

# 处境与视野

潮汕中外交流的光影记忆

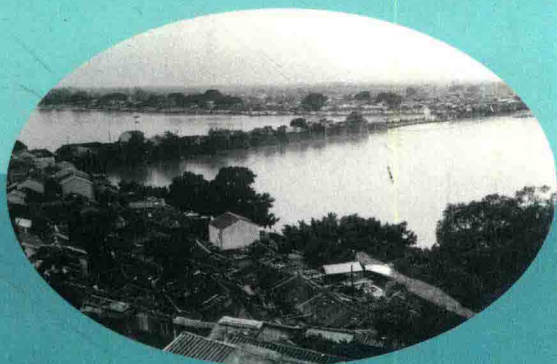
Context and Horizon

Visualizing Chinese-Western Cultural Encounters  
in Chaoshan

Joseph Tse-Hei Lee

Christie Chui-Shan Chow

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周翠珊  
编著



潮汕社会宗教与文化研究系列

生活·讀書·新知 三联书店

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# 总序

中外文化交流与地方社会变迁，不仅仅是近代中国历史关注的课题，更是潮学研究的重要组成部分。第二次世界大战以后，随着历史人类学和社会文化理论在欧美学术界渐成风气，海内外汉学家亦尝试采取跨学科的角度，来重新审视潮汕历史社会文化的发展，通过几十年的研究，已经取得了辉煌的成就。

我们对潮汕区域历史、潮籍历史文化名人、潮人的海外拓殖史、潮汕区域政治经济状况、潮汕文化源流、潮汕方言、潮州音乐、潮州歌册、潮州戏剧、潮汕工艺农艺、潮州饮食文化等，都已有一定程度的把握。

潮学研究成果虽丰，在宗教研究方面，却未见相应之发展。当然，在潮学圈中，也有学者就潮汕地区各宗教的文化、历史及其与社会之互动等做了一些探索，例如对祠堂、庙宇、祖先崇拜、风水、亡斋风俗、宋代潮州佛教等的研究，又例如对潮汕地区的基督教传播、清末潮汕地区的基督教运动、20世纪教会办学的发展、汕头基督教教会的自立与分离、个别基督教宗派及差会的历史描述等的研究。然而，这方面的努力，至今仍然只属初探阶段，当中存在着不少有待填平的研究沟谷。

潮汕宗教文化也正是在这样的背景下进入了学者的研究视野。毫无疑

问，潮汕历来都是信仰氛围浓厚的地方，其宗教文化源远流长、风格独特、多元而又开放，这既是潮汕文化的重要组成部分，也是海内外潮人凝聚乡族、延续传统的纽带。当把潮汕宗教放到中国宗教文化的大背景之中去考察时，也很容易发现，它异常鲜明地体现了中华民族多元包容、融会贯通的信仰特点。

潮汕宗教的信仰风格，在它面对外来信仰时表现得尤为明显，潮汕基督教一百六十多年的发展历程，就是潮汕文化与基督教不断接触和对话的动态过程。早在 1860 年汕头开埠之前，基督教就已在潮汕本土传播，<sup>1</sup>它与潮汕社会和谐并进，对牵动地方社会的现代化扮演了不可或缺的角色。<sup>2</sup>潮汕地处沿海，自然灾害频繁，如 1911 年洪涝、1918 年地震和 1922 年台风期间，本土宗教团体及教会合力为救助灾民及灾后重建做了大量工作。<sup>3</sup>同时，教会也对地方的经济发展有积极贡献，例如在 19 世纪与 20 世纪之交，于潮州商贸领域中举足轻重的抽纱工艺，正是由传教士引入的。<sup>4</sup>另一方面，潮汕社会也以开放的态度接纳这种外来信仰，并以宗族为纽带，把基督教信仰

- 1 以往学界一般以瑞士巴色会传教士黎力基 1848 年在汕头澄海盐灶传教作为基督教传入潮汕的开始，后经考证，1831 年及次年，传教士郭士立就已先后两次到过汕头南澳。胡卫清教授曾对近代潮汕地区基督教传播及发展的历程作过梳理，详见胡卫清：《苦难与信仰：近代潮汕基督徒的宗教经验》，北京：生活·读书·新知三联书店，2013 年，第 25—41 页。
- 2 如李期耀博士的研究就以美北浸信会（又称美北浸礼会）的教育、医疗、文字事业为考察对象，分析传教士及差传教会与本土社会的互动关系，以及其为潮汕社会所带来的积极影响；详见李期耀：《差传教会与中西互动——美北浸礼会华南差传教会研究（1858—1903）》，山东大学历史文化学院 2014 年博士论文。
- 3 相关研究成果如：Joseph Tse-Hei Lee（李榭熙），“Disaster Management and Christian Church Network in Early Twentieth-Century Chaoshan, South China”, *Berliner China-Hefte/Chinese History and Society*, 35 (2009): 64—79。
- 4 相关研究成果如：蔡香玉：《坚忍与守望：近代韩江下游的福音婆娘》，北京：生活·读书·新知三联书店，2014 年，第 9—10 章；李金强：《福源潮汕泽香江：基督教潮人生命堂百年史述 1909—2009》，香港：商务印书馆，2009 年，第 49—51 页；李金强：《同乡、同业、同信仰——以“旅港潮人中华基督教会”为个案的研究 1923—1938》，载吴义雄主编：《地方社会文化与近代中西文化交流》，上海：上海人民出版社，2010 年，第 225—243 页。

代代相承；基督教信仰又与本土文化相结合，塑造了潮汕基督教的独特内涵，从而使潮汕基督宗教文化成为潮汕宗教文化不可缺少的组成部分；在广东省的基督教图谱中，潮汕地区基督教的堂点约占三分之一。<sup>1</sup>

以上这些因素也就是我们在2012年开始出版《潮汕社会宗教与文化研究系列》的原因。这套丛书广邀不同领域的潮学研究学者参与，从历史、经济、建筑、艺术、文学、语言、民俗、中外交流、宗教对话等向度切入，发掘蕴藏于潮汕宗教文化中的人文宝藏，以多元的视野为深化潮学研究而贡献力量。经过五年的不懈努力，丛书已先后有六本著作问世，分别是：胡卫清著《苦难与信仰：近代潮汕基督徒的宗教经验》（2013年）、林凯龙著《潮汕老厝：四海潮人的心灵故乡》（2013年）、蔡香玉著《坚忍与守望：近代韩江下游的福音娑娘》（2014年）、陈景熙等著《故土与他乡：槟城潮人社会研究》（2016年）、黄挺著《中国与重洋：潮汕简史》（2017年），以及李榭熙与周翠珊编著《处境与视野：潮汕中外交流的光影记忆》（2017年），成果令人欣喜。

得蒙李嘉诚基金会的鼎力支持，并香港中文大学的大力合作，“汕头大学文学院基督教研究中心”于2010年初正式成立。中心以推动潮汕基督宗教研究、推广全人生命教育为宗旨，以多种面向、多种角度发展教育、科研及文化交流。在此基础上，为进一步拓宽学术视野、深化研究内涵，在2017年更名为“宗教文化研究中心”，致力于开拓多元宗教文化研究，计划就中国的宗教生态、中国宗教与传统文化、中国佛教的历史与文化、宗教慈善、犹太教文化研究等问题进行研究探讨。“面向汕头大学师生”是中心的根底，我们通过课程、讲座、出版等项目，丰富大学通识教育内涵，发展特色学术科研；“面向潮学及宗教文化研究学界”是中心的方向，为此我们不断深化与权威学术机构及学人的合作，搭建国际化研究平台，拓展潮学研究视野；“面向潮汕社会”则是中心的使命，我们也积

1 2014年7月14日，广东省基督教两会在揭阳市召开第二次潮汕四市教会联席会议，会议中指出：潮汕四市教会堂点270个，占广东省基督教堂点的31%，并且潮汕籍教牧同工在广东省教牧同工中也占三分之一。

极展开文化保育，推动海内外潮人交流，致力于传承及弘扬潮汕文化。

丛书的面世，得到了生活·读书·新知三联书店的专业出版支持，我们深感荣幸。有各方的鼎力相助，我们深信，本套丛书能给海内外学者及读者带来一种人文新视野，并为推动潮汕地区的宗教文化研究及深化潮学研究做出贡献。

卢龙光

《潮汕社会宗教与文化研究系列》主编

## General Preface

The dynamic process of Sino-Western cultural encounters has always been a major topic of research in the historiography of modern China and the field of Chaoshan studies. In recent decades, many Chinese and international experts have drawn on the analytical insights of historical anthropography and cultural studies to investigate the continuity and change in Chaoshan from an interdisciplinary perspective. Most of the scholarly works examine the Confucian transformation of the region, the role of prominent Chaozhou historical figures in imperial China, the opening of Shantou treaty port, the expansion of Chaozhou migrant networks in Southeast Asia, the development of Chaoshan dialect, and the varieties of local material culture, ranging from customary practices and opera to cuisine and handicrafts. Little attention, however, has been given to Chaoshan's diverse religious landscape, especially the resilience of popular religions and ritual customs, the spread of Christianity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the changing relations between sacred and secular in the modern era.

Against this backdrop, this academic book series on "Chaoshan Society, Religion, and Culture" in was launched 2012 to advance a thorough understanding of the cultural heritage of Chaoshan in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. The book series provide a valuable platform for Chinese and international researchers to explore



and interpret the centrality of religion in Chaoshan from the past to the present. Our contributors draw on newly released archival materials, ethnographic data, and literary sources to evaluate the historical transformation of different religious traditions, ritual practices, and faith organizations in Chaoshan. Their writings reveal that the maritime society of Chaoshan has been characterized by a transnational movement involving local communities, international visitors, and faith groups in their joint efforts to build global ties and new hybrid identities. This process of cultural exchange gave rise to the Chaoshan spirit of maritime cosmopolitanism that was deeply rooted in contingent local conditions, and that continues to shape the meaning of Chaoshan identity today.

In the religious sphere, Chaoshan offers us a unique historical space where local and external actors met, accommodated, and engaged with one another. The Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist transformation of Chaoshan greatly influenced the philosophical, spiritual, and ethical orientations of the local literati and lineage communities. From the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the arrival of Christianity contributed to the larger project of modernization and the widespread embrace of modernity across Chaoshan. Shortly before the opening of Shantou as a treaty port in 1860, Christianity reached the coastal and inland areas of Chaoshan through overseas Chinese migrant networks and their native place ties.<sup>1</sup> The rural communities adopted and adapted the Christian gospel according to their preexisting values and norms. More importantly, Christianity played an indispensable role in advancing modern education, Western science and medicine, and popular literacy across the region.<sup>2</sup> In times of natural disasters and wars, the Christian missionary enterprises and local churches doubled up

1 Hu Weiqing, *Faith and Sufferings: The Religious Experience of Modern Chaoshan Christians* (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2013).

2 Li Qiyao, "Mission Church and Sino-Western Interaction: A Study on American Baptist Missionary Union Mission Churches in South China, 1858–1903", Doctoral dissertation, Shandong University, 2014.

their efforts to rescue local refugees and rebuild communities.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the Chaoshan churches directly contributed to the rapid development of embroidery industry in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, people in Chaoshan were cosmopolitan and open-minded; they were willing to embrace Western ideas, technologies, and faith practices. As a result, Christianity became an integral part of the Chaoshan religious landscape and an important cultural marker of the local population. Today, the Christian population from Chaoshan make up a third of the total numbers of believers in Guangdong Province.

This book series has published six monographs on the religious, history and literary aspects of Chaoshan culture: Hu Weiqing, *Faith and Sufferings: The Religious Experience of Modern Chaoshan Christians* (2013); Lin Kailong, *Old Buildings in Chaoshan: The Ancestral Hometown of the Chaoshan People Worldwide* (2013); Cai Xiangyu, *Fortitude and Faith: The Female Christians in the Lower Han River Region in the Modern Era* (2014); Chen Jingxi, *Homeland and Foreign Soil: A Sociological Study of the Chaoshan People in Penang* (2016); Huang Ting, *The Central Plains and the Seas: A Brief History of Chaoshan Region* (2017); and Joseph Tse-Hei Lee and Christie Chui-Shan Chow, *Context and Horizon: Visualizing Chinese-Western Cultural Encounters in Chaoshan* (2017).

Thanks to the generosity of the Li Ka-Shing Foundation and the assistance of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Center for Christian Studies (CCS) of College of Liberal Arts at Shantou University was founded in 2010. Driven by the mission to promote a better understanding of the history of Christianity in Chaoshan and to advance the holistic life education among university students, CCS has developed numerous innovative education programs, comprehensive research

1 Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, "Disaster Management and Christian Church Network in Early Twentieth-Century Chaoshan, South China", *Berliner China-Hefte/Chinese History and Society* 35 (2009): 64-79.

2 Cai Xiangyu, *Fortitude and Faith: The Female Christians in the Lower Han River Region in the Modern Era* (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2014).

projects, and cross-cultural exchange initiatives. Based on this foundation, in order to widen up the horizon and deepen the research dimension, the center was renamed as the Center for Religious Culture Studies (CRCS). The new Center will devote itself to the discussions and studies of a variety of religions and cultures, specifically, in such fields as the religious ecology in China, Chinese religions and traditional culture, the history and culture of Chinese Buddhism, religious charity, and Judaism and Jewish culture, etc. Adhering to its mission “to serve STU faculty and students”, the CRCS strives to be a key promoter of the liberal arts learning in Shantou and beyond. Setting out “to serve the larger communities of Chaoshan scholars who work on Chaoshan Religious Culture”, the CRCS has built, expanded, and deepened intellectual ties with major academic institutions and scholars worldwide. All these efforts display our commitment toward globalizing the study of Chaoshan society, religion, and culture.

Finally, we appreciate the substantial support from the SDX Joint Publishing Company in Beijing. Our fruitful collaborations have not only made this book series a remarkably successful endeavor but also articulated a new humanistic vision for scholarly collaboration across disciplinary and geographical boundaries.

Lo Lung-Kwong, Editor-in-Chief of the  
“Chaoshan Society, Religion, and Culture Book Series”

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## 序言一

学者追寻地方群体历史会面对两个挑战：一是在不存偏见之下，叙述历史人物的功过；二是如实地将史实资料呈现出来而不加修饰。对当代读者而言，他们读历史的目的，是希望看到个人经验和集体回忆的关联。而专业史家的职责，除了帮助读者了解和认同其研究结论之外，更希望启发读者培养批判精神，正如有句拉丁名言所说：“历史好比一个有待开发和探索的陌生国度。”

李榭熙与周翠珊合著的这部潮汕历史影集，其挑战在于要跳出当代学人对宗教世俗化与政教冲突的框架，重构潮汕的宗教历史。这本书对潮汕基督教史的回顾，既中肯又全面；更重要的是，阅读本书使人享受了一次历史之旅，所见到的人情风貌、所感受到的精神氛围，都充满了基督教的烙印。年轻读者更能够通过这本影集与先贤建立关系，理解他们的宗教经验，从而加强对潮汕地区的文化归属感。

到底二人是如何通过本影集把严肃的史学批判与有趣的历史探索相结合的呢？他们大量引用了西方传教士的旧照，这些影像史料都完整地保留在美北浸信会和英国长老会的档案之中，其时间横跨清末与民国时期。这本作品的价值远超过一般搁在茶几一角的装饰艺术书。作者把影像置于特定的时空并加以诠释，让读者看到了一个在剧变中充满挑战与自由的潮汕社会。作者视医疗、教育、社会改良为现代化的柱石，把表面上看似“西

化”的过程从现代化的大历史中独立揭示出来，并在潮汕地区这个层面上进行微观分析。阅读此书后，读者看待潮汕城市和海外潮人群体的眼光将会大不一样。

劳曼博士

英国伦敦大学东方及非洲研究学院  
历史系高级讲师、《中亚学报》主编

## Preface 1

The pursuit of communal history is challenged by two temptations: Firstly to express an implausibly unbalanced account of the community as historical hero (or victim), secondly to suppress information which could be construed as unwelcomed or even as embarrassing. The contemporary reader will try to establish a link, personal or by means of constructed collective memory, to the object of the historical study. The historian's task, in this respect, is to admonish the reader *not* to identify with the investigated matter, but to establish a critical distance. "The past is a different country" thus becomes Terra Incognita, a world to be discovered while reading one's way through a historical study.

In the case of Joseph Tse-Hei Lee and Christie Chui-Shan Chow's historical account of Chaozhou and Shantou, the challenge lies in recognising the region's Christian past without equating the challenges of today's world in general, and with those of the People's Republic of China in particular, with the complexities of the historical realities presented. And yet, this is more than a "critical reader" of the Chaozhou region's Christian past. The book is a thoroughly enjoyable excursion into a time when the identities of many of the families inhabiting today's Chaoshan, as well as the international Chaoshan



community, were formed and given a distinctly Christian imprint. This book will therefore allow the young to reconnect with generations gone by, strengthening their sense of communal belonging.

How do the authors achieve the combination of “critical” and “enjoyable” in this volume? To start with, it is awash with missionary photographs taken in Chaozhou and Shantou. In their majority extracted from American Baptist and English Presbyterian archives, the pictures represent the entire time-span of the Republic of China (1912–1949), as well as several photographs from the late imperial period. But far from being a nostalgic “coffee-table volume”, the present volume contextualises the images on display, thus creating a visual history of an extraordinarily agitated period, presenting unprecedented dangers, but also freedoms. Focusing on medicine, education and social reform as the pillars of modernisation, the image of “Westernisation” is being set apart from the larger process of a changing, modernising local society. Readers will never again look at the cities of Chaozhou and Shantou, as well as their global communities, in the same light!

Dr. Lars Peter Laamann

School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS),

University of London, UK and Editor of *Central Asiatic Journal*