

人类最伟大的声音

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不自由，毋宁死

[美国]帕特里克·亨利

帕特里克·亨利（1736—1799年），美国革命时期杰出的政治家，演说家。曾任律师，弗吉尼亚州议员。本篇发表于1775年3月23日弗吉尼亚州第2届议会上，他主张武装独立，反对妥协和解。这篇演讲在美国革命文献史上占有重要地位。

议长先生：

没有谁比我更加敬佩这些在议会上发言的先生们的爱国热情和才干了。但是，对待一个问题每个人都会有不同的看法。因此，假如我持有观点与他们恰恰相反，并且无所顾忌毫不保留地表达出来，希望不会被认为对他们有何不敬之意。现在已经没有时间让我们讲客套了。议会所面临的问题是我们的国家正处于危难之际。我个人认为，最严重的一点就是关系到我们是独立自主还是被奴役的大问题。事关重大，应该准许人们畅所欲言。如此，我们才有望阐明事实，完成上帝和国家托付的重任。此时此刻，如果因为害怕冒犯他人而保持缄默，我会认为自己是叛国，是对比世上所有君王更令人敬畏的天主的不忠。

议长先生，人类天生就容易沉迷于希望的幻想之中。痛苦的现实来临时，我们往往会紧闭双眼不敢面对；宁可倾听海妖的歌声，直到我们被变成野兽为止。这是聪明人在追求自由的艰苦卓绝的奋斗中所应该做的吗？我们难道愿意做那些对关系着能否获得拯救这样重大的事情视而不见，听而不闻的人吗？就我而言，不管这会带给我多大的精神折磨，我都愿意了解全部的事实和最糟糕的结果，并为此作好准备。

经验是指导我前进的惟一明灯；过去是判断未来的惟一依据。因此，我想知道英国政府在过去十年中有什么作为，使得各位有理由信心十足心甘情愿地来安慰自己也安慰议会？是因为他们最近接受我们的请愿时所露出的狡诈的笑容吗？先生们，别相信这些笑容，事实会证明这只是一个圈套。别被人家的一个吻给出卖了！大家想想：他们如此仁慈地接受我们的请愿，而同时又在我们的水域、我们的土地上大规模地备战，这是多么不协调呀！难道爱护与和解用得着出动他们的战舰和军队吗？难道我们的爱需要用武力才能挽回吗？先生们，别再自欺欺人了！这些只是战争和征服的手段，是国王最后的托词。请问各位，如果这些军事装备不是用来迫使我们归顺的，那它们是用来干什么的呢？哪位先生能告诉我，这还有什么别的意图吗？难道在这个地方，大不列颠王国还有其他敌人需要用这些庞大的海陆军队来对付吗？不，先生们，没有其他敌人了！这些就是用来对付我们的！它们是英国政府早就造好，用来囚禁我们的锁链。我们能用什么来反抗呢？争辩吗？先生们，我们已经和他们争辩10年了！再还有什么话可说吗？我们所能做的都做过了，然而一切都只是徒劳；难道我们还要卑躬屈膝，摇尾乞怜吗？我们已经用尽了一切办法。所以，先生们，我恳请你们别再自欺欺人了！为了避免这一场即将来临的风暴，我们已经尽力而为了。我们请愿过，我们抗议过，我们也乞求过；我们曾跪倒在国王的御座前，哀求他制止政府和国会的专制暴行。我们的请愿遭到蔑视，我们的抗议带来的是变本加厉的暴力和侮辱，我们的乞求换来的是不屑一顾；我们在天子脚下被轻蔑地一脚踢开！事已至此，我们还能沉迷于和平友好的美好幻想之中吗？已经不再有任何希望了！假如我们渴望自由——假如我们真要维护为之奋斗已久的神圣权利不受侵犯——假如我们不至于卑鄙到想放弃我们抗争已久，发誓不达目的决不罢休的伟大角逐，那么，我们必须战斗！我再重复一遍，先生们，我们必须战斗！除了诉诸武力，求助于战神，我们别无选择！

先生们，他们说我们势单力薄，无力抵抗如此强劲的对手。但是，我们什么时候能变得更加强大呢？下周？还是明年？难道非要等到我们被彻底解除武装，家家户户都被英军占领的时候吗？难道优柔寡断，毫无作为能为我们积聚力量吗？难道我们能高枕而卧，要等到束

手就擒之时，才能找到退敌的良策吗？先生们，只要我们懂得如何利用造物主赐予我们的力量，我们就绝不弱小。我们拥有三百万为神圣的自由而武装起来的人民，我们拥有这样一方国土，这就是敌人任何武力都不可战胜的力量！况且，先生们，我们并非孤军作战。公正之神与我们同在，并主宰着一切国家的命运，并会唤起朋友们为我们进行战斗。先生们，战斗需要的不只是强大的力量，还需要机警，积极和勇敢；何况我们已经别无选择了。即使我们卑怯懦弱，想抽身而出，也已经太晚了。我们无路可退，回首只是屈从和被奴役！囚禁我们的枷锁早已铸成，镣铐的？啾声回荡在波士顿平原的上空！战争已经在所难免——那就让它来吧！先生们，我再说一遍，让它来吧！

先生们，不用再徒劳地试图缓和事态。各位可以高喊和平——但和平并不存在。事实上战争已经打响！很快，从北方席卷而来的风暴就将带来隆隆的炮声！我们的弟兄们已经奔赴战场！为何我们还在此袖手旁观？各位先生究竟想要什么？又能得到什么？莫非生命如此珍贵，和平如此美好，竟值得我们以镣铐和奴役为代价来获得？全能的主啊，快阻止他们吧！我不知道别人将选择怎样的道路，但对我来说，不自由，毋宁死！

Give Me Liberty, or Give Me Death

Patrick Henry

Mr. President,

No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope that it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining as I do, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty towards the majesty of heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that Siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourself how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these warlike preparations, which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be

reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motives for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer on the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done, to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free — if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending — if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance, by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable — and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry Peace, Peace — but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

独立宣言

[美国]托马斯·杰斐逊

托马斯·杰斐逊（1743—1826年），生于美国弗吉尼亚州，1762年毕业于威廉与玛丽学院，1767年取得律师资格。

杰斐逊1769年进入殖民地议会，为反英运动领袖之一。1774年的小册子《英属北美权利概要》（A Summary View of the Rights of British America）为杰斐逊重要的作品，指出英国国会无权为殖民地制订法律。1775年他随弗吉尼亚代表国出席在费城举行的第二次大陆会议，1776年因起草《独立宣言》而永垂不朽。《独立宣言》超越了一时一地的历史特殊意义，成为人类追求自身价值的伟大文献。

人类发展过程中，一个民族在必须解除同另一个民族的联系，并按照自然法则和上帝的旨意，以独立平等的身份立于世界列国之林时，出于对人类舆论的尊重，有必要把驱使他们独立的原因予以宣布。

我们认为下述真理是不言而喻的：所有的人生而平等，这是造物主赋予人们的不可剥夺的权利，其中包括生存权、自由权和追求幸福的权利。正是为了保障这些权利，人们才建立了政府，而政府的正当权利，则是经被统治者同意授予的。任何形式的政府，一旦破坏了这些目标，人民就有权利去改变它或废除它，并重新建立一个新的政府。新政府所依据的原则及其组织权力的方式，务必使人民相信：惟有这样才能够获得安全和幸福。

若审慎地考虑，一个成立已久的政府是不应当由于无关紧要和暂时的原因而予以更换的。而且过去的所有经验也说明了，人类更倾向于忍受尚能忍受的苦难，只要尚能忍受，人们都宁可选择忍受，而不愿去废除他们业已习惯的政府形式。

但是，当滥用职权和巧取豪夺的行为连绵不断、层出不穷，证明政府追求的目标是企图把人民置于专制主义统治之下时，人民就有权利，也有义务推翻这样的政府，并为自己未来的安全建立新的保障，这就是这些殖民地的人民一向忍受苦难，以及现在不得不起来改变原先政治制度的原因。

当今大不列颠国王（乔治三世）的统治历史，就是一部反复重演的伤天害理、巧取豪夺的历史。所有这些行径的惟一目的，就是要在各州之上建立一个独裁暴政。为证明这一点，就让以下的事实公诸全世界，让公正的世人作出评判。

他拒绝批准那些对公众利益最有益、最必要的法律。

他禁止他的总督们批准刻不容缓，极其重要的法律，要不就先行搁置这些法律直至征得他的同意，而这些法律被搁置后，他又对这些法律完全置之不理。

他拒绝批准方便大地区人民的其他的法律，除非这些地区的人民情愿放弃自己在立法机构中的代表权；而代表权对人民来说是无比珍贵的，只有暴君才畏惧它。

他把各州立法团体召集到特别的、极不方便的、远离政府档案库的地方去开会，其惟一的目的就是使他们疲于奔命，不得不顺从他的旨意。

他一再解散议会，只因为议会坚决反对他侵犯人民的权利。

他在解散众议院之后，又长时期地不让人民另选新的议会；于是这项不可剥夺的立法权便归由普通民众来行使，致使在这期间各州仍然处于内乱外患的危险之中。

他竭力抑制各州的人口增长；为此目的，他为《外国人归化法》设置障碍，拒绝批准其

他鼓励移民的法律，并提高了重新分配土地的条件。

他拒绝批准建立司法权力的法律，以阻挠司法机构的设置。

他迫使法官为了保住任期、薪金的数额和支付而不得不置于他个人意志的支配之下。

他滥设新官员职位，委派大批官员到这里侵扰我们的人民，吞噬他们的财物。

他不经我们立法机关的同意，在和平时就把常备军驻扎在我们各州。

他力图使军队独立于政权，并凌驾于政权之上。

他与某些人相互勾结，把我们置于一种既不符合我们的法规也未经我们法律承认的管辖之下，并批准他们自称的法案，目的是：

任其在我们这里驻扎大批武装部队；

不论这些人对我们各州居民犯下何等严重的谋杀罪，审判只是虚晃一枪，结果总让他们逍遥法外；

切断我们与世界各地的贸易；

未经我们同意便向我们强行征税；

在许多案件中剥夺我们的陪审权力；

以莫须有的罪名押送我们去海外受审；

在邻近的地区废除保障自由的英国法律体制，在那里建立专制政权，并扩大其疆域，使其立即成为一个样板和合适的工具，以便进而把同样的专制统治引向我们这些殖民地；

取消我们的宪章，废除我们最珍贵的法律并彻底改变我们各州政府的形式；

解散我们的议会，并宣称他们拥有代表我们的所有立法权。

他放弃设在这里的政府，宣称我们已不属他们保护之列，并向我们发动战争。

他掠夺我们的领海，蹂躏我们的海岸，焚烧我们的城市，屠杀我们的人民。

他此时正在运送大批外国雇佣兵，来从事其制造死亡、荒凉和暴政的勾当，其残忍与卑劣从一开始就连最野蛮的时代也难以相比，他已完全不配当一个文明国家的元首。

他强迫我们在公海被他们俘虏的同胞拿起武器反对自己的国家，使他们成为残杀自己亲友的刽子手，或使他们死于自己亲友的手下。

在遭受这些压迫的每一阶段，我们都曾以最谦卑的言词请求予以纠正；而我们一次又一次的请愿所得到的答复都只是一次又一次的伤害。一个君主，当他的每个行为都已打上暴君的烙印时，他已不配做自由人民的统治者。

我们也并未对我们大不列颠弟兄不予关照。

我们一再提醒他们，他们的立法机构企图把不合理的管辖权横加到我们头上。

我们也曾将此地移民和定居的种种实情告诉他们。

我们诉求于他们天赋的正义之心和宽宏之念，恳请他们念及同种同宗的情谊，抵制那些掠夺行为以免影响我们之间的联系和友谊。

但是，他们对这种正义的、血肉之亲的呼吁置若罔闻。因此，我们必须不理睬对我们脱离的痛斥，并且以对待世界上其他民族的态度对待他们：和我们作战的即是敌人，和我们和平相待的就是朋友。

因此，我们，集合在大会中的美利坚合众国的代表们，以这些殖民地的善良人民的名义，并经他们授权，向全世界最崇高的正义人士呼吁，说明我们的严正意向，同时庄严宣布：我们这些联合起来的殖民地现在是，而且按公理也应该是，独立自由的国家；我们对英国王室效忠的全部义务，我们与大不列颠王国之间的一切政治联系全部断绝，而且必须断绝。作为独立自由的国家，我们完全有权宣战、讲和、结盟、通商和采取独立国家有权采取的一切行动。

为了拥护此项宣言，我们怀着神明保佑的坚定信心，以我们的生命、我们的财产和我们神圣的荣誉，互相宣誓。

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The Declaration of Independence

Thomas Jefferson

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.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government.

The history of the present King of Great Britain [George III] is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers

to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them by a mock Trial from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear Arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren.

We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us.

We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here.

We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence.

They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

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 the 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.

...

西雅图酋长谈话

[美国]西雅图酋长

西雅图酋长（1786—1866年），杜瓦米许族印第安人，勇武且善于领导，以酋长身份统治德奥米希（Dwamish）和苏卡米什（Suquamish）等六个部落。西雅图早年受法国传教士的影响，信仰天主教。他的父亲与当地白人建立了友好关系，而他多年来一直维护着这种关系。1855年他与白人签订了埃利澳特港条约，并建立印第安人保留地，当时美国政府要将当地土人驱逐到“保留地”定居。本文就是西雅图在美国政府压力下的答复。

无数个世纪以来，浩渺苍天曾为我的族人挥洒下同情之泪；这人们看似永恒无易的苍天，实际上是会改变的：今天和风旭日，明日则可能乌云密布；但我的话却有如天空亘古的恒星，永不变更。华盛顿的大酋长可以像信赖日月季节更替一般，相信西雅图所说的话。

华盛顿的大酋长托白人酋长向我们致以友好的问候与祝愿。我们应该感谢他们的好意，因为我们知道他不需要我们的友情作为回报。他的子民众多，如广袤平原上无边的青草；我的族人寥寥，如风雨狂虐过后平原上的稀落树木。这位了不起的——我想也是仁慈的——白人酋长传话给我们，他愿意在为我们保留足够的土地过安逸生活的前提下，购买我们的土地。这看起来的确很合理，甚至该说是慷慨的，因为红种人已经没有要求受尊重的权利了；这个提议也许还是英明的，因为这么辽阔的国土对我们来说已经没有意义了。

曾几何时，我们的族人曾密密麻麻地布满了整片土地，就像随风涌浪的海水掩盖着满是贝壳的海底；但那个时代早已一去不复返了，部族曾经的辉煌只留给我们忧伤的回忆。我不愿再纠缠于我们部落过早的衰落，不愿再为此哀叹，也不愿将此归咎于白种兄弟，因为我们自己多少也有值得埋怨的地方。

年轻一代总是容易冲动。我们年轻的族人被或真实或虚幻的冤屈所激怒，用黑漆把脸涂黑，其实同时他们也抹黑了自己的心，变得残酷无情；而我们这些上了岁数的老人们又无力约束他们。然而，尽管一直都是如此，尽管自从白人把我们往西驱逐以来一直都是如此，但还是让我们寄希望于彼此之间的仇恨能够永远泯灭。仇恨能让我们失去一切，却毫无所得。对年轻人来说，可能复仇本身就是一种收获，即使那会让他们失去生命；但是那些在战时固守家园的老人，以及可能在战争中失去儿子的母亲们，懂得更多事情的真相。

我们在华盛顿的好父亲——自从乔治国王将他的边界线向北大举推进之后，我已经把他当成我们的，也是你们的父亲了——我说，我们了不起的好心肠的父亲传话来说，他会保护

我们，惟一的条件就是我们要按他说的去做。他神武的勇士将为我们筑起护卫之墙，他神奇的战舰会驻满我们的港口。这样一来，我们北边的宿敌——海达人和辛姆希人——再也不能威胁到我们的妇孺老弱。如此这般，他作为父亲，我们作为孩子就成了事实了。

但这可能吗？你们的上帝并不是我们的上帝；你们的上帝爱护你们的子民，却憎恨我的族人。他以他那有力的臂弯慈爱地环绕保护着白人，就像父亲指引新生儿般指引着他们；但是他却遗弃了他的红皮肤的孩子——如果我们真的能称做他的孩子们的话。

我们的上帝，那伟大的神灵，好像也已经遗弃了我们。你们的神让你们的人民一天天强大起来，很快就能占据整个大地；而我的族人却衰落得如激退的潮水一去不回了。白人的神不会爱护我们的同胞，不然他为何不保护他们，而让他们像孤儿一样求助无门？既然如此，我们怎能成为兄弟呢？你们的神又怎能成为我们的神，让我们重振雄风并唤醒我们重返昔日鼎盛时期的梦想呢？

假如我们真的有着同一位天父的话，那他也必定偏心，因为他只照看着他那白皮肤的儿子，我们却从来见不到他；他教给你们律法，对他红皮肤的儿子却无话要说，尽管他们曾经如繁星占满苍穹般遍布着整个大陆。不，我们是两个截然不同的种族，起源不同，命运也各异。我们之间几乎毫无共同点。

在我们看来，祖先的骨灰是神圣的，他们的安息之所也是圣地；而你们却似乎可以毫无哀痛感地远离祖先墓地。

你们的宗教，是你们的神恐怕你们遗忘，以铁指书写在石板之上的。红种人对此既不能领会也难以记住；我们的宗教传自我们的祖先——伟大的神灵于夜晚的神圣时刻，以梦的方式赐予我们族中长者，经过酋长们的洞察，铭刻在我们族人的心底。

你们的亡者一旦踏上墓地的大门，便不再爱护你们，也不再爱护曾经的故国家园。从此飘忽于群星之外，很快就被生者遗忘，也永不再回来。我们的逝者却永远不会遗忘这个曾赐予他生命的美丽世界。他们依然爱恋着青翠的峡谷，潺潺的河流，雄伟的大山，以及幽静的溪谷和碧绿的湖泊海湾；并且以最温柔体贴的情感牵挂着内心孤寂的生者，一次次地从他们极乐的狩猎之地回来，探望他们，指引他们，安抚他们。

白日与黑夜无法共存。白人所至之处，红人都会退避三舍，一如晨雾在太阳升起之前就早早消散一样。然而，你们这次的提议看上去很公道，我想我的族人会同意退居到你们所承诺的保留区去。如此一来，我们便可以和睦地分居两处，因为白人大酋长的话对我的同胞们来说，就好像大自然从如磐的黑暗中发出来的声音。

至于我们度过余生的地点，是无关紧要的。我们已经去日无多了。印第安人的夜晚只有一片漆黑，在他的地平线上不会再有希望的星星闪烁。忧伤的风在远处呜咽，残酷的命运尾随在红种人的身后，不论身在何方，都听得见无情的毁灭者靠近的脚步。他只能麻木地等待末日的到来，如同受伤的母亲鹿无奈地听着猎人靠近的声声脚步。

几经月圆月亏，几次寒来暑往，这个由伟大的神灵所护佑、曾经遍布广袤的大地、在自己堪比乐园的家园幸福生活的民族，将不会再有一名幸存的子孙，为一个曾经比你们更强大，更生机勃勃，如今却只剩下墓碑的部族哀哀哭泣。但我又何须为我族的灭亡而悲叹呢？一个部落没落，另一个部落兴起，一个民族灭亡，另一个民族崛起，如同潮起潮落；自然的法则如此，哀叹痛惜又有何益呢？你们没落的一天固然遥远，但终究还是会有那么一天的；就算白人能和上帝有如密友至交般亲密无间，也同样劫数难逃。我们终究是会成为同命相怜的兄弟的，我们就拭目以待吧。

我们会仔细权衡你们的提议，一作出决议就会告诉你们。但是要接受的话，我们还得先提一个条件：你们不能剥夺我们随时回去探望祖先、朋友和儿子坟墓的权利，也不可干扰刁难；对我们的族人而言，那里的每一寸土地都是神圣的。每一片山坡，每一处河谷，每一块平原，每一丛树林，都因我们族人早已远去的喜怒哀乐而变得圣洁无比；甚至那些静静躺在寂静的海边、被烈日暴晒的顽石，也因见证过族人们曾有的生气勃勃的生活而变得激动人心；甚至你们脚底的尘土也不会给予你们那种它曾给予我们的深情回应，因为它被我们祖先的鲜血所浸透，只有我们的赤足才更能感受到它那充满怜惜的触摸。

我们已逝的勇士，多情的母亲，欢欣的少女，甚至还有仅仅在这里生长嬉戏过一段短短的美好岁月的孩子们，都热恋着这一片黯淡荒寂的土地，并在夜幕降临之时，迎接那些蒙蒙的族人之魂飘然而归。

当最后一个红种人逝去，我们部落的回忆在白人心中已经成为神话之时，这里的海岸仍将聚集着我们族人无形的灵魂；当你们的后代以为他们是独自在田野、库房、商店、公路或者寂静的树林之中流连时，他们也绝非孤身一人。大地之上没有任何地方是真正孤寂的；夜

深入静，当你们城镇或村庄的街道悄然入梦，也许你会以为此刻它们都是荒芜无生命的。其实不然，街上将挤满了回归故园的亡魂。他们曾生活在这里，至今仍然热爱这片美丽的故土。有他们相伴，白人永远不会感到孤单。

愿他公正友善地对待我的族人，因为死者并不是无能为力的。我说他们是死者吗？不，世上并没有“死亡”一说——他们只是去了另外一个世界。

The "Alternate Statement" of Chief Seattle

Chief Seattle

Yonder sky that has wept tears of compassion upon my people for centuries untold, and which to us appears changeless and eternal, may change. Today is fair. Tomorrow it may be overcast with clouds. My words are like the stars that never change. Whatever Seattle says, the great chief at Washington can rely upon with as much certainty as he can upon the return of the sun or the seasons.

The white chief says that Big Chief at Washington sends us greetings of friendship and goodwill. This is kind of him for we know he has little need of our friendship in return. His people are many. They are like the grass that covers vast prairies. My people are few. They resemble the scattering trees of a storm swept plain. The great, and I presume — good, White Chief sends us word that he wishes to buy our lands but is willing to allow us enough to live comfortably. This indeed appears just, even generous, for the Red Man no longer has rights that he need respect, and the offer may be wise also, as we are no longer in need of an extensive country.

There was a time when our people covered the land as the waves of a wind ruffled sea cover its shell paved floor, but that time long since passed away with the greatness of tribes that are now but a mournful memory. I will not dwell on, nor mourn over, our untimely decay, nor reproach my paleface brothers with hastening it, as we too may have been somewhat to blame.

Youth is impulsive. When our young men grow angry at some real or imaginary wrong, and disfigure their faces with black paint, it denotes that their hearts are black, and that they are often cruel and relentless, and our old men and old women are unable to restrain them. Thus it has ever been. Thus it was when the white man began to push our forefathers ever westward. But let us hope that the hostilities between us may never return. We would have everything to lose and nothing to gain. Revenge by young men is considered gain, even at the cost of their own lives, but old men who stay at home in times of war, and mothers who have sons to lose, know better.

Our good father in Washington — for I presume he is now our father as well as yours, since King George has moved his boundaries further north — our great and good father, I say, sends us word that if we do as he desires he will protect us. His brave warriors will be to us a bristling wall of strength, and his wonderful ships of war will fill our harbors, so that our ancient enemies far to the northward— the Haidas and Tsimshians, will cease to frighten our women, children, and old men. He in reality he will be our father and we will be his children.

But can that ever be? Your God is not our God! Your God loves your people and hates mine! He folds his strong protecting arms lovingly about the paleface and leads him by the hand as a father leads an infant son. But, He has forsaken His Red children, if they really are His.

Our God, the Great Spirit, seems also to have forsaken us. Your God makes your people wax stronger every day. Soon they will fill all the land. Our people are ebbing away like a rapidly receding tide that will never return. The white man's God cannot love our people or He would protect them. They seem to be orphans who can look nowhere for help. How then can we be brothers? How can your God become our God and renew our prosperity and awaken in us dreams of returning greatness?

If we have a common Heavenly Father He must be partial, for He came to His paleface children. We never saw Him. He gave you laws but had no word for His red children whose teeming multitudes once filled this vast continent as stars fill the firmament. No, we are two distinct races with separate origins and separate destinies. There is little in common between us.

To us the ashes of our ancestors are sacred and their resting place is hallowed ground. You wander far from the graves of your ancestors and seemingly without regret.

Your religion was written upon tablets of stone by the iron finger of your God so that you could not forget. The Red Man could never comprehend or remember it. Our religion is the traditions of our ancestors — the dreams of our old men, given them in solemn hours of the night by the Great Spirit; and the visions of our sachems, and is written in the hearts of our people.

Your dead cease to love you and the land of their nativity as soon as they pass the portals of the tomb and wander away beyond the stars. They are soon forgotten and never return. Our dead never forget this beautiful world that gave them being. They still love its verdant valleys, its murmuring rivers, its magnificent mountains, sequestered vales and verdant lined lakes and bays, and ever yearn in tender fond affection over the lonely hearted living, and often return from the happy hunting ground to visit, guide, console, and comfort them.

Day and night cannot dwell together. The Red Man has ever fled the approach of the White Man, as the morning mist flees before the morning sun. However, your proposition seems fair and I think that my people will accept it and will retire to the reservation you offer them. Then we will dwell apart in peace, for the words of the Great White Chief seem to be the words of nature speaking to my people out of dense darkness.

It matters little where we pass the remnant of our days. They will not be many. The Indian's night promises to be dark. Not a single star of hope hovers above his horizon. Sad voiced winds moan in the distance. Grim fate seems to be on the Red Man's trail, and wherever he will hear the approaching footsteps of his fell destroyer and prepare stolidly to meet his doom, as does the wounded doe that hears the approaching footsteps of the hunter.

A few more moons, a few more winters, and not one of the descendants of the mighty hosts that once moved over this broad land or lived in happy homes, protected by the Great Spirit, will remain to mourn over the graves of a people once more powerful and hopeful than yours. But why should I mourn at the untimely fate of my people? Tribe follows tribe, and nation follows nation, like the waves of the sea. It is the order of nature, and regret is useless. Your time of decay may be distant, but it will surely come, for even the White Man whose God walked and talked with him as friend with friend, cannot be exempt from the common destiny. We may be brothers after all. We will see.

We will ponder your proposition and when we decide we will let you know. But should we accept it, I here and now make this condition that we will not be denied the privilege without molestation of visiting at any time the tombs of our ancestors, friends, and children. Every part of this soil is sacred in the estimation of my people. Every hillside, every valley, every plain and grove, has been

hallowed by some sad or happy event in days long vanished. Even the rocks, which seem to be dumb and dead as they swelter in the sun along the silent shore, thrill with memories of stirring events connected with the lives of my people, and the very dust upon which you now stand responds more lovingly to their footsteps than yours, because it is rich with the blood of our ancestors, and our bare feet are conscious of the sympathetic touch.

Our departed braves, fond mothers, glad, happy hearted maidens, and even the little children who lived here and rejoiced here for a brief season, will love these somber solitudes and at eventide they greet shadowy returning spirits.

And when the last Red Man shall have perished, and the memory of my tribe shall have become a myth among the White Men, these shores will swarm with the invisible dead of my tribe, and when your children think themselves alone in the field, the store, the shop, upon the highway, or in the silence of the pathless woods, they will not be alone. In all the earth there is no place dedicated to solitude. At night when the streets of your cities and villages are silent and you think them deserted, they will throng with the returning hosts that once filled them and still love this beautiful land. The White Man will never be alone.

Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not powerless. Dead, did I say? — There is no death, only a change of worlds.

第一次就职演说

[美国]亚伯拉罕·林肯

亚伯拉罕·林肯（1809—1865年），美国总统，共和党人。生于农民家庭，青年时代当过工人、石匠和店员，先后任过州议员、律师、众议员。主张维护联邦统一，废除农奴制。任内发表了《解放宣言》，提出“民有、民治、民享”的口号，并领导人民投入南北战争，重新统一了美国。1864年连任总统。1865年4月14日被南方奴隶主反对派指使的暴徒杀害。

这个国家及其机构，属于居住在这里的人民。一旦他们对现存政府感到不能容忍，就可以行使他们的宪法权利去改组政府，或者行使革命权利去推翻它。我当然知道，许多可贵的、爱国的公民渴望宪法能得到修改。尽管我未提出修改宪法的建议，但我完全承认人民对整个国家所具有的合法权利，他们可以施行宪法本身所规定的两种方式中的任何一种；在目前情况下，我应该赞同而不是反对公平地为人们提供对此采取行动的机会。……

总统的一切权力来自人民，但人民没有授权给他为各州的分离制造条件。如果人民有此意愿，那他们可以这样做，而作为总统来说，则不可能这样做。他的责任是管理交给他的这一届政府，并将它完整地移交给他的继任者。

为什么我们不能对人民所具有的最高的公正抱有坚韧的信念呢？世界上还有比这更好或一样好的希望吗？在我们目前的分歧中，难道双方都缺乏足够的自信吗？如果全能的主以其永恒

的真理和公正支持北方这一边，或者支持南方这一边，那么，真理和公正必将通过美国人民这个伟大法庭的裁决而取得胜利。

就是这些美国人民，通过我们现有的政府结构，明智地只给他们的公仆很小的权力，使他们不能为害，并且同样明智地每隔很短的时间就把那小小的权力收回到自己手中。只要人民保持美德和警惕，无论怎样作恶和愚蠢的执政人员都不能在短短四年的任期内十分严重地损害政府。

我的同胞们，大家平静而认真地思考整个问题吧。任何宝贵的东西都不会因为从容对待而丧失。假使有一个目标火急地催促你们中的一位采取措施，而你决不能从容不迫，那么那个目标会因从容对待而落空；但是，任何好的目标是不会因为从容对待而落空的。现在感到不满意的人仍然有着原来的、完好无损的宪法，而且，在敏感问题上，你们有着自己根据这部宪法制定的各项法律，而新的一届政府即使想改变这两种情况，也没有直接的权力那样做。那些不满意的人在这场争论中即使被承认是站在正确的一边，也没有一点正当理由采取鲁莽的行动。理智、爱国主义、基督精教神以及对从不抛弃这片幸福土地的上帝的信仰，这些仍然能以最好的方式来解决我们目前的一切困难。

不满现状的同胞们，内战这个重大问题的关键掌握在你们手中，而不掌握在我手中。政府不会对你们发动攻击。你们不做挑衅者，就不会面临冲突。你们没有对天发誓要毁灭政府；我却要立下最庄严的誓言：“坚守、维护和捍卫它”。

我不愿意结束我的讲话。我们之间不是敌人，而是朋友。我们一定不要相互为敌。尽管我们会感情冲动，但也不会反目成仇。那神秘的记忆之弦将延伸到每一个战场、每一个爱国将士的坟墓和我们广阔疆土上每一颗跳动的心以及每一个温暖的家庭；我们善良的天性必将再次拨动这根心弦，自豪地唱起联邦大合唱。

First Inaugural Address

Abraham Lincoln

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should under existing circumstances favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. ...

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the states. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth, and that justice, will surely prevail, by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people.

By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very

short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it.

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

解 放 宣 言

[美国]亚伯拉罕·林肯

1861年美国内战爆发后，林肯于1862年9月22日，在国会上发表了《解放宣言》的第二稿。1863年1月1日正式向全世界公布。本文是1863年1月1日的定稿。

公元1862年9月22日，联邦总统公布了一项宣言，内容如下：

“从公元1863年1月1日起，如果任何一州或州内指定地区仍保留有奴隶，当地人民将被视为是反叛合众国政府的。所有被定为奴隶者都应获得自由，并永远享有自由的权利。合众国政府，包括陆、海军当局，承认并维护上述人员的自由。对于这些人为了争取真正自由而作出的努力，政府和当局不采取任何压制行动。

从1863年1月1日起，如果在任何一州或地区有反叛合众国者，总统将会认定并宣布其为反叛合众国政府之州或地区。而由多数合格选民选出代表，并将富有诚意地加入合众国国会的州，如果无其他有力反证，该州及其人民将被确认为不反叛合众国政府的。”

现在，我，亚伯拉罕·林肯，合众国总统，在合众国政府及其权威受到武装叛乱威胁之际，根据合众国陆、海军总司令的职权，为剿灭叛乱而必须采取适当的军事手段，在1863年1月1日即上次为此目的而发表宣言满100天之际，正式宣布并认定下列各州、州内部分地区及其人民反叛合众国政府，他们为：

“阿肯色州、德克萨斯州、路易斯安那州（以下地区除外：圣伯纳、帕拉奎明斯、杰弗逊、圣约翰、圣查尔斯、圣詹姆斯、阿克森、阿森姆逊、特里本、拉孚切、圣玛丽、圣马丁和奥尔良各教区、包括新奥尔良市）、密西西比州、亚拉巴马州、佛罗里达州、佐治亚州、南卡罗来纳州、北卡罗来纳州及弗吉尼亚州（西弗吉尼亚的四十八个县以及柏克莱县、阿康玛克县、诺斯汉姆顿县、伊丽莎白市、约克、安公主与诺福克县，包括诺福克市及扑茨茅斯市除外）。同时明确规定，目前对上述除外的各地区仍然保持本宣言公布前的原状。”

根据上述目的以及我本人的权力，我正式命令并宣布：在上述各州及州内部分地区，所有被称为奴隶者，从现在起，获得自由，并永远享有自由的权利。合众国政府，包括陆、海军当局，承认及维护上述人员的自由。

我在此告诫上述宣布获得自由的人员，除了迫不得已的自卫外，应避免使用任何暴力；同时奉劝他们，只要条件允许，在任何条件下都应该勤恳地工作，以取得合理的薪金。

我还要宣布，上述人员如符合条件，可以应征入伍，守卫堡垒要塞、据点兵站及其他地方；亦可在各种军舰上服役。

我真诚地认为，依照宪法规定，必要时动用军事行动保证宣言得以实施，这是正义之举。我请求人们对此行动予以谅解，请求全能的上帝慈悲赐福。

The Emancipation Proclamation

Abraham Lincoln

Whereas, on the 22nd day of September, A.D. 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

“That on the 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, all persons held as slaves with in any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

“That the Executive will, on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.”

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion