

春秋大义



遼 中华文明之精神

如若目今世界战乱之后，文明得以拯救，明日世界必将三足鼎立：美国、俄国及中国。

——《蛮夷美人》

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本电子书制作者

本书旨在尝试解释中华文明之精神，且揭示其价值

余有言告诸欧美人，值此文明濒危之际，惟中国之文明财富，其价不可估也，此者毋庸置疑

于交战各国之人民而言，战争之唯一出路者，当碎裂目前之《自由大宪章》，而订新宪，即我中国良民宗教所涵盖之《忠诚大宪章》

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连真然 审校

chunqiu dayi



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春秋 大义

THE SPIRIT OF
THE CHINESE CIVILIZATION

中华文明之精神

辜鸿铭著 颜林海译 连真然 审校

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译者序

颜林海

昔林海重翻译理论，而轻翻译实践。虽时有实践之作，亦仅为糊口而已，算不上真正之翻译实践，然毕竟获心得一二。历数年有余，潜心于翻译理论，尤心理学理论，今著一书，题曰《翻译认知心理学》，终得付梓，甚是欣慰。欣慰之余，更有喜极而泣之事，受出版社之约，而译辜鸿铭之《春秋大义》（又译为《中国人之精神》）；恍然有杜甫之“初闻涕泪满衣裳”之欣喜。然细虑之，不知所措，无从下手，其故何也？盖因是书出于一千九百一十五年，去今已近一世矣，且须译之以文言。经“旬月踟躅”（严几道语），心意已决，译！其故何也？经旬月强识辜鸿铭之文言文献，自觉可解其著文之心意、成书之意图。辜鸿铭，生于南洋，学于西洋，仕于北洋；倡春秋大义，推良民宗教；好三寸金莲而妻淑姑，喜英雄救美而妾贞子。昔之世人（即或今之世人）皆以为，其人狂妄怪诞；然若详察细读其文，窃以为，此般俗人皆不解辜鸿铭之心愿意图。辜鸿铭乃我国鸿儒，然其论多达之以他国之语言，其旨在弘扬中华文明之大义。故译之意义甚深。译毕思之，故作此序。

辜部郎学贯中西，通晓英、法、德、拉丁、希腊等外语，且能见其理极；精通马太·阿诺德、罗斯金、爱默生、歌德及席勒，真可谓“精于别国方言，邃于西学西政”（罗振玉语）。盖因其学贯中西，方可以其所长，而弘扬中华文明。盖因其力倡弘扬中华文明，备受他国学者、仁人志士之敬仰，继而驰誉国际。辜部郎云，当今世界之至弊，盖因群氓崇拜教所致。欲解此困，必代之以中国良民宗教所涵盖之忠教，即孔教。孔教，唯于中华文明可觅焉。然西人不解中国之语言，自当不解我中华文明之微言大义。是故，欲使西人领会中华文明之微言大义，有二法可行：译与论。至于译，辜部郎译有《论语》《中庸》等，其所译者，于难解之处，必以西人名著之言语而注之释之，西人读

之甚为亲切易解，故其译于西方，影响甚深。至于论，辜部郎集文成书，题曰《春秋大义》，而达其所倡。其英文文笔，流畅犀利。林语堂云，辜鸿铭“英文文字超越出众，二百年来，未见其右。造词用字，皆属上乘”。英国传教士兼学者鄂方智曰，辜鸿铭之论著“可与维多利亚朝代任何大文豪之作品相比并”。故学贯中西，冠之于辜鸿铭，不为过也。

辜部郎怪而不诞。今之世人，览其书者，无不视其怪也。其怪不过有三。堂堂一代汉学鸿儒，却发议论以英文，此其一怪也。其所发之议论，后世之人多以为奇谈怪论，如其缠足辩、辫子辩、娼妓辩、妻妾辩、帝制辩等，此其二怪也。大凡刺讥谩骂中华文明者，必遭其反讥；受其讥者，往往张口结舌、难以驳辩，此其三怪也。其实，责辜部郎有此三怪者，窃以为，凡此皆见浅而不见深，知其一而不知其二矣；简言之，未解辜部郎真正之用意也。其虽怪而不诞，盖因其论，由点及面、由浅及深、谆谆善诱，牵一发而动全身，阅则爱不释手，欲一气呵成而后快；阅毕则觉其言在理而不禁信之。故曰，怪而不诞。

辜部郎狂而不妄。《说文》曰，狂，狺犬也。余以为，若言之于人，狂分三类。其一，疯犬之狂。此类狂者，皆因受疯犬之伤，未早医治，而受其毒，闻水声而狂吠，见人而乱咬，迄今无药可救，九死无一生矣。其二，中空无物之狂。此类狂者，皆属虚中生势、胸无点墨，以贬他人为己之专长、窃他人之功绩而为己之所有，且面无愧色，视之当然。对其上，则阿谀奉承，摇头摆尾，犹温驯之良犬；对其下，则龇牙咧嘴、凶相毕露，犹患病之疯狗；此流人等，窃以为，实乃卑鄙无耻、狂妄自大之人渣，迄今亦无可救药矣，虽不至于必死，然必遭人人唾弃，与死无二致焉。其三，中实大义之狂。此类狂者，皆心怀大义，刚正不阿。或勇狂或儒狂。勇狂者，临危不惧，为大义故，可抛头颅，洒热血，置之死地而后生，如今之抗震救灾之勇士。如是勇狂者，皆得人人拥戴爱护。心怀大义，刚正不阿，非勇狂者之专有，鸿儒博学之士，亦有此狂矣，余谓之曰儒狂。若有贬于其祖国文明之精微要义者，无论中外，儒狂之士必口诛笔伐，予以反驳。然其反驳也，须言之有理，证之有据。其证也，须旁征博引，左右逢源；于难解之处，必注之释之。是故，儒狂者，狂而不妄也，犹辜部郎甚是。辜部郎力倡中国之良民宗教，然良民宗教之要旨，乃忠诚教也。凡有诋毁中华文明者，无论不明中华文明之西人，抑或崇尚新学之中国新人，皆为其讥讽之对象，且其讥必有据。其所据者，常以西方名人之言而证西人或中

国新人之谬，实乃以夷制夷之儒狂典范。故曰，狂而不妄。

呜呼，异哉，当今吾中国之社会！夫天下之群众，甚重其子女习西洋之语言，而远轻中国之语言；其果也，西洋之语非但未为通晓，且本族之语亦几近忘矣。悲哉，此实乃邯郸学步也；今之国人，动辄以西洋之科学衡量中国之国粹、且视之为糟粕。此类人等较之于辜鸿铭，其西洋见识，相差甚远；其国学修养，荡然无存焉。如是现象，吾辈学者当思虑之，以寻东西学二者之平衡，唯此方可兴国焉。

此译成于戊子年奥运会开幕之日。奥运会乃世界人民之盛会，世界各国莫不争相举办，而期冀恃此以兴国运，震国威，弘文化。译者亦期冀借此奥运会之机，以复原辜鸿铭欲弘扬中华文明之夙愿。

戊子年八月八日

颜林海于成都狮子山麓古道斋

译例言

按拙作《翻译认知心理学》，人之大脑所记者，命题也。所谓命题，存于大脑之非语言语音形式之意义。同一命题，可外化为不同语言形式；不同语言，亦可达相同命题。译事，犹人之穿衣也，人之本也不变，而蔽体之衣也可一日三易。命题犹人之本，语言如蔽体之衣。衣可易可变，然人之本也不变。然人之穿衣亦有讲究，孔颖

达云：“体谓容体，谓设官分职，各得其尊卑之体。”简言之，人之穿衣，须搭配得当，得其体也。人之体也，不可削剔，所穿之衣也，须与体相匹配。人体之本所在何也？在其心，在其意也。人之无心，犹行尸；人之无意，如走肉。人之心，人之意，如何能解欤？闻其言、览其文也。言成句，句成文，文达心意。成句之法，语言之不同，则有不同之



辜鸿铭，其可着西洋之服饰，亦可穿中国之长衫，然其春秋大义之心未变矣

——译者图释

规；成文之法，语言若异，则有相异之矩。规矩虽有不同，然其心意不变矣。心意者，大脑所存之命题也。欲译大脑之命题，译事之步骤有六，须逐一行之。其一，命题分解；其二，命题链接；其三，命题句化；其四，句化翻译；其五，译语整合；其六，译语润饰。以上步骤，乃译者大脑认知过程之概括，序言之中，谅余不能详说；欲见其详，可览之于拙作《翻译认知心理学》。

言之于辜鸿铭，其可着西洋之服饰，亦可穿中国之长衫，然其人之本也未

变。其心意，既可表之以西洋之语言，也可达之以中国之语言。语言可变，然其人、其心、其意未变矣。故翻译时，按如下译例而译。

一、总例：欲译辜鸿铭之《春秋大义》（《中国人之精神》），理解时，须览其文、记其字、体其心、明其意；表达时，用其字、仿其句、译其心、译其意。若于难解之字词，须查其典、觅其源。唯此方可译其心、译其意，且得其体也。

二、是书旨在弘扬中华文明之精微要义，故辜鸿铭于文中常引中文经典。翻译时，查引文之出处，而恢复其原貌。

三、是书旨在给昔日西人或崇洋媚外之中国人阅读，故以英语成文达意。欲使西人及崇洋媚外者信其所倡达，辜鸿铭常引西洋文豪名家之言语，而证己之观点；览其书者，时有张口结舌，不禁信之。辜鸿铭所引之言语，或韵文或诗歌，故翻译时，据其所引之用意，多以汉语诗体译之。

四、是书原文颇有维多利亚时代英文之遗风，而汉语并无其对应之语言特征，今译之以文言，译文遣词造句、组句成文多以辜鸿铭之文言文献为楷模。

五、是书所涉外国人名、地名，均按《世界人名翻译大辞典》或《外国人名辞典》为标准。个别人名，如辜鸿铭之文言文献经常提及，则按辜氏译法翻译，且注其今译。此举旨在恢复辜鸿铭之风貌。

六、原文注释皆释以脚注，正文所涉人物，若原文未曾注释，而今疑其不明者，亦释之以脚注；凡涉及翻译及文言之出处者，皆释之以尾注。为区别故，脚注以序号1, 2, 3……置于页脚。尾注注以框符，以序号[1][2][3]……置于书末。

七、另有一文《蛮夷美人》，初发于《华北正报》，后刊于美国之《纽约时报》。今之国内书刊未曾辑录，亦未曾有其译者，故今译之以飨读者，且辑于原书之后，题曰《附录》（二），原书之《附录》改为《附录》（一）。

八、本书特于译文之后附录辜鸿铭论著英文原文，供学者同仁、翻译爱好者对照研究。

总之，译事之难，在于难解作者之心意。欲解人之心意，须闻其言、览其文。闻言览文之要旨，在于析解其命题。故译事之过程，始而析命题，再而解命题，继而译命题，终而润饰命题。译事之要旨者，译其心、译其意、得其体也。简言之，译心译意乃译事之本也。

序言 *xuyán*

本书旨在尝试解释中华文明之精神，且揭示其价值^[1]。余以为，若欲鉴定精审^[2]一文明之价值，必问之问题，非如是是也：其所建之城大乎？房屋美轮美奂乎？街宽道坦乎？亦非如是之问题：其可修或所修之家具精良乎？其技工捷乎^[3]？甚或非如是之问题：其创有何种机构？何种艺术？何种科学？鉴定精审一文明之价值，必问之问题，当如是：其可造就^[4]何等之人性？何等之男女？实言之，男与女，乃人之种类，文明之产物；且唯此而揭示文明之本质与个性，亦即揭示文明之灵魂。若曰文明所造就之男女，可揭示文明之本质、个性及灵魂，则可曰男女所说之语言，可揭示男女之本质、个性及灵魂。言及文学创造，法国有谚语，曰“风格即人”。是故，本书之前三章分别^[5]以真正之中国人、中国妇女、中国语言为题，以揭示中华文明之价值。

此外，余增加论文二篇¹于书，旨在揭示，所谓中华文明之权威研究者，其实^[6]未必真正晓悟中国人、中国语言。如尊者阿瑟·史密斯²先生，曾著一书，题曰《中国人之特性》，然竟未明何谓真正之中国人，盖鉴于外国人故，不及深邃。再如翟理思³博士，享有所谓大汉学家之名，余将证之以示，其未真正

1 即《约翰·史密斯在中国》与《一个大汉学家》。——译注

2 阿瑟·史密斯（A.H. Smith, 1845~1932），中文名曰明恩溥；美国著名在华传教士、汉学家。著有《中国人之特性》，影响极大。辜鸿铭极为厌恶此书，故成辜鸿铭讥讽之对象。——译注

3 翟理思（H. A. Giles, 1845~1935），英国人，汉学家，威妥玛-翟理思汉语罗马字拼音系统创始人之一。——译注

晓解中国语言，盖鉴于英国人¹故，不及博大深邃，既乏哲人之远见卓识，亦无哲人之博大胸怀。濮兰德及巴克豪斯曾著书²，谈及已故举世闻名之慈禧。对此，余尝写有一书评，约四年前，发于《国家评论》。本想纳入此书，然竟无此文副本。余以为，诸如濮兰德及巴克豪斯之流，概未及、亦不及晓解此位真正之中国妇女——中华文明所造就之至高至贵之女人，即位尊清朝皇太后；盖鉴于淳朴不足——于心灵淳朴不足，于智慧聪明有余，濮、巴二人极尽其歪曲之能事³。其实，欲谙晓真正之中国人、中华文明者，性须深邃、胸须博大、心须淳朴，盖因中国人及中华文明之特点有三：深邃、博大与淳朴⁷¹。

毋庸讳言，美国人发现，欲晓解真正之中国人及中华文明，甚难矣。其故何也？盖因美国人，虽博大淳朴，然甚乏深邃。英国人不晓解真正之中国人及中华文明者，盖因英国人，虽深邃淳朴，然博大不足。德国人不晓解真正之中国人及中华文明者，盖因德国人，受教育之德国人，虽深邃博大，然乏淳朴。余以为，最晓解真正之中国人及中华文明者，唯法国人是也⁴。法国人固然既无德国人之性情深邃，亦无美国人之胸怀博大，甚或无英国人之心地淳朴；然法国人，法国人民，独有非凡之精神特质，即优雅，以上所谈及之民族，概莫能有焉。欲晓解中国人及中国人之文明，雅致，亦乃不可缺乏之特质。真正之中国人及中华文明，除有以上提及之特质，余欲另增一特质，即雅致。雅致，即优雅之极致⁸¹，除于古希腊及其文明，他处概莫能寻焉。

由是可见，若习研中华文明，美国人必致深邃、英国人必致博大、德国人必致淳朴。以上三国人等若习研中华文明、中国典籍及文学，必获中国人之精神特质，即雅致。不揣冒昧⁹¹，迄今为止，以上三国人等，概未具备雅致之特

1 辜鸿铭之汉语文献及自译之文献，通常把欧洲泛称西方，欧洲人称为西人或欧人，美国人简称美人，英国人简称英人，以此类推。如同时提及欧洲人及美国人或列举欧洲人与美国人时，则简称为欧美人或欧人美人。若对比英人、法人、德人等时，则又分别使用英国人、法国人、德国人。因此翻译时，也作灵活变通处理。——译注

2 即濮兰德及巴克豪斯所著之《慈禧外记》。——译注

3 孟子曰：“所恶于智者为其凿也。”——原注

4 以西方文字而叙述中华文明之著作，其最佳者，乃西蒙（G. Eug. Simon）所著之《中国之城市》。西蒙，曾司职法国驻华领事。

剑桥大学罗斯·迪金森教授曾谓余曰，其所著之《中国佬约翰来书》，乃受西蒙之《中国之城市》之启发而成。——原注

质。若法国人习研中华文明，则能悉备中国人之全部特质——深邃、博大、淳朴、雅致。是故，余深喻笃信，习研中华文明、中国之书籍及文学，于欧美人民，大有裨益。鉴于此，本书辑录《中国学》一文。此文乃如何习研中国之程式纲要，且写于三十年前。昔余心意已决，回国习研祖国语言及其文明，故订此纲要。冀望¹⁰¹此纲要，于欲习研中国语言及中华文明者，亦有裨益。

最后，辑录一文，即《战争及出路》，论题关涉时政，以作补遗¹¹¹。余悉知，论时政乃涉险之事，虽然，余如是而为，旨在证明中华文明之价值；非但如是，余意欲表明，习研中国，于解决当前世界所面临之问题，大有裨益——如今欧洲文明濒危，亟待拯救。其实，余意欲曰，习研中国语言、中国典籍及中国文学，非特为汉学家之事。

于此文，余尝试揭示此场战祸之道德根源。若战祸之真正道德根源未遇深识¹¹²，且未加修正，消解战祸之法，则难觅也。余以为，战祸之道德根源，乃大英帝国之群氓崇拜及德国之强权崇拜之故。二者相订，余甚重，英国之群氓崇拜乃战祸之根源。其故者，盖鉴于德国之强权崇拜皆因英国之群氓崇拜所致；如此看法，实非我之偏见。其实，盖因欧洲列国之群氓崇拜，尤其英国之群氓崇拜之故，终致日今人人痛恨谴责之德国黠武主义。

首先，至于德国人之道德秉性，请容余陈申己见如是。德国人对正义之挚爱，亦即对不义、混乱、无序之憎恨；盖因如是，德国人笃信强权崇拜。大凡挚爱正义而憎恨不义者，皆笃信强权崇拜，如苏格兰人卡莱尔，其故何也？盖鉴于卡莱尔有德国人之道德秉性，即憎恨不义。余以为，英国群氓崇拜终致德国强权崇拜，其故者，盖因德国人之道德秉性¹（亦即德国人憎恨不义、混乱与无序），终致其憎恨大英帝国之群氓、群氓崇拜及群氓崇拜者。德国人亲眼目睹大英帝国之群氓及群氓政客，发动举事¹¹³而致非洲蒲尔战乱，致使德国人民心甘情愿、舍身亡命、黜衣缩食¹¹⁴而建海军，冀望恃此而镇压英国之群氓、群氓崇拜者及群氓崇拜教。其实，余以为，群氓、群氓崇拜及群氓崇拜者，本乃英国纵容所致，尔后席卷蔓延，及至整个欧洲；而德国民族，当发现其已四面楚歌、深陷其中之时，深喻笃信强权崇拜，且以为，唯强权崇拜，可回¹¹⁵人类

1 德皇致克鲁格总统之著名电报，实乃真正德国人之道德秉性之本能义愤所致。盖因有此本能，使其起而抗英国之约瑟夫·张伯伦及伦敦佬阶级，反对此流发动蒲尔战乱者。——原注“蒲尔”，今译“布尔”。——译注

于狂澜之中。德国之强权崇拜，源于对英国之群氓崇拜教之憎恨，然其进而演变为残暴恐怖之黠武主义、终致人人痛恨谴责之。

是故，余欲重申己见于此，德国之强权崇拜，当其责者，欧洲，尤其大英帝国之群氓崇拜及群氓崇拜教是也。德国崇拜强权，进而招致今日欧洲畸变、残暴之德国黠武主义。是故，欲灭德国之黠武主义，大英帝国、欧洲列国及美国之人民，必先镇压本国之群氓、群氓崇拜及群氓崇拜教¹。若于欧美、日本及中国人民，言及自由之向往，不揣冒昧，依余之见，获得自由——真正之自由，唯一之法，须循规蹈矩、洁身自好。且看革命前之中国，中国人民自由无比：既无教士、巡警之督训，亦无地税、所得税之纷扰¹⁶¹。如此之自由，世界其他之地，概莫能寻焉；其故何也？盖因革命前之中国人民循规蹈矩、洁身自好之故也，亦即中国人民晓循规蹈矩之法、知洁身自好、勇当良民之规。然目今之中国，自由渐少，其故何也？盖因中国有此类时兴较辩之徒、归国洋学生之流之故。此流人等，尽效侨居上海之欧人，其所学者，非循规蹈矩之法、非洁身自好、勇当良民之规，而乃效仿侨居北京之英国外交官及海关检察长，怂恿、纵容、崇拜之群氓²。其实，余意欲曰于此，欧洲及大英帝国人民，若欲铲除德国黠武主义、普鲁士黠武主义，必先治其本国群氓，使之不乱而循规蹈矩；实言之，必先镇压本国之群氓崇拜教及其崇拜者。

虽曰德国人强权崇拜及黠武主义之滋生，乃因英国人之群氓崇拜所致，余秉持公心而曰，战乱之直接责任，当归咎于德国人、德国民族，而非他种民族。

欲解其中之故，容余先回顾欧洲德国黠武之源流。昔宗教改革及三十年战乱之后，日尔曼民族，尚有优良之道德秉性：挚爱正义，憎恨不义，痛恨混乱及无序。是故，德国人民一旦手握黠武利剑，即成欧洲文明之正义卫士。

1 孔子曰：“远人不服，则修文德以来之”，英国贵族，犹中国满洲贵族一般，无力反抗英国之群氓及群氓崇拜者，然余必曰，依余所见，英国贵族，无人与群氓同流合污、喧嚣战争者，此乃一巨大之荣誉。——原注

2 欲证中国留学生已堕落而成群氓，余仅以去年北京某些归国留学生致信《京报》（*Peking Gazette*）为例。该报乃一聪明之中国巴布（Bobu，略懂英文之印度人，贬义，——译注）主办，名陈尤金（Eugene Chen）。盖因余写文《中国妇女》，批评新女性，公然威胁拟组织实施对余以攻击；其始作俑者，乃陈尤金；此君，现为令人尊敬之英中友谊局之成员；该局乃由英国大臣及海关总署检察长庇护。——原注

换言之，德国人民以维护欧洲之秩序及整齐为己任。实言之，欧洲之道德霸权，已落入德国人之手。宗教改革之后，弗里德里克大帝，犹英国之克伦威尔一般，始握黠武利剑，恃此而维护欧洲之秩序及和平，至少，成功维护欧洲北部之秩序及和平。弗里德里克大帝及崩，其果若何？其继任者不知如何恃其手中之黠武主义，而维护欧洲文明；实言之，其不宜握欧洲之道德霸权。其果也，欧洲之全部，甚或德国之宫廷，虽披文明之外衣，却皆成令人憎恨之无底深渊。至其极致，法国人本性淳朴，然因饱受痛苦，愤而发动举事，迅即演成群氓，且出一卓绝之领导者，拿破仑·波拿巴¹；其率领群氓，烧杀抢掠，无恶不作，蹂躏席卷欧洲之全部，直至欧洲诸国，团结一致，以黠武主义德国为中心，终使之滑铁卢，败此群氓领袖、亡其暴政。此后，欧洲之道德霸权，本应归属德国人、德意志民族之精华普鲁士人之手；然其遭奥地利帝国之其他民族之嫉妒与阻止，致使欧洲之群氓，未能制于德意志民族之道德及黠武主义，终致一八四八年之欧洲暴乱；欧洲文明再遭恣意破坏。此后，德意志民族之脊梁普鲁士人，以其道德秉性及黠武主义利剑，挽欧洲、君主政体（俾斯麦谓之曰“王朝”）及欧洲文明于群氓狂澜之中。

然奥地利人再生嫉妒之心，勿允德意志民族之精华，普鲁士人掌管欧洲之道德霸权；及至一八六六年，普鲁士皇帝威廉钦点俾斯麦及毛奇，施之以武力，以平息奥地利之妒心，重获欧洲之道德霸权于手。此后，路易斯·拿破仑，与其伟人叔叔²截然不同，实乃群氓之骗棍^[17]，或谓之以爱默生之语，曰成功之小偷。路易斯·拿破仑率巴黎之群氓，图谋抢掠欧洲之道德霸权于德国人。其果也，威廉皇帝握德国黠武主义之利剑，远征色当、终破可怜之路易斯·拿破仑之美梦。淳朴之巴黎人民，笃信群氓，然烧杀抢掠者，既非德国黠武主义、亦非德国普鲁士人，而乃其所笃信之群氓也。一八七二年之后，德国非但于道德之上，且于实际政治之上，皆获得霸主之地位。德国人，其心灵蕴藏有民族之道德秉性，手中握有黠武主义之利剑，恃此而可镇压群氓、维护欧洲之和平。自一八七二年起，欧人享有四十三年整之和平生活。凡辱骂斥责德国黠武主义

1 爱默生，深识远虑，曰：“送拿破仑于圣赫勒拿岛者，非其战场之失败之故，而乃暴发户粗俗之野心：欲娶真正之公主而共建一王朝。”——原注；在辜鸿铭的文言文献中，Emerson 译为阿姆逊，（见辜鸿铭自译之文言文献《义利辨》）。——译注

2 指拿破仑。——译注

及普鲁士黠武主义者，理当晓知，欧洲当感激而非辱骂斥责者，乃德国及普鲁士黠武主义是也。

以上论述，余不厌其烦，陈述德国黠武主义之历史概况，旨在使德国人明晓：此场战祸，其直接责任，当归咎于德意志民族，而非其他民族。如是见解^[18]，实非偏见。其故何也？盖因能力，即责任也¹。

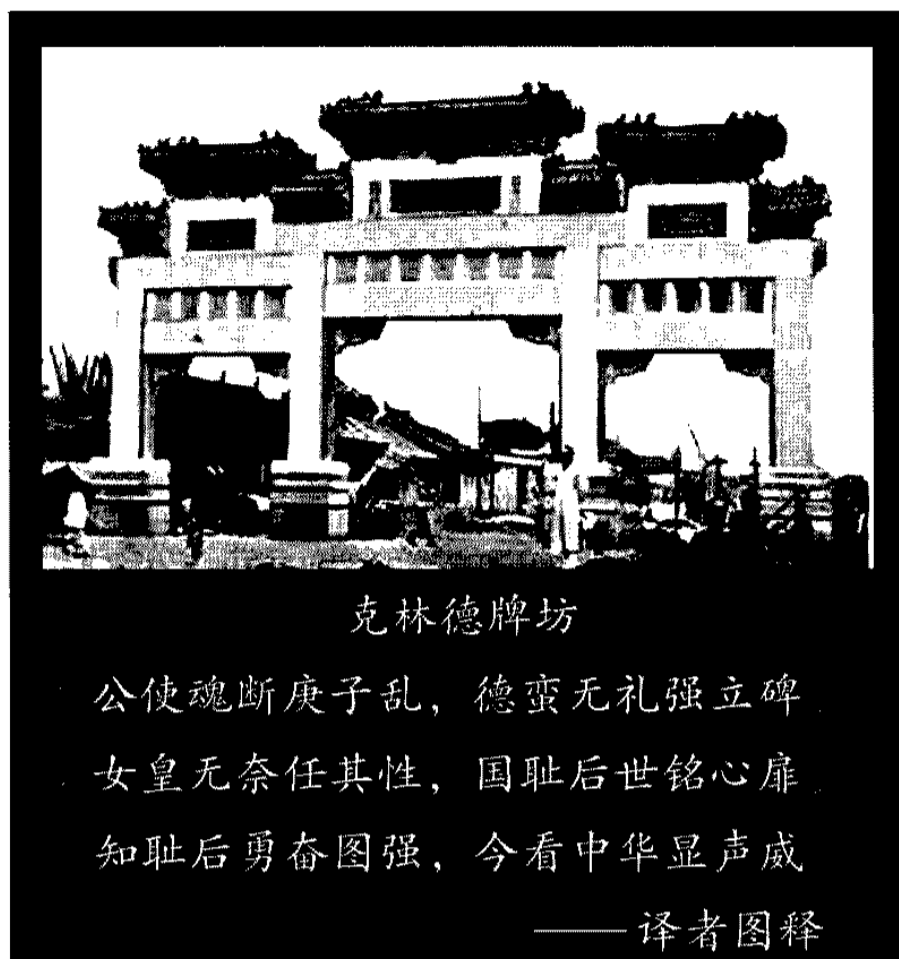
余以为，盖因挚爱正义，憎恨不义，痛恨混乱及无序，德国人民笃信崇拜强权。余欲曰，如此憎恨，一旦至其极致，必致不义，令人惶恐不安、惊慌失措，较之于混乱及无序，其罪孽及不义，有过之而无不及矣。西人之知识及对正义之挚爱，皆应归功于古希伯来民族；然挚爱正义也若过，必致憎恨不义也亦过；憎恨不义及至狭隘、固执、刻板之极致，必致成不义；盖因如是憎恨之极致，古希伯来终灭矣。盖因如是憎恨之极致，耶稣基督前往拯救其子民。耶稣，言之以马太·阿诺德所谓之难以名状之理性，告诫子民，曰：“以我为效，忍让谦恭，心自安宁。”然犹太人非但未听其告诫，反其道而行之，钉耶稣于十字架；其果也，犹太国灭矣。耶稣亦曾告诫欧洲文明之保护者罗马人，曰：“凡拔剑者必亡于剑²！”然罗马人非但于此告诫置若罔闻，反其道而行之，纵容犹太人迫害耶稣；其果也，罗马帝国土崩瓦解，古老之欧洲文明，随之而亡也。歌德叹曰：“人类待罪人兮须温和。待违乱法者兮宽以仁。凡非人性者兮待以人。然路漫漫兮其修远矣。献身于此兮须神人。”

此处引伟大歌德之言语，旨在呼吁德国人民、德意志民族：若于不义，凡狭隘固执、刻板过分之憎恨，必招致笃信及崇拜强权；若非觅法而铲除笃信及崇拜强权，德国，如犹太国一般，必毁灭矣；急需强力维护之欧洲文明，如古代欧洲文明一般，亦必消逝矣。盖因如此狭隘固执、刻板过分之憎恨，德国人及德意志民族笃信崇拜强权；盖因笃信崇拜强权，德意志民族、德国外交官、德国官员及德国人，其待人也，轻率无礼。余有德国友人，曾求^[19]诸我，须言之以据；余仅举北京克林德牌坊为例。北京克林德牌坊，乃德国人强权崇拜

1 孔子曰：“居上不宽，吾何以观之。”莎士比亚曰：“有巨人之力者，荣耀也；用巨人之力者，暴虐也。”——原注。孔子原话为：“居上不宽，为礼不敬，临丧不哀，吾何以观之哉？”——译注

2 亦即凡依恃及绝对崇拜物质暴力者，或爱默生所谓滑膛枪崇拜者。——原注

之标志，亦乃德国外交蛮横无礼之标志，即德国与外国交际蛮横无礼之标志¹。盖因德国之横蛮无礼，俄国沙皇曰：“朕之忍也，已七年矣，忍已尽矣。”俄国沙皇，乃欧洲挚爱和平之统治者；俄罗斯民族，乃欧洲卓绝之民族，最高尚、最可爱、最仁慈、最慷慨之民族。俄罗斯人民同情大英帝国及法国之群氓及群氓崇拜者，且与其签订三国协约，最后，甚或支持塞尔维亚暴徒，其果也，战祸起矣。一言以蔽之，德国外交官、德国人、德意志民族之无礼，乃当前战祸之直接根源也。



是故，余以为，此时此刻，德国，实乃欧洲现代文明真正、公正、合法之维护者。若欲挽救德国、现代欧洲文明而不灭，德意志民族及德国人，须千方百计铲除强权崇拜，平定其强烈、狭隘、固执、刻板之憎恨，盖因对不义憎恨之极必致德国人笃信强权崇拜；实言之，德国人须觅法而铲除笃信崇拜强权，盖因笃信崇拜强权必使人轻率无礼。然铲除强权崇拜之法，何处可觅欤？余答曰，德意志民族、德国人可觅之于伟大之歌德，其曰：“维护世界和平之力量有二：义与礼。”

所谓义与礼，即德语之 Recht 与 Schicklichkeit，实乃孔子所赋予我中国良民宗教之精华，尤礼乃中华文明之精髓。昔希伯来文明赋予欧洲文明以“义”之知识，然未赋之以“礼”；希腊文明尝授欧人以“礼”之知识，但未施之以“义”；然中华文明之良民宗教，二者兼顾，义礼并教。欧人以犹太教之《圣经》为蓝本，而成现代欧洲文明。《圣经》告诫欧人，须行以正爱，行以

1 德国驻华公使克林德（Ketteler），死于中国狂热庚子之乱时，为一疯狂士兵失手杀死。为惩此疯狂行为，德国外交官坚持于中国首都大街建克林德牌坊。此举实乃于中华民族之额头刻耻辱之烙印。庚子治乱爆发前，前俄国驻华公使喀西尼伯爵，曾与一美国报界人士，曰：“中国乃礼仪之邦，然英德使臣横蛮无礼——尤其驻京德国使臣，横蛮无礼之极，令人难忍。”——原注

正心，行以正德^[20]；然中国之《圣经》，即中国之《四书五经》，乃孔子拯救中华民族而绘制之文明蓝图，非但教人须行以正爱，行以正心，行以正德，且诲人须“识礼节”。简言之，欧洲之宗教教人要“行善事^[21]”；中国之宗教诲人要“识礼节、行善事”；耶稣教主张，人而“爱人”；孔子倡导，“爱人以礼”。此般义礼并重之宗教，余谓之曰良民宗教。欧人，尤其交战诸国之人民，若欲结束当前之战乱，拯救欧洲，乃至世界之文明，余以为，当恃此新宗教，即良民宗教。欧人可寻此新宗教于中国，即中华文明。是故，余欲于此拙作，尝试阐释其价值，亦即中华文明之价值。余期冀凡受教育者，善思者，读之而真正晓解当前战祸之道德根源。此有益于制止此场人类迄今最残酷、最野蛮、最有害、且最恐怖之战祸。

然欲制止当前之战祸，必竭力消除世之盛行者，首为群氓崇拜，次为强权崇拜。此二者，如前文所言，乃当今战祸之根源。欲消除群氓崇拜，须当于日常生活琐事行起，当于人之言谈举止行起；须勿虑之以己利，勿思之以报礼^[22]，而当思之以歌德之言，即正义。孔子曰：“君子喻于义，小人喻于利。”进言之，唯有勇气，不计己利，力拒群氓而勿随之，方可消除世之群氓崇拜。伏尔泰曾曰：“正人君子，其最大之不幸者，乃乏勇气也。”余以为，人之自私与怯懦，必致今日世之群氓与群氓崇拜，盖因自私使人虑之以己利，思之以报礼；怯懦使人不敢独起而抗群氓。世人皆谓今日世界之要敌及危险，乃德国之黠武主义；然余以为，今日世界之真正、最大之敌人，乃人之自私与怯懦。自私与怯懦，二者相交，必致唯利是图^[23]。此种唯利是图蔓延于世界各地，尤以英美为最，此乃当今世界之要敌。是故，余以为，今日世界真正、最大之敌人，乃人之自私与怯懦，而非普鲁士之黠武主义。自私与怯懦，二者相交，而致唯利是图；唯利是图而致群氓崇拜泛滥；英国行群氓崇拜教，而致德国之强权崇拜及黠武主义，终致当前战祸之爆发。是故，欲制止当前之战祸，必消除唯利是图、自私怯懦。简言之，须见义非利，身虽单而可奋勇抗群氓，唯有如此，方可消除群氓崇拜，而结束当前之战祸。

群氓崇拜既除，则除强权崇拜、普鲁士及德国黠武主义，不难也。欲除强权崇拜，灭普鲁士、德国，甚或世界之黠武主义，须谨记歌德所言之另一字，即“礼”；思之以礼，则知行事得体之法；简言之，行之以礼。凡行之以礼者，强权、黠武主义，即或普鲁士黠武主义，既无计可施，亦无此必要。此者，乃

良民宗教之本，中华文明之奥秘也。此者，亦乃德人歌德所赋予欧人新文明之奥秘也：勿以暴抗暴，当诉诸义礼。实言之，欲除强权及世之不义者，概不能恃强权而行，当束之以礼，非礼毋言，非礼毋行¹。此乃中华文明之精华，中华民族精神之精髓。余于书中已作详细论述。

最后，余欲引法国诗人贝朗杰之诗句以作结语。以下诗句，余于中国庚子之乱后所作《尊王篇》一书²中曾有引用。余觉此处引用甚为适宜。

和平姗姗临眼前，
金色麦穗舞蹁跹；
战火纷飞硝烟尽，
惊厥闪电使者禁。

笑言勇士皆均等，
英法比俄德齐胜；
人心齐结圣盟守
期冀伸出君之手！^[24]

1 孔子曰：“君子笃恭而天下平。”——原注

2 原文 *Papers from a Viceroy's Yamen* 此书直译为《总督衙门论文集》。辜鸿铭自译为《尊王篇》，故此处采用辜氏译法。——译注

① 导论： 良民宗教

如此待之，何谬之有？群氓，唯以愚弄；
君不见，群氓何等之懒惰，何等之野蛮！
哀哉，亚当之子民！唯君戏弄群氓之时，亦显君之无能及野蛮，
唯有真诚方能焕发其人性。

——歌德¹

今世人关注之事，莫非目前¹²⁵¹之战争。然余以为，战争必使有识之士¹²⁶¹关注文明之至弊。盖凡文明皆源自造化有制。所谓造化有制者，乃伏造化恐怖之力且使之无害于人也。今日造化有制已成者，非西方现代文明莫属。迄今为止，尚无其他文明可与之比肩。此论毋庸置疑。造化之力固然令人震撼，然芸芸万众之力更为恐怖，此者盖因源于人欲。言及于人类之伤害，造化之力远不及人欲。若人欲不加杜绝，则文明不存，人之生存亦近夕矣。此理不言自明。

社会伊始，人类蛮荒未化¹²⁷¹，唯有恃造化之力方可杜绝人欲。故原始人群，莫不掣肘于纯粹造化之力。然随文明演进，人类渐悟，若于杜绝人欲之效能，道德力远胜于造化之力。昔西方有效杜绝人欲之道德力者，耶稣教也²。然今日恃暴尚武远胜耶稣教，似在明示，耶稣教之道德力已失其效能。杜绝人欲，若无有效之道德力，西人必重恃造化之力以维持社会秩序。卡莱尔之言甚是，其曰：“欧洲者，混乱加军队是也。”然恃造化之力以维持社会秩序，必致黩武。的确，黩武，乃今日欧洲之必需。其故何也？盖因其乏至效之道德力也。黩武必致战争，战争必致浪费与破坏。故西人已处二难之境地。若废弃黩武，混乱

1 在辜鸿铭的文言文献中，Goethe 都译为“坎特”，本书译为“歌德”。——译注

2 今译基督教。——译注

则必毁其文明；若尚黠武，其文明则必因战祸而崩溃。然英人曰：“捣碎普鲁士黠武，其心意已决。”基喜纳勋爵深信，其可统三百万精兵捣碎普鲁士黠武。然余以为，普鲁士黠武捣碎之时，亦即英国黠武诞生之机，然英国黠武亦必有卒碎之时。如此轮替，恶性循环，似无良法可避。

果无可避之良法乎？非也。余以为，良法尚存焉。有美人爱默生，尝曰：“尚武者，多为卑俗之举；尽管达官显贵对其崇拜有加，然吾见其必败也。吾以上帝名义起誓，枪必遭枪惩，唯有仁义方能致以清净之革命。”^[28]若西人真欲捣碎黠武，唯一之法当尚爱默生所言：勿以枪制枪，唯仁义为正道。仁义者，道德力也。若有至效之道德力，黠武则无用武之地而可自灭。然耶稣教已失道德约束力。取代黠武之新道德力，何在？此乃当今西人必慎思之事。

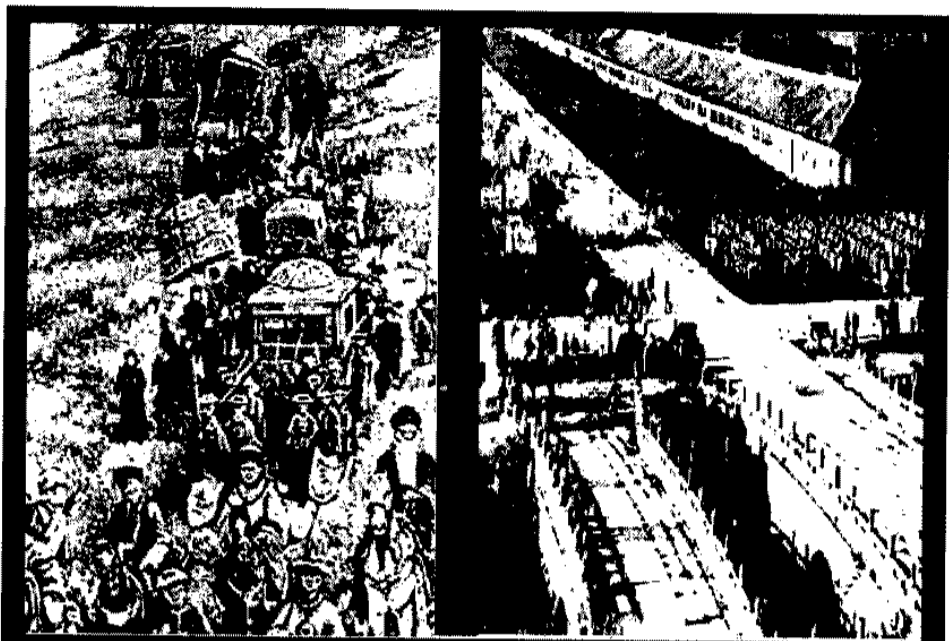
余以为，西人所需之新道德力，可觅于我中国^[29]，亦即我中华文明。我中华文明之新道德力必置黠武于无用武之地。此新道德力者，亦即良民宗教是也。然或疑余，曰：“中国亦曾有战争之事。”诚然，中国亦尝存战争；然自孔子以来，中国人却未曾有今日欧洲所见之黠武。中国之战争仅为偶然事件，然欧洲之战争则为必然结果。中国人有战争之义务，然绝无尚武之心。的确，余以为，今欧洲列国最难容忍之事，并非战争之频繁，而时疑其邻邦日盛且有谋掠本国之心。故不得已，或恃武自固、或雇武装警察以求庇护。由此观之，西人非累于频繁偶然之战争，而累于频繁武装自己之需求，累于必需造化之力方可自护之绝对需求。

然我中国人深知，恃造化之力以自庇者，绝非必要；恃国家警察之力以护己者，更为罕见；凡此种种，盖因我中国有良民宗教。夫于中国，人之受护者，得益于邻里间之正义感、得益于同事间自觉之道德义务感也。夫于中国，无需造化之力亦可自护者，盖因人人皆知，公理正义之力远胜造化之力，且道德之恪守实属义务。若能使世人皆知此理^[30]，则造化之力绝非必要，黠武亦不存也。一国之中，犯罪者毕竟数少；世界之大，野蛮者亦不多；唯此般少数之流，疑公理正义之力胜于造化之力，疑道德乃必恪守之义务。诸类人等虽数少量乏，然毕竟尚存焉；是故，为惩戒罪犯暴徒之便，造化之力、警察之力及黠武适量存于诸国及世界，亦为必要焉。

然或疑余曰：“欲使世人皆晓，公理正义之力胜于造化之力，君欲何为？”余曰：“首要之事，当使世人深信公理正义之效力，使其深信公理正义乃一种力量，使其深信善之力量。”又问：“欲使其深信，君何以为之？”欲

使其深信公理正义之效力，当恃以中国之良民宗教，孩童鸿蒙初开之时，教其义，曰：“人之初，性本善。”¹

余以为，今欧洲文明之谬误，其根在于人性认识之谬误。西人视人性本恶。盖因此谬念，凡欧洲社会皆崇尚武力。西人所以维持社会秩序者有二：一者，宗教；一者，律法。一言以蔽之，西人屈于秩序者，盖因畏惧上帝及律法也。畏惧则尚武。是故，欲维持对上帝之畏惧，西人必豢养大批奢靡且



联军列阵天安门，一声令下三日劫
烈火滔天圆明园，女皇西走帝国灭
欲使文明时代传，良民宗教不可缺

——译者图释

好闲之徒，名曰传教士。毋庸言他，仅于奢靡之巨大，其竭人民之脂膏已及至不堪忍受；故西人昔三十年之宗教改革，旨在废弃教士。教士者，源于对上帝之畏惧而维持秩序也。如欲废之，西人必恃律法而维持秩序。然欲使人畏惧律法，奈何西人必豢养更加奢靡且好闲之徒，名曰军警。今西人晓然，恃军警而维护秩序者，其所致灾难远胜于传教士。昔三十年之宗教改革，旨在废传教之士；今日西人战乱，意在废除军警之徒。然若废除军警，西人必有二难之择：或召回传教士以唤醒人对上帝之畏惧；或另觅他法使人有所畏惧方可维持社会秩序；盖因有所畏惧者，方可借以维持秩序，如上帝及律法之功用者，亦莫不如此。一言以蔽之，二难之择，乃战后西人所面临之最大问题。余以为如此，想必他人亦无二议。

西人既有传教士统治之经验教训，再召回传教士，余以为不然。俾斯麦有言，曰：“吾辈心意已决，决不重回卡诺萨^[31]。”况乎召回传教士，亦已徒然，盖因西人对上帝之畏惧已荡然无存焉。是故，西人欲废军警，唯有寻觅他法，使人生畏惧方可维持社会秩序，如对上帝之畏惧则有传教士，对律法之畏惧则有军警。余以为，如余曾言，此他法者，存于中华文明矣，西人终会觅焉，余

1 此乃中国孩童初上学之时，书中所学之第一句话。——原注

谓之良民宗教。中国之良民宗教，可维持一国之秩序，而无需教士及军警。盖因有此良民宗教，中国人口之多，虽不及欧洲大陆总人口，然即或无教士及军警，亦能维持和平及社会秩序。凡久居中国者皆知，于公共秩序之维护，教士军警之流，微不足道，其用有限。然于中国，秩序之维护，唯其无知者，则求于教士，而邪恶之罪犯则恃军警。是故，余以为，西人宗教及黠武贻害无穷，教士军警残忍血腥；如欲废之，必及中国，借以余所谓之良民宗教。

一言以蔽之，余有言告诸欧美人。值此文明濒危之际，唯中国之文明财富，其价不可估也。此者毋庸置疑。文明财富既非一国之贸易及铁路，亦非该国之金银及煤铁等诸般矿藏。余所谓世界之文明财富者，乃中国人也，尤指崇尚良民宗教且未泯灭之真正中国人也。余以为，唯真正之中国人，乃文明之财富也，盖因其耗费甚少或无，亦可置己身于秩序之中。的确，余拟告诫欧美人，如此文明财富，当勿毁之；如此真正之中国人，当勿蹂躏且革其命；即或有恃所谓之新学而自我革新者，然其数竟少矣。若欧美人毁真正之中国人，即毁中国式人性，使其为欧美式人，使其必需宗教军警方可置身于秩序之人，则必为世界徒增宗教黠武诸般之累赘。然宗教黠武今已危及文明与人性。若能竭力改革欧美人，使其为无需教士或军警亦能置己身于秩序之真正中国人，则世界所以卸重轻负之时，可期也。

言既至此，战争所致文明之大问题，允余略述如下。余以为，西人始而恃教士以维护社会秩序。然未久，教士奢靡无度已致重负。西人则以三十年战争方使教士之用正寝，却恃军警以维持社会秩序。然西人今已幡然醒悟，较之于教士，军警所致奢靡及灾难，有过之而无不及。于此，西人又当何为？废弃军警而召回教士？否。余以为，西人决不召回教士。即使召回，亦无用矣。于此，西人又欲以何为？余曾阅剑桥迪金斯之文，载于《大西洋月刊》，题为《战争及出路》，曰：“招进群氓。”然废弃教士军警而招进群氓，余亦有殷忧，唯恐其所致之祸，有过之而无不及。西人之教士及军警致祸已然，群氓亦必致革命及混乱，欧洲之窘况将更甚也。今余有谏言，呈之于西人，曰：禁招教士；为善故，勿招群氓，而招中国人，招崇尚良民宗教之真正中国人，其后者有千百年无需教士军警而安然相处之经历矣。

逮及战争结束，西人必至中国，觅可解文明问题之钥匙。于此，余深喻笃信，容余赘言，夫文明财富者，唯于中国尚存焉，其价无以估量。此者，迄今已毋庸置疑。何谓文明财富？真正之中国人是也。如是之说，盖因我中国人蕴

藏有西人战后重建新文明必需之秘籍。此秘籍者，余谓之曰，良民宗教。良民宗教之要则曰，信奉人性本善，信奉善之力量，信奉美人爱默生之良诫：“仁以爱人，义以断事^[32]。”何谓“仁以爱人”？良民宗教曰，仁以爱人者，爱父爱母也。何谓“义以断事”？良民宗教曰，义者，真、诚、忠是也；以此可断事也；女，则必无私且忠其夫；男，则必无私且忠其主。容余谏以终言：良民宗教之最高责任者，忠诚之责任是也。忠诚者，非仅现于行事也，且蕴藏于内心也。或如丁尼生所言，曰：

尊崇国王，
国王如己之良心，
良心如己之国王，
捣碎异教徒，捍卫救世主。

中国人之精神

(谨以此文呈读于北京东方学会)

承蒙各位之允，余拟先对今日午后之议题略作释义。余所谓之《中国人之精神》，非仅谓中国人民之性格或特征也。唯以中国人之特征而论，论述者早已有之。然余以为，各位定会赞同余如下之观点，即迄今为止，尚未有能勾画中国人之内在特质之全貌者。此外，言及中国人之性格或特征，一言概之甚难。如各位所知，中国人有南北之分，其性格亦因南北而异；其异者，如德国人之异于意大利人也。

余所谓中国人之精神，乃中国人赖以生存之物，即中国人之心态、性情及情操。盖因有此种精神，中国人有别于任何其他民族，尤别于现代之欧美人。余谓之中国式之人，或简言之曰，真正中国人。如此或然更为精确。

何谓真正中国人？余笃信，各位与余皆觉此问题颇有兴趣。尤当值此时，典型之中国人，即真正之中国人日趋消亡，代之以新兴之中国人，即进步或现代之中国人。余以为，真正之中国人既渐消失于世界，何不仔细观之，思其何以别于他种民族，何以别于日渐形成之新兴中国人。

首先，余以为，最能震撼在座各位者，莫过于旧式典型之中国人，其性不蛮横，举不粗野，且心不残暴。言之以动物学术语，则中国人乃一驯化之动物。余以为，言及动物性，即或最低下之中国人亦少于最低下之欧人；所谓动物性，即德人所谓之“蛮性（Roheit）”。余以为，典型之中国人，其印象可一言以概之，即如英文之“温良（gentle）”。余所谓之温良者，非指天性懦弱或唯命是从也。而如已故麦加温博士所言：“中国人之温良者，非指其精神颓废，阉人之柔驯是也。”余以为，“温良”者，事虽不快，然行事时心不冷

酷，情不过激，言不粗野，举不蛮暴。真正典型之中国人，其性情也，温和平静；其行事也，稳重老练，犹如经回火处理之金属制品。诚然，真正之中国人尚存物质及精神等诸般之不足；其不足者，虽不可弥补，然亦可因其温良之性而得以淡化焉。真正之中国人者，或陋而不俗，或粗而不野，或粗而不犷，或木而不讷，或狡而不诈。余以为，真正之中国人，其身心及品行虽有缺点及瑕疵，然决无使人生厌之处。中国之旧式学堂，使人生厌者，亦已罕见，即或位卑者，亦然。

余曰，典型中国人之全貌者，乃温良是也，乃难以言表之温良是也。然细察之，则知，此难以言表之温良者，同情心与智慧之结晶是也。余曾喻中国式人以驯兽。然驯兽之于野兽，何以有异？兽既已驯，必具些许人性，此不可否矣。然人之于兽，何异之有？智慧也。然驯兽之智慧，非思考之智慧，既非源于推理之智慧，亦非源于其本能。狐狸知何处觅食美味之雏鸡，盖因其本能之智慧是也。然源于本能之智慧，亦非狐狸特有，大凡兽皆有焉。兽既训而有人之智慧，然其智慧有别于狐狸或他种兽类之智慧。驯兽之智慧，既非源于推理、亦非源于本能，而源于同情、源于爱心、源于依恋等诸般感情。一纯亚刺伯¹骏马能悟其主人之意者，非因其学过英文之文法，亦非其有英文之本能，盖因其爱主也，恋主也。此乃余所谓之人类智慧，有此智慧者，可别于狐狸或他种兽类。盖因有此人类智慧，驯兽可别于野兽。如同此理，余以为，盖因有同情及真正之人类智慧，方可成中国式之人性，方可成真正中国人之难以言表之温良。

有外国人久居中日两国。余曾览其论述，曰：“居日愈久，则弥厌日人；然居华愈久，则弥喜华人。”其言所涉之日人，是与非，余不敢妄断。然余以为，其言所及之中国人甚是。凡久居中国者必与余有此同感焉。外国人居中国愈久，其喜爱华人则弥多，此般喜爱亦可谓之曰欣赏。此已为众所周知之事实。中国人虽有匮乏卫生、不修边幅之习惯，思想及性格虽有诸多缺点，然其身存有难以形容之特质，故颇得外国人之偏爱，他种民族则不及也。所谓难以言表之特点，余曾谓之曰温良。若温良不予以正名，外国人则必视其为温顺及懦弱，亦即中国人体质及道德之缺陷。温良者也，余曾反复赘言，乃同情心是也，乃真正之人类智慧是也；其既非源于推理，亦非生于本能，而源于同情，

1 此处采用林语堂译名(见林语堂译《辜鸿铭论》)，今译阿拉伯。——译注

源于同情之力量。中国人有此同情之力量，其秘籍何在？

言及秘籍，余冒昧于此，作以释言；若各位喜之，可谓之曰虚言妄语。释言如下。中国人有此同情之力量，且力量甚大者，盖因其以全部心灵体验生活。中国人之全部生活，实为情感生活。此情感生活，既非出自感官欲念，亦非源于各位所谓之神经系统奔流之情欲，而发乎人性深处，即心灵之激情或爱意。

实言之，盖因甚重心灵或情感生活，中国人时而忽略人之必需于世界。然世界毕竟乃二元之体，即肉体与灵魂。中国人缺乏优美舒适之环境，或不重生活之质量，盖因此故。此当题外之话。

中国人富有同情心，盖因其用全部心灵体验生活，即情感生活或人类情爱生活。容余先予以明证一二例。其一例如下：余昔及武昌之时，有良友及同僚，名曰梁敦彦，曾司职外务部尚书。在座诸位或有识之。梁敦彦谓余，曰：昔奉命任汉口道台之时，心存希望且誓必达贵，身着红扣官服。受此职务，心甚乐之。其所乐者，非因其可恃此而富也。昔于武昌，人多贫穷。其所以乐者，盖因其升迁必愉悦及欣慰其粤母也。此例即余所谓之中国人用心灵体验生活，即情感生活或情爱生活。

其二例如是：余有苏格兰友，司职海关，其谓余，曰：其昔有中国男仆，流氓成性，撒谎敲诈，嗜赌如命。一次，吾友偶感风寒，病于偏僻口岸，无亲无友。至此时，其仆人，亦即流氓成性之徒，却精心侍之。唯此善行者，如欲受之于亲朋好友当不可期也。《圣经》有言曰：“恕也大，爱也大。”此言虽关涉不良女子而论，然余以为，亦可用之于彼竖子及一般中国人。居中国之外国人，虽已目睹中国人于习惯及性格上之不足及缺陷，然仍乐意与之相处，盖因中国人存有仁爱之心，亦即余所谓之用心灵体验生活，即用心灵体验情感生活或人类慈爱生活。

至此，余以为，中国人富于同情心之谜已有迹可循。同情心者，亦即同情之力量也；盖因有此同情之力量，中国人则富于同情心或人类智慧；盖因有此同情之力量，中国人方有难以言表之温良。循此迹或谓之假说，而引经据典。有据有典，中国人以心灵体验生活与否，可验也。除以上二例，亦可于中国人之实际生活，验其普遍之特性。

其一，以中国语言而论。中国人既以心灵体验生活，则其语言亦必为心灵语言。外国人生活于中国，其孩童及未受教育者较之于成人及已受教育者，学

说中国语言甚易矣。此种现象，何以为之？盖因孩童及未受教育者，思则以心灵语言思，言则以心灵语言言。反之，已受教育者，尤其尝受理性教育之现代欧人，思则以大脑智慧之语言思，言则以大脑智慧之语言言。大凡尝受教育之外国人，皆觉中国语言难学；其故者，盖因其所受教育，即受理性与科学之教育甚深也。有言语，本言及天国，然若言之于中国语言，甚为切当，曰：“非孩童，莫能习之。”

其二，另有一例，乃中国人生活之中广为人知之事实。众所周知，中国人记忆非凡。然其秘密何在？其秘密者，中国人记以心，而非记以脑也。心有同情之力量，故记以心者，颇有如胶似漆之效；然记以脑或智力者，颇多枯燥乏味之感；是故，记以心远胜于记以脑或智力。盖因如此，童年所学之事较之于成年所学之事，前者之记忆远胜于后者。其孩童，如中国人般，皆记以心，非记以脑矣。

其三，亦乃中国人生活之常例，即中国人之礼貌。中国人，乃甚重礼貌之民族；此乃公论。礼貌之本者，何也？曰：体谅他人之情感是也。中国人甚重礼貌，其故者，盖因其用心体验生活，知用心体验生活，则可设身处地，易于将心比心，以体谅他人之情感。中国人之礼貌，虽未有日人礼貌之繁文缛节，然受者愉矣；如言之以法文雅语，曰：“发乎心之礼貌（la politesse du coeur）”，即礼貌于心。然日人之礼貌，颇多繁文缛节，受者不悦。余曾闻，外国人颇多怨言于日人之礼貌，盖因其礼貌颇似剧院之排练，须死记强识，而非发乎内心，故颇感别扭。其实，日人之礼貌，艳如鲜花，然乏芬芳之气；然中国人之礼貌，似名贵香水，芬芳奇异，盖因其发乎内心也。

最后，言及中国人之特性，容余再呈一例。此例关乎中国人之缺乏精确之习惯。此观点乃阿瑟·史密斯率先提出，所以扬名千里之外。中国人之缺乏精确性，何也？余仍以为，其故者，盖因中国人之用心灵体验生活。心灵者，精细与敏感间之平衡是也；而非如脑或智般僵硬刻板之器也。是故，若欲求恒定精确之结果，必思以脑或智；然思以心者，则不可也。至少，思以心而期求恒定精确之结果，甚难矣。中国之毛笔，或可视为中国人精神之象征矣。用毛笔书画已难矣；然一旦精通，则可书可画至美之图；然若以坚硬之钢笔书画，其效则差矣。

以上乃中国人生活之事例。虽呈例数少，然人人皆可察之，可解之，甚或

于中国人全然不知者亦然。余以为，此类事例，足以验吾假设：中国人也者，乃用心灵体验生活是也。盖因用心灵体验生活，体验孩童般之生活，中国人于诸多事项颇显天真幼稚。中国人乃世界之伟大民族，虽历史悠久，然于诸多事项仍显天真幼稚。其本身亦为一实例，值得关注。盖因此故，或有浅薄之中国留学生以为，中国人未能使其文明日进矣，中华文明止而不前矣。仅于智力而言，中华民族，其智力已受一定之人为限制，此不可否也。众所周知，中国人于诸多领域进步甚微，或几无进步；既有自然之领域，亦有抽象科学之领域，如数学，逻辑及形而上学。的确，西语之赛因斯(science)及逻辑(logic)，中国语言尚无确切字词与之等值。中国人，如孩童般，以心灵体验生活，于抽象科学，索然无味，盖因心灵及情感于科学无计可奈也。大凡无关乎心灵及情感者，如统计图表，中国人必厌之烦之。若统计图表及抽象科学已使中国人生反感之心，则今日西人所谓之科学必使中国人顿生恐怖之感而拒之，盖因此类科学为证某科学之理论而不惜摧残肢解动物。

诚然，仅于智力发展而言，中国人之智力确已受一定之人为限制。迄今，中国人仍以童心体验生活，以心灵体验生活。仅此而言，中华民族，虽历史悠久，然迄今仍为幼稚之民族。然在座诸位当谨记，此幼稚之民族，虽以心灵体验生活，且于诸多方面颇显稚嫩，然尚不乏思想及理性之力量；社会生活、政府及文明难解之问题，均可恃此力量而得以化解；如此力量，他种初等民族皆不可得也；余斗胆一言，曰，于辉煌成就而论，欧洲民族，无论古今，概不能与中华民族比肩，唯我中华帝国可辖亚洲巨大之人口且井然相处矣。

然余有肺腑之言，曰，以心灵体验生活，非中国人独有。凡初等民族皆以心理体验生活。昔欧洲中世纪有基督民族，亦以心灵体验生活。马太·阿诺德曰：“中世纪基督之诗发乎内心及想象。”中国人至美之特质，在乎其既以心灵体验生活，如孩童一般，亦有思想及理性之力量；然此后者，中世纪基督徒与他种初等民族皆未有之也。换言之，中国人至美之特质，在乎其既有悠久之历史，亦有成人之智慧，且能以心灵体验生活，如孩童般天真。

是故，与其曰中国人之发展有人为之制约，毋宁曰中国人乃不老之民族矣。简言之，中华民族至美之特质，在乎其有永葆青春之秘籍。

现容余回答先前之问题：何谓真正之中国人？真正之中国人者，既以赤子之童心，亦以成人之智慧体验生活是也。简言之，真正之中国人，既有成人之

智慧，亦不乏赤子之童心。是以，中国人之精神，乃永葆青春之精神，乃民族不朽之魂。中华民族之不朽者，其秘籍何在？汝等可记乎¹³³¹？余于篇首尝曰，唯同情与真正人类之智慧方可有典型中国式人，或真正之中国人或中国人难以言表之温良矣。余以为，真正之人类智慧，乃同情与智慧之二元结合；乃心与脑之有机协作。简言之，真正之人类智慧，乃心灵与理智之妙成一体。中华民族之精神，乃永葆青春之精神，乃不朽民族之魂。中华民族之不朽者，盖因心灵与理智妙成一体是也。

在座各位，或有疑问于我。永葆青春及心灵与理智妙成一体，如此秘籍，中国人何以得之欤？此问之答案可觅于其文明之中。若期余于此妄论中国文明，断然不可。然若关涉论题之中华文明，余可略论之。

首先，余以为，中华文明全然有别于欧洲文明。容余引贝纳德·贝伦森¹之言为证。贝纳德·贝伦森，著名艺术鉴赏家，其于比较中西艺术之异同时，曰：“吾欧洲艺术致命之处，在于有走向科学之趋势；且杰出之作，莫不铭刻有为瓜分利益之战争印记。”正如贝氏鉴评欧洲艺术时所言，余以为，所谓欧洲文明，亦乃为瓜分利益之战场也；战之双方者有二：一者乃科学与艺术是也，一者乃宗教与哲学是也。双方对峙纷争已久，皆因瓜分利益故。是故，欧洲文明实乃恐怖之战场，乃心与脑（亦即心灵与理智）间相悖之战场。然中华文明，自其史起，亦未见如此之冲突。此乃中华文明与欧洲现代文明之根本区别。

换言之，余以为，现代欧洲文明，其宗教可满足人类心灵之渴求，然忽视人类智力之需求；其哲学可满足人类智力之需求，然忽视人类心灵之渴望。然于我中华，何如？或有言曰，中国无宗教。确然如是，中国无宗教，即或芸芸万众亦无甚重宗教。余所谓之宗教，乃指西人所指之宗教。中国之佛寺道观及佛道仪式，其娱乐之于教化远胜也；亦可谓之曰，中国人之玩赏意识胜于道德或宗教意识，宁可求于想象，亦不愿祈于心灵。与其曰中国无宗教，毋宁曰中国人无需宗教或觉无宗教之必要。

如此奇特之现象，当何以释之？有英人，道格拉斯²先生，伦敦大学之汉学

1 贝纳德·贝伦森（Bernard Berenson, 1865~?）：美国著名艺术评论家、历史学家，著有《美学、伦理学与历史》等。此人于学界影响颇深 —— 译注

2 道格拉斯（Robert Kennaway Bouglas, 1838-1913）：英国近代著名汉学家，曾来华任英国领事。著有《中国之语言与文学》《中国之社会》等书 —— 译注

家，其儒学研究有言，曰：“中国人从一人之言者，已有四十余代也。此人，乃中国人之孔子是也，其教义尤适中国人之本性。蒙古人种，属黏液质型，尤不善纯理思辨；故非经验之事，多有排斥。未来之事，无人知晓；然孔子之道义，简明扼要，切近事实，于中国人之需求，足矣。”

此君博学，以为中国人无需宗教者，盖因已有孔子之教义故；此言极是。然其所谓之中国人无需宗教者，盖因蒙古人属黏液质型人种，故乏善思辨；此言极谬。宗教并非纯理思辨。宗教乃情感也、激情也，且关涉人之灵魂也。即或非洲之野蛮人，于动物及人类演进之初，于其所谓心灵觉醒之时，宗教已为必需矣。蒙古人种或许属黏液质型，故乏思辨；然蒙古人种之中国人，较之于非洲野蛮人，实乃高级人类；此事实亦不可否矣。非洲野蛮人既有心灵，何况乎中国人？既有心灵，则必需宗教或宗教之替代者。

中国人觉无宗教之必需，其故者，盖因其已有儒家之哲学与伦理学也；儒学可取代宗教，其故者，盖因其集人类社会及文明于一体也。或曰：儒学者，非宗教也。此言甚是；儒学者，非西方通常之宗教也。然余以为，儒学至伟之处，亦在于此。的确，儒学虽非宗教，然可有宗教之功用；既有儒学，何需宗教？此乃儒学之功用也。

儒学有如此之功用，何也？欲晓其中之理，必先明人需宗教之故。余以为，人之所需宗教与人之所需科学、艺术及哲学，其故同焉，即人之为人者皆有心灵也。以科学为例，余之所谓科学者，乃自然科学也。人以科学为专攻者何为？人以科学为专攻者，盖因其有所需于铁路、飞机也；有此想法者甚多。然事非如此^[34]。今日所谓进步之中国人，凡若特以需求铁路、飞机故而以科学为专攻者，概不能及科学之真谛。昔西方真正献身科学且为其奋斗者，起初非特因铁路、飞机之需而为之，然其终有成矣。有此成就者，盖因其心灵渴求格物以致知也，知其所处之恐怖造化之奥秘也。是故，余以为，人对宗教之需求与对科学、哲学之需求，二者理同焉，皆因人之为人者，心灵也；盖因人有心灵，既可知过去，亦可知现在、未来；盖因人有心灵，则有格物而致知造化奥秘之需求；然兽类仅能止步于眼前矣。人懵懂而未晓造化之本质及法则之时，如居黑屋之孩童，凡事悉感危险及恐惧，颇难有制。如英诗人所言，造化神秘奥无边，人心凝重颜难见^[35]。是故，人有需于科学、艺术与哲学；同理，人亦有需于宗教，有需于宗教者，盖因可所恃而卸“人生多玄奥，世事滋负重^[36]”之重压。

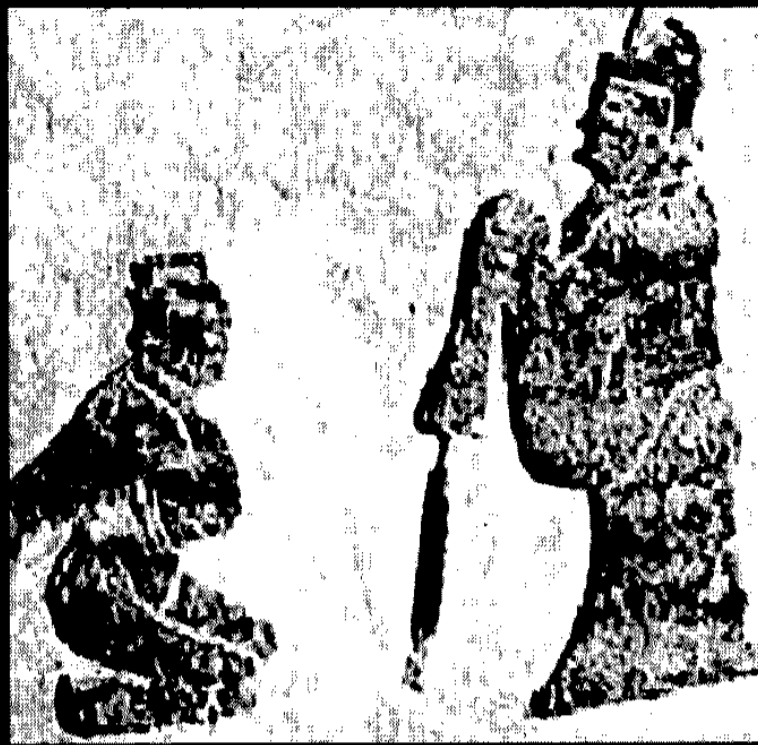
艺术及诗歌可使艺术家及诗人发现造化之美及其秩序，借此而卸造化神秘之重压。如歌德所言，曰：“有艺术者则有宗教。”是故，艺术家无需宗教。哲学亦可使哲人明造化之法则及秩序，所以可卸神秘造化之重压。若于斯宾诺莎等哲人而言，“智力生活之彼岸者，解脱是也；宗教生活之彼岸者，亦解脱是也^[37]，”是故，既有彼岸，哲人何需宗教？科学亦可使科学家悉知造化之法则与秩序，恃此而可卸神秘造化之重压。是故，达尔文及海克尔教授等科学家亦觉无宗教之必需。

然诗人、艺术家、哲人、科学家毕竟数少量乏，人之众者多为凡夫俗子，其多有困苦之时，且时时备受诸多事故之苦；其苦既有源自造化恐怖之力，亦有源自同胞人情之冷落。世界如此神秘莫测，其致重负已然，何以卸此重负？^[38]唯有宗教。然宗教何以有此至效？余以为，宗教可卸人之重负，盖因其予芸芸万众以安全感及永久感是也。当造化恐吓之时，人情冷落之时，神秘驱使之时，芸芸万众不可不乞于宗教。唯宗教可作其庇护之所，以期安全之感。及至此时，宗教乃一种超造化之力，唯宗教之力能克彼威人之力。再者，世事变化无常，人生变故甚多：呱呱坠地，懵懂少年，青春年华，风烛残年，入土为安^[39]。凡此种种，多有不定且神秘莫测，是故，宗教可使万众有所皈依以求永恒，以期来生。由此观之，余以为，宗教可赐万众以安全感与永恒感，且可助其卸却造化与世事之重压。耶稣曰：“安宁，唯吾可赐；既得安宁，终身得益。”^[40]耶稣之意，亦即余所谓之宗教可赐万众以安全感、永恒感也。是故，若无他者可赐万众以安全感与永恒感，则宗教必为万众所需。

然余尝曰，儒学虽非宗教，然可司宗教之职。故，宗教既可赐万众以安全感与永恒感，儒学亦必有此功用。儒学可司宗教之职，何为？此当细究。

或问余，曰，孔子之于我中华民族，何功之有^[41]？余以为，孔子之于中华民族，厥功甚多，然今日时间有限，余不能究其精详，仅择其至要者而述之。孔子曾曰：“知我者其唯《春秋》乎？”请允余释其要义，之后，诸位自可知儒学可司宗教之职之义^[42]。欲释其义，请允余概述孔子及其生平。

在座各位，或知晓，孔子生于我国社会巨变之时；此时，封建社会几近分崩瓦解^[43]，社会秩序及治国之法多为半宗法制，故不得不予以扩展与重建。社会剧变，必乱世纲，非但如此，且使人心妄常。余尝曰，中华文明未见心脑相悖者。然余欲诚言相告诸位，孔子之时，中国亦曾有今日西方之心脑相悖者，



(孔子拜见老子图)

老子曰：“绝学无忧……我独泊兮，其未兆，如婴儿之未孩，累累兮，若无所归。”
如是，老子成道教之始祖

孔子曰：“君子务本，本立而道生。”
“人能弘道，非道弘人。”
如是，孔子成《春秋》，订君子之道，倡春秋大义，终成儒教之鼻祖

——译者图释

其相悖之处亦甚为恐怖。于孔子之时，中国人已知其生而置身于庞大之体系，既有至善之制度、既定之事实，亦有公有之道义、社会之风俗，亦有律法与规章。凡此种种社会文明体系^[44]，盖承诸祖宗圣贤。然生活已有别于祖宗圣贤之时，故此时之中国人颇觉祖宗之法亦有不宣之处，亦即既非己之创造，则必有与己之实际生活相悖之处；于己而言，祖宗圣贤之规矩者，习惯使然而非理性使然也。于孔子之时，中国人已有此般觉醒意识。此觉醒意识与今日西方所谓现代精神，亦即自由主义之精神，并无二致；其旨在格物而致知。中国人于孔子之时已有此现代精神；其悉知旧有社会文明之秩序与现实生活相悖；非仅限知之，其欲立社会文明之新秩序，且为之寻理觅据。然诸般尝试悉以失败而终之。满足其脑者，无以满足其心；然满足其心者，无以满足其脑。盖因此故，余曰，孔子之时，中国人已有今日西方所见之心脑相悖者。盖因此故，重立社会文明之新秩序之时，凡文明，中国人颇感厌倦，且因厌倦而愤懑，因愤懑而绝望，极致之时，或有绝除文明之念。中国之老子颇类西方之托尔斯泰，二者皆觉心脑相悖之苦与不幸，皆知社会文明悖谬之根源。老子及其弟子庄子有诚，

曰：“绝圣弃智。”老子有言，曰：“绝学无忧……我独泊兮，其未兆，如婴儿之未孩，累累兮，若无所归。”^[45]

虽悉知社会文明所致之至苦，然孔子以为，其谬不在社会文明之本身，而在社会文明之行辙有误，社会文明立足之本有误。孔子告诫中国人，曰，勿绝圣弃智。于孔子而言，社会文明若有其真正之根基，则人亦可有其真正之生活，即以心灵体验生活。其实，孔子毕其余生而订社会文明之行辙，且力阻文明之毁灭；然及其晚年，孔子已知，中华文明已毁矣，其力亦不可阻矣；于此，其能何为？于建筑师而言，其屋火，俄尔倾，继而塌，已不可救矣。遇及此境，明智之举，力保其屋之图之不毁。于孔子而言，中华文明亦如其屋也；屋既不可救，唯宜之举，亦当力保其图之不毁。孔子力保之图，今已存于中国之《圣经·旧约》，名曰《五经》。盖因此故，余曰，孔子之有功于中华民族者，其力保中华文明蓝图之不毁也。

孔子之举^[46]，于中华民族，厥功甚伟。然孔子之功，非仅于此。其至功丰伟之处，在于综中华文明之始终，且赋之以新解。经其新解，中国人始有真正国家之概念。唯有真正国家之概念，乃国家之永久、理性，绝对之根基^[47]。

然古有柏拉图、亚里士多德；近有卢梭、斯宾塞，皆欲赋文明以新解，欲定真正之国家概念。儒学体系与西方哲学及道德体系，何异之有？于文明之新解，二者何异之有？余以为，其异之处如是。西方哲人未能使其哲学为宗教或司宗教之职，且其哲学亦未为万众悉知。然儒学已为中国万众所吸纳，且已成宗教或可司宗教之职。余之所谓宗教，非西人狭义之宗教，而乃广义之宗教也。歌德曰：“何谓真正之生活？唯万众可知矣；孰有真正之生活？唯万众有之矣。”^[48]换言之，唯有万众可知真正之生活，唯有万众享有真正之生活。广义之宗教，乃行事必需之训喻；按歌德之言，万众受之且以之约束人者，乃宗教是也。由此可知，耶稣教与佛教皆为宗教。据以此理，儒学亦为宗教；如诸君所知，儒学之训喻，已为万众所接受，且已成行事之准则。然柏拉图、亚里士多德、斯宾塞等，其哲学，即或以广义之宗教推之，亦不可谓之宗教。儒学之于柏拉图、亚里士多德、斯宾塞之哲学，其不同之处在于：哲学乃学者之学问；然儒学乃中华民族之宗教；非仅于此，儒学亦乃中国学者之宗教或准宗教。

盖因此故，余曰，耶稣教，宗教也；佛教，宗教也；儒学者，亦乃宗教也。然或疑曰：“汝曾有言，曰，儒学者非西人之宗教是也。”^[49]儒学与西人之宗

教，何异之有？其异者有二：一者源于超自然之因素；一者非源于超自然之因素。然二者之异，非仅于此矣；余所谓之宗教与西人所谓之宗教，其义不同矣^[50]。西人宗教之义，旨在教人为善。然儒学非仅限于此，且教人为良民。耶稣教释疑书问：“夫为人者，其本为何？”然儒学释疑书则问：夫为良民者，其本为何^[51]？此问视人非孤立之人而视人于社会关系之人^[52]。耶稣教之答疑曰：“人之本者，颂扬上帝、为其增光也。”儒学之答疑曰：“人之本者，在家为孝子，出门为良民。”有子，孔子之弟子，《论语》曾提及其言，曰：“君子务本，本立而道生，孝悌也者，其为仁之本欤？”^[53]总之，西人之宗教，旨在使人为完人、圣人、佛陀或天使；然儒教，旨在使人为良民，即在家为孝子，出门为良民。换言之，西人之宗教有言，曰：“若欲有信仰，必先为圣人、佛陀、天使是也。”然中国之儒教有言，曰：“在家为孝子，出门为良民，唯此者，则有信仰是也。”

儒教有别于西人之耶稣教与佛教。西人之宗教，乃个人之宗教或教堂宗教；儒教，乃社会之宗教或国教。孔子之于中华民族，厥功甚伟；余有此论者，盖因孔子赋人以真正之国家概念也。恃此，孔子使其国家概念成为宗教矣。于欧洲，政治乃一学科；然于中国，自孔子时起，政治乃宗教。简言之，孔子之于中华民族，厥功甚伟；余如是论断，盖因孔子赋予人以社会宗教或国教。孔子于晚年著有一书，曰《春秋》，详载其力倡之国教。孔子谓之曰《春秋》，盖因其旨在述国之兴衰之道德根源；国之兴衰，如季节之春秋变化。此书，亦可名之曰近代史册，其类同卡莱尔之近代史册。孔子纵览社会文明之错乱与颓败，历数由此所致之困苦及不幸于书，且云，其故者，盖因人无真正之国家观念，无正确之责任意识也；何谓责任意识？臣于国，臣于君，臣于主，是为责任。由此可见，孔子颇有力倡君权神授之意。余深知，今日在座诸位，甚或多数，不信君权神授。余亦无意与诸位作无谓之争于此。余唯一之求于诸位者，允余言毕，方作定断余所言之义；且允余引卡莱尔之言，曰：“王治人之权力者，或君权神授，或魔鬼之谬是也。”言及君权神授，敬请诸位，强识卡莱尔之言，且深思其义。

孔子有教义于《春秋》曰，人之社会关系繁复众多；制人行事之关系者，既有利害之基本动机，亦有高尚之动机；所谓高尚之动机，即责任也。民与君亦存高尚之责任动机。唯此责任，可励其行矣。然此责任之本者，何也？孔子

前之封建社会，其社会秩序及治世之法，多为半家族形式，且国家，或大或小，皆以宗族为单位；民无须且不知其为民之本（即国家责任）；何以如此欤？盖因一国之民皆为同宗同族，血亲或天伦已足以使其臣服于王；而其王者，族之长者是也。然迨及孔子之时，封建社会，如余尝曰，已殆矣；此时之国，已非宗族之国；国之民者，亦非同宗同族。是故，民之责任于君，有待重新确立，且务必责清理顺。既然，为民之本者，何也？孔子以为，为民之本者，名分是也。

去年，余居日本之时，日本前文部大臣菊池男爵¹⁵⁴择四字于《春秋》，求译于我。余尝曰，孔子力倡其国教于此书。此四字者，“名分大义”也。余译之为：名誉责任之至大原则。盖因此故，若于儒学与宗教，中国人有特别之分；孔子之训词者，毋以教名之；教者特指佛教、伊斯兰教及耶稣教等宗教；然名誉之教者，曰名教矣。孔子有另一训词曰，君子之道；理雅各译之曰，“上等人行事之法则”；“君子之道”近同西语之“道德法则”；如直译，则为“君子之法”。其实，孔子之哲学道德体系，可要而言之¹⁵⁵曰，“君子之法”。孔子订君子之法，且使之成为宗教，即国教。国教之首则，名分大义也，即名誉责任原则，亦称之为名分大典。

孔子之国教，力倡君子之道与廉耻之心；此者，非特为国家，且为一切社会文明之真正、永久、绝对立足之本也。余以为，在座诸位，甚或信政治无德可言之人，莫不承认，廉耻之心之于人类社会何等重要。然凡社会之行¹⁵⁶，廉耻之心，乃绝对之必需；在座诸位知其重要性与否，余不敢肯定；如谚云“窃贼亦有廉耻之心”，否则，行窃之事亦不可行远矣。人无廉耻之心，凡社会文明皆不摧而自溃矣。请在座各位，允余作以解释。以社会生活之琐事赌博为例。围坐而赌者，皆知输者付钱之理；若明知翻牌告知已输，却不认账；若此，则已失廉耻之心也¹⁵⁷，廉耻之心既失，赌事岂能续焉¹⁵⁸？再以商人为例，若商人无廉耻之心，不按约行事，则交易不可施也。然或曰，商者失约，可诉诸法庭。此言极是，然若无法庭，则当如何？纵有法庭，商者食言，若欲使之践约，则法庭又当如何？诉诸暴力。其实，人若无廉耻之心，社会唯有恃暴而持，则其持也不可久而不可续矣。然余以为，余可呈佐证以示，仅恃暴而维持社会者不可久矣。警察所以¹⁵⁹逼商者践约者，暴力是也。然欲使警察恪尽职守，律师、法官及共和国之总统，又当何为？众所周知，若警察，则不可施暴也；既不可施暴，则又当何为？欲使警察恪尽职守，所以恃者，乃警察之廉耻心也，或欺

骗手段也。

当今世界，甚或今日之中国，律师、政客、地方官僚及所谓共和之总统，莫不以欺骗手段使警察恪尽职守。对此，余甚感遗憾¹⁶⁰。现今之律师、政客、地方官僚及所谓共和之总统，无不告知警察曰，唯有恪尽其职方能益于社会、益于国家；唯有益于社会者方可领其俸禄；唯有俸禄者方可养己养家。如是论调¹⁶¹，余曰，实为欺骗。余谓之欺骗者，盖鉴于国之利益之于警察，意为可得十五先令之周薪，若此者，则其仅可使己与家人免为饿殍也；然若国家利益之于律师、政客、地方官僚及所谓共和之总统，其可领年俸两万英镑；若此者，则其可有豪门宅邸、明灯亮厅、进出豪车，凡舒适奢侈之物，无不尽其极也；若此者，则实乃竭数以万计劳工之民膏，方可供其享用也¹⁶²。余谓之欺骗者，盖鉴于社会缺乏公认之廉耻之心；若有廉耻之心者，则赌徒输牌时，纵使囊中仅剩唯一便士，亦甘愿付出；若无廉耻之心，则财富之易手与据为己有，必致社会贫富之不均，犹赌事之钱财易手，无理可言，亦无约束之力。律师、政客、地方官僚及所谓共和之总统，虽力倡社会国家之利益，然其倡导之举立足于警察之廉耻之心；廉耻之心可使警察恪尽职守，亦可使之尊重他人之财产权利，且可使之自足于十五先令之周薪。然自己则坐享两万之年俸。余谓之欺骗，盖鉴于其要警察有廉耻心之时，却公然而称，政治既无道德可言，亦无廉耻之心。

诸位可记乎¹⁶³？余曾引卡莱尔之言，曰：“王治人之权力，或君权神授，或魔鬼之谬是也。”律师、政客、官僚及总统等流之欺骗之举¹⁶⁴，亦即卡莱尔所谓之魔鬼之谬。盖因此种欺诈及滑头之教义，现代公职人员嘴言社会国家之利益，然行政治无德无耻之事；盖因此种滑头教义，必陷天下于祸乱；其祸乱，如卡莱尔所言，曰：“苦大仇深之遭遇，此起彼伏之祸乱，精神谵妄之癫狂，激进暴动之狂热，复辟专政之冷酷。”凡此种种，乃吾辈今日所见之现代社会之写照也。¹⁶⁵总而言之，无政府主义及其走卒之出现，且盛行于现代社会，其故者，盖鉴于诈力兼得¹⁶⁶，耶稣教义与恃暴尚武之勾结，律师与警察之为奸使然；诈力兼得者，则道德感也已沦矣丧矣，若人者，则近乎癫狂矣；盖因此般兼得、勾结、为奸之举，无政府主义之走卒，投掷炸弹于律师、政客、官员及总统。

其实，若人无廉耻之心、政治无道德可言，则社会持而不久，且不可续也。其故者，盖因律师、政客、官僚及总统恃欺诈之手段而令警察维持社会

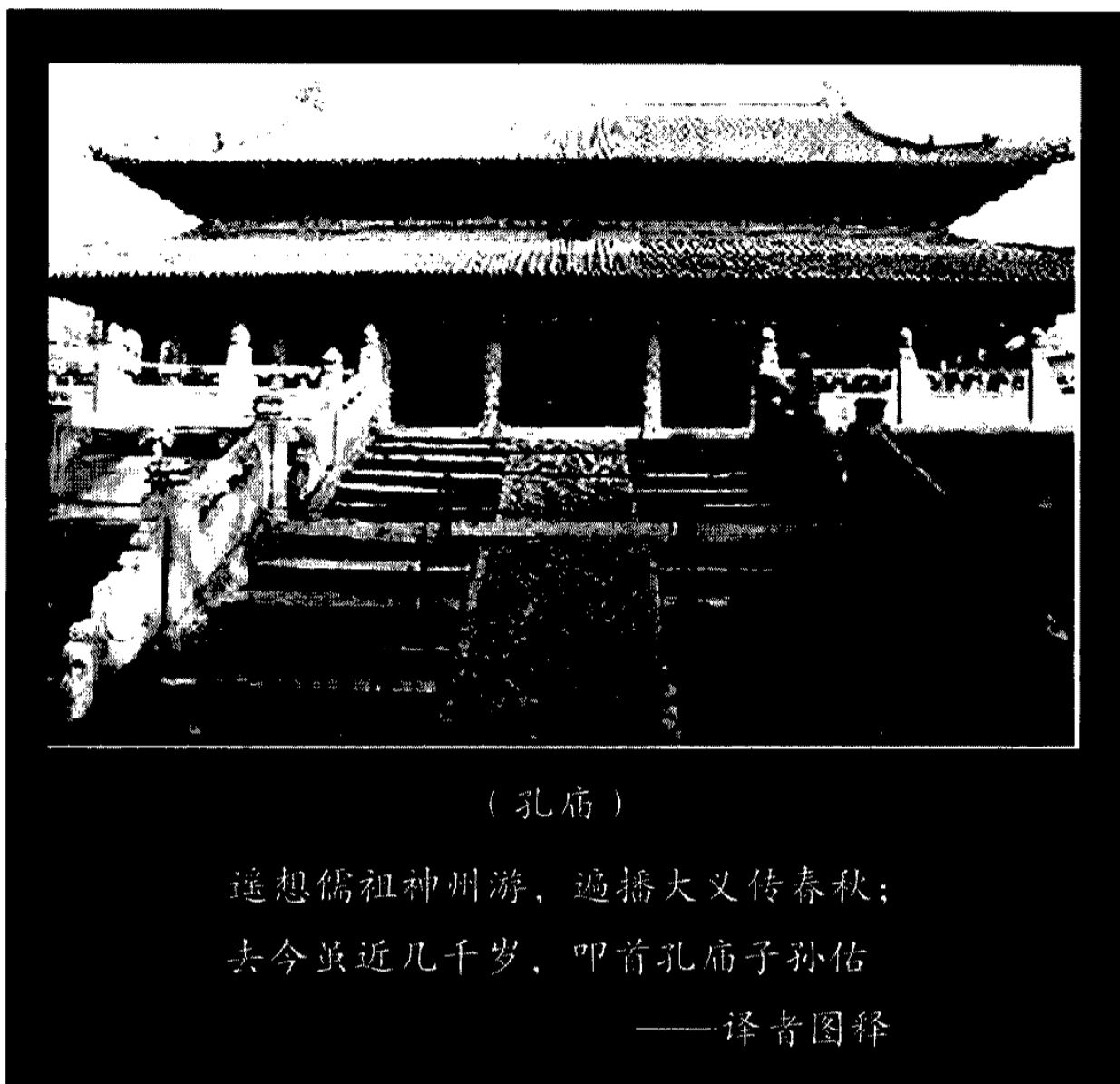
也；然警察亦终必陷于二难之悖论。警察受令曰其必恪尽职守。然警察，乃社会之一员也，实亦可怜；毕竟，警察及其家人亦乃此种社会之重要成员。警察若辞其职，而谋以他职，如以反警察为职者，夫其薪水无少反多矣，所以而可改自己及其家人之生活境况。此非为社会之利益乎¹⁶⁷¹？由此可见，警察终将有如是结论：政治既无廉耻无道德可言，社会之利益旨在增薪水倍俸禄，既然，何由而不弃警察之职而为革命党徒或无政府主义之走卒？若警察真有如是结论，且信以为真¹⁶⁸¹，则社会必殆矣。孟子曰：“孔子成《春秋》。”孔子力倡其国教，且记昔时之社会景象于书。书所载之社会，如今日之社会，人则尽丧廉耻之心，政则无道德可循；是故，于此时“成《春秋》”¹⁶⁹¹，则“乱臣贼子惧”。¹

言归正传。余曰，若无廉耻之心者，社会持而不久，且不可续也。如同于社会生活之所见之赌博、经商等类琐事，廉耻之心，何其要而不可缺也；何况乎家与国？家与国者，人类之二基本制度也；廉耻之心，亦何其要而不可缺也。众所周知，于世界民族之史，大凡文明社会之兴起，莫不始于婚姻制度之确立。西方教堂宗教，使婚姻成神圣之事，亦即婚姻神圣而不可犯。西方婚姻如是神圣者，盖因其受制于教会及上帝之权威。然此种神圣婚姻，纯属皮相。换言之，实属外在律法之约束力。婚姻神圣而不可犯，其真正之约束力，非见于教堂宗教，而须发乎内之廉耻之心与君子之道。孔子曰：“君子之道，造端乎夫妇。”²换言之，大凡社会文明之国，唯先有廉耻之心及君子之道，方可有婚姻制度；唯先有婚姻制度，方可有家庭之确立。

余尝曰，孔子所倡之国教，实乃名誉法典，且源于君子之道。然余实言相告诸位。远于孔子之前，中国已有君子之道法，然未然成文，且不精详。此君子之道法，亦即后世孔子所谓之礼仪礼节之法。未久，周公降。周公者，中国之伟大政治家，中国律法之缔造者也。周公首订君子法典以文字，曰：礼。礼者，言行妥当，品味高尚，行事有节之法也¹⁷⁰¹。周公所订之君子法典者，周礼，即周公之礼也。《周礼》可视为前儒教。耶稣教前，亦有犹太律法，曰《摩西律法》；《周礼》颇类《摩西律法》，故《周礼》，亦可谓中华民族之旧教。此旧教，乃首部有文可究之君子法典。盖因有此法典，中国人之婚姻便有神圣而不可犯之约束力。自周公以降，中国人谓婚姻圣礼曰周公之礼；周公之礼者，

1 Mencius BK. III, Part II IX, II. ——原注

2 中庸——The Universal Order XI, II 4. ——原注



(孔庙)

遥想儒祖神州游，遍播大义传春秋；
去今虽近几千岁，叩首孔庙子孙佑
——译者图释

周公所订之行事有节之礼法也。盖因此婚姻圣礼或旧教，中国方有家庭之制度；中国之家庭恃此而固且久矣。此种前宗教或周公之礼，亦可谓之曰家庭宗教，以示别于后世孔子之国教。

较之于家庭宗教，孔子之国教可谓之曰新礼。换言之，孔子之

前，中国已有家庭宗教，且订婚姻圣礼，故可谓之曰中国之旧礼；然孔子赋君子律法以新解于国教，且推而广之，综而用之，故可谓之曰中国之新礼。孔子所订之新礼，非名之曰“礼”，而谓之曰“名分大义”。余译之为名誉责任之大法则，或名誉法典。孔子弃“家庭宗教”，而代之以其所订之“名分大义”，或曰名誉法典，亦即国教矣。

中国之旧教，余谓之曰家庭宗教，可使夫妻受制于婚姻圣礼；婚姻圣礼者，周公之礼也；夫妻所以守其婚约，婚姻则神圣而不可犯也。孔子之国教，余谓之曰中国之新礼，可使国人及其帝王受制于名分大义；名分大义者，国教之规，亦即名誉法典，或名誉责任之大规也。君臣所以共守此约，视名分大义神圣而不可犯^[71]。简言之，昔周公订周公之礼，而严婚姻礼俗；今孔子订名分大义或名誉大典，而颂忠诚之道^[72]。是故，如余曾曰，孔子赋君子律法以新解，且推而广之，综而用之。是故，较之于家庭宗教，孔子所订之教者，新教也，国教也。

换言之，家庭宗教制婚姻圣礼，而孔子之国教订忠诚圣约，按家庭宗教之婚姻圣礼之约，妻则必绝对忠其夫；而按国教之名分大义或名誉法典之规，人

则必绝对忠其君。是故，国教之忠诚誓约者，亦可谓之曰忠道或忠教也^[73]。各位可记乎？余尝曰，孔子力倡君权神授。然与其曰孔子力倡君权神授，毋宁曰孔子甚重忠诚圣约。言及约束力之于人，西方之君权神授论，释之以超造化之上帝，或可释之以深奥之哲学；然孔子之忠教论，释之以绝对忠君之道，释之以廉耻之心^[74]。大凡国皆有廉耻之心；有廉耻之心，妻则忠其夫矣。其实，中国人之绝对忠君之道，其源不奥，曰廉耻之心；有廉耻之心，商者，则守信而践约；赌者，则按规行赌，输而不悔其账。

言及家庭宗教，余尝曰，中国之旧教与他国之教堂宗教，皆有婚姻神圣而不可犯之规，故家庭制度所以可立也。如同此理，余以为，孔子所授之国教，有效忠契约之圣礼，故国家制度所以可立也。制家庭宗教，且订婚姻圣礼之先者，于人类及文明，其厥功甚伟；若有此共识者，盖不难解孔子所为之伟大矣：孔子订新礼，立忠道；立婚姻圣礼，家所以固，且可持久矣；若家之不家，人类则可自灭矣。立忠诚圣道，国所以安而久矣；若国之不国，社会及文明则殆矣；人者，无乃同兽乎？是故，余以为，孔子之于中国人，厥功甚伟，其伟者，在于其赋国人以真正之国家观念；国家观念者，乃一国绝对立足之本也；此立足之本，真而实，合情合理，持而久也^[75]；孔子所以成国教矣。余尝曰，孔子于其晚年成一书，曰《春秋》，力倡其国教。孔子首订忠诚之道于书，曰名分大义，或名誉法典。是故，此圣礼又曰春秋名分大义，简言之，春秋大义。春秋大义者，春秋年鉴之名誉及责任之大道也；或曰春秋年鉴大典，或春秋年鉴大道。孔子力倡忠诚之道，其《春秋》，乃中华民族之大宪章。有此宪章，国家及民族所以可绝对忠君；其神圣契约与名誉法典，乃国教及政府唯一真正之宪法，亦即中华文明之唯一真正之宪法。如孔子所言，曰：“知我者其为《春秋》乎？”^[76]

以上言多，恐有离题之嫌，惹各位厌烦。故，言归正传，续正题而论。在座诸位，可记乎？余尝曰，芸芸万众甚感有宗教之需求（此处之宗教，余意曰西方之宗教之义）；其故何也？盖因宗教可赐之以庇护之所也。有如是万能之上帝，万众所以心安且恒久也。然余尝曰，孔子之哲学道德体系，可名之曰儒教，可取代宗教；是故，既有儒教，中国人，亦即芸芸万众，即或无需宗教，亦可矣。宗教可使人心安且恒久，既已如此，儒教亦有此功用。儒教可使人心安且恒久者，盖因孔子所倡之忠君之道，亦即中华民族之忠诚之道。

盖因有此忠诚之道，中国之男女妇孺皆笃信，天赋皇帝以绝对超造化且全能之力量；盖因有此皇权信仰¹⁷⁷¹，中国人所以心有所安；此般信仰犹西方民众之信奉上帝而所以心有所安。盖因有此皇权信仰，中国人所以皆信国可千秋¹⁷⁸¹。盖因信国可千秋万代，中国人所以皆信社会可万代而传。盖因信社会可万代而传，中国所以皆信其族不可息。族不可息，源自皇权信仰；有皇权信仰，则有忠诚之道；如同此理，他国之宗教力倡信奉来世，盖因信奉来世，万众所以有千秋万代之感。

再者，孔子所倡忠诚之道，可使人笃信国可千秋；如同此理，儒教所倡之祖先崇拜，可使人笃信族可不息。中国之祖先崇拜，与其曰源自人有来世之信仰，毋宁曰源自族可不息之信仰。中国人，临终之时，所以感自慰者，非其有来生之信仰，而信子孙万代可铭之、思之、爱之；于中国人而言，死恍如漫漫长途，或可遇亲人于途。是故，盖因有祖先崇拜与忠诚之道，中国人，活则期长生，死则盼亲慰。然于他国，人之可慰者，乃来生之信仰也。盖因如此，于中国人而言，祖先崇拜与忠君之道，二者并重，可相比肩。孟子曰：“不孝有三，无后为大。”孔子之教育观，见于国教，其核心有二：一者，忠君之道也；一者，孝顺父母也；合二为一，曰忠孝。实言之，中国之国教或儒家之信仰有三，曰三纲；以其要者而位序：位首者，绝对之忠君也；位中者，孝父母敬祖宗也；位末者，婚而不违，妻则必忠其夫也。位中者与位末者，乃余所谓之家庭宗教，亦即孔子之前之中国旧教；位首者，忠君之道，乃孔子之首创，且已成中华民族之新教或国教。儒教三纲之首者，忠君之道也；宗教之首者，信奉上帝也；然儒教以忠君之道取代信奉上帝，或二者等效。盖因有此等效¹⁷⁹¹，儒教所以可取代宗教，且使万众颇感未有宗教之必需。

然或有疑，曰，信奉上帝及恃上帝之威，可使人遵从宗教之道德规范；然若唯忠君马首是瞻，而勿信上帝，欲使万众遵孔子之道德规范，何以为之？作此问答之前，余欲曰，汝之疑惑有大谬矣；汝以为，人制于道德规范者，盖鉴于上帝之权威是也。余尝曰，西方之婚姻圣礼皆由教堂所订，教堂曰，婚姻之约源于上帝。然余以为，此论甚为浅薄¹⁸⁰¹。大凡国之无宗教，婚姻神圣而不可犯者，束以心也，亦即束以廉耻之心及君子之道也。是故，真正可使人遵道者，乃人之道德、君子之道也。信奉上帝，非遵道之必需也。

盖因如是，怀疑论者及理性主义者降矣。怀疑论者，如上世纪之伏尔泰及

汤姆·潘恩；理性主义者，如今日之海勒姆·马克希姆诸类学者，其言颇有斥责之意，曰，信奉上帝，始于宗教之首创者，且由神父持而续之，此实乃欺诈之举。然如是责备，实乃诽谤，且甚为粗谬。大凡伟人及大智之人，皆信奉上帝。孔子亦信奉上帝，然言之甚少。拿破仑，大智大勇者，其亦信奉上帝。如颂诗之诗人曰：“唯有小人¹⁸¹，其心曰：‘世本无上帝’；小人者，智卑俗浅薄者也。”大智之人，虽信奉上帝，然有别于芸芸万众。与其曰大智之人信奉上帝，毋宁曰信奉斯宾诺莎所谓之神圣之宇宙法则。孔子尝曰：“五十而知天命。”¹此者，亦即神圣之宇宙法则也。若于神圣之宇宙法则，凡大智之人皆赋其不同之称谓。德哲费希特名之曰“神圣宇宙观”。中国之哲语谓之曰“道”。名可异，然皆指神圣宇宙法则之知识。盖因有此知识，大智之人皆以为，道德规范或“道”实属神圣之宇宙法则，故须遵从之。

信奉上帝，非人遵道之必需；然信奉上帝，可使人以为，遵道实乃人之绝对必需。盖因有此认识，大智之人遵道矣。孔子曰：“不知命无以为君子也。”²然芸芸万众，不知遵道乃人之必需，盖因其乏大智而不知神圣之宇宙法则矣。如同马太·阿诺德曰：“道德规范，必先视之为义理而信之，而后必视之为律法而遵从之，且惟圣人可订也。芸芸万众，其智也不足，故难解其要旨；其品¹⁸²也劣，所以难以视之为法而守之。”盖因如此，柏拉图、亚里士多德、赫伯特·斯宾塞，其所授之哲学及伦理学，唯学者可识其价值。

然宗教之价值，在于可使智乏品劣之芸芸万众遵从道德规范。宗教既有如是之功效，其何以为之？宗教有如是之功效者，盖因其可教人信奉上帝是也；此实乃人之臆断。然如同余曾所言，此实乃大谬。欲使人遵道，唯一之法者，使人有道德感也；道德感者，君子之道也。子曰：“道也者，不可须臾离也，可离非道也。”耶稣曰：“上帝也者，在心也。”是故，人之遵道者，盖因其信仰上帝之故。余以为，此论甚谬。马丁·路德曾阅《但以理书》¹⁸³而作评注，赞曰：“心有所信，有所忠，有所期，有所爱也者，上帝则在也。”所信者真，上帝则真¹⁸⁴；所信者谬，上帝则虚。是故，宗教倡导信奉上帝，实为人之所以慰藉也，余谓之曰庇护。然路德曰：“所信者，亦即信奉上帝，必真也；否则，所信者，必虚也。换言之，信奉上帝，人则必有真知灼见于上帝、于神圣之宇

1 《论语》——Discourses and Sayings Chap. II 4. ——原注

2 《论语》——Discourses and Sayings Chap. XX 3. ——原注

宙法则。然有真知灼见于上帝者，非大智之人不可，芸芸万众不可及矣。”是故，汝所见宗教之信奉上帝，实乃幻境，然可益于芸芸万众之遵道。此般信奉上帝或信奉神圣之宇宙法则者，可谓之曰诚信、依托，或余所谓之庇护。此庇护，即宗教所倡之信奉上帝，虽乃虚幻之境，然有益于人之遵道；其故者，盖因余所谓之信仰上帝可赐万众以安全感，永恒感也。歌德曰，虔也者，亦即宗教所倡之信仰上帝，非固其宗旨，而乃所以及至宗旨也；人之虔也者，其心也平，其气也和；此乃人至美之态矣。换言之，宗教所倡之信奉上帝，可赐万众以安全感、永恒感；信者，其心也平，其气也和；心平气和而悟君子之道或有道德之感，此乃遵道从德之首要。

宗教所倡之信奉上帝可使人遵道守德，其用仅此而已，然其何以为据¹⁸⁵¹？神启也。马太·阿诺德曰：“宗也者，教也者，异教徒也者，耶稣徒也者¹⁸⁶¹，凡此种种皆以为，唯有神启使人至善。”神启者，生命之情感是也。然宗教可使芸芸万众遵道守德，其故者，盖鉴于宗教之神启、或能致人至高美德之生命情感；然何谓神启？何谓生命情感？

在座各位，可记乎？余尝曰，孔子之教育体系，可一言以概之，曰，君子之道；言之以西洋贴切之语，曰道德律法（moral law）。孔子视君子之道为秘密。¹孔子曰：“君子之道费而隐。”然孔子又曰：“愚夫愚妇，可以与知焉。……夫妇之不肖可以能行焉。”¹⁸⁷¹歌德亦知其中秘密，谓君子之道曰“公开之密”。此秘密者，何处可觅？可记乎？余尝曰，子曰，欲解君子之道，必先解夫妻之道。然孔子所谓君子之道者，歌德谓之公开之密也；首解其密者，夫妇也。然孔子所倡君子之道，夫妇何以可解其密也？

余尝曰，孔子所倡君子之道，言之以西洋贴切之语，曰，道德律法。君子之道与道德律法，何异之有？所谓道德律法者，亦即余所谓之哲人及伦理学者之道德律法也，其有别于宗教所授之道德律法与道德信仰。欲晓二者之异，必先明哲人与伦理学者之道德律法之义¹⁸⁸¹。孔子曰：“天命之谓性；率性之谓道；修道之谓教。”²是故，孔子所言，旨在别宗教与道德律法之异；宗教，乃净化且有序之道德律法、或道德律法之极致。道德律法者，哲人与伦理学者之道德律法也。

1 中庸——The Universal Order XIII 1.——原注

2 中庸——The Universal Order XIII 1.——原注

哲人有道德律法，曰人必从性。人之性者，理也。理者，按其通解，曰思维能力，乃人细思慢想之过程。有此思维能力，人可鉴外物之属性与品质。是故，理者，思维能力也。有此能力，则可定道德之属性及品质、风气、德行。理者，亦可谓之曰，外在之行事及僵化之客套，或曰，是非公正之载体。然是非、公正、生命、灵魂，其本属天然，而难以名状；故仅恃理性思维之力，难以悉解其本。盖因此理，老子曰：“道可道，非常道；名可名，非常名。”道德学家有道德律法，曰，人必从性，人之性者，良知矣。良知者，心也。然如同希伯来《圣经》之智者所言，曰：“人之心者，多机巧。”是故，若以良心为人之本，且不悖之，人之所遵从者，乃人之诸多机巧，而非难以名状之绝对正义也。

换言之，宗教所倡之遵从人性，实指必遵从之真正人性。此人之性者，非圣·保罗所谓之世俗或肉体之性，亦非奥古斯特·孔德之弟子利特所谓人之自护且繁衍之本性，而乃圣·保罗所谓之灵魂之性，即孔子所言之君子之道。简言之，宗教教人遵从人之真性；人之真性者，乃耶稣所谓心中之上帝。故，孔子所言可作如是之解：宗教乃一种道德法则，其乃精炼而成，赋有精神，且秩序井然，远胜于哲人与道德学家之道德法则。因此，耶稣尝云：“若非尔之正直（或道德）胜于犹太法学家与法利赛教徒（哲人与道德学家），尔不可入天堂。”

如同此理，孔子所倡君子之道，亦乃秩序井然，精炼而成之道德法则，其亦远胜于哲人及道德学家之道德法则。哲人及道德学家，亦教人遵从人性。此人之性者，哲人谓之曰，理性，道德学家谓之曰，良知。然如同宗教，孔子之君子之道，教人遵从人之真性。此真性，非市井之徒、粗俗之流所谓之性，而乃爱默生所谓之“至朴至真之心”。事实上，欲知君子之道，必先为君子；释之以爱默生之言，必先有“至朴至真之心”于己身。盖因此理，孔子曰：“人能弘道，非道弘人。”¹

然孔子尝曰，欲知君子之道，必先有君子之情操，有君子之品位。汉字之“礼”，孔子赋其义甚多，故译之以西洋语也各异，或曰 ceremony（礼仪）、或曰 propriety（礼节）、或曰 good manners（礼貌）；然其义实乃 good taste（品味）。

1 《论语》——Discourses and Sayings Chap. XV 28. ——原注

品味，即君子之品味，若论之于德行，言之以西洋语，曰廉耻感。确然如是，孔子之君子之道，无有他义，实乃廉耻感也。廉耻感，孔子谓之曰君子之道；其非哲人及道德学家之道德规范，然颇似耶稣教《圣经》所谓之正义；前者关涉是非形式之知识，枯燥而无味，呆板而僵化；后者言及是非与正义本质之感悟，虽不可名状，然直观生动，栩栩如生；所谓正义者，生命与灵魂是也，故亦称曰廉耻。

至此，可答如下是问：人率先晓夫妻之道而解歌德所谓之秘密者，何以为之？歌德所谓之秘密者，孔子之君子之道也。能解此秘密者，盖因其有君子之情操，有君子之品味也；言之于道德行为，则曰廉耻感；有廉耻感者，可明正义是非之难以名状之绝对本质；所谓正义者，生命与灵魂也，亦即廉耻感也。使人之有此情操及品味，或有此廉耻感者，何也^[89]？此问可以约伯之美言而释之。约伯曰：“人不自爱，不可立其邻。”亦即人唯有自爱方可挺胸于其邻里之间。是故，唯有爱可使人明约伯所谓正义之本；唯有爱可使人解歌德所谓公开之秘密。正义者，廉耻感也；公开之秘密者，孔子所倡之君子之道也；所谓爱者，男女之爱也；有男女之爱，则生君子之道；有君子之道，则有人类社会文明；非特于此，且可立宗教及上帝。至此，歌德借浮士德之口而忏悔，其故不难解矣：

“首之上者，莫非天国？脚之下者，莫非实地？”

余尝曰，人之遵道守德者，非宗教所倡之信奉上帝使然也。人之遵道守德者，君子之道也；君子之道者，吾心之上帝也。是故，君子之道，实乃宗教之生命。然信奉上帝及遵从宗教之道德规范，仅为形式而已。宗教之生命，在于崇尚君子之道；宗教之灵魂，在于有爱；爱者，宗教之本也。爱，非仅为男女生而知之之爱，而乃人类之纯真情感，既有父母孩子之亲情，亦有人之慈心、善行、同情、仁爱于万物。凡此种种，可一言以蔽之，曰“仁”。西洋古耶稣教语之godliness（神性）与汉字“仁”最为确切。仁者，人之至圣之品质，乃人之性、人之爱也；一言以蔽之曰“爱”。宗教之灵魂，乃宗教感染力之本也，其可概之以汉字，或曰“仁”，如君喜之，或可曰“爱”；爱者，始于夫妇也。此乃宗教感染之力所在、宗教之至德也。如余所言，唯有此至德，宗教方可使人遵道从德或遵“道”^[90]矣；道也者，神圣宇宙法则不可缺也。孔子曰：“君子之道，造端乎夫妇，及其至也，察乎天地。”

及至此时，事已明矣。宗教亦存有激情与感染之力。然此般激情与感染之力，非特见于宗教，亦即余所谓之教堂宗教；凡能克名利而有遵道从德之冲动者，皆有此种激情与感染之力。事实曰，凡知廉耻、克名利者，皆有此般宗教之激情与感染之力。余曰，此种激情与感染之力，非仅见于宗教；然宗教之可贵者，盖因其有此种激情与感染之力也；大凡世之宗教创始者，其教义皆可留存于世，盖因其亦有此种激情与感染力；然哲人及道德学家，其教义无此种激情与感染力，故马太·阿诺德有言曰，教能弘道，人从之则易。然此种激情与感染力非仅见于宗教之教义，亦见于文学集大成者之作品，尤见于诗人之诗。以歌德为例，余已多次引其诗句，其诗也，多有激情或感染力。然文学大师，亦有憾事，其文学用语，唯识字者可解，芸芸万众概不可识矣。大凡世之宗教创始者，多不能识读，此反成其优者；其可言以万众朴素之语，故其所言，万众易解矣。是故，凡世之大教者，其真正之可贵者，其可传激情及感染之力于芸芸万众也。欲知宗教何以有此激情与感染力，必先明宗教产生之缘故。

如同上文所云，凡世之大教者，其创始之人皆为性格特殊、情感强烈之人。盖因如此，其爱或人类之爱甚为强烈；如余所云，此爱乃宗教之源，宗教之灵魂。余以为，是非正义，其绝对之本难以名状；然盖因有此强烈之情感或人性之爱，教之创始者能明是非正义之本，能明正义之灵魂，亦即其所谓之公正。盖因其有栩栩如生之见识，其能明是非法则与道德规范实为整体。盖因其性格特殊，情感强烈，教之创始者，其想象也弘，故可赋此整体以人性，名之曰，万能超造化之物。此万能超造化之物，实乃道德规范之想象化身；教之创始者名之曰上帝，且相信其有强烈之情感、或爱；或人性之爱皆源于上帝。此者，亦即宗教之激情或感染之力；此感染之力既可弘道，亦可憾人行道之心而不悔矣。然宗教者，其职乃恃其感染力或激情而弘道，且使人行道矣。其可贵之处，非仅如是；人之行道，可激其情，可撼其心，可励其行，故宗教之可贵之处，亦在于其可恃机构而司其职：或激，或撼，或励^[91]。此机构者，凡世之教者皆名之曰教会。

教会设，其旨在诲人信奉上帝。世之众人多信焉，此实乃大谬。盖因此大谬，费劳德诸般诚实之人，亦颇厌现代耶稣教会，其曰：“吾尝闻教于英国，其数可百计；教之内容，或信条之秘密，或教士之传承；然未尝闻教人诚实之常训，亦未尝闻诸般古训，曰，‘毋妄言’、‘毋为盗’。”费劳德以为，教

堂乃劝善布道之所；余以为其论亦谬。教堂设，其旨在诲人行善遵道，如“毋妄言”、“毋为盗”；此本不可疑。然大凡世之教者，其教堂之用，在传教而非传道；如余尝曰，宗教，非僵死呆板之教条，如“毋妄言”、“毋为盗”，而乃一种激情或感染之力，所以可使人行道也。是故，教堂之真正功用者，非在传道劝善，而在憾人之行善之心。的确，教堂之真正功用者，在于激人之情、憾人之心、励人之行，而行善道。换言之，凡世之大教者，其教堂乃一机构而已，其旨在使人发乎情而行善道。然教堂何以有此功用欤？

众所周知，凡世之大教，其创始之人，皆赋其所授善道以激情或感染之力；非仅于此，其亦激励其教徒对其教主，要心怀无限崇拜，心存爱戴，笃信无疑。倘若教主已逝，其教徒则设教堂以续其对教主之崇拜、爱戴、笃信。由此可知，凡世之大教，其教堂起源，盖鉴于此故。对教主崇拜、爱戴、笃信之情，始于首代教徒；教堂则可延续此情，且憾人之激情或感染之力而使之行善道。人之信奉上帝，亦即信奉宗教之信条；此信奉者，乃诚信、依托也。然孰可信欤？可信者，宗教之创始者也；伊斯兰教之可信者，名之曰先知；耶稣教者，名之曰中保。信奉上帝且行善道，其故何为？若问之于伊斯兰教之虔诚教徒，其必答曰：“吾信先知穆罕默德。”若问之于耶稣教之虔诚教徒，其必答曰：“吾爱耶稣。”由此可见，所谓“吾信先知穆罕默德”、



孔子授学图

孔子授学始一二，神州游学三千徒；
功成名就有八九，后世徒孙万千逾

——译者图释

“吾爱耶稣”，实乃一种情绪、一种情感，亦即余所谓之教徒崇拜、爱戴、笃

信教主之狂人情感也；教堂之功用，则可激人以此般狂热情感，且使之留存于世。凡世之大教可使芸芸万众行善道者，莫不源自此般狂热情感¹。

如此宏论，迂而回之，余可答上文之疑问。可记乎？各位问我曰，若不信上帝，而使芸芸万众遵从孔教之道德规范，由此而绝对忠于皇帝，如何使之然欤？其实，余已作解释，使人遵道行善者，非宗教所倡之信奉上帝也。宗教使人遵道行善者，盖因其恃教会机构而激人之情感，且使人发乎内而遵道行善。此乃余之所答。下文，余将介绍孔子之教育体系，即儒教。儒教者，中国之国教，颇类他国之教堂宗教也。教堂宗教恃教堂而使人遵道行善；如同此理，儒教亦恃以类似教堂之机构而使人遵道行善。此机构者，乃学堂是也。如在座各位所知，中国语言，宗教与教育，皆用同一汉字，曰“教”。如同中国之教堂，可谓之曰学堂，中国之宗教，亦可谓之曰教育。中国之学校教育，有别于现代欧美之学校教育；中国之学校教育，其旨不在教人何以谋生，何以赚钱，而类同教堂宗教一般，其旨在传授费劳德所言之古训，如“毋妄言”、“毋为盗”；此实乃教人为善。约翰逊博士曰：“人之言谈举止，为人处事，其首要者，乃善明是非；其次者，览历史，明真理而辩以据。”

然事已明矣，教堂宗教可使人遵道行善者，盖因其可撼人之激情使然；教堂宗教可撼人之激情者，盖因其教徒激己之狂热崇拜于教主使然。然中国之学堂与他国之教堂毕竟有异焉；学堂者，孔教之教堂也。学堂，亦即中国国教之教堂，如宗教之教堂，其可激人之热情而使人遵道行善。然二者于激情之手段毕竟有异矣。学堂，亦即中国国教之教堂，其所激人之热情，非崇拜孔子之故。孔子，生而能激其弟子狂热之情，死亦能撼孔子学者之狂热之情。然芸芸万众之狂热之情，孔子生也未及，死也未及；然世之大教之创始人皆能及之。孔子未享中国大众之顶礼膜拜，然穆罕默德备受穆斯林民众之崇拜；基督耶稣深受西人爱戴。是故，孔子有别于宗教之创始者矣。欲为西方之宗教创始者，人之性情，须非同寻常，且几近癫狂。孔子确乃中国商代贵族后裔；商人天性激情有加，犹如希伯来民族之激情。然孔子生于周代，周人天性聪慧，犹如古希腊人。周公，周朝人，中国旧教之创始者也；中国旧教者，孔子儒教之前身也。如若比方，孔子犹如生于希伯来，故其天性有希伯来民族之激情；然熏教于古

1 言及最纯洁及最具有耶稣教之德性者，中国历史有两人，孟子曰：“故闻伯夷之风者，玩夫廉、懦夫有立志。”（《孟子》卷十）——原注

希腊之文化智慧，故其集古希腊文明智慧于一身。歌德，现代西方之伟人，其必将成为至美人性之楷模，真正之欧人，欧洲文明之结晶；孔子，中国国教之父，其已成为至美人性之楷模，真正之中国人，中华文明之结晶。如同歌德一般，孔子之渊博知识，修身养性，概不能属宗教创始者之列。的确，孔子生而未为人知，唯其弟子知焉。

余以为，中国之学堂者，孔子国教之教堂也。其能撼人之激情而使人行善道；此般激情乃发乎内而非崇拜孔子之故。然中国之学堂能使人发乎内而行善道，何也？孔子曰：“兴于诗，立于礼，成于乐。”学堂者，中国国教之教堂也，其可教诗而使人发乎内而行善道。大凡文学之集大成者，其作品皆能使人发乎内而行善道。马太·阿诺德论及荷马及其《史诗》，曰：“荷马及少数文学之集大成者，唯其诗之高贵品质，可涤人天性，冶人情操。”实者，凡事关真理、事关公正、事关纯洁、事关仁爱、事关美传者，其若有美德可颂者，有美名可扬者，中国学堂必教之，且使人思之，人所以可发乎内而行善道。

然汝可记否？余尝曰，凡文学之集大成者，其作品，如《荷马史诗》不可及至芸芸大众，盖因其达之以文人之言，而芸芸万众不可解矣。既然如此，儒教，中国之国教，孔子之教育体系，其竟可撼芸芸民众之激情而使之行善道，其竟何为之欤？余尝曰，中国之孔教，可与他国教堂宗教之教堂相当者，学堂是也。然此说亦不甚确切。中国之孔教，可当他国教堂宗教之教堂者，家庭是也。学堂者，乃家庭之附赘而已。屋有祖先牌位，村镇有祠堂庙宇，如此之家方可谓国教之真正教堂。余尝曰，世之大教可使人行善道者，盖因其可撼芸芸万众之狂



华尔兹斯

陶潜

华隐湖畔吟诗忙，潜归因园居南山；
字字珠玑话自然，种豆皆因世事难

——译者图释

热之爱与崇拜于教主；而其教堂可激发此种热爱与崇拜，而使之世代相传。然中国之孔教，可使芸芸万众行善道；其真正之力量、其感染力之源，盖因“爱亲^[92]”之故也。耶稣教之教堂教义曰：“爱基督。”中国国教之教堂者，家庭也；家奉祖先之牌位，训以言曰：“爱父爱母。”^[93]圣保罗曰：“让所有之人以上帝之名义而誓：永离罪恶。”《孝经》成于汉代，其作者类同基督，其作者曰：“让所有爱亲者，永离罪过^[94]。”简言之，耶稣教，教堂宗教也，其真正之感染力源自对基督之爱。然孔教，中国之国教也，其感染之力，源自“爱亲”，源自孝道，源自对祖先之崇拜。

孔子曰：“践其位，行其礼，奏其乐；敬其所尊，爱其所亲；事死如事生，事亡如事存，孝之至也。”孔子又曰：“慎中追远，民德归属。”¹盖因如此，儒教可撼人心而使之行善道。善道之至高至要者，绝对忠君也。如同世之大教者，无不以畏上帝为至高至要之善道。换言之，教堂宗教之耶稣教曰：“畏上帝，从上帝。”孔子之国教或孔教曰：“遵君，忠君。”教堂宗教之耶稣教曰：“欲畏上帝、从上帝，必先爱基督。”孔子之国教或孔教曰：“欲遵君忠君，必先爱其亲。”

至此，可揭其密矣。自孔子降，中华文明已有二千五百年矣；中国人未曾有心脑相悖者，其故何也？其故者，盖因中国之芸芸万众觉无宗教之必需也。中国人觉无宗教之必需者，盖因儒教之教义可取代宗教之教义也。余所谓之宗教，乃西人意义之宗教也。何谓儒教之教义^[95]？孔子国教所倡之绝对忠君，亦即名誉法典，亦称名分大义也。名誉法典者，中华民族之法典也。余尝曰，孔子之于中国人民，厥功甚伟；其功在于，其国教所倡之绝对忠君是也。

余以为，言及孔子及其功之于中华民族，余有必要作一补言；其故者，盖因其与余所言之论题关涉甚密，余所涉之论题者，《中国人之精神》也。余以为，中国人，尤指有识之士，若有悖名誉法典，弃孔教之名分大义者，其已失其民族之精神，已失中华民族之精神也；其已不再为真正之中国人也。

最后，若于论题《中国人之精神》，或曰，《何谓真正之中国人？》，请允余概言之。正如余尝言，真正之中国人，其既有成人之理智，亦有孩童之赤心；中国人之精神，实乃心灵与理智至美之结合。若察中国文学艺术作品，

1 此句出自《论语·学而》第十，实为曾子曰：“慎中追远，民德归属”，而非孔子曰。——译注

则有如此之发现，心灵与理智之至美结合；若此，则可使人悦之、乐之。马太·阿诺德览《荷马史诗》，而有言曰：“《荷马史诗》可撼人类自然之心灵；此者，伏尔泰不可及也；《荷马史诗》非徒具此种力量，亦有伏尔泰般朴素与理性”。中国文学亦如此言所论。古希腊诗之位冠者，马太·阿诺德谓其作品，曰，女性祭司，集想象与理性于一身。如今，正如中国艺术作品所见，中国人之精神，亦即马太·阿诺德所谓集想象与理性于一身也。马太·阿诺德曰：“后期异教徒之诗，多藏理性与知性；中世纪耶稣徒之诗，富于心灵与想象；今日现代欧洲，其现代精神生活之要者，既非理性与知性，亦非心灵与想象，而乃集想象与理性于一身是也。”

马太·阿诺德云，今日欧洲现代精神之要者，集想象与理性于一身也；若果如其言，中国人之精神之于西人，夫何其贵矣！夫何其要矣！中国人之精神，亦即马太·阿诺德所谓之集想象与理性于一身。中国人之精神，既贵且要，何不研之、悟之，爱之而穷其精微？中国人之精神，既贵且要，当勿轻之、鄙之、毁之。

言之将既，余有忠言，欲告诫诸位。若欲晓解余所释之中国人之精神，汝当谨记，其既非科学、哲学，亦非神学或“主义”，如勃拉瓦茨基夫人¹或贝赞特夫人²之“主义”。中国人之精神，亦非汝所谓之大脑活动之产物。余欲告知诸位，中国人之精神，乃一种心态、一种气质。若欲习之，切勿求其速成，如速记或世界语般；简言之，中国人之精神，乃一种心境，或言之以诗句：“心恬然而沐天恩。”

言之将既，敬请各位允余引华兹华斯之诗以作结语。华兹华斯，英国诗人，其诗颇有中国诗之遗风。其诗所言之“沐浴皇天恩，心自恬然静”之心境，甚得中国人之精神之精髓。余之所言概不能企及矣。此处所引诗句，乃心灵与理性之精妙结合，实乃真正中国人之写照；其所言之“沐浴皇天恩，心自恬然

1 勃拉瓦茨基夫人(H.P. Blavatsky, 1831~1891)，俄国女神智学家，1875年11月创接神论，1877年发《司殖女神之真面目》。1891年死时，信徒近十万，同年5月8日，被信徒定为白莲节。——译注

2 贝赞特夫人(A. Besant, 1847~1933)曾为自由思想者，1889年加入接神论协会，成为勃拉瓦茨基夫人之忠实信徒。——译注

静”，实乃真正中国人之难以名状之温良。华兹华斯¹《廷滕寺》诗曰：

心虔而笃信，造化似天恩。
人生多玄奥，世事滋负重。
沐浴皇天恩，心自恬然静。
重负可自卸，玄奥豁然明。
情意徐徐来，心渐暖融融。
皮囊似停息，血凝不再行。
身躯如似眠，灵魂已踟蹰。
万象谐且悦，力量厚无比。
目穆光自静，可洞万物象。

人若“沐浴皇天恩，心自恬然静”，则“可洞万物象”；此乃集想象与理性于一身矣，亦即中国人之精神是也。

¹ 华兹华斯（W. Wordsworth, 1770 ~ 1850），英国湖畔诗人，其诗以描写自然风光，田园景色，乡民村姑，少男少女闻名于世。文笔朴素清新，自然流畅，用词如其名Wordsworth（字字珠玑），开新鲜活泼浪漫主义诗风之先河。其诗歌风格如中国陶渊明之诗歌，故此引诗片段仿陶渊明诗而译。——译注

中国妇女

《圣经》曾有一论辩，下院曾引之为据，以证此议案^[96]：男若妻死，可娶其姨妹；言及此辩论，马太·阿诺德曰：“印欧种族，优雅聪慧，创缪斯之女神，设女性之崇拜，造圣母马利亚；闪米种族有俗制：国王贤明，妻可七百，妾可三百。当女人天性、理想女性及我辈与之关系遭人质疑之时，若揣此论辩，孰曾料，印欧种族竟得辩之定论于闪米种族欤^[97]？”

择此长句，旨在引出此语：“理想女性（female ideal）。”^[98]何谓中国之理想女性？中国人之理想女性，其本为何？中国人之于理想女性，其关系若何^[99]？对此深究之前，余意欲曰，马太·阿诺德所言之闪族国王贤明，妻妾成群，事虽不假，然由此而臆断闪族人、古希伯来人之女性观念甚为恐怖，对马太·阿诺德及其印欧种族，实属不敬。盖因古希伯来人之女性观念，如其文学所载，可知^[100]：“贞节贤惠女，孰能获其心？其价胜红玉。妻贤夫心安。天黑未破晓，起身做膳食，备妆为姊妹。手不离纺锤，指捋纱线杆。大雪纷纷下，心中不惧怕；家眷着暖衣，心喜乐融融。启齿显智慧，巧言心地善。持家侍老小，绝勿吃闲饭。子女长成人，称其为天使；夫心乐滋滋，天天把妻夸。”

余以为，闪族如此女性观念，竟既非恐怖，亦不甚差矣。然自当逊于印欧族之女神马利亚与缪斯，不如其轻柔雅致。然余以为，马利亚及缪斯，概属此类：奉之厅堂，悬之壁龕之偶像，此不可否矣；倘若：缪斯持帚庭院扫，马利三日入厨下^[101]；想必是：厅堂庭院满尘飞，羹汤当是梦中求。孔子曰：“道不远人，人之为道而远人，不可以为道¹。”余以为，古希伯来理想女性，虽不

1 出自《中庸》第十三章。——原注



(古希伯来之理想女性与中国之理想女性《孔雀东南飞》剧照)

贞节贤惠女，孰能获其心？
其价胜红玉，妻贤夫心安
天黑未破晓，起身做膳食
备妆为姊妹，手不离纺锤
……
夫心乐滋滋，天天把妻夸

鸡鸣扑欲曙，新妇起严妆
著我绣夫裙，事事四五通
足下躡丝履，头上玳瑁光
腰若流纨素，耳著名月珰
指如削葱根，口如含朱丹
纤纤作细步，精妙世无双

——译者图释

能与缪斯及马利亚相提并论^[102]，然较之于今日欧洲之理想女性，或较之于欧美之印欧族之理想女性，远胜焉。若于英格兰之女权者，概不值一提也。古希伯来之理想女性与现代小说之主人翁，如小仲马笔下之茶

花女 (Dame aux Camélias)，可两相比较。顺便一提，令人津津乐道之事，当属小仲马将身陷污泥之“马利亚”刻画为至美之理想女性；大凡译为中文之欧洲文学，能于今日颇究时兴之中国，大获成功，且成最畅销者，绝无仅有也。此法文小说之中文名曰《茶花女》，几经改编为戏剧，风行于中国大江南北之剧院。古希伯来之理想女性，有“大雪纷纷下，心中不惧怕；家眷着暖衣，心喜乐融融”之美德，然今日印欧族之理想女性，茶花女，孑然一身无牵挂，自暖无忧家眷寒；胸花怒放惊尘世，留垂千古纸上画；两相比较，何为真正之文明，何为虚伪虚饰之文明，相形见绌也。

非但如此，若古希伯来之理想女性，较之于今日中国之时尚妇女，若何？前者，“手不离纺锤，指捋纱线杆，持家侍老小，绝勿吃闲饭”；后者“手不离鲜花，娇指抚钢琴，身着小黄衣，满头镶金银”，花枝招展人群中，搔首媚

唱孔联会。两相比较，方知现代中国离真正之文明相去渐远矣。其故者，盖因女性乃一民族文明之花，文明之国之花也。

话归要题。何谓中国之理想女性？余答曰，中国之理想女性者，如古希伯来之理想女性也；略有不同者，待我后述之。二者^[103]皆非“奉之厅堂，悬之壁龕”之偶像，亦无须男人毕生拥之奉之。中国之理想女性，乃手持扫帚、操持家务之贤内助也。其实，中国汉字“婦”，由二偏旁部首组成，一曰女，一曰帚。言之以余所谓之制服语，古代中国人谓“婦”为“主中饋”^[104]。凡真正而非虚饰之文明者，无论^[105]古希伯来人、古希腊人，抑或罗马人，其真正之理想女性与中国人之理想女性，莫不相同焉：真正之理性女性者，概莫不过于家庭主妇，如德文之Hausfrau，英文之house wife，法文之la dame de menage or chatelaine^[106]。

余将细论如下。中国之理想女性，可溯之于远古。简言之，曰三从四德。何谓四德？四德^[107]，曰：首为“妇德”、次为“妇言”、三为“妇容”、四为“妇功”。妇德，不必才明绝异，然清闲贞静，守节整齐，行己有耻，动静有法也。妇言，不必辩口利辞，然择辞而说，不道恶语，时然后言，不厌于人也。妇容，不必颜色美丽，然盥浣尘秽，服饰鲜洁，沐浴以时，身不垢辱也。妇功，不必工巧过人，然专心纺绩，不好戏笑，洁齐酒食，以奉宾客也。以上四德，皆载于班昭之《女诫》；班昭，号曰曹大家，乃汉朝大史学家班固之妹。

何谓三从？三从者，实为三种自我牺牲或“为他人而活”者也，亦即未嫁从父，既嫁从夫，夫死从子^[108]是也。其实，中国妇女，既非为己而活、亦非为社会而活；既非为当改良者而活，亦非为当天足会^[109]会长而活；既非为成圣人而活，亦非为行善于世而活；做孝女、当贤妻、为良母，此三者，乃中国妇女人生之主要旨归也。

余有一外国女性朋友，曾写信于我，问曰，中国人是否如穆斯林一般，以为妇人无灵魂。余回信告之曰，我辈中国人，并非以为妇人无灵魂；反之，以为妇人，尤真正之中国妇女，无自我而已。言及中国妇女之无自我，余意欲就此难题多言一二。余以为，此问题非但难矣，且欲使受西人教育者晓然，几不可能也。此难题者，中国之纳妾制也。纳妾之题，恐言之甚难，若公然论之则危矣。然如一英诗人所言，曰：

“傻子无畏莽撞行，天使见之惧三分。”

余欲尽力答此疑问，曰，中国之纳妾，非常人想象之不道德，其故何也？

若于纳妾一事，首先，余欲曰，盖因中国妇女之无私，中国之纳妾，非但可行，且并非不道德。详述之前，余欲告之汝，曰，中国之纳妾，非指可多妻也。按中国律法，男娶妻只可一人。女若欣悦，男可有侍女或妾多人。于日本，侍女或妾，称手靠(te-kaki)，或眼靠(me-kaki)，意即人累，而眼有所依，手有所靠也。余尝曰，中国之理想女性，无须夫君毕生抚之宠之。中国之理想女性，实乃为夫而活之妻，无私之妻也。是故，夫若病，或操劳过度，或身心疲惫，则需侍女，亦即手靠眼靠，而恢复其身，以应生活及工作之需。于中国，妻则足其夫之需求。于欧美，夫病或急需之时，妻可为夫移椅，为夫呈上山羊奶。二者实乃理同而无二致焉。于中国，男可享有多侍多妾之福，其故也，盖其妻之无私、责任感，亦即自我牺牲之责任感是也。然或问曰：“妇女可无私、可自我牺牲，其故何也？男岂不可自我牺牲乎？”至此，余答曰，男人非不可自我牺牲矣。于中国，夫辛苦撑持家庭，如若为士人，夫非但有撑家之责，亦须尽其责于君于国，甚或献其生矣，岂非自我牺牲乎？康熙帝临终，颁诏于病榻，曰：“朕，及至此时，方得晓悟，为君也，其牺牲大也。”言既至此，余插言一二。濮兰德、巴克豪斯，于其新近所出著作，描其状，曰，康熙实乃奢淫、身宽体大、孤独无助、令人恐怖；其死也，皆由其妻妾子女无数所致之故矣。

诚然，纳妾之于濮兰德、巴克豪斯之流现代人，确不可思议，故谓之曰，令人恐怖，卑劣肮脏；此流人等，若不做如此病态之想象，谅必亦不可想象。此当题外之话。余意欲曰，大凡真正之男人——上及九五之尊、下至苦力车夫——，大凡真正之妇女，人之一生，莫不谓牺牲是也^[10]。中国妇女所牺牲者，乃无私奉献其一生于其夫是也；中国男人所牺牲者，乃不惜一切庇护其家之妻妾子女是也。其实，大凡谓中国之纳妾不道德者，余欲谓之曰，余以为，欧人驾车街头，勾搭无助之妇女，寻一夜之欢，翌晨弃之于巷尾；中国之达官贵族，纳群妾于家，较之于如此欧人，孰更自私乎？孰更不道德乎^[11]？中国之达官贵族，纳妾者或可谓自私，然其竟可为之供庇护之所及生活之必需。其实，若谓达官贵族为自私，余曰，架车之欧人，非但自私，且怯懦也。路斯肯¹曰：“真正之战士，其荣誉也，非在其杀敌多少，而在其随时献身之意愿。”与此同

1 路斯肯(J. Ruskin 1819~1900)，今译罗斯金。见辜鸿铭文言文献《纲常名教定国伦》。——译注

理，余曰，妇女，亦即中国真正之妇女，其荣誉也，非但爱其夫、忠其夫，且唯为其夫而活也。其实，“无我教”，实乃中国妇女、尤乃淑女或贤妻之道也；“忠诚教”，乃中国男人之道，中国君子之道也。君子之道，余已作释义于他文。外国人唯有晓悟此二教，即“无我教”与“忠诚教”，方可晓解何谓真正之中国男人、何谓真正之中国女人。

然或诘余曰：“其爱，何在？男人既有爱妻，岂可分心而爱其他女人于同一屋乎？”如此问题，余答曰，可也，为何不可欤？男人爱其妻与否，盖不能以此验之：毕生伏于妻之脚而宠之。男人爱其妻与否，当如是验之：男人是否急切且尽其所能，庇护其妻，勿伤害其妻，勿伤害妻之情感。如今，若携陌生之女人入室^[112]，必伤其妻，必伤其妻之感情也。然于此，余曰，盖因余所谓之“无我教”，妻免遭伤害。盖因中国妇女之绝对之无私，妻见夫携其他女人入室，亦不觉伤也。换言之，于中国，盖因妻之无私，而使其夫，允其夫纳妾而不觉伤也。至此，容我释之。于中国，绅士——中国真正之君子，决无未经妻允，而擅自纳妾者；淑女——中国真正之淑女，无论何时，若其夫有纳妾之正理，莫不允夫之需也。夫不纳妾者亦多，余所知者，皆因人至中年而无后，夫欲纳妾，然妻不允，故作罢矣。余所知者，甚或有如此事例，曰，有一夫妇，妻病且身况极差，促其夫纳妾，夫恐妾伤其妻，而拒之；然妻未经夫允，悄然为夫买一妾，且迫其夫与妾合欢。其实，于中国，夫护妻而使之免受妾伤者，乃夫对妻之护爱也^[113]。于中国，夫纳妾，与其曰夫不爱其妻，毋宁曰夫爱其妻心切，而有纳妾之特权与自由，且无须忧其有滥用特权与自由之嫌。此种自由，特权，如今时有滥用，尤其于今日混乱之中国，男人之廉耻感每况愈下。然即或如此，余以为，于中国，允夫纳妾，可护其妻，实乃夫对妻之爱，妻对夫之爱也；余必补言曰，实乃得体之爱，真正中国绅士之至美之情操^[114]。然若于欧美人而言，一室可容二女，且不致室成斗鸡之所，或成地狱者，万一之得，余亦有所疑也。简言之，真正之中国绅士，盖因其所有之得体，至美之情操，其纳妾，留宿侍女，带手靠眼靠于一室，其妻亦不觉伤也。概言之，纳妾于中国，非但可行，且非不道德，盖因中国妇女之无我教，淑女或贤妻绝对之无私，夫对妻之爱，得体之爱，夫之至美之情操之故也。孔子曰：“君子之道，造端乎夫妇。”

于中国，夫爱妻，真也、深也。欲使持疑者信之，余可提供例证无数于中国之历史及文学。鉴于此，余本欲引挽诗一首，且将其译出；此诗乃唐代诗人

元稹悼亡妻而作。然余亦有憾事：原诗过长，本文及此已甚冗长，若全引之，恐有不妥焉^[115]。然若欲解中国人，晓知中国人之深情，亦即真正之爱，而非今人误解之性爱；欲体会^[116]夫爱妻之情深意切，当读元稹之挽诗；盖凡唐诗诗集无不辑录此诗。此挽诗题曰《遣悲怀》。鉴于不能引此长诗，余欲另引四行诗一首而代之。此诗乃现代诗人所作，该诗人曾为已故总督张之洞之幕僚¹。诗人携妻随行，至武昌而居，多年之后，妻亡甚悲，然不得已须即离武昌。动身启



元稹《遣悲怀》

昔日戏言身后事，今朝都到眼前来
衣裳已施行看尽，针线犹存未忍开
尚想旧情怜婢仆，也曾因梦运钱财
诚如此恨人人有，贫贱夫妻百事哀
闲坐悲君亦自悲，百年都是几多时
邓攸无子寻知命，潘岳悼亡犹费词
同穴皆冥何处望，他生缘会更难期
惟将终夜长开眼，报道平生未展眉



丁尼生《渤海声声》

渤海声声似哭泣，海波湍注冲苍碧！
口张舌举诉衷肠，思绪如潮万千阙
渔家男童今何在，昔日呼妹嬉海潮！
船家水手何处觅，歌声悠扬海湾飘
江船肃穆归盼盼，夜泊山村凹口渡！
但愿重执子之手，不闻君声在何处
渤海声声似哭泣，苍岩脚下作坟地！
柔情岁月渐行远，盼君归来竟成忆

——译者图释

程之时，成挽诗一首，如下：

此恨人人有，
百年能有几？
痛哉长江水，
同渡不同归¹。

若用英文达其义，曰：

*This grief is common to everyone,
One hundred years how many can attain ?
But tis heart breaking, o waters of the Yangtze,
Together we came, but together we return not.*

较之于以下所引丁尼生之诗，此诗之情，虽不够沉，但亦深也。

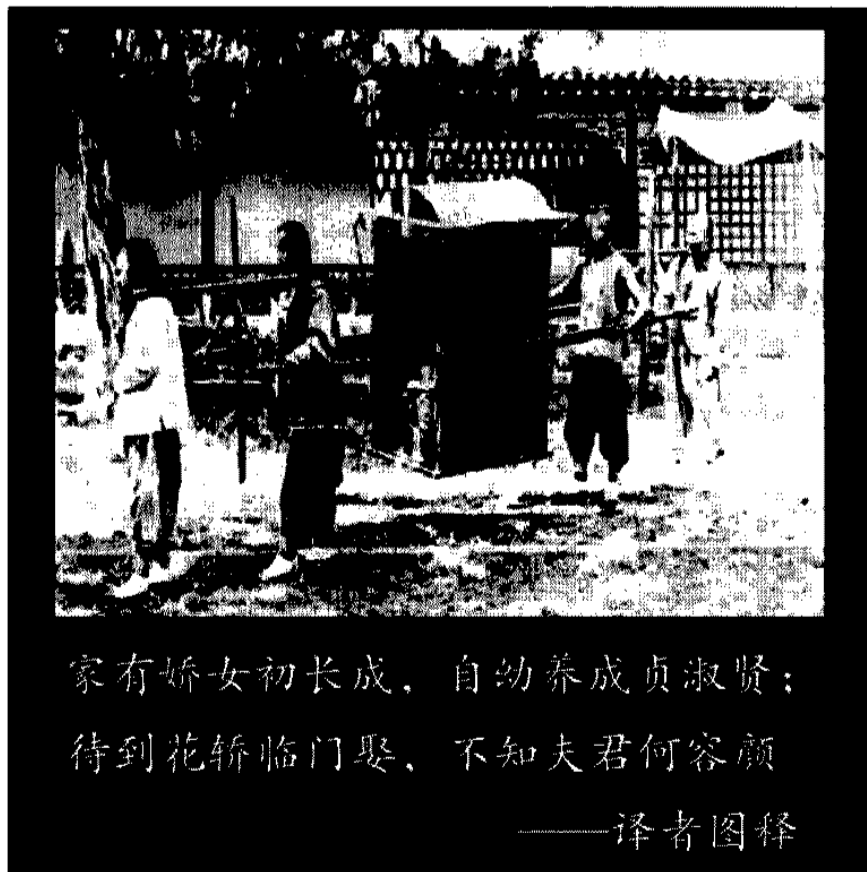
渤泮声声似哭泣^[117]，
灞波瀾注冲苍碧！

.....

但愿重执子之手，
不闻君声在何处。

然今日之中国，妻之爱于夫也，如何？余以为，无证而可自明矣。于中国，新娘新郎，按世规，婚前勿相见。即或如此，新娘新郎依然相爱，此可见于一唐代四行诗，曰：

洞房昨夜停红烛，
待晓堂前拜舅姑。
妆罢低声问夫婿：
画眉深浅入时无²？



家有娇女初长成，自幼养成贞淑贤；
待到花轿临门娶，不知夫君何容颜
——译者图释

1 此诗乃辜鸿铭为悼其日本亡妾吉田贞子而作。——译注

2 此诗是唐代诗人朱庆余所作，题为《近试水上部》。——译注

*In the bridal chamber last night stood red candles;
Waiting for the morning to salute the father and mother in the hall,
Toilet finished, in a low voice she asks her sweet- heart husband,
Are the shades in my painted eyebrows quite a la mode.*

欲解以上引诗，须先谈中国之婚俗。于中国，合法之婚姻须行“六礼”：其礼一，“问名”，即正式提婚；其礼二，“纳彩”，即收受丝织赠礼，以示婚约；其礼三，“定期”，即定婚期；其礼四，“迎亲”，即迎娶新娘；其礼五，“奠雁”，即奠酒雁前，以示山盟海誓，其故者，盖因雁乃最为忠贞之配偶；其礼六，“庙见”。六礼之中，最后二礼，乃至要之礼，余将详述之。

其礼四，迎亲。今日余之家乡尚可见此古俗，除此外，多已免矣；其故也，乃此礼多致夫婿负重。新娘已不再迎娶，而谓送女入夫室。新娘既至，新郎立门而迎，开轿引新娘，入厅堂。新娘新郎拜天地；所谓拜天地，新娘新郎，面对厅堂大门，跪于苍天之前。厅堂置一桌、桌上立红烛一对，夫洒酒于地，地前置新娘随身携带之雁。此礼谓曰“奠雁”，亦即奠酒雁前，以示山盟海誓：男誓之曰忠诚，女誓之曰忠贞；男女之誓，如眼前之双雁，坚贞不渝。即刻起，男女方可谓，亲密爱人，天作之合。此天作之合，只可谓道德法，即君子法之允，男女互表忠贞而已，然未获得公民法之承认。是故，奠雁之礼，可谓之曰，道德婚姻，或宗教婚姻。

奠雁之后，新娘新郎行交拜之礼。新娘立厅堂右侧，先跪于新郎之前，新



家有喜事勿忘祖，每逢佳节祠堂聚；
新娶娇娘告世人，来年添丁香火续
——译者图释

郎亦相对而跪；而后互换其位。新郎立于新娘之位，跪向新娘，新娘回跪。及此，余欲曰，此般交拜之礼，足以证明，男女之间、夫妇之间，完全平等。

如前所述，誓约之礼，可谓之曰道德之婚姻或宗教之婚姻；其有别于三天后之公民婚姻之礼。于道德婚姻或宗教婚姻，男女成夫妇于道德法或上帝之前。此般婚约仅属男女之约定。于中国，大凡社会及公民生活之中，家可取代国。国仅司法庭之职；家，即余所谓之道德或宗教婚姻，断无男女婚姻之律法裁决权。公民婚姻之礼，行于三日。其实，婚姻之首日及至三日，新娘不得引介于他人，且不得露面，或为新郎家人所窥见。

此时，新娘新郎同居二日，亦可曰，非法同居，然竟已享夫妇之乐。三日，乃中国婚姻之最后一礼，即“庙见”，或谓之曰公民婚姻。公民婚姻须行于三日，其故者，盖因《礼记》之制也¹。然如今为简便故，当日即行此礼，即行庙见之礼；若其家族之祖庙，位于附近，自当行礼于祖庙。然至于居城镇、且附近无祖庙之人，庙见之礼多行于他人祖庙或祠堂，即或该祖庙或祠堂之主人，虽名望有佳，然富贵不足。此般祖庙，或庙堂，或圣祠，大多设有灵台一座，或墙贴有红色纸片。此处实乃孔教之教堂。所谓孔教教堂，亦即中国国教之教堂；余于他文尝曰，孔教之教堂，如同耶稣教，实乃国教之教堂。庙见之礼，始于新郎之父，跪于祖庙灵台之前；若无父，则家中至亲长者代行此礼，向祖宗亡灵宣告，家有子孙已娶妻入室。继而新郎新娘，依次跪于祖宗灵位之前。自此时起，于道德，于上帝，于家，于国，于公民法而言，男女终成夫妇。是故，中国婚姻之庙见之礼，余谓之曰，社会或公民婚姻。于社会或公民婚姻之前，此女，即新娘，按《礼记》之制，乃不法之妇也²。若新娘暴亡于祠祭之前，按《礼记》，不得入祖坟，且其灵位亦不得入祖庙。

由此可见，中国合法之公民婚约，并非男女之事，而乃妇与夫家之事；女虽嫁，然非嫁其夫，而嫁其夫家是也。于中国，中国之太太，若有名片，称名概不可写为：某某夫人，如辜鸿铭夫人，而应为：归晋安冯氏衿衽。中国之婚约，实乃妇与其夫家之约；若无夫家之允，夫妇任一概不可毁约。余欲曰，此乃中国与欧美之婚姻根本之区别。欧美人之婚姻，我辈中国人称之曰情人婚姻；此般婚姻之约，皆男女二人间之爱情而定；然中国人之婚姻，如余尝曰，

1 《礼记》曰：“三日庙见。”——译注

2 《礼记》曰：“不庙见不成妇。”——译注

乃社会婚姻，而非夫妇之约，实乃妇与夫家之婚姻。妇非仅有责于夫，且有责于夫家，其责由家而推及至社会、社会秩序或公民秩序、终至国家。最后，容余指申己见，中国盖因有此婚姻公民观，家庭和睦稳固，社会或公民秩序稳定和谐；国家持久不衰也。是故，容余申言于此。唯有欧美之人，深晓公民生活之指要，深晓公民观之精微要义，方知有社会之稳定，公民秩序之和谐，国家之稳固也。公民者，非为己而活也，其始而为家而活，继而为公民秩序而活，终而为国而活。此乃公民之精微要义¹¹⁸¹。如今所见欧美列国，无论男女，皆无真正之公民生活观，却有议会及统治机器，如此之国，汝若欣悦，可谓之曰大商行，若于战时可谓之曰，土匪帮或海盗帮。称之曰国，不配也。据实以告，余欲深究于此，曰，国乃大商行，如此虚伪之国家观念，只重大股东之物质私利；国乃匪帮团伙，如此虚伪之国家观念，归根结底，乃欧洲可怕战争之根源。简言之，若无真正之公民生活观，概无真正之国家；既无真正之国家，何来文明可言。于中国人而言，男不婚则无家，无家则无栖身之处，自当不可成爱国者；若自称爱国者，我辈中国人，可谓之曰，强盗爱国者也。实言相告，欲成真正之国家或公民秩序之观念者，必先有真正之家庭观念；欲有真正之家庭或家庭生活之观念者，必先有真正之婚姻观；所谓婚姻者，非情人之婚姻，而乃余以上所言之公民婚姻是也。

言归正传。至此，汝可明此般诗句之精微要义乎？“洞房昨夜停红烛，待晓堂前拜舅姑。妆罢低声问夫婿：画眉深浅入时无？”由此可见，汝可洞晓，余所言之中国夫妇之间，亦有爱情，即或婚前不相见，相见待到三日后。然汝若以为，此般之爱不够深，且读如下诗两行：

当君怀归日，
是妾断肠时。

The day when you think of coming home .

Ah ! then my heart -will already be broken.

莎士比亚剧作《皆大欢喜》¹之剧中人，罗瑟琳谓西莉娅言曰：“妹妹娇小真

1 此处采用朱生豪译名。——译注

可爱，且知姊姊多心思。情意切切口难开，爱深海枯不见底。”于中国，夫妇之爱，或夫妻之爱，可堪比罗瑟琳之爱于情郎，“情深意切口难开，爱深可至海湾底”。

然二者毕竟有别也。余尝曰，中国人之至美理想女性，有别于古希伯来之理想女性。《所罗门之歌》有希伯来情人，如是表白对太太之爱：“如此美丽我之爱：美丽堪比苔尔查，清秀如耶路撒冷，恐怖犹似军旗展。”即或今日，凡见过如此美丽之黑眼犹太女人者，皆以为，如此刻画古希伯来情人，实乃古希伯来种族之理想女性之真实写照。然余欲曰，中国人之理想女性，无论肉体，抑或精神，断无恐怖之处^[119]。即或中国历史之“一顾倾人城，再顾倾人国”之“海伦”，其美可倾国倾城，如此可怕，实乃譬语而已。余曾写论文一篇，题曰《中国人之精神》，其中曾提及一英文字gentle，并以之而概要中国式人之整体印象。若此词可概括真正之中国人且确也，则用之概真正之中国妇女甚切也。实言之，真正中国人之温文尔雅，言之于中国妇女，则成甜蜜之温柔。中国妇女之温柔、柔顺，犹如米尔顿《失乐园》之夏娃，谓其夫曰：

上帝汝之法，
汝乃我之法；
知识莫求多，
无知知荣福。

确然如是，中国人之理想女性，有如此完美之特性，大凡他种民族，无论希伯来、希腊、即或罗马，概莫能寻焉。中国之理想女性，如此完美无瑕、神圣温柔，唯耶稣文明，迨至其顶峰之时，即文艺复兴之时，方可觅得焉。若汝尝览薄伽丘《十日谈》，格瑞塞达之故事，汝可窥真正耶稣教之理想女性，所以自当明中国理想女性完美恭顺之意旨，自当明此种神圣、纯粹无私温柔之要义。简言之，言及此种神圣特性，真正耶稣教之理想女性，与中国之理想女性，实乃大同小异^[120]焉。若细加比对，则知耶稣教之圣母马利亚，有别于中国佛教之观音，然与中国艺人刻画之女妖，何其形似矣。此乃耶稣教之理想女性与中国之理想女性之异也。耶稣教之马利亚可爱温柔，中国之理想女性温柔可爱。耶稣教之马利亚优雅轻妙，中国理想女性轻妙优雅。然中国理想女性，非仅于此，且有法文字“debonair”之韵味。欲知法文debonair所达之温雅妩媚之

义，必先回到古希腊：

O ubi campi Spercheosque et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis Taygeta!

（“无论原野、斯佩尔克斯河，即或泰奇斯托山麓，乃拉哥尼少女心醉狂舞酒神之地！”）

亦即，欲见拉哥尼少女，必先去德沙利原野，去斯佩尔克河流经之地，到泰奇托斯山麓，此乃少女跳酒神舞之地。

宋代理学家，又称孔教禁欲主义者。余欲曰，自宋朝起，中国理学家使儒教日益狭隘，且僵化；由此，儒教精神，亦即中华文明之精神，亦惨遭庸俗化；此乃自当毋庸讳言。自此，中国女性已失法文debonair所达之温雅妩媚之韵味。中国之理想女性，唯于今之日本，可见矣；日本之女性，迄今仍存有唐代纯粹之中华文明。法文debonair所达之温雅妩媚，与中国理想女性之神圣温柔，二者交接，顿显日本女性名贵之气；迄今，即或最穷之日本女性，亦透出此种气质。

言及debonair所达温雅妩媚之特性，请容余引马太·阿诺德，于英法女性两相对照时所言。英国新教之理想女性，呆板拘谨；法国天主教之理想女性，灵巧娇嫩。毛利斯·盖兰，法国诗人，其妹欧根尼·盖兰，备受人宠。《艾玛·达萨姆小姐》乃一诗，其作者乃一英国妇女，马太·阿诺德将欧根尼与诗作者两相对照，曰：“法国妇女，乃朗格多克之天主教徒；英国妇女，乃马格特之新教教徒。马格特，英国新教之形象，呆板拘泥之特性，尽见于其无韵无味之论述，尽见于其一切丑陋不合时宜之中，容我补缀一言，尽见于其予人裨益之中。此乃两种生活之外象。一者，乃朗古多克圣诞节之马黛尔·盖兰之小圣诞（Nadalet¹），复活节之泥地祷告，圣徒般日常诵读；一者，乃英国达萨姆小姐之新教：赤裸、空泛、狭隘之仪规。达萨姆，莺声细语，婉转悠扬，与马格特于霍雷广场之礼拜者组成教堂合唱团，吟唱激昂之歌词：

“我主耶稣，晓知其血在流动、心在跳；此乃‘永恒之生命’，此乃‘人间之天国’。”

然其师者，主日学校之年轻女先生，其所唱之“托马斯·罗——尊贵阶层之领袖”；两相比较，实乃天壤之别矣。两种生活，搁置地壤颇相似，始入天堂现原形！如此差异，或曰，事非本质，无关紧要。曰是非本质，然；曰无

1 自中世纪起，普罗旺斯人便有庆祝小圣诞（Nadalet）之习俗。在平安夜前八天，当地人每天都会奏出传统的普罗旺斯小调，让Nadalet旋律响遍普罗旺斯。——译注

关紧要，不然矣。受英国之仪规之辖，宗教生活已无温雅妩媚可言；此绝非无关紧要之事，而实乃真正之劣势。此务必化解，勿遗之他人。

最后，余欲论中国理想女性之至要特质。有此特质，中国之理想女性，有别于他种民族或他国之理想女性；且无论古今，其别也，尤显矣。确然如是，中国女性之特质，乃一切民族或自称文明国家之理想女性之共同特质。然于此，余欲曰，此种特质，中国理想女性，已使之及至完美，世界其他地方，概莫能寻焉。余谈及之特质，可言之以二字，曰“幽闲”。前文，余曾引曹大家之语，将此二字英译为：modesty

与cheerfulness。汉字“幽”，其字面义曰，文静羞涩、含蓄玄妙；“闲”，字面义曰，悠然安心、闲暇无忧。至于“幽”，英文字 modesty（谦恭、淳朴、害羞），bashfulness（害羞、忸怩），只可达其大义。然德文字 Sittsamkeit（羞涩、忸怩）颇近其义。然恐法文字 pudeur（腼腆、含羞）最近其义。余曰，法文之 pudeur，英文之 bashfulness，汉字之幽，乃一切女性之本质特性也。女性 pudeur 之素养愈多，愈具女性之韵味，即女性娇媚，愈易成至美之女性或中国之理想女性。反之，若女性弃汉字“幽”之秉性，失含羞之情状，亦即弃女性之素养，女性之韵味，则女性之淳香芬芳，亦必随风而尽，卒成行尸走肉之躯骸而已。是故，盖因有法文之 pudeur 及汉字“幽”所达之特质，中国理想女性倍感，或自当备感及晓悟，抛头露面有失体统。按中国人之正统观念，大庭广众之下，登台吟唱、乃卑鄙下流，不宜之举，何况搔首弄唱孔联会。总而言之，中国之理想女性，既有幽闲之气质、亦有幽静之仁爱；既有御花花世界诱惑之敏感，亦有腼腆含羞之意态。盖因如此，中国妇女，可溢出一种芳香，其香远



《中国人之理想女性》

关关雎鸠，在河之洲；窈窕淑女 君子好逑
——译者图释

胜紫罗兰，远胜难以名状之兰花，世之他种民族，概莫有此芳香。

余以为，世之最古老之情歌者，载于《诗经》是也。两年前，余曾译其中一节，刊于《北京每日新闻》。中国之理想女性，可描绘如是：

<i>The birds are calling in the air,</i>	(关关雎鸠，)
<i>An islet by the river-side ;</i>	(在河之洲；)
<i>The maid is meek and debonair,</i>	(窈窕淑女，)
<i>Oh! Fit to be our Prince 's bride.</i>	(君子好逑。)

“窈窕”二字与“幽闲”同义。“窈”者，其字面义曰文静、温柔、含羞；“窕”者，媚俏、温雅；“淑女”，纯洁、贞洁之少女或妇人也。此诗乃中国最古之情诗。由此可见，中国之理想女性，必备之要素有三：其一，文静之仁爱；其二，含羞或腼腆之意态及debonair所达之难以名状之温雅妩媚；其三，纯洁或贞洁。简言之，真正或真实之中国妇女，贞洁高雅、羞怯娇媚、腼腆含羞，媚俏迷人、温雅妩媚。唯此方可谓中国之理想女性，真正之“中国妇女”。

余尝译儒家经典之《中庸》为*The Couduct of Life* (《人生指南》)，其第一部分，涵盖儒家人生准则之教义。其中有关家庭之描述，曰：

<i>When wife and children dwell in unison,</i>	妻子好合，
<i>'Tis like to harp and lute well-played in tune,</i>	如鼓琴瑟，
<i>When brothers live in concord and in peace,</i>	兄弟既翕，
<i>The strain of harmony shall never cease.</i>	和乐且湛。
<i>Make then your Home thus always gay and bright.</i>	宜尔室家，
<i>Your wife and dear ones shall be your delight.</i>	乐尔妻孥。

此般家庭，乃中国之人间天堂也；推之及国，中华帝国，乃公民秩序之国，乃真正之人间天堂也，亦即天国赐福于中华大地、赐福于中国人民是也。是故，于中国，享有君子之誉者，中华帝国之卫士也，其职在维护公民秩序，其所恃者，廉耻感、忠教是也。与此同理，中国之妇女，乃中国家庭、人间天堂之守护天使也，其所恃者，温雅妩媚、纯情贞洁、腼腆羞涩、一言以蔽之，无我教也。

中国语言^[121]

大凡欲习中国语言之外国人，皆有同感，曰习中国语言甚难矣。然中国语言，果难习欤？欲答此问，必先明何谓中国语言。众所周知，中国之语言可分二类（余所指者非方言也），曰，口头语言与书面语言。顺便一问，中国人固持如此二分，即口头语言与书面语言，其故为何？其故如下陈述。昔日欧洲，其拉丁语有口头语与书面语之分，然今日中国，其人可分二等，曰受教育者与未受教育者。俗语或口语乃未受教育者专用之语，然书面语乃受教育者之专用。如是以来，半受教育者，中国未曾有也。余谓中国人固持语言如是二分，盖因此故。一国若有半受教育者，其果若何也^[122]？试看今日之欧美。自拉丁语废，欧美之语言，口头书面不分，界限不明，故生半受教育者之群体，其与受教育者同说一语言，谈文明、谈自由、谈中立、谈黠武、谈泛斯拉夫主义，然谈而不明其义。或曰，普鲁士黠武者，文明之危险也。然余以为，今日文明之真正危险者，实乃半受教育者，实乃今日世界半受教育之群氓也。此当题外之话。

言归正传。中国之语言，果难习欤？余曰，亦难，亦不难^[123]。首先，以口语为例^[124]。余以为，汉语口语，非不难矣；较之于余所通之半打语言，世界最易习之语，除马来语外，非汉语口语莫属也。其故者，盖因汉语口语极易也；汉语既无格无时之标志，亦无规则与不规则动词之变化，实言之，即无文法可依，或无规则可循。然或谓余曰，盖因汉语口语极易，且无规则、无文法，此乃难学之故。然事非如此。马来语，如汉语一般，无文法可依，无规则可循；然凡学马来语之欧人，皆不觉其难学。是故，若于汉语及中国人而

论，汉语之俗语或口语不难学矣。然对受教育之欧人而言，尤其对来中国之半受教育之欧人而言，汉语俗语或口语极难矣。何也？余以为，其故者，盖因汉语之口语或俗语，乃未受教育者之语言，实乃孩童之语言也。众所周知，博学之语言学家与汉学家侃侃而谈汉语何等难学之时，欧洲之孩童学汉语口语或俗语却乃轻而易举之事；此可谓，二论相订，是非乃见^[125]。余曰，汉语，汉语之俗语，实乃孩童之语言。是故，余有良诚谆告外国友人：如若孩童，非但可入天堂、亦可通晓汉语。其次，以书面语（汉语书面语）为例^[126]。请允余先谈汉语书面语之种类，再作细论。传教士将汉语书面语一分为二^[127]，曰，简易文理与繁难文理。然余以为，此分亦有不足之处。余以为，汉语书面语，切当之分有三，曰，素服语、制服语、礼服语^[128]。若欲言之以拉丁语，可称之曰，*litera communis* or *litera officinalis* (日常或商用语)，*litera classica minor* (初级古汉语)，*litera classica major* (高级古汉语)。

今自称或被称为汉学家之外国人甚多。三十年前，余写有一文，刊于《字林西报》，此文论及中国学。余尝曰¹：“今日居中国之西人弥多，或收几省之方言，或集百十之野谚，汇成而付梓^[129]，而后冠以中国学家而自居。当然，名可自冠，无关要者，按治外则例^[130]，凡居中国之英人，可泰然自称孔子，遂其愿而已矣！”余欲曰，中国文学盖以礼服语而成，中华文明所以存焉；礼服语亦即余所谓之高雅古典汉语。凡以中国学家自居之外国人，明中华文明之财富者，能几何矣^[131]？余谓之文明财富者，盖因余坚信，中国文学之高雅古典汉语，有去芜存精、脱胎换骨之功用也；言之以马太·阿诺德评荷马诗之语，曰：“可去人之芜而存人之精：可脱其胎，且换其骨矣。”确然如是，余以为，今欧洲之所谓爱国者，实乃正持戈鏖战，茹毛饮血之野兽，如能习中国文学之高雅古典汉语，卒能蝶变成和平、温良及文明之士矣^[132]。何谓文明？言之以路斯肯之语，曰，人之去粗、去暴、去蛮、去斗者，则成文明之士。言归正传。中国之书面语，果难习欤？余之答也，依然：亦难，亦不难矣。余以为，即或谓之礼服语，或高雅古典汉语，亦不难习也。其故者，盖鉴于其极易矣，如口语或俗语般。敬请允我，信手举一例而释之^[133]。余所举之例，乃一中国唐代四行诗；此诗刻画中国人民抗匈奴卫文明之壮举。匈奴者，中国北方之半文明民

1 “余尝曰”是指后面这句话，见《中国学》（一）。——译注

族也，其天性野蛮残暴。诗呈于此。

誓扫匈奴不顾身，
五千貂锦丧胡尘。
可怜无定河边骨，
犹是春闺梦里人¹。

此诗直译如下：

*Swear sweep the Huns not care self,
Five thousand embroidery sable perish desert dust;
Alas! Wuting riverside bones,
Still are Spring chambers dream inside men!*

此诗可意译如是：

*They vowed to sweep the heathen hordes
From off their native soil or die:
Five thousand tassel'd knights, sable-clad,
All dead now on the desert lie.
Alas! the white bones that bleach cold
Far off along the Wuting stream,
Still come and go as living men
Home somewhere in the loved one's dream.*

英文译诗颇有臃肿之嫌。原诗译诗，二者相订，原诗之优即见矣。原诗遣词及风格，质而不鄙^[134]，诗意实而无华。原诗虽言简，然意赅矣。

欲晓中国文学此般特性，亦即言简意赅，必先览希伯来之《圣经》。希伯

1 此诗乃唐代诗人陈陶所作，题曰《陇西行》。——译注

来《圣经》，乃世界文学最深刻著作之一，然其言甚为质朴。今摘其一节为例：“昔日忠诚沦为妓！高官堕落乱贼臣；人人索贿要馈礼；孤儿冤案无人问；寡妇哭救官不理^{135]}。”此为一先知所言，其亦曰：“吾欲孩童为高官，翻身治人人受压；行傲意恣待老者，傲对高尚曾卑下。”此景如是！此景如是恐怖之民族^{136]}。此般情景，汝曾见乎？其言是实，欲得此般文学，唯希伯来可觅也，唯古希腊文学可觅也，唯中国文学可觅也^{137]}。然希伯来语与古希腊语今已殆矣，汉语生机勃勃而日盛，迄今仍为四万万人民所用。

概而言之，口头汉语也，书面汉语也，或甚难矣。难则难矣，非错杂^{138]}之故也。然诸多欧语，如拉丁语与法语，甚难矣；其故也，规则繁杂是也。汉语难也，然非错杂故，乃深奥故也。其难者，盖因其言简约而其意精微是也；此乃汉语难习之故也。此言是实，如余尝云，汉语乃心灵之语，诗意之语。盖因此故，古代中国人，其散文之书虽短，然读之亦如诗矣。欲晓书面汉语，尤余所谓之礼服语，必综尔天赋：心也，脑也，灵魂也，智慧也；凡此种种方可而行。

盖因此故，凡受现代西式教育者，颇觉汉语难学。现代西式教育，其能发人者，唯天赋也，亦即智力是也。换言之，汉语之于受现代西式教育者确难习矣。其故者，盖因汉语乃深奥之语，然现代西式教育，其旨在重量而轻质，故受此教育者易见浅薄。至于半受教育者，即或如余所言之口头汉语，亦甚难矣；其可一时而富，成人之美谈；然欲使其通晓高级古典汉语，犹教驼穿针矣。其故亦如是矣。书面汉语，乃真正之有教养者专用之语。总之，书面汉语，其难者，盖因其乃真正之受教育者专用之语也。然真正之教育甚难，如同希腊谚语所言极是，曰：“美者，则难矣。”

言即既矣，请允余再举一例，以证余所云极是，亦即素朴深沉之情见于汉语，见于初级古汉语，见于制服语之文学。此例乃现代诗人所作之四行诗，其诗有感于新年除夕之夜。此诗汉文如是：

示内¹

莫道家贫卒岁难，
北风曾过几番寒；
明年桃柳堂前树，

1 此诗乃辜鸿铭为妻而作。——译注

还汝春光满眼看。

此诗字对字之译文如是：

*Don't say home poor pass year hard,
North wind has blown many times cold,
Next year peach willow hall front trees,
Pay-back you Spring light full eyes see.*

此诗意译如是：

TO MY WIFE

*Fret not, — though poor we yet can pass the year;
Let the north wind blow ne' er so chill and drear,
Next year when peach and willow are in bloom,
You'll yet see Spring and sunlight in our home.*

另有一首广为流传之诗作为证。此诗为杜甫所作。杜甫，唐代诗人，中国之华兹华斯也。余先示其英语译文，如是：

MEETING WITH AN OLD FRIEND

*In life, friends seldom are brought near;
Like stars, each one shines in its sphere.
Tonight, — oh! what a happy night,
We sit beneath the same lamplight.
Our youth and strength last but a day.
You and I — ah! our hairs are grey.
Friends! Half are in a better land,
With tears we grasp each other's hand.
Twenty more years, — short, after all,
I once again ascend your hall.
When we met, you had not a wife;
Now you have children, — such is life!*

Beaming, they greet their father's chum;
They ask me from where I have come.
Before our say, we each have said,
The table is already laid.
Fresh salads from the garden near,
Rice mixed with millet, — frugal cheer.
When shall we meet? 'tis hard to know.
And so let the wine freely flow.
This wine, I know, will do no harm.
My old friend's welcome is so warm.
Tomorrow I go, — to be whirled.
Again into the wide, wide world.

上述译文，确实拙劣^[139]，仅得其大意焉。然其原文诗句，非如译文之拙劣，而乃诗，几近口语之诗，简洁之中，见文雅庄重；朴实之处，见哀婉高贵。凡此种种，若达之以英文，甚难矣，几不可译也，如译之，必见笨拙。

人生不相见，动如参与商。
 今夕复何夕？共此灯烛光。
 少壮能几时？鬓发各已苍。
 访旧半为鬼，惊呼热中肠。
 焉知二十载，重上君子堂。
 昔别君未婚，儿女忽成行。
 怡然敬父执，问我来何方？
 问答未及已，儿女罗酒浆。
 夜雨剪春韭，新炊间黄粱。
 主称会面难，一举累十觞。
 十觞亦不醉，感子故意长。
 明日隔山岳，世事两茫茫¹。

1 此诗题曰《赠卫八处士》。——译注

约翰·史密斯¹在中国

腓力斯人，其生活，若非己有则轻之，且以己所欲，强施于人²。

——歌德

斯特德³先生曾问曰：“玛丽·果勒里红极一时，其秘密何在欤？”斯氏自答曰：“有其作者，必有其读者也；大凡读其小说者，皆迷醉¹⁴⁰¹于小说世界；此般史密斯之流，视之为权威，奉之若神明，生于此，行于此，乐呵呵于其中。”果勒里之于大不列颠约翰·史密斯之流，犹如阿瑟·史密斯之于中国约翰·史密斯⁴之流。

真正受教育者与半受教育者，其异如是。大凡真正之受教育者，其读书也，旨在寻事之真相；然半受教育者，其读书，意在觅其所需，以满足其虚荣之欲。中国约翰·史密斯之流，自臆高人，盛气凌人。为证此说，阿瑟·史密斯成《中国人之特性》一书，而定其论。是故，阿瑟·史密斯，备受中国约翰·史

1 约翰·史密斯（John Smith），乃英国最普通人之人名，实指英国群氓。但此类人等自以为是，总觉比中国人优越。辜鸿铭于此篇论文，以暗喻手法讽刺自以为是之中西约翰之流。

——译注

2 “Der Philister negiert nicht nur andere Zustände als der seinige ist, er will auch dass alle ubrigen Menschauf seine Weise existieren sollen.” Goethe ——原注

3 斯特德（W. Stead, 1849—1912），英国著名新闻记者，文笔流畅，情感炽烈，善揭社会之弊端，著有《俄罗斯之真相》《世界之美国化》等。——译注

4 中国约翰，指与洋人相交，接受西方之“开化”中国人。——译注

密斯之流所亲且敬，其书遂成约翰·史密斯辈之《圣经》。

然斯特德先生曰：“今日辖制英帝国者，约翰·史密斯及其左邻右舍是也。”故，余近不厌其烦，览读诸如《中国人之特性》之类书籍，盖鉴于览此类书籍，中国之约翰·史密斯辈，可晓作者对中国及中国人之观点^[141]。

早餐桌上之独裁者¹，曾分人之智慧为二：一者，算术型智慧；一者，代数型智慧^[142]；其察而曰：“大凡经济实用之智慧者，皆为算术公式 $2 + 2 = 4$ 之延伸或变化是也^[143]；而凡哲学之命题者，皆有 $a + b = c$ 公式之通性也。”可见^[144]，约翰·史密斯家族，全属独裁者所谓之“算术型智慧”。约翰·史密斯之父，即老约翰·史密斯，别名约翰·布尔，恃其 $2 + 2 = 4$ 之简单公式，而大发其财^[145]。及至中国，贩其曼彻斯特之货物，为赚钱故，与中国约翰之流，相交甚密；二者皆知晓且臣服 $2 + 2 = 4$ 之道理^[146]。然今日辖制英帝国者，小约翰·史密斯是也；其满脑公式 $a + b = c$ 而不明其义，贩曼彻斯特之物，已不足其意矣，冀期启中国人之蒙、发中国人之智，或以其语而言之，曰：“传布盎格鲁·撒克逊之道也。”其果也，约翰·史密斯与中国约翰交恶矣；更有甚者， $a + b = c$ 之公式，中国约翰，已得其精微要义，蒙智已开，诚实不再；至于曼彻斯特之物，亦非昔日稳定之顾主也；疏生意、顾“张园”而庆立宪，实乃疯兮痴兮之改良者。

未久前，余读辛博森氏之《重塑远东》²及其他书籍，且受其熏，试编撰《盎格鲁理念答疑书》以备中国学者之用；其果也，迄今不过如此而已。

1. 人之为人者，其旨何在？

人生之旨归者，颂扬上帝、增其光也。

2. 汝信上帝乎？

信也，于教堂矣。

3. 教堂之外，汝之所信者，何也？

余所信者，利也，禄也。

1 早餐桌上之独裁者，此处借指霍姆斯 (O.W. Holmes, 1809-94)，美国小说家，诗人，著有《早餐桌上之独裁者》(The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table, 1858)，《早餐桌上之教授》(The Professor at the Breakfast-Table, 1860)，《早餐桌上之诗人》(The Poet at the Breakfast-Table, 1872)等。——译注

2 英文书名为The Reshaping of Far East, 1905年出版。——译注

4. 人之信耶稣者，其旨何也¹⁴⁷¹？

人之信耶稣者，为己也。

5. 人之工作者，其旨何也？

钱入囊中而不羞涩也。

6. 天堂者，何也？

天堂者，入住百乐街¹，坐享敞篷车也。

7. 地狱者，何也？

地狱者，失败也。

8. 人之至美之意态¹⁴⁸¹，何也？

罗伯特·赫德爵士之中国海关服务也。

9. 褻渎神明者，何也？

否认罗伯特·赫德爵士乃天使也。

10. 极恶者，何也？

阻碍英人贸易也。

11. 上帝造四万万之中国人，其旨何也？

英人之贸易也。

12. 汝欲祈祷，如何为之？

感谢主啊！我非邪恶之俄国佬，亦非残暴之德国贼；其心歹矣，欲瓜分中国是也。

13. 盎格鲁·撒克逊之道，其中国之传道者，何也？

《泰晤士报》驻京记者，马礼逊博士也。

若谓以上乃真正盎格鲁·撒克逊之道之概要，或然有失公允。然大凡殚精竭虑¹⁴⁹¹，以览辛博森之书者，概不否认，以上概要确乃辛博森及览其书之约翰·史密斯之流所传之道，即盎格鲁·撒克逊之道之代表也。

约翰·史密斯之流，其所传者，盎格鲁·撒克逊之道也；置之于中国，亦竟有其效。此乃至奇之事也。受此影响，中国约翰之流，急欲使中华帝国辉兮煌兮。八股文者，乃中国古老之文学，虽空洞，然无害也。受此影响，中国新

1 上海最时髦之住宅区。——原注

兴之文学，恣喧嚣而立。有此代价，外国人恍然而悟，中国新兴之文学，或可致乱，其果危险，且难忍也^[150]。中国约翰，受盎格鲁·撒克逊之道之熏染，而其蒙启智开，然精神恍惚。余恐恐然以为，老约翰·布尔，非仅见其曼彻斯特货物必将毁矣，且必遣厚资而再令一戈登将军或基其勒勋爵，持枪荷弹；其终也，杀其老友中国约翰。此当题外之话。

言之要者，一言而明矣。英人来中国，其所知者，皆得自书之胡言乱语，竟能与其必处之中国人和睦相处；余以为，此实乃奇谈也。亚历克西斯·克劳斯，著有一书，曰《远东：历史与问题》；余引其书所载之实例而论之。

“影响远东之西方列强者，其问题之症结，乃鉴别东方精神之真正本质是也。东之于西，其人之观物者，视而位不同也；思维之途径及推理之方式皆有异也。亚洲人之感知，根深蒂固，皆有别于上帝赋予我辈之感知！”

英人居中国，若读以上引文之末句，且听从克劳斯逻辑不清之劝告者，欲用白纸，而必谓其子曰：汝，予我黑纸。外国人居中国，甚求实际，与中国人相交，悉晓东方精神之真正本质，弃信胡言乱语之论说。余以为，此尤值赞誉^[151]。余以为，大凡与中国人交好，且成功者，皆持中国人之 $2 + 2 = 4$ 之道，而弃西方人之 $a + b = c$ 之论； $a + b = c$ 者，乃约翰·史密斯与克劳斯先生所传布之东方本质论与盎格鲁·撒克逊之道也^[152]。可记否？昔阿瑟·史密斯写《中国人之特性》前，大英洋行之掌柜或大班^[153]，如查顿、马地臣，与其中国之买办¹，关系交好，甚为亲密，且世代相传。既然如此，或问曰，西方人之 $a + b = c$ 之论^[154]，于中国人或外国人，何益之有？

吉卜林有格言，曰，“东者东也，西者西也。”其言果真欤？其言真也。若遇 $2 + 2 = 4$ 之惑，东之于西，几无异或无异焉。唯遇 $a + b = c$ 之惑者，东之于西，迥然不同焉。然欲解方程 $a + b = c$ 于东西之间，必具高等数学之真才。今日世界之不幸者，盖因远东之方程 $a + b = c$ 之难题，其钥可启者，约翰·史密斯之流也；其非特辖制英帝国，且与日本为盟也；然其智者，竟不晓代数之原理^[155]也。东西间之方程 $a + b = c$ 者，繁复难解也，其故甚多，且未知也。于此方程，东方之孔子、康有为先生、端方总督皆有不同之解矣，即或西方之莎士比亚、歌德以及西方之约翰·史密斯之流，亦有不同之解也。实言之，汝若

1 买办：乃洋行所雇，为中外商人之中间人。——原注

解此方程 $a + b = c$ ，且适当其宜，则知东方之孔子与西方之莎士比亚及歌德，二者之异者微也；然西方之学者理雅各与尊者阿瑟·史密斯，二者之异者大也。现呈上实例而证之。

言及中国之历史，尊者^[156]阿瑟·史密斯曰：“中国之历史，悠久且古老。其源也，可溯至衣不蔽体之时；其演变也，滞而不动，紊乱不堪；其核心也，乃其岁月已失之单调之生活，及赖以慰藉之枯木、干草、秸秆是也。大凡世之民族，有如此之历史者，非中华民族莫属也。唯中国人可记之于胸；其胸也，可谓大而宏矣！”同一论题，且听理雅各之论述。中国有正统王朝者，二十三也；言及其史，理雅各博士曰：

“有如此完整贯通之历史者，非中国莫属也，故其全然可信也。”

言及另一伟大中国文学集，理雅各博士曰：“余本以为，此书难以付梓，然得两广总督阮元（及其他官员）资助及督察，于乾隆执权末期第九年，得以付梓。如此宏伟巨制，足见中国高官对文学之公益心，及对文学之热诚，值得吾辈私心甚重之外国人敬重^[157]。”

以上乃余欲达之意。余所谓差异之大者，非仅言之于东方与西方之间，亦言之于西方之人与人之间也；西方之学者理雅各可鉴中国官员对文学之挚诚，然尊者阿瑟·史密斯却深受中国之约翰之爱戴。

“大汉学家” [158]

汝为君子儒，无为小人儒。

——《论语》

翟理思博士著有《嶧山笔记》¹。余最近览之，偶忆起，英驻华领事金璋²所言，曰：“西人侨居¹⁵⁹¹中国，每言及汉学家某某之时，皆觉此人甚迂。”

翟理思博士，堂堂汉学大家，名声显赫。衡其著作之量，可谓名实相符，不枉此称矣。然余以为，翟理思博士之作，当按其质而估其价矣。

事多二分¹⁶⁰¹。其一者，翟理思博士有其优，享有文学之天赋：英文文思优美，文笔流畅；能享此天赋者，前无古人，今无其匹矣。其二者，翟理思博士，匮乏哲人之邃思，甚或尚缺乏常识；虽可译汉语之句文，却不解汉语之要义。于此，翟理思博士与中国文人，无二致焉¹⁶¹¹。孔子曰：“文胜质则史。”

于中国文人，书与文，乃著书立说之必需¹⁶²¹；中国文人，以书而生、以书而行、以书而乐，然于世事，视而勿见，听而勿闻¹⁶³¹。于中国文人，著书作文，实非达己目的之唯一之策¹⁶⁴¹。然于真正之学者，习书研文¹⁶⁵¹，乃策略而已；恃此策略，人生则可释、可鉴、可解矣。

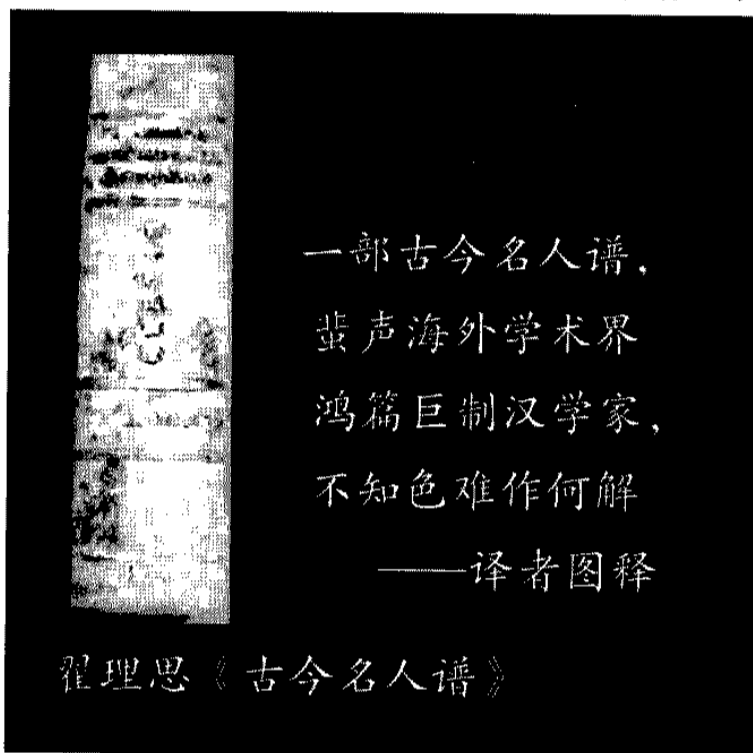
1 《嶧山笔记》共二册。内容关涉中国文化之探讨，然论多简单且武断，故遭到辜鸿铭讥讽。——译注

2 金璋（Hopkins, Lionel Charles, 1854~1952），英国人，1901年~1908年，任天津总领事，退休后从事汉学研究。——译注

马太·阿诺德曰：“文学之全部，亦即人类精神历史之全部也。无论文学之全部，或是文学之单一杰作，唯有视之为一体，方见文学之真正力量。”然翟理思博士，其所著之书，未曾有只言片语，以示其视中国文学为一体也。

翟理思博士所缺乏者，乃哲人之邃思；故其书，文多而无章法。以其大字典¹为例。似字典而非字典，实乃汉语字句之汇集，由其译而已；字词选择、集句成章、调配布局、分类条理，皆不得其法。言及其学术价值，翟氏之字典，不及卫裴列博士之旧字典²；此显而易见矣。

翟理思博士著有《古今名人谱》³，确乃巨大辛劳之作，此不可否也。然此书也，足见翟理思博士，全然缺乏最平常之鉴辨力^[166]。人持此书，皆期获名人之真正简评焉。



*Hie manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
Quique pii votes et Phoebos digna locuti,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo.*

1 指翟理思之《华英字典》，1892年初版，1912年再版，共计1711页；所收录字词、语句前所未有，但编排杂乱无章。故遭到辜鸿铭严厉批评与讥讽。——译注

2 卫裴列 (Dr. Frederick Wells Williams, 1857~1928)：美国近代著名汉学家，驻华外交官。著有《中国总论》(The Middle Kingdom)和《汉英拼音字典》(A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language)。此处所谓“旧字典”即《汉英拼音字典》。——译注

3 *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*，乃翟理思所著，1898年初版发行时，书封面印有汉语书名《古今姓氏族谱》。该书曾获法国汉学家大奖，儒莲奖。辜鸿铭文言文献亦提及该书，书名为《古今名人谱》(见《〈尊王篇〉释疑解惑论》)，此处仍按辜鸿铭提及之书名翻译。——译注

世之名人千千万，书载其迹立简传。
保家卫国伤勇士，祭司圣洁美名传。
诗人虔虔吐真言，不逊费布斯箴言。
艺者勤恳富创新，多彩人生情意爽。
丰功伟绩垂千秋，美名万代铭心怀。

然此名人谱，将古代圣贤与神话传说之人物，比肩并重；将陈季同¹将军、辜鸿铭先生、张之洞总督及刘布船长，混为一谈；唯有一异者，乃后者常启香槟无数，以款待外国友人也！

学者盖以鉴辨力而著称；然翟理思博士新近付梓之《笔记》，恐不能增其声誉^[167]。书中所涉主题，大多无实际或人道之意义。翟理思博士，不遗余力，辛勤耕耘，著书立说；然其旨也，似意不在告知世人中国人及其文学，而意在自炫于世人：渊也，我翟理思之中国学问；博也，我翟理思所知中国之事，无人可及也^[168]。翟理思博士，凡其所及^[169]，论多武断教条、不求甚解、且令人不悦；其乏哲人之智，与学者之称不匹也。盖因如此，翟理思博士之流之汉学家，如金璋先生所言，已使汉学家及中国学之名成为笑柄，外国人侨居远东，颇为现实，于此流人士，多有耻笑，且视之为傻者^[170]。

以下，余拟择文二篇于翟理思博士新出之著作，以考疑惑之根源：外国学者论及中国学问与中国文学，其成果缺乏人道或现实之意义，其咎何在？咎在中国学问与中国文学乎？

引文之一，题曰：《何谓孝？》该文主旨，可概之以二字。孔子之一弟子，问孔子曰，“何谓孝？”孔子曰：色难（英文直译为：colour difficult）。

翟理思博士曰：“逝者如斯夫，二千余年！色难二字，何解也？”翟理思悉览国内外之释义与译文，旁征博引，去伪存真，自当明其精微要义^[171]。余曾曰，翟理思博士，论多武断教条，不求甚解，与学者之称不匹也；故于此，引翟理思之言语，而证之^[172]，以下引文乃翟理思声称其有所发现而言。翟理思曰：

“仅凭以上所言，而称其义亦即字面之义，恐有武断之嫌，是故，奈何，人

1 陈季同，福建闽侯人，近代翻译家，《聊斋志异》最早法文本译者。——译注

之所为者，皆当此诗所言，曰：

俯首可拾处处见；
左斟右酌皆不是^[173]！

“‘子夏问孝，子曰，色难（定其义，难）。’孔子之解答，何其智也，何其当也^[174]。”

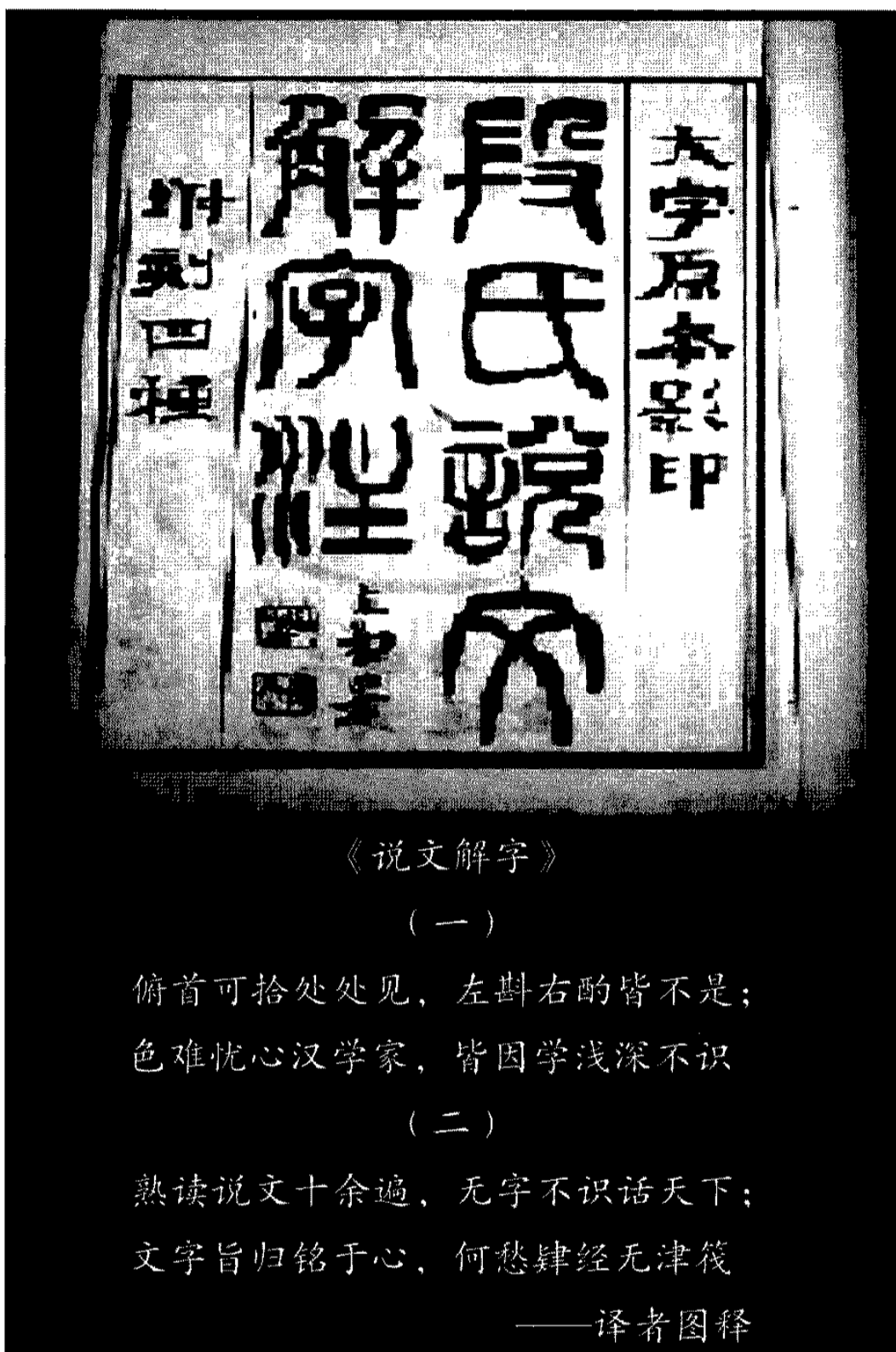
余无意于汉语语法细微之处，而纠其谬也。余意欲曰，若翟理思以为，汉字“色”作动字之用，语法通顺之句，则非“色难”，而当为“色之维难”；若“色”作动字，无人称代字“之”，则不可缺也。

然且不曰，语法精确性之谬，翟理思所译孔子

之答疑，若置之于前后文，足见其全然未晓孔子之精微要义。

子夏问，何谓孝？子答曰：“色难。有事，弟子服其劳，有酒食，先生馔，曾是以为孝乎？”（《论语·为政第二·九》¹）以上论语引文，其要义在于，事之要者，非在为父母而为，而在若何为于父母。所谓若何为者，人之行事方策^[175]与意态也²。

余意欲所指者，孔子之道德教义，其伟大及真正之效用，在履道德之责；



《说文解字》

(一)

俯首可拾处处见，左斟右酌皆不是；
色难忧心汉学家，皆因学浅深不识

(二)

熟读说文十余遍，无字不识话天下；
文字旨归铭于心，何愁肆经无津筏

——译者图释

1 原文Discourses and Sayings Ch. II, 9辜鸿铭夹注有误，应该是“Discourses and Sayings Ch. II, 8”，但翻译时仍保留其误，故译文为“《论语·为政第二·九》。”——译注

2 可参阅孔子《论语》中“巧言令色”的含义。——译注

此乃翟理思未明之处也。孔子所持之要义在于，非意欲何为，而意欲若何为。意欲何为与意欲若何为之别，实乃道德与宗教之别，乃道德准则与宗教教义之别也，前者重教之规，而后者重若何生动布教之规也，唯此乃真正宗教导师之伟大之处也^[176]。道德家仅曰，何为之为为^[177]道德；何为之为为非道德。然真正之宗教传教者，非仅限于此，非但谆谆教诲若何为于外，且甚重若何为于内。真正之宗教传教者，其所传曰，为之道德与否，不在何为，而在若何为也。

此乃马太·阿诺德所谓传教之法也。寡妇虽穷，然仍能布施其微力；耶稣嘱教徒所关注者，非在其布施何物，而在其若何布施也。道德家曰：“勿许通奸。”然耶稣曰：“余意欲曰，但凡欲而窥妇女者，其已犯通奸之罪也。”

如同此理，于孔子之时，道德家曰，子则必为父母劈柴担水，家有酒食，父母为先也：此乃孝也。然孔子曰：否矣，非孝也。真正之孝，其要者，不在子必履责于父母，而在子若何履责于父母，在其履责之意态于父母也。孔子曾曰，难之难者，若何为之也^[178]。至此，言之将既，余欲曰，盖因教义传导之法有别，而重内在之道德行为，故孔子卒成伟大、真正之宗教导师；然耶稣传教士仅乃道德家与哲学家而已。

推之于中国目前之变革，实乃孔子教法之注解。所谓进步官员，备受外国报纸喝彩，如今手忙脚乱^[179]，赴欧美，以觅中国适宜之变革。然不幸矣，拯救中国之法者，不在此般所谓进步官员施以何变革，而在若何施以变革也^[180]。惜哉，余无能矣，无能劝此般进步官员，奔赴欧美习研究法，而静待家中习研孔子。唯有此般官员，真正晓悟孔子之教义及教法，于变革之事，重在若何为之，而非为何之时，中国目前变革所致之混乱、灾难与痛苦方可避矣。

《耀山笔记》，题曰：《四阶层》。

日人末松男爵，出席一招待会，曰，日人以类而分为四：士、农、工、商。对此，翟理思曰：“译士为士（兵），不当也，士作兵解^[181]，后起义也。”翟氏又曰：“‘士’之本义，曰，平民是也。”

然事与翟氏所言正反矣。士之本义，乃古代中国之绅士，颇似今日欧洲之佩剑贵族。而后，凡军队之兵者，一言概之，曰“士卒”。

古代中国，凡平民官僚，皆称‘史’，颇似拉丁语之 clericus。中国封建制度及废（于公元前200年），战非士之专职，平民官僚起而成统治者，身着贵族之袍，以别于佩剑贵族之士。

武昌之张之洞总督阁下，曾问我曰，外国领事属文职，可穿制服，然时时佩剑，何也。余答曰，盖因西人之“士”与中国古代之平民学者“史”有别也，西人之士乃持枪服役之兵士也。总督阁下赞同我见，次日令武昌学堂所有学生皆穿军服。

是故，翟理思惑而问，汉字“士”之义，平民乎？武士乎？翟氏之惑，其现实之意义，大矣。中国之将来，独立乎？受人支配乎？皆取决于中国是否有强大，且有效之军队，亦取决于中国有教养之统治阶级是否解“士”之本义，是否愿弃文（士）从武（士），持枪卫国，抵御外侵矣。

中国学（一）

未久前，一教士团效¹¹⁸²时兴，辑系列短文而成书，其书之封面印有“夙儒”¹¹⁸³二字，遂成人之笑谈。如此之念，当滑稽¹¹⁸⁴之极。即于中华帝国之内，亦无中国人敢妄称夙儒。儒者，乃学者文人之至高境界是也¹¹⁸⁵。然西人，或人称之为中国学者，妄称“夙儒”者，余¹¹⁸⁶时有偶闻。于《中国评论》，如此告示时有所见，曰：“教士团有中国学者，其修养极深，刻苦勤勉。”告示之后，一一列举撰稿者之名，且曰，吾深信“凡此列名之著名学者，其学问正统严谨，其专攻博学精湛。”¹¹⁸⁷

德哲费希特集其演讲而成《文人》一书，美人爱默生著有《文学伦理学》。欲评断在华教士之修养极深，刻苦勤勉之高深程度，若以此二人所言之至高标准而衡量¹¹⁸⁸，大可不必也。前美驻德公使泰勒先生，乃公认之大德国学家。此公实乃英人，曾览席勒剧本不多，译海涅诗少许，发于某刊，其社交内人士皆称其为德国学家；然此公绝不敢，于如是印刷品中公然以此称自居。然今日居中国之西人弥多，或收几省之方言，或集百十之野谚，汇成而付梓¹¹⁸⁹，而后自冠以中国学家，且以此自居。当然，名可自冠，无关其要；按治外则例¹¹⁹⁰，凡居中国之英人，可泰然自称孔子，遂其愿而已矣。

如今或以为，中国学，其开拓之时已过矣，且将步入一崭新时代，故余沿此话题¹¹⁹¹而思之。如今习研中国学之人，皆觉辞典编撰，如搬砖之苦差，其已远不为足矣，而企想著书立说，译中华民族文学之精品¹¹⁹²，其对中国文学备受推崇之文学家，动辄即有评判，且评之以理，判之以据。非仅如此，且以此而作定论。下文，余拟一一考究以下要则：首先，考证今日欧人所谓之中国知识

正历经改变之真实程度；其次，考量昔日中国学之成就；其三，考察中国学今日之现状；最后，对中国学，余陈抒己见。常言道，立巨人之肩，侏儒易臆度已大焉^[193]；然可恃其位而登高望远，此亦不可否矣。是故，余可立前辈之肩，鸟瞰中国学之过去、现在与未来。所以余可陈抒己见而不同于先辈；余以为，余有不同之见者，盖鉴于位置之优，仅此而已，而非自觉高于前辈，亦绝无自炫之意^[194]。

首先，问题之一，曰，欧人所谓之中国知识已变矣，亦即习一种语言知识，其至难之处已去矣。翟理思先生曰：“曾几何时，人人皆信，习口语难，习汉语方言犹难矣；如今，此种观念已为其他历代小说所取代，且久矣。”非仅口头语切当如是，即或书面语亦概莫能外^[195]。英领事馆有译员，居北京二年，司译员之职一二年，如今能懂普通电文大意。或曰，在华之外国人，其中国知识业已有变，此不可否矣，且余亦悦此说。然若有较此说之夸大其词者，余不敢苟同。

继早期耶稣会士后，马礼逊¹博士之著名辞典得以付梓，一经付梓，即成所谓业已完成之中国学之新起点。此辞典意义重大，无疑于一座丰碑，以示早期新教传士之严肃认真、热情诚挚、正大光明之精神。继马礼逊之后，德庇时²爵士、郭施拉³博士可视为代表。德庇时爵士确不晓汉语，然其甚为诚实，且有自知之明。德氏能说官话，的确不假，读方言小说，或亦不觉其难矣。然德氏所有之知识，若置之今日，领事馆译员之职，恐概不能胜任焉。然英人对中国之知识，多得益于德氏之著作，此值得注意矣。郭施拉博士之中国知识，或较德庇时多矣，然其浅尝辄止，未能深入。已故托马斯·密迪乐⁴先生，曾力揭郭

1 马礼逊 (R. Morrison, 1782~1834)，英国来华传教士，19世纪西方中国学之第一代表性人物，著有《华英字典》《汉语语法》《广东土话字汇》等。——译注

2 德庇时 (J. F. Davis, 1795~1890)，英国外交官，曾任驻华公使，19世纪著名汉学家，著有《中国诗歌论》《中国概览》，译有《好逑传》《汉宫秋》等。——译注

3 郭施拉 (F. A. Gutzlaff, 1803~1851)，19世纪德国来华传教士，曾参与《南京条约》谈判，著有《中国史略》等。——译注

4 密迪乐 (T. T. Meadows 1815~1868)，19世纪英国外交官，曾任驻华领事，著有《中国人及其叛乱》等。——译注

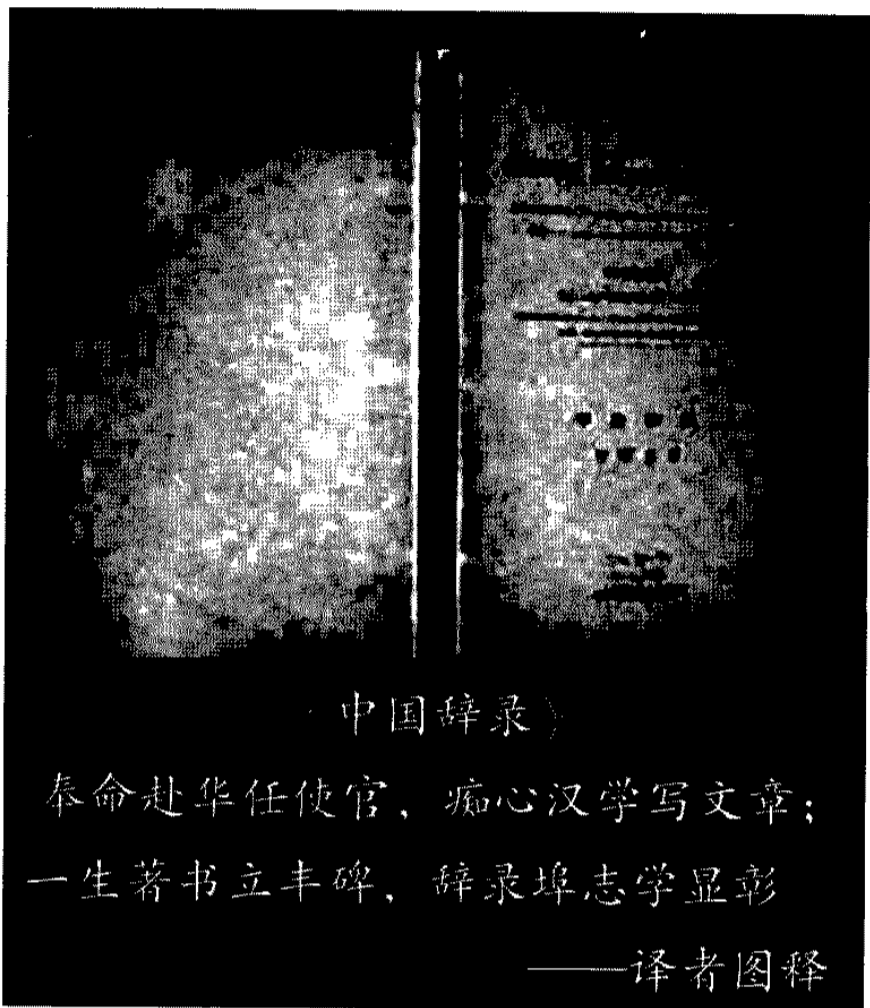
氏虚饰之陋弊，可谓益事。诸如郭氏之类人，有古伯察¹与迪阿尔。然布尔杰先生，最近付梓《中国近代史》，奉郭氏等人为权威而引之；此甚是奇怪。

法人雷米萨²，乃最先获得汉学教授之席位者也；凡西方之大学，享此殊荣者，非他莫属。至于其辛劳，余勿敢妄断。然雷氏有一书，引人注目：即法译中文小说《双堂妹》。利·亨德览此小说，即荐之于卡莱尔，卡莱尔览而荐之于约翰·史特林；凡读此小说者，无不欣然而曰，此乃天才之作也，此乃

“天才般龙之传人”之作也。此小说之中文名曰《玉娇梨》，读之，确乎悦人。然其仅属中国文学之下品矣。

然鉴于此小说源自中国人大脑之所思所想，且竟能蒙过卡莱尔与利·亨德之智慧^[196]，余甚是愉悦。

继雷米萨之后，有儒莲与波捷³。德诗人海涅云，儒莲曾揭秘曰，蒙斯·波捷不晓汉语矣。此甚为奇妙且重要，然波捷亦揭秘曰，儒莲全然不懂梵语矣。虽然，凡此作家，其开拓之举，不可小视焉。其优势在于，精通其母语。另有可值一提者，乃法国作家德尼⁴也。其所译唐诗，已入中国文学系，此乃前无古人之突破也。



中国辞录

奉命赴华任使官，痴心汉学写文章；
一生著书立丰碑，辞录埠志学显彰
——译者图释

1 古伯察 (E. R. Huc, 1813~1860)，19世纪法国来华传教士，汉学家，著有《鞑靼、西藏、中国游记》等。迪阿尔 (Du Halde)，生平不详；布尔杰 (Boulger)，生平不详。——译注

2 雷米萨 (A. Rémusat, 1788~1832)，19世纪法国著名汉学家，法国汉学创始人之一。著有《汉语语法基础》，译有中国小说《玉娇梨》。——译注

3 儒莲 (Stanislas Julien, 1797~1873)，19世纪法国著名汉学家，译有《桑蚕辑要》《老子道德经》《大唐西域记》《灰阑记》，贡献卓绝，后法国以其名而设最高汉学奖“儒莲奖”。波捷 (Pauthier)，生平不详。——译注

4 德尼 (Saint Denys, 1823~1918)，译有《文献通考·四裔考》。——译注

德人普拉特¹博士，著一书而得以付梓，其书关乎中国，名曰《满族》。德人著书向来严谨慎重，且无懈可击，此书亦概莫能外¹⁹⁷¹。此书立意鲜明，旨在考中国满族之始终。然书末之关涉中国问题事宜，据余所知，其他西语所成之书，盖无此记载。卫斐列博士著有《中国总论》一书，然较之于普拉特之书，诸如此流之书，实乃幼稚园小人书而已¹⁹⁸¹。另有德人施特劳斯，汉学家，前小德意志公国之大臣；其国于一八六六年为普鲁士吞并。此老臣国灭卸任之后，以习研汉语为乐；曾译《老子》，且已付梓，最近译有《诗经》，亦已付梓。据广东花之安²所言，其德译《诗经》，绝妙之处，亦不少矣。其所译之颂诗，至今亦有津津乐道者。然余未能藏得其书，此乃憾事。以上提及其姓名之学者，可谓之早期汉学家。最早者，起于马礼逊博士之辞典付梓之时。第二时期以二权威著作为标志：一者，威妥玛爵士³之《语言自述集》；一者，理雅各博士⁴所译之《中国经典》。

言及前者，凡汉语知识远胜官话之西人，莫不嗤之以鼻。尽管如此，较之于所有关涉中国语言之英文书，《语言自述集》已尽其所能，故亦不失为杰出之作。且该书乃响应时代呼声之作。诸般书籍正当必需之时，此书一出，真可谓，机不可失，时不再来也。

中国经典之翻译必然矣，乃时代之必需。理雅各博士担此使命而译，其译作确乃鸿篇巨制。置其质而勿论，其量也，实乃惊人。伫于此浩繁鸿卷，余真有瞠目结舌之感。然此般译著不合我意甚矣，此不可否也。巴尔福⁵先生有言曰，译文遣词择句，多有杜撰生造之嫌；此言甚为公正¹⁹⁹¹。余以为，理雅各

1 普拉特 (Plath, 1802~1874)，19世纪德国著名来华传教士、汉学家。著有《满族》《中国古代之律法》等。——译注

2 花之安 (Ernst Faber, 1839~1899)，19世纪德国汉学家。著有《儒学汇纂》(1875)、《中国宗教学导论》(1879)、《孟子之思想——基于道德哲学之政治经济学说》(1897)等；被誉为“19世纪最高深的汉学家”。——译注

3 威妥玛 (T.F. Wade)，英国外交官，曾任驻华公使。逼签中英《烟台条约》。汉学家，著有《语言自述集》，是汉字罗马化威妥玛式拼法的创始者。——译注

4 理雅各 (J. Legge, 1815~1897)，英国来华传教士，曾干涉太平天国内政，诋毁太平天国起义。汉学家，译有《书经》《诗经》《礼记》等。——译注

5 巴尔福 (F. H. Balfour, 1846~1909)：19世纪英国汉学家，曾任上海《字林西报》总主笔，译有《道德经》《南华经》；著有《远东浪游》《中国拾零》等。——译注

博士译文所用字词，或生涩难懂，或拙劣粗野，或言不切当，甚或有不地道之处。以上所言仅就形式而论。就内容而论，余不敢冒昧陈抒己见，然可请广东花之安牧师为余代言，曰：“理雅各博士译孟子，时有评注，足见其不解孟子所言。”

理雅各译孔子，若不能用心而尽解其意，且悉晓其义于其全貌者，则译而未译也^[200]；此不可否也。其非常之处在于，无论于注释，抑或专题研究，译而勿漏一字一词，以示晓其义于孔子哲学之全貌也。总而言之，理雅各博士对经典之评断，概不能成为定论。中国经典之译者将接踵而至。自以上二类著作后，关涉中国之书籍相继问世。

然确有学术价值者，寥寥无几^[201]也，故余以为，中国学之转折点远未至也。首先，卫礼¹先生著有《中国文学札记》。然此书仅为目录，无丝毫文学之意味^[202]。另有已故梅辉立²先生，成《中国辞录》^[203]一书。此书虽算不上至善之作，然不失为一伟大之作也；较之于已付梓之著作，此书诚实严谨，绝无矫揉造作之嫌。然言及其实效，绝不亚于威妥玛之《语言自述集》。

其次，另有一声名显赫之学者翟理思，司职于英领事馆。如早期法国汉学家般，此君文风清新^[204]、笔力遒劲^[205]、且优美绝妙、惹人欣羨。凡其所及之处，无不清新自然，简明易懂。然亦有败译一二，其原文甄别选择与其文笔不称也。败译之一者，乃其所译之《聊斋志异》也。此译可视为中文英译之典范。《聊斋志异》虽优美，然非中国文学绝伦之作。

继理雅各之后，巴尔福先生最近译有《南华经》，其寄以厚望之作也。坦言之，初闻此消息，期待与欣喜，绝不亚于闻曰英人荣登翰林院。《南华经》，乃中国人公认之民族文学优美绝伦作品之一。自公元前二世纪此书诞生以来，其对中国文学之影响，绝不亚于儒家经典^[206]；如若曰《四书》《五经》对中国哲学著作影响甚大，则《南华经》对历朝历代之诗歌及浪漫主义文学语言与精神具有支配性影响。然巴尔福之作，译而未译，可谓胡译。坦言之，此乃巴尔福毕其多年之心血而成；余若贸然评之，心甚为沉矣。然既已冒犯，余得公

1 卫礼 (A. Wylie, 1815 ~ 1887)，19世纪英国来华传教士及汉学家，著有《中国文献纪略》《满蒙语文典》等。——译注

2 梅辉立 (W.F. Meyers, 1831 ~ 1878)，19世纪英国驻华外交官，汉学家，著有《中国辞录》等。——译注

正评之^[207]。如若余言及庄子哲学释义之疑虑，想必巴尔福先生盖不会屈其尊驾而与余论之。近有《南华经》新版付梓；其中文编辑，林希冲作序；余引其言曰：“读书须求甚解：先晓字词之义；晓字词之义，而可解句读之法；解句读之法，而可知段落之布局；知段落之布局，而可明篇章之要义。”然巴尔福之译作，每页皆有错误之痕迹：或不晓字词之义，或不解句读之法，或不知段落之布局。如若以上诸般失误得以证实，则不难得知，巴尔福未明《南华经》之要义。其实，证之何难欤？只需参照遣词造句之规，即可证之。^[208]目前之中国学者，余甚倾向唯广东花之安是首。较之于其他学者，若言花之安之作有较高之学术价值与文学价值，余不以为然。然余知，其所遣词造句，足示其对文学、哲学原则之领悟。余所构想之文学哲学原则，何也？只可待之于下文；值当其时，余期能悉释中国学之习研之方法、目标与对象。

中国学（二）

花之安先生曾评论曰，凡科学之系统习研之法，中国人概不能晓畅^[209]。《大学》¹，中国经典之一者也；外国人多视之为《滥调经》^[210]。然于此《滥调经》之中，却列举学者所谓之系统习研必循之系列步骤。习研中国者，其习研之法，或盖莫善于循《大学》所列之步骤，即习研之步骤曰，始于人，继而家，终而国^[211]。

首先，习研中国者，当竭其力，而悉晓中国人之行为准则。其次，如此准则，当以细察，以观其效于复杂之社会关系及家庭生活。其三，以治国之法为专攻^[212]。以上所及，仅为习研之大纲，如余曾言，可按纲而行。然若全然行之，习研者须尽其毕生之精力，且专心致志，契而不舍。然人若不能熟悉以上原则，概不能配称中国学家，或自称有所谓高深之学问；此不可否也。德诗人歌德曰：“人之作也者，如造化之作也；可使人关注者、超越万物者，乃意志是也。”今日之民族性格研究，其至要之处，当关注该民族之行为与实践；非仅于此，且当关注该民族之理念与理论，知其何为善，何为恶矣；知其何为公，何为不公矣；知其何为美，何为丑矣；知其智愚之甄别是也。此乃余所谓悉晓人之行为准则之企图也^[213]。换言之，余欲曰，欲习研中国^[214]，必先晓其民族之理想。或问，何能至此欤？余曰，欲晓一民族之思想，必研其民族文学；恃此，则既可窥究该民族优美绝伦之特性，亦可览其奇丑无比之陋习^[215]。是故，能吸外国人关注之目标者甚多，然目标之一者，乃中华民族之正统文学是

1 《大学》（*Higher Education*），西人多识记为*The Great Learning*。——原注

也。研必有所备矣；有所备者，乃成就之法也；唯有所备，方可成其就^[216]。且看如何习研中国文学。一德国作家曰：“欧洲文明，立根于希腊、罗马与巴勒斯坦文明；欧人与印度人、波斯人同属雅利安人，故有同根同祖之关系。于中世纪，欧人与阿拉伯人交往甚密，故亦受其影响，至今，其影响犹存矣^[217]。”然于中国人而言，其文明之根源、发展及依存之根基，全然不同于欧洲民族文化。外国学者，其思想观念与中国人无共同之处，故习研中国文学，其优不在矣，须克之^[218]；于中国之思想观念，研必有所备，非仅于此，且须率先觅寻与之对应之西语字词；若无与之对应之字词，须分解其义，以察此思想观念所指之普遍人性。且以中国经典常见之字词为例，如“仁”、“义”、“礼”；三者之英语对应字词，曰“benevolence”，“justice”与“propriety”。然若置于上下文而察之，余觉不妥矣。此般英文对应字词，概不能盖汉字字义之全貌。再者，英文字“humanity”，其最切当之对应汉字，当为汉字“仁”；“仁”曾译为“benevolence”；然作“仁”解之英文字“humanity”，与其英文之本义已有异也。译之大胆者，择《圣经》之字词“love”与“righteousness”而译“仁”，译词甚为准确，既信亦达也^[219]。此类汉语字词，若分而析之，且较之于普遍之人性，则可得其义之全貌，曰，“真”、“善”、“美”。

此外，一民族之文学，若欲习研之，则须有条不紊，视之为一体，切不可分解之；然今之外国学者，大多研无纲要，筹谋紊乱^[220]。马太·阿诺德曰：“文学之全部，亦即人类精神历史之全部。无论文学之全部，或是单一之文学杰作，唯有视为一体，方见文学之真正力量。”然今日之外国学者，视中国文学为一体者，罕见也^[221]！故能明其要者，罕也！能解其义者，罕也！能使文学成洞晓中华民族之力量者，罕也！西人知中国人者，大多借助于小说翻译。理雅各及其他学者一二，不在此例。然所译小说，多非杰出之作，而乃平庸之品也^[222]。犹如外国人借助布劳顿女士之作品，或学龄孩童、家佣保姆之读物而断英国之文学；实乃胡思乱量也^[223]！威妥玛贬责中国人“智力贫乏”，其故也，盖鉴于其脑之所存者，莫过于此般低劣之中国文学。

评中国文学者，另有奇谈怪论，即无道德论^[224]。此论实乃指责中国人无道德，以为中华民族乃撒谎之民族，且乐同此论者，众也^[225]！然事非如此，昔外国人习研中国，其所恃者，乃中国文学之译作，如余已提及之平庸之作，然儒家经典不在其习研之列。儒家经典决非仅有道德，亦有其他要义。余甚敬巴尔

福先生，然余以为，此类经典所含之“绝妙教义”，决非其所品评之“功利世俗”。若真如巴尔福所言“功利世俗”，余仅举两句，而请教巴尔福先生。孔子答问一大臣，曰：“罪获于天，无所祷也。”另，孟子曰：“生，我所欲也；义，我所欲也；二者不可兼得，舍生取义者也。”

以上所言，确已离题，然余以为，为证巴尔福之伪论，值也；余以为，于中国，哲学著作，概不评之以“上古之奴隶”、“诡辩之老手”诸类字词，何况乎中国之哲圣矣。巴尔福先生对“南华”先哲，推崇备至，或因此而误入歧途^[226]；重道家而轻正统，真挚之情，一览无遗^[227]；余相信，巴氏言论厚颜无耻，必遭谴责。

言归正传。余曾言，中国文学当视为一体而研之。且余曾留心，西人之评中国文学，其所恃者，仅限于冠以孔子之名之作而已；然中国人之文学活动，其实，始于孔子，经十八朝代，二千余年。于孔子之时，文学形式，人之所解，未及至善焉。

至此，若于文学习研之要者，且容我仅谈其一，即文学之形式。迄今为止，文学形式未为汉学之外国习研者所重。诗人华兹华斯曰：“内容固且重要，然其以形式为载也。”言及文学之形式，大凡冠以孔子之名，而早期辑录之作，确乎未曾自诩至善至美；此言是实。凡视为经典或典范之作，非鉴于其风格典雅、形式至美之故，而乃其内容之故。东坡之父曾有评曰，散体之雏形，可上溯于孟子语录。然中国之文学，其散体及诗体，皆衍成诸多形式及风格，如西汉之随笔异于宋代之散体；此异犹如培根之散文异于艾迪生或哥尔斯密矣。六朝诗，豪放不拘，言辞夸张，平实质朴；然唐诗，清新纯洁，豪迈壮阔，文采照人。济慈早期之诗，激愤伤感，言辞质野，然丁尼生之诗，刚劲有力，清新爽朗，色彩温和。

由此可见，习研者当必备该民族之基本原则及概念，唯此，可有的放矢于该民族之社会关系，以此而可明此般原则及概念之运行。然一民族之社会制度、礼仪风俗，非如蘑菇，可一夜即成，而须经长年累月，方可成矣^[228]。是故，习研该民族之历史，甚为必要。今日欧洲学者，于中华民族之历史，知之甚少矣。有布尔杰先生，其所谓之《中国历史》近得付梓；如此文明之中华民族，却有此般历史，若以等而论，最劣者非该书莫属。布尔杰先生所撰之历史，若言之于南非之霍屯督族，是可忍矣。此等劣质之中国历史，竟能得以付梓，足

见^[229]西人之中国知识，去至美之境界，何其远矣。不晓中国之历史，概不能评其社会制度，即评亦谬也^[230]。诸如卫斐列博士之《中国总论》及其他关涉中国之书籍，甚乏中国之历史知识，故既无益于学者，甚者使其误入歧途矣。且以中国人^[231]之社会礼仪为例。中国人实乃甚重礼仪之民族，且归功于孔教之故。巴尔弗先生可畅谈其所见之礼仪生活，然其所见也，实乃吹毛求疵之故，即或翟理思先生所称“外在礼节之鞠躬作揖”，其根也，在人之普遍性，即可谓之“美感”之人性也。孔子之弟子曰：“礼之用，和为贵，先王之道斯为美。”经书亦曾曰：“礼者敬而已矣^[232]。”可见，欲评一民族之礼仪习俗，必悉知该民族之道德准则。此理显而易见也^[233]。非但如是，欲习研一国之政府与政治制度，必先晓该国之哲学原理与历史知识。一国之政府与政治制度，如余所言，当属外国学者习研之归宿。

论及终矣，谨以《大学》，或如外国人所谓《滥调经》之语为结语，曰：“古之欲明明德于天下者；先治其国；欲治其国者，先齐其家；欲齐其家者，先修其身。”此乃本文欲达之要义。

（此篇《中国学》，刊发于1884年¹，上海《字林西报》，确为三十年前之作。）

1 此文实际分别发表于1883年10月31日与11月7日。——译注

附录

一、群氓崇拜教或战争及其出路

法兰西兮，不幸且可怕，
 在上者兮，当自我反省；
 然其要兮，群氓当斟酌，
 在上者兮，若倒而灭亡；
 群氓乱兮，谁可庇护汝？
 既已乱兮，群氓必群扰。

——歌德¹

罗斯·迪金森，剑桥大学之教授；曾发一文，题曰《战争及其出路》，其中有一小段，意味深长^[234]，曰：“英国、德国，乃至欧洲之全体^[235]，其当权者，已致其人民于灾难再三；唯其群黎百姓及工人，同心并力，恃其智慧，举其双手，起而抗之曰：‘勿要！勿要！绝勿要战矣！尔等统治者、军阀、外交官，握人类之生杀大权，已使人类走向地狱，致人痛苦之史久远矣。是可忍，

1 Dreadful is France's misfortune, the Classes should truly bethink them, But still more of a truth, the Masses should lay it to heart, Classes were smashed up; well then, but who will protect now the Masses' Gainst the Masses? Against the Masses the Masses did rage.——原注。此处根据原注英诗翻译。——译注。

孰不可忍^[236]！吾辈将举义而起。尔等之治，吾辈之力已竭矣，血已尽矣。此勿可续也。尔等既致战争，断不可有和平之奢望。欧洲须摆脱^[237]‘此场战乱，唯此，欧洲方可成为我辈之欧洲，成为永无战乱之欧洲。’唯有如是，方有前途^[238]可言（迪金森意指欧洲文明之前途）。”

此乃今日欧洲社会主义者之梦想。然如此梦想，恐难逞其志矣。欧洲之群黎百姓^[239]，越统治者、军人及外交官之制，插手干涉他国之和与战之论争。余深喻笃信，和战问题解决之前，必致各国群黎之纷争，轻者受头破血流之苦，重者遭战祸纷乱之殃。以大不列颠之爱尔兰事件¹为例。爱尔兰之群黎百姓，试欲介居和战之问题，甚或欲自行决断，卒致断喉之祸，若非欧洲战乱起，必致互断其喉之祸也^[240]。

欲觅解今日欧洲战乱之法，必先明战乱之根源或缘由，断孰担战乱之责。由迪金森教授所言，可推其志而悉知，群黎百姓身陷战祸、溺没战乱，皆因统治者、军阀及外交官使然。然余以为，且可证之以据，曰，非也，非如此也^[241]，而乃无辜之统治者、军人及外交官，受群黎百姓之逼，而战乱起是也，

首先，考在位统治者之责。如今日欧洲之皇帝、国王及共和国总统。除德皇外，今日交战各国，其在位之统治者，概未发交战之令，此乃不争之事实。其实，今日欧洲之实际统治者，乃皇帝、国王及总统。虽然，其言谈举止皆受《自由大宪章》之约束，于国内公众事务之管理或实施，皆无发言权^[242]。大英帝国之乔治王，甚为无辜，为防爱尔兰之事件恶化为内战，其试欲陈申己见，却遭群黎百姓封口禁言；此本乃国王之职，然不得已借首相之口，为生此举^[243]之念而向群黎百姓道歉！其实，当今欧洲诸国之统治者，实乃束之高阁之木偶，仅作装饰之用，亦即用作官方公文图章之像而已。凡关涉国家管理之职，此辈尊贵之木偶，既无发言之权，亦无个人之意愿，岂可曰此辈人等当负目前战乱之责耶？

其次，考军人之责。迪金森教授及众人，皆斥责军人，且须担当目前战乱之责。路斯肯，曾作讲演^[244]于屋尔威兹，谓预备队曰：“现代制度致命之处，乃去民族之精华，取民族之糟粕。民族之精华者，乃民族之元气及力量也，如勇而不惧、如粪土回报、如不畏艰难、如忠贞不二；民族之糟粕者，如懦弱无

1 爱尔兰事件，指爱尔兰人民独立战争。——译注

能、如贪婪淫荡、如背信弃义。现代制度致命之处，将民族之精华铸成无智慧之钢铁利剑，而赋予糟粕以至高之权力、无上之特权，此般特权无须思理^[245]而已。”路斯肯继而谓大英帝国之军人，曰：“保家卫国，绝非蹈规循矩，而一成不变^[246]也。立店铺之门，而防店伙之行窃者，概不能称真正之军人。”余以为，凡斥责黷武主义、叱责普鲁士黷武主义之英人、真正之英国军人，当读路斯肯之言，且思之察之。然余欲曰，由路斯肯之言，可推知，今日欧洲之实际统治者，于国家事务之管理及实施，概无发言之权；当今欧洲之军人，绝无发言之机。言及于巴拉克拉瓦作战之英国军人，丁尼生曰：“军人之职，不问为何而战，只须鞠躬尽瘁，死而后已。”此言之于目前之欧洲，甚切也。其实，若曰今日欧洲之实际统治者，已成束之高阁之尊贵偶像，则当今欧洲之军人，已纯属危险之机械人。凡关涉国家管理之职，此辈机械人，既无发言之权，亦无个人之意志；岂可曰，此辈人等当负目前战乱之责耶？

最后，考当前欧洲之外交官之责。按政府论与《欧洲自由大宪章》，外交官，本乃国之政要，国之大臣，统领国家事务，如今沦为行群黎意志之木偶。真可谓，下有差使，上必行之^[247]。由此可见，当今欧洲，外交官本乃国之政要大臣，本应统领国家事务，却沦为机器、传声筒而已，实如木偶戏中之木偶，无自我之意志，呼之即来，挥之即去，全然受群黎百姓之差遣。木偶乃中空充胀之物，当今欧洲之外交官及大臣官员，仅司职木偶之用，实乃传声筒而已，既无自我之意志，岂可担当目前战祸之责耶？

实言之，余以为，当今欧洲列国，政府事务之管理及实施，本应由军人、外交官或政治家、内阁成员司其职；然最为奇怪之事，莫过于此，即此类统治者，却不允有自己之意志，亦不允有权擅行之举，即或于国之安全与利益有益而无害焉。约翰·史密斯，《爱国时报》之编辑，本为肮脏窝棚区之巴布^[248]，曾为卡莱尔时代之香肠、果酱制造商，如今或成大“无敌战舰”之主人，或高利贷者摩西·拉姆；此流群黎百姓，如今享有无上之权力，所以可行其意志、于治国之道，有发言之权；此种无上之权力，实乃下有所欲，上必行之^[249]。是故，若进而究之，则可知，目前战祸之责，当由三类人等担当，即约翰·史密斯、亨德史弟兹之巴布，及摩西·拉姆。盖因此三类人等，其所致者，现代畸形之机器也；盖因此畸形之机器，其所致者，当前之战祸也。

然或问曰，欧洲在位之统治者、军人及外交官，如此胆怯退让、优待此

三类人等，其故何也？余答曰，其故在于，群黎百姓，即或如迪金森类善良之百姓，非但未能忠贞不渝而拥其主、拥其军、拥其外交官，反之，欣戴^[250]约翰·史密斯、巴布、摩西·拉姆之流。欧洲之庶民欣戴约翰·史密斯、巴布、摩西·拉姆之流者，其故有二：其一，此三类人等，告知庶民百姓曰，其乃庶民百姓之一员；其二，欧洲之庶民百姓，自童蒙时起，则被告知曰，人性本恶，故无论何时，一旦有权，则必滥用之；更有甚者，一旦强大，则必掠其邻、害其邻也。其实，余欲曰，约翰·史密斯、巴布、摩西·拉姆之流，能得欧洲之群黎百姓之助，而逼统治者、军人及外交官而成现代畸形之机器，卒致今日恐怖之战祸，其故者，皆因欧洲之庶民，群聚之时，莫不自私与懦弱之故。

是故，若深究其根源，则可知，担当目前战争之责者，既非在位之统治者、军人及外交官，亦非约翰·史密斯、巴布、摩西·拉姆之流，而实乃迪金森教授之类所谓良民百姓。然迪金森教授自当辩之，曰：我等庶民百姓不希求目前之战祸。然百姓不希求，孰希求当前战乱耶？余答曰：无人希求战乱。既然如是，当前战乱，其故何也？余答曰：所致战乱者，恐惧也，群氓之恐惧也。去年八月，于俄国，群黎百姓推波助澜之畸形现代机器，始而运行，自此，欧洲诸国之群黎百姓备受恐惧之笼罩。简言之，余以为，当前战乱所致之故，盖因恐惧、群氓之恐惧，蔓延于群黎百姓、且相互感染；统治者、军人及外交官亦受其染，见战乱起而惊慌失措，终而酿成战祸。由此可见，事非迪金森教授所言：统治者、军人及外交官使其群黎百姓陷此战祸；而实乃群黎百姓自私自利、胆小懦弱、惊慌失措，致使无辜无助之统治者、军人及外交官陷此灾难、陷此战乱。余欲曰，如今欧洲之局面，悲惨且无助也。其故者，在于交战诸国，其在位之统治者、军人及外交官，可悲可怜。于此时此况，有心无力，爱莫能助也。

由此可知，欲使欧洲今日、未来长久和平，其首要之事，非如迪金森教授所言，须开门纳民参政；而务必拒民于政外；若有人内者，须尽除之。其故者，盖因群黎百姓，乃乌合之众，自私自利，胆小懦弱，无论和与战，遇事非惊即恐。换言之，余以为，欲使欧洲和平，必先保统治者、军人及外交官之安全，使其免遭群黎百姓或群氓之骚扰；群黎百姓，乃乌合之众，遇事易惊恐万状，必使其不知所措。其实，且不曰未来，即或目前之欧洲，可弥缝其阙，而匡救其灾^[251]。余以为，唯一可解之法者，乃匡救不知所措之统治者、军人及外

交官于目前战局之困境。当前欧洲不知所措之困境，其悲在，人人盼盼和平归^[252]，无人知晓平乱法。余以为，唯一之法，当解统治者、军人及外交官于不知所措之困境，借此机赋予其权力，而觅平乱之法。余以为，唯一之法，乃为欧人故，为战乱之各国人民故，当废目前之宪章，即废《自由大宪章》而制新宪章，即《忠诚大宪章》，亦即隐于其中之我中国人之良民宗教。

按《忠诚大宪章》，今日交战各国之人民，须约信盟誓^[253]曰：其一，若于目前战争之政治，不得以任何之法，讨探插手，妄相干涉^[254]；其二，若于平乱之法，统治者所策之计，唯服从是命。有此《忠诚大宪章》，交战诸国之统治者，则即刻有权力及勇气，恃此而乱可平矣；既有权力及勇气，世之太平则可驭也。余深喻笃信，一旦有此权力，交战诸国之统治者，即可驾其乱^[255]矣。余有信心于此，其故者，盖因今日交战诸国之统治者，皆非不可救药之病魔；此不可否也，余斗胆而言曰，即或今日欧洲最受诅咒之德皇，亦非病魔。试想，交战诸国日耗人民血汗纯银九百万英镑，屠戮数以千计之无辜军人，毁掉成千上万之妇女幸福家庭；如此无间狱之病魔，交战诸国岂有不明之理^[256]？然交战诸国之统治者、军人及外交官，却不明此理，其故何哉？盖因其见群氓之惊恐、群黎百姓之惧怕，而觉无计可施也；其实，如同余曾所言，此乃遭恐惧之驭而成恶果也。是故，余曰，欲破解今日欧洲之时局，首要之事，当赋予交战诸国之统治者、军人及外交官以权力，而可匡救其于群氓之恐惧、乌合群黎百姓之恐惧之中。

余欲进言之，曰，今日欧洲无助之时局，其悲者，非仅在统治者、军人及外交官之无计可施，且交战各国之国民亦皆无能为力也。人人皆无能为力，且不甚晓解当前战祸之本也。当前之战祸，实乃无间狱也；虽非人之所欲，然终因群氓之恐惧所致，如同余曾曰，此战，乃人之大脑皆遭群氓之恐惧所驭之故也。此者，借一文而可窥豹斑，迪金森教授撰文，抨击战祸，斥责统治者、军人及外交官致战患。其实，迪金森教授，未明己已遭群氓恐惧之麻痹。其文开篇，疾呼“勿要战争”。迪金森继而曰：“余以为，如同英国人皆以为，既已战，则当继之，直至国之疆土完整无缺、人民安乐、不受外侮，直至人之智慧可保欧洲之太平之时。”大英帝国之完整及安全、欧洲之未来和平，岂可日耗九百万英镑之纯银，屠戮成千上万之无辜生命而得之？！余以为，如此妄言谬论，唯有满脑群氓之恐惧者，方可得之。此乃众人皆知之事。好哉，欧洲之和

平！余以为，若以如此巨大之日耗，如此速度之屠戮^[257]，未几，和平必来也，和平及至之时，世界之地图，欧洲已不存矣。确实，和平与战争之问题，不宜由群黎百姓定之；若曰何以见得^[258]，迪金森教授之流，其心态便为明证。

然余坚持己见^[259]，曰，当前交战诸国，其民众无不欲求和平，然无人有其能而平其乱，使天下和平。盖因如此，人人皆信，和平之路绝矣，和平已无望矣。盖因对和平可能性之绝望，交战诸国之人民不明此理：目前之战祸，非人之所欲，却由群氓恐惧所致，实乃无间狱之病魔。是故，欲使人明晓此理，首要之事，当告知人民，和平之事可期矣。欲使人明晓和平之事可期也，最为简要^[260]之事，当即平战乱；欲平战乱，必订余所谓之《忠诚大宪章》，赋予交战诸国之统治者以绝对之权力，唯此，战乱即可平矣。一旦人人皆明战乱可平，目前交战诸国之民众，自当明晓目前之战争，并非人人欲求所致，而乃群氓恐惧所致，实乃无间狱之病魔也。若战乱不平而续之，即或胜，亦难逃毁灭之厄运。一旦交战诸国之统治者，有权力平定战乱，且交战各国之民众，皆明晓目前之战争实乃无间狱之病魔，唯及此时，方可有美国总统威尔逊¹及前总统罗斯福²享有感召之力，使日俄战争得以终归和平，恃此而可平战乱、觅获长治久安之法。余曰，若于诸如威尔逊总统等人而言，享有成功之和平感召力甚为容易；余以为，欲求和平，交战各国之统治者，其当务之急，乃建精神病医院，请不可救药之病魔入院，如迪金森教授，此流人等，满脑群氓之恐惧，于大英帝国之统一及安全，欧洲未来之和平，诚惶诚恐，理当^[261]请入精神病医院。

是故，余以为，于交战各国之人民而言，战争之唯一出路者，当碎裂目前之《自由大宪章》，而订新宪，即我中国良民宗教所涵盖之《忠诚大宪章》。以上乃余之见解，欲证其效，容余提醒欧美人民，日本人民及俄国人民，盖因其绝对忠其统治者，前总统罗斯福方有可能，成功感召已故日本天皇及今日之俄国沙皇，促日俄双方停战议和于朴次茅斯。于日本，人民之绝对忠诚，学自我中国人之良民宗教，故受其中之《忠诚大宪章》之保护。然于俄国，既无良民宗教，自当无《忠诚大宪章》，俄国人民之绝对忠诚，只得受鞭威之保护。

1 威尔逊（T.W. Wilson, 1856~1924），1913年~1921年为美国总统。1918年倡议建立国际联盟，且提出十四点和平纲领。——译注

2 罗斯福（Theodore Roosevelt, 1858~1919），1901年~1909年为美国总统。1904年~1905年，日俄战争爆发期间，曾建议日俄停战议和。——译注

日本与俄国，前者有良民宗教及其《忠诚大宪章》，后者既无良民宗教，亦无《忠诚大宪章》；《朴次茅斯和约》签订之后，二者相较，其果若何？于日本，《朴次茅斯和约》签订之后，东京之群黎百姓，盖因其良民宗教遭欧洲新学之破坏，故游行示威^[262]，以图滋生恐惧。然日本人民，其心中之《忠诚大宪章》，毕竟未真正泯灭，仅需少数警察之助，且仅一日，即平骚乱、息示威，消民众之恐惧。此后，日本非仅国内长治久安，且远东之地，从此而太平无事也¹。然于俄国，《朴次茅斯和约》²签订之后，群黎百姓游行示威，此起彼伏，以图滋生恐惧，盖因俄国无良民宗教故，且维系俄国人民之绝对忠诚之皮鞭业已断裂；自此，俄国群黎百姓享有充分之自由，而生乱制宪，公然喧嚣，滋生恐惧——于俄罗斯帝国及斯拉夫民族之统一与安定、于欧洲之未来，诚惶诚恐！其果也，奥地利与俄罗斯，二皇帝之间，因奥地利之大公³被弑，于如何处置此事而渐生分歧；于是乎，俄罗斯之群黎百姓、群氓聚而起事、滋恐惧，于大俄帝国之统一与安全，诚惶诚恐。不得已，沙皇及其谋臣发号布令、兴师动众；换言之，开动^[263]约翰·史密斯、巴布及摩西·拉姆所创之现代机器。可怕之现代机器，亦即俄罗斯之现代黠武主义，一旦启动，全欧洲之群黎百姓，顿生恐慌，且由此滋生蔓延，使交战诸国之统治者、外交官，亦满脑恐慌，且受其驭，于是乎，不知所措。盖因如此，如余以上所示，终致恐怖之战祸。

是故，若深究之，目前战祸之根源，盖起于《朴次茅斯和约》矣。其故者，余以为，盖因《朴次茅斯和约》签订之后，俄罗斯之皮鞭，即鞭威，业已断裂。俄罗斯沙皇已无计可施，难以制止^[264]群黎百姓、乌和民众，即群氓之恐慌，于大俄帝国及斯拉夫民族之统一与安定，诚惶诚恐矣！德国诗人海涅，最杰出之自由主义者，乃其时代之自由主义之佼佼者^[265]，其洞察之力，非同寻常，曰：俄罗斯之专制，实乃独裁，吾们现代自由之观念，断无可行之理矣。

1 余以为，远东之和平，一直延续至英国之群氓崇拜政治家于日本，拥有其聪明善悟之弟子之时，如大隈重信伯爵。此君乃当前日本最大之群氓崇拜政客，其喧嚣发动战乱以抗德国传教士。——原注。

2 《朴次茅斯和约》：日俄在美国调停下，于1905年9月5日缔结《朴次茅斯和约》，日本夺得中国辽东半岛和俄国库页岛南部以及对朝鲜之实际控制权。这场战争使中国东北人民和朝鲜人民备受战祸之苦。1945年日本投降，和约废。——译注

3 奥地利大公，即斐迪南皇太子，遭一塞尔维亚人刺杀。——译注

其实，余重申于此，《朴次茅斯和约》签订之后，俄罗斯之独裁，即皮鞭、鞭威，业已断裂；皮鞭既已断裂，可保俄罗斯统治者、军人及外交官，不受群氓之祸者何也？余以为，群氓乃战祸之真正根源。换言之，当前战祸之真正根源与缘由，乃俄罗斯群氓之恐惧是也。

昔日欧洲诸国之统治者，勇于担责，故能维持国内之秩序，可保欧洲诸国之和平，盖因敬畏上帝，崇拜上帝也。然如今，余欲曰，欧洲各国之统治者、军人及外交官，其所敬畏崇拜者，非上帝是也，而乃群氓，亦即其国内之群黎百姓、乌合之众是也。拿破仑战乱之后，沙皇亚历山大一世，订神圣同盟于欧洲，非仅能维持俄罗斯之国内秩序，且可保欧洲之和平；其故也，敬畏上帝是也。然如今俄国沙皇，既无能维持其国内之秩序，亦难以保欧洲各国之和平；其故也，非敬畏上帝，而敬畏群氓是也。于大英帝国，昔日统治者，如克伦威尔，能维持国内之秩序，且保欧洲各国之和平；其故也，崇拜上帝是也。然今日之大英帝国之现任统治者，如政治家格雷勋爵、艾思奎斯、丘吉尔及劳合·乔治等先生，概不能维持国内之秩序，亦无可保欧洲各国之和平；其故也，不崇拜上帝，而崇拜群氓是也，非但崇拜本国之群氓，且崇拜他国之群氓是也。英国前首相坎贝尔·班勒们先生，于俄国杜马¹解散之机喧嚣：“杜马灭矣！杜马万岁²！”

余尝曰，当前战祸之真正根源与缘由，乃俄罗斯群氓之恐惧是也。今余欲重申于此，曰，当前战祸之真正首要之根源与缘由，并非俄罗斯群氓之恐惧是也。首要之根源与缘由，非仅当前战争之根源 (fons et origo)，且当今世界之无政府、恐惧及痛苦，其根源与缘由者，群氓崇拜是也，欧美诸国之群氓崇拜是也，尤乃大英帝国之群氓崇拜是也。盖因大英帝国之群氓崇拜，其所致者，日俄战乱³是也。日俄战乱之后，俄罗斯签《朴次茅斯和约》，盖鉴于英国首相之疾呼助威之故；然此和约折其“皮鞭”，断其“鞭威”，亦即海涅所谓之独裁，生群氓之恐惧，其所终致者，当前之战祸是也。附带一言，英美之群氓崇拜，

1 杜马，沙皇俄国之国家代议机构。十月革命前解散。——译注

2 反语。——译注

3 大英帝国之群氓恐惧，尤侨居上海及中国各地之英人之自私之恐惧，其喉舌者，乃《泰晤士报》驻京记者马礼逊“大”博士也。此流之辈大势喧嚣“开放满洲”，刺激且促使日人卷入日俄战争。——原注

入中国，则成群氓崇拜教；盖因大英帝国之群氓崇拜，侨居中国之英人及外国人之群氓崇拜之故，其所致者，中国之革命及当前共和国之梦魇是也。此教必成今日世界最宝贵之文明财富之威胁，即泯灭真正中国人之威胁。是故，余以为，大英帝国之群氓崇拜，实乃今日欧美之群氓崇拜教，此教不灭，欧洲文明，乃至世界文明必毁矣。

余以为，群氓崇拜，实乃群氓崇拜教也。若此教不灭，必危及世界之文明；若灭之，依我之见，唯一可行且必行之法，当代之以忠诚之教也，亦即忠诚圣礼，忠诚大宪章。此忠诚之教，乃我中国良民宗教涵盖也。统治者、军人或外交官，凡有责任心者，无论其属何国，《忠诚大宪章》将护其不受群氓之胁，反可使其保护国内秩序。非仅于此，且可使其维护世界之和平。进言之，《忠诚大宪章》，亦即隐于其中之良民宗教，可使良民助其合法之统治者，威慑镇压^[266]群氓；可使统治者保护国内之秩序，维护世界之和平，即或无皮鞭之威，无警察之厉，无军人之武，一言以蔽之，即或无黠武，亦可使有保护也。

论及既矣，余欲论黠武，德国之黠武。余尝曰，当前战祸之真正根源与缘由，乃大英帝国群氓之恐惧是也。余欲曰于此，若曰当前战祸之首要之根源与缘由，乃大英帝国之群氓崇拜之故，则可曰当前战祸之直接根源，乃德国之强权崇拜之故也。据传，俄国沙皇，于签动武令之时，曾曰，“吾们之忍，已七年矣，及尽矣。”沙皇之言甚切，足见其及俄罗斯民族，曾深受德国武力崇拜之苦。确然如是，大英帝国之群氓崇拜，如余尝曰，折俄罗斯沙皇之皮鞭，群氓欲战，而沙皇无奈矣；然德国之强权崇拜，使其迷失本性，与群氓同流合污，而入战祸矣。是故，余以为，当前之战祸，实乃大英帝国之群氓崇拜，德国之强权崇拜所致之故也。吾们中国良民宗教之经书曰：“罔违道以干百姓之誉，罔拂百姓以从己之欲¹。”“违道以干百姓之誉”，亦即余所谓之群氓崇拜；“拂百姓以从己之欲”，亦即余所谓之强权崇拜。然《忠诚大宪章》，可使国之大臣及政治家履其职尽其责；其尽责也，则知其当负责于国王，负责于良心，而非负责于群氓、于乌合之群黎百姓；《忠诚大宪章》，可使大臣及政治家勿“违道以干百姓之誉”，亦即使其勿行群氓崇拜也。《忠诚大宪章》，可使国之统治者晓悟，赋其权大、担其责也大。《忠诚大宪章》，可统治者勿

1 语出《书经》或《儒经之历史典籍》一书。——原注

“俾百姓以从己之欲”，亦即使其勿行强权崇拜也。由此可见，忠诚大宪章，亦即隐于其中之良民宗教，益于灭群氓崇拜及强权崇拜，此二者，如余所论，实乃当前战祸之根源也。

有法国人，茹伯（Joubert），于法国大革命，身历其境，喧嚷现代自由，曰：“呼唤也，为自由之灵魂，而非为自由之身躯。道德之自由，乃至要之自由，非可缺也；他种之自由与道德之自由，唯有相得，方可益彰。服从，其本也，优于自主。服从暗指秩序井然，自主喻为孤立自负。服从比和声，自主如单音；服从犹整体，自主似局地。”

是故，余以为，欧洲人民、交战各国人民，若欲摆脱当前战乱，拯救欧洲文明，乃至世界文明，唯一之出路者，彻底^[267]撕毁《自由大宪章》，而代之以吾们中国良民宗教所涵盖之《忠诚大宪章》。

AB INTEGRO SAECLORUM NASCITUR ORDO !

世纪之秩序，必焕然一新矣！

二、蛮夷美人¹

未久前，余曾写一文，云，目今世界，知治大国之道者，现代民族之中，唯英格兰民族是也。一美人览之，愤懑而怒，诘余曰：“吾美国若何？吾美国乃共和之国，岂不如英帝国知治国之道乎？”余答曰：“然矣。不列颠民族之于汝等美国，迥然有异矣。不列颠民族，乃文明之民族；汝等美人，虽居水浆混凝土式摩天帐篷，依旧乃无文明之游牧民族而已。”美人不屑一顾，谓余曰：“汝受教育于英国，未曾及美国，自当如是而云！”

确然如是。余迄今未忘，清末大臣，已故之张荫桓，出使美国时，谓美人其所发现，曰，于美国，人所欲求之事者，皆不缺也，唯缺宗教是也。此言一出，即惊四座，美国人全堂哗然失笑。在场一美国记者，惊曰，“吾美人缺宗教？吾美国，凡街道必有教堂，凡教堂必有传教之团体！吾美国，宗教之多，可遣使中国、朝鲜，世之他国概莫及焉！”

是故，余必曰，中国大使所言极是。其所欲达者，非谓美国无宗教，而云美国无文明也。文明者，切当之汉字，曰礼乐（字面之义曰，礼仪与音乐），早期耶稣会士译之为宗教。是故，张荫桓大使铭记于心，其意既指宗教兼曰文明。盖因今日之欧美，宗教乃一事，仅为礼拜日所做之事；中国则不然，文明乃另一事，乃七之六日必做之事，宗教即文明，文明即宗教；二者乃同一之事，亦即人之精神生活之形式或表现，非仅为礼拜日所做之事，而乃人之每日必做之事。

若欲深究之，容余于文明之民族、野蛮之民族，作以解释。今日皆曰，古希腊及古罗马，乃伟大文明之国。其故何也？此古老文明之国，非特有治国用兵之道，非但善产物品，有经商之法，且出精神之作品，如文学艺术，且更为要者，恃此，于其伟人之中，而有成高尚、完美之人性者也。逮及其亡，而为世代记颂，竞相效仿。总之，所谓文明之国，乃一国所有之精神财富，或如卡莱尔所云，“实现之理想”。

是故，余谓不列颠民族，乃文明之民族，非仅因其有经商之道，赢滑铁卢

1 此文原发于《华北正报》（*North China Standard*），1921年6月12日刊发于《纽约时报》。——译注

之战役，辖印帝国之能事，不列颠民族，如古希腊及古罗马，亦出伟大之精神产品。依鸿铭之见，现代欧洲之精神产品，唯一厥功甚伟之作也者，威廉·莎士比亚也。言及莎士比亚，卡莱尔于其《英雄及英雄崇拜》所言极是，曰：“莎士比亚，乃吾不列颠人民厥功甚伟之作也。”若大不列颠帝国他日被毁，千年之后，人之览其作品者，必曰，不列颠民族，乃至高文明之民族。

其实，正如拉丁字“virtus”，并非英文字“virtue”之意，而意同日文字Samurai（武士）。此字即可证明，大凡暗晓拉丁语者，皆知古罗马乃一高贵之文明。如同此理，即或无莎士比亚，仅凭英文字“gentleman”，则可足示大不列颠民族，其文明之精致远胜古罗马高贵之文明。其故何也？盖鉴于大不列颠精致之文明锤炼成耶稣教温良之精神及理想，由此而生“秉性温良之人”。文明之旨归，非在使人强壮，而在教人温良。换言之，文明之旨归，使人养成者，非凯普林所谓之粗俗、下流、身着法兰绒之愚氓，然此乃今日居中国之美国基督教青年会（Y.M.C.A.¹）竭力欲求之事；文明之旨归，使人养成也者，秉性温良之人是也，即吾中国人所谓之懂礼乐；礼者，英人称之为礼貌（courtesy）、优良之态度（good manners）或优良之规矩（good forms）；乐者，音乐（music）是也。

确然如是，余以为，盖因不列颠及英格兰之文明，其旨在，使人养成“秉性温良之人”；是故，不列颠人民，乃当今世界唯一现代之民族，如余曾云，懂治国之道之民族。

德川家康，日本伟大之武士，恃锋利之剑，弃残酷之魔鬼，摆脱旧有封建日本之约束；其临终，于榻前谓其孙德川家光，曰：“汝，有帝王之相，他日必将辖治一大帝国。汝当谨记，治帝国之道，心须温良仁慈^[268]（拉丁语：alma as in alma mater，意即：母亲般之温良仁慈）。”

余以为，目今日本之政治家，觉朝鲜难治，其故者，盖因现代之日人勿读《外史》²，亦勿教之于学生，而览杜威教授之实用哲学及实用政治学，且教之于学生，其果也，忘其祖训已涵盖上文所引之实用政治学之本质。

1 Y.M.C.A，全称为Young Men's Christian Association，由佐治·威廉1844年创建于英国伦敦。YMCA遵循“非以役人，乃役于人”的会训，目前世界上有一百三十多个国家和地区都有YMCA。在中国，著名者，有YMCA of Guangzhou，始创于1909年，乃一个国际性之非赢利之志愿者社会服务团体。——译注

2 原文“Guai Shi”疑为“Gai Shi”（《外史》）之谬，此处译成《外史》。——译者

与此同理，不列颠“无名战士”，新近葬入英国西敏寺，驱走恶魔，封建德国狂怒之条顿人。目今英国之不列颠政客，觉爱尔兰及印度难治，其故者，盖因今日现代英人不知，大不列颠帝国，能有成者，既非不列颠之民主，亦非不列颠之政体或议会制度，而乃不列颠或英格兰文明蕴有“温良”及其理想之故也。简言之，今日大不列颠帝国，能有成者，非不列颠群氓之功，而乃不列颠或英格兰温良秉性之士之功也。

此当题外之话。

余尝云，一民族，唯其有精神财富或实现之理想者，方可谓之曰文明之民族。既然，美国若可称之为文明之民族，其“实现之理想”为何？其精神财富为何？于美国文学响慕人物之中，余唯一所闻者，爱默生也。然即或爱默生，如马太·阿诺德所言，亦非文学中之响慕之人物。且不曰荷马、维吉尔、但丁及莎士比亚，即或柏拉图、西塞罗、培根及伏尔泰，与其相较，爱默生概不能称文学之响慕人物。

以诗歌为例。诗歌，如音乐，乃一民族精神生活之至高表现形式；美国诗人所作之诗，余所铭记而未忘者，唯一首而已。此诗堪称真正之诗也。所谓真正之诗者，纯粹之诗也，而非他者是也；乃成一民族之精神财富，且成其文明之重要部分也，如格雷之《墓畔哀歌》，彭斯之《地久天长》。诗歌，如英国麦考莱勋爵之诗，虽有格有韵，然非诗也，纯属华丽之辞藻而已。即或美国之著名诗人，如朗费罗、惠蒂埃，其诗亦多属华丽之辞藻，诗非诗也，非真正之诗也；此类之诗，如彭斯之《地久天长》，亦可成一民族之精神财富。确然如是，如余尝云，美诗人所作之诗，余所记而不忘，且唯一能成一民族之精神财富者，爱伦坡之《安娜贝尔·李》是也。

余新近写有一文，曰，读威尔士人泰菲所作之英语童谣，有益于教化人之心灵。览此文者，多以为，此乃玩笑而已。然余以为，吾所言甚为严肃，而非戏谑之言。盖因诸如英语童谣之诗，乃真正之诗。当然，此乃儿童诵读之真正之诗也；真正之诗，必生奇异之魔力，如马太·阿诺德所言，荷马之诗，可使人脱胎换骨。如若疑之，可叫日本艺伎诵读日文之中国著名诗句“月落乌啼霜满天（Tsuki ochi karasu naite shimo ten ni mitsu）”，则可见，其眼突放异彩，如醉如痴，忘其所以；此时此刻，俨然已成另一女人，较先前之状，更美也媚也。

换言之，诸如英文童谣之类，于一定程度，乃一民族之精神生活之真实写

照，且成其文明之部分。今日之美国，乃无童谣之民族；此事实，余以为，足可证明，美国乃无精神生活之民族，若称之为一个民族，则如余所谓之无任何文明之精神财富。

最后，若有朝一日，美国被毁，余欲问曰，美国民族有何种伟大精神之作品留诸后世，而示其乃文明之民族？依鸿铭之见，美国民族唯一之精神财富，亦即美国民族留诸后世之唯一之真正精神财富者，乃爱伦坡之《安娜贝尔·李》及美国黑人移民音乐是也；若美国他日被毁，唯此乃世代可铭记于心也。

或问余曰：“威尔逊总统之《十四要则》，其如摩西之《十戒》，可成一新宗教，以保世界各民族之安全，益享千年，若何？”余答之曰，威尔逊总统之《十四要则》，仅成于两年前；即或乔治先生¹亦全然忘焉！

最后，言及威尔逊总统，余忆起，余未曾问此问题曰，美国民族可出真正之伟人乎？其谁何也？当然，人人齐呼，乔治·华盛顿；然即或冒险得罪余所有之美国朋友，余亦必曰，依鸿铭之见，乔治·华盛顿，于诸多方面，令人敬佩，然如美国清教徒之父辈者，其人道德，或多或少令人生厌，故概不能成真正之伟人，如法国巴亚德或英国之沃尔特·拉雷爵士及菲利普·锡德尼爵士一般之伟人。确实，言及美国清教徒之父，正如马太·阿诺德所云：“清教徒之父辈远渡重洋，尽管其意义重大，然若想想相伴而行之莎士比亚及维吉尔，想想莎士比亚及维吉尔²难以忍受之旅伴，则可对清教徒之父辈及其完美之标准，作以正确之决断。”是故，依鸿铭之见，若于莎士比亚时代，行至乐土英国，或于现代，行至日本，余决不会择乔治·华盛顿之流伴行。其故者，在于无人欲择此类人等为伴，行至温莎之“嘉德饭店”，且引荐于福德太太、培琪太太、巴道夫、比斯托尔、尼姆²⁶⁹及其他快乐旅伴，亦不欲择此流人等伴行至日本艺伎馆！

一夜，余偶遇一苏格兰友人于北京餐厅³，该君新近从苏格兰还回美国；余问之曰，其是否考虑，苏格兰有可能成美国一般而枯燥无味。其答曰：“否，绝无此可能。”余问其故。其神情自豪，答曰：“盖因苏格兰有诸如彭斯之类伟人也。”美国如此枯燥无味，其故也，盖鉴于无彭斯之类伟人。同理，余告

1 Mr. Lkoyd George 疑是 David Lloyd George 之误。David Lloyd George (1863~1945)，英国首相 (1916~1932) 乔治。——译注

2 原文此处所提及之莎士比亚及维吉尔，皆借指其人或其作品。——译注

3 北京餐厅，坐落于美国密歇根州底特律市杰斐逊大街。——译注

知外国人曰，中国如此大国，概不能成共和之国；其谓余曰，美国亦乃一大国，而竟成一共和之国。余答曰：“美国能成一共和之国，盖因美国人异于中国人。其异者，在于美国乃无任何文明之民族，正如余苏格兰之友曰，美国令人枯燥无味者，盖因其无彭斯之类伟人也。”事实上，余以为，中国如今已成共和之国，盖因目今穷凶极恶低能之中国人，绞辫子而丢其文明之故也。余欲重申曰，共和之国于中国，概不能成功，其故也，盖因非所有之中国人已失其文明也。

言及尾处，容余小结，余欲曰，此文写作，旨不在谩骂美国人民。余希冀明示，美国人民乃无任何文明之民族，盖因其甚为年轻，不够渊长。言及年轻，如威廉·皮特于不列颠议会之著名演说所言，年轻，然非“万恶之罪”。确实，美国人民乃一年轻之民族，居如此辽阔之国度。余以为，其有巨大之潜能，如若目今世界战乱之后，文明得以拯救，明日世界必将三足鼎立：美国、俄国及中国。

余重申曰，此文旨不在谩骂美国人民，而旨在告知世人，文明拯救唯一之法——汝如若欲挽救文明，首要之事，当知何谓文明。

确实，余写此文，盖因余最近读日本首相原敬所写一文，而受其影响之故。原敬之文曰，其欲东西文明合璧也。依鸿铭之见，如此之说，足见日本首相不知何谓文明也；请容余如此无礼。文明，有真谬之分；而无东西之别也。

孔子之时，其臆烦民众论及文明，而曰：“礼云礼云，玉帛云乎哉¹²⁷⁰¹？”同理，鸿铭无礼，试问日本首相：竖高领、绞辫子、修洋房、乘洋车、立雕像（如东京所见之雕像），凡此种种，乃文明之全部，或方为文明乎？确实，马太·阿诺德，谈及耶稣教，所用言辞，与宋代诗人苏东坡谈及儒教时所言，惊人相似。其曰：“耶稣精神，首要之处，当是气质心情。故，余欲曰，文明重在心态意态，即精神生活。”若以真正文明之义而断之，即或日本普通之盖尔塔¹，较之于美国实用哲学及政治学之绝大多数教授，其文明也远甚焉。其实，文明之本者，非在其所穿之衣服，所居之住所，所用之器具，所使之机器，所备之舰炮，而在其心态之温良，言之以日本幕府将军之语（余曾引之于上文），温良慈悲心。最后，依鸿铭之见，如今日本人民已成远东之征夷将军、民族边境总督、军事监护者，余欲提醒日本人民，当谨记已故伟人德川家光临终对其

1 盖尔塔（Gelthar），九世纪中期丹麦海盗头目，因其残忍而名噪一时。——译注

孙之遗言，实则乃对目今日本民族之遗言¹。

俄国妖僧

近有拉脱维亚里加港之速递消息，曰，拉斯普京²生前之友，妖僧伊利奥多尔，返回察里津。察里津乃俄国人民捐建之庙宇所在之地。此人现身俄国，其早有预言于一书；该书由世纪公司所出，书中透露，伊利奥多尔与拉斯普京、沙皇、间谍之关系。伊利奥多尔云，其返回察里津之目的、使命，在于恢复变革之下人民之宗教。

1 原文I would like again the remind the Japanese people, ... of the words of their great dead Shogun Tokugawa Iyeyasu, ... 有两处疑谬，其一“the remind”中“the”疑为赘字，其二，“Tokugawa Iyeyasu”中“Iyeyasu”疑为“Iyeyasy”，因为此处遗言，亦即上文提及德川家康（Tokugawa Iyeyasy）对德川家光（Tokugawa Iyeyasu）之遗言。翻译时此两处疑谬进行了修正。——译注

2 拉斯普京（Rasputin）具有超凡之催眠术；深受末代沙皇尼古拉和亚历珊黛宠信。——译注

注释

[1] 原文 The object of this book is an attempt to interpret the spirit and show the value of the Chinese Civilization 其中attempt 意为“企图”、“尝试”，此处译为“尝试”，其用法，见宋·苏轼《论高丽进奉状》：“欲以尝试朝廷，测知所以待之之意。”interpret 意为“解释”，其用法，见宋·朱弁《曲洧旧闻》卷十：“解释旨义。”show 意为“显示”、“揭示”，此处择用“揭示”，其用法，见唐·卢肇《逸史·李蕃》：“至第十三迭，揭示谬误之处。”spirit 意为“本质”、“精神”，此处择用“精神”，其义及用法，见清·刘大槐《见吾轩诗序》：“文章者，古人之精神所蕴结也。”

[2] 原文 Now in order to estimate the value of a civilization 中 estimate 意为“估价”，此处译为“鉴定精审”，其义，见宋·陆游《跋中和院东坡帖》：“鉴定精审，无一帖可疑者”。

[3] 原文 what clever and useful implements, tools, and instruments it has made and is able to make 翻译时，承接上文，译为：“其技工捷乎？”“工捷”之义与用法，见元·辛文房《唐才子传·李端》：“顷刻而就……其工捷类此。”

[4] 原文 what type of humanity, what kind of men and women it has been able to produce 中 produce 意为“产生”、“制造”，此处译为“造就”，其义及用法，见清·魏源《筹海篇三·议战》：“欲造就边才者，必用留心边事之督抚始。”

[5] 原文 I have therefore taken these three things, the Real Chinaman, the Chinese woman and the Chinese language, as the subjects of the first three essays in this volume to illustrate the spirit and show the value of the Chinese civilization 其中

the Real Chinaman, the Chinese woman and the Chinese language 为 three things 的同位语，翻译时，增加了“分别”，其用法见《史记·魏其武安侯列传》：“石建为上分别言两人事。”

[6] “其实”之用法，见《孟子·滕文公上》：“周人百亩而彻，其实皆什一也。”

[7] 原文 the three characteristics of the Chinese character and the Chinese civilization are: depth, broadness and Simplicity, 林语堂将 depth, broadness and simplicity 分别译为“沉潜、远见与淳朴”（见林语堂译《辜鸿铭论》）。depth 意为“深沉”、“深邃”，此处译为“深邃”，其用法，见清·李斗《扬州画舫录·草河录下》：“孙兰，……工书画，精于天文，诗学深邃。”broadness 意为“博大”，其用法，见明·方孝孺《赠周履素序》：“圣人之道虽高深博大，然其要不过乎修己以治人。”simplicity 意为“朴实”、“淳朴”。此处择用“淳朴”，其用法，见唐·杜甫《五盘》：“喜见淳朴俗，坦然心神舒。”

[8] 原文 to a preeminent degree 意为“达到卓绝的程度”，即“极致”，其用法，见宋·严羽《沧浪诗话·诗辨》：“诗之极致有一，曰入神。诗而入神，至矣，尽矣，蔑以加矣。”

[9] 原文 I take the liberty of saying…，译为“不揣冒昧”，其用法，见清·龚自珍《在礼曹日与堂上官论事书》：“不揣冒昧，欲以上裨高深于百一。”

[10] 原文 hope 意为“希望”、“盼望”，此处译为“冀望”，其用法，见汉·王充《论衡·命义》：“遭命者，行善得恶，非所冀望。”

[11] 原文 appendix 意为“附录”，此处译为“补遗”，其用法，见清·阮元《小沧浪笔谈》卷三：“今元更为补遗如此，益叹搜奇难尽也。”

[12] 原文 until the true moral causes of this war are understood and remedied, there can be no hope of finding a way out of it, 其中 until…no(not)…是英语中常用句型。翻译时，until 分句采用正反法翻译，其中 understood 意为“被理解”，此处译为“未遇深识”，“深识”之用法，见明·李贽《初潭集·师友六·隐逸》：“非但善状志和，亦且深识严光。”

[13] 原文 made the Boer War in Africa 意为“发动蒲尔战争”，在辜鸿铭看来，战争皆因群氓的道德沦丧的缘故，故此处译为：“发动举事而致非洲蒲尔战乱。”“发动举事”之用法，见《史记·龟策列传》：“闻古五帝、三王发动举事，必先决蓍龟。”

[14] 原文 the mob-warshippers in Great Britain made the German nation willing to make heavy sacrifices, made the whole German nation ready to starve themselves to create a Navy… 其中 willing 译为“心甘情愿”；make heavy sacrifices 本可译为“舍身就义”，但辜鸿铭含有贬义，故译为“舍身亡命”；starve themselves 意为“忍饥挨饿”，此处译为“黜衣缩食”，其用法，见明·宋濂《重建龙德大雄殿碑》：“于是黜衣缩食，重创大雄殿五楹间。”

[15] 原文 salvation for mankind 意为“拯救人类”，此处根据上下文译为“可回人类于狂澜之中”，其中“回”之用法，见唐·韩愈《进学解》：“障百川而东之，回狂澜于既倒。”

[16] 原文 There was more liberty among the Chinese people, —no priest, no policeman, no Muncial tax, no income tax to bother them 林语堂将其译为“没有教士，没有巡警，没有公安局捐，所得税等”（见林语堂译《辜鸿铭论》），此处译为“既无教士、巡警之督训，亦无地税、所得税之纷扰。”

[17] 原文 After this, Louis Napoleon, not like his great uncle a leader, but a swindler of the mob or, as Emerson calls him, a successful thief… 在辜鸿铭看来，群氓崇拜是战乱的根源，应该彻底铲除，故辜鸿铭把拿破仑看做是骗子。此处译为“骗棍”，其用法，见清·袁枚《新齐谐·奇骗》：“此老翁者积年骗棍，用假银者也。”

[18] 原文 the actual direct responsibility for this war rests more heavily upon the German people and German nation than upon anybody else 重复前一句字词与内容，翻译时作简化处理，译为：“如是见解。”

[19] 原文 When my German friends have asked me to show them a proof of the German worship of might…，根据上下文，其中 ask 含有“责备”之义，故，此处译为“求”（“责备”），其用法，见《论语·卫灵公》：“君子求诸己，小人求诸人。”

[20] 原文 to love righteousness, to be righteous men, to do right 三动词短语皆指为人处世之道，故译为：“行以正爱、行以正心、行以正德。”

[21] 原文 Be a good man 直译为“做好人”，此处译为“行善事”，更符合文言风格。

[22] 原文 think, not of interest, of expediency—of what will pay, 其中 of interest 与 of expediency 属于同义同位重复，二者译为“勿虑之以己利”；(think, not) of what will pay 译为：“勿思之以报礼。”“报礼”之用法，见《礼记·坊记》：“故君子信让以莅百姓，则民之报礼重。”

[23] 原文 commercialism, 在辜鸿铭看来，战争之根源在于人之自私自利，惟利是图；因此，此词具有贬义，故此处译为：“唯利是图。”

[24] 原诗每一小节韵律按abab格式，此处翻译成汉语七言，但韵律按aabb格式。

[25] “今”、“今日”、“目今”、“目前”、“当今”等，为辜鸿铭文言文献常用字词。前二字词，频率最高，在辜氏自译文献《义利辨》中，多用“今”、“今日”、“目前”，然此处选用“目前”，盖因前句已用“今”字。

[26] 原文 this war itself must make serious thinking people turn their attention to the great problem of Civilisation, 其中 serious thinking people 意为：“认真思考的人。”译为：“有识之士。”turn to attention 意为：“把注意力转向……”，译为“关注”。

[27] 原文rude本指社会之蛮荒未化，而社会概指人与人之间的关系，故译文作以移位，译为“人类蛮荒未化”。

[28] 原文 I can easily see the bankruptcy of the vulgar musket worship, —— though great men be musket worshippers; and 'tis certain, as God liveth, the gun that does need another gun, the law of love and justice alone can effect a clean revolution. 此段原文，辜鸿铭在《义利辨》中已有节译甚或创译，曰：“尚武者，吾见其必败；以仁义为械者，足令世界相观相感，而迁于善。”此处为上下文故，给以全译。as God liveth 源自《圣经》，多用于发誓之时，故译为：“吾以上帝之名义起誓。”

[29] 辜鸿铭崇尚中华文明，凡涉及比较中西文明优劣时，其汉语文献则必

用“我国”、“我中国”、“我中华文明”等词。故此处翻译时也增添此类字词。

[30] 原文 right and justice, as a force higher than physical force, and moral obligation as something which must be obeyed 前后两句内容颇多重复, 然为简洁故, 以“此理”代替。

[31] 原文 go (back) to Canossa, 是一典故, 源出德皇亨利四世一〇七七年去卡诺萨向教皇格雷高里七世悔罪认错。此典故引申义为“屈服”、“忏悔”、“认错”。

[32] 辜鸿铭于《义利辨》中将爱默生之语译为“仁以爱人, 义以断事”, 此处采用其译文。

[33] 原文是肯定陈述句, 此处翻译时采用疑问句格式更能符合现场演讲气氛。

[34] 此句原文与前一句颇多重复字词, 而汉语尤其古汉语, 为简洁故, 此类重复字词如无特别他义者, 翻译时均作省略或概括处理。

[35] 原文 In fact, as an English poet says, the burden of the mystery of the universe weighs upon them, 其中 says 字后的文字没有引号, 所以不是诗人原诗。经查这些文字是辜鸿铭根据英国诗人华兹华斯的《挺腾寺》诗的意思和关键字词创写而成, 此处原文与华兹华斯原诗不完全一致, 既然如此, 就未按照华兹华斯原诗翻译。此处的翻译与此篇论文末尾处的引诗翻译也就未保持一致。

[36] 原文是直接引用华兹华斯的《挺腾寺》诗句, 翻译的诗句与文末原诗诗句保持一致。

[37] 原文 the crown of the intellectual life is a transport, as for the saint the crown of the religious life is a transport... 有三处中容易被误解, 其一, crown 字面义为“皇冠”, 此处应理解为“最高理想境界”, 故译为“彼岸”。其二, 此句中 as for 不能看成一个词组 (如理解成一个词组, as for 就会理解成“至于”、“关于”), 而应该分开理解, as 意为“如同”。其三, 句中 transport 是多义词, 其最常见之意为“转移”、“运输”, 此处应当理解为: “心旷神怡”、“欣喜若狂”、“极乐”; 在此语境中, 应当理解为: “摆脱世事之困境与纷扰”, 即“解脱”, 故译为: “解脱”。“解脱”之用法, 见明·李贽《与周友山

书》：“古人以有身为患，故欲出离以求解脱。”

[38] 原文 “burden of the mystery of all this unintelligible world?” 虽有引号，但经过细查，引号内文字并非华兹华斯之原诗诗句，而是辜鸿铭重新组合之句，所以翻译时，与华兹华斯原诗诗句不同。

[39] 原文 Again, in presence of the constant change, vicissitude and transition of things in their own lives —— birth, childhood, youth, old age and death, and the mystery and uncertainty which these inspire, religion gives to the mass of mankind also a refuge—a refuge in which they can find a sense of permanence; and that refuge is the belief in a future life, 其中 birth, childhood, youth, old age and death 为 change 和 vicissitude and transition 的同位语，翻译时分别处理成四字词组：“呱呱坠地，懵懂少年，青春年华，风烛残年，入土为安”。

[40] 原文 Peace I give unto you, peace which the world cannot give and which the world cannot take away from you, 如直译则为“安宁，唯吾可赐予你；安宁，世界既不能给你，亦不可剥于你。”此处采用意译。

[41] 原文是间接疑问句，译文采用直接疑问句，更符合演讲现场之气氛。

[42] 原文 Confucianism which can give to the mass of mankind the same sense of security and sense of permanence which religion affords them 在前后文颇多重复，翻译时，根据汉语习惯，对重复字词加以省略或概括。

[43] 在汉语中，“封建”一词的本意是“封藩建卫”，指的是夏商周三朝，天子将土地分封给自己的亲属，形成诸侯；诸侯又将封国内的土地继续分封，以此类推，形成天子、诸侯、卿或大夫、士的一套等级制度。所以，辜鸿铭认为：“孔子生于我国社会巨变之时；此时，封建社会几近分崩瓦解。”

[44] 原文 an immense system of society and civilisation which had come down to them from their venerated ancestors, 其中的 system of society and civilisation 容易产生歧义，正确理解 society and civilisation 是并列结构，共同作 of 的宾语，故应译为“社会文明制度”或“社会文明体系”而非“社会制度和文明”。

[45] 原文 Leave all that you have and follow me; follow me to the mountains, to the hermit's cell in the mountains, there to live a true life — a life of the heart, a life of immortality 第一分句后有分号（；），疑为前后两分句各引自《老子》不

同处言语。故译文于二分句之处添加省略号。第二分句的英语原文多为辜鸿铭对老子要义之理解而冠之以“老子曰”。此处根据辜鸿铭上下文多次提及“孩童般心灵的生活”，故原文第二分句是《老子》第二十章之改写或创造。既然辜鸿铭冠之以“老子曰”，故翻译时，采用《老子》第二十章之原文。

[46] 原文 he saved the drawings and plans of the Chinese civilisation, did a great service for 在前后两句中属重复字词，翻译时对重复字词加以概括，以求译文之简洁。故此处译为“孔子之举”。

[47] 原文为 in that new synthesis he gave the Chinese people the true idea of a State—a true, rational, permanent, absolute basis of a State 原文中破折号“——”前后部分为同位关系，破折号前 true idea 为本位语，破折号后部分为同位语。原文长句翻译时切分为三句。

[48] 原文 Nur saemtliche Menschen erkennen die Natur; nur saemtliche Menschen leben das Menschliche. 此处文言翻译根据其后的英文翻译。

[49] 此处译文为上下文故，把原文陈述句转译成直接引语。

[50] 原文此句上下文颇多重复，翻译时作以概括和省略。

[51] 此处原文在比较儒学和耶稣教之异同，辜鸿铭认为儒教是一种广义宗教，因此根据耶稣教中 Christian Catechism 而把孔子的《论语》看做是 Confucian Catechism。Christian Catechism 中有问：“What is the chief end of man?” 于是，辜鸿铭也按此句式设问：“What is the chief end of a citizen?” 需要说明的是，英语原文与《论语》原文有出入。翻译时为了避免译文与《论语》原文产生冲突，英语原文此处为直接引语疑问句，译文则采用间接引语疑问句，故译文不用引号。

[52] 原文在对比儒学和耶稣教在对“人”之要求上的不同。西方视人为独立的个体，儒学则倡导人非孤立之人而是处于一定社会关系之人，即公民。这种社会关系包括人与其同事之间的关系，人与国家之间的关系。因此，翻译时为使“孤立之人”前后形成对照关系，把“与同事之关系，与国家之关系之人”概称为“社会关系之人”。

[53] 原文 A wise man devotes his attention to the foundation of life—the chief end of man. when the foundation is laid, wisdom, religion will come, Now to live as

a dutiful son and good citizen, is not that the foundation—the chief end of man as a moral being? 如直译为现代汉语，则为“聪明的人注重人生的基础，这是人的主要目的。有基础，则自有智慧和宗教；在家当孝子，出门为良民。作为有德之人，难道这不是人的主要目的吗？”此段原文是辜鸿铭翻译《论语》之语。比较英文及其《论语》原文，辜鸿铭之翻译多有自己独特的理解。此处原文既然是明说引用《论语》，故翻译时未按英语原文的意思翻译，而是直接引用《论语》原句。

[54] 译名以鱼返善雄之译本为参照。

[55] 原文 may be summed up in one word, 此处译为“要而言之”。“要”之用法，见陆机《五等论》曰：“且要而言之，五等之君，为己思治，郡县之长，为利图物。”

[56] 原文 the carrying on of every form of human society, 意为“一切社会的发展变化”，此处译为：“凡社会之行。”“行”者，运行也，见《论语·阳货》曰：“四时运焉，百物生焉。”又见《荀子·天论》曰：“天运有常”。

[57] 译文“若此，则已失廉耻之心也。”“若”者，至，至于也。常用句型为“若……则……也”。辜鸿铭常用此种句型，但此句型多有贬义、讽刺、嘲笑之口吻。见辜鸿铭《纲常名教定国论》“简言之，今日之中国，政府之垄断也；若国会若议院，则容纳娼妓之女间也；若安福俱乐部与中外报界联欢社，则私国暗娼也。”而此处辜鸿铭以行赌为例，讽刺那些无廉耻心之人，故翻译时采用了辜鸿铭常用的句型。

[58] 原文 when a certain colour of cards or dice turns up, gambling would on the instant become impossible 为陈述句，翻译时采用反诘句翻译。汉语反诘句，语气极为强烈、果断、高亢，观点鲜明且不容辩驳，而辜鸿铭乃我国国学大师，力倡中华文明之伟大，因此，从其古汉语文献看，其狂而不妄，桀骜而不驯。故反诘句是辜鸿铭常用之句型。

[59] 此处译文中“所以”，意为“用来……的方法”、“是用来……的”。其用法见《信陵君窃符救赵》“吾所以待侯生者备矣，天下莫不闻。”《师说》“师者，所以传道受业解惑也。”

[60] 辜鸿铭力倡“忠君之道”和“纲常名教定国论”，此句在讥讽当时时

政，故翻译时，为了译出辜鸿铭之讥讽口吻，选用或增加了其常用的古文字词和句型，如增加了“所谓”，删减了现代字词用法，把“共和国总统”删减了“国”，因为在辜鸿铭看来，“共和”根本成不了国。如《纲常名教定国论》开篇曰：“余谓今日之中国，不废共和政体，国不可一日安也。”可见，此处之意与《纲常名教定国论》一脉相承。

[61] 原文 The lawyer, politician or president of a republic who tells the policeman this .此句前后两句颇多繁复，承接上文颇多讥讽。翻译时因前一句已有其内容，此处只作简化概括并增加讥讽字词，故译为“如是论调。”

[62] 此句原文长且复杂。语义基本思路为：先果后因。“因”的论述采用对照分述法。先述警察之俸禄，后述上层人物之俸禄。从语义内容看，辜鸿铭此处观点与《纲常名教定国论》一脉相承。《纲常名教定国论》有言曰：“仆固任大学教授者也，今且三月不得脩金，欲俟真共和之时代，仆之为饿殍盖已久矣。”由此可见，辜鸿铭竭其讥讽之能至极矣。遣词造句，根据辜氏内容和风格而定。遣词，根据此句“讥讽”风格，把“starvation”译为“饿殍”；造句，此段各句组合保持原文顺序，也采用先果后因的组合，但具体句型则各句内容风格而定。根据辜氏讥讽特点，采用了如下句型。先果后因句式组合，辜氏常用的有“……之所以……盖即（鉴于）……”；表示“讥讽”句式，常用“若……（者），则……也”。

[63] 原文 You will remember…为陈述句，翻译时采用疑问句更符合演讲现场气氛。

[64] 原文 Now this fraud of the modern lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic is what Carlyle calls a diabolic wrong, 由于辜鸿铭此处是在讥讽“律师、政客、官僚及总统”，翻译时增加了一个“流”来表现辜鸿铭之讥讽之意。

[65] 原文 it is this Jesuitism which, as Carlyle says, gives rise to “the widespread suffering, mutiny, Delirium, the hot rage of sansculottic insurrections, the cold rage of resuscitated tyrannies, brutal degradation of the millions, the pampered frivolity of the units” 此句意义与辜氏《纲常名教定国论》所言“盖意不正率天下而陷天下于祸乱也”之义相同，故翻译时，采用辜氏原话“陷天下于祸

乱也”。整句译为“盖因此种滑头教义，必陷天下于祸乱也。如卡莱尔所言，曰：‘苦大仇深之遭遇、此起彼伏之祸乱，精神谵妄之癫狂、激进暴动之狂热、复辟专政之冷酷。’凡此种种，乃吾辈今日所见之现代社会之写照也。”

[66] 原文 this combination of force and fraud outraging 辜鸿铭在《纲常名教定国论》曰：“总统之选举非出真正之民意，乃和政客与督军，以诈力兼得之者”，故译为：“诈力兼得。”

[67] 原文为陈述句，翻译时，此处改为反诘句，更具有讥讽意义。

[68] 原文结构极为复杂，且相同字词颇多繁复。翻译时把原文句子切分为二，原文间接疑问句译为直接疑问句；繁复之词 become a revolutionist or anarchist 加以概括译为“信以为真”，置于前后文，其义自明。revolutionist 和 anarchist 在辜鸿铭文集中多为贬义词，因此，分别翻译为“革命党徒”和“无政府主义走卒”。

[69] 孟子有言曰：“孔子成《春秋》，而乱臣贼子惧。”两个小句在辜鸿铭之英语原文中被分开叙述，其原因在于辜鸿铭在阐释其意，且分析前后二句之因果关系。因此，翻译时对原文中代词指称（“that book”）加以还原。故成此译。

[70] 原文 propriety, good taste or good manners, 译文分别用三个四字格式，译为：“言行妥当，品味高尚，行事有节”。

[71] 此段原文为一句，句子长且复杂，其内容在比较“家庭宗教”与“国教”之共同性。翻译时采用分句法，将原文切分为若干小句，然后重新进行语篇组合；语篇组合时，采用分说法：即先述“家庭宗教”之功用；后述“国教”之功用。

[72] 原文旨在比较“周公之礼”和“名分大义”之共性，翻译时采用时间先后分说法，先述“周公之礼”，后述“名分大义”。汉语句式采用对照格式。

[73] 原文 religion of Loyalty, 辜鸿铭认为儒学是广义之宗教，而忠君是儒学之核心概念，故此语译为“忠教”。教者，宗教也；忠教者，忠君之教也；故忠教者，忠君之宗教也。

[74] 此句原文旨在对照西方之“君权神授论”与孔子之“忠君之道”。翻译时先译西方之君权神授论，后译孔子之忠君之道。译文为了形成前后对照，

增加了“忠教论”（见前面译文注释）。

[75] 原文 *basis of a State* 有许多前置定语，而汉语此种现象较为少见，故翻译切分为两个主谓结构小句。

[76] 原文为间接引语，翻译时转换为直接引语，旨在还原孔子之原话。

[77] 原文 *belief in the absolute, supreme, transcendent, almighty power of the Emperor*，在前后几句中多有重复，此处全译。以下重复时概括译为“皇权信仰”，使译文简洁。

[78] 原文 *The belief in the absolute, supreme, transcendent, almighty power of the Emperor also secures in the minds of the Chinese population the absolute stability and permanence of the State. This absolute stability and permanence of the State again secures the infinite continuance and lastingness of society.* 此处采用意译手法把“*This absolute stability and permanence of the State*”译成“国可千秋”；而把 *the infinite continuance and lastingness of society* 译成“社会可万代”。“千”与“万”非指其实，意为“永久”。

[79] 原文 *equivalent for the belief in God of religion* 前后两句多有重复，为简洁故，而译为“有此等效”。

[80] 原文 *that was only an outward formal sanction* 中 *that* 指前文的 *the authority for the sanction* 即婚姻圣约，*outward formal* 意为“表面的”、“外在的”、“形式上的”，此处译为“浅薄”，其用法，见《荀子·非相》曰：“知行浅薄。”

[81] 原文 *fool* 此处译为“小人”，其原因在于，辜鸿铭在翻译《论语》时，均把“小人”译为 *fool*（见《大汉学家》之注释）；再者，原文 *fool* 其后之同位语 *the man with a vulgar and shallow intellect*，实指“小人”。其用法，见《书·大禹谟》：“君子在野，小人在位。”

[82] 马太·阿诺德原话 *Moral rules, apprehended as ideas first, and then rigorously followed as laws are and must be for the sage only. The mass of mankind have neither force of intellect enough to apprehend them as ideas nor force of character enough to follow them strictly as laws.* 马太·阿诺德之言在两方面贬低民众，其一，认为民众智慧低下，故难以理解道德规范之要旨；其二，认为民

众人格品位低劣，故难以视道德规范为法而守之。

[83] 原文 the Book of Daniel 即《圣经·旧约》，早些时候多译为《但以理书》，此处采用后者。

[84] 原文中 resting 一字，有“信仰”、“慰藉”之义；“illusory”有“幻觉”、“不实际”之义，汉字“虚”有“不真实”、“不符合实际”之义。故，译为“虚”。

[85] 原文 make men, to make the mass of mankind, obey the rules of moral conduct 字词在此句中属重复之词，翻译时承上译文，以“其”代替。

[86] 原文 “The noblest souls of whatever creed, the pagan Empedocles as well as the Christian Paul, have insisted on the necessity of inspiration, a living emotion to make moral actions perfect”。辜鸿铭引此原话旨在强调 the necessity of inspiration, a living emotion to make moral actions perfect, 因为辜鸿铭认为这是一切宗教存在之本，因此，在对 the pagan Empedocles as well as the Christian Paul 采用意译。

[87] 孔子原话为：“君子之道费而隐。夫妇之愚可以与知焉。及其至也。虽圣人亦有所不知焉。夫妇之不肖可以能行焉。”辜鸿铭分开论述，先述第一句，此处论述第二句和五句。第二句和第五句之间，辜鸿铭省略未述，但英语原文没有省略号，翻译时译者加上省略号。

[88] 原文前后几句颇多同词重复，翻译视前后译文加以简化。

[89] 原文定语部分在上下文中颇多重复，翻译时承上文而作简化处理。

[90] 原文为 the mass of mankind obey the rules of moral conduct or moral laws, 根据下文，辜鸿铭引用的孔子之言语，此处将 the rules of moral conduct 译为“道德行为准则”或“道德规范”而将 moral laws 译为“道德律法”或简称“道”。但此句中原文两个英语短语为并列选择结构，可见辜鸿铭将二者之义等同，故译文选词应根据上下文而定。

[91] 原文 The value of religion, of all the great religions in the world, is that they have an organisation for awakening, exciting, and kindling the inspiration or living emotion in men necessary to make them obey the rules of moral conduct. 翻译时，对原文句子结构进行了重新组合。

[92] 原文 “Love for their father and mother” 有引号，但并没有说明引文来

自何处。根据其内容辜鸿铭转引自《孝经·天子章第二》曰：“子曰：‘爱亲者，不敢恶于人；敬亲者，不敢慢于人。’”

[93] 此处引文是辜鸿铭对孔子“爱亲者”的解释，故译为：“爱父爱母。”

[94] 原文 Let everyone who loves his father and mother depart from iniquity, 此处辜鸿铭在比较西方《圣经》和中国《孝经》在某些教义上相似之处。辜氏认为此句是《孝经》作者所说并加引号。其实此句并非《孝经》中原文，而是辜氏在用英文写作时，根据自己对《孝经》的理解，总结出来的观点。但因为在比较二者的相似性，故采用了圣·保罗所说的语言句式，把自己对《孝经》的理解表达出来。因此，翻译时，圣保罗所说话和《孝经》作者的话也采用了相同的句式。

[95] 原文为陈述句，翻译时采用疑问句，更符合演讲现场情景。

[96] 原文 the Bill 指“议案”而非专名。

[97] 原文 Who will believe when he really considers the matter, that when the feminine nature, the feminine ideal and our relations with them are brought into question, the delicate and apprehensive genius of the Indo-European race, the race which invented the Muses, and Chivalry, and the Madonna, is to find its last word on this question in the institution of a Semitic people whose wisest King had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines? 此句长而复杂，结构复杂，主句为 Who will believe ...? 其中 believe 的宾语从句是一个双重时间从句，即 (that) when ..., that when ... the race ... is to find ... 此句内容在对照印欧民族与闪族俗制差异，翻译时，采用拆分法，分解成众多小句，并按先印欧民族，后闪族之逻辑关系陈述布局；其中 consider 意为“揣度”此处译为“揣”，其义及用法，见《淮南子·人间训》：“凡人之举事，莫不先以其知，规虑揣度，而后敢以定谋。” the matter 指上文中的 the Bill (议案)。invent 同词异译，分别为“创”、“设”、“造”；“创”之意，见诸葛亮《出师表》：“先帝创业未半而中道崩殒。”“设”之意，见《史记·货殖列传序》：“其后齐中衰，管子修之，设轻重九府；”“造”之意，见[英]赫胥黎著、严复译《天演论》“天造草昧。”

[98] 原文 female ideal 既可理解为“女性观念”，也可理解为“理想女

性”。理想女性既可指女性个人，亦可指女性观念。翻译时，如原文强调观念则译为“女性观念”，如强调女性个人，则译为“理想女性”。

[99] 原文 What is the Chinese people's ideal of the feminine nature and their relations to that ideal? 是一个压缩疑问句，即由 what is the Chinese people's ideal of the feminine nature? 和 what about their relations to that idea? 因此，翻译时，设成两个问句。故译为：“中国人之理想女性，其本为何？中国人之于理想女性，其关系若何？”

[100] 下面原文翻译采用《孔雀东南飞》诗文格式翻译。

[101] 此处“马利”就是上文刚刚提及的“马利亚”，因为此处翻译成诗歌，故只用“马利”；此句翻译时借用了唐·王建《新嫁娘》“三日入厨下，洗手作羹汤。未谙姑食性，先遣小姑尝”诗句和字词。

[102] “相提并论”之意，见西汉·司马迁《史记·魏其武安侯列传》：“相提并论，是自明扬主上之过。”

[103] “二者”是指一句中“古希伯来之理想女性与中国之理想女性”。

[104] 原文 the official uniform Chinese, 辜鸿铭用隐喻把汉语分为三类：“素服语、制服语、礼服语”（见《中国语言》一文），此句既然是说古代中国人对妻子的称谓，翻译就直接用古代称谓，把 the Keeper of the Provision Room — a Mistress of the Kitchen 直接译为“主中馈”。

[105] “无论”之意，见清·侯方域《壮悔堂文集》：“无论数十辈。”

[106] 辜鸿铭懂九国语言，发现德文之 Hausfrau、英文之 house wife、法文之 la dame de menage or chatelaine 与中国的“家庭主妇”之意完全相同，于是提出一个观点“大凡具有真正而非虚饰之文明者，其真正之理想女性，乃家庭主妇也。”

[107] 此段英文实际上是辜鸿铭对班昭《女诫》的翻译。唯一差别是辜鸿铭根据英文写作习惯对《女诫》原文句子进行了重组。试比较译文与《女诫》原文：“女有四行，一曰妇德，二曰妇言，三曰妇容，四曰妇功。夫云妇德，不必才明绝异也；妇言，不必辩口利辞也；妇容，不必颜色美丽也；妇功，不必工巧过人也。清闲贞静，守节整齐，行己有耻，动静有法，是谓妇德。择辞而说，不道恶语，时然后言，不厌于人，是谓妇言。盥浣尘秽，服饰鲜洁，沐

浴以后，身不垢辱，是谓妇容。专心纺绩，不好戏笑，洁齐酒食，以奉宾客，是谓妇功。此四者，女人之大德，而不可乏之者也。然为之甚易，唯在存心耳。古人有言：“仁远乎哉？我欲仁，而仁斯至矣。”

[108] 原文 when a woman is unmarried, she is to live for her father; when married, she is to live for her husband; and as widow, she is to live for her children. 此句是辜鸿铭对“在家从父，出嫁从夫，夫死从子”的翻译，此句汉语出自《仪礼·丧服·子夏传》。

[109] 原文 women's natural feet society 是一八七九年由厦门伦敦传教会麦高温牧师设立的中国第一个反缠足的团体，命名为“天足会”。

[110] 原文 what I want to say here is that the life of every true man—from the Emperor down to the ricksha coolie—and every true woman, is a life of sacrifice. 其中“every true man… and every true woman”属于并列结构。man 指“男人”；the Emperor 指“皇帝”，但为与“苦力车夫”结构平衡，将 Emperor 译为“九五之尊”。故整句翻译为“余欲悦，大凡真正之男人——上及九五之尊、下至苦力车夫——，大凡真正之妇女，一生中，莫不谓之牺牲矣。”

[111] 原文 Indeed to people who talk of the immorality of concubinage in China, I would say that to me the Chinese mandarin who keeps concubines is less selfish, less immoral than the European in his motor car, who picks up a helpless woman from the public street and, after amusing himself with her for one night, throws her away again on the pavement of the public street the next morning. 是辜鸿铭在为中国的纳妾制进行辩护，认为中国的纳妾制度比西方的娼妓制度要优越些。原文是陈述句，翻译时处理成反问句。更能符合辜鸿铭文章的讥讽性。

[112] “携”之用法，见晋·陶渊明《归去来兮辞》：“今携幼入室。”

[113] 原文 the protection for the wife against the abuse of concubinage in China is the love of her husband for her 其中 protection 意为“保护”、“护爱”，此处择用“护爱”，其义及用法，见《聊斋志异·促织》：“备极护爱。”

[114] 原文 “the perfect good taste” 字面意义为“完美的好品味”，此处译为“至美之情操。”

[115] 原文 But unfortunately the piece is too long for quotation here in this

already too long article. 其中“too ... for+N”与“too ... to V”同义，即“太……而不能（适合）……”此句译为：“然其憾者，原诗过长，本文及此已甚冗长，若引之，恐有不适。”“冗长”之用法，见西晋·陆机《文赋》：“要辞达而理举，故无取乎冗长。”

[116] 原文 wish to know how deep the affection...其中 wish to know 意为“希望知道”，此处译为“体会”，其义及用法，见《朱子语类》卷五：“学者要体会亲切。”

[117] 此处诗句，辜鸿铭引自英国诗人丁尼生之“Break, Break, Break”。此诗是一首悼亡诗，因此，翻译时采用《遣悲怀》风格翻译。全诗译文如下“泐泐声声似哭泣，泐波泐注冲苍巖！口张舌举述衷肠，思绪如潮万千阕。/渔家男童今何在，昔日呼妹嬉海潮！船家水手何处觅，歌声悠扬海湾飘！/江船肃穆归纷纷，夜泊山村凹口渡。但愿重执子之手，不闻君声在何处！/泐泐声声似哭泣，苍岩脚下作坟地！柔情岁月渐行远，盼君归来竟成忆。”

[118] 原文 Until therefore, let me be permitted to say here, —the people in Europe and America understand what true civic life means, understand and have a true conception of what it is really to be a citizen, — a citizen not each one living for himself, but each one living first for his family, and through that for the civic order or State, —there can then be no such thing as a stable society, civic order or State in the true sense of the word. 此句长而复杂，重新组合，便于理解：Therefore, let me be permitted to say here. There can then be no such thing as a stable society, civic order or State in the true sense of the word until the people in Europe and America understand what true civic life means, understand and have a true conception of what it is really to be a citizen, — a citizen not each one living for himself, but each one living first for his family, and through that for the civic order or State. 此结构是英语中的not...until...”意为“直到……才”或“只有……才……”。其中 the word 是指 citizen; in the true sense of the word 翻译时拆分句子；a citizen Not ... or State是同位语，翻译拆分成句子。整句译文为“是故，容余申言于此。唯有欧美之人，深晓公民生活之指要、深晓公民观之精微要义，方知有社会之稳定、公民秩序之和谐，国家之稳固也。公民者，非为己而活也，其始而为家而活，

继而为公民秩序而活，终而为国而活。此乃公民之精微要义。”

[119] 原文 But in and about the Chinese feminine ideal, I want to say here, there is nothing terrible either in a physical or in a moral sense. 其中 “nothing…either…or…” 含有绝对意义，故译为“断无”，其义及用法，见唐·李商隐《无题》：“断无消息石榴红。”

[120] 原文 in this quality of divine meekness, the true Christian feminine ideal is the Chinese feminine ideal, with just a shade of difference. 其中 with just a shade of difference 意为“大同小异”，其用法，见《庄子·天下》：“大同而与小同异，此之谓小同异；万物毕同毕异，此之谓大同异。”

[121] 原文 The Chinese Language (中国语言) 指汉语。汉语在历史上有多种称谓。在先秦时期，语言多以国名取名，秦始皇统一中国后，统一了文字，故称秦字；自汉代后，语言便有了定称“汉语”。这就是所谓“秦字汉语”的来历，见明·唐顺之《答皇甫百泉郎中书》：“其于文也，大率所谓宋头巾气习，求一秦字汉语了不可得。”清朝时，汉语被定为官话，又称国语。但“汉语”一词自古习用，故翻译时仍译为“汉语”。“汉语”用法，见北周·庾信《奉和法筵应诏》：“佛影胡人记，经文汉语翻。”唐·元稹《缚戎人》诗：“中有一人能汉语，自言家本长安窟。”

[122] 原文是祈使句，但置于前后看，如若汉语之自问自答句。故翻译时，把原文祈使句译成汉语疑问句。

[123] 原文 Is Chinese a difficult language? My answer is, yes and no. 此句为主题句，提出自己观点“中国之语言，果难习欤？余曰，亦难，亦不难。”下文分两点证明其观点。

[124] 原文 Let us first take the spoken language. 是对主题句（见此前之注释）加以逐一论述，其中 Let us first take…属写作过渡词，与下文中 We now to come to the written or book language, written Chinese 形成照应。故译为：“首先，以口语为例。”

[125] 原文 Now as a proof of this, we all know how easily European children learn colloquial or spoken Chinese, while learned philogues and sinologues insist in saying that Chinese is so difficult. 辜鸿铭为证明自己论点而提出的证据。其中 this

指上一句中作者提出的论点“汉语之口语或俗语实乃孩童之语言”；而 proof 所指内容亦即此句主句内容。主句与从句内容正好一正一反，相互印证。这一正一反的意思与王充《论衡·案书》中一句“两刃相割，利钝乃知；二论相订，是非乃见”的意思完全相同。故翻译时，直接用王充的“二论相订，是非乃见”一句。

[126] 原文 We now come to the written or book language, written Chinese, 其中 We now come to 是写作中话题过渡语。因此句前有 Let us first take the spoken language, 故译为“其次，以书面语（汉语书面语）为例”，表明辜鸿铭先生在思考汉语“书面语”的英语表达究竟是“the written language”还是“the book language”确切。前者是意译，后者是直译。故写作时，颇感无赖，故有此种写法。因此，翻译时，把“the written or book language”直接翻译成“书面语”；把“the written Chinese”译成“汉语书面语”或“书面汉语”。

[127] “一分为二”，其用法见朱熹《朱子语类》卷六七：“此只是一分为二，节节如此，以至于无穷，皆是一生两尔。”

[128] 辜鸿铭把书面语比喻成三种服装：plain dress written Chinese; official uniform Chinese; and full court dress Chinese 比喻形象生动，含义深刻。可谓“知其人，则览其文；览其文，则知其人”即语言乃人之身份象征，恰如人之服装。翻译时，保留其形象比喻，分别译为：素服语、制服语、礼服语。

[129] 原文语气颇有鄙视自称中国学家之欧人，故翻译时，将 proverbs 译成“野谚”而译其“鄙”意。“野谚”之用法，见贾谊《过秦论》：“野谚曰‘前事之不忘，后事之师也’”。

[130] 清朝最主要的法律形式是例，例是统称，可分为条例、则例、事例、成例等名目。条例是专指刑事单行法规。则例指某一行政部门或某项专门事务方面的单行法规汇编。事例指皇帝就某项事务所发布的“上谕”或经皇帝批准的政府部门提出的建议。据此，治外应属则例，故译为“则例”。

[131] 原文 Now what I want to say here is this: how many foreigners who call themselves Chinese scholars, have any idea of what an asset of civilisation is stored up in that portion of Chinese literature which I have called the Classica majora, the literature in full court dress Chinese? 此句在对自称中国学家进行讥讽，但句子结

构复杂，故翻译时，打破原文固有秩序，按汉语习惯而重新组句。译文中增添了绝对之词“凡”，同时，将 how many 译为颇有藐视质疑之词“能几何”；整句译为“余欲曰，中国文学盖以礼服语而成，中华文明所以存焉；礼服语亦即余所谓之高雅古典汉语。凡以中国学家自居之外国人，明中华文明之财富者，能几何矣？”

[132] 原文从形式看，句子结构极为复杂；从内容看，既具有讥讽之意，亦有自豪自傲之意，二者相对，其意自明。故翻译时，对原文句子进行了调整，并增加了具有讥讽之意的“所谓”，增加了对中华文明有褒义之词“蝶变”。

[133] 原文 how extremely simple, written Chinese even when dressed in full court dress uniform 在上一句中已出现，翻译时，用“之”代替。“信手”之意，见唐·白居易《琵琶行(并序)》：“低眉信手续续弹。”

[134] “质而不鄙”是辜鸿铭评诗歌常用术语，见辜鸿铭《蒙养弦歌》：“惟古诗古乐府，质而不鄙，尚有国风之遗意存焉。”

[135] 原文引自希伯来《圣经》，但并不是诗体形式，此处翻译成诗体形式，其原因在于，辜鸿铭两次引文都旨在证明言简意赅的道理，前面引唐诗，此处引《圣经》，如翻译诗体形式，更能证明辜氏之本意，即无论中外，都讲究言简意赅，亦即同为诗体，无论中外，都可以达到言简意赅。

[136] 原文 The picture of the awful state of a nation or people 中 nation 和 people 皆为“民族”之意。故翻译时，将二词合译为“民族”。

[137] 原文 In fact, if you want to have literature which can transmute men, can civilise mankind, you will have to go to the literature of the Hebrew people or of the Greeks or to Chinese literature, 其中 you will have to 结构显示出辜鸿铭说话时的绝对语气，即“霸气”。这种语气蕴藏在整本书中。翻译时，也采用古汉语中表示绝对语气的句型“唯……”，此处连续采用三个“唯……可觅也”并列，使得语气层层递进高亢，从而翻译出辜鸿铭的“霸气”。

[138] 原文 complex 意为 made up of parts and difficult to be understood or explained 意为：“盖因事有诸多部分构成（杂）以致难以理解或解释。”与古汉语词“错杂”意思如出一辙，“错杂”：错者，交错也；杂者，混合，掺杂也。即盖因事多而交错在一起，难以理出头绪则为错杂。见清·徐珂《清稗类

钞·战事类》：“彼此错杂。”另如成语“错综复杂”，皆为此义。

[139] 原文 doggerel 常用来形容诗句之笨拙低劣。与古汉语“拙劣”等义，故译为“拙劣”，其用法，见唐·元稹《献荥阳公诗五十韵》：“拙劣仍非速，迂愚且异专。”

[140] 原文 His answer was: “Like author, like reader; because the John Smiths who read her novels live in Marie Corelli’s world and regard her as the most authoritative exponent of the Universe in which they live, move and have their being.” 其中 like author, like reader 是仿造 like father, like son 而成，故译为：“有其作者，必有其读者。” live in Marie Corelli’s world 指“生活在玛丽·果勒里的小说世界里”，此成为“迷醉”，其用法，见《郭煌曲·十二时·普劝四众依教修行》：“终年迷醉长无明，肯信佛门堪倚赖。”

[141] 原文 Consequently I have lately taken the trouble to read the books which furnish John Smith with his ideas on China and the Chinese, 其中 his 指阿瑟·史密斯。the books 指前文《中国人之特性》一类书籍。因此，翻译时根据前后文，对某些词进行了还原。

[142] “算术”与“代数”小辨。数学在我国古代有多种称呼，“算术”，“算经”见《九章算术》，《周髀算经》。“代数”是清朝翻译家李善兰根据 algebraical 意译而来，最初音译为“阿尔热巴拉”，意为“还原与化简”。故此处仍采用二术语。

[143] 原文 variation 之意为“变化”，其用法，见《礼记·中庸》疏“一争一择，而变化之事出矣。”

[144] “可见”之用法，见宋·赵与时《宾退录》卷三：“然后世正使匱乏极，亦何肯出此令，可见当时钱之艰得也。”

[145] 原文 made his fortune with 意为“以……发财”。

[146] 原文 both he and John Chinaman understood and agreed perfectly upon the formula 2 plus 2 equal 4 其中 he and John Chinaman 上文已提及，翻译时简称“二者”。此句译为：“二者皆知晓且臣服 $2 + 2 = 4$ 之道理。”“道理”之用法，见清·沈德潜《说诗醉语》卷上：“白乐天诗能道尽古今道理，人以率易少之。”

[147] 原文 What is justification by faith? 其中 justification by faith 意为“因为信仰耶稣而可释罪。”故译为：“人之信耶稣者，其旨何也？”

[148] 原文 state 意为“状态”，此处择用“意态”一词，其用法，见汉·许慎 / 撰清·段玉裁《说文解字》段注：“意态者，有是意，因有是状，故曰：意态。”

[149] 原文 take the trouble, 译为“殚思极虑”，其义及用法，见唐·白居易《策林一·策头》：“殚思极虑，以尽微臣献言之道乎！”

[150] 原文 But foreigners will find to their cost that the new Chinese literati who under the influence of John Smith's Anglo-Saxon ideals is clamouring for a constitution, is likely to become an intolerable and dangerous nuisance, 其中 find to their cost 意为“因付出代价才知道”，此处译为“有此代价，外国人恍然而悟”；is clamouring for a constitution 意为“正喧嚣着建立”，此处译为“恣喧嚣而立”，“喧嚣”之用法，见《魏书·韩麒麟传》：“长矜争之心，恣喧嚣之慢”；under the influence of John Smith's Anglo-Saxon ideals 在前一句中已有重复，上文已翻译，故简译为“受此影响”。

[151] 原文 to the credit of... 意为“……值得赞扬”。

[152] 原文 the a plus b equal c theories of Oriental inwardness and Anglo-Saxon ideals to John Smith and Mr. Krausse, 其中 of 前后表示同位关系，这就意味着 of 后面部分是 theories 的内容，翻译时对此句加以拆分；a plus b equal c 与 theories 也表示同位关系。译为：“西方人之 $a+b=c$ 之论； $a+b=c$ 者，乃约翰·史密斯与克劳斯先生所传布之东方本质论与盎格鲁·撒克逊之道也。”

[153] 原文 heads or taipans of great British firms, 其中 firms 意为“公司”，此处译为“洋行”；head 意为“头儿”、“经理”，此处译为“掌柜”；taipan 即“大班”之音译。

[154] 原文 what good, after all, has clever John Smith with his a plus b equal c theories of Oriental inwardness and Anglo-Saxon ideals done, either to Chinese or foreigners? 其中 what good... has clever John Smith... either to Chinese or foreigners 为句子主干“聪明之约翰·史密斯（之理论）于中国人或外国人有何益处？”a plus b equal c theories of Oriental inwardness and Anglo-Saxon ideals 为

上文重复之词，翻译时简译为“西方人之 $a+b=c$ 之论”，见前二注释。故此句译为：“西方人之 $a+b=c$ 之论，于中国人或外国人，何益之有？”

[155] 原文 the elements even of algebraical problems 中 elements 译为“原理”。

[156] 原文 The Rev. Arthur Smith 其中 the Rev. 本指对僧侣、牧师的尊称，但辜鸿铭用此称呼实为讥讽，讥讽“尊者”所说的话与“尊者”不相匹配。故翻译时仍用“尊者”。

[157] 原文 which should keep foreigners from thinking meanly of them, 其中 keep ... from ... 意为“阻止”、“停止”；thinking meanly of them 意为“藐视”、“看不起”，二者结合起来意为“不再藐视”，根据上下文，译为“值得敬重”。

[158] 原文标题 A GREAT SINOLOGUE, 此处译成“大汉学家”，并加引号，旨在传达辜鸿铭此篇讥讽之意。

[159] “侨居”之用法，见清·邵长蘅《青门剩稿》“侨居邑东”。

[160] 译文中“事多二分”，原文并无，而是根据上下文语气而增添。

[161] 原文 Dr. Giles has the same characteristics as the Chinese literati 其中“the same...as...”之意为“与……一模一样”，即“毫无二致”，其用法，见清·李宝嘉《官场现形记》第二十九回：“余道台见了这副神气，更觉得同花小红一式一样，毫无二致。”

[162] 原文 To the Chinese literati, books and literature are merely materials for writing books and so they write books upon books 由两个分句构成，翻译时合成一个句子翻译。

[163] 原文 having nothing to do with the world of real human life 为分词短语，其中 having nothing to do with 意为“与……毫无关系”；real human life 意为“真正之人类生活”；此分词短语译为“而于世事，视而勿见，听而勿闻”。

[164] “目的”之用法，见清·梁启超《中国学术思想变迁之大势》第四章第四节：“惟其政治之目的，则以压制暴威为大戒。”

[165] “习书研文”，其中“习”乃钻研之意，见《论语·学而》：“学而时习之，不亦说乎？”“研”为“研究”之意，见《易·系辞》：“能研诸侯之虑。”

[166] 原文 the most ordinary judgment 中 ordinary 意为“平常”，其用法，见汉·王充《论衡·正说》：“失平常之事，有怪异之说。”

[167] 原文 enhance Dr. Giles' reputation as a scholar of sense and judgment, 其中 reputation as a scholar of sense and judgment 翻译时拆分为小句，译为：“学者盖以鉴辨力而著称。”“著称”之用法，见《后汉书·窦武传》：“武少以经行著称，常教授于大泽中，不交时事，名显关西。”

[168] 辜鸿铭在讥讽翟理思，为达到讥讽之效果，故翻译时，处理成直接引语而采用第一人称：“渊也，我翟理思之中国学问；博也，我翟理思所知中国之事，无人可及也”。

[169] 原文 here as elsewhere 之意为“此处，如其他地方一样”，辜鸿铭用此语讥讽翟理思做学问不够严谨，妄下定论。翻译时处理成绝对用语“凡其所及”。

[170] 原文 It is these characteristics of sinologues like Dr. Giles which...为强调句，其中 these characteristics of sinologues 上文已经提及，翻译时处理成“盖因如此，翟理思博士之流……”译文末尾“傻者”对应前文之“学者”。整个句子翻译时，拆分成若干小句，故有此译文。

[171] 原文 After citing and dismissing all the interpretations and translations of native and foreign scholars alike. Dr. Giles of course finds out the true meaning, 旨在说明翟理思在考证“色难”之真正意义（即精微要义）时，参考了国内外参考资料中各种译文和释义。原文中的 interpretations 和 translations 都用复数。翻译这些复数名词时，对其前的动词采用了同义重复，如分词 citing 译为“旁征博引”。Dismiss 本义指“辩驳”、“辨别”，译为“去伪存真”。“旁征”与“博引”、“去伪”与“存真”都是同义反复。of course 意为“自然”、“当然”，译为“自”，“自”之古意曰“自然”，见汉·王充《论衡·订鬼篇》：“自见异物。”“悉览”是根据上下文而增加的字词。故整句译为：“翟理思悉览国内外之释义与译文，旁征博引，去伪存真，自当明其精微要义。”

[172] 原文 In order to show Dr. Giles harsh and unscholarly dogmatic manner, I shall here quote Dr. Giles' words with which he announces his discover. 其中 harsh

和 dogmatic 二词上文已经提及，为了使上下文连贯，翻译时增加“余曾曰”；show 为“证明”、“表明”之义，翻译时把表目的的不定式移位到句尾，译为“证之”。“证”之用法，见清·黄宗羲《柳敬亭传》：“援古证今。”

[173] 原文 It may seem presumptuous after the above exordium to declare that the meaning lies a la Bill Stumps(!) upon the surface, and all you have to do, as the poet says, is to “Stoop, and there it is / Seek it not right nor left!” 此段文字乃翟理思做学问时的肺腑之言，认为解字词之义特别辛苦、困难和无奈，故翟理思引诗句来表现自己这种无奈，因此，翻译时增加了“无奈”一词；seek 义为“寻觅”、“探求”、“研究”，此处译为“斟酌”，其用法见汉·诸葛亮《出师表》：“至于斟酌损益，进尽忠言。则攸之、祗、允之任也。”整句译为：“仅凭以上所言，而称其义亦即字面之义，恐有武断之嫌，是故，奈何人之所为者，皆当如此诗所言，曰：‘俯首可拾处处见；左斟右酌皆不是。’”

[174] 原文 when Tzu-hsia asked Confucius, “what is filial piety?” the latter replied simply, se (色) to define It, nan (难) is difficult, a most intelligible and appropriate answer. 其中 to define it ... is difficult 这些字词是翟斯理写作时字对字地翻译“色难”二字，从其字对字的翻译中可以看出，翟理思把“色”当做动词用，意为“给……下定义”。这样“色难”就被理解为“定其（指孝）义难”，显然翟理思理解有误。下文辜鸿铭针对翟氏译谬而加以批驳。a most intelligible and appropriate answer 为同位语，翻译时拆分为两个“何其……”引导的感叹句，“何其”之用法，见北宋·欧阳修《伶官传序》“誓天断发，泣下沾襟，何其衰也。”

[175] “方”指“方法”、“方式”，见清·方苞《狱中杂记》：“少有连必多方钩致。”“策”指“方法”、“策略”，见宋·文天祥《指南录·后序》：“余更欲一覘北，归而求救国之策。”

[176] “生动”之意，见清·王士禛《池北偶谈·谈艺六·武风子》：“瀛洲十八学士，须眉意态、衣褶剑履，细若丝粟，而一一生动”；“布”之用法，见《乐府诗集·长歌行》：“阳春布德泽。”

[177] 译文“何为之为为道德”，第一个“为”动词，意指“做”，第二个“为”名词，意指“行为”，第三个“为”动词，意指“是”。

[178] 原文 The difficulty, said Confucius, is with the manner of doing it. 此句虽冠以“孔子曰”，实乃辜鸿铭对孔子言语之阐释，而非孔子原话。

[179] 原文 making a great fuss. 辜鸿铭讥讽那些所谓的进步官员，故此处译为“手忙脚乱”，其义见宋·释普济《五灯会元》：“曰：‘如何是境中人？’师曰：‘手忙脚乱。’”

[180] “变革”之意，见宋·曾巩《自福州召判太常寺上殿札子》：“变革因循，号令必信，使海内观听，莫不震动。”

[181] “兵”作士兵解，见汉·司马迁《史记·廉颇蔺相如列传》“赵亦盛设兵待秦，秦不敢动。”

[182] 原文 styling themselves … as “famous savants” su ju (Titfill), 其中 styling oneself as 意为“使符合潮流”，此处译为“效”，其用法，见东汉·班固《白虎通·三教》：“教者，效也，上为之，下效之。”

[183] 夙儒，即宿儒。辜鸿铭文言文献中，常写成“夙儒”，见其《纲常名教定国论》。

[184] 原文 The idea was of course extremely ridiculous 其中 ridiculous 意为“滑稽”，其用法见明·刘基《卖柑者言》：“滑稽之流。”

[185] 原文 the highest attributes of a scholar or literary man 意为“学者或文人的最高特质”，亦即“境界”，其用法，见清·王国维《人间词话》：“古之成大事业，大学问者，必经过三种之境界。”

[186] 原文通篇以第一人称复数 we 角度论述，然其内容观点实为辜鸿铭个人观点，故翻译时采用两种方法处理。其一，译成汉语无主句形式；其二，译成汉语第一人称“余”。

[187] 原文 sound scholarship and thorough mastery of their subject, 其中 sound 意为“正统的”、“正派的”；subject 指研究的“学科”。翻译时拆分成两个小句，故译文为：“其学问正统严谨，其专攻博学精湛。”

[188] 原文句子结构复杂，翻译时按照古汉语的句法结构特点进行了必要的拆分。字词上，“标准”与“衡量”二词自古有之，见唐·杜甫《赠郑十八贲》“示我百篇文，诗家一标准。”《尚书（卷七）·五子之歌》“惟衡量之器耳。”

[189] “付梓”即“出版”之意，见明·吴应箕《答陈定生书》：“《东林本末》，采录最真，编定最确，即弟议论亦甚平恕，有关世道不小。今以原稿附上，幸即付梓也。”

[190] “例”是清朝最主要的法律形式统称，其下可分为条例、则例、事例、成例等名目；根据大清律例，故翻译择用“则例”，详见注[130]。

[191] 原文 We have been led to consider this question, 其中 question 并非真正疑问或问题，而应该是指论题或话题。故译为：“沿此话题而思之。”

[192] 原文 but attempts will be made at works of construction, at translations of the most perfect specimens of the national literature, 其中 construction 本义为“建构”，此处，可译为：“著书立说。” attempts 实乃“企想”之意，企想，见晋·潘安仁《射雉赋》：“甘疲心于企想。” the most perfect specimens of the national literature 指“精品”之意，其用法见清·王士禛《池北偶谈·谈艺四·外国墨》：“‘阳岩镇造’者，其国精品。”此句译为“而企想著书立说，译中国民族文学之精品。”

[193] 原文 imagine 意为“主观猜测”，故译为“臆度”，其用法见宋·苏轼《赠钱道人》：“书生芳信书，世事仍臆度。”

[194] 原文 these opinions, we hope, may not be construed to imply that we in any way plume ourselves upon our superiority: we claim only the advantage of our position. 其中 these opinions 指上文辜鸿铭提及自己将作出的见解；construe 意为“理解”、“分析”；plume 本义为“整理羽毛”，引申义为“自炫”；此句译为：“余以为，余有不同之见者，盖鉴于位置之优，仅此而已，而非自觉高于前辈，亦绝无自炫之意。”

[195] 原文 Indeed, even with regard to the written language 为介词短语，此处根据上下文，翻译成一个独立句子“非仅口头语切当如是，即或书面语亦概莫能外”，其中“概莫能外”之用法，见宋·范晔《后汉书·西域传》：“然好大不经，奇譎无已，虽邹衍谈天之辩，庄周蜗角之论，尚未足以概莫能外。”

[196] 在辜鸿铭的论文集中 heart 意为“心灵”；mind 意为“智慧”。

[197] 原文 Like all books written in Germany, it is a solid piece of work thoroughly well done. 辜鸿铭称为“狂儒”，故其语言多有表示“绝对”含义

之字词，如 all。逗号前后部分内容在进行类比（like），翻译时进行了易位：“德人著书向来严谨慎重，且无懈可击，此书亦概莫能外。”“向来”意为“一贯如此”，有表“绝对”含义，其用法见清·梁启超《谭嗣同传》：“向来不过笼络耳。”

[198] 原文 Such work as Dr. Williams' Middle Kingdom is a mere nursery story-book compared with it. 其中 it 指上文德人普拉特著的《满族》，此句原文实有讥讽卫裴列博士之意，故翻译时增加带有蔑视意之字“流”，句尾增加语气词“而已”，前后映衬，可加强辜氏讥讽之意；整句译为“卫裴列博士著有《中国总论》一书，然较之于普拉特之书，诸如此流之书，实乃幼稚园小人书而已。”

[199] 原文 justly 意为“公正”，其义与用法，见《朱子语类》卷二六：“只是好恶当理，便是公正。”翻译时把 justly 切分为一个句子，译为“此言甚为公正”。

[200] 译文“理雅各译孔子，若不能用心而尽解其意，且悉晓其义于其全貌者，则译而未译也。”其中“尽解于意”意为“在意思上完全理解”，见《皇帝内经》之《灵枢·禁服》：“尚讽诵弗置，未尽解于意矣”。“悉晓其义”与“尽解于意”同义，翻译时同义词重复，可使译文结构对称而无重复单调之感。

[201] 原文 a few, it is true, of really great scholastic importance; but none, we believe showing that Chinese scholarship has reached an important turning point. 原文两个分句属于让步—转折关系，翻译时处理成因果关系。原文前一个小句为肯定句，译文处理成否定句，即采用正反法。译为“然确有学术价值者，寥寥无几也，故余以为，中国学之转折点远未至也。”其中“寥寥无几”之用法，见明·胡应麟《诗薮·内篇》：“建安以后，五言日盛，晋宋齐间，七言歌行寥寥无几。”

[202] “无丝毫文学意味”中“丝毫”之意，见唐·韩愈《为河南令上留守郑相知启》：“愈为相公官属五年，辱知辱爱，伏念曾无丝毫事为报答效。”“意味”之意，见明·李贽《复丘长孺书》：“途间只恐逢着微生亩，渠必说些无意味言语。”

[203] 原文 Chinese Reader's Manual, 此处根据中华民国二十九年影印封面

汉语书目翻译。

[204] 原文 clear 与汉语“清新”使用方法有异曲同工之妙。汉语“清新”一词在古汉语中多用来形容文学作品风格，见晋·陆云《与兄平原书》之九：“兄文章之高远绝异，不可复称言。然犹皆欲微多，但清新相接，不以此为病耳。”宋·苏辙《次韵任遵圣见寄》：“诗句清新非世俗，退居安稳卜江天。”故，翻译时采用“清新”一词。

[205] 原文 vigorous 指“精神旺盛”、“强劲有力”，用来形容文风时，指文笔强劲锋利，充满激情；汉语“遒劲”本用来形容书法作品之笔力走势风格，见唐·司空图《送草书僧归越》：“僧生于东越，虽幼落于佛，而学无不至，故逸迹遒劲之外，亦恣为谑诗，以导江湖沉郁之气，是佛首而儒其业者也。”宋·张世南《游宦纪闻》卷四：“笔力遒劲可爱。”故翻译时直接采用“笔力遒劲”一词。

[206] 原文 the works of Confucius and his schools 若直译为“孔子及其流派之作品”，颇为啰唆累赘，故简洁译为“儒家经典”。

[207] 原文 But we have ventured it, and it will be expected of us to make good our judgment 其中 good 根据前后文，当做“公正”解，故译为：“然既已冒犯，余得公正评之。”

[208] 原文 we quote from the Chinese preface of Lin Hsi-chung, a recent editor of the Nan-hua King in reading a book, it is necessary to understand first the meaning of each single word: then only can you construe the sentences, then only can you perceive the arrangement of the paragraphs; and then, last of all, can you get at the central proposition of the whole chapter.” Now every page of Mr. Balfour’s translation bears marks that he has not understood the meaning of many single words, that he has not construed the sentences correctly, and that he has missed the arrangement of the paragraphs. If these propositions which we have assumed can be proved to be true, as they can easily be done, being merely points regarding rules of grammar and syntax, it then follows very clearly that Mr. Balfour has missed the meaning and central proposition of whole chapters. 其中 construe the sentences 之意为“分析句子结构”，实际上就是古汉语中“句读”，故译为：“解句读

之法。”propositions 指上一句所提到的“或不晓字词之义，或不解句读之法，或不知段落之布局”四个方面的硬伤，翻译时概括为：“以上诸般之误。”grammar and syntax 如翻译成“语法与句法”，不合古汉语之特点，在辜鸿铭看来，汉语极为简单，无西语之众多语法规则，但传统汉语强调遣词造句，因此把 grammar and syntax 译为“遣词造句”；同时把原文中陈述句翻译成自问自答的设问句。故有此译文：“其实，证之何难欤？只需参照遣词造句之规而可证之。”

[209] 汉语“晓畅”之用法，见汉·诸葛亮《出师表》“将军向宠，性行淑均，晓畅军事”。故译为“晓畅”。

[210] 《大学》被大多数外国人瞧不起，认为书内多为陈词滥调，老生常谈之内容。故讥讽戏称并杜撰一词为“Book of Platitudes”。辜鸿铭对此极为反感，且以《大学》之内容为证据，反唇相讥。因此，翻译时，此处把杜撰词“Book of Platitudes”也翻译成杜撰词《滥调经》。

[211] 原文 begin his study with the individual, to proceed from the individual to the family, and from the family to the Government 是辜鸿铭对《大学》理解后作出的阐释。《大学》原文内容为：“欲治其国者，先齐其家；欲齐其家者，先修其身。”原文中Government是大写，原指一国之治国人员构成的内阁或政府，而辜鸿铭认为是“国”。故译为“始于人，继而家，终而国。”

[212] 原文the government and administrative institutions of the country 直译为“国家的政府和行政管理”，此处翻译概称为“治国之法”。

[213] 原文 This is what we mean when we say that the student of Chinese should study the principles of individual conduct. 此前一言及民族研究者，the student of Chinese（习研中国人者）就属于民族研究者之列，故翻译时承前省略。其原因有二：其一，西语凡句必需主语，而汉语则未必；其二，汉语于一定上下文，凡陈述对象（主语）明确者，皆可省略。

[214] 原文 In other words, we mean to say that you must get at the national ideals 中 you 实际上是指上一句中 the student of Chinese should study the principles of individual conduct 中的 the student of Chinese（习研中国人者）在上一句中被略译，但意仍在。此句又把 you 还原，还原后译文句式就成了古汉语常用句式

“欲……必（先）……”。

[215] 原文 If it is asked how this is to be attained, we answer, by the study of the national literature, in which revelations of the best and highest as well as the worst side of the character of a people can be read. 是条件复合句，其中主句为省略句，补充完整应为 we answer that this can be attained by…其中 this 指上一句中 you must get at the national ideals（必先晓其民族之理想）翻译时，把原文条件复合句处理成前后两句，两句关系处理成自问自答句。

[216] 原文 The one object, therefore, which should engage the attention of the foreign student of Chinese, is the standard national literature of the people: whatever preparatory studies it may by[sic] necessary for him to go through should serve only as means towards the attainment of that one object. 此句结构极为复杂，先分析冒号前之原文。原文中 the one object 实为 one of the objects 的变体，可抽象为“one of + 复数名词”结构。因此翻译时，可用分句法把复数名词独立成句。故译文处理成“能吸外国人关注之目标者甚多，然目标之一者，乃中国民族之正统文学也。”原文冒号后的 by 疑为文章发表时排字有误而非辜鸿铭之过，应为 be；此句的正常语序当是 whatever preparatory studies should serve only as means towards the attainment of that one object, it may by[sic] necessary for him to go through. 其中 go through 意思为“完成”，宾语应该是 the standard national literature of the people。故译文为：“研必有所备；有所备者，乃成就之法也；唯有所备，方能成其就。”

[217] 原文 … the influence of the intercourse with the Arabs during the Middle Ages, upon European culture has not even to this day, altogether disappeared … 其中 not … disappeared 属反面表达，“没有消失”之意，译文采用正面表达，译为“犹存”。

[218] 原文 The foreign student of Chinese literature, therefore, has all the disadvantages to overcome which must result form the want of community of primary ideas and notions. 翻译时，对原文词序按先因后果进行了移位重组，故译为：“外国学者，其思想观念与中国人无共同之处，故习研中国文学，其优不在矣，须克之。”

[219] 原文 A venturesome translator would use the “love” and “righteousness” of the Bible, which are perhaps as exact as any other, having regard both for the sense of the words and the idiom of the language 中 having regard both for … and … 表示“既照顾到字词意义的准确（即信）又照顾到字词用法的准确（即达）”，简言之，就是“既信亦达”。整句译为：“译之大胆者，择《圣经》之字词 love 与 righteousness 而译‘仁’，译词甚为准确，既信亦达也。”

[220] 原文 the literature of a nation, if it is to be studied at all, must be studied systematically and as one connected whole, and not fragmentarily and without plan or order, as it has hitherto been done by most foreign scholars 中 systematically 意为“有系统地”、“有条不紊地”。翻译时择用“有条不紊”，其用法见语出《尚书·盘庚上》：“若网在纲，有条而不紊。” one connected whole 意为“连接在一起的整体”，简言之，“一体”，其用法，见唐·魏征《谏太宗十思疏》：“胡越为一体。”又见汉·诸葛亮《出师表》：“宫中府中，俱为一体。”故翻译时，择用“一体”。without plan or order 作状语修饰前面谓语 be studied 但后面的连词 as 表示“如同”之意，此状语在意义上也可修饰 has … been done。Plan 意为“计划”。order 意为“秩序”、“步骤”，翻译时为了使前后句子结构平衡匀称，进行了移位。without plan or order 拆分为两个小句“研无纲要，筹谋紊乱”。“筹谋”之用法见唐·白居易《杨景复可检校膳部员外郎六人同制》：“若修饰不已，筹谋有闻。”

[221] 原文从此句起连续使用“How little…!”句式构成感叹排比句，气势恢弘、强劲有力。翻译时也采用相同的古汉语句式“……者，罕（见）也！”其中 we have seen 隐含在“罕见”一词中。

[222] 原文 through 为介词，但其义为动词，即“通过”，“借助”。此处择用“借助”，其用法，见《左传·襄公四年》：“寡君是以愿借助焉。”原文 best 和 most commonplace 分别译为“杰出之作”和“平庸之品”。“杰出”之用法，见《三国志·诸葛亮传》：“雄姿杰出。”“平庸”之用法，见清·周亮工《倪母朱太夫人七十序》：“平庸之子，无英华可以自见，无名誉可以震俗。”“品”之用法见北宋·沈括《梦溪笔谈》：“盐之品至多。”

[223] 原文 Just fancy, if a foreigner were to judge of the English literature from

the works of Miss Rhoda Broughton, or that class of novels which form the reading stock of school-boys and nursery-maids! 是上一句原文的类比假设句，故用虚拟语气。既然是类比，故翻译时增添“犹如”一词，其用法见明·凌蒙初《二刻拍案惊奇》卷十七：“词人墨客得了此笺，犹如拱璧。”fancy 意为“胡思乱想，异想天开”，辜鸿铭用此词于此，有讥讽之意，故“胡思乱想”较确切，但翻译时则用“胡思乱量”，其用法见宋·朱熹《答潘文叔书》之一：“不要如此胡思乱量。”

[224] 原文 Another extraordinary judgment which used to be passed upon Chinese literature was, that it was excessively over-moral 其中 extraordinary 意为“离奇的”；judgment 意为“评论”、“判断”。二词合译为“奇谈怪论”，其用法见清·钱泳《履园丛话·耆旧·仲子教授》：“乾隆戊申岁，余往汴梁，遇毕秋帆中丞幕中，两眼若漆，奇谈怪论，咸视为异物，无一人与言者。”

[225] 原文 Thus the Chinese people were actually accused of over morality, while at the same time most foreigners are pretty well agreed that the Chinese are a nation of liars 此句是对前一句内容作进一步阐释，翻译时增加“此论”（即上一句中的“无道德论”），故此句译为：“此论实乃指责中国人无道德，以为中国民族乃撒谎之民族，且乐同此论者，众也！”

[226] 原文 led astray 意为“误入歧途”、“歧途”，其用法，见清·陆继辂《〈七家文钞〉序》：“吾常自荆川之歿，此道中绝。后有作者，复趋于歧途，以要一时之誉。”

[227] 原文 he has been betrayed into the use of expressions 中 betray 意为“暴露”、“泄露”，其主语通常是人，故此句用 he 作主语，实际上是指 his eagerness to emphasize the superiority of the Taoist over the orthodox school 即“重道家而轻正统之真挚之情”。此句本可译为：“其真挚之情，溢于言表。”然“溢于言表”多有褒奖之义，而此处辜氏有贬责之意，故可改译为：“其真挚之情，一览无遗。”“一览无遗”之用法，见宋·刘义庆《世说新语·言语》：“江左地促，不如中国，若使阡陌条畅，则一览而尽，故纡余委曲，若不可测。”

[228] 原文 But the social institutions, manners and customs of a people do not

grow up, like mushrooms, in a night, but are developed and formed into what they are, through long centuries, 其中 like mushrooms 是英语习语, 表示事物发展变化极快。此处采取直译加意译。译为: “然一民族之社会制度、礼仪风俗, 非如蘑菇, 可一夜即成, 而须经长年累月, 方可成矣。” “蘑菇”, 亦称“蘑菰”, 见明·李时珍《本草纲目·菜三·蘑菰蕈》: “蘑菰出山东、淮北诸处……长二三寸, 本小末大, 白色柔软。”

[229] 原文 The very fact...serves only to show...其中 serve only to show 意为“只能表明”, 此处译为“足见”, 其意与用法, 见宋·朱熹《答吴德夫书》: “承喻仁字之说, 足见用力之深。”

[230] 原文 without a knowledge of their history, therefore, no correct judgment can be formed of the social institutions of a people, 翻译时, 对原文句子成分进行了移位切分。句首介词短语 without...切分为一句; knowledge 转译成动词; judgment 和 of the social institutions of a people 重新组合, 并把 judgment 转译为动词。整句译为: “不晓中国之历史, 概不能评其社会制度, 即评亦谬也。”

[231] 原文 the people 指 the Chinese people, 故翻译时增加“中国”一词。

[232] 原文 Ceremony is simply the expression of reverence 并未指明其出处, 但根据其语气和判断句式看, ceremony 对应“礼”; reverence 对应“敬”; is 判断词; simply 对应语气词“而已”。整句译为: “礼者, 敬而已矣。”

[233] 原文 we now see how evident it is that a judgment of the manners and customs of a nation should be founded upon the knowledge of the moral principles of the people 翻译时, 加以拆分, 其中 a judgment... a nation 和 the knowledge... the people 分别拆分成小句, 然后用古汉语句式“欲……必……”连接即可。其中 we now see 为英文写作时过渡字词, 译为“可见”, 其用法, 见宋·赵与时《宾退录》卷三: “然后世正使匮乏极, 亦何肯出此令, 可见当时钱之艰得也。” how evident 译为: “显而易见”, 其用法, 见宋·王安石《洪范传》: “莫若质请天物之显而易见, 且可以为戒也。”

[234] 原文 Professor Lowes Dickinson of Cambridge University in an eloquent passage of his article on *The War and the Way out*, ... 其中 eloquent 意为“意味深长。”其用法, 见宋·程颢、程颐《河南程氏遗书》: “读之愈久, 但觉意味

深长。”

[235] 原文 The future (the future of civilisation in Europe, he means) cannot be moulded to any purpose until the plain men and women, workers with their hands and workers with their brains in England and in Germany and in all countries get together and say to the people who have led them into this catastrophe and will lead them into such again and again… 此句较长，但句子结构并不复杂，即英语句型“not…until…”；其中 all countries 是指欧洲所有国家，此处译为“欧洲之全体”；“全体”之义与用法，见宋·刘克庄《郊行》诗：“山晴全体出，树老半身枯。” get together 译为“同心并力”，其用法，见汉·贾谊《过秦论》：“且天下尝同心并力攻秦矣，然困于险阻而不能进者，岂勇力智慧不足哉？”翻译时，仍然按认知翻译程序则可得出译文，“英国、德国，乃至欧洲之全体，其当权者，已致其人民于灾难再三；唯其群黎百姓及工人，同心并力，恃其智慧，举其双手，起而抗之曰……”。

[236] 原文 And never again! You rulers, soldiers and diplomats, you who through the long agony of history have conducted the destinies of mankind and conducted them to hell, we do now repudiate you. 此处引文为迪金森所言，在迪金森看来，战乱之责，当由 rulers, soldiers and diplomats 负责，故其中 soldiers 译为“军阀”，而在辜鸿铭看来，并非如此，责在群氓崇拜，因此，在其他处，译为“军人”。译文中，“是可忍，孰不可忍”，隐含在原文中，翻译时将隐含之义明示化。

[237] “摆脱”之用法，见唐·韩偓《送人弃官入道》诗：“忸怩非壮志，摆脱是良图。”

[238] “前途”之用法，见清·梁启超《饮冰室合集·文集》：“前途似海。”

[239] 原文 the plain men and women 实际上就是指“民众”、“平民”。译为“群黎百姓”，其义见《诗·小雅·天保》：“群黎百姓，遍为尔德。”

[240] 原文 The plain men and women in Ireland in trying to take into their own hands the question even of how to govern themselves were actually flying at each others' throats and if this greater war had not come, would at this moment, be cutting

each other's throats. 其中 take into ... the question of ... 意为“介入”，此处译为“介居”，其用法，见《左传·襄公九年》：“介居二大国之间。”“自行”之用法，见《庄子·天下》：“以此教人，恐不爱人；以此自行，固不爱人。”“决断”之用法，见《吕氏春秋·决胜》：“勇则能决断。” flying at each others' throats 字面义为“飞夺他人之喉”，意为“攻击”。cut one's throat 字面义为“割喉”。此处辜鸿铭连用两个形象短语来表明群氓崇拜必然导致民众惨烈的自相残杀场面。因此，在翻译时采用直译法翻译，保留原文的形象。

[241] 原文 it was not the rulers, soldiers and diplomats who have led the plain men and women into this war 前后文颇多重复，翻译时，根据前一句而作简译“非也，非如此也。”

[242] 原文 these actual rulers have no say whatever in the government or conduct of public affairs in their countries 其中 have no say ... in ... 意为“在……方面，无发言权”；government 指“管理”而非“政府”；“conduct”指“实施”。

[243] 原文 to prevent a civil war 在句中属重复字词，翻译时承前异词而译。

[244] “讲演”之用法，见梁启超《论支那宗教改革》：“今讲演之间，时刻匆促，不能多引也。”

[245] 原文 the capacity of thought 意为：“人的思辨能力”，译为：“思理”，其义及用法，见《晋书·戴若思传》：“思理足以研幽，才鉴足以辩物。”

[246] 译文中“蹈规循矩”之用法，见明·徐霖《绣襦记·伪儒乐聘》：“空穷读数行书，蹈规循矩没是非。”“一成不变”之用法，见宋·叶适《上韩提刑》：“唯法令制时之要，而经术饰治之余，二者之间，久焉难居；一成不变，无乃过中。”

[247] 原文 in other words, merely to do whatever the plain men and women in the country tell them to do. 其中 them 指上文提及的外交官，直译为“换言之，群黎百姓有差使，外交官必行之。”由于辜鸿铭极其反感群氓崇拜，因此，此句含有讥讽之意，如直译，讥讽之意未能显现。所以译为“真可谓，下有差使，上必行之。”

[248] 原文 Bobus of Houndsditch, 其中 Bobus 本指“略懂英语之印度人”, 此处辜鸿铭指英国群氓。Houndsditch, 英国伦敦一街道名称, 此街道最早出现于13世纪, 属平民居住的低洼窝棚区, 沟壑纵横, 污水四溢, 垃圾死狗, 四处乱扔。故得此名。意译为: “肮脏窝棚区之巴布。”

[249] 原文 but every plain man and woman...are given full power ... the power to tell the actual ruler, soldier and diplomat what they are to do for the good and security of the nation.” 句中两个 power 为同位语, 是对前作进一步解释。在辜鸿铭看来, 实际统治者是军人及外交官(上), 却无权力, 而 every plain man and woman 为群黎百姓(下), 却享有至高无上之权力。故, 此句最后部分译为“下有所欲, 上必行之。”

[250] “欣戴”之用法, 见《国语·周语》: “庶民不忍, 欣戴武王。”

[251] “弥缝其阙, 而匡救其灾”之用法, 见《左传·僖公二十六年》: “纠合诸侯, 而谋其不协, 弥缝其阙, 而匡救其灾。”

[252] “盼眄”之用法, 见苏曼殊《焚剑记》: “妾与妹氏居此, 盼眄公子归来。”

[253] “约信盟誓”之用法, 见《荀子·富国》: “约信盟誓, 则约定而畔无日。”

[254] “讨探”之用法, 见宋·欧阳修《读梅氏诗有感示徐生》诗: “而幸知此乐, 又常深讨探。”“插手”之用法, 见宋·陈造《再次韵答许节推》: “宦途要处难插手、诗社丛中常引头。”“妄相干涉”之用法, 见《后汉书·东夷传·濊》: “不得妄相干涉。”

[255] “驾”之用法, 见《吕氏春秋·贵国》: “其乱至矣, 不可以驾矣。”

[256] 原文 because the rulers of the countries now at war, unless they are absolute incurable lunatics or demons, which everybody must admit that they are not, — no, not even, I will venture to say here, the most slandered man now in Europe, the Emperor of Germany, — they, the rulers of the countries now at war, must see that for them together to continue to spend nine million pounds sterling of the blood and sweat-earned money of their people everyday in order to slaughter the lives of thousands of innocent men and to destroy the homes and happiness of

thousands of innocent women, is really nothing but infernal madness. 此句甚长，但结构并不复杂。“—”之间的文字为插入语。because 之后 the rulers of the countries now at war 可以看做赘语（可以省略）。这样结构就变为“unless… + 主句”的结构。原文是正面表达，翻译时采用反面表达，原文是陈述句、译文采用设问句，这样更能表达原文所达之意图。原文men指“军人”；women指“妇女家庭”；see指“明白”，而非“看见”；译文中“疯魔”之用法，见《再生缘》第六十四回：“看到心中飘荡处，疯魔了，蓝巾彩袖二裙钗。”“无间狱”之义，见唐·玄奘《大唐西域记·秣底补罗国》：“今此论师，任情执见，毁恶大乘，堕无间狱。”

[257] 原文 this rate of spending and slaughtering 其中 rate 既可作“速度”解，亦可作“费用”解。根据汉语搭配习惯，分别译为“如此巨大之日耗，如此速度之屠戮。”

[258] “见得”之用法，见元·范康《竹叶舟》楔子：“或者他肯济助我，也未见得。”

[259] “坚持”之用法，见《新唐书·元澹传》：“岂悟章句之士，坚持昔言，……，果于仍故？”

[260] “简要”之用法，见唐·刘知几《史通·表历》：“文尚简要，语恶烦芜。”

[261] “理当”之用法，见南朝·梁·沈初明《劝进梁元帝第三表》：“四海同哀，六军祖哭；圣情孝友，理当感动。”

[262] “游行”之用法，见《二十年目睹之怪现状》第六七回：“把乡下人枷上，判在静安寺路一带游行示众。”“示威”之用法，见《左传唐·昭公十三年》：“叔向曰：‘诸侯不可以不示威。’”

[263] “发号布令”与“兴师动众”之用法，见《吴子·励士》：“夫发号布令，……兴师动众。”“开动”之用法，见《汉书·礼乐志》：“青阳开动，根荄以遂。”

[264] “制止”之用法，见三国·魏·刘劭《人物志·材理》：“凡人心有所思，则耳且不能听，是故并思俱说，竞相制止。”

[265] 原文 the Champion of the Liberalism of his time 其中 Champion 意为“冠

军”。译为“佼佼者”，其用法，见《后汉书·刘盆子传》：“卿所谓铁中铮铮，佣中佼佼者。”

[266] 原文 what is more, this Magna Charta of Loyalty, —this Religion of good citizenship with its Magna Charta of Loyalty, by enabling all good men and true to help their legitimate rulers to awe and keep down the mob—will enable the rulers of all countries to keep peace and maintain order in their own countries and in the world without the Knout, without policeman, without soldier; in one word without militarism. 句子较长，但结构不复杂，破折号之间为同位语。翻译时可先拆分为命题小句，分而译之。其中 to awe and keep down the mob 译为“威慑镇压”。“威慑”之用法，见唐·元稹《论教本书》：“赵高之威慑天下，而胡亥已自幽于深宫矣。”“镇压”之用法，见《晋书·唐彬传》：“今诸军已至，足以镇压内外。”to keep and maintain order 译为“使有保护”，其用法，见唐·孔颖达《尚书正义》：“成定东周郊境，使有保护。”

[267] 原文 tear up 中 up 意为“完全”、“彻底”，故译为“彻底撕毁”。“彻底”之用法，见《朱子语类》卷十九：“所谓诚其意者，表里内外彻底皆如此。”

[268] 原文 The great Soldier – Gentleman of Japan, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, after he had, with his sharp sword, cast the “devil of cruelty” out of old feudal Japan——just in the same way as the British “Unknown warrior” whom they lately buried in Westminster Abbey in England, has now cast the “devil” called Furor Teutonicus out of feudal Germany —— was on his death-bed, he sent for his grandson Iyemitsu and said to him, “You are the man who one day will have to govern an empire. Remember, the way to govern an empire is to have a gentle and tender heart (the Latin alma as in alma mater, the extreme gentle tenderness of a mother.” 此句所在段落与下文段落比较相同性。其中“Unknow warrior”乃辜鸿铭之笔误，应为“Unknown warrior”。此句中两个“——”之间内容为插入语，旨在引出下段内容。因此，翻译时，把此句内容移位到下一段开头，从而形成上下段落自然过渡。

[269] 原文 the windsor “Garter Inn” and introducing him to Mrs. Ford, Mrs.

Anne Page, Bardolf, Pistol, Nym 提及之地点、人物均出自莎士比亚之《温莎之风流娘们儿》。此处采用朱生豪之译名。

[270] 原文 Confucius in his time was so sick of hearing people talk of civilization that he once said, “Civilization, Civilization, is the cry now: but are carrying fine jades and wearing silk dresses the whole of civilization?” 此句是辜鸿铭翻译自《论语·阳货第十七》之十一，全句为：“礼云礼云，玉帛云乎哉？乐云乐云，钟鼓云乎哉？”辜鸿铭引用孔子言论以证明美国乃蛮夷之国，因为文明之本，在礼乐，礼尤甚。玉帛钟鼓只能是礼乐之外在形式而非全部。此处孔子言语之英译，与辜鸿铭翻译之《论语》全然不同。可见辜鸿铭对中国经典之理解亦有发展之过程。其英文《论语》曰：“Men speak about Art! Art! Do you really think that merely means painting and sculpture? Men speak about music! Music! Do you think that means merely bells, drums, and musical instruments?”

后 记



英国名学家约翰·穆勒有言曰：“欲考一国之文字语言，而能见其理极，非谙晓数国之言语文字者不能也。（严几道语）”昔严几道初览斯言而疑之，后深喻笃信。英国文学家德莱顿有言曰：诗，非诗才兼精通双语者不能译。斯二英人之言，林海于初识英文之时，倔而疑之。

若于约翰·穆勒之言，昔林海先于同班学友，自习他种外语，如日法德等语。若于德莱顿之言，昔林海时与同班学友，竞诵英汉古诗。诵英诗未曾有败绩，然诵汉诗却屡战屡败；故愤而兼学汉语于中文系，读先秦诸子。受诸子思想之熏染，渐好诸子之美学。拜美学名家王向峰教授为师；昔余常以书信求其解惑于诸子美学，至今受益匪浅，备感诚谢于心。后拜民俗学家、人类学家乌丙安教授为师，导师要求甚严，责我严于学且多所谙记；其所列须览之书目颇多，所涉及之科目有哲学、（文化）人类学、社会学、美学，所关涉之学者有康德、黑格尔、马林诺夫斯基、弗雷泽、霍姆斯、马克斯·韦伯、克罗齐、布洛、佛洛伊德。今思之，虽为浅涉，然于译事，亦大有裨益。理当诚谢吾师。

昔林海年轻气盛之时，常自恃博闻而自炫；今细察之，实为荒谬。今译辜鸿铭之《春秋大义》，虽觉以往学习之经历，于翻译有益而无害，然唯此时，方深喻笃信穆、德二人所言极是，犹穆勒之言甚是。其故何也？盖因辜部郎之《春秋大义》（《中国人之精神》），其文之论述也，时插有多种他国之语言；

欲见其理极，甚难矣；且辜部郎乃一代鸿儒，博闻强识，学贯中西，怪才狂人，当世无与伦比，后亦恐无来者，故译之，颇有诚惶诚恐之感。然几经努力及众多同仁师长之助，终成此译，且得以付梓，甚为欣慰，欣慰之余，林海尤当感谢以下同仁师长。

其一，感谢连真然。连真然，乃四川省政府奖评审专家、四川省译协副会长、四川新闻出版局审读专家、四川翻译学会之著名翻译家。此次屈其尊驾，而作林海译文之审校，林海甚为感动。真然老师，为人治学，人如其名，至少有二。其为人也真然。真然老师乃翻译大家，然为人谦和真然。林海翻译时，凡遇难解之处，必登门求教，初登门前，总有志忑不安，战战兢兢之感；然入门之时，真然老师必立于门前等候林海，慈祥谦和，笑脸相迎。围桌共商译法，凡疑难之处必以商讨之口吻字斟句酌，可谓为人也真然。此其一真然矣。其治学也真然。于翻译过程之中，时与林海沟通字词之用法，于难解之处，必嘱余左斟右酌。译稿初出，真然老师字字斟酌，标点用法，必加详注，错字别字，必作详解；若译名有误，必加以修正，且提供正确译法之典籍页码，供晚辈核实；于翻译中，常直言不讳，且提出真知灼见，此其二真然矣。幸哉，人生之中有如此良师！福哉，治学途中能有导师指点！如此良师，他人一生未必可遇，然林海却有如此福气，岂有不谢之理？

其二，感谢黄桂平君。桂平君乃林海之学友知己。其学修养甚高；其性温良敦厚；其政稳而有序；林海甚为敬佩；有幸与此君深交者，必视之为一生之学友知己。林海之所以倍加感谢者，盖因出版社最初力邀翻译此书者，桂平君也，而非林海是也。然桂平君义薄云天，力荐林海翻译。今终得完成译事，本想冠之其名，然其再三拒绝，曰，此乃辱人之举也。故林海只得放弃初衷。今之世人，风气日下，他人若有成就，总想据为己有，且心中卑鄙，脸竟无愧色，视之当然。如此人等，当不能与桂平君比肩。幸哉，今生得一知己者，足矣。

其三，感谢边川君。边川君，乃林海结识之好友。此君甚好国学，于《四书》《五经》、当今之时事，均有独到之见解；其虽执教于中学，然其国学修养甚高，林海自感不如。然此书译文幸得边川君句斟字酌之校阅，甚为欣慰。

其四，感谢金欣女士。金欣，乃四川文艺出版社之资深编辑。林海能成此

译，其功不可没。金欣女士，于翻译过程之中，时时与林海沟通，使林海明此次策划出版之意图，故翻译之时，根据意图，于翻译策略，而灵活变动，终成此译。

最后，感谢给予林海翻译帮助之其他同仁，如舒斌教授、李培西教授。分别于日语、法语给予林海无私帮助。

此书乃拙作《翻译认知心理学》所倡导理论之实践之作。二者结合，乃林海之心愿。疏漏之处，在所难免。谨请学界同仁，宽容指正。

颜林海 谨识

戊子年八月八日 于成都狮子山麓古道斋

chunqiu dayi



THE SPIRIT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

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**THE SPIRIT OF
THE CHINESE PEOPLE**

**THE object of this book is an attempt to
interpret the spirit and show the value of the
Chinese civilization...**

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SiChuanChuBanJiTuan

SiChuanWenYiChuBanShe



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PREFACE

THE object of this book is an attempt to interpret the spirit and show the value of the Chinese civilization. Now, in order to estimate the value of a civilization, it seems to me, the question we must finally ask is not what great cities, what magnificent houses, what fine roads it has built and is able to build; what beautiful and comfortable furniture, what clever and useful implements, tools and instruments it has made and is able to make; no, not even what institutions, what arts and science it has invented: the question we must ask, in order to estimate the value of a civilisation, — is, *what type of humanity*, what kind of men and women it has been able to produce. In fact, the man and woman, — the type of human beings — which a civilisation produces, it is this which shows the essence, the personality, so to speak, the soul of that civilisation. Now if the men and women of a civilisation show the essence, the personality and soul of that civilisation, the language which a man and woman speak, shows the essence, the personality, the soul the man and woman. The French say of literary composition, “*Le style, c'est l'homme.*” I have therefore taken these three things, the Real Chinaman, the Chinese woman and the Chinese language, — as the subjects of the first three essays in this volume to illustrate the spirit and show the value of the Chinese civilisation.

I have added to these, two essays in which I have tried to show how and why men, foreigners who are looked upon as authorities on the subject, do not really understand the real Chinaman and the Chinese language. The Rev. Arthur Smith, who wrote the Chinese characteristics, I have tried to show, does not understand the real Chinaman, because, being an American, — he is not deep enough to understand the real Chinaman. Dr. Giles again, who is considered a great sinologue, I have tried to show, does not really understand the Chinese language, because, being an Englishman, he is not broad enough, — he has not the philosophic insight and the broadness which that insight gives, I have wanted to include in this volume and

essay I wrote on J. B. Bland and Backhouse's book on the famous late Empress Dowager, but unfortunately I have not been able to find a copy of that essay which was published in the "National Review" in Shanghai some four years ago. In that essay, I have tried to show that, such men as J. B. Bland and Backhouse do not and cannot understand the real Chinese woman, — the highest type of woman produced by the Chinese civilisation viz the late Empress Dowager, because such men as J. B. Bland and Backhouse are not simple, — have not the simplicity of mind, being too clever and having, like all modern men, a distorted intellect¹. In fact, in order to understand the real Chinaman and the Chinese civilisation, a man must be deep, broad and simple, for the three characteristics of the Chinese character and the Chinese civilisation are: depth, broadness and simplicity.

The American people, I may be permitted to say here, find it difficult to understand the real Chinaman and the Chinese civilisation, because the American people, as a rule, are broad, simple, but not deep. The English cannot understand the real Chinaman and Chinese civilisation because the English, as a rule, are deep, simple, but not broad. The Germans again cannot understand the real Chinaman and the Chinese civilisation because the Germans, especially the educated Germans, as a rule, are deep, broad, but not simple. The French, — well the French are the people, it seems to me, who can understand and has understood the real Chinaman and the Chinese civilisation best². The French, it is true, have not the depth of nature of the Germans nor the broadness of mind of the Americans nor the simplicity of mind of the English, — but the French, the French people have to a preeminent degree a quality of mind such as all the people I have mentioned above as a rule, have not, — a quality of mind which, above all things, is necessary in order to understand the real Chinaman and the Chinese civilisation; a quality of mind viz: delicacy, for in addition to the three characteristics of the real chinaman and chinese civilisation which I have already mentioned, I must here add one more, and that the chief characteristic,

1 Mencius says, "What I hate in your clever men is that they always distort things. 所恶于智者为其凿也" Bk IV. Part II. 26

2 The best book written in any European Language on the spirit of the Chinese civilisation is a book called "La Cité Chinoise" by G.

— Eug. Simon who was once French Consul in China. It was from this book that Prof. Lowes Dickinson of Cambridge, as he himself told me, drew his inspiration in writing his famous "Letters from John Chinaman."

namely delicacy; delicacy to a preeminent degree such as you will find nowhere else except perhaps among the ancient Greeks and their civilisation.

It will be seen from what I have said above that the American people if they will study the Chinese civilisation, will get depth; the English, broadness; and the Germans, simplicity; and all of them, Americans, English and Germans by the study of the Chinese civilisation, of Chinese books and literature, will get a quality of mind which, I take the liberty of saying here that it seems to me, they all of them, as a rule, have not to a preeminent degree, namely, *delicacy*. The French people finally, by the study of the Chinese civilisation, will get all, — depth, broadness, simplicity and a still finer delicacy than the delicacy which they now have. Thus the study of the Chinese civilisation, of Chinese books and literature will, I believe, be of benefit to all the people of Europe and America. I have therefore added to this volume an essay on Chinese scholarships, — the sketch of a programme how to study Chinese, which I made for myself when I made up my mind and began, after my return from Europe, to study the civilisation of my own country, exactly now their years ago; this sketch of a programme how to study Chinese which I hope will be of help to those who want to study Chinese and the Chinese civilisation.

Last of all, I have included as an appendix an essay on practical politics, — an essay on “The War and the Way out.” Knowing full well the danger of entering into the arena of practical politics, I nevertheless do it, because in order to prove the value of the Chinese civilisation, I want to show how the study of the Chinese civilisation can help to solve the problem facing the world today, — the problem of saving the civilisation of Europe from bankruptcy. In fact I want to show that the study of Chinese, of Chinese books and Chinese literature is not only a hobby for sinologues.

In this essay, I have tried to show the moral causes which have brought on this war; for until the true moral causes of this war are understood and remedied, there can be no hope of finding a way out of it. The moral causes of this war, I have tried in my essay to show, are the *worship of the mob* in Great Britain and the *worship of might* in Germany. I have, in my essay, laid emphasis more upon the worship of the mob in Great Britain, than the worship of might in Germany, because looking impartially upon the question, it seems to me that it is the worship of the mob in Great Britain, which is responsible for the worship of might in Germany; in fact, the worship of the mob in all European countries and especially in Great Britain, it was this which has created the enormous German Militarism which everybody now hates and denounces.

Now let me first of all say here that it is the *moral fibre* in the German nation, their intense love of righteousness and, as a consequence, their equally intense hatred¹ of unrighteousness, hatred of all untidiness and disorder (Unzucht und Unordnung), which makes the German people believe in and worship might. All men who intensely love righteousness, who intensely hate unrighteousness are inclined to believe in and worship might. The Scotch Carlyle, for instance, believed in and worshipped might. Why? Because Carlyle with the German moral fibre in him intensely hated unrighteousness. Now the reason why I say that it is the worship of the mob in Great Britain which is responsible for the worship of the mob in Great Britain which is responsible for the worship of might in Germany, is because, the *moral fibre* - the intense hatred of unrighteousness, of untidiness and disorder in the German nation makes them hate the mob, the worship of the mob and the mob worshippers in Great Britain. After the German nation saw how the mob and the worshipping politicians of Great Britain made the Boer War in Africa, their *instinctive* intense hatred² for the mob, the mob - worship and the mob-worshippers in Great Britain made the German nation willing to make heavy sacrifices, made the *whole German nation ready to starve themselves to create a Navy* with the hope to put down the mob, the mob - worship and the mob-worshippers in Great Britain. In fact, the German nation, I may say, found themselves surrounded on all sides by the mob, mob - worship and mob worshippers encouraged by Great Britain in all Europe and this made the German nation believe more and more in might, made the German nation worship might as the only salvation for mankind. This worship of might in Germany created by the hatred for the Religion of mob worship in Great Britain, thus created the enormous monstrous German Militarism which everybody now hates and denounces.

Thus, I say again, it is the worship of the mob, the Religion of the worship of the mob in all European countries, especially in Great Britain, which is responsible

1 The famous telegram of the German Emperor to President Kruger was an instinctive outburst of indignation of the true Germanic soul with its moral fibre against Joseph Chamberlain and his Cockney class in England, who manipulated the Boer War.

2 The famous telegram of the German Emperor to President Kruger was an instinctive outburst of indignation of the true Germanic soul

with its moral fibre against Joseph Chamberlain and his Cockney class in England, who manipulated the Boer War.

for the worship of might in Germany; which has created the abnormous enormity and monstrosity of German Militarism in Europe today. If therefore the people in Great Britain and the people in all European countries and America want to put down German Militarism, — they must try first to put down the mob, the mob-worshippers and the Religion of mob-worship in their own countries¹. To the people of Europe and America, and in Japan and China too, today who speak of and want liberty, I will venture here to say that the only way, it seems to me, to get liberty, true liberty is to behave themselves; to learn to behave themselves properly. Look at China before this Revolution. There was more liberty among the Chinese people, — no priest, no policeman, no Municipal tax, no income tax to bother them - more liberty among the Chinese than among any other people in the world; and why? Because the Chinese people before this Revolution behaved themselves; knew how to behave themselves; knew how to behave themselves as *good citizens*. But now after this Revolution — there is less liberty in China, and why? Because the modern queueless, up-to-date Chinamen, the returned students have learnt from the people of Europe and America, — learnt from the European mob in Shanghai how to *misbehave themselves*; to behave themselves not as good citizens, but as a *mob*—a mob encouraged, coddled and worshipped by the British diplomats and the British Inspector General of Customs in Peking². In fact, what I want to say here is, that if the people in Europe, the people in Great Britain want to put down German Militarism, Prussian Militarism, they must keep the mob in their own countries

1 Confucius said to a disciple “when outside nations are dissatisfied with you, you should cultivate civil or Civic virtues (远人不服则修文德).” The British aristocracy, however, like the Manchu aristocracy in China, are now helpless against the mob and mob worshippers in England. But it is, I must say, a great credit to the British aristocracy that not one of them as far as I know, has joined the mob in England in their shout, howl and yell in this war.

2 To show what a mob the Chinese returned students have become, I may mention here that some of these students in Peking last year actually wrote letters to the “Peking Gazette,” a newspaper conducted by a clever Chinese “Babu” by the name of Eugene Chen, openly threatening to organise and carry out a public assault upon me for criticising the new Chinese woman in my essay on “the Chinese woman.” This clever Chinese “Babu” Eugene Chen the instigator of the contemplated piece of rowdyism now is a respected member of the Committee of the Anglo-Chinese Friendship Bureau under the patronage of the British Minister and the I. G. of the Chinese Customs!

behave themselves properly; in fact they must put down the Religion of mob-worship, and the mob-worshippers in their own countries.

But now while I say that the British people with their mob worship and encouragement of mob-worship are responsible for the worship of might in Germany, for German Militarism, I must at the same time say here that, looking again impartially upon the question, it seems to me that the *direct* responsibility for this war rests more heavily upon the German people, upon the German nation, than upon anybody else.

In order to understand this, let me first of all here give the history of German militarism in Europe. After the Reformation and the Thirty Years War, the Germanic nations, the people of the Germanic race with their *moral fibre*, with their intense love of righteousness and their intense hatred of unrighteousness, hatred of all untidiness and disorder, the German people, with Militarism as a sword in their hand, became the rightful guardian of civilisation in Europe. In other words, the responsibility for putting order and tidiness (*Zucht und Ordnung*) in Europe; in fact, the *moral hegemony* so to speak of Europe came into the hands of the German people. After the Reformation, Frederick the Great, like Cromwell in England, had to take up and use the sword of German Militarism to put order and tidiness in Europe and he succeeded in putting order and tidiness at any rate in the Northern part of Europe. Now see what happened after Frederick the Great's death. His successor did not know how to use the sword of German Militarism in order to guard and protect the civilisation of Europe; in fact, he was unfit to hold the moral hegemony of Europe. The result was, the whole of Europe, even the courts in Germany became a bottomless pit of abominations covered up only with the veneer of civilisation; so much so that at last the suffering population, the plain men and women in France rose up with pikes to protest against the abominations. The plain men and women in France who rose up to protest against the abominations very soon became a *mob*, and this mob finally found a great and able leader, Napoleon Bonaparte¹, who led them to rob, murder, kill and ravage all Europe until the nations in Europe rallying round the small nucleus of *sound* German militarism left in Europe, put an end to the career of the great leader of the mob at water 100. After this the moral hegemony of Europe

1 Emerson with great insight, says, "What sent Napoleon to St. Helen, was not loss of battles, but the parvenu, the vulgar ambition in him — the vulgar ambition to marry a real Princess, to found a dynasty."

should have returned to the people of the Germanic race, to the Prussians, the backbone of the German nations. But the jealousy of the other races which formed the Austrian Empire prevented this. The result was that without the German Militarism to keep down the mob, the mob in 1848 again rose up furiously to break the civilisation, of Europe. Then again the German nation — the backbone of the Germanic nations, the Prussians with their moral fibre and the sword of German Militarism, saved Europe, — saved Kingship, (Bismarck called it the dynasty), saved civilisation in Europe from the mob.

But now the Austrians, — the other races forming the Austrian Empire again became jealous and would not allow the German nation, — the backbone of the Germanic nations, Prussia to take over the moral hegemony of Europe until 1866 when the Prussian King Wilhelm with Bismarck and Moltke had to put down the Austrian jealousy by force and took over the hegemony into their hands. After this, Louis Napoleon, not like this great uncle a leader, but a swindler of the mob or, as Emerson calls him, a successful thief, tried with the mob of Paris behind him, to dispute and wrest the moral hegemony of Europe from the German nation. The result was that the Emperor Wilhelm with the sharp sword of German militarism in his hand had to march to Sedan and put down the poor successful thief and swindler of the mob. The plain men and women of Paris who put their trust in the mob and the swindler of the mob had their houses sacked and burnt *not by the German Militarism*, not by the Germans and Prussians, but by the very mob in whom they put their trust. After 1872, — not only the moral, but the actual political hegemony of German Militarism in their hand, to hold down the mob and keep the peace in Europe and thanks to the moral fibre in the German nation and the sword of German Militarism, Europe since 1872 has now enjoyed peace for 43 years. Thus people who abuse and denounce German Militarism and Prussian Militarism should remember how much Europe owes to this very German, this Prussian Militarism which they now abuse and denounce.

I have in the above taken the trouble to give this rough short sketch of the German Militarism in Europe in order to make the German people see that I am not prejudiced against them in saying what I am going to say to show that the actual *direct* responsibility for this war rests more heavily upon them, upon the German people and German nation than upon anybody else. I say that the actual direct responsibility for this war rests more heavily upon the German people and German

nation than upon anybody else; and why? — because *power means responsibility* ¹.

I say that it is the intense love of righteousness, the intense hatred of unrighteousness, intense hatred of all untidiness and disorder (Unzucht und Unordnung) in the German people which makes them believe in and worship might. Now I want to say here that this hatred of unrighteousness, hatred of untidiness and disorder, when it becomes over-intense, when it is carried to excess becomes also an *unrighteousness*, becomes a frightful and terrible unrighteousness, something more sinful and wrong even than untidiness and disorder. It was this over intense hatred of unrighteousness which came from their intense love of righteousness, the intense, narrow, hard, rigid hatred of unrighteousness carried to excess in the old Hebrew people - the Hebrew people to who the people of Europe owe their knowledge and love of righteousness, it was this which destroy the Jesus Christ came to save His people. Christ, with what Matthew Arnold calls his unspeakable sweet reasonableness said to his own people: “Learn of me, that I am *mild* and lowly and yet shall have peace in your souls.” But the Jews — his own people would not listen to him; they, instead of listening to him, crucified him and the consequence was —the Jewish nation perished. To the Romans who were then the guardians of civilisation in Europe, Christ said, “they that take the sword shall perish with the sword!” ² But the Romans would not listen, allowed the Jews to crucify him. The consequence was — the Roman Empire and the old civilisation of Europe perished and passed away. Goethe says: “What a long way mankind must have travelled before they came to know how to deal gently even with sinners, to be merciful to law-breakers, *and to be human even to the inhuman*. Truly they were men of Divine nature who first taught this and who gave their lives for it in order to make the realisation of this possible and to hasten the practice of it. (Welchen weg musste nicht die Menschheit machen, bis sie dahin gelangte, auch gegen Seluldige gelind, gegen Verbrecher schonend, gegen auch Unmenschliche menschlich zu sein. Gewiss waren as Manner göttlicher Natur, die dies zuerst lehrten, die ihr Leben damit zubrachten, die Ausübung möglich zu machen und zu beschleunigen.) ”

1 Confucius says, “Possession of power without leniency and generosity is a thing which I never can bear to see. (居上不宽吾何以观之)” Shakespeare says: “Oh, it is glorious to have a giant’s strength: but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant.”

2 That is to say, all who depend and put their faith solely upon material brute force or as Emerson says, who believe in the vulgar musket worship.

With those words of their great Goethe I will endure here to appeal to the German people, to the German nation and say to them that, unless they find a way to put down their narrow, hard, rigid, excessive hatred of unrighteousness which makes them believe so absolutely in and worship might — they, the German nation, like the Jewish nation, will perish and what is more, the modern civilisation of Europe for want of a strong guardian, will collapse and pass away just as the ancient civilisation of Europe passed away. For it is this over-intense, narrow hard, rigid hatred of unrighteousness which makes the German people, the German nation believe in and worship might; and it is this absolute belief in and worship of might which makes the German nation, the German diplomats, German officials and the German people so inconsiderate and tactless in their behaviour towards other people. When my German friends have asked me to show them a proof of the German worship of might, of German tactlessness, I have simply pointed the Kettler memorial in Peking to them. The Kettler memorial in Peking is a standing monument of the German worship of might, of the tactlessness of the German diplomacy, the tactlessness of the German nation in their international dealings with other nations¹. It was this worship of might of the German nation, this tactlessness of the German diplomacy of which the Kettler memorial is a standing monument, which made the Emperor of Russia say: “We have stood this for seven years; now it must finish;” this tactlessness of the German diplomacy which made the really peaceloving Emperor of Russia and the best people in Europe, the soundest, most loveable, kindest and most generous — hearted people in Europe the Russians take the side of the mob and mob-worshippers in Great Britain and in France, which created the Triple — Entence; which made the Russians finally take the side even of the anarchic mob in Servia and thus brought on this war. In one word it is this tactlessness of the German diplomacy, of the German people, of the German nation which is *directly* responsible for this war.

1 The German Minister Baron Kettler during the fanatic Boxer outbreak in China was accidentally killed by a madman from the fanatic soldiery. As a punishment for this act of a mad man, the German diplomats insisted upon branding the whole Chinese nation on the forehead with an indelible mark of humiliation, by having this Kettler memorial erected in the principle street of the Chinese Capital. See note on Page 12. The late Count Cassini, Russian Minister in Peking just before the Boxer outbreak, said in an interview with an American journalist, “The Chinese are a polite people, but the impoliteness of the British and German Minister, — especially of the German Minister in Peking is something outrageous.”

I say therefore, if the German nation at this moment the true, rightful and legitimate guardian of the modern civilisation of Europe today, is not to perish and the modern European civilisation is to be saved, — the German nation, the German people must find a way to put down their over-intense, narrow, hard, rigid hatred of unrighteousness which makes them believe so absolutely in and worship might; in fact they must find away to put down their absolute belief in and worship of might which makes them so inconsiderate and tactless. But then, where are the German nation, the German people to find a way to put down their absolute belief in and worship of might? The German nation, the German people, I say, will find this in these words of their great Goethe. Goethe says: “*There are two peaceful powers in this world: Right and Tact.*” (Es gibt zwei friedliche Gewalten auf der Welt: Das Rech und die Schicklichkeit.)

Now this Right and Tact, *Das Recht und die Schicklichkeit*, is the essence of the Religion of good citizenship which Confucius gave to us Chinese here in China; this Tact, this *Schicklichkeit*, especially, is the essence of the Chinese civilisation. The Religion in the civilisation of the Hebrew people taught the people of Europe the knowledge of Right, but it did not teach Tact. The civilisation of Greece taught the people of Europe the knowledge of Tact but it did not teach Right. But the Religion in the civilisation of China teaches us Chinese both Right and Tact, — *das Recht und die Schicklichkeit*. The Hebrew Bible, the plan of civilisation according to which the people of Europe have built their present modern civilisation, teaches the people of Europe to love righteousness, to be righteous men, to do right. But the Chinese Bible -the Five Canons and Four Books in China, the plan of civilisation which Confucius saved for us the Chinese nation, teaches us Chinese also to love righteousness; to be righteous men; to do right, but it adds: “Love righteousness, be righteous men, do right — but *with good taste.*” In short, Religion in Europe says: “Be a good man .” But the Religion in china says: “Be a good man *with good taste.*” Christianity says: “love Mankind.” But Confucius says: “Love Mankind *with good taste.*” This Religion of righteousness with good taste, which I have called the Religion of good citizenship, is the new religion I believe, which the people of Europe, especially the people of the countries now at war, want at this moment not only to put an end to this war, but to save the civilisation of Europe, to save the civilisation of the world. This new Religion, the people Europe will find here in China, — in the Chinese civilisation. I have therefore in this little book made the attempt to interpret and show the value of this, — the Chinese civilisation. I do

this with the hope that all educated serious thinking people, who read this book of mine will, by reading this book, better understand the moral causes of this war and understanding the moral causes of this war, will all help to put an end to this cruel, inhuman, useless and most monstrous war which the world has ever seen.

Now if we want to help to put an end to this war, we must, all of us, try to put down first the worship of the mob and then the worship of might in the world today, which, as I have said, are the cause of this war. We can put down the worship of the mob, only when in our daily life, in everything we say and do, every one of us will think, not of interests, of expediency - *of what will pay*, but think of that word in Goethe's saying - *Right*. Confucius says: "the gentleman understands *right*; the *cad* understands *interests*, — *what will pay*." Further we can only put down the worship of the mob in the world when we have the courage, even if it does not pay to do so, to refuse to join and go in with the crowd - with the *mob*. Voltaire says: "C'est le malheur des gens honnêtes qu'ils sont des laches. It is the misfortune of so - called good people that they are cowards." For it is the selfishness and cowardice in all of us, I want to say here, selfishness which makes us think of interests, of expediency, of what will pay, instead of right, and cowardice which makes us afraid to stand up alone against the crowd, against the mob, — it is this selfishness and cowardice in all of us which has given rise and created the mob and the worship of the mob in the world today. People say German Militarism is the enemy and danger of the world today. But I say it is the selfishness and cowardice in all of us which is the real enemy of the world today: selfishness and cowardice in all of us, which, when combined, becomes Commercialism. It is this spirit of Commercialism, in all countries of the world, especially in Great Britain and America, which is the real enemy of the world today. It is, I say, this spirit of Commercialism in all of us and not Prussian Militarism which is the real, the greatest enemy of the world today. For it is this Commercialism, a combination of selfishness and cowardice which has created the Religion of the worship of the mob and it is this Religion of the worship of the mob in Great Britain which has created the Religion of the worship of might in Germany, created the German Militarism which, as I said, finally brought on this war. *The fons et origo* of

this war, I say, therefore in not militarism, but *Commercialism*, which, as I said, is combination of selfishness and cowardice in all of us. Thus, if we want to help to put an end to this war, we must, all of us, first put down the spirit of Commercialism, the combination of selfishness and cowardice in us; in short, we must first of all, think of *right* and not of interests and then have the courage to stand up against the crowd, against the mob. In this way, I say, and *only in this way* we can help to put down the worship of the mob, the Religion of the worship of the mob, we can help to put an end to this war.

Now as soon as we have put down the worship of the mob, it will then be very easy to put down the worship of might, easy to put down German Militarism, put down Prussian Militarism. The only thing we will have to do, in order to put down the worship of might, to put down German, Prussian or any Militarism in the world, is to think of the other word in that saying of Goethe — *Schicklichkeit, Tact, Good Taste* and, in thinking of that, to behave with tact and good taste, in short to behave properly; for might, Militarism, even Prussian Militarism can do nothing and will soon find itself useless and unnecessary against people who know how to behave themselves properly. This then is the essence of the Religion of good citizenship; this is the secret of the Chinese civilisation. This is also the secret of the new civilisation of Europe which the German Goethe gave to the people of Europe and the secret of this civilisation is: to put down force, *not* by force, but by *right and tact*; in fact to put down force and everything that is evil in this world, not by force, but by ordering our conversation aright and behaving ourselves properly; and ordering our conversation aright and behaving properly means *to do right and to behave with tact and good taste*¹. This is the secret, the soul of the Chinese civilisation, the essence of the spirit of the Chinese people, which I have tried in this book to interpret and explain. Finally I will here conclude with the words with which I concluded the book “Papers from a Viceroy’s Yamen” which I wrote after the Boxer trouble in China. They are the words

1 Confucius says: “The moral man, the gentleman by living a life of simple truth and earnestness can bring peace to the world(君子笃恭而平天下).”

of the French poet Beranger and I think they are very appropriate at the present moment.

*J'ai Vu La Paix descendre sur la terre,
Semant de l'or des fleurs et des épis;
L'air était calme et du Dieu de la guerre
Elle étouffait les foudres assoupis.*

*Ah! Disait — elle, egaux par la vaillance.
Anglais, Français, Belge, Russe ou Germain,
Peuples, formez une sainte alliance
Et donnez vous la main!*

KU HUNG – MING
Peking, 20th April, 1915

INTRODUCTION

The Religion of Good — citizenship

*Sage, thun wir nicht recht? Wir müssen den Pöbel betrügen,
Sich nur, wie ungeschickt, sich nur wie wild er sich zeigt!
Ungeschick und wild sind alle rohen Betrogenen ;
Seid nur redlich und führt ihn zum Menschlichen an. ¹*

— Goethe

THE great war at the present moment is absorbing all the attention of the world exclusive of everything else. But then I think this war itself must make serious thinking people turn their attention to the great problem of civilisation. All civilisation begins by the conquest of Nature, i.e., by subduing and controlling the terrific physical forces in Nature so that they can do no harm to men. The modern civilisation of Europe today has succeeded in the conquest of Nature with a success, it must be admitted, hitherto not attained by any other civilisation. But there is in this world a force more terrible even than the terrific physical forces in Nature and that is the passions in the heart of man. The harm which the physical forces of Nature can do to mankind, is nothing compared with the harm which human passions can

¹ Aren' t we just doing the right thing? the mob we must befool them;
See, now, how shiftless! And look now how wild! for such is the mob
Shiftless and wild all sons of Adam are when you befool them;
Be but honest and true, and thus make human, them all.

do. Until therefore this terrible force, — the human passions - is properly regulated and controlled, there can be, it is evident, not only no civilisation, but even no life possible for human beings.

In the first early and rude stage of society, mankind had to use physical force to subdue and subjugate human passions. Thus hordes of savages had to be subjugated by sheer physical force. But as civilisation advances, mankind discovers a force more potent and more effective for subduing and controlling human passions than physical force and this force is called *moral force*. The moral force which in the past has been effective in subduing and controlling the human passions in the population of Europe, is Christianity. But now this war with the armament preceding it, seems to show that Christianity has become ineffective as a moral force. Without an effective moral force to control and restrain human passions, the people of Europe have had again to employ physical force to keep civil order. As Carlyle truly says, "Europe is Anarchy plus a constable." The use of physical force to maintain civil order leads to militarism. In fact militarism is necessary in Europe today because of the want of an effective moral force. But militarism leads to war and war means destruction and waste. Thus the people of Europe are on the horns of a dilemma. If they do away with militarism, anarchy will destroy their civilisation, but if they keep up militarism, their civilisation will collapse through the waste and destruction of war. But Englishmen say that they are determined to put down Prussian militarism and Lord Kitchner believes that he will be able to stamp out Prussian militarism with three million drilled and armed Englishmen. But then it seems to me when Prussian militarism is thus stamped out, there will then arise another militarism, — the British militarism which again will have to be stamped out. Thus there seems to be no way of escape out of this vicious circle.

But is there really no way of escape? Yes, I believe there is. The American Emerson long ago said, "I can easily see the bankruptcy of the vulgar musket worship, — though great men be musket worshippers; and 'tis certain, as God liveth, the gun that does need another gun, the law of love and justice alone can effect a clean revolution." Now if the people of Europe really want to put down militarism, there is only one way of doing it and that is, to use what Emerson calls the gun that does not need another gun, the law of love and justice, — in fact, moral force. With an effective moral force, militarism will become unnecessary and disappear of itself. But now, that Christianity has become ineffective as a moral force the problem is where are the people of Europe to find this new effective moral force which will

make militarism unnecessary?

I believe the people of Europe will find this new moral force in China, — in the Chinese civilisation. The moral force in the Chinese civilisation which can make militarism unnecessary is the Religion of good citizenship. But people will say to me, “There have also been wars in China.” It is true there have been wars in China; but, since the time of Confucius 2,500 years ago, we Chinese have had no militarism such as that we see in Europe today. In China war is an accident, whereas in Europe war has become a necessity. We Chinese are liable to have wars, but we do not live in constant expectation of war. In fact the one thing intolerable in the state of Europe, it seems to me, is not so much war as the fact that every body is constantly afraid that his neighbour as soon as he gets strong enough to be able to do it, will come to rob and murder him and he has therefore to arm himself or pay for an armed policeman to protect him. Thus what weighs upon the people of Europe is not so much the accident of War, but the constant necessity to arm themselves, the absolute necessity to use physical force to protect themselves.

Now in China because we Chinese have the Religion of good citizenship a man does not feel the need of using physical force to protect himself; he has seldom the need even to call in and use the physical force of the policeman, of the State to protect him. A man in China is protected by the sense of justice of his neighbour; he is protected by the readiness of his fellow men to obey the sense of moral obligation. In fact, a man in China does not feel the need of using physical force to protect himself because he is sure that right and justice is recognised by every body as a force higher than physical force and moral obligation is recognised by every body as something which must be obeyed. Now if you can get all mankind to agree to recognise right and justice, as a force higher than physical force, and moral obligation as something which must be obeyed, then the use of physical force will become unnecessary; then there will be no militarism in the world. But of course there will be in every country a few people, criminals, and in the world, a few savages who will not or are not able to recognise right and justice as a force higher than physical force and moral obligation as something which must be obeyed. Thus against criminals and savages a certain amount of physical or police force and militarism will always be necessary in every country and in the world.

But people will say to me how are you to make mankind recognise right and justice as a force higher than physical force. I answer the first thing you will have to do is to convince mankind of the efficacy of right and justice, convince them that

right and justice is a power; in fact, convince them of the *power of goodness*. But then again how are you to do this? Well, — in order to do this, the Religion of good citizenship in China teaches every child as soon as he is able to understand the meaning of words, that *the Nature of man is good*¹.

Now the fundamental unsoundness of the civilisation of Europe today, it seems to me, lies in its wrong conception of human nature; its conception that human nature is evil and because of this wrong conception, the whole structure of society in Europe has always rested upon force. The two things which the people of Europe have depended upon to maintain civil order are Religion and Law. In other words, the population of Europe has been kept in order by the fear of God and the fear of the Law. Fear implies the use of force. Therefore in order to keep up the fear of God, the people of Europe had at first to maintain a large number of expensive idle persons called *priests*. That, to speak of nothing else, meant so much expense, that it at last became an unbearable burden upon the people. In fact in the thirty years war of the Reformation, the people of Europe tried to get rid of the priest. After having got rid of the priests who kept the population in order by the fear of God, the people of Europe tried to maintain civil order by the fear of the Law. But to keep up the fear of the Law, the people of Europe have had to maintain another class of still more expensive idle persons called *policemen and soldiers*. Now the people of Europe are beginning to find out that the maintenance of policemen and soldiers to keep civil order, is still more ruinously expensive than even the maintenance of priests. In fact, as in the thirty years war of the Reformation, the people of Europe wanted to get rid of the priest, so in this present war, what the people of Europe really want, is to get rid of the soldier. But the alternatives before the people of Europe if they want to get rid of the policeman and soldier, is either to call back the priest to keep up the fear of God or to find something else which, like the fear of God and the fear of the Law, will help them to maintain civil order. That, to put the question broadly, I think, everybody will admit, is the great problem of civilisation before the people of Europe after this war.

Now after the experience which they have had with the priests, I do not think the people of Europe will want to call back the priests. Bismarck has said, "We will never go back to Canossa." Besides, even if the priests are now called back, they

1 The first sentence of the first book that is put into the hands of every child in China when he goes to school.

would be useless, for the fear of God is gone from the people of Europe. The only other alternative before the people of Europe therefore, if they want to get rid of the policeman and soldier, is to find something else, which, like the fear of God and the fear of the Law, can help them to maintain civil order. Now this something, I believe, as I have said, the people of Europe will find in the Chinese civilisation. This something is what I have called the Religion of good citizenship. This Religion of good citizenship in China is a religion which can keep the population of a country in order without priest and without policeman or soldier. In fact with this Religion of good citizenship, the population of, China, a population as large, if not larger than the whole population of the Continent of Europe, are actually and practically kept in peace and order without priest and without policeman or soldier. In China, as every one who has been in this country knows, the priest and the, policeman or soldier, play a very subordinate, a very insignificant part in helping to maintain public order. Only the most ignorant class in China require the priest and only the worst, the criminal class in China, require the policeman or soldier to keep them in order. Thus I say if the people of Europe really want to get rid of Religion and Militarism, of the priest and soldier which have caused them so much trouble and bloodshed, they will have to come to China to get this, what I have called the Religion of good citizenship.

In short what I want to call the attention of the people of Europe and America to, just at this moment when civilisation seems to be threatened with bankruptcy, is that there is an invaluable and hitherto unsuspected asset of civilisation here in China. The asset of civilisation is not the trade, the railway, the mineral wealth, gold, silver, iron or coal in this country. The asset of civilisation of the world today, I want to say here, is the Chinaman, — *the unspoilt real Chinaman* with his Religion of good citizenship. The real Chinaman, I say, is an invaluable asset of civilisation, because *he is a person who costs the world little or nothing to keep him in order*. Indeed I would like here to warn the people of Europe and America not to destroy this invaluable asset of civilisation, not to change and spoil the real Chinaman as they are now trying to do with their New Learning. If the people of Europe and America succeed in destroying the real Chinaman, the Chinese type of humanity; succeed in transforming the real Chinaman into a European or American, i.e., to say, a person who will require a priest or soldier to keep him in order, then surely they will increase the burden either of Religion or of Militarism of the world, — this last item at this moment already becoming a danger and menace to civilisation and humanity. But on the other hand, suppose one could by some means or other change the European

or American type of humanity, transform the European or American into a real Chinaman who will then not require a priest or soldier to keep him in order, — just think what a burden will be taken off from the world.

But now to sum up in a few plain words the great problem of civilisation in Europe arising out of this war. The people of Europe, I say, at first tried to maintain civil order by the help of the priest. But after a while, the priest cost too much expense and trouble. The people of Europe then, after the thirty years war, sent away the priest and called in the policeman and soldier to maintain civil order. But now they find the policeman and soldier are causing more expense and trouble even than the priests. Now what are the people of Europe to do? Send away the soldier and call back the priest? No, I do not believe the people of Europe will want to call back the priest. Besides the priest now would be useless. But then what are the people of Europe to do? I see Professor Lowes Dickinson of Cambridge in an article in the Atlantic Monthly, entitled "The War and the Way out," says: "Call in the *mob*." I am afraid the *mob* when once called in to take the place of the priest and soldier, will give more trouble than even the priest and the soldier. The priests and soldiers in Europe have caused wars, but the *mob* will bring revolution and anarchy and then the state of Europe will be worse than before. Now my advice to the people of Europe is: Do not call back the priest, and for goodness sake don't call in the *mob*, —but call in the Chinaman; *call in the real Chinaman with his Religion of good citizenship and his experience of 2,500 years how to live in peace without priest and without soldier.*

In fact I really believe that the people of Europe will find the solution of the great problem of civilisation after this war, — here in China. There is, I say here again, an invaluable, but hitherto unsuspected asset of civilisation here in China, and the asset of civilisation is the real Chinaman. The real Chinaman is an asset of civilisation because he has the secret of a new civilisation which the people of Europe will want after this Great War, and the secret of that new civilisation is what I have called the Religion of good citizenship. The first principle of this Religion of good citizenship is to believe that the *Nature of Man is good*; to believe in the power

of goodness; to believe in the power and efficacy of what the American Emerson calls the law of love and justice. But what is the law of love? The Religion of good citizenship teaches that the law of love means *to love your father and mother*. And what is the law of justice? The Religion of good citizenship teaches that the law of justice means to be true, to be faithful, to be loyal; that the woman in every country must be selflessly, absolutely loyal to her husband, that the man in every country must be selflessly, *absolutely loyal to his sovereign*, to his King or Emperor. In fact the highest duty in this Religion of good citizenship I want to say finally here is the Duty of Loyalty, loyalty not only in deed, but loyalty in spirit or as Tennyson puts it,

*To reverence the King as he were
Their conscience and their conscience as their King,
To break the heathen and uphold the Christ.*

Chapter I

THE SPIRIT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

*A Paper that was to have been read before the Oriental
Society of Peking*

LET me first of all explain to you what I propose, with your permission, this afternoon to discuss. The subject of our paper I have called "The Spirit of the Chinese people." I do not mean here merely to speak of the character or characteristics of the Chinese people. Chinese characteristics have often been described before, but I think you will agree with me that such description or enumeration of the characteristics of the Chinese people hitherto have given us no picture at all of the inner being of the Chinaman. Besides, when we speak of the character or characteristics of the Chinese, it is not possible to generalize. The character of the Northern Chinese, as you know, is as different from that of the Southern Chinese as the character of the Germans is different from that of the Italians.

But what I mean by the spirit of the Chinese people, is the spirit by which the Chinese people live, something constitutionally distinctive in the mind, temper and sentiment of the Chinese people which distinguishes them from all other people, especially from those of modern Europe and America.

Perhaps I can best express what I mean by calling the subject of our discussion the Chinese type of humanity, or, to put it in plainer and shorter words, the real Chinaman.

Now, what is the real Chinaman? That, I am sure, you will all agree with me, is a very interesting subject, especially at the present moment, when from what we see going on around us in China today, it would seem that the Chinese type of humanity - the real Chinaman - is going to disappear and, in his place, we are going to have a new type of humanity - the progressive or modern Chinaman. In fact I propose that before the real Chinaman, the old Chinese type of humanity, disappears altogether from the world we should take a good last look at him and see if we can find anything organically distinctive in him which makes him so different from all other people and from the new type of humanity which we see rising up in China today.

Now the first thing, I think, which will strike you in the old Chinese type of humanity is that there is nothing wild, savage or ferocious in him. Using a term which is applied to animals, we may say of the real Chinaman that he is a domesticated creature. Take a man of the lowest class of the population in China and, I think, you will agree with me that there is less of animality in him, less of the wild animal, of what the Germans call *Rohheit*, than you will find in a man of the same class in a European society. In fact, the one word, it seems to me, which will sum up the impression which the Chinese type of humanity makes upon you is the English word "gentle." By gentleness I do not mean softness of nature or weak submissiveness." The docility of the Chinese," says the late Dr. D. J. Macgowan, "is not the docility of a broken - hearted, emasculated people." But by the word "gentle" I mean absence of hardness, harshness, roughness, or violence, in fact of anything which jars upon you. There is in the true Chinese type of humanity an air, so to speak, of a quiet, sober, chastened mellowness, such as you find in a piece of well - tempered metal. Indeed the very physical and moral imperfections of a real Chinaman are, if not redeemed, at least softened by this quality of gentleness in him. The real Chinaman may be coarse, but there is no grossness in his coarseness. The real Chinaman may be ugly, but there is no hideousness in his ugliness. The real Chinaman may be vulgar, but there is no aggressiveness, no blatancy in his vulgarity. The real Chinaman may be stupid, but there is no absurdity in his stupidity. The real Chinaman may be cunning, but there is no deep malignity in his cunning. In fact what I want to say is, that even in the faults and blemishes of body, mind and character of the real Chinaman, there is nothing which revolts you. It is seldom that you will find a real Chinaman of the old school,

even of the lowest type, who is positively repulsive.

I say that the total impression which the Chinese type of humanity makes upon you is that he is gentle, that he is inexpressibly gentle. When you analyse this quality of inexpressible gentleness in the real Chinaman, you will find that it is the product of a combination of two things, namely, sympathy and intelligence. I have compared the Chinese type of humanity to a domesticated animal. Now what is that which makes a domesticated animal so different from a wild animal? It is something in the domesticated animal which we recognise as distinctively human. But what is distinctively human as distinguished from what is animal? It is intelligence. But the intelligence of a domesticated animal is not a thinking intelligence. It is not an intelligence which comes to him from reasoning. Neither does it come to him from instinct, such as the intelligence of the fox, — the vulpine intelligence which knows where eatable chickens are to be found. This intelligence which comes from instinct, of the fox, all, — even wild, animals have. But this, what may be called *human* intelligence of a domesticated animal is something quite different from the vulpine or animal intelligence. This intelligence of a domesticated animal is an intelligence which comes not from reasoning nor from instinct, but from sympathy, from a feeling of love and attachment. A thorough-bred Arab horse understands his English master not because he has studied English grammar nor because he has an instinct for the English language, but because he loves and is attached to his master. This is what I call human intelligence, as distinguished from mere vulpine or animal intelligence. It is the possession of this human quality which distinguishes domesticated from wild animals. In the same way, I say, it is the possession of this sympathetic and true human intelligence, which gives to the Chinese type of humanity, to the real Chinaman, his inexpressible gentleness.

I once read somewhere a statement made by a foreigner who had lived in both countries, that the longer a foreigner lives in Japan the more he dislikes the Japanese, whereas the longer a foreigner lives in China the more he likes the Chinese. I do not know if what is said of the Japanese here, is true. But, I think, all of you who have lived in China will agree with me that what is here said of the Chinese is true. It is well — known fact that the liking—you may call it the taste for the Chinese — grows upon the foreigner the longer he lives in this country. There is an indescribable something in the Chinese people which, in spite of their want of habits of cleanliness and refinement, in spite of their many defects of mind and character, makes foreigners like them as foreigners like no other people. This indescribable something

which I have defined as gentleness, softens and mitigates, if it does not redeem, the physical and moral defects of the Chinese in the hearts of foreigners. This gentleness again is, as I have tried to show you, the product of what I call sympathetic or true human intelligence — an intelligence which comes not from reasoning nor from instinct, but from sympathy — from the power of sympathy. Now what is the secret of the power of sympathy of the Chinese people?

I will here venture to give you an explanation — a hypothesis, if you like to call it so—of the secret of this power of sympathy in the Chinese people and my explanation is this. The Chinese people have this power, this strong power of sympathy, because they live wholly, or almost wholly, a life of the heart. The whole life of Chinaman is a life of feeling — not feeling in the sense of sensation which comes from the bodily organs, nor feeling in the sense of passions which flow, as you would say, from the nervous system, but feeling in the sense of emotion or *human affection* which comes from the deepest part of our nature — the heart or soul. Indeed I may say here that the real Chinaman lives so much a life of emotion or human affection, a life of the soul, that he may be said sometimes to neglect more than he ought to do, even the necessary requirements of the life of the senses of a man living in this world composed of body and soul. That is the true explanation of the insensibility of the Chinese to the physical discomforts of unclean surroundings and want of refinement. But that is neither here nor there.

The Chinese people, I say, have the power of sympathy because they live wholly a life of the heart — a life of emotion or human affection. Let me here, first of all, give you two illustrations of what I mean by living a life of the heart. My first illustration is this. Some of you may have personally known an old friend and colleague of mine in Wuchang—known him when he was Minister of the Foreign Office here in Peking — Mr. Liang Tun — yeh, Mr. Liang told me, when he first received the appointment of the Customs Taotai of Hankow, that what made him wish and strive to become a great mandarin, to wear the red button, and what gave him pleasure then in receiving this appointment, was not because he cared for the red button, not because he would henceforth be rich and independent, — and we were all of us very poor then in Wuchang, — but because he wanted to rejoice, because this promotion and advancement of his would gladden the heart of his old mother in Canton. That is what I mean when I say that the Chinese people live a life of the heart — a life of emotion or human affection.

My other illustration is this. A Scotch friend of mine in the Customs told me he

once had a Chinese servant who was a perfect scamp, who lied, who “squeezed,” and who was always gambling, but when my friend fell ill with typhoid fever in an out-of-the-way port where he had no foreign friend to attend to him, this awful scamp of a Chinese servant nursed him with a care and devotion which he could not have expected from an intimate friend or near relation. Indeed I think what was once said of a woman in the Bible may also be said, not only of the Chinese servant, but of the Chinese people generally: — “Much is forgiven them, because they love much.” The eyes and understanding of the foreigner in China see many defects and blemishes in the habits and in the character of the Chinese, but his heart is attracted to them, because the Chinese have a heart, or, as I said, live a life of the heart — a life of emotion or human affection.

Now we have got, I think, a clue to the secret of sympathy in the Chinese people — the power of sympathy which gives to the real Chinaman that sympathetic or true human intelligence, making him so inexpressibly gentle. Let us next put this clue or hypothesis to the test. Let us see whether with this clue that the Chinese people live a life of the heart we can explain not only detached facts such as the two illustrations I have given above, but also general characteristics which we see in the actual life of the Chinese people.

First of all let us take the Chinese language. As the Chinese live a life of the heart, the Chinese language, I say, is also a language of the heart. Now it is a well-known fact that children and uneducated persons among foreigners in China learn Chinese very easily, much more so than grown-up and educated persons. What is the reason of this? The reason, I say, is because children and uneducated persons think and speak with the language of the heart, whereas educated men, especially men with the modern intellectual education of Europe, think and speak with the language of the head or intellect. In fact, the reason why educated foreigners find it so difficult to learn Chinese, is because they are too educated, too intellectually and scientifically educated. As it is said of the Kingdom of Heaven, so it may also be said of the Chinese language: — “Unless you become as little children, you cannot learn it.”

Next let us take another well-known fact in the life of the Chinese people. The Chinese, it is well-known, have wonderful memories. What is the secret of this? The secret is: the Chinese remember things with the heart and not with the head. The heart with its power of sympathy, acting as glue, can retain things much better than the head or intellect which is hard and dry. It is, for instance, also for this reason that we; all of us, can remember things which we learnt when we were children much

better than we can remember things which we learnt in mature life. As children, like the Chinese, we remember things with the heart and not with the head.

Let us next take another generally admitted fact in the life of the Chinese people — their politeness. The Chinese are, it has often been remarked, a peculiarly polite people. Now what is the essence of true politeness? It is consideration for the feelings of others. The Chinese are polite because, living a life of the heart, they know their own feelings and that makes it easy for them to show consideration for the feelings of others. The politeness of the Chinese, although not elaborate like the politeness of the Japanese, is pleasing because it is, as the French beautifully express it, *la politesse du coeur*, the politeness of the heart. The politeness of the Japanese, on the other hand, although elaborate, is not so pleasing, and I have heard some foreigners express their dislike of it, because it is what may be called a rehearsal politeness — a politeness learnt by heart as in a theatrical piece. It is not a spontaneous politeness which comes direct from the heart. In fact the politeness of the Japanese is like a flower without fragrance, whereas the politeness of a really polite Chinese has a perfume like the aroma of a precious ointment — *instar unguenti fragrantis*— which comes from the heart.

Last of all, let us take another characteristic of the Chinese people, by calling attention to which the Rev. Arthur Smith has made his reputation, viz.: — want of exactness. Now what is the reason for this want of exactness in the ways of the Chinese people? The reason, I say again, is because the Chinese live a life of the heart. The heart is a very delicate and sensitive balance. It is not like the head or intellect, a hard, stiff, rigid instrument. You cannot with the heart think with the same steadiness, with the same rigid exactness as you can with the head or intellect. At least, it is extremely difficult to do so. In fact, the Chinese pen or pencil which is a soft brush, may be taken as a symbol of the Chinese mind. It is very difficult to write or draw with it, but when you have once mastered the use of it, you will, with it, write and draw with a beauty and grace which you cannot do with a hard steel pen.

Now the above are a few simple facts connected with the life of the Chinese people which anyone, even without any knowledge of Chinese, can observe and understand, and by examining these facts, I think, I have made good my hypothesis that the Chinese people live a life of the heart.

Now it is because the Chinese live a life of the heart, the life of a child, that they are so primitive in many of their ways. Indeed, it is a remarkable fact that for a people who have lived so long in the world as a great nation, the Chinese people

should to this day be so primitive in many of their ways. It is this fact which has made superficial foreign students of China think that the Chinese have made no progress in their civilisation and that the Chinese civilisation is a stagnant one. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that, as far as pure intellectual life goes, the Chinese are, to a certain extent, a people of arrested development. The Chinese, as you all know, have made little or no progress not only in the physical, but also in the pure abstract sciences such as mathematics, logic and metaphysics. Indeed the very words “science” and “logic” in the European languages have no exact equivalent in the Chinese language. The Chinese, like children who live a life of the heart, have no taste for the abstract sciences, because in these the heart and feelings are not engaged. In fact, for everything which does not engage the heart and feelings, such as tables of statistics, the Chinese have a dislike amounting to aversion. But if tables of statistics and the pure abstract sciences fill the Chinese with aversion, the physical sciences as they are now pursued in Europe, which require you to cut up and mutilate the body of a living animal in order to verify a scientific theory, would inspire the Chinese with repugnance and horror.

The Chinese, I say, as far as pure intellectual life goes, are to a certain extent, a people of arrested development. The Chinese to this day live the life of a child, a life of the heart. In this respect, the Chinese people, old as they are as a nation, are to the present day, a nation of children. But then it is important you should remember that this nation of children, who live a life of the heart, who are so primitive in many of their ways, have yet a *power of mind and rationality* which you do not find in a primitive people, a power of mind and rationality which has enabled them to deal with the complex and difficult problems of social life, government and civilisation with a success which, I will venture to say here, the ancient and modern nations of Europe have not been able to attain — a success so signal that they have been able practically and actually to keep in peace and order a greater portion of the population of the Continent of Asia under a great Empire.

In fact, what I want to say here, is that the wonderful peculiarity of the Chinese people is not that they live a life of the heart. All primitive people also live a life of the heart. The Christian people of medieval Europe, as we know, also lived a life of the heart. Matthew Arnold says: — “The poetry of medieval Christianity lived by the heart and imagination.” But the wonderful peculiarity of the Chinese people, I want to say here, is that, while living a life of the heart, the life of a child, they yet have a power of mind and rationality which you do not find in the Christian people

of medieval Europe or in any other primitive people. In other words, the wonderful peculiarity of the Chinese is that for a people, who have lived so long as a grown-up nation, as a nation of adult reason, they are yet able to this day to live the life of a child —— a life of the heart.

Instead, therefore, of saying that the Chinese are a people of arrested development, one ought rather to say that the Chinese are a people who never grow old. In short the wonderful peculiarity of the Chinese people as a race, is that they possess the secret of perpetual youth.

Now we can answer the question which we asked in the beginning: —— What is the real Chinaman? The real Chinaman, we see now, is a man who lives the life of a man of adult reason with the heart of a child. In short the real Chinaman is a person *with the head of a grown-up man and the heart of a child*. The Chinese spirit, therefore, is a spirit of perpetual youth, the spirit of national immortality. Now what is the secret of this national immortality in the Chinese people? You will remember that in the beginning of this discussion I said that what gives to the Chinese type of humanity —— to the real Chinaman —— his inexpressible gentleness is the possession of what I called sympathetic or true human intelligence. This true human intelligence, I said, is the product of a combination of two things, sympathy and intelligence. It is a working together in harmony of the heart and head. In short it is a happy union of soul with intellect. Now if the spirit of the Chinese people is a spirit of perpetual youth, the spirit of national immortality, the secret of this immortality is this happy union of soul with intellect.

You will now ask me where and how did the Chinese people get this secret of national immortality —— this happy union of soul with intellect, which has enabled them as a race and nation to live a life of perpetual youth? The answer, of course, is that they got it from their civilisation. Now you will not expect me to give you a lecture on Chinese civilisation within the time at my disposal. But I will try to tell you something of the Chinese civilisation which has a bearing on our present subject of discussion.

Let me first of all tell you that there is, it seems to me, one great fundamental difference between the Chinese civilisation and the civilisation of modern Europe. Here let me quote an admirable saying of a famous living art critic, Mr. Bernard Berenson. Comparing European with Oriental art, Mr. Berenson says: —— “Our European art has the fatal tendency to become science and we hardly possess a masterpiece which does not bear the marks of having been a *battlefield for divided*

interests.” Now what I want to say of the European civilisation is that it is, as Mr. Berenson says of European art, a battlefield for divided interests; a continuous warfare for the divided interests of science and art on the one hand, and of religion and philosophy on the other; in fact a terrible battlefield where the head and the heart — the soul and the intellect — come into constant conflict. In the Chinese civilisation, at least for the last 2,400 years, there is no such conflict. That, I say, is the one great fundamental difference between the Chinese civilisation and that of modern Europe.

In other words, what I want to say, is that in modern Europe, the people have a religion which satisfies their heart, but not their head, and a philosophy which satisfies their head but not their heart. Now let us look at China. Some people say that the Chinese have no religion. It is certainly true that in China even the mass of the people do not take seriously to religion. I mean religion in the European sense of the word. The temples, rites and ceremonies of Taoism and Buddhism in China are more objects of recreation than of edification; they touch the aesthetic sense, so to speak, of the Chinese people rather than their moral or religious sense; in fact, they appeal more to their imagination than to their heart or soul. But instead of saying that the Chinese have no religion, it is perhaps more correct to say that the Chinese do not want — do not feel the need of religion.

Now what is the explanation of this extraordinary fact that the Chinese people, even the mass of the population in China, do not feel the need of religion? It is thus given by an Englishman. Sir Robert K. Douglas, Professor of Chinese in the London University, in his study of Confucianism, says: — “Upwards of forty generations of Chinamen have been absolutely subjected to the dicta of one man. Being a Chinaman of Chinamen the teachings of Confucius were specially suited to the nature of those he taught. *The Mongolian mind being eminently phlegmatic and. unspeculative,* naturally rebels against the idea of investigating matters beyond its experiences. With the idea of a future life still unawakened, a plain, matter - of - fact system of morality, such as that enunciated by Confucius, was sufficient for all the wants of the Chinese.”

That learned English professor is right, when he says that the Chinese people do not feel the need of religion, because they have the teachings of Confucius, but he is altogether wrong, when he asserts that the Chinese people do not feel the need of religion because the Mongolian mind is phlegmatic and unspeculative. In the first place religion is not a matter of speculation. Religion is a matter of feeling, of emotion; it is something which has to do with the human soul. The wild, savage man

of Africa even, as soon as he emerges from a mere animal life and what is called the soul in him, is awakened, — feels the need of religion. Therefore although the Mongolian mind may be phlegmatic and unspeculative, the Mongolian Chinaman, who, I think it must be admitted, is a higher type of man than the wild man of Africa, also has a soul, and, having a soul, must feel the need of religion unless he has something which can take for him the place of religion.

The truth of the matter is, — the reason why the Chinese people do not feel the need of religion is because they have in Confucianism a system of philosophy and ethics, a synthesis of human society and civilisation which can take the place of religion. People say that Confucianism is not a religion. It is perfectly true that Confucianism is not a religion in the ordinary European sense of the word. But then I say the greatness of Confucianism lies even in *this*, that it is *not* a religion. In fact, the greatness of Confucianism is that, without being a religion, it can take the place of religion; it can make men do without religion.

Now in order to understand how Confucianism can take the place of religion we must try and find out the reason why mankind, why men feel the need of religion. Mankind, it seems to me, feel the need of religion for the same reason that they feel the need of science, of art and of philosophy. The reason is because man is a being who has a soul. Now let us take science, I mean physical science. What is the reason which makes men take up the study of science? Most people now think that men do so, because they want to have railways and aeroplanes. But the motive which impels the true men of science to pursue its study is not because they want to have railways and aeroplanes. Men like the present progressive Chinamen, who take up the study of science, because they want railways and aeroplanes, will never get science. The true men of science in Europe in the past who have worked for the advancement of science and brought about the possibility of building railways and aeroplanes, did not think at all of railways and aeroplanes. What impelled those true men of science in Europe and what made them succeed in their work for the advancement of science, was because they *felt in their souls* the need of understanding the awful mystery of the wonderful universe in which we live. Thus mankind, I say, feel the need of religion for the same reason that they feel the need of science, art and philosophy; and the reason is because man is a being who has a soul, and because the soul in him, which looks into the past and future as well as the present— not like animals which live only in the present—feels the need of understanding the mystery of this universe in which they live. Until men understand something of the nature, law, purpose and

aim of the things which they see in the universe, they are like children in a dark room who feel the danger, insecurity and uncertainty of everything. In fact, as an English poet says, the burden of the mystery of the universe weighs upon them. Therefore mankind wants science, art and philosophy for the same reason that they want religion, to lighten for them

*“the burden of the mystery, . . .
The heavy and the weary weight of
All this unintelligible world.”*

Art and poetry enable the artist and poet to see beauty and order in the universe and that lightens for them the burden of this mystery. Therefore poets like Goethe, who says: “He who has art, has religion,” do not feel the need of religion. Philosophy also enables the philosophers to see method and order in the universe, and that lightens for them the burden of this mystery. Therefore philosophers, like Spinoza, “for whom,” it has been said, “the crown of the intellectual life is a transport, as for the saint the crown of the religious life is a transport,” do not feel the need of religion. Lastly, science also enables the scientific men to see law and order in the universe, and that lightens for them the burden of this mystery. Therefore scientific men like Darwin and Professor Haeckel do not feel the need of religion.

But for the mass of mankind who are not poets, artists, philosophers or men of science; for the mass of mankind whose lives are full of hardships and who are exposed every moment to the shock of accident from the threatening forces of Nature and the cruel merciless passions of their fellow-men, what is it that can lighten for them the “burden of the mystery of all this unintelligible world?” It is religion. But how does religion lighten for the mass of mankind the burden of this mystery? Religion, I say, lightens this burden by giving the mass of mankind a sense of *security* and a sense of *permanence*. In presence of the threatening forces of Nature and the cruel merciless passions of their fellowmen and the mystery and terror which these inspire, religion gives to the mass of mankind a refuge——a refuge in which they can find a sense of *security*; and that refuge is a belief in some supernatural Being or beings who have absolute power and control over those forces which threaten them. Again, in presence of the constant change, vicissitude and transition of things in their own lives——birth, childhood, youth, old age and death, and the mystery and uncertainty which these inspire, religion gives to the mass of mankind

also a refuge —— a refuge in which they can find a sense of *permanence*; and that refuge is the belief in a future life. In this way, I say, religion lightens for the mass of mankind who are not poets, artists, philosophers or scientific men, the burden of the mystery of all this unintelligible world, by giving them a sense of security and a sense of permanence in their existence. Christ said: “Peace I give unto you, peace which the world cannot give and which the world cannot take away from you.” That is what I mean when I say that religion gives to the mass of mankind a sense of security and a sense of permanence. Therefore, unless you can find something which can give to the mass of mankind the same peace, the same sense of security and of permanence which religion affords them, the mass of mankind will always feel the need of religion.

But I said Confucianism, without being a religion can take the place of religion. Therefore, there must be something in Confucianism which can give to the mass of mankind the same sense of security and permanence which religion affords them. Let us now find out what this something is in Confucianism which can give the same sense of security and sense of permanence that religion gives.

I have often been asked to say what Confucius has done for the Chinese nation. Now I can tell you of many things which I think Confucius has accomplished for the Chinese people. But, as today I have not the time, I will only here try to tell you of one principal and most important thing which Confucius has done for the Chinese nation —— the one thing he did in his life by which, Confucius himself said, men in after ages would know him, would know what he had done for them. When I have explained to you this one principal thing, you will then understand what that something is in Confucian-ism which can give to the mass of mankind the same sense of security and sense of permanence which religion affords them. In order to explain this, I must ask you to allow me to go a little more into detail about Confucius and what he did.

Confucius, as some of you may know, lived in what is called a period of expansion in the history of China —— a period in which the feudal age had come to an end; in which the feudal, the semi-patriarchal social order and form of government had to be expanded and reconstructed. This great change necessarily brought with it not only confusion in the affairs of the world, but also confusion in men’s minds. I have said that in the Chinese civilisation of the last 2500 years there is no conflict between the heart and the head. But I must now tell you that in the period of expansion in which Confucius lived there was also in China, as now in Europe,

a fearful conflict between the heart and the head. The Chinese people in Confucius's time found themselves with an immense system of institutions, established facts, accredited dogmas, customs, laws — in fact, an immense system of society and civilisation which had come down to them from their venerated ancestors. In this system their life had to be carried forward; yet they began to feel — they had a sense that this system was not of their creation, that it by no means corresponded with the wants of their actual life; that, for them, it was customary, not rational. Now the awakening of this sense in the Chinese people, years ago was the awakening of what in Europe today is called the modern spirit—the spirit of liberalism, the spirit of enquiry, to find out the why and the wherefore of things. This modern spirit in China then, seeing the want of correspondence of the old order of society and civilisation with the wants of their actual life, set itself not only to reconstruct a new order of society and civilisation, but also to find a basis for this new order of society and civilisation. But all the attempts to find a new basis for society and civilisation in China then failed. Some, while they satisfied the head — the intellect of the Chinese people, did not satisfy their heart; others, while they satisfied their heart, did not satisfy their head. Hence arose, as I said, this conflict between the heart and the head in China 2500 years ago, as we see it now in Europe. This conflict of the heart and head in the new order of society and civilisation which men tried to reconstruct made the Chinese people feel dissatisfied with all civilisation, and in the agony and despair which this dissatisfaction produced, the Chinese people wanted to pull down and destroy all civilisation. Men, like Laotzu, then in China as men like Tolstoy in Europe today, seeing the misery and suffering resulting from the conflict between the heart and the head, thought they saw something radically wrong in the very nature and constitution of society and civilisation. Laotzu and Chuang-tzu, the most brilliant of Laotzu's disciples, told the Chinese people to throw away all civilisation. Laotzu said to the people of China: "Leave all that you have and follow me; follow me to the mountains, to the hermit's cell in the mountains, there to live a true life—a life of the heart, a life of immortality."

But Confucius, who also saw the suffering and misery of the then state of society and civilisation, thought he recognised the evil was not in the nature and constitution of society and civilisation, but in the wrong track which society and civilisation had taken, in the wrong basis which men had taken for the foundation of society and civilisation. Confucius told the Chinese people not to throw away their civilisation. Confucius told them that in a true society and true civilisation — in a society and

civilisation with a *true* basis men also could live a true life, a life of the heart. In fact, Confucius tried hard all his life to put society and civilisation on the right track; to give it a true basis, and thus prevent the destruction of civilisation. But in the last days of his life, when Confucius saw that he could not prevent the destruction of the Chinese civilisation — what did he do? Well, as an architect who sees his house on fire, burning and falling over his head, and is convinced that he cannot possibly save the building, knows that the only thing for him to do is- to save the drawings and plans of the building so that it may afterwards be built again; so Confucius, seeing the inevitable destruction of the building of the Chinese civilisation which he could not prevent, thought he would save the drawings and plans, and he accordingly saved the drawings and plans of the Chinese civilisation, which are now preserved in the Old Testament of the Chinese Bible — the five Canonical Books known as the *Wu Ching*, five Canons. That, I say, was a great service which Confucius has done for the Chinese nation — he saved the drawings and plans of their civilisation for them.

Confucius, I say, when he saved the drawings and plans of the Chinese civilisation, did a great service for the Chinese nation. But that is not the principal, the greatest service which Confucius has done for the Chinese nation. The greatest service he did was that, in saving the drawings and plans of their civilisation, he made a new synthesis, a new interpretation of the plans of that civilisation, and in that new synthesis he gave the Chinese people the true idea of a State — a true, rational, permanent, absolute basis of a State.

But then Plato and Aristotle in ancient times, and Rousseau and Herbert Spencer in modern times also made a synthesis of civilisation, and tried to give a true idea of a State. Now what is the difference between the philosophy, the synthesis of civilisation made by the great men of Europe I have mentioned, and the synthesis of civilisation — the system of philosophy and morality now known as Confucianism? The difference, it seems to me, is this. The philosophy of Plato and Aristotle and of Herbert Spencer has not become a religion or the equivalent of a religion, the accepted faith of the masses of a people or nation, whereas Confucianism has become a religion or the equivalent of a religion to even the mass of the population in China. When I say religion here, I mean religion, not in the narrow European sense of the word, but in the broad universal sense. Goethe says: —“*Nur saemtliche Menschen erkennen die Natur; nur saemtliche Menschen leben das Menschliche*”¹. Only the

1 唯有民众懂得什么是真正的生活，唯有民众过着真正的人的生活。

mass of mankind know what is real life; only the mass of mankind live a true human life." Now when we speak of religion in its broad universal sense, we mean generally a system of teachings with rules of conduct which, as Goethe says, is accepted as true and binding by the mass of mankind, or at least, by the mass of the population in a people or nation. In this broad and universal sense of the word Christianity and Buddhism are religions. In this broad and universal sense, Confucianism, as you know, has become a religion, as its teachings have been acknowledged to be true and its rules of conduct to be binding by the whole Chinese race and nation, whereas the philosophy of Plato, of Aristotle and of Herbert Spencer has not become a religion even in this broad universal sense. That, I say, is the difference between Confucianism and the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle and of Herbert Spencer—the one has remained a philosophy for the learned, whereas the other has become a religion or the equivalent of a religion for the mass of the whole Chinese nation as well as for the learned of China.

In this broad universal sense of the word, I say Confucianism is a religion just as Christianity or Buddhism is a religion. But you will remember I said that Confucianism is not a religion in the European sense of the word. What is then the difference between Confucianism and a religion in the European sense of the word? There is, of course, the difference that the one has a supernatural origin and element in it, whereas the other has not. But besides this difference of supernatural and non-supernatural, there is also another difference between Confucianism and a religion in the European sense of the word such as Christianity and Buddhism, and it is this. A religion in the European sense of the word teaches a man to be a good *man*. But Confucianism does more than this; Confucianism teaches a man to be a good *citizen*. The Christian Catechism asks: — “What is the chief end of *man*?” But the Confucian Catechism asks: — “What is the chief end of a *citizen* ?” of man, not in his individual life, but man in his relation with his fellowmen and in his relation to the State? The Christian answers the words of his Catechism by saying: “The chief end of man is to glorify God.” The Confucianist answers the words of his Catechism by saying: “The chief end of man is to live as a dutiful son and a good citizen.” Tzū Yu, a disciple of Confucius, is quoted in the Sayings and Discourses of Confucius, saying: “A wise man devotes his attention to the foundation of life — the chief end of man. When the foundation is laid, wisdom, religion will come. Now to live as a dutiful son and good citizen, is not that the foundation — the chief end of man as a moral being?” In short, a religion in the European sense of the word makes it its

object to transform man into a perfect ideal man by himself, into a saint, a Buddha, an angel, whereas Confucianism limits itself to make man into a good citizen — to live as a dutiful son and a good citizen. In other words, a religion in the European sense of the word says: — “If you want to have religion, you must be a saint, a Buddha, an angel;” whereas Confucianism says: — “If you live as a dutiful son and a good citizen, you have religion.”

In fact, the real difference between Confucianism and religion in the European sense of the word, such as Christianity or Buddhism, is that the one is a personal religion, or what may be called a Church religion, whereas the other is a social religion, or what may be called a State religion. The greatest service, I say, which Confucius has done for the Chinese nation, is that he gave them a true idea of a State. Now in giving this true idea of a State, Confucius made that idea a religion. In Europe politics is a science, but in China, since, Confucius' time, politics is a religion. In short, the greatest service which Confucius has done for the Chinese nation, I say, is that he gave them a Social or State religion. Confucius taught this State religion in a book which he wrote in the very last days of his life, a book to which he gave the name of *Ch'un ch'iu*(春秋), Spring and Autumn. Confucius gave the name of Spring and Autumn to this book because the object of the book is to give the real moral causes which govern the rise and fall — the Spring and Autumn of nations. This book might also be called the Latter Day Annals, like the Latter Day Pamphlets of Carlyle. In this book Confucius gave a resume of the history of a false and decadent state of society and civilisation in which he traced all the suffering and misery of that false and decadent state of society and civilisation to its real cause — to the fact that men had not a true idea of a State; no right conception of the true nature of the duty which they owe to the State, to the head of the State, their ruler and Sovereign. In a way Confucius in this book taught the divine right of kings. Now I know all of you, or at least most of you, do not now believe in the divine right of kings. I will not argue the point with you here. I will only ask you to suspend your judgment until you have heard what I have further to say. In the meantime I will just ask your permission to quote to you here a saying of Carlyle. Carlyle says: “The right of a king to govern us is either a divine right or a diabolic wrong.” Now I want you, on this subject of the divine right of kings, to remember and ponder over this saying of Carlyle.

In this book Confucius taught that, as in all the ordinary relations and dealings between men in human society, there is, besides the base motives of interest and of fear, a higher and nobler motive to influence them in their conduct, a higher and

nobler motive which rises above all considerations of interest and fear, the motive called *Duty*; so in this important relation of all in human society, the relation between the people of a State or nation and the Head of that State or nation, there is also this higher and nobler motive of Duty which should influence and inspire them in their conduct. But what is the rational basis of this duty which the people in a State or nation owe to the head of the State or nation? Now in the feudal age before Confucius' time, with its semi-patriarchal order of Society and form of Government, when the State was more or less a family, the people did not feel so much the need of having a clear and firm basis for the duty which they owe to the Head of the State, because, as they were all members of one clan or family, the tie of kinship or natural affection already, in a way, bound them to the Head of the State, who was also the senior member of their clan or family. But in Confucius' time the feudal age, as I said, had come to an end; when the State had outgrown the family, when the citizens of a State were no longer composed of the members of a clan or family. It was, therefore, then necessary to find a new, clear, rational and firm basis for the duty which the people in a State or nation owe to the Head of the State — their ruler and sovereign. Now what new basis did Confucius find for this duty? Confucius found the new basis for this duty in the word *Honour*.

When I was in Japan last year the ex-Minister of Education, Baron Kikuchi, asked me to translate four Chinese characters taken from the book in which, as I said, Confucius taught this State religion of his. The four characters were *Ming fen ta yi* (名分大义). I translated them as the Great Principle of Honour and Duty. It is for this reason that the Chinese make a special distinction between Confucianism and all other religions by calling the system of teaching taught by Confucius not *a chiao* (教) — the general term in Chinese for religion with which they designate other religions, such as Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity — but the *ming chiao* (名教) — the religion of Honour. Again the term *chum tzu chih tao* (君子之道) in the teachings of Confucius, translated by Dr. Legge as “the way of the superior man,” for which the nearest equivalent in the European languages is moral law — means literally, the way — *the Law of the Gentleman*. In fact, the whole system of philosophy and morality taught by Confucius may be summed up in one word: the Law of the Gentleman. Now Confucius codified this law of the gentleman and made it a Religion, — a State religion. The first Article of Faith in this State Religion is *Ming fen ta yi* — the Principle of Honour and Duty — which may thus be called: A Code of Honour.

In this State religion Confucius taught that the only true, rational, permanent and absolute basis, not only of a State, but of all Society and civilisation, is this law of the gentleman, the sense of honour in man. Now you, all of you, even those who believe that there is no morality in politics — all of you, I think, know and will admit the importance of this sense of honour in men in human society. But I am not quite sure that all of you are aware of the *absolute* necessity of this sense of honour in men for the carrying on of every form of human society; in fact, as the proverb which says: “There must be honour even among thieves,” show — even for the carrying on of a society of thieves. Without the sense of honour in men, all society and civilisation would on the instant break down and become impossible. Will you allow me to show you how this is so? Let us take, for example, such a trivial matter as gambling in social life. Now unless men when they sit down to gamble all recognise and feel themselves bound by the sense of honour to pay when a certain colour of cards or dice turns up, gambling would on the instant become impossible. The merchants again — unless merchants recognise and feel themselves bound by the sense of honour to fulfill their contracts, all trading would become impossible. But you will say that the merchant who repudiates his contract can be taken to the law - court. True, but if there were no law-courts, what then? Besides, the law-court — how can the law-court make the defaulting merchant fulfill his contract? By force. In fact, without the sense of honour in men, society can only be held together for a time by force. But then I think I can show you that force alone cannot hold society permanently together. The policeman who compels the merchant to fulfill his contract, uses force. But the lawyer, magistrate or president of a republic — how does he make the policeman do his duty? You know he cannot do it by force; but then by what? Either by the sense of honour in the policemen or by *fraud*.

In modern times all over the world today — and I am sorry to say now also in China — the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic make the policeman do his duty by fraud. In modern times the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic tell the policeman that he must do his duty, because it is for the good of society and for the good of his country; and that the good of society means that he, the policeman, can get his pay regularly, without which he and his family would die of starvation. The lawyer, politician or president of a republic who tells the policeman this, I say, uses *fraud*. I say it is fraud, because the good of the country, which for the policeman means fifteen shillings a week, which barely keeps him and his family from starvation, means for the lawyer, politician, magistrate

and president of a republic ten to twenty thousand pounds a year, with a fine house, electric light, motor cars and all the comforts and luxuries which the life blood labour of ten thousands of men has to supply him. I say it is fraud because without the recognition of a sense of honour — the sense of honour which makes the gambler pay the last penny in his pocket to the player who wins from him, *without this sense of honour*, all transfer and possession of property which makes the inequality of the rich and poor in society, as well as the transfer of money on a gambling table, has no justification whatever and no binding force. Thus the lawyer, politician, magistrate or president of a republic, although they talk of the good of society and the good of the country, really depend upon the policeman's unconscious sense of honour which not only makes him do his duty, but also makes him respect the right of property and be satisfied with fifteen shillings a week, while the lawyer, politician and president of a republic receive an income of twenty thousand pounds a year. I, therefore, say it is fraud because while they thus demand the sense of honour from the policeman; they, the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic in modern society believe, openly say and act on the principle that there is no morality, no sense of honour in politics.

You will remember what Carlyle, I told you, said — that the right of a king to govern us is either a divine right or a diabolic wrong. Now this fraud of the modern lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic is what Carlyle calls a diabolic wrong. It is this fraud, this Jesuitism of the public men in modern society, who say and act on the principle that there is no morality, no sense of honour in politics and yet plausibly talk of the good of society and the good of the country; it is this Jesuitism which, as Carlyle says, gives rise to “the widespread suffering, mutiny, delirium, the hot rage of sansculottic insurrections, the cold rage of resuscitated tyrannies, brutal degradation of the millions, the pampered frivolity of the units” which we see in modern society today. In short, it is this combination of fraud and force, Jesuitism and Militarism, lawyer and policeman, which has produced Anarchists and Anarchism in modern society, this combination of force and fraud outraging the moral sense in man and producing madness which makes the Anarchist throw bomb and dynamite against the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president of a republic.

In fact, a society without the sense of honour in men, and without morality in its politics, cannot, I say, be held together, or at any rate, cannot last. For in such a society the policeman, upon whom the lawyer, politician, magistrate and president

of a republic depend to carry out their fraud, will thus argue with himself. He is told that he must do his duty for the good of society. But he, the poor policeman, is also a part of that society — to himself and his family, at least, the most important part of that society. Now if by some other way than by being a policeman, perhaps by being an anti-policeman, he can get better pay to improve the condition of himself and his family, that also means the good of society. In that way the policeman must sooner or later come to the conclusion that, as there is no such thing as a sense of honour and morality in politics, there is then no earthly reason why, if he can get better pay, which means also the good of society — no reason why, instead of being a policeman, he should not become a revolutionist or anarchist— In a society when the policeman once comes to the conclusion that there is no reason why, if he can get better pay, he should not become a revolutionist or anarchist—that society is doomed. Mencius said: — “When Confucius completed his Spring and Autumn Annals” — the book in which he taught the State religion of his — and in which he showed that the society of his time—in which there was then, as in the world today, no sense of honour in public men and no morality in politics — was doomed; when Confucius wrote that book, “the Jesuits and anarchists (lit.bandits) of his time, became afraid.”(乱臣贼子惧)¹

But to return from the digression, I say, a society without the sense of honour cannot be held together, cannot last. For if, as we have seen, even in the relation between men connected with matters of little or no vital importance such as gambling and trading in human society, the recognition of the sense of honour is so important and necessary, how much more so it must be in the relations between men in human society, which establish the two most essential institutions in that society, the Family and the State. Now, as you all know, the rise of civil society in the history of all nations begins always with the institution of marriage. The Church religion in Europe makes marriage a *sacrament*, i.e., something sacred and inviolable. The sanction for the sacrament of marriage in Europe is given by the Church and the authority for the sanction is God. But that is only an outward, formal, or so to speak, legal sanction. The true, inner, the really binding sanction for the inviolability of marriage—as we see it in countries where there is no church religion, is the sense of honour, the law of the gentleman in the man and woman. Confucius says, “The recognition of the law of the gentleman begins with the recognition of the relation between husband

1 Memcois Bk. III, Part II IX, II.

and wife.”¹ In other words, the recognition of the sense of honour — the law of the gentleman — in all countries where there is civil society, establishes the institution of marriage. The institution of marriage establishes the *Family*.

I said that the State religion which Confucius taught is a Code of Honour, and I told you that Confucius made this Code out of the law of the gentleman. But now I must tell you that long before Confucius’ time there existed already in China an undefined and unwritten code of the law of the gentleman. This undefined and unwritten code of the law of the gentleman in China before Confucius’ time was known as *li* (禮) the law of propriety, good taste or good manners. Later on in history before Confucius’ time a great statesman arose in China — the man known as the great Law-giver of China, generally spoken of as the Duke of Chou (周公) (B. C. 1135) — who first defined, fixed, and made a written code of the law of the gentleman, known then in China as *li*, the law of propriety, good taste or good manners. This first written code of the gentleman in China, made by the Duke of Chou, became known as *Chou li* — the laws of good manners of the Duke of Chou. This Code of the laws of good manners of the Duke of Chou may be considered as the pre-Confucian religion in China, or, as the Mosaic law of the Jewish nation before Christianity is called, the Religion of the Old Dispensation of the Chinese people. It was this religion of the old dispensation — the first written code of the law of the gentleman called the Laws of good manners of the Duke of Chou—which first gave the sanction for the sacrament and inviolability of marriage in China. The Chinese to this day therefore speak of the sacrament of marriage as *Chou Kung Chih Li* (周公之礼) — the law of good manners of the Duke of Chou. By the institution of the sacrament of marriage, the pre-Confucian or Religion of the Old Dispensation in China established the Family. It secured once for all the stability and permanence of the family in China. This pre-Confucian or Religion of the Old Dispensation known as the laws of good manners of the Duke of Chou in China might thus be called a *Family* religion as distinguished from the *State* religion which Confucius afterwards taught.

Now Confucius in the State religion which he taught, gave a new Dispensation, so to speak, to what I have called the Family religion which existed before his time. In other words, Confucius gave a new, wider and more comprehensive application to the *law* of the gentleman in the State religion which he taught; and as the Family religion, or Religion of the Old Dispensation in China before his

1 中庸 —— The Universal order XII 4.

time instituted the sacrament of marriage, Confucius, in giving this new, wider, and more comprehensive application to the law of the gentleman in the State religion which he taught, instituted a new sacrament. This new sacrament which Confucius instituted, instead of calling it *li* — the Law of good manners, he called it *ming fen ta yi*, which I have translated as the Great Principle of Honour and Duty or Code of Honour. By the institution of this *ming fen ta yi* or Code of Honour Confucius gave the Chinese people, instead of a Family religion, which they had before—a State religion.

Confucius, in the State religion which he now gave, taught that, as under the old dispensation of what I have called the Family religion before his time, the wife and husband in a family are bound by the sacrament of marriage, called *Chou Kung Chih Li*, the Law of good manners of the Duke of Chou — to hold their contract of marriage inviolable and to absolutely abide by it, so under the new dispensation of the State religion which he now gave, the people and their sovereign in every State, the Chinese people and their Emperor in China, are bound by this new sacrament called *ming fen ta yi* — the Great Principle of Honour and Duty or Code of Honour established by this State religion—to hold the contract of allegiance between them as something sacred and inviolable and absolutely to abide by it. In short, this new sacrament called *ming fen ta yi*, or Code of Honour which Confucius instituted, is a Sacrament of the Contract of Allegiance, as the old sacrament called *Chou Kung Chih Li*, the Law of Good Manners of the Duke of Chou which was instituted before his time, is a sacrament of marriage. In this way Confucius, as I said, gave a new, wider, and more comprehensive application to the law of the gentleman, and thus gave a new dispensation to what I have called the Family religion in China before his time, and made it a State religion.

In other words, this State religion of Confucius makes a sacrament of the contract of allegiance as the Family Religion in China before his time, makes a sacrament of the contract of marriage. As by the sacrament of marriage established by the Family Religion the wife is bound to be absolutely loyal to her husband, so by this sacrament of the contract of allegiance called *ming fen ta yi*, or Code of Honour established by the State religion taught by Confucius in China, the people of China are bound to be absolutely loyal to the Emperor. This sacrament of the contract of allegiance in the State religion taught by Confucius in China might thus be called the *Sacrament or Religion of Loyalty*. You will remember what I said to you that Confucius in a way taught the Divine right of kings. But instead of saying that

Confucius taught the Divine right of kings I should properly have said that Confucius taught the *Divine duty of Loyalty*. This Divine or absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor in China which Confucius taught derives its sanction, not as the theory of the Divine right of kings in Europe derives its sanction from the authority of a supernatural Being called God or from some abstruse philosophy, but from the law of the gentleman — the sense of honour in man, the same sense of honour which in all countries makes the wife loyal to her husband. In fact, the absolute duty of loyalty of the Chinese people to the Emperor which Confucius taught, derives its sanction from the same simple sense of honour which makes the merchant keep his word and fulfill his contract, and the gambler play the game and pay his gambling debt.

Now, as what I have called the Family religion, the religion, the religion of the old dispensation in China and the Church religion in all countries, by the institution of the sacrament and inviolability of marriage establishes the Family, so what I have called the State religion in China which Confucius taught, by the institution of this new sacrament of the contract of allegiance, establishes the State. If you will consider what a great service the man who first instituted the sacrament and established the inviolability of marriage in the world has done for humanity and the cause of civilisation, you will then, I think, understand what a great work this is which Confucius did when he instituted this new sacrament and established the inviolability of the contract of allegiance. The institution of the sacrament of marriage secures the stability and permanence of the Family, without which the human race would become extinct. The institution of this sacrament of the contract of allegiance secures the stability and permanence of the State, without which human society and civilisation would all be destroyed and mankind would return to the state of savages or animals. I therefore said to you that the greatest thing which Confucius has done for the Chinese people is that he gave them the true idea of a State—a true, rational, permanent, and absolute basis of a State, and in giving them that, he made it a religion, — a State religion.

Confucius taught this State religion in a book which, as I told you, he wrote in the very last days of his life, a book to which he gave the name of Spring and Autumn. In this book Confucius first instituted the new sacrament of the contract of allegiance called *ming fen ta yi*, or the Code of Honour. This sacrament is therefore often and generally spoken of as *Ch'un Ch'iu ming fen ta yi* (春秋名分大义), or simply *Chun Chiu ta yi* — (春秋大义) *i.e.*, the Great Principle of Honour and Duty of the Spring and Autumn Annals, or simply the Great Principle or Code of the

Spring and Autumn Annals. This book in which Confucius taught the Divine duty of loyalty is the Magna Charta of the Chinese nation. It contains the sacred covenant, the sacred social contract by which Confucius bound the whole Chinese people and nation to be absolutely loyal to the Emperor, and this covenant or sacrament, this Code of Honour, is the one and only true Constitution not only of the State and Government in China, but also of the Chinese civilisation. Confucius said it is by this book that after ages would know him —— know what he had done for the world.

I am afraid I have exhausted your patience in taking such a very long way to come to the point of what I want to say. But now we have got to the point where I last left you. You will remember I said that the reason why the mass of mankind will always feel the need of religion —— I mean religion in the European sense of the word—is because religion gives them a refuge, one refuge, the belief in an all powerful Being called God in which they can find a sense of permanence in their existence. But I said that the system of philosophy and morality which Confucius taught, known as Confucianism, can take the place of religion, can make men, even the mass of mankind do without religion. Therefore, there must be, I said, something in Confucianism which can give to men, to the mass of mankind, the same sense of security and sense of permanence which religion gives. Now, I think we have found this something. This something is the *Divine duty of loyalty to the Emperor* taught by Confucius in the State religion which he has given to the Chinese nation.

Now, this absolute Divine duty of loyalty to the Emperor of every man, woman, and child in the whole Chinese Empire gives, as you can understand, in the minds of the Chinese population, an absolute, supreme, transcendent, almighty power to the Emperor; and this belief in the absolute, supreme, transcendent, almighty power of the Emperor it is which gives to the Chinese people, to the mass of the population in China, the same sense of security which the belief in God in religion gives to the mass of mankind in other countries. The belief in the absolute, supreme, transcendent, almighty power of the Emperor also secures in the minds of the Chinese population the absolute stability and permanence of the State. This absolute stability and permanence of the State again secures the infinite continuance and lastingness of society. This infinite continuance and lastingness of society finally secures in the minds of the Chinese population the immortality of the race. Thus it is this belief in the immortality of the race, derived from the belief in the almighty power of the Emperor given to him by the Divine duty of loyalty, which gives to the Chinese people, the mass of the population in China, the same sense of permanence in their

existence which the belief in a future life of religion gives to the mass of mankind in other countries.

Again, as the absolute Divine duty of loyalty taught by Confucius secures the immortality of the race in the nation, so the cult of ancestor-worship taught in Confucianism secures the immortality of the race in the family. Indeed, the cult of ancestor-worship in China is not founded much on the belief in a future life as in the belief of the immortality of the race. A Chinese, when he dies, is not consoled by the belief that he will live a life hereafter, but by the belief that his children, grandchildren, great-grand-children, all those dearest to him, will remember him, think of him, love him, to the end of time, and in that way, in his imagination, dying, to a Chinese, is like going on a long, long journey, if not with the hope, at least with a great “perhaps” of meeting again. Thus this cult of ancestor-worship, together with the Divine duty of loyalty, in Confucianism gives to the Chinese people the same sense of permanence in their existence while they live and the same consolation when they die which the belief in a future life in religion gives to the mass of mankind in other countries. It is for this reason that the Chinese people attach the same importance to this cult of ancestor-worship as they do to the principle of the Divine duty of loyalty to the Emperor. Mencius said: “Of the three great sins against filial piety the greatest is to have no posterity.” Thus the whole system of teaching of Confucius which I have called the State religion in China consists really only of two things, loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety to parents — in Chinese, *Chung Hsiao*(忠孝). Intact, the three Articles of Faith, called in Chinese the *san kang*,(三纲) three cardinal duties in Confucianism or the State religion of China, are, in their order of importance — first, absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor; second, filial piety and ancestor-worship; third, inviolability of marriage and absolute submission of the wife to the husband. The last two of the three Articles were already in what I have called the Family religion, or religion of the old dispensation in China before Confucius’ time; but the first Article—absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor — was first taught by Confucius and laid down by him in the State religion or religion of the new dispensation which he gave to the Chinese nation. This first Article of Faith—absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor — in Confucianism takes the place and is the equivalent of the First Article of Faith in all religions — the belief in God. It is because Confucianism has this equivalent for the belief in God of religion that Confucianism, as I have shown you, can take the place of religion, and the Chinese people, even the mass of the population in China, do not feel the need of religion.

But now you will ask me how without a belief in God which religion teaches, how can one make men, make the mass of mankind, follow and obey the moral rule which Confucius teaches, the absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor, as you can by the authority of God which the belief in God gives, make men follow and obey moral rules given by religion? Before I answer your question, will you allow me first to point out to you a great mistake which people make in believing that it is the sanction given by the authority of God which makes men obey the rules of moral conduct. I told you that the sanction for the sacrament and inviolability of marriage in Europe is given by the.

Church, and the authority for the sanction, the Church says, is from God. But I said that was only an outward formal sanction. The real true inner sanction for the inviolability of marriage as we see it in all countries where there is no Church religion, is the sense of honour, the law of the gentleman in the man and woman. Thus the real authority for the obligation to obey rules of moral conduct is the moral sense, the law of the gentleman, in man. The belief in God is, therefore, not necessary to make men obey rules of moral conduct.

It is this fact which has made sceptics like Voltaire and Tom Paine in the last century, and rationalists like Sir Hiram Maxim today, say, that the belief in God is a fraud or imposture invented by the founders of religion and kept up by priests. But that is a gross and preposterous libel. All great men, all men with great intellect, have all always believed in God. Confucius also believed in God, although he seldom spoke of it. Even Napoleon with his great, practical intellect believed in God. As the Psalmist says: "Only the fool —— the man with a vulgar and shallow intellect—has said in his heart, 'There is no God. '" But the belief in God of man of great intellect is different from the belief in God of the mass of mankind. The belief in God of men of great intellect is that of Spinoza: a belief in the Divine Order of the Universe. Confucius said: "At fifty I knew the Ordinance of God"¹ —— *i.e.*, the Divine Order of the Universe. Men of great intellect have given different names to this Divine Order of the Universe. The German Fichte calls it the Divine idea of the Universe. In philosophical language in China it is called *Tao* —— the Way. But whatever name men of great intellect may give to this Divine Order of the Universe, it is the knowledge of this Divine Order of the Universe which makes men of great intellect see the *absolute* necessity of obeying rules of moral conduct or moral laws which

1 论语 —— Discourse and Sayings Chap. II. 4.

form part of that Divine Order of the Universe.

Thus, although the belief in God is not necessary to make men obey the rules of moral conduct, yet the belief in God is necessary to make men see the *absolute* necessity of obeying these rules. It is the knowledge of the absolute necessity of obeying the rules of moral conduct which enables and makes all men of great intellect follow and obey those rules. Confucius says: "A man without a knowledge of the Ordinance of God, *i.e.*, the Divine Order of the Universe, will not be able to be a gentleman or moral man." ¹ But then, the mass of mankind, who have not great intellect, cannot follow the reasoning which leads men of great intellect to the knowledge of the Divine Order of the Universe and cannot therefore understand the absolute necessity of obeying moral laws. Indeed, as Matthew Arnold says: "Moral rules, apprehended as ideas first, and then rigorously followed as laws are and must be for the sage only. The mass of mankind have neither force of intellect enough to apprehend them as ideas nor force of character enough to follow them strictly as laws." It is for this reason that the philosophy and morality taught by Plato, Aristotle and Herbert Spencer have a value only for scholars.

But the value of religion is that it enables men, enables and can make even the mass of mankind who have not force of intellect nor force of character, to strictly follow and obey the rules of moral conduct. But then how and by what means does religion enable and make men do this? People imagine that religion enables and makes men obey the rules of moral conduct by teaching men the belief in God. But that, as I have shown you, is a great mistake. The one and sole authority which makes men really obey moral laws or rules of moral conduct is the moral sense, the law of the gentleman in them. Confucius said: "A moral law which is outside of man is not a moral law". Even Christ in teaching His religion says: "The Kingdom of God is within you." I say, therefore, the idea which people have that religion makes men obey the rules of moral conduct by means of teaching them the belief in God is a mistake. Martin Luther says admirably in his commentary on the Book of Daniel: "A God is simply that where-on the human heart *rests* with trust, faith, hope and love. If the resting is right, then the God, too, is right; if the resting is wrong, then the God, too, is illusory." This belief in God taught by religion is, therefore, only a resting, or, as I call it, a refuge. But then Luther says: "The resting, *i.e.*, the belief in God, must be true, otherwise the resting, the belief, is illusory. In other words,

1 论语 —— Discourse and Sayings Chap. XX3.

the belief in God must be a true knowledge of God, a real knowledge of the Divine Order of the Universe, which, as we know, only men of great intellect can attain and which the mass of mankind cannot attain. Thus you see the belief in God taught by religion, which people imagine enables the mass of mankind to follow and obey the rules of moral conduct, is illusory. Men rightly call this belief in God — in the Divine Order of the Universe taught by religion — a faith, a trust, or, as I called it, a refuge. Nevertheless, this refuge, the belief in God, taught by religion, although illusory, an illusion, helps towards enabling men to obey the rules of moral conduct, for, as I said, the belief in God gives to men, to the mass of mankind, a sense of security and a sense of permanence in their existence. Goethe says: “Piety, (Frommigkeit) i.e., the belief in God, taught by religion, is not an end in itself but only a means by which, through the complete and perfect calmness of mind and temper (Gemuehsruehe) which it gives, to attain the highest state of culture or human perfection.” In other words, the belief in God taught by religion, by giving men a sense of security and a sense of permanence in their existence, calms them, gives them the necessary calmness of mind and temper to feel the law of the gentleman or moral sense in them, which, I say again, is the one and sole authority to make men really obey the rules of moral conduct or moral laws.

But if the belief in God taught by religion only helps to make men obey the rules of moral conduct, what is it then upon which Religion depends principally to make men, to make the mass of mankind, obey the rules of moral conduct? It is *inspiration*. Matthew Arnold truly says: “The noblest souls of whatever creed, the pagan Empedocles as well as the Christian Paul, have insisted on the necessity of inspiration, a living emotion to make moral actions perfect.” Now what is this inspiration or living emotion in Religion, the paramount virtue of Religion upon which, as I said. Religion principally depends to make men, to enable and make even the mass of mankind obey the rules of moral conduct or moral laws?

You will remember I told you that the whole system of the teachings of Confucius may be summed up in one word; the Law of the Gentleman, the nearest equivalent for which in the European languages, I said, is moral law. Confucius calls this law of the gentleman a secret¹. Confucius says: “The law of the gentleman is to be found everywhere, and yet it is a secret.” Nevertheless Confucius says: “The simple intelligence of ordinary men and women of the people even can know

1 中庸 —— The Universal order XII 1.

something of this secret. The ignoble nature of ordinary men and women of the people, too, can carry out this law of the gentleman.” For this reason Goethe, who also knew this secret — the law of the gentleman of Confucius, called it an “open secret.” Now where and how did mankind come to discover this secret? Confucius said, you will remember, I told you that the recognition of the law of the gentleman began with the recognition of the relation of husband and wife — the true relation between a man and woman in marriage. Thus the secret, the open secret of Goethe, the law of the gentleman of Confucius, was first discovered by a man and woman. But now, a-gain, how did the man and the woman discover this secret — the law of the gentleman of Confucius?

I told you that the nearest equivalent in the European languages for the law of the gentleman of Confucius, is moral law. Now what is the difference between the law of the gentleman of Confucius and moral law — I mean the moral law or law of morality of the philosopher and moralist as distinguished from religion or law of morality taught by religious teachers. In order to understand this difference between the law of the gentleman of Confucius and the moral law of the philosopher and moralist, let us first find out the difference that there is between religion and the moral law of the philosopher and moralist. Confucius says: “The Ordinance of God is what we call the law of our being. To fulfill the law of our being is what we call the Moral Law. The Moral Law when refined and put into proper order is what we call Religion.” *¹ Thus, according to Confucius, the difference between Religion and moral law — the moral law of the philosopher and moralist — is that Religion is a refined and well ordered moral law, a deeper or higher standard of moral law.

The moral law of the philosopher tells us we must obey the law of our being called Reason. But Reason, as it is generally understood, means our reasoning power, that slow process of mind or intellect which enables us to distinguish and recognise the definable properties and qualities of the outward forms of - things. Reason, our reasoning power, therefore, enables us to see in moral relations only the definable properties and qualities, the *mores*, the morality, as it is rightly called, the outward manner and dead form, the body, so to speak, of right and wrong, or justice. Reason, our reasoning power alone, cannot make us see the undefinable, living, absolute essence of right and wrong, or justice, the life or soul, so to speak, of justice. For this reason Laotzu says: “The moral law that can be expressed in language is not

1 中庸 —— The Universal Order I. 1.

the absolute moral law. The moral idea that can be defined with words is not the absolute moral idea.”¹ The moral law of the moralist again tells us we must obey the law of our being, called Conscience, *i.e.*, our heart. But then, as the Wise Man in the Hebrew Bible says, there are many devices in a man’s heart. Therefore, when we take Conscience, our heart, as the law of our being and obey it, we are liable and apt to obey, not the voice of what I have called the soul of justice, the indefinable absolute essence of justice, but the many devices in a man’s heart.

In other words Religion tells us in obeying the law of our being we must obey the true law of our being, not the animal or carnal law of our being called by St. Paul the *law of the mind of the flesh*, and very well defined by the famous disciple of Auguste Comte, Monsieur Littré, as the law of self preservation and reproduction; but the true law of our being called by St. Paul the *law of the mind of the Spirit*, and defined by Confucius as the law of the gentleman. In short, this true law of our being, which Religion tells us to obey, is what Christ calls the Kingdom of God within us. Thus we see, as Confucius says. Religion is a refined, spiritualized, well-ordered moral law, a deeper higher standard of moral law than the moral law of the philosopher and moralist. Therefore, Christ said: “Except your righteousness (or morality) exceed the righteousness (or morality) of the Scribes and Pharisees (*i.e.*, philosopher and moralist) ye shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.”

Now, like Religion, the law of the gentleman of Confucius is also a refined, well-ordered moral law — a deeper higher standard of moral law than the moral law of the philosopher and moralist. The moral law of the philosopher and moralist tells us we must obey the law of our being called by the philosopher, Reason, and by the moralist, Conscience. But, like Religion, the law of the gentleman of Confucius tells us we must obey the *true* law of our being, not the law of being of the average man in the street or of the vulgar and impure person, but the law of being of what Emerson calls “the simplest and purest minds” in the world. In fact, in order to know what the law of being of the gentleman is, we must first *be a gentleman* and have, in the words of Emerson, the simple and pure mind of the gentleman developed in him. For this reason Confucius says: “It is the man that can raise the standard of the moral law, and not the moral law that can raise the standard of the man.”²

Nevertheless Confucius says we can know what the law of the gentleman is, if

1 道可道非常道名可名非常名。

2 论语 — Discourses and Sayings Chap. XV 28.

we will study and try to acquire the fine feeling or *good taste* of the gentleman. The word in Chinese li (礼) for good taste in the teaching of Confucius has been variously translated as ceremony, propriety, and good manners, but the word means really *good taste*. Now this good taste, the fine feeling and good taste of a gentleman, when applied to moral action, is what, in European language, is called the sense of honour. In fact, the law of the gentleman of Confucius is nothing else but the sense of honour. This sense of honour, called by Confucius the law of the gentleman, is not like the moral law of the philosopher and moralist, a dry, dead knowledge of the form or formula of right and wrong, but like the Righteousness of the Bible in Christianity, an instinctive, living, vivid perception of the indefinable, absolute essence of right and wrong or justice, the life and soul of justice called Honour.

Now, we can answer the question: How did the man and woman who first recognised the relation of husband and wife, discover the secret, the secret of Goethe, the law of the gentleman of Confucius? The man and woman who discovered this secret, discovered it because they had the fine feeling, the good taste of the gentleman, called when applied to moral action the sense of honour, which made them see the undefinable, absolute essence of right and wrong or justice, the life and soul of justice called Honour. But then what gave, what inspired the man and woman to have this fine feeling, this good taste or sense of honour which made them see the soul of justice called Honour? This beautiful sentence of Joubert will explain it. Joubert says: “Les hommes ne sont justes qu’envers ceux qu’ils aiment. Man cannot be truly just to his neighbour unless he loves him. Therefore the inspiration which made the man and woman see what Joubert calls true justice, the soul of justice called Honour, and thus enable them to discover the secret — the open secret of Goethe, the law of the gentleman of Confucius — is Love — the love between the man and the woman which gave birth, so to speak, to the law of the gentleman; that secret, the possession of which has enabled mankind not only to build up society and civilisation, but also to establish religion — to find God. You can now understand Goethe’s confession of faith which he puts into the mouth of Faust, beginning with the words:

*Lifts not the Heaven its dome above?
Doth not the firm - set Earth beneath us lie?*

Now, I told you that it is not the belief in God taught by religion, which makes men obey the rules of moral conduct. What really makes men obey the rules of moral

conduct is the law of the gentleman —— the Kingdom of Heaven within us —— to which religion appeals. Therefore the law of the gentleman is really the life of religion, whereas the belief in God together with the rules of moral conduct which religion teaches, is only the body, so to speak, of religion. But if the life of religion is the law of the gentleman, the *soul* of religion, the source of inspiration in religion, —— is Love. This love does not merely mean the love between a man and a woman from whom mankind only first learn to know it. Love includes all true human affection, the feelings of affection between parents and children as well as the emotion of love and kindness, pity, compassion, mercy towards all creatures; in fact, all true human emotions contained in that Chinese word *Jen*(仁), for which the nearest equivalent in the European languages is, in the old dialect of Christianity, godliness, because it is the most godlike quality in man, and in modern dialect, humanity, love of humanity, or, in one word, love. In short, the soul of religion, the source of inspiration in religion is this Chinese word *Jen*, love —— or call it by what name you like —— which first came into the world as love between a man and a woman. This, then, is the inspiration in religion, the paramount virtue in religion, upon which religion, as I said, depends principally to make men, to enable and make even the mass of mankind obey the rules of moral conduct or moral laws which form part of the Divine Order of the universe. Confucius says: “The law of the gentleman begins with the recognition of husband and wife; but in its utmost reaches, it reigns and rules supreme over heaven and earth—the whole universe.”

We have now found the inspiration, the living emotion that is in religion. But this inspiration or living emotion in religion is found not only in religion —— I mean Church religion. This inspiration or living emotion is known to everyone who has ever felt an impulse which makes him obey the rules of moral conduct above all considerations of self-interest or fear. In fact, this inspiration or living emotion that is in religion is found in every action of men which is not prompted by the base motive of self-interest or fear, but by the sense of duty and honour. This inspiration or living emotion in religion, I say, is found not only in religion. But the value of religion is that the words of the rules of moral conduct which the founders of all great religions have left behind them have, what the rules of morality of philosophers and moralists have not, this inspiration or living emotion which, as Matthew Arnold says, *lights* up those rules and makes it easy for men to obey them. But this inspiration or living emotion in the words of the rules of conduct of religion again is found not only in religion. All the words of really great men in literature, especially poets, have

also this inspiration or living emotion that is in religion. The words of Goethe, for instance, which I have just quoted, have also this inspiration or living emotion. But the words of great men in literature, unfortunately, cannot reach the mass of mankind because all great men in literature speak the language of educated men, which the mass of mankind cannot understand. The founders of all the great religions in the world have this advantage, that they were mostly uneducated men, and, speaking the simple language of uneducated men, can make the mass of mankind understand them. The real value, therefore, of religion, the real value of all the great religions in the world, is that it can convey the inspiration or living emotion which it contains even to the mass of mankind. In order to understand how this inspiration or living emotion came into religion, into all the great religions of the world, let us find out how these religions came into the world.

Now, the founders of all the great religions in the world, as we know, were all of them men of exceptionally or even abnormally strong emotional nature. This abnormally strong emotional nature made them feel intensely the emotion of love or human affection, which, as I have said, is the source of the inspiration in religion, the soul of religion. This intense feeling or emotion of love or human affection enabled them to see what I have called the indefinable, absolute essence of right and wrong or justice, the soul of justice which they called righteousness, and this vivid perception of the absolute essence of justice enabled them to see the unity of the laws of right and wrong or moral laws. As they were men of exceptionally strong emotional nature, they had a powerful imagination, which unconsciously personified this unity of moral laws as an almighty supernatural Being. To this supernatural almighty Being, the personified unity of moral laws of their imagination, they gave the name of God, from whom they also believed that the intense feeling or emotion of love or human affection, which they felt, came. In this way, then, the inspiration or living emotion that is in religion came into religion; the inspiration that lights up the rules of moral conduct of religion and supplies the emotion or motive power needful for carrying the mass of mankind, along the straight and narrow way of moral conduct. But now the value of religion is not only that it has an inspiration or living emotion in its rules of moral conduct which lights up these rules and makes it easy for men to obey them. The value of religion, of all the great religions in the world, is that they have an organisation for awakening, exciting, and kindling the inspiration or living emotion in men necessary to make them obey the rules of moral conduct. This organisation in all the great religions of the world is called the Church.

The Church, many people believe, is founded to teach men the belief in God. But that is a great mistake. It is this great mistake of the Christian Churches in modern times which has made honest men like the late Mr. J. A. Froude feel disgusted with the modern Christian Churches. Mr. Froude says: "Many a hundred sermons have I heard in England on the mysteries of the faith, on the divine mission of the clergy, on apostolic succession, etc. , but never one that I can recollect on common honesty, on those primitive commandments, 'Thou shalt not lie' and 'Thou shalt not steal. '" But then, with all deference to Mr. Froude, I think he is also wrong when he says here that the Church, the Christian Church, ought to teach morality. The aim of the establishment of the Church no doubt is to make men moral, to make men obey the rules of moral conduct such as "Thou shalt not lie" and "Thou shalt not steal." But the function, the true function of the Church in all the great religions of the world, is not to teach morality, but to teach *religion*, which, as I have shown you, is not a dead square rule such as "Thou shalt not lie" and "Thou shalt not steal," but an inspiration, a living emotion to make men obey those rules. The true function of the Church, therefore, is not to teach morality, but to *inspire* morality, to inspire men to be moral; in fact, to inspire and fire men with a living emotion which makes them moral. In other words, the Church in all the great religions of the world is an organisation, as I said, for awakening and kindling an inspiration or living emotion in men necessary to make them obey the rules of moral conduct. But how does the Church awaken and kindle this inspiration in men?

Now, as we all know, the founders of all the great religions of the world not only gave an inspiration or living emotion to the rules of moral conduct which they taught, but they also inspired their immediate disciples with a feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm for their person and character. When the great teachers died, their immediate disciples, in order to keep up the feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm which they felt for their teacher, founded a Church. That, as we know, was the origin of the Church in all the great religions of the world. The Church thus awakens and kindles the inspiration or living emotion in men necessary to make them obey the rules of moral conduct, by keeping up, exciting and arousing, the feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm for the person and character of the first Teacher and Founder of religion which the immediate disciples originally felt. Men rightly call not only the belief in God, but the belief in religion a *faith*, a trust; but a trust in whom? In the first teacher and founder of their religion who, in Mohammedanism is called the Prophet

and in Christianity the Mediator. If you ask a conscientious Mohammedan why he believes in God and obeys the rules of moral conduct, he will rightly answer you that he does it because he believes in Mohammed the Prophet. If you ask a conscientious Christian why he believes in God and obeys the rules of moral conduct, he will rightly answer you that he does it because he *loves* Christ. Thus you see the belief in Mohammed, the love of Christ, in fact the feeling and emotion, as I said of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm for the first Teacher and Founder of religion which it is the function of the Church to keep up, excite and arouse in men — is the source of inspiration, the real power in all the great religions of the world by which they are able to make men, to make the mass of mankind obey the rules of moral conduct¹.

I have been a long way, but now I can answer the question which you asked me awhile ago. You asked me, you will remember, how without a belief in God which religion teaches — how can one make men, make the mass of mankind, follow and obey the moral rule which Confucius teaches in his State religion — the absolute duty of loyalty to the Emperor? I have shown you that it is not the belief in God taught by religion which really makes men obey moral rules or rules of moral conduct. I showed you that religion is able to make men obey the rules of moral conduct principally by means of an organisation called the Church which awakens and kindles in men an inspiration or living emotion necessary to make them to obey those rules. Now, in answer to your question I am going to tell you that the system of the teachings of Confucius, called Confucianism, the State Mencius, like the Church religion in other countries, makes men obey the rules of moral conduct also by means of an organisation corresponding to the Church of the Church religion in other countries. This organisation in the State religion of Confucianism in China is — the *school*. The school is the Church of the State religion of Confucius in China. As you know, the same word “chiao” in Chinese for religion is also the word for education. In fact, as the Church in China is the school, religion to the Chinese means education, culture. The aim and object of the school in China is not, as in modern Europe and America today, to teach men how to earn a living, how to make money, but, like the aim and object of the Church religion, to teach men to understand what Mr. Froude calls the primitive commandment, “Thou shalt not lie”

¹ Mencius, speaking of the two purest and most Christlike characters in Chinese history, said: “When men heard of the spirit and temper of Po – yi and Shu – ch’ i, the dissolute ruffian became unselfish and the cowardly man had courage.” Mencius Bk. III, Part II, IX,11.

and “Thou shall not steal”; in fact, to teach men to be good.” Whether we provide for action or conversation,” says Dr. Johnson.” Whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong; the next, an acquaintance with the history of mankind and with those examples which may be said to embody truth and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions.”

But then we have seen that the Church of the Church religion is able to make men obey the rules of moral conduct by awakening and kindling in men an inspiration or living emotion, and that it awakens and kindles this inspiration or living emotion principally by exciting and arousing the feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm for the character and person of the first Teacher and Founder of religion. Now, here there is a difference between the school — the Church of the State religion of Confucius in China — and the Church of the Church religion in other countries. The school— the Church of the State religion in China — it is true, enables and makes men obey the rules of moral conduct, also like the Church of the Church religion, by awakening and kindling in men an inspiration or living emotion. But the means which the school in China uses to awaken and kindle this inspiration or living emotion in men are different from those of the Church of the Church religion in other countries. The school, the Church of the State religion of Confucius in China, does not awaken and kindle this inspiration or living emotion in men by exciting and arousing the feeling of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm for Confucius. Confucius in his lifetime did indeed inspire in his immediate disciples a feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love, and enthusiasm, and, after his death, has inspired the same feeling and emotion in all great men who have studied and understood him. But Confucius even while he lived did not inspire, and, after his death, has not inspired in the mass of mankind the same feeling and emotion of admiration, love, and enthusiasm which the founders of all the great religions in the world, as we know, have inspired. The mass of the population in China do not adore and worship Confucius as the mass of the population in Mohammedan countries adore and worship Mohammed, or as the mass of the population in European countries adore and worship Jesus Christ. In this respect Confucius does not belong to the class of men called founders of a religion. In order to be a founder of a religion in the European sense of the word, a man must have an exceptionally or even an abnormally strong emotional nature. Confucius indeed was descended from a race of kings, the house of Shang, the dynasty which ruled over China before the dynasty under which Confucius lived — a race of men

who had the strong emotional nature of the Hebrew people. But Confucius himself lived under the dynasty of the House of Chow — a race of men who had the fine intellectual nature of the Greeks, a race of whom the Duke of Chou, the founder, as I told you, of the pre-Confucian religion or religion of the old dispensation in China was a true representative. Thus Confucius was, if I may use a comparison, a Hebrew by birth, with the strong emotional nature of the Hebrew race, who was trained in the best intellectual culture, who had all that which the best intellectual culture of the civilisation of the Greeks could give him. In fact, like the great Goethe in modern Europe, the great Goethe whom the people of Europe will one day recognise as the most perfect type of humanity, the *real European* which the civilisation of Europe has produced, as the Chinese have acknowledged Confucius to be the most perfect type of humanity, the *real Chinaman*, which the Chinese civilisation has produced — like the great Goethe, I say, Confucius was too educated and cultured a man to belong to the class of men called founders of religion. Indeed, even while he lived Confucius was not known to be what he was, except by his most intimate and immediate disciples.

The school in China, I say, the Church of the State religion of Confucius, does not awaken and kindle the inspiration or living emotion necessary to make men obey the rules of moral conduct by exciting and arousing the feeling and emotion of admiration, love, and enthusiasm for Confucius. But then how does the school in China awaken and kindle the inspiration or living emotion necessary to make man obey the rules of moral conduct? Confucius says: “In education the feeling and emotion is aroused by the study of poetry; the judgment is formed by the study of good taste and good manners; the education of the character is completed by the study of music.” The school — the Church of the State religion in China — awakens and kindles the inspiration or living emotion in men necessary to make them obey the rules of moral conduct by teaching them poetry — in fact, the works of all really great men in literature, which, as I told you, has the inspiration or living emotion that is in the rules of moral conduct of religion. Matthew Arnold, speaking of Homer and the quality of *nobleness* in his poetry, says: “The nobleness in the poetry of Homer and of the few great men in literature can refine the raw, natural man, can transmute him.” In fact, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue and if there be any praise — the school, the Church of the State religion in China, makes men think on these things, and in making them think

on these things, awakens and kindles the inspiration or living e-motion necessary to enable and make them obey the rules of moral conduct.

But then you will remember I told you that the works of really great men in literature, such as the poetry of Homer, cannot reach the mass of mankind, because all great men in literature speak the language of educated men which the mass of mankind cannot understand. Such being the case, how then does the system of the teachings of Confucius, Confucianism, the State Religion in China, awaken and kindle in the mass of mankind, in the mass of the population in China, the inspiration or living emotion necessary to enable and make them obey the rules of moral conduct? Now, I told you that the organisation in the State Religion of Confucius in China corresponding to the Church of the Church Religion in other countries, is the School. But that is not quite correct. The real organisation in the State Religion of Confucius in China corresponding exactly to the Church of the Church Religion in other countries is —— the *Family*. The real Church —— of which the School is but an adjunct —— the real and true Church of the State Religion of Confucius in China, is the Family with its ancestral tablet or chapel in every house, and its ancestral Hall or Temple in every village and town. I have shown you that the source of inspiration, the real motive power by which all the great Religions of the world are able to make men, to make the mass of mankind obey the rules of moral conduct, is the feeling and emotion of unbounded admiration, love and enthusiasm which it is the function of the Church to excite and arouse in men for the first Teachers and Founders of those Religions. Now the source of inspiration, the real motive power by which the State Religion of Confucius in China is able to make men, to enable and make the mass of the population in China obey the rules of moral conduct is the “Love for their father and mother.” The Church of the Church Religion, Christianity, says: “Love Christ.” The Church of the State Religion of Confucius in China —— the ancestral tablet in every family —— says “Love your father and your mother.” St. Paul says: —— “Let every man that names the name of Christ depart from iniquity.” But the author of the book on Filial Piety(孝经), written in the Han dynasty, the counterpart of the *limitatio Christi* in China, says: “Let everyone who loves his father and mother depart from iniquity.” In short, as the essence, the motive power, the source of real inspiration of the Church religion, Christianity, is the Love of Christ, so the essence, the motive power, the source of real inspiration of the State Religion, Confucianism in China, is the “Love of father and mother” —— Filial Piety, with its cult of ancestor worship.

Confucius says: “To gather in the same place where our fathers before us have

gathered; to perform the same ceremonies which they before us have performed; to play the same music which they before us have played: to pay respect to those whom they honoured; to love those who were dear to them; in fact, to serve them now dead as if they were living, and now departed, as if they were still with us, that is the highest achievement of Filial Piety." Confucius, further says: — "By cultivating respect for the dead, and carrying the memory back to the distant past, the good in the people will grow deep." *Cogitavi dies antiquas, et annos eternos in menti habui.* That is how the State Religion in China, Confucianism, awakens and kindles in men, the inspiration or living emotion necessary to enable and make them obey the rules of moral conduct, the highest and most important of all these rules being the absolute Duty of Loyalty to the Emperor, just as the highest and most important rules of moral conduct in all the Great Religions of the world is fear of God. In other words, the Church Religion, Christianity, says: — "Fear God and obey Him." But the State Religion of Confucius, or Confucianism, says: — "Honour the Emperor and be loyal to him." The Church Religion, Christianity, says: — "If you want to fear God and obey Him, you must first love Christ." The State Religion of Confucius, or Confucianism, say: — "If you want to honour the Emperor and be loyal to him, you must first love your father and mother."

Now I have shown you why it is that there is no conflict between the heart and the head in the Chinese civilisation for these last, years since Confucius' time. The reason why there is no such conflict is because the Chinese people, even the mass of the population in China, do not feel the need of Religion — I mean Religion in the European sense of the word; and the reason why the Chinese people do not feel the need of religion is because the Chinese people have in Confucianism something which can take the place of Religion. That something, I have shown you, is the principle of absolute Duty of Loyalty to the Emperor; the Code of Honour called *Ming fen ta yi*, which Confucius teaches in the State Religion which he has given to the Chinese nation. The greatest service, I said, which Confucius has done for the Chinese people is in giving them this State Religion in which he taught the absolute Duty of Loyalty to the Emperor.

Thus much I have thought it necessary to say about Confucius and what he has done for the Chinese nation, because it has a very important bearing upon the subject of our present discussion, the Spirit of the Chinese People. For I want to tell you and you will understand it from what I have told you, that a Chinaman, especially if he is an educated man, who knowingly forgets, gives up or throws away the Code

of Honour, the *Ming fen ta yi* in the State Religion of Confucius in China, Which teaches the absolute Divine Duty of Loyalty to the Emperor or Sovereign to whom he has once given his allegiance, such a Chinaman is a man who has lost the spirit of the Chinese people, the spirit of his nation and race: *he is no longer a real Chinaman.*

Finally, let me shortly sum up what I want to say on the subject of our present discussion — the Spirit of the Chinese People or what is the real Chinaman. The real Chinaman, I have shown you, is a man who lives the life of a man of adult reason with the simple heart of a child, and the Spirit of the Chinese people is a happy union of soul with intellect. Now if you will examine the products of the Chinese mind in their standard works of art and literature, you will find that it is this happy union of soul with the intellect — which makes them so satisfying and delightful. What Matthew Arnold says of the poetry of Homer is true of all Chinese standard literature, that “it has not only the power of profoundly touching that natural heart of humanity, which it is the weakness of Voltaire that he cannot reach, but can also address the understanding with all Voltaire’s admirable simplicity and rationality.”

Matthew Arnold calls the poetry of the best Greek poets the priestess of imaginative reason. Now the spirit of the Chinese people, as it is seen in the best specimens of the products of their art and literature, is really what Matthew Arnold calls imaginative reason. Matthew Arnold says: — “The poetry of later Paganism lived by the senses and understanding: the poetry of medieval Christianity lived by the heart and imagination. But the main element of the modern spirit’s life, of the modern European spirit today, is neither the senses and understanding, nor the heart and imagination, it is the imaginative reason.”

Now if it is true what Matthew Arnold says here that the element by which the modern spirit of the people of Europe today, if it would live right — has to live, is imaginative reason, then you can see how valuable for the people of Europe this Spirit of the Chinese people is, — this spirit which Matthew Arnold calls imaginative reason. How valuable it is, I say, and how important it is that you should study it, try to understand it, love it, instead of ignoring, despising and trying to destroy it.

But now before I finally conclude, I want to give you a warning. I want to warn you that when you think of this Spirit of the Chinese People, which I have tried to explain to you, you should bear in mind that it is not a science, philosophy, theosophy, or any “ism,” like the theosophy or “ism” of Madame Blavatsky or Mrs. Besant. The Spirit of the Chinese People is not even what you would call a mentality — an

active working of the brain and mind. The Spirit of the Chinese People, I want to tell you, is a state of mind, a temper of the soul, which you cannot learn as you learn shorthand or Esperanto —— in short, a mood, or in the words of the poet, a serene and blessed mood.

Now last of all I want to ask your permission to recite to you a few lines of poetry from the most Chinese of the English poets, Wordsworth, which better than anything I have said or can say, will describe to you the serene and blessed mood which is the Spirit of the Chinese People. These few lines of the English poet will put before you in a way I cannot hope to do, that happy union of soul with intellect in the Chinese type of humanity, that serene and blessed mood which gives to the real Chinaman his inexpressible gentleness. Wordsworth in his lines on Tintern Abbey says: ——

*“ . . . nor less, I trust
To them I may have owed another gift
Of aspect more sublime: that blessed mood
In which the burthen of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,
Is lightened: —— that serene and blessed mood
In which the affections gently lead us on, ——
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul:
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.”*

The serene and blessed mood which enables us *to see into the life of things*: that is imaginative reason, that is the Spirit of the Chinese People.

Chapter 2

THE CHINESE WOMAN

Matthew Arnold, speaking of the argument taken from the Bible which was used in the House of Commons to support the Bill for enabling a man to marry his deceased wife's sister, said: "Who will believe when he really considers the matter, that when the feminine nature, the feminine ideal and our relations with them are brought into question, the delicate and apprehensive genius of the Indo-European race, the race which invented the Muses, and Chivalry, and the Madonna, is to find its last word on this question in the institution of a Semitic people whose wisest King had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines?"

The two words I want for my purpose here from the above long quotation are the words "feminine ideal." Now what is the Chinese feminine ideal? What is the Chinese people's ideal of the feminine nature and their relations to that ideal? But before going further, let me, with all deference to Matthew Arnold, and respect for his Indo-European race, say here that the feminine ideal of the Semitic race, of the old Hebrew people is not such a horrid one as Matthew Arnold would have us infer from the fact that their wisest King had a multitude of wives

and concubines. For here is the feminine ideal of the old Hebrew people, as we find it in their literature: “Who can find a virtuous woman? For her price is far above rubies. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her. She rises also while it is yet night and giveth meat to her household and a portion to her maidens. She layeth her hands to the spindle and her fingers hold the distaff. She is not afraid of snow for her household; for *all her household are clothed in scarlet*. She openeth her mouth with wisdom and *in her tongue is the law of kindness*. She looketh well to the ways of her household and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children rise up and call her blessed, her husband also and he praiseth her.”

This, I think, is not such a horrid, not such a bad ideal after all, — this feminine ideal of the Semitic race. It is of course not so ethereal as the Madonna and the Muses, the feminine ideal of the In-do-European race. However, one must, I think, admit, — the Madonna and the Muses are very well to hang up as pictures in one’s room, but if you put a broom into the hands of the Muses or send your Madonna into the kitchen, you will be sure to have your rooms in a mess and you will probably get in the morning no breakfast at all. Confucius says, “The ideal is not away from the actuality of human life. When men take something away from the actuality of human life as the ideal, — that is not the true ideal.”¹ But if the Hebrew feminine ideal cannot be compared with the Madonna and the Muses, it can very well, I think, compare with the modern European feminine ideal, the feminine ideal of the Indo-European race in Europe and America today. I will not speak of the suffragettes in England. But compare the old Hebrew feminine ideal with the modern feminine ideal such as one finds it in modern novels, with the heroine, for instance of Dumas’ *Dame aux Cornelias*. By the way, it may interest people to know that of all the books in European literature which have been translated into Chinese, the novel of Dumas with the Madonna of the Mud as the superlative feminine ideal has had the greatest sale and success in the present up-to-date modern China. This French novel called in Chinese the *Cha-hua-nu* (茶花女) has even been dramatised and put on the stage in all the up-to-date Chinese theatres in China. Now if you will compare the old feminine ideal of the Semitic race, the woman who is not afraid of the snow for her household, for she has clothed them all in scarlet, with the feminine ideal of the Indo-European race in Europe today, the Camelia Lady who has no household, and therefore clotheth not her household, but herself in scarlet and goes with a Camelia

1 中庸 —— The Universal Order XIII.

flower on her breast to be photographed: then you will understand what is true and what is false, tinsel civilisation.

Nay, even if you will compare the old Hebrew feminine ideal, the woman who layeth her hands to the spindle and whose fingers hold the distaff, who looketh well to the ways of her household and eateth not the bread of idleness, with the up-to-date modern Chinese woman who layeth her hands on the piano and whose fingers hold a big bouquet, who, dressed in tight fitting yellow dress with a band of tinsel gold around her head, goes to show herself and sing before a miscellaneous crowd in the Confucian Association Hall: if you compare these two feminine ideals, you will then know how fast and far modern China is drifting away from true civilisation. For the womanhood in a nation is the flower of the civilisation, of the state of civilisation in that nation.

But now to come to our question: what is the Chinese feminine ideal? The Chinese feminine ideal I answer, is essentially the same as the old Hebrew feminine ideal with one important difference of which I will speak later on. The Chinese feminine ideal is the same as the old Hebrew ideal in that it is not an ideal merely for hanging up as a picture in one's room; nor an ideal for a man to spend his whole life in caressing and worshipping. The Chinese feminine ideal is an ideal with a broom in her hands to sweep and clean the rooms with. In fact the Chinese written character for a wife (妇) is composed of two radicals —— (女) meaning a woman and (帚) meaning a broom. In classical Chinese, in what I have called the official uniform Chinese, a wife is called the Keeper of the Provision Room —— a Mistress of the Kitchen (主中馈). Indeed the true feminine ideal, —— the feminine ideal of all people with a true, not tinsel civilisation, such as the old Hebrews, the ancient Greeks and the Romans, is essentially the same as the Chinese feminine ideal: the true feminine ideal is always the *Hausfrau*, the house wife, *la dame de menage* or *chatelaine*.

But now to go more into details. The Chinese feminine ideal, as it is handed down from the earliest times, is summed up in three obediences (三从) and Four Virtues (四德). Now what are the four virtues? They are: first womanly character (妇德); second, womanly conversation (妇言); third, womanly appearance (妇容); and lastly, womanly work (妇工). Womanly character means not extraordinary talents or intelligence, but modesty, cheerfulness, chastity, constancy, orderliness, blameless conduct and perfect manners. Womanly conversation means not eloquence or brilliant talk, but refined choice of words, never to use coarse or violent language, to know when to speak and when to stop speaking. Womanly appearance means not beauty or

prettiness of face, but personal cleanliness and faultlessness in dress and attire. Lastly, womanly work means not any special skill or ability, but assiduous attention to the spinning room, never to waste time in laughing and giggling and work in the kitchen to prepare clean and wholesome food, especially when there are guests in the house. These are the four essentials in the conduct of a woman as laid down in the “Lessons for Women”(女诫), written by Ts’ao Ta Ku(曹大姑) or Lady Ts’ao, sister of the great historian Pan Ku(班固) of the Han Dynasty.

Then again what do the Three Obediences(三从) in the Chinese feminine ideal mean? They mean really three self sacrifices or “live for’s?” That is to say, when a woman is unmarried, she is to live for her father(在家从父); when married, she is to live for her husband(出嫁从夫); and, as a widow, she is to live for her children(夫死从子). In fact, the chief end of a woman in China is not to live for herself, or for society; not to be a reformer or to be president of the woman’s natural feet Society; not to live even as a saint or to do good to the world; the chief end of a woman in China is to live as a good daughter, a good wife and a good mother.

A foreign lady friend of mine once wrote and asked me whether it is true that we Chinese believe, like the Mohammedans, that a woman has no soul. I wrote back and told her that we Chinese do not hold that a woman has no soul, but that we hold that a woman, —— a true Chinese woman has no *self*. Now speaking of this “no self” in the Chinese woman leads me to say a few words on a very difficult subject, —— a subject which is not only difficult, but, I am afraid almost impossible for people with the modern European education to understand, viz. concubinage in China. This subject of concubinage, I am afraid, is not only a difficult, but also a dangerous subject to discuss in public. But as the English poet says:

“Thus fools rush in where angels fear to tread.”

I will try my best here to explain why concubinage in China is not such an immoral custom as people generally imagine.

The first thing I want to say on this subject of concubinage is that it is the selflessness in the Chinese woman which makes concubinage in China not only possible, but also *no immoral*. But, before I go further, let me tell you here, that concubinage in China does not mean having many *wives*. By Law in China, a man is allowed to have only *one* wife, but he may have as many handmaids or concubines as he like. In Japanese a handmaid or concubine is called *te-kaki*, a *hand rack* or *me-*

kaki an eye rack; —— i.e., to say, a rack where to rest your hands or eyes on when you are tired. Now the feminine ideal in China, I said, is not an ideal for a man to spend his whole life in caressing and worshipping. The Chinese feminine ideal is, for a wife to live absolutely, selflessly for her husband. Therefore when a husband who is sick or invalided from overwork with his brain and mind, re-quires a handmaid, a hand rack or eye rack to enable him to get well and to fit him for his life work, the wife in China with her selflessness, gives it to him just as a good wife in Europe and America gives an armchair or goat's milk to her husband when he is sick or requires it. In fact it is the selflessness of the wife in China, her sense of duty, the duty of self sacrifice which allows a man in China to have handmaids or concubines.

But people will say to me, "why ask selflessness and sacrifice only from the woman? What about the man?" To this, I answer, does not the man, —— the husband, who toils and moils to support his family, and especially if he is a gentleman, who has to do his duty not only to his family, but to his King and country, and, in doing that has, some time even to give his life: does he not also make sacrifice? The Emperor Kanghsi in a valedictory decree which he issued on his death bed, said that "he did not know until then what a life of sacrifice the life of an Emperor in China is." And yet, let me say here by the way, Messrs. J. B. Bland and Backhouse in their latest book have described this Emperor Kanghsi as a huge, helpless, horrid Brigham Young, who was dragged into his grave by the multitude of his wives and children. But, of course, for modern men like Messrs. J. P. Bland and Backhouse, concubinage is inconceivable except as something horrid, vile and nasty, because the diseased imagination of such men can conceive of nothing except nasty, vile and horrid things. But that is neither here nor there. Now what I want to say here is that the life of every *true* man —— from the Emperor down to the rickshaw coolie —— and every *true* woman, is a life of sacrifice. The sacrifice of a woman in China is to live selflessly for the man whom she calls husband, and the sacrifice of the man in China is to provide for, to protect at all costs the woman or women whom he has taken into his house and also the children they may bear him. Indeed to people who talk of the immorality of concubinage in China, I would say that to me the Chinese mandarin who keeps concubines is less selfish, less immoral than the European in his motor car, who picks up a helpless woman from the public street and, after amusing himself with her for one night, throws her away again on the pavement of the public street the next morning. The Chinese mandarin with his concubines may be selfish, but he at least provides a house for his concubines and holds himself for life responsible for the

maintenance of the women he keeps. In fact, if the mandarin is selfish, I say that the European in his motor car is not only selfish, but a *coward*. Ruskin says, "The honour of a true soldier is verily not to be able to slay, but to be willing and ready at all times to *be slain*." In the same way I say, the honour of a woman — a true woman in China, is not only to love and be true to her husband, but to live absolutely, selflessly for him. In fact, this Religion of Selflessness is the religion of the woman, especially, the gentlewoman or lady in China, as the Religion of Loyalty which I have tried elsewhere to explain, is the religion of the man, — the gentleman in China. Until foreigners come to understand these two religions, the "Religion of Loyalty and the Religion of Selflessness" of the Chinese people, they can never understand the real Chinaman, or the real Chinese woman.

But people will again say to me, "What about love? Can a man who really loves his wife have the heart to have other women besides her in his house?" To this I answer, yes, — Why not? For the real test that a husband really loves his wife is not that he should spend his whole life in lying down at her feet and caressing her. The real test whether a man truly loves his wife is whether he is anxious and tries in every thing reasonable, not only to protect her, but also not to hurt her, not to hurt her feelings. Now to bring a strange woman into the house must hurt the wife, hurt her feelings. But here, I say, it is what I have called the Religion of Selflessness which protects the wife from being hurt: it is this absolute Selflessness in the woman in China which makes it possible for her not to feel hurt when she sees her husband bring another woman into the house. In other words, it is the selflessness in the wife in China which enables, *permits* the husband to take a concubine without hurting the wife. For here, let me point out, a gentleman, — a real gentleman in China, never takes a concubine without the consent of his wife and a real gentlewoman or lady in China whenever there is a proper reason that her husband should take a concubine, will never refuse to give her consent. I know of many cases where having no children the husband after middle age wanted to take a concubine, but because the wife refused to give her consent, desisted. I know even of a case where the husband, because he did not want to exact this mark of selflessness from his wife who was sick and in bad health, refused, when urged by the wife, to take a concubine, but the wife, without his knowledge and consent, not only bought a concubine, but actually forced him to take the concubine into the house. In fact, the protection for the wife against the abuse of concubinage in China is the *love of her husband for her*. Instead, therefore of saying that husbands in China cannot truly love their wives because they

take concubines, one should rather say it is because the husband in China so *truly* loves his wife that he has the privilege and liberty of taking concubines without fear of his abusing that privilege and liberty. This liberty, this privilege is sometimes and even —— when the sense of honour in the men in the nation is low as now in this anarchic China, of ten abused. But still I say the protection for the wife in China where the husband is allowed to take a concubine, is the love of her husband for her, the love of her husband, and, I must add here, his *tact* —the perfect good taste in the real Chinese gentleman. I wonder if one man in a thousand among the ordinary Europeans and Americans, who can keep more than one woman in the same house without turning the house into a fighting cockpit or hell. In short, it is this tact, —— the perfect good taste in the real Chinese gentleman which makes it possible for the wife in China not to feel hurt, when the husband takes and keeps a handmaid, a hand rack, an eye rack in the same house with her. But to sum up, — it is the Religion of selflessness, the absolute selflessness of the woman, —— the gentlewoman or lady and the love of the husband for his wife and his tact, —— the perfect good taste of a real Chinese gentleman, which, as I said, makes concubinage in China, not only possible, but also *not immoral*. . Confucius said, “The Law of the Gentleman takes its rise from the relation between the husband and the wife.”

Now in order to convince those who might still be sceptical that husbands in China *truly* love, can *deeply* love their wives, I could produce abundant proofs from Chinese history and literature. For this purpose I should particularly like to quote and translate here an elegy written on the death of his wife by Yuan Chen (元稹), a poet of the T'ang dynasty. But unfortunately the piece is too long for quotation here in this already too long article. Those acquainted with Chinese, however, who wish to know how deep the affection, —— affection, true love and not sexual passion which in modern times is often mistaken for love, —— how deep the love of a husband in China for his wife is, should read this elegy which can be found in any ordinary collection of the T'ang poets. The title of the elegy is, (遣悲怀) —— “Lines to ease the aching heart.” But as I cannot use this elegy for my purpose, I will, instead, give here a short poem of four lines written by a modern poet who was once a secretary of the late Viceroy Chang Chih-tung. The poet went together with his wife in the suite of the Viceroy to Wuchang and after staying there many years, his wife died. Immediately after he too had to leave Wuchang. He wrote the poem on leaving Wuchang. The words in Chinese are:

此恨人人有，
百年能有几？
痛哉长江水，
同渡不同归。

The meaning in English is something like this: ——

*This grief is common to everyone,
One hundred years how many can attain ?
But 'tis heart breaking, o waters of the Yangtze,
Together we came, —— but together we return not.*

The feeling here is as deep, if not deeper; but the words are fewer, and the language is simpler, even than Tennyson's.

*Break, break, break
On the cold grey stones, O sea!
But O for the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still!*

But now what about the love of a wife in China for her husband? I do not think any evidence is needed to prove this. It is true that in China the bride and bride-groom as a rule never see each other until the marriage day, and yet that there is love between even bride and bride-groom, can be seen in these four lines of poetry from the T'ang dynasty: ——

洞房昨夜停红烛，
待晓堂前拜舅姑。
妆罢低声问夫婿：
画眉深浅入时无？

The meaning in English of the above is something like this,

*In the bridal chamber last night stood red candles;
Waiting for the morning to salute the father and mother in the hall,*

*Toilet finished, —— in a low voice she asks her sweet-heart husband,
“Are the shades in my painted eyebrows quite a la mode.”*

But here in order to understand the above, I must tell you something about marriage in China. There are in every legal marriage in China six ceremonies(六礼): first, (问名) asking for the name, i.e., formal proposal; second, (纳彩) receiving the silk presents, i.e., betrothal; third (定期) fixing the day of marriage; fourth (亲迎) fetching the bride; fifth (奠雁) pouring libation before the wild goose, i.e., plighting troth, so-called because the wild goose is supposed to be most faithful in connubial love; sixth (庙见) —— temple presentation. Of these six ceremonies, the last two are the most important, I shall therefore here describe them more in detail.

The fourth ceremony, fetching the bride at the present day, is, except in my province Fukien where we keep up the old customs, —— generally dispensed with, as it entails too much trouble and expense to the bride's family. The bride now, instead of being fetched, is sent to the bride-groom's house. When the bride arrives there, the bridegroom receives her at the gate and himself opens the door of the bridal chair and leads her to the hall of the house. There the bride and bride-groom worship Heaven and Earth(拜天地), i.e., to say, they fall on their knees with their faces turned to the door of the hall with a table carrying two red burning candles before the open sky and then the husband pours libations on the ground, —— in presence of the pair of wild geese (if wild goose cannot be had, an ordinary goose) which the bride has brought with her. This is the ceremony called *Tien yen* pouring libation before the wild goose; plighting of troth between man and woman —— he vowing to be true to her, and she, to be true to him, just as faithful as the pair of wild geese they see before them. From this moment, they become, so to speak, natural *sweetheart husband and sweetheart wife*, bound only by the moral law, the Law of the Gentleman, —— the word of honour which they have given to each other, but not yet by the *Civic Law*. This ceremony therefore may be called the moral or Religious marriage.

After this comes the ceremony called the (交拜) mutual salutation between bride and bride-groom. The bride standing on the right side of the hall first goes on her knees before the bride-groom, —— he going on his knees to her at the same time. Then they change places. The bride-groom now standing where the bride stood, *goes on his knees to her*, —— she returning the salute just as he did. Now this ceremony of *chiao pai* mutual salutation, I wish to point out here, proves beyond all doubt that in China there is *perfect equality* between man and woman, between husband and wife.

As I said before, the ceremony of plighting troth may be called the moral or

Religious marriage as distinguished from what may be called the *civic* marriage, which comes three days after. — In the moral or religious marriage, the man and woman becomes husband and wife before the moral Law — before God. The contract so far is solely between the man and woman. The State or, as in China, the Family takes the place of the State in all social and civic life — the State acting only as Court of appeal, — the Family takes no cognizance of the marriage or contract between the man and woman here in this, what I have called the moral or religious marriage. In fact on this first day and until the *civic* marriage takes place on the third day of the marriage, the bride is not only *not* introduced, but also not allowed to see or be seen by the members of the bride-groom's family.

Thus for two days and two nights the bride-groom and the bride in China live, so to speak not as legal, but, as *sweetheart-husband* and *sweetheart-wife*. On the third day, — then comes the last ceremony in the Chinese marriage — the *Miao-chien*, the temple presentation or civic marriage. I say, on the third day because that is the rule *de rigueur* as laid down in the Book of Rites(三日庙见). But now to save trouble and expense, it is generally performed on the day after. This ceremony — the temple presentation, takes place, when the ancestral temple of the family clan is nearby, — of course in the ancestral temple. But for people living in towns and cities where there is no ancestral temple of the family clan nearby, the ceremony is performed before the miniature ancestral chapel or shrine — which is in the house of every respectable family, even the poorest in China. This ancestral temple, chapel or shrine with a tablet or red piece of paper on the wall, as I have said elsewhere, is the *church* of the State Religion of Confucius in China corresponding to the church of the Church Religion in Christian countries.

This ceremony — the temple presentation begins by the father of the bridegroom or failing him, the nearest senior member of the family, going on his knees before the ancestral tablet — thus announcing to the spirits of the dead ancestors that a young member of the family has now brought a wife home into the family. Then the bridegroom and bride one after the other, each goes on his and her knees before the same ancestral tablet. From this moment the man and woman becomes husband and wife, —not only before the moral Law or God, — but before the Family, before the State, before Civic Law. I have therefore called this ceremony of *miao chien*, temple presentation in the Chinese marriage, — the civic or civil marriage. Before this civic or civil marriage, the woman, the bride, — according to the Book of Rites, — is not a legal wife(不庙见不成妇). When the bride happens

to die before this ceremony of temple presentation, she is not allowed — according to the Book of Rites — to be buried in the family burying ground of her husband and her memorial tablet is not put up in the ancestral temple of his family clan.

Thus we see the contract in a legal civic marriage in China is not between the woman and the man. The contract is between the woman and the family of her husband. She is not married to him, but *into his family*. In the visiting card of a Chinese lady in China, she does not write, for instance, Mrs. Ku Hung-ming, but literally “Miss Feng, gone to the home of the family (originally from) Tsin An adjusts her dress (归晋安冯氏衿衽).” — The contract of marriage in China being *between the woman and the family of her husband*, — the husband and wife can neither of them repudiate the contract without the consent of the husband’s family. This I want to point out here, is the fundamental difference between a marriage in China and a marriage in Europe and America. The marriage in Europe and America, — is what we Chinese — would call a sweet-heart marriage, a marriage, bound solely by love between the individual man and the individual woman. But in China the marriage is, as I have said, a civic marriage, a contract not between the woman and the man, *but between the woman and the family of her husband*, — in which she has obligations not only to him, but also to his family, and through the family, to society, — to the social or civic order; in fact, to the State. Finally let me point out here that it is this civic conception of marriage which gives solidarity and stability to the family, to the social or civic order, to the State in China. Until therefore, let me be permitted to say here, — the people in Europe and America understand what true *civic life* means, understand and have a true conception of what it is really to be a citizen, — a citizen not each one living for himself, but each one living first for his family, and through that for the civic order or State, — there can then be no such thing as a stable society, civic order or State in the true sense of the word. — A State such as we see it in modern Europe and American today, where the men and woman have not a true conception of civic life, — such a State with all its parliament and machinery of government, may be called, if you like, — a big Commercial Concern, or as it really is, in times of war, a gang of brigands and pirates, — but not a State. In fact, I may be permitted further to say here, it is the false conception of a State as a big commercial concern having only the selfish material interests of those who have the biggest shares in the concern to be considered, — this false conception of a State with the *esprit de corps* of brigands, which is, at bottom, the cause of the terrible war now going on in Europe. In short, without a true conception of civic life there can be

no true State and without a true State, how can there be civilisation. To us Chinese, a man who does not marry, who has no family, no home which he has to defend, cannot be a patriot, and if calls himself a patriot, —— we Chinese call him a *brigand patriot*. In fact in order to have a true conception of a State or civic order, one must first have a true conception of a family, and to have a true conception of a family, of family life, one must first of all have a true conception of marriage, —— marriage not as a sweetheart marriage, but as a civic marriage which I have in the above tried to describe.

But to return from the digression. Now you can picture to yourself how the sweet-heart wife waiting for the morning —— to salute the father and mother of her husband, toilet finished, in a low voice, whispers to her sweet-heart husband and asks if her eyebrows are painted quite a la mode —— Here you see, I say, there is love between husband and wife in China, although they have not seen each other before the marriage—even on the third day of the marriage. But if you think the love in the above is not deep enough, then take just these two lines of poetry from a wife to her absent husband.

当君怀归日
是妾断肠时

*The day when you think of coming home.
Ah! then my heart - will already be broken.*

Roselind in Shakespeare's "As You Like It" says to her cousin Celia: "coz, coz, my pretty little coz, that thou knowest how many fathom deep I am in love! But I cannot be sounded: my affection hath an unknown bottom, like the bay of Portugal." Now the love of a woman, —— of a wife for her husband in China and also the love of the man —— of the husband for his wife in China, one can truly say, is like Rosolind's love, many fathom deep and cannot be sounded; it has an unknown bottom like the bay of Portugal.

But, I will now speak of the difference which, I said, there is between the Chinese feminine ideal and the feminine ideal of the old Hebrew people. The Hebrew lover in the Songs of Solomon, thus addresses his lady - love: "Thou art beautiful, my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, *terrible as an army with banners!*" People who have seen beautiful dark-eyed Jewesses even to day, will acknowledge the truth and graphicness of the picture which the old Hebrew lover here gives of the feminine ideal of his race. But in and about the Chinese feminine ideal, I want to say here,

there is nothing *terrible* either in a physical or in a moral sense. Even the Helen of Chinese history, —— the beauty, who with one glance brings down a city and with another glance destroys a kingdom (一顾倾人城, 再顾倾人国) she is terrible only metaphorically. In an essay on “the Spirit of the Chinese People,” I said that the one word which will sum up the total impression which the Chinese type of humanity makes upon you is the English word, “gentle.” If this is true of the real Chinaman, it is truer of the real Chinese woman. In fact this “gentleness” of the real Chinaman, in the Chinese woman, becomes sweet *meekness*. The meekness, the submissiveness of the woman in China is like that of Milton’s Eve in the “Paradise Lost,” who says to her husband,

*God is thy law, thou, mine; to know no more
Is woman’s happiest knowledge and her praise.*

Indeed this quality of perfect meekness in the Chinese feminine ideal you will find in the feminine ideal of no other people, —— of no other civilisation, Hebrew, Greek or Roman. This perfect, *divine* meekness in the Chinese feminine ideal you will find only in one civilisation, —— the Christian civilisation, when that civilisation in Europe reached its perfection, during the period of the *Renaissance*. If you will read the beautiful story of Griselda in Boccaccio’s *Decameron* and see the true Christian feminine ideal shown there, you will then understand what this perfect submissiveness, this *divine* meekness, meekness to the point of absolute selflessness, —— in the Chinese feminine ideal means. In short, in this quality of divine meekness, the *true* Christian feminine ideal is the Chinese feminine ideal, with just a shade of difference. If you will carefully compare the picture of the Christian Madonna with, —— not the Buddhist Kuan Yin, —— but with the pictures of women fairies and genii painted by famous Chinese artists, you will be able to see this difference, —— the difference between the Christian feminine ideal, and the Chinese feminine ideal. The Christian Madonna is meek and so is the Chinese feminine ideal. The Christian Madonna is ethereal and so is the Chinese feminine ideal. But the Chinese feminine ideal is more than all that; the Chinese feminine ideal is *debonair*. To have a conception of what this charm and grace expressed by the word *debonair* mean, you will have to go to ancient Greece,

—— *o ubi campi Spercheosque et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis Taygeta!*

In fact you will have to go to the fields of Thessaly and the streams of Spercheios, to the hills alive with the dances of the Laconian maidens, — the hills of Taygetus.

Indeed I want to say here that even now in China since the period of the Sung Dynasty (A. D. 960), when what may be called the Confucian Puritanism of the Sung philosophers has narrowed, petrified, and in a way, *vulgarised* the spirit of Confucianism, the spirit of the Chinese civilisation — since then, the womanhood in China has lost much of the grace and charm, — expressed by the word *debonair*. Therefore if you want to see the grace and charm expressed by the word *debonair* in the true Chinese feminine ideal, you — will have to go to Japan where the women there at least, even to this day, have preserved the pure Chinese civilisation of the T'ang Dynasty. It is this grace and charm expressed by the word *debonair* combined with the *divine meekness* of the Chinese feminine ideal, which gives the air of *distinction* (名贵) to the Japanese woman, — even to the poorest Japanese woman today.

In connection with this quality of charm and grace expressed by the word *debonair*, allow me to quote to you here a few words from Matthew Arnold with which he contrasts the *brick-and-mortar* Protestant English feminine ideal with the delicate Catholic French feminine ideal. Comparing Eugenic de Guerin, the beloved sister of the French poet Maurice de Guerin, with an English woman who wrote poetry, Miss Emma Tatham, — Matthew Arnold says: “The French woman is a Catholic in Languedoc; the English woman is a Protestant at Margate, Margate the brick and mortar image of English Protestantism, representing it in all its prose, all its uncomeliness, — and let me add, all its salubrity. Between the external form and fashion of these two lives, between the Catholic Madlle de Guerin’s *nadalet* at the Languedoc Christmas, her chapel of moss at Easter time, her daily reading of the life of a saint, — between all this and the bare, blank, narrowly English setting of Miss Tatham’s Protestantism, her “union in Church fellowship with the worshippers at Hawley Square, Margate,” her singing with the soft, sweet voice, the animating lines:

“My Jesus to know, and feel His Blood flow
'Tis life everlasting, 'tis heaven below!”

her young female teachers belonging to the Sunday school and her “Mr. Thomas

Rowe, a venerable class-leader” — what a dissimilarity. In the ground of the two lives, a likeness; in all their circumstances, what unlikeness! An unlikeness, it will be said, in that which is non-essential and indifferent. Non-essential, — yes; indifferent, — no. The signal *want of grace and charm* — in the English Protestantism’s setting of its religious life is not an indifferent matter; it is a real weakness. *This ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone.*

Last of all I wish to point out to you here the most important quality of all, in the Chinese feminine ideal, the quality which preeminently distinguishes her from the feminine ideal of all other people or nations ancient or modern. This quality in the women in China, it is true, is common to the feminine ideal of every people or nation with any pretension to civilisation, but this quality, I want to say here, developed in the Chinese feminine ideal to such a degree of perfection as you will find it nowhere else in the world. This quality of which I speak, is described by the two Chinese words *yu hsien*(幽闲) which, in the quotation I gave above from the “Lessons for Women,” by Lady T’sao, — I translated as modesty and cheerfulness. The Chinese word *yu* (幽) literally means retired, secluded, occult and the word *hsien* (闲) literally means “at ease or leisure.” For the Chinese word *yu*, — the English “modesty, bashfulness” only gives you an idea of its meaning. The German word *Sittsamkeit* comes nearer to it. But perhaps the French *pudeur* comes nearest to it of all. This *pudeur*, I may say here, this bashfulness, the quality expressed by the Chinese word *yu* is the essence of all womanly qualities. The more a woman has this quality of *pudeur* developed in her, the more she has of womanliness, — of femininity, in fact, the more she is a perfect or ideal woman. When on the contrary a woman loses this quality expressed by the Chinese word *yu*(幽), loses this bashfulness, this *pudeur*, she then loses altogether her womanliness, her femininity, and with that, her perfume, her fragrance and becomes a mere piece of human meat or flesh. Thus, it is this *pudeur*, this quality expressed by the Chinese word *yu* in the Chinese feminine ideal which makes or *ought* to make every *true* Chinese woman instinctively feel and know that it is wrong to show herself in public; that it is *indecent*, according to the Chinese idea, to go on a platform and sing before a crowd in the hall even of the Confucian Association. In fine, it is this *yu hsien*(幽闲), this love of seclusion, this sensitiveness against the “garish eye of day;” this *pudeur* in the Chinese feminine ideal, which gives to the true Chinese woman in China as to no other woman in the world, — a perfume, a perfume sweeter than the perfume of violets, the ineffable fragrance of orchids.

In the oldest love song, I believe, of the world, which I translated for the *Peking Daily News* two years ago — the first piece in the *Shih Ching* or Book of Poetry, the Chinese feminine ideal is thus described,

*The birds are calling in the air, ——
An islet by the river-side ;
The maid is meek and debonair,
Oh! Fit to be our Prince's bride.*

The words *yao t'iao* (窈窕) have the same signification as the words *yu sien* (幽闲) meaning literally *yao* (窈) secluded, meek, shy, and *t'iao* (窕) attractive, debonair, and the words *shu nu* (淑女) mean a pure, chaste girl or woman. Thus here in the oldest love song in China, you have the three essential qualities in the Chinese feminine ideal, viz. love of seclusion, bashfulness or *pudeur*, ineffable grace and charm expressed by the word debonair and last of all, purity or chastity. In short, the real or true Chinese woman is chaste; she is bashful, has *pudeur*; and she is attractive and debonair. This then is the Chinese feminine ideal, —the “Chinese Woman.”

In the Confucian Catechism (中庸) which I have translated as the Conduct of Life, the first part of the book containing the practical teaching of Confucius on the conduct of life concludes with the description of a Happy Home thus:

*“When wife and children dwell in unison,
'Tis like to harp and lute well-played in tune,
When brothers live in concord and in peace,
The strain of harmony shall never cease.
Make then your Home thus always gay and bright.
Your wife and dear ones shall be your delight.”*

This Home in China is the miniature Heaven, —— as the State with its civic order, the Chinese Empire, —— is the real Heaven, the Kingdom of God come upon this earth, to the Chinese people. Thus, as the gentleman in China with his honour, his Religion of Loyalty is the guardian of the *State* the Civic Order, in China, so the Chinese woman, the Chinese gentlewoman or lady, with her debonair charm and grace, her purity, her *pudeur*, and above all, her Religion of Selflessness, —— is the Guardian Angel of the miniature Heaven, the Home in China.

Chapter 3

THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

All foreigners who have tried to learn Chinese say that Chinese is a very difficult language. But is Chinese a difficult language? Before, however, we answer this question, let us understand what we mean by the Chinese language. There are, as everybody knows, two languages — I do not mean dialects, — in China, the spoken and the written language. Now, by the way, does anybody know the reason why the Chinese insist upon having these two distinct, spoken and written languages? I will here give you the reason. In China, as it was at one time in Europe when Latin was the learned or written language, the people are properly divided into two distinct classes, the educated and the uneducated. The colloquial or spoken language is the language for the use of the uneducated, and the written language is the language for the use of the really educated. In this way *half educated* people do not exist in this country. That is the reason, I say, why the Chinese insist upon having two languages. Now think of the consequences of having half educated people in a country. Look at Europe and America today. In Europe and America since, from the disuse of Latin, the sharp distinction

between the spoken and the written language has disappeared, there has arisen a class of half educated people who are allowed to use the same language as the really educated people, who talk of civilisation, liberty, neutrality, militarism and Pan-Slavism without in the least understanding what these words really mean. People say that Prussian Militarism is a danger to civilisation. But to me it seems, the half educated man, the mob of half educated men in the world today, is the real danger to civilisation. But that is neither here nor there.

Now to come to the question: is Chinese a difficult language? My answer is, yes and no. Let us first take the spoken language. The Chinese spoken language, I say, is not only *not* difficult, but as compared with the half dozen languages that I know, — the easiest language in the world except, — Malay. Spoken Chinese is easy because it is an extremely simple language. It is a language without case, without tense, without regular and irregular verbs; in fact without grammar, or any rule whatever. But people have said to me that Chinese is difficult even because of its simplicity; even because it has no rule or grammar. That, however, cannot be true. Malay like Chinese, is also a simple language without grammar or rules; and yet Europeans who learn it, do not find it difficult. Thus in itself and for the Chinese colloquial or spoken Chinese at least is not a difficult language. But for educated Europeans and especially for half educated Europeans who come to China, even colloquial or spoken Chinese is a very difficult language: and why? Because spoken or colloquial Chinese is, as I said, the language of uneducated men, of thoroughly uneducated men; in fact the language of a child. Now as a proof of this, we all know how easily European children learn colloquial or spoken Chinese, while learned philogues and sinologues insist in saying that Chinese is so difficult. Chinese, colloquial Chinese, I say again is the language of a child. My first advice therefore to my foreign friends who want to learn Chinese is “Be ye like little children, you will then not only enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but you will also be able to learn Chinese.”

We now come to the written or book language, written Chinese. But here before I go further, let me say there are also different kinds of written Chinese. The Missionaries class these under two categories and call them easy *wen li* and difficult *wen li*. But that, in my opinion, is not a satisfactory classification. The proper classification, I think, should be, plain dress written Chinese; official uniform Chinese; and full court dress Chinese. If you like to use Latin, call them: *litera communis* or *litera officinalis* (common or business Chinese) ; *litera classica minor* (lesser classical Chinese) ; and *litera classica major* (higher classical Chinese).

Now many foreigners have called themselves or have been called Chinese scholars. Writing an article on Chinese scholarship, some thirty years ago for the *N. C. Daily News*, — ah me! those old Shanghai days, *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*, — I then said: “Among Europeans in China, the publication of a few dialogues in some provincial *patois* or the collection of a hundred Chinese proverbs at once entitles a man to call himself a Chinese scholar.” “There is,” I said, “of course no harm in a name, and with the extraterritoriality clause in the treaty, an Englishman in China may with impunity call himself Confucius, if so it pleases him.” Now what I want to say here is this: how many foreigners who call themselves Chinese scholars, have any idea of what an asset of civilisation is stored up in that portion of Chinese literature which I have called the *Classica majora*, the literature in full court dress Chinese? I say an asset of civilisation, because I believe that this *Classica majora* in the Chinese literature is something which can, as Matthew Arnold says of Homer’s poetry, “refine the raw natural man: they can transmute him.” In fact, I believe this *Classica majora* in Chinese literature will be able to transform one day even the raw natural men who are now fighting in Europe as patriots, but with the fighting instincts of wild animals; transform them into peaceful, gentle and civil persons. Now the object of civilisation, as Ruskin says, is to make mankind into civil persons who will do away with coarseness, violence, brutality and fighting.

But *revenons a. nos moutons*. Is then written Chinese a difficult language? My answer again is, yes and no. I say, written Chinese, even what I have called the full court dress Chinese, the *classica majora* Chinese, is not difficult, because, like the spoken or colloquial Chinese, it is extremely simple. Allow me to show you by an average specimen taken at random how extremely simple, written Chinese even when dressed in full court dress uniform, is. The specimen I take is a poem of four lines from the poetry of the T’ang dynasty describing what sacrifices the Chinese people had to make in order to protect their civilisation against the wild half civilised fierce Huns from the North. The words of the poem in Chinese are:

誓扫匈奴不顾身，
五千貂锦丧胡尘。
可怜无定河边骨，
犹是春闺梦里人。

which translated into English word for word mean:

*Swear sweep the Huns not care self,
Five thousand embroidery sable perish desert dust;
Alas! Wuting riverside bones,
Still are Spring chambers dream inside men!*

A free English version of the poem is something like this:

*They vowed to sweep the heathen hordes
From off their native soil or die:
Five thousand tassel'd knights, sable-clad,
All dead now on the desert lie.
Alas ! the white bones that bleach cold
Far off along the Wuting stream,
Still come and go as living men
Home somewhere in the loved one's dream.*

Now, if you will compare it with my poor clumsy English version, you will see how plain in words and style, how simple in ideas, the original Chinese is. How plain and simple in words, style and ideas: and yet how *deep* in thought, how *deep* in feeling it is.

In order to have an idea of this kind of Chinese literature, —— deep thought and deep feeling in extremely simple language, —— you will have to read the Hebrew Bible. The Hebrew Bible is one of the deepest books in all the literature of the world and yet how plain and simple in language. Take this passage for instance: “How is this faithful city become a harlot! Thy men in the highest places are disloyal traitors and companions of thieves; every one loveth gifts and followeth after rewards; they judge not the fatherless neither doth the cause of the widow come before them.” (Is. I 21-23), or this other passage from the same prophet: —— “I will make children to be their high officials and babes shall rule over them. And the people shall be oppressed. The child shall behave himself proudly against the old man and the base against the honourable!” What a picture! The picture of the awful state of a nation or people. Do you see the picture before you now? In fact, if you want to have literature which can transmute men, can civilise mankind, you will have to go to the literature of the Hebrew people or of the Greeks or to Chinese literature. But Hebrew and Greek are now become dead languages, whereas Chinese is a living language —— the

language of four hundred million people still living today.

But now to sum up what I want to say on the Chinese language. Spoken as well as written Chinese is, in one sense, a very difficult language. It is difficult, not because it is complex. Many European languages such as Latin and French are difficult because they are complex and have many rules. Chinese is difficult not because it is complex, but because it is *deep*. It is difficult because it is a language for expressing deep feeling in simple language. That is the secret of the difficulty of the Chinese language. In fact, as I have said else where, Chinese is a language of the heart: a poetical language. That is the reason why even a simple letter in prose written in classical Chinese reads like poetry. In order to understand written Chinese, especially what I call full court dress Chinese, you must have your full nature, — the heart and the head, the soul and the intellect equally developed.

It is for this reason that for people with modern European education, Chinese is especially difficult, because modern European education develops principally only one part of a man's nature — his intellect. In other words, Chinese is difficult to a man with modern European education, because Chinese is a deep language and modern European education, which aims more at quantity than quality, is apt to make a man *shallow*. Finally for half educated people, even the spoken language, as I have said, is difficult. For half educated people it may be said of them as was once said of rich men, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for them to understand high classical Chinese and for this reason: written Chinese is a language only for the use of *really educated* people. In short, written Chinese, classical Chinese is difficult because it is the language of really educated people and real education is a difficult thing but as the Greek proverb says, "all beautiful things are difficult."

But before I conclude, let me here give another specimen of written Chinese to illustrate what I mean by simplicity and depth of feeling which is to be found even in the *Classica Minora*, literature written in official uniform Chinese. It is a poem of four lines by a modern poet written on New Year's Eve. The words in Chinese are:

示内

莫道家贫卒岁难，
北风曾过几番寒；
明年桃柳堂前树，
还汝春光满眼看。

which, translated word for word, mean: ——

*Don't (say home poor pass year hard,
North wind has blown many times cold,
Next year peach willow hall front trees,
Pay-back you spring light full eyes see.*

A free translation would be something like this:

TO MY WIFE

*Fret not, —— though poor we yet can pass the year ;
Let the north wind blow ne'er so chill and drear,
Next year when peach and willow are in bloom,
You'u yet see Spring and sunlight in our home.*

Here is another specimen longer and more sustained. It is a poem by Tu Fu, the Wordsworth of China, of the T'ang Dynasty. I will here first give my English translation. The subject is.

MEETING WITH AN OLD FRIEND

*In life, friends seldom are brought near;
Like stars, each one shines in its sphere.
Tonight, —— oh ! what a happy night
We sit beneath the same lamplight.
Our youth and strength last but a day.
You and I —— ah! our hairs are grey.
Friends ! Half are in a better land,
With tears we grasp each other's hand.
Twenty more years, —short, after all,
I once again ascend your hall.
When we met, you had not a wife ;
Now you have children, —— such is life !
Beaming, they greet their father's chum ;
They ask me from where I have come.*

*Before our say, we each have said,
The table is already laid.
Fresh salads from the garden near,
Rice mixed with millet, — frugal cheer.
When shall we meet? 'tis hard to know.
And so let the wine freely flow.
This wine, I know, will do no harm.
My old friend's welcome is so warm.
To-morrow I go, — to be whirled.
Again into the wide, wide world.*

The above, my version I admit, is almost doggerel, which is meant merely to give the meaning of the Chinese text. But here is the Chinese text which is not doggerel, but *poetry* - poetry simple to the verge of colloquialism, yet with a grace, dignity pathos and *nobleness* which I cannot reproduce and which perhaps it is impossible to reproduce, in English in such simple language.

人生不相见，动如参与商。
今夕复何夕，共此灯烛光。
少壮能几时，鬓发各已苍。
访旧半为鬼，惊呼热中肠。
焉知二十载，重上君子堂。
昔别君未婚，儿女忽成行。
怡然敬父执，问我来何方？
问答未及已，儿女罗酒浆。
夜雨剪春韭，新炊间黄粱。
主称会面难，一举累十觞。
十觞亦不醉，感子故意长。
明日隔山岳，世事两茫茫。

Chapter 4

JOHN SMITH IN CHINA

*“The Philistine not only ignores all conditions of life which are not his own but he also demands that the rest of mankind should fashion its mode of existence after his own.”^{270*1} . . .*

— Goethe.

Mr. W. Stead once asked: “What is the secret of Marie Corelli’s popularity?” His answer was: “Like author, like reader; because the John Smiths who read her novels live in Marie Corelli’s world and regard her as the most authoritative exponent of the Universe in which they live, move and have their being.” What Marie Corelli is to the John Smiths in Great Britain, the Rev. Arthur Smith is to the John Smiths in China.

Now the difference between the really educated person and the half educated one is this. The really educated person wants to read books which will tell him the real truth about a thing, whereas the half educated person prefers to read

1 “Der Philister negiert nicht nur andere Zustände als der seinige ist, er will auch dass alle ubrigen Menschen auf seine Weise existieren sollen.” — Goethe

books which will tell him what he wants the thing to be, what his vanity prompts him to wish that the thing should be. John Smith in China wants very much to be a superior person to the Chinaman and the Rev. Arthur Smith writes a book to prove conclusively that he, John Smith, is a very much superior person to the Chinaman. There-fore, the Rev. Arthur Smith is a person very dear to John Smith, and the “Chinese Characteristics” become a Bible to John Smith.

But Mr. W. Stead says, “It is John Smith and his neighbours who now rule the British Empire.” Consequently I have lately taken the trouble to read the books which furnish John Smith with his ideas on China and the Chinese.

The Autocrat at the Breakfast Table classified minds under the heads of arithmetical and algebraical intellects” All economical and practical wisdom,” he observes, “is an extension or variation of the arithmetical formula 2 plus 2 equal 4. Every philosophical proposition has the more general character of the expression a plus b equal c .” Now the whole family of John Smith belong decidedly to the category of minds which the Autocrat calls arithmetical intellects. John Smith’s father, John Smith senr, alias John Bull, made his fortune with the simple formula 2 plus 2 equal 4. John Bull came to China to sell his Manchester goods and to make money and he got on very well with John Chinaman because both he and John Chinaman understood and agreed perfectly upon the formula 2 plus 2 equal 4. But John Smith Junr, who now rules the British Empire, comes out to China with his head filled with a plus b equal c which he does not understand —— and not content to sell his Manchester goods, wants to civilise the Chinese or, as he expresses it, to “spread Anglo-Saxon ideals.” The result is that John Smith gets on very badly with John Chinaman, and, what is still worse, under the civilising influence of John Smith’s a plus b equal c Anglo-Saxon ideals, John Chinaman, instead of being a good, honest, steady customer for Manchester goods neglects his business, goes to Chang Su-ho’s Gardens to celebrate the Constitution, in fact becomes a mad, raving reformer.

I have lately, by the help of Mr. Putnam Weale’s “Reshaping of the Far East” and other books, tried to compile a Catechism of Anglo-Saxon Ideals for the use of Chinese students. The result, so far, is something like this: ——

1. —— What is the chief end of man?

The chief end of man is to glorify the British Empire.

2. —— *Do* you believe in God? Yes, when I go to Church.

3. —— What do you believe in when you are not in Church? I believe in interests—in what will pay.

4. ——— What is justification by faith? To believe in everyone for himself.

5. ——— What is justification by works? Put money in your pocket.

6. ——— What is Heaven?

Heaven means to be able to live in Bubbling Well Roa^{270*1} and drive in victorias.

7. ——— What is Hell?

Hell means to be unsuccessful.

8. ——— What is a state of human perfectibility? Sir Robert Hart's Custom Service in China.

9. ——— What is blasphemy?

To say that Sir Robert Hart is not a great man of genius.

10. ——— What is the most heinous sin? To obstruct British trade.

11. ——— For what purpose did God create the four hundred million Chinese?

For the British to trade upon.

12. ——— What form of prayer do you use when you pray? We thank Thee, Lord, that we are not as the wicked Russians and brutal Germans are, who want to partition China.

13. ——— Who is the great Apostle of the Anglo-Saxon Ideals in China.

Dr. Morrison, the *Times* Correspondent in Peking. It may be a libel to say that the above is a true statement of Anglo-Saxon ideals, but any one who will take the trouble to read Mr. Putnam Weale's book will not deny that the above is a fair representation of the Anglo-Saxon ideals of Mr. Putnam Weale and John Smith who reads Mr. Putnam Weale's books.

The most curious thing about the matter is that the civilising influence of John Smith's Anglo-Saxon ideals is really taking effect in China. Under this influence John Chinaman too is now wanting to glorify the Chinese Empire. The old Chinese literati with his eight-legged essays was a harmless humbug. But foreigners will find to their cost that the new Chinese literati who under the influence of John Smith's Anglo-Saxon ideals is clamouring for a constitution, is likely to become an intolerable and dangerous nuisance. In the end I fear John Bull Senior will not only find his Manchester goods trade ruined, but he will even be put to the expense of sending out a General Gordon or Lord Kitchener to shoot his poor old friend John Chinaman who has become *non compos mentis* under the civilising influence of John Smith's Anglo-Saxon ideals. But that is neither here nor there.

1 The most fashionable quarter in Shanghai.

What I want to say here in plain, sober English is this. It is a wonder to me that the Englishman who comes out to China with his head filled with all the arrant nonsense written in books about the Chinese, can get along at all with the Chinese with whom he has to deal. Take this specimen, for instance, from a big volume, entitled "The Far East: its history and its questions," by Alexis Krausse.

"The crux of the whole question affecting the Powers of the Western nations in the Far East lies in the appreciation of the true inwardness of the Oriental mind. An Oriental not only sees things from a different standpoint to (!) the Occidental, but his whole train of thought and mode of reasoning are at variance. The very sense of perception implanted in the Asiatic varies from that with which we are endowed!

After reading the last sentence an Englishman in China, when he wants a piece of *white* paper, if he follows the ungrammatical Mr. Krausse's advice, would have to say to his boy: — "Boy, bring me a piece of *black* paper." It is, I think, to the credit of practical men among foreigners in China that they can put away all this nonsense about the true inwardness of the Oriental mind when they come to deal practically with the Chinese. In fact I believe that those foreigners get on best with the Chinese and are the most successful men in China who stick to $2 \text{ plus } 2 \text{ equal } 4$, and leave the $a \text{ plus } b \text{ equal } c$ theories of Oriental inwardness and Anglo-Saxon ideals to John Smith and Mr. Krausse. Indeed when one remembers that in those old days, before the Rev. Arthur Smith wrote his "Chinese Characteristics," the relations between the heads or taipans of great British firms such as Jardine, Matheson and their Chinese compradores^{270*1} were always those of mutual affection, passing on to one or more generations; when one remembers this, one is inclined to ask what good, after all, has clever John Smith with his $a \text{ plus } b \text{ equal } c$ theories of Oriental inwardness and Anglo-Saxon ideals done, either to Chinese or foreigners?

Is there then no truth in Kipling's famous dictum that East is East and West is West? Of course there is. When you deal with $2 \text{ plus } 2 \text{ equal } 4$, there is little or no difference. It is only when you come to problems as $a \text{ plus } b \text{ equal } c$ that there is a great deal of difference between East and West. But to be able to solve the equation $a \text{ plus } b \text{ equal } c$ between East and West, one must have real aptitude for higher mathematics. The misfortune of the world today is that the solution of the equation $a \text{ plus } b \text{ equal } c$ in Far Eastern problems, is in the hands of John Smith who not only

1 Chinese employed by foreign firms in China to be agents between them and Chinese merchants.

rules the British Empire, but is an ally of the Japanese nation, — John Smith who does not understand the elements even of algebraical problems. The solution of the equation $a + b = c$ between East and West is a very complex and difficult problem. For in it there are many unknown quantities, not only such as the East of Confucius and the East of Mr. Kang Yu-wei and the Viceroy Tuan Fang, but also the West of Shakespeare and Goethe and the West of John Smith. Indeed when you have solved your $a + b = c$ equation properly, you will find that there is very little difference between the East of Confucius and the West of Shakespeare and Goethe, but you will find a great deal of difference between even the West of Dr. Legge the scholar, and the West of the Rev. Arthur Smith. Let me give a concrete illustration of what I mean.

The Rev. Arthur Smith, speaking of Chinese histories, says: — “Chinese histories are antediluvian, not merely in their attempts to go back to the ragged edge of zero of time for a point of departure, but in the interminable length of the sluggish and turbid current which carries on its bosom not only the mighty vegetation of past ages, but wood, hay and stubble past all reckoning. None but a relatively timeless race could either compose or read such histories: none but the Chinese memory could store them away in its capacious abdomen!”

Now let us hear Dr. Legge on the same subject. Dr. Legge, speaking of the standard dynastic histories of China, says:

“No nation has a history so thoroughly digested; and on the whole it is trustworthy.”

Speaking of another great Chinese literary collection. Dr. Legge says: — “The work was not published, as I once supposed by Imperial authority, but under the superintendence and at the expense (aided by other officers) of Yuen Yun, Governor-General of Kwangtung and Kwangse, in the 19th year of the last reign, of Kienlung 1820 . The publication of so extensive a work shows a *public spirit and zeal for literature* among the high officials of China which should keep foreigners from thinking meanly of them.”

The above then is what I mean when I say that there is a great deal of difference not only between the East and West but also between the West of Dr. Legge, the scholar who can appreciate and admire zeal for literature, and the West of the Rev. Arthur Smith who is the beloved of John Smith in China.

Chapter 5

A GREAT SINOLOGUE

*Don't forget to be a gentleman of sense, -while you try
to be a great scholar ;*

Don't become a fool, while you try to be a great scholar.

Confucius Sayings, Ch: VI. II

I have lately been reading Dr. Giles' "Adversaria Sinica," and in reading them, was reminded of a saying of another British consul Mr. Hopkins that "when foreign residents in China speak of a man as a sinologue, they generally think of him as a fool."

Dr. Giles' has the reputation of being a great Chinese scholar. Considering the quantity of work he has done, that reputation is not undeserved. But I think it is now time that an attempt should be made to accurately estimate the quality and real value of Dr. Giles' work.

In one respect Dr. Giles has the advantage over all sinologues past and present, — he possesses the literary gift: he can write good idiomatic English. But on the other hand

Dr. Giles utterly lacks the philosophical insight and sometimes even common sense. He can translate Chinese sentences, but he cannot interpret and understand Chinese thought. In this respect. Dr. Giles has the same characteristics as the Chinese literati. Confucius says, “When men’s education or book learning get the better of their natural qualities, they become *literati*.” (Chap. VI. 16.)

To the Chinese literati, books and literature are merely materials for writing books and so they write books upon books. They live, move and have their being in a world of books, having nothing to do with the world of real human life. It never occurs to the literati that books and literature are only means to an end. The study of books and literature to the true scholar is but the means to enable him to interpret, to criticise, to understand human life.

Matthew Arnold says, “It is through the apprehension either of all literature, —— the entire history of the human spirit, —— or of a single great literary work as a connected whole, that the power of literature makes itself felt.” But in all that Dr. Giles has written, there is not a single sentence which betrays the fact that Dr. Giles has conceived or even tried to conceive the Chinese literature as a connected whole.

It is this want of philosophical insight in Dr. Giles which makes him so helpless in the arrangement of his materials in his books. Take for instance his great dictionary. It is in no sense a dictionary at all. It is merely a collection of Chinese phrases and sentences, translated by Dr. Giles without any attempt at selection, arrangement, order or method. As a dictionary for the purposes of the scholar. Dr. Giles’ dictionary is decidedly of less value than even the old dictionary of Dr. Williams.

Dr. Giles’ Chinese biographical dictionary, it must be admitted, is a work of immense labour. But here again Dr. Giles shows an utter lack of the most ordinary judgment. In such a work, one would expect to find notices only of really notable men.

*Hie manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
Quique pii votes et Phoebæ digna locuti,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo.*

But side by side with sages and heroes of antiquity, with mythical and mythological personages, we find General Tcheng Ki-tong, Mr. Ku Hung-ming,

Viceroy Chang Chi-tung and Captain Lew Buah, — the last whose sole title to distinction is that he used often to treat his foreign friends with unlimited quantities of champagne!

Lastly these “Adversaria,” — Dr. Giles’ latest publication - will not, I am afraid, enhance Dr. Giles’ reputation as a scholar of sense and judgment. The subjects chosen, for the most part, have no earthly practical or human interest. It would really seem that Dr. Giles has taken the trouble to write these books not with any intention to tell the world anything about the Chinese and their literature but to show what a learned Chinese scholar Dr. Giles is and how much better he understands Chinese than anybody else. Moreover, Dr. Giles, here as elsewhere, shows a harsh and pugnacious dogmatism which is as un-philosophical, as unbecoming a scholar as it is unpleasing. It is these characteristics of sinologues like Dr. Giles which have made, as Mr. Hopkins says, the very name of sinologue and Chinese scholarship a byword and scorn among practical foreign residents in the Far East.

I shall here select two articles from Dr. Giles’ latest publication and will try to show that if hitherto writings of foreign scholars on the subjects of Chinese learning and Chinese literature have been without human or practical interest, the fault is not in Chinese learning and Chinese literature.

The first article is entitled “What is filial piety.” The point in the article turns upon the meaning of two Chinese characters. A disciple asked what is filial piety. Confucius said: *se nan* 色难(lit, colour difficult).

Dr. Giles says, “The question is, and has been for twenty centuries past, what do these two characters mean?” After citing and dismissing all the interpretations and translations of native and foreign scholars alike. Dr. Giles of course finds out the true meaning. In order to show Dr. Giles harsh and unscholarly dogmatic manner, I shall here quote Dr. Giles’ words with which he announces his discovery. Dr. Giles says: —

“It may seem presumptuous after the above exordium to declare that the meaning lies a la Bill Stumps (!) upon the surface, and all you have to do, as the poet says, is to:

*Stoop, and there it is;
Seek it not right nor left!*

“When Tzu-hsia asked Confucius, ‘What is filial piety?’ the latter replied simply, ‘*se* (色) to define it, *nan* (难) is difficult,’ a most intelligible and appropriate answer.”

I shall not here enter into the niceties of Chinese grammar to show that Dr. Giles is wrong. I will only say here that if Dr. Giles is right in supposing that the character *se* (色) is a verb, then in good grammatical Chinese, the sentence would not read *se nan* (色难), but *se chih wei nan* (色之维难) to define it, is difficult. The impersonal pronoun *chi* (之) *it, is* here absolutely indispensable, if the character *se* (色) here is used as a verb.

But apart from grammatical niceties, the translation as given by Dr. Giles of Confucius answer, when taken with the whole context, has no point or sense in it at all.

Tzu hsia asked, what is filial piety? Confucius said, “The difficulty is with the *manner*¹ of doing it. That merely when there is work to be done, the young people should take the trouble of doing it, and when there is wine and food, the old folk are allowed to partake it, — do you really think that is filial piety?” (Discourses and Sayings Ch. II. 9.) Now the whole point in the text above lies in this, — that importance is laid not upon what duties you perform towards your parents, but upon *how* — in what manner, with what spirit, you perform those duties.

The greatness and true efficacy of Confucius’ moral teaching, I wish to say here, lies in this very point which Dr. Giles fails to see, — the point namely that in the performance of moral duties, Confucius insisted upon the importance not of the *what*, but of the *how*. For herein lies the difference between what is called morality and religion, between mere rules of moral conduct and the vivifying teaching of great and true religious teachers. Teachers of morality merely tell you what kind of action is moral and what kind of action is immoral. But true religious teachers do not merely tell you this. True religious teachers do not merely inculcate the doing of the outward act, but insist upon the importance of the manner, the *inwardness* of the act. True religious teachers teach that the morality or immorality of our actions does not consist in *what* we do, but in *how* we do it.

This is what Matthew Arnold calls Christ’s method in his teaching. When the poor widow gave her mite, it was not *what* she gave that Christ called the attention of his hearers to, but *how* she gave it. The moralists said, “Thou shalt not commit adultery.” But Christ said, “I say unto you that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath already committed adultery.”

1 Compare another saying of Confucius II “巧言令色” Oi'iao yen ling se, plausible speech and fine manners. (Discourses and Sayings Ch. II. 9.)

In the same way the moralists in Confucius' time said: Children must cut firewood and carry water for their parents and yield to them the best of the food and wine in the house: that is filial piety. But Confucius said, "No; that is not filial piety." True filial piety does not consist in the mere outward performance of these services to our parents. True filial piety consists in *how*, in what manner, with what spirit we perform these services. The difficulty, said Confucius, is with the *manner* of doing it. It is, I will finally say here, by virtue of this method in his teaching, of looking into the inwardness of moral actions that Confucius becomes, not as the Christian missionaries say, a mere moralist and philosopher, but a great and true religious teacher.

As a further illustration of Confucius method, take the present reform movement in China. The so-called progressive mandarins with applause from foreign newspapers are making a great fuss — even going to Europe and America, — trying to find out what reforms to adopt in China. But unfortunately the salvation of China will not depend upon *what* reforms are made by these progressive mandarins, but upon *how* these reforms are carried out. It seems a pity that these progressive mandarins, — instead of going to Europe and America, to study constitution could not be made to stay at home and study Confucius. For until these mandarins take to heart Confucius' teaching and his method and attend to the *how* instead of the *what* in this matter of reform, nothing but chaos, misery and suffering will come out of the present reform movement in China.

The other article in Dr. Giles "Adversaria Sinica" which I will briefly examine, is entitled — "The four classes."

The Japanese Baron Suyematzu in an interview said that the Japanese divided their people into four classes, — soldiers, farmers, artisans and warriors. Upon this Dr. Giles says, "It is incorrect to translate *shih* (士) as soldier; that is a later meaning." Dr. Giles further says, "in its earliest use the word *shih* (士) referred to civilians."

Now the truth is just on the other side. In its earliest use, the word *shih* (士) referred to gentlemen who in ancient China, as it is now in Europe, bore arms, — the *noblesse* of the sword. Hence the officers and soldiers of an army were spoken of as *shih tsu*(士卒).

The civilian official class in ancient China were called *shi* (史) - clericus. When the feudal system in China was abolished (2nd cent. B. C. ,) and fighting ceased to be the only profession of gentlemen, this civilian official class rose into prominence, became lawyers and constituted the *noblesse* of the robe as distinguished from the

shih (士), the *noblesse* of the sword.

H. E. the Viceroy Chang of Wuchang once asked me why the foreign consuls who were civil functionaries, when in full dress, wore swords. In reply I said that it was because they were *shih* (士) which in ancient China meant not a civilian scholar, but a gentleman who bore arms and served in the army. H. E. agreed and the next day gave orders that all the pupils in the schools in Wuchang should wear military uniform.

This question therefore which Dr. Giles has raised whether the Chinese word *shih* (士) means a civilian or a military man has a great practical interest. For the question whether China in the future will be independent or come under a foreign yoke will depend upon whether she will ever have an efficient army and that question again will depend upon whether the educated and governing class in China will ever regain the true ancient meaning and conception of the word *shih* (士) not as civilian scholar, but as a gentleman who bears arms and is able to defend his country against aggression.

Chapter 6

CHINESE SCHOLARSHIP

PART I

Not long ago a body of missionaries created a great deal of amusement by styling themselves, on the cover of some scientific tracts, as “famous savants” *su ju* (夙儒). The idea was of course extremely ridiculous. There is certainly not one Chinaman in the whole Empire who would venture to arrogate to himself the Chinese word *ju*, which includes in it all the highest attributes of a scholar or literary man. We often hear, however, a European spoken of as a Chinese scholar. In the advertisement of the *China Review*, we are told that “among the missionaries a high degree of Chinese scholarship is assiduously cultivated.” A list is then given of regular contributors, “all,” we are to believe, “well-known names, indicative of sound scholarship and thorough mastery of their subject.”

Now in order to estimate the high degree of scholarship said to be assiduously cultivated by the missionary bodies in China, it is not necessary to take such high ideal standards

as those propounded by the German Fichte in his lectures upon the Literary Man, or the American Emerson in his Literary Ethics. The late American Minister to Germany, Mr. Taylor, was acknowledged to be a great German scholar; but though an Englishman who has read a few plays of Schiller, or sent to a magazine some verses translated from Heine, might be thought a German scholar among his tea drinking circles, he would scarcely have his name appear as such in print or placard. Yet among Europeans in China the publication of a few dialogues in some provincial *patois*, or collection of a hundred proverbs, at once entitles a man to be called a Chinese scholar. There is, of course, no harm in a name, and, with the exterritorial clause in the treaty, an Englishman in China might with impunity call himself Confucius if so it pleases him.

We have been led to consider this question because it is thought by some that Chinese scholarship has passed, or is passing, the early pioneering, and is about to enter a new stage, when students of Chinese will not be content with dictionary-compiling or such other brick - carrying work, but attempts will be made at works of construction, at translations of the most perfect specimens of the national literature, and not only judgment, but final judgment, supported with reasons and arguments, be passed upon the most venerated names of the Chinese literary Pantheon. We now propose to examine: 1st, how far it is true that the knowledge of Chinese among Europeans is undergoing this change; 2ndly, what has already been done in Chinese scholarship; 3rdly, what is the actual state of Chinese scholarship at the present day; and in the last place, to point out what we conceive Chinese scholarship should be. It has been said that a dwarf standing upon the shoulders of a giant is apt to imagine himself of greater dimensions than the giant; still, it must be admitted that the dwarf, with the advantage of his position, will certainly command a wider and more extensive view. We will, therefore, standing upon the shoulders of those who have preceded us, take a survey of the past, present, and future of Chinese scholarship; and if, in our attempt, we should be led to express opinions not wholly of approval of those who have gone before us, these opinions, we hope, may not be construed to imply that we in any way plume ourselves upon our superiority: we claim only the advantage of our position.

First, then, that the knowledge of Chinese among Europeans has changed, is only so far true, it seems to us, that the greater part of the difficulty of acquiring a knowledge of the language has been removed. "The once prevalent belief," says Mr. Giles, "in the great difficulty of acquiring a colloquial knowledge, even of a single

Chinese dialect has long since taken its place among other historical fictions.” Indeed, even with regard to the written language, a student in the British Consular Service, after two years’ residence in Peking and a year or two at a Consulate, can *now* readily make out at sight the general meaning of an ordinary despatch. That the knowledge of Chinese a-mong foreigners in China has so far changed, we readily admit; but what is contended for beyond this we feel very much inclined to doubt.

After the early Jesuit missionaries, the publication of Dr. Morrison’s famous dictionary is justly regarded as the *point de depart* of all that has been accomplished in Chinese scholarship. The work will certainly remain a standing monument of the earnestness, zeal and conscientiousness of the early Protestant Missionaries. After Morrison came a class of scholars of whom Sir John Davis and Dr. Gutzlaff might be taken as representatives. Sir John Davis really knew no Chinese, and he was honest enough to confess it himself. He certainly spoke Mandarin and could perhaps without much difficulty read a novel written in that dialect. But such knowledge as he then possessed, would now - a - days scarcely qualify a man for an interpreter-ship in any of the Consulates. It is nevertheless very remarkable that the notions about the Chinese of most Englishmen, even to this day, will be found to have been acquired from Sir John Davis’s book on China. Dr. Gutzlaff perhaps knew a little more Chinese than Sir John Davis; but he attempted to pass himself off as knowing a great deal more than he did. The late Mr. Thomas Meadows afterwards did good service in exposing the pretension of Dr. Gutzlaff, and such other men as the missionaries Hue and Du Halde. After this, it is curious to find Mr. Boulger, in his recent History of China, quoting these men as authorities.

In France, Remusat was the first to occupy a Chair of Chinese Professorship in any European University. Of his labours we are not in a position to express an opinion. But one book of his attracted notice: it was a translation of a novel, “The Two Cousins.” The book was read by Leigh Hunt, and by him recommended to Carlyle, and by Carlyle to John Stirling, who read it with delight, and said that the book was certainly written by a man of genius, but “a man of genius after the dragon pattern, “the *Ju Kiao Li*,”¹ as the novel is called in Chinese, is a pleasant enough book to read, but it takes no high place even among the inferior class of books of which it is a specimen. Nevertheless it is always pleasant to think that thoughts and images from the brain of a Chinaman have actually passed through such minds as those of

1 玉娇梨。

Carlyle and Leigh Hunt.

After Remusat followed Stanislas Julien and Pauthier. The German poet Heine says that Julien made the wonderful and important discovery that Mons. Pauthier did not understand Chinese at all and the latter, on the other hand, also made a discovery, namely that Monsieur Julien knew no Sanscrit. Nevertheless the pioneering work done by these writers was very considerable. One advantage they possessed was that they were thorough masters of their own language. Another French writer might be mentioned, Mons. D'Harvey St. Denys, whose translation of the T'ang poets is a breach made into one department of Chinese literature in which nothing has been done before or since.

In Germany Dr. Plath of Munich published a book on China, which he entitled "Die Manchurei." Like all books written in Germany, it is a solid piece of work thoroughly well done. Its evident design was to give a history of the origin of the present Manchu dynasty in China. But the latter portions of the book contain information on questions connected with China, which we know not where to find in any other book written in a European language. Such work as Dr. Williams's Middle Kingdom is a mere nursery story - book compared with it. Another German Chinese scholar is Herr von Strauss, formerly the Minister of a little German principality which has since been swallowed up by Prussia. The old Minister in his retirement amused himself with the study of Chinese. He published a translation of Lao Tzu, and recently of the Shih King. Mr. Faber, of Canton, speaks of some portions of his Lao Tzu as being perfect. His translation of the Odes is also said to be very spirited. We have, unfortunately, not been able to procure these books.

The scholars we have named above may be regarded as sinologues of the earliest period, beginning with the publication of Dr. Morrison's dictionary. The second period began with the appearance of two standard works: st, the Tzu Erh Chih of Sir Thomas Wadend, the Chinese Classics of Dr. Legge.

As to the first, those who have now gone beyond the Mandarin colloquial in their knowledge might be inclined to regard it lightly. But it is, notwithstanding, a great work—the most perfect, within the limits of what was attempted, of all the English books that have been published on the Chinese language. The book, moreover, was written in response to a crying necessity of the time. Some such book had to be written, and lo! it was done, and done in a way that took away all chance of contemporary as well as future competition.

That the work of translating the Chinese Classics had to be done, was also a

necessity of the time, and Dr. Legge has accomplished it, and the result is a dozen huge, ponderous tomes. The quantity of work done is certainly stupendous, whatever may be thought of the quality. In presence of these huge volumes we feel almost afraid to speak. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that the work does not altogether satisfy us. Mr. Balfour justly remarks that in translating these classics a great deal depends upon the *terminology* employed by the translator. Now we feel that the terminology employed by Dr. Legge is harsh, crude, inadequate, and in some places, almost unidiomatic. So far for the form. As to the matter, we will not hazard our own opinion, but will let the Rev. Mr. Faber of Canton speak for us."Dr. Legge's own notes on Mencius," he says, "show that Dr. Legge has not a philosophic understanding of his author." We are certain that Dr. Legge could not have read and translated these works without having in some way tried to conceive and shape to his own mind the teaching of Confucius and his school as a connected whole; yet it is extraordinary that neither in his notes nor in his dissertations has Dr. Legge let slip a single phrase or sentence to show what he conceived the teaching of Confucius really to be, as a philosophic whole. Altogether, therefore, Dr. Legge's judgment on the value of these works cannot by any means be accepted as final, and the translator of the Chinese Classics is yet to come. Since the appearance of the two works above mentioned, many books have been written on China: a few, it is true, of really great scholastic importance; but none, we believe showing that Chinese scholarship has reached an important turning point.

First, there is Mr. Wylie's "Notes on Chinese Literature." It is, however, a mere catalogue, and not a book with any literary pretension at all. Another is the late Mr. Mayers's "Chinese Readers Manual." It is certainly not a work that can lay claim to any degree of perfection. Nevertheless, it is a very great work, the most honest conscientious and unpretending of all the books that have been written on China. Its usefulness, moreover, is inferior only to the Tzu-Erh-Chi of Sir Thomas Wade.

Another Chinese scholar of note is Mr. Herbert A. Giles of the British Consular Service. Like the early French sinologues, Mr. Giles possesses the enviable advantage of a clear, vigorous, and beautiful

style. Every object he touches upon becomes at once clear and luminous. But with one or two exceptions, he has not been quite fortunate in the choice of subjects worthy of his pen. One exception is the "Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio," which may be taken as a model of what translation from the Chinese should be. But the *Liao-chai-chih-i*, a remarkably beautiful literary work of art though it be, belongs

yet not to the highest specimens of Chinese literature.

Next to Dr. Legge's labours, Mr. Balfour's recent translation of the Nan-hua King of Chuang-tzu is a work of certainly the highest ambition. We confess to have experienced, when we first heard the work announced, a degree of expectation and delight which the announcement of an Englishman entering the Hanlin College would scarcely have raised in us. The Nan-hua King is acknowledged by the Chinese to be one of the most perfect of the highest specimens of their national literature. Since its appearance two centuries before the Christian era, the influence of the book upon the literature of China is scarcely inferior to the works of Confucius and his schools; while its effect upon the language and spirit of the poetical and imaginative literature of succeeding dynasties is almost as exclusive as that of the Four Books and Five Chinese upon the philosophical works of China. But Mr. Balfour's work is not a translation at all; it is simply a *mistranslation*. This, we acknowledge, is a heavy, and for us, daring judgment to pass upon a work upon which Mr. Balfour must have spent many years. But we have ventured it, and it will be expected of us to make good our judgment. We believe Mr. Balfour would hardly condescend to join issue with us if we were to raise the question of the true interpretation of the philosophy of Chuang-tzu." But," — we quote from the Chinese preface of Lin Hsi-chung, a recent editor of the Nan-hua King — "in reading a book, it is necessary to understand first the meaning of each single word: then only can you construe the sentences, then only can you perceive the arrangement of the para-graphs; and then, last of all, can you get at the central proposition of the whole chapter." Now every page of Mr. Balfour's translation bears marks that he has not understood the meaning of many single words, that he has not construed the sentences correctly, and that he has missed the arrangement of the paragraphs. If these propositions which we have assumed can be proved to be true, as they can easily be done, being merely points regarding rules of grammar and syntax, it then follows very clearly that Mr. Balfour has missed the meaning and central proposition of whole chapters.

But of all the Chinese scholars of the present day we are inclined to place the Reverend Mr. Faber of Cant on at the head. We do not think that Mr. Faber's labours are of more scholastic value or a higher degree of literary merit than the works of others, but we find that almost every sentence he has written shows a grasp of literary and philosophic principles such as we do not find in any other scholar of the present time. What we conceive these principles to be we must reserve for the next portion of the present paper, when we hope to be able to state the methods, aims, and objects of Chinese scholarship.

Chapter 7

CHINESE SCHOLARSHIP

PART II

Mr. Faber has made the remark that the Chinese do not understand any systematic method of scientific enquiry. Nevertheless in one of Chinese Classics, called “Higher Education¹,” a work which is considered by most foreign scholars as a Book of Platitudes, a concatenation is given of the order in which the systematic study of a scholar should be pursued. The student of Chinese cannot perhaps do better than follow the course laid down in that book namely, to begin his study with the individual, to proceed from the individual to the family, and from the family to the Government.

First, then: it is necessary and indispensable that the student should endeavour to arrive at a just knowledge of the principles of individual conduct of the Chinese. Secondly, he will examine and see how these principles are applied and carried out in the complex social relations and family life of

1 the Known among foreigners as the “Great Learning”.

the people. Thirdly, he will be able then to give his attention, and direct his study, to the government and administrative institutions of the country. Such a programme as we have indicated, can, of course, be followed out only in general outline; to carry it fully out would require the devotion and undivided energies of almost a whole lifetime. But we should certainly refuse to consider a man, a Chinese scholar or a attribute to him any high degree of scholarship, unless he had in some way made himself familiar with the principles above indicated. The German poet Goethe says: "In the works of man, as in those of nature, what is really deserving of attention, above everything, is —— the *intention*." Now in the study of national character, it is also of the first importance to pay attention, not only to the actions and practice of the people, but also to their notions and theories; to get a knowledge of what they consider as good and what as bad, what they regard as just and what as unjust, what they look upon as beautiful and what as not beautiful, and how they distinguish wisdom from foolishness. This is what we mean when we say that the student of Chinese should study the principles of individual conduct. In other words, we mean to say that you must get at the *national ideals*. If it is asked how this is to be attained: we answer, by the study of the national literature, in which revelations of the best and highest as well as the worst side of the character of a people can be read. The one object, therefore, which should engage the attention of the foreign student of Chinese, is the standard national literature of the people: whatever preparatory studies it may be necessary for him to go through should serve only as means towards the attainment of that one object. Let us now see how the student is to study the Chinese literature.

"The civilisations of Europe," says a German writer, "rest upon those of Greece, Rome and Palestine; the Indians and Persians are of the same Aryan stock as the people of Europe, and are therefore related; and the influence of the intercourse with the Arabs during the Middle Ages, upon European culture has not even to this day, altogether disappeared." But as for the Chinese, the origin and development of their civilisation rest upon foundations altogether foreign to the culture of the people of Europe. The foreign student of Chinese literature, therefore, has all the disadvantages to overcome which must result from the want of community of primary ideas and notions. It will be necessary for him, not only to equip himself with these foreign notions and ideas, but also, first of all, to find their equivalents in the European languages, and if these equivalents do not exist, to disintegrate them, and to see to which side of the universal nature of man these ideas and notions may be referred.

Take, for instance, those Chinese words of constant recurrence in the Classics, and generally translated into English as “benevolence”(仁), “justice”(义) and “propriety”(礼). Now when we come to take these English words together with the context, we feel that they are not adequate: they do not connote all the ideas the Chinese words contain. Again, the word “humanity,” is perhaps the most exact equivalent for the Chinese word translated “benevolence;” but then, “humanity” must be understood in a sense different from its idiomatic use in the English language. A venturesome translator would use the “love” and “righteousness” of the Bible, which are perhaps as exact as any other, having regard both for the sense of the words and the idiom of the language. Now, however, if we disintegrate and refer the primary notions which these words convey, to the universal nature of man, we get, at once, at their full significance: namely, “the good”, “the true”, and “the beautiful.”

But, moreover, the literature of a nation, if it is to be studied at all, must be studied systematically and as one connected whole, and not fragmentarily and without plan or order, as it has hitherto been done by most foreign scholars. “It is,” says Mr. Matthew Arnold, “it is through the apprehension, either of all literature, — the entire history of the human spirit, — or of a single great literary work, as a connected whole that the real power of literature makes itself felt.” Now how little, we have seen, do the foreign students conceive the Chinese literature as a whole! How little, therefore, do they get at its significance! How little, in fact, do they know it! How little does it become a power in their hands, towards the understanding of the character of the people! With the exception of the labours of Dr. Legge and of one or two other scholars, the people of Europe know of the Chinese literature principally through the translations of novels, and even these not of the best, but of the most commonplace of their class. Just fancy, if a foreigner were to judge of the English literature from the works of Miss Rhoda Broughton, or that class of novels which form the reading stock of school-boys and nursery-maids! It was this class of Chinese literature which Sir Thomas Wade must have had in his mind, when in his wrath he reproached the Chinese with “tenuity of intellect.”

Another extraordinary judgment which used to be passed upon Chinese literature was, that it was excessively over-moral. Thus the Chinese people were actually accused of over morality, while at the same time most foreigners are pretty well agreed that the Chinese are a nation of liars! But we can now explain this by the fact that, besides the trashy novels we have already noticed, the work of translation among students of Chinese was formerly confined exclusively to the

Confucian Classics. Nevertheless, there are of course a great many other things in these writings besides morality, and, with all deference to Mr. Balfour, we think that “the admirable doctrines” these books contain are decidedly not “utilitarian and worldly” as they have been judged to be. We will just submit two sentences and ask Mr. Balfour if he really thinks them “utilitarian and mundane.” “He who sins against Heaven,” said Confucius in answer to a Minister, “he who sins against Heaven has no place where he can turn to and pray.” Again, Mencius says: “I love life, but I also love righteousness: but if I cannot keep them both, I would give up life and choose righteousness.”

We have thought it worthwhile to digress so far in order to protest against Mr. Balfour’s judgment, because we think that such smart phrases as “a bondsman to antiquity”, “a past-master in casuistry” should scarcely be employed in a work purposely philosophical, much less applied to the most venerated name in China. Mr. Balfour *was* probably led astray by his admiration of the Prophet of Nan-hua, and, in his eagerness to emphasize the superiority of the Taoist over the orthodox school, he has been betrayed into the use of expressions which, we are sure, his calmer judgment must condemn.

But to return from our digression. We have said that the Chinese literature must be studied as a connected whole. Moreover we have noted that the people of Europe are accustomed to conceive and form their judgment of the literature of China solely from those writings with which the name of Confucius is associated; but, in fact, the literary activity of the Chinese had only just begun with the labours of Confucius, and has since continued through eighteen dynasties, including more than two thousand years. At the time of Confucius, the literary form of writing was still very imperfectly understood.

Here let us remark that, in the study of a literature, there is one important point to be attended to, but which has hitherto been completely lost sight of by foreign students of Chinese; namely, the *form* of the literary writings.” To be sure,” said the poet Wordsworth, “it was the matter, but then you know the *matter* always comes out of the *manner*.” Now it is true that the early writings with which the name of Confucius is associated do not pretend to any degree of perfection, as far as the literary form is concerned: they are considered as classical or standard works not so much for their classical elegance of style or perfection of literary form, as for the value of the matter they contain. The father of Su Tung-po, of the Sung dynasty, remarks that something approaching to the formation of a prose style may be traced

in the dialogues of Mencius. Nevertheless Chinese literary writings, both in prose and poetry, have since been developed into many forms and styles. The writings of the Western Hans, for instance, differ from the essays of the Sung period, much in the same way as the prose of Lord Bacon is different from the prose of Addison or Goldsmith. The wild exaggeration and harsh diction of the poetry of the six dynasties are as unlike the purity, vigour, and brilliancy of the T'ang poets as the early weak and immature manner of Keats is unlike the strong, clear, and correct splendour of Tennyson.

Having thus, as we have shown, equipped himself with the primary principles and notions of the people, the student will then be in a position to direct his study to the social relations of the people; to see how these principles are applied and carried out. But the social institutions, manners and customs of a people do not grow up, like mushrooms, in a night, but are developed and formed into what they are, through long centuries. It is therefore necessary to study the history of the people. Now the history of the Chinese people is as yet almost unknown to European scholars. The so-called History of China, by Mr. Demetrius Boulger, published recently, is perhaps the worst history that could have been written of a civilised people like the Chinese. Such a history as Mr. Boulger has written might be tolerated if written of some such savage people as the Hottentots. The very fact that such a history of China could have been published, serves only to show how very far from being perfect yet is the knowledge of Chinese among Europeans. Without a knowledge of their history, therefore, no correct judgment can be formed of the social institutions of a people. Such works as Dr. Williams's *Middle Kingdom* and other works on China from want of such knowledge, are not only useless for the purpose of the scholar, but are even misleading for the mass of general readers. Just to take one instance, —the social ceremony of the people. The Chinese are certainly a ceremonious people, and it is true that they owe this to the influence of the teaching of Confucius. Now Mr. Balfour may speak of the pettifogging observances of a ceremonial life as much as he pleases; nevertheless, even “the bows and scrapes of external decorum,” as Mr. Giles calls them, have their roots deep in the universal nature of man, in that side of human nature, namely, which we have defined as the sense of the beautiful.” In the use of ceremony,” says a disciple of Confucius, “what is important, is to be natural; this is what is really beautiful in the ways of the ancient Emperors.” Again, it is said somewhere in the Classics: “Ceremony is simply the expression of reverence.” (the *Ehrfürcht* of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*) We now see how evident it is that a judgment

of the manners and customs of a nation should be founded upon the knowledge of the moral principles of the people- Moreover the study, of the Government and political institutions of a country, — which, we have said should be reserved by the student to the last stage of his labours, — must also be founded upon an understanding of their philosophical principles and a knowledge of their history.

We will conclude with a quotation from “The Higher Education,” or the Book of Platitudes, as foreigners consider it.” The Government of the Empire,” it is said in that book, “should begin with the proper administration of the State; the administration of the State begins with the regulation of the family; the regulation of the family begins with the cultivation of the individual.” This, then, is what we mean by Chinese Scholarship.

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APPENDIX (I)

*Frankreich's traurig Geschick, die Grosser! Mogen's
bedenken,
Aber bedenken fürwahr sollen es Kleine nech meh ;
Grossen gingen zu Grunde ; dock wer beschitze
die Menge
Gegen die Mengef Da -war Menge der Menge Tyrann.*

— Goethe¹

Professor Lowes Dickinson of Cambridge University in an eloquent passage of his article on “The War and the Way out,” says: “The future (the future of civilisation in Europe, he means) cannot be moulded to any purpose until the plain men

1 Dreadful is France's misfortune, the Classes should truly bethink them, But still more of a truth, the Masses should lay it to heart. Classes were smashed up; well then, but who will protect now the Masses Gainst the Masses? Against the Masses the Masses did rage.”

and women, workers with their hands and workers with their brains in England and in Germany and in all countries get together and say to the people who have led them into this catastrophe and will lead them into such again and again, 'No more! No more! And never again! you rulers, soldiers and diplomats, you who through the long agony of history have conducted the destinies of mankind and conducted them to hell, we do now repudiate you. Our labour and our blood have been at your disposal. They shall be so no more. You shall not make the peace as you have made the war. The Europe that shall come out of this war shall be *our* Europe. And it shall be one in which another European war shall be never possible.' "

That is the dream of the socialists now in Europe. But such a dream, I am afraid, can never be realised. When the plain men and women in the countries of Europe get rid of the rulers, soldiers and diplomats and take into their own hands the question of peace and war with another country, I am perfectly sure, before that very question is decided, there will be quarrels, broken heads and wars between the plain men and women themselves in every country. Take the case of the Irish question in Great Britain. The plain men and women in Ireland in trying to take into their own hands the question even of how to govern themselves were actually flying at each others' throats and if this greater war had not come, would at this moment, be cutting each other's throats.

Now in order to find a way out of this war, we must first of all, find out the origin, the cause of this war; find out who was really responsible for this war. Professor Dickinson would have us believe that it was the rulers, soldiers and diplomats who have led the plain men and women into this catastrophe, —into this hell of a war. But I think, I can prove, that it was not the rulers, soldiers and diplomats who have led the plain men and women into this war, but it was the plain men and women who have driven and pushed the poor helpless rulers, soldiers and diplomats of Europe into this hell of a war.

Let us first take the case of the actual rulers, — the Emperors, Kings and Presidents of Republic now in Europe. Now it is an undisputed fact that with the exception perhaps of the Emperor of Germany, the actual rulers of the countries now at war have had no say whatever in the making of this war. In fact the actual rulers of Europe today. Emperors, Kings and Presidents, bound in hand and foot and gagged by the mouth as they all are by Constitutions and Magna Chartas of Liberty, — these actual rulers have no say whatever in the government or conduct of public affairs in their countries. Poor King George of Great Britain, when he tried

to say something to prevent a civil war over the Irish question, was peremptorily told by the plain men and women in Great Britain to hold his tongue and he had actually to apologise through his Prime Minister to the plain men and women for trying to do his duty as a King to prevent a civil war! In fact, the actual rulers of Europe today have become mere expensive ornamental figures as the figures on a seal with which Government official documents are stamped. Thus being mere ornamental figures without any say or will of their own as far as the government of their countries is concerned, how can it be said, that the actual rulers of Europe are responsible for this war?

Let us next examine the soldiers whom Professor Dickinson and everybody now denounces for being responsible for this war. Ruskin in addressing the cadets at Woolwich, says: "The fatal error of modern institutions is to take away the best blood and strength of the nation, all the soul substance of it, that is brave, and careless of reward and scornful of pain and faithful in trust; and to cast that into steel and make a mere sword of it, *taking away its voice and will*; but to keep the worst part of the nation, whatever is cowardly, avaricious, sensual, and faithless, and to give to this the authority, to this the chief privilege where there is the least capacity of thought." The fulfillment of your vow for the defence of England," Ruskin went on to say addressing the soldiers of Great Britain, "will by no means consist in carrying out such a system. You are no true soldiers if you only mean to *stand at a shop door to protect shop boys who are cheating inside*." Now Englishmen, and true English soldiers too, who denounce Militarism and Prussian Militarism, think, should read and ponder over these words of Ruskin. But what I want to say here is that it is evident from what Ruskin says here, that if the actual rulers in Europe have practically no say, the soldiers of Europe today have absolutely no say — whatever in the government and conduct of affairs in their countries. What Tennyson says of the British soldiers at Balaclava, is true of the poor soldiers now in this war, "Theirs was not to reason why, theirs was but to do and die." In fact if the actual rulers in Europe today have become mere expensive ornamental figures, the soldiers in Europe now have become mere dangerous mechanical automatons. Being more mechanical automatons without any voice or will of their own as far as the government of their countries is concerned, how then can it be said that the soldiers in Europe are responsible for this war?

Last of all, let us examine the case against the diplomats now in Europe. Now, according to the theories of Government, the Magna Charta of Liberty and

Constitutions of Europe, the diplomats — the actual Statesmen and Ministers in charge of the government and conduct of public affairs in a country now are there merely to carry out the will of the people: in other words, merely to do whatever the plain men and women in the country tell them to do. Thus we see that the diplomats, — the Statesmen and Ministers in the Government of the countries in Europe today, have also become mere machines, talking machines; in fact mere puppets as in a Marionettes show; puffed - up puppets without any will of their own, worked, pulled and moved up and down by the plain men and women. Being mere hollow puffed-up puppets, with only a voice, but without any will of their own, how then can it be said that the diplomats, — the Statesmen and Ministers now in European countries are responsible for this war?

Indeed the most curious thing, it seems to me, in the government of all the European countries today is that every one who is actually in charge of the conduct of affairs in the Government, — ruler, soldier as well as diplomat or Statesman and Minister, is not allowed to have any will of his own; not allowed to have any power to do what he thinks best for the security and good of the nation, but every plain man and woman, — John Smith, editor of the “Patriotic Times,” Bobus of Houndsditch, once in Carlyle’s time, sausage maker and jam manufacturer, but now owner of a big Dreadnought ship building yard, and Moses Lump, money lender, — are given full power to have all their will and all the say in the government of the country; in fact, the power to tell the actual ruler, soldier and diplomat what they are to do for the good and security of the nation. Thus you will find, if you go deep enough into the matter, that it is these three persons, — John Smith, Bobus of Houndsditch and Moses Lump, who are responsible for this war. For it was these three persons, John Smith, Bobus and Moses Lump, I want to point out here, who created that monstrous modern Machine, — the modern Militarism in Europe, and it was this monstrous Machine which has brought on this war.

But now it will be asked why have the actual rulers, soldiers and diplomats of Europe so cowardly abdicated in favour of these three persons, John Smith, Bobus and Moses Lump? I answer, because the plain men and women, — even the good honest plain men and women, such men as Professor Dickinson, — instead of giving their loyalty and support to the actual rulers, soldiers and diplomats of their country, have taken the side of John Smith, Bobus and Moses Lump against their own rulers, soldiers and diplomats. The two reasons a-gain why the plain men and women in Europe support and take the side of John Smith, Bobus and Moses Lump,

are: first, because John Smith, Bobus and Moses Lump tell the plain men and women that they John Smith, Bobus and Moses Lump belong to the party of plain men and women; and, secondly, because the plain men and women in Europe from their childhood have been taught that the *Nature of Man is evil*; that every man, whenever he is invested with power, will abuse his power; and further that every man as soon as he gets strong enough to be able to do it, will be sure to want to rob and murder his neighbour. In fact, I want to say here the reason why John Smith, Bobus and Moses Lump have been able to get the plain men and women in Europe to help them to force the actual rulers, soldiers and diplomats of Europe to create the monstrous modern machine, which has brought on this terrible war, is because the plain men and women in every country, when in a crowd, are always selfish and cowardly.

Thus, if you go into the root of the matter, you will see that it is not the rulers, soldiers and diplomats, not even John Smith, Bobus and Moses Lump, but it is really the good honest plain men and women, such men as Professor Dickison himself, who are responsible for this war. But Professor Dickinson will repudiate and say: We plain men and women did not want this war. But then, who wanted this war? I answer. Nobody wanted this war. Well then, what brought on this war? I answer, It was panic which brought on this war; the panic of the mob, — the panic which seized and took possession of the crowd of plain men and women in all European countries when last August that monstrous modern machine in Russia which the plain men and women had helped to create, began to move. In short, it was panic, I say, — the panic of the mob, panic of the crowd of the plain men and women communicating itself to and seizing and paralysing the brains of the rulers, soldiers and diplomats of the countries now at war and making them helpless which has brought on this terrible war. Thus we see, it was not, as Professor Dickinson says, the rulers, soldiers and diplomats, who have conducted and led the plain men and women of Europe into this catastrophe, but it was the plain men and women, — the selfishness, the cowardice and at the last moment, the funk, the panic of the plain men and women who have driven and pushed the poor helpless rulers, soldiers and diplomats of Europe into this catastrophe, — into this hell of a war. Indeed the tragic hopelessness of the situation now in Europe I want to say here, lies in the abject, pitiful, pitiable helplessness of the actual rulers, soldiers and diplomats of the countries now at war at the present moment.

It is evident therefore from what I have shown in the above, that if there is to be peace in Europe now and in the future, the first thing to be done is not, as Professor

Dickinson says, to bring or call in, but to remove and keep out the plain men and women who, when in a crowd, are so selfish and cowardly; who are so liable to panic whenever the question of peace and war arises. In other words, if there is to be peace in Europe, the first thing to be done, it seems to me, is to protect the rulers, soldiers and diplomats from the plain men and women; to protect them from the mob, — the panic of the crowd of plain men and women which makes them helpless. In fact, not to speak of the future, if the present actual situation now in Europe is to be saved, the only way to do it, it seems to me, is first to rescue the rulers, soldiers and diplomats of the countries now at war, from their present helplessness. The tragic hopelessness of the situation now in Europe, I wish to point here, is that everybody wants peace, but nobody has the courage or power to make peace. I say therefore, the first thing to be done is to rescue the rulers, soldiers and diplomats from their present helplessness; to find some means to give them *power*, — power to find a way to make peace. That, I think, can be done only in one way and that is for the people of Europe, — for the people of the countries now at war, to tear up their present Constitutions and Magna Chartas of Liberty, and make a new Magna, Charta — *a Magna Charta of Loyalty* — such as we Chinese have in our Religion of good citizenship here in China.

By this new Magna Charta of Loyalty, the people of the countries now at war must swear: first not to discuss, meddle or interfere in any way with the politics of the present war; secondly, absolutely to accept, submit to and abide by whatever terms of peace their actual rulers may decide upon among themselves. This new Magna Charta of Loyalty, will at once give the actual rulers of the countries now at war *power* and, with power, courage to make peace; in fact, power and courage at once to order and command peace. I am perfectly sure that as soon as this power is given them, the actual rulers of the countries now at war, will at once order and command peace. I say, I am perfectly sure of this, because the rulers of the countries now at war, unless they are absolute incurable lunatics or demons, which everybody must admit that they are not, — no, not even, I will venture to say here, the most slandered man now in Europe, the Emperor of Germany, — they, the rulers of the countries now at war, must see that for them together to continue to spend nine million pounds sterling of the blood and sweat-earned money of their people everyday in order to slaughter the lives of thousands of innocent men and to destroy the homes and happiness of thousands of innocent women, is really nothing but *infernal madness*. The reason why the rulers, soldiers and diplomats of the countries

now at war cannot see this, is because they feel themselves helpless; helpless before the panic of the mob, — the panic of the crowd of plain men and women; in fact, as I said because the panic of the crowd, — the panic of the mob has seized and paralysed their brains. I say therefore the first thing to be done, if the present actual situation now in Europe is to be saved, is to rescue the rulers, soldiers and diplomats of the countries now at war from the panic of the mob, — the panic of the crowd of plain men and women by giving them power.

The tragic hopelessness of the situation now in Europe, I want to say here further, lies not only in the helplessness of the rulers, soldiers and diplomats, but also in the helplessness of everybody in the countries now at war. Everybody is helpless and cannot see that this war, wanted by nobody and brought on only by the panic of the mob, is an infernal madness, because, as I said, the panic of the mob has seized and paralysed the brains of everybody. One can see this even in Professor Dickinson, who writes to inveigh against the war, — to denounce the rulers, soldiers and diplomats for bringing on this war. Professor Dickinson too, without being conscious of it, has the panic of the mob in his brain. He begins his article by stating that this article of his is not a “stop the war” paper. He goes on to say: “Being in the war, I think, as all Englishmen think, we must go on fighting until we can emerge from it with our territory and security intact and with the future peace of Europe assured as far as human wisdom can assure it.” The integrity and security of the British Empire and the future peace of Europe to be obtained only by going on indefinitely spending nine million pounds sterling of good money and slaughtering thousands of innocent men everyday! The monstrous absurdity of such a proposition, I believe, has only to be stated, to be seen by any one who has not the panic of the mob in his brain. The peace of Europe! Why, I think if this rate of spending and slaughtering goes on for any length of time, there will certainly be peace, but no Europe left on the map of the world. Indeed if there is anything which will show how really and utterly unfit the plain men and women are to decide on the question of peace and war, this attitude of mind of a man even like Professor Dickinson conclusively shows it.

But the point I want to insist upon here, is that everybody even in the countries now at war wants peace, but nobody has the *power* to make peace, to stop the war. Now the fact that nobody has the power to make peace, to stop the war, makes everybody believe that there is no possible way of making peace; makes everybody despair of the possibility of making peace. *This despair of the possibility of making peace* it is which prevents everybody in the countries now at war from seeing that

this war wanted by nobody and brought on only by the panic of the mob, is really nothing but an infernal madness. The first thing to be done, therefore, in order to make everybody see that this war is nothing but an infernal madness is to show everybody that there is *a possibility of making peace*. In order to make everybody see that there is a possibility of making peace, the very first and simple thing to do is at once to stop the war; to invest some one with full power to stop the war; to invest the rulers of the countries now at war with *absolute power* by making, as I said, a Magna Charta of Loyalty, — absolute power to order and command the war to be stopped at once. As soon as everybody sees that the war *can* be stopped, everybody in the countries now at war, everybody except perhaps a few absolute incurable lunatics, will be able to see that this war wanted by nobody and brought on only by the panic of the mob, — is really nothing but an infernal madness; that this war, if continued, will be ruinous even to the countries which will emerge victorious from it. As soon as the rulers of the countries now at war have the power to stop the war and everybody in the countries now at war sees and realises that this war is an infernal madness, it will then and *only then* be not only possible, but easy for a man like President Wilson of the United States to make a successful appeal, as the Ex - President Roosevelt did during the Russo-Japanese war, to the rulers of the countries now at war to order and command the war to be stopped at once and then to find a way to make a permanent peace. I say it will be easy then for a man like President Wilson to make a *successful* appeal for peace because, I believe, in order to make peace, the only important thing the rulers of the countries now at war will have to do is, to build a special lunatic asylum and arrest and clap into it the few absolute incurable lunatics, — men like Professor Dickinson who have the panic of the mob in the brain, — the panic for the integrity and security of the British Empire and the future peace of Europe!

Thus, I say, the one and only way out of this war, is for the people of the countries now at war, to tear up their present Magna Chartas of Liberty and Constitutions, and make a new Magna Charta, a Magna Charta not of Liberty, but a Magna Charta of Loyalty, such as we Chinese have in our Religion of good citizenship here in China.

To prove the efficacy of what I now propose, let me here call the attention of the people of Europe and America to the fact that it was the *absolute loyalty* of the people of Japan and Russia to their rulers which made it possible for the Ex-President Roosevelt to make a successful appeal to the late Emperor of Japan and the present Emperor of Russia to stop the Russo-Japanese war and to command and

order the peace to be made at Portsmouth. This absolute loyalty of the people in the case of Japan is secured by the Magna Charta of Loyalty in our Chinese Religion of good citizenship which the Japanese learnt from us. But in Russia where there is no Religion of good citizenship with its Magna Charta of Loyalty, the absolute loyalty of the Russian people has to be secured by the power of the *Knout*.

Now see what happened, after the Treaty of Portsmouth, in a country with a Religion of good citizenship and its Magna Charta of Loyalty, like Japan, and a country without such a Religion and such a Charta like Russia. In Japan, after the Treaty of Portsmouth, the plain men and women in Tokyo whose Religion of good citizenship had been spoilt by the New Learning of Europe, raised a clamour and tried to create a panic, — but the Magna Charta of Loyalty in the hearts of the true unspoilt Japanese people with the help of a few policemen in one day put down the clamour and panic of the plain men and women and there has been not only internal peace in Japan but peace in the Far East ever since ¹. *But in Russia after the Treaty of Portsmouth, the plain men and women everywhere in the country, also raised a clamour and tried to create a panic, and, because there is no Religion of good citizenship in Russia, the *Knout*, — which secured the absolute loyalty of the Russian people, *broke* and thus ever since the plain men and women in Russia have had full liberty to make riots and Constitutions, to raise clamour and create panic. — panic for the integrity and security of the Russian Empire and the Slavonic race and for the future peace of Europe! The result of all this was that when a petty difference of opinion arose between the Austrian Emperor and the Emperor of Russia over the degree of punishment to be meted out for the people responsible for the murder of the Austrian Arch-Duke, the plain men and women, the mob in Russia were able to raise such a clamour and create such a panic for the integrity and security of the Russian Empire, that the Emperor of Russia and his immediate advisers were driven to mobilise the whole Russian army, in other words, to move that monstrous modern machine created by John Smith, Bobus and Moses Lump. When that monstrous modern machine, — the modern Miliarism in Russia, began to move, there was immediately a general panic among the plain men and women in

1 Peace in the Far East, I say, until lately the mob-worshipping Statesmen of Great Britain got their apt pupils the now also mob-worshipping Statemen of Japan, men like Count Okuma, who is the greatest mob-worshipper now in japan, — to make war against a handful of German clerks in Tsingtau!

all Europe and it was this general panic among the plain men and women in Europe seizing and paralysing the brains of the rulers and diplomats of the countries now at war and making them helpless, which, as I have already shown, brought on this terrible war.

Thus the real origin of this war, if you go deep into the very root of the matter, was the Treaty of Portsmouth. I say the Treaty of Portsmouth was origin of this war, because after that Treaty, the *Knout*, —the power of the Knout, — in Russia *broke* and there was nothing to protect the Emperor of Russia from the plain men and women, — from the panic of the crowd of plain men and women, — in fact, from the panic of the mob in Russia, — the panic of the mob for the integrity and security of the Russian Empire and the Slavonic race! The German poet Heine with wonderful insight considering that he was the most liberal of all Liberals, in fact the Champion of the Liberalism of his time, says: “The Absolutism in Russia is really a Dictatorship rather than anything else with which to bring into life and make possible the carrying out of the liberal ideas of our modern times (der Absolutismus in Russland ist vielmehr eine Dictatur um die liberalen Ideen unserer neuesten Zeit in’s Leben treten zu lassen)”. In fact, I say again, after the Treaty of Portsmouth the Dictatorship, — the *Knout*, the power of the Knout in Russia *broke* and there was nothing to protect the ruler, soldier and diplomat of Russia from the mob, — that, I say, was the real origin of this war. In other words, the real origin and cause of this war was the *fear of the mob in Russia*.

In Europe in the past the responsible rulers of all the European countries were able to maintain civil order in their own countries and to keep international peace in Europe, because they feared and worshipped God. But now, I want to say, the rulers, soldiers and diplomats in all European countries of today instead of fearing and worshipping God, fear and worship the mob, — fear and worship the crowd of plain men and women in their country. The Russian Emperor, Alexander I, who made the Holy Alliance in Europe after the Napoleonic wars, was able not only to maintain civil order in Russia, but to keep international peace in Europe because he feared God. But the present Emperor in Russia is not able to maintain civil order in his own country and to keep international peace in Europe, because, instead of fearing God, he fears the mob. In Great Britain rulers like Cromwell, were able to maintain civil order in their own country and to keep international peace in Europe, because they worshipped God. But the actual rulers of Great Britain today, responsible Statesmen like Lord Grey, Messrs. Asquith, Churchill and Loyd George, are not able to maintain

civil order in their own country and keep international peace in Europe, because, instead of worshipping God, they worship the mob, —— worship not only the mob in their own country, but also the mob in other countries. The late Prime Minister of Great Britain Mr. Campbell Bannerman, when the Russian Duma was dissolved, shouted at the top of his voice, “*Le Duma. est mart. Vive le Duma!*”

I have said that the real origin and cause of this war was the fear of the mob in Russia. Now I want to say here that, the real first origin and cause of this war was not the fear of the mob in Russia. The *first* origin and cause, —— the *fans et origo* not only of this war, but of all the anarchy, horror and misery in the world today, —— is the worship of the mob, the worship of the mob now in all European countries and in America, —— especially in Great Britain. It was the worship of the mob in Great Britain which caused and brought on the Russo-Japanese war¹. After the Russo-Japanese war came the Treaty of Portsmouth and the Treaty of Portsmouth, with the help of the shout of the British Prime Minister, broke the *Knout*, ——the power of the *Knout*, broke what Heine calls the Dictatorship and created the fear of the mob in Russia which, as I said, has brought on this terrible war. It is, I may incidentally say here, this worship of the mob in Great Britain, this worship of the mob among Englishmen and foreigners in China; in fact this Religion of the worship of the mob imported from Great Britain and America into China, —— which has brought on the Revolution and the present nightmare of a Republic in China now threatening to destroy the most valuable asset of civilisation of the world today, the real Chinaman. I say therefore that this worship of the mob in Great Britain —— this Religion of the worship of the mob in Europe and America today, unless it is at once put down, will destroy not only the civilisation of Europe, but all civilisation in the world.

Now, I say, the only thing, it seems to me, which can and will put down this worship of the mob, this Religion of the worship of the mob which now threatens to destroy all civilisation in the world today —— is this Religion of Loyalty, ——the Sacrament, the Magna Charta of Loyalty such as we Chinese have in our Religion of good citizenship here in China. This Magna Charta of Loyalty will protect the responsible rulers, soldiers and diplomats of all countries from the mob, and enable

1 The panic of the mob in Great Britain, —— especially the selfish panic of the British mob in Shanghai and in China whose mouthpiece then was the “great” Dr. Morrison, the “Times” correspondent in Peking, with their shout for the “open door” in Manchuria alarmed and incited the Japanese into the Russo-Japanese war.

them not only to maintain civil order in their own countries but also to keep peace in the world. What is more, this Magna Charta of Loyalty, — this Religion of good citizenship with its Magna Charta of Loyalty, by enabling all good men and true to help their legitimate rulers to awe and keep down the mob — will enable the rulers of all countries to keep peace and maintain order in their own countries and in the world without the Knout, without policeman, without soldier; in one word without militarism.

Now before I conclude, I want to say a word about militarism, about German militarism. I have said that the first origin and cause of this war was the worship of the mob in Great Britain. Now I want to say here that if the first origin and cause of this war was the worship of the mob in Great Britain, the *direct* and immediate cause of this war was the *worship of might* in Germany. The Emperor of Russia is reported to have said before he signed the order for the mobilisation of the Russian army, “We have stood this for seven years. Now it must finish.” These passionate words of the Emperor of Russia show how much he and the Russian nation must have suffered from the worship of might of the German nation. Indeed the worship of the mob in Great Britain, as I said, broke the *Knout* in the hands of the Emperor of Russia which made him helpless against the mob who wanted war and the worship of might of the German nation made him lose his temper which drove him to go in with the mob for war. Thus we see the real cause of this war was the worship of the mob in Great Britain and the worship of might in Germany. The Bible in our Chinese Religion of good citizenship says : “*Do not go against what is right, to get the praise of the people. Do not trample upon the wishes of the people to follow your own desires.*”¹ Now to go against what is right to get the praise of the people, is what I have called the worship of the mob, and to trample upon the wishes of the people to follow your own desires, is what I have called the worship of might. But with this Magna Charta of Loyalty, the responsible ministers and Statesmen in a country will feel themselves responsible not to the mob, not to the crowd of plain men and women, but *to their King and their Conscience*, and this will protect them from the temptation to go against what is right to get the praise of the people, —in fact protect them from mob worship. The Magna Charta of Loyalty again will make the rulers of a country feel the awful responsibility which the great power given them by Magna

1 罔违道以干百姓之誉，罔拂百姓以从己之欲 (Shu-king or Canon of History in the Confucian Bible: Part II ch. 1. 6.)。

Charta of Loyalty imposes upon them and this will protect them from the temptation to trample upon the wishes of the people to follow their own desires, — in fact protect them from the worship of might. Thus we see this Magna Charta of Loyalty, —this Religion of good citizenship with its Magna Charta of Loyalty, will help to put down the worship of the mob and the worship of might, which, as I have shown, are the cause of this war.

The French Joubert who had lived through the French Revolution in answer to the modern cry for liberty said: “Let your cry be for free souls rather than for free men. Moral liberty is the one vitally important liberty, the liberty which is indispensable; the other liberty is good and salutary only so far as it favours this. *Subordination is in itself a better thing than independence. The one implies order and arrangement; the other implies only self sufficiency with isolation.* The one means harmony, the other, a single tone; the one, is the whole, the other is but the part.”

This then, I say, is the one and only way for the people of Europe, for the people of the countries now at war, not only to get out of this war, but to save the civilisation of Europe, —to save the civilisation of the world, and that is for them now to tear up their present Magna Chartas of liberty and Constitutions, and make a new Magna Charta, —a Magna Charta not of liberty, but a Magna Charta of Loyalty; in fact to adopt the Religion of good citizenship with its Magna Charta of Loyalty such as we Chinese have here in China.

AB INTEGRO SAECLORUM NASCITUR ORDO!

APPENDIX (II)

UNCIVILISED UNITED STATES

An American, who was irritated because in an article I wrote lately I had said that the English were the only modern people in the world today who knew how to govern an empire, said to me, "what about us Americans?" Although the United States is called a Republic, yet do we not govern a country as big as the British Empire?" "Yes," I said in reply, "but there is one great difference between the British people and you Americans. The British people as a nation is a nation with a civilization, whereas you Americans, living now in your plaster and concrete sky-scraping tents, are still a nomad nation without any civilization." "Oh," said the American then to me, angrily and with a sneer, "you say that because you have been educated in England and have never been in America!"

Indeed. I now remember how a Chinese Minister to America, the late Chang Yin-huan, who was executed during the Boxer trouble, once created great astonishment as well as amusement among the Americans in America when he told them that he found everything in America which a man wants except-religion. "what," said an American newspaper at the time, "we Americans have no religion —— we, with a church

in every street and our missionary societies! Why, we in America have so much religion that we can afford to export to China and Korea more of that article than any other country!”

Nevertheless, the Chinese Minister, I must say, was quite right in what he said. Only what he really wanted to say was not that there was no religion, but that there was no civilization in America. The real Chinese word for civilization, *li-yo* (literally ceremony or forms of courtesy and music), rightly translated by the early Jesuit missionaries as religion, which the Chinese Minister had in his mind, means both religion and civilization. For, not as in Europe and America today — where religion is one thing, a something for use only on Sundays, and civilization is quite another thing, a something for use on the other six days of the week — in China, religion is civilization and civilization is religion; they both mean one and the same thing, namely, form or expression of spiritual life which is for use not only on Sundays, but on every day of a man’s life.

But before going further, let me here explain what I mean by a nation with a civilization and a nation without any civilization. Now we all say that the ancient Greeks and the ancient Romans were great civilized nations. Why? Because, beside governing and fighting, besides producing material goods and making money by selling them, these ancient nations also produced spiritual things such as art and literature and, what is still more important, by their art and literature they developed high, perfect types of humanity in their great men—all which, now after they have perished and ceased to be nations, are remembered, admired and prized by men of all after generations. In short, a civilized nation is a nation which has a spiritual asset or, as Carlyle calls it, “realized ideals.”

The reason, therefore, why I have said that the British people as a nation is a nation with a civilization is because, besides shop-keeping, winning Waterloo battles and governing an Indian Empire, the British nation, like the ancient Greeks and Romans, has also produced one very great spiritual thing — with perhaps one exception, the greatest thing, in my opinion, which modern Europe has yet produced — and that is William Shakespeare. Speaking of Shakespeare, Carlyle, in his “Heroes and Hero Worship,” rightly says, “He is the grandest thing which we British people have yet done.” If the great British Empire were destroyed tomorrow, a thousand years after this, when men read the works of Shakespeare, they would say that the British nation was a nation with a very high civilization.

Indeed, as the one Latin word “virtues” — not virtue in the English sense, but

the virtue of the Japanese Samurai —— is a proof to those who understand Latin that the ancient Romans were a nation with a very noble civilization —— so the English word “gentleman” alone, without any Shakespeare, is enough to show that the British nation is nation with even a finer civilization than the noble civilization of the ancient Romans, because it is a civilization which, tempered with the spirit and ideal of gentleness of Christianity, has produced a type of humanity called a “gentleman.” For the chief and one aim of civilization is not to make and teach men to be strong, but to make and teach men to be gentle; in other words, to develop and produce not what Kipling calls coarse, vulgar, “flannelled fools” who can yell as the American Y. M. C. A. in China now trying to do —— but to develop and produce gentlemen, who, as we Chinese say, understand *li-yo*, courtesy, good manners or “good form,” as the Englishman calls it, and music.

Indeed, I may say here, it is because the ideal of the British or English civilization is to make a “gentleman” that the British people are the only modern people in the world today, as I have said, who can govern an Empire. The great Soldier-Gentleman of Japan, Tokugawa Iyeyasy, after he had, with his sharp sword, cast the “devil of cruelty” out of old feudal Japan —— just in the same way as the British “Unknow Warrior.” Whom they lately buried in Westminster Abbey in England, has now cast the “devil” called Furor Teutonicus out of feudal Germany —— was on his death-bed, he sent for his grandson Iyemitsu and said to him, “You are the man who one day will have to govern an empire. Remember, the way to govern an empire is to have a gentle and tender heart (the Latin *alma* as in *alma mater*, the extreme gentle tenderness of a mother).”

Now the reason, it seems to me, why the Japanese statesmen now find it so difficult to govern Korea, is because the modern Japanese, instead of reading and teaching their students the *Guai Shi*, now read and teach them the pragmatic philosophy and political science of Professor Dewey, and have thus forgotten the essence of political science contained in those words of their great Shogun which I have just quoted.

In the same way, the reason why the British politicians now in England find it difficult to govern Ireland and India, is because modern Englishmen today do not know that it was not British democracy, the British Constitution or Parliamentarism, but the British or English civilization with the “gentleman” and its ideal; in short, that it was not the British mob, but the British or English gentleman who built up the great British Empire of today. But that is neither here nor there.

I have said that a nation is called a civilized nation only when it has a spiritual asset or “realized ideals.” Now let me ask, what “realized ideals” or spiritual asset have the Americans today to show in order to entitle them to be called a civilized nation? In literature I know only one great name in America and that is Emerson. But then even Emerson, as Matthew Arnold says, is not quite a great name in literature. Without speaking of Homer, Virgil Dante and Shakespeare, Emerson is not a great name in literature even as Plato, Cicero Bacon and Voltaire are great names in literature.

Of poetry again, which, like music, is the highest expression of spiritual life in a nation, I also know only one poem written by an American poet which can be truly called a real poem. By a real poem I mean a poem which is all poetry and nothing but poetry; a poem which becomes the spiritual asset of a nation and forms an important part of its civilization, such as Gray’s “Elegy in a Country Churchyard” and Robert Burns’s “Auld Lang Syne.” Poems like the poems of the English Lord Macaulay are, although in meter and rhyme, not poetry at all, but only rhetoric. Now, the poems of even famous American poets like Longfellow and John Greenleaf Whittier are for the most part also rhetoric, with some poetry in them: they are not all poetry, not real poems, which like Robert Burns’s “Auld Lang Syne,” can become the spiritual asset of a nation. Indeed, as I have said, the only poem I know written by an American poet which can truly be called a real poem and can therefore become the spiritual asset of a nation, is Edgar Allan Poe’s “Annabel Lee.”

Now many people might think that I was only joking when in one of my articles lately I said that reading the English nursery rhyme about Taffy the Welshman could help to educate the soul of a man. But in all seriousness I meant what I said. For poems like the English nursery rhymes are real poems, but of course, real poems for children: and real poems have a magic in them which, as Matthew Arnold says of Homer’s poetry, can transmute and transform man. If you don’t believe this, you just ask a Japanese geisha to repeat the famous Chinese poem in Japanese, “Tsuki ochi karasu naite shimo ten ni mitsu,” and you will see that, with her eyes suddenly becoming illumined and all her features suffused with ecstasy, she becomes, for the moment, quite an other woman, more beautiful and charming than she really is.

In other words, things like the English nursery rhymes are really the expression, in a small way, of a nation’s spiritual life and form a part of its civilization. Now, the fact that the Americans as a nation have no nursery rhymes is to me a proof positive that the Americans as a nation have no spiritual life; that they are still a nation, as I

have said, without any spiritual asset of civilization.

Finally, then, if the United States were destroyed tomorrow, I want to ask what great spiritual thing have the Americans as a nation done which they can leave behind them to show to men of after generations that they were once a nation with a civilization. In my opinion, the only spiritual asset of the American Nation, the only really spiritual things which the Americans as a nation have done that, if they, as a nation were destroyed tomorrow, will be remembered by men of after generations — are the work of Poe's "Annabel Lee" and the music of the plantation songs of the negroes in America.

Perhaps some people will say to me, "What about the President Wilson's 'Fourteen Points,' which, like the Ten Commandments of Moses, will found a new religion to make the world safe for democracy, and thus bring in the millennium?" In reply to this I say that these Fourteen Commandments of President Wilson were made only two years ago, and now even Mr. Lkoyd George has completely forgotten them!

Last of all, speaking of President Wilson reminds me that I have not asked what really great men have the Americans as a nation produced? Everybody will, of course, answer, George Washington; but even at the risk of mortally offending all my American friends, I must say that to me George Washington, although an admirable man in many ways, had yet, unfortunately, like the American Pilgrim Fathers, a little too much of the "moral prig" in him to be really a great man — a really great character like the French Bayard or the English Sir Walter Raleigh and Philip Sydney. Indeed, as Matthew Arnold, speaking of the American Pilgrim Fathers, says, "Notwithstanding the mighty results of the Pilgrim Fathers' voyage, they and their standard of perfection are rightly judged when we figure to ourselves Shakespeare and Virgil accompanying them on their voyage and think what intolerable company Shakespeare and Virgil would have found them" — so I, for my part, if I had to take a trip to Merry England in Shakespeare's time or in modern times to Japan, a man like George Washington would be the last man I would take with me as a companion, for one could not think of taking such a man to the Windsor "Garter Inn" and introducing him to Mrs. Ford, Mrs. Anne Page, Bardolf, Pistol, Nym and others of that merry company, nor to a Geisha house in Japan!

A Scotchman I met at the Pekin Pavilion the other night, who had lately returned from Scotland, when I asked him whether he thought there was any likelihood of Scotland becoming dry, like America, answered: "No, certainly not." I asked

him why. "Because," he said proudly, "Scotland is a country with a Robbie Burns. America can become dry because America is country which has never had a Robbie Burns." In the same way, to foreigners who, when I tell them that a big country like China cannot be a republic, say to me that America, also a big country, is a republic, I answer, "America can be a Republic because the Americans, unlike us Chinese, are a nation without any civilization, just as my Scotch friend says, America can become dry because she is a country without a Robert Burns." In fact, China, I may say here, has become a republic now because the poor demented imbecile Republican Chinaman today has lost his civilization as he has lost his queue. The reason again why the republic in China cannot work now, is because not all Chinese have lost their civilization.

Now before I conclude, I want to say that my object in writing this article is not to abuse the American people. The American people, I have tried to show, are still a nation without any civilization and that is because they are still a young nation. To be young, as William Pitt in his famous speech in the British Parliament once said, is not an "atrocious crime." Indeed because the Americans are a young nation living in a big country like America, they have such great potentialities that I am inclined to think that, if civilization can be saved after this great world upheaval, the three great future empires of the world will be American, Russia and China.

My object in writing this article, I say again, is not to abuse the American people. My object is to tell people that the only way to save civilization — the first thing you must do if you want to save civilization — is to know what civilization is.

Indeed what made me write this article is because I read lately an essay written by the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Hara, in which he said that he wanted to amalgamate the civilization of the East and West. It seems to me, when he said that, the Prime Minister of Japan, if I may be permitted to say so, does not know what is civilization. For a civilization is either a true civilization or a false or, as the Japanese say, a magai make-believe civilization: there is no East or West.

Confucius in his time was so sick of hearing people talk of civilization that he once said, "Civilization, Civilization, is the cry now: but are carrying fine jades and wearing silk dresses the whole of civilization?" In the same way I take the liberty here of asking men like the Japanese Prime Minister who talk of amalgamating civilizations: are wearing high collars, cutting off queues, building European houses, riding in motor cars and erecting statues such as one sees in the streets of Tokio — the whole of civilization, or even civilization at all? Indeed, Matthew Arnold,

speaking of Christianity ——— curiously using the very same words which the Chinese poet Su Tung-Po of the Sung dynasty used when speaking of Confucianism ——— says, “Christianity is, first and above all, a temper, a disposition ——— so I want to point out here that civilization also is first and above all, a state of the mind and heart: a spiritual life. In the true sense of civilization, an ordinary Japanese Gelthar is more civilized than most American professors with all their pragmatic philosophy and political science. In fact, civilization in its essence, is not dress, house, furniture, machine, ship or gun, but ——— gentleness of mind and heart or, in the words of the great Japanese Shogun which I have already quoted ——— a gentle and tender heart. Last of all then, I would like again to remind the Japanese people, who, in my opinion, are now the real Se-i Shogun or Markgraf Nation, Military Guardian of Civilization in the Far East, of the words of their great dead Shogun Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who, when speaking to his grandson, was really speaking to the Japanese Nation today.

Mad Monk of Russia

Recent news dispatches from Riga, Latvia, state that Iliodor, the “Mad Monk of Russia,” Rasputin’s former friend, is back in Tsaritzyn, where the monastery built from the offerings of the people to him is located. His presence in Russia was predicted by himself in a book published here by the Century Company in which he revealed the story of his relations with Rasputin, with the Czar and with the spies. He stated his intention of going back, believing his mission was to restore religion of the people under the revolution.

The object of this book is an attempt to interpret the spirit and show the value of the Chinese civilization.

What I want to call the attention of the people of Europe and America to, just at this moment when civilisation seems to be threatened with bankruptcy, is that there is an invaluable and hitherto unsuspected asset of civilisation here in China.

The one and only way out of this war, is for the people of the countries now at war, to tear up their present Magna Chartas of Liberty and Constitutions, and make a new Magna Charta, a Magna Charta not of Liberty, but a Magna Charta of Loyalty, such as we Chinese have in our Religion of good citizenship here in China.



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