1970 年代西方人類學者的臺灣田野經驗：訪談麥克瑞教授夫妻（John and Ruth McCreery*）

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一、前言

1960-70 年代，很多西方社會的漢學家或是研究中國文化的學者，因為中國大陸深鎖無法進入，而以臺灣或是海外華人社區如新加坡為替代的田野地點。當時很多美國人類學家，以臺灣為中國研究的田野地點，而英國人類學家則多數以香港為田野地點。出道甚早的 John McCreery 教授，與其妻子 Ruth McCreery 在 1969 年即來到臺灣埔里進行田野調查。他的人類學訓練是在美國康乃爾大學人類學系，該系是當時人類學研究中國與臺灣的重鎮。舉凡早期重要學者，例如 Author Wolf（1932-2015）均出自這個機構。因此他的訪談內容，頗具史料參考性。此訪談內容也反映出歐美人文學界的變化，以及臺灣社會氛圍的變遷。

當時歐美人類學家若來臺灣調查，中研院民族所是他們可以合作與駐點的學術單位，因為前往臺灣鄉下的田野地點需要發出公文，以便順利進入村落調查。民族所可以為他們發出公文，也是他們回臺北找資料或是聽演講與學界交流的機構，更是他們認識臺灣社會科學界的一個管道。1969 年正是李亦園先生在民族所持續進行的臺灣原住民族研究領域之外，新開闢臺灣漢人社會研究的時期，所以提供了許多西方人類學

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* John McCreery 教授，康乃爾大學人類學博士。1969 年來南投縣埔里鎮進行博士論文田野，開啟了他的漢人宗教尤其是道教研究的生涯，發表多篇道教期刊論文。之後他與夫人 Ruth McCreery 長期在日本工作與定居。2019 年接受新竹清華大學人類學研究所所長黃樹民教授邀請，在清大人類所擔任客座教授，開授企業人類學與象徵人類學等課程。McCreery 教授與民族所交流密切，最近一次是在 2017 年 3 月做了一場演講。

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者進入臺灣鄉下研究漢人村落的援助，也開啟了臺灣鄉村研究與臺灣史研究的契機。可以說，本訪談文章說明了 70 年代西方人類學者的臺灣田野經驗，以及人類學中國研究的臺灣起點。本文以英文受訪稿為編排形式，McCreery 對個人學術與職場生涯娓娓道來，間夾有其夫人的補充。

2024 年 4 月 17 日 McCreery 教授夫妻從日本回美國探親途中經過臺北，特來民族所接受張珣訪談，並由民族所博物館進行錄影。作為 2025 年民族所 70 周年慶的記錄之一。我們希望未來可以有更多機會訪談並記錄早期國外人類學家，包括東亞與東南亞人類學家來民族所交流的記錄。可以呈現民族所在國際人類學界做出的貢獻，也記錄了臺灣作為東亞人類學與民族學研究的重要地位。

二、進入人類學的大門

Q: Question CHANG Hsun（張珣）

A (J): Answer John

A (R): Answer Ruth

Q: My first question is, how and why did you choose Taiwan as your PhD field site?

A (J): It was, in a way, an accident. I had majored in Philosophy at Michigan State University. I had chosen to go Michigan State because they recruited me for the Honors College, a program that allowed me to create my own curriculum. By the end of my third year, I had enough credits for a major in Philosophy, but I still had a year to go. Like many of my friends, I wanted to go to graduate school, so I wouldn’t be drafted and have to fight in Vietnam. But I wasn’t excited by the prospect of spending my life in libraries working on Philosophy. A friend recommended a course in East African Ethnography taught by Marc Swartz. That was my introduction to Anthropology which seemed to combine topics that interested me in Philosophy, Sociology and Medieval History with an opportunity to travel and pursue my own

vision quest.

Then, since I had a year left at MSU, I decided that I should take classes in subjects with which an anthropologist should be at least a little familiar: Vertebrate Anatomy, Animal Behavior, Biogeography and Linguistics. I also decided that I really ought to experience a non-Indo-European language. Bill Baine, one of my best friends from high school, was studying Chinese at Princeton. Michigan State had a very strong African studies program, and I could have chosen Swahili or Hausa or Yoruba, but since my friend Bill was doing Chinese, I chose Chinese. That is why, when I started my PhD at Cornell, everyone assumed that I was in the China program.

As it turned out, being in the China program was great. Because of the Vietnam War , there was a lot of government and other money for Asian Studies. Getting fellowships and grants for anything related to China was easy. But for anthropologists “China” did not mean mainland China. For fieldwork, our choices were limited to Taiwan, Hong Kong or overseas Chinese in other parts of the world.

Q: Why did you choose Taiwan?

A (J): That brings me to the..... the heart of the matter, which is that I don’t consider myself at all typical of my cohort of anthropologists who came to Taiwan in the 1960s and 70s.

When I was choosing where to do fieldwork, Cornell had strong ties in Taiwan.

PhD students from Cornell would typically settle in a village in the countryside or an urban neighborhood and conduct research on a topic suggested by their advisor. That usually meant something related to kinship, marriage, ancestor worship, or lineage organization. I wanted to do something different.

Q: Why did Ruth come with you to Taiwan?

A (J): Ruth and I met at Cornell in the summer of 1968. She was a graduate student in Sociology. A few months later I was filling out an application for a National Science Foundation (NSF) grant to pay for my fieldwork. If I checked the box indicating that I was married, NSF would pay for my wife's air fare. So, one day I said, "Ruth, Would you like to go to Taiwan with me?" She said, "That sounds interesting."

"We will have to be married."

"Okay."

Q: Very romantic. How many years had you studied Chinese?

A (J): One year of Mandarin at Michigan State, another year of Mandarin at Cornell, a year of classical Chinese（文言文）with Harold Shaddick, and a one-semester tutorial in Amoy Hokkien（閩南話）with Nicholas Bodman.

Q: Did you meet Bernard Gallin at MSU?

A (J): No. We met Bernie and Rita in Taipei, after we arrived in Taiwan.

Q: So one year of Chinese. Then you went to Cornell.

A (R): John chose Taiwan because, back then, it was either Taiwan or Hong Kong or an overseas Chinese（華僑）community somewhere else. The mainland was off limits. And Cornell had already sent many anthropologists to Taiwan.

A (J): There were Don DeGlopper and Larry Crissman, for example. Our cohort included Emily Ahern, who later taught at Yale and Johns Hopkins. My advisor was Arthur Wolf, who left Cornell and moved to Stanford while Ruth and I were in the field. And that is part of our story, too, because Arthur and I never got along.

A (R): Arthur wanted John to continue his household registry studies in Yilan.

Our friend, Don DeGlopper, who had just come back from Taiwan said, "Yilan,

that's in the path of every typhoon that hits Taiwan. You don't want to go there." He suggested Puli.

Q: So which year was that when you first came to Taiwan?

A (J): 1969, a long time ago.

I had picked Cornell because, like the Honors College at Michigan State, it was an unstructured program that would let me do my own thing.

I will never forget a conversation with Jack Roberts. Roberts was an early quantitative anthropologist, who tested hypotheses using data from the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF). I had met him at his Summer Seminar in Quantitative Anthropology, and he was the only Cornell faculty member I knew personally when I arrived in Ithaca in the fall of 1966. When I asked him what I should take in my first semester at Cornell, he pointed out the window at the library and said, "Do you see that library over there? Go find something that interests you. Come back and tell us why we should be interested in it too."

There was only one methods course, the one taught by Frank Cancian[1]. Cancian taught us to avoid asking people why they do what they do. They will often be embarrassed and become defensive. Instead, we should ask, "How do you do that?" Everyone likes to be treated as an expert, and while they are telling you how, they will often include why as well.

I should also note that there were none of the hurdles faced by researchers today. No need to create detailed proposals and get them approved by internal review boards.

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1 Frank Cancian 教授（1934-2020），美國加州大學爾灣分校人類學系資深教授，墨西哥馬雅文化研究專家，記錄片製作與拍攝者。

三、1969年來埔里田野調查

Also, when we came to Taiwan the first time in 1969, we came with a letter of introduction from my uncle, the US undersecretary of Agriculture, to the agricultural attaché at the US Embassy, who introduced us to an up and coming young Chinese politician who had a PhD in Agricultural Economics from Cornell, Lee Teng-hui（李登輝）.

Q: Not the Lee Teng-hui.

A (J): Yes, that Lee Teng-hui.

Q: Oh, really? You met him.

A (J): We had supper at his house. They had us over for dinner and they were terribly nice.

A (R): In Taipei. He was living in a sort of shabby little place not too far from 臺大 .

Q: In the 農復會 , I guess.

A (J): Yes, he was head of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction.

Q: So you met Lee Teng-hui.

A (R): But we never followed up, partly because I got terribly sick that night. And then we went to Puli. He was terribly nice and his wife was very nice. Of course they were interested in our Cornell connection. Mrs. Lee missed playing golf, which she had learned at Cornell.

I was sorry that we hadn't kept in touch with them because they were actually very kind. I mean apart from the political side of it. No one anticipated that.

Q: What was it like, doing fieldwork in Puli?

A (J): I had imagined myself doing fieldwork in a rural village, using the Manchester

Extended Case Method I had discovered in the work of Victor Turner.

Q: Why Victor Turner?

A (J): He was still at Cornell when I started graduate school. I took his courses. I liked his approach and was fascinated by symbolic anthropology and the study of ritual. I had read Clifford Geertz and was convinced of the importance of thick description, but Geertz never tells us how to produce one. The Manchester extended case method provided a recipe. Treat social life as theater. Start with the cast and the roles that they play. Map the community's social structure. Once you have understood the actors and their roles, you can listen to quarrels and discover the conflicts and contradictions that drive the social drama. Only then will you be ready to explore how rituals are staged and the implications of words, gestures, costumes, props.

Q: But you never did that kind of study. Why was that?

A (J): On our first night in Puli, Ruth and I went to see *2001, A Space Odyssey* at the local movie theater. Then, after we found an apartment to rent, we were visited by the foreign affairs policeman whose first question was, "Do you know Susan?" Susan was a sixteen year-old girl from Illinois participating in a Rotary Club exchange program, spending a year living with the family of a local doctor. We had come to Taiwan to learn about Chinese traditions, and there was so much more going on.

I realized that, while Victor Turner had studied the Ndembu, a central African people who lived in grass huts in villages with only a few dozen residents and frequently quarrelled in public, Puli was a market town with a population of 35,000. In Puli, people lived in houses with brick walls. Sometimes their quarrels spilled into the streets, but what lay behind those quarrels was invisible. These material conditions were very different from those that made the Manchester Extended Case Method so productive for Turner.

Also, while most of our predecessors had studied Mandarin and conducted interviews through interpreters, Ruth and I had decided to use Taiwanese（閩南話）, the native tongue by most of the people who lived in our field site. Shortly after arriving in Puli, we were visited by linguist Raleigh Ferrell[2] who was studying Pazeh, the language spoken by a lowland aboriginal group who lived on the mesa close to where our apartment was located. Ferrell introduced us to two sisters, elders of the Presbyterian church and the only women in the Puli Basin who had graduated from high school during the Japanese colonial period. They could read the romanization created by missionaries to translate the Christian Bible into Taiwanese. The younger sister became our teacher, with whom we studied every day for six months. We obtained our Maryknoll[3] textbooks with the help of Father Clancy Engler, the priest at the local Catholic parish. We had introduced ourselves to him because previous Cornell anthropologists had established strong ties with the Maryknoll mission in Taiwan.

Q: How, then, did you wind up writing your dissertation about Daoist magic?

A (J): I had come to Puli to study Chinese popular religion. But the diversity of forms of traditional ritual and belief found in this town reminded me of one of those Chinese restaurant menus with hundreds of choices. Puli had a City God temple（城隍廟）, temples dedicated to Confucius and Guang Kong（文武廟）, and a temple outside the town dedicated to the Golden Mother[4]（金母）. Another large temple near the Presbyterian hospital on the mesa above us was home to a spirit-writing cult（扶鸞儀式）. These were just the beginning. There were numerous small temples dedicated to the Local God of the Soil（土地公）, and storefront shrines/altars（神壇）

2 Raleigh Ferrell（1933-2019）著名語言人類學家，擅長德、法、俄等多國語言，以及美國印地安多個族群語言，編纂了美國印地安 Cherokee 族語字典，以及排灣族字典。

3 天主教瑪利諾外方傳教會，其在臺會館「馬利諾會館」位於臺中。

4 金母娘娘為臺灣慈惠堂信仰與民間信仰的重要女神。

where spirit-mediums （童乩）, geomancers, fortunetellers, or other practitioners offered healing or other ritual services. I spent many days riding my bicycle from our apartment on the edge of the town to its center, surveying possibilities for my dissertation topic.

四、成為高功道士趙先生的弟子

A (J): As I rode past the wholesale vegetable market, I noticed a small storefront temple, the 埔里海國堂 . Its owner, Tio Se-lian （趙世聯） was a Daoist. A certificate from the National Daoist Association of the Republic of China identified him as a Grand Master （大法師） and it, together with a large framed charm, calligraphy by the 63rd head of the Zheng-Yi school of Daoism（正一派道士）, was prominently displayed on the wall beside the desk where Tio consulted with his clients. I began dropping by to watch him diagnose the problems for which his clients' needed help and make arrangements for rituals to address those problems.

Then, one day Tio told me that the next day he would be performing a ritual in one of the villages near Puli and asked if I would like to come with him. I said, yes, and the next day, we loaded his gear into a taxi and were driven to the village. There we set up his altar and I watched and listened, totally clueless about what he was doing. Then it was time to break for lunch, and Tio pulled me aside into a nearby sugarcane field. There he told me that the Jade Emperor [5]（玉皇大帝） had appeared to him in a vision and said that I should become his disciple.

Do remember, this was the 1960s. Carlos Castaneda's The Teachings of Don Juan[6] had become a bestseller. To me it seemed that I had found my Don Juan. But how should I conduct my research?

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5 玉皇大帝為民間信仰的最高神祇，掌管天地眾神與人間。

6 中譯本為鄭慧玲譯《唐璜的門徒》1975，臺北：遠景出版社。此書為當年臺北的暢銷書。

I would spend most of my time in the field traveling in taxis with Tio to wherever in central or northern Taiwan he performed his rituals. The classic ethnographic approach—spending a year or two in a small community, trying to learn all about it and situate the interpretation of ritual in a specific context was not an option. Limitations in both my ability to speak Taiwanese and read Chinese ruled out the meaning-filled conversations required for a phenomenological approach. Inspired by Levi-Strauss, I chose to focus on the "tangible logic" of the artifacts employed in ritual. I might not know enough about the context in which a ritual was performed to assess its effects, but I would participate in numerous instances of a wide range of rituals, accumulating data like the corpus of utterances on which a linguistic analysis is based.

Q: What was Ruth doing while you were traveling with Tio?

A (J): That's her story. She should tell it.

A (R): John's work with Tio was very much a one-to-one connection. I occasionally joined him at the temple and took a lot of photographs. In fact, photography was one of my main activities while we were there. But the research was John's thing. I tried to be supportive, and did a lot of the cooking and whatnot, keeping us going.

So there we were in Taiwan, which was not a place I ever expected to be.

But I was supposed to be a graduate student in Sociology, so I was thesis-shopping. I knew that because of the political situation at the time, no one had done any research, at least in English, on social change in Taiwan during the Japanese period. And I thought if I could read the huge amounts of literature available in Japanese, then I could do something interesting. Because there had to have been enormous changes. You just don't do rural electrification, compulsory education, improved medicine, and all that without other things changing.

I had no concept of what those changes might be. But I knew that I needed to study Japanese in order to get my foot in. So I started studying Japanese in Taiwan in Puli with a lady born in Taiwan whose parents were Japanese. She had married a Taiwanese man who had gone to university in Japan. So they still spoke Japanese at home.

Then, when we got back to the United States, John got a job at Middlebury College, which had a famous summer language program. I continued studying Japanese there.

Q: So in Taiwan, that was the first time you studied Japanese.

A (R): Right, that's right.

Q: You continued in Japanese.

A (J): It was interesting, because she got some good, fairly new textbooks. They were post-war Japanese. And her teacher only knew pre-war Japanese.

A (R): I remember my teacher reading the textbook and saying the loan world "supagetchi"—what does that mean?

I went home and thought about it and realized what the word meant: spaghetti. I came back and said it's a kind of pasta. She'd never heard of it. The war had changed things a lot.

Q: Oh boy. Did you write anything on social change?

A (R): No, I never did because when I went back to graduate school, at Yale, I was supposed to be studying with a couple of people with Taiwan and China backgrounds, Emily Ahern and someone else. But in the meantime, they had moved on to other universities, and, for my first year, there wasn't anybody on the Chinese side in Sociology or Anthropology. On the language side, I was invited to join a three-person

seminar with Edwin McClellan, who was a great translator of Japanese literature.

I ended up falling in love with the literature, and the language, and other Japanese stuff. So I never went back to the Taiwan side.

But I really wanted to. And I still find myself reading about it.

Q: Still, in Taiwan, you learned Japanese.

A (R): I am still learning Japanese.

Q: What happened after you left Taiwan?

A (J): We left Taiwan in the summer of 1971, just after the start of ping-pong diplomacy signalled a thawing in US-PRC relations. Unsure if we would be able to return to Taiwan, we began thinking of other places where Hokkien is spoken. We wound up spending three months in Penang before returning to the USA for the American Anthropological Association meeting in November. The following spring was spent at Berkeley, where I filled in for Jack Potter, who was on leave. We spent summer back in Ithaca and then moved to Middlebury, Vermont, for my first and only tenure track job, at Middlebury College.

Middlebury is a small liberal arts college, one of the schools called the Little Ivies[7]. Besides being a small elite college, Middlebury was famous for the Middlebury Summer Language School, where Ruth and I took first-year Japanese together. She studied second-year Japanese on her own, while working in the college library. Then, the following summer, I did second-year Japanese while Ruth did third-year. The summer after that, Ruth, who had started an MA in East Asian studies at Yale, audited the fourth-year Japanese course, and I did the third-year course in Mandarin.

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7 小長春藤聯盟，美國東北區域私立人文學院之間組成的一個相當具有競爭力的教育聯盟。

Q: Did you teach language and Anthropology?

A (J): I was one of two anthropologists and the most junior member of a five-person Sociology-Anthropology Department. I taught Anthropology. Then, it was Christmas in 1975, Ruth had come back to Middlebury from Yale to spend the holidays with me. I told her that I had both bad and good news. The bad news was that I would not get tenure. The good news was that I had received a grant to study Mandarin for a year at the Inter-University Center in Taipei. Ruth told me that we were pregnant.

Eight weeks after our daughter was born, we returned to Taiwan, where we lived for an academic year in an apartment in Muzha（木柵）, near the main entrance to National Cheng-chi University （政治大學）. While I was studying Mandarin and doing additional fieldwork with my “elder brother” （師兄）, who had established his own altar （神壇） in Songshan （松山）, Ruth was accepted by the Ph.D. program in Japanese Literature at Yale.

A (R): I continued studying Japanese while we were in Muzha, and also enjoyed showing off our beautiful daughter and being free of nagging about pregnancy. Also, at that time, a lot of doctors in Taiwan were pushing women to use formula instead of breast milk. I became something of a public advocate for breast feeding.

Q: And then?

A (J): We moved to New Haven, where we lived in Yale married graduate student housing. Ruth had a full fellowship, and the first year we were there, I had unemployment compensation. We had also made some money by buying and selling a house in Middlebury. So the first two years I was a househusband and primary caretaker for our daughter. But after two years, our daughter was old enough for daycare, and I needed to look for work. One day I noticed an announcement for a free six-week course in FORTRAN. On the strength of that course and the linguistics I had learned as an anthropologist, I was hired as a research assistant in an early AI project run by Yale’s

Computer Science Department. I was working on a program called FRUMP (Fast Reading Understanding Memory Program). That was in 1979-80, and the computer we were using was a DEC Tops-20 minicomputer. I still remember the day when it was shut down for twenty-four hours to add one megabyte of memory. I learned to program in LISP and was encouraged to audit the sophomore-level introduction to Computer Science.

Q: Was this program paid for by the US government?

A (J): Yes. It was funded by DARPA, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency.

Then, Ruth got the grant that brought us to Japan.

Q: When was that?

A (J): 1980.

五、進入日本大型廣告公司博報堂集團

Q: You brought your daughter with you to Japan?

A (J): Yes. And just before we moved to Japan, a funny thing happened. Ruth's friend Robert Danly[8], who was finishing his Ph.D. in Japanese Literature, invited us to dinner. Danly began studying Japanese as a Yale undergraduate. He then spent three years working as a copywriter for Asian Advertising in Japan, before returning to Yale as a graduate student in Japanese literature.

A (R): We met in my first seminar with McClellan in my first year at Yale.

8 Robert Lyons Danly（1947-1997），任教於美國密西根大學的日本文學教授。將日本文學著作翻譯成英文，曾獲得重要獎項。

When I went back after the year in Taiwan, he was ahead of me and already working on his dissertation. He had fallen in love with a particular author and did a wonderful dissertation. Published as a book, it won a National Book Award, which is a really prestigious prize.

Q: Wow.

A (R): He was a lovely man. Unfortunately, he died of a brain tumor, a few years later. At any rate, just before we left for Japan, he invited us to dinner.

As the dinner was ending, he turned to John and asked, “What are you going to do in Japan?” John said, “Bob, I don’t know. I hear you can make some yen teaching English.” Danly said, “Teaching English is bo-o-o-ring.” He, then, gave John a list of names and phone numbers of people to call in Japan.

A (J): The second name on the list was Robert Cutts, the vice-president of a small corporate communication company called Dynaword. Dynaword was doing daily translations for IBM Japan, for which they needed an editor. That I had a PhD in Anthropology and a rudimentary knowledge of Hokkien and Mandarin as well as Japanese was irrelevant. However, in 1980, Japan was emerging as a world leader in digital technology, and I was one of the few native English speakers in Japan who could write, edit, and also understood weird new words like Assembler, machine code, RAM, operating system, OS, and VLSI. To make a long story short, Dynaword offered me twice my pay as an assistant professor at Middlebury. I took the job.

Three years later, I was hired as an English language copywriter by Hakuhodo（博報堂）, the second largest Japanese advertising company.

Q: Was that the job you stayed in Japan for?

A (J): Yes. I joined Hakuhodo in 1983 and worked for that company for thirteen years, until

1996. But that was only part of our story.

After finishing her year of studying Japanese at the Inter-university Center, Ruth began working as a freelance Japanese-to-English translator. In 1984, she was offered a job with a client that did not work with freelancers. That is when we established our company, The Word Works, Ltd., where I joined Ruth in 1996 when I left Hakuhodo.

Q: In the summer of 1978, Li Yi-yuan arranged for you to spend three months back in Taiwan.

A (J): He did. He secured funding from the Pacific Cultural Foundation. But, then, Ruth brought us to Japan in1980. In, I think it was 1983, I was invited to a conference in Taiwan. But that was also the year I joined Hakuhodo, put aside my academic interests, and began pursuing a career in advertising.

Then, around 1989, I blame it on our daughter becoming a teenager, I got out some of my old field notes and wrote a paper called "Why Don't We See Some Real Money Here?" about the use of spirit money in Chinese popular religion. I sent it off to the *Journal of Chinese Religion,* where it was published in March, 1990. Encouraged by that paper's publication, I began work on another paper, which I submitted to *American Ethnologist.* I got the nicest rejection letter I have ever seen from then editor Don Brenneis.

He said, "John, I would really like this paper, but you haven't cited any work done in the last decade."

Q: So you revised and resubmitted it.

A (J): By that time, the Internet had arrived in services like Compuserve, the Source, and AOL. I was able to learn quickly whose work I should have cited and order their books. I rewrote and resubmitted the paper "Negotiating with Demons" published in

American Ethnologist in February 1995.

Q: But also, weren't you teaching at Sophia (Sophia University in Tokyo)?

A (J): I started teaching part-time at Sophia in 1994. But that had nothing to do with these papers. I had provided contacts for one of John Clammer's MA students who wanted to study an ad campaign produced by Hakuhodo. She introduced me to Clammer, who asked me if I would be interested in teaching part-time at Sophia. My first course was a seminar, a mixture of Business and Anthropology, titled "The Making and Meaning of Advertising". Later, when James Abegglen retired, I was asked to teach "Marketing in Japan".

Q: You didn't have time to publish your PhD thesis.

A (J): I was busy pursuing my new career and, truth be told, when I look back on it, my thesis was not an exceptional piece of work. I am now a much better writer than I was when I wrote it.

If I were to rewrite it now, I would start with a very different perspective on my Daoist master. Because I have worked with people who create TV commercials and other forms of advertising, I now understand what media critics call production values. I would also include how good he was when negotiating with his clients, building their trust that he knew what he was doing.

Q: He wasn't one of these people like the ones that Kristofer Schipper or Michael Saso worked with, who claimed that they belonged to orthodox Daoist lineages?

A (J): I had an interesting conversation one day when I asked Tio how do you establish yourself as a Daoist master?

He told me there were two ways. One way was to claim a lineage through which you

received sacred texts passed down from generation to generation by a founder who received a divine revelation. The second was to receive your own revelation. Tio Selian was the second type, a spiritual entrepreneur.

It now seems to me that ritual healing, especially in modern societies, is a consulting business. When I went into the field, the general idea was that ritual healing occurred because the healer was someone who knew the local community, who knew what was going on. The ritual was supposed to be effective because of a model based on ancient Greek drama that goes back, I believe, to the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's book *Birth of the Tragedy and the Genealogy of Morals*. The healer and his patient are the protagonists in a drama whose outcome is validated by the chorus, the other members of the community who see the ritual performed.

That model didn't fit at all with what I saw working with my Daoist master in Taiwan. I saw people interacting with the Daoist healer in a way that I now realize closely resembles the way in which people interact with doctors, lawyers, or marketing consultants. Somebody has a problem. They don't understand why. They don't know what to do about it. So they start asking their friends and neighbors, "do you know somebody who can deal with this?" You listen to them describe their experience and choose someone who seems to be efficacious （靈）. If you like what they do and it seems to work for you, you are happy and recommend that healer to others. My most interesting discovery about Taiwan may have been that most people in Taiwan would agree that, while all sorts of people claim to have spiritual powers, most of them are frauds, charlatans, or cheats. But there are a few who do have special powers or real expertise. The problem is how to find them.

A (R): Mr. Tio was a very empathetic listener. The thing I remember is that other people were always asking me why I wasn't pregnant. (Back then, a woman was supposed to get pregnant immediately upon marriage; since I did not have a mother-in-law on hand to nag me about it, everyone else did.) Mr. Tio said to John, I think maybe the reason

Ruth can't get pregnant is everyone is putting so much stress on her. Let's just not talk about it anymore and see what happens. He didn't understand that I didn't want to have a baby. But his reaction was very thoughtful and sympathetic. I think that that was how he dealt with his clients. He was very considerate.

六、對民族所與李亦園先生的回憶

Q: Do you remember Mr. 李亦園 or Mr. 文崇一 ?

A (J): You mentioned in your article these two senior faculty. It was 李亦園 . I never knew 文崇一 . That was just a reference that I found.

Q: How about 李亦園 ?

A (J): Oh, 李亦園 . We met when we were first here.

Q: In 1969?

A (J): Yes.

Q: And?

A (J): He provided some introductions and arranged for the paperwork we needed to settle and do research in Puli. This is one of the things that I'm sort of working now. I don't know if you see it on Facebook.

Q: Yes, you asked me to send you the bibliography.

A (J): Yes. And I've been posting stuff on Facebook.

The thing is I wanted to talk to people here about their impressions of him. I read your article, which does a really good job of covering his academic career. But to me, the

interesting thing about 李亦園 is that he was much more than an academic. I see him as a modern mandarin, a Chinese public intellectual for whom scholarship and public service are two sides of the same coin. One is for the sake of the other.

Q: And how was your personal relationship?

A (J): I never had a close relationship with him because of, you know, one of the things that was very bad about my generation of young anthropologists. I can't say this was true of everybody else. This is just me. But when I arrived in Taiwan, my language skills were minimal. And everything that I had read about Anthropology, Chinese and Taiwan Anthropology was written by American or British scholars in English.

Few of us, and this was certainly true of me, were able to read Chinese and take what Chinese scholars wrote seriously. So we didn't. And so we treated even people like 李亦園, as a useful connections. They could get the paperwork done for us. They could introduce us to assistants. Sometimes they became our assistants. But we never imagined taking seriously what they were thinking. Because the people we wanted to impress were people like Morris Friedman at Oxford, Wolf, and William Skinner, and all that crew.

But I still have a couple of fond memories of encounters with Li Yih-yuan. Probably the best one— we had been living in Japan for about three years — I was invited to a conference here at the Institute. I got in a taxi in front of Taipei Station and wanted to ask the driver to take me to Academia Sinica. Having lived in Japan, I wanted to say, "Chuo Kenkyujo, onegai itashimasu," please take me to Academia Sinica. But I couldn't figure out how to say that sentence politely in Chinese.

After arriving at the Institute I went to check in with Li Yih-yuan. I said to him that I was feeling bad because I couldn't remember how to say "Please take me to Academia Sinica." Li smiled and said, "In Taipei, nobody says please."

Q: 李 arranged for John to come back in the summer of 1978 and to attend conferences here. Did you ever deliver a lecture here after you finished your PhD dissertation?

A (J): I never gave a talk about my dissertation.

Q: But you published “The Parting of the Ways” .

A (J): That’s right.

Q: That was a paper that everyone was reading.

A (J): I thought it was an important idea. Because the one thing we know for sure from Chinese history about Daoism is, apart from a few brief exceptions, Daoist healers like my master Tio had never been in the strict sense professionals. Daoism had never been legally regulated by the state.

The model I used was research on the history of modern medicine in the US. There were no legal standards for what is now called medicine 1.0, no standard curriculum for med school, no certification bodies. And there were no legal sanctions against calling yourself a doctor without certification. From a patient’s perspective finding a doctor is trial and error. Treatments may or may not seem effective.

I now realize that Daoist healers are, like marketing consultants and advertising creatives, pseudo professionals. We form organizations. We give each other prizes. But we are not going to be thrown in jail if we lack a license to do whatever we do. The real professions are lawyers, doctors, and priests in some religions. If you claim to be one and don’t have a license, that’s illegal. You can be fined or imprisoned. In contrast, Daoism has been a basic part of Chinese culture for many hundreds and thousands of years. But there has never been a legal mechanism for adjudicating claims to possess special powers or expertise.

AFTERWORD: John reflects on the interview.

When I look back at that much younger me, the newlywed anthropologist wannabe who first came to Taiwan in1969, I realize how naive I was. I accepted without question the myth that the Japanese colonial government had, by emulating the British imperial model of indirect rule, preserved (or petrified?) late Imperial Chinese culture, whose religious traditions were the subject of my study. Not only was Ruth right when she pointed out that introducing such features of modernity as railroads, electrification, eradication of infectious diseases, and universal primary education must have had profound effects. I never stopped to consider the difference between traditional Chinese culture, deeply rooted for centuries in Fujian and Guangdong, and what it became in Taiwan, a wild frontier when Chinese settlers arrived in large numbers in the early 17th century (around the same time that English colonists founded Jamestown (1607) and the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth Rock (1620) on what is now the East Coast of North America). I didn't know that, while Ruth and I were in Puli in 1969-71, Li Yih-yuan（李亦園）and Yang Kuo-shu（楊國樞）were organizing the symposiums whose proceedings were published as《中國人的性格》or that students at an elite high school in Tainan were reading Ayer's *Language, Truth, and Logic* and essays by the Protestant theologian Paul Tillich, both of which I had read while studying philosophy at MSU. There was, indeed, so much going on in Taiwan of which I was totally unaware.

圖 1　2009 年 11 月，張珣邀請 Arthur Wolf、John McCreery 等人來民族所參加「漢人民間宗教研究：理論與方法」研討會。（張珣提供，助理林鼎盛拍攝）

圖 2　2024 年 4 月 17 日，John McCreery 與 Ruth McCreery 夫婦在民族所一樓會客室接受張珣訪談。（民族所博物館提供）

圖 3　2024 年 4 月 17 日，John McCreery 與 Ruth McCreery 夫婦在民族所一樓會客室接受張珣訪談。（民族所博物館提供）

圖 4　2024 年 4 月 17 日，張珣陪同 John McCreery 與 Ruth McCreery 夫婦拜訪黃樹民院士。（民族所博物館提供）

圖 5　2017 年 3 月 13 日 John McCreery 在民族所進行周一演講的海報。（資料來源：民族所官網 https://www.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/content/EventReg/content.aspx?SiteID=530167135246736660&MenuID=530377762456441046&MSID=7436315777756353）