

神冊



香港浸會大學中國研究課程學

1990-2005



香港浸會大學中國研究課程學會

Hong Kong Baptist University China Studies Society

本會成立宗旨為：

1. 團結本課程各同學
2. 謀求會員福利
3. 發揚自治精神
4. 倡導研習風氣，提高學術水平
5. 認識及關心中國

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鳴謝（排名不分先後）

香港浸會大學中國研究課程學會編製此年刊的過程中，承蒙下列人士或組織鼎力相助，謹致謝忱。

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主席致辭

熱中·功夫·足球

還猜疑自己究竟是否有甚麼毛病或行差踏錯，為何久久未曾收到編輯大人向主席本人徵稿。隨即收到，便不敢怠慢，日思夜想，以致徹夜難眠，寢食不安云云。莊員們還擔心主席辭不達意，有失中研體面。故下筆之時，每每誠惶誠恐，害怕讀者先看此頁，然後心裡暗忖看年刊不如看「功夫足球」呢！

無疑，「功夫足球」是一部粗制濫造的電視劇。坊間流傳它疑抄襲「少林足球」。當事人當然矢口否認，本人亦不敢苟同。試問抄襲，質素又怎會這麼低呢？然而，抄襲得出色，用「繼承」一詞更為恰當。第十五屆中國研究課程學會幹事會熱中閣便明白到「繼承」的重要性，秉承中研歷來優良的傳統，一心致力為會員服務，為同學提供高質素的康樂及學術活動和各式各樣的福利。另一方面，透過對外合作和宣傳，再加上各幹事的努力，中研於校內外的知名度的確大為提高。除了「繼承」，「創新」同樣是不可或缺的元素，不然只會給人舊酒新瓶的感覺。本屆，福利物品增設了年曆卡，康樂活動方面亦新增了高桌晚宴，學術交流團汲取了過往兩年的經驗，在本年度終於成團了。總括來說，熱中閣可說是「承舊立新」。當然，課程主任、地理系教職員、經濟系教職員、社會學系教職員以及歷史系教職員對中研的支持也是功不可沒的。在位其間，深深體會到辦學會無非為會員出一分力罷了。會員才是一個學會最有價值的財產。試想沒有會員的參與，就算邀請到劉德華天王作表演嘉賓也只是徒然。全賴各會員的鼎力支持，本屆總算是功德圓滿。

最後，希望來屆幹事會能排除萬難，繼續用心用力為中研會員服務，切勿「打假波」欺騙觀眾。

第十五屆香港浸會大學中國研究課程學會幹事會
主席
張國浩



序言

神冊

在中國研究課程學會的第十五年，「熱中閣」為中研史寫下了輝煌的一頁。由去年四月的交職典禮至今，「熱中閣」的幹事們以最大的誠意，為超過三百名會員服務。在獅子山前，中研展示出強大的活力和凝聚力。過去一年的成就，化成了文字，永遠留在這本年刊中，讓各位回憶、細味。

這本年刊是多位幹事的心血結晶，經過數個月的努力才能製成。在此，我要多謝主席張國浩、內務副主席凌葉紅、外務副主席梁子煒、宣傳幹事許文彬、黃紹芬、學術幹事陳潔兒、康樂幹事梁繼善和體育幹事梁惠儀，非常感謝他們的支持和幫助。

本年度的年刊名為《神冊》。神，神州也；冊，典冊也。二字合起來，就是「中華寶典」之意思，也有「天授時機，精製而成之典冊」之意。《神冊》是為紀念本會十五周年而製作的，它記載了本會十五年光榮的歷史，回顧本會的發展歷程，亦記錄了本會在過去一年的變革和創新，別具意義。它亦載有各博士和中研精英獻出的論文及攝影作品，集中研之精萃，極為珍貴。

我希望大家喜歡這本年刊，並好好收藏，讓大家燦爛的笑容、師生的傑作和「熱中閣」的熱誠，永遠流傳於世。

第十五屆香港浸會大學中國研究課程學會幹事會
出版幹事
鍾民杰



香港浸會大學中國研究課程學會資料

創會年份：1990 年

會址：九龍窩打老道 224 號香港浸會大學楊瑞生樓 6 樓

工作坊地址：香港浸會大學浸會大學道校園 RL4 003

電郵地址：sacstd@hkbu.edu.hk

網址：<http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~sacstd>

會員人數：317（截至二零零四年底）

專業結構

經濟專業：82 人 (25.87%)

地理專業：76 人 (23.97%)

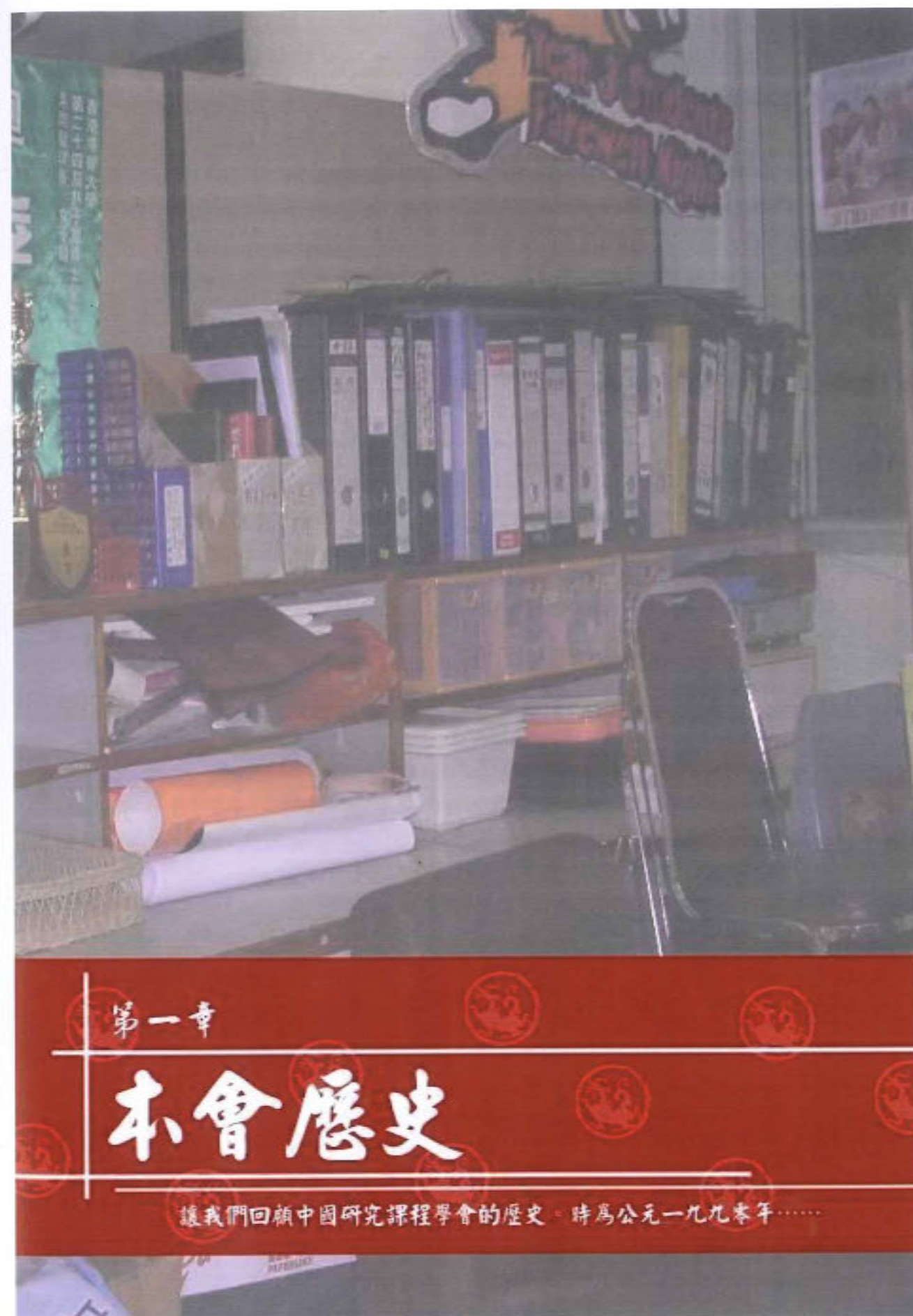
歷史專業：80 人 (25.24%)

社會專業：79 人 (24.92%)

性別比例

男性：115 人 (36.28%)

女性：202 人 (63.27%)



第一章

本會歷史

讓我們回顧中國研究課程學會的歷史。時為公元一九九零年……

細說從前

變幻莫測的年代

香港浸會大學中國研究課程學會的歷史，可追溯至二十世紀九十年代。當時我國經歷了多次重大事件，正處於轉折時期，產生劃時代的轉變。公元一九八九年，香港浸會學院（香港浸會大學前身）創辦大學本科程度的中國研究學位課程，旨在培訓對中國有全面認識的人材。一年之後，中國研究課程的同學（以下簡稱中研同學）深感需要成立一個代表他們的學會，以團結本課程的同學，為會員謀求福利，並倡導研習風氣，提高學術水平。於是，他們積極籌備創會事宜，決心實現共同的夢想。

各中國研究課程同學，
為籌備中國研究課程同學會，特於一九九零年六月十一日，在學生事務處學生活動統籌主任（Coordinator of Student Activities）葉成芝先生作深入討論，為創立中國研究學會作最後研究。同月十九日，在取得全體中研同學一致同意後，經濟專業的黃桂明先生、地理專業的方綺慧女士、歷史專業的謝誠昌先生和社會專業的董志鵬先生聯署向香港浸會學院學生事務處申請成立中國研究學會。同年的七月二十四日，學生事務處正式批准申請，香港浸會學院中國研究學會隨即成立。第一屆就職典禮於一九九零年十一月一日下午四時於方樹泉圖書館五樓平台舉行，為了慶祝及紀念本會的誕生，前校長謝志偉博士賦詩一首，內容是這樣的：

謝志偉	1990.7.24	主席
黃桂明	1990.7.24	副主席
方綺慧	1990.7.24	副主席
謝誠昌	1990.7.24	副主席
董志鵬	1990.7.24	副主席

全體中研同學在文件簽署，一致表示同意成立中國研究學會。

創建香港浸會學院中國研究學會 - 中研同學的建會歷程

公元一九九零年六月十一日，謝誠昌先生、方綺慧女士與當時的香港浸會學院學生事務處學生活動統籌主任（Coordinator of Student Activities）葉成芝先生作深入討論，為創立中國研究學會作最後研究。同月十九日，在取得全體中研同學一致同意後，經濟專業的黃桂明先生、地理專業的方綺慧女士、歷史專業的謝誠昌先生和社會專業的董志鵬先生聯署向香港浸會學院學生事務處申請成立中國研究學會。同年的七月二十四日，學生事務處正式批准申請，香港浸會學院中國研究學會隨即成立。第一屆就職典禮於一九九零年十一月一日下午四時於方樹泉圖書館五樓平台舉行，為了慶祝及紀念本會的誕生，前校長謝志偉博士賦詩一首，內容是這樣的：

會期初願償
學滿方嫌少
程末顯鋒芒
課餘相砥礪
究尋今古藏
研探神州秘
國祚悠時昌
中原氣磅薄

這是一首五律詩，把詩中每一句開首的字順序排起來，就是「中國研究課程學會」，很有意思。

創會之初 - 披荊斬棘

本會成立後，旋即面對財政問題。如果不能解決這個問題，本會的日常運作就會受到嚴重的影響，更可能會對本會的生存構成威脅。因此，幹事們都努力不懈，盡一切方法籌措經費。在地理學系周全浩博士的指導下，他們積極向各大機構募捐，又四出尋找贊助商；本會在校內則向各中研同學徵收適量的會費，並進行不同類型的籌款活動，例如電影籌款、單車籌款、步行籌款等等。經過多年的苦心經營，本會逐漸累積起財政實力，足以支持本會每年舉辦多項高質素的大型活動。



香港浸會學院
HONG KONG BAPTIST COLLEGE

Miss Hong Yee Wai, MEd
Co-ordinator
China Studies Society
HKBC

July 24, 1990

Dear Sirs,

Re: Registration of China Studies Society

Considering your recent application to form an Academic Society, we have studied carefully your proposed constitution and subscribers etc., and I am happy to approve your request for registration as a recognised student organisation under the Supervision of Student Affairs Office. Please note that the first year of your registration is considered as probationary, and I shall review the performance of your Society during the year.

Also, please call the first Annual General Meeting to approve and accept the Executive Officers, the activities planning and budget of your Society, then inform us at your earliest convenience.

Finally, may I take this precious opportunity to wish you all a very successful and prosperous year.

Sincerely yours

For Dr. Eddie K.K. Ho
Head of Student Affairs

學生事務長何鏡煒博士發函通知方綺慧女士，表示建會申請已獲批准。

玩學並重 - 朝氣蓬勃的學術性學會

作為一個學術性學會，本會每年都會舉辦學術活動，推動學術交流及研究，加深同學對祖國的認識。學術週是本會一年一度的盛事，一連數天的活動都精彩萬分。除了專題展覽外，本會還會舉辦專題講座，邀請學者名人作嘉賓講者，對專題作深入探討。而緊張刺激的問答比賽和辯論比賽則是同學的焦點所在，同學在比賽中皆用心思考，學到不少與專題有關的知識，獲益匪淺。綜觀整個九十年代，學術週的主題大多與當時的中國國情有關，一定程度上反映過往的大學生普遍比較關心國事。

正所謂「讀萬卷書不如行萬里路」，學術幹事每年都會籌組學術交流團，帶領一行二、三十人到國內不同的地方，例如歷史文化名城杭州、工業重鎮武漢，甚至一些偏遠的農村作參觀考察，瞭解當地的發展狀況和風土人情。儘管「行萬里路」需要萬貫錢，而著重學術的交流團亦不是豪華旅遊團，沒有太多遊玩享樂的時間，同學仍然積極參與。可惜，近年同學的熱情有所退卻。

「走訪」是九十年代初獨有的學術活動，數十名會員隨同學幹事到本地的一些雜誌社參觀。同學們都把握機會，與總編輯和一些工作人員交流，交換對中國事務的意見和看法。「走訪」活動不但能令同學更瞭解雜誌社的運作，亦令他們學會從更多角度、更多層面去分析我國之形勢。不過，自九十年代中期，這項增廣見聞、擴闊視野的活動已從幹事會的全年計劃中消失，漸漸為人所淡忘。

另一項在九十年代初曇花一現的學術活動是「研究小組討論」。十多年前，不少同學都喜歡在課餘時間討論國事，為配合會員的需要，本會曾經成立一些研究小組，例如九零年的「釣魚台事件研究小組」，供同學報名參加。數十多名同學聚在一起，按興趣範籌分組進行討論，對事件作詳盡的分析。畢竟，在一般同學心目中，這項活動的吸引力並不大，因此最終也逃不過被取消的命運，以後都再沒有舉行。

繁重的課業，令同學感到疲累不堪。為了讓同學放鬆心情，調劑身心，本會投入不少資源，舉辦多項康樂活動供會員參加，其中不可不提的有四角賽。四角賽是中研獨有的傳統，四個專業的同學在多個項目裡進行競賽，爭奪最高殊榮「巨龍盃」。競賽項目每年不盡相同，在九十年代，除了有大家熟悉的球類比賽和歌唱比賽外，還有拔河和跳大繩比賽。當年中研的同學於善衡校園方樹泉圖書館外的五樓平台，在拔河比賽中拼命拉扯，各不相讓；在跳大繩比賽中步調一致，挑戰難度。眾人圍觀，打氣聲、歡呼聲一浪接一浪，非常熱鬧。

迎新營和迎新晚會是專為新生而設的。新生們都非常投入和享受，有同學更因為參加了迎新營而消除對中研及浸大的負面觀感。每一屆迎新活動的遊戲種類都非常多，都有其獨特的元素，但不少九十年代的迎新遊戲其實是同出一源：當時一個非常受歡迎的遊戲電視節目《超級無敵獎門人》。

聖誕或除夕舞會、派對在九十年代非常流行，本會亦有舉辦此類活動，讓同學在普天同慶的日子裡盡慶。同學雖然不會穿起現今出席高桌晚會時那樣高貴的衣著，但都有悉心打扮。一眾男女同學享用著豐富的美食，又可在美妙的旋律下起舞。在這個佳節的晚上，如果幸運的話，說不定能覓得理想的伴侶！後來，本會更與其他大專院校合辦聯校聖誕舞會，據記載，參加者約有三千人，約中研全體會員人數之十倍！

康樂活動為同學的校園生活增添不少樂趣，同學們都在活動中玩得興高采烈。集體遊戲加深了同學之間的認識，也成功增強會員對本會的歸屬感。



1995-1996 年度迎新營，於 1995 年 9 月上旬舉行。



1995-1996 年度三年級同學惜別晚會，於 1995 年 5 月中旬舉行。

見証時代變遷 - 文書處理技術的演進

九十年代初，家用電腦及打印機尚未普及。那時，文書處理的方法與今天大異其趣。幹事可以用影印機複製文件，但編製文件原稿就要以人手一筆一畫的寫了。無論是篇幅短小的致謝信件，抑或是字數以萬計的周年會員大會會議紀錄，多為秘書的真跡。當時秘書工作量之大，可想而知。

細閱各項正式的會議文件，大部分都沒有塗改、挖補、添加的痕跡，格式整齊，似乎當時對抄寫文件有非常嚴格的規定。文件中的字體秀美挺拔，轉折勁健，工整嚴謹，為滿紙黑字注入了靈魂，不但記下了會議的情況，還展現出當年手抄者以至與會者的精神風貌。當然，也有少部分文件語句不通、錯漏百出、字體潦草，後人根本無法理解當中的內容，以致難以全面考查學會過往的狀況。

到一九九七年，大部分會議文件才逐漸改為利用電腦編製。通過電腦的文書處理系統，可隨時加插、刪除、複製文字及圖片，能更輕易地轉變文件的格式，大大提高工作效率。而今天大家所看到的所有文件，字體統一，一律為「新細明體」。

見証時代變遷 - 創意與科技融為一體

今天的報告板上，很難再找到一張手繪的海報了。但在九十年代初，黑白的手繪海報和傳單，卻隨處可見。

在那個年代，要製作一張突出的宣傳海報並不容易。由於彩色印刷並不普及，創作者在顏色的運用上基本上是沒有選擇的，他們必須發揮無限的創意，在海報的線條、字體和圖像設計上不斷尋求突破，加上熟練的手腕，才能令自己的製成品在芸芸海報中脫穎而出，吸引到同學的注意，盡收宣傳之效。正因如此，海報的設計非常多樣化，每一張都別具一格。

科技的進步，為海報的製作開創新天地。今天，電腦已經成為製作海報的主要工具。採用電腦圖像處理軟件，再配以彩色列印，把創意和科技融合，海報和傳單製作得更細緻多變。色彩的運用和配搭，成為了海報宣傳成效的決定性因素。



中研 1991 年迎新營宣傳單張。宣傳單張內的所有圖案都是用墨水筆和雙頭筆繪製而成。



手繪的中研年刊及學刊徵稿宣傳單張

見證時代變遷 - 從人手排版到電腦編輯

「複製」和「貼上」是大家平日使用電腦時常用的功能，只需輕按滑鼠數下，整段文字就能被複製到文件中的選定位置。在九十年代初期以至中期，中研幹事製作會訊（又稱期刊）和年刊時，所用的技術都是「複製」和「貼上」。不過，這種古老的「複製」和「貼上」與今天閃電般快速的電腦功能實難同日而語。

那時候，刊物多以人手排版製作的。所謂「貼上」，就是將預先印製的文字段落和圖片，剪成適合的大小和形狀，貼到另一張紙上的適當位置。而「複製」，就是大量印刷剪貼好的稿件，製成刊物，分發給中研的同學。由於工序複雜和資源有限，刊物的篇幅一般較短。遇有錯誤，只能以人手修改。在一九九三年十月的會訊中，就有多處經人手塗改和添加的痕跡。

電腦的應用和印刷技術的改良，令會訊的內容和設計起了變化。自九十年代末，會訊中載有更多插圖和照片，篇幅亦增加了不少，內容越來越多元化，包括有中國國情報導、調查報告、中國小常識等，使會訊更具吸引力。

左圖：
1993-1994 年度中國研究學會第一期期刊。期刊上有多處經人手塗改和添加的痕跡。

右圖：
1998-1999 年度中國研究課程學會第二期期刊。



跨進新紀元 - 大學正名

公元一九九四年十一月，香港浸會學院正名為香港浸會大學。本會亦在一九九五年修改會章，正名為香港浸會大學中國研究學會，與大學同步踏入新時代。

過往的年刊記載了當年的中研同學對大學正名之感受。大學正名固然是一件可喜可賀之事，有中研同學在年刊中撰文表示非常高興和榮幸，頌揚大學的各項建設。但也有同學認為名不副實，更為我校的前途感到非常憂慮，直言「恐怕關門大吉」。雖然同學有不同的意見，但他們顯然都是非常關心學校的。學校在過去十年的急速發展，一定沒有令他們失望。

本會於一九九七年再次修改會章，正式定名為香港浸會大學中國研究課程學會，名稱沿用至今。

中研人的寶庫 - 中研工作坊

本會一直致力為中研的同學爭取更多的福利，從未間斷。最大的成就，就是成功爭取設立中研工作坊。公元一九九七年，校方把浸會大學道校園低座校舍（據記載，當時稱為聯福道低座校舍）RL4 地下 008 室劃為中研學生專用區，由本會幹事會管理，主要用作學術研究及資料收藏。當時的工作坊面積超過三百平方呎，可容納廿多人作小型會議，並設有一部已接駁到學校網絡的 486 電腦以供使用。它簡直是一個藏著無盡知識的寶庫，資料櫃藏有大量珍貴的學術參考文獻，加上環境清靜，絕對是中研同學進行學術研究的好地方。中研擁有這項不可多得的設施，令校內其他同學都羨慕不已。

後來，中研工作坊遷到 RL4 地下 003 室。踏進今天的工作坊，再也找不到那一部經典的 486 電腦，取而代之是更多更先進的設備。不過，它仍舊充滿著昔日的書卷氣息。



工作坊是一個理想的會議場地，寧靜而舒適。14 位熱中閣的幹事正在中研工作坊開會，為「熱烈歡『營』迎新營」作準備。

脆弱的理想 - 實現遙遙無期

九十年代中期，學會內部出現了一個非常嚴重的問題，在不少同學的文章中都有談及，以九四、九五年時討論得最為激烈，大概是因為想「及時撲熄火種」。

昔日創會之時，全體中研同學一致表示支持，期望將三個年級四個專業凝聚起來。但不過幾年，很多會員開始對學會事務漠不關心，完全不團結，確實令人失望。有會員開始反思，尋找箇中原因。他們希望通過公開討論，改變這種狀況。可惜，他們並不成功，其悲憤之心情深深烙在一句話之中：「中研是一盤散沙！」

團結三百人絕不是一件易事，尤其是在中研。一般認為，這是由於中研的四個專業分散，關係疏遠。長期缺乏溝通，互不相識，遇到中研同學也不知道的現象並不罕見。這種強大的力量逐漸令中研分崩離析，單憑學會之力實難以抗衡。中研的同學未能以中研的身份站在一起，對學會的事務自然不會太熱心了。九五至九六年度幹事會主席王志勇曾指出大部分活動的參與率平均僅佔會員的一成，雖然這句話明顯是有點誇張，但卻能完全反映當時大部分會員的冷淡。

在九六至九七年度，一度出現轉機。康樂活動參加人數有所上升，而會員亦非常踴躍參加各項系際比賽，陸運會更有數十位中研同學出席為中研健兒打氣！令人遺憾的是，這一切很快就隨時光流逝。

自此以後，歷屆幹事會都致力於解決這個棘手的問題。縱使「團結中研」這個理想是多麼脆弱，當中的歷程是多麼艱辛和漫長，幹事們心中的希望之火並沒有熄滅，接過前人的火炬，朝著理想奮鬥和前進。

競技場上的榮耀 - 輝煌的成績

不能否認，會員眾多是中研的其中一個優勢。本會人才輩出，會員能文能武，在各大系際比賽中取得非常優異的成績。九六至九七年度是成績最好的其中一年，中研首次在系際男子乒乓球比賽中奪得冠軍，在女子組亦闖入四強。陸運會中，中研又摘下女子跳高金牌及跳遠銀牌。而在系際女子籃球賽及社會科學院七人足球挑戰賽中，中研分別奪得季軍及亞軍，足球挑戰賽神射手亦為中研的囊中物。中研的名字在各大賽事中響遍全場，時人曰「橫行無忌」。

中研帶著這份光榮跨越千禧，再創佳績。二零零三至二零零四年度又是豐收的一年，在系際排球、籃球、網球和足球比賽中均有出色的表現，最值得一提的是中研在男子系際排球和籃球比賽中奪得季軍。如此佳績，令中研同學振奮。

每年都有不少中研同學在運動場上競逐殊榮。



關心社會，熱心服務

除舉辦學術和康樂活動外，本會亦在多項公益活動中扮演著重要的角色。在過往數年，本會與世界宣明會（香港）、其他學系及院校舉辦「大專饑饉」，並積極鼓勵會員和浸大同學參加。活動為慈善機構籌得不少善款，幫助世界各地生活在貧困中的兒童。

在二零零一年一月二十日（農曆十二月廿六日），本會帶領數十位同學探訪住在粉嶺寶靜安老院的老人，向他們拜個早年。同學們與那裡的老人一起搓湯圓、寫揮春，令所有公公和婆婆都感到歡樂和溫暖。

自創會以來，歷屆幹事會都群策群力，熱誠為會員服務。二零零四年，本會踏入十五年，熱中閣的十六位幹事帶領全體中研會員，開創一個新年代、新天地。

第十五屆中國研究課程學會幹事會熱中閣



歷屆幹事會內閣

第一屆	1990-1991	中研閣
第二屆	1991-1992	衍華閣
第三屆	1992-1993	贏一閣
第四屆	1993-1994	蒼摯閣
第五屆	1994-1995	旭曦閣
第六屆	1995-1996	匯研閣
第七屆	1996-1997	萃賢莊
第八屆	1997-1998	四中全會
第九屆	1998-1999	CS ZONE
第十屆	1999-2000	中閣
第十一屆	2000-2001	中賢閣
第十二屆	2001-2002	龍家莊
第十三屆	2002-2003	凝中閣
第十四屆	2003-2004	四聯邦
第十五屆	2004-2005	熱中閣

歷屆代表會主席

第一屆	1990-1991	馮民基
第二屆	1991-1992	黃雅麗
第三屆	1992-1993	黃子華
第四屆	1993-1994	-----
第五屆	1994-1995	梁耀宗
第六屆	1995-1996	孔祥興
第七屆	1996-1997	李永康
第八屆	1997-1998	鄧學斌
第九屆	1998-1999	葉偉琪
第十屆	1999-2000	吳偉強
第十一屆	2000-2001	伍偉業
第十二屆	2001-2002	甄嘉樂
第十三屆	2002-2003	陸可盈
		後由鄧永剛接任
第十四屆	2003-2004	黃啟剛
第十五屆	2004-2005	梁耀龍

歷屆四角賽總冠軍（巨龍盃）

1995-1996	地理專業
1996-1997	地理專業
1997-1998	經濟專業及地理專業
1998-1999	地理專業
1999-2000	歷史專業
2000-2001	地理專業
2001-2002	地理專業
2002-2003	經濟專業
2003-2004	社會專業
2004-2005	地理專業



經濟 社會 歷史
地理



1994-1995 年度迎新營大合照，攝於方樹泉圖書館五樓平台。



1995-1996 年度學術講座



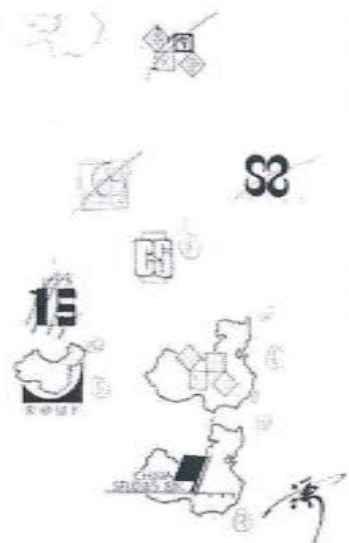
1995-1996 年度走訪「九十年代雜誌社」



迎新營營規



會徽・候選設計



1997-1998 年度交職典禮「四中全會」幹事合照，攝於方樹泉圖書館五樓平台。



1997-1998 年度四角籃球賽



1997-1998 年度迎新營



2001 年清華暑期實習班



2000 年清華暑期實習班



2003 年迎新營
第四組合照



2003 年迎新營
經濟專業一年級合照

2004 年清華冬季實習班



香港浸會大學

第十五屆中國研究課程學會

第三章

第15屆幹事會與代表會

讓我們回顧中所過去一年的活動和成就

第十五屆幹事會合照



第三排（左至右）：

宣傳幹事許文彬 康樂幹事嚴內謙 出版幹事鍾民杰 康樂幹事梁繼善 財政林起昇
市場推廣陳勇傑 市場推廣何永康

第二排（左至右）：

體育幹事梁惠儀 宣傳幹事黃紹芬 學術幹事劉綺彤 學術幹事陳潔兒 秘書葉佩琪
福利幹事蘇寶芝

最前排（左至右）：

內務副主席凌葉紅 主席張國浩 外務副主席梁子煒

第十五屆代表會合照



後排（左至右）：

社會專業二年級代表馮家宜 經濟專業一年級代表張碧蘭 歷史專業二年級代表李偉德
地理專業二年級代表林智美 社會專業三年級代表廖宇恆

前排（左至右）：

地理專業一年級代表司徒富年 經濟專業二年級代表鍾世昌 代表會主席梁躍龍
歷史專業三年級代表陳裕豐 歷史專業一年級代表吳偉鋒

今日的中國研究課程學會

今日的中國研究課程學會，已經發展成為香港浸會大學裡第二大的學會，擁有超過三百名會員。

二零零四年，「熱中閣」以本會近年最高票數 198 票當選成為第十五屆中國研究課程學會幹事會。十六位幹事以「凝聚四專，走向尖端」這個崇高的理想作為最高目標，一直盡心盡力，熱誠為中研同學服務。他們吸取了前人的經驗，加上自己勇於創新的精神，為全年活動和服務注入了不少新的元素，作出了多項的突破，為會員及其他校內同學所稱道。

每一項活動的場地佈置都教人難忘，其中不得不提的是交職典禮的門簾。這是校內前所未有的設計，精雕細琢，色彩鮮艷，令全校同學讚佩不已；極具中國色彩的學術週展板排成六角形，有如走馬燈般，吸引不少同學圍觀。

每一個精彩的活動都在會員心中留下深刻的印象。迎新營的遊戲不但多元化，而且極富原創性，令新生們在三天兩夜裡玩得非常興奮。學術週開幕禮的舞獅表演和閉幕禮的傳統木偶劇表演，令全校同學大開眼界。「熱中閣」更首開先河，以「創新 Innovation」為主題，舉辦本會史上第一次高桌晚宴。當晚衣香鬢影，多位教授、博士、嘉賓和同學出席是次盛會，參加者超過一百人，場面非常熱鬧。

網站的建立是「熱中閣」的偉大成就之一。二零零四年八月八日，本會官方網站正式成立，網站不但加深了同學對本會之瞭解，也增強了會員之間的聯繫，更為期刊電子化開闢了廣闊的天地。期刊的製作完全突破以往的模式，內容充實，色彩豐富，融合了科技與藝術，是一次重大的飛躍。

本年度的福利物品設計精美，實用性高，深受會員歡迎，尤以會襪最為同學所喜愛。中研會員遍佈校園各處，穿起以黑色為主色的會襪，向全校同學展示出中研的強大與凝聚力。

中研精英雲集，能文能武。一直以來，本會會員在校內系際體育比賽中所取得的成績都非常優異，今年亦不例外。在本會的積極鼓勵和統籌下，會員在水陸會、陸運會、社會科學院聯會比賽等多項賽事中屢創佳績，成功登上三甲位置。中研這個名字響遍競技場，地位大大提高，也激發了中研同學的自豪感。

「熱中閣」的幹事在任期內克盡己任，在內成功舉辦各項活動，團結三個年級四個專業；對外則宣揚了本會之威名，展示了本會強大的力量，並增加了中國研究課程在社會上的知名度。在他們的領導下，本會進入了空前強盛之時期，渡過了輝煌的第十五年。



第十五屆中國研究課程學會
交職典禮於2004年4月22日
下午12時30分在方樹泉圖書
館五樓舉行，當日有超過130
名嘉賓出席。熱中閣的十六位
幹事宜誓就任。

第十五屆中國研究課程學會
代表會於交職典禮中合照。



三年級同學惜別晚會於2004
年4月29日在四樓學生休息
室舉行。

新生註冊日，財政林起昇與新生合照。



熱烈歡「營」迎新營於2004年8月30日至9
月1日舉行，圖為水戰時的情況。



迎新營第六組合照，攝於粉嶺
浸會園食堂。

迎新晚會於2004年9月22日晚上於查
濟民科學大樓西面平台舉行。



學術週開幕禮於2004年10月18日
在方樹泉圖書館五樓平台（西）舉
行，圖為舞獅表演。



羽毛球四角賽於2004年9月18日舉行。



學術週閉幕禮於2004年10月21日在方樹泉圖
書館五樓平台（西）舉行，圖為木偶劇表演《鍾
馗醉酒》。



左上圖：
四角籃球賽於2004年11月3日晚上七時在九龍仔公園籃球場舉行。

右上圖：
四角足球賽於2004年11月22日和29日晚上七時至九時在九龍仔硬地足球場舉行。

左中圖：
10月下旬本會曾到多間學校宣傳中國研究課程。圖為幹事到九龍真光中學宣傳時的情況。



歌唱比賽於2004年11月30日在四樓學生休息室舉行。圖為兩位學術幹事陳潔兒（右）、劉綺彤（左）合唱時的情況。

歌唱比賽中，同學們都全力為參賽者打氣，不斷叫著參賽者的名字。



2004年12月21日，二十多位澳門大學學生會屬會中研社的同學來到浸會大學與本會同學交流。

中研滬杭學術交流團於2005年1月2日至1月8日到上海和杭州遊覽和參觀。團員於岳王廟前合照。



四角乒乓球比賽於2005年2月24日晚上7時30分在偉衡體育館舉行。

高桌周年晚會在2005年2月19日晚上7時於尖沙咀香港基督教青年會酒店四樓宴會廳舉行，當晚衣香鬢影，有超過一百人出席。



賣物週於2005年1月31日至2月4日舉行。

對外比賽成績

水運會：

社會專業三年級 高綺妍 女子 50 米背泳 銅牌

陸運會：

社會專業一年級 胡楚觀 女子 800 米 銅牌

女子 1500 米 銅牌

經濟專業三年級 李兆明 男子 200 米 銅牌

系際排球比賽：

中國研究課程學會排球隊 男子組 季軍

社會科學院聯賽冠軍盃：

中國研究課程學會足球隊 季軍

社會科學盾：

歷史專業三年級 林漫田 歌唱比賽 冠軍



第四章

各班合照

把過去一年陪伴著您的同學留在心中。

香港浸會大學中國研究課程在 1989 年 9 月創辦，分歷史、地理、社會和經濟四個專業，三個年級合共有十二班。

班相按照年級和專業的首個英文字母排序，依次序為經濟專業一年級、地理專業一年級、歷史專業一年級、社會專業一年級、經濟專業二年級、地理專業二年級、歷史專業二年級、社會專業二年級、經濟專業三年級、地理專業三年級、歷史專業三年級和社會專業三年級。

經濟專業一年級



第三排(左至右)：鄧俊良 吳鳳蘭 鄧婉康 黃芍盈 陳展邦 余嘉汶 林景年

第二排(左至右)：鄭名鵬 梁振耀 司徒偉榮 陳子健 邱銘榆 梁國林 陳興國 黃劍安 黃源桂

最前排(左至右)：葉潤成 張碧蘭 黃靄恩 陳詠文 柳沛盈 梁綺珈 蔡潔盈 李寶紅 張雪晶

地理專業一年級



第五排(左至右)：李筠婷 楊桂珍 阮倩敏 關可貞

第四排(左至右)：林萱霞 黃雪盈 胡凱婷 譚家欣 黃靜儀 周美華 梁佩恩

第三排(左至右)：李煒欣 程煒研 鄭曉瑩 陳嘉寶 胡惠敏 鄧穎雪 梁佩珊

第二排(左至右)：黃曉峰 鍾婉芬 黃淑婷 胡萃冰 宋思曉 黃嘉燕

最前排(左至右)：司徒富年

歷史專業一年級



第三排(左至右): 李芳南 魯晉源 高子龍 吳偉鋒

第二排(左至右): 尹子健 梁錦威 陳偉樂 劉繼堯 伊聘 傅義文 陳家華 吳嬰 黃婉嫻
彭嘉倫 徐凱琳 馮振立 吳萃君 梁栢棕

最前排(左至右): 潘家華 張偉江 陳小玲 張燕霞 李文靖 余詠欣 馮潔雯 王紫瑩 周佩儀
韓淑貞 趙小杰

社會專業一年級



第三排(左至右): 周軀欣 杜倩衡 翁裕凱 江錦焜 陳漢輝 溫作樑 郭嘉俊 莊迪文 廖興成

第二排(左至右): 毛家炎 李冠偉 林家敏 薛靜文 劉雪芬 王蕊鈴 李麗賢 陳靜樺

最前排(左至右): 麥艷明 胡楚觀 黃春兒 曾紀晶 文惠筠 陳碩芝 蔡畔婷 蘇雅妍

經濟專業二年級



第三排(左至右): 梁文達 何永康 陳家樑 許文彬 黃澤康 譚焯培 盧偉霖 吳君漢 馮景倫
吳杰華

第二排(左至右): 陳燕娜 黃燕芬 李愷瀛 王詩敏 黎思敏 譚靜婷 龐麗芷 蘇婉明

最前排(左至右): 李家華 鍾民杰 鍾世昌 黃紹芬 何愷晴 梁靜婷 夏媛媛 莫韻芝

地理專業二年級



第三排(左至右): 王瑞珍 楊穎文 明倩兒 梁佩佩 周嘉瑩 陳斯琪 溫秋霞 曾嘉玲 陳亦婷

第二排(左至右): 林智美 凌葉紅 梁惠儀 葉佩琪 蘇寶芝 潘蕙貞 陳喜欣 梁珮瑩 魏思敏
方頌欣

最前排(左至右): 梁躍龍 嚴內謙 彭伊維 張國浩 陳家琪 陳念暉

歷史專業二年級



第三排(左至右): 鄭栢志 李宇琪 朱諾舜
 第二排(左至右): 謝振輝 葉文駿 李匯川 李偉德 梁逸軒 張璟曦 黃永傑 何顯睿 吳凱安
 謝曼華 劉子文 吳凱倫 劉慧雯 鄧曉慧 鄧芷玲
 最前排(左至右): 黃毓華 王慧珠 鍾逢真 李美婷 梁司琪 黃昭璋

社會專業二年級



第三排(左至右): 劉伏櫪 李承漢 梁繼善 彭碧霞 鍾妙欣 吳秋萍 余梅玲 吳瑤 林家盈
 王俊文
 第二排(左至右): 陳勇傑 蘇曉進 陳兆基 李惠婷 劉綺彤 陳得熙 葉宛婷 黃慧婷 黃僑雯
 梁永芳
 最前排(左至右): 馮家宜 陳潔兒 梁子煒 黃燕明 林起昇 鄭珊珊

經濟專業三年級



第四排(左至右): 余琨 靈德聰 陳展鵬 林娜娜 陳玉瓊 劉剛 劉子鈿
 第三排(左至右): 謝慧詩 張百艷 張靄雯 陳秀娟 郭海珊 錢敏捷 黃詠詩 曾翠瑩
 第二排(左至右): 胡翠媚 李少君
 最前排(左至右): 文麗珊 黃啓剛 李兆明 黃潔晶 鄭秋帆

地理專業三年級



第三排(左至右): 盧婉雯 黎佩君 施茜 伍祖軒 布慶生 何家健 彭婉妤
 第二排(左至右): 布佩君 鄧敬瑜 葉妙玲 蔡淑芬 莊寬寬 何香玲 黃嘉茵 孔維國
 最前排(左至右): 曾桂芳 周文香 郭詠雪 林惠燕 林貝晶 李天慧 彭智聰

歷史專業三年級



第三排(左至右)：郭惠清 宋詩敏 牛詠賢 清華大學教授 林明禧 陳佩慈 姚穎恩 周燕萍
雷彩雲

第二排(左至右)：傅潤達 李偉昌 林漫田 何冠霖 金亦嘉 黃芷婷 黃耀忠 彭千華 范紹潛

最前排(左至右)：黃俊軒 關昌榮 陳裕豐 馮栢倫 黃德峰 吳瓊冰 劉景燕 吳以琳

社會專業三年級



(左至右)：梁佩珊 陸詠賢 陳欣樺 陸可盈 黃小星 陳潔恩 何嘉進 何紫煒 蔡嘉嘉
羅婉迎 陳淑玲 馮碧琪 李文勁 曾琰婷 陳欣杰 陳慧 王施嘉 丁頌雯
廖宇恆 史嘉琳 郭萬承 高綺妍 趙嘉倫 林國傑 周俊傑

第五章

承蒙何冠霖同學提供此照片，謹此致謝。

師生作品

多位博士和中研精英獻出精彩的論文和攝影作品，與各位分享。

《崇文社文集》是哈佛燕京圖書館的閉館珍版藏書館的沈津先生珍而重之的介紹給我閱覽的一襲線裝本文集。

此書為一九二七年台灣崇文社社員們的文章結集，內容分門別類，討論的題目多元化。同一個題目，分有多位社員，用不同的角度和論據去加以分析和申述。這本文集，對研究台灣近代文學創作極具資料性，更可以說，是研究一九二七年前後台灣知識分子對社會各個問題的反思和見解，以至三十年代台灣整個社會的思想的第一手珍貴資料。

刻有台灣崇文社藏版的《崇文社文集》八冊，分八卷，線裝本，書名下有「武進王普署」字樣，每卷之下，亦署有嘉義（翰堂林維朝虬松陳景初）揀選的字樣。首頁有說明此文集為《百期彙刊》之一。

首卷有勘誤表，張於扉頁，並附有「煩請讀者自行訂正」「此外各篇文字不無錯誤，但因各界索閱甚急未克一一勘正，惟希閱者諒之」的說明，可見此書在付梓刊登的工作上做得較為倉卒，但也十分認真。

卷八的一本書尾，詳細刻有出版資料。此書為非賣品，並歡迎翻印，於昭和二年（一九二七）十二月十五日印刷，昭和三年（一九二八）二月廿五日發行，總發行所為嘉義（西門外一五九）蘭記圖書館，發行所則說明為崇文社，社址在彰化郡彰化街字南門二一八番地。編輯者為黃臥松，編輯地址與社址同。印刷者則為上海望平街一六六號的吳駿公，印刷所署名中西書局，地址與社址同。

《崇文社文集》載有序文十二篇，結社印集的宗旨，在這十二篇的序文裡都有很清楚而詳細的講述。

首篇序文寫於大正十五年（一九二六）歲次丙寅一月，署「澎湖紫髯翁陳錫如謹識於留鴻書軒」，此文開宗明義，即說明彰化一地的知識分子乃基於「維持世道思想，為補救人心計，且為異學爭鳴防，為漢學重興冀」因而創立崇文社。為何彰化之知識分子，有如此的冀望，此乃時代背景所致。陳錫如君的序文亦有交待，謂「慨自歐風西至，美雨東來，騰湧潮流，滄桑變幻，習異學者自認文明，守漢學者貽譏頑固，思想惡化，趨向歧途，無惑乎世風不古，而道德淪亡，人倫有乖，而心術敗壞也。」

崇文社創立於台灣日治時期（日本統治台灣，自一八九五年五月至一九四五年十月，五十年又四日）的大正六年（一九一七）十月，是台灣三大文社之一，與高山文社及台灣文社鼎足而稱，而以崇文社最具活力，其影響力亦非其他二社可及。最初由彰化塾師黃臥松及其友人唐尹璿組成，目的在尊崇聖人，振興禮教，扶植綱常為本，最初成立之日，於彰化南壇武廟舉行盛大祭典，主祭官與陪祭官皆為台灣之日本政要人物，其後每年按時春秋二祭，其創社之費用由紳商及地方人士捐助

，可說並非等閒文社。此社又按期徵文，自大正七年（一九一八）一月起逐自進行，徵文之內容大多屬「挽救世風，扶持名教」與「台灣所宜設施及島民所常勤勉者」，大概不離「闡釋儒教道德」、「改革風俗教化」及「呼應時政議題」為宗旨。又獎勵忠孝，激勵節義。總之，大抵以挽救「道衰文敝」、「扶植綱常」、「屏黜佛教」、「移風易俗」、「振奮人心」及「裨益時世」為目標。（詳參李世偉《日據時代台灣儒教結社與活動》第二章第二節（台北：天津出版社，1999年））入選作品多於《台灣日日新報》、《台南新報》及《台灣新聞》等刊登。

二十世紀初，中國在內憂外患，風雨飄搖之中，文化之傳統，不論優劣，都嚴重受到歐美國文明之大衝擊。崇文社就在這個大時代之中，「首倡徵文」，冀能以文會友，正如所謂「重綱常，扶名教，維世道，正人心」，崇文社正以此為依皈，希望結合知識界及日治政府的力量，向台灣做出一些文化道德，綱常禮教等等的貢獻（參大正丙寅年夏曆孟春臺南王則修撰崇文社百期文序）。雖然，文社之創辦者均見「杯水車薪，靡有裨補」，但仍然「以耳目所感觸，不得不大聲疾呼」，冀望能「眾志成城，老師宿儒，或為文宗，或惠瑤篇，報界諸公，慷慨援助，好義紳商，樂為寄附」（大正十五歲（一九二六）次丙寅孟夏彰化黃臥松書於崇文社內之彰化崇文社百期文集序）讀本書諸篇序文，可以清楚見出二、三十年代日治時期的台灣知識分子，確實對中國文化，民族感召和社會良心，都抱滿腔熱誠，情懷慷慨，令人景仰。

本書十二篇序文之後是「崇文社徵文課題文宗寄附者一覽表」，此課題一覽表，亦即這個文集的文章目錄，文集不以書目形式編之，而以載有年月日的所謂「徵文課題文宗寄附者一覽表」來列出所刊刻的題目，清楚可見集內每一篇文章均是應徵文課題而撰寫的篇章。翻閱內文，得見每一課題，都有數篇文章，誠如我在上文說的：「用不同的角度和論據去加以分析申述。」所以同一課題，可以見出作者不同意見和在多方面的作出勘察，益顯得每個課題的內容更加深廣。這一種「一題多寫」的特色，可以說是這本文集的特色，也是這本文集的珍貴之處，每一篇文章已是難能可貴的一手資料，再者，每一個課題又可反映當時社會不同的審察。這樣以多元化的形式去討論問題的文社文集，傳世的並不多見。這本文集能提供當時（二、三十年代）台灣社會不少關注到的社會問題（下詳）並能清楚反映當時社會人仕對這些問題的認知和想法。要言之，此書對研究台灣該段時期的社會觀念，民生動態，知識分子思想以至文學創作等等，都提供了最直接，最原始，最珍貴的歷史資料。

「一覽表」所列課題如下：

（一）卷一（徵文期約於大正七年（一九一八）一月至大正七年九月）共九課題：

1. 勸孝悌以重人倫論
2. 養苗媳及畜婢弊害議
3. 救荒策
4. 戒奢侈說
5. 賭博弊害論
6. 破除迷信議
7. 促進同化論
8. 婦人愛國論

9. 維持漢學策

(二) 卷二(徵文期約於大正七年(一九一八)十月至大正八年(一九一九)七月)共十課題:

1. 女子教育論
2. 淫戲淫書禁革議
3. 風紀維持策
4. 矯正遊妓尙傷
5. 婚禮改良議
6. 台灣青年自覺論
7. 人才培養策
8. 戒訟說(案:即戒紛爭)
9. 開拓實業策
10. 紳士自重論

(三) 卷三(徵文期約於大正八年(一九一九)八月至大正九年(一九二〇)五月),共十三課題:

1. 文人模範論
2. 孤兒院建設議
3. 國民性涵養論
4. 尊師說
5. 國教宗教辨
6. 台灣大學建設議
7. 阿片弊害論
8. 理學解
9. 驅疫鬼檄
10. 實行正朔論
11. 贊成節約同盟會論
12. 不良子弟感化論
13. 戲劇改良論

(四) 卷四(徵文期約於大正九年(一九二〇)六月至大正十年(一九二一)二月),共十二課題:

1. 禁治產實施論
2. 重禮說
3. 家庭副業獎勵策
4. 文明說
5. 論男兒愛國之精神
6. 無君子
7. 言行一致說
8. 假公行私妨害社會論
9. 撫蓄策
10. 論經濟界之放肆

11. 農民保護論

12. 保甲制度存廢論

(五) 卷五(徵文期約於大正十年(一九二一)三月至大正十一年(一九二二)二月),共十四課題:

1. 義務與權利並行論
2. 漢學起衰論
3. 表彰忠孝節烈議
4. 佛教持正論
5. 諱疾忌醫論
6. 花柳病妨害人種論
7. 彰化八卦山記
8. 舊慣取捨論
9. 師說
10. 同姓結婚利弊論
11. 婦女服裝分別論
12. 尊重社會制
13. 家庭教育論
14. 倡議修孔廟議

(六) 卷六(徵文期約於大正十一年(一九二二)三月至大正十二年(一九二三)八月),共十八課題:

1. 中部鹿津開港議
2. 敏於事而慎於言論
3. 筆孽說(案:筆孽,即競誇立說之工)
4. 公德私德並重論
5. 憐孤恤寡議
6. 死生有命說
7. 貧民墜落濟救策
8. 醜業婦束縛解
9. 仁說
10. 文學興國論
11. 古蹟保存議
12. 促進同化
13. 表彰節孝宜
14. 新學說利害論
15. 名利異同說
16. 惡訐爲直說
17. 男女學生
18. 老少提攜說

(七) 卷七(徵文期約於大正十二年(一九二三)九月至大正十四年(一九三五)五月),共二十

一課題:

1. 喪禮折衷議
2. 家族制度與個人主義優劣論
3. 天之生才難、養才更難論
4. 論民力培養之必要
5. 論詩界振興在積學
6. 故清彰化縣知朱山攷
7. 提倡文化在修身論
8. 論遺才收容之必要
9. 廣設實業學校
10. 得魚忘筌論
11. 正義明道論
12. 性善性惡論
13. 論自由結婚之得失
14. 爭權奪利不顧社會論
15. 一視同仁說
16. 克己復禮論
17. 東西文化比較論
18. 春秋大義解
19. 禽獸尚知有母論
20. 台灣今昔風俗攷
21. 謙受益滿招損論

(八) 卷八(徵文期約為大正十四年(一九二五)六月至大正十五年(一九二六)十二月),課題

共二十三題:

1. 振起筆權崇正黜邪論
2. 漢學興廢說
3. 論非孝之可否
4. 說倫常
5. 道德無新舊說
6. 與友人論風俗利弊書
7. 諂媚逢迎宜知羞恥論
8. 業佃相依說
9. 籌釋經書奧
10. 燕山教子論
11. 真自治促進論
12. 尊重人格論

13. 勸孝文
14. 風紀肅正並嚴
15. 寵妾弊害論
16. 驅除蟲賊微
17. 文盲說
18. 良臣論
19. 民聲論
20. 非慈可否論
21. 君子亦有惡乎論
22. 世界大同論
23. 孔孟學說比較論

縱觀全書八卷,所載之徵文,乃來自大正七年(一九一八)一月至大正十五年(一九二六)十二月之九年,課題共一百二十條,內容相當豐富,涵蓋面亦相當廣闊。簡略分之(下面所舉,有相互關係者):

- (一) 有討論社會建設的:如救荒策、開拓實業策、孤兒院建設議、禁治產實施論、古蹟保存議中部鹿津開港議等等。
- (二) 有討論社會問題的:如淫戲淫書禁革議、阿片弊害論、假公行私妨害社會論、憐孤恤寡議等等。
- (三) 有特別討論社會中女性問題的:如養苗媳及畜婢弊害議、婦人愛國論、女子教育論、婦女服裝分別論、醜業婦束縛解、寵妾弊害論等等。
- (四) 有討論教育問題的:如維持漢學策、人才培養策、尊師說、台灣大學建設議、漢學起衰論、家庭教育論、男女學生、文盲說等等。
- (五) 有討論經濟問題的:如論經濟界之放肆、農民保護論、保甲制度存廢論、業佃相依說等等。
- (六) 有討論道德問題的:如勸孝悌以重人倫論、重禮說、言行一致說、表彰忠孝節烈議、仁說、表彰節孝宜克己復禮論等等。
- (七) 有討論婚姻問題的:如養苗媳及畜婢弊害議、婚禮改良議、同姓結婚利弊論、家族制度與個人主義優劣論、論自由結婚之得失、寵妾弊害論等等。
- (八) 有討論宗教問題的:如破除迷信議、國教宗教辨、倡議修孔廟議、佛教持正論等等。
- (九) 有討論比較文化問題的:如東西文化比較論、性善性惡論、孔孟學說比較論等等。

(十) 有討論「同化」文化問題的：如世界大同論、文明說、一視同仁說、促進同化論等等。

(十一) 有討論台灣特有風俗問題的：如台灣今昔風俗攷、與友人論風俗利弊書、彰化八卦山記、台灣青年自覺論、紳士自重論等等。

(十二) 有討論病理問題的：如阿片弊害論、諱疾忌醫論、花柳病妨害人種論、驅疫鬼徽等等。

(十三) 有討論人格模範問題的：如文人模範論、紳士自重論、正義明道論、尊重人格論等等。

(十四) 有討論振興文學問題的：如漢學起衰論、文學興國論、論詩界振興在積學、勸孝文等等。

以上粗略的列舉，已有十四項之多，尚有其他雜目，如「天之生才難養才更難論」、「戒訟說」、「筆孽說」、「死生有命說」、「民聲論」、「良臣論」、「戲劇改良論」等等，不勝枚舉，足見此書內容之豐富。以上列舉之十四類，每類均可作專題之研究，就以婦女為目，則本書所提供之有關社會婦女問題、教育問題及婚姻問題諸篇章，均能對二十世紀初日治台灣一地之婦女觀念及婦女風俗有一透澈的論述，確實是研究近代台灣婦女問題的第一手珍貴材料。

又於卷三之「台灣大學建設議」一題，議文共三篇，詳述日治時期台灣實有建設大學之急務，其中更有舉例非列賓、朝鮮之教育制度及狀況，孜孜申論台灣之建設大學，當為政府百年大計。這三篇文章寫於大正九年（一九二〇）一月，充分反映當年台灣民眾的需要。這幾篇文章，更可能是台灣大學創建的藍本，於史彌足珍貴。

本人有幸在哈佛燕京圖書館閱覽了《崇文社文集》（時為2001年8月），雖然粗覽一過，然亦已增益不少，且確實有感於此書資料之寶貴，且極具歷史價值，惜好書者能有機會閱讀的不多，甚有網漏吞舟之歎！

Nannü youbei: Gender Role Indoctrination in Later Imperial China as Seen from Popular Primers Written in Verse *

Clara Wing-chung Ho

INTRODUCTION

In imperial China, traditional ethics and social value judgments often highlighted the distinction between the different roles of the two genders. Boys and girls were not only trained to behave differently, but also to set different goals for their lives. Among various sources of gender role indoctrination, primers, though largely neglected by previous scholars, had proven to be very significant and worth studying as far as primary education is concerned.

As used in this paper, "primers" refer to reading materials exclusively designed for children. It is not equivalent to the Chinese concept of *mengxue* 蒙學 or *mengshu* 蒙書. The concept of the latter can be understood through lists of publications categorized under *mengxue* or *mengshu* in various bibliographies.¹ Apart from primers, *mengxue* may include guide-books for parents and teachers.²

The time-frame of this paper is restricted to the later imperial period, which precisely means from Song through Qing Dynasties (960-1912).³ Although Chinese primers had a much longer history, it was

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¹ For example, see Zhang Zhigong 張志公, "Mengxue shumu 蒙學書目," in his *Chuantong yuwen jiaoyu jiaocai lun — ji mengxue shumu he shuying* 傳統語文教育教材論——暨蒙學書目和書影 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 193-288. This is a revised version of Zhang's earlier work, *Chuantong yuwen jiaoyu chutan* 傳統語文教育初探 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1962). Another edition of this work was published under the title *Chuantong yuwen jiaoxue yanjiu* 傳統語文教學研究, included in *Zhang Zhigong wenji* 張志公文集 (Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), vol. 4. All three editions of Zhang's work carry a bibliography of traditional works in the field of *mengxue*. See also "Zhongguo chuantong mengxue lunzhu mulu 中國傳統蒙學論著目錄," contained in Xu Zi 徐梓 and Wang Xuemei 王雪梅 (eds.), *Mengxue yaoyi* 蒙學要義 (hereafter *MY*), Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 229-338; "Zhijian chuanben mengxue shumu 知見存本蒙學書目" in Han Xiduo 韓錫鐸 (ed.), *Zhonghua mengxue jicheng* 中華蒙學集成 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1993), pp. 2084-2098.

² For example, Zhang Zhigong has highlighted the contribution of a group of educators who developed the system of elementary education and produced a number of works on the method of teaching children. See *Chuantong yuwen jiaoyu jiaocai lun*, p. 11. Yan Aimin 閻愛民 purposely employed the term *mengxue shuzuo* 蒙學著作 to refer to those guide-book for parents and teachers only. For primers, Yan used the term *mengyiu danwu* 蒙幼讀物. See his *Zhongguo gudai de jiajiao* 中國古代的家教 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan guoji youxiang gongsi, 1997), pp. 132-133.

³ The term "later imperial China" is adopted from a master-level course entitled "Hotspots in Later Imperial Chinese History" taught by Lynn A. Struve at the Indiana University in the Spring Semester of 1995. Using the same title, Professor Struve delivered a public lecture at the Hong Kong Baptist University on December 4, 1995. A summary of her lecture can be found in the following report: Lynn Struve (lectured), Ou Zhijian (Au Chi-kin) 區志堅 (re-arranged), "Jin shinian (1985-1995) lai xifang yanjiu Songdai zhi Qingdai lishi de jige remen keti 近十年來西方研究宋代至清代歷史的幾個熱門課題," *Modern Chinese History Society of Hong Kong Bulletin* (Xianggang Zhongguo jindai shi xuehui huikan), no. 8 (December 1996), pp. 89-96. According to a letter from Professor Struve in response to my query, it has been common among North American scholars to refer to Song-through-Qing as later imperial China ever since the 1960's, around the same time when they were first introduced to the "Kyoto-school" ideas regarding the modernity or early modernity of China beginning with the Song period, compared to the "medieval" nature of Tang and earlier. However, according to Professor Struve, it seems that these terms of reference have not been the subjects of any published debates. University taught subjects using the concept of "later imperial China" may include the period from Yuan to Qing (for example, see <http://campus.northpark.edu/history/WebChron/China/LaterImpChina.Chron.html>).

repeatedly pointed out that Song was a turning point. Primers published before the Song Dynasty had different "fates". While individual work like *Qianzi wen* 千字文 continued to exert its influences in the later imperial period, some were no longer extant. A number of them, especially those popular at the Dunhuang area in the Tang Dynasty, gradually lost themselves in the mainland but were circulated to other countries and were discovered once again among the Dunhuang manuscripts in the early twentieth century.⁴ As far as the content was concerned, primers published before the Song were mainly on general knowledge, while more and more primers specified in certain areas appeared in or after the Song period. Scholars remarked that primers were quite well developed in the Song, there were only further supplement, but no basic changes, in the styles and contents of primers published beyond the Song.⁵ Of course, primers appeared before the Song but continued to serve a large group of readers in the later imperial period, as the *Qianziwen*, will also be cited in this paper.

Primers are chosen to examine gender-role indoctrination because of their relatively wide readership. It has been pointed out that popular literacy did exist in late imperial China apart from higher level literacy.⁶ Moreover, there were a number of ancient records about the popularity of some famous primers. For example, Lu You 陸游(1125-1210) has recorded the use of primers like *Zazi* 雜字 and *Baijia xing* 百家姓 in the so-called "winter school" (*dongxue*), where farmers usually send their sons to attend after harvest time.⁷ Zhao Rusui 趙汝燧(1171-1245) also reported the reading of *Qianziwen* and *Mengqiu* 蒙求 among children in one of his poems.⁸ In Qiao Ji's 喬吉 (1280?-1345) *Li Taibai pipei jinqian ji* 李太白匹配金錢記, a child Wang Zheng 王正 was said to have read *Baijia xing* thoroughly at the age of nine *sui* and could recite the whole work even in a reverse way. Another boy Ma Qiu 馬求 confessed that he could not recite the book *Mengqiu* in full even at the age of fourteen *sui*.⁹ While discussing the methods of teaching children, Lü Kun 呂坤(1536-1618) instructed that those under eight *sui* should be given the chance to learn *Sanzi jing* 三

or from Song to Qing (for example, see <http://www.history.ubc.ca/lshin/teaching/321>).

⁴ See Lei Qiaoyun 雷僑雲, *Dunhuang ertong wenxue* 敦煌兒童文學 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1985); Su Hua 蘇樺, "Dunhuang shiku de liangzhong ertong duwu 敦煌石窟的兩種兒童讀物," *Guoyu ribao* 國語日報, July 12, 1981 and July 19, 1981, p. 3; Wang Fangzhou 王泛舟, "Dunhuang de tongmeng duwu 敦煌的童蒙讀物," *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知識, 1988, no. 8 (August 1988), pp. 104-107; Lin Longsheng 林隆盛, "Dunhuang tongmeng duwu fenlei chutan 敦煌童蒙讀物分類初探," *Dongwu wenshi xuebao* 東吳文史學報, no. 8 (May 1990), pp. 191-204; Zheng Acai 鄭阿財, "Dunhuang mengshu shilun 敦煌蒙書試論," in *Dier jie Dunhuang xue guoji yantaohui lunwen ji* 第二屆敦煌學國際研討會論文集 (Taipei: Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, 1991), pp. 211-233; Yan Tingliang 顏廷亮, *Dunhuang wenxue gailun* 敦煌文學概論 (Gansu: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1993), pp. 535-545.

⁵ See Zhang Zhigong, *Chuantong yu wen jiaoyu jiaocai lun*, p.10; Miao Chunde 苗春德(ed.), *Songdai jiaoyu* 宋代教育 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1992), p. 135; Xiong Chengdi 熊承滌, *Zhongguo gudai xuexiao jiaocai yanjiu* 中國古代學校教材研究 (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 204-207.

⁶ Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979).

⁷ See Lu You's note of his poem "Qiuri jiaoju," in Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 (annotated), *Jiannan shigao jiaozhu* 劍南詩稿校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), vol.4, juan 25, p.1783.

⁸ Zhao Rusui, *Yegu shigao* 野谷詩稿 (contained in *Wenyuan ge siku quanshu*, Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1986), juan 3, "Qinongjia," pp.2b-3a.

⁹ Qiao Ji, *Li Taibai pipei jinqian ji* (contained in *Jinyuan zayu erbian* 金元雜劇二編, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962-63), disanzhe, p.14a.

字經, *Baijia xing*, and *Qianzi wen*.¹⁰ In an account of education and schooling in the Ming period, Quan Zuwang 全祖望(1705-1755) also pointed out the frequent adoption of *Baijia xing* and *Qianzi wen* in the elementary schools at the provincial level.¹¹ Besides the primers already mentioned, we can also discover records of the popularity of other primers such as *Shentong shi* 神童詩, *Qianjia shi* 千家詩, and so on.¹² It should be pointed out that the reading of primers among common people was largely for practical reason. The common people sent young children to study (usually for a short period only) with the aim that they could learn some characters for daily use.¹³ The most representative primers, *Sanzi jing*, *Baijia xing*, and *Qianziwen*, collectively known as *San Bai Qian* 三百千, served the practical purpose quite well because they contained a set of frequently used characters basically sufficient for daily use among common people.¹⁴ *Sanzi jing* was especially popular, even the missionaries of the 19th century noticed that it was "used in all the provinces of China Proper," and was "generally the first work which is (was) put into the hands of children when they begin (began) to learn to read."¹⁵ Furthermore, there were some primers specially designed to cater for the need of certain readers. Typical examples are *Zhuangnong riyong zazi* 莊農日用雜字, aiming at peasant readers, *Tianjin dili maimai zazi* 天津地理買賣雜字 aiming at readers of the Tianjin merchant families, *Shanxi zazi bidu* 山西雜字必讀, with residents of Shanxi in mind.¹⁶

¹⁰ Lü Kun, *Shexue yaolue* 社學要略 (contained in *MXY*), p.55.

¹¹ Quan Zuwang, "Mingchu xuexiao gongju shiyi jiming 明初學校貢舉事宜記," in his *Jieqi ting ji waibian* 鮫埼亭集外編 (Sibu congkan edition), juan 22, p.3a.

¹² See, for example, Pu Songling 蒲松齡(1630-1715), *Riyong zazi* 日用俗字 (contained in *Pu Songling ji* 蒲松齡集, Shanghai: zhonghua shuju, 1962), "zixu," p.733; Yu Zhi 余治(1809-1874), *Deyi lu* 得一錄 (photocopy of 1869 Dejian zai edition; Taipei: Huawen shuju gufeng youxian gongsi, 1969), juan 10, "Biantong xuexiao yishu zhangcheng 變通小學義塾章程," "Xunmeng jishi 訓蒙紀事," p.719.

¹³ See note 7 and Liu Yusheng 劉禹生, *Shizai tang zayr* 世載堂雜憶 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), "Qingdai zhi keju," p. 2. For discussions on those elementary schools in the later imperial period, see Pei-yi Wu, "Education of Children in the Sung," in William Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee (eds.), *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 307-324; Angela Ki Che Leung, "Elementary Education in the Lower Yangtze Region in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside (eds.), *Education and Society in Late Imperial China 1600-1900* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 381-416; Alexander Woodside and Benjamin A. Elman, "The Expansion of Education in Ch'ing China," *ibid.*, pp. 525-560; Alexander Woodside, "Some Mid-Qing Theorists of Popular Schools: Their Innovations, Inhibitions, and Attitudes toward the Poor," *Modern China*, vol. 9, no. 1 (January 1983), pp. 3-35.

¹⁴ See Guan Da 關達, Li Chunping 李春萍, "Shidai chunsong San Bai Qian-yangmeng jiaocai 世代傳誦三百千——養蒙教材," in their *Xiangguo changsang-jiaoyu shishi yu jiaoyu jiaocai 庠序遺桑——教育史事與教育家* (Changchun: Jilin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), pp.87-90.

¹⁵ "Santsze King, or Trimetrical Classic," *The Chinese Repository*, vol.4, no.3 (July 1835), p.107.

¹⁶ For a list of such types of primers, see Lai Xinxia 來新夏, "Zazi xilie shumu 雜字系列書目," in his (ed.), *Zazi (Zhanghua yixue wenku)* 中華幼學文庫, Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1995), pp.311-314. There were also a certain quantity of primers designed for children whose families were engaged in different types of business. There were primers for fishermen, which introduced names of various types of fishes. There were primers for hawkers, which equipped them with the necessary knowledge of the products they sold. A rich collection of such items is housed at the Shatin Central Library of Hong Kong under the title *Weng Shichao 翁仕朝(1874-1944) Collection*. For a description of the collection, see Wang Ermin (Wang Erh-min) 王爾敏 and Wu Lun Nixia (Alice N. H. Lun-Ng) 吳倫霓霞, "Ruxue shisu hua ji qi duiyu mingjian fengjiao zhi jinru-Xianggang chushi Weng shichao shengping zhixing 儒學世俗化及其對於民間風教之浸潤——香港處士翁仕朝生平志行," in Wang Ermin, *Ming Qing shehui wenhua shengtai* 明清社會文化生態 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1997), pp.37-70. See also pp.144-153 of Wang's book.

All these primers, especially the more famous ones, were widely read and known in the later imperial period. Even scholars of the twentieth century reported the continuous influences of old primers, suggesting their historical prevalence.¹⁷ One may instinctually ask a question: how did such primers become popular and widely distributed? Now we have to look at the publishers and booksellers.

The printing agencies and publishers in later imperial China could be classified into three main categories: government printing offices (including central and provincial), private printers (including presses of local academy and religious organizations), and commercial publishers.¹⁸ Relatively speaking, not too many details of the Song and Yuan publishing industry were preserved in sources available today. However, we have more information on such issues in the Ming and Qing periods. The Ming Dynasty was described as an active and outstanding period in China's publishing history. The emergence of a great number of commercial publishers and bookstores had substantially stimulated the publishing and printing enterprises. It was said that over ten thousand people joined the printing career in the Ming dynasty.¹⁹ Similarly, the Qing dynasty was said to have "witnessed the highest development of Chinese printing."²⁰ Fortunately, we have records of representative printers, publishers, and bookstores in both dynasties,²¹ making it possible to have a glimpse at the production and selling of primers in those days.

In fact, primers were largely published by commercial publishers that bore titles like *shusi* 書肆 or *shufang* 書坊. According to the records done by Qing and early Republican scholars, many of those *shufang* were located in Beijing, Nanjing, Suzhou, and Yangzhou. Details of individual *shufang*, especially those

located at Liuli chang 琉璃廠 in Beijing, were also available.²² It was mentioned that the government printing offices as well as the private printers usually engaged themselves in the publishing of works on classics, history, and collected works. As a result of the demand-supply mechanism, the *shufang* published a lot of primers, copy books, medical guides, Buddhist texts, calendars, and other popular literary works.²³ Quite a number of those *shufang* was well known for publishing primers, such as Lao'er yutang 老二酉堂 and Baowen tang 寶文堂, which carried both printing and distributing works.²⁴ Established in the early Daoguang period (1821-1850), Baowen tang had a very long history and it claimed that it had over 500 distribution outlets for their primers. The books it published even reached a few countries in the Southeast Asia.²⁵ Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房 was set up even earlier in the late Ming. It published a large variety of works, including primers like *Qianjia shi* and *Longwen bianying* 龍文鞭影 (with *Tongmeng sizi jing* 童蒙四字經 appended).²⁶ In the late Qing, Saoye shanfang began to run branches at Shanghai and Hankou, expanding its business.²⁷ Examples of famous primers published by *shufang* included *Tangshi sanbai sou buzhu* 唐詩三百首補注, *Tangshi sanbai sou xuke* 唐詩三百首續刻, and *Yiuxue gushi qionglin* 幼學故事瓊林, published by Shancheng tang 善成堂;²⁸ *Sanzi jing zhujie beiyao* 三字經注解備要, *Baijia xing kaolue* 百家姓考略, and *Qianzi wen shiyi* 千字文釋義 (three items under the title *Xushi sanzong* 徐氏三種), published by Liguang ge 藜光閣;²⁹ *Liwen duiyun Qianjia shi* 笠翁對韻千家詩, published by Hongdao tang 宏道堂;³⁰ *Xinzhū yundui Qianjia shi* 新注韻對千家詩, *Longwen bianying* 龍文鞭影, *Xinzheng yiuxue gushi qionglin* 新增幼學故事瓊林, and *Tangshi sanbai sou zhushu* 唐詩三百首注釋, published by Wencheng tang 文成堂;³¹ *Yiuxue qionglin* 幼學瓊林, published by Juzhen tang 聚珍堂,³² etc. Besides, Li Guangming zhuang 李光明莊 (Also named Zhuangyuan ge jueji 狀元閣爵記) located at Nanjing worth a special note. According to some statistics, Li Guangming zhuang had published altogether 167 works, in which 24 were

¹⁷ For example, Weng Yanzhen 翁衍楨 mentioned that traditional primers like *Qianzi wen*, *Sanzijing*, and *Baijia xing* were still in use for elementary schooling in some rural areas in the 30's. See his "Gudai ertong duwu gaiguan 古代兒童讀物概觀," *Tushu guanxue jikan* 圖書館學季刊, vol. 10, no. 1 (March 1936), p. 113. As reported by Ge Chengxun 葛承訓, an exhibition of children's readings held at Shanghai in the late 40's displayed several late Qing and Republican editions of traditional primers, too. See his "Qingji huitu shizi keben 清季繪圖識字課本," *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* 中華教育界, new vol. 2, no. 12 (December 1948), pp. 28-29. Moreover, the famous writer Ba Jin 巴金 also recalled the popularity of an illustrated *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 when he was a child. See his "Guanyu Jia (shiban daixu)," in *Ba Jin quanji* 巴金全集 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1986), juan 1, pp. 449-450. A famous historian Bai Shouyi 白壽彝 also experienced personally traditional primer education in his childhood. See his "Cong Sanzi jing shuodao lishi jiaoyu 從《三字經》說到歷史教育," in his *Bai Shouyi shixue lunji* 白壽彝史學論集 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 1287-1289.

¹⁸ It was mentioned that this was the pattern of the publishing industry in the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties. See Song Yuanfang 宋原放 and Li Baijian 李白堅, *Zhongguo chubanshi* 中國出版史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 65-66. For a similar discussion, see Li Zhizhong 李致忠, *Lidai keshu kaoshu* 歷代刻書考述 (Chengdu: Basu shushe, 1990), pp. 63-65.

¹⁹ Xiao Dongfa 肖東發, *Zhongguo bianji chubanshi* 中國編輯出版史 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), p. 299. See also K. T. Wu, "Ming Printing and Printers," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 7, issue 3 (February 1943), pp. 203-260; Ellen Widmer, "The Huan du zhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth-century Publishing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 56, issue 1 (1996), pp. 77-122.

²⁰ Shioh-jyu Lu Shaw, *The Imperial Printing of Early Ch'ing China, 1644-1805* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1983), p. xv.

²¹ The most well-known description of the book industry in the Ming dynasty was Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551-1602), *Shaoshi shanfang bicong* 少室山房筆叢 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), juan 4, jia lv, "jingji huitong," pp. 55-58. For the Qing dynasty, see Li Wenzao's 李文藻 (1730-1778), *Liuli chang shusi jilu* 琉璃廠書肆記 and Miao Quansun's 繆荃孫 (1844-1919), *Liuli chang shusi houji* 琉璃廠書肆後記, both items were collected in another important reference to the matter under discussion, *Liuli chang xiaozhi* 琉璃廠小志, compiled by Sun Dianqi 孫殿起 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshi, 1982). The latter also included a third and fourth supplement to Li Wenzao's work, produced by Sun Dianqi and Lei Mengshui 雷夢水 respectively.

²² Details of the book merchants, names of the *shufang*, and individual business history could be found in Sun Dianqi, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-157. See also summary in Wang Yeqiu 王治秋, *Liuli chang shihua* 琉璃廠史話 (Beijing: Sanlian shidian, 1963), pp. 20-21, 30-33.

²³ Song Yuanfang and Li Baijian, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

²⁴ Sun Dianqi, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

²⁵ "Baowen tang shudian jianjie," in *Sanzi jing jianzhizhu* (Beijing: Baowen tang shudian, 1988), n.p.

²⁶ It was pointed out that other than this edition of *Longwen bianying*, *Tongmeng sizi jing* was not appended. See Wei Yinru 魏隱儒, *Zhongguo guji yinshua shi* 中國古籍印刷史 (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1984), p. 168.

²⁷ Wei Yinru, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

²⁸ Sun Dianqi, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

primers.³³

We do not know much about the selling price of these primers. However, according to a recent research, it was argued that during the Guangxu reign (1875-1908), the average price per primer published by the Li Guangming zhuang was around 30 to 50 *wen*文, which was less than 3 *fen*分. When compared with other works, the selling prices of these popular primers were very cheap,³⁴ even if it was often stated black on white that no discount was offered for primers published by the Li Guangming zhuang.³⁵ Moreover, it was also pointed out that book prices were continuously dropping throughout the Qing dynasty.³⁶

The marketing condition of primers was vividly revealed in Liu E's 劉鶚 (1857-1909) travel notes, *Lao Can youji* 老殘遊記. The staff in charge of a *shufang*, Dongchang fu 東昌府, told Lao Can that primers as *Sanzi jing*, *Baijing xing*, and *Qianzi wen* were widely used in local elementary schools. They sold more than ten thousand copies of each of those primers every year.³⁷

This paper confines the scope of investigation to include primers written in verse only because they are the most condensed and representative samples. Under the category of "primers in verse," I intend to include primers written in a rhyming manner, using identical number of characters in each sentence (i.e., *yunyu* 韻語), or those presented in pairs of antithetical phrase (i.e., *duiow* 對偶). Although three-character style primers were said to be easier to memorize than longer ones,³⁸ modern studies recognize the significance of primers in verse, whether they are three-character styled or not.³⁹ The employment of both verse and antithesis were regarded as taking the advantages of Chinese characters. It was also believed that children would be able to learn more efficiently when such devices were used.⁴⁰ Therefore, it was

³³ See Wei Yinru, *op. cit.*, p.171. In a list of traditional primers compiled in the late Qing, 28 out of 55 entries were published by the Li Guangming zhuang. See "Jiaoke shu yiqian de tongmeng duwu 教科書以前的童蒙讀物," in Zhang Jinglu 張靜虛, *Zhongguo jindai chubanshi xiao chubian* 中國近代出版史料初編 (rpt. Shanghai: Qunlian chubanshe, 1954), pp.215-219.

³⁴ Yuan Yi 袁逸, "Qingdai shuji jiage kao 清代書籍價格考," *Bianji zhi you* 編輯之友, no.48 (July 1993), p.73.

³⁵ Wei Yinru, *op. cit.*, p.171.

³⁶ Yuan Yi, *op. cit.*, p.73.

³⁷ Liu E, *Lao Can youji* (annotated by Chen Xianghe 陳翔鶴; Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1986), hui 7, p.74.

³⁸ James T.C. Liu, "The Classical Chinese Primer: Its Three-character Style and Authorship," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol.105, no.2 (April-June, 1985), p.191.

³⁹ See, for example, Liu Yizheng 柳詒徵 (1880-1961), *Guoshi yaoji* 國史要義 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1948), pp.236-237; Yu Mingshan 余明善, "Zhongguo lishi shang de tongmeng duwu jianjie 中國歷史上的童蒙讀物簡介," *Lishi jiaoxue* 歷史教學, 1985, no.6 (June 1985), p.26; Lei Qiaoyun, *Zhongguo ertong wenxue yanjiu* 中國兒童文學研究 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1988), pp.368-378; Wang Ermin, "Zhongguo chuantong jisong zhi xue yu shiyun kouque 中國傳統記誦之學與詩韻口訣," in his *Ming Qing shehui wenhua shengtai*, pp.117-168.

⁴⁰ Zhang Zhigong, *Chuantong yuwen jiaoyu jiaocai lun*, pp.76-77.

suggested that primers with long-lasting positions were often those written in verse and/or antithesis.⁴¹

Furthermore, historical evidence can also be found where scholars deliberately wrote primers in verse so as to allow more circulation of their ideas, or they purposely used primers in verse to teach children. For example, Xiang Anshi 項安世 (?-1208) had pointed out the fact that verses were often used to teach children.⁴² Wang Shouren 王守仁 (1472-1528), in a certain occasion, had instructed his juniors to use verse materials to teach children.⁴³ Lü Kun also suggested training some old blind female beggars to recite the songs from his book for women so that they could spread them to women of the upper class.⁴⁴ Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849) gave numerous examples to prove that in order to allow certain writings to last for generations and easily remembered, verses and antithesis must be used.⁴⁵

In fact, the social standards wrapped inside the primers actually reached many spheres of the society in an invisible way. Besides those who actually read the primers and whose value judgments were indoctrinated, including children and youngsters from different classes, some people learned the contents of such primers through other channels, such as incidentally listening to others' recitation or being instructed verbally. Hence a form of the so-called "second-hand audio-literacy" had developed.⁴⁶ This was especially true for primers written in verse, our present subject matter.

There existed a special category of primers written exclusively for girls in imperial China.⁴⁷ These primers are, however, intentionally excluded in this paper, except a few occasional comparisons. This is because I wish to examine how the later imperial society began indoctrinating both genders in early childhood. There is, in fact, a lot of gender bias contained in the primers for girls, but that is a separate issue and I would prefer to deal with it in another occasion.

⁴¹ Xu Zi, *Mengxue duwu de lishi toudi* 蒙學讀物的歷史透視 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), p.240.

⁴² Xiang Anshi, *Xiangshi jiaoshi* 項氏家說 (included in *Congshu jicheng chubian*; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), juan 7, "yong yunyu" p.83.

⁴³ See Wang Shouren, "Xunmeng dayi shi jiaodu Liu Bosong deng," *Wang Yangming quan shu* 王陽明全書 (rpt. Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1970), "yulu," juan 2, *Chuanxi lu* 傳習錄, zhong, pp.71-72.

⁴⁴ For a more detailed analysis of Lü Kun's writings for women and children, see Joanna F. Handlin, *Action in Late Ming Thought, The Reorientation of Lü K'un and Other Scholar-officials* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983), pp.143-160.

⁴⁵ Ruan Yuan, *Kanjing tang ji* 經堂集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), sanji, juan 2, "Wenyan shuo 文言說," pp.605-606.

⁴⁶ James T.C. Liu, *op. cit.*, p.193.

⁴⁷ There is a preliminary list of primers for girls in Yamazaki Junichi 山崎純一, "Joshiho to Shingoku no sekai—kyu Chugoku ni okeru joshi kyoiku no haiki to kicho 女四書と《新婦譜》の世界——旧中国女性の生活と教育の基調," in his *Kyoiku kara mita Chugoku jose shi shiryō no kenkyū* 教育からみた中国女性史資料の研究 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1986), pp.24-44. See also Tienchi Martin-Liao, "Traditional Handbooks of Women's Education," in Anna Gerstlacher, et al. (eds.), *Women and Literature in China* (Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer, 1985), pp.165-189.

In a sense the social values and moral standards set forth in primers are quite similar to those contained in household instructions (*jiaxun*家訓).⁴⁸ In a recent work on Chinese family education (*jiajiao*家教), primers and household instructions were treated as two categories of traditional works on *jiajiao*.⁴⁹ But there seems to be a significant difference between the readership of the two types of sources. The circulation of household instructions was more restricted to the scholar-official class while a frequently used primer could "have imparted its value system to the greatest number of the population, permeating and stabilizing the traditional Chinese society."⁵⁰ Gender role indoctrination in early childhood can affect very much the character development of individuals, and contribute significantly to the common character of the entire nation. Perhaps this may offer another perspective on Chinese history.

BOYS AND GIRLS SHOULD BE TRAINED DIFFERENTLY

While some ancient scholars suggested that women should not acquire literacy at all,⁵¹ such an extreme view does not exist in many popular primers. For instance, in *Taigong jiajiao*太公家教, a well-known primer during the Mid-Tang and Early Song period,⁵² it was famously stated that "raising a boy but not educating him is the same as preparing a slave for other people; raising a girl without educating her is less worthy than raising a pig."⁵³ This famous saying was slightly revised and adopted in a popular primer of the Qing Dynasty, *Zengguang yanwen*增廣賢文, and was then copied into the revised version of the latter, *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*訓蒙增廣改本. The modified saying was "raising a boy without educating him is worse than raising a donkey; raising a girl without educating her is worse than raising a pig."⁵⁴

However, the emphasis on educating children of both sexes did not coincide with the assumption that the content of education for boys and girls was identical. In fact, though both genders were bound by some

orthodox values, boys and girls were taught to behave quite differently. Biologically speaking, the sexual differentiation among children was enormously emphasized in medical works.⁵⁵ Socially speaking, gender differences were brought to the attention of kids at early ages. The distinction between the two genders is clearly evident in primers, to which children were most exposed during their childhood.

In *Taigong jiajiao*, there was a clear distinction between the method of raising boys (*yangzi zhi fa*養子之法) and the method of raising girls (*yumu zhi fa*養女之法). The author pointed out that it was the responsibility of parents to teach their sons to avoid alcohol and indecent attractions, and be careful of their words and deeds. On the other hand, parents should remind their daughters to behave decently and subserviently, and after they were married not to shame their natal families with poor behavior.⁵⁶ The latter argument would immediately lead us to recall the message of the famous poem "Sigan斯干" in *Shijing*詩經, which stated that the parents would only expect their married daughters to behave properly, be able to handle their household and kitchen works, and not to shame their own parents.⁵⁷

The traditional division of labor was remarkably reflected in some primers. For instance, in *Wuwang jiajiao*武王家教, a primer of the same period as *Taigong jiajiao*, it was stated that boys should be equipped with a variety of knowledge to prepare themselves for possible careers in the government. But girls should be trained with needlework skills and should be seriously reminded not to violate the "seven conditions for divorce" (*qichu*七出), by which husbands may repudiate their wives.⁵⁸ A similar saying was also found in the *Jiao'er jing*教兒經, which declared that boys should study history and learn widely, while girls should practice embroidery diligently and not become lazy.⁵⁹ Perhaps it is not too difficult to associate the similarities between these messages and those contained in Lan Dingyuan's藍鼎元 (1680-1733) *Nuxue*女學, in which he classified clearly the contents of education of the two genders.⁶⁰

⁴⁸ See Charlotte Furth, "From Birth to Birth: The Growing body in Chinese Medicine," in Anne Behnke Kinney (eds.), *Chinese Views of Childhood* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), p.177.

⁴⁹ Zhou Fengwu, *op. cit.*, p.15.

⁵⁰ *Maoshi zhengyi*毛詩正義(Contained in Ruan Yuan [comp.], *Shisan jing zhushu*十三經注疏, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), juan 11, "xiaoya," "Sigan," p.438.

⁵¹ Zhou Fengwu, *op. cit.*, p.36. The "seven conditions" were: being unfilial to the parents-in-law, having no son, adultery, jealousy, malignant disease, talking too much, and stealing. For quick references see Dong Jiazun董家遵, "Han-Tang shi qichu yanjiu漢唐時七出研究," *Wenshi huikan*文史匯刊, vol.1, no.1 (1935), pp.285-295; K'in-sin, "Divorce for Women in Ancient China," *Asia*, vol.2 (1952), pp.34-36; Yang Ximu楊希牧, "Cong qichu dao sangui—yoguan gudai hunyin he jingji zhida de yixie shiliao de taolun從七出到三歸——有關古代婚姻和經濟制度的一些史料的討論," *Dalu zazhi*大陸雜誌, vol.30, no.2 (January 1955), pp.8-20; Nakano Yoshio中埜喜雄, "Shitsushutsu no kefu—hose shi to hoshiso shi no setten七出の系譜——法制史と法思想史接点," *Sandai hogaku*產大法学, vol.4, no.1 (1970), pp.74-80; Tai Yen-hui, "Divorce in Traditional Chinese Law," in David C. Buxbaum (ed.), *Chinese Family Law and Social Change in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1978), pp.76-106; Jin Mei金眉, "Cong 'wuzi' chuqi kan Tangdai 'qichu san buqi' lihun zhida de shijian從無子出妻看唐代七出三不去離婚制度的實踐," *Shixue yuekan*史學月刊, 1993, no.2 (March 1993), pp.103-104.

⁵² *Jiao'er jing*, included in Er Weican爾雅, et al. (eds.), *Zhongguo minjian mengxue tongshu*中國民間蒙學叢書 (hereafter ZGMJXTS; Changsha: Sanhuan chubanshe, 1992), p.496.

⁵³ Lan Dingyuan, *Nuxue* (contained in his *Luzhou quanyi*鹿洲全集, 1732 edition), "zixu," p.1b.

⁴⁸ See Charlotte Furth, "The Patriarch's Legacy: Household Instructions and the Transmission of Orthodox Values," in Liu Kwang-ching (ed.), *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp.187-211. See also Ma Yong馬鏞, *Zhongguo jiajiao jiaoyu shi*中國家庭教育史 (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997).

⁴⁹ Yan Aimin, *op. cit.*, pp.131-133.

⁵⁰ James T.C. Liu, *op. cit.*, p.191.

⁵¹ See my article, "The Cultivation of Female Talent: Views on Women's Education in China during the Early and High Qing Periods," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol.38, no.2, (1995), pp.191-223.

⁵² Wang Chongmin王重民, *Dunhuang guji xulu*敦煌古籍敘錄(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), pp.219-224; "Ba Taigong jiajiao跋《太公家教》," in his *Dunhuang yishu lunwen ji*敦煌遺書論文集(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), pp.134-138; Zhou Fengwu周鳳五, *Dunhuang xieben Taigong jiajiao yanjiu*敦煌寫本太公家教研究(Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1986).

⁵³ See the annotated version of *Taigong jiajiao* in Zhou Fengwu, *op. cit.*, p.26.

⁵⁴ *Zengguang yanwen*, included in Xu Zi and Wang Xuemei (eds.), *Mengxue bianmu*蒙學便讀(hereafter MXBD; Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshu, 1991), p.45; *Shuoguo shanren*碩果山人, *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, also in MXBD, p.64.

Of course, in the past agricultural society, only a very small percentage of men could become scholar-officials, most were peasants. Therefore, the traditional emphasis on boy's education was not only to study (*du*讀) but also to farm (*geng*耕). Just as *Liuyan zazi* 六言雜字 has stated, "To raise a son one must teach him to read, otherwise farming must be introduced to him."⁶¹ A varied version (*bieben*別本) of *Qianzi wen* contained the following saying:

The job of women is to contribute in weaving.

The occupation of men is to contribute in farm work.⁶²

It was a common belief that in a family, if the men did no farm work and the women did no weaving, the family would soon collapse and the possessions of the ancestors would not be maintained.⁶³ In a primer published in the last decade of the Qing empire, men were still asked to do farm work and it was stated that women should cook and deliver food to men working in the farm.⁶⁴ Under fewer circumstances, men were encouraged to practice merchandising instead of farming.⁶⁵

But anyway, men were always regarded as the backbone of individual families. In *Jiachang yu* 家常語, it was said that women should spin and weave diligently, but the role of men was to support and maintain the family (*li menhu* 立門戶).⁶⁶ Moreover, in *Yuxue qionglin*, the eldest son was labeled as the chief organ (*zhuqi* 主器) and a good son (*lingzi* 令子) was described as being capable of running the family and continuing the ancestors' business.⁶⁷ In a sense men were burdened with heavier duties. They were also responsible for training their offspring, as it was pointed out in *Sanzi jing* that "to feed without teaching is the father's fault."⁶⁸

On the other hand, women were taught to live in the circle within the inner chambers and perform household duties. "Thrice following" (*sancong* 三從)⁶⁹ and "four virtues" (*side* 四德)⁷⁰ were frequently mentioned in various primers and, of course, were two dominating themes of many primers exclusively designed for girls.

According to Chinese philosophy, it was believed that men and women belonged to the heaven and earth respectively. The former inherited the character of heaven (*qian* 乾) and should act strongly and boldly, while the latter inherited the character of earth (*kun* 坤) and should possess feminine qualities.⁷¹ It was also pointed out that in order to maintain the social order, it was very important for the two genders to understand their own positions and adhere to their roles. This was the concept in *Yijing* 易經 (the *Book of Change*) and was repeatedly cited or elaborated in some primers. For instance, the famous sentences "The wife has her correct place in the inner (trigram), and the man has his correct place in the outer" were often quoted.⁷² Moreover, the concept of viewing heaven as superior and earth as inferior, which was only part of the entire picture in *Yijing*,⁷³ also appeared in some primers.⁷⁴

Apart from stabilizing the two genders in their own positions, traditional society also advocated the segregation of men and women. Many rules regarding this were established in *Liji* 禮記 (the *Book of Rites*),

衆編(Taipei: Lianjing chubanshiye gongsi, 1987), pp.303-306; Murakami Yoshihide 村上嘉英, "Sanjikyō ni tsuite 三字經について," *Tenri Daigaku Gakuho* 天理大学学報, vol.23, no.5 (March 1972), pp.309-334; Yoshida Tora 吉田寅, "Chugoku no domo kyoikusho Sanjikyō no shiryoteki kosatsu 中国の童蒙教育書《三字經》の資料的考察," *Rissho daigaku toyoshi rokushu* 立正大学東洋史論集, no.7(March 1994), pp.1-21; Zhang Zikai 張子開, "Sanzi jing chengshu niandai xiaokao 《三字經》成書年代小考," *Wenshi zhishi*, 1995, no.8 (August 1995), pp.100-101; Ouyang Guang 歐陽光, "Yetan Sanzi jing de chengshu niandai 也談《三字經》的成書年代," *Wenshi zhishi*, 1996, no.2 (February 1996), pp.122-124.

⁶⁹ *Yili* 儀禮(contained in *Shisan jing zhushu*), juan 30, "sangfu" 11, p.1104; *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義(contained in the same volume), juan 26, "jiaotexing," p.1456; *Da Dai Liji* 大戴禮記(*Sibu congkan* edition), juan 13, "benming" 80, p.5b. In the past *sancong* was often translated as "three obediences," but it is recently argued that "thrice following" is a more appropriate term. For details see Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp.6-7.

⁷⁰ *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏(contained in *Shisan jing zhushu*), juan 7, p.687; *Liji zhengyi*, juan 61, "huanyi" 44, p.1681; Ban Zhao(b.44-51, d.114-120), *Nijie* 女誡, in Fan Ye 范曄(398-445), *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), juan 84, "lienü zhuan" 74, p.2789. For the dates of Ban Zhao, see Nancy Lee Swann, *Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China* (New York: The Century Co., 1932), pp.48-50.

⁷¹ See, for example, *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.155.

⁷² See, for example, Chen Chun (1153-1217), *Xiaoxue shili*, included in *MXGS*, p.82. The citation originally appeared in the *Yijing*, see *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義 (contained in *Shisan jing zhushu*, 1980), juan 4, "jiaren," p.50. Translation adopted from James Legge (1815-1897; trans.), *The Sacred Books of China*, vol.XVI, *The I Ching* (rpt.; New York: Dover Publication Inc. 1963), p.242.

⁷³ See Richard W. Guisso, "Thunder over the Lake: The Five Classics and the Perception of Woman in Early China," in Richard W. Guisso and Stanley Johannesen (eds.), *Women in China: Current Directions in Historical Scholarship* (New York: Philo Press, 1981), pp.47-61; Bao Jialin (Chia-lin Pao Tao) 鮑家麟, "Yinyang xueshuo yu funi diwei," *Hanxue yanjiu*, vol.5, no.2 (1987), pp.501-512.

⁷⁴ See, for example, Li Tiaoyuan 李調元(1734-?), *Jingxuan yuxue duilei duben* 精選幼學對類讀本, included in *MXBD*, p.98.

⁶¹ *Liuyan zazi*, included in Yiran 依然 and Jincai 晉才 (eds.), *Zhongguo gudai tongmeng diewu daquan* 中國古代童蒙讀物大全 (hereafter ZGGTMDWDQ; Hebei: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshu, 1990), p.28.

⁶² *Bieben qianzi wen*, included in Zhou Xingzi 周興嗣(?-520) and HuYin 胡寅 (1098-1156), et al., *Qianzi wen* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1987), p.62.

⁶³ *Jiao'er jing*, included in ZGMJMXTS, p.500.

⁶⁴ *Mengxue duben* quanshu (1902), cited from Zhang Zhigong, *Chuantong yuwen jiaoyu jiaocai lun*, pp.4-5.

⁶⁵ *Xinyun bianmeng quanzhu zazi*, in Lai Xinxia(comp.), *Zazi*, p.114.

⁶⁶ Guan Fang 管芳, *Jiachang yu*, included in Xu Zi and Wang Xuemei (eds.), *Mengxue geshi* 蒙學歌詩 (hereafter MXGS; Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1991), p.76.

⁶⁷ Cheng Dengji 程登吉, *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.149.

⁶⁸ (Attributed) Wang Yinglin 王應麟(1223-1296), *Sanzi jing*, included in Lu Lin 陸林 (comp.), *Sanzi jing jikan* 三字經輯刊 (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), p.4. Translation adopted from Herbert A. Giles (1845-1935; translated and annotated), *San Tsu Ching: Elementary Chinese* (rpt. Taipei: Cheng Wen Publishing Company, 1972), p.11. Quite a number of scholars agreed that the authorship of *Sanzi jing* was mistakenly attributed to Wang Yinglin, he was not the true author. See James T.C. Liu, *op.cit.*, pp.191-196; Liu Zijian [James T.C. Liu] 劉子健, "Bi Sanzi jing gengzao de nan Song qimeng shu 比《三字經》更早的南宋啟蒙書," in his *Liang Songshi yanjiu huibian* 兩宋史研究

where many minor details to avoid unnecessary contact between men and women were recorded.⁷⁵ Although it has been pointed out that these impractical, if not unreasonable, instructions were restricted to the upper classes,⁷⁶ we should not ignore completely the social effect of such beliefs. Furthermore, a number of primers adopted these values, too. For example, Chen Chun's 陳淳 *Xiaoxue shili* 小學詩禮 transmitted many of the instructions in the *Liji*,⁷⁷ and Luo Zhenan's 羅澤南 (1808-1856) *Xiaoxue yanyu* 小學韻語 also marked the significance of varying the life styles of boys and girls after they were seven *sui*,⁷⁸ a concept which originated from the Confucian classics.⁷⁹

Since boys and girls were indoctrinated to behave differently, it is not difficult to understand that children in the past in their early childhood were well aware that the two genders were biologically and socially different. Hence it would be ridiculous for either sex to possess the biological characteristics of the opposite. It has long been a theme of Chinese superstition, if not cosmology, that bearing the biological characteristics of the opposite sex was a signal of forthcoming disasters.⁸⁰ This concept was reinforced in *Yuxue qionglin* which stated that if a woman grew a beard or if a man gave birth to a baby, it would be something strange and incredible.⁸¹

The varied social expectation towards men and women, in one way or another, did stimulate the development of a "sense of superiority" among males and an "inferiority complex" among females. Sometimes the "sense of superiority" among men grew so strong that they felt it was beneath their dignity to be compared with or to contest with women. The famous proverb, "men should not contest with women," which was incorporated into *Yuxue qionglin*, illustrates this concept very vividly.⁸²

Towards the end of imperial China, views on gender role seemed to be changing slowly. These changes are reflected in the primers published in late Qing and early Republican. For example, it was remarkably stated in Zhou Bingqing's 周秉清 *Yangmeng bianyu* 養蒙便讀 that both men and women should be good citizens and serve the nation whole-heartedly.⁸³ It was also advocated in Liu Zenglu's 劉曾騷 (1876 *jinshi*) *Yan sanzi jing* 演三字經 that women should bear in mind their national identity.⁸⁴ Of course, these changing views had a lot to do with the changing environment since the turn of the century.

SETTING DIFFERENT LIFE GOALS

(A) The Myth of Masculinity

Training boys to become men, true men, was an essential part of children's education in traditional China. The establishment and advocacy of "masculinity" (*nan'er qigai* 男兒氣概) in various primers was quite an outstanding focus. One can easily come across terms like *da zhangfu* 大丈夫 and *nanzi han* 男子漢 (both refer to "true men") in primers. In extreme cases, *qichi gaishi nan'er* 七尺蓋世男兒, meaning peerless men seven *chi* tall was used, exaggerating the physical image of men.⁸⁵ Let us have a quick look at the following quotations:

Real men must strive for strength.⁸⁶

Those who return to their home towns in silken robes after making a successful careers in the government are true men.⁸⁷

Real men's wills are great and impassioned.⁸⁸

To judge a man, first observe his courage.⁸⁹

The occupation of men is to build up their statesmanship. Their knowledge should be broad and their experience should be rich.⁹⁰

⁸³ *Yangmeng bianyu*, included in *MXBD*, p.136.

⁸⁴ *Yan sanzi jing*, included in *MXGS*, p.9.

⁸⁵ Lü Kun, *Xu xiao'er yu* 續小兒語, included in *MXGS*, p.40.

⁸⁶ Wang Zhu 汪洙 (1100 *jinshi*), *Shentong shi*, included in *MXGS*, p.146.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.147.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.148.

⁸⁹ Lü Kun, *Xu xiao'er yu*, included in *MXGS*, p.36.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.37.

⁷⁵ According to the calculation done by Cai Shangsi 蔡尚思, there were totally 16 regulations regarding this aspect. See his *Zhongguo chuwentong sixiang zong pipan* 中國傳統思想總批判 (Chengsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp.59-62.

⁷⁶ Albert Richard O'Hara (1907-?) has pointed out that the rules stated in Confucian classics may not reflect the real practices of the common people, see his *The Position of Woman in Early China, According to the Lieh Nü Chuan "The Biographies of Chinese Women"* (second edition, Hong Kong, 1955), pp.1-10. Chen Hong 陳虹 has also made use of a number of works to prove that, in contrast to the upper class, social life among common people was quite liberal. See his *Zhongguo gushi de nannü shejiao* 中國古時的男女社交 (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1971).

⁷⁷ Chen Chun, *Xiaoxue shili*, included in *MXGS*, p.83.

⁷⁸ Luo Zhenan, *Xiaoxue yanyu*, included in *MXGS*, p.92.

⁷⁹ *Liji zhengyi* (contained in *Shisan jing zhushu*), juan 28, "neize," p.1471.

⁸⁰ The practice of blaming women as causes of disasters had already established in the Han Dynasty. For a more detailed analysis, see my article "Handai zhi furen zaiyi lun 漢代之婦人災異論," *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究, vol.9, no.2 (December 1991), pp.79-103.

⁸¹ *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.160. From time to time in the literary works of the late imperial period, men were transformed into women and women were transformed into men. See the discussion in Charlotte Furth, "Androgynous Male and Deficient Females: Biology and Gender Boundaries in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century China," *Late Imperial China*, vol.9 no.2 (December 1988), pp.1-31.

⁸² *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.58.

A real man's will can bend or extend according to the changing environment.⁹¹

From the above few lines we can deduct a central theme: true men should be strong, bold, and learned. Such thinking was indoctrinated into the mind of little boys, so they grew and learned to live up to the social expectation towards men.

It has been argued in a recent study that the ideal Chinese men appeared in fiction and history should possess the quality of both *wen* (the cultural or civil) and *wu* (the physical or martial). It was said that at certain points in history the ideal man was expected to embody a balance of *wen* and *wu*, while at other times only one or the other was expected.⁹² This finding, to a great extent, coincides with the messages conveyed by primers. Men were expected to be physically strong and intellectually educated. Therefore, the masculine ideal is constructed both biologically and culturally. Nevertheless, the tendency to exaggerate the physical statue of male remains as an outstanding theme carried in certain primers.

If we treat the sayings quoted above as positive encouragement, we also see no reason why such encouragement could not transform into heavy pressure for men. In fact, it was not easy to be a Chinese man. According to primers, there were some more items for boys to learn. For example, it was stated in *Lao xuejiu yu* 老學究語 that *zhangfu* should not beg favors from others.⁹³ Real men were not supposed to give up their own dignity to beg. But it is interesting that another primer suggested that if one was going to beg pardon from others, one should beg from a *da zhangfu*.⁹⁴ But how was one to become a *da zhangfu*? Besides the above mentioned qualities, it was also pointed out that he ought to be generous, responsible, capable, and far-sighted. The following statements could serve as evidences:

Real men should be responsible for what they have done.⁹⁵

Those who can speak eloquently may not be real gentlemen;

those who are capable of handling all the matters are, however, true men.⁹⁶

Those who do not talk after drinking wine are true gentlemen;

those who keep a proper budget are true men.⁹⁷

As real men, who are willing to be indebted to others in coming lives?⁹⁸

As real men, who do not leave their homes to search for business?⁹⁹

In some sense men in later imperial China were quite pitiful. They were often burdened with societal expectations and they had to strive very hard to achieve their goals. They had to be the leaders, the dominators. Traditional society also held the view that it was a shame for men to be under the control of women. For example, in *Yuxue qionglin*, it was recorded that:

A true gentleman should not be content with the domination of women.

He must bestir himself in a masculine way.¹⁰⁰

Psychologically speaking, such values had indeed created very great pressure for men. More on the husband-wife relationship will be dealt with in the following section.

In extreme cases, men may be pushed to be "poisonous" for it was stated that "without poison one cannot be a true man."¹⁰¹ Or they were required or forced to suppress their natural sentiments, they should not easily shed tears. A famous proverb, though not quoted in the primers under discussion, can serve to illustrate this point.¹⁰²

There was a famous couplet contained in both the *Shenglü qimeng* 聲律啓蒙 and *Jingxuan yuxue duilei duben* 精選幼學對類讀本:

The fine-looking eyebrows create a pair of crescent moons below the ladies' foreheads.

Rainbows of ten thousand *zhang* long are blown off from the chests of strong men.¹⁰³

⁹¹ *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.148.

⁹² Kam Louie and Louise Edwards, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing Wen and Wu," *East Asian History*, no.8 (1994), pp.135-148. See also Kam Louie, "Introducing wen-wu: Towards a Definition of Chinese Masculinity," in his *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-21.

⁹³ Li Xing 李惺(1787-1864), *Lao xuejiu yu*, included in *MXGS*, p.65.

⁹⁴ *Zengguang yamen*, included in *MXBD*, p.45.

⁹⁵ *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.75.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.75.

⁹⁷ *Zengguang yamen*, included in *MXBD*, p.45.

⁹⁸ *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.58.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.72.

¹⁰⁰ *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.188.

¹⁰¹ *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.81.

¹⁰² The proverb was said to emerge in the Yuan Dynasty, and appeared in a number of Ming works. See Li Yongyan 李泳炎 and Li Yahong 李亞紅(eds.), *Zhonghua suyu yuanshi da cidian* 中華俗語源流大辭典 (Beijing: Zhongguo gongren chubanshe, 1992), p.358.

¹⁰³ *Jingxuan yuxue duilei duben*, included in *MXBD*, p.111; Che Wanyu 車萬育, *Shenglü qimeng*, included in *MXGS*, p.207.

Somehow this is a vivid presentation of contrasting images of men and women in Chinese history.

(B) Chastity as a Central Theme of Womanhood

Women were expected to be less ambitious and aggressive in Chinese society. They were told that women were different from men. They were aware of gender differences in their early childhood. Before they took up the roles of wives and mothers, they knew pretty well that what mattered most for women were the reputation for being virtuous and chaste. As compare with men, they had less lifelong goals to pursue. Although virtue (*de* 德) always had a higher position than talent (*cai* 才) in Chinese culture, applicable to both genders, the insignificance of female talent was much more frequently highlighted.¹⁰⁴ The content of the education women received usually included such matters as how to behave, to do housework, to serve their parents-in-law, and to learn chaste deeds from books. Whether woman should develop their literary talent or not was a debatable issue with views at both extreme.¹⁰⁵ On the contrary, men, at least those from the elite class, could have more time to study classics, history, and various schools of philosophy. Men were often urged to study hard, for the sake of themselves and their families. But for women, talent, especially literary talent, was not a necessity and might be considered as a form of decoration.¹⁰⁶ Besides repeatedly reminding women the importance of being good wives, which we shall discuss later, chastity remains to be a central theme of womanhood in many primers with a non-gender-specific readership. It was remarked in *Qianzi wen* that:

Women should cherish chastity and purity.

Men should imitate the talented and virtuous.¹⁰⁷

These two lines were also absorbed into *Taigong jiajiao*,¹⁰⁸ and became popular. Obviously, men were expected to have more dimensions and concerns in their lives, while the most important goal for women was to preserve their chastity. Another saying from a primer of the Qing period was:

Men should respect the Confucian ethical code.

Women should always bear chastity in mind.¹⁰⁹

The famous saying that "a chaste woman should not marry twice, just as a loyal official would not serve two emperors" appeared in a number of primers, with slight variations.¹¹⁰ Of course, there were thousands of stories of chaste women recorded in the voluminous primers for girls. Besides, elaboration on female chastity normally formed major chapters in primers when the readers were gendered female. Hence, if compared with primers for girls, indoctrination of female chastity was less frequent in general primers.

Although both men and women were expected to act virtuously, the areas which women could develop seemed much narrower. If men took up officialdom, they were subordinate to the monarch, but still they were respected as the dominating masters of their families. Men had to perform their roles both at home and outside the home, but places for women were only restricted inside families.

DIFFERENT ROLES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES

The husband-wife relationship was regarded as one of the five main relationships (*wulun* 五倫), i.e., emperor-official, father-son, brothers, husband-wife, and friends. Among the five kinds of relationships, emperors, fathers, and husbands were regarded as the supervisors, if not dictators, of officials, sons, and wives, respectively. This theory was conceptualized into the "three cardinal guides" (*sangang* 三綱). According to this theory, husbands should mentor wives and the latter had to observe the instructions of the former. If everyone was happy to stay in his or her own position, then the entire society would be in harmony. Such a harmonious scene could be found in a varied version of the *Qianzi wen*, where the father was amiable (*ci* 慈) and the son filial (*xiao* 孝), the husband was conscientious (*liang* 良) and the wife chaste (*zhen* 貞).¹¹¹

A very notable theme of many primers was to inform the readers at an early age that men acting as husbands and women acting as wives were significantly different. They repeatedly used the term *bie* 別 (different) to address this issue. Obvious examples are in *Qimeng chusong* 啓蒙初誦 (also named *Jingxue qimeng* 經學啓蒙), *Xunmeng yayan* 訓蒙雅言, *Mingwu mengqiu* 名物蒙求, and *Guang sanzhi jing* 廣三字經.¹¹² In the cultural context *bie* implied a natural division of labor as well as the proper separation of

¹⁰⁴ See my article cited in no.51 and "Zhongguo chuantong caide guan ji Qingdai qianqi nuxing caide lun 中國傳統才德觀及清代前期女性才德論" in my *De cai se quan: Lun Zhongguo gudai nuxing de cai se quan*—論中國古代女性才德觀 (Taipei: Maitian chuban gufan youxian gongsi, 1998), pp. 165-251. For discussions on female talent versus virtue during the Ming and Qing periods, see also Dorothy Ko, "Pursuing Talent and Virtue: Education and Gentry Women's Culture in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Jiangnan," *Late Imperial China*, vol. 13, no.1 (June 1992), pp.9-39; Sun Kangyi (Kang-I Sun Chang) 孫康宜 (trans. Li Shixue 李爽學), "Ming Qing shiyuan yu nuzi caide guan 明清詩媛與女子才德觀," *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學, vol.21, no.11 (April 1993), pp.52-81.

¹⁰⁵ See no.51, pp.201-214.

¹⁰⁶ Zhang Xichen 章錫琛 (1889-?), *Famü wenti shijiang 婦女問題十講*, cited from Liang Yizhen 梁乙真, *Qingdai famü wenxue shi 清代婦女文學史* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1927), p.250.

¹⁰⁷ Translation adopted from Francis W. Paar (ed.), *Ch'ien Tzu Wen: The Thousand Character Classic, A Chinese Primer* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1963), pp.78-79.

¹⁰⁸ Zhou Fengwu, *Dunhuang xieben Taigong jiajiao yanyu*, p.24.

¹⁰⁹ Xie Taijie 謝泰階 (1607-1650), *Xiaoxue shi 小學詩*, included in *MXGS*, p.159.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, *Xiaoxue shili*, included in *MXGS*, p.83; Luo Zenan, *Xiaoxue yanyu*, included in the same book, p.95; *Shuoguo shanren, Xunmeng zengguang gaidan*, included in *MXBD*, p.84.

¹¹¹ *Bieben qianzi wen*, included in *Qianziwen*, p.60.

¹¹² Chen Chun, *Qimeng chusong* (also named *Jingxue qimeng*), included in *MXGS*, p.78; Chen Chun, *Xunmeng yayan*, included in his *Beixi*

women from men in a moral sense.¹¹³ Whether *bie* indicated sexual inequality or not is a matter of opinion.¹¹⁴ However, Sometimes *shun*順 (obey) or *cong*從 (follow) were used instead of *bie*, thereby placing more emphasis on the passive role of women and the leading role of men. Examples of *shun* are found in *Sanzi jing*, *Jiezeng sanzhi jing*節增三字經 and *Zengding sanzhi jing*增訂三字經,¹¹⁵ whereas examples of *cong* can be found in *Sanzi jing* and *Yan sanzhi jing*.¹¹⁶ *Shun* and *cong* were similar in the sense that both stressed the passiveness of women. Although Herbert A. Giles translated "*fufu shun*夫婦順" of *Sanzi jing* as "the harmony between husband and wife," James T.C. Liu has pointed out its inaccuracy and re-translated the phrase as "husband is for wife to follow."¹¹⁷

Perhaps we should also note that the leading role of husbands was sometimes more explicitly expressed in primers, especially when readers were gendered male. It was mentioned in *Guang sanzhi jing* that husbands should control (*yu*御) wives.¹¹⁸ Husbands controlling wives were perceived as the last item of the *sangang*. Husbands were labeled as heaven and wives were labeled as earth in *Jiao'er jing*.¹¹⁹ A famous proverb, "teach your daughter-in-law once she has married into your family, just as you teach your children when they are still infants," originally quoted in *Yanshi jiaxun*顏氏家訓 of the Northern Dynasties,¹²⁰ was copied into primers like *Xiao'er yu bu*小兒語補 and *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben* of the Qing Dynasty.¹²¹

By virtue of the authority vested in males, husbands were expected to teach and guide their wives, whose intelligence might not be equally respected in traditional society. A well-known saying was "teach your son in the living room and teach your wife beside the pillow."¹²² Husbands were always assigned the

obligation to instruct their wives.¹²³ In *Yangmeng biandu*, there are very detailed descriptions of how husbands should supervise their wives, encourage them to perform virtuous deeds and turn them into capable persons to run the family physically and spiritually. Properly instructed wives were praised as "helpful assistants from the inner chambers" (*xian neizhu*賢內助) in Chinese society.¹²⁴

In line with the belief that husbands and wives assumed different roles, it was also stressed that couples should observe the sexual differences in daily practices. "Men were different from women" (*nanmu youbei*男女有別) was a constant focus of many primers. For example, restrictions like "bathe not together," "share no towels," "talk no outside business with your wife," and "chat of no affairs of the inner chambers with your husband," "use not your husband's hangers to hang your clothes," originating from Confucian classics, especially the *Liji*,¹²⁵ were included in some primers.¹²⁶

However, one should note that traditional Chinese ethics did not encourage antagonism between couples. The society just wished to strengthen the leadership of husbands and enforce the passivity and submissiveness of wives. Moreover, it was always stressed that the ideal relationship of couples should be harmonious. Primers often remarked that husbands and wives should be on good terms, hence the entire family would enjoy a harmonious atmosphere.¹²⁷ As it was stated in *Qianzi wen*, "let superior live in harmony, and inferiors in concord;" if the superiors are kind enough, then the inferiors will be peaceful. *Qianzi wen* continued to note that "when the husband sings, the wife joins in chorus" (*fuchang fusui*夫唱婦隨).¹²⁸ As a matter of fact, *fuchang fusui* has become through the centuries an ideal for couples to pursue. This ideal, in one way or another, implied women's willingness to be led by men. Apart from re-endorsing the concept through direct quotation,¹²⁹ a few primers elaborated on the interdependence of husbands and wives. They asserted that husbands and wives were brought together by a happy fate, some supernatural force (*yinyuan*姻緣) and that even a one-day-husband-wife relationship was already a result of *yinyuan* of a hundred previous lives. Husbands and wives could get on to the same boat because that was a result of *yinyuan* of a hundred previous lives. They could sleep on the same pillow because that was a result of *yinyuan* of a thousand previous lives, too.¹³⁰ Husbands were expected to be friendly (*he*和) and wives

*daquan ji*北溪大全集(*Siku quanshu chenben siji*; Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yin shu guan, 1972), juan 16, p.11a. Fang Fengchen方逢辰, *Mingwu mengxiu*, included in *MXGS*, p.170; Jiao Xuanshi焦軒氏(ed.), revised by Wang Jinzhi王晉之 and Zhang Xiezhi張謐之, *Guang sanzhi jing*, included in *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.220.

¹¹³ See Wei-hung Lin, "Chastity in Chinese Eyes: *Nan-mu yu-pieh*," *Chinese Studies*, vol.9, no.2 (December 1991), p.21.

¹¹⁴ See James T. C. Liu, *op. cit.*, p.195.

¹¹⁵ *Sanzi jing*, included in *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.5; Zhou Baozhang周保璋(1844-1897), *Jiezeng sanzhi jing*, also in *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.250; Zhang Binglin章炳麟(1869-1936, ed.), revised by Liu Songlin劉松齡, *Zengding sanzhi jing*, included in *Sanzi jing jikan*, pp.283-284.

¹¹⁶ *Sanzi jing*, included *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.5; Liu Zenglu, *Yan sanzhi jing*, included in *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.265.

¹¹⁷ Herbert A. Giles, *op.cit.*, p.27; James T.C. Liu, *op.cit.*, p.195.

¹¹⁸ *Guang sanzhi jing*, included in *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.219.

¹¹⁹ *Jiao'er jing*, included in *ZGMDMXTS*, p.500.

¹²⁰ Yan Zhitui顏之推(531-after 591), annotated by Wang Liqi王利器, *Yanshi jiaxun jiyie*顏氏家訓集解(Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), juan 1, p.25.

¹²¹ Tiangu laoren天谷老人, *Xiao'er yu bu*, included in *MXGS*, p.55; *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.55.

¹²² *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.56.

¹²³ Xie Taijie, *Xiaoxue shi*, included in *MXGS*, p.157.

¹²⁴ Zhou Bingqing, *Yangmeng biandu*, included in *MXGS*, pp.133-134.

¹²⁵ For a good summary of those rules and regulations in Confucian classics, see Cai Shangsi, *op. cit.*, pp.59-62.

¹²⁶ Luo Zenan, *Xiaoxue yuyao*, included in *MXGS*, p.95.

¹²⁷ See, for example, *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.150.

¹²⁸ *Qianzi wen*, p.17. Translation adopted from Ch'ien Tzu Wen: *The Thousand Character Classic, A Chinese Primer*, pp.120-121.

¹²⁹ For example, *Linyan zazi*, included in *ZGGDTMDWDQ*, p.26.

¹³⁰ *Zengguang yanwen*, included in *MXBD*, p.47; *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in the same book, p.66.

One should not overlook the fact that husbands, though they had been assigned a superior role, were often reminded not to abuse their power or neglecting their wives. Absent-minded people were mocked by the ironic saying, "forgetting your wife when you moved to a new house."¹³² Men were also warned not to divorce wives who had shared their hardships.¹³³ Those men who allowed themselves to be jobless, abandoned their wives and did not take care of their sons were negatively described as animals.¹³⁴ Of course, primers also pointed out the cruel fact that in times of adversity, even affectionate couples could have no alternatives but to separate.¹³⁵

There were a number of reminders for men in traditional primers. As far as married life was concerned, men were strongly reminded not to neglect their parents and brothers after their wedding. In the first respect, men were asked not to pay more attention to their wives than to their parents, not to be instigated by their wives and thus acted less filial than before.¹³⁶ If they loved their wives, they should treat their parents equally well.¹³⁷ The old saying of "filial piety will decline when wives step into men's lives" (*xiao shuaiyu qizi* 孝衰于妻子) was also cited.¹³⁸ In the past, both unfilial sons and daughters-in-law were considered evils for their families.¹³⁹

Ever since their childhood, men were repeatedly informed that they should treasure their brothers over their wives. The most famous saying was:

Brothers are like hands and legs.

Couples are like clothes.

If clothes become worn, one can sew and mend.

If the four limbs are broken, one cannot join them again.

This saying, which can be traced back to the Yuan Dynasty,¹⁴⁰ was cited in both *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben* and the *Yangmeng biandu*.¹⁴¹ In *Sizi jing* 四字經, the concept was modified into the following:

It is easy to get a marital partner,

but it is very difficult to replace your hands and feet if you lose them.

[Hands and feet here refer to brothers.]¹⁴²

Obviously this is a further elaboration of the old saying.

On another occasion, the close relationship among brothers was compared to wagtails (*jiling* 鷺鷥), small birds, while the relationship of husbands and wives were compared to *luan* 鸞, a mythical bird like the phoenix, and the *feng* 鳳, phoenix. Brothers were blood-related and hence closer.¹⁴³ In *Jiao'er jing*, there were a few sentences reminding men that brothers were hard to come by, so if brothers could work together with one heart, their family properties would be well managed. However, if any one ceased to be faithful after listening to his wife's gossip, and even started to criticize his parents, then he could no longer share a fraternal friendship with his brothers.¹⁴⁴

Apart from reminding men of the need of continued filial piety beyond marriage, Chinese primers had yet another important message to convey. Young boys were told that only stupid or crazy men let wives dominate them. The most representative sentence employed in a few primers is "Mad people are afraid of wives, virtuous women respect their husbands."¹⁴⁵ The famous proverb, "the lion of Hedong is roaring" (*Hedong shigou* 河東獅吼), implying that some husbands were scared of their fierce wives, was also employed and explained in a primer.¹⁴⁶

Now we come to the question of how to be a good wife? What was the perception of the Chinese

¹³¹ *Guang sanzi jing*, included in *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.221.

¹³² *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.170.

¹³³ *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.74.

¹³⁴ *Xiyun bianmeng qunzhu zazi* 新鐫便蒙群珠雜字, included Lai Xinxia(ed.), *Zazi*, p.114.

¹³⁵ *Zengguang yamen*, included in *MXBD*, p.46; *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in the same book, p.63.

¹³⁶ *Quanbao qinxi bian* 勸報親恩篇, included in *ZGGDTMDWDQ*, p.161.

¹³⁷ Zhou Xitao 周希陶, *Congding zengguang* 重訂增廣, included in Zhang He 張河 and Mu Zhi 牧之(eds.), *Zhongguo gudai mengshu jimin* 中國古代蒙書集錦(hereafter *ZGDMSJJ*; Fnan: Shandong youyi shushe, 1989), p.58.

¹³⁸ The saying was first seen in *Deng Shizi* 鄧析子(contained in *Baizi Qianshu*; Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1984), "zhuanzi bian," p.3b and *Xun Zi* 荀子(Xun Kuang 荀況, c.198B.C.-c.238B.C.). See Wang Xianqian 王先謙(1842-1917), *Xun Zi jiji* 荀子集解(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), juan 17, "xing'er bian," p.444. Now cited in Zhou Xitao, *Congding zengguang*, included in *ZGDMSJJ*, p.53.

¹³⁹ *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.56.

¹⁴⁰ According to Li Yongyan and Li Yahong (eds.), *Zhonghua suyu yuanyou da cidian*, this saying, though not the exact wording, appeared in a piece of Yuan's literature work entitled *Dong Su Qin* 東蘇秦, and it also appeared in *Shuanghong ji* 雙雄記 and *Sanguo yangyi* 三國演義, both of the Ming Dynasty. See pp.208-209.

¹⁴¹ *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.70; Zhou Bingqing, *Yangmeng biandu*, included in *MYGS*, p.131.

¹⁴² *Sizi jing*, included in *MYGS*, p.26.

¹⁴³ *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.186.

¹⁴⁴ *Jiao'er jing*, included in *ZGM/MXTS*, P.500.

¹⁴⁵ *Taigong jiajiao*, in Zhou Fengwu, *op cit.*, p.26; *Zengguang yamen*, included in *MXBD*, p.45; *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in the same book, p.53.

¹⁴⁶ *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.151.

society? Most primers regard being virtuous (*xian*賢) as the ultimate quality of wives. Physical appearance did not matter much, as it was announced that "the goodness of a wife lies not in her beauty."¹⁴⁷ Virtuous wives would guide their husbands to the path of success while wicked wives would ruin their husbands.¹⁴⁸ If a woman is of good virtue, then her husband would have fewer disasters to face.¹⁴⁹ Just as able general-officials were thought of when the country was in a chaotic situation, virtuous wives were also remembered when the family went into bankruptcy.¹⁵⁰ In other words, virtuous wives were regarded as precious assets of a family; a family with good wives would become wealthy sooner or later.¹⁵¹

WOMEN PERCEIVED AS DANGEROUS

Men in traditional Chinese society were constantly warned of the potential danger that women might cause. The threat from women was mainly in two areas: their words and their beauty.

It was a well known saying that the long tongue of a woman was the source of chaos and disorder. This theme, originated from *Shijing* (the *Book of Songs*),¹⁵² was perpetuated in primers like *Yuxue qionglin* and *Lao xuejiu yu*.¹⁵³ In other cases, men were directly instructed to free themselves from behaving according to their wives' wishes. It was remarked that men who followed their wives' opinions without reasons might harm themselves eventually.¹⁵⁴ The *Sizi jing* particularly condemned unfilial sons who disobeyed their mothers in order to please their wives.¹⁵⁵

Another essential warning found in primers was the potential danger of women's beauty. In *Qianzi wen*, it was already pointed out that:

Mao [Qiang]毛嬙 and [Xi] Shi西施 were very beautiful ladies.

The one seemed to have achieved a work of art when she knit her brows;
the other was beautiful when she smiled.¹⁵⁶

According to the annotations of Wang Xiaoyin王嘯尹 and Sun Qianyi孫謙益, the primary purpose of the above sentences was to show that pretty women could easily make men feel perplexed, so men should keep away from them in order to conduct themselves properly in society.¹⁵⁷

Some primers raised the issue in a more straight forward way. They either warned the boys not to indulge in women's charms,¹⁵⁸ or they made use of analogies, comparing women's charms to sharp swords,¹⁵⁹ and comparing the bed-curtain enclosed area as a real hell.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, quite a number of primers attempted to introduce the theory of retribution. Men who seduced women (who were either daughters or wives of some other men) to have sexual activities with them were destined to face the retribution in that one day their wives and daughters would be enticed by other men, too.¹⁶¹ Acts of adultery were considered as crimes.¹⁶² To gossip about the deeds of women in others' families so as to ruin their reputation was also regarded as a moral offense.¹⁶³

The issues mentioned in the above paragraph also appeared in other genres for gender role indoctrination in later imperial China, such as household instructions and nursery rhymes.¹⁶⁴ For instance, the notion that men should avoid the influence of women's words and beauty was easily found in well-known works like *Xiaoyou tang jiaxun*孝友堂家訓, *Zhijia geyan*治家格言, and *Jiangshi jiaxun*蔣氏家訓.¹⁶⁵

In short, the Chinese historical effort to prevent women's influence (either by words and or charms)

¹⁴⁷ *Lao xuejiu yu*, included in *MXGS*, p.68.

¹⁴⁸ *Zengguang yanwen*, included in *MXBD*, p.49; *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in the same book, p.58; *Congding zengguang*, included in *ZGGDMSU*, p.56.

¹⁴⁹ Xie Taijie, *Xiaoxue shi*, included in *MXGS*, p.159; *Zengguang yanwen*, included in *MXBD*, p.48; *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.57.

¹⁵⁰ *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.59.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.83.

¹⁵² *Maoshi zhengyi* (contained in *Shisan jing zhushu*), juan 18, "zhan'ang," p.557.

¹⁵³ *Yuxue qionglin*, included in *MXBD*, p.160; *Lao xuejiu yu*, included in *MXGS*, p.57.

¹⁵⁴ *Lao xuejiu yu*, included in *MXGS*, p.63.

¹⁵⁵ *Sizi jing*, included in *MXGS*, p.25.

¹⁵⁶ Translation adopted from Ch'ien Tsu Wen: *The Thousand Character Classic, A Chinese Primer*, pp.272-273.

¹⁵⁷ Wang Xiaoyin and Sun Qianyi (annotated), *Qianzi wen shiyi*, included in Zhu Xingzi, Hu Yin, et al., *Qianzi wen*, p.43.

¹⁵⁸ Luo Zenan, *Xiaoxue yunyu*, included in *MXGS*, p.98.

¹⁵⁹ Zhou Xitao, *Congding zengguang*, included in *ZGGDMSU*, p.57.

¹⁶⁰ *Xunmeng zengguang gaiben*, included in *MXBD*, p.75.

¹⁶¹ Xie Taijie, *Xiaoxue shi*, included in *MXGS*, p.163; Zhu Bailu朱柏廬(1627-1698), *Zhuzi jiaxun*朱子家訓, included in *ZGGDMSU*, p.71.

¹⁶² *Lao xuejiu yu*, included in *MXGS*, p.69.

¹⁶³ Lü Kun, *Xu xiao'er yu*, included in *MXGS*, p.38.

¹⁶⁴ For some examples, see my book *Zhongguo gudai de yuer*中國古代的育兒 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan youxian gongsi, 1997), pp.136-140.

¹⁶⁵ All contained in Xu Zi(ed.), *Jiaxun-fu de dingning* 家訓—父祖的叮嚀 (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu chubanshe, 1996), see p.253, p.227, p.325, p.326.

was clearly reflected in primary education. Women were often regarded as roots of disasters and charming ladies very often were labeled as *femme fatales*.¹⁶⁶ Isn't it interesting that women were depicted as *femme fatales*, dangerous and powerful in front of the male readers, but on the other hand women readers were indoctrinated to be chaste and passive? In the course of gender role indoctrination, the images of women varied as necessary. They were taught to be pure, loyal, submissive, and tender. But very often men were warned of the danger of women in many aspects.

EPILOGUE

A quotation from *Sanzi jing* provides much food for thought:

Cai Wenji 蔡文姬 (c.178-?) was able to judge from the sound of a psaltery.
Xie Daoyun 謝道韞 (fl.376) was able to compose verses.
They were only girls, yet they were quick and clever.
You boys ought to rouse yourselves.¹⁶⁷

Annotations of *Sanzi jing* which appeared in later centuries concluded that the author's intention was to make use of two eminent talented women to urge men to greater efforts. Some even suggested that the real message of the author was that: men's achievements should not be inferior to women's.¹⁶⁸ It was interpreted that these lines were designed to "direct and encourage boys in their course of study."¹⁶⁹ Revised versions of *Sanzi jing* changed the stories cited but conveyed exactly the same message:

Empress-dowager Deng [Sui] 鄧綏 (81-121) has found a school in the
palace to teach children of the royal family.
Ban Dagu 班大家 (i.e. Cao Dagu 曹大家 or Ban Zhao 班昭, b.44-51,
d.114-120) committed herself in preserving historical documents
and succeeded in completing the compilation of *Hanshu* 漢書.
They are only women, yet they published their works.
You men ought not to be unambitious and incompetent.¹⁷⁰

The eminent early Qing thinker Yan Yuan 顏元 (1635-1704) revised the *Sanzi jing* into *Sanzi shu* 三字書. Though the work was no longer extant,¹⁷¹ we know pretty well from Yan's preface that he had deliberately dropped the above mentioned literary women and replaced them with other examples of officials, because he thought that they were more "useful" (*yongyou* 有用).¹⁷² In other words, he implied that using examples of literary women to stimulate men was "useless" in a sense. What did he mean exactly? What was his real motivation? It's worth thinking.

Why was it necessary for boys to be aware of the achievement of girls? Because the social norms pressed one particular gender to outshine their counterparts as far as intellectual achievements were concerned. The role of women was to be filial daughters, subservient wives and daughters-in-law, and self-sacrificing mothers. No place was reserved for them in social or intellectual spheres. Fortunate women of the elite class might strive to survive in a small corner of the intellectual world,¹⁷³ but the majority had to conform to social values. Because of the relatively wide circulation of primers and because of the effective learning method of primers in verse, the ideal norms contained in them should be closer to the social practices. Even though, it was also pointed out that only the popular primers that were adopted by most teachers could have substantial social impact. Others less popular and confined to the elite class were not used among the common people.¹⁷⁴

Old primers were largely criticized for their backwardness during the early twentieth century. It was frequently argued that primers served to strengthen the Confucian social order by indoctrinating the people to be obedient and loyal and by training children to act like sensible adults, without understanding their own psychological needs.¹⁷⁵ To meet the demand of a new era, new textbooks with different styles and contents began to appear in the late Qing and early Republican period.¹⁷⁶ Obviously, the gender role definition was changing gradually, leading to a complete transformation in certain children's readings

¹⁷¹ It was not listed in catalogues of Yan Yuan's existing works, see Liu Jianguo 劉建國, *Zhongguo zhexue shi shiliao xue gaiyao* 中國哲學史史料學概要 (Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1983), pp.551-553.

¹⁷² Yan Yuan, "Sanbu Sanzi shu xu 刪補三字書序," in *Xizai jiyu* 習齋記錄 (contained in *Yan Yuan ji* 顏元集; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), juan 1, pp.400-401.

¹⁷³ For the most recent representative work in this area, see Dorothy Ko's work cited in n.69.

¹⁷⁴ See Lin Wenbao 林文寶, *Lidai qimeng jiaocai chutan* 歷代啟蒙教材初探 (Taidong: Taidong shiyan yuwen jiaoyu xuexi, 1995), pp.242-243.

¹⁷⁵ For example, see Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1897-1958), "Zhongguo ertong duwu de fenshi 中國兒童讀物的分析," included in Wang Quangen 王泉根 (ed.), *Zhongguo xiandai ertong wenxue wenlan xun* 中國現代兒童文學文論選 (Nanning: Guangxi renmin chubanshu, 1989), pp.360-378; Wu Yanyin 吳研因, "Qingmo yilai woguo xiaoxue jiaokeshu gaiguan 清末以來我國小學教科書概觀," in Zhang Jinglu (ed.), *Zhongguo jindai chubanshi shiliao bubian* 中國近代出版史料補編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), pp.149-160.

¹⁷⁶ See Wang Jianjun 王建軍, *Zhongguo jindai jiaokeshu fazhan yanjiu* 中國近代教科書發展研究 (Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996). For a quick reference to the list of textbooks published in late Qing and early Republican, see "Jiaokeshu zhi fahang gaiguang 1868-1918 教科書之發展概況," in Zhang Jinglu (ed.), *Zhongguo jindai chubanshi shiliao chubian*, pp.219-253; "1919-1925 nian jiaokeshu chubanshi faxing yilan biao 1919-1925年教科書出版發行一覽表," appended in Zhang Xianwen 張憲文 and Mu Weiming 穆緯銘 (eds.), *Jiangsu minguo shiqi chubanshi* 江蘇民國時期出版史 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1993), pp.448-483.

¹⁶⁶ See my article cited in n.80 and "Handai 'furen yanse wangguo' lun zhi fazhan 漢代'婦人言色亡國'論之發展," in my *De cai se quan: Lan Zhongguo gudai mixing*, pp. 87-123.

¹⁶⁷ Translation adopted from Herbert A. Giles, *San Tzu Ching: Elementary Chinese*, pp.137-139.

¹⁶⁸ He Xingsi 賀興思 (annotated), Lang Xuanshi 朗軒氏 (suppl.), *Sanzi jing zhujie beiyao*, in *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.141.

¹⁶⁹ Wang Xiang 王相 (annotated), *Sanzi jing xunwu* 三字經訓詁, in *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.40.

¹⁷⁰ Che Dingfen 車鼎賁 (revised), *Sanzi jing*, in *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.162; *Guang sanzhi jing*, in *Sanzi jing jikan*, p.210.

published after 1949, which were labeled as "liberated Chinese primers" by Western critics.¹⁷⁷

Many contemporary studies on primary school textbooks have suggested that individual views on gender can be very much affected by the messages he or she received from textbooks during childhood.¹⁷⁸ If the reading materials somehow contain gender bias, they may affect directly the readers' gender role perception. Such theories also can be applied to our study of traditional primers. Perhaps we are not going too far to suggest that the gender role indoctrination in old primers was one of the historical roots of modern sexual constraints that both genders are still facing.

SOC 1150 – Hong Kong Society Term paper

梁繼善 中國研究社會專業二年級

《論(英皇御准)香港賽馬會對殖民、特區政權之重要性》

引言

在英國殖民政府管治香港期間；有一個介乎商業機構和非牟利慈善團體性質的機構，它與殖民政府的關係非常密切，對英國殖民政權十分重要；對香港社會各界，包括商界、政治界、甚至基層市民的日常生活各方面，都有著重要影響。這個與英國殖民政權有著密切關係的機構，就是(英皇御准)香港賽馬會。在回歸後，香港賽馬會與特區政權的密切關係並沒有因而疏遠，反之；其對特區政權之重要性比起當日殖民政權管治之下，更有過之而無不及。

本文將建基於 Discovery channel 其中一輯《亞洲真風貌》紀錄片、香港賽馬會網站上的資料、馬會各年份的年報、課程的參考文章……等，對當日的(英皇御准)香港賽馬會作一簡要的介紹，包括其成立背景、歷史、成員架構；並分析其與英國殖民政權的重要性、與香港政制千絲萬縷的關係；並分析回歸後的香港賽馬會與當日(英皇御准)香港賽馬會對各自政權之重要性之異同。

(英皇御准)香港賽馬會的歷史

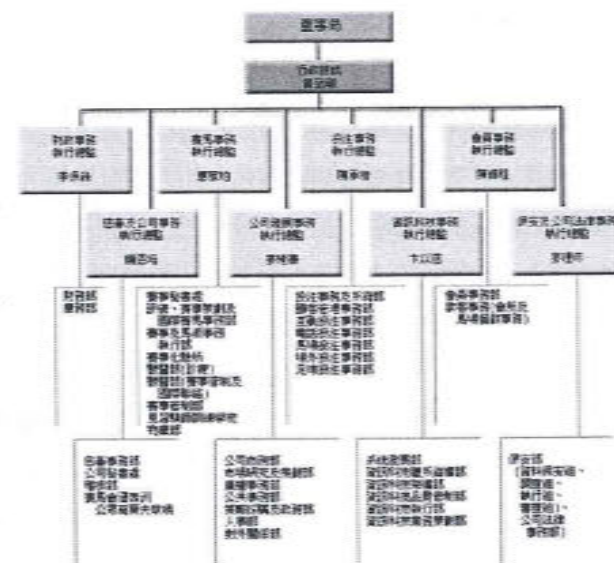
根據香港賽馬會的官方網頁所載，一八八四年，英國殖民政府為了更有效統籌香港的賽馬運動，便於該年成立當時的(英皇御准)香港賽馬會，負責舉辦所有賽馬運動；但仍未將投注業務納入其經營範圍之內，投注事宜仍然由私人會所負責，馬會則從中抽取佣金，一方面以維持其經營及運作，另一方面則將業務盈餘悉數撥捐香港的各個慈善機構。一九零七年，馬會首次在中區設立辦事處，並委任首位秘書，協助規模日漸龐大的馬會辦事；一九五九年，馬會為了更有效管理金額日趨龐大的捐款，遂於該年成立香港賽馬會(慈善)有限公司。至一九七一年，隨著香港的賽馬職業化，馬會的規模亦因而更形龐大及專業化；兩年後，馬會獲香港政府授權，於翌年設立首六個「場外投注站」後，又增設電話投注服務，藉此打擊非法外圍賭博活動。¹

隨著英國殖民政權撤出香港，馬會的名字亦刪去「英皇御准」四字，改成現今的「香港賽馬會」，並繼續以「致力提供世界最高水平的賽馬和體育及博彩娛樂，同時維持全港最大慈善公益資助機構的地位」為目標²，繼續在「馬照跑」這「五十年不變」的擔保下運作。

馬會的組織架構

香港賽馬會的組織架構，大致如下圖所示：

圖1：2005年香港賽馬會的組織架構及行政人員名單。十二人董事局成員名單不在圖中，故在此交代。現時十二名董事為：夏佳理主席、陳祖澤副主席、艾爾敦、郭勤功、鄭明訓、施文信、葉錫安、周永健、許仕仁、鄭維志、李國棟、許晉奎。(取自香港賽馬會官方網頁：http://www.hkjc.com/chinese/about_hkjc/mgt_structure.htm)



¹⁷⁷ See Florence Howe, "Liberated Chinese Primers," *Women: A Journal of Liberation* (Fall 1970), pp.33-34.

¹⁷⁸ There are numerous studies on gender role stereotypes, sex-differentiated behaviour, and gender bias as seen in contemporary textbooks. Only some Chinese-related works are given here: Yu-jung Wang, "An Analysis of Male and Female Roles in Chinese Children's Reading Materials Published in Taiwan, China" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1980); You-Li Liling (Betty L. L. Yau) 游麗玲 and Lu Hongji (Bernard Hung-kay Luk) 陸鴻基, *Xianggang chuzhong Zhongshi ke he shehui ke ben li de xingbie juese yanjiu* 香港初中史科和社會科課本裡的性別角色研究 (Hong Kong: Institute of Social Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1988); Jiang Lili 江麗莉, "Cong ertong duwu kan liangxing juese de fazhan 從兒童讀物看兩性角色的發展," in *Xingbie juese yu shehui fazhan xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* (Taipei: Taiwan daxue renkou yanjiu zhongxin funu yanjiu shi, 1989), pp.47-66; Betty L. L. Yau and Bernard Hung-kay Luk, "Gender Roles as Defined in Current Social Studies Subjects Textbooks at the Junior Secondary Level in Hong Kong," in *Women and Education in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan 性別角色與社會發展學術研討會論文集* (Buffalo: Comparative Education Center, Graduate School of Education, State University of New York, 1990), pp.63-73; Fu-hua Hsu, "A Case Study of Discriminatory Gender Stereotyping in Taiwan's Elementary School Textbooks" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1992); Liu Jiezheng 劉潔珍, *Xianggang xiaoxue keben li de xingbie juese yanjiu* 香港小學課本裡的性別角色研究 (Hong Kong: HKIAPS, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1993).

從中可見，隨著科技發達、投注業務之比前擴張，馬會的部門比以前或有所增加，但不變的是：香港賽馬會的董事局仍然是馬會中的最高管治組織。它由十二位「社會地位十分尊崇，對賽馬充滿熱誠」，義務為馬會服務的董事組成，負責制定決策，研究及監察馬會在業務經營和慈善撥款方面的未來策略與取向；³ 日常會務則由以行政總裁為首的專業行政人員管理執行。

(英皇御准) 香港賽馬會對英國殖民政權之重要性

根據 Ian Scott 的《Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong》，在六、七十年代，香港殖民政權未實行政治體制改革之前，其時的政治架構中，當年所有的立法、行政兩局議員，都是由港督直接任命的；而獲得港督青睞，被委任進入立法、行政兩局的幸運兒，主要來自兩批社會地位尊崇人士：當時的華人「精英」（主要來自東華三院、保良局、中華總商會等機構的要員）、以及與港英政權關係密切的機構（包括滙豐銀行、怡和集團、馬會董事局等）任職的要員⁴。Ian Scott 目光如炬地指出了當年的（英皇御准）香港賽馬會在這個政治體系裏起著的重要政治作用，就是協助港英政府推行金耀基所說的「Administrative absorption of politics」⁵，正如馬國明的《路邊經濟政治學》中所言，替「殖民地政權成功建立其霸權」⁶：維護社會上少數既得利益的社會共識；及避免全體公眾的參與政治，達到「非政治化」的目的。

的確，當年屬於 Chinese Community 的華人商賈，唯一能夠進入政治領域的方法，就是將全副精力專注於發展其事業，並將其所積累的財富，一方面透過支持各慈善團體（包括東華三院、保良局等傳統替華人服務的慈善團體）的社會服務轉化為社會聲望，提高獲得港督任命的機會；另一方面，亦可以其財富和人緣網絡，用以加入馬會，成為會員、馬主，甚至成為董事，進一步提高自己的社會地位和名聲，取得獲港督任命的機會。至於屬於 European Community 的英人，更不待言，只要是當年的滙豐銀行、怡和集團等親英機構的要員，就可以自動成為馬會會員或董事，並獲委任成為行政、立法兩局議員，進入政治領域。在這種制度下，馬會替殖民政權提拔了大量能夠替殖民政權建立其霸權的「人才」，包括華人商賈（精英）以及親英洋人進入政治體系，協助港英政府制訂政策，保障殖民政權既得利益者的特權。另一方面，在馬會董事局「確保本會會籍在社會上享有崇高的地位...維持優良傳統」⁷的長遠政策下，替政府把香港社會劃分作兩大派別：身份尊貴的、能夠參與政治的「精英」和不能參與政治的「普羅市民」，從實際及經濟上（令華人商賈只專注於發展財富，繼而取得成為身份尊貴的馬會會員之機會）達到「非政治化」的目的，亦間接提升了部份華人「精英」的社會地位，調節了華人與洋人之間可能出現的衝突，使殖民政府的霸權更形穩如泰山。

即使殖民政權在六七暴動後推行行政改革，馬會所產生的政治、社會作用仍然十分巨大。根據馬國明《路邊經濟政治學》所言，港英政府在 70 年代始稍稍正面承擔香港的各項社會福利服務⁸，但所承擔的社會福利範疇仍然十分有限。因此，除了依靠傳統華人社會的各個慈善團體（如東華三院、保良局）外，港英政府便惟有依靠馬會間接替其承擔各種社會福利；特別是當傳統華人社會中各個慈善團體的社會作用和財力都日漸下降時，投注額連年上升，財力雄厚的馬會，其對各項社會福利的承擔（如出錢協助政府興建中小學、資助各類型的康體文化活動）及對各慈善團體之捐款便更形重要。最後，馬會在其機構名字前加上「英皇御准」四字，表示了賭博和投注賽馬這種原本屬於私人領域的娛樂，在港英殖民政權之介入，取得英女皇特別開恩之下進行才算是合法，一方面規範了香港市民的活動自由；一方面也確保了政府有一個穩定的財政收入。由此可知，（英皇御准）香港賽馬會對殖民政權起著如何重要的政治、社會作用。

回歸後馬會對特區政權的重要性

在港英殖民政權撤出香港、香港特別行政區成立之後，馬會的名字便「政治正確」地將「英皇御准」四字刪去，變成今日的「香港賽馬會」；而馬會亦繼續「政治正確」的為特區政府服務，發揮其重要的作用。然而，回歸後的馬會在政治上產生的影響力及社會上的作用，比之殖民政權時期，卻有過之而無不及。

根據經濟導報社出版的《香港經濟政年鑑》⁹，於 96-97 至 98-99 年度，馬會每年向政府繳交的博彩稅（包括彩票稅），均佔政府每個財政年度收入達百分之十，其金額之龐大，僅次於利得及入息稅；在金融風暴、地產泡沫爆破之後，博彩稅的重要性更已超越印花稅，成為特區政府的第二大收入來源。在馬會每個年度的年報中，都不斷地強調著博彩稅對特區政權的重要性，而且在金融風暴、地產泡沫爆破、甚至近年的科網股泡沫爆破之後，政府的各項收入（如印花稅、差餉、拍賣官地所得的收入）均有顯著幅度的下跌；唯獨是馬會的博彩稅（雖然其金額也受市民經濟能力下降，投注額漸漸萎縮所影響）仍然維持著一個相對穩定及龐大的比例，支撐著特區政府的財政狀況。根據馬會年報，在 99-2000 年度，馬會所繳交的博彩稅高達一百一十二億，00-01 年則達一百零九億四千六百萬，01-02 年則達一百零五億，02-03 年則有九十五億。¹⁰ 由此可知，馬會對特區政府的財政有著舉足輕重的地位。

另外，馬會維持著它「香港社會長期以來不可或缺的組成部分」之地位，並在回歸後將之「政治正確」的定位成「中華人民共和國香港特別行政區的重要社會機構之一」¹¹，繼續發揮其獨有的社會作用，承擔各項的社會福利；根據各年度的馬會年報，馬會每年都會把為數甚大的業務盈餘撥捐予各慈善團體和資助各項社會計劃。在 99-2000 年度，馬會捐出的善款高達 11 億 4 千 6 百萬，00-01 年則捐出 10 億 6 千 4 百萬，01-02 年則達 10 億 6 千 5 百萬，02-03 年的善款則有 10 億 1 千 2 百萬，資助醫藥衛生、社會服務、教育培訓、康體文化四大範疇的社會福利計劃和各個慈善團體。¹² 馬會的捐款，的確為特區政府繼續承擔了不少社會福利，如：推行多個獎學金、助學金計劃，協助成績優異和清貧家庭的在學兒童繼續升學；在非典型肺炎疫症時間，馬會替飽受赤字影響的政府撥款一億二千五百萬元，資助各幼稚園、中小學及社會服務中心加強環境衛生；又撥出五億元，用以成立傳染病預防及控制中心。¹³

但另一方面，正因馬會的地位舉足輕重，馬會與政府也因此而有一互相依賴、緊密合作的關係；這可以從馬會的部份捐款究竟如何配合政府之施政方針可知。在 2000 年度的馬會年報中報道，馬會將該年 11 億 4 千 6 百萬的善款，部份撥予政府，協助有關當局推行「展翅計劃」¹⁴；而在 2002 年度的年報中，馬會撥出 1 億 5 百 70 萬予香港浸會大學，協助興建「賽馬會中醫藥大樓」¹⁵，以培養一批中醫藥畢業生人才，配合特區政府未來大力發展中醫藥的政策方向。而特區政府也因為馬會如此舉足輕重的地位和二者之間的緊密合作關係，利用 Discovery Channel 一個特輯中所說「不見得光的手段，以賺取善款和政府收入」¹⁶，故此政府也大力替馬會掃除一切營業的障礙，以確保政府的收入和穩定的社會福利。如在 96 年，當年的馬會主席黃頌顯在其報告中指出，當年馬會因為難以取得牌照在新市鎮開設場外投注站，加上海外賭博機構的非法賭博活動開始盛行，而提出「博彩稅和慈善捐款都會下跌，損失最大的還是政府和香港市民」、「政府收益定會隨之減少，本會對市民的社會福利資助也必受削弱」的警告，並強調「如果得不到政府的協助，本會根本不能對付此一問題」¹⁷；在回歸後，特區政府便馬上發牌給馬會，在青衣、馬鞍山等新市鎮隨開設投注站，並更制訂法例，將所有在港的海外賭博機構都非法化，禁止市民透過海外賭博機構下注；直至 2003 年，更將足球博彩活動合法化，以吸引新客源；此外亦不斷研究、推出嶄新的博彩方式（如「六寶半全場」、「孖寶半全膽」等），維持投注人士的新鮮感及賭博意慾，確保馬會的投注額（和政府的收入及各項社會福利資助）不會下降。由此可知，在 Discovery Channel《亞洲真風貌》電視節目中所言：「其【馬會】高層與政權的核心人物握手，代表著二者之緊密關係」¹⁸，並非空言。

從上面的論述可見，無論是殖民時期的（英皇御准）香港賽馬會，或是特區政權下的香港賽馬會，都與各自的政權有著一個密切的關係，並對各自的政權發揮著不同程度、不同方面的政治、社會作用。然而，不同的是，在特區政府管治的時期，馬會與政權的合作關係，比殖民政權時期更為密切；在殖民時期，馬會只是一個為鞏固殖民政權的統治而存在的機構，其存在純乃為港英政府建立「霸權」，維護少數社會既得利益者的共識；在回歸之後，馬會因為與特區政權的多方面工作都加強了合作，故此二者的關係更形密切，而馬會從中所發揮的政治、社會作用，比起殖民政權時期，更有過之而無不及。

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7. 黃頌顯，《主席報告》，香港賽馬會年報（97年6月30日止），Pg 13
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17. 黃頌顯，《主席報告》，香港賽馬會年報（97年6月30日止），Pg 11
18. 《亞洲真風貌》，Discovery Channel，2003年（一小時真實紀錄特輯）

本年度的施政報告，以「合力發展經濟，共建和諧社會」為題，特首除了下詔罪己，查找了過去七年的不足外，主要內容都是圍繞著扶貧和官商勾結的問題作出回應。對於官商勾結，筆者早前曾為文分析¹。本文主要集中去討論扶貧問題。

對於香港的貧窮問題，筆者認為如果我們以人均生產總值(Per-capita GDP)來說，我們的貧窮問題並不嚴重。可是，如果從財富分配(Income-Distribution)的角度看，以堅尼系數(Gini-Coefficient)作為指標，香港則達0.525²，其財富不均問題比中國更為嚴重。如果情況持續下去，對整個社會的和諧穩定實在埋下了一個計時炸彈。因此，特首在新一份施政報告中委派財政司司長成立扶貧委員會，針對隔代貧窮問題作出工作。對於特首以扶貧委員會去回應本港的貧富懸殊問題，筆者認為政府已踏出了正確的一步，但是對於委員會能否解決貧富懸殊問題，筆者實在不怎樂觀，因為當中涉及很多技術性的問題。

首先，我們以什麼準則去為貧窮下一個定義呢？如果從生活上看，香港實在沒有任何人可稱為貧窮。因為生於香港，如果你沒有工作和金錢，絕對可以申請綜援金，而綜援絕對足夠一個人的衣食所需，加上九年免費教育和免費醫療服務，香港人實在不會有人因貧窮而失學失學。哪究竟什麼是貧窮呢？個人認為貧窮實在是一個相對性(Relative)，而非絕對性(Absolute)的問題。例如甲君月入五萬，乙君月入五千，因此乙比甲貧窮。我們指出貧窮問題時是以兩者去進行比較，並非以絕對值作為指標。

如果以絕對值作為指標，我們要先為貧窮下一個定義，如設立貧窮線(Poverty Line)。但是，當政府為貧窮下了定義後必會出現爭議的，因為貧窮與否是一種主觀的意見，並非如數學般有絕對的答案，最終只會吵吵鬧鬧，什麼事也做不成。另外，如果政府主動為貧窮下定義，即帶頭去進行階級劃分，對貧者進行標籤(Labeling)。這種標籤輕則可能令那些被區分為貧窮的人士感到自尊受損，重則可能對窮人帶來歧視，令社會更為分化。

再者，常常有人指出，扶貧的結果可能會幫倒忙，令貧困者對政府的依賴更深，最終得不償失。對於這個問題，筆者十分擔心。因為政府對貧困者採取的措施普遍是以金錢作為援助，這種手法最終可能打擊了他們的工作意慾(Working incentive)。如前任財政司司長梁錦松所言：「市民要學懂如何捉魚，而不是等政府派魚。」，筆者認為扶貧並非只是片面地考慮怎樣去提升貧者的生活質素，而是要考慮到怎樣令他們重新投入社會，以自力更新為最終目標。

對於貧窮問題，筆者同意香港正處於財富不均的情況，如果長期不能解決，更會令社會動亂不安。筆者認為要切實解決貧窮問題，以下數點值得考慮。例如政府可以在現行的綜援制度上因應學童的需要，提供更多物質和精神上的支援，如提供可上網的家庭電腦給學童，令他們可以在空餘時在家中利用電腦學習。其次，政府更可以提供金錢上的資助以協助貧困的學童參加學校所舉辦的出外學習活動，以擴闊他們的眼界，令學童不會因家境貧窮而得不到適當的教育，最終出現隔代貧窮。另外，政府可以向低收入的家庭提供金錢的補貼。例如政府可以設立一個基金，當一個家庭的收入低於某一數額時，經過資產審查後，合乎資格者便由政府發款給予補助至某一數額，令貧困市民的生活壓力得以舒緩。

總括來說，扶貧委員會的工作十分複雜，並非一步到位之作。在董特首餘下的兩年任期內，筆者估計只會雷聲大雨點小，實際成效成疑。

¹ 見筆者的另一篇文章，《階級大分化》，http://www.geocities.com/war2000_hk/essay12.htm

² World Bank Group, <http://www-wds.worldbank.org>

林漫田 中國研究歷史專業三年級

個人遊除帶動了本港零售業，亦引發不少內地孕婦來港產子。雖然這些新生嬰兒父母是內地居民，但根據零一年的案例，他們可以享有居港權。根據資料顯示，今年首十個月在港出世的嬰兒，其父母均是內地居民的數目比去年全年增加近六成。在新界東及新界西的醫院聯網，平均每三個產婦就有一個是來自內地，令到新界區的婦產科服務承受極大的壓力，醫護人員均疲於奔命。

內地孕婦來港產子，子女便可擁有居港權，肯定是吸引大批內地孕婦來港產子的主要原因，加上近年自由行政策，就更激化了這問題。其實，內地孕婦來港產子，吸引她們的因素還多的是，除了子女可獲居港權外，本港的醫療設備和醫護水平較內地高，又可不受內地的生有限制，可以來港「超生」。以至部分立心不良的孕婦，可以藉着來港的「先醫後錢」人道政策而「走數」等，都是令內地孕婦蜂擁來港產子的誘因。

由於內地孕婦來港產子為香港製造了不少麻煩，所以市民難免會對她們有怨言，有的更出言指責，認為她們應為此事負上全責。筆者卻不太同意此看法。因她們來港產子是「合情合理」的。眾所周知，大陸的醫療服務不太完善，假如大家是內地孕婦，知道有途徑來香港生子，使孩子得居港權，而自己的能力又可負擔得起，大家又會怎樣選擇？為了嬰孩和自身的安全，我想大家都會來港生子。這是一個很自然的想法，是「合情」的。再者，她們是以一個合法的途徑申請來港，沒有觸犯法律，所以是「合理」的。至於部份孕婦產子欠款的問題實在是不可縱容，但這實屬少數。以去年為例，從內地來港產子的內地孕婦約有八千人，當中欠款人數共七百多人，不足人數一成。故此，大家不應單憑這些害群之馬的惡行就論斷所有內地孕婦。

與其將責任歸咎於內地孕婦，倒不如說是政府處理失當。內地孕婦來港產子所帶來的問題，其實早於三年前終審法院裁定在港出生，但父母均非港人的嬰兒皆可擁有居港權之後便預料得到。政府於此時此刻才發覺問題之嚴重性，實在已是後知後覺。保守估計，特區成立七年多來，父或母都不是港人而在香港出生的小朋友，大概已有五、六萬人。他們的父母什麼時候安排他們來港定居，各人有不同考慮，但當這批人大量來港定居時，便會產生一連串社會問題，而他們的父母也可以藉其子女來港居住無人照顧為理由申請移居香港照顧其子女，因此這五、六萬個兒童隨時可能衍生出十萬、八萬個新的香港居民，而隨之而來還有住屋、交通、教育、就業等問題，這就不只是醫療問題那麼簡單。所以當初政府批准中國公民在港出世的子女可享有居港權雖不可說完全是錯，但就過於倉猝，沒有考慮怎樣處理因此衍生出來的問題。

現時內地孕婦來港分娩，政府是收不回醫療服務的成本的，所以政府會用納稅人的稅款補貼這些非香港市民的「福利」。這對香港市民非常不公平。有見及此，筆者同意提高非本港居民在港產子的醫療收費至少達到收支平衡，或與私家醫院看齊以減輕政府的醫療負擔。其次針對孕婦欠款的問題，本港政府雖然奉行人道主義，不會「先錢後醫」，但長此下去而被不法者利用是不划算的，有關當局實應制定預防措施，例如必須要先付按金，又或者設計一套完整的追還欠款的機制，甚至將這些欠款者的名單交與入境部門，拒絕她們再來港或使用本港的醫療服務。

內地孕婦來港分娩的風氣持續，相信在短時間來難以平息。故此當局應盡快採取措施解決當前問題。至於長遠的社會問題，政府也需多加重視，研究對策，此所謂「防範於未然」。假如政府仍然以「頭痛醫頭，腳痛醫腳」的方式處理問題，其管治威信和能力將會受到進一步的考驗。

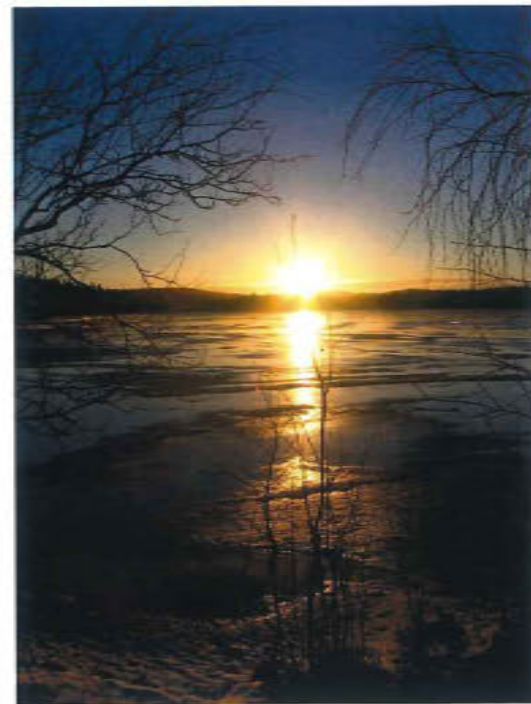
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貓仔

攝於香港

窗外的天空



何冠霖

歷史專業三年級

攝於北極圈內的芬蘭

拉普蘭的晨光



極地之光

攝於北極圈內的芬蘭

何冠霖

歷史專業三年級



千里冰封

攝於北極圈內的芬蘭

何冠霖

歷史專業三年級



月亮·白雪·樹林

攝於北極圈內的芬蘭

何冠霖

歷史專業三年級

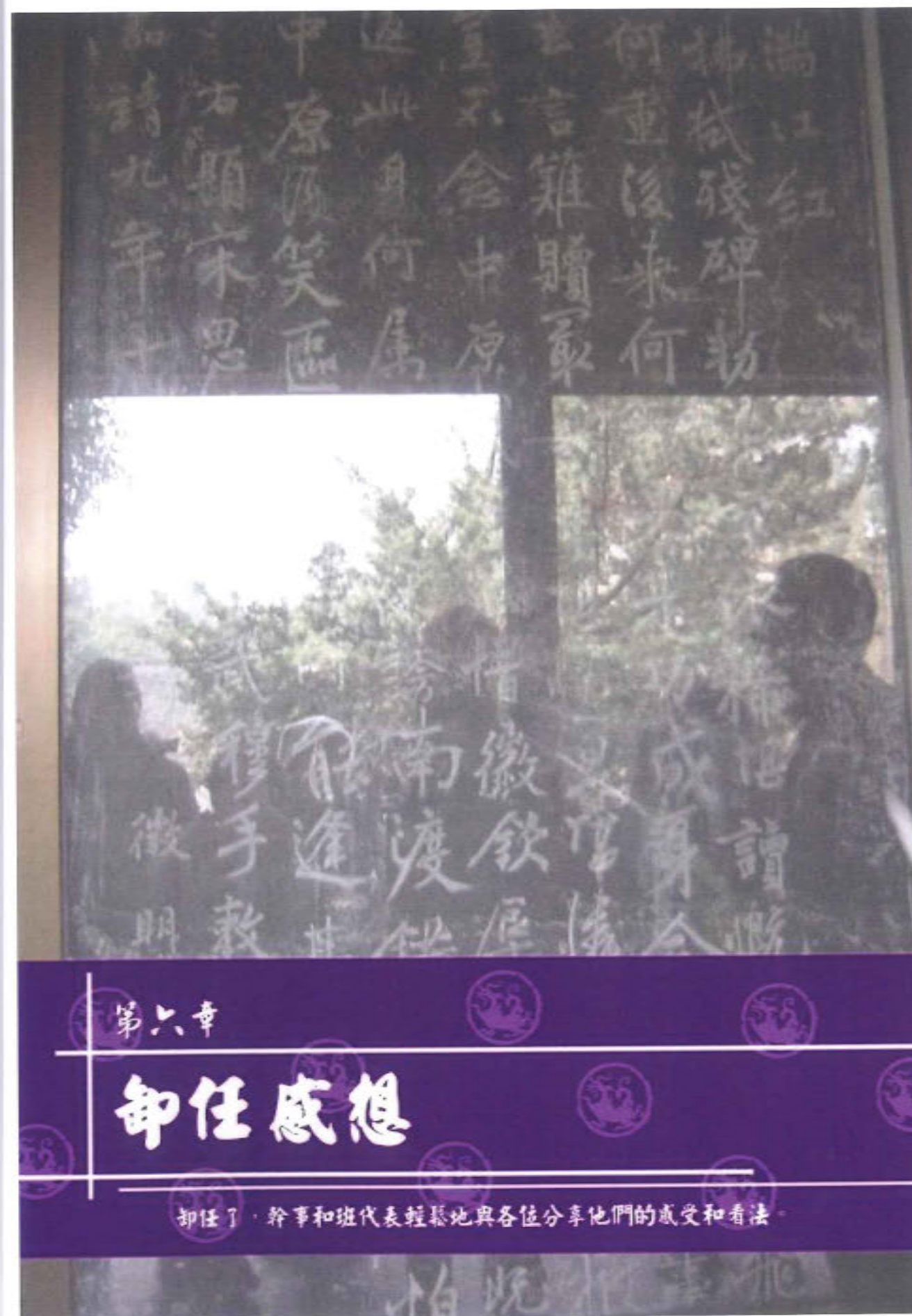


初遇

攝於香港

黑妹子

「十四屆的朋友……我們的初次遇上，數一數有多少個啦！」



第六章

卸任感想

卸任了，幹事和班代表輕鬆地與各位分享他們的感受和看法。

主席

張國浩 地理專業二年級

某日飯後，同幾個新莊行返 hall。提及到黎緊迎新營究竟有 d 咩新機作。於是我滿懷自信咁自薦做 spy 啦！點知……俾人串老。諗返起，我剛剛入黎中研既時候，又何嘗唔係一個後生可畏，活潑開朗既小伙子呢！果時甚至仲有人問我係咪讀緊中五 tim。估唔到，今時今日，竟然俾人話老……可見上莊既威力。上莊期間，感受之深，實在不能言喻。縱使上莊令我失去左我盞食飯本錢（青春同外貌），但係我有後悔上莊。

又有一晚，自己一個行經九龍仔籃球場，見到傳理學會主席大波龍自己一個打緊波。見佢咁悶諗住陪佢吹下水啦。言談間，都談及到大家既落莊感受。佢仲列舉呢一年浸大有咩學會覺得成功呢！傳理當然有份，而說某 d 學會亦都覺得唔錯，喜出望外既係，竟然有中研份（其實係意料中事，哈哈）。原來係其他學會眼中，中研確實不能少觀，真不愧為浸會第二大 soc（大，泛指會員數目）。

追問大波龍何謂成功呢，除左搵活動出色外，莊員成日起埋一齊做野或者玩，都會俾人一種成功既感覺。某程度上我都同意，一支莊員互相聯誼大家唔順眼既莊，又點會做到野呢。諗返起在任期間，我都抱住上莊唔係識朋友，莊員只係同事呢個信念。當然有 d 莊員唔係好同意我既諗法 la。而家落莊，發現原來大家已經做左朋友，正因為有期望，所以有驚喜，信惑開心。

坦白講，主席呢個三熱位，由上莊忙到落莊（戴稿前仲未提括社盾），我都驚驚地落莊之後會過唔慣咁平淡既生活。係度，我好想多謝 ling, grace, patty, leo, ken, jerry, kitty, 阿sa, simon, 阿康, 寶芝, ben, cathy, 阿杰同 sue。我會永遠記得你地既名字。同時，亦都希望佢日七老八十，聽到剛入大學既孫仔講話要上莊，會諗返起自己大學時都係熱中團既一份子，而熱中團有個 hae p。佢既名字，叫做 shy。

內務副主席

凌葉紅 地理專業二年級

記得上星期六是我中研第一次的 High Table Dinner，事前的準備令我們頭昏腦脹，最後我們都能排除萬難，成功舉行，實在是難得。

今日，我們的全年活動已經舉行得七七八八，上莊同落莊好似在一、兩個月內發生的事，時間過得真係好快。上年的今日我們正惆悵上莊的事，例如人數，全年工作計劃等。說真的，當初我們來自三個專業，彼此真不是太熟悉大家。經過整年的相處、工作、日夜開會，大家的友誼、關懷就是這樣培養出來的。籌辦活動的時候，大家有不同的意見，很慶幸大家都是公私分明、互相忍讓，不然，活動也不能舉行。

我想最難忘的是暑假的時候，為了籌辦迎新營，我們幾乎全個暑假都在中研工作坊裡渡過。日日都開會，又無得返工，好似要爭時間用似的。但係我們都很懂得真工作於娛樂：dem 水戰、去深水埗買物資……我很嚮往當中的過程。為了開會，我們經常由放學開會到十一、二點，然後成班人就會浩浩蕩蕩去食我們的晚飯。最常去九龍城茶記，還有樂富大排檔，傾計傾到好夜。

有樣一定要提，就係我們的宣傳幹事 Cathy 同 Benben（都唔知我地幾時開始用 lee 個字叫佢）。佢地的工作認真同能力真係令我嘆為觀止，例如文職典禮既簾，真係好犀利。出版幹事阿杰做的中研網

頁，電子版期刊都很令人鼓舞。仲有，其他莊員都做得好好呀！（主席阿 Shy 同外務副主席肥 Grace 就緊係唔洗講咁好啦！）

上左莊之後，我地都盡力為中研的同學舉辦活動，見大家都願意參加我們的活動，真的為我們打了支強心針。雖然大家可能覺得活動未必如想像中好，但我們是用心為你們服務的，有不足的地方希望大家多多包涵。

來到這刻，我們又要籌備全年會員大會。過了這幾天，我們就一齊落莊去，心情是有點奇怪的。你地仲記得我們新莊時宣傳的口號呢？「凝聚四專，走向尖端」！很可惜，亦都是有點遺憾的是我們莊員中始終缺少了歷史專業，唯有寄望下莊。新莊你們都要努力呀！

如果今日時光倒流返去上年的今日，我會肯定的選擇多一次：我會上莊。為了莊務，有開心、有唔開心，流過汗、也流過唔少眼淚（O' camp 個次唔計數），但我無後悔上莊。同僚，我們的落莊飯去邊度食呀？

梁子煒 社會專業二年級

「大家好！我叫 Grace，是中國研究課程學會外務副主席。在未來的一年，我們將舉行一連串精彩的節目！包括有：o-night、上海學術交流團、high table dinner、音樂比賽等等……」以上是我在去年寫的上莊感受，想不到那麼快就要寫落莊的感受了！

常常聽到人地說：「上莊好忙、好辛苦、好多野做……」經過一年親身的體驗，我是百分百感受到這種感覺！每個不論大小的活動，由籌備到宣傳、舉行，直至檢討、寫畢報告，活動才算完成，這個過程少則二、三星期，長則三、數個月，期間花的精神、時間真是非筆墨所能形容的！

回想起上莊後的第一個活動，交聯典禮中個個叫好的門簾，精心設計的場佈、惜別會大家合力泡製的美食、暑假時大家都放低賺錢的機會，成日返來籌備 o'camp，校盡腦汁去診 game、三日只睡了五個小時，半夜三更大家坐埋一齊食杯麵，準備明日的活動，呢份 team spirit 真是很難忘！還有學術週一齊「剪老虎」、離「中研學術週、中國神話傳說」的旗海、在寒風凜冽的情況下，在 science podium 度 sit counter……這些美好的回憶足以蓋過當中的「苦」和「忙」了。

「開開心心的上莊，開開心心的落莊。」，「十六個人一條心，一齊上莊，一齊落莊。」熱中團已經做到了！

葉佩琪 地理專業二年級

不經不覺咁快已經上左莊一年，又係時間落莊，同大家講 bye bye lu，真係有 d 唔捨得，唔想咁快就完左，仲想做耐多少少。

一年前，為左想開心，同一大班人一齊去玩，搞活動而上莊。一年之後，雖然真係唔算學到好多野，不過唔多唔少都學到呀。最重要既係上莊真係好開心，同埋令自己歸多左野，識多左朋友，仲有令自己大學生活留下一段美好既回憶。

外務副主席

秘書

雖然我係支莊到係秘書，係所有活動既秘書，但係唔代表我學唔到野。其實係活動中，我除左秘書之外，亦都會擔當其他角色呀，從中體驗下其他工作。

其實大家一大班人討論下，傾到有火花，都係一件樂事。最重要係大家最後傾到一個好結果又唔傷感情，但又順利完成一個活動，咁樣先係最開心、最有滿足感。

呢一年，我加入左好多既籌委會，體會左好多野，亦都明白左好多野。雖然我既工作大多數都係打字、執頭執尾，做下文書既工作，但係我真係好享受呢份工作。不過都要多謝莊員的提點，包容我做既錯野，打錯字等等，多謝晒。

一年既時間話長唔長，話短唔短，但係已經令我地一班莊員由唔係太熟，而變到一大班嘩鬼有講有笑，建立左一份友誼。最開心都係搞 o'camp，雖然大家都好辛苦，但係完成後就好有成功感。成功感同滿足感就係上莊最大既樂事同得著，雖然背後大家都付出左好多，不過開心大過天。

最後，上莊時感受良好，當時真係好開心；到而家，要落莊，都係有說不盡的話。雖然有點唔捨得，但係仍然好開心，亦都要多謝莊員。希望我地一班莊員日後會記得呢一年上莊既美好回憶，keep 住呢份友誼咁就最好啦！！

林起昇 社會專業二年級

十二月大家應在拆禮物的時候，上帝給了我們一份巨大無比，卻使人感到無限悲痛絕望的禮物——一個世紀大海嘯，吞噬了數以萬計的生命。面對浩瀚的大自然，人類的力量始終要屈臣。

到了今天，一股強大的巨浪也在中研的大海中出現。俗語有云「長江後浪推前浪」，這似乎包含世間上的一個簡單卻又不停在發生的道理。我們作為將卸任的上莊，也感到自己已從上年的後浪變為今天的前浪。這不是甚麼悲痛的事，只是個真理。交接亦是每年必然發生的事，在我眼中這反而象徵了活力。是活力讓長江川流不息，今天這活力也給中研這條血脈續留。

回顧過去一年，真的過得很快，大家合作過程中有喜有愁，幸勿論如何，大家一起努力過(可能我是付出努力最少的一個，對不起各位夥伴)，一起為中研流過汗，這經驗也是永世難忘的。和一班不認識的同學變成現在是班合作了一年的夥伴，這也是一個時間所帶來的見證。時間永遠也是過得快，在乎的只是這段時間所帶來的回憶。這我可是絕對明白。

還記得有人說我們可能是十五支莊中最傑出的，如果真的是我們當然很高興，但作為中研人，我也想看見我們的後浪能一個比一個更出色，這樣才會使中研的將來更好更燦爛。

蘇寶芝 地理專業二年級

「投票啦，投票啦，投一票比熱中啦，投完安安樂樂訓得好 d，支持新莊好 easy！」相信莊員都記得呢首係我地上年 promote 莊的主題曲，仲記得上年我地填詞又排舞又跳舞，拍埋 video 去宣傳我地支新莊，諗番起都覺得好搞笑，好懷念個時大家傻傻地既樣子。估唔到一年又過去，另一支新莊又好快上任喇！

組莊初時嚟查查，上莊後的確令自己既見識多左，以前仲係 year 1 既時候，都係去參與 d

function，去到就玩，玩完就走，唔需要準備 d 咩野。但成為莊員之後，明白到任何一個 function，背後都需要花好多精神時間，特別係 o'camp，暑假裡面要花好多時間同心機去度 games，做底護工場(剪剪貼貼)，玩既同學們一定體會唔到 3 日 2 夜背後的辛酸呢！

至於福利呢個 post，主要係暑假時溫 d 公司整 soc 紙、file、memo pad、年曆卡、會衣、soc 樓。雖然呢 d 工作都幾簡單，但自己就好擔心會出錯，例如 d file 明明係燙銀色嫁，但竟然燙左金色。個排都好擔心，直至所有野出晒貨先放心。另外係要多謝一班莊員的幫忙，搵公司、design、比意見、陪伴我啦，仲有搬野啦，無左你地既幫忙，福利物品都唔可以順利推出。同埋值得高興既係，今年福利物品的銷量不俗，雖然唔係每個人都擁有 soc 樓或者其他福利物品，但不時係學校見到好多人著 soc 樓，自己都覺得好開心，除左多謝莊員的支持之外，亦要感謝支持過福利物品的每一位同學。

雖然 d 人成日話我都幾「串嘴」，不過估唔到自己講既野會成為「金句」，例如 agm 問我曾參加過什麼活動，我答：「羽毛球係打，兵乓波係踢，講座係聽。」哈哈！原來咁已經係「串嘴」。其實我都係講下嫁咋。係過去一年，自己都有做得唔好既地方，搬野同搬野都唔及其他莊員咁幫得手，但希望一直以來加加理理既都有幫到支莊。上莊的確帶來了許多歡樂同難忘的回憶，無悔上莊！

許文彬 經濟專業二年級

「落莊」感受？倒真考起我。甚麼期待、失望、辛酸、埋怨、喜悅、歡樂、讚許、成就感……種種感受早已化灰，留在我腦海中。若說是淡忘，倒不如說是永留心底。

黃紹芬 經濟專業二年級

寫落莊感受都幾難寫的，因為上了莊一年，期間發生的所有事和感受，是好難用幾百字來講的，當中的苦與樂都是難忘的，全都是珍貴的回憶和難得的經驗。但是難都要寫的。

上莊一年，最大的感受就是忙。每次的活動都需要用很多時間和精神去籌備的，雖然每個活動未必可以說是十分成功，但當中一定有可取之處，有令人覺得值得一讚的地方。無可否認，上莊是好繁忙和有好多犧牲的。大部分的莊員都犧牲了他們在暑假期間的賺錢機會、犧牲了自己的私人時間。雖然有時都會覺得好灰，覺得唔係所有莊員都一齊為支莊用心用力，但是其他莊員的支持的確會令到自己再有心去做野，俾到動力自己。

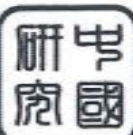
雖然上莊好忙和辛苦，但我都無後悔上莊，上莊令我得到的比失去的更多。我得到了好多難忘的回憶和經驗，最重要是得到一班好莊員。很難忘在三日迎新營中，大家在晚上無睡覺去檢討、去說東說西、一齊食杯麵的日子，那時真係覺得大家一條心，一齊為支莊的活動努力。現在要落莊了，心情都係輕鬆的，因為我可以心中無愧地說，我把自己的莊務和責任都做完，雖然不可以說是一百分，但我已經盡了自己的全力去完成過去一年的莊務，問心無愧。

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梁繼善 社會專業二年級

一年多之前，在同學之鼓勵下，我終於在二月左右下定決心「上莊」，並在中研乒乓球四角賽中，初步與當時的各位莊員認識及見面；而決定擔任康樂幹事和選擇成為迎新籌委會的主席，卻是在最後一刻方才決定的。

在那時，我已經知道身為負責舉辦迎新營的康樂幹事，工作量及壓力極大，因為任期內的活動能否順利舉辦，絕大程度，是取決於迎新營能否辦得成功，為來年的活動召集一班「熟客」支持。故此，我心中曾經懷疑過自己，究竟有沒有能力勝任一名幹事的職責、究竟自己能否在一年的任期內當一名「好莊員」？然而最終，我相信自己的能力、更相信在其他熱心勤快辦事認真的同僚幫助下，我有信心在任期內能夠做出一名「好莊員」。像其他幹事一般，對每個活動都盡心盡力貢獻自己的所有，不遺餘力地幫忙，盡責認真地對待及完成所有活動。

然而，在任時間越久，我才發現，「上莊」遠比我想像之中更困難；更要求我用盡全身每一分力氣及每一點私人時間，方能勉強把自己的工作做好。當我以為我在「努力」工作時，卻發現，自己原來根本可以說是「懶散」、「不上心」；因為總有其他同僚比我更盡心、更盡責、更盡力、更認真，而且總不會出錯。

而我呢？先有在 AGM 舉行之日無故大病一場，須缺席整個 AGM，未能為其他同僚分擔壓力；後有三年級惜別會時未能想出當晚遊戲；交職禮時之游手好閒、學術周時之心不在焉；迎新晚會之四出搗亂、歌唱比賽之安排混亂、學術交流團之不知所謂；高桌晚宴之未能擔當 VPIC 之職責，使其他幹事工作量無故大增……

更甚者，在迎新籌備過程當中，我自問又有何貢獻？想遊戲？抱歉，在會議時，我根本沒有新奇好玩的遊戲提出過，只懂得在會議進行間不停「吹水」、搗亂，阻礙會議進行。安排流程及人手安排？抱歉，我安排的流程，錯漏百出，而且不時改動，混亂頻生；更可笑的，是在營裏先無故與其他幹事大吵一場，然後在營裏無故跌傷，其後更因此反需要受其他幹事照顧，我則甚麼也幹不了，成了「隱形 PIC」，最後則在檢討會上，軟弱地以流淚去換取別人同情……

雖然身邊的新生均好像滿意迎新營，但至此，我已完全相信，我，決不是一名好莊員，更開始懷疑自己的人格，懷疑自己究竟算不算一個人……到這時，我才赫然發現，原來我付出的，遠遠比幹事會成員內任何一個人還要少；我才赫然發現，原來我早已使得他們對我頗有微言，並已接近無法容忍、接受之地步，甚至可以說是「討厭」。可惜，一切都已經太遲，全已事過境遷，無可挽救了……

在此，要讚揚熱心同僚之熱心、盡責、機智、認真、勤快，亦要感謝一年來各位幹事對本人之容忍、幫助、提點、扶持，順利協助我不致在任期內被公開譴責及罷免。非常感謝你們，沒有你們，以我如此之人格及頭腦，絕不可能將活動舉辦成功，更沒可能順利完成我的任期。最後，感謝各中研同學對熱心同僚各活動之支持，使得我們任期內的活動得以順利舉行。

並寄語下屆：上莊所要求你們付出的，並不是你的 100%；而至少是你的 200%。只有付出比平時至少多一倍的時間、心思、精力，認真，每個活動才能夠順利完成，才能夠使參加者滿意，樂在其中；並惟有如此，才能繼續向「團結中研四個專業」此艱難、遙遠的理想前進。我相信你們的決心、能力和創意，希望你們來年一切順利、活動大大成功！

嚴內謙 地理專業二年級

落筆之時，正值季候風肆虐，此刻心情也似初春氣候，乍暖還寒。想起年前 polling 完結時在中研工作坊和眾幹事舉杯慶祝當選上任，到高桌晚宴完結時再舉杯大叫「落莊啦」，心裡有如打翻了五味架，百般滋味，不知從何說起。這一年就如讀一本精彩的小說，再精彩，都要面對結局收卷的命運。何況，我不只是一個讀者，我也是一個作者。寫下高桌晚宴這個高潮之後，就是為自己跟一班好朋友、好戰友奮鬥一年的故事寫個結局。

要說感受，其實並不是常掛在口邊的「落莊一身輕」，而是……寫到此處，停下來靜思了十分鐘，也想不出個所以然。我想，最大的感受就是點點的失落感吧，就像你讀完一部漫畫，一部小說，收卷一刻心裡總有點捨不得，但又期待下一個新的故事，新的經驗。一年任期很快已結束了，作為康樂幹事，負責的活動不過不失，難得有人讚賞，自覺實在厚顏無恥。我想把自己比喻為一位先鋒小卒，為中研打了一仗，為康樂部門開了一個新的戰場，我雖光榮戰死，在此謹祝各位後繼者在此戰場旗開得勝，一帆風順，直到永遠，阿門。

一年前的我狂妄自大，今天依然故我，不幸地跟某議員一樣愛挑戰權威，我有我態度，懶理你感受。上莊一年沒改變我什麼，可能我上莊上得比較 hea，在此奉勸一句，想學野千祈千祈唔好上莊，留點時間讀多點書，免得 third hon 收場。

最後，在此真的要多謝 P Shy 對我容忍，Cathy 無你無康樂 function，Sue……不需多言，大家在心中。是時候交稿了，不講不知，其實我都是一個才子呢。

陳勇傑 社會專業二年級

很高興能成為 04-05 年度中國研究課程學會幹事會成員之一。在這一年的任期中，我擔任了市場推廣一職。雖然有部份學會活動未能參與，但是亦學會了不少東西，獲得了很多難能可貴的經驗。我亦希望新一屆的幹事會順利上任，祝他們能夠順利當選為中研同學服務。

何永康 經濟專業二年級

致各舊戰友：

終於落莊，呢年 gei 莊期入面，有開心，有唔開心。太老土 gei 說話就唔講啦！不過，有 d 真心話想講就真 gei！

如果話你知莊期咁長都合作得好愉快，完全無問題 gei 話，信 0 個個人就真係有問題啦！不過，我又覺得開過嚟過咁唔係咩大問題呀！最起碼大家都了解多左大家！其實，我自己都承認，莊內 gei 是非，有時係基於偏見，係一件唔好 gei 事。但係，莊期入面邊個無犯過錯呢？！最重要係：落莊 d 唔開心野就洗左巨啦~

我係衰得都唔少 gei 一個，大家快 d 洗左我 d 衰野啦！

認真的，好多謝大家 gei 包容！

其實，上莊唔學到野都唔係最重要，最重要 gei 係，上莊提供左一個平台俾大家去交一班朋友，係大學入面，要交一 d 知心 gei 朋友，係一件唔容易 gei 事，一齊做莊務，一齊解決難題，真係俾多左好多機會大家去了解大家，最少我係咁認為！雖然，落莊之後唔係每個都可以成為大家心中 gei 摯友，但係，最起碼大家都一齊笑過開心過。

好多謝大家俾左一個開心 gei 莊期我！

有 d 公開 gei 悄悄話要同大家講……

SHY：你俾我 gei 感覺好特別，不過點都好，你係我心目中係一個叻 gei 人！真心！

豬 race：唔……唔使講啦，在心中……總之愛死你！

Ling：我總係覺得你對我特別好，好少關心！係咪我話多左呢？！

Patty：其實你靜 d 會係一個幾可愛 gei 女仔！好好珍惜你 gei 人！（其實我都幾掛你架，雖然成日都串你！）

Ken：你細心 d，認真 D，將來成就會好大！！

Jerry：MAN d 啦，男仔要硬淨架！

Kitty：你係我上莊 gei 一個大驚喜！！

SA：Kitty 係我架！！！！

Simon：THANK YOU~

Po Chi：Sorry 呀！我成日吓你……不過好你真係好好玩！快 d 大個女啦！

Ben Ben：我覺得如果你做其他 post 可以發揮多 d……(REAL PIC)仲有，你係我班入面 gei 教星！！

Cathy：REAL PIC again！！！！你係我上莊另一個遲黎 gei 驚喜！！

杰：你 gei 認真對熱中太重要啦！杰杰你絕非池中物！

Sue：我都係覺得女仔 gei Sue Sue 迷人 d！！

好啦！講 gei 野都差唔多啦！跟住要做 gei 就係趁下幾時大家又一齊去玩！！

香港浸會大學第十五屆中國研究課程學會

熱中國市場推廣幹事絕筆

陳潔兒 社會專業二年級

上莊個陣，我已經响度諗，到落莊個陣，我一定會覺得：「時間過得真係快，咁就一年嘞。諗返起上年上莊個陣……(下刪一百字)」結果，而家我都真係咁諗。

老實講我上莊係為咩？係為左識人。因為我覺得入左大學之後，除左劉小姐，我係識唔到咩朋友。講真我無咁偉大。既抱負，咩為「中研同學服務」嘅，唉（請恕我坦白得過份）。我講到咁，大家可能會好愕然。但係我想講，無論你個目的係咩都好，總之最後你盡左力，盡左本份，就得啦。我相信每個人上莊都有唔同。既原因，但最後都係殊途同歸，就係一搞好每一個活動。重點係，你想達到你上莊。既目的，無所謂，想識人。既就去識，想去玩就去玩，但同時要記住自己。既身份同責任，唔好本末倒置。我自問唔係莊中最出力個幾位莊員，但起碼我都對得住天地良心，努力於自己。既「私利」之餘亦有盡力做好自己負責。既活動。

咁到底我有冇達成我上莊。既目的呢？又好老實講，係無。既。或者應該咁講，同我期望有頗大出入。响。o' camp 個陣，雖然辛苦，但係好開心，因為真係感受到大家係同一 team。但當我以為我終於搞到我想要。既野。既時候，我。既美夢就粉碎左。尤其係二年級開學個陣，開始搞學術週，勁多野做，上堂又唔知。o 翕也，真係好辛苦。條路辛苦唔緊要，最緊要有人陪我一齊行。但我最想同我一齊努力既人，偏偏唔係同路。同時，又覺得大家怨氣好重。個陣時，我完全感覺到咩叫「一盤散沙」。可能有人會覺得：「有冇咁誇張呀？」（可能誇張左……哈哈！）個種「分裂」。既感覺唔識形容，大家仍然會响自己個崗位工作，但純粹係為做而做咁囉！的確，有人又會話，最後做到野就得啦！但係我好唔鍾意咁樣，大家都唔係享受緊一班人做野（o 既感覺）！或者係我太理想化啦，成日幻想大家好和洽咁開會。既情況，而大家又好上下一心、共同進退，享受一班人一齊做野。既時刻（其實 ice 個情況係成日都有。既）……我份人就係咁，成日都好大期望，結果換返黎。既，係失望。

後來慢慢我嘗試抱平常心，唔再太過刻意去同人做朋友，無謂令自己辛苦丫。咁又真係開心 D 喎。我講到咁，大家可能以為我好唔鍾意【熱中團】啦，咁又唔係喎。話晒做左成年野，唔多唔少都累積左 D 感情，所謂「人非草木，孰能無情」呀大嫂～查實每次見到 D 莊員都有種好親切。既感覺架（唔好嫌我老土）。其實，我真係好珍惜成班莊員起埋一齊。既時刻，因為我知道，落莊之後，成支莊都無乜機會再聚埋一齊，大家又會各自返翻去自己。既生活圈子，彷彿從來無上過莊一樣……

「流過淚都要繼續笑 能夠學識說再會了 朋友認識兩秒

就失散了 想起多少 過去合照 就算少

留下每位的笑臉 和歲月請句再會了」

FROM《下一次再見》

笑過哭過快樂過傷心過興奮過失落過勇敢過逃避過……只是，沒有後悔過。

永遠記得那年我們立誓：「我，第十五屆中國研究課程學會幹事會幹事，謹以摯誠宣誓——」

劉綺彤 社會專業二年級

時間過得很快，要說落莊了！是很老套，但也要說一句捨不得——從酷熱的文職典禮走到寒冷的高桌晚宴，所有的活動都完美的告一段落。一年就這樣過去了，快得難以相信。

還記得當初大家互不相識，突然要湊拼在一起，感覺是怪怪的，共事過後所以的隔閡都拼除了。主席 Shy 的雀巢頭，火爆的 Ling，肥嘟嘟的 Grace，永遠一起出現的（嘈吵的）Patty 和寶芝（冷面笑匠），多嘴的阿康，肥佬林起昇，衝動的 Sue，不敢恭維的 Ken 和 Jerry，全莊最賣力的假情侶 Ben 和 Cathy，實幹的阿杰，神秘的 Simon，最重要的當然少不了我老公 Kitty，很開心與你們共事。以後也許沒有太多的機會再一起搞活動，但我一定會記得大家一起留到很晚開會，做庇護工作的情景。

有些話說了會令人起雞皮，但我不得不說一聲謝謝大家，謝大家對我的包容，儘管我的貢獻無多，你們都沒有給我太多微言。另外，我都要感謝我的老公 Kitty，在不同的範疇裡，她也給我很多幫助和支持。

新的莊已組成了，祝願他們在來年工作順利，繼續發揚中研精神，繼續發熱發亮！



梁惠儀 地理專業二年級

「順利上莊了，心裏既興奮又緊張……我很享受和其他莊員一起做莊務的時間，我們一起開會認真討論、一起玩樂哈哈大笑、一起集中精神製作宣傳品……希望我們十六人能在未來一年，能夠彼此加深瞭解，一起為莊務而努力……」

好像是昨天才寫好的上莊感受……轉眼間，這麼快竟然要寫下莊感受了……心情實在很複雜……既高興又失落……高興當然是見到有新莊上任了，見到有一群充勁十足的 babies 願意出來接手，感覺是欣慰和高興的，而且……終於卸任了~yeah~所有工作壓力終於和我 say bye 了~可能自己小覷了體育幹事這個 post 吧~想不到……工作壓力竟然可以這麼大~其實……上莊的這一年，真的甜酸苦辣，甚麼感覺都試過！！自問不是一個愛哭的人，但卻為莊中人和事哭過 N 次；自問自己是一個會堅持的人，但竟也去到撐不了的地步……哈~上莊真的有十萬個辛苦呀！！回想自己未上莊就開始籌備的情別會、情別賽和最後胎死腹中的「大專鐵罐 2005」，之後有 O'camp、O'night，開學後有 4 個四角賽(羽、籃、足、乒)、水、陸運會、突然出現的「社科院聯賽冠軍盃」、A-Week、A-Trip、5 個系際比賽(排、羽、籃、足、網)、賣物週、還有剛完的 High Table Dinner……(**截稿前，還有系際籃球、足球和網球未舉行……流汗……)面對這麼多 functions，而且還要浪接浪的湧過來……噁~連休息喘氣的空間也沒有！！GPA 下跌就不在話下，緊密的活動令樣子都變殘了，面色暗啞了……(哈哈~好歹的說，我也是個女孩子嘛~哈哈~) Anyway……落莊 lu~yeah~

不過……落莊……心情也是失落的……因為「快樂既時間過得特別快，話咁快就要同大家講 byebye」。雖然上莊真的很很辛苦，但只要身邊有同僚願意和自己一起去撐下去的話，這樣，就算再困難、再辛苦也是值得的！！(哈~雖然有時候，撐自己的人不多~hee~)因為有同伴願意支持自己，願意和自己一起付出努力、汗水、眼淚……那種感覺真的很好！！那種只有用心才能體會的感覺，真的不能言喻~其實……面對落莊，我是不捨得的！！Mm……我想……我是愛上我的同伴吧~在熱中閣裏面，我知道誰是不遺餘力的撐我，實在多謝你們的支持；哈~我也多謝大家的包容~我知道我是個火爆的人，時常就很容易的火火火起來~heehee~sorry and thanks ar~I love you all wor~heehee~

可能在 AGM 之後，新莊上任了，中研人都不會再記得第十五屆中國研究課程學會幹事會~熱中閣，但，我不會忘記在這一年裏，我和大家一起在 soc 房、在工作坊、在熱中閣中所付出過的每一點每一滴！！還記得 04 年 4 月 22 日，我們熱中閣立誓：「我，第十五屆中國研究課程學會幹事會，謹以至誠宣誓……」

當天的誓言，我們——實踐了！！這一年雖然很忙，但我無悔上莊！！我覺得做人最要緊的是認真真的做到無悔無憾！！

我，做到了！！

「開開心心上莊去，平平安安下莊來~」

希望我們 16 個人心裏面都常存一團火，那團火名叫 HEAT~

鍾民杰 經濟專業二年級

「落莊」了，那種衝過終點的感覺是非常美妙的。我躺在終點，深呼吸，享受著和暖的陽光，心想：「如果這條路再長一點，我就會像 2500 年前一位由馬拉松跑到雅典的希臘戰士菲利浦斯一樣，筋疲力竭而死……」

這一年是我記憶中最辛苦的一年，「上莊」後，既要為中研同學服務，同時又要兼顧學業，還要去自我增值，更要「搵飯食」……工作量激增，實在有點兒吃不消。我犧牲了所有玩樂的時間，犧牲了關心親人和朋友的時間，犧牲了不少睡覺的時間，犧牲了 GPA，不斷地做，做到家人也對我表示不滿！付出了這麼大的代價，超額完成工作，懂得欣賞的人卻少得可憐……想到這裡，禁不住仰天長嘯。如果上天讓今天的我返回一年前，再選擇一次是否「上莊」，我絕對肯定的答：「不會！」這不是因為我感到沮喪衝口而出的悔氣話，而是因為我發覺這個學會根本不需要我這種人……

路上的經歷實在令我感到非常難受，我曾經想過中途退出這場「馬拉松」。但後來我再想一想，打消了這個念頭。無錯，雖然沒有人欣賞我的製成品，但反正也「上莊」了，做一些東西出來讓自己欣賞一下也不錯，亦好讓我看清楚自己的能力。於是，我在工作中不斷挑戰自己的極限。過去十二個月，我為期刊和年刊耗盡心血和時間，已經盡力做到最好了。如果大家喜歡，就請多多讚賞；不喜歡的話，也希望您多拍兩下手掌。

跑到終點，沒有熱烈的掌聲（好事還是壞事？）。慶幸的是我贏得了一面金牌回家，這面金牌是以友情鑄成的，何其珍貴！最初，我並沒有獲選成為「熱中人」，只不過後來因為想以行動支持中研，才「不請自來」。那時候，其他專業的莊員對我來說可謂非常陌生，有部分頑皮的莊員更在我心中留下一個不太好的印象；當然，我想當時他們也並不太喜歡我這個「怪人」——一個思想保守、衣著老套的人。但在這一年裡，我們經常走在一起，互相幫忙和鼓勵，結果日久生情。我愛他們，就連他們的缺點也包容了。現在落莊，心中確實有種依依不捨的感覺。我知道自己是一個很容易被人遺忘的人，因此我不奢求永遠留在各位莊員的心中，但我希望我這個過客曾經為您們帶來歡樂。

各位莊員，我要多謝您們曾給予我支持，使我能順利完成所有工作。也因為您們，使我能在苦悶中找到快樂。我肯定，無論時間怎樣洗刷我的記憶，我的腦海裡，都可找到風趣幽默的 Shy、外剛內柔的阿 Ling、和藹可親的 Grace、俏秘書 Patty、活躍好動的 Leo、主意多多的 Ken、才高八斗的 Jerry、活潑可愛的 Kitty、大方得體的 Sa、沉默寡言的 Simon、聰明鬼馬的阿康、溫柔漂亮的寶芝、英俊能幹的 Ben、精於設計的紹芬和剛勁十足的 Sue。

去年二月四日是元宵節，我就是在那天決定「自動送上門」的，還記得當時的心情非常複雜。今天是二月廿三日，又是元宵節，正在寫感想的我心情依舊複雜，不同的是多了一份滿足、幸福和如釋重負的感覺，而且變得很感性。我很少會寫這樣「肉麻」的文章，如果各位（尤其是熱中人）掛念我（會嗎？），一時間又找不到我，就閱讀這篇文章幾遍，可解思念之苦（變甜？），哈哈！

出版幹事稱這一篇為「落莊感受」，落莊？班代=上莊？早陣子，有幾位一年級同學問我：什麼是班代？什麼是代表會？班代跟莊有什麼分別？有很多工作嗎？想起一年前自己也有同樣的疑問。

相信每一位同學在一年級的時候都會想過上莊的問題，我最後卻做了班代，說真的，當時真的不太清楚班代要做些什麼，代表會又是什麼。記得別人的回答都是：班代就是「傳閱文件」、代表會就是「開會」。一年過去，實際工作真的相差無幾，但我發覺上莊和班代的工作雖然有很大不同，但上莊和班代都是義務工作，它們有一個共通點就是「心」。很多人說上莊的原因是：「因為上莊可以學到野，可以有嘢得著。」，但相信如果無「心」，一年後也可能發覺付出了時間卻毫無得著。同樣地，如果有「心」做好班代的工作也可以有得著。班代的工作雖然不多，但時間總要付出的，既然付出了時間，何不付出多一點點「心」，讓時間付出得更有價值呢？要是無「心」又何必苦了自己呢？

得著對每一個人來說都不一樣，也不只局限於廣闊眼界、社交圈子、待人接物。每個人得到的也可以很特別，得到什麼亦只有自己知，但最終會得到什麼也看你自己有否願意付出過。無論上莊、做班代、就算只是作為中研的其中一位同學，只要有「心」，無論只是有「心」玩，或者有「心」支持，在中研裡一樣可以擁有屬於您的得著。

不知不覺成為左代表會的班代已經一年了。對我地 freshman 黎講，什麼都顯得好新奇，好有趣。以前成日都會聽到上大學要上莊等等……但係在我心目中的莊又係同以前的學會差不多，但上到黎先知原來係個回事。

年頭的時候，一切都好似誤打誤碰咁就成為 0 左班代表，可以話自己上 0 左莊自己都唔清楚，無咗咁快就一年。

做 0 左班代，我覺得最值得我學習的係開會時的氣氛。沒有想到在會議進行的時候，各人都為同學的利益而吵得面紅耳熱，為的可能只係同學根本唔會介意的三、兩十元。很多時候又會因為一 0 的字面上的問題，怕令同學混淆而大吵一場，但當會議結束的時候，他們好像另一個人一樣，又回復好朋友的關係，一點心病都沒有。最初我在想，會唔會係又好似 O' camp 咁，佢地又想做戲比我地睇，睇下佢地的運作是如何。但一年來，他們的態度都沒有變，我就知道原來代表會為的係同學的利益，在立場上幹事會和代表會係對立的。但他們做事的認真，同之間 0 既友誼，實在令我感到佩服。

成了班代後，我了解到舉辦每一個活動都係要經過一個好繁複的過程，雖然同學的反應唔係每一個活動都好踴躍，但係他們都不會有怨言咁希望下一個活動會有更多同學參加，在此我好謝各位莊員所做的一切。

若果有好多野可以重頭黎過，好多人都會話自己唔會再點，唔會同果個人一齊，唔會 take 邊個邊個果科等等。做 0 左成年代表會主席，雖然都有兩，三次心灰意冷 0 既時候，但係黎到今日，我都可以講返上年做班代果陣大聲疾呼過 0 既一句：I have no regret at all！做 0 左咁耐代主終於可以真誠地去向大家講一 d 自己 0 既感受。

做 0 左成年，絕對唔敢講自己係一個好代主，因為我好多野都可以做得 smooth d，有 d 又可以做得硬 d，但係我做得好唔好我自己都唔會俾到一個好客觀 0 既評價，都係等 agm 大家評價啦……

但係呢一年任期入面我深深咁學到點樣去平衡兩樣野，朋友之間 0 既友情同埋做事 0 既誠信，因為同眾多莊員都私底下份屬好友。但係又難免響代表會事務同佢地抱一個與他們有衝突 0 既立場，呢 d 事講得盡 d 真係開足十次代表會都講到十次，但係都係果句咁。我已經努力去用最友善最平和 0 既方式去為中研會眾爭取最多 0 既利益。我認我係呢一方面係未做到 perfect，但係我想講我已經盡力去做，朋友之間 0 既愛護同埋做主席 0 既誠信我都有盡力去維持去爭取，或者有人會覺得我假，我講一套做一套，但係唔緊要，我做代主唔係響度等人讚，而係做到自己份內事對得住自己就得啦，就係咁！

通常呢 d 文章都係會有多謝時間，我都唔例外有好多人都想多謝啦，多謝 Rice 由我上莊幫到我而家，呢下真係要多謝到極點呀！之後便係要多謝我個佢秘書智美啦，秘書，Geog yr 2 班代 0 既工作，仲要開 Department 會，仲要幫我執漏添，簡直十項全能呀，咁都要多謝全體代表會成員啦，忍 0 左我 0 既淫威咁耐(哈哈~)，傳 0 左 n 張傳閱文件，同埋開晒十一次代表會……感激感激……尤其是 Aaron 同 Ivan 啦，你地都提醒 0 左我好多野！咁到最後便係多謝一眾熱中 0 既幹事 0 既支持啦，尤其是 Shy 同 Leo，簡直係我地代表會 0 既駐會莊員呀，開足晒咁多次會真係多謝俾面~！

要講 0 既話都講得七七八八，最後想講多一樣野，就係要做一個堅持已見 0 既代主係唔難，但係我想講，做一個為中研全體著想 0 既代主係血地獄級數 0 既難，但係代主 0 既職責就係要為全中研 0 既人去辦主成支莊去做野，我希望下屆代主以及下屆代表會都諗一諗呢個問題，同時亦都想講所有班代都擔住一班 0 既發言權，若果有人睇低班代呢個位 0 既話，我第十五屆中研代主只會贈你一句，你根本睇低你果班，同埋你自己！望來屆中研幹代合作愉快，中研人每位都開開心心！

當了第二年的班代，工作可算是比第一年熟悉。雖然今年因為工作的關係而花了較少時間在班代工作上，但與其他班代及莊員認識深了，感情增進了不少。對於沒有盡力為同學服務，我亦覺得不好意思，還望見諒。在兩年的班代生活中，確實學到了不少東西，又認識到不少朋友，這個經驗實在難得。希望來屆班代好好珍惜這個機會，我已經做了兩年，是時候給其他同學學習，哈哈！

班代表

司徒富年 地理專業一年級

今年地理專業一年級有二十三女同學，但只有兩位男同學。幸運地，我是其中一位。

記得在學期初選班代的時候，我深深體會到崇高的民主和團結精神。在一人一票制下，班內的同學一致通過委任我成為班代，啊~這是多麼的團結！那時，我根本不清楚班代的工作究竟是甚麼，他們說班代的工作很簡單，係人都做得到，例如只須負責傳遞文件給各同學和開下會便可以~我信以為真！於是，就這樣，我便成了班代，還因此多了一個「花名」——T-Zip Man!

果然，正如他們所說，班代的工作真是輕鬆簡單，不過這並不是因為工作的性質，而是因為我有一班非常合作的好同學。每次當有傳閱文件的時候，他們總會很快地把文件簽妥，而對於中研所舉辦的活動，他們亦會湧躍參加，這樣省卻了我很多「搵人簽名」、「搵人參加活動」的時間。多謝你地~

班代的工作雖然簡單，但都會有辛苦的時候。記得第一次開會的時候，討論的議題就涉及到中研各同學的利益，代表會成員和幹事會成員各執一詞，爭持不下，氣氛緊張。這個會一開便開了四個多小時，比以往的長很多。到散會的時候，真是有點筋疲力盡的感覺~那時，一想到以後的會議……真係有啲想喊~不過，幸好以後的會議時間都不太長，而且氣氛還不錯，有時看見成員間一些有意無意的「暗串」，更會忍不住大笑起來~這些回憶，實在令人難忘~

時光飛逝，現在又到了落莊的時候了，在這半年來，真的要多謝代表會全體幹事在這些日子以來的支持和幫助，對於一個 YEAR 1 的同學來說，代表會絕對是一個陌生的地方，若沒有了你們的支持和幫助，恐怕每次開會都會像受刑一樣，令人害怕和痛苦。現在，我倒沒有這種感覺，反而有點不捨……

班代表

吳偉鋒 歷史專業一年級

雖然我只是擔任了短短的六個月的班代表，成為代表會的成員之一，但是我十分高興。因為在這裡可以找到身為中國研究課程一份子的身份認同，不再以為自己是無主孤魂，無家可歸了。不過，這種感覺的形成很大程度都是制度所造成的，中國研究課程就像一座空中樓閣一樣，缺乏四個學系和校方緊密的支持，加上一般同學的印象是中研是本科的二奶，寄生物。然而，最大的致命傷則是會員的向心力低……這是會員人數多，而且大家都是不同的專業所致。假如要改變此一現象，校方和學校都必須有所行動，再加上同學們的配合，那麼認同感就不一定要成為幹事會或代表會能有。

另外，在擔任班代期間，我可以藉著收發傳閱文件的機會來認識一下自己班的同學和其他專業的同學。這擴闊了我的社交圈子，令明白交友之道。

我在此希望下一年我們的系會能夠和其他四個系會有一個進一步的合作，令我們除認識本課程的同學外，還可以認識本科的同學，增加彼此的交流，擴闊自己的知識面。

曾紀品 社會專業一年級

班代表

各位中研的同學仔，你地好！我係 SOCI YEAR 1 班代 - 晶晶。其實都唔知講乜好！如果我係度「語無倫次」，請多多見諒。

其實做一位班代真係唔困難，不過就真係幾麻煩。~_~" 成日有好多傳閱文件，不過，有咁多傳閱文件就即係話我地中研多活動搞！係一件好事黎既！>_<"

我仲記得第一次開代表會既時候，主席同 Shy 佢地講咗成四粒鐘，我又肚餓，又眼瞓，又好悶，真係幾慘架！不過好彩咁「充實」既會只不過係幸運地發生咗一次咁多多姐，如果唔係人都瞓呀！由此證明，我地代表會都幾認真架！唔係玩玩吓架！

噯！其實做班代有一個不為人知的好處，就係會成為全班第一個記熟晒全班同學的中文名的人，真係「獲益良多」架！

係度賣多句廣告：「代表會，好野黎架！」請多多支持！

鍾世昌 經濟專業二年級

班代表

回顧整年的班代生涯，實在令我獲益良多。不但認識了其他班級的同學，更使我從班代的工作中了解到一個活動的成功是得來不易。另外，我亦因此職而多參加了中研所舉辦的各類活動。從實際來說，可算是沒有白交會費。

本屆幹事會給我的印象是各莊員十分努力和表現出色。從迎新營、期刊和宣傳物品中可見一斑。令我印象最深刻的可算是迎新營的水戰活動。莊員 Jerry 受傷後不但沒有休息，還在不停地準備其他活動，可見他的專業精神，實在十分可敬。不過，我認為幹事會可以考慮舉辦更多元化的活動，如旅行、講座、校友與在校同學分享等活動，以吸引不同類型的同學參與學會活動，從而增加他們的歸屬感。

至於代表會，梁耀龍主席實在十分盡責，令我們在工作上更為方便。對於很多人認為班代的工作十分繁重，我並不同意。事實上，每個月出席常務會議一次，開中傳遞傳閱文件等工作，是每一位同學都可以應付的。俗話：「世上無難事，只怕有心人。」我認為這句說話用來形容班代的工作最為貼切。

總括來說，我認為本屆的幹事會和代表會的合作是十分愉快，期望未來中研課程學會的會務可以蒸蒸日上，成為浸大的第一大會。

馮家宜 社會專業二年級

班代表

你好，我係 soci year 2 的班代，轉眼間都差不多一年，咁就敝左一年班代，這年都幾過得挺不錯。要在這裡向各位說聲謝謝。多謝本班同學仔，欠落你們很多人情。多謝幹事會為我們籌辦這麼多活動。多謝代表會各班代，有你們開會才能有講有笑。多謝秘書智美，辛苦了。多謝主席龍哥，經常打電話提點我們（你的電話費都應該幾貴）。……噯……我地 soci 下年會贏巨龍盃的！

班代表

黃啟剛 經濟專業三年級

三年了，幸好不是三年之後又三年，三年之後又三年，終於可以卸下班代這個重擔了。回顧過去一年，頭幾次會議因為聯絡問題而缺席了一兩次，實在感到抱歉。今屆的幹事會實在比去年更好，首先能再次成功舉辦已中斷了兩年的交流團。此外首次舉辦高桌晚宴便即成功，實在可喜可賀！當晚見到各位師哥師弟美女師姐妹都著得很漂亮，真的男的成熟，女的有女人味兒，實在讓人大飽眼福。希望來年新幹事會繼續舉辦高桌晚宴，而且希望他們能比今年更有突破。

班代表

陳裕豐 歷史專業三年級

三年了，終於可以永遠放下班代的工作。在第三年的班代工作中，我本以為我已經習慣了代表會的一切運作，變得麻木、沒感覺，最後連一個字的感想也寫不出來。但是，今年代表會的組合，卻令我有意想不到的驚喜。

懸直主席與俏(?)秘書在會議中「打情罵俏」；主席說了等於沒說的惹笑圓場；為了一個問題，大家可以變得聲量分明，爭論個多小時才肯罷休。造就了本年會議的最長紀錄(也是我經歷中第二長)；有最長，當然也有最短，只用了五十多分鐘便完成了會議(三年中的最短紀錄)……等等，也令我麻目的代表會生活添上色彩。

三年的老班代，下年應該只有一、兩個吧！希望在明年今日，你們也會有我的經歷。

班代表

廖宇恆 社會專業三年級

我擔任了代表會成員已有三年，為有機會服務同學我感到榮幸，與過去三屆的代表會成員合作也感到高興。在這三年裏，代表會與幹事會合作欠佳，以及感覺代表會對幹事會監察、諮詢等功能日漸消失。幹事會與會眾脫節，未能做到「以民為本」，而部份幹事欠缺積極、責任感不足導致中國研究的同學對系會未算熱烈。本屆代表會主席梁躍龍有意改革上述問題，但有心無力，唯其志可嘉。冀望新一屆代表會主席能夠克盡己任、承先啟後、力求創新，抱住持平客觀的精神領導下一屆代表會。

歡笑、歡呼、歡欣

各位會員：

時光飛逝，一年轉瞬間過去了。「熱中閩」已經把一切最好的奉獻出來。

本年度的所有活動已經圓滿結束。我們要多謝曾給予本會極大支持的教授和博士，曾協助本會籌辦活動的義務工作人員及曾參與本會活動的會員。是您們令「凝聚四專，走向尖端」這個共同夢想得以實現。

這是多姿多采的一年！

「熱中閩」舉辦了多項有益身心的活動，為中研同學的大學生活添上無限的色彩。羽毛球場、足球場、籃球場……都可以聽到我們的歡笑聲。每當經過方樹泉圖書館五樓平台時，都會令我們回想起迎新營出發當天的一百張笑臉。

「熱中閩」締造多項創舉。

第一次舉辦高桌晚會、第一次傳統木偶劇表演、第一次出版電子版的期刊、建立官方網頁……這一切都令人引以為傲。當其他院系的同學看到我們舉辦的精彩活動、看到我們精美的福利物品、看到我們獨特的網頁和期刊，都非常羨慕。「熱中閩」的變革與創新，帶來無窮無盡的驚喜，令我們歡呼喝采！

我們向大家送上了最寶貴的禮物。

歡欣，是人生中最珍貴的東西。在這一年裡，我們為大家帶來歡欣，令一年級同學的大學生活有一個美好的開始，令二年級同學的日子變得更精彩，令三年級同學有一個愉快的回憶。

「熱中閩」功成身退。

今天，我們的任期已經屆滿，未能繼續為大家服務。但我們深信「熱中閩」的熱心不死、熱誠不減，長留於大家心中。

「熱中閩」卸任，大家不必感到可惜。因為當新一屆幹事會上任後，我們知道他們將會為中研作出更大的貢獻，帶領中研走向另一個高峰，全因為「熱中閩」！

多謝各位！後會有期！

帶來教人難忘的時刻
 留下令人回味的回憶
 熱中園的幹事 以無比的熱誠和毅力
 克服重重困難 跨越重重障礙
 凝鑒四個學堂
 帶領中研走向雲端



中研閣

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