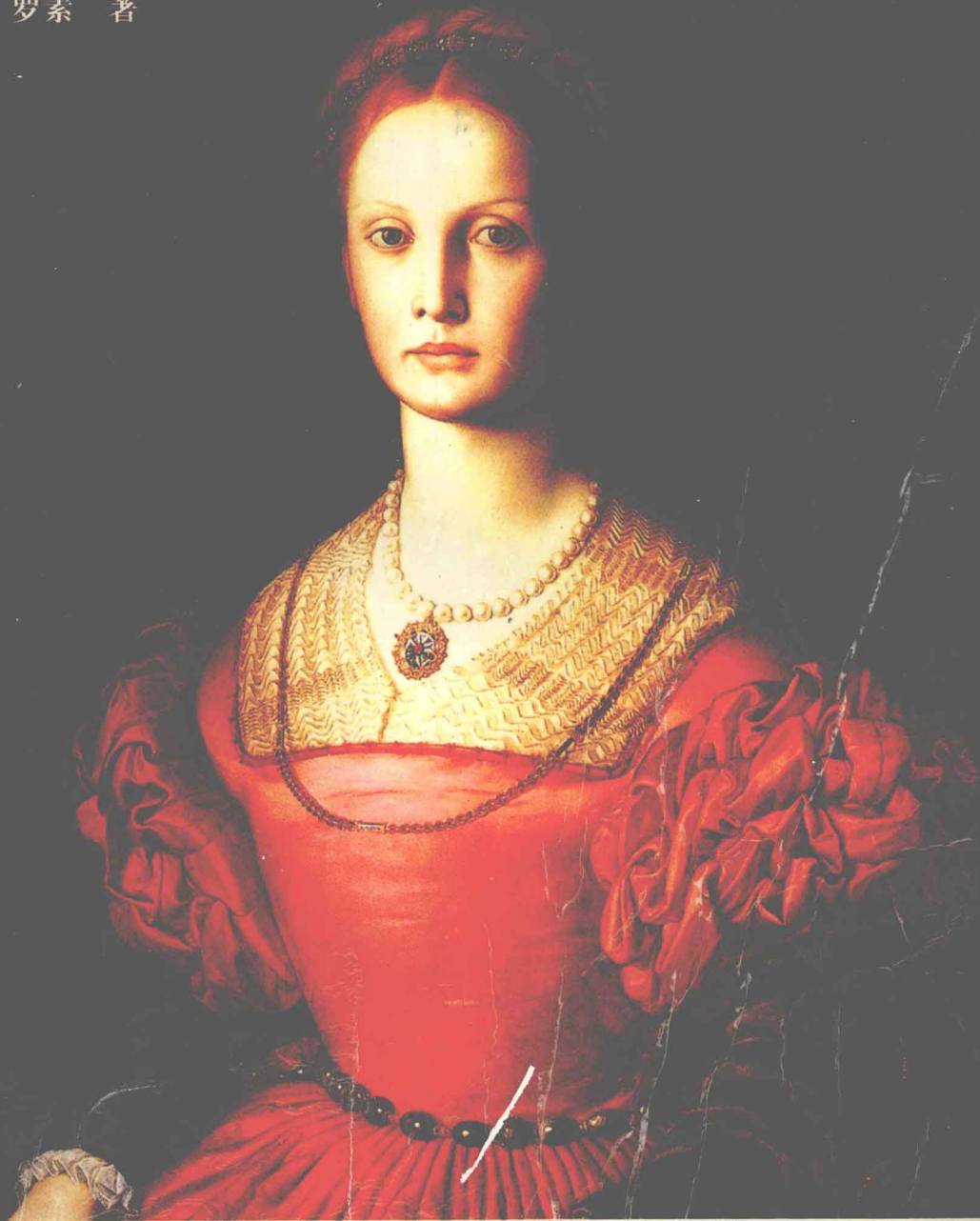


BERTRAND RUSSELL/THE CONQUEST OF HAPPINESS

# 罗素论幸福

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罗素论幸福

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## PART I CAUSES OF UNHAPPINESS

### CHAPTER I

#### What Makes People Unhappy?

ANIMALS are happy so long as they have health and enough to eat. Human beings, one feels, ought to be, but in the modern world they are not, at least in a great majority of cases. If you are unhappy yourself, you will probably be prepared to admit that you are not exceptional in this. If you are happy, ask yourself how many of your friends are so. And when you have reviewed your friends, teach yourself the art of reading faces: make yourself receptive to the moods of those whom you meet in the course of an ordinary day.

A mark in every face I meet, Marks of weakness, marks of woe says Blake.

*Bertrand Russell*

## 不幸福的原因

### 01. 什么使人不快乐?

动物只要不生病,有足够的食物,便快乐了。我们觉得人类也该如此,但在近代社会里并不然,至少以大多数的情形而论。倘使你自己是不快乐的,那你大概会承认你并非一个例外的人。倘使你是快乐的,那末试问你朋友中有几个跟你一样。当你把朋友们检讨一番之后,你可以学学观望气色的艺术;平常日子里你遇到的那些人的心境,你不妨去体味体味看。英国诗人勃莱克(Blake)说过:

在我遇到的每张脸上都有一个标记,  
弱点和忧患的标记。



Though the kinds are different, you will find that unhappiness meets you everywhere. Let us suppose that you are in New York, the most typically modern of great cities. Stand in a busy street during working hours, or on a main thoroughfare at a week-end, or at a dance of an evening; empty your mind of your own ego, and let the personalities of the strangers about you take possession of you one after another. You will find that each of these different crowds has its own trouble. In the work-hour crowd you will see anxiety, excessive concentration, dyspepsia, lack of interest in anything but the struggle, incapacity for play, unconsciousness of their fellow creatures. On a main road at the week-end you will see men and women, all comfortably off, and some very rich, engaged in the pursuit of pleasure. This pursuit is conducted by all at a uniform pace, that of the slowest car in the procession; it is impossible to see the road for the cars, or the scenery since looking aside would cause an accident; all the occupants of all the cars are absorbed in the desire to pass other cars, which they cannot do on account of the crowd; if their minds wander from this preoccupa-

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虽然不快乐的种类互异,但你总到处和它碰面。假定你在纽约,那是大都市中现代化到最标准的一个了。假定你在办公时间站在一条热闹的街上,或在周末站在大路上,再不然在一个夜舞会中;试把你的“自我”从脑子里丢开,让周围的那些陌生人一个一个的来占据你的思想,你将发见每组不同的群众有着不同的烦恼。在上工时间的群众身上,你可看到焦虑,过度的聚精会神,消化不良,除了斗争以外对什么都缺少乐趣,没有心思玩,全不觉得有他们的同胞存在。在周末的大路上,你可看到男男女女,全都景况很好,有的还很有钱,一心一意的去追逐欢娱。大家追逐时都采着同样的速度,即是坐着慢到无可再慢的车子鱼贯而行;坐车的人要看见前面的路或风景是不可能的,因为略一旁视就会闯祸;所有的车中的所有的乘客,惟一的欲望是越过旁人的车辆,而这又为了拥挤而办不到;倘若那般

tion, as will happen occasionally to those who are not themselves driving, unmit-  
terable boredom seizes upon them and stamps their features with trivial discon-  
tent. Once in a way a car-load of coloured people will show genuine enjoy-  
ment, but will cause indignation by erratic behaviour, and ultimately get into  
the hands of the police owing to an accident. enjoyment in holiday time is illegal

Or, again, watch people at a gay evening. All come determined to be  
happy, with the kind of grim resolve with which one determines not to make a  
fuss at the dentist's. It is held that drink and getting are the gateways to joy,  
so people get drunk quickly, and try not to notice how much their partners dis-  
gust them. After a sufficient amount of drink, men begin to weep, and to  
lament how unworthy they are, morally, of the devotion of their mothers. All  
that alcohol does for them is to liberate the sense of sin, which reason sup-  
presses in saucer moments.

The causes of these various kinds of unhappiness lie partly in the social

express  
one feel  
grief for  
or about

Bertrand Russell

有机会不自己驾驶的人，把心思移到别处去时，那么立刻有一种说  
不出的烦闷抓住他们，脸上印着微微懊恼的表情。一朝有一车黑人  
胆敢表露出真正的快乐时，他们的荒唐的行为就要引起旁人的愤  
慨，最后还要因为车辆出了乱子而落到警察手里：假日的享乐是违  
法的。

再不然，你去端相一下快乐的夜会里的群众。大家来时都打定了  
主意要寻欢作乐，仿佛咬紧牙齿，决意不要在牙医生那里大惊小怪  
一般。饮料和狎习，公认是欢乐的大门，所以人们赶快喝，并且竭力  
不去注意同伴们怎样的可厌。饮料喝到相当的时候，男人们哭起来  
了，怨叹说，他们在品格上怎样不配受母亲的疼爱。酒精对他们的作  
用，是替他们挑起了犯罪的意识，那是在健全的时间被理性抑捺着  
的。

这些种类不同的不快乐，一部分是由于社会制度，一部分是由于





system, partly in individual psychology—which, of course, is itself to a considerable extent a product of the social system. I have written before about the changes in the social system required to promote happiness. Concerning the abolition of war, of economic exploitation, of education in cruelty and fear, it is not my intention to speak in this volume. To discover a system for the avoidance of war is a vital need for our civilization; but no such system has a chance while men are so unhappy that mutual extermination seems to them less dreadful than continued endurance of the light of day. To prevent the perpetuation of poverty is necessary if the benefits of machine production are to accrue in any degree to those most in need of them; but what is the use of making everybody rich if the rich themselves are miserable? Education in cruelty and fear is bad, but no other kind can be given by those who are themselves the slaves of these passions. These considerations lead us to the problem of the individual: what can a man or woman, here and now, in the midst of our nostalgic society, do to achieve happiness for himself or herself? In discussing this

*The Conquest of Happiness*

个人心理，——当然，个人心理也大半是社会制度的产物。如何改变社会制度来增进幸福的问题，我从前已写有专书。关于消灭战争，消灭经济剥削，消灭残忍与恐怖的教育等等，都不是我在本书里想谈的。要发见一个能避免战争的制度，对我们的文化确是生死攸关的问题；但这种制度决无成功之望，因为今日的人们那样的烦闷，甚至觉得互相毁灭还不及无穷尽的捱延日子来得可怕。要是机器生产的利益，能对那般需要最切的人多少有所裨益的话，那当然应该阻止贫穷的延续；但若富翁本身就在苦恼，那末教每个人做富翁又有何用？培养残忍与恐怖的教育是不好的，但那批本人就做了残忍与恐怖的奴隶的人，又能有什么旁的教育可以给？以上种种考虑把我们引到个人问题上来：此时此地的男男女女，在我们这思着思乡病的社会里，能有什么作为，可替他们或她们本身去获取幸福？在讨论这个问题时，我将集中注意在一般并不受着外界的苦难的人身上。我

problem, I shall confine my attention to those who are not subject to any extreme cause of outward misery. I shall assume a sufficient income to secure food and shelter, sufficient health to make ordinary bodily activities possible. I shall not consider the great catastrophes, such as loss of all one's children, or public disgrace. There are things to be said about such matters, and they are important things, but they belong to a different order from the things that I wish to say. My purpose is to suggest a cure for the ordinary day-to-day unhappiness from which most people in civilized countries suffer, and which is all the more unbearable because, having no obvious external cause, it appears inescapable. I believe this unhappiness to be very largely due to mistaken views of the world, mistaken ethics, mistaken habits of life, leading to destruction of that natural zest and appetite for possible things upon which all happiness, whether of men or animals, ultimately depends. These are matters which lie within the power of the individual, and I propose to suggest the changes by which his happiness, given average good fortune, may be achieved.

*Bertrand Russell*

将假定他们有充分的收入，可以不愁吃不愁住，有充分的健康可以作普通的肉体活动。大的祸害，如儿女死尽，遭受公众耻辱等等，我将不加考虑。关于这些题目，当然有许多话好说，而且是挺重要的，但和我在此所要讨论的属于两类。我的目的，是想提出一张治疗日常烦闷的方子，那烦闷是文明国家内大多数人感看痛苦的，而且因为并无显著的外因，所以更显得无可逃避，无可忍受。我相信，这种不快乐大部分是由于错误的世界观，错误的伦理学，错误的生活习惯，终于毁掉了对一般可能的“事物”的天然的兴致和胃口，殊不知一切的快乐，不问是人类的或野兽的，都得以这些事物为根基。观念和习惯等等，都是在个人权力范围以内的，所以我愿提出若干改革的方案，凭了它们，只要你有着中等的幸运，就有获得幸福的可能。

几句简单的自我介绍，或许对我所要辩护的哲学可以做一个最好的楔子。我不是生来快乐的。童时，我最爱的圣诗是“世界可厌，负



Perhaps the best introduction to the philosophy which I wish to advocate will be a few words of autobiography. I was not born happy. As a child, my favourite hymn was: 'Weary of earth and laden with my sin.' At the age of five, I reflected that, if I should live to be seventy, I had only endured, so far, a fourteenth part of my whole life, and I felt the long-spread-out boredom ahead of me to be almost unendurable. In adolescence, I hated life and was continually on the verge of suicide, from which, however, I was restrained by the desire to know more mathematics. Now, on the contrary, I enjoy life; I might almost say that with every year that passes I enjoy it more. This is due partly to having discovered what were the things that I most desired and having gradually acquired many of these things. Partly it is due to having successfully dismissed certain objects of desire—such as the acquisition of indubitable knowledge about something or other—as essentially unattainable. But very largely it is due to a diminishing preoccupation with myself. Like others who had a Puritan education, I had the habit of meditating on my sins, follies, and shortcomings. I

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载着我深重的罪孽”那一首。五岁时,我曾想如果我得活到七十岁,那末至此为止我不过捱了全生涯十四分之一,于是我觉得长长地展开了我面前的烦闷,几乎不堪忍受。少年时,我憎恨人生,老是站在自杀的边缘上,然而想多学一些数学的念头阻止了我。如今,完全相反了,我感到人生的乐趣;竟可说我多活一年便多享受一些。这一部分是因为我发现了自己最迫切的欲望究竟是什么,并且慢慢地实现了不少。一部分是因为我终于顺顺利利地驱除了某些欲望,——例如想获得关于这个那个的确切的智识——当做根本不可求的。但最大部分,还须归功于一天天的少关心自己。像旁的受过清教徒教育的人一样,我惯对自己的罪过,愚妄,和失败,作种种的冥想。我觉得自己是——当然是准确地——一个可怜的本。慢慢地,我学会了对自己和自己的缺陷不再介介于怀;而对外界的事物,却一天天的集中我的注意:譬如世界现状,知识的各部门,以及我抱有好感的个人

seemed to myself—no doubt justly—a miserable specimen. Gradually I learned to be indifferent to myself and my deficiencies; I came to centre my attention increasingly upon external objects: the state of the world, various branches of knowledge, individuals for whom I felt affection. External interests, it is true, bring each its own possibility of pain: the world may be plunged in war, knowledge in some direction may be hard to achieve, friends may die. But pains of these kinds do not destroy the essential quality of life, as do those that spring from disgust with self. And every external interest inspires some activity which, so long as the interest remains alive, is a complete preventive of ennui. Interest in oneself, on the contrary, leads to no activity of a progressive kind. It may lead to the keeping of a diary, to getting psychoanalysed, or perhaps to becoming a monk. But the monk will not be happy until the routine of the monastery has made him forget his own soul. The happiness (which he attributes to religion he could have obtained from becoming a crossing-sweeper, provided he were compelled to remain one. External discipline is the only road to happiness

*Bertrand Russell*

等。不错，对外界的关切也会有各别的烦恼带给你：世界可能陷入战争，某种知识可能难于几及，朋友可能死亡。但这一类的痛苦，不像因憎恶自己而发生的痛苦那样，会破坏人生的主要品质。否则，每种对外的兴趣，都有多少活动分配给你；而兴趣活泼泼地存在到多久，这活动就能把苦闷阻遏到多久。相反地，对自己的关切绝对不能领你去作任何进取的活动。它可以鼓励你记日记，把自己作心理分析，或者去做修士。但一个修士，必得在修院的功课使他忘掉自己的灵魂的时光，才会幸福。他以为靠了宗教得来的幸福，其实靠着清道夫的行业一样可以得到，只要他真正做一个清道夫。有一般人是因为深陷在“自我沉溺”之中而无可救药的，对于他们，外界的纪律确是一条引向幸福的路。

“自我沉溺”种类繁多。我们可以挑出“畏罪狂”，“自溺狂”，“自大狂”三种最普通的典型。



for those unfortunates whose self-absorption is too profound to be cured in any other way.

Self-absorption is of various kinds. We may take the sinner, the narcissist, and the megalomaniac as three very common types.

When I speak of 'the sinner', I do not mean the man who commits sins: sins are committed by everyone or no one, according to our definition of the word. I mean the man who is absorbed in the consciousness of sin. This man is perpetually incurring his own disapproval, which, if he is religious, he interprets as the disapproval of God. He has an image of himself as he thinks he ought to be, which is in continual conflict with his knowledge of himself as he is. If, in his conscious thought, he has long since discarded the maxims that he was taught at his mother's knee, his sense of sin may be buried deep in his unconscious, and only emerge when he is drunk or asleep. Nevertheless, it may suffice to take the savour out of everything. At bottom he still accepts all the prohibitions he was taught in infancy. Swearing is wicked; drinking is wicked;

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我说“畏罪狂”，并非说那些人真正犯罪：罪恶是人人犯的，也可说没有人犯的，要看我们对社会所下的界说而定。我指的乃是沉溺于犯罪意识的人。他永远招惹着自己的厌恶，假令他是信教的话，还要把这种自我憎恶认作神的憎恶。他认为自己应该如何如何，这幅理想的图画，却和他所知的实际的他，不断发生冲突。即使在清明的思想里他早已把在母亲膝上学来的格言忘得一干二净，他的犯罪感觉可能深埋在潜意识内，只在醉酒或熟睡时浮现。但一切东西都可引起这味道。他心里依旧承认他儿时的诫条。赌咒是恶的；喝酒是恶的；普通生意上的狡狴是恶的；尤其，性行为是恶的。当然他并不会割弃这些娱乐，但这些娱乐为他是全部毒害了，毫无乐趣可言。因为他觉得自己是为了它们而堕落的。他全灵魂所愿望的一种乐趣，是受着母亲的宽容的抚爱，为他记得在童时经历过的。既然此种乐趣不可复得，他便觉得一切都乏味；既然他不得不犯罪，他就决意痛痛

ordinary business shrewdness is wicked; above all, sex is wicked. He does not, of course, abstain from any of these pleasures, but they are all poisoned for him by the feeling that they degrade him. The one pleasure that he desires with his whole soul is that of being approvingly caressed by his mother, which he can remember having experienced in childhood. This pleasure being no longer open to him, he feels that nothing matters: since he must sin, he decides to sin deeply. When he falls in love he looks for maternal tenderness, but cannot accept it, because, owing to the mother-image, he feels no respect for any woman with whom he has sexual relations. Then, in his disappointment, he becomes cruel, <sup>repents of his cruelty,</sup> and at starts afresh on the dreary round of imagined <sup>feel deep sorrow about one's actions</sup> sin and real remorse. This is the psychology of very many apparently hard-boiled <sup>reprobates.</sup> What drives them astray is devotion to an unattainable object <sup>of a person of kind immoral abstract character</sup> (mother or mother-substitute) together with the inculcation, in early years, of a ridiculous ethical code. Liberation from the tyranny of early beliefs and affections is the first step towards happiness for these victims of

Bertrand Russell

快快的犯罪了。当他堕入情网时,他是在寻找慈母式的温柔,但他不能接受,因为,心中存着母亲的图像,他对任何与他有性关系的女子,感不到丝毫敬意。失望之余,他变得残忍,随又忏悔地的残忍,重新出发去兜着那幻想的罪过和真正的悔恨的凄惨的圈子。多少表面看来是狠心的浪子,其心理状态就是如此。把他诱入迷途的,对于一个无法到手的对象的崇拜(母亲或母亲的代替物),加上早年所受的可笑的伦理教训。从早年信仰和早年情爱中解放出来,是这批“孺慕”德性的牺牲者走向快乐的第一步。

“自溺狂”在某个意义上是普通的犯罪意识的反面;特征是惯于自赞自叹,并希望受人赞叹。在某程度内,这情操无疑是正常的,无所用其惋惜;它只在过度的时候才成为一桩严重的祸害。有许多女子,特别在富有社会里,爱的感觉力完全消失了,代之而兴的是一股强烈的欲望,要所有的男人都爱她们。当这种女子确知一个男人爱



maternal 'virtue'.

Narcissism is, in a sense, the converse of an habitual sense of sin; it consists in the habit of admiring oneself and wishing to be admired. Up to a point it is, of course, normal, and not to be deplored; it is only in its excesses that it becomes a grave evil. In many women, especially rich Society women, the capacity for feeling love is completely dried up, and is replaced by a powerful desire that all men should love them. When a woman of this kind is sure that a man loves her, she has no further use for him. The same thing occurs, though less frequently, with men; the classic example is the hero of *Liaisons Dangereuses*. When vanity is carried to this height, there is no genuine interest in any other person, and therefore no real satisfaction to be obtained from love. Other interests fail even more disastrously. A narcissist, for example, inspired by the homage paid to great painters, may become an art student; but, as painting is for him a mere means to an end, the technique never becomes interesting, and no subject can be seen except in relation to self. The result is

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她时,她便用不着他了。同样情形,在男子方面也有,不过较为少见罢了。虚荣心到了这个高度时,除了自己以外,对任何人都感不到兴趣,所以爱情方面也没有真正的满足可以得到。可是旁的方面的趣味,失败得还要悲惨。譬如,一个自溺狂者,被大画家所受到的崇拜鼓动之下,会去做一个艺术学生;但既然绘画之于他不过是达到一个目标的手段,技巧也就从来引不起他的兴味,且除了和他自身有关的以外,别的题材都不会给他看到。结果是失败和失望,期待的是恭维,到手的是冷笑。还有那般老把自己渲染成书中的英雄的小说家,也是蹈了同样的复辙。工作上一切真正的成功,全靠你对和工作有关的素材抱有真正的兴趣。成功的政治家,一个一个的倒台,这悲剧的原因是什么呢?因为他把自溺狂代替了他对社会的关切,代替了他素来拥护的方策。只关怀自己的人并不可赞可羨,人家也不觉得他可赞可羨。因此,一个人只想要社会钦仰他而对社会本身毫不

failure and disappointment, with ridicule instead of the expected adulation. The same thing applies to those novelists whose novels always have themselves idealized as heroines. All serious success in work depends upon some genuine interest in the material with which the work is concerned. The tragedy of one successful politician after another is the gradual substitution of narcissism for an interest in the community and the measures for which he stands. The man who is only interested in himself is not admirable, and is not felt to be so. Consequently the man whose sole concern with the world is that it shall admire him is not likely to achieve his object. But even if he does, he will not be completely happy, since human instinct is never completely self-centred, and the narcissist is limiting himself artificially just as truly as is the man dominated by a sense of sin. The primitive man might be proud of being a good hunter, but he also enjoyed the activity of the chase. Vanity, when it passes beyond a point, kills pleasure in every activity for its own sake, and thus leads inevitably to listlessness and boredom. Often its source is diffidence, and its cure lies in

*Bertrand Russell*

感到旁的兴味时,未必能达到他的目的。即使能够,他也不能完全快乐,因为人类本能是从不能完全以自我为中心的。自溺狂者勉强限制自己,恰如畏罪狂者的强使自己给犯罪意识控制。原始人可能因自己是一个好猎手而感到骄傲,但同时也感到行猎之乐。虚荣心一过了头,把每种活动本身的乐趣毁掉了,于是使你不可避免地无精打采,百无聊赖。原因往往是缺少自信,对症的药是培养自尊心。但第一得凭着客观的兴趣去做进取性的活动,然后可以获得自尊心。

“自大狂”和自溺狂的不同之处,是他希望大权在握而非动人怜爱,他竭力要令人畏惧而非令人爱慕。很多疯子和历史上大多数的伟人,都属这一类。权力的爱好,正和虚荣一样,是正常的人性中一个强有力的分子,只要不出人性这范围,我们是应该加以容纳的;一朝变得过度,而且同不充分的现实意识联接一块时,那才可悲了。在这等情形下,一个人或是忧郁不快,或是发疯,或竟两样都是。一个





the growth of selfrespect. But this is only to be gained by successful activity inspired by objective interests.

The megalomaniac differs from the narcissist by the fact that he wishes to be powerful rather than charming, and seeks to be feared rather than loved. To this type belong many lunatics and most of the great men in history. Love of power, like vanity, is a strong element in normal human nature, and as such is to be accepted; it becomes deplorable only when it is excessive or associated with an insufficient sense of reality. Where this occurs it makes a man unhappy or foolish if not both. The lunatic who thinks he is a crowned head may be, in a sense, happy, but his happiness is not of a kind that any sane person would envy. Alexander the Great was psychologically of the same type as the lunatic, though he possessed the talent to achieve the lunatic's dream. He could not, however, achieve his own dream, which enlarged its scope as his achievement grew. When it became clear that he was the greatest conqueror known to fame, he decided that he was a God. Was he a happy man? His

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自以为头戴王冠的疯子，在某种意义上也许是快乐的，但他的快乐决非任何意识健全的人所艳羡的那一种。亚历山大大帝，心理上便和疯子同型，虽然他赋有雄才大略，能够完成疯子的梦。然而他还是不能完成他自己的梦，因为他愈成功，他的梦也愈扩大。当他眼见自己是最伟大的征略者时，他决意要说自己是上帝了。但他是不是一个幸福的人呢？他的酗酒，他的暴露，他的对女人的冷淡，和他想做神明的愿望，令人猜想他并不幸福。牺牲了人性中一切的分子来培植一个分子，或把整个世界看作建造一个人的自我的显赫的素材，是决无终极的快慰可言的。自大狂者，不问是病态的或名义上说来是健全的，通常是极度的屈辱的产物。拿破仑在学校里，在一般富有的贵族同学前面感到自惭形秽的苦恼，因为他是一个粗鄙的苦读者。当他后来准许亡命者<sup>1</sup>回国时，看着当年的同学向他鞠躬如也时，他满足了。多幸福！依旧是这种早年的屈辱，鼓动他在沙皇<sup>2</sup>身上