Globethics Repository

The history of Christianity in modern China

This page was generated automatically upon download from the Globethics Repository. More information on Globethics see https://www.globethics.net. Data and content policy of Globethics Repository see https://repository.globethics.net/pages/policy.

Item Type	Journal volume
Publisher	Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, Chung Chi College, Shatin, Hong Kong
Rights	Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, Chung Chi College, Shatin, Hong Kong
Download date	2026-09-18 13:51:45
Link to Item	http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12424/4321194

Ching Feng

A Journal on Christianity and
Chinese Religion and Culture

The History of Christianity in Modern China

Special Issue Editors

MARINA XIAOJING WANG, AGNES SUK-MAN PANG,

AND KINIA CHOI-LIN NG

New Series, Volume 20, Numbers 1–2

Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture

The New Series (2000–) of *Ching Feng: A Journal on Christianity and Chinese Religion and Culture* (ISSN 0009–4668) is published biannually by the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture. The journal has been a publication of the Study Centre since the inception of its Old Series (1957–99). Subscription rates are as follows (handling and bank charges included):

SINGLE COPY (1 issue)		ONE-YEAR SUBSCRIPTION (2 issues / 1 volume)	
Hong Kong	HK $65	Hong Kong	HK $125
Other areas	US $14.5	Other areas	US $29
(*plus mailing charge*)		(*plus mailing charge*)	

Subscribers may send their subscriptions and orders for the New Series of *Ching Feng* to The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, Hong Kong (email: cup@cuhk.edu.hk), with all remittances payable to "The Chinese University of Hong Kong." Orders for back issues not in the New Series should be sent to the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, Ground Floor, Theology Building, Chung Chi College, Shatin, Hong Kong (email: info@csccrc.org), with all remittances payable to the "Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture Ltd."

Articles in *Ching Feng* are indexed in *ATLA Religion Database®* (*ATLA RDB®*, a product of the American Theological Library Association, https://www.atla.com) and *EBSCO Discovery* (a product of EBSCO Information Services, https://www.ebsco.com) and included in full-text in *AtlaSerials PLUS®* (a product of ATLA, https://www.atla.com), *ProQuest* database (a product of ProQuest, http://www.proquest.com), and Globethics.net (free online library; except latest issue; http://www.globethics.net/web/ching-feng-new-series/).

© 2022 Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture Ltd.

All rights reserved. No Part of this publication may be reproduced in any form without prior written permission from the publishers.

Established in 1957 in Hong Kong, the **Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture** has been promoting the study of Chinese religions and culture and of the history and the contemporary situation of Chinese Christianity. The Study Centre also has been furthering the dialogue between Christianity and other Asian religions and the development of indigenous theology.

Director Ying Fuk-tsang
Associate Director Francis Ching-wah Yip

Ching Feng

A Journal on Christianity and Chinese Religion and Culture

Originally published under the title *Quarterly Notes* since 1957, *Ching Feng* is a peer-reviewed journal and one of the major publications of the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture (CSCCRC), by which it seeks to promote critical and constructive studies of all aspects of Chinese Christianity, Chinese religion and culture, and interreligious dialogue between Christianity and other religious traditions in Asia.

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

John BERTHRONG	*Boston University, USA*
HUANG Po-ho	*Chang Jung Christian University, Taiwan*
KIM Heup Young	*Kangnam University, Korea*
KWOK Pui-lan	*Candler School of Theology, Emory University, USA*
Whalen LAI	*The University of California, Davis, USA*
Archie C. C. LEE	*Shandong University, China*
Peter K. H. LEE	*Retired Director of CSCCRC, Hong Kong*
Philip Y. S. LEUNG	*The Chinese University of Hong Kong*
Daniel L. OVERMYER†	*The University of British Columbia, Canada*
Lauren F. PFISTER	*Hong Kong Baptist University*
YANG Fenggang	*Purdue University, USA*

EDITORIAL BOARD

CHU Cindy Yik-yi	*Hong Kong Baptist University*
LAI Chi-tim	*The Chinese University of Hong Kong*
LAI Pan-chiu (Editor-in-chief)	*The Chinese University of Hong Kong*
LAI Tsz Pang John	*The Chinese University of Hong Kong*
LEE Kam-keung	*Hong Kong Baptist University*
YING Fuk-tsang	*The Chinese University of Hong Kong*
Francis Ching-wah YIP	*The Chinese University of Hong Kong*

EDITORIAL STAFF

Associate Editor	George Kam Wah MAK
Associate Editor	Naomi THURSTON
Manuscript Editor	NG Sau Lai

Ching Feng

A Journal on Christianity and Chinese Religion and Culture

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20, NUMBERS 1–2

The History of Christianity in Modern China

SPECIAL ISSUE EDITORS
MARINA XIAOJING WANG, AGNES SUK-MAN PANG,
AND KINIA CHOI-LIN NG

Introduction: Chinese Christianities in Big Eras 1
MARINA XIAOJING WANG, AGNES SUK-MAN PANG, AND KINIA CHOI-LIN NG

Christian Schools, Left-wing Literature and the 1967 Riots in Hong Kong: A Case Study of *Youths' Garden* 7
YING FUK-TSANG

中國宣道會瑞典宣教團 (1893–1900)
The Swedish China Mission of the Alliance (1893–1900) 49
ELLIS MING-CHEUNG HO 何明章

大時代下的基督徒學者——以燕京大學宗教學院蔡詠春為例
Christian Scholars in the "Grand Epoch":
A Case Study Cai Yongchun and His times
at the School of Religion, Yenching University 87
CHIN KEN-PA 曾慶豹

「禮賢車騎」——王謙如牧師與他的德國淵源
"The Rhenish General of Chariots and Horsemen":
Pastor Wong Him-yue and His German Origin 111
WU KIN-PAN 胡健斌

Appendix

Tribute to Jean-Paul Wiest 133
ANTHONY E. CLARK

Other Article

重新評價科玄之爭——五四百年後再思科學與宗教的對話
Revisiting the Dialogue between Science and Religion 139
KWAN KAI-MAN 關啟文

Book Reviews

Gail King. *"A Model for All Christian Women": Candida Xu, a Chinese Christian Woman of the Seventeenth Century* 159
WAI-YIN CHRISTINA WONG

Ma Li. *Christian Women and Modern China: Recovering a Women's History of Chinese Protestantism* 165
ZHOU YUN

Fenggang Yang, Jonathan Pettit, and Chris White, eds. *Shades of Gray in the Changing Religious Markets of China* 173
BAI YUCHENG

Alexander Chow and Easten Law, eds. *Ecclesial Diversity in Chinese Christianity* 179
PETER CHEN-MAIN WANG

Bibiana Yee-ying Wong. *The Short-lived Catholic Central Bureau: National Catalyst for Cultural Apostolate in China (1947–1951)* 185
ROBERT E. CARBONNEAU, CP

Joseph W. Ho. *Developing Mission: Photography, Filmmaking, and American Missionaries in Modern China* 197
WANG ZHIXI

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 1–5 (print version)
Published in print December 2022

Introduction: Chinese Christianities in Big Eras

MARINA XIAOJING WANG, AGNES SUK-MAN PANG, AND KINIA CHOI-LIN NG

This special issue includes four essays presented at the 11th and 12th International Symposia on the History of Christianity in Modern China in 2019 and 2021. Founded in Hong Kong in 1998, the Symposium has been an important arena where intellectual exchange occurs among historians of modern Chinese Christianity. The 12th Symposium, held online on August 12–13 and 19–20, 2021, was jointly organized by the Society for the Study of History of Christianity in China, the Centre for Sino-Christian Studies of the Hong Kong Baptist University, the Christianity and Chinese Culture Research Centre of the Alliance Bible Seminary, and the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture. Its theme was "Chinese Christianities in Big Eras." The papers presented at the Symposium representing the research focus on regional studies, female Christians, church-state relations, indigenization, Christianity in Hong Kong and Catholicism.

Marina Xiaojing WANG (王曉靜) is Post-doctoral Research Fellow at the Centre of Mission and Global Studies, VID Specialized University, Norway.

Agnes Suk-man PANG (PENG Shumin 彭淑敏) is Associate Head and Assistant Professor of the Department of History, Hong Kong Shue Yan University.

Kinia Choi-lin NG (HUANG Cailian 黃彩蓮) is Professor of Historical Studies, Chinese Online School of Theology.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed dramatic changes within the Qing Empire, from the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861–1895) to the Hundred Days' Reform (June 11 to September 22, 1898), from the signing of a series of treaties with western powers to the defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). Along with these socio-political changes came the rapid development of Protestant missions in China and the intensified Sino-western encounter. These encounters brought both collaborations and conflicts to Chinese Christianities, resulting in progress, as well as damage (to, for example, the faith community and evangelistic work, as shown in one of the following case studies).

Two articles in this issue focus on Protestantism during this period, with different denominations and in divergent regions. Whilst Wu Kin-pan's (Hu Jianbin 胡健斌) essay "'The Rhenish General of Chariots and Horsemen': Pastor Wong Him-yue and His German Origin「禮賢車騎」——王謙如牧師與他的德國淵源" examines the German origin of a Chinese Rhenish pastor, Wong Him-yue, and his friendship and cooperation with German missionaries in Southeast China (Guangdong), Ellis Ming-cheung Ho's (He Mingzhang 何明章) article "The Swedish China Mission of the Alliance (1893–1900) 中國宣道會瑞典宣教團 (1893–1900)" traces the evangelistic activities of the Swedish China Mission of the Alliance and their experiences of the locals' anti-foreign hatred in Northwest China (the border of Shansi and Mongolia), which was triggered by a series of political upheavals, particularly during the First Sino-Japanese War and the Boxer Uprising.

Wu's essay uncovers the critical role Rhenish missionaries (such as Ferdinand Traugott Karl Genähr, Christian Wilhelm Louis, Ernst Faber, Wilhelm Dietrich, Immanuel Genähr and Richard Gottschalk) played in Wong Him-yue's early life in terms of his spiritual growth and ministry training. In particular, Wu highlights Wong's interaction and close relationships with Ferdinand Traugott Karl Genähr and Ernst Faber. Ferdinand Genähr, the first Rhenish missionary to China, had a substantial impact on Wong's spiritual formation and recognized and encouraged his ability in his early years. Wong greatly admired Ernst Faber's knowledge and scholarship and appreciated his teaching and support in learning and pastoral care. Wu believes that Wong's involvement in Faber's literature work enhanced his theological knowledge, which became second to none among the pioneer Rhenish Chinese pastors. Additionally, according to Wu, Wong's view on opi-

um was also profoundly influenced by Faber during the years when they closely worked together in Humen.[1] Wong's appreciation of Faber continued even though Faber was forced to leave the Rhenish Mission in 1880 while Wong remained in the mission. Wong's friendship and close collaboration with Rhenish missionaries, as well as their unanimous recognition of his contributions, prepared him for church ministry and eventually led to his ordination as the first Chinese pastor of the Rhenish Mission.

Meanwhile, the Sino-western encounter brought about not only fraternity and progress in evangelism but also clashes, hindrances and even destruction. By referring to the US archives of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, Ho's account of the Swedish China Mission of the Alliance reveals a telling story of the missionaries' experiences at several historical junctions during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The article presents the reader with a narrative of the establishment of the Swedish China Mission of the Alliance, their initial work in China, mission strategy and expansion during a series of socio-political changes and turbulences, and particularly a detailed account of how missionaries escaped and were martyred during the Boxer Uprising. From 1893, when the Swedish China Mission of the Alliance began their mission work on the border of Shansi and Mongolia, to the year 1900, missionaries evangelized people in remote regions and established nearly twenty mission stations. Although they survived the anti-foreign animosities of the Chinese triggered by the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and despite the postponement of the arrival of the third batch of the Swedish missionaries and the partial damages of some mission stations, their mission work came to an end due to the fatal blow of the Boxers in 1900.

Entering the twentieth century, one of the biggest challenges of the era faced by Christianity in China—whether in terms of ideological trials or church-state relations—came from the Chinese Communist Revolution, which culminated in the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The remaining two articles of this special issue present the reader with vivid accounts of how this unprecedented political struggle twisted the fate of Christianity in modern China and Hong Kong, individually and collectively.

---

[1] Wu Kin-pan (HU Jianbin 胡健斌), "'The Rhenish General of Chariots and Horsemen': Pastor Wong Him-yue and His German Origin「禮賢車騎」——王謙如牧師與他的德國淵源," *Ching Feng*, n.s., 20.1–2 (2022): 122–23.

Chin Ken-Pa's (Zeng Qingbao 曾慶豹) case study of Chinese Protestant intellectual Cai Yongchun ("Christian Scholars in the 'Grand Epoch': A Case Study of Cai Yongchun and His Time at the School of Religion, Yenching University 大時代下的基督徒學者——以燕京大學宗教學院蔡詠春為例") explores Cai's effort and struggle in accommodating himself to the new and challenging socio-political and ideological environment resulted from the founding of the "new China" in 1949. Being aware of the "challenges of the new era," particularly those from communist ideology, Cai took the initiative to seek the path for Christianity to "survive the new era" and "contribute to the new China" after he returned to China from the United States in 1950.[2] As shown in Chin's essay, Cai shifted his academic focuses from the fields of anthropology and Chinese philosophy to the studies of "Christianity and Marxism-Leninism" and endeavoured to revise textbooks of the School of Religion at Yenching University in order to navigate, connect and make dialogue between Christianity and communist ideology such as Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. However, due to his Christian background, Cai was not spared in the (anti-imperialist) Denunciation Movement, and his relationship with his mentor T. C. Chao, former dean of the School of Religion at Yenching University, was tossed about by this devastating political storm. Chin regards Cai's experience from the 1950s to the 1970s as an epitome of the life experiences of many Chinese intellectuals who returned to China after 1949. By adopting an "individualistic" perspective of the "grand epoch," Chin argues that both the changes in interpersonal relationships and the progress of Cai's academic concerns were brought about by the "*zeitgeist* of the grand epoch."[3]

Moreover, this "*zeitgeist* of the grand epoch" demonstrated its far-reaching influence beyond the mainland Chinese border during the Cold War period. As Ying Fuk-tsang (Xing Fuzeng 邢福增) points out, the 1967 Riots—a large-scale political struggle spearheaded by the extreme leftists to overthrow the colonial government—were a watershed in the history of Hong Kong. His essay "Christian Schools, Left-wing Literature and the 1967 Riots in Hong Kong: A Case Study of *Youths' Garden*" examines the connection between the 1967 Riots and Chris-

---

[2] Chin Ken-pa (Zeng Qingbao 曾慶豹), "Christian Scholars in the 'Grand Epoch': A Case Study of Cai Yongchun and His Time at the School of Religion, Yenching University 大時代下的基督徒學者——以燕京大學宗教學院蔡詠春為例," *Ching Feng*, n.s., 20.1–2 (2022): 91.

[3] Ibid., 88.

tian students in Hong Kong and attempts to reconstruct the leftist underground operations in those Christian schools. Centred in a contemporary left-wing literary magazine in the 1950s and 1960s, *Youths' Garden* (青年樂園), Ying uncovers the evolution of the Christian students' ideology (from "grey" to "red") in the 1960s and their involvement in the 1967 Riots.

In addition, this special issue also includes a tribute to Dr. Jeal-Paul Wiest, delivered by Professor Anthony Clark. It is a tradition for the Symposium to pay tribute to selected "Distinguished Scholars" at a specially arranged session known as "Tribute to Distinguished Scholars." Dr. Wiest was selected as one of the two "Distinguished Scholars" (together with Professor Leung Ka-lun) of the 12th Symposium in recognition of his significant contributions to the study of the history of Catholicism in modern China and profound impact on both institutions and individual scholars in the field of Sino-Christian studies of our era. Dr. Wiest contributes to the study of the history of Catholicism in China with his distinguished publications. His influence and long service life are witnessed in both academic and Christian communities in Sino-Christian research and exchange.

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 7–47 (print version)
Published online May 4, 2022; in print December 2022

Christian Schools, Left-wing Literature and the 1967 Riots in Hong Kong: A Case Study of *Youths' Garden*

YING FUK-TSANG

Abstract

The 1967 Riots were a watershed with far-reaching influence in the history of Hong Kong. The purpose of this study is twofold: to investigate the connection between the 1967 Riots and students in Christian schools, and to reconstruct the leftist underground operations in schools. Focusing on students in Christian schools, this paper examines their ideology and involvement in the 1967 Riots, drawing on some of their articles in *Youths' Garden* (青年樂園), a contemporary left-wing literary magazine in the 1950s and 1960s. The magazine shows how a group of Christian school students evolved ideologically during the political upheaval of the 1960s and eventually embarked on a path of unprecedented political struggle.

YING Fuk-tsang (XING Fuzeng 邢福增) is professor at the Divinity School of Chung Chi College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

The first draft of this paper was presented at the 11th International Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: Chinese Church in World Christianities, organized by Modern History Research Centre, Hong Kong Baptist University and Christianity and Chinese Culture Research Centre, Alliance Bible Seminary on June 14, 2019, Hong Kong. The research work published here was part of the output of the Direct Grant for Research Project: "A Study of Hong Kong Christian Schools in the 1967 Riots," funded by the Faculty of Arts, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Thanks to Pang Suk-yi, my research assistant, and Connie Yan-wai Lo, director of the documentary *Vanished Archives*, for their help in bringing the project to fruition.

Keywords: 1967 Riots, *Youths' Garden*, Christianity, Hong Kong

I. INTRODUCTION

The 1967 Riots were a watershed with far-reaching influence in the history of Hong Kong. Triggered by a series of industrial actions, the riots soon escalated into large-scale social upheaval as leftist organizations mobilized their members to take part in the movement. On May 16, 1967, the Hong Kong–Kowloon All Sectors Anti-Persecution Struggle Committee (*GangJiu gejie tongbao fandui GangYing pohai douzheng weiyuanhui* 港九各界同胞反對港英迫害鬥爭委員會, hereafter referred to as "All-Sectors Struggle Committee") was established. On the same day, the chairman of the Committee, Yeung Kwong (Yang Guang 楊光), director of the Federation of Trade Unions, delivered his protest statement.[1] Following the establishment of the Hong Kong–Kowloon Students' Struggle Committee (*GangJiu xuesheng douweihui* 港九學生鬥委會) on June 1, more than a dozen left-wing schools threw in their support for the workers.[2] The battle was in full force as the "Struggle Committee of Students from Government / Subsidized / Grant / Private Schools" (*Guanjin busi xuesheng douweihui* 官津補私學生鬥委會) announced its establishment on June 19.[3] Within days, students from all over the city were mobilized to take part in the struggle led by the "Hong Kong–Kowloon Students' Struggle Committee."[4] Clearly, the 1967 Riots were a political struggle spearheaded by the extreme leftists to topple the colonial government in the name of "anti-British and counter-violence (*fanYing kangbao* 反英抗暴)." Underlying the riots were factors far

---

[1] "GangJiu gejie fanpohai douweihui chengli" 港九各界反迫害鬥委會成立 [The Hong Kong–Kowloon All Sectors Anti-Persecution Struggle Committee Formed], *Ta Kung Pao* 大公報 (hereafter referred to as *TKP*), May 17, 1967.

[2] "GangJiu xueshengjie douweihui xuangao chengli" 港九學生界鬥委會宣告成立 [The Hong Kong–Kowloon Students' Struggle Committee Declared Established], *TKP*, June 4, 1967.

[3] "Guanjin busi xuesheng douweihui chengli" 官津補私學生鬥委會成立 [The Struggle Committee of Students from Government / Subsidized / Grant / Private Schools Formed], *TKP*, June 21, 1967.

[4] "Xuesheng douweihui zuo haozhao quanGang xuesheng zuzhi hangdong qilai sanshi sanji GangYing" 學生鬥委會昨號召全港學生組織行動起來三視三擊港英 [The Struggle Committee of Students Called on Students to Disdain, Abominate and Attack the British Government Yesterday], *TKP*, June 22, 1967.

beyond labor issues or social conflicts. The "uprising," indeed, was an extension of the Cultural Revolution in the mainland.

Since the outbreak of the 1967 Riots, much has been written on its history and its profound impact on Hong Kong.[5] Yet little is known about how the riots, which lasted almost half a year, affected the Christian[6] community in the city. In this regard, the author has made a preliminary study on Hong Kong Christians and their responses during the riots.[7] There is no doubt that the Christian community in Hong Kong was caught in the political storm. The fact that many supporters in the uprising were students in elite Christian schools, however, indicates left-wing infiltration through underground operations in those schools. How did the leftists build their network in the Christian schools? Why were the elite students—educated in Christian institutions in a British colony—involved in the leftist uprising? These are the key questions I seek to explore in this paper.

The purpose of this study is twofold: to investigate the connection between the 1967 Riots and Christian school students, and to reconstruct the leftist underground operations in schools. Focusing on students in Christian schools, this paper examines their ideology and involvement in the 1967 Riots, drawing on some of their articles in *Youths' Garden* (*Qingnian leyuan* 青年樂園, hereafter referred to as *YG*), a contemporary left-wing literary magazine in the 1950s and 1960s.

---

[5] Gary Ka-wai Cheung, *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009). Yu Ruxin 余汝信, *Xianggang 1967* [Hong Kong, 1967] (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 2012). Ching Cheong (Cheng Xiang 程翔), *Xianggang liuqi baodong shimo: Jiedu Wu Dizhou* 香港六七暴動始末——解讀吳荻舟 [Understanding the 1967 Riots: Reading the Diaries of Wu Dizhou] (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2018). Robert A Bickers and Ray Yep, eds., *May Days in Hong Kong: Riot and Emergency in 1967* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009).

[6] Throughout this article, the term "Christianity" refers to different Christian traditions in China. The terms "Protestant" and "Catholic" refer to specific sectarian groups.

[7] Ying Fuk-tsang, "Liuqi baodong yu Xianggang Jidujiao" 六七暴動與香港基督教 [67 Riots and Hong Kong Christianity], in *Bianju xia de paihuai: Cong zhanhou dao hou jiuqi Xianggang jiaohui sheguan shilun* 變局下的徘徊——從戰後到後九七香港教會社關史論 [Wandering in Hong Kong: Church and Society from Post-War to Post-97] (Hong Kong, InPress Books, 2018), 69–129.

II. THE "UPRISING" AMONG STUDENTS IN CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

Few historians would dispute that leftist schools—the mainstay of pro-Communist and patriotic education in Hong Kong[8]—were the key players in the 1967 Riots. Statistics show that many who were arrested for participating in the riots were from left-wing schools.[9] Among these arrestees, 37 were teachers and 217 students.[10] However, the role of students from mainstream schools with pro-China patriotic education was no less significant. An intriguing question thus arises: how did non-leftist school students get caught in the 1967 political storm?

Roar of the Christian School Students

During the riots, two pro-Beijing newspapers in Hong Kong, *Ta Kung Pao* (*Da Gong Bao* 大公報, hereafter referred to as *TKP*) and *Wen Wei Po* (*Wen Hui Bao* 文匯報, hereafter referred to as *WWP*), reported the insurrections in meticulous detail from their leftist perspective. According to *TKP*'s coverage between May and December 1967, more than 50 Christian schools were involved in the "red storm."

The riots were triggered by a series of industrial strikes and demonstrations between April and May 1967. In early May, several Christian schools (including True Light, Chung Chi, Baptist, Lingnan, Sacred Heart, St. Paul's and St. Mary's)[11] voiced their ire over the

---

[8] Lau Chui-shan, "Alternative State Formation in Colonial Hong Kong: Patriotic Schools, 1946–1976," *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 8, no. 1 (August 2010): 390–407.

[9] From August 2010 to October 2011, the Centre for Chinese History of The Chinese University of Hong Kong interviewed 30 arrested "patriotic youths" involved in the 1967 Riots. See "Remembering 1967: The Life Experiences of 'Patriotic Youths' in Colonial Hong Kong" Oral History Project. Hong Kong Special Collection, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, https://archives.lib.cuhk.edu.hk/repositories/5/ resources/422.

[10] Lau Chui-shan, "Hong Kong Socialist Experimentation in the Colonial Era: Patriotic Schools, 1946–1976," *China Report* 47, no. 1 (2011): 33.

[11] "Zhenguang Chongji yiqun biyesheng han gongren, yanchi GangYing dangju zhizao xuexing baoxing" 真光崇基一群畢業生函工人，嚴斥港英當局製造血腥暴行 [An Open Letter from True Light and Chung Chi Graduates to Workers Condemning Sanguinary Oppression of the British Government], *WWP* 文匯報, May 7, 1967; "Zai GangYing minzu yapo zhixia, guanxiao, jiaohui xuexiao xuesheng nuhou liao" 在港英民族壓迫

government's crackdown on workers in their letters to two local left-leaning newspapers. In one of the letters, a student named "Patriotic Student" from Anglican Bishop Hall Jubilee School condemned the missionaries and Christian schools for their anti-Chinese teaching:

> Our Christian schools teach us to be subservient to Westerners. Yet we are determined to love our motherland. We have seen through the imperialists' hypocrisy: Ostensibly merciful and upright, they conspire to snuff out our national identity. They keep us out of politics and control our Chinese curriculum. At schools, teachers tout foreign supremacy and vilify our great motherland and proletarian Cultural Revolution. Those so-called missionaries openly insult our compatriots who stand up to their persecution.[12]

The writer referred to the oppression of workers by "the British Hong Kong Government" as "persecution." On May 22, the newly established "All-Sectors Struggle Committee" had its "Message to Compatriots" published in *TKP*, in which it deplored the "atrocities of the British Hong Kong government" and called on "compatriots to rise up in solidarity against persecution, and fight until winning complete victory."[13]

Following the Struggle Committee's call for action, *TKP* published a few letters from readers who "condemned the fascist atrocities in British Hong Kong."[14] Some of these readers were students of Pui Ching (Middle School), Baptist College, Wah Yan College Kowloon and "a group of Christian colleges in Tsim Sha Tsui."[15] In late May, *TKP*

之下，官校、教會學校學生怒吼了 [Government and Church School Students Howled Their Fury Against Oppression of the British People], *WWP*, May 13, 1967; "Chongji yiqun xuesheng laihan" 崇基一群學生來函 [A Letter from a Group of Chung Chi Students], *TKP*, May 18, 1967; "Yi Chongji yinianji xuesheng laihan" 一崇基一年級學生來函 [A Letter from a Freshman at Chung Chi College], *TKP*, May 19, 1967; "Shengmali shuyuan yige aiguo xuesheng" 聖瑪利書院一個愛國學生 [A Patriotic Student from St. Mary's College], *TKP*, May 19, 1967.

[12] "Heminghua zhongxue tongxue, jielu chuanjiaoshi fanHua" 何明華中學同學，揭露傳教士反華 [A Student from Anglican Bishop Hall Jubilee School Exposes Anti-Chinese Missionaries], *TKP*, May 21, 1967. This quotation and those in the following sections are translated into English by the author of this paper.

[13] "Gejie fanpohai douweihui gao tongbao shu" 各界反迫害鬥委會告同胞書 [Message from All-Sectors Struggle Committee to Compatriots], *TKP*, May 22, 1967.

[14] "Zuori laixin" 昨日來信 [A Letter from Yesterday], *TKP*, May 25, 1967.

[15] "Jiulong huaren shuyuan xuesheng" 九龍華仁書院學生 [Students at Wah Yan College Kowloon], *TKP*, May 23, 1967. "Yi Jianshaju Jijiao shuyuan xuesheng shang" 一尖沙咀基教書院學生上 [From a Student at Christian College in Tsim Sha Tsui], *TKP*, May 25, 1967. "Jinhui xueyuan yiqun xuesheng" 浸會學院一群學生 [A Group of Students from Baptist College], *TKP*, May 25, 1967; "Peizheng aiguo tongxue touru

launched a propaganda campaign against the Christian community, calling Young J. Allen (1836–1907), a well-known American missionary, an "American spy" who had promoted "so-called Western civilization and poisoned the minds of Chinese people."[16] The tactical discourse of class struggle was entirely consistent with the anti-Christian movement instigated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the early twentieth century.

Since June, the CCP had strengthened its mobilization for the political struggle in the education sector, setting up anti-persecution groups in various schools, including Saint Louis School, Baptist College, Maryknoll College and Ying Wa Girls' School.[17] Before long, individual students also joined in the struggle. A group of students from Kau Yan College criticized the school for not teaching modern Chinese history.[18] At a Catholic girls' school, some students referred to their nuns as "spies" and blamed the school for prohibiting leftist publications while giving access to "reactionary" Catholic newspapers.[19]

Full Commitment to the Struggle[20]

Following the establishment of the Hong Kong–Kowloon Students' Struggle Committee and the Struggle Committee of Students from mainstream schools, students from Christian schools were mobilized to set up battle groups and struggle committees.[21] The Red Flag Battle Group (established on June 14) and the New Days Battle Group (formed on June

---

douzheng xinglie" 培正愛國同學投入鬥爭行列 [Patriotic Pui Ching Students Engaging in the Struggle], *TKP*, May 25, 1967.

16 Shiren 史仁, "Meiguo tewu Lin Lezhi" 美國特務林樂知 [The American Spy Young J. Allens], *TKP*, May 26, 1967.

17 "Wujian Yingwen shuyuan tongxue, zu fanpohai douzheng xiaozu" 五間英文書院同學，組反迫害鬥爭小組 [Students from Five English-Medium Schools Organize Anti-Persecution Groups], *WWP*, June 14, 1967. Note that another letter from "patriotic schoolgirls" of Baptist College, Maryknoll College, Ying Wa Girls' School, etc., was dated June 4.

18 "Bu jiao jindai lishi, bu zhi sheng zai heshi" 不教近代歷史，不知生在何世 [Absence of Modern Chinese History in the School Curriculum Induces Ignorance of the Present], *WWP*, June 6, 1967.

19 "Shuyuannu jiefa GangYing guiji" 書院女揭發港英詭計 [British Conspiracies Exposed by Schoolgirls], *WWP*, June 14, 1967.

20 The major content of this section, see Ying, "Liuqi baodong yu Xianggang Jidujiao," 79–81.

21 Leung Mo-han (Liang Muxian 梁慕嫻), *Woyu Xianggang dixiadang* 我與香港地下黨 [My Time in Hong Kong's Underground Communist Party] (Hong Kong: Open Books, 2012), 8.

21) were among the first "struggle groups" founded at Baptist College, followed by the First Yan'an Battle Group at St. Stephen's College established on June 23. Within days, Ling Ying College and Pui Ching Middle School also had their first "struggle committees."[22]

Based on the statistics of *TKP*, Catholic schools were the powerhouse among church schools in the uprising, with students from 21 Catholic schools participating in the riots. Other Protestant denominations included the Anglican Church (10), the Church of Christ in China (CCC; 6), the Baptist Church (3), the Tsung Tsin Mission (2), the Methodist Church, the Alliance Church, the Lutheran Church, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and independent denominations. Given the fact that Christianity played an important role and constituted a significant number in the educational sector of Hong Kong, students enrolled in Christian schools may not necessarily have identified as "Christians."

For Protestant church school bodies, the Anglican Church and the Church of Christ in China were the most active in the riots. The Anglican schools involved in the riots were Bishop Hall Jubilee School, St. Stephen's Girls' College, St. Mark's School, Diocesan Boys' School, Diocesan Girls' School, Heep Yunn Girls' School, St. Paul's School, St. Basil's Secondary Modern School and St. Paul's Co-educational College. The CCC schools: Kei Heep Secondary School, True Light, Ying Wa College, Ying Wa Girls' School, Hoh Fuk Tong College and Pei Ying Secondary School. Prestigious Catholic schools which also took part in the riots were Wah Yan College Kowloon, St. Mary's Canossian College, Saint Joseph's College, Sacred Heart Canossian College, Salesian School, La Salle College, and Maryknoll Convent School, among others.

In the tertiary sector, struggle committees were established at Baptist College and Chung Chi College, both Protestant institutions. By November, the number of newly formed students' battle teams had reached 31. In just over 3 weeks (November 1 to November 25), students from mainstream schools had organized more than 80 demonstrations and "anti-violence" events.[23] Some commentators believe the insurgence had abated by the end of 1967.[24] This was far from true. In fact, the wave of protests were clear signs that the city-wide anti-government struggle was intensifying.

---

[22] See *TKP*, June 19, 22, 24 and 27, 1967.

[23] "Xuesheng yundong jinru xin jieduan" 學生運動進入新階段 [Student Movements Enter a New Stage], *TKP*, November 28, 1967.

[24] Gary Ka-wai Cheung, *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots*, 123.

The struggle committees and battle groups in Christian schools employed a wide range of devices to advance their agenda: public statements, slogans, leaflets, or even firecrackers on campus. Acting mostly independently, these groups would sometimes come together for joint "struggle sessions" organized by the struggle committees.[25] For instance, on October 29, a group of students and staff from some church schools attended a "struggle session." During the denunciation, apart from taking aim at the British colonial government, activists also accused some schools of tormenting souls using religion. Participants even asserted that "neither the Virgin Mary nor Jesus can save them, only Maoism can." In one of the struggle sessions, some "pioneers" accused the imperialists of conspiring to poison young minds with religious indoctrination. The tirade went on, targeting church schools which promoted subservience to foreigners and intensified suppression of opposition. The pioneers also accused churches of demoralizing students by dismissing the leftist struggle as "the devil's temptation." The session was concluded with a long list of slogans: "Down with the traitors"; "Down with British imperialism"; "Down with American imperialism"; "An eye for an eye"; "Stand up to violence"; "Patriotism is no crime."[26]

The joint struggle sessions provide a vignette of the Chinese Communist Party's sophisticated clandestine networking and leadership among Christian schools in the 1960s. Leung Mo-han (Liang Muxian 梁慕嫻), a former underground CCP member in Hong Kong, revealed in an interview that she had first learnt about the CCP in a study group led by "Brother Chu," her brother's schoolmate at La Salle College.[27] At the time, Leung believed the underground party was making headway on the education front, given their presence in some Christian schools and several prominent government schools such as Belilios Public School, Queen's College and Clementi Secondary School.[28]

---

[25] "Wushi suo guanjin busi xuesheng daibiao huishi, babai ren zuo yu gongren jihui kong GangYing" 五十所官津補私學生代表會師，八百人昨與工人集會控港英 [Student Representatives from 50 Schools Congregated; 800 People Assembled with Workers to Denounce the British Government Yesterday], *TKP*, October 23, 1967.

[26] "Jiaohui xuexiao xuesheng he gongren, zuo lianhe kongsu GangYing zuixing" 教會學校學生和工人，昨聯合控訴港英罪行 [Church School Students and Workers Engaged in Joint Denunciation of the British Government Yesterday], *TKP*, May 30, 1967.

[27] Leung Mo-han, interview by Ying Fuk-tsang, April 21, 2020.

[28] Ibid.

Wu Dizhou 吳荻舟, a long-serving leader of the underground Communist Party in Hong Kong,[29] noted in his journal on June 26, 1967:

> Queen's [College] and True Light [Middle School] should not act in isolation but get on board with the programme. If they continue on their own, they will expose themselves. They should be told as soon as possible that going solo like Queen's and True Light will render them visible. If we're making the calls, we should correct this.[30]

Queen's College was one of the oldest government schools in Hong Kong, whereas True Light Middle School was a well-known Protestant girls' school. Apparently, Wu was aware of the "non-conformist, militant style" of the struggle committees of these two schools and feared they might "expose themselves," according to the interpretation of Ching Cheong,[31] a well-known journalist who later became the vice-editorial manager of *WWP*.

In December, some teachers from government and subsidized schools launched a campaign against "slavish education." Meanwhile, Christian school teachers also condemned the schools for "ruthlessly white-anting" their belief systems with religion. "As teachers, we all look forward to a restful weekend after an exhausting workweek. Frustratingly, our holidays have been packed full of compulsory (religious) gatherings and retreats."[32] Clearly, the CCP had infiltrated Christian schools, where "teachers" were part of the struggle campaigns. The struggle at schools went on until 1968 when a sudden policy reversal from Beijing brought the underground operation to a halt. None of the underground CCP members at schools was exposed during the campaign.

Mo Kwan-nin (Mao Junnian 毛鈞年) was another typical example of CCP's infiltration into schools. A former member of the CCP, Mo was later appointed as deputy director of the Hong Kong office of the *Xinhua News Agency*, the CCP's quasi-diplomatic agency in Hong Kong. Mo had his secondary education at Pui Ching Middle School, a Christian school. After graduating from the University of Hong Kong in 1961, he taught at Methodist College, where he was put in charge of the Chinese

---

[29] Wu Dizhou, the then deputy head of the Hong Kong and Macau Section of the Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council. See Ching, *Xianggang liuqi baodong shimo: Jiedu Wu Dizhou*, xii.

[30] Ibid., 380.

[31] Ibid., 388.

[32] "Guanjin jiaoshi nu ze GangYing, nuhua jiaoyu huohai shenyuan" 官津教師怒責港英，奴化教育禍害深遠 [Teachers from Government and Subsidized Schools Declaimed Against the Enduring Scourge of Slavish Education], *TKP*, December 9, 1967.

language and history curriculum. In Chinese history class, Mo loved to show his admiration for Chinese culture, as recalled by one of his preparatory students at Methodist College in the early 1970s. Although his reference to the CCP was usually subtle, he introduced his students to historical materialism and some of the works of leftist scholars in his class, such as *Modern Chinese History* by Fan Wenlan 范文瀾 and *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* by Feng Youlan 馮友蘭. Much endeared to his students, Mo was known for his signature white long-sleeved shirt and the notebook he carried around for scribbling down the words of his students. Occasionally, Mo invited his students to attend reading groups at his house in North Point.[33] After leaving Methodist College in 1984, he co-founded the Hong Kong Institute for the Promotion of Chinese Culture (Xianggang Zhonghua wenhua cujin zhongxin 香港中華文化促進中心), where he took up general directorship. From January 1985 to June 1987, Mo was the deputy secretary-general and the head of the Department of Culture and Education of Xinhua News Agency Hong Kong Branch. In July 1987, he was appointed the deputy director of Xinhua's Hong Kong branch.[34] Former underground CCP member Leung Mo-han pointed out that "when necessary," the Party would arrange for underground members to come out.[35] In Mo's case, his official appointment at Xinhua became public after his transition at the Hong Kong Institute for the Promotion of Chinese Culture.

Why Participate in the Struggle?

If the CCP's underground work was the "external" force, what were the "internal" triggers for the participation of elite Christian school students in the anti-British riots? Shielded from "patriotic education," how did they become embroiled in the political turmoil?

In the 1960s, families in Hong Kong could broadly be defined by their political positions: leftist and non-leftist. Some scholars point out that leftists in those days had their "self-contained, self-sufficient" social system which comprised schools, enterprises, newspapers, cultural institutions, neighborhood organizations, trade unions, chambers of commerce,

---

[33] An Alumni of Methodist College (Anonymous), interview by Ying Fuk-tsang, September 16, 2020.

[34] "Yuan Xinhuashe Xianggang fenshe fushechang Mao Junnian shishi" 原新華社香港分社副社長毛鈞年逝世 [Former Deputy Director of the Hong Kong Branch of Xinhua News Agency Mr Mao Junnian Dies], Xinhua Net, March 26, 2013, URL expired.

[35] Leung Mo-han, interview.

and so on. Such microcosm had created a socio-political force too strong to be ignored by the colonial establishment.[36] A case in point was the boycott of public examinations, which symbolized the left-wing schools' determination to confront the colonial educational system.[37] Understandably, many students with a leftist family background were drawn to these schools for their strong patriotic and political positions. Nevertheless, pro-China schools were not the only option for children in left-wing families. In fact, some well-known leftists were enrolled in mainstream schools. Jasper Yok-sing Tsang (Zeng Yucheng 曾鈺成) and Tsang Tak-sing (Zeng Decheng 曾德成), for instance, were graduates of St. Paul's College, a prestigious Christian school, despite their father Tsang Chiu-kan's (Zeng Zhaoqin 曾照勤) membership in a leftist entity (Chinese General Chamber of Commerce). Tsang Chiu-kan's three children earned their place at elite schools (St. Paul's College and Belilios Public School) by means of their individual academic achievements. According to Jasper Tsang, his family had a longstanding subscription to *WWP* and a penchant for Chinese films and art shows. However, he believed their left-leaning ideas were not attributable to the "leftist propaganda" at home, but shaped by the "broader external context," which Tsang referred to as "a product of the era."[38]

Jasper Tsang said his leftist parents were never critical of the Communist Party and were somewhat "afraid of politics." Like other parents, they expected their children to "work hard and avoid bad company." When his father learned of his involvement in the 1967 protests, he became deeply concerned about his children's future.[39] On September 28, Tsang Tak-sing, then a preparatory student leader, was arrested by police for distributing "anti-violence" leaflets and hanging a three-storey-high red banner reading "Long Live Patriotic Students" from the fifth-floor balcony of the school. On October 9, he was convicted at the Central Magistracy of "possessing a banner with inflammatory slogan" and

---

[36] Stephen Wing-kai Chiu (Zhao Yongjia 趙永佳) and Lui Tai-lok (Lu Dale 呂大樂), "Introduction," in *Xionghuai zuguo: Xianggang "aiguo zuopai" yundong* 胸懷祖國——香港「愛國左派」運動 [Aspiring to the Motherland: "Patriotic Political Left-wing" Movement in Hong Kong], ed. Stephen Wing-kai Chiu, Lui Tai-lok and Yung Sai-shing (Rong Shicheng 容世誠) (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2014), 6–7.

[37] Lau, "Hong Kong Socialist Experimentation in the Colonial Era: Patriotic Schools, 1946–1976," 29.

[38] Tsang Yok-sing 曾鈺成, "Wo de fuqin: Huainian fuqin Zeng Zhaoqin shishi shizhounian (xia)" 我的父親——懷念父親曾照勤逝世十週年(下) [In Commemoration of My Late Father: The 10th Anniversary of Tsang Chiu-kan's Death (II)], *TKP*, May 19, 2015, http://news.takungpao.com/hkol/politics/2015-05/3004046wap.html.

[39] Ibid.

sentenced to two years in prison.[40] After achieving great results in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE), Tsang was planning further study in the US after graduating from the University of Hong Kong. But the labor unrest in May 1967 changed his mind. Sympathetic to the leftist cause, Tsang started to pore over scores of Mao Zedong's works and take part in the struggle. Before long, Tsang's story—a high achieving young man sentenced to two years in prison for "patriotism"—became the rallying point for young recruits in the leftist struggle.[41]

Family background is hardly the only determinant of one's ideology, as clearly illustrated in the Tsangs' story. Although Tsang and his siblings were born and raised as children of pure communist proletarians, their leftist thinking was the "product of the era"—a result of deep contemplation of their individual and social contexts in the 1960s. Despite the critical role of contextual factors, the impact of the CCP's underground activities at schools deserves much attention. In the following section, I will explain how the underground operations at schools caused some of the non-leftist students to "turn left" and participate in the 1967 Riots.

Two letters published in *TKP* on May 19, 1967, illustrate how some young students gravitated toward leftist ideology. The first was a letter from a freshman at Chung Chi College, a tertiary institution founded by representatives of Protestant churches. Nurtured in church-affiliated institutions throughout his schooling, the author said that he had always been politically indifferent. However, he finally broke his silence when he witnessed the British police brutality.[42] In another letter, a "Patriotic Student" (from St. Mary's Canossian College) cited some of Mao Zedong's quotes, vowing to "uphold Mao's thoughts" by supporting patriotic workers in their fight for justice.[43] These letters, both written by church school students, represented slightly different political positions:

---

[40] "Zeng Decheng zao GangYing pohai, zuo zai 'fating' jian bu renzui" 曾德成遭港英迫害，昨在「法庭」堅不認罪 [Persecuted by the British Government, Tsang Tak-sing Adamantly Denied the Allegation in the "Court" Yesterday], *TKP*, October 10, 1967.

[41] "Chong ba, yonggan de chuangjiang!—Ji Shengbaoluo xuesheng Zeng Decheng de chengchang" 衝吧，勇敢的闖將！——記聖保羅學生曾德成的成長 [Go! Courageous Spearhead! The Metamorphosis of the St. Paul's College Student Tsang Tak-sing], *TKP*, October 27 and 28, 1967. See also "An Interview with Tsang Tak-sing," see Cheung, *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots*, 154–61.

[42] "Yi Chongji yinianji xuesheng lai han" 一崇基一年級學生來函 [A Letter from a Freshman at Chung Chi College], *TKP*, May 19, 1967.

[43] "Shengmali shuyuan yige aiguo xuesheng" 聖瑪利書院一個愛國學生 [A Patriotic Student from St. Mary's College], *TKP*, May 19, 1967.

the first symbolized moderate resentment against colonial police violence; the second represented a strong leftist revolutionary ideology.

Admittedly, material from pro-China media might not fully capture the thoughts of students during the riots. Unfortunately, first-hand narratives of Christian school students who participated in the riots are not available. Despite this limitation, *YG* still provides a wealth of historical data and valuable insights into the attitudes of young students in the 1960s.

III. *YG* AND 1967 RIOTS

To understand the thoughts of Christian school students before the 1967 Riots and how they were related to those riots, a good starting point is the content of *YG*. A major "grey-line" (*huixian* 灰線) tool for the CCP's underground work, the leftist literary magazine was also a device for manipulating public opinion during the 1967 Riots.

YG as a "Grey Line"

Founded in April 1956 by Ng Hong-mun (Wu Kangmin 吳康民), a left-wing academic, *YG* was a weekly literary magazine designed behind the scenes to compete against its right-wing rival, *The Chinese Student Weekly* (*Zhongguo xuesheng zhoubao* 中國學生周報).[44] Leung Mo-han, who worked underground in Hok Yau Club (*Xueyou she* 學友社,

[44] Ng Hong-mun 吳康民, "*Qingnian leyuan* yishu" 《青年樂園》憶述 [Retrospection of *Youths' Garden*], *Ming Pao* 明報, March 25, 2017. Edited and issued by a local right-wing institution the Union Press, *The Chinese Student Weekly* 中國學生周報 commenced its publication in 1952. See Ng Siu-kwong (Wu Zhaogang 吳兆剛), "Wu-shi niandai *Zhongguo xuesheng zhoubao* wenyi ban yanjiu" 五十年代《中國學生周報》文藝版研究 [A Study on the Literature Section of *The Chinese Student Weekly* in 1950s], MPhil thesis, Lingnan University, 2007. See also Fu Poshek (Fu Baoshi 傅葆石), "Wenhua lengzhan zai Xianggang: *Zhongguo xuesheng zhoubao* yu Yazhou jijin hui, 1950–1970, xia" 文化冷戰在香港——《中國學生周報》與亞洲基金會，1950–1970（下）[The Cultural Cold War in Hong Kong: *The Chinese Student Weekly* and the Asia Foundation, 1950–1970 (Part II)], *Twenty-First Century* 二十一世紀 174 (August 2019): 67–78.

hereafter referred to as HYC),[45] quoted secret Communist Party leader Leung Woon-yin (Liang Huanran 梁煥然) as saying:

> Like HYC, *YG* targeted students from mainstream schools (government, subsidized, grant and private schools), with the same aims of promoting unity among students and inculcating patriotism and loyalty to the CCP. Just as HYC attracted students with popular themes in performing arts, *YG's* appeal was literary writing. While the subjects of interest differed, both shared the same goal of preparing young people for Party membership and cadreship.[46]

Szeto Wah (Situ Hua 司徒華), a well-known Hong Kong pro-democracy activist, disclosed in his memoirs that the CCP's underground organizations camouflaged themselves in various open organizations. On the top tier, these entities were divided into different systems called "lines" (*xian* 線), such as financial lines, trade lines, education lines, student lines and so on. Depending on the nature of activities, these lines branched out into "red lines" and "grey lines."[47] *YG* and HYC, for instance, were CCP's underground "grey lines," which were affiliated to the Publicity Department and the Group for Hong Kong and Macau Affairs of the General Office of the Guangdong Provincial Committee of the CCP.[48]

"In due course, students who participated in the activities of *YG* and HYC would join the Communist Party," said Leung Mo-han. Strategically, underground agents would first gain students' trust through acts of care and assistance in activities or small groups. They then looked for opportunities to incite strong patriotic sentiments by initiating conversations about current political affairs and Chinese history, particularly on

---

[45] Established in 1949, Hok Yau Dancing Club (Xueyou zhongxi wudao yanjiushe 學友中西舞蹈研究社) was an organization which held different extracurricular activities (including dance, music, drama, literature and arts) for students. In 1975, the Club adopted its current name "Hok Yau Club" (Xueyou she 學友社).

[46] Leung Mo-han, "Wo suo zhidao de *Qingnian leyuan*" 我所知道的《青年樂園》[The *Youths' Garden* I know], *Ming Pao Monthly* 明報月刊, May 2018, https://mingpaomonthly.com/我所知道的《青年樂園》（梁慕嫻）/.

[47] Szeto Wah 司徒華, *Dajiang dongqu: Situ Hua huiyilu* 大江東去——司徒華回憶錄 [A Mighty River Flowing Eastward: Autobiography of Szeto Wah] (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2011), 57.

[48] Chan Wai-chung (Chen Weizhong 陳偉中), "'Liuqi baodong' qianhou Xianggang zuopai wenyi kanwu: Yi *Haiguang wenyi*, *Wenyi shiji*, *Qingnian leyuan* wei zhongxin de yanjiu" 「六七暴動」前後香港左派文藝刊物——以《海光文藝》、《文藝世紀》、《青年樂園》為中心的研究 [Hong Kong's Leftist Literary Periodicals around the Period of the 1967 Riots: A Study Focusing on *Haiguang wenyi*, *Wenyi shiji* and *Qingnian leyuan*], PhD dissertation, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2016, 33.

sensitive topics such as foreign invasions.[49] Jasper Tsang was a case in point. As a contributor to *YG,* Tsang was a regular visitor at its Wanchai office, where he met and soon developed close friendship with Fu Hwa-biu (Fu Huabiao 傅華彪), the English editor of the magazine. Tsang's father later said to Xu Liping (許禮平) that "Yok-sing have changed since he met Fu Hwa-biu." Their close relationship was evident in a story re-told by his faither: "Yok-sing once won a mathematics competition. To be awarded, Tsang was told he needed to "first become a British citizen." Undecided about the award, Tsang consulted Fu, who replied with a rhetorical question: "Is it worth changing your nationality for an award?" Although Fu said he would respect Tsang's decision, he made it clear he would not accept it if he were in his shoes.[50]

Apparently, one of the tactics of the CCP's underground work at the time was to shape students' leftist thinking through networking along the "grey lines." While the goal was to recruit young members for the CCP, there were no clear guidelines regarding how underground members should interact with Christian students, according to Leung Mo-han. Underground CCP agents would not actively challenge their Christian faith head-on. Instead, they would manipulate students' patriotic sentiments so that they might renounce their faith.[51]

As a "grey-line" literary magazine, *YG* consciously downplayed its left-wing affiliation, a tactic which some scholars describe as "dereddening" and "depoliticizing."[52] A few studies point out that during the riots, some leftists suggested boycotting the HKCEE as a show of disapproval of the British Hong Kong's examination system. The magazine, however, was more eager to win over readers with a newly added special column for the HKCEE.[53] Ah Nong (A Nong 阿濃), a famous writer who was once the editor of *YG*, commented that the editorial policy of *YG* inclined to be neutral and non-political, with its main purpose of promoting a healthy lifestyle, a love of reading and writing, and a

---

[49] Leung Mo-han, interview.

[50] Xu Liping 許禮平, "Cengmen yishi yiwen" 曾門一氏軼聞 [Anecdotes on the Tsang Family], *Apple Daily* 蘋果日報, December 23, 2012, URL expired.

[51] Leung Mo-han, interview.

[52] Chan, "Liuqi baodong qianhou Xianggang zuopai wenyi kanwu," 183–90.

[53] Hung Chi-kum (Xiong Zhiqin 熊志琴), "Yu shi bing jin ju tui: *Qingnian leyuan* (1956–1967) de chuangkan yu tingkan" 與時並進俱退——《青年樂園》（1956–1967）的創刊與停刊 [Moving and Fading with the Times: Commencement and Termination of *Youths' Garden* (1956–1967)], in *Shuanglong tuyan: HuGang zhi wenhua jiaoliu yu hudong* 雙龍吐艷——滬港之文化交流與互動 [Cultural Relations and Interactions between Shanghai and Hong Kong], ed. Leung Yuen-sang (Liang Yuansheng 梁元生) and Wong Wang-chi (Wang Hongzhi 王宏志) (Hong Kong: Shanghai–Hong Kong Development Institute, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, 2005), 222–23.

meaningful life. In fact, the magazine kept a low profile on views about the country, the nation and society.[54] Because of this "grey" and "neutral" orientation, many of the contributors were students from mainstream schools, including some elite students nurtured by the colonial British Hong Kong government.[55] A student who once recommended *YG* to his classmates said that "apart from being a refreshing leisure read, the magazine also helps students hone their problem-solving skills."[56] This may explain why in its heyday in the 1960s, the magazine sold between 20,000 and 30,000 copies and was arguably one of the most influential youth magazines in Hong Kong.[57]

The magazine was also endorsed by some churches and local church schools. For example, Archdeacon Lee Kau-yan (Li Qiu'en 李求恩), the Principal of All Saints Middle School; and Evan G. Stewart, the Principal of St. Paul's College, both wrote an inscription for the inaugural issue. The first issue also featured Christmas news from the student fellowships of nine Anglican schools.[58] In the February 1967 issue, the Kowloon Ling Liang Church placed an advertisement for a "Youth Evangelistic Meeting" which posed questions about destiny and the origin or meaning of life.[59] Teachers at Diocesan Girls' School and St. Paul's Co-Educational College were also "eager to share their teaching experience and insight into music reviews with the editor and readers."[60]

---

[54] Ah Nong 阿濃, "Wo yu *Qingnian leyuan*" 我與《青年樂園》[My Time in the *Youths' Garden*], *Hong Kong Literature Monthly* 香港文學 124 (April 1, 1995): 10–12.

[55] Xu Liping 許禮平, "Ji *Qingnian leyuan* zhoubao" 記《青年樂園》週報 [Recollecting the *Youths' Garden* Weekly], in *Jiuri fengyun erji* 舊日風雲二集 [Storms of the Past (II)] (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2014), 269, 274.

[56] Jishiyu 及時雨, "Jieshao dinghu ji (er)" 介紹訂戶記（二）[Knowing More About Subscribers (II)], *YG* 553 (November 11, 1966): 8.

[57] Chan Wai-chung 陳偉中, "Jiazi huiwang yu *Qingnian leyuan*" 甲子回望與《青年樂園》[Reminiscing the 1960s and the *Youths' Garden*], in *Zhi · qingchun: Jiazi huiwang* Qingnian leyuan 誌 · 青春——甲子回望《青年樂園》[Reminiscing the 1960s in Hong Kong: A Research of the *Youths' Garden*], ed. Chan Wai-chung (Hong Kong: Flintstone Culture Ltd., 2017), 2.

[58] The inscription from Archdeacon Lee Kau-yan 李求恩 was "*Qingnian leyuan*, xuesheng bu ke bu du" 青年樂園，學生不可不讀 [Youths' Garden is a must-read for students] while that from Evan G. Stewart was "A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to you all reader," *YG* 38 (December 29, 1956): 1. See also "Shenggonghui Jidu tuanqi, juxing shengda shengdan lianhuan" 聖公會基督團契，舉行盛大聖誕聯歡 [Anglican Student Fellowships Organize a Massive Christmas Party], *YG* 38 (December 29, 1956): 9.

[59] "Qing canjia 'qingshaonian budaohui'" 請參加「青少年佈道會」[Join the "Youth Evangelistic Meeting"], *YG* 565 (February 3, 1967): 6.

[60] Xu, "Ji *Qingnian leyuan* zhoubao," 271.

YG and the 1967 Riots

First launched on April 14, 1956, *YG* ceased publication on November 24, 1967, due to inciting charges. According to the *Wah Kiu Yat Po* (*Huaqiao ribao* 華僑日報), the government believed the magazine had become "more seditious" since riots erupted in May, and suspected it played a leading role among Communist student insurgents in the 1967 Riots.[61] On August 7, the police raided the premises, disregarding the immediate release of an objection statement.[62] On November 17, the publisher of *YG* was indicted for sedition.[63]

Starting off as a "grey-line" magazine, *YG* rarely touched on politics in its early days. As noted by Chan Wai-chung, a researcher of *YG*, the magazine was by nature "apolitical and intellectual, focusing largely on examination techniques." For this reason, the colonial government had been less guarded and usually "'turned a blind eye' to its subtle leftist vibes with minimum intervention."[64] As the Cultural Revolution was sweeping across China, *YG* was inevitably influenced by its revolutionary ideology and drifted towards "extreme patriotism." On December 23, 1966, the magazine published an article by a student of the Salesian English School, in which he expressed his love of "the motherland" and his determination to rectify the "misconceptions" of the past, and to follow the "model of the working class."[65] In March 1967, a St. Luke's College student under the pseudonym "Red Guard" encouraged students to "learn wholeheartedly from the peasants and workers" and "refuse to be nerds."[66] Meanwhile, in the midst of propaganda, leftist trade unions

---

[61] "Ganggong zao chenzhong daji" 港共遭沉重打擊 [Crackdown on Local Communists], *Wah Kiu Yat Po* 華僑日報 (hereafter referred to as *WKYP*), November 22, 1967.

[62] "Women kangyi GangYing daoluan benbao" 我們抗議港英搗亂本報 [We Protest Against the British Government's Disrupting Our Magazine], *YG* 592 (August 11, 1967): 1.

[63] "*Qingnian leyuan* zhoubao, souchu shandong wenjian" 青年樂園週報，搜出煽動文件 [Seditious Papers Searched out from the *Youths' Garden* Weekly], *WKYP*, August 8, 1967. See also Chan, "Liuqi baodong qianhou Xianggang zuopai wenyi kanwu," 228.

[64] Chan, "Liuqi baodong qianhou Xianggang zuopai wenyi kanwu," 193–94.

[65] Qiankun 乾坤, "Wo de cuowu" 我的錯誤 [My Illusion], *YG* 559 (December 23, 1966): 6.

[66] Red Guard (Hong Weibing 紅衛兵), "Miaowen quda: Weishenme shuo 'du wanjuanshu buru xing wanlilu'?" 妙問趣答——為什麼說讀萬卷書不如行萬里路？[Interesting Question with Answer: Why is There a Saying "It is Better to Travel Ten Thousand Miles Than to Read Ten Thousand Books?"], *YG* 570 (March 10, 1967): 11.

were organizing strikes, stirring citywide unrest. A red political storm was looming in the background.

Many believe the labor dispute erupted in mid-April at the Hong Kong Artificial Flower Factory in San Po Kong was the immediate cause of the 1967 Riots.[67] At the end of April, *YG* published a poem by a group of students from St. Paul's College. Singing praises to the workers, the authors encouraged them to unite and "fight for survival and livelihood."[68] A week after the establishment of a struggle committee on May 12, an article titled "Chinese Compatriots Brutally Beaten" was published in the magazine. Addressing the grievances of participants in the riots, the author urged the government to meet the demands of workers in every sector.[69]

Notably, since the establishment of the struggle committee, articles with a militant undertone had become more prominent in *YG*. For instance, on May 26, 1967, a "Tribute to the Valiant Youth" by a student from Queen Elizabeth School was published. The author lauded the young people in the struggle against exploitation and persecution as the "heroic children" who "rose against violence" and "stood by the workers."[70] On June 1 another students' struggle committee was formed. The next day *YG* complemented the event seamlessly with an article about the politics taboo for secondary school students. The author from St. Francis Xavier's College argued:

> Everyone has a place in a class society, not least the young generation. But people with ulterior motives suggest that politics should be off limits for students. To steer us away from politics, they make sure we are overloaded with endless schoolwork, tests and exams. Trapped in a ruthless examination system, we hardly have time for normal extracurricular activities. Even worse, students of English-medium schools are taught to pursue wealth, fame, pleasure and status. They know all about the Western world, yet nothing about their magnificent motherland…. No politics for students—what a dangerous taboo!
>
> …our incompetent government "masters" all forms of exploitation: rising prices, forced relocations and harsh fines. Its violent crackdown

---

67 Cheung, *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots*, ch. 2.

68 Shuhui 曙暉, "Banyun gongren ge" 搬運工人歌 [Song of the Transport Workers], *YG* 577 (April 28, 1967): 10.

69 Lingfeng 凌鋒, "Shi ke ren, shu bu ke ren, Zhongguo tongbao heng zao duda!" 是可忍，孰不可忍，中國同胞橫遭毒打！[If This Can be Endured, What Else Cannot be? Chinese Compatriots Brutally Beaten!], *YG* 580 (May 19, 1967): 12.

70 Honglei 紅蕾, "Xiang yingyong de qingshaonian zhijing" 向英勇的青少年致敬[Tribute to the Valiant Youth], *YG* 581 (May 26, 1967): 6.

> on our virtuous compatriots (students, workers and journalists) has seen many injured and imprisoned, some facing trumped-up charges. We all know who is behind the political purging. Those who ask us to control our emotions and avoid politics are the same people who are pushing their own political agenda. "Foreign monks" (missionaries) in our schools say we should steer clear of politics. But they keep bringing politics into the classroom, using every opportunity to disparage our beloved motherland. They're the ones talking politics all the time!

The author finished with a call for action: "Fellow students, it's time to wake up! Let us break free from the shackles and broaden our horizon. Above all, let us learn politics!"[71]

Some "awakened" students from Queen's College, a government school, reflected on their identity and responsibility as Chinese in "the midst of the upheaval." They believed "the bloodshed of unarmed Chinese compatriots" and "the unreasonable detentions and beatings by the anti-riot squads" only reinforced the saying that "The greater the oppression, the stronger the resistance." The authors called upon all students to join the struggle:

> Be mindful of what the Education Department and its teachers say: they are the government's mouthpieces. Come on the scene and see for yourselves; then make your own judgement and share the truth. You who called yourself politically neutral, ask yourself if your stance is based on thoughtful deliberation from all perspectives. Do not be fooled by the "sugar-coated baton" again. Who can still sit idly by while our classmates, friends and compatriots are being beaten by the stooges? You who choose to forget your national identity, consider this: Chinese people never yield to brutal oppression by the British colonial government. Nothing can crush our dignified national spirit![72]

On August 13, 1967, in a move to bolster support for the 1967 Riots, *YG* launched *New Youths* (*Xin Qingnian* 新青年, hereafter referred to as *NY*), a supplement characterized by intense writing style. In one of the "Editor's Choice" articles in *NY*: "At a time when anti-persecution sentiment is surging nationwide, young students shall no longer remain

---

[71] Secondary School Student (Zhong xuesheng 中學生), "Hushuo badao de 'lilun'" 胡說八道的「理論」[Nonsensical "Theories"], *YG* 582 (June 2, 1967): 9.

[72] Awakened (Juexing 覺醒), "Women neng zhigu dushu, maitou shazhong ma? Shenwei Zhongguoren, ying xuan na yitiao lu zou?" 我們能只顧讀書、埋頭沙中嗎？身為中國人，應選那一條路走？[How Can We Care Only Our Studies and Bury Our Heads into the Sand? Which Way Should We Go as Chinese?], *YG* 585 (June 23, 1967): 12.

silent. Like volcanoes on the brink of eruption, our hearts are bursting with patriotic indignation…"[73] Chan Wai-chung described the content of *NY* as "imbued with red," reminiscent of most leftist publications of the time.[74] In November, the Hong Kong government ordered the closure of *YG* and indicted its publisher Chan Tsui-tsun (Chen Xuzhen 陳序臻) for four incendiary articles, namely "The Death of Lam Bun" (September 19), "Political Water Restriction" (September 8), "We are Armed with an Invincible Ideology" (August 27) and "Good Fight against the Government by Students!" (September 24).[75]

IV. THE *YG* AND THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE OF CHRISTIAN SCHOOL STUDENTS

No doubt, *YG* was a popular "grey-line" magazine among students from mainstream schools. Statistics show that there were 20,000 subscribers and a large cohort of authors in its heyday, most of them being students from non-leftist schools.[76] In fact, submissions between its May 1965 issue and its last (November 1967) were full of articles from students of faith-based schools. Articles published during the period were from students of 120 Catholic and Protestant schools and colleges (Chung Chi and Baptist), among them were prestigious and well-known schools.[77]

What is also noteworthy is the substantial overlap between the list of Christian schools in the "uprising" and the above list. *YG* was undeniably part of the leftist propaganda machine for reaching out to its targets of influence during the political struggle. In addition to discrediting the colonial government and its educational system, the magazine also

---

[73] "Wanren qiwang, benbao fukan *Xinqingnian*" 萬人企望，本報副刊新青年 [Our Tremendously Anticipated Supplement *New Youths*], *YG* 597 (September 15, 19670): 12.

[74] Chan, "Liuqi baodong qianhou Xianggang zuopai wenyi kanwu," 201–3.

[75] "Zhongyang caipanshu Laite faguan banling fengbi *Qingnian leyuan*" 中央裁判署賴特法官頒令封閉《青年樂園》[Judge Light at Central Court Issued Closure Order on *Youths' Garden*], *WKYP*, November 23, 1967.

[76] Xu, "Ji *Qingnian leyuan* zhoubao," 269.

[77] Such as St. Paul's College, St. Paul's Co-educational College, Diocesan Boys' School, Diocesan Girls' School, St. Stephen's Girls' College, Heep Yunn School, Ying Wah Girls' School, Ying Wah College, Pui Ying College, True Light College, Pooi To Middle School, Methodist College, Kau Yan College, Pui Ching Middle School, La Salle College, Wah Yan College, Wah Yan College Kowloon, Maryknoll College, Sacred Heart Canossian College, St. Francis of Assisi's College, Sing Yin Secondary School, Saint Louis School, Salesian English School, and so on.

reinforced patriotism by peddling the struggle as an "anti-British and counter-violence" campaign. In this section, I will examine Christian school students' discourse on society, nationality, and religion, and discuss the "anti-British and counter-violence" struggle based on their submissions to *YG* in 1967.

Social Concern and the Fight against Injustice

Hong Kong in the 1960s was plagued by poverty rooted in structural social inequality. A year before the 1967 Riots, Rev. L. Stumpf, the director of the Lutheran World Federation/World Service, made a poignant comment about the city:

> If you have only seen the rich minority in their luxury high-rise apartments or flashy hotels, you have not seen the real Hong Kong. The "real Hong Kong" is hidden in the city's bottom rung, where the majority are just scraping by, living in squalor […], on the streets, and under the stairs. Abandoned by the government, they are struggling to make ends meet.[78]

What were the major social issues in Hong Kong from the perspectives of elites brought up in Christian schools? In an article titled "The Dockers," "Zhouguang 宙光" from Hong Kong Baptist College lamented a group of dockers toiling under the scorching sun: "A whole day of toil and sweat earns them only half a bowl of rice…But as food price keeps soaring, their hard-earned wages are going backward." With a deep sigh the author exclaimed: "Fairness" has "drifted away in the deep, dark sea"![79] A student from St. Paul's High echoed this with a question in the "Song of the Transport Workers": "Who has stolen our livelihood security?"[80]

"Wanyun 婉雲," a St. Paul's College's student, told of the grassroots grievances in an article titled "Poorest of the Poor": "Though toiling day and night, parents still struggle to feed their children. Working to exhaustion, yet they can never get out of dire poverty . . . " Despite the

---

[78] L. Stumpf 施同福, "Xianggang shehui de xiankuang he wenti" 香港社會的現況和問題 [Contemporary Hong Kong Society and Its Challenges], *Quarterly of Hong Kong Council of Social Services* 社聯季刊 13 (Spring 1965): 8, 13.

[79] Zhouguang 宙光, "Matou gongren" 碼頭工人 [The Dockers], *YG* 569 (March 3, 1967): 10.

[80] Shuhui 曙暉, "Banyun gongren ge" 搬運工人歌 [Song of the Transport Workers], *YG* 577 (April 28, 1967): 10.

gloomy picture, the story finished with an upbeat note: "We are materially poor but rich in spirit!" and commit to "becoming courageous adults who will stand up to tyranny."[81] The article was a direct appeal to the readers for getting ready for confrontation with the oppressors.

What also deserves attention is the emerging concept of "working class" in some of the articles in *YG*. For example, "Qiankun 乾坤" from Salesian English School repented of his condescending "intellectual" mentality towards the working class. Resolved to correct his "prejudice," he decided to "follow the example of the working class."[82]

The articles cited above were all published before the 1967 Riots. Leveraging social justice issues, the authors extolled the "working class" and promoted class struggle in the form of "confrontational resistance against oppression," presenting typical leftist perspectives. "Zifan 子凡" of St. Mark's School, for instance, suggested that if workers died in their fight for a "reasonable society," they would not "die in vain." He called for the readers to "be selfless" and boldly confront "the shadow of death," for "the struggle [was] not yet over, and many [were] still living in tyranny in the world" in those days.[83]

For many, the year 1967 was still haunted with memories of the 1966 riots. In a letter to "the owner of a ferry company" in April 1967, a Methodist College student satirized the Star Ferry fare increase in 1966.[84] Scholars mostly subscribe to the view that the fare rise was the trigger of the riots in 1966. During the insurrections, *TKP* published a short commentary sidestepping the root cause of the riots while suggesting they were driven by more "complex" motives. The commentator said, "A few people took advantage of the general discontent…to stir up unrest" and called on the society to "quickly return to peace."[85] After the June 1967 Riots, however, the students' views on the 1966 riots revealed a clear sense of resistance. For example, "Sizhu 絲竹" from the Bethel High School reinforced the importance of "resistance" in his piece about the Star Ferry fare increase. He urged students to "stand up to injustice"

---

[81] Wanyun 婉雲, "Qiong dao wodi tou" 窮到我地透 [Poorest of the Poor], *YG* 569 (March 3, 1967): 11.

[82] Qiankun 乾坤, "Wo de cuowu" 我的錯誤 [My Illusion], *YG* 559 (December 23, 1966): 6.

[83] Zifan 子凡, "Zai tan si de yiyi" 再談死的意義 [The Meaning of Death Revisited], *YG* 576 (April 21, 1967): 9.

[84] MCC, "Gei mou xiaolun gongsi laoxi de xin" 給某小輪公司老細的信 [A Letter to the Owner of a Ferry Company], *YG* 575 (April 14, 1967): 15.

[85] "Yao xunsu huifu pingjing" 要迅速恢復平靜 [In Acute Need of Restoring Peace], *TKP*, April 9, 1966.

and warned against "forgetting one's national identity or being blinded by academic ambition."[86]

Praising the Motherland and Condemning Colonization

Apart from the issue of social justice, *YG* was also actively involved in some form of "enlightening project" which aimed at forging a national identity. As observed by Law Wing-sang, a strong desire to "call Hong Kong home" had emerged among the post-war baby boomers. At the same time, this longing for identification was inevitably muddled by the left-right political orientation.[87]

As seen in *YG*, young students' anger over social injustice often led to a quest for social identity and yearning for a sense of belonging. In a story about an imaginary space travel, "Xiaotong 曉彤" from the Anglican College told of a "price rise frenzy" which led to "an intense struggle between the people and the authorities" on the "skyrocket land" and "price-rise land." In the end she posed a common question which stroke a chord with many: "Where is my home?"[88] The article seemingly signaled an emerging sense of localism. The truth is: typical localism encourages one to "call Hong Kong home"; therefore, it would have no place in a left-leaning magazine like *YG*. The author was in fact encouraging readers to turn to their "socialist motherland" in the north and "throw themselves into her arms!"

Since its inception, *YG* had avoided sensitive topics related to the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang 國民黨) and the Chinese Communist Party, focusing instead on promoting Chinese culture from a historical perspective.[89] In the 1960s, primary and secondary schools only taught selective elements of Chinese culture, while leaving any content related to modern Chinese history out of the curricula. Some scholars coin this "Dichotomous De-Sinicization."[90] Former underground CCP member

---

[86] Sizhu 絲竹, "Buzuo kelian de tianya" 不做可憐的填鴨 [Say No to Cramming Education], *YG* 582 (June 2, 1967): 9.

[87] Law Wing-sang (Luo Yongsheng 羅永生), "Xianggang bentu yishi de qianshi jinsheng" 香港本土意識的前世今生 [The Present and the Past of Hong Kong Local Consciousness], *Reflection* 思想 26 (October 2014): 122.

[88] Xiaotong 曉彤, "Kuangxiangqu" 狂想曲 [Rhapsody], *YG* 561 (January 6, 1967): 11.

[89] Chan, "Jiazi huiwang yu *Qingnian leyuan*," 10.

[90] Chau Leung (Zhou Liang 周亮), "Yijiu liuling niandai zhimin jiaoyu yu 'diyidai Xianggang ren'" 一九六〇年代殖民教育與「第一代香港人」[The Colonial Education in the 1960s and the First Generation of "Hongkonger"], in *Xianggang · 1960 niandai*

Leung Mo-han suggested that modern Chinese history was "the best entry point to inculcate patriotism in students in grey line schools."[91] Since 1967, the focus of *YG* had shifted from cultural identity to socialist China. For example, a student from Bishop Hall Jubilee School who visited Guangzhou for the first time expressed his feelings of "returning to the embrace of his homeland." Praising the powerful motherland, he appealed to his peers to take part in the advancement of the motherland.[92] In another article, a student (of Tsung Tsin Christian Academy) named "Chinese" acclaimed the achievements of China's Third Five-Year Plan and the nuclear tests. He wrote, "Have you ever found contemporary Chinese history confronting? Does it make your blood boil when you read about the foreign aggression and the corrupt, incompetent Qing Dynasty?" He expressed that all students should feel the same "grief" invoked by modern Chinese history, and all should share the same patriotic and nationalistic sentiments. He went on, "Hong Kong is cursed by hypocrisy and iniquities, but I am convinced that a 'beautiful China' is on the horizon." Closing with a metaphorical expression of the Red Guards in the Cultural Revolution, he signaled his intention to "join the demonstrations and stand in solidarity with the hot-blooded youth."[93]

The Cultural Revolution had inspired many young students to become revolutionary enthusiasts. Reflecting on the Boxer Rebellion at the turn of the last century, a student at St. Paul's Secondary School commented that while Boxers' style of patriotism was far from perfect, it did demonstrate the fulfilment of nationalistic duties. In her eyes, participants in the Rebellion were far more respectable than the blind worshippers of westerners in her time. She also scoffed at her counterparts from English-medium schools, whom she dismissed as unpatriotic and utterly ignorant about their motherland.[94]

At the time, Chinese patriotism had been weaponized against colonial rule. For instance, a fervent patriot named "Riverside Grass" from Bethel High School was slapped in the face by his father for not applying himself to his study of English. Calling him a "foreign dog" (a pejorative for someone who idolizes westerners), he felt a deep shame for his father

香港 · 1960 年代 [Hong Kong · The 1960s], ed. Wong Shuk-han (Huang Shuxian 黃淑嫻) (Taipei: Wenhsun, 2020), 341–48.

91 Leung Mo-han, interview.

92 Jinjian 金堅, "Guangzhou xing" 廣州行 [Journey to Guangzhou], *YG* 573 (March 31, 1967): 6.

93 Chinese (Huaren 華人), "Chuxi zagan" 除夕雜感 [Thoughts on New Year's Eve], *YG* 562 (January 13, 1967): 6.

94 Sujun 素君, "Zhuabuzhu yangchu?" 抓不著癢處？ [Not Scratching the Itches], *YG* 572 (March 24, 1967): 9.

who "had forsaken his family and his country" for selfish ends.[95] Anecdotes like this reflected the indignation against the colonial government's "promotion of English and marginalization of Chinese language," which later sparked a social movement demanding adoption of Chinese as an official language. Young students also expressed dissatisfaction with the advancement of cultural imperialism by the colonial government. "Red Frontier" from Methodist College described scenes of people "bowing and showing self-abasing obedience to foreigners" in Tsim Sha Tsui, a touristy area in Hong Kong. Enraged at the foreigners' contempt for Chinese people in the city, he declared, "China has stood up to hegemony! Now stop all these menacing gestures!"[96]

As more students openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the colonial government, the "anti-British and counter-violence" protest propelled by leftists grew even stronger, with many young students finding themselves deeply embroiled in the 1967 Riots.

The "Anti-British and Counter-Violence" Struggle Campaign

Many would agree that the 1967 Riots began with a labor protest in May. But the seeds of riots were sown much earlier. In late 1966, the radical movement of the Cultural Revolution broke out in Macau, a Portuguese colony neighboring Hong Kong. Cheung Ka-wai pointed out that since November, leftists in Macau had been fully engaged in the struggle, which culminated on December 3 when the famous "12–3 Incident" took place. As the Portuguese-Macau government was unable to contain the insurgency, Macau was like a "semi-liberated society" controlled largely by the leftists.[97] Meanwhile, the leftist "victory" in Macau had greatly inspired the leftists in Hong Kong.[98] In February 1967, *YG* published a few students' responses to the "12–3 Incident" in Macau. Authors from

---

[95] Riverside Grass (Jiangbian cao 江邊草), "Tongku" 痛苦 [Misery], *YG* 583 (June 9, 1967): 6.

[96] Red Frontier (Hongfeng 紅鋒), "Buzhi ni you he ganxiang" 不知你有何感想 [Wondering How You Feel], *YG* 577 (April 28, 1967): 6.

[97] Cheung, *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots*, 16–17. See also Li Xiaozhi 李孝智, *Aomen yier san shijian: Xishuo liuling niandai de fanzhi douzheng* 澳門一二·三事件——細說六〇年代的反殖鬥爭 [Macao 12–3 Incident: Speak About an Anti-colonial Struggle in 1960s] (Taipei: Taiwan Social Studies Quarterly, 2017).

[98] Luo Hailei 羅海雷, *Wo de fuqin Luofu: Yige baoren, "jiandie," he zuojia de gushi* 我的父親羅孚——一個報人、「間諜」和作家的故事 [My Father Luo Fu: A Newsman, "Spy," and Writer] (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 2011), 131.

Pui Ching Night School hailed the "Macau compatriots" as heroes who fought against violence to protect the dignity of their motherland.[99]

In late May, scores of articles about the "anti-British and counter-violence" struggle showed up in *YG*. A Methodist student (a loyal contributor to the magazine) reported a conversation he overheard on a bus in May, expressing support for "the workers' struggle and their fight for fair treatment."[100] In his other article in July, he condemned the riot squad for shooting at the spectator crowd and injuring a woman.[101]

During the 1967 Riots, *YG* started a discussion series on "whether secondary school students should discuss politics." More than ten articles, including some from students in Christian schools, demanded an end to the taboo.[102] As anticipated, once the fetters were unbolted, many students were able to fully engage in the political struggle. "Song 松" of Wah Yan College wrote, "At a time when our compatriots are facing persecution, the unrighteous politicians continue to suppress our rage with the 'study-first' excuse." Warning against "betraying the country and yielding to the colonial government," he called on students to "stand united and keep fighting for justice to the end!"[103]

As more young students were participating in the riots, a group of students at Maryknoll Fathers' School defended their involvement in the red storm. In an English article in *YG,* they wrote, "If we are going to lay blame . . . we must only point fingers at the social circumstances."[104] Addressing the problem of juvenile delinquency in Hong Kong, a student from Kau Yan College asserted that "the present anti-colonialism movement was all about eliminating the root of evil,"[105] by which he meant the "tyranny" of the colonial government.

Apart from the suppression of freedom, another issue frequently brought up in the *YG* was police brutality. In an open letter to the magazine, a student from St. Francis' Canossian College condemned "the bloody atrocities of the British Hong Kong government," cautioning

---

[99] Kudinggan 苦定甘, "Huanhu" 歡呼 [Applause], *YG* 568 (February 24, 1967): 8.

[100] Red Frontier 紅鋒, "Xiaopin erze" 小品二則 [Two Sketches], *YG* 581 (May 26, 1967): 6.

[101] Red Frontier 紅鋒, "Naoshi zhong qiangsheng bubu, jumin wugu bei qiang shang" 鬧市中槍聲卜卜，居民無辜被槍傷 [Firings Amidst the Crowd, Innocent Resident Got Shot], *YG* 588 (July 14, 1967): 12.

[102] Chan, "Liuqi baodong qianhou Xianggang zuopai wenyi kanwu," 217.

[103] Song 松, "Shengsi yu zhengyi" 生死與正義 [Life, Death and Justice], *YG* 583 (June 9, 1967): 8.

[104] Hign Noon, "A Defence of the Younger Generation of Today," *YG* 588 (July 14, 1967): 12.

[105] Victory, "Juvenile Delinquency," *YG* 596 (September 8, 1967): 5.

young people against "indoctrination" and "the rumors spread by the government."[106] In a scathing attack to the police, "A Patriot" from the same school referred to the police officers as "stooges who assailed their compatriots for money."[107]

In the last July 1967 issue of *YG*, a student of Wah Yan College praised the protesters for fearlessly fighting for their "compatriots, national dignity, and noble ideals," and for "defending the truth." In the "anti-violence" and "counter-persecution" campaign, he asked his friends to "stand on the side of justice and contribute to the struggle campaign."[108] In the same issue, a student of Heep Yunn School denounced the world as an "unfair system perpetuating class oppression" in an article entitled "Indictment." She called for strong condemnation against the diabolical, authoritarian regime.[109]

As the 1967 the riots coincided with the HKCEE, *YG* published an opinion piece which decried the education system for producing "submissive followers." The author urged the candidates to rip their exam admission cards as a symbolic move to "crush the shackles of 'slavish education.'"[110] A Tsung Tsin College student even described the protests as "righteous" activism. Reflecting on his Chinese identity, he asked, "How can I ignore what is happening?" He attacked the propaganda of "stability, prosperity and anti-violence" and said he could not put his country out of his mind "like a dead nerd with his head in the sand." In the end, he dismissed the exam as totally frivolous.[111]

Radical patriotism as seen in the above examples clearly indicates *YG's* diversion from its "grey line" and "neutrality." After the police raid of its premises on August 7, a student of the Kau Yan College endorsed the magazine as "a healthy publication that provides us with useful knowledge." Commenting on the unjust suppression, the author encouraged young people to uphold justice and integrity by picking up the good weapon—their pens—"to expose the vice and darkness of society."[112]

---

[106] Qihua 奇花, "Gei qingnian pengyou de yifeng xin" 給青年朋友的一封信 [A Letter to Young People], *YG* 584 (June 16, 1967): 12.

[107] A Patriot (Aiguozhe 愛國者), "Gei tongbao de yifeng xin" 給同胞的一封信 [A Letter to Compatriots], *YG* 585 (June 23, 1967): 12.

[108] Song 松, "Ji youren" 寄友人 [To My Friends], *YG* 590 (July 28, 1967): 10.

[109] Huomiao 火苗, "Kongsu" 控訴 [Indictment], *YG* 590 (July 28, 1967): 9.

[110] Fengzhiming 峯之鳴, "Xianggang jiaoyu zhidu xia bei hai de yiqun" 香港教育制度下被害的一群 [Victims of the Education System in Hong Kong], *YG* 584 (June 16, 1967): 1.

[111] Sihua 思華, "Huikao huikao" 會考會考 [Public Exams, Public Exams], *YG* 584 (June 16, 1967): 6.

[112] R. Youth, "Never Have I Felt so Angry!" *YG* 594 (August 25, 1967): 5.

Following the indictment of *YG*'s editors in late November 1967, the magazine saw scores of articles with extreme patriotic and militant bylines: "The Red Successors Battle Group Against British Persecution in Hong Kong"; "Patriotic Students" and "A Group of Patriotic Students" from mainstream schools. Additionally, there were groups from Christian schools such as the "The Golden Hooped Rod Fighting Team from Ying Wa Girls' School"; "Red Army Fighting Group from St. Paul's Co-Educational College"; "Anti-British Fighting Team from Pui Ching Middle School"; "Anti-Persecution Fighting Committee from St. Paul's College"; "A group of Chung Chi Patriotic Students" and "Students' Fighting Committee from Ling Ying College."[113] It is important to note that these groups did not appear all of a sudden. In fact, battle groups in Christian schools had emerged since June before their appearance on *NY,* the supplement of *YG*. According to some leftists in Hong Kong, the formation of those fighting units heralded the peak of another wave of struggle against the British colonial power.

Religion as a "Colonial Legacy"

Although in the history of the Chinese Communist Party, critique of religion and political struggle have always been inseparable, according to Leung Mo-han, overt criticism of religious beliefs was rarely on the agenda of the underground workers in the "grey schools."[114] With the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution, however, religious issues became a major target of attacks, as evident in the *YG* around the time of the 1967 Riots.

As early as December 1966, a student of Ying Wah College voiced his dissatisfaction with the school religious assembly in a soliloquy published in *YG*. While listening to his teacher's prayer, he cried out in his heart, "I will not pray! There is no God. Why should I bow down to nothing?" He strongly believed the world belonged to the "working class." Therefore, no one should "attribute the creation of the world to a non-existent god," let alone "submitting to his rule." Instead, he encouraged young people "to create a happy world with their own hands!"[115]

---

[113] "Xinqingnian tekan" 新青年特刊 [Supplement *New Youths*], *YG* 607 (November 24, 1967): 2–4.

[114] Leung Mo-han, interview.

[115] Hudong 胡東, "Benchi zai zhengque de guidao shang" 奔馳在正確的軌道上 [Running on the Right Track], *YG* 557 (December 9, 1966): 6.

A student of St. Paul's Secondary School expressed her existential doubts on her 16th birthday: "Am I only created for the exam [HKCEE]?" Feeling life was a pointless cycle of routines, she yearned for an answer to the meaning of life.[116] In another example, her schoolmate Chunhui was vexed by the many social problems. He questioned "the Almighty Creator" for "not creating better human beings."[117]

In a letter to a Christian friend (Kit Cau), Xiangkong 翔空, a student from Heep Yunn School referred to God as "the invisible wall" between them. She saw religion as no more than short-term pain relief, a temporary shield from reality. She went on, "When we wake up to the decadent world, we can no longer remain silent. A revolutionary storm has unfolded, one that will transform the corrupted society and usher us into a new future." She encouraged Kit Cau to "give up escapism" and "strive for a better new world."[118]

To further challenge religion, *YG* ran a systematic critique of "theism." In August, the magazine published an article of a Maryknoll Fathers' School student who identified himself as a non-Christian. Defending theism, he argued for "the certainty of God's existence" from different perspectives.[119] Although an article for theism seemed out of place in a magazine like *YG,* it was clearly a planned trigger point for counterargument. To put it simply, the article was designed to set off a propaganda series against religions.[120]

Two weeks later, three rebuttals were published in the same issue. A student from St. Paul's College questioned the existence of God, accusing believers as people "cloaked in religion to exploit and deceive others."[121] A self-study student also contended that "faith in God" was no more than a set of "tricks."[122] Another student called "theism" a "superstitious and absurd" ideology.[123] In the September issue, a self-study

---

[116] Yaofang 瑤芳, "Shiliu sui" 十六歲 [The Age of Sixteen], *YG* 579 (May 12, 1867): 8.

[117] Chunhui 春暉, "Zaowuzhu" 造物主 [The Creator], *YG* 571 (March 17, 1967): 8.

[118] Xiangkong 翔空, "Yuan bingjian zai yiqi" 願並肩在一起 [A Wish for Standing Shoulder to Shoulder], *YG* 597 (September 15, 1967): 8.

[119] Renjie 人傑, "Youshenlun" 有神論 [Theism], *YG* 592 (August 11, 1967): 9.

[120] Chan Wai-chung specified that there were 18 articles on "theism" while 15 of them argued against it. Chan noted that those related articles were "predetermined by the editors with the intention of provoking discussion gearing towards the editors' stance." Chan, "Liuqi baodong qianhou Xianggang zuopai wenyi kanwu," 217.

[121] Kefu 克夫, "Wushenlun" 無神論 [Atheism], *YG* 594 (August 25, 1967): 9.

[122] Self-Study Student (Zixiusheng 自修生), "Shen zenyang 'guagua zhuidi'?" 神怎樣「呱呱墜地」? [How Does the God "Come to the World as a Crying Baby?"], *YG* 594 (August 25, 1967): 9.

[123] Xuxian 許賢, "Huangmiu de 'youshenlun'" 荒謬的「有神論」 [The Absurd "Theism"], *YG* 594 (August 25, 1967): 9.

student under the byline "Proletarian" suggested that theism was a form of exploitation, a "spiritual sedative" administered by the authorities to divert people from the class struggle.[124] In addition, a student from Pooi To Middle School in Macau, who claimed to be a "materialist," expressed his determination to kill the "poisonous weeds" of theism and idealism.[125]

In October, another article defending theism by a Methodist College student (signed as "An Apologist") was published.[126] As anticipated, the piece provoked further responses from atheists.[127] A "Proletarian" from La Salle College contended that religion was a "deceptive platitude" which had failed the scientific test of "truth"[128] in his article titled "Science Refutes Theism." In the November issue, a student cited a famous Marxist quote "Religion is the opiate of the masses" in his rebuttal of an article by "An Apologist." He argued that if Christians should "love their enemies," he should not even have retaliated with his pen. He concluded that religion is "'the toxic opiate' used to deceive the working class."[129]

The discourse against "theism" during the riots was widely used as an ideological weapon by Marxists who identified religion as a major target in their "struggle" for social transformation. Some students went further to suggest that "theology is the rulers' plot to ruin the people in Hong Kong," and many young students "are under the curse of their colonial teaching which promotes subservience."[130] A self-study student believed that "God" was merely "an instrument" and "spiritual poison" for "deceiving, exploiting and oppressing the people."[131] Narratives as such show a shift of focus of criticism from the existence of God to the instrumental role of religion in enslaving and sedating the masses. This change

---

[124] Proletarian · Self-Study Student (Wuchanzhe · Zixiusheng 無產者 · 自修生), "Shen zai nali? Bo 'youshenlun'" 神在那裡？——駁「有神論」 [Where is the God? A Rebuttal to "Theism"], *YG* 596 (September 8, 1967): 9.

[125] Jiangchuan 江川, "Zai tan 'youshenlun'" 再談「有神論」 ["Theism" Revisited], *YG* 596 (September 8, 1967): 9.

[126] An Apologist (Huweizhe 護衛者), "Shensheng: Buke fan" 神聖——不可犯 [The Sacred: Inviolable], *YG* 600 (October 6, 1967): 9.

[127] Lanjian 籃箭, "Shensheng de huweizhe xiansheng, dui bu qi" 神聖的護衛者先生，對不起 [Apologize to the Sacred Mr. Apologist], *YG* 602 (October 20, 1967): 9.

[128] A Proletarian (Wuchanzhe 無產者), "Kexue bodao youshenlun" 科學駁倒有神論 [Science Refutes Theism], *YG* 602 (October 20, 1967): 9.

[129] A Proletarian 無產者, "Zai bo youshenlun" 再駁有神論 [A Second Rebuttal to Theism], *YG* 606 (November 17, 1967): 9.

[130] Lanjian 籃箭, "Youshenlun: Lanren de xueshuo" 有神論——懶人的學說 [Theism: A Doctrine for Lazy People], *YG* 598 (September 22, 1967): 9.

[131] For the People · Self-Study Student (Weimin · Zixiusheng 為民 · 自修生), "Shui chuangzao liao shen" 誰創造了神 [Who Creates the God], *YG* 600 (October 6, 1967): 9.

in focus had put the Christian schools in the firing line. Obviously, the CCP had long been an adept user of the "cultural aggression" rhetoric to expose the "collusion between Christianity and colonialism."

Despite the discourse against the Christian community and the heavy-handed crackdown on the 1967 Riots, several major Christian organizations expressed support for the government's position. These included the Hong Kong Christian Council and key church leaders such as Bishop Baker of the Anglican Church, Bishop Lorenzo Bianchi of the Catholic Diocese of Hong Kong, and all the pastors of the Hong Kong Council of the Church of Christ in China.[132] Not surprisingly, these Christian entities soon became the leftist targets of criticism. In June, an article was published in *TKP,* which described the Christian Council as a "national scum."[133] Several letters were also published in early September, condemning the Church's support of the government as "carrying out an evil agenda in the name of religion."[134]

Responding to the comments of some pro-government church leaders, a student reproached one of the church ministers, Rev. Lee, for the sins he committed in the name of religion. Citing from his sermon which preached "infinite mercy and forgivingness" and encouraged believers to "stand firm as citizens and resolutely defend the peace of society," the student challenged Rev. Lee for his silence on "the brutal bashing, shootings and arrests of the compatriots."[135]

Religion, particularly Christianity, was an important battlefront in the leftist struggle during the 1967 Riots. Given its popularity among young students, *YG* soon became a key player in the ideological war. Alarmed at the increasing "politicization" and "radicalization" of the magazine, police raided the office in August, seizing numerous records, including readers' information. Awakened to its influence on students in mainstream schools, the authorities decided that a forceful measure was

---

[132] See Ying, "Liuqi baodong yu Xianggang Jidujiao," 82–85.

[133] "Yiqun Jidujiaotu xiang Dailinzhi kangyi" 一群基督教徒向戴麟趾抗議 [A Group of Christians Protest to David Trench], *TKP*, June 5, 1967.

[134] "'Zongjiaojie renshi' zai diantai fa miulun, yi aiguo tongbao lieju shishi bochi"「宗教界人士」在電台發謬論，一愛國同胞列舉事實駁斥 [Making Absurd Statements on the Radio, "People from the Religious Circles" Factually Refuted by a Patriot], *TKP*, September 1, 1967. "Laojiaotu tichu shishi jiang daoli, chi zongjiaojie bailei guangbo huangyan" 老教徒提出事實講道理，斥宗教界敗類廣播謊言 [Speaking the Truth, Senior Christian Deplores Scum of the Religious Circles for Disseminating Lies], *TKP*, September 4, 1967.

[135] A Righteous Guardian (Yige you zhengyigan de hushi 一個有正義感的護士), "Zongjiao? Huan shi zhengzhi?" 宗教？還是政治？[Religion? Or Politics?], *YG* 587 (July 7, 1967): 12.

imperative. Three months after the raid, the publisher was indicted, and the magazine was ordered to cease publication.[136]

V. HONG KONG YOUTHS IN CONFLICT AND THE WAY OUT

On July 9, 1967, a graduation ceremony was held at the True Light Middle School of Hong Kong, during which the following "Prayer for Graduands" was recited, partly in response to the 1967 Riots:

> Dear Lord, in this generation of divided opinions, our students are like lonely boats lost in the sea. Please be their compass, lead them on a safe and smooth path until they reach their destination of tranquility. Though they are like sheep that have gone astray, You alone are their gracious shepherd. You make them lie down in green pastures and lead them to the still waters where they can rest.
>
> May your eternal light shine on our graduates, so that through Your true light they may see the perils of society and be vigilant in their walks. Lord, please shield them from all causes of distress, the temptations of pride and vanity. May you drive out the darkness within them with the light of truth. May they be filled with faith, virtue, wisdom, temperance, patience and godliness, and through Your power may they triumph in all things …[137]

The descriptions of the students as "sheep that have gone astray" who were "at a loss" in a "divided" and "perilous" society were clearly allusions to the leftist students. How did the churches and church schools in Hong Kong reflect on the youth problems revealed by the 1967 Riots?

Hong Kong Youths in Social Conflicts

Although by early 1968, Hong Kong had generally regained stability, the young generation remained discontented with the social situation. Education and youth problems had become some of the inescapable

---

[136] "Jifeng baoyu zhong de *Qingnian leyuan*" 疾風暴雨中的《青年樂園》[Youths' Garden in Storm], in *Zhi · Qingchun: Jiazi huiwang Qingnian leyuan*, 425.

[137] "Wei biye tongxue xiandao" 為畢業同學獻禱 [Prayer for Graduands], Zhonghua jidu jiaohui gonglitang zhoukan 中華基督教會公理堂週刊 [Bulletin of The Church of Christ in China China Congregational Church], July 9, 1967.

issues after the 1967 Riots.[138] An article by a form six student, entitled "Causes of Teen Boredom, and How to Put Teens back on Track," was published in the True Light College's School Bulletin in 1968. While the article did not touch on the riots in the previous year, it pointed out that young people were facing "oppression from society" in many ways.[139]

Some Christian school students were involved in the political turmoil. Despite their small numbers, the fact that students from elite schools participated in the riots was a major shock to those Christian schools. The wave of mass migrations from Hong Kong after the 1967 Riots simply indicated the conscious choice of some of the better-off families. Christian schools were no exception.[140] After the riots, 69 students from Diocesan Boys' School moved to the United Kingdom and the United States for further education.[141] St. Stephen's Girls' School also saw some of its students leaving Hong Kong with their entire families after the riots.[142] In 1968, the number of graduates from St. Paul's Co-educational College who went overseas had also increased, with the vast majority going to the United States and Canada.[143] It simply reflected the crisis of confidence after the riots.

A pressing issue for reflection among Hong Kong churches was why young people were involved in the political struggle. The Anglican Church, in a January 1968 report entitled "Re-Thinking Education in Hong Kong," pointed out "The fact that so many young people felt impelled to join the protests and riots should be a matter of deep concern of our youth work sector." "The civic unrest was no doubt partly driven

---

138 John Cooper, *Colony in Conflict: The Hong Kong Disturbances, May 1967–January 1968* (Hong Kong: Swindon Book Co., 1970), 312–15.

139 Luo Baolan 羅寶蘭, "Qingshaonian kumen de yuanyin ji ruhe naru zhenggui" 青少年苦悶的原因及如何納入正軌 [Causes of Teen Boredom, and How to Put Teens back on Track], *Bulletin of Hong Kong True Light College* 香港真光書院校刊 (1967–1968), 38.

140 Take Canada as an example. There were 3,710 people immigrating from Hong Kong to Canada in 1966. The number increased significantly to 5,767 in 1967, and further escalated to 7,594 in 1968. Ronald Skeldon, "Hong Kong in an International Migration System," in *Reluctant Exiles? Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese*, ed. Ronald Skeldon (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994), 28–29.

141 Wang Fung-yee and Chan-Yeung Mo-wah Moira, *To Serve and To Lead: A History of the Diocesan Boys' School Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 105.

142 Kathleen E. Barker, *Change and Continuity: A History of St. Stephen's Girls' College, Hong Kong, 1906–1996* (Hong Kong: St. Stephen's Girls' College, 1996), 213.

143 "The Principal's Report, 1967–68," St. Paul's Co-ed School Council Minutes, 1956–71, HKSKH Archives.

by idealism. Yet we need to look into other possibly legitimate reasons, such as youth frustration and confusion."[144]

Reflecting deeply on the issue, Mr. Sidney James Lowcock, principal of Diocesan Boys' School, remarked:

> Rather the very fact that a small group could create such chaos out of a fearsome reservoir of hatred was a judgement passed on our entire community. This was a judgment on our government, on our industrial structure, on our churches and on our schools.

Lowcock argued that the upheaval was a disgrace to the whole church, and it was time for self-scrutiny. He argued that the riots had exposed a chasm between "the haves" or "those who live luxuriously," and "the have-nots"—many of the poor who participated in the riots were in fact the losers in the existing education system.[145]

How, then, did the Hong Kong church respond to the youth issues presented by the riots?

Identity of Hong Kong Youth

As early as the beginning of the riots, the Catholic newspaper *Kung Kao Po* wrote: "The fact that young people were at the forefront in the riots should prompt us to ask ourselves if we have given youth problems our due attention."[146] L. Stumpf and Carl Nielsen, director and deputy director of the Lutheran World Federation, Department of World Services, also pointed out that the two riots revealed the discontent of the youth. They both challenged the community to respond to the visions and expectations of young people. "That 'the future belongs to the youth' is no more than a platitude if we fail to equip our young generation by providing them with opportunities in education, employment and recreation," added Stump and Nielsen, who believed "commitment to active citizenship" was the key to Hong Kong's youth problem.[147]

---

144 "Re-Thinking Education in Hong Kong," *Outpost*, May 1968, 12–13.

145 "Mr. S. J. Lowcock, Headmaster of the Diocesan Boys' School," *Outpost*, May 1968, 13–14.

146 "Shelun: Xianggang shimin de qushe" 社論——香港市民的取捨 [Editorial: Choices for Hong Kong Citizens], *Kung Kao Po* 公教報, May 19, 1967.

147 L. Stumpf and Carl F. Nielsen, "Confidence and Commitment," *LWF Hong Kong Quarterly Report*, 1967: IV, 1–2.

In November 1967, the 28th Anglican Council of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau was convened amidst political and social tumults. At the meeting, the Diocesan Youth Affairs Commission suggested that youth services should be expanded to address the needs of the wider community.[148] In view of the situation in Hong Kong, therefore, the Diocese suggested that nurturing a sense of community or "belongingness" among young people should be the focus of its Youth Work Plan in 1968.[149]

Rev. Alan Chan, then Chairman of the Diocesan Youth Affairs Commission, wrote a special article on the *Echo* to address the identity problems faced by the youth after the riots. He observed an attitude change among people in Hong Kong since the post war period: Many who treated Hong Kong as a "temporary abode" had now called the city their "second homeland." No longer were they sojourners, but citizens in the territory. This sense of belonging had nurtured a desire to help build a better Hong Kong. Such aspiration, however, was hampered by nationalism and the "lack of opportunity to participate in the administration of Hong Kong."

Chan explained that on the one hand, "Chinese" in Hong Kong, influenced by nationalism, would inevitably question their own participation in building up the "British colony." In other words, serving the British government could mean betraying one's own motherland. On the other hand, it was clear that Hong Kong people did not have real political power in the betterment of the city. This may explain the general indifference towards some young people's social concern during the riot sparked by the fare increase of Star Ferry in 1966. Such apathy had traumatized many youths who then saw their once loved city as no more than "a nominal hometown," a place that "no longer can reignite their spirit of allegiance." Summing up their grief, Chan wrote:

> They belong nowhere—neither to China nor to Hong Kong. They are lost without an anchor. Those who have the will and opportunity would

---

[148] *Shenggonghui GangAo jiaoqu di nianba jie jiaoqu yihui yicheng* 聖公會港澳教區第廿八屆教區議會議程 [Agenda of the 28th Synod of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau], November 7–9, 1967, 8.

[149] "Diocesan Youth Programme 1968," Diocesan Education Committee, 1968, HKSKH Archives.

> soon slip away, whereas those without any options can only muddle through ….[150]

Importantly, the kind of nationalism Chan observed among the "leftists" in Hong Kong was characterized by "xenophobia."[151] In the "free" land of Hong Kong, the young generation were able to soberly assess the benefits and drawbacks of nationalism. They had come to realize that a country was neither the ultimate authority nor the source of "absolute truth."[152] In fact, the 1967 Riots had made many aware of the evils of extreme nationalism. In short, the youths who deeply felt that Hong Kong was their homeland were facing a dilemma: They could not identify with Communist China, but neither could they envisage participating in developing British colonial Hong Kong. Drawing a parallel from the life of Jesus, Chan pointed out that as a Jew, Jesus was "faithful to his own people" while "understanding that the truth is more important than his fellow countrymen." He hoped the church and society would give young people "the opportunity to serve" so they could participate in building Hong Kong with a sense of purpose.[153]

Philip Shen, a lecturer at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, gave a speech on "Loss, Return and Expansion: Students' Social Concern" at the Friday assembly of Chung Chi College on April 25, 1968. In his speech, he said the social crisis brought by the riots had forced everyone to reflect on "how to be a Chinese in Hong Kong." He sensed after the riots, many had the following heartfelt convictions: (1) few could "leave" the city; (2) Hong Kong was their home; (3) all Hong Kong citizens were obliged to ensure an orderly society, and (4) social problems could not be tackled merely by the government or external stakeholders. Shen suggested that the riots had awakened many to a deeper understanding of an "orderly civic society." This "consciously affirmed meaning of life in Hong Kong" had brought forth a sense of "belonging" that came with a demand for an identity as "Chinese in Hong Kong." Unlike the last generation of refugees and immigrants, young people who were born and raised in Hong Kong felt a strong sense of belonging. This created a "new frontier" for "exploration" for the young generation. To these youths, Hong Kong did not come under mainland China or Taiwan.

---

150 Alan C. C. Chan (Chen Zuocai 陳佐才), "Jidujiao xinxi yu Xianggang de qingnian" 基督教信息與香港的青年 [The Christian Message and Youngsters in Hong Kong], *Echo* 港澳教聲 172 (January 25, 1968).

151 Ibid.

152 Alan Chan, "Jidujiao xinxi yu Xianggang de qingnian (Cont.)" [The Christian Message and Youngsters in Hong Kong (Cont.)], *Echo* 173 (February 25, 1968).

153 Ibid.

Instead, it had its "unique way of life, social system and cultural heritage." Shen asserted that Hong Kong people "could rebuild, create, and live the Chinese way of life in Hong Kong today, while inheriting and passing on the values of Chinese culture." He encouraged young people to start creating the homegrown sense of "Hong Kong conscious" by leveraging the uniqueness of Hong Kong and cease to be "the lost generation" by finding their mission and place in the society.[154]

Both Alan Chan and Philip Shen keenly observed the emergence of local consciousness among the young generation after the riots. It was a new consciousness linked to the Chinese identity (but not Communist Chinese) and yet rooted locally in the Hong Kong society, presenting a complex relationship among the colonial, national and local identities.[155] Some scholars suggest that although the riots revealed the shortcomings of colonial governance, strong anti-communist sentiment had somewhat steered the development of anti-colonial consciousness towards improving the colonial system. At the same time, the Hong Kong government also made great efforts in crafting a "Hong Kong identity" in order to strengthen young people's sense of belonging.[156] Matthew Turner, for instance, uses the terms like "citizenship," "community," and "belonging" to illustrate the shaping of Hong Kong identity.[157] Elizabeth Sinn also observes that the use of "Hong Kong people" became increasingly common after the riots, replacing "people living in Hong Kong."[158] Socio-political factors in post-1967 Hong Kong had indeed shaped the

---

[154] Philip Shen (Shen Xuanren 沈宣仁), "Shiluo, huigui ji kaituo: Xuesheng de shehui yishi" 失落、回歸及開拓——學生的社會意識 [Loss, Return and Expansion: Students' Social Concern], *Xianggang zhongwen daxue chongji xuesheng shuang zhoubao* 香港中文大學崇基學生雙週報 [Chung Chi Student Press] 118 (May 10, 1968): 4.

[155] Wong Shuk-han 黃淑嫻, "Liuliu tianxing, liuqi baodong yu Xianggang wenxue" 六六天星、六七暴動與香港文學 [The 1966 Star Ferry Riots, the 1967 Riots, and Hong Kong Literature], in *Xianggang · 1960 niandai*, 277–82.

[156] Law Wing-sang 羅永生, "'Zhengqu Zhongwen chengwei fading yuwen yundong' yu 'fanzhi' de qiyi" 「爭取中文成為法定語文運動」與「反殖」的歧義 ["Campaign for Chinese to Be an Official Language" and the Ambiguity of "Anti-Colonial Movement"], in *Sixiang Xianggang* 思想香港 [Thinking Hong Kong] (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2020), 55–56; also Gary Ka-wai Cheung (Zhang Jiawei 張家偉), "Xianggang zhanhou zhengzhi de fenshuiling?" 香港戰後政治的分水嶺？ [The Watershed in Postwar Politics of Hong Kong?], *Ming Pao Monthly* (May 2017): 50. Hui Sung-tak (Xu Chongde 許崇德), "'Liuqi baodong' yu 'Xianggang ren' shenfen yishi de mengsheng" 「六七暴動」與「香港人」身份意識的萌生 ["1967 Riots" and the Emergence of the Identity of "Hongkonger"], *Twenty-first Century* 169 (October 2018): 77–94.

[157] Matthew Turner, "Hong Kong 60's/90's: Dissolving the People," in *Hong Kong Sixties: Designing Identity*, ed. Matthew Turner and Irene Ngan (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Arts Centre, 1995), 15.

[158] Elizabeth Sinn (Xian Yuyi 冼玉儀), "Liushi niandai: Lishi gailan" 六十年代——歷史概覽 [A Historical Survey of the Sixties], *Hong Kong Sixties: Designing Identity*, 82.

identity of young people and unfolded a new chapter of history in the 1970s. Law Wing-sang also defines "the thought of the local generation" after the 1960s as "thinking of Hong Kong as a 'place' where they were born and raised, and emphasizing local lifestyle, local identity, and the sense of belonging to the community."[159] Evidently, Christianity in Hong Kong had played a role in the formation of this local discourse.

VI. CONCLUSION

As early as the 1920s and 1940s, Christian schools in mainland China had become the focus of the CCP's underground work.[160] Given the important role that Christian schools play in Hong Kong's education sector, it is inevitable that these schools became one of the targets of infiltration in general and particularly important battlefronts in the leftists struggle during the 1967 Riots. Evidently, Christian school students who played a part in the 1967 Riots were mostly leftist ideologues influenced by the Cultural Revolution. Behind the scenes, however, well-coordinated underground CCP activities in the local "grey schools" were equally important. As observed by Law Wing-sang, the youth work of Hong Kong leftists was to engage young people from mainstream elite schools on a "low-profile united front."[161] Fomented by the Cultural Revolution in the mainland, left-wing activists in Hong Kong launched a series of "anti-British and "counter-violence" protests. As the mass struggle unfolded, the "grey" forces hidden underground slowly revealed their true colors.

The words and deeds of the Christian school students as seen in the *YG* were influenced by the macro social environment. At the same time, they were also marked by a distinctly radical left-wing character. In a study of Hong Kong left-wing fiction from the 1950s to the 1960s, Cheung Wing-mui points out that left-wing authors saw Hong Kong as

---

[159] Law Wing-sang 羅永生, "[Wan]zhimin chengshi zhengzhi xiangxiang"〔晚〕殖民城市政治想像 [Political Imaginaries of a (Late-)colonial City], in *Zhimin wujiandao* 殖民無間道 [Re-theologizing Colonial Power] (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2007), 59–60.

[160] Patricia Stranahan, *Underground: The Shanghai Communist Party and the Politics of Survival, 1927–1937* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Pub. Co., 1998).

[161] Law Wing-sang 羅永生, "Huohong niandai yu Xianggang jijin zhuyi de liubian" 火紅年代與香港激進主義的流變 [The "Red Era" and the Changing Radicalisms of Hong Kong], in *Sixiang Xianggang*, 101.

an utterly dark capitalist society. Their stories exposed the various problems of Hong Kong under colonial rule, including poverty and unemployment. From the perspective of class conflict, these left-wing authors criticized the education system of the British Hong Kong government. Meanwhile, they displayed identification with the New China (*xin zhongyuan* 新中原).[162] Similarly, bolstered by the Cultural Revolution, *YG* abandoned its original "grey" line and became further politicized and radicalized. For this reason, Christian school students before and after the 1967 Riots also showed an anti-colonial and pro-socialist tendency in their criticism of society.

For many young students at the time, *YG* was a platform for exploring their paths. The following poem by a student at Bishop Hall Jubilee School, for instance, reflected upon the ambivalence experienced by a group of young people who grew up in the colony:

> In the mist.
> I hear the voice of the young people.
> "Which path shall I take? What shall I do?"
> The voice is so confused.
> It is so lost and depressed.
> Cheer up, young ones!
> It is you who can save yourselves!
> Fight hard!
> The light is right in front of you.
> As soon as the sun rises, the mist will clear!
>
> In the mist,
> I hear the voice of the oppressed:
> Shouting! Struggling!
> Resisting! Fighting!
> Stand up and fight for the future!
> By Sunflower, "Mist"[163]

Using "mist" as a metaphor for the lost generation of young people, the author told of their search for identity and reflection on the social context. The ideological shift of these non-leftist students, who were nurtured in mainstream education system, reflected their dissatisfaction

---

[162] Cheung Wing-mui (Zhang Yongmei 張詠梅), *Bianyuan yu zhongxin: Lun Xianggang zuoyi xiaoshuo zhong de "Xianggang" (1950–1967)* 邊緣與中心——論香港左翼小說中的「香港」（1950–1967） [Margins and Centers: The Construction of "Hong Kong" in Hong Kong Left-wing Fiction, 1950–1967] (Hong Kong: Cosmos Book Ltd., 2003), 155–72.

[163] Sunflower (Xiangyangcao 向陽草), "Wu" 霧 [Mist], *YG* 575 (April 14, 1967): 13.

with the status quo of the society at the time. More importantly, their change was attributed directly to the leftist "enlightenment" and "re-education" through the "grey-line" underground work in Hong Kong. In this regard, *YG* was essentially an "intermediary" for leftist infiltration into church schools.

During the 1967 Riots, *YG* closely monitored the political situation and actively backed the "anti-British and counter-violence" struggle. In fact, the British Hong Kong government were wary of the leftist propaganda during the riots, especially the leftist newspapers such as *TKP*, *WWP*, and the *New Evening Post* (*Xin Wan Bao* 新晚報).[164] A confidential internal report by the Hong Kong government in 1968 specifically highlighted the various Communist propaganda channels.[165] Although *YG* was not mentioned in the report, the government was aware of *YG's* role in the riots, especially its influence on mainstream schools. The search of the office premises on August 7, two days before the arrests of several newspaper directors (*Hong Kong Evening News* [*Xianggang Yebao* 香港夜報], *Tin Fung Yat Pao* [*Tianfeng Ribao* 田豐日報] and *Afternoon News* [*Xin Wubao* 新午報]), proved the point. The details in the clippings about the proscription of *YG* in the archives of the Government Records Service also indicated the government's caution against the magazine.[166] Finally, on August 17, the authority ordered the three newspapers to cease publication. However, it was not until mid-November that *YG* was formally charged with incitement. Until its suspension on November 24, the magazine continued to play a role in advocating the struggle among young people.

Before and after the 1967 Riots, *YG* underwent a tactical shift in its leftist underground work—from "grey" to "red." Importantly, the magazine showed how a group of Christian school students evolved ideologically during the political upheaval in the 1960s and eventually embarked on an unprecedented path of political struggle. Unquestionably, the 1967 Riots were an extension of the Cultural Revolution in Hong Kong.[167] Behind the curtain of "anti-British and

---

[164] FCO 40/113–115, Communist Press: Action Against. The Chinese University of Hong Kong Digital Repository: Open Public Record of the National Archives of United Kingdom.

[165] *Hong Kong Disturbances 1967* (Hong Kong: The Government Printer, 1968), ch. 12. FCO 40/154, Disturbances 1967/68. The Chinese University of Hong Kong Digital Repository: Open Public Record of the National Archives of United Kingdom.

[166] HK PRO, HKRS70–1–313B, Riots, 1967-Communist Newspaper Prosecution.

[167] In a file on the 1967 Riots, the British Foreign Office made it clear that the riots in Hong Kong were spurred by the Cultural Revolution and that the Communist Party in Hong Kong was attempting to create a revolutionary crisis through various acts of violence. FCO Research Department, "Study on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.

counter-violence," however, some young people in Hong Kong had been contemplating on the social, national, and religious issues during the turbulent times. As the riots subsided, a locally rooted Hong Kong identity gradually emerged—amid local, colonial, and national tensions.

Friction in Hong Kong-1967," August 14, 1970, The National Archives (TNA), FCO 40/263, Disturbances in Hong Kong 1967/68.

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 49–85 (print version)
Published online June 14, 2022; in print December 2022

The Swedish China Mission of the Alliance (1893–1900)
中國宣道會瑞典宣教團(1893–1900)

ELLIS MING-CHEUNG HO
何明章

Abstract

This article articulates the historical records regarding the Swedish China Mission of the Alliance more than one hundred years ago. In 1893, sixty-odd Swedish young Christians accepted God's calling and were sent by the International Missionary Alliance to the border of Shansi and Mongolia for mission. From 1893 to 1900, their works included reaching out to people who had never heard of the Gospel, evangelism and setting up almost twenty mission stations. Meanwhile, they experienced the first Sino-Japanese War, Hundred Days' Reform and Boxer Rebellion. By referring to the US archive of the Christian

---

Ellis Ming-cheung HO (HE Mingzhang 何明章) is a PhD graduate of Institute of Modern Chinese History, Central China Normal University and volunteer researcher of The Christianity and Chinese Culture Research Centre, Alliance Bible Seminary.

The first draft of this paper was presented at the 12th International Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: Chinese Christianities in Big Eras, jointly organized by the Society for the Study of History of Christianity in China, the Centre for Sino-Christian Studies of the Hong Kong Baptist University, the Christianity and Chinese Culture Research Centre of the Alliance Bible Seminary, and the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture in August 2021, Hong Kong.

Missionary Alliance, this article uncovers and consolidates materials about the establishment of the Swedish China Mission of the Alliance, its arrival in China, mission strategy and how missionaries escaped and were martyred during Boxer Rebellion. Its story rightfully reflects the opportunities and challenges faced by evangelists in China in the big eras.

Keywords: Swedish missionaries in Shansi, Swedish China Mission, The Christian and Missionary Alliance, Boxer Rebellion

本文論述一百多年前中國宣道會瑞典宣教團的事蹟。1893 年，約六十多名瑞典青年受上帝感召、獲美國宣道會差遣前往中國山西與蒙古接壤的地區工作。自 1893 至 1900 年止，他們在當地開荒佈道，建立了多個宣教據點，期間經歷了甲午戰爭、戊戌變法及義和團事件。本文主要利用宣道會西差會檔案，發掘和整理宣教團成立與來華過程，其宣教策略以及宣教士在義和團中逃亡與殉難經過。中國宣道會瑞典宣教團的故事，正反映大時代下在華傳教的機遇與挑戰。

關鍵詞：山西瑞典宣教士、瑞典中國宣教團、宣道會、義和團事件

一. 引言

十九世紀九十年代，宣道會曾差遣三個隊伍合共六十多名瑞典籍宣教士，前赴山西與蒙古接壤的區域傳揚福音，他們的組織被稱為 “Swedish China Mission of the Alliance ”（本文中譯為「中國宣道會瑞典宣教團」或簡稱「宣教團」）。宣教團以歸化城（現今內蒙呼和浩特市）為宣教總部，然後再分派小隊前往附近沒有宣教士的地區工作。從 1893 年起，宣教團開始時在歸化城至包頭鎮一帶工作，然後沿萬里長城一直伸延至東面的宣化與張家口，在西面則伸展至甘肅省寧夏府一帶地方。至 1900 年，中國發生義和團事件，在動亂與仇外的大時代下，宣教士與當地信徒成為攻擊目標，傷亡慘重，整個宣教團被連根拔起。

有關宣教團的論述，最重要的有 1903 年出版、由伍約翰師母(Mrs. K. C. Woodberry)撰寫的 *Through Blood-Stained Shansi* [1]，內容記錄了 1901 年尾至 1902 年初她與伍約翰牧師代表美國宣道會出使山西，與當地清政府官員商討義和團事件的賠償與善後經過，以及他們在旅途中的所見所聞。另有在 1930 年出版，由一名在義和團事件中倖存的宣教團成員拉遜先生(Mr. Frans August Larson)所寫的一本自傳式著作 *Larson, Duke of Mongolia* [2]，當中記錄他在宣教團時期的一些個人經歷。還有在 2009 年出版，由瑞典學者 Erik Sidenvall 撰寫的學術著作 *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914* [3]，作者利用一些珍貴的原始資料，整理了宣教團四名男性成員的生平故事，繼而探討他們的男子氣質是如何養成。在中文史料方面，有柴蓮馥在 1910 年編著的《庚子教會華人流血史》[4]，此書乃當事人口述的滙編，時間距離義和團事件不足十年，相關記錄有相當的參考價值。該書第四冊《山西之難》的篇幅中有三個專題記錄了義和團事件中有關宣教團的史實。另外，由中國各地政府編撰的文史資料《中國地方志基督教史料輯要》[5]，也有一些資料可供採擷。較近期的有羅腓力編著的《宣道與中華——宣道會早期在華宣教史略》[6]，作者利用美國宣道會的檔案，粗略介紹了宣教團的歷史，然而內容只有寥寥數百字。另有在 2010 年出版，由海外基督使團編著的《回首百年殉道血——一九零零年義和團事件殉道宣教士的生命故事》[7]，當中整理了宣教團成員在義和團事件中殉難的片段。然而，迄今為

---

[1] K. C. Woodberry, *Through Blood-Stained Shansi* (New York: Alliance Press Company, 1903).

[2] August Larson, *Larson, Duke of Mongolia* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1930).

[3] Erik Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914* (Boston: Brill, 2009).

[4] 此書在二十世紀五十年代由宣道出版社再版，見柴蓮馥：《庚子教會華人流血史》（香港：宣道，1957）。

[5] 張先清、趙蕊娟編：《中國地方志基督教史料輯要》（上海：東方出版中心，2010）。

[6] 羅腓力：《宣道與中華——宣道會早期在華宣教史略》（香港：宣道，1997）。

[7] 海外基督使團編著：《回首百年殉道血——一九零零年義和團事件殉道宣教士的生命故事》（香港：海外基督使團，2010）。

止，就宣教團成立的過程、其宣教與佈道策略，以及那六十多名瑞典籍宣教士的生活與工作情況，都鮮有學者作全面的整理與研究。本文主要透過美國宣道會的原始檔案，以及參考上述著作，嘗試為中國宣道會瑞典宣教團整理出一個較為完整的論述。筆者冀望本文可填補這段空白的歷史之餘，亦以此紀念那六十多名瑞典宣教團成員為中國教會所付出的貢獻與犧牲。

二. 宣道會瑞典宣教團的組成

1890 年 5 月，中國內地會創辦人戴德生牧師(Rev. J. Hudson Taylor)在上海宣教大會上號召要有多 1,000 名宣教士來華。[8] 當時西方教會早已就這事情有充足的準備。那時歐、美各地的基督徒，對差遣宣教士前往海外滿有熱情。在十九世紀後期，歐美列強勢力在東方世界不斷擴張，無疑為宣教事業創造了很多機會。縱使西方信徒對帝國主義和殖民主義表示反感，然而他們卻不可否認，世局的發展確實為福音鋪平了道路。美國教會甚至認為：「這是宣教事工決定性的時刻，機會難能可貴，相信是上帝的命定與安排。現今，基督教力量要麼得勝，要麼便退縮至昏沉欲睡，世界再聽不到福音訊息。」[9]

像很多地方一樣，當時瑞典基督徒的目光已漸漸轉向幅員遼闊的中國。他們深受戴德生牧師的影響，亟欲在中國尋找宣教機遇，相關差會亦紛紛建立起來。其中有瑞典裔美國傳教士范嵐生牧師(Rev. Fredrik Franson)[10] 創立的「北美瑞挪會」(Scandinavian

[8] "Missions—Missionary Conference in Shanghai," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 4, no. 26 (June 27, 1890): 412–14.

[9] 這是美國長老會畢爾遜牧師(Rev. Arthur Tappan Pierson, 1837–1911)的講話，由筆者概括其講話並翻譯為中文。Arthur T. Pierson, *The Crisis of Missions* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1886), 35–42. 畢牧師是十九世紀末年積極推動海外宣教運動的重要領袖之一。

[10] 范嵐生牧師(Rev. Fredrik Franson, 1852–1908)是瑞典裔美國傳道人，於 1869 年隨家人移民美國。1876 年，范牧師前往芝加哥與慕迪會面，並留在慕迪的教會接受培訓。其後，他在美國中部州分牧養從北歐來的移民。1881 年他轉到歐洲，在斯

Alliance Mission, SAM)。[11] 1890 年，范牧師由歐洲來到美國，成立上述差會並致力培訓美國北歐裔信徒成為宣教士。在短短一年多時間內，他組織和差遣了三個宣教隊伍，浩浩蕩蕩啟程前往中國宣教。[12]

及至 1892 年初，范嵐生牧師得悉在紐約的「國際宣道聯會」（The International Missionary Alliance, IMA[13]；「宣道會」的前身，本文一律稱「宣道會」）正計劃差遣大量人員前往中國宣教。范牧師認為在招募與培訓宣教人員上可與之配搭，因此便向該會負責人宣信牧師(Rev. Albert B. Simpson)提出合作邀請。范牧師向宣信建議，他將親自為宣道會在瑞典挑選和培訓 200 名宣教士，而宣道會只需承擔每名宣教士 100 美元到中國的旅費，以及每年每名宣教士 200 美元的生活津貼。[14] 當年宣道會給予旗下每名在中國工作的宣教士每年約 400 多美元，相比范牧師提出的金額要多出一倍！[15]

堪的納維亞半島和歐洲大陸傳道。1890 年 9 月，范牧師再次回到美國，向北歐裔移民提供聖經和宣教士課程，並成立「北美瑞挪會」。1892 年，他與宣道會合作，訓練瑞典宣教士前往中國。在此要注意范嵐生牧師的名字，在宣道會的兩本著作——羅腓力編著的《宣道與中華》及羅拔．尼告洛等著的《全然為主》，英文譯名分別為 Rev. Franzen 及 William Fransen，而中文翻譯為范信牧師。筆者相信這只是翻譯上的差異。見羅腓力：《宣道與中華》，102；羅拔．尼告洛等：《全然為主——宣道會百年史》，許雲嫻、文逢參譯（香港：宣道，1988），160。

[11]「北美瑞挪會」(Scandinavian Alliance Mission)成立於 1890 年，在 1949 年改名為「基督教協同會」(The Evangelical Alliance Mission, TEAM)。

[12] 三個宣教隊伍的人數和出發日期如下：首個隊伍 35 人在 1891 年 1 月 22 日出發；第二隊 15 人在 1891 年 2 月 3 日啟程；第三隊 12 人在 1892 年 2 月 14 日出發。以上三個隊伍共 62 名宣教士，與本文的宣道會瑞典宣教團並無關係，他們全屬「北美瑞挪會」的宣教士。在海外基督使團編著的《回首百年殉道血——一九零零年義和團事件殉道宣教士的生命故事》，述說這 62 人後來歸入宣道會，相信是錯誤的論述。

[13] 1897 年由宣信成立的「基督徒聯會」(Christian Alliance)及「國際宣道聯會」(The International Missionary Alliance, IMA)合併為一，取名「宣道會」(The Christian and Missionary Alliance)。A. E. Thompson, *The Life of A. B. Simpson* (New York: Christian Alliance Publishing Company, 1920), 132.

[14] "Report of the General Secretary and Superintendent of the I.M.A. for the Month Ending April 9, '92," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 8, no. 17 (April 22, 1892): 267–68.

[15] 當年宣道會發給中國華中教區宣教士的金額是每人 400 美元。參"Swedish Missionary Movement," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 9, no. 12 (September 16, 1892): 178.

其後，范牧師親自到紐約與宣道會執委會見面，詳細講解他的工作計劃。當時宣道會正愁苦於沒有太多人願意到中國宣教，同時察覺本會的差傳模式確實造成不少經濟負擔。因此執委會認為，范牧師的方案是上帝開創的機遇，便接納了范牧師的合作邀請。[16]

1892 年 7 月，范牧師從美國轉到北歐開展工作。首先，他在瑞典福音報(*Swedish Evangelical Press*)刊登與宣道會合作的消息，然後在瑞典四個主要城市舉辦一系列的聖經課程。他打算從課程的學員中為宣道會挑選合適的宣教人才。[17] 同年 9 月，他致函宣信，說明可在 1892 年尾為宣道會組織第一個宣教隊伍，函中另附有幾名在中國工作的宣教士信件，向該會證明 200 美元是足夠一人在中國一年的生活。筆者相信，當時宣道會仍有不少人對范牧師的方案感到疑慮。[18]

究竟范嵐生牧師為宣道會招募了甚麼人員？他們有甚麼特點？鑑於資料缺乏，除了個別人士以外，迄今絕大多數成員，其資料只有他們的姓名而已。根據范牧師過往在北美瑞挪會招聘的紀錄：

> 〔候選人〕必須有推薦信，他們必須在主裏重生得救與獲得自由，並且熱心於傳道工作。而最理想的人選，年齡介乎 20 至 30 歲，身體和精神都要壯健……要爭取社會地位和學歷較低的信徒入伍——只要他們忠於基督，願意忍受艱苦的傳道生活，將福音傳予異邦。[19]

筆者亦參考了部分宣教團成員的資料，相信宣道會瑞典宣教團成員大致有如下特質：年齡介乎 18 歲至 30 多歲，絕大部分成員是未婚

---

[16] "Report of the General Secretary and Superintendent of the I.M.A. for the Month Ending April 9, '92," 267–68; "Editorial," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 8, no. 7 (February 12, 1892): 97.

[17] Erik Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914* (Boston: Brill, 2009), 30–31; "The Swedish China Mission," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 9, no. 24 (December 9, 1892): 371.

[18] "Swedish Missionary Movement," 178.

[19] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 30；由筆者翻譯成中文。

的青少年人，不懂英語，沒受過太多教育，大部分來自農民和藍領階層。至於宣教團成員的男、女比例，則各佔一半。

1892 年 12 月，首批 20 人隊伍已籌組完成，他們是范牧師在幾百名學員中挑選出來的。而宣道會則根據范牧師的要求，為他們籌得足夠旅費和生活津貼，合共 5,000 美元。而為了解決溝通上的問題，宣道會按范牧師的建議，差遣來自愛阿華州(Iowa)瑞典裔美國傳道人鄂禮順夫婦(Mr. & Mrs. Emil Olson)加入宣教隊伍。鄂禮順能說瑞典語及流利英語，受上帝感召前往中國宣教。夫婦兩人先由美國前往上海，在那裏與首批宣教士隊伍會合。日後，鄂禮順成為瑞典宣教團與美國總會主要的溝通橋樑。[20]

1892 年 12 月 15 日，首批 18 人隊伍從瑞典哥特堡(Goteborg)出發，[21] 他們先前赴英國修咸頓(Southampton)學習英語，然後再起程前往中國，在上海與另外 4 位由美國出發的隊員會合。[22] 緊接着是第二批 23 人隊伍，他們在翌年 1 月中旬出發，當時宣信身處英國，因此隊員可在修咸頓與他會面半天。[23] 他們接受一個多月的英語培訓，然後在 3 月 5 日啟程前往上海。[24] 至於第三批隊伍，原先安排在該年秋天前抵達中國，後來宣信認為，在短時間內差遣那麼多無經驗和沒有太多訓練的宣教士前赴工場，是不明智的安排。因此，宣道會在第二個隊伍出發之後，便通知在瑞典的范嵐生牧

---

[20] "Rev. Mr. Francen," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 9, no. 3 (July 15, 1892): 35; "The Swedish China Mission," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 9, no. 24 (December 9, 1892): 371; F. Franson, "A Letter from the Swedish Mission," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 10, no. 26 (June 30, 1893): 414.

[21] "Klara Hall, China, 1893–1900," available from the Alliance website, accessed July 13, 2021, https://www.cmalliance.org/about/history/in-the-line-of-fire/hall. 而在宣道周刊中，曾記錄他們出發日期為 1893 年 1 月 4 日，可能是他們離開英國前往中國的日子，又或是錯誤記錄。參 "Swedish China Mission," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 9, no. 24 (December 9, 1892): 378.

[22] Franson, "A Letter from the Swedish Mission," 414.

[23] A. B. Simpson, *Larger Outlooks on Missionary Lands* (New York: The Christian Alliance Publishing Co., 1893), 18–22.

[24] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 51.

師，要暫緩第三批宣教士來華的計劃。[25] 結果第三個隊伍足足等了三年，直至 1896 年 1 月才啟程到中國去，[26] 而人數則由原初的 30 人大幅降至後來的 16 人。[27]

宣道會瑞典宣教團除上述三個隊伍共 61 人外，[28] 在往後的日子還有數名宣教士加入。[29] 除此以外，當年在山西的宣教工場，有幾名工作了幾年的瑞典聖潔會(Swedish Holiness Union)宣教士，他們也是中國內地會的附屬成員，被安排照顧和督導這些同鄉新人，[30] 當中包括被委派出任宣教團監督的鄂爾森先生(Mr. Emanuel

[25] Ibid., 71–72; "Shanghai and Its Missionary Work," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 10, no. 26 (June 30, 1893): 402–4.

[26] "Our Swedish Mission in China," *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 15, no. 18 (October 30, 1895): 280.

[27] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 73.

[28] 宣道會瑞典宣教團首兩批宣教士名單（英文譯名）：Mr. & Mrs. Emil Olson, Mr. & Mrs. Magnus Book, Messrs. Nils Kullgren, Carl G. Soderbom, Carl Nordling, Karl Helleberg, Erik Pilqvist, Karl Hill, Charles L. Lundberg, Peter E. Ehn, Olof Bingmark, Edvin Andersson, Charles F. Lundquist, Albert Andersson, August Sendberg, Fritiof Sjolund, Emil Jacobson, Alfred Fagerbolm, Per A. Ogren, Wilhelm Noreen, Martin Nystrom, Johan H. Swordson, Frans August Larson, Misses Anna Alsterlund, Anna Olsson, Augusta Sjoberg, Augusta Brolin, Ida Gran, Klara Hall, Alida Gustafsson, Paulina Brandt, Lotten Nordberg, Olivia Blomberg, Ingebog Anderson, Emma Hasselberg, Helena Berg, Mary Eng, Alida Eagle, P. Elizabeth Erickson, Ida Skogllund, Hilma Oxelqvist, Charlotte Larson. 第三批 16 位宣教士名單（英文譯名）：Messrs. Carl Blomberg (Pettersson), Fred Wenberg, Otto Oberg, Manton Nustrom, Carl York, Carl Nelson, Oscar Forsberg, August E. Palm, Misses Sally Malmstrom, Laura Hansson, Matilda Johannson, Hilda Larson, Elizabeth Jacobsson, Anna Johansson, Anna Lindqvist, Anna Anderson. 此瑞典宣教團宣教士名單，是筆者從 1892 至 1900 年美國宣道會年報以及其周刊 *The Christian and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 中搜集與整理出來。在不同文獻裏宣教士的英文翻譯名字可有不同。

[29] 當中包括：Ms. Emelie Erickson（1896 年底加入）；Ms. Mary Rodgers（她在 1897 年嫁給宣教團一名成員）及 Ms. Kristina Orn（在 1900 年加入，協助 Klara Hall 在孤兒院的工作）。瑞典宣教團宣教士名單，是筆者從 1892 至 1900 年美國宣道會年報以及其周刊 *The Christian and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 中搜集與整理出來。

[30] "Shanghai and Its Missionary Work," 402–4.

Olsson)[31]，他是一名大學畢業生，在 1890 年響應戴德生牧師的呼籲前來中國宣教。[32]

三. 首兩批宣教士進入山西工場

首先到達中國的是鄂禮順夫婦，他們在 1893 年 1 月 8 日由三藩市出發，2 月 15 日抵達上海。[33] 至於上文所述，在瑞典出發的 18 名隊員，則在 2 月 23 日到達。五天後，另兩名由紐約出發的隊員亦抵達了。這 22 人是瑞典宣教團首批來華的隊伍。[34] 他們先住在中國內地會於上海的宣教中心，等候鄂爾森先生的到來。在滬期間，男性宣教士要把自己的頭髮剪掉，然後帶上中國帽子和一條長長的假辮子。所有隊員不論男、女都要改穿中國衣服。當年，大部分來自英、美兩國的傳教士都是如此打扮。他們需要放棄西方人的優越感，以中國人形像居住在中國人中間，這樣會更容易融入當地群眾。[35] 3 月中旬，鄂爾森先生抵達上海，帶領他們進入內陸。他們將加入鄂爾森先生在華北的服侍，地點是晚清時期山西與蒙古交界的地方（兩省界線與現今的略有不同）。[36]

1893 年 3 月 13 日，鄂爾森與 22 名新人乘坐輪船前赴天津。他們抵達天津後，為了節省旅費開支，便徒步行走到北京，在京城

---

[31] Emanuel Olsson 的中文名字不詳，「鄂爾森」是筆者取其英文名字的諧音。

[32] “Sketch of the Life and Work of Mr. E. Olssen,” *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 11, no. 14 (October 6, 1893): 219–21; Nelly Hall, “Some Foreign Swedish Missionary Societies,” *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 12, no. 24 (June 15, 1894): 656.

[33] Emil Olson, “China—Mr. Olson,” *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 12, no. 3 (January 19, 1894): 83–84.

[34] Franson, “A Letter from the Swedish Mission,” 414. 經紐約啟程前往中國的是 Mr. Carl Nordling 及 Mr. Karl Helleberg 兩人。

[35] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 53–55; “Shanghai and Its Missionary Work,” 402–4.

[36] Olson, “China—Mr. Olson,” 83–84.

取得通往內陸的通行證後，再繼續前行。[37] 4 月 17 日，他們來到山西的歸化城。在那裏，除鄂禮順先生一人外，所有男隊員繼續前行，向西步行四天抵達 170 公里外的包頭鎮。包頭鎮是鄂爾森先生與幾名瑞典宣教士工作了三年的地方。至於鄂禮順夫婦和其他女隊員，原初安排他們前往歸化城西南 80 公里外的托克托鎮，但因為租賃不到合適房子，所以便留在歸化城，要暫住在內地會施惠廉醫生(Dr. J. C. Stewart)的宣教站內。[38]

六星期後（大概在 1893 年 5 月尾、6 月初的時候），宣教團第二批 23 人隊伍亦到達歸化城，他們進入內陸的旅程是歷盡艱辛，原因是有部分隊員在北京感染了天花(smallpox)，其中一位女隊員到達歸化城後便離世了。6 月下旬，該隊伍的男成員獲安排前往歸化城西 110 公里、包頭鎮東面 60 公里的薩拉齊（現今內蒙土默特右旗），而女隊員則留在歸化城。如此，45 名新人分散在三個地點，努力適應新環境與學習中國語言。宣教團在監督鄂爾森先生的領導下，與當地幾名有經驗的瑞典宣教士組成一個委員會，負責監督和照顧他們。其後，委員會分別在歸化城、包頭鎮和薩拉齊找到合適房子，作為這些新人的宿舍與宣教站。[39] 基於宣道會得到天津美部會(American Board)巴恒利先生(Mr. Bostwick)的幫助，經常將信件及各項物資從天津運往歸化城，[40] 因此歸化城漸漸成為瑞典宣教團對外聯絡、分發物資、舉行年會及設立總部的地方。

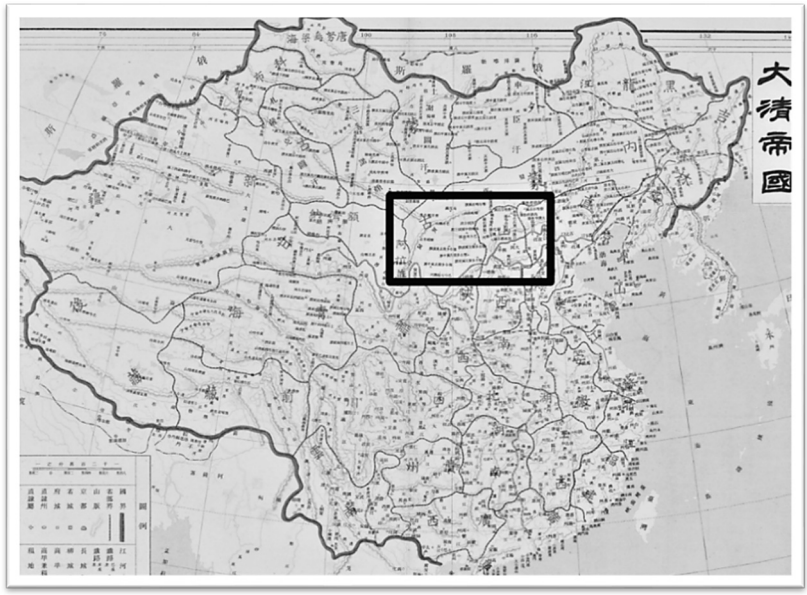
---

[37] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 55.

[38] Olson, "China—Mr. Olson," 83–84.

[39] Ibid.; "The Swedish Mission in Northern China," *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 12, no. 17 (April 27, 1894): 456–58.

[40] "Editorial," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 11, no. 4 (July 28, 1893): 50–55.



圖一：中國宣道會瑞典宣教團的宣教範圍（圖內長方格）[41]

四. 瑞典宣教士的工作與生活概況

（一）宣教工場的情況

晚清時期，山西及內蒙是十分貧窮與落後的地方。當年內地會有一位宣教士以四個「D」來形容當地的情況——Dirt（骯髒）：當地人大多半年才洗澡一次，因此他們身上充滿煙臭與蒜頭的味道。Disease（疾病）：當地人大多患有眼睛的毛病，時常到訪宣教站尋求宣教士醫治。Death（死亡）：晚上若不提着燈籠出門，行在路上便很有可能踩在屍體上。這些屍體部分來自餓死的乞丐，部分是吸食過量鴉片而死亡的癮君子。Dragon（龍）：當地在撒旦的權

[41]《大清帝國全圖》（上海：商務印書館，光緒三十一年六月十五日），圖一。圖中長方格為本論文作者後加。

勢下，人們十分需要基督的福音。[42] 以上描述正好反映當年宣教團在工場的情況。這些宣教士剛來到的時候，當地正飽受嚴重旱災。在饑荒的日子裏，農民為了不致全家挨餓，大多將自己的孩子賣給當地富戶或外省人士。當中尤以女童最為不幸，她們往往被賣到不同地方，作苦工或娼妓等。當地人亦飽受鴉片之害，使貧窮情況更見嚴重。一般幼童是少有機會讀書識字，他們經常要侍候長輩吸食鴉片，長大後自然也染上毒癮。[43]

（二）在山西的宣教工作

早在 1862 年，戴德生便來到包頭鎮一帶地方傳道。1887 年，內地會在歸化城建立宣教站。至 1890 年，幾名瑞典聖潔會宣教士來到當地（其中包括鄂爾森先生），內地會將工作交予他們，他們便成為內地會的附屬成員。自那時起，鄂爾森與同袍在歸化城至包頭鎮一帶傳揚福音。他們分發食物給有需要的人、幫助吸毒者戒除毒癮，漸漸地建立了幾個宣教站。及至宣道會宣教士的到來，他們便成為這些同鄉的導師。鄂爾森更是擔起宣教團監督的責任，一起拓展聖工。[44]

當宣教團宣教士安頓以後，首個任務便是要盡快掌握當地語言，每人都獲分配一名中文老師指導他們學習。基於基督快將再臨的信念下，他們必須以最短時間掌握漢語；學習書面文字被認為是不必要的，他們只在乎以言語向當地人宣講福音。對一般宣教士來說，學習語言無疑是一件痛苦的事，尤其是男性宣教士大多要花一至兩年時間才可有效地運用。然而，他們只經過三個月的訓練（第

---

[42] J. A. Stooke, “The Land of the Four D’s,” *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 12, no. 21 (May 25, 1894): 573.

[43] “The Swedish Mission in Northern China,” 456–58; “The Opium Curse,” *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 19, no. 24 (December 9, 1897): 574–75.

[44] “Sketch of the Life and Work of Mr. E. Olssen,” 219–21; Hall, “Some Foreign Swedish Missionary Societies,” 656.

二批宣教士只有一個半月的訓練），[45] 監督鄂爾森便吩咐宣教士兩個、兩個組成小隊，前往歸化城、包頭鎮和薩拉齊附近的村落作巡迴佈道，並同時尋找可建立宣教站的地方。每當發現有合適地點，他們便要物色房子租賃，日後房子則成為兩人的宿舍與宣教站。這樣的宣教模式，正附合宣道會的理念：宣教士要盡快前往沒有福音的地方工作。因語言能力有限，初時這些宣教士大多攜着樂器，在市集裏又跳又唱來吸引路人注目。至於福音的傳遞，則要依賴同行的中國信徒幫助，又或透過派發單張、兜售福音書籍等種種途徑。[46]

宣教團在鄂爾森的領導下，在短短日子已建立了八個宣教站，其中七個是距離歸化城中心不遠的地方，大多是由女性宣教士建立。至於另一個宣教站——遠離歸化城西 40 公里的畢克齊，則是由鄂禮順夫婦建立的。夫婦兩人學了三個月漢語，便前往那裏開荒佈道，並租賃一所房子作為他們的宣教站。那時宣教團的計劃，是希望到更遙遠的地方開荒佈道。然而，前往遙遠不可知的地區是需要男性宣教士的勇氣，因此要等待他們學好漢語後才可成行。[47]

1894 年 1 月，領導宣教團有十個月的鄂爾森先生，在天津公幹時突然心口感到劇烈痛楚，不久便與世長辭。[48] 鄂爾森的離世，使宣教團如羊群失去了牧羊人一樣。宣道會隨即委任已婚並在美國有傳道經驗的鄂禮順先生為鄂爾森的繼任人。自這時起，鄂禮順夫婦大多在歸化城總部處理宣教團的各項事務。[49] 鄂禮順接管

---

[45] 首批隊伍訓練了三個月，第二批到來的宣教士只訓練了個半月，就被差派出去作巡迴佈道了。（時間是筆者透過兩批宣教士抵達宣教工場的時間，以及他們組成兩人佈道小隊的時間推算出來的。）

[46] Olson, “China—Mr. Olson,” 83–84; “News from Our Swedish Brethren,” *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 12, no. 6 (February 9, 1894): 168; Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 55–57, 99–100, 122–23.

[47] Olson, “China—Mr. Olson,” 83–84; D. W. Lelacheur, “Reports of Work in Central China, for 1893,” *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 12, no. 15 (April 13, 1894): 404–5.

[48] “The Swedish Mission in Northern China,” 456–58.

[49] “Another Missionary Gone,” *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 12, no. 8 (February 23, 1894): 197; “The Swedish Mission in Northern China,” 454–58.

監督一職後，繼續奉行鄂爾森的宣教方針，積極派隊員前往不同地方作巡迴佈道，努力發掘更多地方以建立宣教站。在鄂禮順的領導下，宣教團有一項重點工作，就是派遣宣教士遊走各城各鄉兜售聖經和福音刊物。每當他們到達市集或人流暢旺的地方，便會大力搖動身上的鈴鐺以吸引路人注目。他們向圍觀人士介紹書本內容，然後傳講福音訊息。當地人大多因為書籍印刷精美、價錢合宜便買來閱讀消閒。在一天內，宣教士往往能走訪幾個村莊，並可售出幾十冊書籍。然而，銷售活動必須在農耕空閒的時間進行，在秋收繁忙的季節便會徒勞無功。[50]

每當一個宣教站被建立起來，宣教士便竭力招攬路人入內參觀，向他們兜售書籍，與他們閒談。宣教站經常會舉辦一些特別聚會，吸引當地人士前來認識基督教信仰。另外，宣教士也幫助吸食鴉片者戒除毒癮，凡願意戒毒的，便邀請他們在站內逗留一個多月。每天，戒毒者必須學習聖經、向上帝祈禱，一些人因此皈依基督。宣教站最為重要的工作，是設立學校教導小孩讀書識字。而宣教士辦學最大難處，是找不到基督徒老師，因此便要聘請非信徒老師授課。除星期日外，早上孩童前來唱詩敬拜、學習聖經。下午便是背誦中文課本的時候。小孩大多不懂課文意義，只靠強記硬背，這是中國人學習的模式。因宣教士沒有找到合適課本與授課老師，唯有以中國傳統方式授課。很多學童父母因好奇之故，往往走進宣教站與宣教士接觸攀談，從而認識基督教信仰。[51]

（三）宣教士的生活點滴

在最初的日子，這些瑞典宣教士大多出現嚴重鄉愁，情緒十分低落。部分人因感染了當地疾病，又或暑熱的氣候令身體和精神都變得虛弱。他們過着拮据的日子，美國總會給予 200 元津貼只能夠維

[50] "The Work in North China," *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 20, no. 24 (June 15, 1898): 566; Emil Olson, "Our Swedish Mission in North China," *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 24, no. 23 (June 9, 1900): 375–78.

[51] "The Work in North China," 566; Olson, "Our Swedish Mission in North China," 375–78.

持最基本的生活。後來，這些初出茅廬的宣教士漸漸發現，宣教生活並非如他們在瑞典學習或想像般那樣容易。為解決嚴重鄉愁，宣教士偶爾會相聚一起，定期舉行宣教會議、生日會或一起歡度節期，這些聚會都可讓他們恢復元氣。他們一起享用家鄉食物——燕麥粥、咖啡和海綿蛋糕是最受歡迎的美食。這些聚會使他們仿如置身瑞典，因此不歡迎其他人士參加，包括他們的中文老師或傳道助手，以免打破聚會的氣氛。[52]

鑑於歐洲和中國傳統禮節的不同，未婚宣教士必須男、女分隔。因此在最初幾年，絕大多數宣教站都是由兩名同性宣教士住在一起，彼此分擔工作與家務。這樣對大多數男性宣教士而言，要處理各項家務實在是沉重負擔。這些未婚的青年宣教士，最感興趣莫過於到訪異性同工的宣教站，一則可彼此交流分享，二則可尋找終身伴侶。組織家庭對這些宣教士是十分重要的，無論在肉體、精神、心靈或在宣教工作上都有裨益。[53] 從宣道會的檔案得知，瑞典宣教士大多能夠在同袍中找到伴侶。宣教團為避免當地人對他們產生不必要的誤會，在 1895 年 4 月於歸化城召開的年度會議上，就異性交往的事情上定了如此守則：

1. 各宣教站的主管應小心留意，在福音的工作上要做到無可指責。
2. 未婚的男、女同工，在交往時必須小心謹慎，雙方見面不可在房間內，免得讓敵人有機可乘。
3. 未婚的男、女同工，在歸化城的宣教總部內，必須取得監督的准許方可會面。
4. 除患病等特殊情況外，同工不可在異性宣教站留宿，必須過夜時要在客棧居住。
5. 在街上若遇上異性同工，應避免任何有損福音工作的行為。

---

[52] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 57–60, 99–100, 122–23.

[53] Ibid., 56.

6. 凡事應根據腓立比書 4:8–9 的準則行事。[54]

每當一對宣教士共諧連理，監督鄂禮順便要為同袍安排新的工作地點。已婚夫婦自然獲編排居住在同一宣教站。而原先與這對新人一起工作的男、女同工，便可能要調遷到別的宣教站工作，重新適應與另一名同性同工生活。

宣教士結婚以後，身為丈夫的大多可全情地投入宣教工作。然而身為妻子的，情況卻是相反，她們一般要花費大量精神與時間來料理家務，無可避免要減少宣教工作；假若生有小孩子的婦女，情況更是如此。

（四）甲午戰爭的影響

甲午戰爭是日本侵略中國和朝鮮的戰爭，開始於 1894 年 7 月 25 日，在 1895 年 4 月 17 日結束。期間中國北洋艦隊全軍覆沒，而《馬關條約》的簽訂令舉國震動。對在華宣教士而言，甲午戰爭最大的威脅是中國人對他們的仇視，特別是北洋艦隊戰敗以後情況更形凶險。部分中國人因國仇家恨，不理會外來者是日本人抑或是其他國籍人士，一律視為仇敵。他們對外國建築物大肆破壞、四處追擊或恫嚇外國人，以發洩國家遭遇外敵入侵與戰敗的恥辱。[55]

在宣道會瑞典宣教團方面，戰爭期間幾處在歸化城外不遠的宣教站遭到猛烈攻擊。當地群眾夾雜着士兵與流氓，成群結隊拿起石頭和磚塊打砸宣教站，並企圖殺死站內的外國人。宣教士雖多有受傷，卻能及時脫險避禍。他們嘗試尋求衙門保護，但遭到滿清官員無情的拒絕，唯有帶着細軟趕往歸化城總部避亂。事件平息後，宣教士返回宣教站視察，發現一切門、窗和傢俱均受到嚴重破壞，站內所有有價值的物品全被搶掠。至於位處畢克齊的宣教站，是宣教團三名女宣教士服侍的地方。她們遭到當地人瘋狂襲擊，一名中

---

[54] "Swedish Reinforcements for North China," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 15, no. 9 (August 28, 1895): 129–32. 內容為筆者翻譯。

[55] "China," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 14, no. 5 (January 29, 1895): 77.

國基督徒勇敢地上前喝止，卻遭到暴徒拳打腳踢至幾乎沒命。當地官員目睹事情發生經過，卻沒有勇氣制止暴亂發生。[56]

甲午戰爭雖不致令宣教團有人命傷亡，但多少打擊宣教士的士氣。另一方面，宣道會原打算在 1894 年差遣伍約翰夫婦（上文提及日後出使與滿清官員商討賠償的夫婦）以及在瑞典等候多時的第三批宣教士前往中國，後來卻因為戰爭爆發，出發赴華的日子要不斷押後。[57] 伍約翰夫婦最終在 1895 年 5 月抵達天津，他們兩人是接替巴恒利先生將宣教團的物資由當地運往歸化城。[58] 後來他們在天津專向中國知識分子傳揚福音，並創立了宣道會守真堂。至於宣教團第三個宣教士隊伍，則要遲至 1896 年 3 月才抵達中國。

甲午戰爭的影響，是日本明治維新與中國洋務運動推行的結果，形成了鮮明強烈的對比。一個擁有四億人民的大國，竟被一個人口少十倍的島國打敗了。從前以自身文明引以為傲的中國人，開始意識過往的愚昧和無知。戰爭打開了中國人的眼睛，讓他們看到自身的積弱與腐敗；使有識之士明白單靠學習歐美國家的船堅炮利是不足以抵禦外敵，繼而提出政治改革的訴求。另外，戰後中國被迫開放多個港口，宣教士亦更容易取得前往內陸傳教的通行證，促使基督福音向內陸地區傳播。[59]

（五）黎萊爍與范嵐生的到訪

在甲午戰爭快將落幕之際，宣道會中國教區總監黎萊爍牧師(Rev. D. W. Le Lacheur)到訪當地，這是瑞典宣教團期待已久的事情。而更讓宣教士感到振奮的，是黎牧師與在瑞典招募與訓練他們的范嵐

---

[56] Olsen, “China—Mr. Olson,” 301.

[57] “Farewell Missionary Meeting,” *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 13, no. 20 (November 16, 1894): 458.

[58] Mrs. J. Woodbury, “From Kobe, Japan, to Tientsin, China,” *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 15, no. 5 (July 31, 1895): 77.

[59] John Helgesen, “Is China Awakening,” *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 18, no. 24 (June 11, 1897): 554; A. B. Simpson, “Encouragements in The World of The World’s Evangelization,” *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 23, no. 14 (September 2, 1899): 212–13, 215.

生牧師，結伴前來探望他們。1895 年 4 月 4 日，兩位牧師抵達歸化城，監督鄂禮順便立即召集分散在各地工作的同袍前來舉行會議。在等候宣教士前來開會期間，黎萊爍並沒有停下腳步，他爭取機會前往附近的宣教站參觀。4 月 13 日，黎牧師返回歸化城，先為六對宣教士新人主持婚禮。[60]

4 月 15 至 20 日，宣道會瑞典宣教團舉行年度會議。當日，除了在甘肅和蒙古幾名宣教士因地方遙遠而未能前來赴會外，其他成員均有出席；列席者有范嵐生牧師、施惠廉醫生以及當地幾名內地會瑞典宣教士，相信還有宣教團的華人同工與信徒參加。從有限資料得知，會議是以瑞典語和中國語言進行，偶爾還會使用英語。會議中首先宣讀和解釋宣道會的憲章，再討論了一些紀律和神學議題。會議亦制定了宣教團的佈道策略、各地區組織，以及人事分配等事宜。最後，他們訂定翌年會議在 5 月 1 日舉行。[61]

會議結束後，宣教士陸續返回各自的宣教站。范嵐生牧師則南下前往西安府，探訪其他差會的瑞典宣教士。[62] 至於黎萊爍則由鄂禮順陪同向西面進發，前往薩拉齊和包頭鎮一帶參觀。及至 5 月 7 日，黎牧師才離開山西，結束長達一個多月探訪宣教團的任務。[63]

（六）在甘肅的宣教工作

在 1895 年初，宣道會瑞典宣教團開始進入甘肅寧夏府城（現今甘肅寧夏銀川市）宣教。寧夏府城位於歸化城西南面約 620 公里。在較早的時候，內地會於該地設有一個宣教站，然而其位置相距其他宣教站頗遠，難以支援與管理。因此，內地會便將工作交給宣道會

---

[60] “Swedish Reinforcements for North China,” 129–32.

[61] Ibid.; A. B. Simpson “Seven Years of Service and Wondrous Blessing,” *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 15, no. 3 (July 17, 1895): 34–35, 45; Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 55–57.

[62] A. L. Fagerholm, “North China—Mr. Fagerholm,” *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 15, no. 18 (October 30, 1895): 285.

[63] “Swedish Reinforcements for North China,” 129–32.

接管。根據 1895 年鄂禮順太太的旅行紀錄，當年由歸化城前往寧夏府城，首先要乘坐四天馬車到達包頭鎮，再在當地轉乘小船沿黃河逆流而上，途中要穿過鄂爾多斯沙漠，然後便到達一片肥沃土地。沿黃河漂流約 550 公里後，他們便要上岸轉乘牛車，再行 120 公里才到達寧夏府城，旅程需時一個多月。[64]

起初，瑞典宣教團有彭貴斯夫婦(Mr. & Mrs. Erik Pilqvist)於寧夏府城工作。[65] 半年以後，在 1895 年 10 月有宣教士何克拉小姐(Ms. Klara Hall)與布洛林小姐(Ms. Augusta Brolin)[66] 前往寧夏府城以北約 60 公里的平羅（現今甘肅平羅縣城關鎮）建立了另一個宣教站。她們得到一名中國傳道人的幫助，在當地開展福音工作。[67] 其後，陸續有宣教士加入甘肅地區的宣教行列。

（七）進入蒙古宣教

宣教團向蒙古人宣教的工作，是由拉遜先生發起的。拉遜具有非常獨特的個性，喜歡騎馬、探險與開拓，並且擁有良好的語言能力，這些特質造就他往後成為一位英雄式人物。拉遜是宣教團第二批宣教士，到達歸化城後，隨即前往包頭鎮學習漢語。幾個月後，他致函宣道會執委會，申請進入蒙古地區傳揚福音。[68] 在一個偶然的機會，拉遜被邀前往鄂爾多斯（在包頭鎮南面約幾十至一百多公里的範圍）參加一個蒙古部落王子的婚禮。婚禮後，拉遜繼續逗留當地有三個月，與該部落蒙古人一起生活。[69] 根據宣道會紀錄，當時蒙古有超過二百萬人口，大多是居住在草原上的遊牧民族，二十

---

[64] Hanna Olson, “A Journey in North China,” *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 15, no. 18 (October 30, 1895): 273–75.

[65] Ibid. Erik Pilqvist 的中文名字不詳，「彭貴斯」是筆者取其英文姓氏的諧音。

[66] Klara Hall 與 Augusta Brolin 的中文名字不詳，「何克拉」與「布洛林」是筆者取其她們英文姓名的諧音。

[67] Emil Olsen, “Notes from Our Swedish Mission Field,” *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 16, no. 20 (May 15, 1896): 458–60.

[68] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 99–100.

[69] Larson, *Larson, Duke of Mongolia*, 4–6.

年前曾有倫敦傳道會(London Missionary Society)景雅各先生(Mr. James Gilmour)向當地蒙古人宣講福音。[70]

1894 年 5 月 23 日，拉遜與一名挪威籍宣教士（非宣道會人士）結伴同行，他們由歸化城北上，前往約 900 公里外的庫倫（現今蒙古國首都烏蘭巴托）。兩人經歷 26 天旅程後，終於抵達當地。拉遜前往庫倫的目的，是希望尋找一位老師學習蒙古語言和文化。當時正值甲午戰爭爆發，因此他要打扮成一名俄國人，才不招致中國人殺害。他在庫倫逗留了大半年時間，結交了眾多朋友與蒙古貴族，直至得悉黎萊爍與范嵐生兩位牧師前往山西探訪宣教團，才匆匆忙忙地離去。他在庫倫租賃不到駱駝，因此趕不及出席宣教團在歸化城舉行的年會。後來，他轉往直隸的張家口（現位於河北省）暫住，等候機會重返蒙古。在張家口，拉遜認識了從美國來的羅傑斯小姐(Miss Mary Rodgers)[71]，她也是一名宣道會宣教士，在 1894 年到北京宣教，因甲午戰爭爆發而轉到張家口暫避。[72]

在張家口，拉遜以通曉蒙古語而聞名於西方社會。他使當地美部會宣教士重燃向蒙古人佈道的熱情，並與他們一起探訪多個蒙古部落。後來，拉遜在張家口北面 85 公里處，一個名為哈拉烏蘇(Hara Oso)的地方（現今河北省安固里淖東面、哈拉烏蘇河下游一帶地方）認識了一名蒙古人基督徒。於是他在當地搭建了帳篷居住，與該名基督徒一起開展佈道工作。[73] 及至 1897 年 3 月，拉遜與羅傑斯小姐在北京結婚。婚後第一個夏天，夫婦兩人遊走在蒙古草原上，於各蒙古部落中探訪與佈道。入冬前，他們便返回張家口，兩人開始編撰一部以蒙古語、瑞典語和英語對照的字典。1898 年 4 月，他們第一個孩子出生。在往後的日子，羅傑斯留在張家口照顧嬰兒，拉遜則繼續遊走於大草原上。拉遜通曉蒙古語、熟悉遊

---

[70] "The Unoccupied Fields of Eastern Asia," *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 13, no. 2 (January 1, 1899): 34.

[71] Mary Rodgers 的中文名字不詳，「羅傑斯」是筆者取其英文姓氏的諧音。

[72] Frans August Larson, "China—Mr. Larson," *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 15, no. 24 (December 11, 1895): 380–81; Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 101–2.

[73] Larson, "China—Mr. Larson," 380–81; "Abroad—China," *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 16, no. 3 (January 17, 1896): 69–70.

牧文化及周邊的地理環境，因此他們在張家口的居所，漸漸成為西方人士前往蒙古的支援站。[74]

（八）1895 年宣教團工作的概況

根據宣道會 1895 年的紀錄，瑞典宣教士的腳蹤已遍佈晚清時期山西北部區域。宣教團除初期駐紮在歸化城、包頭鎮和薩拉齊三個據點外，這時還在畢克齊、保爾合少（在歸化城東北面 20 公里）、托克托鎮、清水河（在歸化城南面 120 公里）、察素齊（在歸化城西面 55 公里）、沙爾沁（在歸化城西面 125 公里）、豐鎮（在歸化城東南面 150 公里）及陽高（在歸化城東南面 210 公里）等地方建立了宣教站（除陽高外，其他城鎮現今皆屬內蒙境內）。另外，宣教團在歸化城總部興建了一幢可容納 200 人聚會的場所，相信是當地第一所設立在長城以北的新教教會。除山西省外，部分宣教士足跡更遠至蒙古庫倫及甘肅寧夏府一帶地方。[75] 當年宣教團共建立了 16 個宣教站，各宣教站至少有兩名宣教士進駐。宣教團把工作劃分為五個區域，分別是：歸化城、包頭鎮、寧夏府、豐鎮及陽高。五個區域均設有分區委員會，定期舉行分區會議。根據統計，當年宣教團擁有日校 7 所，學生合共 129 人；主日學校 3 所，學員合共 60 人；戒毒者 25 人；慕道者 52 人；信徒 56 人，當中 31 人已經接受洗禮。[76] 當年的宣教團，正熱切期待美國總會盡快差遣第三個宣教士隊伍來華，以拓展聖工。[77]

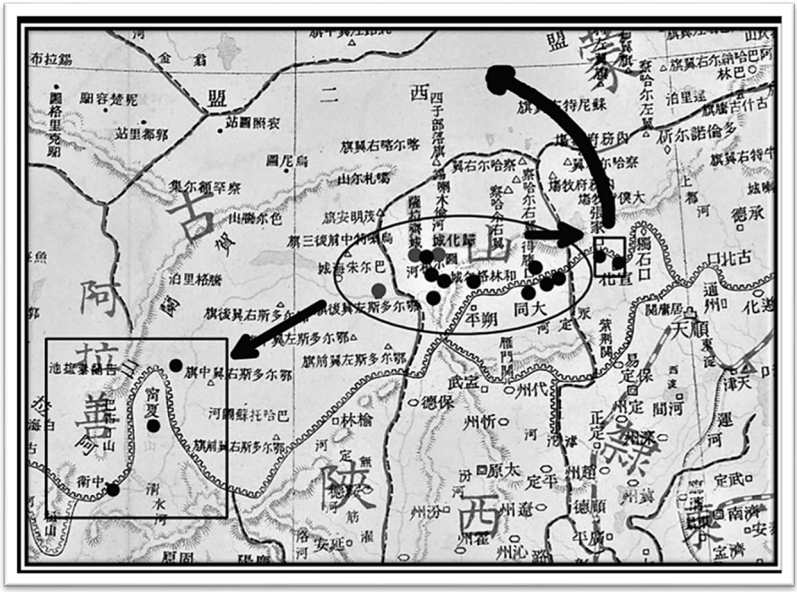
---

[74] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 102–4; Larson, *Larson, Duke of Mongolia*, 266.

[75] “The Annual Report of the International Missionary Alliance (1894–1895)” (New York: The International Missionary Alliance, 1895).

[76] “Swedish Reinforcements for North China,” 129–32; Olsen, “China—Mr. Olson,” *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 14, no. 6 (February 5, 1895): 93.

[77] Emil Olsen, “China—Mr. Olson,” *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 15, no. 19 (May 8, 1895): 301.



圖二：中國宣道會瑞典宣教團建立的宣教站（歸化城為總部；黑色圓點是宣教團建立宣教站的地方，箭咀標示宣教團發展的方向）[78]

五. 第三個宣教士隊伍抵達工場

宣教團第三個宣教士隊伍，是在 1893 年 1 月下旬范嵐生牧師在瑞典厄勒布魯市(Orebro)開辦的聖經課程中，於百多名學員裏挑選 30 人所組成的。當時，宣教團首兩個隊伍已經出發，這 30 人隊伍正在作最後預備，期望可在秋季前抵達中國。[79] 就在這個時候，宣道會執委會開始意識到，在那麼短促的時間內差遣大量沒經驗的宣教士，除憂慮他們在工場上缺乏足夠照顧與督導外，亦擔心他們會招致當地社會的反感。因此宣道會作出決定，暫緩與范嵐生牧師差遣 200 名瑞典宣教士赴華的計劃。至於已籌組並準備出發的第三個

[78]《大清帝國全圖》（上海：商務印書館，光緒三十一年六月十五日），圖一。此圖經本論文作者放大剪輯，再加上圓點和箭咀。

[79] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 71–72.

宣教士隊伍，則留待首兩批宣教士在工場安頓後，才安排出發日期。[80] 然而，他們啟航的日子，卻要拖延至三年以後。宣道會如此安排，相信有以下原因：首先，是督導宣教團的鄂爾森先生突然離世，如上文所述，他在 1894 年初便撒手人寰，此事嚴重影響宣教團的部署。另外，在 1894 年中旬，美國報章《紐約世界報》(*New York World*)刊載了一名英國旅行家的專訪，報導指出宣道會在歸化城的宣教士缺乏看管與照顧。此事造成歐、美教會的關注，而宣道會要為此作出多番解釋與辯護。[81] 同年 8 月，甲午戰爭爆發，中國境內充斥仇恨外國人的情緒，事情要等到 1895 年中旬才見緩和。以上各項原因都推遲了第三個宣教隊伍來華的時間。

然而，身處瑞典等候的宣教士，卻不知道延遲出發的理由。范嵐生牧師為維持這 30 名候選人到中國宣教的熱情，努力為他們提供額外培訓。1893 年中旬，這些候選人接受了英語聖經課程及漢語入門的訓練。1893 年末，他們被送到瑞典各地擔任巡迴傳教士。[82] 至 1894 年秋天，宣道會（國際宣道聯會）執委會主席威爾遜牧師(Rev. Henry Wilson)到訪瑞典。此行他除約見每名候選人外，也為早前美國報章就宣道會疏忽照顧宣教士的報道進行辯護，以釋除當地教會的疑慮。[83] 在瑞典期間，威爾遜對 30 位候選人進行嚴格審查，到最後只挑選其中 16 名。[84] 為何威爾遜對范嵐生牧師挑選的候選人再行篩選，宣道會檔案沒有提及。而根據後來的一些傳聞，有關第三批宣教士遲遲不出發的真正原因，是宣道會認為范嵐生牧師在瑞典招募的人員，大多沒有足夠學識與經驗，差遣這些人士到中國去並非明智之舉云云。[85]

---

[80] “Shanghai and Its Missionary Work,” 402–4.

[81] “Misrepresentations,” *The Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly* 13, no. 5 (August 3, 1894): 98.

[82] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 72.

[83] “The Annual Report of the International Missionary Alliance (1894–1895).”

[84] “Swedish Reinforcements for North China,” 129–32; “Return of Dr. Wilson,” *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 13, no. 20 (November 16, 1894): 458.

[85] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 71–72.

1896 年 1 月下旬，第三個 16 人隊伍終於啟程出發。與前兩個隊伍不同，他們無需前往英國學習英語，而是直接前赴山西工場。經過一個半月的海上旅程，他們在 3 月 15 日踏足上海，然後再經天津、北京、張家口，最後在 4 月 25 日到達歸化城。16 名新人逗留宣教團總部，首先接受大半年時間的漢語培訓。至 1897 年初，他們才獲編排到不同的宣教站工作。[86] 第三批宣教士的事蹟，宣道會的資料並沒有太多記錄。他們前往山西工場之際，前兩批宣教士已在當地工作了三年時間，各宣教站的工作亦漸見規模。從資料所知，那 16 名新人在最初兩年，主要被派到各地宣教站與有相當經驗的宣教士同袍一起工作，這安排方便他們繼續學習漢語及當地文化。兩年後，那 16 名宣教士漸漸掌握當地語言，正是可以開始獨立自主的時候，卻發生了義和團事件。

六. 部分宣教士對美國總會的不滿

1898 年，美國總會與部分宣教團成員出現了嚴重磨擦，雙方主要爭議在美國總會給予宣教士的津貼與支援是否足夠。再加上當時外界對宣教團與監督鄂禮順一些負面報導，造成瑞典宣教士的士氣十分低落。該年 10 月，部分宣教士更派出代表遠赴美國，向宣道會執委會商討解決對策。當中一些宣教士甚至向宣道會提出建議，是否可以將他們交給當地的內地會管理，以便工作時沒後顧之憂。無庸置疑，這提議立即遭執委會否決。從表面上看，雙方會談是在和平的氣氛下進行，事情亦看似得到處理。[87] 然而，在 1899 年初，部分宣教士已相當厭倦在宣道會工作，對美國執委會也變得越來越

[86] Ibid., 73–77.

[87] “Souvenir and Survey of the Work of Christian and Missionary Alliance, 1899” (New York: The Christian and Missionary Alliance, 1899); “Second Annual Report of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, 1899” (New York: The Christian and Missionary Alliance, 1899); Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 125.

失望，導致該年有多名宣教士退出或回鄉休假。[88] 而一些仍在當地工作的宣教士，則採取更為激進的行動，嘗試申請轉到其他差會工作。[89]

造成雙方磨擦有幾個原因。首先，這些瑞典宣教士原是由范嵐生牧師招募與栽培，然後才願意委身前往中國宣教。可是這位充滿宣教熱忱的瑞典裔美國牧師，最終只是宣道會一名經紀或代理人而已，他的任務是幫助宣道會尋找足夠數量的宣教士。然而，范嵐生對宣教士的期望與宣道會的並非一致。而宣教士對宣道會的期望，更是有明顯落差。這事情可歸究於范嵐生與宣道會的合作，這確實是一個思慮不周的做法。

另外，范嵐生牧師曾多次向宣道會保證，該會只需每年給予每名宣教士 200 美元的津貼，便可足夠他們在中國生活。然而，此數目只能滿足一個人最基本的生活開支；但對於已成家立室並生有小孩子的宣教士而言，便捉襟見肘了。從一些宣教團宣教士傳記得知，他們除要應付日常佈道與宣教站的工作外，還要下田耕作以彌補生活不足。[90] 在蒙古地區工作的拉遜夫婦，也同樣遭遇財務上的困難，最終迫使拉遜成為一名兼職商人。他在當地從事皮草和馬匹的買賣，以及擔任西方機構的商務代理，來補貼生活所需。拉遜此舉遭到其他宣教士的非議，然而在不久將來卻拯救了部分宣教士的性命。[91]

美國總會與瑞典宣教士在溝通上嚴重不足，也是引發磨擦的原因之一。如上文所述，在最初的時候，宣道會是仰賴內地會的幫助，由當地幾名原屬瑞典聖潔會的宣教士帶領這批同鄉進入工場。因不諳英語的緣故，宣教團成員與美國總會的通訊，大多是由監督

---

[88] "Annual Report of the Superintendent and Board of Managers, C. and M. A.," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Alliance* 24, no. 20 (May 19, 1900): 323; Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 125.

[89] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 126–27.

[90] Ibid., 63–66.

[91] Ibid., 103–4.

鄂爾森及其繼任人鄂禮順轉達，[92] 然而他們與監督的接觸也相當缺乏。當年宣道會是一個宣教經驗不足與架構鬆散的組織，宣教團被劃分為二十多個小隊，被分派到不同的地點工作，其分佈的地域極廣。再加上當地冬季嚴寒的氣候使來往各地的交通斷絕，這意味監督與大部分宣教士的接觸只限於每年 5 月在歸化城舉行的年會上。至於美國總會方面，除了在 1895 年和 1897 年差派中國總監黎萊爍牧師，以及在 1899 年派出芬克牧師(Rev. A. E. Funk)[93] 前往當地作短期探訪外，基本上沒有其他接觸。[94] 由此可見，雙方的交往是如何缺乏。

七. 宣教團最後幾年的工作概況

根據宣道會紀錄，1897 至 1898 年間是瑞典宣教團最人多鼎盛的時期，如上所述，這正是第三批宣教士開始投入宣教站工作的時刻。當時宣教團服侍的地域範圍，除上文 1895 年所提及的範圍外，更擴大至從東面沿長城伸展至直隸省的宣化城與張家口，從西面則延伸至甘肅省的中衛（現今甘肅省中衛市）。至於在山西北部的大本營，宣教團再在天鎮（現今山西天鎮縣）及寧遠（現今內蒙涼城縣）設立新的宣教站。[95] 另外在歸化城總部，一向着重以售賣書籍來傳福音的鄂禮順，在 1899 年初開辦了一所印刷廠。在這以前，若要尋找一間印刷廠是需要行走 650 公里的路程。這時他們可

[92] “News From Northern China,” *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 23, no. 2 (June 10, 1899): 31.

[93] Rev. A. E. Funk 的中文譯名「芬克」牧師，筆者是根據羅腓力：《宣道與中華》，44。

[94] 黎萊爍牧師曾分別於 1895 年及 1897 年到訪，詳情見：“Swedish Reinforcements for North China,” 129–32; Geo T. Shields, “The Alliance Mission in Mongolia,” *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 19, no. 4 (July 21, 1897): 73–76. 芬克牧師則在 1899 年到訪，詳情見：A. E. Funk, “Visit to Northern China,” *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 23, no. 7 (July 15, 1899): 98–99, 111.

[95] “Report and Retrospect of the Work of the Christian and Missionary Alliance” (New York: The Christian and Missionary Alliance, 1897); Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 77–78.

以在總部印刷詩歌本、福音單張及基督教書籍，然後再分發至每一個宣教站派發。當年宣教團也發行一份月報，除報導本地與海外新聞外，也夾雜一些福音文章。根據鄂禮順的紀錄，在戊戌變法的時候，書本是很容易銷售的，大家都希望吸收外來的新知識。然而，在皇太后再度執掌政權以後，售賣書籍與報刊就變得困難，當地人大多關心賺錢與果腹的事情，因此銷情並不理想。[96]

另外，原初在甘肅平羅服侍的何克拉小姐，她得到瑞典信徒與朋友在金錢上的捐助，在 1898 年初於薩拉齊東面 20 公里處的沙爾沁建立了一所孤兒院，專門收養從街上撿來的女嬰。當時中國社會大多重男輕女，很多女嬰出生不久便遭到父母拋棄。這情況在窮苦農村尤為嚴重，在山間或路上往往發現肢體傷殘或垂死掙扎的女嬰。何克拉便將這些不幸的嬰孩領來撫養，以基督的愛養育她們。轉瞬間，何克拉的孤兒院成為宣教團的重要事工。至 1900 年初，這所孤兒院已撫養了二、三十名兒童，柯恩小姐(Ms. Kristina Orn)[97] 亦從瑞典前來加入何克拉的服侍。正當她們計劃擴充孤兒院、打算收容更多女童之際，卻爆發義和團事件。[98]

在 1899 至 1900 年期間，因宣教士與美國總會之間的矛盾，宣教團成員的數目大幅降至不足 40 人。[99] 根據當時一名在陽高工作的宣教士，在寫給親友的書信中提到，他越來越感到孤獨。原因是在附近宣教站工作的幾名同袍，由於缺乏支援以致經濟出現困難，已相繼離開並陸續返回瑞典。而他和妻子是該區少數的西方人。他在信中提及：「現在我們的區域空無一人」，來形容他們的寂寞與

---

[96] Olson, “Our Swedish Mission in North China,” 375–78.

[97] Kristina Orn 的中文名字不詳，「柯恩」是筆者取其英文姓氏的諧音。

[98] “Christian and Missionary Alliance: Annual Report of the Superintendent and Board of Managers,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society, May 4, 1900; “The Opium Curse,” 574–75; “Klara Hall, China, 1893–1900,” available from the Alliance website, accessed July 13, 2021, https://www.cmalliance.org/about/history/in-the-line-of-fire/hall; “Kristina Or, China, 1900,” available from the Alliance website, accessed July 13, 2021, https://www.cmalliance.org/about/history/in-the-line-of-fire/orn.

[99] “Christian and Missionary Alliance: Annual Report of the Superintendent and Board of Managers,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society, May 4, 1900.

無助，他們渴望有西方人作伙伴。[100] 從以上的例子可見，當年宣教團因缺乏支援而導致人員流失的情況相當嚴重。

1900 年 5 月，如往常一樣，是宣道會瑞典宣教團舉行年度會議的月份。是次會議定於 5 月 15 日揭幕，[101] 各地宣教站代表雲集歸化城總部，舉行現今所知宣教團最後一次年會。當年會議情況不詳，從美國總會的報告得知，當地受浸並加入宣道會的信徒已達 100 多名。[102] 是次會議應在 5 月 20 日或以後閉幕，相信宣教士亦隨即啟程返回各自的宣教站。然而，一場猛烈的風暴正在等候他們。

八. 義和團事件

「義和團」原初稱為「義和拳」，是中國流傳了很長時間一些拳術團體與民間宗教結合的組織，其成員一般被稱為「拳民」。至十九世紀末年，中國人仇外情緒普遍高漲，義和拳則在山東一帶採取極端暴力手段，破壞一切從西方引入的事物並殺害外國人。當中包括焚燒教堂、殺害宣教士與華人信徒。起初，滿清政府在列強的壓力下，極力鎮壓義和拳的冒起，並派遣官兵四出圍剿施暴者。然而在 1900 年春天，清政府對義和拳改剿為撫，利用拳民並結合社會的仇外情緒，將這股對清朝統治構成嚴重威脅的力量引導至對付外國列強。義和拳遂正式易名為義和團，其意是改拳勇為民團。在慈禧太后的操弄下，義和團運動像燎原烈火般猛烈地燃燒起來。他們在

---

[100] Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 63–66. 該名宣教士為 Olof Bingmark（英文譯名），是瑞典宣教團第二批隊伍的成員之一，1896 年 5 月他與宣教團另一名女同袍 Elizabeth Erickson（英文譯名）結婚，婚後夫婦被派往陽高的宣教站工作。他們育有兩名兒子，經濟拮据時靠農耕維持生計，最後一家四口在義和團事件中罹難殉道。

[101] "The Conference in North China," *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 23, no. 23 (November 4, 1899): 371.

[102] "Christian and Missionary Alliance: Annual Report of the Superintendent and Board of Managers," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society, May 4, 1900.

其勢力範圍設置神壇作招募、訓練人員及建立發號施令的大本營，打着「扶清滅洋」的旗幟，猛烈攻擊外國建築及追擊外國人士。

1900 年 5 月，義和團從山東向直隸北部轉移。6 月初，義和團再由直隸轉向山西及蒙古一帶發展。在一些瑞典宣教團工作的地區，如豐鎮、托克托等已出現義和團的揭帖與「神拳單」。義和團的拳師也從直隸和長城以南地方來到長城以北地區設置神壇，並開始鼓動當地群眾「殺洋滅教」。[103] 當時山西巡撫毓賢，是最惡名昭彰的仇外官員，他通告全省所有下屬，命令他們日夜嚴守所有城門與黃河渡口，將前往東面及南面的道路切斷，企圖把境內所有外國人一網打盡。6 月中旬，當地拳民開始盲目攻擊教會房產、宣教士與中國信徒。在當地，宣教士與在條約口岸居住的外國人不同，他們並沒有外國軍隊保護，宣教站內也沒有多少防禦能力，因此很容易成為義和團洩憤與襲擊目標。義和團事件中，山西省共有 191 名宣教士殉難，是死亡數字最多的省份。而當地中國信徒及其家眷更是死傷無數，估計遭殺害的數目有一萬多人。至於宣道會瑞典宣教士，他們自然也成為義和團攻擊的目標，其遇難人員數目居各來華差會的第二位。可想而知，義和團運動對宣道會造成重大損失。以下簡單敘述事情的經過。

（一）拉遜領導下的逃亡隊伍

根據宣道會的紀錄，瑞典宣教團最先受到義和團襲擊，是最東面的宣化與張家口兩個宣教站。6 月初，義和團在直隸北部已非常活躍。6 月 11 日，拳民開始大舉攻擊張家口美部會的宣教站，使當地宣教士大為恐慌。當天晚上，熟悉蒙古語言及地理環境的拉遜先生，策劃了一個冒險的逃亡計劃。如上所述，拉遜在當地既是一名宣教士也是一名外國商人。在義和團運動爆發之前，一名英國外交官計劃在夏天前往蒙古，並聘請拉遜與他一起進行探險及科學勘察。如此，拉遜正在預備探險所需的裝備。當義和團在城內大肆追

---

[103] 戴學稷：〈一九〇〇年內蒙古西部地區各族人民的反帝鬥爭〉，《歷史研究》（1960 年 6 期）：27–44。

殺外國人的時候，拉遜便利用這些裝備逃亡。6 月 12 日清晨，拉遜一家三口，與宣道會另外兩對宣教士夫婦和孩子，[104] 以及六名美部會宣教士，一行 18 人趁城門尚未被拳民封鎖的時候，乘坐篷車穿過長城並進入蒙古境內。他們首先抵達北面 85 公里的哈拉烏蘇，在那裏遇上另一名宣道會同袍。[105] 哈拉烏蘇的官員十分懼怕義和團，表明不敢收留他們，因此拉遜隊伍便繼續北上。幾天後，他們再遇上另外四名由山西豐鎮逃難的同袍以及他們兩名小孩（見下文）。這時，拉遜隊伍共有 25 人，他們擁有精良的裝備，二十匹駱駝、十五匹馬、六輪篷車、三個帳棚、煮食用具、大米、麵粉等。另外，拉遜亦從蒙古人中購買羊奶與羊肉。他們行了一個多月，在 7 月 30 日抵達庫倫，在 8 月中旬安全進入俄國境內。[106]

（二）在豐鎮的宣教士

至於由豐鎮逃難至蒙古，後與拉遜隊伍會合的四名宣教士，他們的遭遇如下：[107] 在 6 月 12 日的時候，義和團已進入山西省東北面大同府一帶地方。拳師開始在豐鎮設壇授徒，招攬民眾練拳，並揚言要殺死所有外國人。幾天後，拳民迅速增加，當地人士亦紛紛議論拳民在何時動手殺人。6 月 17 日，拳民開始攻擊豐鎮的宣教站。他們先是向房屋拋擲石頭，砸爛所有門窗，然後再衝破圍欄入內尋找外國人。當時站內有三名宣教士（另一名在站外工作），幾經艱苦

---

104 宣道會另兩對宣教士夫婦是：Mr. & Mrs. Carl Soderbom, Mr. & Mrs Charles F. Lundquist.

105 該名宣教士為 Mr. Alfred Fagerholm，他剛剛辭去宣教團的工作，取道天津再返回瑞典；後因義和團運動爆發，前往東面的道路已全部封閉，因而北上蒙古，在哈拉烏蘇遇上拉遜隊伍。

106 Elizabeth Oberg, “From North China,” *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 25, no. 14 (October 6, 1900): 199; Carl Soderbaum, “Flying from the Boxers,” *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 25, no. 17 (October 27, 1900): 231; Mary Larsen, “Escape from the Boxers Across the Desert of Mongolia,” *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 26, no. 1 (January 5, 1901): 2–3, 13; Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 103–4, 126–27; Larson, *Larson, Duke of Mongolia*, 267.

107 四名在豐鎮的宣教士分別為：Mr. Emil Jacobson, Mr. August Sandberg, Mr. & Mrs. Otto Oberg 與兩名孩子。

才能突破重重包圍，最後頭破血流地逃到衙門尋求保護。當地官員宅心仁厚，沒有為難他們，但也說明不敢保護他們，免得自己也有性命之虞。6 月 19 日，那四名宣教士收到拉遜等人的訊息，知道他們已離開張家口準備前往庫倫，因此便計劃趕上他們。當天晚上，四名宣教士收拾細軟，在黑暗中與當地信徒話別。官員利用衙門的馬車將他們悄悄運往鎮外 40 公里的隆盛莊。在那裏，他們得到一位回族朋友的幫助，找來幾隻牲畜與一架木頭車。他們便乘坐木頭車往北疾走，最後在蒙古哈拉烏蘇附近的黑水河遇上拉遜的隊伍。[108]

以上十一名瑞典宣教士與家眷是比較幸運的一群。他們能及時逃生，主要是因為拉遜熟悉蒙古地方，以及擁有充足裝備跨越遼闊的戈壁沙漠。至於其他宣教團成員，情況就不一樣了。

（三）鄂禮順的逃亡隊伍

在 6 月 15 日，歸化城已有拳師在城內擺設神壇，招攬群眾練武。6 月 24 日，拳民開始鼓動起來，揚言要攻擊城內基督教會與外國人士。監督鄂禮順見狀，便尋求當地官員保護。初時，他們得到衙門派官兵守衛教會及總部地方。後來拳民數目與日俱增。至 6 月 30 日，官府見狀認為再難以提供保護，便勸喻他們馬上離開。在這樣的情況下，鄂禮順夫婦唯一的出路，便是計劃與三名同袍與四名小孩[109] 北上庫倫再進入俄國境內。他們不熟悉道路，因此便僱用當地的兵勇護送前行。7 月 1 日晚上，他們悄悄離開歸化城，翌日抵達北面 45 公里的克克伊爾根鎮（Kokoiligeng；現今內蒙武川縣），在那裏遇上另一對從托克托逃難至此的宣教士夫婦。[110] 如此鄂禮順隊伍共有 7 名宣教士（其中有兩名孕婦）、5 名兒童，以及幾位隨行的中國僕人。前往庫倫必須穿越戈壁沙漠，在鎮上要先

---

[108] Oberg, “From North China,” 199; K. C. Woodberry, *Through Blood-Stained Shansi* (New York: Alliance Press Company, 1903), 164–69; 柴蓮馥編：《庚子教會華人流血史》（香港：宣道書局，1957），175–76；張先清、趙蕊娟編：《中國地方志基督教史料輯要》（上海：東方出版中心，2010），136。

[109] 另三名宣教士同袍是：Mr. & Mrs. Charles L. Lundberg, Miss Emelie Erickson.

[110] 是宣教團成員 Mr. & Mrs. Edvin Andersson 與他們一名小孩子，他們由托克托來到歸化城，然後在克克伊爾根鎮與鄂禮順隊伍會合。

預備足夠駱駝與糧草，因此他們在 7 月 13 日才再度起行。鄂禮順隊伍在進入荒漠之後，多次遭到強盜和山賊伏擊搶劫，性命雖得以保存，但一切事物包括身上的衣服都被奪去，以致一貧如洗、飢寒交困。他們知道沒有可能繼續前行，唯一辦法是折返歸化城。回程時，他們要沿途向人討飯才可維持性命。8 月 5 日，天主教人士發現他們，便用牛車把他們送到北面鐵圪旦溝（現今內蒙的四子王旗）的天主教堂，期間兩名懷孕婦女誕下兩名女嬰。兩星期後，一向仇外的道台鄭文欽，在8月22日竟從歸化城領兵前來鐵圪旦溝，要剿滅所有教民。當時天主教堂內有九百多名教民，他們為了自衛而持槍抵抗官兵。翌日，官兵放火圍攻，整座天主教堂頓成一片火海。堂內所有人士，包括鄂禮順一行十幾人全遭殺害，又或葬身於烈火之中。[111]

（四）在朔平府出席會議的福斯伯夫婦

福斯伯夫婦(Mr. & Mrs. Oscar Forsberg)是在歸化城服侍的宣教團成員。大概在 6 月中旬，夫婦兩人攜同女兒南下約 200 公里外的朔平府（現今山西朔州市），作客出席瑞典聖潔會於 6 月尾舉行的研道會。在 6 月 27 日（農曆六月初一）會議期間，義和團突然從北面湧入堂內，並說明要殺死外國人。十幾名聖潔會宣教士和福斯伯夫婦見狀立即逃走，跑進衙門尋求庇護；當地信徒則驚散他處躲避。6月29日上午，當地官員以押解洋人上京為理由，嘗試用囚車運送十幾名宣教士出城。然而，宣教士走到朔平府東門時被義和團包圍，拳民以石頭砸死他們，將其屍體肢解，再把他們的頭顱懸掛在城門上示眾。[112]

---

[111] Woodberry, *Through Blood-Stained Shansi*, 104–12; “The Last Message from Our Swedish Missionaries,” *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 26, no. 3 (January 19, 1901): 29–30, 40; 海外基督使團：《回首百年殉道血》，551–71。

[112] Woodberry, *Through Blood-Stained Shansi*, 75–77; “The Last Message from Our Swedish Missionaries,” 29–30, 40; “Oskar Forsberg, China, 1896–1900,” available from the Alliance website, accessed July 22, 2021, https://www.cmalliance.org/about/hist ory/in-the-line-of-fire/Forsberg; 海外基督使團：《回首百年殉道血》，581–82；柴蓮馥：《庚子教會華人流血史》，199–201。

（五）在陽高的宣教士

陽高在山西省的東北面，是山西大同前往張家口的交通要道，在這裏服侍的有三名宣教團成員，分別為斌先生與夫人(Mr. & Mrs. Olof Bingmark)，以及應福春小姐(Miss Alida Gustafsson)。三人同是宣教團第一批宣教士。斌先生夫婦在縣城設有宣教站。應小姐則在縣城外東井吉村設立另一宣教站，並有北京人高先生襄助傳道。有關他們罹難的消息不多。陽高十分接近直隸省，相信他們在 6 月尾至 7 月初已遭殺戮。從後來一些中國信徒口中得知，在義和團運動爆發時，華人助理高先生護送應福春小姐前往張家口暫避，在途中卻被拳民發現並毆打致死，開腹破肚再棄屍於河。當日高先生雖死裏逃生，但後來被拳民發現並以亂刀砍死。至於斌先生夫婦與他們兩名小男孩，在逃亡時被拳民發現，最後以割喉的方式殺害。[113]

（六）在薩拉齊至甘肅一帶的宣教士

在薩拉齊至甘肅東北部一帶地方，宣教士亦遭到十分嚴峻的考驗。在義和團運動爆發的時候，拳民夾雜當地的土匪、流氓與貪婪的官員，一起向宣教士搶掠與襲擊。黑暗的風暴首先由歸化城吹向西面的薩拉齊與沙爾沁，然後沿道路向包頭鎮伸展，再經黃河河套到達甘肅邊境的地方。從一些零碎資料得知，在這些地區工作的宣教士，每天都活在恐懼與焦慮之中。他們不斷收到從歸化城傳來的消息或謠言，並眼見社會氣氛日漸緊張。在最後的日子，他們倉皇收拾細軟，朝北面的山區逃亡。部分宣教士從此失去蹤影，有部分則加入了其他差會的逃亡隊伍，嘗試穿越沙漠進入俄國境內。然而，伴隨他們的是朋友的背叛、不忠的僕人，以及敲詐的官員，最後是

---

[113] “Alida Gustafsson, China, 1893–1900,” available from the Alliance website, accessed July 22, 2021, https://www.cmalliance.org/about/history/in-the-line-of-fire/Gustafsson; “Olaf Bingmark, China, 1893–1900,” available from the Alliance website, accessed July 22, 2021, https://www.cmalliance.org/about/history/in-the-line-of-fire/Bingmark; Sidenvall, *The Making of Manhood among Swedish Missionaries in China and Mongolia, C.1890–C.1914*, 66; 柴蓮馥：《庚子教會華人流血史》，180–85。

死在拳民的刀劍之下。在這些地區服侍的宣道會宣教士，幾乎無一倖免；其中包括在沙爾沁照顧孤兒的何克拉小姐及柯恩小姐。這些宣教士大多埋葬在薩拉齊的墓園裏，等候復活主的再來。[114]

（七）義和團事件以後

義和團事件緊隨着八國聯軍的入侵而落幕。經此一役，宣道會瑞典宣教團被連根拔起，傷亡慘重。根據美國總會的紀錄，在義和團運動爆發前夕，宣教團約有 38 名宣教士，[115] 與他們在一起的孩子也接近這個數目；死亡及失蹤人數共約 31 人，其中 19 人為宣教士，12 人是他們的孩子。這些死亡數字還未包括當地宣道會的華人信徒，檔案中以「大量」來形容華人信徒的死亡數量。[116] 一名宣教士的信件曾提及：「我們宣道會全部宣教站都已被焚毀了，所有宣教士都下落不明。」[117] 由此可見，義和團對宣教團所造成的傷害是如何深重。

然而可歌可泣的，是在鄂禮順的逃亡隊伍中有一位龍保先生 (Mr. Charles L. Lundberg)，[118] 他在 8 月 16 日於鐵圪旦溝天主教堂遇難前寫了一封書信，並託付一名中國僕人將信件帶出，其最後內容如下：

> 假若我們不能死裏逃生，請告知差會及朋友這個最後訊息：「我們是生、是死都是為了上帝與中國，請你們不要放棄、

---

[114] Woodberry, *Through Blood-Stained Shansi,* 136–39. 在當區殉難的瑞典宣教團成員包括：在薩拉齊服侍的 Mr. August E. Palm, Mr. & Mrs. Carl Blomberg 及他們小女兒；在沙爾沁服侍的 Ms. Klara Hall, Ms. Kristina Orn；在包頭鎮服侍的 Mr. & Mrs. Wilhelm Noreen 及他們兩名孩子；在平羅服侍的 Mr. & Mrs Martin Nystrom 及他們的小女兒。

[115] "Farewell Missionary Meeting," 141–43.

[116] "Annual Report of the President and Board of Managers of the Christian & Missionary Alliance," *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly* 26, no. 18 (May 4, 1901): 240–41.

[117] "The Last Message from our Swedish Missionaries," 29–30, 40. 該名宣教士是在歸化城服侍的 Mr. Charles L. Lundberg。

[118] 另有一些文獻，Mr. Charles L. Lundberg 的中譯名為「林白」先生。

> 不要灰心，暴風雨過後，請差派其他宣教士到這裏來。」我們並不感到後悔來到中國，因為這是上帝要我們到這裏來的……[119]

龍保先生的信件如神蹟般輾轉傳到目的地。宣道會將龍保先生這最後訊息刊載在 1901 年 1 月 19 日的《宣道周刊》(*Alliance Weekly*)裏。

義和團事件過後，清政府設局辦理教案，處理賠償、懲兇及重建教會等問題。但凡宣教士及當地信徒有性命及財產損失，均可獲發賠償。該局亦為殉難宣教士修建墓園，豎立石碑作為紀念。翌年，宣道會考慮到當地災難深重，恢復工作不易，唯有將福音工作轉交北美瑞挪會與中國內地會管理，中國宣道會瑞典宣教團亦因此結束。然而，在事件中一些宣道會及其他差會倖存的宣教士，回應了龍保先生的呼籲，再次返回山西及蒙古一帶服侍，開展了新一輪的宣教活動。[120] 經過義和團事件以後，這些殉難宣教士艱苦卓絕、犧牲奮鬥的精神，感動了不少在歐、美有志來華服侍的宣教士，以及當地民眾。如此，基督福音於清末和民國時期，在山西及內蒙一帶得以廣傳，當地信教者眾。

九. 結論

本文記述了中國宣道會瑞典宣教團的事蹟。十九世紀後期，有六十多名瑞典青年男女，受上帝感召加入美國宣道會的宣教行列。他們首先在瑞典接受短期的聖經培訓，然後離開家鄉乘坐輪船遠渡重洋，千里迢迢進入一個陌生的國度，將基督救贖的福音帶給中國人。他們進入偏遠的山西與蒙古地區，先以歸化城作為大本營，然後化整為零進入附近沒有聽聞福音的地方工作。這些宣教士放棄西方人的身分，以中國人的形像居住在中國人中間。他們努力學習漢

---

119 “The Last Message from our Swedish Missionaries,” 29–30.

120 羅拔．尼告等：《全然為主》，161。

語，期望以最快的方式將福音傳給當地人。除努力宣揚福音外，這些宣教士亦回應當地社會需要，在宣教站內開設戒毒所、學校、孤兒院及出版報章。他們往往要忍受疾病與思鄉之苦，在資源短缺及支援不足的情況下，努力地默默耕耘。

至於差遣這六十多名瑞典宣教士的宣道會，在 1893 年時只是一個成立了六年的年輕差會，其資源與經驗皆相對缺乏。在很多事情上，該會需要仰賴其他差會與經驗人士的協作。在招募宣教士方面，宣道會得到美籍瑞典人范嵐生牧師的幫助，在瑞典招募了大批不諳英語的宣教人員，導致日後該會與宣教士在溝通上出現嚴重困難。在宣教工場上，初期宣道會尋求當地差會的幫助，如在天津的美部會、在山西的內地會與聖潔會等，以協助宣教團運送物資、照顧及督導初來工場報到的宣教人員。當年，宣道會在支援工作上做得並不足夠，除給予宣教人員有限的資源外，對工場的情況也缺乏理解，造成日後該會與部分成員之間的誤解與磨擦。雖然如此，宣教團的工作並沒有因種種難處而停滯不前，反之其服侍範圍隨年月過去而不斷擴展。宣教團從最初的根據地歸化城為起點，不斷往東最後伸延至張家口，往北到蒙古人居住的大草原，往西則沿黃河河套抵達甘肅寧夏一帶地方。他們在這些地方建立了接近二十個宣教站，以基督的愛服侍廣大群眾。

甲午戰爭時期，宣教團初次體驗到中國社會動蕩的威脅，部分宣教站遭到猛烈攻擊，損毀嚴重。事件雖不致令宣教團有人命傷亡，卻打擊了宣教士的士氣，亦拖慢了福音傳播的步伐。事隔五年，宣教團面對更為猛烈的風暴。義和團運動在慈禧太后的操弄下，像燎原烈火般在中國土地上燃燒起來。拳民舉着「扶清滅洋」的旗幟，到處放火殺人，基督教會、宣教士與中國信徒自然成為他們攻擊和洩憤的目標。在山西，宣教團所有宣教站都被焚毀，宣教士傷亡慘重，中國信徒更是死傷無數。經此一役，宣教團被連根拔起，永不復再。

這是一個大時代下愛與恨交織的故事。外國列強入侵，掀起中國人心中仇恨的怒火。宣教士來華，在中國人心裏撒播仁愛的種子。當宣教團與義和團相遇的時候，彷彿仁愛的力量被仇恨的火焰

吞噬了。然而，宣教士無私的奉獻、流血與犧牲的事蹟，卻永遠照耀人間，值得世人紀念。

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 87–109 (print version)
Published online May 16, 2022; in print December 2022

Christian Scholars in the "Grand Epoch": A Case Study of Cai Yongchun and His Time at the School of Religion, Yenching University

大時代下的基督徒學者
——以燕京大學宗教學院蔡詠春為例

CHIN KEN-PA
曾慶豹

Abstract

The relationship between Cai Yongchun and his teacher T. C. Chao (Zhao Zichen) is often viewed as the most significant factor that brought forth the transformation of the School of Religion at Yenching University. However, this article intends to argue that both the changes in interpersonal relationships and the progress of academic

---

CHIN Ken-pa (ZENG Qingbao 曾慶豹) is professor at the Department of Philosophy, Fu Jen Catholic University.

The first draft of this paper was presented at the 12th International Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: Chinese Christianities in Big Eras, jointly organized by the Society for the Study of History of Christianity in China, the Centre for Sino-Christian Studies of the Hong Kong Baptist University, the Christianity and Chinese Culture Research Centre of the Alliance Bible Seminary, and the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture in August 2021, Hong Kong.

concerns were brought forth by the “zeitgeist of the grand epoch” instead during the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. This study intends to highlight the stated proposition from an “individualistic” perspective of the “grand epoch.” Both the change in the relationship between Christian scholar Cai Yongchun and his teacher T. C. Chao and Cai’s academic shift from the fields of anthropology and Chinese philosophy to the studies of “Christianity and Marx-Leninism” well illustrate the point.

Keywords: T. C. Chao, Marx-Leninism, communism, Jesus Family, revolution

學界一般以蔡詠春與趙紫宸的師生關係來突出燕京大學宗教學院的轉變。本文則突出從「大時代」的「個體」視角，主張不論是人際關係或學術關懷，都受到「大時代」的推波助瀾前進或改變。基督徒學者蔡詠春與趙紫宸師生關係的變化，以及由從事人類學、中國哲學研究轉向探討「基督教與馬列主義」，即最能說明所述的議題。

關鍵詞：趙紫宸、馬列主義、共產主義、耶穌家庭、革命

前言

1949 年「新中國」建立，許多海外的知識分子帶着欣喜的心趕回中國，準備參與建設祖國。甫獲哥倫比亞大學博士學位的蔡詠春(1904–1983)，原已接受聘任留在美國，突然收到燕京大學宗教學院院長趙紫宸的邀請，希望他回國貢獻所長，並期望他不久接下宗教學院院長一職。蔡詠春接受了恩師的召喚，決定回到中國。[1]

[1] 蔡詠春生平簡介：1904 年生於福建晉江金井鎮，1919 年受洗，1922 年由培元中學保送到燕京大學就讀社會系。1928 年染肺結核，同年與黃秀英結婚。1929 年受晏陽初感召，到河北省正定縣農村從事平民教育工作。抗戰期間，先後在福建、廣州等神學院任教，1939 年獲得紐約協和神學院獎學金，卻奔赴雲南大理，在合併於華中大學的協和神學院任教。1946 年赴美，三年完成博士論文，1950 年回到中國，任職於燕京大學宗教學院。1952 年離開學院「失業」，1956 年到東北人民大學（吉林大學）執教，文革時被隔離又以安置戶名義下放延邊，1974 年從吉大退休回到廈門定居，1979 年獲平反，1983 年病逝。參見〈蔡詠春〉，《燕京大學

回到中國不久，蔡詠春開始經歷現實環境的各種大小變化，特別是目睹了燕京大學宗教學院的巨變，尤其神學教育如何適應新中國的意識形態，成了最大的挑戰。蔡詠春負責起此一相關課程，開始探討基督教與共產主義的關係，特別是着手於研究初代教會的生活形態，企圖解釋基督教與共產主義的適切性。

蔡詠春的一生宛如許多回國知識分子的縮影，因着其基督教背景，他難逃被控訴的噩運，因為基督教已被定性為「帝國主義」。蔡詠春的一生其實相當單純：在「1950 年之前和之後」，可以用「體弱多病，一介窮書生」來形容他，他並不是一個「著名」的學者或教會領袖，也未曾有過批判共產主義的激烈言論，只因與基督教、燕京大學和趙紫宸的關係而必須自我「交待」、「檢討」，經過基督教的控訴，到文化大革命的批鬥，其一生就此消磨在政治教育和改造中，他經歷了極其典型的迫害後倖存下來、且最終獲得平反的遭遇。

本論文將探討在此大時代下，作為一位基督徒學者的蔡詠春所經歷的變化、個人心靈的掙扎和挑戰，尤其是如何在思想上致力轉變去認識基督教，且嘗試與共產主義的意識形態相聯繫。

一、迎接新時代「新思想」下的中國

為表達對基督教革新運動（「宣言」）的支持，甫抵國門不久的蔡詠春就提出深層次的神學或思想問題，即是基督教如何適應新時代的意識形態：社會公道和自由平等。

史稿 1919–1952》（北京：人民中國，1999），1150–52。再者，蔡詠春夫人黃秀英敘述的《我的伴侶蔡詠春》應該是最完整的一本「蔡詠春傳記」，此書由韓宗堯、謝雪如整理，於 1996 年印行，未正式出版；由於該書「印刷本」非正式出版，也未流通，本人獲得謝雪如贈予「手稿本」，與「印刷本」（此版有諸多排版和文字上的勘誤）內容無異。此文引用根據此「手稿本」，特此說明，同見收藏於耶魯大學神學院圖書館檔案室，Cai Yongchun Papers, Record Group No. 205, Series VI, Box 10, Folder 4。

> 基督教主張社會公道，追求天國之來臨，新時代也在追求着同一的目標。新時代的基礎是馬列主義，馬列主義的基本精神就是社會公道。馬列主義的作風，表現於黨團人員的活動上的，就是犧牲自己，服役人民的精神。馬列主義的社會機構就是爭取社會公道的機構。馬列主義的最後目標就是自由平等的共產主義社會。從基督教立場來說，這個以馬列主義為基礎的新時代，是為基督教開闢出來的一個空前的服務人民的機緣。[2]

蔡詠春這篇文章發表於剛抵達國門的一個月，趕上了中國基督教界回應大時代來臨的氛圍，他也意識到所謂「革新」的問題核心在於思想上的問題。基督教除了消極地脱離帝國主義，更應該積極地尋求與新的意識形態相融，而且，再清楚不過的是，當下的意識形態就是馬列主義。蔡詠春認為，馬列主義的核心價值信念在於社會公道和自由平等，如果弄清楚了這一點，基督教在未來中國的生存應該不會有問題，甚或在某些方面還可以有積極的作為。無疑地，面對馬列主義固然是時代所趨，但同時也是基督教在中國一個再生的機會。[3]

事實上，蔡詠春在 1949 年 4 月完成哥倫比亞大學的博士論文並取得學位後，隨即被麻塞諸賽州艾默斯特(Amherst)聖公會恩惠堂聘為牧師，但卻突然接到趙紫宸的來信，召喚他返回中國。蔡詠春毅然答應，並趁着仍身處美國的時機，為自己回國前多做一些相關的準備，這些準備都與馬列主義或共產主義的思想有關。他特別拜訪了兩位紐約協和神學院的「進步」教授：弗萊徹爾(Joseph

---

[2] 蔡詠春：〈新中國基督教的前進道路〉，原刊《新觀察》1.8（1950 年 10 月 15 日）：13–14，後轉載於《天風》（1950 年 10 月 28 日）：6–7。後來又收於宣傳手冊《基督教人士的愛國運動》（北京：新華書店，1950），9–15。

[3] 目前研究蔡詠春的文章中，有兩篇比較具代表性，分別為徐以驊的〈趙紫宸、蔡詠春與燕京大學宗教學院〉和喬洋敏的〈做「真正的中國人與真正的基督徒」——耶魯大學神學院圖書館收藏的蔡詠春檔案探析〉，同刊登在《基督教學術》第 17 輯 (2018)：184–209；210–224。兩篇文章應用的一手資料相當多，但均未能深入分析文獻中蔡詠春個人的心靈史。喬洋敏儘管接觸到耶魯大學神學院圖書館收藏的蔡詠春檔案，但只著墨於一些表面事蹟，並未提及蔡的個人遭遇背後的時代因素，以及蔡詠春檔案中許多在文革時期的筆記。

Fletcher)和貝納特(John Bennett)，向他們請教社會主義思想的種種，並聽他們介紹許多相關的著作。[4]

在艾默斯特的這一年，蔡詠春閱讀的重心都在馬列主義的著作上，甚至還主動去上一門夜校的課。明顯地，這方面的學習與他博士論文所研究的題目可謂南轅北轍。很快地，他就形成了一套以馬列主義思想評價世界史的觀點，尤其對於中國的歷史、民族、國際關係的把握，也越來越表現出對辯證唯物論的深切同情與認識。[5]無疑地，蔡詠春清楚知道自己的決定以及將要面對的挑戰是甚麼，正如他們全家與美國友人道別時所表達的心情：

> 這是一封向你們告別的短信，我們在艾默斯特的這幾個月是非常快樂和富有成果的。通過對馬克思主義的研讀，使我們比以往更加確信，中國教會在共產主義世界中有極大的使命等待她去完成，在中國，上帝的國將有一個光輝的未來。[6]

所以，蔡詠春清楚此次回國的任務不純粹是接受一個教職，也不僅僅是基於與恩師的情誼而回國，更重要的是他準備接受一個新時代的挑戰，因為他即將重踏故國，在他來美前和離美後全然不同的「中國」——一個新思想下的「新中國」，不論它稱為「人民民主專政」或「新民主主義」，它就是一個在馬列主義思想指導下的國家社會。「究竟基督教如何在此新的時代下繼續生存下來，並為新中國做出貢獻」，這是蔡詠春念茲在茲的「上帝的國」。

回到中國，蔡詠春就積極地響應新時代的轉變，清楚地意識到共產主義是一個基督教無法迴避的挑戰，他給自己擬定了幾個方面的思想準備，他認為：

---

[4] 黃秀英：《我的伴侶蔡詠春》，手稿版，78–79。弗萊徹爾在美國社會學界有些地位，後來還加入美國共產黨；貝納特在紐約協和神學院開授過「基督教與共產主義」。

[5] 黃秀英：《我的伴侶蔡詠春》，手稿版，79。

[6] 同上，81。

> —共產主義一旦與中國傳統文化相結合，就會變得比蘇聯溫和些，特別是在宗教信仰問題上，會比較寬容和開明；
>
> —擁護中國共產黨的宗教信仰自由政策，基督教會完全可以在允許信仰自由這一條件下，致力於傳教事業；
>
> —對共產黨要使宗教自行消亡的長遠方針當然不能贊同，在可預見的時間內，宗教是不能以政策消亡的，宗教是人的一種需要，消亡與否，決定於人的需要；
>
> —基督教完全可以用時代的語言進行宣傳，前輩神學家們在結合中國傳統哲學來闡釋基督教義做過有益的開拓工作，今天我們也可以嘗試聯繫馬列主義和基督教思想，使聽者易於理解和接受。[7]

顯然，蔡詠春認為，在共產主義底下，儘管無神論的政體對基督教而言是一項挑戰，但仍不足以造成它的消亡。一方面宗教是人的基本需求，且中共也主張宗教自由，因而傳教事業的工作仍可繼續；另一方面就要看基督教如何積極回應新的「時代語言」，過往的努力是「結合中國傳統思想」，現在則是「聯繫馬列主義」。這是趙紫宸先後給他的不同學術任務，顯然地，因着時代的更易，方向也必須改變；換言之，基督教必須把握到馬列主義作為這個新時代的語言，並使用這種語言來傳播基督教。在這方面，蔡詠春確實是認真以對的。

也就是說，蔡詠春在哥倫比亞大學博士學位論文《程伊川哲學遺著考訂選輯譯注》(*The Philosophy of Ch'eng I*)之所以撰寫與中國哲學有關的議題，很可能是想從事「結合中國傳統思想」方面的工作，由此可見他嘗試繼承恩師趙紫宸而作出努力。在完成學業並取得博士後，他又為了回應趙紫宸的召喚回到中國，並在燕京大學宗教學院開授課程，包括「中國哲學史」、「基督教思想史」、「基督教與唯物辯證法」，其中又以「基督教與唯物辯證法」最令

[7] 同上，86。

人注目，儘管這課最終沒有開成，但已清楚反映出，蔡詠春這趟回國有明確的方向和準備，確實是趙的「愛徒」。[8]

事實上，政權更迭後，趙紫宸已經明確地表達支持革命，認為教會未能深切反省其與資本主義和帝國主義聯繫在一起的錯誤，因而認同思想改造是合理的。[9] 他同時也指出，中國未來的神學必須是「社會主義的神學」，一種在歷史和社會上符合馬克思主義的神學，是最切合中國歷史實況的。[10] 據蔡詠春說，「基督教與馬列主義」原是趙紫宸打算自己要開的課，但沒有詳細說明確切的內容，卻交待要蔡回國後立即代為負責此課。[11]

與此同時，蔡詠春意識到要適應新的時代，課程內容勢必做出調整，因為要回答「怎樣從傳統的基督教觀點認識馬列主義毛澤東思想，及如何運用馬克思列寧主義闡明基督教」這類問題。可是當時的教材內容確實無法應付這類問題，當然也就不可能再依賴西方現有的論著，因而他決意自己編寫教材。[12] 值得注意的是，在 1968 年的「交待文」中他承認自己的「錯誤」，認為當時沒有認清這種課題原來是歐美基督教在世界革命潮流中的「反動」表現，所以一時糊塗地想「使用唯心主義的有神論來抵抗唯物主義的無神

[8] 無獨有偶，為應付中共建政後基督教的思想適應問題，吳耀宗也做了一些思想準備，他計劃在青年協會書局的系列叢書中，出版「新時代學習叢書」，有《新民主主義學習手冊》、《人民民主專政學習手冊》、《毛澤東思想學習手冊》、《辯證法唯物論學習手冊》、《馬列主義學習手冊》等，結果絕大部分的著作後來都沒有出版。

[9] Philip West：《燕京大學與中西關係》，程龍譯（北京：北京師範大學出版社，2019），363–65。

[10] 參見趙紫宸：〈今後四十年中國基督教教義神學可能的發展〉，刊載於《金陵神學誌》26.1–2 (1950)：14–21。收入《趙紫宸文集》，第 4 卷（北京：商務印書館，2010），177–88。

[11] 趙紫宸看待共產主義思想和共產黨的態度，可參考古愛華：《趙紫宸的神學思想》（香港：基督教文藝，1998），第 8 章；邢福增：《尋索基督教的獨特性——趙紫宸神學論集》（香港：建道神學院，2004），第 4 章。

[12] 黃秀英：《我的伴侶蔡詠春》，手稿版，87。

論」。[13] 正是他的「坦白」認錯，更「確認」了他當時那份真切的反應。

從蔡詠春留下的手稿判斷，他一直都執着於「自己編寫教材」，持續努力研究馬列主義思想或辯證唯物論，他認為這是中國的現實，同時也部分地接受馬克思對宗教的批判。他持續地認真研究共產主義，其目的並不是要去附和現實的意識形態和權力，他的目標很清楚，仍然是為了基督教、為了傳播信仰，為了它在中國得以生存下去。同時，蔡詠春顯然沒有轉變他對基督教信仰的執着，他在吉林大學教授外文，刻意地在他的文學課中將自己的教學與基督教拉上關係，這期間他還做了不少關於但丁《神曲》的研究，將基督教與文學掛勾，念茲在茲地保持對基督教的熱情。[14] 可惜，隨着文革的到來，這一切都必須停下來，蔡詠春在文革結束前遷回廈門定居。

二、曲折的學術道路

根據趙紫宸的說法，燕京大學宗教學院面對兩個難題，一是燕京大學改制後併入北京大學，宗教學院則必須獨立出來，另一方面是結束了外國津貼而必須自籌經費。[15] 儘管宗教學院的處境比以前艱

---

[13] 蔡詠春：〈我和趙紫宸的關係（一）〉（手稿），12，收藏於耶魯大學神學院圖書館檔案室，Cai Yongchun Papers, Record Group No. 205, Series II, Box 7, Folder 5。蔡詠春家人將有關蔡的檔案資料捐給耶魯神學院，其中最精彩的即是他歷經十年文革所做的日記手抄本，內容包括：政治學習、形勢和寫作筆記三個部分，關於檔案收藏可參見 Hugh Barbour, “Ts’ai Yung-chu’un’s Life and Work: Fully Chinese and Fully Christian,” *Yale Divinity School Library Occasional Publication* No. 14。

[14] 蔡詠春：〈但丁及其《神曲．地獄篇》〉，《金陵神學誌》（1986 年第 4 期）：42–55；蔡詠春：〈但丁和《神曲》對中世紀的批判〉，《吉林大學社會科學學報》（1987 年第 6 期）：26–33。

[15] 趙紫宸：〈燕京大學的宗教學院〉，《文史資料選輯》第 43 輯 (1964)：106–28。關於「外國津貼」的問題，起源於國務院於 1950 年 12 月 29 日第 65 次政務會議通過「關於處理接受美國津貼的文化教育救濟機關及宗教團體的方針的決定」，

難，但這兩方面的問題還不是最為關鍵的。作為被定性為與帝國主義有着密切關係的基督教，宗教學院的思想路線成了極其敏感的問題。此時，「耶穌家庭」在宗教學院的生存方面扮演了相當特殊的作用。蔡詠春在回應「革新宣言」的〈新中國基督教的前進道路〉一文中就特別提到耶穌家庭，它所反應出來的態度是：向耶穌家庭看齊。

在所謂革新運動進行初期，「耶穌家庭」是一個標誌性的基督教團體，他們成了在新時代的意識形態底下最符合政治正確的一支。我們從〈中國基督教在新中國建設中努力的途徑〉第一批在宣言上簽名的代表背景中可以發現，各地耶穌家庭的代表人數加總起來，差不多在全體簽署人數中約佔四分之一。[16] 燕京大學在這一波的革新運動中，與耶穌家庭的關係也非常明顯和直接。蔡詠春在〈新中國基督教的前進道路〉一文中也提及了耶穌家庭，並稱他們是在教會生活和教會本質上一個最好的範例，所指的正是耶穌家庭裏的那種集體生活。說得直接些，就是指要學習耶穌家庭的「共產生活」。換言之，教會生活和教會本質應該是共產式的，而耶穌家庭即是表率。[17]

燕京大學宗教學院崇尚學術，過去還曾被看作是「不信派」，在神學上傾向於「自由派」；耶穌家庭發端於山東，屬於鄉村型的教會，相信神跡、崇尚靈恩、反對知識，參與者以文盲人士居多。[18] 然而，在這個大時代之下，宗教學院竟然與耶穌家庭在

之後就召集了基督教團體，陸定一在 1951 年 4 月 16 日的會上發表了〈在「處理接受美國津貼的基督教團體會議」上的講話〉，隨之，4 月 21 日基督教界發表了〈中國基督教各教會各團體代表聯合宣言〉以示呼應，可參見中國共產黨中央華南分局宣傳部編《幹部學習資料》第 33 輯（宗教問題專輯）（廣州：華南人民，1951）。首當其衝，燕京大學在面對「處理接受美國津貼」深陷巨大的壓力中，隨之又因「津貼」與「帝國主義侵略」的聯繫，而成了批鬥的對象，參見陳遠：《燕京大學 1919–1952》（杭州：浙江人民，2013），220–26。

16 第一批簽名人數為 1,527 人，耶穌家庭各地代表人士有 381 人，嚴然成了所有基督界團體中最為龐大的「組織」，見《基督教人士的愛國運動》（北京：新華書店，1950），53–61。

17 蔡詠春：〈新中國基督教的前進道路〉，12。

18 參見汪錫鵬：《記耶穌家庭》（上海：中華基督教協進會上海鄉村事業委員會，1950）。

關係上變得非常的緊密，趙紫宸還標榜自己也是「老家的人」（按：耶穌家庭的成員會稱馬莊為「老家」），學院老師公開撰文讚揚耶穌家庭，定期組織師生到老家去學習，耶穌家庭也有代表到北京來給學院師生操練追求靈恩。[19]

為甚麼是「耶穌家庭」？理由很簡單，「耶穌家庭」就是一個共產主義的基督教會，在那個大時代底下，它在思想上和組織上恰恰代表一種「政治正確」，不僅與帝國主義教派組織沒有瓜葛，而且也是一個符合標準的「三自」教會：自治、自養、自傳。蔡詠春就是朝着這個思路進行他的研究，他真心相信基督教與馬列主義是可以融通的，耶穌家庭就是最好的例證，體現了教會的本質，或者也可以說它就是原始基督教的基本面貌。蔡詠春也曾接獲趙紫宸指派的任務，親自到泰山，為了物色一塊地以作為宗教學院的分校，更是說明了耶穌家庭的角色意義重大；[20] 理解到這一點，蔡詠春把目光聚焦到初代教會或原始基督教更是順理成章，這可能與他經驗並認同耶穌家庭的信仰生活表現有關。

回顧蔡詠春的學術生涯，可說相當的奇特；嚴格說來，他還算不上是一位「研究神學」的人。1922 年入燕京大學讀的是社會系，學位論文寫的是《中國的人口問題與人民經濟生活》(*Population and Livelihood in China*)；1933 年入燕京大學宗教學院，就僅僅是完成一個學位，1936 年應聘到閩南神學院，再來是 1938 年轉到了廣州協和神學院任教，之後又於 1942 年擔任教會牧職直到 1946 年赴美；他於 1947 年在美國完成的碩士論文，研究的是《大理白族葬禮——「祖先崇拜」研究》(*Tali Funeral Rites: A Study in Ancestor Worship*)，這些材料是他於 1939 年至 1942 年之間在雲南大理時收集到的，這方面的研究成果比較算是人類學方面的專業；[21] 最後，更令人感到意外的是，他的博士論文則是研究

[19] 參見〈燕京大學團契 1950 年度總結〉，《恩友》3.6（1951 年 6 月 15 日）：10–12。

[20] 蔡詠春：〈我與趙紫宸的關係（二）〉，15–16，Cai Yongchun Papers, Record Group No. 205, Series II, Box 7, Folder 5。

[21] 參見楊仲輔：〈蔡詠春的兩篇文章〉，《金陵神學誌》（1996 年第 3 期）：65–69。

中國哲學，宋代理學家「二程子」中稱作「小程」的程伊川（頤）。[22]

儘管蔡詠春的研究未直接涉及神學或宗教學，他的才華卻是無庸置疑的，可謂「學甚麼，像甚麼」。不論社會學、人類學或中國哲學，他的研究成果均表現得非常出色。方法上涵蓋了統計調查、田野觀察和典藉分析，而且，三個學位論文都是用英文書寫，顯示其外語能力相當地強。尤其是中國哲學這個領域，特別針對宋明理學中的程伊川做研究，應該是相當不容易的，他的論文內容包括了考證、註疏和翻譯，在那個年代而言應該是極為艱難的工作，當時許多中國哲學的詞彙都尚未有明確的外文譯法，然而他卻僅用了兩年的時間以英語寫作完成，獲得了哥倫比亞大學的哲學博士學位。

由此可見，蔡詠春自美回國前的一生的學術之養成路上，不僅並未直接表現與神學研究相關，而且，甚至可能都未對馬列主義的思想研究產生過興趣。黃秀英則說他：「畢生在宗教信仰上不斷地探索，追求真理，死而後已」，「他曾抱有溝通儒釋道耶和共產主義的雄心，目的是為了使基督教在中國生根」。[23] 可見蔡詠春的學術熱忱一直都與其宗教信仰的積極態度有關，赴美留學博士論文撰寫程伊川，可以看作是為了「溝通儒釋道耶」，但是 1950 年回到中國的目標則是轉變成「溝通共產主義」，這明顯是「大時代」所逼。

蔡詠春的學術道路一路走來，似乎是被他的時代推着走的。《大理白族葬禮——「祖先崇拜」研究》的研究，是在抗戰時期隨着廣州協和神學院退到雲南時因緣際會地接觸到白族，把收集到的材料作分析撰寫的，至今仍是一篇非常出色的中國的人類學研究之作，展露出一位燕京大學社會學系畢業的高材生的實力；在哥倫比亞大學的博士論文更是令人驚奇，學界熟知陳榮捷在英語世界出版的《中國哲學文獻選編》(*A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*)也是

---

[22] 收藏見耶魯大學神學院圖書館檔案室，Cai Yongchun Papers, Record Group No. 205, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1。

[23] 黃秀英：《我的伴侶蔡詠春》，手稿版，189。

遲至 1963 年才有的，這個研究方向應該是受到趙紫宸的影響，是他準備將來回到中國要與傳統中國思想溝通的計劃有關，似乎他的這項研究是「全新的」，一切都要「從頭開始」，因為在之前並未有過相關討論或撰文，加上在美國這個環境用英語寫作中國哲學，肯定要克服非常多的困難。換言之，從人類學到中國哲學，再到 1950 年回到中國之後放下了中國哲學轉而專注研究馬列主義，這種轉變可謂非常巨大。在文革期間因為教學的關係轉做聖經研究，同時私下還延續着對共產主義與基督教的關係的探討，綜觀他的學術生涯，絕對可以稱得上是一個「奇葩」。

「三反」及思想改造運動後，折騰許久的宗教學院也隨之關閉，蔡詠春夫婦正式「失業」。1952 至 1956 年間，夫婦倆被迫學了俄文，在中央民族學院做些從英翻俄的工作，以從中獲得微薄的稿酬，他們甚至還翻譯過幾本俄文著作，如《革命經歷片斷》（博布羅提斯卡婭著）[24]、《1956 年秋匈牙利反革命判亂思想準備史實述要》[25]、《拉脫維亞蘇維埃社會主義共和國從獨立戶田定居方式過渡到集體農村的問題》[26] 等，全是為了應付當時意識形態的風向和交給單位的文章。文革前，他甚至用所謂的「唯物主義觀點」做了一些但丁的研究，主要原因是與他當時在吉林大學外文系任教文學有關。儘管蔡詠春才華洋溢，似乎也總可以交出一些成績，但最終還是勉強在死後才如願地出版一本小書：《新約導讀》(1992)。[27]

在 1956 年所寫下的信仰反思文中，蔡詠春表達了自己在信仰思想發展的幾個階段，其中表示他接受了馬列主義對「宗教是勞動階級的麻醉劑」的批判，所以他檢討了自己那套唯心主義的思想，進而轉到以「唯物辯證法」的觀點研究基督教。他的《新約導讀》

---

[24] 博布羅提斯卡婭：《革命經歷片斷》，蔡詠春譯（北京：北京人民，1956）。

[25] 蔡詠春整理及翻譯的不少資料，當時均收藏於吉林大學歷史系資料室。

[26]《拉脫維亞蘇維埃社會主義共和國從獨立戶田定居方式過渡到集體農村的問題》，載於《民族問題譯叢》（1956 年第 1 期）：50–68。

[27] 這本書是一項寫作計劃的一部分，原打算撰寫《聖經文選》，之後改作《聖經簡介》，「新約」是欲先完成的部分，但最後也僅僅完成「新約」就離世了。

多少有些這方面的暗示，該書一開始就引了恩格斯在《論原始基督教史》的一段話：

> 它開始時是作為奴隸和解放的農奴、窮人和無權利的人，被羅馬人征服或被他們驅散的人們的宗教而出現的。[28]

蔡詠春這本書絕大部分的內文是經文摘錄並輔以標題化的排列，之所以稱之「導讀」。一方面是要讓讀者可以直接閱讀到經文，另一方面則通過標題更清楚地呈現出段落的主題。這本書寫於文革之前，中間擱置一段很長的時間，改革開放後又重新編寫，是一本「大時代」之作。這本書在介紹《使徒行傳》時不是用「教會」，而是用「基督教運動」。注意，早期的基督教是一場「運動」，蔡詠春要讀者特別留意這場運動與當時複雜的政治背景和社會變革的關係，所以它不僅僅是一場「宗教」運動；[29] 關於《啟示錄》，蔡詠春提到這種文學類型的特殊性，即是對苦難及拯救的關係。活在苦難中的人都會問：「為甚麼上帝的選民竟頻頻遭到不同異族的欺凌？難道上帝永遠拋棄他的選民嗎？」而真實和可靠的上帝告訴人們：

> 政治上雖然使人失望，但在宗教上是永遠有希望、有安慰的。[30]

換言之，面對壓迫和苦難，都應認清這只是短暫的，未來仍會是一片歡樂的光景，《啟示錄》給人的這種大膽的想像，是突破困難的一種力量。

事實上，「原始基督教是一場共產主義的運動」的觀點為民國時期不少思想家所肯定，包括吳雷川、沈嗣莊、張仕章、朱維之等人均支持這個觀點，這個觀點主要是來源於考茨基(Karl J.

---

[28] 蔡詠春：《新約導讀》（北京：今日中國，1992），1。

[29] 同上，156–57。

[30] 同上，346–47。

Kautsky)的《基督教的基礎》(*Foundations of Christianity: A Study of Christian Origins*, 1925)一書的影響。[31] 蔡詠春可以說是一位在「新中國」成立後仍執着此問題的人，或者也可以說他是民國那一代人中「最後一位」深入探討此一主題的人，亦可稱之作「漢語神學最後一位基督教社會主義思想家」。[32]

毫無諱言地，即便身心受到極痛苦的打擊，蔡詠春仍執着且認真地尋找基督教與馬列主義的適切性，他的研究聚焦於基督教的起源問題，力圖證明基督教與共產主義的關係，原始基督教體現了一場無產階級的革命運動。我們可以從他留下來的手稿中獲知，蔡詠春對早期基督教的研究確實下了不少功夫，一是比較了幾本論述基督教起源的著作，一是討論早期基督教的末世論思想，兩者都關係到他對「大時代」的回應，以及對基督教本質的思考。

在蔡詠春留下的彌足珍貴的手稿中，尤以對羅伯遜(A. Robertson)的《基督教的起源》(*The Origin of Christianity*, 1953)[33] 和考茨基的《基督教的基礎》二書的比較最有價值，他想總結出早期基督教的思想形態，在方法或目的上，是與唯物辯證思想綜合起來的。羅伯遜的《基督教的起源》這本書的中譯本出版於 1958 年，譯者為宋桂煌，究竟是在一個怎樣的時空背景下出版這本書恐怕已不可考，但至少可以肯定的是，這本書在思想上沒有違背唯物辯證的觀點，相較之下，《基督教的基礎》的作者考茨基更是「根正苗紅」，考茨基的譯著在中國的出版要早得多，值得注意的是，1955 年再出版的修訂譯本，其譯者葉啓芳還是一位燕京大學畢業生。兩本書的中譯本相繼於 1955 和 1958 年在中國出版，蔡詠春正是在這個時候認真地鑽研書中所涉及到的他所關注的問題。

蔡詠春指出，考茨基和羅伯遜都認為基督教最初是羅馬帝國統治下猶太下層勞動人民的革命運動，革命的對象是那些統治階

---

[31] 考茨基：《基督教的基礎》，湯浩等譯（上海：神州國光社，1932）。1955 年再版的修訂譯本，譯者為葉啓芳（北京：三聯書店，1955）。

[32] 可參見拙作《經世與革命——激進的漢語神學思潮 (1901–1950)》（台北：主流，2021）。

[33] 羅伯遜：《基督教的起源》，宋桂煌譯（北京：三聯書店，1958）。

級；換言之，基督教就是無產階級的革命運動，而領導此運動的就是耶穌，耶穌宣傳的「上帝的國」即是要爭取政權。然而，基督教的發展後來背離了原始基督教無產者集團的理想，教會實行消費的共產主義而不事生產，結果只好轉向依賴有錢人，最終則成了這些有錢人的統治工具。

蔡詠春發現，羅伯遜比考茨基更為優越之處在於前者發現，保羅所代表的反動派基督教與耶穌彌賽亞主義革命運動的衝突，這些衝突即造成了新約裏存在着相反且又無法調和的矛盾，這些矛盾正是反映了它們代表不同的階級利益或想法。這些無法調合的矛盾，最終在教會史中形成了教條主義、權威主義、封建主義等意識形態，結果使得千禧年王國主義受到壓制，基督教因此走向背離群眾的道路。[34]

然而，蔡詠春對於羅伯遜的著作還是提出了批評，認為他即便在文獻的考證方面做了很多，但是對於歷史演變的經濟基礎的敘述還是不夠的。換言之，在歷史唯物論的觀點看來，羅伯遜即是缺乏對經濟的關注，因而在立場上未能把革命運動的真正要素考慮在內。關於這點，考茨基算是略勝於羅伯遜。

在一份寫作筆記中，我們發現蔡詠春把耶穌與瑪加比革命聯繫起來，瑪加比反抗的是塞琉古帝國，耶穌則面向統治猶太的羅馬帝國。我們無法判斷蔡詠春是否認同這個觀點，因為筆記的內容以條列的方式呈現，大致上是認為耶穌是一位革命分子，由於妥協派佔支配地位，他們力圖證明耶穌是非革命分子，因此新約資料業已被修改過，現在已無法恢復耶穌真正的面目。但是，一些蛛絲馬跡似乎還是可見的，蔡詠春例舉了一些內容：[35]

1. 生在木匠的家、革命起義發源地的加利利；門徒卻是下層人民，擁護施洗者約翰末世論的宣傳，宣告上帝國已

[34] 蔡詠春：〈考茨基與羅伯遜之比較、批評〉，耶魯大學神學院圖書館收藏檔案，Cai Yongchun Papers, Record Group No. 205, Series I, Box 3, Folder 6, A.1.4.1.8–11。

[35] 蔡詠春：〈筆記〉，耶魯大學神學院圖書館收藏檔案，Cai Yongchun Papers, Record Group No. 205, Series I, Box 3, Folder 6。

經在天上制勝撒旦王國，即將在地上勝利，這勝利是天地的完全變化。

2. 耶穌以猶太王的罪狀受苦（叛國犯），他繼承了啟示文學末世論傳統，人子即將再來、審判，上帝國即將實現。
3. 他譴責脫離群眾，脫離現實的宗教領袖，他們假冒偽善，壓迫窮人；譴責撒都該人是賣國賊，譴責有錢人（可 10）。
4. 他為窮人服務（路 4），所以曾吸引千計的人來從他，想叫他為王。
5. 他遭到宗教領袖（法利賽，上層）和希律黨反對（太 3:6），不得不逃到境外。
6. 他受苦前與祭司統治階級正面衝突。
7. 最後是祭司、文士合謀買通叛徒猶大交給羅馬。
8. 死的罪名是猶太王（起義後，可 15:9, 26），同刑者是叛徒與強盜。

綜觀以上的內容，由於與考茨基的論點相似，猜想蔡詠春即是援用自考茨基。

蔡詠春通過對上述兩本著作的研讀，了解到原始基督教錯綜複雜的歷史背景，尤其是新約聖經的時代，特別是猶太群體中存在着不同的思想主張，應該予以更細緻的分析。事實上，革命運動既在歷史的必然之中又在對其的反動之中，而這與之後形成的共產主義運動又該如何聯繫起來，自然就成了值得關注的問題。關於這個部分的觀點就顯示於蔡詠春的一份閱讀筆記之中，即他對尼素庵(Trian Nersoyan)的《從基督教角度看共產主義》(*A Christian approach to Communism*)所做的評論。

另外，蔡詠春也擬了一份〈《聖經》末世論思想的發展〉的大綱，這些內容都表現出一個共同的目標，即「溝通共產主義與基

督教」。[36] 蔡詠春所進行的學術研究，是中國現實的遭遇，作為基督徒的他，更是期盼可以化解其中的衝突；在這樣的歷史時刻，一方面是促成革命運動的發展，另一方面則是將基督教從歷史的錯誤中拯救出來。不論就中國，或是就基督教，蔡詠春不斷地以他的理想回應現實，這是他對中國，亦是對基督教的一個負擔，希望他的理想就此一併地實現於他的時代之中。

三、糾結於與趙紫宸的師徒關係

上大學期間，蔡詠春不幸染上肺結核，這個病一直伴隨他到老。儘管身體的苦痛帶給他生活中諸多的不順遂，但精神上經歷巨大的壓迫卻是在他自美返國後才真正開始面對的。《我的伴侶蔡詠春》中引用了非常多的聖經經文，支撐着他們面對生活中所遭遇到的種種不公對待，它反映了蔡詠春和黃秀英仍以堅定的信仰態度來面對一切。然而，蔡詠春一生的遭難，又與趙紫宸有着千絲萬縷的關係，他們的關係與他們共同具有的基督教信仰幾乎是不可分的，為了基督教及其在中國的前景，他們共同分享了這份苦難，這份在師生倆共同面對壓迫時、深藏在內心中無法表述的苦澀。

趙紫宸與蔡詠春的關係確實非常的緊密，趙說「為了他，學院分成了兩派，形成了勢不兩立的對抗局面」。趙邀請蔡回國，學術上是安排蔡負責教授新約與神學，以及應付馬列主義思想的考驗，另外則因為個人的私心希望蔡可以接替他的位子，坊間傳言的「愛徒集團」也就不難理解，更激化了他與同為燕京大學老師的李榮芳長期的矛盾。[37]

---

[36] 蔡詠春：〈《聖經》末世論思想的發展（資料）手稿〉，耶魯大學神學院圖書館收藏檔案，Cai Yongchun Papers, Record Group No. 205, Series I, Box 3, Folder 7–8。這份大綱應是蔡詠春到吉林大學後才開始撰寫的，黃秀英在整理遺稿時，仍無法確認確切的寫作時期。

[37] 趙紫宸：〈燕京大學的宗教學院〉，126。

1950 年決定「回國」這一舉動，使蔡詠春一家背負起難以脫去的「巨大罪名」：「你為甚麼回來？是不是有甚麼目的？」每當面對新一輪的鬥爭，都會被批鬥者大肆發揮，永遠不可能令那些追問「為甚麼回來」的人滿意，它永遠都可以作為一個「居心不良」、「不懷好意」的陰謀或污點被加以清算一番。儘管蔡是真心地愛國，卻因為與基督教「帝國主義分子」的關係，使這樣的「指控」跟着他。[38] 關於這一點，趙紫宸不可能不知道蔡詠春一家所受的苦絕對與他有關，因為每每蔡詠春交待或坦白自己的決定，無不是繞着趙紫宸和燕京大學等關係來講的，不難想見，那班批鬥他的人是不會相信蔡詠春是因為「愛國」而回國的。[39]

蔡詠春在〈我和趙紫宸的關係〉（1968 年 7 月 25 日）中批評了趙紫宸，「交待」了他是如何結識趙紫宸的，說自己曾被老師誤導，並指趙是反動分子，理由是他「沒有徹底地割斷教會與帝國主義的關係」，並且在思想和觀念上構成了「三自愛國革新運動的障礙」。這篇所謂的「控訴文」寫得很簡略，可以讀出蔡詠春是在迫於無奈的情況下，懷着對恩師的歉意，勉為其難地數落了他老師幾句。黃秀英在為丈夫寫自傳時，認為趙的角色和地位使得蔡詠春陷入政治批判的眾矢之的。[40]

1952 年的「三反」及思想改造運動下，領導運動的檢查委員會宣布蔡、黃兩人「轉業」，離開了燕京大學宗教學院，學院在此種情況下也就此關閉。他們兩人到 1956 年才正式恢復教職，幸運地得到吉林大學（原「東北人民大學」）匡亞明校長的安排，經高教部批准在外文系任教。在這一段很長的時間裏，蔡與趙完全沒有

---

[38] 蔡詠春被控與「帝國主義分子」何明華關係密切。何明華與蔡詠春有兩段關係，儘管何與共產黨的關係還算不錯，且積極投入「工合運動」，同情左翼青年，被冠以「紅色主教」之名，仍無法「倖免」於成為被控訴的對象，蔡詠春永遠都洗脫不了加在他身上的這個罪名。

[39] 根據黃秀英的說法，關於回或留的問題，身邊沒有一人贊成他們回去，有人也勸說可以等一等，看情勢發展如何才再決定也不遲。蔡詠春返國時經過香港，與謝扶雅短暫會面，後者也曾力勸蔡詠春打消北上的計劃。最終，只因趙紫宸一人，也只有他一人，讓蔡詠春一家人覺得在北美的時間太長，應該回去貢獻所長，即便執政的共產黨是無神論、宗教政策也不明朗，也決心順應趙紫宸的呼召。

[40] 黃秀英：《我的伴侶蔡詠春》，手稿版，96–97。

聯絡，相隔二十年 (1972) 後，師徒倆終於還是見上面了，那是一個午後，根據黃秀英的描述：

> 我們第一次到他府上的時候，趙先生正在如廁，一聽說是詠春來了，趕忙束衣出來迎接。他還執意要留我們用飯，並且顫崴崴地站在椅子上去取櫥櫃上面放着的罐頭食品來款待我們。劫後重逢，本有說不完的話，但我們似乎彼此都有一種默契，絕口不提不愉快的往事。包括後來的多次拜訪在內，都只有一般的而已。[41]

趙紫宸晚年經常與蔡詠春通信，表達了不少個人信仰和內心的真切感情，大膽地透露他在信仰上的轉變，例如：

> 我是一個唯物論者，在於我，身體即靈魂也。(1976/4/11)

> 沒有我的身體，我經驗不到上帝。我的福音是基督。我是唯物論者，也是上帝論者。(1978/6/5)

老先生的這些言論似乎也無必要認真看待，因為趙紫宸連自己的生日日期也都會搞錯。[42] 趙紫宸早年寫過多首與蔡詠春及其家人相關的詩，包括〈玉泉山峽雪琴音偕蔡詠春野餐午睡〉、[43]〈蔡詠春、黃秀英南歸以千言送之〉、[44]〈詠蔡家女嬰〉、[45]〈戲題蔡紅玉手冊〉，[46] 均流露出趙與蔡詠春一家的好交情，有一首題為〈贈蔡詠春〉的詩，更是充分流露出他對這位「愛徒」深切的情懷：[47]

---

41 同上，149。

42 這些資料是陳世義抄錄自黃秀英提供的蔡詠春日記。趙寫給蔡的最後一封信是 1979 年 9 月 1 日，趙於同年 11 月 21 日病逝北京。

43 趙紫宸：《玻璨聲（詩詞集）》(1938)，《趙紫宸文集》，4:538。

44 同上，558–59。

45 同上，538。

46 同上，542。

47 同上，533。

少年血氣豐，立品冀天極，負笈遠從師，讀書曾折節；
為學不愛貧，為道不謀食，宅心在仁義，見義願相結。
一諾千黃金，下鄉逕實習，哀哀農家苦，時刻縈胸臆。
既彈珍珠淚，更拂心肝血；人窮我亦窮，辛苦復悲鬱。
矻矻繼膏晷，遑遑終日夕，復興著文章，忻然奮手筆。
二豎漸浸潤，輾轉吟牀席，眾友益相親，所愛同緩急。
花言斂幽芬，鉛淚延眉睫，忽爾紛悲喜，煎情殊岌岌。
窄門自有道，重輒寧無益？疇昔匪巢中，聽天常恬悅，
逆來順受之，化險為平直。今也病羈纏，如火煉金鐵，
也應不識知，順在帝之側；不因戀損神，不以危動色，
一窗楊柳風，半屋榴花月。元氣會昭蘇，一朝病若失，
然後入書幃，與我共磋切；前程千萬哩，修名詎不立。

1972 年那回重聚之後，究竟還見過多少次面，恐怕真的是不多。趙夫人於 1978 年 9 月 7 日逝世，蔡詠春和黃秀英原計劃於隔年三、四月赴京再次探望恩師，而趙也殷切祈盼着「愛徒」的到來，他在信上寫到：

我已近死，十分軟弱，一人久坐陪客，經常力不能支。所以你倆今年三、四月來探我，現已加我憂慮，我非舊時人矣。老伴已逝，我極孤獨，也許那時我也已逝矣。我是萬分樂見故人，而已無絲毫力氣了。最好先期來翰，是否要我留飯？我不能客氣，真對不起。

顯然三、四月彼此未見上面，因為到了五月，趙因未見到他們，在信中流露出那種無奈和急切：

好久以前得信，你倆三四月中要來北方，我在荏弱中間仍每日延頸而望。今已五月將中，卻遙遙無消息，默默無聲影。心急何益，不如自力寫信一問：你倆何日來京？來是不來？

> 玉體如生龍活虎否？易生枝節，我實老矣，不當禁焉情之姿也。(1979/5/13)

那是趙給蔡詠春的最後一封信，1979 年 11 月 21 日趙紫宸病逝。[48] 趙與蔡兩人的師生情誼，彼此在信仰和學術的關係中並進，卻也在「大時代」的轉折和動盪中交織着矛盾又同理的情緒，當然，隨着趙老的離世，彼此尷尬的關係也就此劃上了休止符。

結語

這麼一位「學甚麼，像甚麼」的學者，蔡詠春無不遺憾地要在他死後才得以出版一本小書：《新約導讀》；相較他做過的社會學、人類學、哲學，這又似乎是一個他過去未研究過的「新」領域：新約學。說實在的，這一本書「最不能代表」他的學術成就，完全反映不出他具備的「學者」身分，他的夫人已盡最大的努力為他做了一位「學者」想看到的結果，似乎也僅僅到此為止，這已經是他們倆「最大的心願」了，看黃秀英為她先生寫的序，讀了不勝唏噓。

蔡詠春於 1983 年逝世，《新約導讀》算是遺稿，經他的夫人黃秀英委請諸多友人代為整理後，於 1992 年交北京今日中國出版社出版，丁光訓還特別給這本書寫了序，讚揚這是一本對學術界有很大貢獻的著作。就書的形式而論，這是一本「編」而非「著」，當然，「編」也有編的特色和價值。在內文方面，該書在新約各經卷前編寫了短篇的介紹，接着即是將經文做了標題的分段，即給一段經文一個明確的主題，還加上一些註釋；我們可以發現絕大部分的經文都是選錄自「和合本」聖經，全書把新約壓縮成一半，原 7981 節略減為 3907 節，其特色在於經過他重新的組合後，這些經文更加鮮活或流暢。

---

[48] 蔡詠春於 1979 年 7 月獲吉林大學平反，可能這段時間他們正忙於為平反之事努力，所以沒有到北京去探望趙紫宸。

在「凡例」中交待選錄經文的標準是這些文字「與文、史、哲方面的研究有關」，或稱之作「與社會科學專業有所相關的」，所以稱該書作「導讀」；當然，他的「苦心」之處也在此，目的是希望讀者讀到聖經經文本身。

相較於他過去幾本與學位論文有關的學術作品，都是兩、三年內就完成的，但是《新約導讀》卻耗費了蔡詠春最長的一段人生歲月，至少有十餘年。這是蔡詠春唯一一本正式公開出版的著作，雖然談不上是一本有學術價值的書，但反倒突出了另一層的含意，從「學者」化身成一位「靈性導師」。和他相知相惜相伴的黃秀英，在該書的序言中宣示「苦難」的結束，以及新生的開始：

> 本書是在「十年浩劫」前，應吉林大學文、史、哲各系的青年教師和校外文藝界一些同志的要求，在校黨委支持和鼓勵下，開始編寫的。「十年浩劫」，輟筆十年，十一屆三中全會後，才又重新編寫。[49]

因着一個「新局」的開始，這一段遭受到苦難的「靈性記憶」得以公開，其最主要的意義即在於，這本書的出版，見證了他們在聖經的話語中獲得希望與安慰。

蔡詠春代表了所有那些被基要派分子定義為「自由派」或「不信派」的基督徒學者，在遭遇到「大時代」的考驗時，與基要派人士所經歷的是一樣的，他們甚至更多時候是被推向歷史舞台，成了目光聚焦的對象，他們受到的凌辱更是被當作一種樣版，「學者」的「靈性」是最為尖銳的話題。簡單地說，他們的「靈性」之所以成了被關注的焦點，除了教外人士要看他們的笑話，教內人士則是要藉此定他們的罪，從信仰上的不信派變成了「賣主的猶太」。

伴隨着蔡詠春經過「大時代」的洗禮，《新約導讀》的出版見證了蔡詠春不僅沒有離開信仰，反而在「十年浩劫」前隱身在文、史、哲中為學生編寫導讀新約聖經的書稿，在「十年浩劫」後

---

[49] 〈黃秀英序〉，蔡詠春：《新約導讀》，7。

未忘記再次拿起來重新編修。作為一本「遺作」，一本與聖經有關的著作，這是蔡詠春的信仰遺囑，也是關於他的靈性的見證，正如他在《啟示錄》導讀中所確信的那樣：

> 政治上雖然使人失望，但在宗教上是永遠有希望、有安慰的。[50]

[50] 蔡詠春：《新約導讀》，346–47。

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 111–31 (print version)
Published online June 14, 2022; in print December 2022

"The Rhenish General of Chariots and Horsemen": Pastor Wong Him-yue and His German Origin
「禮賢車騎」——王謙如牧師與他的德國淵源

WU KIN-PAN
胡健斌

Abstract

In the nineteenth century, missionaries from the Rhenish Missionary Society of Germany came to China and preached to the Chinese, especially Cantonese-speaking natives. German missionaries were assisted by local co-workers and committed to training Chinese leaders. Focusing on Pastor Wong Him-yue, the second heir of Wong Yuen-sum, this paper examines his German origin and the teachings he successfully learned from German missionaries, showing his cooperation with German co-workers and his contribution to them.

WU Kin-pan (HU Jianbin 胡健斌) is a PhD graduate of the University of Bonn and part-time lecturer at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong.

The first draft of this paper was presented at the 12th International Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: Chinese Christianities in Big Eras, jointly organized by the Society for the Study of History of Christianity in China, the Centre for Sino-Christian Studies of the Hong Kong Baptist University, the Christianity and Chinese Culture Research Centre of the Alliance Bible Seminary, and the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture in August 2021, Hong Kong.

Keywords: Rhenish Mission Society, German missionaries, Wong Him-yue, Chinese Christianity

在十九世紀，德國的萊茵差會來華傳道，專向操粵語本地人傳教。德國宣教士以本地同工為輔，並着力培訓華人領袖。本文重點乃在於王元深的次嗣王謙如牧師，探討他的德國淵源，闡述他成功師承德國宣教士的教導，反映他與德國同工之間的合作和貢獻。

關鍵詞：萊茵差會、德國宣教士、王謙如、中國基督教

引言

在十九世紀，德國萊茵差會（中譯「禮賢會」）來華傳道，專向操粵語本地人傳教，嘗得力於華人傳道。德國宣教士以本地同工為輔，並着力培訓華人領袖，而王元深父子三人，則為禮賢會出身而投身於教會服事的佼佼者，大家建立了亦師亦友的畢生情誼。本文名為「禮賢車騎」，[1] 重點乃在於王元深的次嗣王謙如牧師，探討他的德國淵源，闡述他成功師承德國宣教士的教導，反映他與德國同工之間的合作和貢獻。[2] 有別於詳細整理這位著名牧師的生平，本文將會從王謙如的生平整理出他如何受益於德國牧師的教導，以及他與眾傳教士牧師的關係。本文特別取材自一些原始德文資料，先略述王牧師的生平，並透過研讀他早年的信仰立志經歷，再探究他如何與傳教士牧師同工，一起在前線與後勤事業中傳播福音，最

[1]「車騎（將軍）」乃漢代高級將領軍階，位比三公，地位僅次於「大將軍」與「驃騎將軍」。禮賢會潘樂山牧師特仿效列王記下 2:12：「我父乎、我父乎、以色列的車騎也」，比喻王謙如牧師之死的婉惜，原文是「夫子乎、夫子乎、禮賢會之車騎也」，語出潘樂山：〈王謙如牧師傳——鐵肩擔道，辣手著文，丰姿超逸，卓爾不群〉，載王誌潔：《廣東省東莞縣虎門鎮上官涌王氏家傳》（出版資料不詳，2005），14；原稿載於《中西教會報》15.4/總第 188 期（1908 年 1 月）：頁數不詳。

[2] 吳孟軒(Albert Wu)嘗作“Ernst Faber and the Consequences of Failure: A Study of a Nineteenth-Century German Missionary in China,” *Central European History* (2014): 1–29，論述德國傳教士的宣教策略是失敗的，未能承傳云云；筆者未能苟同，本文將以王謙如的事蹟澄清他們是成功的。

後再回顧他接受按立的細節，以求還原當時各人的片言隻字，窺見王謙如牧師除了投入事工之外，與各人的感情連結。

一、王謙如牧師生平略述

王謙如(1846–1907)，本名沾能，[3] 字炳堃，號謙如，東莞官涌鄉人。[4] 據他自己的蒙召見證，他出生於 1846 年，而後輩的麥梅生長老與潘樂山牧師則記載他生於「禮賢會來莞之年」即是 1847 年，[5] 故筆者推斷當以前者為準。誠然王氏昆仲二人，兄長煜初是後世景仰的香江名牧，倘若翻查早年追隨基督的學習經驗與歷練，則弟弟謙如所顯出的謙遜與忠心，早已備受德國牧師讚揚。自 1860 年，王謙如與王煜初同在西鄉學道於禮賢會首位來華宣教士葉納清牧師(Rev. Ferdinand Traugott Karl Genähr, 1823–1864)。[6] 翌年，葉納清

---

[3] 筆者按，此為德文文獻稱呼他為「阿能」(*Anang*)之原委。

[4] 參麥梅生：〈王謙如牧師傳略〉，載羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》（香港：禮賢會香港區會，1965），131。

[5] 同上註；另潘樂山：〈王謙如牧師傳〉，《德華朔望報》1.1（1908 年 1 月 15 日）：23。

[6] 羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，64–65、85。葉納清牧師(Rev. Ferdinand Genähr, 1823–1864)娶巴色會黎力基牧師之妹為妻，育子道勝(Immanuel Gottlieb)、樂善(Paul)、惠憐(Ferdinand)三人，女兒名可愛(Hanna)。於 1864 年，葉牧師因染霍亂，與子承德和承安，同病歿於歸善荷坳安息，寡婦遺孤返回德國。1867 年，師母改嫁同會公孫惠牧師(Rev. Adam Krolczyk, 1826–1872)，長子道勝於 1882 年再度來華，後為中國的禮賢會總牧，並於任內建立禮賢會香港堂和九龍堂，與王謙如牧師共事多年。女兒則於 1889 年嫁予該會傳教士茂嘉禮牧師。參王謙如撰、麥梅生校：〈葉納清牧師之懿行〉，《興華報》第 17 年第 27 冊（1920 年 7 月 14 日），2018 年 11 月 2 日瀏覽，https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hant/%E8%91%89%E7%B4%8D%E6%B8%85%E7%89%A7%E5%B8%AB%E4%B9%8B%E6%87%BF%E8%A1%8C；此稿修訂自王炳堃（王謙如）：〈葉牧師行述〉，《萬國公報》第 8 年 362 卷（1875 月 11 月 27 日）：325a–328b。另參 Wilhelm Kempgen, *Manüskript Kempgen: Immanuel Genähr* [*Väter* (sic) *der Rheinischen Mission*], 1964 A/W 83 Nr. 1.438；又羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，184。

牧師語其父王元深：「謙如可讀書，煜初性情愚惰」，[7] 王謙如是早被認定更有「恩賜」實學為主所用。[8]

其實，他的才華早在未受按立前已見端倪。他是後來享負盛名的漢學家花之安牧師(Rev. Dr. Ernst Faber, 1839–1899)的中文老師，[9] 協助修飾花氏著作和作序。[10] 他又嘗獨自著作名篇，神學論述有〈徽號議〉為最，詳細闡釋古典對上帝聖號的認知，又博引基督教各來華宗派以致華裔信徒的選擇；[11] 另兩篇人物傳記刊於《萬國公報》，即〈李允明先生傳〉[12] 和〈送花之安牧師歸國序〉，[13] 還有後來麥梅生校對遺稿出版的〈葉納清牧師之懿行〉，均展現出他的語文造詣。葉道勝牧師(Rev. Immanuel Genähr, 1856–1929)在《德華朔望報》對王謙如的學養推崇備至；王謙如著作甚豐，亦可佐證，據麥梅生所記，王謙如著有《宅墓詮真》、《真理課選》、

---

[7] 王元深：〈歷艱明證記〉，《德華朔望報》1.9（1908 年 4 月 15 日）；此處轉自羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，51。

[8] Wilhelm Dietrich, *Züge aus der Missionsarbeit in China*, Rhenische Missions-Traktate 47 (Barmen: Verlag des Missionshauses, 1895), 15.

[9] 花之安牧師(Rev. Dr. Ernst Faber, 1839–1899)為禮賢會來華傳教士，1865 年到香港，旋即往內陸傳道，改變早年禮賢會隨到隨傳的策略，建立穩固的福音據點，任內訓練多位後來在該會舉足輕重的牧者，王謙如便是得意門生之一。1880 年，由於母會與小巴陵會合併之後，前線原屬禮賢會同工與本屬小巴陵會同工在神學觀點上產生磨擦，花之安遂與其他幾位同工離開禮賢會，並於 1885 年改隸同善會，並前往上海以文字事工傳教。一生著述甚豐，有中文、德文、英文著作，其中《自西徂東》和《馬可講義》最為華人教會熟悉，被譽為當代最有造詣的漢學家。參 Wu Kin-pan, “Short Biography of Ernst Faber,” Deutsche Ostasien Mission, accessed May 27, 2022, https://doam.org/ueber-uns/aepm/aepm-missionare-u-a/3687-ernst-faber-kurze-biografie; Wu Kin-pan, “The Early Accommodation of German Sacramental Theology in China: with Reference to Confession, Translation and Commentary through the Rhenish Missionaries,” *Ching Feng* 19.1–2 (2020): 71–96; Wu Kin-pan, *Thy Kingdom Come: Rev. Dr. Ernst Faber's* (*Hua Zhi'an, 1839–1899*) *Intercultural-missionary Vision of Chinese Spirituality*, Edition Cathay 79 (Bochum/Freiburg: Projekt Verlag, 2022).

[10] 參李志剛：〈王謙如〉，載《香港教會人物傳——香港華人基督教聯會百周年誌慶系列(1915–2015)》，李金強編（香港：華人基督教聯會，2014），135–36。

[11] 王炳堃（王謙如）：〈徽號議〉，《萬國公報》第 10 年 455 卷（1877 年 9 月 15 日）：325a–328b。

[12] 王炳堃（王謙如）：〈李允明先生傳〉，《萬國公報》第 8 年 373 卷（1876 年 2 月 5 日）：320a–b。

[13] 王炳堃（王謙如）：〈送花之安牧師歸國序〉，《萬國公報》第 9 年 421 卷（1877 年 1 月 6 日）：320a–b。

《三教度針〔箴〕》、《耶儒月旦》、《道原集》等，皆已全書刊行出版；而他按葉納清牧師的神學課堂筆記而編寫的《雅各講義》，[14] 則有一半刊於《真光報》，還有《福音講義》未有付梓。[15] 至於其他多篇著作，可參李志剛牧師的介紹以及王誌潔列出的書目，本文暫且不贅。[16]

早已接受孩童洗禮的王謙如，據悉在 1863 年時年十八歲奉行堅信禮，葉納清牧師請他在會眾中，自擇聖經金句數則，朗讀於人前以認信，他選取了加拉太書 5:23–25，以宣認「若夫神之結實，仁愛喜樂和平忍耐慈祥良善忠信溫柔操節，為此者非法所能禁，宗基督者滅吾身之情慾，釁釘之十字架，我儕稟神，而生必依神而行。」至此，他自稱感受到聖靈的感化，委身信仰。[17] 1864 年，葉納清牧師因病辭世，王謙如深受打擊，據其葉牧行略時道：「公懸弧辰，門人歌詩三首爲公壽，後知皆爲日耳曼虞殯詩」，顯示他回想葉牧師之壽宴，似是預示了葉牧師將要安返天家，感到生命無常之無奈。後來，在葉牧師的安息禮拜中，主領的巴色會韋永福牧師(Rev. Philipp Winnes, 1824–1874)在塋前宣道，使王謙如獲得真正的安慰，成為他「此生不忘的感動」。[18]

1869 年，王謙如與禮賢會第一位殉道者陳長興的三女阿玉（音譯德文 *Ayuk*）成婚，[19] 後育有五男四女，除三子早蔑，分別

---

[14] Immanuel Genähr, *Pastor Wong. Ein Lebensbild aus der China-Mission* (Barmen: Verlag des Missionshauses, 1909), 32.

[15] 參麥梅生：〈王謙如牧師傳略〉，載羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，132；另參潘樂山：〈王謙如牧師傳〉，25。

[16] 參李志剛：〈王謙如〉，134、136；王誌潔：《廣東省東莞縣虎門鎮上官涌王氏家傳》，14。

[17] 潘樂山：〈王謙如牧師傳〉，23。

[18] 筆者譯自原文德文，下同。Dietrich, *Züge aus der Missionsarbeit in China*, 15.

[19] 參麥梅生：〈王謙如牧師傳略〉，載羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，132。按禮賢會的記載考陳長興與莊滿和二君乃福永人，於 1855 年受羅存德委派送書傳道於桂省。途中到達梧州，被誤以為太平天國黨羽遭逮。由於情勢危急，羅存德等不及德領事回粵協助，立即通報英國巴領事促請粵督葉名琛放人，葉督拒絕並立即處死於獄中，是為基督教來華首兩位因傳教而殉道者。參羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，12–13；關於王謙如妻子的名字，另參 Ernst Faber, "Bericht aus Fumun," *BRMG* (1870): 236; Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 22. 當然，筆者不得不承認，各家對來華首位殉道者是誰，確有不同

為澤民、泰民、福民、吉民四位哲嗣，以及繡心、清蓮、碧蓮、映蓮四位千金，後嗣繁衍，人才輩出。[20] 長子澤民生於 1870 年，[21] 查澤民又名世恩，乃孫中山在香港西醫書院的同窗好友，孫與王兩人分別在同學關景良醫生的結婚證書上簽字作見證；[22] 幼子吉民乃首屈一指的醫療史專家，嘗與伍連德合著《中華醫史》，於 1928 年出版。[23]

1864 年，王謙如與其兄長煜初在福永唸畢神學，同受以「傳道」之職，[24] 於是開始其長達四十三年的牧職生涯，至 1907 年遽逝於任上。按葉道勝牧師及麥梅生的記載，他的離世原因是積勞成疾。1907 年 10 月 31 日，王謙如突然因食螃蟹患上急性闌尾炎，送往何妙齡醫院醫治，他在手術後，「刮出枯皮一片，詎因氣弱，息勞於是夜八時」，而令葉道勝至為感動者，乃他於得病前兩日還在第一街福音堂的佈道會中講道，還在女書院教學等，可謂至死忠心。[25] 他的喪禮備極哀榮，出殯當日，由葉道勝在巴陵育嬰院的聖堂以詩篇 39:8–10 證道，在送葬至華人墳場後，則由倫敦會的皮堯士牧師(Rev. P. W. Pearce, 1854–1938)主領和慰勉，場面感人。[26]

說法，定義也有所不同，有人認為是蔡高、有人認為是車錦江。參簡又文：《中國基督教的開山事業》（香港：基督教輔橋出版社，1956），40–43。

[20] 麥梅生：〈王謙如牧師傳略〉，133。

[21] 同上註。

[22] 浩然：〈國父老友關景良醫生（三）〉，《基督教週報》第 2053 期（2012 年 8 月 12 日）：5。

[23] 李志剛：〈王謙如〉，載《香港教會人物傳——香港華人基督教聯會百周年誌慶系列(1915–2015)》，李金強編（香港：華人基督教聯會，2014），136；有關王吉民的出身和貢獻，參 Lili Wang, "Wang Jimin（王吉民）and *History of Chinese Medicine*（《中國醫史》）," *Chinese Medicine and Culture* 2, no. 1 (2019): 26–28.

[24] 王元深：〈附王元深自傳——歷艱明證記〉，轉自羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，120。

[25] 麥梅生：〈王謙如牧師傳略〉，131–32；Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 30.

[26] Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 30–31.

二、明道重生：早年的信仰立志

王謙如早年的信仰根基，除了家庭承傳外，更得見於德國宣教士的造就。王謙如自小在基督教家庭成長，早受到父親王元深的家教、身教、言教所薰陶。王元深為二位公子有日能服事上帝，終身禱告不斷。[27] 王謙如六歲至十歲時隨父居住，父親常常敦促他要遵守上帝聖道。就是在他長大後，父親每一次寄來家書，仍不厭其煩地敦促其「敬畏上帝和忠於呼召」。[28] 在歷年事奉以及屬靈成長中，王謙如分別受學於禮賢會傳教士葉納清牧師、公孫惠牧師、呂威廉牧師(Rev. Christian Wilhelm Louis, 1824–1882)、花之安牧師、鐵威臨牧師(Rev. Wilhelm Dietrich, 1848–1897)、葉道勝牧師和葛理察牧師(Rev. Richard Gottschalk, 1855–1935)，其與眾德國牧師的關係情同手足。[29] 誠如潘樂山牧師所言：「凡西人牧師同事者，耳聞者，無不敬重之。」本文會在此部分論述王謙如早年如何立志，接受裝備，以及他與傳教士的互動。

1861 年，王謙如十六歲的時候，隨葉納清走到荷拗，由於葉牧師講道內容「宣道有神力入人。嘗令聽者流涕」，[30] 他自小啟發自葉牧師的屬靈聖範與學養，在其記憶中謂「公亦自通中土典籍，與人辯道，援引經史」，[31] 又銘感葉牧師知遇之恩謂：「炳堃幸列門牆，知公頗悉」，[32] 可見師徒關係之深厚。王謙如在接受按立時憶述，過去聽到葉納清講道時的反應：

> 當我想起每個主日，葉納清都會講關於悔改與回轉的道，都會立即敲響我心靈的激盪，我學習到自己是一個罪人，仍然

---

[27] Dietrich, *Züge aus der Missionsarbeit in China*, 14–15.

[28] Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 8.

[29] 麥梅生：〈王謙如牧師傳略〉131–32。

[30] 王謙如撰、麥梅生校：〈葉納清牧師之懿行〉。

[31] 同上。

[32] 同上。

> 會在真正的悔改上犯錯。在聽道後，我這種情感激盪往往更大，直至我在座椅上，藉禱告和恩典的眼淚，找到了寬恕為止。隨即，我會確定地決意全心服事上帝。[33]

就這樣，王謙如開展了他立志忠心傳道的一生。可是不久，葉納清因照顧疫病患者，感染疾病而「口不能言，以手舉上者再，竟爾溘逝」。[34] 葉納清在臨終時，特地呼喚王昆仲到病榻前陪伴，寄語遺言。後來王氏兄弟親手挖掘葉納清以及他同時病歿兒子的墳塋。[35] 葉納清撒手塵寰，對王謙如打擊甚大，幸他很快就遇見另一位伯樂——花之安牧師。

1866 年，王謙如隨花之安牧師於虎門傳道。他與花之安情誼深厚，花牧師向總會匯報時，嘗給予王謙如極高評價：

> 阿能在虎門已經追隨我三年。〔……〕在眾人之中，相對於〔另一位傳道人〕阿雄而言，他有顯著的成長。他的恩賜不算是極其耀眼，然而他很是受教和勤奮。他最投身於醫學方面的事工。現在，他在這一專科已扎下很好的根基，這樣他就成了我得力的助手。他懂得預備藥膏與膏貼，因此我也不需要浪費時間去檢查。另外，他也會注意藥丸的份量。當病人明顯有輕微症狀時，他能夠不用詢問我就開配出適當的療法。在數月前，他已經學會拔牙。至於那枯燥的眼皮套入手術，他可以完全獨立去完成。〔……〕
>
> 與病人講述福音，自然是常有的機會。阿能在這方面做得很好。以他這青蔥歲月，較少單獨或出外傳道。他仍需要花上十年時間努力以達致爐火純青。因他負責的醫藥工作經常相當繁重，我會在鮮有的空閒餘暇帶領他參與文字工作。

---

[33] 筆者譯自原文德文，下同。Wong Anang, “Lebenslauf des eingeborenen Wong-Anang (January 29, 1884),” *BRMG* (1884): 174–75; Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 11.

[34] 王謙如撰、麥梅生校：〈葉納清牧師之懿行〉。

[35] Immanuel Genähr, “The Life-story of Pastor Wong Yuk-Cho,” *Chinese Recorder* (1904): 397.

> 其中，部分摘自中文，部分來自基督教文學作品。至於其他華人，他們極為喜愛阿能。[36]

從花之安以上描述可見，王謙如的人格或能力都無庸置疑地在不同群體中獲得肯定，對信徒或福音慕道者而言，他都頗具魅力。吳孟軒(Albert Monshan Wu)認為德國牧師的傳教方案是失敗的，花之安未能訓練華人信徒繼承傳福音的方略；更甚者，吳認為花之安當時未懂語言，未諳中文，未能傳道。[37] 他特別標註王謙如是花之安的得力助手，若無王氏協助將客家語講道翻譯為文字，則不會有名著《馬可講義》的出現。[38] 然而，這說法似乎與事實不符。吳氏以為花之安以客家話講道已為誤筆（筆者按：實應為粵語），另花氏於《馬可講義》題辭明言，自 1867 年起連年不斷以馬可福音「按經次第，逢安息日講一段」，而王謙如則於 1868 年，受命「筆述」。[39] 若花牧師不懂粵語中文，如何能每周傳講信息？更遑論當中確有明白而筆錄者如王謙如。如果以王謙如作為其中一位接受花之安訓練，而成功令禮賢會延續下來者，則見吳孟軒的「失敗」立論未必成立。[40]

觀乎王謙如對花之安在學識與牧養上的提攜與訓練，一直滿戴感恩之情。他在〈送花之安牧師歸國序〉中，絲毫不吝讚嘆這位屬靈師傅。對花之安牧師之才學，王謙如仰慕至極，他嘗博古徵今地禮讚花之安「以關西夫子，作粵東之經師，搜奇書於秦漢以前，倡絕學於宋唐以後，出經入史」。[41]

1880 年前後，縱然王謙如經歷「花之安事件」，在恩師花之安與母會不合後，仍感念花之安。事緣早於一八七零年代，母會與

---

[36] 筆者譯自原文德文，下同。Ernst Faber, "Bericht aus Fumun," *Berichte der Rhenischen Missions-Gesellschaft* [*BRMG*] (1870): 236.

[37] 參 Albert Wu, "Ernst Faber and the Consequences of Failure," *Central European History* (2014): 11–13.

[38] Ibid, 12–13.

[39] 花之安：〈馬可講義題辭〉，載花之安：《馬可講義》，全 5 卷（廣州：真寶堂書局，光緒元年〔1874–1875〕），1a–1b。

[40] Wu, *Thy Kingdom Come*, 258*ff.*

[41] 王炳堃（王謙如）：〈送花之安牧師歸國序〉，293。

小巴陵會合併，母會總監花必烈(Rev. Dr. Friedrich Gotthard Karl Ernst Fabri, 1824–1891)欲推行殖民主義式的宣教策略，希望與統一後的普魯士帝國建立密切關係，[42] 遂委任原屬小巴陵會在廣東的何必烈牧師(Rev. Friedrich Gottfried Hubrig, 1840–1892)擔任在華禮賢會監督。何必烈在宣教站強推信義宗信條主義(Lutheran Confessionalism)政策，拋棄宣教區常見的彈性策略，並致力反對一切對外的聯繫。可是，原屬禮賢會最資深的花之安與列安察(Rev. Ernst Reinhard Eichler, 1849–?)、戴惠霖(Rev. Heinrich Wilhelm Dilthey, 1843–1882)和潘嘉恩(Rev. August Blankenagel, 1845–1925)，卻主張宣教站應該更有彈性和實用性，以適切本土文化，並一直與外會友好合作。由於花之安資歷最深，亦頗具名望，故代表各原屬禮賢會宣教士與母會陳情周旋，多次往來信函表達前線同工不滿。最後，眾人在 1880 年的母會大會對這個爭論投票作結，當時投票只有兩個選項：一、着母會總監花必烈離職：蓋因其策略錯誤，未能協調宣教站的爭議；二、着花之安離職：蓋因其帶領前線宣教士反對監督以及母會決定。結果通過花之安需要離職，另幾位也與他一起辭職，而小巴陵會則離開萊茵差會體系，何必烈改隸新近成立的巴陵會，母會總監花必烈則在約滿後不獲續約，禮賢會幾乎停止中國事工。[43] 大變之後，原本華人同工有歸巴陵會（如粵西的胡燮菴牧師），有歸巴色會（如粵北的陳觀海牧師），惟由於王謙如主要在原禮賢會宣教站中，操粵語族群的東莞一帶事奉，故仍然歸屬禮賢會。他在預備接受按立為牧師時，提交生平敘事，字裏行間毫不掩

---

[42] 花必烈在 1857 至 1884 年間，在德國萊茵差會擔任總監，任內推行其稱為「上帝國度」(*Gottes Reich*)的神學，認為差會應該配合德國政府實踐殖民主義，後來被當時的德國學界稱為「德意志殖民主義之父」；他在「花之安事件」後，不獲續約而離開萊茵差會。參 Wu, *Thy Kingdom Come*, 25–26.

[43] 筆者嘗翻閱與「花之安事件」相關的德國聯合差會檔案，包含決議、陳情、信函、報道等，共計 410 頁，在此不贅。事件詳情參 Wu, *Thy Kingdom Come*, 33*ff*；另何必烈在事件中的角色，參 Wu Kin-pan（胡健斌）, "A Discussion of Ernst Faber's Criticism of the Jesuit Missionaries in China," in *minima sinica: Zeitschrift zum chinesischen Geist* [Xiuzhen Hanxue 袖珍漢學] 29.1 (2017): 39–40. 事件始末的原始資料，存檔於德國聯合福音差會的檔案館，名為"Faber-Akten [zus. gestellt von Insp. Kriele, zum Konflikt zwischen den China-Missionaren Faber, Dilthey, Blankenagel u. Eichler u. der RMG/Insp. Fabri] - Protokollauszüge, Korrespondenz, Rundschreiben, Resolutionen," Nr. 3.087, Archive of United Evangelical Mission, Wuppertal-Barmen.

藏與已離開禮賢會的花之安之間的情誼，提到恩師對他的屬靈栽培，造就他的事奉經驗云云。對王謙如而言，向花之安學習以及和他一起工作，也是王謙如最喜愛的事奉時刻。他描述在虎門與花牧師合作的日子：

> 我又在這裏陪伴宣教士〔筆者按：花之安〕巡行佈道，另外差不多一半時間跟隨他著作書籍。這些工作讓我非常喜樂，而且我獲得更多機會進一步裝備自己，以及完善自己在基督教的教導和西學知識，當然也完善了我自己民族古典智慧的著作。[44]

相對於同篇中描述他曾參予的其他工作，他明顯地表露出對花之安感戴之情。而王謙如更向其時的葉道勝明確指出，他在三十年前跟隨花之安所學所寫的福音書籍，並沒有白費功夫，蓋知昔日他倆猶如「傳道者在曠野的聲音，現在已經翻轉了。這些篇章已經完成了，舊日的科舉考試制度已經取消，新的西式教育院校已經成功建立了。」由此可見，他心底是多麼惦念與花之安合作期間的文字事工成果。[45]

由於王謙如在跟隨花之安期間嘗參予文字聖工，其神學造詣可謂禮賢會諸位華人牧者先輩中至為深厚者。一八六零至七零年代，在花之安的鼓勵與啟發下，王謙如協助了花之安寫作《馬可講義》、《德國學校論略》、《自西徂東》等名作。[46] 期間王謙如博覽群書，不斷學習寫作，與深入的神學研究和信仰對話，上文提及的〈徽號議〉就是在這個時期完成，其中有關上帝聖號該以「上帝」論者，可見其旁徵博引之用心。連葉道勝也特別推崇他在這方面的努力。[47] 故此，1886 年他與葉道勝在虎門駐紮時，葉道勝已經因着王謙如對屬靈教理的堅持與熱忱，感到非常鼓舞而讓他多在

---

[44] 筆者譯自原文德文，下同。Wong Anang, "Lebenslauf des eingeborenen Wong-Anang (January 29, 1884)," *BRMG* (1884): 176.

[45] 筆者譯自原文德文。Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 31.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

學校裏充任教導之職。[48] 1902 年，禮賢會修訂葉道勝及茂嘉禮在 1899 年所編定的《會准》時，王謙如被委任與葉道勝一起進行。[49]

王謙如對信仰非常堅持，並鄙視舊俗，可於他受族人逼迫時之態度佐證。據王元深在〈歷艱明證記〉憶述，王謙如於 1870 年得一子，原按本鄉俗例須於年宵節在祠堂添燈設宴款待親朋，否則威脅革除入教父子宗籍，然王謙如堅拒退讓，故王元深為息事寧人，經調解後允付款三大元用以設宴，惟絕不贊助其他祠堂花燈，這頓成往後進教之人援引的先例。[50]

王謙如又對社會秉持關愛之心，在禮賢會內一直擔任「禮賢老弱孤寡會」副會長，直至逝世於任內。[51] 事實上，王謙如對華人吸食鴉片特別心生厭惡。他不但以孔門學子吸食鴉片作為諷刺，[52] 更著作了〈擬閱英東力除鴉片貿易會告白論〉[53] 和〈擬鄉禁吸食洋煙策（廣東來稿）〉[54] 兩篇，力陳鴉片之禍害。筆者認為這些對鴉片的理解，與早年花之安牧師的教導息息相關，在兩人同工期間獲得啟蒙。花之安早於 1867 年在虎門時，因見華人終日吸食鴉片而心裏憂愁：

> 我們〔認識〕有些吸食鴉片者聚在隔壁，旁邊還有幾位中國人賭博。吸食鴉片者多數吸食不斷至通宵達旦。鴉片與賭博是在華傳教的重要敵人。〔……〕有吸食鴉片者如果要成為虔誠信徒是困難的。誠然，在上帝凡事都能，而我也曾經聽過詳細故事，這樣的人也會回轉。然而，他隨後必須洞悉自己的過去與將來，特別是當他仍然有漫長人生之路。然而，

---

[48] Ibid, 27.

[49] 羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，42。

[50] 王元深：〈附王元深自傳——歷艱明證記〉，124。

[51] 羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，42。

[52] Dietrich, “von der neuen Station Tungkun (China),” 19.

[53] 王謙如：〈擬閱英東力除鴉片貿易會告白論〉，《萬國公報》第 10 年 454 卷（1877 年 9 月 8 日）：43b-44b。

[54] 王謙如：〈擬鄉禁吸食洋煙策（廣東來稿）〉，《萬國公報》第 10 年 455 卷（1877 年 9 月 15 日）：61a-b。

> 透過認識上帝的恩典，就像星星之火一樣，讓眾多吸食鴉片者被拯救。[55]

而花之安更認為這兩項「肉身的罪」是人們根深蒂固的日常興趣。[56] 因此，王謙如在師承花之安訓練之下，面對中國人的吸食大煙惡習，自然不能容忍，望除之而後快。

以上所論，乃王謙如早年的信仰造就經歷，當中他與葉納清和花之安的互動，都深刻地影響了他往後的盡忠服事。

三、開荒能手：打開福音之門

王謙如對開荒傳道，常抱着熱情熱忱，「經常徒步遠至數十里鄉村播道，刻苦耐勞的愛心，常為各地鄉民所感動。」[57] 1878 年他在東莞新圍設立教會，估計後來由於「花之安事件」的影響，禮賢會集中資源，故王謙如遷居福永繼續聖工，及至 1885 年奉派到莞城文順坊，購荒地數畝，建築聖堂，使莞城的禮賢會福音堂重新開基成長。[58] 從 1885 至 1894 年，王謙如大部分時間都在東莞一帶傳道，建立教堂。葉道勝回憶，在這段時期，王謙如對自己所確信的福音更加堅貞，對服事的工作有更大的滿足感。[59] 葉認為有王謙如一起同工傳道，禮賢會可以大開東莞「福音之門」，因為王謙如享受四處傳揚福音，他日常與人談道的習慣成為教會發展的動力，鐵威臨更因此訂定了一個詳細計畫，希望藉着發揮王謙如的恩賜，趕緊在周圍迅速建立教堂與醫院。[60] 及至 1895 年 6 月，逕貝鄉紳羅龍驤因在莞城與王謙如相聚談道，邀請教會人士入村傳道，王謙如

---

[55] 筆者譯自原文德文。Ernst Faber, "Aus China," *BRMG* (1867): 259.

[56] Ernst Faber, "Bericht aus Fumun," *BRMG* (1870): 229.

[57] 李志剛：〈王謙如〉，134。

[58] 羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，34–35。

[59] Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 23.

[60] Ibid, 24.

立即答允，並與傳教士牧師鐵威臨往之，當時聽道者有百餘人，多人歸主，再開該村福音之始。[61]

1896 年，王謙如調往東莞塘頭廈耶山的神道學校任教，[62] 隨即再調往虎門太平，正式與葉道勝同工。當時，虎門是禮賢會在華其中一個重要基地，花之安早年用多年時間建立。後來由於缺乏華人牧者參予牧養，當地教會求才若渴，曾在當地夥拍過花牧師的王謙如歸來，實在是當地教會重新發展的好時機。職是之故，葉道勝與王謙如籌備建立當地的「納清紀念堂」，以慶祝禮賢會來華五十周年，並於 1898 年完成。[63] 跟其他傳教士一樣，葉道勝體會到與王謙如合作的喜樂。

1898 年，王謙如因病遷居香港，適逢禮賢母會購得般含道 82 號樓房為宣教士療養之所，王謙如深感旅港禮賢會會眾未有教會生活，遂與來港休養的葛理察牧師商議，設立香港堂，葛牧師認為可行，於是王謙如召集十數家庭，[64] 名錄大約共有七十多人，在同年九月十日舉行首次崇拜，[65] 是作禮賢會在香港開基之始。

1902 年，王謙如獲香山石岐聖公會的梁權邀請，到該鎮開立教會，梁更願意捐出位處西廟牛角巷的住所作為傳道之用，故福音事工得以開展；[66] 隨後又於 1906 至 1907 年，與傳教士牧師理宣崇 (Rev. Heinrich Rieke, 1869–1931)開展順德大良的事工。[67]

鐵威臨回憶，在他灰心喪志又擔驚受怕的時候，王謙如的心志鼓勵了他。鐵威臨稱王謙如為「同工」（*College*〔今德語作“Kollege”〕），而不是「助手」（*Gehülfe*〔今德語作“Gehilfe”〕）。王謙如曾對鐵威臨說：

---

[61] 羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，64–65。

[62] 該神道學校在 1894 年從東莞遷往耶山，茂嘉禮、理宣崇、戴永和等傳教士牧師相繼任教於此，然 1900 年，該校重回東莞。羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，57–58。

[63] Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 26–28.

[64] 羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，4–5。

[65] Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 29.

[66] 羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，76–77。

[67] 同上，77–79。

> 我們仍有許多理由為此感恩，因為上主給予我們新據點，且是上佳的機會，也是打開的門戶。〔……〕因此，我們不需要憂慮，反而更當歡喜，因為我們被允許將好種子豐富的撒下了，我們被允許因上主而致力於成長與結果的事工。[68]

這段說話對鐵威臨仿如天降甘霖，讓他茅塞頓開，從心底裏得到支持自己的力量，更加確信上帝有他的時間表，而上帝撒下「大能的種子」(*Samen mit Macht*)，將會成就「奇妙恩典」(*Wunder der Gnade*)。[69] 從當年的記錄看來，王謙如與諸位傳教士牧師合作無間。鐵威臨嘗記下當時與王謙如合作舉辦佈道會的狀況：

> 主日快到十一點，通常最早的人抵達早已經開放的小聖堂，或是進入客房位置。接着，準時十一點會敲響我們的小鐘，然後我多數會在我們的長廊以小號吹奏樂章，用以提醒鄰居以及較早前抵達的會眾，講道快要開始。跟着，通常會由阿能（謙如）首先演講，選取一段聖經，當中包含救恩真理，以辯斥異教所理解的智慧，再總結以上帝救贖恩典，該如何被中國人所披戴的提示，然後他清晰並誠心的邀請他們決定〔接受〕這個施予的恩典。這個演講通常約四分之三小時。〔……〕在我又演講大約四分之三小時之後，我們安排自己走進人群，嘗試並引發有關課題的對話，又或者以另一演說作為速修班，其中阿能和我多數會一起演講，這對於參與者是非常有用的一部分。[70]

由是觀之，當時鐵威臨的佈道會幾乎每周進行，王謙如與他一起同心協力，造就不少機會與發展。不但如此，王謙如很喜歡向人釐清信仰，進行栽培。在每個主日崇拜後的下午，多數會舉行給異教徒的聚會，王謙如負責唱詩、祈禱開始和結束，期間會解答大家的信仰問題。王更會與鐵威臨討論向異教徒傳福音時，該怎樣以中國人的角度說明基督教與其他宗教的分別，王認為基督教與佛教

---

[68] 筆者譯自原文德文。Wilhelm Dietrich, "von der neuen Station Tungkun (China)," *BRMG* (1887): 13.

[69] 筆者譯自原文德文。Ibid, 13.

[70] Ibid, 14.

或儒教是否「係一樣」(*hei yat yöung*)有討論的空間，特別在佛陀是否「救主」(*Erlöser*)和儒家的「道德」(*Moral*)方面，王以為兩個宗教的核心信仰，在基督教本色化傳播中可被理解作「係一樣」，但一定要小心向異教徒澄清，因為王認為這個核心，一般只在有識之士中流傳而獲得準確認知，而普羅大眾就只會誤入歧途。[71] 情況有如孔子如果在世，看見清末的儒家學子，只是在「頭腦」(*Kopfer*)和「口舌」(*Munde*)上追隨孔子，而沒有實質的生命「更新」(*Wandel*)，孔子將會流下「羞愧的眼淚」（*Scham Thränen*〔今德語作"Scham Tränen"〕）。[72]

鐵威臨與王謙如另一次有意義的神學討論，是關於如何看待在中國的聖堂中設置聖像。素知德國基督教傳統，按信義宗的奧格斯堡信條而論，從來沒有禁止教堂內安放聖像。然而，王謙如告訴鐵威臨，絕對不能對華人用聖像或聖畫來介紹信仰，因為以華人的傳統宗教見解，他們只會看作「人而神化」(*Menschenvergötterung*)或「自我榮耀」(*Selbstverherrlichung*)，最後華人因不明箇中道理，以致在聖像畫前失落了對上帝應有的「敬畏」(*Ehrfurcht*)。[73] 王謙如以本土人的觀點與一位來華的德國傳教士討論，每次都給這位傳教士帶來新的亮光。

1897 年，禮賢會為紀念來華五十周年，遂由王謙如在虎門太平購地，以建成「納清紀念堂」。1898 年，葉道勝與王謙如寓居於此，主理堂務；是夏，兩位牧師於咸西村傳道，多人歸主，其中一人為後於教會與社會皆享負盛名的麥梅生長老。[74] 據葉道勝憶述當地福音工作的開展，正是因為王謙如在每個主日下午多數會往咸西傳道，於是「很迅速打開了福音站入口大門」。[75]

---

[71] Ibid, 15–16.

[72] Ibid, 19.

[73] Ibid, 17.

[74] 羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，22。

[75] Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 29.

由是觀之，王謙如「手立聖會者幾近十處」，[76] 對傳福音的熱誠，對辯道護教的堅持，加上他全心投入四處奔走，實在使禮賢會在操廣府話地區得以壯大。

四、眾望所歸：王謙如的按立

話說回來，筆者得要參詳王謙如的按牧記載，從中發現王謙如頗受各位傳教士牧師愛戴，按立牧師是眾望所歸。在後來的德國金樸堅牧師眼中，他是「首位禮賢會按立的〔華人〕牧師」。[77] 追溯在 1880 年發生「花之安事件」前，禮賢會曾按立兩位牧師，一位為在德國巴勉城按立的信義宗陳觀海牧師，另一位則是在華與小巴陵會合併時期的胡燮菴牧師，然在「花之安事件」之後，兩位分別借調或歸屬於巴色會和小巴陵會，禮賢會幾乎關閉在華事工，王謙如的按立遂被視為首位禮賢會華人牧師。1880 年後，王謙如仍協力維持大局，恪守本份，在母會調派的人力物力非常短缺下，持續牧養分散各處並失去教會的禮賢會會眾。及至約 1882 年，葉納清之子葉道勝來華，神道學校在福永重新開辦，葉牧師邀請王謙如協理教務。[78] 1883 年，一間在香港的自理教會希望延聘他為首位華人傳道，葉道勝不諱言由於愛惜王的恩賜才幹，教會拒絕了王的辭任申請。[79] 有關文獻沒有明確說明當時是哪間教堂延請，惟筆者相信很有可能是倫敦會建立的香港華人自理會道濟會堂，這推斷與該堂所記載的一點德國淵源有關，因經過「花之安事件」，艾力槎牧師與潘嘉恩牧師也加入了該會，而花之安本人更在該會的建成擔任相當角色，在後來王煜初受聘牧師時，

---

[76] 參麥梅生：〈王謙如牧師傳略〉，132。

[77] Kempgen, *Manüskript Kempgen: Immanuel Genähr*, 13.

[78] 羅彥彬：《中華基督教禮賢會在華傳教史(1847–1947)》，85。

[79] Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 19–20.

花之安更擔任崇拜中的講員。[80] 經此事件，禮賢會立即啟動向母會申請按立王謙如為禮賢會牧師的程序。

同時，當鐵威臨調查各處禮賢會堂現況時，也對王謙如作出肯定的評價，深信王是一位「有生命的基督徒」和「信實的雇工」。[81] 鐵威臨更表示王的父親王元深本當於 1877 年接受按立，只是當時謙辭推薦，大家對教會能有一位本土的牧師寄予厚望，故必須提請母會玉成其事，藉以推進禮賢會繼續向本地人傳福音的目標。[82] 1884 年 2 月 17 日（黃曆正月廿七日），王謙如在福永正式被按立為禮賢會的牧師，眾在華德國傳教士一致對母會按立王謙如的決定表示高度讚揚，認為王謙如本就是「勇敢」及「土生土長」的助手，他們感到極為「興奮」。[83]

在接受按立的考核時，葉道勝認為王謙如柔和謙卑的蒙召見證，[84] 加諸與之同工的經驗，可證他是合適人選。[85] 而鐵威臨也上呈給母會，包括王自己所寫的生平記事，[86] 以及其〈悔改與重生〉的德文翻譯文本，[87] 稱道王的見證讓他們讚嘆不已，故他們願意極力推薦他接受按立。最後，在福永正式按立王謙如為禮賢會的牧師時，他們更邀請了巴色會牧師莫恩樂(Georg Morgenroth, 1852–1931)在其中襄禮，以表合一。據記載，當日早上十一點：

---

[80] 參 Anonymous, “Die erste selbstständige Christengemeinde von Chinesen in der Kantonprovinz (China),” *Das Evangelium in China Vereinsblatt: des Pommerschen und des Berliner Hauptvereins fur die evangelische Mission in China* (Stettin: Krummacher) 4.3 (1885): 56–60.

[81] 原文為德語，刊載名字為“Amang”，這是“Anang”之誤植。參 Wilhelm Dietrich, “Einiges über den gegenwärtigen Stand unserer Punti-Mission,” *BRMG* (1883): 212.

[82] 同上註。

[83] “Die Ordination unsers chinesischen Gehilfen Wong-Anang,” *BRMG* (1884): 172.

[84] 蒙召見證的德文版本，參 Wong Anang, “Ansprache des neu ordinierten und eingebornen Missionars Wong Anang bei Gelegenheit seiner Ordination (February 17, 1884),” *BRMG* (1884): 173–74.

[85] “Die Ordination unsers chinesischen Gehilfen Wong-Anang,” 172.

[86] 這個生平的德文版本，參 Wong Anang, “Lebenslauf des eingeborenen Wong-Anang (January 29, 1884),” *BRMG* (1884): 174–77.

[87] 這篇文章的德文版本，參 Wong Anang, “Buße und Wiedergeburt nach der wahrhaften Lehre der heiligen Schrift,” *BRMG* (1884): 177–82.

> 〔各地信徒〕雲集當地教堂，座無虛席。鐵威臨弟兄〔牧師〕以哥林多前書 4:1 開始禮儀，他以此在講道中談及一位教堂傳道人的當負職責，以及如何引領聖會。隨後，在講道後就進行按立典禮，其中鐵威臨弟兄應用了符騰堡教會禮儀書的儀節。除了莫恩樂之外，我〔葉道勝〕也作了見證〔按手〕。這個禮儀進行得莊嚴隆重。最後的禱告由王阿能的父親元老王元〔深〕主領：在這一天，願上帝施恩給大家，特別不要忘記新按立的王阿能弟兄，也常在上帝的祝福中。[88]

誠然，關於王謙如的屬靈生活，筆者相信葉道勝的記述中肯。1882 年，當葉道勝來華的時候，起初就住在王元深家裏，王元深待他情同父子一樣。[89] 他經常聽到王元深講述自跟隨郭士立傳道以來，上帝一直在他身上的恩典，並敘述自己如何在家裏實踐信仰，為兩位公子禱告的故事。[90] 葉甚至認為王謙如在稍後有機會被按立，成為禮賢會重整旗鼓後的首位牧師，也是王元深在家裏屬靈身教的果子。他嘗想起王謙如在他蒙召見證中說過：

> 六至十歲的時候，我由父親教導。他認真地教導我們追求上帝的紀律與訓誡。他常常訓示我們，務要走在上帝之道中。如果他發現我們有壞習慣，他會很嚴厲地懲罰我們。直到今日，他仍是以令人敬畏的嚴父形象對我們，今年我三十七歲，仍然收到他的信件，每一封都訓誡我要敬畏和忠於上帝。[91]

於是，葉道勝在親身接觸王謙如之後，更覺得王的可貴，究竟他曾在該會缺乏傳道人時，盡忠服事上帝聖會，這是「真正從聖靈獲得的更新的心，人們能夠感受這些見證，是由於經歷了自己的體驗。

---

[88] 筆者翻譯自原德文。"Die Ordination unsers chinesischen Gehilfen Wong-Anang," *BRMG* (1884): 172–73.

[89] Wilhelm Kempgen, *Immanuel Genähr* (*Manuskript*), Archive of Barmen Nr. 1.438, A/W 83, 1964, p.13.

[90] Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 7–8.

[91] 筆者翻譯自原文德文，下同。Ibid, 7–8; Wong, "Lebenslauf des eingeborenen Wong-Anang (January 29, 1884)," 175.

在面前的這位中國人，他不只單單滿足於基督教信仰的真理的知識，而且是從心出發。」[92] 再者，在虎門太平一起同工的幾年時間裏，他完全感受到王謙如牧師對投身福音事工的真誠，認為他在當地的工作非常勞累，非常多慕道者走入教堂，希望聆聽福音，而王總是不怕辛勞地把握每個機會教導人「救恩的真理」。反而，葉道勝多番「訓示」他需要多點休息，他卻往往聽不進去，葉驚嘆王謙如「是一個有擔當的男士，面對諸多要求更感精神加倍，無視結果，仍為事情繼續努力至最後。」[93] 正如潘樂山所言「傳道不怠，學而不厭，誨人不倦」。[94] 由於工作太過辛勞，王謙如於 1898 年需要往香港養病，這對葉道勝的太平事工造成沉重打擊。[95] 後來王謙如在香港開基禮賢會堂，卻在 1907 年辭世，葉牧師實在心感婉惜。翌年（1908 年）一月，禮賢年會在東莞舉行，葉牧師特追悼王謙如，並謂「去年在此聚集，今被主召回，我會失此善牧，洵是可惜」，隨後全體與會者起立致敬。[96] 這實在體現了葉道勝對王謙如的信任與愛護有加，而王之生平堪為全會的典範。

結語

總括而言，德國眾傳教士牧師與王謙如合作無間，而他們訓練出來的王牧師（以及父兄一家），實為後世景仰的聖範，故為「禮賢車騎」。本文以王謙如牧師與德國牧師們的互動，簡述了王謙如從年少開始的屬靈成長，繼而探索他與傳教士牧師同工傳道的經驗，再回顧他受按立的歷史。筆者所見的王謙如，不單是一個委身聖工者，在人格與情感上更是為人津津樂道。對於禮賢會來說，王謙如自小已經被揀選栽培，作為未來傳道人的他，他的生命質素使他在

---

[92] Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 19.

[93] Ibid., 27.

[94] 潘樂山：〈王謙如牧師傳〉，《德華朔望報》1.1（1908 年 1 月 15 日）：25。

[95] Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 27–28.

[96]〈教會新聞〉，《德華朔望報》1.4（1908 年 2 月 15 日）：21。

完成神道學後，終身事主，鐵威臨牧師以他為「我們宣教服務上，帶生命力的助手」，他的「忠誠」與「專業」皆值得記載史冊。[97] 不單如此，王謙如牧師的努力也獲得不同差會和會眾的認受，與他情同手足的葉道勝牧師在王死後，發現上海出版的《中西教會報》(*Chinese Christian Review*)在王謙如的遺照下題詞：

> 在不安的肩膀上，他披上聖言；
> 作為領先的作者，他擁有力的手；
> 他有着魅力的面容；
> 他對當代的講論，提升了人們的認知！[98]

可見，他整個事奉歷練相當全面，也為眾人所愛戴，尤其是在眾傳教士牧師眼中，他從小已經獲得極佳評價，實在難能可貴。

---

[97] Dietrich, *Züge aus der Missionsarbeit in China*, 16.

[98] 筆者譯自原德文引文。Genähr, *Pastor Wong*, 29.

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 133–37 (print version)
Published online May 4, 2022; in print December 2022

Tribute to Jean-Paul Wiest

ANTHONY E. CLARK

It is my great honor to offer a few remarks in tribute of Dr. Jean-Paul Wiest who is among the great founders of the field of China Christianity studies. Dr. Wiest is not only a remarkable scholar who has published and spoken widely on the history of Catholicism in China, but also a husband, a father, and a cherished friend to people across the globe. No one is surprised that this tribute is being given to Jean-Paul; it would be remarkable if someone interested in the past and present situation of Christianity in China has not read one or many of Jean-Paul's distinguished publications. As they say, *gongcheng mingjiu* 功成名就—"His success has made him famous!" I should begin by acknowledging that Jean-Paul has been an instrumental voice of advice and support as I have conducted my own research over the decades. I am conscious of an assertion by the great Scottish poet William Drummond (1585–1649), who wrote that, "Iron sharpens iron, a scholar sharpens another scholar." Dr. Wiest's exhaustive knowledge of Christian history in China and his long experience within the Great Wall have meant that countless scholars in China, Europe, and the US have sought his guidance. Shelves of published works by Chinese and

---

Anthony E. CLARK is professor at the Faculty of History, Whitworth University.

The first draft of this tribute was presented at the 12th International Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: Chinese Christianities in Big Eras, jointly organized by the Society for the Study of History of Christianity in China, the Centre for Sino-Christian Studies of the Hong Kong Baptist University, the Christianity and Chinese Culture Research Centre of the Alliance Bible Seminary, and the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture on August 20, 2021, Hong Kong.

non-Chinese scholars have been sharpened by Jean-Paul's influence and mentorship.

Before offering a few remarks about Dr. Wiest's scholarship, I would like to briefly set the context of his long life of service to both the academic community and the Christian community in China. Jean-Paul was born on October 23, 1941, in Toulon, France, during the terrifying years of Nazi occupation in much of his native country. This was a difficult time for France, and Jean-Paul was raised in a family that spoke both French and German. He earned his bachelor's degree in philosophy at L'Université d'Aix-Marseille in Provence, where Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), the French painter, studied law. He then studied theology at Louvain, and finally earned a master and PhD in Chinese history at the University of Washington. His dissertation on the Catholic mission at Guangdong from 1848 to 1885 was signed in 1977 by the respected professor, Robert A. Kapp, though his training there was largely under Winston Hsieh. Knowing that Jean-Paul has degrees in philosophy, theology, and Chinese history, I asked him in a 2020 interview what brought him to his lifelong commitment to the study of Christianity in China. His answer was brief and not unexpected to anyone who knows Dr. Wiest—the great Belgian China missionary, Père Vincent Lebbe (1877–1940). While he humbly refuses to compare himself to Père Lebbe, Jean-Paul is regularly described as a follower and emulator of Lebbe's love for China, Lebbe's love for the Chinese language, and Lebbe's consummate desire to promote an indigenous Church, one that is a culturally and theologically localized expression of the Christian faith. In fact, few scholars might know that when he was a child growing up in France, Jean-Paul appeared in a play by the French playwright, novelist, and poet, Henri Ghéon (1875–1944). The play is entitled *Les Trois Sagesses du vieux Wang*, or "The Three Wisdoms of Old Wang," and the story is about a moment in Père Lebbe's life when a Boxer who had massacred a family during the Boxer Uprising returned to the village where he had committed this atrocity. The Boxer was sorry for what he had done and asked Lebbe to help him apologize to Old Wang, whose family he had killed. Lebbe helped Old Wang to forgive the Boxer, who eventually converted to Christianity. Jean-Paul, who acted in this play, was deeply moved by Lebbe's love for souls and for China. It is this respectful and authentic dialogue between China and the West that defines Dr. Wiest's astonishing life of research and publication on this topic.

While Jean-Paul has worked at and been involved with many institutions, he is most known for his tenure at two centers of

Sino-Christian research and exchange—the Maryknoll archive in New York and The Beijing Center in China. His involvement with Maryknoll lasted almost two decades and his service as research director at the esteemed Beijing Center lasted around a decade. Dr. Wiest's workshops on oral history have resulted in the preservation of significant information about the diurnal lives and experiences of Chinese Christians, and I am aware of highly-regarded publications that have benefitted from Jean-Paul's workshops.

Scholars throughout the West and East Asia acclaim his long list of influential publications, what may be called "le grand ouevre de Jean-Paul Wiest." Several of his books have become essential works used by scholars of Sino-Christian history, books that are quoted and cited regularly. Perhaps his best-known work is his 1988 study of the Maryknoll enterprise, simply entitled, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918–1955*. In characteristic fashion, he dedicates this large work, "to the Catholic Church in China." After Kenneth Scott Latourette's 1929 pioneering book, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, Wiest's study of the Maryknolls elevated the study of China's Christian history to a new level of rigor and influence. His chapter, "Indigenization of Clergy and Sisterhoods" foreshadowed what has become a welcome turn toward more studies of local Christians and the impacts that women have had upon religious and social advancement in China. In 1993, Jean-Paul and Edmond Tang co-published the important volume, *The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives*, which directed the field toward better analyzing the situation of Christianity in China in the modern era. Among the questions this volume explores are the nuances of China's so-called "aboveground" and "underground" communities, and in the end, the essays in this book demonstrate the durability of Christianity there in the post-1949 era. Another notable work is Dr. Wiest and Tomás Bamat's 1999 volume, *Popular Catholicism in a World Church: Seven Case Studies in Inculturation*. The title's emphasis on "inculturation" reveals the important theme covered in the various chapters, an area that Wiest and Bamat effectively advanced to more nuanced levels of analysis.

In addition to his other works, such as his 2002 book, *Ma Xiangbo: Zhongguo jiaoyu gaige de xianqu*《馬相伯：中國教育改革的先驅》[Ma Xiangbo: Pioneer of Educational Reform in China], perhaps one of his most useful works for those interested in the history of Christianity in Beijing is his 2007 study of the famous Catholic cemetery, *Lishi yizong: Zhengfusi Tianzhujiao mudi*《歷史遺踪：正福寺天主教墓地》[Historical Traces: Zhengfusi Catholic Cemetery], co-edited with Ming

Xiaoyan. This meticulously researched work includes a historical description of the cemetery, precise illustrations of the cemetery's layout with the placement of the graves, along with photographs and rubbings of the tombstones. This work is a model of research that remains to be done on the many Christian cemeteries that have not yet been studied. This book in particular was useful to me as I prepared a recent work on the Vincentian mission in Beijing, *China Gothic: The Bishop of Beijing and His Cathedral*, published in 2020—many Vincentians were buried in this critical Christian cemetery. In addition to his many books, Jean-Paul has published numerous articles, such as a 1991 article on the Jesuit mission in Hebei during the Boxer Uprising, a 1995 article on Catholicism under China's post-1949 government, a 2003 article on the reconciliation between Catholics in China, a 2012 article on Matteo Ricci as a pioneer of Sino-Western cultural exchange, and a 2015 article on Catholic views of British and American Protestant missions. Among his book chapters, one stands out as especially cited and instrumental, his 1994 essay, "The Contemporary Relevance of Mission History," in which he adeptly classifies missionary histories into the categories of "official," "inspirational," "secular," and a final type known as "missionary chronicles." Of course, this list is partial—the entire catalogue of Dr. Wiest's books, articles, and book reviews is too lengthy to enumerate here.

In my final remarks I would like to acknowledge another aspect of Jean-Paul Wiest's profound impact on the field of China Christianity studies. Perhaps his most lasting legacy will be the lives he has changed while meeting scholars in person at conferences around the globe, and even at his home. While at The Beijing Center, for example, Jean-Paul met with countless scholars and students seeking his advice on their own research. I was one of those scholars in 2010, when I went into his Beijing office and discussed my work on the Vincentians and Jesuits during the late Qing dynasty. And in preparation for the book I am presently working on Dr. Wiest invited me to his home where he shared with me his extensive collection of research materials. In my published works and those of a multitude of others, Jean-Paul's name appears in the acknowledgments as an essential scholarly voice. His commitment to collaboration with other researchers not only appears in the number of volumes he has co-edited, but also in the number of books and articles that have relied on his advice and assistance.

I will conclude with a tribute to Jean-Paul Wiest that is closer to home, and that is his life at home. Jean-Paul is not merely an esteemed scholar, he is also a husband, father, and grandfather. Everyone who

knows him knows his contagious smile, but his smile never shines brighter than when he is with his family, and that is perhaps what makes him so revered by those of us who struggle to balance our academic and personal lives. I will finish this tribute to Dr. Wiest with a quote from Père Lebbe that could just as easily have come from Jean-Paul: “We get to know people by becoming one of them; we win them only by giving ourselves.” Jean-Paul—thank you for your life of giving yourself to your scholarship, to China, and to your family and friends.

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 139–57 (print version)
Published online April 1, 2022; in print December 2022

Revisiting the Dialogue between Science and Religion
重新評價科玄之爭
——五四百年後再思科學與宗教的對話

KWAN KAI-MAN
關啟文

Abstract

The May-Fourth Movement, which took place more than a century ago, significantly shaped the history of modern China. The intellectuals who spearheaded the movement passionately hoped that science and democracy would solve all the problems of China. However, while the importance of science was not denied by anyone, a key issue is the relationship of science to other important human pursuits like religion and humanities. Some intellectuals advocated scientism, a position which excluded the importance of humanities, metaphysics or religions. In this essay, I critically evaluate the positions of Ding Wenjiang and Wu Zhihu and rethink the meaning of the dialogue between science and religion in the Chinese context.

一個多世紀以前發生的五四運動對現代中國的歷史產生了重大影響。帶領五四運動的知識分子熱切地希望科學和民主能夠解決中國所有問題。雖然沒有人會否定科學的重要性，但

KWAN Kai-man (Guan Qiwen 關啟文) is professor at the Department of Religion and Philosophy, Hong Kong Baptist University.

關鍵的問題是科學與人類其他重要的追求（如宗教和人文學）有何關係。有些知識分子提倡科學主義——一種排斥人文學、形而上學或宗教重要性的立場。在本文中，我們將批判地評價丁文江和吳稚暉的立場，並重新審視科學與宗教的對話在中國處境的意義。

五四運動已過去一百多年了，這被稱為「一場震古爍今的思想啟蒙運動，也是百年中國現代化運動的一個意義深遠的歷史轉折點。它不僅凝聚着近代中國思想變革的風雲，而且牽動着中國現代歷史進程的神經。」[1] 當年陳獨秀認定，只有德、賽「這兩位先生，可以救治中國……一切的黑暗。」[2] 五四精英高舉賽先生——科學理性精神——的大旗，認為科學是解決中國現代化問題的必備鑰匙。到今天，國人仍高喊「科技興國」等口號。然而當我們歡天喜地迎接賽先生時，又應如何處理科學以外的文化（如道德和宗教）呢？筆者絕對贊成要歡迎賽先生的到來，只是認為也要思考怎麼樣的賽先生才是對我們最有利的。本文會特別就着科學與宗教的關係對五四的科學主義作出反思。

探討宗教與科學的關係有不同模式，一個近代佔強勢的主要模式是**科學主義，這可稱為霸道的賽先生**——它認為科學是唯一真理。首先要指出科學本身與科學主義是不可混淆的，前者乃有系統地對自然界規律的探索，而後者乃一種哲學主張，其實很多成功的科學家，如愛因斯坦和牛頓都不是科學主義者。其他模式不贊同科學主義那種把宗教與科學視為對立的進路——這包括把宗教與科學完全分隔的**分隔說**，和認為兩者有交疊的**互補論**。[3] 此文只集中

---

[1] 微拉．施瓦支：《中國的啟蒙運動——知識分子與五四遺產》（太原：山西人民，1989），〈《五四與現代中國》叢書總序〉。

[2] 參陳獨秀於 1919 年 1 月的《新青年》的文章，引自黃知正：〈五四科學思潮的雙重軌跡〉，載《五四與中國——五四新論》，丁時強、徐梓編（太原：山西人民，1989），220。

[3] 進一步討論，參關啟文：《我信故我思——真理路上的摯誠探索》（香港：香港基督徒學生福音團契，1998），第 15 章；關啟文：《上帝、世俗社會與道德的基礎》（香港：天道，2006）；關啟文：《世界怎樣看？怎樣看世界？基督教世界觀 12 講》（香港：宣道，2018）。Kwan Kai-man, “The Argument from Religious

探討科學主義的不足，從而指出有必要探討其他模式，但由於篇幅的限制，實在無法詳細評估分隔說或互補論。

科學主義(SCIENTISM)——霸道的賽先生

我們可從四個角度了解何謂科學主義：

第一，**歷史戰爭說**：他們認為歷史中科學與宗教不斷爭戰，在人類愚昧無知的階段，宗教佔了上風，但文明的巨輪不停推進，理性、科學的亮光開始照耀，宗教人士不甘心將霸權拱手相讓，所以千方百計阻撓甚或鎮壓科學家，伽里略被軟禁，布魯諾被處死，都是明證。然而理性的力量是不能消滅的，所以最終宗教節節敗退，科學知識則不斷擴張。這說法在中國學者中是常見的：「在歐洲，阻礙着近代科學……發展的傳統勢力，主要是……中世紀神學與經院哲學……，它們的力量是強大的，統治的手法是殘暴的；但波瀾壯闊的科學革命終於在中世紀的黑夜之後迎來了燦爛的近代曙光。」[4] 當然，這種戰爭說也是來自西方的，以下兩位學者的經典著作尤具影響力：澤巴 (John William Draper, 1811–1882)在 1875 年出版的《宗教與科學的衝突史》(*History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*)，和韋特 (Andrew Dixon White, 1832–1918) 在 1895 年出版的《科學與神學的戰爭史》(*A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*)。

第二，**科學主義的知識論**：科學方法是客觀的，而宗教的「方法」則是主觀的，前者給我們找出事實，而後者只能提供幻想。原因很簡單，前者建基在有共識的五官經驗及可測試的科學理論；宗教則建基在不能證實的所謂啟示和宗教經驗上，實在難以叫

Experience," in *The Blackwell Companion to Natural Theology*, ed. William Craig and J. P. Moreland (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), 498–552; Kwan Kai-man, *The Rainbow of Experiences, Critical Trust, and God: A Defense of Holistic Empiricism* (New York: Continuum, 2011).

[4] 李瑤：《中國古代科技思想史稿》（西安：陝西師範大學出版社），294。

人信服。例如羅素說：「任何可以獲得的知識，必然是可以透過科學方法獲得的；任何科學不能發現的，人類都不可能知道。」[5]

第三，**科學主義世界觀**：科學主義的世界觀已推翻了宗教信仰，天文學、進化論等已圓滿地解釋世界及生命的起源，再不可能相信造物主了！在這個腦科學及人工智能一日千里的世界，實在難以接受靈魂與來生等概念。科學也告訴我們，世界的運作由自然律掌管，事物皆有自然的原因，神靈的干預都是不可思議的，甚麼「分開紅海」、「耶穌復活」都不可能。當代最著名的科學主義者是生物學家道金斯(Richard Dawkins)，他充滿激情地提倡科學主義的世界觀，認為這世界觀是與宗教勢不兩立的，他的著作相當有影響力。[6]

第四，就着人生及社會問題，激進的科學主義者不單說宗教並非真理，更認為宗教對文明有害，故應盡早剷除！他們甚至認為科學本身足以指導人生和為社會提供堅穩的道德基礎。在當代提倡這種觀點的有一群新無神論者(New Atheists)，道金斯是其中之一，而另一個領軍人物就是希真斯(Christopher Hitchens)，他的立場從其著作的名稱可見一斑：《神並不偉大——為何宗教毒害所有事物》。[7]

霸道的賽先生登場——從「科玄之爭」談起

廣義的科學與人文可說是組成文化的兩個主要部份，然而兩者的關係一直處於張力之中。一方面〔唯〕科學主義者認為科學以外別無

---

[5] Bertrand Russell, *Religion and Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 243.

[6] 參 Richard Dawkins, *The Blind Watchmaker: Why the Evidence of Evolution Reveals a Universe without Design* (London: Penguin, 1988); Dawkins, *The God Delusion* (London: Bantam, 2006). 前者維護進化論，批評創造論；後者則全面批判宗教的世界觀。

[7] Christopher Hitchens, *God Is Not Great: Why Religion Poisons Everything* (New York: Hachette Book Group, 2007).

真理，因此貶抑宗教或人文學的重要性。另一方面一些人文學者或倫理學家攻擊科學 / 科技的霸權，認為它只會破壞人類的文明（特別是道德與宗教）。人文與科學之爭不只發生在西方，在中國，五四時期也有科學與玄學 / 人生觀的爭論。

在新文化運動的年代裏，張君勱(1887–1969)是近代著名新儒家學者，[8] 他感到傳統受到威脅，希望人生觀或人生哲學不致被科學一元論淹沒，所以在 1923 年 2 月 14 日對清華大學學生發表題為「人生觀」的演講。他認為科學的特性是客觀，為論理（邏輯）方法所支配，其方法是分析，並為因果律所支配，而其起點是自然現象的恆常規律。與此對比的「人生觀之特點所在，曰主觀地，曰直覺的，曰綜合地，曰自由意志的，曰單一性的。惟其有此五點，故科學無論如何發達，而人生觀問題之解決，決非科學所能為力，惟賴諸人類之自身而已。」[9] 他只想釐清科學思考與人生觀反省的分別，並提出二者都有價值且並行不悖。[10] 這卻惹來科學主義者（如丁文江和吳稚暉）的攻擊，因為他們認為這就是否定「科學萬能」的原則，並阻礙中國走向富強。他們堅定地相信可以在科學方法上建立新的人生觀。這引發一場大爭論，正反立場的文章的總字數多達二十三萬字。

---

[8] 張君勱除了是哲學家外，也是政治家和教育家，曾發揮相當大影響力，一方面他是中國現代新儒家的重要代表人物之一，對儒學的維持和與當代精神的結合作出巨大貢獻；另一方面他曾任上海國立政治大學校長和燕京大學教授，也活躍於政治，曾創立中國國家社會黨、成立中國民主政團同盟，以及擔任國民黨參政會的參政員等。

[9] 張君勱：《精神自由與民族文化——張君勱新儒學論著輯要》（北京：中國廣播電視出版社，1995），7。

[10] 其實在張君勱之前，譚平山（後來中共發起人之一）在 1919 年已表達類似觀點。他「在《新潮》的創刊號上，……闡述了科學的合理性同宗教信仰的互補關係。……譚認為，比精神安寧更深刻的是人們對宗教的信仰所帶來的改變世界、與世界鬥爭的能力……老一輩的學者們不同於譚平山，他們完全站在科學的一邊來反對宗教，……學生們則發現了宗教的鼓舞作用，……他們認為中國的傳統……缺乏信仰的力量。」見微拉．施瓦支：《中國的啟蒙運動》，124–25。有趣的是，張申府在 1921 年給陳獨秀的信中說：「許多人說馬克斯主義是一種宗教，其實在最細微的地方，沒有點迷信，甚麼事也作不成。」而陳獨秀竟然這樣回答：「無論甚麼事若不帶點宗教性，恐怕都不能成功。」見微拉．施瓦支：《中國的啟蒙運動》，125–26。然而，施瓦支也指出，在 1919 至 1920 年之後，宗教信仰的觀點確實已越來越難以堅持了。

後來這場科玄之爭更蔓延到中醫學：「『科玄之爭』的大討論……吸引了當時中國全數的知識精英參與……科學派佔絕對上風。……它為後來醫藥行政決策者確定『廢止中醫』……政綱提供了思想與輿論依托，打倒『玄學鬼』嘛。」[11] 在汪精衛推動下，國民政府在 1928 年啟動政令程序去「廢止中醫」：「衛生行政……純粹以科學新醫為基礎，……今舊醫所用理論皆憑空結構，阻礙科學化，舊醫一日不除，……衛生行政一日不能進展。」[12] 這又是霸道的賽先生的一個影響。

至今，科學與玄學 / 宗教的關係仍是中國文化懸而未決的主要問題。本文透過分析及評價丁文江與吳稚暉兩位五四科學主義者的觀點，[13] 回顧這場科玄之爭，然後指出這場爭論背後的根源不是科學精神本身，而是把科學絕對化後的產物：唯科學主義知識論和唯物論世界觀。

簡評丁文江

丁文江撰文〈玄學與科學——評張君勱的「人生觀」〉去反駁張君勱，直斥「玄學真是個無賴鬼……是科學的對頭。」[14] 玄學包括西方神學，他以此為例子說明「科學與玄學戰爭的歷史」。[15] 玄學也包括中國的「精神文明」（如宋明理學），他認為這些士大夫「沒有能力，沒有常識，……結果叫我們受野蠻蒙古人統治了一百

[11] 侯樣祥編：《科學與人文對話》（昆明：雲南教育，2000），237。

[12] 同上，239。

[13] 丁文江(1886–1936)又名丁在君，是近代中國地質學家，是提倡科學現代化的先鋒之一。吳稚暉(1865–1953)是參與科玄論爭當中較老一輩的知識分子，但與其他傳統知識分子不同，他是最早提倡唯物論的學者之一；也是著名語言學家和教育家，以文筆辛辣見稱。

[14] 丁文江：〈玄學與科學——評張君勱的「人生觀」〉，載《科學與人生觀論戰集》，戴帕米爾書店編輯部編（台北：帕米爾書店，1980），15。

[15] 同上，29–30。

年」，他們「一無所用」，令人質疑「這種精神文明有甚麼價值？」[16]

他相信「存疑的唯心論」的科學知識論：所有的知識都源於覺官感觸（即感官經驗），情感、思想、概念等心理現象，都不過是感官觸覺的產物，都能被科學研究。丁文江說得輕鬆，似乎對問題的困難認知不足，例如如何從自己的感官觸覺，推論到不能碰觸的原子的存在。

丁氏說：「在知識界內，科學方法是萬能」的，[17] 應把所有的實在都置於自然秩序之內，並相信僅有科學方法才能認識這種秩序的所有方面（生物的、社會的、物理的或心理的）。他承認「人生觀現在沒有統一」，但他非常樂觀，認為科學將發達到能夠使各個不同的人生觀統一起來，因為「凡是心理的內容，真的概念推論，無一不是科學的材料。」[18] 對他而言，「科學方法，不外將世界上的事實分起類來，求他們的秩序。等到分類秩序弄明白了，我們再想出一句最簡單明白的話來，概括這許多事實，這叫做科學的公例。」[19] 這理解當然不對，現代科學不單是對經驗的分類，而是找尋自然界的深層結構和定律（如相對論、夸克等）。

丁文江對張君勱的不滿主要在於他把人生觀說成是主觀的，其解決方法是訴諸直覺：

> 一班青年上了他的當，對於宗教、社會、政治，道德一切問題真以為不受論理方法支配，真正沒有是非真偽；只須拿他所謂主觀的，綜合的，自由意志的人生觀來解決……果然如此，書也不必讀，……知識經驗都是無用，只要以「自身良心之所命，起而主張之」……所有一切問題，都沒有討論之餘地……假如張獻忠這種妖孽……對我們說，他的殺人主義，是以「我自身良心之所命，起而主張之……，」我們也

[16] 同上，41–42。

[17] 同上，30。

[18] 同上，29。

[19] 同上，17。

> 只好當他是……大人物，……人各有各的良心，……人人可以拿他的不講理的人生觀來「起而主張之」，安見得孔子、釋迦、墨子、耶穌的人生觀比他的要高明？[20]

丁文江去世前，曾於 1936 年 5 月 6 日的天津《大公報》上發表〈我的信仰〉，重申：「我相信不用科學方法所得的結論都不是知識；在知識界內科學方法萬能……舉凡直覺的哲學，神秘的宗教，都不是知識，都不可以做我們的嚮導。」[21]

丁文江這些批評包含了誤解，但也提出一個真實的問題。他把張君勱的立場理解為「主觀主義」，即是說人生觀問題沒有「是非真僞」，但這並非張君勱的真正立場，然而丁文江的誤解也可理解，因為張的確有不少誤導的話。他強調人生觀是主觀的，因為「甲一說，乙一說，漫無是非真偽之標準。……天下古今之最不統一者，莫若人生觀。」[22] 但張並非認為人生觀不能分真假對錯，只是說不能用科學化的客觀方法去解決：「決不如數學或物理化學問題之有一定公式。」[23] 他的「主觀」指認識人生觀要透過主體的體驗，這就是「返求之於己」。後來張寫了篇長文〈再論人生觀與科學並答丁在君〉反駁丁文江，其中提到「非科學知識」，如「道德之知……美術之知……形而上界之知」[24]，所以他想提倡的只是「科學方法非達於真理之唯一途徑」。[25] 所以科學以外也有真理。然而這也帶出一個問題：假如直覺和良知有很大的分歧，那又如何分辨兩者之間的優劣呢？一些極端的人生觀（如張獻忠的七殺令）又如何排除呢？吳稚暉也提出類似質詢，這些的確是張君勱沒有處理的問題。

---

[20] 同上，32。

[21] 郭穎頤：《中國現代思想中的唯科學主義》，雷頤譯（南京：江蘇人民，1995），102。

[22] 張君勱：《精神自由與民族文化》，1。

[23] 同上，2。

[24] 同上，51。

[25] 同上，53。

丁文江認為科學能解決人生觀的問題，他舉了這個例子：「近年來生物學上對於遺傳性的發現，解決了數千年來性善性惡的聚訟，使我們……知道根本改良人種的方法，其有功於人類的前途，正未可限量呢？」[26] 當然這個例子難以令人滿意，因為縱使人性可以遺傳，那無論這種人性是善或是惡，都可以遺傳，所以遺傳學是不能解決性善性惡的爭論的。更大問題是，我們如何透過科學去決定某種人類特質是善還是惡呢？

至於「改良人種」的能力所引起的道德問題，丁文江也好像全無警覺，他好像假設了這種能力必然會用來「有功於人類的前途」，和假設了改善人類前途就是善。然而，假若那些操縱這種能力的科學家信奉納粹主義或張獻忠的殺人主義，恐怕帶來的禍害也是「未可限量」。再者，我們也難以用科學的知識論去證明那些瘋狂科學家的價值觀是錯的。換言之，丁文江為張君勱提的難題，他也同樣沒有答案。他似乎認為人類有兩種根性：合群或不合群，

> 〔而〕人的善惡由這兩種根性的衝突的勝負決定。……人的善惡部分由於天性，而優生學是改變先天的，教育是改變後天的。教育的最大問題是決定哪種環境適合人的宗教性的發展。由於科學方法在科學中的巨大成功，應利用科學教育使宗教性的衝動從盲目的變成自覺的，從黑暗的變成光明的。[27]

很明顯，丁文江已假設合群就是善，不合群就是惡——這種價值觀的根源基本上也是他所厭棄的中國精神文明吧！在決定了以善為人生目標之後，再用科學的手段最有效地達成這目標——「從黑暗的變成光明」。或許對他而言，「把科學方法應用到人生問題上」就是這個意思，然而對他的對手而言，問題是如何用科學方法分辨不同人生觀的優劣。雙方似乎只是在各說各話，沒有真正的交集。

---

[26] 丁文江：〈玄學與科學〉，35。

[27] 郭穎頤：《中國現代思想中的唯科學主義》，124。

簡評吳稚暉

吳稚暉是參與科玄之爭的學者中較年長的一位，出生於 1865 年，參與論戰時已近七十歲，但仍「火氣十足」。他早年推動革命思想、科學知識及進化論等新思潮，他懷疑中國的「精神文明」，極為推崇唯物主義的文明。在中國走向現代化的掙扎中，他是一個最徹底和積極地迎接新思想的知識分子，被讚揚為「具有活潑帶創造性的心靈」的「勇者」。[28] 他接受歷史戰爭論，經常鞭撻「神權黑暗的時期」，認為是科學帶來解放，促進獨立自尊的觀念。未來的理想世界，當然也倚仗科學。在邁向理想世界的路上，宗教與中國傳統文明都是路障——都應掃除，因為中國文化只會導致愚昧與迷信。

吳稚暉接受機械唯物論與進化論，認為宇宙是一架永遠運動、永遠產生能量的機器，而「精神不過從物質湊合而生也。……究竟善樂是何一物？至善是何一點？真相是何一相？我可不管。精神…… 必不能出於物理之外。」[29]「在無始之始，有一個混沌得着實可笑」——這有時又叫「漆黑一團」，它「頃刻變起了大千宇宙……無非拿具有質力的若干『不思議』量，……成為電子……原子……成為星辰日月，山川草木，鳥獸昆蟲魚鱉。」[30] 當然，「『宇宙一切』皆可以科學解說。」[31]

> 所謂情感、思想、意志等等……美其名曰心理，神其事曰靈魂，質直言之曰感覺，其實統不過質力之相應。……其實毛廁裏的石頭呀，玫瑰樹呀，蒼蠅呀，人呀，何嘗有甚麼感

---

[28] 韋政通：《中國哲學思想批判》（台北：水牛，1992），253–54。

[29] 郭穎頤：《中國現代思想中的唯科學主義》，33–34。

[30] 吳稚暉：〈一個新信仰的宇宙觀及人生觀〉，載於戴帕米爾書店編輯部：《科學與人生觀論戰集》，523。

[31] 同上，625。

> 覺，甚麼心理，甚麼靈魂，只質與力之構造及反應各各不同罷了。[32]

然後他寫了很長篇幅去「同靈魂算賬」，去「排斥靈魂」，最後的結論是：

> 把這兆兆兆兆的原子，構成這三斤二兩的腦髓，五千零四十八根的腦筋，他的機關複雜，還有甚麼粗重的電話室可以擬議，他那發動出來的能力，甚麼高等意志，極等理智，超等直覺，上等情感，頭等感覺，優等本能，皆有何難。那裏用得着甚麼精神元素所謂靈魂者，來做隔靴搔癢的幫助。[33]

所以，「他腐爛了……亦便冥然罔覺。一位國人的宇宙，便算終了。幾千幾百個蛆蟲的宇宙，從而開始。」[34] 說到底，所謂靈魂只是人基於「自大好吹的弱點」，虛構出來以「保固了『人生觀』的尊嚴。」對吳稚暉而言，因為人體有「兆兆兆兆的原子」和「複雜」組織，所以要解釋「意志、理智、情感、感覺」等心靈現象，實在稀鬆容易。然而近一百年又過去了，無數唯物論學者殫精竭智，卻還未找到答案。按吳稚暉的邏輯，宇宙有兆兆兆兆兆兆兆兆的原子，組織則只有更複雜，那宇宙本身也應有意志、理智、情感和感覺。同樣道理，一間龐大且複雜的工廠和一個細胞，也應有心靈，但真的嗎？

若唯物論要充分解釋心靈現象，那就要合理地說明心靈如何能從純物質 / 能量 / 運動的世界中產生。要提供這種解釋，就要解釋心靈與物質不同的獨特屬性從何而來，這包括：

- 感覺(sensations/qualia, feelings)，例如：痛、癢、甜、快樂、低沉、色感、音感、臭、興奮

---

[32] 同上，510–11。

[33] 同上，519–20。

[34] 同上，520。

- 思想，例如：內容(propositional content)、真假、指涉(reference)、思想之間的邏輯關係
- 意向性(intentionality or aboutness)：很多心靈狀態都是指向或關於(about)其他事物甚或不存在的事態，如我在想明天的婚禮。
- 自我意識

但物質原來沒有這些屬性，心靈現象也難用物質範疇詮釋，如問「我的紅色感覺有多重？」是沒有意思的。心靈的範疇（如邏輯）也不可加於物質，例如我們難以明白兩個腦狀態如何能有「邏輯矛盾」的關係。唯物論曾提出不少還原主義的學說，如取消主義(Eliminativism) 、行為主義(Behaviourism) 、同一論(Identity Theory) 、功能主義(Functionalism) 等，但以上各種唯物論學說都困難重重，不同派別的唯物論者也互相攻擊，而他們的相互批評都顯得很有說服力。例如近年較流行的功能主義就面對中國房間論證(Chinese Room Argument; 參 John Searle)、顛倒光譜論證(Inverted Spectrum Argument)、僵屍論證(Absent Qualia Argument or Zombie Argument)、知識論證(Argument from Knowledge)等強力反駁。此外，我們還要考慮超心理學(Parapsychology)的證據，特別是近年有關瀕死經驗(near-death experience)的證據。[35] 由此看來，似乎有一定經驗證據支持心靈的不可消解性(irreducibility)。「科學已解釋所有心靈現象」並非學者的共識，而恐怕是另一個神話？[36]

---

[35] Edward F. Kelly, Emily Williams Kelly, and Adam Crabtree, *Irreducible Mind: Toward a Psychology for the 21st Century* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

[36] 論到瀕死經驗對自然主義的挑戰，參關啟文：〈再論瀕死經驗的可信性——探索一些常見的質疑〉，《中外醫學哲學》16.2（2017 年 12 月）：55–84；關啟文：《世界怎樣看？怎樣看世界？》，第 7 章。挑戰唯物論的參考書很多：David J. Chalmers, *The Character of Consciousness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); David H. Lund, *Perception, Mind and Personal Identity: A Critique of Materialism* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994); Edward Feser, *Philosophy of Mind: A Beginner's Guide* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006); Stewart Goetz and Charles Taliaferro, *Naturalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008); Robert C. Koons and George Bealer, eds., *The Waning of Materialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

當然吳稚暉不可能知道這些後期發展，但他斷言人只不過是「外面只剩兩只腳，卻得到了兩只手，內面有三斤二兩腦髓，五千零四十八根腦筋，比較佔有多額神經系質的動物。」[37] 這未免有點武斷。他也參與科玄之爭，提倡科學的人生觀：人生就是在這無始之始到無終之間的宇宙大劇場上演一場戲。要作的事主要有三種：吃飯，生小孩和招呼朋友。[38]「食的性，色的性，惻隱羞惡辭讓是非的性，並沒有甚麼善惡，無非漆黑一團先生變動綿延，要扮演萬有的作用罷了。」[39] 他提到「惻隱羞惡辭讓是非的性」，只是借用儒家名詞，但卻否定它們有客觀存在的意義（並非「神秘的精神生活」），因為說到底是無所謂善惡的：「絕對的真美善，……那裏有這麼一回事呢？所以確實的標準，也是永遠沒有。」[40] 這最終只是相對主義。

論到吃飯時，吳稚暉卻提出幾個標準：

> 是吃飯要用自己的勞力換得才是。……是我的吃飯，若把阻礙別人的吃飯得來，就不對了。……是化了勞力吃不到飯，還是不願意奪別人的飯來吃，也便算做難能可貴。……想出許多飯來給人吃，自然最好。但反過來，奪了許多人的飯，……那就更不對。[41]

有趣的是，吳稚暉剛剛否定有本質的善惡存在，但這裏馬上提出很多價值判斷——有些事情是不對或更不對，而另一些事情則是難能可貴或最好，但他又如何衍生這些原則呢？他肯定的原理是「宇宙萬有，都從漆黑一團變出。維持各個體的存在，……其原則，應希望取於無用，以供有用。」[42] 但這原則是突然爆出來的，吳稚暉沒有解釋何為「有用」，也沒有解釋為何只可取於無用去供有用，

---

[37] 吳稚暉：〈一個新信仰的宇宙觀及人生觀〉，527。

[38] 同上，538。

[39] 同上，542。

[40] 同上，553。

[41] 同上，545–46。

[42] 同上，546。

而不可取於一個「有用者」去供應另一個「有用者」。既然一切本來就是漆黑一團（沒有超越物質的心靈、價值或目的等事物），它們之間變來變去都只是依循自然定律，那到底是誰去規定「只可取於無用去供有用」呢？事實上，或者兔子和獅子都是「有用」的，但天擇的定律不就是讓兔子去供養獅子的「個體存在」嗎？

吳稚暉又肯定「同類皆為有用，不當互相供給。」所以「同類相殘」是不對的，他就以這點去支持他關於吃飯的原則。因為若「吃飯不用自己努力，一定犧牲別人的勞力……阻礙別人吃飯。……無異同類相殘。」[43] 我看這視乎「有用」與否是用何標準去界定，就算是同類，強者可能認為弱者**對他而言**是沒有用的，只要他有這能力（例如天生勇武或大權在握），為何不可犧牲弱者去成全自己呢？非唯物論者或許說這種角度有違天理或上帝的十誡云云，但吳稚暉那漆黑一團則肯定容不下這些超越的東西。這樣看來，吳稚暉的「推理」實在經不起推敲。他最終想證明若「反對物質文明……還有甚麼精神文明可言。」[44] 這是針對當時一些極端地維護「中國精神文明」的人，但我想今天已沒有人會把物質文明與精神文明二分，然後貶抑物質文明。吳稚暉這裏只是重申人生的一些必須條件，而不是解答人生意義的問題。

說到生小孩，吳稚暉的主要目標是攻擊傳統的禮教，他說「似乎兩性之愛，一若甚深不可思議，……豈知全是生理作用，並無絲毫微妙。」[45] 這又是一種唯物還原主義了。最終，「男女本可雜交，用不着夫婦名義。……情愛者，用理智限制情感。大同之世，乃一雜交之世。性交……直如兩個朋友會談相等。因需要談話，便聚而談話，談竟各散。」[46] 吳稚暉搖身一變成為中國性解放的先鋒，但他只是很堅持把「性還原為生物需要」，並把這「科學」觀點的涵義邏輯地引伸出來，這就是把人從婚姻、貞潔、通姦等社會道德中解放出來。當然，對當代性解放分子而言，把性交比

[43] 同上，547。

[44] 同上，550。

[45] 同上，564。

[46] 同上，568–69。

作「談話」已說得太凝重了，他們更愛把性交比作瞬刻即分的「握手」。

按這邏輯，「廢婚姻，男女雜交，乃人類必有之一境。然必在子女公共養育，私產廢止為時。」問題是如何保證「雜交……而血統不亂」，避免「盲目殘缺」，所以「人類最高道德即在改良進種。由人而變超人」。[47] 當然，究竟這「最高道德」是如何突然跑出來，也沒有交待，既然一切都在變動，為何人類這場戲要唱得好、唱得長久呢？從個人角度看，關心自己生存已經足夠，又何必費神關心整個物種呢？自己變超人不是更爽嗎？他論到傳統認為高尚的行為，如「同死之情人」，

> 〔他〕拆破板壁說亮話，無非精蟲孕蛋欲廝併混合之度至強，因此感得他們貯藏的兩個瓶子，亦相廝併混合，如是而已。……男女罷，情人罷，雜交罷，都是生小孩子惹出來的枝葉。……因有精蟲孕蛋而有強烈的絪縕情感。……生小孩的本身，只是一件應當科學化的小事情。[48]

然而，這種科學還原主義，真的能解釋生命的神聖和尊嚴嗎？如果生小孩（即人類的存在）是小事情，那為何改良人類的生存又變成最高的道德呢？

吳稚暉談到招呼朋友時，「朋友」指的「是合着人類非人類，統統在內。……招呼得盡心不盡心，一定要問。」[49]（但為何「一定要問」呢？）這裏就「要請惻隱羞惡辭讓是非的理性，做一個理智的算帳工夫，把我滿招呼才是。」[50] 他說「直覺吧，良知罷，非量罷，良心罷，都明明是理智支配的東西，並不是甚麼……神物。」[51] 他又多方解構惻隱之心等先天性質，指出人們是否實

---

[47] 同上，569。

[48] 同上，571。

[49] 同上，582–83。

[50] 同上，584。

[51] 同上，588。

踐惻隱之心，很受環境影響。「羞惡的直覺」在中西「實有異同」，如「女子之不可醮，醮則其子將為小龜奴，全由程朱老夫子等造成此直覺。」[52] 道德直覺故然有限制，但文明與道德始終難以分割，而道德知識最終也難以否定道德直覺的角色。[53] 所以吳稚暉那種科學主義只帶來一種虛無主義，只是他缺乏這種自覺而已。

五四科學主義的深層矛盾

以上二人對科學方法的理解相當粗淺，丁文江提倡的只是一種樸素的歸納論(naive inductivism)而已，它們也與後期的實證主義(positivism)與實驗主義(experimentalism)相似。但當代科學哲學的討論都已證明這些理論過於簡化，根本不能應用於科學理論的產生和證立。[54] 他們對科學的解釋能力也有過分天真的期望，如何能用物質主義或科學主義去解釋心靈，或解決價值和道德責任的由來，他們根本連問題何在和問題的複雜性都沒有真正的認識。他們為了捍衛中國文化的現代化，也走向忽略精神與道德的地步，甚或好像吳稚暉乾脆提倡「人慾橫流」的「道德」。這一切都反映一個僵化和膚淺的信仰——唯物論的、教條的科學主義。很多學者都指出這種科學主義演變成「現代中國的科學崇拜」，而且這以一種「替代宗教的形式」出現。[55]

---

[52] 同上，640。

[53] 這個大課題當然不能在這裏充分處理，參當代哲學家對直覺主義的維護：Michael Huemer, *Ethical Intuitionism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

[54] 參 Alexander Bird, *Philosophy of Science* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998); George Couvalis, *The Philosophy of Science: Science and Objectivity* (London: Sage, 1997).

[55] 郭穎頤：《中國現代思想中的唯科學主義》，26。

為何這些錯謬會出現呢？當然一個原因是現代中國所面對的挑戰太急迫和嚴峻了，所以這場論戰充滿激情，也難免粗疏。另一些學者則提出更深層的原因：

> 在中國文化與政治結構崩潰的時候，一項被中國有機式世界觀在不知不覺中形成的有機式思維習慣，使得人們很容易於無視其所相信的觀念在多元世界中是有嚴格的限度的，而易主張他們所相信的觀念有貫穿的功能，能把次級的個體整合成一個一元的世界。現代中國的科學主義，便是在西方文化衝擊下，在這樣的思維習慣與把思想當作最大動力的一元化思想模式揉合後而形成的母膜中形成的。[56]

換言之，很弔詭的是，雖然這些五四運動知識分子多方和強烈地批判中國傳統文化，但可能歸根究底，他們的深層思維模式仍深受中國傳統文化所塑造。這可說是一種實踐的矛盾(pragmatic contradiction)。楊國榮與郁振華也有類似的分析：

> 對舊的價值—信仰體系的崩潰，五四時代的知識分子在擺脫傳統內在壓抑的同時，十分自然地產生了迷惘而無着落之感。他們迫切需要一種新的價值—信仰體系，……正是由於科學主要作為價值—信仰體系而被推到時代的前台，因而它一開始便超出了具體的實證與經驗之域。……傳統的反叛者往往並不能完全擺脫傳統的制約。當五四時代的知識分子試圖通過科學的形而上化以確定一種反傳統的價值—信仰體系時，這種轉換方式本身卻內在地打上了深層的文化傳統的印記。[57]

從另一方面看，吳稚暉亦顯示這種實踐的矛盾：他「認為人生就是『吃飯、生小孩、招呼朋友』之類的物欲活動」，但「他自

---

[56] 林毓生：〈民初「科學主義」的興起與含意——對「科學與玄學」之爭的研究〉，載《中國傳統的創造性轉化》（北京：三聯書店，1988），268。

[57] 楊國榮、郁振華：〈融入與逸出——實證主義思潮評析〉，載《中國近代社會思潮》，高瑞泉編（上海：華東師範大學出版社，1996），165。

己並沒有僅僅滿足於吃飯之類的活動，他還激情滿懷地投身到了『科學與人生觀』的爭論，從事一種追求精神勝利的事業，因此他行的又是一種人生觀。承認精神的意味，甚至『樂此忘彼』。」[58] 事實上，在他那篇長文中，他用了很多篇幅反駁二梁：梁啟超和梁漱溟，反對二梁對文明路向的分析，並堅決抗拒他們所建議的精神文明。雖然他使用嬉笑怒罵的手法，但不難看出文字背後的激情——對中國社會的走向的強烈關懷。這就顯示他的終極關懷和精神追尋，人生又怎會只是「吃飯、生小孩、招呼朋友」那麼簡單呢？

郭穎頤在評介了整場辯論後，作出這樣的結論：

> 這 50 年，可看作是中國對世界文明觀念切入的真正自覺反應的時代，……中國思想界在力圖尋找一種整體的現代認同……唯科學主義影響到人類生活的各個方面，但並不有益於科學本身的進步。……說科學的發現和成就應該崇拜是一回事，而說所有人類的生活和行為都能用純科學的語言來表達完全是另一回事……因而，人們就把科學作為一種不可能的教條終極性應用於任何最基本的人類情境……與此相異的精神活動卻被譏諷為「非科學的」。許多現代中國的思想領袖都未能把批判態度和方法論權威、科學客觀性與絕對理性、科學規律與不變的教條區別開來。[59]

不幸的是，不少評論者都認為從中國文化後期的發展看，是科學主義這一方取勝了！

---

[58] 蕭峰：《科學精神與人文精神》（北京：中國人民大學出版社，1994），228。

[59] 郭穎頤：《中國現代思想中的唯科學主義》，172。

結論

這場論戰為我們留下了好些重要的文化課題，但科學主義似乎弊多利少，尋求科學精神與人文精神（道德與宗教領域）和解與整合之路，仍是中國人要面對的重大問題。但林毓生指出，張君勱「通過具有相對主義色彩的直覺主義及個人人格至上主義來為精神和良心自主性的辯護是謬誤的。」他把「客觀性（或客體）與主觀性（或主體）截然分開」也不可取。[60] 簡單而言，張君勱那種分隔說未能提供滿意的出路。[61] 我認為透過進一步探討宗教與科學的對話與互補，應有助我們尋找這個問題的答案。因為若要達到科學精神與人文精神的共融，一方面要揚棄科學主義，另一方面要為人文精神尋找超越的根基（無論是中國的天或西方的上帝），正是這種非還原主義的世界觀為天地人的和諧共存提供空間，也因此科學精神與人文精神能在其中各得其所，融合無間。但這是龐大的工程，實在需要更多學者作共同和長期的努力。

---

[60] 林毓生：〈民初「科學主義」的興起與含意〉，255。

[61] Kwan Kai-man, "Reflection on Models of Science-Religion Dialogue and Evaluation of the Independence Model," *Jian Dao* 33 (January 2010): 1–32.

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 159–63 (print version)
Published online August 4, 2021; in print December 2022

Gail King. *"A Model for All Christian Women": Candida Xu, a Chinese Christian Woman of the Seventeenth Century*. Collectanea Serica, New Series, Volume 2. Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 2021. 162 pp., e-book, £36.99, ISBN 9781003136774.

As a scholar specializing in Chinese Christian women, I had long anticipated the publication of Gail King's *A Model for All Christian Women*, which I finished reading in a single day. This biography of Candida Xu (Xu Gandida 徐甘第大, 1607–1680) makes for engaging and informative reading. King does not frame her narrative in a complicated way; the structure is relatively straightforward and easy to follow. I particularly like the depiction of Candida Xu against the historical backdrop: a seventeenth-century Chinese woman engaging in frequent commercial activities in major cities like Nanjing and Shanghai in Jiangsu Province in the densely populated lower reaches of the Yangtze River. Two famous Chinese historians, Dorothy Ko and Susan Mann, have written about the activities and resilience of literati women in this region in the late Ming (seventeenth century) and early Qing (late seventeenth to early eighteenth century) dynasties respectively. These learned women had a circle of female friends with whom they shared their poems and other literary works.[1] Certainly, their lives were restricted by the feminine etiquette of gender norms at the time. However, one should not assume that they all suffered under the Chinese patriarchal culture.[2] The subject of this book, Candida Xu, had her historical agency in preserving her faith and practicing philanthropy even though she was subject to the constraint of separate spheres, or *neiwai* 內外 [inner (female) and outer (exclusively male) spheres], imposed by the neo-Confucian ideology in late imperial China.

---

[1] Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

[2] This was a common discourse with a strong bias towards modernization and liberation during the May-Fourth Movement in the early twentieth century. It was also found in the nationalist discourse under the People's Republic of China.

Let me first of all introduce Gail King's depiction of Candida Xu. Candida was a pious Catholic and a compassionate philanthropist who helped build up churches, support missionaries, and connect Christian women in seventeenth-century China. King notes that she was an ordinary Chinese woman in many ways, a daughter, a wife, and a mother.[3] Nevertheless, most probably because of her family legacy and her devotion to the church, her biography was recorded and spread in Europe, while many Chinese Christian women of her time remained invisible.[4] She was the granddaughter of Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562–1633), a well-known Chinese Catholic among the first group of Chinese literati converts in the late Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). Xu's family kept the Catholic faith. Candida thus inherited a Christian family legacy and became a pious Christian. Her husband was not a Christian, even though he was probably baptized in his childhood. As a virtuous wife, she kept a good marriage, took care of her eight children, and carried out domestic duties in exemplary fashion. Only after her husband died, did Candida have more freedom to engage in church philanthropy with the aid of her oldest son, Basil Zuanzeng Xu 許纘曾 (1627–1696?), and her servants. With the commercial development in the lower region of the Yangzi River, she gained profit by producing and selling embroidery with her daughters and contributed to church charities for almost thirty years.[5] Owing to her zealous faith, her children were all baptized. However, due to the wish to continue the family's patriarchal lineage, both her husband and son followed the common practice of Chinese literati in keeping concubines. King speculates that Candida might have been sad about this. At that time, the Jesuit missionaries opposed the concubinage system as it violated the Christian teachings. King thinks that the dark side of Candida's family might have grieved the pious Christian woman. In addition, due to the prohibition of Christianity in eighteenth-century China, the descendants of Xu Guangqi and Candida Xu were not able to pass on the Christian faith to subsequent generations.[6]

Importantly, King discusses the transnational transmission of Candida's biography between Europe and China. In fact, Candida's first

---

[3] King, *"A Model for All Christian Women,"* 1.

[4] King points out that some missionary letters mentioned the good deeds and ardent faith of Chinese women in the seventeenth century. However, only Candida Xu was remembered through the biography written by a missionary. Ibid., 12.

[5] Ibid., 10, 65.

[6] Ibid., 106–7.

biographer was the Jesuit missionary and priest Philippe Couplet, S.J. (Bai Yingli 柏應理, 1623–1693). His aim was to promote the Jesuit work in China and to solicit donations from European women for the mission in China.[7] The biography was first published in French in 1688, entitled *Histoire d'une dame chrétienne de la Chine*, with later Spanish, Flemish, and Italian versions in 1691, 1694, and 1700 respectively.[8] It was circulated in Europe rather than China. Unfortunately, during the closed-door policy and the prohibition of Christianity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the biography of Candida was not known in the Chinese Church. Only after the door was forced open as a result of the Opium Wars (1839–1860), did three Jesuits in the lower region of the Yangzi River translate Candida's biography into Chinese, reclaiming her legacy in 1882, 1927, and 1938 respectively. The last one was Xu Yunxi 徐允希, S.J. (Simon Qi/Simon Siu), a descendant of Xu Guangqi's line and a distant nephew of Candida Xu, who translated Couplet's French version into the Chinese language and proclaimed her a model for contemporary Chinese Catholics to follow in faith and actions. On the book cover, he wrote, "A model for Chinese Catholic Action Madame Candida Xu."[9] The Catholic Action Movement was a laymen's organization that shared ministerial work with local bishops starting from the late nineteenth century in Europe. It was unofficially begun in China in 1912 and officially recognized by the Pope in the 1920s. Xu Yunxi's work was later republished in Taiwan and Shanghai in 1963 and 2002 respectively. Chinese Catholics also reclaimed Candida's legacy by making statues in the Jesuit mission compound at Xu Jiahui 徐家匯 of Shanghai in the 1930s.[10] In short, the restoration project of Candida Xu's biography was launched through translating Couplet's work into the Chinese language.

As the subtitle of the book announces, Candida Xu is "a Model for All Christian Women." Indeed, what is an exemplary Christian woman like? The work offers several interpretations, each relating to a different context with its own expectations. First, Couplet proclaimed her "a Model for All Christian Women."[11] King explains that this conception was tailored to a European female audience. Particularly in the French version, Couplet urged European women to support the Jesuit mission

---

[7] Ibid., 104.
[8] Ibid., 8.
[9] Ibid., 109–10.
[10] Ibid., 110–11.
[11] Ibid., 8.

in China so as to succeed Candida's patronage after she passed away. Second, as previously mentioned, Xu Yunxi, her distant nephew and the Jesuit priest, hailed Candida as an emblematic model for lay Chinese Christians in supporting local bishops' ministry. Lastly, in the last section of the book, King states that Candida Xu was faithful to both Chinese culture and Christian faith. She was "a powerful example of a Gospel life lived to the fullest in every phase of a woman's life."[12] King affirms her dedication to "God, faith, and service." It seems that King considers Candida to be a model for "all Christian women" in all nations rather than only for Chinese Christians (as Xu Yunxi said) and European women (as Couplet proclaimed). However, I have reservations about such a portrayal. On one hand, I agree that Candida is emblematic as a pious Catholic (or Christian in general) female figure, that is, as a pious and docile woman. On the other hand, because of the third wave feminist movement and queer theories starting from the 1990s, the differences among Christian women have become my concern. It is difficult to associate the representation of Candida Xu with any subversive Christian women in our church history, including lesbians, transgender people, unofficially ordained Catholic women priests, etc. I agree that the task of keeping historical records of Christian women is not just to restore the stories of "good women" but also those of "bad women," who are probably not accepted by the church.

Lastly, I would like to raise a historiographical concern at the end of this review. As Candida Xu's biography was based on two major sources, King is aware of different perceptions of her. These include the perspective of missionaries and her son's point of view. Firstly, Couplet's work, *Histoire d'une dame chrétienne de la Chine*, emphasizes her devout faith and good deeds and calls her "The Apostle of China" in its French version and also the later Spanish, Flemish, and Italian versions.[13] Besides, the Jesuit missionary strategy was propagated using Candida Xu's life as an example. Secondly, the other source is an obituary or eulogy written by her oldest son Xu Zuanzeng. King discovers this text in the appendix of the Spanish version. This obituary focuses more on Candida's role as a wife and a mother. Similarly, the purpose of an obituary makes it highlight her "noteworthy deeds, admirable qualities," as well as the "love and esteem" of her descendants. It still sings Candida's praises. King also refers to Can-

[12] Ibid., 114.
[13] Ibid., 11.

dida's family records and her son's autobiographical preface to a collection of his writings supplemented by two translated writings of Candida Xu, of which the Chinese originals cannot be found.[14] In short, it is very difficult to identify Candida's own voice from these writings. For the time being we can only find the sayings of other people about her life and work. Besides, the materials King has collected so far include only positive comments on Candida, portraying a good model for all Christian women. It is certainly important to rediscover a more comprehensive depiction of Candida's life. Nevertheless, given the limited historical sources about Chinese Christian women in the last four hundred years, I do agree that the depiction of Candida Xu in this book (published in 2021) has broadened our horizon in rediscovering the life of women in Chinese Christianity.

Wai-yin Christina WONG 黃慧賢
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

[14] Ibid., 13.

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 165–71 (print version)
Published online August 4, 2021; in print December 2022

MA Li. *Christian Women and Modern China: Recovering a Women's History of Chinese Protestantism*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2021. 256 pp., hardback, US$105.00 / £81.00, ISBN 9781793631565.

MA Li's book *Christian Women and Modern China* is an attempt to write women back into the history of Chinese Protestantism. Their lived experiences entailed struggles caused by the power structures within and outside of the church. The struggles Chinese Christian women have encountered, according to the author, are "due to colonialist, nationalistic, and ecclesiastical marginalization."[1] Drawing on the perspectives of Chinese Christian women, this book showcases the interplay of gender, Christianity, and power. This work contributes to ongoing scholarship in the field by providing "a coherent narrative which challenges the Christian religion, or more specifically Protestant mission, as legitimization of the patriarchal order and status quo."[2] Although the volume is coherent, the reader may question the author's case selection, as the analytical approach is not always consistent and the rationale of case selection is not always clear.

The book is composed of three parts, framed by an introduction and conclusion. In the introduction, the author highlights the lack of scholarly work on Chinese Christian women and the dominance of male-oriented narratives and agents in writing Chinese Christianity. This assertion fails to acknowledge a group of mostly female scholars who actively contribute to the history of Christian women in China. Connie A. Shemo, Elizabeth Littell-Lamb, Helen M. Schneider, and Emily Honig have all provided lengthy accounts of the activities and thought of Chinese Christian women. While the author mentions some of their works in following chapters, their contributions to an already existing field should be acknowledged in the introduction to paint a more dynamic picture of the history of Chinese Protestantism. By doing so, the author could also provide a clearer statement as to the contribution of this monograph to the existing scholarship.

---

[1] Ma, *Christian Women and Modern China*, 200.

[2] Ibid., xxi.

There are three chapters in Part I: The Era of Revolutions. Chapter 1 singles out the racial hierarchy between foreign missionary women and local Christian women. As the title "Foreign Devils and Heathen Sisters" suggests, there was unequal treatment of women who were involved in mission work based on a racial hierarchy. By focusing on Shi Meiyu's 石美玉 struggle with "Western missionary domination" in gaining a supervisory role,[3] the author emphasizes the prevailing racial power structures of the missionary enterprise. Towards the end, the author points out the genuine sisterhood formed between Shi Meiyu and Jennifer Hughes. The overall critique may oversimplify the complexity of foreign missionary societies and their attitudes to indigenous leaders. The "holistic approach" that shows Western supremacy among the Protestant mission community in the nineteenth century, as Daniel H. Bays points out, takes for granted "the identity of Christianity and the cultural-social forms in which it came."[4] As early as the 1850s, the concept of "three-self" (self-support, self-government, and self-propagation) that highlighted native leadership "had first been used by the heads of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Rufus Anderson, and the [British] Church Missionary Society, Henry Venn."[5] While this notion was not nationally implemented until the Three-self Patriotic Movement in the 1950s, it triggered debates among foreign missionaries, and some employed this notion in establishing local churches, as seen in the work of Kenneth Scott Latourette.[6] By referring to the work of the historian Karen Seat, Jane H. Hunter points out "an enlightened racial ideology in missionary periodicals at a time of increasing racial stratification in American society at large."[7] In the 1890s, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church changed the title of its periodical from *Heathen Woman's Friend* to *Woman's Missionary Friend*, indicating a "growing enlightenment of the Methodist WFMS … at a time when racial hierarchies were under scientific construction and Jim Crow laws were being passed and upheld throughout the American

[3] Ibid., 15.

[4] Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 71.

[5] Ibid., 160.

[6] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1929), 423–29.

[7] Jane H. Hunter, "Women's Mission in Historical Perspective: American Identity and Christian Internationalism," in *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812–1860*, ed. Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 33.

South." Hunter writes that "a WFMS missionary even asked her readers to support the anti-imperial struggles of the Congo in 1906."[8] Ma seems to brush over the efforts of a group of foreign missionaries who protested racial inequality.

Chapter 2 is a fine account of the synthesis of Confucian ethics advocating "selfless neighborly care for all,"[9] Christian teachings on self-sacrifice and justice, and a growing awareness of feminism. By introducing the life of Zeng Baosun 曾寶蓀, the great-granddaughter of Zeng Guofan 曾國藩, the author presents a convincing argument for the compatibility of these three ideals. It adds to the knowledge of how local Chinese women reappropriated Confucian teachings and realized that the confinement of women to domesticity was socially and culturally constructed by men. Amidst the nation-building project, Chinese women drew new inspiration from Christianity and formed a new self-identity that advocated for equal rights with men in political and social engagement.

Chapters 3 and 4 look at the leaders of two prominent Christian women's institutions: Ding Shujing 丁淑靜 of the YWCA, and Wu Yifang 吳貽芳 of Ginling College. Under Ding's leadership as the general secretary of the YWCA from 1926, more efforts were made to improve the life of female factory workers. Ding also addressed the engagement of the YWCA in national reconstruction. While Ding's internationalist stance was briefly mentioned at the end of the chapter, it would be interesting to see how Ding responded during the anti-Christian movement of the 1920s and to the May Thirtieth Incident. The author merely mentions Ding's insistence on indigenous leadership one year after the May Thirtieth Incident as opposed to the detailed analysis of the attacks on Christianity and the overall YWCA's response to the May Thirtieth Movement. There are some analytical jumps and contradictions in the third chapter. For example, on page 47, the author concludes that Ding held an inclusive attitude towards Westerners but provides no evidence in that paragraph. On page 49, following the sentence "programs like YMCA and YWCA trained worker-students to combat systemic injustices through strikes," the author jumps to the statement that "their approach 'did not call into question the legitimacy of the entire system.'" A close look at the references shows that the first citation is from Emily Honig's work. The section referred to by Ma titled "The YWCA and Women Workers" did not mention the YMCA's

[8] Ibid., 34.

[9] Ma, *Christian Women and Modern China*, 23.

program. It focuses on the YWCA's industrial program that aimed to "help women understand their function in the Chinese economic system." The YWCA was "one of the few organizations during the 1930's that tried, quietly and modestly, to instill in women a radical understanding of their position as women and as workers."[10] The latter citation is from Daniel H. Bays' work, which focused on the YWCA's literacy program. Echoing Honig's finding, Bays comments that while this program did not directly encourage strikes, it "gave the worker-students not only the ability to read and write, but also resources for managing groups of people, communication skills, and for seeing themselves as able to attempt such a thing as a strike."[11] Ma's statement on the relationship between YWCA and strikes may raise questions. While the author mentions Yan Yangchu 晏陽初 as a leader in the rural construction movement, in the paragraph following the one on Yan, the author writes that the elite class of China was unwilling to "go to the People." This statement ignores the Mass Education Movement led by Yan in which a group of urban elites went to villages to build up a modern rural China.[12] In Chapter 4, the author focuses on women's education through the figure of Wu Yifang. Living through the Nationalist Government and the Communist regime, Wu demonstrated her passion for women's education, her concern for students, and criticism of Western imperialism amidst heightened political pressure.

Part II: The Era of Militant Communism consists of three chapters. Chapter 5 focuses on Zhao Luorui 趙蘿蕤, the daughter of the prominent Chinese theologian T. C. Chao 趙紫宸 (Zhao Zichen). By means of examining the life of Zhao Luorui, which changed dramatically after 1949, the author demonstrates how intellectuals affiliated with Westerners were among the groups that suffered the most during a series of political campaigns. While "Zhao never manifested her Christian faith,"[13] this chapter adds to existing knowledge regarding educated women's lived experience during that time. The following chapter likewise portrays the tragic life of Gu Shengying 顧聖嬰, a world-renowned pianist brought up in a Christian family. Surrounded by the heightened class consciousness, artists with elite backgrounds of the bourgeoisie class found themselves in a milieu intolerant of their identity and skills. Despite showing her

---

[10] Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919–1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 218–19.

[11] Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 127.

[12] For details of the efforts of Chinese reformers and intellectuals in modernizing rural China, please refer to Kate Merkel-Hess, *The Rural Modern: Reconstructing the Self and State in Republican China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017).

[13] Ma, *Christian Women and Modern China*, 87.

loyalty to the nation, Gu was driven to suicide when the political movement turned violent. The absence of religious and gender-based analysis of this event, the author argues, proves that "most of this period's polemics have been dominated by politicized and confrontational identities[, leaving] little room [for the] continuation of previous narratives."[14]

Chapter 7 shifts to two Christian women "who not only survived but were also able to rise to the center stage of public life after the Cultural Revolution."[15] As a committed obstetrician-gynecologist, Lin Qianzhi's 林巧稚 medical professionalism made it possible for her to survive as a Christian believer even in an intense political era. For Xie Wanying 謝婉瑩, her role as a student activist in the May Fourth Movement as well as being a cultural icon as a "kind and virtuous grandmother"[16] made room for her position under the Communist regime. The author notes that, while consistently advocating motherly love throughout her literature before and after 1949, Xie shifted to feminized topics in her later work and detached from the literature that challenged the status quo regarding gender issues. The author's negative view of women's status under communism as revealed in the last sentence of this chapter may be challenged by Wang Zheng's work *Finding Women in the State: A Socialist Feminist Revolution in the People's Republic of China, 1949–1964* (2017). Wang's work shows "how pro-women laws and policies came to be initiated and passed by a patriarchal centralized power structure."[17]

Part III: The Era of Developmental Communism contains the last three chapters on Christian women. Chapter 8 depicts the history of Three-self churches and house churches centering on the experience of Cao Shengjie 曹聖潔 and Lü Xiaomin 呂小敏. The competing narratives of these two figures, one the president of the China Christian Council and the other a popular hymn-writer, demonstrate China's officially sanctioned freedom of religious belief on the one hand and the ongoing struggles of house churches with ruling authorities on the other. Despite the presence of women's leadership in the church system, the author is critical of the male-dominated power structure in both official and unofficial churches. According to the author, it was globalization which

---

[14] Ibid., 105.

[15] Ibid., 111.

[16] Ibid., 124.

[17] Wang Zheng, *Finding Women in the State: A Socialist Feminist Revolution in the People's Republic of China, 1949–1964* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 7.

"made cultural influences pluralistic"[18] and cracked these boundaries. A comparison of Cao with Christian advocates in Hong Kong, however, may need closer evaluation that accounts for the differences in their historical conditions. It would help the readers if the author clarified their arguments in the paragraph dealing with the postcolonial feminist theology on page 147.

Chapter 9 centers on two contemporary diaspora Chinese Christian women, Lily Hsu 許梅驪 and Chai Ling 柴玲. The author challenges the dominant discourse of male Christian leaders in Chinese Protestantism by unearthing the voices of women who were victims of the sexual assaults of Watchman Nee 倪柝聲 (Ni Tuosheng) and Yuan Zhiming 遠志明. It should be noted that Lily Hsu's account regarding the sexual abuse of two female coworkers by Watchman Nee is somewhat different from Chai's case. When the rape took place in 1990, neither Chai nor Yuan had converted to Christianity. The focus on Chai may thus invite criticism from the pro-Yuan camp. The author does mention three other cases which happened during Yuan's evangelistic work, but this is in a very brief account. Inclusion of how the Chinese Christian community responded to allegations of Yuan's sexual abuse after his conversion to Christianity may strengthen the overall argument. While the author refers to the Chinese Christian Life Fellowship which "convened a collaborative effort to commission a professional third-party investigative agency GRACE … on Yuan's case,"[19] the Fellowship's response to the case should also be mentioned given its influence in the Chinese Christian diaspora community.

Chapter 10 begins with Yuan Li's 袁立 conversion to Christianity and her charity work among migrant workers, then briefly mentions another Christian celebrity Yao Chen 姚晨 and her NGO work, and moves to the Christian couple Sun Haiying 孫海英 and Lü Liping 呂麗萍, whose fundamentalist stance incurred waves of criticism in media debates. The disproportionate brevity of Yao's part compared with the other two cases may cause confusion for readers. In commenting on Yuan, the author's criticism of her ignorance of the gender aspect among migrant workers seems to be a forced interpretation supported with little evidence. So far the author only refers to English-language works of Leslie T. Chang and Delia Davin to argue that Yuan should have noticed the gender injustice among migrant women.

---

[18] Ma, *Christian Women and Modern China*, 148.

[19] Ibid., 165.

The concluding chapter explains some terms such as "feminist" and "domination" that have been used in the volume. It would help the readers if the author discussed key terms at the outset. The use of the term "revolutions" also requires clarification. While this word appeared in some of the chapters, it was predominantly linked with political discourse. Representations of the late Qing and the Republican era in the volume focus largely on social change and reforms rather than revolution.

Ma's book is a contribution to the historiography of Christian women in modern China. It calls attention to women's underrepresented voices and lived experiences. The book's rich information outshines the analytical jumps between some sections. The author's skillful portrayal of Christian women in different periods point to the dynamic encounter of gender and power amidst the nation-building project.

ZHOU Yun 周韻

College of Asia and the Pacific
Australian National University

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 173–77 (print version)
Published online March 12, 2022; in print December 2022

Fenggang Yang, Jonathan Pettit, and Chris White, eds. *Shades of Gray in the Changing Religious Markets of China*, Religion and the Social Order, Volume 28. Leiden: Brill, 2021. 392 pp., e-book (PDF), EUR €179.00 / USD $215.00, ISBN 9789004456747.

Fifteen years after Fenggang Yang's landmark article, "The Red, Black, and Gray Markets of Religion in China," the titular tricolor market theory has received diverse reactions, ranging from eager endorsement to complete rejection. For Yang and his colleagues who see both the persistent vitality of this theory as well as the need for further nuance and update, *Shades of Gray* is their response to recent developments in the sociology of religion in China. And an expansive response it is, too, considering that the book is an edited volume comprised of fourteen chapters by eighteen contributing authors. By presenting a new portrait of religion in China that fills significant gaps in the original model, this edited volume testifies that an updated tricolor market theory remains one of the best models in explaining religious behavior and institutions in contemporary China.

The original tricolor market theory proposes that religion in China often functions according to a market mentality, and that the religious market can be divided into the red, gray, and black markets, each drifting further and further from state sanction. The reality of heavy regulation and suppression of religion necessarily gives rise to the tricolor market, and the size of the gray market correlates positively with the degree of suppression.[1] While this central thesis remains valid, this edited volume highlights important nuances for which the original model did not adequately account.

First, as the book's title suggests, "red," "gray," and "black" are not stagnant designations, but "shades" that contain a certain degree of diversity. The fluidity of the tricolor market is highlighted throughout this volume, as multiple chapters argue that "not only is there movement between the three colors of the religious market, but there is also

[1] Yang Fenggang, "The Red, Black, and Gray Markets of Religion in China," *Sociological Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 93–122.

movement within each of the markets. Instead of viewing the religious market model as comprising three distinct categories, it may be more helpful to think of it as a continuum."[2] Throughout the book one observes how various religious groups are constantly subject to negotiations in power relations, both external and internal, that propel them to transition from one color to another, or to a redder or blacker shade within its own color market. A second nuance, related to the first, is that while the original model understandably focuses on the effect of top-down political regulations, *Shades of Gray* argues that often the process for a religious group to retain or change its color is not top-down, but self-initiated, and the primary motivation is often not political, but religious. Contributing author Huang Ke-hsien argues that churches could choose to identify more closely with the red market for their own benefits, due to factors such as the emergence of "a new generation of church leaders…who are much more pragmatic and are equipped with 'state-aiding' entrepreneurial skills," more "active" and "inclusive strategy toward religious regulation" from the government, and "the diversification of ideas, practices, and theology within churches."[3] Likewise, religions that were traditionally entrenched in the red market may also choose to enter the gray or the black market out of their own volition. Third, this volume gives greater consideration to non-state, cultural factors that nevertheless play a significant role in deciding a religious group's movement in the tricolor market. Multiple chapters present case studies in which a religious group's position in the tricolor market depends more on its ability to integrate with the local community across religious and ethnic divides than with its legal status in the eyes of the government. Together this volume seeks to flesh out the rough edges and correct some of the previous oversights in the tricolor market theory.

These arguments are supported with concrete examples, as each chapter typically is one in-depth case study. Perhaps surprisingly, most chapters in this work of sociology do not devote much length to renovating or critiquing theoretical models, opting instead to offer "thick descriptions" of complex religious behavior substantiated by solid fieldwork. Li Hui, for example, tells of a pair of churches making active use of state power to settle their own internal strife. Finding themselves deadlocked in a rivalry between leading pastors—largely

---

[2] Yang Fenggang, Jonathan E. E. Pettit, and Chris White, "Introduction" in *Shades of Gray*, 4.

[3] Huang Ke-hsien, "Becoming 'Patriotic' for God," in *Shades of Gray*, 17–18.

due to disagreements in the order of succeeding church leadership—one church welcomed the intervention of the Three-Self Committee to secure its legal status and to drive out its rival.[4] In another case study, a charismatic and heavy-handed preacher developed such an authoritarian reputation that her congregants were known to complain: "The way I see it, the government should publicize all the wrongdoings of this church to save other Christians from all the deception."[5] Yet she was arrested by the government just in time to turn her tanking reputation into one of a saint and martyr. Here one sees how, in the power play between church and state, mishandlings from one can put the other in a stronger position. In his study of Mentuhui 門徒會, Yuan Hao shows how certain practices originally devised to circumvent state censorship have taken on a spiritual aura for themselves, thus adding "another shroud of mystery to the organization and reinforc[ing] a sense of collective identity."[6] It is an example of a religious group complying with state regulations for primarily religious purposes. In Zhao Cuicui's account of an interreligious conflict in a seaside village, a "red" church was defeated by the "gray" folk religions, despite its clear legal advantage, because it failed to present itself as an integral part of a religiously diverse community due to some Christians' dishonest under-the-table dealings with local villagers.[7] These are but a few outstanding examples among many studied in this volume. Together they challenge the reader to perceive the contemporary state of religion in China as a web of intermingling power relations—indeed a market—where affiliation or disaffiliation with the state becomes a resource to be exploited for the benefit of religion.

The intricacy of the case studies results from the piercing observations of their authors. Almost all authors are mainland Chinese. Most authors conducted their field research and wrote their original manuscripts in Chinese, which were then translated into English for *Shades of Gray*. The sheer volume of contributions, coupled with the translated nature of their work, does present some minor inconsistencies and irks

---

[4] Li Hui, "Between Interest and Politics: The Changing Status of Two Protestant Churches in China's Tricolor Religious Market," in *Shades of Gray*, 74.

[5] Ibid, 67.

[6] Yuan Hao, "The Transformation of Mentuhui (Society of Disciples): Constructing Legitimacy and Adapting to a Changing Religious Economy," in *Shades of Gray*, 45.

[7] Zhao Cuicui, "Competing Interests and Conflicting Beliefs: A Case Study of a Seaside Church in Zhejiang," in *Shades of Gray*, 123–24.

in the writing. Readers are told that the translator chose to render Chinese terms as faithfully and as close to the original as possible, at times to the detriment to the flow of language. But the benefits of convenient access to these texts far outweigh the drawbacks. As Chinese these authors are able to penetrate the religious communities studied here to an extent rarely possible for foreign observers, and therefore are able to unveil internal dealings and clandestine complications hidden from outsiders. Such insider's knowledge enables them not only to offer a detailed portrait of Chinese religion, but also to make contributions to the theoretical side of the field, for cases here would challenge any theorist to account for their full complexities. Proximity to their subjects of study does not dull the authors' critical edge either. It is impressive that, overall, they succeed in being sympathetic but not romantic, in giving voice to their subjects while maintaining a critical distance from them, in being both an insider and an outsider. Focusing on giving complex descriptions allows the authors to walk a tight rope relatively free from ideological biases as well. While at places one can piece together some biases of individual authors based on their angle of analysis, overall one does not find overt favoritism or disdain towards either any particular religion or the state in this volume.

Solid case studies notwithstanding, readers who wish to find in this volume unprecedented or comprehensive engagement of existing sociological theories of religion may be left unsatisfied. One would not find in this book the extreme ends of reactions to the tricolor market theory. Rather, most authors are committed to work within the framework of the tricolor market theory while also providing qualified critique. Some inconsistencies in the chapters though demonstrate the challenges that still face the tricolor market theory today. While much work has been done to situate the theory in the Chinese context, it still bears the image of its theoretical ancestry, which was developed primarily with Christianity in mind. In this volume, the theory is at its best when explaining Chinese Christian churches, which almost always have a "disembedding" tendency common among axial religions. When it comes to some Chinese folk religions that are thoroughly utilitarian in their ethics, however, the theory appears to lose some explanatory power, as these folk religions often see no need to challenge the status quo, hence no need to position themselves along a gradient of state sanction. Especially in chapters that focus on the more idiosyncratic religious sects, greater attention to the sect's own teachings on political ethics, or the lack thereof, would have greatly strengthened the arguments. The lack of a focused theoretical commitment also means that authors can sometimes be imprecise when using loaded concepts such as "democratic,"

"Christology," or "ethical society." Lastly, a point the editors are well aware of, since most chapters draw from fieldwork done in the early 2010s, they cover the tail end of an unusually tolerant period in recent Chinese history. Reading with the hindsight of renewed repression of religion and dissent in China today, one also wonders if more chapters could benefit from greater attention to the presence of state power even as a potentiality. Small drawbacks notwithstanding, this empirically researched and content-packed book largely succeeds in what it set out to do: not to revolutionize the field, but to update the tricolor market theory that remains one of the most vital sociological models today for examining religion in contemporary China.

BAI Yucheng
Duke University

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 179–84 (print version)
Published online March 12, 2022; in print December 2022

Alexander Chow and Easten Law, eds. *Ecclesial Diversity in Chinese Christianity*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021. 239 pp., hardcover, €119.99, ISBN 9783030730680.

Ever since the first century, Christianity, as it expanded in different directions and encountered different peoples and cultures, has become more and more diverse in both ecclesia and theology. Diversity has also become the rule for this grand contextualization of Christianity all over the world, even up to the twenty-first century. The expansion of Christianity in China has been no exception, especially considering China's enormous population, various geographical structures, demographic complexities, pluralistic society, and multicultural background. Yet, in the past, scholars have tended to generalize the patterns or the models of Christianity in China, instead of stressing the uniqueness or differences within the Christian development in China. Is it time for scholars to become comfortable with the term "Chinese Christianities"?

Ecclesial Diversity in Chinese Christianity, under the editorship of Alexander Chow and Easten Law, is composed of eight case studies, in addition to an "Introduction" and an "Afterword," with a purpose to illustrate how diverse Chinese Christianity has been in modern times. The studies span a period from the early twentieth century up to the present time. These eight articles are divided into three sections: Missionary Encounters in China, New Concerns and New Chinese Churches, and Chinese Churches and Urban Identity.

Chow's introduction, "Ecclesial Diversity and Theology in Chinese Christianity," provides a brief history of Chinese Christianity since the Opium War. In a book of only 239 pages, however, an introduction of 23 pages feels well out of proportion and loses sight of the book's theme. This introduction would have been stronger had it stressed the theses of this book and examined them in the context of the scholarship of Christianity in China.

Of the two articles in the "Missionary Encounters" section, both deal with early twentieth century China. Mark Chapman's essay, "Christian Missions' Encounter with High Chinese Culture 1900–1914," challenges our assumptions about the early Anglican missionaries' attitudes toward Chinese culture. The Qing dynasty was at its weakest point by

the turn of the twentieth century. Domestic events, such as repeated defeat by foreign countries, increased study of Western science and technology, and the preposterous Boxer Rebellion that attempted to drive all foreigners from China, might have implied the inability of China to win respect from foreigners. Looking in from the outside, Anglicans who came to China with British imperialism were supposedly equipped with the superiority to spread civilization together with the Gospel. However, contrary to all expectations, as Chapman argues in his paper, Anglican priests repeatedly praised the "higher civilization and progress" of China. This kind of statement can be found in a number of Anglican writings and in major gatherings of Anglicanism up to the beginning of World War I. Chapman concludes that Anglican priests had reached a recognition that "Christianity and civilization were not synonymous" and China "had to be both understood and appreciated in its own terms." (p. 48) Chapman could have helped his readers by adding a short introduction on the "Anglican occupation of China." Usually the more exposure the missionaries had to the Chinese context and the longer they spent in China, the better their understanding and appreciation of local culture.

Connie Au's "Catholic Apologetic Mission in Pre-Vatican II China: A Study of Two Chinese Catholic Texts" discusses the division between Catholics and Protestants as it manifested itself in China during the first half of the twentieth century. The animosity Catholics and Protestants felt toward each other in the pre-Vatican II period was nothing new. Yet their conflict in China has not been fully illustrated. Connie Au uses two Chinese Catholic texts to demonstrate how Chinese Catholics joined the fighting and depicted Protestantism as "heretical," "counterfeit," and "fraud[ulent]," in their writing. Au successfully presents Chinese Catholics' antagonism toward Protestantism but omits to give the titles of the Chinese texts she uses in her article.

The topic of "overseas Chinese Christians," though it has gradually attracted academic attention, has been severely understudied. A major contribution of this book is that three articles in this category have been collected by the editors, who themselves happen to have "overseas Chinese" backgrounds. Through a comparative perspective, readers will see that the respective contexts of these three "overseas Chinese Christians," despite certain commonalities—all are "Chinese," "Christian," and all live in "member nations of the Commonwealth" (Malaysia, the United Kingdom, and Canada)—are in fact vastly different and have led to significantly different religious experiences. In "Diasporic Chinese (*Huaqiao* 華僑) or Multicultural Malaysian?

The Challenges of Being Chinese and Christian in Malaysia Today," Jonathan Y. Tan discusses how Chinese-Malaysian Christians have maintained their identity in the face of the rise of Islamism and Malay nationalism. Chinese Malaysian Christians are "confronted with the challenges and implications of hybridities" and "divided loyalties" while "Chinese-speaking congregations are graying and shrinking" (p. 89). Against this background, Tan implies in his conclusion that the ideal way for the Chinese Malaysian Christians is to put down "romanticized and essentialized categories of racial-ethnic, cultural, and religious identities" and move, in a spirit of *muhibbab* (hospitality and goodwill), toward integration within the Malaysian Christian community (p. 88).

Alexander Chow's paper, "British Immigration Policies and British Chinese Christianity," deals with the early development of Christianity in the Chinese communities of Great Britain. Although also living in an English-speaking and Christian context, British Chinese have been quite different from American Chinese from a demographic perspective and have had a different kind of exposure to Christianity. For a long time, British Chinese were Cantonese-speaking and were mainly employed in the catering business (at least 90% by 1985). This background created barriers and limited evangelism opportunities among this demographic. It took an unusually long time to have both suitable and committed personnel to begin Christian service among British Chinese. Chow points out the change of British immigration policies in relating to the demographic change of Chinese immigration and the pull/push factors influencing Chinese immigration. More importantly, he makes a good contribution to the understanding of Christian evangelism to British Chinese in different periods. If a little advice to the author is allowed, I will suggest that part of his conclusion can be separated and developed as a new section to illustrate the new trends of Chinese immigrants and their meaningfulness to Christian evangelism.

Justin K. H. Tse examines Chinese Christians living in Vancouver, British Columbia, through the lens of local newspaper coverage about them in the *Vancouver Sun*. Though journalists' writing or broadcasting might be simplistic or ambiguous, they did reflect outsiders' views and interpretations of Chineseness or Chinese Christians, and influenced the Canadian understanding of Chinese Christianity. Justin K. H. Tse's study illustrates the complexities of Canadian Chinese Christian attitudes toward sexual issues and shows the delicate politics of Canadian Chinese Christians living in a multicultural context as they face

both local Canadian political matters and pro-democracy movements in China.

The book includes three articles that examine contemporary China. The first is Wang Zhixi's study of K. H. Ting's (Ding Guangxun) interpretation of Jesus' love. Ting, a long-time leader of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, has been quite controversial because of his pro-Chinese Communist Party attitude and position. Wang traces Ting's discourses on specific Gospel texts and suggests that Ting "remakes images of Jesus in order to respond to the political concerns of the time" (pp. 122–23). It seems Wang suggested that Ting himself violated the principle he up-held in the late 1940s—"If Christianity, on the other hand, still resolves to take responsibility by critically examining the society and by offering proper guidance for public opinion, it has to abandon its excessive identification with the current society…" (p. 135). The author's thesis can be strengthened by moving beyond the textual studies and adopting an often-quoted strategy in the Analects of Confucius: "*Ting qi yan guan qi xing* 聽其言觀其行" [If you really understand a person, you need not only] listen to what he says, [but also] observe his deeds.

Steven Hu's article gives a clear introduction to the resurgence of Reformed Christianity in contemporary China with a case study of a Reformed and Baptist church in Shanghai. According to Hu's observation, "affect, emotions and attachment" can all be found in this Reformed congregation. Because of their "explicit membership," the members not only differentiate themselves from others who are not Reformed but also might move to create a set of political spaces for themselves. If it is true, it will be interesting to see whether or not Chinese Reformed Christianity will provoke the Communist system.

Benoît Vermander's article on Christian churches in Shanghai comes from a five-year (2012–2017) in-depth exploration of the various religious and spiritual communities active in Shanghai. Based on his investigation, Vermander draws up the "sacred geography" that was shaped by the "boundaries" and "practices" of Catholic and Protestant churches in Shanghai. Through detailed accounts of religious life, readers can see how these Chinese Christians have kept themselves as an isolated community for the sake of their faith and worship, while also reaching out for missions in a global metropolitan city. Readers will marvel at the contextualization and diversity of their religious formulations, from a foot massage network to an ecumenical LGBT Christian network.

Philip L. Wickeri provides an afterword, entitled "Christianity in China—Pathways, Problems, and Prospects." Wickeri is known for his profound scholarship in church studies, and also for his extensive connections with church and academic circles in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Here Wickeri switches the readers' attention from the mere numbers of the church population to the increasingly friendly social context, with growing public appreciation and respect for "lived" Christianity. The public acceptance of Christianity is very encouraging, and Christianity becomes less and less "foreign" in the public eye as more and more young people are drawn to the churches. The growth and pluralism of Protestant Christianity in China have reached unprecedented levels. At the same time, Wickeri does not ignore the dark side of the context: tensions between Christianity and the government, between Christianity and traditional Chinese folk religions, and between fundamentalists and Christians in institutional Christianity. Yet Wickeri concludes with a note of optimism about the future and holds the belief that Christianity in China "will become more pluralistic, less unified, more sophisticated, less 'foreign,' and all the while more interesting" (p. 218).

The editors apparently do not apply a strict rule to all the articles. Most articles use traditional Chinese characters, but one author uses simplified characters. Most articles have a bibliography section, but one does not. The format differs slightly between articles. Some authors have published similar works in the past. Mistakes happen in homophones of Chinese words. A careful reader might find some humorous errors here and there. For example, "true Christian" (*zhenshi de jidutu* 真是的基督徒, p. 158) should use "真實" instead of "真是"; "old utilitarian" ways (*gongli sixiang* 功力思想, p. 159) should be "功利思想" and "discomfort in one's heart" (*xinling bu shufu* 心零不舒服, p. 159) should be "心靈," not "心零."

Readers must be aware that China has been in a rapidly changing context, and the political pendulum has swung to the conservative side in recent years. The Christian churches in China (and other religions too) might not enjoy the same latitude in their social/political status and ecclesial/theological diversity as before. Furthermore, the advance and expansion of modern surveillance in China have effectively limited missionary activities, contact with overseas Chinese Christians, and the local expansion of Christianity. Some articles in this book are based on authors' previous observation and data and might not be able to properly reflect the current situation.

All in all, the editors deserve our appreciation for their contributions to the understanding of diversity among Chinese Christians. This book illustrates a wider perspective on missionary attitudes toward a changing China, the congregations of Chinese Christians in overseas contexts, and the delicate politics of Christian churches in China. The book examines various cases through modern, interdisciplinary, and global lenses. Even if readers might not agree to the appellation "Chinese Christianities," they will benefit in one way or another from various forms and expressions of Christianity as shown in the above case studies. In this way, the book opens a fresh and healthy horizon for future studies in this field.

According to the "Acknowledgments," this collection of essays is the first of two volumes of theological and ecclesial reflection based on the tenth annual gathering of the Ecclesiological Investigations International Research Network, hosted in Hong Kong from July 20 to 24, 2016 (page vii). The second volume of this collection is definitely worth waiting for.

Peter Chen-main WANG
Fujen Catholic University

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 185–96 (print version)
Published online April 27, 2022; in print December 2022

Bibiana Yee-ying Wong (Huang Yiying 黃懿縈). *The Short-lived Catholic Central Bureau: National Catalyst for Cultural Apostolate in China (1947–1951)* [Tanhua Yixian: Tianzhujiao jiaowu xiejin weiyuanhui yu Zhongguo wenhua chuanjiao shiye (1947–1951) 曇花一現——天主教教務協進委員會與中國文化傳教事業 (1947–1951)]. Taipei: Taipei Ricci Institute, 2021. 336 pp., hardcover, USD $30.00 / EUR €25.00, ISBN 9789572984871.

Dr. Bibiana Yee-ying Wong succeeds in providing a balanced, concise, and bold narrative as to why and how Catholic ecclesial personalities enlivened, endured, and suffered in their ministry associated with the Catholic Central Bureau (CCB), based in Shanghai, China. *The Short-lived Catholic Central Bureau: National Catalyst for Cultural Apostolate in China (1947–1951)* is an invaluable resource for international academic libraries and research institutes that wish to strengthen their collection. After providing an overview on the presence of Roman Catholicism as part of Chinese society as the Qing ended in 1911 and into the subsequent turbulent decades of Republican Era, it concentrates on the history as to how the CCB envisioned itself as religious initiative of hope from 1947 to 1951. Unfortunately, this ministry coincided with the social suffering that beset China: The Communists proclaimed the People's Republic of China in October 1949 and the defeated Kuomintang relocated to Taiwan in December 1949.

Missiologists, religious congregations as well as diocesan and assorted church organizations might find this thoughtful analysis of the CCB helpful as a case study. It depicts how this dedicated Gospel-based programs and educational initiative continued proselytization efforts sustained by individuals who developed localized support albeit surrounded and infiltrated by multiple contentious authorities. Lessons can be learned that apply to contemporary relationships whereby religious entities must co-exist within vulnerable social or political situations.

Ultimately, professors, graduate students and even undergraduate students in a specialized seminar will be inspired and humbled by the details which show how dedicated individuals committed and engaged as social actors made decisions when they found themselves living amidst changes in civic and religious society in China.

Part One of this review addresses the introductory content of the book as it pertains to background and context, archives, and the intentional focus of the author. Part Two provides an outline of each chapter to which I offer a summary perspective which attracted my own interest. I believe approaching this section in such a manner verifies how the author melded the wide range of institutional and biographical content in this book. Also, veteran and emerging scholars, as well as anyone interested in the legacy of Chinese Catholicism, especially in the immediate post-1945 years until the early 1950s, will most appreciate the new historical perspectives and essential components of this narrative. Part Three examines the conclusion and includes some closing afterthoughts.

PART ONE

I would suggest that Dr. Wong's scholarship is best understood as China-directed history. First, it contributes to the historical unpacking of the latter years of the 1945 to 1949 Civil War, as deemed critical by historian Diana Lary: "In China's modern history, there are two periods in the lives of families and individuals that are often passed over in silence: the Civil War and the Cultural Revolution."[1] To this initial point, for example, the author builds well on the scholarship of Paul P. Mariani, SJ, as well as the synthetic narrative of Daniel H. Bays who identified the underpinnings of the Catholic experience in the pre- and post-1949 establishment of the People's Republic of China.[2] This invites a second perspective. Dr. Wong must be applauded for marshalling the content of international archival sources in Chinese and other languages. This has resulted in her writing in a manner that reveals to the reader the Catholic international matrix of purpose and personnel that comprised the day-to-day operation of the CCB.

Care should be taken to read and contemplate the three prefaces that introduce this book, and the Introduction. Fr. Oliver Lardinois, SJ,

---

[1] Diana Lary, *China's Civil War: A Social History, 1945–1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 15.

[2] Paul P. Mariani, *Church Militant: Bishop Kung and Catholic Resistance in Communist Shanghai* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). The CCB is discussed in pp. 65–67, 95–97; Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012). Catholic initiatives in this era are summarized in pp. 169–75.

explains how this publication was crafted from Dr. Wong's thesis. The personal reflection of Fr. Bosco Lu Ta-cheng, SJ, as having attended Mass and receiving communion as seventeen-year-old youth in Shanghai, provides an insightful and poignant context to appreciate the lives of those mentioned in this book. It alerts the reader to pay close attention as to how the efforts undertaken by many of those participants associated with the CCB apostolate and the Legion of Mary from 1947 to 1951 eventually came to be labeled by the Communists as "counterrevolutionary" into the 1950s. In the third preface, Professor Chen Fang-chung is correct to affirm the sound analytical ability and the wide range of archival research undertaken by Dr. Wong. Related to her undertaking, is his honest, forthright assessment that those associated with the ecclesial bureaucratic realm are especially entrusted with the upholding any historical legacy of institutions and structures associated with international Catholicism. Chen writes:

> [T]he archives of these religious orders and congregations or ecclesiastical communities are not always accessible. The gradual weakening and decline of the modern church, its past connection with imperialist colonial activities, or missionary congregations' own reluctance to expose historical facts that could bring themselves into disrepute entice the gatekeepers of these archives towards caution in allowing access to treasure-hunting researchers. (p. xvii)

This is true for those researchers and historians who will follow in the footsteps of Dr. Bibiana Yee-ying Wong.

Finally, in the Introduction, Dr. Wong's succinct direct prose empowers the reader to engage with the topic:

> The CCB was originally set up to coordinate and promote a cultural apostolate in post-war China, but its mission had to be switched to an apologetic role in defense of Catholic doctrine due to the fast-changing and turbulent political situation. The significant role played by the CCB around the time of the Communist takeover and the Chinese Catholic Church's relations with the new regime will be the focus of my study. (p. 11)

By effectively following this narrative, Dr. Wong stretches and challenges the reader to reexamine their existing knowledge of China at this crucial historical juncture. She also efficiently explores the multifaceted international relationships that became part of the CCB framework during its "short-lived" apostolate.

PART TWO

Each chapter is divided into thematic sections, which are in turn enhanced by sub-topical areas. Most welcome are the informative tables that assist the reader to identify and process the relevant historical information being presented.

Chapter 1. "A Zigzag Path to Uniformity" offers an "Historical overview of missionary cooperation before the CCB." Considered are: 1. Regional synods in China during the late Qing period; 2. New missionary strategy and directives; 3. Celso Costantini and *Primum Concilium Sinese*; 4. Synodal Commission on Schools, Books and Press; 5. Catholic Action movement and Mario Zanin.

This chapter, covering 1803 to 1936, builds a foundation of understanding in order to appreciate what transpired prior to the founding of the CCB in 1947. Background on the legacy of European dominance associated with the numerous Chinese synods is valuable. Also, in the aftermath of the 1924 First Chinese Council held in Shanghai, May 15 to June 24, 1929, Dr. Wong summarizes the promulgation of the decrees on June 12, 1929:

> [*Acta et Decreta, I Concilii Plenari Sinensis*] urged missionary activity to adapt to Chinese political and cultural contexts, and made a discerning evaluation of local customs. Missionaries must respect Chinese sovereignty and observe Chinese laws. (p. 32)

Her analysis is an important reference point, since the period from 1924 to 1929 included the Northern Expedition (1926–1928) as part of the Warlord Era (1916–1928). Consequently, implementation of these CCB Catholic pastoral objectives into the 1930s were immediately tested. This occurred when Chinese civil society was devolving into the Kuomintang-Communist chaos and numerous nations were frustrated by the instability of Chinese government. Also, Table 1 which identifies the "Staff lists of the Synodal Commission from 1929 to 1934" (pp. 34–35) serves as a precursor as to how the CCB will also be comprised of international missionary personnel and emerging Chinese leaders.[3]

[3] Short biographical sketches are included on Fathers Theodore Mittler, SVD; George de Jonghe d'Ardoye, MEP; Frederick C. Dietz, MM; Joseph Rutten, CICM; Philippe-

Chapter 2. "'The Dizziest Place' in Shanghai" concentrates on "Creation and organization" of the CCB. Areas elaborated upon are: 1. Establishment of the Chinese Catholic Hierarchy; 2. Reorganization of Synodal Commission by Antonio Riberi; 3. The Catholic Central Bureau and its initial stage Christianization of China through cultural apostolate.

Chinese society was exhausted by The Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). The Holy See made public the news that it decided to reformulate the diocesan hierarchy and increase the number of Chinese bishops on April 11, 1946. On Easter, April 21, 1946, Apostolic Nuncio Marius Zanin announced a plan to "reconstitute and modernize the Synodal Commission" (p. 51). He was recalled, however, and succeeded by Archbishop Riberi who was named on July 6, 1946, as the first Apostolic Internuncio to China; Zanin left China in November; Riberi arrived in December. His hope was to revitalize Catholic education and offset the attraction of youth to revolution and counter Confucian-based Chinese values. Riberi, according to Dr. Wong, believed "[e]ducational work was of the same importance as evangelistic, pastoral and charitable works." He had every hope that scholarship and study of Chinese culture would build on the historic premise that "educated men had a great impact on the transformation of Chinese society" (p. 52).

Riberi had diplomatic training at the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy in Rome and had already served as the nuncio to Bolivia and Ireland, the African Missions and directed the post-1939 effort of the Holy See in Rome to care for war victims and foreign residents. Such assignments probably heightened his affinity to mirror the CCB as if it were a Western bureaucracy seeking to advance the Gospel for the public good of China. For example, American priest Martin T. Gilligan of Cincinnati, Ohio became first Internuciature secretary. In 1947 Riberi contacted Father Thomas A. O'Melia, MM, who had been on the staff of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in Shanghai in 1945. When the latter provided plans describing how the National Catholic Welfare Council (NCWC) had operated in the United States since 1919, Riberi sought to adapt such an undertaking to China. From its inception in 1947, the CCB was envisioned to be of service to the recently restructured Chinese hierarchy. It was thought that these bishops would hold annual meetings in order to facilitate the CCB in conjunction with Chinese diocesan planning. American Bishop James E. Walsh, MM, who joined the staff as general secretary in 1948 lamented the paucity of such a national framework in China. According to Dr. Wong, Walsh "ascribed

---

Ambroise Wu Dehui, CM; Venanzio Zhao Huaixin (alias Wennan); Paul Yu Pin; John Niu Yiwei (alias Ruowang), pp. 35–39.

this deficiency to lack of modernization, particularly poor communications, in a war-torn country, and he could foresee no improvement within a short period of time" (p. 75).

Most fitting indeed, is that the following four chapters do stand alone as chapters in this book. However, for the purpose of this review, I believe that Chapters 3 and 4 as well as Chapters 5 and 6 possess complimentary features. Thus, my observations are placed following the outline of these respective groupings.

Chapter 3. "Creative Propagators of the Faith" describes "Five foreign missionaries in the CCB and their work." Personalities studied are: 1. Francis X. Legrand, CICM, and publication work; 2. Jan Joos, CICM, and Catholic radio activities; 3. Josef Vos, CICM, Correspondence Courses and his books; 4. Patrick O'Connor, SSC, and Hua Ming News Service; 5. Aedan W. McGrath, SSC, and the Legion of Mary.

Chapter 4. "Talented Defenders of the Church" centers on "Five Chinese priests in the CCB and their life's witness." Portraits emerge of: 1. Matthew Chen, courageous scholar and writer; 2. Joseph Shen, organizer and martyr of the Legion; 3. John Dong and his apologetic speech; 4. John B. Gao, OFM, and the national congress on Catholic education; 5. John Mao and his fight for the Overseas Student Service.

Breathing life into CCB bureaucratic infrastructure of lay staff and other Chinese nationwide were the dedicated priests mentioned above. Their biographical backgrounds provided in Chapters 3 and 4 suggest that these Catholic *cadres*—my use and emphasis of the word—were just as committed to the Gospel principles as the Communists were to theirs.

As seen in Chapter 4, that the CICM Scheut and SSC Columban missionary societies agreed to release these four priests to serve the mission of the CCB symbolizes their willingness to identify and solidify a future for Chinese Catholic Church which went beyond their territorial regions. A similar pattern is found in Chapter 5. Dr. Wong's excellent research reveals how all the Chinese priests mentioned had benefited from studying in Europe prior to working at the CCB. In this regard, the author writes, "these competent fresh priests brought their knowledge into full play, and worked shoulder to shoulder with foreign missionaries—changing the inferior status of the clergy" (p. 159).

The biographical background describing the verve, zeal, intellectual vitality, and spirituality of all these CCB priests is compelling. I suspect readers will have their favorites. For example, in Chapter 3, Jan Joos immediately attracted my attention when I learned he composed *Tony*, the opera performed and lauded by all who endured the internment at

Weihsien Assembly Camp in Shandong from 1943 to 1945. Joos went on to learn and implement the creative use of radio, publications and development of a correspondence course that reached many throughout the Chinese provinces. Another was Patrick O'Connor. His writings as a correspondent for NCWC in 1945 provided him the opportunity to interview Bishop Auguste Haouisée, SJ, of Shanghai, American General George C. Marshall, and directly question Zhou Enlai on the Communist party policy towards religion. It was O'Connor who introduced Riberi to Aedan McGrath. Eventually, the latter two combined to promote the Legion of Mary in China. O'Connor then went on to be founder of the Hua Ming News Service as an operation of the CCB in 1948.

In Chapter 4, the deep religious faith and intellect of Chinese priests who found a home at the CCB is addressed. The more Fathers Chen, Shen and Dong contributed to the public manifestation and principles of the organization the more the Communists interfered. The dedication the first two priests caused them to be imprisoned at the Ward Street Jail in Shanghai. It was reported that Chen died in August 1961 and Shen died on February 8, 1954. Dong's June 1951 apologetic speech "The Sacrifice that I Make of Myself to the Two Supreme Powers (the church and state)" accounted for his eventual arrest in Chongqing in 1951. His last known whereabouts was at Qinghai Lake labor farm in 1960.

Fathers Gao and Mao undertook differing ministries that were more in the orbit of the floundering Kuomintang government. As the Nationalist and Communist troops brutalized each other and the local populations in a relentless civil war, the fact that the former cleric was able to coordinate a gathering of fifty-two delegates, assorted guests, listeners, representatives of ten nationalities and at least forty religious congregations at the National Catholic Education Convention from February 15 to 21, 1948 in Shanghai is remarkable. Gao considered the conference atmosphere "filled with a spirit of democracy," writing:

> Up from bishops and priests, down to the religious, brothers and sisters and laypersons, there was no distinguishing between ecclesiastical ranks, all ages and both sexes and participants could freely express their opinions. (p. 147)

This was indeed a notable moment, since Chinese society including the Catholic missionaries, were only permitted to evangelize within Kuomintang legal parameters verified as acceptable and patriotic during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). Gao resigned from the CCB staff in

1949 on good terms to minister to the Chinese Catholics beyond the mainland and died in 1983.

In contrast, Father Mao stands among all these Chinese priests as an individualistic figure who tested the norms of *guanxi* —relationships— in China with Archbishop Riberi. Dr. Wong's ability to show how he did the same in the United States with Congressional House Democrat, Representative John W. McCormack reminds readers the importance of Chinese Catholics international relationships. The priest had founded a scholarship program for Chinese students to be educated in American universities. Riberi invited the priest to undertake an Overseas Student Service as a CCB department in 1948. Unfortunately, Mao's layered and quarrelsome stewardship led to a conflict with Riberi. Dismissed from the CCB on May 3, 1950, Mao continued to engage in a variety of related pastoral efforts beyond China till his death in 1997.

Chapter 5. "Three Self-Reforms and the CCB" delves into "The origin and course of state-church friction" by examining: 1. Opposition between Catholic and Communist ideologies; 2. Religious policy of Chinese Communists; 3. The Three-Self Reform Movement; 4. The CCB's three responding documents.

Chapter 6. "A Tool of the Imperialist Riberi" centers upon the "Ban on the CCB and the Legion of Mary." This comes alive through incidents related to: 1. The first arrest: François Théry, SJ; 2. Suspension of the CCB and press attack, mass arrests of the CCB directors; 3. Crackdown of the Legion of Mary; 4. Tragic death of Jozef Vos, CICM; 5. Imprisonment of McGrath and Legrand.

Traditionally, Catholics who accept the Gospel are identified as living and proclaiming the "good news." At the same time, believers are reminded they must be ready to carry their cross of suffering just like Jesus experienced. Chapters 5 and 6 are sobering because after the Communist liberation of China in 1949, those affiliated with the CCB realized that instead of joy they were participating in the way of the cross. Dr. Wong constructs an historical narrative that helps us understand the meaning and weight of this cross. Many identified with the CCB had to carry it even unto their death. Chapter 5 provides clear examples that Catholicism and Communism were at a crossroad after 1949. They were "two powerful ideologies rooted in the irreconcilable premises: theism and atheism" (p. 161). Dr. Wong carefully guides the reader through the planned sequence of events undertaken by the Chinese Communists to quell both Catholic and Protestant adversaries. That it came to pass that "Every Chinese had to give information about others in order to survive" (p. 182) sums up a life of daily sufferings among Chinese Christians.

Reading about the mental and physical anguish which led the imprisoned Father Vos to take his own life in 1951 and how the "cause of his death was hidden from his family" (p. 224) serves as powerful example to contemplate exactly what it might mean to suffer unto death for the love of one's faith.

Chapter 7. "Aftermath and Continuation" describes "The CCB's final days in Shanghai and reestablishment after 1952." Sections are: 1. The CCB chapel and playground; 2. The fate of Bishop James E. Walsh; 3. Riberi restored the CCB in Taiwan; 4. Singapore Catholic Central Bureau.

Dr. Wong's overview relies on archival sources that offer "new evidence showing that the CCB played a small part in proclaiming the Catholic faith even after the offices could no longer function" (p. 235). The combined creative witness of CCB staffers Father Charles L. Meeus, SAM, Bishop Walsh and three Chinese priests challenge long held assumptions that Communists simply and quickly obliterated all expressions of Chinese Catholicism. Instead, the CCB playground emerged as a sacred space. It is an example of how personal experiences of faith continued in Shanghai and nationwide in this milieu of extended house arrest under vacillating parameters of Communist surveillance.

Chinese Cardinal Thomas Tien Ken-hsin, SVD, and Archbishop Paul Yu Pin faced their own trials:

> Both were forced into exile in the United States for ten years (1949–1959). Within the pontificate of Pius XII, the Holy See forbade them to reside in Taiwan, which became the KMT [Kuomintang] government retreat, so as not to provoke the Communist party-state into persecution of Catholics in mainland by leading the Catholic Church in Taiwan. (pp. 49–50)

Ultimately, it was at this time that the "short-lived" experience of the CCB concluded its four-year apostolate in China by relocating and reformulated its efforts in Taiwan and Singapore to interact with "Chinese Catholics in the diaspora around the world" (p. 235).

PART THREE

Part Three deserves the attention of scholars and those interested in the wide arc of Catholic and Chinese relations. It makes an important contribution to the Catholic historical narrative at a volatile and transitional moment in mid-twentieth century Chinese history. Dr. Wong's use of established and new archival sources describes and respects Catholic identity without venturing into ideological and theological apologetics that once dominated past decades of scholarship related to this era. Consequently, the Conclusion correctly suggests that there is a myriad of topics for others to investigate. For example, how it was that the "Catholic Church and the Communist party possess a set of exclusive qualities, from the ideological to the practical, that prevented their peaceful coexistence" (p. 271). Such knowledge might contribute to the ongoing dynamics that continue to shape all associated with future Catholic-Communist spheres of influence.

Furthermore, the scholarship and narrative provided by Dr. Wong's scholarship cogently combines historical sources over a period that is receiving increased research. In this regard, many associated with the CCB transitioned from diverse traumas of life endured during the seven-year Sino-Japanese War in China or another area of the world at war. Indeed, whereas this experience might have strengthened these participants with a stamina of mission and faith in their commitment to the cultural apostolate, their life in Shanghai might have also led to them being increasingly focused unto themselves. This autonomous mode might have prevented the CCB from expanding their reach to Chinese Catholics in the provinces.

Into the future, this book might encourage scholars who wish to study: 1) the organizational and pastoral efforts of the new and fledgling Chinese hierarchy; 2) The continued coexistence of Catholics with the Kuomintang governance even as it was known to be regionally undependable; 3) Understanding the dichotomy between Catholics and Communists especially since both had some affinity with the peasants north of the Yangzi River since the 1930s.

Moreover, Dr. Wong's concise breakdown of CCB operations reveals the glaring absence of women in leadership positions at the CCB. By 1947, apostolic initiatives undertaken by international and Chinese Sisters of religious and diocesan congregations had proved to be essential

and vital to the sustenance and growth of the Chinese Catholicism throughout the advancing decades of twentieth century China. Delving into the dynamics which indicate the extent to which women religiously participated or were marginalized in the national and provincial Catholic ecclesia would be welcome by historians. This absence is even more striking and in need of investigation when one realizes the abundant presence of Catholic women assigned to the China mission as compiled by Dr. R. G. Tiedemann.[4]

It is also worthwhile to acknowledge the historic relationship between the CCB and the United States Catholic China Bureau. Deng Xiaoping opened China in the 1980s. The Maryknoll missioners as well as the Society of Jesus, religious congregations of men and women and other interested groups and individuals based in the United States sought to reconnect with Catholics on the mainland. Ongoing informal and structured meetings were an impetus for these representatives and others to meet on January 27, 1989, to organize their efforts. Identifying itself as the United States Catholic China Bureau was a conscious decision to remember the CCB of Shanghai. A public announcement followed in September 1989 that the Bureau had commenced its outreach "as an independent and autonomous entity" with an office located at Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey. With consent of the Officers of the Board, in 2012 the China Bureau relocated to Berkeley, California. Having been associated with this organization since it was founded, which included a term as Executive Director (2014–2017), reading the history of CCB in Shanghai reactivated my memory. I recall discussions—sometimes intense—that had arisen throughout the past years which proposed that the "Bureau" change its name. Veterans considered retaining the nomenclature because it was inspirational and a sign of respect. Others believed it was wise to step out of the shadow of the CCB late 1940s era and proceed into the future. It became known as the US-China Catholic Association (USCCA) in 2018. It is now helpful to appreciate and understand the scope of this legacy with the CCB.[5]

---

[4] R. G. Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the Sixteenth Century to the Twentieth Century* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2009), Part II. Roman Catholic: Religious Communities of Women, 47–86; Part III. Roman Catholic: Chinese Religious Communities of Women (Association of Diocesan Right), 87–107.

[5] Pertaining to the genesis of the United States Catholic China Bureau, Sister Janet Carroll, MM wrote: "The Agenda consisted of deciding on the name of the 'desk.' [US Catholic China Bureau was chosen—to associate the project with the Catholic China Bureau which had functioned in Shanghai, China until 1949]" (brackets are in the original quote). In Sister Janet Carroll, MM. USCCB Senior Associate Based on Archival Records February 21, 2008. *Brief History of the Establishment of the US Catholic*

In conclusion, *The Short-lived Catholic Central Bureau: National Catalyst for Cultural Apostolate in China (1947–1951)* presents a welcome narrative using new archival sources. It increases the historical knowledge on Catholic-China relationships from the late nineteenth till the mid-twentieth century. Scholars and the public will surely benefit and build upon Dr. Wong's excellent publication.

Robert E. CARBONNEAU, CP
The University of Scranton, USA

China Bureau: 1979–1989 with pertinent information on Office location: 1989–2002, Archives of the United States China-Catholic Association, Berkeley, California; Also, Janet C. Carroll, "My Pilgrimage in Mission," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 38 (January 2014): 34. The USCCA website is https://www.uscatholic-china.org.

© Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture
Ching Feng, n.s., 20: 197–200 (print version)
Published online May 24, 2022; in print December 2022

Joseph W. Ho. *Developing Mission: Photography, Filmmaking, and American Missionaries in Modern China*. The United States in the World. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2021. 304 pp., paperback, US$29.95, ISBN 9781501760952.

While the existing scholarship on the history of Christianity in China has predominantly relied upon textual materials, visual materials—such as photographs and films—produced by historical actors (especially nineteenth- and twentieth-century missionaries) tend to be pushed aside and rarely foregrounded as the core of historical analysis. Joseph W. Ho's *Developing Mission: Photography, Filmmaking, and American Missionaries in Modern China*, which is developed from his doctoral dissertation at Michigan University, addresses this scholarly oversight by focusing on American missionary visual practices—an integral part of missionary modernity—in modern China during the period between the 1920s and early 1950s. By zooming in on both American Protestant and Catholic missionaries' transnational visual experiences, the author seeks to trace the ways in which "[m]issionary images, first intended to represent specific religious and cultural experiences, came to embody cross-cultural identities, wartime traumas, and shifts in regional, national, and global modernities" (p. 17).

The book comprises five chapters in addition to an introduction and an epilogue. Chapter 1, "New Lives, New Optics: Missionary Modernity and Visual Practices in Interwar Republican China," examines how those missionaries who were sent out to Shunde 順德 (known as Xingtai 邢台 today) in North China by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions mediated their formative cross-cultural experiences in the late 1920s and early 1930s through their imaging practices. These practices were facilitated by the expanding use of miniature cameras around the same period. Through the lens of their cameras, the Presbyterian medical missionary-photographers such as the Henkes (Harold Eugene Henke and Jessie Mae Henke) visualized Chinese architecture and daily life in Beijing and their medical-related

* This review has been supported by the STU Scientific Research Initiation Grant [Project No. STF 19002].

work in Shunde. And the Henkes's colleague at Shunde, Dr. Ralph C. Lewis, used his image-making to illuminate the Presbyterian missionary enterprise "as a collaborative institution and not solely a foreign project" (p. 54) by photographing the work and experiences of Chinese Christians. A point worth emphasizing here is the author's reliance, to some extent, upon missionary-photographers' own textual or oral discourses about their visual practices when interpreting the meaning of the photographs at hand. Discursive evidence is therefore methodologically essential to this historical examination of visual representations.

Chapter 2, "Converting Visions: Photographic Mediations of Catholic Identity in West Hunan, 1921–1929," draws the reader's attention to a look at the photographic practices of American Presbyterians' Catholic counterparts, the Passionists, in 1920s West Hunan (Xiangxi 湘西). It documents how photography provided opportunities for the Passionists' interaction with the people around them, such as Protestant missionaries in Changde 常德, Hunan, or Chinese orphans of whom the Passionist missionaries took care. The author also considers the ways liturgy-related photographs (like those of baptism) the Passionists took served as Chinese converts' visual symbol of the new religious identity and their material tie to the Catholic Church. The author also discusses issues concerning both the Passionists' media identity, which was defined by their competition with Protestant and other Catholic mission organizations, and their visualization as media events of missionary deaths caused by Chinese violence during the Warlord Era. However, the author does not explain why his coverage of the Passionist visual practice is limited only to the 1920s, even as "Passionist missionaries continued to produce photographs across the next two decades" (p. 86). The chapters that follow have no further mention of the Passionists, leaving the reader yearning for more.

Chapter 3, "The Movie Camera and the Mission: Vernacular Filmmaking as China-US Bridge, 1931–1936," shifts the attention from photography to filmmaking by continuing the Henkes's story in the 1930s. In 1931, the Henkes obtained a cutting-edge Cine-Kodak Model B movie camera as a gift from a New York Presbyterian church. The author argues that the Henkes's films, produced both in China and the United States, served as a Sino-US two-way visual bridge. This argument is supported on the one hand by an examination of the Henkes's filming, for a US audience, of both Chinese rural life and tours of the Presbyterian hospital and church in Shunde. One significant feature of the Henkes's China film is the integral role Jessie

Mae Henke played in filmmaking, a gendered role that "challenged the maleness of filmmaking culture" (p. 109) of the time. Another feature pertains to the emphasis, again, on the missionaries' medical and religious work as Sino-US cooperation. The "bridging" argument is developed on the other hand by the author's detailed discussion of the Henkes's furlough film for a Chinese audience. This furlough film featured the modern US countryside, which, in contrast to rural China, had been transformed by technological modernity, such as heavy machinery.

Chapter 4, "Chaos in Three Frames: Fragmented Imaging and the Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1945," continues the story of missionary imaging through a look at three cases in different geographic locations during the Sino-Japanese War. The first one concerns the well-known film footage shot during the "rape of Nanking [Nanjing]" by American Episcopal missionary Rev. John Magee, whose name had to be concealed when Henry R. Luce's *Life* magazine featured the very first dreadful images, reproduced from Magee's footage, of this atrocious event. The author traces the clandestine transportation, by Nanjing YMCA missionary George A. Fitch, of this footage out of Japanese-controlled Nanjing before delineating the footage's immediate visual dissemination. It is particularly worth noting that the lack of anticipated response from the US public reflected the influence of US non-interventionism: "Even when confronted with such graphic footage, US audiences were still grappling with the question of whether the United States should continue its nonintervention and isolationism" (p. 156). The second case focuses on American Presbyterian educator Gerald F. Winfield's imaging of Chinese collective action in labor, education, and political participation in West China, which aided the Nationalist government's war effort. And the third case explores mainly the experiences in wartime North China of Harold Henke, Ralph C. Lewis (both of whose accounts appear in Chapter 1), and Frederick and Myra Scovel (a Presbyterian missionary couple in Shandong).

Chapter 5, "Memento Mori: Loss, Nostalgia, and the Future in Postwar Missionary Visuality," looks first at two postwar color films, *Yangchow 1948* and *Ageless China*, produced by two California Province Jesuits—Father Bernard Hubbard, SJ, a Santa Clara University lecturer, and Father William Klement, SJ, a Catholic priest affiliated with the California Jesuit Province. Their goal in producing these two films was to "present a visualized, idealized past [of China] in a way that would elicit (and also, to [a] certain extent, satisfy) feelings of loss

and nostalgia" (p. 206). The author then traces the final images taken by three Presbyterian missionary couples, the Henkes, the Lewises, and the Scovels. These visual practices were informed by the "loss" of China to the Chinese Communist Party, the end of the missionary enterprise in China, and the Cold War's increasing expansion into Asia.

The book's distinguishing characteristics include its ingenious, informative title—"Developing Mission"—which represents the book well, its inclusion of both Protestant and Catholic missionary stories, and the author's convincing analysis, enriched by his familiarity with the technical aspects of camera operation. One drawback, however, is that the author does not explain his criteria for selecting the historical cases like the Presbyterian, Passionist, or Jesuit missionaries as the scope of his investigation. Were their visual practices representative of those of the "American missionaries in modern China" (as the title of the book announces) in their entirety? Or how were they, compared with other Protestant and Catholic missions in China, distinctive in terms of visual practices? That being said, *Developing Mission* will hopefully stimulate more scholarly efforts in the study of other China missionary visual practices. It is of great value to graduate students and historians of Chinese Christianity, Sino-US cultural interactions, and photography and film.

WANG Zhixi 王志希

College of Liberal Arts
Shantou University

ORDER FORM FOR *CHING FENG* AND BOOKS PUBLISHED OR DISTRIBUTED BY THE CHRISTIAN STUDY CENTRE ON CHINESE RELIGION & CULTURE

Parties who wish to subscribe to the new series of *Ching Feng* and/or to order our publications, please complete this form and return it to The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press (address: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, Hong Kong; tel.: 3943-9800; fax: 2603-7355; email: cup@cuhk.edu.hk) together with a crossed check or a bank draft made payable to "The Chinese University of Hong Kong." Please note that the following listed prices in US$ do not include mail postage. Please add US$6 per book for postage and handling if you order one or two books. Please add US$3 per book for the third book and subsequent books. Please refer to the front matter for the rates of subscription to *Ching Feng*.

CONTACT PERSON: Rev. / Prof. / Dr. / Mr. / Miss * _____

INSTITUTION: _____

DELIVERY TO: _____

INVOICE ADDRESS (if different): _____

_____ E-MAIL: _____

CHECK NO. (if applicable): _____ DATE OF ORDER: _____

* Circle where appropriate.

Publication Details	$ / Unit	Qty. Ordered
Ching Feng, New Series Subscription beginning with Volume ____, Number(s) ____	Please refer to the front matter for the rates	
Ching Feng, New Series Volume 1, Number 1 □ Volume 1, Number 2 □ Volume 2, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 3, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 5, Number 2 □ Volume 6, Number 1 □ Volume 6, Number 2 □ Volume 7, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 8, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 9, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 10, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 11, Number 1 □ Volume 11, Number 2 □ Volume 12, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 13, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 14, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 15, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 16, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 16, Supplementary Issue □ Volume 17, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 18, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 19, Numbers 1–2 □ Volume 20, Numbers 1–2 □	Please refer to the front matter for the rates	

Out of stock: Volume 4, Number 1, Number 2; Volume 5, Number 1

For more book information, please visit http://www.csccrc.org/

Logos & Pneuma
Chinese Journal of Theology
No. 54, Spring 2021

The Indigenization of Religion: Cross-Cultural Perspectives

Theme Editor: Xiao Qinghe

From the Editor's Desk — Xiao Qinghe
The Encounter of Religion and Democracy: Focused on Liberal Protestants during the May Fourth Movement — Yang Weihua
A Pioneer and Paradigm of Chinese Independent Pentecostal Churches: The Pentecostal Mission, Hong Kong and Kowloon — Iap Sian-chin
All-inclusive: A Study on Traditional Chinese Medicine and Western Medicine under the Rural Medical System in North Henan Province — Zhao Ruijuan
Taking an Unusual Path: Re-examination of Karl Gützlaff's Reason for Preaching in China — Li Wuzhe
Brief Analysis of the Missionary Strategies of the Spanish Franciscans in 17th Century China: Taking Mission in Chaozhou as an Example — Ye Junyang
Cross-cultural Translations of "Sin" by Missionaries in Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasty: the "City of St. Peter": Taking Giulio Aleni's *Dizui Zhenggui* (*Correct Rules for the Elimination of Sins*) as an Example — Kang Kai

Thought and Society

The Theology of the Cross in the Heidelberg Disputation and its Contemporary Interpretation — Hong Liang
Transformation of Thomas Aquinas' Virtue Ethics: A Discussion Centered on *Amicitia* — Zhao Qi
Humanism and Beyond Humanism: A Dialogue Based on Hartshorne and Ames — Wang Jiran
The Construction of the "East" in the Religion of Ancient Israel: The Case of the Tower of Babel Narrative — Jiang Zhenshuai
Dialogue between New Testament and Greco-Roman Literature: With the Gospel of John and Odyssey as Examples — Hong Xiaochun
From Weber' s Interpretation of Puritanism to Risk Society: Centering on Anxiety — Shao Tiefeng

2019 Best Thesis Award of Logos & Pneuma Research Student Forum

Tscheng-Dsche Feng and Kierkegaard: A New Interpretation of Feng's Turn in the 1930's–1940's — Tian Zihui
The Image of Moses for Kaifeng Jews during Ming and Qing Dynasties: A Contextual Analysis between the Stone Inscriptions and the Torah — Ni Aixia
From Happy Life to Factical Life: On Heidegger's Interpretation of Book X of Augustine's *Confessions* and its Success and Failure — Li Chenglong

This journal is published by the **Institute of Sino-Christian Studies** in Hong Kong.
For more information, please visit: http://www.iscs.org.hk
Past issues of this journal are online: http://repository.lib.cuhk.edu.hk/en/item/cuhk-475760

Logos & Pneuma
Chinese Journal of Theology
No. 55, Autumn 2021

THE PANDEMIC AND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH: A PERSPECTIVE FROM SINO-CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

Theme Editor: KWOK Wai Luen

From the Editor's Desk

The Pandemic and the Christian Faith: A Perspective from Sino-Christian Theology: An Introduction — KWOK Wai Luen

Focused on Liberal Responsible Witness in Crisis: Rethinking Barth's Political Theology — LI Quan

Suffering and Sickness: Exploring Theodicy from an Existential Perspective — HUANG Luping

Divine Healing in Christian Testimonies in Republican China — ZHAO Pan

THOUGHT AND SOCIETY

The Tension between "God's Bible" and "Man's Bible": A Study on *Essays and Reviews* — TANG Ke

The Place of Authorship for the Ancient Chinese Christian Manuscript *Yishen Lun* (Discourse on God) — TAM Tai-wai David

The Jewish Information in Dunhuang Nestorian Manuscripts in the Tang Dynasty — LI Dawei

The Transcultural Journey of *Theosis*: On Tang Chun-I's Interpretation of Nicholas Berdyaev — CHEN Long

Timothy Richard and Christian Socialism — ZHOU Weichi

How Should the Sino-Christian Theology Movement Carry on? Thinking from the Perspective of Humanism — Jason T. S. LAM

REVIEWS AND RESPONSES

No Means Yes: Review of *A Problem of Presence: Beyond Scripture in an African Church* — CHEN Mingli

ACADEMIC NEWS

The 7th Tao Fong Literary Prize

This journal is published by the **Institute of Sino-Christian Studies** in Hong Kong.
For more information, please visit: http://www.iscs.org.hk
Past issues of this journal are online: http://repository.lib.cuhk.edu.hk/en/item/cuhk-475760

《景風》稿例

為鼓勵更多專研基督教與中國宗教文化之華語學者與海外學者交流，《景風》現接受以英語或漢語撰寫之專文。凡與中國基督教、中國宗教及文化、基督教與亞洲宗教及文化之間的對話等領域相關之評論文章、書評、論文摘要或學術動態，均可投稿。

所有專文都會以匿名的方式評審。本社在發出收稿通知後，約需三至四個月時間進行評審。

以中文書寫的專文，連同注腳，須在 8,000 至 20,000 字以內（包括注腳）。作者須提交書面聲明，確認其文章從未以中英文發表，並且沒有任何其他機構同時考慮出版。

專文稿件請以電腦打字（MS Word 格式為佳），並以電郵方式遞交。文章宜使用注腳而非章節附注。

作者須另頁列明專文之中英文標題、作者之中英文（或英語音譯）全名、工作機構、通訊地址以及電郵地址。並請提供專文之中英文摘要各一篇（每篇約 100 字）以及中英文關鍵詞。

除中文書名號及其他有別於英文標點符號的用法之外，注釋格式基本上按 *The Chicago Manual of Style* (17th edition) 推薦的樣式。請作者使用注腳和書目的形式，並於第一次注解時提供參考專文或專書的詳細資料（中文注腳格式見本社網頁：http://www.csccrc.org/note_tc.php）。

作者會在專文刊出之前收到 PDF 格式之排版校對稿。

獲《景風》發表的專文版權歸基督教中國宗教文化研究社所有。作者可以在其他出版物使用其發表的專文，惟必須事先得到本社之許可，以及在出版物上注明《景風》為原出處。若作者轉載任何受版權保護之材料，必須自行向版權擁有者申請授權。作者可獲贈一期《景風》贈閱本。

獲《景風》發表的專文並不代表本社或《景風》編委之立場。專文所表達的意見以及所描述事實的準確性，為各作者之責任。

投稿、意見交流及公務信函請寄：香港沙田香港中文大學梁銶琚樓，文化及宗教研究系，《景風》副主編德詩婷教授收（Prof. Naomi Thurston, naomielainethurston@cuhk.edu.hk, chingfeng@csccrc.org）。

Notes for Contributors

In order to encourage exchange of ideas and research findings between Chinese scholarship and international scholarship in Christianity and Chinese religions, the New Series of *Ching Feng* accepts original research articles in English as well as in Chinese. The editors also welcome review articles or book reviews, dissertation abstracts, and academic news that are related to the areas of Chinese Christianity, Chinese religions and culture, and dialogue between Christianity and Asian religions and cultures.

All articles are anonymously peer-reviewed. After they are notified of the receipt of their submissions, authors should allow three to four months for a review.

Research or review articles, including notes, should be between 5,000–15,000 words in length for English and 8,000–20,000 words in length for Chinese. Authors are required to submit a written declaration that their articles have not been previously published in English or Chinese and are not concurrently being considered for publication elsewhere.

The editors accept manuscripts in softcopy sent as e-mail attachments, and strongly prefer MS Word format. Articles should be annotated with footnotes, not endnotes.

The title of the article, the author's name, institutional affiliation, mailing address and e-mail address should be provided on a separate page before the article. An abstract of around 100 words should be included on another page. If possible, a bilingual version of the above information is preferred.

Documentation should conform to the style recommended in *The Chicago Manual of Style* (17th edition). Authors are strongly encouraged to use the system of "notes and bibliography"; full details should be provided in a first note. Whenever appropriate, Chinese and other Asian proper names and terms should be provided, together with romanization, for the first occurrence; the *pinyin* system should be used for Chinese names and terms.

Contributors will receive a typeset proof (as PDF file) before their articles are published.

It is a condition of publication in *Ching Feng* that authors assign copyright to the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture. Authors may use their published articles elsewhere, provided that prior permission of the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture is obtained and that *Ching Feng* is acknowledged as the original place of publication. Authors are responsible for obtaining permission to reproduce any copyrighted material from other sources. Authors of articles are entitled complimentary copy of one issue.

Articles in *Ching Feng* represent neither the views of the Study Centre nor those of its editors. Responsibility for opinions expressed therein and for the accuracy of facts rests with the individual authors.

Contributions, exchanges, and business correspondence please address to the associate editor of *Ching Feng*, Professor Naomi Thurston, Department of Cultural and Religious Studies, K. K. Leung Building, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, Hong Kong (email: naomielainethurston@cuhk.edu.hk, chingfeng@csccrc.org).

Ching Feng *A Journal on Christianity and Chinese Religion and Culture*

New Series, Volume 20, Numbers 1–2

The History of Christianity in Modern China

1 Introduction: Chinese Christianities in Big Eras / ***Marina Xiaojing Wang, Agnes Suk-man Pang, and Kinia Choi-lin Ng***

7 Christian Schools, Left-wing Literature and the 1967 Riots in Hong Kong: A Case Study of *Youths' Garden* / ***Ying Fuk-tsang***

49 中國宣道會瑞典宣教團 (1893–1900) / **何明章**

87 大時代下的基督徒學者——以燕京大學宗教學院蔡詠春為例 / **曾慶豹**

111 「禮賢車騎」——王謙如牧師與他的德國淵源 / **胡健斌**

Appendix

133 Tribute to Jean-Paul Wiest / ***Anthony E. Clark***

Other Article

139 重新評價科玄之爭——五四百年後再思科學與宗教的對話 / **關啟文**

Book Reviews

159 ***"A Model for all Christian Women": Candida Xu, a Chinese Christian Woman of the Seventeenth Century*** / Wai-yin Christina Wong

165 ***Christian Women and Modern China: Recovering a Women's History of Chinese Protestantism*** / Zhou Yun

173 ***Shades of Gray in the Changing Religious Markets of China*** / Bai Yucheng

179 ***Ecclesial Diversity in Chinese Christianity*** / Peter Chen-main Wang

185 ***The Short-lived Catholic Central Bureau: National Catalyst for Cultural Apostolate in China (1947–1951)*** / Robert E. Carbonneau, CP

197 ***Developing Mission: Photography, Filmmaking, and American Missionaries in Modern China*** / Wang Zhixi

基督教中國宗教文化研究社
CHRISTIAN STUDY CENTRE ON CHINESE RELIGION & CULTURE

ISSN 0009 4668
9 770009 466008