

中國基督教史料叢刊

「美」吳小新／主編

Manzhou Gongjiao Yuekan

# 滿洲公教月刊

徐炳三／編

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GUANGXI NORMAL UNIVERSITY PRESS  
广西师范大学出版社



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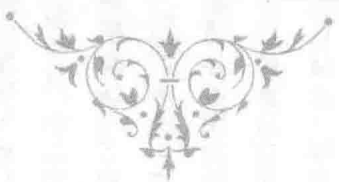
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桂林



圖書在版編目 (CIP) 數據

滿洲公教月刊 / 徐炳三編. —影印本. —桂林:  
廣西師範大學出版社, 2013.3

(中國基督宗教史料叢刊 / (美) 吳小新主編)

ISBN 978-7-5495-3056-4

I. 滿… II. 徐… III. 偽滿洲國 (1932) —  
天主教—史料 IV. B979.2

中國版本圖書館 CIP 數據核字 (2012) 第 290517 號

廣西師範大學出版社出版發行

( 廣西桂林市中華路 22 號 郵政編碼: 541001  
網址: <http://www.bbtpress.com> )

出版人: 何林夏

全國新華書店經銷

桂林廣大印務有限責任公司印刷

(廣西桂林市臨桂縣金山路 168 號 郵政編碼: 541100)

開本: 787 mm × 1 092 mm 1/16

印張: 208.75 字數: 3340 千字

2013 年 3 月第 1 版 2013 年 3 月第 1 次印刷

定價: 4600.00 元 (全 6 冊)

如發現印裝質量問題, 影響閱讀, 請與印刷廠聯繫調換。

Treasures for Scholars Worldwide

# 叢刊總序

這一套原始資料集是美國舊金山大學亞太中心利瑪竇中西文化歷史研究所與中國的一些高等院校及學者合作，近年在中國開展的一項教育與研究計劃中的一部分。該項目名為「遠方敘事」(Narratives from the Hinterland)，於2009年開始實施，旨在通過對基督教在中國的研究更廣泛地理解中西文化交流，並拓展其研究領域。它致力於推動過去主要由中國基督教研究領域的學者倡導的狀態，轉向當前和今後對該專題進行更廣泛、更深入的多學科交叉的學術研究。

數十年來，國內學界對西方傳教士自明末清初(16—17世紀)到民國時期(20世紀中期)在華的活動，以及由此而產生的中西文化的相遇與交往一直都十分關注。特別是最近20年來，此方面的學術重點已從主要側重於歷史領域的研究，發展為包括歷史學、社會學、人類學、自然科學、哲學、神學和比較研究的廣泛範疇，並吸引了越來越多的中國年輕學者參與。同時，除了來自龐大的萬維網的信息外，相當數量的原始資料也被開發出來。

許多學者一直抱怨在中國有關基督教的中文第一手資料欠缺。實際上，近20年來大量中文資料在不同的城市、學術機構乃至私人的圖書館、檔案館中不斷地被披露出來。這些材料為從中國的視角來研究中國近代史提供了新的信息。

「遠方敘事」項目由美國亨利·盧斯基基金會贊助，舊金山大學亞太中心利瑪竇中西歷史文化研究所負責執行。它旨在通過教育、研究，以及學者訪問等內容，促進中西文化交流的研究，同時也特別注重開發迄今較難獲得或新近發現的有關原始資料。該項目通過與中國較偏遠及內地地方高等院校的合作，為當地的學者提供新的學術研究機會。傾聽來自這些地區的學術聲音，有助於超越迄今形成的該領域以西方為中心的狀態，促進更加平衡的學術研究視角。換句話說，歷史上西方傳教士在中國相對偏遠地區和當地文化的衝突與交融也許比大城市更為豐富活躍。與這些地區的高校和學者合作，也正契合柯文(Paul A. Cohen)在30年前提出的「更真實的歷史是植根於中國而非西方的歷史經驗」<sup>1</sup>。

作為該項目的一分子，我以及利瑪竇研究所的同事和衆多中國學者爲此親密合作，策劃、開發、組織并編輯了此套資料集。它包括來自中國不同地域，形式不一的數卷原始資料，反映了可用於教育與研究的資料的多樣性。作為對現有中西文文獻資料的補充，它將豐富和深化我們對近代中國史上中西之間跨文化交流的歷史與互動的理解。

爲編寫本套資料，各卷本編輯堅持不懈地收集不同來源的資料，并對其進行了十分認真的整理與編輯。盡管困難重重，但我們的共同目標是爲今後的研究提供最好的資料。我想和所有受益於這些資料的研究者們一起向這些編輯以及他們的同事致謝，他們的貢獻巨大。也衷心感謝廣西師範大學出版社有限責任公司董事長兼總裁何林夏教授，廣西師範大學出版社有限責任公司文獻圖書出版分社社長雷回興女士。沒有他們的支持和專業的編輯工作，這套資料也不可能出版面世。

俗話說得好，「衆人拾柴火焰高」，我們希望本專輯能拋磚引玉，激勵更多的學者去挖掘更多史料，進一步推進本領域的研究。

吳小新

2011年元月於美國舊金山

# FOREWORD

The publication of this collection is part of a larger educational and research initiative in China. Entitled “Narratives from the Hinterland”, the project was inaugurated in 2009 and is designed to cultivate a rapidly expanding area of study by generating knowledge and understanding in Chinese-Western cultural history through the study of Christianity in China. It endeavors to promote—on a much broader and deeper national level than previously undertaken by scholars in the field—the study of Christianity in China as a viable multi-disciplinary academic field for higher education today and in the future.

The encounters between Western missionaries and the Chinese people from the late Ming-early Qing (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries) to the Republican Era (mid 20<sup>th</sup> century) have attracted scholarly attention for decades. Yet, it was only in the last twenty years that it advanced from a field focusing primarily on history to include historical, sociological, anthropological, scientific, philosophical, theological, and comparative studies, with an increasing number of young Chinese scholars involved. In addition to the considerable amount of information on the World Wide Web, a significant number of primary resources have also become available.

Many scholars have long complained about the lack of primary materials for the study of Christianity in China, especially materials in the Chinese language. However, within the past two decades an increasing amount of material in Chinese has been re-discovered in libraries and archives in different municipalities, academic institutions, and even individuals. These materials have provided fresh information as part of the modern Chinese history from Chinese perspectives.

The “Narratives from the Hinterland” project is sponsored by the Henry Luce Foundation, and administered by the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco Center for the Pacific Rim. It aims to promote study in the field of Chinese-Western cultural history through research and educational programs, and to study hitherto less accessible and/or newly available primary documents at regional universities in China. To work with institutions in remote areas of China with voices from the hinterland, the project seeks to contribute to a more balanced scholarly appraisal of the subject than Western-based perspectives alone have thus far provided. In other words, by working with scholars and institutions in



relatively remote areas in China where interaction between Western missionaries and the local Chinese was perhaps even more active than that in major metropolitan areas, our purpose is to promote “a more genuine *other*-centered historiography, a historiography rooted in the historical experience not of the West but of China,” as Paul A. Cohen suggested three decades ago.

As part of the project, my colleagues at the Ricci Institute and I have worked very closely with Chinese scholars on this series. It consists of multiple volumes of primary sources from different locations in China, reflecting the diversity of materials that can be employed for research and education. Complementing existing materials in both Chinese and Western languages, they will enrich and deepen our understanding of the historical and cross-cultural interactions between China and the West in modern Chinese history.

In preparing this publication, individual volume editors have worked tirelessly to collect, reorganize, and edit materials from different sources. In spite of many difficulties, our common goal has been to provide the best materials for future research. I would like to join all researchers who benefit from these volumes in thanking the editors and their colleagues for their outstanding contributions. Sincere gratitude also goes to Prof. He Linxia, CEO and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Guangxi Normal University Press, and Ms. Lei Huixing, Director of the Rare Historical Materials Reprint Department at Guangxi Normal University Press. Without their commitment, continuing support and professional editorial work, this publication would not have been possible.

As a Chinese saying goes, “the fire burns higher when everybody adds wood to it,” and we hope that this publication will inspire more scholars to embark on a journey to discover or re-discover more materials that will serve the purpose of our endeavors.

Wu Xiaoxin

San Francisco, U. S. A.

January 2011



# 前言

《滿洲公教月刊》創刊於1935年6月，是法國巴黎外方傳教會創辦的中文刊物，發行機構為奉天市小南關天主堂公教印書館。其創刊緣由，在於「團結全國教民精神，並期其互相聯絡，共盡本分」，「對於教內，則可收穫聯絡之益；對於教外，則可顯示團結精神。」該刊作者主要為天主教司鐸、信徒、學生等，讀者群也基本為教內人士，最大發行量約1700份。現可查閱到1935—1941年共7卷77期，總量不少於3000頁。就目前所知，該刊是偽滿13種天主教期刊中涵蓋面最廣、輻射面最大、代表性最強、保存最完整的期刊。

該刊主要內容為天主教教義、歷史和現狀等，基本欄目包括論壇、論著、聖教道理、歷史、公教教育、國內教務新聞、國外公教新聞、譯著、文藝、雜俎、雜記等。其中探討天主教教義和文藝性的文章占較大篇幅，但也包含許多東北天主教歷史與現狀的記述。另有大量史料性的照片和插圖，數量達數百幀。其中「國內」特指「偽滿洲國內」，「國外」以關內為主，也涉及國際天主教的教的情形。

《滿洲公教月刊》具有如下特色和價值：

其一，月刊中大量關於天主教教義的介紹，對於加深學界對近代中國天主教神學的認識和理解具有重要意義。基督宗教神學歷來被視為西方的產物，神學如何漢語化和本土化，通過何種表達方式為近代中國信眾所接受，以及神學體系如何在中國教會中演進等問題，學界研究尚不充分。月刊中的相關資料，有助於我們瞭解20世紀前期中國天主教會的神學表達方式，瞭解這種表達與當時社會心理的關聯，發現當時與當代神學觀念的共性與差異。

其二，月刊中大量關於天主教會運作模式、教育體系、慶典儀式、宗教人物等方面的介紹，豐富了我們對當時教會體制和宗教狀況的認識。月刊刊載了上述內容的諸多細節，展現出東北淪陷時期天主教的各個層面，有助於我們動態地、立體地認識鮮

活的近代東北天主教會。事件親歷者敘述的這些資料，彌補了中西文檔案對於中國教徒活動細節記述的不足，為我們提供了許多有價值的資訊。

其三，月刊中對東北天主教早期歷史綫索的細緻勾畫，是研究近代東北基督宗教史難得的中文史料。月刊中介紹東北各地天主教歷史梗概的文章達數十篇之多，對於幾個重點傳教基地傳教情形的敘述尤為細緻。將其連綴起來，本身就是一部近代東北天主教發展簡史。其作者皆為熟悉本土教會狀況的信徒，一些人本身就是歷史的直接參與者，寫作時的歷史時空距離比今天小得多，故其可信度較高。雖然這些歷史敘述難免會出現偏差，但仍不失為檔案資料的有益補充，還可以與其他檔案文獻相互印證。

其四，月刊中的諸多文字可以反映天主教與偽滿政權的關係，對於偽滿政治史和中日關係史等領域的研究頗有助益。體現月刊政治意識的篇章大概有四類，分別為教會對天主教與偽滿政府關係的表達，對日偽政權的溢美和稱頌，教廷、偽滿、日本之間的官際交往，日偽政府對天主教事務的介入。這些內容反映出日偽政治勢力對東北天主教的滲透和控制，以及天主教內部為求生存而採取的應對措施，是特殊時期政教關係的集中體現。除此，月刊中的文章還經常夾雜匪患、民風、習俗、教育等當時東北社會狀況的資訊，對於中國近代史和東北地方史的研究頗具價值。

其五，月刊中諸多反映天主教教義思想的小說、詩歌、散文，是研究近代中國基督宗教文學的重要樣本 and 素材。月刊中的文藝作品絕大多數為東北天主教徒的原創，字裏行間貫穿著天主教教義思想和理念，部分作品具有濃鬱的東北特色，是為中國基督宗教文學研究頗具價值的文本。這些作品的作者大都是不見經傳的普通天主教徒，對這些作品進行研究，可以瞭解普通信眾如何利用文藝表達宗教思想的特點，以及社會處境對其創作的潛在影響。

有鑒於此，我們將《滿洲公教月刊》納入「遠方敘事」系列叢書的一部分，希望以此展現東北淪陷時期天主教的發展史和天主教視角中的「滿洲國」，使讀者瞭解一種全球宗教在特殊政治環境下的傳播經驗與生存狀態，加深人們對豐富多面的日偽殖民統治史的認識。

但是，需要注意的是，《滿洲公教月刊》中雖然有很多東北天主教史的敘述，但嚴格地講它本身并非歷史，而是對當時教會實態的記述。甚至所謂的「實態」也未必真實，因為當時日偽政權對宗教采取高壓政策，雖然教廷與偽滿一度交好，東北天主教受到優待，但是下層中國天主教徒所受日本殖民者的監控和迫害并不比其他民衆少，這在諸多史料中皆有記載。而月刊中展現的却是一派歌舞升平的太平景象，對偽滿絕無任何微詞。這是因為偽政府有著嚴格的審查機制，以保證月刊政治態度的統一。

所以，刊物中作者的許多政治表達未必是他們的真實意見。雖然我們並不認同他們的一些言行，但是對其處境應該有一種理解，不可偏聽偏信。除此，月刊偶爾也有少量的反共話語，這同樣與羅馬教廷政治態度和日偽統治的環境有關，其歷史局限性在所難免，對這些內容我們也應該辯證分析。

本項目由美國舊金山大學利瑪竇中西文化歷史研究所和華中師範大學東西方文化交流中心聯合推動，並得到北京大學圖書館的大力支持，文檔原件由該館提供，在此對各協作單位深表謝意。舊金山大學利瑪竇中西文化歷史研究所馬克文先生、廣西師範大學出版社有限責任公司文獻圖書出版分社雷回興社長、華中師範大學中國近代史研究所劉家峰教授為本刊的出版付出了大量心血，對他們的熱心和付出謹致謝忱！

徐炳三

2012年4月

# INTRODUCTION

The journal *Manzhou Gongjiao Yuekan* (*Manchurian Catholic Monthly*) was inaugurated in June 1935. It was a Chinese language journal founded by the French *Missions Étrangères de Paris* (MEP) and distributed by the Catholic Printing House of the Xiaonanguan (Small Southgate) Catholic Church in Fengtian City. The mission of the publication was to “unite in spirit Catholics throughout the country, enhance mutual communication, and fulfill our common responsibilities.” “Within the Church, we benefit from communication, whereas outside the Church, we demonstrate the spirit of unity.” Most of the writers for this journal were Catholic priests, lay Catholics, and students. A majority of the readership were Christians as well. Print runs exceeded 1,700 copies at the peak of its distribution. A total of seventy-seven issues in seven volumes dating from 1935 to 1941 (approximately 3,000 pages) can be located today. It is now known as the most widely distributed, most far-reaching, best represented, and best preserved journal among the thirteen Catholic journals published during the so-called “Manchukuo” period.

The main subjects of the journal were Catholic doctrine, history, and current events. Major columns included opinion forums, theoretical works, religious teachings, history, Catholic education, news on domestic religious affairs, international Catholic Church news, translated works, essays, and miscellaneous notes, with a large number of essays on Catholic doctrine or literature and art. However, there are also many accounts on Catholic history and the situation in northeast China. In addition, there are a few hundred historic photos and illustrations. It needs to be pointed out that within the journal contents the term “*Guonei*” (within the regime) referred to the boundaries of so-called “Manchukuo” whereas “*Guowai*” (outside the regime) principally referred to lands within the Shanhai Pass, with occasional references to international affairs involving the Catholic Church.

*Manzhou Gongjiao Yuekan* has the following characteristics and qualities:

1. The journal contains a large number of articles introducing Catholic doctrine, significantly

increasing the academic understanding of modern Chinese Catholic theology. Christian theology had previously been regarded as a Western product, with insufficient research on localized theology or its acceptable expression to Chinese believers, or what the evolutionary process of Western theology was within the Chinese Church. Thus, materials in this journal help us learn about the theological method illustrated by the Chinese Catholic Church during the first half of the twentieth century, understand the relationship between such theological expression and the social psychology of the period, and discover commonality and difference in theological concepts between then and now.

2. The journal includes a wealth of information, introducing Catholic administrative models, their educational system, rites and ceremonies, and religious figures. It enriches our knowledge of the church system and religious reality of the period. Significant details illustrate life in the Catholic Church in different areas during the Japanese occupation, helping us learn the lively, dynamic, and multi-dimensional reality of the Catholic Church in modern northeast China. Using eyewitness accounts, these materials address the shortage of detail on Chinese Christians in both Chinese and Western language archives, offering us much valuable information.

3. Detailed accounts of the early Catholic Church in northeast China provide rare historical documents for the study of the history of Christianity. The journal includes over a dozen articles revealing Catholic history in different areas of the northeast with detailed illustrations for some of the major missionary bases. As a whole, it serves as a short history of the Catholic Church in northeast China in and of itself. Some of the authors were Christians very familiar with local churches, and they were direct participants in history. Because of their close proximity in terms of time and space, their accounts will likely prove reliable. Although errors are inevitable in these historical accounts, they are nevertheless worthwhile supplements for mutual confirmation with other archival sources.

4. Many articles in the journal reflect the relationship between the Catholic Church and the puppet “Manchukuo” government, and are thus very helpful for the study of the political history of this artificial nation and Sino-Japanese relations. Articles of a political nature in the journal can be divided into four types: attitudes on Church and the “Manchukuo” relations, praise and flattery of the Japanese/puppet “Manchukuo” government, visits by Vatican officials, and interference in church matters by Japanese and local “officials.” These accounts reveal the control and penetration of the Catholic Church in northeast China by Japanese and local puppet



government forces, as well as measures taken by the Catholic Church for its own survival. It is a concentrated depiction of the relationship between Church and politics within a specific period. In addition, some of the journal articles contain information about local society, banditry, local folk culture and customs, education, etc., providing us with valuable sources for the study of modern Chinese national and local history.

5. The journal includes short stories, poems, and prose, based on Catholic doctrine. These are important sample materials for the study of Chinese Christian literature. Most of the works of literature and art were originals by Catholics in northeast China, discreetly reflecting Catholic thought and ideals. Some of them carry the strong local flavor of northeast China and are a valuable source for the study of Chinese Christian literature. Because most of the authors were unknown and ordinary Catholics, through the study of their works we can learn how ordinary believers expressed their religious sentiments through literature as well as potential social influences on their writing.

Based on the above, we include the reproduction of the *Manzhou Gongjiao Yuekan* in the "Narratives from the Hinterland" Project. Our hope is to reveal the history of the development of Catholicism during the Japanese occupation in northeast China and the Catholic perspectives of "Manchukuo" so as to learn the lessons of religious dissemination and life experience of a global religion under particular political circumstances and deepen our understanding of the multi-dimensional history of colonial Japan and this regime.

However, it should be noted that works in the *Manzhou Gongjiao Yuekan* are not, strictly speaking, "history" in and of themselves, even though many narratives concern the history of the Catholic Church in northeast China. Some of these descriptions may not even be true because, in spite of the fact that the Vatican befriended the puppet government and the Catholic Church received favorable treatment, under the high pressured control of the Japanese and her collaborators over religion, surveillance and oppression of grass-root Chinese Catholics by the Japanese colonists were no less severe than of other locals. This is well documented in numerous historical data. However, some of the works in the journal portray a rather tranquil picture of local life without criticism of the regime. This was due to strict government censorship that aimed at maintaining the journal's political submission to the regime. As a result, the political expressions in the journal may not accurately reflect the views of the authors. Although we do not agree with some of the perspectives presented, we should be impartial in our understanding of their particular



situation. Similarly, there are occasional anti-communist remarks present. This is also related to the attitude of the Vatican and the Japanese/puppet-regime environment, and unavoidable within the historical context. We should apply dialectical analysis to this content.

This publication is co-sponsored by the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco and the Research Center for East-West Cultural Exchange at the Central China Normal University. It also received support from Peking University Library, which provided microfilms of the original journal. I want to express my thanks to these institutions for their collaborations. Profound gratitude also goes to Mr. Mark Mir of the Ricci Institute at the University of San Francisco, Ms. Lei Huixing, Director of the Rare Historical Materials Reprint Department at the Guangxi Normal University Press, and Prof. Liu Jiafeng of the Institute of Modern Chinese History at the Central China Normal University for their concerted efforts.

Xu Bingsan  
April 2012

# 編輯說明

一、本書包括《滿洲公教月刊》的絕大部分文稿，但1941年10月第7卷第10期缺失，雖經多方查找，仍未找到，深感遺憾。另外，月刊在第7卷第10期戛然而止，之後並未發現任何新的出版資訊。考慮到太平洋戰爭爆發後多數教會刊物停刊的事實，可以推斷該月刊亦遭同樣命運。

二、月刊目錄包括「序號、篇名、作者、內容、分類、卷一期／原頁碼、時間、冊號／現頁碼」∞個類別。

1. 「序號」欄為本次整理所編的總順序號。

2. 「篇名」欄為原文文章的名稱。其中有些外來詞使用的是當時翻譯方法，且不乏舛誤，為保持原貌本目錄照錄。凡連載篇目，篇名後加一「續」字。「篇名」中的《笑林》原為欄目名，但下屬篇章過於短小零碎，凡涉及於此皆以《笑林》為名，列入「文藝／笑話」類。

3. 「作者」欄為文章的作者或編者。因公教月刊署名形式由作者本人確定，故原文中作者有的在在前、有的在後，有真名也有教名或筆名，還有相當數量的文章並無署名，本目錄同樣保持原貌。

4. 「內容」欄為編者對文章內容的簡要概括，僅供參考。凡連載內容，其後加一「續」字。

5. 「分類」欄是對文章性質的區分。公教月刊本身已有二十餘個欄目分類，但大多重疊交織，且時有中斷或變更。編者以原刊貫穿始終的幾個欄目為基礎進行整合，概括為「論壇、聖教道理、聖人言行錄、歷史、公教新聞、文藝、啓事、雜俎」∞個分類。原刊每卷中均有總分類索引，可將此分類與原刊對照使用。

(一)「論壇」為原刊每期卷首關於某一宗教思想的論述，篇幅較長，故單獨列出。該欄囊括了原刊後幾卷的「論著、講演、演說」，其性質相同。

(2)「聖教道理」為原刊天主教教理教義的闡發，照錄原分類。  
(3)「聖人言行錄」為原刊關於天主教歷史名人事迹的記載，照錄原分類。  
(4)「歷史」為近代東北各地區天主教發展簡史，照錄原分類。  
(5)「文藝」下設「小說、散文、詩歌、笑話、格言、故事、劇本」等幾個子欄目，有的照錄原分類，有的根據原文性質重新劃分。此分類法僅供參考。

(6)「啓事」為關於公教月刊徵稿、更正、改版、漲價等資訊的說明。

(7)「雜俎」為以上專案以外的篇目，大致包括軼聞、評論、雜談等。

6.「卷一期／原頁碼」欄為文章所屬卷期及原文頁碼。

7.「時間」為原文出版時間。

8.「冊號／現頁碼」為月刊翻印出版後所在的冊號及新頁碼。

三、照片目錄為原刊照片的資訊。除拍照時間外，基本照錄；極個別無名稱的照片，編者根據內容加上了名稱。原刊中還有一些圖片，主要為宗教畫和插圖，本目錄未錄。

四、本套書影印部分按照原書裝訂順序編排，不以整體的排列次序調整局部次序，如卷六的總目錄按原書排在本卷第十二期之後。

五、少數期次的封面未拍全，因提取原件補拍困難，故統一配輯封置於其前。少數頁面有些模糊或明暗度不勻，如第六卷第一期頁一六、第八期頁二五六等，均係原掃描件如此。