



湖南省社会科学学术著作资助出版

湖湘文化与湖南的 尊孔读经

(1927 — 1937)

罗玉明 著



湖南人民出版社

HUNANRENMINCHUBANSHE

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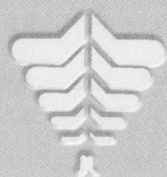
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序

两年多前，为罗玉明《抗日战争时期的湖南战场》一书写过一篇序，现在，又应他的要求，为他的这部新著写几句话。

这是罗玉明研究湖南历史的又一部专著。前一部著作所论者为战争，属军事研究；这一部著作论者为读经，属思想与文化研究。武事也好，文事也好，都发生在上个世纪三四十年代的湖南，都是湖南近代历史进程中的重要事件；而它们的意义又都不局限于湖南一省，在现代中国历史发展中，两者都具有普遍性意义。

普遍化的读经，可以说，与科举制相依为命。当1905年9月袁世凯、张之洞奏请停止科举，以兴学校，清政府诏准自丙午（1906）为始，所有乡会试及各省省考一律停止以后，延续了千年之久的科举制就此废除，一切士子都由新式学堂出身，读经丧失了作为中举出仕敲门砖的功能，实际上已无法继续下去，民国建立以后，终于正式废止。然而，在这之后，读经仍被一些人一而再、再而三地大加鼓吹，并曾在一些地区付诸实施。罗玉明所研究的何键主持下的这场湖南读经运动，就是其中极具代表性的一个个案。对于这一运动兴起的原委与过程、表象与实质、影响与结局，罗玉明已经依据大量原始资料，做了相当系统而深入的分析。各省各地读经运动情况并不完全一样，但是，透过湖南这场读经运动，我们确实可以窥见这一运动背景的多层次及读经所包含的全部的复杂性。

读经，几乎毫无例外地，都以讨伐新文化运动为其第一使命。新文化运动萌发于19世纪末20世纪初。以1915年《青年杂志》创刊为标志，新文化运动对传统儒家文化发动了全面挑战。然而，新文化运动并非一帆风顺，它的每一步发展都要遇到强大的阻力，对它的攻讦来自四面八方。新文化如新生儿童，一开始步履蹒跚，很幼稚，很不成熟，经常会摔跤。于是，各种指责滚滚而来。纵观数十年中对新文化运动的批评，集中起来大约是三个方面：一是新文化主张“全盘西化”，而猛烈对传统儒家思想展开批判，造成了中国文化发展的断裂；二是新文化运动所提倡的民主、自由、科学，引发了革命激进主义支配一切；三是新文化运动所代表的启蒙心态，诱使人们把自己的力量和理性的能力绝对化，从而使政治暴力与唯意志论广为泛滥。

近代中国现代化的发端，属于外源型，而非内生型。许多新思想、新观念、新知识、新文化，来自海外，而非内生。然而，源于西方的新思想、新观念、新知识、新文化，并不都是地域性的，其中相当大一部分与现代化相适应而具有普世意义。同样，中国新文化运动的倡导者们对海外的思想、观念、知识、文化，也并非毫无选择地全盘照收，他们所重点接受的民主或人权、科学、社会主义，事在上都属于与现代化相适应的具有普遍意义的思想观念体系、知识体系。中国传统观念、传统思想、传统知识、传统文化，在新文化运动的发动者们面前，接受了一场几近无情的批判，但这并不是使中国传统观念、传统思想、传统知识、传统文化就此断裂，而是使之在批判与扬弃中获得新生。事实上，从康有为、严复到孙中山、章太炎，再到陈独秀、胡适，人们在抨击长期占支配地位的儒家主导思想的同时，还大力发掘与张扬一直被压抑着的其他大量传统思想文化资源。对于先秦诸子所留下的丰富思想资源，对于历代文学作品所包含的文化内涵，对于一直不受重视的民间文化、民俗文化，正是经由新文化

运动才重新焕发出它们的青春。即便是儒家主导思想，也正是经由了这场批判的洗礼，方才得到较为恰当的历史定位。中国文化发展并没有断裂，而且断裂不了，但确实发生了裂变，发生了历史性的转折，也可以说，开始了历史性的升华。

新文化运动的第二大罪名，是它为激进主义的膨胀提供了思想理论基础。何谓激进主义？其实，反激进主义者从来也未能给激进主义一个明确的界定。如果追求民主取代专制，人权取代奴役，倡导科学取代迷信，社会主义取代人压迫人、人剥削人的制度就是激进主义，那么，必须保持专制主义逼杀民主、维护奴役逼杀人权、固守迷信逼杀科学、继续坚持人压迫人、人剥削人的制度而逼杀社会主义，方才不是激进主义吗？如果激进主义是指用激烈的手段，试图在最短的时间内实现其目的，激进主义就变成了一种手段，现代中国各种反动势力在镇压人民、巩固其统治地位时，使用的手段是如此残酷，如此无情，如此激烈，难道它们是继承了新文化运动的精神吗？如果激进主义是指在追求民主、人权、科学、社会主义时，没有选择和平的、渐进的道路，而选择了革命的、突变式的道路，那么，就不能不正视这样一个基本事实，人们不是没有努力过试图运用和平的、渐进的道路实现其目标，是无数的挫折，是血和泪的不断挫折，逼着他们不得不最终走上革命的、突变式的道路。这不是一个人的主观上希望不希望的问题，而是客观环境是不是容许的问题。正因为如此，激进主义这一概念，事实上就是一个非科学的、内涵非常模糊、非常含混不清的伪概念。将新文化运动与激进主义强行联系在一起，更是一个伪命题，伪结论。

新文化运动的第三大罪名，恐怕更难以成立。新文化运动追求人的尊严、人的解放、人的权利、人的自由发展，所针对的是此前社会上绝大多数人没有尊严、没有享受到应有的权利、无法自由发展的现实。20世纪中国发展的事实表明，中国新文化运

动最大的弱点，恰恰不是理性太过，而是理性缺位；不是人的尊严太过，而是人权一直无法得到实际的保障甚至得不到正式的承认。在中国占支配地位的，经常仍是传统的“罢黜百家”而定于一尊，仍是传统的经传注疏心态。新文化运动所主张的启蒙，是要求保障每个人都有思想的权利，发展的权利，而传统的经传注疏心态，则将思想的权利归于“口含天宪”的某一个人或极少数人，其他一批人的使命则是逐层逐级地依次为“口含天宪”者所著的“经”作传，为传作注，为注作疏，绝大多数人不需要思想，而只要按照“经传注疏”的要求去行动，去实施。“唯上智下愚不移”，话语形态变了，实质仍是一脉相承。“经传注疏”心态的普遍存在，其实正是因为新文化运动发展非常不足，一些人以为自己可以垄断思想的权利，不容许其他人拥有同样的权利，许多人以为少数人垄断思想的权利是理所当然，自己也不要去争取思想的权利，众多的历史悲剧由此而演出。

席卷全球的现代化，使整个世界或先或后从原先的农耕文明转向了现代工业文明。新的文明需要创造新的文化。人们不能超越先前世代所给他们提供的各种物质的、精神的、制度的条件，但是，人们并不是为先前时代而生活，人们需要在历史所提供的各种资源基础上，不断地有所创造，有所发展，有所前进。先前世代人们创造了他们自己的生活，我们这一代，以后各个世代，同样也应当创造自己的生活。儒家经典也好，国外各种思想文化资源也好，我们都要珍视，在创造新文化时，它们都是可贵的资源，我们不能凭空创造，从这些资源中，我们可以获得许多启示。中国新文化至今还远未成熟，还有待我们继续努力。

罗玉明的研究，可以帮助我们较为冷静地对待读经和儒家经典本身，更积极地承担起文化传承与文化创新的历史使命。

姜义华

2004年9月5日于复旦大学

中文提要

尊孔读经是绵延了中国近两千年的传统，它不仅是学子们追逐科举名利场所奉的圭臬、必修的功课，而且是历代封建统治者用来范围人心、重新整合社会力量建立起对全国合法化统治的工具，在中国政治、思想、学术、教育史上占有重要地位。学术界对民国建立后袁世凯的尊孔读经做了较多的研究，但对发生在20世纪30年代湖南的尊孔读经却尚未论及。本文在充分利用湖南省档案馆和有关县市档案馆馆藏资料以及湖南省图书馆馆藏资料、吸收学术界研究成果的基础上，对20世纪30年代湖南的尊孔读经进行了较为全面系统的论述。全文共五章：

第一章主要阐述1928到1937年湖南尊孔祀孔活动的基本情况及其与读经的关系。湖南的尊孔祀孔活动在1934年以前主要以民间祭祀为主，何键支持并积极参与民间祀孔活动，并力图将其控制在自己手里；1934年以后，由于南京政府公开倡导尊孔，在曲阜和南京分别举行大规模的祀孔典礼和孔子诞辰纪念大会，从而推动了湖南尊孔祀孔活动高潮的出现。湖南尊孔祀孔活动的开展，使湖南笼罩着浓厚的保守气氛，以何键为代表的湖南守旧人士不以尊孔祀孔为已足，进而公开提倡读经，于是，各种读经主张“应运而生”。

第二章阐述何键倡导读经的目的、基本主张、推行读经的主要措施，分析了其倡导读经的思想渊源和推行读经的社会基础。认为何键出任湖南省政府主席后，始终处于一种合法性危机之

中，他倡导读经的主要目的是试图通过读经，将人们的思想纳入儒家思想的范围，重新整合社会力量，构建其统治湖南的合法性基础。在分析此问题时，引入了夸克的政治合法性理论和哈贝马斯的合法性危机理论。何键主张读经要从小学开始，并为此采取了一系列相应的措施，试图将读经推向全省。何键的主张读经，一方面来自于湖湘文化中卫道与保守意识的熏陶和影响，另一方面来自蒋介石，蒋介石在 20 世纪 30 年代大力鼓吹读经并在庐山公开讲经，为何键在湖南倡导和推行读经提供了依据；同时，何键的读经主张还受到段正元师徒和湖南绅士的影响，湖南绅士不仅为何键读经摇旗呐喊，而且成为何键推行读经的主要依靠力量，他们构成了何键在湖南推行读经的社会基础。

第三章阐述了船山学社、湖南国学馆、孔道学校开展读经活动的基本情况及其读经失败的主要表现。船山学社、湖南国学馆、孔道学校是何键推行读经的主要阵地，它们办刊物、招习经生、举行春秋季课征文、以经义命题考试，开展了一系列读经活动。但是到 1935 年下半年，由于生员枯竭、刊物因稿件“奇窘”纷纷停刊、学生抗日救亡热情高涨而对读经失去兴趣，“三家”的读经活动先后失败。何键乃在国民党五届二中全会提出读经提案，但此提案一经提出就遭到胡适等人的批判；同时，由于抗战爆发，何键调离湖南，湖南的读经宣告结束。

第四章主要阐述何键的读经与湖南教育现实的矛盾。首先分析了湖湘文化中的经世和变易思想与湖南近代教育的变革对尊孔读经影响。认为 19 世纪末，以学习西方科学技术为主要内容的经世思想和倡导今文经学中的变易思想在湖南兴起，推动了湖南近代教育的变革，到民国时期，无论是在教育思想还是教学内容、教学方法上抑或是在师资结构上，都已向现代教育发生嬗变，这就为何键重提学校读经设置了一道难以逾越的障碍。其次，以湖南大学和湖南第一师范为例，说明了湖南高校并没有响

应何键的读经号召而开展读经活动，相反，何键等人的读经主张遭到了第一师范大部分老师的猛烈批判。再次，分析了读经未能在中小学开展起来的原因，一是由于大多数中小学校长和语文教师不赞同读经，学生对读经也不感兴趣；二是受制于中小学教师的学历和知识结构，在分析此问题时，采用计量史学方法，根据大量档案史料，对教育发达的长沙和较为落后的沅陵师资情况做了对比分析；三是现代教育思想深入人心，贯彻到日常教学工作中，从而有效地抵制了读经在中小学的推行。最后，分析了湖南改造私塾对读经的制约作用。到 20 世纪 30 年代私塾仍然存在读经现象，为促使其向现代教育转化，湖南教育部门采取有力措施加强对私塾改造，将读经逐出了私塾的讲坛，从而使何键的读经失去了一块重要阵地。

第五章论述在读经问题上，何键与国民党湖南省党部、教育界、湖南地方军队和湖南各界人民的矛盾冲突。何键为争夺党权和教育大权，与国民党湖南省党部发生了激烈的矛盾冲突，党政不和，在许多重大问题上不能协调一致。国民党湖南省党部不仅不支持何键的读经主张，反而放任下级党部予以攻击，抑制了读经在各县的推行。何键要求学校读经，并强迫省教育厅执行，这不仅与以朱经农为首的省教育厅工作人员的教育思想和知识结构发生矛盾，而且与贯彻国民党中央的教育方针发生矛盾冲突。省教育厅一方面对何键的读经阳奉阴违；另一方面认真贯彻执行国民党中央的教育方针，对全省学校大力整顿，严厉取缔学校的读经现象，从而扼制了读经在全省中小学的开展。军队是何键统治湖南的支柱，但是何键的读经一方面受制于湖南地方军队官兵的文化素质，另一方面在军事剿共与读经御共问题上发生矛盾；同时，军队中的高级将领如刘建绪等对何键鼓吹的读经说教又不相信，从而导致读经在军队中未能开展起来。特别是湖南各界人民在民族生死存亡的形势下，掀起了轰轰烈烈的抗日救亡运动，他

们不仅对何键的读经置之不理，而且给以无情的批判和嘲讽，抵制了何键将读经推向全省的企图。

本文论述的重点放在探讨湖南尊孔读经的基本情况及其与湖南社会现实的矛盾冲突，从而揭示出 20 世纪 30 年代尊孔读经难以在湖南进行下去的原因。

关键词：尊孔读经；传统教育；现代教育；矛盾和冲突；研究。

Abstract

The tradition of esteeming Confucius and reading Classics had existed nearly 2000 years in China. Because it was not only the required course for ancient scholars to pursue the scholarly honor and official rank but also the means of feudal governors to direct the public feeling; reunite the social power and establish the legal domination around the country as well, it played an important role in Chinese politics, thought, history of education. There are many academic studies on situation of esteeming Confucius and reading Classics during Yuan Shikai regime, but few studies concern such topic of Hunan especially during 30s of 20th century. Based on the materials of Hunan archives and many counties archives as well as achievements of scholarly circles involved, the article tried to make a detailed exposition of the movement of esteeming Confucius and reading Classics in Hunan during 30s of 20th century. The article has five chapters:

Chapter one mainly expounds some important movement of esteeming Confucius and reading Classics from 1928 to 1937 in Hunan. Such movement in Hunan before 1934 mainly existed in non-government organization, He Jian supported this kind of movement and took part in many Offering Sacrifices to Confucius presided by such kind of organization vigorously and tried to control

it. After 1934, as Nanjing Government promoted esteeming Confucius publicly, great offering Sacrifices and Birthday Anniversary of Confucius took place both in Qufu and Nanjing. These kinds of activities promoted the climax of the same movement in Hunan. The development of offering Sacrifices and esteeming Confucius made people of Hunan more conservative. He Jian felt offering Sacrifices to Confucius was not enough so he put forward the suggestion of reading classics of Confucius, thus a variety of advocations of reading classics of Confucius emerged.

Chapter two elaborates the purposes and measures of the Reading Classics Movement carrying out by He Jian and analyses the source of his thought as well as the social foundation of such Movement. Used the legal and political theory of Jean - Marc Coicard and Jurgen Habermas, the article shows that He Jian's purpose of practicing the Reading Classics Movement was to bring people's thoughts into the scope of Confucius school and reunite the social power as well as construct the legal basis of governing Hunan province. He Jian advocated reading Classics from the primary school and adopted some methods to promote such Movement throughout Hunan. There were two reasons for He Jian's advocacy, the first reason was He Jian was influenced by Huxiang Conservative Ideology; the second reason was the advocations made by Chiang kaishek during the 30s of 20th century. Also, he was affected by Zhengyuan and squires of Hunan. The squires of Hunan was the main force to depend and they formed the social foundation of the Reading Classics Movement.

Chapter three expounds the activities of reading Classics held by Chuanshan Scholarly Group, Hunan Imperial College and Confucius

School shows the failure of Reading Classics Movement. Chuanshan Scholarly Group, Hunan Imperial College and Confucius School was the major place of advocacy of Reading Classics Movement, these groups took many activities such as published periodicals, enrolled students, solicited articles during spring and autumn and gave examinations of Classics. But in the late 1935, as there were few students as well as articles appeared, these activities finally came to the end. In the 5th Central Meeting of Kuomintang, He Jian put forward the proposal of reading Classics but was criticized by Hu Shi. At the same time, Anti-Japanese war broke out and He Jian was transferred out of Hunan, thus the activity of reading Classics in Hunan finished.

Chapter four relates the contradiction between He Jian's advocacy of reading Classics of Confucius and the actual educational condition in Hunan province. It begins with analysis of the influence of Huxiang Culture and the modern educational reform in Hunan on the advocacy of reading Classics. In late 19th century, learning western science and technology became the main thought of governing country and reforming sprang up in Hunan. Reading Classics gave impetus to the modern educational reform. During the period of the Republic of China, changes toward the establishing of modern education had begun not only in educational conception but teaching content, methods, as well as the structure of teaching staff. This posed an insurmountable barrier to He Jian's advocacy of reading Classics at schools. Then the present writer makes a case study of Hunan University and Hunan No. 1 Normal School to illustrate that He Jian's proposal, instead of receiving any support from institution of higher learning in Hunan, underwent fierce

attack from most teachers at Hunan No.1 Normal School. Next, this writer analyzes why the proposal cannot be carried out at elementary and middle schools. Firstly, it was because most schoolmasters and teachers of China didn't give their assent. Nor were students interested. Secondly, on the basis of adequate historical facts to make a contrastive analysis of the advanced education in Changsha and the relatively backward teaching staff in Yuanling, the implementation of proposal was constrained by the educational background and knowledge structure of elementary and middle schools teachers. Thirdly, modern educational conception which had deeply rooted in people's mind and which had been implemented in daily teaching, prevented the implementation of reading Confucius's Classics in elementary and middle schools as an effective force. At last, the writer gives an analysis of the restriction of the proposal from the reform of old-style private schools in Hunan. Up to the 1930s, the classics were still taught at old-style private schools. In an effort to transform them to modern schools effectively, the classics were expelled out of the platform at the old style private schools. As a result, He Jian's advocacy of reading Classics lost an important front.

The fifth chapter focuses on the conflict between He Jian and head office KMT of Hunan province, the world of education, local army and all walks of living in Hunan province on the problem of reading Classics. He Jian was in dramatic conflict with head office KMT of Hunan for the sake of the power of the party and education. The party and the government are in disharmony. They were out of step in many important aspects. Not only did head office KMT of Hunan give no support to He Jian's advocating, but also

they gave a free hand to the inferior office of the party to attack his advocating and so the popularization of his advocating was restrained. He Jian demanded all schools read Classic and also forced the bureau of education to carry it out, which was both in conflict with the discipline of education of the faculty in the bureau which was lead by Zhu Jingnong and the policy of education executed by the central government. The education bureau agreed his advocacy in public but opposed in private and it only carried out the education policy of the central government seriously. It went all out to put all schools in orders, and tried its best to restrain the phenomenon of reading Classics, through which it successfully controlled the speed of reading Classics among all primary and secondary schools in Hunan provinces. The army was the base of the government of He Jian in Hunan province. On the one hand, He Jian's policy was held up by the education of the local army official, on the other hand, the suppress of the Communist Party by force was in conflict with the rejection of the Communist Party through the popularization of reading Classics. At same time, superior officials such as Liu Jianxu did not believe Hejang's policy. All these together lead to the failure of the popularization of reading Classics in the army. What's more it was at a time when all walks of living in Hunan province started dramatically the anti - Japanese campaign at the crisis point of the whole nation. They not only paid no attention to He Jian's provocation but also stained and criticized him. He Jian's attempt to vogue reading Classics was resisted.

The thesis puts its emphasis on the exploration of the conflict between the situation of esteem of the Confucius and reading Classics and the social reality at that time, so the reason why this Movement