

英美政治家经典演讲词赏析

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

# 林肯经典演讲词赏析

Selected Addresses of Abraham Lincoln

查明建 主编

张艳 译编 赏析

· 英汉对照 ·



湖北长江出版集团  
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## SELECTED ADDRESSES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

This task of gratitude to our fathers, justice to ourselves, duty to posterity, and love for our species in general, all imperatively require us faithfully to perform.

这一任务意味着要对先贤们感恩，对自己公平，对子孙尽责，并且热爱全人类，所有这些都迫切需要我们全心全意去完成。

And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues, and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

总之，让它成为国家的信仰，让男女老幼，穷人或富翁，有何种肤色，说何种语言的各种条件的人不断地在法律的圣坛上献身。

And thus, from the force of circumstances, the basest principles of our nature, were either made to lie dormant, or to become the active agents in the advancement of the noblest cause — that of establishing and maintaining civil and religious liberty.

这样，在形势的威力下，我们最卑劣的天性要么处于蛰伏状态，要么成为促进最崇高事业的积极因素，这种事业就是建立和维护文明与信仰自由。

……and the threat of death to me, to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union, to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

以置我于死地为威胁来勒索我的金钱，还有以搞垮联邦为威胁来勒索我的选票，两者在原则上几乎没有什么区别。



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## 人物生平简介



亚伯拉罕·林肯是美国第十六任总统。他于1809年2月12日生于肯塔基州霍金威尔附近的沉泉农庄。他未曾受过任何正规教育，但很小时就显露出演说和辩论才华。据说他家唯一的一本书是《圣经》，因此在日后的著作及演说中林肯常常引用《圣经》。1832年4月，印第安人发动黑鹰战争，林肯自愿从军，被任命为上尉。

1834年，林肯被选为伊利诺斯州州众议员；1836年，获律师执照；1838年在伊利诺斯普及知识的青年学院发表讲演，阐述自己的政治宗教理念；1846年获选成为国会议员。1854年，林肯持反对奴隶制的立场，加入北方共和党；1858年，林肯与该州的民主党人斯蒂芬·道格拉斯竞选国会参议员，同对手在伊利诺斯各城市进行了七次精彩的辩论。1860年林肯获得了共和党的总统提名，当选总统，但在南方各蓄奴州的选票却为零。内战爆发后，林肯充分发挥了美国历史上最有效最鼓舞人心的总统的核心作用，扩大了总统的权力以适应战时的需要。

1865年4月14日，在林肯第二次就职讲演结束后的第40天，他被支持南方奴隶主的演员布斯刺杀。林肯是美国历史上第一位遇刺身亡的总统。

## The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions: Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois

January 27, 1838



As a subject for the remarks of the evening, the perpetuation of our political institutions, is selected.

In the great journal of things happening under the sun, we the American People, find our account running, under date of the nineteenth century of the Christian era. — We find ourselves in the peaceful possession, of the fairest portion of the earth, as regards extent of territory, fertility of soil, and salubrity (有益健康) of climate. We find ourselves under the government of a system of political institutions, conducing more essentially to the ends of civil and religious liberty, than any of which the history of former times tells us. We, when mounting the stage of existence, found ourselves the legal inheritors of these fundamental blessings. We toiled not in the acquirement or establishment of them — they are a legacy bequeathed (把……遗赠给) us, by a once hardy, brave, and patriotic, but now lamented and departed race of ancestors. Their's was the task (and nobly they performed it) to possess themselves, and through themselves, us, of this goodly land; and to uprear upon its hills and its valleys, a political edifice (大厦) of liberty and equal rights; 'tis ours only, to transmit these, the former, unprofaned by the foot of an invader; the latter, undecayed by the lapse of time and untorn by usurpation, to the latest generation that fate shall permit the world to know. This task of gratitude to our fathers, justice to ourselves, duty to posterity, and love for our species in general, all imperatively require us faithfully to perform.



## 永葆我国政治制度之青春

1838 年 1 月 27 日



我选择了《永葆我国政治制度之青春》作为今晚的话题。

在世界上所发生的大事日志中，我们美国人发现我们的记载始于公元 19 世纪。我们拥有的和平疆域是地球最美好的一部分，幅员广阔、土地肥沃、气候宜人。我们现有的政治制度，实质上比以往历史上任何一种制度更有助于实现公民的自由和宗教理念。当我们自豪地登上现实的舞台时，我们发现自己是这些福祉的合法继承者。我们埋头苦干不是为了获得或是确立这些福祉；它们是祖先留给我们的财产，我们的祖先曾经吃苦耐劳、勇敢无畏、忧国忧民，虽然与世长辞，但我们依旧缅怀他们。他们的使命（他们出色地完成了使命）是为他们自己，也是为他们的子孙拥有这片美好的国土，在高山之巅、深谷之上竖起一座自由和权利平等的政治大厦；我们的责任就是要将其传诸千秋万代，使大好河山永不遭受侵略者铁蹄的践踏，使政治大厦永远不因时光流逝而坍塌，也永远不因篡权而遭损毁。这一任务意味着要对先贤们感恩，对自己公平，对子孙尽责，并且热爱全人类，所有这些都迫切需要我们全心全意去完成。

How then shall we perform it? — At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? — Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant, to step the Ocean, and crush us at a blow? Never! — All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest; with a Buonaparte for a commander, could not by force, take a drink from the Ohio, or make a track on the Blue Ridge, in a trial of a thousand years.

At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reach us, it must spring up amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot (命运) we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide.

I hope I am over wary; but if I am not, there is, even now, something of ill-omen, amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions, in lieu of the sober judgment of Courts; and the worse than savage mobs, for the executive ministers of justice. This disposition is awfully fearful in any community; and that it now exists in ours, though grating to our feelings to admit, it would be a violation of truth, and an insult to our intelligence, to deny. Accounts of outrages committed by mobs, form the every-day news of the times. They have pervaded the country, from New England to Louisiana; — they are neither peculiar to the eternal snows of the former, nor the burning suns of the latter; — they are not the creature of climate — neither are they confined to the slave-holding, or the non-slave-holding States. Alike, they spring up among the pleasure hunting masters of Southern slaves, and the order loving citizens of the land of steady habits. — Whatever, then, their cause may be, it is common to the whole country.

那么，我们应该怎样去完成呢？在何处我们感到危险临头？我们应该用什么方法来防止危险的出现？会不会有一个大西洋彼岸的军事强权远涉重洋，一举把我们毁灭呢？决不会！所有欧洲、亚洲和非洲的军队联合起来，把地球的全部财富（我们自己的除外）作为他们的军费，由拿破仑率领，苦战一千年，也休想依靠武力在俄亥俄河带走一滴水或是在蓝岭留下一个足印。

那么，究竟在哪一点上预感到了迫近的危险呢？我的回答是，如果危险真的来临，它必然是源于我们内部，不可能来自外部。如果我们命该遭此浩劫，那么自酿苦果的必然是我们自己。作为一个自由人的国家，我们必须永世长存，或自取灭亡。

我希望我是过度谨慎了；但如果不是过度谨慎，甚至时至今日我们内部就有一些不良预兆。我是指全国普遍地越来越不尊重法律的现象。越来越倾向于以粗暴的感情替代法庭的严肃裁决，以岂止是野蛮的暴民代替司法官员。这种倾向在任何一个社会里都是极其可怕的；现在我们的社会里也有了，尽管在情感上不愿承认，但如果予以否认却有悖事实，贬低了我们的良知。关于暴民违法行为的报道是当下的每日新闻，从新英格兰到路易斯安那，此类事件遍及全国；它们并非新英格兰的皑皑白雪所独有，也非路易斯安那的炎炎烈日所专有，它们并非气候的产物，也并不局限于蓄奴州或非蓄奴州。它们发生在寻欢作乐的南部奴隶主身上，同样也发生在民风良好地区循规蹈矩的公民身上。因此，无论其原因何在，都是全国性的普遍现象。

It would be tedious, as well as useless, to recount the horrors of all of them. Those happening in the State of Mississippi, and at St. Louis, are, perhaps, the most dangerous in example and revolting to humanity. In the Mississippi case, they first commenced by hanging the regular gamblers; a set of men, certainly not following for a livelihood, a very useful, or very honest occupation; but one which, so far from being forbidden by the laws, was actually licensed by an act of the Legislature, passed but a single year before. Next, negroes, suspected of conspiring to raise an insurrection, were caught up and hanged in all parts of the State; then, white men, supposed to be leagued with the negroes; and finally, strangers, from neighboring States, going thither on business, were, in many instances subjected to the same fate. Thus went on this process of hanging, from gamblers to negroes, from negroes to white citizens, and from these to strangers; till, dead men were seen literally dangling from the boughs of trees upon every road side; and in numbers almost sufficient, to rival the native Spanish moss of the country, as a drapery of the forest.

Turn, then, to that horror-striking scene at St. Louis. A single victim was only sacrificed there. His story is very short; and is, perhaps, the most highly tragic, if anything of its length, that has ever been witnessed in real life. A mulatto (黑白混血儿) man, by the name of McIntosh, was seized in the street, dragged to the suburbs of the city, chained to a tree, and actually burned to death; and all within a single hour from the time he had been a freeman, attending to his own business, and at peace with the world.

Such are the effects of mob law; and such as the scenes, becoming more and more frequent in this land so lately famed for love of law and order; and the stories of which, have even now grown too familiar, to attract any thing more, than an idle remark.

细述那些恐怖行为是令地区人厌烦的，同样也是徒劳的。发生在密西西比州和圣路易斯的那些事情可能是其中最危险的例子，为天理人情不容。拿密西西比州来说，他们先把一些普通的赌徒吊死——这帮人为谋生而从事这些无用或不光彩的营生，但是这项职业非但未经法律禁止，实际上仅在一年之前刚由立法机关通过一项法令加以批准。紧接着，一些有密谋造反嫌疑的黑人在全州各地被抓住并吊死；然后，一些被认为和那些黑人有勾结的白人乃至一些从邻近各州有事去那里的外地人也遭此厄运。就这样，绞刑的对象从赌徒到黑人，从黑人到白人公民，从白人公民到外地人一直蔓延下去，直到几乎每条路边都有悬挂在树干上的死人，其数目之多，足以作为树林帷幕，堪与土生的西班牙苔藓相比。

再来看看发生在圣路易斯的那令人发指的一幕吧。那里虽只有一个无辜的人送了命，事件经过很短促，然而这恐怕是现实生活中见过的这类“小”事件中最为悲惨的。一个名叫麦金托什的黑白混血儿在街上被抓住，拖到郊区，用链条捆在树上，然后被活活烧死；然而仅仅一小时前，他还是一个专心于自己的事情，与世无争的自由公民。

这就是私刑的结果，这些就是越来越频繁地出现在这个以热爱法律和秩序著称的国度的现象；关于这些报道我们已经司空见惯，最多不过引起人们的几句闲聊罢了。

But you are, perhaps, ready to ask, "What has this to do with the perpetuation of our political institutions?" I answer, it has much to do with it. Its direct consequences are, comparatively speaking, but a small evil; and much of its danger consists, in the proneness of our minds, to regard its direct, as its only consequences. Abstractly considered, the hanging of the gamblers at Vicksburg, was of but little consequence. They constitute a portion of population, that is worse than useless in any community; and their death, if no pernicious example be set by it, is never matter of reasonable regret with any one. If they were annually swept, from the stage of existence, by the plague or small pox, honest men would, perhaps, be much profited, by the operation. — Similar too, is the correct reasoning, in regard to the burning of the negro at St. Louis. He had forfeited (丧失) his life, by the perpetuation of an outrageous murder, upon one of the most worthy and respectable citizens of the city; and had not he died as he did, he must have died by the sentence of the law, in a very short time afterwards. As to him alone, it was as well the way it was, as it could otherwise have been. — But the example in either case, was fearful. — When men take it in their heads today, to hang gamblers, or burn murderers, they should recollect, that, in the confusion usually attending such transactions, they will be as likely to hang or burn someone who is neither a gambler nor a murderer as one who is; and that, acting upon the example they set, the mob of to-morrow, may, and probably will, hang or burn some of them by the very same mistake. And not only so; the innocent, those who have ever set their faces against violations of law in every shape, alike with the guilty, fall victims to the ravages of mob law; and thus it goes on, step by step, till all the walls erected for the defense of the persons and property of individuals, are trodden down, and disregarded. But all this even, is not the full extent of the evil. — By such examples, by instances of the perpetrators of such acts going unpunished, the lawless in spirit,

但是可能你要问：“这同永葆我国政治制度之青春有何关系呢？”我的回答是，关系大着呢。相对来说，它的直接结果危害较小，但是它最大的危险在于我们易于把它的直接结果当成唯一的后果。从理论上讲，在威克斯堡吊死赌徒影响不大。他们只是任何社会里最微不足道的一部分，他们的死亡，如果没有树立有害的榜样的话，谁都不会表示惋惜。如果他们每年都会被瘟疫或天花夺去生命，对于良民们也许大有好处。关于圣路易斯被火烧死的黑人的推理也是如此。因为穷凶极恶地杀害市里一位最高尚可敬的公民，如果那个黑人不被烧死，也会马上被法律处死。就他个人而言，结局反正都一样。但是，两种情况下作出的榜样却是极坏的。今天人们心血来潮要把赌徒吊死或者把杀人犯烧死，他们应该记住，在处理这种事常有的混乱局面中，他们很可能把一个既不是赌徒也不是杀人犯的人吊死或烧死。明天的暴徒们效仿他们的样，也很可能由于同样的错误而把他们之中的几个人吊死或烧死。不仅如此，那些无罪的人，那些坚决反对一切违法行为的人，却同有罪的人一样，受到私刑淫威的迫害，这样逐步发展下去，最后就会践踏为保护个人生命财产安全而建立起来的全部壁垒，将其弃若敝屣。但是即使所有这一切，还不是危害的全部所在。由于这些榜样，人们眼看这些胡作非为的人逍遥法外，思想上的不法之徒就会受到怂恿，变成行

are encouraged to become lawless in practice; and having been used to no restraint, but dread of punishment, they thus become, absolutely unrestrained. — Having ever regarded Government as their deadliest bane (毒药), they make a jubilee of the suspension of its operations; and pray for nothing so much, as its total annihilation (灭绝, 全部毁灭)。

While, on the other hand, good men, men who love tranquility, who desire to abide by the laws, and enjoy their benefits, who would gladly spill their blood in the defense of their country; seeing their property destroyed; their families insulted, and their lives endangered; their persons injured; and seeing nothing in prospect that forebodes a change for the better; become tired of, and disgusted with, a Government that offers them no protection; and are not much averse to a change in which they imagine they have nothing to lose. Thus, then, by the operation of this mobocratic spirit, which all must admit, is now abroad in the land, the strongest bulwark (堡垒) of any Government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may effectually be broken down and destroyed — I mean the attachment of the People. Whenever this effect shall be produced among us; whenever the vicious portion of population shall be permitted to gather in bands of hundreds and thousands, and burn churches, ravage and rob provision-stores, throw printing presses into rivers, shoot editors, and hang and burn obnoxious persons at pleasure, and with impunity; depend on it, this Government cannot last. By such things, the feelings of the best citizens will become more or less alienated from it; and thus it will be left without friends, or with too few, and those few too weak, to make their friendship effectual. At such a time and under such circumstances, men of sufficient talent and ambition will not be wanting to seize the opportunity, strike the blow, and overturn that fair fabric, which for the last half century, has been the fondest hope, of the lovers of freedom, throughout the world.



为上的不法之徒，而且他们一向不习惯受拘束，只害怕惩罚，此时就变得无法无天。他们一向视政府为眼中钉，政府暂停行使职能让他们欢欣鼓舞，但求政府彻底完蛋。

另一方面，良民——那些喜欢安定、遵纪守法并享受守法带来的好处、甘愿为保卫祖国而流血的人们——眼看他们的财产被毁，家人遭凌辱，生命受到威胁，人身受到伤害，看不到情况有所好转的希望，就会对那个不能给予他们保护的政府感到厌恶，也不大会去反对一些变化，因为他们自以为这些变化不会让他们损失什么。就这样，由于这种我们大家都默认为全国范围内普遍存在的暴民统治心理作祟，任何一个政府最坚强的堡垒，特别是像我们这样的联邦政府的最坚强的堡垒，最后也会被摧毁——我指的堡垒就是民众对政府的深厚感情。一旦我们内部出现这种情形，一旦社会上那部分恶徒得以成百上千地结伙成帮，焚烧教堂，哄抢粮仓，将印刷机抛入河里，射杀编辑，随心所欲地将看不顺眼的人吊死和烧死，自己却逍遥法外，那么这个政府就肯定不会长久。由于出现了这些事，最好的公民多多少少会疏远对政府的感情，这样政府就会孤立无友，或者只有少数个别朋友，这些个别朋友势单力薄不足以发挥他们友谊的作用。在这种情况下，有足够才干和野心的人就会出现，抓紧机会出击，摧毁过去半个多世纪里一直为全世界热爱自由者最钟爱的公正的组织。