

WENMINGDE ZHUANGJI YU KUNHUO

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——近代江淮地区经济和社会变迁研究

沈世培 著

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——近代江淮地区经济和社会变迁研究

The Dash between Civilizations and Perplexity:

Study on the Changes of Economy and Society in Jianghuai Area

沈世培 著

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提 要

本书从近代江淮地区经济、社会的变迁入手，来研究中国近代社会的现代化问题，具体地考察近代西方文明输入对江淮地区经济、社会的深刻影响。作者认为，中国近代社会在文明的撞击中获得了发展。现代化的历程是文明史的一部分，通过对江淮地区现代化问题的研究，可以透视中国的现代化问题，探讨西方文明对中国现代化的影响，寻找在现代化过程中存在的问题，以及提出对现代化的认识。文明的发展有两种途径：一是交流，二是创新。文明是在交流和创新中发展的，在人类的文明史上交流是主要的。交流有两种形式：和平式的渐进撞击和暴力式的强行撞击。中国历史文明发展的特点是，鸦片战争以前主要表现为中外文明和平式的渐进撞击，近代主要表现为东西方文明暴力式的强行撞击。近代文明撞击的结果是，中国由传统农业社会向近代资本主义工业社会转化，现代化开始发轫。在经济上有两大变化：一是商品经济有较大的发展，市场得到了扩大，从而推动了农业和手工业市场化发展，使自然经济开始解体，为资本主义发展创造了劳动力和商品市场；二是由手工劳动向近代资本主义机器生产过渡。经济的变化，推动了思想观念和政治制度的变化，进而推动了整个社会的转型。但是，这种发展是有限的，仍然存在着困惑，经济、社会发展存在许多制约因素。

本书分成七个部分：

第一章总论，除讨论有关选题问题和有关历史的思考以外，还讨论了文明的涵义、特点及其与现代化的关系。

第二章，讨论江淮地区农业文明的演进。通过对近代以前江

淮地区农业经济状况及其特点的研究，我们发现，文明和平的渐进撞击促进了中国农业文明社会的进步，阻碍了中国资本主义萌芽的发展。国内外文明的相互交流，促进了中国农业文明社会的形成和发展。在农业文明的社会里，生产特点是以农业为主，工商业为辅，封建自然经济占优势地位，商品经济发展微弱，工商业发展缓慢。交流促进了文明的发展，但是形成的这种农业文明社会有其稳固性，在这样的社会，封建自然经济富有活力，商品经济发展缓慢，这就延续了中国封建社会，阻碍了中国资本主义萌芽的发展。中国自身也会发展到资本主义社会，但是由于中国封建统治太强了，封建社会太稳固了，这一转变还需要很长的历史时期，而西方文明的输入，加速了这一转变过程。

第三章，讨论西方文明的强行撞击，即外国资本主义经济的入侵。西方资本主义最主要的入侵手段是先以武力打开中国锁闭的门户，然后以商品和资本进行经济侵略，文明开始正面交锋。西方资本主义入侵遵循两个规律：一是资本主义发展需要市场、资源、劳动力；二是强必凌弱，以实力说话，奉行实力均衡理论。

第四章，讨论在文明的强行撞击下商品经济的发展。通过对江淮地区中外贸易的发展与江淮地区传统的农业和手工业经济发展的研究，本书讨论了商品经济的发展，市场的扩大。西方文明的输入，把中国纳入了世界资本主义市场体系，使江淮地区国际和国内市场都得到扩展，商品经济得到发展。在晚清主要是从1876年芜湖开埠以后，江淮地区经济与国际、国内市场联系日益加强。民国时期主要是从1912年津浦铁路通车以后，长江流域和淮河流域的商品经济都有所发展。商业的发展，市场的扩大，促进了农业和手工业的发展，促进了商品经济的发展。这在经济上就产生了两个变化：一是在西方资本主义入侵的情况下，农业商品化程度提高，封建自然经济开始逐步解体，为近代资本主义工业生产提供了劳动力和商品市场；二是部分个体手工业生产向近代资本主义机器生产过渡。

第五章，讨论了近代江淮地区现代化的发轫，即近代化问题。具体讨论了江淮地区近代资本主义工业的产生和发展，认为其产生是在晚清时期，其发展是在民国时期。金融业、交通运输业和邮电事业也发展起来。西方资本主义商品和资本的输入，就是一种近代科技文明的输入，是对东方文明的一种撞击，使中国传统的农业社会向近代资本主义工业社会过渡，开始了现代化的历程，政治、经济、文化都发生了变化。中国近代资本主义工业是西方文明输入的结果，不是自生的。江淮地区近代机器工业产生早，但发展慢。

第六章，讨论了近代江淮地区现代化历程中存在的困惑，多方面讨论了绊腿的农业社会存在的社会发展的制约因素。本书具体讨论了近代西方文明输入后江淮地区经济、社会现代化的程度和对现代化的认识。认为近代江淮地区商品经济虽然有所发展，但是仍不够发达，近代资本主义机器生产仍不普遍，现代化的程度不高。现代化的制约因素除了战争、自然灾害、封建主义剥削、外国资本主义入侵等历史原因之外，还有资金匮乏、观念落后、技术落后和体制落后四点直接原因，最集中的是体现在体制落后上。

第七章，讨论了中国现代化包括江淮地区现代化的有关问题。本书中心议题是讨论社会发展问题，即在人类文明史视野下的以人为中心的社会发展问题，把近代江淮地区历史作为文明史的一个部分，考察其发展变化及制约因素。近代资本主义的发展，是文明史的进步，但又是病态的发展。近代化是在夹缝中进行的，在中国正常发展近代资本主义是不可能的。要实现社会的现代转型，必须扫除障碍。近代的历史是文明交流的历史，现代社会的发展需要的是文明的创新，而创新又必须建立良好的社会运行机制，这样才能实现现代化。交流需要开放，创新需要改革。现代化的发展应该是以改革开放为原则，建立良性的社会运行机制，以市场为导向，以科技为动力，以政治、经济和社会等制度改革为保证，以工业化手段，以“人”的现代化为目标，

大力发展物质文明、精神文明和政治文明，使经济和社会全面进步，来满足人，发展人，解放人，使人得到全面的发展。只有这样才能实现从传统的农业社会向现代工业社会的转化。

Abstract

The book discusses the modernization of China by studying the changes of the economy and society of Jianghuai area in modern times. It discusses concretely how the import of modern western civilization greatly influenced the economy and society of Jianghuai area. This book says the society of China in modern times developed under the dash of civilizations. The course of modernization is a part of the civilization history. By studying the modernization of Jianghuai area, We can study the modernization of China, the influence of western civilization on the modernization of China, the questions existing in the course of modernization and put forward the understanding about the the modernization. There are two ways in the development of civilization, one is the exchange, one is the innovation, the civilization develops in the exchange and the innovation, the exchange is principal in the civilization history of human being. There are two forms of the exchange: peaceful and gradual dash, violent and forcing dash. The trait of the development of the Chinese civilization is that before the Opium War mainly shows peaceful and gradual dash and that in modern times mainly shows violent and forcing dash between the western and east civilizations. The result of the dash between modern civilizations made china change from the traditional agricultural society to the modern industrial society of capitalism, the modernization began to start. There are two changes in economy, one is the fast development of commodity economy and the enlarge of market, which

promoted the development of markets of agriculture and handicraft industry, made natural economy begin to disintegrate gradually and created the market of labour force and goods for the development of capitalism; another is the change from the production of handicraft industry to the machine production of modern capitalism. The change of economy promoted the change of thought and political system, and promoted the change of whole society. But this development was limited, the perplexity of the development still existed, the development of economy and society had a lot of elements which prevented the development. This book is divided into five parts;

Chapter one is the introduction, which discusses the problems about the subject and thought about the history, and also discusses the problem about its meaning and characteristic of civilization, the relationship between the modernization and the civilization.

Chapter two, discusses the evolution of agricultural civilization in Jianghuai area. By studying the condition and characteristic of agriculture economy in Jianghuai area before the modern times, we can find that the peaceful and gradual exchange between civilizations promoted the formation of the Chinese agricultural civilization society and prevented the development of the Chinese capitalist germ. The exchanges among the world's civilizations promoted the formation and development of the agricultural civilization society. In the agricultural civilization society, the characteristic of the production is that the agriculture is main, the handicraft industry and commerce are secondary, the feudal natural economy occupied the dominant position in the agricultural civilization society, the development of commodity economy was feeble, the development of handicraft industry and commerce was slow. The exchange promoted the development of civilization, but the society of agricultural civilization was firm, in the society feudal natural economy was filled with vitality, the commodity economy devel-

oped slowly. This prolonged the feudal society of China and impeded the development of the capitalist germ of China. China itself could also grow into the capitalist society, but because the feudal rule in China was too strong, feudal society was too steady, that the change would need very long time, and the import of western civilization accelerated the change.

Chapter three, discusses the violent and forcing dash of western civilization, namely the capitalist economic invasion of foreign country. The mainest method of western capitalist economy's invasion was that western capitalism first opened the door of China by military force and then carried on the economic invasion of goods and capital, civilizations began to strike against each other directly. The invasion of western capitalism followed two laws: one is that the development of capitalism needed market, resources and labour force; another is that the stronger country would be sure to invade the smaller and weaker country, acted with actual strength, followed the theory of strength equilibrium.

Chapter four, discusses the development of commodity economy under the dash of civilization. By studying the development of trade between China and the foreign countries, the development of traditional agriculture and handicraft industry in Jianghuai area, the book discusses the development of commodity economy and the enlargement of the market. The introduction of western civilization made China go into the market's system of world capitalism, enlarged the oversea and domestic markets of Jiang - Huai area, promoted the development of its commodity economy. In the later Qing Dynasty, especially after Wu Hu was opened in 1876, the relationship between the economy of Jiang - Huai area and the international and domestic markets became stronger gradually. After Jing - Pu railway was open to traffic in 1912 during the period of the Republic of China, the commodity economy of

the Yangtze River valley and the Huai River valley all developed. The development of commerce and the enlargement of markets promoted the development of agriculture and handicraft industry, promoted the development of commodity economy. This produced two kinds of changes in economy: first, after the intrusion of western capitalism, the level of the commercialization of agriculture was raised, the feudal natural economy began to disintegrate gradually and provided the industrial production of modern capitalism with the labor force and the goods market; second, a part of individual handicraft industry became the machine production of modern capitalism.

Chapter five, discusses the beginning of modernization of Jianghuai area in modern times, namely the problem of modernization. It discusses concretely the formation and development of modern capitalistic industry in Jianghuai area, its formation was during the period of later Qing and its development was during the period of the Republic of China. Financial business, communications and transportation business, post and telecommunications business also developed. The book says, the importation of the goods and capital of modern western capitalism was a kind of importation of modern science and technology civilization, was a kind of dash to the east civilization, it made the traditional agricultural society change into the industrial society of modern capitalism and the course of modernization began to be underway, politics, economy and culture all changed.

The production of modern capitalist industry of China was the result of the import of western civilization, it was not spontaneous. In Jiang - huai area, the production of modern capitalist machine industry was early, but the development was slow.

Chapter six, discusses the perplexity in the course of modernization in Jianghuai area in modern times, discusses a lot of restrictive factors of social development existing in agricultural society which

blocked the social development. The book discusses the degree of modernization of economy and society in Jianghuai area in modern times which happened since the western civilization was brought in and the thought about the modernization. It says, although the commodity economy had much development, it was still limited. The modern capitalist machine production was still not general. The level of modernization is lower. The factors of restricting modernization, besides the historical reasons such as war, natural calamity, exploitation of feudalism, intrusion of western capitalism, still had four direct reasons: the first is capital was short, the second is the idea was behind, the third is the technology was behind, the fourth is the system was backward. The most concentrating factor reflects in the backward system.

Chapter seven, discussess the related problems about the modernization of China including Jianghuai Area. The book discusses the problem of social development, namely the the problem of social development regarding hunan bing as the center in the field of vision of civilization history, regards Jianghuai area history as a part of civilization history, discusses its changes and the restrictive factors. The development of modern capitalism is a progress of civilization history, but is the development of morbid state. Modernization was being in crevice, the nomal development of modern capitalism in China was impossible. If we will realize the transformation of modern society, we must sweep away obstacles. Modern history was the history of the civilization exchange, the development of Modern society needs the innovation of civilization, but the innovation needs to build a good social operating mechanism, only in this way we can realize the modernization. Exchange needs to open to the outside world, the innovation needs reformation. The development of modernization must be regarding reformation and opening to the outside world as principle, building a good social operating mechanism, regarding market as guidance,

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regarding science and technology as motive power, regarding the reformation of political system, economic system and social system as guarantee, regarding industrialization as means, regarding the modernization of person as goal, further developing the material civilization, spiritual civilization and political civilization, making the economy and society all progress to satisfy person, develop person, liberate person, making person progress all - sidedly. Only in this way, we can realize the change from the traditional agricultural society to modern industrial society.

序 言

沈世培同志 1985 年考入厦门大学历史系，攻读中国古代史方向的硕士学位，我是他的导师。他出身农民，问学勤奋刻苦，为人朴实无华。获得硕士学位后，他到滁州师范专科学校任教，我们师生间仍有来往，学术上多有交流。后来他到南京大学历史系攻读中国近现代史方向的博士学位，导师是蔡少卿教授。几年前，易校至安徽师范大学社会学院执教。他在写作这部著作时，也曾征询过我的意见。现在，他准备出版这部著作，并希望我写篇序，由于上述原因，我自然答应了。

初读本书稿以后，我首先想到的是历史学之不幸与幸。在社会经济现代化的浪潮中，历史学似乎愈来愈暗淡无光，做规范的历史学的人也似乎愈来愈少。历史学家在历史洪流面前感到无奈与不幸，这是令人困惑的事。记得上世纪 90 年代初，我们在武汉大学开学术研讨会，华中师大历史系主任马敏同志（现任校长）请瞿林东和我去他们系作学术报告，瞿兄慷慨激昂地宣言历史学的智慧与力量，力陈历史学不可替代的社会功能，那余音绕梁的记忆至今不能忘却。这类近乎抗议的声音表明历史学家的处境微妙，不得不为生存而抗争，此即为历史学之不幸也。

但是，历史终究是不能遗忘的，历史会在社会经济现代化的浪潮中复活，虽然不一定是历史学家们喜爱或习见的形式复活。我最近注意到风靡于世的历史题材电视剧的影响和央视百家讲坛（如易中天的品汉史、品三国史等）的影响，难得有了些许安慰：人们没有遗忘历史。历史仍然是人们尤其是年青一代的一面镜子。

当然像沈世培同志这本规范的历史的也是社会史的著作，我

更是在心里称道。本书从文明史的角度，看待经济、社会史的演变，因而他做到发前人所未发，给新时期的历史学带来新气象。如说到西方的商品输入，不只是谴责其侵略性，而是从文明交流的角度加以解释，认为西方商品输入实际上是“文明的输入”，还是一种“以其先进的科技文明向落后的地区输入”，“是真正动摇中国社会的基本原因”。石油和煤，是近代工业的两大生命。石油俗称“洋油”，是近代输入的“五洋”商品之一。江淮石油销售，虽然颇有引狼入室之嫌（引来英美等国商人到芜湖、安庆、蚌埠等地经销石油），并培养了一批买办，但石油作为一种新能源产品，“由于其优越性，很快畅销起来，不管你抵制还是反对，它总是要代替旧的点灯用植物油的方式”。“石油的输入，对生产和生活都有一定的影响。在生活上，部分地改变了千百年来照明的习惯。石油的输入是不可挡的，经营者多是中国人，说明先进的东西，人们乐于接受。所以，‘火油之来，年盛一年，以其利用，人乐购之’。在生产上，有些地方石油用于机器生产，即用柴油机发电和机器生产，对工业生产有利”。我想这样分析应当说是尊重事实，说中国文明的演进不是一种近亲繁殖，而是一种人类文明的交流。反观丝绸、瓷器、茶叶、印刷术之西传，亦一理也。本书的不少篇章、段落是有亮点的，可谓“笔端著处皆春容”，付与人间作肺肠。此之谓也。

因为作者对“社会变迁”抱有比较科学的看法，不把“单一的经济增长作为社会进步的尺度。在社会生产力水平较低、财富不够充足的形势下，人们重视经济的增长，这是可以理解的。但是，人类的终极目标不是为了发展经济，而是为了发展自我，实现自我，是人的需要得到充分满足，人类自身获得充分的发展”。基于这一科学发展观，他观察近代江淮社会经济发展史的视角必然富有新意。我很赞同这样的观点。2002年5月，在中国历史学会和云大联合召集的“21世纪历史学展望学术研讨会”上，我曾作过一个发言，其中有一段话说：作为科学的历史学，它的价值除了“资治”与借鉴功能以外，还有美国历史学家魏

吉瑞所说的“深意”和香港大学前校长王庚武教授主张的提高我们的人性、证明人的完美性^①。人性是人的自然性、社会性、历史性和实践性的统一，社会的发展也就意味着人越来越理性化而日臻于完美。所以历史会在社会经济现代化的浪潮中日益成为人们的需要，不管他是否意识到。

作者在提出的理论框架下所着力的仍然是历史，尤其是对江淮区域经济史的阐述。在第二章“生存式的农业文明研究”、第三章“外国资本主义经济的入侵”、第四章“传统商品经济的发展”、第五章“近代资本主义的出现”，甚至第六章“迟滞的文明”，几乎都是着力于经济这个基本问题。他用丰富的资料，诉说江淮这片富饶而又苦难的土地的社会历史进程。其间或有所发现、有所醒悟，令读者歛歛扼腕。如第六章《迟滞的文明》之第八节《人民生活的贫困》所述，更是令人痛心疾首。国民党当政之后，农民“罄谷之值，不能抵偿”生产成本；“农村经济破产，已成了全国引为重大忧惧的事实”。江淮农业社会文明的停滞和倒退，使汹涌澎湃的社会变革洪流不可逆转。

如果说还有什么建议的话，我想这个课题提出的问题，还可以深入研究。我希望，正如耶鲁大学教授史景迁（Jonathan D. Spence）在其名著《追寻现代中国》的《前言》中所说：“本书仍是一个探索的过程，而非其结果。”如果能以更多的篇幅把江淮的人文史料加以利用，从更广阔的视野去洞察江淮历史、追寻它的走向，这对读者来说，或许会有更大的吸引力。史景迁说：“了解中国没有终南捷径，就像没有捷径了解任何文化”。可谓一针见血。

郑学檬

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2006年6月13日

^① 王庚武：《历史的功能》，中华书局（香港）1990年版；《21世纪中国史展望》（收录郑学檬文），中国社会科学出版社2003年版。

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