

Neither can embellishments of language
be found without expression of thoughts
Nor can thoughts be made to shine
without the light of language.

——Cicero

没有思想的表露，就无法为语言添枝加叶；
没有语言的光泽，就无法让思想光彩照人。

——[古罗马]西塞罗

Patrick Henry

**GIVE ME LIBERTY,
OR GIVE ME DEATH**

March 23, 1775

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 fulfil 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,

帕特里克·亨利*

不自由 毋宁死！

1775年3月23日

议长先生：

没有人比我更钦佩刚刚在议会上发言的尊贵的先生们的爱国精神和才能。但是，对同一问题的看法往往因人而异；因此，如果我持有截然不同的观点，并且毫无顾忌、毫无保留地说出来，希望不要被视为对先生们的不敬。现在不是讲客套话的时候。议会面临的问题是国家正处于严重的关头。我认为，这个问题关系到享受自由还是蒙受奴役，而且由于事关重大，必须允许自由辩论。只有这样，我们才可望澄清事实，完成上帝和祖国赋予的重任。在这种时刻，如果怕冒犯别人而闭口不言，我认为就是叛国，就是对比世间所有国君更为神圣的上帝的不忠。

议长先生，对希望抱有幻觉是人的天性。我们易于闭起眼睛，不愿正视痛苦的现实，而去倾听海妖的

* 帕特里克·亨利(1736—1799)，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。本篇发表于该州第2届议会，主张武装独立，反对妥协和解，在美国革命文献史上占有重要地位。

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 yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these war-like 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 unwill-

歌声，直到她把我们化为禽兽。在为自由而进行伟大而艰巨的斗争时，这难道是聪明人的作为吗？难道我们愿意成为对获得救赎这样休戚相关的事视而不见，听而不闻的人吗？对我来说，无论在精神上会多么痛苦，我仍然愿意了解全部真相和最坏的事态，并做好最坏打算。

我只有一盏指路明灯，那就是经验之灯。除了过去的经验，我别无他法判断未来。而根据过去的经验，我倒希望知道，10年来英国政府的所作所为，凭什么足以使各位有理由满怀希望，并欣然用来安慰自己和议会？难道是最接近接受我们请愿时的那种狡诈的微笑吗？先生们，别相信这种微笑；事实将证明它是你们脚旁的陷阱。不要因人家的亲吻而被出卖！请各位自问，宽厚地接受我们的请愿，怎能与遍布我们海陆疆域的大规模备战相称呢？难道出于爱护与和解，有必要动用战舰和军队吗？难道我们表示过不愿和解，必须用武力赢回我们的爱吗？先生们，不要再自欺欺人了。这些都是战争和征服的手段，是国王最后的托词。请问先生们，如果不是为了迫使我们就范，这些战争部署意味着什么？各位能指出有其他动机吗？难道在世界这一角，还有别的敌人值得大不列颠兴师动众，集结起庞大的海陆武装吗？不，先生们，

ing 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 pro-

没有任何敌人了。一切都是针对我们，而不是针对别人的。他们是派来给我们套紧那条英国政府早就铸造好的锁链的。我们靠什么进行反抗呢？靠争辩吗？先生们，我们已经争辩了 10 年了。难道在这个问题上还提得出新的意见吗？提不出了。我们已经从各方面进行了考虑，但一切都是枉然。难道我们要苦苦哀告，卑词乞求吗？难道我们还有什么话没有说过吗？先生们，我请求你们不要再自欺欺人了。为了阻止这场即将来临的风暴，一切该做的都已经做了。我们请愿过，我们抗议过，我们哀求过；我们曾拜倒在英王御座前，恳求他制止内阁和国会的残暴。然而，我们的请愿受到了蔑视，我们的抗议招致了更多的镇压和凌辱，我们的哀求被置之不理，我们被轻蔑地从御座边一脚踢开了。事到如今，即使我们怀有和平与谅解的美好希望，也已经无济于事，没有任何希望的余地了。如果我们想获得自由——如果我们真要维护为之奋斗已久、使之不受侵犯的宝贵权利——如果我们不愿卑微地放弃我们长期进行的、誓言不达目的决不罢休的崇高斗争，那么，我们就必须战斗！我再说一遍，先生们，我们必须战斗！我们别无选择，只有诉诸武力，求助于战争之神！

先生们，他们说我们太弱小，无法抗御如此强大

duced 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 the 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

的敌人。可是，我们何时才能强大？是下周，还是明年？难道要等到我们被彻底解除武装，家家户户都有英军把守的时候？难道我们犹豫不决，无所作为，就能积聚起力量？难道我们高枕而卧，抱着虚幻的希望，等到敌人捆住我们的手脚，才能找到抗敌良策？先生们，只要我们能妥善利用自然之神赐予我们的力量，我们就不弱小。300 万人民为着神圣的自由事业武装起来，而且拥有这样一片国土，这是敌人派遣任何部队都无法战胜的。此外，先生们，我们并不是孤军奋战。公正的上帝主宰着各国的命运，他将号召朋友们为我们而战。先生们，战斗的胜利并非只属于强者，而属于机警、主动和勇敢的一方。何况我们已经别无选择。即使我们没有骨气，想退出战斗，也为时已晚。我们已经没有退路，除非甘受屈辱和奴役！囚禁我们的枷锁已经铸成！叮当的镣铐声已经在波士顿平原上回响！战争已经不可避免——让它来吧！我重复一遍，先生们，让它来吧！

先生们，企图缓和事态是徒劳的。各位可以高呼“和平、和平”——但根本不存在和平。战争实际上已经打响！从北方刮来的又一次风暴，将把武器的铿锵回响传到我们的耳际！我们的弟兄已经奔赴战场！我们为什么还站在这里袖手旁观？各位究竟想要什么？

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!

他们会得到什么？难道生命这么可贵，和平这么甜蜜，竟值得以镣铐和奴役作为代价？全能的上帝啊，制止他们这样做吧！我不知道别人走哪条路，至于我 不自由 毋宁死！

Samuel Adams

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

August 1, 1776

We are now on this continent, to the astonishment of the world, three millions of souls united in one cause. We have large armies, well disciplined and appointed, with commanders inferior to none in military skill, and superior in activity and zeal. We are furnished with arsenals and stores beyond our most sanguine expectations, and foreign nations are waiting to crown our success by their alliances. There are instances of, I would say, an almost astonishing Providence in our favor; our success has staggered our enemies, and almost given faith to infidels; so we may truly say it is not our own arm which has saved us.

The hand of Heaven appears to have led us on to be, perhaps, humble instruments and means in the great providential dispensation which is completing. We have fled from the political Sodom; let us not look back, lest we perish and become a monument of infamy and derision to the world. For can we ever expect more unanimity and a better preparation for defense; more infatuation of counsel among our enemies, and more valor and zeal among ourselves? The same force and resistance

塞缪尔·亚当斯·

美利坚的独立

1776 年 8 月 1 日

我们今天屹立于这片大陆，300 万同胞为着同一项事业联合起来，这使全世界感到震惊。我们的军队人数众多，训练有素，装备精良；我们的指挥官具有第一流的军事才能，而且精力过人，热情超群。我们备足了弹药粮草，其数量超出了最乐观的估计。外国等待着与我们结盟，以正式承认我们的胜利。我可以说，种种迹象表明，上帝几乎是令人惊讶地站在我们一边；我们的成功动摇了敌人，并几乎使丧失信念者恢复了信念。所以，我们可以确切地说，拯救我们的并不是我们自己。

看来，上帝之手一直在指引我们，也许要让我们成为谦卑的工具，去实现正在实现的伟大的天命。我们已经逃脱了政治厄运；我们切莫回头张望，以免遭到灭顶之灾，为世界所耻笑。因为我们的步调已经一致，我们的防卫已经就绪；敌人茫然失措，意见不一，

塞缪尔·亚当斯（1722—1803），美国独立战争时期政治家，律师，第二任总统约翰·亚当斯的堂兄。本篇为《独立宣言》签署后，针对主和派的妥协论调，在费城向州议会发表的演说。

which are sufficient to procure us our liberties will secure us a glorious independence and support us in the dignity of free, imperial states. We cannot suppose that our opposition has made a corrupt and dissipated nation more friendly to America, or created in them a greater respect for the rights of mankind; we can therefore expect a restoration and establishment of our privileges, and a compensation for the injuries we have received, from their want of power, from their fears, and not from their virtues. The unanimity and valor which will effect an honorable peace can render a future contest for our liberties unnecessary. He who has strength to chain down the wolf is a madman if he let him loose without drawing his teeth and paring his nails.

We have no other alternative than independence, or the most ignominious and galling servitude. The legions of our enemies thicken on our plains; desolation and death mark their bloody career; whilst the mangled corpses of our countrymen seem to cry out to us as a voice from Heaven.

Our union is now complete; our constitution composed, established, and approved. You are now the guardians of your own liberties. We may justly address you, as the *decemviri* did the Romans, and say: "Nothing that we propose can pass into a law without your consent. Be yourselves, O Americans, the authors of those laws on which your happiness

而我们英勇无畏，热情高涨，难道还能有比这更好的时机吗？我们的力量和抵抗足以使我们赢得自由，同样，它也将确保我们赢得光荣的独立，并维护自由而庄严的各州的尊严。不能设想，由于我们的抵抗，一个腐朽堕落的国家^①就会对美利坚变得较为友好，或变得更为尊重人权；我们因而就可以期望他们出于对权力的追求，或出于恐惧而不是德行，重新恢复我们的权利，并补偿我们所受到的伤害。步调一致和英勇无畏将会带来光荣的和平，进而使我们在将来不必再为自由而搏斗。如果有力量逮住恶狼，却又不斩除它的尖牙利爪，反而任其逍遥，这个人一定是疯子。

要么独立 要么蒙受最卑劣最残忍的奴役 我们别无选择。在我们的大平原上，敌人已经重兵压境；荒芜和死亡就是他们的血腥行径；同胞们的血肉模糊的尸体在向我们呐喊，这喊声仿佛来自上苍。

我们的联盟已经组成；我们的宪法^②已经起草、制定并获得通过。你们现在就是自身自由的卫士了。我们可以理直气壮地像罗马执政官告诉罗马人那样对你们说：“没有你们的赞同，我们的任何提议均不能成为法律。美利坚人，实施那些保障着你们的幸福

指英国。

指根据大陆会议精神而拟定的州宪法。

depends.”

You have now in the field armies sufficient to repel the whole force of your enemies and their base and mercenary auxiliaries. The hearts of your soldiers beat high with the spirit of freedom; they are animated with the justice of their cause, and while they grasp their swords can look up to Heaven for assistance. Your adversaries are composed of wretches who laugh at the rights of humanity, who turn religion into derision, and would, for higher wages, direct their swords against their leaders or their country. Go on, then, in your generous enterprise, with gratitude to Heaven for past success, and confidence of it in the future. For my own part, I ask no greater blessing than to share with you the common danger and common glory. If I have a wish dearer to my soul than that my ashes may be mingled with those of a Warren and a Montgomery, it is that these American States may never cease to be free and independent.

的法律条文吧！”

你们的士兵已经开赴战场，足以击退所有敌人，包括他们的精锐部队和雇佣军。士兵们的心在自由精神的鼓舞下剧烈跳动；他们为正义事业而群情激奋，他们一旦举起刀剑，就能得到上帝的帮助。你们的敌人卑鄙无耻，嘲弄人权，把宗教化作笑柄，为了高额赏金，他们会把矛头指向自己的首领和祖国。所以，继续你们伟大的事业吧！你们要为以往的胜利感谢上帝，并坚信将来会赢得胜利。对我来说，除了与你们分担危险，共享光荣，我别无他求。如果我有一个心愿，那就是将我的骨灰同沃伦和蒙哥马利^①的撒在一起；如果我有一个更强烈的心愿，那就是：让美利坚各州获得永久的自由和独立！

均为献身于独立革命事业的志士。