

爱知大学

博士学位论文

孙中山的美国形象（1896-1925）

The image of Sun Yat-sen in the United States of America (1896-1925)

论文作者 杨帆

指导教师 黄英哲 教授

## 中文摘要

孙中山是中国近代史上最为重要的历史人物之一，他被西方研究者认为是受西方影响最深的中国现代领袖，著名的美国中国研究专家费正清认为孙中山的革命生涯代表了中国现代民族主义的崛起。西方世界中，与孙中山关系最密切的最深远的是美国。研究孙中山的美国形象对于进一步拓展孙中山研究及近代中国的西方形象研究具有重要意义。

青少年时期在后来成为美国属地的夏威夷生活了四年，使得孙中山对西方文化特别是美国文化倍感认同。在 1911 年武昌起义爆发前，孙中山先后七次在美国本土和夏威夷活动。他的革命思想的形成深受美国思想家的影响，革命经费有相当一部分由美国华侨支持，革命人员中不乏留美学生和归国人士，孙中山在为新的共和国筹划未来蓝图时，美国的政权组织形式是其最理想的解决方案。辛亥革命一度被称为“美国革命在中国的翻版”。从孙中山登上中国政治舞台那一刻开始，到 1925 年 3 月他在北京病逝为止，他一直在争取美国政府的支持和援助。然而除了武昌起义初期，他与美国的关系看似前景光明外，在以后的时光里，他对美国的呼吁少有得到对方呼应，美国历届驻华外交官和美国政府对中国革命形势的误读和对孙中山举动的曲解使得孙中山在美形象从民国初建到其病逝一直维持着负面形象。

孙中山的美国形象主要由三个群体的印象组成：一是美国驻华外交人员及美国总统、国务院官员对于其个人和革命活动的评价和反应；二是美国报刊、杂志和美国在华报刊等美国媒体的报道和反应；三是包括美国在华传教士群体和美国本土教会在内的美国教会的看法。本文导论中美国学界的孙中山研究既是写作本文的学术前史回顾，在某种程度上也可视之为孙中山在美国学术界的形象。各个群体自身的人员构成、观察视角、利益基点不同，其呈现和塑造的孙中山形象必然有所差异，但是他们还具有某些共同的观点，即他们共同构建了孙中山的美国形象。

美国驻华外交官员、美国驻华军事武官是孙中山的美国官方形象的主要塑造者。他们分属于美国国务院、美国驻华公使馆，美国驻中国各主要城市的领事馆、美国驻远东海军舰队等部门，他们在美国对华决策的权力体系中居于中下层，虽然他们的情报或报告只是为美国对华决策权力体系中的上层——美国总统和国务卿提供关于中国的情报来源，他们并无决策权，但上层相当倚重他们的情报，绝大多数情况下，美国总统和国务卿是依照驻华外交人员的建议进行对华决策的。孙中山在世时，美国外交决策人员从下层到上层，几乎都对其怀有深深的成见与敌意。对于孙中山的屡次呼吁与呐喊，美国官方一直站在孙中山的敌人或竞争对手那一面，忽视

或不理会他的诉求。

美国媒体包括美国在华新闻界和美国本土的报章杂志。由于媒体在美国社会中的“第四权”的地位，其广泛的发行使得其在影响美国政府对华政策和孙中山在美国形象的形成上具有举足轻重的地位。美国政府非常重视美国媒体的报道，国务院通讯上经常引用即为明证。而美国媒体尤其是在华美国媒体又与美国在华商业团体及领袖人物关系密切，部分美国在华媒体成为在华美国商人团体的代言人，其对孙中山及其领导的中国近代民族主义运动的看法受到美国在华商业利益团体的影响。除美国在华媒体外，《纽约时报》、《华盛顿邮报》等美国本土印行的媒体同样对孙中山进行了长时段高密度的关注，孙中山在美国媒体上的形象随着其自身政治足迹和美国对华政策及各个媒体自身的对华主张的改变而变化。

形塑孙中山的美国形象的第三大群体是美国教会。美国社会宗教传统悠久浓厚，中国作为世界上最大的非基督教国家，一直是美国教会努力拓展其海外势力的热土。美国在华传教士群体随着时代的发展一直在不断壮大，成为外交官、商人群体之外另一个对美国在华利益有着举足轻重影响的重要利益集团。然而，传教士看待孙中山及中国革命的着眼点与美国官方和新闻界不同，后者主要基于外交和商业利益，而传教士群体对孙中山的看法主要基于社会与宗教层面。孙中山曾经由美国传教士喜嘉理牧师洗礼入教，因而受到传教士群体的格外拥护和青睐。传教士群体从孙中山身上看到了日后中国基督教化的希望，看到了中国突破固有的文化传统，拥抱西方文化的潜在可能性。令人遗憾的是，传教士群体对孙中山和革命的热忱因反袁的二次革命而迅速冷却，此后，孙中山丧失了传教士群体的支持和拥戴，孙中山在这一群体中的形象也逐步转为负面。究其原因，孙中山政治地位的转变使得其在美国在华传教事业的利用价值较之二次革命前已大为降低。

本文在导论部分主要进行了本论题相关论域的学术前史回顾。主要包括对美国的孙中山研究代表性成果进行介绍和评述，及对美国媒体视野中的近代中国研究成果进行回顾。前者同时构成了孙中山在美国学术界的形象。

第一章是辛亥革命前美国对孙中山的最初印象。1896年伦敦蒙难事件后，孙中山虽然在英国成为一时的风云人物，但在大洋彼岸的美国，其在媒体和政府上曝光为数甚少，美国方面只有部分美国媒体对其进行了只言片语的报道，本文选取了《纽约时报》上的若干篇报道进行解读。而在伦敦蒙难后至辛亥革命前，美国国务院高层及美国总统从未回应孙中山提出的会晤的请求，这与美国驻华外交人员对其负面报告有着直接的关系。美国官方在辛亥革命前对其唯一的正面报告出自美国驻曼谷领事金，但金的报告并未给孙中山获得美国护照乃至改善美国政府的不

良印象有何帮助。

第二章是武昌起义后，美国对孙中山和辛亥革命的反应。从形塑孙中山美国形象的三大群体的视角出发，分别探讨武昌起义前后美国驻华外交官员对孙中山的态度，美国舆论对孙中山和辛亥革命的反应及美国在华传教士群体对孙中山的辛亥革命的态度。其中第一节则以美国驻华外交官员的层级高低为分野，分别探讨驻各地领事、驻华公使嘉乐恒、与孙中山有过亲身接触驻港总领事及美国驻华海军司令的态度。

第三章关注美国对民初政局和孙中山态度的改变，首先介绍了民初政局在宋教仁案发生后出现的变化。接下来分别从美国官方、舆论和传教士群体三方分析这一阶段美国对孙中山的态度转变

第四章是美国对孙中山撰写的中国经济开发计划《实业计划》的反应。该计划是 1919 年孙中山避居上海期间所写，因着眼于经济开发，此计划受到美国政界、商界和新闻界的关注，并获得相当多的支持舆论。《实业计划》成为孙中山在二次革命后少有的收获美国掌声的举动。

第五章是美国对孙中山“亲俄”、“排外”的指责——孙中山北上期间美方的反应和评价。1924 年初国民党一大的召开，国民党与苏俄建立了更为紧密的合作关系，同时，孙中山开始宣传推动中国民族主义运动，呼吁民众参加反帝活动，“亲俄”、“排外”的标签开始经常出现在美国驻华外交官员、美国媒体和美国教会人士关于孙中山和广州政府的报告中。此种指责没有认识到中国民族主义蓬勃兴起的现实和孙中山对布尔什维克的实用主义态度。

第六章是美国对孙中山逝世的反应和评价。孙中山这样一位在中国革命和中国民族主义运动中有着突出影响的伟大人物，在其去世后，美国官方对其逝世反应冷静而谨慎，而美国媒体对其一生、其逝世对中国政局的影响、其在世界历史上的地位等多个主题进行评点。

结语认为，形塑孙中山的美国形象的三大群体中，美国政界对其的评点和定位，起到了决定性的作用。并试图对美国错误认知孙中山的形象作出解释，认为一是受时代的局限，美国对中国政情缺乏足够的信息，二是美国人的“自我满足”，三是美国评估中国情势时对经济因素的偏重。孙及其团队对美外交公关的不足，也是影响孙中山美国形象的重要因素。

**关键词：美国；媒体；传教士；孙中山；形象**

## **Abstract**

Sun yat-sen was one of the most important historical figures in modern Chinese history. In the western world, the most profound relationship with sun yat-sen is the United States.

Sun's image of the United States is mainly composed of three groups: first, the evaluation and reaction of American diplomatic personnel in China and the President of the United States and officials of the state council to their personal and revolutionary activities. Second, the reports and reactions of American newspapers, magazines and American newspapers in the United States. Three is the view of American churches, including American missionaries in China and the American church. In this paper, the study of sun yat-sen in the American academic world is not only a review of the academic history of writing, but also a study of the image of sun yat-sen in American academic circles. Groups own personnel composition, observation Angle of view, different interests basis points, its present and shape the image of sun yat-sen will be different, but they also have some common point of view, they jointly build the image of Sun.

American diplomats and military attache in China are the main shapers of sun yat-sen's official image of the United States.

The image of Sun Yat-sen in the us media has changed with his own political footprint and the change of China's policy towards China and the media himself.

The third largest group of americans shaped by sun yat-sen was the American church. Missionary group of sun yat-sen and the revolutionary zeal for the second revolution of the yuan and rapid cooling, since then, Sun yat-sen lost missionary group support and allegiance, sun yat-sen's image among this group also gradually turned negative.

In the introductory part, this paper mainly carries on the review of the academic history of the topic related to this topic. This paper mainly includes the introduction and review of the research results of sun yat-sen's research in the United States, and reviews the results of recent Chinese studies in the American media. The former also constituted sun yat-sen's image in American academic circles.

The first chapter is the first impressions of sun yat-sen before the 1911 revolution. After suffering events in London in 1896, sun yat-sen, although in Britain at that time to become a news figure, but in the ocean the other shore of the United States, its exposure in the media and government few, the United States is only part of the American media reports on the words and phrases, this article selects a number of reports on the New York times. In London after suffering to before the 1911 revolution, the top of the state council and the President of the United States never respond to the request of Dr. Sun yat-sen proposed meeting, the diplomatic personnel with the United States has a direct relationship on its negative reports. U.S. officials before the revolution of the only positive reports from the us embassy in Bangkok consular gold, but gold report to sun yat-sen get an American passport and how to improve the bad impression of the U.S. government help.

Chapter two is the reaction of the United States to Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 revolution after the wuchang uprising. From shape the image of the sun Yat-sen the Angle of view of the three groups respectively to discuss diplomatic officials in the United States before and after the wuchang uprising of sun yat-sen's attitude, American public opinion to sun yat-sen and the reaction of the xinhai revolution and the American missionaries in China's attitude to the revolution of Sun Yat-sen. The first section with diplomatic officials in the United States the level of high and low for eset, respectively discuss consul at around, ambassador to China, and Sun Yat-sen had personal contact with Hong Kong consul general in China and the United States navy commander to sun yat-sen's attitude.

The third chapter is the change of the American political situation and the attitude of sun yat-sen. Next, the American government, public opinion and missionary groups analyzed the American attitude toward sun yat-sen

The fourth chapter is the reaction of the us to the industrial plan of China's economic development plan written by sun yat-sen. The plan, written by sun yat-sen in 1919, is a plan that has received considerable support from the us political, business and media circles for its focus on economic development. The industrial plan became a rare harvest of American applause after the second revolution.

The fifth chapter is the United States' criticism of Sun yat-sen's "pro-russian" and "xenophobic" -- the American reaction and evaluation during Sun Yat-sen's north. At the beginning of 1924 the KMT held a large, established a closer relationship with the

kuomintang and Soviet Russia, at the same time, the sun began to promote promote Chinese nationalist movement, called on people to join anti-imperialist activity, "pro-russian", the label "exclusive" often appear in the U.S. diplomatic about, the American media and the American people in the church about sun yat-sen and the guangzhou government report. Such accusations fail to recognise the reality of China's rising nationalism and Sun's pragmatism towards the bolsheviks.

The sixth chapter is the American reaction and evaluation of Sun Yat-sen's death. Sun Yat-sen, one in Chinese revolution and Chinese nationalist movement has a prominent effect in the great man, after his death, the official response to the death to calm and cautious, and American media on his life, death of its impact on China's political situation and its position in the history of the world on more topics.

The conclusion is that in the three groups of the American image of sun yat-sen, American politics plays a decisive role in its evaluation and positioning. And attempts to explain the wrong cognitive image of Sun Yat-sen, think one is influenced by the limitations of the Times, the United States to China change the lack of enough information, secondly it is American "ego", three is the assessment of the situation of lay particular stress on economic factors. The lack of public relations with the United States is also an important factor affecting the image of Sun Yat-sen.

**Key Words:** the United States of America; media; missionary ; Sun Yat-sen ; Image