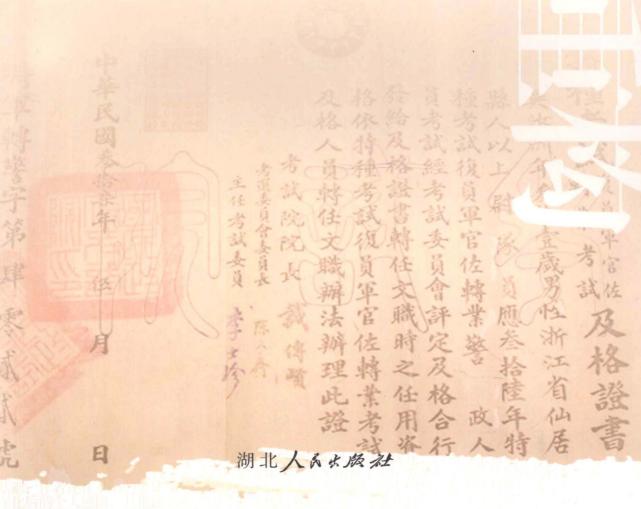
民国时期中国考试制度的转型与重构

The Transformation and Reconstruction of the Examination System during the Period of the Republic of China

◎胡向东 著



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◎严昌洪

"恋考心理",是本书作者胡向东在一篇题为《传统考试文化在当代传承发展的原因与启示》的文章中首先提出,并在本书中加以生发的一个概念。这一概念一针见血地反映了中华民族文化心理结构中所存在的对考试的一种既恨又爱、难以割舍的情结。

中国考试制度的出现,从汉武帝举行文学贤良考试算起,已有两千一百多年的历史了。从隋代开科取士算起,也有一千四百多年了。胡适曾引述《金玉奴棒打薄情郎》的故事说明这种"只问能否及格,不问出身来历"的、"公开的客观的文官考试制度"是中国文化对世界的一大贡献。这种考试制度打破了阶级观念,影响了社会心理,吸引了一大批人投入到考试中来,从"耕读传家"的农家子弟,到世代弦诵的诗礼之家,无不把考试作为改变人生命运和家庭际遇的一条必经之路,其恋考情结在54岁才中举的范进身上体现得淋漓尽致。清末停止科举以后,不知多少人失魂落魄。民国实行文官考试制度和教育考试制度,考试又牵动着更多人的神经,为获得体面的职业,甚至跻身于官僚阶层,人们奔走于各种考场之间。到如今,教育普及,人事制度改革,在校学习时的各种考试不算,升学考试、求职考试、留学考试、晋级考试、职称考试、资格考试等各种考试如影随形般伴随着千万人的一生。升学的激烈竞争,求职的"残忍厮杀",

确实使人对考试"既恨又爱"。

考试对国家来说也是"难以割舍"的一个有效的工具。选拔任用官员需要考试,在各级各类教育中实行分流也需要考试。晋代之前实行察举制度,为什么晋代要对察举人员一律加以考试,"孝廉试经,秀才试策",自有它的道理。清末废除了科举,却引进西方的学校及其考试制度,入民国后更引进西方文官考试制度,这也有其必然性。"文化大革命"中不用考试推荐上大学,"文革"甫结束一年,在1977年秋高考就迫不及待地被恢复,更有它的必要性。"剑不试则利钝暗,号不试则劲挠诬,鹰不试则巧拙惑,马不试则良驽疑",同样,"天下之士,非举无以知其贤,非试无以效其实",只有通过考试,才能公平地选拔人,得天下英才而举之,因为公正的考试可以绕过门阀,割断裙带,拒绝庸才,切实实现如龚自珍所提倡的"不拘一格降人材"的理想。

国家需要考试,民众需要考试,使得千百年来考试成为全中国都关注,全社会都为之动员起来的一件大事。诚如本书作者所指出的:"在中国大众心理中,考试对政府来说是选官和教育分流的工具,对个人来说则是改变人生道路的途径,若选拔人才的考试被废止,不仅社会人才结构会因此失去后继之源,整个社会心理系统也要失衡。中国考试文化的长期发展,使中国社会民众心理中产生一种'恋考心理'"。

然而"法久必弊",再好的制度实行久了以后,弊端必然显露出来,更何况考试制度本身已在公平有效中隐含着许多缺陷,科举考试固然有"锢人心智、牢笼英雄的负向功能";新式教育中亦有以应付考试为目的的"应试教育",使学校教育中出现某些偏枯现象,产生许多只会死记硬背、不能动手创造的"书呆子"。而且考分决定一切,难免有片面性,甚至不能保证录用的人才不是薄情郎、负心汉或腐败分子。于是,考试制度要因时制宜,不断根据变化了的形势进行调适、重构,最大限度地发挥它的积极作用,遏制它的负面影响。

本书作者作为教育考试院的工作人员,意识到自己肩负有推动考试

制度改革、完善与发展的历史使命,因此做博士学位论文便选取了民国时期考试制度研究这个选题,试图通过对科举制度废除以后考试制度转型与重构问题进行系统探讨,力求对中国考试制度文化发展演变的规律的认识有所深化,以便寻求对现今考试制度与社会发展的有益启示。读过本书后,我觉得作者的这一目的基本达到。

作者从科举制度的功能和效应、科举制度所面临的危机和自身的僵化以及晚清对科举制度的改革与停废、新式教育考试的兴起等角度,系统阐释了中国考试制度从传统向现代转型的历史文化渊源;又从近代人才观、考试观的演变,特别是孙中山、戴季陶等人的新型考试思想及其影响等方面,深入剖析了民国考试制度文化创新发展的思想基础;作者还在本书的主体部分分别论述了民国文官考试制度的重构和教育考试制度的演变与革创,并从中总结了这种转型与重构的特征。这些都在一定程度上反映了作者对中国考试制度文化发展演变规律的认识,而"恋考心理"的提出正是他这种认识深化后的个人感悟,其他诸如把民国考试文化特色概括为"守本开新"、"立法行考"、"党化军治"几个方面也是颇具新意的。

作者从对中国传统考试制度发展演变历程的回顾和民国考试制度 转型的历史经验的总结中,得出了对现今考试制度与社会发展有益的若 干启示,指出考试是促进社会发展的重要机制,考试制度需要与之相宜 的运行环境,我们应该加强考试科学化建设,防止放大考试功能,尊重考 试发展规律。

作者的这些观点不啻是对过去的回顾与总结,更是针对时弊提出的良方,我完全同意。现在我们强调坚持科学发展观,构建和谐社会,但在考试方面违背科学发展观的要求,不利于构建和谐社会的问题太多了。比如,这几年高校扩大招生规模,具有让更多的人得到深造的机会,为国家培养更多的高级人才的积极意义。但一些地区、一些学校盲目追求扩招的数量,既无视生源的质量下降问题,又忽视毕业生求职的困难,培养

出了一些不够水准的学士、硕士、博士,也使得求职道路壅塞不堪,谋职无门的毕业生苦不堪言。人才的培养有其自身的规律,高级人才的成长更是按一定比例梯次上升的,盲目扩招打破了人才的生态平衡,使一些人得到揠苗助长式的"深造",毕业生质量的下滑是必然的。同样,社会上每年对各种层次人才的需求有一个大致的比例,盲目扩招导致这一比例的失衡,造成求职困难和"大材小用"的人才资源浪费。这就违背了科学发展观。古人说得好:"教之、养之、取之、任之,有一非其道,则足以败乱天下之人才。"所以我以为作者提出"尊重考试发展规律"是适时的。再比如,多年来,在全民"恋考心理"的笼罩下,在千军万马过独木桥,竞争十分激烈的情形下,在党风和社会风气没有得到根本好转的环境里,考试受到的干扰太多了。考试以外的不公平使得考试的公平性受到破坏,更使考试作为构建和谐社会的重要机制的功能削弱。所以作者提出"考试制度要有与之相宜的运行环境"是十分必要的。

我期待着本书在推动当前考试制度改革与发展方面发挥其应有的作用,更期待着考试制度日益完善,考试环境日益净化,全民"恋考心理"也随之日趋淡化。

2007年5月于武昌桂子山

内容摘要

中国进入近代以来,绵延几千年的考试文化也与其母体——中国传统文化一同开始了近代化的艰难转型。1862年近代学堂及学堂考试的创办,标志着以科举为代表的传统考试开始向近代考试转变。而 1905年科举的废除和 1912年中华民国的建立,则为中国传统考试的近代转型提供了必要的政治、经济和社会发展环境。当然,由于民国时期动荡复杂的时代背景和传统考试文化的作用等因素影响,这一时期的中国考试虽完成了近代化的制度重构,却并未完全实现真正的转型。

本书首先分析了民国时期考试制度转型的历史文化渊源和思想基础。延续一千三百年的科举考试制度,选拔官吏,沟通社会,统摄教育,奖学励才,也促使"学而优则仕"的儒家思想制度化,形成中国社会"官本位"传统,扼杀人才个性和创造性,并在中国民族文化心理中留下了"恋考情结"。这些传统考试文化的丰厚积淀,既为中国考试在近代的转型提供了传统文化资源,也成为其努力向近代考试演化过程中的沉重负担。对中国传统考试文化情有独钟的孙中山先生,批判继承了中国传统考试文化遗产,科学取舍西方资本主义国家公务员考试的观念和方法,提出了独特的考试权独立学说,并在南京临时政府和广州革命政府时期对实施文官考试制度进行了全面构划,为民国考试的转型提供了思想基础和制度蓝图。而戴季陶等人对孙中山考试思想的阐述和发展,又直接指导了民国考试制度特别是文官考试制度的构建和发展。

民国考试制度转型的一个重要标志,是文官考试和教育考试的判然两分。本书在对 民国考试转型的传统文化渊源和思想根基进行分析的基础上,以民国考试的制度构建为 主线,分别对民国时期的文官考试和教育考试的制度演变、实施情况进行了全面的分析 和评述。就文官考试而言,经过北京政府、南京政府等几个历史时期的建设与发展,形成 了中国历史上最为完备的考试体系、法规体系,建立了人类历史上第一个在行政权之外, 独立行使文官考试选拔、任用、考绩、奖惩等权力的专门考试和人事管理机构,并由此形成 民国文官考试一整套组织机构体系,使中国传统考试制度文化在民国时期得到延续和发 展。通过实施文官考试,选拔出了一批批建设人才并进行了分发任用,为民国文官队伍输送了新鲜血液。但是,由于政局动荡、战乱不断,国民党政权缺少必要的权威,各种派系势力对考试制度肆意破坏,以及传统用人思想的惯性影响,民国文官考试制度实施情况远未达到其制度设计的效果,通过考试选拔的文官数量十分有限,发挥的作用则更有限。相比较而言,民国教育考试的制度转型则要彻底得多。由于建立了近代学制,放宽了办学管制,考试权下移到学校,相对软弱的政府对教育界的思想箝制也力不从心,民国时期的教育特别是抗战前的教育发展很快,教育考试也随之得到很大发展,种类繁多,制度完备,在考试理念与技术方法方面更是有了长足的进步。中学毕业会考、学业竞试等统一考试制度的创建,在合理继承传统考试文化基础上,更使中国考试文化在民国时期有了一个创造性的发展。

民国时期考试制度的转型与重构基于社会发展的根本要求,也受到考试内在发展规律的影响。本书从四个方面对转型的外部因素进行理论分析,即:民国经济社会转型对新型人才的要求、民初"国家危机"对恢复文官政治的呼唤、近代城市变革与职业发展对职业分类和社会分层的要求、知识阶层的形成对自身价值实现渠道的渴望。而在考试文化内部的转型发展过程中,民族恋考心理的惯性影响为之打下了深厚的文化基础,考试观念的更新成为其变革的前导,考试管理体制的改革和创新成为推动转型的关键因素之一,考试内容的转化则担负着转型的核心任务。在众多的社会因素和内在因素影响下,民国时期的考试发展形成自己的文化特色:守本开新,立法行考,虽已走上法制化轨道却依然被专制统治的人治因素所困扰。

中国考试制度的现代转型要走的路还很长,而我们可以从民国考试转型的过程中得到一些考试与社会发展关系的规律性启示:考试是促进社会发展和人的发展的重要机制,它可以促进社会政治、经济和文化环境的优化。但若统治者背离社会发展方向,考试又会对社会政治经济和文化发展产生消极影响。考试的成败不仅与自身的设计和执行密切相关,而且更取决于是否具备适宜其运行的客观条件和文化环境。在考试与教育的关系方面,考试可以促进教育发展价值取向走向科学化,但放大考试对教育的督导作用又会反过来戕害教育。考试又是一门科学,它有着自身的发展规律,必须加强考试科学化建设,防止放大考试功能,保证考试实施与其目的的高度一致。民国考试制度转型过程中的诸多经验和教训,对当今中国社会建立真正意义上的公务员考试制度、理顺教育与考试的关系、实现传统考试文化在当代的转换和创新,有着重要的借鉴意义。

关键词:民国考试 文官考试 教育考试 转型

Abstract

Chinese history ever since 1840 has seen the difficult process of modernization for the long-standing examination culture along with the traditional culture. The establishment of modern schools as well as the examination system from 1862 onwards marked the beginning of the transformation from traditional examinations under the framework of the Imperial Examination System (Ke Ju) into the modern examination system. Besides, the abolition of the Imperial Examination System in 1905 and the declaration of the founding of the Republic of China in 1912 created a political, economic and social environment for that transformation. However, due to factors such as the turbulent times and the strong impact of the traditional examination culture, the examination system of this period did not transform thoroughly despite its completion of self-reconstruction on the road to modernization.

This book firstly explores the historical origins and ideological basis for the transformation of the examination system during the Republic of China. Through selecting civil officials and rewarding talents, the Imperial Examination System, which lasted for 1,300 years, objectively played a part in the facilitation of the dialogue between upper circles and grassroots, excising control over education, bringing about the institutionalization of Confucianism and thus helping to form a tradition that excellent intellectuals were encouraged to follow an official career and those who became officials were greatly honored in society, yet this kind of tradition not only strangled a person's individuality and creativity, but also planted a complex of the yearning for examinations

into the Chinese minds generation after generation. On one hand the rich heritage of traditional examination culture provided valuable resources for the transformation mentioned above, on the other hand it became a big obstacle for modernization. Dr. Sun Yat - sen, who developed a particular interest in traditional examination culture of China, critically and scientifically made use of our own culture as well as western experience for civil - service examinations, and proposed a unique theory on the independence of examination power. Furthermore, he afforded an ideological basis for the transformation and a blueprint of the new examination system by making an all-round plan towards implementing the civil - service examination system when he was elected temporary president in Nanjing in 1912 and when he led revolutionary activities in Guangzhou since 1923. The further elaboration and development of Dr. Sun's ideas by Mr. Dai Jitao, President of the Examinations Authority subordinated to the KMT Government, and other statesmen directly guided the construction and development of the examination system, especially the civil - service examination system.

An important sign of the transformation of examination system during the period of the Republic of China was the separation of the educational examination system from the civil - service examination system. Therefore, after exploring the historical origins and ideological basis, this book will mainly focus on the construction of the examination system in that period, specifically will make a comprehensive investigation into how the civil - service examination system and educational examination system evolved and how they were put into effect. As far as the former is concerned, the most complete exam legislation system in Chinese history was established through unremitting efforts during several historical periods such as the Beijing Nationalist Government Period and the Nanjing Nationalist Government Period. Also the specialized testing and personnel management agency was set up at that time, which was in human history the first one to independently exercise the powers like selection, appointment, work assessment, rewarding and punishment of civil officials without the interference from administrative powers. The agency therefore constituted a whole set of systems for the civil-service examinations. China's traditional examination culture thus didn't break up with the past and developed well. After the examinations, a batch of talents were selected and appointed respectively for the purpose of infusing new blood into the team of civil

officials. However, because of the war-ridden political situations, lack of influential leadership in the KMT Government, reckless damage to the examination system by various factions, as well as the great impact of the tradition on personnel placement, the civil-service examination system was far from being properly maintained. The total number of civil officials selected through examinations was very limited, not to mention they were given full play to their professional skills. Comparatively speaking, the transformation of the educational examination system was conducted more thoroughly. Thanks to the establishment of the modern educational system, which loosened up on the rules of school controlling and transferred the examination power to schools themselves. What's more, the relative incompetent government was unable to restrain the free development of schools of thought, as a result, the educational undertaking, especially the one before Anti-Japanese War, developed quickly, followed by the educational examination system, which included a variety of testing types and was equipped with a whole set of strict rules, and specifically made rapid progress in testing theory and technology. With the implementation of a series of unitary examination systems such as the general examination for middle school students and the competitive examination on courses for university students, the examination culture during the period of the Republic of China progressed creatively.

The transformation of the examination system of the Republic of China is in line with the fundamental requirement of the social development, and is also subject to the internal law of testing itself. The book tries to analyze four external factors contributed to the transformation. They are: 1) the requirement for new type of talents owning to economic and social transformation at that time; 2) the call for restoring civil-service because of the "national crisis" at the founding of the Republic of China; 3) the need for occupational classification and social stratification due to the changing of cities and the scope broadening of occupations; 4) the desire of intellectuals who were gradually taking shape and searching for a channel towards self-realization. As for the internal transformation of the examination culture, there are also four aspects: 1) the national complex of yearning for examinations laid a solid cultural foundation for transformation; 2) the updating of the testing theory pioneered in the spurring of transformation; 3) that the testing managerial system kept on reforming and creating became one of the key

factors in promoting transformation; 4) the change of testing content was mainly responsible for the transformation. Under the influence of those social and internal factors, the examination system of the Republic of China developed its own cultural characteristics, which is brazing new trails on the basis of sticking to the tradition, having laws and regulations to go by when performing examinations, and ruling by law mingled with ruling by men.

There is a long way to go for the contemporary transformation of the examination system of China, yet we can draw some inspiration from the relationship between testing and social development: testing is an essential mechanism for accelerating social and individual development; it can promote the optimization of the political, economic and cultural environment. All these advantages are on the condition that the rulers would go with the tide of social development. If they would not, testing would exert negative influences on the political, economic and cultural development. From this we can see whether an examination will be a success or a failure is not only interrelated with how it is designed and carried out, but also depends on whether it is in a favorable cultural environment or not. As to the relationship between testing and education, the moderate use of testing could scientifically guide the orientation of educational value, but the overemphasis on its role of supervision would conversely harm education. Testing is a science, and it has its own developing law, so we must strengthen the scientific construction of testing rather than magnify one of its functions so as to guarantee a high degree of uniformity between means and ends. Whatever experience or lessons drawn from the transformation of examination system of the Republic of China, there's much we can make use of in establishing a truly civil-service examination system in contemporary China, in straightening out the relationship between education and testing, and in realizing the creative transformation of the traditional examination culture in the present age.

Key Words: examination system of the Republic of China; civil-service examinations; educational examinations; transformation

目 录 CONTENTS

引言

- 一、问题的提出/1
- 二、学术史的回顾/3
- 三、研究思路/6
- 四、研究方法和论域界定/10

第一章 考试制度从传统向现代转型的历史文化渊源

- 第一节 科举承载的功能及其面临的冲击 / 13
 - 一、科举制度的功能和效应 / 14
 - 二、科举面临的危机 / 21
- 第二节 科举自身的僵化/25
 - 一、考试科目:由多样到单一/25
 - 二、考试标准:从"衡人"到"衡文"/29
 - 三、考试内容:自文学到经文/30
 - 四、考试目的与方法:追求公平与反噬自身/33
 - 五、考试风气:道高一尺,魔高一丈/38
- 第三节 对科举的补苴改废和学堂考试、留学考试的兴起/41
 - 一、晚清科举的改革与停废 / 41
 - 二、洋务派学堂考试的探索与兴起 / 45
 - 三、新式学堂考试的实施 / 49
 - 四、留学考试的产生与发展/55

第二章 民国考试制度文化创新发展的思想基础

第一节 近代社会人才观与考试观的演变 / 64

- 一、科举时代的人才观/65
- 二、科举时代的考试观/68
- 三、近代人才观的转变 / 70
- 四、近代科举考试观的嬗变 / 75
- 五、民国时期考试观念和理论的新发展/81

第二节 孙中山的考试思想及其影响 / 89

- 一、孙中山的考试思想 / 90
- 二、孙中山考试思想的历史成因 / 94
- 三、孙中山考试思想的深远影响 / 100

第三节 戴季陶的考试思想述论 / 102

- 一、民国考试制度的构划者和实践者/103
- 二、戴季陶的考试思想 / 104
- 三、戴季陶与民国考试制度的实施/111

第三章 民国文官考试制度的重构

- 第一节 南京临时政府、广州革命政府时期的文官考试规划 / 116
 - 一、南京临时政府时期/116
 - 二、广州大元帅府时期/118

第二节 北京政府时期文官考试制度的构建/120

- 一、确立文官考试制度框架 / 121
- 二、外交领事官和司法官考试的"独立"/128
- 三、知事试验 / 132

目录

CONTENTS

第三节 南京国民政府时期文官考试法规体系的创建 / 136

- 一、考试院的创建及其职能 / 136
- 二、考试法规体系的建设与演变 / 137
- 三、文官考试任用的主要办法 / 148

第四节 南京国民政府时期文官考试制度的实施 / 149

- 一、任命人员考试的举办情况 / 150
- 二、专门职业及技术人员考试的实施 / 152
- 三、公职候选人考试的推行与废止/154
- 四、文官考试的分发任用 / 154

第五节 文官考试的考试学分析 / 158

- 一、考试科目与标准/158
- 二、考试内容的更易 / 161
- 三、试题的难度 / 164
- 四、试卷的题型 / 167

第四章 民国教育考试制度的演变与革创

第一节 教育考试制度框架的确立与考试权的移易 / 171

- 一、民初新教育宗旨的厘定与考试制度的建立/172
- 二、考试权的下移与上收 / 173

第二节 学校校内考试制度的建立与实施 / 178

- 一、北京政府时期的校内考试 / 179
- 二、南京国民政府时期的校内考试管理/187
- 三、学位制考试的创立 / 194

第三节 人学招生考试的演变 / 198

一、北京政府时期的入学招生考试 / 198

二、南京国民政府时期的高校入学招生考试 / 207

第四节 毕业会考和学业竞试的实验 / 218

- 一、会考制度实施的背景/218
- 二、会考制度的流变/222
- 三、会考的积极影响和消极作用/227

四、学业竞试的创办 / 232

第五节 留学考试的发展 / 236

- 一、北京政府时期的留学考试/236
- 二、南京国民政府时期的留学考试 / 242
- 三、自费留学考试的创办 / 248

第五章 民国考试制度转型和重构的特征与启示

第一节 民国考试制度转型的社会因素 / 251

- 一、民初社会经济转型对人才选拔机制的呼唤/252
- 二、民初的"国家危机"亟需恢复文官政治 / 253
- 三、近代城市变革与职业发展要求重建社会分流机制 / 255

四、教育发展和知识阶层自我实现的需求 / 257

第二节 民国考试制度转型的内在动因 / 260

- 一、传统考试文化和民族恋考心理的潜在影响/260
- 二、对考试认识的理性回归/262
- 三、考试体制的变革 / 264

第三节 民国考试文化的特色分析 / 265

- 一、守本开新——民国考试中的文化融合 / 265
- 二、立法行考——民国考试的法制化努力 / 270
- 三、党化军治——民国考试的人治色彩 / 272

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