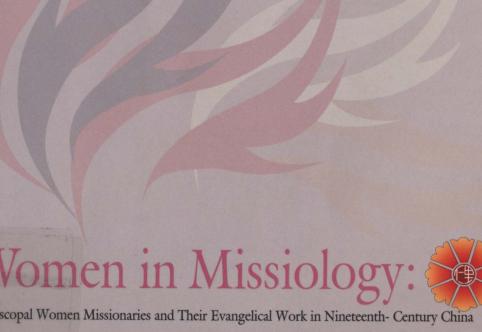
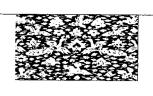


: 十九世紀美國聖公會女傳教士在華差傳研究





婦女與差傳 :十九世紀美國聖公會女傳教士在華差傳研究

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美林

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賴榮信主教序

面對「誰是你敬重的人?」這個問題,我相信,我們會 得到很多感動人、有趣、意想不到的答案!

「我所敬重的人」就是任何一個在生活中,能忠心以他 (她)們的才能、恩賜、愛心,盡到他職份、角色該有的責 任,讓我們所居住的社會、國家、世界,因此更和諧安詳、 平安、喜樂!都是我所敬重的人。

林美玫博士會用十多年的時間,那麼深入、詳實地去完成「婦女與差傳」這個冷門卻非常有意義的主題研究,是她用學有專長的恩賜,並以扎實、嚴謹的學術研究態度,並對父母的孝心和對所有接受差傳婦女們表達敬重!她是個謙卑、順服、用信心依靠、仰望上主賞賜她智慧與能力的基督徒。她向我見證說:「若沒有上帝的恩待、憐憫、扶持和引導,我是完成不了這個論文。」願主賜福她的服事和她前面要走的路。林美玫博士是我所敬重的人。

對於所有能不顧自身的安全及經濟、文化、性別、宗教 的困難和壓力,而離開她們的本地、本族、本鄉,和她們所 愛的親朋好友,到中國(和其他地區、國家)去做差傳工作 的婦女們,她們奉主的名工作的果效,絕不是只在當時的社 會中、教育、醫療、女宣等方面而已,而是延續到今天。這 些常年尊主爲大、爲主而活接受差傳的婦女們,是我們所該 敬重的人。

您會選購或借閱此書,我想一定是因爲您有要深入了解 「婦女與差傳」的歷史事實、真相,去學習侍主愛人的生命 態度,並藉此書的研究內容而增進歷史知識或引導您有更積 極的人生觀,您也是我所敬重的人。

願上帝幫助我們能是個敬畏主、服事人、蒙祂所喜悅, 去歸榮耀給祂的門徒。

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自序

本人在國立政治大學歷史研究所就讀時,因撰寫〈中國內地會之研究,一八六五年到一九二六年〉碩士論文,開始投入基督宗教(尤其是指基督新教)的研究領域。在論文準備期間,深覺除了近現代中國研究的學術訓練外,還必須在美國史和美國研究的領域獲得更紮實的學術訓練。因此,在申請到美國德州大學奧斯丁分校(University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.)的入學許可後,到該校歷史系就讀,以美國史爲主修並以近現代中國史爲輔修。在取得美國婦女史的碩士之後,以美國宗教史、近現代中國史、基督新教入華史和美國聖公會專題研究爲研究進路,將十九世紀美國聖公會在華差傳檔案做了耗時七年半的研讀和整理,並以"The Episcopalian Missionaries in China, 1835-1900"博士論文,獲得歷史學的博士學位。

返台之後,先後服務於嘉義民雄的國立中正大學和花蓮壽豐的國立東華大學,除了在相關教學上加強研究背景的知識外,還利用六個暑假(一九九五年到一九九九年,及二〇〇三年)重返位於奧斯丁市的聖公會全國檔案館(Archives of Episcopal Church)繼續閱讀「中國差傳檔案」。檔案館及圖書館館員如 Mrs. Elinor Joy Scott Hearn (1925-2004)、Mrs. May Lofgreen 和 Mrs. Patricia Booher,以及現任館長 Mr. Mark Duffy,都在他們的專業上給予本人許多的協助與支持,本人由衷感謝。因此,本書撰述理念和研究方法的成形雖然花費了相當的心力、時間與金錢;但若沒有美國聖公會全國檔案館在專業服務上的支持,是無法將十九世紀女傳教士在華差

傳圖像加以具體呈現的。

在撰寫美國聖公會女傳教士系列研究,修改、增補和成書的過程中,本人要特別感謝母親林石全美女士。由於家母一直以外祖父石紫階牧師(屬瑞典行道會中國教牧)和外祖母郝葆真女士希望後代子孫能爲教會歷史留下記錄的心願爲念,母親遂成爲本人求學期間能夠花費那麼長的時間在美國閱讀傳教士書信檔案的財力支持者和精神鼓勵者。在完成博士學位後,還能趁暑假重返美國從事聖公會在華差傳的後續研究。更由於家母畢業於聖公會在武昌的聖希理達女子中學(St. Hilda's School),她時常提及任職該校女傳教士老師如賈居理(Ms. Julia Clark)和班導師顧思蓮(Ms. Hazel Gosline),以及喜愛爲教會製作木頭傢俱的孟良佐主教(Rt. Rev. Alfred A. Gilman)的軼聞趣事,使得本人在閱讀傳教士書信檔案時,覺得有一股親切感而得以支撐下去。

再者,由於六歲喪父,本人是一手由母親帶大的。返台工作後能娛親的時間還是相當的少,深覺虧欠。家中大小事情由大姊李林美玉女士照顧和張羅,本人才得以全心全力的投入教學與研究。因此,大姊在家務上的分勞使本書得以順利完成,在此表達感謝之意。旅美繼續查檔時,長居美國華府的大哥林道存先生、芝加哥地區的二姊余林美珍女士,以及德州奧斯丁市的薄啓印弟兄和馮元玲姊妹,給予我居住、交通及飲食上的幫忙和協助,也在此一併致謝。

至於十九世紀美國聖公會女傳教士在華差傳研究上有關 教會本身傳統、儀式、禮文、組織等專有名詞的疑難,本人 有幸獲得聖公會台灣教區簡啓聰主教、賴榮信主教、林應求 牧正、魏斐然牧師等教牧(聖品)的指導,在教會專有名詞 的中文翻譯上獲得比較貼近十九世紀聖公會上海教區教務發展相關組織名稱的原旨。再者,本人更因爲獲得九十二年度和九十三年度行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫補助,從事台灣教區教會史料的建置工作,得以親身觀察聖公會的主日崇拜、教區設教五十週年的活動、教區年議會的教務討論等,對聖公會在大陸和台灣的相關研究有很大的助益。因此,本書的完成實在有賴當前由賴榮信主教所領導的聖公會教牧們的提攜與鼓勵,增強本人對聖公會在中國開拓教教務的洞察力,使這本專書更能反映過去美國聖公會在中國差傳華路藍縷的艱辛。

最後,在各章論文增修、改寫和定稿的過程中,如果沒有楊智雯、何幸霖、周家綾同學在電腦排版、文稿校對和資料檢索上的幫忙,面對本書每一章中、英文同時書寫的挑戰,本人實在難以在這些文書處理工作上再耗費任何心思與精力。她們的愛心與支持,感念在心。在出版的細部作業上,本人要特別謝謝里仁書局的徐秀榮先生和曾美華小姐所給予的一切協助。鑑於學術著作的市場極爲有限,若不是里仁書局有此魄力肯出版這一本婦女與宗教的研究專書,本人將近十五年的查檔、讀檔的研究心得就無法呈現在學界、教會界和一般讀者的眼前了。在此,本人需特別感謝徐先生所帶領的書局同仁爲這本書的催生所付出的心血。藉著《婦女與差傳:十九世紀美國聖公會女傳教士在華差傳研究》專書的問世,本人願意在婦女與宗教研究領域方面,提供從事學術耕耘者一個紮實學術著作,做爲參考。同時,本人也期待研究者與讀者能經由此書,展開一場信仰、理性與感性的對話。

中文摘要

關鍵字詞:基督宗教、美國聖公會、婦女與宗教、婦女與差傳、婦女與文化、性別研究、中美關係史、比較文化

本書《婦女與差傳:十九世紀美國聖公會女傳教士在華 差傳研究》是以十九世紀美國聖公會中國差會女傳教士和她 們在華的傳教工作爲研究主體。由於美國聖公會是基督新教 自一八〇七年英國倫敦會馬禮遜入華以來最早的九個傳教團 體中的一個,也是美國基督新教最早在華從事教務開拓的三 個傳教團體之一,這使聖公會女傳教士在十九世紀基督新教 入華的宗教傳播和其所造成中西文化上的衝擊,自有其特殊 意義與代表性。

針對十九世紀美國聖公會在華開拓教務的表現,作者依據美國德州奧斯丁市的聖公會全國檔案館所特藏的「中國差傳檔案」、〈差傳紀錄〉、〈差傳精神〉、〈教會人〉、「文惠廉主教家族書信專檔」等珍貴史料,將十九世紀美國聖公會女傳教士研究鎖定在她們來華的差傳動機、工作表現、以及作爲影響。

在本書的研究進路方面,作者結合美國宗教史、美國婦女研究、中國婦女研究、基督宗教在華史、中國近現代史、社會學中的種族—性別—階級的理念意涵、和差傳學中的宗教與文化的相互衝擊理論,使用美國聖公會女傳教士爲個案,探討十九世紀基督新教來華、入華和在華時婦女與宗教互動的意義。

本書研究主旨在說明十九世紀美國婦女願意投入海外傳

教事業是與當時流行於美國社會的純正婦女意識密切相關。 此種婦女意識的孕育、倡導和推廣,得力於美國國內第二次 宗教大覺醒運動。再加上美國社會日益工業化、世俗化、商 業化對原有社會道德秩序的衝擊,使婦女對自己、家庭和社 會充滿一股不確定感。此種焦慮造成美國婦女在宗教信仰上 作深度追求,也使得其中一部份的婦女選擇海外宣教以獲得 身心靈的平衡與慰藉。除此之外,海外宣教也能讓婦女施展 其在國內所受的女子教育,發揮所學並進而獲得經濟自主。 簡要的說,作者認爲早期來華聖公會女傳教士,基於她們對 純正婦女意識不同的認知,以及個人前往差傳異域的主、客 觀因素,是可以用保守、激進、和調和三種類型來解釋她們 的差傳心理及行爲表現。

其次,美國聖公會女傳教士不僅將純正婦女意識當作自己言行舉止的準則,而且將此種婦女意識在美國國內婦女界所激盪而產生的婦女性別空間概念帶入她們在華的傳教事業之中。事實上,十九世紀的美國婦女將婦女性別空間概念持續地表現在其國內的各種慈善事業、道德改革、禁酒運動、女權運動、社會服務、和婦女俱樂部等社會運動中。婦女從這些運動裡學習到組織、行政及動員的技巧和知識。隨著海外差傳,女傳教士也將此婦女性別空間概念帶入她們在華的教務運作中。書中,作者將美國學者對十九世紀美國婦女性別空間研究和理論作適度的爬梳。之後,作者再嘗試將這一個研究理論放置在十九世紀基督宗教入華史的研究中,說明美國婦女運用婦女性別空間的能力也可從女傳教士在海外華差傳工作上,做出相當程度的展現。

經由作者對美國聖公會女傳教士進行單一型的個案探討

和集體性的個案研析,讀者能深入理解女傳教士在華從事傳教的種種作爲和心態。獻身海外宣教的女傳教士,脫離了原生文化的束縛,甚至可能比留居在美國本土的婦女擁有更多的能量來建構她們自己的性別空間。在基督新教在華的傳教事業中,經由女傳教士各自或集體的努力,使學校、醫院、診所、查經班、教會都可能成爲她們充分展現自我、發揮自我的婦女性別空間。

當然,在美國聖公會女傳教士建構各自或集體的性別空間時,她們或多或少地會和以主教爲首的教牧體制發生齟齬,甚至衝突。女傳教士從她們成功和失敗的案例中,學習如何遊走在婦女個人的、私密的家務空間和中國差會、教會學校、教會醫院、甚至是美國母會差傳總部等公共空間之中。女傳教士學習在不斷的嘗試錯誤中,掌握如何在家圍之內的私領域與差傳事業的公領域之間,進退有據的技巧。到十九世紀與二十世紀相交之際,女傳教士漸漸能發揮婦女的性別力量,卻又不會冒犯到中國教區差傳主教的領袖權及中國差會以男性教牧爲主的運作體制。

更重要的是,十九世紀基督新教女傳教士在華的差傳,究竟對中、美兩國人民在宗教—性別—文化上產生何種刺激、對話和影響?以聖公會爲例,作者發覺女傳教士在華的所作所爲在種族、性別與階級上的確有其特別的意涵。她們的女宣工作在某種程度上顛覆了以儒釋道爲本的中國傳統文化中的性別倫理—包括「三從」、「四德」、「七出」、「女子無才便是德」等。女傳教士藉由教會女子教育,隨著在華歷史時空的演變及個人傳教經驗的累積,不斷地修正傳教策略、調整教會女校課程,企圖建立一套融合中、美婦女女教傳統

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的女子教育體系。

教會女子教育體系(即教會女學)不僅限於女子教育的本身,更是教會婦女宣教工作的重要一環。十九世紀末,在教會女校之內,美國女傳教士和中國女助手、女傳道、女信徒、已經開始建構一個跨文化的婦女性別空間。她們積極在女校裡發展學生組織和婦女團體,並加強兩者與美國聖公會差傳總部和女輔傳道部的聯繫。藉由此種婦女宗教網絡,將婦女差傳的觸角由校內延伸到校外,甚至跨向國際。女傳教士本身更因其在華差傳上肩負著教師、醫生、護士、行政者等不同職務,而在中國社會中提升了她們性別位階。十九世紀中葉以來中外條約護教權的保護下,女傳教士自成一種階級,向中美男性教牧、教會助手、中國男女信徒和非信徒展現「女子有才始有德」的性別力量。女傳教士將個人純正婦女意識及婦女性別空間的理念與運作,經由其職務更動和傳教行爲,延伸和轉換到中國差傳環境來,也啓發了中國社會在跨越二十世紀時對女教或婦學傳統進行必要的改革。

本書藉由對台灣學界在婦女研究趨勢的鋪陳,發展新興的婦女與宗教領域的時代意義,引入基督新教婦女與差傳研究的次領域。再經由〈虔敬摸索〉、〈性別空間〉、〈異域差傳〉、〈教會女學〉、〈女子啓蒙〉各章對聖公會女傳教士在華差傳意義,作層次分明的研析,充分闡述十九世紀美國基督新教婦女,如何在女傳教士的傳教志業上,開展所謂的婦女的「差傳民族學」或「福音民族學」。同時,女傳教士給予中國人一個新認知一人們有調整禮教傳統中的性別倫理規範之必要,來因應在二十世紀初葉以來工業化、資本化、世俗化等新的社會發展趨勢,重建富強康樂的中國社會。

英文摘要

Key words: Christianity, American Episcopal Church, woman and religion, women in missiology, gender studies, Sino-American relations, comparative cultural studies

Women in Missiology: The Episcopal Women Missionaries and Their Evangelical Work in Nineteenth-Century China contains a series of scholarly studies on American Episcopal women missionaries and their evangelical endeavors to the Chinese people from 1835 to 1900. The Protestant Episcopal China Mission, later renamed as American Church Mission, was one of the first nine Protestant missions and the third American mission that followed Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary representing London Missionary Society to China in 1807. It is noted that women became the major human resources to serve most American Protestant missions in China from the 1880s to the 1920s. In this regard, women missionaries and their work in shaping evangelical landscape of China mission field deserve our greater attention as we intend to know more about the Protestant missionary enterprise in nineteenth-century China. Furthermore, we hope that the findings of such an academic study will contribute our understanding to the practice of Christianity globally as we proceed to the 21st century.

In light of women's missionary endeavors during that period of time, we are amazed at their determination in overcoming all kinds of hardship they had been endured in the China mission field. We may wonder the reason why they would be willing to come to a country far away from home like China. While living in China, a heathen land with a heathen culture in terms of terminology of Evangelical Protestantism, we are anxious to enquire how women missionaries had developed their certain demeanors as their missionary correspondence have reflected and indicated. Why some of them were so assertive yet deferential, eager yet calm to carry on their jobs as teacher, doctor, nurse, administrator and church worker? On the other hand, why others felt terribly frustrated, resigned their office and returned home without any hesitation? Regardless of the fact that how long their services eventually were, it is of no doubt that women missionaries were actually engaged in a cultural dialogue between the East and the West through their different work, as the Protestant Episcopal China Mission passed through its four different developing stages in securing its mission stations on the Chinese soil and converting the Chinese by 1900. After more than half a century's efforts and devotion these Episcopal women missionaries had made, we are eager to contemplate what kind of religion-gender-culture legacy they've left to the Chinese they had encountered, particularly to those Chinese women, young and old, whom had been constantly approached by women missionaries in their itinerant route, visitation circle, medical work, English class, school hall, and administration office.

As to the research approach in this book, rather than

studying women missionaries and their role from a familiar scope and format of church history as well as mission study to which readers are accustomed, the author intends to study the Episcopal women missionaries and their proselytizing business in nineteenth-century China from the perspectives of race, gender, class, woman ideology, missiology, cultural comparison, gender dialogue and Sino-American relations.

In the preface, the author expounds her long time commitment and devotion to the study of Christianity in China by using the Protestant Episcopal China Mission as a case-in-point through almost fifteen years of decent research. Many people and their warm, constant and kindly support shall be appreciated in an explicit way. Since most precious data and missionary records came from the Archives of the Episcopal Church at Austin, Texas, U.S.A., the professional service given by Mrs. Elinor Joy Scott Hearn (1925-2005), Mrs. May Lofgreen, Mrs. Patricia Booher and the staff team currently headed by Mr. Mark Duffy deserve to be publicly recognized in this English abstract section. Further, the author needs to be more grateful to the Rt. Rev. David Lai, Bishop of Taiwan Episcopal Church, for his kindness in giving his brief and encouraging guidance note to readers of this book.

The book is comprised of seven chapters and four appendixes. In chapter one, the author gives an analytical introduction to delineate the research scope and density of the current scholarship in Taiwan on the Chinese women studies, especially on the scholarship related to the study of women and

religions. From chapter two to chapter seven, the major arguments are centered on how to connect women missionaries and their American sisters in the U.S. together to highlight the core of the so-called women's missionary ethnology or women's evangelical ethnology. As a matter of fact, female missionary work was their collective commitment to glorify the Christian God with their gender power or strength. More than that, what the Episcopal women missionaries had achieved can be seen as an extension of feminized American culture in the nineteenth century. With this theoretical framework in mind, the author attempts to explore the reasons why those Episcopal women, seventy-five in total, would be so determined that devoted their lives to the Chinese people, a different race, for the purpose of saving their souls. As they arrived at Shanghai where the mission headquarters was located, how could these women missionaries be persuaded to meet all expected and unexpected challenges courageously and stay with their jobs faithfully in the mission field. Furthermore, as they became more acquainted with their work, what kind of strategies these Episcopal women had developed to make their dream of self-satisfaction, financial independence, and career development come true.

To be more specific, the major theme of the book is to argue the prevalent "True Womanhood" ideology, which dominated most American middle-class women and their lives during the nineteenth century, with its strong religious character shaped by Charles G. Finney and the Second Great Awakening, had empowered a number of women to choose overseas missionary as their life-long career. As the Episcopal women moved to their mission stations, no matter it's Batavia or Shanghai or Wuchang, women missionaries greatly contributed to the Episcopal mission as the mission worked hard to extend its religious sphere of influence from the coastline to the interior of China.

As a matter of fact, what women missionaries had done in China can be seen as a result due to their different acknowledgement and interpretation of what True Womanhood meant to them. They put this gender ideology into practice and came out with three different paradigms—which can be classified as conservative, radical and reconciliatory ones. More important, women missionaries also tried to copy or reproduce their gender experience at home. To some extent, they had also been encouraged and motivated by their American sisters as the latter were enthusiastically involved in various benevolent, social reform, temperance, Women's rights, and social settlement organizations in the home base. Because they were no longer handicapped by American culture and its ethical value system over gender with an aim at devaluing women and their intellectual capacities, some women missionaries in the China mission field even add new fuel to their gender ideology. What women missionaries had been doing in China was to make school, dispensary, hospital, Bible class, student association and women evangelical organization under their charge or supervision as a particular "social space" separating them from other male