

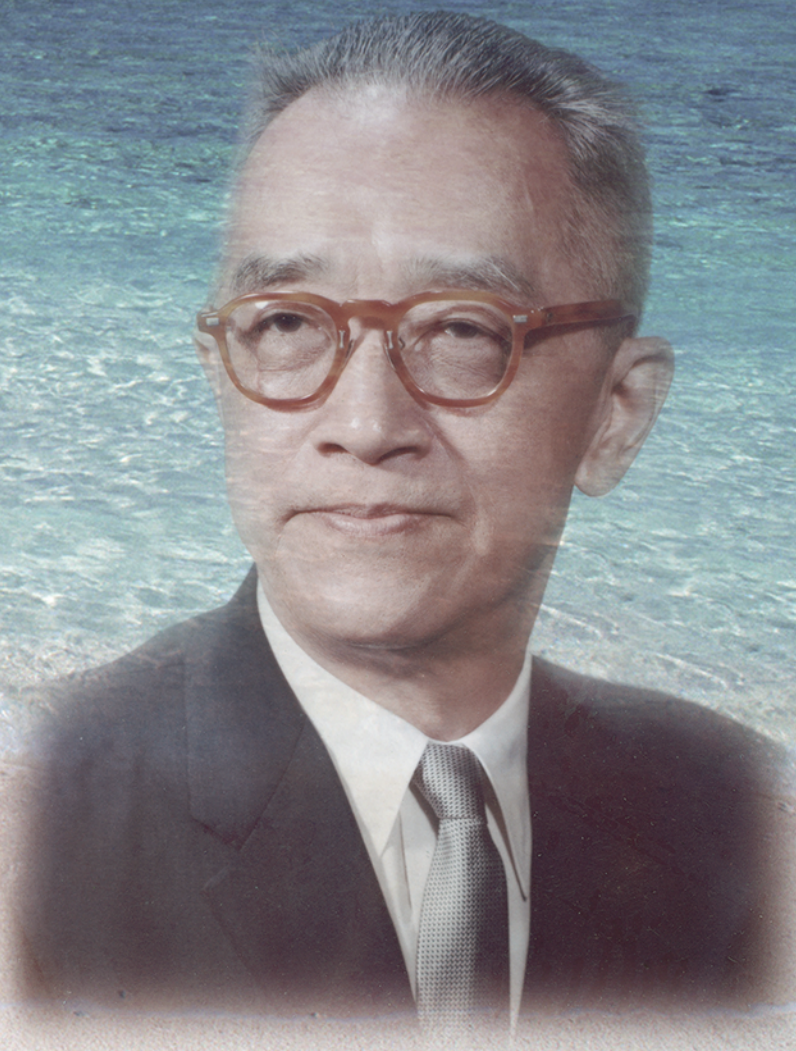
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胡适研究通讯

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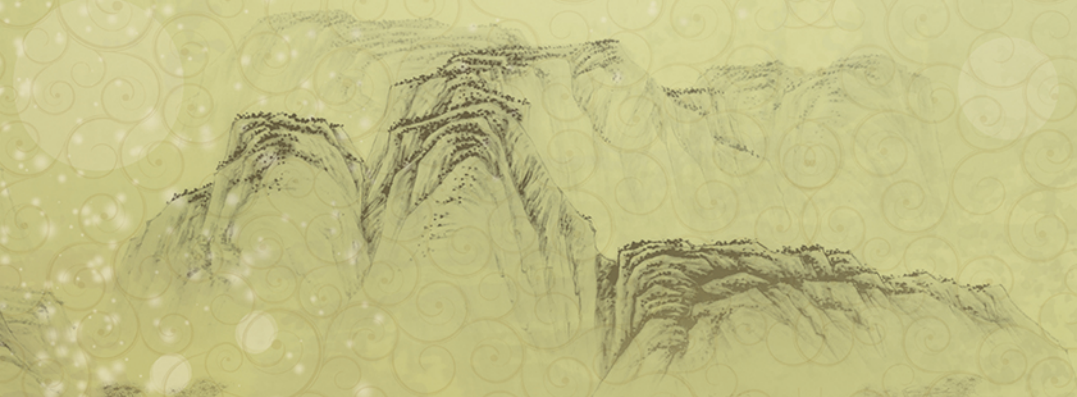
胡适研究会 编

2016年3月25日





杨日旭先生是胡适先生 1952 年返台时的临时秘书，
这是 1950 年代胡、 杨在美国的合影（杨日旭先生提供）



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胡适书信中所见西南联大史料

邹新明

1937年7月7日,“卢沟桥事变”爆发。胡适当时判断,这只是个局部事件,也许不至于扩大。于是,次日仍按原计划南下赴南京开会。胡适没有料到的是,此一行竟与北大睽违九载。离开北大,胡适免不了牵挂。1937年9月9日,胡适在去汉口乘飞机去香港然后赴美的途中,于九江轮船中给尚留在北平的北大秘书长郑天挺写信,勉励当时还留在北平的郑天挺、罗常培、魏建功等人“忍痛维持松公府内的故纸堆,维持一点研究工作”¹1937年9月26日,胡适到达旧金山,先是以非官方的身份宣传抗战,争取美援,后出任驻美大使,卸任后仍留居纽约,直至1946年7月才回到故国。留在国内的北大同人,也很挂念胡适,在他未任驻美大使之前,仍希望其能回到北大,继续担任文学院院长。因此,胡适虽然于抗战期间身居海外,仍与北大故人保持较多的书信联系。《北京大学图书馆藏胡适未刊书信日记》中就收录有一些北大人给胡适的书信,时间主要集中在抗战期间,不少内容涉及北大南迁、长沙临时大学和西南联大的一些情况,属于广义的西南联大历史范围,笔者孤陋,这些史料似未被西南联大研究者注意,特此揭出,以飨同好。

一. 北大教员的南迁与留守

“七七事变”后,北大师生陆续南下。罗常培后来曾有回忆文章《七七事变后北大的残局》叙述暂时留平情形颇详。²1938年6月10日,已经到达云南蒙自的罗常培给胡适写了一封长信,汇报自“七七事变”北平分别之后的情况。罗常培在信中说,自己“本打算暂时留平,安贫忍痛,完成几年来积压下的工作。”但是“到了十月中,接到孟麟先生的函电,责以共赴国难,共撑北大

的危局,于是我们一行,等毅生把平方校务结束妥帖后,在十一月十七日离开了北平。”³

至于罗常培等人南下后,当时留在北平的还有哪些北大人,一般的说法是孟森、冯祖荀、马裕藻、周作人四人,号称“留平四教授”。而罗常培在《七七事变后北大的残局》一文中的说法是:“留平的三十六人除幼渔、心史、汉叔、缪金源、周作人、董康和徐祖正外,都决定分批南下”⁴幼渔即马裕藻,心史即孟森,汉叔即冯祖荀,这样,除“留平四教授”外,尚有缪金源、董康和徐祖正三人。罗常培此文写于1949年北大五十年校庆之际,与其1938年6月10日给胡适中的说法也有不同,信中说:“这时留平的只有‘三老’:绶经,心史,幼渔;‘三不老’:汉叔,启明,志敦;‘二壮’:徐祖正,龙际云;‘二弱’:缪金源,孙子书。此外就是不到长沙的也都离开北平了。”⁵值得注意的是,两种说法的时间不完全一致,《七七事变后北大的残局》说的是罗常培等人离开北平前的情形,而那封书信说的则是他们于当年12月14日分别到达南岳和长沙时的情况。信中提到的“绶经”即董康,启明即周作人,这样,除了文章中提到的七人,又增加了(刘)志敦、龙际云、孙子书(即孙楷第)三人,留平北大教员共十人。而书信中提到的“三老”、“三不老”、“二壮”、“二弱”也颇值得注意,不知是罗常培的创意,还是当时同人中流行的说法。

至于从北平转道香港去湖南的情形,信中也有简要的叙述:“到香港后,绕道梧州,桂林,至首都陷落后的二日(十二月十四日)我们才分别到了南岳和长沙!这一行中,到南岳的是大年,雪屏,建功和我;到长沙的是毅生,廉澄,濯生,霖之,膺中。”⁶当时的长沙临时大学校本部和理、

工、法三院设在长沙韭菜园圣经学校，文学院设在衡阳南岳圣经学校分校。信中提到的北大教员，大年即教育系教授邱大年，雪屏即教育系教授陈雪屏，毅生即秘书长郑天挺，濯生即经济系教授周作仁，霖之即地质系教授王烈，庸中即中文系教授罗庸。

二. 长沙临时大学

长沙临时大学于1937年10月25日开学，次年2月即南迁，存在时间很短。

在蒋梦麟1938年5月31日写给胡适的信中有关于长沙临时大学时期的大致介绍：“临大在长数月，以粤汉路拥挤，图书仪器运输维艰，且以敌机时来轰炸，思成树人居宅被毁，（徽音从灰土堆里爬出来，无伤；树人夫人腿部为碎片所中）又圣经学校太近车站，使人心不安。故由孟真淬廉提议迁滇。惟当时政府禁学校迁移，遂由我飞汉见蒋公商请，当蒙首肯。”⁷信中除了具体谈到敌机轰炸情形外，值得注意的一点，西迁昆明是由傅斯年（孟真）和何廉（淬廉）提出的。一般涉及此段历史的著作，或未指出提出迁滇建议之人，如“常委会经反复研究，决定迁往云南省会昆明”⁸，或另有他人，如“经济系教授秦瓚则主张迁往昆明”⁹。笔者认为，蒋梦麟作为亲身经历者，且写信时时隔不久，也许更可靠些。

傅斯年1937年11月9日给胡适、钱端升的信中对长沙临时大学也有数语交待：“长沙临时大学进行很好，相当波折，金甫对付得很好。孟邻先生在彼甚好，甚热心。此间朋友都好。枚荪见解甚可佩，每晚闲谈，受益不少。”¹⁰金甫即杨振声，时任长沙临时大学筹备委员会秘书长，孟邻即蒋梦麟，时任长沙临时大学筹备委员会常委，枚荪即周炳琳，时任长沙临时大学筹备委员。

由长沙到昆明的经过，一些书信也有涉及。如罗常培1938年6月10日给胡适的信中说：“我们到南岳不到一月，又因迁校议起，跑到长沙。后来搬昆明的计划决定，于是我又于今年二月十

日自湘经粤港海防，走了十六天才到昆明。”¹¹蒋梦麟1938年5月31日的信中说：“我于二月二日飞港乘轮转海防赴昆明，于十五日到达。先迁队则乘汽车于前二日到。学生在长沙时计千五百名。四百名则赴前方工作，所剩一千一百名中，有九百名愿赴滇读书。步行者三百四十名，由海道往者五百数十名。步行者，由师长黄师岳先生率领，黄子坚，曾昭抡，闻一多，李季侗诸先生辅导。行三千三百华里，为时七十天安然到昆。……此次搬家计费六万余元。”¹²信中谈及的学生人数及搬迁费用都值得注意。

蒋梦麟的信中还谈及西南联大迁滇避免了一次大损失：“联合大学（现改名为国立西南联合大学）迁滇后岳麓山之湖南大学，及清华大学新造房屋，于上月被敌机大规模轰炸。湖大落十余弹。毁图书馆，理学院及女生宿舍房屋多幢。死学生三人，伤十余人（因星期日学生多不在校）清华落廿六弹，均未中。（惟屋顶墙壁俱裂）死借住之税警团十数人，伤二十余人。游客死伤百余人（因星期日多游客）。联大如不迁滇，则本学期已迁入清华新舍。损失必甚大也。”¹³

三. 西南联大

胡适书信中的西南联大史料主要集中在初期，最晚一封信写于1940年5月12日。

西南联大到云南之初，将文学院和法学院设在蒙自，理学院、工学院设在昆明，并在昆明东北城外购地兴建新校舍。

上引罗常培书信中提及，罗常培是在1938年2月10日从湖南出发，辗转16天到达昆明，信中说“五月二日又搬到蒙自”，罗常培原是北大中文系教授，现属联大文学院，自然要到蒙自。此外，我们还可以推测，最初联大文、法学院的师生，很多是先到昆明，再转到蒙自。

涉及西南联大情况的胡适书信，上述罗常培和蒋梦麟的两封信介绍较详，此外，江泽涵和钱端升致胡适的信函中也有谈及，现整理介绍如下。

1. 初到蒙自时联大文、法学院师生情况

罗常培在信中全面介绍了在蒙自的西南联大文、法学院情况。在谈及北大中文系师生到蒙自的情况时，罗常培写道：“北大国文系的学生去年到南岳的共有三十八人，随同到滇的只剩二十三人，但比起清华来还多着十八个人呢。教授到的只有庸中建功和我三个人。毅生被从吾抢到史学系去，他近来除讲隋唐五代史外很注意到南诏史地的问题。蒋先生因为他结束平方校务时，不辞劳怨，答应他暂时不管事务，所以他到蒙自后却得到了埋头的机会。下年除盼先生能速驾外，已商得蒋先生同意，请郑石君来滇。”¹⁴从吾即姚从吾，北大历史系教授。

然后，罗常培介绍了清华方面的情况：“至于清华方面有佩弦，一多，叔雅，浦江清，许维通，陈梦家，李嘉言七人，下年遇夫了一还来，可是他们的学生暑假就剩下一个人了。”¹⁵信中所及，佩弦即朱自清，一多即闻一多，叔雅即刘文典，遇夫即杨树达，了一即王力。

信中接着介绍了文学院其他各系情况：“文学院其他各系，外国语系有公超 Empson 和莫泮芹，下年拟约黄绍虞潘介泉来；史学系有从吾子水宾四毅生四人，下年受颐不见得回来，西洋史尚缺人；哲学系有锡予，贺自昭，郑秉璧，容元胎四人；心理组有逵羽雪屏二人；教育系有大年和罗廷光二人，下年拟添聘齐泮林教统计，测验。俊升自任教育部高等教育司后，一时不见得回来。”¹⁶Empson 即 William Empson，中文名燕卜苏，英国诗人。潘介泉即潘家洵，子水即毛子水，宾四即钱穆，受颐即陈受颐，锡予即汤一介，贺自昭即贺麟，郑秉璧即郑昕，容元胎即容肇祖，逵羽即樊际昌，俊升即吴俊升，曾任北大教育系教授兼系主任。

文学院之后是法学院教师情况，信中说：“法学院以法律系甚缺人，君亮，李祖荫均未来，现只有陈克生和蔡枢衡二人；政治系有张佛泉崔书琴二人；经济系有廉澄，周濯生（作仁），秦瓚三

人，下年拟补充侯树彤一人。枚荪大约一时不能返校，蒋先生颇盼端升兄能早一些回国。”¹⁷君亮即戴修瓚，曾任北大法律学系系主任，廉澄即赵迺搏。

蒋梦麟 1938 年 5 月 31 日给胡适的信中对原北大、清华教师在蒙自情况仅有一句概括性说明：“北大文法两院同人，除少数外，均已到校。清华亦然。”

2. 西南联大的组织情况

(1) 蒙自文、法学院组织情况

上引罗常培的信中说：“至于联大文法学院的组织，现由文学院院长芝生代法学院院长陈序经文学院院长代表二人逵羽、佩弦法学院代表二人岱孙、廉澄合组一校务委员会，推逵羽任主席，管理两院普通行政事务。下面由薛德成管注册，包尹辅管事务（现已聘胡子安替代，尚未到）。逵曾现在汉口，蒋先生想找他管文牍，兼保管北大文学院各系文件。”¹⁸芝生即冯友兰，岱孙即陈岱孙，逵曾即卢逵曾。

蒋梦麟 5 月 31 日的信中对文、法学院的组织情况也有谈及，只是与罗常培详略不同：“文学院院长为兄（现芝生代）。法学院院长为陈序经先生（南开）。国文系主任朱佩弦。外国文叶公超。史学刘崇鋮。哲汤锡予。（教育，心理，包括在哲系中）经济岱孙。政治奚若。法律君亮。两院长，四教授会代表，合组分校委员会，互推逵羽为主席，执行分校之务。现同人切盼兄回国，俾文院有人主持。芝生强之再，始允代也。”¹⁹从蒋梦麟的信中可知，因为胡适当时还没有出任驻美大使，文学院院长一职仍然是虚位待其归。蒋氏信中还交待了各系主任的情况，以及分校委员会的组织人选。其中政治系主任奚若，即张奚若，其他前文已有说明，不再重复。

(2) 昆明理、工学院的组织情况

罗常培的信中仅谈到了蒙自文、法学院的组织情况，蒋梦麟 5 月 31 日书信则还介绍了设在昆明的联大理、工学院的组织人选：理学院“院长为正之兄。数学系主任为泽涵。理为树人。化为

杨石先生（南开）。地为铁仙（孙云铸）。生物为李季侗。北大理院教授除一二人外，均已到。”工学院“院长为施嘉炆先生。因一樵已任教次也。”²⁰树人即饶毓泰，一樵即顾毓琇，曾任清华大学工学院院长。

3. 西南联大暂时租借校舍及兴建新校舍计划

（1）蒙自文、法学院租借校舍及周边情况

罗常培的信中对蒙自校舍的租借情况和周边环境做了介绍：“蒙自地方虽然荒僻，但联大所在地——海关，银行，领事署，医院，歌罗士洋行——却是很好的。银行及领事馆内树木森蔚，风景清幽。门外有南湖和军山，蓬莱等公园，可供散步临眺。在这个年头儿真是一个适于读书的地方。城内虽然不大，但日常应用品并不缺乏。每逢子午卯酉日都有“街”（就是集），到那一天许多 non-Chinese 的民族，如同猩猩，土獠，苗家，彝家，摆夷……之类，都可以看得见，这对于弄语言学的人，也好像董彦堂得到大龟七版那样喜欢！因此我们很想利用这个环境作出点儿什么来，留个纪念。”²¹信中董彦堂即甲骨文专家董作宾。

蒋梦麟的信中还谈到了蒙自校区租借费用及自然环境：“蒙自校舍系租蒙自海关（年租形式租金一元）。东方汇理银行（月租五百元）。希腊人之哥罗士洋行（月租三百数十元）。法领署及法国医院（年租形式租金一元）。树木花草茂盛，风景优美。盖半热带地也。”²²

（2）昆明理、工学院租借校舍情况

蒋梦麟的信中对昆明理、工学院的情况做了介绍：“理院校舍系假省立农，工，师范三校校舍之一部份凑合而成。三校在西门外，彼此之距离，如北大之一二两院。……工学院在东南城外，租迤西、全蜀两会馆。月租各壹佰元。”²³

4. 西南联大其他情况

（1）西南联大图书馆及读书风气

罗常培在信中谈到蒙自校区图书馆及学生读书情况：“图书馆比较小一点，但学生看书的风气很踊跃，每晚大演其‘争坐位’，现已另谋开辟，並

且史语研究所的二百多箱书，孟真也答应借给我们看。”²⁴

（2）西南联大的教学研究情况

胡适书信中涉及西南联大教学研究有二，而且有些负面。

江泽涵 1940 年 5 月 12 日致胡适的信中，谈及胡适长子胡祖望在西南联大的成绩不好，且对清华工学院的教学颇有微词：“他在联大的功课都没入轨道。特别是算学功课，教工学院的教员都是最不负责任的。因人事上的困难，虽然姜立夫先生同我都想过改革的办法，都没有成功。刚从算学系说，也许清华的人研究成绩最好，但对于教书方面，他们显然不负责任。而工学院事实上完全是清华的。”²⁵

钱端升 1939 年 8 月 9 日致胡适的信中对联大的教育和研究评价不高：“联大方面，秩序及日常工作，进行尚称顺利，惟少 pushing force。下半年各部门恢复研究院者甚多，但除孟真之文史外，恐少实际性。但中山大学且办研究院，则他人当然也可办。所以讲到教育，不特物质远逊，即精神方面亦初未因抗战而有进步也。”²⁶

（3）联大三校的合作

蒋梦麟 1939 年 4 月 12 日给胡适的信中谈及三校过于客气：“西北联大彼此闹意见，闹得一塌糊涂。西南联大，彼此客客气气，但是因为客气，不免有“纲纪废弛”的坏结果。互让是美德，但是过了度，就会变成互弃职守。这界限是很难划。我是不怕负责的，但是见了西北的互争之弊，就忍受下去了。”²⁷

以上是对《北京大学图书馆藏胡适未刊书信日记》中涉及西南联大史料的“钩沉”，希望能对一般西南联大史的“宏大叙事”起一些拾遗补缺的作用。

（作者单位：北京大学图书馆）

¹ 胡颂平：《胡适之先生年谱长编初稿》，第 1615 页，台北：联经出版事业公司，1984 年。

² 见《北京大学五十周年纪念特刊》。

³ 北京大学图书馆：《北京大学图书馆藏胡适未刊书信日记》，第 137 页，北京：清华大学出版社，2003 年。

⁴ 《北京大学五十周年纪念特刊》，第 41 页。

⁵ 同 3。

⁶ 同 3。

⁷ 北京大学图书馆：《北京大学图书馆藏胡适未刊书信日记》，第 157 页，北京：清华大学出版社，2003 年。

⁸ 西南联大北京校友会编：《国立西南联合大学校史——1937 至 1946 年的北大、清华、南开》，北京大学出版社，1996 年。

⁹ 闻黎明：《抗日战争与中国知识分子：西南联合大学的抗战轨迹》，社会科学文献出版社，2009 年。

¹⁰ 北京大学图书馆：《北京大学图书馆藏胡适未刊书信日记》，第 162 页，北京：清华大学出版社，2003 年。

¹¹ 同 3。

¹² 同 7。

¹³ 同 7。

¹⁴ 同 3。

¹⁵ 同 3。

¹⁶ 同 3。

¹⁷ 同 3。

¹⁸ 同 3。

¹⁹ 同 7。

²⁰ 同 7。

²¹ 同 3。

²² 同 7。

²³ 同 7。

²⁴ 同 3。

²⁵ 北京大学图书馆：《北京大学图书馆藏胡适未刊书信日记》，第 112 页，北京：清华大学出版社，2003 年。

²⁶ 北京大学图书馆：《北京大学图书馆藏胡适未刊书信日记》，第 145 页，北京：清华大学出版社，2003 年。

²⁷ 北京大学图书馆：《北京大学图书馆藏胡适未刊书信日记》，第 158 页，北京：清华大学出版社，2003 年。

胡适 1917 年的一篇英文佚文

席云舒提供

1917 年 5 月，即胡适留学归国前夕，他在美国 *The Standard*（《标杆》杂志，Vol. III, No. 8）上发表了一篇谈儒学的文章“Confucianism”。该文既不同于此前他先后在 *The Chinese Students' Monthly*（《中国留美学生月报》，Vol. XI, No. 7）和 *The Monist*（《一元论者》，Vol. 27, No. 1）上发表的“Classical Confucianism”一文，也不同于 1931 年他给 Edwin R. A. Seligman 编辑的 *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*（《社会科学百科全书》，美国）所撰写的那篇“Confucianism”（后文收在《胡适全集》第 36 卷里）。胡适《留学日记》里并未提到 *The Standard* 上的这篇“Confucianism”，《胡适全集》、《胡适英文文存》和《胡适未刊英文遗稿》中均未收录此文，中国社会科学院近代史研究所和台北胡适纪念馆的档案里也未见这篇文章。两年 前我通过哈佛大学图书馆查找到这期 *The*

Standard 杂志，这里将此佚文提供给本期《胡适研究通讯》刊登。

需要说明的是，*The Standard* 并不是人们所熟悉的《英文虎报》，而是美国伦理学会年于 1914 创办的一份伦理学刊物。该刊封面上印有“促进伦理思考，鼓励更好的生活方式”之句；在该刊的创刊号前面，有一篇发刊词性质的文章，其中引了乔治·华盛顿的话：“让我们建立一个标准，使智慧而诚实的人可以信赖它。”并指出该刊的刊名正是受到这句话的启发。因此，这份杂志的刊名应译为“标杆”，目的是为了建立某种伦理标准。而胡适论儒家伦理学说的这篇文章，也与该刊的宗旨相符。

（席云舒：现供职于北京语言大学）

CONFUCIANISM

BY Suh Hu

I

In order to understand the teachings of Confucius, we must first understand the conditions of the age in which he lived. Confucius was born in 551 B.C. and died in 479 B.C. His was an age of great social upheaval and intellectual unrest. The system of feudalism which had existed in China for many centuries was breaking down, and the hundreds of feudal States were being gradually conquered by a few rising powers. The rapid changes of political allegiances and the great misery and suffering caused by the wars of conquest, had produced in China an era of intellectual unrest which might be justly called the Era of Chinese Enlightenment. There had arisen a great galaxy of public teachers much resembling the Greek Sophists, both in their educational activities and in their destructive criticism of the existing social and political institutions.

One of the most illustrious representatives of this group was Lao Tze, the so-called founder of Taoism, a religion which he himself would have most probably repudiated had he lived to see it. Lao Tze was an anarchist and nihilist. He attributed all the evils of the time to the artificial institutions of civilization which have made men deviate from the innocent state of nature. Nature, said he, does nothing, and yet what does it fail to accomplish? So he advocated the abolition of all the arts and conventions and institutions of civilization and taught a return to the ways of nature. In politics, he favored the policy of *laissez faire*, of leaving everything to the work of nature, for, said he, "the net of nature is wide-meshed, but it loses nothing." Nature is "the great executioner" ever just and ever efficient.

The age which produced such strong criticism as this was indeed an age of political chaos and moral degeneracy. There were, for instance, thirty-six cases of regicide recorded in a brief period

of about 200 years. Mencius who flourished two centuries later, described the age of Confucius in these words: "Perverse doctrines and violent deeds had been arising. There had been ministers murdering their princes and sons murdering their fathers. Confucius was afraid."

Indeed Confucius was afraid. He toiled and taught and travelled throughout his long life in the hope that he might do something toward the reformation of the corrupt age. He knew Lao Tze and is said to have studied under him. He was probably influenced by the latter's conception of nature as that which does nothing and yet achieves everything. But he could not believe with him that the remedy lies in the abolition of all institutions of civilization. Confucius saw in nature the great principle of order. Said he: "What does nature say? The seasons come and go, and all things grow. What does nature say?"

The principle of order is the basic concept of Confucianism. Confucianism aims at the establishment of an order of ideal relations. In the Book of Change, we read: "When the father is father, the son is son, the elder brother is elder brother, the younger brother is younger brother, the husband is husband and the wife is wife,—then the family is in proper order. And when all families are in proper order, all is right with the world." Again, in the Lun Yu, we read that, when asked about government, Confucius answered: "Prince the prince, minister the minister, father the father and son the son." That is to say, the Confucian ethics is a system of ideal relations in which every father is fatherly, every child is filially pious, every husband and wife live in perfect concord and peace, every minister faithfully performs his ministerial duties, and every ruler is, and is regarded as, a ruler. This doctrine is commonly expressed in the principle of five relations; namely, that "there should be love between parents and children, righteousness between rulers and subjects; distinction between husband and wife;

order and respect between the aged and the young, and faithfulness between friends."

That is Confucianism. After many years of idealization and romanticization of Confucianism, I have come back to this apparently prosaic and uninteresting interpretation, because I have become more and more convinced that in this relationalism lies both the strength and weakness of the Confucian system.

Confucius was first and last a humanist. His interest was in this world and in this life. He was never a religious man in the ordinary sense of the term. He accepted the religious rites of his time as the Stoics accepted the religious rites of Rome. And if he labored to preserve the traditional rites and rituals of worship, sacrifice, burial, mourning, etc., it was not necessarily because he believed in the after life or in the existence of spirits and gods, but because he believed that the cultivation of such ceremonies and sacrifices would tend to improve and consolidate the relations between man and man. TsanTze, one of his disciples, made this significant remark about the practice of ancestral worship and death rituals: "Respect death and recall forefathers, and the good in men will again grow sturdy." Herein lies the essence and the justification of what is ordinarily regarded as the "religious" phase of Confucianism, which, though originated long before the time of Confucius, was incorporated into the Confucian system because its cultivation was believed to be conducive to the strengthening of human relations.

II

The relationalism of Confucius was later developed by the Confucians in two seemingly similar but fundamentally different directions. My own conception of this difference is that the one regards the family as the centre of relations, and the other makes the individual the centre of activities. I take two Confucian classics as the typical representations of the two views. The first is represented by the Book of Filial Duty (Hsiao King), the second by the Book of Great Learning (Ta Hsueh).

The first and earlier development of the Confucian system makes filial piety the *summum bonum* of morality. "Filial piety," says the Book of Filial Duty, "is the foundation of all virtue, and the seed of all education. Every hair and skin of our body is received from our parents, and should not be injured: that is the beginning of filial duty. Then we should always so conduct ourselves and carry out our beliefs that we may establish our own reputation and thereby glorify our parents: that is the end of filial duty. It begins with serving one's parents, finds expression in serving one's princes, and ends in establishing one's own character." The Book of Filial Duty then devotes one chapter each to the proper duties of the Son of Heaven, the princes, the grand officers, the gentry, and the common people. Each fulfils his filial duty by faithfully performing the particular duties appropriate to his particular status in the social order. And he should so perform these duties not because he is a citizen, an official, a prince, or an emperor, but because he is the son of his parents. Thus, for instance, while a eugenist may say that we owe it to our posterity not to drink or otherwise dissipate our energies, the Confucian would tell you that you must not injure your body and vitality because you owe them to your parents.

The Confucians have worked out a detailed code as to one's duties towards one's parents from morning to evening, from childhood to death, in poverty as well as in wealth, for better and for worse. In order to disseminate these ideas, numerous stories and legends of pious sons and daughters and daughters-in-law have been recorded or invented to give concrete examples of filial piety. Pious sons and daughters have been honored by the various dynasties and are given a separate section in the national biographies.

The doctrine of filial piety has greatly influenced many of the social and political institutions of the nation. One of the most interesting examples is the custom of retrogressive honors, which consists of conferring titular honors on the parents, living or dead, of all high officials. Such honors at times go as far as five generations back of the present recipient. Even Buddhism, which

renounces all family relations, has not escaped the influence of this doctrine. Says a Chinese proverb: "When a son becomes a Buddha, the whole family goes to Heaven." Similarly, the sins of the dead are said to be expiated by the good deeds of their living children. Thus the Buddhistic doctrine of Karma becomes a principle of collective responsibility. Similarly, when a man becomes wealthy or attains high official honors, he is expected not only to support his own parents,—which goes without saying, —but also to give support to a host of cousins, uncles and other near and remote relatives.

In short, in this system, a man is not a man, but a son of his parents. Whatever he does, he does as a son. If he disgraces himself, he thereby disgraces his parents. If he achieves anything, the credit goes back five generations. If he marries, he does not marry his wife, but his parents' daughter-in-law. If he has a son, he is having a male descendant to continue his ancestral line. And if he has no son, he must either adopt a son of his brother or cousin, or marry a second wife. And this is no question of personal morality, but a matter of family responsibility. For, said Mencius, "there are three sins against filial piety, and the greatest of all is not to have posterity."

III

This phase of Confucianism has continued to dominate and mould Chinese life and thought and institution for more than 2,000 years. But the Chinese mind at last grew tired of it, and a new line of development was inaugurated when the philosophers of the Sung dynasty (960-1276 A.D.) discovered a little work of the Confucian school entitled "The Great Learning." This is a short treatise of about 1,750 words, of unknown authorship, which for over a thousand years had remained one of the forty odd books collected under the title of Li Ki or The Book of Rites. This long-neglected book was suddenly discovered by the Sung philosophers, who finally exalted it to the enviable position of one of the Four Books of Confucianism. And this little treatise of 1,750 words has for the last 900 years been the Novum Organum of Confucianism or, more correctly speaking, of Neo-Confucianism, not

necessarily because of its intrinsic merits, but because of what has been read into it.

The main thesis of this book, which forms the essence of Neo-Confucianism, is this:

When things are thoroughly investigated, knowledge will be extended to the utmost. When knowledge is extended to the utmost, our ideas will be made true. When our ideas are made true, our minds will be rectified. When our minds are rectified, our individual character will be improved. When our individual character is improved, our family will be well ordered. When our families are well ordered, the State will be well governed. When the States are well governed, the whole world will be in peace.

The whole doctrine is summed up in this sentence: "From the Son of Heaven to the common people, all must make the perfection of the individual the foundation of everything else."

This, you will notice, is also a kind of relationalism. But it differs from the other school in that, instead of making filial piety the beginning and the end of all human conduct, it makes the individual the centre of all activity and all relations. All extension of knowledge and all rectification of purpose are for the perfection of the individual. And from the individual there radiate his duties and relations to the family, the State and the world at large. The individual is a concrete centre of activity and is no longer merely a son of his parents. It differs from the extreme views of individualism in that it conceives of the individual not as an isolated being, but in active relationship to the family, to society, to the State, and to humanity in general. The perfection of individual character is not regarded as an end in itself, but as the necessary preliminary preparation for his larger duties and endeavors.

This phase of Confucianism has ever since the eleventh century been the dominating system of moral teaching in China. While it has never consciously come into open conflict with the family collectivism of the other and older school, it has undoubtedly enriched the Confucian ethics to a greater extent than it is generally recognized. This shifting of emphasis from family collectivism to individual perfection becomes more unmistakable

when we study the new Neo-Confucianism of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643), which is commonly known as the school of Wang Yang-Ming (1472-1529). This new school went much further than the Sung philosophers in its emphasis on the individual. It holds that the individual has within himself the "intuitive knowledge" which is co-extensive with the cosmic reason and which constitutes the highest authority for himself in questions of truth and morality. While we cannot now enter into the details of the teachings of this new school, it suffices to say that both the Sung and Ming schools of Confucians represented the different stages of a continuous development of Confucianism from the traditional family collectivism to a conscious recognition of the place and worth of the individual.

IV

Confucianism has had the greatest influence in moulding the thought and life and institutions of the Chinese nation. Many there are who believe that Confucianism has been responsible for much of the social and political evils in China and has retarded the progress of the nation by its absolute domination over the other and non-Confucian schools of thought. And it is the belief of many thoughtful persons in China that the Confucian system of ethics is incompatible with modern ideas and ideals such as the principles of individual liberty and democratic

government. It is for that reason that the recent attempts constitutionally to establish Confucianism as the state religion of China have met with tremendous opposition and have failed in spite of the great support they have received from the conservatives and the reactionary monarchists.

It seems certain that in these days of intellectual emancipation it is very unlikely that Confucianism

will ever recover its former absolute authority over the Chinese mind. And if Confucianism cannot hope to survive without the help of a constitutional establishment, then it has certainly outlived its vitality and deserves its dethronement and even condemnation. And as far as the present writer can see, if Confucianism is to survive at all, its future will largely depend on its ability to liberate itself from the traditional family collectivism and so to re-interpret its relational ethics as more fully to develop its essential doctrine that all education should contribute toward the perfection of individual conduct and character, and that the improvement of individual character is the indispensable preliminary preparation for the realization of the larger self in active participation in the ordering of the family, the community, the State and humanity at large.

(席云舒整理)

胡适与《丹诺自传》

张书克

一

中学时曾经读过一本《台港散文选真》(喻大翔编, 武汉出版社 1989 年版), 其中收有陈之藩的一篇散文《丹诺自传——纪念适之先生之六》。这大概是我第一次接触陈之藩的文章、同时大概也是我第一次知道世界上有“适之先生”其人。陈文说: 1957 年夏天, 陈之藩在纽约, 忽然收到

一本书, 是胡适先生寄来的, 扉页上写着:

一位最可敬爱的美国人自传

送给之藩胡适一九五七年, 七廿。(今年五月一日, 芝加哥全市纪念此君的一百岁)

陈之藩不知道丹诺究竟是何许人也。他拿起书来就看, 一下子被吸引了。从此他认识了丹诺, 经常搜购与这位大律师有关的书籍, 并且经常和

胡适聊聊丹诺。按照陈之藩的说法，胡适言语硬而心肠软，很像丹诺。他还说，胡适喜欢丹诺那颗仁慈、热烈的心，喜欢丹诺那支火辣、有才华的笔。丹诺的人道主义、废止死刑论以及无神论，都很合胡适的胃口。不过，让陈之藩感到奇怪的是，胡适从来没有向国人介绍过丹诺其人。陈之藩还认为，有两个人（丹诺与曼钦。曼钦不知道是何许人，似为美国作家、新闻记者 H. L. Mencken?）对胡适的思想影响很大。

陈之藩这篇文章，给我留下了深刻的印象。

后来读书渐多，读了陈之藩的文集，知道此文出自《在春风里》，写于 1962 年 3 月 8 日，胡适去世后不久，是纪念胡适系列中的一篇。一个疑问也一直在我心头：胡适读过丹诺的自传？并且敬服丹诺其人？我怎么在胡适的传记、年谱、日记、藏书中没有发现丹诺的蛛丝马迹呢？

二

其实，蛛丝马迹一直在那里。只是我没有发现罢了。

翻阅《胡适藏书目录》，一个人吸引了我的注意力。此人的著作，胡适竟收藏有六本之多。此人名叫 Clarence Darrow。胡适的藏书中另外还有著名传记作家欧文·斯通为该人撰写的一本传记（*Clarence Darrow for the Defense*, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1941.此书有中译本）。上网搜索一番，最终确认，原来此人就是美国大律师丹诺（1857-1938）。

把胡适藏丹诺的六本著作列在下面，我们就可以看出这位律师是多么的多才多艺、兴趣广泛了：

Are We Machines? Is Life Mechanical or Is It "Something Else"?（此系丹诺与胡适哥伦比亚大学时期的同学、哲学史大家 Will Durant 围绕论题展开的辩论，Girard: Haldeman-Julius Company, 无出版日期）；

Debate On Prohibition（此系丹诺与 John Haynes Holmes 牧师围绕论题展开的辩论，Girard:

Haldeman-Julius Company, 1924）；

Facing Life Fearlessly: The Pessimistic Versus the Optimistic View of Life（Girard: Haldeman-Julius Company, 无出版日期）；

Insects and Men: Instinct and Reason（Girard: Haldeman-Julius Company, 无出版日期）；

Realism in Literature and Art（收入丹诺文艺评论类文章四篇，Girard: Haldeman-Julius Company, 无出版日期）；

Farmington（New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932）。

其中前五本书都属于“Little Blue Book”系列，现藏北京大学图书馆；第六本是小说，现藏台北胡适纪念馆。五本“小蓝书”中，有两本是丹诺与别人辩论的记录（丹诺在自传中承认，自己有人与人辩论的习惯）。

三

在胡适日记中，同样有丹诺的资料。

1939 年 3 月 25 日，胡适阅读了丹诺的自传 *The Story of My Life*，对于其中叙述作者无神论的部分（第 42-44 章）极为注意，颇为赞许。胡适认为丹诺是律师出身，其文字最为“精警痛快”。读完之后，胡适写信给孟治（1900-1990，毕业于清华学校，当时担任华美协进社【China Institute in America】社长），托他买一本此书。胡适并且在日记中抄录了丹诺自传中第 383 页中的一段话。（参见《胡适日记全集》第七册，第 638-639 页。）两个月后，胡适见到曾经长期在中国传教的 Roots 主教，大概是感到这位老熟人的有神论有点讨厌，胡适还向他推荐丹诺自传，希望 Roots 主教读读第 42 至 44 章。（参见《胡适日记全集》第七册，第 655 页。）

陈之藩的说法很有道理，胡适颇为欣赏丹诺的无神论思想。除此之外，胡适与丹诺还有很多相同之处。比如丹诺在自传中说，自己不愿意去做自己不喜欢的东西，尤其不喜欢升官发财；对

于自己喜欢做的事情，则不计成本、不顾利害，不以为苦、乐在其中。这一点和胡适很相似。我想，这也正是两人成功的人生秘诀。另外，两人在思想观念上也有许多共同之处，比如，都反对“天赋人权”说，主张人类的努力与奋斗；都有一种怀疑的精神，都主张真理需要经过实践的检验；都认可易卜生“多数人的意见总是错的”的说法。

胡适托孟治买丹诺自传，不知道孟治买到了没有。想来是买到了。只是胡适现存藏书中并没有这本书。很可能胡适把它送人了。（前文提到的欧文·斯通著丹诺传，就是孟治于 1941 年 12 月 17 日作为生日礼物送给胡适的，扉页上有孟治的题赠：“适之先生读玩晚治于三十年十二月十七”。由此可见，孟治知道胡适欣赏丹诺）

四

一次偶然翻阅董桥《英华沉浮录》第二集（海豚出版社 2014 年版），发现一段关于丹诺的文字

很有意思，复述一下，作为本文的结尾。董桥先生说，Kenneth Davis 写丹诺的一段文字提到：这位大律师出庭，只要法庭准许，总会在控方慷慨陈词时点燃一支雪茄，抽两口，一边听控方的意见一边让雪茄的烟灰越烧越长，却不去弹掉。于是，陪审团成员的注意力都被雪茄吸引了，个个屏息盯着烟灰，想知道烟灰究竟什么时候掉下来，控方的发言也就成了耳旁风，谁也没心思去听了。这个画面很有意思：一边是慷慨陈词的控方检察官，一边是辩方律师手中的雪茄烟，一边是聚精会神瞪着雪茄烟的陪审团成员。动中有静，而在静中，大家都在等着一个悬念的落地（烟灰的自由落体运动）。董桥说，丹诺精心制造了两种境界：“静”与“悬”。“以静制动，以悬了断”。（《英华沉浮录》第二集，第 2-3 页）这位辩护大师就是这样打赢许多官司的。丹诺当然不会在自传中透露这一独门秘籍。

（作者系上海社会科学院博士生）

李白凤的《致胡适》诗

张书克

一次查阅民国时期的期刊（电子版），发现一首白话诗《致胡适》，感觉有点儿意思。全诗如下：

致胡适

像
黎明星
撕破
黑夜的
雾幕
你

第一个
吹号角的人
曾为我们
吹这
起床号——

猫一样的柔顺呢！
你，诗人
成为案头的
盆景了

你，像海涛
失去了潮汐
失去了固有的
青春么？

不该为着
冷猪肉
就去做真的
“圣人”罢？
不该为着
走进
“大成殿”
就变相的
提倡
尊君父……

革命的
“五四”时代的
神枪手
我将为你
招魂

这首诗刊登在《新诗歌》月刊创刊号（1947 年 2 月 15 日出版）上。诗的意思很普通。20 世纪 40 年，很多左派青年对胡适感到失望，认为他已经远远落后于时代潮流，已经失去了五四时期的光芒，已经成了统治阶级的代言人。这首诗就是这个意思。

不过，和一般的谩骂文章、宣传品毕竟不同，这首诗（尤其是前面两节）还保留了一定的诗意，语句也清楚明白、流畅婉转。我特别注意了一下作者的名字：李白凤，一个很陌生的名字。上网一查，查到一些信息：生卒年为：1914 年 3 月 14 日至 1978 年 8 月 18 日，原名李爱贤，笔名有鹑衣小吏等。祖籍北京，生于四川，定居开封。多才多艺，写过新诗、旧体诗词、小说。善书法、篆刻。有学术著作《东夷杂考》等。2014 年，其

文学作品分为三卷（新诗集、小说集、旧体诗词）由河南大学出版社出版。

此后我特别留意李白凤的资料。吴奔星有一篇《不遇——忆诗人李白凤》，写于 1980 年，我最为欣赏。吴文使我们认识了一个很有才华、很有个性的文学青年。吴奔星说，1944 年闻一多编《现代诗钞》，收录李白凤新诗两首（《小楼》和《梦》）；司马长风写《中国新文学史》，说李白凤的诗“清新脱俗，有何其芳的委婉，戴望舒的冷艳”，评价还是很高的。吴文中并且引了李白凤的代表作《小楼》以及《不遇》第一节。我极为喜欢《不遇》的第一节：

小巷的月色是聪明的，
当我扣第一声门时，
她告诉我：
友人出去了。

短短四句诗，果然清新不俗，很有意境，说明作者的确颇有才华。吴奔星并且认为诗题《不遇》象征了诗人的命运，因此借用诗题，作为自己文章的题目。所谓“不遇”，大概是所有才华过高的人共同的命运吧？不独李白凤如此。

回到《致胡适》一诗。这首诗分两页刊登。我先看到了第一页上的前两节，不由眼睛一亮，惊为好诗。过后不久，又看到了第二页上的后两节，不免有点扫兴：就诗意来说，第三、四节可谓狗尾，只能算是抽象的议论，算不得诗，更不要说其见解的平庸与错谬。《世说新语》中说，顾虎头吃甘蔗，由尾节吃起，最后吃根部，说是可以“渐至佳境”，越吃越甜；我读李白凤此诗，感觉恰恰相反。其实李白凤一生的创作，有点像这首《致胡适》：起点很高，一出手就不凡，后来的创作却未免像甘蔗的末梢。从个人角度来说，叫做“不遇”；从时代角度而言，可谓之悲剧。

李白凤诗中感慨胡适早年进步、后来没落。现在看来，其实也未必。我倒觉得胡适的一生有点顾虎头吃甘蔗的意思，越到后来越有味道。

民族复兴是复兴什么，怎样复兴？

——在北京师范大学举办的“近代文化与近代中国”

国际学术研讨会开幕式上的发言（2015，10，23）

联云志

一、民族复兴是复兴什么？

民族复兴这个口号喊了一百多年了（从搞洋务运动起，人们就是在民族复兴的大目标下，努力探索，努力奋斗。他们当时自己是叫做“自强”，“自强”就是复兴嘛！），但至今还未能实现。就我所看到的文献而言，这一百多年中，还没有人彻底思考并清晰的论述过，我们要复兴的，到底是什么。有几位前辈思想家曾批评国人思想上一个大毛病就是笼统，不求甚解，不愿具体地去研究具体的问题，不愿对具体的问题做具体的分析，嫌麻烦。什么事，什么问题，笼统一说，甚至只概括一句口号，就心满意足，就以为问题已经解决了。

促使我思考这个问题的直接原因是，大约三四年前，有某个国家机关的某位工作人员发表一个谈话。他说，我们中国民族复兴的大业已完成了百分之六十二。此言一出，舆论大哗。谁都不知道，从什么时候起，我们民族复兴的大业也进入量化管理了。大概这个官员是把一些经济数字，和社会若干指数看作可以用来评估民族复兴进展程度的标准。也不排斥有人径直把 GDP 当作民族复兴的指标。例如，认为如果我们的 GDP 总值超过美国，成世界第一大经济体，我们就复兴了；甚或有人以为，我们的军事力量成了世界老大，我们就复兴了。

我认为此类想法和说法是不对的。

那么，民族复兴到底是复兴甚么呢？

我个人认为，民族复兴最基本的是，民族精神的复兴。我们要复兴什么样的民族精神呢？我认为基本的是两个方面：一个是进取的，竞争的

精神，我们古人说的“自强不息”的精神意思与此类似。另一个是创造的精神，或者说是创新的精神。当然，创新的精神，也是自强不息。有了这两种精神，就能立于不败之地。

值得思考的是，我们民族那么早就在提倡自强不息，两千多年了，何以我们跟人家比，反倒是落后了呢？何以每次都是强了一下，很快又“弱”了。大秦帝国，强了十几年就不行了；以后，西汉、东汉、唐、宋、元、明、清，都是强了一阵子，少则十几年，几十年，多则不过百余年，然后就不行了，就衰落了。这是什么道理呢？

前些年，许多哲学大家一再宣称，我们中华民族的精神就是自强不息的精神。但他们却不去分析，为什么这种精神总是不能贯彻，总是半途而废？大概他们也以为，提出一个响亮的口号，就等于解决问题了。

思想是因问题而起，所以思想必须提出问题和分析问题，不提出问题，不分析问题的思想，是没有价值的思想。

我认为自强不息的民族精神之所以不能贯彻，有两个原因：一个是从国家外部环境，没有竞争的对象；周围没有发展程度更高的民族。所以，国家安定一阵子，稍一强大，物阜民丰，太平盛世就来临。于是统治者腐败，世风偷惰，随之就走向衰落。另一个原因是国家内部没有足以发挥个人创造精神的制度机制。相反，却有种种制度、体制以及习俗上的限制，使人们被束缚起来，以致限制甚至泯灭了个人的独立性和创造精神。如此，也就更谈不上自强不息了。

令人奇怪的是，那些并没有害到我们老祖宗

自强不息这种灵气的西方国家，近代以来几百年，倒真的做到了自强不息。例如英国，我们常常以为大英帝国早已衰落了，算不上什么强国了。其实，并非如此。英国的工业指数、科技指数始终名列前茅。人们说他衰落，很可能只是看到它的殖民地纷纷独立了，它直接统治的地盘越来越小了。我个人认为，这不是说明它的衰落，恰好是它的进步。人们根据这一方面说英国衰落，恰恰说明他们是用霸权主义观点来判断强弱。这完全是错误的。其他，法国、德国、美国就不用一一去说了。那么，什么原因，使这些西方强国经久不衰呢？我个人认为，其原因就是我上面所说的：一，外部条件，列国林立，互相竞争，大家都想进取，不肯落后。二，这些国家经历文艺复兴、宗教改革，带来政治改革，内部的创新动力被释放出来。而且他们用一种稳定的制度机制来保证人们的创造力得以发挥。

我想，古人所说的这种自强不息的精神，在中国，先秦时代曾经在全民族中持续地存在过。那时，各诸侯国竞争得非常厉害。各国内部，也是激励人们奋发向上。那个时候，各种人才辈出，而且人格独立，个性鲜明。比如，夫差、勾践；就是为报仇、复国，其他均不考虑，忍常人不能忍之辱，负常人不能负之重。结果达到了目的。又如介子推，以死明志；又如苏秦、张仪，即以强辩的口才吸引诸侯，以施展其志。他们个个独立，个性鲜明，人格完整，始终其志。让人敬佩。

后来，到了大一统的集权专制的时代，这种人物就难得一见了。就是被人们崇拜的不得了的人物，我们看去，也谈不上是人格独立，个性鲜明，可以始终其志。如诸葛亮，以诸葛亮之才，不能安邦定国，是无天理。然而，他却不是以自己之才，顺应时代潮流，偏偏去辅佐一个狭隘、虚伪、窝囊的刘备，仅仅因为他是汉室之后。又如岳飞，本是满怀忠义，杀敌报国，所向披靡。当胜利在望之时，却为了尽忠于皇上，而撤兵回朝去接受死刑审判。这些都是有典型意义的，从

中可以悟出很深刻的道理。

所以，我认为，我们讲民族复兴，主要是复兴一种不屈不挠的进取心、上进心和持续不断的充满活力的创造精神。

二、怎样做到民族复兴

既然要复兴的，是竞争的，进取的，和富于创造的精神；那么怎样才能复兴的问题就比较清楚了。思想史一再证明，要能正确地提出问题，那解决问题的答案也就蕴含其中了。

怎样才能提升竞争的，进取的精神呢？

竞争须有竞争的对象在，进取需要有比较和参照。以国家民族而论，就是必须置身于各国各民族互相竞争的大潮流之中。

前面我讲，在我国先秦时代是列国竞争的时代，大家切不可误解，以为我主张回复到古代各诸侯国并列的时代。这是根本不可能，也是根本不需要的。我们已经处在列国并立的时代。如今已有 200 多个国家，并列于世界之上，早已是列国竞争的局面。清末时期，已有先觉者认识到这一点。可惜，后来的中国人因政治的需要，重又把自己封闭起来。直到近几十年才比较清楚地认识到世界化的趋势，才提出开放的政策方针，才提出面向世界的口号。

所以，我说，民族复兴第一要做的，就是确立世界化的观念，毫不动摇地坚持开放的方针路线，学习一切于我们有益东西，同时把我们自己的好东西贡献于世界。

怎样造成每个个人都有机会充分发挥自己的创造精神和创造力的条件呢？

那就要把人们的创造精神和创造力从不利于发挥的制度、习俗中解放出来。首先要明确地承认个人独立的地位，不能像从前那样把个人仅仅看成是一个单位的成员，一个附着于某个整体的附属物。要承认每个个人各有其个性，只要不损害别人，不损害集体，应承认每个个人都有发挥其个性的权力。

我把上述的两个方面概括为世界化与个性主义两个概念。并且指出，这两个概念，是近代思想的核心概念，是达到民族复兴的两个最基本的条件。

三、两个核心概念的提出

最早是上个世纪的八十年代，我在上海第一次中国文化问题的国际研讨会上提出报告，题目是《今日的中西文化问题》，在这个报告里，我第一次提出了近代思想的两个核心观念，也就是中国实现现代化，或者说，中国民族复兴的两个基本条件。到九十年代，1994 年，我为北京大学一位年轻学者的书写序言，就更加清楚地提出世界化与个性主义，是现代化发展的两个基本趋向。这篇序言被历史研究杂志要去发表了。从那时以后，我在多篇文章里反复申说这个基本思想。

我的这一看法，与我对于近代中国历史的基本趋向以及现代化的本质内涵的看法有关。我以为，近代中国的基本趋向是现代化。近代中国的改革也好，革命也好，文化建设也好，社会改良也好，思想变革也好，其目标都在实现国家与社会的现代化。现代化本身的界定是一个长期有争论的问题。我倾向于不把现代化看成是某种固定的可以具体加以描述的标准，而最好把它如实地描述为一种发展的趋向和发展的过程。现代化主要是两个相互紧密联系的发展过程，发展趋向。从外部关系上说，它是个世界化的过程，从内部关系上说，它是个个性化（即个人价值——自主权利及其创造精神——逐步充分实现）的过程。我以为，对于后发展国家，这两个趋向尤为明显。如此观察，可以比较更深刻地，更准确地把握现代化的实质

既然把世界化和个性主义看成是现代发展的两个基本趋向，既然把这两者看成是我们民族复兴的两个基本条件。我们就有必要对这两个方面做深一步的考察和研究。

四、关于世界化与个性主义的历史与意义阐释

（一）先谈世界化

人类历史并非一开始就是世界史，世界发展到近代资本主义阶段，伴随着近代世界市场的形成和逐步拓展，从而才有所谓世界史。被卷入世界市场的各个国家由物资交流，人员往来，进而发生文化的交流。这一过程，也就是世界各国打破闭关自守状态，与其他各国发生日渐紧密的联系，逐步融入世界的过程。这一过程就是世界化。对于中国来说，世界化的过程起初是被迫的。经历很长一段时间，中国的知识精英才逐渐意识到，世界化是一个不可逆转的趋势，中国再不可能回到闭关状态，必须学会与世界各国相处。

从前，中国人没有列国并立，平等贸易、平等往来这个观念。周边民族来朝贡，就给予赏赐，视为属国。不来朝贡，犯境而来，就是边患，派兵驱剿。所以那时，对所谓外国，只有“剿”与“抚”的问题。不存在平等交往的问题，甚至也不存在互利贸易的问题。你给我的东西是“朝贡”，我给你的东西是“赏赐”。正因如此，所以，最早英国派使臣来中国要求开展互利贸易的时候，乾隆皇帝回答说，我们天朝不需要同你们展开贸易，天朝物质丰富，无需外国的东西，我们卖给你们茶叶、大黄等等东西是怜惜你们。没有这些东西，你们将无以为活。这些话非常典型地表示出中国人对世界问题的心态。

中国的世界化过程，应该说，在鸦片战争后即已开始，但国人对世界化进程有所认识，并形成世界化意识，则经历一段较长的过程。鸦片战争前后的一段时间，思想界的主流意识是排拒西方文化。在对外关系上，朝野的主流意识是坚守天朝体制，不肯放下天朝的架子；仍然没有平等地相互交往的意识。你不如我强大，肯尊重天朝，我就赏赐你，并且保护你；你比我强大，我打不过你，就土地、玉帛给你，讨个暂时相安无事。对于伴随侵略而来的西学，主流知识界亦缺乏兴趣。故鸦片战后近二十年中，几无丝毫应对变局

的变革举措。魏源的,《海国图志》看到了世界的存在,却没有引领一代精英着手去应对世界化的挑战。据说,此书在日本,却起到了这种作用。这颇有讽刺意味。直到第二次鸦片战争后,朝野有识之士才有了“大变局”的观念,自强运动因此而起。

当时(1862年)李鸿章亲自去上海了解洋人的器械,并写信给曾国藩,表示,若仍不能了解西方的这些东西,就太说不过去了。从此,对于西方在军事、工业方面的优势有了认识,开始学习。国人这种初步世界化的意识,经历戊戌变法到辛亥前后的十几年中,进一步得到加强。维新运动的领袖康有为正是看到了世界化的大趋势,所以极力主张变法以应世局。他劝告光绪皇帝,今之世非一统垂裳之时,当以列国并立之势治国,要积极向西方学习,变法图强。辛亥革命运动中,孙中山,奔走西方各国,一是寻求救国的真理,一是寻求各国援助中国革命。在他心目中,中国革命与中国未来的命运都是与世界紧紧联系在一起的。辛亥革命后,梁启超在《中国立国大方针》中提出要建立“世界的国家”,此一概念虽有浓厚的国家主义的气息,但其主张中国立国当具世界意识则是很明确的。

五四新文化运动前后,中国人的世界化意识达到了新的高度。陈独秀1915年发表在《青年杂志》创刊号上的《敬告青年》一文,可以说是五四一代学人世界化意识的典型文章。该文通篇都洋溢着世界化的精神。而其宣示杂志六大宗旨之第四项,则专门阐发“世界的而非锁国”的重大意义。他说,今日世界,“万邦并立,动辄相关”,于此而“言锁国闭关之策,匪独力所不能,亦且势所不利。……各国之制度文物,形式虽不必尽同,但不思驱其国于危亡者,其遵循共同原则之精神,渐趋一致。潮流所及,莫之能违。于此而执特别历史国情之说,以冀抗此潮流,是犹锁国之精神,而无世界之知识。国民而无世界知识,其国将何以图存于世界之中?”其他许多新文化

人如胡适等人,对此世界化都有清晰的自觉意识。

他们的世界化观念,得到青年们的热烈响应。当时许多青年办的杂志,都有相当明确地表达世界化观念的文章。当时在北大读书的张謇年写信给《新青年》的编者说:“居今讲学,宜以能与世界学者共论一堂为期。苟不知人之造诣,何由与人共论?今之世界所谓大通之世,处斯时世,倘欲有所树立,必应受世界教育,得世界知识,有世界眼光,具世界怀抱,并令身亲种种世界事业。”这已是很清晰的世界化的观念。傅斯年所写的《〈新潮〉发刊旨趣书》明确提出:“同人等以为国人所宜最先知者有四事:第一,今日世界文化至于若何阶级?第二,现代思潮本何趣向而行?第三,中国情状去现代思潮辽阔之度如何?第四,以何方术纳中国于思潮之轨!持此四者刻刻在心,然后可云对于本国学术之地位有自觉心,然后可以渐渐导引此‘块然独存’之中国同浴于世界文化之流也。”坚认中国应“同浴于世界文化之流”,这是当时被唤醒的一代青年们很可宝贵的觉悟。

这时期能有如此明晰的世界化观念,是同中国第一次比较主动地参与世界事务有关。1914年欧洲大战爆发,1917年,中国宣布加入协约国对德国宣战。中国虽然没有派正规军直接与德国作战,但中国先后派遣二十万民工到欧洲从事各种战事服务,可以说对战争取得胜利做出了自己的贡献。正因有这一主动参战的事实,当战争结束,巴黎和会做出损害中国主权的决定时,才有五四运动的爆发,才有拒签巴黎和约的举动。此事对于中国意义非凡。从前都是列强做出安排强制中国接受。这次中国拒绝接受,创造了一个记录,也可以说,中国参与世界化进程,此时到了一个转折点。从前只有消极接受的份儿,现在可以说“不”,可以拒绝接受。1901年定辛丑条约时,与此对比,最为明显。

当时,八国联军攻进北京,慈禧与光绪仓皇逃走西安。后来外国说可以谈判解决问题。朝廷,也就是西太后要李鸿章去与洋人谈。李鸿章心里

没底，不敢出面。迟疑了好久，才从广州北上。我推测，他是得到了一定的指示或至少是暗示，知道了朝廷谈判的底线，才肯出面任此艰巨。外国谈判首要条件，第一条是惩办祸首。祸首是谁呢？就是西太后啊！所以朝廷谈判的底线就是无论如何要保住西太后，要保住朝廷颜面，其他条件都可以答应。结果，辛丑条约谈判非常顺利。惩办了几个二三流的祸首，赔偿四亿五千万两白银，39 年还清，加上利息共九亿两。中国谈判代表一一答应。后来有一位美国曾参与谈判的官员私下里对中国官员说，列国提出的赔偿数字，你们为什么不反提对案，讨价还价啊？可见中国办外交的人这时仍然没有现代外交知识和经验。对强者，只有低首诺诺，不敢讨价还价。到五四时期，才有了新变化。

五四运动以后，尽管继续发生过许多曲折、反复，发生过相关的论争，但中国人越来越参与到世界化的潮流之中，越来越加深对世界化的认识这个大趋势是不曾改变的。

世界化意识对近代中国的文化转型具有特别重要的意义。俗语说，当局者迷。我们生长在本民族文化的氛围中，不容易看清这个文化的全部真相。只有能够多少超脱本土文化的局限，对世界文化有所了解，具备世界化眼光，才有可能对本土文化有更清楚的认识。中国古代学者之所以不能摆脱孔孟的窠臼，不能对古代文化做出批判性的总结，除了其他原因之外，他们缺乏世界文化的知识，没有比较和参照的材料，没有世界化的眼光，是一个重要的原因。民族文化自信决不是靠关起门来自吹自擂能够培养起来的。只有在参与整个世界规模的文化交流与竞争，经历考验，弃旧添新，长足进步，为人类多做贡献，这才是加强民族自信的可靠途径。我们应当相信，在这种世界规模的文化交流与竞争当中，凡是我们的民族确有的长处，决不会丧失，只会发扬光大；而那些一经与异域文化接触就如泥菩萨过河一样的东西，断然不是民族文化中值得珍惜的东西。

我们所失掉的，只会是那些往古时代遗留下来的各种赘疣，而我们所得到的，将是更加旺盛的民族生命力。没有这样的眼光和胸怀，那只有退回到闭关自守的时代去，根本不配生存于现代世界。

上世纪三十年代，有一场关于所谓中国本位文化的争论。近代以来一切保守主义者，折中主义者，都担心向西方学习的结果会丧失中国文化的根本，胡适回答他们说，中国文化的根本，或所谓中国文化的本位，不是别的，就是那无数无数的人民，这个本位，这个文化的根本，是无论如何都不会丧失掉的。

正因为胡适有这样极其深厚的民族自信心，所以他不向西方学习。他给自己定下一条原则：在国内只讲自己文化的缺点；在国外，在只讲中国文化的好处。这是何等境界！

昔日的保守派、折中派，今日的所谓左派们，批判胡适所谓的“全盘西化论”。说实在的，他们真的没有资格批评胡适。因为他们对自己民族文化毫无信心。他们战战兢兢，担心中国文化与西方文化一接触，就会灰飞烟灭。这种人有什么资格谈论传统文化的优越？

我想特别说明一下，我所说的世界化，同当下流行的所谓“全球化”，意义是不同的。全球化是跨国垄断集团为谋求利益最大化而拼力将自己的产品、品牌、资本及其经营方式扩展到全球。这是他们把已成的模式强行普及世界。我所说的世界化，既不是把某个国家、地区或跨国集团的某种已成的模式推及全世界，也不是把世界各国的东西杂汇到一起形成某种超乎各国的东西。而是世界各国在平等相处，自由往来的基础上，各自选择吸收自己所需要的东西；同时把自己的优秀的东西贡献给世界；如此形成一种对世界各国各民族有益无损的，良性互动的发展过程。

关于世界化，就先谈到这里

（二）再谈个性主义

我把个性主义看作现代化的本质特征之一，

所以也就把个性主义看做是我们民族复兴的基本条件之一。考察一下世界各主要民族文化发展的历史轨迹,我们可以发现,凡一个文化能明确肯定人的价值,张扬人的个性,其社会就有生气。因为个人是人类社会的基本单位,只有个人的价值得到肯定,个性能够得到发扬,个人创造能力才能得到发挥,社会才有生气,文化方有可观。反之,一个社会若蔑视个人,否定个人的价值,压抑个人的个性,个人的才能就难以发挥,社会必无生气,文化必黯然无起色。中国古代文化最灿烂的时期是春秋战国时期,我们可以看到活跃在那个时代的重要人物,大都有鲜明的个性。五四时期中国文化的繁荣,也得益于那时的思想精英对于个性主义的倡导。改革开放以来,中国之所以能较快发展,根本原因是中国的改革逐步朝着解放人的方向走,使人的聪明才智能够有所发挥。近代欧洲的发展,起点就是文艺复兴对于人的解放。现代文化的基本特性根源于“个人”的解放,“个性”的张扬。

个性主义,本质上与西方的个人主义是同一的东西,只不过由于两千多年来,中国人久处专制主义桎梏之下,人们对个人主义一直存有根深蒂固的恐惧和敌视。个人主义似乎就是个人中心主义、“自私自利”的代名词,一旦提倡个人主义,人们就必然“为所欲为”,乃至“人欲横流”。在新文化运动时期,在那个中国近代史上最提倡个性解放的年代,人们也还尽量避免直用“个人主义”这个词,而经常说的是“个性主义”或“个性解放”。如果说“个人主义”,也要加上形容词,称为“健全的个人主义”。我用个性主义的概念,而不用个人主义的概念,也出于类似的考虑。

其实,西方的个人主义只是强调个人自由权利的保障、个性的发扬、个人创造精神的发挥。与自私自利、罔顾社会利益,毫无联系。任何一个主张伸张个人自由的思想家,他们所强调的正是社会的利益。他们相信,若不允许“个人”得到健康的发展,不使各个人有创造的机会,这个

社会就不可能进步,就可能停滞、枯萎。弥尔说:“凡在不以本人自己的性格,却以他人的传习或习俗为行为准则的地方,那里就会缺少人类幸福的主要因素之一,而所缺少的这个因素同时也是个人进步和社会进步中一个颇为主要的因素。”中国新文化运动时期,陈独秀从《青年杂志》创刊起,就不断地,鲜明地提倡个性主义。他在《敬告青年》所谈六大宗旨中,第一点就提出“自主的而非奴隶的”,要求青年务必“完其自主自由之人格”。被视为最用力提倡“个性解放”的胡适,他恰恰提倡“非个人主义的新生活”,他反对放纵的自由,也反对独善主义,强调“个人——小我”,应当对“社会——大我”负责任。他强调发展个人的个性和才能,以便真正的有益于社会。他把这叫做“健全的个人主义”。胡适解释个性主义有两个最基本的条件:一是个人要有自由意志,二是个人要对自己所言所行负责任。因为你的主张、你的行为是你经过怀疑、思考然后自己做出的选择,是出于你的自由意志,不是他人强加于你的。所以,你必须对自己的言行负责任。中国人因为排斥个性主义,所以总是起哄者多,负责任者少。

有人或许担心,中国人本来就被人称作“一盘散沙”,若提倡个性主义,岂不是更加没有凝聚力了吗?这是绝大的误解。自从有了人类社会,个人从来都不是,也不可能脱离社会而单独生存,总是以一定的形式生活在某种群体中。问题是什么样的群体,在这样的群体中相互关系如何?近代以前的中国人,生活在种种旧式的群体里,如四世同堂乃至五世同堂的大家庭,同居一村一镇的同祠宗族;或因天灾人祸而从原有群体中游离出来的分子组成的会党等等。这些群体都不是建立在个人意志自由的基础上的。家长、族长或会党的头目都不是志愿联合起来的各个成员选举出来的。然而他们却对属下拥有生杀大权,各成员只有听命服从的份儿,绝无自由发表主张的权力。所以它们都算不上是集体或团体,而只是一个整体。所谓整体与集体的区别在于,集体是各个个

人基于自由意志和对共同需要、共同利益的共同关切而结合在一起的。因此他们内部的关系是一种契约的关系，每个人尽到应尽的责任和义务，便可享有他所应有的权力。集体的负责人同样有其应尽的责任和义务，他们的权力是被规定的，不可超越规定的范围。所以，他们对各个成员没有随意处置的权力。集体的任何成员，依据个人意愿在履行契约规定的条件下，可以自由出入。整体则是从一个大的整体或先在的整体中派生出来的（如家庭、宗族，以及旧时国家各层级的机构便是），或是由地域观念衍生出来的（如同乡会便是），或是由于偶然的原因凑合在一起的（如会党便是）。整体中的成员，没有自由意志，也没有确定的责任观念与权利观念，他们对头领必须绝对服从，而头领对属下成员则拥有绝对权力。整体的成员不可以自由出入，入则须宣示效忠，出则视为叛逆。中国人长期生存于这类整体中，一旦他们离开原来隶属的整体，就不善于应对社会上的种种问题，不善于与他人相处。所谓“散沙”，就是这样形成的。中国人并非在任何情况下都是“散沙”。在他们所隶属的整体里，只要其头领有威望，作为一个整体，它们是有相当的凝聚力和相当的对抗力的。

但近代社会转型期，由于经济生活方式的变化，交通的发达，新思想新观念的传播，旧的整体，受到很大的冲击，头领的权威遭到挑战，整体凝聚力大为减弱。所以它作为一种社会结构，已变得脆弱不堪。整体渐渐丧失其保护成员的能力，其成员也不再坚守效忠旧整体及其头领的信念。在这种情况下，游离于社会的“散沙”便越来越多，于是造成中国人是“一盘散沙”的印象。但在这同时，生存方式已有所变化，又接受了新思想、新观念影响的一些人，开始尝试带有社会性的新的结合方式，按行业或纯粹按志趣结合成团体。前者如清末开始有的商会、教育会等，后者则有矢志革命或矢志改革（包括政治改革和其他社会事业的改革）的团体。根据我的研究，从

事和平的政治改革和各项社会事业改革的团体，比较具备较多的近代性，他们不仅因志愿相同而结合，而且内部关系带有契约性质，进出自由，有的还颇能实行民主的议事方式。革命团体因受旧式会党影响较大，加之，在统治集团的剿杀政策之下，其活动多采取秘密方式，所以，其内部关系仍保留一些会党的遗风，没有自由出会的观念，一旦自行出会，往往被视为叛徒。

可见，按照新文化运动所提倡的个性主义的新观念，决不是片面地强调个人主义，而是强调由解放了的个人，做社会的结合，造成真正新社会的根基。从这种基本观念出发，国家是由自由的个人，通过“社会的结合”而建造起来的最大团体。这种结合，不仅表现为通常意义的“社会团体”，也包括地域性的各种层级的自治体。在“社会的结合”而成的团体与自治体的基础上建立起来的国家，自然会是民主的国家。正因如此，所以我一再强调，个人的解放与独立，亦即个性主义是民主的起点，也是民主的落脚点。没有个人的解放与独立，没有个性主义，民主无法落到实处。

近代中国人的世界化意识的产生与发展，虽有些曲折，但还算顺利。然而，个性主义在近代中国，被提出的时间要晚得多。世界化的问题最早被意识到，是在 19 世纪 60 年代初。而个性主义初步被意识到，已经是 20 世纪的初年，晚了四十多年。古代中国，本来有过张扬个性的思想学说。就是杨子“为我”的学说。但自专制主义将孔孟思想定于一尊以后，个性主义就一直处于被压抑，被排斥，被摧残的地位，没有伸张的机会。直到 20 世纪初，梁启超宣传“新民”说，才明白提出自由，自治，自尊，权利思想等等。但其根本目的在以新民构建新国，着眼点还是在国家一面。紧迫的民族危机，使得救亡与图强成为时代思想的主轴，在大多数思想人物的心目中，国群自由重于个人自由，个人自由服从于救亡与图强的追求，是不言自明的道理。如梁启超强调“团体不保其自由，……则个人之自由更何有也？”又说：

“自由云者，团体之自由，非个人之自由也。”严复说得更干脆：“今之所急者，非自由也，而在人人减损其自由而以利国善群为职志。”可以说，戊戌到五四新文化运动之前，中国思想有比较强烈的国家主义倾向，个性主义受到国家主义的压抑。

民国建立后，思想领袖们发现，民主政治未能落实，根本原因就在于个人不能独立，长期专制统治下造成的奴隶主义思想未曾扫除。欲落实民主制度，必先求个体之自由，个性之发挥。因此，他们大力提倡个性主义，个性主义遂成为新文化运动中极具影响力的思想话语。陈独秀即曾指出，“国民政治”能否实现，根本在“多数国民能否对于政治，自觉其居于主人的主动的地位”。国民若自觉居于主人主动的地位，必须扫除奴隶思想，树立自主人格。他把个人独立，独立自主视为“吾人最后之觉悟”。对于盛行一时的国群自由高于个人自由的观念，胡适针锋相对地告诉青年：“现在有人对你们说，‘牺牲你们个人的自由，去求国家的自由！’我对你们说：‘争你们个人的自由，便是为国家争自由！争你们自己的人格，便是为国家争人格！自由平等的国家不是一群奴才建造得起来的。’”《新青年》的主要撰稿人高一涵，曾发表多篇文章着重地解析和论述个人与国家的真实关系，指出，个人先于国家而存在，不是因有国家才有个人，而是有了众多的个人才构成国家。国家为保护各个个人而设，不是每个个人为国家而存在。“共和国家其第一要义即在致人民之心思才力各得其所。所谓各得其所者，即人

人各适己事而不碍他人之各适己事也。”他们明确地意识到，个性主义的提倡，个人独立人格、独立地位的确认，是民主政治能否落实的关键。显然地，五四时代启蒙思想家们提倡个性主义、个人自由，与他们的先驱们已有很大不同，而与其西方的先驱们更加接近。新文化运动的思想领袖们一致强调，个人的自由独立、个性发展、个人创造精神的发扬，是社会进步的前提。个性被吞没，必然压抑人们的创造精神，人们的创造精神长期受压抑，则社会、国家、民族的进步必然迟滞。检视中国传统，他们认为中国正统思想压制个性主义，“小己主义不发达”实为“数千年文明停滞之原因”。

五四时代的个性主义深刻地影响了一代青年，使得五四后的中国，确有了一些新的气象。但若战胜两千年专制主义的森严壁垒，使个性主义获得全社会的认同，那还有很长的路要走。

重要的是我们终于认清了现代化两个最基本的趋向，坚持世界化，我们就能随时吸收世界上一切先进的东西，增强自己，提高自己。同时，也能随时将自己优秀的东西贡献于世界，提高民族自信，提高话语权。提倡个性主义，尊重个人独立，释放个人的创造精神和创造力。使整个民族持续地保持鲜活的能动精神。那么。一个真正现代化的中国必然会崛起于世界的东方。

（作者单位：中国社科院近代史研究所）

美国报纸有关胡适的报道选编

欧阳哲生提供

Japan Blocks Progress
In China, Hu Shih Says

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

YOSEMITE LODGE, Calif., Aug. 25--One of the most dramatic sessions of the Institute of Pacific Relations took place yesterday when Dr. Hu Shih, chairman of the Chinese delegation and one of China's leading intellectuals stood up and amid the deep silence of the audience hurled accusations at Japan for continually obstructing efforts of the entire nation to reach unification and better living conditions.

"Shall China abandon all her activities of political, economic and social reconstruction and prepare to die in stalemate?" he asked. "No, a thousand times no! We are determined to go on with our work of putting our own house in order, of solving our own urgent problems and, if necessary, of fighting for our existence."

Three Phases Outlined

Dr. Hu outlined three phases of the work of reconstruction and unification in China:

1. Improved physical unity of the country as expressed in the increased network of railroads, large-scale construction of highways and the opening of various air routes.

2. Improvement of the physical well-being of the people through large rural reconstruction projects, improvement of crops, extension of sanitation work, irrigation of the large waterless hinterland, repairing of dikes and dredging of rivers in order to lessen the dangers of floods and famines.

3. Extension of educational and cultural work.

Emphasizing the latter point, Dr. Hu pointed to an enormous increase in the number of students in primary and secondary schools and universities. Two measures he considered of greatest importance, namely, introduction of obligatory elementary education for each child for period of one year, and second, the adoption in 1921 of one widely spoken dialect as the national language to be used in all schools replacing the classical written language, which was not understood by the masses. He pointed out that the establishing of one language led to the creation of a national literature.

Students Lead Work

Dr. Hu stated that most of the reconstruction work in China was being carried out by Chinese students who, for the last 27 years have been trained by American universities. In this work of reconstruction, continued Dr. Hu, China received aid from various countries, from the United States training of its personnel, from the League of Nations technical ad-

vice, from Great Britain an important share of the money it required, and from Japan all the obstruction.

Having enumerated the various stages of Japanese aggression in China, Dr. Hu declared that Japanese were further obstructing reconstruction by creating a war situation and a warlike atmosphere, thus making continued work extremely difficult. Japan seemed determined not to tolerate any government that may have chance of consolidating country, he continued. This is shown, he said, in their attitude toward the Nanking Government. That Japan will not allow any foreign power to extend China assistance, he said, was evidenced in the famous AHAU statement.

Prolonged applause greeted Dr. Hu as he finished.

T. A. Bisson, American expert on far eastern affairs who opened the conference yesterday, attacked Japanese imperialistic policies in China while criticizing the Nanking Government for employing dubious methods in reconstruction such as recourse to large-scale conscription of labor for irrigation and road-building and for allowing the blue-shirts to function.

In a round-table discussion that followed, Japanese delegates stated that their government desired unification of China and wished to help it. Japan would be glad to offer China loans, but didn't think financial aid should be made to any one group or faction (meaning, of course, the Nanking Government). As for Mr. AHAU's statement, the Japanese delegation declared it didn't agree with the statement and could not explain it.

Chinese delegates claimed China needed foreign financial aid for reconstruction purposes, but this aid now was being limited due to objections raised by the Japanese. On the other hand he said the Chinese fear Japanese loans since these usually are accompanied by political conditions. The Chinese insisted that in the future, all foreign loans must be made purely on a financial basis with Chinese ownership of 51 per cent of stock. Chinese management and elimination of all political considerations.

The Communist movement of China also was discussed. Chinese delegates explained this movement as a desperate reaction of the Chinese masses to Japanese aggression. Dr. Hu claimed that the fact that the Communists were defeated and are seeking co-operation of the Nanking Government to fight Japan would indicate they were convinced their revolutionary methods were unsuitable to the Chinese national temper. He was sure that China, if allowed to develop, would follow a path of evolution rather than one of violent revolution.

China Envoy
WelcomedDr. Hu Shih Lauds
American Ideals on
Offering Credentials

WASHINGTON, Oct. 28. (AP)—Dr. Hu Shih, the "Chaucer of China," presented his credentials as the new Chinese Ambassador to President Roosevelt today and told him that China found "much consolation and encouragement" in the United States' "constructive international idealism."

The President responded: "The United States will continue its advocacy of the preservation and advancement of the principles of international law and of the orderly processes of international relations which have evolved with and have in turn prompted the development of civilization."

CO-OPERATION PLEDGED

Coming to the United States at a time when Japan has occupied all the important cities of China, Dr. Hu received from the President assurances that this government will co-operate with him "to strengthen the ties of friendship and cultural relationship which have so long existed between China and the United States."

Dr. Hu, who was snatched from literary ranks so unexpectedly he did not have time to get a diplomatic uniform (this is his first diplomatic post,) is known as probably the foremost man of culture in China.

PEACE TALKS DENIED

Following the presentation of his credentials, Ambassador Hu conducted a press conference at which he declared:

"All rumors of peace talks in the Chinese-Japanese conflict can be easily discounted simply because a just peace is impossible at the present moment."

Continued Resistance
Pledged by Chiang

SHANGHAI, Oct. 28. (AP)—From somewhere in the vast interior of China, beyond the lines of Japanese encroachment, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek today proclaimed continued Chinese resistance and expressed hope of "luring" the enemy into Western China.

The Generalissimo's message, emanating from unidentified headquarters, was addressed to the National People's Political Assembly session at Chungking,

provisional Chinese capital now that Hankow is Japanese-occupied.

It reiterated Chiang's confidence in ultimate Chinese victory, said China was prepared for the reverses that have come in the nearly 16 months of war and asserted Chinese resistance was "becoming increasingly difficult for the invaders to overcome."

Official Report Tells
Killing of Child

WASHINGTON, Oct. 28. (AP)—The State Department received an official report from Ambassador Johnson at Chungking, China, describing the killing of a 3-year-old American girl and the wounding of her mother and sister in a Japanese bombing of a flag-marked mission.

Department officials asked for additional information and refrained from public comment pending its receipt.

The little girl was Phoebe Nyhus, daughter of Arthur E. Nyhus, a missionary, of Fertile, Ia.

Japanese Premier
Reorganizes Cabinet

TOKYO, Oct. 29. (Saturday) (AP)—Japanese Premier Prince Fumimaro Konoye today reformed his Cabinet. He appointed Hachiro Arita Foreign Minister succeeding Gen. K. Ugaki, who resigned early this month. The Premier had held the portfolio until today.

Yoshiaki Hata was appointed Overseas Minister.

Arita's appointment was considered a victory for moderate elements in the Cabinet who had been fighting demands of extremists for complete Japanese domination of all of China.

Arita has held the foreign post before and is a veteran diplomat of wide international experience. He will favor a program of close co-operation with Great Britain, it is expected, and will attempt to obtain British support for an early end of the war with China.

Concordia Diocese
Bishop Consecrated

CINCINNATI, Oct. 28. (AP)—Most Reverend Frank A. Thill was consecrated today as Bishop of the Concordia (Kan.) diocese of the Roman Catholic Church. Most Reverend Francis J. I. Beckman, Archbishop of Dubuque, Ia., and Most Reverend Urban J. Vehr, Bishop of Denver, were co-consecrators.

China Envoy Welcomed

Abstract:

Dr. Hu Shih, the "Chaucer of China," presented his credentials as the new Chinese Ambassador to President Roosevelt today and told him that China found "much consolation and encouragement" in the United States' "constructive international idealism."

Publication title: Los Angeles Times

Publication date: Oct 29, 1938

Publisher: Times Mirror Company

Place of publication: Los Angeles, Calif.

Japan Blocks Progress In China, Hu Shih Says

Author: Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Abstract:

YOSEMITE LODGE, Calif., Aug. 25--One of the most dramatic sessions of the Institute of Pacific Relations took place yesterday when...

Publication title: The Christian Science Monitor

Publication date: Aug 25, 1936

Place of publication: Boston, Mass.

Chinese Envoy Tells Roosevelt Of Offensives

Hu Shih Says Defenders Are Attacking on All Fronts; Japan's Bombers Active

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20 (P).—Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, advised President Roosevelt today that China was beginning a "series of offensive on all fronts" against the Japanese invaders. It was the Ambassador's first visit to the White House since September.

After talking with the President, Dr. Hu discussed the interview with reporters.

"I tried to tell the President," he said, "that we are not so hard pressed as many people imagine. In transportation the interruption caused by recent Japanese invasions in southern China has not been very important, and we are building new roads to replace interrupted lines of communication."

"We are starting a series of offensives on all fronts, and we are quite confident we may hear more news of victory soon."

Japanese Bombers Active
CHUNGKING, Dec. 20 (UP).—Six squadrons of Japanese bombers, nine planes to a squadron, raided

Chinese bases at Sian, Lanchow, Pingliang and Tientsin in north-west China. It was reported in military dispatches today. The extent of damage caused by the raids was not known immediately.

Japanese bombers also attacked Chinese operating in Kwangsi Province, South China. They bombed Chinese north of Nanning, former capital of the province, now in Japanese hands.

Chiang Hurls Army at Nanning
HONGKONG, Dec. 20 (P).—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was reported today throwing formidable tank and artillery resources into Kwangsi Province, in a counter-drive designed to wrest Nanning from the Japanese.

Chinese sources said the Japanese, at least temporarily outgunned and greatly outnumbered, fell back five miles yesterday, losing 1,200 men, while Chinese mobile units blocked repeated Japanese efforts to send reinforcements from the South China coast.

The Japanese captured Nanning on Nov. 24 in an offensive aimed at severing the Chinese government's supply routes from French Indo-China and British Burma.

Japan Denies Losing Destroyer
SHANGHAI, Dec. 20 (P).—Chinese newspaper reports that a Japanese destroyer had been sunk by Chinese artillery in the Yangtze River were denied by a Japanese naval spokesman today as "ridiculous and entirely untrue."

The Chinese press reports said on Saturday that a destroyer was sunk on Dec. 12 near Kiukiang, about 120 miles southwest of Hankow, with a loss of 100 officers and men.

Dr. Hu Predicts Japan Will Quit Tientsin Stand

Chinese Envoy Here Asserts British Reaction and Hull Statement Will Do It

Japan will climb down from its position of blockading the British and French concessions at Tientsin, China, in the opinion of Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to the United States. This will come about, Dr. Hu believes, partly as a result of the stiffening of the British attitude toward the Japanese, and partly as a result of the statement of Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, on Monday, that the United States government is concerned with the development of the Tientsin affair.

Dr. Hu, whose renown as a philosopher, poet and educator is at least as great as his fame as a diplomat, stopped in New York for the day yesterday on his way to Washington after attending the twenty-fifth anniversary reunion of his class at Cornell University. Earlier in the month he had received honorary degrees from Columbia University and the University of Chicago.

Dr. Hu, in his suite at the Hotel Ambassador, for nearly an hour answered questions about the Japanese invasion of China and the Tientsin incident with soft-spoken fluency and philosophic calm.

He Calls It Bluff

"The whole thing in Tientsin is sheer bluff," he said. "The Japanese military knows the war in China has been going on for two years, and there is no end in sight. The Japanese realize that there is a great deal of international sympathy for China—that China is fighting with the sympathy of the world on her side and some substantial support from the great powers, including Soviet Russia, Great Britain, France and the United States."

"Japan wants to put an end to this international support by selecting Great Britain as the exemplar cul-

prit, the—how do you say it?—the boggy man. If Japan can bluff Great Britain into submission, all the others probably will follow because Great Britain has the greatest interest in China. The Japanese realize that Great Britain is the weakest link at the moment because it is involved in the European military situation, and so they have consciously fanned anti-British feeling for two years."

"So far they consciously differentiate the British from the Americans. They single out the British for all the penalties, all the blames, and they still think that America is friendly."

Praises British Character

Praising the British as "a race of gentlemen" possessed of the quality of forbearance, Dr. Hu said, "They are not easy to get angry, but once they are inflamed, they go at it with all their power." He said that the British, in refusing to turn over to the Japanese four Chinese alleged to have killed a pro-Japanese official, had stood on their rights in a way typical of the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

The British followed legal tradition in refusing to turn the men over on the ground that the Japanese had not presented evidence sufficient to establish probable cause to believe them guilty, Dr. Hu said, and this tradition "is not understandable to people who have no regard for personal liberty or individual rights."

Now that the British have asked Japan formally whether she wishes to force a showdown in China, Dr. Hu said, "I have the feeling that the Japanese will climb down and will effect a local settlement."

Dr. Hu said he had been "gratified" to read Secretary Hull's statement, "because it will make the Japanese understand that the larger issues are issues would involve all powers, including the United States, and I believe that would be enough to make the Japanese climb down—at least, it would bring them back to their senses and make them accept some settlement on smaller issues."

Mexico Moonshiners Kill 10

MEXICO CITY, June 20 (UP).—Three Federal Alcohol Department inspectors and seven soldiers of their bodyguard were killed today near Juadalupe Victoria, Puebla State, when they were ambushed by moonshiners, according to the newspaper La Prensa."

New Chinese Envoy Tells Roosevelt Of 'Consolation Abstract:

Dr. Hu Shih, the "Chaucer of China," presented his credentials as the new Chinese Ambassador to President Roosevelt today and told him that China found "much consolation and encouragement" in the United States' "constructive international idealism."

Publication title: The Sun

Publication date: Oct 29, 1938

Publisher: The Tribune Company

Place of publication: Baltimore, Md.

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Publication title: New York Herald Tribune (1926-1962)

Publication date: Jun 21, 1939

Publisher: IHT Corporation

Place of publication: New York, N.Y.

China Envoy Optimistic

Dr. Hu Shih Tells
Roosevelt His Nation
Not Very Hard Pressed

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20. (AP)—Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to Washington, today told President Roosevelt that China is beginning a series of offensives on all fronts against her Japanese invaders.

The Ambassador, making his first call at the White House since September, told reporters: "I tried to tell the President that we are not so hard pressed as many people imagine."

"In transportation, the interruption caused by recent Japanese invasions in Southern China has not been very important and we are building new roads to replace interrupted lines of communication."

"We are starting a series of offensives on all fronts and we are quite confident we may hear more news of victory soon."

Chiang Prepares
for Counterdrive

HONGKONG, Dec. 20. (AP)—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was reported today throwing formidable tank and artillery resources into a Kwangsi Province counterdrive designed to wrest the provincial capital, Nanning, from the Japanese.

Chinese sources said the Japanese, at least temporarily outgunned and greatly outnumbered, fell back five miles yesterday, losing 1200 men, while Chinese mobile units blocked repeated Japanese efforts to send reinforcements from the South China coast.

The Japanese captured Nanning Nov. 24 in an offensive aimed at severing the central Chinese government's supply routes from French Indo-China and British Burma.

End of War Urged
by 600 Japan Leaders

TOKYO, Dec. 20. (UPI)—Nearly 600 prominent Japanese, including former Cabinet officers and high military leaders, at a mass meeting today called upon the government not to co-operate

with the Soviet Union and to avoid a "complex against United States and British views."

The meeting, called amidst Japanese government attempts to placate United States official and public opinion and to obtain renewal or extension of the American-Japanese commercial treaty, scheduled to expire on Jan. 26, adopted this five-point program:

1.—The government was urged to take appropriate measures to terminate Japan's undeclared war on China. The government was asked to "answer the wishes of the nation by achieving the objective of the present crusade."

2.—Remove any advocacy of co-operation with the Soviet Union.

3.—Call the attention of the government to underground Communist activities.

4.—Re-examine renovation policies. (This point refers to proposals to review and revise all Japanese government policies in the light of current international developments.)

5.—Guard against a campaign arising "from a fear complex against pro-United States and pro-British views."

Daylight Saving League Organized

SACRAMENTO, Dec. 20. (AP)—A proposal to give California daylight saving time had another sponsor today.

The proposal, on which an initiative measure is pending, prompted the organization of the California Daylight Saving League with Warren Burgess and Robert Collier of Los Angeles and Margaret Weave of Whittier, directors. Articles of incorporation for the league were filed with the Secretary of State.

Merchant Magnate's Condition Unchanged

PHOENIX, Dec. 20. (AP)—The condition of Percy S. Straus, president of the R. H. Macy Co. of New York, seriously ill here, was described by his son Ralph today as unchanged.

Dr. Robert S. Flinn previously had said that Straus was suffering from a nervous ailment and that his condition is serious but not critical.

Straus arrived here three weeks ago for a vacation.

China's Valiant Stand Praised At the Dinner to Dr. Hu Shih

One of the most colorful dinners that Boston has seen was given last evening at the Copley-Plaza to Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, in the interest of the Massachusetts Branch of the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China. The main ballroom of the hotel was crowded with tables, and although about 2,000 persons attended, there were at least 500 others who had to be refused tickets because of lack of space.

It was a generous response to the appeal to those whose sympathies have been aroused by China's valiant stand against aggression. This keynote of sympathy was sounded again and again by Ambassador Hu, in his brief speech following the dinner.

"During one of my travels," Dr. Hu said, "a young newspaper man asked me what I found as the most significant phenomenon during my tour throughout your country. I said that I found almost 100 per cent sympathy on the part of the American people for China. This young gentleman of the press said: 'Dr. Hu, what good does this 100 per cent sympathy do to China in the war?' I said: 'Young man, do not belittle sympathy. Let me as-

sure you that it makes a world of difference whether you are fighting with the sympathy or with the condemnation of the civilized world at your back. And I assure all of you that it is your sympathy in one form or another that has been the backbone of our fighting morale at home."

William Phillips, former ambassador to Italy, was toastmaster at the dinner.

Robert Norton, an authority on the Far East, said:

"China does not come to us as a suppliant, does not ask us to become a co-belligerent. Her representatives have been far too modest in discussing the amount of loans and other forms of aid."

"Give all aid," he urged. "to heroic China. Withdraw all aid from Japanese aggression. Hold firmly to these measures until China has established complete independence."

The dinner ended with a delightful Chinese revue. Miss Anna May Wong, famous Chinese actress, acted as master of ceremonies.

The program was radiocast by shortwave over Station WRUL, and included messages direct to Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, who was believed to be listening in.

China's Valiant Stand Praised At the Dinner to Dr. Hu Shih

Abstract:

One of the most colorful dinners that Boston has seen was given last evening at the Copley-Plaza to Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, in the interest of the Massachusetts Branch of the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China.

Publication title: The Christian Science Monitor

Publication date: Dec 10, 1940

China Envoy Optimistic

Abstract:

Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to Washington, today told President Roosevelt that China is beginning a series of offensives on all fronts against her Japanese invaders.

Publication title: Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)

Publication date: Dec 21, 1939

Publisher: Times Mirror Company

Place of publication: Los Angeles, Calif.

Hu Shih Cites China's Aid In War to Halt Aggression

Envoy Tells Teachers Why His Nation Battles for Democracy

Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, was the principal speaker yesterday at the annual luncheon of the High School Teachers Association and the High School Principals Association at the Astor. Speaking to 1,200 members, in a speech broadcast over WABC, Dr. Hu Shih said that the battle China is waging against Japan is an important part of the world-wide struggle which all democracies are waging against oppression and aggression.

"The fundamental issues in the Pacific conflict," he said, "are the same issues over which nations are fighting throughout the world. The struggle is to protect the democratic way of life—freedom and peace—against the totalitarian beliefs of oppression and aggression. The war in the Pacific is an integral part of the world struggle for the democratic way of life."

Other speakers included Dr. Harold G. Campbell, Superintendent of Schools; Dr. Frederic Ernst, assistant superintendent in charge of high schools, and James Marshall, president of the Board of Education. Dr. Frank J. Arnold, president of the High School Teachers Association, was chairman. Charles E. Springmeyer, president of the High School Principals Association, was toastmaster.

Hu Shih Cites China's Aid In War to Halt Aggression Abstract:

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Hu Shih Called Home by China; Wei New Envoy

Retiring Ambassador Will Have Medical Treatment; Successor Was at Vichy

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1.—Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, has been recalled by his government and will leave here to return to Chungking as soon as he has wound up his private affairs, it was learned today.

He will be succeeded by Wei Tao-ming, former Chinese Ambassador to the Vichy government, who is now in New York.

Hu Shih, who has served in Washington for four years as ambassador, has been one of the most popular Chinese envoys ever accredited here. He has been tireless in his activities on behalf of embattled China and has lectured throughout the country. He traveled in the United States last year more than 37,000 miles on a lecture tour which took him to all the principal cities. He has been the recipient of more academic and other honors than any other envoy to this country.

Dr. Hu Shih will receive medical treatment before his return to Chungking. What his next post will be is not known here.

China is also represented in this country by Dr. T. V. Soong, Foreign Minister of the Nationalist government, who is a member of the Pacific War Council and is in charge of lend-lease operations for China's war needs.

Dr. Hu Shih is one of the world's most noted philosophers and educators.

Dr. Hu brought about a literary renaissance in China by writing poetry in the vulgate—or common speech—thus making it possible for the first time in China for ideas carried by the printed word to reach the masses. Previously the literature of China had been written in the classic language, which the majority of Chinese lacked the education to read.

A student at Cornell and Columbia Universities, Dr. Hu was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Returning to China, he became professor of Chinese philosophy at the National University of Peiping.

Called the "Chaucer of China" and recognized as one of the great men of letters of this generation, Dr. Hu has been honored with degrees from a number of American universities. Last June Princeton University and Wellesley College conferred honorary degrees upon him.

"China is fighting Japan," he told a Chautauqua, N. Y., Institution audience last month, "because my people, who have always loved peace and condemned war, cannot afford to live under the yoke of a people who have always glorified wars and dreams of world conquest. The war between China and Japan is basically a conflict between the way of freedom and peace and the way of despotic oppression and militaristic and imperialistic aggression."

Dr. Wei Tao-ming studied law at the University of Paris and after returning to China played an active role in his country's department of justice. Later he became an expert on foreign affairs, and was also a director of several Chinese newspapers and news bureaus, including "The China Times," "China Evening News" and Shunshih News Service.

Dr. Wei was Mayor of Nanking, China, before the Japanese invaders drove the Chinese government inland to Chungking. Last year he was appointed Chinese Ambassador to Unoccupied France.

Hu Shih Called Home by China; Wei New Envoy

Author: The Herald Tribune Bureau

Abstract:

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1.—Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, has been recalled by his government and will leave here to return to Chungking as soon as he has wound up his private affairs, it was learned today.

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Clarence Darrow



《胡适研究通讯》征稿启事(修订)

《胡适研究通讯》于2008年2月创刊，至今已六年。由于得到海内外学界朋友的大力支持，这个刊物如我们预期的那样，起到了推动胡适研究，保持和加强胡适研究会会员和关心胡适研究活动的朋友之间的联系的作用。

《胡适研究通讯》的内容主要是：汇录海内外胡适研究的各种信息；刊登胡适研究短论、书评；刊登胡适的未刊文献；登载重要著作、文章的内容摘要；报道胡适研究会的工作等等。热诚欢迎胡适研究会会员和海内外热心胡学的朋友们踊跃赐稿。

《胡适研究通讯》每年编印四期，每期5万字左右，于每季度的第三个月（即每年的3、6、9、12月）印行。

《胡适研究通讯》为胡适研究会的内部刊物，供学会会员及相关学会间交流、阅看，非卖品。每期印制200份左右。其电子版可在中国社会科学院近代史研究所网站上、台北中研院近代史研究所胡适纪念馆网站上查阅。

《胡适研究通讯》自2013年第3期（总第23期）起，向作者致送稿酬。作者来稿，于一个月内决定是否采用；凡决定采用的稿件，即通知作者，此稿即不宜再投给别处。凡一个月后仍未得到通知的作者，其稿作者自由处理。

凡已公开发表过的文章，本《通讯》不再刊登。

《胡适研究通讯》由胡适研究会会长耿云志先生负完全责任，每篇文章的具体观点，自然由作者自负责任；本《通讯》由宋广波负责征稿、编辑、印制及邮寄等事宜。

《胡适研究通讯》是为从事胡适研究的朋友们以及对胡适有兴趣的朋友们创办的一个学术园地。我们相信这是大家所共同期盼的，希望继续得到大家的爱护和支持。

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