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Oliver Wendell Holmes 1809-1894

奧立佛·溫德·霍姆斯(一八〇九——一八九四)

奧立佛·溫德·霍姆斯說：「我是我自己的良伴。」不但如此，他也是別人的良伴，他把當日盛行歐洲的社交氣息注入了美國的學術界。歷史家指出，霍姆斯像麻州劍橋其他兩位作家朗斐羅和陸韋爾一樣，以其獨特的方法，使歐洲文化適應了美國的需要。

霍姆斯給他所屬的那個社交團體起名叫「婆羅門」(Brahmins)。按照字典的意義，婆羅門是印度國民中的最高階級或祭司階級。霍姆斯屬於新英格蘭區的最高階級，這是不容置疑的。他的出身和教養都和這個階級的傳統相配。他生在一個歷史悠久的家庭，他的祖先曾參與革命時代的重要戰役。他就像他所謂那種「有門弟的人，至少承襲了五代優良的傳統和家教。」他先進一所頭等的私立學校，再進哈佛，並出國留學。他讀的是醫科，先成為名學者，後來（自一八四七年至一八八二年）又在哈佛成了名教授。

他所受的科學訓練，使他對古老的宗教思想作猛烈的攻擊，並對

人類行為作嚴明的區分：一種是人類本身負責的行為，一種是遺傳和環境所決定的行為。他和當日的許多宗教人士意見不合；人們因為遺傳和教養所造成的不良行為，人自己不能負責，別人也不必責怪。他對美國人思想的主要貢獻，也許就在於闡明了決定論的思想，即強調遺傳和教養如何影響人的一生。在那偉大的革新時代，他拼命攻擊任何改造人類的新觀念，他的態度真是夠保守的了。但他最受人稱頌的詩篇同英國新古典派詩相近，大多寫得很通俗、文雅、而有趣，並不深奧，也不說教。他是個出名的健談者，他的散文之所以成功，就是因為他能把自己娓娓動聽的話語優美地表達在紙上。

霍姆斯的作品，不論詩或散文，都是寫得愈隨便的愈好。本書中所收的「愛德華茲論」，就是用閑話的筆調，抨擊加爾文教派發揚埋想主義。

JONATHAN EDWARDS

As the centennial anniversaries of noteworthy events and signal births come round, frequent and importunate as tax-bills, fearful with superlatives as schoolgirls' letters, wearisome with iteration as a succession of drum-solos, noisy with trumpet-blowing through the land as the jubilee of Israel, we are, perhaps, in danger of getting tired of reminiscences. A foreigner might well think the patron saint of America was Saint Anniversary. As our aboriginal predecessors dug up the bones of their ancestors when they removed from one place to another, and carried them with the living on their journey, so we consider it a religious duty, at stated intervals in the journey of time, to exhume the memories of dead personages and events, and look at them in the light of the staring and inquisitive present, before consigning them again to the sepulchre.

愛德華茲論

這些年來，國家令節和名人生辰的百年紀念①，層出不窮，如稅局催稅那樣的逼人而來，令人應接不暇；應景紀念文字，滿紙肉麻字眼，不啻女學生的書信；翻來復去的那幾句老調，好像銅鼓獨奏，必必卜卜，使人爲之生厭；全國上下的騷動，又如以色列人舉行慶典似的，四處號角齊吹②；在這種情形之下，大家也許對於回憶紀念那一套，望而生畏了。外國人看見這種情形，還會以爲守護美國的天使，法名就叫做「逢節慶祝」。美國本地的土人，每逢搬家的時候，一定把先人的遺骨，從土中掘出，陪着活人，一起長征；也許因此之故，我們在塵世的旅途上，每隔相當時間，一定把死人陳列和過去的大事，從泥土裏把它們翻尋出來，用我們後世好奇的目光，睜大了眼睛把它們重新檢討一番；檢討完畢，入土爲安，再把它們送返墳墓。

① 一八七六年，美國舉行「獨立宣言」百年紀念，其他各種紀念頗多。

② 舊約「詩篇」四十七章第五節。

A recent centennial celebration seems to make this a fitting time for any of us, who may feel a call or an inclination, to examine the life and religious teachings of a man of whom Mr. Bancroft has said, referring to his relations to his theological successors, that "his influence is discernible on every leading mind. Bellamy and Hopkins were his pupils; Dwight was his expositor; Smalley, Emons, and many others were his followers; through Hopkins his influence reached Kirkland, and assisted in moulding the character of Channing."

Of all the scholars and philosophers that America had produced before the beginning of the present century, two only had established a considerable and permanent reputation in the world of European thought, — Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Edwards. No

最近舉行過一次約拿丹·愛德華茲的逝世一百年紀念，我們之間誰要發下大願，或者是誰覺得責無旁貸，要替此公的生平和宗教思想，檢討一番，現在這個時候，正是再好也沒有。說起這位先生，據替他作傳的彭可夫①先生說，他在神學上給後世的影响實在不小：「美國幾位神學家的思想，都可以看得出受了他的影响。貝拉梅和霍金斯②是他的高足；第威德③替他做詮解；司瑪萊、艾蒙斯④等等都是步武他的後塵；他的思想，藉霍金斯的關係，間接的影响了寇刻倫⑤，更造成了張寧⑥的特殊性格。」

本世紀肇端以前，美洲所產生的哲人學者，其能在歐洲學術界克享盛名，經久不衰者，當推富蘭克林和愛德華茲二人。就脾氣、性

① 彭可夫，見卷一「古屋雜憶」註。彭氏為[愛普爾登美國百科全書（Appleton's American Encyclopaedia）撰「愛德華茲評傳」

② Joseph Bellamy（1719—1790），Samuel Hopkins（1721—1803）皆美國神學家。

③ Timothy Dwight（1752—1811）：神學家，曾任耶魯大學校長。

④ John Smalley（1834—1820），Nathaniel Emmons（1745—1840）皆美國神學家。

⑤ John T. Kirkland（1860—1840），神學家，曾任哈佛大學校長。

⑥ 張寧 William E. Channing（1780—1842），神學家，反對加爾文教派，其子乃詩人張寧（見「古屋雜憶」與「禽獸為鄰」二文）。

two individuals could well differ more in temperament, character, beliefs, and mode of life than did these two men, representing respectively intellect, practical and abstract. Edwards would have called Franklin an infidel, and turned him over to the uncovenanted mercies, if, indeed, such were admitted in his programme of the Divine administration. Franklin would have called Edwards a fanatic, and tried the effect of "Poor Richard's" common-sense on the major premises of his remorseless syllogisms.

We are proud of the great Boston-born philosopher, who snatched the thunderbolt from heaven with one hand, and the sceptre from tyranny with the other. So, also, we are proud of the great New England divine, of whom it might be said quite as truly, "Eripuit cœlo fulmen." Did not Dugald Stewart and Sir James Mackintosh recognize his extraordinary ability? Did not Robert Hall, in one of those "fits of easy transmission," in which loose and often extravagant expressions escape from excitable minds, call him "the greatest of the sons of men"? Such praise was very rare in those days, and it is no wonder that we have made the most of these and similar fine phrases. We always liked the English official mark on our provincial silver, and there was not a great deal of it.

格、信念和生活方式而論，這兩個人迥然不同，一個代表實用的態度，一個代表抽象的思想。愛德華茲可能認為富蘭克林是離經叛道，不守上帝規約之人，而且可能主張應該把他交給神權政府去審判一下，假如愛德華茲的思想系統裏果真承認神權政府的存在的話。富蘭克林也可能把愛德華茲稱做狂妄迂闊之士，愛德華茲的嚴密的推理，可能被認為不切實際，其主要前提，應該根據「富氏曆書」①裏的常識格言來改造一下。

據說富蘭克林一隻手搶天上的雷電，另一隻手奪暴君的權杖②，我們對於這位波士頓哲學家，自然欽仰無已。可是我們提起這位新英格蘭的牧師愛德華茲，也覺得非常驕傲；他對於神學上的貢獻，不是也可以說「上奪天界雷電之威」嗎？他尤其得到英國人的欽佩：史德華③和麥金德殊④不是都賞識他特色的天才嗎？霍爾⑤在他「信筆所至」，情緒激昂，因此說話不免隨便而過火的時候，不是稱他為「人類的子孫中最偉大的一個」嗎？在他們那時代，如此過甚其辭的誇獎是不大多見的；無怪我們美國人聽見了要受寵若驚了。美洲土產的銀子上面假如蓋上一個英國的官印，我們就特別珍視，可是這一類的銀子我們並不常見。

① 富蘭克林著有「曆書」(Poor-Richard's Almanack)內容多為日常處世應用之格言。

② 法國頒賞富蘭克林的勳章有這麼一句拉丁話；蓋富氏既有功於美國革命，復實驗電學，開科學研究之風氣也。

③ Douglas Stewart (1753—1828) —蘇格蘭「常識派」哲學家。

④ Sir James Mackintosh (1765—1832) —英國哲學家。

⑤ Rodert Hall (1764—1832) —英國浸信會領導人物。

In studying the characteristics of Edwards in his life and writings, we find so much to remind us of Pascal that, if we believed in the doctrine of metempsychosis, we could almost feel assured that the Catholic had come back to earth in the Calvinist. Both were of a delicate and nervous constitution, habitual invalids. Their features, it is true, have not so much in common. The portrait prefixed to Dwight's edition of Edwards's works shows us a high forehead, a calm, steady eye, a small, rather prim mouth, with something about it of the unmated and no longer youthful female. The medallion of Pascal shows a head not large in the dome, but ample in the region of the brow, strongly marked features, a commanding Roman nose, a square jaw, a questioning mouth, an asserting chin, — a look altogether not unlike that of the late Reverend James Walker, except for its air of invalidism. Each was remarkable for the precocious development of his observing and reflecting powers. Their spiritual as well as their mental conditions were parallel in many respects. Both had a strong tendency to asceticism. Pascal wore a belt studded with sharp points turned inward, which he pressed against his body when he felt the aggressive movements of temptation. He was jealous of any pleasure derived from the delicacy of his food, which he regarded solely as the means of supporting life. Edwards did not wear the belt of thorns in a material shape, but he pricked himself with perpetual self-accusations, and showed precisely the same jealousy about the gratification of the palate. He was spared, we may say in parenthesis, the living to see the republication in Boston of his fellow-countryman, Count

我們假如研究愛德華茲的生平和著作，就會發現其間有許多特點都可使我們聯想到巴斯加①；可惜我們現在都不相信輪迴轉世之說，否則的話，我們會以為法國天主教徒，投胎到美洲來成為加爾文派②教徒了。他們兩人的面相，相像之點可並不多。第威德所編印的「愛德華茲全集」前面③，有此公的一張肖像，顯得額骨高聳，眼神平靜而鎮定，嘴小而神態拘謹，總之，看來帶一點老處女的樣子。可是據現存的巴斯加紀念章看來，這位法國思想家的頭頂部分顯得並不大，可是前額豐滿，臉上各部位顯得都很突出：隆準高鼻，顎方頤凸，嘴上帶有發問好奇的神氣；假如不是帶有一點病容，這副相貌實在有點像哈佛大學校長華克氏④。愛德華茲和巴斯加二人都是特別的早慧，精神生活和理智生活也極多共通之點。二人都有很強烈的苦行的傾向：巴斯加腰間的皮帶，暗裝鐵釘，釘尖朝內，他達到誘惑而覺得心旌搖動之時，就按皮帶刺身。飲食他僅視為養身之必需，謹防貪圖口腹之樂。愛德華茲沒有圍上一條具體的荊棘腰帶，可是他不斷的自我責備，其戰戰兢兢的情形，也不啻芒刺在身；他對於口腹慾，防範之嚴，不在巴斯加之下。這裏不妨順便一提：愛德華茲幸虧死得夠早，沒有看見他本國人士倫福伯爵那篇名著「論飲食之樂並附論其

① 巴斯加 Blaise Pascal (1632-62) 法國數學家，宗教哲學家。思想深刻，文字精鍊，為法國一大人物。

② 法國宗教改革家加爾文 John Calvin (1509—60) 對於新教影響之大，僅次於德國之馬丁路德。其思想本文中將有評述。

③ 愛德華茲全集，共十大卷，Sereno E. Dwigh 編，一八二九—一三〇年出版。

④ James Walker (1794—1874)。

Rumford's, essay "Of the Pleasure of Eating, and of the Means that may be employed for increasing it." Pascal and Edwards were alike sensitive, pure in heart and in life, profoundly penetrated with the awful meaning of human existence; both filled with a sense of their own littleness and sinfulness; both trembling in the presence of God and dwelling much upon his wrath and its future manifestations; both singularly powerful as controversialists, and alive all over to the *gaudia certaminis*, — one fighting the Jesuits and the other the Arminians. They were alike in their retiring and melancholy kind of life. Pascal was a true poet who did not care to wear the singing robes. As much has been claimed for Edwards on the strength of a passage here and there which shows sentiment and imagination. But this was in his youthful days, and the "little white flower" of his diary fades out in his polemic treatises, as the "star of Bethlehem" no longer blossoms when the harsh blades of grass crowd around it. Pascal's prose is light and elastic everywhere with *esprit*; much of that of Edwards, thickened as it is with texts from Scripture, reminds us of the unleavened bread of the Israelite: holy it may be, but heavy it certainly is. The exquisite wit which so delights us in Pascal could not be claimed for Edwards; yet he could be satirical in a way to make the gravest person smile. Both had the same fondness for writing in the form of aphorisms, — natural to strong thinkers, who act like the bankers whose habit it is to sign checks, but not to count out money, — and both not rarely

增進之法」①在波士頓再版出書，否則他會氣壞的。巴斯加和愛德華茲是同樣的敏感，心地純潔，生活清白，終日思索的是人生的嚴肅的意義；兩人都覺得自己的渺小，都深責自己的罪孽深重；兩人都在上帝面前戰慄，都強調上帝的天怒不測之威，隨時都可以降禍人間；兩人都是辯才無礙，樂於論戰——只是巴斯加反對耶穌會，愛德華茲反對亞米尼派②而已。他們的生活都是恬淡而抑鬱少數。巴斯加不屑以詩人自居，但是他的詩人氣質極重。從愛德華茲的文章看來，其感情與幻想也不時流露，所以愛德華茲也可以算一個詩人。但是愛德華茲早年日記裏的「小小白花」後來竟告凋謝，中年以後，以辨理載道為重，文思乃為之索然；茂草橫生，「伯利恆之星」③坐困其中，生機窒息，成了有葉無花的狀態。巴斯加的散文才氣橫溢，而富彈性；愛德華茲的文章，大多都大量引用聖經經文，雖辭正意嚴，然難免有笨重之病，就像猶太人所吃的無酵麵包一樣，絕不會叫人有輕鬆之感。我們讀巴斯加的文章，覺得他的機智精巧，妙思入微；讀愛德華茲的文章，決不會有這種樂趣；但是愛德華茲有時候也筆帶譏刺，莊重的讀者不免為之莞爾一笑。兩人的文章，都常出諸格言警句的體裁，他們不喜冗長的敘述；因為精密的思想家就像銀行家一樣，慣於

① Count Rumford，一名 Sir Benjamin Thompson。他雖在歐洲受封，本人却是生在美國的。

② 神學家亞米尼 James Arminius (1560—1609) 修正加爾文派教義。加爾文派主張惟上帝之「殊恩」始能使人得救，亞米尼派則主張人人皆可得救。

③ 「伯利恆之星」，「野洋蔥」之別名。

selected the same or similar subjects for their brief utterances.

Even in some external conditions Pascal and Edwards suggest comparison. Both were greatly influenced by devout, spiritually-minded women. Pascal, who died unmarried, had his two sisters, — Gilberte and Jacqueline, — the first of whom, afterwards Madame Périer, wrote the Memoir of her brother, so simply, so sweetly, that one can hardly read it without thinking he hears it in her own tender woman's voice, — as if she were audibly shaping the syllables which are flowing through his mute consciousness. Edwards's wife, Sarab Pierrepont, was the lady of whom he wrote the remarkable account (cited by Mr. Bancroft in his article on Edwards, as it stands in the first edition of Appleton's "Cyclopædia") before he had made her acquaintance, — she being then only thirteen years old. She was spiritual to exaltation and ecstasy. To his sister Jerusha, seven years younger than himself, he was tenderly attached. She, too, was of a devoutly religious character.

There were certain differences in the midst of these parallelisms. Auvergne, with its vine-clad slopes, was not the same as Connecticut, with its orchards of elbowed apple-trees. Windsor, a pleasant name, not wanting in stately associations, sounds less romantic than Clermont. We think of Blaise and Jacqueline, wandering in the shadow of *Puy de Dome*, and kneeling in the ancient cathedral in that venerable town where the first trumpet of the first crusade was blown; and again we see Jonathan and Jerusha straying across lots to Poquannock, or sitting in the cold church, side by side on the smileless Sabbath. Whether or not Edwards had ever read Pascal