

THY KINGDOM COME

爾國臨格

A Photographic History of Anglicanism in Hong Kong,
Macau, and Mainland China

港澳及內地聖公宗圖片史

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Cover image: Bishop Ronald O. Hall officiates at an open-air service at St. Christopher's Home in about 1955.

何明華主教主持聖基道兒童院露天崇拜，年份約為1955年。

Courtesy of Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Archives.

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Sheng Kung Hui: Historical Studies of Anglican Christianity in China

The purpose of the series Sheng Kung Hui: Historical Studies of Anglican Christianity in China is to publish authoritative volumes on the history of Anglican-Episcopal Christianity as a contribution to the intellectual, cultural, and religious history of modern China. With an in-depth focus on one particular denominational tradition, which has been in China for almost two hundred years, the series presents an interdisciplinary perspective that will also contribute to the history of Christianity in China. The emphasis throughout is on the life and work of the Church in society. Individual volumes are written for an educated audience and a general readership, with some titles more academic in character and others of more general interest.

The spirit of Anglicanism is expressed by the Chinese term Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, meaning the “Holy Catholic Church of China,” the national church that was founded in Shanghai in 1912 and the first non-Roman church body in China. Anglicans stand between Protestants and Catholics in their approaches to Christian tradition and church order, but they are usually regarded as part of the Protestant movement in China. Since the nineteenth century, the Sheng Kung Hui has been involved in a wide range of educational, medical, and social welfare work alongside efforts to spread the Christian message and establish the church. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Chinese Sheng Kung Hui leaders began taking the lead. The Sheng Kung Hui has also played an important role in cultural exchange between China and the West. It is hoped that the series will encourage further dialogue on the place of Christianity in the history of modern China.

Copublished by Hong Kong University Press and the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui, this is the fifth book in our series. The earlier volumes are:

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Philip L. Wickeri, PhD, DD
Series Editor

Foreword

Anglican history in Hong Kong and Macau begins in the early nineteenth century with the coming of the British East India Company Anglican chaplains to Macau. A year after the establishment of Hong Kong as a British Colony in 1842, Vincent Stanton arrived as the first Hong Kong colonial chaplain. In 1849, the Diocese of Victoria was founded and from that time forward, Hong Kong and Macau Anglicans were involved in mission work, building churches and schools, hospitals and welfare centers, in Hong Kong and South China. In 1912, our diocese became part of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (the Holy Catholic Church of China, CHSKH). All through the turbulent decades of Chinese history that followed, missionaries and Chinese Christians worked in partnership, witnessing to our faith in church and society. We are grateful for our missionary forbearers, and we are grateful to the pioneering Chinese Anglican clergy and laity of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Shortly after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, we became the detached Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau. It was not possible to continue as part of the Church in Mainland China, but we continued to operate under the same Constitution and Canons of the CHSKH. In Hong Kong and Macau, our Church responded in new ways to the social needs, and we continued to relate to Christian brothers and sisters on the mainland as best we could. One year after the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, we became an independent province within the Anglican Communion.

2018 marked the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui, the thirty-eighth province of the Anglican Communion. We are largely a Chinese church, but we welcome the participation of people from around the world in our worship, mission, and ministries. We worship in several languages, Cantonese and Mandarin, English, and Tagalog. Over the past twenty years, Hong Kong and Macau have experienced ups and downs, and we face persistent problems. But we have also begun to establish ourselves as Special Autonomous Regions of China, and there are new opportunities for Christian witness. Our church has continued to grow and develop in response to the changes in society. With the encouragement and active participation of clergy and laity, I have tried to build on the foundation of my predecessor, Archbishop Emeritus Peter K. K. Kwong, and help envision the future of our church.

The Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui is a church grounded in Hong Kong, related to China, and open to the world as part of the

Anglican Communion. We believe in Jesus Christ as the church's one foundation as we commit ourselves to God's mission. We are an expression of Anglicanism in our own context, and we try to discern the gifts that God has given us through our tradition in order to contribute to our society. We have a threefold mission in the church, education, and social welfare, including medical work.

Our mission is reflected in the pages of this book. It is a first attempt to interpret the broader history of the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui through a selection of photographs, maps and images. In fact, this book is among the first systematic representations in photographs of any Chinese church tradition. I urged the authors to emphasize the early history of our church, because this is the part of our history that is less familiar to us. Thus, the first two sections of the book (a bit over half) situate our history within the broader Anglican and Episcopal tradition in China. Among other things, this shows that we as a church have always been involved with China, and that our relationship has been based on friendship and mutual respect.

The following three sections of the book are focused on Hong Kong and Macau, and there we see how our church has developed over the last seven decades. Of course, a great deal more could be added, but this book is designed to be an interpretative introduction only. Most of the photographs, images, and maps in this volume are drawn from our archives in Bishop's House. I established the archives in 2010, in the belief that our heritage had to be preserved and our resources shared with the public.

As I reviewed the photographs and captions prepared for this volume, I developed a better sense of where we have come from. I was often moved by the photographs and images in this volume. It has been said that history is a different country, but it is also a country of which we are a part. The images sometimes surprised me, but they were also reassuring. I have always been inspired as I reflect on these photographs from our history, and what they say about who we are today.

This is a book that can be read in one sitting or dipped into over a period of time. I invite readers to reflect upon the images of our past, for they are the prologue and continuation of our twentieth anniversary as a province, and a source of encouragement for the years to come.

Paul Kwong
Archbishop of Hong Kong

序

隨著東印度公司的聖公會牧者抵達澳門，香港及澳門的聖公宗歷史於19世紀正式展開。香港於1842年成為英國殖民地，一年後，史丹頓作為香港首任殖民地牧師抵港。1849年，維多利亞教區成立。自那時起，香港及澳門的聖公宗便參與在香港及華南的差傳事工、及教會、學校、醫院與福利中心的興建過程中。1912年，我們的教區成為了中華聖公會的一部分。在其後動盪的幾十個春秋中，傳教士及華人基督徒通力合作，於教會及社會中見證了我們的信仰。我們要感謝這些傳教士先賢，亦要感謝19世紀末、20世紀初華人聖公會聖品及平信徒先驅們的努力。

1949年中華人民共和國成立後不久，港澳教區成為了一個分開的教區。雖然無法繼續成為內地教會的一部分，但我們仍然是在同一個中華聖公會憲章條例下運作。我們的教會在香港及澳門以新的方式來回應社會需求，也繼續盡己之能與內地的兄弟姐妹保持聯繫。1998年，即1997年香港回歸中國一年之後，我們成為了普世聖公宗內的一個獨立教省。

2018年正是香港聖公會作為普世聖公宗第三十八個教省成立二十週年。雖然我們大體上是華人教會，但歡迎世界各地的人士參與到我們的崇拜、差傳及事工中來。我們以多種語言進行崇拜，包括粵語、普通話、英語、菲律賓語。在過去的二十年中，港澳兩地歷經沉浮，面臨著持續的問題，但我們也開始在香港特別行政區的框架下建立自己，對於見證基督而言，也有了許多新的機會。我們的教會在回應社會的變遷中不斷地成長及發展。在聖品及平信徒的鼓勵及積極參與下，本人一直致力延續鄭廣傑榮休大主教所奠定的基礎，展望教會的未來。

香港聖公會作為普世聖公宗的一部分，是植根香港、連結中國、向世界開放的教會。我們堅信，耶穌基督是教會的唯一根基，我們也以此委身於上帝的使命之中。香港聖公會在自我的處境中，成為了對聖公宗的一種表述，也嘗試透過自身傳統，辨析上帝恩

賜予我們的禮物，以此貢獻社會。我們肩負著教會、教育、社會服務(包括醫療事工)的三重使命。

我們事工的點滴可見於本書各處。此乃首次透過輯錄照片、地圖及其他圖像詮釋香港聖公會廣闊歷史的一種嘗試。事實上，本書可算屬首批以圖片史形式系統述說在華教會傳統的著作。本人曾敦促作者特別注重我們教會的早期歷史，因為這部分歷史對我們而言稍為陌生。因此，本書的前兩部分(剛好過半的篇幅)將我們的歷史置於一個更為廣泛的在華聖公宗傳統之中。毋需言他，這展示出我們教會素與中國內地有所往來，且彼此的關係是建基於友誼及互相尊重。

其後的三部分則聚焦香港及澳門，從中可窺見教會在過去70年間發展的軌跡。當然，能添加的內容還有許多，本書僅旨在作詮釋性的要述。本書中的大部分照相、圖像及地圖均出自位於會督府的教省檔案館。該館在2010年由本人倡議成立，因本人堅信我們的遺產需要被保存，我們的資源需要與公眾共享。

本人在翻閱書中圖片及閱讀圖片說明時，對我們教會從何而來有了更好的理解，也常常被其中的影像所打動。有道是：歷史是一個不同的國度，但同時也是我們置身於其中的國度。這些圖片有時令我驚訝，但同時也令人欣慰。在本人細味這些出自我們歷史的照片時，也總備受鼓舞。

這是一本既可一口氣讀完，亦可慢慢品味的書。本人誠邀各位讀者思想這些代表我們過往的圖片，因它們是我們作為一個教省成立二十週年的序章與延續，亦是鼓勵未來歲月的來源。

鄭保羅
香港聖公會大主教

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Introduction

The photographs and images presented in this volume offer a perspective on the history of Anglican Christianity in Hong Kong, Macau, and mainland China. In them we see the many ways in which the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui (HKSKH, Anglican Church) has been at work over the last two hundred years, and its development from the first part of the nineteenth century to the present. Photographs from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are few in number, but we have tried to select images that present a balanced look at the mission of the church during this period. Historically, Anglicanism in Hong Kong and Macau was related to other dioceses in mainland China, and so we have included photographs from South China, Fujian, Shanghai, and other places, primarily in Parts 1 and 2.

Though written with the general reader in mind, this book should also be of interest to scholars and others looking for photographs and short descriptions of well-known historical figures and lesser known individuals, institutions and movements, in the history of the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui. It is published to coincide with the twentieth anniversary (in 2018) of the formation of the Hong Kong Province, the thirty-eighth province in the worldwide Anglican Communion.

A Historical Perspective

The history of Anglicanism in Hong Kong and Macau is bound up with the much broader history of Christianity in China, beginning with the arrival of Robert Morrison in Macau in 1807. Early missionary work in Bible translation and evangelism, the development of Christianity in the treaty port system, the formation of the Chinese church, the growth of Christian institutions (schools, colleges, and universities; hospitals and social welfare centers; the YMCA and YWCA; and other Christian associations of various sorts), and popular Chinese reaction against missionary activity as evidenced in the “missionary cases” and the Boxer uprising—these were all part of the nineteenth-century missionary system and the range of Chinese responses. The growth of what has been termed a “Sino-Protestant establishment” in the early twentieth century, the Republican Revolution (1911), the May Fourth

Movement (1919) and the anti-Christian movement of the 1920s, the emergence of indigenous Christianity, Christian involvement in the movement for national salvation, the war against Japan, and the civil war culminating in the establishment of the People’s Republic of China take us through the first half of the twentieth century. This period saw a gradual movement away from missionary Christianity towards the creation of a Chinese church.¹ Anglicanism in Hong Kong and Macau were part of this history, as our photographs show.

With the separation of the churches in mainland China from those overseas and in Hong Kong and Macau, the HKSKH developed on its own. The denominational system in the People’s Republic of China came to an end in 1958. Even before this, churches on the mainland were no longer allowed to be involved in education, social services, and medical work. But in Hong Kong (and to a lesser extent in Macau) churches became increasingly involved in these areas. In this regard, the HKSKH both shaped and contributed to Hong Kong society from the 1950s onward. With the emergence of a Hong Kong Chinese identity in the 1960s and 1970s, the colonial identity of the church increasingly gave way to a Hong Kong hybridity, embracing both its Western and Chinese aspects. In the transitional period culminating in Hong Kong’s return to China in 1997, the HKSKH was led by its first Chinese bishop. During this period and in the succeeding decades, the church has maintained its doctrines and traditions, but has also ventured in creative new directions. In the process, the HKSKH has been finding its way as part of the two special administrative regions (Hong Kong and Macau) in the People’s Republic of China, re-establishing relationships with the church and society on the mainland, and developing linkages in the worldwide Anglican Communion.²

The HKSKH has been part of the history of Christianity in China, but it also has a distinctive history of its own. Anglicanism

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1. For a short history of Christianity in China, see Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).
 2. On Anglican-Episcopal history in China, see Philip L. Wickeri, ed., *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015).

may be described as an approach to the Church which is reformed but not Protestant and catholic, but not Roman. The centrality of liturgy, the *Book of Common Prayer*, the threefold order of ministry (deacon, priest, and bishop), and a comprehensive approach to episcopal leadership and synodical governance distinguish the Anglican-Episcopal tradition in Hong Kong from other Protestant denominations. Anglicans believe in the Bible, interpreted by reason and tradition, in their approach to faith. The HKSKH is rooted in Hong Kong, part of China, and related to the worldwide Anglican Communion. It has embraced an understanding of mission in which the development of the church, education, and social service (including medical work) are inextricably linked.

There has been a continuing tension in the history of the HKSKH between Anglicanism as a colonial religion of power and privilege,³ by and for the British, and Anglicanism as a missionary community for and with the Chinese people, an expression of Christianity in the Chinese context. Colonial Anglicanism provided a structure for the Church. This is to say that from the beginning, the Anglican Church in Hong Kong was linked to the development of the British colonial government. At the same time, the untiring efforts of generations of British missionaries laid the foundation for who we are today. From 1849 onward, Hong Kong bishops sought to relate the church to Chinese culture and society. And so the story presented here is by and large a Chinese story. Anglicans in Hong Kong have both a close sense of attachment to other Chinese Christians and strong relationships within the Anglican Communion. Historically, Chinese Anglicans have predominantly been low church and evangelical in faith, as have most Chinese Protestants. But this is combined with a catholic sense of worship and tradition, a liberal social outlook, and a deep attachment to the Anglican Church.

The beginnings of the Anglican-Episcopal presence in China was somewhat haphazard and diffuse. It defies systematic treatment. In the nineteenth century the development of dioceses and missionary areas in different parts of China began independently and yet were related to one another. There was an intensive church presence in Shanghai and Fuzhou, and to some extent in Hong Kong and other cities, but many parts of rural China were untouched by Anglican and Episcopal missions. The HKSKH was related to all the British, American, Australian, and Canadian mission societies, but the Church Missionary Society (CMS) from England was the mother society that shaped the church in Hong Kong and Macau. With the establishment of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (Holy Catholic Church of China, CHSKH) in 1912, the different strands of Anglicanism were brought together, but even then only for the next four-and-a-half decades. The history of Hong Kong and Macau Anglicanism after that demonstrates that

this was the period in which the church was finally able to stand on its own.

Structure of the Book

This book is divided into five parts. Part 1 explores the nineteenth-century beginnings of Anglican and Episcopal missions in China (1807–1912), from the point of view of the development of Anglicanism in Hong Kong. The original Letters Patent establishing the Diocese of Victoria gave the Bishop jurisdiction over all of China and Japan. Nevertheless, the American Episcopal Church mission had begun work in Shanghai five years earlier, and the Episcopalians eventually established themselves in other cities along the Yangzi River, as far as Hankow (Hankou, present-day Wuhan). American Episcopalians were not in competition with Anglicans from the CMS and for the most part, there were harmonious relations and a division of labor in complementary jurisdictions. The important nineteenth-century personalities, churches, and educational institutions are introduced in this section as a reflection of the emerging Anglican presence in China.⁴

Part 2 relates the history of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (CHSKH) from 1912 to 1951. The Diocese of South China, which encompassed the original Diocese of Victoria, became part of the CHSKH. Part 2 is the longest section of the book, containing about one-third of the photographs and images. This was a turbulent time of transformation and upheaval in modern China, one during which the church tried to respond to the changes taking place in every facet of society. New leadership came to the fore, new dioceses were started, and new churches were built, while the church became increasingly involved in medical, social, and educational work. The CHSKH was devastated during the eight years of the War Against Japan, and it never fully recovered. The focus of this book is Hong Kong and South China, but Anglican developments in Shanghai and other parts of the country are presented in photographs and maps, for these were important centers for the development of the broader work of the CHSKH, and closely related to developments in the Diocese of South China.

The photographs in Part 3 illustrate the history of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau from 1951 to 1981. Hong Kong and Macau became a “separated diocese” of the CHSKH in 1951. The two cities maintained a separate existence under British and Portuguese governance respectively, while the church on the mainland became integrated into the social and political system of the People’s Republic of China after 1949.⁵ The church in Hong Kong

3. See Part I, “Colonialism in the Anglican Communion,” in *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism: The Anglican Communion in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Ian T. Douglas and Pui-Lan Kwok (New York: Church Publishing, 2001).

4. Among these institutions, St John’s Cathedral in Hong Kong was central in the history of the Diocese of Victoria. See Stuart Wolfendale, *Imperial to International: A History of St John’s Cathedral, Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

5. For a better understanding of this separation, see Philip L. Wickeri, ed., *Unfinished History: Christianity and the Cold War in East Asia* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2016).

tried to maintain relationships with Christians in mainland China, but the energies of Bishop R. O. Hall and his successors were now focused on Hong Kong and Macau. This was a period of building and rebuilding in Hong Kong—new churches, schools, and clinics were established.⁶ Increasingly, Hong Kong people assumed positions of leadership in church and society. The photographs in this section reflect the wide-ranging work of the church in Hong Kong and Macau during this time.

Parts 4 and 5 provide a preliminary overview of the HKSKH in the last four decades. It is a first draft of a history yet to be written. Part 4 records Hong Kong's transition from colonial rule to the return to China. Bishop Peter Kong-kit Kwong, the first Chinese diocesan bishop and later the first Archbishop, prepared for the establishment of the new Province of the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui as he continued to develop parish ministries, mission in education and social welfare, and strengthen relations with the church in China. Part 5 offers a glimpse of the past twenty years of the HKSKH, under the leadership of Archbishop Peter Kwong and Archbishop Paul Kwong. Archbishop Paul has helped the church move in creative new directions, while continuing in the tradition of his predecessor. Always supportive of outreach to church and society in China, he has also deepened relations of the HKSKH within the Anglican Communion.

Terminology and Translation

In the nineteenth century, many ecclesiastical terms were not yet fixed, including the terms for bishop and priest. In the 1855 Prayer Book authorized by Bishop Smith, bishop is translated as 監司, so the formal title for Bishops Smith and Alford was most likely 監司. In the first complete translation of the Prayer Book by Burdon and Schereschewsky, the term used was 監督. So, for Bishop Burdon and Bishop Hoare, the formal title is 監督. Beginning with Bishop Lander, and continuing through Bishop Duppuay, Bishop Hall, and Bishop Baker, as well as our assistant bishops, the title has become 會督. We have photos of three American Episcopal bishops as well as Chinese bishops who are all called 主教. In the reports of the ten General Synods of the CHSKH, bishop is both 會督 and 主教, with the former used for the Bishop of Hong Kong/Victoria and other CMS bishops. 主教 was sometimes used informally to speak of all bishops, even in some of our HKSKH publications.

In this book we are always using 牧師 for priest. In the nineteenth-century prayer books, the term is either 牧師 or 教師. Priest is rendered as 會長 in the twentieth century up until 1981, although it is interchangeable with 牧師. In the nineteenth century, the term used for deacon was 會吏, and this term has been used ever since.

After the founding of the CHSKH in 1912, the Diocese of Victoria held what may have been its first Diocesan General Synod. The name had been established in 1849, when the diocese included all of China plus Japan. After 1912, the Diocese of Victoria was still used, but because the diocese included Guangdong, part of Guangxi, Guizhou, and Yunnan, it was also called Diocese of South China (華南教區). In Chinese the diocese was sometimes called the Kong-Yuet Diocese (港粵教區). The terms were interchangeable, even in official reports, and there was no accepted standard. In the first through the eighth CHSKH General Synod reports, the bishop is listed as Bishop of Victoria. In the ninth report (1937), Bishop R. O. Hall is listed as the Bishop of Hong Kong, in the tenth report (1947) he is listed as the Bishop of South China. There is some controversy about the relationship between the Dioceses of Victoria and South China, but this need not concern us here. The formal title for the bishop in government protocol was simply Bishop of Hong Kong.

In 1951, the new detached diocese was renamed the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau (港澳教區) and included the territories of Hong Kong and Macau only. In 1998, the new province was established as The Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui (香港聖公會), composed of the Diocese of Western Kowloon, the Diocese of Eastern Kowloon, the Diocese of Hong Kong Island, and the Missionary Area of Macau.

All proper names of individuals are rendered into English using the form of transliteration known to have been used or preferred by the person. Pinyin Romanization of place names is used throughout, except for those in Hong Kong and Macau.

The Photographs, Maps, and Images

A history such as this must necessarily be selective and incomplete, dependent as it is upon the availability of photographs and images, especially from the early periods. It is always difficult to put together this kind of history, for even the best photographs, maps, and images can present only a partial picture of the work of the church. They help tell the story of Anglicanism in Hong Kong and Macau, but they can never tell the full story. Also, many important aspects of the life of the church cannot easily be captured in photographs, for example, the movement of the liturgy; pastoral care of the sick, the lonely, and the bereaved; an inspiring sermon; and envisioning a social welfare project.

Most of the photographs in this book are from the HKSKH Archives, the only repository in Asia dedicated to the collection and preservation of Anglican and Episcopal historical materials. Some photographs have been in Bishop's House, the present site of the archives, for more than a century, while others are newly

6. Moira M. W. Chan-Yeung, *The Practical Prophet: Bishop Ronald O. Hall of Hong Kong and His Legacies* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015).

acquired. The archives now have more than 6,000 digital images, and the number continues to grow. In addition, there are photographs from other archives that we have been given permission to use. The institutions and individuals from which each photo is taken are listed separately.

The majority of photos and images are from Hong Kong, Macau, and South China. There are also many photos from Fujian (Fukien), which was part of the Diocese of Victoria until 1907, and Shanghai, which has always been the most important city for Protestant (or non-Roman) Christianity. Shanghai was also the headquarters of the American Church Mission and, much later, of the national office of the CHSKH. There is only one photo from North China, and none from the dioceses in Sichuan and Western China, with which there was little contact.

Some important aspects of our history and important people and churches have not been included because of space limitations,

or because we have not been able to locate photographs, an inevitable problem in books such as this. The authors have relied on the advice of many colleagues and friends from Hong Kong and around the world for the selection and interpretation of materials presented here, but they take full responsibility for the final selection of photos, and any infelicities and errors that remain.

Portraits of historical figures, churches, schools and hospitals, group photos, and gatherings allow us to see things beyond the printed word. They bring to life the work of the church and how it has been involved in Chinese society. It has been said that a picture is worth a thousand words. If that is so, then you have before you a book of almost 200,000 words describing the history of a Chinese Church and its tradition over the last two centuries.

Philip L. Wickeri
Ruiwen Chen

引 論

本書所呈現的圖片希冀為香港、澳門及內地的聖公宗歷史提供一種獨特視角，藉此展現香港聖公會（安利甘教會）在過往逾200年間所參與事工的諸多方面。本書意在勾勒出教會自19世紀上半葉起至今的發展面貌。其中，19世紀及20世紀初的照片為數不多，但我們力圖搜尋相關資料，使之能較為平衡地反映出該時期的教會事工。從歷史視角而言，港澳聖公宗向來與內地的其他教區息息相連。因而，在本書中，特別是在第一、二部分，亦收錄了華南、福建、上海及其他區域的相關圖片。

本書主要為普羅讀者而設，對於有意搜尋香港聖公會歷史中著名人物及鮮為人知的個人、機構、運動的圖片及簡要描述的學者及相關人士而言，亦會有所助益。本書的出版，旨在慶賀普世聖公宗第38個教省香港聖公會教省成立20週年（2018年）。

一種歷史視角

港澳聖公宗的歷史與更為寬廣的在華基督教史緊密相連，這一切均始於1807年，即馬禮遜抵達澳門這一年。早期傳教士的譯經工作、福傳工作、基督教在通商口岸體系下的發展、華人教會的形成、基督教機構的增長（包括學校、學院、大學、醫院、社會福利中心、基督教男女青年會及各種形式的基督教協會等）、華人對傳教活動的普遍反對（教案及義和團運動的爆發即是一種證明），這一切均構成了19世紀傳教體系及華人反應範疇的所有部分。「中外新教合作建制」在20世紀初的發展、1911年的辛亥革命、1919年的五四運動及1920年代的非基運動、本色化基督教的興起、基督徒對於救亡運動的參與、抗日戰爭、內戰、直至中華人民共和國的最終成立，所有這一切貫穿著20世紀的上半葉。這是一個教會逐漸擺脫傳教士基督教模式，轉而向創建中國自我教會邁進的時期。¹ 正如本書圖片所展示的，港澳聖公宗即是這一歷史進程中的一部分。

隨著內地教會與海外教會、港澳教會的分離，香港聖公會開始了自我發展的歷程。中華人民共和國內的宗派體系於1958年結束。即便在此之前，內地的教會已不再被允許捲入教育、社會事工及醫療工作之中。然而在香港（另有一小部分在澳門），教會卻日益投身進這些領域。正因如此，香港聖公會參與塑造了自1950年代以來的香港社會，且對此貢獻良多。隨著1960年代及70年代香港華人身份認同的高漲，教會原有的殖民身份日漸讓步給香港的融合性身份——這一身份包括了西方與中國的雙重面相。在香港邁向九七回歸中國的過渡階段裏，第一位華人主教領導了香港聖公會。在這一時期及此後的數十年間，教會既秉承著自我的教義及傳統，也向創新的方向穩然邁進。在此歷程中，作為中華人民共和國兩個特別行政區（香港及澳門）的一部分，香港聖公會找尋到了自我的道路，重構了其與內地教會及社會的關係，亦與世界聖公宗發展出進一步的連結。²

香港聖公會向來是在華基督教史的一部分，但也秉持著自身獨特的歷史。聖公宗可被表述成一種教會觀。這一教會觀雖屬教會改革後的，但與新教有別；具有大公性，但非羅馬天主教。聖公會以禮儀為中心的特點、其獨特的公禱書、事工上的三重秩序（指會吏、牧師及主教的品秩），加之一套全面的聖公會領導制度及議會管理模式，使香港的聖公會傳統有別於其他新教宗派。聖公宗人信奉聖經，且以理性及傳統對此進行詮釋，以自我的方式來踐行信仰。香港聖公會植根於作為中國一部分的香港，也同時與普世聖公宗相連結。我們的教會懷揣著一份對事工的獨到理解。在這份理解中，教會、教育、社會服務（包括醫療事工）的發展都被無可分割地連於一體。

China (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

2. 有關在華聖公宗歷史，參 Philip L. Wickeri, ed., *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015).

1. 有關在華基督教簡史，參 Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in*

在香港聖公會的歷史中存有著一種持續的張力。這種張力存在於來自英國、服務英國、帶有權柄及特權的殖民宗教的聖公宗，³與作為一個為華人而設、與華人同行的宣教群體、且成為基督教在華的一種表述的聖公宗之間。殖民聖公宗為教會提供架構，這指的是，香港的聖公會從一開始就與英國殖民政府的發展相連。與此同時，數代英國傳教士的辛勤耕耘為今日奠定了基礎。從1849年起，香港的主教就力圖將教會與中國文化及社會相連結。因而本書大體的敘事乃是華人故事。香港的聖公宗人也與其他華人基督徒、及普世聖公宗有著強烈連結。從歷史視角觀之，在華聖公宗與其他新教宗派一樣，主要是低派教會，在信仰上屬於福音派，但其自身又融合著一種崇拜與傳統上的大公性、一種自由的社會外觀及一份對普世聖公宗的強烈歸屬。

聖公會在華的臨在起初是偶然且分散的，因此我們可能無法系統地闡述其歷史。中國不同區域的聖公會教區及傳道區雖然在19世紀始於獨立發展，但卻是相互關聯的。上海、福州等地有著較為密集的聖公會堂會，香港及其他城市也在一定程度上有一些堂會，但中國的許多農村地區則沒有觸及英美聖公會的事工。雖然香港聖公會與所有英國、美國、澳洲、加拿大的差會均有聯繫，但英國海外傳道會是其母會，也以此塑造了香港及澳門的聖公會。隨著1912年中華聖公會的成立，不同支派的聖公宗被聯結在一起。儘管如此，也僅持續了45年。此後的港澳聖公宗的歷史，證明這才是教會最終能夠自主發展的階段。

本書架構

本書分為五部分。第一部分從香港聖公宗的發展視角出發，考察19世紀在華聖公會的開端（自1807年至1912年）。最初的《英皇制誥》諭令成立維多利亞教區，給予了主教對中國及日本區域的管轄權。然而，美國聖公會已早其五年在上海開始發展事工，最終在長江沿岸遠至漢口（今武漢）的其他城市中建立起教會。美國聖公會並不與英國海外傳道會存在競爭關係。從大體上觀之，兩者在互補的管轄權中有著和諧的關係及分工。我們將會在這部分中介紹19世紀的人物、堂會及教育機構，以此反映當時聖公會在華的發展境況。⁴

第二部分將呈現中華聖公會自1912年起至1951年的歷史。華南教區含括著最初的維多利亞教區，該教區後成為中華聖公會的一部分。本部分是本書篇幅最長的一部分，收錄了其中近三分之一的照片。這是近代中國轉型及劇變的動盪時代，而教會也嘗試對社會變化的方方面面作出回應。新的領導湧現出來、新的教區啟始、新的堂會也被建立起來。與此同時，教會日益參與進醫療、社會、教育事工的諸多方面。中華聖公會在八年抗日中遭受重挫，此後再也沒有完全復原。雖然本書的著重點在於香港及華南，但聖公会在上海及其他區域的發展也將以照片、地圖的形式得以呈現，這些區域是中華聖公會更為寬廣的事工發展上的重要中心，也同時與華南教區的發展息息相關。

第三部分希冀描繪出1951年至1981年的港澳教區史。香港和澳門在1951年成為了一個與中華聖公會「分離的教區」。這兩座城市分別在英國及葡萄牙政府的管轄下各自為政，而內地的教會則在1949年後與中華人民共和國的社會、政治體系相融合。⁵香港的教會試圖與內地的基督徒維繫關係，然而何明華主教及其繼任者卻在當時將精力主要置於港澳方面。這是香港建設及重建的時期——新的教堂、學校、診所被陸續建立起來。⁶愈來愈多的香港人擔負起教會和社會的領導職責。本部分的照片反映出這一時期港澳教會大範圍的事工。

第四、第五部分是對近40年香港聖公會發展的一個初步概覽，此乃一部未完成的歷史草稿。第四部分記錄著香港從殖民統治回歸中國後的過渡時段。鄭廣傑主教是第一位華人教區主教，其後擔任第一任大主教。他持續發展牧區事工、教育事工及社會福利，並加強與內地教會的關係，為香港聖公會新教省的建立做了預備工作。在第五部分中，我們可以瞥見香港聖公會過去20年間在鄭廣傑大主教、鄭保羅大主教的帶領下所呈現出的發展面貌。鄭保羅大主教幫助教會邁步在創新性的新方向中，也同時繼續在前人所留下的傳統中前行。除了時常支持向內地教會及社會拓展外，他亦加強了香港聖公會與普世聖公宗的關係。

術語及翻譯

許多教會術語在19世紀尚未確定，包括對於主教和牧師的用語。在1885年由施美夫授權的《禱告文全書》中，「bishop」一詞被譯為「監司」。因此，施美夫主教與柯爾福主教在當時的正式

3. 參Part I, “Colonialism in the Anglican Communion,” in *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism: The Anglican Communion in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Ian T. Douglas and Pui-Lan Kwok (New York: Church Publishing, 2001).
4. 在這些機構中，香港聖約翰座堂是維多利亞教區歷史的中心。參Stuart Wolfendale, *Imperial to International: A History of St John's Cathedral, Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

5. 有關這一分離的更好詮釋，參 Philip L. Wickeri, ed., *Unfinished History: Christianity and the Cold War in East Asia* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2016).
6. Moira M. W. Chan-Yeung, *The Practical Prophet: Bishop Ronald O. Hall of Hong Kong and His Legacies* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015).

稱呼很可能應為「監司」。在第一部由包爾騰及施約瑟完整翻譯的《教會禱文》中，「bishop」被譯作「監督」。因此，包爾騰主教及霍約瑟主教在當時的正式稱呼應為「監督」。自倫義華主教起，至杜培義主教、何明華主教、白約翰主教，以及我們的副主教，均被稱為「會督」。本書中有三位美國聖公會主教及華人主教的相片，他們均被稱為「主教」。在十次中華聖公會總議會的報告中，「bishop」被稱為「會督」及「主教」，前者用於對香港／維多利亞主教及英國海外傳道會主教的稱呼。「主教」一詞，有時非正式地統稱所有主教，即使在我們香港聖公會的出版物中也是如此。

在本書中，我們通常用「牧師」一詞來表述「priest」。19世紀的禱文書用「牧師」或「教師」來表述「priest」。自20世紀初至1981年，「priest」被譯作「會長」——雖然有時也交替使用「牧師」一詞。在19世紀中，用「會吏」來表述「deacon」，後一直沿用。

1912年中華聖公會成立後，維多利亞教區舉行了第一次教區總議會。「維多利亞教區」一詞自1849年起即開始使用，當時的教區包括整個中國，另加日本。1912年後，「維多利亞教區」的稱呼依然使用，但因教區含括廣東、部分廣西地帶、貴州、雲南，故而亦喚作「華南教區」。在中文中，有時也將之稱為「港粵教區」。兩者可以交替使用。即使是在官方的報告中，也是如此，且沒有一定的標準。在第一至第八屆中華聖公會總議會報告中，主教被列為「維多利亞主教」。在1937年第九屆總議會報告中，何明華主教被列為「香港主教」。在1947年的第十屆總議會中，他被列為「華南主教」。對於維多利亞教區及華南教區之間的關係，歷來存有一些爭議，但不在本書的討論範疇。主教在政府文案中的正式稱呼為「香港主教」。

1951年，新分離的教區重新命名為港澳教區，僅包括香港及澳門。1998年，香港聖公會這一新教省成立，包括西九龍教區、東九龍教區、香港島教區及澳門傳道地區。

所有人名按慣用或按「名從主人」原則音譯成英文。除了香港及澳門地名外，其他地名均以漢語拼音書寫。

照片、地圖及圖像

對於這樣一部歷史，必須是、也有必要是有選擇性的，且可能是不完整的。一切均由我們所能找尋到的照片及圖像來決定——尤其是早期的資料。鑑於這些照片、地圖及圖像僅反映教會事工的一部分，故而要以此拼湊出這一形式的歷史並非易事。照片可協助訴說港澳聖公宗的故事，但永遠不可能盡觀全貌。此外，許

多教會生活的重要面相，比如禮儀中的步態移動、對於病患、孤寡、喪親者的牧養關懷、鼓舞人心的講道，或是對一項社會福利項目的展望等，均難輕易地以照片形式呈現。

本書中的絕大部分照片均取自香港聖公會檔案館，這是亞洲唯一一個有誌於收集及保存聖公宗歷史資料的資料庫。一些相片存於會督府（即現在的檔案館所在地）已逾百年，另一些則是新獲得的。檔案館現存有逾6,000幀數碼照片，此數字仍在持續增長。此外，另有一些取自於其他檔案館的相片，我們已獲准使用。照片的擁有機構及收藏者均會個別列出。

書中的大部分照片和圖像均來源於港澳及華南。也有許多出自福建，該區域在1907前隸屬維多利亞教區。此外亦有一些相片源於上海，這是新教（或非羅馬天主教）發展最為重要的城市，也是美國聖公會差會的總部，多年之後是中華聖公會中央辦事處所在地。本書僅有一張照片源於華北，也沒有四川及華西地區教區的相片，因當時與這些教區的聯絡較少。

由於篇幅有限、或無法定位照片，我們教會歷史中的一些重要方面、重要人物及教堂可能無法盡括在本書內，這也是撰寫這樣一部書所無可避免的問題。本書作者在擇取及詮釋資料方面有賴於香港及全世界諸多同工、朋友們的寶貴建議。書中相片的最終選擇權歸作者，所有不妥及錯誤，責任亦全在作者。

歷史人物的肖像、教堂、學校、醫院、團體照及聚會照能幫助我們窺見白紙黑字之外的事物，並賦予教會事工以生命，使我們得以飽覽教會參與在華人社會之中的種種面相。有道是：一張照片抵過千言萬語。如果是這樣的話，這本呈獻在您面前的近20萬字的書正是希冀描繪出過往兩個世紀以來一個華人教會的歷史及其傳統。

魏克利、陳睿文

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Archives of the Episcopal Church

<http://www.episcopalarchives.org>

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity (in Chinese and English)

<http://www.bdcconline.net/en/>

Church Missionary Society Archives

<http://www.cms-uk.org/Resources/LibraryArchives/Archives/TabId/194/ArtMID/3826/ArticleID/607/In-Birmingham.aspx>

CSCA Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui Source Documents

<http://anglicanhhistory.org/asia/skh/>

Hong Kong Baptist University, Archives of the History of Christianity in China

<http://library.hkbu.edu.hk/sca/ahc.html>

Hong Kong Government Records Office (Chinese and English)

<http://www.grs.gov.hk/ws/english/home.htm>

The Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui (Anglican Church) (Chinese and English)

<http://www.hkskh.org/index.aspx?lang=1>

The Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Archives (Chinese and English)

<http://www.archives.hkskh.org>

Lambeth Palace Library and Archives

<http://www.lambethpalacelibrary.org/content/searchcollections>

Shanghai Municipal Archives (in Chinese only)

<http://www.archives.sh.cn>

USPG Papers and Archives

<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/blcas/uspg.html>

Yale Divinity School Library, Special Collections

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