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中國經濟

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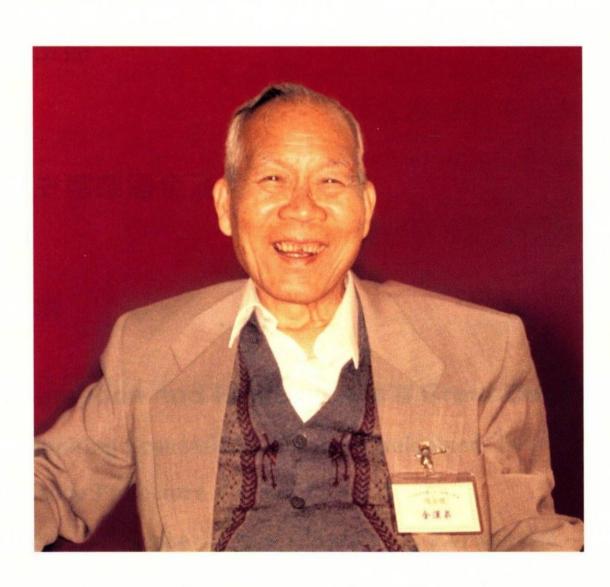
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全漢昇教授玉照

代序:經濟史壇

祭酒全漢昇先生傳略

何漢威*

全漢昇先生,廣東順德人,1935年畢業於北京大學歷史學系。 在學期間,受政治系教授陶希聖及中央研究院歷史語言研究所所長、 史學系教授傅斯年影響尤大。前者講授中國社會經濟史,全先生跨系 修讀,對之極具興趣,感到這門學問亟待開發的新領域甚多,遂決定 以此爲終生志業。後者治學求博求深,教導學生認真搜羅史料,不尙 空言,這種務實求真的治學態度,日後遂成爲全先生的治學方針。甫 畢業,即蒙傅斯年教授拔尖進入史語所,潛心研究。抗戰期間,他和 中研院社會科學研究所梁方仲先生非常友好,每有新撰,梁氏必細加 校閱,並提出批評意見,深受良友砥礪問難之益。1944至1947年間, 全先生先後在美國哈佛大學、哥倫比亞大學及芝加哥大學進修,從 Abbott P. Usher、Shepard B. Clough及John U. Nef等經濟史大師遊,汲 取國外經濟史學界的新觀念及新方法,從而擴大知識領域,並與西方 經濟史家建立聯繫,奠定日後學術交流的基礎。

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·II· 薪火集:傳統與近代變遷中的中國經濟

1949年全先生累遷爲史語所終身聘研究員,尋隨所遷台;除史語所本職外,復任教台灣大學經濟系,講授中國經濟史和西洋經濟史,一度並兼系主任。胡適之先生出掌中研院期間,全先生兼任研究院代總幹事,迄1961年9月赴美研究止。

1965年11月全先生應聘至香港中文大學新亞書院歷史系任教,講授中國社會經濟史、中國近代經濟史及中國經濟史專題研究等課程,並於1975年任新亞書院院長,1977年從中大退休。1967年中大中國文化研究所成立,翌年《中國文化研究所學報》創刊,全先生即負主編之責,《學報》最初九卷即在其任內出版,他不少重要研究成果亦見於《學報》。自中大歷史系退休後,他轉任文化研究所資深研究員一年,接著專任新亞研究所教授,並於1983年起接任該所所長凡11年。1984年12月以高票當選爲中研院第十五屆人文組院士。1995年9月,全先生夫婦離港返台,定居新竹,頤養天年。

全先生治學,務實求眞,六十年來專著甚多,上自魏晉以迄抗 戰前夕,綿長遼闊,學殖豐富,其學術見解及成就,深受學術界重視。 全先生初期的研究興趣集中於唐、宋時期,兼及魏晉南北朝及元代; 從1949年到現在,他的研究重心轉移到明、淸和近代;近三十年來, 尤集中於研究明代中葉後,中、西、日、葡、荷的貿易關係及金銀比 價等問題。

在唐宋經濟史研究中,《唐宋帝國與運河》一書剖析運河之暢礙與唐宋勢運盛衰的關係,至爲特出,因獲大陸時期教育部特別頒獎。他的另一重大貢獻是對商業發展與都市化的研究,尤著眼於交通運輸與國際貿易對都市發展的可能影響。

貨幣與物價變動一直爲全先生最感興趣的研究課題。他在這方 面的成就,他人實難企及。他在《史語所集刊》第十本所發表的長篇 論文〈中古自然經濟〉,至今仍是研究魏晉以迄唐中葉中國貨幣演變 最重要的著作。明代中業以降約四百年間,中國幣制可說是銀銅複本 位制,而全先生的研究,特別著重探討貨幣供給,藉以明瞭幣制發展。 他在這領域曾發表多篇重要論文,包括〈美洲白銀與十八世紀中國物 價革命的關係〉、〈明季中國與菲律賓的貿易〉、〈明代的銀課與銀 產額〉、〈清代雲南的銅礦工業〉、〈明中葉後中國黃金的輸出貿易〉 等。在中國物價史的研究,全先生也是前驅。中國物價的歷史研究, 因材料缺乏及過去幣制和度量衡不統一而不易展開,但全先生仍作出 可觀的成績。我們對民國以前約千餘年間物價變動有一概略認識,全 先生實厥功至偉。他對淸代物價史的研究,用力尤深,從而發現從十 七世紀末至十八世紀結束,糧食和物價有長期上升的趨勢;此外,他 對地區糧價差異和經濟交流亦作出了詳細考察。透過從貨幣、物價、 國內外貿易等多方面的深入探討,全先生使我們對淸代整個經濟體系 的演變面貌,有了更完整的認識。

全先生多年來注意的另一個歷史重要課題爲中國近代工業化成績何以乏善可陳。他一方面就中國近代工業化進展作一廣泛考察,另一方面對一些關鍵企業、地區和問題作深入個案探討。研究成果中,〈甲午戰爭以前的中國工業化運動〉和〈近代中國的工業化〉屬前一類,而《漢冶萍公司史略》、〈清季的江南製造局〉等論著則屬後一類。

全先生的研究成果,在學術界並非全無異議。如針對〈中古自 然經濟〉一文,何茲全便認爲此時期南北兩個區域情形迥異。北方因

·IV· 薪火集:傳統與近代變遷中的中國經濟

戰亂迭起,逆退至自然經濟狀況;南方因大量移民遷入開發,反而逐漸繁榮,貨幣經濟遂居主導地位。又如近年王業鍵教授指出,十八世紀物價長期上升的趨勢,並不如全先生所說,單純是當時美洲白銀的大量進口的結果,而是白銀、銅錢和私票三種貨幣同時大量擴充所導致。又全先生認爲戰前中國工業化不能起飛,資本匱乏爲其主因。唯美國學人Carl Riskin的研究顯示,戰前中國國民生產中一可觀比重,耗用於非必要消費上,故問題不在於貧乏,而在於不能將潛在的剩餘轉導入投資途徑。

對全先生的學問,哈佛大學故楊聯陞教授曾題詩云:

妙年唐宋追中古, 壯歲明清邁等倫。

經濟史壇推祭酒,雄才碩學兩超群。

可說將全先生在中國經濟史上的重大貢獻都勾勒出來了。

——轉載自《與中大一同成長:香港中文大學與中國文化研究所圖史,1949~1997》(2000)

目次

全漢昇教授玉照

代序:經濟史壇祭酒全漢昇先生傳略

一・市場經濟

Consumption and Production in a Great Empire:	
Rethinking Economic and Social Development in	
Huizhou Prefecture (Anhui) during the	
Mid-to-Late Imperial Era · Harriet T. Zurndorfer	- 3
Overseas Chinese Banking Network in	
Yinchong, Kobe, and Shanghai in the	
Early 20th Century · Takeshi Hamashita	- 45
編戸齊民的市場經濟・趙岡	- 75
從田宅交易糾紛的防治看宋代的莊宅牙人·梁庚堯	- 99
紡、織分離:明清江南棉紡織業中的	
勞動分工與生產專業化・李伯重	129

·II· 薪火集:傳統與近代變遷中的中國經濟

二・企業與生産

關於開拓使版《湖州養蠶書和解》・田中正後	155
青島的政權轉移與工業發展(1929~1949)・張玉法	173
戰後的臺灣煤礦業(1945~1980)	
對於一夕陽產業的觀察·陳慈玉	241
榮氏企業的財務決策	
與經營(1896~194 9)・李木妙・廖樹鈞	283
Confronting Adversity by Taking Risk:	
Four Chinese Business Persons in	
Twentieth-Century China · Ramon H. Myers	343
Financing Industrialization in	
Prewar China · Yeh-Chien Wang	377
三・經濟思想	
嚴復的經濟見解 ・賴建誠	401
Between Practical Statesmanship and	
Democratic Thought: Kuo Sung-tao and	
His Reform Ideas · Chi-Kong Lai	431

四·財政與賦稅

明正德年間(1506~1521)廣州海口貿易	
與抽分制度的演變・鄭永常	473
九種書刊所載明代里數的考察	
——以江西為例·林桑禄	501
清初沿襲明末加派補論・陳支平	525
清季國產鴉片的統捐與統稅·何漢威	545
五・全漢昇教授著述貢獻簡介	
門外漢讀全先生的研究・許倬雲	593
全漢昇在中國經濟史研究上的重要貢獻・王業領	<u> </u>
全漢昇教授著作目錄	617

一・市場經濟

CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION in a GREAT EMPIRE:

RETHINKING ECONOMIC and SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT in HUIZHOU PREFECTURE (ANHUI) during the MID-TO-LATE IMPERIAL ERA

Harriet T. Zurndorfer

One of the many major contributions by Professor Ch'üan Han-sheng (Quan Hansheng) to the study of Chinese economic history was the assessment of massive amounts of silver from the New World into the economy of Ming and Qing China¹. Since the publication of his pioneering

^{*} Sinologisch Instituut, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden •

¹ Among the many publications by our honoured scholar on this topic, his studies (Quan Hansheng 1957, 1966 and 1969) seem the most relevant here.

· 4 · 薪火集:傳統與近代變遷中的中國經濟

investigations scholars have built upon his work and, sought to understand the relationship between the influx of silver and the expansion of China's commercial economy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries². Although silver was an effective form of exchange in China before the major importation thrusts from Japan and the New World³, its use as a preferred form of payment, especially in the purchase of land and the taxes thereof, seems to have taken on new dimensions by the late sixteenth century⁴.

But modern scholars debate the origins and long-term effects of the commercialization of the Chinese economy which may have been fuelled in part by these vast amounts of foreign silver. Philip Huang in his study of the rural economy of the Yangzi Delta from 1550~1988 has raised doubts on the fundamental premise that commercialized development fostered prosperity and real economic growth⁵. And in an examination of money and monetary policy from the Song dynasty to 1700, Richard von Glahn challenges those experts who cast late Ming and Qing China into the 'early

² See Atwell 1998; Wakeman 1986; von Glahn 1996. Historians whose main focus of interest is the development of Europe have considered Quan Hansheng's work as instrumental for understanding 'the rise of the West'. See Frank 1998. See also Zurndorfer 1998 on how research on the Ming-Qing era since the 1960s has affected the writing of Chinese history by China scholars based in North America and Europa.

³ Brook 1998, pp.xx-xxi, 68-69; von Glahn 1996, pp.83-112; for further details, see Peng Xinwei 1994, vol. 2, pp. 563-572; 596-616.

⁴ von Glahn 1996, pp. 159-60, basing himself on Kishimoto 1990; and see my critique of von Glahn, in Zurndorfer 1999a, pp. 406-411. On the Single Whip Tax Reform, see Ray Huang 1974.

⁵ Philip C. C. Huang 1990.

modern' paradigm, "predicated on reified conceptions of modernity informed by the historical experience of Europe" ⁶, in other words, just because China's economy was monetized, both in the public and private spheres, and the "canons of social hierarchy upon which it rested" overturned, does not mean, in von Glahn's view, that Chinese development at this point resembled the European trajectory of change⁷.

These scholars, and others, notably those with a preference for the "market-driven model" of historical development⁸, and hence a focused interest in the forces of production, or the supply and demand side of the Chinese economy, have in my view neglected another aspect of economic expansion, i. e. consumption⁹. Admittedly, consumption is more difficult to measure and may even seem theoretically less significant than the forces of production and distribution, but in a society like that of late imperial China

⁶ Von Glahn 1996, p. 2. Compare Goldstone 1998.

Other factors present in Ming China which von Glahn considers to have led others to compare it to early modern Europe include: "the dissolution of servile social relations and the emergence of free labor markets, regional specialization in agricultural and handicraft production, rural market integration, 'privatization' of commerce and the growing autonomy of merchant and artisan guilds, the stimulus of foreign trade, and the sanction accorded to the pursuit of wealth in both public and private morality……".

Here one must refer to those proponents of the Marxist-inspired 'sprouts of capitalism' analysis which views the implications of handicraft processing and manufacturing in the Ming and after. For a comprehensive synthesis of this idea, see Wu Chengming 1985; and for an excellent appraisal of how the concept of capitalism has penetrated Chinese historical writing during the twentieth century, see Brook 1999.

⁹ Hamilton and Lai 1989.

· 6 · 薪火集:傳統與近代變遷中的中國經濟

where levels of wealth, power, and rank were often in flux and even people's location within a social structure "fluid" ¹⁰, the acquisition of goods, including the accourrements of daily life, was a constant marker of one's status, and consequently, an indicator of economic and social change, in a number of his publications the Chinese art historian Craig Clunas has drawn attention to the importance of commodification to the elite of Ming China¹¹, and another Ming expert Timothy Brook in his study, *The Confusions of Pleasure*, has shown how 'new commercial wealth' altered and apportioned Ming society into a clear divide of 'haves and have-nots' ¹², in Ming China both conspicuous and inconspicuous consumption became a way of life¹³.

Both Clunas and Brook view the merchants of Huizhou prefecture (Anhui province) as pivotal figures in the transformation of Ming China into a commodity economy (shangpin jingji) ¹⁴. Over the centuries Huizhou

Ho Ping-ti 1962, p. 73 referring to the pronouncement of Gui Youguang (1507~71) on the "blurriness" of the status distinctions among scholars, peasants, and merchants in his lifetime.

Clumas 1991, in his 1991 book Clumas is concerned with how the late Ming literati elite wrote about strategies of discretion and understatement in order to undo the effects of 'nouveau riche' and the well-connected to rise socially simply on the basis of wealth.

Brook 1998. Brook sketches the situation whereby the process of acquiring goods could be disconnected from general economic well-being or depression.

Brook 1998, pp. 190-98 emphasizes the ordinary goods for consumption, i. e. grain and textiles.

Both Clunas 1991 and Brook 1998 cite passages from the writings of that well-known Ming contemporary Zhang Han (1511~93) who observed the habits of merchants throughout the empire in his essay "Shanggu ji" (On Merchants). See also Brook 1981a.