

第1章 植民地時代と清教徒の社会

1607年にジェイムズタウン（現ヴァージニア州）の植民地が建設されたのがアメリカ南部における植民地の始まりであった。それより少し遅れて1620年にメイフラワー号に乗った人達がプリマス（現マサチューセッツ州）に到着し、そこに新たな植民地を建設したのがアメリカ北部のニューイングランドの植民地の始まりであった。

一口にアメリカの植民地といっても南部と北部では植民地の事情が大いに異なっていた。南部ではアフリカから移されてきた黒人奴隷を使って煙草栽培など大々的なプランテーションに発展していくが、北部では植民地の建設は英本国ではかなえられなかった信仰の自由を求めてやってきた清教徒（Pilgrim Fathers）によるものであり、彼らはそこに彼らの理想にかなった社会、いわゆる「丘の上の町」を建設しようとしたのであり、そこに聖書にいうところの「約束の地」を求めたのであった。

キャプテン・ジョン・スミス（Captain John Smith, 1580-1631）による『ヴァージニアとニューイングランドとサマー諸島の一般的な歴史』（*The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, 1624）は植民地への案内書として広く読まれたが、誇張した記述も少なくないとされる。

またニューイングランドの植民の始まりの経緯に関しては、ウィリアム・ブラッドフォード（William Bradford, 1590-1657）による『プリマス植民地について』（*Of Plymouth Plantation*, 1630-51 執筆、1656 出版）がある。ブラッドフォードはビルグリム・ファーザーズの指導者であって、長期にわたってプリマス植民地の総督に選ばれているが、ヨーロッパを出発した動機、航海の様子、「メイフラワーの誓約」、プリマスへの上陸、その後の植民地の発展などを簡潔な筆致で克明に記している。そこでまず、プリマス上陸の箇所を鑑賞してみよう。

ウィリアム・ブラッドフォードはやはりビルグリム・ファーザーズの指導者らしく、その文章のはしばしに神への感謝の言葉が見られる。それではこれらの清教徒がニューイングランドの植民地に建設を夢見た清教徒の社会とはどのようなものだったのだろうか。ヘンリー八世は英国国教会を設立していったローマ・カトリック教から離脱するが、そのプロテスタント化が不徹底だったとして、浄化する（purify）ことによって一層改革を推進しようとした人達が清教徒であり、そのなかからビルグリム・ファーザーズを中心母体としてアメリカに理想の別天地を求めた人達がでてきたわけだが、一方、英国に残った人達はオリヴァー・クロムウェルの下にさまざまな弾圧に抵抗しながらついに革命をおこし、長くは続かなかったが一時英国に共和制をしいたのであった。

しかしここでの当面の問題はアメリカの清教徒の社会のことである。要するに彼らがそこに選んだ社会形態はその宗教的理想に基づくセオクラシー（theocracy）という形態であった。つまり、社会の掟と神の掟とが区別されず、神の掟によって人間社会のすべてが治められたということである。（そこでは人間は罪深き存在でしかなかった。）神の存在は疑わしく何よりも人間が尊重される現代のような社会に住むわれわれにはなかなか想像できないことかもしれな

い。さらに、清教徒たちがそれ以外の宗教を信じる人たちにとって不寛容な態度や迫害とか、あるいは悪名高い「魔女狩り」とかいった清教徒にとって芳しくない歴史があって、その実態はわれわれには掴みにくいところがある。また同じく清教徒の社会といっても時代によって著しく消長がみられるし、また彼らのなかからも離反していく人も現れるようになった。後になってナサニエル・ホーソン (Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1804-64) が清教徒の世界に長篇や短篇小説の題材をよく求めたが、それらの作品を読んでも清教徒の本質は容易に理解されがたいであろう。とはいうものの、清教徒精神は20世紀になってすべてが次第に解放される雰囲気なかで、ややもすれば否定的要素としてみられがちであるが、それなしではアメリカあるいはアメリカ文学を論じることができないゆえに、どうしても無視するわけにはいかないであろう。それを知る手段となればやはり当時の文献を窺ってみるより仕方がない。その意味で、ここには当時の子供のための興味深い教材と、ようやく退潮期にさしかかった清教徒の社会にあって熱狂的な説教を行ったことで有名なジョナサン・エドワーズ (Jonathan Edwards, 1703-58) の文章を紹介しておきたい。

William Bradford (1590-1657)

As a boy joined the Separatist group of William Brewster, with whom he emigrated to Amsterdam (1609) and then to Leyden. He came to America on the *Mayflower* (1620), and the following April was elected governor of Plymouth Colony, an office to which he was reelected every year from 1622 to 1656, with the exception of 1633, 1634, 1636, 1638, and 1644, when he was an assistant, having "by importunity gat off" from the position of leadership. Bradford's life was inseparably bound with the settlement, of which he was long the outstanding authority in all executive, judicial, and legislative matters. About 1630 he began to write *Of Plymouth Plantation*, which he completed in 1651.

Of Plymouth Plantation

In sundry of these storms the winds were so fierce and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull for divers days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull in a mighty storm, a lusty young man called John Howland, coming upon some occasion above the gratings was, with a seele of the ship, thrown into sea; but it pleased God that he caught hold of the topsail halyards which hung overboard and ran out at length. Yet he held his hold (though he was sundry fathoms under water) till he was hauled up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat hook and other means got into the ship again and his life saved. And though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after and became a profitable member both in church and commonwealth. In all this voyage there died but one of the passengers, which was William Butten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew

But to omit other things (that I may be brief) after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's good providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape Harbor where they rid in safety.

• • •

Being thus arrived in a good harbor, and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy, as he affirmed, that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land than pass by sea to any place in a short time, so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

sundry of = a number of. (*SOD*) / **bear a knot of sail** 「時速1カイリの帆を保つ」 / **hull** = shorten sail, turn the bow toward the storm and drift with wind. (*OED*) / **lay at hull** 'lie at hull' = drift to the wind with sails furled. (*OED*) / **gratings** 「(甲板口の)格子」 / **a seele** = a sudden heeling over (傾き) of a vessel in a storm. (*OED*) / **the topsail halyards** = the ropes used to raise and lower sails. / **beating** = sailing back and forth against the wind. / **fell with** 'fall with' = come upon in due course; meet with. (*OED*) / **tacked about** 「上手回しにした」 / **stand for** 「に進路を取る」 / **shoals** = areas of shallow water; submerged sandbanks. (*SOD*) / **breakers** = heavy ocean waves breaking on the coast or on a reef etc. (*SOD*)

The Dutiful Child's Promises (1683?)

I will fear GOD,
and honour the KING.
I will honour my Father & Mother.
I will Obey my Superiours.
I will Submit to my Elders,
I will Love my Friends.
I will hate no Man.

I will forgive my Enemies, and pray
to

God for them.

I will as much as in me lies keep all
God's

Holy Commandments.

I will learn my Catechism.

I will keep the Lord's Day Holy.

I will Reverence God's Sanctuary,
For our GOD is a consuming Fire.

Verses.

I in the Burying Place may see
Graves shorter there than I;
From Death's Arrest no Age is free,
Young Children too may die;
My God, may such an awful Sight,
Awakening be to me!
Oh! that by early Grace I might
For Death prepared be.

• • •

Jonathan Edwards (1703-58)

Born in East Windsor, Connecticut, and educated at Yale. In 1727 he was ordained minister of the church in Northampton, Massachusetts. His early sermons include *God Glorified in the Work of Redemption* (1731) and *A Divine and Supernatural Light* (1734), the latter notable for its emphasis on the aesthetic dimension of religious experience. His preaching helped precipitate the religious revival that swept through western Massachusetts in 1734-5, and later contributed to the 'Great Awakening' (1740), which spread through the colonies in general. His *Faithful Narrative of Surprising Conversions* (1737) and *The Distinguishing Marks* (1741) describe and defend the 1735 revival and the Great Awakening, respectively. *Some Thoughts concerning the Present Revival* (1743) speculates on the millennial possibilities raised by the Awakening. *A Treatise concerning Religious Affections* (1746) is a systematic exposition of his understanding of religious psychology, while his diary and *Personal Narrative* (c. 1740, not intended for publication) tell the story of his own conversion.

"Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God"

However unconvinced you may now be of the truth of what you hear, by and by you will be fully convinced of it. Those that are gone from being in the like circumstances with you, see that it was so with them; for destruction came

suddenly upon most of them, when they expected nothing of it and while they were saying, "Peace and safety"; now they see that those things that they depended on for peace and safety were nothing, but thin air and empty shadows.

The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you and is dreadfully provoked; His wrath towards you burns like fire; He looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire; He is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in His sight; you are ten thousand times more abominable in His eyes than the most hateful and venomous serpent is in ours. You have offended Him infinitely more than ever a stubborn rebel did his prince; and yet it is nothing but His hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment; it is to be ascribed to nothing else that you did not go to hell the last night, that you were suffered to awake again in this world, after you closed your eyes to sleep; and there is no other reason to be given, why you have not dropped into hell since you arose in the morning, but that God's hand has held you up; there is no other reason to be given why you have not gone to hell, since you have sat here in the house of God, provoking His pure eyes by your sinful, wicked manner of attending His solemn worship; yea, there is nothing else that is to be given as a reason why you do not this very moment drop down into hell.

O sinner! consider the fearful danger you are in; it is a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of wrath, that you are held over in the hand of that God, whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you, as against many of the damned in hell; you hang by a slender thread, with the flames of divine wrath flashing about it and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder; and you have no interest in any Mediator and nothing to lay hold of to save yourself, nothing to keep off the flames of wrath, nothing of your own, nothing that you ever have done, nothing that you can do to induce God to spare you one moment.

worthy of nothing . . . into the fire 「火にくべるしかしようがない」 / **of purer eyes than . . . in His sight** 「お前たちを我慢して見守ってはとてもいられないほど純粹な目をしておられるのだ」 / **it is nothing but . . . every moment** 「お前たちがいつ何時火に落ち込むかもしれないのをじっとかかえてくださっているのも神の御手にほかならないのだ」 / **incensed** = made extremely angry; outraged.

第2章 アメリカの独立と建国の父祖たち

アメリカの「独立宣言」がなされたのは1776年7月4日であった。植民地が始まってから約1世紀半しか経過していない。植民地の特徴といえば、先にも述べたように、北部では清教徒によるセオクラシーの社会であって、そこでは人間は罪深き存在でしかなかった。また南部の場合でも、ジェームズタウンの例にもみられるように、それにはいちいち英国王の認可が必要であった。ところが独立（英語では「革命」と呼ばれていることに留意）に関係する文章にみられるものは、強烈な自己ないしは人間性の主張である。わずか1世紀そこそこの期間に、どうして罪深き存在から人間性の主張へと急激な変化が遂げられたのだろうか。原住民（インディアン）との関係も改善され、あるいは前に立ちだかっていた森林が伐採されて開墾地になるとともに、厳しい清教徒の掟も次第に緩和されていったともいわれている。だが、それにもましてヨーロッパから押し寄せてきた新しい「理性の時代」や「啓蒙主義」の風潮を考慮に入れなければならないだろう。

ともかくここで、アメリカの独立に貢献した「建国の父祖」(the Founding Fathers)の残した足跡に直接に触れてみる必要があるだろう。まず取り上げるべきはベンジャミン・フランクリン (Benjamin Franklin, 1706-90) である。彼のあまりにも合理的な側面のみを取り上げて批判する人も一部にはみられるが、彼の政治、外交、科学、文筆活動、社交などの多方面の活躍をみると、彼の存在は一面的な批判を優に超越しており、「ヤンキーの父」として今なおアメリカ人に人気が失われないのも何か頷かれるのである。しかも彼の存在そのものが「アメリカの夢」や「プラグマティズムの哲学」といった典型的なアメリカの特徴を期せずして一身に具現していることは、まさに驚異に思えてくるのである。

ついでにここで、37歳のときにロンドンでフランクリンに会い、勧められてアメリカに渡ってきて、アメリカの独立のために大いに文筆活動その他で貢献したトマス・ペイン (Thomas Paine, 1737-1809) をも紹介しておきたい。

次になんといってもトマス・ジェファーソン (Thomas Jefferson, 1743-1826) を忘れてはならない。彼には『ヴァージニアの覚書』(Notes on the State of Virginia, 1780-81 執筆、1787 出版) という貴重な文献もみられるが、彼が「独立宣言」の主たる執筆者であったことも見逃すべきではないだろう。「独立宣言」がいかに慎重に議せられたかは、それが最後に署名されるまでに87回もの修正の手が加えられたことでも明らかである。しかしそこに盛られた思想は、彼の独創に基づくものではなく、英国の哲学者ジョン・ロック (John Locke, 1632-1704) の影響によるところが多いとされている。

ジェファーソンをあげれば、彼の論敵であった連邦主義者たちをも取り上げないわけにはいかない。ジェファーソンは人間の善に信を置く徹底した自由主義者であって、彼はまた都会の文明生活よりも農本主義者の立場をとった。そのような立場に反論して連邦主義者たちは強力な中央集権の政治形態の必要を主張した。そして彼らの論文が集められてできたのが、『連邦主義者論集』(The

Federalist Papers, 1787)であり、今日でもアメリカでよく読まれているという。それがアメリカ合衆国の国家形成に根本的にかかわっているからであろう。その執筆者はアレグザンダー・ハミルトン (Alexander Hamilton, 1757-1804)、ジェイムズ・マディソン (James Madison, 1751-1836)、そしてジョン・ジェイ (John Jay, 1745-1829)らであるが、ここで彼らの主張のなかから一節を引くことにしよう。

国家としてのアメリカを考えると、いち早く「アメリカ人とは何か」といった問題を提起したクレヴクール (J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, 1735-1813) の作品『アメリカ人の農夫からの手紙』 (*Letters from an American Farmer*, 1782) もまた重要である。ただし彼は野蛮な独立革命には反対であった、その間、難を逃れて祖国フランスへ一時的に逃避して、動乱が終わってから再びアメリカへ戻ったのであった。

Benjamin Franklin (1706-90)

Born in Boston, he received little formal education. At the age of 12 he was apprenticed to his half-brother, the printer James Franklin. He moved to Philadelphia in 1723. In 1729 he published the first issue under his own proprietorship of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. Three years later he launched the widely read *Poor Richard's Almanac* (1732-58) and *The General Magazine* (1741). He also became actively involved in the public affairs of Philadelphia.

He spent most of the 1760s in England, working to advance the cause of colonial representation in Parliament. He returned to Philadelphia in 1769 and founded the American Philosophical Society. He then went back to England, until, convinced that his efforts to promote the colonial cause had failed and that war was inevitable, he returned to America in 1775. He served in the Continental Congress and was part of the committee that ordered the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. He was sent by the Congress to France, where he remained throughout the war and negotiated an economic and military alliance. In 1785, he was appointed president of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and participated in the Constitutional Convention; he signed the Constitution in 1787 and died three years later in Philadelphia.

Franklin produced numerous tracts on issues such as politics, legal theory, education, language and population control. They constitute a witty and informative history of 18th-century America.

Autobiography

In the various Enumerations of the moral Virtues I had met with in my Reading, I found the Catalogue more or less numerous, as different Writers included more or fewer Ideas under the same Name. Temperance, for Example, was by some confin'd to Eating & Drinking, while by others it was extended to mean the moderating every other Pleasure, Appetite, Inclination or Passion, bodily or mental, even to our Avarice & Ambition. I propos'd to myself, for the sake of Clearness, to use rather more Names with fewer Ideas annex'd to each, than a few Names with more Ideas; and I included under Thirteen Names of Virtues all that at that

time occur'd to me as necessary or desirable, and annex'd to each a short Precept, which fully express'd the Extent I gave to its Meaning. —

These Names of Virtues with their Precepts were

1. Temperance.

Eat not to Dulness

Drink not to Elevation.

2. Silence.

Speak not but what may benefit others or your self. Avoid trifling Conversation.

3. Order.

Let all your Things have their Places. Let each Part of your Business have its Time.

4. Resolution.

Resolve to perform what you ought. Perform without fail what you resolve.

5. Frugality.

Make no Expence but to do good to others or yourself: i.e. Waste nothing.

6. Industry.

Lose no Time. — Be always employ'd in something useful. — Cut off all unnecessary Actions. —

7. Sincerity.

Use no hurtful Deceit.

Think innocently and justly; and, if you speak; speak accordingly.

8. Justice.

Wrong none, by doing Injuries or omitting the Benefits that are your Duty.

9. Moderation.

Avoid Extreams. Forbear resenting Injuries so much as you think they deserve.

10. Cleanliness

Tolerate no Uncleaness in Body, Cloaths or Habitation. —

11. Tranquility

Be not disturbed at Trifles, or at Accidents common or unavoidable.

12. Chastity.

Rarely use Venery but for Health or Offspring; Never to Dulness, Weakness, or the Injury of your own or another's Peace or Reputation. —

13. Humility.

Imitate Jesus and Socrates. —

more or less numerous 「多少の差があるが数が多い」といった意味の場合もあるが、ここでは「数が多いこともあり、少ないこともある」／ **the moderating [of] every other pleasure** 「他のあらゆる快樂について節制を守ること」／ **Elevation** = a raising of the animal spirit. 「浮かれ気分になること」／ **have its Time** 「なすべき時を定める」／ **expence** = variation of expense. / **accordingly** i.e. innocently and justly. / **extreams** variation of extremes. / **Cloaths** = clothes. / **venery** = the pursuit of sexual pleasure.

Thomas Paine (1737-1809)

Born in England, Paine was the son of a corset maker, to whose trade he was apprenticed when his schooling ended at the age of 13. His unsettled life to 1774 included residence in various towns, two brief unhappy marriages, and such occupations as schoolteacher, tobacconist, grocer, and exciseman. He was twice dismissed from the last post, and was forced into bankruptcy after the publication of *The Case of the Officers of Excise* (1772), a plea to Parliament for higher wages. While lobbying for the excisemen, he met Franklin, who was impressed by his learning and interests and helped him to start anew in America.

Arriving at Philadelphia (1774), Paine contributed extensively to the *Pennsylvania Magazine* and achieved wide fame with the publication of *Common Sense* (1776). While serving as a soldier in the Continental army, he continued his political journalism in *The American Crisis* in support of the Revolutionary War. He went to France and England (1787), and traveled between Paris and London in the cause of a world revolution.

The Rights of Man (1791-92), a defense of the French Revolution against the attacks of Edmund Burke, urged the English to create a republic. He was made a French citizen by the Assembly (1792) and was elected to the Convention, where he allied himself with the moderate republicans, who lost power during the Terror (1793). His citizenship was thereupon revoked, and, although he was outlawed by England, he was arrested by France as an enemy Englishman. In jail (Dec. 1793-Nov. 1794), he wrote *The Age of Reason* (1794-95), his great deistic work.

The American Crisis

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands *now*, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right (*not only to tax*) but "to bind *us in all cases whatsoever*," and if being *bound in that manner*, is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious; for so unlimited a power can belong only to God.

Whether the independence of the continent was declared too soon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into as an argument; my own simple opinion is, that had it been eight months earlier, it would have been much better. We did not make a proper use of last winter, neither could we, while we were in a dependant state. However, the fault, if it were one, was all our own; we have none to blame but ourselves. But no great deal is lost yet. All that Howe has been doing for this month past, is rather a ravage than a conquest, which the spirit of the Jerseys, a year ago, would have quickly repulsed, and which time and a little resolution will soon recover.

summer fig. with reference to prosperous, pleasant, genial condition; fair-weather. 'fair-weather' = fit or suitable only for calm or fair weather. (OED)「都合のいい時だけの」/
sunshine = that remains faithful, or subsists, only in prosperity. (OED) / **Howe** Lord William Howe (1729-1824), commander of British forces from 1775 to 1778. / **The Jerseys** Colonial New Jersey, having been divided into East Jersey and West Jersey from 1676 to 1702, was often referred to as the Jerseys.

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

Third president of the USA. Born in Virginia, and educated at the College of William and Mary. *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774) established him as a leading voice of the colonies' grievances against the king. He went on, as a member of the Second Continental Congress, to draft the Declaration of Independence in 1776. During the American Revolution he served in the Virginia legislature (1776-9) and then as the state's governor (1779-81). A landed and wealthy slaveowner himself, he espoused a vision of an agrarian society based on an independent yeomanry, defended the principle of individual freedom against entrenched privilege and government encroachment, and supported the gradual abolition of slavery. *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) is a clear expression of his ideals. After serving as American minister to Paris (1785-9), he became George Washington's Secretary of State (1789-93), Adams's Vice-President (1797-1801) and then President (1801-9). In 1803 he approved the Louisiana Purchase from France, which doubled the size of the USA at the cost of four cents per acre.

He served as president of the American Philosophical Society from 1797 to 1814. After leaving the presidency, he founded and helped to draw up plans for the University of Virginia, chartered in 1819. He was also the author of *Observations on the Whale-Fishery* (1788), *A Manual of Parliamentary Practice* (1801) and a *Life of Captain Lewis* (1814).

“The Declaration of Independence”

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

The Unanimous Declaration of the
Thirteen United States of America,

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to

alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

.....
 We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness John Locke's *Treatises of Civil Government* (1690) had asserted that human rights include life, liberty, and property. / **The present king of Great Britain** George III (reigned 1760-1820).

Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804)

He was born in the Leeward Islands. During the Revolutionary War he served as captain, lieutenant colonel, and aide-de-camp to Washington. After the victory he was appointed receiver-general of continental taxes, was elected to the Continental Congress (1782-83), practiced law in New York, and served as a delegate to the Annapolis Convention (1786).

As a member of the Federal Constitutional Convention he considered its accomplishments in many ways unsatisfactory, but as an advocate of strong centralized government he worked for the ratification of the Constitution, especially as the principal author of *The Federalist* (1787-88).

The Federalist

To the People of the State of New York:

After an unequivocal experience of the inefficiency of the subsisting federal government, you are called upon to deliberate on a new Constitution for the United States of America. The subject speaks its own importance; comprehending in its consequences nothing less than the existence of the UNION, the safety and welfare of the parts of which it is composed, the fate of an empire in many respects the most interesting in the world. It has been frequently remarked that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct

and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force. If there be any truth in the remark, the crisis at which we are arrived may with propriety be regarded as the era in which that decision is to be made; and a wrong election of the part we shall act may, in this view, deserve to be considered as the general misfortune of mankind.

This idea will add the inducements of philanthropy to those of patriotism, to heighten the solicitude which all considerate and good men must feel for the event. Happy will it be if our choice should be directed by a judicious estimate of our true interests, unperplexed and unbiased by considerations not connected with the public good. But this is a thing more ardently to be wished than seriously to be expected. The plan offered to our deliberations affects too many particular interests, innovates upon too many local institutions, not to involve in its discussion a variety of objects foreign to its merits, and of views, passions and prejudices little favorable to the discovery of truth.

これは *The Federalist* の最初に掲げられた一般的な問題を提起する冒頭の部分から引いたものである。／ **the UNION** = the United States of America. ／ **the parts of which it is composed** 「合衆国を構成する地方」／ **with propriety** = rightly. ／ **inducements** = incentives, motives. ／ **unbiased . . . by the public good** 「公の利益と無関係な考察などにゆがめられることなく」／ **foreign** = having no relation(to).

J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur (1735-1813)

Born in Normandy, and educated in France and England, in 1754 he went to Quebec to serve in Montcalm's army. He subsequently travelled around the Great Lakes and the Ohio River Valley, New York and Pennsylvania, describing his experiences in *Voyage dans la Haute Pennsylvanie et dans l'état de New York* (Paris, 1801). He became naturalized as an American colonial citizen in New York in 1764. In 1769 he married and settled on a farm in Orange County, New York.

In 1780 the American Revolution forced Crèvecoeur to leave America for Europe, where he moved in fashionable circles and published, under the name J. Hector St John, a collection of his impressions of America called *Letters from an American Farmer* (London, 1782; not published in America until 1793). Returning to the USA after the war in 1783, he found his farm burned, his wife dead, and his children dispersed. He served as French consul and eventually went back to France in 1790. Further letters and essays written during his American period were published in 1925 as *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America*.

Letters from an American Farmer

What attachment can a poor European emigrant have for a country where he had nothing? The knowledge of the language, the love of a few kindred as poor

as himself were the only cords that tied him; his country is now that which gives him land, bread, protection, and consequence; *Ubi panis ibi patria*, is the motto of all emigrants. What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. *He* is an American who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great *Alma Mater*. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor, and industry which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American ought therefore to love this country much better than that wherein either he or his forefathers were born. Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labor; his labor is founded on the basis of nature, *self-interest*; can it want a stronger allurements? Wives and children, who before in vain demanded of him a morsel of bread, now, fat and frolicsome, gladly help their father to clear those fields whence exuberant crops are to arise to feed and to clothe them all, without any part being claimed, either by a despotic prince, a rich abbot, or a mighty lord. Here religion demands but little of him, a small voluntary salary to the minister, and gratitude to God; can he refuse these? The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. — This is an American.

• • •

Ubi panis ibi patria = Where there is bread, there is one's fatherland. / ***Alma Mater***
 「滋養物を与える(親愛なる)母」

第3章 国民文学の成立

国家が独立すると、その後に引き続いてその国特有の文学活動がみられるのは自然の勢いである。そしてそのような活動が、アメリカにおいて小説の形をとったのは、それが読者にもっとも直に訴えるのに適した形だったからであった。新しい国に生活する人々の風習にかかわるいろんな作品のうち、特にチャールズ・ブロックデン・ブラウン (Charles Brockden Brown, 1771-1810) のゴシック・ノヴェルにみられる人間の暗い心理面をえぐる傾向は、後のホーソーンやエドガー・アラン・ポウ (Edgar Allan Poe, 1809-49) に多大の影響を与えたことが指摘される。そんな彼は晩年にもっぱら政治評論に転じてジェファーソン流の楽天的な考えを厳しく批判したという。ゴシック・ノヴェルであくまでも恐怖の深淵を覗こうとしたのもその根底には同じく人間への不信ないしは懐疑が潜んでいたからのことであった。

しかし、建国後間もない19世紀初頭に活躍した主要な作家といえ、やはりワシントン・アーヴィング (Washington Irving, 1783-1859) とジェイムズ・フェニモア・クーパー (James Fenimore Cooper, 1789-1851) を筆頭に挙げねばならない。

アーヴィングは、ニューヨークがまだオランダの植民地であった頃の歴史を面白おかしく *A History of New York, by Dietrich Knickerbocker* (1809) に描いて「ニッカーボッカー時代」を流行させたが、何といっても彼の名を高めたのは『ジェフリー・クレイヨン氏のスケッチブック』(*The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.*, 1819-20) であり、そこに収められた“Rip Van Winkle”と“The Legend of Sleepy Hollow”であった。ハドソン河の峡谷の西側にあるキャッツキル山脈は今でもリップ・ヴァン・ウインクルが20年間眠った場所として信じられているし、また日本でも「西洋浦島物語」としてよく知られている。実際はこれらの伝説もその骨子はドイツの民話に基づいて作られたものにすぎない。けだし彼は、ヨーロッパで広く読まれた最初のアメリカ作家であったという。一昔前は日本でも『スケッチブック』はよく読まれ、翻訳もいくつか出されている。

アーヴィングがアメリカを描くとき、おそらく当時のニューヨークの世界という限られた地域しかその意識にはなかっただろうが、クーパーには、たとえ特定の地域を描いていても、その意識にはアメリカ全体の状況を描くことが強く働いていた。彼には船乗りの経験から描いた海洋小説や社会の風俗を描いた小説もみられるが、何といっても彼の代表作はいわゆる「革脚絆物語」五部作 (*The Leatherstocking Tales*) に求められるであろう。アメリカの一般的な命題がそれらの作品に盛られているからである。アメリカは西へ西へと開拓を進めることによって文明化を拡大していった。そしてその移行を人は「明白な運命」(*Manifest Destiny*) と呼ぶのかもしれない。しかしこれらの五部作を通じての主人公 Natty Bumppo には少なくともそのような文明の浸透と自然の破壊に深い不信感が漂い、逆に破壊されていく自然や滅亡の危機に見舞われる原住民の種族に対しては何か敬虔な感情を抱いているのが見受けられる。その意味で、

この主人公はまた近年、喧しく叫ばれるエコロジーにいち早く目覚めていた人物といえるかもしれない。ともかくこの作家の文体も社会観も古めかしいが故にこれまであまり親しまれなかったかもしれないが、いま一度検討に値するのではなかろうか。というわけで、ここではアーヴィングとクーパーの文章を味わうことにしたい。

Washington Irving (1783-1859)

Irving was born in New York City, youngest of eleven children. His health was delicate and he did not attend university; he did, however, gain fame as essayist, historian, biographer, and humorist, producing such works as the satirical *A History of New York* (by "Diedrich Knickerbocker," 1809) and *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (1820), containing such classics as "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." He served as secretary of the United States legation in London (1829-32), as minister to Spain (1842-45), but declined opportunities to become mayor of New York, a United States Congressman, or Secretary of the Navy.

"Rip Van Winkle"

Whoever has made a voyage up the Hudson must remember the Kaatskill mountains. They are a dismembered branch of the great Appalachian family, and are seen away to the west of the river, swelling up to a noble height, and lording it over the surrounding country. Every change of season, every change of weather, indeed, every hour of the day, produces some change in the magical hues and shapes of these mountains, and they are regarded by all the good wives, far and near, as perfect barometers. When the weather is fair and settled, they are clothed in blue and purple, and print their bold outlines on the clear evening sky; but, sometimes, when the rest of the landscape is cloudless, they will gather a hood of gray vapors about their summits, which, in the last rays of the setting sun, will glow and light up like a crown of glory.

At the foot of these fairy mountains, the voyager may have descried the light smoke curling up from a village, whose shingle-roofs gleam among the trees, just where the blue tints of the upland melt away into the fresh green of the nearer landscape. It is a little village of great antiquity, having been founded by some of the Dutch colonists, in the early times of the province, just about the beginning of the government of the good Peter Stuyvesant, (may he rest in peace!) and there were some of the houses of the original settlers standing within a few years, built of small yellow bricks brought from Holland, having latticed windows and gable fronts, surmounted with weather-cocks.

In that same village, and in one of these very houses (which, to tell the precise truth, was sadly time-worn and weather-beaten), there lived many years since, while the country was yet a province of Great Britain, a simple good-natured fellow of the name of Rip Van Winkle. He was a descendant of the Van Winkles

who figured so gallantly in the chivalrous days of Peter Stuyvesant, and accompanied him to the siege of Fort Christina. He inherited, however, but little of the martial character of his ancestors. I have observed that he was a simple goodnatured man; he was, moreover, a kind neighbor, and an obedient henpecked husband....

Certain it is, that he was a great favorite among all the good wives of the village, who, as usual, with the amiable sex, took his part in all family squabbles; and never failed, whenever they talked those matters over in their evening gossipings, to lay all the blame on Dame Van Winkle. The children of the village, too, would shout with joy whenever he approached. He assisted at their sports, made their playthings, taught them to fly kites and shoot marbles, and told them long stories of ghosts, witches, and Indians. Whenever he went dodging about the village, he was surrounded by a troop of them, hanging on his skirts, clambering on his back, and playing a thousand tricks on him with impunity; and not a dog would bark at him throughout the neighborhood.

The Kaatskill Mountains ニューヨーク州東南部にある山脈。／ **noble height** = considerable height. ／ **lording it over** 'it' は indefinite use. ／ **Fairy mountains** 「仙女の住む霊山」／ **shingle roofs** 「板ぶき屋根」／ **the good Peter Stuyvesant** the last Governor of New Netherland (1647-64). ／ **original (Dutch) settlers.** ／ **since** = ago. ／ **the siege of Fort Christina** In 1655 Dutch forces under Peter Stuyvesant defeated the colonists of New Sweden at Fort Christina, near present-day Wilmington, Delaware. ／ **amiable sex** = fair or softer sex. 「女性」／ **took his part** = were on his side. ／ **Dame** = Mrs. 今日では男の Sir に相当する敬称としてしか使わない。

James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851)

The eleventh child of William and Elizabeth (Fenimore) Cooper, James Kent Cooper (he added Fenimore after his father's death) was born in Burlington, New Jersey, and spent his youth in the still wild country around Cooperstown, on Otsego Lake in New York, where he gained firsthand acquaintance with the Native Americans and the landscape that would be featured in his Leatherstocking tales. He attended Yale for two years, but a youthful prank resulted in his dismissal in 1806. A stint in the Navy proved dull; in 1811 he resigned and married Susan De Lancey. A famous anecdote recounts the beginning of Cooper's literary career: dissatisfied with a novel he was reading, he declared that he could do better himself; his wife's challenge to do so resulted in his first book, *Precaution* (1820). His second novel (*The Spy* [1821]) was a success. He was a prolific writer in a variety of modes, from historical romance to social satire, producing scholarly naval histories, a utopian allegory, and even a precursor of the mystery novel. He died on the eve of his sixty-second birthday, September 14, 1851.

The Last of the Mobicans

Chingachgook became, once more, the object of the common attention. He had not yet spoken, and something consolatory and instructive was expected from so renowned a chief, on an occasion of such interest. Conscious of the wishes of the people, the stern and self-restrained warrior raised his face, which had latterly been buried in his robe, and looked about him, with a steady eye. His firmly compressed and expressive lips then severed, and for the first time during the long ceremonies, his voice was distinctly audible.

"Why do my brothers mourn!" he said, regarding the dark race of dejected warriors, by whom he was environed; "why do my daughters weep! that a young man has gone to the happy hunting grounds! that a chief has filled his time with honour! He was good. He was dutiful. He was brave. Who can deny it? The Manitto had need of such a warrior, and he has called him away. As for me, the son and the father of Uncas, I am a 'blazed pine, in a clearing of the pale-faces.' My race has gone from the shores of the salt lake, and the hills of the Delawares. But who can say that the serpent of his tribe has forgotten his wisdom! I am alone —"

"No, no," cried Hawk-eye, who had been gazing with a yearning look at the rigid features of his friend, with something like his own self-command, but whose philosophy could endure no longer; "no, Sagamore, not alone. The gifts of our colours may be different, but God has so placed us as to journey in the same path. I have no kin, and I may also say, like you, no people. He was your son, and a red-skin by nature; and it may be, that your blood was nearer; — but if ever I forget the lad, who has so often fou't at my side in war, and slept at my side in peace, may He who made us all, whatever may be our colour or our gifts, forget me. The boy has left us for a time, but, Sagamore, you are not alone!"

Chingachgook grasped the hand that, in the warmth of feeling, the scout had stretched across the fresh earth, and in that attitude of friendship, these two sturdy and intrepid woodsmen bowed their heads together, while scalding tears fell to their feet, watering the grave of Uncas, like drops of falling rain.

In the midst of the awful stillness with which such a burst of feeling, coming, as it did, from the two most renowned warriors of that region, was received, Tamenund lifted his voice, to disperse the multitude.

"It is enough!" he said. "Go, children of the Lenape; the anger of the Manitto is not done. Why should Tamenund stay? The pale-faces are masters of the earth, and the time of the red-men has not yet come again. My day has been too long. In the morning I saw the sons of Unâmis happy and strong; and yet, before the night has come, have I lived to see the last warrior of the wise race of the Mobicans!"

the Manitto cf. manito, manitou, manitu, n. in Massachuset manitto. Among the Algonquian Indians one of the powers or spirits which dominates the force of nature. (W2) / **pale-faces** white persons; so called, as alleged, by the American Indians. (W2) / **Hawk-eye** *The Leatherstocking Tales* の主人公 Natty Bumppo は時には 'Hawk-eye' とも呼ばれる。 / **Sagamore** chief of a tribe. / **fou't** = fought. / **intrepid** 「恐れを知らぬ、勇敢な」 / **scalding tears** 「血涙、ひどい悲しみの涙」 / **the Lenape** Delaware Indians.



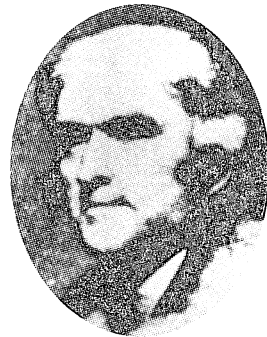
Johnathan Edwards



Benjamin Franklin



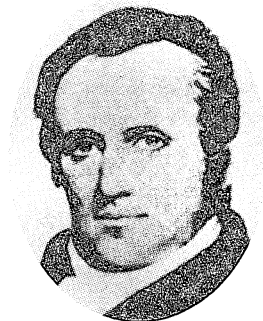
Thomas Paine



Thomas Jefferson



Washington Irving



James Fenimore Cooper