

中文版在第 19-30 頁

北平扶輪人漢學家---洪業教授

Peiping Rotarian Sinologist --- Professor William Hung

By Herbert K. Lau (劉敬恒) (Rotary China Historian)

1 December 2015



On Page 28 of *《The Rotarian》* Magazine, December 1934, there was brief news of several remarkable Rotarians. One of the news lines (with bust photo as above) read like this:

“Dr. William Hung, because of noteworthy research work as editor-in-chief of the *《Sinological Index Series》* published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Peiping. A graduate of Ohio Wesleyan University, and an exchange professor at Harvard in 1927-28, he now holds the classification of “Education---Universities” in the Rotary Club of Peiping, where he is the Dean of Yenching University.”

Peiping Rotary Club (北平扶輪社) was formerly known as Peking Rotary Club (北京扶輪社) which was organized in 1924. The Club name changed when the city name “Peking” was changed to “Peiping” in 1928. William Hung (洪業/洪煨蓮), was a Chinese educator, sinologist, and historian who taught for many years at Yenching University (燕京大學), Peking (Peiping), which was China’s leading Christian university, and at Harvard University of the United States. He is known for bringing modern standards of scholarship to the study of Chinese classical writings, for editing the *《Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series》* (哈佛燕京學社漢學引得), and for his biography, *《Tu Fu: China’s Greatest Poet》*. He was Professor and Dean of Yenching University, where he was instrumental in establishing the Harvard-Yenching Institute (哈佛燕

京學社). He went to Harvard University in 1946 and spent the rest of his life in Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States, teaching and mentoring students.

Harvard Scholar spoke at the Rotary International Convention

As a delegate from the Republic of China (中華民國), William Hung attended the 21st Rotary International Convention. He spoke also in front of the congregation during the “International Business Practice Conference”, Wednesday afternoon, 25 June 1930, at the Stevens Hotels, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., presided by I. B. Tom Sutton, of Tampico, Mexico, Rotary International President 1928-1929:

Chairman Sutton:

I think that because we are businessmen we want to look upon Rotary in its true sense as being a business organization and give the Vocational Service part in Rotary its true place as one of the real fundamentals. We must recognize Vocational Service as being, to my mind, the fundamental in this great organization of business and professional men.

We are called together this afternoon to discuss international business practice. You may say that this meeting is an experiment. We want to see whether there are problems in common, whether there are business practices that might be discussed and can be discussed advantageously among the Rotarians from the many nations represented here. We do not anticipate coming to any definite conclusions on these problems today, but we do hope that out of this meeting we may be able to determine whether it is advisable to attempt to hold a much larger in Vienna, and through the findings of this meeting and the interchange of thought here, be able to get our orientation for the agenda of that meeting in Vienna this next year.

I might say that the meeting is called for that purpose and also, perhaps, I should state the negative side of it, that this is not a meeting called together to discuss tariff problems. Our topics is International Business Practices. We have with us men from all of these nations making up our great Rotary family, and we want you to feel perfectly free to give us the benefit of your advices and your ideas.

Rotarian William Hung (Peiping, China):

Mr. Chairman, another from the Orient, from the Peiping Rotary Club, Peiping, China.

China, as you gentlemen all know, is a country which has rather an old culture, and if bribery is one of the cultural products, China can well boast having nurtured that by-product to a very high degree of efficiency.

I suppose the giving of something which should not be the face of the globe at present, whether in the remote past or at the present time, where these twin brothers, bribery and graft, are entirely absent. It seems to me that bribery is one of the moral problems which affects humanity everywhere. It is not necessarily one of the most pressing problems which cause international irritation.

Not being a business man myself, I am apt to look upon the whole problem from a rather academic angle. From the academic angle, it seems to me, gentlemen, there is a body of men in the business world who are, for the purposes of international relationship, the most important people. They are, as a matter of fact, the vanguards of an international civilization, and through it, international goodwill and understanding. I have in mind that body of men who are engaged in what is generally known as foreign trade. Take, for instance, back in Peiping, when I sit down at my table for a meal, I eat bacon that comes from Denmark, I drink lemons shipped from Australia, and as you see, I smoke American Virginia tobacco

inside an English pipe. Such phenomena, to mention only a very few instances, was entirely un-thought of in the days of King Solomon, with all of his wisdom.

This body of men are often the carriers of new ideas and new methods that elevate the standards of living everywhere throughout the world, and in many instances elevate the standard of morality and ethics. On the other hand, upon their shoulders, many of whom are those Rotarians who can influence others, is the duty of finding out wherein are to be found today the international, inter-racial, inter-cultural, irritations and try to find them wherever possible. Take, for illustration, one thing. We have a very happy series of clubs in the Orient. Everywhere I travel I find Rotary clubs not only international in thought but international in membership. Friendship is the real solution for all irritations.

We realize today, gentlemen, the world is not really equal. There are communities which are particularly backward, communities backward in business organizations, communities backward in scientific researches, communities backward in the policies of war and of diplomacies. These have been generally characterized as the subject communities, subject nationalities.

It seems to me it is a special burden, an obligation upon the shoulders of those represented here, from the stronger nations, the stronger races, richer communities, to put upon their shoulders this burden and to enter into the life and understanding of those communities in which they trade. When they go back to their home country, it is their duty to approach their clubs in an intelligent manner.

After all, let me repeat what I have said before: it is the spirit that counts, the thing that makes Rotary such a powerful and useful organization. Probably the matters of tariff and transportation and all those intricacies of the economic system can be ironed out by such international bodies as the League of Nations and other learned societies. As Rotarians it seems to me our supreme duty is to promote international friendship.

Early Life and Education

William Hung (洪業/洪煨蓮) (27 October 1893--22 December 1980), was born in Foochow (*Fuzhou*) (福州), a hilly seaport that served as the capital of subtropical province of Fukien (*Fujian*) (福建省), Ch'ing Empire (大清國), and was the oldest of six children. His father, an upright scholar official who had passed the second-degree imperial examination in 1891, was sent to Shantung (*Shandong*) Province (山東省) to serve as an official, a magistrate-in-reserve. (Officials were not allowed to serve in their native province in order to avoid conflicts of interest.) Hung, who began his Confucian studies with several neighbor children at the age of four, continued his studies with a tutor in Shantung after he, his mother, and four brothers and sisters joined his father in 1901. Five years later his father received his first official appointment as the magistrate of a bandit-infested district, where his duties included collecting taxes, keeping peace and order, teaching the scholars in his district, and maintaining the local Confucian Temple.

At thirteen, Hung entered the high school which was affiliated with the Shantung Teachers College (山東師範附屬中學) after receiving the top score on the entrance examination. He was teased for his southern accent and his worn blue cotton gown whose hem was led down every year as he grew taller. After reading contraband literature written by Leung Kai-Chiu (梁啟超) in the Japan Empire that told about the unjust treaties that Imperial Ch'ing had been forced to sign, Hung and his younger brother decided that Hung Tuan would go to Armed Defense School in Shantung while Hung would try to enter the new Naval Academy in Shanghai (上海). After Hung missed the Academy's entrance examination due to a storm at sea, a family friend

suggested diplomacy as another route to serve the country. He encouraged Hung to learn English and Western knowledge at the Anglo-Chinese College (鶴齡英華書院), begun by the Methodist mission in Foochow. When the students heard of the uprising in Wu Chang (武昌) in October 1911, they all cut their queues to show their solidarity with the revolutionaries. Although Hung was recognized as the best student in the College, he was disruptive because he attacked Christianity. Hung became a Christian after the wife of the principal spoke kindly to him after his father's death and the YMCA evangelist, Sherwood Eddy, demonstrated various aspects of the nature of God. When Hanford Crawford, an American businessman who supported the College, heard that Hung was the best student in the school, but that his family had no money, he offered to support his education in the United States. Hung's maternal grandfather, a wealthy tea merchant, released him to go abroad, saying that he would look after Hung's mother and brothers.

In 1915 Hung began as a junior at Ohio Wesleyan in Delaware, Ohio. Although he had a tuition scholarship, he thought he should work like the other students. He had several jobs: cleaning a gymnasium, preparing mailings for the alumni office, and tutoring children in mathematics. He was president of the China-Korea Club on campus, which included students from those countries, as well as the children of missionaries serving there. He travelled one summer as part of a gospel team, preaching in small towns in Ohio. He was a member of the Volunteer Band, the Cosmopolitan Club, the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association, and the Oxford Club, a group for prospective ministers. After graduating Phi Beta Kappa from Ohio Wesleyan in 1917 with a double major in chemistry and mathematics, Hung moved to New York City to attend Columbia University where he studied under James Harvey Robinson, leader of the New History.

Timothy T. Lew (劉廷芳), a student at Union Theological Seminary, had encouraged Hung to come to New York. Hung, Lew, and five other Christians started a fraternity called the "Cross and Sword" (C&S), whose motto was "We unite for the Uplift of China". Hung received a Master of Arts degree in history from Columbia University in 1919 and a Bachelor's degree in Divinity from Union Theological Seminary in 1920. Hung, through their common work with the Chinese Students' Association and the Intercollegiate YMCA, met Rhoda Kong (江安真), who had left China at an early age and grown up in Hawaii, and studied at Wheaton College in Illinois. They soon married, and their two daughters, Gertrude and Ruth, were born in 1919 and 1921. (*see photo on Page 11*)

The Patriotic youth – full of Confidence and Ambition

In a 1918 article introducing Chinese students to an American audience, Hung told how the United States had become more hospitable since "the old attitude which classed students with coolies and which produced the old regime of insulting immigration officers" had disappeared. He told how students were undergoing a steady process of Americanization that was usually "normal and desirable", though some students were beginning to "lose the Chinese virtues of sobriety and reserve", and were becoming, like the "average American college sophomore, good-natured, but often careless and shallow". Hung asserted that each student remembered his duty toward China despite being abroad.

In 1919 he helped organize the Chinese exhibit at the American Methodist Church's Centenary World Exposition, a three-week-long extravaganza in Columbus, Ohio. Reverend

John Gowdy (高智), Hung's former principal at the Anglo-Chinese College in Foochow, was in charge of the China Pavilion. Hung deliberately avoided the old method of presenting the Chinese as miserable and pitiful. Instead, he showed the solidarity of the human family and the duty of brotherly love. As one entered the pavilion, beggars and small merchants were selling their wares at the gate of the "city". Scattered throughout the "city" were life-size models of Daoist, Buddhist, and Confucian temples and a rural Christian church. An art professor from Peking University (北京大學) who was studying at Columbia painted the panels for the exhibit. Seventy Chinese students had been hired to give demonstrations of daily life, present music and plays, provided tea and tiny cakes, and display handicrafts. The art exhibit contained paintings, cloisonné, lacquer, jade, and bronze work.

After spending most of his adult life in the United States, Hung returned to the "new" Republic of China (中華民國). Hung felt more at ease in American company than in a Chinese setting and chose not to discard his American-acquired values and habits. He was proud to be "marginal", a "hybrid", and a "union of diversities". He played tennis, joined the Peiping Rotary Club, and was elected president of the American College Club. Before the student demonstration in the mid-1920s, the students resented Hung's inflexibility and considered him a "fake Chinese", but after he defended the Yenching faculty in letters to newspapers in 1925, the students became reconciled to him when they realized he could write Chinese in a classical style similar to the prose of Leung Kai-Chiu.

In 1927 Hung was one of the fourteen Chinese delegates at the second conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held in Hawaii. The Institute had been organized in 1925 largely by YMCA people in Hawaii to offer for "frank, non-partisan, and confidential exchanges among key national figures ... that would filter back to the decision-making circles of their respective governments and lead to an eventual improvement in relations. The delegates from Britain, China, Japan, and the United States came prepared with papers on culture, race and politics, labour and economic resources, and law and diplomatic relations. But these topics were jettisoned for the pressing issue of China's relations with foreign powers, especially concerning tariff, extra-territoriality, and concessions. Hung found the British delegates to be pleasantly different from those in Shanghai, the Japanese delegates to be either silent or ambiguous, and most of the Americans to be friendly and sympathetic, except for a few who raised legal objections to releasing China from the unequal treaties. Hung reported that even though no treaty was signed, the conference was still a success for it was a congress of the liberalism that had the power to generate friendship.

After becoming embroiled in a controversy about supporting native church leaders in China in 1919, Hung decided on three negatives and three positives about the future. He chose never to become an official, an ordained minister, or a college president because they were positions of power and possible compromise. Instead he would direct his work toward concrete achievements, live a morally defensive life, and, like the poets, retain a childlike delight in living.

Career at Yenching University and the Harvard-Yenching Institute

After graduating, he spoke about the Chinese language and customs and China's place in the world on several lecture circuits, including the Lyceum and the Community Chautauqua. After being offered a position as assistant professor of church history at Yenching University in Peking, he travelled in the United States for a year and a half. Hung would talk about China, and

then Henry Winters Luce (路思義), a missionary to China, would follow with appeal for financial support. The two men raised \$2 million for Yenching's building program.

Yenching University, which had opened in 1919, under the leadership of President John Leighton Stuart (司徒雷登) set out to become the leading Christian university in China. Hung was one of the first scholars trained in the West Stuart recruited. In August 1923, Hung left with his family for China to begin teaching history at Yenching University, also serving as the Chinese pastor in a Methodist mission for students from Fukien in Peking.

The next year, at the age of 30, he became Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Lew, his friend from Columbia and fellow member of the C&S fraternity, had come to Yenching in 1920 and became Dean of the School of Religion the following year. In trying to raise Yenching's standards, Hung and Lew worked together to abolish the compulsory chapel service, phase out the preparatory school, hire new faculty in the Chinese Department, and raise the academic standards of the school. Finding that neither the University library nor Peking's only public library were of any use, Hung asked several American friends for money to establish a library at Yenching, which subsequently became known as one of the best in China. He announced his ambition to raise Yenching's academic quality and to "make it the peer of Peita" (Peking University).

The establishment of the Harvard-Yenching Institute was a major project for Hung and President Stuart. An American industrialist, Charles Martin Hall, had bequeathed a substantial endowment for the support of Christian higher education in Asia, but Harvard had moved to use it to establish Chinese studies on its own campus, with a supporting program in Peking. Stuart and Hung were determined to make Yenching the home for the Chinese side of the new development though Harvard leaders were leaning toward Peking University on the assumption a Christian missionary university would be second rate. In the end, Harvard agreed to make Yenching their partner, but not before Hung helped to overcome a possible stumbling block.

In 1925, a Yenching student named Wang Chin-Jen (王近仁) came to Hung's campus residence late at night to report a matter of patriotic concern. The previous year Wang had acted as interpreter for Langdon Warner, a Harvard professor of art history who had been travelling on an exploratory trip to the cave libraries at Tun-Huang (*Dunhuang*) (敦煌). Wang had accidentally come across Warner experimenting with cheesecloth and glycerin to remove unique murals, and now Wang reported Warner had returned with a large supply of those materials. Knowing Warner was a key negotiator for Harvard and he was in secret talks with nearby Peking University, Hung instructed Wang to act as if nothing had happened, but also arranged with a colleague in the Ministry of Education to instruct every local official along the route Warner was to be warmly welcomed, but never left alone at any historic site.

By 1927 Hung felt he could brag Yenching no longer had to "share the disgrace of inferior Chinese courses, a charge so frequently made against missionary education institutions." Yet, he resigned as Dean at the height of the Nationalist Party's (中國國民黨) drive to unite the country, partly because he came to feel he did not have enough time to know the students or faculty, and partly some students felt his methods were too rigid and Americanized. He suspected even President Stuart felt his discipline alienated students who were strong nationalists or communists, perhaps egged on by the older teachers of Chinese.

After the disastrous expedition to Tun-Huang, Langdon Warner was left out of subsequent Harvard-Chinese schemes to get the Hall money, but the planning by Stuart and Donham continued. On New Year's Day of 1928, Hung wrote to the Crowfords:

“More than two years ago an endowment of one million dollars was given to Harvard University and Yenching University jointly for the promotion of advanced studies on Chinese culture. It seems now probable that the fund might be interested ... From the Yenching end I have been associated with the working out of the programme from the very beginning.”

The Harvard-Yenching Institute, was, indeed, incorporated almost immediately that month in Massachusetts with a board of trustees composed of 3 Harvard members, 3 Yenching members, and 3 outside members. Its administrative headquarters were to be located at Harvard, but its principal activities were to be carried out at Yenching. According to its articles of incorporated, dated 5 January 1928, the purposes of the Institute were as follows:

“To conduct and provide research, instruction and publication in the culture of China, and/or elsewhere in Continental Asia and Japan, and/or Turkey and the Balkan States in Europe and, in furtherance and not in limitation of the foregoing ... To carry on, for properly prepared Chinese and Occidental scholars, research and educational work of the type appropriate to a graduate school of arts and sciences, and, in so far as it may appear expedient in order to prepare scholars for admission to the work of the Institute, to develop through other institutions undergraduates work in China; to explore, discover, collect and preserve objects of culture and antiquities, or to aid museums or others to do so.”

The language of the agreement was vague and showed obvious marks of compromise. On the whole, it was a triumph for Stuart, and for those like Hung who were deeply engrossed with him in formulating policies to build a first-rate institution. It made Yenching University an instantaneous international center for Chinese studies. The Institute was to provide funds for Yenching to develop graduate-level programs to which other universities, including Harvard, could send the cream of their students in Chinese studies for further training. It also opened the door for Yenching graduate students to be admitted into Harvard. In addition to having access to \$4.5 million granted to the Harvard-Yenching Institute itself by the Hall Estate, the Institute at Yenching was to administer the distribution of some \$1.8 million to other American controlled (Christian) universities in China to strengthen their Chinese studies program, which naturally gave Yenching tremendous power. And it was an opportunity and a power that Yenching put to brilliant use. At Harvard, several eminent sinologists, including Paul Eugène Pelliot (伯希和), were invited to Cambridge advising on the direction of the Institute at its inception in 1928. Stuart proposed that Hung and Lucius Chapin Porter (博晨光) be invited as representatives of Yenching.

In 1928, as part of the new Institute's activities, Harvard University invited Hung to Cambridge as a lecturer. He taught the large undergraduate course, *《History of the Far East Since 1793》*, and enjoyed perusing Widener Library's wide collection. Though it was taught in the Department of Far Eastern Languages, not the Department of History, it was the first research course of Chinese history to be taught at Harvard. Hung was once again in demand as a public speaker, debating Japanese propagandists, offering lecture series.

The following year Hung returned to Yenching to resume his leadership of the Department of History and the Institute of Chinese Studies, and was in charge of Harvard-Yenching Institute

grants. It was under Hung's deanship that Yenching emerged from the obscure college run by Western missionaries to a nationally recognized Chinese university that participated fully in the intellectual life of China. So glaring was the oversight that in a preface written at Stuart's request, Hu Shih (胡適), who had taught at Peking University when Hung was Dean of Yenching, and who between 1931 and 1937 was Dean of Arts at Peking University, felt compelled to fill the gap by paying a side tribute to Hung. Hu wrote:

“As a friend and neighbor of Yenching who watched its growth with keen interest, I would like to say that Dr. Stuart's great success as a university builder lay chiefly in two directions. First, he and his colleagues planned and built up, literally from scratch, a full-size university---the greatest of all the 13 Christian colleges in China---with one of the most beautiful university campuses in the world. And secondly, this university of his dreams became in the course of time more and more a Chinese university, which, with the help of the Harvard-Yenching Institute of Chinese Studies, was the first of all the Protestant missionary colleges to develop an excellent Department of Chinese Studies.

I would like to pay a tribute to the Chinese scholars of Yenching, notably to Dr. William Hung, who deserves special credit for building up a very good Chinese library at Yenching, for editing and publishing the excellent Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies and the most useful series---the Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series.”

It should be noted that in the spring of 1930, when Hung was in the United States, on a leave of absence from Yenching University, there was an attempt by the Yenching faculty to reinstate Hung as Dean. Hung declined the invitation.

With the Communist takeover of China and the dissolution of Yenching University in 1952, the activities of the Harvard-Yenching Institute moved to Taiwan (臺灣), Hong Kong (香港), Japan, and South Korea, where it continues to give aid to educational institutions and to inter-institutional research organizations. It also maintains the Harvard-Yenching Library in Cambridge, which has become one of the best, if not the best East Asian library outside of Asia.

Return to Yenching

Hung spoke about Japan's interest in Manchuria at the Foreign Affairs Institute at Cleveland in January 1929. *“I have come not to ask you to hate Japan or to make war ... We are willing to welcome the Japanese as friends, not as conquerors, in fair commerce. We urge the liberal Japanese to keep the military party in control and restore property to its rightful owners.”* The students reported in the Monthly that Hung's extemporaneous talk was enthusiastically received by the audience. *“In Him, China had an able representative.”*

After being a visiting professor at the University of Hawaii for a year, Hung returned to Yenching which had recently moved onto the new campus with Chinese-style buildings. In 1931, Hung edited a volume, *《As It Looks to Young China》*, in which six Chinese Christians who had studied in the West discussed major social relationships in China: family, school, vocation, nation, world, and religion. In the Introduction, *《Setting Confucian Aside》*, Hung traced how the nineteenth-century reform movements in China failed because reform was at the periphery rather than at the center of Chinese politics. Twenty years later the establishment of the Republic in 1911, the once youthful dreamers were faced with the reality that the “republican government proved something like a joke”. In response, Hung advocated that “the philosophy of life of the

Chinese people must be modernized by critically reviewing Chinese ideas and ideals and introducing all schools of Western thought. Although the recent changes, such as using vernacular Chinese, “debunking” of history books, and translating foreign literature, were good, actively importing “foreignism” had resulted in a chaotic “struggle in China among the differing new ideas as well as between old ideas and new”. Hung concluded that though some Chinese heard Confucius weeping in the grave and hoped to put him back into the central place in Chinese thought, “the historic culture centering upon Confucianism is disrupted.” Ironically, more than fifty years later, Susan Chan Egan (陳毓賢) titled her biography of William Hung 《*A Latterday Confucian: Reminiscences of William Hung*》.

During the 1930s, Hung’s scholarship sought to “set in order our national legacy”, a call made by the reformer Leung Kai-Chiu and the philosopher Hu Shih. As editor-in-chief of the 《*Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Reviews*》, Hung and his small staff evaluated 64 of the most important Chinese classics, established textual variants of these books, and provided them with indices or concordances. He wrote monograph-length prefaces to seven, one of which, the preface to the 《*Book of Rites*》 (禮記), won him the Prix Stanislaw Julien from the French Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1937. He served as executive secretary of the Harvard-Yenching Institute of Chinese Studies, which provided funds for archeological research, a graduate school at Yenching, and for sending Yenching students to graduate school at Harvard. Yenching’s prominence rose as it administered the distribution of US\$1.8 million to other American Christian universities in China to strengthen their Chinese studies programs. Hung trained some of the next generation of Chinese historians in his Seminar on Historical Methods, popularly known as “Seminar on Rubbish”, in which students went through scrap paper sold by vendors, identifying each and establishing the place and time of origin.

Reprimanding the Japanese aggressor army officer

Outbreak of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on 7 July 1937 (七七盧溝橋事變) at Peiping gave the Imperial Japan an excuse to invade China. As Hung was writing an introduction to another volume in the series in 1937, his house shook when the Japanese began bombing the Nationalist’s Western Barracks, only a few hundred yards from the Yenching campus. Until December 1941 Yenching was the only free campus in North China because the President, John Leighton Stuart, flew an American flag on the campus pole. Several weeks after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour in Hawaii resulting the outbreak of the Pacific War, Hung and other Yenching professors were arrested. When a Japanese interrogator asked Hung if he was against the Japanese cause, he replied that he needed twenty minutes to discuss why he resisted Japanese aggression.

“I am a historian. When I was young, I studied history of China, then I went abroad and studied world history, which includes the histories of Japan and Korea. I have come to an important conclusion, which is that the use of military force to conquer other countries, to enslave other people, to make other people submit against their will, can only succeed temporarily. There is bound to be a reaction, and in the end retribution. When the end finally comes, the oppressors suffer as much as the victims, sometimes worse than the victims.”

After relating examples in Western and Chinese history, Hung began describing Japan’s role in Korea. When the Korean interpreter began to cry, the Japanese officer dismissed Hung. When Hung was brought back after lunch, the officer bowed to Hung, saying, “*I am bowing to a*

man who is fearless in speaking his mind.” That evening they had a long conversation. While Hung was in prison for almost four months, Rhoda sold almost of their possessions in order to survive. At the end of the War, the campus held a re-opening ceremony at which Hung made the opening speech. Their house on campus needed many repairs, and the office’s printing presses had been sold.

After the War

After the Allied Victory in August 1945, Hung returned to the devastated Yenching campus. He thought of going to the United States, first to catch up with scholarly developments and secondly to seek support for Yenching. Harvard University invited him to lecture and Hung left China in April 1946. The University of Hawaii hired him in the spring of 1947 as visiting professor. While he still intended to return to China, Civil War had broken out and the economy deteriorated sharply. That summer, he decided to move back to the Harvard–Yenching Institute in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, Hung completely abandoned the idea of returning to the new Communist China.

The decision to give up home and Yenching University made him miserable but he felt his will has been exhausted. At the age of 50, he had to find the courage to meet the challenges of an unknown world. In 1948, the Harvard-Yenching Institute made him a Fellow but did not give him a formal teaching position, basically because he did not hold a Ph.D. degree. Hung and his wife bought a house close by the University, and rented out rooms and collected meager social benefits to survive. While living abroad, Hung still longed for his homeland. He often told friends “*I love America, I love the motherland, the motherland of my parents.*”

In 1952 Harvard University Press published his 《*Tu Fu: China’s Greatest Poet*》. Hung became Nanyang University of Singapore (新加坡南洋大學) Board member in 1958. Hung offered Tu Fu (杜甫) classes or lectures at Harvard, Yale University, University of Pittsburgh, University of Hawaii. Among the scholars he influenced with his teaching and attention were sinologist David Shepherd Nivison (倪德衛) and historian Joseph Francis Fletcher. Sinologist Francis Woodman Cleaves (柯立夫), whom he had met in China before the War, became a close friend in Cambridge. Every afternoon at three, the two would meet and have tea. Cleaves, a specialist in Mongolian, introduced Hung to 《*The Secret History of the Mongols*》. Cleaves disagreed with the conclusions in Hung’s article on the transmission of the text, but out of a sense of respect did not publish his own translation until after Hung’s death.

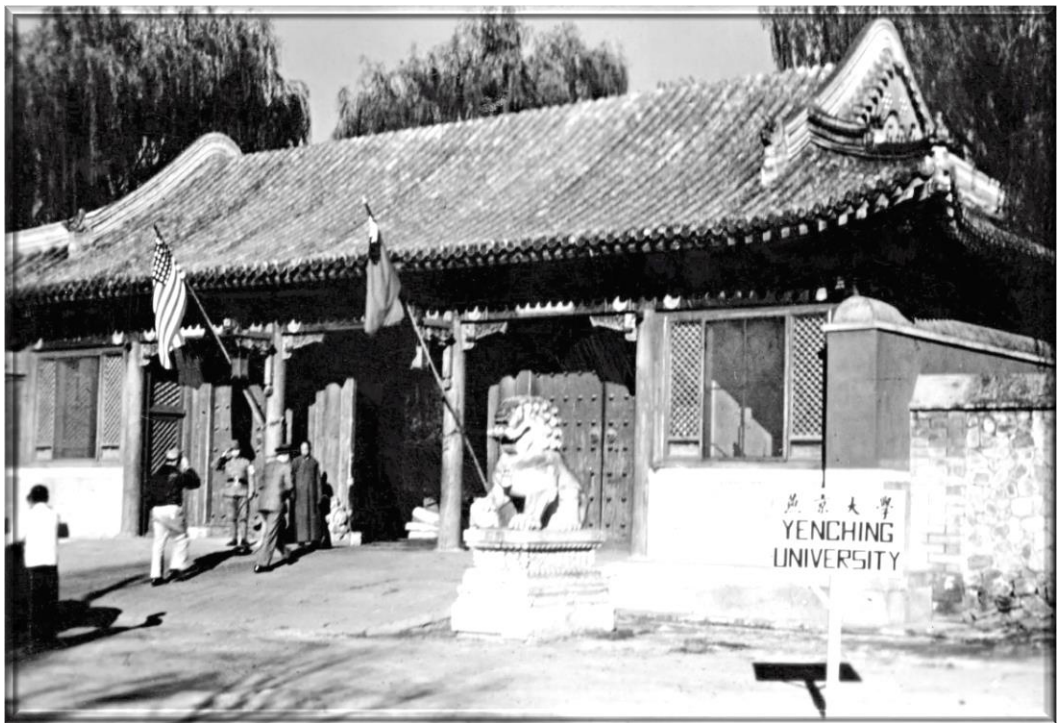
Final Years

Hung lived in Cambridge and was actively involved a prayer fellowship in New York. He also informally assisted Harvard East Asian Studies. Living abroad, he said looking back at his life: “*In my life of scholarship, my method was the scientific method and I am completely confident that it was not wrong.*” In March 1980, Hung fell during his morning exercises, resulting in a fractured elbow, then physical deterioration. The night of December 16, Hung suffered sudden confusion, talking with the people around him in the Fuzhou dialect. On 22 December 1980, Hung died at the age of 87 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.





洪業全家福 -- 1927 年攝於北京
The Family photo in Peking 1927 – William Hung, Ruth, Gertrude, Rhoda Kong



燕京大學的大前門 *Main entrance of the Yenching University*



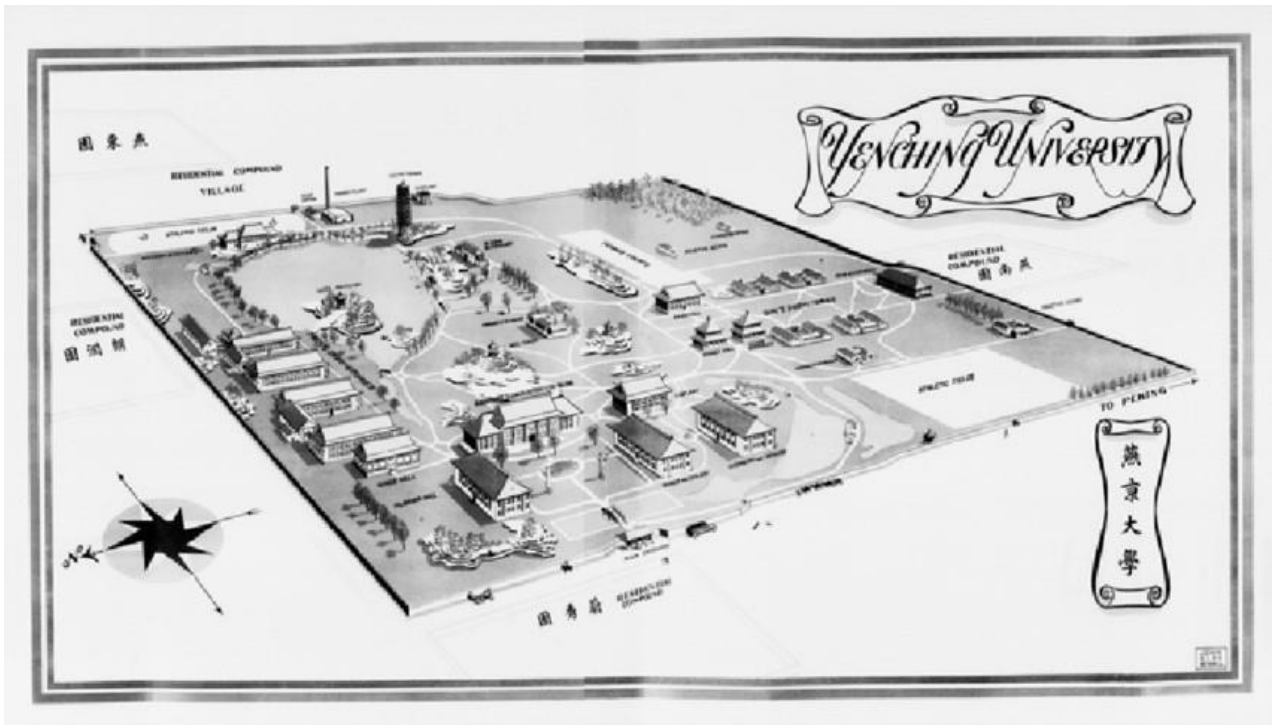
1923 年燕京大學管理人員和高級教職員 -- (右 2) 文理科科長洪業，(左 2) 校長司徒雷登
Administrators and faculty of Yenching University 1923 -- (left 2) John Leighton Stuart, President, (Right 2) William Hung, Dean of the College of Arts & Science (Special Collection, Yale Divinity School Library)



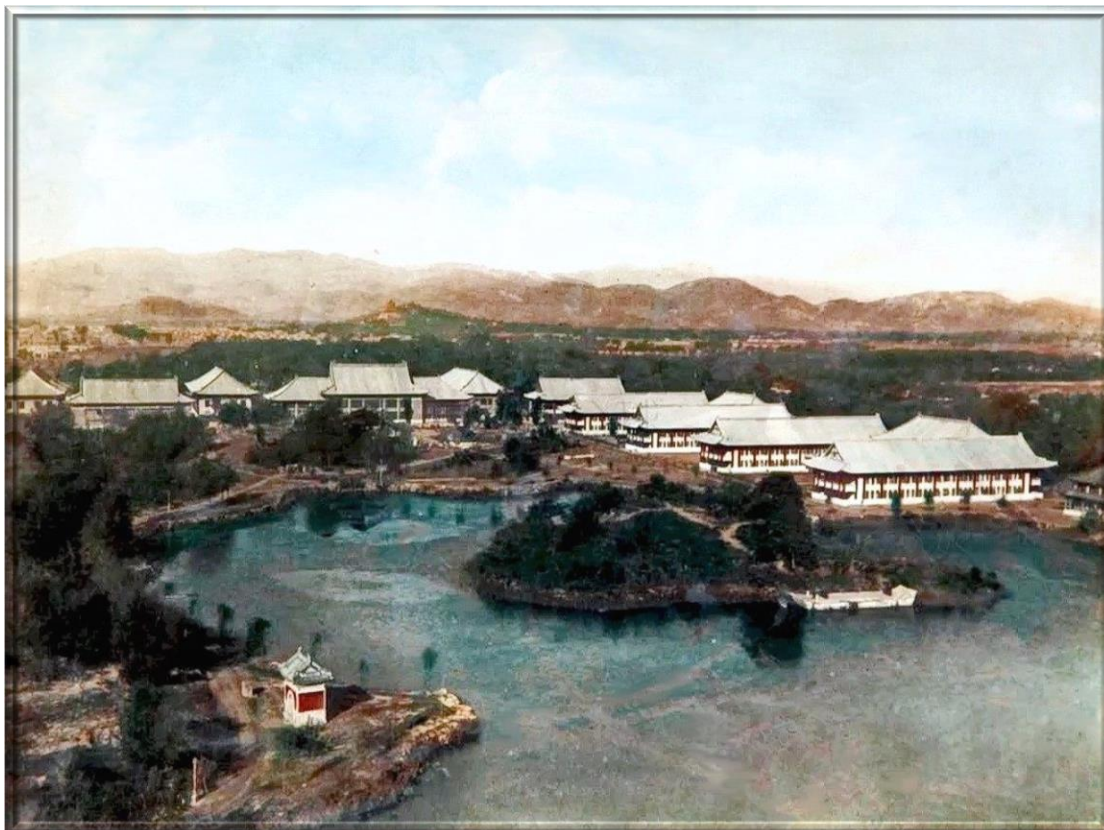
1925 年燕京大學管理人員和高級教職員 -- (右 2) 文理科科長洪業，(中央) 校長司徒雷登
Administrators and faculty of Yenching University 1925 -- (Center) John Leighton Stuart, President, (Right 2) William Hung, Dean of the College of Arts & Science (Special Collection, Yale Divinity School Library)



College of Arts and Science for Women, Yenching University



燕京大學校園地圖 Campus Map of Yenching University



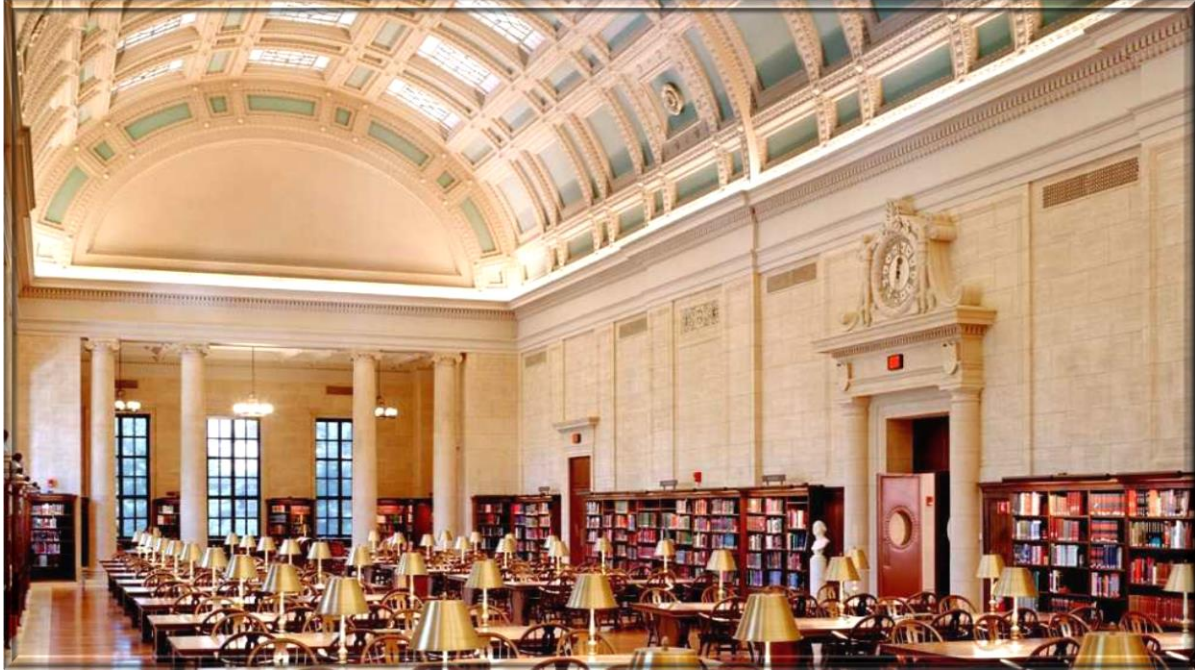
1925 年的燕京大學校園 *Yenching University Campus in 1925*



燕京大學校園 *Yenching University Campus*



1927年，洪業創辦《燕京學報》
《Yenching Journal》founded by William Hung in 1927



懷德納圖書館位於美國哈佛大學內，是現存歷史最悠久的圖書館之一，也是世界上最大規模的大學圖書館。
Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library -- Centerpiece of the Harvard College libraries



哈佛燕京學社（美國麻薩諸塞州劍橋市哈佛大學校園內）
Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.



洪業博士肖像 -- 永久地懸掛在哈佛大學哈佛燕京圖書館內
Portrait of Dr. William Hung displayed permanently inside the Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University



哈佛大學哈佛燕京圖書館 *Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University*

北平扶輪人漢學家---洪業教授



在1934年12月的英文扶輪雜誌《The Rotarian》的第28頁，有幾名優秀的扶輪社員的簡短消息。其中一條圖片新聞如下：

「洪業博士，北平扶輪社社員，職業分類『大學教育』。在北平市那裡，他是燕京大學的國學研究所所長。由他主編、哈佛燕京學社出版的《漢學引得》，備受注目。他畢業於俄亥俄衛斯理大學，1927-1928年在哈佛大學擔任交換客座教授。」

北平扶輪社（Peiping Rotary Club）原名為北京扶輪社（Peking Rotary Club），於1924年成立。1928年，中華民國首都設定在南京，「北京」改稱為「北平特別市」，扶輪社的名稱也隨之改變。1930年，在美國伊利諾伊州芝加哥（Chicago, Illinois）舉行的第21屆國際扶輪年會，洪業是中華民國的出席代表。洪業在6月25日星期三下午「國際商業實踐會議」上告訴會眾，他相信扶輪是國際文明的先鋒。通過扶輪，建立國際善意和理解。（發言記錄見第2-3頁）

洪業（1893年10月27日—1980年12月22日），中華歷史學家、漢學家，在中華哲學、文學、史學、語言學等方面均有較深研究。1928年任燕京大學（Yenching University）圖書館館長期間，大力整頓和發展了圖書館工作。短時間內，一個僅有20萬冊藏書的圖書館猛增到60萬冊，形成了適合全校文、理、法各專業的藏書體系。他在圖書、文化方面貢獻最大的，是工具書的編纂。認為整理中華文獻，必須有一套科學的工具書，遂著有《引得說》。先後編纂出版了古籍中經、史、子、集各種索引達64種，81冊。如《春秋經傳引得》、《杜詩引得》等索引，至今仍為科學研究工作者和圖書館工作者所重視，查找文獻極為方便。1946年寓居美國，繼續對中華歷史進行研究。他亦以藏書而知名，共達3萬餘冊，其中有不少罕見的中外圖書。逝世後，全部捐贈予北京中央民族大學圖書館。他的一生對於編纂中華古籍引得、哈佛燕京學社的發展等等，貢獻顯著。



漢學家洪業在青年時代，為自己定下幾條原則，限定了他一生努力和活動的範圍。這些原則概括地說起來就是「三有」和「三不」，其中的「三有」即「有為」「有守」「有趣」，「三不」即「不做官員」「不做牧師」「不做校長」。

洪業出生在一個嚴謹的儒生家庭之中，受過基督教會學校的教育，留學美國，供職於燕京大學。那個時代色彩斑斕、光怪陸離的各種社會思潮：儒家思想與基督教教義、民族主義和威爾遜(Woodrow Wilson)的理想國際主義、自由主義和共產主義思想等等，洪業幾乎都與之正面遭遇過、搏鬥過，最後又都受這些思潮滋潤過。在實踐方面，洪業思維敏捷，志向宏大，精力充沛，是個「敏於行」而又「敏於言」的「有為」之人。他曾在美國留學期間獨闖德梅因(Des Moines)，以個人之力扭轉美以美會(The Methodist Episcopal Church)主教競選局面；他曾在日本侵略軍的監獄裡，以義正詞嚴、情緒高昂的演說贏得日本軍官的尊敬；他曾在國民黨高官李宗仁的私人宴會上，不顧情面地補充翻譯外賓關於腐敗問題的告誡。

早年生活和教育

洪業，字鹿岑，譜名正繼，號煨蓮(英文名 William 的諧音)，1893年(光緒十九年)10月27日生於大清國福建省侯官縣(今福州市)。父親洪曦，是1891年(光緒十七年)辛卯科舉人，並曾任山東省魚台、曲阜、濟南等地知縣。

幼學於家，1897年四歲寄讀福州城南郊外祖林氏家塾。與他同時代許多精英分子一樣，洪業受過傳統私塾教育再上新學堂，1908年15歲考入山東師範大學附屬中學。中學畢業時，父親在山東曲阜當知縣。他決定到上海投考海軍學校報國，在青島上船遇到大風浪誤了考期。舉棋不定時，同鄉商務印書館的總編輯高夢旦勸他回福州，上教會辦的學院以便日後辦外交。1910年17歲入福州鶴齡英華書院學習五年，不料洪業在學校皈依了基督教，曾一度想要做牧師。22歲畢業後至次年，擔任該校教師。1916年，洪業赴美國留學，入俄亥俄衛斯理大學(Ohio Wesleyan University)，主修化學和數學。並立志以教育與政治轉化社會，於1917年獲得文學士學位。

1919年1月18日巴黎和會(Paris Peace Conference)召開，中國爆發了「五四運動」。當年，洪業26歲，撰寫碩士論文《春秋左傳與其對中國史學思想的影響》，自哥倫比亞大學(Columbia University)獲得文學碩士學位。繼入紐約協和神學院(Union Theological Seminary in New York)，主攻教會史。1920年與夏威夷華僑江安真女士(Rhoda Kong)結婚，決心放棄神職，從事漢學研究。同年於神學院畢業，獲神學士學位。1933年、1940年先後獲得美國俄亥俄衛斯理大學榮譽文學博士和榮譽神學博士。

有自信、有抱負、充滿著愛國熱忱的青年

中國也許在也不會出現一群這麼有自信、有抱負、充滿著愛國熱忱的青年。1910年代在美國為數兩千左右的中國留學生，個個都以改造中國為己任。祖國的政治社會制度瀕臨瓦解，當時軍閥盛行。但在他們的眼中這是暫時的障礙，他們堅信不疑未來的中國將向西方的科學、民主看齊，而當時絕大多數的西方人也深信科學民主可解決人類一切難題。誰比這群中國的菁英份子更能領導中國走向光明的前景？他們飽受中國傳統的教育，接收了西方最新的知識，沒有人比他們更有資格了！到了二十年代，共產主義形成了一股相對的力量，年輕知識分子的這種信念便開始動搖。但在1917年，愛國熱忱在美留學生間的情緒是非常高昂的。

洪業念完大學而未上研究院的那個暑假裡，參加了一個中國學生聯盟的夏令營，幾百個中國學生從美國各處匯集而來。安排了不少活動、舞會等節目，但主要的是政治活動。那些自命有將才的人士，忙於「招兵買馬」，大家討論最熱烈的話題是所謂的「白話文文學」。幾個月之前還是他們一分子的胡適，曾在留學生刊物上鼓吹白話文文學，回國後到處受老學究的大肆攻擊。

大家討論的問題不限於學術，洪業這一代的新式學人，也有打算回國辦企業、搞金融的……無論他們計劃做什麼，這群青年自信中國將來屬於他們無疑。他們一點也沒想到，其後與他們日夜爭衡對抗的，主要不是頑固不化、垂垂欲墜的老學究，而是比他們雄心更大的馬克思、列寧信徒；而這些受美國教育的民主自由倡導者，最後終究是慘敗於共產黨員手中。

洪業在紐約所交往的一群中國基督徒，由劉廷芳領頭。劉廷芳理想中的中國，是個被基督轉化了的中國。他遇上洪業感覺得到了知音，劉、洪所跟從的這一支基督教派，有時被指為「社區福音」。耶穌在馬可福音十章二十一節說：「去變賣你所有的財產，把錢捐給窮人，來跟隨我。」他們當時覺得基督教徒原則上理當如此。當時在中國留學生中有幾個兄弟會，劉廷芳與洪業等人決定他們要有自己的兄弟會，組員是學業成績好的虔誠基督徒。口號是：「聯合起來振興中國。」創始人包括以後在上海辦教育很有名的陳鶴琴，後來當上海青年會秘書長的涂羽卿，他們在1917年6月24日秘密宣示成立「十字架與寶劍會」(Cross and Sword Fraternity)。

洪業回憶說：「當年我們年輕得很，要效法耶穌，以教育與政治來轉化社會。十字架，是由耶穌『背起十字架來跟從我』那句話而來；寶劍，則指中世紀的十字軍。我們採用了一些歐美共濟會(Freemasonry)的儀式，下意識要恢復《三國志》裡桃園三結義的道義精神。我們誓守秘密，我甚至為此做了平生唯一的一次偷竊。」這個兄弟會還是繼續吸引了很多新會員，包括後來出使蘇俄、聯合國、美國的蔣廷黻；後來創辦南開大學並當了幾十年校長的張伯苓；曾任清華大學校長的周詒春；曾國藩的外孫、上海大華紡織公司的創辦人聶其杰。這個兄弟會和早些年留美中國學生另一個也恰巧以「聯合起來振興中國」的兄弟會合併為「成志社」，會員包括回國事業有成的王寵惠、王正廷、郭秉文和孔祥熙。成志社後來在北京、上海、香港皆有分社，可見當時這些留美學生的抱負。『王正廷和郭秉文後來都參加了上海扶輪社(Shanghai Rotary Club)。』

洪業決定不做牧師，與他的婚事也許很有關係。很多年之後，他寫了一部小說，小說中的男主人翁為了一個女人而離開神職，後半生效勞於國家。然而，洪業在1978年回憶到他生平的這一段時，強調的是他理智上的覺醒，與對教會的理想的幻滅。

洪業在1918年發表了一篇長文，題為〈失敗者〉，刊登在《留美青年》上，他討論三個平生被人認為〈失敗者〉的歷史人物：中國的孔丘…希臘的蘇格拉底(Socrates)…猶太國的耶穌(Jesus Christ)…。他們生時受盡非議，死後卻影響長遠。洪業生長在孔子思想所塑造出的社會裡，剛踏入西方社會，深受蘇格拉底與耶穌的影響。〈失敗者〉一文，可說是洪業早年融匯中西思想的一種嘗試。他以後寫了不少向西洋人解釋中國人觀點，向中國人解釋西洋人觀點，以及探討基督教在現代社會所應擔負的角色的文章。

可以進一步大膽地推測，這一篇文章也許對洪業本人另有重大的意義，即是他決意放棄追求個人名利的一個轉捩點。洪業對個人野心一向抱著矛盾的心理；那時候中國百廢待舉，生在那時代有最起碼抱負的青年，都覺得有投身社會，為國服務的責任。但憑著一股熱氣去幹時，公眾利益和個人野心之間的界線，往往是很模糊的。洪業雖從小就不斷地被挑選出來做「領袖」，經淘

汰過程而成為「勝利者」，但他因受儒家傳統思想薰染，而深感野心與操守是對立的。覺得顯露鋒芒、操縱權勢，是很冒險的舉動，甚至有點不道德。最後不但會危害別人，也會危害自己。他一生中有好幾次有機會可青雲直上，大有作為，但每次都本能地往後退。在他那部未經發表的小說裡，離開神職為中國效勞的主人翁，僅在後台服務，不為大眾所知。

洪業回顧 1919 年所做的種種決定時（任美以美會宣教部秘書）說：

..... 我一生對三方面很有興趣，我對怎樣統治人民、造益國家這些問題很有興趣。但官場險惡，投身政治不時要作妥協，有時損傷到自己所愛的人，所以我決心不做政府官員。我對宗教很有興趣，但教會與宗教是兩回事。教會如面孔，宗教若笑容。要笑容可愛，面孔得保持乾淨。我既不能洗擦面孔的污點，便決心不做牧師。我對教育有興趣，但教育的行政工作類似官場，要奉承有錢有勢的人，所以我可以做教員而不做校長。.....

於是，1919 年 26 歲的洪業，便在他自己周圍劃了一條界線，限定了自己以後一生努力與活動的範圍。

燕京大學文理科科長、歷史學系主任、圖書館館長

1921 年至 1922 年，洪業擔任美以美會（Board of Foreign Missions of Methodist Episcopal Church）中文秘書。同時在呂克昂和肖托誇組織（Lyceum and Chautauqua）的安排下在美國各地巡迴演講，爭取美國友好人士援助中國抵抗日本強佔青島。1922 年洪業 29 歲，在德葩大學（DePauw University）擔任講師（Horizon Lecturer）。燕京大學校長司徒雷登（John Leighton Stuart）赴美，夤緣際會，與洪業一見如故，聘請執教燕大。1923 年洪業協助燕京大學副校長路思義（Henry Winters Luce），為燕大在北京西郊建造新校舍募得鉅款。當年返回北京，參與新校舍建設，並任燕大文理科科長。直至 1927 年，洪業創辦《燕京學報》。除了教書外，洪業還致力改進燕大圖書館。因為圖書館的中文書，除四書五經外，什麼都沒有。英文書則差不多只限於聖經評注，很少有學術方面的書。他要知道燕大學生還有什麼參考書可讀，也到了當時北京惟一的公共圖書館，即京師圖書館去看看。發現那裏書雖多，但沒有目錄編排制度。而且館樓破舊，由幾個老頭子看管。好處是不要付款，而且准抄寫，至少比洪業小時在濟南的圖書館勝一籌。

在北京當時找書最好的地方是琉璃廠的書店，那些夥計都非常客氣，讓客人隨意觀覽。洪業深感燕大需要那麼多基本參考書而沒錢買，便想起他的闊朋友紅毛公，寫信提議他捐錢建立一個「唐恩伯媽媽圖書館專款」，紀念他的母親。紅毛公寄了一千美元來，洪業收到樂極了，馬上到琉璃廠去帶了一車子的書回來。受到此鼓舞，洪業再向其他在美國的朋友募捐。當燕大女院與燕大合成一體的時候，洪業說服女院的院長菲日林（Alice Seymour Browne Frame）把兩萬五千美元撥出買中文書。其後，當燕大得到美國鋁土礦電分離發明人霍爾（Charles Martin Hall）遺產的一部分以後，圖書館就更有能力大量買書了。

1928 年洪業任燕大歷史學系主任、圖書館館長。期間，精心制定圖書館管理制度，注意國內外新版書刊和明清史志善本圖書的採購，在圖書目錄方面也有很大的改進。後來，燕大圖書館成為中國最好的圖書館之一。6 月，洪業發表了《明呂乾齋呂宇衡祖孫二墓誌銘考》，原載《燕京學報》第三期。

燕大學術聲譽日隆，國立北京大學校長（1946-1949）胡適高度讚揚洪業對燕大的貢獻。1953 年，司徒雷登完成了他的自傳之後，請胡適為他作序。在序言中，胡適這樣寫道：「我在

北大與燕大為鄰，對燕大的成長非常關心，司徒雷登領導的燕大成績非常可觀。」「我趁此向燕大的中國學人致敬，特別要向洪業博士致敬；他建立的燕京圖書館，出版《燕京學報》，而且創辦一項有用的哈佛燕京引得叢書，功勞特別大。」『1950年，胡適應聘為美國普林斯敦大學葛思德東亞圖書館（East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University）館長。』

主持哈佛燕京學社：中西文化交流重要基地

燕京大學是二十世紀初，由四間美國及英國基督教教會聯合於北京開辦的綜合大學，資金不多，所以校長司徒雷登千方百計到美國爭取資金。他聽說美國鋁業公司創始人霍爾的遺產基金願意資助漢學研究的經費，想爭取，但被北京大學捷足先登。因為哈佛大學（Harvard University）要將錢用於研究中國文化，必須找一所中國的大學合作，當時肯定首選北大。燕京大學那一年剛剛建立，還是一所「小學校」，沒有資格。但是第二年，哈佛大學用這筆錢在上海找一個美國人幫忙搜集敦煌的資料。這個美國人採取帝國主義卑鄙的手段，到敦煌買通了看管的人。用膠布貼在敦煌石窟的壁畫上面，把壁畫揭走。（美國現在有一些博物館裡面放著的，就是他當初用膠布揭走的畫。）這個消息傳出來後，引起了中國人的憤慨。一方面披露這個消息，一方面要求政府制止。正是在這個時候，司徒雷登瞭解到霍爾在遺囑中聲明，遺產中一部分要用於研究中國文化，由一所美國大學和一所中國大學聯合組成一個機構來執行該項計劃。司徒雷登及時地到哈佛大學遊說，稱燕京大學才應該是哈佛合作的對象。哈佛大學決定把這筆錢交給燕京大學合作，在1928年成立哈佛燕京學社（Harvard-Yenching Institute），並設立燕京學社北平辦事處。學社成立，洪業以燕大代表赴美國商洽。哈佛燕京學社是一個非盈利性的機構，致力於在東亞和東南亞推進人文學科和社會科學的高等教育。雖然哈佛燕京學社同哈佛大學關係密切，但是在法律和財政上獨立。哈佛燕京學社通過對哈佛燕京圖書館（Harvard-Yenching Library）的貢獻來支持哈佛大學的東亞研究。提高了燕大學術地位，也擴充燕大的經濟來源。如果沒有司徒雷登的努力，哈佛不會跟燕京大學合作，也就不會發生之後的故事。哈佛燕京學社建立起來後到1950年的相當長一段時間，都由洪業主持溝通。

由於哈佛燕京學社的成立，燕京大學教授的待遇大大提高。不必再如前兼課，有餘暇開展學術研究，在《燕京學報》發表論文。哈佛大學圖書館又委託燕京大學圖書館，大規模收購中文書籍。燕京大學圖書館由此獲得一筆手續費，以此筆經費收集各種方志和文集。哈佛燕京學社每年招收約10名研究生，並為每名研究生提供500美元獎學金。

1928年，哈佛大學邀請燕京大學歷史學系教授洪業赴美講學。洪業在哈佛的辦公室，是在懷德納圖書館（Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library）四樓。那時圖書館未如現在嚴格，出入都設崗位搜查包裹。洪業那時領了把鑰匙，日夜都可自由入館瀏覽，圖書館每天派員到教授的辦公室去拾取看完的書。洪業為此圖書館藏書之豐盛完備欣喜雀躍——其中有不少是關於中國近代史的新資料：譬如第一次世界大戰後，在協約國搜得的德國外交史料；俄羅斯共產黨在上台後公開的俄國沙皇檔案；日本新公開的德川時期史料；西方人對太平天國的第一手敘述等等。洪業趕快寫信告訴他在中國研究歷史的朋友，如蔣廷黻、簡又文等。他自己也把一篇未經發表的太平天國的詔書出版了。但所有書中他最感興趣的是一本1887年出版的德文書《蝕經》，計算出上自公元前1209年，下及公元2161年，三千多年80個日蝕的日期，以表列出。並細計每蝕的始終，在地球何處可見得到，用圖繪表現出來。當時中國的學者都困惑於中國古書的記載，究竟正不正確。洪業馬上領會到，這本書對解決這些歷史大問題是很有用的工具。

洪業對歷史年月日的研究，讓他有機會在法國漢學家伯希和(Paul Eugène Pelliot)面前大展身手。他去旁聽伯希和的課，伯希和談到中國歷史上第一個可用的科學方法證實為公元前 776 年，因為詩經有一首詩說幽王六年十月辛卯日蝕。洪業不在堂上糾正伯希和，而在下課後上去跟他說話，請他到洪家吃中餐。飯後洪業告訴伯希和那首詩說到十月辛卯日蝕，但沒有說是幽王六年。最初說幽王六年的人是唐代高僧玄奘，按照德文《蝕經》所說，幽王六年十月辛卯確有日蝕，但只能在太平洋中央才看得到。伯希和聽了覺得有理，兩人變成了好朋友。1937 年洪業榮獲國際漢學最高榮譽——儒蓮獎 (Prix Stanislas Julien)，是經伯希和推薦的。「儒蓮獎」是法蘭西銘文與美文學術院 (Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres) 頒發的漢學獎項，以法國籍猶太裔漢學家儒蓮 (Stanislas Aignan Julien) 的名字命名，於 1872 年創立，1875 年起每年頒發一次。

觀其一生，洪業不僅自己專注學問，也承擔了將燕京大學從一所默默無聞的教會學校，改造為全國知名學府和國學重鎮的使命。他大刀闊斧地改革，將「漢學」按學科歸納到各個院系，用西方科學訓練方法研究中國的學問。他利用哈佛燕京學社的資金，主要幹了三件事：培養人才、買書和出版。他不僅提出燕京大學的優秀研究生可以送到哈佛大學攻讀博士，也提出資助美國學者到中國和日本學習研究，這裏面最有名的就是費正清 (John King Fairbank)。海峽兩岸很多學者都曾被資助過，中國學者出國前都會被要求做出承諾，學成必須歸國幫助中國研究。獲哈佛燕京學社獎學金資助到哈佛大學攻讀博士學位的中國學生有齊思和、翁獨健、鄭德坤、周一良、楊聯陞；而美國到中國的學者則有魏魯男 (James Roland Ware)、畢乃德 (Knight Biggerstaff)、賴肖爾 (Edwin Oldfather Reischauer) 等。可見洪業對於當時彌合中西雙方的差異，協調矛盾的貢獻，是歷史性的影響，不可忽略。

重返燕園

1930 年，洪業回到燕京大學。在教學過程中，他發現許多受新式教育成長起來的學生，對中國古代經史子集接觸有限，認識不深。在浩如煙海的古籍中查找資料，對他們而言很有些吃力。洪業因此產生了編纂引得 (即索引，英文 index 的音譯)，為研究者提供便利的想法。這年秋天，經過學校本部年會的批准，引得編纂處成立，主任和總纂一職由洪業兼任。引得編纂處的主要任務是將中國主要的古籍系統地重新校勘，用現代眼光作出全新的評價，並加編索引。此前，雖然有人做過這項工作，但大都不如洪業主持下的引得編纂處做得系統、扎實。

洪業從美國回去，並自學校行政退下來後的那短短十年中，學術著作的份量相當驚人。1963 年《哈佛亞洲學報》(Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies) 刊登了他的著作表，雖然不完整，也列出了這時期完成的 41 種著作。其中大半用中文寫，也有英文的。此外，他創辦的哈佛燕京學社漢學引得編纂處出版的一系列參考書，可說是二十世紀研究漢學最重要得參考書之一。把中國最主要的經書史籍有系統地重新校刊，用現代眼光加以評註，並編以引得 (索引)。如果說這些引得在中國研究古籍的學術上創立了新紀元，可能也不算誇大其詞。因為有了這些引得討論中國人物、典章、制度，不能再含含糊糊，必須指明其出處。有了相互參照的工具，無數歷史上的字義、日期、地點，都得以澄清，掃除了多少千百年來了腐迂垢穢，提高了「歷史真理」的標準。

洪業在課堂上，隨時留意可栽培做歷史工作的學生。他要求學生頭腦清晰，而且有作學術探討所需的獨立精神。發現這樣的學生他便刻意加以獎勵，教他們怎樣抓住學術問題的要點。不受細節的困惑，大膽地做假設，再試試假設是否經得起考驗；並怎樣有條理的，有說服力地提供結論。洪業嚴格地要求他的學生用第一手資料，出處必須一一備註。對特別可造就的學生，洪業則

鼓勵他們學習外語，幫助他們出國深造。他的目標是培養一群具世界觀的中國歷史家，寄望這新一代的學者，能對龐大的中國文化遺產有所發現，把該保存的東西保存下來。

洪業在學生中培養歷史人才是有計劃的，主要是斷代史。在他的鼓勵下，學生中有鄭德坤搞考古，齊思和研究春秋戰國，瞿同祖專攻漢代，周一良研究魏晉六朝，杜洽研究唐代，馮家升研究遼代，聶崇岐研究宋代，翁獨健研究元代，王鍾翰研究清代。如今，他的學生們大多已經作古。他的學生的學生，也多已成長為中國歷史學界的中堅力量。

洪業再回國後全力投注於學術工作，可以說是響應梁啟超與胡適「整理故國」的呼籲。他加入了顧頡剛、錢穆、傅斯年等人的行列，把中國幾千年來累積的知識，暴露於二十世紀刺目的理性光芒之下。當時不少人抨擊，國家快要亡了，而且民不聊生，餓殍滿地，還閉門在舊東西上花心思，簡直是逃避現實。在那種情況下應否埋頭做那些事，姑且別論，但卻作得很及時。原來 20-30 年代，在中國近代史上還算是相當平靜的時期。不久中國就與日本展開生死搏鬥，接著的是讓人疲於奔命的內戰，一連串很傷元氣的政治運動。再平靜點下來時，一整代的知識分子死的死了，倖存的工作能力也大為削減。

暴風雨來臨之前，洪業這一代的學人完成的工作是很可觀的。既受過傳統的教育，又經過現代的科學訓練，可說是前無古人、後無來者。他們的重大貢獻之一，是把主要的古籍都加了標點符號。沒有標點符號，今天的讀者對密密麻麻一頁頁白紙黑字，分句都會有困難。沒有洪業一代學人整理出一些如引得一類的參考書，中國很多歷史文化的遺產我們今天就無從下手了。隨著時間的流逝，傳統的中國社會一天比一天更遠離。而洪業這一代學人對一切文獻實務的見解就愈為寶貴，將來世世代代得依賴他們建築的這些學術橋樑。

訓斥日本侵略軍軍官

1937 年 7 月 7 日爆發盧溝橋事變，日本帝國軍隊攻佔北平。當時，洪業正在燕京大學為《春秋經傳引得》作序。1940 年 47 歲的洪業撰寫《杜詩引得序》，該序與《春秋經傳引得序》皆為精心結構之鴻篇巨製，允為學術界所推重。同年於美國俄亥俄衛斯理大學接受榮譽博士學位，次年初回國。1941 年，日軍佔領燕京大學校園後，洪業和引得編纂處的同事秘密籌備在中法大學 (l'Université Franco-Chinoise) 繼續編纂引得，先後出版了《管子》《曾子》等引得。

1941 年太平洋戰爭爆發，12 月 8 日早晨，洪業接到了燕大哲學教授張東蓀的電話：美國和日本開戰了。幾乎與此同時，手持上了刺刀的三八槍的日軍士兵已經把住了燕京大學的校門。不久，司徒雷登校長也在天津被拘禁。日本軍部派有末精三少將來到燕園，要求燕大在日本人指揮下改組，自然不會有人聽從。幾個星期後，日軍決定解散燕大，美麗的校園成了日軍醫院。

耶誕節過後沒幾天，洪業和鄧之誠、蔡一諤等 12 位教授同時被拘禁。大約關了一個星期左右，日本人開始對他們進行審訊。一進審訊室，翻譯要求洪業「給太君鞠躬」。年近半百的飽學之士，在山河破碎之際，竟然被迫向一個 20 多歲的侵略者行鞠躬大禮，這是何等的悲哀。破巢之下，安有完卵！洪業面色凝重地說：「我向武力鞠躬。」畢竟面對的是一位大學教授，日本軍官不敢太過放肆，搬了一張椅子請洪業跟他面對面地坐下。先問洪業的姓名、年齡、籍貫、學歷、為什麼到美國讀書、到過日本沒有、在日本有沒有朋友等等。類似的談話大約進行了半個多小時，日本軍官突然發問：「你是不是抗日分子？」「我是。」（後來他才知道，被捕者抗日如果不明說，日本人會動刑的。）「你為什麼抗日？」洪業非常坦率地答道：「我不得不如此。請給我二

十分鐘，不要打斷。」日本軍官答應了。洪業說：「我不仇視日本人民……但我反對日本的軍國主義……戰爭什麼時候終了，我不知道，但我知道總有一天要終了。戰事結束時，日本人民是要受苦的。」「我可憐日本人民，因為他們受軍人哄騙了。當他們有一天覺醒時，便會發現所有的宣傳都是假的。你們宣傳說日本的目的是要亞洲各國共同繁榮，這完全是騙人的話，……你們要把中國變成第二個朝鮮。」審訊的日本軍官聽了洪業這篇慷慨激昂的演說後，臉色發白。不待朝鮮裔翻譯將洪業的話譯完，年輕的日本軍官忽地站起身，來到了桌子旁邊，深深地彎下了腰，用流利的漢語講道：「我向一個不怕死敢講實話的人鞠躬。」便揮手讓衛兵將他帶回牢房。沒有材料記載當時洪業是一種怎樣的心情，手無縛雞之力的一介書生，用他堅強的愛國心以及對人類歷史發展的洞察力，在精神上徹底征服了武裝到牙齒的侵略者。

洪業回到牢房，偷偷地將受審經過說給同牢的難友聽。下午，洪業被再次帶去審問。不久以後，洪業和鄧之誠、蔡一諤、張東蓀、陸志韋、侯仁之等其他燕大同仁一起被轉押到一所日軍監獄裡。在那裡，他們被搜身、蓋手印，而且每個人都分派了號碼，洪業是056號。在監獄裡，相互之間不准交談。洪業和同仁發明了兩套英文密碼互通資訊——即用身體各個部分代表26個英文字母。大家在抓癢的時候，便可以將消息傳遞出去。再有就是靠聲音，短短敲一下是第一個英文字母，長長地敲兩下是第二個英文字母，依此類推。他們被相互隔離以後，互相間傳遞資訊就全靠第二套密碼進行。

到1942年4月中旬，日本人意識到這些教授雖然有反日思想，但對他們都構不成太大威脅。懾於他們在中國國內以及國際包括日本的影響，決定將所有人無罪開釋。洪業等燕大教授在一個月之內陸續出獄。洪業雖然獲釋，但仍拒絕同日軍合作。出獄後，生活收入沒了來源，全家只有靠典當過日子。地毯、英文打字機、書籍等等，都賣掉了。最讓洪業心疼的是一套《二十四史》，多年來他在上面做了許多眉批，但是迫於生計也只好忍痛割愛了。

李宗仁的私人宴會上忠告腐敗

1945年8月14日凌晨，美國接獲日本向《波茨坦公告》(Potsdam Declaration)各國傳遞的投降決定，第二次世界大戰結束了。洪業未搬回燕園之前，一天在新開路，來了個賓客，就是曾在中國西南與蔣介石對峙的李宗仁。後來為愛國與蔣合作，在台兒莊一戰把日本軍隊打得落花流水。那天，陸軍一級上將李宗仁是中華民國軍事委員會漢中行營主任。他來訪洪業，要聘洪業為秘書長，官階是少將，大概是想用洪業與美國人交涉。洪業憶述：

「他穿軍裝，還有幾個隨員，個子不大，比我矮一點。相貌很土，臉黃黃的。但風度好，談吐中可看得出他悟性好。」

洪業婉謝了聘書，可是應允有時替李宗仁論論人事，因而李宗仁幾次設宴都邀請洪業作陪賓。李宗仁在中南海懷仁堂招待盟軍中國戰區參謀長暨駐中國美軍指揮官魏德邁上將 (General Albert Coady Wedemeyer) 時，他與陸志韋(燕京大學代理校長1934-1941)是僅有的兩個平民，洪業趁此機會又施展了他的私人外交。根據洪業的記述：

李宗仁站起來致詞，代表政府歡迎美國貴賓，有中國人替他翻譯。魏德邁答謝時非常坦率，他說中國之所以未能成為強國，對世界的和平及繁榮有貢獻，乃由於兩個大敵人的阻礙：第一個敵人是日本……

「可是，」他繼續說：「如果不把你們的第二號敵人指出來，就沒有盡到做朋友的責任了。不幸的是，這第二號是你們的內奸，我們美國人愛莫能助。這內奸的名字是『貪婪』。你們若要享受真正的自由，要為人類的福利盡一份力量，非得把這內奸除去不可。」

替魏德邁翻譯的普利士將軍中文好極了，但關於「內奸」這一節，他略掉了。因為座上都是中國將軍，其中有不少腐敗的。我忍不住站起來說：「李將軍和諸位朋友，我以平民的身分要說幾句話。」大家都很驚訝。

我說：「我以一個平民和歷史家的身分，先向魏德邁將軍致謝，他由衷而發的演講講得好極了。我也向普利士將軍致謝，他翻得很準確。但他為了給我們中國人留面子，講詞第二部分沒有翻，我現在替他翻完它。」我說完話後，全場肅靜，鴉雀無聲。

晚宴解散後，我把魏德邁將軍拉到一旁，按著他坐上慈禧太后的寶座。告訴他應得最高榮譽，因為他是中國人的真朋友。然後我對他說：「將軍，我對你有個要求。你現在有成千成萬的美國青年軍人在中國西南角，那是中國的後院子。風景雖好，文化落後。他們準備要回國了，但真正的中國還沒看到。你能不能讓那些願意到北平看看的軍人，繞道來看看。」

魏德邁說可以的，我便組織了個委員會，讓大學教授和學生們歡迎這些美國軍人。而且為這件事宣傳，在燕大做了次演講。

抗戰勝利後 愛美國 更愛祖國

1940年代末，洪業曾囑咐學生王鍾翰繼續編纂引得，並要他將《清史稿》《清實錄》《東華錄》合編一本引得。抗戰勝利後，洪業回到了滿目瘡痍的燕園。他感到這四年裡與外界隔絕得太久，對學術界的情況幾乎一無所知。他想到美國去，一來盡快掌握學術界有哪些進展，二來為學校的經濟想些辦法。接到哈佛大學請他去講學半年的聘書後，洪業於1946年4月離開了北平。1947年春，夏威夷大學聘請他到該校任客座教授。洪業打算在那裡結束課程後回國，但是國共內戰正酣，政治經濟急劇惡化。夏威夷到處花紅柳綠，鶯歌燕舞，而國內卻是餓殍遍野。如此情境，令他躊躇不前。是年夏天，他決定先搬回劍橋再做打算。1947-1948年任哈佛大學東亞語文系客座教授。1950年6月朝鮮戰爭的爆發，令洪業徹底放棄了回國的念頭。這個抉擇令他痛苦不堪，放棄回國，等於放棄燕大，等於放棄了自己為之奮鬥了大半生的東西。但是從太平洋戰爭以來的幾年裡，飽受流離之苦。他感到自己的意志已經消耗殆盡，年過半百的他已沒有勇氣去迎接一個未知的挑戰。1951年冬，燕京大學引得編纂處的工作被迫終止。

洪業決定在劍橋定居，由於沒有考取的博士學位，無法成為哈佛大學的正職教授。他在大學附近買了棟房子，靠收房租和微薄的社會福利金度日。1948至1968年，洪業兼任哈佛燕京學社研究員。但他繼續在哈佛大學寫作，偶爾教授和輔導中國籍的研究生。為了表彰他的服務，《哈佛亞洲學報》指定1963年的期刊為洪業特輯，以慶祝那年他的七十歲壽辰。令人遺憾的是，他的妻子江安真女士在丈夫生日前一天，心臟病突發逝世。

1952年，用英文寫就的《Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet》（中國最偉大的詩人——杜甫），由哈佛大學出版社出版，迄今為止仍被公認為英語世界中關於杜甫的最重要的著述。此書亦為其平生唯一的一部專書著述。1958年洪業任新加坡南洋大學(Nanyang University)校務委員會委員。1973年獲美國匹茲堡大學「中西文化學術交流倡導者獎狀」。洪業寓居美國期間，一直為哈佛大學東亞學系兼任講師，講授杜詩。同時，他亦花了相當大的功夫整理杜詩。他不但在哈佛開了

「杜甫課」，而且在美國耶魯大學(Yale University)、匹茲堡大學(Pittsburg University)、夏威夷大學(Hawaii University)等大學演講時，也都以講杜甫的作品和品格為主。

雖然身在海外，洪業仍心懷故國。他常對朋友們講：「我愛美國，我更愛祖國。祖國是我父母之邦。」1958-1962年中國大陸三年自然災害期間，洪業聽說他的得意門生，一向被稱為「齊胖子」的齊思和，因生活艱苦瘦了許多。他想有所表示，卻苦於無法聯繫。恰在此時，新加坡南洋商報(Nanyang Siang Pau)編輯向他約稿，洪業便寫了《我怎麼寫杜甫》一文。嗣後，再三叮囑該報編輯，請不必將稿費匯來美國，只需代他買些食物寄給北京齊思和。

1979年10月，中國社會科學院兩位學者赴哈佛講學，其中一位是鄧之誠與翁獨健的學生。洪業見到他們後非常興奮，親自下廚做飯招待。整個晚上他都在不停地詢問，留在國內的朋友和學生的情況。經歷過「無產階級文化大革命」浩劫，他所問的人大部分都故去了。洪業慨然長歎，杜詩中有「訪舊半為鬼」，他現在是「相知多為鬼」了。洪業對文物更是關心，從米萬鍾的《勺園圖》到孔廟的石碑，到濟南的泉水……對故土幾十年的思戀，豈是這一個短短的夜晚所能表達完全的。

杜甫作品、蒙古秘史的研究

洪業在美期間，花了相當大的功夫整理杜甫的作品。他不但在哈佛開了杜甫課，而且在耶魯大學、匹茲堡大學、夏威夷大學等高校演講時，也都以講杜甫的作品和品格為主。

他將自己多年來研究杜甫的成果整理成書，《中國最偉大的詩人——杜甫》在1952年出版，這本英文專著分上下兩冊。上冊收錄了杜甫的詩作374首，並詳細說明其時代背景與史實的關係。下冊是注解，注明各詩的出處；中外人士的翻譯；歷朝歷代給杜詩所作注解；其中大量夾雜洪業本人的觀點和看法。該書對杜甫的生平有很多新發現，對杜詩提出了不少新見解。在序言裡，洪業很謙遜地說自己英文不好，可能造成某些失實。但大多數學者都認為，他將杜詩譯得非常傳神。這本書在杜甫及杜詩研究者當中，是當之無愧的權威之作。

哈佛大學遠東語言系教授柯立夫(Francis Woodman Cleaves)，與洪業結識於20世紀30年代，交誼甚篤。柯立夫精通拉丁文、希臘文、梵文、漢文、滿文、蒙文等十幾種文字，對中國的邊疆歷史、地理，尤其是元代歷史相當有研究。20世紀50年代，他經常在星期日下午到洪業的寓所來，兩個人或討論問題，或同讀一篇經史書籍，以此展開學術交流。洪業有關元史的兩篇重要學術著作，與柯立夫的啟示是分不開的。

《蒙古秘史源流考》(英文)《The Secret History of the Mongols》一文，長達數萬字。在包羅古今中外學者對《秘史》有關論述的同時，提出了新觀點。洪業認為《蒙古秘史》最初的名字叫做《成吉思汗原著》，是根據1264年一個老年文盲的口述整理而成。1368—1418年間刊行於世，改名為《元朝秘史》。這部作品問世後，成為世界各國各大學講授蒙古史的重要參考教材。作為研究蒙古史的權威，柯立夫教授對洪業的結論另有看法。但是為了避免破壞兩人之間的友誼，他將自己的研究成果束之高閣，一放就是幾十年。直到洪業去世後五年，柯立夫才將其拿出來出版。

錢大昕是清代學者中，研究《元史》和利用《蒙古秘史》的第一人。洪業著《錢大昕題〈元史〉三詩的英譯和注釋》一文，對學術界有關觀點進行了詳細探討，令眾多學者耳目一新。洪業的高足、國內著名清史專家、中央民族大學歷史系教授王鍾翰先生在回憶業師時曾寫道：「先生

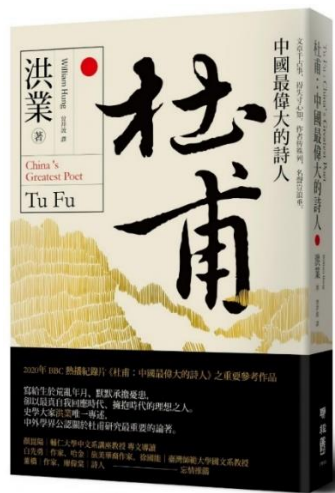
窮年累月，用力最久最深，莫過於《史通》一書。」洪業早在 20 世紀 30 年代就曾發表過《史通點煩篇臆補》一文，文章引經據典，逐字逐句恢復了劉知幾原文的本來面貌。從 1923 年起，他便搜集了許多與《史通》有關的資料，並作了大量的整理、研究工作。赴美之前，因為沒有思想準備，洪業沒有攜帶與此有關的材料。1950 年，他決定不再回國後，便給聶崇岐寫信，請他將這些材料寄到美國來。聶很快回信，說許多相關書籍是五十年前出版，屬於古籍，不能出國。洪業的手稿，需要經政府審查後才能寄出。但不幸的是，到 1952 年中美之間斷郵，洪業只有望洋興嘆了。到美國之後，他只寫有《韋弦慎所好二賦非劉知幾所作辨》等四篇文章。

晚年

1978 年 12 月 18 日中國共產黨第十一屆中央委員會第三次全體會議後，中國開始實施的一系列經濟改革和措施，可總結為「對內改革，對外開放」。改革開放以後，中美之間的交流日益頻繁起來。洪業請王鍾翰幫助，處理自己留在國內的三萬多冊書籍和其他私人用品。物品中有一些古硯臺，是他 20 世紀 30 年代就開始收集的。洪業還專門為此撰寫過一篇文章，說準備像老和尚傳鉢一樣，等到適當的機會，把這些硯臺分送給學術上有成就的學生，象徵著自己的學術後繼有人。王鍾翰遵照老師的囑咐，將有保存價值的東西捐給學校圖書館或博物館；把圖書分給了做學問的朋友；把所存硯臺分給在國內的學生。

晚年，洪業住在美國麻省劍橋(Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.)。八旬而身軀挺直，如玉樹臨風。很會說笑，掌故一大籬筐，聚會時總有一堆人包圍著他。身處大洋彼岸，他回顧一生時說：「一生治學，所用的方法是科學的方法。一點沒有錯，完全可以自信的。」86 歲時，他最後一次登上哈佛大學的講台，他說：「現在『四人幫』被打倒，又要搞學術，講傳統了。他們覺悟到，中國所有的弊病不能都推到孔子頭上。這也許是往後走，但有時候，要進步是要先往後走的。」洪業以哈佛燕京學社研究員的名義，安享終生。

1980 年 3 月，洪業在晨練時跌倒，造成肘骨骨折，此後身體每況愈下。同年 12 月 16 日夜晚，洪業突然神智不清，跟身邊的人講起了福州家鄉土話。1980 年 12 月 22 日，在海外飄泊了三十餘年的一代學人洪業撒手塵寰，於美國麻省劍橋辭世，享年 87 歲。



洪業著《中國最偉大的詩人--杜甫》(中文翻譯版)
《Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet》by William Hung (Chinese translation edition)

主要著作

1. 《引得說》（Indexing to Chinese Books）哈佛燕京學社北平引得編纂處，1930
2. 《勺園圖錄考》北平哈佛燕京學社，1933
3. 《清畫傳輯佚三種》北平哈佛燕京學社，1933
4. 《Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet》（中國最偉大的詩人——杜甫）美國哈佛大學出版社，1952
5. 《洪業論學集》北京中華書局，1981

主要論文

1. 《Failure》（《失敗者》，紐約，1918）（New York 1918）
2. 《明呂乾齋呂宇衡祖孫二墓誌銘考》原載《燕京學報》第三期，1928年6月
3. 《崔東壁出書版本表》原載《史學年報》第三期，1931年
4. 《跋崔東壁知非集》原載《東壁知非集題跋》，1931年
5. 《白虎通引得序》原載《白虎通引得》，《引得》第二號，1931年
6. 《儀禮引得序》原載《儀禮引得》（《引得》第六號），1932年
7. 《駁景教碑出土於於盤屋說》原載《史學年報》第四期，1932年
8. 《考利瑪竇的世界地圖》原載《禹貢半月刊》第五卷，第三、四合期，1936年
9. 《禮記引得序》——《兩漢禮學源流考》原載（史學年報）第二卷第三期，1936年
10. 《春秋經傳引得序》原為《引得》特刊第十二號，1937年
11. 《杜詩引得序》原為《引得》特刊，1940年
12. 《The Secret History of the Mongols》原載《哈佛亞洲學報》第十四卷第三、四期合刊，1951年；中譯文《蒙古秘史源流考》載《元史研究》，1982年。
13. 《破斧》原載《清華學報》新一卷第一期，臺灣新竹，1956年
14. 《韋弦慎所好二賦非劉知幾所作辨》原載《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》第二十八本（臺灣，1957年）《慶祝胡適之先生六十五歲論文集》
15. 《再論臣瓚》原載《清華學報》新三卷第一期（臺灣，1962年）
16. 《再說西京雜記》原載《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》第三十四本（臺灣，1963年）
17. 《半部論語治天下辨》原載《清華學報》新八卷第一、二期合刊，臺灣新竹1970年
18. 《再說杜甫》原載《清華學報》新十卷第二期，臺灣新竹，1970年