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Original Article

The Cultural Difference between Beijing and Shanghai and Its Influence on New Culture Movement

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ABSTRACT

The New Culture Movement marked the dawning of a turbulent era in China. By the time of May Fourth Movement, the cultural contradiction and conflict grew into an extensive and enduring social movement extending deep and far-reaching influence on the Chinese society. The huge difference and contradiction existing between the Beijing and Shanghai cultures contributed to the outbreak of this social movement. To be specific, there was an active human and information exchange involving the two leading Chinese cities and at the same time the old and new cultures, thoughts and moralities constantly acted upon each other.

Key Words: New Culture Movement, May Fourth Movement, Beijing, Shanghai, Chen Duxiu

I . Introduction

The New Culture Movement (NCM) marked the dawning of a turbulent era in China. The direct reason why NCM took place lay in the contradiction and confliction between the new thought, culture, ethics and morality advocated by the new intellectuals such as Chen Duxiu and their old counterparts. The new thought, culture, ethics and morality originated from the West and Japan and from the treaty ports such as Shanghai as well. It took them quite a long time to disseminate and propagate in China's treaty ports. In this course the new and the old, partially and temporarily, contradicted and conflicted with each other. By the time of May Fourth Movement (MFM), the cultural contradiction and confliction grew into an extensive and enduring social movement extending deep and far-reaching influence on the Chinese society. The huge difference and contradiction existing between the Beijing and Shanghai cultures contributed to the outbreak of this social movement. To be specific, there was an active human and information exchange involving the two leading Chinese cities and at the same time the old and new cultures, thoughts and moralities constantly acted upon each other. Thanks to MFM, a political endeavor, the twin cities' politico-intellecto-cultural exchanges extended nationwide.

The difference, contradiction and confliction between Beijing and Shanghai were all premised 1) on the rise of Shanghai, which was finally on a par with Beijing; 2) on the creation of Shanghai idiosyncrasy contrasting sharply with that of Beijing; and on some Shanghai-based cultural elites' migration into Beijing.

II . The Rise of Shanghai

In the ancient China Shanghai, a far less remarkable coastal county under the jurisdiction of Jiangsu's Songjiang Prefecture, could never take rank with Beijing, the highly advanced capital of China. Since the end of the First Opium War (1840-1842), Shanghai witnessed a rapid growth due to the tide of migration from Jiangnan (the lower reaches of the Yangtze River) that was alternately brought about by the creation of international settlement, the Taiping Rebellion and the economic modernization. As early as 1886, *New York Times* (NYT) said complementarily Shanghai had already

Xiong Yuezhi, The Cultural Difference between Beijing and Shanghai and Its Influence on New Culture Movement

been the finest commercial city of the Far East and an oriental pearl.¹⁾ In 1900, Shanghai had more than 1,000,000 residents. Five years later, the number of people living in Shanghai exceeded two million. Since then on, Shanghai was always China's most populous city. By 1919, when NCM swept across entire China, the population of Shanghai outnumbered all other major Chinese cities (see table below).²⁾

Cities	Population
Shanghai	2,450,000
Guangzhou	1,600,000
Tianjin	900,000
Beijing	850,000
Hangzhou	650,000
Fuzhou	62,5000
Suzhou	600,000
Chongqing	525,000
Xianggang (Hong Kong)	525,000
Chengdu	500,000

As indicated above, the population of Shanghai tripled Beijing and quadrupled Suzhou.

In addition to the stunningly increasing population, Shanghai's economic, cultural, political and diplomatic significance was increased substantially. No later than the early Republican China (1912-1949), Shanghai had become a national hub renowned for her highly active trade, finance, commerce, industry and transportation. Where culture was concerned, Shanghai proudly had vibrant communities of journalists, publishers, writers and artists. Politically, Shanghai was trichotomized into the Chinese

1) See: Zheng Xiyuan 郑曦原 ed., *Diguo de huiyi: Niuyue shibao wan Qing guancha ji* 帝国的回忆：《纽约时报》晚清观察记 [An empire's memory: Looking back at the late Qing through the prism of *New York Times*] (Beijing: Dangdai Zhongguo chubanshe, 2007), 57.

2) See: The Special Committee on Survey and Occupation of China Continuation Committee ed., *The Christian Occupation of China* (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922), "Appendix G", lxxxviii-lxxxix; Zou Yiren 邹依仁, *Jiu Shanghai renkou bianqian de yanjiu* 旧上海人口变迁的研究 [A study in the changes of pre-liberation Shanghai' population] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1980), 90.

territory, the International Settlement (IS) and the French Concession (FC) and exactly for this reason neither the Qing government and the Beiyang Government (1912-1928) could solidly control this city. In other words, the central government of China was unable to administer Shanghai. Under such circumstances, Shanghai in the late Qing and the early Republican China had already been the de facto Community of Sino-Foreign Interests (CSFI). To be specific, any significant events taking place in Shanghai would concurrently influence China and the world.

Due to Shanghai's huge size and unique status, the central governments of the late Qing and the Republic of China all attached great importance to this city. As a consequence, Shanghai, just as Beijing, was the most-watched city in the modern China. Usually, people had the twin cities placed in the same category. Most importantly, compared with other Chinese cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, a rising and concession-centered metropolis, had very distinctive city scape, municipal administration, social structure and local character.

As early as the early reign of Guangxu Emperor (r. 1875-1908), some had been aware of the huge difference existing between the twin cities' town planning. In 1879, *Shenbao*, a Shanghai-based newspaper, published an article comparing the roads built in Beijing and Shanghai. The author of this article pointed out that, due to Beijing's climatic conditions, when raining the roads became unbearably muddy and dirty and when clear the dust was swirling in the streets. By contrast, the roads in Yangchang (namely, Shanghai, a city infested with foreign adventurers) were clean even in the rain and never be dusty on a dry day.³⁾ Alexander Williamson, a British missionary, and Sun Baoxuan, a Chinese scholar, echoed this in their writings. Williamson satirized that it is funny to see even the Chinese empire living in a city with dirty roads and broken buildings.⁴⁾ Sun alleged that every new comer would be shocked by Beijing's dusty and dirty roads and hoped that the capital's streets could be remade as clean and smooth as those of Shanghai.⁵⁾

Having their discussions based on the visible difference of appearance between Beijing and Shanghai, some attempted to analyze the administrative and cultural differences between the twin cities. In 1892, one piece of essay published in *Shenbao* shed some light on Shanghai's municipal

3) For detailed discussions, see: "Lun Jingshi jiedao 论京师街道" (Shedding light on Beijing's roads), *Shenbao* 申报, September 30, 1879.

4) For more descriptions, see: Wei Lianchen 韦廉臣 (Alexander Williamson), *Zhiguo yaowu* 治国要务 [The essence of statecraft] (Shanghai: Guangxuehui 广学会 [The Society of the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese], 1893), Chapter Three, 6.

5) Sun Baoxuan 孙宝瑄, *Wangshanlu riji* 忘山庐日记 [Diary written in Wangshan Cottage] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), vol. 1, 30.

Xiong Yuezhi, The Cultural Difference between Beijing and Shanghai and Its Influence on New Culture Movement

administration.⁶⁾ First, Shanghai took positive measures to build and repair roads. Second, Shanghai had much more advanced engineering equipment that could be invested in the road-building work. Third, Shanghai set up a complete police system in face of the increasingly complicated situation. Fourth, Shanghai enforced relevant laws as strictly as possible. Thanks to these efforts, Shanghai's road administration was greatly bettered. This essay implied that a city's appearance and administration were closely interconnected. In contrast, Beijing's municipal administration was much less systematic, intensive and effective than that of Shanghai. This essay went further, alleging that if Beijing adopted the Western-style administration, the officials in charge of this would inevitably take bribes and damage the public utilities.

As regards the social structure, Shanghai was a typical immigration society. Over eighty percent of her residents were from all parts of the country. Most of the Shanghai residents worked in commerce and industry. They were young, utilitarian, pragmatic, individualistic and competitive. Due to the lack of an effective top-down administration, Shanghai gradually grew into a highly heterogeneous *stranger society*, wherein neighbors seldom knew each other nor did they communicate with each other. People in Shanghai changed their residences very frequently. The local government's control over the residents was very loose. Even the Baojia System, which was the Republic of China's (ROC) most basic administrative system and implemented nationwide, could not be applied to Shanghai. The moral restrictions accustomed to people of the *acquaintance society* were unable to work here at all. In these conditions, people could enjoy a greater personal freedom and the Western-style concepts such as independence, equality and liberty advertised by NCM activists started to take root.

As far as the Shanghai politics was concerned, the imperialistic powers had seriously infringed China's administrative and judicial power in Shanghai and Shanghai's concessions constituted a de facto state within a state. In 1862, Wang Tao (then named Wang Han) was wanted for his advisory work done for the Taiping rebels. The British consul in Shanghai harbored Wang and helped him flee to Xianggang (Hong Kong). In 1898, the conservatives crushed Hundred Days' Reform (HDR) and executed six active reformers in Beijing. Some leading reformists sought shelter in Shanghai. Kang Youwei, one of the chief architects of the Reform, went abroad from Shanghai. Huang Zunxian saved his life by hiding in Shanghai's concessions. Zhang Yuanji escaped to Shanghai. In 1903, Zhang Taiyan and Zou Rong preached their anti-Qing program and vilified the emperor and the empress dowager. As a consequence, the Qing government tried its best to arrest the two rebels. The authorities of the concessions did their utmost to exonerate Zhang and Zou. Finally, both got a much

6) "Lun zhidao 论治道" (On the betterment of municipal administration), *Shenbao*, January 12, 1892.

lighter sentence. By contrast, Shen Jin, who committed a similar but minor offense, was arrested in Beijing and caned to death without trial. It is evident that Beijing and Shanghai were politically different from each other. On this account, Yu Youren and Huang Xing spontaneously fled to Shanghai in 1904, when both advocated the anti-Qing revolution in Shaanxi and Hunan respectively. In Shanghai, Yu taught at Fudan Institution and published a pro-revolutionary newspaper; and Huang went to Japan and continued his revolution.

In the twilight years of Qing, it was widely held that Beijing and Shanghai had their own distinctive style and characteristic. To be specific, Beijing was a political center; and Shanghai, a social center. Beijing was conservative; and Shanghai, unconventional. Observing this, some concluded that Beijing and Shanghai had their own strong points and confronted each other.⁷⁾ Metaphorically, an observer revealingly said Beijing and Shanghai were all the melting pots irresistible to the new comers.⁸⁾

III. Cultural Characters of Beijing and Shanghai

Shanghai as treaty port was a shop window of the Western culture. Besides, it served as the base of disseminating the Western culture in China. It was in Shanghai that China made groundbreaking effort learn from the West.

As regards the display of Western culture, it was through the window of Shanghai that the Chinese saw, for the first time, the modern products, clothes, buildings, rules, laws and social systems. At first, the aliens living in Shanghai's concessions brought modern commodities to meet their own needs. Gradually, the Chinese residents in Shanghai changed their exclusionary attitude towards the foreign things and accepted them. Take running water, coal gas and electric light for example. The Shanghai residents did not reject but instead rapidly used them.

Where the dissemination of Western knowledge was concerned, in the time prior to HDR, there were nine publishing houses, among which seven were set up in Shanghai. Approximately eighty

7) Yao Gonghe 姚公鹤, *Shanghai xianhua* 上海闲话 [The chitchat respecting Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1898), 50.

8) Tian Guang 田光, "Shanghai zhi jinxi gan 上海之今昔感" (Shanghai: Past and Present), *Minli bao* 民立报 (The rising people), February 12, 1911.

Xiong Yuezhi, The Cultural Difference between Beijing and Shanghai and Its Influence on New Culture Movement

percent of Western books were published in Shanghai. Shanghai pioneered in publishing books devoted to the natural, applied and social sciences. Some well-known books—*Huaxue jianyuan* (which was based on *Well's Principles and Applications of Chemistry*), *Tan tian* (the Chinese edition of *Outlines of Astronomy*), *Zuozhi chuyan* (the Chinese edition of *Political Economy for Use in Schools and for Private Instruction*), and *Taixi xinshi lanyao* (the Chinese edition of Robert Mackenzie's *The Nineteenth Century: A History*)—were all translated, adapted and published in Shanghai. In more than one decade extending from HDR down to the 1911 Revolution, the Western knowledge was introduced to China mainly via Japan. Shanghai in this course served as the leading disseminating hub. The Shanghai-based publishers—such as The Commercial Press, Guangzhi Shuju and Wenming Shuju—played a pivotal role in the dissemination of Western knowledge. It was in Shanghai that Yan Fu's translation of renowned Western books and Lin Shu's rendering of famous Western fictions that were published.

In eight decades spanning from the First Opium War to NCM, China tried her utmost to rehabilitate herself. Countless Chinese people with lofty ideals devoted themselves to the mission making China strong and powerful, regardless of repeated failures. In most cases, the trend-setting thoughts were created in Shanghai and then disseminated nationwide. In Shanghai, Feng Guifen advocated the idea of strengthening China by learning from the West; Zheng Guanying published his thought-provoking *Shengshi weiyan* (Warnings to the age of prosperity); and Wang Tao discussed intensively the significance of reform. Their words constituted the best intellectual heritage of the Self-Strengthening Movement (SSM). When the HDR era dawned, the Shanghai-based *Shiwu bao* (Current affairs) was the most influential newspaper in China. One of *Shiwu bao's* most popular essays—*Bianfa tongyi* (A general discussion of reform)—was read nationwide and praised as the most forceful and most penetrating. *Geming jun* (The revolutionary army) authored by Zou Rong and published in Shanghai revealed the corrupt nature of the late Qing. Zhang Taiyan in Shanghai penned *Bo Kang Youwei lun geming shu* (A refutation of Kang Youwei's understanding of revolution), setting forth the necessity and significance of social revolution. These essays were the best and most revealing political discussions at that time. The Western intellectual sources—such as evolutionism, capitalism, socialism, social contract and survival of the fittest—in support of SSM, HDR and revolution and the leading Western thinkers such as Darwin, Rousseau and Marx were all introduced to the Chinese by virtue of the Shanghai publications. Some in the late Qing observed that, inasmuch as since the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) people who had great aspirations gathered together in Shanghai and exerted nationwide influence, Shanghai became the start pointing of China's

rehabilitation and the entire nation pinned its hope on this city.⁹⁾

Due to Shanghai's close and consistent interaction with the international intellectual communities, the Shanghai-based scholars and thinkers always played a vanguard role in the national salvation and rehabilitation. This was embodied in Chen Duxiu's publication of *Qingnian zazhi* (The journal of youth), the predecessor of the well-known journal entitled *Xinqingnian* (*Le Jeunesse*), in Shanghai. Chen, prefacing the debut edition of *Qingnian*, pointed out that henceforward China's words and acts were all linked to the world and the Chinese youth must open their eyes to the whole world and study foreign countries as far as possible.¹⁰⁾

In contrast, Beijing was the center of conservatism in the late Qing and the early ROC. In the Tongzhi reign (1862-1874), for instance, when Tongwenguan (an imperial institute teaching the Western knowledge) was recruiting students, who would be taught the modern astronomy and mathematics, among the candidates in preparation for the Imperial Civil Examination, some leading scholar-officials boycotted it. As a consequence, all candidates rejected Tongwenguan. In the early Guangxu reign, the conservatives regarded Guo Songtao, who was sent to Britain on a diplomatic mission, as a traitor. The hard conservatism was slightly diluted due to the experimental New Policies advocated by the Qing government in its twilight years. Nevertheless, the situation was not changed fundamentally. Exactly for this reason, when Cai Yuanpei was appointed the President of the prestigious Peking University (PKU), his Shanghai colleagues suggested him decline it. Later, Cai recalled that when he was offered the job, some suggested that he *not* accept it because PKU was too conservative and might damage his reputation and some encourage him to take it in the hope that he could reform fundamentally this imperial university. Metaphorically, Cai compared himself to a Buddhist idol, who said "If I do not descend into the hell, who will?" Resolving to breathe new life into PKU, Cai finally went to Beijing.¹¹⁾

Cai's experience shed some light on how people then perceived Beijing and Shanghai. Taking into consideration the true situation, we might say that Cai's acceptance of the offer was heroic. In other words, Cai made brave attempt to reform an old imperial institution symbolizing the centuries-old conservatism. In this sense, Cai's journey was an embodiment of the confrontation between Shanghai's unconventional aspiration and Beijing's conservative persistence.

The significance of Cai's journey to the north was profound and far-reaching. Cai assumed the

9) Ibid.

10) *Qingnian zazhi* 青年杂志 (The journal of youth), no. 1 of Issue One, "Shegao 社告" (The announcement).

11) For Cai's recollection, see: Gao Pingshu ed., *Cai Yuanpei quanji* 蔡元培全集 [Complete works of Cai Yuanpei] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), vol. 7, 20-21.

Xiong Yuezhi, The Cultural Difference between Beijing and Shanghai and Its Influence on New Culture Movement

office and appointed Chen Duxiu to the post in charge of PKU's humanities and social sciences. Consequently, Chen relocated the editorial office of his *Xinqingnian* to Beijing. Besides, Chen recommended Hu Shi, one of his fellow townsmen from Anhui, and other prominent scholars such as Liu Bannong to PKU. All these new intellectuals made great contributions to NCM.

IV. The Shanghai-Based Cultural Elites' Migration to Beijing

To a certain extent, NCM was a conflict brought about by some Shanghai-based cultural elites' endeavor to transplant new thoughts, ethics, moralities and cultures to Beijing. The new things found that they were actually unaccustomed to Beijing's tradition. Beijing was the capital of China and the vast inland area was culturally consistent with Beijing. Thus, the conflict between the new culture and the established tradition in Beijing influenced entire China.

Cai Yuanpei lived in both Beijing and Shanghai. He had worked in the imperial academy for four years (1894-1898). Being discontent with Beijing's conservative atmosphere, Cai went to Shanghai in the wake of the crackdown of HDR activists. Since the dawning of the twentieth century, Cai resided in Shanghai, where he taught at the Nanyang Institution, headed the China Association for Education, founded the Patriotic Academy, and presided over the Society of Restoration. Shanghai was Cai's second home. It was in Shanghai that Cai acquired new knowledge and developed new ideas. Before 1907, when Cai started to study in Germany, Shanghai was his modern intellectual fountain. According to Cai's diary, in five years (July, 1894-October, 1899), Cai exposed himself to eighty-three Western books, journals and newspaper, among which fifty-two were published in Shanghai. Later in PKU, Cai promoted tolerance and self-government, both of which were inspired by his practice in the Shanghai-based Nanyang Institution. Cai's bold reform applied to PKU was not only from his study in Europe but also from his experience in Shanghai.

Chen Duxiu participated in NCM in Shanghai. In 1903, Chen arrived in Shanghai from Anhui. He was one of the founding members of *Guomin riri bao* (The national daily), a megaphone for the anti-Qing revolution and Western-style democracy. This newspaper was known as the *Little Subao* (a very influential revolutionary newspaper). It was in Shanghai that Chen made friends with Cai Yuanpei and Zhang Shizhao. Chen even joined a Shanghai-based anti-Qing assassination corps. Then, Chen went to Japan and Anhui, where he continued his political activities. Thwarted there, Chen returned to Shanghai.

It is worth mentioning that even before assuming office at PKU, Cai had tried to recruit Chen Tang Er'he, who had worked with Cai and Chen in Shanghai one decade ago, recommended Chen to Cai. Cai said Chen was impressive and could not be forgotten. After reading Chen's *Xinqingnian*, Cai decided to hire Chen.¹²⁾

Hu Shi, a famous NCM activist, learnt the Western knowledge in Shanghai. In 1904, Hu went to Shanghai from Anhui. Hu spent six years studying in Shanghai's Western-style schools, where he was exposed to new knowledge such as evolutionism and started to write in the modern vernacular Chinese. If Hu did not study in Shanghai, he might not have opportunity to be enrolled in an American university. If so, Hu Shi would be much less prominent in NCM.

Qian Xuanton and Liu Bannong, both of whom won fame in NCM, benefitted greatly from their Shanghai experience. In Shanghai, Qian had studied in Nanyang Middle School and edited *Huzhou baihua bao* (Huzhou news in vernacular); and Liu, penned political essays for *Zhonghua xinbao* (New Chinese dispatch), translated papers for *Zhonghua shuju* (China Book House), played in a troupe, and wrote the light literature. Later, Liu and Qian, alias Wang Jingxuan, played a pas de deux in *Xinqingnian* in promotion of the new culture. The duo's inspiration was from Liu's acting career in Shanghai.¹³⁾

As regards NCM's intellecto-cultural origin, Shanghai actually pioneered in the criticism against the ossified Confucian orthodoxy, the liberation of women and the promotion of modern vernacular Chinese.

1. The criticism against the ossified Confucian orthodoxy.

In 1903, an essay entitled *Fagu* (The obstinate adherence to the past), which was published in *Tongzi shijie* (Children's world), pointed its gun at Confucius, criticizing that Confucianism taught people to be blindly obedient to the superior and played a very bad role in the Chinese society. The author of this essay sneered at those who regarded Confucius as China's most honorable sage and contemptuously said Confucius's title—Perfect Saint—was no more than an empty insignia conferred by despotic rulers. In the same year, *Guomin riri bao* published several essays—"On Slavery," "On

12) For more information, see: Vol. 6 of *Cai Yuanpei quanji*, 349.

13) Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi all mentioned the relationship of NCM activists and Shanghai. For detailed discussions, see: Chen Wanxiong 陈万雄, *Wusi xinwenhua de yuanliu* 五四新文化的源流 [Origins of May Fourth and New Culture movements] (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1992); Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, "Wusi yundong yu Shanghai shehui 五四运动与上海社会" (The May Fourth Movement and the Shanghai society), *Shehui kexue* 社会科学 (*Journal of social sciences*), no. 5 (1999), 66-70.

Xiong Yuezhi, The Cultural Difference between Beijing and Shanghai and Its Influence on New Culture Movement

Sovereign,” “On Orthodoxy,” and so on—criticized sharply Confucianism. “On Orthodox” asserted that Confucianism and the Confucian ethics were conducive to the absolute monarchy; and that the alleged Confucian orthodoxy impeded the growth of scholarship and free thinking. The essay particularly pointed out that many Chinese emperors believed in the orthodoxy in name and at the same time they used it to restrict the intellectual freedom and consolidate the political control.¹⁴⁾ In 1904, two essays—“Confucianism is Inevitably Flawed” and “Is Confucianism Irrelevant to the Politics?”—accused Confucianism of being politico-intellectually intolerant of dissenting ideas. These essays were not outdone by their counterparts produced in MFM. Some analyzed them, revealing that the essays discussed extensively political systems, academic thinking, social ethics and general customs and the anti-traditionalism and cultural reformism embodied in them radically gave expression to the aspiration for a thorough and total emancipation of the mind.¹⁵⁾

2. The liberation of women.

It had been intensively discussed in Shanghai in the late Qing. In two decades (from the 1870s to the 1890s), *Shenbao* published many essays criticizing the bad habits such as foot-binding and women’s inferiority and promoting women’s education. In the early twentieth century, magazines and journals such as *Nüxue bao* (The feminists) and *Nüzi shijie* (Women’s world) produced essays, poems, fictions and dramas promoting the gender equality and denouncing women’s inferiority. One of the most representative works was Jin Tianhe’s *Nüjie zhong* (Awakened women). Jin systematically set forth women’s morality, character, capability, rights and the evolutionist view of marriage. Her work is widely regarded as the classic of Chinese feminism. Theoretically, Shanghai’s discussion of feministic issues was not less profound and thought-provoking than that of MFM. One of the reasons why feminism had a market in the late Qing’s Shanghai lay in the fact that, by then, Shanghai women had already worked in factories, been economically independent, and had their own social life.

3. The promotion of modern vernacular Chinese

As early as the late Qing, the use of vernacular Chinese had been remarkable in Shanghai. Some reform-minded people held that one of the reasons why China was poor and backward in modern times was that the Chinese people was not yet awakened. In order to awaken the people,

14) “Daotong bian 道统辨” (On orthodoxy), in *Guomin riri bao huibian* 国民日报汇编 (A collection of *The National Daily*), 1903, vol. 1.

15) Chen Wanxiong, *Wusi xinwenhua de yuanliu*, 120.

reformers should disseminate modern ideas in an easily understandable language. Thus, a series of enlightenment efforts—reforming the writing system, writing light literature, publishing illustrated journals, delivering understandable speeches, promoting the modern vernacular Chinese, and so on—were made. As early as 1876, Shanghai published a vernacular Chinese newspaper entitled *Minbao* (The people), which was printed every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.¹⁶⁾ Before 1911, twenty-seven of China's over 140 vernacular newspapers were published in Shanghai. Among the active proponents of vernacular Chinese in MFM, some were exactly the editors of the late Qing's vernacular newspapers. Take *Jingye xunbao* (Competition thrice-monthly) for example. It lasted for three years and one of its founders was Hu Shi. Exactly because of his participation in the publication and distribution of *Jingye xunbao*, Hu later posed himself as the trailbreaker of China's vernacular literary revolution.¹⁷⁾ Some recognized Shanghai's vernacular endeavor, saying even though the vernacular movement in Shanghai was not as gigantic and vigorous as that in Beijing, it did prepare a large number of authors and readers for future.¹⁸⁾

Shanghai actually had a solid social base of promoting the modern vernacular Chinese. To be specific, a great number of peasants went to Shanghai and became new urban residents and half of them were barely educated and unable to read the classical Chinese. In this regard, Chen Duxiu had said he disagreed with the assertion that it was the new intellectuals such as Hu Shi and himself that promoted the vernacular Chinese but instead pointed out that the popularity of vernacular Chinese was in accord with the development of Chinese industry and the concentration of Chinese population in the urban centers.¹⁹⁾

Here comes a question. Now that the new cultural practice was abundant and diverse in Shanghai, for what reason Shanghai's endeavor could not exert nationwide influence until the outbreak of NCM? The reasons are as follows.

First, the criticism against Confucianism and the alleged Confucian orthodoxy in the late Qing did not go far beyond the academic communities. It was different from that of the MFM era, when the

16) "Liushi nianqian de baihuobao 六十年前的白话报" (The vernacular Chinese newspapers in six decades ago), in Shanghai tongshe 上海通社 (Office of Shanghai Annals) ed., *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao xujii* 上海研究资料续集 [A sequel to *Primary Sources respecting Shanghai Studies*] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1894), 321.

17) Hu Shi 胡适, *Sishi zishu* 四十自述 [Looking back at my life at forty] (reprint. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1987), 135.

18) See: Qiu Mingzheng 邱明正 et al., *Shanghai wenxue tongshi* 上海文学通史 [General history of literature in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2005), 504-505.

19) For Chen's analysis, see: Chen Duxiu 陈独秀, *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan* 陈独秀著作选 [Selected works of Chen Duxiu] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1993), vol. 2, 575.

Xiong Yuezhi, The Cultural Difference between Beijing and Shanghai and Its Influence on New Culture Movement

anti-Confucianism and the everyday life were combined together. Take Wu Yu, a MFM activist, for example. Inspired by his father's pain in the family, Wu denied the traditional filial piety and put into practice his transmorphed thought. Second, the use of modern vernacular Chinese and the liberation of women were totally acceptable in Shanghai, a Chinese city with very special social structure. By contrast, when the new things were transplanted by new intellectuals to Beijing, they were denounced inconceivable and impracticable. Third, Shanghai, an eccentric city centered on concessions, was generally despised as yichang (a barbarous land) among the traditional Chinese scholar-officials. Few paid attention to what took place in Shanghai. On the contrary, if there were new occasions in Beijing, the situation would be entirely different. How could Beijing, the soul of imperial China, tolerant of anything heterodox? Therein lay the reason why in Shanghai, the new things could smoothly grow and in Beijing, they might cause a mighty uproar instead. Fourth, most importantly, the political MFM was indispensable to NCM. NCM prepared the intellecto-cultural sources for MFM; and MFM, in turn, helped NCM grow much more influential. Without MFM, NCM was nothing but a storm in a teacup in the small academico-cultural circles.²⁰⁾

V. A Revealing Remark

Some ROC scholars shed light on the cultural difference between Beijing and Shanghai and the role that the twin cities played in NCM.

Yang Hui (1899-1983), a MFM activists and one of the participants of burning a pro-Japanese high official's residence, had taught at PKU and been the head of Department of Chinese. He disagreed with the idea that staging NCM in Beijing was Beijing's glory and denounced it superficial. He argued instead:

As we know, the origin and basis of May Fourth Movement lay in Shanghai, even though it indeed broke out in Beijing. The reason was as follows. Mr. Cai Yuanpei was appointed the President of Peking University. He was given the opportunity to extend the cultural endeavor

20) For a detailed discussion, see: Wang Qisheng 王奇生, "Xinwenhua shi ruhe 'yundong' qilai de: Yi Xinqingnian wei shidian 新文化是如何“运动”起来的以《新青年》为视点” (How was the new culture activated? An observation through the prism of *Le Jeunesse*), *Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究 (*Modern Chinese History Studies*), no. 1 (2007), 21-40.

that was originally centered on Shanghai and carried out mainly in Jiangsu and Zhejiang to the entire north led by Beijing. In other words, the social movement taking shape in Shanghai was spread to Beijing. Consequently, MFM broke out in Beijing. Under no circumstances would the north and Beijing in particular be the matrix of such a social movement. To put it another way, the objective conditions for a social movement were inadequate in north. As a result, culture and art, both of which were the reflections of superstructure, started to influence the social development.²¹⁾

He went further, alleging that, later, some Shanghai-style personages left for the south and those who stayed in Beijing were increasingly exposed to the scholar-official tradition. The latter, Yang said, grew powerful and finally had the intellectual community dichotomized into the Beijing and Shanghai factions.²²⁾

Yang's remark was revealing. When analyzing the role that Beijing and Shanghai had played in NCM, Yang paid great attention to the twin cities' cultural consistency. He particularly pointed out that NCM's outbreak in Beijing be traced back to what took place in Shanghai in two decades ago. Where the new literature and art were concerned, Yang asserted that, contrary to the popular idea that the new literary/artistic movement started from MFM, it was staged as early as the dawning of the twentieth century in Shanghai, where the upper echelons of the intelligentsia had grasped the fundamental changes taking place in the social life of modern China and responded to these changes by reforming the writing system in the wake of the crackdown of HDR.²³⁾ In the light of the nature of the twin cities, Yang attempted to explain for what reason NCM was not fully successful. His answer was that inasmuch as Shanghai was a semi-colonial city and Beijing a semi-feudal city, NCM could only be partially successful. Yang's explanation reads:

The May Fourth Movement broke out in Beijing. Beijing then was the politico-cultural center of China, as well as being the headquarters of feudalism. Shanghai was the embodiment of semi-colonialism, one of the special dual nature of Chinese society; and Beijing symbolized semi-feudalism, the other fundamental aspect of the Chinese society. Due to the cultural

21) Yang Hui 杨晦, "Lun wenyi yundong yu shehui yundong 论文艺运动与社会运动" (The interrelations of literary/artistic and social movements), *Daxue* 大学 (Great Learning), no. 1 of Issue 6 (1947).

22) Yang Hui, "Jingpai yu haipai 京派与海派" (The Beijing and Shanghai factions), *Wenhui congkan* 文汇丛刊 (A miscellaneous collection of papers), no. 4 (1947).

23) Yang Hui, "Zhongguo xinwenyi fazhan de daolu 中国新文艺发展的道路" (The growth of China's new literature and art), *Wenxun* 文讯 (Literary news), no. 1 of Issue 8 (1948).

Xiong Yuezhi, The Cultural Difference between Beijing and Shanghai and Its Influence on New Culture Movement

need brought about by Shanghai's social conditions and the call made by the top echelons of the intelligentsia, Beijing witnessed a social movement, namely, MFM. Thanks to Beijing's uniqueness, MFA was able to influence entire China. Growing into a national movement was, however, double-edged. On the one hand, MFM's significance was substantially extended and augmented; but on the other hand, MSM, from the start, suffered the disconnection between ideal and reality.²⁴⁾

Just as Yang had done, Xia Kangnong (1903-1970), who had studied zoology in France and been PKU's professor of biology, deeply discussed MFM. Xia said, if the assertion that the material basis determines ideology was true, Shanghai outdid Beijing in guiding China's cultural growth. Although Shanghai's cultural elites, Xia went on, were born with something filthy and iniquitous, they finally grew in strength, just as the commoner class did in the Western countries. Unlike Shanghai, Beijing, an old, declining imperial capital, was culturally dependent on the filthy and iniquitous things, out of which Shanghai successfully extricated herself. He even alleged that exactly for this reason *Xinqingnian*, NCM's beacon, which was born in Shanghai, moved to Beijing at last.²⁵⁾ He particularly pointed out that the Shanghai-based cultural elites'—Liu Bannong, for instance—migration to Beijing refreshed the local culture. In Xia's eyes, originally, the capital should play a leading role in a normal country's politico-economic-cultural development. But in China, he contended, the situation was different, considering the embarrassing fact that the nature of a Chinese city could not be determined by China but by the international community and the imperialistic powers in particular. In these conditions, the role that Shanghai must play in China was multiple. Not only was Shanghai the hugest foreign trade port but it was also the economico-cultural center of China.²⁶⁾

24) Yang Hui, "Zhongguo xinwenyi fazhan de daolu," *Wenxun*, no. 2 of Issue 8 (1948).

25) Xia Kangnong 夏康农, "Shi gai tichu renminpai de chenghu jieshu jingpai yu haipai de wuwei fenzheng de shihou le 是该提出人民派的称呼结束京派与海派的无谓纷争的时候了" (It is the time to put an end to the meaningless strives involving the Beijing and Shanghai factions by designating The People's Party), *Wenhui congkan*, no. 4 (1947).

26) *Ibid.*

Ethical considerations

Ethical issues (including plagiarism, informed consent, misconduct, data fabrication and/or falsification, double publication and/or submission, and redundancy) have been completely observed by authors.

Conflict of Interests

The authors have no conflict of interests to declare.

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[原始中文]

京沪文化差异与新文化运动

新文化运动在中国大地上洪波涌起，风雷激荡，直接导因是陈独秀等人倡导的新思想、新文化、新伦理、新道德，与中国原有思想、文化、伦理、道德发生矛盾与冲突。新思想、新文化、新伦理、新道德的来源，远者为欧美、日本等西方世界，近者为上海等口岸城市。新的思想、文化、伦理、道德在口岸城市传播、滋生、繁衍，自非一日之功，也曾与中国原有的思想、文化、伦理、道德发生过矛盾，产生过冲突，但那都是局部性、暂时性的，到五四时期之所以会形成“运动”，影响广远而持久，重要原因是京沪文化的巨大差异与矛盾，两地人员与信息对流，新旧不同的思想、文化、伦理、道德，持续地对流、对垒，并因五四政治运动而扩散到全国。

京沪文化差异、矛盾与冲突的形成有三个前提，一是上海城市崛起，成为可以与京师相提并论的对象；二是上海城市文化特质显现，与京师形成强烈反差；三是一批先前生活在上海的文化人迁移北京。

1. 上海崛起与京沪并提

近代以前，上海是江苏省松江府下属的一个普通沿海县城，原没有与全国首善之区京师相提并论的资格。鸦片战争以后，由于设立租界、太平天国战争、战时中立、投资设厂等因素，在推力、拉力交互作用下，江南等地人口大量涌入，上海城市快速膨胀。1886年，上海已被《纽约时报》称为“远东第一商埠和东方的一颗明珠”¹⁾。1900年上海人口超过百万，到1915年又翻了一番，超过200万。以后，上海一直是中国第一大城市。到新文化运动汹涌澎湃

1) 《租界见闻》，《纽约时报》1886年8月7日，译文见郑曦原编：《帝国的回忆：〈纽约时报〉晚清观察记》，当代中国出版社2007年版，第57页。

的1919年，中国城市按人口排序，前十名依次是²⁾：1、上海（245万），2、广州（160万），3、天津（90万），4、北京（85万），5、杭州（65万），6、福州（62.5万），7、苏州（60万），8、重庆（52.5万），9、香港（52.5万），10、成都（50万）。上海人口差不多是北京的3倍、苏州的4倍。

与此同时，上海在经济、文化、政治、外交等方面的地位日益加重。至迟到民国初年，上海已是全国包括贸易、交通、金融、商业、工业等在内的多功能经济中心；包括新闻、出版、文学、艺术（戏剧、曲艺、音乐、美术、电影等）在内的文化中心；政治上则因一市三治，即一个城市有三个行政实体（华界、公共租界与法租界），清政府与北洋政府均难以完全控制，成为中国中央权力之外的法外之地。清末民初的上海，事实上已是中外利益共同体，发生在上海的事情，往往具有全国与世界影响。

这么庞大的体量，特殊的地位，使得上海成为中国从晚清到民国历届政府、各种政治力量都极为重视的城市，成为除了京师以外最受关注的城市。人们也习惯于将上海与北京并提。

更为关键的是，快速崛起的、以租界为重心的上海，与北京等中国城市相比，在市政风貌、市政管理、社会结构、城市品格等方面，均反差极大。

还在光绪初年，人们已注意到京沪两地市政建设方面的差异。1879年（光绪五年），《申报》载文，对京沪道路建设进行比较：京师“天气晴朗，飞沙扑面，污及衣履。凡客入厅，事先命奴仆扑尘，然后入座叙茶”。“值天雨之日，则更有不堪者，雨水入土，苟沟不开时，水泥和成浆汁，驻足即陷，不赤脚者断不可行。且驴尿马粪，搀匀泥水中，其秽不可向迩”。即使坐车，亦往往轮辕动处，泥溅帷中。上海洋场土质也是沙土，与京师无异，但经租界建设，则“天雨无淖没之虞，天晴亦无飞扬之患，行人过此，几不知其本为沙地矣”³⁾。1890年代，英国传教士韦廉臣（Alexander Williamson）、中国学者孙宝瑄，都发表了类似看法：

（京城）街巷逼仄，道途湫溢，旱干则尘嚣，阴雨则泥泞，紫禁城而外，无论衙署、仓库、庙刹，以及士农工商之房舍，卑陋者多，美丽者少，倾圮者众，创造者寡，种种陋习，指不胜屈，未尝不慨然叹曰：以帝王之居而鄙陋若是，岂不为天下笑哉！⁴⁾

余居京师久，凡自远方来，始至者未有不厌且苦。询其故，曰：街衢凸凹，尘风泥雨，牛溲马勃，器浊蒸郁，秽区也。……惜哉，使衢巷间，皆平除荡涤苗蓐发栉，坻

2) 资料来源：中华续行委办会调查特委会编《中华归主：中国基督教事业统计1901-1920》下册，中国社会科学出版社1987年版，第1186-1187页；邹依仁：《旧上海人口变迁的研究》，上海人民出版社，1980年，第90页。

3) 《论京师街道》，《申报》，1879年9月30日。

4) 韦廉臣：《治国要务》，广学会，1893年版，第三章，致治之本，第6页。

平如申江夷界间，乃完美矣。⁵⁾

人们由市政面貌的不同，追溯到市政管理的差异，进而追根到文化的差异。1892年，《申报》载文指出，上海“道路则时加修理，有不平之处，立即平治，不俟积日。近来又有修路之火车、机器，尤为便利之极。洋场之地，五方杂处，品类不齐，良者出其间，莠者亦出其间，苟无巡捕、包探以相警察，则洋场安可一日居？至于路口植立之捕，则风雨不改，寒暑无间，设有行车使马之不谙规矩者，则呼而告之，有不率教者，拉送捕房，以是无肇祸之事。盖于道路之政，可谓尽心焉耳矣。”影响市政面貌、市政管理的是一套相互联系的制度，而北京等城市则无法做得这么系统、细致、有效，因为“假如中国亦照西法行之，则管理收捐之人，势必从中染指，以饱私囊，其初或尚止私其半而公其半，渐而久焉，必至全入私囊，而于公事仍归废弛”。⁶⁾

社会结构方面，上海是典型的移民社会，人口80%以上来自全国各地，所业以工商为主，人口年轻，逐利，务实，重视个人能力，崇尚竞争。由于没有一个政权能全面、有效地控制整个上海，也由于这里是异质度极高的陌生人社会，邻里之间往往互不相识，互不往来，且迁徙频率特高，今日寓此，明日迁彼，政府对个人控制力极为松散，连通行于中国其他城镇的保甲制度在这里也无法有效地建立与实行，熟人社会习见的对个人道德的约束在这里荡然无存。这种社会结构与管理特点，为个人自由、个体发展提供了难得的宽松环境，也为新文化运动中常被提及的那些来自西方的自由、独立、平等之类思想的植根提供了理想沃土。

政治控制方面，由于列强对租界行政权、司法权的侵夺，使得两租界成为事实上的“国中之国”。1862年，王韬（当时名字还是王瀚）因向太平天国将领献策，遭清政府通缉，被英国驻沪领事麦华陀庇护，最后避地香港。戊戌政变后，谭嗣同等六君子在京被杀，上海成了维新人士的避难所，康有为由此而逃往海外，黄遵宪因租界庇护而活命，张元济则离开北京而避地上海。1903年，章太炎、邹容公开宣传反清革命，辱骂皇帝与太后，清政府虽百计查拿、引渡，但租界当局硬顶软磨，最后仅一判三年，一判两年。与章、邹情况类似、情节还不如二人严重的沈荇，在京被抓，未经审判便被活活鞭死。京沪两地政治气候的温差为世所共知。有鉴于此，1904年，陕西于右任、湖南黄兴，都因在当地宣传反清革命，遭到通缉，不约而同地逃到了上海。结果，于到复旦公学当了教授，同时办报宣传革命，黄则避地日本，继续从事革命活动。

到了清末民初，京师与上海已是世人公认的代表两种风格的两类城市，一为政治中心，一为社会中心，一守旧，一革新：“上海与北京，一为社会中心点，一为政治中心点，各有其挟持之

5) 孙宝瑄：《忘山庐日记》，上册，上海古籍出版社1983年版，第30页。

6) 《论治道》，《申报》，1892年1月12日。

具,恒处对峙地位。”⁷⁾“时人谓上海、北京为新旧两大鸿炉,入其中者莫不被其熔化,斯诚精确之语”。⁸⁾

II. 文化趋新与守旧

上海开埠以后,逐渐成为展示西方文化的窗口,传播西方文化的基地,中国学习西方、变法革新的前沿城市。

从西方文化展示角度看,从煤气、电灯、自来水、电报、电话、洒水车到汽车、电车,从西装、西菜、咖啡、啤酒到缝纫机、电风扇,从公历、星期作息制度到西式婚礼、妇女参加社交、新式体育事业、图书馆、博物馆,从立法、司法、行政三权分立制度、警察制度、法庭辩护制度到道路行车规则、垃圾倾倒规定,都是先从上海出现的。租界西人引进这些器物与制度,原是为了自用,满足自己的生活需求。上海中国居民对这些洋玩意儿,有的经过抵制-理解-仿效三部曲,如对于自来水、煤气与电灯,而大多数则拿来就用,快速跟进。

从西学传播角度看,到戊戌变法以前,中国输入西学的机构主要有墨海书馆、江南制造局翻译馆、广学会等九家,其中七家设在上海。全国各种西书近八成由上海出版。从质量上看,无论是自然科学、应用科学,还是社会科学,凡具有开创意义的,几乎都是上海出版的,如《化学鉴原》《谈天》《佐治刍言》与《泰西新史揽要》。戊戌变法以后,到辛亥革命以前,西学或曰新学主要通过日本转口输入中国,其出版机构依旧有八成集中在上海,最主要的新学出版机构如商务印书馆、广智书局、文明书局等,都在上海。严译西学名著,林译西方小说,都是上海出版的。

从鸦片战争以后,到新文化运动发生时期,中国一直在努力摆脱落后挨打、丧权辱国的局面,无数志士仁人对此不懈奋斗,愈挫愈奋。那些引领时代的思潮,大多是在上海酝酿萌发、播向全国的。冯桂芬师夷自强的呼喊,郑观应的《盛世危言》,王韬的变法综论,代表了洋务时期最好的变法思想。《时务报》是戊戌时期最有影响的维新报纸,《变法通议》是其时最为痛快淋漓的变法宣传。邹容《革命军》对清朝腐朽本质的揭露,章太炎《驳康有为论革命书》对革命必要性、重要性的阐释,都代表了辛亥以前革命论述的最好水平。那些支撑洋务、维新、革命论述的西学资源,诸如进化论、民约论、资本论、物竞天择、社会主义

7) 姚公鹤:《上海闲话》,上海古籍出版社1989年版,第50页。

8) 田光:《上海之今昔感》,《民立报》1911年2月12日。

等新知，达尔文、卢梭、马克思的大名，主要是通过这些出版物逐步传开的。诚如清末人所论：“自甲午后，有志之士咸集于上海一隅，披肝沥胆，慷慨激昂，一有举动，辄影响于全国，而政府亦为之震惊。故一切新事业亦莫不起点于上海，推行于内地。斯时之上海，为全国之所企望，直负有新中国模型之资格”。⁹⁾

正因为上海的文化界、思想界一直与国际思想界、文化界有千丝万缕的联系，一直有敏锐的先锋意识，一直立在求索救国思想的潮头，所以，陈独秀在办《青年》杂志一开始，便揭明办刊方针：“今后时会，一句一措，皆有世界关系。我国青年，虽处蛰伏研求之时，然不可不放眼以观世界。本志于各国事情、学术、思潮，尽心灌输，可备攻错。”¹⁰⁾

相对说来，从晚清到民初，北京都一直是守旧的基地。同治年间，京师同文馆要招收科举正途人员学习天文、数学，引起以大学士倭仁为首的士大夫的集体抵制，结果，科举正途出身者无一人报考。光绪初年，郭嵩焘奉命出使英国，竟被京师同僚视为汉奸行径。经过清末新政的改革，虽稍有改观，但整体上依然沉闷守旧。正因为如此，蔡元培被任命为北大校长以后，上海有些同事劝他不要去。他日后回忆：

我回来，初到上海，有人劝我不必就职，说北大腐败极了，进去若不能整顿，反于自己的声名有碍。这当然出于爱我的意思。但也有少数人就说，既然知道北大腐败，更应进去整顿，就是失败，也算尽了心。这也是我不入地狱谁入地狱的意思。我到底服从后说而进北京。¹¹⁾

由此可见其时人们对京沪两地的印象。从这个意义上，蔡元培北上就任校长，就是闯入旧穴进行革新，颇有些悲壮色彩，也可以视为京沪两地趋新与京师守旧两种文化的正面碰撞。

蔡元培北上意义相当深远。因他北上，才带出陈独秀出任文科学长，才将《新青年》移到北京；由陈独秀又带出其安徽同乡胡适，带出刘半农等一串人进入北大，这才打开新文化运动的一片新天地。

9) 田光：《上海之今昔感》，《民立报》1911年2月12日。

10) 《青年杂志》，第1卷第1号，社告。

11) 蔡元培：《整顿北京大学的经过——在南京北大同学聚餐会上的演说词》，高平叔编《蔡元培全集》，第七卷，中华书局1989年版，第20-21页。

III. 翩翩先行与后续光大

新文化运动从一定意义上可以说，是蔡元培、陈独秀、胡适等原先生活在上海的一批文化人，将上海此前久已有之的新思想、新文化、新伦理、新道德移植到北京，因水土不服，引起冲突。由于北京的首都地位，也由于内地广大地区与北京在文化方面的一致性，这才产生全国性影响。

蔡元培在京沪两地都有生活经历。1894年至1898年，他供职翰林院。正是鉴于京城的保守氛围，他才于戊戌政变后弃官南下，辗转来到上海。他从二十世纪初便在上海生活，从南洋公学教习、中国教育会会长、爱国女学与爱国学社创始人，到光复会会长。上海是他第二故乡，是他获得新知识、滋生新思想的基地。蔡元培新学知识的获得，分为两个阶段，以1907年留学德国为分界。1907年以前他的新学知识来源，主要是上海。从1894年7月到1899年10月，他在日记中记录的阅读西书与包含西学知识的报刊，凡83种，其中52种均为上海出版。他日后在北京大学推行的兼容并包、学生自治等，与他在南洋公学所倡导的尊重学生权利、鼓励学生自治、反对校方专制的精神，一脉相承。他勇猛改造北大的底气，既来自留欧的经历，也来自在上海的实践。

陈独秀参与新文化运动，也是从上海起步的。他1903年从安徽来到上海，参与创办《国民日报》。这份报纸以宣传自由民主、鼓吹反清革命为宗旨，号称“苏报第二”。他在这里结交了蔡元培、章士钊等人，参加过“军国民教育会暗杀团”。此后，他在日本、安徽从事政治活动，遇到挫折，便会来到上海。

值得注意的是，蔡元培在正式就任北大校长之前，就已开始引进陈独秀的工作。他自称：“我对于陈君，本来有一种不忘的印象”，经汤尔和介绍，又翻阅了《新青年》，于是决意聘他。¹²⁾所谓“不忘的印象”，就是十多年前在上海所结之缘。居间介绍的汤尔和，也是十多年前在上海与蔡、陈一起活动的同事。

胡适的新文化根基也是在上海扎下的。他1904年从安徽来到上海，呆了六年，先后在梅溪等多所新式学校读书，接触到新学，接受了进化论，也开始了白话文写作。没有在上海的经历，他不大有机会出国留学，自然也不会有他日后在新文化运动中的作为。

至于钱玄同、刘半农等人的成长，也都与上海的影响密不可分。钱在上海编过《湖州白话报》，在南洋中学读过书。刘在上海参与过《中华新报》笔政，当过中华书局编译员，并在剧团工作，开始通俗文学创作。日后，他与钱玄同在《新青年》杂志上串演的“王敬轩事件”，便得力于他在上海的演戏经历。¹³⁾

12) 蔡元培：《我在北京大学的经历》，高平叔编《蔡元培全集》，第六卷，中华书局1988年版，第349页。

13) 对于新文化运动主要参与者与上海的关联，陈独秀、胡适自己都说过，陈万雄曾有专门论述，见氏著《五四

从思想文化源流而言，新文化运动所倡导的对于孔学与纲常名教的批判、妇女解放、白话文等，在晚清上海亦有丰富的先行实践。

对于孔学与纲常名教的批判，1903年，《童子世界》便有一篇《法古》，批判矛头直指孔子，认为孔子“专门叫人尊君服从”，在历史上所起的作用很坏。对他的所谓“至圣”评价，“不过是历代独夫民贼加给他的徽号”。同年，《国民日报》曾有《箴奴隶》《说君》《道统辨》等文，批评儒学亦不遗余力。《道统辨》指出：儒学的倡导，三纲定名分之说的确立，都是从有利于君主专制出发的。道统之说，助长专制之焰，阻碍学术发展，阻碍思想自由之发展，“中国之君主，与教皇不同，其所以信道统之说者，名为信道，实则阻思想之自由耳，名为尊孔，实则借孔教为奥援耳”。¹⁴⁾ 1904年，《警钟日报》上有《论孔学不能无弊》、《论孔学与政治无涉》，批评孔学执己见而非异说，批评独尊儒学有碍学术自由。这些文章对孔学批判的水平，并不比五四时期逊色。“这种反传统的文化革新的思想，讨论范围所及，由政治制度，到学术思想、社会伦理、风俗习惯，表现了相当彻底和全面的思想解放的要求，而态度也激烈”。¹⁵⁾

妇女解放问题在晚清上海被热烈讨论过。从1870年代到1890年代，《申报》发表过多篇文章，批判缠足陋习，批驳传统的男尊女卑观念，讨论女子教育。二十世纪初年，《女学报》、《女子世界》等众多妇女报刊，以论说、诗歌、小说、剧本等不同体裁，宣传男女平等、批判男尊女卑。其中，最有系统性、最能代表那个时期思想水平的是金天翮所著的《女界钟》，书中系统论述女子的道德、品性、能力、权利和婚姻进化论，至今仍被认为是近代中国女权主义的经典之作。就理论上而言，晚清上海在男女平等、婚姻、女子教育、男女社交等方面的识见，一点也不比五四时期逊色。女权主义在晚清上海有市场，因为上海妇女参加工厂工作早，经济自立早，参加社交活动早。

白话文在晚清上海已有相当可观的表现。在维新人士看来，中国之所以贫穷落后，很重要原因就是民众没有觉醒。要唤醒民众，就要讲民众能够听得懂的道理，写民众能够看得懂的文字。于是，文字改革、小说改良、画报、演说、白话文，都被赋予启蒙意义。上海在1876年已创刊白话报纸《民报》，每逢周二、四、六各发行一张，用白话写成¹⁶⁾。1911年以前，全国白话报刊有140余份，其中至少27份在上海出版。五四时期倡导白话文的健将，有些本来就是晚清办白话报的活跃分子。胡适等人所办的《竞业旬报》，历时三年，是晚清上海历时较长的白话刊物。胡适日后回忆：“白话文从此成了我的一种工具，七八年之后，这件工具使

新文化的源流》，三联书店（香港）1992年。笔者对此亦有申述，见《五四运动与上海社会》，载《社会科学（上海）》，1999年第5期。

14) 《道统辨》，《国民日报汇编》，1903年（光绪二十九年）版，第1集。

15) 陈万雄：《五四新文化的源流》，第120页。

16) 《六十年前的白话报》，上海通社编：《上海研究资料续集》，上海书店1984年版，第321页。

我能够在中国文学革命的运动里做一个开路的工人”¹⁷⁾。诚如邱明正所论，晚清上海的白话文运动，“它虽然没有五四白话文运动那么大张旗鼓，声势浩大，却在白话文的作者和读者两方面，为五四白话文运动打下了基础”。¹⁸⁾

白话文在晚清上海较早兴起的一个重要社会原因，是来自农村的城市平民的增加，这些人大概有一半粗识字，难以阅读文言文。正如陈独秀所说：“常有人说，白话文的局面是胡适之、陈独秀一班人闹出来的。其实这是我们的不虞之誉。中国近来产业发达人口集中，白话文完全是应这个需要而发生而存在的。”¹⁹⁾

上述这些新文化，既然在晚清上海已有丰富实践，那么，为什么在那时没有激起很大波澜，而到了新文化运动时期就引起那么大反响呢？

我以为，这有以下原因。其一，晚清对于孔学与纲常名教的批判，其影响主要还局限在文人学者当中，还不像五四时期，人们已将对于纲常名教的否定与社会实践结合起来，诸如吴虞对于传统孝道的否定，与他对于来自父亲的种种“家庭苦趣”联系起来，已将思想主张化为社会实践。其二，晚清上海对于白话文的提倡，对于妇女解放的倡导，在上海这个结构特别的社会里，已被视为理所当然。但是，陈独秀、胡适等人一旦将这些主张移植到京师或内地，就会被认为岂有此理。其三，以租界为重心的上海，在一般士大夫看来，那是“夷场”，化外之地，对于租界发生的事情，可以不屑一顾或置之不理。但是，京师不一样，那是首善之区，怎能容许这些歪理邪说恣意泛滥？所以，同样的事，发生在上海可以风平浪静，发生在京师便风波迭起。其四，也是最重要的，新文化运动是与五四政治运动紧密联系、缠绕在一起的，新思想、新文化的传播催生了五四政治运动，五四政治运动扩大了新思想、新文化的影响。没有波及全国的五四政治运动，新文化运动便主要还是文人学者圈中的事情。²⁰⁾

IV. 历史的评价

对于京沪两个城市文化的差异，及其在新文化运动中的地位与作用，民国时期学者已有讨论。

17) 胡适：《四十自述》，上海书店1987年影印本，第135页。

18) 邱明正主编：《上海文学通史》，复旦大学出版社，2005年版，第504-505页。

19) 陈独秀：《答适之》（1923），《陈独秀著作选》第二卷，上海人民出版社1993年，第575页。

20) 王奇生对此有具体阐述，见氏著：《新文化是如何“运动”起来的-以<新青年>为视点》，《近代史研究》2007年第1期。

作为五四运动积极分子、“火烧赵家楼”的直接参与者、日后担任北京大学教授、中文系主任的(1899-1983)，对此有系统论述。他说，一般人认为，新文化运动发生在北京，是北京的光荣，这其实是不明就里的皮相之见：

要知道，五四运动的爆发虽然在北京，而这一运动的来路和基础，却可以说是在上海。因为蔡元培先生的出长北京大学，当时颇有将江浙一带，以上海为中心的文化活动扩大，或者说是伸展到以北京为中心的北方的形势。同时，也就是在上海形成的社会运动，随文化扩展到北京去了。这样，才发展为五四运动的。以北京为中心的北方社会，在当时可以说并没有发展到能发生这样一次运动，也就是说，这一运动在北方的客观条件并不够。于是，只有反过来由这种上层反映的文化文艺运动，转而影响这个社会的发展了。²¹⁾

杨晦进一步指出，“等到后来伸张到北京的海派势力一部分又南下了，另一部分留在北京的，好像江南之橘，到了淮北就变成了枳的情形一样，反倒接受了士大夫的传统，于是，所谓京派的声势才张大起来，这才造成了后来京派、海派的论争”。²²⁾

杨晦眼光宏阔，思考深沉。他在分析上海与北京在新文化运动兴起过程中所起不同作用时，特别联系这两个城市的历史文脉，指出新文化运动虽然爆发在北京，但其酝酿却早在二十年以前的上海：“中国一般所说的新文艺，当然是以五四运动为起点，其实，中国的有新文艺运动早在五四的前二十年，戊戌维新的失败以后。这当然是以上海为根据地。这是因为中国近代社会生活的发生变动，在上海这样的新兴都市里，已经反映到当时上层知识分子的意识上去。就是语言文字的改革，也是在戊戌政变后，不久，就由王照等发动过”²³⁾。他还联系上海与北京这两个城市的性质，分析新文化运动为什么没能取得完全胜利的社会原因，认为上海是半殖民地性质，而北京是半封建性质：

五四运动是爆发在北京的。北京是当时中国的政治文化中心，也是封建的旧社会的大本营。这也可以说，上海在当时是代表中国社会特殊性质的半殖民地的一面；北京却代表半封建的另一面。由于上海的社会条件所唤起的文化要求，由于上层知识分子的号召，在北京造成了一种运动——五四运动；于是这次运动，由于北京的特殊条件，发生了全国性的影响，具有全国性的意义。这固然使五四运动的意义扩大而且加

21) 杨晦：《论文艺运动与社会运动》，《大学》，1947年第6卷第1期。

22) 杨晦：《京派与海派》，《文汇丛刊》，1947年第4期。

23) 杨晦：《中国新文艺发展的道路》，《文讯》，1948年新8卷第2期。

强起来；然而，这也正使五四运动的理想与实际，一开始，就伏下了脱节的病根。²⁴⁾

留法归国的动物学家、日后担任北京大学生物系教授的夏康农（1903-1970），也对此问题进行过深入讨论。他说，“既然我们都接受‘社会的物质基础决定意识形态’的说法，那么，同在动荡不安中生活的中国这两大都会，上海就较北平之更能把握着、指引着文化进展的重心，也是很显然的道理了”。他认为，上海的文化人“是挟带着污浊和罪恶的，却要从这种污浊和罪恶里逐渐成长，壮大起来，这本来是西方一般的市民阶层当政的国度里的常轨；像北平那样愈趋愈近于没落的古老帝都，轻容易见不着一两柱烟囱的，其文化生活的营养，反转间接仰仗着污浊和罪恶的哺喂。”正因如此，“作为那运动的文化信号的《新青年》，本来诞生于上海的，也就随之移转到了北平”²⁵⁾。原在上海活动的刘半农等人的北上，也进而振刷了京派文化的内容。在夏康农看来，一个国家如果正常发展，引领这个国家政治、经济、文化前进方向的必然是首都，而不是别的城市，但在中国则不然，因为中国城市的性质并不是中国独立决定的，而是受国际环境特别是受列强左右的。于是，上海这样城市的功能，就变得相当复杂，既是最大外贸港口，又是全国经济、文化中心。²⁶⁾

24) 杨晦：《中国新文艺发展的道路》，《文讯》，1948年新8卷第2期。

25) 夏康农：《是该提出人民派的称呼结束京派与海派的无谓纷争的时候了》，《文汇丛刊》，1947年第4期。

26) 夏康农：《是该提出人民派的称呼结束京派与海派的无谓纷争的时候了》，《文汇丛刊》，1947年第4期。