

任祥 著

作为中国抗战史和高等教育史研究的一个重要课题，抗战时期云南的高等教育占有十分特殊而重要的地位。本书基于抗战这一特定时空背景下云南高等教育的产生、发展和变迁的历史考察入手，深入分析了抗战时期教育思潮、教育宗旨及方针政策、高等教育区域布局变化、内迁高校云南地方高等教育的发展状况。本书把抗战时期云南高等教育作为一个整体的文化精神表征，通过战时云南高等教育流变与绵延的针对性研究，在一定程度上探求战时云南高等教育流变与绵延的内在运行规律以及战时云南高等教育对于区域社会改造及其深刻影响的内在原因。它从一个更为直观的角度反映出战时高等教育的变迁与发展，对于研究抗战时期中国高等教育史具有重要的指导意义。

抗战时期云南 高等教育的流变与绵延



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任祥 著

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序一

〔加〕许美德（Ruth Hayhoe）

伴随着中国许多知名大学在 20 世纪 20 年代至 30 年代初期开始日趋成熟，现代中国大学的发展成为民国时期最为重要的成就之一。这些大学中有公办大学，如国立北京大学、清华大学、中央大学、同济大学、浙江大学和武汉大学；有私立大学，如南开大学、厦门大学、复旦大学；还有基督教会大学，如燕京大学、圣约翰大学和金陵大学。1937 年至 1945 年抗日战争期间，国民政府政策最富启迪的特征是坚决支持和协助这些处在激烈战争环境下的大学转移到较为安全的内地，并禁止师生被征兵，从而卷入抗日战火之中。

这也许是一段有点戏剧性的历史：在对于高等教育来说是创伤的时期，却创造了种种条件以解决现代中国高等教育发展中持续受到关注的两大问题。首先是对课程性质的关注。当时在顶级大学中，衍生于西方的课程类别和教科书占据着主流。同时，对本土知识体系的发展和在中国改造西方学术两方面均未给予恰当的重视。其次是关于对现代高等教育机构地域分布的关注。高等教育机构过多地分布在沿海的主要城市，而在广袤的内地却寥若晨星。

我们先谈课程方面。早在 1913 年，马相伯曾试图建立“函夏

考文苑”，致力于发展真正的、植根于中国古典传统的现代科学与社会科学术语。^[1]这一努力最终以失败而告终。从日本引进的一整套术语主宰了中国大学的现代学科。这些术语包括了如用“哲学”来取代“致知学”^[2]，用“经济学”取代“理财学”，还有许多其他从日本引进的术语。^[3]正是随着现代学科的术语名称从国外引进，西方理论支配了社会科学和人文科学课程内容也就不足为奇了。同时，英语、法语和其他外国语也往往被用做教学语言。随着许多毕业于欧美的年轻教师回国，他们觉得使用西方语言的教科书甚为方便，而且在忙碌的生活中他们几乎没有时间来承担为本国改造课程这一艰巨而复杂的任务。多数大学坐落在主要沿海城市如上海和天津，这一事实使得它们在国外很强的影响下存在得十分自然。1938年被任命为国民政府教育部长的国民党政治家陈立夫，在巡视多所为了躲避日军入侵而准备西迁的大学时说，访问这些大学使他觉得自己置身于国外文化的疆土上。^[4]这就是国外课程和教材模式的浓重影响！

然而，一旦大学迁至西北的西安和兰州，西南的重庆、成都和昆明，这种情况就发生了变化。社会学家费孝通先生开始把他

[1] 克利福德·格尔茨：《仪式与社会变迁——一个爪哇的例子》，见于《文化的解释》，上海人民出版社1999年版，第165—195页。

[2] 马相伯：《致知浅说》，商务印书馆1926年版。

[3] Lu Yongling and Ruth Hayhoe, “Chinese Higher Learning: The Transition Process from Classical Knowledge Patterns to Modern Disciplines.” In Christophe Charle, Juergen Schriewer and Peter Wagner (eds.) *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2004), pp. 269-306.

[4] Chen Lifu, *Zhanshi Jiaoyu Xingzhen Huiyi* [Reflections on Educational Administration During the War] (Taiwan: Commercial Press, 1973), p. 20.

的研究立足于本土的现实，并从实践中发展社会学理论；文学学者闻一多先生发展了基于中国古典传统和当代中国文学的文学理论；而科学家和工程师们则开始把他们的理论知识运用于解决农业发展和战争时期最重要的航空及大炮制造业的实际问题中。在吞噬中国的抗日战争和第二次世界大战的战火洗礼中，大学的知识学科被本土化了，而且在中国农村和内地城市抵抗日本占领的现实中找到了自己的根基。这是一段在战争灾难中学术发展极其丰富的时期，因此有不少学者认为，在某种程度上，没有哪一所后来的中国大学能够与国立西南联合大学（即在有远见卓识的梅贻琦校长领导下汇聚在昆明的北大、清华和南开大学联合组成的）所取得的成就相媲美。^[1]

如果一个真正的、本土化的知识体系发展是中国现代大学发展过程中至关重要的一步，那么中国大学的地域分布大约从1914年起也备受关注。那一年，袁世凯提出了创建四个大学区域的建议，1917年汤化龙建议创建六个，1918年范源廉则勾勒出了七大区。^[2]但是，他们没有一个人有能力或资金来实现他们对于现代高等教育机构进行更合理地域分布的愿景。直到1927年国民政府成立后，这个问题才再次被提上议事日程。这次由可能是民国时期最为杰出的知识分子领袖蔡元培领导了这一改革。在他作为国民政府最高教育官员的短暂任期内，建议设立大学院来专门负责管理国家所有的教育机构，以保证学术的高水准并使其免受国民党

[1] John Israel, *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998).

[2] Chen Qingzhi, *Zhongguo Jiaoyushi* [History of Chinese Education] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936), p. 631.

的直接政治干预。由于深受多年在法国留学的影响，蔡元培先生对大学院的构想是建立大学区制，以确保大学在中国所有主要地理区域上能够均衡分布。^[1]不幸的是，国民党政府没有采纳他的建议，随后他辞去了政府公职并开始领导新成立的中国科学院，这是一个对他的先师马相伯曾经试图建立的“函夏考文苑”最有价值的继承。^[2]

如上对中国现代大学早期历史两方面的简短回顾，或许能够帮助读者理解为何这一战争时期对他们发展是如此的重要。任祥教授的这本专著聚焦于中国西南边陲的云南省，通过细致翔实的描写，记载了战争爆发前云南省的状况。当时政府对高等教育的支持是少之又少，许多由沿海迁往云南的大学，都进行了艰苦卓绝的重建，并探索在战争时期如何为国尽职尽责。随后的章节详述了这些大学所作出的诸多贡献，以及它们带动云南本地新建高校发展的各种尝试。这些本地高校的历史发展，它们的形成以及为地方服务的方式均是特别令人感兴趣，可称为是十分重要的史诗，充分展示了发生在战争期间地域的再分布对于中国西部的长期影响。而描写战争时期的中国教育思想以及具有影响力的教育家的相关章节也同样十分重要，因为正是这些引发了对课程知识和植根于中国自身历史和发展经验的现代学科体系形成的再思考。

在中国的大学再次经历引人注目的转变时刻——通过最近的高等教育大众化以及通过整合的努力建设一些顶级大学以达到世界一

[1] Allen B. Linden, "Politics and Education in Nationalist China: The Case of the University Council 1927-1928," in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 28, No 4, August, 1968, pp. 763-776.

[2] Tao Yinghui, "Cai Yuanpei yu Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan," [Cai Yuanpei and the Academia Sinica] in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Jindaishi Yanjiusuo Jikan*, Vol. 7, June, 1978, pp. 1-51.

流的地位和质量，这本专著的出版就显得特别有价值。它将有助于读者反思在 20 世纪中国最苦难时期，勇敢的教育家们和学者们创立的中国现代大学制度的基石。

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Preface 1

Ruth Hayhoe (许美德)

The development of modern Chinese universities was one of the most vital and important achievements of the Nationalist regime, with a number of prestigious universities reaching maturity over the 1920s and early 1930s. This included such public institutions as Peking University, Tsinghua, National Central University, Tongji, Zhejiang University and Wuhan University, as well as such private institutions as Nankai, Xiamen and Fudan universities, also Christian missionary universities such as Yenching, St. Johns and Jinling. One of the most enlightened features of Nationalist government policy during the Sino-Japanese War, from 1937 to 1945, was the determination to support these universities under drastic war-time circumstances, assisting them in their move to safer locations inland and refraining from drafting students or faculty into the army to fight against the Japanese.

It may also be a kind of irony of history that this traumatic period for higher education created conditions where two persistent concerns about the development of China's modern higher education were finally resolved. The first was a concern about the nature of the curriculum, with

Western derived curricular categories and textbooks dominating curricular decisions in the top institutions and inadequate attention being given to the development of a Chinese knowledge base or the adaptation of the Western scholarly literature to the Chinese context. The second was a concern about the geographical distribution of modern higher institutions, with a huge concentration in the major coastal cities, and very few institutions in China's vast hinterland.

If we take the curricular concerns first, as early as 1913, Ma Xiangbo had tried to establish the Hanxiao Kaowenyuan, in an effort to develop terminology for the modern sciences and social sciences that was authentic and rooted in China's classical tradition.^[1] This effort failed, and a whole set of terminology that had been adopted from Japan came to dominate modern subjects in Chinese universities. This included terms such as *Zhexue* for philosophy instead of *Zhizhi xue*,^[2] *Jingji xue* for economics instead of *Licai xue*, and many other terms introduced from Japan.^[3] With the very names of modern disciplines being imported from abroad, it was not surprising that Western theories dominated the content of social

[1] Lu Yongling, "Standing Between Two Worlds: Ma Xiangbo's Educational Thought and Practice," in R. Hayhoe and Y. Lu (eds.) *Ma Xiangbo and the Mind of Modern China* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), pp. 177-191.

[2] Ma Xiangbo, *Zhizhi qianshuo* [A Simple Introduction to Philosophy] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1926).

[3] Lu Yongling and Ruth Hayhoe, "Chinese Higher Learning: The Transition Process from Classical Knowledge Patterns to Modern Disciplines." In Christophe Charle, Juergen Schriewer and Peter Wagner (eds.) *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2004), pp. 269-306.

science and humanities programs, while English, French and other foreign languages were often used as the medium of teaching. With many of the young faculty having returned to China from graduate studies in the United States and Europe, it was convenient for them to adopt Western language texts, and there was little time in their busy lives for the complex and demanding task of adapting these materials to the Chinese context. The fact that most universities were located in major coastal cities such as Shanghai and Tianjin, where there had long been a strong foreign presence made all of this seem natural. When Nationalist politician Chen Lifu, who had been appointed Minister of Education in 1938, visited a number of universities to offer them advice as they prepared to move Westward in order to escape the Japanese invasion, he commented that it felt as if he was entering foreign territory culturally!^[1] Such was the preponderance of foreign material and models in their curricula and textbooks.

However, once the universities moved to Xi'an and Lanzhou in the Northwest, Chongqing, Chengdu and Kunming in the Southwest, this situation changed. Sociologists such as Fei Xiaotong began to base their research on local Chinese realities and develop sociological theories from practice, while literary scholars such as Wen Yiduo developed literary theories based on China's own classical traditions as well as on contemporary Chinese literature. Scientists and engineers, for their part, began to apply their theoretical knowledge to practical issues of

[1] Chen Lifu, *Zhanshi Jiaoyu Xingzhen Huiyi* [Reflections on Educational Administration During the War] (Taiwan: Commercial Press, 1973), p. 20.

agricultural development and such essential war-time industries as aeronautics and artillery manufacture. In the baptism by fire that engulfed China during the Sino-Japanese War and the Second World War, the disciplines of knowledge in the university were indigenized and found roots in the realities of the Chinese countryside and the hinterland cities that were resisting Japanese occupation. This was thus a time of rich scholarly development in the midst of the devastation of war, to such a degree that some scholars feel no subsequent Chinese university has been able to rival the achievements of the Southwest Associated University, that brought together Beida, Tsinghua and Nankai on its Kunming campus, under the visionary presidency of Mei Yiqi.^[1]

If the development of an authentic and indigenous knowledge base was a crucial step in the development of China's modern universities, the geographical distribution of Chinese universities had also been a significant concern since about 1914. In that year Yuan Shikai suggested the creation of four university districts, while Tang Hualong suggested six in 1917, and Fan Yuanlian sketched out seven districts in 1918.^[2] None of these officials had either the capacity or the available funds to implement their vision of a more rational geographical distribution of modern institutions of higher education, however. Only after the Nationalist government was established in 1927, was this issue taken up again. This

[1] John Israel, *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998).

[2] Chen Qingzhi, *Zhongguo jiaoyushi* [History of Chinese Education] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936) p. 631.

time it was Cai Yuanpei, probably the most outstanding intellectual leader of the Nationalist period, who led the way. In his brief tenure as the most senior education official of the Nationalist government, Cai proposed the establishment of a University Council which would be responsible to manage all the educational institutions of the nation and ensure high standards of scholarship and protection from direct political interference by the Guomindang party. Strongly influenced by his years of study in France, Cai had a vision for the Council to establish a university district system, which would ensure a fair geographical distribution of universities to all of China's major geographical regions.^[1] Unfortunately, his proposal was never fully implemented and he withdrew from direct government service to head up the newly established Chinese Academy of Sciences, a worthy successor to the Hanxia Kaowenyuan which his mentor, Ma Xiangbo, had tried to establish.^[2]

Hopefully, this brief overview of two aspects of the early history of China's modern universities will help readers to understand why the war-time period was so important to their development. Professor Ren Xiang's book focuses on Southwest China, and the province of Yunnan. With meticulous detail, he chronicles the conditions in Yunnan before the outbreak of war, when there was little support for higher education development, through the early war years, when many coastal universities

[1] Allen B. Linden, "Politics and Education in Nationalist China: The Case of the University Council 1927-1928," in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 28, No 4, August, 1968, pp. 763-776.

[2] Tao Yinghui, "Cai Yuanpei yu Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan," [Cai Yuanpei and the Academia Sinica] in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Jindaishi Yanjiusuo Jikan*, Vol. 7, June, 1978, pp. 1-51.

moved to new locations in Yunnan, and struggled to establish themselves and find ways to serve the war-time efforts for national survival. Subsequent chapters detail the contributions of these institutions, and the ways in which they stimulated the development of new local universities within Yunnan province. The historical development of these local universities, and the ways in which they took shape and served the region is a particularly interesting and important story, showing the long-term consequences for Western China of the geographical redistribution that took place during the war. Equally significant is the chapter on Chinese educational thought and influential educators during this war-time period, as it was this that led to the re-thinking of curricular knowledge and the formation of modern disciplines rooted in China's own history and development experience.

At a time when Chinese universities are again going through a dramatic transformation through the recent move to mass higher education and the focused efforts that are being made for some of the top universities to reach worldclass status and quality, this book is especially valuable. It will help readers to reflect on the foundations of China's modern university system, which were laid by courageous educators and scholars during one of the most painful periods of the twentieth century for China.

Ruth Hayhoe, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education,
University of Toronto

序二

梁吉生

20 世纪中国高等教育有过两次意义迥然不同的历史变迁，一次是抗战时期，一次是“文革”时期，这是两个影响中国人民命运的最重要时期。前者为民族危难所迫，但依然坚守着坚定的办学理念 and 大学精神，其结果不仅为抗战后高等教育发展奠定了基础，也为今天留下了弥足珍贵的精神遗产。后者是对大学精神的蹂躏和亵渎，其结果是把高等教育推向绝地，精神创痛至深，于今难以平抚。这两次高等教育的变迁，都应当认真总结，以便形成公共认识和民族记忆。为此，我们需要更加自由言说的历史认知，让这个世界多一份清醒。

抗战时期是一段并未远去、仍然活着的历史。在那全民共赴国难的特定年代，高等教育是代表一个时代精神的标志之一。对于这一时期高等教育守成和变迁交替消长的风云起落，海内外包括台湾等地区都有见仁见智的检索与研究。但历史需要重温，需要不间断地深入研究。因为历史不可能一次性解读，不可能毕其功于一役而纵览无余。随着时代前进，新的史料、新的方法的涌现，历史真相的揭示会不断地深化。而就研究本体而言，也需要开拓新的更加接