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# 宗教與世俗的辯證——佛格森論歷史與自由

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亞當佛格森為蘇格蘭啟蒙運動之重要文人,其思想邇來頗受學界關注。然時下之論多為世俗化觀點。本文有別於時論,揭論佛格森神學思想之重要。佛氏以為,此世界受命神思,乃有持續變化進步之事實。人類之為獨特,在於受命自由意志。人若能依據自由意志原則而主動成為上帝創世與目標之工具,人類社會即能持續變化進步。易言之,社會之歷史便能與自然之歷史合轍。同理,自由之義亦須以合作觀點加以理解。以合作觀點視之,自由之真諦不在個人權利的顯揚,而在社會整體之保存與進步。上帝所造之世界既有階級差異,而又協合共作,各人當因此各安其命,順命而為。佛格森所在意者,乃菁英階級須既能洞悉危機於先燭,理當自勉奮發,不受商業社會不良影響,隨時保持公民意識與責任。佛格森之政治保守主義,實有其神學思想基礎。

關鍵詞:亞當佛格森 神恩 進步 蘇格蘭啟蒙運動

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# 前言

亞當佛格森 (Adam Ferguson, 1723-1816) 是蘇格蘭啓蒙運動中的重要人物;社會學界也常推譽爲「社會學之父」,強調他在社會學史上的關鍵地位。<sup>1</sup> 稱許他爲蘇格蘭啓蒙運動人物中,僅次於大衛休姆 (David Hume, 1711-1776) 及亞當史密斯 (Adam Smith, 1723-1790) 的「國際」知名作家並不爲過。佛格森出生於蘇格蘭高地偏東的伯斯郡 (Perthshire) 的高地望族。思想史家 Duncan Forbes 認爲,佛格森的社會與政治思想非常強調生命力的重要,並強調合作、犧牲、自由等等德性,應該與他的高地氏族背景有關。<sup>2</sup> 佛格森在伯斯鎮 (Perth) 完成中學課業後,進入聖安德魯斯大學 (St. Andrew's University) 攻讀文科學位。一七四二年卒業後再入愛丁堡大學攻讀神學;一七四三年便因爲他通塞爾特族的方言,而在貴族的保薦下,擔任高地軍團(Black Watch 營區)的隨團牧師,直到一七五四年離職。辭去神職工作的佛格森第一件事就是到歐陸遊歷,彷彿是要在生命裡彌補一段當時歐洲貴族所流行的旅行教育 (the Grand Tour)。一七五六年,佛格森定居於愛丁堡,並繼大衛休姆之後,出任律師圖書館館長 (the Keeper of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> William C. Lehmann, Adam Ferguson and the Beginnings of Modern Sociology (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930); D. G. MacRae, "Adam Ferguson, sociologist," New Society (London, 1966), vol. VIII, p. 792;轉引自 Norbert Waszek, Man's Social Nature: A Topic of the Scottish Enlightenment in its Historical Setting (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988), p. 141. Oz-Salzberger 發現,早在一八九二年德國社會學家 Ludvik Gumplowicz 便稱佛格 森為「社會學之父」; Fania Oz-Salzberger, "Civil society in the Scottish Enlightenment," in Civil Society: History and Possibilities, ed. S. Kaviraj and N. Khilnani (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 74。關於佛格森生平最完整的資料見於 Jane Fagg, introduction to Correspondence of Adam Ferguson, ed. Vincenzo Merolle (Brookfield: William Pickering, 1995). 近來中文世界也頗有以佛格森為主題的研究論文出現;請參考郭博文,〈弗格森 的社會哲學〉,《社會哲學的興起》(臺北:允晨文化事業有限公司,2000);顧忠 華,〈自由主義的社會理論——以 Smith 和 Ferguson 為例〉,蔡英文、張福建編, 《自由主義》(臺北:中央研究院中山人文社會科學研究所,2001),頁81-104;王珍 琳,《佛格森「公民社會」概念分析》(臺北:國立臺灣大學歷史學研究所碩士論文, 2002)等。第一本佛格森本人著作的中譯為林本椿及王紹祥所譯的《文明社會史論》 (瀋陽:遼寧教育出版社,1999)。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Duncan Forbes, introduction to *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, by Adam Ferguson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), pp. xxxviii- xli.

Advocates Library)。自一七五九年起,佛格森被聘爲愛丁堡大學自然哲學教授;一七六四年轉任心靈學暨道德哲學教授 (pneumatics and moral philosophy) 直至一七八五年退休。

佛格森著作主要以道德哲學以及歷史學爲宗。他的作品對十八世紀的歐洲(尤其是德國)思想界影響甚鉅。<sup>3</sup> 二十世紀德國思想史家邁乃克 (Friedrich Meinecke) 在追溯德國(歐洲)歷史主義傳統時,以佛格森爲此一思潮的先驅。<sup>4</sup> 但在法國大革命之後,佛格森的思想逐漸沉寂。除了零星的研究,整個十九世紀,以及二次大戰前的歐美學界甚少探觸佛格森。近幾年來,佛格森的書信以及晚年的手稿陸續被整理出版。<sup>5</sup> 關於佛格森思想及其在社會學地位的文章也已粲然可觀。關於佛格森的文藝復興,並非本文的重點。但是撮其要,學界之所以重新解悟佛格森的重要性,至少受到三個時代與學術變化的影響。第一當然是社會學與人類學的擅場。每一門學科發展到達制度化門檻時,便會回過頭去尋找其學科或知識的根源。佛格森是在後 Talcott Parsons 時代、後 Ludig Gumplovicz 時代被學界重新發現的社會學或人類學之父。他被稱爲早期的異化理論論者以及衝突理論論者。<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Fania Oz-Salzberger, Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish Civic Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Germany (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Friedrich Meinecke, Historism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook, trans. J. E. Anderson (Taipei: Rainbow Bridge, 1972)。事實上佛格森的作品常常甫一出版便被逐譯為德文。例如 An Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767) 隔年立刻被 Christian Grave 翻譯出版; Christian Grave, trans., Versuch über die Geschichite bürgerlichen Gesellschaft (Leipzig: Dyck, 1768). Dorn 及 Wäntig 在一九〇四年重新翻譯此書;見 Valentine Dorn and Heinrich Wäntig, trans., Abhandlung über die Geschichite der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft (Jena: Fischer, 1904). 最新德文譯本則是由 Hans Medick 所譯的 Versuch über die Geschichite der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft (Frankfurt am Main: Shurkamp, 1988). 佛格森的 Institutes of Moral Philosophy (1768) 同樣由 Grave 首先翻譯出版;Christian Grave, trans., Grundsätze der Moralphilosophie (Leipzig: Dyck, 1772). 他的 The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic (1783) 則由 Beck 翻譯出版;Christian Daniel Beck, trans., Geschichite des Fortgangs und Untergangs der Römischen Republik (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1784).

Manuscripts of Adam Ferguson, ed. Vincenzo Merolle (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006); Collection of Essays, ed. Yasuo Amoh (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1996); Correspondence of Adam Ferguson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Lisa Hill, "Eighteenth-Century Anticipations of the Sociology of Conflict: The Case of Adam Ferguson," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62 (2001): 281-299; John D. Brewer, "Adam Ferguson and the Theme of Exploitation," *British Journal of Sociology* 37 (1986): 461-478;

第二個重要因素是市民社會論述的興起。一九八九年蘇聯解體之後,相對於政府或公部門的民間力量,成爲東歐知識份子思考未來的重要課題。<sup>7</sup> 佛格森於一七六七年出版的《文明社會史論》(An Essay on the History of Civil Society) 在隔年被 Christian Grave 譯爲德文。其中,civil society 一辭被迻譯爲 bürgerliche Gesellschaft。德文 Bürger 相當於拉丁文的 cives、法文的 citoyens 或英文的 citizens,均指涉城裡的居民、市民、公民。Grave 的 bürgerliche Gesellschaft 後爲一般德國學者所沿用。黑格爾在《法哲學原理》(Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts) 裡,發揮了佛格森的思想,並將 bürgerliche Gesellschaft (civil society) 與國家 (Staat) 對立而論,使得 bürgerliche Gesellschaft 有了更精確的概念範疇。 B由於 Grave 的翻譯以及黑格爾的理論化,使得今人一提到 civil society,便泰半指向黑格爾的 bürgerliche Gesellschaft,而強烈蘊含著「市民」或「公民」社會的意涵。

其實,佛格森的 civil society 指涉的層面比較廣,而不單指市民或公民社會 (the society of citizens)。佛格森使用 civil 一詞時,不只當它是 citizen 的形容詞 用法,同時也用來相對於軍事 (military)、宗教 (ecclesiastic or religious)、野蠻 (savage or barbarian) 等等概念。本文暫時無法也無意對此概念翻譯與傳布的歷史 多加著墨。只能姑且引述佛格森的一段文字,討論他下 civil society 一辭時,所要傳達的寬廣定義。在一段討論國防的文字裡,佛格森曾經如此議論道:

In every free state, there is a perpetual necessity to distinguish the maxims of martial law from those of the civil; and he who has not learned to give an implicit obedience, where the state has given him a military leader, and to resign his personal freedom in the field, from the same magnanimity with which he maintains it in the political deliberations of his country, has yet to learn the

Herta H. Jogland, *Ursprünge und Grundlagen der Soziologie bei Adam Ferguson* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1959), particularly pp. 79ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 關於後蘇聯的市民社會理論,可參考 John Keane, ed., Civil Society and the State (London: Verso, 1988) 以及 Ernest Gellner, Condition of Liberty: Civil Society and Its Rival (London: Allen Lane / Penguin Press, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, Elements of the Philosophy of Right, ed. Allen Wood, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Norbert Waszek, The Scottish Enlightenment and Hegel's Account of Civil Society (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Nijhoff-Kluwer, 1988).

most important lesson of <u>civil society</u>, and is only fit to occupy a place in a <u>rude</u>, or in a corrupt state, where the principles of mutiny and of servility being joined, the one or the other is frequently adopted in the wrong place.<sup>9</sup>

在自由的國家裡,人們都需要長久地區分軍法與民法的基本原則。如果在軍人領政的國家裡,人們還不知道他必須在戰場上適當地服從,並放棄一些個人自由——這部分的自由已經以相同的份量保存在自己國家的政治原則裡——那麼他就是還沒學會文明社會的最重要信條;他就只配活在粗蠻或腐敗的國家裡。在粗蠻或腐敗的國家中,叛變與奴役結合在一起,卻常出現在錯誤的地方。

在這一段文字裡,civil 同時對應 martial, military, rude 等等概念。佛格森當然不認爲「粗蠻」、「軍事」、「宗教上的迷信」<sup>10</sup> 等事物或現象都是同一回事;他也不認爲這些事物的本質具有什麼共通性。但是對佛格森來說,因爲「粗蠻」、「軍事」、「宗教上的迷信」都屬於人類歷史發展的某一階段的文化特色,都屬於「前文明社會」的歷史現象,所以都可以當作是「文明」的對立概念。換言之,civil society 的基本核心命題,是指人類歷史發展的特定過程的文化特徵。Civil 不單指涉 civic, citizens,同時也指涉 civilized, civility, polished 等概念;所以 civil society 可以名之曰「文明社會」。換句話說,佛格森是在「社會演化」的思想背景下使用 civil society 一辭。<sup>11</sup> 所以單純以「市民社會」概念來詮釋佛格森的作品與思想,顯然是窄化了研究的開展性。<sup>12</sup>

造成佛格森研究復興的第三層重要因素——也是最重要的因素——當然是蘇格蘭啓蒙運動研究的崛起與活絡。關於蘇格蘭啓蒙運動研究的興起,極難以三言兩語交代。本文只能沿佛格森研究相關部份勾陳梗概。從一九六〇年代末起,蘇

<sup>9</sup> Adam Ferguson, An Essay on the History of Civil Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 143 (Civil Society hereafter). 底線為作者所加。郭博文以「民政社會」來訓佛格森的 civil society 一辭有其見地;因為佛格森的確偶以 civil government 對應 military government。可是誠如本文已經提及,佛格森所用 civil society 一辭同時涵蓋幾個不同的概念範疇,所以選擇以「文明社會」來對譯 civil society 是比較全面、正確的譯法;見郭博文,〈弗格森的社會哲學〉,頁99-146。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 89.

<sup>11</sup> 關於十八世紀的社會演化觀,可參考 John Burrow, Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 1-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Oz-Salzberger, "Civil Society in the Scottish Enlightenment," pp. 58-83.

格蘭啓蒙運動逐漸受到學界重視。13 其中頗有一些學者著力於探討蘇格蘭啓蒙運 動及其政治、社會結構轉變之間的關係。<sup>14</sup> 例如 John Robertson 的《蘇格蘭啓 蒙運動與民兵問題》認爲,蘇格蘭啓蒙運動中的政治思想,與十七、十八世紀蘇 格蘭民兵運動的倡議與請願活動息息相關。15 佛格森是一七五○及六○年代,蘇 格蘭民兵倡議運動裡的重要旗手。他的請願及其背後思想根源,透露了他對於蘇 格蘭民族與家鄉認同的複雜情愫,以及對於公民責任的理解。<sup>16</sup> Richard Sher 的 《蘇格蘭啓蒙運動中的教會與大學:愛丁堡的溫和派文人》,討論愛丁堡溫和派 神職人員對物質文明的肯定,以及對宗教的寬容;而佛格森正是其中一名重要成 員。<sup>17</sup> David Kettler 曾經下過著名的論斷——認爲佛格森是個世俗化的思想家。<sup>18</sup> Sher 的論著雖然沒有完全忽略佛格森道德哲學中的宗教色彩,但是他的論證主 軸其實是以更爲寬廣的歷史研究,進一步闡發 Kettler 的世俗化論點。此外,有 一些——主要是政治思想史家——同情公民德性與共和精神的作家,特別強調蘇 格蘭啓蒙運動如何因應商業社會興起所引發的諸般議題。這一支研究傳統主要是 受到 John G. A. Pocock 的研究啓發。Pocock 認為西方政治思想傳統有個「馬基 維利的時刻」——公民德性、共和美德的臨在。這個政治傳統從義大利文藝復興 政治思想家馬基維利創作開始,開創大西洋兩岸的政治理想與傳統。例如英格蘭

Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Scottish Enlightenment," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 58 (1967): 1635-1658. Bryson 早在一九四五年以前就已經注意到十八世紀蘇格蘭思想界有它獨特的思想底蘊與創造。她的精采著作雖然未冠上蘇格蘭啟蒙運動之名,其實可以看做是蘇格蘭啟蒙運動研究的創舉;Gladys Bryson, Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945).

Nicholas Phillipson, "Toward a Definition of the Scottish Enlightenment," in City & Society in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, ed. Paul Fritz and David Williams (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1973), pp. 125-147.

John Robertson, The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985).

Adam Ferguson, Reflections Previous to the Establishment of a Militia (London: printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1756). 也請參看附錄一佛格森為火鉗俱樂部 (Poker Club) 所寫的備忘錄; Adam Ferguson, Minutes of the Poker Club 1774-1786, MS Dc.5.126, fols. 1-5, Edinburgh University Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Richard Sher, Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: Moderate Literati in Edinburgh (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

<sup>18</sup> David Kettler, *The Social and Political Thought of Adam Ferguson* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1965), pp. 130-135. 郭博文的結論支持 Kettler 的論點;見郭博文,〈弗格森的社會哲學〉,頁131,145。

的哈靈頓 (James Harrington) 以及其他鄉村輝格派強調土地、財產、自主、德性在政治作爲與領導的重要性。<sup>19</sup> 許多研究蘇格蘭啓蒙運動以及佛格森思想的歷史學者依循 Pocock 的路徑,強調佛格森在德性政治文化中的關鍵地位。<sup>20</sup>

上述三個造成佛格森研究風潮的因素,有兩項特點值得推敲。第一,這些研 究都特別關注佛格森參與世俗活動的內容,以及他思想裡的世俗性格。第二,不 論是社會學史、市民社會議題、德性政治議題的取徑,這些評論者均特別依賴 《文明社會史論》一書作爲立論證據。本文以下將要論證,過度標榜佛格森思想 的世俗性格是一項缺失。而此一缺失又與過度單面依賴《文明社會史論》一書作 爲佛格森思想的代表有關。經過對佛格森著作及手稿的全面分析與比較,我們發 現,宗教觀念在佛格森的史觀及社會哲學裡扮演重要的角色。本文撰寫期間, Lisa Hill 正好發表了佛格森研究之專書。21 其中第三章專論佛格森的神學思想。 Hill 的研究大抵在於確定佛格森神學思想的特徵。關於這些特徵,她提出三項結 論。第一,佛格森的神恩觀是基督教傳統加上斯多葛理性主義的神恩觀。第二, 佛格森以一種經驗主義的因果論,強調世界是由上帝所設計。但是他反對大衛休 姆的絕對經驗主義;他認爲第一因的存在是最終事實,並不需要論證。第三,佛 格森認爲,世界在上帝的創造下,是個無限進展的和諧系統。22 我認爲 Hill 對 佛格森神學思想之特徵的描述極爲恰當,但其缺點則在於欠缺進一步的申論,探 討其神學思想與其政治觀點之間的關係。本文與 Hill 教授所論頗爲有別。本文 所要申論的重點是,神學思想是佛格森思想的底蘊。他對於歷史、文明社會、人 類存在於社會所能享有之自由等等重要概念,都必須在其神學思想下加以考察。 换言之,其神學思想是他的政治思想的邊界。此外,本文將首次論證,佛格森的

J. G. A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

John Robertson, "The Scottish Enlightenment at the limit of the civic tradition," in Wealth & Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment, ed. Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 137-178; M. Geuna, "Republicanism and Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Case of Adam Ferguson," in Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage, ed. M. van Gelderen and Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 177-196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Lisa Hill, *The Passionate Society: The Social, Political and Moral Thought of Adam Ferguson* (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2006).

<sup>22</sup> 同前書,頁43-56。

神學思想受益於其業師克里洪 (William Cleghorn, 1718-1754) 甚多。尋繹出克里 洪一佛格森之間的思想系譜,不只能豐富我們對蘇格蘭啓蒙思潮的理解,更可以 較精確地掌握佛格森思想的脈絡與特徵。基本上,克里洪的思想更接近新柏拉圖 主義,而非斯多葛主義。所以,Hill 斷言佛格森思想具備基督教與斯多葛雙重特 質,依然不夠整全。若適當考量佛格森思想中的宗教因素,不只世俗化或公民主 義的詮釋路徑需要重新考量甚至定位,我們也更能合理解釋佛格森生命經驗裡的 一些歷史時刻與事件。

# 神恩與歷史發展

首先需要考量的歷史時刻與事件,當然是佛格森的神學訓練背景及其神職經歷。本文認爲,佛格森未嘗放棄其宗教信念,反而企圖以理性的語言表達信仰,以經驗觀察充實傳統神學的形上論述。根據 David Allan 的說法,佛格森的父親是一名長老教會牧師;其庭訓概是嚴格的清教徒傳統。<sup>23</sup> 佛格森本人也接受了正統的長老教會神學訓練,並且擔任神職達十年之久;其間還經歷一次蘇格蘭史上最重要的軍事叛變。一七四五年,同情斯圖亞特朝的高地氏族響應詹姆士黨人(Jacobites),意欲擁護斯圖亞特王室後裔繼任英國國王而發動了一場大規模的軍事叛亂。當時正在高地擔任牧師的佛格森則擁護在位的漢諾威王室。在一次佈道裡,佛格森不只視此次軍事行動爲叛變,甚至視爲一場民族災難。他向高地軍團宣告,這場災難是上帝對蘇格蘭人民的懲罰,同時也是對蘇格蘭的試煉。<sup>24</sup> 因此整個社會都應該藉此在上帝面前反省;因爲《聖經》已經明白揭示,「公眾集體的災難是公眾集體的腐敗的結果。只有透過在行爲上的普遍革新,才有辦法逃離最後的懲罰」。<sup>25</sup> 佛格森將人世間的挫折及失序與上帝的意志聯繫起來,並且承認上帝是集體人類表現的仲裁者。將社會的集體不幸看成是上帝的懲罰其實是新

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> David Allan, *Adam Ferguson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Introduction, 2006), p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> 論者以為,佛格森的出生以及早期工作環境都與蘇格蘭高地文化有關,或許因此造成他的文明觀念特別注重尚武、英勇; Forbes, introduction to An Essay on the History of Civil Society (1966), p. xxxix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Adam Ferguson, A Sermon Preached in the Ersh Language (London: printed for A. Millar, 1746), p. 3. 相關討論可參考 Charles Camic, Experience and Enlightenment (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 55-56; Hill, The Passionate Society, pp. 30-31.

教或長老教會牧師的宣教傳統。<sup>26</sup> 雖然佛格森同時強調人的自由意志,認爲人可以藉由理性反省而遷過向善,但他的佈道辭所強調者畢竟是人的服從與懺悔。二十出頭的佛格森此時或許受到傳統之新教神學的洗禮,特別著重《舊約》尤其是〈約伯書〉裡的神與人之間的主宰與服從關係。上帝以「人格化」的正義,也就是憤怒之神的形象,對祂的子民進行懲罰,甚至報復。<sup>27</sup> 事實上,若將佛格森與當時活躍於愛丁堡地區的溫和派牧師,例如 Patrick Cuming 以及 Hugh Blair 等人做一比較,此時佛格森的佈道語言反映了更嚴格的清教傳統。在 Cuming 與Blair 爲同一次叛亂事件而宣告的佈道辭裡,完全找不到神意的影子。<sup>28</sup>

等到一七五六年定居愛丁堡,尤其是一七六七年出版《文明社會史論》時,佛格森開始接受吸收當時蘇格蘭思想界的新觀念,尤其是自然神論與物質主義的歷史觀點,自此逐漸脫離正統新教神學。此時佛格森也與長老教會中的溫和主義者 (Moderates) 密切往來,其中包括羅伯森 (William Robertson, 1721-1794),卡萊爾 (Alexander Carlyle, 1722-1805), Hugh Blair, John Home 等人。而這些溫和主義者同時也是激進懷疑論者大衛休姆的支持者。<sup>29</sup> 在溫和主義者以及大衛休姆的 董陶下,佛格森的神學思想不再強調上帝意志;也不再以上帝的主觀性或干預來

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 十八世紀初以前,長老教會與英格蘭新教徒仍常將異象解釋為神恩 (providence) 的傳達。Josiah Woodward, An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London (London, 1698); Simon Schaffer, "Natural philosophy and the public spectacle in the eighteenth century," History of Science 21 (1983): 15-21; William E. Burns, An Age of Wonders: Prodigies, politics and providence in England 1657-1727 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 12-19, 138-141; Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (New York: Charles Scribner, 1971), chapter 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> 當然,約伯其實也被允許對上帝發出責難之聲。這裡的議題則是有關自由意志的問題; 參考 E. Lampert, *The Apocalypse of History: Problems of Providence and Human Destiny* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1948), p. 101. 視上帝為能預警、報復的憤怒之神,在新教 道德主義宣教師中並不少見; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 1.

Edinburgh, May 18<sup>th</sup> 1746 (Edinburgh: printed for R. Fleming, 1746), p. 2; Patrick Cuming, A Sermon preached in the Old Church of Edinburgh, December 18<sup>th</sup> 1745 (Edinburgh: printed for A. Kincaid, 1746), p. 49. 為方便讀者查閱,本文將長引文原文照錄於文末之附錄二。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> 關於溫和長老教派的歷史的最佳著作依然是 Richard Sher 的 *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment*. 另外可參考 Stewart J. Brown, ed., *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

解釋人事。《聖經》不再具有經典或真理的位階。在《文明社會史論》裡,佛格森把《聖經》僅僅當作人類眾多文獻的一部;而自認英國所繼任的傳統是來自希臘羅馬的歷史。<sup>30</sup> 可是,雖然佛格森放棄了正統而嚴格的激進長老教會或清教徒的真理觀念,他並沒有離開基督教的基本信仰。而這基本信仰,就表現在帶有神恩(意)觀念的歷史進步觀裡頭。<sup>31</sup>

佛格森的神恩進步史觀不易釐清;卻不折不扣成爲佛格森思想的特色,也是他思想之所以迷人之處。首先需要強調,佛格森的神恩觀帶有牛頓式世界觀的色彩:上帝依據某種計畫創造世界後,就讓人類管理自己。換言之,上帝的意志不會強行或刻意干擾人類世界的邏輯與秩序。世上因此沒有宗教或神學上的奇蹟;一切的自然(當然包括人)都可以被理解,一切動、變、事件的發生都符合因果律原則。佛格森說,世人所言「自然的智慧」其實就證明了上帝的存在。但是我們無法探究「存在的根源」,只能知道上帝創造世界時所安排的秩序與法則。而所謂「神恩」,就是上帝創造世界的模式。佛格森在一七六七年即已表示:「我們忘了,那些持續進入〔這世界〕,並且是爲善果而組合的自然界的力量,一起成就了〔世界〕計畫的證據。而從此一計畫,我們得出上帝的存在〔之事實〕。一旦此一真理爲吾人所接受,吾人便無需再去尋求存在之源。吾人只需收集自然之作者〔創造者〕已經建立的法則;並且從吾人最早與最近的發現當中,觀察我們先前所不知曉的創世或神恩的模式。」32 佛格森晚年用形上學語言表達了他所

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 78.

<sup>31</sup> 誠如 Brian Cummings 在新著中所言,神恩 (divine providence) 是「西方宗教中爭議最多的問題」。Providence 的基本概念是神無所不知且有預定人類命運的能力(拉丁字源為providerre)。許多中文譯者將 providence 譯為「神意」。「神意」一辭似乎較為中性,隱含的意思是說,神的計畫或意志可能會對人——祂的子民——帶來幸福,卻也可能造成災難。但這樣的概念或許比較接近猶太教傳統。在基督教傳統中 providence 作為人類事件與上帝意志之間的因果推論,有一基本假設,即認為上帝最終必然為善——上帝為慈善者。上帝既然為善,人世間所發生的事件最終也必然指向好的結果。相應「上帝終究為善」的信念(假設),providence 其實有「保護」、「保佑」的意思。也因為如此,本文認為遂譯為「神恩」或許較為合適。有些作者將 providence 譯為「天佑」,雖然未必失當,但因為「天佑」語意上太強調保佑,並且容易與中文的傳統信仰相混,因此本文不擬採用。關於神恩在十八世紀啟蒙思想,尤其是佛格森思想中的意義,下文將做進一步分析。總之,除了少數地方為了符合上下文的脈絡而出現「神意」一辭,本文大抵以「神恩」對譯 providence;見 Brian Cummings, The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 133.

<sup>32</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 12. 原文請見附錄二。

謂的「存在的根源」與「上帝創造世界的模式」。根據他晚年的說法,「存在的 根源」就是上帝、或曰「第一因」。而上帝所創造的世界則是依據第二因的原理 而成。換言之,第二因是第一因的實踐或展現。雖然第二因不等同於第一因,但 兩者都是世界力量的來源。另一方面,人類作爲被創造物,只能理解到第二因的 原理,卻無從知曉第一因本身。人類之所以還能知曉第二因,是因爲上帝的慈愛 與巧妙的安排:祂給人類智慧,又依照第二因的原則創造世界以便讓人了解祂的 計畫。

如果全能者〔作者按:指上帝〕只憑其意志,而無第二序手段來運行〔宇宙〕,那麼具有智能的生靈〔作者按:指人類〕只能藉由向全能者禱告,否則終無所措其手足,掌握〔宇宙運行的〕終點與目的。……雖然大自然的創造者無所不能,但祂在每一部門的行動都是透過第二因〔來從事〕如此,祂所創造的、具有智能的、注定要積極創造的生靈得以觀察,並善加利用這些第二因;〔這些生靈〕因此可以在一定程度上控制、導引大自然的方向。……在人類的手中,第二因成了工具;人類藉此達成許多目的。而地球表面或隱藏在地表之下的物資則是他〔人類〕工藝的要物。33

如果我們將《文明社會史論》與佛格森晚年作品合併而觀,我們應當可以得到以下初步的看法。第一,神恩就是世界創造的源頭、意圖與邏輯。第二,在以人——有智能的生靈——爲中心的宇宙歷史上,神恩的具體顯現就是人類社會的創造與進展。十八世紀的人常自稱其時代爲「進展的時代」(the Age of Improvement)。從佛格森的神恩觀點來看,「進展」之所以可能,正是因爲第二因的存在。

但是,神恩的存在不只在於讓人類足以主宰地球。既然稱之爲神恩,它的存在也就預設了神與人之間的創造與被創造關係。在佛格森看來,創造與被創造原是不對等的關係。可是因爲創造者給了人類自由意志,所以人有各種機會創造正確以及失敗的事物。人一方面必須以知識反思神恩(的存在)——藉由「增加關於自然界的知識,增進他對上帝的理解」,另一方面又必須在自由意志條件下服從神恩。<sup>34</sup>因此,人作爲一種具有智能而獨特的被創造物,他在此世的責任也就更加凸顯。

<sup>33</sup> Adam Ferguson, "Of Cause and Effect," in *Manuscripts of Adam Ferguson*, pp. 124-125. 原文 請見附錄二。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Adam Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (Edinburgh: printed for A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1792), vol. 1, p. 305 (*Principles* hereafter).

因此我們可以結論道,人類心智活動的最高目標就是思想的偉大。從此一偉大思想,人得以視他自己不過是活潑潑的社會的一份子。藉由此思想,他在某種程度上進入了上帝的計畫,能夠將某些分離的部分〔加以〕整合,而有益於整體;並且能夠在自由意志下所能從事者,宣稱自己是〔上帝計畫〕目的的自願工具。在神恩所允放之處,在他能力所及之處,他是有良知的工具。35

根據此論,我們雖不否認佛格森思想具有一定程度的世俗性格,卻也不該忽略,佛格森思想與論述的最重大企圖,就是要在牛頓世界觀的基礎上,探論神恩與人的責任(以下詳論)。

可是另一方面,我們必須避免過度渲染神恩在佛格森思想中的重要性,因爲 佛格森的神恩觀其實受到他的經驗主義的限定。牛頓世界觀的方法論基礎在於觀 察,與培根式的歸納法相符。所以,在這種「典範」下,佛格森自然會承認經驗 或觀察的重要性。神恩與牛頓世界觀在佛格森的思想裡形成一個有趣的組合,甚 至是相輔相成的關係。佛格森巧妙利用神恩觀與歷史主義兩種態度,反駁了當時 流行的「自然狀態」理論。從十七世紀以來,西歐政治思想開始思考如何使國家 主權或政府中央集權成爲可能。這些中央集權論的支持者,如霍布斯,多半將理 論建立在人性的陰暗以及契約論上。而上述兩項哲學論述都依附在想像的歷史情 境中,也就是「自然狀態」裡。即使是反對中央集權的思想家如洛克與盧梭,也 常採取相同的立論基礎。佛格森明顯地質疑霍布斯的理論,認爲人的原初社會並 不像霍氏所言處於「所有人與所有人」爭鬥的悲慘境況。36 不過對佛格森而言, 真正值得正視與反駁的思想家卻不是對人性悲觀、對政治樂觀的霍布斯,而是對 人性樂觀、對歷史悲觀的盧梭。佛格森與盧梭同樣屬於新教傳統,但兩人的史觀 卻大相逕庭。盧梭對人類文明的進展抱持極爲悲觀的看法;他認爲一部人類文明 發展史,就是一部人性墮落的歷史。盧梭的歷史觀點其實與伊甸園的完美意象分 不開。對失樂園的感慨與對尋求《聖經》所透露的完美原初世界,一直在西方思 想史上扮演重要的角色。人們對語言的研究一度想要尋求普遍語言,也就是接近 巴別塔倒塌以前的人類語言。37 人們對美洲的想像,也充滿新世界或伊甸園的憧

<sup>35</sup> Ferguson, Principles, vol. 1, p. 313. 原文請見附錄二。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Umberto Eco, Serendipities: Language and Lunacy, trans. William Weaver (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999).

憬。盧梭將盼望轉變爲批判的力量,例如他認爲法語的細緻化代表了樸質的喪失。細緻與品味成爲十八世紀(消費)文化的關鍵價值;當大多數法國與西歐中上層社會對商業文明所帶來新的歷史現象感到振奮樂觀的時刻,盧梭挺身以情感主義的態度對此採取當頭棒喝的警告。<sup>38</sup> 盧梭自一七五七年起發表一系列針砭商業文明的文章。<sup>39</sup> 佛格森的《文明社會史論》在很大程度上,正是企圖與盧梭的情感主義和自然狀態理論對話。就像霍布斯與洛克一樣,盧梭將他的社會哲學建立在對「自然狀態」的觀點上。對佛格森來說,盧梭對文明的激烈批判態度正是肇因於這個致命的理論缺陷。佛格森認爲,「自然狀態」充其量只是個美好的想像,絕對經不起人類集體經驗與歷史的檢驗。盧梭忽略了一個重要而可觀察到的事實——「所有的民族都以不同的方式脫離了野蠻狀態」。<sup>40</sup> 換言之,歷史的進步是自然而然的。

如果我們承認人類可以感知何謂改善,人類本身具備進步原則、渴求完美;那麼我們並不應該說人類在向前邁進的時候離開了自然的狀態。甚至人類如其他動物一般,僅僅是依循天性,發揮自然所賦予的才能而到達了他原未曾設想的境地。〔在此情況下我們依然不能說人離開了自然的狀態〕。人類〔今日〕最新的發明,不過是從人類自然狀態、太古世界以來的設計與實踐的延續而已。41

# 進步與神恩

歷史既是經驗式的,卻又與神恩有關。歷史的奧妙與複雜之處,在於歷史既是人類所創,卻又同時是神或上帝所創造。神依據第二因的原理創造了宇宙,使之符合因果律——因此人作爲有智能的生靈得以知道上帝的存在與善意,並利用此一知識爲自己的生活創造利益與進步。另一方面,人同時也是上帝的創造物。因此,人一切的創造,也都是上帝的創造,都在神恩的範疇之下。唯一的例外,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> 關於十七世紀末、十八世紀初英格蘭與大不列顛對商業文明的積極態度可參考 Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

J-J Rousseau, The Social Contract and The First and Second Discourses, ed. Susan Dunn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup> 同前書,頁14。原文請見附錄二。

就是人是俱有自由意志的生靈。這一點自由,讓他得以暫時脫離上帝所預設的秩序與律法,也因此可能犯錯。而人類要從無知到有知,到清楚上帝的預設,就只能透過觀察自然與歷史。<sup>42</sup> 我們在此不妨以「自然的歷史」與「社會的歷史」兩個概念來區分佛格森的歷史觀點。「自然的歷史」就是上帝或造物者所事先規劃的歷史;除了人的自由意志,其他生靈乃至礦物的歷史都已經預定。此外,宇宙中的一切,包括人類的脾氣、天性、善惡、愚慧,也都是造物者所給予。而「社會的歷史」就是人類在自由意志以及各種自然條件下——如氣候——所經歷、創造的歷史。

「自然的歷史」表示了「大自然」是個持續變動的存在。而這個變動其實是朝向進步、完美的方向前進。誠如前述,佛格森認爲人可以透過觀察自然界而明瞭神恩。所以,「自然的歷史」當然一樣向人類啓示了神恩或世界創造的模式;而且是一個進步的模式。自然的歷史當然不是表現在事件的層次上,而是表現在長時間、大結構的人類制度上。佛格森觀察到,綜觀人類整體歷史的發展,人類一直朝進步方向邁進。換言之,上帝所創造的「自然的歷史」是進步的演化。其實早在一七四七年,克里洪一一佛格森於愛丁堡攻讀神學時期的道德哲學教授——就已經在課堂上發表過類似的意見。克里洪說道:

在進步的系統,而非靜態的系統裡,力量、智慧與計畫都更能運作得宜。 在後一〔靜態〕系統中,力量、智慧、計畫都只能分別獨立運作,而在前一系統裡,諸多不同的目的卻可以同時進行、產生。在有關人類裨益的層面上,進步系統的優勢更形顯著。此系統是人與宇宙之間的清楚連結。一、透過大自然所彰顯的普遍進步是神恩存在的明證。大自然自強不息而且充滿變異;所有事物都會朝著完美的形式的方向,自我變化——其內在的精力未曾停止;而且透過其運行,〔我們〕發現了神。43

佛格森在克里洪的論證基礎上將人的知識、意識的問題,帶進「自然的歷史」進 步觀的討論之中而已。不論人類自己是否清楚這一點(上帝計畫),人作爲「自 然的歷史」的一部分,其物種、集體生活或社會自然而然地會依照大自然的律則 進步。佛格森說道:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> William Cleghorn, Lectures of Moral Philosophy, MS Dc.3.3, fol. 41, Edinburgh University Library. 原文請見附錄二。

人的步伐前進卻緩慢。他的力道如湧泉一般靜靜地壓蓋住所有抵抗〔進步的力量〕;因而即使因他成就了某事,人們也不知道原因何在。儘管人有提出計畫的能力,他的工作常常是計畫執行之前就已完成。<sup>44</sup>

人之所以能夠在「無知」——相對上帝的計畫、全知而言——的狀態下不斷地進步,那是因爲他屬於上帝所創的「自然的歷史」。人類的「無知」當然非指人類不具理性。正好相反,人類非但有理性,更具有進步的種籽,能夠掌握、利用第二因改善生活。而這些能力,從其「被創造」的前提來說,都屬於「自然的歷史」。

佛格森對於神恩問題孜孜不倦的探討與興趣,亦可證諸他自己所留下的手稿。某次在課堂上對學生解說何謂神恩時,佛格森用了個人生命的必朽與人類物種的持續或不朽來做比喻。他說:

我們在自然界觀察到我們人類難以企及的智慧與力量的痕跡;它們總是優於、且經常不同於我們所想、所能完成的事物。……我們同樣無法想像,每一個體都會滅亡的物種該如何保存。然而在自然界裡,所有的物種都以代繼的方式存續了下來;每一代的死亡,猶如下一代的出生,都只是自然秩序的一部分。依此方式,所有的自然都持續地死亡,也持續地再生。<sup>45</sup> 生死屬於自然的歷史,它們超越了人類的智慧與力量。<sup>46</sup> 的確,物種的持續與傳衍不一定表示了人類的進步;可是,佛格森同時也說,人不只像其他動物一樣在個體層面會進步發展(按:指從幼年到成年),人類社會也會集體地進步。<sup>47</sup> 佛格森的自然歷史觀其實描寫了人類歷史進步的自然面向。

所有人類創造的東西都會滅亡;人的知識也有可能讓位給了無知。科學的知識不再閃爍於先前熠熠發光之處。但這現象只是光的轉移而非光的消滅。光只是從這個族群 (race) 手裡傳遞到另一族群手中。而且當這光看似要消滅之時,它很可能就要重新出現 (restored),並且發揮更大的能量。48

<sup>44</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 13. 原文請見附錄二。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Adam Ferguson, Lectures of Moral Philosophy, MS Dc.1.84, fols. 153b-4, Edinburgh University Library. 原文請見附錄二。

<sup>46</sup> 從這個角度而言,現代人的基因地圖計畫、複製有機生命計畫,就是人取代神或上帝的計畫。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Ferguson, *Principles*, vol. 1, p. 282. 原文請見附錄二。

佛格森的進步觀念與十九世紀的樂觀主義者——例如馬克思——非常不同。 佛格森未曾表示人類的進步是「必然的」未來。相同地,他與當時法國啓蒙運動 中所透露的理性主義也極爲不同。伏爾泰在其小說《小偉人》(Le Micromégas) 中嘲笑阿奎那學者,因爲他們相信此世的創造是爲了人類的幸福。同樣是伏爾 泰,他在小說《憨第德》(Candide) 裡盡情嘲弄十林哲學家「這是上帝最美好的 安排」的神恩觀。佛格森固然反對中世紀傳統的消極主義,因爲一日人們接受這 種神恩觀,人類此世的痛苦與邪惡都可能變成必要;人類作爲被浩者,對這些痛 苦或邪惡,反而不該有所作爲。可是佛格森也絕對不是無神論者,他不像伏爾泰 一樣急於將上帝角色完全排除於世界歷史之外。49 他更不會像康多塞 (Condorcet) 一樣,認為人可以預測未來,可以確定人類進步的無可限量。50 儘 管如此,佛格森的進步主義卻不容懷疑。更重要的是,如同前述,我們必須從神 恩的角度,才能真切掌握佛格森的進步觀念。思想史家 J. B. Bury 評論十八世紀 思想界的天真進步觀點時說道:「惟有人開始自覺獨立於神恩 (providence) 之外 以後,進步理論始可構想。」哲學史家 Karl Löwith 進一步評論:「結果是,進 步觀取代了神恩原有的功能——預見與預備未來。」但對佛格森而言,神恩與進 步並非扞格不入。正好相反,人類集體的進步正是神恩的一部分。甚至,瞭解 「進步」就是瞭解「神恩」。51

所謂「瞭解進步就是瞭解神恩」的意思是說,進步雖是神所預設,卻不保證人類可以完全實踐、遵循這個預定的進步。換言之,「自然的歷史」與人類自身所創造的「社會的歷史」之間,其實存在著極大的差異。佛格森與黑格爾、叔本華一樣,相信人類的歷史,或者更精確地說,「社會的歷史」裡充滿了愚蠢與錯誤。可是與這兩位德國浪漫主義哲學家不同的是,佛格森相信,「社會的歷史」

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 109.

<sup>50</sup> 同前書,頁91-96。以下所引康多塞的文字可為證據:「大自然並未在人類的能力方面設定上限,人類的完美性[指能力]的確無窮無盡;而且從今天起,此一完美性的進步,將獨立於任何企圖阻擋它進步的力量之外。人的完美性的唯一限制就是[大自然讓我們居住的]地球的年壽。只要地球還存在於此浩瀚的宇宙中,只要宇宙系統的運行原理仍在,進步就不會停止……」;轉引自 Robert Nisbet, History of the Idea of Progress (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1994), p. 207.

<sup>51</sup> 揆諸 Löwith 的研究主角,泰半屬於歐陸激進思想家,如普魯東、孔德、馬克思、康多塞、伏爾泰諸人。Löwith 遺漏了蘇格蘭啟蒙運動思想家,這也正好說明了蘇格蘭啟蒙思想的特色;Löwith, Meaning in History, pp. 60-61.

之所以充滿啓示意義而且值得研究,正是因爲相對於「自然的歷史」的穩定與必然,它充滿變數與嘆息。如果觀察「自然的歷史」是要讓人類了解第二因以及神恩的存在——換言之,即形塑更理性的宗教觀念<sup>52</sup>——那麼,研究「社會的歷史」的目的,就是提供人類自我反思的機會。

人類可能追求錯誤的目標,可能誤用他的才智,可能發展了錯誤的計畫……他必須在最好的理解概念、最好的心態下,來尋求〔他天性所允許的最佳地位〕。他就能因此找到他所能夠做到最完美、最快樂的事物。<sup>53</sup> 佛格森放棄了中世紀的神學觀點:他並不認爲神在創造世界之後,還會干涉世界的運轉。因此,人一方面要對自己的行爲負責,另一方面卻又隨時可能做出錯誤決定與愚蠢之事。上帝就像澳洲原住民一樣,將自己的小孩丟到原野叢林去求生,證明自己長大成人。而這接受成年禮考驗的小孩,總是在各種環境中跌跌撞撞。成年是一段充滿危險與機運的複雜過程,民族與社會的歷史亦然。歷史的進展就在知與不知的疑惑中,在光明與黑暗的張力之間前進。

即使是在所謂啟蒙的時代中,人類群體通向未來的每一步伐與時刻,都處在漆黑之中。某些民族之所以成就非凡,的確是出於人的行動,但卻並非出於人的計畫。<sup>54</sup>

現代社會科學喜歡將佛格森的概念,解釋成「非意圖的行為結果」,或「社會自發秩序」。這類現代社會哲學所要強調的重點在於,個人理性的不足與不足恃。它們認為,社會秩序或進步的動力來自於人類的集體理性,而這些行為或理性展現在個人身上,卻可能被視為非理性或不道德。55 不論現代社會哲學對於人類行

Adam Ferguson, *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (reprinted from 1769 edition; Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1994), pp. 236-237.

<sup>53</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 15. 原文請見附錄二。

<sup>54</sup> 同前書,頁119。原文請見附錄二。

<sup>55 「</sup>非意圖的行為結果」(unintended consequences)。除了佛格森、亞當史密斯或大衛体姆等人的思想也有類似觀點。二十世紀初德國思想家邁乃克與六○年代思想史家 Duncan Forbes 稱之為「社會自發秩序」(spontaneously generated order)。請參考 Ronald Hamowy, The Scottish Enlightenment and the Theory of Spontaneous Order (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987); Duncan Forbes, "'Scientific' Whiggism: Adam Smith and John Millar," Cambridge Journal 7 (1954): 643-670。思想家海耶克 (F. A. Hayek) 在其《自由之憲章》(Constitution of Liberty) 將此種觀點發揚光大,強調個人知識的侷限性。關於這個歷史知識論的議題的最新研究可參考 Christina Petsoulas, Hayek's Liberalism and its Origins: His idea of spontaneous order and the Scottish Enlightenment (London: Routeledge, 2001).

爲的真理有何啓發性,本文所要強調的是,佛格森真正措意的是「某些民族」之 所以成就非凡,那是因爲她「瞭解了上帝的計畫」而以她的「行動」執行了這計 畫。當然,根據第一因與第二因的分疏,人無法真正或完全了解第一因或上帝的 計畫。但是他可以知道神恩或上帝創造世界的模式,其中包含了進步的形式。

换言之,能夠成就非凡的民族,就是願意「稱自己是上帝〔計畫〕目的的自願工具」的民族:「我們是社會的一份子,是人類社群的一份子;我們是上帝爲其造物施恩之手的工具。倘若我們成爲社會的惡份子,或者不願成爲上帝的工具,我們就是嚴重違反了我們的自然,棄離了我們的身分,糟蹋了我們自己。」56佛格森只是以比較溫和的口吻,表達了傳統之新教徒的創世信仰與認同。十八世紀的基督教信仰特色之一是將上帝或創造者表現爲「普世慈善者」。例如奧地利學者 Joseph A. Gall 在一七八七年寫道:「上帝最重要的目的,就是讓我們成爲最高貴的動物以及充滿喜悅。上帝是我們最慈善的父親。」57美國「開國元勳」拉許(Benjamin Rush, 1745-1813)以及約翰亞當斯(John Adams, 1735-1826)晚年也都接受普世主義,相信上帝的最終目的就是要拯救所有人。他們最終都傾向肯定「普世慈善者」的上帝形象。58當人的作爲或「社會的歷史」不能亦步亦趨於神恩或「自然的歷史」時,當人無法持續進步時,他就是忽略了、違逆了「普世慈善者」的計畫。最終,人類必須爲自己的行爲或自由意志負責。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Ferguson, *Institutes of Moral Philosophy*, p. 169. 原文請見附錄二。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> 轉引自 Ernest Wangermann, "Reform Catholicism and Political Radicalism in the Austrian Enlightenment," in *The Enlightenment in National Context*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 133.

J. R. Pole, "Enlightenment and the Politics of American Nature," in Porter and Teich, The Enlightenment in National Context, p. 212. 十八世紀作家對神恩的使用各有不同。例如狄芙在《魯賓遜漂流記》中就將神恩當作天意或事物秩序來使用。而詩人艾倫坡則視之為和諧的牛頓物理世界。但一般而言,十八世紀作家仍舊認為神恩是在賞罰體系中顯現;而且是「普世慈善者」(Universal Benevolence) 的代理者。關於「普世慈善者」與神恩的關係可參考 John Beer, Providence and Love: Studies in Wordsworth, Channing, Myers, George Eliot, and Ruskin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 1-5; Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England; Richard Swinburne, Providence and the Problem of Evil (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

# 社會自由與個人自由

如果道德世界的可能性,從接受神恩的存在開始,從接受作爲上帝計畫的工具開始,那麼道德世界所要頌詠的自由當然不可能是個人自由,而是人類作爲一個群體,或上帝之工具的自由。一七七六年北美發生波士頓動亂之後,Richard Price 發表著名的文章表示支持北美殖民地的抗英行動,並以「自由國家」的措詞,批評英國議會爲「暴政」。Price 說:「在每個自由國家裡,每個人都是自己的立法者:所有的稅入都是爲了公共建設的自由禮物。」所謂「每個人都是自己的立法者」,是路德新教的個人主義觀點,相信個人的自主性。佛格森反駁Price 的政治神學。他質疑道,人類歷史上曾經出現這樣的國家嗎?根據人類自私的原則,難道徵稅對百姓而言不都是痛苦的損失嗎?對佛格森而言,Price 的政治修辭過度抬高了個人自由。59 同理,佛格森反對盧梭的美好的自然狀態,原因之一在於自然狀態預設了激進的個人自由。

盧梭式的自由是絕對的個人自由,因爲它預設了個人與個人之間的絕對平等。<sup>60</sup> 相反的,佛格森說道,世界各角落的人種都以各種方式與速度,離開了自然狀態。而這個前提就發生在財產權概念出現的時刻。財產權概念的出現是社會自由的歷史條件。反之,社會自由的目的就是保護社會群體的存績。爲達到此一目的,就必須確定人身與財產安全。因此,政府與司法就必須存在。而政府的存在,又反過來再次肯定人的社會階序的不平等。在社會自由這一問題上,佛格森的立場與蘇格蘭啓蒙運動的物質主義論相異不大。蘇格蘭啓蒙運動人物從兩個前提出發探討商業社會的存在事實與合理性。第一,社會出現的目的,在於保存人的生命以及滿足人的慾望。第二,組成社會的要件爲:勞動、交換、分工、人口等等。隨著這些機制與人口的增長,人類從草昧到十八世紀,分別出現漁獵、遊

Richard Price, Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty: The Principles of Government and the Justice and Policy of the War with America (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, and Cadell, 1776); Adam Ferguson, Remarks on a Pamphlet lately Published by Dr. Price (London: Cadell, 1776), p. 8.

<sup>60</sup> 雖然佛格森與盧梭的歷史觀、政治觀有所不同,但是他們兩人的宗教觀念,尤其是對人的自由意志與神恩之間的關係的論證,卻相當接近。顯然佛格森在此刻意不去承認他與盧梭之間在宗教信念與神學觀點的相似性。有關盧梭與佛格森神恩觀之間的比較,應該是相當有意義的課題。但這需要以專著來討論。關於盧梭的神恩觀,請參見 Victor Gourevitch, "Rousseau on Providence," *The Review of Metaphysics* 53 (2000): 565-611.

牧、農業、商業等四種生產模式與生活型態。<sup>61</sup> 不同的「生產方式」與「社會型態」會產生相對適應的政府組織。而商業社會——也就是文明社會——的出現是歷史「自然地」發展的結果;商業社會之所以出現,既是因爲人類需要它,也是因爲人口等等其他條件到達了需要出現的時刻。社會型態隨著時間而變化;這是歷史,同時也是秩序。佛格森認爲,歷史進步的「經驗」在於社會等差的出現。蘇格蘭啓蒙運動這個社會演化觀念的論述基礎,來自於普芬多夫(Samuel Pufendorf,1632-1694)的土地所有權概念。土地所有權出現之後,社會開始分層化;同時窮人或弱勢者依憑勞力,也一樣可以擁有間接(生產自土地的)所有財而得以生存。<sup>62</sup> 佛格森雖然不依照物質主義的歷史分期,而分別以「野蠻人」(savages)指涉漁獵與採集社會,以「粗鄙人」(barbarians)指涉畜牧、遊獵社會,以「文雅人」(polite or polished)代表農業及商業社會;但是他對財產權的維護、政府的必要性以及社會自由的強調,與上述理論家均無二致。<sup>63</sup>

佛格森從大歷史的描述得到歷史教訓:常設而有效的政府,是文明之母。在司法與法律統治的原則下,社會自由取代了個人自由。在反對 Price 支持的美洲獨立運動所用的政治語言時,佛格森如此表述:

公民自由 (Civil Liberty) 並非任意率性而為的權力,而是吾人權利的保障。因此即使某人不情願地必須清償欠款,甚至是向國家繳稅,他都還可能處於自由 (free) 狀態。……任何階級與階層的自由 (Liberty),均非與其所享權力成正比,而是與其權利保存的確定程度成正比。<sup>64</sup>

佛格森對英國漢諾威王室的統治合法性抱持高度甚至絕對的服從。相較於具有政治懷疑論的大衛休姆以及亞當史密斯而言,佛格森對既有的秩序或權威的態度更

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<sup>61</sup> 例如 Lord Kames, John Dalrymple, John Millar, 羅伯森、亞當史密斯等人。關於蘇格蘭啟蒙運動的社會階段論,可以參考 Ronald Meek, Social Science and Ignoble Savage (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). Meek 企圖將此一蘇格蘭歷史觀點與馬克思歷史決定論做系譜上的親屬鑑定。Levine 對此做出批評,認為馬克思的歷史觀念另有其歐陸淵源而與蘇格蘭啟蒙思想關係較小。請參考 Norman Levine, "The German Historical School of Law and the Origins of Historical Materialism," Journal of the History of Ideas 48.3 (1987): 431-451.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Istvan Hont, "The Language of Sociability and Commerce: Samuel Pufendorf and the theoretical foundation of the 'Four-Stages Theory'," in *The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 253-276.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, pp. 118ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ferguson, Remarks on a Pamphlet lately Published by Dr. Price, pp. 7, 11. 原文請見附錄二。

加保守。65 而政治與社會穩定的前提,當然是要強調既有階序的存在與合理性。

佛格森的政治保守主義與他的神恩觀息息相關。對佛格森來說,人類社會與 大自然一樣,都由無限的等差事物所組成。人的智慧所應著力之處,就在於瞭解 此一事實,並遵循神恩。換言之,人的責任在於找到符合自己才能、性情的社會 位置,在此位置上孜孜不倦工作。

為了睿智的計畫,而將人類放置在不同的位階與財富情況,實得神恩歡心。如果無此條件,從屬、政府、秩序、勤勞都將不可能。人人應當謹守神意[恩]替他安排好的位階,努力行善,以求社會整體之福。66

人的能力與性向各有不同,因此造成富裕條件之不同,也因此才有從屬等差以及政府組織的需要;這其實與上帝創世的智慧相符。佛格森的保守主義觀點甚至承認,窮人與富人身分的維持與相互依賴是社會秩序的基石。一七五〇年代蘇格蘭長老教會內部曾經因爲是否開放神職人員參與戲劇文化而引發激烈辯論。佛格森則支持他的劇作家友人荷姆(Joseph Home)、粉墨登場的牧師卡萊爾、懷疑論友人大衛休姆,在這場辯論中主張開放。辯論議題從神職人員的角色延伸至戲劇的社會功能。佛格森主張說,荷姆的《道格拉斯》(Douglas)一劇就像《聖經》的故事,相當富有道德意義。它教導「美德、同情,以及對邪惡事務的義憤」。戲劇非但不是荼毒人心的奢華,甚至能夠激勵生產。戲劇表演所需要的道具、服裝、行旅駐蹕無不來自窮人的生產供給,因此上層人士的休閒享受與下層人士的努力構成社會的穩定與發展。「如果我們依人性考量的結果願意讓窮人安於其所處,對富人也當如是。惟有讓富人依照其身分能力過日子,才能有益於社會,維持社會秩序與窮人的生存」。67 十八世紀道德哲學家就認爲,經濟世界體現了神恩的智慧:生命中真正重要的東西其實不值錢,昂貴的東西常常不是生活必需

Dalphy I. Fagerstrom, "Scottish Opinion and the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly 11.2 (1954): 252-275. 從另一個角度來說,佛格森則是更正面呼應了英國國教派的政教合一,以及反對抗議派的觀點。在安妮女王時代,國會通過議案,決定非漢諾威王室不得繼任英國王位。國教派人士也善加利用當時流行的科學理論,如血液循環來表示上下一心或統合 (unity) 對政治社會的重要。「這〔統合〕不單只是照顧頭或重要的社會肢體,它還進入所有的組成,影響最不起眼、最邊緣的成員」;Henry Abbot, Unity, Friendship and Charity recommended in a sermon (Bristol: Sam Farley, 1713), p. 4.

<sup>66</sup> Adam Ferguson, The Morality of Stage-Plays seriously Considered (Edinburgh, 1757), p. 24. 原文請見附錄二。

<sup>67</sup> 同前書,頁25。

品。正如哈其森 (Francis Hutcheson, 1694-1746) 所說:「神恩的智慧與善,讓真正〔有裨益於人類的〕重要用物,較之於智者認定用處極小的貨物既豐富又便宜。」<sup>68</sup> 神恩的智慧目的在於保住所有人類生命,因此它一定符合社群的最大好處。十七、八世紀的開明神職人員普遍相信人類社會的不平等具有創世或神恩的意義。例如 Henry Abbot 就向他的信眾直言:

讓無知者滿足於接受指導,有知識者滿足於費神指導;讓下位者滿足於服從,窮人滿足於辛勤勞動,律師滿足於出庭,神職人員滿足於牧人,商人滿足於店鋪,農人滿足於耕作。<sup>69</sup>

這種道德經濟的神恩觀清楚表現在佛格森的思想上。佛格森相信,社會等差的出現是神恩智慧的表現,它讓富人與窮人,或者不同階層的人士都可以相互倚賴而並存。只是與哈其森等人的神恩觀相比,佛格森的神恩思想顯然更注重歷史演化的事實。一七〇七年蘇格蘭與英格蘭合併法案的成立,引起了許多辯論。佛格森與其他人,諸如史家羅伯森、哲學家大衛休姆等人,站在擁護漢諾威王朝的立場,支持合併後的憲政體制。特別值得注意的是,這些蘇格蘭文人與教會人士的支持論述遠遠超越了狹隘意義的政黨政治論述,而從社會層面論證英國憲政的合理與合法基礎。根據上述歷史階段論的觀點,這些蘇格蘭啓蒙運動思想家認爲商業文明與政治、社會秩序的建立息息相關。封建或農業社會的政治秩序無可避免地受到諸侯爭鬥(大家族血仇)的威脅。而商業社會的出現則加強了正義的實踐,以及政府職權的常設化。聯合王國所帶來的商業社會,不只表示政治秩序的實現更加完整,它本身又讓技術分工、勞力分工持續發展,因而使得社會層級化的過程更形深刻。佛格森用普遍的語言爲穩定政府的必要性背書。他說:

我們同意人類天生平等。大自然賦予人類自保,以及發揮所長的權利。不過他們適合於不同的社會位置 (stations)。當他們在此種情形下,根據某種原則而階級化時,他們的自然權利並未受到損害。很明顯地,人與社會都需要某種形式的服從,這不單是為了達到政府管理的目的,也與大自然所建立的秩序一致。70

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> 根據近代學者研究,這種經濟學上的神恩觀點,可以追溯到柏拉圖;參考 Jacob Viner, The Role of Providence in the Social Order: An Essay in Intellectual History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 27ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Abbot, Unity, Friendship and Charity recommended in a sermon, p. 10. 原文請見附錄二。

<sup>70</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, pp. 63-64. 原文請見附錄二。

從本文所關心的角度來看,此段引文裡的「大自然所建立的秩序」特別值得注意。對佛格森而言,文明社會的特徵就是服從與階序的出現。<sup>71</sup> 既然社會的不平等是文明發展的必然結果,它也就必然是上帝的計畫。但是在神恩裡,不平等的社會不是強凌弱、聚暴寡的煉獄,而是不同能力與性情的人相互依賴的社會。

總之,在神恩的世界裡,人存在的目的除了保存自我,也自然地要保存自我所認同的團體。不過,佛格森的社會自由觀與社會之間的衝突息息相關。霍布斯的自然狀態設想個人與個人之間不斷爭鬥的自由社會。根據霍布斯,個人自由的代價就是社會失序,因此需要政府/主權作爲決斷者的出現。雖然佛格森以歷史發展取代自然狀態作爲政治思考的起點,他的社會自由卻像是霍布斯個人自由的翻版,是在一連串的衝突中獲得。佛格森認爲,衝突的基本原因來自於人性。佛格森雖然在宗教觀點上與大衛休姆大相逕庭,但他倒是同意大衛休姆的人性觀一一相信慟感(passions)而非理性才是人類行爲的最初動因。<sup>72</sup> 佛格森認爲,人類在犧牲的時候所產生的「激情、滿足、快樂」與人類的「憎恨與憤怒」一樣強烈。<sup>73</sup> 社會的組成先有認同的存在,爲了所愛、所認同的對象而發展出文明社會。爲了維護文明社會的存續,也就是社會的自由,國防、抵禦變成必要的公民責任。社會自由變成團體與團體的爭鬥。74

但是另一方面,正因爲強調衝突、動態的社會現實與社會自由,所以佛格森不同意大衛休姆及亞當史密斯以「寧靜」(tranquility) 爲文明延續的集體社會心理基礎。大衛休姆與亞當史密斯的「寧靜」哲學導致他們相信,透過物質與概念

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ferguson, Collection of Essays, p. 143.

David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 413ff. 我們固然不應該誇大大衛休姆對於慟感的作用,低估理性在他的人性論中的地位,但是他的名言「理性是,而且必須是慟感的奴隸;而且除了臣服於慟感之外,理性沒有其他地位可言」,依然有效地概括大衛休姆對慟感的看法;Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature, p. 415. 關於「感性文化」在蘇格蘭啟蒙運動思想中的地位可以參考 John Dwyer, The Age of the Passions: An Interpretation of Adam Smith and Scottish Enlightenment Culture (East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 1998).

<sup>73</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 39. 類似意見亦可參考同書頁166。

<sup>74</sup> 人性中充滿各種彼此衝突的傾向,恨、戰爭與愛都是人的天性,也都同時是社會組成所必須的道德條件。佛格森稱這些龐雜互斥的天性為「自然的法則」(laws of nature); Ferguson, Collection of Essays, pp. 258-260. 佛格森在神恩的思考下得出這樣的結論,顯然充滿了矛盾。若要解決這個矛盾,比較合理的解釋可能是佛格森相信一種特殊的神恩——上帝眷顧某個特定的人或族群,而此一眷顧表現在從自然災害或人禍、衝突裡存活過來。衝突是彰顯特殊神恩的前提。不過我們尚無證據說明佛格森相信特殊神恩的存在。

的交換(也就是市場機制),文明自然得以延續發展。<sup>75</sup> 史密斯說:「虛榮與優越所帶來的快樂與完美的寧靜不合;寧靜是所有真正的、令人心滿意足的快樂的原則與基礎。」<sup>76</sup> 相反地,佛格森接受了孟德斯鳩的命題,認爲「寧靜」是專制制度的原理原則,以致於他相信東方專制是「東方住民的溫和、愛好和平的結果」。<sup>77</sup> 佛格森相信族群與社會的衝突無可避免,因此需要隨時警覺。

野蠻民族的風俗習慣需要改革。他們與外族的爭執與內部衝突,都是極端 與任意而為的慟感 (passions) 作用的結果。一個國家若享有更多的寧靜 毋寧有許多快樂的結果,但是如果民族國家追求擴張與綏靖 (pacification),讓自己的成員再也無法感受到社會的共同關係,再也無能 以熱情和愛參與家鄉事務,他們就犯了與野蠻民族相反的錯誤,再也沒有 什麼可以激勵人的精神,只會讓時代萎靡,如果不是衰敗。78

如此,我們不難了解爲何佛格森較諸其他思想同伴,都更鍾情於火鉗俱樂部及其民兵倡議的活動。<sup>79</sup> 此一民間社團的組織,標榜「文人共和國」的精神,自認與國家當權者有一定的距離與輿論監督的能耐。<sup>80</sup> 佛格森固然反對民主制度,同樣擔心國家權力凌駕一切。對他而言,國家權力的獨大就是一人宰制所有人的專制政體——也就是某一個人擁有(所有的)個人自由,但其他人的社會自由卻消失了。

# 結語:歷史教訓中的神恩

從宗教或神恩的角度而言,佛格森認爲歷史的最大啓示在於讓人們了解應然 與實然之間的差距;也就是自然的歷史與社會的歷史之間的差距;亦同時是上帝 計畫或自然進步秩序與人類自由意志之間的合轍或出軌。對佛格森而言,當代關 鍵的問題是文明社會的民族如何繼續保持進步的動力與本質。佛格森倡議蘇格蘭

<sup>75</sup> 陳正國,〈從利他到自律:哈其森與史密斯經濟思想的轉折〉,《政治與社會哲學評論》10(2004):1-31。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 108.

<sup>78</sup> 同前書,頁208。原文請見附錄二。

<sup>79</sup> 請參考附錄一。

Sankar Muthu, Enlightenment Against Empire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 6.

民兵運動,與其說他所措意者在於(蘇格蘭)民族主義,不如說他在意民族特質會否因爲商業發展而衰墮。也就是說,他關心民族的精神與體質,更甚於民族的政治權力。佛格森說,「儘管在人數上佔優勢,戰爭資源也較爲豐富,但是民族國家的力量其實來自民族性,而非其財富或人口數」。<sup>81</sup> 商業社會的分工與專業化讓人擁有特殊技術。但是商業的出現也讓人類彼此的關係付出沉重代價——人與人之間不再彼此深刻瞭解,社會分隔成幾個互不通往的部門。「社會精神」不再具體呈現在人的身上。同理,國家聚落在長年征伐之後,領土的擴大反而造成人民之間失去緊密的關係與認同感,「民族精神」再也無法發揚。這些都使公民參與政治的意願及可能性降低。政治自由降低了,社會自由也可能遭受危及;專制的政權就可能悄悄形成。佛格森相信歷史的進步,同時相信自由有其社會或歷史條件。但他也同時認爲,維持這些條件與進步,跟精神力量或人爲因素諸如道德勇氣有關。在野蠻或原始社會裡,自由精神與社會發展必然同轍,因爲這些社會的人的基本生活型態就是戰鬥、奮鬥。

最具精神動力的生活,不在安全與愜意的時刻,而在面對危險與困難的時刻……正如同他的同伴狗與馬一般,他只是順著自然天性而活動……在可能危害其生存的時候奮力搏鬥。82

自然狀態不存在;可是自然的天性與本能,卻是人類社會賴以生存、進步的原動力。然而到了文明社會階段,自由精神與社會進步卻形成辯證的緊張關係。在現代社會中,歷史作爲公民的規鑑作用顯得特別及時。許多蘇格蘭文人作家,例如Henry Home (Lord Kames, 1696-1782) 儘管使用商業社會理論,並展臂歡迎此一社會發展,仍不免擔心它造成負面影響,不時暗示奢華 (luxury) 會帶來衰敗。<sup>83</sup>即使是當時對物質發展最表樂觀的大衛休姆,在表達享受生活舒適的程度時,也語帶保留;並以「中庸」品味或消費態度來平衡他對商業的擁抱。許多學者都已經觀察到,佛格森對文明內涵的憂慮比起其他蘇格蘭啓蒙運動思想家更爲強烈。佛格森則以「物質」/「精神」的對立來暗示「社會的歷史」的可能危機。

商業與精緻技藝或許可以繼續繁榮獲益,但卻是以其他損失為其代價。渴 望獲利讓人們追求完美的熱情萎縮,利益薰心冷卻了想像力、僵固了心

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 62.

<sup>82</sup> 同前書,頁47-48。原文請見附錄二。

<sup>83</sup> 關於英國及歐洲近代對奢華的辯論,請參考 Christopher Berry, *The Idea of Luxury* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

靈。……專業的分工固然是各項技能生產之所以能隨商業之進展而愈形完美的原因,可是最終的結果,會是造成社會團結的某種程度的崩解,造成以形式取代精神內容的結果,致使人們不再從事心靈與心智最能活潑快樂地發揮的事業。84

對佛格森而言,歷史的啓示具有兩面性。第一,歷史的確發生過偉大帝國或民族衰落的故事。羅馬帝國興亡史是十八世紀這個被稱爲「奧古斯都年代」的鮮活歷史記憶。在此之前,孟德斯鳩、羅伯森、吉朋等人已經對此主題發表過引人入勝的著作。<sup>85</sup> 佛格森在一七八三年出版《羅馬共和興亡史》。<sup>86</sup>《文明社會史論》的書寫風格比較像佛格森學生斯圖爾特 (Dugald Stewart) 所說的「臆測性的歷史學」(conjectural history),《羅馬共和興亡史》則是一部相當實證的歷史著作。這本徹頭徹尾的「社會的歷史」,目的在於警惕英國公民,莫讓商業發展與國家擴張造成政治上的專制主義。<sup>87</sup> 再怎麼曾經輝煌的民族都可能衰敗。但是,歷史還有另一層面向的啓示:那就是從自然的歷史或神恩的歷史來看,歷史畢竟是進步的。許多歷史上的民族中興與重生的故事,都驗證了這個事實。佛格森斬釘截鐵地說,歷史證明了儘管野蠻部族既能逞勇鬥狠又能吃苦,終究還是會「敗在擁有較高文明、較高紀律的民族手下」。<sup>88</sup> 同理,

古代的共和國在一些危險的煽動蠱惑之後,或英國在內戰之後,這些民族都維持住積極的精神。這種精神最近正甦醒過來,並且與以往的強韌力道不相上下地用以追求許多事業,諸如政策、知識、技藝等等。他們從瀕臨衰敗的邊緣回來,反倒傳給最多數的後代。89

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, pp. 206-207. 原文請見附錄二。

Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu, Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline, trans. David Lowenthal (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1965); Edward Gibbon, The Rise and Decline of the Roman Empire (1776; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), vol. 1-6; William Robertson, History of the Reign of Charles V (1769; Bristol: Thoemmes, 1997), vol. 1-3. 羅伯森的著作雖然不是專為羅馬史而寫,其中卻有極多篇幅討論此一主題。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Adam Ferguson, *The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* (Edinburgh: W. Strahan, 1783), vol. 1-3.

<sup>87</sup> David Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 307. 關於 十八世紀史家對於羅馬帝國衰亡的歷史詮釋,最方便的鳥瞰文獻應該是 Roy Porter, *Gibbon* (London: Nicolson, 1989).

<sup>88</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, p. 93.

<sup>89</sup> 同前書,頁202。原文請見附錄二。

佛格森認為神恩或者自然的歷史預示了人類集體的進步與文明的走向。可是相對於此,會造成自然化歷史的失序、錯亂——例如歷史成為朝代循環——意即 漠視神恩的原因出自於人的道德情操的轉變。社會的歷史充滿了道德警訊。換言 之,佛格森希望基督教的人文主義與公民積極主義能夠結合,發揮作用。

即使是在民主政體裡,人民也會粗心散漫。可是如果他們擁有自衛的權利,散漫的情形便不會持久。只要人們一疏忽,政治權力便會被侵奪,因此我們應該不斷向各人民團體提出警告。人對學習與科技藝術的愛好有可能朝三暮四或中斷,但如果人擁有了自由 (freedom),如果天生稟賦的實踐不受限制,儘管在不同時代的進展速度與熱誠會有所不同,進步卻不可能中斷,前一代的成果也不可能完全消失。

如果我們想找出〔社會〕崩解墮壞的原因,我們便需檢視造成稟賦實踐、知識追求 (liberal pursuit) 的目標之所以消失的變革;需檢視之所以讓公 民不再成為公眾事務的一份子,消毀其精神、墮敗其情操的變革。<sup>90</sup>

作爲一名有濃厚宗教背景的公民積極主義者、理論家、史家,佛格森相信,當文 明社會不忘記它們在野蠻社會時代所保有的特質與品質,繼續保有那種直觀的能力,文明的社會就會持續往前滾動。文明社會的敵人不是遊牧民族,而是自己。 可是,正如新教傳統認爲自由意志是人之所以爲人,人之所以爲神所創造的獨特 生命的最核心條件,民族歷史的成敗也就繫於人自我的選擇。

或許個人並無法對自己的國家 (country) 的成敗興亡造成太大的影響。可是,既然每個人都對他的利害最為關心,他也就是他自己意志的絕對主人。他因此應該為自己的選擇負責。91

從個人對神恩的理解發展到民族歷史的集體認同,這是近代歐洲,尤其是英國政治思想的重要課題。佛格森顯然在此一新傳統的創造上扮演了重要的角色。

#### (本文於民國九十六年十月十八日通過刊登)

<sup>90</sup> Ferguson, Civil Society, pp. 202-203. 原文請見附錄二。

<sup>91</sup> Ferguson, Principles, vol. 1, p. 202. 原文請見附錄二。

# 後記

筆者關心此文主旨已有七年光景。最初草稿曾在二○○四年《政治社會哲學評論》社員講論以及史語所研究群的小組討論裡與同仁商權。《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》審查人給予許多寶貴意見。編輯的細心校對,則幫我免去許多尷尬的錯誤。筆者謹對上述機構與人員致上萬分謝意。文責仍依慣例由筆者自負。

# 附錄一:佛格森為「火鉗俱樂部」所寫的備忘錄92

After the suppression of the Rebellion in 1746, it occurred to many of the noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland, that one of the most effectual securities against the recurrence of dangerous insurrections as well as invasions, would be the establishment of such a Militia force, as had existed in England ever since the days of Edward I. The same opinion was entertained by the most eminent of the men of letters, - and the subject was frequently discussed in county meetings, Town councils and other influential bodies - the leading periodicals between the year 1750 and 1762 contained a number of spirited and able articles in support of the same cause and several highly educated individuals published pamphlets which exercised a powerful influence, and led to the formation of a associations for the purpose of kindling & keeping alive the flame of patriotic feeling.

In the beginning of the year 1762 was instituted the famous Club called the Poker, which lasted in great vigour till the year 1784. About the third or fourth meeting the members thought of giving it a name, sufficiently significant to the initiated, but of uncertain meaning to the general public, and not so directly or obviously offensive as that of Militia Club would have been to the adversaries of any such object. Professor Adam Ferguson luckily suggested the name of Poker, which was perfectly intelligible to all the originators of the scheme, which it was an impenetrable mystery to every one else. This association consisted of Edinburgh and the neighbourhood (most of whom had been members of the Select Society), together with many country gentlemen, who were indignant at the inerdious line drawn between Scotland and England. The management of the club was frugal and moderate, as that of every association for a public purpose ought to be. The members met at the tavern kept by Thomas Nicholson (which was the name of their old landlord of the diversorcicm) near the Cross-Diner was on the table soon after two o'clock, at the rate of a shilling a head. The only wines used were Oberry and

Claret, and the Bill was called for at six o'clock. After the first fifteen, admitted by unanimous nomination, it was resolved that the members should be chosen by Ballot, and two black balls were to exclude any candidate, at every successive meeting a new President was to be called to the chair. Mr. William Johnstone, advocate, afterwards Sir William Pultecas (of Westerhall) was elected [ - Pecatany], with a chare of all publications, which might be thought necessary by him and two other members when he was directed to consult. In a laughing humour the Club appointed Mr. Andrew Crabie advocate to be Assassin, if in any extremity the services of such an office should be needed. But David Hume was added as assessor, without whose assent nothing was to be done, so that between <u>plus</u> and <u>minus</u> there was no risk of bloodshed.

This club continued with great spirit to hold frequent meetings six or seven years, and every member, being satisfied with the frugal entertainment, was not less pleased with the company - according to the testimony of the members who attended most frequently no approach to inebriety was ever witnessed. About the end of seven the year are unfortunate misunderstanding between one or two of the members and the landlord occasioned the removal of the club to Forteene's Tarvern, the most fashionable in the Town, where the day's expense soon become three times more than that usual amount of the Bill of Thomas Nicholson, and the consequences has that many of the members, not the least considerable, attended most less frequently than they had done while the management was more ceremonial. A still more unfavourable result of the change was that a number of new candidates were admitted, whose views were not congenial with those of the old members. To obviate this advantage, a few of the original members formed a new club, called the Tuesday, which met at Soruers's Tavern, and continued to flourish about two years, after which time as the original club had to great extent divided away, in consequence of the death of some and desertion of others, the most strenuous supporters of the principles of the old club broke up the Tuesday meeting and returned to the meetings of their former friends.

# 附錄二:長引文原文照錄

#### 註 28

Cuming 佈道: "Unhappy men! Who have precipitated themselves into ruin; who might have been employed in cultivating their soil, improving manufacture and fishery, and carrying on useful arts and trades; who might have filled their harbours with fair fleets, and by their valour defended our constitution against foreign enemies."

Blair 則說: "The wrath of man, that is, all the rage, and the impetuous passion of wicked men; with the violent effects of war, persecution, oppression, and other disorders it produces in the world. All these the Psalmist tells us, shall praise God: Not indeed, by the intention and design, not by the native tendency..."

# 註 32

"We forget that physical powers, employed in succession, and combined to a salutary purpose, constitute those very proofs of design from which we infer the existence of God; and that this truth being once admitted, we are no longer to search for the source of existence; we can only collect the laws which the author of nature has established; and in our latest as well as our earliest discoveries, only come to perceive a mode of creation or providence before unknown."

# 註 33

"If the Almighty were to operate merely by Acts of Will without the intervention of Secondary means The Intelligent Creature would have no resources but that of/ Prayer to the Almighty for Interposition in Obtaining the end or purpose in View. ...the author of Nature, though himself omnipotent, acts in Every Department by the Intervention of Secondary Causes. Which his

Intelligent Creatures destined for Active Life may Observe And Availing themselves of these Secondary Causes are enabled in a certain degree to Controul or direct the course of Nature itself... The Secondary Cause is an Instrument in the hand of Man by which to effect his Purpose in many Instances and the Materials stewed on the Earth or hid in its bosom are Subjects of his Art."

#### 計 35

"And thus, we may conclude, the highest point to which moral science conducts the mind of man, is that eminence of thought, from which he can view himself as but a part in the community of living natures; by which he is in some measure let into the design of God, to combine all the parts together for the common benefits of all; and can state himself as a willing instrument for this purpose, in what depends on his own will; and as a conscious instrument, at the disposal of providence, in matters which are out of his power."

# 註 41

"If we admit that man is susceptible of improvement, and has in himself a principle of progression, and a desire of perfection, it appears improper to say, that he has quitted the state of his nature, when he has begun to proceed; or that he finds a station for which he was not intended, while, like other animals, he only follows the disposition, and employs the powers that nature has given. The latest efforts of human invention are but a continuation of certain devices which were practiced in the earliest ages of the world, and in the rudest state of mankind."

#### **計** 43

"There is more Room for Power Wisdom & Design in the progressive than in the Quiescent System. In the latter the same purpose is always separate, whereas in the former several Designs are carried on; this of the Advantage of the progressive system is farther evidence from its good Effects which regard to Man. This System is the most obvious Connection betwixt the present state of Man and the Universe. 1. This general Appearance of Progression thro' Nature is a great proof of Providence. Nature is ever active & full of Variety. Everything is shifting itself to a more perfect form—The internal Energy never ceases & by each of its Operat[ion] discov[ers] Deity."

#### 註 44

"his motions be rapid or slow, the scenes of human affairs perpetually change in his management: his emblem is a passing stream, not a stagnating pool. We may desire to direct his love of improvement to its proper object, we may wish for stability of conduct; but we mistake human nature, if we wish for a termination of labour, or a scene of repose."

# 計 45

"We perceive in Nature the Vestiges of Intelligence & Power, always superior & often very different in Character from what we should intend or could accomplish.... We neither should conceive nor can we accomplish the mode of preserving a Species of which every Individual is Perishing. But in Nature every Species is preserved by Succession, & the Death of one Generation is not less a part in the order of Nature than the Birth or Succession of Another. In this Manner all Nature is continually Perishing & continually reproduced."

## 註 48

"Every thing human indeed is subject to perish; and in the same race of men, knowledge gives way to ignorance. The light of science is no more in corners where it formerly shone: but this is rather the removal than the extinction of light. It passes from one race of men to another, and, when it seemed to be extinguished, is perhaps about to be restored with additional force."

## 註 53

"Man may mistake the objects of his pursuit; he may misapply his industry, and misplace his improvement... He must look for it in the best conceptions of his understanding, in the best movements of the happiness of which he is capable."

# 註 54

"Every step and every movement of the multitude, even in what are termed enlightened ages, are made with equal blindness to the future; and nations stumble upon establishments, which are indeed the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design."

#### 註 56

"It is happy to have continually in view, that we are members of society, and of the community of mankind; that we are instruments in the hand of God for the good of his creatures; that if we are ill members of society, or unwilling instruments in the hand of God, we do our utmost to counteract our nature, to quit our station and to undo ourselves."

#### 計 64

"Civil Liberty is not precisely a power to do what we please, but the security of our right; and that a person may be free, although contrary to his own will he is obliged to pay his debts, and even to contribute to the revenue of the state. ...the Liberty of every class and order is not proportioned to the power they enjoy, but to the security they have for the preservation of their rights."

# 註 66

"It has pleased Providence, for wise purposes, to place men in different stations, and to bestow upon them different degrees of wealth. Without this circumstance there could be no subordination, no government, no order, no industry. Every person does good, and promotes the happiness of society, by living agreeable to the rank in which Providence has placed him."

# 註 69

"Let the Unlearned be contend with the receiving information, and the Learned with the Labour of giving it, the inferior with Obedience, and the Poor with Industry, the Lawyer with the Bar, and the Divine with his Ministry, the Tradesman with his shop, and Husbandman with his Tillage."

# 註 70

"It is a common observation, That mankind were original equal. They have indeed by nature equal rights to their preservation, and to the use of their talents; but they are fitted for different stations; and when they are classed by a rule taken from this circumstance, they suffer no injustice on the side of their natural rights. It is obvious, that some mode of subordinations is as necessary to men as society itself; and this, not only to attain the ends of government, but to comply with an order established by nature."

# 註 78

"The manners of rude nations require to be reformed. Their foreign quarrels, and domestic dissensions, are the operations of extreme and sanguinary passions. A state of great tranquillity hath many happy effects. But if nations pursue the plan of enlargement and pacification, till their members can no longer apprehend the common ties of society, nor be engaged by affections in the cause of their country, they must err on the opposite side, and by leaving too little to agitate the spirits if man, bring on ages of languor, if not of decay."

#### 計 82

"The most animating occasions of human life, are calls to danger and hardship, not invitations to safety and ease...like his associates, the dog and the horse, to follow the exercise of his nature...and to exult in the mind of alarms that seem to threaten his being."

#### 計 84

"The commercial and lucrative arts may continue to prosper, but they gain an ascendant at the expence of other pursuits. The desire of profit stifles the love of perfection. Interest cools the imagination, and hardens the heart...the separation of professions, while it seems to promise improvement of skill, and is actually the cause why it seems to promise improvement of skill, and is actually the cause why the productions of every art become more perfect as commerce advances; yet in its termination, and ultimate effects, serves, in some measure, to break the bands of society, to substitute from in place of ingenuity, and to withdraw individuals from the common scene of occupation, on which the sentiments of the heart, and the mind, are most happily employed."

# 計 89

"Like the ancient republics, immediately after some alarming sedition, or like the kingdom of Great Britain, at the close of its civil wars, they retain the spirit of activity, which was recently awakened, and are equally vigorous in every pursuit, whether of policy, learning, or arts. From having appeared on the brink of ruin, they pass to the greatest prosperity."

# 註 90

"Even under popular government, men sometimes drop the consideration of their political rights, and appear at times remiss or supine; but if they have reserved the power to defend themselves, the intermission of its exercise cannot be of long duration. Political rights, when neglected, are always invaded; and alarms from this quarter must frequently come to renew the attention of parties. The love of learning, and of arts, may change its pursuits, or droop for a season; but while men are possessed of freedom, and while the exercises of ingenuity are not superseded, the public may proceed, at different times, with unequal fervour; but its progress is seldom altogether discontinued, or the advantages gained in one age are seldom entirely lost to the following.

If we would find the causes of final corruption, we must examine those revolution of state that remove or with-hold the objects of every ingenious study, or liberal pursuit; that deprive the citizen of occasions to act as the member of a public; that crush his spirit; that debase his sentiments, and disqualify his mind for affairs."

# 註 91

"It may not be in the power of the individual greatly to promote the advancement or to retard the decline of his country. But every person, being principally interested in himself, is the absolute master of his own will, and for the choice he shall have made is alone responsible."

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Dordrecht, Netherlands: Nijhoff-Kluwer.

# The Dialectics of Religion and Secularization: Adam Ferguson on History and Liberty

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The resurgence of scholarship on Adam Ferguson in recent decades tends to portray this great literati of the Scottish Enlightenment as a secular thinker. This article argues against the current grain by revealing the importance of Ferguson's theological thinking. Discussing the complex interaction between religious and secular ideas in Ferguson's thought, this article argues that Ferguson conceptualized history as a two-tiered composition of natural history and social history in which human beings are situated right at the convergent junction of these two histories: they are simultaneously part of the natural history as made by God as well as the maker of their own social history. As part of natural history, humans are capable of progressing as individuals like any other animal. In terms of providence, humans are unique as they are "created" with "reason" and "free will." Having been created by God, humans are destined to fulfill the purposes for which God has designed them. However, for this very reason, humans cannot foresee with certainty what ends they are approaching. Using the faculty of "reason," however, they are able to conjecture—albeit only superficially and partially—the Mind of the Creator through observations of nature and history. Ferguson argues that the most conspicuous facts that God implicitly reveals to humans through his ordering of the world is the constant succession of life and progress of human society. God thus indicates his wish that humans coordinate their activities in society to facilitate the progress of society. Nevertheless, the social history of humanity clearly shows that many nations fail to progress in a continuous manner. This is due to the fact that God grants humans a free will to decide if they want to serve as an "instrument" in the hands of God to "co-create," as it were, social history in accordance with the history of natural progress. Human social history is both a source of courage to establish progress and a lesson of failures and setbacks. Courage can be summoned from God's Providence that humans are destined to progress. As the

lessons of social history reveal, however, humanity is also responsible for its own failures, because humans have a free will.

Because Ferguson believes in the creation of humanity, and holds that the most moral way of acting is to ensure constant progress in society, he values the kind of liberty that is beneficial for the good of society, not the type of individual liberty or political freedom which gave life to the American and French Revolutions. This article discusses his repudiation of Richard Price's radical view of political freedom. Ferguson's antagonism to Price could already be found in his early contestations of Rousseau's view on history and politics, as Ferguson expounded upon in An Essay on the History of Civil Society. According to Ferguson, Rousseau's jurist view of equality in the state of nature implies a complete right to share power in a political society. Ferguson argues for a providentially destined social disparity that works as a mechanism of progress through the division of labor and the development of corresponding talents for different skills or labor. Unlike Price, Ferguson believes in elitism, where a group of enlightened elites can foresee the danger of a society and act in advance to prevent impeding disaster. In Ferguson's ideal vision of a ranked society and heroic leadership, Price's Lutheran political view that "everyone is his own lawmaker" sounds arrogant, if nothing else. In short, Ferguson holds that liberty is not for the preservation of individual empowerment, but for the preservation of society, as humans exist not for their own sake, but for God's providential plan.

Keywords: Adam Ferguson, Providence, progress, the Scottish Enlightenment