



我的
鏤
金
歲
月

*Reminiscence of My
Golden Years in Ruihua*

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致故人

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殷牧师：

写这封信时，我身在枣庄学院开会，行囊里带着你的打字稿，和你的线装词卷。枣庄，你大概是熟悉的。虽然你的老家在山东东部靠海的青岛一带，而枣庄却在山东西部，靠近微山湖和江苏省。可是，毕竟都是山东省。更何况，这一带曾经打过那些刻骨铭心，连山石大地也要为之哭泣的外战和内战。但此刻是初秋，客栈的桌子上有迎宾的枣子、苹果和石榴，餐盘里常有腴美的洪泽湖螃蟹，岁月是如此安谧静好。

然而，沉沉的暗夜里，（此处入夜后，全然馨宁无声），读你的故事，令人的心惻惻轻疼。我人在山东，读山东人笔下的山东，然而我读到的不是地理而是湮远而隐痛的历史。亲爱的朋友啊！你一直是木讷沉静的山东之子啊！孔子、孟子、荀子……这原是一块盛产圣贤的土地，而百年来它却是受苦的坩

感谢任雪竹女士（Alice Rinell Hermansson）及其家人、财团法人杨懋春贞德基金会、作者殷颖先生提供本书珍贵的历史照片，特此致谢。

塌。当年，孔子说：“吾党小子狂简！”你也曾是孔丘口中那质朴鲁直的少年吧？是敢于抗言敢于诚实因而必须去承受去扛起命运巨石的山东少年吧？

对我来说，你是一个“非常不像牧师的牧师”，多数的牧师有点像人家骂的“二毛子”（“二毛子”是相对于“大毛子”的骂人话，是义和团时期的用语，“大毛子”指老外，“二毛子”指跟老外关系良好的基督徒，是一句民粹主义的骂人话。）因为和西洋文化走得太近，不慎失却了自己的文化重心。像你这样爱写书法、爱填词、爱读古书、爱写散文的俊雅人士，好像应该置身翰林院或甚么三希堂之类的地方，而不是高唱“哈利路亚”的教堂。但从另一方面看，你的敏锐，你的同情，你的善良（也可以说成“容易上当”），你的天真（也可以说成“傻乎乎”啦！），你的舍己（或云“不知死活”）使你在像山东人之余，也真的很像牧师，牧师算是小规模圣贤吧？是孔子、孟子、荀子之伦的后辈吧？

身为你的朋友，我大概不能细估你平生“得”了多少？“失”了多少？但有一件事令人羡慕，那就是，你拥有记忆。现实的世界其实是脆弱的，据家母说，她娘家的老宅，墙厚三尺，但屋子拆了，那么坚固的墙也没了。不，是连宅第、连池塘、连田产、连家谱全部全部都没了。“实世界”哪堪一击？只有“虚世界”中的记忆反而是永恒的，能拥有那份记忆的人应该是极其富有的人。谢谢你把你的富有藉着书写跟我分享，

让我也恍惚去到那遥远幸福的春天，参与了荡秋千，加入了放风筝，且吃了晶莹剔透的“白糖卡子”，当然也分担了你的哀伤，体会“乡音无改万物衰”的巨变之余的无奈。然而哀伤虽万般不好，却总比空白好。“昏鸦古渡，荒村野店，渐见陌头人远。”这是你在《存性堂词钞》里的句子。

我去年大病，今以劫余之身，能在旅次中读你的书，只觉万般幸运。我们都是这尘世间的陌上行人，让我们怀抱一幅记忆中的旧图画来走我们余下的脚程吧！

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乡遥归梦远

—— 一九四六年以前，

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1

故 乡

蹉跎一生，流徙半世，经历过漫天烽火里的伤痕累累，及白色恐怖中被虐杀的苦难青春，在我记忆深处所保留的那一串镶金的岁月，只能是童年镂刻的点点痕迹。数十年来，三更有梦，总是围绕在儿时家中的那幢老宅打转。尽管梦中编织的故事不同，但场景却从未更换。偶尔场所也会拉到台北的居处；多半一闪即逝；如笔锋扫过的淡墨与飞白。细数我在台北待过的岁月，长达二、三十载，而童年在故乡的日子，却只有短短的十四、五年，但儿时的记忆，着墨之浓、刻痕之深，我自己也感到惊讶。无论就物质层面或精神内涵来说，童年的那段日子，都比不上后来我在台湾与国外的生活。但不知为何，儿时的记忆，硬是在我心底生了根，随时随地能破土而

出，且让其后漫长的岁月，皆黯然失色！一九八七年我第一次回到大陆，当飞机抵达青岛时，心中翻搅的激情，可以想见。但接机的亲人中，只有两位长辈的面貌，尚可依稀辨认；其余均不相识。亲情，由陌生的面相中，一时难以交融，场面显得生涩、尴尬，原先心中所涌现的满腔热情，竟变得僵硬、冰冷。这就是所谓的“近乡情怯”吧。当我再搭上出租车，驶往我成长的故乡胶州时，我的心，更几乎要蹦出来了。我生于青岛，但三岁丧母后，便回到胶州老家，由我的祖母抚养长大。在胶州度过了童年，也在那儿读书成长；十五岁时，我才被迫逃离故乡。心中的激动起伏，难以言说。但出现眼前的，却是一座对我而言完全陌生的城市；如同在机场时看到的那几张我从未谋面的亲人的面孔。我走着、看着，不禁呆了：这真是我的家乡吗？我好像误闯进入一个完全陌生的城市，不但原来的城墙完全没了，我居住过的那条街道，也根本走了样。街东头的那座云溪桥哪里去了？我故居墙外的那几棵老榆树呢？街对面的那家黄酒铺呢？还有，不处于记小铺的锅饼香味，又飘之何方？更不可解的是，街左边不远处的栏杆井与街南头的那口小井呢？那可是这一带居民生活的源头啊，何以在一瞬间都消失无踪？这变动翻转，也未免太离谱、太夸张了吧！至于我的故居，则早已被拆除，另建成营房，片瓦无存了。怀着悲怆的心情，我以诗句纪录下我的心声：

曾经香透了童年的丁香树
在那片紫白的细碎中

沉埋了多少稚嫩的憧憬
大门里那丛幽篁映掩的粉壁呢
我曾痴痴地坐在地上
仰视着梁上那一窝呢喃
都已化作春泥了吗
后园的香椿与梧桐
前庭的芍药与牡丹
以及
窗外那片烧红了记忆的榴火
我仍记得学屋的长案上
那几卷蓝布函套的《资治通鉴》
我离家时匆忙间留下的
那一指四十年尘封的折痕
如今早已忘却了
是折在秦皇还是汉武的卷页上
老祖母的白发
犹颤抖在冷峭的寒风中
难道这些记忆都是虚幻
而眼前矗立着的
却是一幢完全陌生的房屋
踏遍了街头巷尾
找不到那口熟悉的古井
街口的石桥与河畔的榆荫
也都失去了踪迹

我怀疑是否闯进了另一个城市
但耳畔的乡音却十分浓重
使我确定已回到
这苦思了四十年的故乡
但我的故居却由这幅地图上涂掉了
四十年前的生活档案
也早由历史中注销
而眼前这个城市正在排拒我
郑重地向我宣判了终身的放逐
我突然跌落在历史的断层里
甚至已被褫夺了
对故乡相思的权利



▲胶州内城之城门楼



▲胶州城内之牌坊

2

故居

我儿时的记忆，都锁在故居的那两所院落里。而所谓“镂金的岁月”，那是在比较了我青少年时期放逐异乡、投入战火、与陷入白色恐怖等可怕情境后，相对而言的。

其实，我儿时也算相当悲苦；三岁时，生母病逝青岛，我与五岁的姐姐便被送回胶县老家，由祖母抚养。祖母撑持一个大家庭，诸事繁忙，很少能抽出时间来照顾我们。父亲长年在外幕游，难得回家。偶尔回来，也只是小住三、五日。因此，我们父子之间颇显生疏。一个幼儿在应该被父母疼爱的时期，却只能孤单寂寞地度过，那在我幼小心灵中的郁卒，是无法言喻的。

我儿时的天地，便是我家的那两所庭园。我习惯独自在庭

院的角落里寻找自己的乐趣；庭院内一草一木，花台、盆景，都是我儿时寄情所在，其乐无穷。后来我读了沈三白《浮生六记》中的“闲情记趣”，便引沈复为我的知音。他笔下许多儿时的情节，都能印证我当时的感触：“余忆童稚时，能张目对日，明察秋毫。见藐小微物，必细察其纹理，故时有物外之趣。……于土墙凹凸处，花台小草丛杂处，常蹲其身，使与台齐；定神细视，以丛草为林，以虫蚁为兽，以土砾凸者为丘，凹者为壑，神游其中，怡然自得。”沈复的种种童稚乐趣，我都曾深刻体会；从儿时起，我便喜爱花草植物，这种兴趣一直维持到耆年，有增无减。稍长，我的另一项兴趣，便转移到我家的藏书了。

家中藏书甚丰，除善本书外，也有大量“五四”以后出版的新文艺书籍与杂志。家父喜好藏书，我便承袭了这嗜好，终生与书为伍。记得藏书中，光是《新青年》、《论语》、《宇宙风》、《人间世》等五四时代的各种文艺刊物，便堆积如山。其中我最爱看《人间世》封面上丰子恺的漫画，后来也爱读他的散文，认为丰子恺的散文，应为二十年代作家中的翘楚，这个观点至今不改。

在我尚不能阅读的幼儿时期，我最爱翻看各种说部中的绣像插画，特别是在夏日晒书时。烈日下，头顶一条湿毛巾，我大量地翻看书中的绣像插图，并充分发挥个人的想像力，而自得其乐，神往不已。后来上了学，能阅读了，记得在我小学四年级时，便已读完了《西游记》、《水浒传》等小说。继之，更如痴如醉地狂读各种说部，所以小学毕业时，差不多的旧小

说，我都读了。

还记得我开始读《三国演义》与《西厢记》时，遭家人反对，认为我看的闲书太多，是不务正业。但这几部书的吸引力超强，我便悄悄地蜷伏在院落的一角偷偷地读。当时正是隆冬，我的双足不但冻僵，而且长了冻疮，脚背与脚后跟也都溃烂，甚且留下了疤痕。

我在读小学时，便早以爱读小说出了名。那时正是王度庐以新文艺手法，在青岛日报发表他的武侠系列：《鹤惊昆仑》、《卧虎藏龙》、《宝剑金钗》与《铁骑银瓶》等连载小说的时候，每天当阅报栏换上新报，我早已在旁守候，盼抢先阅读王著的武侠小说。后来当我进入瑞华中学，王校长面试时，便瞪视着我说：“原来，你就是那个爱看小说的学生。”



▲胶州内城昔日之考试院

我幼时就读的第一所启蒙学校，是在家居附近南坛湾旁边的“鲁班庙小学”。校长姓杨，教室只有一大间，几个不同的班级在一起上课。除了通课以外，老师要分区就近教学，我只记得学会了阿拉伯数字，并且开始学写毛笔字的“描红”：在一本仿纸上印了“上大人，孔乙己，化三千，七十士，尔小人，应知礼”等红字，要用毛笔蘸了黑墨描上去。在那里我好像只念了不到一年，便因家中有丧事而辍学了。

记忆中较深刻的是，庙院中有几棵大银杏树，秋天地上落满了白果，我们捡了到附近的小河里，将果肉洗净、晒干，可以放在火里烧了吃，滋味清香，为我的童年留下了甜美记忆。另一件事，是当时教育局提倡妇女放足，发给学生每人一个红布臂箍，上面印着“誓不与缠足女子结婚”，但当时并不明白那是甚么意思。结束鲁班庙小学的第二年，我便进了当时在胶县最好的学校，“私立瑞华小学”。

我因已念过一段小学一年级，便插入二年级上课，最先



▲瑞华小学与福音村



▲瑞华小学（前女校）之教学大楼



▲瑞华中、小学之教职员宿舍（福音村）

是在后来的中学大礼堂上课，不久便迁到大井街的学校去了。在那里念完了三年级，再转到小校场旁边的瑞华小学上课。学校中有一幢教学大楼，校园中有许多白杨树，校旁便是“小校场”的体育场。学校斜对面是“福音村”，那里是中、小学校长及传道人的宿舍。我们这所“瑞华小学”与“瑞华中学”都是由瑞典浸信会在华设立的；他们除在胶东各县传教外，也办教育事业，且办得极为出色：师资、校舍，在当时均为一流。

“瑞华中学”旁边便是巍然耸立的大教堂，每当主日钟声悠扬，全县都可以听到，而高耸的教堂钟楼塔尖，更是全县的著名地标。我们在这所教会学校上学，礼拜天规定要去作礼拜。学生要先到学校，再列队去礼拜堂。牧师为韩凤鸣，但他的讲道枯燥乏味，听了使人昏昏欲睡；幸而另有几位主持人十分活泼。其中，有瑞典籍牧师任汝霖（Rev. Eqrone Rine11）及王华亭校长等均为一时之选。在瑞华读书时，受他们的启发、薰陶极深；我的基督教信仰，便由那时打下了基础。



▲清末胶州县官与同僚



▲胶州县太爷与二子

3

南坛与西坡

我儿时家教极严，平时不能离开家中的庭院；直到上了学，才开始对周遭的环境逐渐熟稔。我家离当时就读的“鲁班庙小学”很近，约十多分钟便能到达。夏日庙旁湾中的荷花盛开，荷香四溢；湾中的绿萍会漫溢出来，流进附近的小河沟。夜间蛙声清越，清晰地传进我家院落，伴我入梦。

我居住的崔家街西头，出了映壁的粉墙，便是一望无际的大片田野。我由街西头步行到瑞华小学去上课，大约为二十分钟脚程，路上要经过几处农家。一出西街口不远，左手的农家，在打谷场上支起了高高的两架秋千。每逢春三月时，便有许多人去围观人们打秋千。这家有二个女孩，都是打秋千的高手。秋千架高过屋顶，她们能荡得高与架齐，像蝴蝶一般飞舞

着，这是附近邻里的盛事。但这种荡秋千，也有危险：一不小心摔下来，可能会腰折腿伤，有谚语谓：“阳世三间三桩险，骑马、坐船、荡秋千”。在这个恬静的小城里，矜荡的春风里，平添了许多欢声笑语。

西坡（我家街西头外面的一片田野，称为西坡）的另一件盛事，是放风筝。这在故乡的风筝季节，更是一项重大的活动；除了孩子们在田野放的各种纸鸢，将天空染成五颜六色外，大人们也来放风筝。最大的有五、六丈长的蜈蚣风筝，要许多人擎在手中才能飞得起来。当这种大型风筝，飞上天际，便如虬龙般腾空直上，几个人都拉不住它。又粗又长的丝线，卷在木架上，这台木架要几个人坐上去，才能压得住，多半还要再压上几块大石头才能稳住。这种风筝一放就是一整天，放风筝的人们，兴奋地吆喝着、欢呼着。看这些巨蟒、蛟龙在空中不断地升腾盘旋，许多飞鸟都追不上它。风筝翱翔云端，因为放得太高了，看上去如一只只小小的虫豸，而风筝线却笔直地由地上拔去，线上会发出嗡嗡的声音，如同龙吟，气势十分慑人。也有人不断地将一个个的小竹圈，由丝线送上去，一松手会听到嗤地一声，便飞上天际，这叫“送食”。大人、小孩便这样守在线盘下，等到天色渐暗才慢慢地收回来。要几个人一同摇转线的把手，艰辛地一寸寸地拉回。等到蜈蚣落在麦田里，大家才兴尽而归。

我儿时的岁月，除家中的两所院落与我家的学屋，为我的天地外；上了学校后，由我家街西头到瑞华小学当中，这一片土地，便成为我另一情趣的寄托。我上学时一路走去，在田间



▲乡间之农作

的小路上，时高时低，还要经过一条独木小桥，再经过几处农家，才能到达学校。而这几处农家，我也很感兴趣。我喜欢看他们在田间的农作，在场上打麦打谷的情景。当麦穗成熟时，由田垄间经过，有时也会顺手摘几支麦穗，拿到学校去与同学用火烧了吃。而这条清浅小河中，游鱼交错，放学后我常常会停在河畔望着苻藻间的小鱼，留连忘返。夏日暑假时，便会到校旁小校场的白杨树树下，与我叔父一同带一条凉席铺在草地上。我们躺在席上，一面听树上蝉鸣、耳边风声，一面听老人们信口开讲的一些荒诞故事，其乐陶陶，浑然忘我。



▲农家打谷场

4

故居寒梦

浪迹天涯三十余载，魂牵梦萦始终不能忘怀的便是我的故居，坐落在故乡胶县南关崔家街东头的那两幢老屋。半生漂泊，走遍世界的各个角落，看尽了繁华都会的摩天大楼，踏遍了欧洲的许多王宫古堡，也曾栖身许多精致美丽的别墅，但都找不到我生根的地方。只有故乡的那两幢老屋是属于我的；那儿有我生长的土壤，那儿有我数不清的回忆，那儿是我度过童年的地方，是与我血肉相连，切不断、分不开的故乡，是我平生梦魂萦绕的所在。而这种感觉却随岁月以俱增。

前些时消息传来，我的故居早已被拆毁，改建为别的用途了。不料我朝思暮想的家园竟遭如此命运，这不幸的资讯证实之后，使我悲痛不已。如今，我只有靠回忆才能神游故居了，

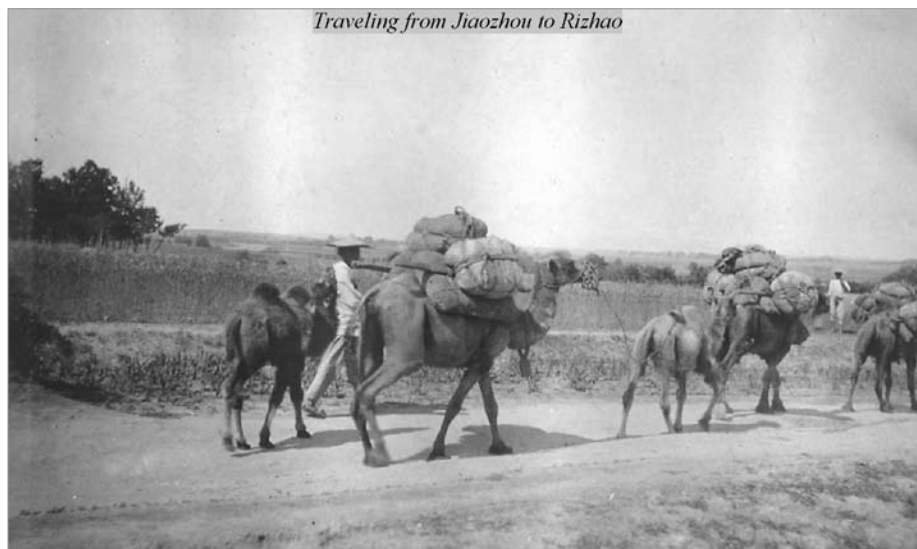
我真怕再过些时，连记忆也将模糊，所以我要趁还能记得老家面貌时将它写下来，算是遥对乡关故居的招魂吧！

我家的宅第并不大，充其量只能算是中人之家。我家的那两幢老屋各有三进院落，格局都很平实。靠街东头的是三椽草堂，紧挨着的是三幢瓦屋。在那儿，我消磨了我全部的童年，一串串金黄色的记忆，一幅幅温馨的图画，是我此生惟一可以凭借的东西。自我十五岁离开家乡以后的日子，充满的是流浪、恐怖、贫乏与空虚的岁月，连成一片茫然的虚无。如今，只剩下童年的回忆还是清新美好的，成为我生命中最珍贵的部分。

自我有记忆开始，最初是在街东头的那幢草屋中度过，紧隔壁的三幢较好的瓦房，则因家道中落而典给了左邻的大户。后来终于在我六七岁的时候又赎了回来。因为房舍就在隔壁，所以由内院墙上打开一道门就可以搬家。我仍能记得全家兴奋忙碌地指挥工人将家俱箱笼搬到“新居”时的情景。但我真正喜欢的却是那三椽草堂，因为它透着温馨可爱。厚厚的草屋冬暖夏凉，当冬尽春临时，屋脊上的白雪融化，草檐上会垂下来一串串晶莹的冰柱，十分好看。用竹竿打冰坠子是儿时一种快乐的游戏。这三幢草屋的第一进是学屋兼客厅，院落中种满了花，那几年父亲在家中隐居，住在学屋里，潜心于读书和园艺。这嗜好也感染了我，学着栽花、除草、施肥，做个小园丁。学屋的院落中及第二进的天井都有一座三尺高的长方形大花池，种了芍药与牡丹，春天这两种花都盛开，在满园春色中，显出雍容华贵的风姿，使其他春花失尽了颜色，真是国色



▲当时建筑之打夯奠基工程



▲民初城郊之行旅



▲雨季行车

天香。秋日则种了满院的各色菊花，冷香一直延续到十月。后院有一棵桑树和一棵高高的梧桐，另外还有一些记不起名字的小树与一间地窖子，冬日可以储藏大白菜、萝卜与花盆，以避免寒害。后院中还有一间木屋，是长工周二的住处。后来我家迁回隔壁的瓦房之后，那儿便占据了我儿时大部分的回忆，我在那儿念完了小学与部分中学，经历过痛苦的家变，那时家中闹析产的纠纷。我在念中学时还害了一场伤寒，辍了半年的学。后来再经历时代的剧变，被迫在流亡中辞别了故居，开始了我生命中长时间的流浪与放逐，自那之后我再没有看到过我的故居。

我家那幢瓦屋也是三进三个院落。第一进大门的耳房是

长工周二的下榻处，他直住到年迈病逝时为止。他父子两代都在我家做长工，已成为我家中的一份子。我小时要喊他周爷，他性情孤僻而颇具威严，小时候我很怕他，因他动辄训斥我，虽家人亦不敢缓颊。第一进的院落很小，但养了一丛翠竹，在一进大门的映壁墙上挂了一个斗大的福字。大门的过道中则悬了一个铁丝做的纸灯笼，上面有几个剪贴的红隶字“殷存性堂”，“存性堂”便是我家的堂号。在学屋大厅上便悬了这样一块匾额，听说这三个大字是一位姓钱的状元写的。学屋里还悬了不少字画，我只记得一副对联：“春风放胆来梳柳，夜雨瞒人去润花。”学屋的庭院也不算大，但有一个花台、一株石榴树与一株紫白相间的丁香树。每逢春天四五月这棵丁香绽放时，香飘数里，附近的邻居都可以嗅到浓郁的丁香。树头上一片白云，夹着半树嫣紫。听说紫丁香是后来接上去的枝子。这棵丁香树占去了我大片的记忆，我曾在树下读书、游戏，这一树馥郁香透了我的童年。

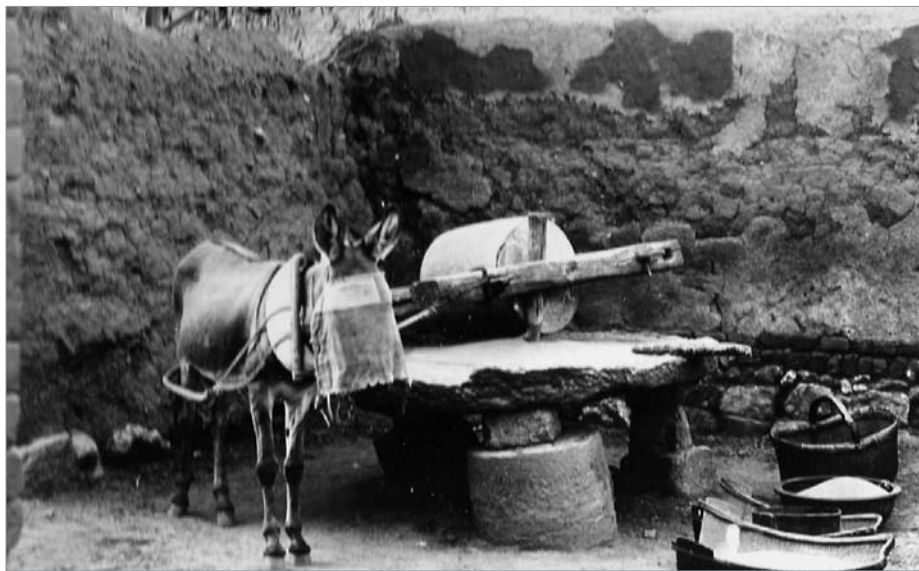
我童年消磨时间最多的地方，要算是这两间学屋的前院，因为那里有花圃，栽着各种花卉，由岁首到岁尾都不断地开放。因之园艺便成了我儿时主要的兴趣，我往往会对一棵植物看上半天，仔细观察它们的生态；春天看到一枝嫩芽裂破冻土，或一粒红蕾出现在枝干上，会由心中涌起无比的喜悦。夏日雷雨过后，撑着油纸伞将被雨打偃的花枝扶上花架，是我儿时最愉快的工作。由于我对花木的喜爱，从而培养出对盆景与昆虫的兴趣。那满园花卉成了我儿时的自然教科书，让我学习了许多东西，也投注了全部的情感。渐长又因为对大自然的爱

好，而旁及文艺欣赏的领域，更为我早期狂热的阅读打开了一条门径。

谈起我家的学屋，不禁使我想到我家的藏书，学屋里摆满了几排书架，有木制的也有湘妃竹制的，装满了线装书与洋装书。因我父亲爱好文学又嗜书如命，除古籍外对五四时代的文艺书与杂志收集极丰。我家的学屋其实是一个小型图书馆。每到六月伏天，家中便要晒书。将一条条的木板架在长凳上，摆满了两个天井。把书架上的藏书搬下来，打开书匣书衣，再一本本地展放在木板上晒。那是我最兴奋的时刻，因为可以随意去翻阅书中的插图与绣像，而觉其味无穷。到了念小学四年级的时候，已能大致阅读《西游记》、《水浒传》之类的书，与各种鼓词说部。整个寒暑假都浸淫在这些闲书中，甚至迷到废寝忘食的地步。到小学毕业时，已将半文言的《三国演义》读完了。如今这些藏书已化为灰烬，早已随故宅而湮没了。我家这三进院落一层比一层高，可能是为排水的缘故吧，天井都是鹅卵石铺成，中间是青砖砌的走道。每一天井中都有几个花池，与摆在长条石凳上的盆景。第二进天井的一角还摆了几个大型的陶缸，有的储水，有的则装满了豆酱、面酱或咸菜。那个时代家中食用的主食与主要调味料，都是自行磨制与酿制的，很少到外面去买。我家虽住城中，但也是过着道地的农业社会的生活。最后一幢的边房是储粮用的仓库，在柳条编成的巨型屯底上，再用长条高粱席圈成粮屯子，分别储存麦、豆等谷物。春秋二季乡下的佃户们由城外用驴拉的独轮车载着一袋袋的粮食送来，将屯子装满，维持一年的生活。这些往事都在



▲民初旅行之骡轿叫「山子」

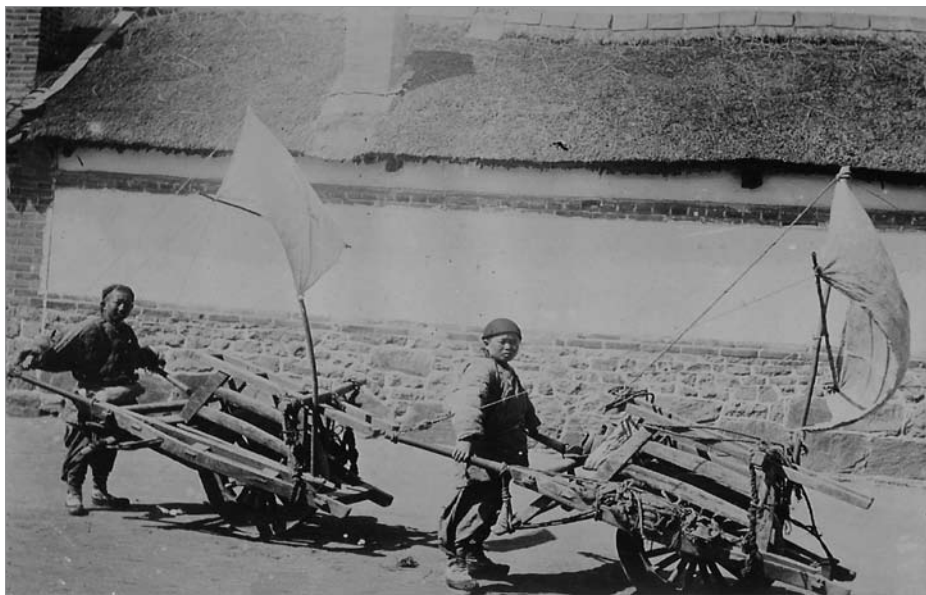


▲碾谷

回忆中增添了几许欢愉。第三进天井的东边是碾房与磨房，每过几个月便要雇驴子来拉磨研制面粉或碾谷制米，这些也都是儿时的趣事。

由我家走到街的西头，有一堵高大的白石灰映壁墙，上面有一块“泰山石敢当”的镶石。一走出去就是一望无际的绿色田野，沿着泥路弯弯曲曲地走去，一刻钟便能走到我念书的“瑞华小学”，在那将展开我另一页金黄色的回忆。

如今这些回忆都将在梦魂中化作一缕轻烟，慢慢地淡了、远了、冷了。遥望山河犹在，但我的故居却已消逝了。（摘自《归回田园》）



▲独轮车

5

说胶州

故乡胶州，在青岛开埠之前，原为与南方通商的码头。听说当时货船可以直接开进城中，故胶州比较富裕。在胶东诸县中，有“金胶州，银潍县”之称；但在文采方面，胶州便略逊于潍县了。有一事可以证明：每年旧历春节时，城中的“山货市”，照例有一种风雅的博奕，叫“敲诗”。所谓“敲诗”，就是有人拟妥诗句：如“春眠不觉晓”，将第五个“晓”字空出来，画一个圈代替，作为谜面；另写五个“音义相谐”的字，每个字都适合嵌入，但要赌诗者来推敲，猜压其中正确之字。最后庄家将谜底揭晓，猜中便赢。这些诗句，均非人们熟悉的诗句，而是由潍县的老学究们自撰的。这种博奕，风雅而有趣。我当时很小，只能跟大人们去看看热闹。



▲胶州城内市区一瞥

潍县的文风之盛，想来应与郑板桥曾任该县县令有关。我对郑氏的诗与书法均极欣赏，在我家“学屋”的正堂上，便有两副郑氏的书法对联：“文章西汉两司马，事业南阳一卧龙”及“春风放胆来梳柳，夜雨瞒人去润花”。吾县文采虽不如潍县，但前清的考官对胶东诸县，各以一字为评语；胶县得到一个“秀”字，某邻县却得了个“谬”字。

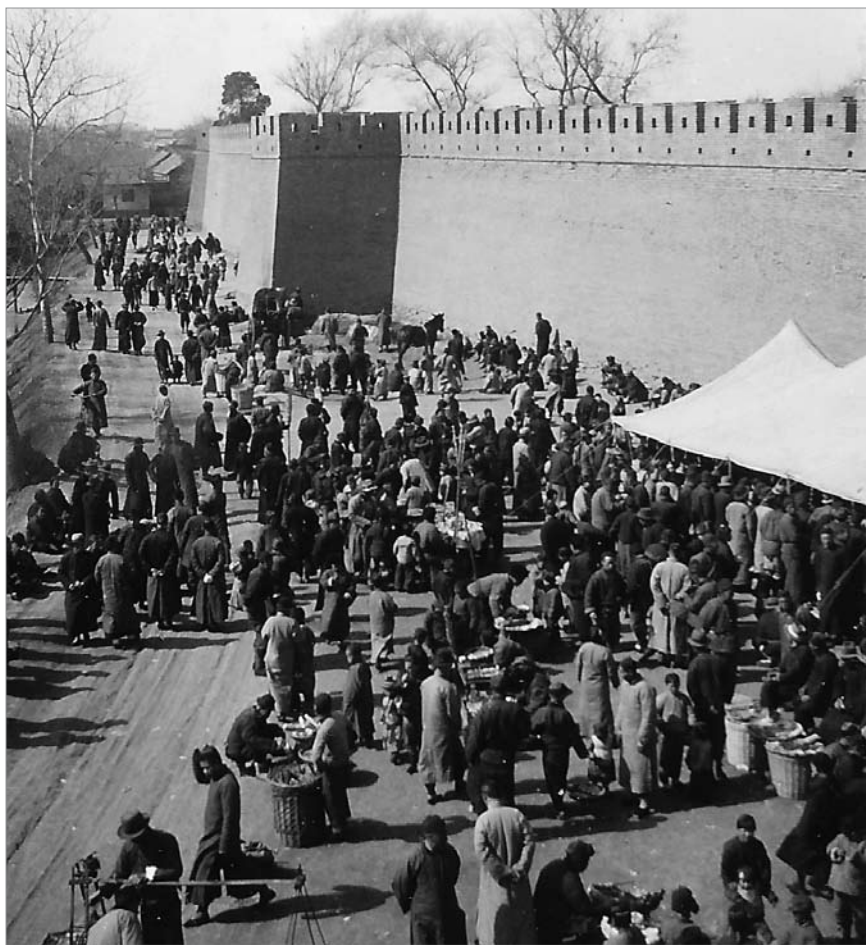
胶州的富裕，由商业的发达便可看出。各种行业均各占有一条街，如钱市街（钱庄）、铁市街（售各种铁器）、菜市街、鱼市街等；至于“山货市”，则为一条小型的百货商行街，其中也有专售文艺小说的，当时张恨水（1895-1967）的各种小说正当红。书店也租售武侠连环图画，此为我儿时热衷的



▲文庙大成桥（俗称状元桥）

一项爱好；站在店前看《三侠剑》的胜英、黄三太，看到快上课时，才快快地离去。

儿时另一项最有兴致的爱好，是到沙滩去听说评书。记得当时说评书的有两个人，一为盲者；他一面说一面唱，一手摇两片半圆形铜板，一手敲鼓，说说唱唱，风靡了许多听众。听说这位盲者，是靠他的哥哥为他读书，他听一遍便能完全默记，再活生生地表演出来。另一位是中年人，手中只有一把扇骨，能代表各式武器，表演得出神入化。我们都迷上了他说的《雍正剑侠图》。每天中午便跑去听书，书场在沙滩南崖，要经过“果木市街”，再越过魁星阁便到达，离瑞华中学约徒步十五至二十分钟的行程。每天大约总在中午上课前一刻钟左



▲胶州内城外之市集

右，我们才恋恋不舍地开始向学校飞奔，多半是听到校内上课钟响时，才跑到校门口。有时则是老师进了教室，我们几个听书的学生才气喘咻咻地赶到。大家最怕的是教理化的王校长；如果是他的课，迟到一定会触霉头。但这位风尘满面、中年说



▲用城门城楼及护城河

评书人的魅力，却能使我们被粘在书场，甘冒迟到受罚的风险。

在就读瑞华的时日中，发生了许多事情。仍记得当时日军占领胶县时，妇女们纷纷跑到教堂避难，因瑞华教堂是瑞典差会创办的，而瑞典在二次大战中是中立国，日军不能到瑞典教堂中去抓人。还记得教堂的屋顶，特别漆上瑞典国旗，以避免日军飞机向教堂误投炸弹。后来瑞华中学又将学校原大门封



▲民初胶州之交通工具

死，在另一条侧巷“梢门里”开一扇小门出入。挂上一块“瑞华圣经学院”的牌子，这样更能避免日伪政府的干扰，而继续办学。王校长称这种方式为“曲线抗战”。校中的旗杆也从未升起敌伪政府的旗帜；直到抗战胜利，才升上国旗。王校长每每以此自豪。

胶州在一九四九年以后，由于国体的基本更易，县城的一切古建筑也随之带来了毁灭性的改变；胶州内外的两座美丽古老的城墙都遭拆除了。瑞华的大教堂也拆毁了，正所谓“一块石头也不留在石头上”。城内全部的庙宇、牌坊等古老的建筑文物，均荡然无存。瑞华中学已不复存在，只余下瑞华小学的



▲日据期间教堂屋顶漆上瑞典国旗以避免日机轰炸

教学大楼尚能幸存，但已改为他用。当我于一九八七年返回故乡时，只余此楼可供凭吊了。

如今这些由当初任大牧师那架二手相机所留下来的照片，已成为全城唯一的历史纪录。这是胶州的悲哀，也是历史的劫难，但却证实了圣经所言，“我们在这本没有常存的城，乃是寻求那将来的城”（“希伯来书”十三章14节）。



▲胶州内城之瓮城映壁墙



▲胶州衙门

6

小城风物

胶州也有所谓的十景；即“文庙松钟”、“云溪晚钓”、“麻湾渔乐”、“介亭春树”、“少海连樯”、“铁榭悬泉”、“灵岛浮翠”、“石耳争奇”、“胶州澄月”、与“双珠嵌云”等；实际上除“双珠嵌云”以外的九景，多半都是凑数，装门面的。

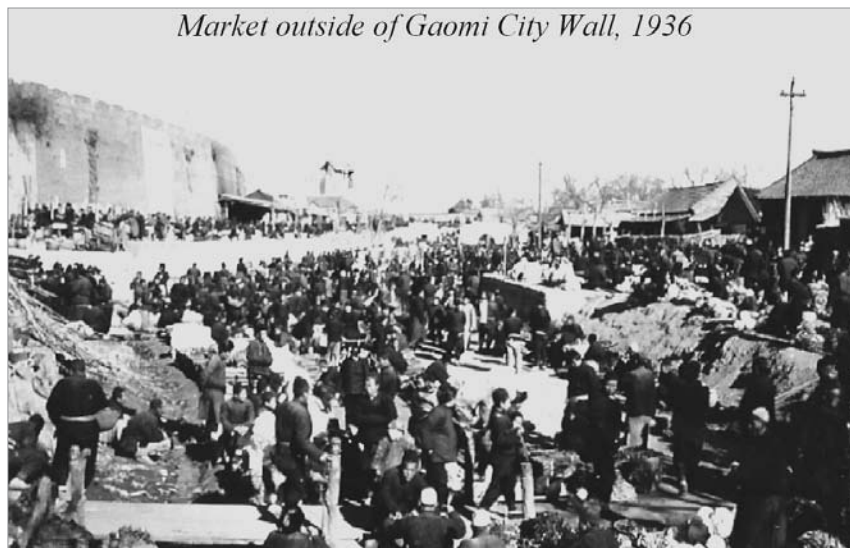
“双珠嵌云”确为吾邑之著名景点；可惜我从未登临过，所谓双珠即大珠山与小珠山，由南关城外都可以遥望。天晴时，甚至在我家的院落中，便可依稀看到峰顶。记得儿时曾约几位同学想到珠山一游，出了南关城门，向南走了半日，看起来山的距离依旧，正所谓“看山走死马”。估计走到天黑，也未必能到达，因怕家人担心，便废然而返。故登珠山的壮志始

终未酬。

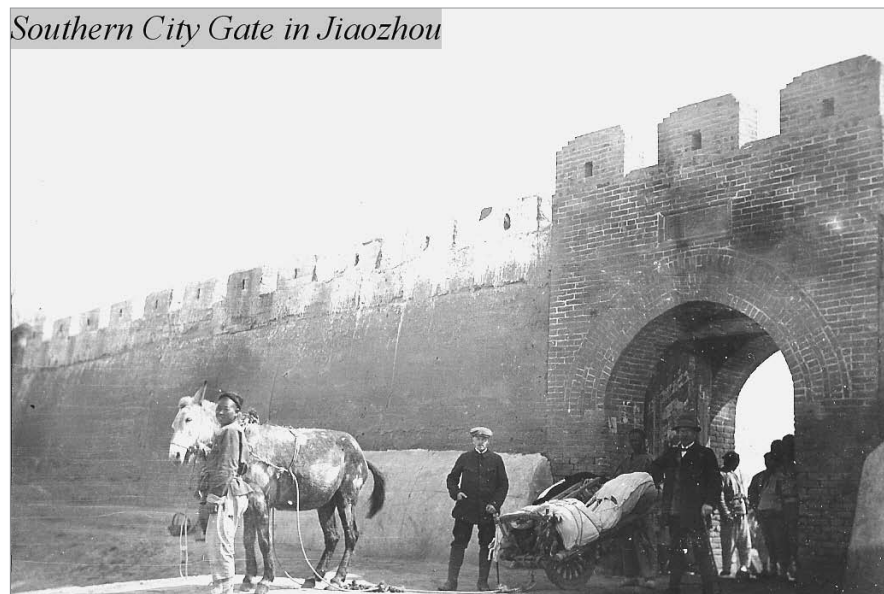
胶州还有三样特产，即所谓的胶州三宝，其中最著名者为冬日出口到南方的主要土产“胶白”。胶州白菜叶很密实，一颗由十几斤到几十斤不等，十分结实。甚至人可以站在白菜上，而菜无损伤。“胶白”味美且甘，为菜中极品。另一件特产叫“喇瓦庙”，是用驼绒制的毡靴，冬日穿在脚上，是御寒的最佳装备。第三件是“拉猪钩子”，此物鲜为人知；是在一条木棍的一端打造一个铁钩，用来捉猪用的。当牧猪人在赶放猪只时，如有一只惊窜奔逃，人手极难将它抓回，牧猪者要追上去用拉猪钩子，钩在猪鼻子上，将猪拖回来。拉猪钩子搭上猪鼻，猪只会痛得尖叫，但这种胶州铁匠打造出来的猪钩，却有一个特点，即钩搭上猪鼻不会出血，原因无人知晓，但此物因而出名。

胶州也有不少著名的小吃，但多已在文革时消灭或失传。我回到胶州后，询之乡人，年轻的一代根本不知。年长者，则摇头叹息说：“这些旧社会的东西，早已不存在了。”因在文革中彻底摧毁，荡然无存了。

在许多已失传的食品中，有两样珍品，我最感到惋惜：一是胶州的“烧肉”（即卤菜），这种烧肉是用祖传下来百年以上的卤汤所卤制，滋味之美，无与伦比，难以形容。这种卤汤一旦毁去，便再也无法恢复。另一种点心叫“白糖卡子”，是用最好的面粉加糖制成的甜点，“卡子”是将面填进木制的各式动、植物模型中，如金鱼、荷叶、兔、龟等捏制出来的面食，便叫“卡子”。但胶州制造的这种“白糖卡子”，晶莹剔



▲高密城外市集



▲胶州南关城门（距作者故居不远）



▲胶州火车站

透，看起来似乎半透明状，吃起来香甜松软，入口即化。这种“白糖卡子”远近驰名，卖“白糖卡子”的人都会用线穿成一串串，在车站叫卖。旅客过胶州车站，定想买几串自食或馈赠亲友。这种绝活何以失传，至今也无法恢复，委实让人遗憾而不解。

7

一篮破损的旧梦

在我书桌对面的书架顶层，摆着一只深褐色的竹提篮。提篮是圆形的，分上下两层，用细竹片编成。每一层的上下，各有一条深色波形的图案；竹篮两旁，有两条镌刻了细花纹的扁柱，扁柱弯伸到上端，连成一条平直的把手。在扁柱的上端，有一块长方形的地方，原来是用以书写我家堂号的。我老家扁上的堂号为“存性堂”，本来这条扁柱的长方形空格上，便写了这三个字，但后来却被磨掉了。据说是在文革破四旧的年代里，竹篮上写了堂号，便被认定代表了一种旧的文化，要毁掉。为了要保存这个竹篮不被焚毁，家人便将堂号磨掉，使它保存下来。我在一九八七年，首次回到故乡时，家人告诉我，这是惟一劫余幸存的东西了，要我带走留作纪念。如

今我便将这劫后仅存的竹篮摆在书架顶上，一抬头便能看到它，而每次看它时，便会再一次揭开历史创痛的伤疤。

据家人回忆当时的情景，凡一切能连上“旧”的东西，都要毁去。我家中原有许多藏书；其中有大量的善本，也收藏了许多五四时代的新文艺图书，还有由第一期开始的“甲寅杂志”，以及林语堂编的《宇宙风》与《人间世》等杂志。有的装在木箱里，有的陈列在湘妃竹制的书架上。

我仍记得每逢夏日，都要将这些藏书搬到院中去曝晒。我便会将一条湿毛巾顶在头上，全神贯注地去翻阅古书中的插图绣像，乐在其中，而兴致盎然。这些藏书，后来不论新、旧都遭了劫，全数焚毁，片纸无存。当时，连装拂尘与字画的瓷缸都拿出去砸了。邻居有人养了一缸金鱼，据说也是“四旧”，便抬出去在街角上摔破，眼看着缸中的金鱼在地上翻滚死去，口中还要念着“毛语录”，好像要让旧文化往生，为新文革催生。这样才能免于被批斗的命运。

这只提篮里装了些甚么，我已不太记得，似乎有我收集的一些贝壳。那是由许多不同海滩上捡来的，有的是来自台北金山的海滩，有的来自屏东垦丁的海边，还有的是收自青岛的第三海水浴场，也有些是从塞浦路斯的尼可西亚海边捡来的。另外似乎还有一袋故乡胶州的泥土吧，是我第一次回到故乡时，迫切地想再回去看看我儿时的故居，但却看到一些陌生的建筑，我的故居已片瓦无存了。后来我便无奈地想收集一把泥土带回来作纪念，但环顾周遭，所见只有一堆堆垃圾，却找不到一小撮净土。我只好走到儿时就读的“瑞华小学”附近，一处

叫“小校场”的体育场，才勉强挖了一把黄土回来。将其放进这竹篮中，置之高阁，算一算，也有近二十年了。我不知道这只旧竹篮日后的命运如何，眼前它还摆在那里。而竹篮中的这把泥土里，却深藏着许多我破损的旧梦。

这只竹提篮原本是装吃食的，是一个小型的食盒。记得在老家，是用来装一些点心的。故乡著名的“金、银琵琶梗”、“八宝酥”和“芝麻片”等，都是儿时我最爱吃的珍品。人总是怀旧，特别是对那些再也无法挽回的事物。记得故乡有许多绝佳的卤味小吃与各式糕点，每一想起，总是会让我猛吞口水。但返回故里时，这些宝贝都不见踪影。问一问，回答是：“那是些旧社会的东西，早都没了。”

我故居前面有一条河沟，岸上有几株老榆树，刚刚在我家院墙外，每年都会由树上摘下些榆钱来，用面粉蒸了吃。河上的那座“云溪桥”，就在我家门口不远的地方。对面有一间卖黄酒的酒肆，与打锅饼兼卖杂货的“于记小铺”，甚至连同街边南北的两口水井也都失去了踪迹。

由故居往南走再偏东，便是那泓盛开荷花的南坛湾，夏日湾里的荷香能远飘至我家院中。而南坛湾不远处便是那座古老破旧的鲁班庙，那是我启蒙就读的小学。在一间庙宇的大课堂里，有好几个班级，却分别只由一位杨老师来教。我也在那里开始用毛笔描红：“上大人，孔乙己，化三千，七十士，尔小人，应知礼”，文字的笔划由少到多，用毛笔蘸了墨，在红底上描上黑字。后来由县城教育科发来了一些红布制的“胳膊箍”要学生配戴，上面印着：“誓不与缠足女子结婚”的字

样，当时不知是甚么意思，后来才知道是宣导女子不要缠足。

鲁班庙中有几棵高大的银杏树，秋日会落下满地的银杏，在地上腐烂了，大家便捡了拿到小河里去洗掉果肉，将果仁带回家去在炉火上烧了吃。数十年后，感觉齿颊仍留余香。但如今这个荷花湾与那间鲁班庙却已无迹可寻了。

当我楞楞地站在故乡的土地上，这些清楚的记忆虽在眼前闪跃，却又好像褪了色的梦一般，完全逝去了。我所站立的，好像是一个完全陌生的地方，我似乎并不属于那块土地，我忽然被贬谪成外乡人了。

我家故居这栋用鹅卵石与青砖铺地的三进瓦房院落，是我魂牵梦萦的地方。那里是我儿时游憩的世界，前院的那株紫、白相间的丁香树，春三月的时节，一大片紫的与白的花朵，像两朵云彩罩满了半个院落，春风将浓郁的花香飘送到中间的院落以及附近的邻舍。花坛上开满了芍药与牡丹。我家那两株老石榴树，榴花燃烧似火。而一进大门的那几竿翠竹，会在粉白的映壁上摇曳生姿。春秋佳日，在庭院花坛间栽花苗、捉促织（蟋蟀），在花池树丛中经营的童趣，与《浮生六记》中沈三白的童年，颇多相似之处。冬日在炕上围炉拥衾读《水浒传》，看《豹子头林冲雪夜寻仇》。而我家的那只老花猫，就蜷卧在炉旁眯着眼打着呼噜……。

小时候背书包去上学，一走出街西头镶着《泰山石敢当》刻石的粉壁墙，便是一片绿油油的郊野。走在两旁长满了高粱秆的小路旁，经过小木桥时，看到小鱼正在清浅的河底悠游，而农家屋顶上升起的炊烟中，一群呢喃的燕子，正缓缓地飞

过，远处徐徐地响起了学校的钟声……。紧靠学校旁边的那座巍峨的大礼拜堂，钟楼的塔尖是县城最高的地标。教堂中的琴声与歌声，伴着我们的书声，填满了儿时与少年的欢愉岁月。但后来那座大教堂呢？何以竟无声无息地消失了……。

记得念中学时，晌午休息的一段时间，大家热衷到“沙滩”去听说话，那里有一个说平词的，说《三侠剑》与《雍正剑侠图》。当时大家都迷上了这个说书人的风采，他手中的摺扇骨，可当十八般兵器使用，一挥一点之间，架势十足。他的声音略带沙哑，但魅力无穷；能吸引全场数十人的目光与耳朵。大家的心神呼吸都随着他声音的抑扬顿挫而起伏上下，人们都被他出色的表演所吸引，两脚钉牢在地一动不动。说到精采处，让人凝神屏息，心中的情绪都随着他口中的情节而变化。我们明知道上课的时间快到了，仍不肯离去，一定要听到他“下回分解”时，才拔腿飞奔，而上课的铃声却早已响过……。

自那年仓皇挥别故乡，四十三年后，我拖着疲惫的身子返乡时，却变成一名陌生访客。而我保留了四十三年一个完整的梦，也被无情的现实击碎了。我儿时编织的那些美梦，一一幻灭。我踏上了故土，却被历史抛弃。眼前的景象，不断对我的记忆严重质疑。我原本是这里的原住民，是物业的所有者，现在却变成了一个外来的入侵者，一个窥伺别人家园的怪客。我所列举在记忆中的东西，都无法在现实中得到印证，并且被现实严峻地否决。而历史却不愿在此刻站出来为我作证，我只能怯怯地、抱歉地离去。我原已维系了四十三年的美好记忆，

竟在一夕间褪色了，折损了，幻灭了。我甚至在诸多质疑的目光中，变成一个捏造故事的说谎者。我便这样载着乡愁，背着沉冤，离开了我的故乡。如今唯一能为我作证的，怕只有这只被岁月熏黑的竹篮了。在被“故乡”放逐了若干年之后，我以沉痛的笔触写下了“梦断”：

曾惊醒了“辽西”之梦的黄莺
今夜又啼破了我的故乡之旅
刚刚才与故人把盏
别后的悲欢尚不知由何说起
蒸熟的榆钱才由笼中取出
还没有来得及细尝这睽别了四十多年的滋味
鸟声却又将我拉回万里之外异乡
窗外的曙光如一片柠檬
隔着轻纱透进了楚楚地酸涩
我试着嗅一嗅童年窗外的蔷薇
但鼻管早已被硝烟与尘土阻断
在记忆的厚册里压扁了的花瓣
也已在湮远的寒梦中褪尽了颜色
邯郸的黄粱尚在炉火中滚动
我故居的庭院却已化成了一片灰烬



▲胶州内城墙



▲结婚新人全家合照



▲民初结婚之新人装扮

8

怀乡词作 《存性堂词钞》六十九阕

按我历年咏胶州的词作计二百余阕，曾刊印二册《存性堂词钞》及续集。现摘录其中六十九阕，作为《镂金岁月》的挽词。词作均为即兴之笔，多未按原词牌之音韵格律填写。略志思乡情怀而已。

1. 菩萨蛮

浓香弥漫丁香院，乡愁沉重压诗卷。蝴蝶绕堂飞，秋千自在垂。梁上双飞燕，归梦续又断。天外闻鸟声，隔岸频心惊。

2. 清平乐

举步踟蹰，归家已无路。何能觅得丁香树，细听落瓣泣诉。窗畔残菊垂露，空庭荒烟冷雨，雕梁早化灰烬，断垣败壁处处。

3. 翠楼吟

晓梦迷离，鸟声错落，风景最动人处。柳岸麦浪外，惊传几声杜宇。岁月不居，余几丝华发，随风飘舞。伤心处，离人魂断，风摇残烛。隔岸悠悠愁绪，觉天地苍茫，黯然无语。春归乡梦远，乍觉来，仓皇失措。黄泥旧路，和春雨如膏，将鞋粘住。能留否？归魂渺渺，化作烟雨。

4. 鹧鸪天

传家诗书世代恩，斑烂史册鉴古今。朱批手渍痕犹在，鸟语书香草堂春。文化劫，典籍焚。浩繁卷帙无幸存。漫天狂焰烧诗卷，长歌岂能慰书魂。

5. 贺新郎

寒梦谁先觉，四十载断藕飘萍。天涯海角，哀故乡漫天烽火。临别举袖拭泪，离乡背井情难舍。波载离愁千万里，伸长颈，何处窥烽火。数归雁，填愁壑。海天远隔音讯绝，敲铁窗，默诵经文，且学保罗。举首吁天还俯首，绿岛沉冤难雪。隔岸故乡传消息，亲人殒逝旧居殒灭。归梦碎，泪哽咽。

6. 宴清都

春城三月三，花香浓，袭透几重庭院。晨曦卷帘，飞絮扑面，鸟音宛转，翠带绿绕堤岸。烟波里，笛声幽怨。披散发，抛开书卷，春朝花事苦短。夜雨偷润牡丹，柳丝拂面，春风放胆。蝶舞翩翩，蜓飞款款，日丽风软。小桃杏花争绽，西坡外芳草连天，云溪桥水流潺潺，春意阑珊。

7. 忆秦娥

花似雪。存性堂里旧时月。旧时月。清辉盈窗，几回圆缺。礼拜堂中歌声歇。城畔柳丝谁摧折？谁摧折？崔家街头，黯然伤别。

8. 渔歌子

听罢暮鼓闻晨钟。家居南关西坡东。南坛水，荷叶风。鲁班古庙细雨中。

9. 摊破浣溪沙

丁香花开月朦胧。放学归去炊烟升，东院僻静茅屋矮，立梧桐。笑问吾庐何处是。一湾荷香小桥横。修竹纸窗灯火里，读书声。

10. 玉楼春

儿时记忆原无数。花香遍野捕飞絮。西坡风筝比高低，泥泞最怕三月雨。昔日同窗今何处。相见不识默无语。童年早逝余世故。遭遇不同各陌路。

11. 玉楼春

晓寒透衾窗堆雪，风摇冰落竹枝折。琼楼玉宇似天阙，风吹雪漪彤云歇。独拥寒窗偎炉火，笔冻砚冷诗浓缩。夜游无须秉红烛，映雪寻梅逐香屑。

12. 山花子

山水迷离晓雾中。暮鼓已息忆晨钟。昔日故乡中秋月，渺无踪。桐叶落尽桂香浓。雏菊清芬漫中庭，点缀枯树惟昏鸦，噪西风。

13. 昭君怨

又是思乡时节，只能呕心沥血。愁恨感千端，拍阑干。捶胸跺足千遍，难消一腔愤懑。异地闻秋声，不堪听。

14. 玉楼春

楚楚秋容涵瘦影，水波潋滟光不定。白云冉冉载诗句，菊瓣弯弯写风景。红叶飘零湖水冷，寒梦醒来窥晓镜。惊见霜花染双鬓，吟诗难以消昼永。

15. 浣溪沙

闲步寒林望远山，野鸟竞飞去复还。溪畔隐现钓鱼竿。远山含黛云将雨，近林滴翠竹生烟，极目天际见孤帆。

16. 蝶恋花

凉夜沉沉被衾冻。倚枕无眠，渐觉霜寒重。今宵乡愁无人共。月移花影窗棂动。辗转反侧难入梦。往事如烟，故人不再逢，望断秋水天无缝。玉笙吹彻梅花弄。

17. 满江红

家住胶州，又过了，清明寒食。花径里，几番风雨，几回狼藉。牡丹已随东风去，庭花渐觉枝叶稀，数年年，落尽丁香朵，娇无力。庭院静，幽窗寂。春睡起，日迟迟。怕梁上乳燕，误传消息。故居如今何处也，鸿雁依旧无踪迹。徒教人，重绘旧时梦，费纸笔。

18. 满江红

敲遍乡愁，映壁前，风摇翠竹。人去后，屋毁梦断，城倾人殒。伤春无法留春住。举头但觉珠山暮。且试把，一纸寄来书，从头读。思乡词，空盈幅。思乡病，何时愈？徒老泪纵横，涕泗盈掬。天涯不阻归乡路，海隅难碍离人目。最苦是，行到月黄昏，无归处。

19. 鹧鸪天（改写辛弃疾词）

枫林渐晚天欲秋，冷香袭人月如钩。红叶相偎浑欲醉，白云无心绘苍狗。书咄咄，且休休。一泉一石也风流。不知体力衰多少，但觉无心攀山丘。

20. 浣溪沙

小院幽幽苔满阶。梦里重返崔家街。秋深露冷桂花开。霜叶半随寒雁去，瘦菊独伴秋虫来。梦断异乡费惊猜。

21. 点绛唇

一夜西风，吹落桐叶知多少。数声虫鸣，惊觉秋来早。离家年少。归来人已老。西坡外，一片芳草。夕阳无限好。

22. 山花子

行过万水越千山，秋风飒飒暮霭寒，还道旧居残垣在，强心宽。老屋只余尘缕缕，故人仅剩泪斑斑。昔日市井皆不在，忍泪看。

23. 浣溪沙

手倦抛书日影斜。冻蝇频频触窗花。桂子飘香过邻家。一曲晚风南坛柳，半溪残荷月笼沙。寒雁悲嘶破窗纱。

24. 浪淘沙

好梦最难留。宿雨乍收，异样滋味涌心头。来时无踪去难休。都是乡愁。谈笑话中秋。月圆时候，是真是幻是温柔。最忆前院老石榴，脆香甜透。

25. 鹧鸪天

如梦如烟是乡愁，呼风呼雨忆胶州。烽火大地沉沉夜，春已逝去奈何秋。书咄咄，索休休。寒霜最易白人头。旧时风景皆不在，珠山暮色使人愁。

26. 卖花声

风吹纸窗鸣，秋意正浓。淡云映掩月朦胧。筛落满地花影，香透帘栊。终日拥书城，魂牵梦萦。漫天黄叶舞秋风。寒霜未降鬓先染，华发忽生。

27. 浣溪沙

半是风声半雨声。寒夜淅沥打窗棂。鸟啼虫鸣心频惊。乡音秋声最怕听。透骨愁思染寒梦，醒来冷月照孤灯。

28. 南柯子

院寂丁香静，门扃蔷薇闲。软语呢喃堂前燕。春日小睡乍起，人慵懒。云笼花影瘦，雾起玉生寒。竹映小窗人悠闲。抛卷展纸挥毫，墨正酣。

29. 临江仙

桂子飘零香冷透，晚来寒袭衣袖。夜色渐长苦短昼。庭草渐枯萎，霜花白檐头。城颓院废人依旧，月沉云消花瘦。荷塘萧瑟小城秋。寒雁悲远嘶，游子增乡愁。

30. 西江月

窗外飘飘落叶，海上泛泛孤舟。客居转眼已成秋。又是天凉时候。举杯邀秋浇乡愁，山泉胜于烈酒。

31. 朝玉阶

惆怅凄凉秋暮天，萧然离家后，四十年。
昔日少年鬓已斑，梦魂飞故国，不敢前。
无穷怨怼归啼鹃，饮酒和血泪，须尽欢。
翘首异域问苍天，游子归乡梦，几时圆？

32. 苏幕遮

飘香风，潇湘雨。落叶飘零，后院梧桐树。秋草涵碧凝冷露，蝉噤虫寂，蛙息蝶飞去。游归迟，时代误。隔海翘首，望断天涯路。搔罢白头天欲暮。心系故居，乘风欲归去。

33. 小重山

西坡晚霞缀昏鸦。南坛听雨声，数落花。荷书归去夕阳斜。钟声响，负笈去瑞华。沽酒到我家。朔风初作，雪绽梅花。冬日围炉烤地瓜。抬眼望，寒云卷平沙。

34. 步李后主浪淘沙韵

窗外雨潺潺。秋意骤添，袷衣不胜朔风寒。梦醒惊为异乡客，索然寡欢。独凭旧时阑，极目江山。别时不易见尤难。城关故居皆去也，魂归田园。

35. 望江南

闲梦远，故乡正早春。西坡麦田涨新绿，满城飞花舞香尘。忙煞踏青人。
闲梦远，故乡正清秋。千朵雏菊写秋色，风卷落叶埋荒丘。人在南城楼。

36. 浪淘沙

往事只堪哀。赋诗遣怀。秋风庭院桂花开。一枕竹帘闲不卷，蝉嘶窗外。老屋已沉埋。悲从中来。晚凉天井月华筛。想得后园梧桐影，空照寒阶。

37. 望江南

门启处，翠竹挑几竿。一台牡丹只剩绿，半院风雨丁香寒。此景怎堪看。

38. 点绛唇

昨夜梦中，踏上儿时西坡路。麦浪青雾。鸟鸣溪畔树。转入映壁，街东是故居。门开处，映目翠竹。泪洒丁香雨。

39. 卖花声

疏影筛轻凉。微露丁香。竹屏迎客入华堂。脱去冬衣换春装，满室生香。

40. 江城子

月移花影上帘笼。人朦胧。暗香浓。梳柳润花，皆是旧联楹，文章事业俱成空。向谁说，怨东风。珠山虽在已无城，水溶溶。火熊熊。都是无情。故居无影踪。一枝秃笔写不尽，毁家恨，千万种。

41. 浪淘沙

窗外风萧萧。闲坐无聊。萧邦琴伴不眠宵。炉火已断烧。帘帟空飘。手倦偃枕将书抛。惆怅乡愁无处着，挤在眉梢。

42. 摊破浣溪沙

春草萋萋绿渐浓。丁香落尽晚来风。焚香听竹春日暮，小院中。苏家元宵于记饼，香稻米饭糯米粽。渴思痛饮故乡水，栏干井。

43. 南乡子

野渡自凄凉。晓风残月伴愁肠。行到山穷水尽处，凄惶。手按残篇觅断行。离愁比天长。秋风秋雨苦打窗。惊起游子返乡梦，神伤。只余往事堪思量。

44. 鹊桥仙

花香满院，落英满地，夜静月明风细，南窗展卷曼吟哦，忘却了，月明星稀。竹帘半卷，房门不闭，好一个暮春天气，故园多少蝴蝶梦，庄周觉迟。

45. 清平乐

童颜渐老，白发添多少，桃李春风浑过了，留下桑榆残照。胶州城，荡无存，珠山一片愁云，恋煞故乡思归去，故居无处容身。

46. 阮郎归

最忆故居三月天，丁香夹春寒。满地香屑拌晨烟，香透几重院。梨花白，桃花艳，踏青同结伴。谁家娇娃荡秋千，笑语飞上天。

47. 闻鹊喜

秋水碧，映澈一潭寒漪。珠山溅云卷红叶，断鸿声凄厉。后院桐叶露滴，前庭菊畦红湿，荒烟蔓草乱绕膝，隔岸闻悲笛。

48. 鹧鸪天

家住西坡南坛间，门内翠竹挑几竿，午寐觉来卧听雨，吟罢杜甫仰看山。怀故居，情黯然，每逢凉秋倍心酸。别时不知是永诀，案头犹自留诗篇。

49. 卜算子

纸窗茅屋里，袅袅闪红烛，万籁皆寂虫独鸣，伴我读诗书。放逐走天涯，飘零风和雨，读书学剑两不成，鬓发苍如许。

50. 渔家傲

北望故乡何处是，相距十万八千里，写得家书空满纸。徒叹息，阴阳相隔无从递。寄语塞外东飞雁，飞过故乡传消息，腊梅冷香宜珍惜。愁无寐，满山枫叶红如昔。

51. 鹊桥仙

斜阳一抹，青山数点。万里海水长天，北风横扫胶州湾，又吹起寒云一片。昏鸦古渡，荒村野店，渐见陌头人远。榆钱流水，街东头，是哪家漆门深掩？

52. 鹊桥仙

西坡秋草，南坛银杏，故乡满城风雨。暗香流动总无声，夜静声声传杜宇。昔日故居，已成焦土，离愁别绪最难除。钟声早已不堪听，叹余生，飘泊异域。

53. 秦楼月

朝天阙，梦中常见故乡月。故乡月，月华似水，晶莹明澈。夕阳吞舟笛声咽，落花满城香凝结，梦里倘佯，地广天阔。

54. 临江仙

忆昔故居若干事，勾起无限离情。豆腐白菜小米饼。
寒天围炕头，斗叶到天明。四十余年如一梦，此身犹
在堪惊。寒蝉悲嘶悼秋风。往日多少事，都付嗟叹
中。

55. 点绛唇

颠沛流离，走遍崎岖天涯路，今生何幸？总唱阳关
句。北望故居只见云和树。归无路，海天深处，回首
秋已暮。

56. 踏莎行

冬入珠山，风景萧杀，百般景物易图画。大地冰封雪
千里，晶莹琉璃檐下挂。风啸枝头，雪欺纸窗，砚冻
指僵笔难下。无诗无酒消黄昏，闲拨炉火烤地瓜。

57. 菩萨蛮

绿荫满窗香满院，紫竹架上觅诗卷。乳燕梁上飞，燕
归人未归。蝶舞春风醉，人傍牡丹睡。乍起闻鸟声，
摘花试身轻。

58. 菩萨蛮

风寒日薄冬犹早，暖阳拂面心情好。拥衾犹觉寒，炉
熄灯将残。家书无处寄，风雪虐大地。香火已断烧，
酒消愁未消。

59. 凤凰台上忆吹箫（用易安韵）

香冷前院，鸟噪南窗，午困倦读红楼。任蜂营蝶舞，
花放水流。无奈离情别苦，怀故居，欲说还休。人依
旧，城廓全非，片瓦不留。休休。南坛安在？看湾中
荷花，映日红透。念云溪桥畔，旗飘黄酒。惟有西坡
溪水，应念我，终日凝眸。凝眸处，今生沉哀，永难
消受。

60. 改写辛弃疾摸鱼儿

历多少秋霜春雨，无时不思归去。惊闻故居遭惨变，人祸岂是天数。春且住，且说道，天涯游子无归路。问春不语，算只有梦中，蜂酣蝶舞，满城捕飞絮。滞异乡，归期一再延误。却见故土已更改，游子徒吟怀乡赋。哀哀此情谁诉？君莫哭。君不见秦庭汉官，皆尘土。思归最苦。休去倚危楼，夕阳正在残柳败荷处。

61. 仿辛弃疾青玉案

西风一夜雕千树，飘落一窗冷雨。残红败赭铺满路，寒虫声动，孤雁低回，漫天黄叶舞。
愁肠百结思乡绪，泪眼婆娑忍归去。梦里寻它千百度，蓦然惊醒，故居隐现烟蒙肠断处。

62. 西江月

东院桐枝鸣鹊。西坡教场听蝉。南坛飘香荷花湾。蛙声鼓噪一片。看京戏城隍庙。听说书去沙滩。高记包子才打扇。馋痲锅最解馋。

63. 破阵子

四十年来家园，云天霭霭珠山。结庐负笈在南关。教堂钟声震霄汉。真光照人间。一旦城倾家毁，田失人散花残。最是仓皇离家日，挥别故居门未拴，屋顶留炊烟。

64. 南楼令

春风洒香尘，春雨醉花阴，看乳燕黄口红襟。乍寒乍暖花事了，留不住旧时春。
归梦苦难真，别离情更深，恨天涯无路可寻，欲话当年故乡事，早已无当年人。

65. 浪淘沙

花香透书卷，煦气如兰。风丝雨片连阴天。清明时节才过了，尚余春寒。春词刚填完，又将春残。殇春落花满庭园，无诗无酒送春还，风轻云淡。

66. 柳梢青

春雨断魂，清明过了，院积香尘。丁香花开，芍药花谢，人醉黄昏。郊野牧笛呜咽，溪流花放水微温。一片乡愁，飞上枝头，溶入暮云。

67. 甘州

任东风唤醒几分春，吹愁上珠山。看梨花似雪，桃花堆艳，溪流潺潺。避地骤然失根，日夕思归还。井市忽消失，怅望南关。多少悲笳声里，让天涯游子，倍感心酸。问山河不语，酒罢玉笙寒。尚记否？云溪桥畔，旧榆钱，安能系成串？音讯断，人失家园，井断栏干。

68. 卜算子

燕子不再来，巢倾乳无哺。园失何处葬落花，已无春归处。悲歌哭东风，奠酒浇飞絮，怅望珠山尽是愁，挥泪天涯去。

69. 锦缠道

换上袷衣，已是花开时候。蜂蝶忙，逐朵品嗅。无边春色写长昼。香满庭阶，诗句盈衣袖。看台上牡丹，花开锦绣。好鸟鸣，春风拂柳。儿时梦，一度成真，叹连年烽火，归梦付东流。

9

在瑞华中学的岁月

当我们在瑞中读书时，学校规定学生一律要住校，只有周末才可以回家。我住的宿舍是四人一间，屋内有两张床，要两人共用一床。一张方桌为自习之用，四人各据一方，每人面前点一盏小菜油灯，因当时煤油为日方管制，是战略物资，老百姓不能用。学校规定晚自习时间要坐在方桌旁读书。自习结束，摇了铃后，大家要一起到大礼堂作晚祷。礼堂中并无灯火，漆黑一片，每个学生要自己擎着一盏荧荧如豆的小菜油灯，到礼堂去跪在地上祈祷。祷毕，由一人带头唱：“谦卑在耶稣足前，谦卑在耶稣足前，谦卑到底。”唱毕，各人才回到寝室就寝。这种晚祷使我印象深刻，也影响了我的一生。现在，我仍能清晰回忆当时的情景：每人手拿一盏小灯，像一群



▲冯国政老师为第一排最右第一位

小萤火虫，也像一群小天使，这段美善神圣的儿时记忆，毕生难忘。

瑞华中学的教师阵容，在当时为各校之冠；主要教员，均来自齐鲁大学。其中教史地的冯国政老师，尤其天才洋溢，卓越不群。记得他上课时，臂下只夹着一支一尺长的藤教鞭，手中拿几支粉笔。历史课时纵论古今，完全是大学教授的风范。他对历史上的年代与人名能倒背如流，如数家珍，记忆精准无误；教地理时则随手绘出地图，亦十分精确。听过冯老师的课，如能记住十之二三，其内涵已超过书本上的知识。冯老师多才多艺，还能编剧本。有一年圣诞节，他编导了几幕圣诞剧，剧名叫《介绍》，我也参加了演出。他是高个子，学生私下都叫他“冯大个”，他个头约在一米八以上，可惜体弱，罹



▲瑞华中学之大礼堂

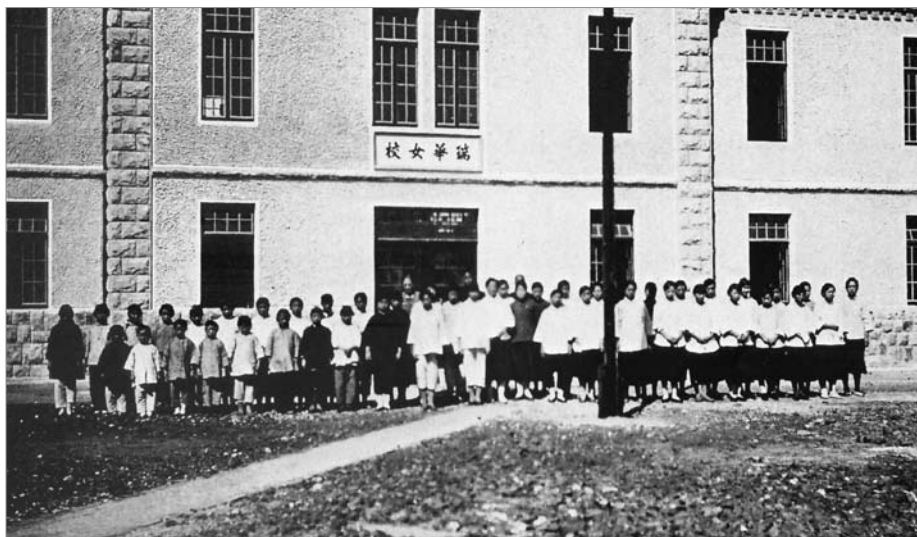


▲瑞华中学正门

患肺病，后来以三十几岁的盛年便去世了，实在让人痛惜。

日后我大致了解当时老师们的待遇，总认为像冯老师这样早逝，应与营养不良有关。当时是在日治的敌伪时代，学校经济十分拮据。瑞华因是教会学校，原本不收学费，后来虽象征性收了一些，但却不能维持学校的开支。而二次大战期间，欧亚通讯中断，瑞典差会无法汇寄经费到中国，听说当时连任汝霖大牧师等外国宣教士们也只能靠典当度日。学校教职员薪水之低，更出人想象。还记得当时老师的伙食还不如学生，因学生是由家中供应，而老师则需自费。老师的伙食，只有每日两餐的饼子（即小米与大豆制的类似窝窝头的食品）与咸菜。白面馒头，甬想。据学校工友说，老师们若想吃一顿白面，得去买两升麦子，自己抱着磨棍磨面，才能吃一顿白面干粮，足见当时生活之艰辛。但这几位老师，却都能缩紧腰带教学，不轻言辞职，想起来真是令人敬佩。王校长家中更经常断炊，一家几口只能啃生地瓜度日，但王校长仍坚持信心，逢家人抱怨，便一同跪地祷告。后来听说有些学生虽发觉校长家中的窘境，也不敢公然接济，因王校长为人十分耿介，绝对不轻易接受济助，学生只好将一包馒头丢到校长庭院中。王校长后来作见证说，神听了他的祷告，食物从天而降，使全家免于饿毙。王校长与诸老师的风范，让我想起来便不禁泪下。这样的教育方式，在我国教育史上，尚不多见。由这所学校出来的学生，对母校，怎能不感恩戴德，终生难忘。

瑞华学校，对学生的灵性教育，更特别重视。我们的课程中便有《圣经》，音乐课也是教唱《圣诗》，且由王校长亲自



▲瑞华女校（瑞华小学前身）师生合照



▲瑞华中学早期毕业班。前排右一为冯缙庭老师、右二为任大牧师

教课。每天早晨有朝会礼拜，晚上有晚祷，礼拜天规定要作礼拜，上主日学。最重要的是，每一学期要举行一个礼拜的“奋兴聚会”。奋兴聚会时，全校停课，每个人都要全天参加教会的聚会。记得在当时许多著名的奋兴布道家，都来领过聚会；像宋尚节、王明道、李继圣、谢保罗、董吉亭等，都来讲过道。其中还有一位田姓盲人布道家，讲道尤为突出，很引人入胜。奋兴聚会期间，王校长会走访每一间学生寝室，跪在地上流泪为学生祷告，希望学生们能接受基督为救主。在晚上的聚会中，许多人都受感，痛哭认罪祷告，整个学校的属灵气氛高涨，人人都被圣灵感动。我仍记得教国文的张誉庭老师，在聚会中涕泪交加，鼻涕在胸前垂下一尺多长，那画面永难忘怀。后来我访问瑞典的任大牧师时，他还告诉我在奋兴聚会中发生的一些特异现象。他说有一次，一位奋兴会的讲员到他家中谈话，他客厅中的咖啡桌原本十分坚固，却忽然解体，散落满地。又一次，一位讲员正讲道时，一只苍蝇突然飞进他喉咙，使讲道中断。任大牧师回忆说：当圣灵动工时，撒但也在工作。这两次事例，任大牧师印象特别深刻。



▲瑞华浸信会奋兴聚会讲员盲人田姓布道家



▲瑞华浸信会最后一次奋兴会。第二排右起第三位为布道家董吉亭



▲瑞中在教堂之中华民国首颁之五色国旗下举行毕业典礼



▲瑞华中学的少年团

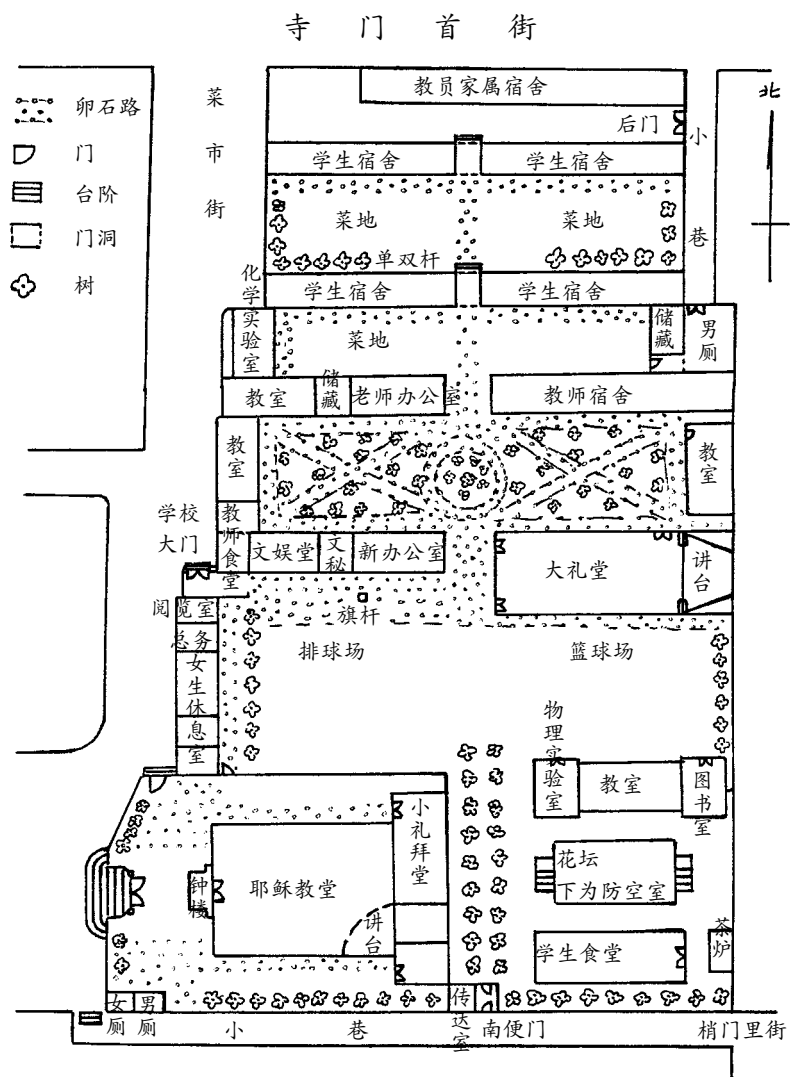


▲瑞华中学第卅二届毕业生



▲瑞华中学之国乐团

瑞华中学平面示意图（高维仪老师绘制）



10

一袭黑衫·一串钥匙

—— 记瑞华中学王华亭校长的感人事迹 ——

光头、高颧骨、双目炯炯逼人，能洞彻你的肺腑。常年穿一件洗得泛白，而且前襟上布满了破洞的黑长衫，手中拎着一大串哗啦哗啦的钥匙。这就是胶县瑞华中学王华亭校长的风貌。

前年秋天返乡，我怀着迫不及待的心情，去探望阔别了四十年的老校长，发现这位当年意气风发，不怒而威的人物，早已辗转病床，瘦骨嶙峋，无复昔日的勃勃英姿了。当时他正为前列腺病所苦，到医院诊治，但院方认为他年龄太大，不愿为他做手术，只为他插了一条管子，便要他出院。我去看他时，他刚由院中出来。王校长不断抱怨医院不肯为他做手术，听说后来时间久了，管子脱落，尿液便自体内随时泄出，故他在离



▲作者1987年与王校长合影（照片提供 / 殷颖）

世前的最后一段时间，多半都是身卧在尿液中，晚景十分凄惨。所以在过去几十年，特别是文革的劫难中，我们最担心的就是他。但他竟能熬过来，据他自己说：“这是上帝特别的恩典。”

王校长有一子二女，但晚年却一人独居在青岛金口二路，一间卧室、客厅、厨房三用的败屋中。住在附近的一个女儿，因忙于工作，无法用太多的时间照顾他，只能晚上来为他执炊，其余的子女则均远居外地。有时学生们去看他，这位寂寞的老人却说：“有上帝与我同在，我一点也不感到寂寞。”终于，在一个寒冷的冬天，去年（一九八九）十二月二十九日，他一人蜷缩在这间老屋中，孤独地离开了人间。享寿八十八岁。听到了他的噩耗，心中悲痛不已；不禁想起故乡母校的情

景，以及王校长生前的种种。

私立瑞华中学是故乡胶县一所著名的中学；以教学严谨，校风醇朴而称著。但却是一所教会所创办的学校，所以家长送子女到瑞华中学去念书，多半会告诫子女只要读书不要信教。

我进瑞华中学时，正是日治的敌伪时期。瑞华中学是由瑞典浸信会所创办，而瑞典在二次大战时是中立国家，因而教会学校在日本铁蹄下得以幸存。学校为避免敌伪教育当局的干涉，对外改名为“瑞华圣经学院”。学校将大门堵死，另在僻巷中开一个侧门出入。学生规定要住校，平时重门深锁，不参加任何敌伪的活动。男女学生都养成了穿长衫的习惯，蔚成一种风气。当时如在街上看到有身穿长衫，在衣襟上插着钢笔，腋下夹着书本的孩子们，就是瑞华中学的学生。瑞中就这样在抗战期间，在“圣经学院”名义掩护下继续办学，并为县城保持了一片净土。

王校长是一位忠贞爱国之士，他称这种办教育的方式为“曲线抗战”。每年在双十国庆日，他会将全校师生齐集在大礼堂，领导全体师生跪在地上为国祈祷。王校长总会痛哭流涕地大声为国家祷告，求上帝拯救水深火热的苦难同胞。并领导全体同学高唱：“堂堂国立东亚，堂堂国立东亚，五千年历史，灿烂光华。求主佑我国家，求主佑我国家……”这是在沦陷区，日伪双重铁蹄下校园的公开活动。日本宪兵队对“瑞华圣经学院”早已注意，后来终于将王校长“请”了去，审问了一天一夜。全体师生在冯缵庭老师的领导下，为王校长的安全祷告，许多人都泣不成声。次日凌晨宪兵队将王校长释回，一

时全校师生欢声雷动，共同献上感恩。

王校长毕业于齐鲁大学，瑞中的老师也多半是他延揽自齐鲁大学的一时俊彦，出任教师，其中如教数学的孙汉卿老师，教史地的冯国政老师，王校长本人则兼理化教员，均为一时之选。离开故乡，离开母校，走读他乡，负笈异国，再念过几个学校，但总忘不了瑞华中学。它不仅是一所学校，实际上是一个大家庭。我们不单在那里接受了知识，更在师长们的呵护熏陶下，提升了性灵与人格。回忆那几年恬美的校园生活，让我毕生难忘。

那时我们四人住一间宿舍，由于日治时代物资受到控制，不能点煤油灯，只能用菜油点灯。四人在方桌上各据一方，每人面前放一盏小菜油灯自习。晚间自习完毕，要一起到大礼堂去晚祷。每人便端着这盏小灯，像一只只的小萤火虫，进到漆黑的大礼堂，跪下来同声祷告，祷告完毕后，再同声唱《谦卑在耶稣足前》那首圣诗，然后才回去就寝。每天凌晨起床后，第一件事便是由王校长率领做早操，在操场上一同晨跑，多半要跑得汗流浹背才停止。这种运动，无日间断，冬夏不辍。光头黑衫的王校长，便一直在队伍中领着学生昂首向前。

瑞中旁边，就是县城著名的大礼拜堂。教堂巍峨壮丽，是胶县最高大的建筑物与地标。每逢礼拜天，钟声飘扬，全县都可以听到。瑞中是教会学校，礼拜天规定要做礼拜。王校长也常常在教会中领会证道。学校每学期都会举行一次“奋兴聚会”，这时王校长便会苦口婆心地劝同学们相信耶稣，甚至到每一个宿舍去跪在地上，为学生痛哭流泪地祷告，但平时的王



▲教堂远景

校长却十分威严，学生触犯校规，一定严惩不贷。他无论走到那里，手上都拎着那一大串钥匙，同学们老远听到哗啦哗啦的响声，都纷纷走避。但他关切学生的生活，却像一位慈父，嘘寒问暖，无微不至。

瑞中是教会学校，经费由瑞典差会补助，所以规定不收学费。教职员的待遇却极为清苦，但师长们都能安贫乐道，为理想而奉献。二次大战期间，欧亚通讯中断，差会经费断绝。学校连微薄的教职员薪水也发不出来，老师们的生活濒临绝境，但瑞中的老师们，都能束紧腰带，坚守岗位，宁愿饿肚子在瑞中教书，也不参加日伪工作。

我仍然清楚记得，当时老师们的伙食，远不及学生的好，因为学生伙食是自己出钱，而且家中还不时送菜来打牙祭。老师们的伙食，只有午晚两餐，主食是窝窝头和蕃薯煮的小米稀饭，另以咸菜疙瘩佐食，白面馒头与荤腥绝对没有机会上桌。王校长家中更是经常断炊。有一次家中已断粮数日，全家只能靠啃生蕃薯果腹，当时长女亚男才两岁，王师母抱着女儿痛哭，王校长则跪地祈祷，相信上帝必有安排。天无绝人之路，祈祷完毕，闻有人敲门，原来是一位校友送来了二斗谷子，一升小米，才使他们一家勉强度过困境。另一次是学生们将一包馒头丢进他院中，解了及时的危难。王校长后来作见证时，闻者无不涔涔泪下。

在记忆中，学校操场上矗立着一根光秃秃的旗杆，却从来没有升过旗帜，事实上这是县城中惟一未曾升挂过敌伪旗帜的旗杆。但抗战胜利后，由王校长领导下，也是第一个升起了国旗的旗杆。

早在我返乡探访王校长之前，瑞典任大牧师的女公子拉力，已寄给我一卷她去青岛探望王校长的录音带。在那卷亲切感人的录音访问中，我听到了王校长的谈话，以及他吟唱的瑞华中学的校歌，使我热泪盈眶。当我亲自拜见他老人家时，他刚刚由医院出来，身体极其衰弱，但却非常兴奋。我们谈了许多从前学校中的往事，彼此嗟叹昔日美丽的教堂，如今已片瓦无存，学校也被改作别用。任大牧师住过的任家花园，也只余下了荒烟蔓草。

我曾提议将以前学校的图片等资料印一本纪念册，王校长



▲瑞华中学校园内之民初五色旗



▲王华亭校长全家合照



▲王校长与着童子军服装的同学合影

却坚持不同意，怕引起不必要的麻烦。想不到这次拜谒竟成永诀。

当我接到青岛匡国祯同学来信告知王校长逝世的消息时，他那清癯严肃的面容与狷介的风骨，以及他那件布满了破洞的黑长衫和他拎着一串钥匙的神情，再次呈现在我面前，我仿佛又听到了他在朝会中常常勉励学生的那句话：“要刚强壮胆，要作大丈夫。”



▲王华亭校长墓（1901-1989）在胶州七里河公墓之墓碑



▲墓碑后由胶州瑞华中学历届校友敬立的碑文

谦卑在耶稣足前

F 大调

3 3—12 | 3 3—2 | 1——— |
谦卑 在 耶稣 足 前

5 5—23 | 4 4—3 | 2——— |
谦卑 在 耶稣 足 前

3 3—12 | 3 3—2 | 1——— |
谦卑 在 耶稣 足 前

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谦 卑 到 底

▲瑞华中学学生晚祷歌

11

我受益最深的三位国文老师

我由小学四年级开始，便喜欢国文与作文。小学五、六年级时，我的作文更常常受到老师的赞许。那时的国文老师，是一位年高德劭的老秀才张子谦先生。由于张老师年事已高，讲课时声量很小，坐在后面的学生听不太清楚，便不断有些小小骚动。张老师是天生的好脾气，很少责备学生，所以他的国文课总是一片乱哄哄的。我当时年纪比较小，坐在最前排，对他讲的课，听得很清楚也很能领会。我对张老师深邃的国学修养，极为崇拜、向往，礼拜六上午的作文课，便成为我最欢喜的时刻。但他常在我的作文簿上，批注“不可过于求高”，不断地提醒我。记得有一次，我作文簿上的评语是：“文如水流花放，蓬蓬远春……”，张老师还在课堂上公开朗



▲瑞华小学及中学之国文老师张子谦先生

诵我的作文，那是我生平第一次得到的最高荣誉，毕生难忘。

张老师不但是一位饱学的通儒，而且是一位仁厚的长者，更是一位十分执着而忠实的教育家。他对每一位学生，都不厌其烦地阐释、教诲，现在回想起来，仍教我感动不已。记得在冬天寒假的时候，他特别为对古诗文有兴趣的学生义务开课。在北方的隆冬，天寒地冻，课室中又缺少取暖设备，寥寥几个学生，坐在空旷的大课堂里，手脚冻僵，读得相当辛苦。但却能由老师浩瀚如海的国学知识中，一窥文学堂奥，那时我的心既火热又兴奋。直到现在，我还能背诵一些那时所学到的诗文呢。

张老师主张：写文章要简洁隽永。犹记得他教的《秋水

轩尺牍》中那篇《冬日谢赠火碗》：“承惠火碗，是念范叔之寒，而煦以伯鸾之热，饮和食德，每餐不忘矣，谢谢。”多少年来，每忆及张子谦老师，这则短简便浮现心头。

第二位，是瑞华中学的张誉庭老师。这位张老师，据说曾选为贡生，有极丰富的教学经验，博古通今，除国文课本外，也教一些著名的杂文。张老师最推崇蒲松龄的文章，认为蒲氏文笔简洁生动，中国文言短篇小说，无人能出其右。

他列举两文作为示范，其一为《聊斋志异》中的《金和尚》。蒲氏描述金和尚出殡的盛况，堪称一绝，寥寥数语，便

►张誉庭老师



能将“看热闹”写得空前绝后：“倾国来瞻仰，男携妇，母襁儿，流汗相属于道。人声沸，百戏鞞鞞，都不可闻；立者自肩以下皆隐，惟见万头攒动而已。孕妇痛急欲产，诸女伴张裙为幄，罗守之；但闻啼声，不暇问雌雄；断幅绷怀中，或扶之，或曳之，蹙蹙以去，奇观哉！”其二为《聊斋志异》中的《赌符》。这篇文章的绝妙处，在文后的“异史氏”对嗜赌者的评文。张老师慨言：赌徒读了这篇评论而仍不能戒赌，便真是无可救药了。“异史氏曰：天下之倾家者，莫速于博，天下之败德者，亦莫甚于博。入其中者，如沉迷海，将不知所底矣。夫商农之人，具有本业，诗书之士，尤惜分阴。负耒横经，固成家之正路；清淡薄饮，犹寄兴之生涯。尔乃狎比淫朋，缠绵永夜，倾囊倒篋，悬金于嶮巇之天；呵雉呼庐，乞灵于淫昏之骨。盘旋五木，似走圆珠。手握多张，如擎团扇，左觑人而右顾己，望穿鬼子之睛，阳示弱而阴用强，费尽魍魉之技。门前宾客侍，犹恋恋于场头；舍上火烟生，尚眈眈于盆里。忘食废寝，则久入成迷，舌敝唇焦，则相看似鬼。迨夫全军尽没，热眼空窥。视局中则叫号浓焉，技痒英雄之臆，顾囊底而贯索空矣，灰寒壮士之心。引颈徘徊，觉白手之无济；垂头萧索，始玄夜以方归。幸交谪之人眠，恐惊犬吠。苦久虚之腹饿，敢怨羹残。既而鬻子质田，冀还珠于合浦。不意火灼毛尽，终捞月于沧江。及遭败后我方思，已作下流之物；试问赌中谁最善，群指无裤之公。甚而枵腹难堪，遂栖身于暴客；搔头莫度，至仰给于香奁。呜呼！败德丧行，倾产亡身，孰非博之一途致之哉！”

另一位国文老师，是石晓峰先生。石老师文采斐然，博闻强记。擅书法，有些恃才傲物。讲课时朗读课文，融入情感，手舞足蹈至忘我之境。他有时衣着的破长衫上满了补丁，状似乞丐；有时忽然西装革履，俨然绅士。同学多以为他怪异若痴，我却能深深体会他的文心，受益良多。

这三位饱学的老夫子，均为当时的国学硕彦。王华亭校长便常常慨叹说：“这样的国学大家，死一个，少一个，恐再也找不着、遇不到了，同学们应懂得把握机会，好好学习。”

离开瑞华母校后，我再也没有机会亲炙这三位启蒙老师，而我之能略通文墨，并能执笔为文，却是深受这三位恩师的栽培，感恩不尽。

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著名画家韩少婴老师

在瑞华读书的时候，有一位著名的画家韩少婴，在瑞中教授国画，当时韩老师教学生西画的静物写生，也教中画的花鸟，他的小鸡只须将蘸了黄颜料的彩笔在纸上转一下，再用黑墨点上啄足，一群鲜活的小鸡，便从纸上走出来了。仍记得他为我们示范的最后一幅画是“花到荼靡春事了”。韩老师教画时不多语，只以笔墨示范。他出身北平美术学院，为齐白石与徐悲鸿之得意高足，与名画家关山月等人齐名，也为同一班级。后移居南京，虽为当时南京画院之重镇，但因韩老师出身北派，在南方画派中颇受压制，致晚年忧郁不得志，遂郁卒以终。

王校长多次说他十分担心韩老师的境况，因为韩老师的爱



▲左为韩少婴老师，右为石晓峰老师

女韩芹曾于文革期间，在其服务的单位值夜班时，闲来无聊，随手在报纸印的毛像脸上画上了一付眼镜。后来为其单位发现，便将她打成了反革命，迫使她精神分裂，疯癫终生。韩老师的女儿韩芹，是瑞华卅二届的同班同学，她十分聪明活泼；还记得韩芹曾在圣诞节的晚会中扮演过天使，舞姿曼妙，同学们都印象深刻。韩老师晚年受此严重打击，心中之痛苦，可以想见。

我到了九〇年才有机会去南京，但那时韩老师已经逝世。我看到了韩老师遗留下的大量画作；其中山水、人物、花鸟皆为精品，也拜读了他留下的诗集。韩少婴老师在他同一时代的画家中，是唯一能诗、书、画三绝的画家，堪称一代大师。他

是胶州的卓越人物，惜晚年有志难伸，作品多遭埋没。我数次接洽，盼能将他的遗作送到台北展出，惜未能成功。



▲韩少婴老师作品之一（照片提供 / 殷颖）



▲韩少婴老师作品之二（照片提供 / 殷颖）



▲韩少婴老师作品之三（照片提供 / 殷颖）



▲韩少婴老师作品之四（照片提供 / 殷颖）

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一位杰出的校友 ——杨懋春

在我收藏的早期瑞华中学照片中，有一张颇具历史意义的相片；在一间高悬煤油灯的课室中，有两位老师正在监考；而伏在案上以毛笔应试的学生们，也正在聚精会神地写答卷。我曾将这张照片拿给当时已由台湾大学退休的杨懋春教授看；他说，这正是他当年在瑞华中学考试的情景。

杨懋春博士（字勉齐1904—1988）是瑞华早期旧制中学时代的毕业生；后来到黄县的笃实中学读高中，并去济南读了齐鲁大学，再去燕京大学念了研究所。他曾出任过山东即墨县的信义中学校长，及齐鲁大学的社会系主任兼文学院院长。后由教会协助赴美，在康奈尔大学专攻乡村社会学，获得康奈尔大学的硕士及哲学博士学位。并在该校及史丹福大学，哈德福宗教



▲瑞中早期学生举行考试，右前桌第二人为杨懋春博士

学院，密西根州立大学等校任客座教授，及华盛顿州立大学研究教授，与研究所主任。后于六十年代回到台湾，任台湾大学教授。并创办了“农业推广学系”，任系主任，当台湾信义会神学院初在台北创办时，他也曾在该院兼任社会学教授。再后来也为东吴大学创办了“社会学系”，任教及系主任。最后由台大退休，住在台大教授的舟山路宿舍中。

当我持这张照片去给他看的时候，杨师娘早已逝世。子女均远居美国，极少前来探望，故其晚年相当孤寂；幸有不少他的学生，常常到他家中，与他作伴，慰其晚景。他晚年都在台北的信义会真理堂服事，并担任该堂长老有年。他在学术界声誉卓著；按由“中国人民大学出版社”出版之《时空穿行一中

国乡村人类学世纪回访》中报导；杨懋春在中国人类学之地位与费孝通齐名，其社会学之地位则与近代儒钱穆并列。杨氏桃李满天下。他教过的学生，对他都十分爱戴，事之如父执。

杨懋春教授是一位扎扎实实做学问的人，一生坚持信仰与真理，作人十分诚恳；他的学生都受到他的感召，都能诚恳作人，勤勉治事。除教学外，他对台糖公司的发展也有相当贡献。功在教会与社会。杨教授著有《勉斋文集》，与他在美国留学的日记；《海外家国恋》（上、中、下三册）。他在美留学期间撰写的论文《一个中国农村：山东台头》（A Chinese Village）及《乡村社会学》、《社会学》等中英文著作十余种。成功的向西方介绍了中国农村的农业社会结构，被视为中国农村社会学和人类学研究的优秀成果。此书已为西欧各国译成多种文字出版，获得极高的评价。《一个中国农村》中文版由张雄，沈炜，秦美珠合译，由“江苏人民出版社”出版。由于杨懋春留学是在对日抗战期间；故他日记中充满了爱国的情操，与对祖国山河家乡的思念；并见证了他虔诚的信仰。

杨懋春是一位传统本位的中国学人，所写之文章，文如其人；就是一个诚字，他写的每一句话，每一个字，都真挚动人，而这就是写作的最高境界。他出生于胶州南乡的台头村，他写童年的贫困与读书的艰辛；承认自己智力不够，不能修自然科学；每一句话都掏自肺腑，每一个字都掷地有声。他写自己的思想，与信仰境界，写自己的政治理念，都是对神对人对自己掏诚而书；绝不自高或自抑。他写自己的困顿，绝不怕人笑话，他写幼时常常会尿床，难以改善；坦诚得可爱，让人感

动。他对时局的看法，也是秉笔直书；既不怕得罪当道，更不会阿谀奉承。杨懋春无论作人、教学、写作、与宗教信仰，都能忠于一个诚字。这是他的可敬可爱处，也是他在对学生们的春风化雨中，最让人感动，且永生难忘的。

杨懋春是胶县南乡台头村一个庄户（农民）人家的孩子，小时候在家帮农放牛，生活艰辛，常因牛不肯吃草而哭泣。后来有机会上新式小学，便勤奋苦读，小学毕业后便想要到县城去考中学，父亲因怕花钱供应而不准，幸因母亲与大哥力争，才有机会去投考；他自己背着行李只身去瑞华中学应试，路途备极艰辛。幸而考取，在校成绩优异。毕业后到瑞华小学去教书，颇获任大牧师的赏识，决定要资助他到黄县去念高中，再保送他到济南齐鲁大学深造，这种优遇，当时羡煞了許多人。杨懋春在他后来写的回忆录中，提到了当时教会的情形；他感到差会在县城设立教会（瑞华浸信会），找到的传道员，都知识不足。有的只略识几个字，甚至不识之无，连圣经都不能读。只是学着别人讲的道，反复口诵而已。且认为多半的传道员根本没有信主，只是为了那点可怜的收入，去混饭吃。每周礼拜一到礼拜六都在家中干自己的活，主日才到教会中去虚应故事。他曾诚实地向任大牧师反映，但情况也难以改善。

杨懋春在瑞华小学教了两年书后，终于接受了任大牧师的资助，到黄县去考读当时颇具规模的笃实中学高中部。他描述当时由胶县到黄县的旅行经过；因资助有限，不能搭乘火车或其他交通工具，如轿车（骡车）或山子（两匹骡子前后共载的一座平底轿子），只能乘驴子，要走几天才能到黄县。笃实



▲杨懋春博士夫妇（此为在山东省即墨县任信义中学校长时之裁修合照）

中学校长为美籍传教士，教师亦多为齐鲁大学的毕业生。杨氏在该校苦读一年半，以极优成绩毕业，免试保送到齐鲁大学就读。与杨懋春同时获得资助在笃实中学就读的，还有他在瑞华同班的同学宫恩荣等多人，宫恩荣后来湖南去读了神学院，回到胶县王台瑞华浸信会担任牧师，但日后却不幸因坚持其信仰而作了殉道士。他是杨懋春特别怀念的一位同学。至于再后来的王华亭等，也由笃实中学毕业而进齐鲁大学，并出任瑞华中学校长，都为杨氏后期的同学了。

杨懋春不但为人正直坦诚，也是一个至孝至情的人，他生前便倾其所有为他的母亲在台大设立了一个“杨懋春贞德纪念基金”，此基金会由台大的“农业推广学系”及东吴大学的“社会学系”合办。经常举办有关乡村教育，乡村文化发展等研讨会，与相关讲座，及出版此类书籍，兼提供清寒学生之奖学金等活动。台大在“农业推广学系”的五楼，还为他设立了一个“杨懋春教授纪念室”，室中陈列杨懋春的各种著作，论文与纪念品等，以及其夫人王敬远女士的资料。

还记得杨夫人病逝时，杨教授哀痛欲绝，甚至病倒住院，我到医院去探视他，为他祷告。杨教授再三要我为他讲解圣经中关于复活的道理，以加强他对复活的信念；最后杨教授表示，“我确定日后仍可与妻子相会，此心便可得到安慰了”。杨师母逝后，杨教授因缺乏适当的照料，迅速地走向衰老。当我在他逝世（1988年，时年84岁）前一年去看他时，见到他一人独居宿舍中，行动迟缓，身体衰竭，与前判若两人。后来不久便溘然长逝。杨教授生前没有机会再回到他儿时的台头村。

歿后与其夫人合葬于台北北投的信义公墓。

杨懋春教授的信仰与人格，以及其一生待人接物的高风亮节，难有人可以匹配。我想这都应与他幼年在学校与教会受到的影响，有密不可分的关系。



▲杨懋春博士任教台大时摄（照片提供 / 财团法人杨懋春贞德基金会）

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任大牧师的风范

我读瑞华中学时，校长为王华亭先生，学校的董事长则为瑞典浸信差会的任汝霖大牧师。称他为大牧师，是依照他家的排行，他弟弟任为霖，则称为二牧师。任大牧师住在学校与教堂的旁边被称为“任家花园”的宅第中。花园占地颇广，园中除住宅外，有亭台、假山、花台与草坪，当时在胶州十分有名。我们有机会进去过，夏日在任大牧师家中的聚会，都在园中草地上举行。草地修剪平整，草色如茵，这在吾县中还是首见。园中南边另有一处楼房，为二牧师任为霖的居所，也是瑞典宣教士子弟的瑞典文学校。在南关靛轮子桥街，那里另有一所大宅院，因距离学校较远，我并未进去过，只见过在桥畔一个斜斜的大黑门。教会的魏教士与司教士等多位宣教士



▲瑞典宣教士们合影于任大牧师宅前



▲胶州南关鞞轮子桥街瑞典传教士住宅

都住在那里。

差会的宣教士们，在中国的生活何以如此优渥，当时的人也不会去多想，而视为当然。我想这主要是因为外国货币在当时的价值很高，易为中国货币，便可以过极优渥的生活，犹记得许多年之后，我到瑞典去探视任大牧师，他的女婿赫门逊博士 (Dr. Hermansson) 便告诉我，他早年到台湾去参访的经验。他说，当时台湾的东西太便宜了，用美金换成台币消费，几乎等于不花钱。这是相隔几十年后，在台湾的情形。当时在台湾的外国宣教士，都住最好的洋房，出门开汽车（一般人只能以脚踏车代步），家中都雇用佣人，与常人的生活水准相去极远。至于在泰国或菲律宾等地的宣教士，因当地更为贫困，人工也更便宜，该地区之宣教士们往往都会雇用几个佣人；一人执炊，一人洗衣，一人育婴，一人为司机，俨然贵族生活，与昔日初到中国的宣教士相比，有天壤之别。传教士们在二十年代以外币易为中国货币的兑换差距，当更无法想像。但多少年后，我心中总是隐存着一个疑问：何以当时的教会，中、西传道人的生活待遇，会相差如此悬殊？这疑问，又许多年后，仍困惑不解。

任大牧师，在当时是普受爱戴的。他外表俊挺，经常穿着中国长袍，十分潇洒倜傥。又能说一口道地胶州土话，而且十分活泼幽默。他在主日的证道，相当受欢迎，且讲道时会运用各种道具。有一次，他在一个玻璃瓶中点上一支蜡烛，然后将瓶盖覆上，烛火不久便熄灭。他说，这如同一个人要发光，但若没有圣灵的光照与供应，人的光便会熄灭，他的讲道使会

众感受深刻。

任大牧师也兼任我们的英文教员，他教英语会话活泼生动，能讲一口标准牛津英语。因他的中学教育，是在烟台“内地会”设立的中学受教。他尤擅英文书法，每周必在大礼堂的黑板墙壁上写下一句圣经金句，要学生模仿书写英文，这也是当时我们最喜爱的课程。

还记得任大牧师上课时常常喜欢教唱一首英文短歌：“I'm H-A-P-P-Y, I'm H-A-P-P-Y, I'm so I'm, I'm sure I'm, I'm H-A-P-P-Y。”他唱时用十分欢乐的调子，要大家跟他一起齐唱。等一会又唱：“I'm S-O-R-R-Y,……”换用悲伤的表情，他能用不同的表情，用同一曲调将短歌唱得淋漓尽致，使大家留下极深刻的印象。而这首欢乐与忧伤的歌曲，却正描绘出我悲欢交集的童年岁月。

任大牧师在中国长大，饮食早已中化。他告诉我，最爱吃水饺。他小时候与人比赛吃饺子，吃下几十个以后，便到城墙上面去围城跑一圈，跑完了再回来吃。胶州的城墙，分内外双层，内城为行政中心，是县政府所在。外城叫“围子”。城墙上面十分宽广，可以行驶马车。绕城跑一圈，要花多少时间，我没有问，但可见当时这位异国少年，对胶州风土的熟稔与深爱。



▲任大牧师居住之花园亭台



▲任大牧师居住之花园冬日雪景



▲任大牧师晚年全家照（前坐者为任大牧师夫妇，后立者右起女儿拉力、儿子约翰与女儿玛格丽特）



▲任大牧师住宅

15

典型在夙昔

—— 纪念任汝霖大牧师安息三周年 ——

任汝霖 (Rev. Eggon Rine11) 大牧师是瑞典浸信会的宣教士，在我的故乡胶县工作。终其一生，多半都消磨在那里，直到一九四八年被迫离开胶县为止。他能说一口道地的胶州话，熟悉故乡的一切历史掌故，实际上他早已将自己看作胶州人，他是第二代在我的故乡传道。他的父亲任其斐 (Rev. J.A. Rine11) 老牧师歿于青岛，遗爱乡里，地方士绅曾为他立碑纪念。当时我还在念瑞华小学，曾恭逢其盛。石碑就矗立在故乡巍峨的大教堂前面。

提起故乡的教堂，会引起我一连串美丽的回忆。教堂为全县最大的建筑，约可容纳约千人座位，每礼拜天上午钟楼里的钟声响彻全县的每一个角落。我在瑞华小学三年级直到瑞华

中学时代，每主日一定去做礼拜，参加主日学，这座教堂和我有相当深厚的情感。所以当再有机会可以向故乡探询消息的时候，我第一要知道的是，那座大教堂是否仍在？但不幸的消息传来，昔日壮丽的大教堂，如今连“一块石头也不留在石头上”，甚至连故乡美丽的双城墙，以及我自己的故居，也都遭拆除了。

我认识任汝霖大牧师的时候，他正是四十多岁的壮年。他长得英姿挺拔，说话富幽默感。我们习惯称他为大牧师，称他的弟弟任为霖（Rev. Oscar Rine11）为二牧师，他们兄弟二人都克绍箕裘，接续父亲在我的故乡传道。任大牧师同时担任瑞华中学的董事长，兼英文教员，是我的英文启蒙老师。

任大牧师早年受纯英式教育，英文流利，教学风趣，颇受学生爱戴。他极注重英文的书法，能写一手漂亮的英文楷书，每周在大礼堂黑板的最上端写下一句经文金句，作为学生临摹的范本。

我由瑞华小学到中学，校方规定礼拜天要排队去做礼拜。我们最怕礼拜堂的韩牧师领礼拜，他的讲道冗长而枯燥，听了使人瞌睡。最欢迎任大牧师讲道，他领会时趣味横生，并且常用实物证道。在讲到为主发光时，他将一支蜡烛点燃了放在玻璃器皿里，再将器皿盖起来，烛火因缺氧而熄灭，他便告诉会众，人发光需要主力量的供应。诸如此类的证道方式，当时令人颇感趣味盎然。

我们中学校的操场紧挨着礼拜堂，当时校方规定学生一律要寄宿，每四人一间宿舍，晚上自习后要一同到大礼堂去跪

下作晚祷。那时正处在日本沦陷区，物资缺乏，连煤油灯都没有。晚祷时人人手拿一盏小菜油灯集合到大礼堂去祷告。祷告完毕后，大家一同唱：“谦卑在耶稣足前”，然后各人回到宿舍就寝。直到现在，每逢回忆起来，那仍然是我生命中最美好的时光。

任大牧师与王校长治校如治家，我们好像生活在一个大家庭里，若干年后与许多同学再提起那段生活，都认为是生平最宝贵的时刻。

任大牧师的住宅就在教堂旁边，隔一条窄巷，他的家被称为任家花园。庭园占地极广，除住宅外还有瑞典学校在内，并



►任大师娘在胶州家中



◀任大牧师胶县居处

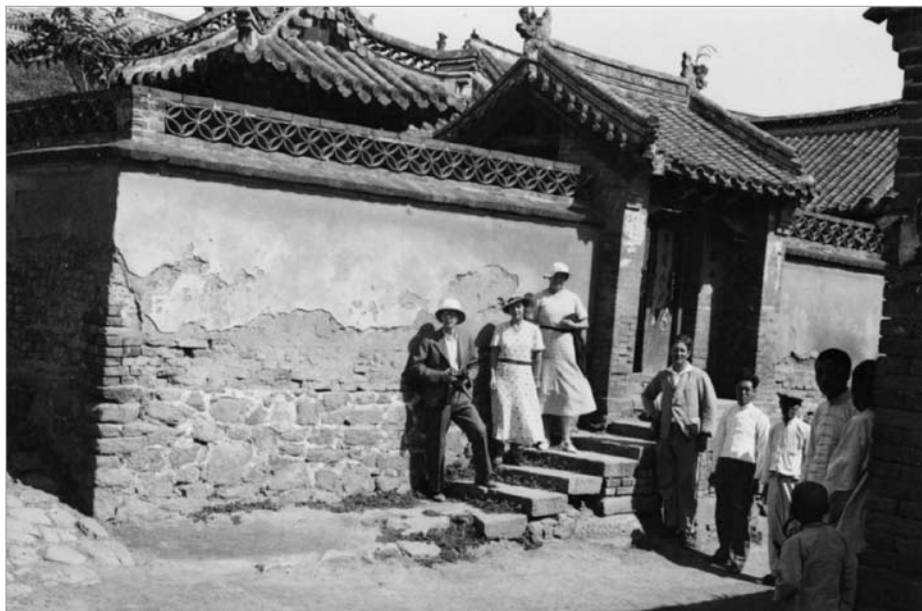
有假山、亭榭，与各种花木。暑假常常在他家中举行聚会，除领略他庭园的美景外，还可享受大师娘的瑞式茶点，也是儿时的一种乐事。

一九四九年逃离故乡以后，再没有机会与任大牧师通音讯，后来听说他被迫离开故乡胶县后，东渡日本去传道，但始终没有机会联络。隔了三十年之后才由一位资深的校友，台大教授杨懋春博士处探知任大牧师在瑞典的地址。

任大牧师由日本宣道退休后，返回瑞典住在乌卜撒拉

(Uppsala)。我在他回归天家前，两次去拜访他，畅谈故乡的种种，那时他已近九秩高龄，身体仍然健朗，住在乌市的一所小公寓里。昔日美丽高窕擅唱女高音的大师娘，已经老态龙钟，并且患了帕金森病。大牧师则健谈如昔，他向我讲了许多故乡的掌故，都是我未曾听闻的，也讲述了许多早年传道的艰辛。原来当时的瑞华浸信会不仅在故乡胶县传道，也在胶东三县一胶县、诸城与高密传道，并且广设学校、医疗所与圣经学院。我幼时念的瑞华小学与中学，在故乡都是享有盛名的。瑞华中学的师资多半是齐鲁大学的高材生，是一群牺牲奉献的教育家。使我们终生受益无穷。

大牧师家里收藏的中国古董并不多，但却珍藏了许多图片画册，我花了许多时间翻阅这些资料，使我在许多年后能重温



▲王台民宅



◀ 胶县城隍庙

▼ 胶县庙宇



▲ 昔日城隍庙现已成为博物馆（前立者为作者叔父）〈照片提供 / 殷颖〉

故乡的风物。大牧师谢世后，我向他的长女拉力女士借了他的相簿回来，重新翻照加洗，使我如今还可以留下故乡的一些记忆。因为这些美丽古老的建筑、城堡、寺庙、教堂，在一九四九年之后，都被当作封建的象征而拆除毁灭了。

我第二次造访任大牧师是一九八三年五月，次年我又去欧洲会议，本想再去看他老人家，但因要赶另一个会议而错过。原来一九八四年五月十五日是他老人家的九十大寿。教会为他举行了茶会庆祝，他在聚会中自己用中文写出了“约翰福音”三章十六节及“约翰一书”一章七节，并且用国语讲道，由他的长女拉力译为瑞语。九十大寿过后，他于五月十八日赴医院探视大师娘，在医院中心脏病突发，延至五月廿八日安息主

怀。我失去了最后与他话别的机会，至今感到遗憾。于今在他安息了三周年之际，想到这位热爱中国的老牧师，将大半生完全献给中国，在我的故乡拯救了无数的灵魂，也作育了许多英才，不由得从心底升起了无尽的感激与怀念。

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一卷亲切感人的乡音与诗歌

复活节时寄了一张卡片给住在瑞典的任汝霖大牧师的女儿任雪竹，告诉她我写了一篇纪念任大牧师归天三周年的文章，她会在六月初收到。任雪竹(Alice Rinell Hermansson)的乳名叫拉力，当我在故乡瑞华中学念书的时候，拉力还是一个髻龄的小女孩，后来我到瑞典去探访任大牧师时再看到她，她也已步入了中年。丈夫赫门逊博士在斯德哥尔摩大学教授东方历史，一儿一女仍在大学与神学院读书，她自己则在乌卜撒拉的一所医疗机构中工作。任大牧师其余的儿女都在美国，老夫妇晚年都亏了拉力的照顾。那时大牧师独自住在一幢小公寓里，大师娘则因患了帕金森病长年住在医疗机构，但每个周末拉力夫妇都会接大师娘回家去坐坐，叙叙天伦之乐。我想拉力



▲任大牧师的女儿拉力（Lally）在青岛太平角的院中

的孝顺应该受了不少中国习俗的影响。

我在四年前最后一次去瑞典看望大牧师，适逢拉力偕其叔二牧师任为霖到中国大陆访问去了。我仍然住在她家中，赫门逊博士热爱中国文化，晚上我们常常谈到深夜。他兴奋的告诉我，他已向学校申请了一笔经费要到日本、台湾去做研究，但可惜他的壮志未酬，在一九八四年初的时候，突患心脏病去世。

记得那时台北的喜乐与小民夫妇刚刚去瑞典，看他们的儿子保真。拉力还在家中接待他们，孰料几个月后大牧师也溘然长逝。这一连串的事故真够拉力承受的。这几年彼此都忙，只

在节令时互寄一张卡片慰问，但今年的复活节却没有收到她的卡片，正在思念的时候，忽然接到她寄来的一个包裹，打开来赫然是一卷录音带。录音带的B面是拉力的谈话，A面是她在一九八三年访问胶县及青岛时的录音。



▲任大牧师与小民夫妇合照

拉力在录音中以流利的英文娓娓地谈到她的近况，告诉我因为工作的忙碌无法给我写信，并告诉我大师娘已于年初被主接去。在四年之内一连有三位亲人逝世，伤痛与忙碌是可以想见的；幸而拉力信心坚强，能担当这样沉重的压力。拉力说这卷带子里有许多师友及弟兄姊妹的见证，弥足珍贵，因此决定拷贝了寄给我，所以不必提笔写信。

我先听完了B面拉力的谈话，立刻迫不及待的转到A面，要听听阔别了卅八年的故乡父老们的声音。录音带中首先出现的是教会弟兄姊妹唱赞美诗的声音，接着是一个特别见证会的录音。出席者大都是八、九十岁的老龄长者，由他们恳切真挚的乡音中，听见他们述说一些感人的见证，听了使我激动落泪。这些由大灾难的火焰中过来的人，经历了许多年苦难的淬砺，如今能用平静的声音，简约地道来，早已不再激动，也不再怨怼，只剩下无限的赞美与感谢。这真是多麽动人的见证！使我想到常常在教会聚会中听到的一些弟兄姊妹们的见证，多



▲冯缙庭老师全家福

半是一些幸福生活的小波折、小插曲，轻轻松松地讲述一些信心边陲的小故事；说出来博大家一笑。当我听到了这些长者们的十字架苦难的历程后，才体会出甚么是“见证”。

见证会的最后由李克恭牧师用哥林多后书一章十节作结束：“祂曾救我们脱离那极大的死亡，现在仍要救我们，并且我们指望祂将来还要救我们。”他一再重复地，语重心长地念着这节圣经。其实在这卷录音带中，分量占得最多的还是他们的诗歌，他们以苍老但优美的声音唱出了许多圣经的经文。这不禁使我回忆到儿时做礼拜的情景。那时代参加礼拜的会众，多半会在一个或半个小时前到礼拜堂。在正式聚会之前的这段

时间，大家便同声一起吟唱圣经的经文。唱得最多的是诗篇，如今我仍能朗朗上口。现在回想起来，那是多麽美好的一段时光。

这卷录音带中最宝贵的是两位师长的声音，一位是九十七岁高龄的冯缙庭老师，他教英文与圣经。另一位便是我们敬爱的瑞华中学的校长王华亭先生。他是一位杰出爱主的教育家，也是当时著名的理化教员。当时王校长也已八十七岁高龄了，但他们的声音都很清晰而宏亮，王校长并且独唱了瑞华中学的校歌，我为这首校歌曾访问了不少同学，但大家都记不全了。如今在王校长亲切的吟唱中，再响起了当年在“朝会”中同学们雄壮的歌声：

- (一) 滨海面珠山，毓秀复锺灵，我瑞华巍然立胶东，
教育贵实践，男女素并重，愿异日声誉着寰中。
- (二) 造就群英才，发扬新文化，这使命端在我瑞华，
学海虽无涯，前进莫惧怕，功夫到自然能胜它。
- (三) 师友共切磋，风雨莫偷暇，且看我人才震东亚，
负起国民责，兴复我诸夏，我青年为国不为家。

由王校长的歌声中，一个光头、高颧骨，终年穿一袭旧黑布长衫，亲切而又威严的形像，便立刻出现在眼前。他是我生平仅见的，严格遵守圣经教训的基督徒。他不但是一位卓越的教育家，而且是一位热心的宗教家，他关切每一个学生的功课，更关切他们的灵魂，常常到学生宿舍中去跪下来为学生祷告，也常在主日崇拜中讲道。他的安贫乐道的精神，尤为学生佩服。

在抗战期间，由于学校经费短绌（当时学校规定不收学费），教职员常常领不到薪水而三餐不继，王校长家中更时常断炊，但他仍坚守岗位，工作不辍。学校中大部分的老师都能在他的领导下苦撑下去，使教学不致中断。那时我们都是小孩子，并不了解学校的困难，只是有时觉得老师的伙食好像比学生的还要差，感到惊讶而已。离开学校许多年以后，才知道当日的情形，而满怀感恩与愧疚。

如今当我一遍遍地恭聆着这位老校长的歌声时，不知不觉中感到潮湿，低下头来为他献上感恩。



▲王校长晚年在青岛家中（照片提供 / 殷颖）

17

乡遥归梦远

四 十年来睡里、梦里、茶里、饭里，时刻不能忘的就是我的故乡—胶县。那个质朴但文艺气息浓厚的县城。在科举时代，主考官评胶东诸县文风，胶县得到一个“秀”字。犹忆母校瑞华中学的校歌中，有“背海面珠山，毓秀复鍾灵”之句。海指的是黄海，而珠山是胶县南面的大、小珠山，“双珠嵌云”是故乡八景之一。

消逝在归梦中的故乡

去秋，怀着兴奋激动的心情踏上了归途，由广州搭飞机回到青岛的第二天，我便找了一辆车子直奔故乡胶县。虽然在这

里我已没有亲人，但这是我生长的地方，有我太多的记忆，这里的每一条街道，都曾印着我的足迹。许多树木与小河都曾是我的手痕。这片土地是孕育我长大的地方。当车子逐渐接近县城时，我的心跳也急骤地加快起来。

故乡胶县是双城，外面的城墙叫围子，我家住在南关，靠近南围子城门。内城不很大，城门都有瓮城，县衙及考院都设在那里，是行政中心所在地。城墙上有了马路，可行并排的马车，由上面望下去，可以看到城中人家的院子。内城中人烟拥塞，外城便宽敞多了。小时候与同学爬到围子墙上，由垛口上翻下去，蹬着一指宽的砖缘慢慢爬下去，再爬上来，在当时是十分惊险的游戏，因为城墙有四、五丈高。

然而我们的车子显然已经驶进了城区，却没有看见城墙的踪迹。我的心开始往下沉，所有的街道也都是陌生的，原来这座古城已经彻底地消逝了！我催着车子寻找故居的南关崔家街，足足花了一个小时，尚无法确定是否已找到了那条街。

故居在恬静的崔家街东头路南四号，是一栋三进院落的平瓦房。由大门进去，首先看到的是一丛修竹映掩的粉壁。第一栋是学屋，院中有一棵紫白相间的丁香树，春天花开的时候，香飘数里。而中庭花台上的牡丹与芍药，那一片国色天香的缤纷，填满了童年的记忆。还有爬满了粉壁的蔷薇，与烧红了窗棂的榴火。走出街东头的石桥，对面便是卖黄酒的店铺，往北走是栏杆古井，弯过小桥则有一座古碑的双女井。越过小溪往东走，便到了南坛湾，那半亩荷塘，在盛夏时开成一片浓艳，蛙声响彻了每一家的庭院。每逢雨后，绿萍随着溪水涨满了每

一条小河。而南坛湾旁鲁班庙里几株高大的银杏树下，是儿时嬉戏与捡白果的地方。庙里有一所初级小学，混合在一个大厅里上课，那就是我启蒙的学堂。崔家街的西头有一堵嵌着“泰山石敢当”碑石的映壁，出了那堵映壁墙，就是一望无际的西坡田野，沿着泥路往西北走，可到小教场和我后来就读的瑞华小学了。

我站在现在的这条“崔家街”上，惶然不知所措，我从未想到一个地方在隔了几十年以后，会改变得如此彻底。这条我成长的街道，如今却变得十分陌生。街东头的故居完全被拆除了，如今盖了一片营房。街头的石桥、小铺也都消失了。我家墙外那一排老榆树已完全失去了踪迹，而当初的两口井也不见了。若非街西头仍残留着几栋昔日的旧宅，无论如何我也无法承认这就是我曾经长大的地方。



▲崔家街故宅西街之徐姓老太太〈照片提供 / 殷颖〉



▲作者胶县故居附近之残破景象〈照片提供 / 殷颖〉

我拖着沉重的步伐走出了“崔家街”，另一个我迫切想看到的是昔日就读的瑞华小学、瑞华中学，以及当时全县最高大美丽的大礼拜堂。礼拜堂坐落在梢门里的瑞华中学旁边，每逢礼拜天，钟楼里飘出的清越钟声响彻了整个的县城。

由瑞中往北走是菜市街及水果市街，再下去便到沙滩。那里有一座魁星阁，阁上立着一个面目狰狞的魁星，手中握着一枝笔，据说那叫魁星点状元。一走进沙滩，便可看到各种不同的市集，以及拉场子变戏法的、卖解的、拉洋片的，但当时最能吸引我的，莫过于说书场了。每天中午我们都跑去听说评书的说《三侠剑》、《雍正剑侠图》，听得入迷，到上课前几分钟，才恋恋不舍地离开。



▲作者胶县故居已成残垣断壁〈照片提供 / 殷颖〉

这一带我原是非常熟悉，但那天下午我花了半天的时间，往返跑了好几次，却依然找不到昔日的教堂与中学。原来附近的房子多半都拆了，那座巍峨的大教堂，也早已拆除，在原址上盖了一所招待所。以前的中学变成了一所医院，而且街道也改了名称。仍记得有一位瑞中的英文老师住在附近，但询问了许久却无法找到，几乎放弃时，忽然发现一位衣衫褴褛的老妇人坐在街旁剥豆。我仔细端详，觉得面善，一问之下，原来这正是冯师娘。其实他们住的那栋败屋就在眼前，但由于街道扭曲而无法辨识。走进屋里与将近百龄的冯老师相拥唏嘘，恍如隔世。冯老师娘拄着拐杖带我去看昔日任大牧师住的任家花园，如今只剩圯墙败壁、荒烟蔓草。在暮色中略事凭吊，就驱车返回青岛。

这就是我苦思了四十年的故乡，我的归梦圆了，又碎了。更不幸的是，我如今已失去了对故乡相思的权利。

我的第二故乡

青岛距胶县仅百里之遥，算是我的第二故乡，也是我的出生地。我在离开大陆之前的一段岁月，是在那里度过的。今天的青岛，十分幸运的还保持着原貌，虽然市容看起来褪了色，建筑都已老旧，但由海上或空中鸟瞰，仍是绿树红瓦，碧海青天。特别是象征青岛的那座天主教大教堂的十字架双塔，亮丽而夺目，看来好像没有多少改变。

其实这座高耸的十字架双塔，也曾历经劫难。“文革”期



▲青岛地标天主堂（照片提供 / 殷颖）



▲青岛地标之一，前海栈桥回澜阁（照片提供 / 殷颖）

间曾将这两个十字架锯下来毁掉。开放后，这座天主教堂得到“平反”，再制了两个十字架，焊接上去。听说这是颇为艰巨的工程，因为十字架有一层楼那么高。至于教堂内被打碎的巨型管风琴，当然无法恢复了。

青岛的另一个象征是中山路尽头的前海大栈桥，桥的尽头是圆形的阁楼，在这里可以眺望左前方的小青岛。如今这些风物依旧，只是海边桥上堆满了游人，昔日清幽的景象不再了。

沿着栈桥的太平路往东走，是景色优美的海滨公园，现在改名为鲁迅公园，海边的岩石间长满了杉树，在碧海、巨岩



▲青岛地标前海栈桥回澜阁（左为作者）（照片提供 / 殷颖）

与丛松间，簇拥着两栋古色古香的建筑，就是著名的水族馆与产业馆了。遥对市政府大楼的海滨，本来有一座高耸的石碑，上面刻着纪念抗战胜利的“青岛重光”四个大字，为李先良所题，但早已被拆除。后来我在博物馆的院子角落里发现了只剩“重光”两个字的断碣。

越过太平路爬上青岛最高的小鱼山顶，站在塔顶可以俯瞰青岛前海的风景线。前海栈桥笔直地伸向海面，海水浴场细白的沙滩上，坐满了弄潮人。周围触目是绿树红瓦，景色美得使你一颗心都提起来。

“绿树红瓦，碧海青天”与 康有为百年之后的余劫

在海水浴场对面半山幽静的路上，有一栋精致的两层小楼是康有为（1858-1927年）故居，现在辟为康有为纪念馆，里面收藏一些康有为的字画，及其生前使用的器物。

康氏的坟墓也在附近。“文革”期间曾将康氏的尸体掘出，罪状是反革命，但后来又发现康氏是一位维新的革命人物，才予以平反。康有为虽然获得平反，但是他的首级却在示众时失落了，无法再合尸安葬。不想这位变法维新的人物，虽在戊戌政变中未与六君子一同殉难，但死后若干年终难逃一劫。而形容青岛“绿树红瓦，碧海青天”的名句，却正是康有为的手笔。

沿着太平路一直走下去，便到了第三海水浴场，以前是非常静谧的角落。我曾在海滩上与美术学校的同学一起写生、野餐，大家一同牵起手来跳圆舞，它曾经写下多少我们的青春与欢笑。如今海上的风物依然，但海滩却被污染了。我看见有一条一丈多直径的污水管，引来污黑的浊流，不停地流入碧蓝的海水中。

过了汇泉公园，便到了青岛最美的八大关，这一带从前多半是外侨居住的区域，不但建筑表现了西欧各国的特色，而且绿荫遮道，整齐美观，颇有瑞士的风貌。而所谓八大关，是指路名，这里的八条大道分别以山海关、居庸关等关名作为路名。



▲青岛一景〈照片提供 / 殷颖〉



▲昔日青岛街上的马车〈照片提供 / 殷颖〉

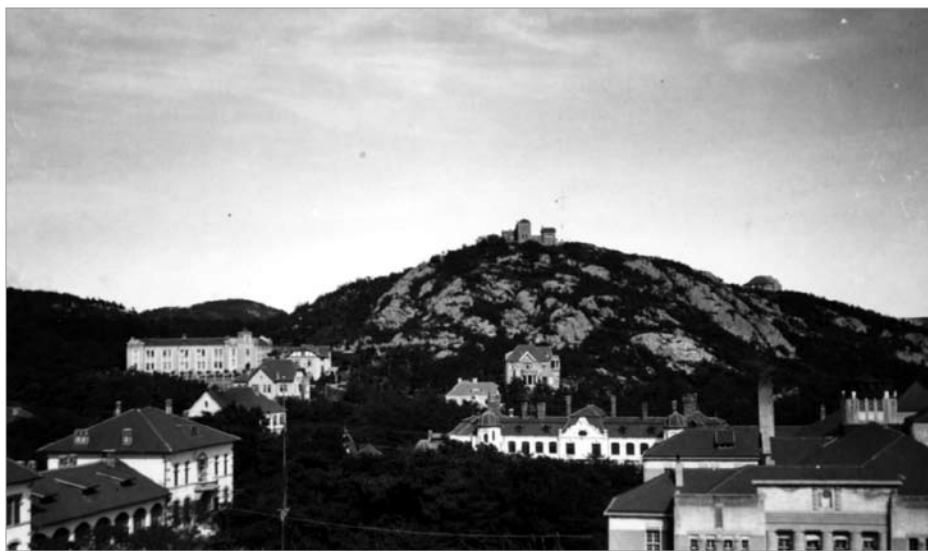
再回到青岛，觉得若有所失的是，从前的马车不见了，由中山路旁边搭上双马车，一路蹄声达达的沿着太平路前海的风景线跑到汇泉的体育场，是十分赏心悦目的享受。而如今在市内搭乘公车，几乎是一种灾难。在尖峰时间即使能挤上去，但全身架空，两脚几乎站不到地，而不守乘车秩序，一哄而上的作风，则是全国有志一同。

另一样令人惋惜而怀念的是，从前的小吃都没有了。还记得青岛两种平民化的早点：一是豆汁，将两只桃酥捏碎放在碗里，再加上一匙白糖，浇上滚热的豆浆，泡着香脆的油条，真是一大享受。一是用小米粉及玉米粉煮的甜沫，里面有青豆、豆腐干、花生米等作料，就着油炸馓子吃，滋味令人难忘。这次我也喝过一碗甜沫，舀在碗里的只剩下索然寡味的稀汤，完全失去原来的风味。

中山路的劈柴院一向是卖各种小吃的地方，今天这里仍然生意鼎盛，食客拥挤，但烹调却完全失去了水准，粗劣得难以下咽。问起以前那些可口的小吃，人们叹息着说，那都是旧社会的东西，早已一去而不复返了。在我走访过的许多地方，南方的口味都还不错，北方则多半较差，而其中尤以青岛为甚。

崂山上的《聊斋》故事

到青岛来旅游的人，大概一定会去崂山看看。崂山不但风景优美，而且泉水清冽。我最怀念的是儿时喝过的崂山汽水，但如今则只产闻名遐迩的青岛啤酒。



▲青岛之观象山（照片提供 / 殷颖）

由青岛乘汽车去崂山，沿途要经过许多渔村，据说现在渔民的生活已经改善，像摆摊的个体户一样。青岛有全国规模最大的自由市场，是个体户摊位集中营业的地方。有几句流行的俚语说：“肥了当官的，发了海边的，阔了摆摊的，穷了上班的（第四个字都用儿韵）”。

崂山并不高，但却傲岸雄伟，山上有著名的道观“上清宫”，香火鼎盛。在蒲松龄的《聊斋志异》中，他曾写过两则在道观中发生的故事：一则《崂山道士》中，就一个“娇惰不能作苦”的人，妄想向崂山道士学法术眩世，结果不但法术没有学成，却在头上撞了一个大包，颇有警世的作用。另一则《香玉》，则是一个缠绵悱恻的花树变成美人的虚幻故事。故

事中记述一个在庙中寄读的胶州士子黄生，在下清宫中邂逅由白牡丹精灵化成美人香玉，及耐冬化成美女绛雪，均成为黄生之腻友。但后来牡丹为人移走而枯死，遂由花之神变为花之鬼，黄生在悲恸之余，作哭花诗五十首，感动了花神使牡丹再生，重续前缘。黄生死后也化为牡丹，但因无花为道士砍去，白牡丹与耐冬亦相继萎死。蒲松龄将这个虚构的故事写得凄婉动人，使人读之泣下。如今在道观中树立了香玉和绛雪两块石碑供游人凭吊，足见蒲氏的小说是如何的感人了。

“上清宫”中有数株千年古树，修竹清泉，蝉声蝶影，迎风小立，山色幽绝。由“上清宫”旁踏石上山，山顶虽无奇峰危峦，但放眼望去，山势跌宕豪迈，襟抱黄海，碧波千里，极目苍茫，与在泰山顶上看云海，又自不同。

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瑞华浸信会在山东宣教概况

最后一位被迫撤离胶州的宣教士

一九八一年春天，我初访瑞典乌卜萨拉（Uppsala），拜访了我幼年就读瑞华中学的英文老师任大牧师（Rev. Egron Rine11）。数十年不见，任大牧师已显得相当苍老，无复当年的飒飒英姿。他慨叹时光匆匆，拿出一本照相簿，告诉我昔日伯特利神学院的同学们多已谢世，只剩他一人了。

当时任大牧师已年近九旬，任大师娘则因患帕金森症住在医院，只有周末才接回家中小聚。当年他们夫妇是在胶州的浸信会大教堂中结婚，这对璧人在胶州完婚是教会的一桩盛事。任大师娘也是著名的女高音，主日礼拜她在教堂中献诗，声震



▲任大牧师在胶州浸信会礼拜堂的结婚照



▲任大牧师在胶州浸信会礼拜堂举行其结婚典礼



▲王华亭校长（右起第三人）于一九四八年访问瑞典浸信会差会并赠送礼品

殿宇，余音绕梁，令人仰慕。但转瞬都已年华老去，我第二次再去拜访后，老牧师夫妇便先后归天了。

瑞典浸信会在胶州宣教半个世纪之后，终于在一九五一年，中国大陆改变国体之后，被迫匆忙地离开了他们挚爱的中国教会与信徒。瑞典浸信差会的宣教事业，便这样无可奈何的画下了句点。

一九四八年，共军最后一次占领胶州，瑞典的传教士们多已撤离，但任大牧师一家却仍留在原址不动，因任大牧师在胶州土生土长，并在这里结婚生子，已视胶州为家。他不仅热爱这片土地与人民，舍不得离去，更坚持留下，认为仍有机会传福音。但却接到军方的命令：“任汝霖，你在这里住的房子，



▲山东胶县瑞华中学校友在青岛欢送任汝霖牧师夫妇及王华亭校长赴瑞典纪念

吃的饭，喝的水，和呼吸的空气，都是中国人民的。如今你已不再受欢迎，必须马上离开！”任大牧师在接到驱逐命令后，只能撇下一切，携带少许行李，黯然离去。

任大牧师离开胶州后，先到青岛稍停，因瑞华中学无法再复课，实际上已经停办了。王校长接受瑞典浸信会邀请，作为贵宾，前往参加瑞典浸信会成立百周年纪念大会。王校长在瑞典各地参访一年后，于一九四九年返国。到达香港时，赶上了香港飞上海的最后一班飞机，回到中国大陆。

任大牧师稍后由瑞典转赴日本，留在东京数年，向日本



▲任大牧师离日本前与师娘合影

青年学生传福音。于一九六二年最后才由日本退休，回到瑞典养老。但任大牧师仍时时刻刻心系胶州，我们谈了许多学校中的往事，特别怀念王校长，但当时尚无他的消息。后来大陆开放，我由香港转信到青岛，辗转找到了王校长，立刻向大牧师报了平安。后来二牧师任为霖夫妇等人组团访问青岛与胶州，见到了王校长等友人。大牧师的女儿拉力（Alice）写信告诉我，他们访问的种种。所以，任大牧师后来总算安心回到了天家。

任大牧师的儿女中，只有拉力住在他身边照料，后来拉力的丈夫赫门逊也因心脏病离世，拉力便住在任大牧师遗留下的那幢小楼中。任大牧师家中留有大量胶州的资料；我收集到的这些珍贵历史性照片，都是由他提供。据大牧师告诉我，当时在胶州全县城，只有西国宣教士才有照相机，那时大牧师也只拥有一台二手照相机，如今也只有他留下的这些照片，是全胶州唯一珍贵的资料。

拉力不但精通英文，也能说胶州方言，并且可以写中文信。昔日在中国传道的宣教士们，要先进“官话学校”学习中国话，再聘专任教习，学习中文。不仅能说，也能书写。拉力告诉我，任二牧师的师娘，曾将全部新旧约圣经都详细阅读了一遍。如今，拉力虽仍健在，但她父亲那一代的宣教士们，均已先后谢世，只留下了他们对中国宣教的异象与热情。



▲文道慎牧师

最早蒙召来胶东的瑞典宣教三杰

在我访问瑞典的任大牧师时，他交给我一本瑞典差会在华宣教五十周年的记录，即《山东瑞华浸信会五十周年史》。由任其斐（任汝霖牧师之父）牧师、令约翰牧师及候述先弟兄共同编纂。这本史料，记载了瑞典浸信会在华宣教，自一八九一年至一九四一年间的宣教历史，史料相当完整，弥足珍贵。

在开宗明义的“弁言”中，记述瑞华浸信会于一八七七年，开启国外宣教事业，并派宣教士到中国内地会联络，当时内地会创办人戴德生先生也来到了瑞典（1888年），在伯特利浸会神学院讲道。戴氏报告了该会在中国的宣教工作，并鼓励瑞典差会参与中国宣教事工。当时有三位神学生受感愿意前往，这三位便是文道慎（Carl Vingren）、令约翰（J.E.Lindberg）与任其斐（J.A.Rinell）。

文道慎牧师

文道慎牧师于一八九〇年受牧师职，并于次年三月到达上海，首先剃头留发，并戴上假辫，穿上华服，到安庆内地会的官话学校，先学习中国语言。随后游历各地寻找适当地点宣道，他先到达山东烟台、登州、莱阳，最后才到胶州的小桥南头，赁了八间房屋为居所，并开始宣教。但不幸因水土不服而病倒，随即回国。后来改派至美国传道，但终生念念不忘中国的福音工作。



▲令约翰牧师



▲Li Ande牧师夫妇于1907年抵中国，先后在高密及胶州王台主持教会多年，成效显著。



▲令约翰牧师夫妇

令约翰牧师

令约翰牧师于一八九三年与文道慎牧师同到胶州租屋传道。一九〇三年，令师母在胶州墨河桥首先设立了女子小学，后转往诸城，购买地址，建造房舍，落地生根。并于一九〇五年成立了诸城浸信会，担任牧师及瑞华学校校长。令氏除宣教外，特别重视文字工作，著有《中国祭先源流和仪式》、《各国浸信会在华布道事业》等书。令牧师传道，极重视社会服务工作，除设学校、医院外，也热心宣扬戒毒与妇女放足等事工，开风气之先。他传道的脚踪遍及胶东、诸城、日照、莒县等地，这些县市为瑞典来华早期宣教之重镇。



▲宣教士下乡布道

任其斐牧师

任其斐牧师，我们称之为任老牧师，当我就读瑞华小学时，他已作古，印象不深。我只记得任老师娘，当时她住在大井街，每逢主日，她便乘一辆马车去作礼拜。她的马车朱漆覆蓝布车套，看起来十分考究，这样的交通工具在当时不是一般人能拥有的。至于任老牧师，只听说过他的行谊，他亦为三位早期到胶州来宣教的主要宣教士之一。

瑞华小学与瑞华中学均由他及师娘所创办。在我的记忆中，一九四一年后，胶州各界为他树立了一座纪念碑，石碑便矗立在大教堂的右侧。记得当天是由韩凤鸣牧师及胶州商会的



▲左后为令约翰牧师，右边为任其斐牧师夫妇，他们于一八九四年抵中，稍后他们的大儿子任汝霖在胶诞生（抱在任老师娘怀中之婴儿）



▲任其斐老牧师夫妇



▲韩凤鸣牧师及胶县商会逢会长为任其斐老牧师纪念碑揭幕

缙绅逢会长主持揭幕仪式；石碑面上涂黑漆朱字，外面套一个黑布套，由教会的韩凤鸣牧师与逢会长共同主持拉开布套的仪式。但这座石碑，后来竟与大教堂遭逢同一命运，都在文革时被捣毁了。

还记得大陆初开放时，我写信给住在教堂旁边的冯缙庭老师，询问教堂的情况，他的回复是：“没有一块石头留在石头上”（“马太福音”廿四章2节）。想不到那样一座宏伟美丽的大教堂，竟在一夕间毁灭了。

任其斐老牧师为胶州浸信会的奠基者，一生工作于斯。他

的两位公子，大牧师任汝霖，二牧师任为霖也都克绍箕裘，继承并发扬了宣教的事业。任老牧师一九四一年病逝青岛，并葬于青岛的万国公墓，但这座公墓后来也因改建而湮灭了。

任其斐牧师于一八九四年到达胶州，一面学习华语，一面宣扬基督，不久便发生了中日甲午战争。城中发生仇外运动，任牧师夫妇只好暂去烟台避难，但宣道工作从未中辍。到一八九八年才有四人受浸归主，任牧师便在胶州设立了教会，同时还接受县政府委托代办邮政，为县民通讯事业作出了贡献。但不久后，在一九〇〇年又有“庚子拳匪之乱”，任牧师只好暂去青岛避难。后在胶州的王台、冷家村与高密县等，纷纷设立教会。

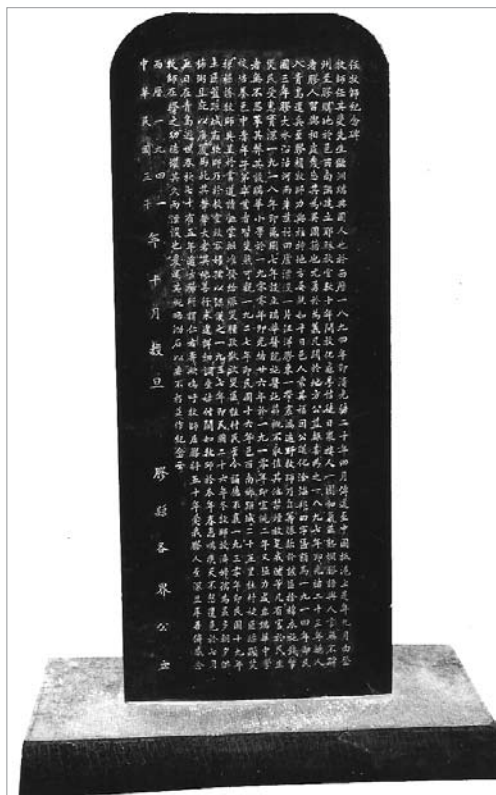
迄一九四〇年止，瑞华浸信会已成立十二区会，得信徒



▲胶州女校老师（中坐者为林德夫人）

五千人。他以胶州为中枢，向四周扩展，并力倡奉献主义，促使信徒积财于天，故日后差会资助减少，教会仍能屹立不摇，皆任氏之贡献。任老牧师也重视文字工作，著有《义和团》（1906年出版）、《瑞华浸会十五年史》（1906年出版）、《国外布道事业问题》（1910出版）、及《布道工作的使命与我们》（1932年出版）等书。

任老师娘桂香，原毕业于瑞典师范学校，极注重宗教教育。她先后协助任老牧师在胶州设立了瑞华女校、瑞华中学、以及妇女道学院等。任氏夫妇在宣教之余，也关心救济事业。当时国家多事，农业不修，水旱灾频仍，兵连祸结，山东的官绅都对任氏信任有加，委其办理各项赈灾；他也任劳任怨，竭尽所能。任氏在胶州宣教长达四十七年，虽三度返国，均按



▲胶县各界为纪念任其斐老牧师，在教堂前设立之纪念碑

期归来。育子女五人，二子均进入瑞典伯特利神学院，毕业后奉献在胶州传道。任氏对胶州桑梓极有贡献，他逝世后，胶州各界乡绅因而为他立碑纪念。

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瑞典浸信会在 中国宣教的各项成就

根据《山东浸信会五十周年史》的记载，一八〇七年马礼逊来中国传道，马氏当时希望如能在中国宣道百年，或可有千人信主；而经过十年后，马礼逊才为第一个中国人施洗，不久马氏便息劳归天了。到一八六〇年，中国信徒已到达千名。时至一九四一年，瑞典浸信会在胶东数县的受浸人数，已达六千六百二十八人，全国信主人数则已达到五十余万之多了。

瑞典浸信会在华的第一代宣教士文道慎牧师到中国，游历全国各地，最终选择在山东开始传道的原因之一：他认为山东为中国的“圣省”。因为是出了孔、孟圣人的地方，如从山东先开始工作，其影响应会大增。后来任其斐牧师夫妇在胶东遍

设学校，推广新式教育（当时私塾已为当局禁止），对山东的教育文化事业有巨大贡献；特别是在胶州设立的瑞华小学与中学，更是瑞典浸信会在许多事工华冠上的一颗璀璨明珠。

据《浸信会五十周年史》的记载，瑞典差会在胶州开始福音工作时，当时（一八九三年）胶州城内有居民五万人，全县村庄一千二百八十二处，全县人口为三十六万五千五百七十六人。迄一九四〇年，瑞典浸信差会在山东宣教期间，教会已向胶东七县四十余万人民传达过福音信息。



▲瑞华浸信会大礼拜堂及内部之圣坛



▲瑞华浸信会之唱诗班及指挥任大师娘

教育事业

瑞典浸信差会在胶东开始宣道之初，即广设学校，并首先创办女校，开风气之先。教育事工的主要奠基者为任老师娘桂香，著名的胶州瑞华小学与中学均经其手开创。她也担任瑞华女校校长。瑞华浸信会为培养传道人才，在胶州梢门里街创办了“瑞华圣经学院”，为三年制。瑞典差会创办的各种学校中，尤以瑞华中学的声名最著，胶东学子也受益最多。

瑞华中学于一九〇九年创建，到一九四九年停办。期间共有卅三届学生毕业。前后约有毕业生二、三百人，毕业学生虽然不多，皆为一时的菁英，在各界均有卓越的成就。学生中许多都已信主，瑞华的宗教教育极为成功。



▲1911年瑞华女校毕业生



▲1910年瑞华小学师生合影



▲瑞华女校毕业生



▲瑞中1940年毕业班合影



▲1931年山东瑞华圣经学院全体师生合影



▲瑞华圣经学院之大门内景



▲瑞华圣经学院前大门



▲胶县瑞华圣经学院第一届毕业生留影

各种社会活动及慈善事业

当瑞典浸信差会到达山东传道时，中国当时积弱不振、十分落后。瑞典差会除致力于传道外，更开展各种有益县民的慈善事业与社会活动，如：开办禁烟所，代政府办理邮政，代省县乡绅办理赈灾；并提倡女权，劝导取消女子缠足与纳妾等。由于当时人民贫困，重男轻女，许多家庭常将女婴任意弃置，教会便开办孤女院，收养被遗弃之女婴。教会各项善行可圈可点，传教事业也因而兴旺，此均为瑞典差会之重要成就。



▲诸城孤女院院童与院长



▲诸城孤女院中之孤女结婚时与院长院童合影

瑞典浸信差会开明的宣教政策

读了《山东瑞华浸信会五十周年史》，不禁令人感慨万千。早在四十年代，瑞典差会即已订出了中国教会要本色化及自立、自养、自治、自传的开明宣教政策，可谓高瞻远瞩，目光如炬。根据历史记载，许多西方差会，直到六、七十年代，对华的宣教政策仍然不明确；并且在六、七十年代中，因东南亚各地华人教会均有所醒觉，地方教会领袖多起而向差会争取权益，西差会与地方教会间因而对立而紧张。

一九四九年大陆易帜后，西差会多半迁往香港与台湾，继续工作。但由大陆时代沿袭下来的政策却不变：即教会以西差会为主，华人教会与领袖，只能听从差会的决定。许多差会的政策，明知其不当或错误，但华人教会只能无条件服从。在香港的教会，更因当地为殖民地，西差会更如太上皇，宣教士的决定等于上帝的旨意，无人可以违悖。

但由《山东瑞华浸信会五十周年史》中，却看到瑞典差会早已订出教会应基督化、本色化的决定。在该书的结论中，有这样的记载：“中国最大的需要是基督。首要的不是文化的基督，美术的基督，或神学的基督，而是福音的基督：即拿撒勒八



▲诸城孤女院院长白教士（称为白娘）

福的、十字架与复活的基督。也就是用中国语言向中国人说话……，使普世的基督加入中国籍，基督教在中国必须先成为中国化的教会，才能实现其生命的能力。中国教会要成为本色的基督教。教会要达到自立、自养、自治与自传，此为现在与将来重要的目标。教会必须以基督化的本色方式在中国传福音，神的国在中国才能得到实现。”

根据这项“四自”政策，在教会开创期，首先由宣教士独自工作，使重生的信徒加入神的教会。第二步骤，是将本地教友造就成为宣教人才，再逐区逐步将宣教工作移交本地同工接管。第三步骤，由华人完全负责办理教会事务，差会仅提供经济与师资；这要应验施洗约翰的话：“他必兴旺（地方教会），我必衰微（差会）”。第四步骤，当地方教会完全达到“四自”后，与差会仍可维持相互联络，彼此代祷之关系。

当时瑞华浸信会在胶东诸县城已完成了第一阶段，正在进行第二阶段的事工中，预计第三时期亦将完成。但在一九四九年后，整个中国大陆因国体变更，一切教会事工均停滞，这第三阶段的事工，便无法完成了。神对中国另有祂自己的计划，非人所可逆料。

而瑞华浸会这套宣教计划，并没有为其他差会采纳。即使教会提出了类似的建议，但执行的宣教士们，并未认真的配合与实行，因此，在一九四九年以后的东南亚及台港地区，由差会支援下的华人教会，都只能颠颠地越起在一条泥泞的道路上。延至八十年代以后，大多数差会由于经费的不足，才由华人教会中不情愿、不甘心地松了手，是令人十分遗憾的事情。

根据当时瑞华浸信会的自传政策，差会在胶州创办了瑞华圣经学院，培养了一批传道人，同时也尽量培植义工人员，协助教会达成自养的目标。但可惜没有机会培养高级的教会领袖。

在当时胶州的浸信会中，王华亭校长是经教会培植，齐鲁大学出身的卓越人才。另外，也培植了几位教会的牧师，如湖南神学院毕业，在王台任职的宫恩荣牧师，以及上海神学院毕业，后到高密教会工作的李克恭牧师等。1947年春宫恩荣牧师在王台殉难；李克恭神学院毕业，即逢全国解放，因而没能做牧师，遂回乡务农，直到上世纪八十年代初。后来教会恢复，地方政府请他出来主持教堂聚会。他从事教会牧养工作多年后才退休，如今已九十八岁高龄。他是信仰坚定的传道人，也是一位很好的书法家。那时教会共培养了六名授按牧师。一九四九年以后，瑞典差会便没有机会再造就其他人才，实在可惜。



▲瑞华浸信会举行帐篷及露天布道会



▲教会同工在乡间布道时途中打尖（午餐）



▲胶州内城墙外之新春布道会



▲日后殉难之宫恩荣牧师结婚照



▲高密女校毕业生



▲胶县妇女圣经班



▲瑞华小学祁中堂校长全家福

写在后面

由启蒙到我读瑞华中学这段时间，都是中国近代史中最动荡悲伤的年代。最初我在胶县南坛鲁班庙小学就读，不久日军便大举侵华，胶县随即沦陷。后来我改读瑞华小学及中学，正值日治敌伪时代，幸而瑞华学校是由瑞典教会创办，故可避免敌伪教育局的管辖。瑞华中学能隐蔽在“瑞华圣经学院”名义下上课（按当时瑞华有一所正式的圣经学院，就在瑞华中学旁边），仍可使用以前的教材，也不需接受日方派遣的日语教员。瑞典在二战中为中立国，日方对瑞华教会学校存有顾忌。仍记得日军在攻入胶县城时，瑞华教会开放大礼拜堂，让许多年轻妇女到教堂避难的情形；教会也在任大牧师屋顶上漆了瑞典国旗，避免日机的轰炸。

记得当时瑞华中学砌死了大门，另在“梢门里”小巷中开一个小门出入。学生规定都要住校，是县城在日据时代，唯一留下的一片净土。我们在神的荫庇下，快乐地度过了几年黄金岁月，成为一生中最美好的记忆。

瑞华中学的师资非常优秀，多出身齐鲁大学，校长王华亭办学严谨，声名卓著，邻县学生争来就读。瑞华中学德智并顾，尤重灵育。我们不但有“圣经课”，每天有朝会（讲道、祈祷、读经、唱诗），每晚有晚祷。王华亭校长还亲自到各寝室中，跪在地上为学生祷告，声泪俱下，严师兼慈父。王校长是卓越的教育家，也是一位传扬福音的使者。他一生清贫，志行高洁，风骨嶙峋，在日寇敌伪铁蹄下，拒不接受日伪教科书，校中旗杆八年未升日伪旗帜，一直到抗战胜利才升上当时的国旗。王校长曾为日军宪兵队禁锢审讯，全体师生在大礼堂跪地痛哭祈祷，终于获释归来。王校长称他在敌伪淫威下办学是“曲线抗战”，所遭受的压力，难以想像。

我一生中读过几个学校都不若少年时代在瑞华留下的记忆深刻，当时瑞华中学的学生并不多，如一个大家庭。瑞华中学所施予的是爱的教育，也是灵的教育，受教的学生都毕生难忘。

如今胶州第一中学继承了瑞华薪火，本校巍立胶东已逾百载，学生中人才辈出，蜚声国内外。瑞华优良的传统与校风，得以继续传承。特将我为王校长写的碑志铭，恭录于后，用志不忘。

華亭校長，教之菁英，
導我瑞華，巍立膠東。
培育英才，男女並重，
鍾靈毓秀，譽滿寰中。
教學嚴謹，惜愛師生，
靈智兼顧，校如家庭。
高舉基督，信仰篤誠，
侍親至孝，兄友弟恭。
一襲黑衫，兩袖清風，
風骨嶙峋，志節堅貞。
瑞華學子，感戴終生，
勒石見證，永耀主名。

纪念王华亭校长碑志铭 胶州瑞华中学历届校友 敬立
二〇〇八年十一月十八日



▲王校长揭牌仪式全体人员合影。从左至右：夏鹏、夏明夫人、邱芷、胡宝山、夏明、刘文正（胶州一中校长）、臧健（副校长）



▲瑞华校友代表夏明（左）、胡宝山（右）摄于王校长碑志铭前。

胶州瑞华中学的故事

任雪竹 撰文

多年前就有人要我写一写有关胶州瑞华中学的故事。这可不像我当初想象的那么简单。首先，记录那段历史的资料太有限了。大多数资料都是瑞典文的，来源不同，线索又很不连贯，又没有太多可供参考的统计资料。从瑞典斯德哥尔摩《浸信会宣教大会年报》上，可找到一些资料，供我日后查考。另外，时间过去太久了，也影响了人们对往事的回忆。因此，对这段历史尚有记忆的人们，如能提供有关这方面的资料，将十分可贵。其中，最值得一提的是，殷颖牧师，他曾写过他在瑞华中学做学生的经历。而我自己的记忆有限，我从未做过瑞华中学的学生，我只是任汝霖的女儿，他也是瑞华中学的一名教员。对此我记忆深刻的一段，是二十世纪四十年代，但瑞华学校的历史远在此之前就开始了。

简介

胶州瑞华中学是由瑞典浸信会传教士建立并发展起来的。浸信会第一个传教士于1891年到达上海。他名叫卡尔·文格润（中文名：文道慎）他最初到过华中或华南探寻可以传教的地点。几个月后他选定了山东省。在山东北部（应为胶东，指烟台一带，时称芝罘，译者注）美国浸信会传教士在那里开展工作已有三十年了。他们欢迎他们的瑞典同工，并建议他们关注山东东南沿海一带，尤其是胶州一带的宣教工作。随后，教会在诸城、王台、高密和日照等地建立，福音传遍周边广大村落。

最初胶州没有外国人，市民对这些陌生人也充满猜疑，不愿意将自己的房子出租或出售给他们。1892年文道慎终于成功地租到三间泥地的小房子，这里早先是个妓院。第二年，他和刚从瑞典过来的同工令约翰就搬了进去。由于健康原因，1893年文道慎不得不返回瑞典。1894年3月，另外三名传教士到来了。任其斐和夫人桂香以及安娜·赫兹小姐，安娜后来成为令约翰夫人。三位男传教士都是毕业于斯德哥尔摩伯特利神学院的牧师。女士们在瑞典都是有教学经验的学校老师。正是她们发出倡议建立教会学校。

瑞典浸信会自1891年至1951年，在华工作六十年，共向山东差派47名传教士。有些人只呆了几年，而另有一些人在中国生活了五十多年。他们的主要任务是传播福音、办教育、发展医疗及社会工作。

本篇文章所涉及的仅限于瑞典差会创办的教育及学校，尤其是胶州的瑞华中学。由于瑞华中学是瑞典差会所办的唯一的一所中学，故面向整个地区招生。而瑞华小学的重要性也同样值得关注。因为在上世纪初的中国，孩子们很少有机会上学，文盲很普遍，尤其是女孩子及乡村的孩子们。

1905年中国政府下令，改革中国旧式教育制度，并致力于在全国范围开办中、小学教育。毋庸置疑，教会学校在这项发展中做出了积极贡献。本篇文章对山东东南沿海地区，教会学校发展历史的阐述，以1929年为限，分1929年前及1929年后两个阶段。1929年中国政府颁布新法令，要求国内所有学校都要注册登记。因而这也理所当然地被看作是一个转折点。

1900至1929期间

初创阶段

浸信会在胶州最初创办的学校是一所小学，设立于1900年春，只招收男生。最初开班只有5个学生，他们都是家中跟教会有关联的中国孩子。那时的中国人都不情愿把自己的孩子送到外国人办的学校里受教育。任太太桂香担任校长，并雇有一名中国教员，王新华，他曾在王台地区教书18年。据说，他是一个老式的、具有中国传统的老师，对学生很严厉。但他服事教会多年，随着时间的推移，他也变得仁慈多了。根据记载，王老师教授语文和算术，桂香师娘教授宗教，斯沃森太太（1899年来胶州）教授音乐和唱歌。

由于“义和拳之乱”（又称“庚子事变”或“庚子拳乱”），传教士被迫于1900年离开胶州，学校也关闭了。但是他们几个月后就从青岛返回，学校第二年又重新开了起来，那时共有了10名学生。1896年，任其斐一家搬到了位于胶州西关的大井街，那也是瑞华小学最初的校址。

第一所女子学校是由令约翰夫人安娜于1903年创办的，当时只有4个小姑娘。1895年令约翰一家在南关的靛轮子桥（又称墨河桥，译者注）建起了胶州第一栋西式住宅，瑞华女校也设在那里。令太太安娜与一名从前在村里学校任教的中国教员范英原一起教学。1904年令约翰夫妇受命去诸城工作后，瑞华男校和女校都迁至西关。由于大多数学生都来自乡下，而那时的女孩子不能随便抛头露面，学校便发展成寄宿学校。随着后来，越来越多的学生入校，许多在胶州城里有家的本地学生就开始住家走读。

1904年，教会购买了与任家相邻的房产，为男校、女校提供了新的教室。1905年分别有12名男生和12名女生入校接受教育。六年后的1910年，男校新建了一座教学楼，那个场地后被瑞华中学所用。与瑞中相邻，1913年，又在那里建起了一座教堂。1921年学校又再次扩建，增加了教室、教师办公室、并建起了几排房子作男生宿舍。1923年女校也建起了一栋新的教学楼。这是一座两层的楼房，二楼是教室，一楼是女生宿舍及餐厅。瑞华中学于1929年男女合校，女生迁至男校后，女校的宿舍仍作为女生宿舍使用，但教室却转给了瑞华小学。

学校领导

如上所述，胶州教会学校的第一任男校校长是任师娘桂香，第一任女校校长是令师娘安娜。至1905年男女两校的校长均由桂香担任。而1910年当男校迁至新校址后，男校校长一职由1907年来华工作的李安德牧师担任。1914年，李安德休假期间，由于一次世界大战的影响，学校被迫关门。但学校于1915年又重新开起来，再次由任老师娘桂香担任校长，直到1917年她的儿子任汝霖从瑞典神学院毕业回来，参加教会工作为止。从此，一直到1929年，校长一职由任汝霖担任，中间仅1924年除外，那一年他在瑞典访问。任汝霖在中国出生、长大，23岁就担此重任。他的一些学生甚至比他还年长。

学校创办不久，教会就设立校董：六个中国人，一个瑞典代表，致力于发展教育，不仅在胶州，而且在周边乡村建立学校。从1915年开始，每年举行两次正式考试，委派督查以保证教学质量。

教育的发展

很快教会学校就普及开来，并吸引了越来越多城里及周边乡村的学生。当第一批学生从小学毕业，显然更高一级的教育需求迫在眉睫。一些有天分的学生被纳入四年制“中学教育”。这就是后来被称为“瑞华中学”的雏形。最初，小学被分为两部分，四年的基础课程，三年的提高学习。中学开始是

四年制。后来小学改为六年，中学改为三年，与当代中国的教育体制一致。

1913年第一批学生中学毕业（男、女两个中学）。男生为：王文波、冯继业、范顺忠；女生为：范香兰、范香梅、周翠婉、何秀花和季文琳。他们中有几位加入了教会，担任教师、传道人或妇女读经班的工作。毕业典礼是一项盛大的活动，政府官员及社会政要都应邀参加。

有关学生人数方面的统计资料有限。显然，胶州、诸城、高密及王台都设有小学校，而这一地区周边大量的村镇，也同样设立了小学教育。可参考的统计资料显示，1922年有66所四年制小学，共有1109名男生，7所女校，共有80名女生。还有两所学制为5-6年制的男校小学，共有男生34名；两所女校共有女生23名。中学在校生男生30名，女生19名。在这一时期，周边地区只有胶州设有5-6年制小学并能提供中学教育。

在最初的二十年间（1909-1929）瑞华中学共有357名男生入学，而至1929年其中只有85名学生毕业；至1931年共有350名女生入学，而至1929年毕业的女生共有35名，其中有些人稍后两年也陆续毕业。但也有不少人中途退学，这基本上都发生在女生当中。那时妇女结婚早，家里把女孩从学校领回去结婚是很常见的事。

为数不多的瑞华毕业生继续去外地求学。后来，有许多毕业生去青岛的中学读高中。但最初的毕业生要到黄县、济南及其它城市读师范、上神学班或进入其它学校继续学业。也有少数毕业生去了济南齐鲁大学或其它院校深造。

三名年轻的瑞华毕业生：王华亭、冯缵庭和高胜寒于二十世纪二十年代在黄县继续求学。在他们假期回家的路上遇到劫匪，把他们身上所有的东西都抢光了。他们往胶州发了封电报，上书：“遭劫，王，冯，高”。救款从胶州寄出，他们才得以继续赶路回家。王华亭后来成为瑞华中学的校长，冯缵庭在瑞中教书多年，高胜寒做了牧师并成为高密教会的领袖。多年后我听王校长给我讲述了这段小插曲。

1929-1949期间

1929后的变化

重大改革出自政府1929年施行的新政策。政府颁布了一条法令，所有的私立学校须到政府机关注册，并接受中国人领导，另外，宗教教育应自愿，每周一要举行仪式，纪念中华民国第一任总统孙中山，要求师生在孙中山遗像前立正默哀并鞠躬。

有几家教会学校因此就关闭了，尤其是乡村学校。瑞典差会董事局决定从学校撤资，认为政府将会接手所有的教育职责。教会小学关闭了。但是在胶州，瑞华中学决定应象以往一样继续办学。事后看来，这真是一项明智的决定。因为何思源，山东省政府负责教育的这位官员，尚未给任何一家教会学校办理过注册，瑞华中学提出的申请，也被忽略。

这一法令颁布的第一年，由于差会经济支援的短绌，办学出现困难。即使这样，一些乡村学校在中国教员及信徒的支持

下仍继续办学。一年后，差会决定仍担负起它的责任，无论是小学还是中学的工作又得以进行下去。但是实行了一些重大变革。

中国人领导

1929年吴先生被任命胶州瑞华中学的校长。他是中国人，来自长老会。我写这篇文章时，却很难找到有关他这方面的资料。但是他的任命却能反映出，当时在山东工作的不同教会之间合作共赢的局面。他在此位只做了一年。1930年王华亭（又名王逢荣）被选为校长，他之前一直在瑞华中学和山西的学校任教，直到1934他才受任瑞中校长。从那以后，他一直担当此任至1951年。他是瑞华中学早期毕业生，后去黄县读师范学校，并在济南的齐鲁大学获得化学学士学位。他是一位非常称职的领导，深受学校老师和学生的爱戴。学校的工作由差会任命的中国董事会领导，而传教士在董事会中只是作为差会代表，提供指导。

另一项重大变革是1929年实行了男女合校，男女学生同在前属于男校的教室里面上课。女生仍在原先女校的宿舍就寝。前面提到的女校教室也让给了瑞华小学，而小学也实行了男女合校。1929年后的第一任小学校长是来自诸城的郭金石先生。从二十世纪三十年代起，祁中堂先生就任小学校长，直到学校关闭。

义工活动

资料中没有显示，1929年后宗教教育是否成为学生的自愿选择。只是据记载，有三位教员担任这一科的老师：任汝霖、任老师娘桂香和道瑞斯三人。但期间举办了很多自愿参加的活动。读经班设在每周五的晚上，教堂每天还有早祷和晚祷，学生们都可自愿参加。每年教会都会举办一系列的活动，邀请来自中国其它地方的著名传道人前来布道，如王明道、谢保罗、李继胜，挪威传教士马利亚·蒙森及其他传道人。

除正常功课外，瑞中还额外安排了一些课程。有体育锻炼、足球及各种比赛。一些学生组织了声乐队。许多学生都喜欢在教堂唱诗班唱歌。另外还有学生会在庆典时参加舞台剧表演。各个青年团契都有一面丝织的锦旗，业余时间常常搞聚会。二十世纪三十年代，童子军盛行，常搞一些户外的远足活动。这一时期，学生们着统一的校服，有一些还着童子军服装。女生着蓝褂、黑裙。

团结中国人民

纪念孙中山的活动从未成为一个重大问题，但必然也会产生一些相互间的误解。差会中有些人害怕这会成为另一种形式的膜拜，而另一些人认为这只是中国人民展示凝聚力并对中华民国表示敬意的一种方式。差会方面担心，这种方式会扰乱作为差会最基本要务的福音工作；当局似乎也心存疑虑，害怕教

会可能阻碍学生们的爱国主义教育及他们对国家的热爱。

现在回顾起来，双方在这方面可能均有失偏颇。孙中山先生是中华民国的象征。这一时期，在学校里，即使西方人也常常会通过这种特殊的纪念方式，来表示对中华民国的拥护。这并不被看作是“膜拜”。相反，瑞华的老师和学生十分重视他们的中华传统，以及他们肩负的国家发展的重大责任。这一点，在瑞中的校歌中尤能得以体现。校歌强调要为国家做出牺牲与贡献，国家的需要高于学生个人的需要和意愿。

动乱时期及发展

教会学校在1900—1949年这一时期无疑是受到中国大局的影响。前面提到因1900年的“义和拳之乱”及一战开始时期，学校都被迫停办。胶州1914年被日本人占领。他们曾指责教会在战争中偏袒德国，然而事实并非如此。1928—1930年是动荡不安的几年。胶州处于前线，屡遭空袭，而诸城地区尤为剧烈。

1937—1945年的中日战争（抗日战争，译注）成为二战的一部分。1938年2月15日，日军侵入胶州。对此我曾亲身经历过。我们全家去看望任其斐牧师（我祖父），我们开门回家时，发现大井街到处都是日军士兵、马匹及军事装备。自从中国政府撤离胶州，也就没有中国军队与日军抵抗。家家都在门上挂起白旗，宣布投降。妇女和儿童都逃到教会学校避难，学校里住满了难民。避难的日子里，胶州的富户拿出粮食来周济难民。当日军大部队转移到北城门外时，人们才又回复了正常生活。

在这段时间，所有的学校都关闭了，但夏季过后又恢复开学。

日本共占领了（胶州）七年半。这段时期学校工作未受干扰。实际上，这还是学校的发展期。因为很多中国人都情愿把孩子送到教会学校，而不愿去日本人控制下的学校。日本人要求所有的学校须开设日语课，且广为推行。起初，日本官员任日语老师。此外，学校战前开设的课程仍可照常进行。而瑞华学校所使用的课本，从没有更换成日本人推荐的课本。

这一时期，瑞华的学校能够得以相对平静地发展，无疑是由于瑞典政府在二战期间所采取的中立立场，不介入战争中结盟的任何一方。美国及英国公民的遭遇可就大不相同了。日军偷袭珍珠港后，将他们投入在潍县的（现称潍坊）集中营。英美支持的教会困难重重，许多都被迫中断。

战争爆发后，瑞典在上海的总领事派发告示，招贴于教会建筑物，告示上声明此为“瑞典资产”。日伪当局对此有所顾忌，但也时常来学校查访。王华亭和任汝霖（我的父亲）常被地方治安官给叫去问讯。我仍记得当他们被叫去，宵禁时分尚未回来时，我们是如何担忧。他们还要步行回家，道路很黑，街上空无一人。

而乡下的情况比城里更糟。虽说日本人从未对周边农村形成真正的控制，但村子还是时常会受到日军的袭击。问题是城里和乡村流通着不同的货币，所以教会发放给学校老师和工人的薪水就要根据当地流通货币的不同而变化。

教会学校后又设立一所圣经学校，瑞华圣经学院。多年来，任老师娘桂香在胶州设立妇女查经班，实行两年制课程。

在高密，林达牧师从1920年开始，每年为传道人安排两个月的福音课程。这两所学校后来都被并入胶州的圣经学院，并在瑞华中学旁边又建起了新的教学楼。1939年第一届两年制男女同校的学生从这里毕业。学校遂改为三年制，1940年新教学楼完工。校园入口是一个老式的中式大门，这个大门经过修葺而保存下来。瑞华圣经学院与瑞华中学比邻而立，关系密切，许多教师同时在这两个学校任教。有几位圣经学院的学生也毕业于瑞华中学。1940年共有52名学生在圣经学院学习。

1941年瑞华教会庆祝它50周年诞辰。在这个时期，教会已设立了42所学校，拥有教师60名，1542名学生。这些学校遍布胶州、诸城、王台、龙家村、高密及高密周边乡镇、泊里、日照、沟头、鲍国山、王戈庄、河宽及宋家村。上述统计中也含括瑞华中学。而这一年瑞华中学的在校生约有50人。

最后的动荡时期是1945年日本投降后的内战阶段。日军尚未撤退，八路军便在宣布和平后一周内进驻胶州。第一次，他们只占领了一个星期，到1947年共产党开始长期统治之前，其间共有六次进进出出。在这期间，学校照常开办。1946年那一届（卅二届），实际上是瑞华中学人数最多的一届毕业班。那年有38名毕业生，其中有一半是女生。从他们的毕业照上可以看到有十名教员。

1947年春胶州解放，瑞华中学的大部分教师和学生都去了青岛。这时，瑞华卅三届学生还有两个月就要毕业。高维仪向王华亭校长提议：在青岛办个毕业班，让即将毕业的瑞华学生能够拿到文凭，便于他们日后继续求学。于是决定，由任

大牧师出面与德国“同善会”协商，借用青岛武定路27号“同善会”礼拜堂底楼为教室，让学生们能够在这里继续学业。当时招收了三十多名瑞华中学三年级的学生，分别由瑞中毕业的高维仪老师教英语，当时在山大工学院读书的瑞华校友田震教数学，语文老师是原瑞中的语文老师石晓峰。大家都是义务教学，没有工薪，但可领到联合国救济总署的救援物资：每月50公斤美国面粉和一大桶奶粉，此外还有军用毛毯、面服、鞋子等。这些均可拿到市场变卖，以维持生活。后来，瑞中二年级的学生也有加入进来，于是，又请山大水产系学生韩苾来教数学。全体师生共计61人，都可领到救济物资。学校维持到1947年7月，送走了最后一届毕业生，就停办了。

此后，校长王华亭（1948年至1949年去瑞典访问一年）及另外两名教师冯缵庭和孙汉卿仍留在胶州，直到1951年瑞华中学被纳入了公立教育体系。只有少数几位瑞华教员继续留在新的学校里任教，教会学校的历史结束了。

一些思考

1939年胶州地区的学校是由一个中国人和日本人组成的专家委员会来进行评估。在他们的评估中有四个问题：

1. 哪所学校最好招生？
2. 哪所学校设置有最好的课程，拥有最好的教员，并有最好的教育水准？
3. 哪所学校有最好的纪律和秩序？

4. 哪所学校有最博学多才的学生?

评估结果四项标准瑞华中学名列第一。涉关这些问题的几个方面将在下面进行讨论。

招生

教会学校初期的招生很困难。市民不愿将孩子送到外国人办的教会学校里读书。同时传教士们也感到，把学校的首要任务放在训练和培养青年人做教会同工，是多么至关重要。因此教会工作人员的子女格外受优待。差会的最终目标是建立中国人领导的中国教会。在那个社会，只有少数人能够上学，提供教育是很有必要的。从基督徒家庭招生为未来教会培养领导人是很具策略的举措。

随着时间推移，普通公立教育机构对教会学校的威胁越来越少。事实上，这两种教育模式只是两者必选其一。教会学校变得很受欢迎，学生成绩好，社会上对学校的信任也与日俱增。村镇上的许多家庭都希望送孩子到教会小学受教育。教会中学在胶州仅此一家，招收山东东南沿海一带有天赋的学生入学。因此它也是学生们继续升学的铺路石，且最终为他们日后贡献于中国社会做了必要的准备。

最初教会学校是受瑞典教会扶持。而其目标是自立自养。在战争和动乱年代，来自瑞典的经费很难及时送达，因而需要其它方面的经济援助。这样学校就不得不向学生收取一些学费及住宿费。不论家庭是否有基督教背景，都同样收费。这对一

些贫困家庭送孩子读书，造成一定的困难。同时这又为胶州的富裕家庭送孩子来学校读书提供了机会，也在胶州的市民中提高了学校的声誉。

良好的教育

良好的教育有赖于好的领导及教师的素质。在这方面瑞华中学是幸运的。教师队伍精良，一些教员是从瑞华毕业，又进入其它院校深造的毕业生。教师们忠于职守，纵使时局动荡，工资很低，他们仍坚守岗位。

这里有必要讲述一下各位老师，以及他们多年来对历届学生所做出的奉献。但我手头可供借鉴的资料很少，而我个人的了解有限。殷颖牧师曾著文描述过上世纪四十年代，他在瑞华做学生时，一些老师们的状况。如果还有诸如此类的故事，能够在被遗忘之前记录下来，将会是件很有意义的事情。

1983年我有机会见到了王华亭校长，也很高兴能够在此与各位分享一下。王华亭1901年7月20日生于山东胶州，距王台不远的一个小山脚下的村庄埠上，1988年在青岛去世。王校长在王台读完小学，1912年与王台中村的同乡冯缙庭一起来胶州瑞华中学读书，冯缙庭比他年长14岁。那是一个变革的年代，年轻的王华亭仍留着辫子，而冯缙庭已剪去了辫子，只在帽子上接了一个假发辫。当剪发变为强制性法令的时候，冯缙庭替王华亭剪去了辫子。

王华亭三年后从瑞华中学毕业。同年他在王台受洗，并

与同学冯缵庭、韩凤鸣和辛宝永一起去黄县继续求学。他的三位伙伴选择学习神学，而王华亭选择学理科。两年后他应邀回瑞华中学教书。但他仍要继续求学。李奎斯特牧师，当时在王台负责教会工作，为他联系并推荐齐鲁大学，当年王华亭得以免试入学。但却要通过黄县中学的老师赫威尔先生对他进行的口试，这场考试持续进行到深夜。赫威尔也给了这位未来教员王华亭一条建议：“你将来会遇到好学生，也会遇到不好的学生，会遇到你喜欢的学生，也会遇到你不喜欢的学生，记住：一定要一视同仁地对待他们！”王校长告诉我，这一直是他的座右铭，还有一条是，决不收受来自学生或家长的任何贿赂。他是一个具有高风亮节的人。

1925年齐鲁大学毕业后，王华亭回到瑞华中学教书，1930年当选为校长。但他首先需要积累更多的工作经验，因而他去了山西凤阳美国人办的教会学校任教一年。这的确是一段很好的经历，但不幸的是，这一年王华亭夫妇失去了他们的小女儿。

王华亭于1934年担任校长。他很有幽默感，而又心智活泼，关心年轻人的成长。他也是一个严厉的校长，学校秩序井然。但他受到老师和同学的敬重。一次我遇到一位男士，他告诉我，他曾因不良行为被学校开除，但他仍对我说：“王校长对待我就象父亲一样。”

王校长生活简朴，穿着传统的中式服装。他仍记得当年被日本人叫去审问的事。那时他们关心的是学校为什么推行基督教教育？难道他就不怕这样会使学生们脱离儒家文化，而变得

不那么爱国？王校长告诉他们，可以去问一下学生们关于这方面的感受。

王校长是瑞华中学，也是中国的杰出代表。他还是一位优秀的演讲家，他常在教堂和集会时演讲、布道。他是一位全身奉献的基督徒，并相信祈祷的力量。当1948年瑞典浸信会成立100周年纪念时，他作为来自中国的贵宾，受邀前往参加。他在瑞典呆了有一年，到各处游历、演讲并向教会提供有关中国方面的信息。他所到之处，都给人们留下了深刻的印象，多年后人们还时常打听他的情况。1949年，他赶上了最后一班飞往上海的飞机，得以在新中国宣布成立之前，回到胶州与他的家人团聚。

政府于1951年接管瑞华中学，王校长失去了校长的位置。他在胶州又呆了几年后，于1957年调至青岛商检局工作，从事进出口商品的化验与分析。他还曾回老家照顾母亲多年。当我再见到他时，他已退休，在青岛安享晚年，家人和从前的学生常去陪伴他。

学生们感念他一生的无私奉献，在儿女为他立的墓碑背面，新篆了一段碑文。（诗文附后）

纪律与秩序

瑞华中学的纪律与秩序，超乎寻常，井然有序。学校禁止吸烟，也不允许学生阅读不良文学作品。学生们穿着整齐，后来几年都着校服。宿舍管理有序，学习与娱乐并重。无疑，瑞

华从前的老师与学生对此都会有更多这方面的信息可以提供。

虽然学校实行了男女合校，但男女生之间很少交流。瑞华的一位老校友多年后曾告诉我，他在学校遇到了他未来的妻子。但他们唯一可以呆在一起的时间就是放学回家的路上，他骑自行车而她步行。他说：“我总会发现我的自行车有些不对劲，于是我们就一起步行。”

有时候我也去听父亲讲的英文课，上课前总会有些小仪式。当他步入教室时，大家全体起立，他向大家问好：“早上好，孩子们！”，学生们回答：“早上好，先生！”，然后坐下，开始上课。我仍记得家里的书桌上堆满了学生的作业本，学生们每周都要交一篇写有英文句子的美术字——父亲以此来训练他们的英文书法。作业是十分制，而他们的成绩真的是令人惊喜。一个老校友告诉我，他们都能写一手好书法，甚至比他们后来学英文的孩子们写得还要好。

好学生

第四个问题是哪所学校有最博学多才的学生。瑞华中学的学生有很高的潜质、天赋、主动性强且学习刻苦。他们的成绩既有自身的潜质，更有老师们的努力。学生们日后的成就及对社会的贡献便是最好的例证。

另外，追踪瑞华中学的学生毕业以后的发展，是件很有意义的事情。当然经过了这么多年，这也成为一项艰巨的课题。我们曾做了很多努力去收集老校友的信息。二十世纪八十年

代，济南的李秉诚将他能够联络到的瑞华校友，制作了一个名录，还告诉我，瑞华的校友经常在济南、青岛甚至台北聚会。我几年前还在青岛遇上了一场这样的聚会。他们保持彼此联络，仿佛又回到了过去那个“家庭般”的校园生活。

当胶州一中从原教会旧址迁至漂亮的新校区时，瑞华的老校友应邀去参加庆典。这次只有以高维仪老师为首的少数校友前往参加。

瑞华的老校友活跃在各个领域。可能他们当中选择最多的职业，是从事教育或医学方面的工作。但也有一些校友从事企业管理、新闻或政府工作。这个名录尚需要更多的信息来补充和完善。

从教会的角度，不仅是希望看到这些年究竟有多少人加入了教会，而且也希望看到瑞华对他们今后人生的影响。殷颖牧师是唯一一个将他在瑞华求学的这段经历写出来的校友。他本人的经历就是一段很好的见证。他神学院毕业后做了牧师，曾任台、港两地道声出版社社长等职。晚年他仍在美国加州的家中从事写作。

瑞华中学早期最杰出的一位校友是杨懋春博士，他是与费孝通齐名的社会学家。杨懋春生长在胶州湾西南部的台头村（今属青岛市黄岛区辛安街道办事处，译者注），先后在齐鲁大学、燕京大学学习社会学，后赴美国康奈尔大学深造，获博士学位。后入哥伦比亚大学，师从著名人类学家热伏·林顿做研究，1945年出版《一个中国乡村：山东台头》。该书被译成多国文字，成为攻读文化人类学的学生必读参考书之一。书中

他详细地描述了他家乡农村的生活，有关建筑、文化习俗、家庭内部的人际关系、家庭与家庭之间以及村子内部，及村与村之间的社会关系。他的论文是二十世纪四十年代，有关中国农村生活的历史记录。在美国教书多年后，杨懋春决定回台北，接受台大社会学系教授一职。上世纪七十年代，他来瑞典乌卜萨拉大学参加国际人类学学术大会，在他做讲座时我们一家人有机会见过他。

无疑还有许多有意义的故事要讲述，瑞华的学生们日后是如何奋斗，各自在不同的环境下，为他们的国家和人民做出了杰出贡献。一些人取得了显赫的地位，而更多的人只是默默地工作着。六十年过去了，学生们也渐入老境，收集信息的工作刻不容缓！

教会政策

差会在中国的工作，开始于一个年轻人很少有机会接受学校教育，且文盲数量庞大的年代。瑞典传教士对于建立教会学校存在不同的意见，尤其是对于小学以上的学校教育。一些传教士认为他们来中国的主要目的，就是传福音并建立强大的基督教会。另一派意见是，中国教会需要受过良好教育的人来领导，主张为学生提供受教育的机会，而不管将来他们会从事什么工作。这两种意见在许多教会会议上反复辩论。

那时的教会学校得益于良好的声誉和对教育的大量需求。事后看来，当初创办瑞华中学是一项明智的选择。它为年轻人

提供受教育的机会，使他们能够更有准备地去面对那样一个变革的时代。正如早期传教士所期待的那样，瑞华中学的毕业生所做出的贡献不只局限于教会的发展，而且他们对所处的社会、国家乃至世界都做出了贡献。

回顾往事，我们应心存谦卑。瑞典教会尚属一个相对弱小的教会。而它的活动范围只是在广袤中国大地上一个很小的范围。教会工作集中在山东的一些小城市和乡村。由于资源有限，大多数时候，工作是靠中国同工的奉献。同时我们也有理由骄傲：瑞华中学的确是完成了它的使命，使年轻人在学识与灵性方面得到成长，在这里，知识与价值并重。

在此，我要对胶州瑞华中学的老师、领导和学生们表示敬意！谨以此文献给瑞华的校友，希望他们也能将自己的故事及有关瑞华时代的回忆记录一并补充进来。

参阅文献

所参阅的大部分文献为瑞典文，这使它们很难让其它国家的研究人员检索。最全面的一本书是由但尼尔和墓顿合著，其中收有传教士的报告及发表在教会期刊上的文章。

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(本篇中文翻译: 邱芷)

英文摘译

本书中有关瑞华中学校史部分,
分别由张陵兮及邱芷译为英文,
并经Ms Margareta Jonell校订,
可作英文教材, 特此致谢。

9

The time in Ruihua Middle School 在瑞华中学的岁月

When I was in Middle School, we all had to live and study at the school dormitory. We could go home to visit our families only on weekends. In the dormitory there were four students to a room. Two shared one bed and the four of us shared one square table. In the evening each of us brought our little vegetable oil lamp and placed them on the table, so that we could see to study. In those days the petroleum oil was controlled by the Japanese. It was a precious item for the war and there was no way that civilians could use it. So we used vegetable oil instead. During the evening study time we had to study in our rooms and later when the bell rang we all went to the chapel for evening prayers. The chapel was dark, so every student

brought their own little peanut oil lamp. We all knelt down to pray. After the prayer one person led us in singing: “Humbly before Jesus, humbly before Jesus, let us be humble all the way.” After prayer we went to our dormitory to go to bed. This evening prayer really had an impact on my life. I cannot forget it. Even now I still can see the scene vividly: everyone holding a little lamp, like a flock of fire beetle or as a group of little angels gathered together. There is no way that I can forget these beautiful and holy moments of my early youth.

Ruihua Middle School had a staff of teachers who mostly came from the Christian University of Cheeloo (a very famous university in Shandong). So our academic standing was always above that of other schools in the area. One of my teachers, Mr. Feng Guo Zheng, who taught history and geography, was more talented than the average teacher. I remembered that whenever he came to our class, he always brought a stick under his arm that was a foot long. He used this to point at the black board when teaching. He also brought a few pieces of chalk in his hand. Mr. Feng’s familiarity with history and his skilful teaching led us into the history of ancient to current events. I admired him for his excellent memory of historical facts in detail. We were all captivated by his teaching. One thing that struck me was how he ever could memorize all those historical dates and events so correctly! What a teacher he was! He did not only teach history, but also geography classes. He taught well beyond the printed materials in the book. He also drew maps on the black board. So I

could remember keenly what he taught us in class. If I only could grasp 20% or 30% of his lecture, I would gain more knowledge than by studying the whole book on my own! Mr. Feng was not only a talented teacher, but a good writer. He wrote scripts for drama. Once for a Christmas show he wrote a skit called “Introduction”. I was one of the actors. Mr. Feng was very tall, so we called him “Tall Guy”. He was about 180 cm (six foot and 8 inches tall). Unfortunately he suffered from tuberculosis, his body was weak and he died at the age of a little over thirty. It was such a waste of talents.

Later on I learned that our teachers’ salaries were very low. So Mr. Feng must have suffered from a lack of nutrition, which may have contributed to his early death. In those days the Japanese controlled the three Northern Provinces of China. The schools had a shortage of funds. The Ruihua School was a Church School, and offered free education to the community. Even later, when a symbolic student fee was introduced, there was never enough to cover the expenses! Particularly during the Second World War when communication between Europe and Asia was cut off, there was no way for the Swedish Mission to transfer money to support the mission in China. Even the missionaries had to rely on selling off some of their belongings to cover their daily needs. This was true also of Rev. Egron Rinell. In a situation like this of course the salary for the teachers was lower than we can imagine!

As students we were better off than our teachers, because our

families brought food to us. The teachers had two meals a day with Bingzi (steamed bread made of a kind of grain and beans) and some preserved vegetables. We had heard that if the teachers wanted wheat bread, they had to purchase a few pounds of wheat grain and grind the flour by hand on mill stone. This illustrates just a little bit of the hardships of those days! I admired our teachers, who regardless of suffering starvation, faithfully taught us and didn't quit their jobs! Our principal, Mr Wang, and his family most likely didn't have enough food for regular meals every day. Their family ate uncooked yams for a living. When his family complained, Mr. Wang got down on his knees and prayed. Students heard about this and, knowing that Mr. Wang would refuse to accept any charity from others, the students made packages of steamed bread and threw it in Mr. Wang's yard. Those packages helped the family to survive. Once Mr. Wang witnessed and said that one day after his prayer, there came food from heaven. That day the whole family had survived from such a package!

Mr. Wang and the other teachers were models of teaching faith in action. Every time I think about them I cry! This kind of education into faith by action was not taught in the text books, but by their faith in their daily living. No wonder the students from the school never will forget what they learned. With grateful hearts they learned a life-long lesson how to trust in God. What a model beyond the history of education in our country – China.

Our spiritual well being was central for the education at the Ruihua School. We had Bible-studies within our curriculum. In music class, taught by Mr Wang himself, we also sang hymns. Every day we had morning prayers and worship. At evening time we had evening prayers. Sunday worship and Sunday School was obligatory for everyone. The most important event in each semester was the one week Revival Meetings (Fenxing Hui). All classes were discontinued so that we could go to meetings all day long. The whole school was totally involved in Revival Week! Almost all the famous preachers of that era came to our school to lead the Revival Meetings, such as John Song, Wang Mingdao, Li Jisheng, Xie Baoluo, Dong Ji Ting, etc. I especially remember a blind man, Mr. Tian. His sermons touched many of us. During the week of Revival Meetings our principal Mr. Wang visited us frequently at the student dorm. He knelt down to pray with students, to encourage them to confess their sins and accept Jesus Christ as their Lord and Saviour. At the evening meetings a lot of people were moved by the Spirit and cried, confessing their sins. The whole school was filled with the movement of the Holy Spirit - everyone was touched by the Spirit. I remember our Chinese teacher Mr. Zhang Yu Ting who, in the midst of the Revival Meeting, cried so that mucus from his nose dripped down to his chest, almost one foot long. I can hardly forget that picture of him.

In later years, when I visited the Swedish missionary Rev. Egron Rinell, he added some interesting memories from these revival

meetings. He said that one of the speakers had visited him in his home and while they were talking, the coffee table crushed into pieces. That table had been firm and strong enough for many years and why this happened no one could ever explain! Another time when the preacher was preaching a fly suddenly flew into his throat so that he had to end his sermon... Pastor Egron Rinell said to me that when the Holy Spirit is working with people the devil is working too. These two events really impressed Pastor Rinell. (translated by Mary Zhang)

10

A Black Gown and a Chain of Keys

一袭黑衫，一串钥匙

There are many heart-warming stories of Wang Hua Ting, principal of Ruihua Middle School. He often went bareheaded. His high cheek bones and bright shining eyes seemed to see clearly into your heart. He would wear black gowns all year around, which were faded from washing and full of holes. He always carried a full set of keys on a chain which clattered as he walked. This was Wang Hua Ting, principal of Rui Hua Middle School in Jiaozhou. When I returned to my home town last autumn I could not help but hurry to visit my old principal; we had not seen each other for forty years. I found that the former distinguished man had been suffering in bed for years. He had become skinny with no sign of his former stately

bearing.

He suffered from prostate disease. He went to see a doctor, but the doctor considered him too old to have surgery. He was discharged from the hospital with a catheter inserted in his bladder. When I went to see him he was at home. Principal Wang constantly complained that the hospital had refused to perform an operation. He had suffered like this for a long time; the catheter would come out with the urine flowing everywhere. The last days he had stayed in bed covered with his urine. His later years were disastrous.

Principal Wang was honest and frank; he dedicated his whole life to education. He believed in justice and truth and was perfectly impartial. He never gave in to the pressures from the environment. He was truly a good man, neither riches nor honors could corrupt him; neither poverty nor humbleness could make him sway from principle; and neither threats nor forces could subdue him. In the past decades, especially during the Cultural Revolution, we were worried about him. But he got through the hard times, saying “This is a special blessing of God”.

Principal Wang had a son and two daughters, but in his later years he lived alone in an old room at Jinkou Road in Qingdao. This little room served as his bedroom, living room, and kitchen. One of his daughters lived nearby, but she was busy and did not have much time to care for him. In the evenings she came to cook his supper. His other two children lived in other cities. Sometimes his students went

to see him. The lonely old man said: “I am with God. I do not feel lonely.” At last, a cold winter day last year (December 29, 1989) he huddled up alone in his room. He died at the age of 88. It was with great sorrow that I received the news. I could not help thinking about the old school in my home town, as well as the time I spent with Principal Wang.

Ruihua Middle School was a well known middle school in my home town Jiaoxian (Jiaozhou). It was famous for its strict teaching and pure spirit. Since it was a school founded by a Swedish Mission, most of the parents sent their children to study at Ruihua, but they probably warned their children not to believe in religion. By the time I started Ruihua Middle School Japanese troops had invaded my home town. Ruihua Middle School was founded by the Swedish Baptist Mission and since Sweden was a neutral country in World War II, the school could survive in spite of the cruel oppression of the Japanese. In order to avoid the Puppet regime’s interference with education, the school changed its name to Ruihua Bible School. The main entrance to the school was closed and a side door opened toward a quiet alley. The students had to live on campus behind locked doors. They never took part in any activities of the Puppet Government. The boys and girls used to wear long robes. If you saw children with long robes walking the streets with a pen on the chest and books under their arms, they had to be students of the Ruihua School. So Ruihua Middle School was able to continue during the

war under the cover of Ruihua Bible School. Thus a small area was kept “pure” in Jiaozhou.

Principal Wang was a loyal patriot. He said that this way of running the school was a disguised anti-Japanese revolt. Each year on the Double 10th day, the Chinese National Day, he called teachers and students to gather at the auditorium and led them as they knelt down in prayer for the country. Principal Wang always prayed loudly to God, asking him to save his fellow citizens from suffering. He led the students as they sang: “Dignified country towering in East Asia, dignified country towering in East Asia, five thousand years’ history, full of brightness and glory, pray the Lord to bless my country, pray the Lord to bless my country...” These were the events on the campus under the double domination of the Japanese and the Puppet regime.

The Japanese military had long been aware of the Ruihua Bible School. They finally called Principal Wang to the police office and interrogated him for a whole day and night. All the teachers and students prayed for Principal Wang, led by Teacher Feng Zuan Ting. Many of the teachers and students broke into tears while they prayed. The next morning Principal Wang was released. As soon as they saw him they broke out in thunderous applause. They thanked God together.

Principle Wang graduated from Cheeloo University and most of the talented teachers at Ruihua Middle School were from Cheeloo, introduced by Principal Wang: Teacher Sui Han Qing

taught Mathematics, Teacher Feng Guo Zheng taught History and Geography, Principal Wang taught Physics and Chemistry. They were the elite of the team. Although I left Ruihua Middle School and my home town, then went abroad to study at several academies, I could never forget my Alma Mater, the Rui Hua Middle School. Ruihua was not only a school, it was actually a family. We were not only taught knowledge, but under the influence of our teachers we also grew spiritually and personally. When I think back on the peaceful time of my campus life, it stands out as an unforgettable experience. The times were dominated by the Japanese. There were four students to a room in the dorm. The Japanese controlled all goods and the citizens were not permitted to use petroleum oil lamps. We could only use vegetable oil to fuel our lamps. We each took one side of the square table in our room and each lit a small peanut oil lamp when we studied. After having completed our evening self-studies, all of the students went to the chapel for evening prayers. Each carried his own peanut oil lamp, just like a flock of fire flies. We walked into the dark chapel and all knelt down praying simultaneously. After prayer we sang the hymn “Humbly before Jesus, humbly before Jesus, let us be humble all the way”. After that we went to bed. Every morning we had to get up to do morning exercises on the playground. Led by Principal Wang we practiced running, and never stopped even if we sweated profusely. We got up early to run every morning regardless if it was cold winter or hot summer. Bare headed and wearing the

dark gown, Principle Wang would lead the students in a procession, always with his head held high.

The famous big chapel was just beside Ruihua Middle School. It was majestic. It was the tallest building in the county of Jiaozhou. It was definitely a landmark of Jiaozhou. Every Sunday the bell rang, reaching every corner of the county. Ruihua Middle School was a mission school and all the students had to attend Sunday worship. Principal Wang also preached the sermon in church. There was a Spiritual Revival Meeting in our school every semester. Principal Wang would try his best to persuade the students to believe in Jesus; he cried and prayed for them. Principal Wang was a man of principle. If the students disobeyed the school regulations, punishment was implemented without hesitation. No matter where he went he always carried a large chain of keys in his hand. When the students heard the clattering sound of the keys, they hurried away one after the other. But he was very concerned about the students' life; like a loving father he cared for them in every possible way.

Ruihua Middle School was a mission school and supported by the Swedish Mission. Therefore the students were not charged tuition fees. The faculty had extremely low salaries. But the teachers accepted to live in poverty since they were dedicated to the cause. During World War II communication between Asia and Europe was interrupted and the funds from the Swedish Mission could not get through. Then the school couldn't afford even the most meager

payment to the teachers. The life of the teachers was extremely difficult. But the Ruihua teachers tightened their belts and stuck to their posts. They preferred to teach at Ruihua rather than work for the Puppet regime.

I still remember clearly that the food situation for the teachers at that time was even worse than for the students. The students could bring food from home. From time to time the families would send some extra food. The teachers had only two meals a day: lunch and supper. The staple food was corn pancake and millet porridge boiled with sweet potato, served with pickles. White steamed bread and meat could never be found on the table of the teachers. Principal Wang's family had run out of food and fuel for several days and only raw sweet potatoes could be served. Their eldest daughter Ya Nan was only two years old. Mrs. Wang held her daughter closely crying. Principal Wang knelt down to pray and believed that God would provide. Heaven never closes all the doors. After his prayer they heard knocking on the door and a school mate sent two dou of grain and a liter of millet. So the family could get through the difficulties. Once a student threw a parcel of bread into Principal Wang's courtyard and again they were released from distress. Principle Wang made a testimony about this later and all who heard it burst into tears.

I remember that the school's flagpole stood empty during this time. In fact, this was the only flagpole in the county of Jiaozhou that never raised the flag of the Puppet regime. After the victory of the

Anti-Japanese War, this was the first flagpole to raise the flag of the Chinese state.

Before I returned home to visit Principal Wang, Lally (Alice), the eldest daughter of Rev. Rinell, sent me a tape with the voice of Principal Wang recorded. I heard him talking and singing the Ruihua school anthem on the tape. It made me tearful. When I went to visit him personally he had just come back from the hospital. He was extremely weak, but very excited. We talked a lot about the past of Ruihua. We regretted that the beautiful chapel had been ruined and destroyed so completely that nothing was left. The school was already used for other purposes. The garden where the Rinells once lived was destroyed.

I suggested that we should print an album of Ruihua Middle School with photos and related information. But Principal Wang disagreed. He was afraid to cause trouble. I never thought this would be the last time I saw Principal Wang.

When I got the letter from my classmate Kuang Guo Zhen in Qingdao telling the bad news that Principal Wang had passed away, the picture of his clear and serious face appeared to my eyes immediately: the strength of his character, his black gown covered with holes and also the key chain that he always carried. I seemed to hear the words he usually encouraged us with: “Be strong and courageous, be a real man”. (translated by Judy Qiu)

12

A Famous Teacher Han Shao Ying 著名画家韩少婴老师

When I was a student in Ruihua Middle School, there was a famous artist Han Shao Ying, who taught Chinese painting in the school. Teacher Han taught students to paint still life in western style and to paint flowers and birds in Chinese painting. He drew a chicken just by brushing some yellow pigment and made a quick turn down on the paper, then brushed some black ink for the peak and claws. Soon a flock of live chickens walked out from the paper. I still remember the last picture he demonstrated for us in class which was titled “Spring goes by while the blackberry rose blossoms”. Teacher Han said few words in class; mostly he made demonstrations to teach us how to draw a picture with brush and ink.

Teacher Han graduated from Fine Arts Department of Beiping Academy. He was the last disciple of Qi Bai Shi and Xu Bei Hong. He enjoyed equal popularity with the famous painter Guan Shan Yue; they both studied in the same class. He later moved to Nanjing. Although he played a prominent role in Fine Arts Academy in Nanjing, his origin was from the northern style which was pushed aside by the southern painting style. He was not able to achieve his ambition in later years and finally died in depression.

Principal Wang said repeatedly that he was very worried about Teacher Han's situation. Teacher Han's dearest daughter was on night duty at work. She felt bored, so she started to draw on a newspaper and drew a pair of glasses onto a picture of Chairman Mao. This was found by her leaders later, and she was judged guilty of counter revolutionary activity. As a result of this she was depressed and became psychotic the rest of her life. Han Qin, Teacher Han's daughter, was a student of Ruihua Middle School of year 32 (1944), and she was in the same class as me. She was a pretty, intelligent and lively girl. I still remember a party at Christmas Eve, when Han Qin acted an angel. Her graceful dance impressed us very much. Teacher Han was terribly shocked by this severe blow in his later years, and it is easy to imagine the sorrow he felt.

In 1990 I had a chance to visit Nanjing. But Teacher Han had already passed away. I saw a lot of the paintings he had left behind. There were mountains and waters, paintings of figures, flowers and

birds. I also read the collection of his poems. Teacher Han Shao Ying is the only artist of his time who was proficient in three fields: poetry, hand brush and painting. He deserves to be titled the great master of this time. He was also an outstanding figure of Jiaozhou. (translated by Judy Qiu)

14

The Profile of Rev. Egron Rinell **(The Big Pastor Rinell)** 位大牧师的风范

When I was a student at Ruihua Middle School, Mr. Wang Hua Ting was the principal and Pastor Egron Rinell was the Chair of the Board of Trustees. He was from the Swedish Baptist Mission. The reason why we called him “Big Pastor” was because of his biological order among the siblings in his family. His brother was called “Second Pastor”, the Rev. Oscar Rinell. Big Pastor Rinell lived close to the school and the church. We called their home “The Rinell Garden”. The garden was big and included not only the house but also a huge lawn and flower platforms and a pavilion. It was very famous in Jiaozhou at the time. We got a chance to get in to the garden since the summer camp was always held there. We sat on the

huge lawn with its beautiful green colour, something that we could seldom see in our county! At the South side of the garden there was a house that was Second Pastor Rinell's home. There was also a Swedish School there for the children of the Missionaries. There was another house at Nan Guan, Gulunzi Qiao Street. This was far from our school, so I have never been there. I only saw the big black gate beyond the curved bridge. This was the home of the missionaries Priest Wei (Ester Wallin) and Priest An (Anna Andersson, who later married with Martin Jansson) and others.

Missionaries of the Swedish Baptist Mission lived in comfortable homes. In those days nobody said a word about the gap in the standard of living between rich and poor. We just assumed that missionaries should live in this style. I think it was possible because the foreign currency was strong when exchanged into Chinese currency. This helped them to be able to afford to live as upper class people. I clearly remember when I visited Rev. Egron Rinell, the Big Pastor, many years later in Sweden, how his son in law, Dr. Hermansson, told me that when he visited Taiwan several decades later that the American currency exchanged into New Taiwan currency made everything seem cheap to him. Of course this must be the case! In those days that was true of Taiwan. It seems to me that during the time in Jiaozhou all the missionaries lived in the best houses. They had motor vehicles for their transportation while others mostly used bicycles! They had hired servants, a luxury far beyond

the normal standard of living. For those who worked in Thailand and the Philippines, where there was serious poverty beyond what was true of other places in Asia, the cost of living was very low, and servants could be hired for even less money. Most likely the missionaries in that area had several servants such as a cook, a laundry lady, a baby-sitter or nanny, and a driver. They lived like the noble class compared with the pioneer missionaries to China. There is no comparison; the difference was like the distance between heaven and earth!

In the 1920's missionaries exchanged foreign currency to the local currency and benefited from the difference between them. We cannot imagine what happened in history! But after all these years, the question has bothered me for a long time. Why is there a big gap between the salaries of Western and Chinese clergy? Is it because the Western Clergy is more valuable than the Chinese Clergy? Or is it just a difference between people? Even today I have my doubts, because this has not been resolved! I wonder why we have to set up two different standards for God's servants. We should be equal regardless of nationalities! I cannot understand this!

Big Pastor Rinell was everyone's favourite. His handsome appearance and when he dressed up in a Chinese long robe he looked as a high class gentleman. He spoke fluent Jiaozhou dialect and attracted people with his humour and lively preaching. Once he covered a lit candle with a drinking glass. When the oxygen was used

up the light of the candle went out, first slowly, then completely. He said that it's just like a person who wants to shine, but without the Holy Spirit to supply the light of God, the human light soon will be gone. This candle demonstration of the light of God really impressed me a lot!

Big Pastor Rinell Also taught us English. His Oxford English made our conversational English courses very lively and interesting. Big Pastor Rinell was educated at the British "Chefoo School" run by the China Inland Mission in Yantai. His penmanship was extremely beautiful. Every week he wrote a sentence on the blackboard on the wall of the Class Room, and asked every student to copy his writing. That was my favourite part of learning English in the class!

Whenever we had classes with pastor Rinell, the Big Pastor, he always liked to sing a song: "I am H-A-P-P-Y, I know I am, I'm sure I am, I am H-A-P-P-Y." His cheerful voice led us in the singing of this light melody. We all responded and enjoyed singing back and forth with him. Then he'd change the mode to sadness and sing: "I am S-O-R-R-Y..." He could express himself in different ways and used the same song and the same melody to mix happiness and sadness of life. This was exactly what I recall from the weave of my childhood years.

Big Pastor Rinell told me that, since he grew up in Northern China, he liked to eat Jiaozi (boiled dumplings). When he was little he had an eating competition. Once he had eaten a few dozen Jiaozi

he ran a circle of the inner City Wall to help the digestion. Then he ate some more. Jiaozhou had a double City Wall. The inner wall was built around the county government administration centre. The outer wall was called Weizi. It was an inner wall wide enough to ride a chariot on. I don't know how long it took to run a circle of the whole wall. I just assume that this young missionary had passion and love for the town where he had grown up – Jiaozhou. (translated by Mary Zhang)

15

A Model Missionary 典型在夙昔

**A tribute in memory of Pastor Egron Rinell
on the third anniversary of his death**

Rev. Egron Rinell was pastor in the Swedish Baptist Mission in my home town Jiaoxian. He spent his whole life there until 1948. Pastor Rinell spoke Jiaozhou dialect just like the local people. He was familiar with the history and stories of the surrounding villages, and counted himself as one of the people. Actually he represented the second generation of the Swedish Baptist missionaries in the area. His father, Old Pastor J.A. Rinell, passed away in Qingdao. He was much respected by the people whom he served. After his death a monument was put up in honour of him. At that time I was only in Primary School and fortunately I had a chance to participate in that ceremony! I clearly remember that the

monument was raised on the right hand side of the big church.

In those days I went to Sunday School and to the Sunday Worship Services. I seldom missed any of them. That started when I was in the third grade and continued through my middle school years. We all gathered together in the beautiful church. I think it probably was the largest building within the county. It could seat about 800 people at one time. Every morning the church bell rang. It resounded into every corner of the whole county. In this church I was taught and inspired throughout my years in the Ruihua Schools. How can I ever forget the impact it made on me? That was the church I loved. Since I left my home town Jiaozhou, the first thing I loved to ask about was the Jiaozhou Church. I wondered after all the years that had gone “How is my Church, is it still there?” I was concerned about the church which I loved so much. Unfortunately it was destroyed, just as we read about the Jerusalem temple: “Not a single stone shall be left upon another” (Matt 24:2). It was not only the building of the church that was torn down but also the double City Wall and my home, the house which belonged to my family of origin. Nothing was left. It is so sad!

When I got to know Pastor Rinell, he was in his 40’s. He still had a youthful appearance and looked handsome. He flavoured his conversation with an attractive humour which was admired by all of us. Both he and his brother, Rev.Oscar Rinell, were pastors. In order to know which Rinell we were talking about, we called Egron Rinell

Big Pastor and his brother Oscar Second Pastor. These two brothers followed their father’s foot steps and became preachers in my home town. Big Pastor was the chair of the Board of Trustees of the Ruihua Middle School and also my English teacher. He introduced me into the English language while I was still very young. Big Pastor was educated in a British school. He was excellent in English and his way of teaching was loved by his students. He paid a lot of attention to our penmanship and wrote sentences, for instance a quote from the Bible, on the large black board in the class room, so that all the students could practice copying it.

From my days in Primary and Secondary school, we all had to line up to enter the church for Sunday worship. We all felt uncomfortable when listening to Pastor Han’s sermons, because they were long and dry and made us bored. The preacher we welcomed most was Big Pastor Rinell. When he taught us about faith he used real illustrations from life. For instance, once he lit a candle and covered it with a glass. Slowly the light went out. He wanted us to think about how we can let the Light of Christ shine through us. If we covered our light in would not last for lack of oxygen. Christians need to have “the oxygen of Christ” so that their light can shine in front of others. The life of Christ is our oxygen, and this is the only way we can shine. What an interesting sermon!

The sports field of our Middle School was next to the church. All students had to live in the dormitory of the school. In it there were

four students to a room. After evening study time we all had to go to chapel. We all knelt down to pray. During these days the Japanese occupied our town and we lacked a lot of necessities. There were, of course, no gas or oil lamps to be lit in the large church building. So every student had to bring their own little lamp with vegetable oil to church. We all gathered together to pray and after that we sang: “Humble before Jesus”. Then we went back to the dormitory. By that time it was bed time for everyone. This was the best time in my life. These were beautiful, unforgettable years and precious moments which I have treasured: “Those little lights” still shine in my mind! In later years some of my school mates told me that they, too, counted those years as a blessing in their life. We all lived together as a big family. Big Pastor and our Principal Mr. Wang were like the heads of our big Ruihua family.

Big Pastor Rinell lived next door to the church, behind an alley in the Rinell Garden. It was a huge garden, with a Chinese style house and a man made mountain, a pavilion, all kinds of plants and trees. In Summer time there were meetings in the garden for the students. Then they offered us to enjoy the beautiful scenery and delicious cookies and snacks prepared by Mrs. Gerda Rinell.

I left my home town in a rush in 1949. Since then I had no chance to see Big Pastor Rinell. I heard that after he was forced to leave Jiaozhou, he had gone to do evangelical work in Japan, but we did not have any contact with each other. About thirty years later

I had contact with one of our famous alumni, Dr. Yang Maochun (Martin Yang), a professor from National University of Taiwan. From him I learned that Big Pastor Rinell was retired from the mission field in Japan and had settled down in Uppsala, Sweden. I visited him twice before he went to his heavenly home the year he turned 90. He was talkative and brought both of us back to the Jiaozhou days. He told me a lot of stories I had never heard before, even about the suffering as an evangelist in a foreign land. Big Pastor Egron and his wife Gerda lived in a very small apartment in Uppsala. Gerda once a beautiful soprano had attracted Parkinson’s disease. As time flies, so does youth. From our conversation I learned that the Swedish Baptist Mission did not only focus on Jiaozhou, but that the work had been extended into other areas of Jiaodong such as Zhucheng and Gaomi. There they also built churches, schools, medical clinics and an orphanage.

The Ruihua School that I attended was very famous. The faculty was recruited mainly from the highly recognized Cheeloo University. The attitude among the staff to education and to the students was one of dedication and endless engagement. At Big Pastor’s home there were not many antiques, but a lot of albums with historical photographs. I spent most of my time there looking at the pictures. They retold my life story through the people and the sights, which I had missed so deeply for many years. After Big Pastor died I borrowed this precious material for further study. I copied many

of the pictures and they helped me remember little things from the past, and cover the gap from my lost home showing all the beautiful buildings in old Chinese style, such as the mandarin's building, the temples, the church etc. They had been all destroyed since 1949 as the symbol of feudalism.

The second time I was planning to visit Big Pastor Rinell was in May of 1983. I had attended a meeting in Europe and wished to see him again. However, I missed this opportunity since I had to rush to another meeting on the way. I later found out that his 90th birthday had been on May 15th 1984. The church celebrated his birthday after the worship service. For this he had written John 3:16 and 1 John 1:7 in Chinese. He spoke on these texts in Chinese, being translated into Swedish by his daughter Alice. Three days after his 90th birthday he went to the hospital to visit his wife, Mrs. Gerda Rinell. There he suddenly got a heart attack and was hospitalized until May 28th, when he died. I lost the chance to say good-bye to him. I felt so badly to have missed him and there is no way I can make it up to him!

This was written on the third year after Big Pastor's death. Whenever I think about this old missionary pastor, I remember his passion for China, his love for the Chinese and how he spend half a life time for the salvation of people in my home town Jiaozhou. He educated many Chines--I was one of them. I would like to say to him: "Dear Big Pastor, thank you and thank you again!" I can never sufficiently thank him even if I do so from the bottom of my heart. I

am grateful for his life as an example of faith and for his deeds, faith in action. What a Model Missionary! (translated by Mary Zhang)

16

A Tape with Amiable and Heart-warming Sounds of Home

一卷亲切感人的乡音与诗歌

On Easter day I sent a card to Alice Rinell Hermansson, the daughter of Rev. Egron Rinell in Sweden. I told her that I had written an essay for the third year anniversary of the death of her father, which she probably would receive in the beginning of June. Alice Rinell Hermansson, her nick name is Lally, was still a young girl when I studied at Ruihua Middle School in my home town. But when I met her again on a trip to Sweden to see Rev. Egron Rinell, she was already a middle-aged woman. Her husband Dr. Hermansson taught Oriental History in Stockholm University and their son and daughter were university students. Lally herself worked in health services in Uppsala. The other two Rinell children lived in America.

Fortunately the old couple had been taken care of by Lally in later years. Rev. Egron Rinell lived in a small apartment. Mrs. Rinell suffered from Parkinson's Disease and stayed in hospital all year round. But each weekend Lally would take her mother home for a while to enjoy the family fellowship. I presume Lally's affection to her parents might have some Chinese influence. I went to visit Rev. Rinell four years later. That time Lally was visiting China together with her uncle Rev. Oscar Rinell, but I still lived in her home. Dr. Hermansson loved Chinese culture so we often talked late into the night. He told me that he had applied for research funding to study Japan and Taiwan. Unfortunately he died before he could fulfill his ambition. He passed away in a heart attack.

I still remember that the couple Xile and Xiaomin went to Sweden to see their son Baozhen. Lally entertained them at home. Unexpectedly Rev. Egron Rinell passed away a few months later. Lally suffered several losses. We were both busy those years and only sent greeting cards to each other on special occasions. But I had not received an Easter card and while I was thinking about this I received a parcel from her. In the parcel I found a tape recording. On side B there was a talk by Lally and on side A a record of her visit in Jiaozhou and Qingdao in 1983. Lally talked about her recent experiences in fluent English. She said she was too busy to write, and that her father had gone to be with the Lord. In four years three of her relatives had passed away. One can well imagine the grief she

felt. Fortunately Lally had a strong belief that she should be able to shoulder this pressure. She also said that there were many greetings on the tape from teachers and classmates, brothers and sisters in China. This was very precious, so she decided to make a copy and send to me. So it was unnecessary to write a letter.

After having listened to Lally on side B I couldn't wait to turn to side A to hear the voices of my hometown fellows. We had not seen each other for 38 years. The tape began with a hymn sung by the brothers and sisters of the church. The next section was a special testimony gathering. Most of the participants were 80 or 90 years old. They gave their heart-warming witnesses in their sincere local accent. It moved me to tears. People had experienced many hardships in the past few decades. Nowadays they are able to speak calmly about this. There was no more excitement, no more complaints, only a boundless gratitude to God. This reminded me of some of the testimonies I heard in meetings in our church. They often had to do with some brief experiences and episodes in life. They were told as small stories about confidence and some stories amused the listeners. But I know what a witness is after I have heard my fellow elders speak about their bitter experience of the Cross. The testimonies ended with Pastor Li Ke Gong reading 2 Corinthians 1:10. It says "He delivered us from such a deadly peril, and he will deliver us. On him we have set our hope that he will deliver us again". He repeated the scripture again and again with sincere words and earnest wishes.

The rest of the tape contained hymns. They sang many passages from the Bible in their old man's voices. I recalled how in the past I went to church one hour or half an hour before the Sunday service began. The congregation would sing passages of scripture before the service began. I am still able to sing these songs today. That's really a nice time to remember. What I cherish the most on the tape are the voices of two old teachers. One is 97 year old Mr. Feng Zuan Ting. He taught English and Bible. The other is our dear principal Mr. Wang Hua Ting. He was an outstanding educator and a true follower of Jesus. He was also a famous teacher of Physics and Chemistry at Ruihua Middle School. Wang was then 87 years old, but his voice was loud and clear. Principal Wang sang the Alma Mater song himself. I had visited some school mates, but they couldn't remember it completely. As I listened to the song I recalled our morning gatherings.

1. *Facing the sea and Mount Zhu, the land abounds, Ruihua Middle School standing in Jiaodong, Practice emphasized in education, boys and girls equally valued, it's reputation will resound through China.*
2. *Fostering elites, popularizing new culture, the mission definitely is expanded by Ruihua. Though there is no end in the ocean of knowledge, don't be afraid to advance, effort will win, you are sure to succeed if you work hard.*
3. *Teachers and students learn from and share with each other.*

Don't slack off no matter rain or sunshine; our talents will be expected to contribute to East Asia. Shoulder the responsibility of the nation, revive China, we are dedicated to our nation not only to our home.

From the song of Principal Wang a sincere and dignified image appeared to my eyes: bareheaded, high cheek boned, always wearing an old black cotton robe. He is the only Christian I knew in my life who strictly followed the biblical scriptures. He is not only a reputable educator but an enthusiastic Christian. He was concerned with each student's school work. But he was more concerned about their spiritual wellbeing. He always went to the dormitory and knelt down to pray for the students. He often preached on Sunday worship services. His philosophy, to be content with poverty and devoted to things spiritual, was especially admired by his students.

As I listened to the song over and over again, I couldn't help my eyes from getting wet with tears. I bowed my head in prayer and offered my thanksgiving to the Lord. (translated by Judy Qiu)

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The Proclamation of the Gospel in China by the Ruihua Baptist Church

瑞华浸信会在山东宣教概况

An Overall Picture of the Swedish Baptist Mission in Shandong

The forced departure of the last missionary from Jiaozhou.

In the spring of 1981 I visited Uppsala, Sweden for the first time. I visited my English teacher from my younger years at Ruihua Middle School, Rev. Egron Rinell – Big Pastor Rinell. We hadn't seen each other for decades. He looked very old and had lost his young and handsome appearance. He sighed over how fast life passes by and brought out an album of memories. It showed his classmates from Bethel Seminary, all of which had passed away. At the age of almost 90 (he must have been 87 or 88 by the time); he was the only one left. Mrs. Gerda Rinell had Parkinson's disease and lived

in a nursing home. She could only come home for a while on weekends. They were married at Jiaozhou Baptist church. For those days that was a huge event for the community of that church. Mrs. Gerda Rinell was the soprano of the church. She usually sang solos during the Sunday worship services. Her beautiful voice rang to the ceiling of the church. Its ringing was unforgettable and we all admired her. Time had gone by, they were aged. Next time after I had visited Sweden both of them passed away successively.

The Swedish Mission served in Jiaozhou for half a century. Because of political changes the Mission had to leave in 1951. They left the country and the ministry in a hurry, leaving the Chinese believers behind. This was the end point of the Swedish Baptist Mission era in Jiaozhou.

In the year 1948 the Communist Army came to Jiaozhou for the second time. Most of the Swedish Missionaries had left, but Big Pastor Rinell and his wife were still there. He was firm and tall as usual. To Big Pastor Rinell this was his home, he was born in China, he had grown up in Jiaozhou, and he married there and had his children there. So why should he leave his home and not continue to preach the Gospel and win people for Christ in his home town? He insisted not to obey the army's command when they ordered him to leave. They told him: "Egron Rinell, you live here and the house now belongs to China. You eat Chinese food and drink Chinese water, you even breathe Chinese air – all these belong to China! Nobody

welcomes you any more. Get out of here and go back to your own country immediately!" This was a kind of "kicking out order"! With sadness Big Pastor Rinell packed up his things and left the place he loved with endless remorse!

When Big Pastor Rinell left Jiaozhou his first stop was Qingdao. The Ruihua Middle School was closed and not permitted to reopen. Principal Wang Huating got the invitation from the Baptist Union of Sweden to attend their 100 anniversary in 1948. He stayed for one year and visited many places of Sweden. In 1949 he caught the last plane from Hong Kong back to China. Pastor Rinell went to Japan for a few years to work among Japanese students and retired from this mission field in 1963. He went back to his homeland for retirement, but his heart was still in Jiaozhou. We shared a lot of memories together, particularly related to Mr. Wang, whom we had not heard anything from. When China opened its doors later on, I sent a letter from Hong Kong to Qingdao, and through several diverse contacts Mr. Wang was found. I reported this to Big Pastor Rinell immediately. Mr. Wang was still living! Some time later the Second Pastor Rinell went with a team to visit Qingdao and Jiaozhou. They met Mr. Wang and other friends. Big Pastor Rinell's daughter Alice wrote a letter and told me about their journey and how they met. I felt relieved that Big Pastor Rinell received this message before his death. He is now resting in peace in the Lord's bosom!

Of Big Pastor Rinell's children only Alice stayed close to take

care of him. (The other two children of Eggon Rinell, John and Margareta, lived in the USA.) Alice's husband Dr. Hermansson had died in a heart attack. Now Alice lives in the small apartment which her parents left behind. It contains many precious pictures from Jiaozhou. The photo materials I have used in this book mostly came from these resources. Most of them were taken by Big Pastor Rinell, who had a camera even if it was second hand. But he was the one who gave us precious records of Jiaozhou. Second Pastor Oscar Rinell also did a lot of photography. He had the only camera in the Mission for 16 mm movie pictures. So there are some documents by him from about the turn of the 1940's.

Alice is not only fluent in English but also in the Chinese Jiaozhou dialect. But she can only read and write a little in Chinese. In the past missionaries who came to China learnt the Chinese language at "Guan Hua Xuexiao", the official school of mandarins. A specialist would teach them not only to speak Chinese, but also to read and write. Alice told me that Mrs. Hellen Rinell, Second Pastor Rinell's wife, had read the whole Chinese Bible, both the Old and New Testaments, for learning purposes. What an amazing journey for a foreigner into the Chinese language!

Alice is still in good health, but her father's generation is gone. Their fidelity to the mission and their vision for the mission is still alive within the hearts of those whom they have touched in China!

The earliest Three Pioneer Missionaries to Jiaozhou.

While I was in Sweden Big Pastor Rinell gave me a book written to celebrate the first fifty years of the Swedish Baptist Mission in China, *The Ruihua Baptist Church 50th anniversary*. The editors were Rev. J. A. Rinell, Rev. J. E. Lindberg and Mr. Hu Shu Xian. It covers the period from 1891 to 1941 and gives a comprehensive account for the Swedish Baptist Mission in China.

In the introduction it is stated that the Swedish Baptist's involvement in overseas mission started in 1877. At this time there was a desire to proclaiming the Gospel in China. Some churches had sent missionaries in to work together with the English missionary Hudson Taylor. When he came to Sweden to preach in 1888 he also visited and spoke at the Bethel Seminary. When the students heard Taylor's report from the China mission, their interest to respond to this mission field increased. In the group of seminarians that listened to him there were three who applied to go to China: Carl Vingren, J. E. Lindberg and J. A. Rinell.

Pastor Carl Vingren

Rev. Carl Vingren reached Shanghai in March 1891, the first thing he did was to shave part of his hair and wear a wig of horse tail under his hat, all dressed up as a Chinese. Then he went to An Qing School, where missionaries learnt the Chinese language. Later on he travelled to many places to look for a suitable field for the mission. In

Shandong he visited Yantai, Dengzhou, Laiyang and eventually came to Jiaozhou, Xiao Qiao Nan Tou. Rev. Vingren visited Jiaozhou the first time October 25, 1892. He returned there on January 25, 1893 and rented a three room house (a former brothel). In March 1893 Vingren and Lindberg moved to Jiaozhou. Later on they rented an adjacent house, where they had a street-chapel and a small church. They started evangelic work among the local people. Unfortunately Rev. Vingren had difficulties to adjust to the environment and became ill. He was sent back to Sweden. Later he served several churches in America as a pastor. But he never forgot China.

Pastor J. E. Lindberg

Pastor Lindberg first came to Jiaozhou together with Pastor Carl Vingren in 1892. They rented a house for the mission and settled down there in 1893. In 1903 Mrs. Lindberg started a primary school for girls at Mo He Qiao (Gu Lun Zi Qiao) in Jiaozhou. Later on the Lindbergs moved to Zhucheng, where they bought property and built the foundation for mission work there. Pastor Lindberg was not only responsible for the Church; he was also the principal of the school. He was a passionate writer and published books on “The origin and resources of ancestor-worship in China”, “The Baptist Missionaries in China” and other subjects. Pastor Lindberg’s ministry focused on the social conditions, he served the community by running schools and hospitals. He was an advocate for ministry among drug addicts

and for the release of bound feet among women in China etc. He was a pioneer for openness toward Chinese tradition and culture. He worked all over Jiaodong and Zhucheng, Rizhao, Juxian etc. These were all pioneer cities for the Swedish Mission work.

Pastor J. A. Rinell

We called Pastor J. A. Rinell “Old Pastor”. He died when I was in Ruihua Elementary School so I don’t have many memories of him. But I remember his wife Mrs. Hedvig Rinell. She lived at Da Jing Street and every Sunday she rode on a cart to the Church. It was a beautiful mule cart with red shafts and blue covering. It looked very elegant. No one else had that kind of a vehicle in those days. Even if I didn’t meet him, I heard stories about Old Pastor Rinell, since he was one of the three famous pioneer missionaries to Jiaozhou. Rev. J A. Rinell and his wife were the founders of Ruihua Elementary School and Ruihua Middle School. People in Jiaozhou were thankful for his contribution and when he died they built a monument at the right side outside the Church. When the stone was uncovered there was a ceremony led by Rev. Han Fengming and all the merchants and officials of the city were there. The monument was black with words in red characters. Rev. Han and the Chair of the merchant’s association started the celebration by uncovering the stone. This was the year after 1941. I was sorry to learn that the monument as well as the big church building was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution,

and the church was torn down later in 1980's. When I asked about the condition of the church after China introduced a more open policy, my teacher Mr. Feng Zuanting wrote to me and said: "Not a single stone shall be left upon another" (Matt 24:2)

Who could ever have thought that the beautiful church would be damaged and destroyed over night? Old Pastor Rinell spent all his life in Jiaozhou. He laid the foundation for the Baptist Mission there and his two sons, Big Pastor Rinell and Second Pastor Rinell, followed in his footsteps serving the mission. Old Pastor Rinell died from illness in the year 1941 in Qingdao. He was buried at the Qingdao International Public Cemetery. Unfortunately this cemetery disappeared owing to reconstruction of the area.

Pastor J.A. Rinell, Old Pastor Rinell, came to China in 1894. When he arrived in Jiaozhou he started to learn the Chinese language and at the same time he engaged in the evangelistic outreach. Shortly after his arrival the Sino-Japanese War began (Jia Wu War) and the city turned against foreigners. Old Pastor Rinell and his wife fled to Yantai for a short period of time. Even if there were difficulties, Old Pastor Rinell never ceased to proclaim the Gospel of our Lord. Four years later, in 1898, four people were baptized and became Christians. At this time Old Pastor Rinell found that it was time to organize a church in Jiaozhou. While he was busy with church work, the county government asked Old Pastor Rinell to help them set up the Post Office. So he contributed to the convenience of communication for

the people in the county! After a short time the civil war of Quan Fei Zhi Luan ("the Boxer rebellion") started, so in 1900 Old Pastor Rinell had to flee again, this time to Qingdao! On coming back to Jiaozhou he went to Wangtai, Lengjiacun and Gaomi to build up churches. By 1940 the Ruihua Baptist Mission had 12 district congregations with 5,000 members. Old Pastor Rinell made Jiaozhou the head station with an outreach in four directions. He always encouraged the believers to gather their treasures in heaven. His faith was visible in action with an emphasis on education and guidance of the members in their offering. So that even later on, when the mission budget was cut down, the church could stand strong in self support of its ministry. That is what he did for the church. Old Pastor also contributed to literature. Among other books he wrote: "The Civil War on Quan Fei Zhi Luan" (published 1906), "The Ruihua Baptists' 15 years history" (Published 1907), "Difficulties in overseas evangelism" (Published in 1910), and "The Mission Challenge and we" (Published in 1932).

Old Pastor's wife, Mrs. Hedvig Rinell graduated from Teacher's College. She played an important role in Christian education. She assisted Old Pastor Rinell in building up Ruihua Girl's School, Ruihua Middle School and also the Women's Bible School. It would be fair to say that Old Rinell assisted her in building up the schools! Since he was mostly out on the field, away from home, visiting villages and small towns in the area. But she was the School person!

The couple also used their spare time for charity, especially

within farming, irrigation, famine relief, war time crisis and in care of dysfunctional families. People trusted him for fund raising when disasters struck. You never heard Old Pastor complain for his heavy duties. He tried his best to fulfil his responsibilities with a cheerful heart. He served Jiaozhou 47 years, and returned to his own country only three times for short furloughs. The couple had five children. Two sons entered Bethel Seminary in Sweden and came back to do evangelistic work in Jiaozhou upon graduation. What a contribution to Jiaozhou. No wonder that people, after his death, wanted to set up a monument to remember his achievement for the people in Jiaozhou. (translated by Mary Zhang)

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The Achievement of the Ruihua Baptist Mission in China

瑞典浸信会在中国宣教的各项成就

According to the book on the first 50 years of the Swedish Mission, the situation in Shandong was very different compared to what met Robert Morrison. When he arrived in China in 1807, he hoped that after one hundred years there would be one thousand believers in China. But it took him ten years before he baptized the first Chinese believer. Soon after that Morrison died. Fifty three years later, in 1860, there were about 1,000 Chinese believers. The Swedish Baptist Mission Church in the Jiaodong and the adjacent Counties had baptized 6, 628 in 1941 and in the whole nation there were over 500, 000 believers. Of course there is no comparison!

Rev. Carl Vingren, the first generation missionary of the

Swedish Baptists, visited many places in China. In the end he chose to start work in Shandong. One of the reasons for his choice was that Shandong was the Holy Province of China, the home of Sages like Confucius and Mencius. It would be possible that Mission work in Shandong would influence people nationwide. So from that kind of thinking the new format of education was promoted all over the Eastern part of Jiaozhou (the traditional Confucian private tutoring school had already been suspended by the government). Old Pastor Rinell really changed the educational culture in Shandong, particularly through the Elementary School and the Middle School in Jiaozhou, as the pearls in the crown - besides other ministries he did for the Swedish Baptist Mission in China.

According to the book *The Ruihua Baptist Church 50th anniversary*, the Swedish Mission started their ministry in Jiaozhou in 1893. At that time the population of Jiaozhou was 50, 000 and there were 1, 282 villages in the countryside with a population of 365, 576. From the year 1893 to 1940, totally 47 years, the mission had proclaimed the Gospel in seven counties each with 400, 000 inhabitants. More people had heard the Good News of our Lord.

Education

The Swedish Baptist Mission set up schools starting in the Eastern part of Jiaozhou as vehicles of evangelism. They founded schools all over, also pioneering schools for Chinese girls. They

showed openness to give equal opportunities to both girls and boys. The main founder of the educational work was Mrs. Hedvig Rinell, Old Pastor's wife. She not only operated the famous Ruihua Schools, both the Primary and the Secondary Schools, to begin with she also was the principal of Ruihua Girl's School. The Ruihua church needed trained Chinese evangelists, so the Ruihua Bible Institute was started. It offered a three year Bible course to strengthen and equip laity for the ministry. Later on that proved to be a key to success for expansion of the local ministry. All the schools that Swedish Mission started were famous. They were beneficial to all the Shandong children and young people of that time.

Social Activities and Charity

At the time when the Swedish Baptist Mission came to China, the economy in China was in many ways far behind that of the European countries. Along with proclaiming the Gospel there was a Mission outreach of many kinds of activities for the local people, such as campaigns to stop opium smoking, building up post office services with the local government, disaster fund raising, promotion of women's rights. At this time there were serious issues caused by poverty, such as throwing out new born female infants along the road side to die, and supporting women and men who had no value or position in society, releasing the bandages of women subject to foot binding (according to custom men regarded small feet most

attractive, but it was an unethical and harmful procedure for women). The Church also opened an orphanage to receive many abandoned babies. The Swedish Mission cared about the needs of the people in those days, so that the harvest of the mission grew rapidly as a natural result of the Gospel of Christ! All the above were important achievements of the Mission.

The Policy of Openness of the Swedish Baptist Mission

When I read the book on *The Ruihua Baptist Church 50th anniversary*, I was touched by their vision for the mission some 60 years ago. Their insight was far beyond many others. I was amazed to find that in the 1940's, the Swedish Baptists Mission had set up goals to let the Chinese Church be Indigenous with Self support, Self nurture, Self control of their administration, and Self proclamation of the Gospel. What an insight and openness for the ministry in China. This policy is like Sun Light from above over the land of Missions in China even today! According to historical records from the 1960's or even from the 1970's many Western Missions have not yet decided on the policy for their mission in China. How can an unclear target lead missions to success? At the same time with the awakening of the Asian Chinese Churches, the local leaders fought for their right and power causing tension between Western Mission and Chinese Congregations. Instead of working together as a team for the Gospel, they worked against each other's desire for control. What a shame!

Since 1949 the political situation has changed in Mainland China. Many of the Missions from China were relocated either to Hong Kong or Taiwan to continue their work. Unfortunately the relocation did not change the policy of Western Missions within the Chinese Church community. The bosses of the Mission Churches were the Westerners. The policy was set up by them and from them and the Chinese clergy or other workers just submitted to their decisions without participating or trying to change their policy. Of course a lot of policies were wrong for the mission of today, but since the Chinese workers and clergy only played the role of listeners, there was no way to change the incorrect ways. This is very sad! In Hong Kong, particularly as a British colony, the Westerners from the Missions became the Kings and Queens with absolute power in decision making. Whatever the missionaries or the Mission Board said became the WILL OF GOD! Nobody could ever say "no" to them! From the conclusion of the Ruihua Baptist Mission 50-year book, the Swedes in Shandong approved the policy to let the church of China grow by being indigenized. Is this Christ's policy for today's church mission too!

China's greatest need is Christ! The first priority is not a culturally adapted Christ, or an artistic Christ, not even a theologically correct Christ, but the Christ of the Gospel, the Good News of Christ. There are the Beatitudes of the Nazarene, the dynamic of the Cross

and the Resurrection of Christ. It is said that the Chinese Church needs to be Chinese and speak in Chinese... Let the Ecumenical Christians allow the Naturalized Chinese to join the team. For the Christian faith to be rooted in China we first of all must let it become a Chinese Church and let it grow in a Chinese style. The dynamic of Christian faith is based on believers who earnestly practice faith in action. The only way for the Christian faith to grow in China is that the life of Christ be implanted in the innermost souls of the people. Christ has died, Christ is risen and Christ will come again. That is the strength of Christ within them. Surely, the Church in China will become the indigenous Church of Christ. The Church must reach the goals of Self conduct evangelism, continually proclaiming the Gospel of our Lord. All of the above implies that we should keep our present and future target FOR THE Church. The Mission in China must be based on a Christ-centred indigenized Church which proclaims the Gospel to the Chinese, so that the Kingdom of God will come true in China soon!

According to the four policies above, the Church should first start with the mission worker as a solo worker on the mission field; letting the real active Christians (born again people who with their life are dedicated to faith in action) join the work of the congregation. Secondly the laity should become future evangelists to win new disciples for Christ. Then they should go on to a new area so that the local co-workers could have a chance to realize that a congregation

exists which can take charge of the ministry for continued Church growth. The third step is to turn over the power to Chinese Leaders so that they can be in complete charge of the ministry. The Mission Board should by then only supply financial support and have the role of consultants in facilitating the ministry that they once started. This would agree with the words of John the Baptist: "He (the local church) must increase, but I (the Mission Board) must decrease" John 4:30).

After all, the fourth step is to let the local church be completely autonomous. At that point the Mission Board will have the role to communicate and have mutual relationships with the church and pray for the ministry.

Now back on track. When the Ruihua Baptist Mission finished the first step in Jiaozhou, it proceeded to the second step and was ready for the third step: to accomplish an independent Church in China. This ministry was ended before it was completed. We do not know at this time what God's plan was; it was not a plan which we as human beings had comprehended! What is God's real plan for China? Why did not the good plan of the Swedish Baptist Mission get a chance to develop? Even if some missionaries on the field would accept a plan like this, what would have happened if the administrative staff of their Mission Boards didn't act on it? In South East Asia after 1949, including Taiwan and Hong Kong, whatever was supported by the Western Missions was accepted. The Chinese

played a very stupid and incompetent role, as though caught on a muddy road in their frustration as they wished to serve the Lord. This continued until the 1980's due to the lack of funding from the overseas Mission Boards. The Westerners of the Mission Boards were unwilling to entrust power to the Chinese staff. It was indeed a very sad situation.

In accordance with the Ruihua Baptist Self Evangelism policy, the Mission built a Bible Institute in Jiaozhou where they trained a lot of volunteers for the ministry. This facilitated the growth of the ministry. Sadly there was not enough higher education or plans for leaders as pastors and clergy to take part in continued education in those days. One of the well educated leaders was Mr. Wang Huating, the genius from Cheeloo University. There were still a few who studied at Huangxian, Hunan and Shanghai. Li Kegong from Gaomi, he completed his studies in Shanghai just at the time of the communist turnover. However, he was not permitted to preach, so retired into his farm until the early 1980's. Then the Churches reopened and he was asked by the local government to take care of the congregation. He did that for many years, but is now about 98 years old – and retired. He was a strong preacher and also a good calligrapher. There were about six ordained pastors on the field at that time, one of which, Pastor Gong En Rong in Wangtai was assassinated already in the spring of 1947. This was a serious drawback especially after the change 1949. In Communist China, The

Swedish Mission had no chance to train qualified personnel for the ministry. What a waste! (translated by Mary Zhang)

Postscript

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During my time in elementary school through Ruihua Middle School I suffered the most turbulent period of modern Chinese history, full of sadness and pain. Soon after I had begun to study at Luban Temple Primary School, the Japanese troops invaded China on a large scale. Before long, Jiaozhou was occupied. I was transferred to study in Ruihua Elementary School and then Middle School during the period when Jiaozhou was controlled by the Japanese and their Puppet regime. Fortunately Ruihua Middle School was founded by a Swedish Mission, so we were able to avoid being dominated by the Bureau of Education belonging to the regime. We could continue our classes under cover of the Ruihua Bible Institute (It is

very close to the Ruihua Middle School). We still used our former textbooks. Sweden was a neutral country during World War II and the Japanese were reluctant to deal with the Swedish mission school. I still remember the situation when the Japanese troops entered into Jiaozhou city. The Ruihua Mission opened the church and the Primary School to the citizens and many young women fled to seek shelter there. The Mission painted Swedish flags on some roofs to ward off Japanese bombers.

I recall that the main gate to Ruihua Middle School was closed and only a side gate from Shao Men Li was used. All students were required to live on campus. Ruihua School was the only safe area in Jiaozhou during the period of Japanese occupation. We had a couple of happy golden years under the cover of God. This is the most beautiful memory of my life.

We had excellent teachers in Ruihua Middle School. Most of them graduated from Cheeloo University. Principal Wang was a meticulous teacher and was well known all around. Students from neighboring counties also were eager to study at Ruihua. At Ruihua Middle School emphasis was both on spirit and intellect. Focus was especially on spiritual wellbeing. We did not only have Bible classes, we even had morning devotions every day with a Bible message, prayer and singing of hymns. We also had evening prayers every night. Principal Wang visited the dormitory and knelt down to pray for the students with tears in his eyes. He was both a demanding

teacher and a good father. Principal Wang was a prominent educator and an excellent evangelist. He was content to live in poverty and showed special strength in character and faithful ambition. He refused to adopt the textbooks designated by the Japanese Puppet regime. We never hung the flag of the Puppet regime during the 8 years of occupation. When Principal Wang was called for interrogation by the Magistrate, all teachers and students wept and knelt down to pray for him. Finally he was released. Principal Wang said the direction of the teaching during the period of occupation was a distorted anti-Japanese protest. We couldn't imagine the pressure he suffered.

Nowadays Jiaozhou No. 1 Middle School has inherited the Ruihua tradition. The school is more than one hundred years and more and more students come forward in large numbers, some of which will earn worldwide reputation. The good tradition and the spirit of Ruihua will be passed on forever. Enclosed is the poem which I wrote in honor of Principal Wang. He will never be forgotten by his students.

A Monument in Memory of Principal Wang Hua Ting

*Principal Hua Ting, elite of teachers
Led our Ruihua, towering in Jiaodong
Fostering disciples both boys and girls
Equally valued*

*His superior achievements abound
Excellent teaching, loved by staff and students
He emphasized both spirit and intellect
Creating an atmosphere of home
He exalted Christ, earnestly believing in God
Honoring elders, he practiced brotherhood
He dressed simply with humility
Showing strength of character
Faithful in ambition
With life long gratitude, Ruihua students
Engraved this stone as a witness
Glory to the Lord forever*

All Previous Students of Jiaozou Ruihua Middle School
Nov. 18, 2008

(translated by Judy Qiu)

Addendum

补遗追加

The Story of the Rui Hua Middle School in Jiaozhou

胶州瑞华中学的故事

By Alice Rinell Hermansson (任雪竹)

Some years ago I was asked to write something about the history of the Rui Hua Middle School in Jiaozhou. This task was more complicated than I had thought. First of all, there are very few sources that document the development. Most of the documentation is written in Swedish and the different sources are not always coherent. For instance, there is not much statistical information available. It is possible that some of this can be found in yearly reports from the Missionary Conference that is available in the archives of the Baptist Union of Sweden in Stockholm. This I will look into at some later date. The second problem is that a long time has past and this hampers people's recollection. Therefore it would

be valuable that people who still can remember would contribute to this story. One good example is Rev. Yin Ying, who has written about his experiences as a student at Rui Hua Middle School. My own recollections are limited. I was never a student, only the daughter of Egron Rinell, one of the teachers. The period I remember best is the 1940's, but the school had a long history before that.

Introduction

The Rui Hua Middle School in Jiaozhou grew out of the work by missionaries of the Baptist Union of Sweden. The first missionary arrived in Shanghai 1891. His name was Carl Vingren. He first investigated the possibility to find a suitable place for the mission in central or south China. After a few months he ended up in Shandong Province. In the northern part of Shandong American Baptist Missionaries had already worked for some thirty years. They welcomed the Swedes to be their co-workers and suggested that the Swedish Mission should be concentrated to an area in south-eastern Shandong, focusing first of all on the Jiaozhou (Kiaochow) region. Later on the Mission spread to Zhucheng, Wangtai, Gaomi and Rhizhao and a vast number of villages surrounding these communities.

At this early date there were no foreigners in Jiaozhou and the citizens were quite suspicious of the strangers and unwilling to

let them rent or buy any property. However, in 1892 Vingren was successful in renting a small three-room house with mud floors, which earlier had been used as a brothel. The following year he and his co-worker J E Lindberg (Ling Yuehan), who had recently arrived from Sweden, moved into this house. Owing to health problems Rev. Vingren had to return to Sweden already in 1893. In March, 1894, three more missionaries arrived: J. A. Rinell, his wife Hedvig Rinell and Miss Anna Holtz, who later became Mrs. Lindberg. All three men were pastors and had graduated from Bethel Seminary in Stockholm. The ladies were school teachers with experience from teaching in Sweden. And they were the ones who took the initiative to the Mission schools.

The Swedish Baptist Mission worked in China for 60 years, during the period 1891-1951. Totally 47 Swedish missionaries were sent to Shandong. Some stayed there only a few years, while others spent more than 50 years in the country. Their main emphasis was on evangelical work, on education and medical and social work.

This paper deals only with education and the schools that were started by the Mission, especially Rui Hua Middle School in Jiaozhou. The Middle School recruited students from the whole area since it was the only Middle School run by the Mission. But the importance of the Primary Schools should also be noted, since few Chinese children had the opportunity to go to school in the early twentieth century and illiteracy was wide spread. This was especially

true for girls and of children in the countryside.

In 1905 the Chinese government ruled that the ancient educational system in China should be modernized. Efforts were made to open Primary and Secondary Schools across the Country. No doubt the Mission schools contributed actively in this development. In this paper the development of the Mission schools in South-East Shandong is described in two periods, the time before and the time after 1929. In 1929 the Chinese government instituted new regulations demanding state registration of all schools in China, so this should be a logical breaking point.

The Period 1900-1929

Early beginnings

The first school within the Mission was a Primary School for boys in Jiaozhou. This started in the spring of 1900. In the first class there were only five students, all of them sons of Chinese families connected to the Mission. People were reluctant to send their children to foreign schools at that time. Mrs. Hedvig Rinell served as principal and a Chinese teacher was employed, Wang Xinhua, who had taught school in the Wangtai-region for 18 years. He is described as a teacher of the old Chinese tradition, who disciplined the students severely. But he served the Mission for many years and is reported to have become more lenient with time. In the documents it is stated that

Mr. Wang taught reading and arithmetic, Mrs. Hedvig Rinell taught religion, Mrs. Swordson (who had arrived in Jiaozhou 1899) taught music and singing.

Owing to the “Boxer Rebellion” the missionaries had to leave Jiaozhou in the summer of 1900 and the school was closed. However, they could return from Qingdao after a few months and the school could open again the following year, now with 10 students. In 1896 the Rinells had moved into a house at Da Xing Jiai in Xiguan, and that was the first location of the Boys’ School.

The first Girls’ School was opened by Mrs. Anna Lindberg in 1903 with only four little girls. The Lindbergs had built a western style house at Gu Lun Zi Qiao in Nan guan in 1895, and the Girls’ School was located there. Mrs. Lindberg worked together with a Chinese teacher, the former village school teacher Fan Ying Yuan. When the Lindbergs moved to take up work in Zhucheng in 1904, both the Boys’ and the Girls’ Schools were located to Xi guan. Since most of the students came from rural villages, and since it wasn’t proper especially for girls at that time to be seen in public places, the schools were organised as boarding schools. Later on as more students were admitted to the schools, many of the students who had their home in Jiaozhou lived at home with their families.

In 1904 some property bordering the Rinell home was bought and new classrooms provided for both schools. In 1905 there were twelve boys and twelve girls attending school. Six years later, in

1910, a new school building was built for the Boys' School on a compound which later was used by the Rui Hua Middle School, close to the property where a church was built in 1913. This school was enlarged again in 1921, with classrooms, offices for the teachers and rows of houses for the men's dormitory. A new building was built for the Girls' School in 1923. This was a two storey building with class rooms on the second floor and dormitory rooms for the girls and a dining area on the bottom floor. As we shall see the Middle School became co-educational in 1929 and the girls moved into the Boys' School. The Girls' School was still used as a dormitory for the girls, but the classrooms were then turned over to the Primary School¹.

School leadership

As mentioned above the first principals of the mission schools in Jiaozhou were Mrs. Hedvig Rinell for the boys, and Mrs. Anna Lindberg for the girls. In 1905 Mrs. Hedvig Rinell became the leader of both schools, but when the Boys' School moved to a new compound in 1910, Rev. Ando Leander (Li An De), who had come to China in 1907, became principal there. When he went on furlough in 1914, the schools were closed owing to the turbulence caused by World War I. The schools could open again in 1915 and Mrs. Hedvig

¹ This building was used in the latter half of the 20th century by the No.1 Middle School, until this school moved into a new campus in 2002.

Rinell resumed the leadership until 1917, when her son, Rev. Egron Rinell, came back to work in the Mission after having graduated from theological studies in Sweden. He was the principal until 1929, except for the year 1924, when he visited Sweden. Egron Rinell, born and raised in China, was only 23 years old when he took on this responsibility. Some of his students were in fact his seniors.

Not long after the first schools were started, the Mission appointed a school board with six Chinese and one Swedish representative, in order to promote education both in the Jiaozhou schools and to start up schools in the surrounding villages. From 1915 formal examinations were held twice a year and school inspectors were appointed to guarantee the quality of the education offered.

The educational development

Soon the mission schools became quite popular and attracted more and more students both from the city and from the surrounding area. When the first students graduated from Primary School it became evident that there was a need for education on a higher level. Some of the gifted students were admitted to a four year program for "higher education". This was the beginning of the Middle School called Rui Hua Zhong Hue. In the beginning the Primary School was divided into two sections, a four year introductory program and three years of more advanced studies. To begin with the Middle School

was four years. Later on the Primary School was six years and the Middle School was organised in a three year program in accordance with the contemporary Chinese school system².

In 1913 the first groups graduated from Higher Education (the two Middle Schools). The boys were: Wang Wenpo, Fong Jiye, Fan Shuenzhong. The girls were: Fan Xianglan, Fan Xiangmei, Zhou Cuwan, Ho Xiuwoa, and Ji Wenlien. Several of them came to serve the mission as teachers, evangelists or Bible women. Graduation was a big event to which the mandarin and other prominent leaders in the community were invited.

Statistics about the number of students is limited. It is evident that there were Primary Schools in Jiaozhou, Chucheng, Gaomi and Wangtai, but also in a great number of villages in this area. Available statistics show that in the year 1922 there were 66 Primary Schools with four-year programs attended by 1109 boys and seven schools for girls with totally 80 students. There were two Primary Schools offering grades 5-6 with 34 boys and two with 23 girls. Thirty boys and 19 girls studied in the Middle Schools. At this time grades 5-6 and the Middle Schools were only offered in Jiaozhou.

During the first twenty years of the Middle School (1909-1929) totally 357 boys had been admitted to the school, whereof 85

² However a fourth year was introduced in the 1940'ies with the hope that it would be possible to build up a Higher level middle school (Gao zhong).

had graduated by 1929. Totally 35 girls had graduated from Middle School by 1929 of the 350 girls that had been admitted to the school by 1931. Many of these students graduated in the next few years, but there were quite a few drop-outs as well, primarily among the girls. Women married early at this time, and it was not unusual that families took their girls home to get married.

Several of the students from the Rui Hua Middle Schools continued their studies in other institutions. In later years many went to Qingdao for Higher Middle School (Gao Zhong), but already the first group of graduates could go to Huangxian, Jinan, and other cities to study at teacher's colleges, in theological seminaries or other institutions. A few eventually went to Cheeloo University in Jinan or to other universities.

Three young graduates from Rui Hua Middle School, Wang Huating, Feng Zanting and Gao Shenghan, continued their studies in Huangxien in the 1920'ies. On their way home at vacation time they met robbers who took whatever belongings they had. They sent a telegram to Jiaozhou that read: "Robbed. Wang, Feng, Gao". Help was sent to them from Jiaozhou so that they could continue their trip home. Wang later became the principal of Rui Hua Middle School, Feng taught for many years in this same school, and Gao served as pastor and leader of the church in Gaomi for many years. Years later this little event was told to me by Mr. Wang.

The Period 1929-1949

Changes that took place after 1929

A major change occurred with the Government policies introduced in 1929. A directive was issued that all private schools should be registered with the State and be subject to Chinese leadership³. Furthermore, religious education should be voluntary and once every Monday the teachers and students should pay tribute to Dr. Sun, the first president of the Republic of China, by standing in silence and bowing before his memorial portrait.

Several Mission schools were closed at this time especially those in the villages in the countryside. The Swedish Mission Board decided to withdraw financial support to the schools, believing that the government should take over the responsibility for all education in the future. The Primary Schools run by the Mission were closed. However, in Jiaozhou it was decided that Rui Hua Middle School, should continue as before. In hindsight this must have been a wise decision, since Mr. He Siyuan, the officer in the Shandong Government who was responsible for education, never did register any mission schools. The Rui Hua Middle School applied for registration, but this was disregarded.

The first year after this decree proved to be difficult owing to

³ The Mission Schools in Jiaozhou and Zhucheng were among the schools that this was specifically sent to.

the lack of financial support from the Mission. Even so some of the village schools carried on with the support of Chinese teachers and local church members. After a year the Mission decided to resume its responsibility and the school work could proceed both in the primary schools and in the middle school. However some important changes were implemented.

Chinese leadership

In 1929 Mr. Wu was appointed principal for the Rui Hua Middle School in Jiaozhou. He was a Chinese man from the Presbyterian mission. There is very little information about him in the sources used for this paper, but his appointment may illustrate the cooperation that existed between the different missions active in Shandong at this time. He served for only one year. In 1930 Mr. Wang Huating (also known as Wang Fengrui) was voted principal, but chose to accept the post first in 1934 after having served as a teacher in Rui Hua Middle School and in Shanxi Province. He held this position officially until 1951. He was one of the early graduates from Rui Hua Zhong Xue (Rui Hua Middle School), had gone to teacher's college in Huangxian, and held a degree with a chemistry major from Cheeloo University in Jinan. He was a very capable leader and was loved by colleagues and students alike. For the leadership of the school a Chinese School Board was appointed and Swedish

missionaries were represented on the Board only as advisors.

Another major change in 1929 was that the Middle School became co-educational, so that boys and girls studied together in classrooms that earlier had belonged to the Boys' School. The girls still used the dormitories at the former Girls' school, but the classrooms in that building were as mentioned given over to the Primary School which now also had become coeducational. The first principal of the Primary School in Jiaozhou after 1929 was Mr. Goa from Zhucheng. In the mid 1930-ties Mr. Qi Zhong Tang became principal, a position he held until the school was closed.

Voluntary activities

The sources used do not indicate whether teaching of religion became voluntary or not after 1929. It is only noted that three teachers taught this subject: Egron Rinell, Hedvig Rinell and Doris Strutz. But there were many activities that were voluntary. Bible studies were offered on Friday evenings and there were morning and evening prayers in the Church, which the students could take part in if they wished. Every year the Church arranged a series of meetings with well known preachers from other parts of China, such as Wang Mingdao, Xie Baoluo, Li Jisheng, the Norwegian missionary Marie Monsen and several others.

Besides the ordinary subjects for the Middle School there were

some extra curricular activities. There was physical exercise, soccer and games of different kinds. Some students organised a group which played mouth-harmonicas. Many students also enjoyed singing in the church choir. Others took part in stage plays on special occasions. Youth groups, each with a special embroidered silk banner, had regular gatherings in their free time. In the 1940'ies scouting became popular, with excursions and outdoor activities. By this time the students wore student uniforms and some would wear scout uniforms. The girls wore blue blouses and black skirts.

Solidarity with the Chinese people

The question about paying tribute to Dr. Sun's memory never became a big issue. There must have been mutual misconceptions about this. Some feared that this practice could be seen as a form of "worship", others saw it only as a demonstration of solidarity and reverence for the Chinese State. On the side of the Mission there was a fear that the State would interfere with the evangelical work that was the essential focus of the Mission. There is evidence that the State was suspicious, afraid that the Mission would hinder the students' development of patriotism and love for their country.

In retrospect probably both sides were prejudiced. Dr. Sun stood out as a symbol for China. It was not unusual at this time that schools even in the West practiced certain ceremonies giving allegiance to

their country. This could not be regarded as “worship”. On the other hand the teachers and students of the Rui Hua Middle School were very conscious about their Chinese heritage and the importance of their contribution to the development of their country. This is evident, not least in the school song of the Middle School. It stresses the need of being dedicated and to contribute to the country to the point that the country’s needs are seen as more important than the student’s individual needs and desires.

Times of turmoil and growth

The Mission Schools were of course affected by the general situation in China in the period 1900-1949. It has already been said that school work was discontinued owing to the “Boxer Rebellion” in 1900 and in the beginning of World War I. Jiaozhou was occupied by Japanese forces in 1914 and they accused the mission to take sides with Germany in this war, which was not true. The years 1928-1930 were turbulent. Jiaozhou was in the front line, and there were violent air raids, especially in the Zhucheng area.

The Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945, became part of World War II. Japanese troops entered Jiaozhou on February 15, 1938. I have a personal memory of this. Our family had visited Rev. and Mrs. J.A. Rinell (my grandparents) and when we opened the gate to go home Da Jing Jiai was full of Japanese soldiers, horses, and military

equipment. There was no fighting since the local government already had left and there was no Chinese army to resist the Japanese. The families had hung white flags at their gates, signifying surrender. Women and children had fled to the Mission schools for shelter, so the classrooms were full of refugees. The more well-to-do families in Jiaozhou contributed with food during the few days this situation lasted. When the troops moved into their barracks outside of the North City Gate, people could again settle to their normal life. During this time all schools were closed, but they could open again after summer.

The Japanese occupation lasted for seven and half years. During this time the school work was rather undisturbed. In fact, this was a period of expansion, since many preferred to send their children and young people to the Mission Schools instead of those controlled by the Japanese. The Japanese demanded that all schools should teach the Japanese language, so this was introduced to some extent in the Primary School. In the beginning a Japanese officer was the teacher. The Middle School kept to the same curriculum that the schools had established before the war. The school did not even exchange the textbooks for those introduced by the Japanese.

The relative peaceful development of the Rui Hua Schools during World War II no doubt had to do with the fact that the Swedish government took a neutral position, not entering into alliance with either side in the war. American and British citizens were treated

differently. After the attack on Pearl Harbour they were put in an internment camp in Weixien (now: Weifang). The churches and schools that had been supported by Americans and British Missions had great difficulties. Many were discontinued.

When the war broke out the Swedish Consul General in Shanghai sent posters to be put up on the Mission buildings, informing that this was “Swedish property”. The Japanese authorities respected this but they visited the schools from time to time. Mr. Wang Huating and Egron Rinell (my father) were sometimes called for interrogations by the Magistrate. I remember how worried we were when they were kept beyond curfew time, and the streets would be dark and empty when they walked home. However, the situation in the villages in the countryside was more difficult than in the city. The Japanese never gained full control of the rural areas and from time to time the villages were raided by their troops. One problem was that different currency was used in the city and in countryside. So salaries for teachers and other workers in the Mission must be differentiated depending on which currency was viable in different communities.

The latest addition to the Mission’s schools was the Bible School, Rui Hua Shengjing Xueyuan. For many years a two-year course for Bible women had been offered in Jiaozhou, led by Mrs. Hedvig Rinell. In Gaomi Rev. Leander had arranged yearly two-month courses for evangelists ever since 1920. These two schools were united in the Bible School in Jiaozhou and a new school

building was built close to the Middle School. In 1939 the first coeducational class graduated from a two-year program. The program was then extended to three years and the new school building was dedicated in 1940. The entrance to the compound was through an old Chinese style gateway. This had been carefully renovated and preserved. The Bible School and the Middle School stood in close contact with each other and many teachers taught in both schools. Several of the Bible School students were graduates from Rui Hua Middle School. In 1940 there were 52 students in the Bible School.

In 1941 the Rui Hua Church celebrated its fifty years anniversary. At this time the Mission had 42 schools with 60 teachers and a total of 1,542 students. These were located to Jiaozhou, Chucheng, Wangtai, Long Jia Cun, Gaomi City and rural villages around Gaomi, Po Li, Rizhao, Goutou, Bao Guo Shan, Wang Ge Zhuang, He Kuan, and Song Jia Cun. The Middle School is included in these numbers. This year there were only about 50 students in the Middle School.

The last period of unrest was during the Civil War that followed the Japanese defeat in 1945. The Eighth Route Army entered Jiaozhou only one week after peace was declared, and before the Japanese troops had left. This first time they stayed only one week, but the city changed hands six times before it permanently became Communist territory in 1947. During this time the schools were still open. The largest graduation class from the Rui Hua Middle School

was in fact in 1946. That year, 38 students graduated and about 50% were women. In their graduation picture there are ten teachers.

Jiaozhou was liberated in the spring of 1947. Most of the teachers and students of Ruihua Middle School went to Qingdao. The students of Year 1947 were ready to graduate two months later. Teacher Gao Wei Yi brought a proposal to Principal Wang to ask permission to organize a graduate class so that the students could get their diplomas to make it possible for them to apply for further education. So Principal Wang made a decision to continue the teaching in Qingdao. He asked Rev. Egron Rinell to negotiate with the German Mission (AEPM) in Qingdao to borrow their Church basement in 27 Wu Ding Road for a classroom. More than 30 students who were going to graduate from Ruihua Middle School were admitted to study there. Teacher Gao Wei Yi, himself a graduate of Ruihua, taught English. Another Ruihua graduate, Tian Zhen, who by that time studied at Shandong University, taught Mathematics. Mr. Shi Xiao Feng, teacher of Ruihua Middle School, taught Chinese. All of them worked as volunteers. They had no salary, but they received relief materials from UN Relief & Rehabilitation Administration: 50 kilograms American flour and a barrel of milk powder were provided monthly, and also with other relief materials like military blankets, cotton coats and shoes etc. All these materials could be traded on market to exchange money. So there were no problems for them to make a living. Later the students from Grade II of Ruihua Middle

School joined the School. Another teacher, Han Bi, who was a student of Shandong University, was invited to teach Mathematics. The teachers and students were totally 61. Each of them could receive relief materials. When the last group of students graduated, the school was closed.

The Principal, Mr. Wang, and two of the teachers, Mr. Feng and Mr. Sun, stayed behind in Jiaozhou. In 1951 the Rui Hua Middle School was incorporated in the public school system, only a couple of the Rui Hua teachers continued to teach in the new organization. The era of mission schools had come to an end.

Some reflections

In 1939 the schools in the Jiaozhou district were evaluated by a committee consisting of Chinese and Japanese experts. They used four questions in their evaluation:

1. Which school found it easiest to recruit students?
2. Which school had the best curriculum, the best teachers, and the best education?
3. Which school had the best orderliness and discipline?
4. Which school had the most knowledgeable students?

The results of the evaluation showed that the Rui Hua Middle School had the best results in all four dimensions. Some aspects related to these questions will be discussed here below.

Recruiting students

In the early beginnings it was difficult to recruit students to the mission schools. The citizens were reluctant to let their children go to a school led by foreign missionaries. At the same time the missionaries felt that it was important that the schools first of all should train young people to become workers in the mission, so children of church members were favoured. The ultimate goal was to build up a Chinese Church with Chinese leadership. In a society where few young people could go to school, it was necessary to provide education. To recruit students from Christian homes was a strategy to equip future church leaders.

As time went on the Mission schools were seen as less threatening by the general public. As a matter of fact they were often the only alternative available. The schools became popular, the students had good results and the trust for the schools grew in society at large. So many families were eager to send their children to the Mission Primary Schools in small towns and villages. The only Middle School in the Mission was the one in Jiaozhou, which recruited gifted students from all over South-Eastern Shandong. For many this was a stepping stone to higher education in other schools and institutions and to ultimately get the necessary preparation to contribute to the Chinese society.

In the beginning the Mission Schools were supported financially

by the Swedish Mission. However, the goal was that the schools should be self-supporting. During times of war and turbulence it was often difficult to get money transactions from Sweden, so this increased the need for other financial sources. This made it necessary to introduce school fees and some payment for room and board. This sadly made it difficult for some less well-to-do families to afford to send their children to school, regardless if they had a Christian background or not. At the same time this gave opportunities for the wealthier Jiaozhou families to send their children to school, something that may have increased the good will for the school among the citizens of Jiaozhou.

Good education

Good education is dependent on good leadership and the quality of the teachers. In this respect the Rui Hua Middle School was fortunate. The teachers were well prepared, and several were former Rui Hua-students who had acquired higher education in other institutions.

The teachers were faithful, staying on to teach in the school in spite of low wages and times of turmoil in society.

It would be appropriate to account for the various teachers that have contributed to generations of students through the years. However, the sources available are sparse, and my own knowledge

is limited. In his memoirs Rev. Yin Ying has described some of the teachers from the 1940's, when he was a Rui Hua-student. It would be interesting if more such information could be compiled before their stories are forgotten.

In 1983 I had the opportunity to interview Mr. Wang Huating, the principal, and would like to share some of this information here. He was born on July 20, 1901 in Bu Shang, a village on the foot of a little mountain not far from Wangtai in Shandong. He died in Qingdao in 1988. He had attended primary school in Wangtai and came to Rui Hua Middle School 1912 together with Feng Zuanting, who was his senior by fourteen years. It was a time of revolution, and young Wang still wore his queue while Feng had cut off his and only wore a loose one tied to his hat. Later, when it became mandatory, it was Feng who cut off Wang's queue.

Wang graduated after three years. That same year he was baptised in Wangtai and went off to Huanxian for further studies together with his classmates Feng Zuanting, Han Fengming and Xin Baoyong. His three friends studied theology, but Wang chose to study science. After two years he was invited to come back to teach at Rui Hua Middle School. However, he had a desire to continue his studies. Rev. Lidquist, at that time responsible for the mission in Wangtai, contacted Cheeloo University on his behalf, and he was admitted without even having to take part in the entrance exams that year. Instead Mr. Hartwell, teacher at Huangxian, had an oral exam with

him that lasted until midnight. He also gave the future teacher Wang a piece of advice: "You will have good students and bad students; students that you like and students you don't like. Always remember to be fair and correct with them all." Mr. Wang told me that this had been his guideline and he had never accepted any bribes from students or their families. He was a man of integrity with high ethical standards.

Upon graduation from Cheeloo University 1925, Wang came back to teach at Rui Hua Middle School. He was elected principal in 1930, but decided he wanted more experience first. So he taught in an American mission school in Fengyang, Shanxi, for one year. This was a good experience, but he remembered that year with sadness. He and his wife had lost a little daughter to death during this year.

Wang Huating took up responsibility as a principal in 1934. He had a good sense of humour, a dynamic intellect and a keen interest for young people and their development. He was also a strict principal who kept good discipline. Yet, he was respected by students and teachers alike. Once I met a man who told me that he had been expelled from the school for bad behaviour. Still he said: "Wang Xiaozhang (Principal Wang) is like a father to me!"

Mr. Wang led a simple life, wearing the traditional Chinese school costume. He remembered being called for interrogation by the Japanese. Their concern was why the school was a Christian school. Was there any risk that he had left out Confucius and become less

patriotic? Mr. Wang told them to ask his students how they felt about this.

Mr. Wang was a good representative of his school and his country. He was also a good speaker and often he preached in the Church or at other gatherings. He was a committed Christian and convinced of the power of prayer. When the Baptist Union of Sweden celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in 1948 he was invited to be their prominent guest from China. He stayed in Sweden for one year, travelling to many places, preaching and giving information about the mission in China. He left lasting impressions wherever he came, and years later people would ask about him. On his way home in 1949 he caught the last plane for Shanghai, and was able to reunite with his family in Jiaozhou, just in time for the declaration of the People's Republic of China.

When the government took over Rui Hua Middle School in 1951, Mr. Wang lost his position as principal. He stayed on in Jiaozhou for a few years, but moved to Qingdao in 1957, where he worked with chemical analyses of products for import and export. For some years he took care of his mother in his home village. When I met him he was retired and lived quietly in Qingdao, surrounded by family and his former students.

In tribute of his life and work, former students have engraved a poem on the back side of his tomb stone which was raised by his three children.

Orderliness and discipline

There was orderliness and discipline in the school, probably beyond what would seem desirable in later years. The school was off limits for smoking and the students were not allowed to read inappropriate literature. The students were always properly dressed, in later years they wore school uniforms. The dormitories were well kept and times for study and leisure were respected. No doubt former teachers and students would have more information about these things.

Although the school was coeducational, there was little communication between boys and girls. One former student told me years later that he had met his future wife in school, but the only way they could spend time together was on their way home from school when she walked and he biked. He said: "There was always something wrong with my bicycle, so we had to walk together!"

On rare occasions I took part in my father's English classes. There was always a little ceremony. When he entered the room everybody stood up, and he greeted the class: "Good morning boys and girls!" After the students had responded "Good morning, Sir", they were seated and the lesson could begin. I also remember the piles of notebooks on his desk at home where each of the students had handed in a weekly page with a sentence in English calligraphy – just to train longhand writing. They were graded on a ten point scale

and their performance was amazing. One former student told me that they were known to have good handwriting, even better than their children who studied English years later.

Good students

The forth question in the evaluation was about which school had the most knowledgeable students. The students of Rui Hua Middle School had a high potential, being gifted and motivated and hard working. Their performance was dependent both on their own capability and on the teachers' efficiency. One way to measure the success of this learning process is to find out what happened to these students later in life with regard to their values and contribution to society.

In other words, it would be very interesting to find out what has become of the students of the Rui Hua Middle School. This is, of course, a difficult project after so many years. There have been some attempts to collect information about former students. In the 1980's Li Bingcheng in Jinan made a booklet of the people that he had been able to find. I have been told that groups of Rui Hua students have met from time to time in Jinan, Qingdao and even in Taipei. I had the privilege to meet one such group in Qingdao some years ago, and it seems they have kept contact with each other, honouring the "Family-feeling" that the school stood for.

When the No.1 Middle School in Jiaozhou moved from the former mission premises in 2002 to a new, beautiful campus, the former Rui Hua students were invited to take part in the celebrations. At this time quite a few old alumni gathered, headed by the teacher Gao Weiyi.

The former students have been active within different areas. Perhaps occupations within education or within the field of medicine have attracted the greatest number of them. But there are also those who have worked in industrial organizations, in journalism or in government services. More information is needed to make this list complete.

From the Mission's point of view it would be of interest to find out not only how many have been engaged in Church activities through the years but also how the years in Rui Hua affected their values later in life. Rev. Yin Ying is the only person that has written about the period in his life when he was a student at Rui Hua Middle School. He himself has an interesting history. After studies in theology he became a pastor and worked as Executive Director of Taosheng (Taiwan & Hongkong) Publishing House for many years. In later years he has continued to publish literature from his home in California.

One of the most well known former students of the Rui Hua Middle School is Dr. Martin C. Yang (Yang Maochun). He grew up in Taitou village south west of Jiaozhou Bay. (Nowadays it belongs

to Xin'An, Huangdao). After graduating from Cheeloo University and Yanching University, he went to study at Cornell University for his PhD. Then he was supervised by the famous anthropologist Ralph Linton at Columbia University. In 1945 *A Chinese Village - Taitou, Shandong Province* was published. It has been translated into different foreign languages, and taken as one of the reference books for the students majoring in anthropology. In the book he describes in detail life in his home village, accounting for architecture, cultural customs, and social relations within the family, between families, within the village and in relation to other villages. His thesis is a document of life in the Chinese country side in the 1940'ies. After having taught for some years in USA, he decided to accept a position as professor of sociology in Taipei. Our family had a chance to meet him in the 1970'ies when he gave a lecture at an international sociological conference at Uppsala University, Sweden.

There are, no doubt several more interesting stories to be told; stories of how students from Rui Hua Middle School have struggled and done their best to serve their fellow men under varying circumstances. Some have had more prominent positions and others have worked in more hidden places. It is sixty years since the school closed. The students are getting older and information should be collected now!

Mission policy

The Mission began in China in a period when few young people could go to school and when the illiteracy rate was enormous. Still the Swedish missionaries had different opinions about establishing mission schools, especially schools above the primary school level. Some felt that their main cause to come to China was to introduce the Christian Gospel and to build up strong Christian churches. Others were of the opinion that the Chinese church needed a well educated leadership and that it also was necessary to provide opportunities for education regardless of where the students would work in the future. This difference of opinion was debated in many missionary conferences.

In time the Mission schools benefited from a good reputation and there was a great demand for education. In hindsight it is no doubt that the decision to establish Rui Hua Middle School was wise. It provided opportunities for the young people to prepare themselves to meet a changing world. The graduates from Rui Hua Middle School have contributed not only to the growth of the Chinese church, as the early missionaries hoped, but in many other ways to the development in local communities, to their country at large and in other parts of the world.

Looking back there is reason to be humble. The Swedish mission was comparatively small and it operated in a rather little area

of the vast Chinese country. The work was primarily concentrated to small cities and villages in the country side of Shandong. Resources were limited and much of the time the work had to rely mainly on dedicated Chinese co-workers. At the same time there is reason to be proud. The Rui Hua Middle School did fulfil its mission to enable young people to grow and develop in an intellectual and spiritual atmosphere, where knowledge and values were honoured.

This calls for a tribute to the dedicated teachers, leaders and students of the Rui Hua Middle School in Jiaozhou. - With this I dedicate this paper to the former students of the School, hoping that they will add their own stories and whatever information they have on this subject.

Literature

Most of the literature is in Swedish, which tends to make the information hard to retrieve for international researchers. The most comprehensive book is the one by Danielson & Modén, which builds mainly on reports by the missionaries and articles in mission periodicals.

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