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◎王成勉

# 教會與國家文化

對基督教史研究的思索與案例

生之命

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馬禮遜入華宣教

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# 教會文化與國家

對基督教史研究的思索與案例



A1027587

◎王成勉



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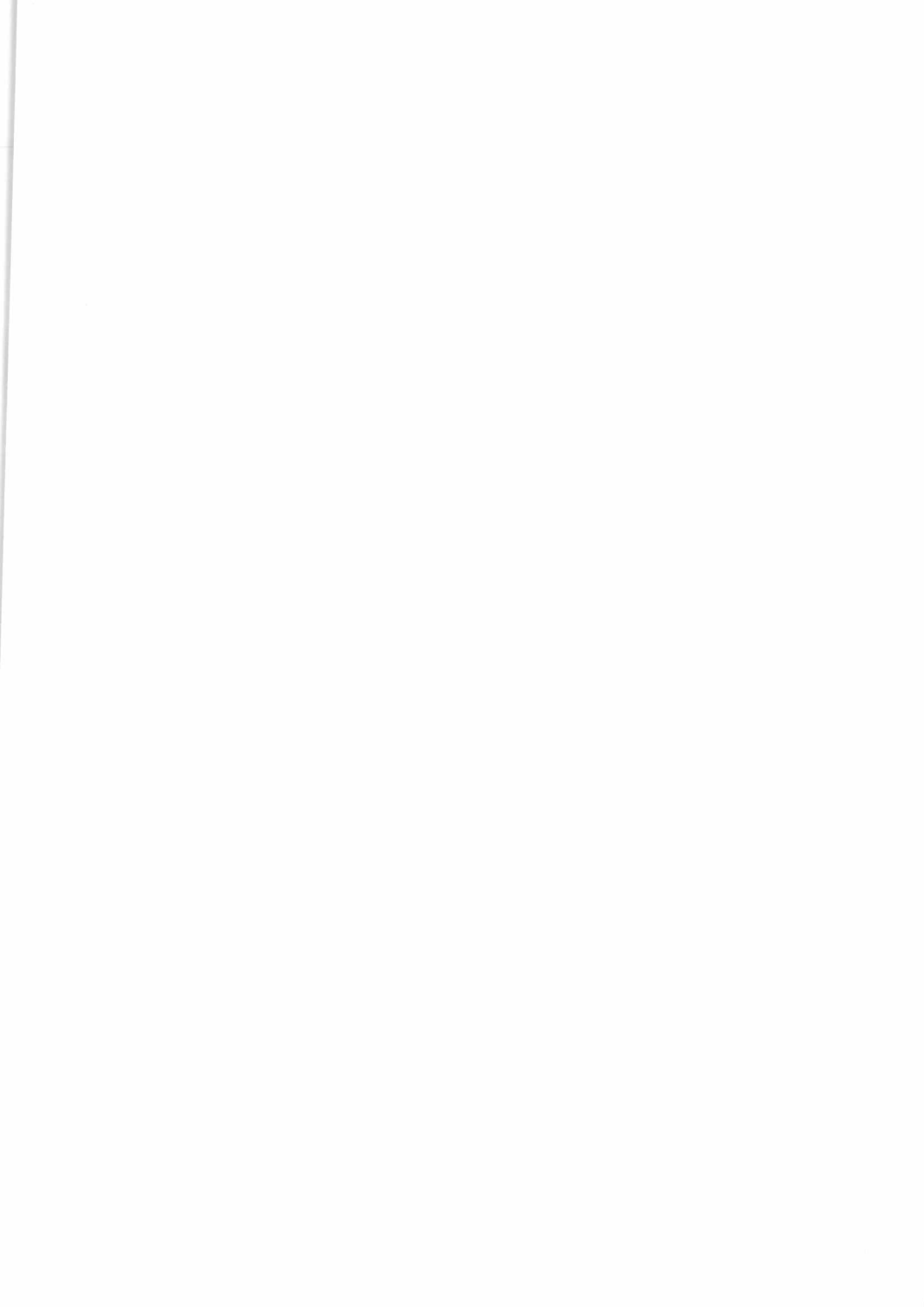
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## 自序

走入教會史的研究轉眼已有二十多年，陸陸續續的寫了不少東西。可是當去年接到宇宙光的邀請，要我找出十萬字的稿件編輯成冊時，竟然頗有幾分猶豫。近年來在大陸、香港與歐美的教會史研究已成風氣，每年新出的著作不下百篇，專書與學位論文每年亦有數十本之多。無論在研究方法、學術見解、史料引用等方面，不斷推陳出新，卓有見地的亦為數不少。若要自己一一補充舊作，那真不知何時才能完稿。掙扎了好久才選出八篇。這八篇並不見得是我最好或最滿意的作品，但這八篇文章各有一些看法，寄望能提供給學術界與教會界一些思考的空間，或許以史為鑑，將來可以有更周延的學術著作，以及更健康的教會發展。那麼，舊文新印，也是一件值得的事。

這八篇長短不一有關教會史的文章，可以分成三類：前兩篇是研究方法的討論，以後六篇分別是三篇中國教會史與三篇台灣教會史的文章。而在發表時間上，從十年前到一年多前都有。所以當文章中行文有到目前為止的用語時，其實時間點並不是今天，這也是特別要向讀者致歉的。我也要特別感謝宇宙光的編輯同仁，寬大的同意我保持其中兩篇的英文原貌。一方面是我當時就是用英文發表，有些詞句用英文較能保持原意；



另一方面也是時間所限，一直難抽空再翻譯成中文。

以下，我先對這八篇文章做重點簡述：

第一篇文章：(Moving Toward a Mature, Balanced Stage of Studying Christianity in China)，是我於二〇〇二年在荷蘭萊頓大學(Leiden University)任教時所寫，發表於荷蘭的一份學術通訊上。我在文章中力主「處境化」(contextualization)在教會史研究上的重要性，我也認為只有處境化的探討方式，才比較容易有成熟與平衡的研究成果。事實上，我在二〇〇二年六月於萊頓大學舉辦了一場從處境化來探討基督教在華史的國際學術研討會，邀請了美、加、英、德、荷、大陸、香港、台灣的學者參加。值得高興的是，這些應邀參加的眾多著名學者，不但贊同會議的主題，並且提供重要的學術論文，相信這本預計二〇〇六年出版的論文集會對學術界有所貢獻。

第二篇文章：〈政教關係—研究基督教在華史的重要途徑〉，是我應邀在香港中文大學宗教與中國社會研究中心，於二〇〇四年十二月所舉辦的第二屆「基督教與中國社會文化」國際年青學者研討會中做的主題演講。這是一方面有鑒於政教關係在教會史研究中的重要性，另一方面則是過去的中文著作多是毫無章法的在論述教會史的政教關係，所以就儒家傳統的政教關係談起，兼及理論和近年重要著作的介紹。

第三篇文章：〈余日章與公民教育運動〉，也是與政教關係稍有關聯。這文章是以余日章在一九二〇年代推動公民教育運動為例，討論教會對於社會與國家的關切及做法。我認為公民教育運動是值得教會界來思考的案例。教會不可能與社會隔絕，但是教會如何參與社會與國家的事務，則又是很微妙又很

難拿捏的。而當年基督教青年會能夠推動公民訓練，培養出具有現代公民知識與公民意識的民衆，的確是符合現代社會之所需，也是對國家社會的正面貢獻。這遠比教會去捲入政治、支持黨派要高明的多了。余日章在領導青年會的同時，能夠了解國家之所需，提倡公民教育運動，是極具遠見的創舉，爲他自己、青年會，以及中國教會史都留下重要的一頁。

第四篇文章：〈中華基督教青年會初期發展之研究〉，是在討論二十世紀前二十年在中國發展最快的教會機構——中華基督教青年會。每個教會機構或是教會發起的運動，都希望自己能廣被教會各界所接納，又能快速的發展，但是歷史上卻很少有這樣的成功案例。中華基督教青年會的做法是值得學習的。它自始就標明立場，並非與教會競爭，而是在配合教會、補足教會。其一方面堅持其是基督教的團體，由基督徒來領導，但是另一方面又強調不介入教派與神學的爭論。至於發展上則走向中國人的自主與自立，同時還保持一種與時俱進、因時制宜的生命力，所以青年會在華的發展上不但有許多特色，也因此特別受到歡迎。

第五篇文章：〈基督教合作運動之困境——『中華全國基督教協進會』之研究〉，是對於教會合一的個案探討。教會中的人士都知道，分門別類、各自爲政，甚至互相批評攻訐，是最傷害教會的事。但是對於可以省錢省力，互相配合、集思廣益的合作事工，卻又是令許多教派躊躇不前的事。在一九二〇年代轟轟烈烈興起的『中華全國基督教協進會』，幾乎涵蓋在華的一半教會，竟然在幾年之內就低沉下去，是教會中合作難成的好例子。仔細來看，此合作運動所以無法成功，在精神上仍不

外乎神學、教派與政教關係的立場不同，人事方面還是可見人性上的血氣用事，以及傳教士心態在影響。

第六篇文章：〈台灣基督教大學教育的檢討——以東吳、東海、中原三校為例〉，是以早期在台從事高等教育三個大學為討論的對象。教育事業本來就是教會社會事工中投資龐大，卻又未必有高效益投資成果的事業，這尤以教會大學為甚。事實上，當教會學校成立之時，也就是學校走向世俗化的開始。因此如何塑造與保持教會學校的特色與精神，一直是教會教育人士最關心之處。東吳、東海、中原三校成立前後只差一年，但是由於資金、人事、運作上的不同，經歷過台灣經濟轉為富庶、眾多公立大學成立、教育法令束縛的環境，發展成三個大不相同的大學，其中的檢討值得從事教會教育者參考。

第七篇文章：〈Christianity in Modern Taiwan-Struggling over the Path of Contextualization〉，是從「處境化」來討論台灣教會的發展。過去教會界在檢討基督教在華史時，往往認為教會「本色化」做的不夠，所以會落得「洋教」這個污名。但是何為「本色化」？又如何「本色化」？「本色化」又是教會成功與興旺的必要條件嗎？這篇文章以台灣基督教長老教會與天主教會為研究對象，探討它們在「處境化」上的演變和努力，同時也用教會人數的增長作為參考，顯示「處境化」與教會增長未必有直接的關係。

第八篇文章：〈台灣基督教與漢學研究——回顧與展望〉，是我三年前在輔仁大學發表的論文。這篇文章除了介紹台灣教會史料與基督教研究發展的阻礙外，其實也是在反省為何台灣當前的教會界無法發展出漢學研究來？過去從利瑪竇開始，教

會對於中國文化與學術的注意，產生多少對於漢學深入了解的人物與機構，再經由他們和中國文化展開深層的對話，贏得中國知識份子的尊重，同時也造成基督教平和與自然的傳入中國。需知知識界是社會的大腦，若基督教無法與知識界對話和互動，則透過知識界產生出來的社會思考，不但不會有利於宣教，更是排斥的主因。台灣教會機構多著眼於宣教事工，鮮少對於文化研究願意贊助或提供史料，這也無怪乎宣教屢遇瓶頸，教會人數難有增長。

我之所以不憚其煩的重點介紹這八篇文章，一方面讓讀者對於這本書內容有概括性的了解，另一方面也藉此說明我為何選出這八篇文章的主要用意。文史類的學術研究，若能轉為實際生活的參考，甚至對於以後的研究做到拋磚引玉，有著墊腳石的作用，那麼自有其本身的價值與意義，也不枉費研究者皓首窮經的一番心血。耿耿此心，亦代表我對教會界與教會史研究同行的殷殷盼望與致意。

王成勉

寫於二〇〇六年五月

謹誌於大直



## 【一】

## Moving Toward a Mature, Balanced Stage of Studying Christianity in China

Before the 1970s, if anyone wanted to study, or even mentioned the topic, of Christianity in China, he/she would quite naturally adopt a "mission" approach. This approach is vividly reflected in a number of major works. For example, Kenneth Scott Latourette's monumental one-volume work *A History of Christian Missions in China* (1929), Columba Cary-Elwes' *China and the Cross: A Survey of Missionary History* (1957), and Pasquale M. D'Elia's *The Catholic Missions in China: A Short Sketch of the Catholic Church in China from the Earliest Records to Our Own Days* (1934). Or John K. Fairbank's (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* which was derived from a conference held exactly 30 years ago. This approach is understandable because the West was the origin of foreign missions for more than a thousand years. And the "mission" approach has been well

accepted and well established in the Western world.

The attitude of Western church circles echoes this approach. This was especially true when all foreign missionaries were either deported or put into jails in China about half a century ago. Church organizations, mission boards, as well as individual missionaries, held various discussions/seminars in order to find out why China was "lost". Individual missionaries, mission boards, as well as world-wide missionary organizations often self-examined their own behavior and mission strategies in order to figure out why countless good works with the investment of tremendous amount of time, money, and energy could not win the Chinese souls.

The availability of historical sources also helps to justify this approach. When church or university scholars in the West pioneered research on Christianity in China, they were easily attracted to numerous rich collections of church/missionary archives. Based on on-field missionary reports, minutes of the meetings of mission boards, as well as correspondences between home board and missionaries and between missionaries and their governments, the researchers could easily draw a picture of foreign "missions" in China.

However, this "mission" approach declined in early 1970s. While former scholars in this field switched their interest to other subjects, few important works were produced for a decade. Scholars in this field gradually recognized that they could not study "Christianity in China" without saying anything about the Chinese context and Chinese converts. A "China-centered" approach to the study of

"Christianity in China" burgeoned in early 1980s. No matter whether in Catholic circles or in the Protestant field, Chinese converts became an important subject to study. A number of questions were raised: why did they accept the religion, did they really understand the religion, what in the missionary preaching did they respond to, how did they keep a balance between Chinese culture and Christian ideas, and how did they justify their religion in the face of anti-foreign, revolutionary tides in China?

Terms, such as "Indigenization of Christianity" or "Indigenized church," soon became popular in church history circles in the 1980s. These terms seemed to suggest that the goal and methods to build an independent Chinese church could be integrated with Chinese culture. More and more articles, theses, books, and conferences have dealt with this issue.<sup>1</sup> Major Chinese Christians, Chinese churches, as well as Chinese theology, has attracted much attention from academic circles.

Along with this research trend, a great amount of Chinese church materials were unearthed in China and in the rest of the world from the 1980s on. Quite a few reference books and finding aids were edited and published, making it easier to locate church material in the West and also in China. In this way, "Christianity in China" not only regained its scholarly momentum in the West, but also won the atten-

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<sup>1</sup> More than 20 conferences have been held in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the United States and Europe since mid-1980s. I also organized an international conference on "Indigenization of Christianity in China" in 1988.



tion of the Chinese scholars. With the relaxation of restrictions on church material and church studies in China in the late 1980s, we have witnessed the surge of a younger generation of Chinese scholars in this field in China. Hundreds of Chinese books on Christianity in China have been published in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.<sup>2</sup> The 1990s was a fruitful season for "hundred flowers blooming" for Christian history in China. For example, more than fifty academic books in Chinese were published in 1998 and 1999.

One of the most important trends of studying Christianity in China is the swing of the academic pendulum from the extreme side of the "indigenization approach" to "contextualization approach."<sup>3</sup> Scholars in this field gradually recognized that they must keep balance between the "mission approach" and the "indigenization approach." In other words, a mature work must pay attention to the interaction between the Gospel and the Chinese context, between missionaries and the Chinese converts, between mission strategies and Chinese response. This kind of approach is not possible unless the researchers can dili-

2 For a general survey of Chinese books on Christianity in China, see Peter Chen-main Wang, "Jidujiao caihuashi zhongwen shumu xuan Yao" (*Selected Chinese Bibliography on Christianity in China*), in Peter Chen-main Wang (trans.), Jessie G. Lutz, *Sochuan weibo — Jidujiao caihua xuanjiao di jiantao* (*Christian Missions in China — Evangelists of What?*) (Taipei: Academia Historica, 2000), pp. 247-273.

3 "Contextualization is a dynamic process of the church's reflection, in obedience to Christ and his mission in the world, on the interaction of the text as the world of God and the context as a specific human situation." See, Sinclair B. Ferguson, David F. Wright and J. I. Packer, *New Dictionary of Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1988), p. 164.