and

the dead are major reserves of social power, then it is natural for political power to try to draw from them” (Gil, 1998:51). The fact that Aboriginal artefacts were utilized to serve the commemoration of the state hero means that in these myths, the dead Aboriginal people who made the artefacts had to defer to Mackay the modernizing state hero. In this hierarchy of what the prominent scholar of nationalism, Anthony D. Smith, termed “the glorious dead,” the Aboriginal dead appear to gain their glory only through their association of their artefacts with the state hero (Smith, 2000). Throughout the exhibition and in related press materials Mackay's sacrifices to the Taiwanese nation were recounted including occasional references to the Mackay's motto of self-sacrifice, “better to burn out than to rust out.”⁶⁵ It was the death of this one modernizing hero that was of significance while the thousands of deaths incurred by Aboriginal peoples in their resistance to colonization during the same period were omitted. Mackay's legacy was important, not the legacy of colonialism.

My Collins dictionary (1990) describes a legacy as “something handed down or received from an ancestor or predecessor”. It also defines myths as “a story about superhuman beings of an earlier age, usually of how natural phenomena, social customs, etc., came into existence.” There is evidence of awe in usage of the phrase “Mackay legacy” and given the wide range of things that are currently attributed to Mackay he takes on a superhuman aspect. Therefore, the Mackay legacy must be best considered as a set of origin myths, which attempt to account for the present structure of Taiwanese society. The Mackay exhibition was thereby an enactment of state origin myths which

⁶⁵ The Taiwan Central News Agency June 1 2001 article concluded, “Tamsui Township Public Affairs Bureau has declared June 2 “George Mackay Day,” to commemorate the many contributions he made after moving to Taiwan, and his “rather burn than rust out” spirit. His sacrifices and contributions are still a source of admiration” (Central News Agency, June 1 2001). Michael Stainton's February 20 2001 paper concluded with a reference to this motto (Stainton, 2001:24).

attempt to account for Taiwan's current state through attributing all manner of Taiwan modernity such as Western medicine, Western education, human rights, democracy, and even biotechnology (DFAIT, 2002:815), at least in part, to Mackay. This mythic aspect of the organizational narrative was evident in the reverence that was publicly expressed towards this hero of the state. Things are the way they are because Mackay did great things a long time ago according to these Taiwan state origin myths. By being associated with these things done by the great hero, Aboriginal peoples could then be remembered. Their significance was conditional upon their association with the state hero.

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<http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/DFAITdoc/Documents.html>

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665-7. Subject: Celebrating Mackay II: Royal Ontario Museum Exhibition. E-Mail from Mitchell, James to Weldon, Epp. Dated: September 5 2001. Contains report from Mark McDowell entitled: The Royal Ontario Museums “Mackay collection of Taiwan Aboriginal Artefacts: Treasures Preserved Abroad” Opens in Taipei. Dated: July 4 2001.

669 Subject: Re: Mackay Tour. E-mail from Chen Yi-ting to multiple recipients. Date: August 30 2001.

672. Subject: ROM Mackay Exhibition clip. E-mail: from Mark McDowell to multiple recipients. Date: July 25, 2001.

713-4. Subject: Mackay Exhibit; going, going... E-mail from Weldon Epp to David Mulroney. Date: October 18 2001.

715. Subject: Re: Mackay Exhibition Sponsorship Shipping. E-mail from Gissing Chen to Jessica Bohrson. Date: October 18 2001.

730. Can Studs Competition. E-mail from Weldon Epp to multiple recipients. Date: October 8 2001.

736. E-mail from James Mitchell to Weldon Epp regarding "Important points for Shun Ye meeting, Sept. 5." Date: September 5 2001.

763. Mackay speeches for David [Mulroney]. Undated. Contains outline of three speeches for May 29, May 31, and June 2 2001.

764-5. English version of letter written from William Thorsell for introduction to the book by Wu Mi-cha and et.al. The Dr. Mackay Collection of Formosan Aboriginal Artefacts: Treasures Preserved Abroad. Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2001.

783. TFR. Report on 2000 Terry Fox Run. Date: undated but appears to be a few days after the Run on October 15 2000.

788-9. Subject: Re: Gurrantee [sic] Immunity. E-mail from Mark McDowell to Chen Yi-ting. January 11, 2001.

789. Subject: Gurrantee [sic] Immunity. E-mail from Chen Yi-ting to McDowell, Mark. Dated: January 3 2001.

795-97. Subject: Canadian Mackay [sic] Fan Club in Taiwan. E-mail from Michael Stainton to multiple recipients. Dated: January 23 2001.

798. Subject: RE: Transportation Sponsorship of Mackay's Artefacts. E-mail from Mark McDowell to multiple recipients. Date: February 2 2001.

798 Subject: RE: Transportation Sponsorship of Mackay's Artefacts. E-mail from Michael Stainton to multiple recipients. Date: February 2 2001.

798-9 Subject: Transportation Sponsorship of Mackay's Artefacts. E-mail from Danny Huang to multiple recipients. Date: February 1 2001.

806. E-Mail from Alwyn Austin to James Mitchell. Dated: February 16, 2001.

807-808. Subject: RE:921. E-mail from Matthew Lien to David Mulroney. February 19, 2001.

808. Subject: RE:921. E-mail from David Mulroney to Matthew Lien. February 18, 2001

811-816. Stainton, Michael. Report on Mackay Fan Club Taiwan Visit February 18-26 2001. Dated: March 1 2001. E-mailed as attachment to multiple recipients on March 4 2001.

825. Subject: Re: Fw: Mackay Plaque Draft Text-- Latest News (fwd). E-mail from Alwyn Austin to James Mitchell. Date: March 9 2001.

- 825-831. Brochure In Memory of George Leslie Mackay The Black Bearded Barbarian of Taiwan. E-mail attachment from Alwyn Austin to James Mitchell attached to Subject: Re: Fw: Mackay Plaque Draft Text-- Latest News (fwd). Date: Attachment portion undated.
834. Subject: Do you need to ask? E-mail from Michael Stainton to James Mitchell. Dated: April 19 2001.
835. Subject: Re: Are you ready? E-mail from Alwyn Austin to James Mitchell. Date: April 22 2001.
836. E-mail from James Mitchell to Trudy Nicks. Describes May 30 2001 Mackay Conference. Date: April 20 2001.
841. Subject: Shun Ye: be warned. Discusses strategy for dispute over money which Shung Ye Museum. E-mail from Mark McDowell to David Mulroney. Dated: May 4 2001.
842. Subject: it's ours!! E-mail from Judith Nagata to James Mitchell, cc Alwyn Austin. Date: May 18 2001.
843. Subject: Re: its ours!! E-mail from Alwyn Austin to Judith Nagata, cc James Mitchell. May 19 2001.
850. Subject: meeting with ROM. E-mail from Mark McDowell to James Mitchell. Dated: June 26 2001.
865. E-mail from James Mitchell to the ROM's Trudy Nicks. Dated: August 31 2001.
- 868 Subject: FWD: Re: Mackay Tour. E-mail from Mark McDowell to James Mitchell and Weldon Epp. Date: August 31 2001.
868. Subject: Re: Mackay Tour2. E-mail from Mark McDowell to Eric Yu. Date: September 4 2001.
- 868-9. Subject: Re: Mackay Tour2. E-mail from Eric Yu to Mark McDowell. Date: September 3 2001.
878. Subject: Re: Fwd: Moving forward on the Mackay exhibit. E-mail from Trudy Nicks to James Mitchell. Date: September 21 2001.
879. E-mail from Cara McEachern to Trudy Nicks concerning tour negotiations and Shung Ye Museum non-compliance with loan agreement. Date: September 20 2001.
- 895-896. Subject: Continuing the Mackay Legacy in Taiwan. E-mail from James Mitchell to multiple recipients. Date: September 28 2001.

897. E-mail from Dan Rahimi to Chris Palmer on ROM assessment of status of exhibition following conference call. Date: September 27 2001. Note: The Conference call date difference is because Taipei is 12 hours ahead of Toronto so when the conference call took place it was September 27 in Toronto but September 28 2001 in Taipei.

898. Mackay Visitors. E-mail from CTOT's Jessica Bohrson to CTOT's James Mitchell. Date: October 3 2001.

903-4. Unsigned letter from CTOT's Mark McDowell to Didier Beltoise (General Manager, Imperial Inter-continental Taipei). Dated: May 1, 2001.

913. packing and shipping of ROM collection. E-mail from Dan Rahimi to Chen Yi-ting. Date: October 15 2001.

918. Subject: Dr. Mackay Exhibition. E-mail from Chen Yi-ting to Weldon Epp. Date: November 16 2001.

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