

国家社会科学基金资助项目

# 民国时期留美生的 中国问题研究

——以留美生博士论文  
为中心的考察

元青 等著

南开大学出版社

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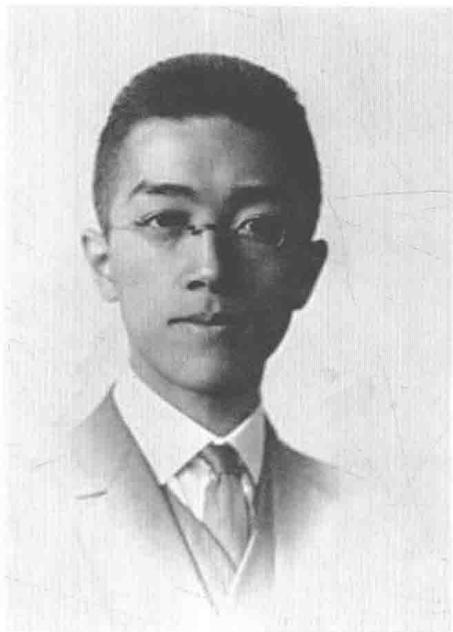
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A Study of the Organization, Functions and Duties of Boards of Control  
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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CHINIFEE AND NEW YORK LAW  
GOVERNING OWNERSHIP OF SHAREHOLDERS OF A  
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By

James C. K. Wu

By

Liang Kung Yung

Submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree  
of doctor of philosophy in the School of Education of New York University

New York University  
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吴清葵博士论文

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE SINO-JAPANESE HOSTILITIES AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BY  
HENRY WU

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New York  
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1912

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MEMBER OF THE KIANGSU PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION  
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**TENDENCIES  
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A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF EDUCATION  
IN CHINA**

BY  
CHAI-HSUAN CHUANG, 蔡澤宣  
Research Scholar in Teachers College, N. Y. C.

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庄泽宣博士论文

This thesis, written under the direction of the candidate's Faculty Committee and approved by all its members, has been presented to and accepted by the Council on Graduate Study and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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*Richard Clark*  
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## PREFACE

Public debts in China constitute one of her foremost fiscal and political problems. The imposition of huge indemnities and the conclusion of foreign loans have introduced into the country a system which not only restricts China's sovereign rights and impedes her economic development, but also tends to create international rivalry, thereby disturbing the peace of the Orient and impairing the Chinese independence and integrity. This monograph is an attempt to present the history of China's domestic and foreign loan negotiations and especially to set forth the various problems relating to her foreign indebtedness. It is the hope of the author that the treatise will furnish a practical basis for the solution of the perplexing problem which must be faced sooner or later, if the peace of the Far East is to be maintained and if the natural resources of China are to be properly developed to the benefit of her people and of the world at large.

My profound thanks are due to Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman for his sound instruction in the Science of Finance, for his inspiring direction in the preparation of this work, and for his many invaluable corrections in reading over the manuscript. I am also deeply indebted to Professor Henry A. E. Chandler, who has read the proof and suggested many improvements.

F. H. HUANG.

New York, April, 1939.

梁炳琪博士论文的导师签字页

黄凤华博士论文的序言

## VITA

Sien-Tain Hu, also Frank Hu, was born on February 26, 1915, in Linington, Tungtai, Kuangsu, China. He attended the Linington Primary School from 1925 to 1928. Thereafter, he studied in Nantung High School, Kuangsu, and graduated in 1934. He entered the National Central University, Nanking, China in 1935. After the War broke out, he went to Chungking, China's wartime capital, together with the University. He graduated with a B.S. degree in Psychology in 1939. From 1939 to 1941, he enroled on his own research project in economics. He also studied philosophy, logics, history, and other social sciences on his own interest. From 1941 to 1943 he served as the acting principal of Chungking Municipal High School. Starting in 1944 he prepared to go to the United States to further his study. He arrived in Los Angeles, California, on February 2, 1945. Then, he attended Stanford University from February to September, 1945. Since October, 1945, he has studied at the University of Illinois. He received the M.S. degree in Industrial Management from the University of Illinois in June, 1946. Thereafter, he has worked for his Ph.D. degree in Economics. He was awarded a Fellowship in the Economics Department from 1947 to 1948. He has been elected to these honor societies: Phi Beta Kappa, Beta Gamma Sigma, and Sigma Iota Epsilon. He is a member of the American Economic Association.

胡先进博士论文摘要后的作者简介

*The Economic Principles of Confucius and his School.* By CHEN HSIAO-CHANG. Columbia University Studies. (New York: Longmans, 1911. 2 Vols. Pp. xv+256.)

CONFUCIUS once observed: "How numerous are the people!" Jan said, "Since they are thus numerous, what more shall be done for them?" "Enrich them," was the reply. "And when they have been enriched, what more shall be done?" "Educate and instruct them." His theory of wealth was expressed when he said: "By daily examinations and monthly trials, and by making their rations in accordance with their labours—this is the way to encourage all the classes of artisans." He did not allow land to be subject to private ownership. He did not think it wrong to take interest; for capital is the mother, and interest is her child.<sup>1</sup> In the matter of tariffs he was an extreme free-trader.

The character of the Economic Principles of Confucius. They supply the pretext rather than the substance of Dr. Chen Hsiao-chang's interesting volume. The book itself is composed in part of contributions to the economic history of China, and in part of the poems and aphorisms of many generations on all topics that can be considered in the widest sense economic. His chapters are headed: "Factors of Production," "Distribution," "Public Finance," and so forth, but into this artificial scheme he has fitted a great deal that is charming and instructive. To prove that the separation of the two sexes was not the original plan in China he is able to quote this (which Confucius gave as a bad example of a lewd custom) from the *Canon of Poetry*—

The Tzu and the Wan  
Now present their broad shanks of water  
Laden with the flowers of the wan,  
Are carrying flowers of wan.  
A lady says, "Shall we go to see?"  
A gentleman says, "We have already been."  
But let us go again to see,  
Beyond the Wan.  
The Wan is large and fit for pleasure,  
Fit for pleasure and India,  
Make sport together,  
Presenting one another with small promises.

In the chapter on "Economic Organisation" we read another poem from the *Canon*, directed against an official who makes his wife new within the period of three months from marriage—

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese word (kan) for interest means "child." That interest is profitableness never been denied in China.

#### BOOK REVIEWS

KEY ECONOMIC AREAS IN CHINESE HISTORY. AS REVEALED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS FOR WATER-CONTROL. By CH'AO-ING CHI. London: Allen & Unwin. 1936. pp. xxii + 168. 8s. 6d.

This is a remarkable study, not only from the standpoint of Western science, but also judged by the standards of traditional Chinese scholarship. Dr. Chi is very well acquainted with the basic source material of Chinese history. He draws freely on the great dynastic histories of China, on the various provincial and local gazetteers, and on the abundant literature dealing with the history and political importance of public works in China. But he is not content merely with the mechanical accumulation of facts or formal textual criticism. The facts which he discovers and the texts which he criticizes become real and living, because they reflect a bold attempt to analyze scientifically some of the most vital features of China's economic, social and political development.

Dr. Chi is well aware of the limits of his own study. "The concept of the Key Economic Area cannot be the ruling idea in the interpretation of Chinese history as a whole . . ." We have first to understand the basic factors of the form of agricultural production, especially the central rôle, played in China as in other "oriental" countries by artificial irrigation. Dr. Chi recognizes from the outset the vital importance of this factor, which has, as he is kind enough to remark, been brought out by my own work. He further accepts its consequences for the political economy of China's society. Intensive agriculture, based upon irrigation, makes possible, while the size of the territory affected necessitates, large-scale water control enterprises, which, at a certain level of civilization, have to be undertaken by the state.

This is the thesis, a fundamental thesis for any scientific understanding of the great agrarian societies of the Orient. Its truth as far as China is concerned is convincingly demonstrated in Dr. Chi's brilliant monograph. Public water-control works in China include not only irrigation canals but also river dikes and transport canals. Intensive agriculture produces the grain surplus, which supports the political center, its bureaucracy and its army; the transport canals convey it to its destination. Thus public works became an important political lever and a powerful weapon in social and political struggles."

1936年《太平洋事务》杂志刊载的对冀朝鼎博士论文的评论

gestreift wird. Ich erwähne besonders die Berücksichtigung der Verwaltungskosten bei den Tilgungsdarlehen. Der Verfasser hat diese Schrift als einen Leitfaden für die Praxis, insbesondere für Kommunen, Banken und Sparkassen bestimmt. Als solche kann die Schrift durchaus empfohlen werden.

Göttingen.

F. Bernstein.

DUNG, YI-SU MEN. *Life Insurance in China. A study of the institution and its development.* University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1936.

Eine gut angelegte Doktorarbeit. Die Begründung der mangelflüssigen Entwicklung des Versicherungswesens in China veranlaßt den Verfasser, auf zahlreiche Nebengesichter überzeugend einzuwirken, solche wie: die Chinesische Gesellschaftsweise, die Kultur, das Geldwesen usw., um sein Thema abzugeben. Der Kern ist ein *soziologisches Vakuum*, eben weil von einer eigentlichen chinesischen Versicherungswesens noch nicht gesprochen werden kann. Historisch sind grundsätzlich zwei Phasen zu unterscheiden: die Art Lebensevorschau und die Gruppenversicherung ist, auch nach dem Gewerbe der Republik (S. 42 u. s. o.); ferner die große Armut der Bevölkerung, hohe Zinsraten der Banken, mangelhafte Möglichkeit der Übertragung der Versicherter aus, außerdem die Zeit die unzureichende Unterstützung der Regierung und die politische Instabilität. Ausländische Versicherungsgesellschaften versuchten überwiegend Europäische in China, diese zu günstigeren Bedingungen als Chinesen. Die chinesischen Gesellschaften sind kapital schwach. Es folgt eine Analyse der Versicherungswirtschaft in den verschiedenen Provinzen Chinas, sehr viel von der Bestätigung der Exterritorialität für Ausländer und, in diesem Falle, für ausländische Versicherungsgesellschaften, da dadurch eine Vereinfachung der Gestaltung möglich würde. Eine geringe Zahl der Versicherungen ist für China ermittelt aus folgenden Zahlenvergleich (S. 14): 15 Millionen Einheiten—China 50 G. \$ 20 (geschätzt), Japan Yen 4713; Indien G. \$ 229, diese für 1925, die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika 1927 87.000. Die Arbeit ist nach Form und Inhalt einwandfrei. Sehr viel mehr lädt sie jedoch an dem Stoff nicht heraus.

Eisenach.

E. Otto.

Hoffmann, Dr. rer. pol. WILHELM. *Die öffentlichen Güter im Deutschen Reich. Entstehung, Entwicklung, Verwaltung und Bedeutung für Staat und Wirtschaft. Bank- und finanzielle Abhandlungen.* Herford: Prof. Friese. 15. Heft. Verlag Julius Springer. Berlin 1929. 115 S.

Die Bewirtschaftung der öffentlichen, d. h. aller am öffentlichen Quellen stützenden Güter, hat nach der Stabilisierung der Währung einen bedeutenden Fortschritt gemacht, so sehr haben sich die öffentlichen Güter vermehrt.—Zeit des Goldüberflusses des Reichs und anderer

1912年凯恩斯在《经济学杂志》上对《孔门理财学》的评介

1930年德国《制度与理论经济学杂志》刊载的对邓贤博士论文的书评

上海商務印書館出版

中國教育制度沿革史

江浦郭秉文著

郭秉文博士论文中文本

朱進著

中國關稅問題

主張國際稅法平等會印行

朱进博士论文中文本

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# 绪 论

中国近代留学史上有一个很重要的学术现象，即大批中国留学生用外文撰写以中国问题为主题的学位论文。其中，民国时期留美生的中国问题研究博士论文以其庞大体量和广泛深入的学术影响尤为引人关注。丰富的题材，翔实的内容与材料，科学新颖的研究理念与方法，使其成为民国时期域外中国研究的重要文本，也构成中国现代学术史的奠基之作。如此颇具开发研究价值的课题，长期以来没有引起学界足够重视，专题研究至今阙如；散落留学通史或个别学科史中的相关阐述也不足以体现该课题的分量。<sup>[1]</sup>

鉴于此，有必要对民国时期留美生的中国问题研究博士论文展开专题探讨。

## 一、民国时期留美生中国问题研究概况

民国时期，中国留美生究竟有多少人写作中国问题的博士学位论文？写

[1] 对近代留学生中国问题博士论文的研究，有以下成果值得关注：一是李喜所主编的《中国学科现代转型丛书》（8种，南开大学出版社2009年版），分别研究了近代留学生与教育学、经济学、社会学等现代学科建立发展的关系，对近代留学生的博士论文有所涉及，但缺乏对其中中国问题博士论文的专题探讨；王伟的《中国近代留洋法学博士考（1905—1950）》（上海人民出版社2011年版）细致研究了中国近代留学欧美各国的法学博士群体，对其博士论文情况亦做了扎实考证，惜对中国问题博士论文着墨不多；邹进文的《近代中国经济学的发展——来自留学生博士论文的考察》（《中国社会科学》2010年第5期）以近代留学生的经济学博士论文为中心，对中国近代不同时期留学生留学期间的经济学研究情况进行了分析阐述，对探讨留学生经济学研究旨趣、研究内容较有参考价值。

了哪些论文？时隔百年（至少也有 60 多年），精确弄清此问题无疑相当困难。但现存的某些资料为我们梳理这一问题提供了可能。

1927 年，由部分知名中美文化人士推动成立的文化交流机构“华美协进社”统计刊发了一份英文《中国留美学生硕博士论文目录》(*Theses and Dissertations by Chinese Students in America*)，收录了 1902—1927 年间留美生撰写的 568 篇硕博士论文题目；1928 年，刊发了增补版，补充收录 1915—1928 年间 160 篇硕博士论文题目；1934 年，再次增补刊发了 1927—1931 年的硕博士论文题目 434 篇。共收录 1902—1931 年留美生硕博士论文题目 1162 篇，其中博士论文题目 357 篇。<sup>[1]</sup> 经统计，其中有关中国问题的博士论文共 93 篇，占博士论文总数的 26.05%。此目录对探讨 20 世纪前 30 年间“中国留美学生的学术努力与兴趣”有参考价值。<sup>[2]</sup> 其缺陷是，该目录系按年代顺序排列，未进行学科分类，也难以确认作者的中文姓名（因当时没有统一规范的拼音系统，故姓名拼写五花八门），使用起来颇有不便。

20 世纪 60 年代初，旅美著名图书馆学家、目录学家，民国时期曾任国立北平图书馆馆长的袁同礼出版了英文《中国留美同学博士论文目录》(*A Guide to Doctoral Dissertations by Chinese Students in American, 1905-1960*)。<sup>[3]</sup> 对 20 世纪上半期及稍后一段时间中国留美生（包括部分留学加拿大的中国学生）的博士论文题目按照作者姓氏的英文字母顺序进行了排列，还包含作者的中文姓名及博士毕业学校、时间等信息。该目录存在的缺陷：一是分类过于粗略。将 2700 多篇博士论文题目划分为“人文、社会与行为科学”“地理、生物与工程科学”“加拿大的博士论文”三大部分，学科分类粗疏，缺乏现代学科的细致分类，检索起来颇为麻烦。二是论文题目收集不全。有的学者考证，仅法学学科，留美法学博士倪征燠、谭明德、凌兆麟、李彩霞、胡毓杰等

[1] China Institute in America, *Theses and Dissertations by Chinese Students in America*, 1927, 1928, 1934, New York.

[2] China Institute in America, *Theses and Dissertations by Chinese Students in America*, 1927, Foreword.

[3] Tung-li Yuan, *A Guide to Doctoral Dissertations by Chinese Students in American, 1905-1960*, Published under the Auspices of the Sino-American Culture Society, Inc. Washington, D.C., 1961. 此目录后被节录收入刘真主编、王焕琛编著的《留学教育——中国留学教育史料》第三册（“国立编译馆”1980 年版），全文收入《袁同礼著书目汇编》第三册（国家图书馆出版社 2010 年版）。

人的博士论文就未被收入该目录。<sup>[1]</sup> 三是论文作者出生年份信息错误较多。四是少数论文作者没有中文姓名，个别中文姓名有误。尽管存在上述局限，该目录仍是现存收录近代留美生博士论文题目及相关信息最丰富、最完整、最权威的一份资料，其内容基本覆盖了华美协进社统计中有关博士论文的题目，对研究中国近代留学史、学术史有珍贵价值，是我们探讨民国时期留美生中国问题研究状况的基本史料与依据之一。

为便于研究，我们将分散在袁同礼目录中以中国问题为主题的博士论文题目做了集中与归纳，并把论文题目及相关信息翻译成中文<sup>[2]</sup>；对上述论文题目依照其核心内容和学术界惯常分类进行了现代学科分类<sup>[3]</sup>；补足或纠正作者生卒年信息<sup>[4]</sup>。与此同时，我们将袁同礼目录中漏收的若干篇中国问题博士论文题目纳入统计之中。

经过上述工作，我们发现：20世纪上半期留美生有关中国题材的博士论文共计324篇<sup>[5]</sup>，占同期留美生博士论文总数（1323篇）的近四分之一，数量相当惊人。将这些论文进行现代学科细分，情况如下：教育学63篇，经济学54篇，政治学54篇，法学27篇，社会学人类学33篇，历史学29篇，哲学19篇，文科其他学科（图书馆学、心理学、语言学、音乐学等）14篇，自然科学（因其不在本书考察范围之内，未做细分）31篇。涉及学科及专业领域极为宽广，特别在人文社会科学领域，几乎囊括所有学科及专业方向。论文涉及的具体研究题目，就更加丰富多彩。这些中国问题博士论文，毫无疑问体现了民国时期中国留学生艰苦的学术努力，其蕴含的学术价值理念，美国及西方学术的

[1] 参见王伟：《中国近代留洋法学博士考（1905—1950）》，上海人民出版社2011年版，第18页。

[2] 论文题目的翻译，充分借鉴了学术界的惯常译名，其中经济学、法学领域的论文题目，主要沿袭了邹进文、王伟论著中的翻译。

[3] 不少论文题目在学科范畴上似可两属。如谢保樵的《中国政府：1644—1911》、吴其玉的《中、俄与中央亚细亚》，既可放在政治学领域，也可放在历史学领域；曾作忠的《现代教育中的民族主义与实用主义：以中国后革命时代情况为中心》既可放在教育学领域，也可放在政治学领域；陈兆焜的《清代中国的税收制度：1644—1911》、陈维屏的《清代中国海关的发展：1644—1911》既可放在经济学领域，也可放在历史学领域，不一而足。

[4] 袁同礼目录出版于1961年，其时论文作者基本上都健在，不少人尚处中年，故目录中只记载论文作者出生年份，且错误较多。

[5] 其中，仅有5篇论文答辩于1910、1911年。故袁同礼目录基本反映的是民国时期留美博士生的研究状况。