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# 美国文学批评名著精读

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常耀信 主编

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#### 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

美国文学批评名著精读/常耀信主编.一天津:南开大学出版社,2007.3

南开英美文学精品教材 ISBN 978-7-310-02674-6

I.美... I.常... I.文学评论-美国-高等学校-教材 N.1712.06

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2007)第 029440 号

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## 南开大学出版社出版发行出版人: 肖占鵬

地址:天津市南开区卫津路 94 号 邮政编码:300071

营销部电话:(022)23508339 23500755

营销部传真:(022)23508542 邮购部电话:(022)23502200

南开大学印刷厂印刷 全国各地新华书店经销

2007年3月第1版 2007年3月第1次印刷 880×1230毫米 32开本 25.5印张 726千字 定价:42.00元(全二册)

如遇图书印装质量问题,请与本社营销部联系调换,电话:(022)23507125

#### 前 言

美国文学评论的发展,至 20 世纪 70 年代,大体经历了三个重要 阶段。自19世纪40年代爱默生的《论诗人》始至90年代威廉•狄 恩·豪威尔斯的《批评与散文》止的半个世纪,是美国独立文学和文 化的炼铸成形时期,是美国作家和评论家为美国独立文学的发展而鸣 锣呐喊的时期。 第二阶段从 19 世纪末始至 20 世纪 30 年代末止, 这是 美国文学评论气氛活跃、论争热烈、具有决定意义的阶段。除了 T. S. 艾略特、埃德蒙•威尔逊、艾伦•塔特等"新批评"的声音之外,还 有一些不同凡响的声音——凡·威克·布鲁克斯、H·L·门肯以及伦 道夫•伯恩等人对美国文学"业已成年"的断言。这是美国文学评论 家以全新的目光看待本国文学独特的伟大之处的时代。如果说在这以 前,人们习惯于以剖析欧洲和英国文学的思想和方法看待美国文学, 因而结论总不外乎"不够伟大"、"不能同欧洲作家的鸿篇巨制相提并 论"的话,那么,在这一阶段中,美国评论家已开始从美国的国情出 发认识本国文学,认识到美国文学经过近三百年的演变,已于 1901 年至 1920 年间达到"成年"。这一论断开创了美国文学评论的新纪元: 它标志着美国文学评论界重新评估美国文学的开端。

第三阶段可从 20 世纪 40 年代初 F·O·马西森的《美国的文艺复兴》和艾尔弗雷德·卡津的《在本国土地上》两部文学评论巨著的发表为始。这是一个"重新发现"美国文学的阶段。美国文学评论界一扫过去追随欧洲文学评论的气氛,把精力集中到从本国的文化历史实际出发剖析美国文学上面。如果二三十年代的论断尚需佐证,40 年代后的文学评论则从空泛的议论跃进到从作品的具体实际出发,寻觅出赏析美国文学的理论的阶段。美国文学评论界"重新发现"美国文学的激情在五六十年代升至其"沸腾点",评论巨著迭相面世,每部新书都立论新颖,给人以一新耳目、发聩振聋的印象,真可谓群芳竞艳,

让人目不暇接,读者对评论的兴趣有时竟超过对文学作品本身的兴致。 倘然美国文学在 20 世纪前 20 年已趋成年,那么美国文学评论作为文 学的一个有机组成部分,在五六十年代业已成年,并以自己的独特风 格和欧洲文学评论比肩齐名。这一时期的评论重点在于美国早期文学,即 19 世纪美国文学的主要作家及作品,兼及 20 世纪二三十年代的杰 出作家与作品。

20 世纪 70 年代以后,美国文学评论又有了长足发展。在继续探索早期美国文学的内在模式的同时,对 20 世纪以来,即现代和当代文学的评论数目剧增。新一代评论家又独辟蹊径,从不同的角度赏析现当代文学,进一步巩固了美国文学与文学评论在世界文坛上不可小觑的地位。今天美国文学在世界上几乎处于首屈一指的地位,大有取代英国文学的来头,这和美国文学评论界多年来不懈的杰出努力是有密切关系的。

多年来,美国文学评论的突出特点是它的多样性和独创性。正如美国现代诗人华莱士·史蒂文斯的一首诗所说,看山乌鸟的方式可有十三种之多,美国文学评论界自始至今所提出的研究美国文学的理论也是各式各样的。事实上,美国文学评论的基本特点在于它的"多元化";但是透过这些纷然杂陈的观点,人们可以看到评论家都在努力寻觅一种"合成"理论,以诠释几位作家或某一时期内作家的创作活动,使之具有令人信服的理性基础。他们从美国历史或文化发展的角度去赏析本国文学,每人提出的理论都有合理之处。各种理论的总和便使读者有可能在较可靠的基础上看到美国文学的全貌。而且,他们是"百花齐放、百家争鸣",各抒己见,不落窠臼,不肯"吃别人嚼过的馍",有时某些评论家很有"语不惊人死不休"的气势。有人评论说,阅读过去的文学评论,特别是 20 世纪五六十年代的文学评论,其趣味不亚于阅读他们所评论的文学作品。编者本人就很有这种体会。

因此,把这些理论的精粹编选出来以飨读者是非常必要的。

正是出于这种意图,编者编写了《美国文学评论名著精读》,作 为大学本科高年级及硕士和博士研究生的美国文学评论课教科书和必 备的参考书。由于侧重点不在于反映美国文学评论的历史颠末,因而

它的内容主要不是前面所讲的第一阶段和第二阶段,而是第三阶段。 即美国文学评论业已成熟的阶段内的各种评论观点。本书共分上、下 两册,辑录了美国评论家(除 D·H·劳伦斯外)对早期美国文学的 各种评论, 收集了评论界关于现当代美国文学的各种颇富影响的评论。 所选注的文章皆出自美国学术界所公认的美国文学研究经典著作,都 具有一定的经典性, 不拘泥于概念的纷争, 不玄秘艰涩, 兼具科学性 与知识性,对美国文学名家和名著进行生动、透辟的分析,视角多变, 说理简洁,文字极流畅,在文学评论史上极有可能成为"里程碑"式 的作品。它们的出版时间多为 20 世纪五六十年代, 但也有相当数量的 作品出现在 20 世纪的初年乃至三四十年代(尤其是包括在附件部分的 作品)。他们的作者都无疑是美国文学评论界的佼佼者。他们的作品都 具有一定的普遍意义及永久性。因而,这些评论文章应是美国文学研 究者——本科生、研究生以及社会读者——所必读的"学者文库"中所 包括的评论著作。这些作品应有助于增强美国文学学习者和研究者的 底蕴和铺垫,应成为美国文学教学与研究工作者的学术基础的中心组 成部分。

《美国文学评论名著精读》共选入 23 位著名评论家的专著或专 论。每篇选文均由作者介绍、作品介绍、文章节选、注释、讨论题及 参考书五部分组成,以利于美国文学的教学。编者相信,本书对美国 文学的教学与学术研究工作将有很大的裨益。在美国文学的教学一线 工作的教师们,会从本文选中汲取必要的资料,以充实教学的广度和 深度, 取得更好的教学效果。

在本书的编写过程中, 王蕴茹教授在香核资料、对照原文以及通 读全文方面,做出了可观的努力和贡献。

尽管编者做了最大努力,书里错讹之处一定仍然不少,敬请各位 专家、学者、读者等拨冗不吝指教。

> 常耀信 2006年7月于南开

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#### [作者介绍]

佩里·米勒 (Perry Miller, 1905-1963),美国文学评论家,生于芝加哥市。1923 年离开大学后流浪三年,在刚果受到启发,找到归宿,自 1931 年起在哈佛大学任教,开始他向 20 世纪解释美国历史的使命。1933 年米勒发表他的文学评论出世作《麻省正统体制》(Orthodoxy in Massachusetts),开始认真研究美国清教徒及其传统。之后又发表了《新英格兰的思想》(The New England Mind)、《17 世纪》(The Seventeenth Century, 1939)及《从殖民区到省制》(From Colony to Province, 1953)等重要著作,继续这一专题的研究工作。他的佳作《进入荒野的使命》(Errand into the Wilderness, 1956)收集了他的评论名作选品。米勒一生从事美国清教主义的评究,是这一学术领域内的权威学者。他卒世时的未竟之作《美国思想的活动》(The Life of the Mind in America, 1965)同他的其他著作一样,是美国文学评论的上乘之作。米勒堪称卓尔不群的美国文化史学家及文学家之一。

#### Errand into the Wilderness

#### 「作品介绍」

《进入荒野的使命》1956年由纽约哈帕—罗公司出版,是研究美国清教主义及其影响的经典著作。

米勒指出,迄今为止,"社会"史学家们虽对美国文化史进行了

认真细致的可贵的研究,但是他们都未抓住问题的根本。他以写《罗马帝国之兴衰》的英国史学家吉本(Edward Gibbon, 1737-1794)为楷模,立志探赜索隐,穷溯美国文化发展的源流。

米勒认为,人类历史的基本因素是人的思想,研究美国历史必须从 17 世纪移居北美的清教徒的思想和信仰着手。美国的清教徒是担负着伟大使命来美洲定居的。《进入荒野的使命》恰切地表达了他们的使命感。他们决心完成在欧洲开始的宗教改革,把北美荒野建成他们理想的、文明的人间乐土。文明和自然的关系是美国民族史的主要因素,也是米勒这部名作的主题。

《进入荒野的使命》回顾了康涅狄格和马萨诸塞两地神权体制侧重清教徒主义的不同原则,在 17 世纪移民初期执政的情况;指出美国清教徒从历史角度看是卡尔文教的信徒,乔纳桑·爱德华兹愿称自己为卡尔文主义者,虽然他因受洛克哲学和牛顿物理学的影响而无法坚持卡尔文的一些基本观点。作者还谈到弗吉尼亚的历史,认为宗教信仰是弗吉尼亚移民的原动力量;那里承认等级和门第,不赞成民主和平等;民主的出现是自然的发展,并非他们的愿望。《进入荒野的使命》还详细探讨了美国清教主义的政教合一政体及清教主义的基本理论,乔纳桑·爱德华兹作为美国清教最后一名"先知",力求通过北美宗教大觉醒运动重申卡尔文教主张的行动,他对后世,尤其对 19 世纪前期以爱默生为代表的超验主义思想的巨大影响,以及爱默生坚持唯心主义、反对物质主义的基本思想。作者还对"进入荒野的使命"的内涵进行了精辟分析。

米勒自谓,从 1931 年起至 1956 年《进入荒野的使命》发表时止,他潜心研究美国清教思想这一专题长达 25 年之久。其间发表了几部颇富启迪性的专著,写了一些令人震触的文章和讲演辞。《进入荒野的使命》收集了他的文章和演说辞的精粹,展现了美国清教传统的历史及影响,堪称为长期以来,特别是 20 世纪 20 年代以来,对此所进行的研究的总结,奠定了清教在美国文化史上最终的稳定地位。

这里选注的是该书第1章, 其题目和书名相同。

#### An Excerpt from Errand into the Wilderness

It was a happy inspiration that led the staff of the John Carter Brown Library to choose as the title of its New England exhibition of 1952 a phrase from Samuel Danforth's lelection sermon, delivered on May 11, 1670: A Brief Recognition of New England's Errand into the Wilderness. It was of course an inspiration, if not of genius, at least of talent, for Danforth to invent his title in the first place. But all the election sermons of this period—that is to say, the major expressions of the second generation,2 which, delivered on these forensic occasions, were in the fullest sense community expression—have interesting titles; a mere listing tells the story of what was happening to the minds and emotions of the New England people: John Higginson's The Cause of God and His People in New England in 1663, William Stoughton's New England's True Interest Not to Lie in 1668, Thomas Shepard's Eye-Salve in 1672, Urian Oakes's New England Pleaded With in 1673; and, climactically and most explicitly, Increase Mather's A Discourse Concerning the Danger of Apostasy in 1677.

All of these show by their title pages alone—and, as those who have looked into them know, infinitely more by their contents—a deep disquietude. They are troubled utterances, worried, fearful: something has gone wrong. As in 1662 Wigglesworth<sup>3</sup> already was saying in verse, God has a controversy with New England; He has cause to be angry and to punish it because of its innumerable defections. They say, unanimously, that New England was sent on an errand, and that it has failed.

To our ears these lamentations of the second generation sound strange indeed. We think of the founders as heroic men—of the towering stature of Bradford, Winthrop, and Thomas Hooker<sup>4</sup>—who braved the ocean and the wilderness, who conquered both, and left to their children a goodly

heritage. Why then this whimpering?

Some historians suggest that the second and third generations suffered a failure of nerve; they weren't the men their fathers had been, and they knew it. Where the founders could range over the vast body of theology and ecclesiastical polity and produce profound works like the treatises of John Cotton<sup>5</sup> or the subtle psychological analyses of Hooker, or even such a gusty though wrongheaded book as Nathaniel Ward's Simple Cobler, let alone such, lofty, and right headed pleas as Roger Williams' Bloody Tenent, all these children could do was tell each other that they were on probation and that their chances of making good did not seem very promising.

Since Puritan intellectuals were thoroughly grounded in grammar and rhetoric, we may be certain that Danforth was fully aware of the ambiguity concealed in his word "errand." It already had taken on the double meaning which it still carries with us. Originally, as the word first took form in English, it meant exclusively a short journey on which an inferior is sent to convey a message or to perform a service for his superior. In that sense, we today speak of an "errand boy"; or the husband says that while in town, on his lunch hour, he must run an errand for his wife. But by the end of the Middle Ages, errand developed another connotation: it came to mean the actual business on which the actor goes, the purpose itself, the conscious intention in his mind. In this signification, the runner of the errand is working for himself, is his own boss; the wife, while the husband is away at the office, runs her own errands. Now in the 1660's the problem was this: which had New England originally been—an errand boy or a doer of errands? In which sense had it failed? Had it been dispatched for a further purpose, or was it an end in itself? Or had it fallen short not only in one or the other, but in both of the meanings? If so, it was indeed a tragedy, in the primitive sense of a fall from a mighty designation.

If the children were in grave doubts about which had been the

original errand-if, in fact, those of the founders who lived into the later period and who might have set their progeny to rights found themselves wondering and confused—there is little chance of our answering clearly. Of course, there is no problem about Plymouth Colony. That is the charm about Plymouth: its clarity. The Pilgrims, as we have learned to call them, were reluctant voyagers; they had never wanted to leave England, but had been obliged to depart because the authorities made life impossible for Separatists. They could, naturally, have stayed at home had they given up being Separatists, but that idea simply did not occur to them. Yet they did not go to Holland as though on an errand; neither can we extract the notion of a mission out of the reasons which, as Bradford tells us, persuaded them to leave Leyden for "Virginia." The war with Spain was about to be resumed, and the economic threat was ominous; their migration was not so much an errand as a shrewd forecast, a plan to get out while the getting was good, lest, should they stay, they would be "intrapped or surrounded by their enemies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor flie." True, once the decision was taken, they congratulated themselves that they might become a means for propagating the gospel in the remote parts of the world, and thus of serving as stepping-stones to others in the performance of this great work; nevertheless, the substance of their decision was that they "thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage and less danger, if any such could be found." The great hymn<sup>7</sup> that Bradford, looking back in his old age, chanted about the landfall is one of the greatest passages, if not the very greatest, in all New England's literature; yet it does not resound with the sense of a mission accomplished-instead, it vibrates with the sorrow and exultation of suffering, the sheer endurance, the pain and the anguish, with the somberness of death faced unflinchingly:

May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie...

We are bound, I think, to see in Bradford's account the prototype of the vast majority of subsequent immigrants—of those Oscar Handlin<sup>8</sup> calls "The Uprooted": they came for better advantage and for less danger, and to give their posterity the opportunity of success.

The Great Migration of 1630 is an entirely other story. True, among the reasons John Winthrop drew up in 1629 to persuade himself and his colleagues that they should commit themselves to the enterprise, the economic motive frankly figures. Wise men thought that England was overpopulated and that the poor would have a better chance in the new land. But Massachusetts Bay was not just an organization of immigrants seeking advantage and opportunity. It had a positive sense of mission—either it was sent on an errand or it had its own intention, but in either case the deed was deliberate. It was an act of will, perhaps of willfulness. These Puritans were not driven out of England (thousands of their fellows stayed and fought the Cavaliers)—they went of their own accord.

So, concerning them, we ask the question, why? If we are not altogether clear about precisely how we should phrase the answer, this is not because they themselves were reticent. They spoke as fully as they knew how, and none more magnificently or cogently than John Winthrop in the midst of the passage itself, when he delivered a lay sermon aboard the flagship Arabella and called it "a Modell of Christian Charity." It distinguishes the motives of this great enterprise from those of Bradford's forlorn retreat, and especially from those of the masses who later have come in quest of advancement. Hence, for the student of New England and of America, it is a fact demanding incessant brooding that John Winthrop selected as the "doctrine" of his discourse, and so as the basic proposition to which, it then seemed to him, the errand was committed, the thesis that

God had disposed mankind in a hierarchy of social classes, so that "in all times some must be rich, some poor, some highe and eminent in power and dignitie; others mean and in subjection." It is as though, preternaturally sensing what the promise of America might come to signify for the rank and file, Winthrop took the precaution to drive out of their heads any notion that in the wilderness the poor and the mean were ever so to improve themselves as to mount above the rich or the eminent in dignity. Were there any who had signed up under the mistaken impression that such was the purpose of their errand, Winthrop told them that, although other people, lesser breeds, might come for wealth or pelf. this migration was specifically dedicated to an avowed end that had nothing to do with incomes. We have entered into an explicit covenant with God, "we have professed to enterprise these Accions upon these and these ends"; we have drawn up indentures with the Almighty, wherefore if we succeed and do not let ourselves get diverted into making money, He will reward us. Whereas if we fail, if we "fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnall intencions, seekeing greate things for our selves and our posterity, the Lord will surely breake out in wrathe against us, be revenged of such a pericured people and make us knowe the price of the breache of such a Covenant."

Well, what terms were agreed upon in this covenant? Winthrop could say precisely— "It is by a mutuall consent through a specially overruleing providence, and a more than ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ to seeke out a place of Cohabitation and Consorteshipp under a due form of Government, both civill and ecclesiasticall." If it could be said thus concretely, why should there be any ambiguity? There was no doubt whatsoever about what Winthrop meant by a due form of ecclesiastical government: he meant the pure Biblical polity set forth in full detail by the New Testament, that method which later generations, in the days of increasing confusion, would settle down to calling Congregational, but

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which for Winthrop was no denominational peculiarity but the very essence of organized Christianity. What a due form of civil government meant, therefore, became crystal clear, a political regime, possessing power, which would consider its main function to be the erecting, protecting, and preserving of this form of polity. This due form would have, at the very beginning of its list of responsibilities, the duty of suppressing heresy, of subduing or somehow getting rid of dissenters—of being, in short, deliberately, vigorously, and consistently intolerant.

Regarded in this light, the Massachusetts Bay Company came on an errand in the second and later sense of the word: it was, so to speak, on its own business. What it set out to do was the sufficient reason for its setting out. About this Winthrop seems to be perfectly certain, as he declares specifically what the due forms will be attempting; the end is to improve our lives to do more service to the Lord, to increase the body of Christ. and to preserve our posterity from the corruptions of this evil world, so that they in turn shall work out their salvation under the purity and power of Biblical ordinances. Because the errand was so definable in advance, certain conclusions about the method of conducting it were equally evident: one, obviously, was that those sworn to the covenant should not be allowed to turn aside in a lust for mere physical rewards; but another was, in Winthrop's simple but splendid words, "we must be knit together in this worke as one man, wee must entertaine each other in brotherly affection," we must actually delight in each other, "always having before our eyes our Commission and community in the worke, our community as members of the same body." This was to say, were the great purpose kept steadily in mind, if all gazed only at it and strove only for it, then social solidarity (within a scheme of fixed and unalterable class distinctions) would be an automatic consequence. A society despatched upon an errand that is its own reward would want no other rewards: it could go forth to possess a land without ever becoming possessed by it; social gradations

would remain eternally what God had originally appointed; there would be no internal contention among groups or interests, and though there would be hard work for everybody, prosperity would be bestowed not as a consequence of labor but as a sign of approval upon the mission itself. For once in the history of humanity (with all its sins), there would be a society so dedicated to the holy cause that success would prove innocent and triumph not raise up sinful pride or arrogant dissension.

Or, at least, this would come about if the people did not deal falsely with God, if they would live up to the articles of their bond. If we do not perform these terms, Winthrop warned, we may expect immediate manifestations of divine wrath: we shall perish out of the land we are crossing the sea to possess. And here in the 1660's and 1670's, all the jeremiads (of which Danforth's is one of the most poignant) are castigations of the people for having defaulted on precisely these articles. They recite the long list of afflictions an angry God had rained upon them, surely enough to prove how abysmally they had deserted the covenant: crop failures, epidemics, grasshoppers, caterpillars, torrid summers, arctic winters, Indian wars, hurricanes, shipwrecks, accidents, and (most grievous of all) unsatisfactory children. The solemn work of the election day, said Stoughton<sup>10</sup> in 1668, is "Foundation-work" —not, that is, to lay a new one, "but to continue, and strengthen, and beautifie, and build upon that which has been laid." It had been laid in the covenant before even a foot was set ashore, and thereon New England should rest. Hence the terms of survival, let alone of prosperity, remained what had first been propounded:

If we should so frustrate and deceive the Lords Expectations, that his Covenant-interest, in us, and the Workings of his Salvation be made to cease, then All were lost indeed; Ruine upon Ruine, Destruction upon Destruction would come, until one stone were not left upon another.