

美国读本：感动了整个国家的文字 (The American Reader)

目 录

殖民时期和美国革命

Colonial Days and the Revolution

"五月花号"公约 (The Mayflower Compact)	
穷理查年鉴 (Poor Richard's Almanack)	班 哲 明 · 富 兰 克 林 (Benjamin Franklin)
为出版自由辩护 (Defense of Freedom of the Press)	安 德 鲁 · 汉 密 尔 顿 (Andrew Hamilton)
限制搜查和扣押的要求 (A Demand to Limit Search and Seizure)	詹 姆 斯 · 奥 蒂 斯 (James Otis)
洋基歌 (Yankee Doodle)	
自 由 和 知 识 (Liberty and	约 翰 · 亚 当 斯 (John

Knowledge)	Adams)
自由之歌 (The Liberty Song)	约翰·迪金森 (John Dickinson)
洛根首领的哀辞 (Chief Logan's Lament)	
奴隶向麻塞诸塞皇家总督的申诉 (The Slaves' Appeal to the Royal Governor of Massachusetts)	
在第二次佛吉尼亚大会上的演说 (Speech to the Second Virginia Convention)	帕特里克·亨利 (Patrick Henry)
独立宣言 (The Declaration of Independence)	托马斯·杰斐逊 (Thomas Jefferson)
维吉尼亚宗教自由法令 (A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom in Virginia)	托马斯·杰斐逊 (Thomas Jefferson)
常识 (Common Sense)	托马斯·潘恩 (Thomas Paine)
北美的危机 (The American Crisis)	托马斯·潘恩 (Thomas Paine)
《自由之树》(Liberty Tree)	托马斯·潘恩 (Thomas Paine)
与约翰的通信 (Correspondence with John)	艾碧琪·亚当斯 Abigail Adams
一个美国农民的信 (Letters from an American Farmer)	J. 赫克托·圣约翰·克雷夫科尔

	(J. Hector St.-John de Crevecoeur)
<p>新 国 家</p> <p>The New Nation</p>	
告别演说 (Farewell Address)	乔治·华盛顿 (George Washington)
嗨！哥伦比亚 (Hail, Columbia)	约瑟夫·霍普金森 (Joseph Hopkinson)
第一任就职演说 (First Inaugural Address)	托马斯·杰斐逊 (Thomas Jefferson)
星条旗 (The Star-Spangled Banner)	弗朗西斯·斯科特·克伊 (Francis Scott Key)
旧橡木桶 (The Old Oaken Bucket)	塞缪尔·伍德沃思 (Samuel Woodworth)
家，甜蜜的家 (Home, Sweet Home)	约翰·霍华德·佩恩 (John Howard Payne)
圣尼古拉来访 (A Visit from St. Nicholas)	克莱门特·克拉克·穆尔 (Clement Clarke Moore)
美国爱国主义的意义 (The Meaning of Patriotism in America)	弗朗西丝·赖特 (Frances Wright)

反对州废除联邦法令的做法 (Against Nullification)	丹尼尔·韦伯斯特 (Daniel Webster)
樵夫，别砍那棵树 (Woodman, Spare That Tree)	乔治·珀金斯·莫里斯 (George Perkins Morris)
《荒谬之极》和《老铁壁》 (The Height of the Ridiculous and Old Ironsides)	奥利弗·温德尔·霍姆斯 (Oliver Wendell Holmes)
亚美利加 (America)	塞缪尔·F·史密斯 (Samuel F. Smith)
南北战争之前的美国：改革与扩张 Antebellum America: Reform and Expansion	
康科德之歌 (Concord Hymn)	拉尔夫·沃尔多·爱默生 (Ralph Waldo Emerson)
自助 (Self-Reliance)	拉尔夫·沃尔多·爱默生 (Ralph Waldo Emerson)
在老斯莫基山顶上 (On Top of Old Smoky)	
哥伦比亚，大海上的明珠 (Columbia, the Gem	

of the Ocean)	
《生活的赞美诗》《乡村铁匠》和《保罗·里维尔骑马来》 (A Psalm of Life) (The Village Blacksmith) and (Paul Revere's Ride)	亨利·沃兹沃思·朗费罗 (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)
论公民的不服从 (Civil Disobedience)	亨利·大卫·梭罗 (Henry David Thoreau)
沃尔登《湖滨散记》 (Walden)	亨利·大卫·梭罗 (Henry David Thoreau)
光脚丫的孩子 (The Barefoot Boy)	约翰·格林利夫·惠梯尔 (John Greenleaf Whittier)
反对墨西哥战争 (Against the Mexican War)	托马斯·科温 (Thomas Corwin)
公立学校的状况 (The Case for Public Schools)	霍勒斯·曼 (Horace Mann)
塞尼卡福尔斯感伤宣言与决议 (Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions)	
在俄亥俄妇女权利大会上的讲话 (Address to the Ohio Women's Rights Convention)	索乔纳·特鲁斯 (Sojourner Truth)
《哦，苏珊娜!》和《故乡的亲人》(Oh! Susanna) and (Old Folks at Home)	史蒂芬·福斯特 (Stephen Foster)

在纽约立法机关作的关于女权的演说 (Address to the Legislature of New York on Women's Rights)	伊丽莎白·凯蒂·斯坦顿 (Elizabeth Cady Stanton)
西雅图酋长的演说 (Chief Seattle's Oration)	
一位失望的女人 (A Disappointed Woman)	露西·斯通 (Lucy Stone)
成功 (Success)	艾米莉·狄金森 (Emily Dickinson)
内 战 的 前 奏 Prelude to War	
沃尔克的呼吁书 (Walker's Appeal)	戴维·沃 尔 克 (David Walker)
《解放者》报发刊词 (Prospectus for The Liberator)	威廉·劳埃德·加里森 (William Lloyd Garrison)
时代的诗篇 (Stanzas for the Times)	约翰·格林里夫·惠蒂埃 (John Greenleaf Whittier)
对有色人种的偏见 (Prejudice Against the Colored Man)	西 奥 多 ·S. 莱 特 (Theodore S. Wright)
对奴隶制作证 (Bearing Witness Against	安吉莉娜·格里姆凯

Slavery)	(Angelina Grimke)
对美利坚合众国黑奴们的演说 (An Address to the Slaves of the United States of America)	亨利·海苏德·加尼特 (Henry Highland Garnet)
危机当前 (The Present Crisis)	詹姆斯·拉塞尔·洛威尔 (James Russell Lowell)
在罗切斯特的独立日演说 (Independence Day Speech at Rochester)	弗雷德里克·道格拉斯 (Frederick Douglass)
"分裂之家"演说词 (The House Divided Speech)	亚伯拉罕·林肯 (Abraham Lincoln)
林肯一道格拉斯辩论 (The Lincoln-Douglas Debates)	
在法庭上的最后陈述 (Last Statement to the Court)	约翰·布朗 (John Brown)
在库珀学会的演说 (The Cooper Union Speech)	亚伯拉罕·林肯 (Abraham Lincoln)
去吧，摩西 (Go Down, Moses)	
美国内战 The Civil War	

迪克西 (Dixie)	丹尼尔.迪凯特.埃米特 (Daniel Decatur Emmett)
第一任就职演说 (First Inaugural Address)	亚伯拉罕.林肯 (Abraham Lincoln)
美丽的蓝旗 (The Bonnie Blue Flag)	哈里.麦卡锡 (Harry MaCarthy)
马里兰，我的马里兰 (Maryland, My Maryland)	詹姆斯.赖德.苏德尔 (James Ryder Randall)
为自由而战的呐喊 (Battle Cry of Freedom)	乔治.F.鲁特 (George F. Root)
约翰.布朗之歌 (The John Brown Song)	
共和国战歌 (Battle Hymn of the Republic)	朱莉娅.沃德.豪 (Julia Ward Howe)
巴巴拉.弗里彻 (Barbara Frietchie)	约翰.格林利夫.惠蒂埃 (John Greenleaf Whittier)
葛底斯堡演说 (The Gettysburg Address)	亚伯拉罕.林肯 (Abraham Lincoln)
第二任就职演说 (Second Inaugural Address)	亚伯拉罕.林肯 (Abraham Lincoln)
《我听见美洲在歌唱》和《啊，船长！我的船长》 (I Hear America Singing and O Captain! My	瓦尔特.惠特曼 (Walt Whitman)

Captain!)	
对美国反对奴隶制协会的演说 (Speech to the American Anti-Slavery Society)	弗雷德里克·道格拉斯 (Frederick Douglass)
内 战 之 后 After the Civil War	
南北军将士 (The Blue and the Gray)	弗朗西斯·达尔斯·芬奇 (Francis Miles Finch)
妇女的选举权 (Women's Right to Vote)	苏珊·B. 安东尼 (Susan B. Anthony)
约翰·亨利之歌 (The Ballad of John Henry)	
牧场是我家 (Home on the Range)	
我一直工作在铁道上 (I've Been Working on the Railroad)	
百年耻辱 (A Century of Dishonor)	海 伦 · 亨 特 · 杰 克 逊 (Helen Hunt Jackson)
在全国黑人大会上的发言 (Speech at the National Convention of Colored Men)	弗雷德里克·道格拉斯 (Frederick Douglass)
新的巨像 (The New Colossus)	埃玛·拉札勒斯 (Emma Lazarus)

克莱门泰 (Clementine)	
凯西在垒球 (Casey at the Bat)	欧内斯特·劳伦斯·泰尔 (Ernest Lawrence Thayer)
霜降南瓜 (When the Frost is on the Punkin)	詹姆斯·惠特康姆·赖利 (James Whitcomb Riley)
玉米甜糕已蒸熟 (When de Co'n Pone's Hot)	保罗·劳伦斯·邓巴 (Paul Laurence Dunbar)
工人要求什么？ (What Does the Working Man Want.)	塞缪尔·冈珀斯 (Samuel Gompers)
效忠誓词 (The Pledge of Allegiance)	
加利福尼亚的山 (The Mountains of California)	约翰·缪尔 (John Muir)
美丽的亚美利加 (America the Beautiful)	凯瑟琳·李·贝茨 (Katharine Lee Bates)
亚特兰大博览会演讲 (The Atlanta Exposition Address)	布克·T. 华盛顿 (Booker T. Washington)
驳布克·T. 华盛顿的演讲 (Reply to Booker T. Washington)	约翰·霍普 (John Hope)
对普莱西诉弗格森一案裁决的异议 (Dissent from Plessy v. Ferguson)	约翰·马歇尔·哈伦 (John Marshall Harlan)
赞奋斗不息 (In Praise of the Strenuous)	西奥多·罗斯福

Life)	(Theodore Roosevelt)
反对帝国主义 (Against Imperialism)	乔治·弗里斯比·霍尔 (George Frisbie Hoar)
不 (No)	乔斯·迪·迪戈 (Jose de Diego)
进 步 的 时 代 The Progressive Age	
自我之孤独 (The Solitude of Self)	伊丽莎白·凯迪·斯坦顿 (Elizabeth Cady Stanton)
妇女与经济 (Women and Economics)	夏洛特·珀金斯·吉尔曼 (Charlotte Perkins Gilman)
扶锄者 (The Man with the Hoe)	埃德温·马卡姆 (Edwin Markham)
人人引吭高歌 (Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing)	詹姆士·威尔顿·约翰逊, J. 罗瑟蒙德·约翰逊 (James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond Johnson)

妇女应受不同的高等教育吗？ (Should Higher Education for Women Differ.)	M. 凯里·托马斯 (M. Carey Thomas)
与贫民窟的斗争 (The Battle with the Slum)	雅各布·A. 里斯 (Jacob Riis)
对妇女的偏见 (Prejudice Against Women)	卡丽·查普曼·卡特 (Carrie Chapman Catt)
有才能的十分之一 (The Talented Tenth)	W.E.B.杜波伊斯 (W. E. B. Du Bois)
对一黑人女孩的忠告 (Advice to a Black Schoolgirl)	W.E.B.杜波伊斯 (W. E. B. Du Bois)
尼亚加拉运动之原则声明 (The Niagara Movement Declaration of Principles)	W.E.B.杜波伊斯 (W. E. B. Du Bois)
带我出去看球赛 (Take Me Out to the Ball Game)	阿伯特·冯·梯尔泽，杰克·诺沃思 (Albert Von Tilzer and Jack Norworth)
传教士与奴隶 (The Preacher and the Slave)	乔·希尔 (Joe Hill)
咏树 (Trees)	乔伊斯·基尔默 (Joyce Kilmer)
新自由 (The New Freedom)	伍德罗·威尔逊 (Woodrow Wilson)
对威尔逊总统的抗议 (Protest to President Wilson)	威廉·门罗·特罗特 (William Monroe)

	Trotter)
安妮.拉特利奇 (Anne Rutledge)	埃德加.李.马斯特斯 (Edgar Lee Masters)
未选择的路 (The Road Not Taken)	罗伯特.弗罗斯特 (Robert Frost)
进化 (Evolution)	艾丽斯.杜尔.米勒 (Alice Duer Miller)
芝加哥 (Chicago)	卡尔.桑德堡 (Carl Sandburg)
永远团结 (Solidarity Forever)	拉尔夫.查普林 (Ralph Chaplin)
第一次世界大战及战后时期 World War I and After	
《亚伯拉罕.林肯半夜行》和《呆滞的目光》 (Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight) and (The Leaden-Eyed)	瓦切尔.林赛 (Vachel Lindsay)
我养大儿子不是为让他当兵 (I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier)	阿尔弗雷德.布赖恩, 阿尔.皮安塔多西 (Alfred Bryan and Al Piantadosi)

我与死神有个约会 (I Have a Rendezvous with Death)	阿 伦 . 西 格 (Alan Seeger)
关于宣战对国会的演讲 (War Message to Congress)	伍 德 罗 . 威 尔 逊 (Woodrow Wilson)
反对参战 (Against Entry into the War)	乔 治 . 诺 里 斯 (George Norris)
去那里 (Over There)	乔 治 .M. 科 汉 (George M. Cohan)
唉，我多恨在早晨起床 (Oh! How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning)	欧 文 . 柏 林 (Irving Berlin)
海军陆战队赞歌 (The Marines' Hymn)	
野战炮之歌 (The Field Artillery Song)	埃 德 蒙 .L. 格 鲁 伯 (Edmund L. Gruber)
草 (Grass)	卡 尔 . 桑 德 伯 格 (Carl Sandburg)
对法庭的声明 (Statement to the Court)	尤 金 . 维 克 托 . 德 布 斯 (Eugene Victor Debs)
人身的权利 (The Right to One's Body)	玛 格 丽 特 . 桑 格 (Margaret Sanger)
第一颗无花果 (First Fig)	埃 德 娜 . 圣 文 森 特 . 米 莱 (Edna St. Vincent Millay)

天使岛的诗 (Poems of Angel Island)	
一个朝鲜人发现纽约 (A Korean Discovers New York)	扬 希 尔 . 康 (Younghill Kang)
美国的名字 (American Name)	斯 蒂 芬 . 文 森 特 . 贝 内 (Stephen Vincent Benet)
美国 (America)	克 劳 德 . 麦 凯 (Claude McKay)
但是我感到惊奇 (Yet Do I Marvel)	康 蒂 . 卡 伦 (Countee Cullen)
黑肤色无名诗人啊 (O Black and Unknown Bards)	詹 姆 斯 . 韦 尔 登 . 约 翰 逊 (James Weldon Johnson)
《黑人谈河流》和《我也》 (The Negro Speaks of Rivers) and (I, Too)	兰 斯 顿 . 休 斯 (Langston Hughes)
美国的自治制度 (The American System of Self-Government)	赫 伯 特 . 胡 佛 (Herbert Hoover)
<div>大 萧 条 和 第 二 次 世 界 大 战</div> <div>The Depression and World War II</div>	

幸福的日子又来了 (Happy Days Are Here Again)	米尔顿.艾格，杰克.叶伦 (Milton Ager and Jack Yellen)
首次就职演说 (First Inaugural Address)	弗兰克林.德拉诺.罗斯福 (Franklin Delano Roosevelt)
第二次就职演说 (Second Inaugural Address)	弗兰克林.德拉诺.罗斯福 (Franklin Delano Roosevelt)
兄弟，你能施舍一角钱吗？ (Brother, Can You Spare a Dime.)	E.Y.哈伯格和杰.戈内 (E.Y. Harburg and Jay Gorney)
《工会女会员》和《很高兴认识了你，再见(可恶的尘暴)》 (Union Maid) and (So Long, It's Been Good to Know Yuh (Dusty Old Dust))	伍迪.戈斯里 (Woody Guthrie)
你站在哪一边？ (Which Side Are You On.)	弗洛伦斯.里斯 (Florence Reece)
昨夜我梦见乔.希尔 (I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night)	阿尔弗雷德.海斯 (Alfred Hayes)
《愿上帝保佑美国》《这是军队，琼斯先生》 (God Bless America) (This is the Army, Mr. Jones)	欧文.柏林 (Irving Berlin)
这片国土是你的土地 (This land is Your Land)	伍迪.戈斯里 (Woody Guthrie)

自由 (Freedom)	E.B.怀特 (E.B. White)
高高飞翔 (High Flight)	小约翰.吉列斯比.麦基 (John Gillespie Magee, Jr.)
起锚 (Anchors Aweigh)	查尔斯 .A. 齐默尔曼 (Charles A. Zimmerman)
四大自由 (The Four Freedom)	弗兰克林.德拉诺.罗斯福 (Franklin Delano Roosevelt)
关于宣战对国会的演讲 (War Message to Congress)	弗兰克林.德拉诺.罗斯福 (Franklin Delano Roosevelt)
伊斯塞的诗 (Poems of the Issei)	
陆军航空兵 (The Army Air Corps)	罗伯特 . 克 罗 福 德 (Robert Crawford)
赞美上帝，传递弹药 (Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition)	弗兰克.洛埃瑟 (Frank Loesser)
自由的精神 (The Spirit of Liberty)	勒尼德.汉德 (Learned Hand)
为一名士兵唱的挽歌 (Elegy for a Dead Soldier)	卡尔 . 夏 皮 罗 (Karl Shapiro)

第二次世界大战后 After World War II	
巴鲁克关于控制原子能的方案 (The Baruch Plan for Control of Atomic Energy)	伯纳德.巴鲁克 (Bernard Baruch)
听证会演说 (Confirmation Hearings)	戴维.利连撒尔 (David Lilienthal)
争取民权 (A Plea for Civil Rights)	休伯特.汉弗莱 (Hubert Humphrey)
就职演说 (Inaugural Address)	哈里.S.杜鲁门 (Harry S. Truman)
良心宣言 (Declaration of Conscience)	玛格丽特.蔡斯.史密斯 (Margaret Chase Smith)
沉默的一代 (The Silent Generation)	路易斯.辛普森 (Louis Simpson)
《在美国的流亡者》和《哈莱姆》 (Refugee in America) and (Harlem)	兰斯顿.休斯 (Langston Hughes)
布朗诉教育局案 (Brown v. Board of Education)	
告别演说 (Farewell Address)	德怀特.D.艾森豪威尔 (Dwight D. Eisenhower)

母亲 (The Mother)	格温多琳·布鲁克斯 (Gwendolyn Brooks)
它就会是个极好的世界 (It Could Be a Wonderful World)	海·札雷特, 卢·辛格 (Hy Zaret and Lou Singer)
<div>动荡不安的时期</div> <div>Troubled Times</div>	
就职演说 (Inaugural Address)	约翰·F.甘乃迪 (John F. Kennedy)
那些花都到哪儿去啦. (Where Have All the Flowers Gone)	皮特·西格 (Pete Seeger)
对广播业的讲话 (Address to the Broadcasting Industry)	牛顿·迈诺 (Newton Minow)
休伦港宣言 (Huron Statement)	汤姆·海登 (Tom Hayden)
昨夜我做了个最奇怪的梦 (Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream)	埃德·麦克迪 (Ed McCurdy)
寂静的春天 (Silent Spring)	雷切尔·卡森 (Rachel Carson)
从伯明罕市监狱发出的信 (Letter from Birmingham City Jail)	小马丁·路德·金 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

在柏林墙边的演说 (Speech at the Berlin Wall)	约翰.F.甘乃迪 (John F. Kennedy)
向华盛顿进军演说词 (The March on Washington Address)	小马丁.路德.金 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)
我们一定会胜利 (We Shall Overcome)	
啊，自由 (O Freedom)	
假如我有一把铁锤 (If I had a Hammer)	李.海斯，皮特.西格 (Lee Hays and Pete Seeger)
在风中吹响 (Blowin' in the Wind)	鲍勃.戴伦 (Bob Dylan)
伯明罕民歌 (Ballad of Birmingham)	达德利.兰德爾 (Dudley Randall)
女性的奥秘 (The Feminine Mystique)	贝蒂.弗莱顿 (Betty Friedman)
小盒子(Little Boxes)	马尔维纳.雷诺尔兹 (Malvina Reynolds)
在霍华德大学的演说 (The Howard University Address)	林顿.B.约翰逊 (Lyndon B. Johnson)
我是乔昆 (I Am Joaquin)	罗道尔佛.冈萨雷斯 (Rodolfo Gonzales)
反对越南战争 (Against the War in Vietnam)	罗伯特 .F. 甘 乃 迪 (Robert F.Kennedy)
关于小马丁.路德.金之死 (On the Death of	罗 伯 特 .F. 甘 乃 迪

Martin Luther King, Jr.)	(Robert F.Kennedy)
愚蠢的美国 (Stupid America)	阿 贝 拉 多 . 德 尔 嘎 多 (Abelardo Delgado)
保留自然环境的想法 (The Wilderness Idea)	华 莱 士 . 斯 泰 格 纳 (Wallace Stegner)
难民船 (Refugee Ship)	罗 娜 . 迪 . 塞 万 提 斯 (Lorna Dee Cervantes)
<div> <div>当代</div> <div>Contemporary Times</div> </div>	
内 玎 坐 在 她 邻 居 的 门 户 阶 上 休 息 (Nadine, resting on her neighbor's stoop)	朱 迪 . 格 伦 (Judy Grahn)
晚 安 , 威 利 . 李 , 我 明 早 见 你 (Good Night, Willie Lee, I'll See You in the Morning)	艾 莉 斯 . 沃 克 (Alice Walker)
由 街 道 组 成 的 城 市 (A City of Neighborhoods)	哈 维 . 米 尔 克 (Harvey Milk)
自由选择 (Free to Choose)	米 尔 顿 . 弗 莱 德 曼 , 罗 斯 . 弗 莱 德 曼 (Milton and Rose Friedman)
处于危险中的国家 (A Nation at Risk)	

在伊朗一反对派问题听证会上的讲话 (The Iran-Contra Hearings)	乔治.J.米切尔 (George J. Mitchell)
在莫斯科国立大学的演说 (Speech at Moscow State University)	罗纳德.雷根 (Ronald Reagan)
在民主党全国大会上的演说 (Speech to the Democratic National Convention)	杰西.杰克逊 (Jesse Jackson)
美国人(AmeRican)	塔托.拉伐厄热 (Tato Laviera)
美国的观念(The American Idea)	西奥多.H.怀特(白修德) (Theodore H. White)

「五月花号」 公约

The Mayflower Compact

在船上签署公约

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

我们这些签署人，在上帝面前共同庄严立誓签约，自愿结为一民众自治团体。

美州殖民始于一种思想，这思想就是一个社会里的公民可以自由结合并同意通过制定对大家都有益的法律来管理自己。

1620 年 11 月 11 日，经过在海上六十六天的漂泊之后，「五月花号」大帆船向陆地靠近。船上有一百零二名乘客。他们的目的地本是哈德逊河口地区，但由于海上风浪险恶，他们错过了目标，于是就在现在的科德角外普罗温斯顿港抛锚。由于那时已是深秋，他们决定就在那儿登陆而不继续航行。而且由于他们不再是到一块他们持有执照的领地上，为了建立一个大家都能受到约束的自

治基础，他们在上岸之前签订了一份公约。

这些乘客中约三分之一的人是英国分离主义教会的成员，他们早先曾逃到荷兰的莱登去寻求宗教自由。后来这一批英国殖民者全都被称为朝圣者。他们曾与伦敦的维吉尼亚殖民公司谈判达成一项协定，即维吉尼亚殖民公司授权他们在该公司辽阔的土地上任选一块地方定居并管理自己。

四十一名男乘客在船上签了这份公约。在这份后来被称为《「五月花号」公约》的文件里，签署人立誓创立一个自治团体，这个团体是基于被管理者的同意而成立的，而且将依法而治。

这份公约是由「五月花号」船上的每一个家长，每一个成年单身男子和大多数雇佣的男所签署的。不论是分离主义的教徒还是非分离主义的教徒都参加了签署。由于妇女那时没有政治权利，所以没有请她们签署。

圣诞后一天，一百零二名定居者在现在的马萨诸塞州的普利茅斯上岸。那些参加签约的人组成了普利茅斯殖民地的自治体，这个自治体具有选举官员、通过法律和吸收新的投票委员的权力。那年 11 月 1 日，在下锚于荒凉的海港的一条船上所达成的公约为在新大陆上建立自治和法治打下了基础。

以上帝的名义，阿门。我们这些签署人是蒙上帝保佑的大不列颠、法兰西和爱尔兰的国王——信仰和教会的捍卫者詹姆斯国王陛下的忠顺臣民。

为了上帝的荣耀，为了增强基督教信仰，为了提高我们国王和国家的荣誉，我们漂洋过海，在维吉尼亚北部开发第一个殖民地。我们在上帝面前共同立誓签约，自愿结为一民众自治团体。为了使上述目的能得到更好地实施、维护和发展，将来不时依此而制定颁布的被认为是对这个殖民地全体人民都最适合、最方便的法律、法规、条令、宪章和公职，我们都保证遵守和服从。

据此于主后 1620 年 11 月 11 日，于英格兰、法兰西、爱尔兰第十八世国王暨苏格兰第五十四世国王詹姆斯陛下在位之年，我们在科德角签名如下。

The Mayflower Compact

In the name of God Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace

of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc.

Having undertaken, for the Glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the First Colony in the Northern Parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, Covenant and Combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini 1620.

班哲明·富兰克林

(BENJAMIN FRANKLIN)

穷理查年鉴

Poor Richard's Almanack

班哲明·富兰克林(1706—1790)是有史以来最杰出的美国人之一。他是作家、印刷商、政治家、外交家、教育家、发明家、哲学家、幽默大师、企业家、店主、公民领袖、科学家、自学成才者、公务员、民族英雄，富兰克林尝试了各种事业并在所有这些方面都取得辉煌的成就。他作的年鉴是作为一个虚构的理查·桑德斯(因此叫“穷理查”)的著作从 1733—1758 年在费城年年发表。这些年鉴在殖民地居民中极受欢迎。典型的年鉴包含有日历、天气预测，忠告、食谱以及其他许多有用的知识。穷理查的谚语、格言和箴言有的是他自己创作的，

有的不是。它们使富兰克林实用、宽容和令人快活的妙语和哲学得到传播普及。
以下是“穷理查”几百条谚语和评论中选出的格言。

穷人几乎没有，乞丐一无所有，富人拥有太多，没人会说够了。

与狗一起躺下的人，起来时满身跳蚤。

唯人与瓜难知。

请听又穷又破的理查一句话，

凡以愤怒开始的事必以耻辱告终。

凡不勤勉的人，决不会有荣誉。

勤则万事易，懒则万事难。

要想说服人家，应晓之以利，而非以理。

教你孩子缄默，他很快就学会说话。

不能服从的人，就不能指挥。

法官应服从法律，人民应服从法官。

守株待兔者，美餐无保证。

有知识的傻瓜比没知识的傻瓜更糟。

你把商店管好，商店管你吃饱。

如果三人之中两人死了，那秘密就可能守住。

早睡早起身，富裕、聪明又健身。

对上级谦恭是职责，对平辈谦恭是礼貌，对下级谦恭是高尚。

如果你知道如何支出少于收入，你就有了点金术。

访客和鱼三天都会发臭。

凡亲属中没有傻瓜、娼妓和乞丐的人必非凡人。

勤勉乃幸运之母。

凡靠希望过日子的人，将会绝粮而死。

不要干你本来不知道的事。

财富不属于拥有它的人，而属于享受它的人。

有牛又有羊，人人对我点头忙。

天助自助者。

如果你自家的窗户是玻璃的，就不要向邻居扔石头。

暴力在道理背上拉屎。

债主的记忆力比债户强。

上帝医治，医生收费。

就是在最威严的王位上的最伟大的君主也必须坐在自己的屁股上。

通向荣誉的快捷方式是把为荣誉而干的事当作为良心而干。

世上最高尚的问题是：我能做什么有益的事。

若要在死后尸骨腐烂时不被人忘记，

要写出值得人读的东西，要做些值得人写的事。

不要出卖道德去买财富，

也不要出卖自由去买权力。

古人告诉我们什么是最好的，

但我们应该知道什么是现代人最合适的。

你要管理事务，别让事务管理你。

一年根除一恶习，恶棍也能成好人。

若对小错误视而不见，那你就会犯大错。

吃乃快活自家，穿是取悦人家。

工作未完就付钱，两分钱只值一分钱。

历史学家讲他们信以为真的事多于讲史实。

让你小孩先学会服从，其次才学你要他学的东西。

什么都不想的人最幸福，因为他从不失望。

如果你损害良心，良心就会向你报复。

不要听朋友的坏话，也不要说敌人的坏话。

把你欠的还掉，你就知道什么是你的。

不要把你的一切，你欠的一切，你拥有的一切

你所能做的一切都向人公布。

每个民族都有足够的勇气忍受其他民族造成的痛苦，

同时也有足够的勇气宽恕其他民族。

历史无趣的国家是幸福的，

历史无趣的时代是幸运的。

狼只是偶尔吃羊，

而人却吃了千万只羊。

人的舌头既软又没骨，

可用它可敲断人的脊梁骨。

若怕干坏事，别的就都不用怕了。

借钱给一个敌人，你会赢得他。

借钱给一个朋友，你会失去他。

论学技巧：自学的人是拿傻瓜当师傅。

让你的不满成为你的秘密，——如果让世人知道了，他们会看不起你，而且会增加你的不满。

二十岁意气用事，三十岁机智处事，四十岁断事不惑。

一艺在身，胜如田庄在手。

明天要做的事今天就做。

人每天都在变，凭感觉的事是不是也和无影无踪的事一样不可靠。

说起任何人都不可用轻蔑的语气，无论他是国王还是奴隶。只有最毒的蜂才会用刺。

说话尖刻交不了朋友；一勺蜜要比一加仑醋能抓住更多苍蝇。

急事缓办。

注意小笔开支，小漏将会沈大船。

没有辛苦就没有收获。

许多人抱怨自己记性不佳，几乎没人说自己判断力差。

井干方知泉水贵。

人人都要有良知。有良知的人寥寥无几，没人认为他们缺乏良知。

暗地里还敬重好人的不算坏。

好的榜样就是最好的说教。

不听劝告的人，没法帮助他。

一群乌合之众就像一个怪物，头长得很多就是没脑筋。

傻瓜的日子是泡在酒里，

智者的生活放在思考里。

酒不能消愁，只能浇愁，而且使愁上加愁。

天才不受教育就像是埋在矿里的银子。

一点一点砍，也能砍下一棵大橡树。

如果不知道事物的本质，光知道名字有何意义？

玻璃、陶瓷和名誉都很容易破裂，而且永远无法弥补。

黄金时代永远不是现在的时代。

老少都有自己的玩物，只是价格不同而已。

仓促造成浪费。

邻居可相爱，篱笆不能拆。

小孩以为二十先令总花不完，二十年总过不完。

无知不为耻，不想学才可耻。

一个今天等于两个明天。

工作时就像你会活到一百岁似的，

祈祷时就像你明天就要死似的。

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Poor Richard's Almanack

The poor have little, beggars none, the rich too much, **enough** not one.

He that lies down with Dogs, shall rise up with fleas.

Men and melons are hard to know.

Take this remark from Richard poor and lame. Whate'er's begun in anger ends in sham.

No man e'er was glorious, who was not laborious.

All things are easy to Industry.

All things are difficult to **sloth**

Would you persuade, speak of Interest, not Reason.

Teach your child to hold his tongue, he'll learn fast enough to speak.

He that cannot obey, cannot command.

The magistrate should obey the Laws, the people should obey the magistrate.

He that waits upon a Fortune, is never sure of a Dinner.

A learned blockhead is a greater blockhead than an ignorant one.

Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee.

Three may keep a secret if two of them are dead.

Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy wealthy and wise.

To be humble to Superiors is Duty, to Equals Courtesy, to Inferiors Nobleness.

If you know how to spend less than you get, you have the Philosophers Stone.

Fish & Visitors stink in 3 days.

He that has neither fools, whores nor beggars among his kindred, is the son of a thunder gust.

Diligence is the Mother of Good Luck.

He that lives upon Hope, dies farting.

Do not do that which you would not have known.

Wealth is not his that has it, but his that enjoys it.

Now I've a sheep and a cow, every body bids me good morrow.

God helps them that help themselves.

Don't throw stones at your neighbours, if you own windows are glass.

Force shites upon Reason's Back

Creditors have better memories than debtors.

God heals, and the Doctor takes the Fees.

The greatest monarch on the proudest throne, is oblig'd to sit upon his own arse.

The nearest way to come at glory, is to do that for conscience which we do for glory.

The noblest question in the world is, **what good may I do in it.**

If you wou'd not be forgotten
as soon as you are dead and rotten,
Either write things worth reading.
or do things worth the writing.

Sell not virtue to purchase wealth, not Liberty to purchase power.
The ancients tell us what is best; but we must learn of the moderns
what is fittest.

Drive thy Business, let not that drive thee.

Each year one vicious habit rooted out, In Time might make the
worst Man good throughout.

Wink at small faults; remember thou has great ones.

Eat to please thyself, but dress to please others.

He that pays for Work before it's done, has but a pennyworth for
twopence.

Historians relate, not so much what is done, as what they would
have believed.

Let thy Child's first lesson be Obedience, and the second may be
what thou wilt.

Blessed is he that expects nothing, for he shall never be
disappointed.

If thou injurest Conscience, it will have its Revenge on thee.

Hear no ill of a Friend, nor speak any of an Enemy.

Pay what you owe, and you'll know what's your own.

Proclaim not all thou knowest, all thou owest, all thou hast, nor all
thou canst.

To bear other Peoples Afflictions, every one has Courage enough,

and to spare.

Happy that nation, fortunate that age, whose history is not diverting.

A wolf eats sheep but now and then,
Ten Thousands are devour'd by Men.

Man's tongue is soft, and bone doth lack;
Yet a stroke therewith may break a man's back.

Fear to do ill, and you need fear nought else.

Lend money to an Enemy, and thou'lt gain him, to a Friend and
thou'lt lose him.

Learn of the skilful; He that teaches himself hath a fool for his
master.

Let thy discontents be thy Secrets; --if the world knows them, 'twill
despise **thee** and increase **them**.

At 20 years of age the Will reigns; at 30 the Wit; at 40 the
Judgment.

He that hath a Trade, hath an Estate.

Have you somewhat to do to-morrow; do it to-day.

Men differ daily, about things which are subject to Sense, is it likely
then they should agree about things invisible.

Speak with contempt of none, from slave to king.

The meanest Bee bath, and will use, a sting.

Tart Words make no Friends; a spoonful of honey will catch more flies
than a Gallon of Winegar.

Make haste slowly.

Beware of little Expences, a small Leak will sink a great ship.

No gains without pains.

Many complain of their Memory, few of their judgment.

When the Well's dry, we know the Worth of Water.

Good Sense is a Thing all need, few have, and none think they want.
There is no Man so bad, but he secretly respects the Good.
A good example is the best sermon.
He that won't be counsell'd, can't be help'd.
A Mob's a Monster; Heads enough, but no Brains.
Life with Fools consists in Drinking;
With the wise Man, Living's Thinking.
Drink does not drown **Care**, but waters it, and makes it grow faster.
Genius without education is like Silver in the Mine.
Little Strokes,
Fell great Oaks
What signifies knowing the Names, if you know not the Nature of
Things.
Glass, China, and Reputation, are easily crack'd and never well
mended.
The Golden Age never was the present Age.
Old Boys have their Playthings as well as young Ones; the
Difference is only in the Price.
Haste makes Waste.
Love your Neighbour; yet don't pull down your Hedge.
A Child thinks 20 **Shillings** and 20 Years can scarce ever be spent.
Being ignorant is not so much a Shame, as being unwilling to learn.
One **To-day** is worth two **To-Morrows**.
Work as if you were to live 100 years,
Pray as if you were to die To-morrow.

安德鲁·汉密尔顿

(ANDREW HAMILTON)

为出版自由辩护

Defense of Freedom of the Press

对于一个思想高尚的人，失去自由，不如死。

1733 年，约翰·彼得·曾格开始出版《纽约周刊》。这本杂志批评了殖民总督的政策。一年后，曾格因煽动性诽谤罪被捕，在狱中受了十个月的折磨，直至 1735 年 8 月对他审判为止。他的律师安德鲁·汉密尔顿辩护说，曾格在杂志上发表的文章不可能是诽谤性的，因为文章里说的都是真的。他还进一步坚持说，根据已经确定的先例，应当由陪审团而不是由法官来决定印刷文字的真实性。陪审员会被汉密尔顿说服了，认为对皇家总督的指责是真实的，宣告曾格无罪，这是在英国殖民地上出版自由的重大胜利。

在审判曾格的时候，安德鲁·汉密尔顿(约 1676-1741)是殖民地著名的律师之一。他出生于苏格兰，1770 年前不久，他作一个契约仆人移民到佛吉尼亚。他教过书，后经学习考取律师资格，在马里兰州议会下院工作。在伦敦学习法律以后，他定居在费城，在那儿他成为一个杰出的律师。

阁下，我同意检查官先生(理查德·布拉德利)关于政府是神圣的说法。但是，如果他想暗示受坏政府折磨的几个人的正当抱怨就是在诽谤那个政府，我的意见就和他大相径庭。要是我相信那应当成为法律，那我就不会劳驾法庭来听证我在这桩讼事中所说的一切...

不仅在宗教方面而且在法律方面也有异端邪说，而两者都已产生了很大变化。我们很清楚一个人因为在宗教问题上持像今天这样公开写出和印出的意见而被当作持异端邪说者烧死的现象不是两个世纪前才有的。看来他们都是有过失的人。我们不仅冒昧在宗教观点上与他们不同而且还谴责他们以及他们的观点。我必须假定我们这样自由地思考和谈论信仰或宗教问题是正确的。因为，尽管据说在纽约人们对这类问题十分放肆，可我还没有听说过检查官先生曾对这类违法问提出过起诉的情况。由此我想事情很明白，在纽约一个人可以对上帝很随便，但他必须特别注意他讲到总督的话。大家都同意这是一个自由的时代。当人们保持在事实这个界限之内时，我希望他们在谈论和写到对当权者品行的意见时，应当有安全保障。我是指仅仅影响到在他管辖之下的人民的自由

或财产的那部分品行。如果这种保障都没有，那么下一步就是要把人民变成奴隶。人们遭受了最大的伤害和压迫还不能随便抱怨，或者说如果敢抱怨，他们的身体和财产就会因此被摧毁。如果这种折磨不是奴役，那还有什么国家才能保持奴隶制呢？

据说，而且检查官先生也坚持认为，政府是神圣的，政府应得到支援和尊重；政府保护了我们的人身和财产；政府防止了叛国、凶杀、抢劫、暴乱，及所有推翻王国和国家，毁灭个人的一系列罪恶的发生。他认为如果政府官员，尤其是最高长官，都得让他们的品行受到私人的责难，那政府就无法存在。这就叫无法无天，是不能忍受的。据说这会使统治者受到蔑视，因此他们的权威就得不到尊重，结果使法律得不到执行。这些，我说，以及诸如此类的说法是当权者及其拥护者坚持要谈的一般题目。但我希望你们会同时考虑到，滥用权力是造成这些罪恶的主要原因，这是经常发生的。而且正是这些大人物的不公正和压迫常常使他们受到人民的蔑视。尽管这种人权术高超，但是就是最不熟悉历史或法律的人，谁还会不知道这种当权者常用的表面伪装，谁不知道他们利用这种伪装进行专制统治并被破坏自由人民的自由.....

如果诽谤是像检查官先生极力主张的那样是在广泛而无限的意义上理解，那么就我所知几乎没有什么文章可以不被称为诽谤，或几乎没有什么人可以不被责为诽谤者。因为，尽管摩西很谦和，但他还是诽谤了该隐，而又有谁没有诽谤过魔鬼呢？根据检查官先生的意见，说一个人名声不好是不正当的。那么伊查德就诽谤了我们的好国王威廉；伯内特在其他许多人中诽谤了查尔斯国王和詹姆斯国王；拉宾还诽谤他们所有的人。一个人应当怎么说或怎么写，或他应写听什么，读什么，或唱什么？或者他应当什么时候笑，以便不至于被当作诽谤者逮捕？我诚信，要是现在有几个人走过纽约街道并读出一段圣经，如果人们不知道这是圣经中的一段话，那么检查官先生借助他的注释技巧，就很容易将这段话说成是诽谤。例如《以赛亚书》十一章第十六节："人民的领袖使他们误入歧途，这些受他们领导的人被摧毁了。"但如果律师先生想把这句话当作诽谤，他就会这样来读这个句子："人民的领袖"(暗指纽约的总督和市议会)"使他们"(暗指这个省的人民)"误入歧途"和"他们"(指总督和市议会)"被摧毁"(暗指被欺骗而失去他们的自由)"这是最坏的一种破坏"。或者，如果某人以

一种令他的上司不快的方式公开重复同一本书中五十六章的第十和第十一节，那么检查官先生在巧妙运用他的注释本领方面就有发挥他技巧的广阔天地。这些话是：“他的看守人是瞎眼的，都是无知的。”等等。“的确，它们都是贪食的狗，从不知饱足。”但是要把这些话当作诽谤，根据检查官先生的教条，只要借助他正确采用注释的技巧，别的什么都不需要了.....

对于一个高尚的人，失去自由，不如死。可是我们知道在各个时代都有那么一些人，为了晋升或虚荣，就随便帮助人压迫，不，来摧毁他们的国家。这使我想起了不朽的布鲁特斯说的话，当他看着凯撒的那些人——这些人都是大人物，但决不是好人——时，他说：“你们罗马人、如果我还能这么称呼你们的话，那么你们想一想你们在干什么。记住，你们正在帮助凯撒打造锁链，正是这些锁链，他有一天会强迫你们戴上的。”这是每一个珍惜自由的人所应当考虑的问题。他应当凭自己的判断行事，而不是凭感情或私利行事。因为在感情和私利占上风时，就不会考虑到国家和亲属的关系。正如在另一方面，一个热爱自己国家的人，宁可一切都不考虑，也要国家的自由，因为他很清楚，没有自由，生活是痛苦的.....

权力可正确地比作是一条大河，当河水保持在河界之内时，既美丽又有用，但是，当河水溢出河岸，那就变成奔腾的激流，无法抑制，它会摧毁一切，无论流到哪里，都会造成破坏和荒凉。那么，如果权力的性质是如此，让我们至少尽我们的职责，做个珍惜自由的聪明人，用我们最大的关心去支援自由。自由是反对滥用权力的唯一堡垒。在各个时代，滥用权力都是以最优秀的人的血为代价换取其野性的欲望和无穷的野心。先生，我希望能原谅我在这种场合所表现的冲动。“邻居失火时，我们得注意自己的房子。”这是一个古老而明智的警告。因为，虽然托上帝的福，我生活在一个自由能被理解并自由享受的政府里，可是经验已经向我们大家表明(我确信经验已经向我表明)一个政府里的一个坏先例，很快会在另一个政府里建立起权威。因此，我只能认为当我们对当权者作出应有的服从时，我们同时应当警惕权力在我们担心的任何地方可能影响我们自己或我们的同胞，这是我的责任，也是每一个诚实的人的责任。

由于多种原因，我实在是无法胜任这样一种工作。你们看到我是在多年的重压下工作的，而且被身体的虚弱所压垮。可是尽管我又老又弱，我还是认为我有

责任，在需要我的时候，去最边远的地方，用我的服务去帮助熄灭对新闻报道起诉的火焰。这是由政府发起的，其目的是要剥夺人民抗辩和抗议当权者专制企图的权利。那些伤害和压迫管辖下的人民的人激起了人民的呐喊和抗议，接着又把这种抗议当作新的镇压和起诉的基础。我希望我能说不存在这样的例子。但是，总而言之，摆在法庭面前的问题，还有你们，陪审团的先生们面前的问题，既不是小问题，也不是私人问题。你们现在审判的不是一个穷印刷工的讼事，也不光是纽约的讼事。不！就其后果，这将影响到美洲大陆在英国政府统治下的每一个自由人。这是一桩最好的讼事。这是自由的讼事。我毫不怀疑，今天你们的正直行为将不仅会使你们受到同胞的爱戴和尊敬，而且每一个热爱自由、不愿过奴隶生活的人，都将祝福你们，给你们以荣誉，把你们看作是阻挠了暴君企图的人。你们以公正、清明的判决，为保证我们自己、我们的后代和同胞得到自由打下了崇高的基础。这种自由是上天和我们国家的法律所赋予我们的权利，是以说真话、写真话来揭露和反对专制权力(至少在世界上的这些地方)的自由.....

Defense of Freedom of the Press

May it please your honors, I agree with Mr. Attorney [Richard Bradley] that government is a sacred thing, but I differ very widely from him when he would insinuate that the just complaints of a number of men, who suffer under a bad administration, is libeling that administration. Had I believed that to be law, I should not have given the court the trouble of hearing anything that I could say in this cause. . . .

There is heresy in law as well as in religion, and both have changed very much; and we well know that it is not two centuries ago that a man would have burned as a heretic for owning such opinions in matters of religion as are publicly written and printed at this day. They were fallible men, it seems, and we take the liberty, not only to differ from them in religious opinion, but to condemn them and their

opinions too; and I must presume that in taking these freedoms in thinking and speaking about matters of faith or religion, we are in the right; for, though it is said there are very great liberties of this kind taken in New York, yet I have heard of no information preferred by Mr. Attorney for any offenses of this sort. From which I think it is pretty clear that in New York a man may make very free with his God, but he must take special care what he says of his Governor. It is agreed upon by all men that this is a reign of liberty, and while men keep within the bounds of truth, i hope they may with safety both speak and write their sentiments of the conduct of men of power; I mean of that part of their conduct only which affects the liberty or property of the people under their administration; were this to be denied, then the next step may make them slaves. For what notions can be entertained of slavery beyond that of suffering the greatest injuries and oppressions without the liberty of complaining; or if they do, to be destroyed, body and estate, for so doing.

It is said, and insisted upon by Mr. Attorney, that government is a sacred thing; that it is to be supported and revered; it is government that protects our persons and estates; that prevents treasons, murders, robberies, riots, and all the train of evils that overturn kingdoms and states and ruin particular persons; and if those in the administration, especially the supreme magistrates, must have all their conduct censured by private men, government cannot subsist. This is called a licentiousness not to be tolerated. It is said that it brings the rulers of the people into contempt so that their authority is not regarded, and so that in the end the laws cannot be put in execution. These, I say, and such as these, are the general topics insisted upon by men in power and their advocates.

But I wish it might be considered at the same time how often it has happened that the abuse of power has been the primary cause of these evils, and that it was the injustice and oppression of these great men which has commonly brought them into contempt with the people. The craft and art of such men are great, and who that is the least acquainted with history or with law can be ignorant of the specious pretenses which have often been made use of by men in power to introduce arbitrary rule and destroy the liberties of a free people....

If a libel is understood in the large and unlimited sense urged by Mr. Attorney, there is scarce a writing I know that may not be called a libel, or scarce any person safe from being called to account as a libeler, for Moses, meek as he was, libeled Cain; and who is it that has not libeled the devil. For, according to Mr. Attorney, it is no justification to say one has a bad name. Eachard has libeled our good King William; Burnet has libeled, among many others, King Charles and King James; and Rapin has libeled them all. How must a man speak or write, or what must he hear, read, or sing. Or when must he laugh, so as to be secure from being taken up as a libeler. I sincerely believe that were some persons to go through the streets of New York nowadays and read a part of the Bible, if it were not known to be such, Mr. Attorney, with the help of his innuendoes, would easily turn it into a libel. As for instance: Isaiah 11:16: "The leaders of the people cause them to err, and they that are led by them are destroyed." But should Mr. Attorney go about to make this a libel, he would read it thus: "The leaders of the people" (innuendo, the Governor and council of New York) "cause them" (innuendo, the people of this province) "to err, and they" (the Governor and council meaning) "are destroyed" (innuendo, are deceived into the loss of

their liberty), "which is the worst kind of destruction." Or if some person should publicly repeat, in a manner not pleasing to his betters, the tenth and the eleventh verses of the fifty-sixth chapter of the same book, there Mr. Attorney would have a large field to display his skill in the artful application of his innuendoes. The words are: "His watchmen are blind, they are ignorant," etc. "Yea, they are greedy dogs, they can never have enough." But to make them a libel, there is, according to Mr. Attorney's doctrine, no more wanting but the aid of his skill in the right adapting his innuendoes. . . .

The loss of liberty to a generous mind is worse than death; and yet we know there have been those in all ages who, for the sakes of preferment or some imaginary honor, have freely lent a helping hand to oppress, nay, to destroy, their country. This brings to my mind that saying of the immortal Brutus, when he looked upon the creatures of Caesar, who were very great men, but by no means good men: "You Romans," said Brutus, "if yet I may call you so, consider what you are doing; remember that you are assisting Caesar to forge those very chains which one day he will make yourselves wear." This is what every man that values freedom ought to consider; he should act by judgment and not by affection or self-interest; for where those prevail, no ties of either country or kindred are regarded; as, upon the other hand, the man who loves his country prefers its liberty to all other considerations, well knowing that without liberty life is a misery. ...

Power may justly be compared to a great river; while kept within its bounds, it is both beautiful and useful, but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed; it bears down all before it, and brings destruction and desolation wherever it comes. If, then, this be the nature of power, let us at least do our duty, and,

like wise men who value freedom, use our utmost care to support liberty, the only bulwark against lawless power, which, in all ages, has sacrificed to its wild lust and boundless ambition the blood of the best men that ever lived.

I hope to be pardoned, sir, for my zeal upon this occasion. It is an old and wise caution that "when our neighbor's house is on fire, we ought to take care of our own." For though, blessed be God, I live in a government where liberty is well understood and freely enjoyed, yet experience has shown us all (I am sure it has to me) that a bad precedent in one government is soon set up for an authority in another; and therefore I cannot but think it mine and every honest man's duty that, while we pay all due obedience to men in authority, we ought, at the same time, to be upon our guard against power wherever we apprehend that it may affect ourselves or our fellow subjects.

I am truly very unequal to such an undertaking, on many accounts. And you see I labor under the weight of many years and am borne down with great infirmities of body; yet old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty, if required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where my service could be of any use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon informations, set on foot by the government to deprive a people of the right of remonstrating, and complaining too, of the arbitrary attempts of men in power. Men who injure and oppress the people under their administration provoke them to cry out and complain, and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions. I -wish I could say there were no instances of this kind. But, to conclude, the question before the court, and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small nor private concern; it is not the cause of a poor

printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying. No! It may, in its consequence, affect every free man that lives under a British government on the main continent of America. It is the best cause; it is the cause of liberty; and I make no doubt but your upright conduct, this day, will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow citizen, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny, and, by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right--the liberty of both exposing and opposing arbitrary power (in these parts of the world at least) by speaking and writing truth. . . .

詹姆斯.奥蒂斯

(JAMES OTIS)

限制搜查和扣押的要求

A Demand to Limit Search and Seizure

一个人的住宅就是他的城堡，只要他安分守己，他在城堡里就应当受到像王子一样的保护。

詹姆斯.奥蒂斯(1725—1783)于 1750 年在波士顿开始他的律师生涯。十年后，他成为国王在附属海事法庭上的总辩护律师，那时英国政府授权海关官员可以在任何人的屋里搜查走私物品。奥蒂斯不想监督执行这些命令，他辞掉职务，并于 1761 年 2 月在法庭辩论反对这些「搜查令状」。由于那时没有反对这些法令的法律依据，奥蒂斯雄辩地坚持说这些法令粗暴地践踏了人民的自由。当时年仅二十五岁的约翰.亚当斯参加了这个诉讼程序，他后来写道，奥蒂斯是「一团火焰！.....美国独立就是在那个地方，那个时候诞生的；爱国者和英雄的种子就是在那个地方，那个时候播下的。反对大不列颠蛮横无理的要

求的第一个行动就是在那个地方，那个时候发生的」。虽然奥蒂斯败诉了，但英国政府撤回了「搜查令状」。

这些事件之后，奥蒂斯成了一个主要的政治活动家。奥蒂斯于 1761 年 5 月被选入马萨诸塞州议会，并于 1776 年被选作议长。然而该州皇家总督却阻挠选择他为议长。在许多年里，他的演讲和文章在殖民地广为流传。他的话经常被引用。在英国议会，他也经常遭到谴责。「征税而不准选举代表是暴政。」这句话通常认为是他讲的。1769 年，一个英国军官在奥蒂斯头部猛击一拳，使他患了精神病，奥蒂斯的职业生涯就这样突然中止了。

阁下，本法庭一位法官要求我审阅这些卷宗，并考虑现在摆在他们面前的关于「搜查令状」的问题。我已根据他的要求考虑了这个问题，现在出庭不仅是服从你们的命令，而且也代表本城居民，他们考虑到了这个问题所允许的权限，又提出一份申诉。我想借此机会宣布，不论是收费还是不收费，（因为在这样一桩诉讼案中，我是不屑收费的。）我至死也要以上帝赋予我的一切力量和才能，一方面反对一切这样的制造奴役的文件，另一方面反对像这个「搜查令状」这样的卑劣行为。

在我看来，这是在一本英国法律档案里所能找到的表明专制权力的最坏的文件。这是对英国自由和法律根本原则的最严重的破坏。因此，我得请求阁下不仅要耐心注意听完全部的辩论，也许这个辩论会在许多事情上出现与众不同的看法，同时也要注意那些更细微更不同寻常的学术观点。这样，我的意图的整个倾向就可以更容易被理解，结论就能更好地得出，而且其力量也会被更好地感觉到。在这桩诉讼案中我并不在

乎我个人所受的痛苦，因为我是为原则而参与这桩案子的。我是被恳请作为总辩护律师来为本案辩护的，由于我不想这么做，我已被指控犯了擅离职守罪。对于这项指控，我可以作一个非常充分的答复。我断然拒绝那个职务。出于同样的原则，我来为此案辩护。我是以极大的乐趣来为此案辩护的，因为这是在支援英国的自由。我曾听到世上最伟大的君主宣布说，他为不列颠人感到光荣，对他来说他的臣民的基本民权比他自己最宝贵的君主持权更珍贵。而且还因为这是在反对一种权力，在过去的历史里，行使这种权力曾使一个国王丢了脑袋，

另一个丢了王位.....

阁下将在关于治安法官职责的古老卷宗里找到搜查涉嫌房屋的一般许可证的先例。但在更现代的卷宗里，你只能找到搜查某间房子的特别许可状。这许可状是特别指名的，而且由原告事先宣誓怀疑他的东西被藏在这间屋里。阁下将发现法律判定只有特别许可状才是合法的。同样地，我完全相信在这份申诉状中所强烈请求取消的令状，由于是一般的令状，也是不合法的。这是一份将每个人的自由都交给一个小官吏的授权证书。我承认搜查特指的地方时，「搜查令状」可以经宣誓授予某些人。但是，我决不认为现在请求取消的这个令状可以授予某些人。在我转而辩论议会其他法案之前，我请求允许我就这令状本身谈几点看法。首先，这个令状是适用于任何情况的，因为这是发给「每一个法官、司法官、巡警和所有其他警官和百姓」的，因此，简单地说，这是发给王土之中每一个臣民的。有了这个令状，每一个人都可能成为暴君。如果这个授权状成为合法，那么一个暴君也可以用合法的方式，在他管辖的区域内控制、监禁或杀害任何人。其次，这个令状是永久的，不必送还法院。一个人不必为他做的事对任何人负责。每个人都可能独霸一方，成为小小暴君，在他周围制造恐怖和荒凉，直至天使长的喇叭在他的灵魂里激起不同的感情为止。第三，有了这个令状，一个人便可在光天化日之下随意进入任何商店、房屋等，并命令所有的人来协助他。第四，根据这个令状，不仅副警长等人，甚至他们的奴才都可以爬到我们头上作威作福。除了让我们确定无疑地遭到伽南的诅咒，成为仆人的仆人，成为上帝造物中最卑下的东西之外，这又算什么呢。英国自由的最重要的一部分便是一个人的房屋的自由。一个人的房屋就是他的城堡，只要他安分守己，他在自己的城堡里就应当受到像王子一样的保护。这个令状如被宣布为合法，将完全破坏这种特权，海关官员只要他们高兴，就可进入我们的房子。我们被命令要允许他们进入。他们的奴才也可以进入，也可以打掉锁、栅栏，打掉一切妨碍他们的东西。不管他们是蓄意破坏或是报复，没有人，也没有任何法庭可对此进行调查。没有宣誓仅有怀疑就够了。这种不负责任地行使这个权力的行为不是我头脑发热凭空捏造出来的。我将举一些实例，皮尤先生有这样一个令状，韦尔先生接他职务时，他就将这令状批转给韦尔先生。因此，这个令状是可转让的，可以从一个官员手里转到另一个官员手里。这样，

阁下就没有机会断定哪些是被授予这么大权力的人。还有一个例子是：沃利法官曾令一巡警把这同一个韦尔先生带到他面前来回答关于违反《安息日法案》的问题，或者污言咒骂的问题。结束时，韦尔先生就问他是否完了。他回答：「是的。」韦尔先生说：「好了，那么我来向你显示我的一点权力。我令你让我搜查你的房子，寻找未报关的物品。」而且接着就从阁楼搜到地下室。然后以同样的方式对那个巡警进行搜查！但是，为了指出这个令状的另一荒唐之处，我坚持认为，如果这个令状被确立，根据查理二世第十四条令，每个人都应当与海关官员有同样的权力。令状上的文字应当是这样：「这对于授权的任何人或人们都是合法的。」等等。这将造成一个什么景况！每个人只要出于报复，心情不佳，或蛮横任性想去邻居屋里查看，都可以得到「搜查令状」。其他人出于自卫，也会要求得到「搜查令状」，一个人一意孤行将刺激另一个人也一意孤行，直至社会陷入骚乱和流血之中.....

A Demand to Limit Search and Seizure

May it please your honors, I was desired by one of the court to look into the books, and consider the question now before them concerning writs of assistance. I have, accordingly, considered it, and now appear not only in obedience to your order, but likewise in behalf of the inhabitants of this town, who have presented another petition, and out of regard to the liberties of the subject. And I take this opportunity to declare that, whether under a fee or not (for in such a cause as this I despise a fee), I will to my dying day oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me all such instruments of slavery, on the one hand, and villainy, on the other, as this writ of assistance is.

It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever was found in an English lawbook. I must, therefore, beg your honors' patience and attention to the whole range of an

argument, that may, perhaps, appear uncommon in many things, as well as to points of learning that are more remote and unusual: that the whole tendency of my design may the more easily be perceived, the conclusions better descend, and the force of them be better felt. I shall not think much of my pains in this cause, as I engaged in it from principle. I was solicited to argue this cause as Advocate General; and because I would not, I have been charged with desertion from my office. To this charge I can give a very sufficient answer. I renounced that office, and I argue this cause from the same principle; and I argue it with the greater pleasure, as it is in favor of British liberty, at a time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of his crown; and as it is in opposition to a kind of power the exercise of which, in former periods of history, cost one king of England his head and another his throne. . . .

Your honors will find in the old books concerning the office of a justice of the peace precedents of general warrants to search suspected houses. But in more modern books you will find only special warrants to search such and such houses, specially named, in which the complainant has before sworn that he suspects his goods are concealed; and will find it adjudged that special warrants only are legal. In the same manner I rely on it that the writ prayed for in this petition, being general, is illegal. It is a power that places the liberty of every man in the hands of every petty officer. I say I admit -- that special writs of assistance, to search special places, may be granted to certain persons on oath; but I deny that the writ now prayed for can be granted, for I beg leave to make some

observations on the writ itself, before I proceed to other acts of Parliament. In the first place, the writ is universal, being directed "to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects"; so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the king's dominions. Everyone with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission be legal, a tyrant in a legal manner, also, may control, imprison, or murder anyone within the realm. In the next place, it is perpetual; there is no return. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. Every man may reign secure in his petty tyranny, and spread terror and desolation around him, until the trump of the archangel shall excite different emotions in his soul. In the third place, a person with this writ, in the daytime, may enter all houses, shops, etc., at will, and command all to assist him. Fourthly, by this writ, not only deputies, etc., but even their menial servants, are allowed to lord it over us. What is this but to have the curse of Canaan with a witness on us; to be the servant of servants, the most despicable of God's creation. Now, one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and whilst he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Customhouse officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court, can inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient. This wanton exercise of this power is not a chimerical suggestion of a heated brain. I will mention some facts. Mr. Pew had one of these writs, and when Mr. Ware succeeded him, he indorsed this writ over to Mr. Ware; so that these writs are negotiable from

one officer to another; and so your honors have no opportunity of judging the persons to whom this vast power is delegated. Another instance is this: Mr. Justice Walley had called this same Mr Ware before him, by a constable, to answer for a breach of the Sabbath Day Acts, or that of profane swearing. As soon as he had finished, Mr. Ware asked him if he had done. He replied: "Yes." "Well, then," said Mr. Ware, "I will show you a little of my power. I command you to permit me to search your house for uncustomed goods"; and went on to search the house from the garret to the cellar, and then served the constable in the same manner! But to show another absurdity in this writ, if it should be established, I insist upon it that every person, by the 14th of Charles II, has this power as well as the customhouse officers. The words are: "It shall be lawful for any person or persons authorized," etc. What a scene does this open! Every man prompted by revenge, ill humor, or wantonness to inspect the inside of his neighbor's house may get a writ of assistance. Others will ask it from self-defense; one arbitrary exertion will provoke another, until society be involved in tumult and in blood....

洋基歌

Yankee Doodle

早在美国革命以前，在这些英国殖民地上《洋基歌》的曲调和歌词的某些段落就已经很流行。甚至在十八世纪七十年代以前，英军就曾唱《洋基歌》来嘲笑殖民者。歌词的早期版本是嘲笑这些殖民地居民的勇气以及他们粗俗的衣着和举止。「洋基」是对新英格兰土包子的轻蔑之词，而「嘟得儿」的意思即蠢货或傻瓜。然而，在美国革命期间，美军却采用《洋基歌》作为他们自己的歌，以表明他们对自己朴素，家纺的衣着和毫不矫揉造作的举止感到自豪。歌词有许多不同版本。多年来，这首歌一直被当作非正式的国歌，而且是人们最喜欢的儿歌。

洋基.嘞得儿，
骑着小驹进城去，
帽上插根羽毛，
称为时髦哥儿。
(合唱)
洋基.嘞得儿，加把劲儿，
洋基.嘞得儿，时髦哥儿，
留心音乐和脚步，
轻巧地伴着姑娘舞。
我爹和我上军营，
跟古丁上尉同行，
在那我们看见许多士兵，
密密麻麻就像玉米布丁。
在那儿我们看见上千人，
都是大卫财主一样的有钱人；
他们每天挥霍的东西，
我真想能够省下一丝。
还有那首领华盛顿，
骑着一匹高头骏马，
向部下发号施令，
我猜准有上百万人。
在那我看到一小桶，
它的盖是用皮做的，
他们用两根棒击它，
把士兵召集到一起。
在那我看到一尊巨大的炮，
大得就像一根长长的枫木，
架在一辆坚实的小车上，

Yankee Doodle went to town,
A ridin' on a pony,
Stuck a feather in his cap
And called it Macaroni.

CHORUS:
Yankee Doodle, keep it up,
Yankee Doodle Dandy,
Mind the music and the step
And with the girls be handy,
Father and I went down to camp,
Along with Captain Gooding,
And there we saw the men and boys
As thick as hasty pudding.
And there we saw a thousand men,
As rich as Squire David;
And what they wasted every day,
I wish it could be saved.
And there was Captain Washington
Upon a slapping stallion,
A-giving orders to his men;
I guess there was a million.
And there I saw a little keg,
Its head was made of leather;
They knocked upon it with two sticks
To call the men together.
And there I saw a swamping gun,
As big as a log of maple,

要我爹的牛来拉。 每次他们开炮， 得装一牛角火药， 响声就像我爹的枪， 只是大大超过枪声。 啊，乱七八糟一大堆， 我连一半都说不全， 于是我脱帽鞠个躬， 急奔回家去找娘亲。 洋基.嘞得儿， 美利坚人就爱这曲儿， 它可供你吹哨、唱吟或弹奏， 而且在战斗时有它最带劲。	Upon a mighty little cart, A load for father's cattle. And every time they fired it off It took a horn of powder, And made a noise like father's gun, Only a nation louder. I can't tell you half I saw, They kept up such a smother, So I took my hat off, made a bow And scampered home to mother. Yankee Doodle is the tune Americans delight in, 'Twill do to whistle, sing or play And just the thing for fightin'.
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约翰.亚当斯

(JOHN ADAMS)

自由和知识

Liberty and Knowledge

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

让我们大胆地去读，去想，去说，去写.....让知识的每一道闸门都打开，让知识的源泉畅流。

约翰.亚当斯(1735 — 1862)生于麻省诸塞，毕业于哈佛学院，学过法律，教过初级中学，并获得了律师资格。1765 年亚当斯在《波士顿公报》上发表文章抨击《印花税法》，自此他便积极参与殖民地的政治。这些文章以《论宗教法规》和《封建法律》为题发表在一起。以下便是这些文章的摘要。

尽管亚当斯批评英国的政策，但他还是为那些被控在 1770 年波士顿大屠杀中杀死五个殖民地居民的英国士兵辩护；结果指挥官和几个士兵都被宣判无罪。

他这样心甘情愿地站在令人讨厌的一边辩护并没有妨碍他的政治生涯。1774年，他当上第一次大陆议会的代表。他也是由托马斯·杰斐逊组成的《独立宣言》起草委员会的成员。亚当斯是美国第一任副总统，后来又当选为总统(1797—1801)。1800年竞选总统时被托马斯·杰斐逊击败。他和杰斐逊都是在美国独立五十周年纪念日——1826年7月4日去世的。

.....凡是人民普遍有一般知识和觉察能力的地方，专制统治和各种压迫就会相应地减弱和消失。人类肯定有高尚的灵魂，而且在人性中也有同样的原则，即建立在博爱基础上并为知识所珍视的崇高原则；我是说对权力的贪恋常常是造成奴役的原因，而任何时候只要有自由存在，这种贪恋也是要求自由的原因。如果正是这个原则一直在激发着世上的王公贵族使用各种欺骗和暴力手段摆脱对他们权力的所有限制，那么同样也是这个原则一直在激励着百姓去追求独立，争取将大人物的权力限制在公正和理智的范围内。

穷人的确远不如大人物成功。他们难得有机会去组成联合并发挥他们的力量。由于没有文化知识，他们难以形成和支持一个固定的反对派。不过大人物们已经知道这是人类的秉性。于是在各个时代，他们都极力阻止那些被他们称为群氓的百姓得到有关他们的权利以及侵犯他们的权利的知识，并且剥夺了他们维护自己的权利、矫正侵犯他们的权利的行为的权力。我所说的权利，无疑是指在世上任何政府成立之前他们就有的权利，是人类法律无法废除或限制的权利，是宇宙伟大立法者所赋予的权利.....

如果人民没有一般的知识，自由就难以得到维护。人民有天赋获得知识的权利，因为无所不能的伟大造物者已经赋予他们理解能力和求知的欲望。但是，除了这种权利之外，他们还有一个权利，一个无可争议、不可让与、无法废除的神圣权利去获取最令人畏惧和羡慕的那种知识，我指的是了解他们统治者的品质和德行。对于人民来说统治者只不过和律师、代理人和董事一样。如果他们的事业、利益、和信任被阴险地背叛了，或者被不负责任地虚耗了，那么人民就有权利取消他们自己所授予的权威，并任命更能干、更好的代理人、律师和董事。在最底层人民中保留获取知识的手段对公众来说比保留全国所有富人的财产更重要。这对富人本身以及他们的后裔甚至更重要。唯一的问题是这是否要

由公众出钱，如果是，那么富人无疑应当按与其他公众负担同样的比例出钱，也就是说，按他们财富的比例出钱，况且这些财富的安全是用公共费用来保护的。但是没有一种获取消息的手段比新闻报导更神圣、更为北美居民所珍视的。人们已经采取措施鼓励印刷技术的发展，使任何人都能很容易、很便宜、很安全地把他的思想与公众交流.....

让我们大胆地去读，去想，去说，去写。唤起各阶层人民的注意，激发他们下定决心，让他们都去注意教会的和世俗的统治基础和原则。让我们研究自然法规，探求英国宪法的精神，阅读古代历史，思考希腊和罗马的伟大史例，对照我们英国祖先的品行。我们的祖先已经为我们保卫了人类的固有权利，即反对国内外暴君和篡权者，反对专制国王和残酷的神父，总之，反对人间和地狱之门的权利。让我们阅读、回顾、铭记我们自己更直系的祖先在离开他们土生土长的国家，来到这凄凉的荒野时的意图和目的。让我们审查那种把他们赶出家乡的权力的性质和那种压迫的残酷性。让我们回顾他们令人惊叹的不屈不挠精神，回顾他们所遭的苦难——食不果腹，衣不蔽体，寒冷不堪，而这些他们都坚忍地承受了。让我们回顾他们在野兽和野蛮人带来的危险之中，在他们有时间，或有金钱或物质去经商之前，清理场地，建造房子，种植粮食，饲养牲畜的艰苦劳动。让我们回顾那些一直支撑着他们默默忍受所有艰难困苦 of 世俗的和宗教的原则、希望和期待。让我们回顾一下，正是自由，正是为他们自己、为我们和我们的后代争取自由的希望征服了所有的挫折、危险和考验。让我们在这几个部门里的人都进行这样的研究，尤其是法律、知识和宗教的合适保护人和支持者应该进行这样的研究！

让我们的讲坛回荡着宗教自由的主张和意见。让我们听到由于无知、极端贫困和依赖，总之，由于政府和政治的奴役使我们的良知处于受奴役状态的危险。让我们看清我们面前人类真实面目的轮廓。让我们听到人性的尊严，听到在上帝造物中人类所处的崇高地位。让我们听到人们说同意受奴役就是亵渎神的信任，在上帝看来这就像损害我们自己的荣誉、利益和幸福一样使他生气。让我们听到人们说万能的上帝已经从天上赋予人类自由、和平和亲善！

让法庭宣布那些从远古时代传下的「法律、权利、权力的宽大策略」。让法庭告诉世人我们的祖先为捍卫自由所作的有力斗争和无数牺牲。让人们知道他们

原来的权利、他们原来契约上的条件是和帝王的特权平等的，而且是和政府同时并存的。让人们知道我们的许多权利是固有的而且必不可少，早在国会存在之前人们就同意以这些权利为金科玉律并把它们确定为预先必备的权利。让他们从人性的构成，从知识和道德世界的组成方面去探求英国法律和统治的基础。这样我们就会看到真理、自由、正义和博爱是其永久的基础，如果这些可以被拿掉，那么上层建筑当然就会被推翻。

让各个团体的和声都加在一起组成一个共同的快乐音乐会。让每一篇演讲都来谈自由和道德之美，都来谈奴役和邪恶之丑陋、卑鄙和恶毒。让公众的争论都变成探究统治的依据、性质和目的，以及保留善铲除恶的手段。让我们把有关权利的主张以及对自由的感觉通过对话和正或演说铭刻在温和的思想里，并向远近各处传播。

一句话，让知识的每一道闸门都打开，让知识的源泉畅流。

Liberty and Knowledge

Wherever a general knowledge and sensibility have prevailed among the people, arbitrary government and every kind of oppression have lessened and disappeared in proportion. Man has certainly an exalted soul; and the same principle in human nature--that aspiring, noble principle founded in benevolence, and cherished by knowledge; I mean the love of power, which has been so often the cause of slavery--has, whenever freedom has existed, been the cause of freedom. If it is this principle that has always prompted the princes and nobles of the earth by every species of fraud and violence to shake off all the limitations of their power, it is the same that has always stimulated the common people to aspire at independency, and to endeavor at confining the power of the great within the limits of equity and reason

The poor people, it is true, have been much less successful than the great. They have seldom found either leisure or opportunity to form

a union and exert their strength; ignorant as they were of arts and letters, they have seldom been able to frame and support a regular opposition. This, however, has been known by the great to be the temper of mankind; and they have accordingly labored, in all ages, to wrest from the populace, as they are contemptuously called, the knowledge of their rights and wrongs, and the power to assert the former or redress the latter. I say RIGHTS, for such they have, undoubtedly, antecedent to all earthly government--rights that cannot be repealed or restrained by human laws--rights derived from the great Legislator of the universe. . . .

Liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge among the people, who have a right, from the frame of their nature, to knowledge, as their great Creator, who does nothing in vain, has given them understandings, and a desire to know; but besides this, they have a right, an indisputable, unalienable, indefeasible, divine right to that most dreaded and envied kind of knowledge; I mean, of the characters and conduct of their rulers. Rulers are no more than attorneys, agents, and trustees, for the people; and if the cause, the interest and trust, is insidiously betrayed, or wantonly trifled away, the people have a right to revoke the authority that they themselves have deputed, and to constitute abler and better agents, attorneys, and trustees and the preservation of the means of knowledge among the lowest ranks is of more importance to the public than all the property of all the rich men the country. It is even of more consequence to the rich themselves, and to their posterity. The only question is whether it is a public emolument: and if it is, the rich ought undoubtedly to contribute, in the same proportion as to all other public burdens--that is, in proportion to their wealth, which is secured by public expenses. But none of the means of

information are more sacred, or have been cherished with more tenderness and care by the settlers of America, than the press. Care has been taken that the art of printing should be encouraged, and that it should be easy and cheap and safe for any person to communicate his thoughts to the public....

Let us dare to read, think, speak, and write. Let every order and degree among the people rouse their attention and animate their resolution. Let them all become attentive to the grounds and principles of government, ecclesiastical and civil. Let us study the law of nature; search into the spirit of the British Constitution; read the histories of ancient ages; contemplate the great examples of Greece and Rome; set before us the conduct of our own British ancestors, who have defended for us the inherent rights of mankind against foreign and domestic tyrants and usurpers, against arbitrary kings and cruel priests; in short, against the gates of earth and hell. Let us read and recollect and impress upon our souls the views and ends of our own more immediate forefathers in exchanging their native country for a dreary, inhospitable wilderness. Let us examine into the nature of that power, and the cruelty of that oppression, which drove them from their homes. Recollect their amazing fortitude, their bitter sufferings--the hunger, the nakedness, the cold, which they patiently endured--the severe labors of clearing their grounds, building their houses, raising their provisions, amidst dangers from wild beasts and savage men, before they had time or money or materials for commerce. Recollect the civil and religious principles and hopes and expectations which constantly supported and carried them through all hardships with patience and resignation. Let us recollect it was liberty, the hope of liberty for themselves and us and ours, which

conquered all the discouragements, dangers, and trials. In such researches as these let us all in our several departments cheerfully engage--but especially the proper patrons and supporters of law, learning, and religion!

Let the pulpit resound with the doctrines and sentiments of religious liberty. Let us hear the danger of thralldom to our consciences from ignorance, extreme poverty, and dependence; in short, from civil and political slavery. Let us see delineated before us the true map of man. Let us hear the dignity of his nature, and the noble rank he holds among the works of God--that consenting to slavery is a sacrilegious breach of trust, as offensive in the sight of God as it is derogatory from our own honor or interest or happiness--and that God Almighty has promulgated from heaven liberty, peace, and goodwill to man!

Let the bar proclaim "the laws, the rights, the generous plan of power" delivered down from remote antiquity--inform the world of the mighty struggles and numberless sacrifices made by our ancestors in defense of freedom. Let it be known that original rights, conditions of original contracts, [are] coequal with prerogative and coeval with government; that many of our rights are inherent and essential, agreed on as maxims and established as preliminaries, even before a parliament existed. Let them search for the foundations of British laws and government in the frame of human nature, in the constitution of the intellectual and moral world. There let us see that truth, liberty, justice, and benevolence are its everlasting basis; and if these could be removed, the superstructure is overthrown of course.

Let the colleges join their harmony in the same delightful concert. Let every declamation turn upon the beauty of liberty and virtue,

and the deformity, turpitude, and malignity of slavery and vice. Let the public disputations become researches into the grounds and nature and ends of government, and the means of preserving the good and demolishing the evil. Let the dialogues, and all the exercises, become the instruments of impressing on the tender mind, and of spreading and distributing far and wide, the ideas of right and the sensations of freedom.

In a word, let every sluice of knowledge be opened and set a-flowing.

约翰·迪金森

(JOHN DICKINSON)

自由之歌

The Liberty Song

《自由之歌》是美国第一首爱国歌谣，写于 1768 年，作者约翰·迪金森(1732—1808)是宾夕法尼亚的一位杰出律师，因发表《宾夕法尼亚一农夫的来信》而闻名，书中收入他 1767—1768 年发表的十二封信，这些信有助于使舆论转向反对将新税强加于殖民地的《汤森条例》。迪金森是宾夕法尼亚出席大陆议会的代表。他反对《独立宣言》，希望避免战争。但尽管如此，他还是参加民团服役。他也是参加制宪会议的代表，会上起草了《美国宪法》，迪金森促使宪法得到批准。宾夕法尼亚州卡莱尔的迪金森学院就是以他的名字命名的。

《自由之歌》在殖民地非常流行。实际上到处都在唱这首歌——在公共场合唱，而且常常就是为要激怒英国人和他们的美国朋友。人们很快就接受了歌中的信条：「联合则存，分裂则亡。」

来，勇敢的美利坚
人，手拉着手，
大胆去回应吧，美
好的自由在招手；

The Liberty Song

Come join hand in hand brave Americans all,
And rouse your bold hearts at fair Liberty's call:
No tyrannous acts shall suppress your just

残暴的行为压不住
正义的呼声。

也玷辱不了美利坚
的好名声。

我们生于自由也将
生活在自由里，
我们的钱包已装满
金钱，

沈着，朋友们，沈
着，

给钱不是当奴隶，
只为作个自由人。

让我们向可敬的先
辈们欢呼，

他们勇敢地奔向未
知的地带；

为了自由，他们越
过大洋，来到荒漠，
死后把自由和美名
留给我们。

他们胸怀博大，敢
蔑视一切危险，
他们崇高，明智，
珍视生来的权利；

我们将虔诚地保留
他们给予我们的遗
产，

决不破坏他们在陆
上和海上的劳动成

claim,

Or stain with dishonour America's name.

CHORUS:

In Freedom we're born and in Freedom we'll
live.

Our purses are ready, Steady. Friends, Steady.
Not as slaves, but as Freemen our money we'll
give.

Our worthy Forefathers--Let's give them a
cheer

To Climates unknown did courageously steer;
Thro' Oceans, to deserts, for freedom they
came

And dying bequeath'd us their freedom and
Fame.

Their generous bosoms all dangers despis'd, so
highly, so wisely, their Birthrights they priz'd:
We'll keep what they gave, we will piously
keep.

Nor frustrate their toils on the land and the
deep.

The Tree their own hands had to Liberty rear'd;
They liv'd to behold growing strong and
rever'd;

With transport they cry'd, "Now our wishes we
gain

For our children shall gather the fruits of our
pain."

Swarms of placemen and pensioners soon will

果。
先辈们用双手种下
的自由之树，
并为它的壮大和尊
严而生活；
满怀喜悦他们高
呼：「我们的愿望已
满足，
因为我们的子孙将
采到我们辛劳的果
实。」
官老爷和侍从即将
蜂拥而至，
他们像蝗虫摧残当
年的收成；
假如我们得为别人
挥霍而苦干，
太阳升起有何用，
雨水下了也枉然。
那么，勇敢的美利
坚人，手拉着手，
联合则存，分裂则
亡；
从事正义的事业，
我们必将成功，
因为上天赞许一切
高尚的行为。
千秋万代都将拍手
赞叹，

appear

Like locusts deforming the charms of the year;
Suns vainly will rise. Showers vainly descend,
If we are to drudge for what others shall spend
Then join hand in hand brave Americans all,
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall;
In so Righteous a cause let us hope to succeed,
For Heaven approves of each generous deed.
All ages shall speak with amaze and applause,
Of the courage we'll show in support of our
laws;
To die we can bear--but to serve we disdain,
For shame is to freedom more dreadful than
pain.
This bumper I crown for our Sovereign's health,
And this for Britannia's glory and wealth;
That wealth and that glory immortal may be,
If she is but just--and if we are but Free.

我们勇敢地支援我
们的法律；
我们不怕死但不屑
听人使唤，
因为论自由羞辱比
痛苦更可怕。
让我为我们君王的
健康干杯，
为不列颠的光荣和
财富干杯，
如她确有公正，我
们真有自由，
那种光荣和财富就
会永存不朽。

洛根首领的哀辞

Chief Logan's Lament

谁去那儿为洛根哀悼？没有一人。

1774 年，住在俄亥俄河流域的印地安人与白人之间发生了一系列流血事件。据托马斯·杰斐逊在《维吉尼亚记事》(1784—1785)中的一篇报告说白人对印地安人的抢劫行为权为愤怒。为了报复白人士兵杀死了许多无辜的印地安人，其中包括明戈印地安人的首领洛根的家人，而洛根是以白人的朋友而闻名的。在洛根的带领下，印地安人发动一场反对白人定居者的战争，他们剥去了许多无辜的男人、妇女和儿童的头皮，但最终还是在 1774 年 10 月被维吉尼亚的民团打败。在这个决定性的战役之后，洛根拒绝和其他首领一起去向获胜的白人屈膝哀求。相反，他给维吉尼亚皇家总督邓莫尔勋爵寄去以下这篇演讲。当邓莫尔勋爵征讨印地安人回来时，他带回了这篇演讲，据杰斐逊说，「这篇演讲成了威廉斯堡所有谈话的话题」。它被刊在《维吉尼亚公报》上，后又被登在北美大陆各报上，甚至连大不列颠的报刊上也发表了这篇演讲。杰斐逊在

他的《维吉尼亚记事》中又印出这篇演讲，以驳斥那些欧洲人，他们「以为在北美的土壤、气候和其他环境中某种东西导致动物先天的或后天的、肉体的或道德的本性的退化，甚至连人类也不例外」。杰斐逊把洛根的这篇演讲作为「这个国土上土人的天才，尤其是他们的雄辩之才」的证据。他断言「欧洲从未产生过比这篇短小精美、富于雄辩的演说更优秀的东西」。洛根的演说曾是十九世纪学校读本中固定的文章，并为几代美国年轻人所熟悉。

我恳请任何一位白人说说，他是否曾饿着肚子走进洛根家的小屋，而洛根没有给他肉吃；他是否曾在又冷又没衣穿时来到洛根家，而洛根没有给他衣服穿。在最近这次漫长而血腥的战争中，洛根一直呆在自己的小屋里，一直是一位宣传和平的人。我对白人的爱就是这样的，以致我的同胞经过我家时都指着说：「洛根是白人的朋友。」如果不是一个人伤害了我们，我甚至想过和你们住在一起。去年春天，克雷萨普上校无缘无故地残酷杀害了洛根的所有亲人，甚至连我的女人和孩子也不放过。在现在活着的人中，没有一个人的血管里流着我的血。这个事实呼唤我去报复。我寻求报复；我杀死了许多人；我已经复仇够了；为了国家，我很高兴看到和平的曙光。但不要以为我的高兴是出于害怕。洛根从不惧怕。他不会为了保全自己的生命而突然作一百八十度的转身的。谁去那儿为洛根哀悼.——没有一人。

Chief Logan's Lament

I appeal to any white man to say. if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat: if ever he came cold and naked, and he cloathed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, "Logan is the friend of white man." I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan. not even sparing my women

and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance: for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan.--Not one.

奴隶向麻塞诸塞皇家总督的申诉

The Slaves' Appeal to the Royal Governor of Massachusetts

我们是生而自由的而且从未签订任何契约或协议放弃上帝的这项恩赐。

1619年，一艘荷兰船将二十个非洲人带到维吉尼亚的詹姆斯敦。这些人究竟是奴隶还是契约仆人，没人知道。十七世纪后期，随着南方种植园的发展，非洲人的输入也增加了，同时殖民地的法律也确定他们终身为奴。在三百五十年的奴隶贸易中，约九百万到一千二百万非洲人在极其残恶的条件下被带到美洲各国，其中约四十万被带到北美。

有些殖民者反对奴隶制，尤其是教友派和孟诺派，以及像班哲明·佛兰克林、亚历山大·汉密尔顿和约翰·杰伊这样的领袖人物。以人类天生权利为基础的革命号召激励这些奴隶提出他们也有获得自由的权利的主张。1774年5月25日，麻塞诸塞的一群奴隶向皇家殖民总督托马斯·盖奇提出了以下申诉。

在革命开始时，美国军队将黑人排除在外。但是，当英国人号召奴隶参加到他们那边时，美国革命军就将其政策颠倒过来。大约有五千非洲裔美国人参加美国军队作战，其中有奴隶也有自由人。许多人由于在战争期间服役而获得自由，还有其他数以千计的奴隶在战争期间从奴隶制枷锁下逃跑。不过，大部分非洲人仍然还是奴隶，这是对一个新国家理想的玷污。

在这个自由和基督的国家里，由于神的许可，处于被奴役状态的许多本省黑人向您提出申诉。

我们谨向您表明

您的申诉者明白，如果我们的同胞没有剥夺我们的自由的话，我们也和其他人一样都有获得这些自由的天赋权利，因为我们是生而自由的而且从未签订任何契约或协定放弃上帝的这项恩赐。但是，我们是被残酷的强权之手把我们我们从我们最亲爱的朋友身边拖走的，有些人是从慈爱的父母的怀里被偷走的，是从一个人口众多、美丽富饶的国土上被拉走的，我们被带到这里，被迫在一个基督教国土里终身为奴。这样我们就被剥夺了一切哪怕使生活仅可忍受的东西，夫妻之间的甜蜜关系与我们无缘，因为我们不再是像我们的男主人或女主人认为的那样经正当结合或未曾结婚的夫妻。我们的孩子也被强行从我们身边夺走，被送到离我们许多英里以外的地方，强迫他们终身为奴，在那种地方我们很难得或者永远无法再见到他们。由于他们是从母亲怀里被强行拖走的，他们的生命有时是非常短暂的。由于这些原因，我们的生活非常痛苦。我们这种可怜的状况使我们无法向万能的上帝表示我们的服从。一个奴隶如何向妻子履行丈夫的职责，或者向孩子履行父母的职责。一个丈夫怎么能离开主人去为妻子干活并向妻子表示忠心。妻子又怎么能事事顺从自己的丈夫。孩子怎么能事事服从自己的父母。我们中有许多人是虔诚的基督徒。主人和奴隶怎么能说是履行了那条友爱相处，有难同当，让兄弟般的友情继续加深的训戒。当主人给我套上沉重的奴隶锁链并压迫我的意志时，怎么可说他是在分担我的苦难。在这种情况下，我们怎么能尽到我们对上帝的职责，因为处于这种情况，我们就不能像我们应该做的那样去侍奉上帝。这个国家的法律并不认为奴隶制是正当的而且谴责奴隶制，可我们却不能从这些法律中得到同等的利益。如果真的有过的法律可以使我们成为奴隶，那么我们谨以为过去从来就没有过什么法律规定我们的孩子在一个自由的国家里一出生就成为终生奴隶。所以我们恳请大人阁下，对于我们的申诉予以重视和考虑。您可据此使一项法案通过，以使我们获得天赋的自由权利，我们的孩子也可在二十一岁时获得自由。特别是为了我们的孩子，您的申诉者有义务向您提出申诉。

The Slaves' Appeal to the Royal Governor of Massachusetts

The Petition of a Grate Number of Blacks of this Province who by divine permission are held in a state of Slavery within the bowels of

a free and Christian Country

Humbly Shewing

That your Petitioners apprehend we have in common with all other men a naturall right to our freedoms without Being depriv'd of them by our fellow men as we are a freeborn People and have never forfeited this Blessing by any compact or agreement whatever. But we were unjustly dragged by the cruel hand of power from our dearest friends and sum of us stolen from the bosoms of our tender Parents and from a Populous Pleasant and plentiful country and Brought hither to be made slaves for Life in a Christian land. Thus we are deprived of every thing that hath a tendency to make life even tolerable, the endearing ties of husband and wife we are strangers to for we are no longer man and wife than our masters or mistresses think proper married or unmarried. Our children are also taken from us by force and sent many miles from us where we seldom or ever see them again there to be made slaves of for Life which sometimes; is very short by Reason of Being dragged from their mothers Breasts Thus our Lives are embittered to us on these accounts By our deplorable situation we are rendered incapable of shewing our obedience to Almighty God how can a slave perform the duties of a husband to a wife or parent to his child How can a husband leave master to work and cleave to his wife How can the wife submit themselves to their husbands in all things How can the child obey their parents in all things. There is a great number of us since ... members of the Church of Christ how can the master and the slave be said to fulfil that command Live in love let Brotherly Love continue and abound Bear ye one anothers Burdenes How can the master be said to Bear my Burden when he Bears me down with the Chains of slavery and oppression against my will and

how can we fulfill our parte of duty to him whilst in this condition and as we cannot searve our God as we ought whilst in this situation. Nither can we reap an equal benefet from the laws of the Land which doth not justifi but condemns Slavery or if there had bin aney Law to hold us in Bondage we are Humbely of tile opinion ther never was aney to inslave our children for life when Born in a free Countrey. We therfor Bage your Excellency and Honours will give this its deer weight and consideration and that you will accordingly cause an act of the legislative to be pessed that we may obtain our Natural right our freedoms and our children be set at lebety at the yeare of twenty one for whoues sekas more petequaley your Petitioners is in Duty ever to pray.

帕特里克.亨利

(Patrick Henry)

在第二次维吉尼亚大会上的演说

Speech to the Second Virginia Convention

我不知道别人会怎么做，但是，对于我来说，不自由，毋宁死！

帕特里克.亨利 (1736-1799) 是革命事业中的主要爱国者。他生于维吉尼亚，是维吉尼亚殖民地上最成功的律师之一，以其机敏和演说技巧而著称。

1763 年，他被选入维吉尼亚议会，直言不讳被鼓吹殖民地的权利。1765 年，在反对《印花税法》的演说中，亨利说，「凯撒有他的布鲁图，查理一世有他的克伦威尔.乔治三世有.....」（那时他被一片「大逆不道!大逆不道!大逆不道!」的叫喊声打断。）「...但愿我们能从他们的例子中获益，如果这是大逆不道，那就充分利用它吧」。

在日益发展的独立运动中，亨利发挥了突出的作用。他是第一届维吉尼亚通讯委员会的成员，也是 1774 年和 1755 年大陆议会的代表。以下摘录的是他最著名的演说，这是他在 1775 年 3 月 23 日于维吉尼亚里士满圣约翰教堂里召

开的第二次维吉尼亚大会上发表的演讲。这篇演说为给与英国人战斗的维吉尼亚民团提供装备的决议提供了有力的论据。

亨利是维吉尼亚的第一任州长，他在州里和国家里还担任许多其他的公共职务。不过他的永久名声还是来自这篇 1775 年发表的慷慨激昂的演说，其结束语是世界闻名的。

.....耽于幻想是人的天性。我们很容易无视痛苦的事实，而去听蛊惑人心的女妖莎琳的歌声，直至她把我们变成畜牲为止。难道这就是我们那些为自由从事伟大艰苦斗争的智者们的一部分吗？难道我们要与那些有眼看不见，有耳听不到那些很快就关系到他们现世拯救的事情的人为伍吗？就我而言，不论在精神上会造成什么样的痛苦，我还是愿意知道全部真相，了解最坏的情况并防备其发生。

我只有一盏指引我走路的灯，这就是经验之灯。我知道无法判断未来，但可以根据过去的经历来作判断。从过去的经历来看，我想知道在最近十年里力英国内阁的行为中有什么可以证明这些先生们的希望是对的，这些先生们一直乐于以这些希望来慰藉他们自己和议会。难道是他们最近接受我们的请愿时的那种阴险的微笑吗？先生们，请别相信这种微笑，这将证明是设在你们脚下的陷阱。别自讨苦吃，被人以一个亲吻就出卖了。问问你们自己，这种亲切地接受我请愿的行动与那些在我们的陆上和水上所作的战争准备怎么相称。一个表示爱 and 调和的工作需要舰队和军队吗？难道我们已经表示如此不愿调和，以致要用武力来赢得我们的爱吗？先生们，我们不要自欺欺人了。这些是战争和征服的手段，是国王们诉诸的最后理由。先生们，我问那些先生，如果这种战争部署不是要迫使我们屈服，那又是什么意思？对此，先生们可以提出任何其他可能的动机吗？难道大不列颠在世界的这个地区有什么敌人需要她在这里集结海军和陆军吗？不，先生们，她没有敌人。他们是针对我们的，他们不可能是针对别人的。他们是被派来给我们绑住和钉上英国内阁长期以来一直在铸造的锁链。我们有什么可以用来反对他们呢？没有。我们已经想尽办法弄清楚这个问题，但都没用。难道我们要向他们摇尾乞怜，卑躬屈膝吗？那我们应当找什么没有被用尽的条件？先生们，我要求你们，不要再欺骗自己了。先生们，为了

避免这即将来临的风暴，我们已经做了一切能做的事。我们已经请愿过了，我们已经抗议过了，我们已经哀求过了，我们已经俯伏在内阁和议会暴虐之手面前。可我们的请愿已被藐视，我们的抗议已增添了对我们的暴力和侮辱，我们的哀求人家不予考虑，人家已经轻蔑地把我们从君王的脚下赶走。在这些都白费之后，我们难道还会沈浸在和平和调和的可笑希望之中。再也没有希望的余地了。如果我们想得到自由，如果我们要保护那些我们长期争取的无价的特权不受侵犯，如果我们不想怯懦地放弃我们长期从事的崇高斗争，如果我们不想放弃我们已发誓不达到我们的斗争应当取得光荣目标就决不罢休的崇高斗争，我们就必须战斗！先生们，我再说一遍，我们必须战斗！我们现在唯一能做的就是拿起武器，祈求上帝的帮助！

先生们，他们告诉我们，我们是弱者，无法与这强大的敌手对抗。但我们何时才能强大呢？下个星期吗？还是下一年？要到我们完全被解除武装，每个房子都驻上一个英国卫兵的时候吗？我们优柔寡断，坐着不动就不可以聚集力量吗？我们无精打采地仰卧在那里，抱着虚妄的希望直到敌人把我们的手脚都捆起来，这样就可以获得有效的抵抗手段吗？先生们，如果我们适当利用上帝在我们的力量中所赋予的各种手段，我们就不是弱者。三百万人民为了自由神圣事业武装起来，在这样一个我们拥有的国家里，是无敌于我们敌人能派来对付我们的任何力量的。而且，先生们，我们将不会孤军作战。还有一个主宰各国命运的公正的上帝，他将召集朋友们为我们作战。先生们，打战不只适合于强者，有警惕性的人，有活力的人，有勇气的人都会打战。而且，先生们，我们没有选择。如果我们曾自私地期望这场斗争，那么现在要退出来已经太迟了。除了屈服和奴役没有别的退路！给我们的锁链已经铸好了！在波士顿平原上就可听到这些锁链的叮当声！战争是不可避免的，就让它来吧！我再说一遍，先生们，让它来吧！

先生们，辩解是没有用的。先生们尽可呼喊和平，和平，但事实上不存在和平。战争实际上已经开始了！北方吹来的下一阵大风将给我们的耳朵带来响亮的武器撞击声！我们的弟兄已经上了战场！为什么我们还站在这里不动？那些先生们到底想要什么？他们会得到什么？生命就这么贵，和平就这么甜，以致可以用锁链和奴役为代价把它们买来吗？万能的上帝，禁止这种事情发生吧！我不

知道别人会怎么做，但是，对于我来说，不自由，毋宁死！

Speech to the second Virginia Convention

..It is natural for 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 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 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 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 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 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!

托马斯.杰斐逊

(THOMAS JEFFERSON)

独立宣言

The Declaration of Independence

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

我们认为下述真理是不言而喻的：人人生而平等，造物主赋予他们若干不可让与的权利，其中包括生存权、自由权和追求幸福的权利。

托马斯·杰斐逊(1743—1826)作为一个包括约翰·亚当斯和班哲明·富兰克林在内的起草委员会的成员，起草了美国《独立宣言》的第一稿。大陆议会对杰斐逊的草稿作了重大改动，特别是在乔治亚州和南卡罗来纳州代表们的坚持下，删去了他对英王乔治三世允许在殖民地存在奴隶制和奴隶买卖的有力谴责。(被删去的内容中一部分是这样写的：「他向人性本身发动了残酷的战争，侵犯了一个从未冒犯过他的远方民族的最神圣的生存权和自由权，他诱骗他们，并把他们运往另一半球充当奴隶，或使他们惨死在运送途中。」) 1776年7月4日，大陆会议通过了这份宣言。

托马斯·杰斐逊生于维吉尼亚一个富裕的家庭。他曾就读于威廉玛丽学院，并于1767年在维吉尼亚获得律师资格。1769年，他当选为维吉尼亚下院议员，并积极参加独立运动，而且代表维吉尼亚出席大陆议会。他两次当选为维吉尼亚州长，还担任过美国驻法大使。1800年他竞选总统时，与阿伦·伯尔所得选举人票数相等，后由众议院选择杰斐逊当总统。

杰斐逊曾写道，《独立宣言》是「吁请世界的裁判」。自1776年以来，《独立宣言》中所体现的原则就一直在全世界为人传诵。美国的改革家们，不论是出于什么动机，不论是为了废除奴隶制，禁止种族隔离或是要提高妇女的权利，都要向公众提到「人人生而平等」。不论在什么地方，当人民向不民主的统治作斗争时，他们就要用杰斐逊的话来争辩道，政府的「正当权力是经被治者同意所授予的」。

独立宣言

1776年7月4日，美利坚合众国十三州议会一致通过的宣言。

在人类事务发展的过程中，当一个民族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，必须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：人人生而平等，造物主赋予他们若干不可让与的权利，其中包括生存权、自由权和追求幸福的权利。为了保障这些权利，人类才在他们中间建立政府，而政府的正当权力，则是经被治者同意所授予的。任何形式的政府一旦对这些目标的实现起破坏作用时，人民便有权予以更换或废除，以建立一个新的政府。新政府所依据的原则和组织其权力的方式，务使人民认为唯有这样才最有可能使他们获得安全和幸福。若真要审慎地说，成立多年的政府是不应当由于无关紧要的和一时的原因而予以更换的，过去的一切经验都说明，任何苦难，只要尚能忍受，人类还是情愿忍受，也不想为申冤而废除他们久已习惯了的政府形式。然而，当始终追求同一目标的一系列滥用职权和强取豪夺的行为表明政府企图把人民置于专制暴政之下时，人民就有权，也有义务，去推翻这样的政府，并为其未来的安全提供新的保障。这就是这些殖民地过去忍受苦难的经过，也是他们现在不得不改变政府制度的原因。当今大不列颠国王的历史，就是屡屡伤害和掠夺这些殖民地的历史，其直接目标就是要在各州之上建立一个独裁暴政，为了证明上述句句属实，现将事实公诸于世，让公正的世人作出评判。

他拒绝批准对公众利益最有益、最必需的法律。

他禁止他的殖民总督批准刻不容缓、极端重要的法律，要不就先行搁置这些法律直至征得他的同意，而这些法律被搁置以后，他又完全置之不理。

他拒绝批准便利大地区人民的其他法律，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，而代表权对人民是无比珍贵的，只有暴君才畏惧它。

他把各州的立法委员会召集到一个异乎寻常、极不舒适而又远离它们的档案库的地方去开会，其目的无非是使他们疲惫不堪，被迫就范。

他一再解散各州的众议院，因为后者坚决反对他侵犯人民的权利。

他在解散众议院之后，又长期拒绝另选他人，于是这项不可剥夺的立法权便归由普通人民来行使，致使在这期间各州仍处于外敌入侵和内部骚乱的种种危险之中。

他力图阻止各州增加人口，为此目的，他阻挠外国人入籍法的通过，拒绝批准其他鼓励移民的法律，并提高分配新土地的条件。

他拒绝批准建立司法权力的法律，以阻挠司法的执行。

他迫使法官为了保住任期、薪金的数额和支付而置于他个人意志的支配之下。

他滥设新官署，委派大批官员到这里骚扰我们的人民，吞噬他们的财物。

他在和平时期，未经我们立法机构同意，就在我们中间维持其常备军。

他施加影响，使军队独立于文官政权之外，并凌驾于文官政权之上。

他同他人勾结，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，而且还批准他们炮制的各种伪法案，以便任其在我们中间驻扎大批武装部队；不论这些人对我们各州居民犯下何等严重的谋杀罪，他可用假审判来庇护他们，让他们追逐法外；他可以切断我们同世界各地的贸易；未经我们同意便向我们强行征税；在许多案件中剥夺我们享有陪审制的权益；以莫须有的罪名把我们押送海外受审；他在一个邻省废除了英国法律的自由制度，在那里建立专制政府，扩大其疆界，使其立即成为一个样板和合适的工具，以便向这里各殖民地推行同样的专制统治；他取消我们的许多特许状，废除我们最珍贵的法律并从根本上改变我们各州政府的形式；他中止我们立法机构行使权力，宣称他们自己拥有在任何情况下为我们制定法律的权力。

他们放弃设在这里的政府，宣布我们已不属他们保护之列，并向我们发动战争。

他在我们的海域大肆掠夺，蹂躏我们的沿海地区，烧毁我们的城镇，残害我们人民的生命。

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。

他在我们中间煽动内乱，并竭力挑唆残酷无情的印地安蛮子来对付我们边疆的居民，而众所周知，印地安人作战的准则是不分男女老幼，是非曲直，格杀勿论。

在遭受这些压迫的每一阶段，我们都曾以最谦卑的言辞吁请予以纠正。而我们

一次又一次的请愿，却只是被报以一次又一次的伤害。

一个君主，其品格被他的每一个只有暴君才干得出的行为所暴露时，就不配君临自由的人民。

我们并不是没有想到我们英国的弟兄。他们的立法机关想把无理的管辖权扩展到我们这里来，我们时常把这个企图通知他们。我们也曾把我们移民来这里和在这里定居的情况告诉他们。我们曾恳求他们天生的正义感和雅量，念在同种同宗的份上；弃绝这些掠夺行为，因为这些掠夺行为难免会使我们之间的关系和来往中断。可他们对这种正义和同宗的呼声也同样充耳不闻。因此，我们不得不宣布脱离他们，以对待世界上其他民族的态度对待他们：同我交战者，就是敌人；同我和好者，即为朋友。

因此；我们这些在大陆会议上集会的美利坚合众国的代表们，以各殖民地善良人民的名义，并经他们授权，向世界最高裁判者申诉，说明我们的严正意向，同时郑重宣布：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；

我们取消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从此全部断绝，而且必须断绝；作为一个独立自由的国家，我们完全有权宣战、缔和、结盟、通商和采取独立国家有权采取的一切行动。我们坚定地信赖神明上帝的保佑，同时以我们的生命、财产和神圣的名誉彼此宣誓来支援这一宣言。

Declaration of Independence

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America
When in the Course of human events, it be comes 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 cause which impel

them to the separation.--We bold 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 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 mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within,--He has endeavoured 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 harrass 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 compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & 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.--He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the

merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions. 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 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.

托马斯.杰斐逊

(THOMAS JEFFERSON)

维吉尼亚宗教自由法令

A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom in Virginia

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

我们维吉尼亚全州代表大会现颁布以下法令，即任何人不得被强迫参加或支援任何宗教礼拜、宗教场所或传道职位，任何人不得因其宗教见解或信仰不同而在肉体或财产上受到强制、约束、骚扰、负担或其他损害。

托马斯.杰斐逊满腔热情地忠于自由思想的原则。为了达到这个目的，他不断提倡言论自由、新闻自由及宗教和教育自由。像和同辈的其他有教养的人一样，他很清楚人类为宗教偏见所付出的代价，多少世纪以来，宗教偏见一直是造成仇视和流血的原因。1779年，杰斐逊在维吉尼亚议会提出以下这个划时代的法令，但一直到1786年这个法令才被正或通过。法令中对宗教自由的保证即是后来《美国宪法第一修正案》的前驱，该修正案禁止国会建立宗教或干预宗教的自由。

杰斐逊在为自己墓碑所写的墓志铭中写道：「这里埋着托马斯.杰斐逊，《美国独立宣言》的作者，维吉尼亚宗教自由法规的制定者和维吉尼亚大学之父。」

一、谁都知道、人们的见解和信仰并不取决于他们的意志，而是无意识地顺应别人向他们提供的证据；万能的上帝已经把人的思想创造成自由的。而且通过把思想造成完全不受约束的东西表明他的最高旨意，即思想必须保持自由；任何企图以人世间的刑罚或压迫，或以行政法规限制来影响思想的作法，其结果只能是造成虚伪和卑鄙的习性，背离我们宗教的神圣创始者的旨意。他是躯体

和精神的主宰。他无所不能，但他并不强行向我们的躯体和精神宣扬他的旨意，而是以其对理性本身的影响来提高它；有些在世间的和教会中的立法者和统治者，他们本身不过是常犯错误和没有圣感的人，而竟然对上帝不敬。以为他们有权主宰其他人的信仰，他们把自己的意见和想法说成是唯一永无错误的真理，并强加于世人，自古以来，这种人在世界上绝大多数地方所建立和所维持的只是虚假的宗教而已；强迫一个人捐钱，用以党传他所不相信并且厌恶的见解，是罪恶和专横的行为；即便强迫一个人支援他所属教派中的这位或那位牧师，也是在剥夺这个人的自由，使他不能心情舒畅地把钱捐给他所想捐的某一牧师，因为他认为这位牧师的道德可作为他的典范，而且他觉得这位牧师最有说服人从善的力量。同时这也剥夺了牧师们应从世间得到的报酬，而这些由于他们个人的行为受到尊敬而获得的报酬，正足以鼓励他们认真地和孜孜不倦地向世人传教；我们的公民权并不取决于我们的宗教见解，正如它不取决于我们在物理学或几何学上的见解一样。因此，如果因一个人不声明皈依或放弃这个或那个宗教见解，就硬说他没能力担任受到信任或享有薪俸的职务，且以此宣布这个人不值得大众信赖，那就是极不慎重地剥夺了他的特权和利益，而对于这些特权和利益，他和他的同胞一样享有天赋的权利；给那些表面广宣称皈依某一宗教的人贿以独占世间荣誉和报酬的权利，同样也是对那种宗教所宣扬的教义的腐蚀；这些无法抵制诱惑的入固然都是罪人，可是那些在这些人的道路上安置诱饵的入也不能算是清白无辜的；人的思想见解既不是文官政府可以指导的，也不属其管辖范围；如果我们容忍政府官员把权力伸张到思想见解的领域，任他们假定某些宗教的教义有坏倾向而限制人们皈依和传播它们，那将是一个非常危险的错误做法，这会马上断送一切宗教自由，因为在判断这些宗教的倾向时，当然是由这个官员作主，他会拿他个人的见解作为判断的准绳，对于别人的见解，只看其是否和他自己的见解一致，或者是否能容忍他的见解，而予以赞许或斥责；当宗教教义突然转化为公然反对和平和正常秩序的行为时，政府官员为了政府的正当目的，会有足够时间进行干预的；最后，真理是伟大的。只要听其自然，它一定会占上风的，因为真理是谬误的适当而有力的对手，在真理与谬误的冲突中，真理是无所畏惧的，它只怕人类加以干涉，解除其天赋的武器——自由引证和自由辩论。一切谬误，到了大家可以自由反驳

的时候，就不危险了。

二、我们维吉尼亚全州代表大会现颁布以下法令，即任何人不得被强迫参加或支援任何宗教礼拜、宗教场所或传道职位，任何人不得由于其宗教见解和信仰不同，而在肉体或财产上受到强制、约束、骚扰、负担或其他损害；任何人都应该有自由宣布他信仰某一宗教，并通过辩论来维护他在宗教问题上的见解，而且也绝不能因此而削弱、扩大或影响其公民权利。

三、虽然我们知道，这个代表大会，只是人民为了立法上的一般目的而选举产生的，我们无权限制今后代表大会产生的法令，因为今后的代表大会具有和我们同样的权力。因此，宣布这项法令是不可推翻的，将不具有任何法律上的效力；但我们还是有自由声明，而且必须声明，我们在这里所主张的权利，都是人类的天赋权利。如果今后通过的任何法令，要把目前这个法令取消或缩小其实施范围，那么这样的法令将是对天赋权利的侵犯。

Thomas Jefferson

A Bill for Establishing Religions Freedom in Virginia

SECTION 1. Well aware that the opinions and belief of men depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds; that Almighty God hath created the mind free, and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, who being lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his almighty power to do, but to exalt it by its influence on reason alone; that the impious presumption of legislature and ruler, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and

modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world and through all time: that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards which proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; and therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust or emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injudiciously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right; that it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed these are criminals who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that the opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on

supposition of their ill tendency is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square -with or suffer from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that the truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

SECTION II. We the General Assembly of Virginia do enact that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, or shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or beliefs; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

SECTION III. And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for their ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act to be irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operations, such act

will be an infringement of natural right.

托马斯·潘恩

(THOMAS PAINE)

常 识

Common Sense

(Library of Congress)

啊，你们这些热爱人类的人！你们这些不但敢反对暴政而且敢反对暴君的人，请站到前面来！

托马斯·潘恩(1737—1809)生于英格兰一个贫苦家庭，父亲是教友派信徒，母亲是英国教教徒。他十三岁轻学跟父亲干活，学做妇女紧身褙。他试干过各种职业，但没有一个成功的。在伦敦遇到班哲明·富兰克林之后，他于 1774 年末移民到北美殖民地，并找到《宾夕法尼亚杂志》的编辑工作。那时英国和殖民地之间的关系十分紧张，潘恩很快就卷进冲突。1775 年 4 月 19 日的列克星敦和康柯德的战斗之后，潘恩得出结论，这次起义的目的不仅要反对不公正的税制，而且要支援全面独立。1776 年 1 月 10 日，他发表了一本五十页的小册子，书中对他的论点作了详细解释。这本小册子立即引起轰动，三个月内售出十多万册。在一个人口仅二百五十万的殖民地里，可能总共售出了五十万册。潘恩的《常识》比任何一个出版物都更能说服当时的公众舆论支持北美从不列颠独立出来。

关于英美之间的斗争这个题目，人们已经写过好多卷书籍。各阶层的人们出于不同的动机，抱着各种目的，参加了这场争论；但一切都毫无效果，现在论战已经结束了.....

我听见有人硬是这样说：既然北美在以前同大不列颠发生联系时曾经繁荣过，那么为了它将来的幸福，同样的联系是必要的，并且总会产生同样的效果。没有任何论证比这更错误的了。你还不如说，因为一个孩子是吃奶长大的，所以他永远不该吃肉，或者说，我们一生的开头二十年应该成为第二个二十年的先

例。可是即便这样也是言过其实的说法，因为我可以直率地说，假如没有欧洲列强注意她的话，北美照样能够繁荣，或许还更兴旺。北美赖以致富的贸易，属于生活必需的，只要欧洲人还有饮食的食惯，它总不会没有市场。

可是有人说欧洲保护了我们。不错，她是把我们垄断了，而且她花我们的钱和她自己的钱来保卫北美大陆，这也是事实；不过，出于同样的动机，也就是说为了贸易和统治权，她也会保卫土耳其的。

唉！我们长期以来受到历史偏见的迷惑，为迷信作了很大了牺牲。我们曾自夸受大不列颠的保护，不去注意她的动机是利益而不是情谊；她并没有为了我们而保护我们免遭我们的敌人的侵犯，她是为了保护她自己免受她的敌人的侵犯的，甚至为了其他缘故，要保护她自己免受那些与我们本无争执的人的侵犯，但是由于同样的原因，这些与我们本无争执的人将会永远成为我们的敌人。如果英国放弃对北美大陆的权利，或者北美大陆摆脱对英国的依赖，那么，万一法国与西班牙同英国发生战争，我们还可以与他们保持和平.....

可是有人说英国是祖国，是我们的父母。那么她的所作所为就格外丢脸，豺狼尚不食其子，野蛮人也不同亲属作战；因此，那种说法如果是正确的话，那正是对它的谴责；可是那种说法恰恰是不正确的，或者只是部分正确，而英王和他的一伙帮闲阴险地采用「父母之邦」或「母国」这种词，含有卑鄙的天主教意图，想利用我们轻信弱点让我们相信他那不公正的偏见。欧洲，而不是英国，才是北美的父母之邦。这个新世界曾经成为欧洲各地受迫害的酷爱公民自由与宗教自由的人士的避难所。他们逃到这里来，并不是要逃出母亲温柔的怀抱，而是要躲避魔鬼暴虐；把第一批移民逐出乡里的那种暴政，还在追逐着他们的后代，这话对英国来说至今还是千真万确的.....

我要求那些最热心鼓吹和解的人指出北美大陆由于同大不列颠保持联系而能得到的哪怕一点好处。我们的谷物将在欧洲任何市场上售出好价钱，而我们的进口货物一定要在我们愿意购买的地方成交。

但是，我们由于同英国保持联系而遭到的危害和损失是不胜枚举的；我们对全人类以及对我们自己的责任指导我们拒绝这种联盟：因为对大不列颠的任何屈从或依附，都会立刻招这个大陆卷入欧洲的各种战争和争执，使我们同一些国家发生冲突，而那些国家本来是愿意争取我们的友谊的，我们对它们也是没有

愤怒或不满的理由的。既然欧洲是我们的贸易市场，我们就应当同欧洲任何部分保持不偏不倚的关系。北美的真正利益在于避开欧洲的各种纷争，如果由于它依附英国而变成英国政治天平上的一个小小的砝码。它就永远不能置身于纷争之外。欧洲王国林立，不可能长期保持和平状态，一旦英国和任何外国之间爆发战争，北美由于她同不列颠的联系，在贸易上一定会遭到毁灭。下一次的战争也许结果不会像上一次一样，而如果有所不同的话，现在鼓吹和解的人，那时就会希望分离了，因为在那种情况下，中立将是一支更安全的护航队而不是一个小卒。凡是正确或自然的东西都会祈求分离，被杀死的人的鲜血及造化的啜泣声在喊着：现在是分离的时候了。甚至上帝在英国和北美之间设置这么远的距离，也有力地而顺理成章地证明，英国对北美行使权力这点决不是上苍的意图.....

许多人住的地点，离目前发生不幸事件的现场很远，这是他们的运气；祸害并没有完全降临到他们的门口，使他们感到北美的全部财产岌岌可危。可是让我们的想象力把我们带到波士顿去一会儿吧；那充满灾难的地点会教我们学得聪明一些，而且会指引我们同我们不能加以信任的政权断绝关系。那个不幸城市的居民，仅在几个月前还过着安乐富裕的生活，可是他们现在除了呆在那里挨饿或出外求乞外，没有别的办法。如果他们继续留在城里，就有遭朋友的炮火轰击的危险，而如果他们离开，又会遭到军队的洗劫；在目前的情况下，他们是一些没有超度希望的囚徒，在发起总攻来救助他们的时候，他们将暴露在双方军队的猛烈炮火之下.....

可是，如果说你们还能容忍那些侵犯，那么我倒要请教，你们的房屋有没有被烧掉.你们的财产是否在你们面前被破坏.你的妻儿是否还有床铺睡觉，有面包充饥.你们的父母儿女是否曾遭他们的毒手，而你们自己是不是在颠沛流离中死里逃生的呢.如果你们没有过这些遭遇，你们就不能体会那些有过这种遭遇的人的心情。但如果你遭了殃，你还能同凶手握手言欢，那么你便不配称为丈夫、父亲、朋友和情人，并且不管你这一辈子的地位和头衔如何，你都是个胆小鬼和马屁精.....

所有争取和平的温和的方法都没有奏效。我们的历次恳求都被鄙夷地一口回绝；这使我们相信，没有什么比反复请愿更能取悦国王们的虚荣心并证实他们

的顽固了——而且只有那种做法最能助长欧洲国王们的专制。丹麦和瑞典就是很好的例子。因此，既然抵抗才有效力，那么为了上帝，让我们达到最后的分离，不要让下一代人，在遭受侮辱的毫无意义的父子关系的名义下趋于灭亡。如果说他们不会想再那么干了，那是单凭想象而没有根据的；我们对于印花税法曾抱有这样的想法，然而一两年的工夫就打破了我们的迷梦；否则我们也可以认为那些已经被打败的国家将永远不会再寻衅了。

至于说到统治的问题，英国是无法以公平合理的态度来对待这个大陆的：它的事务不久就会十分纷繁，这不是一个离我们这么远，对我们这样无知的国家用种种权宜之计所能经营的，因为，如果他们不能征服我们，他们便无法统治我们。为了一件事情或一项申请要经常奔波三四千英里，为了答复要等待四五个个月，而得到批覆以后，又需要五六个月来加以解释，这种情况不出几年功夫就会被看作是荒唐和幼稚的行径。如果过去有一段时间它是适当的，那么现在便是使它不再存在的适当时期了。

那些不能自卫的小岛，是一些王国把它们置于保护之下的适当物件；但是，如果认为一个大陆可以永远受一个岛屿的统治，那不免有些荒谬。在自然界，从来没有使卫星大于它的主星的先例；既然英国和北美在彼此的关系上违反自然的一般规律，那么显然他们是属于不同的体系。英国属于欧洲，北美属于它自己.....

有人说，那么北美的国王在哪儿呢.朋友，我要告诉你，他在天上统治着，不像大不列颠皇家畜生那样残害人类。还是让我们庄严地规定一天来宣布宪章，希望我们哪怕在世俗的德行方面也不要有点缺点；让我们发表的宪章以神法和圣经为依据；让我们为宪章加冕、从而使世人知道，就赞成君主制而言，在北美法律就是国王。因为，正如在专制政府中，国王便是法律一样，在自由国家中法律便应该成为国王，而且不应该有其它的作用。但为了预防以后发生滥用至高权威的流弊，那就不妨在典礼结束时，取消国王这一称号，把它分散给有权享受这种称号的人民。

组织我们自己的政府，乃是我们天赋的权利。当一个人如真考虑到世事的动荡时，他就会深深地相信，我们尽力以冷静审慎的态度来组织我们自己的政权形武，要比把这样一个重大问题交给时间和机会去支配，来得无限的聪明和安

全.....

你们这些劝我们重视融洽与和解的人，能不能把已经消逝的时间重新交还给我们呢？你们能不能把过去的纯洁还给娼妓呢。你们要使英国与北美和解，也是办不到的。现在最后一根纽带已经断了，英国人正在大放厥词攻击我们。所造成的损害是天理难容的。如果天理会宽恕的话，那就不成其为天理了。既然情人不会宽恕强奸他情妇的人，北美大陆也就不能宽恕英国的那些杀人凶手。上帝已赋予我们执着追求好的和明智的东西的不可泯灭的感情。这种感情保护了我们心中上帝的形象，而且使我们不同于普通的动物群体。假如我们麻木无情，社会契约就会解体，公道就会在世上绝迹，或者不过偶然存在。假如我们所感受的侮辱不能激怒我们起来要求伸张正义，强盗和杀人凶手将会常常追逐法外。

啊，你们这些热爱人类的人！你们这些不但敢反对暴政而且敢反对暴君的人，请站到前面来！旧世界到处压迫猖獗。自由到处遭到追逐。亚洲和非洲早已把她逐出。欧洲把她当作异己分子，而英国已经对她下了逐客令。啊，接待这个逃亡者，及时地为人类准备一个避难所吧！

Thomas Paine

Common Sense

Volumes have been written on the subject of the struggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controversy, from different motives, and with various designs: but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is closed. . . .

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great Britain, the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thriven upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next

twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true; for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessities of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

But she has protected us, say some. That she hath engrossed us is true, and defended the continent at our expense as well as her own is admitted; and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz., for the sake of trade and dominion.

Alas! we have been long led away by ancient prejudices, and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain without considering that her motive was interest, not attachment; and that she did not protect us from our enemies on our account, but from her enemies on her own account, from those who had no quarrel with us on any other account, but who will always be our enemies on the same account. Let Britain waive her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependence, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. . . .

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore, the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so, and the phrase parent or mother country hath been jesuitically adopted by the king and his parasites, with a low, papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the asylum for the

persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every part of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of a mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still. . . .

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation to show a single advantage that this continent can reap, by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge, not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for, buy them where we will.

But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instructs us to renounce the alliance: because any submission to, or dependence on, Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels, and sets us at variance with nations who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. 'Tis the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do while by her dependence on Britain she is made the make weight in the scale of British politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, because of her connection with Britain. The next war may not turn out like the last, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now will be wishing for separation then, because neutrality in that case would be a safer convoy than a man of war. Everything that is right or natural pleads

for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America is a strong and natural proof that the authority of the one over the other, was never the design of heaven. . . .

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of present sorrow; the evil is not sufficiently brought to their doors to make them feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us for a few moments to Boston; that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us forever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city, who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it, in their present situation they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief they would be exposed to the fury of both armies....

But if you say, you can still pass the violations over, then I ask, Hath your house been burnt. Hath your property been destroyed before your face. Are your wife and children destitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on. Have you lost a parent or a child by their hands, and yourself the ruined and wretched survivor. If you have not, then you are not a judge of those who have. But if you have, and can still shake hands with the murderers, then you are unworthy the name of husband, father, friend, or lover; and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the spirit of a sycophant. . . .

Every quiet method for peace hath been in effectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and have tended to convince us that nothing flatters vanity or confirms obstinacy in kings more than repeated petitioning--and nothing hath contributed more than that very measure to make the kings of Europe absolute. Witness Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God's sake let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To say they will never attempt it again is idle and visionary; we thought so as the repeal of the stamp act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we suppose that nations which have been once defeated will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, it is not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice: the business of it will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an answer, which, when obtained, requires five or six more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childishness. There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to cease.

Small islands not capable of protecting themselves are the proper objects for kingdoms to very absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet; and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverse the common order of nature, it is evident that they belong to different systems. England

to Europe: America to itself...

But where, say some, is the king of America. I'll tell you, friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Great Britain. Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honors, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the Word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America THE LAW is KING. For as in absolute governments the king is law, so in free countries the law ought to BE king, and there ought to be no other. But lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the crown at the conclusion of the ceremony be demolished, and scattered among the people whose right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right; and when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance. . . .

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is passed. Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence. Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last cord now is broken; the people of England are presenting addresses against us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress, as the continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us these unextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes. They are the guardians of his image in our hearts. They distinguish us from the herd of common

animals. The social compact would dissolve, and justice be extirpated from the earth, or have only a casual existence, were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber and the murderer would often escape unpunished, did not the injuries which our tempers sustain, provoke us into justice.

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

托马斯·潘恩

(THOMAS PAINE)

北美的危机

The American Crisis

(Library of Congress)

这是考验人的灵魂的时代。

在美国独立战争期间，潘恩写了以《北美的危机》为题的系列文章，分为十六小册，发表于 1776—1783 年之间。他给这些小册子标题为《常识》。其中第一篇发表于 1776 年 12 月 23 日，以满腔热情号召人们为自由而战。以下便是这篇文章的摘要。华盛顿将军下令向他在福吉谷士气低落的军队宣读这篇振奋精神的檄文。

尽管潘恩的爱国著作卖出了千万册，潘恩却依然身无分文，因为，为了使他的文章能够被广泛印发，让人阅读，他拒绝接受任何版税。潘恩是世界上最伟大的政治宣传家之一。1787 年，他回到欧洲，希望能争取人们对他在费城附近建一座横跨斯凯基尔河的大桥的计划感兴趣。然而，他很快就被法国革命迷住

了。1791年，他发表《人的权利》，捍卫法国革命，批判埃德蒙·伯克写的《对法国革命的反思》。伯克作了回答。1792年，潘恩发表《人的权利》第二部，批判君主政体，鼓吹消灭贫困、文盲和失业的政策。英国政府禁止潘恩的激进建议，并企图逮捕他，但潘恩从英国逃到法国。在那儿他被选进国民议会。尽管他保卫过法国革命，但他还是批评恐怖时期，并设法救国王的性命。由于他这样做，法国人把他关在牢里近一年。潘恩写的《理性时代》(两部分，1794和1795年)使他遭到各处正统宗教狂者的刻骨仇恨。

1802年，潘恩回到美国。1809年，在纽约市去世。

这是考验人的灵魂的时代。在当前的危机中，精壮的战士和乐天的爱国者会在为国家服务的责任面前畏缩不前，但今天能坚持战斗的人应当得到全体男女的爱戴和感激。专制制度就像地狱一样，是不容易被打破的，但是我们可以堪慰的是：斗争越是艰巨，胜利就越光荣。轻易获得的东西，我们并不珍重；一切事物的价值在于它是来之不易的。上天知道怎样给它的货品定出适当的价码。如果对自由这样神圣的东西反而索价不高，那岂非咄咄怪事。凭军队来推行其专制制度的不列颠公开宣布她有权利(不但课税)而且「在一切情形下对我们进行全面约束」，如果那样约束我们还不叫奴役的话，那世上就不存在奴役这回事了。其实他们这种说法本身也是亵渎神明的，因为他们所说的那种无限权力只能属于上帝.....

我和任何人一样，没有什么迷信。但我内心深处一向认为，而且现在还是这么认为，一个曾殚思竭虑，想尽一切妥善的办法，屡次真诚地寻求避免战争之灾难的民族，万能的上帝是不会听任他们横遭兵刃的洗劫的。我没有那么多异教徒的思想，还不至于认为上帝会放弃对世界的主宰，把我们交给魔鬼发落。既然我并无上述想法，我也就看不出
不列颠国王将能以何种理由仰对上天求助以加害于我们：一个声名狼藉的凶手、拦路抢劫的匪徒和破门而入的强盗都会找到一个跟他一样堂皇的借口。

然而有时惊惶失措竟会这么快蔓延全国，看来真是令人吃惊。各个国家和各个时代都有过类似的例子：不列颠听说法国平底船队到达的消息时曾像打摆子一样发抖。在十四世纪，英军全体将士对法兰西王国进行一番洗劫之后被赶回，

竟吓得目瞪口呆，而这番英雄业绩只是由一位叫贞德的妇女率领拼凑的散兵游勇所干的。但愿上天也启发新泽西的某个女子去鼓舞她的同胞奋起，拯救她受苦受难的同胞，使他们免遭蹂躏劫掠之苦.....

我不是对少数人，而是向全体呼吁；不是对这个州或那个州，而是向每一个州呼吁；呼吁你们迅速奋起，前来助战，全力以赴，共襄大业，况且生死存亡，在此一举，因而所聚兵力宁可太多，不可太少。让我们昭告后世，在这只有希望和美德才能坚持下去的隆冬季节，我城乡居民，为共同的危难而惶恐不安，纷纷挺身而出，联合退敌。且莫道几千人已经丧生，请拿出你的几万人来，不要把当前的负担推给上帝，要「用实干表现你的信心」，这样上帝才会保佑你。地不分东西，人不分贵贱，是祸是福，总会降临到你们每个人头上的。不论是远是近，是家乡还是边疆，是富人还是穷人，喜则同喜，忧则同忧。此时此刻无动于衷的心便是死的。他的孩子们将以血咒骂他的怯懦，因为他在只要付出一点便可拯救全体，使他们获得幸福的紧要关头退缩了。我爱能在危难中微笑的人；我爱能从痛苦中聚集力量的人；我爱能通过深思变得勇敢的人。临阵逃脱是小人的行径。而一位天性坚毅，行为不背良心的人，将会坚持原则。至死不渝。在我看来，我推理的思路像一线光一样笔直透明。我相信即使把全世界的财富都给我，也无法诱使我去支援一场侵略战争，因为我认为这是屠杀。但是，假如一名盗贼破门闯入我的住宅，烧毁我的财物，杀死我或威胁要杀我，或屋子里的其他人，并要我「在一切情况下受约束」于他的绝对意志，难道我要甘受其害吗.不管干这事的是国王还是平民，是我的同胞还是外国人，是单个暴徒还是一支军队，那对我有什么差别.归根到底一点差别都没有，因为，对于这些罪行，我们在一种情况下要惩罚，而在另一种情况下又要赦免，那是不公正的。就让他们把我叫作叛逆吧，非常欢迎，我毫不在乎。但是，我如果去向一个迟钝的、顽固的、卑劣的、兽性的家伙表示忠心，从而使我的灵魂沦为娼妓一样骯脏，那就会使我遭受魔鬼一样的痛苦。而当末日来临时，这种人就会向荒山野岭哀号，寻求托庇，惊恐万状地从北美的孤儿、寡妇、和被屠杀者面前逃走。要是我接受这种人的怜悯，我也同样会感到可怕的。

有些情况无论用什么言词来描述都不会过份，这便是一个例子。有些人对威胁着他们的邪恶不能充份认识，他们希望敌人在胜利后会大发慈悲，且以此来安

慰自己。期望那些不顾正义的人大发慈悲，真是愚蠢至极。而且在以征服为目的的地方，即便慈悲也只不过是战争的一种诡计。狐狸的狡猾跟豺狼的暴皮同样凶残。我们对两者都应当保持同样的警惕.....

感谢上帝，我无所畏惧。我看不出有什么真正值得畏惧的理由。我对目前的局势一清二楚，对将来的出路了如指掌.....只要我们坚持不懈，不屈不挠，我们就有希望得到光荣的结果。胆小怕事，屈膝投降，其结果只好悲惨地接受各种灾祸——国家惨遭蹂躏，城市人口锐减，人民居无安所，备受奴役而无希望，我们的家园将变成黑森雇佣军的营房和妓院，以后还得养活一大堆弄不清谁是他们父亲的孩子。面对这样一副情景，能不痛哭流涕!如果时至今日竟还有个没有头脑的劣种不相信这话，那就让他去受罪，别为他悲伤.....

Thomas Paine

The American Crisis

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it NOW, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, "we esteem too lightly; 'tis dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right (not only to TAX) but "to BIND us in ALL CASES WHATSOEVER," and if being bound in that manner, is not slavery, then is there no such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God. . . .

I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me, as to suppose that He has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils; and as I do not, I cannot see on what grounds the king of Britain can look up to Heaven for help against us: a common murderer, a highwayman, or a housebreaker, has as good a pretence as he.

"Tis surprising to see how rapidly a panic will sometimes run through a country. All nations and ages have been subject to them: Britain has trembled like an ague at the report of a French fleet of flat bottomed boats; and in the fourteenth century the whole English army, after ravaging the kingdom of France, was driven back like men petrified with fear; and this brave exploit was performed by a few broken forces collected and headed by a woman, Joan of Arc. Would that heaven might inspire some Jersey maid to spirit up her countrymen, and save her fair fellow sufferers from ravage and ravishment! ...

. . . I call not upon a few, but upon all: not on this state or that state, but on every state; up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little, when so great an object is at stake. Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and to repulse it. Say not that thousands are gone, turn out your tens of thousands; throw not the burden of the day upon

Providence, but "show your faith by your works, " that God may bless you. It matters not where you live, or what rank of life you hold, the evil or the blessing will reach you all. The far and the near, the home counties and the back, the rich and the poor, will suffer or rejoice alike. The heart that feels not now, is dead: the blood of his children will curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole, and made them happy. I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. My own line of reasoning is to myself as straight and clear as a ray of light. Not all the treasures of the world, so far as I believe, could have induced me to support an offensive war, for I think it murder; but if a thief breaks into my house, burns and destroys my property, and kills or threatens to kill me, or those that are in it, and to "bind me in all cases whatsoever, " to his absolute will, am I to suffer it. What signifies it to me, whether he who does it is a king or a common man; my countryman or not my countryman: whether it be done by an individual villain, or an army of them. If we reason to the root of things we shall find no difference; neither can any just cause be assigned why we should punish in the one case and pardon in the other. Let them call me rebel, and welcome, I feel no concern from it; but I should suffer the misery of devils, were I to make a whore of my soul by swearing allegiance to one whose character is that of a sottish, stupid, stubborn, worthless, brutish man. I conceive likewise a horrid idea in receiving mercy from a being, who at the last day shall be shrieking to the rocks and mountains to cover him, and fleeing with terror from the orphan, the widow, and the slain of

America.

There are cases which cannot be overdone by language, and this is one. There are persons too who see not the full extent of the evil which threatens them, they solace themselves with hopes that the enemy, if they succeed, will be merciful. It is the madness of folly, to expect mercy from those who have refused to do justice; and even mercy, where conquest is the object, is only a trick of war; the cunning of the fox is as murderous as the violence of the wolf; and we ought to guard equally against both. . . .

I thank God that I fear not. I see no real cause for fear. I know our situation well, and can see the way out of it. . . . By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue; by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils--a ravaged country--a depopulated city--habitations without safety, and slavery without hope--our homes turned into barracks and bawdy-houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for, whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture and weep over it! and if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer it unlamented. ...

托马斯·潘恩

(THOMAS PAINE)

《自由之树》

Liberty Tree

(Library of Congress)

除了写革命小册子之外，托马斯·潘恩还写了《自由之树》。这是一首爱国诗歌，1775年7月刊在《宾夕法尼亚杂志》或《美国博物馆月刊》上，署名为「阿特兰提克斯」，这是潘恩常用的一个笔名。尽管《自由之树》这首诗歌在现代已被遗忘，但它也曾流行了好几年。

自由女神乘着光明的战车，
从阳光灿烂的仙域驾来；
一万名神仙引路，
引导着高贵的女神走来，
她就像一根美丽含苞的花枝，
从那千百万人和睦相处的天上花园降下，
手中拿着一棵她称作「自由之树」的植物，
作为她爱的象征。这株天上来的植物深深地插到地里，
就像是土生的树木，茁壮成长，开花结果；
它的果实享誉四方，
引得周围各民族都来寻它的和平土地。
他们并不在乎族姓不同或他们之间的差别
因为自由人可以像兄弟一般和睦相处：
他们有同一种天赋精神，追求同一种友谊，
他们的殿堂同是「自由之树」。他们就像古时的长老坐在这
棵美丽的树下
满意地吃着面包；
他们不想金，不想银，
也不在乎荣华与显贵。
他们供给老英格兰木材和焦油，
还支援她在海上的霸权；
为了「自由之树」的荣誉，
他们分文未取为她战斗。可是，请你们这些年轻人听一听，
(这是最污秽的故事)
怎么所有的专制权贵，
国王，下院和上院都全力联合一致，
要砍下这株保护我们的「自由之树」；
从东到西，吹起号角，拿起武器，

Thomas
Paine
Liberty Tree

让号声响遍大地，
让远近四方的人，——振臂团结一致，
捍卫我们的「自由之树」。

In a chariot of light from the regions of day,
The Goddess of Liberty came;
Ten thousand celestials directed the way,
And thither conducted the dame,
This fair budding branch, from the garden above,
Where millions with millions agree;
She bro't in her hand, as a pledge of her love,
The plant she call'd Liberty Tree.
This celestial exotic struck deep in the ground,
Like a native it flourish'd and bore;
The fame of its fruit, drew the nations around,
To seek out its peaceable shore.
Unmindful of names or distinction they came,
For freemen like brothers agree:
With one spirit endow'd, they one friendship pursued,
And their temple was **Liberty Tree**.
Beneath this fair branch, like the patriarchs of old,
Their bread, in contentment they eat;
Unwearied with trouble, of silver or gold,
Or the cares of the grand and the great,
With timber and tar, they old England supplied,
Supported her power on the seas;
Her battles they fought, without having a groat,
For the honor of **Liberty Tree**.
But hear, O ye swains, ('tis a tale most profane)
How all the tyrannical powers,

King, Commons, and Lords, are uniting amain,
To cut down this guardian of ours;
From the east to the west, blow the trumpet to arms,
Thro' the land let the sound of it flee,
Let the far and the near,--all unite with a cheer,
In defense of our **Liberty Tree**.

艾碧琪.亚当斯

(ABIGALE ADAMS)

与约翰的通信

Correspondence with John

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

不要让丈夫们掌握如此无限制的权力。要记住，所有的男人只要可能都会成为暴君的。

艾碧琪.亚当斯(1744—1818)生于麻塞诸塞，主要通过自学阅读了大量历史书籍。1764 年嫁给约翰.亚当斯，他当时还是一位年轻的波士顿律师。在亚当斯常年离家忙于公务的岁月里，这对夫妇保持经常通信。在许多年里——当约翰.亚当斯出席大陆议会，或到国外当外交官，或当副总统和总统时——艾碧琪.亚当斯常给家人和朋友写信描述她自己的生活。她不仅捍卫妇女的权利，而且反对奴隶制。

1776 年 3 月 31 日，当大陆议会正在认真考虑独立时，艾碧琪.亚当斯写信给她丈夫。在描述了麻塞诸塞春天到来的情景后，她提醒她丈夫在制定新法典时要「记住女士们」。在亚当斯 1776 年 4 月 14 日给他妻子的回信中，他把她的「特别法典」视作他爱妻的一个小小玩笑。

艾碧琪给约翰的信

.....我盼着听到你们宣布独立的消息。顺便说一下，我想你们将需要立个新法典，在这个新的法典里，我们希望你们能记住女士们，而且要比你们的先辈们

对她们更宽大，更好。不要让丈夫们掌握如此无限制的权力。要记住，所有的男人只要可能都会成为暴君的。如果对女士没有给予特别的照顾和重视，我们就决心煽动大家造反，我们不会让那些我们没有发言权或代表参加制定的法律来约束我们。

你们男人天生霸道，这是确定无疑的事实，毋庸争辩。但是，像你这样希望得到幸福的人，是很愿意放弃「主人」这个刺耳的称号而换上「朋友」这个更温柔亲切的称号。那么，你们为什么不使那些邪恶之徒和目无法纪的人无法以残忍的手段和侮辱来对待我们时逍遥法外。任何时代，通情达理的人都憎恶那些只把我们当作你们男人的花瓶的习俗。请把我们当作是上帝置于你们保护之下的生灵，效法上帝，使用那种权力，仅仅是为了给我们造福。

约翰给艾碧琪的信

.....至于你的特别法典，我只能一笑置之。人家已经对我们说，我们的斗争已经使各地都放松了政府的管束。孩子和学徒都变得违拗不顺，中小学和大学滋生骚乱，印地安人蔑视监护人，黑奴对主人粗暴无礼。但是，你的信第一次正式宣告又有一个族群滋生不满，而且这群人比其他所有族群人数更多，力量更大。你这是给我提出了一个相当棘手的建议，但你既然这么孟浪地提出来了，我是不会忘掉的。

可以肯定地说，除了废除我们的男性制度外，我们知道做什么更好。虽然这些男性制度现在正全面实施。但你知道它们只不过是理论而已。我们并不敢全面行使我们的权力。我们必须公正温和，实际上你知道我们都是庶民。我们仅有主人之名，而且宁可放弃这个名分，这样就使我们完全服从于妇女的专制。我希望华盛顿将军以及我们所有勇敢的英雄都来战斗，我肯定每一个好的政治家都会终身谋划反对专制、帝国、君权、贵族、寡头政治或暴民政治。这的确是个动听的故事。我开始认为内阁既深谋远虑又邪恶。在煽起托利党人、土地投机商、骑墙派、盲信者、加拿大人、印地安人、黑人、汉诺威人、赫斯州人、俄国人、爱尔兰罗马天主教徒、苏格兰叛教者之后，最后他们又激起女士们来要求新的特权，而且威胁要造反。

ABIGAIL to JOHN

I long to hear that you have declared an Independency--and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If perticuliar care and attention is not paid to the Laidies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

That your Sex are Naturally Tyrannical is a Truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute, but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of Master for the more lender and endearing one of Friend. Why then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the Lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of Sense in all Ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassals of your Sex. Regard us then as Beings placed by providence under your protection and in immitation of the Supreem Being make use of that power only for our happiness.

JOHN to ABIGAIL

. . . As to your extraordinary Code of Laws, cannot but laugh. We have been told that our Struggle has loosened the bands of Government every where. That Children and Apprentices were disobedient--that schools and Colledges were grown turbulent--that Indians slighted Their Guardians and Negroes grew insolent to Their Masters. But your Letter was the first Intimation that another Tribe more numerous and powerfull than all the rest were grown discontented.--This is rather too coarse a Compliment but you are so saucy, I wont blot it out.

Depend upon it, We know better than to repeal our Masculine

systems. Altho they are in full Force, you know they are little more than Theory. We dare not exert our Power in its full Latitude. We are obliged to go fair, and softly, and in Practice you know We are the subjects. We have only the Name of Masters, and rather than give up this, which would compleatly subject Us to the Despotism of the Peticoat, I hope General Washington, and all our brave Heroes would fight. I am sure every good Politician would plot, as long as he would against Despotism, Empire, Monarchy, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, or Ochlocracy.--A fine Story indeed. I begin to think the Ministry as deep as they are wicked.

After stirring up Tories, Landjobbers, Trimmers, Bigots, Canadians, Indians, Negroes, Hanoverians, Hessians, Russians, Irish Roman Catholicks, Scotch Renegadoes, at last they have stimulated the [Ladies] to demand new Priviledges and threaten to rebell.

J.赫克托.圣约翰.克雷夫科尔

(J. HECTOR ST. JOHN DE CREVECOEUR)

一个美国农民的信

Letters from an American Farmer

在这里，来自世界各国的人融合成一个新的民族，总有一天，他们所付出的劳动以及他们的后代将使世界发生巨大的变化。

1782 年，一位法裔美国博物学家发表了十二篇文章，他自己把这些文章题为《一个美国农民的信》。这本书在欧洲出版后，作者一举成名，并为这个新生的国家赢得许多朋友。J.赫克托.圣约翰.克雷夫科尔又名米歇尔.纪尧姆.琼.克雷夫科尔 (1735— 1813)生于法国，在杰苏伊特的学校里受过教育。1754 年，克雷夫科尔移民到新世界，在纽约殖民地的一个农场定居。在美国革命期间，他在双方都有朋友和亲戚，而且自己遭到英国人短期监禁。1780 年他乘船前往欧洲，安排在伦敦出版他写美国生活的文章。他曾担任法国驻纽约领事

几年，1790年回到法国安度余生。在许多年里，克雷夫科尔对新世界敏锐而富于同情的描述，使他成为拥有最广大读者的美洲评论员。也许他的《信》中最著名的部分就是编在这里的这段文章，文中提出了美国作为许多国家人民的熔炉这个概念。

但愿我能熟悉那种必将鼓动人心的感情和思想，并且在一个开明的英国人首次踏上这片大陆时，将这种思想和感情原原本本地展现在他眼前。他一定会大为高兴，在有生之年看到这片美丽的国土被人发现和定居。当他观看装点着这绵延不断的海岸上的一连串殖民地时，他必定会感到一份民族自豪。这时他对自己说这是我的同胞们干的，他们是在受派别骚扰，为各种不幸和贫困感到痛苦，并且烦躁不安时，来到这里避难的。他们带来了他们的民族精神，他们现在能享有这样的自由并且拥有这样的物质财富主要应归功于这种精神。在这里他看到祖国的工业以新的方式展现出来，从他们一点一滴的劳动成果里可以看到在欧洲繁荣的所有艺术、科学和创造力的萌芽。在这里他看到美丽的城市，富足的乡村，广阔的田野，一个到处是漂亮的房子、良好的道路、果园、草地和桥梁的大国家，而在一百年以前，这里还是荒野、树林和未开垦的土地！这美妙的景象定会引起人们愉快的联想，这前景必将激起一个好公民最舒心的快感。难点在于怎样来看这幅如此广阔的景像。他是来到一个新大陆，来到一个现代社会，一个与他迄今所见过的社会不同的社会，这个社会本身就可供他思考。这不是像欧洲那样是由拥有一切的贵族老爷和一无所有的群氓组成的社会。这里没有贵族家庭，没有宫殿，没有国王，没有主教，没有教会控制，没有给少数人显赫权力的那种无形的权力，没有雇佣几千人的制造商，没有穷极奢侈。富人和穷人不像在欧洲那样相差甚远。除了几个城镇之外，从新斯科舍到西佛罗里达，我们都是耕地的。我们是一个耕者民族，散居在一片巨大的领土上，通过良好的道路和可通航的河流相互交流，由温和政府的丝带把我们联在一起，大家都尊重法律而不畏惧其权力，因为法律是公平的。我们生气勃勃，充满实业精神，这种精神已破除去镣铐，不受任何约束，因为我们每个人都是为自己工作的。如果他到我们的农村地区旅行，他看到的不是充满敌意的城堡和高傲的豪华大厦与土筑的茅屋及悲惨的小屋形成对照，不是牛和人相依取暖，

居住在鄙陋、烟雾和贫困之中的茅屋。我们所有的住所一律都显示出相当的财力，连我们木屋中最差的一间也是干燥舒适的。律师和商人是我们城镇提供的最好听的头衔，而农民则是我们国家乡村居民的唯一称号。他必须经过一段时间才会适应我们的辞汇，在我们的词典里缺少有关名流权贵的词以及高官显爵的名称。星期天，他可在那儿看到一群可敬的农民和他们的妻子，他们都穿着整齐的家纺衣服，骑着马或乘着他们自己简陋的四轮马车。他们当中除了那个目不识丁的执事，没有一个乡绅。在那儿，他看到牧师跟他的教徒一样朴实，牧师也是农民，并不靠别人的劳动来享受。我们没有我们要为他们劳苦、受饿和流血的王爷，我们的社会是世界上现存的最完美的社会.....

这位旅行者的下一个愿望便是要知道这些人是从何处来的.他们是英格兰人、苏格兰人、爱尔兰人、法国人、荷兰人、德国人和瑞典人的混杂。由这种混杂而繁衍产生了一个现叫作美国人的种族。东部省份的确是例外，他们是纯英国人后裔。我也听到许多人希望他们能有更多的混和。至于我自己，我是现实的，我认为现在这样更好。在这幅伟大的杂色图画里，他们展现出一幅最引人注目的图像。在这十三个省展现出的令人喜悦的前景里，有一大部分是他们的。我知道对他们说三道四是眼下的时髦，但我尊重他们所做的事，他们准确而明智地定居到他们的领地上，他们举止端庄，从小就热爱文学知识，他们办的古老学院是这个半球的第一所学院，他们办的工业对我这一介农夫来说就是一切事物的准绳。从来没有一个民族处于他们这样的情形，在这么短的时间内，在这么荒凉的土地上，取得比他们更大的成功。你是否认为在其他政府中占优势的君主成分已经使那些政府清除了所有的污点.他们的历史证实恰恰相反。

在这个巨大的美洲避难所里，欧洲的穷人总得以某种方式相会，由于各种各样的原因，他们为什么要互相问是哪国人呢.哎，他们中三分之二没有国家。一个到处流浪的可怜人，一个终日辛劳却还忍饥挨饿的人，一个总是生活在痛苦或赤贫如洗的境遇里的人，会把英国或其他王国称作自己的国家吗.一个没有面包给他吃的国家，在这个国家里他的土地没有收成，他遇到的只是富人的白眼，严厉的法律，监狱和惩罚，在这广阔的星球表面上他连一寸土地都没有，他能把这个国家叫做自己的国家吗.不！由于受各种各样的动机所驱使，他们来到这里。这里的一切都促使他们获得新生，新的法律，新的生活方式，新的

社会制度，在这里他们才是人；而在欧洲，他们就像是许多无用的草木，缺乏生长的沃土和清新的雨水，他们枯萎了，由于贫困、饥饿和战争而被割除掉。但是，现在通过移植的力量，他们就像其他植物一样，已经扎下根并且生长茂盛。以前他们除了被列入穷人的名单外，没有被列入他们国家的公民名单，而在这里，他被排在公民之列。是由什么无形的力量来进行这种令人吃惊的蜕变。那是由于法律的力量和他们勤劳的力量。他们一到这里，法律——宽容的法律就保护他们，给他们盖上接纳的标志。他们付出的劳动能得到充足的报酬，这些报酬积累起来就使他们能获得土地，这些土地又使他们获得自由人的称号，随着这个称号他们可得到人可能要求得到的一切利益，这就是我们的法律每天所进行的伟大工作.....

一个贫苦的欧洲移民对一个他一无所有的国家会有什么感情.语言知识以及对于几个跟他自己一样穷的亲戚的爱是联系着他的唯一纽带。而他的国家现在是那个给他土地、面包、保护和重要地位的国家。「哪里有面包，哪里就是国家。」是所有移民的座右铭。那么美国人——这个新的人到底是什么人.他们或是欧洲人，或是欧洲人的后裔，因此，他们是你任何其它国家都找不到的混血人。我可以向你指出一个家庭，其祖父是英国人，其要是荷兰人，其子娶一个法国女人，而他们现在的四个儿子娶了四个不同民族的妻子。他是一个美国人，他把一切古老的偏见和习俗都抛到身后，从他所接受的新的生活方式中，从他所服从的新政府里，从他所处的新的地位上，获得新的习俗。由于被接纳进我们伟大养母宽大的怀抱里，他成了一个美国人。在这里，来自世界各国的人融合成一个新的民族，总有一天，他们所付出的劳动以及他们的后代将使世界发生巨大的变化。美国人是来自西方的定居者，他们带来了大量的艺术、科学、活力和勤奋精神，这些在东方早已开始了，而美国人将完成这个伟大的循环。美国人曾散居于欧洲各地，在这里他们结合组成迄今最好的人口群体，此后，由于他们居住的地带气候不同，这些群体之间也将产生差异。因此，美国人应当爱这个国家，胜过爱那个他自己或他的祖先出生的国家。在这里，勤劳所得的报酬随着他劳动的增长而增长，他的劳动是建立在自然、自觉的基础上的；难道还需要比这更强的诱惑力吗.以前，他的妻子儿女向他一片面包都得不到，现在他们吃得又胖又快活，很乐意帮助父亲去清理那些田地，而从这些田里将

长出充足的作物以供他们所有的人吃和穿，既没有专制的君主，也没有富有的修道院长和有权有势的贵族来要求得到他们收成的任何部分。在这里，教会仅对他们提出一点需求，他们只要自愿奉献一点给牧师作工资以及对上帝的感恩，他能拒绝这些吗.美国人是新人，办事有新原则，因此，他必须考虑新的思想，形成新的观点。他经历厂被迫失业、卑屈的依赖、赤贫和无用的劳动之后，现在正从事一个性质完全不同的劳动，这种劳动将得到充足的物质报酬。这就是一个美国人.....

J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur

Letters from an American Farmer

I wish I could be acquainted with the feelings and thoughts which must agitate the heart and present themselves to the mind of an enlightened Englishman, when he first lands on this continent. He must greatly rejoice that he lived at a time to see this fair country discovered and settled; he must necessarily feel a share of national pride, when he views the chain of settlements which embellishes these extended shores. When he says to himself, this is the work of my countrymen, who, when convulsed by factions, afflicted by a variety of miseries and wants, restless and impatient, took refuge here. They brought along with them their national genius, to which they principally owe what liberty they enjoy, and what substance they possess. Here he sees the industry of his native country displayed in a new manner, and traces in their works the embryos of all the arts, sciences, and ingenuity which flourish in Europe. Here he beholds fair cities, substantial villages, extensive fields, an immense country filled with decent houses, good roads, orchards, meadows, and bridges, where an hundred years ago all was wild, woody, and uncultivated! What a train of pleasing ideas this fair spectacle must suggest; it is a prospect which must inspire a good

citizen with the most heartfelt pleasure. The difficulty consists in the manner of viewing so extensive a scene. He is arrived on a new continent; a modern society offers itself to his contemplation, different from what he had hitherto seen. It is not composed, as in Europe, of great lords who possess everything, and of a herd of people who have nothing. Here are no aristocratical families. no courts, no kings, no bishops, no ecclesiastical dominion, no invisible power giving to a few a very visible one; no great manufacturers employing thousands, no great refinements of luxury. The rich and the poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe. Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the earth, from Nova Scotia to West Florida. We are a people of cultivators, scattered over an immense territory, communicating with each other by means of good roads and navigable rivers; united by the silken bands of mild government, all respecting the laws, without dreading their power, because they are equitable. We are all animated with the spirit of an industry which is unfettered and unrestrained, because each person works for himself. If he travels through our rural districts he views not the hostile castle, and the haughty mansion, contrasted with the clay-built hut and miserable cabin, where cattle and men help to keep each other warm, and dwell in meanness, smoke, and indigence. A pleasing uniformity of decent competence appears throughout our habitations. The meanest of our log-houses is a dry and comfortable habitation. Lawyer or merchant are the fairest titles our towns afford; that of a farmer is the only appellation of the rural inhabitants of our country. It must take some time ere he can reconcile himself to our dictionary, which is but short in words of dignity, and names of honour. There, on a Sunday, he sees a congregation of respectable

farmers and their wives, all clad in neat homespun, well mounted, or riding in their own humble waggons. There is not among them an esquire, saving the unlettered magistrate. There he sees a parson as simple as his flock, a farmer who does not riot on the labour of others. We have no princes, for whom we toil, starve, and bleed: we are the most perfect society now existing in the world. . . .

The next wish of this traveller will be to know whence came all these people. they are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race now called Americans have arisen. The eastern provinces must indeed be excepted, as being the unmixed descendants of Englishmen. I have heard many wish that they had been more intermixed also: for my part, I am no wisher, and think it much better as it has happened. They exhibit a most conspicuous figure in this great and variegated picture; they too enter for a great share in the pleasing perspective displayed in these thirteen provinces. I know it is fashionable to reflect on them, but I respect them for what they have done; for the accuracy and wisdom with which they have settled their territory; for the decency of their manners; for their early love of letters; their ancient college, the first in this hemisphere; for their industry; which to me who am but a farmer, is the criterion of everything. There never was a people, situated as they are, who with so ungrateful a soil have done more in so short a time. Do you think that the monarchical ingredients which are more prevalent in other governments, have purged them from all foul stains. Their histories assert the contrary.

In this great American asylum, the poor of Europe have by some means met together, and in consequence of various causes; to what purpose would they ask one another what countrymen they are.

Alas, two thirds of them had no country. Can a wretch who wanders about, who works and starves, whose life is a continual scene of sore affliction or pinching penury; can that man call England or any other kingdom his country. A country that had no bread for him, whose fields procured him no harvest, who met with nothing but the frowns of the rich, the severity of the laws, with jails and punishments; who owned not a single foot of the extensive surface of this planet. No! urged by a variety of motives, here they came. Every thing has tended to regenerate them; new laws, a new mode of living, a new social system; here they are become men: in Europe they were as so many useless plants, wanting vegetative mould, and refreshing showers; they withered, and were mowed down by want, hunger, and war: but now by the power of transplantation, like all other plants they have taken root and flourished! Formerly they were not numbered in any civil lists of their country, except in those of the poor; here they rank as citizens. By what invisible power has this surprising metamorphosis been performed. By that of the laws and that of their industry. The laws, the indulgent laws, protect them as they arrive, stamping on them the symbol of adoption; they receive ample rewards for their labours; these accumulated rewards procure them lands: those lands confer on them the title of freemen, and to that title every benefit is affixed which men can possibly require. This is the great operation daily performed by our laws. . . .

What attachment can a poor European emigrant have for a country where he had nothing. The knowledge of the language, the love of a few kindred as poor as himself, were the only cords that tied him: his country is now that which gives him land, bread, protection, and consequence. **Ubi pants ibi patria**, is the motto of all emigrants.

What then is the American, this new man. He is either an European, or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them the great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American ought therefore to love this country much better than that wherein either he or his forefathers were born. Here the rewards of his industry follow-- with equal steps the progress of his labour; his labour is founded on the basis of nature, self-interest; can it want a stronger allurements. Wives and children, who before in vain demanded of him a morsel of bread, now, fat and frolicsome, gladly help their father to clear those fields whence exuberant crops are to arise to feed and to clothe them all; without any part being claimed, either by a despotic prince, a rich abbot, or a mighty lord. Here religion demands but little of him; a small voluntary salary to

the minister, and gratitude to God; can he refuse these. The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence.--This is an American....

乔治.华盛顿

(GEORGE WASHINGTON)

告别演说

Farewell Address

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

我们处理外国事务的最重要原则，就是在与它们发展商务关系时，尽量避免与它们发生政治联系。

乔治.华盛顿(1732—1799)在领导革命军取得胜利并主持了成功的制宪会议之后，毫无异议地被选为新国家的第一任总统。他勉强接受第二任四年的任期，但他拒绝连任第三任。在一个还是由国王、世袭酋长和小暴君们统治的世界里，华盛顿作出放弃权力，让给民选继承人的决定表明美国的民主实验有了一个良好的开端。

在 1796 年 9 月 17 日向他的内阁所发表的告别演说中，华盛顿提出以下忠告：一、反对地方主义的危险；二、反对政治派系之争；三、保持宗教和道德作为「人类幸福之重要支柱」，并促进建立「普及知识的机构」；四、与其他国家保持中立关系。他对于卷入国外争端的警告后来被称为是「华盛顿的伟大法规」。直至第一次世界大战为止，这条「伟大法规」一直是美国外交政策的主旨。

我们重新选举一位公民来主持美国政府的行政工作已为期不远了，实际上，现在已经到了必须运用你们的思想来考虑将此重任付托给谁的时候了。因此，我觉得我应当向大家表明，尤其是因为这样做可能使得公众意见表达得更明确，

那就是我已下定决心，谢绝把我列为候选人.....

政府的统一使大家结成一个民族，现在也为你们所珍视。各位理应如此，因为它是支撑你们真正独立的主要支柱，也是保证你们国内安定、国外和平、安全、繁荣以及你们所珍惜的自由的基石。然而，不难预见，会有某些力量试图削弱你们心里对这个真理的信念，这些力量起因不一，来源各异，但均煞费苦心，千方百计地产生作用。其所以如此，是因为统一是你们政治堡垒中的一个攻击重点，内外敌人的炮火，会不断加紧(虽然常是隐蔽地和阴险地)攻击。因此，当前最重要的是你们应当正确估量民族团结对于你们集体和个人幸福的巨大价值。对于它你们应当怀有诚挚的、一贯的和坚定不移的忠诚；你们在思想上和言谈中应习惯于把它当作政治安定和繁荣的保护神，你们要小心翼翼地维护它。如果有人提到这种信念在某种情况下可以抛弃，即使那只是猜想，也不应当表示支援，如果有人企图使我国的一部分脱离其余部分，或想削弱现在联系各部份的神圣纽带，只要他们一提出来，你们就应当予以怒斥。

你们有对此给予同情和关怀的一切理由。既然你们因出生或归化而成为同一国家的公民，这个国家就有权集中你们的情感。美国人这个称号是属于你们这些有国民身份的人，这个称号一定会提高你们爱国的光荣感，远胜过任何地方性的称号。你们之间除了极细微的差别之外，还有相同的宗教、礼议、习俗和政治原则。你们曾为了一个共同的目标而奋斗，并共同获得胜利。你们所拥有的独立和自由，乃是你们群策群力，同甘苦、共患难成果.....

在研究那些可能扰乱我们联邦的种种原因时，使人想到一件令人严重关切的事，即以种种理由使党派具有地理差别的特征——北方的和南方的，东部的和西部的——企图这样做的人可能力图要借此造成一种信念，使人以为地方之间真的存在着利益和观点的差异。一个党派想在某些地区获得影响而采取的功利手段之一，就是歪曲其他地区的观点和目标。这种歪曲引起的妒忌和不满，是防不胜防的，使那些本应亲如兄弟的人变得互不相容.....

为了使你们的联邦有效力，能持久，一个代表全体的政府是不可少的。各地区结成的联盟，不论怎样严密，都不能充分代表这样的政府。这些联盟必定会经历古往今来所有联盟都曾经经历过的背约和中断盟约的遭遇。由于明白了这个重要的真理，所以你们在最初尝试的基础上进行改善，通过了一部胜过从前的政

府宪法，以期密切联合并更有效地管理大家的共同事务。这个政府是我们自己选择的，不曾受人影响，不曾受人威胁，是经过全盘研究和深思熟虑而建立的，它的原则和它的权力分配是完全自由的，它把安全和活力结合在一起，而且本身就含有修正其自身的规定。这样一个政府有充分的理由要求得到你们的信任和支援。尊重它的权威，服从它的法律，遵守它的规则，这些都是真正自由的基本准则所责成的义务。我们政治制度的基础是人民有权制定和变更其政府的宪法。可是宪法在经全民采取明确和正式的行动加以修改之前，任何人都对之负有神圣的履行义务。人民有能力和权利来建立政府，可这一观念是以每人有义务服从所建立的政府为前提的.....

要保存你们的政府，要永久维持你们现在的幸福，你们不仅应当不断地反对那些不时发生的反对公认的政府的行为，而且对那种要更新政府原则的风气，即使其借口看似有理，也应谨慎地予以抵制。他们进攻的方法之一，可能是采取改变宪法的形式，以损害这种体制的活力，从而把不能直接推翻的东西，暗中加以破坏。在你们可能被邀参与的所有变革中，应当记住，要确定政府的真正性质就像确定其他人类机构的性质一样，至少需要时间和习惯；应当记住，要检验一国现存政体的真正趋势，经验是最可靠的标准；应当记住，仅凭假设和意见便轻易变更，将会因假设和意见之无穷变化而招致无穷的变更；还要特别记住，在我们这样辽阔的国度里，要想有效地管理大家的共同利益，一个充满活力并能充分保障自由的政府是必不可少的.....

我已经告诉你们在这个国家里存在着派系之争的危险，并特别提到以地区差别来分党立派的危险。现在让我以更全面的角度，以最郑重的态度告诫你们全面警惕派性的恶劣影响。不幸的是，这种派性与我们的本性是不可分割的，并扎根于人类思想里最强烈的欲望之中。它以各种不同的形式存在于所有政府机构里，尽管多少受到抑制、控制或约束；但那些常见的派性形式，往往是最令人厌恶的，而且确实是政府最危险的敌人...

它总是干扰公众会议并削弱公众的行政管理能力。它在社区里煽起毫无根据的猜忌和莫须有的惊恐；挑拨一派与另一派对立；有时还鼓起骚乱和暴动。它还为外国影响和腐蚀打开方便之门，使之可轻易地通过派性的渠道深入到政府中来。这样，一个国家的政策和意志就得受制于另一国家的政策和意志.....

在导致政治昌盛的各种意向和习惯中，宗教和道德是必不可少的支柱。那种想竭力破坏人类幸福的伟大支柱——人类与公民职责的最坚强支柱——的人，却妄想别人赞他爱国，必然是枉费心机。纯粹的政治家应当同虔诚的人一样，尊重并珍惜宗教和道德。它们与个人的和公众的幸福之间的关系，即便写一本书也说不完。我们只须简单地问一句，如果宗教责任感不存在于法院藉以调查事件的誓言中，那么那里谈得上财产、名誉和生命的安全呢。我们还应当告诫自己不要耽于幻想，以为道德可以不靠宗教维持。尽管高尚的教育对于特殊结构的心灵可能有所影响，但根据理智和经验，不容许我们期望在排除宗教原则的情况下，国民道德仍能普遍存在。

说道德是一个民意所归的政府所必需的原动力，这话实质上一点不错。这条准则可或多或少地适用于每一种类型的自由政府。凡是自由政府的忠实朋友，对于足以动摇它组织基础的企图，谁能熟视无睹呢。因此，大家应当把促进发展普及知识的机构作为一个重要的目标。政府组织给舆论以力量，舆论也应相应地表现得更有见地，这是很重要的。

我们应当珍惜政府的财力，因为这是力量和安全的重要源泉。保存财力的办法之一是尽量少动用它，并维护和平以避免意外开支；但也要记住，为了防患于未然而及时拨款，往往可以避免支付更大的款项来消灭灾祸。我们同样也要避免债台高筑，为此，不仅要减少开支，而且在和平时期要尽量去偿还不可避免战争所带来的债务，不可吝啬抠搜，把我们自己应承担的负担留给后代……一个自由民族应当经常警觉，提防外国势力的阴谋诡计(同胞们，我恳求你们相信我)，因为历史和经验证明，外国势力乃是共和政府最致命的敌人之一。不过这种提防，要想做到有效，就必须不偏不倚，否则它会成为我们所要摆脱的势力的工具，而不是抵御那种势力的工事。过度偏好某一国和过度偏恶另一国，都会使受到这种影响的国家只看到一方面的危险，而掩盖甚至纵容另一方面所施的诡计。当我们所偏好的那个国家的爪牙和受他们蒙蔽的人，利用人民的赞赏和信任，而把人民的利益拱手出让时，那些会抵制该国诡计的爱国志士，反而极易成为怀疑和憎恶的对象。

我们处理外国事务的最重要原则，就是与它们发展商务关系时，尽量避免与它们发生政治联系。我们已订的条约，必须忠实履行，但以此为限，不再增加。

欧洲有一套基本利益,这些利益对于我们毫无或极少关系。欧洲经常发生争执,其原因基本上与我们毫不相干。因此,如果我们卷进欧洲事务,与他们的政治兴衰人为地联系在一起,或与他们友好而结成同盟,或与他们敌对而发生冲突,都是不明智的。

我国独处一方,远离它国,这种地理位置允许并促使我们奉行一条不同的路线。如果我们在一个称职的政府领导下,保持团结一致,那么,在不久的将来,我们就可以不怕外来干扰所造成的物质破坏;我们就可以来取一种姿态,使我们在任何时候决心保持中立时,都可得到它国的严正尊重;好战国家不能从这里获得好处时,也不敢轻易冒险向我们挑衅;我们可以在正义的指引下,依照自己的利益,在和平和战争问题上作出自己的抉择。

我们为什么要摒弃这种特殊环境带来的优越条件呢.我们为什么要放弃自己的立场而站到外国的立场上去呢.为什么要把我们的命运同欧洲任何一部分的命运交织在一起,致使我们的和平与繁荣陷入欧洲的野心、竞争、利益关系、古怪念头,或反复无常的罗网之中呢.

虽然在检讨本人任期内所做的各事时,我未发觉有故意的错误,但我很明白我的缺点,并不以为我没有犯过错误。不管这些错误是什么,我恳切地祈求上帝免除或减轻这些错误所可能产生的恶果。我也将怀着一种希望,愿我的国家永远宽恕这些错误,我秉持正直的热忱,献身效劳国家已经四十五载,我希望因为能力薄弱而犯的过失,会随着我不久以后长眠地下而湮没无闻。

对于这件事也和其他事一样,均须仰赖祖国的仁慈。由于受到强烈的爱国之情的激励,——这种感情对于一个视祖国为自己及历代祖先的故土的人来说,是很自然的。——我怀着欢欣的期待心情,指望在我切盼实现的退休之后,能与我的同胞们愉快地分享自由政府治下完善法律的温暖——这是我一直衷心向往的目标,并且我相信,这也是我们相互关怀、共同努力和赴场蹈火的理想报酬。

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in

designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made. . . .

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains "will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a

right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes. . . .

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations--**Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western**--whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. . . .

To the efficacy and permanency of your union a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a Constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own

choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government. ...

Toward the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially that for the efficient

management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. . . .

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy. . . .

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with illfounded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another. . . .

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness--these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation,

for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice. And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric. Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon prosperity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear....

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.

But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom that actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves to artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as

our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation. Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground. Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice. ...

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow citizens the benign influence of good laws under a free government--the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

约瑟夫.霍普金森

(JOSEPH HOPKINSON)

嗨!哥伦比亚

Hail, Columbia

1798 年 4 月 25 日在费城一家剧院首次演唱《嗨！哥伦比亚》时，听众报以热烈的掌声和欢呼。其曲调是套用为华盛顿总统第一次就职典礼而作的《总统进行曲》的曲调。原来的题目为《爱的新联邦之歌——改编为总统进行曲》，但在一年之内，又重新题名为《嗨！哥伦比亚》。歌的第四节开头就直接向新当选的约翰·亚当斯总统表示致敬。歌纸上印着亚当斯的头像，环绕头像的是这样一句话：「瞧，这是现在统帅我们的领袖。」反联邦主义的报纸嘲笑这首歌是吹捧一个主张君主制的政党，但它很快风靡全国，国人以极大的爱国热情欢迎它。在 1931 年胡佛总统宣布《星条旗》为国歌前约一百年里，《嗨！哥伦比亚》与《星条旗》一直竞争当国歌。

嗨！哥伦比亚，幸福之地，
嗨！天生的英雄们，
为自由事业，流血奋战，
为自由事业，流血奋战，
当战争的风暴消失，
享受勇士们赢得的和平，
让我们为独立自豪，
永不忘巨大的牺牲，
为胜利，永远感激勇士们，
让英雄的祭坛高耸云天。(合唱)
让我们坚定地团结，
团结在自由的周围，
组成兄弟般的队伍，
就能得到和平安全。不朽的爱国者
再次奋起，
保卫你的权利，保卫你的国家，
决不让粗暴敌人的魔爪，
决不让粗暴敌人的魔爪，

Hail! Columbia happy land
Hail! Ye Heroes heav'n born band
Who fought and bled in freedom's
cause
Who fought and bled in freedom's
cause
And when the storm of war was
gone
Enjoy'd the peace your valor won
Let Independence be our boast
Ever mindful what it cost
Ever grateful for the prize
Let its Altar reach the Skies.

CHORUS:
Firm united let us be
Rallying round our Liberty
As a band of Brothers join'd
Peace and safety we shall find.

侵犯我圣者的神殿，
侵占我鲜血和汗水换来的胜利果实，
当我们提出和平、诚挚和公正时，
我们坚信天道公理，
真理和正义终将盛行于世，
奴役人的诡计决不会得逞。吹响赞美的喇叭，
让华盛顿的英名，
响遍世界，赢得欢呼，
响遍世界，赢得欢呼，
使每个自由之乡，
都能愉快地听到——
无论是残酷的战争年代，
或是在愉快的和平时光，
他都以神似的力量，同样的技巧，
来治理我们的国家。瞧，这是统帅我们的领袖，
为了国家他再次站了出来，
坚强如风暴冲击的盘石，
坚强如风暴冲击的盘石，
但他以美德来武装，坚定而真诚，
他寄希望于上帝和你们——
当人们悲观失望的时候，
当愁云笼罩着哥伦比亚，
他意志坚定，毫不动摇，
决心不获自由宁可死亡。

Immortal Patriots rise once more
Defend your rights--defend your shore
Let no rude foe with impious hand
Let no rude foe with impious hand
Invade the shrine where sacred lies
Of toil and blood the well earned prize
While offering peace, sincere and just
In heav'n we place a manly trust
That truth and justice may prevail
And ev'ry scheme of bondage fail.
Sound sound the trump of fame
Let Washington's great name
Ring thro the world with loud applause
Ring thro the world with loud applause.
Let ev'ry clime to Freedom dear
Listen with a joyful ear--
With equal skill with godlike pow'r
He governs in the fearful hour

	<p>Of horrid war or guides with ease The happier times of honest peace. Behold the Chief who now commands Once more to serve his Country stands The rock on which the storm will beat The rock on which the storm will beat But arm'd in virtue firm and true His hopes are fixed on Heav'n and you-- When hope was sinking in dismay When glooms obscur'd Columbia's day His steady mind from changes free Resolv'd on Death or Liberty.</p>
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托马斯.杰斐逊

(THOMAS JEFFERSON)

第一任就职演说

First Inaugural Address

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

如果我们当中有人想解散这一联邦，或者想改变它的共和体制，那么就让他们去吧，不用干扰他们，这样做就为安全树立了标志，表明在一个理智能够自由地与之斗争的地方，错误的意见是可以容忍的。

托马斯·杰斐逊(1743—1826)和班哲明·富兰克林一样是个多才多艺的人。他是一位天才的作家、政治家、音乐家、建筑师、哲学家、发明家和法学家。他曾在 维吉尼亚州议会和大陆议会任职。在大陆议会任职时，他起草了《独立宣言》。他后来曾任维吉尼亚州长、驻欧洲的外交官和乔治·华盛顿的国务卿。1801 年，在激烈的竞选中，杰斐逊当选为总统。在美国，这是第一次把政府权力由一个政党(联邦主义者)转移给另一个政党(共和党人或民主—共和党人)。在选举院里，杰斐逊和阿伦·伯尔所得的选举人票数相等，后由众议院选择杰斐逊当总统。

杰斐逊的就职演说是第一篇由一位总统在首都华盛顿发表的演说。当时新政府刚从费城搬到首都华盛顿。在经历了一番竞选苦战之后，杰斐逊以这篇演说来统一国家，并明确表明他的施政纲领。

在我们所经历的一段争论中，大家热烈讨论，竞相奔走，初见的人，由于不习惯于自由思考，不习惯于把所想的说出来或写出来，看见那种情形，可能相顾失色；但现在已由全国的民意作出决定，并根据宪法的规定予以公布，大家当然会遵照法律，妥为安排，并且为了共同的利益，团结一致，同心协力。大家也会记住这样一条原则，即多数人的意愿，虽然在任何情况下都应采纳，但那种意愿也必须合理才能站得住脚；而且少数人也有同等的权利，必须受平等的法律的保护，如果予以侵犯，便是压制。那么，同胞们，让我们团结一致，同心同德吧，让我们恢复和睦相处，彼此友爱吧，因为没有它们，自由，甚至生活本身，都将成为无聊的事物。我们还应思量，现在我们已经把那种使人类长期流血和受害的宗教偏执性从我们国土上摒弃了，如果我们又支援政治上的偏执性，而其专横、邪恶，以及所造成的酷烈和血腥的迫害，都与宗教偏执性所导致的后果一样，那么我们的所得便很有限了。当旧世界经历痛苦和激变时，当盛怒的人们经受痛苦的痉挛，想通过流血和屠杀寻找他们丧失已久的自由时，那巨涛般的震撼甚至会传到遥远而和平的此岸；各人对这种震撼的感觉和恐惧的程度不尽相同，对于采取安全措施也有意见分歧，这些都不足为奇。但是，意见分歧并不都是原则分歧。我们遵守同一原则的兄弟们，曾被加以各种

不同的称号。我们都是共和党人，我们都是联邦同盟会员。如果我们当中有人想解散这一联邦，或者想改变它的共和体制，那么就让他们去吧，不用干扰他们，这样做就为安全树立了标志，表明在一个理智能够自由地与之斗争的地方，错误的意见是可以容忍的。我的确知道有些诚实的人担心共和政府不能强大有力，担心这个政府不够强有力；但是，一个诚实的爱国者，会在试验最成功的时候，仅因理论上的和虚幻的疑惧，以为这个世界寄予最美好希望的政府可能不足以自存，就放弃这个一直使我们享有自由和安定的政府吗。我相信不会。相反，我相信这个政府是世界上最强的政府，我相信在这个政府之下，无论何人，一经法律召唤，就会飞奔而来回应法律所要求做的事，而且会像处理自己的私事一样去对付侵犯公共秩序的行为。有时，人们说，一个人自己管自己是不可靠的。那么，让别人去管他们就会可靠吗。或者我们是否觉得以国王身份出现的天使来管理人们才可靠呢。这个问题让历史来回答吧。

因此，让我们秉着勇气和信心，继续奉行我们自己的联邦同盟和共和党的原则，拥护联邦和代议制政府。我们由于自然环境和大洋的阻隔，幸免于全球四分之一地区那种毁灭性的浩劫；我们品格高尚，不能容忍别人的堕落；我们蒙天赐良土，足以容纳千秋万代的子孙；我们有一种观念，认为在发挥自己的才能上，在取得自己的勤劳之所得上，在赢得我们同胞的尊敬与信赖上，（这种信赖和尊敬不是出自门第，而是来自我们的行为和他们的体会。）都享有同等的权利；我们都受到善良宗教的启迪，虽然派别不同，可是所有教派都诲人以正直、信实、节制、感恩和仁爱；我们承认和崇拜主宰一切的上帝，上帝所行之道证明其乐见人类现世的幸福和死后更大的幸福——有了这些神恩，我们还需要什么才能使我们成为一个幸福和欣欣向荣的民族呢。各位同胞，我们还需要一样东西，那就是一个明智和节俭的政府，它防止人们相残，让人们自由地从事他们自己的事业并不断进步，而且不能夺取人们勤劳之所得。这就是一个良好政府的要旨，也是我们获得圆满幸福所必需的。

各位同胞，我就要开始履行职责了，由于这种职责包容了你们所珍惜的一切，我觉得你们应当了解什么是我所认为的我们政府的基本原则，以及那些指导我施政的原则。我打算尽量简略地加以陈述，只讲一般原则，而不讲其全部范畴：不管人们的地位、宗教信仰或政治主张有何不同，人人都应得到平等和绝对公

正的待遇；与所有国家和平相处，互相通商，并保持诚挚的友谊，但不与任何国家结盟，以免纠缠不清；维护各州政府的一切权利，使它们成为处理我们内政最合适的机构，以及抵制反共和趋势的最有力的屏障；维护全国的政府，使之能充分行使宪法赋予的权力，从而成为对内和平和对外安全的最后堡垒；要十分注意维护人民的选举权，因为革命留下的弊端，一时没有和平的补救办法，而人民选举权乃是对那些弊端的一种温和而安全的矫正手段；要绝对服从多数的决定，这是共和政体的主要原则，离开这个原则，便只好诉诸武力，而这就是专制的主要原则和直接起源；要维持一支纪律严明的民团，以作为和平时期和战争初期的最好依仗，直至正规军来接替；实行文权高于军校的政制；节省政府开支，减轻劳动人民的负担；如实偿还我们的债务，把维护政府的信用看作神圣的义务；促进农业发展，并鼓励以商辅农；传播知识并以公众理智为依据谴责一切弊端；保障宗教自由及出版自由，并以人身保护令以及由公平选出的陪审团进行审判来保障人身自由。在革命和改革的时代，这些原则成了在我们前面照耀，指引我们前进的星座。我们圣哲的智慧，我们英雄的鲜血，都曾奉献出来实现这些原则。它们应当是我们政治信念的纲领，公民教育的课本，检验我们所信托者的工作的试金石；如果因一时的错误或惊惶而背弃了这些原则，我们应当赶快回头，重新走上这条通往和平、自由和安全的唯一大道.....

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possesses their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us,

then, fellow citizens, unite -with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government can not be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself. I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law. and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern.

Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others. Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him. Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter--with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people. Still one thing more, fellow-citizens--a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you

should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its Administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people--a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of

our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety....

弗朗西斯.斯科特.克伊

(FRANCIS SCOTT KEY)

星条旗

The Star-Spangled Banner

1814 年 9 月，英国军队侵占首都华盛顿，放火烧毁国会大厦、总统宅第、财政部大楼和其他政府大楼。英军从华盛顿撤退时，俘虏了一位年长的内科医生威廉.比尼斯。比尼斯医生是马里兰州律师弗朗西斯.斯科特.克伊的私人朋友。克伊(1779—1843)被派去协助与英国海军交涉释放他的朋友。克伊和负责战俘交换的政府官员约翰.S.斯金纳一起坐挂着休战旗的船到英国舰队去提出他们的要求。1814 年 9 月 7 日，他们的要求获准。但是，恰巧这时英军正准备进攻巴尔的摩，他们不肯放走这些来访的美国人。克伊和斯金纳只好跟着英国舰队航行，无可奈何地看着英军在 9 月 13—14 日晚，先是侵占巴尔的摩附近，接着又炮击麦克亨利堡，透过硝烟和薄雾，他们依稀看到堡垒上头飘扬着一面巨大的美国国旗。当炮击结束，黎明到来时，他们焦虑地探望前方，看看麦克亨利堡上飘的是哪一方的旗帜。使他们感到欣慰的是那儿飘的还是星条旗。在他们等待释放时，克伊就开始起草一首诗。9 月 16 日晚，克伊在巴尔的摩一家旅馆里把这首诗创作出来，诗中重现了战斗的经过。

第二天，这首诗在巴尔的摩印成传单，题名为《保卫麦克亨利堡》。一个月后，这首诗又被重新题名为《星条旗》，并配上《致天上的酒神》的曲调，这支曲克伊非常熟悉，(历史学家认为，他在写这首诗时，可能就想到了这支曲。)1814 年 10 月 19 日，这支歌在巴尔的摩剧院演唱。

在好多年的时间里，这支歌曾是多少流行的爱国歌曲之一，而且与《嗨！哥伦比亚》及《亚美利加》竞争作为国歌。在美国内战中，这支歌受到联邦军的青睐，并在那以后的几十年里变得越来越流行。1895 年，陆军规定在降旗时必须奏《星条旗》。1904 年，海军部长下令早晚对军舰旗敬礼时都得奏《星条旗》。尽管一直有人批评这支歌(有些人认为曲调太难唱，或者歌词太晦涩，或者认为这文歌太尚武)，但是，国会还是在 1931 年采纳《星条旗》作为国歌。

哦，你可看见，透过
一线曙光，
我们在暮色将尽还自豪
为之欢呼的旗帜，
是它的阔条明星经过
艰险的战斗，
依然迎风飘扬在我军
碉堡上？
炸弹在空中轰鸣，火
箭闪着红光，
一整夜都成为我们国
旗依然存在的见证，
哦，那星条旗是否还
飘扬在
自由的国土，勇士的
家乡！
透过海上的薄雾，海
岸依稀可见，
岸上死一般寂静，傲
慢的敌酋睡意正酣？
当一阵阵微风吹过高

Oh, say, can you see, by the dawn's
early light
What so proudly we hail at the
twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars
through the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched were
so gallantly streaming.
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs
bursting in air
Gave proof thro' the night that our
flag was still there.
Oh, say, does that star-spangled
banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free, and the
home of the brave!
On the shore, dimly seen thro' the
mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in
dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze o'er the

高的峭壁陡崖，
是什么在风中半隐半
现？

现在它披上了第一线
曙光，

映照得灿烂辉煌，
这是星条旗，哦，愿
它永远飘扬，

飘扬在自由的国土，
勇士的家乡！

那伙曾狂妄地诅咒战
乱的洗劫

将使我们国破家亡的
人

都到那里去了？

他们的血已洗去他们
骯脏的脚印，

奴才和走狗将无处藏
身，

他们逃脱不了死亡的
命运，

而星条旗却在胜利飘
扬，

飘扬在自由的国土，
勇士的家乡！

哦，当自由的人站在
可爱的家乡，

面对战争的创伤，

towering steep,

As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half
discloses.

Now it catches the gleam of the
morning's first beam,

In full glory reflected, now shines on
the stream.

"Tis the star-spangled banner; oh,
long may it wave

O'er the land of the free, and the
home of the brave!

And where is that band who so
vauntingly swore

That the havoc of war and the battle's
confusion

A home and a country should leave us
no more.

Their blood has washed out their foul
footsteps' pollution.

No refuge could save the hireling and
slave

From the terror of flight, or the gloom
of the grave:

And the star-spangled banner in
triumph doth wave

O'er the land of the free, and the
home of the brave!

Oh, thus be it ever when freemen

愿星条旗也像这样长
久飘扬，
愿上帝拯救这片土
地，
赐予和平和胜利，
赞美那创建和保存我
们国家的
我们的事业是正义
的，
我们一定能战胜。
我们座右铭是：「信奉
上帝！」
星条旗在胜利飘扬，
飘扬在自由的国土，
勇士的家乡！

shall stand
Between their loved homes and the
war's desolation;
Blest with victory and peace, may the
heaven-rescued land
Praise the power that hath made and
preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our
cause it is just,
And this be our motto: "In God is our
trust!"
And the star-spangled banner in
triumph doth wave,
O'er the land of the free, and the
home of the brave!

塞缪尔·伍德沃思

(SAMUEL WOODWORTH) 旧橡木桶

The Old Oaken Bucket 塞缪尔·伍德沃思(1784—1842)出生在马萨诸塞。作为一个诗人、剧作家和编辑，他只写过一首在他身后还流传的诗——《旧橡木桶》(1818)。诗中很好地表达了对乡村生活和乡下人美德的怀念，而随着工业的扩大和城市的发展，这些正在渐渐消失。这首诗常被重印在教科书中，并为人们所背诵，配上曲子后，即成为 1826 年最流行的歌，而且在十九世纪的许多年里一直很流行。

当甜蜜的回忆在眼前展现儿时的景象，
我心中感到那种亲情荡漾！

How dear to my heart are the
scenes of my childhood,
When fond recollection presents

那果园，草地，参差交错的野生林，
还有我儿时喜爱的每一地方，
那宽阔的池塘和池边的磨坊，
在瀑布落下的地方，那桥，那石，
我父亲的小屋，附近的挤奶房，
甚至那粗制木桶垂在井旁。那布满青苔的木桶，我那么珍惜，
中午我从田里归来，
它常常给我带来快乐无比，
带来大自然生就的最纯最甜的东西。
我用火辣辣的手热烈地抓住它，
迅速将它放到白鹅卵石铺的井底，
木桶很快就溢满了水——真实的象征，
它一边从井里升起一边还流下清凉的水滴。我从绿色布满青苔的井沿将它接住，
把它立在井边倾向我双唇，啊，真甜！
就是装满红酒的高脚杯也无法诱我离开，
哪怕是朱庇特饮的琼浆将杯子装满。
现在我远离可爱的故乡，
当幻想又回到我父亲的庄园，
为那吊在井里的木桶叹息时，
我的眼里禁不住涌出惋惜的泪水。

them to view!

The orchard, the meadow, the
deep tangled wildwood,
And every loved spot which my
infancy knew,
The wide-spreading pond and
the mill that stood by it,
The bridge and the rock where
the cataract fell;
The cot of my father, the dairy
house nigh it,
And e'en the rude bucket that
hung in the well.

That moss-covered bucket I
hailed as a treasure,
For often at noon, when
returned from the field,
I found it the source of an
exquisite pleasure,
The purest and sweetest that
nature can yield.

How ardent I seized it, with
hands that were glowing,
And quick to the white-pebbled
bottom it fell.

Then soon, with the emblem of
truth overflowing,
And dripping with coolness, it
rose from the well.

How sweet from the green,
mossy brim to receive it,
As, poised on the curb, it
inclined to my lips!
Not a full, blushing goblet could
tempt me to leave it,
Tho' filled with the nectar that
Jupiter sips,
And now, far removed from the
loved habitation,
The tear of regret will
intrusively swell,
As fancy reverts to my father's
plantation,
And sighs for the bucket that
hung in the well.

约翰·霍华德·佩恩

(JOHN Howard PAYNE)家，甜蜜的家

Home, Sweet Home 约翰·霍华德·佩恩(1791—1852)是个演员和作家。他的职业生涯不同寻常。他写第一个剧本时，年仅十五岁，后到协和学院学习一年，十八岁第一次登台演出。他在欧洲演出十分成功，但他作为一个剧作家的名声更大。他写过六十多部剧本，其中有两部是与华盛顿·欧文合作的。他的剧本《布鲁图斯》于 1818 年在伦敦首演后一直到十九世纪末在大西洋两岸都很流行。他的剧本《米兰姑娘克拉里》中有一首著名的歌曲叫《家，甜蜜的家》。虽然他的剧本很流行，可佩恩却很少收到版权税，常常身无分文，而且有时还被关进债务人监狱。最后，佩恩的名字被公众遗忘了，但《家，甜蜜的家》却没有被人遗忘，而且被绣在千百万元的布片上作为装饰。诗中最著名的一句「天下没有比家更好的地方」，曾作为《奥兹的巫师》这部影片中多萝西的护身符。也许美国人对于家如此多愁善感是由于他们是移民、拓荒者、边疆开发者和一

个历史比较短的民族传统造成的。

虽然我们可以漫游在乐园和宫殿之中，
可是天下没有比家更好的地方，
即便它是这样简陋普通；
天意似乎要我们成为那一方神圣，
你找遍天涯也决不会遇到那种地方。
家，家，甜蜜，甜蜜的家！
天下没有比家更好的地方，
哦，天下没有比家更好的地方！即便是离乡背井，
那豪华壮丽的景象也不会使我眼花缭乱，
哦，还我低矮的茅屋！
唤来鸟儿的欢鸣，
比什么都宝贵的是恢复心境的安宁！
家，家，甜蜜，甜蜜的家！
天下没有比家更好的地方，
哦，天下没有比家更好的地方！凝望天上的明月，
踏着沈寂的荒野，

'Mid pleasures and palaces though we may
roam,
Be it ever so humble, there's no place like
home;
A charm from the sky seems to hallow us
there,
Which, seek through the world, is ne'er
met with elsewhere.
Home, home, sweet home!
There's no place like home, oh, there's no
place like home!An exile from home,
splendor dazzles in vain;
Oh, give me my lowly thatched cottage
again!
The birds singing gayly, that came at my
call--
Give me them--and the peace of mind,
dearer than all!
Home, home, sweet, sweet home!
There's no place like home, oh, there's no
place like home!! gaze on the moon as I
tread the drear wild,
And feel that my mother now thinks of her
child,
As she looks on that moon from our own
cottage door

我感到我母亲此刻正思念她的孩子，
她正站在我们的小屋门前，
透过葡萄藤仰望那轮明月，
而葡萄的香气却不会使我欢乐。
家，家，甜蜜，甜蜜的家！
天下没有比家更好的地方，
哦，天下没有比家更好的地方！多么甜蜜啊，坐下看着慈父的笑脸，
让母亲的抚摸给我安慰消遣，
就让别人以漫游在新乐园里为乐吧，
但是给我，哦，给我家的欢乐。
家，家，甜蜜，甜蜜的家！
天下没有比家更好的地方，
哦，天下没有比家更好的地方！我已操劳过度，我要回到你身边；
你的微笑给我最亲切的安抚；
我再也不离开那小屋到

Thro' the woodbine, whose fragrance shall
cheer me no more.
Home, home, sweet, sweet home!
There's no place like home, oh, there's no
place like home!How sweet 'tis to sit 'neath
a fond father's smile,
And the caress of a mother to soothe and
beguile!
Let others delight 'mid new pleasure to
roam,
But give me, oh, give me, the pleasures of
home,
Home, home, sweet, sweet home!
There's no place like home, oh, there's no
place like home!To thee I'll return,
overburdened with care;
The heart's dearest solace will smile on me
there;
No more from that cottage again will I
roam;
Be it ever so humble, there's no place like
home.
Home, home, sweet, sweet home!
There's no place like home, oh, there's no
place like home!

处漫游；
天下没有比家更好的地方，
即便它是这样普通简陋。
家，家，甜蜜，甜蜜的家！
天下没有比家更好的地方，
哦，天下没有比家更好的地方！

克莱门特·克拉克·穆尔

(CLEMENT CLARKE MOORE) 圣尼古拉来访

A Visit from St. Nicholas 克莱门特·克拉克·穆尔(1779—1863)是圣经学教授，1823年12月23日，在《特洛伊守卫报》上匿名发表《圣尼古拉来访》。这首诗被广为传抄，最终被印在1844年出版的穆尔的诗集里。这一首在他身后流传确保其获得名声的诗是以「在圣诞节前夜」这句为人所知并为人所爱的。

在圣诞节前夜，
整间屋里没有一人在吵，
就连老鼠也不闹；
长袜已被小心地挂到烟囱上，
我希望圣尼古拉很快就来到；
孩子们都被舒适地安顿到他们的床上，
虽然他们脑子里还跳动着小糖球的幻影；

‘T was the night before Christmas,
when all through the house
Not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse;
The stockings were hung by the chimney with care,
In hopes that St. Nicholas soon would be there;
The children were nestled all snug in their beds,
While visions of sugar-plums danced in

妈妈裹起头巾，我戴上帽，
我们刚定下神来要睡个冬
天的长觉，——

这时外面的草地上有了得
得的声响，
我从床上跳起来去看个究
竟，
像一道闪光，我扑向窗户，
快得像一道闪光
扯开百页窗拉起窗框。

只见月光洒在新雪的胸膛
上，
给月下的万物披上晌午的
光芒；
这时竟出现了使我目瞪口呆
的景象，
那是一辆小雪橇和八只小
小的驯鹿，
上面坐着一个小小的老车
夫，
他是这样生气勃勃，动作
敏捷，
我马上知道这一定是圣尼
古拉。

他的骏鹿跑得比鹰还快，
他吹哨，吆喝，还能叫它
们的名字：
「嘿，达舍！嘿，丹瑟！
嘿，普兰舍和维克星！'

their heads;
 And mamma in her kerchief, and I in my
 cap,
 Had just settled our brains for a long
 winter's nap,--
 When out on the lawn there arose such
 a clatter,
 I sprang from my bed to see what was
 the matter.
 Away to the window I flew like a flash,
 Tore open the shutters and threw up the
 sash.
 The moon on the breast of the new-fallen
 snow
 Gave a lustre of midday to objects
 below;
 When what to my -wondering eyes
 should appear,
 But a miniature sleigh and eight tiny
 reindeer,
 With a little old driver, so lively and quick
 I knew in a moment it must be St. Nick.
 More rapid than eagles his coursers they
 came,
 And he whistled and shouted, and called
 them
 "Now, Dasher! now, Dancer! now,
 Prancer and Vixen!
 On, Comet! on, Cupid! on, Donder and

前进，科米特!前进，朱底特!

前进，唐德和布利琛!

嘿，冲呀，冲呀，一起给我冲，

冲到门廊顶，冲向围墙的顶!」

它们决得就像枯叶随着疯狂的飓风，

遇到障碍就升向天空，

拉着装满玩具的雪橇，还有

圣尼古拉，

驯鹿飞到了屋顶，

转眼之间我就听到屋顶

有小蹄子腾跃踢踏的响声，

当我缩进头来转过身，

就看见圣尼古拉从烟囱上一跳而下，

他全身上下都穿皮裘，

他的衣服因盖满烟灰而失去光华，

他背上背着一包玩具，

他看起来就像是小贩正在开包，

他的眼睛闪闪发光! 他的酒涡充满欢乐!

他的两颊红得像玫瑰，他的鼻子像是樱桃;

Blitzen!

To the top of the porch, to the top of the wall!

Now dash away, dash away, dash away all!"

As dry leaves that before the wild hurricane fly,

When they meet with an obstacle, mount to the sky,

So up to the house-top the coursers they flew,

With the sleigh full of toys,--and St. Nicholas too.

And then in a twinkling I heard on the roof

The prancing and pawing of each little hoof.

As I drew in my head, and was turning around,

Down the chimney St. Nicholas came with a bound.

He was dressed all in fur from his head to his foot,

And his clothes were all tarnished with ashes and soot;

A bundle of toys he had flung on his back,

And he looked like a pedlar just opening his pack.

他那滑稽的小嘴就像画的一把弓，
他下颌的胡子像雪一样白，
他的牙齿紧咬着一个烟斗。
白烟就像花圈绕着他的头，
他有一副宽宽的脸和小小的圆肚，
当他笑的时候，
那小肚震得就像一个碗装满果冻。
他的个子圆圆胖胖，
真假是一个快活的老顽童；
我看到他时情不自禁地笑了，
他转过头向我眨了眨眼睛，
让我知道什么也不用怕，
他一句话没说就去干活，
他把每一只长袜都装满后就急忙转身，
他把手指放在鼻子边上，
点点头又跳上烟囱，
他跃上雪橇，向他的鹿队吹声哨，
他们就像菊花的冠毛一样

His eyes, how they twinkle! his dimples,
how merry!
His cheeks were like roses, his nose like
a cherry;
His droll little mouth was drawn up like a
bow
And the beard on his chin was as white as
the snow.
The stump of a pipe he held tight in his
teeth,
And the smoke it encircled his head like
a wreath.
He had a broad face and a little round
belly
That shook, when he laughed, like a bowl
full of jelly.
He was chubby, and plump, --a right jolly
old elf;
And I laughed, when I saw him, in spite
of myself.
A wink of his eye and a twist of his head
Soon gave me to know I had nothing to
dread.
He spoke not a word, but went straight to
his work,
And filled all the stockings: then turned
with a jerk,
And laying his finger aside of his nose,
And giving a nod, up the chimney he

又飞走 在他驶开之前，我听到他 大喊， 「大家圣诞快乐，诸位晚 安！	rose. He sprang to his sleigh, to his team gave a whistle. And away they all flew like the down of a thistle; But I heard him exclaim, ere he drove out of sight, "Happy Christmas to all, and to all a goodnight!"
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弗朗西丝.赖特

(FRANCES WRIGHT)

美国爱国主义的意义

The Meaning of Patriotism in America

让我们作为成人，而不是作为小孩，作为人类，而不是作为美国人，作为通情达理的人，而不是作为孤陋寡闻的人来欢庆这个日子。

自美国革命以后的许多年里，在 7 月 4 日发表演说习惯上一直是一种荣誉，而且通常是请德高望重的人来道出社区的意见。1828 年 7 月 4 日，弗朗西丝(范妮).赖特发表这篇可能是第一次由一位妇女作的独立日演说。赖特(1795—1852)是一位孜孜不倦的社会改革家，她在宗教、婚姻、计划生育、奴隶制和妇女权利的问题上都持有进步观点。她生于苏格兰，1818 年第一次到美国访问，还写了一本有关她广泛旅行的书。1824 年，她与参加美国革命的法国英雄拉斐德侯爵一起回到美国，并决定在美国定居。

1825 年，她在田纳西州购置土地，然后买些奴隶，给他们自由，并为这些前奴隶创建了一个公社。在她的公社失败之后，她就搬到印地安纳州的哈莫尼，加入罗伯特.戴尔.欧文的实验社会主义公社。1829 年，赖特和欧文到纽约市定居，在那里共同建立激进的《自由问询报》。她后来成为著名的演说家和作家。

.....当我们正确地把 1776 年 7 月 4 日以来的人类历史确定为新时代时,如果我们能在每一周年检查一下我们人类在公正的知识和公正的实践方面所取得的进步,那就是很好的,也就是说,是很有益的。这样,每一个 7 月 4 日就会成为时间洪流的潮标,根据这个潮标就可确定人类智力的进步,根据它就可记下每一次接连发生的错误的起落,每一个重要真理的发现,以及公共机构,社会安排,尤其是我们道德感情和精神观念的逐步改善.....

近年来,在欧洲大陆,像爱国主义和爱国者这种词已经被用在更广的意义上,比在这里通常所赋予这些词的意义或比在大不列颠所赋予它们的意义要广。自从法国、义大利、西班牙和希腊相继出现政治斗争以来,整个欧洲大陆都在使用爱国主义这个词来表达对公益事业的热爱,表达对多数人利益的兴趣胜于对少数人利益的兴趣,表达人类要从宗教和政府的专制奴役下得到解放的渴望,总之,爱国主义这个词与其说是用来表达某一国家,或者某一具体国家的居民所感兴趣的東西,倒不如说是用来表达全人类所感兴趣的東西。同样地,爱国者这个词是用来表示热爱人类自由和人类改善的人,而不是表示一个仅热爱他生活的国家,或者他所属的那个族群的人。用在这个意义上,爱国主义就是一种美德,爱国者就是一个道德高尚的人。以此理解,一个爱国者就是社会里一个有用的成员,他能够开阔他所遇到的所有人的思路,改善他所接触到的所有人的心情。一个爱国者应该是人类大家庭里的一个有用的成员,他能够确立基本的原则,而且能把他自己的利益、他同伴的利益和他的国家利益融合在人类的利益之中。桂冠和雕像是虚无的东西,而且由于它们很幼稚,所以是有害的。但是,我们能否假定它们是有用的,人们会不会以某种理由将它们单单授予这样的一个爱国者.....

如果我们最后考虑的这种爱国主义有可能在某一国家里获得,那么当然是在这个国家里,在这个万国之乡的国家里,在这个国家公民的血管里,地球上所有民族的血都在他们的血管里流着。就其独自的意思而言,爱国主义这个词肯定不是为美国造的。如果它在各处都有害,那么在这里就是既有害又荒唐。人之初是反对它的。各种制度的原则对它是不利的。我们正在庆祝的这个日子是反对它的。特别是美国人应孕育出一种更高尚的情操,一种与他们的起源更一致,

更有助于他们未来改善的情操。特别是美国人应当知道他们为什么热爱自己的国家，应当感到他们热爱自己的国家，不是因为这是他们的国家，而是因为这是人类自由的保障，是人类改善的好景象。尤其是美国人，应当检查一下他们的制度，应当感到他们为这些制度而自豪是因为它们是以公正的原则为基础的。尤其是美国人，应当检查一下他们的制度，因为他们有改善它们的手段，应当检查一下他们的法律，因为他们能随意改变它们。他们应当撇开奢华，他们的财富在于勤奋；他们应当撇开无益的炫耀，他们的力量在于知识；他们应当撇开野心勃勃出人头地的想法，他们的原则应当是平等。他们不应当休息，不应当满足于言语，他们应当干点实事，他们应当记住平等指的不是仅仅政治权利的平等，不管它有多宝贵，而是指教育的平等和道德的平等，要记住自由指的不是仅在选举时投票，而是自由无畏地运用智力，是那种从经过推理的意见和始终如一的实践中迸发出来的镇静自若。他们应当以原则为荣而不是以人为荣，纪念事件而不是纪念日子，在他们高兴的时候，应当知道为什么高兴，应当仅仅为过去和现在为人类带来和平和幸福的事而高兴。我们今天所纪念的事件已经在相当程度上取得这两者，而且在人类改善的进程中将取得比我们现在能想象到的更多。为此——为我们人类已经获得的和即将获得的好处，让我们欢欣鼓舞吧！但是，让我们作为成人，而不是作为小孩，作为人类，而不是作为美国人，作为通情达理的人，而不是作为孤陋寡闻的人来欢庆这个日子。那么，我们是否应当为美好的目的和美好的感情而高兴，我们是否应当改善曾经在今天所取得的胜利，直至全人类都能和我们共同欢庆独立为止。

The Meaning of Patriotism in America

. . . . Dating, as we justly may, a new era in the history of man from the Fourth of July, 1776, it would be well--that is, it would be useful--if on each anniversary we examined the progress made by our species in just knowledge and just practice. Each Fourth of July would then stand as a tidemark in the flood of time by which to ascertain the advance of the human intellect, by which to note the rise and fall of each successive error, the discovery of each

important truth, the gradual melioration in our public institutions, social arrangements, and, above all, in our moral feelings and mental views. . . .

In continental Europe, of late years, the words patriotism and patriot have been used in a more enlarged sense than it is usual here to attribute to them, or than is attached to them in Great Britain. Since the political struggles of France, Italy, Spain, and Greece, the word patriotism has been employed, throughout continental Europe, to express a love of the public good; a preference for the interests of the many to those of the few, a desire for the emancipation of the human race from the thrall of despotism, religious and civil: in short, patriotism there is used rather to express the interest felt in the human race in general than that felt for any country, or inhabitants of a country, in particular. And patriot, in like manner, is employed to signify a lover of human liberty and human improvement rather than a mere lover of the country in which he lives, or the tribe to which he belongs. Used in this sense, patriotism is a virtue, and a patriot a virtuous man. With such an interpretation, a patriot is a useful member of society, capable of enlarging all minds and bettering all hearts with which he comes in contact; a useful member of the human family, capable of establishing fundamental principles and of merging his own interests, those of his associates, and those of his nation in the interests of the human race. Laurels and statues are vain things, and mischievous as they are childish; but could we imagine them of use, on such a patriot alone could they be with any reason bestowed....

If such a patriotism as we have last considered should seem likely to obtain in any country, it should be certainly in this. In this which is

truly the home of all nations and in the veins of whose citizens flows the blood of every people on the globe. Patriotism, in the exclusive meaning, is surely not made for America. Mischievous everywhere, it were here both mischievous and absurd. The very origin of the people is opposed to it. The institutions, in their principle, militate against it. The day we are celebrating protests against it. It is for Americans, more especially, to nourish a nobler sentiment; one more consistent with their origin, and more conducive to their future improvement. It is for them more especially to know why they love their country; and to feel that they love it, not because it is their country, but because it is the palladium of human liberty--the favored scene of human improvement. It is for them, more especially, to examine their institutions; and to feel that they honor them because they are based on just principles. It is for them, more especially, to examine their institutions, because they have the means of improving them; to examine their laws, because at will they can alter them. It is for them to lay aside luxury whose wealth is in industry; idle parade whose strength is in knowledge; ambitious distinctions whose principle is equality. It is for them not to rest, satisfied with words, who can seize upon things; and to remember that equality means, not the mere equality of political rights, however valuable, but equality of instruction and equality in virtue; and that liberty means, not the mere voting at elections, but the free and fearless exercise of the mental faculties and that self-possession which springs out of well-reasoned opinions and consistent practice. It is for them to honor principles rather than men--to commemorate events rather than days; when they rejoice, to know for what they rejoice, and to rejoice only for what has brought and what brings

peace and happiness to men. The event we commemorate this day has procured much of both, and shall procure in the onward course of human improvement more than we can now conceive of. For this--for the good obtained and yet in store for our race--let us rejoice! But let us rejoice as men, not as children--as human beings rather than as Americans--as reasoning beings, not as ignorants. So shall we rejoice to good purpose and in good feeling; so shall we improve the victory once on this day achieved, until all mankind hold with us the Jubilee of Independence.

丹尼尔·韦伯斯特

(DANIEL WEBSTER)

反对州废除联邦法令的做法

Against Nullification

自由和联邦是永存的，是不可分裂的整体。

丹尼尔·韦伯斯特(1782—1852)是作为他那个时代第一流的演说家而闻名的。作为代表麻塞诸塞州的参议员，他于 1803 年与南卡罗来纳的参议员罗伯特·Y.海恩辩论关税问题。海恩代表反对关税法案的南方各州说话，他引用副总统约翰·C.卡尔洪关于州对联邦的法令拒绝执行的理论，根据这个理论一个州可以「废除」它认为不符合宪法的联邦法律，如果必要，宁可退出联邦也不接受就该州利益来说无法忍受的条件。韦伯斯特在他的反驳词中捍卫了联邦政府的权威，批评了州权利的观念。以下摘录的(摘自一百多页的即席演说)是韦伯斯特回答海恩的演说的最后部分。

.....如果人们在国家宪法中，不论是根据原来的条款或是后来的解释，有什为不应当写入的条款，人民知道如何把它废除掉。如果确立了某种使他们无法接受的解释，以致实际上成为宪法的一部分，他们是会独立自主地来修正它的。但是，当人民决定保持它的现状时，当人民对它感到满意，并拒绝改变它时，

谁曾给予，或者谁能给予州议会通过干预、解释或其它办法来改变它的权利？先生们似乎不记得人民有为他们自己做任何事情的权力。他们以为除了在州议会的密切保护下就再没有安全可言了。先生，在总的宪法方面，人民并没有把他们的安全委托给这些州议会。他们已要求了其他的保障，接受了其他的保证人。他们决定首先应该信赖宪法上明明白白的词语，他们信赖这样的解释，即政府本身在有疑问的情况下，应当发挥其本身的权力，根据他们就职时所发的誓，服从他们宣过誓要负的责任，就像一个州的人民赋予他们州的政府同样的权力一样。其次，他们信赖经常选举的效力，只要他们有理由，就可以用他们自己的力量将他们自己的仆人和代理人撤掉。第三，他们信赖司法的权力，为了使之值得信赖，他们已经使司法权成为既可实行又受人尊重、公正无私、独立自主的权力。第四，任何时候，当经验指出宪法中的缺点和不完善之处时，在必要情况下，或利害攸关时，他们会依靠他们所知道的并认为是有效的权力和平而平静地去改变或修正宪法，如果他们认为这样做是合适的话。最后，美国人民从来没有在任何时候，以任何方式，直接或间接地授权州议会来分析或解释他们政府的最重要文件，更没有授权他们用他们自己的权力去干预和妨碍宪法的正常实施。

先生，如果人民在这些方面采取了其他的做法，而不是像他们已经做的这样，那么，他们的宪法既不可能得到保存，也不会是值得保存的。如果现在不顾宪法中明文规定的条款，而添进这些新的主张，那么宪法就会变成其早期的或更近代的敌人所可能期望的那样软弱无能的东西。它只能作为一个依赖各州许可的可怜虫在各州存在。它必须借人家许可而存在，并且存在的时间不会长于各州凭他们高兴或由他们随意决定是否适合恩准并延长其苟延残喘的时间。

但是，先生，尽管存在着忧患，可也存在着希望，人民已经将这个宪法，这个他们自己选择的宪法保存了四十年，他们已经看到他们的幸福、繁荣和名声随着它的发展而增长，随着它的加强而加强。总的来说，他们现在都强烈地依附于宪法。如果我们和那些将要在我们这里接我们班的人，作为人民的代理人和代表，能自觉地、警惕地完成公众委托给我们的两个伟大任务、即忠实地保护宪法，明智地执行宪法，那么，用直接进攻就无法推翻它，要回避它、破坏它、废除它，也将是不可能的……

先生，我还没允许我自己朝联邦以外去看，看看在后面的黑暗深处可能隐藏着什么。我还没有冷静地估量过在把我们联合在一起的那些契约被撕碎之后，保护自由的机会会有多少。我还不习惯于挂在分裂的悬崖，去看看是否可以用我短浅的目光量出底下的深渊有多深，我也不可能把那种思想里考虑的主要不是联邦应该如何得到最好的保护，而是在联邦被分裂和摧毁时，人民可能容忍到什么程度的人当作政府事务的可靠顾问。只要联邦继续存在，我们就能在我们自己和孩子们面前展现出美好高尚、激动人心、令人满意的前景。除了这种前景，我不想刺破这层薄纱去看看别的什么。上帝恩准至少在我有生之年不要让那块帘升起！上帝恩准那隐藏在背后的东西永远不要让我看见！当我的眼睛转过来最后看一眼天上的太阳时，但愿我不要看到它照耀在曾是一个光荣联邦的破裂而且可耻的碎片上，照耀在彼此伤害、矛盾不和、互相交战的各州的土地上，照耀在一片为人们的仇恨所撕碎的土地上，或是一片浸染着兄弟同胞之血的土地上！让他们最后微弱而依恋的目光看到共和国光辉的旗帜，这面旗现在闻名全球，受人尊重，它仍然高高升起，它的每一条条纹和每一颗星仍然以原来的光彩飘扬着，没有一根条纹被抹去或污染，没有一颗星失去光泽，为了它的信条，它无法容忍像「这到底有何价值」这样可耻的疑问句，也不能容忍像「先自由，后联邦」这样欺世和愚蠢的话。当星星和条纹飘过大海，越过大陆时，当它们在整个天底下每一阵风里飘扬的时候，那些充满生命光辉的星星，在宽阔的褶皱里闪烁着，把另一种情感传遍世界的每一个地方，这就是每一个真正的美国人都十分珍惜的情感——自由相联邦是永存的，是不可分裂的整体！

Against Nullification

.....If anything be found in the national constitution, either by original provision or subsequent interpretation, which ought not to be in it, the people know how to get rid of it. If any construction be established unacceptable to them, so as to become practically a part of the constitution, they will amend it, at their own sovereign pleasure. But while the people choose to maintain it as it is, while they are satisfied with it, and refuse to change it, who has given, or

who can give, to the state legislatures a right to alter it, either by interference, construction, or otherwise. Gentlemen do not seem to recollect that the people have any power to do anything for themselves. They imagine there is no safety for them, any longer than they are under the close guardianship of the state legislatures. Sir, the people have not trusted their safety, in regard to the general constitution, to these hands. They have required other security, and taken other bonds. They have chosen to trust themselves, first, to the plain words of the instrument, and to such construction as the government itself, in doubtful cases, should put on its own powers, and under their oaths of office, and subject to their responsibility to them; just as the people of a state trust their own state government with a similar power. Secondly, they have reposed their trust in the efficacy of frequent elections, and in their own power to remove their own servants and agents whenever they see cause. Thirdly, they have reposed trust in the judicial power, which, in order that it might be trustworthy, they have made as respectable, as disinterested, and as independent as was practicable. Fourthly, they have seen fit to rely, in case of necessity, or high expediency, on their known and admitted power to alter or amend the constitution, peaceably and quietly, whenever experience shall point out defects or imperfections. And, finally, the people of the United States have at no time, in no way, directly or indirectly, authorized any state legislature to construe or interpret their high instrument of government; much less, to interfere, by their own power, to arrest its course and operation.

If, sir, the people in these respects had done otherwise than they have done, their constitution could neither have been preserved, nor would it have been worth preserving. And if its plain provisions

shall now be disregarded, and these new doctrines interpolated in it, it will become as feeble and helpless a being as its enemies, whether early or more recent, could possibly desire. It will exist in every state but as a poor dependent on state permission. It must borrow leave to be; and will be, no longer than state pleasure, or state discretion, sees fit to grant the indulgence, and prolong its poor existence.

But, sir, although there are fears, there are hopes also. The people have preserved this, their own chosen constitution, for forty years, and have seen their happiness, prosperity, and renown grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. They are now, generally, strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault, it cannot be; evaded, undermined, NULLIFIED, it will not be, if we, and those who shall succeed us here, as agents and representatives of the people, shall conscientiously and vigilantly discharge the two great branches of our public trust, faithfully to preserve, and wisely to administer it. . . .

I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counselor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that

I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth." nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterwards;" but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart--Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

乔治.珀金斯.莫里斯

(GEORGE PERKINS MORRIS)

樵夫，别砍那棵树

Woodman, Spare That Tree

《樵夫，别砍那棵树》这首诗自 1830 年第一次发表以来一直很流行。乔治.珀金斯.莫里斯(1802—1864)是个记者、诗人和戏剧家。十九世纪二十年代，他当过《纽约镜报》的编辑，但是他最著名的还是他多愁善感的诗，其中最主要的一首就是《樵夫，别砍那棵树》。由于工业和城市的扩展取代了乡村的景象，人们便十分珍爱这首持，它既唤起人们对过去的怀念，又是对「进步」的一种有礼貌的抗议。甚至那些从未读过这首诗的人也知道它的题目，并在环境保护主义成为政治运动之前，把它作为表示环境保护主义态度的简便方法。

樵夫，别砍那棵树！
一根树枝也别碰！
我年轻时它遮蔽过我，
现在我得保护它。
这树是我先祖亲手
种在他的小屋边，
樵夫，让它立在那儿，
你的斧头别伤了它！那棵熟悉的老树，
它的光荣和名声
已传遍各处，
你还要将它砍下？
樵夫，别砍了！
它的根已在土里扎固；
哦，别砍那棵老橡树，
它现在已是参天的大树！当我还是个无所事事的小孩，
我就常到它凉爽的树荫里；
我的姐妹也来到这里，
尽情欢乐，尽情嬉戏；
我妈妈在这里吻过我，
我爸爸在这里将我的手抚摸，
原谅我愚蠢的泪水，
让那棵老橡树留着！老朋友，我的心弦紧
绕着你，
就像你的树皮一样与你连在一起
野鸟在这儿歌唱时，
你还会把树枝弯下，
老树啊！你还能顶住狂风暴雨！

Woodman, spare that tree!
Touch not a single bough!
In youth it sheltered me,
And I'll protect it now.
 ' Twas my forefather's
hand
That placed it near his cot;
There, woodman, let it
stand,
Thy axe shall harm it not!
That old familiar tree,
Whose glory and renown
Are spread o'er land and
sea,
And wouldst thou hew it
down.
Woodman, forbear thy
stroke!
Cut not its earth-bound
ties;
O, spare that aged oak,
Now towering to the skies!
When but an idle boy
I sought its grateful shade;
In all their gushing joy
Here too my sisters played.
My mother kissed me here;
My father pressed my hand-

樵夫，离开那地方；
当我还能伸手拯救它时，
你的斧子别伤着它。

Forgive this foolish tear,
But let that old oak stand!
My heart-strings round thee
cling,
Close as thy bark, old
friend!
Here shall the wild-bird
sing,
And still thy branches bend.
Old tree! the storm still
brave!
And, woodman, leave the
spot;
While I've a hand to save,
Thy axe shall hurt it not.

奥利弗·温德尔·霍姆斯

(OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES)

《荒谬之极》和《老铁壁》

The Height of the Ridiculous and Old Ironsides

奥利弗·温德尔·霍姆斯(1809—1894)是个奇才。他是个著名的诗人、幽默作家、散文家、医生和医学研究员。他曾在哈佛大学攻读法律，后改学医，并于1836年获得学位。开业行医十年后当解剖学教授，先是在达特默思，后到哈佛，他在哈佛医学院当了好几年院长，不过，他的最大名声还是来自他的写作。年仅二十一岁时，他发表了《老铁壁》，使他赢得全国一片赞美声。霍姆斯在报上看到海军部计划销毁战舰「宪章号」的消息，因为它太旧，已不适于在海上用了。他急忙在一张碎纸片上写了一首诗投到一家波士顿报纸，引起全国群情激情。海军部长惊愕不已，撤回了销毁旧舰的命令，霍姆斯则成一位崭露头角的诗人。《荒谬之极》和《老铁壁》都是发表在1830年。

荒谬之极 有一次我心情极佳
写了几行诗，
以为人们照常会说
它们好极了。这几行诗太古怪了，非常古怪，
我自己都笑得要死；
虽然总的来说，
我还是个头脑清醒的人。我叫来我的
仆人，
他真是太好了，
一个四肢强壮的人，
却来照顾我这样的瘦高个！
我喊道，「把这几行诗选去排版」。
而且以我幽默的口气
补充说(随便开个玩笑)，
「会有魔鬼向你付钱。」他拿走稿纸，
我观察着，
看见他往里偷看，
看到第一行，
他的脸就笑开了。
他看到第二行就笑得裂开嘴，
而且裂得很大很大。
他看到第三行，
我开始听到他咯咯地笑。看到第四行，
他的笑声大如吼，
看到第五行，他笑裂了束腰带。
看到第六行，他笑掉五颗钮扣，
而且突然摔倒在地，十天十夜我没合
眼，

The Height of the Ridiculous
I wrote some lines once on a
time
In wondrous merry mood,
And thought, as usual, men
would say
They were exceeding good.
They were so queer, so very
queer,
I laughed as I would die;
Albeit, in the general way,
A sober man am I.
I called my servant, and he
came;
How kind it was of him
To mind a slender man like
me,
He of the mighty limb!
"These to the printer," I
exclaimed,
And, in my humorous way,
I added (as a trifling jest),
"There'll be the devil to pay."
He took the paper, and I
watched,
And saw him peep within;
At the first line he read, his
face
Was all upon the grin.

看护着那个可怜人，
从此我再也不敢尽情写
这么古怪有趣的诗。

老铁壁

啊，撕下她破烂的国旗！
它已高高飘扬了很久，
许多人都看到
那面旗在天空飘扬，
旗下曾响过战斗的呼喊，
迸发过大炮的怒吼，——
海洋上空的流星
将不再扫过云层。
她的甲板曾为英雄的鲜血染红，
被征服的敌人曾在那儿跪下，
当风匆匆吹过波涛，
底下翻起白色浪花，
再也感觉不到胜利者的脚步，
再也无法知道被征服者跪下的消息：——

——
岸边的鱼鹰将向
海上的雄鹰发动攻击！
哦，她破烂的废船
最好沈到海底；
她雷鸣的巨响震撼了巨大的深渊，
她的坟墓应该在那里；
将她那面圣旗钉到桅杆上，
将每一面破旧的帆都升起，
把她交给风暴之神，
交给闪电和骤雨！

He read the next; the grin
grew broad,

And shot from ear to ear;

He read the third; a chuckling
noise

I now began to hear.

The fourth: he broke into a
roar;

The fifth; his waistband split;

The sixth; he burst five
buttons off,

And tumbled in a fit.

Ten days and nights, with
sleepless eye

I watched that wretched man,
And since, I never dare to
write

As funny as I can.

Old Ironsides

Ay, tear her tattered ensign
down!

Long has it waved on high,

And many an eye has danced
to see

That banner in the sky;

Beneath it rung the battle
shout,

And burst the cannon's roar; --

The meteor of the ocean air

Shall sweep the clouds no
more.

Her deck, once red with
heroes' blood,

Where knelt the vanquished
foe,

When winds were hurrying
o'er the flood,

And weaves were white
below,

No more shall feel the victor's
tread,

Or know the conquered
knee; --

The harpies of the shore shall
pluck

The eagle of the sea!

Oh, better that her shattered
hulk

Should sink beneath the
wave;

Her thunders shook the
mighty deep,

And there should be her
grave;

Nail to the mast her holy flag,

Set every threadbare sail,

And give her to the god of
storms,

塞缪尔.F.史密斯

(SAMUEL F. SMITH)

亚美利加

America

《亚美利加》(或《你是我的祖国》)的歌词是塞缪尔.F.史密斯神父(1808—1895)所作，其曲调来自英国国歌(《天佑吾王》)。史密斯是在 1832 年 2 月于麻塞诸塞州的阿默斯特写下这首歌词的，第一次唱这支歌是 1832 年 7 月 4 日在波士顿公园街教堂的一次爱国庆典上。他后来写道，那是在「一个阴郁的冬日下午」，他一口气给这支著名的曲调填上了新词。史密斯神父经常应邀为这支歌的歌本签名。1889 年，在追忆他写这首歌时，他写道：「我并没想把它写成一首国歌，但也不想它会获得这种丑名。」

美利坚人很熟悉《天佑吾王》这支曲调，因为在 1776 年以前，它一直是他们的国歌。这支曲调常被用来充当诸如《天佑亚美利加》、《天佑乔治.华盛顿》，《天佑十三州》等爱国歌曲的曲调。甚至美国最早的一位女权主义者也曾用过这支曲调。1795 年 10 月 17 日，她在《费城密涅瓦》上发表的一首题为《女权》的诗就是采用《天佑吾王》的曲调。诗的开头是这样写的：

上帝保佑一切女权，
对着她那迷惘的眼睛，说
妇女是自由的。

你是我的祖国，
美好自由之邦，
我要为你歌唱。
父辈葬身之处，
移民夸耀之土，
让我自由之声，
响彻每个山冈。是我出生的地方，

My country 'tis of thee
Sweet land of liberty;
Of thee I sing.
Land where my fathers died
Land of the pilgrims' pride
From every mountainside
Let freedom ring.

<p>崇高自由之乡， 我爱你的名字； 我爱你的山水， 还有森林、庙宇， 我满怀着欢喜， 心中激动不已。让音乐鼓起微风， 从所有的树上弹出， 美好的自由之歌， 让男女和老少， 都放声来歌唱， 让顽石打破沈默， 回声经久不息。你是父辈的上帝， 自由的缔造者， 我们为你歌唱， 愿自由的圣光， 永照我的祖国， 上帝吾王，伟大万能 愿你保佑我们。</p>	<p>My native country--thee Land of the noble free Thy name I love; I love thy rocks and rills Thy woods and tempted hills My heart with rapture thrills Like that above. Let music swell the breeze And ring from all the trees Sweet freedom's song Let all that breathe partake Let mortal tongues awake Let rocks their silence break The sound prolong. Our fathers' God to thee Author of liberty To thee we sing Long may our land be bright With freedom's holy light Protect us by thy might Great God, our King.</p>
<p>拉尔夫.沃尔多.爱默生 (RALPH WALDO EMERSON)</p> <p>自 助 Self-Reliance</p> <p>愚蠢地坚持随众随俗乃是心胸狭小的幽灵的表现。</p> <hr/> <p>随着学园运动的发展，爱默生成了一位受人欢迎的演说家。学园运动始于十九世纪二十年代，是有组织的成人教育的一种早期形式。它将各种涉及社会问题</p>	

和学术问题的演说、辩论和讨论带入美国东北和中西部各州的社区。该运动以亚里士多德给学生讲学的雅典学校命名，为诸如爱默生、亨利·大卫·梭罗、苏珊·比·安东尼、弗雷德里克·道格拉斯和纳撒尼尔·霍桑等演说家提供了一个讲坛和收入来源。

爱默生的自然主义哲学吸引了广泛的注意和广大的听众。他呼吁以内心自我、以直觉、以大自然作为生活和现实的指南，向那些秉承传统、权威和教条的人提出了挑战。对于个人主义者和不墨守陈规的人，对于厌恶古训寻求内心真实的人来说，爱默生的言辞具有深邃的吸引力。美国每一代年轻人都重新发掘爱默生的思想。这篇杂文是爱默生的最佳代表作，具有警句式的文字和热情洋溢的个人主义。该文最初发表在 1841 年爱默生的第一部散文集中。

前些日子我读了一位著名画家的诗作。这是些独特而且不落俗套的作品。在这种诗句中，不论其主题是什么，心灵总能听到某种告诫。诗句中所注入的感情比它们所包含的思想内容更可贵。相信你自己的思想，相信凡是对你心灵来说是真实的，对所有其他人也是真实的——这就是天才。披露蛰伏在你内心的信念，它便具有普遍的意义；因为最内在的终将成为最外在的——我们最初的想法终将在上帝最后审判日的喇叭声中得到回应。尽管心灵的声音对每一个人来说都是熟悉的，但是我们认为，摩西、柏拉图和弥尔顿最了不起的功绩是他们蔑视书本和传统，他们论及的不是人们想到的，而是他们自己的思想。人应当学会的是捕捉、观察发自内心的闪光，而不是诗人和伟人们的圣光。但是，人们却不加思索地抛弃自己的思想，就因为那是自己的思想。在每一部天才的作品中，我们都可以找到我们自己抛弃了的那些思想：它们带着某种陌生的尊严回到我们这儿来。伟大的艺术作品给我们最深刻的教诲就是，要以最平和而又最执着的态度遵从内心自然而然产生的念头，即使与其相应的看法正甚嚣尘上。否则，明天某个人便将俨然以一位权威的口吻高谈那些同我们曾经想到、感受到的一模一样的想法，而我们却只好惭愧地从他人手中接受我们自己的想法。

每个人在受教育过程中，总有一天会认识到：妒忌是无知，模仿是自杀。不论好歹，每个人都必须接受属于他的那一份，广阔的世界里虽然充满了珍馐美味，

但是只有从给予他去耕耘的那一片土地里，通过辛勤劳动收获的谷物才富有营养。富于他体内的力量，实质上是新生的力量。只有他自己才知道他能干什么，而且他也只有在尝试之后才能知晓。一张面孔、一个人物、一桩事情在他心中留下了印象，而其他的则不然。这并不是无缘无故的。这记忆中的塑像并非全无先验的和谐。眼睛被置于某束光线将射到的地方，这样它才可能感知到那束光线。大胆让他直抒自己的全部信念吧。我们对自己总是遮遮掩掩，对我们每个人所代表的神圣意念感到羞愧。我们完全可以视这意念为与我们相称、而又有益的意念，所以，应当忠实地宣扬它。不过，上帝是不会向懦夫揭示他的杰作的，只有神圣的人，才能展示神圣的事物。当一个人将身心倾注到工作中，并且竭尽了全力的时候，他就得到了解脱和欢乐。否则，他将为自己的言行忐忑不安，得到的是没有解脱的解脱。在其间，他为自己的天赋所抛弃，没有灵感与他为友，没有发明，也没有希望。

相信你自己吧：每颗心都随着那弦跳动，接受上苍为你找到的位置——同代人组成的社会和世网。伟大的人物总是像孩子似地将自己托付给时代的精神，披露他们所感知到的上帝正在他们内心引起骚动，正假他们之手在运作，并驾驭着他们整个身心。我们是人，必须在我们最高尚的心灵中接受同样先验的命运。我们不能畏缩在墙角里，不能像懦夫一样在革命关头逃脱；我们必须是赎罪者和捐助者，是虔诚的有志者，是全能上帝所造之物，让我们向着混沌乱世，向着黑暗冲锋吧...

这些话语当我们独处时可以听到，可是当我们迈进这世界时，话音就减弱了、听不到了。社会到处都是防患各社会成员成熟起来的阴谋。社会是一个股份公司。在这公司里，成员们为了让各个股东更好地保住自己的那份面包，同意放弃吃面包者的自由和文化。它最需要的美德是随众随俗，它厌恶的是自力更生，它钟爱的不是现实和创造者，而是名份和习俗。

任何名副其实的真正的人，都必须是不落俗套的人。任何采集圣地棕搁叶的人，都不应当拘泥于名义上的善，而应当发掘善之本身。除了我们心灵的真诚之外，其他的一切归根结蒂都不是神圣的。解脱自己，皈依自我，也就必然得到世人的认可。记得，当我还很小的时候，有位颇受人尊重的师长。他习惯不厌其烦地向我灌输宗教的古老教条。有一回，我禁不住回了他一句。听到我说，如果

我完全靠内心的指点来生活，那么我拿那些神圣的传统干嘛呢；我的这位朋友提出说：「可是，内心的冲动可能是低下的，而不是高尚的。」我回答说：「在我看来，却不是如此。不过，倘若我是魔鬼的孩子，那么我就要照魔鬼的指点来生活。」除了天性的法则之外，在我看来，没有任何法则是神圣的。好与坏，只不过是名声而已，不费吹灰之力，便可以将它从这人身上移到那人身上。唯一正确的，是顺从自身结构的事物；唯一错误的，是逆自身结构的事物。一个人面对反对意见，其举措应当像除了他自己之外，其他的一切都是有名无实的过眼烟云。使我惭愧的是，我们如此易于成为招牌、名份的俘虏，成为庞大的社团和毫无生气的习俗的俘虏。任何一个正派、谈吐优雅之士都比一位无懈可击的人更能影响我、左右我。我应当正直坦诚、生气勃勃，以各种方式直抒未加粉饰的真理.....

我必须做的是一切与我有关的事，而不是别人想要我做的事。这条法则，在现实生活和精神生活中都是同样艰巨困难的，它是伟大与低贱的整个区别。它将变得更加艰巨，如果你总是碰到一些自以为比你更懂得什么是你的人。按照世人的观念在这世界上生活是件容易的事；按照你自己的观念，离群索居也不难；但若置身在世之间，却能尽善尽美地保持个人独立性，却只有伟人才能办得到。

抵制在你看来已是毫无生气的习俗，是因为这些习俗耗尽你的精力。它消耗你的时光，隐翳你的性格。如果你上毫无生气的教堂，为毫无生气的圣经会捐款，投大党的票拥护或反对政府，摆餐桌同粗俗的管家没什么两样——那么在所有这些屏障下，我就很难准确看出你究竟是什么样的人。当然，这样做也将从你生活本身中耗去相应的精力。然而，如果你所做的是你所要做的事，那么我就能看出你到底是什么样的人。做你自己的事，你也就从中增强了自身。一个人必须要想到，随众随俗无异于蒙住你的眼睛。假如我知道你属于哪个教派，我就能预见到你会使用的论据。我曾经听一位传教士宣称，他的讲稿和主题都取材自他的教会的某一规定。难道我不是早就知道他根本不可能即兴说一句话吗.....算了，大部分人都用这样或那样的手帕蒙住自己的眼睛，使自己依附于某个社团观点。保持这种一致性，迫使他们不仅仅在一些细节上弄虚作假，说一些假话，而是在所有的细节上都弄虚作假。他们所有的真理都不太真。他们

的二并不是真正的二，他们的四也不是真正的四：他们说的每一个字都使我们失望，而我们又不知道该从哪儿下手去纠正它。同时，自然却俐落地在我们身上套上我们所效忠的政党的囚犯号衣。我们都板着同样的面孔，摆着同样的架式，逐渐习得最有绅士风度而又愚蠢得像驴一样的表达方式。尤其值得一提的是，一种丢人的、并且也在历史上留下了自己印记的经历。我指的是「傻乎乎的恭维」——我们浑身不自在地同一些人相处时，脸上便堆起这种假笑；我们就毫无兴趣的话题搭腔时，脸上便堆起这种微笑。其面部肌肉不是自然地运作，而是为一种低下的、处心积虑的抽搐所牵引，肌肉在面庞周边绷得紧紧的，给人一种最不愉快的感觉：一种受责备和警告的感觉。这种感觉，任何勇敢的年轻人都绝不会愿意体验第二次。

世人用不快来鞭挞不落俗套的人.....对于一位坚强的探谳世事的人来说，容忍有教养的绅士们的愤怒不是件难事。他们的愤怒是正派得体，谨慎稳重的。因为他们本身就非常容易招来责难，所以他们胆小怕事。但是，若引起他们那女性特有的愤怒，其愤慨便有所升级；倘若无知和贫穷的人们被唆使，倘若处于社会底层的非理性的野蛮力量被怂勇狂吼发难，那就需要养成宽宏大量和宗教的习惯，像神一样把它当作无关紧要的琐事。

另一个使我们不敢自信的恐惧是我们想要随众随俗。这是我們对自己过去的所作所为的敬畏之情，因为在别人眼里能够藉以评判我们行为轨迹的依据，除了我们的所作所为之外别无他物，而我们又不愿意使他们失望。

但是，你为什么要往回看呢.为什么你老要抱着回忆的僵尸，唯恐说出与你曾经在这个或那个公开场合说的话有点儿矛盾的话来呢.倘若你说了些自相矛盾的话，那又怎么样呢.

愚蠢地坚持随众随俗是心胸狭小的幽灵的表现，是低级的政客，哲学家和神学家们崇拜的物件。伟大的人物根本就不会随众随俗。他也许倒更关心自己落在墙上的影子。嘿！把好你的那张嘴！用包装线把双唇缝起来！否则，你若要做一个真正的人的话，今天你想说什么就说什么，像放连珠炮一样；明天你想说什么，照样斩钉截铁地说什么，哪怕跟你今天说的一切都是相互矛盾的。哈哈！老妇人，你就嚷嚷去吧！你肯定会被别人误解的！误解，恰恰是个傻瓜的字眼。被人误解就那么不好吗.毕达哥拉斯被人误解，苏格拉底、耶稣、路德、哥白

尼、伽利略和牛顿，每一位纯粹而又聪明、曾经生活过的人都曾被人误解过。要做个伟人，就一定会被人误解.....

I read the other day some verses written by an eminent painter which were original and not conventional. Always the soul hears an admonition in such lines, let the subject be what it may. The sentiment they instil is of more value than any thought they may contain. To believe your own thought, to believe that what is true for you in your private heart is true for all men,--that is genius. Speak your latent conviction, and it shall be universal sense; for always the inmost becomes the outmost--and our first thought is rendered back to us by the trumpets of the Last Judgment. Familiar as the voice of the mind is to each, the highest merit we ascribe to Moses, Plato and Milton is that they set at naught books and traditions, and spoke not what men, but what they thought, A man should learn to detect and watch that gleam of light which flashes across his mind from within, more than the lustre of the firmament of bards and sages. Yet he dismisses without notice his thought, because it is his. In every work of genius we recognize our own rejected thoughts; they come back to us with a certain alienated majesty. Great works of art have no more affecting lesson for us than this. They teach us to abide by our spontaneous impression with good-humored inflexibility then most when the whole cry of voices is on the other side. Else to-morrow a stranger will say with masterly good sense precisely what we have thought and felt all the time, and we shall be forced to take with shame our own opinion from another.

There is a time in every man's education when he arrives at the conviction that envy is ignorance; that imitation is suicide; that he must take himself for better for worse as his portion; that though

the wide universe is full of good, no kernel of nourishing corn can come to him but through his toil bestowed on that plot of ground which is given to him to till. The power which resides in him is new in nature, and none but he knows what that is which he can do, nor does he know until he has tried. Not for nothing one face, one character, one fact, makes much impression on him, and another none. It is not without preestablished harmony, this sculpture in the memory. The eye was placed where one ray should fall, that it might testify of that particular ray. Bravely let him speak the utmost syllable of his confession. We but half express ourselves, and are ashamed of that divine idea which each of us represents. It may be safely trusted as proportionate and of good issues, so it be faithfully imparted, but God will not have his work made manifest by cowards. It needs a divine man to exhibit anything divine. A man is relieved and gay when he has put his heart into his work and done his best; but what he has said or done otherwise shall give him no peace. It is a deliverance which does not deliver. In the attempt his genius deserts him; no muse befriends; no invention, no hope.

Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string. Accept the place the divine providence has found for you, the society of your contemporaries, the connexion of events. Great men have always done so, and confided themselves childlike to the genius of their age, betraying their perception that the Eternal was stirring at their heart, working through their hands, predominating in all their being. And we are now men, and must accept in the highest mind the same transcendent destiny; and not pinched in a corner, not cowards fleeing before a revolution, but redeemers and benefactors, pious aspirants to be noble clay under the Almighty effort let us advance on Chaos and the Dark...

These are the voices which we hear in solitude, but they grow faint and inaudible as we enter into the world. Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members. Society is a joint-stock company, in which the members agree, for the better securing of his bread to each shareholder, to surrender the liberty and culture of the eater. The virtue in most request is conformity. Self-reliance is its aversion. It loves not realities and creators, but names and customs.

Whoso would be a man, must be a nonconformist. He who would gather immortal palms must not be hindered by the name of goodness, but must explore if it be goodness. Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of our own mind. Absolve you to yourself, and you shall have the suffrage of the world. I remember an answer which when quite young I was prompted to make to a valued adviser who was wont to importune me with the dear old doctrines of the church. On my saying, What have I to do with the sacredness of traditions, if I live wholly from within. My friend suggested,--"But these impulses may be from below, not from above." I replied. "They do not seem to me to be such; but if I am the devil's child, I will live then from the devil." No law can be sacred to me but that of my nature. Good and bad are but names very readily transferable to that or this; the only right is that is after my constitution; the only wrong what is against it. A man is to carry himself in the presence of all opposition as if every thing were titular and ephemeral but he. I am ashamed to think how easily we capitulate to badges and names, to large societies and dead institutions. Every decent and well-spoken individual affects and sways me more than is right. I ought to go upright and vital, and speak the rude truth in all ways. . . .

What I must do is all that concerns me, not what the people think. This rule, equally arduous in actual and in intellectual life, may serve for the whole distinction between greatness and meanness. It is the harder because you will always find those who think they know what is your duty better than you know it. It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.

The objection to conforming to usages that have become dead to you is that it scatters your force. It loses your time and blurs the impression of your character. If you maintain a dead church, contribute to a dead Bible Society, vote with a great party either for the Government or against it, spread your table like base housekeepers,--under all these screens I have difficulty to detect the precise man you are. And of course so much force is withdrawn from your proper life. But do your thing, and I shall know you. Do your work, and you shall reinforce yourself. A man must consider what a blind man's-buff is this game of conformity. If I know your sect I anticipate your argument. I hear a preacher announce for his text and topic the expediency of one of the institutions of his church. Do I not know beforehand that not possibly can he say a new and spontaneous word.

. . . Well, most men have bound their eyes with one or another handkerchief, and attached themselves to some one of these communities of opinion. This conformity makes them not false in a few particulars, authors of a few lies, but false in all particulars. Their every truth is not quite true. Their two is not the real two, their four not the real four: so that every word they say chagrins us and we know not where to begin to set them right. Meantime nature is

not slow to equip us in the prison-uniform of the party to which we adhere. We come to wear one cut of face and figure, and acquire by degrees the gentlest asinine expression. There is a mortifying experience in particular, which does not fail to wreak itself also in the general history; I mean "the foolish face of praise," the forced smile which we put on in company where we do not feel at ease, in answer to conversation which does not interest us. The muscles, not spontaneously moved but moved by a low usurping wilfulness, grow tight about the outline of the face, and make the most disagreeable sensation; a sensation of rebuke and warning which no brave young man will suffer twice.

For nonconformity the world whips you with its displeasure. . . . It is easy enough for a firm man who knows the world to brook the rage of the cultivated classes. Their rage is decorous and prudent, for they are timid, as being very vulnerable themselves. But when to their feminine rage the indignation of the people is added, when the ignorant and the poor are aroused, when the unintelligent brute force that lies at the bottom of society is made to growl and mow, it needs the habit of magnanimity and religion to treat it godlike as a trifle of no concernment.

The other terror that scares us from self-trust is our consistency; a reverence for our past act or word because the eyes of others have no other data for computing our orbit than our past acts, and we are loath to disappoint them.

But why should you keep your head over your shoulder. Why drag about this monstrous corpse of your memory, lest you contradict somewhat you have stated in this or that public place. Suppose you should contradict yourself; what then. . . .

A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little

statesmen and philosophers and divines. With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do. He may as well concern himself with his shadow on the wall. Out upon your guarded lips! Sew them up with packthread, do. Else if you would be a man speak what you think to-day in words as hard as cannon balls, and to-morrow speak what tomorrow thinks in hard words again, though it contradict everything you said to-day. Ah, then, exclaim the aged ladies, you shall be sure to be misunderstood! Misunderstood! It is a right fool's word. Is it so bad then to be misunderstood. Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton, and every pure and wise spirit that ever took flesh. To be great is to be misunderstood. . . .

在老斯莫基山顶上

On Top of Old Smoky

《在老斯莫基山顶上》是一首民歌。它最早于十九世纪四十年代流行在具有英格兰、苏格兰和爱尔兰传统的移民中间，他们居住在阿巴拉契亚山脉南麓。老斯莫基山 是蓝岭山脉中的一座山峰，离北卡罗来纳州的阿什维尔不远。当西迁愈演愈烈的时候，那些先驱者们唱的就是这首歌。这首歌成了边疆最流行的歌曲之一，其著名之 程度远远超过了蓝岭山脉。多年来，它一直是美国最受人喜爱的民歌之一。

在老斯莫基山顶上， 覆盖着一片白雪， 我失去了我的爱人， 都怪我求爱不够迅捷。	On top of Old Smoky, All covered with snow, I lost my true lover For courtin' too slow.
--	--

<p>求爱倒是一件快事， 分手却叫人难过， 假心肠的爱人 比窃贼更可恶。</p> <p>窃贼仅仅打劫你， 掠夺你的财物， 可假心肠的爱人 却把你活活送进坟墓。</p> <p>她们搂你、吻你 说着一个又一个谎言， 多得超过铁路的枕木， 多得超过天上的繁星。</p> <p>在老斯莫斯山顶上， 覆盖着一片白雪， 我失去了我的爱人， 都怪我求爱不够迅捷。</p>	<p>Now courtin's a pleasure But partin' is grief, A false-hearted lover Is worse than a thief.</p> <p>A thief will just rob you And take what you have. But a false-hearted lover Will send you to the grave</p> <p>They'll hug you and kiss you And tell you more lies Than cross-ties on the railroad Or stars in the skies.</p> <p>On top of Old Smoky, All covered with snow, I lost my true lover For courtin' too slow.</p>
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哥伦比亚，大海上的明珠

Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean

这首爱国歌曲最早在 1843 年以《哥伦比亚，勇士之乡》为名发表。后来又以现在这个歌名重新发表。歌曲的作者未有定论。在第一版时，作者是大卫·T·肖。肖是一位演员兼歌手。1843 年，他首先在费城的切斯纳特街剧院演唱了这首歌曲。不过，演出的组织者托马斯·贝克特也声称是这首抒情歌曲的作者。肖与贝克特都是英国人后裔，在英国，同样这首歌曲却叫作《不列颠，大海的骄傲》。

谁也无法确切知道，这首歌是从哪一国传到另一国的。也许，肖与贝克特在大西洋两岸 演唱这首歌时，更改了歌词来迎合观众。

啊，哥伦比亚！大海的明珠， 你是勇士和自由民的故乡， 你是每个爱国者献身的圣坛 世人全都崇敬你！ 为了自由之政体， 你的呼唤，召集起英雄千千万； 你的旗帜令暴君颤栗， 把红、白、蓝的旗帜擎起！ 把红、白、蓝的旗帜擎起！ 把红、白、蓝的旗帜擎起！ 你的旗帜令暴君颤栗， 把红、白、蓝的旗帜擎起！ 当战争张开大毁灭的翅膀， 发出要摧残这片土地的咆哮， 这艘奠定自由的方舟， 载着哥伦比亚平安闯过风暴： 戴着胜利的桂冠， 骄傲地载着勇猛的水手， 她的旗帜在船前自豪地飘扬， 这是红、白、蓝的骄傲！ 这是红、白、蓝的骄傲， 这是红、白、蓝的骄傲， 她的旗帜在船前自豪地飘扬， 这是红、白、蓝的骄傲！	O Columbia! the gem of the ocean, The home of the brave and the free, The shrine of each patriot's devotion, A world offers homage to thee! Thy mandates make heroes assemble, When Liberty's form stands in view; Thy banners make tyranny tremble, When borne by the red, white, and blue! When borne by the red, white, and blue, When borne by the red, white, and blue, Thy banners make tyranny tremble, When borne by the red, white, and blue! When war wing'd its wide desolation, And threaten'd the land to deform, The ark then of freedom's foundation, Columbia rode safe thro' the storm; With her garlands of vict'ry around her, When so proudly she bore her brave crew, With her flag proudly floating before her, The boast of the red, white, and blue! The boast of the red, white, and blue, The boast of the red, white, and blue, With her flag proudly floating before her, The boast of the red, white, and blue!
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<p>星条旗将他们领到了这里， 愿它飘扬在哥伦比亚真正子孙的上空； 愿他们赢得的桂冠永不雕零， 愿旗帜的星光永在勇士头顶闪耀， 愿你联合起的队伍永远齐整， 永远保持他们本色纯正； 万岁！陆军！万岁！海军！ 为红、白、蓝欢呼、欢呼、再欢呼！ 为红、白、蓝欢呼、欢呼、再欢呼！ 为红、白、蓝欢呼、欢呼、再欢呼！ 万岁！陆军！万岁！海军！ 为红、白、蓝欢呼、欢呼、再欢呼！</p>	<p>The Star-Spangled Banner bring hither, O'er Columbia's true sons let it wave; May the wreathes they have won never wither, Nor its stars cease to shine on the brave. May thy service united ne'er sever, But hold to their colors so true; The Army and Navy forever! Three cheers for the red, white, and blue! Three cheers for the red, white, and blue, Three cheers for the red, white, and blue, The Army and Navy forever, Three cheers for the red, white, and blue!</p>
<p>亨利.沃兹沃思.朗费罗 (HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW)</p> <p>《生活的赞美诗》、《乡村铁匠》 和《保罗.里维尔骑马来》</p> <p>A Psalm of Life, The Village Blacksmith, Paul and Revere's Ride</p> <p>亨利.沃兹沃思.朗费罗(1807-1820)生在缅因州，毕业于鲍登学院，在马萨诸塞州的康桥度过他成年的大部份时间。作为一位诗人，他在一个二十世纪诗人所不知道的范围内极受欢迎。他的诗常常被印到学校的课本里。几代人以来，许多学童都能背诵《金星号沈没》、《保罗.里维尔骑马来》《伊万杰琳》、《哈瓦沙之歌》及其它朗费罗的诗歌的大部分诗句。任何一个学童听说一个朋友作了一首韵诗马上就会说：「你是一个诗人，你自己还不知道呢，可你的大脚表明</p>	

你是诗人：它们都是朗费罗！」《生活的赞美诗》和《乡村铁匠》发表于 1839 年；《保罗·里维尔骑马来》第一次发表于 1863 年，作为《路边客栈的故事》的一部份。这三首诗都被广泛地重印到教科书和诗集中。

生活的赞美诗

青年的心对赞美诗的作者说
不要以悲哀的韵律告诉我，

「生活只是一场空虚的梦！」
因为沈睡的灵魂是死的，
万物看似如此实非相同。生活
是真实的！生活是认真的！

生活的目标不是坟墓；
灵魂不是这样说，

「人本尘土，终归尘土」。享
乐和忧患，

不是我们预定的目标或道路；
只有行动使我们

一天比一天进步。艺术是漫长的，
时间在飞度，

尽管我们的心强健勇敢，
然而就像声音低沈的鼓，

正敲打着哀乐走向坟墓。在世
界广阔的战场，

在生活的军营，
不要做被人驱赶的蠢牛，

做一个斗争的英雄！不管未来
多美好，不要信赖它！

让死的过去埋葬死亡！
行动——在活生生的现在行

A Psalm of Life

WHAT THE HEART OF THE YOUNG
MAN SAID TO THE PSALMIST

Tell me not, in mournful numbers,
"Life is but an empty dream!"

For the soul is dead that slumbers,
And things are not what they seem

Life is real! Life is earnest!

And the grave is not its goal;

"Dust thou art, to dust returnest,"
Was not spoken of the soul.

Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
Is our destined end or way;

But to act, that each to-morrow
Finds us farther than to-day

Art is long, and Time is fleeting,
And our hearts, though stout and

brave,

Still, like muffled drums, are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.

In the world's broad field of battle,

In the bivouac of Life,

Be not like dumb, driven cattle!

Be a hero in the strife!

Trust no Future, howe'er pleasant!

<p>动！</p> <p>心在内，主在上！</p> <p>伟人们的一生提醒我们， 我们可使自己一生崇高， 我们离开时，在时间沙滩上， 留下我们的脚印。</p> <p>脚印，也许是另一个， 驶过生活庄严的大海， 一位翻了船的孤零兄弟， 见了脚印，就会再振作起来。</p> <p>那么让我们干起来吧， 做好迎接各种命运的准备； 我们仍在成功，仍在追求， 学会劳动，学会等待。</p>	<p>Let the dead Past bury its dead!</p> <p>Act,--act in the living Present!</p> <p>Heart within, and God o'erhead!</p> <p>Lives of great men all remind us</p> <p>We can make our lives sublime,</p> <p>And, departing, leave behind us</p> <p>Footprints on the sands of time;</p> <p>Footprints, that perhaps another,</p> <p>Sailing o'er life's solemn main,</p> <p>A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,</p> <p>Seeing, shall take heart again.</p> <p>Let us, then, be up and doing,</p> <p>With a heart for any fate;</p> <p>Still achieving, still pursuing,</p> <p>Learn to labour and to wait</p>
<p>乡村铁匠在一株繁茂的栗树下， 有家乡村铁匠铺。</p> <p>铁匠是个强壮的汉子， 一双大手真强壮； 在他雄健的胳膊上， 肌肉就像铁一样。他的头发是 卷曲的，又黑又长， 还有个赭色的脸庞； 他的眉毛浸透诚实的汗水 他挣他能挣的钱， 他敢面对整个世界， 因为他对谁也不欠账。一周又 一周，从早到晚，</p>	<p>The Village Blacksmith</p> <p>Under a spreading chestnut tree</p> <p>The village smithy stands;</p> <p>The smith, a mighty man is he,</p> <p>With large and sinewy hands;</p> <p>And the muscles of his brawny arms</p> <p>Are strong as iron bands.</p> <p>His hair is crisp, and black, and long,</p> <p>His face is like the tan;</p> <p>His brow is wet with honest sweat,</p> <p>He earns whate'er he can,</p> <p>And looks the whole world in the face,</p> <p>For he owes not any man.</p> <p>Week in, week out, from morn till</p>

你都能听见他的风箱在响，
你能听见他在挥动沉重的大锤，
缓慢而又节奏地敲打着，
就像在夕阳西下的时候，
乡村教堂的打锤人在敲钟一样。孩子们放学回家，
从敞开的门往里张望，
他们爱看冒着火焰的熔炉，
他们爱听吼着的风箱，
他们爱捉燃烧的火花，
那火花就像打谷场上谷壳带飞扬。星期天他到教堂去，
坐在他儿子们中央；
倾听牧师的祈祷和传道，
倾听他的女儿，
在乡村唱诗班里唱歌的声音，
这使他心情舒畅。他觉得他女儿的歌声，
就像是她母亲在天堂里歌唱。
他一定又想起她了，
不知她在坟墓休息得怎样，
于是他用粗硬的手，
抹去眼里的泪光。
劳累——欢乐——悲伤
一生中他努力向上，
每天早晨他看着工作开始，
每天晚上又看着它结束；
有的工作计划，有的工作完成

night,
You can hear his bellows blow;
You can hear him swing his heavy sledge,
With measured beat and slow.
Like a sexton ringing the village bell,
When the evening sun is low.
And children coming home from school
Look in at the open door;
They love to see the flaming forge.
And hear the bellows roar,
And catch the burning sparks that fly
Like chaff from a threshing floor.
He goes on Sunday to the church,
And sits among his boys;
He hears the parson pray and preach,
He hears his daughter's voice,
Singing in the village choir,
And it makes his heart rejoice.
It sounds to him like her mother's voice,
Singing in Paradise!
He needs must think of her once more,
How in the grave she lies;
And with his hard, rough hand he wipes
A tear out of his eyes.
Toiling.--rejoicing,--sorrowing

<p>了， 然后他得到了一夜的安详。 多谢，多谢你，我珍贵的朋友， 谢谢你给我上了一课！ 带这样冒着火焰的人生熔炉里， 一定可以炼出我们的财富； 这样铿锵作响的铁砧上， 便可造就出每个火红的事业和思想！</p>	<p>Onward through life he goes: Each morning sees some task begin, Each evening sees it close; Something attempted, something done, Has earned a night's repose. Thanks. thanks to thee, my worthy friend, For the lesson thou hast taught! Thus at the flaming forge of life Our fortunes must be wrought; Thus on its sounding anvil shaped Each burning deed and thought!</p>
<p>保罗·里维尔骑马来听，孩子们，你们会听到， 保罗·里维尔夜半骑马来， 七五年四月十八日： 现在活着的人几乎没有一个能记住这个著名的日子和年代。他对朋友说，「如果今夜英国人 从城里由海上或陆路向我们进攻， 就在北教堂楼顶的钟塔拱门上， 挂起灯笼作为信号灯—— 如果由陆路来，挂一盏， 如果由海上来，挂两盏， 我在对岸会作好准备，</p>	<p>Paul Revere's Ride Listen, my children, and you shall hear Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere, On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five; Hardly a man is now alive Who remembers that famous day and year. He said to his friend, "If the British march By land or sea from the town tonight, Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch Of the North Church tower as a signal light,-- One, if by land, and two, if by sea; And I on the opposite shore will be,</p>

骑马传播警报声，
传到米德尔塞克斯的每一个
村庄和农场，
让同胞们起来并配上武器。」
然后他说，「晚安！」
拿起布包的桨悄悄划到查尔
斯敦岸边，
就在这时月亮从海湾升起，
在海湾的停泊处激烈起浮的
是英国萨默塞特号军舰，
这是一艘鬼船，每根桅杆和橦
就像是监狱的横杆拦住月亮，
她是一个巨大的黑块，
随她自己在海潮里的倒影而
膨胀。与此同时，他的朋友穿
过大街小巷，
四处走动，竖起耳朵急切地监
视着，
直至在周围万籁俱寂中，他听
到
士兵在兵营门口集中的声响。
武器声，脚步声，士兵们踏着
整齐的脚步，
挺进到岸边船队的近旁。然后
他爬到老北教堂的塔楼上边，
顺着木楼梯，蹑手蹑脚地
走到上面的钟塔里
栖息在暗色椽木上的鸽子
被惊飞了，在他周围乱成一

Ready to ride and spread the alarm
Through every Middlesex village and
farm,
For the country folk to be up and to
arm."
Then he said, "Good night!" and with
muffled oar
Silently rowed to
the Charlestown shore,
Just as the moon rose over the bay,
Where swinging wide at her moorings
lay
The Somerset, British man-of-war;
A phantom ship, with each mast and
spar
Across the moon like a prison bar,
And a huge black hulk, that was
magnified
By its own reflection in the tide.
Meanwhile, his friend, through alley
and street,
Wanders and watches with eager ears,
Till in the silence around him he hears
The muster of men at the barrack
door,
The sound of arms, and the tramp of
feet,
And the measured tread of the
grenadiers,

片，
只见影子在飞动，
顺着摇摇晃晃，又高又陡的楼梯，
他爬到墙上最高的窗户，
在那里他停下倾听并朝下看，
看一会全城屋顶，
看着月光将全城洒遍。底下，
教堂墓地里躺着死人，
还有山岗上他们的军营，
四周万籁俱寂，静止不动，
使他可以听到警觉的夜风
像是踏着哨兵的脚步，
偷偷地从一个帐篷走到另一个帐篷，
似乎在悄悄地说，「平安无事！」
那一刻只有他感觉到时间和地点的魔力，
感觉到孤独的塔楼和死人暗藏的恐惧，
因为突然间他的思想
全部集中到远方的一个影子上，
那是在河道变宽与海湾相接的地方，
在上涨的潮水里，一条黑线在飘浮，
就像是一座船搭的桥梁。这时

Marching down to their boats on the shore.
Then he climbed the tower of the Old North Church,
By the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,
To the belfry-chamber overhead,
And startled the pigeons from their perch
On the somber rafters, that round him made
Masses and moving shapes of shade, --
By the trembling ladder, steep and tall,
To the highest window in the wall,
Where he paused to listen and look down
A moment on the roofs of the town,
And the moonlight flowing over all.
Beneath, in the churchyard, lay the dead,
In their night-encampment on the hill,
Wrapped in silence so deep and still
That he could hear, like a sentinel's tread,
The watchful night-wind, as it went
Creeping along from tent to tent,
And seeming to whisper, "All is well!"
A moment only he feels the spell
Of the place and the hour, and the

在对岸的保罗.里维尔，
急忙上马，穿着马靴套着马刺，
踏着沉重的步伐走着，
时而他拍拍马侧，
时而盯着远近的山水，
然后猛地在地面一踩，
转身收紧马的腹带，
但他主要还是急切地监视着
老北教堂的钟楼，
钟楼高耸在山岗的墓地上头
孤独，静止，昏暗，就像是幽灵。

瞧！他看到塔楼顶上
一丝光线，接着是一线光！
他跃到鞍上转过马勒，
但他只是徘徊注视着，
直至完全看到塔楼里燃起第二盏灯。

在乡村的街道上马蹄匆匆
月光下一个身影，黑暗中一团东西，
底下一匹骏马无畏而轻快地
飞驰而去
在鹅卵石上将火星燃起，
没办法了！可是，那天晚上国家的命运
却骑着马穿过黑暗见到光明，
那飞驰的骏马踢出的火星，

secret dread

Of the lonely belfry and the dead;
For suddenly all his thoughts are bent
On a shadowy- something far away,
Where the river widens to meet the bay,-

A line of black that bends and floats
On the rising tide, like a bridge of boats.

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride,
Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride

On the opposite shore walked Paul
Revere.

Now he patted his horse's side,
Now gazed at the landscape far and near,

Then, impetuous, stamped the earth,
And turned and tightened his saddle-girth;

But mostly he watched with eager search

The belfry-tower of the Old North Church,

As it rose above the graves on the hill,
Lonely and spectral and somber and still.

And lo! as he looks, on the belfry's

其热量足以使火焰燃遍这片土地。

他离开了村子，登上陡坡，
在他下面，梅斯蒂克河与海潮
汇合，
幽深的水面，寂静，宽阔，
在那些环绕河边的赤杨树下，
可听到他的坐骑马蹄的的，
时而轻轻踏在沙滩上，
时而在礁石上作响。

村里的钟已敲十二点，
这时他过桥进入麦得福德城
围，
他听到钟在叮当，
他听到农夫的狗在吠，
太阳下山之后，
他可感觉到河上薄雾的湿气，
村里的钟敲到了一点，
这时他飞驰进入列克星敦地
区。

当他经过时，看到镀金的风信
鸡
在月光里转来转去，
会议室的窗户，空空荡荡，
紧盯着他射出幽灵般的光芒，
面对即在担负的血腥的工作
它们似乎已经吓得发呆。
村里的钟敲到两响，
这时他来到康科德城的桥上，

height

A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!

He springs to the saddle, the bridle he
turns,

But lingers and gazes, till full on his
sight

A second lamp in the belfry burns!

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,

A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the
dark,

And beneath, from the pebbles, in
passing, a spark

Struck out by a steed flying fearless
and fleet;

That was all! And yet, through the
gloom and the light

The fate of a nation was riding that
night;

And the spark struck out by that steed
in his flight,

Kindled the land into flame with its
heat.

He has left the village and mounted
the steep,

And beneath him, tranquil and broad
and deep,

Is the Mystic, meeting the ocean tides;

And under the alders, that skirt its
edge,

他听到羊群的叫声
和树间的鸟鸣，
晨风吹过枯黄的草地，
他感到了风的气息，
他本可安睡在自己的床上，
可他现在可能在桥边第一个
倒下，
他可能被英国人的火枪子弹
穿透，
就在那天躺下死去。
你们知道后来发生的事。
在你们读过的书里，
你知道英国正规军是如何开
火和逃命的，
农夫们从每一堵篱笆后，
从每一个农院的墙后，
以子弹将他们的子弹还击
他们把英军士兵赶进小巷，
接着又越过田野重新出现，
在路边拐弯处的树下，
他们停火和装弹药。
保罗·里维尔一整夜都这样骑
着马跑，
一整夜都能听到他的喊叫，
喊遍每个米德尔塞克斯的村
庄和农场，
那是蔑视的喊声，不是害怕的
呼号，
那是黑暗中的声音，是敲门的

Now soft on the sand, now loud on the
ledge,
Is heard the tramp of his steed as he
rides.
It was twelve by the village clock
When he crossed the bridge into
Medford town.
He heard the crowing of the cock,
And the barking of the farmer's dog,
And felt the damp of the river fog,
That rises after the sun goes down.
It was one by the village clock,
When he galloped into Lexington.
He saw the gilded weathercock
Swim in the moonlight as he passed,
And the meeting-house windows,
blank and bare,
Gaze at him with a spectral glare,
As if they already stood aghast
At the bloody work they would look
upon.
It was two by the village clock,
When he came to the bridge in
Concord town
He heard the bleating of the flock,
And the twitter of birds among the
trees,
And felt the breath of the morning
breeze

声音，
那是一个将永远产生共鸣的
词！
因为过去的夜风载着这个词，
经历过我们的全部历史直至
最后时辰，
在黑暗中，在危险时，在需要
时，
人们就醒来倾听那骏马匆匆
的马蹄声
和保罗·里维尔夜半的报信。

Blowing over the meadows brown.
And one was safe and asleep in his bed
Who at the bridge -would be first to
fall,
Who that day would be lying dead,
Pierced by a British musket-ball.
You know the rest. In the books you
have read,
How the British Regulars fired and
fled,--
How the farmers gave them ball for
ball,
From behind each fence and farmyard
wall,
Chasing the redcoats down the lane,
Then crossing the fields to emerge
again
Under the trees at the turn of the road.
And only pausing to fire and load.
So through the night rode Paul
Revere;
And so through the night went his cry
of alarm
To every Middlesex village and farm,--
A cry of defiance, and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the
door,
And a word that shall echo
forevermore!

	For, borne on the night-wind of the Past, Through all our history, to the last, In the hour of darkness and peril and need, The people will waken and listen to hear The hurrying hoofbeats of that steed, And the midnight message of Paul Revere.
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亨利.大卫.梭罗

(HENRY DAVID THOREAU)

论公民的不服从

Civil Disobedience

在一个监禁正义之士的政府统治之下，正义之士的真正栖身之地也就是监狱。

亨利.大卫.梭罗(1817－1862)是位杂文家、诗人、自然主义者、改革家和哲学家。他出生在马萨诸塞州的康科德，毕业于哈佛大学。在担任了数年小学校长之后，梭罗决定以作诗和论述自然作为他终生的事业。他是拉尔夫.沃尔多.爱默生的信徒，是先验主义运动的一位领袖。与浪漫主义和改革结合在一起的先验主义推崇感觉和直觉胜过理智，宣扬个人主义和内在的心声——完整和自然的聲音。

梭罗零打碎敲的以文谋生的努力几乎从未给他带来什么稿酬。他发表的作品销路不佳，便不时在家中的小铅笔厂里工作。1845 年，时年二十八岁的他，下决心撇开金钱的羁绊，在征得爱默生的同意后，在爱默生拥有的离康科德二英里的沃顿塘上建了一座小屋。

1846 年 7 月，梭罗居住在沃顿塘时，当地的警官找他，叫他支付投票税，尽管他已经数年未行使这个权利了。梭罗拒绝支付税款。当夜，警官把他关在康

科德的监狱里。第二天，一位未透露身份的人士——可能是梭罗的姨母支付了税款，他便获释了。不过，他表明了他的观点：他不能向一个容许奴隶制并且对墨西哥发动帝国主义战争的政府交税。他准备了一份解释自己行动的演说稿，并于 1849 年发表了这篇演说稿。当时，这篇文章没有引起什么反响。但是到了十九世纪末，这篇文章却成了经典之作，在国际上出现了一批追随者。列夫·托尔斯泰在 1900 年读到这篇文章，对它崇拜不已。圣雄·甘地在南非当律师时，宣读这篇文章为触犯了种族歧视法规的印度人辩护。甘地深受梭罗的影响，成了一位终生非暴力反抗和消极抵制非正义权势的典范。通过甘地，梭罗的主张变成了政治活动的工具。后来在二十世纪，年轻的小马丁·路德·金也深受甘地的影响，梭罗的主张便在美国民权运动的思想基础中得到了新生。

我由衷地同意这个警句——「最好的政府是管得最少的政府」。我希望看到这个警句迅速而且系统地得到实施。我相信，实施后，其最终结果将是——「最好的政府是根本不进行治理的政府」。当人们做好准备之后，这样的政府就是他们愿意接受的政府，政府充其量不过是一种权宜之计，而大部分政府，有时所有的政府却都是不得计的。对设置常备军的反对意见很多、很强烈，而且理应占主导地位，它们最终可能转变成反对常设政府。常备军队不过是常设政府的一支胳膊。政府本身也只不过是人民选择来行使他们意志的形式，在人民还来不及通过它来运作之前，它同样也很容易被滥用或误用，看看当前的墨西哥战争，它是少数几个人将常设政府当作工具的结果，因为，从一开始，人民本来就不同意采取这种作法。

目前这个美国政府——它不过是一种传统，尽管其历史还不久，但却竭力使自己原封不动地届届相传，可是每届却都丧失掉一些自身的诚实和正直。它的活力和气力还顶不上一个活人，因为一个人就能随心所欲地摆布它。对于人民来说，政府是支木头枪。倘若人们真要使用它互相厮杀，它就注定要开裂。不过，尽管如此，它却仍然是必不可少的，因为人们需要某种复杂机器之类的玩意儿，需要听它发出的噪音，藉此满足他们对于政府之理念的要求。于是，政府的存在表明了，为了人民的利益，可以如何成功地利用、欺骗人民，甚至可以使人民利用、欺骗自己。我们大家都必须承认，这真了不起。不过，这种政府从未

主动地促进过任何事业，它只是欣然地超脱其外。它未捍卫国家的自由。它未解决西部问题。它未从事教育。迄今，所有的成就全都是由美国人民的传统性格完成的，而且，假如政府不曾从中作梗的话，本来还会取得更大的成就。因为政府是一种权宜之计，通过它人们可以欣然彼此不来往；而且，如上所述，最便利的政府也就是最不搭理被治理的人民的政府，商业贸易假如不是用印度橡胶制成的话，绝无可能跃过议员们没完没了地设置下的路障；倘若完全以议员们行动的效果，而不是以他们行动的意图来评价的话，那么他们就理所当然地应当被视作如同在铁路上设路障捣蛋的人，并受到相应的惩罚。

但是，现实地以一个公民的身份来说，我不像那些自称是无政府主义的人，我要求的不是立即取消政府，而是立即要有个好一些政府。让每一个人都表明能赢得他尊敬的是什么样的政府，这样，也就为赢得这种政府迈出了一步。到头来，当权力掌握在人民手中的时候，多数派将有权统治，而且继续长期统治，其实际原因不是因为他们极可能是正义的，也不是因为这在少数派看来是最公正的，而是因为他们物质上是最强大的。但是，一个由多数派作出所有决定的政府，是不可能建立在正义之上的，即使在人们对其所了解的意义上都办不到。在一个政府中，如果对公正与谬误真正作出决定的不是多数派而是良知，如果多数派仅仅针对那些可以运用便利法则解决的问题做出决定，难道是不可能的吗？公民必须，哪怕是暂时地或最低限度地把自己的良知托付给议员吗？那么，为什么每个人还都有良知呢？我认为，我们首先必须做人，其后才是臣民。培养人们像尊重正义一样尊重法律是不可取的。我有权承担的唯一义务是不论何时都从事我认为是正义的事。……

那么一个人应当怎样对待当今的美国政府呢？我的回答是，与其交往有辱人格。我绝对不能承认作为奴隶制政府的一个政治机构是我的政府。

人人都承认革命的权利，即当政府是暴政或政府过于无能令人无法忍受的时候，有权拒绝为其效忠，并抵制它的权利。但是，几乎所有人都说，现在的情况并非如此。他们认为，1775年的情况才是如此。如果有人对我说，这个政府很糟糕，它对运抵口岸的某些外国货课税。我极有可能会无动于衷，因为没有这些外国货，我照样能过日子。所有的机器都免不了产生摩擦，但是这也许却具有抵消弊端的好处。不管怎么说，为此兴师动众是大错特错的。可是，如

果摩擦控制了整个机器，并进行有组织的欺压与掠夺，那么，就让我们扔掉这部机器吧。换句话说，如果在一个被认为是自由的庇护所的国家里，人口的六分之一是奴隶，如果整个国家任由一个外国军队蹂躏、征服，并被置于军管之下，那么，我认为，诚实的人都应立刻奋起反抗、革命。使这个责任变得更加迫切的是，这个被如此蹂躏的国家不是我国，恰恰相反，我们的军队却正是入侵的军队.....

事实上，反对麻塞诸塞州改革的人不是南方的万把政客，而是这儿的千千万万商人和农场主，他们更感兴趣的是他们的商业和农业，而不是他们属于人类这个事实。不论花费什么代价，他们都不打算公平对待奴隶和墨西哥。我要与之争论的敌人，不是远在天涯，而是那些就在我们周围的敌人。他们与远方的敌人合作，按照他们的旨意办事。要不是这些人的话，远方的敌人不会为害。我们习惯于说，群众还未做好准备。可是情况的改善是缓慢的，因为这些少数人实质上并不比多数人高明多少或好多少。在某处树立某种绝对的善，比起让许多人都像你这么好更重要。因为绝对的善将像酵母一样影响整体。在成千上万人具有反对奴隶制、反对战争的观点，但实际上却未做任何事情来结束奴隶制和战争。他们自以为是华盛顿和弗兰克林的子孙，却是两手插在裤兜里，坐在那儿，借口不知道该做些什么，而无所事事，他们甚至优先考虑自由贸易问题，而不是事关自由的问题。饭后，他们安然地同时阅读时价表和来自墨西哥的消息，也许，读者读着便睡着了.....

美国人已经蜕变成奇怪的家伙——以爱交际的器官发达而著称，同时又显示出智力低下的沾沾自喜。在世界上，他最最关心的是确保救济院情况良好；他还未披上合法的外衣，便四下募捐以扶助孤寡，尽管这些孤寡眼下还不是孤寡。总之，他冒险光靠互助保险公司的资助过日子，而该公司已经答应为他体面地安葬.....

不公正的法律仍然存在：我们必须心甘情愿地服从这些法律，还是努力去修正它们、服从它们直至我们取得成功，或是立刻粉碎它们呢？在当前这种政府统治下，人们普遍认为应等待，直到说服大多数人去改变它们。人们认为，如果他们抵制的话，这样修正的结果将比原来的谬误更糟。不过，如果修正的结果真比原来的谬误更糟的话；那是政府的过错，是政府使其变得更糟的。为什么

政府不善于预见改革并为其提供机会呢？为什么政府不珍惜少数派的智慧呢.为什么政府不见棺材不落泪呢.为什么政府不鼓励老百姓提高警惕，为政府指出错误而避免犯错误呢.为什么政府总是把基督钉在十字架上，把哥白尼和路德逐出教会，并指责华盛顿和富兰克林是叛乱分子呢.」 ...

如果不公正是政府机器必然产生的磨擦的一部分，那么就让它去吧，让它去吧：也许它会磨合好的。——不过，毫无疑义，机器终将被彻底磨损掉的。如果不公正的那部分有其独自の弹簧滑轮、绳索，或者曲柄，那么你可能会考虑修正的结果会不会比原来的谬误更糟；但是，如果不公正的那部分的本质要求你以其人之道还治其人之身时，那我说就别管这法规了。以你的生命作为反磨擦的机制来制止这部机器吧。我不得不做的是，无论如何都要确保我不为我所唾弃的谬误效劳。

至于采纳州政府业已提出的修正谬误的方法，我听都没听过。那些方法太费时日，不等它们奏效，已经命赴黄泉了。我还有别的事要干。我到这世上来主要不是为了把这世界变成个过日子的地方。而是到这世上来过日子，不管它是好日子还是坏日子。一个人办不了每一件事，但是可以有些事。正因为他不必样样事情都要做，所以他也不一定非做出什么错事来。州长和议员们用不着向我请愿，我也犯不着向他们请愿。如果他们不听从我的请愿，那么我该怎么办呢？如果事到如此，州政府也就自绝其路了：其宪法本身也就是谬误的了。这似乎显得粗暴、顽固和毫无调和之意。但是，最温和、最体贴的作法，只适用于能够欣赏它，并能够配得上它的人；一切能使情况好转的变迁都是如此，正如振撼整个人体的生与死一样。

我毫无反顾地认为，凡是自称废奴主义者的人都必须立刻撤回对麻塞诸塞州政府的人力和财力的支援，不必等到废奴主义者在政府中形成多数，不必等到他们让正义通过他们占了上风才动手。我认为，如果有上帝站在他们一边的话，就足够了，不必再等另一个了。况且，任何人只要比周围的人更正义一些，也就构成了一人的多数.....

在一个监禁正义之士的政府统治之下，正义之士的真正栖身之地也就是监狱。当今麻塞诸塞州为自由和奋发图强之士提供的唯一妥当的处所，是监狱。在狱中，他们为州政府的行径而烦恼，被禁钢在政治生活之外，因为他们的原则已

经给他们带来麻烦了。逃亡的奴隶，被假释的墨西哥囚犯和申诉白人犯下的罪孽的印第安人可以在监狱里找到他们，在那个与世隔绝，但却更自由、更尊严的地方找到他们。那是州政府安置不顺其道的叛逆者的地方，是蓄奴制州里一个自由人唯一能够骄傲地居住的地方。如果有人以为他们的影响会消失在监狱里，他们的呼声不再能传到政府的耳朵里，他们无法在囹圄四壁之内与政府为敌，那么他们就弄错了。真理比谬误强大得多，一位对非正义有了一点亲身体验的人在与非正义斗争时会雄辩有力得多。投下你的一票，那不仅仅是一张纸条，而是你的全部影响。当少数与多数保持一致时，少数是无足轻重的，它甚至算不上是少数；但是当少数以自身的重量凝聚在一起时，便不可抗拒。要么把所有正直的人都投入监狱，要么放弃战争与奴隶制，如果要在二者之间做出选择的话，州政府会毫不犹豫地做出选择。如果今年有一千人不交税，那不是暴烈、血腥的举动，但是若交税则不然。那是使政府得以施展暴行，让无辜的人流血。事实上，这正是和平革命的定义，如果和平革命是可能的话。如果税务官或其他政府官员问我，正如有位官员问我的那样，「那么，我怎么办呢。」我的回答是，「如果你真希望做什么的话，那你就辞职。」如果臣民拒绝效忠，官员辞职，那么革命就成功了。即使假定这会导致流血的话，难道当良心受到伤害的时候就不流血吗，从良心的创伤里流出的是人的气概和永生，将使他永世沈沦于死亡之中。此时此刻，我就看到这种流血.....

我已经六年未交投票税了。我还一度为此进过监狱，关了一夜。当我站在牢房里，打量着牢固的石壁，那石壁足有二、三尺厚，铁木结构的门有一尺厚，还有那滤光的铁栅栏。我不由地对当局的愚昧颇有感独。他们对待我，就好像我不过是可以禁锢起来的血肉之躯。我想，当局最终应当得出这么个结论：监禁是它处置我的最好办法，而且我还从未想到我还能对它有什么用处。我知道，如果说我与乡亲之间挡着堵石墙的话，那么他们若想要获得我这种自由的话，他们还得爬过或打破一堵比这石墙更难对付的墙才行。我一刻也不觉得自己是被囚禁着。这墙看来是浪费了太多的石头和灰泥了。我觉得，似乎所有公民中，只有我付清了税款。他们显然不知道怎样对付我，他们的举止就像些没教养的人。他们的威胁恭维，样样都显得荒唐可笑。他们以为我惦记的是挪到这堵墙的另一边。我不禁觉得好笑，我在沈思时，他们却煞有介事地锁起牢门，全

然不知我的思绪就跟在他们身后出了牢房，丝毫不受任何阻碍，而他们自己才真正是危险的。他们既然奈何不了我，便打定主意惩罚我的身躯，就像群顽童，无法惩罚他们憎恨的人，就冲他的狗撒野。我看，州政府是个傻子，如同一位揣着银匙的孤女，怯生生的，连自己的朋友和敌人都分不出来。我已经对它失去了所有的敬意，我可怜它。

州政府从未打算正视一个人的智慧或道德观念，而仅仅着眼于他的躯体和感官。它不是以优越的智慧或坦诚，而是以优越的体力来武装自己。我不是生来让人支使的。我要按照我自己的方式来生活。让我们来看看谁是最强者。什么力量能产生效果.他们只能强迫却无法使我顺从。因为我只听命于优越于我的法则。他们要迫使我成为像他们那样的人。我还不曾听说过，有人被众人逼迫着这样生活或那样生活。那会是什么样的生活呢.当我遇到的政府对我说：「把你的钱给我，不然就要你的命！我为什么要忙着给它钱呢.那政府可能处境窘迫不堪，而且不知所措。我不能帮它的忙。它必须像我一样，自己想办法。不值得为这样的政府哭哭啼啼。我的职责不是让社会机器运转良好。我不是工程师的儿子。我认为，当橡果和栗子并排从树上掉下来时，它们不是毫无生气地彼此谦让，而是彼此遵循各自的法则，发芽、生长，尽可能长得茂盛。也许直到有一天，其中的一棵超过另一棵，并且毁了它。如果植物不能按自己的本性生长，那么它就将死亡，人也一样.....

我不想同任何人或国家争吵。我不想钻牛角尖或自我标榜比旁人强。我倒倾向于认为，我寻求的是遵守我国的法则的理由。我是太容易遵守这些法则了。我完全有理由怀疑我有这毛病。每年，当税务官造访时，我总是忙着回顾国家与州政府的法令和主张，回顾人民的态度，以便找到个遵命的理由。我相信州政府很快就能免除我的这类操劳，那么我简直就同其他国民一样爱国了。从较低层次的角度看，宪法尽管有缺点，但还是非常好的。法律和法庭是非常令人尊敬的，甚至这个州政府和这个美国政府在许多方面也是非常令人敬佩、非常难得可贵、令人感激的，对此人们已经大加描述过了。但是，如果从稍高层次的角度看，它们就不过是我所描绘的那个样子。如果从更高或最高层次的角度看，那么有谁会说什么玩意儿，或者会认为它们还配让人瞧上一眼，或者值得让人考虑考虑呢。

不过，政府同我没多大关系，我尽可能不考虑它。我不常生活在政府之下，我甚至不常生活在这个世界上。如果一个人思想自由，幻想自由，想象自由，那么不自由的东西在他看来就绝不会长期存在。愚蠢的统治或改良者们不可能彻底妨碍他

政府的权威，即使是我愿意服从的权威——因为我乐于服从那些比我渊博、比我能干的人，并且在许多事情上，我甚至乐于服从那些不是那么渊博，也不是那么能干的人——这种权威也还是不纯正的权威：从严格、正义的意义上讲，权威必须获得被治理者的认可或赞成才行。除非我同意，否则它无权对我的身心和财产行使权力。从极权君主制到限权君主制，从限权君主制到民主制的进步是朝着真正尊重个人的方向的进步。民主，如同我们所知道的民主，就是政府进步的尽头了吗.不可能进一步承认和组织人的权利了吗.除非国家承认个人是更高的、独立的权力，而且国家的权力和权威是来自于个人的权力，并且在对待个人方面采取相应的措施；否则就绝对不会有真正自由开明的国家。我乐于想象国家的最终形武，它将公正地对待所有的人，尊重个人就像尊重邻居一样。如果有人履行了邻居和同胞的职责，但却退避三舍，冷眼旁观，不为其所容纳的话，它就寝食不安。如果，一个国家能够结出这样的果实，并且听其尽快果熟蒂落的话，那么它就为建成更加完美、更加辉煌的国家铺平了道路。那是我想象到，却在任何地方都不曾看到的国家。

Civil Disobedience

I heartily accept the motto--"That government is best which governs least;" and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe,--"That government is best which governs not at all;" and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. The objections which have been brought against a standing army, and they are many and weighty, and deserve to

prevail, may also at last be brought against a standing government. The standing army is only an arm of the standing government. The government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, is equally liable to be abused and perverted before the people can act through it. Witness the present Mexican war, the work of comparatively a few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure.

This American government,--what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavoring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instant losing some of its integrity. It has not the vitality and force of a single living man; for a single man can bend it to his will. It is a sort of wooden gun to the people themselves; and, if ever they should use it in earnest as a real one against each other, it will surely split. But it is not the less necessary for this; for the people must have some complicated machinery or other, and hear its din, to satisfy that idea of government which they have. Governments show thus how successfully men can be imposed on, even impose on themselves, for their own advantage. It is excellent, we must all allow; yet this government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. It does not keep the country free. It does not settle the West. It does not educate. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished; and it would have done somewhat more, if the government had not sometimes got in its way. For government is an expedient by which men would fain succeed in letting one another alone; and, as has been said, when it is most expedient, the governed are most let alone by it. Trade and commerce, if they were not made of India rubber, would never manage to bounce over the

obstacles which legislators are continually putting in their way; and, if one were to judge these men wholly by the effects of their actions, and not partly by their intentions, they would deserve to be classed and punished with those mischievous persons who put obstructions on the railroads.

But, to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but at once a better government. Let every man make known what kind of government would command his respect, and that will be one step toward obtaining it.

After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long period continue, to rule, is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice. even as far as men understand it. Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong, but conscience.--in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable. Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator. Why has every man a conscience, then. I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume, is to do at any time what I think right....

How does it become a man to behave toward this American government to-day. I answer that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it. I cannot for an instant recognize that political

organization as my government which is the **slave's** government also.

All men recognize the right of revolution; that is. the right to refuse allegiance to and to resist the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable. But almost all say that such is not the case now. But such was the case, they think, in the Revolution of '75. If one were to tell me that this was a bad government because it taxed certain foreign commodities brought to its ports, it is most probable that I should not make an ado about it, for I can do without them; all machines have their friction; and possibly this does enough good to counterbalance the evil. At any rate, it is a great evil to make a stir about it. But when the friction comes to have its machine, and oppression and robbery are organized, I say, let us not have such a machine any longer. In other words, when a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty are slaves, and a whole country is unjustly overrun and conquered by a foreign army, and subject to military law, I think that it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize. What makes this duty the more urgent is the fact, that the country so overrun is not our own, but ours is the invading army. . . .

Practically speaking, the opponents to a reform in Massachusetts are not a hundred thousand politicians at the South, but a hundred thousand merchants and farmers here, who are more interested in commerce and agriculture than they are in humanity, and are not prepared to do justice to the slave and to Mexico, cost what it may. I quarrel not with far-off foes, but with those who, near at home, co-operate with, and do the bidding of those far away, and without whom the latter would be harmless. We

are accustomed to say, that the mass of men are unprepared; but improvement is slow, because the few are not materially wiser or better than the many. It is not so important that many should be as good as you, as that there be some absolute goodness somewhere; for that will leaven the whole lump. There are thousands who are in opinion opposed to slavery and to the war, who yet in effect do nothing to put an end to them; who, esteeming themselves children of Washington and Franklin, sit down with their hands in their pockets, and say that they know not what to do, and do nothing; who even postpone the question of freedom to the question of free-trade, and quietly read the prices current along with the latest advices from Mexico, after dinner, and, it may be, fall asleep over them both. . . .

The American has dwindled into an Odd Fellow,--one who may be known by the development of his organ of gregariousness, and a manifest lack of intellect and cheerful self-reliance; whose first and chief concern, on coming into the world, is to see that the alms-houses are in good repair; and, before yet he has lawfully donned the virile garb, to collect a fund for the support of the widows and orphans that may be; who, in short, ventures to live only by the aid of the mutual insurance company, which has promised to bury him decently. . . .

Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once. Men generally, under such a government as this, think that they ought to wait until they have persuaded the majority to alter them. They think that, if they should resist, the remedy would be worse than the evil. But it is the fault of the government itself that the remedy is worse than the evil. It

makes it worse. Why is it not more apt to anticipate and provide for reform. Why does it not cherish its wise minority. Why does it cry and resist before it is hurt. Why does it not encourage its citizens to be on the alert to point out its faults, and do better than it would have them. Why does it always crucify Christ, and excommunicate Copernicus and Luther, and pronounce Washington and Franklin rebels. ...

If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go: perchance it will wear smooth,--certainly the machine will wear out. If the injustice has a spring, or a pulley, or a rope, or a crank, exclusively for itself, then perhaps you may consider whether the remedy will not be worse than the evil; but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine. What I have to do is to see, at any rate, that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn.

As for adopting the ways which the State has provided for remedying the evil, I know not of such ways. They take too much time, and a man's life will be gone. I have other affairs to attend to. I came into this world, not chiefly to make this a good place to live, but to live in it, be it good or bad. A man has not everything to do, but something; and because he cannot do every thing, it is not necessary that he should do something wrong. It is not my business to be petitioning the governor or the legislature any more than it is theirs to petition me; and if they should not hear my petition, what should I do then. But in this case the State has provided no way: its very Constitution is the evil. This may seem to be harsh and stubborn and unconciliatory; but it is to treat with the utmost

kindness and consideration the only spirit that can appreciate or deserves it. So is all change for the better, like birth and death which convulse the body.

I do not hesitate to say, that those who call themselves abolitionists should at once effectually withdraw their support, both in person and property, from the government of Massachusetts, and not wait till they constitute a majority of one, before they suffer the right to prevail through them, I think that it is enough if they have God on their side, without waiting for that other one. Moreover, any man more right than his neighbors constitutes a majority of one already....

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also in prison. The proper place to-day, the only place which Massachusetts has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons, to be put out and locked out of the State by her own act, as they have already put themselves out by their principles. It is there that the fugitive slave, and the Mexican prisoner on parole, and the Indian come to plead the wrongs of his race, should find them; on that separate, but more free and honorable ground, where the State places those who are not with her, but against her,--the only house in a slave-state in which a free man can abide with honor. If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer afflict the ear of the State, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person. Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence. A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority

then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight. If the alternative is to keep all just men in prison, or give up -war and slavery, the State will not hesitate which to choose. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood. This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceable revolution, if any such is possible. If the tax-gatherer, or any other public officer, asks me, as one has done, "But what shall I do." my answer is, "If you really wish to do anything, resign our office." When the subject has refused allegiance, and the officer has resigned his office, then the revolution is accomplished. But even suppose blood should flow. Is there not a sort of blood shed when the conscience is wounded. Through this wound a man's real manhood and immortality flow out, and he bleeds to an everlasting death. I see this blood flowing now. . . .

I have paid no poll-tax for six years. I was put into a jail once on this account, for one night: and, as I stood considering the walls of solid stone, two or three feet thick, the door of wood and iron, a foot thick, and the iron grating which strained the light, I could not help being struck with the foolishness of that institution which treated me as if I were mere flesh and blood and bones, to be locked up. I wondered that it should have concluded at length that this was the best use it could put me to, and had never thought to avail itself of my services in some way. I saw that, if there was a wall of stone between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through, before they could get to be as free as I was. I did not for a moment feel confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar. I felt as if I alone of all my

townsmen had paid my tax. They plainly did not know how to treat me, but behaved like persons who are underbred. In every threat and in every compliment there was a blunder; for they thought that my chief desire was to stand the other side of that stone wall. I could not but smile to see how industriously they locked the door on my meditations, which followed them out again without let or hinderance, and they were really all that was dangerous. As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body; just as boys, if they cannot come at some person against whom they have a spite, will abuse his dog. I saw that the State was half-witted, that it was timid as a lone woman with her silver spoons, and that it did not know its friends from its foes, and I lost all my remaining respect for it, and pitied it.

Thus the State never intentionally confronts a man's sense, intellectual or moral, but only his body, his senses, It is not armed with superior wit or honesty, but with superior physical strength. I was not born to be forced. I will breathe after my own fashion. Let us see who is the strongest. What force has a multitude. They only can force me who obey a higher law than I. They force me to become like themselves. I do not hear of men being forced to live this way or that by masses of men. What sort of life were that to live. When I meet a government which says to me, "Your money or your life," why should I be in haste to give it my money. It may be in a great strait, and not know what to do: I cannot help that. It must help itself; do as I do. It is not worth the while to snivel about it. I am not responsible for the successful working of the machinery of society. I am not the son of the engineer. I perceive that, when an acorn and a chestnut fall side by side, the one does not remain inert to make way for the other, but both obey their own laws, and spring

and grow and flourish as best they can, till one, perchance, overshadows and destroys the other. If a plant cannot live according to its nature, it dies; and so a man. . . .

I do not wish to quarrel with any man or nation. I do not wish to split hairs, to make fine distinctions, or set myself up as better than my neighbors. I seek rather, I may say, even an excuse for conforming to the laws of the land. I am but too ready to conform to them. Indeed I have reason to suspect myself on this head; and each year, as the tax-gatherer comes round, I find myself disposed to review the acts and position of the general and state governments, and the spirit of the people, to discover a pretext for conformity. I believe that the State will soon be able to take all my work of this sort out of my hands, and then I shall be no better a patriot than my fellow-countrymen. Seen from a lower point of view, the Constitution, with all its faults, is very good; the law and the courts are very respectable; even this State and this American government are, in many respects, very admirable and rare things, to be thankful for, such as a great many have described them; but seen from a point of view a little higher, they are what I have described them; seen from a higher still, and the highest, who shall say what they are, or that they are worth looking at or thinking of at all.

However, the government does not concern me much, and I shall bestow the fewest possible thoughts on it. It is not many moments that I live under a government, even in this world. If a man is thought-free, fancy-free, imagination-free, that which is not never for a long time appearing to be to him, unwise rulers or reformers cannot fatally interrupt him. . . .

The authority of government, even such as I am willing to submit

to,--for I will cheerfully obey those who know and can do better than I, and in many things even those who neither know nor can do so well,--is still an impure one: to be strictly just, it must have the sanction and consent of the governed. It can have no pure right over my person and property but what I concede to it. The progress from an absolute to a limited monarchy, from a limited monarchy to a democracy, is a progress toward a true respect for the individual. Is a democracy, such as we know it, the last improvement possible in government. Is it not possible to take a step further towards recognizing and organizing the rights of man. There will never be a really free and enlightened State, until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly. I please myself with imagining a State at last which can afford to be just to all men, and to treat the individual with respect as a neighbor, which even would not think it inconsistent with its own repose, if a few were to live aloof from it, not meddling with it, nor embraced by it, who fulfilled all the duties of neighbors and fellowmen. A State which bore this kind of fruit, and suffered it to drop off as fast as it ripened, would prepare the way for a still more perfect and glorious State, which also I have imagined, but not yet anywhere seen.

亨利.大卫.梭罗

(HENRY DAVID THOREAU)

湖滨散记

Walden

我到树林中去，因为我希望从容不迫地生活，仅仅面对生活中最基本的事实，看看我是否能掌握生活的教诲，不至于在临终时才发现自己不曾生活过。

梭罗在沃尔登塘生活了两年。在那儿，他从日常事务和社会压力之中解脱了出来，有时间思考生活中究竟什么是重要的，有时间进行写作。同普遍的传统作法不一样，在这期间，梭罗不是一位隐士，而是一位生活在社会边缘的人。他离社会的距离不太远，这样他还能够有客人造访；但又不太近，这样他才能够剔除生活的繁文褥节，将其缩减到最基本的部分。

在十九世纪五十年代，梭罗深深卷入了废除奴隶制的斗争之中。他抛弃了思索和孤僻的生活，选择了积极的政治生活。他发表演说，写文章反对奴隶制，通过地下铁道帮助奴隶逃亡到北方。他身体不好，死于 1862 年，时年不到 45 岁。

以下摘选的《湖滨散记》在 1854 年最初发表时，并未获得商业上的成功；五年中仅销出了 2000 本。不过，从那以后，它成了美国文学中的经典作品。因为它是出色的新闻体作品，是一个人试图在朴素的生活中寻找真理与意义的写照，讴歌了与大自然和良知保持和谐的生活。

.....许许多多人过着平静而又绝望的生活。所谓的听天由命，便是根深蒂固的绝望。从绝望的城市到绝望的国家，你得靠水貂与麝鼠般的勇气来安慰自己。甚至在人类所谓的运动与娱乐之下，也隐藏着一成不变的、无意识的失望。其实，那不是娱乐，因为它是劳作的结果。它只是一种明智的、不铤而走险的特征。

用问答教学法的话来说，当我们考虑人生的主要目的是什么，什么是生活的真正需要，什么是生活的手段的时候，看来人们似乎是故意选择了同一的生活方式，因为他们对它偏爱超过对其他的生活方式。可是，他们又坦白地认为，除此之外别无其他选择。不过，具有警觉、健康天性的人记得，太阳升起时是纯洁无理的。抛弃偏见，无论何时都不会太迟。不论是多么古老的想或做法，只要缺乏佐证，都不足信。今天人们随声附和或默认为是真理的，结果明天就可能被证明是错误的，不过是如同烟云般的想法而已，而有些人却曾将这烟云奉作能够为田园普降甘露的雨云。古人说你做不到的，你试过之后却发现能够做到。古法施 于古人，新法施于新人。古人也许由于知识贫乏，不懂得添加

新燃料来促使火焰燃烧不熄；新人在罐子下放一小块木柴，便能以飞鸟的速度绕着大地转悠，正如俗话说的那样，「气死老头」。作为导师，年迈的丝毫不会比年轻的更称职，甚至还未必能比得上年轻的，因为年龄使他失去超过他所得到的。人人几乎都怀疑，最聪明的人是否能单凭活着就可以获得任何有绝对价值的知识。实际上，老年人没有什么非常重要的劝告可以给年轻人，正如他们必然会承认的那样，他们的个人经验是那么片面，他们的生活由于某些个人的原因又是那么令人沮丧的失败。也许是由于他们还残留着某些信仰的缘故，他们的经验具有某种假像，其实，他们只不过是没那么年轻罢了。我在这个星球上生活了大约三十年了，我还未从长辈那儿听到过一句真正有价值的忠告，甚至连句真诚的劝告都没有。他们什么也没告诉我，也许他们也无法中肯地告诉我任何事情。生活就在这儿。它是一项在很大程度上我还未尝试过的试验。他人的尝试对我并无裨益。如果我有什么我认为是有价值的经验的话，我肯定会想到，我的导师根本就没跟我说过这些.....

我住到树林里，也就是，开始在那儿度过日日夜夜的第一天，恰巧是独立日，或者说是 1845 年 7 月 4 日。那时，我的房子还未完工，还不宜过冬。它还未粉刷，也没有烟囱，仅仅能避雨。墙壁是用粗糙、饱经风霜、污迹斑斑的木板钉成的，墙上有很宽的裂缝。到了夜里，房里倒是挺凉快。斧头劈得白白的笔直壁骨和新装上木板的门和窗框使房子给人一种干净、通风的感觉。尤其是在早晨，当壁板浸泡了露水的时候，我幻想着，到了中午，从这些露水中会渗透出一些可爱的仙人。一整天，这幻想或多或少地带着曙光般的色彩留在我的想象中，使我想起一年前我在山中到过的一幢房子。那是一座通风、未粉刷过的木屋，适合用来招待云游仙人，或让仙女的婆娑衣裙在屋里掠过。那穿堂过室的风，有如那掠过山脊之雄风，带着断断续续的大地之声，或者，仅仅是大地乐声中的天籁。早上，总是晨风吹拂，创造着无穷无尽的诗境；不过，能领略这诗意的却寥寥无几。奥林匹斯山比比皆是，唯独不在尘世之间.....

我到树林中去，因为我希望从容不迫地生活，仅仅面对生活中最基本的事实，看看我是否能掌握生活的教诲，不至于在临终时才发现自己不曾生活过。我不希望过那种称不上是生活的生活，因为生存的代价是那么昂贵；我也不希望听天由命，除非那是万不得已。我要生活得深沈，吮吸生活的所有精髓；我要生

活得坚定，像斯巴顿人一样，摒弃一切不属于生活的事物，辛勤劳作，生活简朴，将生活局限在小范围内，将它降到最低水平。如果证明生活是低贱的，那么就完整、真实地了解其低贱之处，并将之公诸于世；如果证明生活是高尚的，那么就通过实践了解它，并且下一次远足时，就能对它作出真实的描述。因为，在我看来，大部分人对生活，不管它是魔鬼的产物还是上帝的创造，都非常没有把握；并且，他们还颇有点仓促地下结论，认为「为上帝增光和永远享受上帝的福祉」是人类在这世界上的主要目的。

尽管寓言告诉我们说，很久以前我们就进化成人了，但是，我们却活得低贱，就像蚂蚁一样。我们仍然不自量力地像小精灵似地与鹤争斗。这是错上加错，雪上加霜；我们最优秀的德性，也有其过分的、但又是可以避免的鄙贱性。我们的生活被细节消耗殆尽。老实人用十个手指头计数就差不多了；若在极特殊情况下，他可以凑上十个脚趾，至于其他的可以合在一起算。要简单、简单、再简单！依我说，你要做的事应当是两、三件，而不是成百上千件；数上半打，而不要数上百万；把你的帐日记在你的大姆指指甲上。在这多变的文明生活的海洋里，云雾、风暴、流沙和许许多多事情都得考虑。如果一个人不想沈沦到底层，又不短躲进港湾，就得靠精心算计，才能活下去。他要成功，就必须是台出色的计算器。简化、再简化！如果吃饭是必须的话，那么就一天吃一餐，而不要吃三餐；不要吃上百道菜，就吃五道菜；其他的东西也作相应的削减。我们的生活就像由许多小国家组成的德国联盟一样，边界老是在变动；即使德国人自己也无法告诉你，某时某刻它的边界在那里。国家本身，尽管内部有些所谓的改善，（顺便指出，这些改善都是表面上的、肤浅的）但它仍是一个庞大而且畸形发展的机构，就像这片土地上的千千万万座楼房一样，里面挤满了家具，被自己设下的陷阱所制约，被奢侈和毫无顾忌的开支、被缺乏精打细算和缺乏有价值的目标弄得倾家荡产。挽救它的唯一方法，就像挽救那些房子一样，是严格的精打细算，是一种严格的、比斯巴顿人更简朴的生活方式和高尚的生活目标。生活的节奏太快了。人们认为，至关重要的是国家要有商业，要出口冰块，要通过电报交谈，要每小时行驶三十英里，而毫不质疑，他们做得到还是做不到；但是，我们是否应当像狒狒一样生活，还是像人一样生活，却仍是个不定之数.....

我们为什么要生活得如此匆忙，如此浪费生命呢.我们还不曾感到饿，便断定会挨饿。人们说，及时缝一针，省得缝九针，于是，他们便在今天缝上千百针，好为明天省下九针。至于工作，我们还没有过任何有价值的工作。我们跳圣·维图斯舞，可却无法保持头不动.....饭后，人们几乎不午睡，可是当他醒来时，他抬头便问：「有什么消息.」好像人类其他人都在为他站岗放哨似的。毫无疑问，有些人嘱咐别人每半小时叫醒他一次，其目的却仅仅是为了被这样叫醒。尔后，作为回报，他们就叙述自己梦到的事情。睡了一夜之后，新闻就跟早餐一样不可缺少。「求你告诉我，世界上什么地方，什么人发生了什么新鲜事。」——他一边喝咖啡吃面卷，一边阅读新闻：在瓦赫土河有个人的眼睛被挖掉了；同时，他却没想到他正生活在世界上深不可测的猛马洞穴里，而且他自己也只有一只发育不健全的眼睛。

就我来说，没有邮局，我也能够轻松对付。我觉得，没有什么非常重要的消息是通过邮局得到的。挑剔地说，我一生中仅收到过一、两封信，其内容值得付那邮资——这是我数年前写的。通常收费低廉的邮局只是一种机构，通过它你能一本正经地付上一点钱，便可购买他人心中的想法，而且付这么点钱还常常是为了开个肯定不会出差错的玩笑。我确信，我从未在报纸上读到过任何值得记忆的消息。如果我们读一则关于有个人遭抢劫的消息，或者有人被谋杀，或者有人在事故中丧生，或者有座房子被烧了，或者条船沈没了，或者有艘汽轮爆炸了，或者有只母牛在西部铁路被压死了，或者一条疯狗被宰了，或者冬季里来了一批蝗虫——那么，我就绝对不必再读其他消息了。一则就够了。如果你已经认识了这条原则，那么你搭理那一大堆具体例子和该原则的实际应用情况又有什么用呢.对于哲学家来说，所有的新闻，所谓的新闻，都是闲话，其编辑和读者都是些老妇人，一边喝茶，一边藉以度日。

让我们像大自然一样，从容不迫地过上一天吧，别让一些落在枕木上的坚果和蚊子的翅膀将我们颠出轨。让我们一早起来，不吃早饭或吃早饭，一切慢慢来，不带任何烦乱。朋友来也罢，走也罢；门铃响也罢，孩子哭也罢，——横下一条心，过一天这样的日子。我们为什么应当向潮流屈服和顺应潮流呢.午饭，有如位于浅滩中央的湍急而又可怕的 漩涡，届时我们万万不可心烦意乱，不知所措。度过这个危险，你就平安了，因为剩下的时间就如下山，带着未松懈

的勇气和上午的活力，扬帆而下，缚于桅杆上，像尤利西斯一样，领略另一侧风光。如果引擎发出响声，就让它一直响到声音嘶哑，痛苦不已。如果铃声响了，我们干嘛得跑呢。我们可以想想铃声像何种音乐。让我们安下心来工作吧。观念、偏见、传统、妄想和表面现象组成的泥泞淤积层覆盖了整个地球，从巴黎到伦敦，从纽约到波士顿再到康科，从教会到政府，从诗学到哲学再到宗教，全部被覆盖着。我们要迈开双脚，踏着淤泥前进，一直到我们抵达我们称之为「现实」的实地和礁石为止。我们说，就是这个，没错……不论是生还是死，我们仅追求现实。如果我们真的要死了，那就让我们听到喉头的呼吓声，感到临终的冰冷；如果还活着，那就让我们干我们的事业。

时间不过是我垂钓的小溪。我饮用溪中水；喝水时，我看到沙质的水底，发觉溪水是那么浅。那浅浅的水流一溜而过，留下的是永恒。我要喝得深一些，到空中垂钓，苍穹的尽头是有如鹅卵石的星星。我不识数，我连字母表上的第一个字母都不认得，我一直后悔我不能像初生时那么聪明。理智是一把利刃，它辨清方向，一路剖切直抵事物的奥秘之所在。如非必需，我不希望动手忙碌。我的大脑就是手和脚。我觉得，我的所有最精华的能力都集中在大脑里。我的本能告诉我，我的大脑是挖掘器官，就像一些生灵用嘴或前爪挖穴一样，我用大脑挖掘一条穿过这些山峦的隧道。我想，最富足的矿脉就在这儿的某个地方，凭借这魔杖和这淡淡升腾起的雾气，我的判断也是如此。我要在这儿开始我的挖掘。

Walden

. . . . The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation. What is called resignation is confirmed desperation. From the desperate city you go into the desperate country, and have to console yourself with the bravery of minks and muskrats. A stereotyped but unconscious despair is concealed even under what are called the games and amusements of mankind. There is no play in them, for this comes after work. But it is a characteristic of wisdom not to do desperate things.

When we consider what, to use the words of the catechism, is the chief end of man, and what are the true necessities and means of life, it appears as if men had deliberately chosen the common mode of living because they preferred it to any other. Yet they honestly think there is no choice left. But alert and healthy natures remember that the sun rose clear. It is never too late to give up our prejudices. No way of thinking or doing, however ancient, can be trusted without proof. What everybody echoes or in silence passes by as true to-day may turn out to be falsehood to-morrow, mere smoke of opinion, which some had trusted for a cloud that would sprinkle fertilizing rain on their fields. What old people say you cannot do, you try and find that you can. Old deeds for old people, and new deeds for new. Old people did not know enough once, perchance, to fetch fresh fuel to keep the fire a-going; new people put a little dry wood under a pot, and are whirled round the globe with the speed of birds, in a way to kill old people, as the phrase is. Age is no better, hardly so well, qualified for an instructor as youth, for it has not profited so much as it has lost. One may almost doubt if the wisest man has learned anything of absolute value by living. Practically, the old have no very important advice to give the young, their own experience has been so partial, and their lives have been such miserable failures, for private reasons, as they must believe; and it may be that they have some faith left which belies that experience, and they are only less young than they were. I have lived some thirty years on this planet, and I have yet to hear the first syllable of valuable or even earnest advice from my seniors. They have told me nothing, and probably cannot tell me any thing to the purpose. Here is life, an experiment to a great extent untried by me; but it does not avail me that they have tried it. If I have any

experience which I think valuable, I am sure to reflect that this my Mentors said nothing about....

When first I took up my abode in the woods, that is, began to spend my nights as well as days there, which, by accident, was on Independence Day, or the Fourth of July, 1845, my house was not finished for winter, but was merely a defence against the rain, without plastering or chimney, the walls being of rough, weather-stained boards, with wide chinks, which made it cool at night. The upright white hewn studs and freshly planed door and window casings gave it a clean and airy look, especially in the morning, when its timbers were saturated with dew, so that I fancied that by noon some sweet gum would exude from them. To my imagination it retained throughout the day more or less of this auroral character, reminding me of a certain house on a mountain which I had visited a year before. This was an airy and unplastered cabin, fit to entertain a traveling god, and where a goddess might trail her garments. The winds which passed over my dwelling were such as sweep over the ridges of mountains, bearing the broken strains, or celestial parts only, of terrestrial music. The morning wind forever blows, the poem of creation is uninterrupted; but few are the ears that hear it. Olympus is but the outside of the earth everywhere. . . .

I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life, living is so dear; nor did I wish to practise resignation, unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad

swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms, and, if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole and genuine meanness of it, and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience, and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion. For most men, it appears to me, are in a strange uncertainty about it, whether it is of the devil or of God, and have somewhat hastily concluded that it is the chief end of man here to "glorify God and enjoy him forever." Still we live meanly, like ants; though the fable tells us that we were long ago changed into men; like pygmies we fight with cranes; it is error upon error, and clout upon clout, and our best virtue has for its occasion a superfluous and evitable wretchedness. Our life is frittered away by detail. An honest man has hardly need to count more than his ten fingers, or in extreme cases he may add his ten toes, and lump the rest. Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity! I say, let your affairs be as two or three, and not a hundred or a thousand; instead of a million count half a dozen, and keep your accounts on your thumbnail. In the midst of this chopping sea of civilized life, such are the clouds and storms and quicksands and thousand-and-one items to be allowed for, that a man has to live, if he would not founder and go to the bottom and not make his port at all, by dead reckoning, and he must be a great calculator indeed who succeeds. Simplify, simplify. Instead of three meals a day, if it be necessary eat but one; instead of a hundred dishes, five; and reduce other things in proportion. Our life is like a German Confederacy, made up of petty states, with its boundary forever fluctuating, so that even a German cannot tell you how it is bounded at any moment. The nation itself, with all its so-called internal improvements, which, by the way, are all external and superficial, is

just such an unwieldy and overgrown establishment, cluttered with furniture and tripped up by its own traps, ruined by luxury and heedless expense, by want of calculation and a worthy aim, as the million households in the land; and the only cure for it, as for them, is in a rigid economy, a stern and more than Spartan simplicity of life and elevation of purpose. It lives too fast. Men think that it is essential that the Nation have commerce, and export ice, and talk through a telegraph, and ride thirty miles an hour, without a doubt, whether they do or not; but whether we should live like baboons or like men, is a little uncertain. ...

Why should we live with such hurry and waste of life. We are determined to be starved before we are hungry. Men say that a stitch in time saves nine, and so they take a thousand stitches to-day to save nine to-morrow. As for **work**, we haven't any of any consequence. We have the Saint Vitus' dance, and cannot possibly keep our heads still. ... Hardly a man takes a half-hour's nap after dinner, but when he wakes he holds up his head and asks, "What's the news." as if the rest of mankind had stood his sentinels. Some give directions to be waked every half-hour, doubtless for no other purpose; and then, to pay for it, they tell what they have dreamed. After a night's sleep the news is as indispensable as the breakfast. "Pray tell me anything new that has happened to a man anywhere on this globe,"--and he reads it over his coffee and rolls, that a man has had his eyes gouged out this morning on the Wachito River; never dreaming the while that he lives in the dark unfathomed mammoth cave of this world, and has but the rudiment of an eye himself.

For my part, I could easily do without the post-office. I think that there are very few important communications made through it. To

speaking critically, I never received more than one or two letters in my life--I wrote this some years ago--that were worth the postage. The penny-post is, commonly, an institution through which you seriously offer a man that penny for his thoughts which is so often safely offered in jest. And I am sure that I never read any memorable news in a newspaper. If we read of one man robbed, or murdered, or killed by accident, or one house burned, or one vessel wrecked, or one steamboat blown up, or one cow run over on the Western Railroad, or one mad dog killed, or one lot of grasshoppers in the winter,--we never need read of another. One is enough. If you are acquainted with the principle, what do you care for a myriad instances and applications. To a philosopher all news, as it is called, is gossip, and they who edit and read it are old women over their tea. . . .

Let us spend one day as deliberately as Nature, and not be thrown off the track by every nutshell and mosquito's wing that falls on the rails. Let us rise early and fast, or break fast, gently and without perturbation; let company come and let company go, let the bells ring and the children cry,--determined to make a day of it. Why should we knock under and go with the stream. Let us not be upset and overwhelmed in that terrible rapid and whirlpool called a dinner, situated in the meridian shallows. Weather this danger and you are safe, for the rest of the way is down hill. With unrelaxed nerves, with morning vigor, sail by it, looking another way, tied to the mast like Ulysses. If the engine whistles, let it whistle till it is hoarse for its pains. If the bell rings, why should we run. We will consider what kind of music they are like. Let us settle ourselves, and work and wedge our feet downward through the mud and slush of opinion, and prejudice, and tradition, and delusion, and appearance, that

alluvion which covers the globe, through Paris and London, through New York and Boston and Concord, through Church and State, through poetry and philosophy and religion, till we come to a hard bottom and rocks in place, which we can call reality, and say, This is, and no mistake. . . . Be it life or death, we crave only reality. If we are really dying, let us hear the rattle in our throats and feel cold in the extremities; if we are alive, let us go about our business.

Time is but the stream I go a-fishing in. I drink at it; but while I drink I see the sandy bottom and detect how shallow it is. Its thin current slides away, but eternity remains. I would drink deeper; fish in the sky, whose bottom is pebbly with stars. I cannot count one. I know not the first letter of the alphabet. I have always been regretting that I was not as wise as the day I was born. The intellect is a cleaver; it discerns and rifts its way into the secret of things. I do not wish to be any more busy with my hands than is necessary. My head is hands and feet. I feel all my best faculties concentrated in it. My instinct tells me that my head is an organ for burrowing, as some creatures use their snout and fore paws, and with it I would mine and burrow my way through these hills. I think that the richest vein is somewhere hereabouts; so by the divining-rod and thin rising vapors I judge; and here I will begin to mine.

约翰.格林利夫.惠梯尔

(JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER)

光脚丫的孩子

The Barefoot Boy

约翰.格林利夫.惠梯尔(1807－1892)是位编辑、诗人和随笔作者。他是一位热忱的献身社会改革，尤其是献身废奴制的贵格会教徒。他在麻塞诸塞州的黑弗里尔家庭农场长大，也以描写新英格兰农村生活的诗人而著称。他的诗作《莫德.米勒》里有这么两句著名的诗句「语言文字中所有凄惨的字眼里 / 最凄惨

的莫过于：本来可以」。他的诗歌《光脚丫的孩子》以其唤起对乡村生活的朴实的爱而深受人们喜欢。诗歌作于 1855 年。

祝福你，小家伙，
光脚丫的孩子，黑乎乎的面颊！
朝上翻起的马裤，
还有那欢快的笛声；
红彤彤的嘴唇显得更火红，
因为让山上的草莓亲吻过；
脸上洒着阳光，
透过被划破了的帽沿露出悠然的风采；
我打心眼里为你高兴——
我也曾是个光脚丫的孩子！
你是王子——而成年人
不过是个共和党人。
让百万富翁驱车去吧！
你光着脚丫，跋涉在他身旁，
耳目所及，
你的财富远非他的钱财能购买——
身外的阳光，内心的欢喜：
祝福你，光脚丫的孩子！啊！孩提那无忧无虑的嬉戏，
一觉醒来已是欢笑的白天，
结实的身子戏谑医生的规矩，
知识从来在课堂里习得，
野蜂在清晨的追逐，
野花开放的时间与地点，
鸟的飞行与筑巢处，

Blessings on thee, little man,
Barefoot boy, with cheek of tan!
With thy turned-up pantaloons,
And thy merry whistled tunes;
With thy red lip, redder still
Kissed by strawberries on the
hill;
With the sunshine on thy face,
Through thy torn brim's jaunty
grace;
From my heart I give thee joy,--
I was once a barefoot boy!
Prince thou art,--the grown-up
man
Only is republican.
Let the million-dollared ride!
Barefoot, trudging at his side,
Thou hast more than he can buy
In the reach of ear and eye,--
Outward sunshine, inward joy:
Blessings on thee, barefoot
boy!
Oh for boyhood's painless play,
Sleep that wakes in laughing
day,
Health that mocks the doctor's

还有那林中的栖身客；
乌龟如何驮他的壳，
啄木鸟如何啄他的洞，
鼯鼠如何掘他的穴，
欧鹁如何喂她的仔，
黄鹏的巢又是如何挂起来；
最白的百合花在哪儿开，
最鲜的草莓在哪儿长，
落花生的蔓在哪儿爬，
串串木葡萄在哪儿摘；
精明的黑蚂蚁
用泥巴糊出他的巢，
还有艺术大师灰大黄蜂
他那了不起的建筑蓝图！——
撇开书本和功课，
答案大自然全都能给你；
他与自然手挽手地走，
他与自然面对面地谈，
分享她的全部欢乐——
祝福你，光脚丫的孩子！啊，孩提的
六月，
短短的一月里挤进了一年又一年，
我，它们的主人，听到、看到了
我所期盼的一切。
我富有，就为了那鲜花和树木，
婉啼的小鸟和嗡嗡的蜜蜂；
为了让我消遣嬉戏——
松鼠用他的铲子捣鼓鼯鼠的洞穴；
为了让我品尝佳果

rules,
Knowledge never learned of
schools,
Of the wild bee's morning
chase,
Of the wild flower's time and
place,
Flight of fowl and habitude,
Of the tenants of the wood;
How the tortoise bears his shell,
How the woodchuck digs his
cell,
And the ground mole sinks his
well
How the robin feeds her young,
How the oriole's nest is hung;
Where the whitest lilies blow,
Where the freshest berries
grow,
Where the groundnut trails its
vine,
Where the wood grape's
clusters shine;
Of the black wasp's cunning
way,
Mason of his walls of clay,
And the architectural plans
Of gray hornet artisans!--
For, eschewing books and tasks,

篱笆头、石缝中的黑草莓熟得发了紫；

为了我的欢乐，小溪不停地欢笑，
笑遍了白昼、笑遍了夜晚，
在花园的墙角啾啾细语，
伴着一个又一个瀑布同我叙说谈笑，
我拥有那喂养小狗鱼的沙边池，
我拥有那长着胡桃的山坡，
我拥有那弯身探出果园墙头的
赫斯珀里德的苹果！

随着我的地平线的延伸，
我的财富越来越丰盛，
我看到或知道的世界
似乎是件复杂的中国式玩具，
专为光脚丫的孩子设计！啊！那丰盛的
节日佳肴，
就像我那碗牛奶和面包——
锡镞的勺子和木制的碗盆，
就搁在门口的石阶上，灰白而又无
华！

头顶落日辉映，
就像一顶云雾支撑起的皇家帐篷，
紫红的帐幕镶着金边，
卷成了许许多多稻子在风中摇曳；
乐声初期，
那是杂色青蛙演奏的交响乐；
为了给嘈杂的合唱队照明
萤火虫点亮了他的萤火之灯。
我是君主：气派而又愉快

Nature answers all he asks;
Hand in hand with her he walks,
Face to face with her he talks,
Part and parcel of her joy,--
Blessings on thee, barefoot boy!

Oh for boyhood's time of June,
Crowding years in one brief
moon,

When all things I heard or saw
Me, their master, waited for.

I was rich in flowers and trees,
Humming birds and honeybees;
For my sport the squirrel
played,
Plied the snouted mole his
spade;

For my taste the blackberry
cone

Purpled over hedge and stone;
Laughed the brook for my
delight

Through the day and through
the night,

Whispering at the garden wall,
Talked with me from fall to fall;
Mine the sand-rimmed pickerel
pond,

Mine the walnut slopes beyond,

伺候着那光脚丫的孩子！小家伙，那
么你就高高兴兴地
像孩子那样尽情生活和欢笑！
尽管山头石坡硬梆梆，
尽管新割的草茬针样札，
每天清晨带着你
接受露水新的洗礼；
每日夜晚，习习凉风
在你脚边亲吻着热乎乎的大地
太短暂了，这双脚
就要藏身在骄傲的牢狱里，
失去亲抚大地的自由，
就像马驹钉掌为的是干活，
逼它在磨坊里跋涉，
一上一下没完没了地劳碌：
万幸啊，如果足迹
永远不留在那片禁土上；
万幸啊，如果双足未陷进
那捉摸不定的罪孽流沙中。
啊！但愿你知道你的福气，
当它还未逝去，光脚丫的孩子！

Mine, on bending orchard trees,
Apples of Hesperides!
Still, as my horizon grew,
Larger grew my riches too;
All the world I saw or knew
Seemed a complex Chinese toy,
Fashioned for a barefoot boy!

Oh for festal dainties spread,
Like my bowl of milk and
bread,--
Pewter spoon and bowl of wood,
On the doorstone, gray and
rude!

O'er me, like a regal tent,
Cloudy-ribbed, the sunset bent,
Purple-curtained, fringed with
gold;

Looped in many a wind-swung
fold;

While for music came the play
Of the pied frog's orchestra;
And to light the noisy choir,
Lit the fly his lamp of fire.

I was monarch: pomp and joy
Waited on the barefoot boy!
Cheerily, then, my little man,
Live and laugh, as boyhood can!
Though the flinty slopes be

hard,
Stubble-speared the new-mown
sward,
Every morn shall lead thee
through
Fresh baptisms of the dew;
Every evening from thy feet
Shall the cool wind kiss the
heat:
All too soon these feet must
hide
In the prison cells of pride,
Lose the freedom of the sod,
Like a colt's for work be shod,
Made to tread the mills of toil,
Up and down in ceaseless moil:
Happy if their track be found
Never on forbidden ground;
Happy if they sink not in
Quick and treacherous sands of
sin.
Ah! that thou shouldst know thy
joy
Ere it passes, barefoot boy!

托马斯.科温

(THOMAS CORWIN)

反对墨西哥战争

Against the Mexican War

倘若我是墨西哥人，我就会告诉你：「在你们自己的国家里没有埋葬死人的空间吗。」

美国向西域扩展时，其疆土的增加是以墨西哥为代价的。在德克萨斯的美国开拓者们反叛墨西哥当局。于 1836 年宣布独立，成为一个共和国。1845 年夏，当议会辩论是否兼并德克萨斯时，《民主论坛报》的编辑，约翰·爱罗·欧萨利文极力主张兼并，因为什么也不能干扰美国「明摆着的命运——为我们每年都成倍增长的数百万民众的自由发展，扩展上苍赐予的疆土」。同年早些时候，德克萨斯共和国成了一个州。同时，由约翰·西·弗里蒙特带领的美国开拓者进军加利福尼亚，于 1846 年宣告熊旗共和国成立。

由于墨西哥与美国在边界问题上意见相左，詹姆斯·科·波尔克总统派了一位代表到墨西哥，并将军队派遣到有争议的边界地区。谈判破裂后，战争便爆发了。战争受到了普遍的支持，因为，民众拥护所谓「明摆着的命运」这种观点。但是，有些勇士——如丹尼尔·韦伯斯特，弗莱德里克·道格拉斯和一位年轻的、名叫亚伯拉罕·林肯的伊利诺依的国会议员——谴责这场战争。

最善辩的反对墨西哥战争的托马斯·科温(1794—1865)是来自俄亥俄的辉格派参议员。作为自学成才的律师和前俄亥俄州的州长，科温在 1847 年 2 月 11 日公开谴责这场战争时，正是在他的第一届参议员任期内。科温预言墨西哥战争将加剧赞成奴隶制与反对奴隶制力量之间的紧张局势，并将导致美国的内战。

科温在辩论中败北，美国赢得了那场战争。于 1848 年 2 月，美国与墨西哥签署了瓜达卢佩伊达尔戈和约。该和约将大片墨西哥土地割让给美国，包括现在的加利福尼亚、内华达和犹他，以及亚利桑那、怀俄明、科罗拉多和新墨西哥州的部分地区。五年后，美国从墨西哥购买了一块带状的位于现在新墨西哥和亚利桑那的土地，于是便完成了现在的西南部边界。

总统先生，你提议从墨西哥夺取的领土是什么。是墨西哥古老的卡斯提长老通过多少次浴血奋战才获得并成为墨西哥神圣核心的土地。墨西哥人的邦克山、萨拉托加和约克敦全在这一带！墨西哥人会说：「我在这儿为了自由流血！我能

把我心爱的神圣的家园拱手交给盎格鲁-撒克逊入侵者吗.他们要这土地干什么.他们已经把德克萨斯弄到手了。他们已经拥有从新亚西斯河到格兰德河之间的土地，他们还要什么？如果我将失去这些战场，那么我能传给儿孙哪些独立之丰碑呢.」

先生，倘若有人向麻塞诸塞州的人民索取邦克山，倘若英国狮在那儿露面，又有哪个年龄在十三岁到九十三之岁之间的人不会毅然决然地去迎战他呢.这片土地上的哪一条江河不会被鲜血染红呢.倘若要把这些神圣的自由之战的战场从我们手中夺走，又有哪一片土地不会堆起一层又一层被杀戮而又来不及掩埋的美国人的尸骨呢.但就是这些美国人践踏姐妹邻邦，对贫穷软弱的墨西哥人说：「放弃你们的国土吧，你们不配拥有它。我已经有了一半了，我向你要的不过是那另一半！」英国人，在上述情况下，可能吩咐我们说：「放弃大西洋坡地吧——放弃从阿勒格尼山到海边的那片不起眼的土地，那只不过从曼思到圣.马雷，不到你们共和国的三分之一领土又是令人最不感兴趣的那部分领土。」那么，我们将如何回答呢.他们会说，我们必须把这土地让给约翰.布林。为什么.「他缺少空间」。密西根的参议员说他必须要这片土地。天哪，我尊敬的基督徒兄弟，这是根据那条正义的原则呢.「我缺少空间！」

先生，瞧瞧这条缺少空间的借口吧。两千万人口，拥有一亿公顷的土地。以各种能够想象出来的理由招募人去开发，每公顷的地价低到二十五美分，并且允许任何人选择他喜欢的任何地方。但是，密西根的参议员说，数年内，我们的人口将达到两亿，所以我们缺少空间。倘若我是墨西哥人，我就会告诉你，「在你们自己的国家，没有埋葬人的空间吗.如果你们到我的国家来，我们将用带血的双手迎接你们，欢迎你们到好客的坟墓中去。」...

前些日子，我有点惊讶地听那位来自密西根的参议员宣称，欧洲已经快把我们忘得干干净净了，除非用这些战争来唤醒他们的注意力。我想，参议员先生很感激总统先生，因为他「唤醒」了欧洲。我希望总统先生通晓民事与军事的知识，他是否记得有人说过他曾长期思考过历史，长期思考过人类、人的本质和人的真正命运。孟德斯鸠对这种「唤醒」方式没有什么好感。他说：「如果一个民族的年鉴是枯燥无味的话，那么这个民族就有福了。」

密西根的参议员先生的观点则不同。他认为，一个民族除非以战争著称，否则

就不是一个杰出的民族。他担心酣睡的欧洲无能力察觉这儿有两千万盎格鲁-撒克逊人，在铺铁路、开运河，正飞速地将所有和平的手段发展到优秀文明的最完美的程度！他们对此一无所知！那么，为了使我们声名远扬，这种创造历史的民主方武将采取的绝妙手段是什么呢。轰炸城市，摧毁和平、幸福的家园，枪杀男人——唉，先生，这就是战争——而且还枪杀妇女.....

有一个与这个问题相关的话题，每次提及这话题，便使我发抖。可是，我却忍不住要留意它。你每采取一个步骤都会碰到它，无论你以何种方式发动这场战争，它都威胁着你。我指的是奴隶制问题。显而易见，反对奴隶制的进一步蔓延是一个深深植根在我们称之为非蓄奴州的所有党派人士心中的决心。纽约、宾夕法尼亚、俄亥俄这三个最强大的州已经把他们的法律指令送交到此。我相信，所有其他州也会这样做。现在推测其缘由毫无用处。南方的先生们可能会称之为偏见、欲望、虚伪和狂热。在这一点上、我现在不与他们争论。事实的确如此。我们关切的是了解这一个重要的事实。你我都无法变更或改变这个观点，即使我们愿意的话。这些人只会说，我们不会、也不能同意你在不存在奴隶制的地方实行奴隶制。如果你们州里存在奴隶制，他们不想打扰你，你就好好受用吧，如果你想而且能够的话。这就是他们的语言；这就是他们的打算。南方的情况如何呢.指望他们同样流血出资来谋取那片广大的土地，然后，又指望他们心甘情愿地放弃他们把奴隶带到那儿、并居住在那被征服的国土的权利。如果他们想那样干的话。这怎么可能呢.先生，我太了解南方人的感情和观点了。我对他们丝毫不抱这种指望。我相信，他们会竭尽全力争取这种权利，即使他们并不想行使这种权利。我相信，在这可怕的问题上，双方都同样固执己见。（我承认，当我想到这一点的时候，我颤抖了。）

那么，如果我们坚持发动战争，如果战争不是仅仅以无端浪费生命与财富而告终，就必然（正如此议案所提议的那样）以取得领土而告终，而这场争论必然立刻与这片领土联系在一起。——那么，这项议案就似乎是彻头彻尾的一项引发内部混乱的议案。倘若我们再延长这场战争一分钟，或再多花上一美元来购买或占领哪怕是一公顷墨西哥的土地的话，北方和南方便将被带入一场双方都不会妥协的冲突之中。谁能预见或预知其后果！谁会如此大胆或鲁莽以至于面对这种冲突而无动于衷！如果一个人能意识到这种冲突的可能性，而又不至于被

痛苦的感情所折服，那么，我决不会羡慕这种人的心灵。那么，我们作为合众国各主权州的代表，作为被挑选来捍卫合众国的人们，为什么我们明知道战争的结果必然迫使我们立刻面对一场内战，却要继续这场战争以加速这场可怕的冲突的来临呢。先生，确切地说，这是背叛，是对合众国的背叛，是对我们选民的最宝贵的利益、最崇高的理想、最珍惜的希望背叛。冒引起这种冲突的风险是一种犯罪，一种十恶不赦的罪孽，任何邪恶与之相比，都将升华为美德。哦，总统先生，在我看来，如果地狱能够张口吐出囚禁在它炼狱中的妖魔，吩咐他们来破坏这世界的和谐，来捣碎人们憧憬的最美好的幸福前景的话，那么完美实现这个魔鬼意图的第一步便将是点燃内战的战火，将合众国的姐妹州全都抛进这无底的内乱的深渊。今天，我们就站在这深渊的正在崩溃的边缘之上——我们看它血腥的浪潮在我们跟前翻滚——趁现在还来得及，我们为什么不能停下来呢。在这儿，道路是明摆着的。我可以说，这是唯一负责任的、谨慎的、真正爱国的路。让我们抛弃一切进一步获取领土的念头，进而立刻停止发动这场战争。让我们把军队召回来吧，立刻把他们召回到我们自己承认的边界内。向墨西哥表明，当你们说你们不希望占领任何东西时，你们是真诚的。墨西哥知道她无法同你们诉诸武力。如果她不曾诉诸武力话，那是因为她太软弱了，不能在这儿打搅你们。给与她和平，我以性命担保，她就将接受和平。不过，不论她同意与否，你们没有她的同意，照样还会有和平。你们的侵略导致了这场战争；你们的撤军将会恢复和平。那么，让我们永远地封闭通往内部敌对的途径，回到古老的和谐和古老的通往民族昌盛和水恒的光荣的道路上来。让我们在这儿，在这奉献给合众国的神圣殿堂里，举行庄严的驱除邪恶的仪式；洗去我们手上沾着的墨西哥人的鲜血，在这圣坛上，在这庇佑我们的圣父的神像前，发誓保卫光荣的世界和平，保卫彼此间永恒的兄弟之情。

Against the Mexican War

What is the territory, Mr. President, which you propose to wrest from Mexico. It is consecrated to the heart of the Mexican by many a well-fought battle with his old Castilian master. His Bunker Hills, and Saratogas, and Yorktowns are there! The Mexican can say, "There I

bled for liberty! and shall I surrender that consecrated home of my affections to the Anglo-Saxon invaders. What do they want with it. They have Texas already. They have possessed themselves of the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. What else do they want. To what shall I point my children as memorials of that independence which I bequeath to them, when those battlefields shall have passed from my possession."

Sir, had one come and demanded Bunker Hill of the people of Massachusetts, had England's lion ever showed himself there, is there a man over thirteen and under ninety who would not have been ready to meet him. Is there a river on this continent that would not have run red with blood. Is there a field but would have been piled high with unburied bones of slaughtered Americans before these consecrated battlefields of liberty should have been wrested from us. But this same American goes into a sister republic, and says to poor, weak Mexico, "Give up your territory, you are unworthy to possess it; I have got one half already, and all I ask of you is to give up the other!" England might as well, in the circumstances I have described, have come and demanded of us, "Give up the Atlantic slope--give up this trifling territory from the Allegheny Mountains to the sea; it is only from Maine to St. Mary's--only about one third of your Republic, and the least interesting portion of it." What would be the response. They would say we must give this up to John Bull. Why. "He wants room." The Senator from Michigan says he must have this. Why, my worthy Christian brother; on what principle of justice. "I want room!"

Sir, look at this pretense of want of room. With twenty millions of people, you have about one thousand millions of acres of land, inviting settlement by every conceivable argument, bringing them

down to a quarter of a dollar an acre, and allowing every man to squat where he pleases. But the Senator from Michigan says we will be two hundred millions in a few years, and we want room. If I were a Mexican I would tell you, "Have you not room enough in your own country to bury your dead. If you come into mine, we will greet you with bloody hands, and welcome you to hospitable graves." . . .

I was somewhat amazed the other day to hear the Senator from Michigan declare that Europe had quite forgotten us, till these battles waked them up. I suppose the Senator feels grateful to the President for "waking up" Europe. Does the President, who is, I hope, read in civic as well as military lore, remember the saying of one who had pondered upon history long: long, too, upon man, his nature, and true destiny. Montesquieu did not think highly of this way of "waking up." "Happy," says he, "is that nation whose annals are tiresome."

The Senator from Michigan has a different view. He thinks that a nation is not distinguished until it is distinguished in war. He fears that the slumbering faculties of Europe have not been able to ascertain that there are twenty millions of Anglo-Saxons here, making railroads and canals, and speeding all the arts of peace to the utmost accomplishment of the refined civilization! They do not know it! And what is the wonderful expedient which this democratic method of making history would adopt in order to make us known. Storming cities, desolating peaceful, happy homes; shooting men--ay, sir, such is war--and shooting women, too. . . .

There is one topic connected with this subject which I tremble when I approach, and yet I cannot forbear to notice it. It meets you in every step you take; it threatens you which way soever you go in the prosecution of this war. I allude to the question of slavery.

Opposition to its further extension, it must be obvious to everyone, is a deeply rooted determination with men of all parties in what we call the nonslaveholding states. New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, three of the most powerful, have already sent their legislative instructions here. So it will be, I doubt not, in all the rest. It is vain now to speculate about the reasons for this. Gentlemen of the South may call it prejudice, passion, hypocrisy, fanaticism. I shall not dispute with them now on that point. The great fact that it is so, and not otherwise, is what it concerns us to know, You and I cannot alter or change this opinion. if we would. These people only say we will not, cannot consent that you shall carry slavery where it does not already exist. They do not seek to disturb you in that institution as it exist in your states. Enjoy it if you will and as you. will. This is their language; this their determination. How is it in the South. Can it be expected that they should expend in common their blood and their treasure in the acquisition of immense territory, and then willingly forgo the right to carry thither their slaves, and inhabit the conquered country if they please to do so. Sir, I know the feelings and opinions of the South too well to calculate on this. Nay, I believe they would even contend to any extremity for the mere right, had they no wish to exert it. I believe (and I confess I tremble when the conviction presses upon me) that there is equal obstinacy on both sides of this fearful question.

If then, we persist in war, which, if it terminates in anything short of a mere wanton waste of blood as well as money, must end (as this bill proposes) in the acquisition of territory, to which at once this controversy must attach--this bill would seem to be nothing less than a bill to produce internal commotion. Should we prosecute this war another moment, or expend one dollar in the purchase or

conquest of a single lore of Mexican land, the North and the South are brought into collision on a point where neither will yield. Who can foresee or foretell the result! Who so bold or reckless as to look such a conflict in the face unmoved! I do not envy the heart of him who can realize the possibility of such a conflict without emotions too painful to be endured. Why, then, shall we, the representatives of the sovereign states of the Union--the chosen guardians of this confederated Republic, why should we precipitate this fearful struggle, by continuing a war the result of which must be to force us at once upon a civil conflict. Sir, rightly considered, this is treason, treason to the Union, treason to the dearest interests, the loftiest aspirations, the most cherished hopes of our constituents. It is a crime to risk the possibility of such a contest. It is a crime of such infernal hue that every other in the catalogue of iniquity, when compared with it, whitens into virtue. Oh, Mr. President, it does seem to me, if hell itself could yawn and vomit up the fiends that inhabit its penal abodes, commissioned to disturb the harmony of this world, and dash the fairest prospect of happiness that ever allured the hopes of men, the first step in the consummation of this diabolical purpose would be to light up the fires of internal war and plunge the sister states of this Union into the bottomless gulf of civil strife. We stand this day on the crumbling brink of that gulf--we see its bloody eddies wheeling and boiling before us--shall we not pause before it be too late. How plain again is here the path, I may add the only way, of duty, of prudence, of true patriotism. Let us abandon all idea of acquiring further territory and by consequence cease at once to prosecute this war. Let us call home our armies, and bring them at once within our own acknowledged limits. Show Mexico that you are sincere when you say you desire nothing by conquest. She has

learned that she cannot encounter you in war, and if she had not, she is too weak to disturb you here. Tender her peace, and, my life on it, she will then accept it. But whether she shall or not, you will have peace without her consent. It is your invasion that has made war; your retreat will restore peace. Let us then close forever the approaches of internal feud, and so return to the ancient concord and the old ways of national prosperity and permanent glory. Let us here, in this temple consecrated to the Union, perform a solemn lustration; let us wash Mexican blood from our hands, and on these altars, and in the presence of that image of the Father of his Country that looks down upon us, swear to preserve honorable peace with all the world and eternal brotherhood with each other.

霍勒斯.曼

(HORACE MANN)

公立学校的状况

The Case for Public Schools

教育是人类创造的所有设施中最了不起的人类条件等化器，是社会机器上的平衡轮。

当年轻的民族成长时，各个社区都有责任决定为其儿童提供多少学校教育。在许多地区，学校教学质量低下、老师未受到良好的培训，体罚现象普遍。

麻塞诸塞州的立法机构回应改革者们于 1837 年提出的要求，创立了州教育委员会。该委员会聘请霍勒斯.曼(1796—1859)任其秘书。在霍勒斯.曼任秘书的 11 年间，曼领导了旨在改善教育的改革运动。于 1848 年，曼辞去该职，进入国会，成为国会内废奴主义的斗士。后来，他出任俄亥俄州安蒂奥克学院的院长。在他逝世前两个月，曼劝告该学院的四年级学生说：「我恳求你们将我临终前的这些话珍藏在心里：只有当你为人类赢得某种胜利后，你才死而无

憾。」

本文摘自曼于 1848 年写给麻塞诸塞教育委员会的最后一份报告。报告陈述了他的信条。在美国普及教育，使其成为免费的、非宗教性的、人道的和全民的教育斗争中，他的名字成了这场斗争的同义词。

.....根据欧洲人的理论，人划分为阶级——有的人辛勤劳作，挣钱糊口；另一些人则强取豪夺，挥霍享受。根据马萨诸塞的理论，人人都有同样的挣钱机会，都有同样的权利享受他们的劳动所得。后者有助于平等条件的形成，而前者则有造成最严重的不平等的倾向。.....

我建议，凡是将仁爱与政治经济观念联系在一起的人都应当具有同样的观念，即巨大的、盛气凌人的私有财产是共和国人民的幸福可能面临的最大危险之一。这种财产将造成新的封建主义，一种比中世纪的封建主义更具压迫性、更残酷的封建主义。现在，大部分外国制造商和资本家将他们的技术工人和工人所置于的境地，其凄惨程度远远超过当年英国和欧洲大陆的封建君主们将他们的仆人所置于的奴役状态。尽管他们使用的手段不同，但其结果却具有惊人的相似之处。过去靠的是权力，而现在靠的是金钱。.....

现在，除了全民教育之外，别无其他能够抵消这种资本统治和奴役劳工倾向的途径。如果一个阶级占有所有的财富和教育，而社会上的其他成员却是无知、贫穷的，那么他们之间的关系被看成什么都无关紧要；事实上，后者确实将成为前者的奴仆和臣民。但是，如果教育是均衡地分布的话，教育将成为所有吸引力中最强大的吸引力，将把财富带给人们，因为一个聪明和实干的人从来不曾、也不可能永远贫穷。当财富与劳动分属于不同的阶级时，它们在本质上是对抗性的；但是，当财富与劳动同属于一个阶级时，它们在本质上则是情同兄弟的。麻塞诸塞的人民在某种程度已经领悟到了这个真理。本州的空前繁荣——生活的舒适、可观的收入、总体智力和道德水平——全得归功于本州或多或少是完美的教育。本州人人都受到了教育。但是，人们是否意识到一个同样重要的事实.——也就是，本州人口的三分之二得感激本州的教育，因为是教育使他们今日未像当今欧洲下层人民那样被野蛮而又强暴地束缚于暴政之下，成为以资本形式出现的暴政的奴仆。教育是人类创造的所有设施中最了不起的人

类条件均衡器，是社会机器上的平衡轮。我这里不是说教育已经将人们的道德本质提高到了不屑并且憎恶对同胞的剥削的程度。这属于教育的另一种属性。我指的是教育赋予每个人独立性和手段，人们可以藉以抵制别人的自私。这比消除穷人对富人的敌意效果好，因为它使人们不至于闹穷。……通过扩大受教育的阶级或阶层来普及教育，将开创出一个更广阔的天地。在这天地里，社会中的各种情绪将得以缓解。一旦教育成为全民的和全面的，它将能最有效地消除社会中各种人为的差异。

一些政治改革家和革命家的信条中的主要观点：有些人闹穷，是因为其他人富有。这种观点认为，社会财富是一定的，由于采取欺骗或暴力的手段，或由于专断的法律，这些财富的分配是不平均的；需要解决的问题是如何将这些财富中的一部分从那些据说是过于富有的人手中转移到那些感到并且知道自己是过于贫穷的人手中。就这一点来说，他们的理论及其前景是改革的中止。然而，教育的改善力是永不枯竭的，即使它以和平方式消除了那些由于巨大的财富与悲惨的贫困并存而造成的一切悲哀，它仍然不会枯竭。教育具有更高的功能。它除了具有分配原有的财富的能力之外，还具有创造新财富的特殊能力。与欺行诈骗相比，它能创造成千倍的利润；与最成功的领土侵占相比，它能成千倍增加民族的资源。流氓、窃贼只能攫取原先由别人占有的财富。但是，教育却能创造或开拓新的财富——那些未曾为人所占有或梦想到的财富。……

如果一个未开化的人能够学会游泳，他就能在脖子上挂上十二磅重的东西，把它送过一条小河，或送过其他中等宽度的水域。如果他发明了斧子或其他工具，就能用它砍倒一棵树，将树作为浮体，用他的一只手或脚作为桨，就能运送许多倍于原先重量的东西，而且运送的距离也将是从前的许多倍。如果掏空树干，就可以增加其可以称作是吨位或磅位的载重能力。而且，通过削尖两端，它就能更轻松地劈水，更快地前进。把几棵树捆绑在一起，他便造成一个木筏，从而增加了尚处于胚胎状态的船舶的浮力。如果将带有小孔的两端向上翘起，或者使用肋材而不是笔直的本板，并且通过开槽将肋材拼在一起，或者用某种填料将其空隙封起使其不透水，那么他也就把粗陋的木筏变成了名副其实的船体了。通过改进船体水下部分，并在船体上安装上风帆，他就成了令人骄傲的商人，让风将他从一个大陆送往另一个大陆。但是，即使如此，还不能使具有冒

险精神的海运设计师满意。他用钢铁制作船体的框架，用铁轮来代替桨，带来了速度上的革命，而且使他的舱比大海还要强大。他在船体的钢铁四壁内，安装上庞大、有力、与火有不解之缘的钢铁机器，点燃机器内的一座小型火山。于是，这出自他双手的绝妙创造物便假有知觉、有理情的生灵一样，劈波破浪，不畏风暴，载着充满活力、兴高采烈的乘客周游全球。如果抛开造船师的智慧，那么人类艺术的奇迹——汽轮，便将沦落回一块飘浮着的木头；甚至连这木头本身也将丧失殆尽，只剩下那未开化的游泳者，背上驮着十二磅重的东西。

这不仅仅在一个部门是如此，在人类各个劳动部门都是如此。就像太阳的毁灭必将带来黑暗一样，人类智慧的泯灭必将使整个人类立刻陷入未开化的孱弱与无助之中。一个政府若置其劳动阶级的一生于无知之中，就如同创造出像我们这样的生灵，置之于此世界，但却未施予太阳的光明一样残酷。...

对财富的创造来说，对于一个富足的国家和富足的人民的存在来说，智慧是唯一重要的条件。当明智的选民(如果我可以这样称呼他们的话)增加时，改进者的数量也就增加了。过去，甚至在当今世界的大部分地区，不到百万分之一的人所受到的教育能使其具备为艺术或科学作出贡献的可能性。优先发展这种教育，那么无数不可估量的贡献就必定接踵而至。如果政治经济仅关心资本与劳动，供应与需求，利息与租金，贸易的平衡与否，而不考虑普及智力教育，那么这种政治经济就完全是天大的蠢事。政治经济中最伟大的技巧是使消费者变成生产者，次之是增加生产者的生产力——这个目的可以直接通过增强生产者的智力来实现。

The Case for Public Schools

. . . . According to the European theory, men are divided into classes,--some to toil and earn, others to seize and enjoy. According to the Massachusetts theory, all are to have an equal chance for earning, and equal security in the enjoyment of what they earn. The latter tends to equality of condition; the former to the grossest inequalities....

I suppose it to be the universal sentiment of all those who mingle

any ingredient of benevolence with their notions on Political Economy, that vast and overshadowing private fortunes are among the greatest dangers to which the happiness of the people in a republic can be subjected. Such fortunes would create a feudalism of a new kind; but one more oppressive and unrelenting than that of the Middle Ages. The feudal lords in England, and on the continent, never held their retainers in a more abject condition of servitude, than the great majority of foreign manufacturers and capitalists hold their operatives and laborers at the present day. The means employed are different, but the similarity in results is striking. What force did then, money does now. . . .

Now, surely, nothing but Universal Education can counter-work this tendency to the domination of capital and the servility of labor. If one class possesses all the wealth and the education, while the residue of society is ignorant and poor, it matters not by what name the relation between them may be called; the latter, in fact and in truth, will be the servile dependants and subjects of the former. But if education be equably diffused, it will draw property after it. by the strongest of all attractions; for such a thing never did happen, and never can happen. as that an intelligent and practical body of men should be permanently poor. Property and labor, in different classes, are essentially antagonistic; but property and labor, in the same class, are essentially fraternal. The people of Massachusetts have, in some degree, appreciated the truth, that the unexampled prosperity of the State,--its comfort, its competence, its general intelligence and virtue,--is attributable to the education, more or less perfect, which all its people have received; but are they sensible of a fact equally important.--namely, that it is to this same education that two thirds of the people are indebted for not being,

to-day, the vassals of as severe a tyranny, in the form of capital, as the lower classes of Europe are bound to in the form of brute force. Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin. is the great equalizer of the conditions of men--the balance-wheel of the social machinery,. I do not here mean that it so elevates the moral nature as to make men disdain and abhor the oppression of their fellow-men. This idea pertains to another of its attributes. But I mean that it gives each man the independence and the means, by which he can resist the selfishness of other men. It does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility towards the rich; it prevents being poor. . . . The spread of education, by enlarging the cultivated class or caste, will open a wider area over which the social feelings will expand; and, if this education should be universal and complete, it would do more than all things else to obliterate factitious distinctions in society.

The main idea set forth in the creeds of some political reformers, or revolutionizers, is, that some people are poor because others are rich. This idea supposes a fixed amount of property in the community, which, by fraud or force, or arbitrary law, is unequally divided among men; and the problem presented for solution is, how to transfer a portion of this property from those who are supposed to have too much, to those who feel and know that they have too little. At this point, both their theory and their expectation is of reform stop. But the beneficent power of education would not be exhausted, even though it should peaceably abolish all the miseries that spring from the coexistence, side by side, of enormous wealth and squalid want. It has a higher function. Beyond the power of diffusing old wealth, it has the prerogative of creating new. It is a thousand times more lucrative than fraud; and adds a thousand fold

more to a nation's resources than the most successful conquests. Knaves and robbers can obtain only what was before possessed by others. But education creates or develops new treasures,--treasures not before possessed or dreamed of by any one. . . .

If a savage will learn how to swim, he can fasten a dozen pounds' weight to his back, and transport it across a narrow river, or other body of water of moderate width. If he will invent an axe, or other instrument, by which to cut down a tree, he can use the tree for a float, and one of its limbs for a paddle, and can thus transport many times the former weight, many times the former distance. Hollowing out his log, he will increase, what may be called, its tonnage,--or, rather, its poundage,--and, by sharpening its ends, it will cleave the water both more easily and more swiftly. Fastening several trees together, he makes a raft, and thus increases the buoyant power of his embryo water-craft. Turning up the ends of small poles, or using knees of timber instead of straight pieces, and grooving them together, or filling up the interstices between them, in some way, so as to make them water-tight, he brings his rude raft literally into **ship-shape**. Improving upon hull below and rigging above, he makes a proud merchantman, to be wafted by the winds from continent to continent. But, even this does not content the adventurous naval architect. He frames iron arms for his ship; and, for oars, affixes iron wheels, capable of swift revolution, and stronger than the strong sea. Into iron-walled cavities in her bosom, he puts iron organs of massive structure and strength, and of cohesion insoluble by fire. Within these, he kindles a small volcano; and then, like a sentient and rational existence, this wonderful creation of his hands cleaves oceans, breasts tides, defies

tempests, and bears its living and jubilant freight around the globe. Now, takeaway intelligence from the ship-builder, and the steamship,--that miracle of human art,--falls back into a floating log; the log itself is lost; and the savage swimmer, bearing his dozen pounds on his back, alone remains.

And so it is, not in one department only, but in the whole circle of human labors. The annihilation of the sun would no more certainly be followed by darkness, than the extinction of human intelligence would plunge the race at once into the weakness and helplessness of barbarism. To have created such beings as we are, and to have placed them in this world, without the light of the sun, would be no more cruel than for a government to suffer its laboring classes to grow up without knowledge. . . .

For the creation of wealth, then,--for the existence of a wealthy people and a wealthy nation,--intelligence is the grand condition. The number of improvers will increase, as the intellectual constituency, if I may so call it, increases. In former times, and in most parts of the world even at the present day, not one man in a million has ever had such a development of mind, as made it possible for him to become a contributor to art or science. Let this development precede, and contributions, numberless, and of inestimable value, will be sure to follow. That Political Economy, therefore, which busies itself about capital and labor, supply and demand, interest and rents, favorable and unfavorable balances of trade; but leaves out of account the element of a wide-spread mental development, is nought but stupendous folly. The greatest of all the arts in political economy is, to change a consumer into a producer; and the next greatest is to increase the producer's producing power; --an end to be directly attained, by increasing his

intelligence.

塞尼卡福尔斯感伤宣言与决议

(Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions)

人类的历史是一部男人对妇女不断伤害与掠夺的历史。

十九世纪中叶，妇女只拥有少数一些法权和政治权利，尽管妇女在国家机关、商店、工厂、农场和学校中工作的人数在不断增加。妇女对自己命运的不满是美国灌输民主意识的产物。妇女能够识字，所以她们阅读了《独立宣言》，听到过废奴主义者和其他改革者们使用的关于自然、权利、平等、自由等字眼。在一个尊重个人良知的国度里，不可避免地便有些妇女会大声疾呼，为什么妇女在法律上和政治上遭受不平等的待遇。

伊丽莎白·凯蒂·斯坦顿(1815—1902)与其他四位妇女筹划在 1848 年 7 月 19 日至 20 日召开一次会议，「讨论社会、公民、宗教状况和妇女的权利问题」。在斯坦顿的领导下，小组起草了一个模仿《独立宣言》的《感伤宣言》。大约一百名妇女和男士聚会在纽约的塞尼卡福尔斯，讨论、修改并接受了她们的《宣言》。比起普遍蔑视妇女权利，尤其是蔑视妇女投票权的舆论来，她们要进步得多。

1869 年，怀俄明成了美国第一个允许妇女投票的州。首批允许妇女投票的国家是纽西兰(1893 年)、芬兰(1906 年)、挪威(1913 年)。1920 年，美国妇女赢得了投票权，当时批准了对宪法的第 19 次修正案。

在有关人类事务的发展过程中，当人类家庭的一个部份必须在人们之间依照自然法则和上帝的意旨，接受与妇女迄今不同的地位时，出于对人类舆论的尊重，必须把妇女不得不这样做的原因予以宣布。

我们认为下面这些真理是不言而喻的：男人与女人生而平等；造物者赋予她们若干不可剥夺的权利，其中包括生命权、自由权和追求幸福的权利，为了保障这些权利才建立政府，而政府的正当权力，是经被治理者的同意而产生的。——当任何形式的政府对这些目标具有破坏作用时，受其害的人民便有权拒绝效

忠它，要求建立一个新的政府；其赖以奠基的原则，其组织权力的方式，务使人民认为唯有这样才最可能获得他们的安全和幸福。为了慎重起见，成立多年的政府，是不应当由于轻微和短暂的原因而予以变更的。过去的一切经验也都说明，任何苦难，只要是尚能忍受，人类都宁愿容忍，而无意为了本身的权益便废除他们久已习惯了的政府。但是，当追逐同一目标的一连串滥用职权和强取豪夺发生，证明政府企图把妇女置于专制统治之下时，那么她们就有义务推翻这个政府，并为她们未来的安全建立新的保障。这就是妇女过去逆来顺受的情况，也是她们现在不得不要求得到她们有权得到的地位的原因。

人类的历史是一部男人对妇女不断伤害与掠夺的历史，其直接目的是在妇女之上建立绝对专制暴政。为了证明此言属实，现将下列事实公诸于公正的世界。男人从未允许妇女行使其不可剥夺的选举权。

男人强迫妇女服从那些她无权参与制定的法律。

男人拒绝给予妇女连最无知、最下流的——不论是本国的还是外来的男人都具有的权力。

在剥夺了妇女作为公民的首要权力——选举权，从而使她在立法机构中没有任何代表之后，男人从各个方面压迫妇女。

一旦结婚，在法律意义上，男人便使妇女丧失了公民的权利。

男人被夺了妇女的全部财产权，甚至包括支配她挣得的工资的权利。

男人使妇女成为不负道德责任的人，因为妇女可以犯下许多罪而不受惩罚，只要这些罪是当着她丈夫的面犯下的。在订立婚约时，妇女被迫发誓听命于丈夫，而丈夫，在实质上，则成为她的主人——法律授权男人，允许他褫夺她的自由权、对她行使惩罚权。

男人制定离婚法，规定准予离婚的各种正当理由；规定一旦双方分离，孩子的监护权必须归属于谁；法律完全忽视了妇女的幸福——在任何情况下，它都是建立在男人至上的错误假设之上，将所有的权力置于男人之手中。

尽管妇女在婚后被剥夺全部的权利，可是单身并拥有财产的妇女却被男人课税来支援政府，然而政府却仅仅在妇女的财产对其有利可图的时候才承认妇女。男人几乎垄断了全部有利可图的职业；在允许妇女从事的职业中，妇女所得到的报酬都是微不足道的。

男人封闭了所有能让妇女通向财富和名望的途径，他认为财富与名望是男人最体面的荣耀。妇女从未能成为医学、法学或神学的教师。

男人拒绝向妇女提供全面教育的便利——所有大学的校门都对妇女关闭着。

男人允许妇女在教会以及政府机构任职，但只能处于附属地位。男人宣称，根据使徒教义，妇女不得任牧师，除了个别例外的，妇女还不得在公共场合参与宗教事务。

男人制造了错误的公共舆论，因为在他给予世人的道德法典中，男女未能一视同仁。根据这法典，将妇女排斥在社会之外的错误不仅仅受到了宽容，而且被认为是无足轻重的。

男人攫取了耶和华的权力，宣称他有权为妇女规划出行动的范围，尽管这种权力仅仅属于她的良知和上帝。男人竭尽全力试图摧残妇女对自己能力的自信，贬低她的自尊，迫使她心甘情愿地过听人摆布的凄惨生活。

现在，占国家人口一半的民众完全没有选举权。她们在社会、宗教上受到不公正的待遇。面对上述这些不公正的法律，况且妇女确实感到了她们受到的冤曲、她们蒙受的压迫和她们最神圣的权力被人用欺骗的手段剥夺了，我们坚决要求立刻给予妇女所有属于美国公民的权力和特权。

在着手我们眼前的伟大工作时，我们估计将遇到大量的误解、误传和嘲讽。不过，我们仍将竭尽全力实现我们的目标。我们将聘请代理人，散发传单，向政府和立法机构请愿，努力争取教会与报界的支援。我们希望这次大会之后，在全国各地将召开一系列的大会。

我们坚信，胜利终将属于正义与真理。今天，我们在此宣言上签署上我们的名字。

决议：

鉴于「人类必须追求真正的、实质的幸福」公认是自然的伟大法则，布莱克斯通在评论中指出，这条自然法则是与人类同生共存的法则，是上帝钦定的法则；它当然比任何其他法则都具有更高的约束性。在全世界，在所有国家，在任何时候，这条法则都具有约束性。任何人类的法则倘若与此法则相矛盾，便丧失其效力；而具有效力的法律，其全部法力、效力和权威则都是间接地或直接地从此一根源产生的。因此，决议认为，凡是与妇女真正和实质的幸福冲突的法

律，不论其形式如何，都是与自然的伟大法则相矛盾的，都是无效的，因为「自然的伟大法则比任何其他法则都具有更高的约束性」。

决议认为，一切阻挠妇女谋取良知而需要的社会地位的法律，一切主张男尊女卑的法律，都是与自然的伟大法则相违背的，因而也是不具备任何法力或权威的。

决议认为，男女平等，是造物主的旨意，人类善之最高境界要求男女平等。

决议认为，应当开导我国的妇女，使她们对制约她们生活的法律有更多的了解；这样她们就不至于对妇女当前的地位表示满意，从而表现出自己的低下；她们也不至于声称已经拥有自己想要的一切权利，从而表现出自己的无知。

决议认为，既然男人宣称他在智力上具有优越性，并且承认妇女在道德方面具有优越性，那么男人的一个突出的责任就是鼓励妇女畅所欲言、教书讲学，正如妇女在所有宗教团体中有机会做到的那样。

决议认为，在社会上，在道德和举止谈吐温文尔雅等方面，对男士也应当提出对妇女一样的要求。男女若犯同样性质的罪，应当受到同样严厉的制裁。

妇女在公开场合发表演说，常常招致某些人有失典雅端庄之类的攻击，而这些人却以亲自光临的方式怂恿妇女登台演出，举行音乐会或在马戏院出场献技。

决议认为，这种攻击是非常不得体的。

妇女安于各种限制已经太久了。这些限制是由腐败的习俗和对圣经的肆意曲解为妇女设置的。决议认为：现在是妇女步入伟大的造物主赋予她的更广阔的天地的时候了。

决议认为，确保妇女神圣的选举权是我国妇女的职责。

决议认为，人权的平等是人人能力与责任相同这一事实的必然结果。

因此，决议认为，由于造物主赋予男女相同的能力和运用这些能力的相同的责任感，所以男女显然都有相同的权利和责任，利用一切正义的手段促进一切正义的事业；尤其在道德和宗教这些重大的问题上，不言而喻，妇女有权同她的兄弟一道，在私下和公开的场合，通过文章和演讲，运用任何合适的手段、在任何合适的集会上，开宗名义地宣讲。这是不言自明的真理，它是从扎根在人类本性的神圣原则中产生的，任何与之相违背的习俗和权威，不论是现代的还是被磨损得苍白的古老法则，都将被视作不言而喻的谬误，是违背人类利益的。

决议认为，我们事业的早日成功，取决于男人与妇女的热忱和执着的努力，推翻教会的独裁，确保在各行各业和社交活动中妇女享有与男子同样的参与权。

Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one 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 that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.--Whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a 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 shown 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 duty to throw off such

government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men--both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master--the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes of divorce; in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given; as to be wholly regardless of the

happiness of women--the law, in all cases, going upon the false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He closes against her all avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education--all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, --with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment, by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependant and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation,--in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of these United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and national Legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions, embracing every part of the country.

Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this declaration. Resolutions

Whereas, the great precept of nature is conceded to be, "that man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." Blackstone, in his Commentaries, remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this origin; Therefore,

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and of no validity; for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent women from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal--was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under -which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation, by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak, and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior, that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in the feats of the circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great

Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause, by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth, growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as self-evident falsehood, and at war with the interests of mankind.

Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions and commerce.

索乔纳.特鲁斯

(SOJOURNER TRUTH)

在俄亥俄妇女权利大会上的讲话

Address to the Ohio Women's Rights Convention

那么，我就不是女人吗.

索乔纳.特鲁斯(1793—1883)出生在纽约州阿尔斯特县的一个奴隶家庭里，名叫伊莎贝拉。在 1827 年纽约废除奴隶制之前，她被卖给一个名叫范.瓦杰纳的主人。范.瓦杰纳给了她自由。她便移居到纽约市，给人当佣人，并参与了福音派教会活动。

在 1843 年，她改名作索乔纳.特鲁斯，并开始以宗教牧师的身份周游全国。作为一个引人注目的讲演者，她宣扬、歌颂并呼吁人民接受上帝的旨义和人人皆兄弟的博爱。她的观点是宗教与废奴主义的混合体。当她发现了女权运动之后，她的观点还具有了女权主义的色彩。在内战期间，她代表联邦派同盟为黑人军团募集军需品。于 1864 年，她访问华盛顿特区，在那儿帮助取消市内有轨电车上的种族隔离，并且在白宫受到了亚伯拉罕.林肯总统的接见。

在 1850 年，索乔纳.特鲁斯参加了在马萨诸塞的伍斯特召开的首届全国妇女权利大会。她是与会的唯一黑人妇女。第二年，索乔纳.特鲁斯参加了在阿克伦举行的俄亥俄妇女权利大会。许多与会者反对她出席，担心女权运动会与不受欢迎的废奴主义混淆起来。当索乔纳站起来发言时，会场响起了一阵非难的嘘声。但是，当她演讲结束时，从观众中爆发出雷鸣般的掌声。

唉，孩子们，凡是这个吵闹的地方，一定是出了什么毛病。我想，从南方的黑人到北方的妇女，大家都在谈论着权利，白人绅士们很快就要吃苦头了。可是，这儿的一切都在谈论什么呢.

在那儿的那位男人说什么妇女上车要人帮忙，过小沟得人抱着，到哪儿都得为她们让出最好的位置。可是谁也不曾帮我上车，或帮我过烂泥洼，或为我让出最好的位置!那么，我就不是女人吗.看看我!看看我的胳膊。我拉过犁，种过地，收获过庄稼，可是没有一个男人劝阻过我!那么，我就不是女人吗.我能像男人一样干活，一样吃喝——如果我能够弄得到的话——并且像男人一样遭鞭打!那么，我就不是女人吗.我生过十三个孩子，眼睁睁地看着大多数孩子都被卖作奴隶。当我带着母亲的悲哀哭泣时，除了上帝以外，谁也没听到我的哭声!那么，我就不是女人吗.

于是，他们大谈起脑子里的那个玩艺儿。他们管它叫什么来着。[智力，有人轻声说。]对，就是那玩艺儿。天哪，那跟女人的权利或黑人的权利有什么关系呢。如果我的杯子只能盛下一品托，而你的杯子能盛下一夸脱，那么你会小气到不为我盛满那仅仅是你的一半大的杯子吗。

于是，那儿的那位穿黑衣服的小个子男人说，女人不能拥有与男人一样多的权利，因为基督不是女人！那么，你的基督从哪儿来的呢。你的基督是从哪儿来的呢。是从上帝和一个女人那儿来的！人跟上帝不是一回事。

如果上帝创造的第一个女人能够独自把世界翻了个底朝天，那么，这些女人一起应当能够再把世界翻转回来，使它重新恢复秩序！现在，女人们正疾呼要这么干，男人们最好别拦着她们。难为你们听我讲话。现在，老索乔纳没有什么别的话要说了。

Address to the Ohio Women's Rights Convention

Well, children, where there is so much racket there must be something out of kilter. I think that 'twixt the Negroes of the South and the women at the North, all talking about rights, the white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all this here talking about.

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman. Look at me! Look at my arm. I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman. I could work as much and eat as much as a man--when I could get it--and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman. I have borne thirteen children, and seen them most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman.

Then they talk about this thing in the head ; what's this they call it.

[Intellect, someone whispers.] That's it, honey. What's that got to do with women's rights or Negro's rights. If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yours holds a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half-measure full.

Then that little man in black there, he says women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wasn't a woman! Where did your Christ come from. Where did your Christ come from. From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him.

If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now they is asking to do it, the men better let them.

Obliged to you for hearing me, and now old Sojourner ain't got nothing more to say.

史蒂芬·福斯特

(STEPHEN FOSTER)

《哦，苏珊娜！》和《故乡的亲人》

Oh! Susanna and Old Folks at Home

史蒂芬·柯林斯·福斯特(1825—1864)于1826年7月4日生于宾夕法尼亚。他家里人曾想劝阻他打消对音乐的兴趣，他曾在辛辛那提他哥哥的商店里当了几年记帐员。但福斯特的音乐天才是压制不住的，他创作了大约二百首歌。由于受当时流行的化装黑人乐队表演及黑人民歌的影响，福斯特创作了大量的歌曲。其个最著名的是《哦，苏珊娜!》、《故乡的亲人》、《我的肯塔基老家》、《金发的珍妮姑娘》、《坎普敦赛跑》、《老黑奴》及《美丽的梦中人》。尽管福斯特的许多歌很快就流行了，但他不通生意，常被歌曲出版商占了便宜。如果他早听父母的劝告，他就能谈判到更优厚的版税，并保护他的著作权。由于贫困和酗酒，他三十七岁便去世了。

《哦，苏珊娜!》是福斯特最早写的一首歌，1848年，他以一百美元把版权卖给一个音乐出版商，像福斯特的许多歌曲一样，这首歌也是写化装黑人乐队

表演的。一夜之间，这首歌就引起轰动——成了立即流行的「民歌」，也是 1849 年淘金热时期涌向西部的开发者们最喜爱的一支歌。

《故乡的亲人》作于 1851 年，由于歌中充满对久别故乡的伤感与怀旧之情，所以一直很流行。福斯特从来没有想回到斯旺里河或旧庄园，因为当他写这首歌时，他还从未去过南方，也从未见过斯旺里河，在写歌词时，他考虑写，「沿着亚祖河下行」，放弃了，又想写「皮迪河」，又放弃了，后来翻开一本地图册，挑到 佛罗里达的斯旺河作为他想再访的地方。他唯一的一次南方之行是在 1852 年，即这首歌发表后一年。

哦，苏珊娜！我来自阿拉巴马，膝上拖着班卓琴，
我要去到路易斯安娜，
为了看望我情人。
我离开那晚下着雨，
白天气候很干，
赤日炎炎，我却冷得要死，
苏珊娜，别哭泣。(合唱)
哦，苏珊娜，别为我哭泣，我来自阿拉巴马，膝上拖着班卓琴。几天前一个万籁俱寂之夜，
我做了一个梦，
梦见亲爱的苏珊娜，
梦见她走下山岗，
嘴里含着荞麦饼，
眼里还挂着泪花，
我说我来自南方，
苏珊娜，别哭泣。
我即将来到新奥尔良，
到那以后我会四处找，

Oh! Susanna and Old Folks at Home

Oh! Susanna

I come from Alabama -with a banjo on my knee;

I'm gone to Lou'siana

My true love for to see.

It rained all night the day I left,

The weather it was dry.

The sun so hot I froze to death,

Susanna, don't you cry.

CHORUS:

Oh! Susanna, don't you cry for me;

I come from Alabama with a banjo on my knee

I had a dream the other night,
When everything was still;

一旦我找到了苏珊娜，
我会扑到地上向她求爱，
假如我不能找到她，
我这黑鬼一定会死，
当我死后被埋葬，
苏珊娜，别哭泣。 故乡的亲人沿着斯
旺里河下行，
千里迢迢，
那儿是我心向往的地方，
那儿是我老乡住的地方，
我浪迹江湖，走遍了
天涯海角，
但我仍怀念故乡的亲人，
和那古老的田庄。

(合唱)

我走遍天涯，到处流浪，
世态炎凉，历尽辛酸，
哦，黑老哥们，远离故乡的亲人
我的心已渐渐憔悴。
幼年时我常在农场里，
到处游玩，
那时我曾度过许多好时光，
也唱过许多歌，
每当与兄弟玩乐
我总很快活，
哦，请带我回慈母身旁，
让我生老病死在故乡。
丛林中的小茅屋，
我很喜欢，

I thought I saw Susanna dear,
a'coming down the hill.
The buckwheat cake was in
her mouth,
The tear was in her eye.
Says I, I'm coming from the
South,
Susanna, don't you cry.
I soon will be in New Orleans,
And then I'll look all 'round,
And when I find Susanna,
I'll fall upon the ground.
But if I do not find her,
This darkey'll surely die,
And when I'm dead and
buried,
Susanna, don't you cry.
Old Folks at Home
'Way down upon the Swanee
River,
Far far away,
There's where my heart is
turning ever,
There's where the old folks
stay.
All up and down the whole
creation,
Sadly I roam,
Still longing for the old

不论我流浪到何方，
它总使我愁肠望断。
何时再看见蜜蜂
绕着蜂窝嗡嗡？
何时能在我可爱的故乡，
听见班卓琴悠扬的琴声？

plantation,
And for the old folks at home.
CHORUS:
All the world is sad and dreary
Everywhere I roam,
Oh, darkies, how my heart
grows weary,
Far from the old folks at home.
All 'round the little farm I
wandered
When I was young,
Then many happy days I
squandered,
Many the songs I sung.
When I was playing with my
brother
Happy was I.
Oh! take me to my kind old
mother,
There let me live and die.
One little hut among the
bushes,
One that I love,
Still sadly to my mem'ry
rushes,
No matter where I rove.
When will I see the bees
a-humming
All 'round the comb.

	When will I hear the banjo strumming Down in my good old home.
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伊丽莎白·凯蒂·斯坦顿
(ELIZABETH CALM STANTON)

在纽约立法机关作的关于女权的讲话

Address to the Legislature of New York on Women's Rights

我们要求的权利，仅仅是与你们为你们自己制定的相同的权利。……理由很简单——每个人的权利都是相同的、彼此一样的。

伊丽莎白·凯蒂·斯坦顿(1815—1902)是美国争取妇女平等权利运动的战略制定者、演说家、哲学家和宣传家。她是纽约州北部地区一个富有而且保守的家族的女儿。她丈夫亨利·比·斯坦顿是一位废奴主义者和律师。她有七个孩子，(最小的孩子出生于 1859 年)。1848 年，由于她的努力，纽约州通过了一项划时代的法案，赋予已婚妇女以财产权；同时，她又是 于同年召开的塞尼卡福尔斯女权大会的主要发起者。1851 年，她与苏珊·比·安东尼联手。从那以后，她们俩成了十九世纪美国女权运动的领袖。

1854 年 2 月，斯坦顿代表女权倡导者大会出席了在奥尔巴举行的纽约州立法会议。斯坦顿与安东尼在每位议员的桌上放了一份讲话稿，并且还印发了五万份小册子。在发言前，斯坦顿(时年 38 岁)先将讲话读给父亲听。她父亲是位受人尊敬的法学家，他起初曾威胁要取消她的继承权，结果却帮助她从法律的角度进行分析。

……先生们，在共和制的美国，在十九世纪，我们作为一七七六年革命英雄的女儿，要求你们洗雪我们的冤屈——修定你们的州宪法——制定一部新的法典。请允许我们尽可能简要地提请你们注意使我们吃尽苦头的所谓法律上的无资格。

第一点，请看看妇女作为女人的地位。依照法律，我们可以生存、呼吸，有权

从我们法律上的保护人处索取生活必需品——为我们所犯的罪过受罚；但是，仅仅如此是不够的。我们是人，是本地人，生来就是自由民，是财产持有者，是付税人；可是，人们却拒不允许我们享有选举权，我们养活我们自己，而且还部分地负担了学校、大学、教会的费用，部分地负担了你们的贫民院、监狱、陆军、海军和整个国家机器的费用。但是，我们在你们的议会里却没有发言权。除了性别之外，我们完全符合宪法规定的合法投票人所必备的条件，我们讲道德，守贞节，聪明理智，在各个方面都与骄傲的白人男子不相上下。可是，你们的法律却把我们同白痴、疯子和黑人划归一类。尽管我们觉得这样一种地位并不会给我们带来任何荣耀，但是实际上，我们的法律地位比他们还要低。因为，如果黑人拥有二百五十美元，便有权成为投票人；疯子可以在他理智清醒的瞬间投票；白痴，只要是男性，只要不是彻头彻尾的傻瓜，就也能投票。可是我们呢。我们领导了伟大的慈善运动，设立了慈善机构，编辑杂志，出版论述历史、经济和数理统计的著作；我们领导了国家、军队，出任教授，给当代的学者讲授哲学与数学；我们发现星球，驾驶船舶漂洋过海。可是，人们却拒不给予我们公民的最神圣的权利，其原因，就因为，天哪，我们来到这个共和国时未被赋予男人的尊严！……难道说，在这个我们认为没有皇家血统，没有使徒后裔的地方，在这个宣称人人生而平等的地方，在这个宣称政府的正当权力来自被治理的人民的同意的地方，你们却一心要建立这样一种贵族制度，它将无知、粗俗的人置于有教养的、高雅的人士之上，将外人和苦力置于当代作家、诗人之上，将儿子置于生养了他们的母亲之上吗……

第二点，请看看妇女作为妻子的地位。婚姻事实上是建立在英国的古老习惯法之上的，是一个仅仅由于文明进步才得到一点改善的种种野蛮习俗的混合体。你们有关婚姻的法律公开违背了我们关于正义、关于我们本性中最神圣的感情的开明观念。如果你们对婚姻持最神圣的看法，视其为神圣的关系，是唯有爱情才能建立和满足的关系，那么。人类立法所能做的当然仅仅是承认这种关系。人既不能人为地系上也不能松开婚姻的约束，因为这个特权仅属于上帝，是上帝创造了男人与女人，以及将他们结合在一起的吸引法则。但是，如果你们视婚姻为民间契约，那么就让它服从制约所有其他契约的同样法则。不要把婚姻弄成一种半人半神的机制，一种你能建立但却不能管理的机制。你们不要为这

种契约制定特殊的法令，从而将自己卷入最荒唐、最严重的矛盾之中。根据你们的法律，凡是不满 21 岁的人不得签约购买马匹或土地，而且，如果签约中有欺骗行为，或签约人未完全履约，那么他还可以不受该契约的束缚。根据你们法律，所有民事契约的签约方，只要仍保留他们签约前的身份、能力和独立性，便有充分的权利以任何理由按他们自己的意愿和选择来解除合作关系和契约。那么，你们是根据什么民事法律原则，允许 14 岁的男孩与 12 岁的女孩违背一切自然法则地订立比任何其他契约都更具有巨大重要性的契约，并且，不论发生什么情况，即使他们感到失望，感到受骗上当，感到痛苦，他们也必须终生恪守这个契约呢。而且，签署这种契约意味着签约的一方立刻丧失其公民权利。仅仅在昨天还傲视跪地求婚者的女子，昨天在人类天平上的读数还高到足以与一位骄傲的撒克逊男子以同等条件签定契约的女子，今天便全无公民的权利，全无社会自由了。妻子不能继承财产，其法律地位与南方种植园里的奴隶毫无两样。她什么也不能占有，什么也不能出售。她甚至连支配自己赚来的工资的权利都没有。她的身子，她的时间，她的劳动都是另一个人的财产。...

第三点，请看看妇女作为寡妇的地位。每当我们试图指出法律对妻子的不公正时，那些总要我们相信法律已无法改善了的人便向我们指出寡妇的特权、权力和要求权。让我们稍微看看这些吧。.....瞧瞧法律的宽宏大量吧：它允许寡妇终生保留、享有地产的三分之一利息，享有丈夫个人财产的二分之一，而法律自己却占有了大部分的财富！如果妻子先于丈夫去世，那么房产和土地却仍将全部属于丈夫。没人胆敢干扰他家的清静，或骚扰他神圣的忧伤避难所。请问，如此区别对待男人与妇女，能叫作正义吗.....

人们多次而且常常一本正经地问我们，「你们女人缺什么呢.你们的目的是什么呢.」许多人表现出一种值得称颂的好奇心。他们想知道，在共和制的美国，妻子和女儿有什么可抱怨的。她们的先生和儿子曾经那么英勇地为了自由而战，并且光荣地赢得了独立，将所有的暴政、偏执和等级制度统统踩在脚下，向启盼着的世界宣布了一条神圣的真理——人人生而平等。在这样的政府下，妇女能缺少什么呢？承认在性别上的根本差异，那么你就得要求获得不同的地位——有如水之于鱼，空气之于鸟雀一样。

人们无法使南方的种植园主相信他的奴隶同他一样有感觉，能思维。人们无法

使他相信，对于他的奴隶来说，非正义与压迫就像对他一样痛苦。人们无法使他相信：他的奴隶也能像主人一样强烈地感受到按照他人意志生活的屈辱，感受到听凭他人癖性的支配，任凭他人情欲的摆布的奴役性。如果你能强迫他违心地看一幅黑人蒙受冤苦的写照。使他的灵魂一时受到震动，那么他的逻辑会立刻使他得到安慰。他会说，奴隶感觉不到我所感觉到的。先生，这就是我们困难之所在。当我们面对共和国的议员和学者，为我们的事业辩护时他们无法接受男人和女人是相像的观点。只要这些人都处于这种错觉之中，那么公共舆论对于所揭示出的妇女地位的不公正和低下所表示的惊讶，将比不上对妇女终于觉醒、并且意识到这一不公正事实所表示出的惊讶。.....

但是，先生们，如果你们以男人与女人相像为由，进而认为你们是我们忠实的代表的话，那么，你们为什么要为妇女制定出这些特殊的法律呢.难道同一部法典不能满足所有类似的需要吗.基督的金科玉律胜过所有凡人才子能够设想出的特殊法令，「己所不欲，勿施于人。」先生兄弟们，这就是我们对你们要求。我们要求的权利，仅仅是与你们为你们自己制定的相同的权利。我们需要的保障，仅仅是现行法律为你们提供的保障。

最后，让我们代表全州的妇女声明，我们所要求的，正是你们自从「五月花」号在普利茅斯港抛锚以来，在开发过程中你们为自己所要求得到的。理由很简单——每个人的权利都是相同的，彼此一样的。你们可能会说，本州的大部分妇女并未提出这个要求，提出要求的只是一些失望的、令人讨厌的老处女和没有子女的女人。

你们错了。广大妇女是通过我们来发言的。本州绝大部分妇女自食其力，而且还供养孩子，许多人还供养她们的丈夫。...

那么，你们真的认为这些妇女不希望掌握她们挣来的工资，不希望拥有自己购买的土地和自己建起的房子吗.你们真的认为她们不希望将自己的孩子置于自己的支配之下，而不必遭受一位一钱不值、花天酒地的懒汉的没完没了的干涉和蹂躏呢.你们以为任何女人都是如此虔诚、驯服，以至于心甘情愿地终日缝纫，却仅仅挣得可怜的 50 美分吗.你们以为她们希望遵照你们的法律，享受那个为丈夫支付烟钱和酒钱的无法言喻的特权吗.试想想，一个十足畜生一样的酒鬼，他的妻子会同意与他分享她的家和她的床吗，如果法律和公共舆论允

许她解除这种粗野的伴侣关系的话.很明显，她绝对不会同意！...

我们为所有的这些妇女说话，如果在这长长的单子上，你们再加上那些大声疾呼要求赔偿她们没完没了的劳动的妇女；再加上那些在我们的私立女子学校、高等学府和公立学校任教，却仅仅换来微薄收入的女子；再加上那些被无情课以税款的寡妇；再加上那些被关在感化院、贫民院和监狱里的不幸的妇女；那么，我们还有什么人不能代表呢.我们不能代表的只不过是一些时髦的轻浮女子，她们像蝴蝶一样，在短暂的夏日里，追逐阳光和花朵，但是秋季的凉风和冬天的白霜很快便会驱走阳光和花朵，那时，她们也将需要、也将寻求保护。到那时，将轮到她们通过别人的嘴向你们提出争取正义与平等的要求。

Address to the Legislature of New York on Women's Rights

. . . . Gentlemen, in republican America, in the nineteenth century, we, the daughters of the revolutionary heroes of '76, demand at your hands the redress of our grievances--a revision of your State Constitution--a new code of laws. Permit us then, as briefly as possible, to call your attention to the legal disabilities under which we labor.

1st. Look at the position of woman as woman. It is not enough for us that by your laws we are permitted to live and breathe, to claim the necessities of life from our legal protectors--to pay the penalty of our crimes; we demand the full recognition of all our rights as citizens of the Empire State. We are persons; native, freeborn citizens; property-holders, tax-payers; yet are we denied the exercise of our right to the elective franchise. We support ourselves, and, in part, your schools, colleges, churches, your poor-houses, jails, prisons, the army, the navy, the whole machinery of government, and yet we have no voice in your councils. We have every qualification required by the Constitution, necessary to the legal voter, but the one of sex. We are moral, virtuous, and

intelligent, and in all respects quite equal to the proud white man himself, and yet by your laws we are classed with idiots, lunatics, and negroes; and though we do not feel honored by the place assigned us, yet, in fact, our legal position is lower than that of either; for the negro can be raised to the dignity of a voter if he possess himself of \$250; the lunatic can vote in his moments of sanity, and the idiot, too, if he be a male one, and not more than nine-tenths a fool; but we, who have guided great movements of charity, established missions, edited journals, published works on history, economy, and statistics; who have governed nations, led armies, filled the professor's chair, taught philosophy and mathematics to the savants of our age, discovered planets, piloted ships across the sea, are denied the most sacred rights of citizens, because, forsooth, we came not into this republic crowned with the dignity of manhood! . . . Can it be that here, where we acknowledge no royal blood, no apostolic descent, that you, who have declared that all men were created equal--that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, would willingly build up an aristocracy that places the ignorant and vulgar above the educated and refined--the alien and the ditch digger above the authors and poets of the day--an aristocracy that would raise the sons above the mothers that bore them. . . .

2d. Look at the position of woman as wife. Your laws relating to marriage--founded as they are on the old common law of England, a compound of barbarous usages, but partially modified by progressive civilization--are in open violation of our enlightened ideas of justice, and of the holiest feelings of our nature. If you take the highest view of marriage, as a Divine relation, which love alone can constitute and sanctify, then of course human legislation can

only recognize it. Men can neither bind nor loose its ties, for that prerogative belongs to God alone, who makes man and woman, and the laws of attraction by which they are united. But if you regard marriage as a civil contract, then let it be subject to the same laws which control all other contracts. Do not make it a kind of half human, half-divine institution, which you may build up, but can not regulate. Do not, by your special legislation for this one kind of contract, involve yourselves in the grossest absurdities and contradictions.

So long as by your laws no man can make a contract for a horse or piece of land until he is twenty-one years of age, and by which contract he is not bound if any deception has been practiced, or if the party contracting has not fulfilled his part of the agreement--so long as the parties in all mere civil contracts retain their identity and all the power and independence they had before contracting, with the full right to dissolve all partnerships and contracts for any reason, at the will and option of the parties themselves, upon what principle of civil jurisprudence do you permit the boy of fourteen and the girl of twelve, in violation of every natural law, to make a contract more momentous in importance than any other, and then hold them to it come what may, the whole of their natural lives, in spite of disappointment, deception, and misery. Then, too, the signing of this contract is instant civil death to one of the parties. The woman who but yesterday was sued on bended knee, who stood so high in the scale of being as to make an agreement on equal terms with a proud Saxon man, to-day has no civil existence, no social freedom. The wife who inherits no property holds about the same legal position that does the slave of the Southern plantation. She can own nothing, sell nothing. She has no right even

to the wages she earns; her person, her time, her services are the property of another. . . .

3d. Look at the position of woman as widow. Whenever we attempt to point out the wrongs of the wife, those who would have us believe that the laws can not be improved, point us to the privileges, powers, and claims of the widow. Let us look into these a little. . . . Behold the magnanimity of the law in allowing the widow to retain a life interest in one-third the landed estate, and one-half the personal property of her husband, and taking the lion's share to itself! Had she died first, the house and land would all have been the husband's still. No one would have dared to intrude upon the privacy of his home, or to molest him in his sacred retreat of sorrow. How, I ask you, can that be called justice, which makes such a distinction as this between man and woman. . . .

Many times and oft it has been asked us, with unaffected seriousness, "What do you women want. What are you aiming at." Many have manifested a laudable curiosity to know what the wives and daughters could complain of in republican America, where their sires and sons have so bravely fought for freedom and gloriously secured their independence, trampling all tyranny, bigotry, and caste in the dust, and declaring to a waiting world the divine truth that all men are created equal. What can woman want under such a government. Admit a radical difference in sex, and you demand different spheres--water for fish, and air for birds.

It is impossible to make the Southern planter believe that his slave feels and reasons just as he does--that injustice and subjection are as galling as to him--that the degradation of living by the will of another, the mere dependent on his caprice, at the mercy of his passions, is as keenly felt by him as his master. If you can force on

his unwilling vision a vivid picture of the negro's wrongs, and for a moment touch his soul, his logic brings him instant consolation. He says, the slave does not feel this as I would. Here, gentlemen, is our difficulty: When we plead our cause before the law-makers and savants of the republic, they can not take in the idea that men and women are alike; and so long as the mass rest in this delusion, the public mind will not be so much startled by the revelations made of the injustice and degradation of woman's position as by the fact that she should at length wake up to a sense of it. . . .

But if, gentlemen, you take the ground that the sexes are alike, and, therefore, you are our faithful representatives--then why all these special laws for woman. Would not one code answer for all of like needs and wants. Christ's golden rule is better than all the special legislation that the ingenuity of man can devise: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." This, men and brethren, is all we ask at your hands. We ask no better laws than those you have made for yourselves. We need no other protection than that which your present laws secure to you.

In conclusion, then, let us say, in behalf of the women of this State, we ask for all that you have asked for yourselves in the progress of your development, since the Mayflower cast anchor beside Plymouth rock; and simply on the ground that the rights of every human being are the same and identical. You may say that the mass of the women of this State do not make the demand; it comes from a few sour, disappointed old maids and childless women.

You are mistaken; the mass speak through us. A very large majority of the women of this State support themselves and their children, and many their husbands too. . . .

Now, do you candidly think these wives do not wish to control the

wages they earn--to own the land they buy--the houses they build. to have at their disposal their own children, without being subject to the constant interference and tyranny of an idle, worthless profligate. Do you suppose that any woman is such a pattern of devotion and submission that she willingly stitches all day for the small sum of fifty cents, that she may enjoy the unspeakable privilege, in obedience to your laws, of paying for her husband's tobacco and rum. Think you the wife of the confirmed, beastly drunkard would consent to share with him her home and bed, if law and public sentiment would release her from such gross companionship. Verily, no!...

For all these, then, we speak. If to this long list you add the laboring women who are loudly demanding remuneration for their unending toil; those women who teach in our seminaries, academies, and public schools for a miserable pittance; the widows who are taxed without mercy; the unfortunate ones in our workhouses, poor-houses, and prisons; who are they that we do not now represent. But a small class of the fashionable butterflies, who, through the short summer days, seek the sunshine and the flowers; but the cool breezes of autumn and the hoary frosts of winter will soon chase all these away; then they too, will need and seek protection, and through other lips demand in their turn justice and equity at your hands.

西雅图酋长的演说

Chief Seattle's Oration

在我的人民看来，这儿的每一寸土地都是神圣的。每一个山坡，每一条山谷，每一块平原和树林都由于一些在那早已消逝的岁月里的悲伤或愉快的事件，而变成了圣地。

西雅图酋长是濒临太平洋的西北地区六个印地安部落的酋长。1854 年 12 月，他对包括准州州长，白人移民和大约一千名印地安人在内的集会发表演说。他的讲话是针对州长伊萨克.艾.史蒂文斯的。史蒂文斯州长刚从华盛顿特区来，带来了购买印地安人土地，设置印地安人保护区的指示。在后来成为西雅图市的地方，酋长发表了人们称之为「葬礼演说」或者说是「天鹅临终之歌」的演说。他表示他接受联邦政府的提议，不发动战争以反抗在力量上占绝对优势的政府，因为那是注定要失败的。早期历史常常反复刊载移民与印地安人之间的骇人听闻的战事。但是，当大多数印地安人部落被驱赶到西部，被驯化或被摧残之后，印地安人成了人们同情或感伤的物件，成了「进步」或命定说的不可避免的受害者。西雅图酋长的演说一再被重印，不是为了感伤地看待他为之辩护的人们，而是因为他动人地描述了红种人与白种人之间的差异。下文再现了西雅图酋长的演说。该文系亨利.阿.史密斯博士所作。他在 1854 年那个具有历史意义的事件中，是西雅图酋长的翻译。

.....说不清有多少世纪了，苍天为我的人民洒下了多少动情的泪水，它在我们看来是永恒不变的，但却可能要变了。今天晴空万里，明天却可能乌云密布。不过，我的话却像那些星星，永世不变。如同日落日出，四季周而复始是不容置疑的一样，西雅图酋长说的一切，华盛顿的大首领同样也无须置疑。白人头领说，华盛顿的大头领向我们表示友谊和善意。这是他的好意，因为我们知道，他根本无需我们以友谊作为回报。他们人多，多得就像那覆盖着广阔草原的青草。我的人民人少力薄，就像风暴肆虐后零星留在平原上的树木。白人大首领，我姑且认为他是善良的首领，捎信给我们，说他希望购买我们的土地，不过愿意允许我们拥有足够我们安逸生活的土地。这看来的确是公正、甚至是慷慨的，因为红种人不再拥有他必须尊重的权利了；这可能也是明智的，因为我们已不再需要辽阔的乡土了。

我们的人民曾一度像大风搅乱的大海覆盖着布满贝壳的海床一样覆盖着这片土地，但是，那时代早已同庞大的部落一道成为过去，而那些部落现在只不过是一桩令人忧伤的回忆。我不想细述或哀悼我们不合时宜的衰败；我也不想斥责那些加速了我们衰败过程的白脸兄弟，因为我们对此可能也有责任。

青年是容易感情冲动的。当我们的年轻人对某些真正的或臆想的冤屈而气愤的时候，他们用黑颜料来改变他们的面容。这表明他们的心是黑的。他们常常是残暴冷酷的，我们年迈的老头子和老太婆无法约束他们。事情向来如此。当白人最初将我们的祖先往西赶时，情况就是这样。不过，让我们希望我们之间的敌意永远别再复生。我们将丧失一切，而一无所获。年轻人又琢磨着报仇了，即使牺牲他们自己的生命，也在所不辞。但是，那些在战时留在家中的老年人，那些将失去儿子的母亲比较明智些，他们不会答应的。

我们在华盛顿的慈父——因为我姑且承认他现在是我们的父亲，也是你们的父亲，既然乔治国王已经将他的边界往北移了——我们伟大的慈父捎信给我们，表示如果我们按照他说的话办，他就保护我们。他英勇的战士对我们来说，将成为严阵以待的铜墙铁壁，而他那顶呱呱的战舰将遍布我们的港口，这样，我们北方的宿敌——海达斯和茨姆先斯部落就不能吓唬我们的妇女、儿童和老人了。那么，实际上他将成为我们的父亲，而我们将成为他的孩子吗。这可能吗。你们的上帝不是我们的上帝！你们的上帝疼爱你们的人民，但却增恨我的人民。你们的上帝用他有力的胳膊疼爱地搂着白人，保护他，像父亲领着幼儿一样手把手地领着他——但是，他却遗忘了他的红种子女——如果他们真是他的子女的话，我们的上帝是伟大的神灵，但他似乎也遗忘了我们。你们的上帝使你们的人口日益增长，很快他们就将充斥整个大地。而我们的人口，却像迅速退去而且水不再涨的潮水一样，越来越少。白人的上帝不可能疼爱我们的人民，不然他就会保护他们的。他们就像无依无靠的婴儿。这样，我们怎么能成为兄弟呢。你们的上帝怎么会成为我们的上帝呢。你们的上帝怎么会再现我们的繁盛，唤醒我们心中要求重新强大起来的梦想呢。如果说我们同有一位天国之父，那么他一定是偏心的——因为他只看望他的白人子女。我们从未见过他。他赋予你们法律，可是对他的红种子女却没有片言只语，尽管他的这些子女曾人丁兴旺，一度充斥这片广袤的大陆，就像繁星充斥了太空一样。不！我们是两个不同的种族，起源不同，命运也不同。我们之间没有什么共同之处。

祖先的骨灰对我们来说是神圣的，他们安息之场所是圣地。你们远离祖先的墓地漫游，并且似乎毫无任何遗憾的感觉。你们的宗教是你们的上帝用他铁一般的手指，书写在石碑上，这样你们就不会遗忘。红种人永远无法理解，也无法

记住你们的宗教。我们的宗教是我们祖先的传统——是伟大神灵在深夜庄严的时刻交给我们老人的梦想，是我们酋长心中的幻象。我们的宗教就写在我们人民的心中。

你们的死者一旦迈进坟墓的门槛，便远游星际，不再钟爱你们，不再钟爱养育了他们的故土。他们很快便被遗忘，也永远不再回返。我们的死者永远不会忘却那给予他们身心的美丽家园。他们依旧留恋那碧绿的山谷，潺潺的流水，巍巍的丛山，与世隔绝的溪谷，镶着翠绿堤岸的湖泊和海湾。他们甚至柔情脉脉地思慕那些仍然活在世间的心中寂寞的人们，常常从欢乐的狩猎场抽身回来探望、指引、抚问和安慰他们。昼夜不能同在。红种人一向在白种人来临时遁去，就像晨雾在晨曦前逃逸一样。

不过，你们的建议看来还公平。我想，我的人民会接受，并且将退到你们为我们提供的保护区内。那时，我们就将分别生活在和平之中，因为白人大首领的话似乎就是那冥冥无知的自然对我的人民说的一样。

我们的余生在何处度过没有多大关系。反正所剩的时日也不多了。印地安人的夜看来是漆黑一片。地平线上连颗希望之星都没有。凄风在远处呻吟。冷酷无情的命运看来是跟定了红种人的足迹。无论他走到哪里，都会听到凶残的杀手逼近的脚步声。他木然地准备迎接死亡，就像受伤的母鹿听到猎人逼近的脚步声时一样。

再过几个月，再过几个冬天——昔日在伟大神灵庇佑下，驰骋在这片辽阔的土地上或安居在幸福家园的强大主人们，到头来将连一个在坟头哀悼的后人都不会留下——那是一度曾比你们更强大、更有希望的民族的坟家啊。不过，为什么我要对我的人民过早夭折的命运哀悼呢。一个部落取代另一个部落，一个民族取代另一个民族，就像大海的波浪，一浪接一浪。这就是自然的法则，悔恨是无济于事的。你们衰败的时日也许还很遥远，但是它终究会到来，因为即使白人与他的上帝一道漫步、交谈，有如朋友，白人也逃脱不了相同的命运。我们最终可能成为兄弟。我们等着瞧。

我们将考虑你们的建议，一旦我们作出了决定，便会通知你们。不过，倘若我们接受了你们的建议，此时此地我要提出这个条件，我们将有权不受干扰地祭扫我们祖先、朋友和子女的坟墓。在我的人民看来，这儿的每一寸土地都是神

圣的。每一个山坡，每一条山谷，每一块平原和树林都由于一些在那早已消逝的岁月里的悲伤或愉快的事件，而变成了圣地。岩石貌似麻木、毫无生气，但却在那阳光普照的静悄悄的海岸边淌着汗水，颤栗着回想起那些与我的人民联系在一起的动人往事；那片就在你们脚底下的沙土回应他们脚步比起回应你们脚步来，要带着更多的爱与情，因为它包含着我们祖先的鲜血，而我们赤裸的双足能感觉到它满怀同情的爱抚。我们逝去的勇士、慈祥的母亲、欢快的少年，甚至还有孩童，他们曾在这儿生活，曾在这儿庆祝过短暂的时光，他们将热爱这些幽暗僻静的地方。当潮汐平息时，他们在这儿迎候返乡人的身影。倘若最后一位红种人也泯灭了，关于我的部落的回忆将成为白人之间的传说。这些海岸将充满我部落中冥冥不可见的死者，当你们孩子的孩子以为他们是独自呆在田野上、商店里、店铺里、公路上或者寂静无径的树林里时，他们却并不孤单。在这地球上，没有僻静的地方。深夜，当你们的城市、乡村的街道寂静无声的时候，你们以为这些街道已经被人舍弃了，而实际上，它们却熙熙攘攘挤满了那些还乡的主人。他们曾经充斥了这些街道。他们仍然钟情于这片美丽的土地。白人永远不会孤单的。

愿他公正善良地对待我的人民。死去的并不是无能为力的。死去的？我这么说了吗？世上没有死亡，只有转世。

Chief Seattle's Oration

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 men first began to push our forefathers further 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 at 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

Hydas and Tsimpsons, will cease to frighten our women, children and old men. Then in reality will he be our father and we 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 pale face and leads him by the hand as a father leads his 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 strong 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 tables of stone by the iron finger of your God so that you could not forget. The Red Man could never comprehend nor remember it. Our religion is the traditions of our ancestors--the dreams of our old men, given them in solemn hours of 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 the 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 Indians' 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 goes 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 to 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 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's 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.

露西.斯通

(LUCY STONE)

一位失望的女人

A Disappointed Woman

在教育、婚姻、宗教方面，在各个方面，失望是妇女的命运。

露西.斯通(1818-1893)生于麻塞诸塞，在九个孩子中排行第八。当她家庭拒绝资助她上大学时，她到学校任教，攒足了钱后，进了美国第一所招收女学生的大学——奥伯林学院学习。斯通是位废奴主义者和女权主义者，而且还是位著名的演说家。当她在 1855 年嫁给改革家亨利.布莱克威尔时，他们拟定了一个新式的婚姻契约，以抗议将妻子置于丈夫管辖之下的法律。为了象征性地表示她独立的身份，斯通保留了她当姑娘时的姓氏。这是这个领域中一个引人注目的举措。露西.斯通同盟长期鼓励妇女在婚后保留她们当姑娘时的姓氏。

在 1869 年，露西.斯通与亨利.布莱克威尔帮助成立了「全美妇女选举权协会」并创为了一家针对选举权的主要杂志——《妇女之刊》。下文摘自斯通于 1855 年 10 月在俄亥俄的辛辛那提举行的全国妇女权利大会上的即席演讲。

上一位发言者暗示说这个运动是一些失望妇女的运动。从我记忆中最早的年代起，我就一直是个失望的女子。当我与我的兄弟一道追求寻觅知识的源泉时，人们责备我说：「那对你不合适；那不属于女人。」那时，世界上只有一所大学录取女学生，而那所大学在巴西。我本来会想办法到那儿去的。不过，当我准备上路的时候，在年轻的俄亥俄州开办了一所大学——美国第一所允许妇女和黑人享有与白种男人同样机会的大学。当我要寻求一个能使英名永垂青史的职

业时，我失望了——除了教师、裁缝和管家之外，所有职业的大门都对我紧锁着。在教育、婚姻、宗教方面，在各个方面，失望是妇女的命运。我毕生的工作是加深每个妇女心中的这种失望感，直至她们不再向它低头为止。我希望妇女不要成为会走路的摆设，不要向她们的父亲和兄弟索讨最时髦、最华丽的新帽子，而要向他要她们的权利。

妇女的权利问题是个实际的问题。占主导地位的观点认为，这只是个短时间的问题，它只不过是妇女要求有权在马路上抽烟，有权常常光顾酒吧间。其他人以为它是个相对说来属于知识界的问题；还有一些人则认为，它只是个事关地位、身份的问题。关于妇女的地位和身份，人们已经写得、说得太多了。所有这些说法归根到底，都仅仅是建立在一些时代习俗和偏见之上。这一点可以从以下事实中得到证明——某个国家的妇女可以做的事情，另一个国家的妇女却不许做。我国的妇女可以举行祷告会等等，但是在信奉伊斯兰教的国家里，清真寺上却写着：「女人与狗以及其他动物不得入内。」温德尔·菲利浦说：「一个人能够从事的最好而且最伟大的事情，是找到他的地位和身份。」我相信天父，当他赋予我们某种办事能力时，他不会铸下什么大错。那么，就让妇女去寻找她们自己的地位和身份吧。不要在我们出生之前就吩咐我们说，我们的领域就是烧饭、补袜和钉钮扣。.....

A Disappointed Woman

The last speaker alluded to this movement as being that of a few disappointed women. From the first years to which my memory stretches, I have been a disappointed woman. When, with my brothers, I reached forth after the sources of knowledge, I was reproved with "It isn't fit for you: it doesn't belong to women." Then there was but one college in the world where women were admitted, and that was in Brazil. I would have found my way there, but by the time I was prepared to go, one was opened in the young State of Ohio--the first in the United States where women and Negroes could enjoy opportunities with white men. I was disappointed when I

came to seek a profession worthy an immortal being--every employment was closed to me, except those of the teacher, the seamstress, and the housekeeper. In education, in marriage, in religion, in everything, disappointment is the lot of woman. It shall be the business of my life to deepen this disappointment in every woman's heart until she bows down to it no longer. I wish that women, instead of being walking show-cases, instead of begging of their fathers and brothers the latest and gayest new bonnet, would ask of them their rights.

The question of Woman's Rights is a practical one. The notion has prevailed that it was only an ephemeral idea; that it was but women claiming the right to smoke cigars in the streets, and to frequent bar-rooms. Others have supposed it a question of comparative intellect; others still, of sphere. Too much has already been said and written about woman's sphere. Trace all the doctrines to their source and they will be found to have no basis except in the usages and prejudices of the age. This is seen in the fact that what is tolerated in woman in one country is not tolerated in another. In this country women may hold prayer-meetings, etc., but in Mohammedan countries it is written upon their mosques, "Women and dogs, and other impure animals, are not permitted to enter." Wendell Phillips says, "The best and greatest thing one is capable of doing, that is his sphere." I have confidence in the Father to believe that when He gives us the capacity to do anything He does not make a blunder. Leave women, then, to find their sphere. And do not tell us before we are born even, that our province is to cook dinners, darn stockings, and sew on buttons. . . .

艾米莉.狄金森

(EMILY DICKINSON)

成 功

Success

艾米莉·狄金森(1830—1886)现在被公认为是美国最优秀的诗人之一，可在她有生之年所发表的诗作却寥寥无几。她在麻塞诸塞州的阿默斯特过着与世隔绝的生活。她是在阿默斯特学校(当地一所私立中学)和霍利奥克山女子学院受的教育。她极少冒险离开阿默斯特，甚至没有离开过家。她生在家里，死在家里，尽管艾米莉·狄金森缺少社会阅历，但她却有权丰富的内心世界，其诗歌的主题主要集中在像爱情，死亡和自然这样的永恒主题上。自她去世后的一个世纪里，她的诗已赢得了所有年龄段的人的赞赏。当今美国，诗歌能被定期编入教科书的诗人为数不多，狄金森便是其中之一。这部分是由于她的诗短，但也由于她的诗不需要专家来解释，她的诗能直接为读者所理解。

从未成功的人认为，
成功的滋味最甜美。
要以强烈的需求，
去领会花蜜的滋味。袞袞诸公显贵们，
执掌今日的大旗，
没有人能这样，
明了胜利的真谛。当他失败后垂死，
失聪的耳边突然响起
遥远的凯歌旋律
是如此痛苦而清晰。

Success
Success is counted sweetest
By those who ne'er succeed.
To comprehend a nectar
Requires sorest need.
Not one of all the purple host
Who took the flag to-day
Can tell the definition
So clear, of victory,
As he, defeated, dying,
On -whose forbidden ear
The distant strains of triumph
Break, agonized and clear.

戴维·沃尔克

(DAVID WALKER)

沃尔克的呼吁书

Walker's Appeal



The Liberty Almanac (废奴主义出版品) 的封面

我们(美国的有色种族)是有史以来生活在这个世上最卑微、最可怜、最凄惨的人们。

这是一篇在美国历史上最为声名赫赫的文章之一，作者是戴维·沃尔克(1785—1830)。他的父亲是个奴隶，母亲是自由人。他生于北卡罗莱纳州的威尔明顿市，后来在波士顿定居，并成长为废奴运动的积极分子。他向《自由日报》投稿，该报是美国第一家黑人报纸。他同时还在滨水区经营一家旧服装店。1829年，他写了题为《分四篇刊出、附加一篇序言、对世界有色公民——尤其是对美利坚合众国的有色公民——发出的沃尔克的呼吁书》的文章。

《呼吁书》谴责了奴隶制，并预言它将给美国带来毁灭。沃尔克反对在利比里亚建立黑人殖民地的计划，谴责白人牧师漠不关心的态度。他通过与水手朋友的关系，将他的《呼吁书》传到了南方，从而引起奴隶主们的盛怒。于是南方各州开始禁止废奴主义文学的传播，并签以法律来禁止对奴隶的文化教育。沃尔克受到悬赏通缉，但他拒绝逃亡。据信他说过：「我的立场不会改变；总有人要为此事业而牺牲的。」1830年6月。人们在他的店铺附近发现了他的尸体，据信是被毒死的。

在接下来的三十年里，沃尔克的《呼吁书》由废奴主义者一版再版。以下是这篇文章的节选。

我在美国游历甚广，在此过程中对现状作了最为细致的观察。观察的结果使我确信无疑：我们(美国的有色种族)是有史以来生活在这个世上最卑微、最可怜、最凄惨的人们。我向上帝祈祷：让人们永远永远不要再这样生活下去了。人们告诉了我们关于古埃及的以色列人、古斯巴达的农奴和古罗马的奴隶的情况，后者包括了几乎天底下的各个民族。他们在那些远古和野蛮的国度里受到的磨难，与我们在这开明的基督教国家所受到的相比，的确是微乎其微了——换句话说，那些远古的野蛮国家不过具有奴隶制的名称和形式而已；而虔信基督的美国人，却将不幸和无边的苦难加以浓缩而保存了下来，灌注到我们的先辈、我们自己和我们的后代身上去.....

在对我的深临苦海的同胞们发出呼吁之际，我心中十分明白，我将受到那些此生最大的愿望就是使我们保持愚昧无知和凄凉悲惨的状况的人们的围攻，受到那些坚信上苍本来就是将我们和我们的子女造就成为他们和他们的子女当牛做马的人们的围攻。不仅如此，我要说，我不仅会被这样贪得无厌的家伙们举街示众，说我是一个无知、鲁莽和爱闹事的人，给大众的生活带来骚扰不安，也许还会被投入监狱或处以极刑，就因为我将我们的苦难和暴君们的罪行公诸于众。也有人劝我说，我的许多同胞，特别是那些愚昧地与奴隶主和恶霸们同穿一条裤子的人，那些靠比他们更愚昧的同胞们的血汗辛劳而混口饭吃的人——其中确实有不少人愚昧得只顾眼前利益——他们会一哄而起诅咒我的。是的，我们中的谨小慎微者有可能会机关算尽地断言我的努力是徒劳的；他们会说我们的境况并不坏，没有必要加以改善，因为我们做不到。这里，我要问一个问题——我们的境况不是不能再糟糕了吗.——难道还会比这更糟更惨吗.如果我们的境况发生了变化，虽然开头有可能显得更糟，难道不会朝好的方向发展吗.这些变化会使我们更加沦落吗.它们会给我们带来什么.压迫者们不敢使我们境况更糟，因为他们非常清楚，要是他们这样做了，他们自己也就完了。然而，我要顶着所有可能加在我头上的罪名，为我撰写此文的动机向上天呼吁——上天知道我的目的是什么，这就是尽我所能，在我的备受苦难、低微卑贱和执迷不醒的同胞们的心中唤起一种精神，在这块自由共和国的土地上，对我

们的苦难和不幸的原因，问个究竟!!!! ……

几年前，我从一份南卡罗莱纳州的报纸上读到一段文章，谈到土耳其人的野蛮。文章写道：「土耳其人是世界上最野蛮的民族——他们对待希腊人就像对待野兽一样而不是作为人来对待。」在同一张报纸上有一则广告：「八个体格健壮的维吉尼亚和马里兰的黑人小伙子和四个黑人少女定为今日卖给出价最高者！」使我更加吃惊的是，我看到这张人道的报纸上登了三个男人的图片，在他们的背上烙有梅花印记，并附有一则通告，高价悬赏拿他们逮捕归案。我要说的是，听这个国家的南部和西部人谈什么野蛮，的确很滑稽，听来的确很使人感到可笑……

有色种族也是有知有觉的人，我的呼吁特别是对你们而发出的。我们较无知的同胞们不能理会它的价值。因此我号召你们将眼光投向你们同胞的不幸遭遇，尽你们之所能给他们以启迪——行动起来，启迪你们的同胞们！——让我们的主看看你们能做些什么把他们和你们自己从落魄中拯救出来。你们要做的事很多，尽管你们可能认为自己能做的是微不足道的。你们应该向美国人和整个世界证明：我们是人，不是野兽，而我们却一直被看作野兽，成百上千万的我们也是被当作野兽对待的。记住，你们在同胞们，特别是在年轻人中所作的努力，要达到的是教育和宗教的广泛传播……

我在我的上帝面前声明，美国的布道者们怎么看我们的我无法确知。他们有各种报纸和月刊源源不断地供他们享用，但在这些报刊杂志上你们很难发现有关奴隶制的段落，而奴隶制比起其他各种邪恶加在一起对这个国家的损伤也要大上千倍万倍。除非我们尽快采取措施，否则奴隶制最终将使这个国家的政府颠覆灭亡，因为他们的杯子已快到了满溢的边缘了。——也许他们会对此一笑了之，或漠然视之，但是我要告诉你们，美国人！除非你们改变你们的航向，否则你们和你们的国家就要完蛋了!!!!因为万能的上帝将把这个地球撕扯得面目全非!!!难道那非凡的圣书所说的不会降临到美国基督教徒身上吗.听听看吧，美国人!!「他如果不是正义的，就让他不正义吧；他如果是齷齪的，就让他齷齪吧；他如果是正义的，就让他正义吧；他如果是神圣的，就让他神圣吧。」我希望美国人听到这些，但是恐怕他们由于已经如此严重地伤害了我们，由于他们如此相信我们的造物主把我们造出来是永远给他们作为遗产来继承的，因

此他们已变得铁石心肠，这样，他们肯定要面临毁灭了。我这样说也许是严厉得使美国人纤弱的耳朵不堪接受，然而，美国人啊，美国人!! 我借上帝的名义告诫你们(不管你们是否能听到，是否能忍受)，悔悟吧，改过吧，不然你们就完了!! 难道你们认为你们可以向希腊人、爱尔兰人等等派遣传教士和乐施行善，由此而对世界上的其他人隐藏手上的血污，使我们的主看不到我们的流血吗。难道他不会在屋顶上将你们犯下的罪行昭然于世吗。甚至于就在波士顿，傲慢和偏见已达到了如此地步：就在为主而建造的教堂屋宇里，你们为有色人种指定了小小的容身之处；他们必须坐在那里，否则就被赶出上帝的屋宇。布道者们对此装聋作哑，更不用说为他们走进篱笆、走上大道寻找以色列之屋迷失的羔羊并把它们带回它们的主耶稣身边了。在暴君和魔鬼的淫威下，这个国家南部和西部的黑人生活在无比的不幸、愚昧、凄惨和贫困之中。美国的布道者们看不见他们，但是都能够派遣传教士去皈依野蛮人。啊，美国人! 美国人!! 我向上帝呼吁，向人类呼吁，看哪，你们已经危在旦夕了；除非你们悔过自新，不然很快就要灭亡了。

Walker's Appeal

Having travelled over a considerable portion of these United States, and having, in the course of my travels, taken the most accurate observations of things as they exist, the result of my observations has warranted the full and unshaken conviction, that we (coloured people of these United States) are the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began; and I pray God that none like us ever may live again until time shall be no more. They tell us of the Israelites in Egypt, the Helots in Sparta, and of the Roman Slaves, which last were made up from almost every nation under heaven, whose sufferings under those ancient and heathen nations, were, in comparison with ours, under this

enlightened and Christian nation, no more than a cypher--or, in other words, those heathen nations of antiquity, had but little more among them than the name and form of slavery; while wretchedness and endless miseries were reserved, apparently in a phial, to be poured out upon our fathers, ourselves and our children, by Christian Americans. ...

I am fully aware, in making this appeal to my much afflicted and suffering brethren, that I shall not only be assailed by those whose greatest earthly desires are to keep us in abject ignorance and wretchedness, and who are of the firm conviction that Heaven has designed us and our children to be slaves and beasts of burden to them and their children. I say, I do not only expect to be held up to the public as an ignorant, impudent and restless disturber of the public peace, by such avaricious creatures, as well as a mover of insubordination--and perhaps put in prison or to death, for giving a superficial exposition of our miseries, and exposing tyrants. But I am persuaded, that many of my brethren, particularly those who are ignorantly in league with slave-holders or tyrants, who acquire their daily bread by the blood and sweat of their more ignorant brethren--and not a few of those too, who are too ignorant to see an inch beyond their noses, will rise up and call me cursed--Yea, the jealous ones among us will perhaps use more abject subtlety, by affirming that this work is not worth perusing, that we are well situated, and there is no use in trying to better our condition, for we cannot. I will ask one question here.--Can our condition be any worse.--Can it be more mean and abject. If there are any changes, will they not be for the better, though they may appear for the worse at first. Can they get us any lower. Where can they get us. They are afraid to treat us worse, for they know well, the day they

do it they are gone. But against all accusations which may or can be preferred against me, I appeal to Heaven for my motive in writing--who knows what my object is, if possible, to awaken in the breasts of my afflicted, degraded and slumbering brethren, a spirit of inquiry and investigation respecting our miseries and wretchedness in this Republican Land of Liberty!!!!. . .

I saw a paragraph, a few years since, in a South Carolina paper, which, speaking of the barbarity of the Turks, said: "The Turks are the most barbarous people in the world--they treat the Greeks more like brutes than human beings." And in the same paper was an advertisement, which said: "Eight well built Virginia and Maryland Negro fellows and four wenches will positively be sold this day, to the highest bidder!" And what astonished me still more was, to see in this same humane paper!! the cuts of three men, with clubs and budgets on their backs, and an advertisement offering a considerable sum of money for their apprehension and delivery. I declare, it is really amusing to hear the Southerners and Westerners of this country talk about barbarity, that it is positively enough to make a man smile. . . .

Men of colour, who are also of sense, for you particularly is my Appeal designed. Our more ignorant brethren are not able to penetrate its value. I call upon you therefore to cast your eyes upon the wretchedness of your brethren, and to do your utmost to enlighten them--go to work and enlighten your brethren!--Let the Lord see you doing what you can to rescue them and yourselves from degradation. There is a great work for you to do, as trifling as some of you may think of it. You have to prove to the Americans and the world, that we are Men, and not brutes, as we have been represented, and by millions treated. Remember, to let the aim of

your labours among your brethren, and particularly the youths, be the dissemination of education and religion. . . .

What the American preachers can think of us, I aver this day before my God, I have never been able to define. They have newspapers and monthly periodicals, which they receive in continual succession, but on the pages of which, you will scarcely ever find a paragraph respecting slavery, which is ten thousand times more injurious to this country than all the other evils put together; and which will be the final overthrow of its government, unless something is very speedily done; for their cup is nearly full. --Perhaps they will laugh at or make light of this; but I tell you Americans! that unless you speedily alter your course, you and your Country are gone!!!! For God Almighty will tear up the very face of the earth!!! Will not that very remarkable passage of Scripture be fulfilled on Christian Americans. Hear it Americans!! "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still:--and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still." I hope that the Americans may hear, but I am afraid that they have done us so much injury, and are so firm in the belief that our Creator made us to be an inheritance to them forever, that their hearts will be hardened, so that their destruction may be sure. This language, perhaps, is too harsh for the American's delicate ears. But O Americans! Americans!! I warn you in the name of the Lord (whether you will hear, or forbear,) to repent and reform, or you are ruined!!! Do you think that our blood is hiding from the Lord, because you can hide it from the rest of the world, by sending out missionaries, and by your charitable deeds to the Greeks, Irish, etc.. Will he not publish your secret crimes on the house top. Even here in Boston, pride and prejudice have got to such a pitch, that in the very houses erected to the Lord, they have built little places for the reception of coloured people, where they must sit during meeting, or keep away from the house of God, and the preachers say nothing about it--much less go into the hedges and highways seeking the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and try to bring them in to their Lord and Master. There are not a more wretched, ignorant, miserable and

abject set of beings in all the world than the blacks in the southern and western sections of this country, under tyrants and devils. The preachers of America can not see them, but they can send out missionaries to convert the heathens, notwithstanding. . . . O Americans! Americans!! I call God--I call angels--I call men, to witness, that your destruction is at hand, and will be speedily consummated unless you repent.

威廉·劳埃德·加里森

(WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON)

《解放者》报发刊词

Prospectus for The Liberator

我不愿温文尔雅地思考、发言和写文章……我是诚切认真的——我不会闪烁其辞——我不会客套——我将寸土不让——我将使人们听到我的呼声。

威廉·劳埃德·加里森(1805—1879)生于马萨诸塞州，当过新闻记者、职业改革家，不仅为废奴主义运动，也为了争取妇女的权利、和平主义运动以及戒酒运动四处奔走呼号。1829年，他与一个公谊会教友编辑了巴尔的摩的废奴运动报纸《普遍解放精神》报。1830年，他写了一篇社论谴责一位纽伯里波特商人贩卖黑奴的行径而判诽谤罪入狱。一年以后，他迁居波士顿，创办了《解放者》报来推进废奴主义事业。加里森抨击奴隶制的罪恶，呼吁立即解放黑奴。1832年，他建立了新英格兰反对奴隶制协会；一年后又创立美国反对奴隶制协会。加里森是个杰出的雄辩家，总是一语中的地谴责社会的罪恶。他的同时代人认为他是个极端主义分子和激进派人物，而他们自己却情愿在奴隶制下长远地生活下去。加里森不愿这样。他靠自己炽烈的雄辩引起公众道德意识上的愤慨，使越来越多的美国人意识到奴隶制既非理所当然，又不是正义的、值得维护的。

这篇《发刊词》刊登在1831年《解放者》报第一期上。

……近来，为了激励民众的觉悟意识，我四处奔走，对于奴隶问题发表了一系

列的讲演。所到之处都给予我新的例证：与南方各州相比较，自由州的公众情绪将掀起一场更为巨大的变革波澜——在新英格兰尤为如此。我发现在这些地方，与奴隶主们自己的情绪相比，持轻蔑态度的更加强烈，持反对态度的更加积极，持贬斥态度的更加无情，持有偏见的更加固执，而漠不关心的也更加冷淡。当然，个别情况会有例外。这种现状使我苦恼，却不使我气馁。我已下定决心。不顾一切风险，面向举目在望的邦克山，脚踏这片自由的诞生地，在我们民族的心目中，让解放的战旗高高飘扬。这面战旗业已展开，愿她长久飞舞，在时光的流逝中完好无损，在仇敌铤而走险的射击中枪弹不入——是的，直至每一根锁链都被砸开，每一个奴隶都获得解放！让南方的压迫者们发抖吧！让他们的幕后策划者们发抖吧！让他们北方的辩护者们发抖吧！让所有残酷迫害黑人的仇敌们发抖吧！

我认为发表我的《发刊词》本是没有必要的，因为它已经家喻户晓。它所包含的原则将在这份报纸中切实遵循。但我要说明我不是为了任何党派的观点而说话。在捍卫人权这项伟大事业中，我希望得到各教派和各党派的支援。

我赞同《美国独立宣言》中主张的「不证自明」的真理，即「一切人生来就是平等的；他们的创造者赋予他们某种不可剥夺的权利——其中包括生存权、自由权以及追求幸福的权利」。因此我要为我们的奴隶立即得到解放而努力奋斗。

1829年7月4日，我在公园街教堂作了讲演。当时我欠考虑地说我同意那种流行的但又是有害的关于逐渐废除奴隶制的观点。现在，我要利用这个机会彻底地、明确地收回我的话，并且在此当众祈求我的上帝的原谅，我的国家的原谅，我的受穷受难的奴隶同胞们的原谅，原谅我说了这样充满怯弱、不公正和荒谬的情绪的话。我在1829年9月巴尔的摩《普遍解放精神》报上同样写过要收回我的话。这样，我的良心总算得到了安宁。

我知道许多人反对我的言辞激烈，但难道我没有理由这样做吗？真理是严厉的，因此我要严厉；正义是毫不妥协的，因此我也毫不妥协。对于这个问题，我不愿温文尔雅地思考、发言和写文章。不！不！你们可以对一个家中起火的人温吞吞地报警，叫他慢慢地把妻子从死神的手中夺回来；让做母亲的慢慢地将落入火海的婴儿救出来——但是，你们不要劝我在当前的这个事业中采取温文尔

雅的态度。我是诚肯认真的——我不会闪烁其辞——我不会客套——我将寸土不让——**我将使人们听到我的呼声**。人们的冷漠已足能使每座雕像从底座上跳下来而加快死者复活的进程了。

有人说，我采取粗俗漫骂的言辞和骤然激烈的手段，在这场解放事业中不过是装腔作势而已。这项指控不能成立。在这个问题上，我的影响力——虽则并不起眼——此时此刻却已经达到了相当程度。在未来的日子里，我的影响将会发展，它将是有益而不是有害的；是一声祝福而不是一道诅咒。我们的子孙后代将会证明我是对的。我诚心感谢上帝，他使我无视「使人落入陷阱的恐惧」，使我能传播他的简朴而又强大的真理……

Prospectus for The Liberator

. . . During my recent tour for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people by a series of discourses on the subject of slavery, every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact, that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free states--and particularly in New-England--than at the south. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among the slave owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted, but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birth place of liberty. That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe--yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free! Let southern oppressors tremble--let their secret abettors tremble--let their northern apologists tremble--let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I deem the publication of my original Prospectus unnecessary, as

it has obtained a wide circulation. The principles therein inculcated will be steadily pursued in this paper, excepting that I shall not array myself as the political partisan of any man. In defending the great cause of human rights, I wish to derive the assistance of all religions and of all parties.

Assenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights--among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. In Park-street Church, on the Fourth of July, 1829, in an address on slavery, I unreflectingly assented to the popular but pernicious doctrine of gradual abolition. I seize this opportunity to make a full and unequivocal recantation, and thus publicly to ask pardon of my God, of my country, and of my brethren the poor slaves, for having uttered a sentiment so full of timidity, injustice and absurdity. A similar recantation, from my pen, was published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* at Baltimore, in September, 1829. My conscience is now satisfied.

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity. I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher: tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; --but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest--I will not equivocate--I will not excuse--I will not retreat a single inch--AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is

enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.

It is pretended, that I am retarding the cause of emancipation, by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not true. On this question my influence,--humble as it is,--is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years--not perniciously, but beneficially--not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God, that he enables me to disregard "the fear of man which bringeth a snare." and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power....

约翰.格林里夫.惠蒂埃

(JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER)

时代的诗篇

Stanzas for the Times

在美国南北战争前的年代，惠蒂埃是作为废奴运动的杰出诗人而声名遐迩。他对奴隶制的猛烈抨击触怒了一些人的神经，因此诗集出版商更愿意发表他的乡村诗歌，如《赤脚男孩》和《大雪封门》，以及他的爱国诗《巴尔巴拉.弗里彻》。惠蒂埃的第一首诗于 1826 年在《纽伯里波特自由报》上发表，该报是由激烈的废奴主义者威廉.劳埃德.加里森主编的。加里森到惠蒂埃家走访，发现了这个没受过多少教育、属于公谊会教派的乡村小子，又了解到他父亲反对他写诗。加里森收养了他并做他的保护人，还介绍他参加废奴运动。惠蒂埃参加了废奴报刊的编辑工作，并在公众集会上演讲。他的演讲有时使听众震怒。惠蒂埃是共和党的创始人之一，但南北战争后，他对激进的共和党人产生了反感，便从政治生活中引退出来，专心写诗。

《时代的诗篇》写于 1835 年。当时在波士顿的法诺伊礼堂开了一场亲奴隶制集会，发言者提出通过限制言论自由来约束废奴主义者们。这首诗即针对此集会而作的。

就是我们的先辈

Stanzas for the Times Is this the land our fathers loved,

热爱的故土吗。

这就是他们的辛
劳换来的自由
吗？

这就是他们曾经
奔走过的土地
吗。

这就是他们长眠
安息的墓园吗。

我们
就是穿着先烈曾
经身披的蓑衣，
他们的后代子孙
吗。难道我们理
应蜷伏在他们的
墓穴上，
心惊肉跳、噤若
寒蝉。

难道我们理应成
为套上绳索烙上
印记的牛马，
皮鞭落处，颤抖
瑟瑟。

难道我们理应屈
膝跪在这片土地
上，
主人令下，唯声

The freedom which they toiled to win. Is this the soil
whereon they moved. Are these the graves they slumber
in. Are we the sons by whom are borne The mantles which
the dead have worn. And shall ' /e crouch above these
graves, With craven soul and fettered lip. Yoke in with
marked and branded slaves, And tremble at the driver's
whip. Bend to the earth our pliant knees, And speak but
as our masters please.

Shall outraged Nature cease to feel. Shall Mercy's tears no
longer flow. Shall ruffian threats of cord and steel,
The dungeon's gloom, the assassin's blow, Turn back the
spirit roused to save The Truth, our Country, and the
slave.

Of human skulls that shrine was made, Round which the
priests of Mexico Before their loathsome idol prayed; Is
Freedom's altar fashioned so. And must we yield to
Freedom's God, As offering meet, the negro's blood.

Shall tongue be mute, when deeds are wrought Which will
might shame extremest hell. Shall freemen lock the
indignant thought.

Shall Pity's bosom cease to swell. Shall Honor
bleed.--shall Truth succumb. Shall pen, and press, and
soul be dumb.

No; by each spot of haunted ground, Where Freedom
weeps her children's fall; By Plymouth's rock, and
Bunker's mound; By Griswold's stained and shattered
wall; By Warren's ghost, by Langdon's shade; By all the
memories of our dead!

By their enlarging souls, which burst The bands and

诺诺.受辱的大
自然该冰霜冷若
吗.
同情的泪水该停
止奔涌吗.
恶徒的威胁——
绳索、铁链、地
牢的寒光、杀手
的子弹，
该使奋起的精神
退缩，
置真理、国家、
奴隶而不顾吗。
头骨构成的祭坛
令人反胃心寒，
偶像周围墨西哥
教士祷告声声。
自由的圣坛也是
如此建成？
黑人的鲜血怎能
上供自由之神！
令魔鬼魂离魄散
的罪孽业已犯
下，
还要人们装聋作
哑吗。
自由的人们，
还要将填膺的义

fetters round them set; By the free Pilgrim spirit nursed
Within our inmost bosoms, yet, By all above, around,
below, Be ours the indignant answer,--No!

No; guided by our country's laws, For truth, and right,
and suffering man, Be ours to strive in Freedom's cause,
As Christians may, as freemen can! Still pouring on
unwilling ears That truth oppression only fears.

What! shall we guard our neighbor still, While woman
shrieks beneath his rod, And while he tramples down at
will The image of a common God. Shall watch and ward
be round him set, Of Northern nerve and bayonet.

And shall we know and share with him The danger and
the growing shame. And see our Freedom's light grow
dim, Which should have filled the world with flame. And,
writhing, feel, where'er -we turn, A world's reproach
around us burn.

Is't not enough that this is borne. And asks our haughty
neighbor more. Must fetters which his slaves have worn
Clank round the Yankee farmer's door. Must he be told,
beside his plough, What he must speak, and when, and
how.

Must he be told his freedom stands On Slavery's dark
foundations strong; On breaking hearts and fettered
hands, On robbery, and crime, and wrong. That all his
fathers taught is vain,-- That Freedom's emblem is the
chain.

Its life, its soul, from slavery drawn! False, foul, profane!
Go, teach as well Of holy Truth from Falsehood born! Of
Heaven refreshed by airs from Hell! Of Virtue in the arms

愤深藏不露吗。
富于同情的胸膛，
还要停止翻腾起伏吗。
荣誉要流血吗。
真理要屈服吗。
笔杆，报刊，灵魂，
难道要封冻麻木吗。不——
从每所魂灵出没、
自由为她的不幸子孙痛哭的墓地；
从普利茅斯的岩石和邦克山的土丘；
从格里斯沃尔德染血的墙垣；
从沃伦的阴魂；
从兰登的幽影，
从我们先烈的所有记忆中，
得到了回答。从他们粉碎一切镣铐枷锁的不朽英

of Vice! Of Demons planting Paradise!

Rail on, then, brethren of the South, Ye shall not hear the truth the less; No seal is on the Yankee's mouth, No fetter on the Yankee's press! From our Green Mountains to the sea, One voice shall thunder. We are free!

灵中，
从我们内心深处
孕育的自由朝圣
精神中
从上到下，从周
围的一切一切
我们得到义愤满
襟 的 回 答 ——
不！
不。
在国家法律的引
导下，
为一真理，为了
正义，为了苦难
的人们
我们要奋斗于自
由大业。
基督徒能做到，
自由人会做到！
要用反对派惧怕
的真理，
灌充于掩耳不闻
的人们。
什么。
难道还要袒护我
们的南邻，
而任凭妇女惨叫
于他们的乱棍。

任凭我们共同的
上帝偶像痛遭践
踏？

难道北方人的勇
气和刺刀，
还要在他们周围
构成铁壁铜墙，

难道要我们明知
故犯，

与他们分享和危
险俱增的耻辱，

眼看自由的火光
余灰黯淡，

而不是使她在全
世界燎燃？

难道要我们不论
身居何处，
都受到世人谴责
而历尽磨难？

我们不是已受够
了这一切，

还要让趾高气扬
的南邻变本加
厉，

难道他们奴隶的
枷锁，

非要在北方农人
门前作响叮当，

在我们农人的耕犁旁，
难道非要告诉他们，
该讲什么、何时讲、怎样讲。
难道竟要对他们讲——
说自由构置于奴隶制黑色基石上。
说自由之牢固基础是：
伤心、镣拷、掠夺、罪恶、冤屈。
说先辈的遗训是空话一片，
而自由的标志是一条锁链。
自由的生命和灵魂竟来自奴役——
这是谎言！这是下流！这是褻渎！
去吧！告诉他们——
高尚的真理孕育于谬误！

地狱阴风给天堂
带来清新！
美德由邪恶所抚
养！
天国乐园由魔鬼
耕耘！
南方同胞，
继续你们的所为
吧，
真理不会因此沈
默。
锁不上北方的报
刊，
封不住北方的口
舌。
从我们的格林山
到大海，
一个声音响彻天
穹——
我们是自由的！

西奥多.S.莱特
(THEODORE S. WRIGHT)

对有色人种的偏见

Prejudice Against the Colored Man

只有受鞭打的人才懂得皮鞭的滋味.....只有戴镣铐的人才知道镣铐的伤痛。

西奥多.S. 莱特(1797 — 1847)是一名杰出的教士和废奴主义者。他出生于新泽西州，在普林斯顿神学院受教育而成为第一个从美国神学院毕业的黑人。

他曾担任过纽约市黑人长老会教堂牧师的职务，是美国反对奴隶制协会的创始人之一。他为戒酒运动、教育、黑人选举权和土地改革四处奔忙。

1837年9月20日，他在纽约乌提卡美国反对奴隶制协会的集会上作了以下的讲演。会议通过了这样的决议：「决议：我国所特有的偏见在信仰、集会和教育等诸方面将有色人种摆在了受歧视的卑微地位上。它还剥夺了他们在旅馆、客轮、舞台以及公共集会场所他们有权与其他公民一样所应享受的热情有礼的待遇。这种偏见就是奴隶制的幽魂所在；它是恶贯满盈的，必须予以谴责和消除。」莱特的讲演是就这个决议而作的。

主席先生，我是以满怀激动的心情站起来向大会发言的。即使没有人要求我这样做我也会当仁不让的。我承认我本人对此决议甚感兴趣。然而，只有受鞭打的人才懂得皮鞭的滋味，只有戴镣铐的人才知道镣铐的伤痛。要不是本着这样的事实，我是不会发言的。

事情很严重，先生。当下存在着对有色自由人的偏见就像大气一样无处不有。诚然，在美国，在我们这个州，是有像我这样黑皮肤的人，他们没有受过鞭打，没有妻离子散的遭遇，也没有人从他们手上夺走《圣经》。诚然，我们可以到国外走走，可以享受国内的舒适便利以及家庭之乐，可以独处私室，可以上教堂礼拜，可以允许劝告我们的子女和邻人好自为之。但是，先生，我们依然是奴隶——镣铐的伤痛无所不在地折磨着我们。由于现存如此偏见，大会的决议谴责奴隶制的幽魂，谴责现行的法律。奴隶制思想不以上帝之规对待芸芸众生，无视人的道德和文化修养。在这种情形下，败坏了的公众感情就助长了奴隶制幽魂的猖獗和现行法律的肆无忌惮。这种幽魂使希望之花枯萎，并常常使黑人父母面对自己的子女而叹息，觉得他们还是不出生为好。一个黑人母亲怀抱自己的幼儿时，内心往往充满了悲伤。她想到的是，由于人们的偏见，自己的子女无望在这块土地上成为有用之人。先生，这种偏见是邪恶的。

要是国家和教会明白这一点的话，我就不会对这种置有色人种的名誉于死地的偏见的影响发表任何言论了。这种影响夺走了我们的一切，伴随着我们从小到大，使我们失去了获利、成才、享有荣誉等所有机会，使我们失去争取成为对世界和对我们自己的有用之材所有奋发上进的动机。

首先，它几乎完全剥夺了我们通过掌握技艺本领来获得各种利益的机会。一个黑人难有机会学一门本事，即使能做到这一点，在我们州的任何地方都难以找到雇主而发挥专长。多数大城市都有技工协会，它们设立规章将黑人排除出本行业。在许多情况下，即使我们的年轻人掌握了技术，也不得不因为在这个行业领域里发展无望而低就其他的行业。

要是我们这个地方黑人父母有受教育的权利，该多令人鼓舞！要是我们这个地方黑人父母能让子女入学掌握本领，该多令人鼓舞！然而，现在学校大门对他们是紧闭的。我就不用提及自己和其他黑人所遇到的诸多不便了，尽管上帝也是按自己的形象塑造了我们。我也不用说明我们在旅行时碰到多少麻烦，别人是怎么对我们轻蔑地皱起眉头的。无论我们如何低三下四，也摆脱不了无处不在的窘迫难堪。

但是，先生，这种偏见是变本加厉的。它将人们摒弃于天堂之外。先生，当奴隶制将有色人种从大家庭中剔除出来剥夺他们的宗教权利时，他们就成了异教徒。人们要问，你们的基督教精神究竟是什么？你们是怎么对待你们的同胞兄弟的？你们口里谈论着未开化的人们并飘洋过海把《圣经》分发四处，同时却把同胞拒之门外，这是什么逻辑？碰到这种事情使我们痛心疾首……

感谢上帝，有一个振奋人心的道义在此情况下鼓舞着历经践踏的有色贫苦人——「这就是：每个人的价值得到如实的社会评价；事实上当他们仰望天堂时，心里明白上帝将他们一并视为苍生之员而不论他们的种族和背景；处于羞辱与难堪，身受讥讽与蔑视之时，他们提起精神，满怀希望：他们不久将获得解放，像飞出樊笼的鸟儿，展开双翅，投入耶稣的怀抱欢欣雀跃；他们将怜悯地俯临那些蔑视奴隶，认为自己是上帝造就的人们，俯瞰那些蔑视自己、将自己等同于奴隶的人们。赞美上帝！因为他制定了《福音书》的道义。要是没有这一切，要是新生活的曙光遥遥无期，我将不愿继续存活于世。——为了废奴运动，赞美上帝！为了反奴隶制之战，为了花岗岩石就要从它的基座高高滚下，赞美上帝！然而，只要有色人种被看成是劣等民族，人们就会继续置他们的哭泣、呻吟和惨叫而不顾。

先生，身处这个协会我欢欣鼓舞。加入这个协会的那一天是我有生以来最感自豪的一天，我知道，如果今天要我去死，我会死得其所，死得泰然的，因为我

明白会有人为了我的子女的事业奔走呼吁的。

我要通过你，先生，要求与会代表们抓紧这个议题。奴隶们想对我们说：你们对奴隶的爱到哪儿去了.你们对踩在你们脚下的黑人的爱到哪里去了.你们叫我们解放我们的奴隶，而你们自己却在感情上奴役着他们，这样，你们以你们的偏见看待他们，比我们用我们的方式对待他们，所造成的伤害要严重得多了。抓紧这个议题，我们就可以让他们住口，他们在提醒我们根据每个人自身的价值，尊重人的存在，把黑人当人看，以表示我们对沦为奴隶的人们的热爱。

Prejudice Against the Colored Man

Mr. President, with much feeling do I rise to address the society on this resolution, and I should hardly have been induced to have done it had I not been requested. I confess I am personally interested in this resolution. But were it not for the fact that none can feel the lash but those who have it upon them, that none know where the chain galls but those who wear it, I would not address you.

This is a serious business, sir. The prejudice which exists against the colored man, the free man is like the atmosphere, everywhere felt by him. It is true that in these United States and in this State, there are men, like myself, colored with the skin like my own, who are not subjected to the lash, who are not liable to have their wives and their infants torn from them: from whose hand the Bible is not taken. It is true that we may walk abroad; we may enjoy our domestic comforts, our families; retire to the closet; visit the sanctuary, and may be permitted to urge on our children and our neighbors in well doing. But sir, still we are slaves--everywhere we feel the chain galling us. It is by that prejudice which the resolution condemns, the spirit of slavery, the law which has been enacted here, by a corrupt public sentiment, through the influence of slavery

which treats moral agents different from the rule of God, which treats them irrespective of their morals or intellectual cultivation. This spirit is withering all our hopes, and oftentimes causes the colored parent as he looks upon his child, to wish he had never been born. Often is the heart of the colored mother, as she presses her child to her bosom, filled with sorrow to think that, by reason of this prejudice, it is cut off from all hopes of usefulness in this land. Sir, this prejudice is wicked.

If the nation and church understood this matter, I would not speak a word about that killing influence that destroys the colored man's reputation. This influence cuts us off from everything; it follows us up from childhood to manhood; it excludes us from all stations of profit, usefulness and honor; takes away from us all motive for pressing forward in enterprises, useful and important to the world and to ourselves.

In the first place, it cuts us off from the advantages of the mechanic arts almost entirely. A colored man can hardly learn a trade, and if he does it is difficult for him to find any one who will employ him to work at that trade, in any part of the State. In most of our large cities there are associations of mechanics who legislate out of their society colored men. And in many cases where our young men have learned trades, they have had to come to low employments for want of encouragement in those trades.

It must be a matter of rejoicing to know that in this vicinity colored fathers and mothers have the privileges of education. It must be a matter of rejoicing that in this vicinity colored parents can have their children trained up in schools.--At present, we find the colleges barred against them.

I will say nothing about the inconvenience which I have experienced myself, and which every man of color experiences, though made in the image of God. I will say nothing about the inconvenience of traveling; how we are frowned upon and despised. No matter how we may demean ourselves, we find embarrassments everywhere.

But sir, this prejudice goes farther. It debars men from heaven. While sir, slavery cuts off the colored portion of the community from religious privileges men are made infidels. What, they demand, is your Christianity. How do you regard your brethren. How do you treat them at the Lord's table. Where is your consistency in talking about the heathen, traversing the ocean to circulate the Bible everywhere, while you frown upon them at the door. These things meet us and weigh down our spirits. . . .

Thanks be to God, there is a buoyant principle which elevates the poor down-trodden colored man above all this: --It is that there is society which regards man according to his worth; it is the fact, that when he looks up to Heaven he knows that God treats him like a moral agent, irrespective of caste or the circumstances in which he may be placed. Amid the embarrassments which he has to meet, and the scorn and contempt that is heaped upon him, he is cheered by the hope that he will be disenthralled, and soon, like a bird set forth from its cage, wing his flight to Jesus, where he can be happy, and look down with pity on the man who despises the poor slave for being what God made him, and who despises him because he is identified with the poor slave. Blessed be God for the principles of the Gospel. Were it not for these, and for the fact that a better day is dawning, I would not wish to live.--Blessed be God for the anti-slavery movement. Blessed be God that there is a war waging

with slavery, that the granite rock is about to be rolled from its base. But as long as the colored man is to be looked upon as an inferior caste, so long will they disregard his cries, his groans, his shrieks.

I rejoice, sir, in this Society; and I deem the day when I joined this Society as one of the proudest days of my life. And I know I can die better, in more peace to-day, to know there are men who will plead the cause of my children.

Let me, through you, sir, request this delegation to take hold of this subject. This will silence the slaveholder, when he says where is your love for the slave. Where is your love for the colored man who is crushed at your feet. Talking to us about emancipating our slaves when you are enslaving them by your feelings, and doing more violence to them by your prejudice, than we are to our slaves by our treatment. They call on us to evince our love for the slave, by treating man as man, the colored man as a man, according to his worth.

安吉莉娜.格里姆凯

(ANGELINA GRIMKE)

对奴隶制作证

Bearing Witness Against Slavery

作为南方人，我感到今晚我有责任站出来对奴隶制作证。这是我亲眼所见！这是我亲眼所见！

安吉莉娜.格里姆凯(1805—1879)和她的姐姐萨拉是南卡罗来纳州查里斯顿的一个富裕、拥有奴隶制的贵族法官的女儿。青年时代起她们就憎恨奴隶制。后来她们搬到了费城，成了公谊会教友，积权参加废奴运动。1836年，安吉莉娜.格里姆凯写了一篇《致南方基督教妇女的呼吁书》。动员南方姐妹参加废除奴隶制的战斗。她的小册子在南卡罗来纳州被焚烧；两姐妹也被警告说不许

她们回到故乡，否则就逮捕她们。

1838年5月16日，安吉莉娜·格里姆凯在费城的全国反对奴隶制大会上作了如下发言。仅在两天以前，她刚与著名的废奴主义者西奥多·韦尔德结了婚。大会召开前，有人在城里到处张贴告示，扬言说废奴运动反对者要捣毁举行会议的宾夕法尼亚礼堂。在大会召开的三天里，礼堂外挤满了喧嚣的人群，有许多是从南方赶来的人和当地医学院南方籍的学生。格里姆凯发言时，外面的人群连声起哄，用石块投掷礼堂的窗户。第三天会议结束时，众人冲进礼堂，将它付之一炬。

你们要问：「北方和奴隶制有什么相干。」那么请你们听吧！听吧！外面的吵闹声告诉我们，奴隶制的幽魂就在眼前，由于我们的集会而怒气冲天；而自由却肯定是犯不着这样唾沫横飞、怒发冲冠的，因为她的朋友与日俱增，接二连三的集会将她的美德发扬光大，将她和平安宁的疆土延至远方。反对我们的势力表明，奴隶制深深毒害了公民们的心灵。于是你们又要问：「北方应该做些什么。」我的回答是，首先，把奴隶制的幽魂从你们的心中驱逐出去；然后，帮助南方人，改变他们。在座的各位，不论我们自己的境遇如何，不论我们的手段多么有限，也不论我们的影响多么微不足道，都应当着手行动起来。这个国家的大人物们是不会行动的，教会也决不会行动的。他们希望讨好世人，希望迎合各个党派，希望随遇而安，所以对奴隶制以及其他所有不受欢迎的问题缄默不语。

作为南方人，我感到今晚我有责任站出来对奴隶制作证。这是我亲眼所见！这是我亲眼所见！我知道它是如何无可形容地令人毛骨悚然！我是在它的羽翼下长大的。多年来我目睹了它是如何使人道德沦丧、如何毁灭着人间快乐的。我从未见过一个快乐的奴隶。诚然，我见过奴隶戴着镣铐起舞，但他们并不快乐。快乐和作乐是有很区别的。一个人剥夺了做人的权利就无法享受快乐。但是，奴隶们却有可能作乐，有时也作乐。在无望中他们说：「让我们吃吧，喝吧，因为明天我们就要死了。」[这时，有人往窗户扔石头——外面人声鼎沸，会场里一片混乱。]

人们吵吵闹闹又怎样.所有的窗子都砸碎了又怎样.把这座礼堂夷为了平地又怎样.难道这就证明了我们错了.难道这就证明了奴隶制是一个良好健康的制度.要是人们这时朝我们冲进来,搅乱我们的集会,对我们拳脚相待,这与奴隶们所经受的痛苦相比又算得了什么.不,不。如果我们在危难中退缩。如果我们在奴隶需要我们自我牺牲时不愿付出牺牲,那么我们就忘记了他们是「和我们命运相连」的。[喧闹声。]我感谢上帝:生命尽管会对真理动怒,却还继续感到了真理的存在;良知还未全然泯灭以至不被无所不在的上帝的真理所感动。[外面又一次传来了呼喊叫骂声,会场乱成一片。]

人心是如此地精明巧妙!它尽一切可能地顽抗为把自己从错误拯救出来的任何努力!我觉得所有这一切骚扰恰恰证明了我们所做的努力是我们最好的选择。要不是这样,我们维护奴隶制的朋友们就不会在乎我们的言行了。南方人知道我们的所作所为,应使我们欣慰的是我们的努力触动了他们。在故乡我曾多次为奴隶制度掩面哭泣。但没有听说有谁与我的感觉共鸣;我也不曾知道有谁为了被压迫者的解放作过努力。在荒野中没有听到过号召人们悔过自新并为此做出实际行动的呼唤。我自感痛心不已。啊,要是我曾听说有人作出了这样的努力,该会使我多么欢欣鼓舞!只是不知我当时为什么会有这样的感觉。然而,在诱惑的包围中我得以自持,我的同情心日渐温暖,对奴隶制的憎恨愈加很深蒂固,直至我最后终于流离故土,因为我再也不忍心听到奴隶们的哀号声了。我逃到了宾州的土地上,心想在这里我定能找到对奴隶的同情心,但我落空了。这里的人们和蔼可亲、热情好客,可是他们的心中没有奴隶的容身之处。我只好将哀怨埋藏心底。我记得自己来自卡罗来纳州一个法律认可不平等的地方,南方轻风阵阵、向我吹来了刺耳的抽泣声、哀鸣声、惨叫声、呻吟声,还夹杂着祈祷声、狠狠的咒骂声。我心头一沈,想到自己是在这一切令人厌恶的事物生长起来并接受教育的。怀着精神的苦痛,我呼喊道:「人们充耳不闻,既无心又无意为奴隶们祈祷,那末我面向他们陌生的眼光对他们揭露奴隶制的残酷和毒害又有什么意义呢.但是,现在我的感觉又多么不一样啊!希望,不,自由必胜的信念和对人类美好的意愿使我振作起来。我要像号角一样高声呐喊,

告诉我们的人民该做些什么以影响南方人的思想，最终推翻奴隶制。[呼喊声，窗户上石雨如注。]

我们常听到有人问这样的问题：「我们该做些什么。」现在时机已到。在座的各位男人、女人们，可以动手了。我们要表明在狂暴的人群面前我们无所惧怕，在辱骂和恐吓声中我们要为濒临死亡的人们摇旗呐喊。我敦促每个人去买有关这个问题的书籍，阅读它们，还要把它们借给你们邻人。不要再把你们的钱花在助长骄傲和贪欲的东西上了，将我们的钱用来散播「在人民袒露之心上炽烈燃烧的真理的煤炭」，将我们的钱用来传达我们的呼吁，唤醒基督徒们同情的良知。

有些人说我们的「书刊和传单说出的不是真理」。那么请问，为什么他们不来反驳我们的所言。他们做不到。更有甚者，南方人恳求，不，他们诅咒我们，叫我们住嘴。这样一来，还有什么更能证明我们的书刊传单说出的确为真理呢。费城的妇女！请允许我以一位南方妇女的身份，心怀对故土的深切留恋，恳请你们着手行动起来。我特别要敦促你们展开请愿。男人们可以通过投票来解决这样那样的问题，但你们还没有这种权利。只有通过请愿。你们才能把意见传达到立法机关。因此，请愿就特别是你们的责任了。你们会说：「这没什么用！但南方人已经因为请愿书之多而面色苍白。他们查阅了有关国会程序的报告，发现请愿书中有许许多多来自北方妇女请愿奴隶制问题的。那些在奴隶们头上挥舞棍棒的男人在各立法班子中掌握定夺大权；他们否认我们有请愿的权利，告诫我们女性不要这么不合体统。然而，我们的上帝赋予了我们这些权利。让我们使用这些权利吧；让我们牢记，虽然请愿书往往被置之不理、束之高阁，但那些不公正的法官们由于请愿书缠身还是不免受到影响。因此，让我们行动起来吧。南方人对我们的举措密切注视，如临大敌，这也说明了请愿是卓见成效的。所以，没有理由怀疑，没有理由绝望！

在英国，妇女在废除其殖民地奴隶制方面起了引人注目的重要作用。她们现在也并非无所事事。无数的请愿书最近呈交予女王，要求废除残酷的徒工制度，其残酷并不亚于它所替代的奴隶制。呈交的请愿书有一张竟长达二又四分之一

英里。你们认为这些事是徒劳的吗.让以往的历史来回答吧。当美国妇女们将这样一份请愿书交给国会时，我们的立法者们会像他们的英国同僚一样，起身而立，说道：「这块土地上所有的妇女，不论年长年少，都来敲我们的门了，我们该立法了。」让我们英国姐妹们的热忱、爱心、信念和努力激励我们加快步伐吧。这样，当奴隶们还在受苦，在他们要求解放时，我们才会心境安宁，因为我们「做到了力所能及的一切。」

Bearing Witness Against Slavery

Do you ask, "What has the North to do with slavery." Hear it, hear it! Those voices without tell us that the spirit of slavery is here, and has been roused to wrath by our Conventions; for surely liberty would not foam and tear herself with rage, because her friends are multiplied daily, and meetings are held in quick succession to set forth her virtues and extend her peaceful kingdom. This opposition show's that slavery has done its deadliest work in the hearts of our citizens. Do you ask, then, "What has the North to do." I answer, cast out first the spirit of slavery from your own hearts, and then lend your aid to convert the South. Each one present has a work to do, be his or her situation what it may, however limited their means or insignificant their supposed influence. The great men of this country will not do this work; the Church will never do it. A desire to please the world, to keep the favor of all parties and of all conditions, makes them dumb on this and every other unpopular subject.

As a Southerner, I feel that it is my duty to stand up here to-night and bear testimony against slavery. I have seen it! I have seen it! I know it has horrors that can never be described. I was brought up under its wing. I witnessed for many years its

demoralizing influences and its destructiveness to human happiness. I have never seen a happy slave. I have seen him dance in his chains, it is true, but he was not happy. There is a wide difference between happiness and mirth. Man can not enjoy happiness while his manhood is destroyed. Slaves, however, may be, and sometimes are mirthful. When hope is extinguished, they say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." [Here stones were thrown at the windows--a great noise without and commotion within.]

What is a mob. what would the breaking of every window be. What would the levelling of this hall be. Any evidence that we are wrong, or that slavery is a good and wholesome institution. What if the mob should now burst in upon us, break up our meeting, and commit violence upon our persons, would that be anything compared with what the slaves endure. No, no; and we do not remember them, "as bound with them," if we shrink in the time of peril, or feel unwilling to sacrifice ourselves, if need be, for their sake. [Great noise.] I thank the Lord that there is yet life enough left to feel the truth, even though it rages at it; that conscience is not so completely seared as to be unmoved by the truth of the living God. [Another outbreak of the mob and confusion in the house.]

How wonderfully constituted is the human mind! How it resists, as long as it can, all efforts to reclaim it from error! I feel that all this disturbance is but an evidence that our efforts are the best that could have been adopted, or else the friends of slavery would not care for what we say and do. The South know what we do. I am thankful that they are reached by our efforts. Many times have I wept in the land of my birth over the system of slavery. I knew of none who sympathized in my feelings; I was unaware that any

efforts were made to deliver the oppressed; no voice in the wilderness was heard calling on the people to repent and do works meet for repentance, and my heart sickened within me. Oh, how should I have rejoiced to know that such efforts as these were being made. I only wonder that I had such feelings. But in the midst of temptation I was preserved, and my sympathy grew warmer, and my hatred of slavery more inveterate, until at last I have exiled myself from my native land, because I could no longer endure to hear the wailing of the slave.

I fled to the land of Penn; for here, thought I, sympathy for the slave will surely be found. But I found it not. The people were kind and hospitable, but the slave had no place in their thoughts. I therefore shut up my grief in my own heart. I remembered that I was a Carolinian, from a State which framed this iniquity by law. Every Southern breeze wafted to me the discordant tones of weeping and wailing, shrieks and groans, mingled with prayers and blasphemous curses. My heart sank within me at the abominations in the midst of which I had been born and educated. What will it avail, cried I, in bitterness of spirit, to expose to the gaze of strangers the horrors and pollutions of slavery, when there is no ear to hear nor heart to feel and pray for the slave. But how different do I feel now! Animated with hope, nay, with an assurance of the triumph of liberty and good-will to man, I will lift up my voice like a trumpet, and show this people what they can do to influence the Southern mind and overthrow slavery. [Shouting, and stones against the windows.]

We often hear the question asked, "What shall we do." Here is an opportunity. Every man and every woman present may do something, by showing that we fear not a mob, and in the midst of

revilings and threatenings, pleading the cause of those who are ready to perish. Let me urge every one to buy the books written on this subject; read them, and lend them to your neighbors. Give your money no longer for things which pander to pride and lust, but aid in scattering "the living coals of truth upon the naked heart of the nation"; in circulating appeals to the sympathies of Christians in behalf of the outraged slave.

But it is said by some, our "books and papers do not speak the truth"; why, then, do they not contradict what we say. They can not. Moreover, the South has entreated, nay, commanded us, to be silent; and what greater evidence of the truth of our publications could be desired.

Women of Philadelphia! allow me as a Southern woman, with much attachment to the land of my birth, to entreat you to come up to this work. Especially, let me urge you to petition. Men may settle this and other questions at the ballot-box, but you have no such right. It is only through petitions that you can reach the Legislature. It is, therefore, peculiarly your duty to petition. Do you say, "It does no good!" The South already turns pale at the number sent. They have read the reports of the proceedings of Congress, and there have seen that among other petitions were very many from the women of the North on the subject of slavery. Men who hold the rod over slaves rule in the councils of the nation; and they deny our right to petition and remonstrate against abuses of our sex and our kind. We have these rights, however, from our God. Only let us exercise them, and, though often turned away unanswered, let us remember the influence of importunity upon the unjust judge, and act accordingly. The fact that the South looks jealously upon our measures shows that they are effectual. There is, therefore, no

cause for doubting or despair.

It was remarked in England that women did much to abolish slavery in her colonies. Nor are they now idle. Numerous petitions from them have recently been presented to the Queen to abolish apprenticeship, with its cruelties, nearly equal to those of the system whose place it supplies. One petition, two miles and a quarter long, has been presented. And do you think these labors will be in vain. Let the history of the past answer. When the women of these States send up to Congress such a petition our legislators will arise, as did those of England, and say: "When all the maids and matrons of the land are knocking at our doors we must legislate." Let the zeal and love, the faith and works of our English sisters quicken ours; that while the slaves continue to suffer, and when they shout for deliverance, we may feel the satisfaction of "having done what we could."

亨利.海兰德.加尼特

(HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET)

对美利坚合众国黑奴们的演说

An Address to the Slaves of the United States of America



Harriet Tubman (最左边)与其救出 300 名奴隶中的部分黑奴
你们的信条是抵抗！抵抗！抵抗！

亨利·海兰德·加尼特(1815—1882)出生在马里兰州一个奴隶种植园里。他九岁时，与父亲一起在公谊会教友的帮助下逃往纽约市。他在纽约乌提卡附近的奥奈达神学院为将来的牧师生涯接受教育。加尼特是美国最知名的废奴主义者之一，常到英格兰和苏格兰发表演说。

1843 年在纽约的布法罗召开了全国黑人大会。会上他作了他最著名的演讲《造反呼吁》。他号召非洲血统的美国人，无论是奴隶还是自由人，将抵抗作为和奴隶制斗争的座右铭，必要的话应举行武装暴动。演说使当时保守的黑人领袖大为震惊，大会以一票之差没有将加尼特的呼吁通过作为正式决议。但是黑人的斗志由此高扬起来。四年之后，另一次全国大会在纽约的特洛伊召开，通过了加尼特类似的号召。

1865 年，加尼特成了第一位在众议院讲道的黑人牧师。他去世前在利比里亚传教。

你们在北部、东部和西部的同胞们常常举行全国大会表达对彼此的同情之心，为你们的不幸处境哭泣流泪。在这些大会上，我们向所有自由的阶级发出了呼吁，但还从未对你们说过一句慰问和建议之词。我们迄今只停留在按兵不动地对你们的苦难表示哀痛，诚心希望神圣的自由早该回到你们身边但是，我们的希望落空了。时光已经流逝，成千上万的人们在血流冲刷着的永恒的海滩上降

生。你们所经历的压迫我们愿同身受；只要你们还是奴隶，我们就谈不上自由。因此，正因为我们彼此命运相连，我们就向你们写下这番话。

你们之中许多人和我们命运相连，不仅是由于我们之间有人性的共同纽带，而且还因为我们之间存有父母、妻子、丈夫、姐妹和朋友的更具亲情的关系。因此，我们满腔挚爱地向你们说话。

奴隶制在你们和我们之间挖下了一条深沟，它使你们受不到你们的朋友们乐意给予的同情和抚慰，更使你们遭受到在魔鬼横行的地狱里都罕见的磨难和迫害。但是，仁慈、万能的天父还是留给了我们一线希望之光，在阴云密布的天空中闪耀着孤星似的微亮。人类正在变得愈来愈聪慧、善良——压迫者的势力正在消弱，你们也一天天耳目灵通，力量日益壮大。兄弟姐妹们，你们有许许多多的哀怨；在这篇短短的发言里，我们不能期望向这个世界列数这个国家里出现的所有罪恶，而这也实在没有必要，因为这是你们每天都感受到的；这个世界全体文明的人们也惊愕不已地目睹了这些罪恶。

二百二十七年前，我们饱受伤害的民族首次被带到美洲的海滩上来。他们并非是心怀喜悦地来这个新世界里建立家园的。他们也并非是心甘情愿地来这里接受这片丰饶的土地给予他们天伦享乐之祝福的。他们与那些自称基督徒的人第一次打交道，就感受到了腐败、龌龊透顶的人心种种。他们也因此确认，在贪欲的驱使下，那怕在文明人的眼里，任何残忍、任何邪恶、任何劫掠都是不足为过的。他们也不是乘着自由的双翼来到一片自由的乐土上来的。相反，他们怀着一颗颗破碎的心远离亲爱的故土来到这里，辛勤劳作，毫无报偿。沦落在悲惨的深渊。即便是死亡都不能解脱他们身上的枷锁，因为枷锁一代又一代地相传下去。成百上千万的人们从混沌降生于世，再回到魂灵的世界，一辈子受美国奴隶制度的诅咒和摧残。

奴隶制的繁衍者和他们的接班人们很快就发现了这个制度愈发膨胀的邪恶，也私下许诺说要将其摧毁。现在拥有奴隶的民族自己原来是为了自由才「漂洋来此」的，他们严重的自相矛盾如此显而易见，不容全然忽视。自由之声呐喊道：「解放你们的奴隶」；人们热泪盈眶地哀告释放来自非洲的子孙们；智慧女神庄重地提出她的恳求；流血的囚徒们喊冤叫屈，面向对着十字架痛哭流涕的基督教义；耶和華向这个恶毒的制度紧皱双眉；上苍电闪雷鸣，复仇的火焰呼之

即出，欲劈死维护奴隶制罪恶的卑鄙之徒。然而，所有这一切都徒然无功。奴隶制还是展开了它漆黑的死亡翅膀，在这块土地上遮天盖日。教会在袖手旁观——教士发出虚假的预言，而人们又情愿如此。奴隶制的王权业已建立，它统治在握，得意非常。

法律和舆论(在这个国家它比法律还强大)禁止近三百万你们的公民同胞读《生命之书》。你们的智慧尽其可能地被摧残。他们企图掐灭你们心存的一丝火花。压迫者们自己在此企图中也身陷囹圄。他们变得软弱无能、荒淫无耻、贪得无厌——他们诅咒了你们，他们也诅咒了自己，他们还诅咒了他们践踏在脚下的大地。

奴隶制！这三个字包藏了多少灾难！哪一颗心不会在这令人毛骨悚然的三个字前抽搐痉挛。人人珍藏热爱自由之心，除非上帝的形象已在人的灵魂中抹去。

一个在刚果的野地里慢跑、未开化的非洲人，对自由权利的热爱丝毫不亚于一个目光炯炯的政治经济学家；每个人同其他任何人一样都有充分享受自由的权利。自由的种子孕育在每个人的心田里。谁将他的同胞贬置于对奴隶制心满意足的境地，谁就对上帝和人类犯下了滔天罪行。

弟兄们时机已到，你们该为自己行动起来了。老话说得对：「世代奴隶要想自由，就该打出自己的拳头。」你们能够为自己的事业摇旗呐喊，能够比其他任何人更能为自己赢得解放……想想非洲这个古老的名字所蕴含着的不朽的光辉吧，——也别忘了自己是土生土长的美国公民。既然如此，你们理应享受赋予最自由的人们的所有权利。想想看你们含辛茹苦却一无所得；用自己的鲜血养肥的这块土地上你们挥洒了多少的泪水！然后，找到趾高气扬的奴隶主们，直截了当地说你们决心已定：要自由。唤醒他们的正义感，对他们说他们没有权利压迫你们，正如你们没有权利奴役他们一样。要求他们卸掉强加在你们身上的重负。赋予你们的劳动以报偿。答应他们说如果你们的劳动得到了应有的报偿，你们是会重新在土地上辛勤耕耘的。告诉他们，《解放法案》在英属西印度群岛公布后，给当地带来了更多的快乐和繁荣。明确无误地对他们说奴隶制罪恶滔天，将受到末日审判，受到愤怒的上帝给予的应得报应。告诉他们你们要求的是自由，其他任何东西都不足使你们满意。就这样做吧，再也不要为那些鞭笞辱骂你们、让你们一无所有的恶霸卖命了。要是他们为此想置你们于

死地，那么，应承当后果的不是你们，而是他们。如果你想继续生为奴隶、让你的后代继续遭受你们的苦难，那你们最好一死了事——现在就死吧。

同胞们！默默的受难者们！请注意，你们最宝贵的权利正惨遭作贱；你们的儿女们正受到杀戮；你们的妻子、母亲和姐妹正沦为娼妓。以上帝的名义，为了珍贵的生命，让我们再也不要争论选择自由还是死亡孰好孰坏了。

1822 年，南卡罗来纳州的登马克·维希为解放他的同胞订立了一个计划。在整个人类历史上还从未有人为推翻奴隶制的统治而制订出比这更详尽、更宏伟的计划了。然而，他自己的同胞背信弃义告发了他。维希死为自由的烈士。许多勇敢的英雄们倒下了，但历史信守她的职责，将他们的英名携刻在摩西、汉普登、退尔、布鲁斯、华莱士、图森一路维杜尔、拉菲特、华盛顿等人的同一座纪念碑上。

纳撒尼尔·特纳是登马克·维希的追随者。邪恶和不公把他逼得走投无路。专制暴政将他的名字钉在耻辱柱上，而人民却世代景仰他，将他视为高尚、无畏的人。接下来是不朽的约瑟夫·辛克，阿密斯达的勇士。他在非洲土生土长。在上帝的护佑下，他在公海解救了整整一艘船的同胞弟兄。此时，在非洲阳光铺洒的山峰上，在故乡的棕榈树下，高歌欢唱自由，聆听雄狮的吼叫，感到自己与森林之王一样自由自在。

还有麦迪逊·华盛顿，那颗自由的明星，在真正英雄主义的星座上占有一席之地。他与一百零四名其他黑奴一起关在里士满的「克里奥」号双桅帆船上，运往奴隶大市场新奥尔良州。他们十九个人拚死为自由而搏斗，结果死了一人，而全体其他人都得到了解放。帆船最后驶往新普罗维登斯的拿骚。

高尚的人们！些为自由而献身者，真诚而敬畏上帝的子孙后代会永世铭记着他们的。那些活着的人们，他们的名字环绕着荣誉的祥光。

弟兄们，站起来，站起来吧！为你们的生命和自由战斗吧！时机已来临，让这块土地上的每一个奴隶都起身战斗，奴隶制灭亡之日不会久远了。你们已受尽了压迫，你们已受尽了残暴，宁可死为自由人，不可生为奴隶。记住，你们有四百万人！

你们的信条是抵抗!抵抗! **抵抗!** 受压迫者没有不经抵抗而获得自由的。采取什么方式来抵抗,则要根据你们所处的具体情况而定,也要见机行事。弟兄们,再见吧!望你们坚信无所不在的上帝,望你们为人类的和平而努力。记住,你们有四百万人!

An Address to the Slaves of the United States of America

Your brethren of the North, East, and West have been accustomed to meet together in National Conventions, to sympathize with each other, and to weep over your unhappy condition. In these meetings we have addressed all classes of the free, but we have never, until this time, sent a word of consolation and advice to you. We have been contented in sitting still and mourning over your sorrows, earnestly hoping that before this day your sacred liberties would have been restored. But, we have hoped in vain. Years have rolled on, and tens of thousands have been borne on streams of blood and tears to the shores of eternity. While you have been oppressed, we have also been partakers with you; nor can we be free while you are enslaved. We, therefore, write to you as being bound with you.

Many of you are bound to us, not only by the ties of a common humanity, but we are connected by the more tender relations of parents, wives, husbands, and sisters, and friends. As such we most affectionately address you.

Slavery has fixed a deep gulf between you and us, and while it shuts out from you the relief and consolation which your friends would willingly render, it afflicts and persecutes you with a fierceness which we might not expect to see in fiends of hell. But still the Almighty Father of mercies has left to us a glimmering ray of hope, which shines out like a lone star in a cloudy sky. Mankind are becoming wiser, and better--the oppressor's power is fading, and you, every day, are becoming better informed, and more numerous. Your grievances, brethren, are many. We shall

not attempt, in this short address, to present to the world all the dark catalogue of the nation's sins, which have been committed upon an innocent people. Nor is it indeed necessary, for you feel them from day to day, and all the civilized world looks upon them with amazement.

Two hundred and twenty-seven years ago the first of our injured race were brought to the shores of America. They came not with glad spirits to select their homes in the New World. They came not with their own consent, to find an unmolested enjoyment of the blessings of this fruitful soil. The first dealings they had with men calling themselves Christians exhibited to them the worst features of corrupt and sordid hearts: and convinced them that no cruelty is too great, no villainy and no robbery too abhorrent for even enlightened men to perform, when influenced by avarice and lust. Neither did they come flying upon the wings of Liberty to a land of freedom. But they came with broken hearts, from their beloved native land, and were doomed to unrequited toil and deep degradation. Nor did the evil of their bondage end at their emancipation by death. Succeeding generations inherited their chains, and millions have come from eternity into time, and have returned again to the world of spirits, cursed and ruined by American slavery.

The propagators of the system, or their immediate successors, very soon discovered its growing evil, and its tremendous wickedness, and secret promises were made to destroy it. The gross inconsistency of a people holding slaves, who had themselves "ferried o'er the wave" for freedom's sake, was too apparent to be entirely overlooked. The voice of Freedom cried, "Emancipate your slaves." Humanity supplicated with tears for the deliverance of the children of Africa. Wisdom urged her solemn plea. The bleeding captive plead his innocence, and pointed to Christianity who stood weeping at the cross. Jehovah frowned upon the nefarious institution, and thunderbolts, red with vengeance, struggled to leap forth to blast the guilty wretches who maintained it. But all was vain. Slavery had stretched its dark wings of death over the land, the Church stood silently by--the

priests prophesied falsely, and the people loved to have it so. Its throne is established, and now it reigns triumphant.

Nearly three millions of your fellow-citizens are prohibited by law and public opinion (which in this country is stronger than law) from reading the Book of Life. Your intellect has been destroyed as much as possible, and every ray of light they have attempted to shut out from your minds. The oppressors themselves have become involved in the ruin. They have become weak, sensual, and rapacious--they have cursed you--they have cursed themselves--they have cursed the earth which they have trod. . . .

SIAVERY! How much misery is comprehended in that single word. What mind is there that does not shrink from its direful effects. Unless the image of God be obliterated from the soul, all men cherish the love of liberty. The nice discerning political economist does not regard the sacred right more than the untutored African who roams in the wilds of Congo. Nor has the one more right to the full enjoyment of his freedom than the other. In every man's mind the good seeds of liberty are planted, and he who brings his fellow down so low, as to make him contented with a condition of slavery, commits the highest crime against God and man. . . .

Brethren, the time has come when you must act for yourselves. It is an old and true saying that, "if hereditary bondmen would be free, they must themselves strike the blow." You can plead your own cause, and do the work of emancipation better than any others. . . . Think of the undying glory that hangs around the ancient name of Africa--and forget not that you are native-born American citizens, and as such you are justly entitled to all the rights that are granted to the freest. Think how many tears you have poured out upon the soil which you have cultivated with unrequited toil and enriched with your blood; and then go to your lordly enslavers and tell them plainly, that you are determined to be free. Appeal to their sense of justice, and tell them that they have no more right to oppress you than you have to

enslave them. Entreat them to remove the grievous burdens which they have imposed upon you, and to remunerate you for your labor. Promise them renewed diligence in the cultivation of the soil, if they will render to you an equivalent for your services. Point them to the increase of happiness and prosperity in the British West Indies since the Act of Emancipation. Tell them in language which they cannot misunderstand of the exceeding sinfulness of slavery, and of a future judgment, and of the righteous retributions of an indignant God. Inform them that all you desire is FREEDOM, and that nothing else will suffice. Do this, and forever after cease to toil for the heartless tyrants, who give you no other reward but stripes and abuse. If they then commence work of death, they, and not you, will be responsible for the consequences. You had far better all die--die immediately, than live slaves, and entail your wretchedness upon your posterity....

Fellowmen! patient sufferers! behold your dearest rights crushed to the earth! See your sons murdered, and your wives, mothers and sisters doomed to prostitution. In the name of the merciful God, and by all that life is worth. let it no longer be a debatable question, whether it is better to choose liberty or death.

In 1822, Denmark Veazie, of South Carolina, formed a plan for the liberation of his fellowmen. In the whole history of human efforts to overthrow slavery, a more complicated and tremendous plan was never formed. He was betrayed by the treachery of his own people, and died a martyr to freedom. Many a brave hero fell, but history, faithful to her high trust, will transcribe his name on the same monument with Moses, Hampden, Tell, Bruce, and Wallace. Toussaint L'Ouverture, Lafayette, and Washington. ...

The patriotic Nathaniel Turner followed Denmark Veazie. He was goaded to desperation by wrong and injustice. By despotism, his name has been recorded on the list of infamy, and future generations will remember him among the noble and brave.

Next arose the immortal Joseph Cinque, the hero of the Amistad. He was a native African, and by the help of God he emancipated a whole ship-load of his fellowmen on the high seas. And he now sings of liberty on the sunny hills of Africa and beneath his native palm-trees, where he hears the lion roar and feels himself as free as the king of the forest.

Next arose Madison Washington, that bright star of freedom, and took his station in the constellation of true heroism. He was a slave on board the brig Creole, of Richmond, bound to New Orleans, that great slave mart, with a hundred and four others. Nineteen struck for liberty or death. But one life was taken, and the whole were emancipated, and the vessel was carried into Nassau, New Providence.

Noble men! Those who have fallen in freedom's conflict, their memories will be cherished by the true-hearted and the God-fearing in all future generations; those who are living, their names are surrounded by a halo of glory.

Brethren, arise, arise! Strike for your lives and liberties. Now is the day and the hour. Let every slave throughout the land do this, and the days of slavery are numbered. You cannot be more oppressed than you have been--you cannot suffer greater cruelties than you have already. Rather die freemen than live to be slaves. Remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS! . . .

Let your motto be resistance! resistance! RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their liberty without resistance. What kind of resistance you had better make you must decide by the circumstances that surround you, and according to the suggestion of expediency. Brethren, adieu! Trust in the living God. Labor for the peace of the human race, and remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS!

詹姆斯.拉塞尔.洛威尔

(JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL)

危机当前

The Present Crisis

詹姆斯·拉塞尔·洛威尔(1819—1891)生于马萨诸塞州的坎布里奇，家庭是新英格兰的名门望族。在哈佛大学毕业取得法学学位后，他致力于诗歌和散文的创作而成为一名文学巨擘。1855年，他继亨利·华兹华斯·朗费罗之后成为哈佛大学的文学教授，同时兼任《大西洋月刊》和《北美评论》两家著名杂志的主编。他先后在西班牙和英国出任美国公使。

洛威尔的诗《危机当前》作于1844年。它为全国有色人促进会的领导者们提供了灵感。玛丽·怀特·欧文顿是该协会的创始人之一。她回顾1910年组织者们围桌而坐为他们的杂志命名的情形。她灵机一动想起了洛威尔的诗。于是大家都赞成杂志取名为《危机》。欧文顿写道：「如果我们的黑人和白人会员、东南西北的分会、各大学的协会和儿童集体都应遵循一个纲领的话，那么它就应当是洛威尔杰出的诗句。在今天看来，这些诗句与它们在七十年前发表时一样，同样是适用的。」然后她引用了诗的第五节和第十一节。

每当自由的业绩功告完成，
一脉预示未来回肠荡气的欢跃
就发自大地那饱受痛楚的宽阔胸膛，
由东方延伸至西方。
每当一个世纪的雄风伟力，
在时光的刺槐树干上绽开出绚烂花朵
时，
奴隶们不论蜷居何处，
就感到他们的心灵，
攀上了人性高山峻岭的巅峰。每当新时
代就要降生之际，
阵痛便扭曲着大地。
每一处农墙，每一面宫壁，
都为之一颤，
感受了分娩之苦凄。

The Present Crisis

When a deed is done for Freedom,
through
the broad earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic,
trembling on
from east to west,
And the slave, where'er he cowers,
feels the
soul within him climb
To the awful verge of manhood, as
the energy
sublime
Of a century bursts full-blossomed

各民族口呆目瞪，面面相觑，
祝愿真理之男婴，
要从未来之躯降生于世。邪恶力量同样
带着恐怖阴森，
飘荡于各大陆，撒播灾难不幸。
奴隶们不论蜷居何处，
都同感于上帝。
浑洒的热泪，
被大地的土壤吸收殆尽，
直至一具未曾入土的尸身，
四处匍伏潜行，
填入高贵的新土。人类心灵相连，
在大地脉脉搏动的身躯中，
本能地感受正义和邪恶的瞬息电闪。
人类巨大的身躯，
被海洋四处分离。
无论有意还是无心，
都感受了欢乐和耻辱的喷流——
一个民族的所得所失，
都与其他民族均享平分。每一个人，每一
一个民族，
时代要你们作出抉择：
在真理和谬误的搏击中，
归于善还是归于恶。
一项伟大事业，上帝之新生的弥赛亚，
让我们选择
盛开的鲜花还是枯朽的枝条，
左手的山羊还是右手的绵羊。
这将永远是黑暗和光明之间的选择。啊，

on the
thorny stem of Time.

Through the walls of hut and palace
shoots the
instantaneous throe,
When the travail of the Ages wrings
earth's
systems to and fro;
At the birth of each new Era. with a
recognizing start,
Nation wildly looks at nation,
standing with
mute lips apart,
And glad Truth's yet mightier
man-child leaps
beneath the Future's heart.

So the Evil's triumph sendeth, with
a terror and
a chill.
Under continent to continent, the
sense of
coming ill,
And the slave, where'er he cowers,
feels his
sympathies with God
In hot tear-drops ebbing earthward,
to be
drunk up by the sod,

我的人民，
死神破履飞舞，
要在我们的大地扬起嚣嚣尘土。
你们决心已定，在哪一边立足，
邪恶纵然飞黄横行，
但只有真理强大无边。
虽然她正流离失所，
但我看到俊丽、伟岸的天使大军，
护卫着她免受邪恶的围攻。回顾往日的
航标灯火，
如同水中的峰巅，
在遗忘的海面星星点点。
宫廷里，市场中，
没人听到危机四伏的呼喊。
呼喊声中，
上帝手中扬起无情的簸箕，
世上的渣滓被剔除，
在审判之时，
才让我们看到留下的累累精华。

伟大的复仇者显得漫不经心，
历史篇章所记录的，
只是旧制度和《圣经》，
在黑暗中你死我生的搏斗。
真理始终占据绞架，
邪恶却登上了宝座王位——
但绞架使未来震撼。
在未知的暗影后边，
上帝高然屹立，目光眈眈，
俯瞰他创造的一切。

Till a corpse crawls round unburied,
delving in
the nobler clod.

For mankind are one in spirit, and
an instinct
bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle, the
swift flash
of right or wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious,
yet
Humanity's vast frame
Through its ocean-sundered fibres
feels the
gush of joy or shame;--
In the gain or loss of one race all the
rest have
equal claim.

Once to every' man and nation
comes the
moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with
Falsehood, for the
good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new
Messiah, offering
each the bloom or blight
Parts the goats upon the left hand,

此刻今时，
我们隐约看见，
何物渺小，何事伟大。
信念姗姗，
命运的铁舵在软弱的臂膀下缓缓挪动。
但灵魂是神奇隐奥的，
市声嘈嘈，
从德尔斐的神洞里，
还是传来不祥的肃肃低语：
「谁奴役他们的子孙后代，
谁就是和罪孽握手欢语。」
奴隶制是一帮土生的库克罗普斯，
巨人中的极耻败类。
身为野蛮黑暗之子，
它们使大地血流成河。
在亲手开解的荒漠上，
它们饥肠辘辘，
被我们真理之光刺瞎了眼睛。
它们尚在未沦落的地区，
搜寻着自己的猎物。
难道我们还要把它们的手腥手指
引向无助的儿童玩耍之所在。
站在真理一边，
同分她寥寥的面包，
高尚荣光。
而真理的历程，
终将带来荣誉和丰饶。
正义会繁荣兴旺，
这是勇士的选择。

and the
sheep upon the right
And the choice goes by forever
'twixt that
darkness and that light.

Hast thou chosen, O my people, on
whose
party thou shalt stand,
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals
shakes the
dust against our land.
Though the cause of Evil prosper,
yet 't is
Truth alone is strong,
And, albeit she wander outcast now,
I see
around her throng
Troops of beautiful, tall angels, to
enshield her
from all wrong.

Backward look across the ages and
the beacon-
moments see,
That, like peaks of some sunk
continent, jut
through Oblivion's sea;
Not an ear in court or market for the
low

懦夫只能靠边站开，
因为灵魂的卑琐而疑虑重重，
直到他的主上了十字架。
而芸芸大众，
终将使他们曾放弃过的信念，
放出美德的光辉。
历历遍数世上造就之英雄，
他们独往独来，为众人而吃苦。
当众人扔来恶言恶语的石块时，
他们泰然自若，
放眼前望，
看到了金色光芒投在了彻底的正义一边。
正义由他们神圣的信念所掌握，
由个人对人性、对上帝的至上安排的
朴素真理所掌握。
就着焚烧异教徒的火光，
我目送耶稣鲜血流淌的脚步，
身负永不复返的十字架，
艰难地登上新卡尔瓦利斯山。
以往的艰辛攀登，
标志着每一个时代的人们，
如何学会两个伟大的字眼：
信念！
自从第一个上帝征服之人，
面朝苍天以来，
「信念」二字在预言者心中，
早已熊熊燃烧。
人性向前飞奔：

foreboding cry
Of those Crises, God's stern
winnowers, from
whose feet earth's chaff must fly;
Never shows the choice momentous
till the
judgment hath passed by.

Careless seems the great Avenger;
history's
pages but record
One death-grapple in the darkness
'twixt old
systems and the Word;
Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever
on the throne,--
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
and, behind
the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow,
keeping
watch above his own.

We see dimly in the Present what is
small and
what is great,
Slow of faith how weak an arm may
turn this
iron helm of fate,

今日烈士之立足所在，
明日却见手持银块的犹太，
匍伏在地。
远望前方，
十字架已竖立，柴火堆已点燃。
昨日喧闹的人们，
今日心怀敬畏，
默默返回，收捡四散的余灰，
将它们放入历史的金瓮。
传统美德之遗训，
铺刻在我们先辈的墓碑上。
是作她的英雄，
还是作她无为的奴隶，
悉听其便。
古风遗言的崇拜者们，
将当今的观念视为罪恶——
《五月花》号是由懦夫起航的吗，
是由落伍过时者掌舵的吗，
道路究竟通往过去还是将来，
才使普利茅斯的岩石灿烂辉煌的？
那些英雄心怀当今之勇气，
身材魁梧，反对偶像；
斧头和绞架不能使他们相信
一切美德仅属过去。
然而
我们使他们的真理
变成了我们的谬误；
我们把它珍存于霉烂的羊皮纸堆里

But the soul is still oracular; amid
the market's
din,
List the ominous stern whisper from
the
Delphic cave within,--
"They enslave their children's
children who
make compromise with sin."

Slavery, the earth-born Cyclops,
fellest of the
giant brood,
Sons of brutish Force and Darkness,
who have
drenched the earth with blood,
Famished in his self-made desert,
blinded by
our purer day,
Gropes in yet unblasted regions for
his
miserable prey;--
Shall we guide his gory fingers
where our
helpless children play.

Then to side with Truth is noble
when we
share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit,

以为是它赢得了我们的自由。
而我们柔弱的心灵，
却逃避那强劲的冲动！
恰是那种冲动，
激励了英雄们扬帆过海！
谁能维护权利，
谁就能拥有权利；
而我们却背叛了祖先，
将自由新祭坛之火，
窒息于祖先神圣的遗骨中。
难道我们非要把他们的信条，
变成我们的桎梏。

当我们急不可待欲杀仇敌之际，
难道非要从昔日先知的古墓中，
攫取他们的长明灯，
在今日的先知周围，
燃起殉道者的柴火堆。
新时机托付以新责任，
光阴已移，
古风遗训不再合宜。
要与真理齐步并行，
就须奋发向上，勇往直前
看哪！

真理的篝火召唤着我们！
我们自己须为朝圣者，
启航我们的《五月花》号。
在凶险寒冬的海面上，
满怀勇气，稳操舵柄。

and 't is
prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses,
while the
coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his
Lord is
crucified,
And the multitude make virtue of
the faith they
had denied.

Count me o'er the earth's chosen
heroes,--
they were souls that stood alone,
While the men they agonized for
hurled the
contumelious stone,
Stood serene, and down the future
saw the
golden beam incline
To the side of perfect justice,
mastered by their
faith divine,
By one man's plain truth to
manhood and to
God's supreme design.

By the light of burning heretics
Christ's

让我们再也不要
用昔日血渍锈斑的钥匙，
试图打开未来的大门。

bleeding feet I track,
Toiling up new Calvaries ever with
the cross
that turns not back,
And these mounts of anguish
number how each
generation learned
One new word of that grand Credo
which in
prophet-hearts hath burned
Since the first man stood
God-conquered with
his face to heaven upturned.

For Humanity sweeps onward:
where to-day
the martyr stands,
On the morrow, crouches Judas with
the silver
in his hands:
Far in front the cross stands ready
and the
crackling fagots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday
in silent
awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into
History's
golden urn.

"Tis as easy to be heroes as to sit the
idle slaves

Of a legendary virtue carved upon
our father's
graves,

Worshippers of light ancestral make
the

present light a crime;--

Was the Mayflower launched by
cowards,

steered by men behind their time.

Turn those tracks toward Past or
Future, that

make Plymouth Rock sublime.

They were men of present valor,
stalwart old

iconoclasts,

Unconvinced by axe or gibbet that
all virtue

was the Past's;

But we make their truth our
falsehood,

thinking that hath made us free,

Hoarding it in mouldy parchments,
while our

tender spirits flee

"The rude grasp of that great
Impulse which

drove them across the sea.

They have rights who dare maintain
them; we

are traitors to our sires,

Smothering in their holy ashes
Freedom's new

lit altar-fires;

Shall we make their creed our jailer.

Shall we,

in our haste to slay,

From the tombs of the old prophets
steal the

funeral lamps away

To light up the martyr-fagots round
the

prophets of to-day.

New occasions teach new duties;

Time makes

ancient good uncouth;

They must upward still, and
onward, who

would keep abreast of Truth;

Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires!

we

ourselves must Pilgrims be,

Launch our Mayflower, and steer
boldly

through the desperate winter sea,

Nor attempt the Future's portal with
the Past's
blood-rusted key.

弗雷德里克·道格拉斯

(FREDERICK DOUGLASS)

在罗切斯特的独立日演说

Independence Day Speech at Rochester



费城反奴隶学会之执行委员会，1851

公民同胞们，对不起，请允许我问一声：为什么今天叫我在这里发言.你们的国家独立与我以及我所代表的人们有何相干.你们的 7 月 4 日对美国黑奴有何意义.

弗雷德里克·道格拉斯(1817—1895)是一名杰出的演说家、作家、人道主义者和政治活动家。在废奴运动中他是一个巨人般的人物。他生为奴隶，从未见过生身父母，是在马里兰州的一个种植园中由祖母带大的。八岁时他被送到巴尔的摩当家奴。在巴尔的摩，女主人教他读书、虽然这是法律禁止的。他二十一岁时逃往纽约市和麻塞诸塞州的贝得福德，在那里他将自己的姓氏改为道格拉斯(原先叫贝利)。

1841 年，他被邀请在南特克特的反奴隶制集会上演说。他雄辩的口才令人折服，被麻塞诸塞州反奴隶协会聘为代理人。他成了一名杰出的演说家。有的评论家对他的真实出身表示怀疑，针对于此他于 1845 年写了自传。但道格拉斯为了避免自己被认出是逃奴而被捉拿，跑到国外呆了两年，四处演说。回国时

他挣了足够的钱赎身为自由人，并于 1847 年在纽约的罗切斯特创办了自己的废奴报纸的《北极星》报。

从 1841 年起，道格拉斯成了美国最著名的黑人废奴主义者。1852 年他被邀请在罗切斯特的美国独立纪念日集会上演讲。发言开始时他照老一套赞美了美国开国元勋们众所周知的功绩，但在演说中途，他话锋一转，提醒听众说美国黑人没有享受独立，由此可见这个国家的虚伪。听众举座震惊。

公民同胞们，对不起，请允许我问一声：为什么今天叫我在这里发言.你们的国家独立与我以及我所代表的人们有何相干.那个《独立宣言》里所体现的政治自由和天定公道的伟大原则也适用于我们吗.所以，我是否被叫到这里，向国家的祭坛奉献上我们微不足道的牺牲贡品，然后，由于你们的独立赐福了我们而要我连声谢谢、感恩戴德吗.

为了你们也为了我们，但愿上帝真能听到对这些问题的肯定回答。如真是这样，我的任务就容易了，身上的担子也就挑得轻松愉快了。有谁会如此铁石心肠以至于一个国家的慰问都不能使之感动.有谁会如此顽固不化、缺乏感激之心而不感谢得到了这些无估价的恩惠呢？又有谁是如此淡漠和自私，以至于手脚上奴役的锁链被解开时都不放开嗓门高唱这个国家欢乐的的哈利路亚呢？我不是那样的人。在这样的情况下，哑巴都会开口雄辩，」瘸子会像鹿儿般欢跃」起来。

但情况并非如此。我这么说，是因为我痛切地感受到我们之间有着差异。今天辉煌的周年盛会是把我们排斥在外的。你们光荣的独立仅仅表明我们之间存有不可逾越的鸿沟。并非所有人都享受到了你们为之高歌欢唱的种种幸福。你们分享到了你们的先辈留下的正义、自由、繁荣和独立的丰厚遗产，而我却没有。阳光带给你们光明和抚慰，带给我们的却是鞭痕和死亡。7 月 4 日属于你们，而不属于我，你们可欢欣雀跃，而我却要伤心悲叹。将一个身着镣铐的人拖过自由的雄伟光辉的圣殿，叫他和你们一起高唱欢乐的圣歌，不啻是惨无人道的嘲弄和亵渎神明的讽刺。公民们，你们是否是为了嘲弄我才请我发言的？要是

这样，你们要因自己的行为自食其果的。我要警告你们，不要覆蹈这样一个国家的前辙：在那里，万能的主一声叹息，这个国家所犯的滔天罪行就倾覆而下，使其永世夷为废墟！今天，我要把一个皮肉活剥、饱受苦难的民族的悲叹之声传达给你们！

「在巴比伦河之滨，我们落坐。是啊！想起锡安山，我们哭泣着。我们把我们的竖琴悬挂在柳树上，因为就在此地，将我们沦为俘虏的人要我们唱一支歌！蹂躏我们的人叫我们欢笑起来，他们说，唱一支锡安山的歌吧！但我们怎能在一块陌生的土地上唱起主的赞美歌呢？噢，耶路撒冷，如果我竟忘掉了你就让我的右手瘫痪吧！如果我忘掉了你，就让我的舌头粘在上腭顶吧！」

公民同胞们，在你们举国喧嚣的欢乐声中，我听到成百上千万人的哀号！他们身上的锁链，昨日已是沉重难忍了，而今日，你们的欢乐声又使他们的苦痛愈发难熬。如果我真的忘记了，如果我不能切切牢记那些今日尚流淌着鲜血的孩子们，那么，「就让我的右手瘫痪吧，就让我的舌头粘在上腭顶吧！」如果忘了他们，如果对他们的屈辱置若罔闻，如果还在此与众人一块同声鸣唱，就无异于最可耻、最耸人听闻的背叛，就会使自己在上帝和世人面前受尽谴责。因此，公民同胞们，我发言的主题是美国的奴隶制。我要从奴隶的角度，来看今日此时，以及它对公众的意义，我身同美国黑奴，他们的屈辱就是我的屈辱。我以自己的整个心灵，毫不犹豫地声明：在我看来，今天这个7月4日里，这个国家的黑暗德性和罪行，显得从所未见地鲜明昭著！不论我们的回顾美国往日的声明，还是倾听其今日的诺言，它的所作所为都同样显骇人听闻、令人作呕。美国对过去是虚伪的，对现在也是虚伪的，对未来也恣意虚伪。此时此地，我站在上帝和遍体鳞伤、鲜血淋漓的黑奴一边，以惨遭凌辱的人性之名义，以身着桎梏的自由之名义，以受到抛弃和践踏的《宪法》和《圣经》之名义，挺身而出，尽我具备的所有力量，对一切使奴隶制——深重的罪孽、美国的耻辱——永世永存的企图发出我的抗议，发出我的谴责！「我不闪烁其辞，我不会客套！」：我要用的是我最激烈的言辞，而任何判断力不受偏见所蒙蔽的人，任何内心里不想继续奴役黑人的人，都会承认我说的每句话都是正确的、公道的。然而，我没想到我的有些听众会说：「正是现在，你和你的废奴主义兄弟们没给公众以良好印象。如果你们能多说理少责难，多劝戒训斥，你们事业成功的

希望就大得多了。」但是，我认为，当一切都显而易见时，说什么道理就是多余的了。关于反奴隶制的纲领你们要我说明哪一点呢？这个问题在哪一个枝节上我们的国民还需要点拨呢？我还须着手证明奴隶也是人吗？这点已属公认，没人有所怀疑。奴隶主们在实施他们政府的法律时都承认了这一点。当他们惩罚奴隶们的反抗时就承认了这一点。维吉尼亚州列出七十二项罪行，一黑人（无论他多么不知情）犯了其中任何一项都要处以极刑，而其中只有两项才能使一个白人受到同样惩罚。这不正说明了奴隶是有道德、有理智、有责任的人吗？奴隶具有人性，这也属公认。事实证明了奴隶的人性：南方的法令条例都规定禁止教育奴隶读书写字，否则将受到高额罚款和严厉的处置。假如你们能指出有谁曾对田耕作的牛马也规定过这样的法律，那么也许我会同意讨论奴隶是否有人性。假如街上的小狗、空中的飞鸟、山上的牛羊、海里的游角、地上的爬虫都分辨不出奴隶和野兽的区别，那么我会和你们讨论奴隶是不是人的！此时此刻，只要肯定黑色人种同样具备人性也就足够了。我们耕耘、种植、收获；我们使用各种器械工具，建房、修桥、造船；我们利用各种金属，铜、铁、金、银；我们读书、写字、计算；我们当职员、商人、秘书；我们中间有律师、医生、牧师、诗人、作家、编辑、演说家和教师；我们从事其他人所从事的一切活动，在加利福尼亚开金采矿、在太平洋里捕鲸捉鱼、在山坡上放养牛羊，我们生活着、奔忙着、行动着、思考着、计划着；在家中我们是丈夫、妻子、儿女。最重要的是，我们承认和崇奉基督教的上帝，期求来世的洪福永生。而在此情况下，还要我们证明我们是人，岂不令人惊讶万分！

难道你们要我证明人有自由的权利，证明人是自身的正当主人。你们早已声明如此了。我还须证明奴隶制的邪恶吗。这对共和主义者们还是个问题吗。这个问题竟如此困难，需要推敲其道义原则的合适性，这样深奥难解以至于要展开逻辑分析和辩论吗。当着美国人的面，我要是在发言中对此问题条分缕析、又核对又实证、又否定又肯定地证明人生来享有自由，那么我会给你们以什么印象呢。这样做我会显得荒唐可笑，也是对你们的理解力的不尊不敬。在天穹底下无人不晓奴隶制对他是公正的。

将人变为野兽、剥夺他们的自由、使他们劳无所获、使他们对自己与他人的关

系一无所知、对他们棍棒交加、用皮鞭抽打他们的肉体、将他们的四肢锁上镣铐、带着狼犬追捕他们、把他们拍卖于集市、让他们妻离子散、敲碎他们的牙齿、燎烙他们的皮肤、用饥饿迫使他们听话而屈从于主人——还用得着我来证明这一切都是不公正的吗.我还须证明一个血腥污臭的制度是邪恶的吗.不！我不愿。我的时间和精力要花在更值得于的事情上，而不是用来作此求证。

那么，还剩下什么需要论证呢.要证明奴隶制不是天意、上帝并没有建立它吗.要证明我们的神学博士们是错的吗.这样想本身就是亵渎。非人道的东西不会是天意！有谁能够以此为题作出论证.那些能做到这一点的人也许会这样做，但我不能。现在已不是作此论证的时候了。

今日此刻，需要的是灼热的钢铁，而非令人信服的论证。啊！要是我有此能力，要是我能让全国都听到我的呼声，今天我就会以滚滚巨流之势发出我尖刻无情的嘲笑、粉碎一切的谴责，摧枯拉朽的讽刺，声色俱厉的训斥。因为我们需要的不是光亮。而是火焰；我们需要的不是和风细雨，而是电闪雷鸣。我们要风暴，要飓风，要地震。国家的感情必须激励，国家的良知必须唤醒，国家的温良必须打破，国家的虚伪必须揭露。它对上帝和人类犯下的罪行必须公之于众，加以迎头痛击。

你们的 7 月 4 日对美国黑奴有何意义.我的回答是：一年之中，没有哪一天比今日更使他们感到让自己无时不被沦为牺牲品的那种滔天的不公和残忍了。对他们来说，你们的庆典是欺人之道；你们鼓吹的自由是放肆的亵渎；你们的国家的伟大是虚荣的浮夸；你们的喜庆欢悦是空虚和无情的；你们对暴君的谴责是不要脸的厚颜无耻；你们自由平等的欢呼声是空洞的冒牌货；你们的祈祷和赞美诗，你们的布道和感恩，加上所有的宗教游行和仪式，不过是面对上帝的装腔作态、虚假欺骗、不虔的亵渎和虚伪的做作——不过是在野蛮人都会感到羞耻的罪行上覆盖的一层薄薄的纱巾。此时此刻，世界上还没有任何一个野蛮民族，没有任何一个其他民族，像美国人那样犯下了如此骇人听闻、鲜血淋漓的罪恶勾当。

不论你们走到哪里，不论你们在哪里寻觅，游遍旧大陆的所有君主国和专制国家，踏遍整个南美洲，收集所有残忍的记录直至穷尽；然后把你们的调查结果

与美国每天发生的事作个比较，你们就会与我一样得出结论：在令人发指的野蛮和厚颜无耻的伪善方面，美国的确是举世无双了。

Independence Day Speech at Rochester

Fellow citizens, pardon me, allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here today. What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence. Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us. and am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits and express devout gratitude for the blessings resulting from your independence to us.

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions! Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For who is there so cold that a nation's sympathy could not warm him. Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits. Who so stolid and selfish that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's jubilee, when the chains of servitude had been torn from his limbs. I am not that man. In a case like that the dumb might eloquently speak and the lame man leap as an hart.]

But such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you, this day, rejoice are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance

of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence bequeathed by your fathers is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought light and healing to you has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth of July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me by asking me to speak today. If so, there is a parallel to your conduct. And let me warn you that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrevocable ruin! I can today take up the plaintive lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people!

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down. Yea! we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there, they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they who wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How can -we sing the Lord's song in a strange land. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

Fellow citizens, above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions! whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are, today, rendered more intolerable by the jubilee shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, "may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth"! To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme would be treason most scandalous

and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world. My subject, then, fellow citizens, is American slavery. I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing there identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine. I do not hesitate to declare with all my soul that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July! Whether we turn to the declarations of the past or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the Constitution and the Bible which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery--the great sin and shame of America! "I will not equivocate, I will not excuse"; I will use the severest language I can command; and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just.

But I fancy I hear someone of my audience say. "It is just in this circumstance that you and your brother abolitionists fail to make a favorable impression on the public mind. Would you argue more and denounce less, would you persuade more and rebuke less, your cause would be much more likely to succeed." But, I submit, where all is plain, there is nothing to be argued. What point in the antislavery creed would you have me argue. On what branch of the subject do the people of this country need light. Must I undertake to

prove that the slave is a man. That point is conceded already. Nobody doubts it. The slaveholders themselves acknowledge it in the enactment of laws for their government. They acknowledge it when they punish disobedience on the part of the slave. There are seventy-two crimes in the state of Virginia which, if committed by a black man (no matter how ignorant he be), subject him to the punishment of death; while only two of the same crimes will subject a white man to the like punishment. What is this but the acknowledgment that the slave is a moral, intellectual, and responsible being. The manhood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted in the fact that the Southern statute books are covered with enactments forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read or to write. When you can point to any such laws in reference to the beasts of the field, then I may consent to argue the manhood of the slave. When the dogs in your streets, when the fowls of the air, when the cattle on your hills, when the fish of the sea and the reptiles that crawl shall be unable to distinguish the slave from a brute, then will I argue with you that the slave is a man!

For the present, it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the Negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are plowing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver, and gold; that, while we are reading, writing, and ciphering, acting as clerks, merchants, and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators, and teachers; that, while we are engaged in all manner of enterprises common to other men, digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and

cattle on the hillside, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives, and children, and, above all, confessing and worshiping the Christian's God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave, we are called upon to prove that we are men!

Would you have me argue that man is entitled to liberty. That he is the rightful owner of his own body. You have already declared it. Must I argue the wrongfulness of slavery. Is that a question for republicans. Is it to be settled by the rules of logic and argumentation, as a matter beset with great difficulty, involving a doubtful application of the principle of justice, hard to be understood. How should I look today, in the presence of Americans, dividing and subdividing a discourse, to show that men have a natural right to freedom. speaking of it relatively and positively, negatively and affirmatively. To do so would be to make myself ridiculous and to offer an insult to your understanding. There is not a man beneath the canopy of heaven that does not know that slavery is wrong for him.

What, am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters. Must I argue that a system thus marked with blood, and stained with pollution, is wrong. No! I will not. I have better employment for my time and strength than such arguments would imply.

What, then, remains to be argued. Is it that slavery is not divine;

that God did not establish it; that our doctors of divinity are mistaken. There is blasphemy in the thought. That which is inhuman cannot be divine! Who can reason on such a proposition. They that can may; I cannot. The time for such argument is past.

At a time like this, scorching iron, not convincing argument, is needed. O! had I the ability, and could I reach the nation's ear, I would today pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced.

What, to the American slave, is your Fourth of July. I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to Him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy--a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of the United States at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the

monarchies and despotisms of the Old World, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the everyday practices of this nation, and you will say with me that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

亚伯拉罕·林肯

(ABRAHAM LINCOLN)

「分裂之家」演说词

The House Divided Speech



(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

我认为这个政府不能在半奴隶制半自由的状态下长存。

亚伯拉罕·林肯(1809—1865)出生于肯塔基州霍金维尔附近。他自学成才，干过多种职业——水手、店主、邮政站长、土地测量员和铁匠，后来学习法律，成为伊利诺伊州一名最成功的律师，以聪明睿智、通情达理和坦诚正直而著称。他在州立法机关和州议会干过一些时候，于 1858 年与斯蒂芬·A.道格拉斯竞选参议员。1858 年 6 月 16 日。在伊利诺伊州的斯普林菲尔德，林肯接受了共和党的提名，他发表了一篇旨在分析国家面临重大问题的演说。林肯引用《新约》，说道：「分裂之家无可持存。」

林肯运用这篇演说指责民主党态意扩大奴隶制的范围，并分析了近期发生的三

大事件。第一件事是 1854 年国会通过了《堪萨斯—内伯拉斯加法案》，允许西部新开发的准州的选民们自行决定是否实行奴隶制。这项法案撤消了禁止在这些准州内实行奴隶制的《密苏里妥协案》。林肯提醒他的听众说，参议员斯蒂芬·道格拉斯提出了《内伯拉斯加法案》；林肯还多次提及道格拉斯的话：他「不在乎奴隶制被通过还是被否决」。第二件事是最高法院 1857 年的德莱德·斯科特裁决，判定黑人不是(也不能是)美国公民；而国会也无权在自由州或准州禁止奴隶制，因为这意味着剥夺奴隶主的财产。第三件事是在堪萨斯发生的就《莱康普顿宪法》的合法性问题引起的激烈争论。这是一部由亲奴隶制的居民炮制的州宪法，他们企图避开公民投票；而最终公民投票以压倒多数否决了这一宪法。

林肯将这三起事件称为「一部机器」，由「斯蒂芬、弗兰克林、罗杰和詹姆斯」营造而成——即参议员道格拉斯、前总统弗兰克林·皮尔斯、首席大法官罗杰·B.泰尼和詹姆斯·布坎南总统——皆为民主党人。

如果我们首先知道我们的位置所在，也清楚我们的迈步所趋，就能更好地判断该做什么以及如何去做。自从制定了方针，目标明确、信誓旦旦地决心结束对奴隶制的鼓吹，五个年头早已过去。这条方针不但没有结束对奴隶制的鼓吹，而且还使它不断地得以扩大。照我看来，对奴隶制的鼓吹直到一场危机的降临和蔓延，才会了结。「分裂之家无可持存。」我认为这个政府不能在半奴隶制半自由的状态下长存。我不希望这个国家分崩离析——我不希望这个家庭灭顶倾覆，但我确实希望它结束分裂的状态。它将朝两条回迥然相异的方向发展：要不就是奴隶制的反对者遏止其进一步的蔓延，让公众之心得以平静，相信奴隶制将最终走向灭绝；要不就是奴隶制的鼓吹者将其传播四方，直至奴隶制从北到南，在新旧各州都获得合法地位。

难道我们没有朝后一条路发展的迹像吗。谁要是怀疑，就想想看那个现在几乎是完整无缺的法律结合体吧——权且称它为一部机器，它由内伯拉斯加主义和德莱德·斯科特裁决组合而成。不仅要考虑一下这部机器是用来干什么的和干得怎么样，还要研究一下它的组造历史，并且——不管有无可能——如果可能的话，从头寻究一下它的主机部件是如何设计和协调运行起来的。

到 1854 年新年为止，一半以上的州通过了州宪法禁止奴隶制，而国会也在大多数准州禁止奴隶制。四天以后，人们开始竭尽全力，结果是取消了国会的禁令，由此就在所有准州对奴隶制予以放行。这样，他们得了第一分。

但在当时，仅是国会采取了行动，而人民的支援，不论是实在的还是表面上的，却对保住取得的第一分并伺机进一步得分不可或缺。这种必要性并没有被忽略：它或多或少地在著名的「人民主权论」的论点——也称为「自治的神圣权利」——中得以反映。「自治的神圣权利」的论点，虽然表明了任何政府的唯一合法基础，但却被曲解到如此地步而仅用来证明如果有人想奴役他人，不容许第三者站出来反对。这个论点被《内伯拉斯加法案》本身所采用。法案这样写道：「本法案真实目的和含义为，在任一准州或任一州，既不立法推行也不禁止奴隶制的实行，而应让那里的人民在不违反《美国宪法》的前提下以自己的方式完全自由地形成和调整他们当地的组织机构和制度。」

接踵而来的是一片赞同「人民主权论」和「自治的神圣权利」喧闹的附和声。

「但是，」反对派们说，「让我们修正这项法案以明确表明准州的人民可以禁止实行奴隶制吧！」

「咱们不干。」法案的拥护者们说道，于是否决了修正案。当国会正着手讨论《内伯拉斯加法案》时，美国密苏里地区巡回法庭正在审理一桩牵涉一个黑人的自由的案子。他的主人自愿地首先把他带入一个自由州，尔后又带入一个实行国会禁奴方针的准州，在两个地方都呆了许久，主人都将他以奴隶对待。与此同时，即 1854 年 5 月，《内伯拉斯加法案》和这桩案子都面临裁决。那位黑人名叫「德莱德.斯科特」，法庭对此案的最后裁决就以此命名。

在当时的总统换届大选前，此桩案子被提交美国最高法院审理，但拖到大选后才作出裁决。然而，在大选前，特朗布林参议员在参议院起身发言，要求《内伯拉斯加法案》的主要发起者阐明他的观点：准州的人民是否能不违宪地在其地区内禁行奴隶制。后者答道：「这个问题应由最高法院回答。」

大选来临，布坎南先生当选，似乎得到了人民的支援。这样就赢得了第二分。然而，这种支援是在少赢得了近四十万张选票而形成不了压倒多数的情况下获得的，因此，也许算不上是绝对可靠和令人满意的。卸任总统在他的最后一次

年度演说中，尽其可能印象深刻地对大众提到这种支援所蕴含的份量和权威性。

最高法院再次开庭，没有宣布他们的裁决，而是要求再一次辩论。总统就职仪式进行过了，但法庭裁决迟迟未定。然而 新总统在就职演说中敦劝人民不论裁决怎样都予以支援。随后几天内作出了裁决。

这是赢得的第三分。

《内伯拉加法案》声名昭著的作者早些时候曾在国会大厦发表演说支援德莱德.斯科特裁决，并强烈谴责对它所有的异议。同样，新总统也曾在早些时候支援并阐述过此项裁决，还表示说竟有人对此有不同的观点，令他大为吃惊！最后，新总统和《内伯拉斯加法案》的作者之间挑起了一场争斗，仅仅旨在弄清《莱康普顿宪法》在任何正当的意义上是否由堪萨斯人民所制定的。争吵中，后者声明他所要求的不过是人民公平的投票，说他并不在乎奴隶制被通过还是被否决。我不认为他所声明的不在乎奴隶制被通过还是被否决是他本人的意向；这其实是他想施加于公众之心的这种方针的恰切阐释而已——他声明为此如此原则他已吃了许多苦头，并准备吃苦到底。

他不妨坚持他的原则吧。如果他对此原则尚存父爱之心，那么还是好好坚持吧。这项原则是他的内伯拉斯加主义仅存的残简片段。在德莱德.斯科特裁决中，「人民主权」土崩瓦解，像临时搭起的脚手架一般散了身骨——像铸铁厂翻砂模具，浇铸过一次后就复为一盘散沙——它在一次选举中起了点作用，然后就弃为废物，随风而去了。他近来和共和党人协手合作反对《莱康普顿宪法》，这和他原本的内伯拉斯加主义毫无相干。那次斗争的要点是人民制定他们自己宪法的权利，在这方面他与共和党人的观点毫无二致。

德莱德.斯科特裁决的各个要点与道格拉斯参议员的「不在乎」方针，构成了以现状运行的这部机器。它的工作要点诸如下列：

(1)所有从非洲进口的黑奴以及这些黑奴的后代都不能成为《美国宪法》规定意义上的任何州的公民。

这点是用来尽其可能地剥夺黑人享受《美国宪法》这项条款规定的利益，即「各州公民有权享受各州公民的优惠待遇和豁免权」。

(2)「根据《美国宪法》」,不论是国会还是准州立法机关都不能在美国的任何准州里禁止奴隶制。

这点是用来使人们可以在任何准州安置奴隶而无失去他们作为财产的危险,以便奴隶制长存于未来。

(3)在一个自由州使一个黑人实际上处于奴隶地位是否意味着他已脱离奴隶主而获自由,这点美国法院将不作裁决,而由主人能迫使这个黑人进入的任何一个蓄奴州的法庭来裁决。

这条要点并不求于立即实施,而是在获得一段时期的默认并在一次选举中获得民众表面支援后,确认其符合逻辑的结论:德莱德.斯科特的主人在伊利诺伊自由州合法的所作所为,任何另一奴隶主都能在伊利诺伊或任一其他自由州对所有的奴隶都合法地这样做。

内伯拉斯加主义,或者说它的残余,是附属于这一切的,与其共同发生效用。它被用来影响和建立舆论——至少是北方的舆论,使民众对奴隶存在与否的投票结果漠不关心。这恰恰标志着我们现在的处境,也部分标志着我们正朝那条路上往前走。

回顾以往,在心头想想我已叙述过的历史事实,对了解我们的迈进所趋是有进一步的启发的。有些事情与它们刚刚发生时相比现在看来已不显得那么模糊不清和神秘莫测了。人民的选择应该「完全自由」,「仅仅受宪法的约束」。而当时不知情的人是看不出宪法与其有什么相干的。现在很清楚了:它为随后而至的德莱德.斯科特裁决提供了一个大小正合适的容身壁龛,并且声明人民完全的自由意味着根本的不自由。为什么那条明确表示人民有废除奴隶制的权利的修正案遭到了否决.现在清楚了:如果通过了它,为德莱德.斯科特裁决准备的壁龛就垮台了。为什么法庭拖延判决.为什么一个参议员的个人观点被搁置不顾直至总统选举之后.现在清楚了:如果当时就回答就会损害选举赖以依据的「完全自由」的论点。为什么卸任总统要对人民的支援巧言美语.为什么延迟法庭的再度辩论.为什么当选总统要提前对服从裁决提出劝告.这些事情看上去

就像骑上一匹烈马前小心翼翼地拍弄抚摸它一样，免得它将骑手摔个四脚朝天。为什么总统和其他人后来又急不可耐地对裁决表示支援呢。

我们无法绝对确认所有这些机巧天衣无缝的配合是预谋的结果。然而，当我们看到这许多木料组成的构架，它们不同的部件在不同的时间和地点由不同的工匠所造出——斯蒂芬、弗兰克林、罗杰和詹姆斯等等——当我们看到这些木料拼在一起，看到它们天衣无缝地组成了一座房子或一间工作坊的构架，所有的掉头和榫眼密切结合，一切构件的长度和大小都使其精确地各归其位，一块也不多，一块也不少，甚至也没忘了搭置脚手架——或者说如果构件少了一块的话，构架上也留下了一处空位来补其所缺——在这种情况下，我们觉得不可能不相信斯蒂芬、弗兰克林、罗杰和詹姆斯从一开始就心照不宣，共同制定出一个计划或方案，然后打出第一拳……

在德莱德.斯科特案件中，首席大法官和所有其他看法一致的法官们都发表意见，明确宣布《美国宪法》既不容许国会也不容许准州立法机关在任何美国准州里禁止奴隶制，但他们都忘记宣布同一部宪法是否容许一个州或一个州的人民禁行奴隶制。这仅仅是一个疏忽而已，但谁能肯定呢.……将这些拼合在一起，于是又形成一个小巧的壁龛；我们也许不久就会看到另一个最高法院的裁决镶置其中，宣布《美国宪法》不容许一个州在其范围内禁行奴隶制。这种情况尤为可能发生，如果「不在乎奴隶制被通过或被否决」的信条取取得了民心而使他们答应当作出这样的裁决时可以让它保持下去。

奴隶制现在正缺乏这样一个裁决而不能在各州都有合法地位。无论我们欢迎与否，这个裁决可能正处酝酿，不久就会强加于我们，除非我们面对并推翻当前这个政治王朝的势力。我们可以舒心地躺下梦见密苏里州的人民即将使本地变为自由州了，但我们更应对现实保持清醒，因为最高法院已将伊利诺伊变为蓄奴州了。所有欲将阻止事态极端恶化的人们现在要做的就是推翻这个王朝的势力。这是我们必须做的。我们要怎样尽力做好它呢。

有些人对他们自己的朋友公开地指责我们，可是却悄悄对我们说我们要达到目标就应利用道格拉斯参议员这个最顺手的工具。他们没有告诉我们，道格拉斯参议员也没有告诉过我们，说他希望达到这种目标。他们希望我们全然以这样

的密实作出推断，即他现在正与当今王朝的头目闹小摩擦，而他对某个问题和我们的观点从未相左，常是站在我们这边表决的。他们提醒我们说他是一个非常伟大的人物，而我们之中的大多数则微不足道。就算是这样吧。然而，「一条活着的狗胜过一头死去的雄狮」。对于这项工作来说，道格拉斯法官即使不是一头死狮，至少也是一头身处樊笼、牙根脱落的狮子。他怎么会反对奴隶制的发展呢，他根本就无所谓。他所信守的使命就是影响「民心」使其对此漠不关心。

因此，我们的事业必须托付于自己的肝胆朋友，由自己的肝胆朋友来完成。他们轻装上阵，一心工作，他们确实关心事情的结果。两年前，这个国家的共和党人已壮大至一百三十多万人之强大阵容。我们这样做，怀着一股抵制共同的危险的蓬勃朝气，面向周围所有的敌对势力。在陌生、嘈杂甚至敌意的环境中，我们召集于四面八方，联合起来，在组织有序、飞扬拔扈、养尊处优的敌人燃起的不灭的烈焰中，战斗到底。当时我们英勇奋斗，今天却要畏缩不前吗？——今天，畏缩于正在动摇、分裂而好战的从前的敌人面前吗，结局是无可怀疑的，我们不会失败——只要我们立场坚定，我们就不会失败。明智的思想会加速胜利而过失会延迟胜利，但是，或迟或早，胜利终将来临。

The House Divided Speech

If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself can not stand." I believe this Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved--I do not expect the house to fall--but I do expect it will

cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition. Let any one who doubts carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination--piece of machinery, so to speak--compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted; but also let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design and concert of action among its chief master-workers from the beginning.

The new year of 1854 found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State Constitutions, and from most of the national territory by Congressional prohibition. Four days later commenced the struggle which ended in repealing that Congressional prohibition. This opened all the national territory to slavery, and was the first point gained.

But, so far, Congress only had acted; and an indorsement by the people, real or apparent, was indispensable to save the point already gained and give chance for more. This necessity had not been overlooked, but had been provided for, as well as might be, in the notable argument of "squatter sovereignty," otherwise called "sacred right of self-government," which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: that

if any one man choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object. That argument was incorporated into the Nebraska Bill itself, in the language which follows: "It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it there from; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

Then opened the roar of loose declamation in favor of "squatter sovereignty" and "sacred right of self-government."

"But," said opposition members, "let us amend the bill so as to expressly declare that the people of the territory may exclude slavery." "Not we," said the friends of the measure; and down they voted the amendment.

While the Nebraska Bill was passing through Congress, a law case involving the question of a Negro's freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him first into a free State and then a territory covered by the Congressional prohibition, and held him as a slave for a long time in each, was passing through the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Missouri and both the Nebraska Bill and law suit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The Negro's name was "Dred Scott," which name now designates the decision finally made in the case.

Before the then next Presidential election, the law case came to and was argued in the Supreme Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requested the leading advocate of the Nebraska Bill to state his opinion

whether the people of a territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answered, "That is a question for the Supreme Court."

The election came. Mr. Buchanan was elected, and the indorsement, such as it was, secured. That was the second point gained. The indorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory. The outgoing President, in his last annual message, as impressively as possible echoed back upon the people the weight and authority of the indorsement.

The Supreme Court met again; did not announce their decision, but ordered a re-argument. The Presidential inauguration came, and still no decision of the court; but the incoming President in his Inaugural Address fervently exhorted the people to abide by the forthcoming decision, whatever it might be. Then, in a few days came the decision.

This was the third point gained.

The reputed author of the Nebraska Bill finds an early occasion to make a speech at this capitol indorsing the Dred Scott decision, and vehemently denouncing all opposition to it. The new President, too, seizes an early occasion to indorse and strongly construe that decision, and to express his astonishment that any different view had ever been entertained!

At length a squabble springs up between the President and the author of the Nebraska Bill. on the mere question of fact, whether the Lecompton Constitution was or was not, in any just sense, made by the people of Kansas; and in that quarrel the latter declares that

all he wants is a fair vote for the people, and that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up. I do not understand his declaration that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up to be intended by him other than as an apt definition of the policy he would impress upon the public mind--the principle for which he declares he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer to the end.

And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle is the only shred left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision "squatter sovereignty" squatted out of existence, tumbled down like temporary scaffolding,--like the mould at the foundry, served through one blast and fell back into loose sand,--helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. His late joint struggle with the Republicans against the Lecompton Constitution involves nothing of the original Nebraska doctrine. That struggle was made on a point--the right of a people to make their own Constitution--upon which he and the Republicans have never differed.

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas's "care not" policy, constitute the piece of machinery in its present state of advancement. The working points of that machinery are:

(1) That no Negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave, can ever be a citizen of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

This point is made in order to deprive the Negro in every possible event of the benefit of this provision of the United States

Constitution which declares that, "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

(2) That, "subject to the Constitution of the United States," neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature can' exclude slavery from any United States Territory.

This point is made in order that individual men may fill up the Territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus enhance the chances of permanency to the institution through all the future.

(3) That whether the holding a Negro in actual slavery in a free State makes him free as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave it to be decided by the courts of any slave State the Negro may be forced into by the master.

This point is made not to be pressed immediately, but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently indorsed by the people at an election, then to sustain the logical conclusion that what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott in the free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other one or one thousand slaves in Illinois or in any other free State.

Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to educate and mould public opinion, at least Northern public opinion, not to care whether slavery is voted down or voted up. This shows exactly where we now are, and partially, also, whither we are tending.

It will throw additional light on the latter, to go back and run the mind over the string of historical facts already stated. Several things will now appear less dark and mysterious than they did when

they were transpiring. The people were to be left "perfectly free," "subject only to the Constitution." What the Constitution had to do with it outsiders could not then see. Plainly enough now, it was an exactly fitted niche for the Dred Scott decision afterward to come in, and declare that perfect freedom of the people to be just no freedom at all. Why was the amendment expressly declaring the right of the people to exclude slavery voted down. Plainly enough now, the adoption of it would have spoiled the niche for the Dred Scott decision. Why was the court decision held up. Why even a Senator's individual opinion withheld till after the Presidential election. Plainly enough now, the speaking out then would have damaged the "perfectly free" argument upon which the election was to be carried. Why the outgoing President's felicitation on the indorsement. Why the delay of a re-argument. Why the incoming President's advance exhortation in favor of the decision. These things look like the cautious patting and petting of a spirited horse preparatory to mounting him, when it is dreaded that he may give the rider a fall. And why the hasty after-indorsement of the decision, by the President and others.

We cannot absolutely know that all these exact adaptations are the result of pre-concert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen,--Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance,--and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, not omitting even scaffolding--or, if a single piece be lacking, we see

the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in--in such a case we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck. . . .

While the opinion of the court, by Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, and the separate opinions of all the concurring judges, expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States neither permits Congress nor a Territorial Legislature to exclude slavery from any United States Territory, they all omit to declare whether or not the same Constitution permits a State, or the people of a State, to exclude it. Possibly, this was a mere omission; but who can be quite sure . . . Put this and that together, and we have another nice little niche, which we may, ere long, see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a State to exclude slavery from its limits. And this may especially be expected if the doctrine of "care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up" shall gain upon the public mind sufficiently to give promise that such a decision can be maintained when made.

Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the States. Welcome, or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown. We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their State free, and we shall awake to the reality instead that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave State. To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation. That is what we have

to do. How can we best do it.

There are those who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper us softly that Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is with which to effect that object. They do not tell us, nor has he told us, that he wishes any such object to be effected. They wish us to infer all from the facts that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty; and that he has regularly voted with us on a single point upon which he and we have never differed. They remind us that he is a very great man, and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. But "a living dog is better than a dead lion." Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one. How can he oppose the advances of slavery. He don't care anything about it. His avowed mission is impressing the "public heart" to care nothing about it. . . .

Our cause, then, must be intrusted to, and conducted by, its own undoubted friends--those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work, who do care for the result. Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then to falter now.--now, when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered, and belligerent. The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail--if we stand firm, we shall not fail. Wise counsels may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but, sooner or later, the victory is sure to come.

林肯 — 道格拉斯辩论

The Lincoln—Douglas Debates



1860 选举卡通显示林肯与道格拉斯的比赛

斯蒂芬.A.道格拉斯：这个国家是建立在这样的基础上的，即每个州都有权根据自己的意愿决定奴隶制的存亡。

亚伯拉罕.林肯：这场争论的真正问题在于.....一派的观点将奴隶制度视为邪恶，而另一派的观点不把它视为邪恶。

1858 年，林肯从伊利诺伊州和斯蒂芬.道格拉斯参议员竞选美国参议院席位。他向道格拉斯挑战，在整个州的范围内展开了一系列的辩论。道格拉斯是民主党全国性的风云人物，而林肯出了本州则默默无闻。成千上万人——农民、工人、职员等等——前来观战、提问、向自己的一方喝彩。辩论仅集中于一个问题：奴隶制。

道格拉斯(1813—1861)生于佛蒙特州，二十岁时迁居伊利诺伊州。三十岁时入选众议院。道格拉斯是一名天才演说家，虽然身材矮小，却以「矮小的巨人」而闻名。1846 年，道格拉斯入选参议院。他狂热鼓吹领土扩张。由于西部领土扩张引起了在新的准州里是否允许实行奴隶制的激烈争论，道格拉斯于 1854 年领头制定了《堪萨斯—内布拉斯加法案》，此法案取消了《密苏里妥协案》，允许当地居民自行选择。

道格拉斯认为各州或准州的人民应自行投票决定是否实行奴隶制，林肯则争辩说奴隶制不该扩展到现存的奴隶州以外的地方去了。林肯坚持认为奴隶制是邪恶的，而道格拉斯也同样坚决地坚持说国家的生存要求尊重民众的主权，即便

这会使奴隶制扩展也无妨。

林肯最终赢得了公众投票，但竞选却失败了(当时参议员由立法机关选举产生而不由公众投票产生)。这次辩论使他成为共和党全国领袖人物，以及 1860 年总统大选的竞争者。

以下的交锋于 1858 年 10 月 15 日在伊利诺伊州的阿尔顿展开。

道格拉斯的开场白

自从林肯先生和我开始竞选，近四个月时间已经过去。6 月 16 日，共和党代表大会在斯普林菲尔德召开，提名林肯先生作为他们的候选人竞选美国参议员。当时他发表了一篇演说，提出了他所理解的共和党的信条，以及在这场竞争中他要采取的立场。

林肯先生发言的要点是这样的：首先，这个政府不能在有的州实行奴隶制有的州自由的分裂状态下长存下去，尽管我们的祖先本来就是这样安排的；它们要不都变为自由州，要不都变为奴隶州，要不全是这样，要不全是那样——不然这个国家就不能继续生存。这里我几乎是原字原句向你们转述他的观点的。他提出的第二点是向美国最高法院的征战，因为法院作出了德莱德·斯科特裁决。他特别提出了他反对那项裁决的理由，即它剥夺了《美国宪法》规定的黑人的权利和利益，因为宪法条款规定必须保证每一个州的公民享有各州公民应有的权利、优惠待遇和豁免权。

7 月 10 日我回到了家乡，对芝加哥的人民发表了演讲。发言中我表明我的目的是呼吁伊利诺伊州的人民继续进行我在国会一直从事的事业。在那次演说中，我就林肯先生提出的论点与他进行了争论。这样，我们之间的论题就非常清晰明确了。针对林肯先生在斯普林菲尔德提出的两个主张，我在芝加哥的发言反驳了他。第二天，7 月 11 日，林肯先生在芝加哥回答了我，作了一定程度的解释。并再次重申他在斯普林菲尔德演说中的立场。在芝加哥的演说中，他甚至比过去更进了一步，发表了关于黑人与白人平等的观点。为了佐证他的立场，他采用了洛夫乔伊、科丁和其他一些废奴主义演说家提出的、在本州北部和中部众所熟知的论点，这就是：既然《独立宣言》宣称人人天赋自由和平

等，那么黑人的平等也是不可剥夺的权利，因此他们应该享有这种权利。他在发言中坚持说《独立宣言》在肯定人人生来平等的条款中包括了黑人；并且居然还说，要是允许一个人认为本条款不包括黑人，那么别人也就可以认为它不包括其他人。他说应该摒弃所有这些人与人的区分、种族与种族的区分；我们应该采取《独立宣言》的立场，宣告人人生来平等。

这样，林肯先生和我本人之间就针对三个问题展开了争论，本州人民对我们众目以观之。在接下来的七个星期里，在芝加哥演说和我们第一次在奥塔华市相遇这段时间，他和我在许多中部的县区里都对大批的听众作了发言。在我的演说中，我将论题紧扣他采取的三个立场，反驳他关于这个国家不能照我们祖先原来的安排分为一半自由州一半蓄奴州的方式存在下去的观点；反驳他由于德莱德.斯科特裁决而对最高法院的讨伐；反驳他所说的《独立宣言》关于人人生来平等的提法包括并也适用于黑人而不单单是白人的观点。在我的每一场演说中，我分析林肯先生的三个主张，并指出我认为这些主张中包含的根本错误。第一，针对他的关于这个政府违反了上帝之规即分裂之家无可持存这种信条，我反驳道这是给我们宪法的不朽缔造者脸上抹黑。我随后说道，我经常重申、现在再次强调，照我看来我们的政府能够按照我们祖先将国家分为部分自由州部分蓄奴州的方式永世长存——每一个州都有权根据自己的意愿决定是禁止、废除还是保存奴隶制。这个政府是建立在各州主权的坚实基础上的，各州有权调整自己的地方体制以适应其具体情况。这项权利根据于这样的理解和希望，即各地有其各自的利益，所以各地就必须有其不同和特殊的地方及当地的体制与它的需要和利益相一致。我们祖先创建这个政府时就知道，适合佛蒙特州格林山的法律制度并不适用于南卡罗来纳州富饶的农场；他们当时就知道，正如我们现在很清楚一样，适合伊利诺伊州美丽的草原的法律制度并不适用于加利福尼亚州的矿区。他们知道，在幅员如此辽阔的国家里，由于土壤、气候和利益如此多种多样，就必须有相应多样的地方法律、政策和制度使各州适应于自己的情况和需要。由于这个缘故，这个国家建立的基础就是：每一个州都有权根据自己的意愿对奴隶制及任何其他问题做出决定；而各州不应指责兄弟州的政策，更不应对此横加干涉。

林肯的回答

道格拉斯法官设想我们的祖先要使我们政府处于半奴隶制半自由的状态，这不是事实。应该弄清他所说的含义。他设想奴隶制本身是正义的——是由宪法的缔造者所确立的。而事实的真相是，他们发现奴隶制存在于我们之中，却对此现实无可奈何。在创建政府的过程中，他们留下了这个制度和许多其他不尽如人意之处。他们发现了奴隶制的存在而又留下了它，是因为立即取消它很困难——这其实是绝无可能的。当道格拉斯法官问我为什么我们不能按祖先安排的那样使政府保持半奴隶制半自由的状态时，他的问题是建立在一个本身就是错误的设想上的。现在我对他提一个问题：我们政府的祖先采取的与存在于我们中的这个因素有关的政策是世界上最好的政策、唯一明智的政策、唯一可由我们安全地继承实施的政策、永远给与我们和平的政策——除非我们让这个危险的因素统治我们所有人并成为全国性的制度，——那么我要问他为什么他不愿这个政策原样保持。我要问他为什么急于提出与它有关的一个新政策。他自己说过他提出了一个新政策好吧，先不论奴役黑人在道德上是公正还是邪恶的。我还是希望我们新的准州处于这样的情况：白人能找到他们的家园——能找到一块他们能改善处境的地方；在那里他们能置身于一块新的土地上得以提高生活条件。我希望如此，并非仅仅是（正如我在其他地方说过的那样，在这里我还要说）对于生长于我们之间的自己的人民而言，同时也是对于不论身处何地的自由的白人而言——全世界的白人——在那里不论是汉斯、贝普提斯特、帕特里克还是世界上任何其他人都能找到新家园并过上更好的生活。

在过去的场合我曾提到过、而我不妨再提一下我所认为的道格拉斯法官和我之间的论题之究竟所在。说我要在自由州和蓄奴州之间挑起战火，这一点我们之间没什么可争的。他设想我要在白色种族和黑色种族之间建立一种完善的社会和政治平等，这也没有什么可争的。这些都不是真正的论题，而道格拉斯法官却企图就它们挑起争论。指责我持有这些主张是毫无事实根据的。这场争论的真正问题在于——使人人心头感到压力的问题——一派的观点将奴隶制度视为邪恶，而另一派的观点不把它视为邪恶。视这个国家的奴隶制度为邪恶的观点是共和党的观点。他们的一切行动、一切论点都围绕这个观点而展开，他们所有的主张都由这个观点而延伸。他们将奴隶制度视为道义、社会和政治上的

邪恶；.但在持这种看法的同时，他们对这个制度在我们中的既成事实也有着正确的认识，知道以恰当的方式摆脱它有许多难处，还注意到这个问题牵涉的所有宪法上的责任。然而，由于对这些问题有正确的认识，他们渴望就此制定一条方针以确保奴隶制不会产生更大的危险。他们坚持认为，奴隶制应在尽可能的程度上作为邪恶来处理，而将它作为邪恶来处理的一个方法是应规定它不能扩大了。他们还渴望制定一条方针确保邪恶的奴隶制将于某时用和平的方式予以终结。这些就是我所理解的他们关于这个问题的看法；他们所有的观点、他们所有的论点和主张都不出这个范围。我曾经说过、这里还要重申的是，如果我们其中有谁不认为奴隶制度在我提及的任何方面是邪恶的，他就站错了位置而不应属于我们这边。如果我们其中有谁对奴隶制如此耐不住性子而无视它在我们中的既成事实，无视立即以恰当的方式摆脱它的困难，无视它所牵涉的宪法上的责任，他在我们的阵地上就站错了位置。我们在实际行动中不予他以同情；他在我们之中是位置不当的。

关于将奴隶制作为邪恶处理并遏制其蔓延这个问题我还有话要说。除开这个奴隶制度以外，还有什么其他东西威胁过这个国家的生存吗.在我们中间，什么东西是视为最可珍贵的呢.是我们自己的自由和繁荣。除开这个奴隶制度以外，还有什么东西威胁过我们的自由和繁荣呢.如果这是事实的话，那你又怎能通过扩展奴隶制——使之蔓延，将其壮大——来改善事物的现状呢.你身上长着一个囊肿毒瘤，但无法将它割除，因为这样做会使你流血致死；然而，治疗的方法却肯定不是将毒瘤繁衍、使其扩散于你的全身。这不是处理被你视为邪恶的东西的恰当方式。你再看看这种处理它的邪恶的和平的方式——抑制它的扩散，不让它蔓延至原先它所不存在的新的准土里去。这是一种和平的方式、传统的方式。我们的先辈为这种方式的运用给我们树立了典范。

在另一方面，我已说过有种观点认为奴隶制度不是邪恶的，这是今天民主党的观点。我并不是想说凡持有这种观点的人都明确主张奴隶制是正义的，这一派包括所有那些明确主张它是正义的人，以及所有像道格拉斯法官那样将其视为无关紧要而不表示它是正义还是邪恶的人。这两种人汇总成一派，不把奴隶制度视为邪恶。

对于这种制度，民主党的方针不能容忍人们对其邪恶的一丁半点发表只言片语或作出最微小的暗示。就拿道格拉斯法官的论点为例吧。他说他「不在乎奴隶制」在准州里「被通过还是被否决」。对他的这种说法，我本人并不在乎这是用来表示他个人对这个问题的看法，还是仅用来表示他所希望建立的全国性的方针——这对解释我的观点同样有价值。任何一个人都可以像他那样说，只要这个人认为奴隶制有什么邪恶就行。然而，没人能符合逻辑地说出这番话，如果他确实看到了奴隶制的邪恶，因为没人能符合逻辑地说他对一种邪恶是被通过还是被否决满不在乎。他可以说他不在乎一件无关紧要的事情被通过还是被否决，但他必须符合逻辑地在一件正义的事物和一件邪恶的事物之间做出选择。道格拉斯法官争辩说，只要一个地方需要奴隶，他们就有权拥有奴隶。要是奴隶制不是邪恶的，他们则可以拥有奴隶，但如果奴隶制是邪恶的，他就不能说人们有权作恶。他说，根据对等的道理，奴隶正像其他财产一样允许进入一个新的准州。要是奴隶和其他财产毫无区别的话，这样说是严格地符合逻辑的；要是它和其它财产是对等的话，这个论点是完全符合逻辑的。但是如果你坚信一边是邪恶的而另一边是公正的，那么公正和邪恶之间就没有什么可比性。你们可以从头到尾将民主党的方针细细地寻查一遍，不论是体现在其法令文书中，体现在德莱德.斯科特裁决中，体现在交谈言论中，还是体现在其精悍的格言体的论点中——奴隶制有什么邪恶这样的观点都被小心谨慎地排除在外。

这就是论题的真正所在。这就是道格拉斯法官和我的舌战偃息旗鼓时将继续存留于这个国家的问题。它是两种原则——正义和邪恶——之间在世界范围内永不休止的争斗。这两种原则自太古以来就针锋相对，并将永远斗争下去。其中之一是人类共同的权利，另一个则是神授的君王的权利。这后一种原则不论以何种面目发展都本性不移。它怀着一如既往的精神说道：「你们工作吧、辛劳吧！你们挣回面包供我享用吧！」它不管以何种形式出现，不论是出自一个恣意践踏本国人民于脚下的君王之口，还是一个种族要奴役另一个种族的辩解，都出于那个专横暴虐的原则……

The Lincoln—Douglas Debates

Douglas's Opening Speech

It is now nearly four months since the canvass between Mr. Lincoln and myself commenced. On the sixteenth of June the Republican Convention assembled at Springfield and nominated Mr. Lincoln as their candidate for the United States Senate, and he, on that occasion, delivered a speech in which he laid down what he understood to be the Republican creed, and the platform on which he proposed to stand during the contest.

The principal points in that speech of Mr. Lincoln's were; First, that this government could not endure permanently divided into free and slave States, as our fathers made it; that they must all become one thing or all become the other,--otherwise this Union could not continue to exist. I give you his opinions almost in the identical language he used. His second proposition was a crusade against the Supreme Court of the United States because of the Dred Scott decision, urging as an especial reason for his opposition to that decision that it deprived the Negroes of the rights and benefits of that clause in the Constitution of the United States which guarantees to the citizens of each State all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the citizens of the several States.

On the tenth of July I returned home, and delivered a speech to the people of Chicago, in which I announced it to be my purpose to appeal to the people of Illinois to sustain the course I had pursued in Congress. In that speech I joined issue with Mr. Lincoln on the points which he had presented. Thus there was an issue clear and distinct made up between us on these two propositions laid down in the speech of Mr. Lincoln at Springfield, and controverted by me in

my reply to him at Chicago. On the next day, the eleventh of July, Mr. Lincoln replied to me at Chicago, explaining at some length, and reaffirming the positions which he had taken in his Springfield speech. In that Chicago speech he even went further than he had before, and uttered sentiments in regard to the negro being on an equality with the white man. He adopted in support of this position the argument which Lovejoy and Coddington and other Abolition lecturers had made familiar in the northern and central portions of the State: to wit, that the Declaration of Independence having declared all men free and equal, by divine law, also that negro equality was an inalienable right, of which they could not be deprived. He insisted, in that speech, that the Declaration of Independence included the negro in the clause asserting that all men were created equal, and went so far as to say that if one man was allowed to take the position that it did not include the negro, others might take the position that it did not include other men. He said that all these distinctions between this man and that man, this race and the other race, must be discarded, and we must all stand by the Declaration of Independence, declaring that all men were created equal.

The issue thus being made up between Mr. Lincoln and myself on three points, we went before the people of the State. During the following seven weeks, between the Chicago speeches and our first meeting at Ottawa, he and I addressed large assemblages of the people in many of the central counties. In my speeches I confined myself closely to those three positions which he had taken, controverting his proposition that this Union could not exist as our fathers made it, divided into free and slave States, controverting his proposition of a crusade against the Supreme Court because of the

Dred Scott decision, and controverting his proposition that the Declaration of Independence included and meant the negroes as well as the white men, when it declared all men to be created equal. . . . I took up Mr. Lincoln's three propositions in my several speeches, analyzed them, and pointed out what I believed to be the radical errors contained in them. First, in regard to his doctrine that this government was in violation of the law of God, which says that a house divided against itself cannot stand, I repudiated it as slander upon the immortal framers of our Constitution. I then said, I have often repeated, and now again assert, that in my opinion our government can endure forever, divided into free and slave States as our fathers made it,--each State having the right to prohibit, abolish, or sustain slavery, just as it pleases. This government was made upon the great basis of the sovereignty of the States, the right of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions to suit itself; and that right was conferred with the understanding and expectation that, inasmuch as each locality had separate interests, each locality must have different and distinct local and domestic institutions, corresponding to its wants and interests. Our fathers knew when they made the government that the laws and institutions which were well adapted to the Green Mountains of Vermont were unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina. They knew then, as well as we know now, that the laws and institutions which would be well adapted to the beautiful prairies of Illinois would not be suited to the mining regions of California. They knew that in a republic as broad as this, having such a variety of soil, climate, and interest, there must necessarily be a corresponding variety of local laws,--the policy and institutions of each State adapted to its condition and wants. For this reason this

Union was established on the right of each State to do as it pleased on the question of slavery, and every other question; and the various states were not allowed to complain of, much less interfere with, the policy of their neighbors.

Lincoln's Reply

It is not true that our fathers, as Judge Douglas assumes, made this government part slave and part free. Understand the sense in which he puts it. He assumes that slavery is a rightful thing within itself,--was introduced by the framers of the Constitution. The exact truth is, that they found the institution existing among us, and they left it as they found it. But in making the government they left this institution with many clear marks of disapprobation upon it. They found slavery among them, and they left it among them because of the difficulty--the absolute impossibility--of its immediate removal. And when Judge Douglas asks me why we cannot let it remain part slave and part free, as the fathers of the government made it, he asks a question based upon an assumption which is itself a falsehood; and I turn upon him and ask him the question, when the policy that the fathers of the government had adopted in relation to this element among us was the best policy in the world, the only wise policy, the only policy that we can ever safely continue upon, that will ever give us peace, unless this dangerous element masters us all and becomes a national institution,--I turn upon him and ask him why he could not leave it alone. I turn and ask him why he was driven to the necessity of introducing a new policy in regard to it. He has himself said he introduced a new policy. . . .

Now, irrespective of the moral aspect of this question as to

whether there is a right or wrong in enslaving a Negro, I am still in favor of our new Territories being in such a condition that white men may find a home,--may find some spot where they can better their condition; where they can settle upon new soil and better their condition in life. I am in favor of this, not merely (I must say it here as I have elsewhere) for our own people who are born amongst us, but as an outlet for free white people everywhere--the world over--in which Hans, and Baptiste, and Patrick, and all other men from all the world, may find new homes and better their conditions in life.

I have stated upon former occasions, and I may as well state again, what I understand to be the real issue in this controversy between Judge Douglas and myself. On the point of my wanting to make war between the free and the slave States, there has been no issue between us. So, too, when he assumes that I am in favor of introducing a perfect social and political equality between the white and black races. These are false issues, upon which Judge Douglas has tried to force the controversy. There is no foundation in truth for the charge that I maintain either of these propositions. The real issue in this controversy--the one pressing upon every mind--is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong is the sentiment of the Republican party. It is the sentiment around which all their actions, all their arguments, circle, from which all their propositions radiate. They look upon it as being a moral, social, and political wrong; and, while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it

in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet, having a due regard for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should, as far as may be, be treated as a wrong; and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make provision that it shall grow no larger. They also desire a policy that looks to a peaceful end of slavery at sometime, as being wrong. These are the views they entertain in regard to it as I understand them; and all their sentiments, all their arguments and propositions, are brought within this range. I have said, and I repeat it here, that if there be a man amongst us who does not think that the institution of slavery is wrong in any one of the aspects of which I have spoken, he is misplaced and ought not to be with us. And if there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to disregard its actual presence among us and the difficulty of getting rid of it suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced if he is on our platform. We disclaim sympathy with him in practical action. He is not placed properly with us.

On this subject of treating it as a wrong, and limiting its spread, let me say a word. Has anything ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of slavery. What is it that we hold most dear amongst us. Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity, save and except this institution of slavery. If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery--by spreading it out and making it bigger. You may have a wen or cancer upon your person, and not be able to cut it out, lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and

spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard a wrong. You see this peaceful way of dealing with it as a wrong,--restricting the spread of it, and not allowing it to go into new countries where it has not already existed. That is the peaceful way, the old-fashioned way, the way in which the fathers themselves set us the example.

On the other hand, I have said there is a sentiment which treats it as not being wrong. This is the Democratic sentiment of this day. I do not mean to say that every man who stands within that range positively asserts that it is right. That class will include all who positively assert that it is right, and all who, like Judge Douglas, treat it as indifferent and do not say it is either right or wrong. These two classes of men fall within the general class of those who do not look upon it as a wrong. . . .

The Democratic policy in regard to that institution will not tolerate the merest breath, the slightest hint, of the least degree of wrong about it. Try it by some of Judge Douglas' arguments. He says he "don't care whether it is voted up or voted down" in the Territories. I do not care myself, in dealing with that expression, whether it is intended to be expressive of his individual sentiments on the subject or only of the national policy he desires to have established. It is alike valuable for my purpose. Any man can say that who does not see anything wrong in slavery; but no man can logically say it who does see a wrong in it, because no man can logically say he does not care whether a wrong is voted up or voted down. He may say he does not care whether an indifferent thing is voted up or down, but he must logically have a choice between a right thing and a wrong thing. He contends that whatever community wants slaves has a right to have them. So they have, if

it is not a wrong. But if it is a wrong, he cannot say people have a right to do wrong. He says that upon the score of equality slaves should be allowed to go in a new Territory, like other property. This is strictly logical if there is no difference between it and other property. If it and other property are equal, this argument is entirely logical. But if you insist that one is wrong and the other right, there is no use to institute a comparison between right and wrong. You may turn over everything in the Democratic policy from beginning to end, whether in the shape it takes on the statute book, in the shape it takes in the Dred Scott decision, in the shape it takes in conversation, or the shape it takes in short maxim-like arguments,--it everywhere carefully excludes the idea that there is anything wrong in it.

That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles--right and wrong--throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle....

约翰.布朗

(JOHN BROWN)

在法庭上的最后陈述

Last Statement to the Court

我相信：如我过去所做的那样.....为那些受人鄙视的上帝的可怜的孩子进行干预，不是错误而是正确的。

约翰·布朗(1800—1859)是一位狂热的废奴主义者，他相信上帝选择他来摧毁万恶的奴隶制度。他生于康涅狄格州的托灵顿。布朗和他的大家庭(他是二十个孩子的父亲)四处搬迁，寻找职业。他们到过俄亥俄、麻塞诸塞、纽约和宾夕法尼亚。在各不同时期，他当过农民、羊毛商、制革者和土地投机商。1855年布朗移居到堪萨斯与他的几个儿子团聚，他们已经在那块因争吵而不得安宁的土地上立界标占有土地。那时堪萨斯正就以自由州加入联邦还是以奴隶州加入联邦的问题展开激烈的争论。「自由州论者」和「边境恶棍」(这是人们对赞成奴隶制的帮伙的称呼)之间的武装冲突产生出「流血的堪萨斯」这种说法。

1856年，当布朗获悉赞成奴隶制的人洗劫了堪萨斯的劳伦斯城，他非常愤慨。布朗和他的同伴将五个赞成奴隶制的殖民者从他们家中拖出来砍死，以作为对他们的报复。这个事件被称为波塔沃托米大屠杀，它导致更多暴力事件发生，致使两百多人丧生。两年后，布朗在密苏里又指挥了一次袭击。在那儿，他杀死一个奴隶主，解放十一个奴隶，并和奴隶一起逃到加拿大去。

1859年10月，约翰·布朗占领了在维吉尼亚(现为西维吉尼亚)哈泼斯渡的美国军工厂。布朗的奇袭队伍是由五个黑人和十七个白人组成，其中包括他的三个儿子。布朗想武装当地的奴隶，然后他们就可参加他的起义，但他们中没有一个人这么做。在与州及联邦军队的一场血战中，这些袭击者被捕了。这次袭击从战术上讲是失败的，但就布朗更大的目标而言，他取得了辉煌的胜利。它引起全国的注意，加剧了地区间的紧张状况。导致最后的冲突——战争。

布朗被判叛国罪、谋杀罪和煽动叛乱罪，他的五个同伙逃跑了，但其余的或是在袭击中被打死，或是被绞死。布朗于1859年11月2日被判决，12月2日被绞死。布朗在法庭宣布对他的判决时对法庭发表的陈述，第二天就在《纽约先驱报》上列出。在他被处决的那一天，整个北方把他当作圣人和英雄向他

致敬。

如果法庭允许，我想说几句话：

首先，除了我所一直承认的，即我解放奴隶的计划之外，我否认一切。我的确想把事情办得干净利落，正如我去年冬天干的那样。当时我进入密苏里，在那里双方没有开一枪便带走奴隶，穿过这个国家，最后将他们留在加拿大。我计划以更大的规模再做同样的事。这就是我想做的一切。我从来就没想过要去谋杀、叛国或破坏别人的财产，或训练、鼓动奴隶反叛，或举行暴动。

我还有一项抗议，那就是，我受到这样的惩处是不公平的。如果我是以我所承认的方式进行过干预，而且我承认我所采取的方式已经被公正地核实了——因为我钦佩为本案作证的大部分证人的真诚和坦率，——如果我是为了富人、有权势者、有才智者、所谓的大人物，或是为了他们的任何朋友，无论是其父母、兄弟、姐妹、妻子、儿女或任何一个这类人物，而进行这样的干预，并且在这种干预中受到损害，牺牲了我所有的东西，那就没事了。本法庭的每个人就会认为这是一个值得嘉奖的行动，而不是要给予惩处了。

我想本法庭也承认上帝的法规是有效的。我看到人们吻一本书，我想这本书是《圣经》或者至少是一本《新约全书》，它教导我，我希望人们怎样待我，我也要怎样待人。它还教导我说，要记住那些受奴役的人们，就像是和他们同受奴役一样。我努力按照这一教诲行动。我说，我还是太年轻，无法理解上帝会待人有别。我相信：如我过去所做的那样，——我总是直率地承认我干过——为那些受人鄙视的上帝的可怜的孩子进行干预，不是错误而是正确的。现在，如果认为有必要，为了推进正义的目标，我必须付出生命，必须把我的鲜血和我孩子们的血。以及在这个奴隶制国家里，权利被邪恶、凶残且不义的法律所便摒弃的千百万人的血混合在一起，我说，那就这么办吧！

让我再说一句。对于我在审判中所受到的对待，我感到完全满意。考虑到各方面的情况，它比我所预料的要宽宏大量。但我并不觉得自己有罪。我一开始就陈述了什么是我的意图，什么不是。我从未图谋反对任何人的自由，从未有过叛国的企图，从未鼓动奴隶反叛或举行大暴动。我从未鼓励任何人这么做，我总是规劝人们打消这类想法的。

对于那些与我有关的人所作的陈述，我也想就此说几句。我听说他们中有些人说我诱使他们入伙。但事实正相反。我说这话不是为了伤害他们，而是对他们的软弱感到遗憾。他们中没有一个人不是出自自愿加入我的队伍，而且大部分还自己承担费用。许多人在他们来找我之前，我从未见过他们，也从未与他们谈过话，而他们来找我，是为了我所说的那个目的。

现在，我说完了。

Last Statement to the Court

I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say.

In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted: of a design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them through the country, and finally leaving them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to exercise or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

I have another objection, and that is that it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved--for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case--Had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right. Every man in

this Court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

This Court acknowledges, too, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament, which teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor, I did no wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done.

Let me say one word further. I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the liberty of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason or incite slaves to rebel or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

Let me say, also, in regard to the statements made by some of those who were connected with me, I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary

is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. Not one but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with, till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose I have stated.

Now, I have done.

亚伯拉罕·林肯

(ABRAHAM LINCOLN)

在库珀学会的演说

The Cooper Union Speech

我们要坚信正义即力量，并且在这个信念指引下，敢于照我们所理解的那样，把我们的责任履行到底。

在 1860 年争夺共和党总统候选人的提名中，林肯只是个不知名的竞争者。在伊利诺伊州之外，几乎没人知道他这个人。他同道格拉斯的辩论引起人们对他的注意，然后在 1859 年，他在中西部几个州发表演说，1860 年 2 月 27 日在纽约市的库珀学会，他对一大群听众发表演说。这次演说使他打进了前纽约州长、共和党总统候选人提名的主要竞争者威廉·H·苏厄德家乡。紧接着在纽约的胜利之后，林肯又去新英格兰演说，这又使他引起美国东北部那些关键代表的注意。1860 年 5 月在芝加哥举行的共和党全国代表大会上，林肯在第三次投票中获得提名。

六十年后，H.L. 门肯还认为那次在库珀学会的演说使林肯「得到了总统职位」。参议员斯蒂芬·A·道格拉斯(此人不久就成为民主党提名的总统候选人，在总统大选中是林肯的对手)曾断言创建这个国家的先辈们是故意要保留奴隶制的。林肯在库珀学会的演说中则对他这种说法表示怀疑。在这篇受到广泛注意的演说中就奴隶制这个问题，林肯仔细分析了那些制定宪法的人的意图。其意义超过了对前人意图的研究；一百多年后，法律学者还继续辩论究竟那些宪法制定者们是否想结束奴隶制。

……据《纽约时报》报导，去年秋天，参议员道格拉斯先生在俄亥俄州哥伦布所作的一篇演讲中曾说：

「当我们的先辈组建管辖我们的这个政府时，他们跟我们一样理解这个问题，甚至比我们现在理解得更好。」

我完全赞同这种说法，并以此作为我这篇演讲的一个主题。我之所以这样做是因为它为共和党人和民主党中以参议员道格拉斯先生为首的那一翼之间的讨论提供了一个准确一致的出发点……

谁是我们制定宪法的先辈们呢.我以为在原始文件上签名的那「三十九」位可以明确地称为我们组建了现政府的那个部分的先辈……

根据引文说那些先辈们跟我们一样理解这个问题， 甚至比我们现在理解得更好。那么这个问题是什么呢.

这个问题是这样的：地方权威和联邦权威的适当分开或者宪法中有什么条文是否能禁止联邦政府在联邦土地上控制奴隶制.

对于这个问题，道格拉斯认为答案是肯定的，而共和党人认为是否定的。这种肯定与否定的对立就构成一个问题，这个问题正是那段引文所宣称的我们的先辈比我们更理解的问题。

现在不妨问这样一个问题：到底那「三十九」位或他们之中任何一位曾遵照这个问题行事，如果他们真这么做了，那他们是怎么做的——他们是怎么表达出那种更好的理解的。

在 1874 年，即宪法产生前三年，当时美国只占有西北地区的土地，没有其他的领土，那时美国十三州邦联议会就已经遇到了在那片土地上禁止奴隶制的问题；后来参加制定宪法的那「三十九」位签名人中的四人就是那个议会的成员，并参加了对禁奴问题的投票表决。这四个人中，罗杰.沙曼(Roger Sherman)、托马斯.米夫林 (Thomas Mifflin)、休.威廉森 (Hugh Williamson) 都投票赞成禁止奴隶制，这就表明根据他们的理解，地方权威和联邦权威的分离或任何别的什么都没有理由禁止联邦政府在联邦领土内控制奴隶制。这四个人中的另一个人詹

姆斯.麦克亨利 (James McHenry) 投票反对禁止奴隶制, 这表明, 由于某种原因, 他认为投票赞成禁止奴隶制是不适当的。

在 1787 年, 仍然是在宪法产生之前, 但这时制宪会议正在开会制定宪法, 而且这时西北地区的领土仍然是美国占有的唯一领土, 就在这个时候, 禁止奴隶制的问题又一次提到十三州邦联议会上, 后来在宪法上签名的那「三十九」人中又有两人参加了那次邦联议会, 而且参加了禁奴问题的投票表决。他们是威廉.布朗特 (William Blount) 和威廉.菲尤 (William Few), 两人都投票赞成禁止奴隶制……

在 1789 年, 根据宪法召开的第一次邦联议会通过一个法案实施 1787 年的法令, 其中包括在西北领土上禁止奴隶制, 这个法案的议案是由那「三十九」位签名人之一, 托马斯.菲茨西蒙斯 (Thomas Fitzsimmons) 向议会报告的, 他当时是由宾夕法尼亚来的众议院议员。议案通过各个阶段没有人说一句反对的话, 最后没有投赞成票和反对票就在两院通过, 这就等于是全体一致通过。在这次议会中, 制定原始宪法的「三十九」位先辈中有十六位参加。他们是: 约翰.兰登 (John Langdon), 尼古拉斯.吉尔曼 (Nicholas Gilman), 威廉.S.约翰森 (Wm. S. Johnson), 罗杰.舍曼 (Roger Sherman), 罗伯特.莫里斯 (Robert Morris), 托马斯.菲茨西蒙斯 (Thos. Fitzsimmons), 威廉.菲尤 (William Few), 亚伯拉罕.鲍德温 (Abraham Baldwin), 鲁弗斯.金 (Rufus King), 威廉.帕滕森 (William Patterson), 乔治.克莱默 (George Clymer), 理查德.巴西特 (Richard Bassett), 乔治.里德 (George Read), 皮尔斯.巴特勒 (Pierce Butler), 丹尼尔.卡罗尔 (Daniel Carrol), 詹姆斯.麦迪逊 (James Madison) ……

还有当时的美国总统乔治.华盛顿也是那「三十九」位签名人之一, 他以总统的名义批准了提案并在上面签字, 这样就完成了使之作为法律而生效的程序, 而且也表明, 根据华盛顿的理解, 联邦权威与地方权威的分离或者宪法中的任何规定都无法禁止联邦政府在联邦领土上控制奴隶制。

原来的宪法通过后不久，北卡罗来纳州就把现在是因纳西州的那块地方割给联邦政府，几年后，乔治亚州也把现在是密西西比州和亚拉巴马州的那片土地割给联邦政府。在这两个割地契约上，割地的州都规定了一个条件，即联邦政府不能在被割的土地上禁止奴隶制。除此之外，当时在被割的土地上实际已存在奴隶制。在这些情况下，国会为了管理这些地方，并没在这些地方内绝对禁止奴隶制。但是国会实际上是干预了——对奴隶制进行控制——即使在那些地方，也控制到一定程度。1798 年，国会组建密西西比准州。在组织法案中，国会通过罚款和释放带进的奴隶来禁止从美国以外的任何地方将奴隶带进这个准州。这个法案在两院得到一致通过。制定原来宪法的那「三十九」位签名人中有三人在那个议会里。他们是：约翰.兰登 (John Langdon)、乔治.里德 (George Read) 和亚伯拉罕.鲍德温 (Abraham Baldwin)……

在 1803 年，联邦政府买下了路易斯安那那片土地。以前我们是从自己的某些州中获取土地的；但这块路易斯安那是向外国买来的。1804 年，国会将现在是路易斯安那州的那部分地方进行领土组织。位于那块土地之中的新奥尔良是一个相当大的旧城市，还有其他相当多的城镇与居住地，在这些地方，奴隶制已广泛彻底地与人民混合在一起。国会并没有在领土法案中禁止奴隶制，但国会实际上是干预了——控制了奴隶制——而且比在密西西比做得更明显、更广泛。针对奴隶问题所制定的条款是：

(1)不能从外国进口奴隶到那地方。

(2)不能将 1798 年 5 月 1 日以来进口到美国的奴隶带进那个地方。

(3)除非奴隶主将奴隶带进来并供他自己作为居留者使用，任何奴隶都不准被带进来。所有违反法律的情况，都将受到罚款处罚，并将奴隶释放。

这个法案也得到一致通过，在通过这个法案的那次议会里有两人在「三十九」位签名人之中。他们是：亚伯拉罕.鲍德温 (Abraham Baldwin)和乔纳森.戴顿 (Jonathan Dayton)……

在 1819 年至 1820 年之间提出了密苏里问题并得到通过。就这个总的问题的各

个方面，国会两院通过投赞成票和反对票进行了多次表决。「三十九」位签名人中有两人——鲁弗斯.金 (Rufus King) 和查理斯.平克尼 (Charles Pinckney)——是那次议会的成员。金先生坚定地投票赞成废除奴隶制并反对任何妥协，而平克尼先生则投票反对禁止奴隶制而且也反对任何妥协……

我所提到的这些情况仅仅是这「三十九」人或者他们中的任何一个人就这个直接的问题所采取的行动，这就是我所能发现的……

那么，在此，我们那「三十九」位组建了管辖我们的政府的先辈之中有二十三位，根据他们的公务职责和手按《圣经》所发的誓，就那个问题采取了行动，这个问题正是前面引文所肯定的「他们跟我们一样理解，而且甚至比我们现在理解得更好」的问题。他们当中的二十三人——这显然是「三十九」人中的多数——对这个问题采取了这样的行动，如果根据他们的理解，地方权威与联邦权威的任何适当分离，或者他们亲自制定并发誓支援的宪法中的任何规定，会禁止联邦政府在联邦领土上控制奴隶制，那他们就犯有粗鄙的政治错误和故意伪证罪。因此这二十三人采取了行动，行动胜于空谈，而根据这种责任所采取的行动就更胜于空谈了……

那「三十九」位签名人中剩下的十六人，就我所了解的，没有留下任何记录表明他们对联邦政府在联邦领土上控制奴隶制这个直接问题的理解。但是有理由相信，如果他们的理解曾得到表明，那么他们对这个问题的理解也不会表现出与他们那二十三个同伴有什么不同。

为了严格信守引文，除了制定原来宪法的那「三十九」先辈之外，我有意略去了任何其他人所表示的理解，不管他们有多么显赫，而且为了同样理由，我也略去了这「三十九」人中的任何一位就奴隶制这个总的问题的其他方面所表示的理解。如果我们真的审查一下他就诸如对外奴隶买卖。以及奴隶制的道德和政策等其他方面的问题所采取的行动和发表的声明，那么在我们看来，就联邦政府在联邦领土上控制奴隶制这个直接问题，如果那十六人曾经采取行动的话，他们也许会 and 那二十三人采取同样的行动。在那十六人有几个人名列当时最著名的反奴隶制人士之中，——如弗兰克林博士 (Dr. Franklin)、亚历山大.汉密尔顿 (Alexander Hamilton) 和古维诺尔.莫里斯 (Gouverneur Morris) ——据

现在所知其中没有一个人的态度是与此相反的，若有可能，除非是南卡罗来纳的约翰.拉特利奇 (John Rutledge)。

我们那「三十九」位制定了原来宪法的先辈中总共有二十三人——这是明显的多数——肯定认为联邦权威与地方权威的适当分离，或宪法中的任何条款都不能禁止联邦政府在联邦领土上控制奴隶制，而所有其余的人也许是有同样的理解。毫无疑问这就是我们那些制定了原来宪法的先辈们的理解，而且引文也肯定认为他们对这个问题的理解「比我们更好」。

我们完全可以假定那「三十九」位制定了原来宪法的先辈再加上七十六位制定了修正案的议员，加在一起，肯定包括了那些可以被恰当地称为「组建了管辖我们的政府的先辈」。基于这种假定，我反对任何人表示他们其中任何一个人，在他的一生中曾宣布根据他的理解，联邦权威与地方权威的适当分离，或者宪法中的任何条款，可禁止联邦政府在联邦领土上控制奴隶制。我还要进一步反对任何人表示在整个世界任何一个活着的人曾在本世纪初之前(我几乎要说是在本世纪后半叶之前)曾宣布过，根据他的理解，地方权威与联邦权威的适当分离，或者宪法中的任何条款会禁止联邦政府在联邦领土上控制奴隶制。对于那些宣称会禁止的人，我不仅可以拿出「我们那些组建了管辖我们的政府的先辈们」，而且在政府组建的那个世纪内所有其他活着的人也可拿出来与先辈们放在一起让他们去寻找，他们将无法找出任何一个人同意他们看法的证据。现在，在此，我得略为防备，以免误解。我不是说我们一定要盲目照搬我们的先辈所做的任何事情，这样做就要摒弃现今经验中所有能帮助我们理解的事实，排斥一切进步和提高。我所真正要说的是，如果我们要在任何情况下取代我们先辈的意见和政策，我们就应当依据确凿的证据、明确的论点，使其权威在经过相当的考虑和掂量之后还能站得住脚，而且肯定不是我们自己宣布他们对这个问题的理解比我们更好，……

现在，如果他们愿意听的话——我想他们是不愿意听的——我想对南方人说几句话。

我要对他们说：你们认为自己是通情达理和公正的人，而我认为在讲道理和公正这些普通品质上，你们不比其他任何人差。可是，当你们说起我们共和党人

时，你们只会骂我们卑鄙，或者说最好也不比亡命之徒强……

你们说我们是地方主义的。我们否认。这就造成争执，而你们有责任提出证据来。你们提出你们的证据，那是什么证据呢. 喏，我们党在你们的地区是不存在的——在你们的地区得不到选票。这完全是事实，但它能说明问题吗. 如果能说明问题的话，那么，假如我们不改变原则而开始在你们的地区获得选票，我们就不再是地方主义了。这个结论你们不会看不到。可是，你们愿意遵守这个结论吗. 如果愿意，也许你们很快就会发现我们不再是地方主义的了，因为我们今年将在你们的地区获得选票。那时你们就会发现，事实明摆着，你们的证据没有触及问题……

你们有些人喜欢当着我们的面卖弄华盛顿在他的告别演说中提出的对地方主义的警告。在华盛顿提出那个警告不到八年前，他作为合众国总统，曾经赞同并签署了一项国会法案，在西北准州禁止奴隶制，这项法案体现了直到他提出那个警告时和提出警告的那个时刻，政府对这个问题的政策；而在他提出警告大约一年之后，他写信给拉斐叶特，说他认为在西北准州禁止奴隶制是个明智的措施，并且表示希望将来能由各自由州组成邦联。

记住这一点，再来看一看自从那时以后在这同一问题上已经出现的地方主义，那么，华盛顿的警告到底是你们手里反对我们的武器呢，还是我们手里反对你们的武器. 要是华盛顿本人还能说话，他究竟会指责我们这些支援他政策的人犯有地方主义呢，还是指责你们这些反对他的政策的人犯有地方主义？……

就算你们能够……破坏共和党的组织，这对你们又有多大益处呢. 人的行为可以在某种程度上改变，可是人的天性却是改变不了的。在这个国家有一种反对奴隶制的意见和感情，至少可以投一百五十万张票。我们的政治组织就是靠这种意见和感情——这种情感而聚集起来的，你们即使把这个组织破坏掉，也摧毁不了这种情感。一支在你们猛烈炮火下建立起来的纪律严明的军队，你们是很难打垮的。但是，即便你们能打垮它，用武力使造就那支军队的情感越出投票箱的和平轨道而进入其他轨道，这对你们又有什么好处呢. 那另一种轨道大概会是什么呢. 像约翰·布朗 (John Browns) 那样的人会因为这个行动减少还是

增加呢。

然而，你们宁可使联邦分裂也不甘心让人剥夺宪法赋予你们的权利。

这听起来有点草率，但是，如果我们提议仅靠人数多的力量来剥夺宪法明文规定给你们的权利，情况就会缓和，即使这种做法不完全正当。但我们不会提出这种建议。

当你们作这些声明时，你们明明是暗示宪法给你们权利把奴隶带进联邦各准州，并把他们留在那里作为你们的财产。可是宪法里并没有专门规定这种权利。在那个文件里，根本没有提到这种权利。相反地，我们就不认为宪法里规定了这样一种权利，甚至连言外之意都没有。

那么，你们的目的是，说穿了就是要搞垮政府，除非允许你们在你们和我们之间有争议的各点上随心所欲地解释和强制实施宪法。不管怎样，你们要么掌权，要么覆灭。

这说穿了就是你们要对我们说的话。也许你们会说，对于这个有争议的宪法问题，最高法院正作出对你们有利的判决。不见得吧。但是，撇开法学家关于「法官的意见」和「判决」两者之间的区别不谈，最高法院已经多少对这个问题给你们作出了决定。法院实质上是说你们享有宪法规定的权利，把奴隶带进联邦各准州，并且把他们留在那里作为你们的财产。

我说多少作出了决定，意思是说决定是在一个分裂为两派的法院，由法官的微弱多数作出的。他们对于作出决定的理由，看法各不相同。由于这个判决是这样作出的，致使那些自认是这个判决的支持者们对其意义也有不同的看法。而且它主要是依据一个不实之词，即那个意见中所说的：「对奴隶的财产权是宪法专门地和明确地规定的。」

把宪法仔细研究一下，就可以看到它里面对奴隶的财产权并没有作专门的和明确的规定……

如果他们只是用法官的见解说这种权利在文件里是含蓄地获得肯定的，这样别人就会说宪法里既找不到「奴隶」，也找，不到「奴隶制」这个词，甚至与暗指奴隶或奴隶制这类东西有关的「财产」这个词也没有；文件中凡暗指奴隶的地方，都称他为「人」；凡是指奴隶主对他的合法权利的地方，都称为「应得的劳役或劳力」——称为可用劳役或劳力偿付的「债务」。同样也可以用当时

的历史来证明，用这种暗指奴隶和奴隶制的方法，而不是明说出来，是有目的的，就是不让宪法里有一种可以把人当财产的想法……

在所有这些情况下，你是不是真以为自己有理搞垮这个政府，除非大家马上服从像你们那样的法院判决，把它作为政治行动的结论性的和最后的准则。但是，你们不能容忍一个共和党人当选为总统！你们说，如果发生那种情况，你们就要搞垮联邦；你们说，那时，搞垮联邦的严重罪名就会落在我们头上！妙极了。一个拦路强盗用手枪指住我的脑袋，咬牙切齿地说，「留下买路钱，不然我就打死你，那时你将是一个杀人犯！」……

现在再来向共和党人说几句话。让这个伟大联邦所有各部分都太太平平，彼此和睦相处，这是最合乎理想的。我们共和党人应该尽力做到这一点。尽管我们受到很大挑衅，也不要意气用事。即使南方人不愿意听我们的话，我们还是要冷静地考虑他们的要求，如果审慎地考虑到我们的职责，可能的话应当接受他们的要求。我们要根据他们所说和所做的一切，以及他们和我们争端的原因和性质，尽可能决定哪些事情可以使他们满意。

如果使各准州无条件服从他们，他们会满意吗？我们知道他们是不会满意的。在他们目前对我们的一切责难中，几乎没有提到准州。目前叫得最起劲的是入侵和造反。如果今后证明我们同入侵和造反毫无牵连，他们会满意吗？我们知道他们是不会满意的。我们之所以知道是因为我们从来没有同入侵和造反有过牵连。可是尽管我们毫无牵连，还是免不了受到攻击和责难。

问题又来了：究竟什么才能使他们满意呢？……这个，只有这个：不再说奴隶制是错误的。要和他们一起说奴隶制是正确的。而且这必须做得彻底——不但在口头而且在行动上都要做到。他们是不会容忍我们沉默的——我们必须公开宣布和他们站在一起。道格拉斯参议员的新煽动叛乱法必须得到通过和实施，一切有关奴隶制是错误的言论，无论是在政纲里、在报刊上、在讲坛上，或是在私下发表的，都必须禁止。我们必须欢欢喜喜地把他们逃亡的奴隶抓住，送回原主。我们必须取消各自由州的宪法。整个气氛必须肃清一切反对奴隶制的影响，只有这样做以后，他们才不再认为他们的一切麻烦都是从我们这里来

的……

他们既然认为奴隶制在道德上是正确的，而且在社会上是高尚的，他们就不会停止要求全国把奴隶制当作一种合法权利和社会幸福加以承认。

我们也只有坚信奴隶制是错误的这个立场才能正当地制止这种情况。如果奴隶制是正确的，一切反对奴隶制的言语、行为、法律和宪法本身就是错误的，必须加以制止和肃清。如果奴隶制是正确的，我们反对它推行到全国推行到全世界，就不合理；如果奴隶制是错误的，他们硬要将之推广——扩大，那就不合理。如果我们认为奴隶制是正确的，他们的一切要求我们都愿意答应；如果他们认为奴隶制是错误的，我们的一切要求他们也都愿意答应。他们认为奴隶制是正确的，我们认为奴隶制是错误的，这就是整个争端的症结。他们认为奴隶制是正确的，这就难怪他们希望把奴隶制当作正确的东西予以充分肯定。但是，我们认为奴隶制是错误的，我们能向他们屈服吗。我们能根据他们的观点来投票反对我们自己的观点吗。鉴于我们在道德上、社会上和政治上的责任，我们能这样做吗。

虽然我们认为奴隶制是错误的，但是在实行奴隶制的地方，我们还是可以随它去，因为那是出于它在国内实际存在的需要。可是，投票可以制止奴隶制时，难道我们能容许它扩展到各准州，并且到这些自由州来侵扰我们吗。

如果我们的责任感不允许这样，那么就让我们无畏地和有效地坚持我们的责任吧。决不要被那些一直困扰着我们的精心策划的诡计转移我们的方向，这些诡计多得很，例如在是和是非之间找一个中间立场，这就像找一个既不是死人也不是活人的人一样枉费心机；就好像对一个所有正直的人都要关心的问题采取「不在乎」的政策；就像是以联邦的名义呼吁真正拥护联邦的人服从分裂主义者，把神圣的原则颠倒过来，不是叫有罪的人悔改，反而叫正直的人悔改；就像是要召请华盛顿的亡灵，恳求人们收回他所说的话，取消他所做的事。

同样不要让不实的指责使我们偏离我们的责任，也不要被搞垮政府或把我们送入地牢的威胁吓得不敢履行我们的责任。我们要坚信正义即力量，并且在这个信念指引下，敢于像我们所理解的那样，把我们的责任履行到底。

The Cooper Union Speech

In his speech last autumn at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in the New York Times, Senator Douglas said:

"Our fathers, when they framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting point for the discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. ...

Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution. I suppose the "thirty-nine" who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present Government. ...

What is the question which, according to the text, those fathers understood just as well, and even better, than we do now.

It is this: Does the proper division of local from federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government control as to slavery in our Federal Territories.

Upon this, Douglas holds the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. This affirmative and denial form an issue; and this issue--this question--is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood better than we.

Let us now inquire whether the "thirty-nine," or any of them, ever acted upon this question; and if they did, how they acted upon it--how they expressed that better understanding.

In 1784, three years before the Constitution, the United States then owning the Northwestern Territory, and no other, the Congress of the Confederation had before them the question of prohibiting slavery in that Territory; and four of the "thirty-nine" who afterward framed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on that question. Of these, Roger Sherman, Thomas Mifflin, and Hugh Williamson voted for the prohibition, thus showing that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government control as to Slavery in federal territory. The other of the four, James McHenry, voted against the prohibition, showing that for some cause he thought it improper to vote for it.

In 1787, still before the Constitution, but while the Convention was in session framing it, and while the Northwestern Territory still was the only territory owned by the United States, the same question of prohibiting slavery in the territory again came before the Congress of the Confederation; and two more of the "thirty-nine," who afterward signed the Constitution, were in that Congress, and voted on the question. They were William Blount and William Few; and they both voted for the prohibition . . .

In 1789, by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution, an act was passed to enforce the Ordinance of '87, including the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. The bill for this act was reported by one of the "thirty-nine"--Thomas Fitzsimmons, then a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. It went through all its stages without a word of opposition, and finally passed both branches without yeas and nays, which is equivalent to a unanimous passage. In this Congress there were sixteen of the "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the original

Constitution. They were John Langdon, Nicholas Oilman, Wm. S. Johnson, Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, Thos. Fitzsimmons, William Few, Abraham Baldwin, Rufus King, William Patterson, George Clymer, Richard Bassett, George Read, Pierce Butler, Daniel Carroll, James Madison. . . .

Again, George Washington, another of the "thirty-nine," was then President of the United States, and as such approved and signed the bill, thus completing its validity as a law, and thus showing that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government control as to slavery in federal territory.

No great while after the adoption of the original Constitution, North Carolina ceded to the Federal Government the country now constituting the State of Tennessee; and a few years later Georgia ceded that which now constitutes the States of Mississippi and Alabama. In both deeds of cession it was made a condition by the ceding States that the Federal Government should not prohibit slavery in the ceded country. Besides this, slavery was then actually in the ceded country. Under these circumstances. Congress, on taking charge of these countries, did not absolutely prohibit slavery within them. But they did interfere with it--take control of it--even there, to a certain extent. In 1798 Congress organized the Territory of Mississippi. In the act of organization they prohibited the bringing of slaves into the Territory from any place without the United States by fine and giving freedom to slaves so brought. This act passed both branches of Congress without yeas and nays. In that Congress were three of the "thirty-nine" who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, George Read, and Abraham Baldwin. ...

In 1803 the Federal Government purchased the Louisiana

country. Our former territorial acquisitions came from certain of our own States; but this Louisiana country was acquired from a foreign nation. In 1804 Congress gave a territorial organization to that part of it which now constitutes the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, lying within that part, was an old and comparatively large city. There were other considerable towns and settlements, and slavery was extensively and thoroughly intermingled with the people. Congress did not, in the Territorial Act, prohibit slavery; but they did interfere with it--take control of it--in a more marked and extensive way than they did in the case of Mississippi. The substance of the provision therein made in relation to slaves was:

(1) That no slave should be imported into the territory from foreign parts.

(2) That no slave should be carried into it who had been imported into the United States since the first day of May, 1798.

(3) That no slave should be carried into it, except by the owner, and for his own use as a settler; the penalty in all the cases being a fine upon the violator of the law, and freedom to the slave.

This act also was passed without yeas and nays. In the Congress which passed it there were two of the "thirty-nine." They were Abraham Baldwin and Jonathan Dayton. . . .

In 1819-20 came and passed the Missouri question. Many votes were taken, by yeas and nays, in both branches of Congress, upon the various phases of the general question. Two of the "thirty-nine"--Rufus King and Charles Pinckney--were members of that Congress. Mr. King steadily voted for slavery prohibition and against all compromises, while Mr. Pinckney as steadily voted against slavery prohibition and against all compromises. . . .

The cases I have mentioned are the only acts of the "thirty-nine," or of any of them, upon the direct issue, which I have been able to discover. ...

Here, then, we have twenty-three out of our "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the Government under which we live, who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths, acted upon the very question which the text affirms they "understood just as well, and even better, than we do now"; and twenty-one of them--a clear majority of the whole "thirty-nine"--so acting upon it as to make them guilty of gross political impropriety and willful perjury if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and federal authority, or anything in the Constitution they had made themselves, and sworn to support, forbade the Federal Government control as to slavery in the federal territories. Thus the twenty-one acted; and, as actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder. . . .

The remaining sixteen of the "thirty-nine," so far as I have discovered, have left no record of their understanding upon the direct question of federal control of slavery in the Federal Territories. But there is much reason to believe that their understanding upon that question would not have appeared different from that of their twenty-three compeers, had it been manifested at all.

For the purpose of adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any person, however distinguished, other than the "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the original Constitution; and, for the same reason, I have also omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any of the "thirty-nine" even on any other phase of

the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave-trade, and the morality and policy of slavery generally, it would appear to us that on the direct question of federal control of slavery in Federal Territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty-three did. Among that sixteen were several of the most noted anti-slavery men of those times,--as Dr. Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and Gouverneur Morris,--while there was not one now known to have been otherwise, unless it may be John Rutledge, of South Carolina.

The sum of the whole is, that of our "thirty-nine" fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one--a clear majority of the whole--certainly understood that no proper division of local from federal authority, nor any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories; while all the rest probably had the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question "better than we."...

It is surely safe to assume that the "thirty-nine" framers of the original Constitution, and the seventy-six members of the Congress which framed the amendments thereto, taken together, do certainly include those who may be fairly called "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live." And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever, in his whole life, declared that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the whole

world ever did, prior to the beginning of the present century (and I might almost say prior to the beginning of the last half of the present century), declare that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. To those who now so declare I give not only "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live," but with them all other living men within the century in which it was framed, among whom to search, and they shall not be able to find the evidence of a single man agreeing with them.

Now, and here, let me guard a little against being misunderstood. I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience, to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we. . . .

And now, if they would listen,--as I suppose they will not,--I would address a few words to the Southern people.

I would say to them: You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people; and I consider that in the general qualities of reason and justice you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws

You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and

the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it. Why, that our party has no existence in your section--gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue. If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet, are you willing to abide by it. If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. . . .

Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of the government upon that subject up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned it he wrote Lafayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should some time have a confederacy of free States.

Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you. Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon us, who sustain his policy, or upon you, who repudiate it. . . .

And how much would it avail you, if you could. . . break up the Republican organization. Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed. There is a judgment

and a feeling against slavery in this nation, which cast at least a million and a half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling--that sentiment--by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire; but if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot box into some other channel. What would that other channel probably be. Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation.

But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your Constitutional rights. That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

When you make these declarations, you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed Constitutional right of yours to take slaves into the Federal Territories and hold them there as property. But no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is that you will destroy the Government, unless you be allowed to construe and enforce the Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

This, plainly stated, is your language to us. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed Constitutional

question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision, the Court has decided the question for you in a sort of way. The Court has substantially said, it is your Constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property.

When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided Court, by a bare majority of the Judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it; that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning, and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact--the statement in the opinion that 「the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution.」

An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not distinctly and expressly affirmed in it....

If they had only pledged their judicial opinion that such right is affirmed in the instrument by implication, it would be open to others to show that neither the word 「slave」 nor 「slavery」 is to be found in the Constitution, nor the word 「property」 even, in any connection with language alluding to the things slave, or slavery; and that wherever in that instrument the slave is alluded to, he is called a 「person」; and wherever his master's legal right in relation to him is alluded to, it is spoken of as 「service or labor which may be due, 「as a 「debt」 payable in service or labor. Also it would be open to show, by contemporaneous history, that this mode of alluding to slaves and slavery, instead of speaking of them, was employed on purpose to exclude from the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man....

Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this Government unless such a court decision as yours is shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action. But you will not abide the election of a Republican President! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, 「Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!」

A few words now to Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though the southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them.

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them. We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections. We know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, what will satisfy them. ...This, and this only; Cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right. And this must be done thoroughly--done in acts as well as in words. Silence will not be tolerated--we must place ourselves avowedly with them.

Senator Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our Free-State Constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us...

Holding, as they do, that slavery is morally right and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it as a legal right and a social blessing.

Nor can we justifiably withhold this on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong> If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality--its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension--its enlargement. All they ask we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask they could as readily grant if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them. Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own. In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this.

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to

overrun us here in these Free States.

If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored--contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong; vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man; such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care; such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the Divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance; such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

去吧，摩西

Go Down, Moses

那些在田野里，在庄园上劳动的奴隶们的歌在美国文学中占有显著的地位。正如黑人诗人詹姆斯.韦尔登. 约翰逊所说的，黑人圣歌是由「黑皮肤并且无名的诗人」所创作的。这些美丽而感人肺腑的歌流传甚广，远远超出歌曲创作地界限，并且进入了美国人的意识，成为民族文化的一个基本部分。詹姆斯.韦尔登.约翰逊在 1925 年认为黑人圣歌是「美国唯一的民间音乐，而且是到现有为止，美国为世界贡献的最优秀最有特色的艺术」。他还带点讽刺地说：「这真怪！」

黑人圣歌将非洲音乐的特点和《旧约》的基本内容融合在一起，使之成为对信仰的庄严而富有节奏的表达。大部分是为小组唱或合唱而写的。黑奴得到解放后，受过教育的黑人立刻反对唱黑人圣歌，使人想起奴隶制；但是，这些老歌在黑人教堂里还是很受欢迎，而且很快得到公众的广泛承认。1871年，菲斯克大学的黑人歌手们在全国巡回演唱时，将这些黑人圣歌介绍给广大听众。没多久，像《摇低点，可爱的战车》、《还我古时的宗教》及《没人知道我遇到的麻烦》这样的歌就成为美国的标准歌曲了。

约翰逊在他编的歌集《美国黑人圣歌集》中说到《去吧，摩西》。他说：「在整个世界音乐文学中，没有一首歌的主题比它更崇高。如果黑人仅在那一首歌里表达自己的心声，那就会成为他们灵魂高尚的证据。」

去吧，摩西，
去那远方的埃及
告诉老法老，
「让我的人民离去。」以色列在埃及时，
让我的人民离去，
他们无法忍受残酷的压迫，
让我的人民走吧。去吧，摩西，
去那远方的埃及
告诉老法老，
「让我的人民离去。」「主是这么说的，」
勇敢的摩西说，
「让我的人民离去；
如果不肯，我就将你头胎孩子打死
让我的人民走吧。」去吧，摩西，
去那远方的埃及，
告诉老法老，
「让我的人民离去！」

Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egyptland
Tell old Pharaoh
To let my people go.

When Israel was in Egyptland
Let my people go
Oppressed so hard they could
not stand
Let my people go.

Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egyptland
Tell old Pharaoh
"Let my people go."

"Thus saith the Lord," bold
Moses said,
"Let my people go;
If not I'll smite your first-born

"Let my people go!"



在 1860 年的总统选举中，民主党内的南北分裂，为林肯和共和党的胜利扫清了道路。虽然林肯被挑选出来作候选人，部分是由于他有温和主义者的名声，但是南方人还是警告说，如果林肯获胜，他们将脱离联邦。无论在南方还是北方，林肯的当选都被看作是对奴隶制和奴隶主政治权力的排斥。就在林肯当选之后，美国七个州（南卡罗来纳、密西西比、佛罗里达、亚拉巴马、乔治亚、

路易斯安那、德克萨斯)脱离了联邦，并于 1861 年 2 月 4 日，在亚拉巴马州的蒙哥马利组成美国南部邦联。几周后，国会提出了一项在美国禁止奴隶制的宪法修正案。(这项修正案于 1865 年被批准为第十三修正案。)

1861 年 3 月 4 日，林肯在华盛顿特区国会大厦前的台阶上宣誓就职时，向处于分裂和内战边沿的国民发表演说。他呼吁理智和冷静。他的演说是为维护联邦和避免战争所作的最后一次努力。不过，林肯明确表示，联邦将保卫自己，脱离联邦是不合法的，以暴力反对联邦政府将被看作是叛乱。林肯的祈求没有人听。南方邦联的军队于 1861 年 4 月 12 日炮击南卡罗来纳州查尔斯顿的萨姆特堡，内战由此开始。在萨姆特堡陷落之后，维吉尼亚州、阿肯色州、北卡罗来纳州和田纳西州都加入了美国南部邦联。

……在南方各州的人民中似乎存在着一种忧虑，即由共和党执政，他们的财产、安定的生活和个人安全将会遭到危险。这种忧虑从来就没有任何理由。说实在的，无须忧虑的最充足的证据一直都是客观存在的，而且公开接受他们检查。这可以在这位现在向你们致辞的人的几乎所有发表过的演讲里找到。我现在仅引用那些演说辞中的一篇来声明：

我无意直接或间接地在有蓄奴制的州里干预蓄奴制度。我相信我没有这样做的合法权利，而且我也没有这样做的意愿。……

自从一位总统依照国家宪法第一次就职以来已经过了 72 年。72 年里，15 位出类拔萃的公民相继管理了这个政府的行政部门。他们领导这个政府经历了许多危险，而且一般都取得很大成功。可是。尽管有这种先例，我却是在巨大而特别困难的情况下，担负起同样的任务，履行短暂的四年总统任期。分裂联邦，以前还只是一种威胁，现在却已变成令人生畏的行动。

考虑到一般的法律和我们的宪法，我认为这些州所组成的联邦是永久性的。在所有国家政府的基本大法中，即使没有明文规定其永久性，也总是含有此意的。我们可以断言，没有一个正式政府曾经在其组织法中，规定一个使自己寿终正寝的条款。只要我们继续执行国家宪法中所有的明文规定，这个联邦就会永久存在，——除非采取宪法法规以外的某种行动，我们是无法摧毁联邦的。

再说，即使合众国不是一个正式政府，而仅是各州之间一种契约性的组合，

那么，作为一份契约，难道就可以由少数人而不是全体订约人，不经争执，心安理得地予以取消吗.契约的一方可以违反它——或者说是破坏它，但难道不需要通过全体订约人就能合法地解除它吗.……

从这些观点可以推定，任何州均不得仅由自己动议，即可合法脱离联邦；有关这方面的决议和法令在法律上都是无效的；对于任何一州或数州境内反抗美国政府的暴动，应依据情况来确定其为叛乱还是革命。

因此，我认为依照宪法与法律，联邦是不可分裂的；我将尽我所能，务使联邦法律在所有各州得到忠实贯彻，这是宪法本身明文规定责成我这样做的。我认为这样做仅是我本身的一种责任；而且我将在可行的范围内去履行这责任，除非我的合法主人，即美国人民，制止使用这些必要的手段，或者通过某种权威性方式，作出相反的指示。我相信这种说法应该不会被认为是一种威胁，而只是把它看作是联邦所明确宣布的目标，即它要依照宪法保护和维系自身。

要这样做，就必须没有流血和暴力发生，而且只要不是强加于国家权威头上的，哪怕有一点都不行。所赋予我的权力将用来保存、占领和掌握属于政府的财产和地盘，并征集税收和关税，但是，超出为达到这些目标所必需的手段，就不能去侵犯任何地方的人民，不能使用武力反对任何地方的人民，或在任何地方的人民中使用武力……

据说在这个或那个地区里，有一些人千方百计地企图摧毁联邦，甚至不惜利用一切借口非达此目的不可。对此，我不加肯定也不给予否定。但若事情果真如此，我无须对这帮人致辞。可是，对于那些真正热爱联邦的人们，我难道能够缄默不言吗.

在事情还没严重到破坏我们的国家组织，连同它的一切利益，全部历史和所有希望之前，把我们这样做的意图准确地弄清楚，难道不是明智的吗.如果你们要躲避的灾难可能实际上并不存在，在这种情况下，你们难道还要铤而走险吗.如果你即将遇到的灾难比你们想逃避的所有实际的灾难更为深重，难道你们还要冒险赴难，铸成可怕的错误吗.

如果宪法规定的一切权利能够得到维护，则人人都会以身在联邦而感到满足

的。那么，宪法里明文规定的权利究竟有哪一项真的被否定了.我认为没有……

迄今还不曾有过一部根本大法，对于一切实际行政管理中可能出现的任何问题都有专门条款来规范；没有先知可以预见会发生什么，也没有任何繁简适度的文件所明文规定的条款足以应付一切可能发生的问题。联邦和州政府要交出逃亡的奴隶吗.宪法中没有明文规定。国会可以在准州地区禁止奴隶制度吗.宪法里没有明文规定。国会必须在准州地区维护奴隶制度吗？宪法也没有明文规定。

就从这类问题中触发出我们一切有关宪法的争论，我们可把争论者分为多数派和少数派。即使少数派不愿支援政府，多数派也必须支援，否则政府就必须停止工作。其他的替代办法是没有的；要使政府继续存在下去，必须得有一方的支援。在这种情况下，如果有一个少数派不支援政府而要脱离联邦，那么他们就开了一个先例，这必然会导致他们内部分裂并毁了他们，因为他们自己内部的多数派拒受这种少数派控制时，这个少数派又会脱离他们。举例来说，正如目前联邦中的一些州宣布脱离联邦那样，一两年后南部新邦联中的一部分难道就不会蛮横地再行脱离吗.一切醉心于分裂的人们目前所接受的正是这种思想。

在这些要组成新联邦的州之间，难道真的具有完全一致的利益，足以使彼此和睦共处，并避免重新分裂吗.

显然，脱离联邦的核心思想正是无政府状态的实质所在。一个被宪法的强制力和规范所约束，并能顺应公众舆论和公众感情的审慎的变化而变化的多数派，才是自由人民唯一真正的治理者。谁否认它，谁就必然走向无政府或专制。完全一致是不可能的。少数人的统治，作为一项永久性的安排，是完全不能接受的。因此，如果否认多数原则，剩下的仅有某种形式的无政府状态或专制而已……

我国有一部分人相信奴隶制是对的，应当予以延续，而另外一部分人则相信它是错的，不应予以延续。这是唯一的实质性争执……

从地理环境上说，我们是无法分离的。我们不能把各地区从彼此的位置上挪开，也不能在它们之间筑起不可逾越的城墙。夫妻可以离婚，以后彼此不相见，也

无法找到对方，但是，我国的不同地区之间不能这么做。它们不得不面面对，彼此往来，不管是友好的还是敌对的，这情形一定会在它们之间继续下去。那么，分裂以后是否有可能使彼此来往比以前更有利或者更令人满意呢。与外人签约会比与朋友共订法律更容易吗。条约在异邦人之间会比法律在朋友之间得到更忠实的执行吗。假如你们要打仗，你们也不能一直打下去，在双方都伤亡惨重，谁也没有收获之后，你们停止作战时，关于交往条件的一些与以前完全相同的老问题又会摆在你们面前……

为什么不能满怀信心，耐心等待人民的最终裁决呢。难道还有更好的或能与此相匹的希望吗。在我们目前的分歧中，难道双方都没有信心认为自己是站在正确的一边吗。如果代表永恒真理和正义的万能上帝站在你们北方一边或者站在你们南方一边，那么经过美国人民这个大法庭的裁决，真理和正义定将普照天下。

从管理我们的政府的组织结构来看，聪明的人民没有给他们的公仆多少权力去胡闹，而且他们还以同样的智慧为在短期内将那一点点权力收回到他们自己手中作了准备。只要人民保持他们的道德和警惕，任何行政管理人员，不管他们是多么邪恶或多么愚蠢，都不可能在短短四年内给这个政府造成严重伤害。

同胞们，你们每个人都应冷静地好好思考这整个问题。花点时间是不会使任何有价值的东西遭到损失的。如果真有一件东西驱使你们之中任何一个人十万火急地去采取一个你们在审慎沈着的情况下所决不会采取的步骤，那么花点时间去思考就可以挫败这东西。任何好的东西是不会因为你这样做而遭到挫败的。就好像你们现在都心怀不满，可你们还有一部未受损害的老宪法可依，在敏感问题上，你们还有你们自己根据宪法所制定的法律可依，而新的行政当局即便想，也没有改变宪法或这些法律的直接权力。就算大家公认你们这些心怀不满的人是站在争执的正确一边，那也没有任何充足的理由去采取草率的行动。以我们的聪明才智、爱国精神、基督教信仰以及对至今从未据弃过这片沐浴圣恩的土地的上帝的坚定信赖，我们还是有足够的能力用最好的方武来解决我们目前所遇到的一切困难。

各位心怀不满的同胞们，内战这一重大问题，不系于我的手里，而系于你们的手里。政府不会攻击你们。只要你们自己不当侵略者，你们就不会遇到冲突。你们没有对天发誓要摧毁政府，但我们却要立下最庄严的誓言来「保存、保护和保卫它」。

我真不愿结束我的演讲。我们不是敌人。我们之间感情的纽带，或会因情绪激动而绷紧，但决不可折断。那一根根不可思议的回忆之弦，从每个战场和爱国志士的坟墓，伸展到这片辽阔土地上每一颗充满活力的心房和每一个家庭，只要我们本性中的善念再度，而且一定会，加以拨动，它们终会重新奏出响亮的联邦协奏曲。

First Inaugural Address

. . . Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that--

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so....

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again: If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it. One party to a contract may violate it--break it, so to speak--but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it. . . .

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. ...

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak.

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it. Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence. Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from, will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake.

All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied. I think not. . . .

No organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority. The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories. The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories. The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative, for continuing the Government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it. All

who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession.

Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left. . . .

One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. ...

Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before. Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws. Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends. Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you. . . .

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 of 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 fellows-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.	
哈里.麦卡锡 (HARRY MACARTHY)	

美丽的蓝旗 **The Bonnie Blue Flag**

1860 年 12 月 20 日，南卡罗来纳州脱离联邦时，它的旗帜是蓝色的，中心有一颗星。五周后，该州采用新旗以代表它作为南部邦联一员的地位，旗是蓝色的，左上角有一棵矮棕搁树和一轮新月。但是就在那五周里，出现了一支歌唱第一面南卡罗来纳州旗的歌，这支歌很快风靡南方，并成为南方邦联的国歌。

哈里.麦卡锡是阿肯色出生的喜剧演员和杂耍演员，他写了《美丽的蓝旗》这支歌并套用著名的爱尔兰歌曲《爱尔兰双轮马车》的曲调。麦卡锡的《美丽的蓝旗》曾在杰克逊召开的密西西比会议上演唱，1861 年 1 月 9 日，在这里通过了脱离联邦的法案。这里印出的第一、第二和最后一节是原版，其余的都是新加入南部邦联的各州即时加上的。

我们是一群兄弟、我们是土里生土里长， 为诚实劳动而得的财产，我们共同奋战； 我们的权利受威胁时，呐喊便从远近升起， 万岁！为了饰有一颗星的美丽的蓝旗。(合唱) 万岁！万岁！为了南方的权利！万岁！ 万岁！为了饰有一颗星的美丽的蓝旗。只要联邦信守她的职责， 我们就会像朋友兄弟一般友好公	The Bonnie Blue Flag We are a band of brothers, and native to the soil, Fighting for the property we gained by honest toil; And when our rights were threatened, the cry rose near and far; Hurrah! for the bonnie blue flag that bears a Single star CHORUS: Hurrah! hurrah! for Southern
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<p>平；</p> <p>但是，北方现在背信弃义想损害我们的权利，</p> <p>我们要高高升起饰有一颗星的美丽的蓝旗。首先是勇敢的南卡罗来纳表明崇高的立场，</p> <p>然后是亚拉巴马来和她手联手，</p> <p>紧接着是密西西比、乔治亚和佛罗里达，</p> <p>我们都高举起饰有一颗星的美丽的蓝旗。你们是勇敢的人，聚集在正义的旗帜下，</p> <p>德克萨斯和美丽的路易斯安那都参加我们的战斗，</p> <p>戴维斯是我们敬爱的总统，史蒂文斯是难得的政治家，</p> <p>现在都聚集在饰有一颗星的美丽的蓝旗下。勇敢的维吉尼亚，老资格的自治领，让我们为她欢呼，</p> <p>她终于将自己的命运和年轻的邦联连在一起，</p> <p>现在其他州受到她榜样的鼓舞，</p> <p>也准备高举起饰有一颗星的美丽的蓝旗。那么欢呼吧，孩子们，欢呼，</p> <p>痛快地喊吧，</p> <p>阿肯色州和北卡罗来纳现在都出来啦；</p> <p>我们还要为田纳西州高声欢呼，</p> <p>美丽的蓝旗上一颗星已增到十一</p>	<p>rights! hurrah!</p> <p>Hurrah! for the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star</p> <p>As long as the Union was faithful to her trust,</p> <p>Like friends and like brothers, kind were we and just;</p> <p>But now, when Northern treachery attempts our rights to mar,</p> <p>We hoist, on high, the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star.</p> <p>First gallant South Carolina nobly made the stand,</p> <p>Then came Alabama who took her by the hand;</p> <p>Next, quickly Mississippi, Georgia and Florida,</p> <p>All raised, on high, the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star.</p> <p>Ye men of valor, gather 'round the banner of the right,</p> <p>Texas and fair Louisiana join us in the fight</p> <p>Davis, our loved President, and Stevens, statesman rare,</p> <p>Now rally 'round the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star.</p> <p>And here's to brave Virginia, the</p>
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颗。

为我们的邦联欢呼吧，我们强壮又勇敢，
就像古时的爱国者，我们为拯救传统而战，
我们宁死也不甘屈服受辱，
为饰有一颗星的美丽的蓝旗欢呼吧。

old Dominion State,

With the young Confederacy, at length, has linked her fate;

Impelled by her example now other States prepare

To hoist, on high, the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star.

Then cheer, boys, cheer, raise the joyous shout--

For Arkansas and North Carolina now have both gone out;

And let another rousing cheer for Tennessee be given--

The single star of the bonnie blue flag has grown to be eleven.

Then here's to our

Confederacy--strong we are and brave,

Like patriots of old, we'll fight our heritage to save;

And rather than submit to shame, to die we would prefer--

So cheer for the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star.

詹姆斯.赖德.兰德尔

(JAMES RYDER RANDAULL)

马里兰，我的马里兰

Maryland, My Maryland



林肯总统在 1862 年 10 月 1 日校阅陆军总部

《马里兰，我的马里兰》的作者是詹姆斯·赖德·兰德尔。他是路易斯安那一所学院的英语教授。兰德尔是巴尔的摩人，他看到 1861 年 4 月 19 日在巴尔的摩发生战斗的消息，那一天，一支麻塞诸塞团队经过该市时受到愤怒的当地居民的攻击。士兵和平民都在战斗中丧了命。这个事件激发他写一首歌颂南方抵抗的歌，并呼吁马里兰州加入南方邦联(这事从来没发生)。

这首诗第一次发表在《新奥尔良三角洲报》上，大大鼓舞了南方的士气。当它被传到巴尔的摩时，人们给它配上《唐仁包姆，哦，唐仁包姆》的曲调，并由一个支援邦联的音乐出版商将它印出，封面印有马里兰州的盾形纹徽。就像那个时期的许多流行歌曲所发生的情况一样，《马里兰，我的马里兰》很快就以好几种版本被传开，包括一些写来支援联邦事业的版本。有一支联邦的歌是这样开头的「叛军已在你岸上，马里兰，我的马里兰！起来把他赶出你家门……」马里兰以压倒优势投票赞成留在联邦里。不过，被联邦军占领的巴尔的摩城是坚定的亲邦联的。

暴君的铁蹄已踩到你的岸上，
马里兰，我的马里兰！
他的火把已烧到你的庙门上，
马里兰，我的马里兰！
爱国者的血已染红巴尔的摩的大

Maryland, My Maryland
The despot's
heel is on thy shore,
Maryland, my Maryland!
His torch is at thy temple door,
Maryland, my Maryland!
Avenge the patriotic gore

<p>街，</p> <p>让我们为他们报仇雪恨，</p> <p>愿你做古时善战的女王，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰!请听一个游子的呼吁，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰!</p> <p>你是我的母亲州，我愿跪在你面前，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰!</p> <p>不论是生是死，是祸是福，</p> <p>愿你显出举世无双的勇士本色，</p> <p>给你美丽的肢体披上盔甲。</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰!你不会含屈忍辱畏缩不前，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰!</p> <p>你闪光的剑决不会生锈，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰!</p> <p>记住卡罗尔神圣的嘱托，</p> <p>记住霍华德勇武的一戳，</p> <p>记住所有为正义躺下的人，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰!来呀!这是血红的黎明，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰!</p> <p>披上你的盔甲来，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰!</p> <p>带着林戈尔德的斗争精神来，</p> <p>带着蒙特雷沃森洒下的血来，</p>	<p>That flecked the streets of Baltimore,</p> <p>And be the battle queen of yore,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>Hark to an exiled son's appeal,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>My mother state, to thee I kneel,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>For life or death, for woe or weal,</p> <p>Thy peerless chivalry reveal,</p> <p>And gird thy beauteous limbs with steel,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>Thou wilt not cower in the dust,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>Thy beaming sword shall never rust,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>Remember Carroll's sacred trust,</p> <p>Remember Howard's warlike thrust,</p> <p>And all thy slumberers with the just,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>Come! 'Tis the red dawn of the day,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>Come with thy panoplied array,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>With Ringgold's spirit for the fray,</p> <p>With Watson's blood at Monterey,</p> <p>With fearless Lowe and dashing May,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>Dear mother, burst the tyrant's</p>
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带上无畏的洛和勇敢的梅来，
马里兰，我的马里兰!亲爱的母亲，
挣开暴君的锁链，
马里兰，我的马里兰!
愿维吉尼亚的呼喊没白费，
马里兰，我的马里兰!
她会在平原上和姐妹相会，
是那自豪的迭句「Sic temper」，
立即阻止了走狗向前，
马里兰，我的马里兰!来呀!你的盾
又亮又坚，
马里兰，我的马里兰!
来呀!浪费时间就坏了你的事，
马里兰，我的马里兰!
来到你自己的英雄群众里，
与自由一起阔步向前，
并唱起你英勇的战歌，
马里兰，我的马里兰!我看到你两颊
绯红，
马里兰，我的马里兰!
但你虽一向温和却很勇敢，
马里兰，我的马里兰!
听呀!山山水水
都发出了尖厉的呐喊，
喊声从波托马克传到了切萨皮克，

chain,
Maryland, my Maryland!
Virginia should not call in vain,
Maryland, my Maryland!
She meets her sisters on the plain
"Sic temper," 'Tis the proud
refrain
That baffles minion's back
again,
Maryland, my Maryland!

Come! for thy shield is bright and
strong,
Maryland, my Maryland!
Come! for thy dalliance does thee
wrong,
Maryland, my Maryland!
Come to thine own heroic throng,
Stalking with liberty along,
And chant thy dauntless
slogan-song,
Maryland, my Maryland!
I see the blush upon thy cheek,
Maryland, my Maryland!
But thou wast ever bravely meek,
Maryland, my Maryland!
But lo! there surges forth a
shriek,
From hill to hill, from creek to

<p>马里兰，我的马里兰！</p> <p>你不会让野蛮人随意破坏，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰！</p> <p>你不会屈从他的控制，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰！</p> <p>宁可让烈火烧毁房屋，</p> <p>宁可让枪击，刀劈，箭戳，</p> <p>也不让灵魂被钉在十字架上，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰！</p> <p>我听到远处的雷鸣声，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰！</p> <p>我听到「老队伍的」军号和军乐，</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰！</p> <p>她没有死，不聋也不哑，</p> <p>万岁！她一脚踢开了北方流氓，</p> <p>她在呼气！她怒火中烧！她就来了</p> <p>她就来了！</p> <p>马里兰，我的马里兰。</p>	<p>creek,</p> <p>Potomac calls to Chesapeake,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>Thou wilt not yield the vandal toll,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>Thou wilt not crook to his control,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>Better the fire upon the roll,</p> <p>Better the shot, the blade, the</p> <p>bowl,</p> <p>Than crucifixion of the soul,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>I hear the distant thunder-hum,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>The "Old Line's" bugle, fife and drum,</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p> <p>She is not dead, nor deaf nor dumb,</p> <p>Huzza! she spurns the Northern scum--</p> <p>She breathes! She burns! She'll come!</p> <p>She'll come!</p> <p>Maryland, my Maryland!</p>
<p>乔治.F.鲁特</p> <p>(GEORGE F. ROOT)</p> <p>为自由而战的呐喊</p> <p>Battle Cry of Freedom</p> <p>《为自由而战的呐喊》又叫《集合到国旗下，男儿们》，是乔治.F.鲁特创作于1861年。这支歌是套用一支激动人心的爱国曲调，而且可能是人们最喜爱的一文联邦歌曲。鲁特创作了两个不同的版本，一首是为平民写的「集合」歌，</p>	

另一首是为战士写的「战斗」歌。第一个版本是在爱国集会、征兵大会和军营里唱，第二个版本是进行曲。

鲁特(1820—1895)创作了流行的联邦行罗歌《走！走！走》以及那个时期的其他歌曲。其个包括《就在战斗之前，妈妈》和《四面有音乐，男儿们》。他后来写圣歌和大合唱。他最成功的一首抒情歌谣是《罗莎莉，草原之花》。1891年，他出版自传《一个音乐生命的故事》。

集 合 歌是的，我们将集合到国旗下，
男儿们，我们将再次集合，
发出为自由而战的呐喊，
我们将从山冈来集合，
我们将从平原来集合，
发出为自由而战的呐喊，(合唱)
联邦永存，万岁！男儿们，万岁！
打倒卖国贼，举起星条旗；
我们集合到国旗下，
男儿们，我们再次集合，
发出为自由而战的呐喊。我们踊跃回应
在我们前面牺牲的兄弟的号召，
我们要千百万自由人来填补他们空下的
队伍。我们欢迎忠贞、诚实和勇敢的人
加入我们的队伍，
虽然他们很穷，但没有一个人要做奴隶。
所以我们从东部和西部来踊跃回应
号召，
我们要把叛军从我们最可爱的土地上
赶走。**战 歌**

我们行军上战场，男儿们，我们去打仗，

Rallying Song

Yes, we'll rally 'round the flag,
boys, we'll rally once again,
Shouting the battle-cry of
freedom;
We will rally from the hillside,
we'll gather from the plain,
Shouting the battle-cry of
freedom.
CHORUS:
The Union forever, Hurrah!
boys, hurrah!
Down with the traitor and up
with the star;
While we rally 'round the flag,
boys, rally once again,
Shouting the battle-cry of
freedom.
We are springing to the call of
our Brothers gone before,
And we'll fill the vacant ranks
with a million freemen more.

发出为自由而战的呐喊。

为了联邦和正义，我们扛起光荣的星条旗，

发出为自由而战的呐喊。

(合唱)

联邦永存，万岁！男儿们，万岁！

打倒卖国贼，举起星条旗；

我们行军上战场，男儿们，我们去打仗，
发出为自由而战的呐喊。

男儿们，我们要忠贞无畏迎战叛军，
我们要干出山姆大叔要忠诚的男儿干的事。

如果我们陷入冲突，男儿们，我们将与他们拚搏到底，

我们勇敢的同志从我们身边冲突时将听到我们的声音。

是的，为了自由和联邦，我们将踊跃投入战斗，

胜利是属于我们的，因为我们正奋力而起。

We will welcome to our
numbers the loyal, true and
brave,

And altho' they may be poor,
not a man shall be a slave.

So we're springing to the call
from the East and from the
West,

And we'll hurl the rebel crew
from the land we love the
best.

Battle Song

We are marching to the field, boys,
we're going to the fight,

Shouting the battle-cry of
freedom;

And we bear the glorious stars for the
Union and the right,

Shouting the battle-cry of
freedom.

CHORUS:

The Union forever, Hurrah! boys,
hurrah!

Down with the traitor, up with the
star;

For we're marching to the field, boys,
going to the fight

Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

We will meet the rebel host, boys,

with fearless hearts and true,
And we'll show what Uncle Sam has
for loyal boys to do.
If we fall amid the fray, boys, we'll
face them to the last,
And our comrades brave shall hear
us, as they go rushing past.
Yes, for Liberty and Union we're
springing to the fight,
And the vict'ry shall be ours, for
we're rising in our might.

约翰.布朗之歌

The John Brown Song

虽然，这支歌是歌唱哈泼斯.费里热烈士约翰.布朗的，但它本来不是为他而作的。很虽然，这支歌本来是由驻在波士顿沃伦堡的第十二麻塞诸塞团的「猛虎」管的官兵写的，用以与他们自己的中士约翰.布朗开玩笑。其曲调是套用一支流行的军管歌的曲调，这支歌是由南卡罗来纳的威廉.斯特弗所作，歌中原来的迭句是：「说呀，弟兄们，你们要和我们在迦南的乐土上相会吗？」1861年夏，这支歌以《光荣的哈利路亚！》为题在波士顿发表，立刻就风靡起来而且成为一支流行的行军歌。由于废除奴隶制成了内战的一个目标，这支歌就成为士兵和平民唱的一支主要歌曲。歌名变成《约翰.布朗的遗体》或《约翰.布朗之歌》。

约翰.布朗的尸体躺在墓里腐烂，(重复三遍)

他的英魂在前进。

(合唱)

光荣！光荣，哈利路亚！光荣，光荣，哈利路亚！

光荣！光荣，哈利路亚！他的英魂在前进。

天上的星星正慈祥地往下看，
看到老约翰.布朗的坟地上。
他已成为上帝军队里的一个兵，
他的英魂在前进。
约翰.布朗的背包还背在他背上，
他的英魂在前进。
他宠爱的羔羊将在路上迎接他，
它们将跟向前进。
他们将把杰夫.戴维斯吊死在酸苹果树上，
他们向前进。

The John Brown Song

John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave [Repeat 3 times],
His soul is marching on.

CHORUS:

Glory, glory, Hallelujah! Glory, glory, Hallelujah!

Glory, glory, Hallelujah! His soul is marching on

The stars of heaven are looking kindly down

On the grave of old John Brown.

He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord

His soul is marching on.

John Brown's knapsack is strapped upon his back

His soul is marching on.

His pet lambs will meet him on the way

And they'll go marching on.

They will hang Jeff Davis to a sour apple tree

As they go marching on.

朱莉娅.沃德.豪

(JULIA WARD HOWE)

共和国战歌

Battle Hymn of the Republic

朱莉娅.沃德.豪(1819—1910)于 1861 年 11 月 18 日凌晨写出《共和国战歌》。她是一位著名的废奴论者、诗人、妇女参政主义者和人道主义者。那天，她和她的丈夫、著名的麻塞诸塞改革家塞谢尔.格里德利.豪博士到华盛顿特区访问。而在前一天，豪夫妇看到波托马克河南面军队的调遣，并和士兵们一起唱流行的歌曲《约翰.布朗的遗体》。一个朋友建议她为这支行军歌写新歌词。据她自己说，她在黎明前起床，找到笔和纸，就写下了《共和国战歌》，而这时她的幼小的女儿还在旁边睡着。1862 年 2 月，这支歌发表(没有署她名字)在《大西洋月刊》上，赢得像拉尔夫.沃尔多.爱默生、威廉.卡伦.布赖恩特和亨利.华兹沃思.朗费罗这样杰出文学家的高度赞扬，但更重要的是，联邦军立即把它作为自己的行军歌。这是唯一的一首最终能超越地方偏见而成为真正全国性歌曲的内战歌曲。在西一美战争、第一次和第二次世界大战期间，美军都是唱这支歌。它作为全国性歌曲的持久性不仅是由于它有活泼高昂的曲调，而且是由于它的歌词兼备爱国、宗教和庆贺自由的特点。

我的眼睛已看到主降临的荣光，
他正要踏平存有愤怒葡萄的地方，
他可怕的快剑已发出致命的闪光：
他的真理在前进。我已在上百个环形军营的篝火里看见主；
他披着夜间的露水为他建了

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the
coming of the Lord;
He is trampling out the vintage where
the grapes of wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of
His terrible swift sword:
His truth is marching
on.

<p>一座神坛，</p> <p>我能凭昏暗摇曳的灯光读出 他公正的判决：</p> <p>他的胜利在前进。我已在一排 排磨光的利剑里读到一篇炽 热的福音书；</p> <p>「因为你在对付轻侮我的人， 所以我要为你祝福；</p> <p>让人间的英雄用他的脚跟踩 死毒蛇，</p> <p>因为上帝在前进。」他已吹响 那决不召唤退却的号角；</p> <p>他把人心摆在他的法庭面前 审查：</p> <p>哦，我的灵魂快点回应主的号 召！</p> <p>我的脚要欢快奔跑！</p> <p>我们的上帝在前进。基督生在 大海彼岸美丽的百合花中，</p> <p>他怀里的荣光使你我成为神 圣；</p> <p>正如他为使人类神圣而死，让 我们为使人类自由而献身，</p> <p>这时上帝在前进。</p>	<p>I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps;</p> <p>They have builded Him altar in the evening dews and damp;</p> <p>1. can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps:</p> <p>His day is marching on.</p> <p>I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel:</p> <p>"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal;</p> <p>Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,</p> <p>Since God is marching on."</p> <p>He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;</p> <p>He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat:</p> <p>Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant, my feet!</p> <p>Our God is marching on</p> <p>In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea.</p> <p>With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me:</p> <p>As he died to men holy, let us die to make men free</p> <p>While God is marching on</p>
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约翰.格林利夫.惠蒂埃

(JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER)

巴巴拉.弗里彻

Barbara Frietchie

《巴巴拉.弗里彻》是一首著名的爱国诗歌，作于 1863 年，经常被编进诗集并被人深情地背诵下来。一个多世纪以来，「她说，『如果你必须开枪，那就朝我这头发灰白的老人打吧，但请别打你们的国旗。』」造句诗在民族文化的语汇里一直占有特殊的位置。惠蒂埃坚持说这个故事是真实的，而且在华盛顿和马里兰都很闻名，他没有理由怀疑它的准确性。不管是不是真的，这首诗已经为几代美国人所喜爱。

凉爽的九月早晨，气清天朗，
在那盛产玉米的草地上，矗立着一群群弗雷德里克城的塔尖，
马里兰的山冈就像绿墙把它们围在中间。在它们周围到处是果园，
苹果和桃树硕果结满园。在那些饥饿的叛军眼里，
就像主的花园一样美丽。在那个凉爽的初秋早晨，
李将军的队伍踏过山城。他们骑马步行遍布山峰。
迤迤走向弗雷德里克城。四十面饰着银色五星的旗。
四十面饰着深红条纹的旗。
晨风中飘动星条旗四十面，
晌午的太阳却看不到一面。

Up from the meadows rich with
corn,
Clear in the cool September
morn,
The clustered spires of
Frederick stand
Green-walled by the hills of
Maryland.
Round about them orchards
sweep,
Apple and peach tree fruited
deep,
Fair as the garden of the Lord
To the eyes of the famished
rebel horde.

这时老巴巴拉·弗里彻站起来，
她高龄九十腰都直不起来。
她是弗雷德里克城最勇敢的人，
她拿起了士兵们降下的星条旗。
她把旗竿插在她家顶楼的窗上，
以表明有一颗心还是忠贞无上。
叛军的队伍从大街上走过来，
斯通沃尔·杰克逊骑马走在前头。
他戴着垂边软帽左看右视，
看到了那面破旧的星条旗。
「停！」——风尘仆仆的队伍立定不前，
「开火！」——来福枪喷发出烈火烈焰。
窗户、玻璃和窗框都在颤动，
子弹将星条旗撕成条条洞洞。
当旗从断竿上迅速落下时，
巴巴拉老人赶紧抓住丝质的旗面。
她将身体远远倾出窗台，
以极大的毅力把旗摇摆。
她说，「如果你们必须开枪，就朝我这头发
灰白人打吧，
但请别打你们的国旗。」
指挥官的脸上露出一丝悲哀，
他羞愧得满脸通红；
那个女人的言行，
激发出他心中更高尚的天性；
他说，「谁碰那位白发老人一根毛，
就会跟狗一样死去！前进！」
整个弗雷德里克城的街上，
一整天都响着他们行军脚步声；

On that pleasant morn of the
early fall
When Lee marched over the
mountain-wall;

Over the mountains winding
down,
Horse and foot, into Frederick
town.

Forty flags with their silver
stars,
Forty flags with their crimson
bars,

Flapped in the morning wind:
the sun
Of noon looked down, and saw
not one.

Up rose old Barbara Frietchie
then,
Bowed with her fourscore years
and ten;

Bravest of all in Frederick
town,
She took up the flag the men
hauled down;

In her attic window the staff she
set,

那面自由的旗帜，
一整天都飘扬在叛军头上。
就连它被撕破的褶皱也在上下起伏，
飘动在热爱它的忠诚的清风中。
夕阳的光辉透过山间的缝隙，
照耀在旗上致以热情的晚安。
巴巴拉·弗里彻的工作已完毕，
叛军再也没有来袭击。
向她致敬！而且为了她，
让我们洒滴泪在斯通沃尔的灵柩上。
在巴巴拉·弗里彻的坟墓上，
飘扬着自由和联邦的旗帜！
你是光明和法律的象征，
你引来和平，秩序和美；
天上的星星朝下看星星，
永远会看到弗雷德里克城上你的五星！

To show that one heart was
loyal yet.

Up the street came the rebel
tread,
Stonewall Jackson riding ahead.

Under his slouched hat left and
right
He glanced; the old flag met his
sight.

"Halt!" — the dust-brown ranks
stood fast

"Fire!" — out blazed the
rifle-blast.

It shivered the window, pane
and sash;

It rent the banner with seam and
gash.

Quick, as it fell, from the
broken staff

Dame Barbara snatched the
silken scarf.

She leaned far out on the
window-sill,

And shook it forth -with a royal
will.

"Shoot, if you must, this old
gray head,
But spare your country's flag,"
she said.

A shade of sadness, a blush of
shame,

Over the face of the leader
came;

The nobler nature within him
stirred

To life at that -woman's deed
and word;

"Who touches a hair on yon
gray head
Dies like a dog! March on!" he
said.

All day long through Frederick
street

Sounded the tread of marching
feet:

All day long that free flag tost
Over the heads of the rebel
host.

Ever its torn folds rose and fell

On the loyal winds that loved it
well;

And through the hill-gaps
sunset light
Shone over it with a warm
good-night.

Barbara Frietchie's work is o'er,
And the Rebel rides on his raids
no more.

Honor to her! and let a tear
Fall, for her sake, on
Stonewall's bier.

Over Barbara Frietchie's grave
Flag of Freedom and Union,
wave!

Peace and order and beauty
draw
Round thy symbol of light and
law;

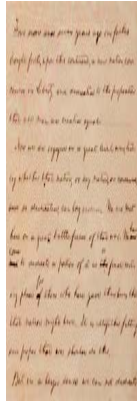
And ever the stars above look
down
On thy stars below in Frederick
town!

亚伯拉罕.林肯

(ABRAHAM LINCOLN)

葛底斯堡演说

The Gettysburg Address



(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

八十七年以前，我们的祖先在这块大陆上创立了一个孕育于自由的新国家。他们主张人人生而平等，并为此而献身。

1863 年 7 月 3 日。联邦军在宾夕法尼亚州葛底斯堡的胜利标志着美国内战的关键转折点。 罗伯特·更.李将军侵占宾夕法尼亚，曾希望以此来分割北方并打击北方的士气，以便迅速结束这场战争。葛底斯堡战役是一场流血最多的战争。联邦军损失二万三千人，而南方邦联伤亡失踪的士兵达二万八千人。北方对葛底斯堡的胜利欢欣鼓舞。四个月後林肯总统到葛底斯堡战场访问，为这场伟大战役的阵亡将士墓举行落成仪式。这篇演说是在 1863 年 11 月 19 日发表的。

林肯的葛底斯堡演说是美国文学中最漂亮、最富有诗意的文章之一。虽然这是一篇庆祝军事胜利的演说，但它没有好战之气；相反地，这是一篇感人肺腑的颂辞，赞美那些作出最后牺牲的人，以及他们为之献身的那些理想。

八十七年以前，我们的祖先在这块大陆上创立了一个孕育于自由的新国家。他们主张人人生而平等，并为此而献身。现在我们正进行一场伟大的内战，这是一场检验这一国家或者任何一个像我们这样孕育于自由并信守其主张的国家是否能长久存在的战争。我们聚集在这场战争中的一个伟大战场上，将这个战

场上的一块土地奉献给那些在此地为了这个国家的生存而牺牲了自己生命的人，作为他们的最终安息之所。我们这样做是完全适当和正确的。

可是，从更广的意义上说，我们并不能奉献这块土地——我们不能使之神圣——我们也不能使之光荣。因为那些在此地奋战过的勇士们，不论是还活着的或是已死去的，已经使这块土地神圣了，远非我们微薄的力量所能予以增减的。世人将不大会注意，更不会长久记住我们在这里所说的话，然而，他们将永远不会忘记这些勇士们在这里所做的工作。相反地，我们活着的人，应该献身于勇士们未竟的工作，那些曾在此地战斗过的人们已经把这项工作英勇地向前推进了。我们应该献身于留在我们面前的伟大任务——由于他们的光荣牺牲，我们会更加献身于他们为之奉献了最后一切的事业——我们要下定决心使那些死去的人不致白白牺牲——我们要使这个国家在上帝的庇佑下，获得自由的新生——我们要使这个民有、民治、民享的政府不致从地球上消失。

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored

dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

瓦尔特·惠特曼

(WALT WHITMAN)

亚伯拉罕·林肯

(ABRAHAM LINCOLN)

第二任就职演说

Second Inaugural Address

我们对任何人都不怀恶意，我们对任何人都抱好感。上帝让我们看到哪一边是正确的，我们就坚信那是正确的一边。让我们继续奋斗，以完成我们正在进行的工作，去治疗国家的创伤，去照顾艰苦作战的战士和他们的遗孀遗孤，尽一切努力实现并维护我们自己之间以及我国与他国之间的公正和持久的和平。

直至 1864 年夏末，林肯还没想到他会在总统选举中获胜。他以为民主党候选人乔治·B·麦克莱伦将赢得胜利。民主党想结束这场战争，并准备通过谈判放弃林肯对解放黑奴所承担的义务以换取和平。然而，1864 年秋，联邦军的节节胜利，尤其是攻陷了亚特兰大，不但使战局扭转，而且也改变了总统选举的投票结果。

1865 年 3 月 4 日，林肯在华盛顿发表第二任就职演说。这是处于全盛时期的林肯：诚实，朴素，雄辩。他知道战争就要结束。他也知道现在应该是反省这个国家的痛苦经历并展望未来的时候了。

在这第二任的就职宣誓典礼中，并不需要像第一任就职时那样发表长篇演说。那时，对当时所要采取的方针政策多少作一些详细说明，似乎是适当的。现在四年任期 届满，在这期间于战争的每个重要时刻和阶段——这场战争至今仍为举国所关注、并且占用了国家的大部分力量——我都经常发布文告，所以现在也提不出什么新的 主张。我们的军事进展，是一切其他问题的关键所在，大家对其情形和我一样明了，而且我相信进展的情况可以使我们全体人民有理由感到满意和鼓舞。既然将来很 有希望，那么我也无须在这方面作什么预言了。

四年前，在与此相同的时刻，所有人的思想都焦虑地集中在一场即将来临的内战上。谁都害怕内战，都想尽办法去避免它。当我在这个地方作就职演说时，我曾想尽 量不诉诸战争而保存联邦，然而反叛分子的代理人却设法在这个城市里以不打仗的方式(摧毁联邦——他们力图以谈判的方式来瓦解联邦，分享财物。双方都声称反 对战争，可是有一方宁愿打仗而不愿让国家生存，另一方则宁可接受战争而不愿让国家灭亡，于是战争就来临了。

我们全国人口的八分之一是黑奴，他们并不是遍布于全国，而是局部地分布于南方。这些奴隶形成一种特殊而重大的利益。大家都知道这种利益可说是这场战争的原 因。为了加强、永久保持并扩大这种利益，反叛分子会不惜以战争来分裂联邦，而政府只不过要限制这种利益的地区扩张。当初，任何一方都没有想到战争会发展到 目前这么大的范围，持续这么长的时间，也没有料到冲突的原因会随冲突本身终止而终止，甚至会在冲突本身终止以前而终止。双方都在寻求一个较轻易的胜利，都 不期盼有什么带根本性的或惊人的结果。双方都诵读同样的圣经，向同一个上帝祈祷，甚至每一方都祈求同一个上帝的帮助以反对另一方。人们竟敢要求公正的上帝 来帮助他们夺取他人以血汗换来的面包，这看来似乎很奇怪。可是，我们还是别评判人家，以免别人来评判我们。双方的祈祷都无法如愿，而且从没全部如愿以偿。 万能的上帝自有他自己的意旨：「世界由于罪恶而受苦难，因为世界总是有罪恶的，然而那个作恶的人，要受苦难。」假如我们认为美国的奴隶制是这种罪恶之一， 而这些罪恶按上帝的意志又在所不免，但既经持续了他所指定的一段时间，他现在便要消除这些罪恶。假如我们认为上

帝把这场惨烈的战争加在南北双方的头上，作为对那些作恶的人的责罚，难道我们可以由此认为这有悖于虔奉上帝的信徒们所归诸上帝的那些圣德吗。我们殷切地希望，热忱地祈祷，但愿这战争的重罚会很快过去。可是，假使上帝要让战争再继续下去，直到二百五十年来奴隶无偿劳动所积聚的财富化为乌有，并像三千年前人们所说的那样，直至被鞭苔所流的每一滴血为刀剑下流的每一滴血所偿付为止，那么，我也只好说：「主的裁判是完全正确而公道的。」

我们对任何人都不怀恶意，我们对任何人都抱好感。上帝让我们看到哪一边是正确的，我们就坚信那正确的一边。让我们继续奋斗，以完成我们正在进行的工作，去治疗国家的创伤，去照顾艰苦作战的战士和他们的遗孀遗孤，尽一切努力实现并维护我们自己之间以及我国与他国之间的公正和持久的和平。

At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive,

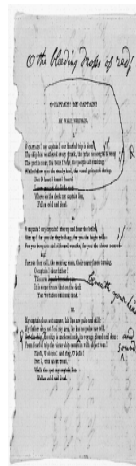
and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him. Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

《我听见美洲在歌唱》和《啊，船长！我的船长！》

I Hear America Singing and O Captain! My Captain!



作者修改《啊，船长！我的船长！》

(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

沃尔特·惠特曼(1819—1892)生于纽约长岛，在纽约市布鲁克林区长。他当过印刷工、记者、教师和政府职员，主编过好几份报纸，其中包括《布鲁克林鹰报》。

1855 年，惠特曼自费出版《草叶集》，只印了九百本左右，其中大部分都送给他的朋友。这本薄薄的诗集共收了十二首无题诗另加一篇前言，起初并没引起多少人注意。然而它终究还是影响了几代美国诗人。惠特曼创新的自由诗——不押韵脚，不拘音步——以及他现实主义的形像和个人风格都表明他与因循守旧的诗歌断然决裂。惠特曼一生中都定期扩充和修订《草叶集》。

《我听见美洲在歌唱》发表于 1860 年。《啊，船长！我的船长》写于林肯被刺

后不久；发表在惠特曼的《桴鼓集续篇》(1865—66)里。

我听见美洲在歌唱

我听见美洲在歌唱，我听见各种不问的颂歌，
技工在歌唱，歌唱他们愉快而强健的歌，
木匠在歌唱，同时量着他的木板或衍木，
泥瓦匠在歌唱，唱在准备上工或下工的时候，
船工在歌唱，唱他船里的一切，水手也站在汽艇的甲板上歌唱、
鞋匠坐在凳上歌唱，帽匠站着歌唱，
伐木工在歌唱，犁田青年也在歌唱，
他们唱在早晨的路上，或唱在午间休息时，或唱在日落时分，
我还听见母亲的美妙歌声，或者年轻的妻子一边工
作一边歌唱，或者姑娘们一边缝一边歌唱或一边洗一边歌唱，
人人都在唱属于他或她而不属于别人的歌，
白天唱属于白天的歌——晚间，年轻人聚在一起，他们强壮而友好，
放声歌唱他们强健而和谐的歌。

啊，船长！我的船长！

啊，船长！我的船长！我们可怕的航程已经終了，
我们的船已安然渡过所有的难关，我们所追求的锦标也已经得到，
港口就在前面，我已听见钟声，听到了人们的欢呼，
千万只眼睛都在望着我们的船安稳前进，它是那样威严和勇敢；
可是，啊，心哟！心哟！心哟！
啊，鲜红的血滴，
就在那甲板上，我的船长躺下了，
他已浑身冰冷，心脏停止了跳动。
啊，船长！我的船长！起来听听这钟声，
起来吧，——旌旗为你招展，——号角为你长鸣，
为你，岸上挤满了人群——为你，人们准备了无数的花束和花环，
为你。这雀跃的人群在欢呼，他们殷切的脸正对着你看；

这里，船长，亲爱的父亲！
让你的头枕着我的手臂！
真像是梦，躺在甲板上，
你已浑身冰冷，心脏停止了跳动。
我的船长没有回答，他的嘴唇惨白，一动不动，
我的父亲没有感觉到我的手臂，他已经没有脉搏，也没有意志，
我们的船已安全地下锚了，它的航程已经终了，
从可怕的航程归来，这胜利的船，目的已经达到；
啊，海岸欢呼，钟声长鸣！
可我却以悲痛步履，
漫步在甲板上，那里躺着我的船长
他已浑身冰冷，心脏停止了跳动。

I Hear America Singing

I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear,
Those of mechanics, each one singing his as it should be blithe and strong,
The carpenter singing his as he measures his plank or beam,
The mason singing his as he makes ready for work, or leaves off work,
The boatman singing what belongs to him in his boat, the deckhand singing on the steamboat deck,
The shoemaker singing as he sits on his bench, the hatter singing as he stands,
The wood-cutter's song, the ploughboy's on his way in the morning, or at noon intermission or at sundown,
The delicious singing of the mother, or of the young wife at work, or of the girl sewing or washing,

Each singing what belongs to him or her and to none else,
The day what belongs to the day—at night the party of young
fellows, robust, friendly,
Singing with open mouths their strong melodious songs.

O Captain! My Captain!

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;
But O heart! heart! heart!

O the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle trills,
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores a-crowding,
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;

Flere Captain! dear father!

This arm beneath your head!

It is some dream that on the deck,

You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor will,
The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed and done,
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won;

Exult O shores, and ring O bells!

But I with mournful tread,

Walk the deck my Captain lies,

Fallen cold and dead.

弗雷德里克·道格拉斯

(FREDERICK DOUGLASS)

对美国反对奴隶制协会的演说

Speech to the American Anti-Slavery Society

只有在黑人有投票权时，奴隶制才会被禁止。

在北方战胜南方已成定局时，反对奴隶制的斗争似乎也取得胜利。1865年2月1日，国会批准了禁止奴隶制的《宪法第十三修正案》，一周之内八个州批准了修正案。只有几个月时间，该修正案就被正式通过。但是，对于新获得自由的黑人会是怎样呢，有哪些法律保护可以保证他们的权利呢，谁也无法预计将来会是什么情况。美国反奴隶制协会在波士顿开会讨论既然奴隶制已成为历史，那么该协会有没有必要存在。1865年5月10日，弗雷德里克·道格拉斯发表演说，敦促该协会不要解散，而要继续向种族歧视作斗争。由于过去的艰难经历，他肯定在黑人能够无所畏惧地行使公民权并接受法律的完全保护之前，他们的从属地位(不管把这种情况叫作什么都一样)就将继续下去。

……我不想在这儿吹毛求疵，或者指责那些认为现在到了解散这个协会的时候的人的动机。我没有怀疑那些促使本协会主席(威廉·劳埃德·加里森)和其他赞成解散本协会的先生们的动机之纯洁和美好。我坚持这样的一种观点，即不管这个宪法修正案(第十三)是否已成为法律，不管是否有足够数量的州已批准该修正案作为法律，我认为废除奴隶制的工作并没有结束。即使联邦每个州都批准了那个修正案，当南方立法里黑人还与「白」这个词相对时，在我看来，我们作为废奴主义者的工作还没有结束。昨晚，我坚持认为南方通过不友好的立法可以使我们的自由按照那个规定成为一种幻想，一个嘲弄和一个陷阱，我现在还是持这种观点。如果任何一个州的议会可以在明天宣布法院不能接受黑人的

证词，那么像这个修正案这样一个规定对黑人来说又有什么好处.那么我们现在在哪里.任何一个坏蛋都可以进入一个黑人的房子随意施暴，如果刚好他施暴时只有黑人在场，那他便可追逐法外。[好哇!好哇!]不要对我说南方那些人已经一下子变得那么公正诚实，以致他们不会通过那些剥夺黑人在法庭上提供反对白人的证词的的权利的法律。喔，我们北方各州已经干了。伊利诺伊、印地安纳和俄亥俄已经干了。这里，在普利茅斯岩发布的法规中，黑人就已被排除在外，不让他们在法庭作证，如果每一个南方州的议会明天通过一项法律，宣布黑人不能在任何法庭作证，那么他们也不会违反宪法的那个条款。这样的法律现在在南方还存在，而且根据宪法的这个条款，即在联邦的任何一个州都不应有奴隶制和非自愿劳役的存在，这些法律还可能存在……

只有在黑人有投票权时，奴隶制才会被禁止。只要南方各州议会还保留通过在白人与黑人之间制造歧视的法律的权利，那么奴隶制仍然还会在那儿存在。[鼓掌]正如埃德蒙.昆西说过的那样，「只要在麻塞诸塞的法令全书上还有『白』这个词，麻塞诸塞就是一个蓄奴州。只要在麻塞诸塞可以把一个黑人从汽车里推出去，马萨话塞就是一个蓄奴州。只要你可以从旧麻塞诸塞得到一个奴隶，麻塞诸塞就是一个蓄奴州」。那是我在二十三年或二十四年以前听到埃德蒙.昆西这么说的。我从来没有忘记这件事。现在，只要黑人的投票权可以被剥夺，只要南方各州议会可以剥夺黑人保留和携带武器的权利——在我那个地方，他们不让黑人拿手杖走路，他们不让五个以上的黑人聚集在一起——那么我们废奴主义者的工作就没有结束。虽然美国宪法的条款规定保留和携带武器的权利不应被剥夺，但黑人从来没有保留或携带武器的权利，根据这个修正案，各州议会仍然还有权力禁止这个权利。他们可以继续推行不友好的立法制度，他们会不这么做吗.他们在那儿这么干时就不带偏见吗.难道你们以为因为此刻他们是处于我们光荣的鹰爪和鹰嘴之下，而不是像以前那样处在奴隶之中，他们就会改弦易辙了吗.我在威尔明顿听说过忠诚守法，我在南卡罗来纳也听说过忠诚守法——可那能值几个钱.

[「不如一根稻草。」]

不如一根稻草。我感谢我的朋友承认这一点。当他们看到二十万黑色士兵带着闪亮的刺刀从他们当中走过时，他们就忠诚守法。[鼓掌]但是，如果让南方恢复政府权力，那么对黑人的旧偏见和敌视又会重现。是的，正是黑人被利用来击败这次叛乱并摧毁了邦联的道德伦理标准这个事实将刺激他们所有的仇恨，所有的恶意，并导致他们对这个阶级制定出比以往任何时候都更苛刻的立法。[鼓掌]美国人民有义务——出于他们的荣誉感有义务(我希望是出于荣誉感，至少出于公正的荣誉感)给予黑人选举权，我本想说美国反奴隶制协会的废奴主义者应当有义务「站着不动，期待上帝的拯救」直至那项工作完成为止。[鼓掌]朋友们，如果美国反奴隶制协会不支援黑人，那么他们去哪里寻求支援！

[「好哇，好哇。」]当这个老资格的废奴先驱，这个经过暴民攻击、英勇牺牲以及牧师和政客的联合镇压之后仍幸存下来的协会突然消逝，仅仅宣布说宪法已经得到修正，所以在这个国家里自此以后既不允许有奴隶制也不允许有非自愿的奴役，那么我们还能从何处期望得到自由喇叭的一个肯定的声音呢。里士满的奴隶主对那些以武装黑人将使他成为自由人为由而反对武装黑人的人说了什么呢。哼，他们说：「这个论点很荒唐。我们应当使这些黑人为我们作战，但是，当我们获得南方的政治权力时，我们仍可将他们保留在从属地位。」这就是他们的论点，而且他们是对的。他们本可以雇佣黑人为他们作战，而且当他们手中获得剥夺黑人政治权利的权力时，他们就可以将黑人降低到与奴隶一样的状况中。他们将不会把这种情况叫作奴隶制，而是叫作别的什么名字。在给自家起名字方面，奴隶制一直是很有成果的。它曾被叫作「特别制度」、「社会制度」和「障碍」，正如卫理圣公会的全体大会所称的那样。它已经有过许多名字。而且将给它自己再起一个名字，你，我，我们大家最好拭目以待，看看这个老妖怪将以什么形式，这只老毒蛇将以什么新皮出现。

[热烈鼓掌]

I do not wish to appear here in any fault finding spirit, or as an impugner of the motives of those who believe that the time has come for this Society to disband. I am conscious of no suspicion of the purity and excellence of the motives that animate the President of this Society [William Lloyd Garrison], and other gentlemen who are in favor of its disbandment. I take this ground; whether this Constitutional Amendment [the thirteenth] is law or not, whether it has been ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it law or not, I hold that the work of Abolitionists is not done. Even if every State in the Union had ratified that Amendment, while the black man is confronted in the legislation of the South by the word "white," our work as Abolitionists, as I conceive it, is not done. I took the ground, last night, that the South, by unfriendly legislation, could make our liberty, under that provision, a delusion, a mockery, and a snare, and I hold that ground now. What advantage is a provision like this Amendment to the black man, if the Legislature of any State can to-morrow declare that no black man's testimony shall be received in a court of law. Where are we then. Any wretch may enter the house of a black man, and commit any violence he pleases; if he happens to do it only in the presence of black persons, he goes unwhipt of justice. ["Hear, hear."] And don't tell me that those people down there have become so just and honest all at once that they will not pass laws denying to black men the right to testify against white men in the courts of law. Why, our Northern States have done it. Illinois, Indiana and Ohio have done it. Here, in the midst of institutions that have gone forth from old Plymouth Rock, the black man has been excluded from testifying in the courts of law; and if the Legislature of every Southern State to-morrow pass

a law, declaring that no Negro shall testify in any courts of law, they will not violate that provision of the Constitution. Such laws exist now at the South, and they might exist under this provision of the Constitution, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any State of the Union. . . .

Slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot. While the Legislatures of the South retain the right to pass laws making any discrimination between black and white, slavery still lives there. [Applause.] As Edmund Quincy once said, "While the word 'white' is on the statute-book of Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State. While a black man can be turned out of a car in Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State. While a slave can be taken from old Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State." That is what I heard Edmund Quincy say twenty-three or twenty-four years ago. I never forget such a thing. Now, while the black man can be denied a vote, while the Legislatures of the South can take from him the right to keep and bear arms, as they can—they would not allow a Negro to walk with a cane where I came from, they would not allow five of them to assemble together—the work of the Abolitionists is not finished. Notwithstanding the provision in the Constitution of the United States, that the right to keep and bear arms shall not be abridged, the black man has never had the right either to keep or bear arms; and the Legislatures of the States will still have the power to forbid it, under this Amendment. They can carry on a system of unfriendly legislation, and will they not do it. Have they not got prejudice there to do it with. Think you, that because they are for the moment in the talons and beak of our glorious eagle, instead of the slave being there, as formerly, that they are converted. I hear of the loyalty at Wilmington, the loyalty

at South Carolina—what is it worth.

["Not a straw."]

Not a straw. I thank my friend for admitting it. They are loyal while they see 200,000 sable soldiers, with glistening bayonets, walking in their midst. [Applause.] But let the civil power of the South be restored, and the old prejudices and hostility to the Negro will revive. Aye, the very fact that the Negro has been used to defeat this rebellion and strike down the standards of the Confederacy will be a stimulus to all their hatred, to all their malice, and lead them to legislate with greater stringency towards this class than ever before. [Applause.] The American people are bound—bound by their sense of honor (I hope by their sense of honor, at least, by a just sense of honor), to extend the franchise to the Negro; and I was going to say, that the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society were bound to "stand still, and see the salvation of God," until that work is done. [Applause.] Where shall the black man look for support, my friends, if the American Anti-Slavery Society fails him. ["Hear, hear."] From whence shall we expect a certain sound from the trumpet of freedom, when the old pioneer, when this Society that has survived mobs, and martyrdom, and the combined efforts of priest-craft and state-craft to suppress it, shall all at once subside, on the mere intimation that the Constitution has been amended, so that neither slavery not involuntary servitude shall hereafter be allowed in this land. What did the slaveholders of Richmond say to those who objected to arming the Negro, on the ground that it would make him a freeman. Why, they said, "The argument is absurd. We may make these Negroes fight for us; but while we retain the political power of the South, we can keep them in their subordinate positions." That was

the argument; and they were right. They might have employed the Negro to fight for them, and while they retained in their hands power to exclude him from political rights, they could have reduced him to a condition similar to slavery. They would not call it slavery, but some other name. Slavery has been fruitful in giving itself names. It has been called "the peculiar institution," "the social system," and the "impediment," as it was called by the General conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has been called by a great many names, and it will call itself by yet another name; and you and I and all of us had better wait and see what new form this old monster will assume, in what new skin this old snake will come forth. [Loud applause.]

弗朗西斯·迈尔斯·芬奇

(FRANCIS MILES FINCH)

南北军将士

The Blue And The Gray

弗朗西斯·迈尔斯·芬奇(1827—1902)原为纽约上诉法庭法官，后于康奈尔大学教授法律。他的《南北军将士》一诗最早见于 1867 年《大西洋月刊》，后因编入 大获成功的《马夏菲读本》1897 年版，而脍炙人口于千百万小学生之间。该诗常在阵亡将士纪念日集会上诵读。据传作者因有感于密西西比州哥伦布的妇女们于战死在南北战争中的联邦政府军和联盟政府军的将士墓前献花而作此诗。

白浪滔滔大河边，
曾走队队钢军舰。
昔日行行将士勇，
今卧嗷嗷草芥间。

By the flow of the inland river,
Whence the fleets of iron have fled,
Where the blades of the grave grass
quiver,

餐风宿露墓穴里，
指待末日公正临。
东埋北军将士尸，
西葬南军兵勇骨。尔奏告捷凯
旋曲，
吾鸣败阵退兵鼓。
你我都染沙场血，
待等来世再相逢。
餐风宿露墓穴里，
指待末日公正临。
花开月桂抚蓝将，
婆娑杨柳慰灰卒。楚楚凄凄哀
痛人，
纷至沓来默无声。
携来朵朵至诚花，
同献仇敌与友朋。
餐风宿露墓穴里，
指待末日公正临。
玫瑰撤向北军鬼，
百合献给南军魂。千缕朝霞共
灿烂，
万丈阳光同辉煌。
温柔爱怜无彼此，
普照都为百花开。
餐风宿露墓穴里，
指待末日公正临。
金光倍添北军美，
金光更秀南军姿。芒芒初夏到
山野，

Asleep are the ranks of the dead; —
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day; —
Under the one, the Blue;
Under the other, the Gray.
These in the robings of glory,
Those in the gloom of defeat,
All with the battle blood gory,
In the dusk of eternity meet; —
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day; —
Under the laurel, the Blue;
Under the willow, the Gray.
From the silence of sorrowful hours
The desolate mourners go,
Lovingly laden with flowers
Alike for the friend and the foe, —
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day; -
Under the roses, the Blue;
Under the lilies, the Gray.
So with an equal splendor
The morning sun rays fall,
With a touch, impartially tender,
On the blossoms blooming for all;-
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day; —
'Broidered with gold, the Blue;
Mellowed with gold, the Gray.

<p> 绵绵森林绿田边。 蒙蒙细雨卷寒意， 渐渐沥沥低语声。 餐风宿露墓穴里， 指待末日公正临。 细雨淋透蓝军服， 细雨也湿灰军衣。可悲却也不 可责， 英雄业绩已谱就。 硝烟岁月虽远去， 辉煌战斗留青史。 餐风宿露墓穴里， 指待末日公正临。 花簇丛中约翰尼， 花环底下比利杨。青山已绝冲 锋曲， 长河不再血染红。 战士坟前已载誉， 填鹰义愤尽扫除。 餐风宿露墓穴里， 指待末日公正临。 可歌可泣北军将， 可泣可歌南军士。 </p>	<p> So, when the summer calleth, On forest and field of grain With an equal murmur falleth The cooling drip of the rain;— Under the sod and the dew, Waiting the judgment day;— Wet with the rain, the Blue; Wet with the rain, the Gray. Sadly, but not with upbraiding The generous deed "was done; In the storm of the years that are fading, No braver battle was won;— Under the sod and the dew, Waiting the judgment day;— Under the blossoms, the Blue; Under the garlands, the Gray. No more shall the war cry sever, Or the winding rivers be red: They banish our anger forever When they laurel the graves of our dead! Under the sod and the dew, Waiting the judgment day;— Love and tears for the Blue, Tears and love for the Gray. </p>
<p> 苏珊.B. 安东尼 (SUSAN B. ANTHONY) 妇女的选举权 Women's Right to Vote </p>	



(American Memory Collection, Library of Congress)

是我们人民，但不是我们男性白人公民，也不是我们男性公民，而是我们全体人民，在当时成立了这个联邦。

苏珊.B.安东尼(1820—1906)生长在马萨诸塞州的一个开明的公谊会教徒家庭。她曾经教过小学。身为一个独身妇女，她强烈地意识到妇女需要个人和经济上的独立。她曾积极投身于纽约的禁酒运动和废奴运动。1851年，她见到正在抚养一大群孩子的伊利莎白.凯蒂.斯坦顿。在很长一段时间里，安东尼能够到外地进行演讲和组织工作，而斯坦顿却只好呆在家里照看孩子。她们代表妇女的权利，成了工作中的伙伴。她们终身保持这一关系，而她们的这种关系决定了美国女权主义运动的进程。在1872年的总统大选中，安东尼带了一群纽约州罗彻斯特的妇女到那些投票地点参加投票。因为当时妇女投票是非法的，所以她被逮捕并遭到起诉。安东尼于1873年6月被传讯。在此之前，她前往纽约北部的大部分地区进行以下的演讲，说明剥夺妇女的选举权是不合理的。她最终被判有罪并加以罚款。但她拒付罚金，而且也没有人向她索款。她在演讲中争辩说根本就不需要宪法修正案「给」妇女以选举权，因为1868年通过的第十四条修正案中就讲到：「凡在合众国出生或归化合众国者」均为合众国之公民，且享有一切公民权。她坚持认为，既然妇女是这里提到的人们和公民，她们就完全有权投票选举。

我因犯有所谓的没有合法选举权而擅自参加本届总统选举的罪名而遭到起诉。

我今天晚上所要说的就是要向你们证明，我这样做不仅没有犯任何罪，而仅仅是履行了我的公民权。这些权利是国家宪法保证给我和所有美国公民的，也是哪一个州政府都无权加以剥夺的。

我们的民主共和政府是以它的每个成员在立法和执法中享有发言权和选举权这一自然权利观念为基础的。我们认为政府的职权是保证它的人民享有他们的不可剥夺的权利。我们不再相信政府能够赋予人民以权利的那一套老教条。谁都不会否认在组织政府之前，每个人都有权保护自己的生命、自由和财产。如果有一百到一百万人加入了一个自由政府，他们的目的并不是为了要出卖自己的自然权利，他们只是希望通过所规定的立法和司法机构以互相保证捍卫他们对这些权利的享有。他们一致同意不再使用野蛮的手段，而是通过文明的办法来调解他们之间的矛盾。《独立宣言》、《合众国宪法》以及许多州的宪法和准州的基本法都一致提出要「保护」人民行使上帝所赋予的各种权利。这些章法都没有装出自己能给人们带来什么权利的样子。

人人生而平等，造物者赋予他们若干不可剥夺的权利，其中包括生命权、自由权和追求幸福的权利。为了保障这些权利，人类才在他们之间建立政府，而政府之正当权力，是经被治理者的同意而产生的。

这里并没有暗示政府的权力可以凌驾于人民的权利之上，或者哪一部分人所享有的全部平等权利可以被剥夺。这里明确指出的是所有的人，如那位公谊会牧师所言，「所以也是所有的女人」在政府中的发言权。《独立宣言》在第一段这里肯定了每个人参加投票选举的自然权利；理由是如果选举权被剥夺，「被治理者的同意」又何以产生……妇女们对这种形式的政府感到不满，因为她们被课以捐税而不准选举代表；她们被迫遵行她们从未表示同意的法律；她们被判处徒刑和处决却没有一个由她们同等地位的公民所组成的陪审团；她们在婚姻中被剥夺了人身自由、劳动收入及对孩子的监护权——她们这一半人口完全听凭另一半人口的任意摆布。这直接违背了这个政府的缔造者在宣言中所体现的精神和文字要求。宣言中的每一项都是基于人人享有平等权利这一不可更改的原则之上。在这些宣言面前，所有的国王、教皇、牧师和贵族全都降为平民百姓，全都在政治上与出身最低贱的臣民和农奴同站在一样的地位；在这些宣言面前，男人们也同样失去神赋的治理权，而在政治上同妇女们站在一样的

位置上。通过宣言的实施，各阶层等级间的界限将被取消，所有的奴隶、农奴、庶民百姓、妻子、女人全都从被奴役的地位站起来，登上平等的政治大舞台。联邦政府的宪法在序言中写道：

我们，合众国的人民，为了组织一个更完善的联邦，树立正义，保障国内的安宁，建立共同的国防，增进全民福利和确保我们自己及我们的后代能安享自由带来的幸福，为美利坚合众国制定和确立这一部宪法。

是我们人民，但不是我们男性白人公民，也不是我们男性公民，而是我们全体人民，在当时成立了这个联邦。我们组织这个联邦，目的不是给什么人以自由的幸福，而是保证人们安享这些幸福：不是仅仅向我们中间的一半人和我们后代的一半人，而是向全体人民——男人和女人，确保这些幸福。如果一方面向妇女们宣传她们所享有的自由带来的幸福，而另一方面却拒不让她们得到选举权——这个民主共和政府所提供的唯一能够获得幸福的途径，那么，这就是地地道道的嘲弄。……

当我在 1871 年要求(查尔斯.萨姆纳参议员)就像他为黑人所做过的那件事一样，宣布合众国宪法有权保护妇女的选举权的时候，他递给我一份他在战后重建时期的全部演说稿，并且还说：

凡是在我写有「种族」和「肤色」的地方，你都写上「性别」，这样，你就可以得到我为妇女们所能作出的最好的也是最有力的辩护。毫无疑问，妇女享有宪法所规定的选举权，我也绝不投票要求第十六条修正案向她们保证这一权利。我曾经不得已投票赞同第十四条和第十五条修正案；若不是因为当时的情况紧急，我是绝不会这样做的；我会坚决要求通过法律上的程序，对原宪法保护全体公民享有平等权利的权力加以证实。然而，当时那些刚获得自由的奴隶不能理解，也没有金钱和时间去等候这些缓慢的法律程序。妇女明显在很大程度上具备这些条件，所以我认为她们还是应该诉诸于法庭，并通过它们成立美国大宪章以保护共和国的每个公民。

但是，朋友们，当我根据萨姆纳议员的意见于去年 11 月到投票点履行我的公民选举权的时候，法庭不等我上诉就先把我给告了，告我犯了非法投票罪。……如果一个州把性别规定为一种限制条件，它将势必造成整整一半的人民被剥夺公权。这样做就等于通过一项剥夺逃犯或死囚的政治权利的议案，即一项溯及既往的法律，所以它就是违背国家的最高法律。根据这一性别规定，妇女和她们的后代都将永远得不到自由所带来的幸福。对她们而言，这个政府根本就没有经被治理者同意而产生的任何合法权力，因此，这个政府也就不是一个民主政体，也不是一个共和政体。它是世界上所有政府中最丑恶的贵族政府。人们也许可以容忍由富人治理穷人的富翁寡头政权，由有学问的人治理没有学问的人的文人寡头政权，乃至由英国人治理非洲人的种族寡头政权；但是，这种性别寡头政权却使得每家每户中的父亲、兄弟、丈夫和儿子成为骑在母亲、姊妹、妻子和女儿头上的寡头；它注定所有的男人为君主，所有的女人为臣民；它使全国上下家家户户中的成员变得不和睦甚至反目为仇。……

请大家注意，在所有的章法中都使用男性代词「他」和「他的」，它表明这些规定和条款本来只是针对男人而言的。如果你们坚持法律文字的这一表达方式，那么，我们就要求你们一定做到前后一致，正视问题的另一个方面，这就是要求你们免去妇女为政府缴纳的捐税，妇女犯法而不治其罪。因为税法中没有「她」和「她的」，所有刑法中的情况也一样。

就拿我被指控所违反的民权法来说，它所用的代词都是男性的，而且大家也知道它是专门为了限制那些图谋不轨的男人参加选举而制定的。其中写道：「如果有人明知他自己没有合法的权利而故意参加投票，」……我坚决认为如果政府官可以像这样窜改这些代词而对妇女课以捐税、加以罚款、关押和处决，那么他们就有责任变动这些代词以保护我们的选举权。……

虽然在国家和州宪法中不偏不倚地用了「人们、人民、居民、选民、公民」这些字眼，但是在战前人们对这些字眼是否属同义词还一直持有不同的见解。然而，不论在旧制度下，这方面有哪些值得怀疑的地方，在已经通过的第十四条修正案中的第一个句子彻底解决了这个问题：

任何人，凡在合众国发生或归化合众国并受其管辖者，均为合众国及其所居住之州的公民。

其中的第二个句子解决了全体公民的平等地位问题：

任何州不得制定或执行任何剥夺合众国公民特权或豁免权的法律。任何州，如未经适当法律程式，均不得剥夺任何人的生命、自由或财产；亦不得对任何在其管辖下的人拒绝给予平等的法律保护。

现在剩下唯一要解决的问题是：妇女是人们吗。我不相信任何反对我们的人有胆量说她们不是人们。既然是人们，那么妇女就是公民，任何州都无权制定或执行任何剥夺她们的公民特权或豁免权的法律。因此，如今许多州的宪法和法律中歧视妇女的规定和条款就像每一项歧视黑人的规定和条款一样都已经被废除了。

选举权是公民的一种特权吗。我相信所有被剥夺公民权的前叛乱分子和前州的犯人都会赞同说，它不仅是一种特权或豁免权，而且还是一种舍此别无他权的权利。先要享有选举权，其他东西自然全。这是政治训谕。……

无论法律博士们对于「人民」和「公民」在原有宪法中是否同指一种人的问题，以及在第十四条修正案中的特权与豁免权是否包括选举权的问题上存在多么严重的分歧，公民选举权的问题已经在第十五条修正案中得到彻底解决：「合众国政府或任何州政府」，不得因种族、肤色，或以前曾服劳役而拒绝给予或剥夺合众国公民的选举权。」倘若公民不曾享有公民权，州政府又何以拒绝或剥夺之？结论只有一个：选举是公民的权利；而且种族、肤色和以前曾服劳役等具体情况一点也不影响「不得拒绝给予或剥夺公民选举权」这一着重强调句的份量。……

但是，如果你们一定坚持认为第十五条修正案强调制止「因种族、肤色及以前曾服劳役」而剥夺合众国公民的选举权这句话是承认合众国或任何一个州政府有权根据任何其他理由剥夺这些人的选举权，那么，我可以向你们证明根据我们政府的本义和各州政府的许多法律，我正为之辩护的那一阶层的公民是包括在「以前曾服过劳役」这一条款之下的。

先来讨论已婚妇女和她们的合法地位。何谓奴役。「奴隶的身份。」何谓奴隶。「一个被剥夺劳动所得的人；一个服从他人意志的人。」根据乔治亚州、南卡

罗来纳州以及南方诸州的法律，黑人无自身监护权和支配权。他隶属他的主人。他若不顺从，其主人有权对他施加管教；这黑人若不愿接受管教而逃走，其主人有权采取强制手段将其追回。根据这个联邦南部和北部几乎每一个州的现行法律规定，已婚妇女无自身监护权和支配权。妻子隶属丈夫；她若不顺从，他可以适当施加管教；她若不愿接受这一适当管教而跟他「散伙」出走，丈夫可以使用适当的强制手段将其带回。你们瞧，这个小字眼「适当的」就是妻子的保留条款。而且一旦受气的丈夫用「九尾鞭」对她施加管教或者派大猎犬执行他的强制手段时，这一保留条款无疑要受到僭越。

再说奴隶无权享有自己的劳动所得，它属于他的主人；奴隶无权监护自己的子女，他们也属于他的主人；奴隶无权起诉和被起诉，也无权上法庭作证。他若是犯了罪，要起诉或被起诉的却是他的主人。有几个州设有专门的法规，允许已婚妇女有权享有遗产、遗赠财物、以及在外工作所得，也允许她们有权就这些财产的问题起诉或被起诉。但是，没有哪一个州保证妻子享有夫妻双方共同创造的财富的平等权利。从道理上说，既然绝大多数已婚妇女不曾出外工作赚得分文，也不曾从父亲的遗产中分得半个子儿，那么可以说，她们自从结婚的第一天起直到丈夫死去的那一天为止，身上从无一文半子，除非丈夫为了寻开心才让她带上一点点。……

难道还要别的什么来证明妇女们低下的奴役地位才能让她们得到第十五条修正案中的那些保证吗.我认为没有选举权而侈谈自由是对这个共和国的妇女们的嘲弄，这与新英格兰的演说家温德尔.菲力普斯在前一次战争结束时宣告说没有选举权而侈谈自由对刚获得解放的黑人来说是一种嘲弄是完全一样的。有哪一位男的敢反对我的这种看法吗.我承认在内战以前，使出生在国内和国外的人成为奴隶以及剥夺他们公权的那种权利经一致同意已经交给州政府，但是，由内战和重建法规所定下来的一个重大原则是，国家政府拥有最高权力，它将克服来自几个州政府的干预而保护合众国公民的自由权和选举权。而且美国人民还一次又一次地肯定绝大多数支援林肯和格兰持的人民所赢得的这一原则。

在前两届总统选举中的一个问题是：第十四条和第十五条修正案是否应该被看

成为不可动摇的民心.结论是必须这样看待它们，同时国家政府不仅有权而且还有责任保证全体美国公民充分享受并自由行使他们的各种特权，并且在任何州政府企图对此加以拒绝和剥夺时能够对它们加以保护。

自从这两条修正案得到通过以来，我们全美妇女选举权协会所提出的每一个论点和所进行的第一项行动都是基于合众国宪法的这——正确阐述。我们还将于明年五月在纽约举行庆祝女权运动二十五周年的活动。我们不再请求立法部门和国会给我们以选举权，但我们要呼吁各地妇女行使起她们个被遗忘的「公民权」。我们请求选举检票员收点每个美国公民的选票，因为这是他们的职责。我们呼吁美国政府特派员和法警逮捕那些拒绝收点美国公民选票的检票员而留用那些履行职责收点选票的检票员，因为这是特派员和法警的责任。我们要求陪审团在审案时对那些遵纪守法投票的美国公民和那些在选举时收点这些选票的检票员作出「无罪」的判决。

我们要求法官作出公正无私的法律裁决。凡是在有可能的地方，请记住萨姆纳说过：「根据国家宪法，尤其是根据修正以后的宪法，阐释的真正标准是：凡是有益于人权的就是符合宪法的；凡是违反人权的就是不符合宪法的。」我们就是按照这一方法为选举权而斗争的。我们的斗争是和平的，然而又是坚持不懈的。我们将一直斗争到我们获得全胜，斗争到全体美国公民，男的和女的，都同样被承认为这个政府中平等的一员。

I stand before you under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that in thus doing, I not only committed no crime, but instead simply exercised my citizen's rights, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution beyond the power of any State to deny.

Our democratic-republican government is based on the idea of the natural right of every individual member thereof to a voice and a vote in making and executing the laws. We assert the province of

government to be to secure the people in the enjoyment of their inalienable rights. We throw to the winds the old dogma that government can give rights. No one denies that before governments were organized each individual possessed the right to protect his own life, liberty and property. When 100 to 1,000,000 people enter into a free government, they do not barter away their natural rights; they simply pledge themselves to protect each other in the enjoyment of them through prescribed judicial and legislative tribunals. They agree to abandon the methods of brute force in the adjustment of their differences and adopt those of civilization. . . . The Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, the constitutions of the several States and the organic laws of the Territories, all alike propose to protect the people in the exercise of their Godgiven rights. Not one of them pretends to bestow rights.

All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

Among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Here is no shadow of government authority over rights, or exclusion of any class from their full and equal enjoyment. Here is pronounced the right of all men, and "consequently," as the Quaker preacher said, "of all women," to a voice in the government. And here, in this first paragraph of the Declaration, is the assertion of the natural right of all to the ballot; for how can "the consent of the governed" be given, if the right to vote be denied. . . . The women, dissatisfied as they are with this form of government, that enforces taxation without representation—that compels them to obey laws to

which they never have given their consent—that imprisons and hangs them without a trial by a jury of their peers—that robs them, in marriage, of the custody of their own persons, wages, and children—are this half of the people who are left wholly at the mercy of the other half, in direct violation of the spirit and letter of the declarations of the framers of this government, every one of which was based on the immutable principle of equal rights to all. By these declarations, kings, popes, priests, aristocrats, all were alike dethroned and placed on a common level, politically, with the lowliest born subject or serf. By them, too, men, as such, were deprived of their divine right to rule and placed on a political level with women. By the practice of these declarations all class and caste distinctions would be abolished, and slave, serf, plebeian, wife, woman, all alike rise from their subject position to the broader platform of equality.

The preamble of the Federal Constitution says:

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

It was we, the people, not we, the white male citizens, nor we, the male citizens; but we, the whole people, who formed this Union. We formed it not to give the blessings of liberty but to secure them; not to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people—women as well as men. It is downright mockery to talk to women of their enjoyment of the blessings of liberty while

they are denied the only means of securing them provided by this democratic-republican government—the ballot....

When, in 1871, I asked [Senator Charles Sumner] to declare the power of the United States Constitution to protect women in their right to vote—as he had done for black men—he handed me a copy of all his speeches during that reconstruction period, and said:

Put "sex" where I have "race" or "color," and you have here the best and strongest argument I can make for woman. There is not a doubt but women have the constitutional right to vote, and I will never vote for a Sixteenth Amendment to guarantee it to them. I voted for both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth under protest; would never have done it but for the pressing emergency of that hour; would have insisted that the power of the original Constitution to protect all citizens in the equal enjoyment of their rights should have been vindicated through the courts. But the newly made freedmen had neither the intelligence, wealth nor time to await that slow process. Women do possess all these in an eminent degree, and I insist that they shall appeal to the courts and through them establish the powers of our American magna charta to protect every citizen of the republic.

But, friends, when in accordance with Senator Sumner's counsel I went to the ballot-box, last November, and exercised my citizen's right to vote, the courts did not wait for me to appeal to them—they appealed to me, and indicted me on the charge of having voted illegally. . . .

For any State to make sex a qualification, which must ever result in the disfranchisement of one entire half of the people, is to pass a

bill of attainder, an ex post facto law, and is therefore a violation of the supreme law of the land. By it the blessings of liberty are forever withheld from women and their female posterity. For them, this government has no just powers derived from the consent of the governed. For them this government is not a democracy; it is not a republic. It is the most odious aristocracy ever established on the face of the globe. An oligarchy of wealth, where the rich govern the poor; an oligarchy of learning, where the educated govern the ignorant; or even an oligarchy of race, where the Saxon rules the African, might be endured; but this oligarchy of sex which makes father, brothers, husband, sons, the oligarchs over the mother and sisters, the wife and daughters of every household; which ordains all men sovereigns, all women subjects—carries discord and rebellion into every home of the nation....

It is urged that the use of the masculine pronouns he, his and him in all the constitutions and laws, is proof that only men were meant to be included in their provisions. If you insist on this version of the letter of the law, we shall insist that you be consistent and accept the other horn of the dilemma, which would compel you to exempt women from taxation for the support of the government and from penalties for the violation of laws. There is no she or her or hers in the tax laws, and this is equally true of all the criminal laws.

Take for example, the civil rights law which I am charged with having violated; not only are all the pronouns in it masculine, but everybody knows that it was intended expressly to hinder the rebel men from voting. It reads, "If any person shall knowingly vote without his having a lawful right." . . . I insist if government officials may thus manipulate the pronouns to tax, fine, imprison and hang women, it is their duty to thus change them in order to protect us in

our right to vote. . . .

Though the words persons, people, inhabitants, electors, citizens, are all used indiscriminately in the national and State constitutions, there was always a conflict of opinion, prior to the war, as to whether they were synonymous terms, but whatever room there was for doubt, under the old regime, the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment settled that question forever in its first sentence:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside.

The second settles the equal status of all citizens:

No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law. or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The only question left to be settled now is: Are women persons. I scarcely believe any of our opponents will have the hardihood to say they are not. Being persons, then, women are citizens, and no State has a right to make any new law, or to enforce any old law, which shall abridge their privileges or immunities. Hence, every discrimination against women in the constitutions and laws of the several States is today null and void, precisely as is every one against negroes.

Is the right to vote one of the privileges or immunities of citizens.

I think the disfranchised ex-rebels and ex-State prisoners all will agree that it is not only one of them, but the one without which all the others are nothing. Seek first the kingdom of the ballot and all things else shall be added, is the political injunction. . . .

However much the doctors of the law may disagree as to whether people and citizens, in the original Constitution, were one and the same, or whether the privileges and immunities in the Fourteenth Amendment include the right of suffrage, the question of the citizen's right to vote is forever settled by the Fifteenth Amendment. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." How can the State deny or abridge the right of the citizen, if the citizen does not possess it. There is no escape from the conclusion that to vote is the citizen's right, and the specifications of race, color or previous condition of servitude can in no way impair the force of that emphatic assertion that the citizen's right to vote shall not be denied or abridged. . . .

If, however, you will insist that the Fifteenth Amendment's emphatic interdiction against robbing United States citizens of their suffrage "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," is a recognition of the right of either the United States or any State to deprive them of the ballot for any or all other reasons, I will prove to you that the class of citizens for whom I now plead are, by all the principles of our government and many of the laws of the States, included under the term "previous conditions of servitude."

Consider first married women and their legal status. What is servitude. "The condition of a slave." What is a slave. "A person who

is robbed of the proceeds of his labor; a person who is subject to the will of another." By the laws of Georgia, South Carolina and all the States of the South, the negro had no right to the custody and control of his person. He belonged to his master. If he were disobedient, the master had the right to use correction. If the negro did not like the correction and ran away, the master had the right to use coercion to bring him back. By the laws of almost every State in this Union today, North as well as South, the married woman has no right to the custody and control of her person. The wife belongs to the husband; and if she refuse obedience he may use moderate correction, and if she do not like his moderate correction and leave his "bed and board," the husband may use moderate coercion to bring her back. The little word "moderate," you see, is the saving clause for the wife, and would doubtless be overstepped should her offended husband administer his correction with the "cat o'-nine-tails," or accomplish his coercion with blood-hounds.

Again the slave had no right to the earnings of his hands, they belonged to his master; no right to the custody of his children, they belonged to his master; no right to sue or be sued, or to testify in the courts. If he committed a crime, it was the master who must sue or be sued. In many of the States there has been special legislation, giving married women the right to property inherited or received by bequest, or earned by the pursuit of any avocation outside the home; also giving them the right to sue and be sued in matters pertaining to such separate property; but not a single State of this Union has ever secured the wife in the enjoyment of her right to equal ownership of the joint earnings of the marriage copartnership. And since, in the nature of things, the vast majority of married women never earn a dollar by work outside their families, or inherit

a dollar from their fathers, it follows that from the day of their marriage to the day of the death of their husbands not one of them ever has a dollar, except it shall please her husband to let her have it. . . .

Is anything further needed to prove woman's condition of servitude sufficient to entitle her to the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment. Is there a man who will not agree with me that to talk of freedom without the ballot is mockery to the women of this republic, precisely as New England's orator, Wendell Phillips, at the close of the late war declared it to be to the newly emancipated black man. I admit that, prior to the rebellion, by common consent, the right to enslave, as well as to disfranchise both native and foreign born persons, was conceded to the States. But the one grand principle settled by the war and the reconstruction legislation, is the supremacy of the national government to protect the citizens of the United States in their right to freedom and the elective franchise, against any and every interference on the part of the several States; and again and again have the American people asserted the triumph of this principle by their overwhelming majorities for Lincoln and Grant.

The one issue of the last two presidential elections was whether the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments should be considered the irrevocable will of the people; and the decision was that they should be, and that it is not only the right, but the duty of the national government to protect all United States citizens in the full enjoyment and free exercise of their privileges and immunities against the attempt of any State to deny or abridge. . . .

It is upon this just interpretation of the United States Constitution that our National Woman Suffrage Association, which

celebrates the twenty-fifth anniversary of the woman's rights movement next May in New York City, has based all its arguments and action since the passage of these amendments. We no longer petition legislature or Congress to give us the right to vote, but appeal to women everywhere to exercise their too long neglected "citizen's right." We appeal to the inspectors of election to receive the votes of all United States citizens, as it is their duty to do. We appeal to United States commissioners and marshals to arrest, as is their duty, the inspectors who reject the votes of United States citizens, and leave alone those who perform their duties and accept these votes. We ask the juries to return verdicts of "not guilty" in the cases of law-abiding United States citizens who cast their votes, and inspectors of election who receive and count them.

We ask the judges to render unprejudiced opinions of the law, and wherever there is room for doubt to give the benefit to the side of liberty and equal rights for women, remembering that, as Sumner says, "The true rule of interpretation under our National Constitution, especially since its amendments, is that anything/or human rights is constitutional, everything against human rights unconstitutional." It is on this line that we propose to fight our battle for the ballot—peaceably but nevertheless persistently—until we achieve complete triumph and all United States citizens, men and women alike, are recognized as equals in the government.

约翰·亨利之歌

The Ballad of John Henry 南北战争之后，全国各地的铁路越修越多，最后铁路贯穿了整个大陆。铁路工人们谱写了一支支难忘的歌谣和韵律诗在凿隧道、铺铁轨和架桥梁的繁重劳动中吟唱。1870年，从乞沙比克到俄亥俄的铁道线

开始了在西维吉尼亚州的阿利很尼山脉开凿大弯隧道的工程。当时的工人多是以前的奴隶。钢钻工人所干的活是用长长的钢铁在岩石上打炮眼。隧道还在开凿的过程中，公司弄来了一台自动气钻机。根据故事传说，有一位名叫约翰·亨利的黑人钢钻工，他奋力与气钻机竞赛。最后他赢得了胜利，可是也把自己给累死了。《约翰·亨利之歌》成了美国传奇颂歌中的一个固定主题，而约翰·亨利也成了美国民间传说中黑人保罗·班杨式的人物，因为班杨宁死也不向机器屈服。这首歌成了歌颂人类在与机器拚搏中的英雄气概的一支赞歌，因此它深受人们的喜爱。这首歌有许多不同的版本，但其中的主要内容都是一样的。

亨利是一个小男孩，
他可站立你手掌中。
他的哭声长又细：
「我要当名钢钻工。哇啦，哇啦！
我要当名钢钻工。」大伙儿带他进坑道，
让他在头里打炮眼。
岩石高，他个子矮，
扔下铁锤他哭丧脸：「哇啦，哇啦！」
扔下铁锤他哭丧脸。左边亨利抡大锤，
右边气钻响霍霍。
「气钻若要我低头，
先得累倒我莽汉。哇啦，哇啦！
先得累倒我莽汉。」他向队长立誓言：
「硬汉虽说只是人，
若要气钻胜过我，
除非我死把锤扔。哇啦，哇啦！

John Henry was a little baby boy
You could hold him in the palm of your hand.
He gave a long and lonesome cry,
"Gonna be a steel-drivin' man, Lawd,
Lawd,
Gonna be a steel-drivin' man."

They took John Henry to the tunnel,
Put him in the lead to drive,
The rock was so tall, John Henry so small,
That he laid down his hammer and he cried,
"Lawd, Lawd,"
Laid down his hammer and he cried.

John Henry started on the right hand,
The steam drill started on the left,
"Fo' I'd let that steamdrill beat me down,
I'd hammer my fool self to death, Lawd,

除非我死把锤扔。」队长告诉亨利说：

「隧道也许要塌崩。」

「队长让开，别害怕，那是铁锤招来风。哇啦，哇啦！那是铁锤招来风。」亨利告诉队长说：

「你看，朋友，我见到啥。你的气钻裂，炮眼堵，哪能像我把钢铁打。哇啦，哇啦哪能像我把钢铁打。」亨利抡锤打进山，磨得锤柄如冒火。累得自己断了气，铁锤离手命被夺。哇啦，哇啦！铁锤离手命被夺。大家抬他进了洞，深沙底下筑起坟。列车呼啸似在说：这里埋着钢钻工。哇啦，哇啦！这里埋着钢钻工。

Lawd,
Hammer my fool self to death."

John Henry told his captain,
"A man ain't nothin' but a man,
Fo' I let your steamdrill beat me down
I'll die with this hammer in my hand,
Lawd,

Lawd,
Die with this hammer in my hand."

Now the Captain told John Henry,
"I believe my tunnel's sinkin' in."
"Stand back, Captain, and doncha be afraid,
That's nothin' but my hammer catchin' wind,

Lawd, Lawd,
That's nothin' but my hammer catchin' wind."

John Henry told his Cap'n,
"Look yonder, boy, what do I see.
Your drill's done broke and your hole's done

choke,
And you can't drive steel like me, Lawd,
Lawd,
You can't drive steel like me."
John Henry hammerin' in the mountain,
Til the handle of his hammer caught on

	<p>fire,</p> <p>He drove so hard till he broke his po' heart,</p> <p>Then he laid down his hammer and he died,</p> <p>Lawd, Lawd,</p> <p>He laid down his hammer and he died.</p> <p>They took John Henry to the tunnel,</p> <p>And they buried him in the sand,</p> <p>An' every locomotive come rollin' by</p> <p>Say, "There lies a steel-drivin' man, Lawd,</p> <p>Lawd</p> <p>There lies a steel-drivin' man."</p>
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<p>牧场是我家</p> <p>Home on the Range</p> <p>关于《牧场是我家》这首诗歌的来历有两种不同的说法。一种认为它是由堪萨斯州的布鲁斯特·希利博士和丹·凯利所作；另一种则认为它是由哪位不知名的作者创作的一首牧童曲。据传，堪萨斯州哈钦森的希利博士于 1873 年写下它的歌词，而他在堪萨斯州史密斯县开一家商栈的一位朋友丹·凯利为它谱了曲。该诗没有取得版权，所以长期以来有不少人冒称诗作者，但均未遂心愿。弗兰克林·D.罗斯福总统曾经说过这是一首他最喜欢的诗。因此，它便广泛流传开来。</p>	
<p>哦、给我一个家，</p> <p>那里牛群信步走，</p> <p>山鹿羚羊戏玩耍；</p> <p>没有遮天蔽日云，</p> <p>只有激励人心话。(合唱)</p>	<p>Oh, give me a home,</p> <p>Where the buffalo roam,</p> <p>Where the deer and the antelope play;</p> <p>Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,</p> <p>And the skies are not cloudy all day. CHORUS:</p>

<p>家，牧场是我家， 山鹿羚羊戏玩耍； 没有遮天蔽日云， 只有激励人心话。多少夜 晚星光闪， 翘首举目星空望， 惊叹星斗比我美， 颗颗银钉真灿烂。哦，给 我一片地， 钻石金沙顺流走； 雪白天鹅水中嬉， 可是仙女下凡舞。空气清 新万里风， 微风轻轻千里香。 纵有都市百样美， 岂能换我牧场家。</p>	<p>Home, home on the range, Where the deer and the antelope play; Where seldom is heard a discouraging word, And the skies are not cloudy all day. How often at night when the heavens are bright With the lights of the glittering stars, Have I stood there amazed and asked as I gazed If their glory exceeds that of ours.</p> <p>Oh, give me a land where the bright diamond sand Flows leisurely down the stream; Where the graceful white swan goes gliding along Like a maid in a heavenly dream.</p> <p>Where the air is so pure, the zephyrs so free, The breezes so balmy and light, That I would not exchange my home on the range, For all the cities so bright.</p>
<p>一直工作在铁道上 Been Working on the Railroad</p> <p>《我一直工作在铁道上》是最流行的美国民歌之一。它的由来不详。显然它最早是十九世纪三、四十年代路易斯安娜州密西西比河南部修筑河堤的黑人工人们唱的《大堤曲》。随着筑大堤变为建铁路，这首歌强有力的曲调被填上新词，成了密西西比州西部大多数爱尔兰铁路工人唱的一支歌。到 1880 年为止，各民族以及来自各国的工人们已经铺设了近十万英里的铁道，《我一直工作在铁道上》这支歌也已经传遍了三十八个州。这首歌的另一翻版(《德克萨斯州的</p>	

眼睛》)被成立于 1883 年的德克萨斯州大学用作为它的正式校歌。其中以「黛娜，你别吹」开始的第二段是后来加进去的。以前各大学经常刊印歌本，而《我一直工作在铁道上》这首歌总是不列其外。当时好像人人都知道这首歌，而且它是每次团体唱必选的歌曲。

我一直工作在铁道上，
整天从早干到晚。
我一直工作在铁道上，
只是为了度时光。
难道你没听见哨声响。
清晨一大早就得起身；
难道你没听见队长叫。
「黛娜，快吹响你的号！」黛娜，
你别吹，
黛娜，你别吹，
黛娜，你别吹号。
黛娜，你别吹，
黛娜，你别吹，
黛娜，你别吹号。
有人同黛娜在伙房，
我知道有人在伙房。
有人同黛娜在伙房，
拨响老班卓又歌唱：
菲——费费德——利——伊——
哟，
菲——费费德——利——伊——
哟，
拨响老班卓。

I've been working on the railroad,
All the live-long day,
I've been working on the railroad,
Just to pass the time away.
Don't you hear the whistle blowing,
Rise up so early in the morn;
Don't you hear the captain shouting,
"Dinah, blow your horn!" Dinah, won't
you blow,
Dinah, won't you blow,
Dinah, won't you blow your horn
Dinah, won't you blow
Dinah, won't you blow,
Dinah, won't you blow your horn.
Someone's in the kitchen with Dinah,
Someone's in the kitchen I know,
Someone's in the kitchen with Dinah,
Strummin' on the old banjo, and singin'
Fee-fi-fidd-lee-i-o,
Fee-fi-fidd-lee-i-o,
Fee-fi-fidd-lee-i-o,
Strummin' on the old banjo.

海伦·亨特·杰克逊

(HELEN HUNT JACKSON)

百年耻辱

A Century of Dishonor

在过去的三十年中，太平洋大陆架上的印第安人所遭受的欺凌、压榨和杀戮……可怕得难以令人置信。

海伦·(费斯克·)亨特·杰克逊(1830—1885)出生在麻萨诸塞州的亚姆赫斯特。她长大成为一个普通的妻子和母亲。她的父亲于亚姆赫斯特大学教她学习拉丁文和哲学。她是埃米莉·狄金森的邻居和终身朋友。海伦小的时候 于易卜斯威治和纽约读私塾，1852 年嫁给一个名叫爱德华·B.亨特的军官。当她的丈夫被重新分配到外地时，她尽妇道随他而去，并生下两个儿子。其中的一个儿子幼年 夭折。婚后的第十一年，她的丈夫在一次事故中丧身，两年以后，她的第二个儿子也死去。丧失亲人以后，她开始为几家杂志写诗和文章。1875 年，她再嫁威廉·S.杰克逊，并定居于科罗拉多泉。由于听了一次讲座，她开始关心起印地安人的悲惨遭遇，并着手开展广泛的调查研究，以揭露政府对印地安人所施行的苛政。她于 1881 年发表了《百年耻辱》，并将它分送给每个议员。以下为该节选。

在这三百群(美国的)印地安人中，没有一人不曾遭受政府或白人殖民者的残酷欺压。这些人越穷、越是没有身份、越是无依无靠，就越有可能遭到他们一直遭受的这种残酷欺凌。生活在太平洋大陆架上的那些印地安人的情况尤其是这样。他们突然发现自己被蜂拥而至的淘金殖民者团团包围，活像岸上无可奈何的动物被卷入潮水一样被他们吞没。政府没能够来得及与殖民者们签订合约；甚至连公众社会也没能够来得及制定有关的法律。在过去的 30 年中，太平洋大陆架上的印地安人所遭受的欺凌、压榨和杀戮可以编成一整部书，它可怕得令人难以置信。

然而，无论翻开印地安人历史的哪一部分，其中的每一页和每一年都可以见到

斑斑血迹。发生在一个部落的事就是发生在全体印地安人身上的事，其中所不同的仅仅是时间和地点而已；而不同的时间和地点却反映了相同的事实。科罗拉多州的今天就跟 1880 年的乔治亚州和 1795 年的俄亥俄州一样贪得无厌并且无法无天。美国政府违背诺言，其手法不亚于当年，手段越演越高明。

他们之所以这样的一个主要原因是，人们讨厌印地安人，不能容忍这块「文明的绊脚石」的存在，以及怀疑他们的存在是一种潜在的危险的这种情绪普遍蔓延。那些充满印地安战争恐怖情节的古老拓荒生活的故事经过两三代人的传说，使它在一般人的心里产生一种似乎是遗传下来的不容置疑又不可理喻的嫌恶本能，这种嫌恶几乎到了不可消除或减缓的地步。

在印地安人方面有几百页无懈可击的证词，但毫无用处；它们被看成是感伤主义的东西和党派的偏见而置之不理。一任接一任的总统委派一个又一个的委员会调查汇报印地安人的问题，并要求它们提出处理这些问题的最佳方案。他们的那些汇报都雄辩地描述了印地安人所遭受的凌辱和政府方面的种种背信弃义；他们用最诚恳的语言建议试用简单明了的权宜办法，做到说实话、讲信义、办事公平合理。这些汇报被订进了政府的年度报告，但仅此而已。在每一万名美国公民中见到或听说过这些汇报的人还不到一个，这样说也许一点儿也不过分。然而，在全国的那些思维正常情感健全的男人们和女人们中间传阅的每一份汇报，其本身就是一份「游说公文」，它将引起一场革命，这样的革命只有在印地安人得到现在尚不可能获得的平冤昭雪之后才能平息下来。

格兰特总统于 1869 年委派一个九人委员会代表六个主要州政府的权力和关怀到访几个不同的印地安人居留地「检查有关印地安人的所有问题」。

在这个委员会的汇报中有这样几段话：「认为『印地安人不愿意劳动』的断言就像说白人不愿意劳动一样，纯属谎言。「经验告诉印地安人他们的劳动产品明天将被白人抢走，可他们为什么除了每日糊口以外还得种粮食、围田地、建房屋和做其他的活呢。在同样的情况下，最勤劳的白人也会变懒，而许多印地安人(那些委员们该更令人信服地说明是十三万印地安人)都已经在劳动。这足以驳斥『印地安人不愿意劳动』的这一论点。无情的事实是回避不了的。

「政府与印地安人之间的关系史是一部记载不光彩的背信弃义的案卷；边界白

人与印地安人之间的关系史是一部记载多半是白人对印地安人的摧残、蹂躏、掠夺和凌辱，以及偶尔印地安人的猛烈暴动和难以形容的野蛮行为的不堪入目的案卷。

「政府说过他们有权受人尊敬，而他们的这些权利却一直遭到贪得无厌的白人的破坏，所以，他们本来该举起来保护自己的手臂却一直只能准备用来挡架别人的攻击。

「有一些美国最高层军官的证词还记录在案。其中大致上是说，在我们的每次印地安战争中几乎毫无例外地是由白人首先挑起，而每一位研究这个问题的非军方知名人士都证实了这一点，除了那些在未开发地区肆意搜刮而不受惩罚的强盗匪徒之外，还有一大批为了从战争中派来的军队和政府的经费开支中渔利的假冒正人君子，他们不择一切权力手段挑起印地安战争。他们随时用口头或书面形式向印地安人报告死亡人数，而对死者是否有罪不作任何区别。他们激起社会最底层的人们犯下最不光彩的罪行，而且身为法官和陪审员，他们庇护这些人而使他们免遭他们所犯罪行应得的惩罚。白人对印地安人所犯下的每一个罪行都得到包庇和辩解；而印地安人对白人的每一点冒犯却马上被戴上事实上存在的或莫须有的罪名，通过报纸或电讯传遍全国的各个角落。美国人民必须警惕这一类影响。

如果认为消除以往长期以来的损害和医治精神上的创伤，纠正这个国家今后对印地安人的政策，并立刻保证印地安人的安全和幸福是一件很容易的事或只要通过某一个突然可能的立法原则就能得实现，那是一种草率而且愚昧的判断错误。认为只要使所有的印地安人立刻成为美国公民便是医治他们一切创伤和政府心病的灵丹妙药的那种似乎被越来越多人接受的想法是极欠考虑的。如果突然让所有粗俗或文明的印地安人一下子都变成完全的公民，那就像给他们所有的人同一种药而不考虑他们不同的症状和需要那样是一个荒唐的错误。受它伤害的人要比被它治好的人更多。然而，1857 年调查印地安人问题的一位负责人所做的具体分析是没有错的：「只要他们还不是美国公民，他们所拥有的财产权就无法保证不受侵犯。既然联邦法庭的大门是向他们连同受他们监护和赡养的人紧闭着，那么他们就只能行使自由政府的部分权利，或只好把那种足以使他们受到尊敬的尊严交给制定、行使并解释少有的几条法律的那些人。在他

们继续单独地检验合众国桌上掉下的面包屑的时候，游手好闲、浪费、负债将成为司空见惯，而勤劳、节俭和不欠债的现象将成为凤毛麟角。他们对土地完全没有拥有权，这使他们每个人都失去了劳动与奋斗的主要动力——一个民族的财富赖以存在的主要动因。」

一切为了保证他们的安全和出路的审慎的规划和措施都必须包含使他们尽早成为公民的各项条例，而且必须在此之前保护他们的第一项权利，尤其是我们的法律藉以保护其他那些非公民「人们」的权利。

在某一阶层人的心里存在一种讨厌反对横行霸道的倾向，它不适应于迅速严厉的除恶大计。这种倾向是说不通的。当一个新国家的拓荒者们发现有一片有毒的沼泽荒野需要开垦的时候，他们在清楚地看到条条道路该通往何处、清新的泉水该从哪里冒出、还有在这片开垦出来的土地上最好种哪些庄稼之前，决不会放下手中烧荒的火和劈山的斧。他们首先清理沼泽地。因此，在我们国家的这个影响极坏而又十分棘手的问题上，也让我们首先来「清理这片沼泽地」。

无论我们在这么晚的时候在处理类似替印地安人伸张正义这样的每一项计划的细节中会遇到多么复杂和困难的问题，无论优秀的政治家和善良的人们对该做的那些事情要达成统一的认识有多么大的困难，但是，就哪些事不该做，以及在采取第一批步骤为目前，我们印地安人的情况平冤昭雪、医治创伤和雪洗耻辱之前，哪些事不该继续做下去的问题上，肯定不存在，而且也不应该存在任何困惑和任何困难。欺骗、掠夺、违背诺言——这三件事明显不能再继续下去了。还有一件事是拒绝给予印地安人财产权、「生命权、自由权及追求幸福的权利」的法律上的保障。

只有当这四件事不再继续下去以后，时间、治国之才、博爱精神、基督教义才能慢慢准确无误地做好其余的事。在这四件事完全停止下来之前，治国之才和博爱精神同样是徒劳无功的，甚至基督教的作用也将是微乎其微的。

There is not among these three hundred bands of Indians [in the United States] one which has not suffered cruelly at the hands either of the Government or of white settlers. The poorer, the more

insignificant, the more helpless the band, the more certain the cruelty and outrage to which they have been subjected. This is especially true of the bands on the Pacific slopes. These Indians found themselves of a sudden surrounded by and caught up in the great influx of gold-seeking settlers, as helpless creatures on a shore are caught up in a tidal wave. There was not time for the Government to make treaties; not even time for communities to make laws. The tale of the wrongs, the oppressions, the murders of the Pacific-slope Indians in the last thirty years would be a volume by itself, and is too monstrous to be believed.

It makes little difference, however, where one opens the record of the history of the Indians; every page and every year has its dark stain. The story of one tribe is the story of all, varied only by differences of time and place; but neither time nor place makes any difference in the main facts. Colorado is as greedy and unjust in 1880 as was Georgia in 1830, and Ohio in 1795; and the United States Government breaks promises now as deftly as then, and with added ingenuity from long practice.

One of its strongest supports in so doing is the wide-spread sentiment among the people of dislike to the Indian, of impatience with his presence as a "barrier to civilization," and distrust of it as a possible danger. The old tales of the frontier life, with its horrors of Indian warfare, have gradually, by two or three generations' telling, produced in the average mind something like an hereditary instinct of unquestioning and unreasoning aversion which it is almost impossible to dislodge or soften.

There are hundreds of pages of unimpeachable testimony on the side of the Indian; but it goes for nothing, is set down as

sentimentalism or partisanship, tossed aside and forgotten.

President after president has appointed commission after commission to inquire into and report upon Indian affairs, and to make suggestions as to the best methods of managing them. The reports are filled with eloquent statements of wrongs done to the Indians, of perfidies on the part of the Government; they counsel, as earnestly as words can, a trial of the simple and unperplexing expedients of telling truth, keeping promises, making fair bargains, dealing justly in all ways and all things. These reports are bound up with the Government's Annual Reports, and that is the end of them. It would probably be no exaggeration to say that not one American citizen out of ten thousand ever sees them or knows that they exist, and yet any one of them, circulated throughout the country, read by the right-thinking, right-feeling men and women of this land, would be of itself a "campaign document" that would initiate a revolution which would not subside until the Indians' wrongs were, so far as is now left possible, righted.

In 1869 President Grant appointed a commission of nine men, representing the influence and philanthropy of six leading States, to visit the different Indian reservations, and to "examine all matters appertaining to Indian affairs."

In the report of this commission are such paragraphs as the following: "To assert that 'the Indian will not work' is as true as it would be to say that the white man will not work.

'Why should the Indian be expected to plant corn, fence lands, build houses, or do anything but get food from day to day, when experience has taught him that the product of his labor will be seized by the white man to-morrow. The most industrious white

man would become a drone under similar circumstances.

Nevertheless, many of the Indians" (the commissioners might more forcibly have said 130,000 of the Indians) "are already at work, and furnish ample refutation of the assertion that 'the Indian will not work.' There is no escape from the inexorable logic of facts.

"The history of the Government connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises. The history of the border, white man's connection with the Indians is a sickening record of murder, outrage, robbery, and wrongs committed by the former, as the rule, and occasional savage outbreaks and unspeakably barbarous deeds of retaliation by the latter, as the exception.

"Taught by the Government that they had rights entitled to respect, when those rights have been assailed by the rapacity of the white man, the arm which should have been raised to protect them has ever been ready to sustain the aggressor.

"The testimony of some of the highest military officers of the United States is on record to the effect that, in our Indian wars, almost without exception, the first aggressions have been made by the white man, and the assertion is supported by every civilian of reputation who has studied the subject. In addition to the class of robbers and outlaws who find impunity in their nefarious pursuits on the frontiers, there is a large class of professedly reputable men who use every means in their power to bring on Indian wars for the sake of the profit to be realized from the presence of troops and the expenditures of Government funds in their midst. They proclaim death to the Indians at all times in words and publications, making no distinction between the innocent and the guilty. They irate the lowest class of men to the perpetration of the darkest deeds against

their victims, and as judges and jurymen shield them from the justice due to their crimes. Every crime committed by a white man against an Indian is concealed or palliated. Every offence committed by an Indian against a white man is borne on the wings of the post or the telegraph to the remotest corner of the land, clothed with all the horrors which the reality or imagination can throw around it. Against such influences as these the people of the United States need to be warned."

To assume that it would be easy, or by any one sudden stroke of legislative policy possible, to undo the mischief and hurt of the long past, set the Indian policy of the country right for the future, and make the Indians at once safe and happy, is the blunder of a hasty and uninformed judgment. The notion which seems to be growing more prevalent, that simply to make all Indians at once citizens of the United States would be a sovereign and instantaneous panacea for all their ills and all the Government's perplexities, is a very inconsiderate one. To administer complete citizenship of a sudden, all round, to all Indians, barbarous and civilized alike, would be as grotesque a blunder as to dose them all round with any one medicine, irrespective of the symptoms and needs of their diseases. It would kill more than it would cure. Nevertheless, it is true, as was well stated by one of the superintendents of Indian Affairs in 1857, that, "so long as they are not citizens of the United States, their rights of property' must remain insecure against invasion. The doors of the federal tribunals being barred against them while wards and dependents, they can only partially exercise the rights of free government, or give to those who make, execute, and construe the few laws they are allowed to enact, dignity sufficient to make them respectable. While they continue individually to gather the crumbs

that fall from the table of the United States, idleness, improvidence, and indebtedness will be the rule, and industry, thrift, and freedom from debt the exception. The utter absence of individual title to particular lands deprives every one among them of the chief incentive to labor and exertion—the very mainspring on which the prosperity of a people depends."

All judicious plans and measures for their safety and salvation must embody provisions for their becoming citizens as fast as they are fit, and must protect them till then in every right and particular in which our laws protect other "persons" who are not citizens.

There is a disposition in a certain class of minds to be impatient with any protestation against wrong which is unaccompanied or unprepared with a quick and exact scheme of remedy. This is illogical. When pioneers in a new country find a tract of poisonous and swampy wilderness to be reclaimed, they do not withhold their hands from fire and axe till they see clearly which way roads should run, where good water will spring, and what crops will best grow on the redeemed land. They first clear the swamp. So with this poisonous and baffling part of the domain of our national affairs—let us first "clear the swamp."

However great perplexity and difficulty there may be in the details of any and every plan possible for doing at this late day anything like justice to the Indian, however hard it may be for good statesmen and good men to agree upon the things that ought to be done, there certainly is, or ought to be, no perplexity' whatever, no difficulty whatever, in agreeing upon certain things that ought not to be done, and which must cease to be done before the first steps can be taken toward righting the wrongs, curing the ills and wiping out the disgrace to us of the present condition of our Indians.

Cheating, robbing, breaking promises—these three are clearly things which must cease to be done. One more thing, also, and that is the refusal of the protection of the law to the Indian's rights of property, "of life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happiness."

When these four things have ceased to be done, time, statesmanship, philanthropy, and (Christianity can slowly and surely do the rest. Till these four things have ceased to be done, statesmanship and philanthropy alike must work in vain. and even Christianity can reap but small harvest.

弗雷德里克.道格拉斯

(FREDERICK DOUGLASS)

在全国黑人大会上的发言

Speech at the National Convention of Colored Men

追求和斗争换取的自由比他人施予的自由更为珍贵。

国内战争以后来纳了三条宪法修正案以保障黑人的各项权利：第十三条修正案废止苦役和强迫劳役，第十四条修正案赋予每个出生在合众国或归化合众国的人以公民的身份，并禁止任何州政府未经适当法律程式制定任何剥夺公民的各项权利或他们的生命、自由和财产的法律；第十五条修正案保证公民的选举权。国会于 1875 年还通过了一项「公民权法案」，该法案禁止在旅馆、公交车辆和剧院等公共场所的种族歧视行为。许多白人开始相信黑人完全受法律和宪法的保护。1877 年国家军队从南方撤出，「重建运动」就此告终。

正当许多白人因为做了那些可能而且必要的工作而感到心满意足的时候，黑人还继续处于极度贫困和文盲的状况，还继续受到种族歧视。黑人领袖们试图组织发展黑人的政治力量，然而他们的努力却被看成是在制造分裂。

1883 年 9 月 24 日，大演说家弗雷德里克.道格拉斯在肯塔基州的路易斯威尔城召开的全国黑人大会上做了演讲，并且就黑人为什么要为自己的权利而斗争的原因做了阐释。仅在三个星期之后。美国最高法院于 1883 年 10 月 15 日就推翻了 1875 年的公民权法案，并宣称公共场所的种族歧视现象与宪法并不矛盾。失去法律的支援，战后宪法修正案在南方成了一纸空文，而采纳强制推行种族隔离的「歧视黑人法」的意向却昭然若揭。

经常有人明显带着惊讶和厌烦的口气问我们：「这个国家的黑人除了他们已经得到的东西还能要些什么呢.而且还能给他们些什么呢。」据说他们过去曾经是奴隶，而现在自由了；他们过去曾经是庶民，而现在成了君主；他们过去曾经被排除在美国所有的宪法之外，如今却被包括在所有的法律之中，而且成了公认的那一部分公民。那么，他们为什么要召开全国黑人大会，因而在他们自己和白人同胞之间划上一道色线呢.我们并不否认这些问题的中肯性和其中的道理，也不退缩回避坦率地答复这些问题可能包括的论点。因为我们并没有忘记在那些向我们提出这类问题的人们中间不仅有一些对我们根本不予以同情的人，同时也有许多对我们寄予良好祝愿的人，而且不管怎么说他们也应该得到一个答复。……

如果对我们来说自由只是徒有其名，公民的身份只是一种欺骗，而选举权至今也只是一个无情的嘲弄，我们也还可以因为这个国家法律的健全、公正和宽厚而感到庆幸。因为只要一个民族的法律是公正的，不论它当时是否符合他们的需要，这个民族就还有希望。然而，在这个国家使它的实际行动与它的宪法和公正的法律不发生矛盾之前不宜指责这个国家的黑人要求保留这一道色线——因为这些人如果由于担心突出他们的肤色而对加害于他们的各种欺诈骗辱逆来顺受，结果只能证明他们甚至简直不配享有理论上的自由，事实上的自由就更不用说了。根据做人的每一个原则，他们都应该以他们自己的名义，代表他们自己召集会议，当众诉苦，并且在他们的权力许可的情况下针对他们所遭受的欺压凌辱进行逐一有组织的抗议。他不应该理睬那些怯懦的建议，而要把旗帜挂到外面的墙上。

要获得自由的人们就得自己参加战斗。我们不相信人们经常对我们说的那句话：黑人是民族家庭中的丑儿，越是不让他们抛头露面，对他们就越有好处。大家知道，追求和斗争换取的自由比他人施予的自由更为珍贵。要相信这句话：人们不太关心那些不关心自己的人。……

如果这个国家的六百万黑人，以合众国的宪法为武器，用他们自己的一百万张选票，再加上几百万关心人权呼声的白人的支援，还没有足够的勇气和智慧组织联合起来保护自己不受欺凌、歧视和压迫的话，那么指望民主党或其他的哪

一个政党来把他们组织联合起来或让它来关心他们的状况也是不会有什么用处的。人类可能联合起来保护动物不受到伤害，因为它们不会开口讲话，也不能为它们自己的利益说些什么；但我们是人，而且必须为我们自己的利益说话，否则就根本无人替我们讲话。美国有许多爱尔兰会议，但要是爱尔兰人不曾为他们自己说话，美国就不会有这样的会议。是因为爱尔兰人发出呼声并且把他们的事摆在人们的眼前，别人这才会去帮助他们。当年也是因为华盛顿的兵力才使得拉法埃脱把兵力投入美国的独立战争。总之在反对种族歧视的问题上，应该说我们是在这里公开集会，我们的身边没有任何威胁。全国人民的眼睛都在看着我们。可能有一万份报将选择报道我们这会儿所说的和所做的一切。它们可能完全按照我们将表现出的明智或愚妄而赞扬或谴责我们。

我们老老实实在把自己摆在他们面前，并请他们对我们所做的事加以评判。在我们提请你们认真注意的许多问题中有一个并非最为次要的问题，即南方劳动阶级的状况问题。他们的事业就是全世界劳动阶级的事业。全国各地的工会都不应该抛弃这一部分有色的力量。……

劳动在各地所欠缺的、劳动所必需享有的以及劳动将来所索取和获得的，就是每天辛辛苦苦的劳动所换取的这一整天辛勤劳动的报酬。随着劳动者本身智力的增加，他们将提高资本的原有价值——这就是为保护自己而组织联合起来的力量所在。从经验中可以看出，将来也许会有一种奴隶工资。其滋味不比当奴隶受凌辱好受多少，而这些领工资的奴隶也得和其他的奴隶一样被征服。……通过发放代金券的形式或发工资来欺骗南方劳动者的手法可谓最高明。它的特点是表面上公平合理，而实际上却使劳动者得完全听凭地主和店老板的摆布。劳动者就像被夹在上下两块磨石之间，最终被碾成粉末。这一手段使劳动者只能到一家商店购物，因此他除了剩下自己本来就不多的是非感以外就毫无公平买卖的动机可言。由于这些代金券仅仅是一些一钱不值的中介物，劳动者总觉得无论吃亏多少总得把它们花光。这样就使得他们开始铺张起来，其结果又使他们变得一贫如洗。

店老板们用最次的商品要最高的价来打发这些劳动者，而且可以对他们说就买这些东西，否则什么也别想买到。更糟糕的是，这种做法使劳动者背上了债，因而总是受地主的摆布。如果地主不这样做，而是把土地租给自由民耕种，每

公顷土地一年所索取的租金就要高出出售这块土地的价钱。遇到这种欺诈无理的做法，人们不免感到怒不可遏——大发起脾气来。据说黑人要是这种获取他们劳动的条件感到不满，可以让他们到别处去干活。这是压迫者想出的一个最没良心的建议。多年来，黑人所支取的劳动报酬仅是一些在指定商店以外毫无价值的代金券。除此以外他们身无分文，而且由于这种狡诈的手段，他们被束缚在地主的手中。所以，如果黑人听说可以到别处去而真要走，这些地主就可以逮捕他，而且他们以往总是这么做的。……

在一个像我们这样的一个由人民执政的国家里，各阶层青年的教育对国家的幸福、财富和它的生存都是极为重要的，这是得到普遍承认的事实。

根据这一前提，当爱国的人们见到 1880 年统计数位所显示的令人吃惊的普遍文盲现象时无一不感到震惊。

如何克服这一弊端的问题是一个严肃的问题。当然，指望有钱人的善举和社会的义行是不够的。普遍存在文盲现象的那些州无法而且也不愿意为他们的年轻人提供足够的教育手段。然而，无论这种现象有多么严重，全国人民总是直接关心生活在这块土地上的每一个孩子的教育。任何一部分美国人的无知都会引起其他美国人的极大关注。所以毫无疑问，人们有权通过那些强迫孩子们上学的法律。……

国家政府有巨大的财力，能够将健全之公立小学教育的福利送到全国每户穷人的家里。如果不给人们这一福利就是等于对永保江山社稷的最主要的保证置而不顾。做为美国人民中的一部分。我们必须十分重视团结那些已经谈到这个问题的人们，必须和他们一起共同敦促国会在下一次会议上为扶助教育的重大国策打下基础。……

就公民权方面对黑人所犯下的罪行是臭名昭著的，而通过三 K 党的恐怖活动、密西西比规划、诡计票法、薄纸投票等手段对我们的各种政治权利所犯下的罪行就更是恶贯满盈、骇人听闻、令人反感至极。在黑人居多的那三个州里没有黑人代表，他们的政治呼声遭到压制。实际上，这三个州的黑人公民被剥夺了公民权，宪法遭到蔑视，宪法条文不能生效。这一切都是发生在共和党以及历届共和党政府的眼皮底下。

伟大的奥康内尔曾经说过爱尔兰的历史可以像在人群中通过血迹追寻一个伤

员那样追溯到过去。南方黑人的历史也完全可以说是一样的情况。他们在闪光的刀枪面前冒着生命的危险冲向投票箱。他们曾经被政府所摒弃而只好自长自灭。对他们来说根本就不存在美国的政府和宪法。他们正在受到一个不顾天理、法律和宪法的，邪恶、残暴和该死的阴谋集团的镇压。在这些不堪入目的情况面前，你怎么能够漠然处之。有哪些黑人领袖还能让自己保持沈默。

这不是党派的问题，这是法律和政府的问题。这是一个关系到人类应该受到法律的保护还是在无政府的腥风血浪中任人宰割的问题，是关系到由政府还是由乌合之众治理这个国家的问题，是关系到宪法中庄严之下的诺言应该理直气壮地付诸实践还是卑鄙声名狼藉地被撕毁的问题。在这个关键的问题上，我们要求每一个美国人都来注意监督我们的任何一种政治权力都不能为任何一个在选举之前没有答应行使政府、州和国家赋予他们的一切权力以保证黑人通往投票箱的道路与其他美国人的道路一样平坦、笔直、安全的任何党派的人服务。……

没有任何一个阶层或任何一种肤色的人应当成为这个国家里排他的统治者，这是不言而喻的问题。如果存在这样一种统治阶级，那么就当然存在被奴役阶层，而且一旦出现这种情况，那么这个民有、民治、民享的政府就要从地球上消失。

With apparent surprise, astonishment and impatience we have been asked: "What more can the colored people of this country want than they now have, and what more is possible to them." It is said they were once slaves, they are now free; they were once subjects, they are now sovereigns; they were once outside of all American institutions, they are now inside of all and are a recognized part of the whole American people. Why, then, do they hold Colored National Conventions and thus insist upon keeping up the color line between themselves and their white fellow countrymen. We do not

deny the pertinence and plausibility of these questions, nor do we shrink from a candid answer to the argument which they are supposed to contain. For we do not forget that they are not only put to us by those who have no sympathy with us, but by many who wish us well, and that in any case they deserve an answer. . . .

If liberty, with us, is yet but a name, our citizenship is but a sham, and our suffrage thus far only a cruel mockery, we may yet congratulate ourselves upon the fact, that the laws and institutions of the country are sound, just and liberal. There is hope for a people when their laws are righteous, whether for the moment they conform to their requirements or not. But until this nation shall make its practice accord with its Constitution and its righteous laws, it will not do to reproach the colored people of this country with keeping up the color line—for that people would prove themselves scarcely worthy of even theoretical freedom, to say nothing of practical freedom, if they settled down in silent, servile and cowardly submission to their wrongs, from fear of making their color visible. They are bound by every element of manhood to hold conventions, in their own name, and on their own behalf, to keep their grievances before the people and make every organized protest against the wrongs inflicted upon them within their power. They should scorn the counsels of cowards, and hang their banner on the outer wall.

Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow. We do not believe, as we are often told, that the Negro is the ugly child of the National family, and the more he is kept out of sight the better it will be for him. You know that liberty given is never so precious as liberty sought for and fought for. The man outraged is the man to make the outcry. Depend upon it, men will not care much for people

who do not care for themselves. . . .

If the six millions of colored people of this country, armed with the Constitution of the United States, with a million votes of their own to lean upon, and millions of white men at their back, whose hearts are responsive to the claims of humanity, have not sufficient spirit and wisdom to organize and combine to defend themselves from outrage, discrimination and oppression, it will be idle for them to expect that the Republican party or any other political party will organize and combine for them or care what becomes of them. Men may combine to prevent cruelty to animals, for they are dumb and cannot speak for themselves; but we are men and must speak for ourselves, or we shall not be spoken for at all. We have conventions in America for Ireland, but we should have none if Ireland did not speak for herself. It is because she makes a noise and keeps her cause before the people that other people go to her help. It was the sword of Washington that gave Independence the sword of Lafayette. In conclusion upon this color objection, we have to say that we meet here in open daylight. There is nothing sinister about us. The eyes of the nation are upon us. Ten thousand newspapers may tell if they choose of whatever is said and done here. They may commend our wisdom or condemn our folly, precisely as we shall be wise or foolish.

We put ourselves before them as honest men, and ask their judgment upon our work.

Not the least important among the subjects to which we invite your earnest attention is the condition of the laboring class at the South. Their cause is one with the laboring classes all over the world. The labor unions of the country should not throw away this colored element of strength....

What labor everywhere wants, what it ought to have and will some day demand

and receive, is an honest day's pay for an honest day's work. As the laborer becomes more intelligent he will develop what capital already possess—that is the power to organize and combine for its own protection. Experience demonstrates that there may be a wages of slavery only a little less galling and crushing in its effects than chattel slavery, and that this slavery of wages must go down with the other. . . .

No more crafty and effective device for defrauding the Southern laborer could be adopted than the one that substitutes orders upon shopkeepers for currency in payment of wages. It has the merit of a show of honesty, while it puts the laborer completely at the mercy of the landowner and the shop-keeper. He is between the upper and the nether millstones and is hence ground to dust. It gives the shop-keeper a customer who can trade with no other storekeeper, and thus leaves the latter no motive for fair dealing except his own moral sense, which is never too strong. While the laborer holding the orders is tempted by their worthlessness as a circulating medium, to get rid of them at any sacrifice, and hence is led into extravagance and consequent destitution.

The merchant puts him off with his poorest commodities at highest prices, and can say to him take those or nothing. Worse still. By this means the laborer is brought into debt, and hence is kept always in the power of the landowner. When this system is not pursued and land is rented to the freedman, he is charged more for the use of an acre of land for a single year than the land would bring in the market if offered for sale. On such a system of fraud and wrong one might well invoke a bolt from heaven—red with uncommon wrath.

It is said if the colored people do not like the conditions upon which their labor is demanded and secured, let them leave and go elsewhere. A more heartless suggestion never emanated from an oppressor. Having for years paid them in shop orders, utterly worthless outside the shop to which they are directed, without a dollar in their pockets, brought by this crafty process into bondage to the land-owners, who can and would arrest them if they should attempt to leave them

when they are told to go....

It is everywhere an accepted truth, that in a country governed by the people, like ours, education of the youth of all classes is vital to its welfare, prosperity, and to its existence.

In the light of this unquestioned proposition, the patriot cannot but view with a shudder the widespread and truly alarming illiteracy as revealed by the census of 1880.

The question as to how this evil is to be remedied is an important one. Certain it is that it will not do to trust to the philanthropy of wealthy individuals or benevolent societies to remove it. The States in which this illiteracy prevails either cannot or will not provide adequate systems of education for their own youth. But however this may be, the fact remains that the whole country is directly interested in the education of every child that lives within its borders. The ignorance of any part of the American people so deeply concerns all the rest that there can be no doubt of the right to pass laws compelling the attendance of every child at school....

The National Government, with its immense resources, can carry the benefits of a sound common-school education to the door of every poor man from Maine to Texas, and to withhold this boon is to neglect the greatest assurance it has of its own perpetuity. As a part of the American people we unite most emphatically with others who have already spoken on this subject, in urging Congress to lay the foundation for a great national system of aid to education at its next session. . . .

Flagrant as have been the outrages committed upon colored citizens in respect to their civil rights, more flagrant, shocking and scandalous still have been the outrages committed upon our political rights, by means of bull-dozing and Kukiuxing, Mississippi plans, fraudulent counts, tissue ballots and the like devices. Three States in which the colored people outnumber the white population are without colored representation and their political voice suppressed. The colored citizens in those States are virtually disfranchised, the Constitution held in utter contempt and its provisions nullified. This has been done in the face of the

Republican party and successive Republican Administrations.

It was once said by the great O'Connell that the history of Ireland might be traced like a wounded man through a crowd by the blood, and the same may be truly said of the history of the colored voters of the South.

They have marched to the ballot-box in face of gleaming weapons, wounds and death. They have been abandoned by the Government and left to the laws of nature. So far as they are concerned, there is no Government or Constitution of the United States.

They are under control of a foul, haggard and damning conspiracy against reason, law and constitution. How you can be indifferent, how any leading colored men can allow themselves to be silent in presence of this state of things we cannot see. . . .

This is no question of party. It is a question of law and government. It is a question whether men shall be protected by law or be left to the mercy of cyclones of anarchy and bloodshed. It is whether the Government or the mob shall rule this land; whether the promises solemnly made to us in the Constitution be manfully kept or meanly and flagrantly broken. Upon this vital point we ask the whole people of the United States to take notice that whatever of political power we have shall be exerted for no man of any party who will not in advance of election promise to use every power given him by the Government, State or National, to make the black man's path to the ballot-box as straight, smooth and safe as that of any other American citizen....

We hold it to be self-evident that no class or color should be the exclusive rulers of this country. If there is such a ruling class, there must of course be a subject class, and when this condition is once established this Government of the people, by the people and for the people, — will have perished from the earth.

埃玛.拉扎勒斯

(EMMA LAZARUS)

新的巨像

The New Colossus

埃玛·拉扎勒斯(1849—1887)出身于纽约市的一个富有的犹太人家庭。她自幼学习古典文学和多种外文。她发表第一部诗集和译作时年仅十八。1883年,一个公民领导人委员会试图筹集资金支付当时正在巴黎建造的《自由女神》的基座。许多艺术家和文学家献出自己的作品作为一种集资的渠道。为了纪念弗雷德里克·奥古斯特·巴托尔迪所雕刻的象征法美两国之间的友谊和歌颂自由理想的巨像,拉扎勒斯创作了《新的巨像》。她预言说,这尊新巨像将不同于「古代七奇观」之一的「罗德岛巨像」,而将成为欢迎世界各国弃儿的「流亡者之母」。

她刚创作的《新的巨像》没有引起任何人的注意。1886年《自由女神像》落成揭幕时也没有提及拉扎勒斯的这首诗。1903年拉扎勒斯的一位崇拜者乔治娜·斯凯勒征得同意后将这首诗刻到达尊巨像内的一块铜板上。在接下去的三十年里,它仍然鲜为人知。许多美国人对欧洲来的「不幸的渣滓」并不像诗中所描写的那样表现出盛情的欢迎;一次次限制移民的努力最终使欧洲的大批移民于1924年停了下来。

二十世纪三十年代,由于纳粹德国对国内犹太人的迫害,难民的问题被重新提出。一位美籍南斯拉夫记者路易斯·阿达米克为了使人们注意列美国作为承担各国难民的避难收容所的使命而把拉扎勒斯的这首诗作为一种宣传手段而加以普及。通过他的努力,这首诗的许多新的寓意丰富了美国的语言辞汇,并且为人们对这尊雕像以及对这个民族本身的概念重新下了定义。1945年,这块刻有这首诗歌的铜板从《自由女神像》的内部被移到雕像的主要入口处。

她不同于希腊著名的青铜巨人
把征服者的双脚跨在两片土地;
她是一位顶天立地的女人,
她将高擎火炬屹立在这浪拍夕照的大门。
火炬收驻闪电,手臂似灯塔放出光芒。
她是「流亡者之母」,向全世界召唤;

Not like the brazen giant of
Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride
from land to
land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset

她那温柔的目光落在连接双城的海港。「古老
的大地，愿你们永保历史的辉煌！」

她在无声地呐喊，

「把你们拥挤土地上的不幸的『人渣』，
穷困潦倒而渴望呼吸自由的芸芸众生，
连同那些无家可归四处漂泊的人们送来，
我高举明灯守候在这金色的大门！」

gates shall stand

A mighty woman with a torch,
whose flame

Is the imprisoned lightning, and
her name

Mother of Exiles. From her
beacon-hand

Glow world-wide welcome;
her mild eyes

command

The air-bridged harbor that
twin cities frame

"Keep, ancient lands, your
storied pomp!" cries

she

With silent lips. "Give me your
tired, your

poor,

Your huddled masses yearning
to breathe free,

The wretched refuse of your
teeming shore.

Send these, the homeless,
tempest-tost to me,

I lift my lamp beside the golden
door!"

克莱门泰

Clementine

《克莱门泰》最早出现于十九世纪八十年代。从那以后它就一直十分流行。有

些人认为它是一首来历不明流传于口头的民歌；另外一些人则认为这首诗歌是珀西·蒙特罗斯创作并谱曲的。由于该作品没有注明版权，所以每个声称该诗作者的人均未能得证实。《克莱门泰》中幽默诙谐的故事一直在大中小学校园里和民间的合唱会上受到欢迎。

山洞里，峡谷中，
矿工活了四十又九载。
他整天挖掘矿沙土，
有个女儿叫克莱门泰。(合唱)

哦，我的心肝宝贝克莱门泰！
哦，可怜的孩子一去不回来！
她的光明似天使，
脚上穿的九号鞋，
挤得脚趾像鲱鱼，
唯有草鞋最合适。每天早晨九点钟，
赶着小鸭下水去。
一回脚踩尖片上，
立刻滑进深水中。两片朱唇露水面，
一串气泡轻浮起。
唉呀！我可从没下过水
无奈见她沈水底。山洞旁，教堂墓地，
长春花开真美丽。
还有玫瑰与小花，
争相吮吸女儿体。四十九岁的矿工，

In a cavern, in a canyon,
Excavating for a mine,
Lived a miner, forty-niner,
And his daughter Clementine

CHORUS:
Oh my darling, O my darling, O my
darling Clementine!
You are lost and gone forever,
Dreadful
sorry, Clementine!

Light she was and like a fairy,
And her shoes were number nine,
Herring boxes, without topses,
Sandals were for Clementine.

Drove she ducklings to the water
Every morning just at nine,
Hit her foot against a splinter,
Fell into the foaming brine.

Rudy lips above the water,
Blowing bubbles soft and fine;
Alas, for me! I was no swimmer,
So I lost my Clementine.

Then the miner, forty-niner,

<p>日渐消瘦又憔悴， 心想追她到地府， 以便父女再相会。她在梦中萦绕我， 浑身依旧水沾衣。 生前我们常相拥， 如今生死两分离。</p>	<p>Soon began to peak and pine, Thought he oughter line his daughter Now he』s with his Clementine. In my dream she oft doth haunt me, With her garments soaked in brine, Though in life I used to hug her, Now she』s dead I draw the line.</p>
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欧内斯特.劳伦斯.泰尔

(ERNEST LAWRENCE THAYER)

凯西在击球

Casey at the Bat

欧内斯特.劳伦斯.泰尔(1863—1940)于1888年6月3日在《旧金山检察报》首次用笔名发表《凯西在击球》。路易斯.安特梅尔称这首诗为「公认的棒球杰作，棒球运动的颂歌和主题曲」。美国人之所以喜欢这首诗歌不仅是因为它是棒球的主题曲，而且也是因为它的结尾具有一种无主角气质的转折。

<p>那天九点，马德维里球赛真不妙， 比分已经二比四，只剩一局见分晓； 只见科尼和巴勒第二场先后出了局， 资助人个个脸色发青人人心惊肉跳。 三三两两人离去，剩下的观众没有散， 他们心中继续闪耀着永恒不灭的希望； 大家心里想：「只要凯西上场就好办。」 凯西若上场，他们就会把赌注往下放。 可是弗林要先上，布莱克随后紧跟着，</p>	<p>It looked extremely rocky for the Mudville nine that day; The score stood two to four, with but an inning left to play. So, when Cooney died at second, and Burrows did the same, A pallor wreathed the features of the</p>
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<p>弗林体弱似布丁，布莱克原是冒牌货。 场上观众真扫兴，不见一人来把话说， 只因凯西上场击球的机会看来也不多。 但见弗林「一垒球」的绝活惊四座， 布莱克虽然不起眼，「扫除障碍」也不错； 只见尘土飞扬处，队员个个都了不起， 布莱克已抵二垒座，弗林直往三垒逼。 忽闻欢呼声四起，观众个个足蹈又手舞， 欢声雷动震山颠，响声隆隆回荡在云谷， 雷声欢动撼峭壁，回声阵阵响彻大平川， 原来是英雄凯西上场犹如下山如猛虎。 凯西一跃登上场，稳稳当当真从容， 风度翩翩步履轻，凯西脸上露笑容； 迎着掌声走到位，欢呼声中放下棒， 观众席中谁个不知球星凯西有真功。 凯西用手抹泥土，万只眼睛紧盯着， 凯西把手擦身上，五千观众交口赞。 投手扭身球掷出，偏偏打在他臀部， 凯西投去蔑视眼，嘴角一翘相讥让。 投手再次把球掷，划空而过来得急， 英武挺立人站定，凯西只等把球击； 眼看球刚近身旁，谁知突然往下钻， 凯西说：「这不对。」裁判却说：「一</p>	<p>patrons of the game.A stragglng few got up to go, leaving there the rest, With that hope which springs eternal within the human breast. For they thought: "If only Casey could get a whack at that," They'd put even money now, with Casey at the bat. But Flynn preceded Casey, and likewise so did Blake, And the former was a pudd'n, and the latter was a fake, So on that stricken multitude a deathlike silence sat; For there seemed but little chance of Casey's getting to the bat. But Flynn let drive a "single," to the wonderment of all. And the much-despised Blakey "tore the cover off the ball."</p>
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好球。」

看台人头在攒动，传来一片低声吼，
有如暴风雨中浪，击打船尾远方岸；
「打死他！打死裁判」看台上面有人喊。

凯西若是不抬手，裁判一定真完蛋。
凯西真有菩萨心，满面笑容神态怡，
为了比赛不中断，他使观众怒平息；
他向投手示个意，棒球重新再飞起，
凯西又没举起棒，裁判宣布：「二好球。」

「奸计！」观众怒声吼，「奸计！」声音在回荡，

凯西转脸轻蔑看，观众不敢再嚷嚷；
大家见他真严肃，浑身肌肉紧绷起，
知道凯西已决意，绝不让它再滑闪。
凯西口出轻蔑笑，恨得牙关紧紧咬，
凯西恼得举起棒，朝着本垒使劲敲；
只见投手举起球，向着凯西扔过来，
只听「啪」的一声响，棒起球飞出界了。

哦，在这神赐福的国度，有个地方阳光普照，

那里的人们奏凯歌，那里的人们心情好，

那里的男人喜开颜，那里的孩子庆欢呼，

马德维里却没有欢笑：英雄凯西三振出局了。

And when the dust had lifted, and they saw

what had occurred,

There was Blakey safe at second, and Flynn a-

huggin' third. Then from the gladdened multitude went up a

joyous yell—

It rumbled in the mountaintops, it rattled in the

dell;

It struck up the hillside and rebounded on the

flat;

For Casey. mighty Casey, was advancing to the

bat.

There was ease in Casey's manner as he

stepped into his place,

There was pride in Casey's bearing and a smile

on Casey's face;

And when responding to the cheers he lightly

doffed his hat,

No stranger in the crowd could doubt 'twas

Casey at the bat.

Ten thousand eyes were on him as he
rubbed

his hands with dirt,

Five thousand tongues applauded
when he

wiped them on his shirt;

Then when the writhing pitcher
ground the

ball into his hip,

Defiance glanced in Casey's eye, a
sneer curled

Casey's lip.

And now the leather-covered sphere
came

hurtling through the air,

And Casey stood a-watching it in
haughty

grandeur there.

Close by the sturdy batsman the ball
unheeded

sped;

"That ain't my style," said Casey.

"Strike one,"

the umpire said.

From the benches, black with people,
there

went up a muffled roar,

Like the beating of the storm waves

on the

stern and distant shore.

"Kill him! kill the umpire!" shouted

someone

on the stand;

And it's likely they'd have killed him

had not

Casey raised his hand.

With a smile of Christian charity great

Casey's

visage shone;

He stilled the rising tumult, he made

the game

go on;

He signaled to the pitcher, and once

more the

spheroid flew;

But Casey still ignored it, and the

umpire said,

"Strike two."

"Fraud!" cried the maddened

thousands, and

the echo answered "Fraud!"

But one scornful look from Casey and

the

audience was awed;

They saw his face grow stern and

cold. they

saw his muscles strain,

And they knew that Casey wouldn't
let the ball

go by again.

The sneer is gone from Casey's lips,
his teeth

are clenched in hate,

He pounds with cruel vengeance his
bat upon

the plate;

And now the pitcher holds the ball,
and now he

lets it go,

And now the air is shattered by the
force of

Casey's blow.

Oh, somewhere in this favored land
the sun is

shining bright,

The band is playing somewhere, and
somewhere hearts are light;

And somewhere men are laughing,
and

somewhere children shout,

But there is no joy in Mudville:
Mighty Casey

has struck out.

詹姆斯.惠特康姆.赖利

(JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY)

霜降南瓜

When the Frost is on the Pumpkin

詹姆斯·惠特康姆·赖利(1849—1916)生长在印地安那州的格林菲尔德。他在那里上完几所公学后成了一名「马夏菲六级讲师」(这是当时人们可以得到的最高学衔)。他周游印地安那各地，为广告商标作画，参加专卖药的巡回表演。他在一路上收集民间文学，观察研究各地方言，后来成了印地安那几家报社的新闻记者。1877年，他因说笑行诈，写了一首据称是爱德华·艾伦·波所作的诗而被解聘。接着，他在《印地安那波利斯日报》上首次用印地安那方言创作了许多描写日常生活的诗歌，其中的一部分诗歌曾经于1883年在一本书名叫《古老的深湾·外十一首》的诗集中发表。他成了文学界的著名人物。由于他的诗歌中具有喜悦欢快、感情质朴和引发怀旧思绪的情调，所以许多人竞相模仿起他的诗作。赖利最著名的诗歌就是《霜降南瓜》。

霜降南瓜草成垛，
火鸡阔步叫咯咯，
珠鸡母鸡声声唤，
雄鸡篱上唱赞歌；
哦，此刻心情真舒畅，
迎着旭日步快活，
没戴帽子去喂牲口，
霜降南瓜草成垛。炎夏已去秋送爽，
清新空气陶醉我；
只恨蜂鸟不歌唱，
又怨枝头欠花朵。
我今却有秋色美，
景色怡神晨雾薄，
秀丽山河胜似画，

When the frost is on the punkin and the
fodder's in the shock,
And you hear the kyouck and gobble of the
struttin' turkey-cock
And the clackin' of the guineys, and the
cluckin' of the hens,
And the rooster's hallylooyer as he tiptoes
on
the fence;
O, it's then's the times a feller is a-feelin' at
his
best,
With the risin' sun to greet him from a night
of
peaceful rest,
As he leaves the house, bareheaded, and

霜降南瓜草成垛。玉米穗干响沙
沙，
风吹叶黄横斜错；
地里残株孤零零，
仓上五谷神赐多；
草堆地头人歇屋，
马下棚厩料上垛！
哦，我心似钟呼呼跳，
霜降南瓜草成垛！挽回苹果堆满
地，
有红有黄实在多；
切碎打浆做成糊，
干完这些女人活。
此情此景写不尽，
天使下凡来见我——
我留他们全住下——
霜降南瓜草成垛！

goes
out to feed the stock,
When the frost is on the punkin and the
fodder's in the shock.
They's something kindo' harty-like about
the
atmufere
When the heat of summer's over and the
coolin' fall is here—
Of course we miss the flowers, and the
blossums on the trees,
And the mumble of the hummin'-birds and
buzzin' of the bees;
But the air's so appetizin'; and the
landscape
through the haze
Of a crisp and sunny morning of the airly
autumn days
Is a pictur' that no painter has the colorin' to
mock—
When the frost is on the punkin and the
fodder's in the shock.
The husky, rusty russel of the tossels of the
corn,
And the raspin' of the tangled leaves, as
golden
as the morn;
The stubble in the furries — kindo'
lonesome-

	<p>like, but still</p> <p>A-preachin' sermons to us of the barns they grewed to fill;</p> <p>The strawstack in the medder, and the reaper</p> <p>in the shed;</p> <p>The bosses in theyr stalls below — the clover</p> <p>overhead! —</p> <p>O, it sets my hart a-clickin' like the tickin' of a</p> <p>clock,</p> <p>When the frost is on the punkin and the fodder's in the shock!</p> <p>Then your apples all is gethered, and the ones a</p> <p>feller keeps</p> <p>Is poured around the cellar-floor in red and yeller heaps;</p> <p>And your cider-makin' 's over, and your wimmern-folks is through</p> <p>With their mince and apple-butter, and theyr</p> <p>souse and saussage, too!</p> <p>I don't know how to tell it—but ef sich a thing</p> <p>could be</p> <p>As the Angels wantin' boardin', and they'd call</p>
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	around on me — I'd want to 'commodate 'em — all the whole- indurin' flock — When the frost is on the punkin and the fodder's in the shock!
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保罗·劳伦斯·邓巴
(PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR)

玉米甜糕已蒸熟

When De Co'n Pone's Hot

保罗·劳伦斯·邓巴(1872—1906)是美国第一位黑人职业作家，也是最早闻名全国的黑人作家之一。父母原先都是黑奴。父亲从加拿大的难民营回国参加南北战争。邓巴在俄亥俄州的代顿城长大。他是中学里唯一的黑人学生和校报编辑。他在当电梯操作工人时自费出版了他的第一本诗集《橡树和常春藤》(1893)，而且向电梯乘客出售。他的第二本诗集《老老少少》(1895)受到十九世纪文坛上的小说家和评论家威廉·迪安·豪威尔斯老前辈的赏识。他为青年邓巴的第三本诗集《下层生活抒情诗》(1896)写了序言。他的第三本诗集中有一些早年诗作，这本诗集使他闻名全国。

新作成功之后，邓巴到全国和英国各地讲学并朗诵诗歌。在他短暂的一生中还写了四篇小说和另外三本诗集：《家庭抒情诗》、《爱情与欢笑抒情诗》和《阳光与阴影抒情诗》。

邓巴以他的方言最为著称，其中最出色的一首是《玉米甜糕已蒸熟》，诗中可以看出詹姆斯·惠特康姆·赖利对他的影响极深。赖利的《霜降南瓜》是一首印地安那家庭生活的赞歌，而邓巴的这首《玉米甜糕已蒸熟》就是一道黑人家庭生活的赞美诗。

有时候造物主好像 虽有疏漏却不停手， 有如海浪波涛涌，	Dey is times in life when Nature Seems to slip a cog an' go, Jes' a-rattlin' down creation,
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<p>继续他的大创造； 地球刚刚起步走， 好像陀螺转动起， 你的福杯之满盈， 眼看就要往外溢； 看你像只网球拍 练习怎样把步迈—— 此时母亲便祈祷 玉米甜糕已蒸熟。 你在饭桌前坐定， 又是劳累又是恨， 好像仅是一点乏， 又像仅是一些恼； 愁眉怎样变笑脸， 欢乐怎样驱忧愁， 每当锅盖一掀开， 闻得香味扑鼻来； 咳，天上点点星闪烁， 好像都往锅里落， 此时母亲便祈祷 玉米甜糕已蒸熟。 锅中白菜冒热气， 烟熏猪肉好肥腻， 小肠烤得吱吱响， 可见他们忙什么； 赶快拿走粗饼干， 还有糕点果馅饼， 因为今晚不寻常， 光辉时辰就来到，</p>	<p>Lak an ocean's overflow; When de wori' jes' stahts a-spinnin' Lak a picaninny's top, An' yo' cup o' joy is brimmin' 'Twell it seems about to slop, An' you feel jes' lak a racah Dat is trainin' fu' to trot— When yo' mammy says de blessin' An' de co'n pone's hot When you set down at de table, Kin' o' weary lak an' sad, An' you'se jes' a little tiahed An' purhaps a little mad; How yo' gloom tu'ns into gladness, How yo' joy drives out de doubt When de oven do' is opened, An' de smell comes po'in' out; Why, de lectric light o' Heaven Seems to settle on de spot, When yo' mammy says de blessin' An' de co'n pone's hot. When de cabbage pot is steamin' An' de bacon good an' fat, When de chittlins is a-sputter'n' So's to show you whah dey's at; Tek away yo' sody biscuit Tek away yo' cake an' pie, Fu' de glory time is comin', An' it's 'proachin' mighty nigh,</p>
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你会开心跳着嚷， 虽知此时不该闹， 此时母亲便祈祷 玉米甜糕已蒸熟。 我听牧师常布道， 也见人们多祷告， 还听许多赞美歌， 歌声带我上九霄 步步领我进圣城， 一直来到主座前； 歌声虽已远逝去， 我心仍然唱不停， 声声祷告轻甜美， 句句打动我的心， 此时母亲便祈祷 玉米甜糕已蒸熟。	An' you want to jump an' hollah, Dough you know you'd bettah not, When yo' mammy says de blessin' An' de co'n pone's hot. I have hyeahd o' lots o' sermons, An' I've hyeahd o' lots o' prayers, An' I've listened to some singin' Dat has tuck me up de stairs Of de Glory-Lan' an' set me Jes' below de Mastah's th'one, An' have lef my hea't a-singin' In a happy aftah tone; But dem wu'ds so sweetly murmured Seem to tech de softes' spot, When my mammy says de blessin', An' de co'n pone's hot.
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塞缪尔·冈珀斯

(SAMUEL GOMPERS)

工人要求什么。

What Does The Working Man Want.

我们要求完全实行八小时工作日制度。有人谴责我们自私，说我们会得寸进尺提出更多的要求，说我们去年日薪提高了十美分，现在又要求更多一些。我们确实要求更多一些。

塞缪尔·冈珀斯(1850 — 1924)出生于伦敦，1863 年移居纽约，在那儿他继承了父亲的职业，当了卷烟工人。作为卷烟行业工会的领导人，他带领该工会退出了工业工会劳动骑士团，建立了行业工会联盟——美国劳工联合会。1886

至 1924 年间，仅其中一年除外，冈珀斯一直担任美国劳工联合会的主席。这一时期公众对工会怀有敌意，怀疑工会激进，他就在这种情况下领导劳工运动。在他的领导下，美国劳工联合会避免了激进的政治纲领，把精力集中在诸如工资和工作条件等所谓「面包与黄油」一类问题上。雇主们对劳动工会极其怨恨，并寻求立法机构的禁制令，企图达到破坏罢工、破坏工人联合抵制的目的。为了摆脱雇主们试图强加给劳工的激进形象，为了说明工人所要求的也是其他人所要求的——更好的生活、合理的工资、良好的工作条件及自我提高的时间，冈珀斯不懈地进行斗争。本文系冈珀斯于 1890 年 5 月 1 日在肯塔基州的路易斯维尔为建立八小时工作制度进行活动时发表的演讲。

……朋友们，我们今天在这里集会，为实行八小时工作日制度的要求呐喊。在国内，这一要求已促使路易斯维尔和新奥尔巴尼成千上万的工人们上街游行，激励了芝加哥的工人一批又一批地行动起来，激发了纽约工薪劳动大军的热忱，并使他们意识到这个问题的重要性。在国际上，这一要求鼓舞了英国、爱尔兰、德国、法国、义大利、西班牙和澳大利亚的劳动者，他们不顾世界上专制君主的禁令，宣布在 1890 年 5 月 1 日，全世界的工人将举行罢工，声援美国工人的斗争，要求实行八小时工作日制度，让工人有八小时睡眠、八小时自由支配的时间。[掌声]

有人一再指责说，要是我们有更多的闲暇时间，我们只会狂饮暴食，养成恶习，也就是说，我们会喝得烂醉。我想用下面的话来回敬这种指责：一般来说，社会上喝醉酒的人有两种：一种是钱太多游手好闲的人；另一种是失业无活可干的人，后一种人表面上看起来醉了。[笑声]我认为在我们的社会中，最清醒的是这一阶层的人：他们能够靠一天合理的劳动时数争取合理的工资而又不过份劳累。每天劳动了十二、十四甚至十六小时的人需要一些人为的刺激来使他们的身体从一天的疲劳中得到恢复。[掌声]……

我们应该能够在更高的水平上来讨论这个问题，我很高兴地说，我们所从事的运动将促使我们朝这一方向前进。他们对我们说无法实行八小时工作日制度，原因是这将妨碍工商业的发展。我认为我国在工商业方面的历史所表明的事实

恰恰与此相反，这个问题不是经济问题而是社会问题，我们应该把它作为社会问题来讨论。要是他们把这个问题说成是经济问题，我愿意和他们辩论，如果这运动意味着使工商业停滞不前，我愿意回顾我为推动这一运动的发展所采取的每一个步骤。可是，事情不是这样，八小时工作日运动将使工商业更加繁荣，使民族更加进步，使人民更加先进、聪明、高尚……」

他们说他们担负不了减少工作时数所造成的损失。事情真是这样吗.让我们稍稍想一想，假如减少工作时数会导致工商业的衰退，那么很自然地可以由此得出结论，增加工作时数能促进工商业的繁荣。假如事情确实如此，那么在文明的排行榜上，英国和美国应该是最后一名……

在日工作时数为八、九或十小时的英国和美国，雇主和工人们工作效率更高，更富有成果，这难道不是事实吗.难道我们没有发现他们的产品售价更低吗.我们用不着让现代的说教家来告诉我们这些事情。在所有劳动时间长的工业中，人们会发现那里工人的发明创造力发挥得最差。哪里的劳动时间长，哪里的劳动力就便宜；哪里的劳动力价廉，哪里就不存在发明创造的必要性。我们怎能期望一个人在每天劳动十、十二或十四小时之后还有精力发明机器或发现新规律或动力.他要是有幸拿起报纸阅读、也许连两三行都看不完就要睡着了。[笑声]

当劳动时数减少时，比如说每天减少一小时，想一想这意味着什么。如果让原来每天工作十小时的人把日工作时数减少到九小时，或者让原来每天工作九小时的人把日工作时数减少到八小时，这意味着什么呢.这意味着无数绝好的时刻与机会让人们思考。有的人也许会说，你们会去睡大觉。好吧，有的人也许一天能睡十六个小时，一般的人可以试试看，他会发现无法长期这样做，他总得做些事情。晚上，他也许会去看看戏，听听音乐会，但是他也无法每天晚上都这样做。他也许会对某一方面的研究产生兴趣，那里他就会把减少体力劳动的时间花在脑力劳动上，他一小时脑力劳动所创造的财富将大大超过他十二个小时体力劳动所创造的财富。[掌声]

在日工作时间较短的制度下，人们不仅有机会自我提高，而且有可能为他们的

雇主带来更大的成功，我认为这是千真万确的。朋友们，……西班牙、印度、俄国、义大利的情形又是如何呢。放眼看看世界，观察一下迫使大自然为人类生产必需品的工业，你们将会发现，哪里的工作时间最短，哪里机器发明创造就发展得最快，人民的生活就最富裕。雇用廉价劳力是发展的最大阻碍，哪里劳力便宜，哪里的发展就迟缓。正是由于我们伟大的劳工联合会的影响，我们富有理智的会员们才能够往前，往高处继续前进，我们的进步与改革运动正为世人所密切关注。

日工作时长的人，除了维持最低的生活水平以便能继续劳动外没有别的需求。他睡觉梦见干活，早上起床去上班，带着节俭的午餐去干活，回到家又躺在那勉强拼起的床上稍稍休息，以便能再去上班干活。他只不过是一台名副其实的机器，他活着是为了干活，而不是干活为了生活。[热烈的掌声]

朋友们，除了生活必需品外，劳动人民需要的唯一的東西是时间。我们的生命随着时间开始亦随之结束。我们需要用于陶冶自身情操的时间，需要用于使我们的家庭充满欢乐的时间。时间把我们最低级的原始社会带到最先进的文明社会，我们需要时间来把我们推向更高级的社会。

朋友们，你们将会发现这一事实：已查明，我们有一百多万的兄弟姐妹——身强力壮的男女——流落在街头、大路和偏僻的乡村小路旁，他们愿意工作却找不到活干。大家知道，我们政府的理论是我们随心所欲地决定要就业或要辞职，这只是理论而已，不是事实。我们确实可以辞职，如果我们要这么做，可是，只要还有一百万失业的男女流落在街头寻找工作，我就不认为我们想就业就可以找到工作。可以随意就业或辞职的说法是骗局、圈套，是个弥天大谎。我们要考虑的有：第一，使我们的职业更有保障；第二，使工资更加固定；第三，为穷人们提供就业的机会。劳动者一直被当作生产物品的机器……而在劳动这一现象后面还有人的灵魂、真正的目的和抱负。你们不能像政治经济学家和大学教授那样把劳动说成是可以买卖的商品。我们是继承了我们伟大先辈的传统美国公民，我们的先辈为了事业牺牲了除荣誉之外的一切东西。我们的敌人希望看到劳工运动夭折，到寒冷的阴间去见阎王爷，他们希望在天气稍微暖和一点时看到这。[笑声]可是，我要对大家说，劳工运动已经扎下根不走了。

[热烈的掌声]像《马克白》中班柯的鬼魂一样，劳工运动永不消逝。[掌声]劳工运动是既成的事实，它由于人们的需要而产生，虽然有些人希望它失败，可是它依然在人们心中牢牢地扎下了根。我们将继续努力直至取得胜利。我们要求完全实行八小时工作日制度。有人谴责我们自私，说我们会得寸进尺提出更多的要求，说我们去年日薪提高了十美分，现在又要求更多一些。我们确实要求更多一些。人的欲望通常是无止境的。去问问流浪汉要些什么，假如他不要饮料，他会要一顿丰盛的饭菜；问一天挣两美元的工人要什么，他会要求把日薪提高十美分；要是问一天挣五美元的人，他会要求每天增加十五美分；要是问年薪为五万美元的人，他会要求将年薪增加到六万美元；而拥有八十万或九十万美元的人会想再要十万美元凑成一百万；而百万富翁还想拥有每一样能弄到手的東西，然后提高嗓门，反对想每天多挣十美分的穷光蛋。我们生活在财富成百倍地增长的电力和蒸汽的时代，我们认为这些财富是劳动者的聪明才智和辛勤劳动的结晶，而当我们感到生产比以往更容易时，却发现生活越来越艰难。我们确实要求更多，而且当我们得到更多后，我们还要进一步要求更多。[掌声]在我们得到我们应得的劳动成果之前，我们决不会停止要求更多一些……

. . . My friends, we have met here today to celebrate the idea that has prompted thousands of working-people of Louisville and New Albany to parade the streets of [our city] that prompts the toilers of Chicago to turn out by their fifty or hundred thousand of men; that prompts the vast army of wage-workers in New York to demonstrate their enthusiasm and appreciation of the importance of this idea; that prompts the toilers of England, Ireland, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and Austria to defy the manifestos of the autocrats of the world and say that on May the first, 1890, the wage-workers of the world will lay down their tools in sympathy with the wage-workers of America, to establish a principle of

limitations of hours of labor to eight hours for sleep [applause], eight hours for work, and eight hours for what we will.

[Applause.]

It has been charged time and again that were we to have more hours of leisure we would merely devote it to debauchery, to the cultivation of vicious habits—in other words, that we would get drunk. I desire to say this in answer to that charge: As a rule, there are two classes in society who get drunk. One is the class who has no work to do in consequence of too much money; the other class, who also has no work to do, because it can't get any, and gets drunk on its face. [Laughter.] I maintain that that class in our social life that exhibits the greatest degree of sobriety is that class who are able, by a fair number of hours of day's work to earn fair wages—not overworked. The man who works twelve, fourteen, and sixteen hours a day requires some artificial stimulant to restore the life ground out of him in the drudgery of the day. [Applause.]...

We ought to be able to discuss this question on a higher ground, and I am pleased to say that the movement in which we are engaged will stimulate us to it. They tell us that the eight hour movement can not be enforced, for the reason that it must check industrial and commercial progress. I say that the history of this country, in its industrial and commercial relations, shows the reverse. I say that is the plane on which this question ought to be discussed—that is the social question. As long as they make this question an economic one, I am willing to discuss it with them. I would retrace every step I have taken to advance this movement did it mean industrial and commercial stagnation. But it does not mean that. It means greater prosperity; it means a greater degree of progress for the whole people; it means more advancement and

intelligence, and a nobler race of people. . . .

They say they can't afford it. Is that true. Let us see for one moment. If a reduction in the hours of labor causes industrial and commercial ruination, it would naturally follow increased hours of labor -would increase the prosperity, commercial and industrial. If that -were true, England and America ought to be at the tail end, and China at the head of civilization. [Applause.]

Is it not a fact that we find laborers in England and the United States, where the hours are eight, nine and ten hours a day—do we not find that the employers and laborers are more successful. Don't -we find them selling articles cheaper. We do not need to trust the modern moralist to tell us those things. In all industries where the hours of labor are long, there you will find the least development of the power of invention. Where the hours of labor are long, men are cheap, and where men are cheap there is no necessity for invention. How can you expect a man to work ten or twelve or fourteen hours at his calling and then devote any time to the invention of a machine or discovery of a new principle or force. If he be so fortunate as to be able to read a paper he will fall asleep before he has read through the second or third line. [Laughter.]

Why, when you reduce the hours of labor, say an hour a day, just think what it means. Suppose men who work ten hours a day had the time lessened to nine, or men who work nine hours a day have it reduced to eight hours; what does it mean. It means millions of golden hours and opportunities for thought. Some men might say you will go to sleep. Well, some men might sleep sixteen hours a day; the ordinary man might try that, but he would soon find he could not do it long. He would have to do something. He would probably go to the theater one night, to a concert another night, but

he could not do that every night. He would probably become interested in some study and the hours that have been taken from manual labor are devoted to mental labor, and the mental labor of one hour will produce for him more wealth than the physical labor of a dozen hours. [Applause.]

I maintain that this is a true proposition—that men under the short-hour system not only have opportunity to improve themselves, but to make a greater degree of prosperity for their employers. Why, my friends, how is it in China, how is it in Spain, how is it in India and Russia, how is it in Italy. Cast your eye throughout the universe and observe the industry that forces nature to yield up its fruits to man's necessities, and you will find that where the hours of labor are the shortest the progress of invention in machinery and the prosperity of the people are the greatest. It is the greatest impediment to progress to hire men cheaply. Wherever men are cheap, there you find the least degree of progress. It has only been under the great influence of our great republic, where our people have exhibited their great senses, that we can move forward, upward and onward, and are watched with interest in our movements of progress and reform....

The man who works the long hours has no necessities except the barest to keep body and soul together, so he can work. He goes to sleep and dreams of work; he rises in the morning to go to work; he takes his frugal lunch to work; he comes home again to throw himself down on a miserable apology for a bed so that he can get that little rest that he may be able to go to work again. He is nothing but a veritable machine. He lives to work instead of working to live. [Loud applause.]

My friends, the only thing the working people need besides the

necessities of life, is time. Time. Time with which our lives begin; time with which our lives close; time to cultivate the better nature within us; time to brighten our homes. Time, which brings us from the lowest condition up to the highest civilization; time, so that we can raise men to a higher plane.

My friends, you will find that it has been ascertained that there is more than a million of our brothers and sisters—able-bodied men and women—on the streets, and on the highways and byways of our country willing to work but who cannot find it. You know that it is the theory of our government that we can work or cease to work at will. It is only a theory. You know that it is only a theory and not a fact. It is true that we can cease to work when we want to, but I deny that we can work when we will, so long as there are a million idle men and women tramping the streets of our cities, searching for work. The theory that we can work or cease to work when we will is a delusion and a snare. It is a lie.

What we want to consider is, first, to make our employment more secure, and, secondly, to make wages more permanent, and, thirdly, to give these poor people a chance to work. The laborer has been regarded as a mere producing machine . . . but back of labor is the soul of man and honesty of purpose and aspiration. Now you can not, as the political economists and college professors, say that labor is a commodity to be bought and sold. I say we are American citizens with the heritage of all the great men who have stood before us; men who have sacrificed all in the cause except honor. Our enemies would like to see this movement thrust into hades, they would like to see it in a warmer climate [laughter], but I say to you that this labor movement has come to stay. [Loud applause.] Like Banquo's ghost, it will not down. [Applause.] I say the labor

movement is a fixed fact. It has grown out of the necessities of the people, and, although some may desire to see it fail, still the labor movement will be found to have a strong lodgment in the hearts of the people, and we will go on until success has been achieved.

We want eight hours and nothing less. We have been accused of being selfish, and it has been said that we will want more; that last year we got an advance of ten cents and now we want more. We do want more. You will find that a man generally wants more. Go and ask a tramp what he wants, and if he doesn't want a drink he will want a good, square meal. You ask a workingman, who is getting two dollars a day, and he will say that he wants ten cents more. Ask a man who gets five dollars a day and he will want fifty cents more. The man who receives five thousand dollars a year wants six thousand dollars a year, and the man who owns eight or nine hundred thousand dollars will want a hundred thousand dollars more to make it a million, while the man who has his millions will want every thing he can lay his hands on and then raise his voice against the poor devil who wants ten cents more a day. We live in the latter part of the Nineteenth century. In the age of electricity and steam that has produced wealth a hundred fold, we insist that it has been brought about by the intelligence and energy of the workingmen, and while we find that it is now easier to produce it is harder to live. We do want more, and when it becomes more, we shall still want more. [Applause.] And we shall never cease to demand more until we have received the results of our labor. ...

效忠誓词

Pledge of Allegiance

这段誓词于 1892 年 9 月 8 日首次出现在《青年之友》杂志上，作为纪念克里斯托弗·哥伦布航海到达新大陆四百周年全国性活动的一个组成部分。在学校中的爱国主义教育仪式上，该誓词被广泛采用。当时，誓词的内容是：「我宣誓为我的旗帜和它所代表的共和国效忠；国家不可分割，民众自由平等。」1924 年誓词中「我的旗帜」被「美利坚合众国的旗帜」所取代。1942 年美国政府对该誓词予以官方认可。1954 年杜威特·艾森豪威尔总统说服国会在誓词中加上「上帝庇佑下的」几个词。

多年来，对该誓词的原作者是谁有争议。当时的《青年之友》编辑詹姆斯·厄珀姆和弗朗西斯·贝拉米都声称自己是原作者。1957 年美国国会图书馆提交的一份报告提供证据认为贝拉米是原作者。根据 1954 年国会通过的法律，宣誓的人应该立正，脱帽，将右手贴在胸前。

我宣誓为美利坚合众国的旗帜和它所代表的共和国效忠。上帝庇佑下的国家不可分割，民众自由平等。

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

约翰·缪尔

(JOHN MUIR)

加利福尼亚的山

The Mountains of California

我为谢拉山脉的壮丽景色而欢欣、惊叹……在谢拉山中度过了十年之后，我依然觉得莱特岭是我所见过的大山中最美丽的山岭。

任何怀疑文章威力的人，只要想想约翰·缪尔(1838—1914)所取得的成就，就会相信了。缪尔出生在苏格兰，1849 年随家人移居威斯康辛州。他上过威斯康辛大学，早年致力于机械发明，在一次事故中，几乎失去了一只眼睛，后

来改行了。缪尔成了热情洋溢的自然主义者，对森林、山岳、冰川尤其热爱。他曾从中西部徒步旅行到墨西哥湾，边旅行边做笔记。1868年当他三十岁时，他在加利福尼亚第一次看到了内华达山脉，并为其景色所倾倒。

他走遍了西部各州，观察该地区的自然生活，并按目录分门别类，加以描述。他把许多充满感情的观察记录写成了随笔和杂志文章。他敦促联邦政府采取森林保护区政策，保护自然资源不受开发。由于他所开展的运动，1890年美国政府建立了塞阔亚国家公园和优胜美地国家公园。

1892年缪尔创建了谢拉俱乐部，该俱乐部将缪尔对大自然的热情化作全国性的运动。缪尔激发了西奥多·罗斯福总统对资源保护区的兴趣，1903年罗斯福总统和缪尔一起在优胜美地野营。1908年美国国家公园管理部门接受了旧金山北面一大片红杉原始森林的捐赠，为了表达人们对缪尔的敬意，这片原始森林被命名为缪尔国家林带。

1894年出版的《加利福尼亚的山》是缪尔的第一部书。书中没有任何倡议，而是充满了他对所深爱的景色的准确而又充满活力的描写。该书一问世就获得了成功，它使自然资源保护者的队伍速壮大，成了缪尔对他所热爱并致力拯救的山岳的永久见证。

……穿过海岸山岭弯弯曲曲的小道，来到了深山之中，站在与旧金山遥遥相望的高山之巅或狭隘的山口，明丽的春光下，展现在眼前的是一幅锦绣的加州全景画卷。脚下是沐浴着金色阳光的森特瓦尔利山谷，谷底宽阔平坦，百花盛开，像湖床般的一大片沃土向南北铺展直至天际。山谷东部边缘上耸立着数英里高的谢拉山，它气势磅礴，横卧在山谷边上，犹如停留在晴空中的一块平静的积云。它的色彩是那么壮丽辉煌，那么灿烂夺目，不由地使人感到它不是披上了一层金光，而本身就是一团光，像天国的城墙一般放射出万道光芒。山顶部覆盖着银白色的积雪，积雪地带下面是呈蓝色和暗紫色的地带，那是森林的延伸，沿着山岭基部有一条呈玫瑰紫和黄色的地带，那儿有矿工们的采金地和山脚花园。这些彩色地带和谐地交织在一起，形成了一堵美如彩虹、坚如盘石、光芒四射的城墙，其光彩之绚丽令人感到无法用言语表达。

我在春光明媚的四月，从帕切利山口的顶峰第一回欣赏这壮观的景色。几乎还

没被人们践踏或开垦过的森特瓦尔利山谷中盛开着一片毛绒绒金灿灿的野菊花，边缘上的山岳形成的彩墙光辉夺目。那时我似乎觉得谢拉山脉不应该被叫做内华达山脉或雪岭，而应叫做莱特岭*。我为谢拉山脉的壮丽景色而欢欣、惊叹。我沐浴在光华之中，观赏清晨雪峰上的日出、午时树木、岩石和积雪的辉映，黄昏斜阳的余晖，还有那飞流直下水花四溅的瀑布。在谢拉山中度过了十年之后，我依然觉得莱特岭是我所见过的大山中最美丽的山岭。

谢拉山脉绵延五百英里，宽达七十英里，山峰高度为七千至一万五千英尺。山中一般看不到人类留下的痕迹，也没有任何特征能使人们联想起其动植物资源之丰富或让人感到其地质结构之深邃绮丽。森林覆盖的山脊连绵起伏，没有一处上升到足够的高度向人们显示其财宝之丰富。在山中，人们看不到辽阔的山谷，浩渺的湖泊或奔腾的大河，也看不到任何显著的群体特征，连轮廓清晰、高耸入云的顶峰也显得相当平滑，毫无特色。可是，就在山峰附近，冰川依然在活动着。山下成千上万湖泊闪闪发光，湖边低草地上野花盛开。整个山脉沟壑纵横、深度达二千至五千英尺，壮观的冰川曾经从这些峡谷中流过，如今几条美丽的小河在峡谷中潺潺地尽情流淌。

这些著名的峡谷虽然深度惊人，却不是阴冷潮湿、昏暗无光、沟壁凹凸不平而又险峻难达的峡谷。由于峡谷中到处布满崎岖不平的小道，它们依然是登山运动员们从肥沃的低地通往结冰的源头所喜欢选择的路线。这些由古代冰川开凿铺筑的山路上充满了迷人的生机光彩。一路上映入眼帘的是各种各样奇异迷人的风光——迄今为止在全世界山脉中所见到的最迷人的风光。

在许多地方，尤其是在山脉中段的西侧，主峡谷渐渐开阔起来，形成宽阔的山谷或园林。山谷里遍布美丽的小树林、草场和鲜花盛开的灌木丛，犹如一座座人工建造的风景园林。那高高的向两侧隐退而去的峡壁形状结构各异，沟壁上无数狭窄的台阶上长满了蕨类植物、各种开花的植物、橡树和冬青。欢快的溪流使景色更加动人，充满活力。小溪从阳光照耀下的悬崖上飞流而下，溅起水花，汇入峡谷中静静地流淌着的小河。

这些优胜美地型的园林式峡谷的沟壁是由巨大如山的岩石构成的，而在一定程度上又被沟壑和小峡谷隔开。岩石的正面陡峭，一块紧挨着另一块，屹立在平地上。从整体上看起来，这些岩石围起的园地就像从顶部采光照明的的大礼堂或

寺庙。每一块岩石似乎都富有生命力，有的向后倾斜，泰然自若，有的拔地而起数千英尺，高于它们的伙伴，垂直或近乎垂直地耸立着，仿佛深陷在沈思之中，对风暴和平静一概表示欢迎。它们表面上看起来神志清醒，却又对周围的一切无动于衷，庄严中带有柔美，永恒中却又显出变幻。它们屹立在松林中或座落在草地上，崖顶耸入云端，沐浴在阳光和流水之中，崖顶四周白云飘绕，积雪闪光，山风吹拂，大自然似乎使出了最上乘的法宝，来把她的情人拉到自己的怀抱，吐露钟情。

*「莱待岭」系音译，意为「光之岭」

Making your way through the mazes of the Coast Range to the summit of any of the inner peaks or passes opposite San Francisco, in the clear springtime, the grandest and most telling of all California landscapes is outspread before you. At your feet lies the great Central Valley glowing golden in the sunshine, extending north and south farther than the eye can reach, one smooth, flowery, lake-like bed of fertile soil. Along its eastern margin rises the mighty Sierra, miles in height, reposing like a smooth, cumulous cloud in the sunny sky, and so gloriously colored, and so luminous, it seems to be not clothed with light, but wholly composed of it, like the wall of some celestial city. Along the top, and extending a good way down, you see a pale, pearl-gray belt of snow; and below it a belt of blue and dark purple, marking the extension of the forests; and along the base of the range a broad belt of rose-purple and yellow, where lie the miner's goldfields and the foot-hill gardens. All these colored belts blending smoothly make a wall of light ineffably fine, and as beautiful as a rainbow, yet firm as adamant.

When I first enjoyed this superb view, one glowing April day, from the summit of the Pacheco Pass, the Central Valley, but little trampled or plowed as yet, was one furred, rich sheet of golden compositae, and the luminous wall of the mountains shone in all its glory. Then it seemed to me the Sierra should be called not the Nevada, or Snowy Range, but the Range of Light. And after ten years spent

in the heart of it, rejoicing and wondering, bathing in its glorious floods of light, seeing the sunbursts of morning among the icy peaks, the noonday radiance on the trees and rocks and snow, the flush of the alpenglow, and a thousand dashing waterfalls with their marvelous abundance of irised spray, it still seems to me above all others the Range of Light, the most divinely beautiful of all the mountain-chains I have ever seen.

The Sierra is about 300 miles long, 70 miles wide, and from 7000 to nearly 15,000 feet high. In general view no mark of man is visible on it, nor anything to suggest the richness of the life it cherishes, or the depth and grandeur of its sculpture. None of its magnificent forest-crowned ridges rises much above the general level to publish its wealth. No great valley or lake is seen, or river, or group of well-marked features of any kind, standing out in distinct pictures. Even the summit-peaks, so clear and high in the sky, seem comparatively smooth and featureless. Nevertheless, glaciers are still at work in the shadows of the peaks, and thousands of lakes and meadows shine and bloom beneath them, and the whole range is furrowed with canons to a depth of from 2000 to 5000 feet, in which once flowed majestic glaciers, and in which now flow and sing a band of beautiful rivers.

Though of such stupendous depth, these famous canons are not raw, gloomy, jagged-walled gorges, savage and inaccessible. With rough passages here and there they still make delightful pathways for the mountaineer, conducting from the fertile lowlands to the highest icy fountains, as a kind of mountain streets full of charming life and light, graded and sculptured by the ancient glaciers, and presenting, throughout all their courses, a rich variety of novel and attractive scenery, the most attractive that has yet been discovered in the mountain-ranges of the world.

In many places, especially in the middle region of the western flank of the range, the main canons widen into spacious valleys or parks, diversified like artificial landscape-gardens, with charming groves and meadows, and thickets of blooming bushes, while the lofty, retiring walls, infinitely varied in form and

sculpture, are fringed with ferns, flowering-plants of many species, oaks, and evergreens, which find anchorage on a thousand narrow steps and benches; while the whole is enlivened and made glorious with rejoicing streams that come dancing and foaming over the sunny brows of the cliffs to join the shining river that flows in tranquil beauty down the middle of each one of them.

The walls of these park valleys of the Yosemite kind are made up of rocks mountains in size, partly separated from each other by narrow gorges and side-cansons; and they are so sheer in front, and so compactly built together on a level floor, that, comprehensively seen, the parks they inclose look like immense halls or temples lighted from above. Every rock seems to glow with life. Some lean back in majestic repose; others, absolutely sheer, or nearly so, for thousands of feet, advance their brows in thoughtful attitudes beyond their companions, giving welcome to storms and calms alike, seemingly conscious yet heedless of everything going on about them, awful in stern majesty, types of permanence, yet associated with beauty of the frailest and most fleeting forms; their feet set in pine groves and gay emerald meadows, their brows in the sky; bathed in light, bathed in floods of singing water, while snow-clouds, avalanches, and the winds shine and surge and wreath about them as the years go by, as if into these mountain mansions Nature had taken pains to gather their choicest treasures to draw her lovers into close and confiding communion with her....

凯瑟琳.李.贝茨

(KATHARINE LEE BATES)

美丽的亚美利加

America the Beautiful

凯瑟琳.李.贝茨(1850—1929)的诗歌《美丽的亚美利加》创作于 1893 年，并于 1895 年发表在《公理会教友》杂志上。1904 年贝茨对这首抒情诗进行了修改。1911 年在发表她的诗集《美丽的亚美利加及其它诗篇》时，她再次作了修改。成年后的大部分时间里，她在韦尔斯利学院任英国文学教授，她也

当过编辑，创作了一些儿童文学作品，还发表过几部诗集。可是，使她的名字流芳百世的却是她所创作的今人难以忘怀的抒情诗《美丽的亚美利加》。这是一首广为赞美的歌曲，经常有人建议用它来取代现行的美国国歌《星条旗》。

啊，美丽的亚美利加！

辽阔的天空，

金色的麦浪，

耸立在富饶平原上的

巍巍群山！

亚美利加！亚美利加！

上帝赐福与您，

为了你的善与美，

让全世界的兄弟姐妹都爱你！啊，美丽的亚美利加！

移民的脚步，

充满豪情、坚定有力，

踏平荒野

开辟出一片自由的天地！

亚美利加！亚美利加！

上帝纠正你的每一个缺点，

使你的自制坚定无比，

把你的自由载入法典！啊，美丽的亚美利加！

经历过内战考验的

英雄豪杰，

爱国家胜过爱自己，

为平等博爱洒尽一腔热血！

亚美利加！亚美利加！

O beautiful for spacious skies,

For amber waves of grain,

For purple mountain majesties

Above the fruited plain!

America! America!

God shed His grace on thee

And crown thy good with brotherhood

From sea to shining sea! O beautiful

for pilgrim feet,

Whose stern, impassioned stress

A thoroughfare for freedom beat

Across the wilderness!

America! America!

God mend thine every flaw,

Confirm thy soul in self-control,

Thy liberty in law! O beautiful for

heroes proved

In liberating strife,

Who more than self their country

loved,

And mercy more than life!

America! America!

May God thy gold refine,

Till all success be nobleness

And every gain divine! O beautiful for

愿上帝纯洁你的财富， 让所有的成就崇高伟大， 让个个收获神圣完美!啊，美丽的亚美利加！ 每一个爱国者 都憧憬着未来的梦幻， 梦见圣洁的城市光芒四射， 即使泪眼模糊依然美景在前 亚美利加!亚美利加! 上帝赐福与你， 为了你的善与美， 让全世界的兄弟姐妹都爱你！	patriot dream That sees beyond the years Thine alabaster cities gleam Undimmed by human tears! America! America! God shed His grace on thee, And crown thy good with brotherhood From sea to shining sea!
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布克.T.华盛顿 (BOOKER T. WASHINGTON)

亚特兰大博览会演讲 The Atlanta Exposition Address

在一切纯社交性的事务中，我们可以像手指那样分开；但在一切对共同进步有决定意义的事情上，我们必须团结得像一只手一样。布克.T.华盛顿(1856—1915)出生于奴隶家庭。1872 年他被汉普顿学院录取，靠在学院当看门工友勤工俭学完成了学业。毕业任教和进修之后，他被选为塔斯基吉工业师范学院的领导人。在以后的三十四年时间里，他把这所贫穷的学院发展为实力雄厚、拥有一千五百名学生的学校。

华盛顿认为对黑人进行工业教育、小规模企业管理培训和勤勉若干精神的培养是提高黑人地位的途径。他被邀请于 1895 年 9 月 18 日在亚特兰大博览会上向白人听众发表演讲，这是由于他的做法被认为值得报导。在演讲中，他劝黑人同胞要学会「一般的职业技能」，发展与白人朋友的睦邻关系，脚踏实地地从「最低点」而不是从最高点开始努力。

杜波依斯等黑人领袖反对他耐心温和的劝告，称他的演讲为「亚特兰大妥协」。他们还谴责华盛顿强调工业教育是以牺牲高等教育为代价。当时， 由于对黑

人实行种族歧视的法律得到通过，南方黑人的权利处于危急之中。黑人农民主要是佃农，受到用谷物交租制度的剥削，城市里的黑人工人被拒于工会大门之外。

然而，白人却为华盛顿的演讲喝采，南北方的白人都给了他极大的荣誉。1901年他曾被西奥多·罗斯福总统邀请到白宫。从 1895 年直至他逝世，他被公认为是当时最有影响的美国黑人。他写过十二本书，其中包括他的自传《出身奴隶》。

南方人口的三分之一是黑人。任何想在南方取得物质、文化、道德方面巨大成就的事业家都不能忽视我们人口的这一组成部分。在这盛大的博览会进展的每一个阶段，美国黑人的价值和气概都得到了博览会经理们恰当而又极其慷慨的赏识，我谨在此向会长和理事先生们转达广大黑人同胞的谢意。这种赏识将比我们获得自由以来所发生过的任何事件更能巩固加强我们两个民族之间的友谊。

除此之外，这儿还为我提供了演讲的机会，来唤醒黑人同胞去迎接工业发展的新时代。由于我们无知，又缺乏经验，所以在我们新生活的最初，几年里，我们没有从最低点而是最高点开始努力；我们奋力争取在国会和州立法机关的席位，却忽视了培养房地产经营的能力和工业技能；我们被政治会议或树墩演讲所吸引，而觉得经营牛奶场或蔬菜场乏味，这种现象并不奇怪。

一条在海上迷航了几天的船只突然看见一艘友好船只，从遇难的船只的桅杆上可以看到求救信号：「水，水，我们快渴死了。」对方立即答复：「从你们船上把水桶放下来打水。」遇难船只好再一次发出求援信号：「水，水，给我们送水！」得到的答复是：「从你们船上把水桶放下来打水。」第三、四次要求送水的信号也得到了同样的答复。遇难船只的船长终于注意到了这一答复，将桶放下去，从亚玛逊河口打上来满满的一桶清澈的淡水。

对依靠在异国改善生活状况的黑人同胞和低估了发展与南方白人睦邻友好关系的重要性的黑人同胞，我要疾呼：从你们那儿把水桶放下来打水，果断地放下来，与我们周围的各族人民交朋友。在农业、机械业、商业、家庭服务业及其它行业，黑人同胞都应该这样做。关于这一点应该记住，不管可能要南方忍

受其他什么罪恶，在纯商业事务方面，南方为黑人在商界提供了象样的机会，本届博览会就是胜于雄辩的审实证明。我们面临的~~最大危险~~是，从奴隶制到自由这一飞跃过程中，我们可能会忽视这一点：我们大部份人靠手工生产谋生。而忘记了当我们学会赞美歌颂平凡的劳动，在各行各业中发挥我们的智慧和技能时，当我们学会区分生活中表面与实质，华而不实与真正有用的东西之间的差别时，我们将会兴旺发达，获得成功。只有当一个民族认识到种田与写诗是一样高贵时，这个民族才有可能繁荣昌盛。我们应该从生活的最低点而不是最高点开始努力，我们也不应该让我们所受的委屈给我们的机遇投下阴影。

不少白人希望讲不同语言，保持不同风俗习惯的异族人的到来能促进南方的繁荣，如果允许的话，我想对他们重复一下我对黑人同胞讲过的话：「从你们那儿把水桶放下来！」放到八百万黑人中来。你们了解他们的脾性，在他们的反叛意味着你们家园的毁灭那种日子里，你们也曾经考验过他们的忠诚与爱。把你们的水桶放到这些黑人中来，他们过去既不举行罢工也不争议报酬，为你们种田、开垦荒地、修建铁路、建设城市，开采宝藏，使南方的巨大发展成为现实。把你们的水桶放到我们黑人同胞中来，就像你们现在正在做的那样，帮助和鼓励他们，在才智、技能和精神这些方面培训他们。你们将看到，他们将购买你们多余的田地，使荒芜的土地结出硕果，他们也将经营你们的工厂。

这样做的时候，你们可以相信，像过去那样，将来围绕在你们及你们家人周围的也将是世界上至今所见到的最耐心、最忠诚、最守法、最不易抱怨的人们。过去我们替你们照看小孩，在病榻前伺候你们的父母，还经常流着眼泪为他们送葬。我们过去已经证明了对你们的忠诚，所以将来，我们也将忠心耿耿地站在你们一边，这种忠诚是任何异族人所不能比的。假如情况需要的话，我们还随时准备牺牲生命保卫你们。我们将在工业、商业、文化和宗教生活各方面与你们交融在一起，使我们两个民族的利益相一致。在一切纯社交性的事务中，我们可以像手指那样分开；但在一切对共同进步有决定意义的事情上，我们必须团结得像一只手一样。

要是没有全体民众的高度文化水平和兴旺发达，我们都得不到保护，都不会感到安全。假如存在着不让黑人充份发展的阻力，那么应该把这种阻力转化为动力，刺激鼓励黑人，使他们成为最聪明有用的公民。这种投资得到的将是十倍

的收益。这种努力将为双方造福，既有利于提供帮助的一方，也有利于被帮助的一方。在人类或上帝的法律面前，没有任何人能逃脱不可避免的命运：

公正平等的法则永恒不变，把压迫者和被压迫者拴在一起，就像罪恶永远伴着苦难，朝着命运我们肩并肩一起迈进。

将近八百万双的手可能帮你们挑起重担，也可能拉后腿；我们可能构成南方愚昧与罪恶的三分之一甚至更多，也可能构成文明与进步的三分之一；我们可能为南方的工商业繁荣作出三分之一的贡献，也可能成为一具僵尸，延缓、削弱、阻碍国家进步的各种努力。

光临博览会的先生们，当我们在博览会上向你们展出我们的努力所取得的一些小成果时，希望你们对我们不要太苛求。三十年前，我们在各地开始拥有一些被子、南瓜和鸡(从各方收集来的)。请记住：我们是在一无所有的情况下开始发展的。我们搞发明创造，生产农具、轻便马车、蒸汽机、报纸、书本、雕塑，经营药店、银行，我们走过的路是不平坦的，我们是披荆斩棘走过来的。当我们为我们所展出的独自努力的成果而感到自豪时，我们一刻也不曾忘记你们对我们教育事业的帮助。不仅南方帮助了我们，北方也帮助了我们，尤其是北方的慈善家们源源不断的捐赠给了我们极大的支援与鼓励。要是没有你们的帮助，我们的展品会使你们大失所望。

黑人中的有识之士明白挑起社会平等方面的争端是极其愚蠢的。要实现我们能够充分享受一切权利这一理想需要一个过程，必须靠我们艰苦不懈的努力，而不是靠人为的推行推进。能为世界市场提供必需商品的民族是不可能被长期排斥在外的。不错，我们应该享受法律所保障的一切权利，这一点很重要；然而，更重要的是，我们应该为行使这些权利做准备。现在，在工厂里挣一美元钱的机会比起在歌剧院里消费一美元钱的机会更有价值。

最后，请允许我再说一遍，与以往三十年里的各种机会相比，这次博览会所提供的机会给了我们更大的希望和鼓舞，使我们与白人的关系更密切了。这神圣的讲坛可以说是代表了我们两个民族共同奋斗的成果，因为三十年前我们几乎都是从零开始。在这圣坛上，我向你们保证，在你们努力解决上帝为南方所设置的这一重大而又复杂的问题时，你们将随时得到黑人的同情和耐心的帮助。这些展厅里所陈列的来自农田、森林、矿山、工厂和文艺界的成果将推动各行

各业的发展，带来更大的成果。可是，我们还应该记住这一点：比物质利益更为重要的是精神方面的更高的追求。让我们祈祷主将降临，消灭区域差别，消除种族仇恨和怀疑，施行法律，让各阶层的人都服从法律的意志。这一点再加上物质上的繁荣，将为我们亲爱的南方开创一个新天地。

One-third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the State Legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal: "Water, water, we die of thirst." The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water, send us water," ran up from the distressed vessel and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River.

To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land,

or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: Cast down your bucket where you are; cast it down in making friends, in every manly way, of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded. Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called upon to bear, when it comes to business pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that, in the great leap from slavery to freedom, we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the 8,000,000 Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and, with education of head, hand and heart, you will find

that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories.

While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours; interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed—"blessing him that gives and him that takes."

There is no escape, through law of man or God, from the inevitable:

The laws of changeless justice bind
Oppressor with oppressed,
And close as sin and suffering joined
We march to fate abreast.

Nearly sixteen million hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every

effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition: As we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect over much. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember: the path that has led us from these to the invention and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drugstores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the Southern states, but especially from Northern philanthropists who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of those privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement and drawn us so near to you of the white race as this opportunity offered by the Exposition; and here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that, in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race. Only let this be

constantly in mind that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters and art, much good will come—yet far above and beyond material benefits, will be that higher good, that let us pray God will come, in a blot-ting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, coupled with material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

约翰·霍普 (JOHN HOPE)

驳布克·T.华盛顿的演讲 Reply to Booker T. Washington

如果我们不在为平等而奋斗，我们活着究竟为了什么？

约翰·霍普(1868—1936)出生在乔治亚州的奥古斯塔，从麻省的伍斯特学院毕业后进入布朗大学深造，并于 1894 年毕业于该校。写这篇文章时，他是田纳西州罗杰·威廉斯大学的古典文学和科学教授。霍普是尼亚加拉运动的创始人之一，该运动是美国全国有色人种协进会的前身。1906 年他成了亚特兰大浸礼会学院(即莫尔豪斯学院)的第一位黑人校长，后来又于 1929 年出任亚特兰大大学校长。

霍普大力提倡对黑人进行文科教育，反对布克·T.华盛顿所提倡的技术训练。他听了华盛顿在亚特兰大博览会上的著名演讲后，表示强烈反对。1896 年 2 月 22 日，他向处于激烈争论中的黑人社会发表了以下反驳华盛顿观点的演讲。

如果我们不在为平等而奋斗，我们活着究竟为了什么。如果我们黑人中有人对白人或黑人说我们不在为平等而斗争，我认为这是怯弱、虚伪的表现。如果金钱、教育和诚实不能为我们带来与其他美国公民一样的权利和平等，那么，对我来说，金钱、教育和诚实都成了有害而无益的东西。获得了创造自由的工具却不敢或懒得去创造自由，这是上帝所不允许的。我们不要自己骗自己，也不要上别人的当。如果我们不能做其他自由人所能做的事，我们就没有真正获得自由。是的，朋友们，我们要求平等，完完全全的平等，我们要求得到上帝赋

予我们的权力所能得到的一切，那么，为何不要平等呢.请注意，我要用上一个形容词，我要说我们要求社会平等，在这个共和国里，要是节俭、教育和荣誉为我们提供的权利比它们为其他自由人所提供的少了丝毫，我们就谈不上是自由人。在我们伟大的国度里，如果政治、经济、社会平等是其他人的福利，那么政治、经济、社会平等就是我们所要求得到的东西。为什么要筑起一道城墙，把我们拒于墙外呢.我们既不是野兽也不是什么不干不净的东西。

起来，弟兄们！让我们拥有这片土地。千万别说「知足常乐」，不要用这种使是非感麻木不仁的格言来安慰自己，要感到不满足，要感到不满意，要对现状感到烦恼不安，要像无边无际的大海中汹涌澎湃的波涛那样动荡不安。让不满的情绪像火山一样喷发出来，冲击偏见的城墙，摇撼其根基。到那时，我们就用不着去乞求平等，也用不着屈膝哀求怜悯，因为我们是顶天立地的男子汉。那时，也只有到那时，我们的共和国才能真正地夸耀它的平等。

If we are not striving for equality, in heaven's name for what are we living. I regard it as cowardly and dishonest for any of our colored men to tell white people or colored people that we are not struggling for equality. If money, education, and honesty will not bring to me as much privilege, as much equality as they bring to any American citizen, then they are to me a curse, and not a blessing. God forbid that we should get the implements with which to fashion our freedom, and then be too lazy or pusillanimous to fashion it. Let us not fool ourselves nor be fooled by others. If we cannot do what other freemen do, then we are not free. Yes, my friends, I want equality. Nothing less. I want all that my God-given powers will enable me to get, then why not equality. Now, catch your breath, for I am going to use an adjective: I am going to say we demand social equality. In this Republic we shall be less than freemen, if we have a whit less than that which thrift, education, and honor afford other freemen. If equality, political, economic, and social, is the boon of other men in this great country of ours, then equality, political, economic, and social, is what we demand. Why build a wall to keep me out. I am no wild beast, nor am I an unclean thing.

Rise, Brothers! Come let us possess this land. Never say: "Let well enough alone." Cease to console yourselves with adages that numb the moral sense. Be discontented. Be dissatisfied. "Sweat and grunt" under present conditions. Be as restless as the tempestuous billows on the boundless sea. Let your discontent break mountain-high against the wall of prejudice, and swamp it to the very foundation. Then we shall not have to plead for justice nor on bended knee crave mercy; for -we shall be men. Then and not until then will liberty in its highest sense be the boast of our Republic.

约翰·马歇尔·哈伦 (JOHN MARSHALL HARLAN)

对普莱西诉弗格森一案裁决的异议 **Dissent From Plessy V. Ferguson**

根据宪法，从法律上来看，我们国家里不存在什么上等、优越、占统治地位的公民阶层。我们国家里没有种族等级制度。我国的宪法规定，人不分肤色一律平等，既没有也不允许在我们的公民中划分等级。

美国南北战争后，原退出联邦的南方各州政府改组后再次加入联邦，白人重新控制了南方的立法机构，并通过了歧视黑人的法律，实行种族隔离和种族歧视。1896 年普莱西诉弗格森一案是对该法律的一次重大考验。在审理案件过程中，联邦最高法院作出裁决，维护路易斯安那州关于在铁路上对旅客实行种族隔离的法律。九名大法官中有八人认为，只要火车上为白人和黑人提供的设备是平等的，种族隔离就没什么不对。多数人认为，「如果黑人要认为强制性的种族隔离给黑人打上了『下等人』的烙印，这仅仅是黑人自己要这么认为，而不是由于法律中的任何条款造成的。」最高法院的裁决使火车上「隔离但是平等」的做法合法化。由于大部分黑人被剥夺了选举权，在政治上毫无权力，分隔后的设备不平等，也不可能平等。

约翰·马歇尔·哈伦(1833—1911)是唯一的对该案裁决持不同看法的大法官。他因持强有力的不同政见，尤其在有关黑人权利方面的不同政见而享有名望。他对普莱西诉弗格森一案裁决的不同看法曾在二十世纪五十年代初期被美国全国有色人种协进会的律师们引用，成功地在法律上抨击了美国的种族隔离政

策。

……关于所有公民都享有的公民权，我认为美国宪法不允许任何一级政府了解受法律保护享有这些权利的公民的种族背景。每一个真正的人都有民族自豪感，而且在适当的场合，在不侵害同样受法律保护的其他公民权利的情况下，他有权表露这种自豪感，采取他以此为准则认为是适当的行动。但是，当涉及到公民的权利时，我认为任何立法机构或法庭都不应该考虑公民的种族背景。事实上，我们在此所涉及到的路易斯安那州的立法机构的做法不仅违背了联邦与州法律有关公民平等权利的规定，而且还侵犯了美国境内每一个人都可以享有的个人自由……

白种人认为自己是美国占优势的种族，而实际上白种人也确实在声誉、成就、教育、财富、权势各方面都占了优势。如果白人能够保持其伟大的传统，坚持宪法所制定的自由平等的原则，我并不怀疑白人将会一直保持优势。但是，根据宪法，从法律上来看，我们国家里不存在什么上等、优越、占统治地位的公民阶层。我们国家里没有种族等级制度，我国的宪法规定：人不分肤色一律平等，既没有也不允许在我们的公民中划分等级。就公民权而言，所有的公民在法律面前一律平等，最卑贱的与最有权势的是同等的公民。当涉及到受本国最高法律保障的公民权时，不论人们的社会背景或肤色如何，我们的法律都把他们作为公民看待。因此，我感到十分遗憾。我们的最高法庭——具有最高权威宪法解释权的机构——作出了这种裁决，认为一个州可以以种族为唯一的依据，限制公民享受公民权。

专横地以种族为依据，在交通干线上将公民隔离开来，这种做法是对公民的强迫，完全违背了宪法所规定的在法律面前公民自由平等的原则，这是法律所不允许的。假如白人和黑人在为大家共同利益而兴建的铁路干线上混在一起会导致某些弊端的话，这种弊端也比州立法机构以种族为依据，限制公民行使公民权所造成的弊端要少得多。我们自映我国人民比其他各国人民享有更充分的自由，可是，我们的自吹很难与我们目前的法律状况相吻合，尤其是当法律给公民中的一大阶层人——在法律面前与我们平等的公民——打上奴隶、下等的印记时，更显得自相矛盾。火车厢里设备「平等」这一层薄薄的伪装不可能给人

们造成平等的印象，也不能弥补今天错误的裁决。

. . . In respect of civil rights, common to all citizens, the Constitution of the United States does not, I think, permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of such rights. Every true man has pride of race, and under appropriate circumstances when the rights of others, his equals before the law, are not to be affected, it is his privilege to express such pride and to take such action based upon it as to him seems proper. But I deny that any legislative body or judicial tribunal may have regard to the race of citizens when the civil rights of those citizens are involved. Indeed, such legislation, as that here in question, is inconsistent not only with that equality of rights which pertains to citizenship, National and State, but with the personal liberty enjoyed by every one within the United States....

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race. . . .

The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be

justified upon any legal grounds.

If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race. We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow-citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of "equal" accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done. . . .

西奥多·罗斯福 (THEODORE ROOSEVELT)

赞奋斗不息 **In Praise of the Strenuous Life**

向强有力的事物挑战，去夺取辉煌的胜利，即使遭受挫折也比苟且偷安强得多，因为得过且过的人生活在暗淡的暮光之中，既体验不到胜利的欢乐，也尝受不到失败的痛苦。

西奥多·罗斯福(1858—1919)出生于纽约一富豪的家庭，小时候身体虚弱，可是他以钢铁般的意志锻炼身体，成了十分活跃的野外体育活动爱好者。他从哈佛学院毕业后，曾在哥伦比亚法律学院学习过一小段时间，而后选择了政治及历史写作的生涯。23岁时，他被选入州立法机构，在政治上遭受几次失败后，他有两年在达科他领地经营农牧场。接着他在纽约当了一段警察局总长，随后在麦金莱政府时期出任海军部长助理。

1898年美国——西班牙战争爆发，他辞去海军内的职务，率领美国第一义勇骑兵团作战。他在古巴的英勇行为使他当上了纽约州长。在纽约，他开始疏远共和党核心人物，因为1900年他们提名让罗斯福为威廉·麦金莱竞选总统时的副总统候选人，想以此摆脱罗斯福的影响。他们原想让人们渐渐忘却不断取得卓越政绩的罗斯福，可是麦金莱在1901年遭暗杀后，罗斯福接任了总统职务。

罗斯福宣誓就任纽约州长几个月后，于 1899 年 4 月 10 日在芝加哥发表了演讲，这是他最受人们欢迎的演讲之一。就在六周前，威廉·詹宁斯·布赖恩也曾在芝加哥发表演讲，谴责美国的帝国主义行为。罗斯福在这篇于内战结束三十四周年纪念日发表的演讲中反驳了布赖恩。结合人生是外界对人们的挑战这一个人看法，他在演讲中谈了美国在国际事务中应起的作用。

今天的听众来自美国西部最伟大的城市，这里出过林肯总统、格兰特将军这样的伟人，这里的人民最突出最明显地体现了美国人的特点，面对这样伟大的人民，我想宣扬的不是可鄙的贪图安逸享乐的人生哲学，而是生命不止奋斗不息的人生哲学。我认为人生应该为最出色的成就奋斗，这种成就决不是那些想安闲地过日子的人们所能得到的，只有那些不畏艰险，不怕劳累的人们才有可能取得最后的辉煌胜利对一个人来说应该奋斗不息，对一个民族来说也应该如此。说没有历史的民族是幸福的民族，这是卑劣的谎言。具有光荣历史的民族是十分幸运的。向强有力的事物挑战，去夺取辉煌的胜利，即使遭受挫折也比苟且偷安强得多，因为得过且过的人生活在暗淡的暮光之中，既体验不到胜利的欢乐，也尝受不到失败痛苦。在 1861 年，要是那些热爱联邦的人们认为和平是最终的目的，认为战争与冲突是最不幸的事情，并且按这种想法去做了，那么我们可以避免千百万人头颅落地，可以节省大量的财力，而且除了可以省去我们所付出的生命和金钱方面的代价外，还可以使我们的妇女同胞免受心碎之苦，使我们的人民免遭家破人亡之罪。当联邦军队似乎只是在走向失败时，我们的国家也可以免得陷入长达几个月之久的忧愁与耻辱之中。要是我们在冲突面前畏缩不前，我们可以避免这些痛苦；要是我们回避了这些痛苦，我们就成了不配屹立于世界伟大民族之林的懦夫。感谢主给了我们先辈钢铁般的意志，他们支援了林肯总统的英明抉择，拿起了刀枪加入了格兰特将军的队伍。我们是不愧于伟大时代的英雄们的儿女，是把伟大内战进行到底直至取得最后胜利的英雄们的后代，让我们赞美主让我们的先辈拒绝了可耻的主和意见，让我们的先辈毫不畏缩地去面对痛苦、失败、悲伤、失望的磨炼，去经历几年的内战，因为最后奴隶们获得了解放，联邦得到了保存，强大的美利坚合众国再一次像巨人般地屹立于世界民族之林。

我们这一代人用不着面临我们先辈所面临的那种任务，但是，我们也有自己的任务，要是我们没能完成我们的任务，我们就要遭到不幸。我们决不能扮演中国的角色，要是我们重蹈中国的覆辙，自满自足，贪图自己疆域内的安宁享乐，渐渐地腐败堕落，对国外的事情毫无兴趣，沈溺于纸醉金迷之中，忘掉了奋发向上、苦干冒险的高尚生活，整天忙于满足我们肉体暂时的欲望，那么，毫无疑问，总有一天我们会突然发现中国今天已经发生的这一事实：畏惧战争、闭关锁国、贪图安宁享乐的民族在其他好战，爱冒险的民族的进攻面前是肯定要衰败的。如果我们要成为真正伟大的民族，我们必须竭尽全力在国际事务中起巨大的作用。我们无法回避大问题，我们能决定的仅是该如何处理这些问题。去年我们被卷入了与西班牙的战争，那也是不可避免的。我们所能考虑的仅是我们该像懦夫那样退缩呢？还是该勇敢、斗志昂扬地开赴战场，以及一旦进入了战场，我们是否能打胜。现在的情况也是如此，我们无法回避在夏威夷、古巴、波多黎各和菲律宾所面临的责任。我们所能考虑的仅是，我们能否妥善处理这些问题，增强我国的威望，以及我们对这些新问题的处理不当，会不会成为我们历史上黑暗耻辱的一页。拒绝处理这些问题与处理得一败涂地没什么两样。我们面临着要我们处理的问题，要是我们着手去解决，必然存在着处理不当的危险，但是拒不处理就等于承认我们根本无法处理。

懦夫，懒汉，对政府持怀疑态度的人，丧失了斗争精神和支配能力的文质彬彬的人，愚昧无知的人，还有那些无法感受到坚定不移的人们所受到的巨大鼓舞的麻木不仁的人——所有这些人当然害怕看到他们的国家承担了新的职责，害怕看到我们建立能满足我国需要的海军和陆军，害怕看到我们承担国际义务，害怕看到我们勇敢的士兵和水手们把西班牙的军队赶出去，让伟大美丽的热带岛屿从大乱中达到大治。这些人害怕过艰苦的生活，害怕过这种唯一值得过的民族生活。

同胞们，我们国家要求大家过的不是安逸的生活而是艰苦奋斗的生活。二十世纪许多国家的命运将处于危难之中，这种危险也威胁着我们。如果我们袖手旁观，如果我们仅仅追求昏庸懒散的悠闲生活和安逸，如果我们不参与这种必须以生命和珍爱的一切去获取胜利的激烈竞争，那么比我们野蛮强大的民族

将甩开我们，控制整个世界。因此，让我们勇敢地面临生活的挑战，决心以男子汉大丈夫的气概去完成我们的职责，用我们的誓言和行动来维护正义，既要真诚大胆又要采取切实可行的方法来实现我们的理想。最重要的是，只要我们认为我们是站在正义一边，我们都不要在国内外物质或精神上的冲突面前退缩，因为只有通过斗争，通过艰苦危险的斗争，我们才能取得我们民族进步的目的。

In speaking to you, men of the greatest city of the West, men of the state which gave to the country Lincoln and Grant, men who preeminently and distinctly embody all that is most American in the American character, I wish to preach not the doctrine of ignoble ease but the doctrine of the strenuous life; the life of toil and effort; of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes not to the man who desires mere easy peace but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph. . . .

As it is with the individual so it is with the nation. It is a base untruth to say that happy is the nation that has no history. Thrice happy is the nation that has a glorious history. Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much because they live in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat. If in 1861 the men who loved the Union had believed that peace was the end of all things and war and strife a worst of all things, and had acted up to their belief, we would have saved hundreds of thousands of lives, we would have saved hundreds of millions of dollars. Moreover, besides saving all the blood and treasure we then lavished, we would have prevented the heartbreak of many women, the dissolution of many homes; and we would have spared the country those months of gloom and shame when it seemed as if our armies marched only to defeat. We would have avoided all this suffering simply by shrinking from strife. And if we had thus avoided it we would have shown that we

were -weaklings and that we were unfit to stand among the great nations of the earth. Thank God for the iron in the blood of our fathers, the men who upheld the wisdom of Lincoln and bore sword or rifle in the armies of Grant! Let us, the children of the men who proved themselves equal to the mighty days— let us, the children of the men who carried the great Civil War to a triumphant conclusion, praise the God of our fathers that the ignoble counsels of peace were rejected, that the suffering and loss, the blackness of sorrow and despair, were unflinchingly faced and the years of strife endured; for in the end the slave was freed, the Union restored, and the mighty American Republic placed once more as a helmeted queen among nations.

We of this generation do not have to face a task such as that our fathers faced, but we have our tasks, and -woe to us if we fail to perform them! We cannot, if we would, play the part of China, and be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes on beyond them; sunk in a scrambling commercialism; heedless of the higher life, the life of aspiration, of toil and risk; busying ourselves only with the wants of our bodies for the day; until suddenly we should find, beyond a shadow of question, what China has already found, that in this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease is bound in the end to go down before other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities. If we are to be a really great people, we must strive in good faith to play a great part in the world. We cannot avoid meeting great issues. All that we can determine for ourselves is whether we shall meet them well or ill. Last year we could not help being brought face to face with the problem of war with Spain. All we could decide was whether we should shrink like cowards from the contest or enter into it as beseemed a brave and high-spirited people; and, once in, whether failure or success should crown our banners. So it is now. We cannot avoid the responsibilities that confront us in Hawaii, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. All we can decide is whether we shall meet them in a way that will redound to the national credit, or whether we shall make of our dealings with these

new problems a dark and shameful page in our history. To refuse to deal with them at all merely amounts to dealing with them badly. We have a given problem to solve. If we undertake the solution there is, of course, always danger that we may not solve it aright, but to refuse to undertake the solution simply renders it certain that we cannot possibly solve it aright.

The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country, the overcivilized man, who has lost the great fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty lift that thrills "stern men with empires in their brains"—all these, of course, shrink from seeing the nation undertake its new duties; shrink from seeing us build a navy and army adequate to our needs; shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors has driven the Spanish flag. These are the men who fear the strenuous life, who fear the only national life which is really worth leading. . . .

I preach to you, then, my countrymen, that our country calls not for the life of ease, but for the life of strenuous endeavor. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease, and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by and will win for themselves the domination of the world. Let us therefore boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully; resolute to uphold righteousness by deed and by word; resolute to be both honest and brave, to serve high ideals, yet to use practical methods. Above all, let us shrink from no strife, moral or physical, within or without the nation, provided we are certain that the strife is justified; for it is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness.

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乔治·弗里斯比·霍尔 (GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR)

反对帝国主义 Against Imperialism



1898 Rocky Mountain News 上的卡通： 一个自满的山姆大叔从事帝国主义的
事业并在远方插着旗子

让我们至少有这些话可说：".....我们从先辈手中接过的旗帜完美如初。"

1895 年，古巴的民族主义者发动了反对西班牙的独立战争，美国公众舆论支援古巴的造反者。1898 年 2 月美国船只"缅因"号在哈瓦那港被击沉，加上"黄色报刊"对该事件的夸张和渲染，在美国引起了公愤。4 月底美国与西班牙交战，美国海军击溃了在加勒比海和菲律宾的西班牙舰队。1898 年底，西班牙放弃了对古巴的主权，把关岛、波多黎各和菲律宾移交给美国管辖。

美国与西班牙的战争在国内引起了关于美国帝国主义野心的激烈争论；战争给美国增加了海外领土，这种争论更激烈了。最强烈地反对帝国主义的要算是麻省的共和党议员乔治·弗里斯比·霍尔(1826—1904)。在反对兼并菲律宾的辩论中，霍尔与共和党决裂。反对帝国主义的一派失败了。共和党总统麦金莱认为“拯救”菲律宾人民是美国义不容辞的责任。美国吞并了菲律宾后，派遣了七万军队去镇压当地人民的反抗。菲律宾终于在 1946 年取得独立。

霍尔于 1902 年 5 月在参议院发表以下演讲。

议员们发表各种政见，谈论理想，但他们更注重讲求实际效果的政治主张。

总统先生，过去 4 年里的辩论一直是两种政见之间的争论，双方都提出了许多切实可行的主张，您那一方已经把你们的主张付诸行动，而另一方还在苦苦恳求也让他们的主张得到采纳实行。我们这一方一直坚持一些原则，这些原则是我们革命先辈的理想，从那时一直传到阿布拉罕·林肯和查尔斯·萨姆纳时代。

这些原则是：人类生而平等；政府的正当权力是经被统治者同意而产生的，正是为了保障这种权力，人们才建立政府；每个民族——这里指的不是无组织分散的街坊或村落，也不指人民中一部分暂时感到不满的人，而是指作为一个政治实体的民族——都有权利建立自己的政府，而政府所依据的原则和用以组织其权力的方式，必须使人民认为这样才最可能保障他们的安全和幸福。遵循这些原则和主张，许多实际上采用的治国方法已经收到了满意的效果。我们先辈在这些原则的基础上建立了 45 个州，使南美洲许多国家也建立了共和制，在西半球消灭了专制君主制度，美国建成了世界上最自由、最强大、最繁荣昌盛的国家。他们使共和制成了世界上最有影响的制度。由于这些原则，美国的星条旗——对热爱它的人来说美如花朵，对恨它的人来说如流星般恐怖——飘扬在世界各地，维护着和平，并在世界贸易中作为爱好和平的至高无上的权力和主权国的象征，在世界各友好口岸受到欢迎。

赞成帝国主义的朋友们，你们也有你们的理想与原则，其一是，一旦星条旗在某个地方升起就永远不应该降下来；其二是，你们不愿意与手中拿着武器的民族对话或谈判；其三是，可以用金钱购买某国的主权，而该国人民却不愿出售

这种主权；其四是，可以用武力夺取某一国家的主权，作为赃物或战利品。

你们的理想和原则所导致的后果如何呢。你们浪费了六亿美元的财力；断送了将近一万美国人的生命——我们最优秀的年轻人的生命；践踏了外国人民的家园；为了从他们身上得到好处，杀害了无数无辜的人们；你们建立了集中营；你们的将军满载着战利品凯旋而归，却留下无数伤病残废的人们在痛苦中呻吟挣扎终其余生。在许多人的眼中，星条旗成了基督教教堂里亵渎的象征，烧杀抢的标志。

3年前，当美国士兵在这些岛屿上登陆时，那里的人民成群结队地尾随着他们，把他们看作是救世主，对他们感激涕零。而你们所采取的政纲却激怒了那里的人民，把他们变成了与我们不共戴天的敌人，与我们结下了世代冤仇……

有时我想，我们可以在首都竖起一座美国自由纪念碑，在高度上它可以是首都唯一的可与我们所建造的美丽而又朴素的华盛顿纪念碑相似的建筑物。我想象我们每一代人带着献词来到这唯一的象征自由的纪念碑前，列举他们对自由民主的贡献。

移民到美洲的英国清教徒和胡格诺派教徒那一代人在纪念碑座前，自豪地说道："我们跨过大海，把自由的火炬带到了这片土地上，我们开垦荒野，征服土人和野兽，我们以基督教的自由和法律为帝国奠定了基础。"

下一代人来到纪念碑前说："父辈奠基，我们建造。我们离开了海滩，向荒野进军，我们盖起了学校、法院和教堂。"

接着，殖民地时期的一代人走上前说："我们在许多艰苦的战役中站在英国一边，帮助压下法国的气焰，看到在路易斯堡和魁北克法国败给了英国。我们在马提尼克和哈瓦那，佩带着圣乔治十字勋章欢庆胜利。大海上风暴时起，我们却熟知它的航线。我们顶酷暑冒严寒，劈波斩浪，走南闯北，追捕鲸鱼，正如伟大的英国演说家所描述的"我的渔船经受了大海大洋的考验，狂风暴雨是我辛劳的见证"。

接着美国革命时期的一代人走上前，说道："我们与英国发生了冲突，我们宣

布独立而且赢得了独立。我们的独立宣言以永存的平等正义为基础，向全世界宣告了这些原则，总有一天全人类都将遵循这些准则。我们使人类的尊严得到了保障，为人民赢得了管理自己的权利。我们制定了防范草率欺骗行为的措施来保障人民的权利，我们创建了最高法院和参议院，开天劈地第一回让人民自治的权利有了保障，我们还建立了各种制度以保障人民永远享有这种权利。

下一代人说："我们又与英国发生冲突。我们捍卫美国船只在公海上不受骚扰的权利，就像当年我们的父老创造条件让美国农民安居乐业那样，我们让美国水手走遍天涯海角安全有保障。面对俄、普、奥三国的神圣同盟，我们宣布了门罗主义的原则。在门罗主义的旗帜下，十六个共和国组成了联盟，在西半球从五大湖到合恩角，到处都建立了共和国，各国都牢牢地掌握了自己的命运，维护了国家的主权。"

接着下一代人走过来说："我们留下了惊天动地的业绩，你们小时候曾见过，你们的父辈曾给你们讲过，我们挽救了联邦，平息了叛乱，解放了奴隶。我们让所有的奴隶都成了自由人，让所有的自由人都成了公民，又让所有的公民都有了选举权。"

接着走过来的是内战后在和平建设时期立下丰功伟绩的一代人，这伟绩中也包含了我们当中不少人的贡献。他们说："我们守信用，偿还了债务。我们带来了和解安定而不是战争。我们促进各国赞成并实践有关移居国外的规定，我们制定了分给定居移民耕地的制度，让千百万移民在北美大草原和平原上安家落户，建立起强大的州。我们修通了横贯北美大陆连接东西海岸的铁路干线。像当年我们的先辈宣告美国在政治上独立那样，我们宣告美国在制造业方面可以不依赖外国。我们建立起庞大的商业体系，使美国成了地球上最富有、最自由、最强大、最幸福的国家。"

现在轮到这一代人了，我们该说些什么呢。我们是否能跻身于这光荣的行列呢。我们是否要在碑上刻下"我们废除了独立宣言，改变了门罗主义，将被统治者同意的永存的平等和正义的原则改为残忍的自私自利的原则。我们摧毁了亚洲唯一的共和国，对亚洲唯一信奉基督教的民族发动了战争，把原先正

义的战争转化成了可耻的非正义的战争。我们玷污了星条旗，在战争中背信弃义，逼迫手无寸铁的人们招供，残杀儿童，设立集中营，践踏外国领土，破坏了一个民族对自由的向往。"

不，总统先生，我们决不能这样说。更好的政纲应被采纳，一个伟大民族的历史发展是缓慢的，事情还没有发展到不可挽救的地步。

让我们至少有这些话可说："我们也坚持了先辈们的原则，我们解放了古巴，使古巴挣脱了西班牙的长期统治，我们欢迎古巴加入到世界民族大家庭中来，我们在胜利面前保持谦虚谨慎，为人类树立了从未有过的榜样。……我们行军经过残酷野蛮怀有敌意的国家，既没有被激怒也不图报复，我们以善报恶，以德报怨，我们使美国在东方得到像在西方一样的爱戴。我们忠于菲律宾人民，忠于我们自己的历史，我们没有玷污国家的名誉，我们从先辈手中接过的旗帜完美如初。"[全场热烈的掌声]

Gentlemen talk about sentimentalities, about idealism. They like practical statesmanship better. But, Mr. President, this whole debate for the last four years has been a debate between two kinds of sentimentality. There has been practical statesmanship in plenty on both sides. Your side have carried their sentimentalities and ideals out in your practical statesmanship. The other side have tried and begged to be allowed to carry theirs out in practical statesmanship also. On one side have been sentimentalities. They were the ideals of the fathers of the revolutionary time, and from their day down till the day of Abraham Lincoln and Charles Sumner was over. The sentimentalities were that all men in political right were created equal; that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted to secure that equality; that every people—not every scattering neighborhood or settlement without organic life, not every portion

of a people who may be temporarily discontented, but the political being that we call a people—has the right to institute a government for itself and to lay its foundation on such principles and organize its powers in such form as to it and not to any other people shall seem most likely to effect its safety and happiness. Now, a good deal of practical statesmanship has followed from these ideals and sentimentalities. They have built forty-five states on firm foundations. They have covered South America with republics. They have kept despotism out of the Western Hemisphere. They have made the United States the freest, strongest, richest of the nations of the world. They have made the word "republic" a name to conjure by the round world over. By their virtue the American flag—beautiful as a flower to those who love it; terrible as a meteor to those who hate it—floats everywhere over peaceful seas, and is welcomed everywhere in friendly ports as the emblem of peaceful supremacy and sovereignty in the commerce of the world. . . .

You also, my imperialistic friends, have had your ideals and your sentimentalities. One is that the flag shall never be hauled down where it has once floated. Another is that you will not talk or reason with a people with arms in their hands. Another is that sovereignty over an unwilling people may be bought with gold. And another is that sovereignty may be got by force of arms, as the booty of battle or the spoils of victory.

What has been the practical statesmanship which comes from your ideals and your sentimentalities. You have wasted six hundred millions of treasure. You have sacrificed nearly ten thousand American lives—the flower of our youth. You have devastated provinces. You have slain uncounted thousands of the people you desire to benefit. You have established reconcentration camps.

Your generals are coming home from their harvest, bringing their sheaves with them, in the shape of other thousands of sick and wounded and insane to drag out their miserable lives, wrecked in body and mind. You make the American flag in the eyes of a numerous people the emblem of sacrilege in Christian churches, and of the burning of human dwellings, and of the horror of the water torture

Your practical statesmanship has succeeded in converting a people who three years ago were ready to kiss the hem of the garment of the American and to welcome him as a liberator, who thronged after your men when they landed on those islands with benediction and gratitude, into sullen and irreconcilable enemies, possessed of a hatred which centuries cannot eradicate. ...

I have sometimes fancied that we might erect here in the capital of the country a column to American Liberty which alone might rival in height the beautiful and simple shaft which we have erected to the fame of the Father of the Country. I can fancy each generation bringing its inscription, which should recite its own contribution to the great structure of which the column should be but the symbol.

The generation of the Puritan and the Pilgrim and the Huguenot claims the place of honor at the base. "I brought the torch of Freedom across the sea. I cleared the forest. I subdued the savage and the wild beast. I laid in Christian liberty and law the foundations of empire."

The next generation says: "What my fathers founded I builded. I left the seashore to penetrate the wilderness. I planted schools and colleges and courts and churches."

Then comes the generation of the great colonial day: "I stood by

the side of England on many a hard-fought field. I helped humble the power of France. I saw the lilies go down before the lion at Louisburg and Quebec. I carried the cross of St. George in triumph in Martinique and the Havana. I knew the stormy pathways of the ocean. I followed the whale from the Arctic to the Antarctic seas, among tumbling mountains of ice and under equinoctial heat, as the great English orator said, 'No sea not vexed by my fisheries; no climate not witness to my toils.' "

Then comes the generation of the revolutionary time: "I encountered the power of England. I declared and won the independence of my country. I placed that declaration on the eternal principles of justice and righteousness which all mankind have read, and on which all mankind will one day stand. I affirmed the dignity of human nature and the right of the people to govern themselves. I devised the securities against popular haste and delusion which made that right secure. I created the supreme court and the Senate. For the first time in history I made the right of the people to govern themselves safe, and established institutions for that end which will endure forever."

The next generation says: "I encountered England again. I vindicated the right of an American ship to sail the seas the wide world over without molestation. I made the American sailor as safe at the ends of the earth as my fathers had made the American farmer safe in his home. I proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine in the face of the Holy Alliance, under which sixteen republics have joined the family of nations. I filled the Western Hemisphere -with republics from the Lakes to Cape Horn, each controlling its own destiny in safety and in honor."

Then comes the next generation: "I did the mighty deeds which

in your younger years you saw and which your fathers told. I saved the Union. I put down the rebellion. I freed the slave. I made of every slave a freeman, and of every freeman a citizen, and of every citizen a voter."

Then comes another who did the great work in peace, in which so many of you had an honorable share: "I kept the faith. I paid the debt. I brought in conciliation and peace instead of war. I secured in the practice of nations the great doctrine of expatriation. I devised the homestead system. I covered the prairie and the plain with happy homes and with mighty states. I crossed the continent and joined together the seas with my great railroads. I declared the manufacturing independence of America, as my fathers affirmed its political independence. I built up our vast domestic commerce. I made my country the richest, freest, strongest, happiest people on the face of the earth."

And now what have we to say. What have we to say. Are we to have a place in that honorable company. Must we engrave on that column: "We repealed the Declaration of Independence. We changed the Monroe Doctrine from a doctrine of eternal righteousness and justice, resting on the consent of the governed, to a doctrine of brutal selfishness, looking only to our own advantage. We crushed the only republic in Asia. We made war on the only Christian people in the East. We converted a war of glory to a war of shame. We vulgarized the American flag. We introduced perfidy into the practice of war. We inflicted torture on unarmed men to extort confession. We put children to death. We established reconcentrado camps. We devastated provinces. We baffled the aspirations of a people for liberty."

No, Mr. President. Never! Never! Other and better counsels will

yet prevail. The hours are long in the life of a great people. The irrevocable step is not yet taken.

Let us at least have this to say: "We, too, have kept the faith of the fathers. We took Cuba by the hand. We delivered her from her age-long bondage. We welcomed her to the family of nations. We set mankind an example never beheld before of moderation in victory. We led hesitating and halting Europe to the deliverance of their beleaguered ambassadors in China. We marched through a hostile country—a country cruel and barbarous—without anger or revenge. We returned benefit for injury, and pity for cruelty. We made the name of America beloved in the East as in the West. We kept faith with the Philippine people. We kept faith with our own history. We kept our national honor unsullied. The flag which we received without a rent we handed down without a stain." [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

乔斯.迪.迪戈 (JOSE DE DIKGO)

不 No

"不", 肯定是, 而且也是唯一的能够拯救被奴役的人们的自由与尊严的词。

直至十九世纪末期, 波多黎各一直是西班牙的殖民地。 由于波多黎各人民的强烈要求, 西班牙于 1897 年批准该岛完全自治。可是, 第二年在美国与西班牙的战争中, 美国军队占领了波多黎各, 在战争结束时, 西班牙割让该岛给美国管辖。美国把大陆的文化强加给波多黎各人民, 激怒了波多黎各的爱国者, 他们抱怨说波多黎各又回到了殖民地时期。1917 年该岛人民获得了一些有限的自治权, 居民成了美国公民。1948 年当地居民获得选举地方长官的权利。波多黎各于 1952 年成了与美国行政上有联系的一个岛屿。该岛将与美国保持现有的附属关系或将成为美国的一个州, 至今还是个悬而未决的问题。

乔斯.迪.迪戈(1866—1918)是波多黎各的政治家、诗人及政治运动领导人。

他经历过西班牙与美国权力的转让，在西班牙统治时期，他曾短暂地在自治政府内阁供职过，后来也曾在美国统治下的殖民地政府中服务。在他的诗歌和演讲中，他热情地捍卫波多黎各的文化和政治独立。对于任何生活在没有获得被统治者同意的政权统治下的人们来说，下面的文章《不》有其深刻的意义。

强有力的回答"不"像锤击声那样短暂、有力、干脆，这就是在帝国主义横行霸道的不幸日子里该从我们口中愤怒地喷发而出，用以挽救我们民族尊严的词。

两三年前，科尔·托斯泰博士曾写过一些好文章，说波多黎各人不懂得使用强有力的肯定回答表示抗议，并认为波多黎各人应该学会这样做。这位学识渊博的博士错了，因为我们精神上的最大痛苦是易受意志软弱的影响，不自觉地做出让步，这就像在劲风面前玫瑰丛可爱地点头弯腰那般情景一样。

的确，赞成、同意这一类的肯定回答推动并解决了许多科学、艺术、哲学、宗教方面的事情，信仰与爱情方面的奇迹，基督的殉难，哥伦布的一生，这些由肯定回答所创造出的奇迹使我们对服从、赞同称赞不已，认为这是美德，是精神上的升华。

可是，在政治进展过程中，在争取自由的斗争中，肯定回答这个副词几乎毫无用处，而且还总给人们带来灾难。在所有的语种中，肯定回答都十分温和，罗曼语系中的肯定回答比起其拉丁语词源的肯定回答这个词要更亲切、温柔。拉丁语中的肯定回答"Certe quidem"不如西班牙语、义大利语、葡萄牙语和法语中的肯定回答"si"那么简洁和谐。法语中的"si"在最富有情感的情况下取代了"oui"，表示"是的"。"si"在音乐中是音符"7"，是长笛的琶音，乌的颤音，极适用于美妙的音乐、韵律、梦幻和爱情的表达。而要表达抗议、冲动、情感的突然发作、愤怒、诅咒、憎恨这一类像划火柴点火那样瞬间爆发的情感，否定回答"No"要比肯定回答适用得多。"No"中的"o"粗鲁、嘹亮、热烈，像怒吼，像给世界造成大乱的深藏在地底下的雷霆万钧之力突然爆发。

自史前原始部落反抗亚洲帝国首领的统治开始，在不愿屈从，反抗暴君的斗争中，"不"就一直是被压迫者所使用的词。它是使人民获得解放的开端。即使像我们国家这样，当我们的力量太弱，不足以有效地实现我们的理想时，当我们的革命力量与远大理想之间差距太大时，"不"，肯定是，而且也是唯一的可以拯救被奴役的人们的自由与尊严的词。

我们的国家风景秀丽，人民慷慨大方，由于受环境的熏陶，我们不知道如何把"不"字说出口，我们经常不知不觉地被思想中占主导地位的"是的"所影响，即使在该说"不"的情况下，也用优柔寡断和蔼亲切的语言来推诱。总的来说，波多黎各人不说"不"字，也不知道该怎么启口。"我们再看看吧。""这件事我再想想。""我过后再决定吧。"当波多黎各人这样说时，这意味着他不愿意这么做。最多也只能理解为他把"不"和"是的"这两个词放在一块，作为条件句的连词，使意思模棱两可，含糊不清。他拿不定主意，他的意愿像无处藏身的小鸟在沙漠上无目标地飞着。

我们得学会说"不"，张开嘴，挺起胸，让发音器官的肌肉紧张起来，拿出勇气，把"No"中的"o"这个音发出来。这个音也许将在美国和世界上回响，像轰隆作响的火炮声在天空中回荡。

Brief, solid, affirmative as a hammer blow, this is the virile word, which must enflame lips and save the honor of our people, in these unfortunate days of anachronistic imperialism.

Two or three years ago Doctor Coil y Toste wrote some brilliant paragraphs to demonstrate that Puerto Ricans do not know and ought to know the protest of an energetic affirmation. The knowledgeable doctor was wrong: our greatest moral affliction is an atavistic predisposition to the irreflexive concession and to weakness of will, which bend lovingly, like a rose bush to the sighs of the wind.

In truth, the affirmation has impelled and resolved great undertakings in

science, in art, in philosophy, in religious sentiment: all the miracles of faith and love; the death of Christ and the life of Columbus; saintly wonders of affirmations, which were raised to the glorious summits of the rising spirit, to divine light.

In political evolution, in the struggle for freedom, the affirmative adverb is almost always useless and always disastrous, so soft in all languages, so sweet in the Romance tongues, superior in this sense to the mother Latin tongue. Certe, quidem do not have the brevity and the harmony of the Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese si and the French si, when the latter substitutes for oui in the most expressive sentences; si in singing, a musical note (B), an arpeggio of the flute, a bird's trill, noble and good for melody, for rhythm, for dreaming, for love: more for the protest and impetus, for the paroxysm, for wrath, for anathema, for dry fulminating hate, like the scratching of a ray of light, the no is far better, the rude, bitter O vast, like a roar, round and ardent like a chaos producer of life through the conflagration of all the forces of the abyss.

From the almost prehistoric uprisings of savage tribes against chieftains of Asiatic empires, the negative to submission, the protest against the tyrant, the no of the oppressed has been the word, the genesis of the emancipation of peoples: and even when the impotency of the means and the efficacy of the goals, as in our homeland, separate the revolutionary fire from the vision of the ideal, the no must be and is the only saving word of the freedom and dignity of enslaved people.

We do not know how to say "no," and we are attracted, unconsciously, like a hypnotic suggestion, by the predominant si of the word on thought, of the form on essence—artists and weak and kindly, as we have been made by the beauty and generosity of our land. Never, in general terms, does a Puerto Rican say, nor does he know how to say "no": "We'll see," "I'll study the matter," "I'll decide later"; when a Puerto Rican uses these expressions, it must be understood that he does not want to; at most, he joins the si with the no and with the affirmative and negative adverbs makes a conditional conjunction, ambiguous, nebulous, in which the will fluctuates in the air, like a little bird aimless and shelterless on the flatness of a

desert. . . .

We have to learn to say "no," raise our lips, unburden our chest, put in tension all our vocal muscles and all our will power to fire this o of no, which will resound perhaps in America and the world, and will resound in the heavens with more efficacy than the rolling of cannons.

伊丽莎白.凯迪.斯坦顿 (ELIZABETH CALM STANTON)

自我之孤独 **The Solitude of Self**

要保护女子，使其免遭狂风暴雨般的生活打击，这种说法是十足的嘲弄，因为生活的风暴对女子如同对男子一样，从四面八方袭击她们。由于男子受过训练，知道如何保护自己，如何去抗争，如何去征服，因此女子遭打击后结果更惨。

作为美国女权运动领袖，伊丽莎白.凯迪.斯坦顿辉煌的一生，充满成就，闻名全国。1892年，她发表《自我之孤独》时，年已七十六岁。人们普遍认为，这是她的女权思想的最佳宣言；其中没有任何自负自傲或沾沾自喜的表露，有的只是为妇女在生活的各个领域求得「自主权」的强烈要求。自立自助之所以必要是因为我们每个人最终都是孤独的；每个人必须准备好为自己而行动，为自己而思索，对自己的生命负全部责任。

现在我想直率地阐明的一点是：每个人的个性，也就是我们新教的思想，以及每个人拥有良知，进行独立判断的权利，这又是我们的共和思想，亦即每个人的公民权。要讨论妇女权利，我们首先要考虑的是：在一个女性的自身世界里，作为一个人，作为自己命运的主宰者。作为想象中的鲁滨逊，在一个孤岛上，身边的唯一伴侣只有「星期五」，这时她究竟拥有什么样的权利。在这种境况下，她的权利只能是为自身的安全和幸福而利用自己的全部聪明与才智。

其次，假如一个女子被视为公民，视为一个伟大国家的一个成员，那么，根据我们政府的基本原则，她就应该享有其他成员所享有的同样权利。

其三，即使把一个女子仅仅视为一个女子，视为文明结构中一个同等重要的因素，她的权利与责任仍然一样，即个人的幸福与发展。

其四，只有生活中的附带关系，比如作为母亲、妻子、姐妹、女儿等，才需要一个女性尽一些特殊的责任，接受某种特殊的训练.....

要让妇女受高等教育，让她们充分发挥个人的聪明才智，以求身心得到全面发展，同时还要享有最广泛思想和行动自由，从任何形式的束缚中，从陈规陋习、依附他人及种种迷信中彻底解放出来，免受恐惧的侵扰和摧残。之所以要给妇女所有这些机会，最大的理由莫过于每个妇女要对自己孤独的一生负完全的责任。我们要求妇女在自己的政府中要有发言权，在让她们信仰的宗教中要有发言权，在她们充当重要角色的社会生活中要享有平等待遇，在她们能获得生计的各行各业中应占有一席之地；之所以如此，最大的理由莫过于她们生来就有的自主权，因为作为一个人，每个妇女都得完全依靠自己。不管妇女多么喜欢有所依靠，有人保护，有人支援，也不管男人如何希望她们这么做，妇女都得独自驾驭生活之舟。在危急关头要脱险，妇女就得对航海规律有所了解。要为自己导航，我们必须同时既是船长，又是引航员，又是工程师，舵手之位需配有航海图和罗盘，以便观测风浪、理会天象，适时收帆。作为一个孤独的航海者，男女性别，无关紧要。大自然的恩赐不分性别、一视同仁，因此在危急关头，大自然同样让他们去发挥自己的技艺与判断力，假如无法与环境匹敌，男女将同样遭受灭顶之灾。为了弄清每个人都能独立行动的重要性，且考虑一下自我的无限孤独感。我们只身一人来到世界，又只身一人离开世界，所处的环境独一无二，跟前人毫不相干。前人与后人都不可能出现在今人正要去航行的同一个人人生之海。一个人身上的种种遗传作用不会在其他人身上演现；影响这个人的幼年、青年乃至成年期的环境也不会再现于其他人身上。大自然绝不会旧戏重演；这个人的种种可能绝不会重现于那个人身上。没有人找到过两片同样的叶子，也没有人会找到两个一模一样的人。只要考虑到人性的无限多样化，我们多多少少便能领会到，要是一个国家的任何一个阶层缺乏教育，在政府中没有自己的代表，这对于该国家将是多重大的损失。

我们要求个人的全面发展，首先是为个人的利益和幸福考虑。要装备一支军队，就要给每个士兵分发背包、武器、弹药、毛毯、口杯、刀叉及汤匙。我们要给每个人提供一切必需品，然后每个人肩挑起各自的担子。

我们要求个人的全面发展，同样也是为了大众利益，是为了有才有识之士能在人类利益的所有方面，在国民生活中的所有问题上取得共识；而个人要在公众责任中挑起自己的担子。无亲无友的儿童在尚不能分析自己的情感之前，在尚不能分清欢乐与痛苦之前，便过早地陷入孤立无援的境地。目睹此种景象，怎不令人悲哀。不管哪个时代，大自然给予我们的最大教诲似乎都是自立自助、自护自卫……

失去友爱，焦虑痛苦之时，我们不指望从他人身上获得同情。死亡夺走我们的至爱亲朋之时，我们独自笼罩在痛苦的阴影里。在生活的大悲大喜之日，我们都是独自而行。当达到人类成就的神圣顶峰时，作为英雄或圣人受到顶礼膜拜时，我们仍独自而立。作为一个无知的人，乞丐或罪犯，我们独自挨饿或去行窃。我们独自面对人们的嘲笑和冷遇，独自于黑暗的院落，于大路，于小巷被人追赶，受人侵扰，独自于受审席上，独自于牢房之中吞食罪恶和不幸的苦果，独自走上绞刑架结束一切罪孽。就在这种种关头，我们领略了个人生活的极端孤独感。感受到生活的痛苦，生活的惩罚以及生活的责任；就在这种种关头，年幼的，最孤立无援的，无人关顾，只能自我安慰，自寻出路。生活永远是一次行军，一场战争，每个士兵为了自卫必须装备齐全。有鉴于此，剥夺一个人的任何一种自然权利都是惨无人道的。

在一个人接受全面教育的道路上设置障碍，无异于剜掉人的双眼；剥夺贫困者的权利无异于剥去人的双手。剥夺人的政治平等等于夺走人的所有自尊，等于夺走人在市场中的信用，等于夺走人的工作报酬，等于夺走一个人选择行政立法者的发言权，等于夺走一个人选择自己陪审团的自由，等于夺走一个人选择决定自己刑罚的法官……请拭目瞧瞧妇女的地位吧：她们的自然权利被剥夺了，法律及传统习惯使她们处处受挫，迫使她们独自而战，在生命的紧要关头，要保护自己也只能自立自助……

一个年轻女子，作为妻子，作为母亲，作为家庭主妇，若有一位好丈夫护卫着，免受生活恶风的袭击，而且有财富，有地位，那么她便拥有一个安全的港湾，远离生活中常见的不幸。但要持家、要在社会中产生好影响，要结交朋友，要赢得丈夫的温情，要教育好小孩，要训练好仆人，她就必须具有非同一般的常识、智慧和交际本领，同时还要了解人的本性。要做到这点，她必须具备最为成功的政治家所具备的长处及其优良性格。一个女人，未受过教育，无才无识，而又养成依附他人的习惯，在生活中不管做何事都将失败无疑。然而，社会却流行着这么一种说法：妇女不需要世界知识，不需要公众生活经验所能提供的丰富多彩的训练，不需要获得大学教育的种种好处。可一旦失去这一切，幸福化为乌有时，妇女只能独自去忍受耻辱。无知的弱者，其孤独的确可悲可叹，因为这些人在盲目追求生活奖赏中，被碾成粉末。

当年轻时代的乐趣结束后，当身边的小孩长大成人，结婚离家后，当东奔西忙的生活接近尾声时，当双手无力从事繁重劳务时，当安乐椅、壁炉成为久留之地时，不管是男人还是女人，都得自己依靠自己。假如他们无法以书籍为伴，无法对重大时事问题产生兴趣，无心再去观察自己或许过问过去的改革如何得以实现，那么他们将很快老化昏聩。人的心智愈得到发展，得以使用，人的精力及对周围一切的兴趣便愈能持久。假如一个妇女一生参与公共事业，觉得对形成我们教育制度的法规负有责任，对我们的监狱制度负有责任，对私人住宅、公共设施及公共道路的卫生条件负有责任，对商业、财政、外交中的个别问题或所有问题有兴趣，那么，她的最后孤独至少是令人崇敬的，而她自己也不会以搬弄是非，传播丑闻为乐。

之所以要对每个人打开通往人的全部责任和幸福之门，其主要原因是，只有这样，个人才能得以发展；只有这样，一个人才能在各种情况下，获得力量去对付有时人人都不可避免的孤独感。….

既然短暂的时光乃至永久岁月所带来的欢乐和痛苦，男女一样平分，那么男人想在投票箱前，在王位上代表妇女，想在国家中代妇女投票，在教堂里代妇女祈祷，在家庭里高居圣坛之上，扮演神父角色，这岂不是霸道至极吗。

最能提高人的判断力，最能激发人的良知的莫过于个人的责任。最能增添个性尊严的莫过于承认个人自主权，莫过于承认——普遍承认——人人拥有平等地位的权利。这种地位要靠个人功绩去获得，而不是靠世袭、靠财富、靠家庭名望来巧取豪夺。既然男女肩负一样的生活责任，有着一样的命运，那么男女都要为现时及悠悠岁月做好同样的准备。要保护女子，使其免遭狂风暴雨般的生活打击，这种说法是十足的嘲弄，因为生活的风暴对女子如同对男子一样，从四面八方袭击她们。由于男子受过训练，知道如何保护自己、如何去抗争、如何去征服，因此女子遭打击后，结果更惨。个人自主的责任正是人类经验证明的事实。富人与穷人，智者与愚者，好人与坏人，男人与女人，不管是谁都得自己依靠自己，无一例外。

尽管有关妇女依赖男人的理论各种各样，在妇女一生的紧要关头，男人是无法挑起妇女肩上的重负的。当每个新生儿降临人世时，妇女独自迈向死亡之门。无人可以分担她的恐惧；无人可以减轻她的剧痛。当痛苦超越一个女人所能忍受的极限时，她独自一人跨进死亡的门槛……

由此可见，每个人总是位于生活的战场，在漫长、疲惫的行军中，独自前行。我们可能拥有许多朋友，拥有别人的同情与仁爱，使每天的旅途顺坦些，但在人生征途上，大喜大悲之时，每个人仍然是孑然一身……

在整个思想领域，在艺术、科学和文学界，在政府里，妇女已经占有一些与男人平等的位置……本世纪有出自她们之手的诗歌与小说，她们参与过宗教、政治和社会生活的重大改革，她们占有编辑、教授和律师的位置，医院病房里有她们的身影，教堂的布道坛上，学校的讲台上也有她们的声音。今天，开明的公众舆论所欢迎的正是这种类型的女性；生活事实与以往虚假理论的斗争所赢来的也正是这一胜利。

过去妇女围着手纺车和编织针转，政治活动范围极其有限，而今天的女性已经成长起来，要是仍然将她们局限于过去狭窄的政治圈里，能够协调吗。不能，绝不能！机器不知疲倦的肩膀已扛起男女身上的重负，织布机、手纺车只

是昨日旧梦，取而代之的是笔刷、画架、凿子。同时，妇女的理想抱负也发生了根本性的变化。

人的外界条件是以说明个人求自由、求发展的理由。然而，当我们考虑到每个人都得依靠自己时，我们觉得，不管是男性还是女性，都需要具备勇气，需要明察秋毫，需要调动身心的各器官，并在使用中得以增强和发展。

不管男性在一般情况下，对女性有多大的保护力，一旦遇到天灾人祸，在生死攸关的关头，妇女仍要独自去对付险恶的环境。死神为妇女准备的不可能是一条平坦的大道。男人的爱心与同情心只能我们的生活锦上添花。连结无限时空的是神圣的自我之孤独，每个灵魂永远生活于孤独之中……

有一种孤独，我们每个人随身带有的孤独，比那冰雪覆盖的山峦更加可望不可及，比那午夜的海洋更加深不可测，这就是自我之孤独。我们称为自我的内心世界，不管是凡人还是天神都看不穿、摸不透，它要比神灵守护的地下室穴更隐秘，要比神殿的内室更隐秘，要比古希腊以流西斯城里的暗室更隐秘，因为唯有全能全知的上帝才能进入人的内心世界。

每个人生，概莫如此。试问：有谁能够，又有谁敢将他人的权利与责任夺为己有？

The point I wish plainly to bring before you on this occasion is the individuality of each human soul; our Protestant idea, the right of individual conscience and judgment; our republican idea, individual citizenship. In discussing the rights of woman, we are to consider, first, what belongs to her as an individual, in a world of her own, the arbiter of her own destiny, an imaginary Robinson Crusoe, with her woman, Friday, on a solitary island. Her rights under such circumstances are to use all her faculties for her own safety and happiness.

Secondly, if we consider her as a citizen, as a member of a great nation, she must have the same rights as all other members, according to the fundamental

principles of our Government.

Thirdly, viewed as a woman, an equal factor in civilization, her rights and duties are still the same—individual happiness and development.

Fourthly, it is only the incidental relations of life, such as mother, wife, sister, daughter, which may involve some special duties and training.....

The strongest reason for giving woman all the opportunities for higher education, for the full development of her faculties, her forces of mind and body; for giving her the most enlarged freedom of thought and action; a complete emancipation from all forms of bondage, of custom, dependence, superstition; from all the crippling influences of fear—is the solitude and personal responsibility of her own individual life. The strongest reason why we ask for woman a voice in the government under which she lives; in the religion she is asked to believe; equality in social life, where she is the chief factor; a place in the trades and professions, where she may earn her bread, is because of her birthright to self-sovereignty; because, as an individual, she must rely on herself. No matter how much women prefer to lean, to be protected and supported, nor how much men desire to have them do so, they must make the voyage of life alone, and for safety in an emergency, they must know something of the laws of navigation. To guide our own craft, we must be captain, pilot, engineer; with chart and compass to stand at the wheel; to watch the winds and waves, and know when to take in the sail, and to read the signs in the firmament over all. It matters not whether the solitary voyager is man or woman; nature, having endowed them equally, leaves them to their own skill and judgment in the hour of danger, and, if not equal to the occasion, alike they perish.

To appreciate the importance of fitting every human soul for independent action, think for a moment of the immeasurable solitude of self. We come into the world alone, unlike all who have gone before us, we leave it alone, under circumstances peculiar to ourselves. No mortal ever has been, no mortal ever will

be like the soul just launched on the sea of life. There can never again be just such a combination of prenatal influences; never again just such environments as make up the infancy, youth and manhood of this one. Nature never repeats herself, and the possibilities of one human soul will never be found in another. No one has ever found two blades of ribbon grass alike, and no one will ever find two human beings alike. Seeing, then, that what must be the infinite diversity in human character, we can in a measure appreciate the loss to a nation when any class of the people is uneducated and unrepresented in the government.

We ask for the complete development of every individual, first, for his own benefit and happiness. In fitting out an army, we give each soldier his own knapsack, arms, powder, his blanket, cup, knife, fork and spoon. We provide alike for all their individual necessities; then each man bears his own burden.

Again, we ask complete individual development for the general good; for the consensus of the competent on the whole round of human interests, on all questions of national life; and here each man must bear his share of the general burden. It is sad to see how soon friendless children are left to bear their own burdens, before they can analyze their feelings; before they can even tell their joys and sorrows, they are thrown on their own resources. The great lesson that nature seems to teach us at all ages is self-dependence, self-protection, self- support. ...

We ask no sympathy from others in the anxiety and agony of a broken friendship or shattered love. When death sunders our nearest ties, alone we sit in the shadow of our affliction. Alike amid the greatest triumphs and darkest tragedies of life, we walk alone. On the divine heights of human attainment, eulogized and worshipped as a hero or saint, we stand alone. In ignorance, poverty and vice, as a pauper or criminal, alone we starve or steal; alone we suffer the sneers and rebuffs of our fellows; alone we are hunted and bounded through dark courts and alleys, in by-ways and high-ways; alone we stand in the judgment seat; alone in the prison cell we lament our crimes and misfortunes; alone we expiate them on the gallows. In hours like these we realize the awful solitude of individual life, its pains, its

penalties, its responsibilities, hours in which the youngest and most helpless are thrown on their own resources for guidance and consolation. Seeing, then, that life must ever be a march and a battle that each soldier must be equipped for his own protection, it is the height of cruelty to rob the individual of a single natural right.

To throw obstacles in the way of a complete education is like putting out the eyes; to deny the rights of poverty is like cutting off the hands. To refuse political equality is to rob the ostracized of all self-respect; of credit in the market place; of recompense in the world of work, of a voice in choosing those who make and administer the law, a choice in the jury before whom they are tried, and in the judge who decides their punishment. [Think of] . . . woman's position! Robbed of her natural rights, handicapped by law and custom at every turn, yet compelled to fight her own battles, and in the emergencies of life to fall back on herself for protection. . . .

The young wife and mother, at the head of some establishment, with a kind husband to shield her from the adverse winds of life, with wealth, fortune and position, has a certain harbor of safety, secure against the ordinary ills of life. But to manage a household, have a desirable influence in society, keep her friends and the affections of her husband, train her children and servants well, she must have rare common sense, wisdom, diplomacy, and a knowledge of human nature. To do all this, she needs the cardinal virtues and the strong points of character that the most successful statesman possesses. An uneducated woman trained to dependence, with no resources in herself, must make a failure of any position in life. But society says women do not need a knowledge of the world, the liberal training that experience in public life must give, all the advantages of collegiate education; but when for the lack of all this, the woman's happiness is wrecked, alone she bears her humiliation; and the solitude of the weak and ignorant is indeed pitiable. In the wild chase for the prizes of life, they are ground to powder.

In age, when the pleasures of youth are passed, children grown up, married and gone, the hurry and bustle of life in a measure over, when the hands are weary of

active service, when the old arm chair and the fireside are the chosen resorts, then men and women alike must fall back on their own resources. If they cannot find companionship in books, if they have no interest in the vital questions of the hour, no interest in watching the consummation of reforms with which they might have been identified, they soon pass into their dotage. The more fully the faculties of the mind are developed and kept in use, the longer the period of vigor and active interests in all around us continues. If, from a life-long participation in public affairs, a woman feels responsible for the laws regulating our system of education, the discipline of our jails and prisons, the sanitary condition of our private homes, public building and thoroughfares, an interest in commerce, finance, our foreign relations, in any or all these questions, her solitude will at least be respectable, and she will not be driven to gossip or scandal for entertainment.

The chief reason for opening to every soul the doors to the whole round of human duties and pleasures is the individual development thus attained, the resources thus provided under all circumstances to mitigate the solitude that at times must come to everyone. . . .

Inasmuch, then, as woman shares equally the joys and sorrows of time and eternity, is it not the height of presumption in man to propose to represent her at the ballot box and the throne of grace, to do her voting in the state, her praying in the church, and to assume the position of high priest at the family altar.

Nothing strengthens the judgment and quickens the conscience like individual responsibility. Nothing adds such dignity to character as the recognition of one's self-sovereignty; the right to an equal place, everywhere conceded — a place earned by personal merit, not an artificial attainment by inheritance, wealth, family and position. Conceding, then, that the responsibilities of life rest equally on man and woman, that their destiny is the same, they need the same preparation for time and eternity. The talk of sheltering woman from the fierce storms of life is the sheerest mockery, for they beat on her from every point of the compass, just as they do on man, and with more fatal results, for he has been trained to protect himself, to

resist, and to conquer. Such are the facts in human experience, the responsibilities of individual sovereignty. Rich and poor, intelligent and ignorant, wise and foolish, virtuous and vicious, man and woman; it is ever the same, each soul must depend wholly on itself.

Whatever the theories may be of woman's dependence on man, in the supreme moments of her life, he cannot bear her burdens. Alone she goes to the gates of death to give life to every man that is born into the world; no one can share her fears, no one can mitigate her pangs; and if her sorrow is greater than she can bear, alone she passes beyond the gates into the vast unknown. . . .

So it ever must be in the conflicting scenes of life, in the long, weary march, each one walks alone. We may have many friends, love, kindness, sympathy and charity, to smooth our pathway in everyday life, but in the tragedies and triumphs of human experience, each mortal stands alone. . . .

Women are already the equals of men in the whole realm of thought, in art, science, literature and government. . . . The poetry and novels of the century are theirs, and they have touched the keynote of reform, in religion, politics and social life. They fill the editor's and professor's chair, plead at the bar 'of justice, walk the wards of the hospital, speak from the pulpit and the platform. Such is the type of womanhood that an enlightened public sentiment welcomes to-day, and such the triumph of the facts of life over the false theories of the past.

Is it, then, consistent to hold the developed woman of this day within the same narrow political limits as the dame with the spinning wheel and knitting needles occupied in the past. No, no! Machinery has taken the labors of woman as well as man on its tireless shoulders; the loom and the spinning wheel are but dreams of the past; the pen, the brush, the easel, the chisel, have taken their places, while the hopes and ambitions of women are essentially changed.

We see reason sufficient in the outer conditions of human beings for individual liberty and development, but when we consider the self-dependence of every

human soul, we see the need of courage, judgment and the exercise of every faculty of mind and body, strengthened and developed by use, in woman as well as man.

Whatever may be said of man's protecting power in ordinary' conditions, amid all the terrible disasters by land and sea, in the supreme moments of danger, alone woman must ever meet the horrors of the situation. The Angel of Death even makes no royal pathway for her. Man's love and sympathy enter only into the sunshine of our lives. In that solemn solitude of self, that links us with the immeasurable and the eternal, each soul lives alone forever. . . .

And yet, there is a solitude which each and every one of us has always carried with him, more inaccessible than the ice-cold mountains, more profound than the midnight sea; the solitude of self. Our inner being which we call ourself, no eye nor touch of man or angel has ever pierced. It is more hidden than the caves of the gnome; the sacred adytum of the oracle; the hidden chamber of Eleusinian mystery, for to it only omniscience is permitted to enter.

Such is individual life. Who, I ask you, can take, dare take on himself the rights, the duties, the responsibilities of another human soul.

夏洛特.珀金斯.吉尔曼 (CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN)

妇女与经济 Women and Economics

财富、权力、社会地位、名望，除此之外，还有家庭及其天伦之乐、个人名声、闲情逸趣、油盐酱醋等等，一个女子要获得这一切就得接受那小小的金戒指，嫁给男人。

夏洛特.金斯.吉尔曼(1860—1935)是这一进步时代妇女运动的著名理论家。吉尔曼的童年十分凄惨，父亲抛弃母亲后，家里几乎一贫如洗。1884年，吉尔曼结婚，婚后生有一女。家务例行琐事的烦恼使她精神崩溃。1888年，她带着女儿离开丈夫。离婚后，她原先丈夫与她的一位挚友再婚，于是吉尔曼将女儿送到他们处，由此腾出时间从事著述和演讲。吉尔曼写有短篇小说和诗歌，

并以发表有关妇女、劳工和社会组织等题目的演讲来维持生计。

1900年，吉尔曼再婚，但婚后继续其演讲和著述的繁忙生活。自1909年至1916年，吉尔曼只身一人编辑、出版女权运动月报：《先驱》，并独自为其撰稿。吉尔曼还发表过一部名为《家》的小说，以及一部有关自己精神崩溃的虚构性著作：《黄色的糊墙纸》。

这里选载的是她的名作《妇女与经济》(1898)；文章倡导的是妇女的经济独立。

我们所能做的要比别人施加给我们的更能制约自己。妇女的表达自由，如果有的话，也要比承受自由少得多。她们只能通过铁条阻隔的窗户窥视她们生活于其中的世界一角，只能从深闺帷幔间隙中呼吸到一点外部空气，她们竖起耳朵，如饥似渴想听到的只是男人口中传来的一点点知识。莎剧《奥瑟罗》中的苔丝德蒙娜从丈夫奥瑟罗口中只了解到一丁点东西，要是她能多了解一些情况，可能会活得更久。虽然人有不断增长的创造欲，有能力和毅力以新的形式表达新的精神，以求有所作为，但妇女在这些方面是完全受限制的。她们可以像先前那样操劳，干那些最原始的家务活。当她们很自然地将这种辛勤劳作扩展到职业层次时，我们却想设法拖她们的后腿。妇女靠双手干体力活，直接为家庭服务，一无所获，这是允许的——甚至是强制的！除此之外，妇女要越雷池一步是不允许的。妇女的劳动不仅在内容上受限制，在形式上也一样受到制约。即使允许她们于这做那，她们也只能独自悄悄地进行，所从事的是最原始的手工劳动……

妇女受制于经年累月形成的综合影响，追溯起来，耐人玩味却令人痛心。首先，是自然法则对所有生灵的巨大影响，同样作用于妇女身上。其次，是紧步自然力之后且与之形成一种合力的社会风俗习惯与社会法则之演化，在这一演化过程中，妇女的低下地位是一活跃因素。接着是随着文明发展，累积而成，经年不断的一个个先例，不断增强的教育作用使之深深印入每代人的脑海，艺术使之迷人，宗教使之神圣，习惯使之更具魅力。再有便是最为根本的经济需

要，它奠定了整个社会结构的基础，其作用贯穿古今，延至永远。毫无疑问，上述种种是对妇女强有力的制约条件。

对妇女的这些制约本来可以更加有效，而且痛苦要少得多，但有个重要因素还得考虑，那就是先天遗传并非「舍拉法典」。根据这一法典，在昔日舍拉族和日尔曼部族里，妇女不得继承土地，而在昔日法国，女人不准继承王位。可由于遗传的作用，每个女孩从父亲身上继承有越来越多的求发展、图强大的人性倾向；而每个男孩同样从母亲身上继承有愈来愈多的温柔天性。先天遗传的作用是要使后天环境及教育倾向于区别对待的趋于平等。遗传的作用是张扬女性、抑制男性。同时又不让女性成为一种舞毒蛾，并给那些企图荒唐地在一个种族里使一种性别落后于另一种性别的人套上铁镣，不让他们的企图得逞。但是遗传的这种作用又使人类生活异常痛苦，极其艰难。这种痛苦与艰难应使我们早就看到，我们的生活出了正轨。一个女孩诞生后，经过其父亲参与的种族活动的洗礼，更加人性化了，可她自身的传统地位又使自己重新女性化，这样她得重新生活一番，亲身再次体验那种受限制、受压抑、受否定的全过程。令人窒息的一个「不」字粉碎了她作为一个人的所有愿望，所有创造、探索、学习及表达个人见解、奋发向上的愿望……

对一个面对生活的年轻男子来说，世界是个广阔的天地。他可以利用，而且必须利用身上的所有力量。假如第一步选择错了，他可以选择再选择；一条路定不通，他可以选择另一条路，最后获得成功。整个人类各种不断增长的需要要求他从事各种有利自身发展的工作。想成为什么样的人，他可以努力争取达到；想要什么，他可以努力争取得到。财富、权力、社会地位、名望……想要什么，他都可以争取得到。

对一个面对生活的女子来说，外部世界并无两样，其自身也同样拥有人的能量，人的愿望，人的抱负。然而她可望得到的，可望从事的，都只有一次性选择，摆在她面前的只有一条通道。财富、权力、社会地位、名望，除此之外，还有家庭及其天伦之乐，个人名声、闲情逸趣、油盐酱醋等等，一个女子要获得这一切，就得接受那小小的金戒指，嫁给男人。压力之大概莫能外。这是她身后传统累积而成的压力，是她周围环境继续施加的压力。这种压力通过教育

的潜移默化进入她的内心，直到最后自己竟也认为，这种压力是无可非议的，并将其影响变本加厉地施加给自己的女儿。这样，女人过于女性化还有什么可值得奇怪的呢。要不是不断地从男性身上继承有某种更有人性的东西，我们早就都成为一群雌蜂了。然而，每个时代，每个士兵的女儿、海员的女儿、艺术家的女儿、发明家的女儿、巨商的女儿，在身体与脑力两方面，都继承和分享有父辈发展的成果。因此，尽管过于女性化，她们也同时或多或少地人性化……

What we do modifies us more than what is done to us. The freedom of expression has been more restricted in women than the freedom of impression, if that be possible. Something of the world she lived in she has seen from her barred windows. Some air has come through the purdah's folds, some knowledge has filtered to her eager ears from the talk of men. Desdemona learned somewhat of Othello. Had she known more, she might have lived longer. But in the ever-growing human impulse to create, the power and will to make, to do, to express one's new spirit in new forms,—here she has been utterly debarred. She might work as she had worked from the beginning,—at the primitive labors of the household; but in the inevitable expansion of even those industries to professional levels we have striven to hold her back. To work with her own hands, for nothing, in direct body-service to her own family,—this has been permitted,—yes, compelled. But to be and to do anything further from this she has been forbidden. Her labor has not been limited in land. but in degree. Whatever she has been allowed to do must be done in private and alone, the first-hand industries of savage times. . . .

It is painfully interesting to trace the gradual cumulative effect of these conditions upon women: first, the action of large natural laws, acting on her as they would act on any other animal; then the evolution of social customs and laws (with her position as the active cause), following the direction of mere physical forces, and adding heavily to them; then, with increasing civilization, the unbroken

accumulation of precedent, burnt into each generation by the growing force of education, made lovely by art, holy by religion, desirable by habit; and, steadily acting from beneath, the unswerving pressure of economic necessity upon which the whole structure rested. These are strong modifying conditions, indeed.

The process would have been even more effective and far less painful but for one important circumstance. Heredity has no Salic law. Each girl child inherits from her father a certain increasing percentage of human development, human power, human tendency; and each boy as well inherits from his mother the increasing percentage of sex-development, sex-power, sextendency. The action of heredity has been to equalize what every tendency of environment and education made to differ. This has saved us from such a female as the gypsy moth. It has held up the woman, and held down the man. It has set iron bounds to our absurd effort to make a race with one sex a million years behind the other. But it has added terribly to the pain and difficulty of human life,—a difficulty and a pain that should have taught us long since that we were living on wrong lines. Each woman born, re-humanized by the current of race activity carried on by her father and re-womanized by her traditional position, has had to live over again in her own person the same process of restriction, repression, denial; the smothering "no" which crushed down all her human desires to create, to discover, to learn, to express, to advance. . . .

To the young man confronting life the world lies wide. Such powers as he has he may use, must use. If he chooses wrong at first, he may choose again, and yet again. Not effective or successful in one channel, he may do better in another. The growing, varied needs of all mankind call on him for the varied service in which he finds his growth. What he wants to be, he may strive to get. What he wants to get, he may strive to get. Wealth, power, social distinction, fame, — what he wants he can try for.

To the young woman confronting life there is the same world beyond, there are the same human energies and human desires and ambition within. But all that she

may wish to have, all that she may wish to do, must come through a single channel and a single choice. Wealth, power, social distinction, fame, — not only these, but home and happiness, reputation, ease and pleasure, her bread and butter, — all, must come to her through a small gold ring. This is a heavy pressure. It has accumulated behind her through heredity, and continued about her through environment. It has been subtly trained into her through education, till she herself has come to think it a right condition, and pours its influence upon her daughter with increasing impetus. Is it any wonder that women are oversexed. But for the constant inheritance from the more human male, we should have been queen bees, indeed, long before this. But the daughter of the soldier and the sailor, of the artist, the inventor, the great merchant, has inherited in body and brain her share of his development in each generation, and so stayed somewhat human for all her femininity. . . .

埃德温·马卡姆

(EDWIN MARKHAM)

扶 锄 者

The Man with the Hoe

埃德温·马卡姆(1852 — 1940)在加利福尼亚一个牧场中长大,先当教师,后当学校行政管理人。1899年,《扶锄者》在《旧金山考察家报》上发表。使他闻名全国。马卡姆从让-法朗索瓦·米勒的一幅法国农夫画中受到启发,使《扶锄者》成为全世界默默忍受压迫、忍受剥削的工人阶级的象征。继《扶锄者》之后,马卡姆又继续作诗多年,但没有一首能像《扶锄者》那样引起轰动。

多少世纪的重负压弯了腰,凝视着
地面将那锄头扶靠,面孔映出多少
世纪的空白呵,
脊背承受着整个世界的重压。
谁使他对狂喜与绝望皆木然。

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.
Who made him dead to rapture and
despair,

谁使他不知痛苦，毫无希望，
呆头木脑，与牛没有两样。
谁使他粗野的下巴耷拉下垂。
谁人之手将这额头往后打塌。
谁人一口吹熄他头脑中的光耀。

难道这就是上帝创造的生灵，
来统治海洋与大地，
来搜天追星借威力，
来感受天长地久的炽爱。
难道这就是上帝创造众恒星，
以光柱支撑苍天梦到的他。
遍寻地狱各角及至最后一处深渊，
没有什么形体比这更可怕——
他吞下世人利令智昏的最多咒骂，
他充满对灵魂最多的险讯与凶兆，
他包含有对整个宇宙最大的威迫。
多少道鸿沟将他与六翼天使阻隔！
当牛做马服苦役的奴隶呀，
柏拉图与七星运转与他有何关系。
曲曲高歌传天际，晨曦破晓玫瑰

A thing that grieves not and that never
hopes,
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox.
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw.
Whose was the hand that slanted back this
brow.
Whose breath blew out the light within this
brain. Is this the Thing the Lord God made
and gave
To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heavens
for power;
To feel the passion of Eternity.
Is this the dream He dreamed who shaped
the suns
And pillared the blue firmament with light.
Down all the stretch of Hell to its last gulf
There is no shape more terrible than this —
More tongued with censure of the world's
blind greed —
More filled with signs and portents for the
soul —
More fraught with menace to the
universe What gulfs between him and the
seraphim!
Slave of the wheel of labor, what to him
Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades.
What the long reaches of the peaks of
song,

<p>红，</p> <p>可这一切，与他又有何关系。</p> <p>这可怕的形体载着多少世纪的苦难，</p> <p>佝偻之躯不忍看，将时代悲剧蕴含。</p> <p>这可怕的形体向世人诉说：</p> <p>人性已被叛卖、已遭褻渎、已被掠夺；</p> <p>于是乎向世界的判官高呼抗议，</p> <p>抗议，既是抗议，也是预告。</p> <p>啊，五土四方的君王与主宰：</p> <p>难道这性灵被扼杀的畸形怪物，</p> <p>就是你们献给上帝的手艺。</p> <p>你们将如何使这形体挺立。</p> <p>如何给它重注不朽的血液。</p> <p>如何还它以为头见光明的权利。</p> <p>如何把音乐与梦想还给它心底。</p> <p>如何纠正自古以来的罪行、</p> <p>以怨报德的虐待、难以治愈的痼疾。</p> <p>啊，五土四方的君王与主宰：</p>	<p>The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose.</p> <p>Through this dread shape the suffering ages look;</p> <p>Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop;</p> <p>Through this dread shape humanity betrayed,</p> <p>Plundered, profaned, and disinherited,</p> <p>Cries protest to the Judges of the World,</p> <p>A protest that is also prophecy. O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,</p> <p>Is this the handiwork you give to God,</p> <p>This monstrous thing distorted and soul-quenched.</p> <p>How will you ever straighten up this shape;</p> <p>Touch it again with immortality;</p> <p>Give back the upward looking and the light;</p> <p>Rebuild in it the music and the dream;</p> <p>Make right the immemorial infamies,</p> <p>Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes. O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,</p> <p>How will the Future reckon with this Man.</p> <p>How answer his brute question in that hour</p> <p>When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world.</p> <p>How will it be with kingdoms and with kings-</p> <p>With those who shaped him to the thing he</p>
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未来将如何同这人算清旧帐。 当反抗的旋风震撼环宇之时， 如何回答他怒气冲天的责问？ 当这哑了千百年的可怕人物， 终于向上帝控诉之时，你们—— 各王国、各君主，所有使他沦为 此等模样的人，又将如何交待？	is — When this dumb Terror shall reply to God, After the silence of the centuries.
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詹姆士·威尔顿·约翰逊，J. 罗瑟蒙德·约翰逊
(JAMES WELDON JOHNSON AND J. ROSAMOND JOHNSON)

人人引吭高歌

Life Ev'ry Voice and Sing

詹姆士·威尔顿·约翰逊 (1871 - 1938) 与其兄弟罗瑟蒙德·约翰逊 (1873—1954) 于 1900 年，为庆祝林肯诞辰，一道创作了《人人引吭高歌》。这首歌先由佛罗里达的杰克逊维尔地区的黑人学童演唱，而后流行成为「黑人国歌」。罗瑟蒙德·约翰逊后来成为优秀的作曲家，威尔顿·约翰逊成为著名作家、诗人、民权运动领袖。

人人引吭高歌，直至天地与之共 和，和出自由的交响； 让我们欢呼纵情， 直冲上侧耳倾听的天顶， 让这欢呼声压过翻腾的海洋。 唱一首歌，让它充满黑暗时光教 给	Lift ev'ry voice and sing, Till earth and heaven ring, Ring with the harmonies of Liberty; Let our rejoicing rise High as the list'ning skies, Let it resound loud as the rolling sea. Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us Sing a song full of the hope that the present
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<p>我们的信仰，</p> <p>唱一首歌，让它充满当今时代给予</p> <p>我们的希望。</p> <p>迎着新的一天初升的太阳，</p> <p>让我们前进，直至凯歌飞扬。</p> <p>我们爬过崎岖道，</p> <p>身挨罚杖毒鞭敲，</p> <p>那年月，希望破灭母腹中；</p> <p>可疲乏跋涉未却步，</p> <p>坚定走完祖先的路，</p> <p>于今不是已闻祖先在此</p> <p>叹苦衷。</p> <p>我们爬过的路，痛苦的泪水</p> <p>洗刷过；</p> <p>我们爬过的路，受害的血水</p> <p>淹没过。</p> <p>挣扎出昨日的黑暗，终于挺立于</p> <p>今天，</p> <p>白炽的星光多灿烂，终于照进我</p> <p>心间。</p> <p>我们疲乏日子中的上帝，</p>	<p>has brought us</p> <p>Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,</p> <p>Let us march on till victory is won. Stony</p> <p>the road we trod,</p> <p>Bitter the chast'ning rod,</p> <p>Felt in the days when hope unborn had</p> <p>died;</p> <p>Yet with a steady beat,</p> <p>Have not our weary feet</p> <p>Come to the place for which our fathers</p> <p>sighed.</p> <p>We have come over a way that with tears</p> <p>has been watered</p> <p>We have come, treading our path thro' the</p> <p>blood of the slaughtered,</p> <p>Out from the gloomy past, till now we</p> <p>stand at last</p> <p>Where the white gleam of our bright star is</p> <p>cast. God of our weary years,</p> <p>God of our silent tears,</p> <p>Thou who hast brought us thus far on the</p> <p>way;</p> <p>Thou who hast by Thy might,</p> <p>Led us into the light,</p> <p>Keep us forever in the path, we pray.</p> <p>Lest our feet stray from the places, our</p> <p>God, where we met Thee,</p> <p>Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the</p> <p>world, we forget Thee;</p>
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<p>我们默默流泪时的上帝，</p> <p>你带领我们定过漫长的道，</p> <p>全凭你的力量，</p> <p>指引我们见光亮，</p> <p>请永保我们走正道，我们祈祷。</p> <p>上帝啊，为免我们误入歧途，</p> <p>脱离你我相会处，</p> <p>心灵啊，为免喝醉世俗的酒，</p> <p>而把你给记糊涂，</p> <p>求你伸出庇护的手，让我们保佑：</p> <p>永远挺立，</p> <p>效忠心中的上帝，效忠故园的土地。</p>	<p>Shadowed beneath Thy hand, may we forever stand,</p> <p>True to our God, true to our native land.</p>
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M.凯里.托马斯 (M. CAREY THOMAS)

妇女应受不同的高等教育吗. Should Higher Education for Women Differ.

只要在各行各业中、有男女竞争，有男女交往，那么，男女为同一职业所做的准备就不能有两样而又心安理得。

M.凯里.托马斯(1857—1935)似乎生来就是一个女权主义者。还是孩提时代，她就立意要接受大学教育，以求自立。她出生于巴尔提摩一个著名的贵格教家庭，是家里九个小孩中年岁最大的。她先是就读于康奈尔大学，然后入约翰士.霍普金斯研究学院(在那里被拒参加研究生讨论会)，最后在苏黎世大学获文学博士学位。回美国不久，她被任命为宾夕法尼亚新创立的布林.莫尔学院的一个系主任。十一年后，也就是 1899 年，她成为该院院长。从此她致力于建设

一个在课程设置及综合水平方面，都能与最好的男子学院相匹敌的国内一流女子学院。

1899年，托马斯因反驳哈佛大学校长查尔斯.W.艾略特而闻名全国。艾略特曾宣称，从历史继承下来的伟大知识遗产「对妇女教育毫无用处」，因而必须去寻找新的模式。托马斯反驳说，艾略特倒不如让妇女教育家去发明「一种新的交响乐，一种新的戏剧，一个新的贝多芬，一个新的瓦格纳，一些新的塑像，新的绘画，一个新的菲狄亚斯(西元前五世纪希腊雕刻家——译者注)，一个新的提香……所有这一切要比为妇女创造一个知识的新天地更容易。」

在1901年发表的这篇文章里，托马斯阐明了应为男女设置同样的高等教育课程的理由。

假如妇女为了自立，必须以医生或律师身份与男子竞争，那么，不管是医生还是律师、是男性还是女性，所能获得的最佳训练是什么呢。没有任何理由认为，女医生用一种方法治愈伤寒、猩红热或肺结核，而男医生治疗这些疾病就得用另一种方法。我们完全有理由认为，病人要得不到最佳的治疗就得死去。医生性别对医疗结果的影响要比病人性别的影响还要微乎其微。只要我们深信世上绝无独特的妇女治病之道，问题就再明了不过了。因此，在法律、建筑、电力、以及所有力学艺术、技术学科里，我们都必须致力于提供最科学的教育，最广泛的训练，使男女学生都能在自己选择的职业中发挥出最高水准。假定分别有男女两位桥梁建造者，要去建造指定的一座桥，在建造这一独特的桥及其它一般的桥的力学规律总是不变的情况下，简直不可想象，男女建造者所受的基本教育应有所不同；更不可想象，只是因为施工时，一个穿灯笼裤，另一个穿防雨裙，而必须让他们在质量、数量及教学方法上接受不同的教育。你或许以为，上帝并不想让妇女去建造桥梁。当然，你有权持这种偏见。但既然你生活于美国，而不是亚洲或非洲内陆，那么你可能无法将这种偏见强加给希望成为桥梁建造者的妇女。你可能会说，妇女的智力无法使她们建造出好桥梁。假如你认为这一观点是正确的，其他一切你都不必操心了——妇女建的桥反正大都要塌陷，能建造出好桥梁的男人将把她们挤出这一行业的竞争。这些都还

只是枝节问题，不管今后如何给予限定，根本影响不了我们提出的主要问题，即在职业技术学校里男女应学同样的课程。你可能会进一步说，男女应分开，而不是要在同一所学校学医、学法律、学桥梁建筑。但过去经验及现时实践，都无法使人就男女同校学习，提出任何令人信服的反对意见；而且公众舆论也是一边倒，对你们的观点极为不利。在这种情况下，你若坚持让职业技术学校的昂贵设施，专为女子教育而依样画葫芦地重添一套，未免过于愚蠢、过于浪费了。为方便讨论，我们不妨假设每一所男子职业技术学校旁，都并排办有类似的女子学校。可专门为女子教育另开职业学校对于解决这种学校该教什么的问题仍于事无补。只要在各行各业中，有男女竞争，有男女交往，那么，男女为同一职业所做的准备就不能有两样而又心安理得。假如男子准备充分，准备不足的女子将在竞争中落伍；假如女子更有准备，准备不够的男子在与女子竞争中将吃亏……

上述观点同样适用于大学文理研究所的教育。据统计，绝大多数男女研究生毕业后打算从事高等教育的职业，在美国研究生中有三分之一多是女性，而且研究生的年增长率，女性要超过男性。在基础阶段的教学队伍中，男性几乎已经停止与女性竞争；在更高阶段，即大学教学队伍中，女性则刚刚开始与男性竞争；在这一竞争中，女性遇到前所未有的男职业性嫉妒。在美国，独立的女子学院仅有十一所，而男女同校的学院则有三百三十六所。只有在女子学院中，女教师才有机会与男教师竞争教授位置。男女同校的学院聘任女教师是很罕见的，有的话，也只是根据需求和惯例，指派她们负责女生的纪律或家庭生活。当女性在男女同校的学院里与男性一道执教时，女教师的成功将招来男教师的极端不满。由于这种性别嫉妒，学院院长及董事会理事(按常规是清一色的男性)即便有心也无法真正增加女教师人数，无法给女教师晋级。但选修课制度使我们发现，男生却没有这种性嫉妒，他们肯定女教师教学能力的方式，就是拥向优秀女教师的课堂。在中小学，女教师总的说来工作成绩大大超过男教师，取得了辉煌的成果，所以一旦取消人为的限制，在大学教学中，她们将必定取得同样的成功。教师职业本来正是女性的用武之地，可在其最高分支领域，现在的偏见对她们极为不利。在这种情况下，没有人再可以固执己见，使

女性雪上加霜，让她们接受与男性不同的职业训练……

当然这种推论还不够全面，我们还得考虑是否真有某些专业尤其适合女性，因此需要开办特殊的女子技术学校。答案是肯定的，确有三种职业学校，其中女生已大大超过男生，即师范学校(包括大学的师范系)、幼教学校及图书馆学的学校。如果烹饪和家政能成为有利可图的职业——尤其是当富有的男子果真根据烹调和卫生经验选择妻子，而不是像现在这样，以妻子的社会地位及知识程度给自己增光的时候——就可能到处涌现烹饪和家政学校，而且像师范学校那样，其生员十之八九肯定是女性。毫无疑问，假如这些学校里都是清一色的男生，那么怎么教这些男生，也就怎么教那些女生。烹饪的教授法不会因厨师的性别差异而有所不同……

继续论证的责任落在那些认为大学教育应对男女区别对待的人的头上。三十年来，大学教育的内容基本上是不分男女性别的，而且女生的收获实在可喜可贺。受过大学教育的女子跟未受过大学教育的姐妹们一样，大都结婚，成立家庭，而且往往家庭更为美满，因为她们选择了大部分有职业的男性。她们也不像人们预测的那样，死于分娩过程，而是生出了数量可观的婴孩，并将他们抚育成人，而不使他们早年夭折。受过大学教育的女性都是称职的好管家，好妻子，好母亲。作为教师，她们成果辉煌，令人刮目相看，以致使那些未受过大学教育的女教师正面临着被挤出教师队伍的厄运。总而言之，学过男子课程的女子，其成功，其能力，其健康状态都是无可挑剔的……

当然，离开大学后，女子的生活将有别于男子。她们当中大约一半的人谨慎地选择了自己的如意郎君，总的说来，婚后生活轻松自在，不需自谋生计，感到非常快活。她们当中约有三分之一的人成为职业教师，而且可能终生执教。剩下的，大都终身未嫁，但生活轻松、充实，对社会有益。妇女离开大学后，只有三分之一的人，在教书这个独特的极其有限的职业中，才得到终身从事商业或其他职业的男子所受到的更广泛的训练。正因为如此，妇女在大学期间应该享有最广泛的教育。这种教育应是不分男女性别的，原因是：一、我相信最好的教育只有一种；二、男女将作为同志、知心朋友、生活伴侣，一道生活，

一道工作；三、如果男女在大学里，受到同样的知识训练，拥有同样的学术向往，具有同样的道德情操，那么，他们本身卓有成效的幸福生活以及他们后代子女的幸福日子都有增无减。

Once granted that women are to compete with men for self-support as physicians or lawyers, . . . what is the best attainable training for the physician or the lawyer, man or woman. There is no reason to believe that typhoid or scarlet fever or phthisis can be successfully treated by a woman physician in one way and by a man physician in another way. There is indeed every reason to believe that unless treated in the best way the patient may die, the sex of the doctor affecting the result less even than the sex of the patient. The question needs only to be put for us to feel irrevocably sure that there is no special woman's way of dealing with disease. And so in law, in architecture, in electricity, in bridge-building, in all mechanic arts and technical sciences, our effort must be for the most scientific instruction, the broadest basis of training that will enable men and women students to attain the highest possible proficiency in their chosen profession. Given two bridge-builders, a man and a woman, given a certain bridge to be built, and given as always the unchangeable laws of mechanics in accordance with which this special bridge and all other bridges must be built, it is simply inconceivable that the preliminary instruction given to the two bridge-builders should differ in quantity, quality, or method of presentation because while the bridge is building one will wear knickerbockers and the other a rainy-day skirt. You may say you do not think that God intended a woman to be a bridge-builder. You have, of course, a right to this prejudice; but as you live in America, and not in the interior of Asia or Africa, you will probably not be able to impose it on women who -wish to build bridges. You may say that women's minds are such that they cannot build good bridges. If you are right in this opinion you need concern yourselves no further—bridges built by women, will on the whole, tend to fall down, and the competition of men who can build good bridges will force women out of the profession. Both of these opinions

of yours are side issues, and, however they may be decided hereafter, do not in the remotest degree affect the main question of a common curriculum for men and women in technical and professional schools. But you may say that men and women should study bridge building and medicine and law in separate schools, and not together. You may be foolish enough, and wasteful enough, to think that all the expensive equipment of our technical and professional schools should be duplicated for women, when experience and practice have failed to bring forward a single valid objection to professional coeducation, and when the present trend of public opinion is overwhelmingly against you; and for the sake of argument let us grant that beside every such school for men is to be founded a similar school for women. But this duplication of professional schools for women leaves us just where we were in regard to the curriculum of professional study to be taught in such women's schools. So long as men and women are to compete together, and associate together, in their professional life, women's preparation for the same profession cannot safely differ from men's. If men's preparation is better, women, who are less well prepared, will be left behind in the race; if women's is better, men will suffer in competition with women. . . .

The above argument applies with equal force to the training given by the university graduate school of arts and sciences. Statistics indicate that an overwhelmingly large majority of men and women graduate students are fitting themselves for the profession of higher teaching, that over one-third of all graduate students in the United States are women, and that the annual increase of women graduate students is greater than that of men. In the lower grades of teaching men have almost ceased to compete with women; in the higher grade, that is, in college teaching, women are just beginning to compete with men, and this competition is beset -with the bitterest professional jealousy that women have ever had to meet, except perhaps in medicine. There are in the United States only eleven independent colleges for women of at all the same grade as the three hundred and thirty-six coeducational colleges where women and men are taught together, yet only in these

separate colleges for women have women an opportunity of competing with men for professors' chairs. It is very rare indeed for coeducational colleges to employ any women instructors, and even then only so many women are as a rule employed as are needed to look after the discipline or home life of the women students. Where women are teaching in coeducational colleges side by side with men their success is regarded by men teachers with profound dislike, and on account of this sex jealousy college presidents and boards of trustees (all of whom are, as a rule, men) cannot, even if they would, materially add to the number of women teachers or advance them. The working of the elective system, however, permits us to see that men students show no such jealousy, but recognize the able teaching of women by overcrowding their classes. Women have succeeded so brilliantly, on the whole so much better than men, as primary and secondary teachers, that they will undoubtedly repeat this success in their college teaching so soon as artificial restrictions are removed. No one could seriously maintain that, handicapped as women now are by prejudice in the highest branches of a profession peculiarly their own, they should be further hampered by the professional training different from men's. . . .

But this line of reasoning will be incomplete unless we ask ourselves whether there are not some subjects peculiar to women in which we must maintain special women's technical schools. There are certainly three professional schools where women students already largely outnumber men: normal schools, including normal departments of universities, schools of nursing, and schools for library study. If cooking and domestic service ever become lucrative professions, and more especially if men of wealth ever come to choose their wives for culinary and sanitary lore instead as at present for social and intellectual charm, such schools will tend to spring up and, like normal schools, will undoubtedly be attended almost exclusively by women. They will beyond question be taught exactly in the same way as if they were to be attended exclusively by men. The method of teaching cooking is one and the same and does not depend on the sex of the

cooks. . . .

The burden of proof is with those who believe that the college education of men and women should differ. For thirty years it has been as nearly as possible the same, with brilliantly satisfactory results, so far as concerns women. College women have married as generally as their non-college-bred sisters, and have as a rule married better than their sisters, because they have chosen a larger proportion of professional men; they have not died in childbirth, as was predicted; they have borne their proper proportion of children, and have brought up more than the usual proportion of those born; they have made efficient housekeepers and waives as well as mothers; their success as teachers has been so astonishingly great that already they are driving non-college-bred women teachers out of the field. There is, in short, not a word to be said against the success and efficiency and healthfulness of these women educated by men's curriculum. ...

Undoubtedly the life of most women after leaving college will differ from that of men. About one-half will marry in a rather deliberate fashion, choosing carefully, and on the whole living very happily a life of comparative leisure, not of self-support; about one-third will become professional teachers, probably for life; and the greater part of the remainder will lead useful and helpful lives as unmarried women of leisure. And just because after leaving college only one-third, and that in the peculiarly limited profession of teaching, are to get the wider training of affairs that educates men engaged in business and in the professions all their lives thru, women while in college ought to have the broadest possible education. This college education should be the same as men's, not only because there is, I believe, but one best education, but because men and women are to live and work together as comrades and dear friends and married friends and lovers, and because their effectiveness and happiness and the welfare of the generation to come after them will be vastly increased if their college education has given them the same intellectual training and the same scholarly and moral ideals.

雅各布.A.里斯 (JACOB A. RIIS)

与贫民窟的斗争 The Battle with the Slum



20 世纪初纽约市下东区的贫民窟街景

要为我们消除贫民窟，要为贫民窟将我们消灭，二者必居其一。

雅各布.A.里斯(1849—1914)出生于丹麦，二十一岁移居美国。几年后，他成为纽约市一家报社记者，报导腐败、丑闻以及纽约下东区贫民生活。他于1890年出版的《另一半人怎样生活》，促使官方通过立法对经济公寓进行改革。

《与贫民窟的斗争》是《另一半人怎样生活》的姊妹篇，发表于1902年。里斯作为社会评论家，与其同行首次意识到罪恶的贫困周期对家庭、社区、教育及就业机会的全面影响。他把读者吸引在自己身边，向政治官僚开战，为社会进步而战。他相信，文字具有揭露政治腐败及社会罪恶的威力，这是专门报道丑事的新闻界进步人士的共同特征。

下面文章节选自里斯的《与贫民窟的斗争》。

贫民窟的历史与文明一样古老。文明意味着一个种族向前发展。在一个种族里，通常有一些人由于这样或那样的原因无法跟上其他人的步伐，或是被同伴们挤出行进的队伍。这些人掉队了，当远远地被抛在队伍后头时，他们便失去希望，失去抱负，最终放弃一切。打这开始，假如他们孤立无援，他们便成为外部环境的牺牲品，环境则成为他们的主宰，恶劣的主宰。这些人相互拽着往下沈，愈陷愈深。上一代人的恶劣环境又传给下一代人。于是，由于人数为多，贫民窟便自然形成。与贫民窟的斗争始于文明与之作对之时。在良知与恐惧和自我利益共同对敌之前，文明打的是一场只输不赢的战争。当普通常识与基本原则成为人们的行动准则时，贫民窟才会消失。这两者并不总是相提并论的，但此处他们显然可划归一类。在理论上，公正对待个人被视为我们合众国的唯一安全保障。在处理贫民窟问题上，若能如此实践，贫民窟将很快消失。我们不必等待一个太平盛世，一千年后才去动手消除贫民窟，而是现在就可动手行动。所需要做的就是不能让贫民窟自生自灭。这样对贫民窟，对我们自己才有公正可言，因为令人揪心的是，贫民窟的症结所在就是其本身无力自救。当一个人溺水时，所要做的是先将他从水中拉出，以后要谈论此事有的是时间。可我们处理社会问题却本末倒置。聪明人自行其乐，对痛苦不堪者，不闻不问，放任自流。「物竞天择，适者生存」。有位「最不适者」却生存下来，用他的话说，去探究「带有社会性的原因」是有危险的。这种论调，看似科学，实为荒谬，它使洗耳恭听的一代人为之付出昂贵的代价。「带有社会性的原因」使政治流氓及其它种种恶棍有机可乘，他们从绝望堕落的贫民窟中大捞一把，也使悲观论者找到了防空洞，与这帮人作斗争时，成为废物。悲观论者使我们付出代价，而且还未付完。我们总要伸出手，将那溺水者从水中拉出的。现在是时候了。再晚一点，我们恐怕将难逃被溺水者拖下水去而一道沈没的危险。

贫民窟问题是历代的慢性病。可十九世纪目睹的各种巨大变化，新工业及政治自由使这一疾病恶性发作，并直接威胁到政治自由本身。我们当中太多人以为，我们合众国是建立在普选制基础之上，所以这足以证明我们没有那些侵扰以往国家的问题。但事实上，这里有意想不到的危险。我们曾庄严宣布过，人人生而平等，人人拥有若干不可剥夺的权利，其中包括生命权，自由权和追求

幸福权。可宣布后，我们却闭上眼睛，期待着这一方案自行生效。这就好像一个患感冒的人将医生的药方带上床，然后指望它会发生疗效。宣言本身并没有错，可只是一再重复宣言解决不了任何问题。在宣言颁布一百年之后的今天，我们睁眼看到的是：城市中的劳动妇女一天工钱只有六十美分，生产一打短裤才得四十美分，贫民窟夺走城里十分之一的人，每年有十分之一的人死于战乱，这恰恰是贫民窟里婴儿的死亡率。我们的国家已经繁荣富强，源源不断地通过我们港口的是足够几百万欧洲人享用的食物。然而，在穷街陋巷里，一堆堆目不识丁、缺吃少穿的人挤在一块。外国压迫者已被赶跑，国内黑人的铁镣已被打开，可处于水深火热之中的白人兄弟正在发出痛苦的呐喊，呐喊声带有明显的威胁性。我们赢得了政治自由，但贫困交加的问题并未解决，正在嘲弄我们，欧洲落魄者的加入又扩大了这一贫困化。一天六十美分的「自由」，我们的各个市政府很快都打上了这种印记，最终成了我们政治制度的丑闻和危险……

不错，我们工作缓慢。但尽管进展缓慢，这场战役非打不可，而且要打到底，因为要么我们消除贫民窟，要么贫民窟将我们消灭，二者必居其一。对此不可有任何怀疑。这一问题不容回避，回避意味着投降，投降意味着民治政府的结束。

假如有人以为这是小题大作，那么不妨想想看：民治政府是基于智慧与公众精神之上的，它有赖于人民有能力管理自己，而贫民窟代表的是愚昧、匮乏、丑陋、愤怒之时的暴乱。这些还只是一方面，另一方面是铁石心肠、麻木不仁、自私自利、贪得无厌。人的本性不过如此。不管我们是否拥有兄弟情谊，我们本是兄弟同胞。假如不给纽约下东区桑树街的人以兄弟情谊，我们要想在第五大道繁荣区找到善良公民的美德则是徒劳的。一方面，城里的贫民窟自由发展，无人过问；另一方面，城边码头仍然是一派繁忙景象，城里的仓库也愈添愈满——财富与匮乏就是如此结伴相行——但人民心中的爱国热情却熄灭了。

早在建国之初，共和国的缔造者们就已经看到，城市是他们规划中的危险之地。这里潜伏着民主政府消亡的危机。建国之初，在美国，二十五人中只有一人生活在城市，而现在三人中就有一人生活在城市。除了商人的自私，如今又

添上贫民窟的威胁。假如对贫民窟不闻不问，那么试问：贫民窟将我们消灭之日会远吗。

换句话说，当你需要人们以自由者身份给你选票时，你就不能让他们像猪一般生活，因为这是一种危险的做法。你不能夺走一个小孩的童年，夺走他的家园，夺走他的玩乐，夺走他那无忧无虑的自由，而同时又指望他长大成人时具备男性选民的成熟。儿童是我们的未来。今天我们怎么塑造他们，明天他们也将怎么对付我们。因此，贫民窟没有任何安全可言。最危险的事、最危险的行为莫过于对家庭的打击，因为公民责任源于家庭，而不是源于任何其他地方。贫民窟是家庭的仇敌。由于贫民窟的存在，我们国土上的主要城市早被称为「无家可归的城市」，当这个国家被真正称为「无家可归的国家时」，国将不国。

有鉴于此，我认为，在与贫民窟的斗争中，我们要么战胜，要么灭亡，没有中间路可走。我们一定会胜利的，因为我们不会像祖辈那样去维持现状。但这将是一场持久战，二年、十年、二十年都不够。尽管如此，我们必须继续战斗。假如，在我们的时代，能防止现在忘却兄弟情谊的人的第三代和第四代遭受惩罚，我们也就心满意足了。上帝的意旨是让他的子孙有所收获，如同人们对待兄弟一样。上帝要让我们用辛勤的泪水来领会概括于十诫中的教诲，只有这教诲才能使大地迎来未来的天国。

The slum is as old as civilization. Civilization implies a race to get ahead. In a race there are usually some who for one cause or another cannot keep up, or are thrust out from among their fellows. They fall behind, and when they have been left far in the rear they lose hope and ambition, and give up. Thenceforward, if left to their own resources, they are the victims, not the masters, of their environment; and it is a bad master. They drag one another always farther down. The bad environment becomes the heredity of the next generation. Then, given the crowd, you have the slum ready-made. The battle with the slum began the day civilization recognized in it her enemy. It was a losing fight until conscience joined forces with fear and

self-interest against it. When common sense and the golden rule obtain among men as a rule of practice, it will be over. The two have not always been classed together, but here they are plainly seen to belong together. Justice to the individual is accepted in theory as the only safe groundwork of the commonwealth. When it is practised in dealing with the slum, there will shortly be no slum. We need not wait for the millennium, to get rid of it. We can do it now. All that is required is that it shall not be left to itself. That is justice to it and to us, since its grievous ailment is that it cannot help itself. When a man is drowning, the thing to do is to pull him out of the water; afterward there will be time for talking it over. We got at it the other way in dealing with our social problems. The wise men had their day, and they decided to let bad enough alone; that it was unsafe to interfere with "causes that operate sociologically," as one survivor of these unfittest put it to me. It was a piece of scientific humbug that cost the age which listened to it dear. "Causes that operate sociologically" are the opportunity of the political and every other kind of scamp who trades upon the depravity and helplessness of the slum, and the refuge of the pessimist who is useless in the fight against them. We have not done yet paying the bills he ran up for us. Some time since we turned to, to pull the drowning man out, and it was time. A little while longer, and we should hardly have escaped being dragged down with him.

The slum complaint had been chronic in all ages, but the great changes which the nineteenth century saw, the new industry, political freedom, brought on an acute attack which put that very freedom in jeopardy. Too many of us had supposed that, built as our commonwealth was on universal suffrage, it would be proof against the complaints that harassed older states; but in fact it turned out that there was extra hazard in that. Having solemnly resolved that all men are created equal and have certain inalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, we shut our eyes and waited for the formula to work. It was as if a man with a cold should take the doctor's prescription to bed with him, expecting it to cure him. The formula was all right, but merely repeating it worked no cure. When,

after a hundred years, we opened our eyes, it was upon sixty cents a day as the living wage of the working-woman in our cities; upon "knee pants" at forty cents a dozen for the making; upon the Potter's Field taking tithe of our city life, ten per cent each year for the trench, truly the Lost Tenth of the slum. Our country had grown great and rich; through our ports was poured food for the millions of Europe. But in the back streets multitudes huddled in ignorance and want. The foreign oppressor had been vanquished, the fetters stricken from the black man at home; but his white brother, in his bitter plight, sent up a cry of distress that had in it a distinct note of menace. Political freedom we had won; but the problem of helpless poverty, grown vast with the added offscourings of the Old World, mocked us, unsolved. Liberty at sixty cents a day set presently its stamp upon the government of our cities, and it became the scandal and the peril of our political system. . . ,

Slow work, yes! but be it ever so slow, the battle has got to be fought, and fought out. For it is one thing or the other: either wipe out the slum, or it wipes out us. Let there be no mistake about this. It cannot be shirked. Shirking means surrender, and surrender means the end of government by the people.

If any one believes this to be needless alarm, let him think a moment. Government by the people must ever rest upon the people's ability to govern themselves, upon their intelligence and public spirit. The slum stands for ignorance, want, unfitness, for mob-rule in the day of wrath. This at one end. At the other, hard-heartedness, indifference, self-seeking, greed. It is human nature. We are brothers whether we own it or not, and when the brotherhood is denied in Mulberry Street we shall look vainly for the virtue of good citizenship on Fifth Avenue. When the slum flourishes unchallenged in the cities, their wharves may, indeed, be busy, their treasure houses filled — wealth and want go so together, — but patriotism among their people is dead.

As long ago as the very beginning of our republic, its founders saw that the cities were danger-spots in their plan. In them was the peril of democratic government. At that time, scarce one in twenty-five of the people in the United

States lived in a city. Now it is one in three. And to the selfishness of the trader has been added the threat of the slum. Ask yourself then how long before it would make an end of us, if let alone.

Put it this way: you cannot let men live like pigs when you need their votes as freemen; it is not safe. You cannot rob a child of its childhood, of its home, its play, its freedom from toil and care, and expect to appeal to the grown-up voter's manhood. The children are our to-morrow, and as we mould them to-day so will they deal with us then. Therefore that is not safe. Unsafest of all is any thing or deed that strikes at the home, for from the people's home proceeds citizen virtue, and nowhere else does it live. The slum is the enemy of the home. Because of it the chief city of our land came long ago to be called "The Homeless City." When this people comes to be truly called a nation without homes there will no longer be any nation.

Hence, I say, in the battle with the slum we win or we perish. There is no middle way. We shall win, for we are not letting things be the way our fathers did. But it will be a running fight, and it is not going to be won in two years, or in ten, or in twenty. For all that, we must keep on fighting, content if in our time we avert the punishment that waits upon the third and the fourth generation of those who forget the brotherhood. As a man does in dealing with his brother so it is the way of God that his children shall reap, that through toil and tears we may make out the lesson which sums up all the commandments and alone can make the earth fit for the kingdom that is to come.

卡丽.查普曼.卡特 (CARRIE CHAPMAN CART)

对妇女的偏见 Prejudice Against Women

妇女运动的全部目的就是要推翻妇女有必要服服贴贴的观念,就是要教会妇女获得自尊,使她们不听命于人,教会男人充分理解平等,使他们不强求妇女服服贴贴。

卡丽·查普曼·卡特(1859—1947)出生于威斯康辛州里彭，当过教师，中学校长，爱阿华州梅森城学校督学。卡特筹建有爱阿华妇女参政协会，创立了国际妇女参政联盟，并改组了全美妇女参政协会，从而加强了其政治作用。第十九号修正案通过后，卡特将妇女参政协会改组为妇女选民联盟。以下节选自卡特于 1902 年 2 月在华盛顿当选为全美妇女参政协会主席时的就职演说词。

……妇女参政是个简单明了的问题。这一要求带着尊严、有礼有节、顺理成章。战胜保守派，获得男子普选权虽然是一大胜利，但将来获得女子普选权的胜利则是不可估量的。攻克了许许多多被认为不可攻破的传统思想的堡垒后，男子才争取到选举权。然而，与妇女选举权面前一排排强大的反对势力相比，那些堡垒充其量不过是唐吉珂德的风车。

妇女选举权面临的正是男子选举权曾面对的所有反对势力。可除此之外，妇女选举权还得与性偏见作斗争。这种性偏见是人类最古老、最无理、最顽固的偏执症。何谓偏见，那就是一种毫无理由的观点，一种听不到论证，就作出的判断，一种不知来处的莫名其妙的情绪。性偏见是剥夺妇女权益、剥夺妇女自由、剥夺妇女机会的一种先验判断，毫无根据地认为妇女没有能力从事她们从未做过的事。女权运动迅速发展到今天，其道路上的最大障碍就是性偏见。这种偏见至今仍然是个巨大的障碍。

至少在美国，我们不需再为妇女与有识之士一道投票时有关智力、道德及身体方面的合格性作辩解。我们当中最佳公民的道理早已得到证实，我们论点的正确性也已得到公认，但我们还远远没有战胜性偏见。

当一个大教堂主持暴躁地宣布说，妇女的要求不再那么有节制时，男人可能重操旧业，溺死女婴。当一个名声赫赫的参议员宣布说，没有人能为妇女的选举权找到理由时，当他以个人的地位和影响来反对时，当一个著名女作家将女权运动的代言人说成「尖声呼叫的女性」时，当一个政治头面人物说，「反对妇女选举权就是否定独立宣言」，而他自己却希望妇女得不到选举权时，问

题已经完全超越理智范围，而回到性偏见的领域，逻辑与常识都无法打开的领域……

有四大原因导致妇女处于受支配的地位。按照男人是一个种族的唯一组成单位的理论，每个原因都是合乎逻辑的推断。这四大原因是：服从，愚昧，否定个人自由，否定财产和报酬的享有权。这四种因素共起作用，使男人养成自私、霸道的习性，使妇女养成逆来顺受的习惯……为了使这些不利条件牢牢地套住妇女，世人的推理是男人代表整个种族，女人只是男人的附属品，这样他们的行为便合乎逻辑了。将妇女永远作为附属品来监护等于剥夺了妇女思想与行动的全部自由，剥夺了妇女的发展动力，使妇女顺理成章地成为世人所希望看到的空虚的弱者。妇女的地位又进一步强化了有关妇女低能的流行观点。这世界不让妇女学会任何技巧，却说她们干的活一文不值，这世界不许妇女持个人见解，却说妇女不善于思考，这世界不许妇女对公众演讲，却说女性中没有演说家，这世界不让妇女上学校，却说女性中没有天才，这世界剥夺了妇女的一切责任，却说女性软弱无能，这世界要让妇女明白她们的点滴快乐全是靠男人施舍的。当妇女按照人们所教的，涂脂抹粉，戴上精巧的羽饰，去寻求快活时，人们又说她们图虚荣。

这就是文学作品所记奉的妇女形象，歌谣与传说使之不朽，骑士为之说尽发疯般的甜言蜜语。正如狄德罗说的，「当女性是主题时，笔头需浸满彩虹，而纸张需用蝴蝶翅膀来擦干。」人们让妇女罩上这种神秘的光环，让她们相信自己是受宠爱的。世人眼中理想的妇女形象是：漂亮，风流，多情，顺从，谨卑，时而柔弱，时而激动得暴跳，但从来是愚昧无知，软弱无能的。

当新的女性终于出现，高举真理的火炬，有理有节，带着尊严，要求分享这世上的教育、机会与责任时，难怪那些缺乏训练，软弱无能的妇女害怕地往后退，也难怪男人竟站出来为传统妇女说话，因为他们已习惯于自己所钟爱的女性。他们欣赏的正是妇女的软弱与依赖性。他们喜欢把妇女想象成柔软的攀援藤，而把自己看作粗壮的橡树。男人打从骑士时代起，就崇拜女性的理想，似乎她们是女神，但却一直控制她们，似乎女人又是白痴。男人根本没有意识到，自己的这两重地位是如何不协调，而错以为这种关系正符合上帝的旨

意…。。

妇女运动的全部目的就是要推翻妇女有必要服服贴贴的观念，就是要教会妇女获得自尊，使她们不听命于人，教会男人充分理解平等，使他们不强求妇女服服贴贴。正如约翰·斯图亚特·穆勒谈到男子获得选举权之前的情况所说的，「高贵者在社会阶梯上一步步往下走，普通人一步步往上攀，每过五十年，他们就彼此更加靠近。」因此我们也可以说，在过去一百年里，男性作为世界的主导力量一直往下降，女性一直往上攀，每过十年，他们都彼此更加靠近。反对妇女争取选举权是旧理论的最后一道防线。这种理论认为，只有男性才是种族的创造者，因此女性必须服服贴贴……

过去，妇女运动的全部努力在于推翻女性在家庭中的隶属地位。这一目的已基本达到。一般受过教育的女子，在父亲家中、在丈夫家中、在儿子家中，都享有个人自由的权利。一个女子不必再顺从一个男子。在家里以及在社会中，女子都享有自主权，现在的问题是：作为整体的女性是否应顺从作为整体的男性。能否允许在生活的各个部门享有自治权的女子，在国家政治生活中也享有自治权。一个男子支配一个女子是不对的，整个男性支配整个女性也同样不对。一个男子支配其他男子是不对的，男性支配女性也同样是不对的…。

...The question of woman suffrage is a very simple one. The plea is dignified, calm and logical. Yet, great as is the victory over conservatism which is represented in the accomplishment of man suffrage, infinitely greater will be the attainment of woman suffrage. Man suffrage exists through the surrender of many a stronghold of ancient thought, deemed impregnable, yet these obstacles were the veriest Don Quixote windmills compared with the opposition which has stood arrayed against woman suffrage.

Woman suffrage must meet precisely the same objections which have been urged against man suffrage, but in addition, it must combat sex-prejudice, the

oldest, the most unreasoning, the most stubborn of all human idiosyncracies. What is prejudice. An opinion, which is not based upon reason; a judgment, without having heard the argument; a feeling, without being able to trace from whence it came. And sex-prejudice is a pre-judgment against the rights, liberties and opportunities of women. A belief, without proof, in the incapacity of women to do that which they have never done. Sex-prejudice has been the chief hindrance in the rapid advance of the woman's rights movement to its present status, and it is still a stupendous obstacle to be overcome.

In the United States, at least, we need no longer argue woman's intellectual, moral and physical qualification for the ballot with the intelligent. The Reason of the best of our citizens has long been convinced. The justice of the argument has been admitted, but sex-prejudice is far from conquered.

When a great church official exclaims petulantly, that if women are no more modest in their demands men may be obliged to take to drowning female infants again; when a renowned United States Senator declares no human being can find an answer to the arguments for woman suffrage, but with all the force of his position and influence he will oppose it; when a popular woman novelist speaks of the advocates of the movement as the "shrieking sisterhood;" when a prominent politician says "to argue against woman suffrage is to repudiate the Declaration of Independence," yet he hopes it may never come, the question flies entirely outside the domain of reason, and retreats within the realm of sex-prejudice, where neither logic nor common sense can dislodge it. . . .

Four chief causes led to the subjection of women, each the logical deduction from the theory that men were the units of the race— obedience, ignorance, the denial of personal liberty, and the denial of right to property and wages. These forces united in cultivating a spirit of egotism and tyranny in men and weak dependence in women. . . . In fastening these disabilities upon women, the world acted logically when reasoning from the premise that man is the race and woman his dependent. The perpetual tutelage and subjection robbed women of all freedom

of thought and action, and all incentive for growth, and they logically became the inane weaklings the world would have them, and their condition strengthened the universal belief in their incapacity. This world taught woman nothing skillful and then said her work was valueless. It permitted her no opinions and said she did not know how to think. It forbade her to speak in public, and said the sex had no orators. It denied her the schools, and said the sex had no genius. It robbed her of every vestige of responsibility, and then called her weak. It taught her that every pleasure must come as a favor from men, and when to gain it she decked herself in paint and fine feathers, as she had been taught to do, it called her vain.

This was the woman enshrined in literature. She was immortalized in song and story. Chivalry paid her fantastic compliments. As Diderot said: "when woman is the theme, the pen must be dipped in the rainbow, and the pages must be dried with a butterfly's wing." Surrounded by a halo of this kind of mysticism woman was encouraged to believe herself adored. This woman who was pretty, coquettish, affectionate, obedient, self effacing [*sic*], now gentle and meek, now furious and emotional, always ignorant, weak and silly, became the ideal woman of the world.

When at last the New Woman came, bearing the torch of truth, and with calm dignity asked a share in the world's education, opportunities and duties, it is no wonder these untrained weaklings should have shrunk away in horror. . . . Nor was it any wonder that man should arise to defend the woman of the past, whom he had learned to love and cherish. Her very weakness and dependence were dear to him and he loved to think of her as the tender clinging vine, while he was the strong and sturdy oak. He had worshiped her ideal through the age of chivalry as though she were a goddess, but he had governed her as though she were an idiot. Without the slightest comprehension of the inconsistency of his position, he believed this relation to be in accordance with God's command. . . .

The whole aim of the woman movement has been to destroy the idea that obedience is necessary to women; to train women to such self-respect that they would not grant obedience and to train men to such comprehension of equity they

would not exact it. . . . As John Stuart Mill said in speaking of the conditions which preceded the enfranchisement of men: "The noble has been gradually going down on the social ladder and the commoner has been gradually going up. Every half century has brought them nearer to each other;" so we may say, for the past hundred years, man as the dominant power in the world has been going down the ladder and -woman has been climbing up. Every decade has brought them nearer together. The opposition to the enfranchisement of women is the last defense of the old theory that obedience is necessary for -women, because man alone is the creator of the race.

The whole effort of the woman movement has been to destroy obedience of woman in the home. That end has been very generally attained, and the average civilized woman enjoys the right of individual liberty in the home of her father, her husband, and her son. The individual woman no longer obeys the individual man. She enjoys self-government in the home and in society. The question now is, shall all women as a body obey all men as a body. Shall the woman who enjoys the right of self-government in every other department of life be permitted the right of self-government in the State. It is no more right for all men to govern all women than it was for one man to govern one woman. It is no more right for men to govern women than it was for one man to govern other men. . . .

W. E. B. 杜波伊斯 (W. E.B. DU BOIS)

有才能的十分之一 The Talented Tenth

必须使黑人种族中有才能的十分之一成为本民族的思想领袖及文化传教士。

W. E. B. 杜波伊斯(1868—1963)是 20 世纪上半叶最有影响的黑人知识分子，出生于麻塞诸塞州的大巴灵顿，毕业于菲斯克大学，获哈佛大学哲学博士学位。1903 年，在其最著名的著作《黑人的灵魂》中，杜波伊斯准确地预言到：「二十世纪的问题是种族歧视下的肤色界线问题。」由于发现社会科学不足以反抗歧视黑人的法律，不足以反抗剥夺公民权、私刑以及其他种族歧视的

行为，杜波伊斯为了影响公众舆论而转向政治活动。作为全国有色人种协会(1909)的创建者之一，杜波伊斯从1910年至1934年一直担任该会会刊《危机》的主编。杜波伊斯的一生，大部分时间都在与自己的矛盾倾向作斗争，一种为证明自己作为非裔美国人的身份而陷入的矛盾冲突。他在《黑人的灵魂》一书中写道：「一个人总感到自己的双重性——一方面是美国人，另一方面是黑人；两颗灵魂，两种思想，两种无法妥协的抗争，在同一个黑人身躯中两种冲突的理想；只是其自身的顽强毅力才免使自己的身躯被撕得破碎。」

在1903年发表的《黑人问题》中，杜波伊斯批判了布克.T.华盛顿对黑人进行工艺教育的主张。问题的分歧在于什么样的教育才能最有效地使黑人从贫困中摆脱出来，获得平等。杜波伊斯主张，黑人中「有才能的十分之一」应接受大学教育，使他们成为整个黑人种族的领袖。

黑人种族，与其他任何一个种族一样，将由本民族的非凡人材来拯救。因此，黑人的教育问题应首先解决其中「有才能的十分之一」。这一问题牵涉到如何培养黑人种族中的精英，使他们能够带领群为脱离本民族及其它民族中劣等人的致命感染。训练人才是项艰巨复杂的任务，其技巧是教育专家的研究课题，其目的则体现了预言家的远见。假如金钱作为训练目的，我们将培养出赚钱的东西；假如我们将技术工艺作为教育目标，我们将拥有工匠，而从本质上看，并非人才。只有将塑造人格作为学校工作的目标，我们才能拥有人才。人格的培养目标包括：智力，宽厚的同情心，昨天与今天的世界知识，以及人类与世界关系的知识。这才是构成真实生活的高等教育所需的课程……打一开始，就是由黑人种族中受过教育的有识之士来领导和推动群众。使他们的努力受阻、难以成功的唯一障碍是奴役制及种族偏见，因为奴役制除了将弱者的存在合法化，除了使种族内部领导的自然作用消失外，还能是什么呢……

今天有一种时髦的说法，……认为，假如拥有自由，黑人领袖本来应产生于庄稼汉，而不是产生于参议院。这是一种愚蠢而又有害的谎言。黑奴服苦役二百五十年之久，直到参议院通过战争修正案，他们的苦役一无所获。今天半

自由的黑奴，除非赢得政治权利，获得有正当保护的公民地位，否则再过二百五十年，他们可能仍然在地里服苦役，仍然像现在这样，贫困交加、愚昧无知，成为流氓手中的玩物。这一点头脑清醒的人嘴里不敢说，但心里却很清楚……

那么，一个正在斗争中的民族如何才能培养出自己的领袖，如何使已经站立起来的少数人增强手中的力量呢。答案只有一个：青年中最有能力的最佳人选必须接受本国的大学教育。我们不愿为黑人大学到底该教什么以及怎样教而争论——我们倒愿意承认，每个人，每个民族都需要自己独特的课程。然而有一点是肯定的，即，大学是人类的发明，它通过训练聪明正直的人，使知识和文化一代代传下去。人类的其他发明担当不起这项工作，即使是职业和工艺学校也担当不起。

不是所有人都能上大学，但一部分人必须上大学。每个分离的团体，分离的民族都必须要有自己的「酵母」，必须为少数有才能的人建立培训中心，在中心里，人不必为了生存而从事繁重的劳役，「以致头昏眼乱，以致除了果腹别无更高追求，以致崇拜金子胜过崇拜上帝。在中心里，有真正的教育，起先只有自由人当中的上帝宠儿才能受到的教育。我们一开始本应从哪里着手建设呢。老鼠把眼睛埋在土里含糊其词地说：「当然从底层开始。」不错！就是要从底层开始，从最底一层开始，从知识大厦的最后一层开始，从知识海洋的最底层开始；在那里，正义的根须深深地扎进真理土壤的最底层。人们起初就是照此开始行动的。他们创办了大学，大学又萌发出师范学校，师范学校送出了教师，师范教师的周围又聚集着一批批其他教师，他们前往公立学校任教。一所大学可使二千人学会希腊语、拉丁语及数学，这二千人可在道德与行为举止方面培养出五万人，这五万人又可使五百万人学会勤俭，学会字母。就是这五百万人今天拥有三十亿元的财产。这种培训曾经创造出奇迹：十九世纪最为壮观的和平之战。可今天人们却一笑置之，并且摆出一副盛气凌人的架子告诉我们，这种做法令人惊讶，纯粹是一种错误；还告诉我们，要建立一种教育制度，恰当的做法首先是把儿童召集在一起，给他们买上书本和锄头，然后可去寻找教师，假如碰巧找到了，就让他们去教儿童怎么劳动。至于生活，他们带着茫

然的神色反问道：「怎么，劳动与生活有联系吗。」

一个受过大学教育的黑人……是群众领袖，理所当然的领袖。他为自己的生活社区树立了理想，指导本社区的思想，指明本社区社会运动的航向。几乎无需再争论了，黑人要比大多数其他团体更需要社会领导，他们没有可以仰靠的传统，没有根深蒂固的习俗，没有紧密的家庭纽带，没有明确的社会等级。所有这些东西都要经过漫长、痛苦的演化而成。即使在战前，牧师就是黑人团体的领袖，教堂则是黑人最大的社会机构。自然，牧师是无知的，而且常常是缺德的。由受过更好教育的人来取代老式的人一直是个难题。受过大学教育的牧师，通过自己的工作，以及对其他牧师与教徒的直接影响，有机会进行改革，给人以道德启发。这么做具有莫大的意义。

但是，黑人大学的特殊作用却在于培养教师。很少有人意识到靠这种作用人们完成了多重的任务，完成了多大的革命。在一代人中，为五百万甚至更多的无知的人提供他们同族、同血统的教师，不仅是项艰巨的任务，而且是项极其重要的任务，因为它几乎在每个黑人的眼前展现出一个可望追求到的理想，它使黑人群众与现代文明接触，使他们社区拥有自己的黑人领袖。拥有新一代的训练员。在这一工作中，受过大学教育的黑人先成为教师，然后是教师的教师。这里的关键所在是，大学教育提供的广博文化具有独特的价值。缺乏生活知识，不了解其更广泛的意义是黑人愚昧无知的最根本原因。培养出为了人类文化而不仅仅为养家糊口的教师，对于教育这些人来说，具有难以估价的意义……

就南部黑人而言，主要问题是：在目前情形下，现有的教育制度该做什么来尽可能提高黑人的文明程度。答案似乎很清楚，即，必须强化黑人的品性，增加黑人的知识，教会他们如何谋生。毫无疑问，这些事不能同时并举，一挥而就，同时也不能专顾某个人而忽略其他人。我们可以让黑人儿童找到活干，但仅仅这点还不能使先前为奴隶的种族文明化；我们也可以增加他们的世界知识，但这并不一定能使他们诚实地运用这些知识；我们也可以努力强化黑人的品性和意志，但要是他们没吃没穿，这又有何用。学校建筑不是教师——砖头、

灰浆与机器不能造就出人才。受过训练，经过长期的研究与思考，有造诣的活灵魂，才能给男女儿童注入真正的生活气息，使他们成为真正意义上的人，不管他们是黑人还是白人，是希腊人、俄罗斯人还是美国人……

我不否认(或者似乎只是眼下否认)教会黑人工作的绝对必要性，教会黑人不断熟练地工作的必要性。我似乎欣赏不了工艺学校为达到这一目的必定能起到的重大作用。但我的的确确要说，而且坚持认为，展望成功而被冲昏头脑的工业主义者只是凭想象以为他们的工作能得以完成，而根本不需要为男女提供广博的文化教育，使他们成为教师的教师，以此类推又培养出公立学校的教师……

我是极力倡导为黑人儿童、同时也为白人儿童提供体力劳动培训及职业教育的。我认为，战后，除了创办黑人办学，黑人教育中最有价值的就是为黑人儿童增加工艺训练。但我坚持认为，一切真正教育的目的不是使人成为木匠，而是使木匠成为人材。要使木匠成为人才，有二种同等重要的做法，一是让他们在自己劳动的社团和社区中拥有受过文科教育的教师和领导，让这些人给他们及其家属讲明生活的意义，二是让他们提高智力和技术工艺，使他们成为有效率的劳动者。要达到第一个目标需要有黑人大学以及受过大学教育的人才——不需要很多这样的大学，而只需要几所质量上乘的大学；不需要太多受过大学教育的人才，但要有足够的数量能使「面团」发酵，能激励群众。使其中「有才能的十分之一」成为领袖。要达到第二个目标需要有一个完善的普通学校体系，教学质量好，地点方便，设备齐全……

美国同胞，你们眼前的问题很清楚：这且是一个由你们罪恶、愚蠢的祖先移植来的种族。不管你们喜欢与否，数百万黑人已在此地，并将继续呆下去。假如你们不将他们拉起来，他们就将把你们拖下去。教育与工作是提高民族素质的杠杆。除非有正确理想的鼓舞，有智慧的指引，否则，仅有工作是不行的。教育不能只教工作——教育必须教会生活。必须使黑人种族中有才能的十分之一成为本民族的思想领袖及文化传教士。没有其他人能胜任这项工作，因此黑人大学必须为之培养人才。黑人种族，跟其他任何民族一样，将由本民族的非

凡人才来拯救。

The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races. Now the training of men is a difficult and intricate task. Its technique is a matter for educational experts, but its object is for the vision of seers. If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools—intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it—this is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life. . . . From the very first it has been the educated and intelligent of the Negro people that have led and elevated the mass, and the sole obstacles that nullified and retarded their efforts were slavery and race prejudice; for what is slavery but the legalized survival of the unfit and the nullification of the work of natural internal leadership. ...

It is the fashion of today to. . . say that with freedom Negro leadership should have begun at the plow and not in the Senate—a foolish and mischievous lie; two hundred and fifty years that black serf toiled at the plow and yet that toiling was in vain till the Senate passed the war amendments; and two hundred and fifty years more the half-free serf of today may toil at his plow, but unless he have political rights and righteously guarded civic status, he will still remain the poverty-stricken and ignorant plaything of rascals, that he now is. This all sane men know even if they dare not say it. . . .

How then shall the leaders of a struggling people be trained and the hands of the risen few strengthened. There can be but one answer: The best and most

capable of their youth must be schooled in the colleges and universities of the land. We will not quarrel as to just what the university of the Negro should teach or how it should teach it—I willingly admit that each soul and each race-soul needs its own peculiar curriculum. But this is true: A university is a human invention for the transmission of knowledge and culture from generation to generation, through the training of quick minds and pure hearts, and for this work no other human invention will suffice, not even trade and industrial schools.

All men cannot go to college but some men must; every isolated group or nation must have its yeast, must have for the talented few centers of training where men are not so mystified and befuddled by the hard and necessary toil of earning a living, as to have no aims higher than their bellies, and no God greater than Gold. This is true training, and thus in the beginning were the favored sons of the freedmen trained.... Where ought they to have begun to build. At the bottom, of course, quibbles the mole with his eyes in the earth. Aye! truly at the bottom, at the very bottom; at the bottom of knowledge, down in the very depths of knowledge there where the roots of justice strike into the lowest soil of Truth. And so they did begin; they founded colleges, and up from the colleges shot normal schools, and out from the normal schools went teachers, and around the normal teachers clustered other teachers to teach the public schools; the college trained in Greek and Latin and mathematics, 2,000 men; and these men trained full 50,000 others in morals and manners, and they in turn taught thrift and the alphabet to nine millions of men, who today hold \$300,000,000 of property. It was a miracle—the most wonderful peace-battle of the nineteenth century, and yet today men smile at it, and in fine superiority tell us that it was all a strange mistake; that a proper way to found a system of education is first to gather the children and buy them spelling books and hoes; afterward men may look about for teachers, if haply they may find them; or again they would teach men Work, but as for Life—why, what has Work to do with Life, they ask vacantly. . . .

The college-bred Negro . . . is, as he ought to be, the group leader, the man

who sets the ideals of the community where he lives, directs its thoughts, and heads its social movements. It need hardly be argued that the Negro people need social leadership more than most groups; that they have no traditions to fall back upon, no long-established customs, no strong family ties, no well-defined social classes. All these things must be slowly and painfully evolved. The preacher was, even before the war, the group leader of the Negroes, and the church their greatest social institution. Naturally this preacher -was ignorant and often immoral, and the problem of replacing the older type by better educated men has been a difficult one. Both by direct work and by direct influence on other preachers, and on congregations, the college- bred preacher has an opportunity for reformatory work and moral inspiration, the value of which cannot be overestimated.

It has, however, been in the furnishing of teachers that the Negro college has found its peculiar function. Few persons realize how vast a work, how mighty a revolution has been thus accomplished. To furnish five millions and more of ignorant people with teachers of their own race and blood, in one generation, was not only a very difficult undertaking, but a very important one, in that it placed before the eyes of almost every Negro child an attainable ideal. It brought the masses of the blacks in contact with modern civilization, made black men the leaders of their communities and trainers of the new generation. In this work college-bred Negroes were first teachers, and then teachers of teachers. And here it is that the broad culture of college work has been of peculiar value. Knowledge of life and its wider meaning has been the point of Negroes' deepest ignorance, and the sending out of teachers whose training has not been simply for breadwinning, but also for human culture, has been of inestimable value in the training of these men. . . .

The main question, so far as the Southern Negro is concerned, is: What, under the present circumstance, must a system of education do in order to raise the Negro as quickly as possible in the scale of civilization. The answer to this question seems to me clear: It must strengthen the Negro's character, increase his knowledge, and

teach him to earn a living. Now it goes without saying, that it is hard to do all these things simultaneously or suddenly, and that at the same time it will not do to give all the attention to one and neglect the others; we could give black boys trades, but that alone will not civilize a race of ex-slaves; we might simply increase their knowledge of the world, but this would not necessarily make them wish to use this knowledge honestly; we might seek to strengthen character and purpose, but to what end if this people have nothing to eat or to wear.. . . Schoolhouses do not teach themselves—piles of brick and mortar and machinery do not send out men. It is the trained, living human soul, cultivated and strengthened by long study and thought, that breathes the real breath of life into boys and girls and makes them human, whether they be black or white, Greek, Russian, or American. . . .

I would not deny, or for a moment seem to deny, the paramount necessity of teaching the Negro to work, and to work steadily and skillfully; or seem to depreciate in the slightest degree the important part industrial schools must play in the accomplishment of these ends, but I do say, and insist upon it, that it is industrialism drunk with its vision of success to imagine that its work can be accomplished without providing for the training of broadly cultured men and women to teach its own teachers, and to teach the teachers of the public schools. . . .

I am an earnest advocate of manual training and trade teaching for black boys, and for white boys, too. I believe that next to the founding of Negro colleges the most valuable addition to Negro education since the war has been industrial training for black boys. Nevertheless, I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men; there are two means of making the carpenter a man, each equally important; the first is to give the group and community in which he works liberally trained teachers and leaders to teach him and his family what life means; the second is to give him sufficient intelligence and technical skill to make him an efficient work- man; the first object demands the Negro college and college-bred men—not a quantity of such colleges, but a few of

excellent quality; not too many college-bred men, but enough to leaven the lump, to inspire the masses, to raise the Talented Tenth to leadership; the second object demands a good system of common schools, well-taught, conveniently located, and properly equipped....

Men of America, the problem is plain before you. Here is a race transplanted through the criminal foolishness of your fathers. Whether you like it or not the millions are here, and here they will remain. If you do not lift them up, they will pull you down. Education and work are the levers to uplift a people. Work alone will not do it unless inspired by the right ideals and guided by intelligence. Education must not simply teach work—it must teach Life. The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this work and Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.

W. E. B. 杜波伊斯

(W. E. B. DU BOIS)

对一黑人女孩的忠告

Advice to a Black Schoolgirl

愚昧无知解决不了任何问题。

宾夕法尼亚州伯温的一位白人中学教师写信给杜波伊斯，告诉他说，有位黑人学生「非常聪明」，但拒绝学习，因为她觉得「将来决不会有运用自己知识的机会」。1905年1月7日，杜波伊斯给这位名叫韦妮利亚·法雷娜的学生写信。全文如下：

我想知道，你是否愿意让我这个陌生人给你谈谈你的情况。我听说，你是位颇有才能的年轻姑娘。但却在荒废学业，因为你对将来能在世上有所作为已不抱希望。对此我深感遗憾。任何人，拥有生活于二十世纪的好运气，但竟然

在通常看来颇为有利的条件下，对生活失去信心，这几乎是令人难以置信的。不仅如此，假如这个人，像我一样，是个黑人，而且亿万人在某种程度上都依靠她的奋斗，对她倾注了所有的希望和期盼，那么，她的抱怨近乎犯罪。

在今日美国，成千上万的黑人女孩假如拥有你现在正要丢弃的受教育机会，她们将会感到无比幸福。假如你能培养自己，就像你现在可以轻而易举地办到一样，那么，在你的前头将出现奇妙的用武之地：你可以加入现在拥有一万五千名女性的教师队伍，加入成百上千的护士和医生队伍，加入人数愈来愈多的职员和速记员的队伍，而且最紧要的是，你还可以加入家庭主妇的行列。愚昧无知解决不了任何问题。当你接受了有可能得到的最佳教育，机遇之门就将在你面前敞开，就像为你成千上万的伙伴敞开一样。另一方面，一个黑人每错过一次机会，就使同种族中的其他人更难获得这样的机会。你想断送明日男女儿童的机会吗。

I wonder if you will let a stranger say a word to you about yourself. I have heard that you are a young woman of some ability but that you are neglecting your school work because you have become hopeless of trying to do anything in the world. I am very sorry for this. How any human being whose wonderful fortune it is to live in the 20th century should under ordinarily fair advantages despair of life is almost unbelievable. And if in addition to this that person is, as I am, of Negro lineage with all the hopes and yearnings of hundreds of millions of human souls dependent in some degree on her striving, then her bitterness amounts to crime.

There are in the U.S. today tens of thousands of colored girls who would be happy beyond measure to have the chance of educating themselves that you are neglecting. If you train yourself as you easily can, there are wonderful chances of usefulness before you: you can join the ranks of 15,000 Negro women teachers, of hundreds of nurses and physicians, of the growing number of clerks and stenographers, and above all of the host of homemakers. Ignorance is a cure for nothing. Get the very best training possible & the doors of opportunity will fly open

before you as they are flying before thousands of your fellow's. On the other hand every time a colored person neglects an opportunity, it makes it more difficult for others of the race to get such an opportunity. Do you want to cut off the chances of the boys and girls of tomorrow.

W. E. B.杜波伊斯
(W. E. B. DU BOIS)

尼亚加拉运动之原则声明

The Niagara Movement Declaration of Principles

只是由于种族或肤色不同而加以歧视，这是野蛮行径，无论习俗、权术和偏见如何使之神圣化，我们全然不管。

W. E. B.杜波伊斯发起并推动了尼亚加拉运动。尼亚加拉运动是非裔美国人著名领袖的组织。这些人于 1905 年夏天在尼亚加拉瀑布首次聚会，目的是要走一条与布克.T.华盛顿的迁就政策相对立的强硬路线。但由于等不到资金，因此无法配备长期的专职人员，无法设立总部，后来面临以往试图建立黑人抗议组织的同样命运。

但 1908 年，在林肯故乡，伊利诺斯州普林菲尔德的种族暴行促使一批白人起来筹建新组织，为黑人权利而弘扬废奴主义者的精神。社会工作者玛丽、怀特、欧文顿，新闻工作者威廉、英格利什、沃林，《纽约时报》出版商奥斯瓦尔德、加里森、维拉德召集了一次全国会议，呼吁恢复「争取政治自由和公民自由的斗争」。白人领袖与尼亚加拉运动的黑人领袖携手创建了全国有色人种协会。尼亚加拉运动的原则成为这一协会的原则。

进展：尼亚加拉运动会议成员 1905 年 7 月 11 日、12 日和 13 日于布法罗召集年会，庆贺美国黑人在已往十年中无可置疑的进展，特别是在提高文化、购置产业、控制犯罪、提高家庭生活水平、发展文艺方面的进展，以及在管理宗教、经济和教育机构中所表现出来的建设性与行政能力的进展。

选举权：同时，我们认为美国公民中的这一阶级应着重不断地反对剥夺他们的政治权利。我们认为成年人应有选举权；我们相信，没有人会善良、聪明和富有到人们可以将其邻居的福利全部委托给他。

公民自由：我们还支援反对剥夺我们民权的斗争。所有美国公民均应根据其行为和品德，有权在公共娱乐场所享有平好待遇。

谋生机会：我们对于经济生活中被剥夺平等机会，尤其不满；在南部乡村，这种不平等发展为劳役偿债和实际上的奴役制；在整个南部，它趋于挤垮劳方和小型企业；在各地，往往在不公正的法律支援下，美国人的偏见使美国黑人要想获得象样的生活水平更为困难。

教育：应为所有美国儿童实施小学义务教育。应充分地向所有人提供中等学校教育；在我们这个全民国家的任何地区，任何阶级或种族均无权垄断高等教育。我们认为，为了保护我们自己的民族结构，尤其是在南部，美国应资助公立小学教育。我们特别主张应对此进行一致的宣传。我们主张在南部增加公立高中教育的设施，在那里美国黑人几乎全部没有此种条件。我们赞成有设备完善的职业和技术学校以培训技艺人员。给予几所高等院校充分而慷慨的捐赠，而且必须专款专用于具有诚挚、善良愿望，为种族谋福利的人身上。

法院：我们要求法院的法官必须正直，陪审团的遴选不应有肤色的歧视，对黑人和白人的犯法者，应实施一样的惩罚和同样的改造。我们要求为无人赡养的孩子设立孤儿院和农业学校，为少年犯设立少年教养所，废除野蛮残忍的租用罪犯劳役的制度。

民意：我们严正指出，这个国家在人权问题、共和政府、人类的兄弟情谊等问题上，听取充分的公众舆论的倾向已明显衰退。我们祈求上帝，不要让这个国家堕落成为一伙吹牛者和压迫者的为非作歹之地，而应恢复先辈们的信仰，即人人生来自由平等，并享有若干不可剥夺的权利。

卫生：我们要求卫生条件——要求有机会住于象样的住房和地区，要求有

机会在身心健康的环境中养育我们的孩子。

雇主和工会：我们把人们这样对待两个对立阶级的行径公之于众，使公众对之深恶痛绝：雇方一方在紧急情况下招进无辜的美国黑人工人，然后既不给他们提供保护，也不让他们长期就业；而工会一方则只因为他们是黑人，便排斥、抵制并欺压这批成千上万的劳苦工友。这种做法已经加强并且还将加强劳资双方之间的敌对，而且使双方脸上都不光彩。

抗议运动：我们决不容许人们继续保留这种印象，即美国黑人甘愿低人一等，会在压迫下退让，在侮辱面前低三下四。虽然在孤立无援时，我们会忍受，但是只要美国还存在不平等，千百万美国人的抗议呼声决不会停止撞击他们同胞的耳鼓。

肤色界线：只是由于种族或肤色不同而加以歧视，这是野蛮行径，无论习俗、权术和偏见如何使之神圣化，我们全然不管。由于愚昧、道德低下和疾病原因而加以区别对待，这是向恶势力作斗争的合法手段，我们对此无可非议；但是，纯粹由于生理上的特征，出生地点不同，肤色差异而加以歧视，这是毫无理智的人类兽性的陈迹，全世界将会，也必然会因此而感到羞耻。

「黑人专用」车辆：我们反对「黑人专用」车辆，因为其作用是而且必定是要我们为三等的设备付头等的费用，叫我们在光天化日之下遭受侮辱，使我们惶惶不安，让人随心所欲地摧残我们的男人、女人的尊严与自尊。

士兵：我们遗憾的是，这个国家从不认为应该充分酬答黑人士兵；他们曾在五次战争中以鲜血保卫国家，国家却从上到下都不按他们的才能予以提拔。我们认为，将黑人子弟排除在陆军和海军训练学校门外，是不公正的。

战争修正法案：我们要求议会通过适当的立法以保证充分实施有关自由的条款，包括美国宪法第十三，第十四，第十五修正案。

压迫：我们拒绝接受这样荒谬的原则即压迫者是被压迫者一切权利的至高无上的支配者。美国黑人被偷、被枪、被鄙视，在重重困苦与压迫中挣扎；他

们需要同情，但得到的却是非难；需要帮助，但得到的却是阻挠；需要保护，但得到的却是暴力；需要正义，但得到的却是施舍；需要领导，但得到的却是应该懦弱、卑躬的教导；需要面包，但得到的却是石块的袭击。此等串若不改变，上帝决不会认为这个国家是公道的。

教会：当前基督教会的态度，尤其使我们惊诧不已——它们要求人们屈从于种族偏见的态度加强了，要求减少人类兄弟手足情的态度加强了，要求将黑人隔离于圣殿之外的态度加强了。对于二十世纪文明来说，这是错误的，非基督教的、不光彩的。

鼓动工作：对于上述不平之事，我们毫不犹豫地进行控诉，不断大声地疾呼。无视、忽略或者原谅这些恶行，只能说明我们自己不配有自由。不断进行果敢的鼓动工作才能走向自由之路，为了走向这一目标，「尼亚加拉运动」已开始寻求各种族一切人的合作。

援助：同时，对于我们的同情者，从昔日的废奴主义者直至今日仍主张机会均等的人，以及那些曾以钱财和贫困帮助过而且至今仍在帮助我们进步的人，我们谨致以衷心的感谢。

责任：我们要求，我们应当要求而且将继续要求获得上面列举的权利。同时上帝也决不容许我们竟敢忘记落在人民肩上的相应的义务：

投票的义务。

尊重他人权利的义务。

工作的义务。

遵纪守法的义务。

讲究卫生的义务。

送孩子上学的义务。

尊重他人的同时，自尊自重的义务。

我们将此宣言、控诉和祈求呈交美国人民，呈交万能的上帝！

.附注：此宣言可能为杜波伊斯博士起草。

Progress: The members of the conference, known as the Niagara Movement, assembled in annual meeting at Buffalo, July 11th, 12th and 13th, 1905, congratulate the Negro-Americans on certain undoubted evidences of progress in the last decade, particularly the increase of intelligence, the buying of property, the checking of crime, the uplift in home life, the advance in literature and art, and the demonstration of constructive and executive ability in the conduct of great religious, economic and educational institutions.

Suffrage: At the same time, we believe that this class of American citizens should protest emphatically and continually against the curtailment of their political rights. We believe in man-hood suffrage; we believe that no man is so good, intelligent or wealthy as to be entrusted wholly with the welfare of his neighbor.

Civil Liberty: We believe also in protest against the curtailment of our civil rights. All .American citizens have the right to equal treatment in places of public entertainment according to their behavior and deserts.

Economic Opportunity: We especially complain against the denial of equal opportunities to us in economic life; in the rural districts of the South this amounts to peonage and virtual slavery: all over the South it tends to crush labor and small business enterprises; and everywhere American prejudice, helped often by iniquitous laws, is making it more difficult for Negro-Americans to earn a decent living.

Education: Common school education should be free to all American children and compulsory. High school training should be adequately provided for all, and college training should be the monopoly of no class or race in any section of our common country. We believe that, in defense of our own institutions, the United States should aid common school education, particularly in the South, and we especially recommend concerted agitation to this end. We urge an increase in

public high school facilities in the South, where the Negro-Americans are almost wholly without such provisions. We favor well-equipped trade and technical schools for the training of artisans, and the need of adequate and liberal endowment for a few institutions of higher education must be patent to sincere well-wishers of the race.

Courts: We demand upright judges in courts, juries selected without discrimination on account of color and the same measure of punishment and the same efforts at reformation for black as for white offenders. We need orphanages and farm schools for dependent children, juvenile reformatories for delinquents, and the abolition of the dehumanizing convict-lease system.

Public Opinion: We note with alarm the evident retrogression in this land of sound public opinion on the subject of manhood rights, republican government and human brotherhood, and we pray God that this nation will not degenerate into a mob of boasters and oppressors, but rather will return to the faith of the fathers, that all men were created free and equal, with certain unalienable rights.

Health: We plead for health—for an opportunity to live in decent houses and localities, for a chance to rear our children in physical and moral cleanliness.

Employers and Labor Unions: We hold up for public execration the conduct of two opposite classes of men: The practice among employers of importing ignorant Negro-American laborers in emergencies, and then affording them neither protection nor permanent employment; and the practice of labor unions in proscribing and boycotting and oppressing thousands of their fellow-toilers, simply because they are black. These methods have accentuated and will accentuate the war of labor and capital, and they are disgraceful to both sides.

Protest: We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro-American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults. Through helplessness we may submit, but the voice of protest of ten million Americans must never cease to assail the ears of their fellows, so long as America

is unjust.

Color-Line: Any discrimination based simply on race or color is barbarous, we care not how hallowed it be by custom, expediency or prejudice. Differences made on account of ignorance, immorality, or disease are legitimate methods of fighting evil, and against them we have no word of protest; but discriminations based simply and solely on physical peculiarities, place of birth, color of skin, are relics of that unreasoning human savagery of which the world is and ought to be thoroughly ashamed.

"Jim Crow" Cars: We protest against the "Jim Crow" car, since its effect is and must be to make us pay first-class fare for third-class accommodations, render us open to insults and discomfort and to crucify wantonly our manhood, womanhood and self-respect.

Soldiers: We regret that this nation has never seen fit adequately to reward the black soldiers who, in its five wars, have defended their country with their blood, and yet have been systematically denied the promotions which their abilities deserve. And we regard as unjust, the exclusion of black boys from the military and naval training schools.

War Amendments: We urge upon Congress the enactment of appropriate legislation for securing the proper enforcement of those articles of freedom, the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

Oppression: We repudiate the monstrous doctrine that the oppressor should be the sole authority as to the rights of the oppressed. The Negro race in America stolen, ravished and degraded, struggling up through difficulties and oppression, needs sympathy and receives criticism; needs help and is given hindrance, needs protection and is given mob-violence, needs justice and is given charity, needs leadership and is given cowardice and apology, needs bread and is given a stone. This nation will never stand justified before God until these things are changed.

The Church: Especially are we surprised and astonished at the recent attitude of the church of Christ—of an increase of a desire to bow to racial prejudice, to narrow the bounds of human brotherhood, and to segregate black men to some outer sanctuary. This is wrong, unchristian and disgraceful to the twentieth century civilization.

Agitation: Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal the Niagara Movement has started and asks the cooperation of all men of all races.

Help: At the same time we want to acknowledge with deep thankfulness the help of our fellowmen from the Abolitionist down to those who today still stand for equal opportunity and who have given and still give of their wealth and of their poverty for our advancement.

Duties: And while we are demanding and ought to demand, and will continue to demand the rights enumerated above, God forbid that we should ever forget to urge corresponding duties upon our people:

The duty to vote.

The duty to respect the rights of others.

The duty to work.

The duty to obey the laws.

The duty to be clean and orderly.

The duty to send our children to school.

The duty to respect ourselves, even as we respect others.

This statement, complaint and prayer we submit to the American people, and Almighty God.

阿伯特.冯.梯尔泽, 杰克.诺沃思

(ALBERT VON TILZER AND JACK NORWORTH)

带我出去看球赛

Take Me Out to the Ball Game



第一场世界杯比赛在 1903 年于波士顿举行。

「带我出去看球赛」是全国性娱乐之「国歌」。这首歌是棒球赛「从第七局往前冲」时演唱的，由二位流行歌曲圈里的健将创作而成。一位是阿伯特.冯.梯尔泽，另一位是杰克.诺沃思。为这首歌谱曲的冯.梯尔泽从未看过棒球赛。梯尔泽曾与各种抒情诗人一道创作了当时的许多著名歌曲，其中包括《戏弄》(1904)，《将我搂紧，宝贝》(1910)及《与你相会在苹果红透时》(1920)。冯.梯尔泽的真名是冈姆，出生于音乐之家，其兄弟哈里曾创作有《我想娶的女子正像老父亲当年娶的那样》(1910)及《当我的宝贝儿向我微笑时》(1920)。诺沃思是个老资格的轻歌舞剧作家，本身也能歌善舞，曾为美国戏剧监制人齐格飞 1908 年的「齐格飞舞女」创作过《满月，闪耀吧》。

凯特.卡西是个棒球迷，着迷入魔演
起发烧戏；为给自家队员加把油，
每个子儿都可往外丢。

Katie Casey was baseball mad,
Had the fever and had it bad;
Just to root for the home town
crew, ev'ry sou, Katie blew
On a Saturday, her young beau

年轻男友周六来邀请，
问她可想出去看电影，
凯特小姐摇头说个「不」』
「能干什么由我来作主。」
(合唱)
带我出去看那棒球赛，
带我出去进入人的海，
给我买些上等花生米，
回不回来我再不愿提。
让我加油加油为咱队，
要是不赢他们可惭愧，
因为三击不中便淘汰，
棒球老赛规则自明白。
凯特·卡西场场球赛到，
队员姓名个个都知道；
要是裁判老是判不公，
坦诚相告但决不放松。
每当比分恰好二比二，
凯特·卡西晓得该如何，

Called to see it' she'd like to go,
To see a show but Miss Kate said,
"No,
I'll tell you what you can
do": CHORUS:
Take me out to the ball game,
Take me out with the crowd
Buy me some peanuts and
crackerjack,
I don't care if I never get back,
Let me root, root, root for the
home team,
If they don't win it's a shame
For it's one, two, three strikes
you're out,
At the old ball game. Katie Casey
saw all the games,
Knew the players by their first
names;
Told the umpire he was -wrong,
all along, good and strong
When the score was just two to
two,
Katie Casey knew just what to do,
Just to cheer up the boys she
knew,
She made the gang sing this song:

小伙旧交需要鼓鼓气， 她让那帮把这歌唱起。	
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乔.希尔
(JOE HILL)

传教士与奴隶
The Preacher and the Slave

约瑟夫.希尔斯特罗姆(约 1879—1915)于 1902 年从瑞典移居美国，先是流浪一段时间，后于 1910 年加入激进的世界产业工人联合会。世界产联成员反对美国工联，因为美国工联接受资本主义制度，并拒绝组织非熟练工人。世界产联的革命热情就连激进的社会主义领袖尤金.维克多.德布斯都认为过于偏激，因而他退出该联合会。希尔虽然是位工人组织者，但他编写「模仿作品」的名声更大，比如他的《传教士与奴隶》影响尤其广泛。1914 年 1 月希尔因被指控犯有谋杀罪被捕。根据「间接证据」被判有罪后，希尔被关入狱中达二年之久，同时法律上诉无效。1915 年 11 月，被枪决前，希尔打电报给产业工人联合会主席海伍德：「不要浪费时间哀悼我，组织起来吧。」希尔死后成了传奇式人物。阿尔弗雷德.海斯歌颂道：「昨晚我梦中见到了乔.希尔。」

《传教士与奴隶》用仿真手法，采用了《好时光慢慢之会来到》的曲调，被收入美国劳联—产联的官方歌曲集。

传教士夜夜来布道， 是好； 他就好声气回答你： (合唱) 天堂里有的是面包，	Long-haired preachers come out every' night, Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right; But when asked how 'bout something to eat They will answer with voices so sweet: CHORUS:
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到时候你会吃得到；
先干活祈祷睡稻草，
死去时天堂有甜包。
挨饿军街头来传教，
唱圣歌拍手又祈祷；
敲洋鼓掏尽你腰包，
而再骂你是穷赤佬。
假如为妻儿苦抗争 ——
假如你今生要翻身 ——
他们说你是罪有余，
死去后一定下地狱。
全世界工友团结起，
为自由并肩战到底；
当世界财富夺到手，
骗者们听我歌一首：
(最后合唱)
到时候你会得到，
只要你学会去烹炒；
只要你学会去砍柴，

You will eat, bye and bye,
In that glorious land above the sky;
Work and play, live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky when you
die
And the starvation army they play,
And they sing and they clap and
they pray.
Till they get all your coin on the
drum,
Then they tell you when you are on
the bum
If you fight hard for children and
wife-
Try to get something good in this
life@
You're a sinner and bad man, they
tell,
When you die you will sure go to
hell.
Workingmen of all countries unite,
Side by side we for freedom will
fight:
When the -world and its wealth we
have gained
To the grafters we'll sing this
refrain: LAST CHORUS:
You will eat, bye and bye.
When you've learned how to cook

好时光慢慢就来到。	and to fry; Chop some wood, 'twill do you good, And you'll eat in the sweet bye and bye.
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乔伊斯·基尔默

(JOYCE KILMER)

咏树

Trees

《咏树》是乔伊斯·基尔默 (1886-1918) 的最著名诗歌。基尔默既是诗人，又是新闻记者兼文学评论家，第一次世界大战中在法国的玛恩河大战中降亡。基尔默出生于新泽西州新不伦类克，毕业于拉特格斯大学和哥伦比亚大学，1911 年出版了第一本诗集《爱之夏》。《咏树》于 1913 年先发表于《诗刊》，后作为基尔默诗集《咏树及其它诗篇》

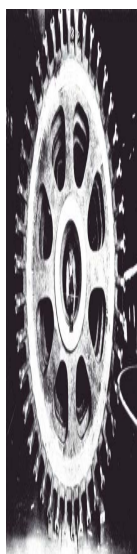
(1914) 的题名诗。其他著作有《马戏团及其它杂文》，《大街及其它诗篇》，《创作中的文学》，以及现代天主教诗歌集《梦想和幻象》。基尔默死后被迫授予法国军功十字章。

永远见不到一首诗，我想 能够可爱 得像棵树一样。 树嘴饥渴地紧贴着 大地 胸膛里流淌的乳水如蜜。 树木一整天仰望着上帝， 为祈祷举起繁茂的手臂。	I think that I shall never see A poem lovely as a tree. A tree whose hungry mouth is prest Against the earth's sweet flowing breast; A tree that looks at God all day, And lifts her leafy arms to pray; A tree that may in Summer weal
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<p>树的头发里也许戴上了</p> <p>夏日中知更鸟儿筑的巢。</p> <p>一朵朵雪花扑进她胸怀，</p> <p>一滴滴雨水与她亲又爱。</p> <p>做诗的个个像我是蠢货，</p> <p>树木只能是上帝的创作。</p>	<p>A nest of robins in her hair; Upon whose bosom snow has lain; Who intimately lives with rain. Poems are made by fools like me, But only God can make a tree.</p>
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伍德罗·威尔逊 (WOODROW WILSON)

新自由 The New Freedom



工业化及大量生产的技术，改变了许多美国人工作场所的本质
民族的新生不是来自上层阶级而是来自下层民众。

(托马斯) 伍德罗·威尔逊(1856-1924) 出生于佛吉尼亚州，父亲是位严厉的长老会牧师。青少年时代，威尔逊曾在佐治亚州及南卡罗来纳州生活过，置身于内战留下的一片荒凉之中。威尔逊毕业于北卡罗来纳州戴维森学院，普林斯顿大学，并在约翰·霍普金斯大学获得历史学和政治学的博士学位。威尔逊

有关时事问题的演说和文章使他举国闻名。1910年，威尔逊当选为新泽西州州长。依靠民主党中的进步力量，威尔逊于1912年获民主党总统候选人的提名。由于共和党中威廉·霍华德·塔夫特及西奥多·罗斯福的二派支持者闹分裂，威尔逊赢得了竞选。

下面文章节选自威尔逊竞选总统演讲集《新自由》一书。「新自由」是威尔逊进步演说的口号。

当我回首历史进程，当我回顾美国的诞生，我发现每一页都写有：民族的新生不是来自上层阶级而是来自下层民众；从默默无闻的民众行列里脱颖而出的天才是使人民重获青春活力的天才。我的全部历史知识，以及有助于我思想的点滴经验和观察，都使我坚信：人类生活的真正智慧是由普通人的经历累积而成的。生活之效用，生活之活力，生活之果实不是自上而下地形成，而是像一棵大树的自然生长一样，从土壤向上形成树干，树干长出树枝，树枝长出叶子，结出果实。默默无闻、奋斗不息的伟大民众，位于万事万物之底，是提高社会水准的动力。一个民族之伟大体现于，也只能体现于，其普通民众之伟大。

因此，当今我们国家的首要之急，就是要使那些将成为我们未来领袖，将复活美国生机的伟大的无名人士出来参政。我已表明对普通人的信任；同时，我还要表明，我对自己所说的一清二楚。一个逆流而上的人知道水力；一个正在格斗的人知道打了几拳，知道何处流了血；一个正在热心追求向上的人，是当今美国之事的评判人。这评判人是正在为自己为他人的生活而斗争的人，他热爱别人胜过爱护自己。这样的人将以其判断使你明白当今美国正在发生的事。拿我来说，我希望能以这人的判断为指导。

我们没有公正的陪审团，一群不公的人——不，我不愿说一群不公的人，而只是极少数人——左右着美国的政策。普通人没有发言权，由于害怕永远不会有发言权而开始感到失望，或害怕将来会再度失去发言权而开始感到失望。因此，我们必须建立一个与美国全体民众同心同德的政府，一个愿意在行动前尽可能最广泛地征求美国人民意愿的政府。执政的首要问题就是要了解普通人

正在做什么，想什么。我们大都是普通人；除非突然走运，很少人会高出我们社区的一般水平。因此，有普通人思想的人，有普通人经历的人，通常总是能正确解释美国的人。这难道不正是我们把有关亚伯拉罕·林肯的故事引以自豪的原因吗？林肯来自普通民众，与来自特权阶级或受过教育的阶级里的人相比，林肯更了解美国。

美国今天与未来的希望都与昨天的毫无二致，即，希望并相信，从默默无闻的家庭中将出现一批人，一批能成为工业界及政界主人的人。美国的富强存在于普通人的希望，普通人的福利，普通人的事业心及普通人的积极性之中。我们不会因少数绅士指挥工业而富有；我们的富有是因为我们拥有自己的智慧，拥有自己的工业。美国不是由名字见报的人组成的，美国不是由政治上想成为政治领袖的人组成的，美国也不是由夸夸其谈的人组成的——只有当这些人为我们国家的主体，我们国家的原动力，千百万无声无息的伟大民众说话的时候，才谈得上他们的重要性。不能想民众之所想，不能为民众激情所动的人，是不会为美国及其未来目标说话的。能代表美国说话的只能是了解伟大的公民主体思想的人，只能是每日忙于公务的人，只能是日夜辛劳的人，只能是夜晚拖着疲惫的身躯回家的人，只能是继承我们引为自豪的事业的人。

你们知道，我们有时热血沸腾，是因为我们想到，地球上所有其他国家正等着瞧美国如何以其力量而有所作为，以其物力，以其丰富的资源，以其巨大的财富而有所作为。这些国家正在静观我们这个年轻的民族以自己完整的青春活力将会干出何种事业。我们不禁为自己的强大而自豪。但什么东西能使我们强大呢？那就是千百万人的艰苦劳动，这些人从不夸夸其谈，毫不出众，而是一天又一天过着谨慎的日子；正是劳动者这一伟大主体才使美国强大。没有人能预测出，我们国家的未来领袖将出自哪个家庭，出自哪个地区，甚至哪个种族。这正是我们这片国土上的一大荣耀。这个国家的伟大领袖并非常常来自那些根基坚固的「成功」之家。

我记得不久前我在一所学校讲过一番话。我知道那里几乎所有年轻人都是有钱人家的子弟。我让他们明白，我觉得他们很可怜，因为我说：「你们当中

大部分同学注定不会有出息。你们不会有所作为，你们也永远不会去争取有所作为。当我们国家的伟大任务正等待人们去完成时，很可能就是你们将拒绝接受任务。那种『上顿不接下顿』的人，那种离群独立的人，那种背受贫困鞭打的人，将从群众中脱颖而出，将证明他理解群众，了解一个统一而非分裂的国家之利益，将挺身而出成为我们的领袖。」

以我亲身经历为例，我发现，由「普通人」组成的听众，比起我教过的许多大学生来，能更快地抓住一个要点，能更快地接受一种论点，能更快地明白一种倾向，能更快地领会一种原则——并不是说大学生智力低下，而是他们与生活实际脱节，而「普通」公民天天置身于日常生活中。对触到他们痛处的东西，你无需向他们解释。

关于社会自下而上不断获得新生的意义，有这么个例证，一直使我深感兴趣。中世纪的政府，在当时甚行的贵族制度下，并没有腐朽不堪，其唯一原因是，有那么多人，作为政府中卓有成效的工具，是来自教会——那时的唯一教会，伟大的宗教团体，就是我们今天有别于其他宗教团体的罗马天主教会。罗马天主教会在当时乃至今天实行的是一种伟大的民主制。那时，没有一个农民会因为地位谦卑而成不了神父；没有一个神父会因为毫无名气而成不了教宗。那时，欧洲的各大使馆，各个法庭都是由学问渊博，训练有素，深有造诣的人来掌管，由一个占统治地位的伟大团体，即牧师界来掌管。使中世纪政府富有活力的正是从社会底层不断上升的元气，就是靠从牧师制敞开的渠道里获得的这一伟大团体中普通民众的元气。在我看来，这是一个非常有趣，令人信服的例子，可作为我现在所涉及之事的一个例证。

政府要保持廉洁，其唯一途径就是要保持各种渠道畅通无阻；这样，没有人会因为自以为地位谦卑而成不了国家的一个组织成分；这样，国家的血脉里将不断拥有新鲜血液来补充；这样，没有人会因为曾经默默无闻而无法从自己所属的阶级中脱颖而出，一跃而上，加入国家领袖的行列。任何压制他人的事，任何将一个机构摆在个人之上的事，任何阻碍贫民百姓。使他们灰心丧气的事，都是有悖于进步之原则的。

当我看到商界巨头与政界大亨建立了联盟时，当我看到他们还在继续这么做时，我便知道，事情不妙了，这种事定会阻碍社会进步，使社会失去活力。高高在上的这类联盟，旨在压制下层人民，使他们原位不动，甚至使他们降到更低点因此，开明政治应不断打碎这种同盟，在政府组织与伟大的民众主体之间重新搭起桥梁。

今日，我们政府已经沦入特权人物的手中；今日，有一种默契，即只有少数遴选出的上层阶级才拥有执政的必备条件；今日，如此众多勤勤恳恳的公民遭受社会不公的痛苦打击，成为荒谬绝伦的牺牲品，说么人民将从仁慈的受委托掌管巨额财富的人手中获得一个仁慈的政府，说什么雇员们尽职尽责，其福利的保卫者将给他们一个仁慈的政府——时至今日，当务之急应使这个国家记住：一个国家要么由深卧于她胸膛内的力量来拯救，要么灭亡；国家的新希望、新道德、新威力是由其长涌不息的古井甘泉来浇灌的，而不是靠上层，靠贵族庇护来实现的。花朵不会生根，而是根须长出花朵。天宇清风中万般美貌芳容总是从其根须获得元气。所有生命，除非从深深根植于普通土壤里的梗茎中汲取养分。否则，决不可能开花结果。玫瑰花儿的所有艳丽，包括其温柔的面颊带有的红润之色，全都归因于躺在土壤深处、无声无息的生命源泉的神奇作用。从土壤里，从无声无息的地球怀抱，往上涌出生命之流、力量之流。从普普通通的土壤里，从人民沉静的心灵里将升腾起今日幸福之流、希望之流、决心之流，它们必定会使大地旧貌换新颜，增添一片光辉。

听着，我们时代的所谓激进主义，只不过是人民心中的能量释放出来的自然之功。美国，这一伟大民族，正处于正义之底，美德之底，希望之底；民族存在的根子扎进美丽纯洁的土地，荣誉的土地。当前需要的正是这种激进主义，它将为我国实现一个强大民族的雄心壮志而扫清道路。

When I look back on the processes of history, when I survey the genesis of America, I see this written over every page: that the nations are renewed from the bottom, not from the top; that the genius which springs up from the ranks of

unknown men is the genius which renews the youth and energy of the people. Everything I know about history, every bit of experience and observation that has contributed to my thought, has confirmed me in the conviction that the real wisdom of human life is compounded out of the experiences of ordinary men. The utility the vitality, the fruitage of life does not come from the top to the bottom it comes like the natural growth of a great tree, from the soil up through the trunk into the branches to the foliage and the fruit. The great struggling unknown masses of the men who are at the base of everything are the dynamic force that is lifting the levels of society. A nation is as great and only as great as her rank and file.

So the first and chief need of this nation of ours to-day is to include in the partnership of government all those great bodies of unnamed men who are going to produce our future leaders and renew the future energies of America. And as I confess that, as I confess my belief in the common man, I know what I am saying. The man who is swimming against the stream knows the strength of it. The man who is in the melee knows what blows are being struck and what blood is being drawn. The man who is on the make is the judge of what is happening in America, not the man who has made good; not the man who has emerged from the flood; not the man who is standing on the bank looking on, but the man who is struggling for his life and for the lives of those who are dearer to him than himself. That is the man whose judgment will tell you what is going on in America; that is the man by whose judgment I, for one, wish to be guided.

We have had the wrong jury; we have had the wrong group,—no, I will not say the wrong group, but too small a group,—in control of the policies of the United States. The average man has not been consulted, and his heart had begun to sink for fear he never would be consulted, and his heart had begun to sink for fear he never would be consulted again. Therefore, we have got to organize a government whose sympathies will be open to the whole body of the people of the United States, a government which will consult as large a proportion of the people of the United States as possible before it acts. Because the great problem of government is to

know what the average man is experiencing and is thinking about. Most of us are average men; very few of us rise, except by fortunate accident, above the general level of the community about us; and therefore the man who thinks common thoughts, the man who has had common experiences is almost always the man who interprets America aright. Isn't that the reason that we are proud of such stories as the story of Abraham Lincoln, — a man who rose out of the ranks and interpreted America better than any man had interpreted it who had risen out of the privileged classes or the educated classes of America.

The hope of the United States in the present and in the future is the same that it has always been: it is the hope and confidence that out of unknown homes will come men who will constitute themselves the masters of industry and of politics. The average hopefulness, the average welfare, the average enterprise, the average initiative, of the United States are the only things that make it rich. We are not rich because a few gentlemen direct our industry; we are rich because of our own intelligence and our own industry. America does not consist of men who get their names into the newspapers; America does not consist politically of the men who set themselves up to be political leaders; she does not consist of the men who do most of her talking, — they are important only so far as they speak for that great voiceless multitude of men who constitute the great body and the saving force of the nation. Nobody who cannot speak the common thought, who does not move by the common impulse, is the man to speak for America, or for any of her future purposes. Only he is fit to speak who knows the thoughts of the great body of citizens, the men who go about their business every day, the men who toil from morning till night, the men who go home tired in the evenings, the men who are carrying on the things we are so proud of.

You know how it thrills our blood sometimes to think how all the nations of the earth wait to see what America is going to do with her power, her physical power, her enormous resources, her enormous wealth. The nations hold their breath to see what this young country will do with her young unspoiled strength; we

cannot help but be proud that we are strong. But what has made us strong. The toil of millions of men, the toil of men who do not boast, who are inconspicuous, but who live their lives humbly from day to day; it is the great body of toilers that constitutes the might of America. It is one of the glories of our land that nobody is able to predict from what family, from what region, from what race, even, the leaders of the country are going to come. The great leaders of this country have not come very often from the established, "successful" families.

I remember speaking at a school not long ago where I understood that almost all the young men were the sons of very rich people, and I told them I looked upon them with a great deal of pity, because, I said: "Most of you fellows are doomed to obscurity. You will not do anything. You will never try to do anything, and with all the great tasks of the country waiting to be done, probably you are the very men who will decline to do them. Some man who has been 'up against it,' some man who has come out of the crowd, somebody who has had the whip of necessity laid on his back, will emerge out of the crowd, will show that he understands the crowd, understands the interests of the nation, united and not separated, and will stand up and lead us."

If I may speak of my own experience, I have found audiences made up of the "common people" quicker to take a point, quicker to understand an argument, quicker to discern a tendency and to comprehend a principle, than many a college class that I have lectured to, — not because the college class lacked the intelligence, but because college boys are not in contact with the realities of life, while "common" citizens are in contact with the actual life of day by day: you do not have to explain to them what touches them so quick.

There is one illustration of the value of the constant renewal of society from the bottom that has always interested me profoundly. The only reason why government did not suffer dry rot in the Middle Ages under the aristocratic system which then prevailed was that so many of the men who were efficient instruments of government were drawn from the church, — from that great religious body

which was then the only church, that body which we now distinguish from other religious bodies as the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church was then, as it is now, a great democracy. There was no peasant so humble that he might not become a priest, and no priest so obscure that he might not become Pope of Christendom; and every chancellery in Europe, every court in Europe, was ruled by these learned, trained and accomplished men,—the priesthood of that great and dominant body. What kept government alive in the Middle Ages was this constant rise of the sap from the bottom, from the rank and file of the great body of the people through the open channels of the priesthood. That, it seems to me, is one of the most interesting and convincing illustrations that could possibly be adduced of the thing that I am talking about.

The only way that government is kept pure is by keeping these channels open, so that nobody may deem himself so humble as not to constitute a part of the body politic, so that there will constantly be coming new blood into the veins of the body politic; so that no man is so obscure that he may not break the crust of any class he may belong to, may not spring up to higher levels and be counted among the leaders of the state. Anything that depresses, anything that makes the organization greater than the man, anything that blocks, discourages, dismays the humble man, is against all the principles of progress. When I see alliances formed, as they are now being formed, by successful men of business with successful organizers of politics, I know that something has been done that checks the vitality and progress of society. Such an alliance, made at the top, is an alliance made to depress the levels, to hold them where they are, if not to sink them; and, therefore, it is the constant business of good politics to break up such partnerships, to re-establish and reopen the connections between the great body of the people and the offices of government.

To-day, when our government has so far passed into the hands of special interests; to-day, when the doctrine is implicitly avowed that only select classes have the equipment necessary for carrying on government; to-day when the

doctrine is implicitly avowed that only select classes have the equipment necessary for carrying on government; to-day, when so many conscientious citizens, smitten with the scene of social wrong and suffering, have fallen victims to the fallacy that benevolent government can be meted out to the people by kind-hearted trustees of prosperity and guardians of the welfare of dutiful employees—to-day, supremely, does it behoove this nation to remember that a people shall be saved by the power that sleeps in its own deep bosom, or by none; shall be renewed in hope, in conscience, in strength, by waters welling up from its own sweet, perennial springs. Not from above; not by patronage of its aristocrats. The flower does not bear the root, but the root the flower. Everything that blooms in beauty in the air of heaven draws its fairness, its vigor, from its roots. Nothing living can blossom into fruitage unless through nourishing stalks deep-planted in the common soil. The rose is merely the evidence of the vitality of the root; and the real source of its beauty, the very blush that it wears upon its tender cheek, comes from those silent sources of life that lie hidden in the chemistry of the soil. Up from that soil, up from the silent bosom of the earth, rise the currents of life and energy. Up from the common soil, up from the quiet heart of the people, rise joyously to-day streams of hope and determination bound to renew the face of the earth in glory.

I tell you, the so-called radicalism of our times is simply the effort of nature to release the generous energies of our people. This great American people is at bottom just, virtuous, and hopeful; the roots of its being are in the soil of what is lovely, pure, and of good report, and the need of the hour is just that radicalism that will clear a way for the realization of the aspirations of a sturdy race.

威廉·门罗·特罗特 (WILLIAM MONROE TROTTER)

对威尔逊总统的抗议 Protest to President Wilson

你给美国白人「新自由」，而给非裔美国同胞以「新奴隶制」吗。天理不容！

1912 年，威尔逊竞选总统时，许下「新自由」的诺言。作为总统候选人，威

尔逊写信给一位黑人领袖，许诺说，如果当选总统，「黑人...保证将得到绝对公平的待遇。」然而，威尔逊当选不久，其政府在财政部和邮政部实行种族隔离。

发展中的全国有色人种协进会向威尔逊送交了一份抗议，但毫无效果。一年后，1914年11月12日，总统会见由威廉·门罗·特罗特(1872—1934)带领的一个非裔美国人代表团。特罗特是波士顿一黑人报纸的编辑，他作了底下的这篇演说。威尔逊对此恼羞成怒，对该代表团说，除非他们更换领导，否则再不会与他们会面。

特罗特生于俄亥俄的一个中产阶级家庭，但在波士顿舒适的郊区长大。他上过哈佛大学，并在一年级作为第一个黑人学生被选进全美优秀学生联谊会。短时经商后，特罗特创办了《波士顿工报》，为种族平等而顽强战斗。他针对威尔逊的这一演讲，重印于这家美国黑人报刊。

一年前，我们呈交了由三十八州非裔美国人签署的全民请愿，抗议在你的政府部门，财政部和邮政部里，对全部带有或部分带有非洲血统的雇员实行种族隔离。我们曾向你呼吁，要求你履行总统职责，实践你当选前的诺言，结束这种种族隔离。我们曾宣布，在种族隔离制度下，尤其是在政府雇员中只对众多种族中的一个种族实行种族隔离，是绝对谈不上有什么自由，谈不上尊重他人，谈不上公民平等。如此隔离雇员意味着政府指控人们身体不洁，或患有传染病，或意味着指控人们是低等动物，愿意听从另一部分公民的偏见，愿意接受自身的劣等地位。我们抗议在工作场所、在餐桌、在更衣室、在洗手间、在衣帽间、尤其是在政府建筑公共卫生间的种族隔离做法。我们曾宣布，这种种族隔离是公众的耻辱和堕落，完全欠妥，并将产生深远的不良影响。这对于每个忠于国家的公民来说，是个无理的打击；对于资助你登上我们共同国家的总统位置的许许多多的人来说，也是个无理的打击。

当时你曾宣布，你会亲自调查有关情况。可现在，一年过后，我们又找上门来，原因是我们发现，对非洲血统的政府雇员实行种种种族隔离不仅存在于

财政部和邮政部，而且在某种程度上已经蔓延到其他政府部门。

在财政部的刻印局，不仅更衣室有种族隔离，而且办公地点也有。非裔美国雇员吃饭时被人赶到隔离餐桌去，要方便时被人赶到隔离洗手间去。在海军部，他们也被赶到隔离的餐桌和隔离的洗手间去。在邮政部，非裔美国妇女在工作中被隔离到第八层的凹壁里，非裔美国男雇员则被赶到第七层的隔离房间去，甚至连进入同一层白人职员的邻室也不允许。被隔离在第六层的非裔美国男雇员，其隔离洗手间却在第八层。在财政部总部大楼，非裔美国男雇员的洗手间被隔离在地下室。在内政部，也有隔离的洗手间，我们的第一次申诉还特别对你提到这点。在国务院及其它部门也有隔离的洗手间。在海军医院大楼，尽管那里只有一个非裔美国职员，也同样设有隔离洗手间。在军事部有隔离的洗手间。在财政部大楼有隔离的洗手间。在政府印刷办装订科的五楼，非裔美国妇女被赶到隔离的工作场所和隔离的洗手间。自从我们向你申诉以来，这个科的头头又规定了新的隔离手段。洗手间的这种种族隔离是最堕落，最大的污辱。非裔美国雇员在他们工作的楼层里，若使用公共洗手间就要受警告；上司警告他们不得无礼取闹。

经代表团全体投票通过，我们前来，将这种种族隔离毫无疑问仍在继续的情况，一五一十地摆在你面前，并再次抗议，要求你在政府行政部门，取消对非裔美国雇员的种族隔离。

美国黑人公民惊恐不安，派我们前来，因为我们相信，你不可能置自己的诺言于不顾。他们意识到，假如在国家首都的政府部门里，他们可以遭隔离，受耻辱，那么，使南部生命财产受威胁的那种诬告和迫害就要开始蔓延，他们公民权的整个基础结构也就动摇了。

在去年的全民反隔离请愿中，他们已让你明白他们的反对意见，今年在投票箱前，他们再次以投票方式表示抗议。对民主党人，除了那些直言不讳地反对种族隔离外，他们一概投反对票。在东部各州，唯一当选州长的民主党人是麻塞诸塞州州长沃尔什，因为他曾写信给你，呼吁停止种族隔离。就是以这种方式，非裔美国人表示了对种族隔离的深恶痛绝。

事实上，我们有些家庭二代人一直冒着所有风险来促进民主党。在你竞选总统时，民主党的复兴仍是问题重重的，我们种族的选票举足轻重，尽管内部有分歧，但仍然与民主党合作。可如今他们怨声载道，这一支援运动很可能要破产。

仅仅两年前，你或许被捧为林肯第二，可现在支援你的非裔美国人领袖成了他们种族的叛徒，背情弃义的领袖，遭受围攻。种族隔离导致了多大的变化啊！

你说过：「你的黑人同胞在美国可依靠你实现增进他们种族利益的所有愿望。」面对仍在持续的种族隔离，请你想想你的诺言！同胞情与公民权意味着融合，而种族隔离摧毁了同胞情谊与公民权利。在国家首都的街道上，任何一个过路人，不管是黑人还是白人，都可以进入政府大楼，使用公共洗手间，而为政府工作的黑人公民却不行，请想想看这成何体统！

作为平等的公民，有鉴于你公开的许诺，我们有权在你手中享有在政府工作中不受歧视的自由，不受限制的自由，不受非难的自由，不受污辱的自由。你给美国白人以「新自由」，而给非裔美国同胞以「新奴隶制」吗。天理不容！

我们受委托要求你颁布一项行政命令，反对在政府雇员中因种族、肤色的不同而实行任何及所有形式的种族隔离，我们受委托问你是否愿意这么做。我们等待着你的答复，这样我们就可以将你的答复转达给正在等待中的非洲血统的美国公民。

One year ago we presented a national petition, signed by Afro-Americans in thirty-eight states, protesting against the segregation of employes of the National government whose ancestry could be traced in whole or in part to Africa, as instituted under your administration in the treasury and postoffice departments. We then appealed to you to undo this race segregation in accord with your duty as

president and with your pre-election pledges. We stated that there could be no freedom, no respect from others, and no equality of citizenship under segregation for races, especially when applied to but one of many racial elements in the government employ. For such placement of employes means a charge by the government of physical indecency or infection, or of being a lower order of beings, or a subjection to the prejudices of other citizens, which constitutes inferiority of status. We protested such segregation as to working conditions, eating tables, dressing rooms, rest rooms, lockers and especially public toilets in government buildings. We stated that such segregation was a public humiliation and degradation. entirely unmerited and far-reaching in its injurious effects, a gratuitous blow against ever loyal citizens and against those many of whom aided and supported your elevation to the presidency of our common country.

At that time you stated you would investigate conditions for yourself. Now, after the lapse of a year, we have come back having found that all the forms of segregation of government employes of African extraction are still practiced in the treasury and postoffice department buildings, and to a certain extent have spread into other government buildings.

Under the treasury department, in the bureau of engraving and printing there is segregation not only in dressing rooms, but in working positions, Afro-American employes being herded at separate tables, in eating, and in toilets. In the navy department there is herding at desks and separation in lavatories. In the postoffice department there is separation in work for Afro-American women in the alcove on the eighth floor, of Afro-American men in rooms on the seventh floor, with forbidding even of entrance into an adjoining room occupied by white clerks on the seventh floor, and of Afro American men in separate rooms just instituted on the sixth floor, with separate lavatories for Afro-American men on the eighth floor; in the main treasury building in separate lavatories in the basement; in the interior department separate lavatories, which were specifically pointed out to you at our first hearing; in the state and other departments separate lavatories; in marine

hospital service building in separate lavatories, though there is but one Afro-American clerk to use it; in the war department in separate lavatories: in the postoffice department building separate lavatories; in the sewing and bindery divisions of the government printing office on the fifth floor there is herding at working positions of Afro-American women and separation in lavatories, and new segregation instituted by the division chief since our first audience with you. This lavatory segregation is the most degrading, most insulting of all. Afro-American employes who use the regular public lavatories on the floors where they work are cautioned and are then warned by superior officers against in subordination.

We have come by vote of this league to set before you this definite continuance of race segregation and to renew the protest and to ask you to abolish segregation of Afro-American employes in the executive department.

Because we cannot believe you capable of any disregard of your pledges we have been sent by the alarmed American citizens of color. They realize that if they can be segregated and thus humiliated by the national government at the national capital the beginning is made for the spread of that persecution and prosecution which makes property and life itself insecure in the South, the foundation of the whole fabric of their citizenship is unsettled.

They have made plain enough to you their opposition to segregation last year by a national anti-segregation petition, this year by a protest registered at the polls, voting against every Democratic candidate save those outspoken against segregation. The only Democrat elected governor in the eastern states, was Governor Walsh of Massachusetts, who appealed to you by letter to stop segregation. Thus have the Afro Americans shown how they detest segregation.

In fact, so intense is their resentment that the movement to divide this solid race vote and make peace with the national Democracy, so suspiciously revived when you ran for the presidency, and which some of our families for two generations have been risking all to promote, bids fair to be undone.

Only two years ago you were heralded as perhaps the second Lincoln, and now the Afro American leaders who supported you are bounded as false leaders and traitors to their race. What a change segregation has wrought! You said that your "Colored fellow citizens could depend upon you for everything which would assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States." Consider this pledge in the face of the continued color segregation! Fellow citizenship means congregation. Segregation destroys fellowship and citizenship. Consider that any passerby on the streets of the national capital, whether he be black or white, can enter and use the public lavatories in government buildings while citizens of color who do the work of the government are excluded.

As equal citizens and by virtue of your public promises we are entitled at your hands to freedom from discrimination, restriction, imputation and insult in government employ. Have you a "new freedom" for white Americans and a new slavery for your Afro-American fellow citizens. God forbid!

We have been delegated to ask you to issue an executive order against any and all segregation of government employes because of race and color, and to ask whether you will do so. We await your reply, that we may give it to the waiting citizens of the United States of African extraction.

埃德加.李.马斯特斯

(EDGAR LEE MASTERS)

安妮.拉特利奇

Anne Rutledge

埃德加.李.马斯特斯(1869 — 1950)在伊利诺伊州的一个农场里长大，后成为一名律师。马斯特斯虽然写有许多诗歌、戏剧、小说及传记，但最为人知的还是《斯蓬河诗集》。它是一组自由诗体独白，一首诗代表对虚构的斯蓬河镇的一位居民的悼念，每一首都揭示出一个小城镇里某个居民一生的挫折和失望，其中最著名的大概便是为安妮.拉特利奇写的悼亡诗。安妮.拉特利奇是林肯年轻时代的女友，死于 1835 年，死时约十九岁。

我无为、无名的身躯， 颤动着永不消逝的

音乐之声； 「对谁都不怀恶意，对谁

都怀有善意。」

我的身躯传递的是千百万人

对千百万人的宽容，

映照出一个民族的友善脸庞，

它闪耀着正义与真理的光芒。

沈眠于这堆荒草下面的，

便是我，安妮·拉特利奇。

林肯生前热爱我，

我与他成婚，没有名义上的结合，

却是事实上的分离。

啊，从我胸膛的尘埃里，

将升起永远怒放的共和国之花！

Out of me unworthy and
unknown

The vibrations of deathless
music;

"With malice toward none,
with charity for all."

Out of me the forgiveness of
millions toward millions,
And the beneficent face of a
nation

Shining with justice and
truth.

I am Anne Rutledge who
sleep beneath these weeds,

Beloved in life of Abraham
Lincoln,

Wedded to him, not through
union,

But through separation.

Bloom forever, O Republic,

From the dust of my bosom!

罗伯特·弗罗斯特

(ROBERT FROST)

未选择的路

The Road Not Taken

罗伯特·弗罗斯特(1874 — 1963)是在麻塞诸塞州劳伦斯上的中学，也在达特
第斯学院和哈佛大学读过一段时间。获得诗名之前，弗罗斯特时而务农，时而

到中学教希腊语和拉丁语。他的第一部诗集出版于 1913 年。1916 年后，他一直在著名学府任职，通常的身份是「住校诗人」。弗罗斯特的诗歌备受喜爱，原因之一是未受过多少学校教育的人都看得懂。当许多诗人热衷于搞诗歌试验时，他却坚持使用日常语言，描写自己观察入微的日常事件。弗罗斯特的许多诗歌反映了他与大自然的贴近。他通过自然来表达一种象征意义，而不是什么田园式的思乡情调。《未选择的路》是弗罗斯特的一首名诗，作于 1915 年。

黄叶林中出条岔路， 无奈一人
难于兼顾， 顺着一条蜿蜒小路，

久久伫立极目远眺，

只见小径拐进灌木。

接着选择了另一条，

同样清楚似乎更好，

引人踩踏铺满茂草，

踏在其间难分彼此，

尽管真有两条道。

清晨里躺着两条路，

一样叶被无人踏脏，

愿将第一条来日补，

但知条条相连远途，

怀疑日后怎能回返。

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the
undergrowth; Then took the other, as just
as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same,
And both that morning equally lay
In leaves no step had trodden black.
Oh, I kept the first for another day!
Yet knowing how way leads on to way,
I doubted if I should ever come back. I
shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence;
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.

在很久以后某一地， 我将叹息诉说于人， 两路岔开在树林里， 我选的那条足迹稀， 而一切差别由此起。	
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艾丽斯.杜尔.米勒
(ALICE DUER MILLER)

进 化
Evolution

艾丽斯.杜尔.米勒(1874 — 1942)出生于纽约市，1899年毕业于巴纳德学院。她为妇女普选权运动撰写通俗消遣诗歌，为这被人称为「毫无幽默」的事业增添生气。以下一首选自她于 1915 年出版的诗集《女人是人吗？普选时代的韵文》。

琼斯先生 1910 年把口开： 「女人，依附男 人实应该。」 1911 年有人听他引用道： 「女性不投票，男子霸世道。」 到了 1912 年，他又认为应如是： 「当所有女性都需要时。」 到了 1913 年，他满脸愁容但却宣告： 普选之日必将来到。	Said Mr. Jones in 1910: "Women, subject yourselves to men." Nineteen-Eleven heard him quote: "They rule the world without the vote." By Nineteen-Twelve, he would submit "When all the women wanted it."
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<p>今年我听他说的真高傲：</p> <p>「女人那边，理由太少。」</p> <p>他一直是妇女参政的拥护者。</p> <p>其实更为奇怪的是他自己，</p> <p>竟也以为自己说的都是真理。</p>	<p>By Nineteen-Thirteen, looking glum, He said that it was bound to come. This year I heard him say with pride "No reasons on the other side!" By Nineteen-Fifteen, he'll insist He's always been a suffragist. And what is really stranger, too, He'll think that what he says is true.</p>
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卡尔·桑德堡

(CARL SANDBURG)

芝加哥

Chicago

卡尔·桑德堡(1878—1967)生于伊利诺州的盖尔斯堡，父母都是瑞典移民。他打过工，参加过西美战争，后入盖尔斯堡的伦巴学院，并学成毕业。他当过新闻记者，广告撰写人，威斯康辛州社会民主党的组织人，还做过社会主义者，密尔沃基市市长的助理。

桑德堡的诗歌首印于 1914 年的《诗刊》。二年后，他出版了《芝加歌诗集》。《芝加哥》是这第一部诗集中的一首。1918 年第二部诗集《剥玉米壳的人》问世后，同行诗人及广大诗歌爱好者公认，桑德堡是颗举足轻重的诗坛新星。

他的自由诗语言通俗、纯朴明快、富有新意。他还出版过两部歌谣集。1919年及1950年，桑德堡两度获普利兹诗歌奖，并于1939年以其6卷本巨著《林肯传》获普利兹历史奖。

世界的屠宰场， 工具制造所， 小麦的堆积地， 铁路的玩弄者和国家的运输所；

急躁暴烈， 魁梧结实， 吵吵闹闹，

你这肩宽膀阔的城市：

他们告诉我， 你心术不正。我相信

他们， 因为我曾看见你那浓妆艳抹的女人在煤气灯

下勾引农村来的青年。

他们又告诉我， 你心思邪恶， 我答道：

是的， 一点不错； 我见过强盗杀人， 自由地逃

走， 再去杀人。

他们又告诉我， 你野蛮残酷， 我的回答是：

在妇女和孩子的脸上， 我看到了饥饿的菜色。

这样回答后， 我又向那些嘲笑我这都市

Hog Butcher for the World,

Tool maker, Stacker of Wheat,

Player with Railroads and the Nation's Freight

Handler;

Stormy, husky, brawling,

City of the Big Shoulders:

They tell me you are wicked and I believe

them, for I have seen your painted

women under the gas lamps luring the

farm boys.

And they tell me you are crooked and I answer:

Yes, it is true I have seen the gunman

<p>的人们，反</p> <p>唇相讥道：</p> <p>来吧，给我举出另一个城市，他生气勃勃，</p> <p>粗壮狡狴，也同样高傲地昂首高歌。</p> <p>在堆积职业的劳作中间投之以怪有魅力的诅咒，这</p> <p>是个高大鲁莽的重击手与柔和的小城市形成的鲜</p> <p>明对照。</p> <p>凶猛得像条舔嘴吐舌、准备战斗的狗，狡狴得像个</p> <p>与荒原搏斗的蛮人，</p> <p>光着脑袋，</p> <p>挥舞铁锹，</p> <p>破坏不停，</p> <p>设计不止，</p> <p>建造、破坏、重建，</p> <p>头上一片烟雾，嘴上尽是尘埃，</p> <p>露出白牙轰笑着，</p>	<p>kill and go free to kill again.</p> <p>And they tell me you are brutal and my reply</p> <p>is: On the faces of women and children I</p> <p>have seen the marks of wanton hunger.</p> <p>And having answered so I turn once more to</p> <p>those who sneer at this my city, and I</p> <p>give them back the sneer and say to</p> <p>them:</p> <p>Come and show me another city with lifted</p> <p>head singing so proud to be alive and</p> <p>coarse and strong and cunning.</p> <p>Flinging magnetic curses amid the toil of piling</p>
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<p>在可怕的命运重压下，像年轻人一样轰笑着，</p> <p>轰笑着，甚至像个从没输过的傻斗士，</p> <p>自吹自擂，哈哈笑，手腕下面是人民的脉搏，肋骨</p> <p>下边是人民的心脏跳跃。</p> <p>轰笑着！</p> <p>轰笑着年轻人的笑：急躁暴烈，粗重沙哑，吵吵闹闹；</p> <p>半裸身子，汗水淋漓，狂妄自负，</p> <p>因为是世界的屠宰场，工具制造所，小麦的堆积地，铁路</p> <p>的玩弄者和国家的运输所。</p>	<p>job on job, here is a tall bold slugger set</p> <p>vivid against the little soft cities;</p> <p>Fierce as a dog with tongue lapping for action,</p> <p>cunning as a savage pitted against the</p> <p>wilderness,</p> <p>Bareheaded,</p> <p>Shoveling,</p> <p>Wrecking,</p> <p>Planning,</p> <p>Building, breaking, rebuilding,</p> <p>Under the smoke, dust all over his mouth,</p> <p>laughing with white teeth,</p> <p>Under the terrible burden of destiny laughing</p> <p>as a young man laughs,</p>
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Laughing even as an ignorant
fighter laughs

who has never lost a battle,

Bragging and laughing that under
his wrist is

the pulse, and under his ribs
the heart of

the people,

Laughing!

Laughing the stormy, husky,
brawling laughter

of Youth, half-naked,
sweating, proud to

be Hog Butcher, Tool Maker,
Stacker of

Wheat, Player with Railroads
and Freight

Handler to the Nation.

拉尔夫.查普林

(RALPH CHAPLIN)

永远团结

Solidarity Forever

《永远团结》被称为劳工运动的圣歌，作者是拉尔夫.查普林(1888—1961)，

是位诗人、作家、艺术家，同时又是一位世界产联的组织者。世界产联成员相信，变革须通过暴力阶级斗争。他们活跃于 1905 至 1920 年间。他们的革命行动主义及革命诗篇同样为人熟知。世界产联成员赞成联合所有工人，组成一个大一统的工业联合会，而美国工联的温和派领袖却喜欢按行业组织工人。世界产联领袖曾受到诬告，遭到迫害，主要原因是他们反对美国加入第一次世界大战。《永远团结》是世界产联的最著名歌曲，是查普林于 1915 年在西佛吉尼亚创作的，当时他正在那里帮助组织煤矿工人罢工。这首歌曲取调于《约翰·布朗的尸体》。

当工人的血液中流过	团结的灵气，	When the Union's inspiration
天底下去哪儿能收获		through the
更强的威力。		workers' blood shall run
而再虚弱的也比不过		There can be no power greater
个人的气力，		anywhere
但团结使我们坚强。		beneath the sun.
(合唱)		Yet what force on earth is
永远团结		weaker than the
永远团结！		feeble strength of one.
永远团结！		But the Union makes us
因为团结使我们坚强。		strong.
		CHORUS:
		Solidarity forever!
不劳而获他们掠走了		Solidarity forever!

金银无数万，	Solidarity forever!
若无咱们脑力与体力，	For the Union makes us strong
车轮怎能转；	They have taken untold
要打碎他们强权争得	millions, that they
自由需会算——	never toiled to earn,
团结使我们坚强。	But without our brain and
我们手中的威力强于	muscle not a single
他们的金窟，	wheel could turn;
强于百万大军千倍余	We can break their haughty
力量的增调；	power, gain our
我们能在旧世界废墟	freedom when we learn—
创造新世道，	That the Union makes us
因为团结使我们坚强。	strong.
	In our hands is placed a power
	greater than
	their hoarded gold;
	Greater than the might of
	armies magnified a
	thousand fold,
	We can bring to birth a new
	world from the

	ashes of the old. For the Union makes us strong.
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瓦切尔.林赛
(VACHEL LINDSAY)

《亚伯拉罕.林肯半夜行》和《呆滞的目光》
Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight and The Leaden-Eyed

瓦切尔.林赛(1879 — 1931)生于伊利诺州斯普林费尔德，曾在俄亥俄州海勒姆学院以及芝加哥和纽约的艺术学校学习。他一度曾想当一名传教士，但后来转而从事诗歌创作，诗中充满教会精神。1912 年林赛从伊利诺州步行到新墨西哥，一路上靠朗诵自己的诗解决食宿。1913 年他发表了关于救世军缔造者的诗《威廉.布思将军进天堂》，从而确立作为一名诗人的声誉。他力图恢复诗歌的口头艺术形式的传统，使诗歌能让普通民众所理解。当他朗读诗作时，总是邀请听众和他一起念迭句。听众们叫嚷着要听他朗诵《布赖恩，布赖恩，布赖恩》、《刚果河》、《桑特菲小道》这类诗歌。《亚伯拉罕.林肯半夜行》写于 1914 年世界大战在欧洲初起之时，是林赛最受欢迎的诗作之一。《呆滞的目光》一诗则发表于林赛的《刚果河》和其他诗作》一书。

亚伯拉罕，林肯半夜行 (在伊利诺斯斯普林费尔德)	Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight (In Springfield, Illinois)
多么令人惊讶，多么不寻常，	A is portentous, and a thing of state
夜半时分，在我们这小镇上，	That here at midnight, in our little town
一个悲哀的人一步也不停歇，	A mourning figure walks, and will not rest,

踽踽独行在古老的县政府楼旁。

或许他徘徊在自家宅边，阴暗的庭院里，

他的孩子过去曾在那儿欢闹嬉戏，

或许他踏着磨损的石子路，穿过市场，

大步行走直到星星化作晨曦。

脸色黝黑，个子瘦长一身黑色礼服，

著名的大礼帽和用旧的围巾，

使他成为人们爱戴的奇伟人物

——草原律师，我们众人的首领。

此刻他无法在他的小山坡上安眠，

一如往昔活在我们中间！

Near the old court-house pacing up
and down,

Or by his homestead, or in
shadowed yards

He lingers where his children used
to play,

Or through the market, on the
well-worn

stones

He stalks until the dawn-stars burn
away.

A bronzed, lank man! His suit of
ancient black,

A famous high top-hat and plain
worn shawl

Make him the quaint great figure
that men love,

The prairie-lawyer, master of us all.

He cannot sleep upon his hillside
now.

He is among us: — as in times
before!

And we who toss and lie awake for
long

Breathe deep, and start, to see him
pass the
door.

His head is bowed. He thinks on

我们这些辗转不能入睡的居民，

激动地看见他经过门前。

他低头沈思，想到民众和皇帝。

是啊，这世界因病痛叫喊，他又怎能安寝。

有多少农民打仗，却不知为什么原因，

有多少家庭在恐惧中哭泣。

军阀们的罪孽烧灼着他的心房，

他看见一艘艘无畏战舰横行在海上。

此刻他围巾紧裹的双肩，

担起了痛苦、愚行和悲伤。

他不能安息，除非心灵的破晓来临

——自由欧洲的希望大放光明：

men and

kings.

Yea, when the sick world cries, how

can he

sleep.

Too many peasants fight, they know

not why,

Too many homesteads in black

terror weep.

The sins of all the war-lords burn

his heart.

He sees the dreadnaughts scouring

every main

He carries on his shawl-wrapped

shoulders

now

The bitterness, the folly and the

pain.

He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn

Shall come;—the shining hope of

Europe free

The league of sober folk, the

Workers' Earth,

Bringing long peace to Cornland,

Alp and Sea.

It breaks his heart that kings must

murder still,

"That all his hours of travail here for

men

理智的人民结成同盟，工人的世界，
给土地、高山和大海带来持久和平。

国王们仍在杀人害命，令他心碎，
他为民众呕心沥血，一切努力皆似白费。

有谁能带来圣洁的和平，
让他在小山上安睡。

呆滞的目光

且莫让年轻人在大显身手、创造奇迹之前，

就被压得透不过气来。

这世界摧残自己的孩子，真是罪孽，

穷苦人似牛马，步履蹒跚，目光发呆。

可怕的不是他们食不果腹，而是在饥饿中失去了梦；

可怕的不是他们辛勤耕种，而是他们难

Seem yet in vain. And who will
bring white
peace
That he may sleep upon his hill
again.

The Leaden-Eyed

Let not young souls be smothered
out before
They do quaint deeds and fully
flaunt their
pride.
It is the world's one crime its babes
grow dull,
Its poor are oxlike, limp and
leaden-eyed.
Not that they starve, but starve so
dreamlessly;
Not that they sow, but that they
seldom reap;
Not that they serve, but have no
gods to serve;
Not that they die, but that they die
like sheep.

<p>得收获；</p> <p>可怕的不是他们侍候别人，而是没有神灵可以侍奉；</p> <p>可怕的不是他们难免一死，而是死得像头动物。</p>	
<p>阿尔弗雷德.布赖恩，阿尔.皮安塔多西 (ALFRED BRYAN <i>and</i> AL PIANTADOSI)</p> <p>我养大儿子不是为让他当兵 I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier</p> <p>阿尔弗雷德.布赖恩写抒情诗，而阿尔.皮安塔多西为《我养大儿子不是为让他当兵》这首 1915 年的流行歌曲谱曲。这首歌切中美国公众避开欧洲战祸的愿望。布赖恩是个出色的抒情诗人，他创作的诗歌包括《佩格，我的宝贝》、《约瑟芬来乘坐我的飞机》、《爹爹，您待我就像慈母一般》。皮安塔多西是纽约人，曾在酒吧间弹琴或为歌舞杂耍表演伴奏。他谱写了大批商业上获利的歌曲，包括三首以种族问题为主题的歌(《我是个犹太牛仔》、《我是个爱尔兰人，我太高兴啦》和《那块义大利布》)。他的两首民歌(《我如此需要你》和《痛苦的心在诅咒》)印成活页乐谱售出一百万张以上。</p>	
<p>一千万士兵走上前线，</p> <p>他们可能一去不再回返。</p> <p>一千万母亲为白白送死的人</p>	<p>Ten million soldiers to the war have gone, Who may never return again. Ten million mothers' hearts must break For the ones who died in vain. Head bowed down in sorrow In her lonely years,</p>

们，悲痛欲绝，胆肝俱裂。

一个母亲满怀着哀思，

孤苦伶仃度过余年，

我听她低声哭诉泪涟涟：

(合唱)

我养大儿子不是为让他当
兵，

我盼他成为我的骄傲和欢
喜。

谁竟敢把步枪放在他肩头，

令他向另一位母亲的爱子射
击？

但愿各国将未来的争端交付
仲裁，

将刀剑和枪炮放置一边。

I heard a mother murmur thro' her
tears: CHORUS:

I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier,

I brought him up to be my pride and joy,

Who dares to put a musket on his shoulder,

To shoot some other mother's darling boy. Let
nations arbitrate their future troubles,

It's time to lay the sword and gun away,

There'd be no war today,

If mothers all would say,

I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier.

What victory can cheer a mother's heart, When
she looks at her blighted home.

What victory can bring her back

All she cared to call her own.

Let each mother answer

In the year to be,

Remember that my boy belongs to me!

如果母亲们全都大声疾呼，

我养大儿子不是为让他当
兵，

今天便不会有战争和杀戮。

当一个母亲已家破人亡，

还有什么胜利能使她高兴？

有什么胜利能给她带回

她乐意称为自己的一切？

让每一位母亲在今后岁月

用这样的话语回敬：

请记住，我的儿子属于我自
己！

阿伦·西格

(ALAN SEEGER)

我与死神有个约会

I Have a Rendezvous with Death

阿伦·西格(1888 — 1916)生于纽约。1910 年他从哈佛大学毕业，1913 年去巴黎。大战爆发后西格加入法国的外国军团，在索姆战役中阵亡。《我与死神有个约会》是他战地诗作中最有名的一首，最初发表于 1916 年 10 月的《北美评论》。

我与死神有个约会，

地点在双方争夺的
街垒。

当树叶沙沙，大地春
回，

空中充满了苹果花
香——

我与死神有个约会

当春天带回晴朗的
蓝天。

也许他将牵着我手，

把我引入黑暗王国，

停止我的呼吸，合上

I have a rendezvous with Death

At some disputed barricade,
When Spring comes back with rustling shade
And apple blossoms fill the air—

I have a rendezvous with Death

When Spring brings back blue days and fair. It may be
he shall take my hand,
And lead me into his dark land,
And close my eyes and quench my breath—
it may be I shall pass him still.

I have a rendezvous with Death

On some scarred slope of battered hill, When
Spring comes round again this year
And the first meadow flowers appear.
God knows 'twere better to be deep

Pillowed in silk and scented down,
Where Love throbs out in blissful sleep,
Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath,
Where hushed awakenings are dear. . .

But I've a rendezvous with Death

At midnight in some flaming town,
When Spring trips north again this year;

我的眼——

也许我将从他身边
逃脱。

我与死神有个约
会，

在遭到炮击、弹痕
累累的山坡。

当今年春天又来
临，

鲜花初开在草地。

丝绸作衾被，

芬香沁心脾，

恋人相拥入梦乡，

脉搏、呼吸汇成一
个节奏

梦醒更觉宁静温
柔……

And I to my pledged word am true,
I shall not fail that rendezvous.

<p>但是我却与死神有 个约会，</p> <p>夜半相聚在燃烧的 小城，</p> <p>当春天又轻快地移 向北方；</p> <p>我发誓一定要遵守 诺言，</p> <p>这约会绝不让对方 失望。</p>	
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伍德罗·威尔逊 (WOODROW WILSON)

关于宣战对国会的演讲 War Message to Congress

世界应该让民主享有安全。

1914 年夏，欧洲的同盟国(德国和奥匈帝国)与协约国(英国、法国和俄国)之间爆发了战争。美国人从未参与欧洲的战争，而且伍德罗·威尔逊总统宣称，美国人应当「名符其实地保持中立……表里一致地保持公正。」华盛顿和杰斐逊的这一重要规定经门罗主义得到进一步强调，即美国应避免卷入国际政治斗争。但事实证明，保持中立是十分困难的。1915 年 5 月，一艘德国潜艇击沉

了英国客轮「露西塔尼亚」号，包括一百二十八名美国人在内共有约一千二百人丧生，于是舆论哗然。

1916 年威尔逊仰赖「他使我们避开了战争」这一口号在总统竞选中再次获胜。威尔逊认为他能够促使交战的双方和解，因此将助手派往欧洲，试图找到可能结束战争的条件。1917 年 1 月，威尔逊对国会发表讲话，谈及他正努力寻找一个方案以达到「没有胜利的和平」，即既无赢家也无输家的解决办法，一个将由国际「和平联盟」确保的解决办法。威尔逊颇有远见地警告说，一种带惩罚性质的和平会给另一场欧洲冲突种下祸根。

德国保证不再突然袭击非武装船只，但在 1917 年初重新开始了毫无节制的潜艇进攻，击沈了几艘美国商船。威尔逊对德国的政策忍无可忍，遂于 1917 年 4 月 2 日请求国会批准宣战。这里节录的威尔逊关于宣战的演讲，将一百多万美军投入世界历史上最血腥的冲突之一。

大战结束时，威尔逊倡议建立国际联盟。当 he 从欧洲召开的和会返回美国时，肩负争取民众支援和平条约和国际联盟的任务，因为共和党人已控制了参议院。他的跨国旅行日程安排太紧，损害了健康。1919 年 9 月威尔逊终于病倒，无法继续承担总统职责。

……今年 1 月 3 日我正式通知你们，德意志帝国政府为表了异乎寻常的通告，宣称从 1 月 1 日起它的宗旨是把法律的限制或仁慈的考虑统统抛置一边，用它的潜艇去击沈任何驶近英国和爱尔兰港口的船只，或驶近欧洲西海岸或地中海内德国的敌人所控制的任何港口的船只。这似乎是德国潜艇战在大战之初的目标。但从去年 4 月起，德意志帝国对其潜艇指挥官们多少有所限制，以实践当时它对我们许下的诺言即不击沈客轮，对其他它的潜艇可能摧毁的船只，只要不作抵抗、留在原地，便会向它们预先发出警告，而且让它们的船员至少有机会在不设防的船上逃生。在残酷无情的战争中，一桩桩令人悲痛的事件证明，

德方的克制是很不够的，而且带有任意性，但确实有一定程度的节制。而新政策把任何限制都取消了。任何种类的船只，不论它挂什么旗，具有什么性质，载什么货，驶向何处，完成什么使命，全都被击沉，不给预先警告，也全然不顾船上人员的死活；友好中立国的船只与敌国的船只同样对待。甚至连医护船以及向比利时死伤惨重的人民运送救济物资的船只——后者被德国政府允许安全通过禁海而且带有明确无误的标记——同样也被丧失同情心和原则性的德军击沉。

有一度我无法相信，这种行径竟然真是一个一贯赞同文明世界人道惯例的政府的所作所为。国际法起源于人类试图制订的某种的海洋上得到尊重和遵守的法律，该法律规定，任何国家无权统治海洋，世界各国的船只都可以在海上自由航行。……德国政府以报复和必需为借口，已将这起码的法律规定一脚踢开，因为德国在海上除了毫不顾忌人道，蔑视对国际交往的共识，穷兵黩武之外，干不了什么别的事。我现在想到的不是德国在海上造成的财产损失，尽管损失惨重，而是对大批平民生命肆无忌惮的屠杀，而这些男人、妇女和儿童所追求的目标向来——甚至在现代历史最黑暗的时期——被认为是无辜和合法的。财产可以赔偿，而和平无辜人民的生命则无法赔偿。目前德国对付海上贸易的潜艇战其实是以人类为敌。

这是针对所有国家的战争。美国船只被击沉，美国公民葬身海底，消息传来令人震惊。但其他中立或友好国家的船只和人员在海上遭到相同的厄运，没有什么差别。这是对整个人类的挑战。每个国家必须独自决定它应如何对付这一挑战。我们必须适应我国的特点和宗旨审时度势，谨慎考虑，以作出我们自己的决定。我们绝对不应感情用事。我们的动机既非为复仇也不是为了耀武扬威，而仅仅是为维护权利，维护人权，在这场斗争中我们国家仅仅是一名斗士……

我深刻认识到我正采取的步骤的严重乃至悲剧的性质，以及它所包含的重大责任，但是我对履行自己由宪法规定的义务毫不迟疑。正是以这样的态度我建议国会宣布，德意志帝国最近的行动事实上已是对美国政府和人民发动了战争；

美国正式接受已强加于它的交战国地位；美国将立即行动，不仅使国家处于完全的防御状态，而且将竭尽全力，使用一切手段迫使德国政府屈服，结束战争。……

当我们采取行动，这些重大行动的时候，我们自己应当清楚，也应让全世界明白我们的动机和目的是什么。……我们的目的……是维护国际生活的和平与正义的原则，反对自私和专制的力量，我们要在世界上真正自由和自治的各国人民之中确立一种意志与行动的概念，有了它就能保证这些原则得到遵循。当问题涉及世界和平，涉及世界各国人民的自由时，当组织起来的势力支援某些专制政府按自己的意志而非人民的意志独断专行，从而对世界人民的和平与自由构成威胁时，中立便不再是可行或可取的了。我们看到，在这种情况下中立已成为历史。我们处在一个新时代的开端，在这个时代中人们坚决要求，凡文明国家每个公民遵循的关于行为和承担罪责的准则，各个国家和它们的政府也必须同样遵循。

我们与德国人民之间不存龃龉。对他们，我们除了同情和友谊没有别的情感。他们的政府投入战争并不是因为人民的推动，他们事先一无所知，并未表示赞同。决定打这场战争与过去不幸的岁月中决定打一场战争的方式相同。旧时统治者从不征求人民的意见，战争的挑起和发动全都是为着王朝的利益或是为野心勃勃的人组成的小集团的利益，这些人惯于利用同胞作为走卒和工具。……

我们接受这一敌意的挑战，因为我们知道与这样一个采用这种手段的政府是绝对不可做朋友的；只要它组织起来的力量埋伏着准备实现不可告人的目的，世界上一切民主政府便无法得到安全保障。我们接受的将是一场与这个自由的天敌展开的宏大战役，如有必要，将动用我国的全部力量去制止和粉碎敌人的意图和势力。我们感到欣慰，因为敌人撕去伪善的面纱，使我们看清了真相，这样我们将为世界最终和平，为世界各国人民包括德国人民的解放而战：为大大小小各国的权利和世界各地人们选择自己的生活与服从权威的方式的特权而战。世界应该让民主享有安全。世界和平应建立在政治自由历经考验的基础上。

我们没有什么私利可图。我们不想要征服，不想要统治。我们不为自己索取赔偿，对我们将慷慨作出的牺牲不求物质补偿。我们只不过是为人权而战的斗士之一。当各国的信念和自由能确保人权不可侵犯之时，我们将心满意足。

在我们面前很可能有旷日持久的战火考验和惨重牺牲。把我们伟大、爱好和平的人民领入战争是件可怕的事。因为这场战争是有史以来最血腥最残酷的，甚至文明自身似已岌岌可危。然而权利比和平更宝贵。我们将为自己一向最珍惜的东西而战——为了民主，为人民服从权威以求在自己的政府中拥有发言权，为弱小国家的权利和自由，为自由的各国人民和谐一致共同享有权利以给所有国家带来和平与安全，使世界本身最终获得自由。为完成这样一个任务，我们可以献出我们的生命财产，献出我们自己以及我们所有的一切；我们满怀自豪，因为我们知道，这样的一天已经到来：美国有幸得以用她的鲜血和力量捍卫那些原则，正是它们给予她生命和快乐，给予她一向珍视的和平。上帝保佑她，她别无选择。

...On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance

to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. . . . This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion. . . .

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war. . . .

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. . . . Our object. . . is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and selfgoverned peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by

their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools....

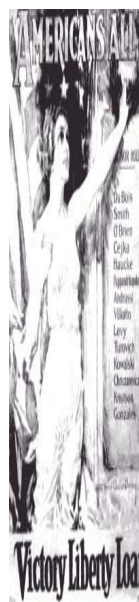
We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized powder, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can

make them....

There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, "with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

乔治.诺里斯 (GEORGE NORRIS)

反对参战 Against Entry into the War



1919 年鼓励美国人民购买战争债券的海报

今天我们正采取一个极其危险的步骤。我们正奉金钱之命投入战争。

许多美国人反对美国卷入欧洲战争。有些人认为，参战的决定是为富人的利益作出的；有些人则作为和平主义者和(或)社会主义者根据原则反对战争；有些反战者是爱尔兰或德国血统，他们不愿让美国帮助英国，与德国交战。

乔治·威廉·诺里斯(1861—1944)系一名进步的共和党人。他谴责参战的决定是一个悲剧性的错误，是由贪婪成性的华尔街金融家们促成的。诺里斯出生于俄亥俄州，在内布拉斯加当律师，并于1902年被选为国会议员。1912年他被选入参议院，在以后的三十年中成为参议院中的改革者和持异见者。诺里斯反对投入世界大战，反对凡尔赛条约。他提出拟定宪法第二十修正案，通过把总统就职日从三月提早到一月，取消了国会的落选议员会议。他领导了总统初选的斗争，在美国参议员选举中起指导作用。他倡导水电设施公有化，提出成立田纳西流域管理局的法案。

以下这篇演讲是诺里斯于1917年4月4日作的，就在两天前威尔逊请求国会宣战。当时在美国反战观点不得人心，但诺里斯却在内布拉斯加州再次被他的选民选为国会议员。

为数众多的美国公民觉得，加入这场战争是我们对人类应尽的义务。其实交战双方皆有许多残酷无情的劣迹。但人们常因自己的感情和利益在判断中带有偏见。我认为，我们从一开始就应严守中立。假如我们以前按此行事，现在也就不会濒临战争。作为一个国家，我们有权在自己认为需要的时候中止中立立场。我们根据法律有权尊重英国的海上战区，无视德国的海上战区，但我们不能既

这么做又保持中立。我并不想跟那个不愿让我国保持中立的人争吵。我相信，有许多诚实、爱国的公民往往因为误解了现实情况才认为我们应该投入这场战争，支援总统关于对德宣战的要求。我认为，这些人判断失当，而且由于大财团几乎完全一致的要求的错误诱导，他们在很大程度上没能弄清历史和现实的实际情况。在这场争论中我们已向盟国借出若干亿美元。这种行动是国际法所允许和鼓励的，但同时我也确信我国向盟国提供的大量贷款已被用来造成一种公众情绪，它支援我国采取一个能使每张一美元债券值一百美分，使每笔债务能得到可靠偿还的方针。借助这一手段以及其他入——他们不仅在制造军火中大发横财，而且一旦我国被拖入战祸，他们将指望赚更多的钱——的手段，大批美国著名报纸和新闻社身不由己地投入了世界历史上最大的宣传攻势，以煽起赞成战争的情绪。现在有人要求将美国公民当作保险单用以确保军火安全交付给交战各国。我们参战肯定会进一步增加军火制造商、证券和债券经纪人的巨额利润。这样就使我们面临当前的局面，即，在总统的催促和虚假民众情绪的支援下，国会即将宣战，从而把我国投入世界有史以来最大的一场屠杀中。……战争给谁带来好运呢。不是给士兵带来好运，他为每个月十六美元的慷慨补偿扛着步枪进入战壕，献出鲜血甚至生命；不是给悲痛欲绝的寡妇带来好运，她等待丈夫血肉模糊的尸体从前线运回；不是给为失去勇敢的儿子而哭泣的母亲带来好运；不是给冷得发抖的儿童带来好运；不是给饥肠辘辘的婴孩带来好运；不是给几百万怀着破碎的心走向坟墓的母亲和女儿带来好运。战争不能给广大的普通爱国公民带来好运。它给胼手胝足，竭尽全力维持生计的人们带来的是生活费用飞涨。战争给华尔街的股票赌徒则带来红运，而这类人已拥有难以变为现钱或享用不尽的巨大财富。一个华尔街经纪人说，如果我们无法弄到战争，「这却是个高明的想法：战备计划将在很大程度上使未能激发实际战争的损失得到补偿。」也就是说，如果我们无法参战，那么让我们尽可能接近该目标。倘若我们不能参战，那就让我们高喊需要增加舰艇、增加枪炮、增加军火、增加一切将把我们引向战争边缘的东西。但一旦战争来临，这类人会肩扛步枪进入战壕吗。

他们要战争、要战备，其目的全在赚钱发财。人民遭受苦难、牺牲生命是必要

的，但华尔街只看重美元。华尔街所描绘的锦绣前程，冲锋陷阵、流血牺牲的人们丝毫不沾边。那些证券经纪人当然不会上前线，他们导致参战的目的是取得红利，所以他们必须呆在华尔街的办公室里分享他们自己所说的战争带来的繁荣。志愿兵的军官，甚至征兵的军官是见不到这类阔佬的。他们藏在华尔街富丽堂皇的办公室里，坐在红木书桌后面，桌上摆满了剪下的息票——带着勤恳的劳动者汗水的息票，带着母亲们眼泪的息票，被他们的同胞鲜血染红的息票。

今天我们正采取一个极其危险的步骤。我们正在奉金钱之命投入战争。我们将冒这种风险，即牺牲数百万同胞的性命以便让另一些美国人把他们的鲜血铸成金钱。即便我们不去大西洋彼岸走进战壕，我们也将债台高筑，以致未来好几代人民群众将辛勤劳作偿还债务。目前尚未出世的千百万人将弯腰曲背埋头苦干，为我们今天要采取的步骤付出代价。我们正按照金钱的可怕命令行事。我们的行动将使千百万同胞遭受苦难，其结果很可能是我们数百万弟兄血溅沙场；数百万妇女泣不成声；数百万儿童衣不御寒；数百万婴儿活活饿死。而这一切都是因为我们维护美国公民将军火输送给交战各国的商业权。

There are a great many American citizens who feel that we owe it as a duty to humanity to take part in this war. Many instances of cruelty and inhumanity can be found on both sides. Men are often biased in their judgment on account of their sympathy and their interests. To my mind, what we ought to have maintained from the beginning was the strictest neutrality. If we had done this I do not believe we would have been on the verge of war at the present time. We had a right as a nation, if we desired, to cease at any time to be neutral. We had a technical right to respect the English war zone and to disregard the German war zone, but we could not do that and be neutral. I have no quarrel to find with the man who does not desire our country to remain neutral. While many such people are moved by selfish motives and hopes of gain, I have no doubt but that in a great many instances, through what

I believe to be a misunderstanding of the real condition, there are many honest, patriotic citizens who think we ought to engage in this war and who are behind the President in his demand that we should declare war against Germany. I think such people err in judgment and to a great extent have been misled as to the real history and the true facts by the almost unanimous demand of the great combination of wealth that has a direct financial interest in our participation in the war. We have loaned many hundreds of millions of dollars to the allies in this controversy. While such action was legal and countenanced by international law, there is no doubt in my mind but the enormous amount of money loaned to the allies in this country has been instrumental in bringing about a public sentiment in favor of our country taking a course that would make every bond worth a hundred cents on the dollar and making the payment of every debt certain and sure. Through this instrumentality and also through the instrumentality of others who have not only made millions out of the war in the manufacture of munitions, etc., and who would expect to make millions more if our country can be drawn into the catastrophe, a large number of the great newspapers and news agencies of the country have been controlled and enlisted in the greatest propaganda that the world has ever known, to manufacture sentiment in favor of war. It is now demanded that the American citizens shall be used as insurance policies to guarantee the safe delivery of munitions of war to belligerent nations. The enormous profits of munition manufacturers, stockbrokers, and bond dealers must be still further increased by our entrance into the war. This has brought us to the present moment, when Congress, urged by the President and backed by the artificial sentiment, is about to declare war and engulf our country in the greatest holocaust that the world has ever known.,..

To whom does the war bring prosperity. Not to the soldier who for the munificent compensation of \$16 per month shoulders his musket and goes into the trench, there to shed his blood and to die if necessary; not to the brokenhearted widow who waits for the return of the mangled body of her husband; not to the

mother who weeps at the death of her brave boy; not to the little children who shiver with cold; not to the babe who suffers from hunger; nor to the millions of mothers and daughters who carry broken hearts to their graves. War brings no prosperity to the great mass of common and patriotic citizens. It increases the cost of living of those who toil and those who already must strain every effort to keep soul and body together. War brings prosperity to the stock gambler on Wall street—to those who are already in possession of more wealth than can be realized or enjoyed. [A Wall Street broker] says if we can not get war, "it is nevertheless good opinion that the preparedness program will compensate in good measure for the loss of the stimulus of actual war." That is, if we can not get war, let us go as far in that direction as possible. If we can not get war, let us cry for additional ships, additional guns, additional munitions, and everything else that will have a tendency to bring us as near as possible to the verge of war. And if war comes do such men as these shoulder the musket and go into the trenches.

Their object in having war and in preparing for war is to make money. Human suffering and the sacrifice of human life are necessary, but Wall Street considers only the dollars and the cents. The men who do the fighting, the people who make the sacrifices, are the ones who will not be counted in the measure of this great prosperity he depicts. The stock brokers would not, of course, go to war, because the very object they have in bringing on the war is profit, and therefore they must remain in their Wall Street offices in order to share in that great prosperity which they say war -will bring. The volunteer officer, even the drafting officer, will not find them. They "will be concealed in their palatial offices on Wall Street, sitting behind mahogany desks, covered up with clipped coupons—coupons soiled with the sweat of honest toil, coupons stained with mothers' tears, coupons dyed in the lifeblood of their fellow men.

We are taking a step today that is fraught with untold danger. We are going into war upon the command of gold. We are going to run the risk of sacrificing millions

of our countrymen's lives in order that other countrymen may coin their lifeblood into money. And even if we do not cross the Atlantic and go into the trenches, we are going to pile up a debt that the toiling masses that shall come many generations after us will have to pay. Unborn millions will bend their backs in toil in order to pay for the terrible step we are now about to take. We are about to do the bidding of wealth's terrible mandate. By our act we will make millions of our countrymen suffer, and the consequences of it may well be that millions of our brethren must shed their lifeblood, millions of broken-hearted women must weep, millions of children must suffer with cold, and millions of babes must die from hunger, and all because we want to preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations.

乔治.M.科汉

(GEORGE M. COHAN)

去 那 里

Over There

乔治.M.科汉(1878—1942)生于7月3日,但他把自己的生日更动了一天,这样他就可以说,他确实像自己创作的一首流行歌曲的标题那样,是个「扬基老爹」了。他小小年纪便随父母、姐姐一起参加歌舞杂耍巡回演出。作为一个典型的歌舞表演家,科汉逐渐成名,被人们称为「百老汇先生」。他的不少歌曲成为经典作品,其个包括《你是面了不起的旗》、《代我向百老汇致意》和《玛丽是个美妙的名字》。

科汉的《去那里》是第一次世界大战美国人的主题歌。1917年末这首歌在纽约马戏场首次演出,受到「狂热」欢迎。这首歌的曲子是根据召集部队上前线的号声改编而成的。科汉因谱写该歌曲获得国会荣誉奖章。

约翰尼拿起枪，拿起枪，拿起枪，
拿起枪向前跑，向前跑，向前跑；
听见他们呼唤我和你；
每一个属于自由的儿子。
立即行动莫迟疑，今天就走，
让你的父亲为自己的好儿郎感到
荣耀，
告诉你的恋人别难过莫憔悴，
应该为她的男友站在队伍中感到
自豪。

(合唱)

去那里，去那里，
把这话儿捎去那里。
扬基要来了，
扬基要来了，

Johnnie get your gun, get your gun, get
your
gun,
Take it on the run, on the run, on the run;
Hear them calling you and me;
Ev'ry son of liberty.
Hurry right away, no delay, go today,
Make your daddy glad, to have had such
a lad,
Tell your sweetheart not to pine,
To be proud her boy's in line. CHORUS:
Over there, over there,
Send the word, send the word over there,
"That the Yanks are coming,
the Yanks are coming,
The drums rum-tumming ev'ry where—
So prepare, say a pray'r,
Send the word, send the word to beware,
We'll be over, we're coming over,
And we won't come back till it's over
over
there. Johnnie get your gun, get your gun,
gun,
Johnnie show the Hun, you're a son
Hoist the flag and let her fly,
Like true heroes, do or die.
Pack your little kit, show your grit, (
Soldiers to the ranks from the town'
tanks,

鼓声咚咚震大地——

一个祈祷者说，准备好，

把话儿捎去叫他们小心，

我们要来了，

我们要来了

这场战争我们决意奉陪到底。

约翰尼拿起枪，拿起枪，拿起枪，

叫德国兵明白，他们是畜生。

升起军旗，高高飘扬，

像真正的英雄，血战沙场。

收拾行装，斗志昂扬，去尽一份力，

城镇来的士兵、坦克兵，

让你们的母亲为你们骄傲，

Make your mother proud of you,
And to liberty be true.

忠实于自由决不动摇。	
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附注：

1776 年 7 月 4 日，北美第二次「大陆会议」宣布 13 个殖民地独立，建立新国家。

欧文·柏林

(IRVING BERLIN)

唉，我多恨在早晨起床

Oh, How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning

欧文·柏林(1888—1989)出生于俄国，于 1893 年被家人带到美国。本名小伊斯瑞尔·巴林。八岁时父亲去世，他便辍学去挣钱贴补家用。起初他在街头卖报，以后在纽约下东区的酒吧间卖唱。十九岁时，他发表了第一首自己创作的歌曲，但他的姓名错印成「I.柏林」，于是他决定以后就沿用这一名字。他的第一首引起轰动的歌是《亚历山大的拉格泰姆乐队》(1911)。在柏林三十岁之前，他是美国音乐史上最成功的歌曲作者之一。虽然他从未学过识谱和谱曲，他竟创作了一千五百首歌曲，包括非常流行的《蓝色天空》(1927)、《上帝保佑美国》(1938)和《有雷的圣诞节》(1942)。

第一次世界大战期间，欧文·柏林应征入伍，在纽约长岛厄普顿营步兵团当军士。当兵期间，他演出了一个提高士气，完全演士兵的戏《汪，汪，汪汪叫》，其中包括《唉，我多恨在早晨起床》(1917)。这首歌也编入1942年他所创作的音乐喜剧《这就是军队》中。

几天前我巧遇一个当兵的朋友。	The other day I chanced to meet a soldier
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他在军营住了几星期看上去很帅：	friend of mine.
脸颊红润，肌肉发达，	He'd been in camp for sev'ral weeks and he
我问他军队生活怎样，这是他的回答：	was looking fine; His muscles had developed and his cheeks
(合唱)	were rosy red I asked him how he liked the life and this is
唉，我多恨在早晨起床，	what he said: CHORUS: Oh! How I hate to get up in the morning,
唉，我多想在床上再躺一躺；	Oh! how I'd love to remain in bed: For the hardest blow of all, is to hear the
最令人讨厌的是听见号声：	bugler call; "You've got to get up, you've got to get up,
「你得起来，你得起来，今天早晨你得起床!」	you've got to get up this morning!" Someday I'm going to murder the bugler,
总有一天我将杀了那个号手，	Someday they're going to find him dead;
总有一天人们会发现他的尸首；	I'll amputate his reveille, and step upon it
我要把他的起床号砸碎再重重踩上一脚，	heavily, And spend the rest of my life in bed. A bugler in the army is the luckiest of men,

这辈子就能在床上高枕无忧。	He wakes the boys at five and then goes back to bed again; He doesn't have to blow again until the afternoon, If ev'rything goes well with me I'll be a bugler soon.
陆军的号手真是得天独厚，	
他五点钟唤醒大兵自己却又爬回床 头，	
直到下午他才再吹一次喇叭，	
假如一切顺利我很快也要当个号手。	
啊！朋友，一旦战争结束，	
啊！朋友，一旦敌人灭亡；	
我将立刻脱下军装去费城，	
一辈子舒舒服服躺在床上。	

Oh! boy the minute the battle is over,
 Oh! boy the minute the foe is dead;
 I'll put my uniform away, and move to
 Philadelphia,
 And spend the rest of my life in bed.

海军陆战队赞歌

The Marines' Hymn

《海军陆战队赞歌》作者不详，但它作为一首军歌大受欢迎则是确切事实。这首歌的曲子可以追溯到雅克·奥芬巴克的歌剧《布拉邦特的吉纳维夫》(1868)中的一首《两个军人之歌》。1868年10月22日该歌剧在纽约市上演。关于这首歌的歌词作者有几种说法，但没人拥有版权。目前所知最早刊载歌词的是1917年6月16日的《全国警察报》。海军陆战队报纸《匡提刻海军陆战队士兵》于1918年7月刊登了第一诗节。美国海军陆战队本身于1918年8月1日全文印发了这首歌的词曲。

从 <u>蒙提祖马</u> 的大厅，	From the halls of Montezuma
到的黎波里海岸；	To the shores of Tripoli;
我们为祖国战斗，	We fight our country's battles
在陆地也在海洋；	On the land as on the sea;
首先为权利和自由，	First to fight for right and freedom
也为我们的荣誉而战；	And to keep our honor clean;
当一名海军陆战队员，	We are proud to claim the title
我们心中充满自豪。	Of United States Marine.Our flag's unluri'd to every breeze
	From dawn to setting sun;
	We have fought in ev'ry clime and place
	Where we could take a gun;
	In the snow of far off Northern land
	And in sunny tropic scenes;
	You will find us always on the job
	The United States Marines.

我们的战旗迎风招展

从黎明直到太阳下山；

我们在任何地方作战，

只要能拿起枪杆；

从白雪皑皑的北方，

到赤日炎炎的热带，

你都能看到我们在忙碌，

美国海军陆战队员。

为你的健康也为陆战队干杯

我们骄傲地组成这支部队；

我们经历了多少次生

死搏斗

从未有过惊慌失措和
后退；

如果陆军和海军兄
弟，

放眼看看天堂的景
象；

他们将发现大街由我
们警卫

美国海军陆战队员。

Here's health to you and to our Corps
Which we are proud to serve;
In many a strife we've fought for life
And never lost our nerve;
If the Army and the Navy
Ever look on Heaven's scenes;
They will find the streets are guarded
By United States Marines.

附注：

蒙提祖马(1466—1520)，墨西哥阿兹台克第九代皇帝。

埃德蒙.I.格鲁伯
(EDMUND I.GRUBER)

野战炮之歌
The Field Artillery Song

《战炮之歌》更以《炮兵弹药车之歌》的标题闻名。它是埃德蒙.I.格鲁伯中校(以后升为准将)于 1907 年创作的，他当时在菲律宾服役。杰出的乐队指挥兼作曲家约翰.菲利浦.索萨于 1918 年为这首歌谱写了器乐曲，使它广为流传。《野战炮之歌》是一首生气勃勃的行军歌，在第一次世界大战和第二次世界大战期间很受大后方的军队和民众欢迎。

翻过山丘，越过溪谷，	Over hill, over dale,
我们前进在尘土飞扬	As we hit the dusty trail,
的小路，	And the caissons go rolling along.
炮兵弹药车隆隆驶	In and out, hear them shout
过。	Counter march and right about,
道路蜿蜒，他们高呼：	And the caissons go rolling along.Then it's hi! hi!
反向行进，向右转弯，	hee! in the field artillery
炮兵弹药车隆隆驶	Shout out your numbers loud and strong,
过。	For where e'er you go,
	You will always know
	That the caissons go rolling along.

「嗨！嗨！」在野战炮
兵队伍，

喊着你们的番号大声
招呼，

因为你们不论走到何
处，

毫无例外，总会知道，

炮兵弹药车隆隆驶
过。

卡尔·桑德伯格
(CARL SANDBURG)

草 Grass

卡尔·桑德伯格的《草》是关于第一次世界大战最感人、最令人难忘的诗歌中的一首。它于 **1918** 年刊载在《剥玉米皮的人》一书中。

把尸体堆积在奥斯特里茨 和滑铁卢， 把它们铲进坑，然后让我 来做—— 我是草，我覆盖一切。 把尸体堆积在普梯斯堡， 把尸体堆积在伊普尔和凡 尔登， 把它们铲进坑，然后让我 来做。 两年，十年过去，旅客问 乘务员： 这是什么地方。 我们到了何处。	Pile the bodies high at Austerlitz and Waterloo Shovel them under and let me work — I am the grass; I cover all. And pile them high at Gettysburg And pile them high at Ypres and Verdun. Shovel them under and let me work. Two years, ten years, and passengers ask the conductor: What place is this. Where are we now. I am the grass Let me work.
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我是草， 让我干活。	
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尤金.维克托.德布斯(EUGENE VICTOR DEBS)

对法庭的声明Statement to the Court

只要有一个关在狱中，我就不是自由人。

尤金.维克托.德布斯(1855—1926)是个工运组织者，社会党创始人，六次被提名为社会党总统候选人。德布斯出生于印第安那州的台热霍特，十四岁便在铁路上做工，最后成为一名机车司炉工。到二十岁时他参加了机车司炉工兄弟会的组织工作。1893年德布斯当选为新美国铁路工会主席。翌年，他领导了反对普尔门豪华车公司的大罢工，结果联邦军队进驻芝加哥，德布斯因蔑视法庭被监禁六个月。在狱中德布斯广泛阅读社会主义的文献。1898年他协助创立以后称为美国社会党的组织，并于1900年成为该党总统候选人。

德布斯和其他社会党人反对美国1917年卷入世界大战。由于他严厉批评威尔逊政府，于1918年6月以违犯1917年间谍法被捕。在德布斯发表了以下这篇讲话后，法官判他十年徒刑。哈定总统1921年给予他减刑。1920年德布斯虽然仍在狱中，但作为总统候选人却赢得了他历次竞选中的最高选票数(九十一万五千票)。

阁下，若干年以前我自认与一切生物有亲属关系，并判定我比世界上最卑贱者好不了一分一毫。当时我说过，现在仍这么说：只要有一个下层社会，我便是其中一员；只要有一个犯罪成分，我就是由它组成；只要有一个人关在狱中，我就不是自由人。

我在这法庭上听了所有支援这一起诉和为之辩护的言词，但我的想法依然如故。我把间谍法看成是与民主原则和自由制度的精神公然对抗的专横的法令。……

阁下，在法庭上我已说过，我反对我们置身于其中的社会制度；我相信有必要作一番根本的改变——尽可能采用和平的、循序渐进的手段。

今天上午站在这里，我回忆起自己的童年。我 14 岁便在一铁路工厂干活；16 岁在一辆货运机车上当司炉。对早年的艰苦和贫困我记忆犹新；从那时起直到现在，我的心始终和工人阶级在一起。我早就可能进入国会了，但我宁可进监狱。

此时此地我想到工厂里的男工，想到矿山和铁路上的男工。我想到为微薄的工资被迫出卖劳力的妇女；想到那些在这个制度下被剥夺了童年，小小年纪便落入贪婪之神残酷魔掌的孩子们，他们被驱入工业牢笼成为机器怪兽的食物，心灵和肉体受尽折磨。我看见他们发育不良，疾病缠身，幼小的生命惨遭蹂躏，因为在这 20 世纪上半期，基督教文明的金钱仍比儿童的血肉重要得多。事实上，金子仍是当今的上帝，以无情的权势执掌着人类的事务。

我们这个国家得天独厚：我们有最富饶肥沃的辽阔土地、取之不尽用之不竭的原料资源、世界上生产能力最强的机器设备，有千百万乐意为每个公民、每个儿童的福祉使用这些机器努力制造出大量产品的工人。而如果我国仍有为数众多的人民沦为贫穷的牺牲品，一辈子苦苦挣扎，直到死亡给予他们解脱，让他

们的心不再痛苦，把这些不幸的受害者们诱入无梦的长眠，那罪责不在上帝：不能归咎于自然，而完全应归咎于我们置身其中的畸形社会制度，这种社会制度应该消灭，这不仅是为了劳动大众的利益，也为所有人类的最高利益。

阁下，我同其他社会党人一样都认为，这个国家应当拥有并控制它自己的工业。我与其他社会党人都认为，一切为人们共同需要和使用的东西应归人们共同所有——作为社会生活基础的工业不应成为少数人的私有财产，为他们发财致富而运作，工业应成为全体人民的共同财产，应当为全体人民的利益对其施行民主化的管理。

我反对一种社会秩序，它可以让一个对社会毫无贡献的人积累起亿万美元的财富，而让千百万一生辛劳的男人和女人挣扎在贫困线上。

这种秩序不可能持久。我已表达了我对它的抗议。我承认自己的努力微不足道，但幸运的是我并非孤军作战。千千万万人跟我一样意识到，我们必须把社会组织在共同与合作的基础上才能真正享受文明生活的幸福；为此目标我们已组织起一个席卷全球的伟大的经济政治运动。

如今已有超过六百万社会党人，他们不分国籍、种族、宗教、肤色、性别，都对这一事业忠贞不渝。他们正投身共同的事业。他们不知疲倦地广泛宣传新的社会秩序。他们在等待，在观察，满怀希望夜以继日地工作。他们仍是少数派，但他们知道该如何耐心地等待时机。他们感觉到——他们确实明白——尽管阻力重重，遭受迫害，这样的一天正在到来；解放的福音将传遍各国人民；这一少数派将成为胜利的多数派，掌握政权，开始历史上最伟大的社会和经济变革。

到那时我们将实现世界联邦——国与国之间携手并肩，融洽合作。…

Your honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it, while there is a criminal element, I am of it, and while there is a soul in prison, I am not free.

I listened to all that was said in this court in support and justification of this prosecution, but my mind remains unchanged. I look upon the Espionage Law as a despotic enactment in flagrant conflict with democratic principles and with the spirit of free institutions. . . .

Your Honor, I have stated in this court that I am opposed to the social system in which we live; that I believe in a fundamental change—but if possible by peaceable and orderly means....

Standing here this morning, I recall my boyhood. At fourteen I went to work in a railroad shop; at sixteen I was firing a freight engine on a railroad. I remember all the hardships and privations of that earlier day, and from that time until now my heart has been with the working class. I could have been in Congress long ago. I have preferred to go to prison. . . .

I am thinking this morning of the men in the mills and factories; of the men in the mines and on the railroads. I am thinking of the women who for a paltry wage are compelled to work out their barren lives; of the little children who in this system are robbed of their childhood and in their tender years are seized in the remorseless grasp of Mammon and forced into the industrial dungeons, there to feed the monster machines while they themselves are being starved and stunted, body and soul. I see them dwarfed and diseased and their little lives broken and blasted because in this high noon of our twentieth-century Christian civilization money is still so much more important than the flesh and blood of childhood. In very truth gold is god today and rules with pitiless sway in the affairs of men.

In this country, the most favored beneath the bending skies— we have vast areas of the richest and most fertile soil, material resources in inexhaustible abundance, the most marvelous productive machinery on earth, and millions of eager workers ready to apply their labor to that machinery to produce an abundance for every man, woman, and child— and if there are still vast numbers of our people who are the victims of poverty and whose lives are an unceasing struggle all the way from youth to old age, until at last death comes to their rescue and stills their aching hearts and lulls these hapless victims to dreamless sleep, it is not the fault of the Almighty: it cannot be charged to nature, but it is due entirely to the outgrown social system in which we live, that ought to be abolished not only in the interest of the toiling masses but in the higher interest of all humanity. . . .

I believe, Your Honor, in common with all Socialists, that this nation ought to own and control its own industries. I believe, as all Socialists do, that all things that are jointly needed and used ought to be jointly owned— that industry, the basis of our social life, instead of being the private property of the few and operated for their enrichment, ought to be the common property of all, democratically administered in the interest of all. . . .

I am opposing a social order in which it is possible for one man who does absolutely nothing that is useful to amass a fortune of hundreds of millions of dollars, while millions of men and women who work all the days of their lives secure barely enough for a wretched existence.

This order of things cannot always endure. I have registered my protest against it. I recognize the feebleness of my effort, but fortunately I am not alone. There are multiplied thousands of others who, like myself, have come to realize that before we may truly enjoy the blessings of civilized life, we must reorganize society upon a mutual and co-operative basis; and to this end we have organized a great economic and political movement that spreads over the face of all the earth.

There are today upwards of sixty millions of Socialists, loyal, devoted adherents to this cause, regardless of nationality, race, creed, color, or sex. They are all making common cause. They are spreading with tireless energy the propaganda of the new social order. They are waiting, watching, and working hopefully through all the hours of the day and the night. They are still in a minority. But they have learned how to be patient and to bide their time. They feel— they know, indeed— that the time is coming, in spite of all opposition, all persecution, when this emancipating gospel will spread among all the peoples, and when this minority will become the triumphant majority and, sweeping into power, inaugurate the greatest social and economic change in history.

In that day we shall have the universal commonwealth— the harmonious co-operation of every nation with every other nation on earth....

玛格丽特.桑格(MARGARET SANGER)

人身的权利The Right to One's Body

一个妇女不能称自己为自由人，除非她拥有和掌握自己的身体。

玛格丽特.桑格(1883 — 1966)因她为推广节育作出坚韧不拔的斗争而成为国际知名人物。她出生于纽约科宁，在全家七个孩子中排行第六。桑格曾在贫困的纽约市下东区当护士，亲眼目睹了当地母亲和婴儿高死亡率的悲惨情景。当时法律规定，提供节育知识是有罪的。桑格同这种法律规定进行了斗争。

1914年桑格出版了叫作《妇女反叛者》的杂志(以后更名为《节育周刊》)，发表了一本标题为《家庭人口限制》的小册子。因为当时印发或传播这种资讯是非法的，所以她被指控邮寄违法材料，但此案法院未予受理。1916年桑格在布鲁克林创办了全国第一家节育诊所；她因「公妨罪」被捕，在感化院呆了三十天。

桑格周游世界，宣传节育的重要意义。随着时间的推移，许多州对人们获取节育知识放宽限制。1973年，最高法院在《罗对韦德》一书中抨击了禁止节育的法律。但1989年最高法院又裁定，美国只在很窄的范围内允许堕胎。

以下这篇文章摘自桑格的《妇女和新人类》一书。

节育的问题直接产生于妇女挣脱束缚，争取自由的努力。妇女以自己的生育能力造成了这种束缚，她们在使自己受到奴役的同时亦使世界受到奴役。需要解除的主要是妇女的肉体上的痛苦。她的爱情生活首先是因为生育过多而遭到损害，完全窒息。人类的未来取决于妇女自身——或成之或毁之全在她们。所有这些值得考虑的问题明白无误地表明一个事实——掌握自由的手段既是妇女的特权，也是妇女的义务。不论男人可能做些什么，妇女无法逃避此责任。长期以来，她们被剥夺了履行这种义务的机会。如今她们正从软弱无能的状况中挺身而出。甚至就如没人能分担操劳过度的妇女的痛苦一样，没有人能代替她们履行义务。别人可以助一臂之力，而只有妇女自己才能解放自己。

世界的基本自由是妇女的自由。一个自由的民族不可能由当奴隶的母亲们生出。一个被铁链锁住的母亲别无选择。只能把这种束缚分给她的子女。一个妇女不能称自己为自由人，除非她拥有和掌握自己的身体。一个妇女不能称自己为自由人，除非她能自觉地决定是否将做个母亲。

这并不能大大改变这种情况，即有些妇女因自食其力称自己为自由人，而另一些妇女因蔑视两性关系的传统而自称自由人。自立的妇女确实获得了不应低估的自由，但这种自由除了不受限制地决定是否求偶、是否做母亲，在质和量两方面都不足挂齿。她们至少不必乞求自己的伴侣恩赐以维持生活，但自食其力并不能赋予她们自在性欲的发展，这种欲望比外在的表现更深刻、更强烈。为了求得这种发展，她们还是必须面对和解决当母亲的问题。

对于在择偶问题上无视传统习俗的女性，她们的自由在很大程度上是性格和

勇气的问题。即便她们能不受限制地择偶，还是逃脱不出因自己的生育能力造成的受奴役的地位。实际上，比起有幸能与自己选择的男人结婚的妇女，对于不合法结婚的妇女，法律和习俗的压力更大，更使她们沦为奴隶。

不论你从哪种观点看问题，提出什么解决办法，不论这观点或解决办法是因循守旧还是离经叛道，是法律允许的还是违抗法律的，归根结底妇女仍处在原先的地位，除非她们能自己决定是否当母亲，生几个孩子，这一不容回避的问题本身就足以使节育成为一个首先是妇女的问题。从表面上看，当母亲应出于自愿主要是妇女关切的事。

但是有人坚持认为，既然性爱表现为双方的动作，控制其后果的责任便不该只归妇女。有人发问：既然她们或许不如配偶强健，不论怎样每月都来例假，难道保护她们的任务不该交给男人，反而该由妇女们完成吗。

我们必须从两个角度——理想以及实现理想的条件——来审视妇女问题的这个侧面。在一个理想社会中，节育无疑将成为男人和妇女共同关切的事。我们今天所面临的严酷而无法逃避的事实是，男人不仅拒绝承认这类责任，而且独自或联合起来力图阻止妇女为自己承担此责任而获取知识。今天她们仍处于从属的地位，因为她们的配偶拒绝撇开自己的需要把她们看作独立的个人。她们仍是受束缚的，因为过去她们已把解决这问题的主动权交给了男人，从而发现，她们除了已取得的祈求、哄劝、欺骗的特权，别无其他权利。既然让男人来解决这问题，妇女便按他们的欲望受到利用、驱使和奴役。

诚然，这种情况结果使男人遭受很多不幸，但妇女的痛苦深重得多。诚然，应该让男人醒悟，弄清这些痛苦的起因，但我们知道，他们每天回家都对女人拳打脚踢。是妇女经年累月肩负着怀孕、生育、培养多余子女的重担。……看着畸形、瘦弱、营养不良、劳累过度的孩子，是妇女的心最先、最多、最深地受到刺痛。因为害怕再次怀孕，是她们的爱情生活最先窒息。是她们的自我表现

机会因此最先丧失。

是条件而不是理论，是事实而不是梦想决定这一问题的解决方式。它们把它压在妇女肩上。她们已懂得，不论在这方面男人的道德责任是什么，他们不履行该责任。她们已懂得，不论某一个别丈夫会多么温柔体贴，妇女从男人的总体休想得到什么，因为制订法律、颁布规章的是男人。她们知道，不论现实应当是怎样，严峻的，不容回避的事实是，妇女将永远不得自由，除非她们为自己夺取自由。

妇女已经有了很多认识，但还有她们应该明白的事情。妇女们总是倾向于步男人的后尘，模仿男人的思维方式，竭力用男人的方法去解决生活的一般问题。倘若获得自由之后，妇女接受了政府、工业、艺术、道德和宗教领域的现状，那么她们将只是从男人的书上撕下的一页而已。妇女无须做男人的工作，无须有男人的思想。即使几乎普遍占统治地位的男性的头脑无法再照料自己了，妇女也无须害怕。妇女们的使命不是去增强男性的精神，而是表达女性的心声；她们的使命不是去维持一个男人创造的世界，而是通过将女性的成分注入社会的一切活动创造一个人类世界。

妇女不应接受，而应挑战。她们不应被周围的一切既成事实所吓倒，而应尊重自身争取表现的力量。她们的眼睛应少盯着现实，多注视奋斗目标。对男人社会已成教条的那些观点，她们不应听信，而应抱坦率的怀疑态度。当她们选择自己新的、自由的行动方向时，应根据自己的观点——自己的直觉。只有这样，她们才能充分发扬女性的精神。只有这样，她们才能把配偶从束缚中解放出来，这种束缚是男人强加在她们身上的同时套在自己身上的。只有这样，她们才能让男人恢复在限制她们的同时自己身上所丧失的品格。只有这样，她们才能重建世界。……

The problem of birth control has arisen directly from the effort of the feminine

spirit to free itself from bondage. Woman herself has wrought that bondage through her reproductive powers and while enslaving herself has enslaved the world. The physical suffering to be relieved is chiefly woman's. Hers, too, is the love life that dies first under the blight of too prolific breeding. Within her is wrapped up the future of the race—it is hers to make or mar. All of these considerations point unmistakably to one fact— it is woman's duty as well as her privilege to lay hold of the means of freedom. Whatever men may do, she cannot escape the responsibility. For ages she has been deprived of the opportunity to meet this obligation. She is now emerging from her helplessness. Even as no one can share the suffering of the overburdened mother, so no one can do this work for her. Others may help, but she and she alone can free herself.

The basic freedom of the world is woman's freedom. A free race cannot be born of slave mothers. A woman enchained cannot choose but give a measure of that bondage to her sons and daughters. No woman can call herself free who does not own and control her body. No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother.

It does not greatly alter the case that some women call themselves free because they earn their own livings, while others profess freedom because they defy the conventions of sex relationship. She who earns her own living gains a sort of freedom that is not to be undervalued, but in quality and in quantity it is of little account beside the untrammelled choice of mating or not mating, or being a mother or not being a mother. She gains food and clothing and shelter, at least, without submitting to the charity of her companion, but the earning of her own living does not give her the development of her inner sex urge, far deeper and more powerful in its outworkings than any of these externals. In order to have that development, she must still meet and solve the problem of motherhood.

With the so-called "free" woman, who chooses a mate in defiance of

convention, freedom is largely a question of character and audacity. If she does attain to an unrestricted choice of a mate, she is still in a position to be enslaved through her reproductive powers. Indeed, the pressure of law and custom upon the woman not legally married is likely to make her more of a slave than the woman fortunate enough to marry the man of her choice.

Look at it from any standpoint you will, suggest any solution you will, conventional or un-conventional, sanctioned by law or in defiance of law, woman is in the same position, fundamentally, until she is able to determine for herself whether she will be a mother and to fix the number of her offspring. This unavoidable situation is alone enough to make birth control, first of all, a woman's problem. On the very face of the matter, voluntary motherhood is chiefly the concern of the woman.

It is persistently urged, however, that since sex expression is the act of two, the responsibility of controlling the results should not be placed upon woman alone. Is it fair, it is asked, to give her, instead of the man, the task of protecting herself when she is, perhaps, less rugged in physique than her mate, and has, at all events, the normal, periodic inconveniences of her sex.

We must examine this phase of her problem in two lights— that of the ideal, and of the conditions working toward the ideal. In an ideal society, no doubt, birth control would become the concern of the man as well as the woman. The hard, inescapable fact which we encounter to-day is that man has not only refused any such responsibility, but has individually and collectively sought to prevent woman from obtaining knowledge by which she could assume this responsibility for herself. She is still in the position of a dependent to-day because her mate has refused to consider her as an individual apart from his needs. She is still bound because she has in the past left the solution of the problem to him. Having left it to him, she finds that instead of rights, she has only such privileges as she has gained

by petitioning, coaxing and cozening. Having left it to him, she is exploited, driven and enslaved to his desires.

While it is true that he suffers many evils as the consequence of this situation, she suffers vastly more. While it is true that he should be awakened to the cause of these evils, we know that they come home to her with crushing force every day. It is she who has the long burden of carrying, bearing and rearing the unwanted children. . . . It is her heart that the sight of the de- formed, the subnormal, the undernourished, the overworked child smites first and oftenest and hardest. It is her love life that dies first in the fear of undesired pregnancy. It is her opportunity for self expression that perishes first and most hopelessly because of it.

Conditions, rather than theories, facts, rather than dreams, govern the problem. They place it squarely upon the shoulders of woman. She has learned that whatever the moral responsibility of the man in this direction may be, he does not discharge it. She has learned that, lovable and considerate as the individual husband may be, she has nothing to expect from men in the mass, when they make laws and decree customs. She knows that regardless of what ought to be, the brutal, unavoidable fact is that she will never receive her freedom until she takes it for herself.

Having learned this much, she has yet something more to learn. Women are too much inclined to follow in the footsteps of men, to try to think as men think, to try to solve the general problems of life as men solve them. If after attaining their freedom, women accept conditions in the spheres of government, industry, art, morals and religion as they find them, they will be but taking a leaf out of man's book. The woman is not needed to do man's work. She is not needed to think man's thoughts. She need not fear that the masculine mind, almost universally dominant, will fail to take care of its own. Her mission is not to enhance the masculine spirit, but to express the feminine; hers is not to preserve a man-made world, but to create a human world by the infusion of the feminine element into all of its activities.

Woman must not accept; she must challenge. She must not be awed by that which has been built up around her; she must reverence that within her which struggles for expression. Her eyes must be less upon what is and more clearly upon what should be. She must listen only with a frankly questioning attitude to the dogmatized opinions of man-made society. When she chooses her new, free course of action, it must be in the light of her own opinion — of her own intuition. Only so can she give play to the feminine spirit. Only thus can she free her mate from the bondage which he wrought for himself when he wrought hers. Only thus can she restore to him that of which he robbed himself in restricting her. Only thus can she remake the world. . . .

埃德娜.圣文森特.米莱

(EDNA ST.VINCENT MILLAY)

第一颗无花果

First Fig

埃德娜.圣文森特.米莱(1892 — 1950)从小在缅因州长大, 孩童时期便给一本儿童杂志《圣尼古拉斯》投稿。她和两个姐妹由当护士的母亲抚养。米莱因家庭经济拮据不指望上大学。1912 年她的诗《复兴》在全国比赛中获奖, 年轻的埃德娜(她自称为文森特)遂从纽约的一位资助人那儿得到帮助, 得以进入大学就读。米莱在大学一年级时便已被公认为一名颇有造诣的诗人。1917 年她从瓦萨学院毕业。以后米莱在纽约市的格林威治村生活和工作, 成为那个时期文学叛逆者的中心人物。她的第一部诗集《<复兴>和其他诗篇》于 1917 年出版。1923 年她因《「用竖琴编织的人」和其他诗篇》获普利兹诗歌奖。虽然米莱创作了许多优美的抒情诗, 她的被引用最频繁的一首诗是《从蓟上摘下的几颗无花果》(1920)一书中的《第一颗无花果》。在很多人的心目中, 埃德娜.圣文森特.米莱代表二十年代新的解放了的女性, 而这首诗则恰切地反映出当时焦躁不安的青年浪漫和愤世嫉俗的精神。

我的蜡烛两头燃烧，

天亮之前就要熄灭；

可是呵，我的敌人，我的朋友 ——

烛光闪烁多么可爱！

My candle burns at both ends;

It will not last the night;

But ah, my foes, and oh, my friends —

It gives a lovely light!

天使岛的诗

Poems of Angel Island

19 世纪中叶西海岸发现金矿时，中国移民开始来到这里，他们许多人参加了中部太平洋铁路的铺设。但种族偏见和就业竞争导致加州和地方颁布了排华法规。虽然这些种族歧视的法律中有很多被法院所否定，排华情绪还是促成了 1882 年华人排斥法的通过，该法令禁止大多数华人移民迁入。

尽管有限制性的法规，从 1910 年至 1940 年成千上万的华人仍源源不断地来到美国。他们首先到达以西部的埃利斯岛闻名的旧金山湾天使岛。天使岛既是个入关口岸，又是中国和日本待批入境的移民以及被驱逐等待离境者的拘留所。有些被拘留者在木板棚屋的墙上写下诗句，表述自己关于飘洋过海、思念家乡和拘留生活的感想。

在以下这首诗中，「花旗」是广东话对美国的称呼，指它色彩斑斓的国旗。

花旗之国最富庶，	I used to admire the land of the Flowery Flag as a country of abundance.
凑足盘缠来美洲。	I immediately raised money and started my journey.
风浪颠簸一月余，	For over a month, I have experienced enough winds and waves.
如今身陷牢狱苦。	Now on an extended sojourn in jail, I am subject to the ordeals of prison life.
抬头望见奥克兰，	I look up and see Oakland so close by.
但愿回乡荷耕锄。	I wish to go back to my motherland to carry the farmer's hoe.
饥肠辘辘难入眠，	Discontent fills my belly and it is difficult for me to sleep.
聊写数行表心曲。	I just write these few lines to express what is on my mind.

扬希尔·康(YOUNGHILL KANG)

一个朝鲜人发现纽约 A Korean Discovers New York

早先我一贯梦见纽约——不是巴黎，不是伦敦，不是柏林，不是慕尼黑，不是维也纳，也不是被岁月掩埋的罗马。

扬希尔·康(1903—1972)生于朝鲜，1921年移居美国，他是位教师、翻译家、小说家和回忆录作者。通过自己的创作，康试图向美国读者介绍亚洲。

他出版的第一部书是《东方诗篇译本》(1921)。他一共写了好几本书，包括自传性的《茅草屋顶》(1931)和《从东到西》(1937)。以下这篇典型的关于移民经历的叙述便是摘录自《从东到西》一书。

我从具有千年历史、以诗人和学者众多闻名于世的城墙环绕的古城——汉城，来到纽约。我不是直接到达的，但可以说几乎是如此。驶自远东的一艘大轮船把我载到加拿大温哥华，然后我在美洲大陆作横跨三千英里的旅行，其路程之遥超过从横滨到温哥华的一半距离。在哈利法克斯我登上另一艘班船驶向纽约。到了纽约我才感觉到自己注定要真正「下船」了。我的新生活的开端必须在这里奠定基础。在朝鲜，「下船」是个习语，意为「出生」，因为「子宫」和「船」为同一个词。有个故事讲述一位朝鲜幽默家身无分文却需要过河。船夫将他摆渡到对岸后，向他要船钱。可是这位幽默大师对刚下船的船夫说：「你不会向自己的兄弟要船钱，是吗。我们俩从同一船上下来。」于是他就不用付船钱了。对于在美国的白皮肤多数人种中作一次跨行星的旅行，我的唯一恳求与那位幽默家的滑稽说法一样。当我进入一个对月亮阴暗的部分不屑一顾、讲求实际的国家时，仅是个两手空空的无名小卒。我恰巧是在反东方移民法通过前夕到达美国的。

然而这些年来，纽约，这个建立在岩石上但根基不牢，紧张不安，熙熙攘攘，多彩如梦的神奇城市却成了我的巨型机械孵卵器。

早先我一贯梦见纽约——不是巴黎，不是伦敦，不是柏林，不是慕尼黑，不是维也纳，也不是被岁月掩埋的罗马。那时我才十八岁，青春年少，美国对我来说仅是个名称，我竟天真地径自作出反应，这确实令人不可思议……犹如固执的飞蛾遵照某种深奥莫测的法则确定自己的飞行方向。但是我对自己说：「我既不要梦想也不要诗意，更不要一切传统，决不要满月。」即使在分崩离析的状态，朝鲜也拥有这些，而等待着她的是死亡。我渴望快捷、不受阻碍的行动、流动性以及难以名状的新奇。由行动产生梦，产生诗。唯静止的梦才是毫无用

处的荒原。所以我怀着对新月的崇拜来到这里，那新月不是金秋时节的圆月，而是冬临大地时的一弯弦月。

「终于到纽约啦！」我听见四周的旅客们说。而这一资讯是不需要通报的。这座城市屹立在神秘的白色和紫红色中，屹立在白色的朦胧中，宛如昨夜的梦，新鲜、新奇、难以置信……但它确实屹立在扬扬自得的物质主义的高傲和自豪中。这是些年轻、苗条、端庄、一千层楼(或许只是对我来说显得这么高，因为我来自一个国家，那儿的建筑从不敢向地球挑战)的怪物，一个个都像通天塔，高塔林立，参差不齐地插入云天，不啻通天塔之城。这些女性巨人，命运女神，密密麻麻地站立在美国的边缘。她们不是为一位帝王、一个幽灵或任何人的宗教而建造的，而是由几个生硬、冰冷、神奇的单词——机会、事业、繁荣、成功——物化而成，而这些商业辞汇来源于一个自然资源丰富的国家世界规模的贸易活动。这些白色的建筑物耸立在岩石上。她们的裙子不沾一点儿泥土。她们就如智慧女神一般被构思出来，跃入视野；她们藐视地球。没有什么比美国更称得上是机器时代的丰碑了。

我来到这纽约，没有任何地方能比它离我的家乡更远。我们的住房低矮，饱经风霜，长满苔藓，憎恶毫无生气的线条——确定、有限、冷漠之物，喜爱回旋曲和向上的笔触。屋顶像船似地翘起，总忘不了兴风作浪的自然力。我的家乡恰好距离这里半球之遥，再往前走便意味着缩短而不是加大距离。我那茅屋错落，群山怀抱的小村离这巨大的叛逆之城纽约是何等遥远啊！而纽约的反叛精神激动着我的心。它的野性将大块混凝土层层垒起，在最后一刻仿佛踌躇再三才加盖，顶部皆似精巧的冰山；它的挥霍未经祈祷便为获取光明劫掠煤矿和瀑布，用钻石般璀璨夺目的无数电灯装饰这座超脱自然的伟大城市——这一切令我，一个亚洲人心醉神迷。在纽约身上我看到的不是弥尔顿笔下的撒旦，而是布莱克的撒旦。

From an old walled Korean city some thousand years old—Seoul— famous for poets and scholars, to New York. I did not come directly. But almost. A large steamer from the Orient landed me in Vancouver, Canada, and I travelled over three thousand miles across the American continent, a journey more than half as far as from Yokohama to Vancouver. At Halifax, straightway I took another liner. And this time for New York. It was in New York I felt I was destined really "to come off from the boat." The beginning of my new existence must be founded here. In Korea to come out from the boat is an idiom meaning to be born, as the word "pai" for "womb" is the same as "pai" for "boat"; and there is the story of a Korean humorist who had no money, but who needed to get across a river. On landing him on the other side, the ferryman asked for his money. But the Korean humorist said to the ferryman who too had just stepped out, "You wouldn't charge your brother, would you. We both came from the same boat." And so he travelled free. My only plea for a planet-ride among the white-skinned majority of this New World is the same facetious argument. I brought little money, and no prestige, as I entered a practical country with small respect for the dark side of the moon. I got in just in time before the law against Oriental immigration was passed.

But New York, that magic city on rock yet ungrounded, nervous, flowing, million-hued as a dream, became, throughout the years I am recording, the vast mechanical incubator of me.

It was always of New York I dreamed— not Paris nor London nor Berlin nor Munich nor Vienna nor age-buried Rome. I was eighteen, green with youth, and there was some of the mystery of nature in my simple immediate response to what was for me just a name . . . like the dogged moth that directs its flight by some unfathomable law. But I said to myself, "I want neither dreams nor poetry, least of all tradition, never the full moon." Korea even in her shattered state had these. And beyond them stood waiting— death. I craved swiftness, unimpeded action, fluidity,

and amorphous New. Out of action rises the dream, rises the poetry. Dream without motion is the only wasteland that can sustain nothing. So I came adoring the crescent, not the full harvest moon, with winter over the horizon and its waning to a husk.

"New York at last!" I heard from the passengers around me. And the information was not needed. In unearthly white and mauve, shadow of white, the city rose, like a dream dreamed overnight, new, remorselessly new, impossibly new. . . and yet there in all the arrogant pride of rejoiced materialism. These young, slim, stately things a thousand houses high (or so it seemed to me, coming from an architecture that had never defied the earth), a tower of Babel each one, not one tower of Babel but many, a city of Babel towers, casually, easily strewn end up against the skies— they stood at the brink, close-crowded, the brink of America, these Giantesses, these Fates, which were not built for a king nor a ghost nor any man's religion, but were materialized by those hard, cold, magic words — opportunity, enterprise, prosperity, success — just business words out of world-wide commerce from a land rich in natural resource. Buildings that sprang white from the rock. No earth clung to their skirts. They leaped like Athene from the mind synthetically; they spurned the earth. And there was no monument to the machine-age like America.

I could not have come farther from home than this New York. Our dwellings, low, weathered, mossed, abhorring the lifeless line— the definite, the finite, the aloof— loving rondures and an upward stroke, the tilt of a roof like a boat always aware of the elements in which it is swinging— most fittingly my home was set a hemisphere apart, so far over the globe that to have gone on would have meant to go nearer not farther. How far my little grass-roofed, hill- wrapped village from this gigantic rebellion which was New York! And New York's rebellion called to me excitedly, this savagery which piled great concrete block on concrete block, topping at the last moment as in an afterthought, with crowns as delicate as pinnacled ice;

this lavishness which, without a prayer, pillaged coal mines and waterfalls for light, festooning the great nature-severed city with diamonds of frozen electrical phenomena— it fascinated me, the Asian man, and in it I saw not Milton's Satan, but the one of Blake.

斯蒂芬.文森特.贝内

(STEPHEN VINCENT BEN'ET)

美国的名字

American Names

斯蒂芬.文森特.贝内 (1898-1943) 生于宾夕法尼亚, 1919 年毕业于耶鲁大学。他的父亲是个热爱诗歌的军人, 常给子女朗读诗歌, 而这几个子女以后成了作家。斯蒂芬.文森特.贝内 17 岁时出版了第一本书。他是个多产的诗人, 同时也创作长篇和短篇小说以及歌剧剧本。他和妻子罗斯玛丽 1933 年合写了《美国人的书》, 为儿童描写历史人物。他两次因诗获普利兹奖。他的两首获普利兹奖的诗——《约翰.布朗的尸体》和《西方的星》——都是描述美国的过去。

我爱上了美国名字,

这些生气勃勃的名
字绝对不会变得呆
滞,

矿区土地醒目的称
呼

梅迪辛哈特用羽毛装

I have fallen in love with American names,

The sharp names that never get fat,

The snakeskin-titles of mining-claims,

The plumed war-bonnet of Medicine Hat,

Tucson and Deadwood and Lost Mule Flat.Seine and
Piave are silver spoons,

But the spoonbowl-metal is thin and worn,

There are English counties like hunting-tunes
Played on the keys of a postboy's horn,

But I will remember where I was born.I will

<p>饰的武士帽，</p> <p><u>图森</u>、<u>戴德伍德</u>和<u>洛斯特缪尔平地</u>。</p> <p><u>塞纳河</u>和<u>皮亚韦河</u>是银餐匙，</p> <p>但这种餐匙的银质既薄又陈旧，</p> <p>有些英国郡名就如打猎号角声</p> <p>由驿车送信人的喇叭悠扬吹出，</p> <p>然而我却牢记自己在那儿诞生。</p> <p>我将记住卡奎内斯海峡，</p> <p><u>小弗兰奇利克</u>和<u>伦帝小路</u>，</p>	<p>remember Carquinez Straits,</p> <p>Little French Lick and Lundy's Lane,</p> <p>The Yankee ships and the Yankee dates</p> <p>And the bullet-towns of Calamity Jane.</p> <p>I will remember Skunktown Plain.I will fall in love with a Salem tree</p> <p>And a rawhide quirt from Santa Cruz,</p> <p>I will get me a bottle of Boston sea</p> <p>And a blue-gum nigger to sing me blues</p> <p>I am tired of loving a foreign muse.Rue des Martyrs and Bleeding-Heart-Yard,</p> <p>Senlis, Pisa, and Blindman's Oast,</p> <p>It is a magic ghost you guard</p> <p>But I am sick for a newer ghost,</p> <p>Harrisburg, Spartanburg, Painted Post.Henry and John were never so</p> <p>And Henry and John were always right.</p> <p>Granted, but when it was time to go</p> <p>And the tea and the laurels had stood all night,</p> <p>Did they never watch for Nantucket Light.</p> <p>I shall not rest quiet in Montparnasse.</p> <p>I shall not lie easy at Winchelsea.</p> <p>You may bury my body in Sussex grass,</p> <p>You may bury my tongue at Champmedy.</p> <p>I shall not be there. I shall rise and pass.</p> <p>Bury my heart at Wounded Knee.</p>
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扬基船和扬基日期

还有扫帚星琴恩的
枪弹城，

我将记住斯肯克顿
普莱。

我将爱上塞勒姆的
树，

以及圣克鲁斯的短
柄皮鞭，

我将为自己装一瓶
波士顿海水，

一个蓝色齿龈的黑
人为我唱布鲁斯。

我不再热爱一位外
国缪斯。

烈士街和布利丁哈
特场，

桑利、比萨和布莱德
曼斯欧斯特，

你守卫的是个有魔
力的鬼魂，

但是我渴望更新的
鬼魂

哈里斯堡、斯帕坦堡
和佩恩莱德波斯特。

亨利和约翰从来不
是这样，

亨利和约翰难道一
贯正确。

假定如此，然而当出
发的时刻来到，

茶点和桂冠已等候
了一个通宵，

他们仍对南塔吉特
灯塔瞧也不瞧？

我不会带蒙帕那斯
安息。

我不会在温奇尔西
长眠。

你们可以把我的躯体埋在苏塞克斯草地，

你们可以把我舌头埋在尚梅蒂。

我将不会带那里。我将复生又死去。

把我的心埋在伤膝溪。

附注：

- 梅迪辛哈特：加拿大一城市，原文为是Medicine Hat, Hat "帽子"的意思。
- 图森：美国亚利桑那州一城市。

- 戴德伍德：美国南达科他州西部城市，原文为**Deadwood**，意思是"枯木"。
- 洛斯特缪尔平地：美国地名，原文为 **Lost Mule Flat**, **Lost Mule** 意为"丢失的骡子"。
- 塞纳河：法国著名河流。
- 皮亚韦河：义大利一河流。
- 银餐匙："银餐匙"比喻遗产。这一诗行暗示法国和义大利某些地理名称令人联想到部分美国人的欧洲祖居地和高贵血统。
- 小弗兰奇利克：原文为**Little French Lick**, **Lick**意思是"舔"。
- 伦帝小路：地名，位于尼亚加拉瀑布城以西一英里，1814年7月美英双方军队曾在此激战。
- 扬基："扬基"指美国佬。
- 扫帚星琴恩：扫帚星琴恩，曾结婚十二次，原文为**Calamity Jane**, **Calamity** 意为"实难"。
- 斯肯克顿普莱：原文为**Skunktown Plain**, 意为"臭鼬镇平原"。
- 塞勒姆：美国麻塞诸塞州一港市。
- 圣克鲁斯：美国加州西部城市。原为 **Santa Cruz**，与"圣诞老人"的英文拼写法相近。

- 波士顿：美国麻塞诸塞州首府，港市。
- 布鲁斯：伤感的美国黑人民歌，原文为blues, 仅比blue(蓝色)多一个字母。
- 缪斯：希腊神话中的文艺与科学女神。
- 布利丁哈特场：原文为 Bleeding—Heart—Yard, Bleeding—Heart 意为"荷包牡丹"。
- 桑利：法国瓦兹省一城镇。
- 比萨：义大利著名城市。
- 布莱德曼斯欧斯特：原文为 Blindman's Oast，意为"盲人的啤酒花烘炉"。
- 哈里斯堡：美国宾夕法尼亚州首府。
- 斯帕坦堡：美国南卡罗来纳州北部城市。
- 佩恩莱德波斯特：原文为 Painted Post,意为"彩色的标柱"。
- 南塔吉特：美国麻塞诸塞州的一座岛，曾是捕鲸业港口。
- 蒙帕那斯：蒙帕那斯是巴黎塞纳河左岸的一个区。
- 温奇尔西：位于英格兰东部，历史上英吉利海峡一重要港口，因航道淤塞，现仅存一小村。

- 苏塞克斯：原英国南部一郡名。
- 伤膝溪：美国南达科他州西南部派恩里奇印第安人保留区中的一个村庄，1890 年美军在这里屠杀二百名印第安人。原文为 **Wounded Knee**，意为「受伤的膝盖」。

克劳德·麦凯

(CLAUDE MCKAY)

美 国

America

克劳德·麦凯(1889-1948) 是二十年代哈莱姆文艺复兴最早、最愤怒的声音之一。那是个美国黑人作家、音乐家、表演家和艺术家——其中许多人在纽约市哈莱姆区居住和工作——文艺创作蓬勃发展的时期。麦凯出生于牙麦加，他的哥哥和一个英国人教他学法语、读世界文学经典作品。他年轻时便出版了两本诗集。1912 年麦凯来到美国，先后在塔斯基吉学院和堪萨斯州师范学院学习。1914 年他去纽约，参加政治和艺术领域的先锋派运动。除了写诗，麦凯也创作长篇和短篇小说。从 1922 年到 1923 年，麦凯在苏联逗留了一年，俄国革命的领袖们把他当作名流对待。接着他又在西班牙、摩洛哥和法国住了几年。但麦凯逐渐对共产主义产生幻灭感，1934 年回到美国后发现自己与许多原先的伙伴观点相左。1937 年麦凯出版自传《远离家乡》。1944 年他的皈依罗马天主教，晚年贫病交加，十分凄凉。

虽然她让我饱尝痛苦，

Although she feeds me bread of
bitterness,

<p>用她的虎牙咬住我的喉咙，</p> <p>令我窒息，我却承认</p> <p>我热爱这磨练我青春的人造地狱！</p> <p>她的气势如浪潮涌入我的血液，</p> <p>赋予我力量挺身反抗她的仇恨。</p> <p>她的巨大如洪水冲激着我的生命。</p> <p>然而就像一个造反者庄严地面对皇帝，</p> <p>我在她的围墙内屹然站立，</p> <p>没有恐惧、恶意或嘲笑的言语。</p> <p>在暗中我展望未来的岁月，</p> <p>只见她宏伟的光岗石奇观</p> <p>经准确无误的时间巨手的触摸，</p> <p>犹如无价珍宝陷入沙滩。</p>	<p>And sinks into my throat her tiger's tooth,</p> <p>Stealing my breath of life, I will confess</p> <p>I love this cultured hell that tests my youth!</p> <p>Her vigor flows like tides into my blood,</p> <p>Giving me strength erect against her hate.</p> <p>Her bigness sweeps my being like a flood.</p> <p>Yet as a rebel fronts a king in state,</p> <p>I stand within her walls with not a shred</p> <p>Of terror, malice, not a word of jeer.</p> <p>Darkly I gaze into the days ahead,</p> <p>And see her might and granite wonders there,</p> <p>Beneath the touch of Time's unerring hand,</p> <p>Like priceless treasures sinking in the sand.</p>
<p>康蒂.卡伦</p> <p>(COUNTEE CULLEN)</p>	

但是我感到惊奇

Yet Do I Marvel

康蒂.卡伦(1903—1946)生于纽约市，并且在那里成为诗人，获得很多荣誉。早在中学时期他便在全市诗歌比赛中获奖；在纽约大学他获得一项重要的诗歌创作奖，被选入美国大学优秀生全国性荣誉组织PBK联谊会。1925年卡伦出版第一部诗集《肤色》，蜚声美国诗坛，并成为二十年代哈莱姆文艺复兴的风云人物之一。除了几本诗集，他还写了一部题为《通往天堂的一条路》的小说和几本供儿童阅读的书。1934年以后卡伦在纽约市初级中学任教。

我不怀疑上帝的仁慈、善良和善意，

但若是他使用遁词便能解释，

为何地下的鼯鼠仍然瞎眼，

为何反映他形象的肉体总有一天要死去，

说明坦塔罗斯受折磨的原因，

是他被变化不定的果子吸引，

阐明是否仅仅因蛮横的任性，

西西弗斯就注定得攀登无限高的阶

I doubt not God is good, well-meaning,
kind,

And did He stoop to quibble could tell
why

The little buried mole continues blind,
Why flesh that mirrors Him must some
day die,

Make plain the reason tortured Tantalus
Is bailed by the fickle fruit, declare

If merely brute caprice dooms Sisyphus
To struggle up a never-ending stair.

Inscrutable His ways are, and immune
To catechism by a mind too strewn

With petty cares to slightly understand
What awful brain compels His awful
hand

Yet do I marvel at this curious thing:

<p>梯。</p> <p>上帝之道深奥莫测，</p> <p>对人们的诘问置之不理，</p> <p>他们的头脑塞满鸡毛蒜皮</p> <p>无法理解操纵他巨手的智慧的威力。</p> <p>但我对这件怪事感到惊奇：</p> <p>造出黑肤色诗人，令他唱吟！</p>	<p>To make a poet black, and bid him sing!</p>
<p>附注：</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 坦塔罗斯：坦塔罗斯是希腊神话中宙斯之子，因泄露天机被罚永世站在 上有果树的水中，口渴想喝水时水即减退，腹饥欲吃果子时树枝即升高。• 西西弗斯：西西弗斯是希腊神话中古时的暴君，死后堕入地狱，被罚推 石上山，但石头在近山顶时又滚下，于是重新再推，如此回圈不息。 <p>.</p>	
<p>詹姆斯.韦尔登.约翰逊</p> <p>(JAMES WELDON JOHNSON)</p> <p>黑肤色无名诗人啊</p>	

Black and Unknown Bards

詹姆斯·韦尔登·约翰逊(1871—1938)出生于佛罗里达州杰克逊维尔，是个很有天赋的人。他的当教员的母亲对他进行过音乐和其他方面的培养训练。1894年他从亚特兰大大学取得学士学位。他学习法律并于1897年在佛罗里达州取得做律师的资格(自从南北战争后的重建以来，他是第一个进入佛罗里达律师界的美国黑人)。1904年约翰逊又从亚特兰大大学取得硕士学位。与此同时，他在杰克逊维尔黑人中学担任几年校长。约翰逊和他的兄弟约翰·罗沙蒙德·约翰逊开始合写歌曲。1901年，兄弟俩迁入纽约，为百老汇写了大约二百首歌。

对大多数人来说，这或许足以构成一生的专业活动。但约翰逊精力过人，创作力旺盛。1906年他被委任为美国驻委内瑞拉波多卡贝洛领事，在拉丁美洲的外交使团中工作到1914年。接着他在菲斯克大学任教，撰写一部小说，1916年作为执行秘书成为全美有色人种促进会的职员。除了写诗，约翰逊还编纂了几本重要的黑人诗歌或黑人圣歌的选集。《黑肤色无名诗人啊》选自《圣彼得讲述复活节的一件事》(1930)。

很久以前的黑肤色无名诗人啊，

你们的嘴唇何以触碰到圣火，

何以在蒙昧中知晓

游吟诗人竖琴的力量和美

O black and unknown bards of long ago,
How came your lips to touch the sacred fire.
How, in your darkness, did you come to know
The power and beauty of the minstrel's lyre.
Who first from midst his bonds lifted his eyes.
Who first from out the still watch, lone and long,
Feeling the ancient faith of prophets rise
Within his dark-kept soul, burst into song. Heart of
what slave poured out such melody
As "Steal away to Jesus". On its strains

<p>妙.</p> <p>是谁最先在枷锁中抬起目光.</p> <p>是谁最先从凄清而漫长的夜晚,</p> <p>感悟到先知们的古老信仰,</p> <p>在黑暗的灵魂中站起, 引吭歌唱.</p> <p>是哪个奴隶的心唱出这样的歌曲,</p> <p>如「逃出去寻找耶稣」.</p> <p>随着它的旋律,</p> <p>他的灵魂每夜自由飞翔,</p> <p>虽然双手仍紧锁着冰冷的铁链。</p> <p>是谁听见了激动人心的</p>	<p>His spirit must have nightly floated free, Though still about his hands he felt his chains. Who heard great "Jordan roll". Whose starward eye Saw chariot "swing low". And who was he That breathed that comforting, melodic sigh, "Nobody knows de trouble I see". What merely living clod, what captive thing, Could up toward God through all its darkness grope, And find within its deadened heart to sing These songs of sorrow, love and faith, and hope. How did it catch that subtle undertone, That note in music heard not with the ears. How sound the elusive reed so seldom blown, Which stirs the soul or melts the heart to tears Not that great German master in his dream Of harmonies that thundered amongst the stars At the creation, ever heard a theme Nobler than "Go down, Moses." Mark its bars How like a mighty trumpet-call they stir The blood. Such are the notes that men have sung Going to valorous deeds; such tones there were That helped make history when Time was young. There is a wide, wide wonder in it all, That from degraded rest and servile toil The fiery spirit of the seer should call These simple children of the sun and soil. O black slave singers, gone, forgot, unfamed,</p>
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<p>「约旦鼓声」.</p> <p>是谁的眼睛星星般明亮</p> <p>看见战车「徐徐驶下」.</p> <p>是谁发出悠扬悦耳的咏叹:</p> <p>「没人知道我经历的苦难」.</p> <p>什么牢中之物, 是什么活着的肉体,</p> <p>能在黑暗中摸索通向上帝的路,</p> <p>从自己麻木的心中找出</p> <p>这些关于悲伤、爱情、忠诚和希望的歌曲.</p> <p>它是怎样领悟那微妙的含意,</p> <p>即使耳朵无法听到的声</p>	<p>You—you alone, of all the long, long line</p> <p>Of those who've sung untaught, unknown, unnamed,</p> <p>Have stretched out upward, seeking the divine. You sang not deeds of heroes or of kings;</p> <p>No chant of bloody war, no exulting paean</p> <p>Of arms-won triumphs; but your humble strings</p> <p>You touched in chord with music empyrean.</p> <p>You sang far better than you knew; the songs</p> <p>That for your listeners' hungry hearts sufficed</p> <p>Still live,—but more than this to you belongs:</p> <p>You sang a race from wood and stone to Christ.</p>
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音。

那很少被吹奏的难以捉摸
的芦笛，

其声调如此感人肺腑，将
心脏融化成泪滴。

即便那位杰出的德国大师
在梦中，

创作响彻云霄的和声，

也从未听见一个主旋律

「下来吧，摩西」更加壮
丽。请听它的乐句，

就如嘹亮的号角令人热血
沸腾。

这些就是人们已唱过的歌
曲，

当他们建立英雄业绩：这
些曲子哟

在时间年幼时创造历史。

这一切令人不可思议：

那预言家火热的激情竟唤起

这些太阳和泥土的纯真孩子

从偷闲和劳役中苏醒。

死去、被遗忘、不留名的
黑人奴隶歌唱家啊，

你们——唯有你们，虽属于
苦众生，

那些未受教育，默默无闻
的无名歌者，

却追求神圣向上伸出双
臂。

你们歌唱的不是英雄也不

是皇帝，

不是血腥的战争，也不是
欢乐曲，

庆祝武力赢得的胜利但卑
微的弦啊

由你们拨响奏出天堂的音
乐。

你们的歌声比自己知道的
更美；

这些歌曲曾满足无数听众
饥渴的心灵，

它们流传至今，——但你
们的功劳无可比拟：

向基督歌唱一个由树木和
石头产生的人民。

兰斯顿.休斯

(LANGSTON HUGHES)

《黑人谈河流》和《我也》

The Negro Speaks of Rivers and I, Too

(詹姆斯.)兰斯顿.休斯(1902—1967)是个多才多艺的作家。他既是诗人，也是散文家、记者、小说家、剧作家、选集编者、西班牙和法国文学翻译家、抒情诗人和报纸专栏作家，在国际上享有盛名。早在年轻时他便以诗作闻名。他的诗《黑人谈河流》1921年发表在《危机》上。1926年他的第一卷诗集《困倦的黑人民歌》问世。休斯是哈莱姆文艺复兴最有天赋的诗人之一，从美国黑人的非洲传统中挖掘宝藏。休斯一生共出版九部诗集。他的《我也》最初于1925年发表在《新黑人》中；它是对沃尔特.惠特曼的《我歌唱美国》一诗的呼应，肯定「肤色较黑的兄弟」也唱一首美国之歌而且将在美国占据应有的位置。

黑人谈河流

我熟悉河流：

我熟悉像世界一样古老的河流。

比奔腾在人类血管里的血液更古老的河流。

我的灵魂已变得似河流般深沈。

我沐浴在幼发拉底河中，在晨光微明的时分。

我把小屋盖在刚果河畔，潺

The Negro Speaks of Rivers I've known rivers:

I've known rivers ancient as the world and
older than the

flow of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were
young.

I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me
to sleep.

I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids
above it.

I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe
Lincoln

went down to New Orleans, and I've seen
its muddy

bosom turn all golden in the sunset. I've known
rivers:

潺的水声诱我进入梦乡。

我观赏尼罗河，在河边建立
金字塔。

我听见密西西比河的歌唱，
当亚伯.林肯顺流直下

新奥尔良，我看见

它浑浊的胸膛在夕照中闪
着金光。

我熟悉河流：

古老、苍茫的河流。

我的灵魂已变得似河流般
深沈。

我也

我也歌唱美国。

Ancient, dusky rivers. My soul has grown
deep like the rivers. **I, Too**

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.

They send me to eat in the kitchen

When company comes,

But I laugh,

And eat well,

And grow strong. Tomorrow,

I'll be at the table

When company comes.

Nobody'll dare

Say to me,

"Eat in the kitchen,"

Then.

Besides.

They'll see how beautiful I am

And be ashamed —

I, too, am America.

我就是那肤色较黑的弟兄。

当客人来访，

他们便让我到厨房吃饭。

可是我笑了，

吃得很香，

长得很健壮。

明天，当客人来访

我将坐在餐桌旁。

到那时，

没人敢

对我讲，

「去厨房吃饭。」

此外，

他们将看到我是多么漂亮

从而感到羞惭——

我，也是美国。

赫伯特·胡佛(HERBERT HOOVER)

美国的自治制度The American System Self-Government

自由主义的确是这种精神的力量，它出自对这一点的深切认识，即若是要保存政治自由，经济自由便不能被剥夺。

赫伯特·胡佛(1874—1964)生于爱阿华州，在俄勒冈州长大，入史坦福大学读工程。胡佛因在第一次世界大战期间及其后向欧洲惨遭战祸的地区分发价值一百万美元的食品和其他援助物资的出色工作而赢得国际声誉。1928年当他被共和党提名为总统候选人时，已是个进步而务实的知名领袖。在救济活动方面的经验本该使他能较好地对付始于1929年10月证券市场崩溃的全国性灾祸，但胡佛反对大规模公共工程计划，反对向失业者直接提供政府援助。

1932年胡佛在竞选中败于弗兰克林·D.罗斯福之手，这使许多人得出一个结论：胡佛的有限政府的哲学被明确否定了。但是即便新政在经济上大大扩展了联邦政府的职能，它却并未像胡佛担心的那样损害自治和个人积极性。胡佛所表述的思想以后成为美国自我形象的一个基本主题，而且在八十年代后期赢得新的国际声誉。八十年代后期社会主义国家开始抛弃中央计划体制，尝试推行政治多元化、市场经济和私营企业。

这一讲话是胡佛在1928年成功的竞选运动中发表的。

……在过去的一百五十年间，我们已建立了一种自治和社会制度的形式，它是我们所独创的，实质上有别于世界上任何别的政体。它是美国的制度，与迄今人类历史上所建立的一切政治和社会制度一样明确肯定。它建构在一个独特的自治观念上，这种观念以分散的地方责任为基础。而且它还建构在这一观念上，即只有通过向个人提供符合规章的自由权、自由以及平等的机会，个人才能在进步的征程中充分发挥其主动性和创造性。而正是因为我们坚决主张机会均

等，我们的制度才取得了比世界其他国家更快的发展。

在战争期间我们必然仰赖政府解决每一个经济难题。既然政府为战争汲取了我国人民的全部能量，也就只能这么解决问题了。为了捍卫国家，联邦政府成为中央集权的专制政府，承担前所未有的责任，实行独裁，接管公民事务。在很大程度上我们暂时把全体人民组织成一个社会主义的国家。无论这种做法在战时有多么合理，在和平时连续实行则不仅会毁坏我们美国的制度，而且将断送我们的进步和自由。

当战争结束时，我国和全世界最重要的问题是，政府是否应继续保持战时对许多生产和分配手段的所有权及经营权。我们面临挑战，必须在和平时在这二者之间作出选择：要么是美国质朴个人主义的制度，要么是欧洲由恰好对立的两种教义形成的哲学——家长式统治和国家社会主义。接受这两种教义便意味着通过政府的中央集权破坏自治，意味着破坏个人的主动性和创造性。而我国人民因为有这种主动性和创造性已发展成举世无双的伟大人民。……

共和党完全掌权后，它立刻坚决回到我们关于国家以及个人权利与责任的基本观念上。由此它恢复了对美国人民的信任和希望，解放和刺激了企业的发展，使政府从经济活动参与者的位贵重新回到仲裁者的位置。正是由于这些原因，美国人民取得了进步，而世界其余地区停滞不前，有些国家甚至倒退。如果有人研究一下欧洲复原迟缓的原因，他将发现主要是由于一方面扼杀了私人的积极性，另一方面政府经营管理的担子太重。

但是在这次竞选运动中有人重又提出了一系列建议，倘若它们被采纳，就等于朝这一方向迈出一大步：摒弃我们美国的制度，听任商业经营由政府处理产生破坏性的后果。』因为我国正面临某些全国性問題——酒、农业救济和电力问题——引起的困难和困惑，我们的对手建议，我们应让政府深深介入引发这些问题的事务中。实际上，他们抛弃了自己政党的原则，求助于国家社会主义以解决这三个问题所体现的困难。他们提议我们变禁酒为国家购销酒类。如果他们的农业救济方案有什么意义的话，它意味着政府将直接或间接地购买、

销售农产品并决定其价格。而且我们将经营水力电力业务。换言之，我们面对着一个庞大的政府营业计划。

因此，一个基本的原则性问题提到美国人民面前：我们是否将背离我们赖以取得比其他国家更大发展的美国的政治和经济制度，以便采纳动摇它根基的那些原则所派生的方法……

我想跟你们谈谈这个政府经营商业的规划将会对我们的自治制度和经济制度产生什么影响。这种影响将涉及每个人的日常生活。它将削弱自由的基础，对膨胀的官僚政治圈子内外的人来说都是如此。……

它是一种虚假的自由主义，把自由主义解释为政府经营商业。使我国的商业官僚化的每一步骤都动摇了自由主义——政治平等、言论自由、集会自由、出版自由和机会均等——的根基。这不是通向更大自由的道路，而是遏制自由的道路。自由主义的创立不是为扩充官僚政府，而是要限制它。真正的自由主义追求一切合法的自由。它首先坚信，倘若没有这种自由，那么对所有别的幸福和利益的追求都是徒劳。这一信念是美国一切进步——无论是政治上或经济上——的基础。

自由主义的确是这种精神的力量，它出自对这一点的深切认识，即若是要保存政治自由，经济自由便不能被剥夺。即便政府经营商业能够带给我们更高，而不是更低的效率，从根本上反对它的力量仍然不会改变，不会减弱。政府经营商业将损害政治平等。它将增加，而不是减少滥用职权、贪污贿赂现象。它将扼杀主动性、创造性。它将阻碍领导能力的发展。它将使我们的人民智力愚钝，萎靡不振。它将压制平等的机会。它将摧残自由和进步的精神。正是由于这些原因，首先必须对它进行抵制。一百五十年以来，自由主义在美国的制度，而不是在欧洲的各种制度中找到了它的真谛。

我不希望自己这番话遭到误解。我正在解释一个总方针。这并不意味着我们的

政府将置全面维护公众利益于不顾，放弃任何一点国家资源。……

我也不希望被误解为认定美国是一切自由，谁落在后头谁就吃亏的国家。机会均等和美国个人主义的本质是，无论在商业或政治上这个共和国不存在任何集团或联合体的统治。相反，它既要政治和社会公正，也要求经济公正。它不是一种放任主义的制度。

我对这一议题感受颇深，因为在战争时期我在政府经营管理方面有过一些实际经验。那时在国内、国外我都目睹了许多政府商业中失败的事例。我看到了这种做法的专横、不公正，它损害自治，扼杀激发我国人民进取的本能。我亲眼目睹了停滞状态，生活水平低下，看见在那种制度下劳作的人民消沈沮丧。我的反对不是建立在理论的基础上，并不是由于不能辨认错误或弊病，而是因为我知道采用这种方法将震撼美国生活的根基，破坏美国进步的真正基础。

那么我们美国的制度已结出了什么硕果呢。我们国家已成为一贫如洗的人们充满机会的国度，这不仅是因为它资源丰富、工业发达，而且因为有这种让主动性、创造性充分发挥的自由。俄国的自然资源比起我国毫不逊色，她的人民也同样勤劳，然而她却没有这一百五十年由我们的政府和社会制度形式带来的福祉。……

美国的伟大出自于一种政治社会制度和它所特有的控制经济力量的方式——我们美国的制度，这一制度在人类福利问题上所做的伟大试验是史无前例的。我们今天比任何时期、任何国家都更接近从人民的生活中消除贫穷和恐惧的理想。我要再说一遍：按照我们对手的建议偏离我们美国的制度并引入破坏该制度的原则，将危害我国人民的自由，阻碍机会均等，不仅有害于我们自己，而且有损于我们的子孙。

. . .During 150 years we have builded up a form of self-government and a social

system which is peculiarly our own. It differs essentially from all others in the world. It is the American system. It is just as definite and positive a political and social system as has ever been developed on earth. It is founded upon a particular conception of self-government in which decentralized local responsibility is the very base. Further than this, it is founded upon the conception that only through ordered liberty, freedom and equal opportunity to the individual will his initiative and enterprise spur on the march of progress. And in our insistence upon equality of opportunity has our system advanced beyond all the world.

During the war we necessarily turned to the Government to solve every difficult economic problem. The Government having absorbed every energy of our people for war, there was no other solution. For the preservation of the State, the Federal Government became a centralized despotism which undertook unprecedented responsibilities, assumed autocratic powers, and took over the business of citizens. To a large degree we regimented our whole people temporarily into a socialistic state. However justified in time of war if continued in peace time it would destroy not only our American system but with it our progress and freedom as well.

When the war closed, the most vital of all issues both in our own country and throughout the world "was whether Governments should continue their wartime ownership and operation of many instrumentalities of production and distribution. We were challenged with a peace-time choice between the American system of rugged individualism and a European philosophy of diametrically opposed doctrines—doctrines of paternalism and state socialism. The acceptance of these ideas would have meant the destruction of self-government through centralization of government. It would have meant the undermining of the individual initiative and enterprise through which our people have grown to unparalleled greatness. . . .

When the Republican Party came into full power it went at once resolutely

back to our fundamental conception of the State and the rights and responsibilities of the individual. Thereby it restored confidence and hope in the American people, it freed and stimulated enterprise, it restored the Government to its position as an umpire instead of a player in the economic game. For these reasons the American people have gone forward in progress while the rest of the world has halted, and some countries have even gone backwards. If anyone will study the causes of retarded recuperation in Europe, he will find much of it due to the stifling of private initiative on one hand, and overloading of the Government with business on the other.

There has been revived in this campaign, however, a series of proposals which, if adopted, would be a long step toward the abandonment of our American system and a surrender to the destructive operation of governmental conduct of commercial business. Because the country is faced with difficulty and doubt over certain national problems— that is, prohibition, farm relief and electrical power — our opponents propose that we must thrust government a long way into the businesses which give rise to these problems. In effect, they abandon the tenets of their own party and turn to State socialism as a solution for the difficulties presented by all three. It is proposed that we shall change from prohibition to the State purchase and sale of liquor. If their agricultural relief program means any I rectly or indirectly buy and sell and fix prices of agricultural products. And we are to go into the hydro-electric-power business. In other words. we are confronted with a huge program of government in business.

There is, therefore, submitted to the American people a question of fundamental principle. That is: shall we depart from the principles of our American political and economic system. upon which we have advanced beyond all the rest of the world, in order to adopt methods based on principles destructive of its very foundations. ...

I should like to state to you the effect that this projection of government in business would have upon our system of self-government and our economic system. That effect would reach to the daily life of every man and woman. It would impair the very basis of liberty and freedom not only for those left outside the fold of expanded bureaucracy but for those embraced within it. . . .

It is a false liberalism that interprets itself into the Government operation of commercial business. Every step of bureaucratizing of the business of our country poisons the very roots of liberalism— that is, political equality, free speech, free assembly, free press, and equality of opportunity. It is the road not to more liberty, but to less liberty. Liberalism should be found not striving to spread bureaucracy but striving to set bounds to it. True liberalism seeks all legitimate freedom, first in the confident belief that without such freedom the pursuit of all other blessings and benefits is vain. That belief is the foundation of all American progress, political as well as economic.

Liberalism is a force truly of the spirit, a force proceeding from the deep realization that economic freedom cannot be sacrificed if political freedom is to be preserved. Even if Governmental conduct of business could give us more efficiency instead of less efficiency, the fundamental objection to it would remain unaltered and unabated. It would destroy political equality. It would increase rather than decrease abuse and corruption. It would stifle initiative and invention. It would undermine the development of leadership. It would cramp and cripple the mental and spiritual energies of our people. It would extinguish equality and opportunity. It would dry up the spirit of liberty and progress. For these reasons primarily it must be resisted. For a hundred and fifty years liberalism has found its true spirit in the American system, not in the European systems.

I do not wish to be misunderstood in this statement. I am defining a general policy. It does not mean that our Government is to part with one iota of its national

resources without complete protection to the public interest. ...

Nor do I wish to be misinterpreted as believing that the United States is free-for-all and devil-take-the-hind-most. The very essence of equality of opportunity and of American individualism is that there shall be no domination by any group or combination in this Republic, whether it be business or political. On the contrary, it demands economic justice as well as political and social justice. It is no system of laissez faire.

I feel deeply on this subject because during the war I had some practical experience with governmental operation and control. I have witnessed not only at home but abroad the many failures of Government in business. I have seen its tyrannies, its injustices, its destructions of self-government, its undermining of the very instincts which carry our people forward to progress. I have witnessed the lack of advance, the lowered standards of living, the depressed spirits of people working under such a system. My objection is based not upon theory or upon a failure to recognize wrong or abuse, but I know the adoption of such methods would strike at the very roots of American life and would destroy the very basis of American progress. . . .

And what have been the results of our American system. Our country has become the land of opportunity to those born without inheritance, not merely because of the wealth of its resources and industry, but because of this freedom of initiative and enterprise. Russia has natural resources equal to ours. Her people are equally industrious, but she has not had the blessings of 150 years of our form of government and of our social system. . . .

The greatness of America has grown out of a political and social system and a method of control of economic forces distinctly its own— our American system— which has carried this great experiment in human welfare further than ever before in all history. We are nearer today to the ideal of the abolition of poverty and fear

from the lives of men and women than ever before in any land. And I again repeat that the departure from our American system by injecting principles destructive to it which our opponents propose will jeopardize the very liberty and freedom of our people, will destroy equality of opportunity, not alone to ourselves but to our children.

米尔顿.艾格，杰克.叶伦

MILTON AGER AND JACK YELLEN

幸福的日子又来了

Happy Days Are Here Again



在大萧条时期一位失业者在街头卖苹果

《幸福的日子又来了》是在 1929 年 10 月引发全国大萧条的证券市场风潮前夕介绍给听众的。正因「幸福的日子」离人们很远，人们需要开开心。这首歌作为民主党人弗兰克林.D.罗斯福总统竞选运动的主题歌闻名于世，已成为民主党全国代表大会必唱的歌曲。这首歌由米尔顿.艾格谱曲，杰克.叶伦作词。这两位搭档于 1927 年还写了《她可爱吗.》艾杰在 1921 年曾为《我是小人物的孩子》谱曲。

再见，悲惨的时日；	So long, sad times;
去吧，倒楣的时日！	Go long, bad times!
我们终于摆脱了	We are rid of you at last.
你。	Howdy, gay times!
你好，快乐的时日！	Cloudy gray times,
灰暗阴沈的时日	You are now a thing of the past.'Cause happy days
啊，	are here again!
如今你成了过去。	The skies above are clear again.
因为幸福的日子又	Let us sing a song of cheer again
来	Happy days are here again!Altogether shout it
头顶上天空又变得	now!
晴朗，	There's no one who can doubt it now,
让我们再唱一首开	So let's tell the world about it now
心的歌，	Happy days are here again!Your cares and
幸福的日子又来	troubles are gone;
啦！	There'll be no more from now on
现在一起欢呼吧！	Happy days are here again,
	The skies above are clear again;
	Let us sing a song of cheer again
	Happy days are here again!

没有人再怀疑了，

让我们告诉全世界，

幸福的日子又来啦！

你们的烦恼消失了，

从此无忧又无虑。

幸福的日子又来了，

头顶上天空又变得晴朗；

让我们再唱一首开心的歌，

幸福的日子又来啦！

弗兰克林·德拉诺·罗斯福

(FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT)

首次就职演说

First Inaugural Address

我们唯一该惧怕的是惧怕本身——会使我们变后退为前进所需作出的努力瘫痪的那种不可名状，失去理智，毫无根据的恐惧。

弗兰克林·德拉诺·罗斯福(1882—1945)四次当选为总统，这是绝无仅有的。他领导国家闯过了大萧条和第二次世界大战这两个难关。罗斯福出身纽约一个高贵的家族，毕业于哈佛学院，与远房堂妹埃莉诺·罗斯福结婚，接着入哥伦比亚大学法学院学习。虽然罗斯福 1921 年患脊髓灰质炎导致双腿瘫痪，他仍在 1928 年被选为纽约州州长。1932 年罗斯福击败在职总统，共和党人赫伯特·胡佛，当选为美国总统。罗斯福是在美国历史上最混乱、最危急的时期担任总统的。尽管受到极左、极右两方面的攻击，他始终深孚众望直至 1945 年 4 月 12 日死在总统岗位上。

当罗斯福 1933 年 3 月 4 日就任总统职务时，美国正遭受一场严重的经济萧条的折磨。数百万人失业，人们对未来缺乏信心。罗斯福面临两大任务：第一，振奋全国人民的精神——这一点他以自己生气勃勃，富有活力的个性做到了；第二，扶贫济困，振兴经济。为达到第二个目标，罗斯福运用联邦政府的权力积极干预经济活动，制订被称为新政的一系列社会和经济计划。在实施新政的过程中他很快便将这篇演说里自己关于削减政府开支和平衡联邦预算的誓言搁置一旁。

值此我就任总统之际，我的美国同胞们肯定期望我以我国当前形势所要求的坦率和果断来发表演说。现在的确是到了坦白而勇敢地讲明真相，讲明全部事实情形的时候了。我们不必怯于老实实在地面对我国今天的情况。这个伟大的国家过去历经磨难，今后仍将经受考验，将恢复生机，繁荣兴旺。因此，首先允许我申明自己的坚定信念：我们唯一该惧怕的是惧怕本身——会使我们变后退为前进所需作出的努力瘫痪的那种不可名状，失去理智，毫无根据的恐惧。在我国历史上每一个黑暗的时刻，坦诚而有魄力的领导都曾得到人民的理解和支援，这正是胜利的保证。我坚信，在当前这一关键时刻，你们会再一次给领导以支援。

我和你们都以这样一种精神来面对共同的困难。感谢上帝，这些困难只涉及物质方面。币值贬低到荒谬的程度；赋税增加；我们的偿付能力下降；各级政府收入锐减；贸易流通渠道交易手段僵化；产业界叹残枝败叶比比皆是；农场主愁自己的产品找不到市场；千万个家庭的多年积蓄化为乌有。

更严重的是，大批失业公民面临严酷的生存问题，另有大批公民辛勤劳动却所得甚微。只有愚蠢的乐观主义者才会否认目前的阴暗现实。

但是我们的危难并不是源于实质上的失败。我们没有遭受蝗灾。我们的祖先信仰坚定，无所畏惧，因而所向披靡。比起他们遇到的艰难险阻，我们尚可谓万幸。大自然继续施恩布泽，而人的努力使其倍增。富足就站在我们的门口，然而现成的物资却激发不起对富足充分慷慨的利用。这首先是因为人类商品交换的掌管者们顽固而又无能，他们已承认失败，自动退位。无耻的货币兑换商为人类的思想感情所唾弃，在舆论的法庭上被宣判有罪。……

幸福并不是建筑在仅仅拥有金钱上；它建筑在取得成就的欢欣和创造性工作的激动上。切莫在疯狂地追逐瞬息即逝的利润中忘记工作带来的欢乐和精神鼓舞。我们在这些阴暗的日子里付出的代价将是完全值得的，如果这些时日教育我们认识到，我们不该听凭命运摆布，而应让命运为我们自己和我们的同胞服

务。……

我们的首要任务是给人们工作。只要我们明智而勇敢地对待它，这并不是无法解决的问题。这个任务通过政府直接征募人员可以得到部分完成，就像我们应付战时紧急状态那样，同时通过雇用这些人员来完成急需工程，以促进和改革我们对自然资源的利用。

与此同时，我们必须坦率地承认，我们的那些工业中心已人口过剩；应在全国范围调整人口布局，尽力把土地提供给最善于耕种的人，使土地得到更好的利用。为了帮助这项任务的完成，要采取具体措施提高农产品价格，从而提高对我们城市产品的购买力。要从现实出发制止对小房产和农场取消抵押品赎回权所造成的日趋严重的悲惨损失。要坚持由联邦、各州和地方政府立即按大幅度削减费用的要求采取行动。要把目前常常是分散、浪费和不公平的救济工作统一起来。要把一切形式的交通运输和其他明确属于公用事业的设施置于国家的计划和监督之下。总之，很多方法有助于这项任务的完成，唯有空谈无济于事。我们必须行动，迅速采取行动。

最后，在恢复工作的进程中我们需要防止旧秩序弊端再现的两项保护措施；必须严格监督一切银行存款、信贷和投资；必须制止利用他人的金钱进行投机活动，必须提供充足而数量合理的货币。

这些便是我们的对策。我即将向新的国会特别会议提出实行这些方针的具体措施，我将要求各州立即提供援助。通过实施这一行动纲领，我们将致力于整顿国内经济，平衡收支。

在对外政策方面，我国将奉行睦邻政策——决心尊重自己，因为尊重自己所以也尊重他人的权利——履行自己的义务，也履行与世界大家庭和世界各国所订协定中所规定的神圣义务。

如果我对我国人民的情绪体会得正确，那么我们现在比过去任何时候更深切地认识到：我们之间互相依存，血肉相连；我们不能只图索取，不求贡献；我们必须像一支训练有素，忠贞不渝的军队那样向前迈进，这支军队愿意为了共同的纪律作出牺牲，因为没有这样的纪律就不可能取得进步，就不可能实现卓有成效的领导。我知道我们愿意并随时准备为共同的纪律献出生命财产，因为只有这样才能实施以更高利益为目标的领导。我愿意担任这样的领导，保证出现战时才可能激起的责任感、统一性，使这些更高的目标成为我们全体人民不容推卸的义务。

作出了这项保证后，我将毫不犹豫地领导我国人民组成的大军，以严明的纪律去战胜我们面临的共同困难。

我们既然有从祖先那里继承下来的政府形式，为这一目的以这种方式采取行动便是可行的。我们的宪法简明而讲求实际，总是可能根据特殊的需要在重点和安排上有所改变而无损于它的基本形式。正因为如此，我们的立宪体制不愧为现代世界所产生的最稳定持久的政治结构。它经受了领土大扩张、对外战争、痛苦的内乱和国际关系的考验。

但愿正常的行政和立法分权足以应付我们所面临的空前的重任。然而史无前例的要求和迅即行动的需要也可能使我们不得不暂时偏离公共程序的正常均衡。

我准备根据宪法赋予我的职责提出一个灾难深重的国家在一个灾难深重的世界中所必须采取的措施。这些措施或国会依据其经验和智慧所制订的其他类似措施，我将在宪法赋予我的许可权内尽快予以采纳。

但是，倘若国会竟不肯接受这两个方针中的一个，倘若国家的紧急状况仍然严重，我将决不回避显然义不容辞的责任。我将向国会要求对付危机的最后手段——向紧急状况开战的广泛行政权力，如同确实遭受外敌入侵时应该授予我的

大权。

对于给予我的信任，我将以顺应时代的勇气和忠诚作为回报。我决不辜负众望。……

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give the support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim

problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our fore-fathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our door-steps, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men. . . .

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men. . . .

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of

population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forth-with on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which to-day are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

There are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo....

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his

obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need

for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less, . . .

弗兰克林·德拉诺·罗斯福

(FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT)

第二次就职演说

Second Inaugural Address

我看到三分之一的国民住不好，穿不好，吃不好。

1936 年罗斯福在竞选中以压倒优势战胜堪萨斯州州长阿尔弗雷德·兰顿（共和党改良主义者）。在 1937 年 1 月 20 日的第二次就职演说中，罗斯福弹奏出自信和实用主义的调子，描绘了一个正忙于探寻解决办法并正在积极解决问题的政府形象。但是他承认，大萧条继续造成惨重损失。当罗斯福政府努力

使议会同意设立新的行政机构为老人提供社会保险，为失业者提供工作，维持农产品价格时，大萧条仍在摧残人们的生命。

四年前当我们聚会为一位总统举行就职典礼时，整个共和国忧心如焚地与我们站在一起。我们那时决心实现一个理想——让全体人民早日获得追求幸福所必需的安全与和平。我们这些属于共和国的人发誓要把亵渎了传统信仰的人从传统信仰的庙堂里驱逐出去；发誓要不知疲倦。无所畏惧地采取行动去结束当时的停滞不前和绝望情绪。我们首先做了这些最紧迫的事。

我们与自己订的盟约还不止这些。我们凭本能认识到更深一层的需求——需要通过政府去找到实现我们共同目的的手段，以便为每个个人解决纷繁复杂的文明社会中层出不穷的问题。我们曾不断试图在没有政府帮助的条件下解决这些问题，但始终徒劳无功，一筹莫展。因为，没有政府的帮助我们未能创造出控制科学设施的精神力量，而没有它便不能把科学从人类的冷酷无情的主人转变为得心应手的奴仆。为了做到这一点，我们知道必须找到切实可行的办法去驾驭盲目运动的经济力量和财迷心窍的人们。

我们这些属于共和国的人领悟到一条真理：民主政府就其本质而言能够保护人民免遭过去认为是不可避免的灾害，解决过去认为是无法解决的问题。既然在经历了千百年苦难后我们终于找到了控制瘟疫的方法，我们不承认我们不能找到控制经济疫病的方法，我们决不让关系到我们共同福利的问题听凭命运和灾难的狂风恶浪摆布。……

四年来新的经验证明，我们的历史直觉并没有错。四年的经验带来这一明确的希望：地方政府、各州政府和合众国政府都能按时代的要求行事，而无须牺牲民主。我们过去四年的工作并没有迫使民主休假。……

我们达到了 1933 年 3 月 4 日我们理想的目标么。我们找到了我们的幸福天地了

么？

我看到一个伟大的国家，地处广阔的大陆，天赐丰富的资源。它的一亿三千万人民和平相处，正把自己的国家建成世界大家庭中一个良好成员。我看到一个合众国，它能证实，由政府采取民主方式，国家财富可转化为越来越多空前美好的人民生活条件，把最低的生活水准提到远远超出仅能维持生计的水平。

但是我们的民主正面临挑战：在这个国家，我看到几千万公民——全人口的相当大一部分——此时此刻还未得到按今天最低标准也应称作生活必需品的

大部分物品。

我看到数百万家庭收入微薄，勉强度日，每天都在家庭悲剧的阴影笼罩之下。

我看到数百万城乡居民日常生活状况早在半个世纪前就被所谓体面社会看作很不体面，如今依然如此。

我看到数百万人得不到教育，娱乐以及改善自己和子女的境遇的机会。

我看到数百万人缺乏购买工农业产品的手段，而他们的贫困又使更多的人失业，无从发挥生产力。

我看到三分之一的国民住不好，穿不好，吃不好。

我并不是在悲观绝望中向你们描绘这一图景的。我抱着希望描绘它——因为整个国家看到并认识到这一图景中所包含的不公正，打算把它抹去。我们下决心要使每个美国公民成为国家关注的物件；我们将决不会把我国边界内任何忠诚守法的团体看成是多余的废物。对我们进步的检验标准，不是看我们是否锦上添花，而是看我们是否雪中送炭。

如果我对我们国家精神和意志还有所了解的话，我们是不会去听信贪图安逸的

人、机会主义者和胆小怕事的人。我们一定要坚持下去。……

今天，我们在突然变化了的文明中再一次把我们的国家奉献给珍视已久的理想。在任何地方总是活跃着使人们离心离德和使人们团结一致的力量。就个人抱负而言，我们是个人主义者。但是当我们作为一个国家追求经济和政治进步时，我们则属于一个民族，要么一起上升，要么一起下沉。

When four years ago we met to inaugurate a President, the Republic, single-minded in anxiety, stood in spirit here. We dedicated ourselves to the fulfillment of a vision — to speed the time when there would be for all the people that security and peace essential to the pursuit of happiness. We of the Republic pledged ourselves to drive from the temple of our ancient faith those who have profaned it; to end by action, tireless and unafraid, the stagnation and despair of that day. We did those first things first.

Our covenant with ourselves did not stop there. Instinctively we recognized a deeper need— the need to find through government the instrument of our united purpose to solve for the individual the ever-rising problems of a complex civilization. Repeated attempts at their solution without the aid of government had left us baffled and bewildered. For, without that aid, we had been unable to create those moral controls over the services of science which are necessary to make science a useful servant instead of a ruthless master of mankind. To do this we knew that we must find practical controls over blind economic forces and blindly selfish men.

We of the Republic sensed the truth that democratic government has innate capacity to protect its people against disasters once

considered inevitable, to solve problems once considered unsolvable. We would not admit that we could not find a way to master economic epidemics just as, after centuries of fatalistic suffering, we had found a way to master epidemics of disease. We refused to leave the problems of our common welfare to be solved by the winds of chance and the hurricanes of disaster. . . .

Four years of new experience have not belied our historic instinct. They hold out the clear hope that government within communities, government within the separate States, and government of the United States can do the things the times require, without yielding its democracy. Our tasks in the last four years did not force democracy to take a holiday. . . .

Have we reached the goal of our vision of that fourth day of March, 1933. Have we found our happy valley.

I see a great nation, upon a great continent, blessed with a great wealth of natural resources. Its hundred and thirty million people are at peace among themselves; they are making their country a good neighbor among the nations. I see a United States which can demonstrate that, under democratic methods of government, national wealth can be translated into a spreading volume of human comforts hitherto unknown, and the lowest standard of living can be raised far above the level of mere subsistence.

But here is the challenge to our democracy: In this nation I see tens of millions of its citizens— a substantial part of its whole population — who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards of today call the necessities of life.

I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.

I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labeled in-decent by a so-called polite society half a cen-tury ago.

I see millions denied education, recreation, and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.

I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions.

I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished. It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope—because the Nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out. We are determined to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern; and we will never regard any faithful law-abiding group within our borders as superfluous. The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

If I know aught of the spirit and purpose of our Nation, "we will not listen to Comfort, Opportunism, and Timidity. We will carry on. . . .

Today we reconsecrate our country to long-cherished ideals in a suddenly changed civilization. In every land there are always at workforces that drive men apart and forces that draw men together. In our personal ambitions we are individualists. But in our seeking for economic and political progress as a nation, we all go up, or else we all go down, as one people. . . .

E. Y.哈伯格和杰.戈内

(E.Y.HARBURG AND JAY GORNEY)

兄弟，你能施舍一角钱吗。

Bother, Can You Spare a Dime.

这首歌最初出现在《有关美国的史料》这一讽刺时政的音乐剧中，由E. Y.(伊普)哈伯格作词，杰.戈内谱曲。该剧于 1932 年 10 月 5 日在纽约舒伯特剧院首演，共演出 77 场。这出音乐剧人们久久难忘，主要是因为这首歌，它成为大萧条的圣歌。哈伯格以后又为《费尼安的虹》作词。他写了不少流行歌曲，其中包括《横跨彩虹》和《只是个纸月亮》。杰.戈内则为百老汇和好莱坞谱写歌曲。

他们过去常说，我在编织一个梦，

所以我随大流跟着大伙，

当有地可种，有枪可扛的时候，

我总是在那儿，在那儿工作。

他们过去常说，我在编织一个梦，

梦见安宁与繁荣的前途。为什么我得排着长

They used to tell me I was building a dream,
And so I followed the mob
When there "was earth to plough or guns to bear
I was always there right there on the job.They
used to tell me I was building a dream
With peace and glory ahead
Why should I be standing in line
Just waiting for bread.Once I built a
railroad, made it run,
Made it race against time.
Once I built a railroad,
Now it's done
Brother, can you spare a dime.Once I built
a tower, to the sun
Brick and rivet and lime,
Once I built a tower,
Now it's done,
Brother, can you spare a dime.Once in

队，

为领一份面包苦苦等待。

我曾建一条铁路，火车
奔驰，

让它与时间比赛。

我曾建一条铁路，

如今它建成啦，

兄弟，你能施舍一角钱
吗。

我曾建一座高塔，耸入
云霄，

用砖头、铆钉和石灰料。

我曾建一座高塔，

如今它建成啦，

兄弟，你能施舍一角钱
吗。

khaki suits

Gee, we looked swell

Full of that Yankee Doodle-de-dum.

Half a million boots went sloggin' thru Hell,

I was the kid with the drum.

Say, don't you remember, they called me
Al

It was Al all the time

Say, don't you remember I'm your Pal!

Buddy, can you spare a dime.

我们曾穿着卡其军装、

嗨，看上去真棒，

扬基歌歌声嘹亮。

五十万只靴子踏着沉重
的步子

我就是那年轻的鼓手。

喂，你记得吗，他们叫
我阿尔

一直叫我阿尔。

喂，你记得吗，我是你
的伙伴

兄弟，你能施舍一角钱
吗。

伍迪·戈斯里

(WOODY GUTHRIE)

《工会女会员》和《很高兴认识了你，再见(可恶的尘暴)》

Union Maid *and* So Long, It] s Been Good to Know Yuh (Dusty Old Dust)

伍迪·戈斯里(1912—1967)原名伍德罗·威尔逊·戈斯里。作为一名歌手和作曲家。他成为当时的传奇人物。他写了一千余首歌，其中许多成为美国歌曲的典范。戈斯里生于俄克拉荷马州俄基马。十几岁时，他离开家乡，搭便车，偷乘货车，住流浪汉营地，跟随流动工人周游四方。他亲眼目睹长期干旱和尘暴对人们生活的影响，跟着俄克拉荷马流动农业工人来到加利福尼亚。戈斯里因患亨廷顿舞蹈病——一种遗传性衰退病——突然中断创作生涯。他病了很久才死去。

《工会女会员》写于 1940 年，是最流行的工会歌曲之一。戈斯里看到干旱尘暴给俄克拉何马人民带来的苦难，于 1936 年创作《很高兴认识了你，再见(可恶的尘暴)》。

工会女会员	Union Maid
曾经有一个工会女会员，	There once was a union maid Who never was afraid Of goons and ginks and company finks And the deputy sheriffs who made the raids; She went to the union hall When a meeting it was called, And when the company boys came 'round She always stood her ground.CHORUS: Oh, you can't scare me. I'm sticking to the union, I'm sticking to the union, I'm sticking to the union.
她从来不知惧怕，	
不怕打手、工贼、流氓，	
不怕司法长官突然搜查；	
她走进工会大厦，	

一个会议在这儿召开。	Oh, you can't scare me.
	I'm sticking to the union,
	I'm sticking to the union
当公司的仆从们来到,	Till the day I die.This union maid was wise
	To the tricks of company spies.
她总是坚持立场不动摇。	She never got fooled by a company stool,
	She'd always organize the guys.
	She always got her way
	When she struck for higher pay,
	She'd show her union card to the company guard
(合唱)	And this is what she'd say:
	You gals who want to be free,
哦,你们吓不倒我。	Just take a little tip from me:
	Get you a man who's a union man
我永远不离开工会,	And join the Ladies' Auxiliary;
	Married life ain't hard
	When you've got a union card,
我永远不离开工会,	A union man has a happy life
	When he's got a union wife. So Long, It's
	Been Good to Know Yuh
我永远不离开工会。	(Dusty Old Dust) I've sung this song, but I'll
	sing it again,
哦,你们吓不倒我,	Of the place that I lived on the wild, windy plains.
	In the month called April, the county called Gray,
我永远不离开工会,	And here's what all of the people there
	say: CHORUS: So long, it's been good to know

直到我死去的那 天。	you; So long, it's been good to know you; So long, it's been good to know you, This dusty old dust is a-getting my home, And I've got to be driftin' along.
这女会员善于识 破， 公司密探的阴谋。	A dust storm hit, and it hit like thunder; It dusted us over, and it covered us under; Blocked out the traffic and blocked out the sun.
她从不受探子的欺 骗， 她总是组织起工 友。	Straight for home all the people did run. The sweethearts sat in the dark and they sparked, They bugged and they kissed in that dusty old dark.
她总是取得成功， 为加薪而罢工の時 候。	They sighed and cried, bugged and kissed, Instead of marriage, they talked like this: Honey,
她把工会证拿给公 司的警卫瞧瞧， 这是她所要讲述的 话语：	Now, the telephone rang, and it jumped off the wall; That was the preacher a-making his call. He said, "Kind friend, this may be the end; You've got your last chance of salvation of sin."
你们这些想要自由 的姑娘，	The churches was jammed, and the churches was packed, And that dusty old dust storm biowed so black; The preacher could not read a word of his text, And he folded his specs and he took up

且听我一句忠告：

找一个工会会员的
男人，

再加入妇女辅助团
体，

结婚后生活不会艰
难，

当你成了工会会员。

一个男会员日子过
得快乐，

若他娶一个女会员
做老婆。

很高兴认识了你，再
见(可恶的尘暴)

我已唱过这支歌，但
我要再唱一遍，

歌唱我原来居住的
苍凉多风的平原。

四月里，在那格雷

collection, said:

县，

人们异口同声说这
样的话：

(合唱)

很高兴认识了你，
再见，

很高兴认识了你，再
见，

很高兴认识了你，再
见。

这漫天尘土侵入我
的家乡，

从此我不得不飘泊
四方。

一场尘暴来势汹汹
好比惊雷，

它将尘土撒向我

们，盖在我们身上；

它迫使交通中断，
像乌云遮住了太阳。

人们全都从家里跑
光。

一对恋人在昏暗中
互诉爱情，

在尘土蔽天一片昏
暗中接吻拥抱。

他俩拥吻、叹息、
流泪，

不提结婚，却这样
说：宝贝，

墙上电话铃响，主
人忙不迭抓起话筒；

原来是传道士通报
消息。

他说道：「好朋友，
或许末日已降临人
间

从罪孽中拯救自己
只剩下最后机会。」

教堂里满是人拥挤
不堪，

黑压压吹来了可怕
的尘暴。

传道士看不清书本
无法传教，

折起眼镜收走捐
款，这样说道：

(合唱)

很高兴认识了你，
再见，

很高兴认识了你，

<p>再见，</p> <p>很高兴认识了你，</p> <p>再见，</p> <p>这漫天尘土侵入我的家乡，</p> <p>从此我不得不漂泊四方。</p>			
<p>弗洛伦斯.里斯 (FLORENCE REECE)</p> <p>你站在哪一边. Which Side Are You On.</p> <p>阿伦.洛马克斯为国会图书馆美国民歌档案室收集民歌。根据他考证，这首歌的歌词是一个十二岁的女孩创作的，当时她的当矿工的父亲正在肯塔基州哈兰县参加罢工。洛马克斯写道：1937 年这女孩在一间小木屋的壁炉前对父亲唱这支歌。它的曲于是依据一首英国古老的歌曲《杰克.芒罗》改编而成。因为工人们喜欢这首歌不屈不挠的战斗精神，它在劳工团体中广泛流传。</p> <hr/> <table><tr><td data-bbox="293 1621 762 2031"><p>快来吧，工人兄弟，</p><p>我给你们报告好消息：</p><p>咱们自己的工会</p></td><td data-bbox="762 1621 1305 2031"><p>Come all of you good workers</p><p>Good news to you I'll tell,</p><p>Of how the good old union</p><p>Has come in here to dwell.CHORUS:</p><p>Which side are you on,</p><p>Tell me, which side are you on.</p></td></tr></table>		<p>快来吧，工人兄弟，</p> <p>我给你们报告好消息：</p> <p>咱们自己的工会</p>	<p>Come all of you good workers</p> <p>Good news to you I'll tell,</p> <p>Of how the good old union</p> <p>Has come in here to dwell.CHORUS:</p> <p>Which side are you on,</p> <p>Tell me, which side are you on.</p>
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已经在这儿建立。

(合唱)

你站在哪一边，

告诉我，你站在哪一边。

我爸爸是个矿工，

现在他不再下井，

跟他站在一起吧，矿工兄弟，

直到这场斗争赢得胜利。

人们说在哈兰县里，

没有中间立场可选。

你要么做工会会员，

要么当布莱尔的狗奴才。

	<p>噢，朋友，你还能再忍受吗。</p> <p>噢，请告诉我，</p> <p>你要做个卑鄙的工贼，</p> <p>还是做个铮铮铁汉。</p> <p>绝不当老板的走狗，</p> <p>绝不听信他们的谎言。</p> <p>我们穷人休想得到机会，</p> <p>除非快快组织起来。</p>	
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**My daddy was a miner,
He's now in the air an' sun,
Stick with him, brother miners,
Until this battle's won.**

**They say in Harlan county,
here are no neutrals there,
You'll either be a union man,
Or a thug for J. H. Blair.**

O gentlemen, can you stand it,
O tell me if you can,
Will you be a lousy scab,
Or will you be a man.

Don't scab for the bosses,
Don't listen to their lies.
Us poor folks haven't got a chance,
Unless we organize.

阿尔弗雷德·海斯
(ALFRED HAYES)

昨夜我梦见乔·希尔

I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night

阿尔弗雷德·海斯(1911—)生于英格兰，在纽约市长大，曾为报纸、杂志、电台工作。他写过小说、剧本、诗歌和电影剧本，然而他的作品中最出名的是《昨夜我梦见乔·希尔》。乔·希尔(约瑟夫·希尔斯特罗姆)1902年从瑞典移居美国，几年后成为激进的产业工人国际同盟成员。1914年希尔被控谋杀了一个盐湖城食品商。尽管成千上万人抗议对他的审判不公，最后他还是在犹他州监狱中被五人行刑队枪决。《昨夜我梦见乔·希尔》1938年写于大萧条时期，成为工会运动特别喜爱的歌曲。

昨夜我梦见乔·希尔活着，

I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night
Alive as you and me.

像我也像你。

我说：「可是你已死了十年了。」

他说：「我从来没有死，

我从来没有死。」

我说：「他们在盐湖城，

诬陷你犯了谋杀罪。」

他站在我床前说：

「但我从没有死，

但我从没有死。」

我说：「铜矿老板们杀死了你

乔，他们朝你射击。」

「光用枪是杀不死一个人

Says I, "But Joe, you're ten years dead."

"I never died," says he.

"I never died," says he."In Salt Lake, Joe," says I to him,

Him standing by my bed,

"They framed you on a murder charge."

Says Joe, "But I ain't dead."

Says Joe, "But I ain't dead."

的,」

乔说,「我并没有死,

我并没有死。」

他骄傲地站在我面前,

两眼在微笑。

乔说:「凡是被他们杀掉
的人;

继续抱成团,

继续抱成团。」

「乔,希尔没有死,」他对我
说,

「乔,希尔从来没有死。

哪里有工人在斗争,

乔,希尔就在哪里,

乔.希尔就在哪里。」

「从圣地牙哥到缅因州，
每座矿山和工厂，
只要有工人在团结战斗，」
他说，「你就能找到我，
你就能找到我。」

昨夜我梦见乔.希尔活着，
像我也像你。

我说：「可是你已死了十年
了。」

他说：「我从来没有死。

我从来没有死。」

**"The copper bosses killed you, Joe,
They shot you, Joe," says I.
"Takes more than guns to kill a man,"**

Says Joe, "I didn't die,"

Says Joe, "I didn't die."

And standing there as big as life

And smiling with his eyes,

Joe says, "What they forgot to kill

Went on to organize,

Went on to organize."

"Joe Hill ain't dead," he says to me,

"Joe Hill ain't never died.

Where working men are out on strike

Joe Hill is at their side,

Joe Hill is at their side."

"From San Diego up to Maine,

In every mine and mill,

Where workers strike and organize,

"Says he, "You'll find Joe Hill,"

"Says he, "You'll find Joe Hill."

I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night,

Alive as you or me.

Says I, "But Joe, you're ten years dead,"

"I never died," says he,

"I never died," says he.

欧文.柏林

(IRVING BERLIN)

《愿上帝保佑美国》和《这是军队，琼斯先生》

God Bless America *and* This is the Army, Mr. Jones

《愿上帝保佑美国》是欧文·柏林最成功的作品之一。他最初于 1917 年为他的军队音乐喜剧《汪，汪，汪汪叫》写了这支歌，但没有用上。这首歌束之高阁达 23 年之久，直到 1938 年歌星凯特·史密斯请柏林为一全国广播节目写一首爱国歌曲。一夜之间它便引起轰动；许多人建议它作为国歌。1940 年，两大政党的全国大会上都演奏这首歌曲。长期以来，它一直被当作非正式的国歌，因为《星条旗》的词曲都比较难。柏林把《愿上帝保佑美国》一歌的版税收入全部捐给上帝保佑美国基金，用以资助男、女童子军。

1942 年第二次世界大战期间他写了《这是军队，琼斯先生》，用于他的音乐剧《这是军队》之中。它的版税收入亦捐给了男、女童子军。

愿上帝保佑美国	God Bless America
当乌云孕育着风雨	
在大海的远处聚集，	
让我们宣誓效忠于	
一个自由的国度，	
让我们深深感激	
美丽的祖国大地，	
让我们庄严地祈祷	

这是我们的声音。

愿上帝保佑美国，

我无比热爱的国家。

站在她身旁带领着她，

让圣光引她通过黑夜。

从丛山峻岭到草原

直到浪花如雪的海洋，

愿上帝保佑美国

我的家乡可爱的家乡，

愿上帝保佑美国

我的家乡可爱的家乡。

这是军队，琼斯先生

一群惊恐的新兵怀着敬畏聆听

听一位军士讲述法令。

他们笔直站立，

他们脸色变红，

那军士仔细打量他们一一教训。

这是军队，琼斯先生，

没有单人房间或私人电话。

你以前在床上吃你的早饭，

可从今后你再不能在床上用餐。

这是军队，格林先生，

我们喜欢军营干干净净。

你以前雇女佣为你扫地，

可从后你再不能叫她帮你。

	<p>号手的喇叭声就是命令，</p> <p>他们不是在乐队演奏而是司号兵。</p> <p>这是军队，布朗先生，</p> <p>你和你的姑娘曾进城闲逛。</p> <p>她对撒娇让你烦恼，</p> <p>可这是战争，她再不会来打扰。</p>	
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While the storm clouds gather

Far across the sea,

Let us swear allegiance

To a land that's free,

Let us all be grateful

For a land so fair,

As we raise our voices

In a solemn prayer.

God bless America

Land that I love.

Stand beside her and guide her,

Thru the night with a light from above
From the mountains to the prairies
To the oceans white with foam,
God bless America
My home sweet home
God bless America
My home sweet home.

This Is the Army, Mr. Jones

A bunch of frightened rookies were list'ning filled with awe,
They listened while a sergeant was laying down the law.
They stood there at attention,
Their faces turning red,
The sergeant looked them over and this is what he said.

This is the Army, Mister Jones,
No private rooms or telephones.
You had your breakfast in bed before
But you won't have it there anymore.

This is the Army, Mister Green,
We like the barracks nice and clean.
You had a housemaid to clean your floor
But she won't help you out anymore,

Do what the buglers command,
They're in the army and not in a band

This is the Army, Mister Brown,
You and your baby went to town.

She had you worried
But this is war and she won't worry you anymore.

伍迪.戈斯里
(WOODY GUTHRIE)

这片国土是你的土地
This Land Is Your Land

伍迪.戈斯里 1940 年 2 月 23 日在纽约时报广场附近一间旅社肮脏的客房里写下最后成为《这片国土是你的土地》这首歌的歌词。据他的传记作者乔.克雷说，戈斯里《愤怒，灰心丧气，为自己感到难过》，于是《向欧文.柏林出气》。戈斯里给该歌冠之以《上帝曾保佑美国》的标题，每一诗节以同一诗行结尾：「上帝曾为我保佑美国。」戈斯里创作这首歌是为着嘲笑而模仿柏林广为流传的《愿上帝保佑美国》一歌。它的曲子取自卡特家族(二十和三十年代一个颇为走红的乡村音乐团体)作的歌曲《亲爱的，我的伙伴》，而后者又是根据一首古老的浸礼会圣歌《哦，我亲爱的兄弟》改写而成的。

戈斯里创作完这首歌便将它抛诸脑后，直到 1944 年春才把它灌成唱片，给它以《这片国土是你的土地》的标题。这首歌受到六十年代民权运动的青睐，(与其他几首歌一样) 它甚至被推荐取代《星条旗》成为国歌。

这片国土是你的土地，这片国土是 我的土地 从加利福尼亚到纽约岛，	This land is your land, this land is my land From California to the New York island, From the redwood forest to the Gulf
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从墨西哥湾流到红杉林；

这片国土是你和我而建立。

当我漫步在蜿蜒如带的公路，

仰头看见高架公路伸向无边的天
际；

在我下方是金色的溪谷；

这片国土是为你和我而建立。

我漫游四方，任脚步把我带进

她的沙漠闪光的沙丘；

我的四周回响着一个声音：

这片国土是为你和我而建立。

辉煌的太阳升起，我正缓缓而行，

Stream waters;

This land was made for you and me.

看麦浪滚滚，烟云翻卷。

雾气渐渐消散，一个声音在唱吟：

这片国土是为你和我而建立。

世上没有任何能阻止我前进，

当我踏上那自由之路；

世上没有任何人能令我折回原地，

这片国土是为你和我而建立。

漫步中我看见一块标牌，

赫然写着：「不得入内」，

但牌子的另一面却空白无字，

那一面是为你和我而设立。

As I was walking that ribbon of highway

I saw above me that endless skyway;

I saw below me that golden valley;
This land was made for you and me.

I've roamed and rambled and I followed my footsteps
To the sparkling sands of her diamond deserts;
And all around me a voice was sounding;
This land was made for you and me.

One bright Sunday morning in the shadows of the steeple
By the Relief Office I seen my people;
As they stood there hungry, I stood there whistling;
This land was made for you and me.

When the sun came shining, and I was strolling,
And the wheat fields waving and the dust clouds rolling.
As the fog was lifting a voice was chanting:
This land was made for you and me.

Nobody living can ever stop me,
As I go walking that freedom highway;
Nobody living can ever make me turn back,
This land was made for you and me.

As I went walking, I saw a sign there,
And on the sign it said, "No Trespassing,"
But on the other side it didn't say nothing,
That side was made for you and me.

E.B.怀特

(E.B. WHITE)

自由

Freedom

一个作者如今怀着特别的心情写书，因为他知道他第一个被砍掉脑袋。

E.B.怀特(1899-1985)生于纽约蒙特弗农，毕业于康奈尔大学。多年来他为《纽约人》杂志担任专职撰稿人。怀特是一位颇有造诣的散文家、幽默作家、诗人和讽刺作家。对于几代美国儿童来说，他之所以出名是因为写第一流的儿童读物《小斯图亚特》(1945)和《夏洛特的网》(1952)。一代又一代学生和作者熟悉他，因为他是《风格的要素》这本书的合著者(兼修订者)。该书是关于作文和惯用法的很有价值的小册子，最初由在康奈尔大学教过怀特英语的小威廉·斯特朗克教授撰写。散文《自由》于1940年7月首先由《哈泼斯》杂志发表。当时美国尚未加入反对纳粹的战争，世界正处于纳粹——苏联条约的时期，无论左派或右派都忽略了极权主义对民主的威胁。这篇散文收入怀特的文集《一个人的肉食》(1942)。

在我进城的途中常常注意到人们改了服装式样赶时髦。可是我上次进纽约市，却发现人们似乎也重新裁制了自己的思想——在腰部把他们的信念改小，缩短了袖子即他们的决心，用从历史的最近一页抄袭来的式样漂亮的新理性整套服饰装扮自己。我觉得似乎人们跟巴黎已跟得太久了。

坦率地说，我简直要翻胃。当我看到有人按照正在国外取得成功的新暴政调整自己的思想，总是感到恶心。由于其自身的根本局限性，在我看来法西斯主义似不容任何折衷妥协或合理性，而且我痛恨其他人的傲慢姿态，这些人在我的对自由的朴素信仰中发现了不成熟的迹象。如果说认为一个人应该自由地生活是幼稚的想法，那么我倒乐意抑制自己的发育，让全世界所有别的人成长。

我将介绍一下我在纽约听到的一些奇谈怪论。一个人对我说，他认为纳粹的理想或许比我们的宪法制度的理想更完美，「因为你注意到了吗，在新闻短片里，那些年轻的德国兵有着一张张多么英俊机灵的脸啊！」他补充道：「我们美国的年轻人则整天看电影——他们是一群废物。」这便是他对现实的总结，对新的欧洲的解释。这番话令我震惊。倘若它代表我们智力的颠峰，那么专制主义的稳步进军便不会在我国海岸遭受多少挫折。

另一个人告诉我，我们关于大众政府的民主概念已衰败不值一提——「因为英国确已腐烂，那里的工业城镇糟透了」。这便是他认为民主已不可救药的唯一理由；他显得洋洋自得，仿佛他对衰败的剖析比别人更内行，对实情的观察比别人更透彻。

另有一位先生对我说，认真看待任何一类政府的人都是受骗上当的傻瓜。他说，「正因为克列孟梭在凡尔赛的所作所为」，你可以确信除了腐烂没有什么别的东西。他说那场战争并无特别之处，只不过是又一次战争罢了。在倾诉完这番堂而皇之的推理后，他平静下来。

还有一个人看到我热血沸腾的样子，遂指责我抛弃了超脱的立场，批评我纯属怀疑论的观点。他宣布，他是不会被所有这些胡言乱语所迷惑的，他将宁愿选择天真的旁观者的角色。他说这才是任何一个有理智的人应尽的责任。（我注意到，事后他又打来电话对自己的上述评论作补充说明，仿佛在他乘出租汽车回家的路上丧失了几分天真。）

这些只是似在周围流行的街谈巷议——这类谈话充满失败主义、幻灭感，有时充满装模作样的天真——的几个例子。如今人们不仅以极高的速度自相残杀，而且用天大的谎言互相欺骗。我所听到的这类议论累积起来其扰乱人心的效果是可怕的。它们比俯冲轰炸机和布雷区更具破坏力，因为它们不仅攻击一个人的前沿阵地，而且攻击他的防御工事。在我看来它们来自两种人：一种人从未与自由真正交锋以便理解自由；另一种人则是叛徒。我本来以为会看到义愤，

结果看到的却是麻痹或一种模棱两可的默认，像一个孩子吞下一粒苦味的药丸时的反应。我通过某一个人了解到反犹情绪正在不断增长，此公不是怀着羞耻之心饱含眼泪注视残忍的反犹现象，而是冷眼旁观，仿佛用精心磨制的透镜观察这种现象。

在当今时代一个人至少可以做到表明态度，阐明立场。一个半世纪前，人们以欢欣和忠诚纵情庆祝自由在美洲大陆诞生，如今我以同样的欢欣、忠诚和激情信仰自由。我正快快撰写我的宣言，仿佛匆匆刮脸要去赶一班火车。国外发生的事件给人们一种时间紧迫的感觉。其实我并不认为时间太紧。倘若已给读者造成这种印象，我向读者表示歉意。我只是想在变得迟钝之前告诉人们，我热爱自由，这种感情十分美好，由来已久；而且我怀疑那些只因法西斯主义和独裁者正打赢战争便开始适应于它们的人。这种适应性散发出臭气。我捏紧自己的鼻子。

从开始记事的时候起，我便已有了一种在大自然中自由自在地生活的意识。我不是说自己喜欢不受约束的行动，但是我的生活似乎具有无拘无束的性质。我携带着关于一个神圣密约的秘密文件旅行。我一贯凭直觉意识到一个人与他自己订立的极端重要的条约，使自己完全属于自己，使自己与万事万物趋同，凡事依靠自己，利用他与一个行星之间的偶然关系碰碰运气，就像上了瘾一般执着于自己的爱好。我的最初和最热烈的恋情发生在自己与我们所称的自由之间，它是魅力无限的美女，危险、美丽、崇高，她给予我们所有的人生机与活力。

它始于萦绕于心头的关于神秘的精神生活的暗示(我相信每个孩童都领受到这种暗示；关于人类心中的上帝的暗示；关于大自然通过「我」表现她自身的暗示。这种难以捉摸的感觉是动人的，令人难忘的。它始于人生的早期：比如说夏日的夜晚一个男孩坐在门前的台阶上，头脑中没有什么特别的念头，突然他仿佛是第一次以新的知觉听见了的叫声，于是心中充满了与自然界的伙伴昆虫、青草和黑夜打成一片的全新感觉，意识到对这一普遍的令人困惑的问题——

——「『我』是什么。」——的回答。再比方说有个小女孩刚刚埋葬了她所宠爱的小鸟回到屋里，靠窗而站，胳膊肘撑在窗台上。她嗅到陌生的死亡的气息，突然意识到自己也是整个故事中的一个角色。又比如说孩子长大了一些第一次遇到一位了不起的老师，这位教师以偶然一句话或一种情绪唤醒了学生的觉悟，而这个青年由此开始以独立的人格活在世上，意识到自身的力量。我认为，在许多人身，这种知觉一定是以与上帝的认同感不断发展的，它是一种精神的冲动，由应变性和对人生是不同于纯粹动物生命的神圣存在的认识引起。这便是与自由的初恋。

然而一个人的自由状态包括两个方面：作为在一颗行星上居住的动物他所经历的本能自由；作为人类社会的一员享有特权的一员他所拥有的自由。人们对于后者比起前者更普遍地理解，更广泛地赞美，更严峻地挑战，更热烈地讨论。它是自由实际和明显的一面。当今几乎只有美国才提供自由权、特权和自由的工具。在这片国土上，仍欢迎公民写剧本，写书，画画，集会讨论问题，对某事表示赞同或持异议，在公共广场搭起临时演说台，在学校选择无须经过审查的科目，开庭审理案件，谱写乐曲，与邻居谈论政治而不必担心是否有秘密警察在窃听，交换商品也交流思想，在政府需要被人嘲笑的时候嘲笑它一番，在报纸上读到有关真实事件的真实新闻，而不是由国家收买的代理人所杜撰的假新闻。这是事实，应该引起每个人深思。

从行星的意义上说，自由是感觉到你属于地球。从社会的意义上说，自由即是在一种民主的结构中感觉到无拘无束。虽然阿道夫·希特勒是个不受束缚发育成熟的人，但在他身上我们无以发现两种感觉。阅读了他的书之后我推测、他对地球的感想不是希望共用而是极欲占据统治地位。他对人类的感想不是和平共处，而是他们能够被一个具有超凡才智的人摆布，变成一种模式——人们的生存并不意味着个性的充分发展，而是意味着让他们的个性服从共同的种族命运。当你在希特勒的著述中发现他对全人类是何等蔑视时，他对日尔曼民族命运的专注便黯然失色了。他写道：「我学会了……看透人民极其原始的意见和论点。」对希特勒来说，一个普通人是任人操纵利用的原始人。他不断把人民

称为绵羊、笨蛋、无耻的白痴——而正是向这些人他要求绝对忠诚。对这些人他许诺最大的奖赏。

在美国这里，生活的自由原则有幸存的机会。因为我们的社会是建立在对个人的信心而非对个人的轻蔑之上。我相信该原则必须也必将存在下去。理解自由是任何决心追求自由的人应该做到的；而热爱自由则是许许多多美国人生来就有的脾性。与自由同居一室，同处一个半球，对我来说仍是激动人心的经验。

《我的奋斗》一书的作者在其一生中最早发现的真理是：不是书面语而是演说词在群情热烈的时刻激发大众投入高尚或可耻的行动。与演说词不同，书面语被人们私下研究，根据每个人自己的理性标准而不是根据旁人的想法加以冷静的评判。希特勒写道：「我知道，一个人通过演说能争取到的人比书面文字多得多……」以后他又傲慢地补充道：「让我们告诉所有的文人和政客，特别是今日的文人和政客：世上最大的变革从来不是由鹅毛笔引起的！笔杆子向来是被保留起来以用作从理论上激发这些变革。」

幸运的是，我可不是一心要改变世界——有人正为我改变世界，而且速度惊人。然而我知道，人类的自由精神实质上是历久不衰的；它不断生发，从未被血与火扑灭过。我写下以上这番话仅仅是为了(借用希特勒的说法)从理论上激发这种精神。我自己便是个握鹅毛笔的文人，我可没有误解「争取民众」的意思；但现在我为笔感到无比自豪，因为历史让笔证明，它是给人们接种的注射器，它使自由的细菌永远在人体内回圈，这样任何国度任何时候都会有伤寒玛丽式的带菌者，他们只需通过接触或范例便能传染别人。每个专制暴君都害怕这类人——暴君们焚书坑儒，暴露出内心的恐惧。一个作者如今怀着特别喜悦的心情写书，因为他知道他第一个被砍掉脑袋——甚至在政客们掉脑袋之前。对我来说，这更是一大乐事，因为倘若尘世的命运拒绝给予我自由，我就等于一具僵尸，与其带着脑袋还不如没有脑袋进入法西斯主义。在那种情况下脑袋不再有任何用处，少了那累赘岂不轻松得多！

附注：

- 克列孟梭 (1841—1929) 法国政治家，第三共和国总理。他对第一世界大战协约国的胜利和凡尔赛和约的签订起了重要作用。
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I have often noticed on my trips up to the city that people have recut their clothes to follow the fashion. On my last trip, however, it seemed to me that people had remodeled their ideas too—taken in their convictions a little at the waist, shortened the sleeves of their resolve, and fitted themselves out in a new intellectual ensemble copied from a smart design out of the very latest page of history. It seemed to me they had strung along with Paris a little too long.

I confess to a disturbed stomach. I feel sick when I find anyone adjusting his mind to the new tyranny which is succeeding abroad. Because of its fundamental strictures, fascism does not seem to me to admit of any compromise or any rationalization, and I resent the patronizing air of persons who find in my plain belief in freedom a sign of immaturity. If it is boyish to believe that a human being should live free, then I'll gladly arrest my development and let the rest of the world grow up.

I shall report some of the strange remarks I heard in New York. One man told me that he thought perhaps the Nazi ideal was a sounder ideal than our constitutional system "because have you ever noticed what fine alert young faces the young German soldiers have in the newsreel. " He added: "Our American youngsters spend all their time at the movies— they're a mess." That was his summation of the case, his interpretation of the new Europe. Such a remark

leaves me pale and shaken. If it represents the peak of our intelligence, then the steady march of despotism will not receive any considerable setback at our shores.

Another man informed me that our democratic notion of popular government was decadent and not worth bothering about—"because England is really rotten and the industrial towns there are a disgrace." That was the only reason he gave for the hopelessness of democracy; and he seemed mightily pleased with himself, as though he were more familiar than most with the anatomy of decadence, and had detected subtler aspects of the situation than were discernible to the rest of us.

Another man assured me that anyone who took any kind of government seriously was a gullible fool. You could be sure, he said, that there is nothing but corruption "because of the way Clemenceau acted at Versailles." He said it didn't make any difference really about this war. It was just another war. Having relieved himself of this majestic bit of reasoning, he subsided.

Another individual, discovering signs of zeal creeping into my blood, berated me for having lost my detachment, my pure skeptical point of view. He announced that he wasn't going to be swept away by all this nonsense, but would prefer to remain in the role of innocent bystander, which he said was the duty of any intelligent person. (I noticed, that he phoned later to qualify his remark, as though he had lost some of his innocence in the cab on the way home.)

Those are just a few samples of the sort of talk that seemed to be going round— talk which was full of defeatism and disillusion and sometimes of a too studied innocence. Men are not merely annihilating themselves at a great rate these days, but they are

telling one another enormous lies, grandiose fibs. Such remarks as I heard are fearfully disturbing in their cumulative effect. They are more destructive than dive bombers and mine fields, for they challenge not merely one's immediate position but one's main defenses. They seemed to me to issue either from persons who could never have really come to grips with freedom so as to understand her, or from renegades. Where I expected to find indignation, I found paralysis, or a sort of dim acquiescence, as in a child who is duly swallowing a distasteful pill. I was advised of the growing anti-Jewish sentiment by a man who seemed to be watching the phenomenon of intolerance not through tears of shame but with a clear intellectual gaze, as through a well-ground lens.

The least a man can do at such a time is to declare himself and tell where he stands. I believe in freedom with the same burning delight, the same faith, the same intense abandon which attended its birth on this continent more than a century and a half ago. I am writing my declaration rapidly, much as though I were shaving to catch a train. Events abroad give a man a feeling of being pressed for time. Actually I do not believe I am pressed for time, and I apologize to the reader for a false impression that may be created. I just want to tell, before I get slowed down, that I am in love with freedom and that it is an affair of long standing and that it is a fine state to be in, and that I am deeply suspicious of people who are beginning to adjust to fascism and dictators merely because they are succeeding in war. From such adaptable natures a smell rises. I pinch my nose.

For as long as I can remember I have had a sense of living somewhat freely in a natural world. I don't mean I enjoyed freedom

of action, but my existence seemed to have the quality of freeness. I traveled with secret papers pertaining to a divine conspiracy. Intuitively I've always been aware of the vitally important pact which a man has with himself, to be all things to himself, and to be identified with all things, to stand self-reliant, taking advantage of his haphazard connection with a planet, riding his luck, and following his bent with the tenacity of a hound. My first and greatest love affair was with this thing we call freedom, this lady of infinite allure, this dangerous and beautiful and sublime being who restores and supplies us all.

It began with the haunting intimation (which I presume every child receives) of his mystical inner life; of God in man; of nature publishing herself through the "I." This elusive sensation is moving and memorable. It comes early in life: a boy, we'll say, sitting on the front step on a summer night, thinking of nothing in particular, suddenly hearing as with a new perception and as though for the first time the pulsing sound of crickets, overwhelmed with the novel sense of identification with the natural company of insects and grass and night, conscious of a faint answering cry to the universal perplexing question: "What is I'." Or a little girl, returning from the grave of a pet bird leaning with her elbows on the window sill, inhaling the unfamiliar draught of death, suddenly seeing herself as part of the complete story. Or to an older youth, encountering for the first time a great teacher who by some chance word or mood awakens something and the youth beginning to breathe as an individual and conscious of strength in his vitals. I think the sensation must develop in many men as a feeling of identity with God— an eruption of the spirit caused by allergies and the sense of divine existence as distinct from mere animal existence. This is the

beginning of the affair with freedom.

But a man's free condition is of two parts: the instinctive freeness he experiences as an animal dweller on a planet, and the practical liberties he enjoys as a privileged member of human society. The latter is, of the two, more generally understood, more widely admired, more violently challenged and discussed. It is the practical and apparent side of freedom. The United States, almost alone today, offers the liberties and the privileges and the tools of freedom. In this land the citizens are still invited to write plays and books, to paint their pictures, to meet for discussion, to dissent as well as to agree, to mount soapboxes in the public square, to enjoy education in all subjects without censorship, to hold court and judge one another, to compose music, to talk politics with their neighbors without wondering whether the secret police are listening, to exchange ideas as well as goods, to kid the government when it needs kidding, and to read real news of real events instead of phony news manufactured by a paid agent of the state. This is a fact and should give every person pause.

To be free, in a planetary sense, is to feel that you belong to earth. To be free, in a social sense, is to feel at home in a democratic framework. In Adolph Hitler, although he is a freely flowering individual, we do not detect either type of sensibility. From reading his book I gather that his feeling for earth is not a sense of communion but a driving urge to prevail. His feeling for men is not that they co-exist, but that they are capable of being arranged and standardized by a superior intellect— that their existence suggests not a fulfillment of their personalities but a submersion of their personalities in the common racial destiny. His very great absorption in the destiny of the German people somehow loses

some of its effect when you discover, from his writings, in what vast contempt he holds all people. "I learned," he wrote, ". . . to gain an insight into the unbelievably primitive opinions and arguments of the people." To him the ordinary man is a primitive, capable only of being used and led. He speaks continually of people as sheep, halfwits, and impudent fools— the same people from whom he asks the utmost in loyalty, and to whom he promises the ultimate in prizes.

Here in America, where our society is based on belief in the individual, not contempt for him, the free principle of life has a chance of surviving. I believe that it must and will survive. To understand freedom is an accomplishment which all men may acquire who set their minds in that direction; and to love freedom is a tendency which many Americans are born with. To live in the same room with freedom, or in the same hemisphere, is still a profoundly shaking experience for me.

One of the earliest truths (and to him most valuable) that the author of *Mein Kampf* discovered was that it is not the written word, but the spoken word, which in heated moments moves great masses of people to noble or ignoble action. The written word, unlike the spoken word, is something which every person examines privately and judges calmly by his own intellectual standards, not by what the man standing next to him thinks. "I know," wrote Hitler, "that one is able to win people far more by the spoken than by the written word...." Later he adds contemptuously: "For let it be said to all knights of the pen and to all the political dandies, especially of today: the greatest changes in this world have never been brought about by a goose quill! No, the pen has always been reserved to motivate these changes theoretically."

Luckily I am not out to change the world— that's being done for me, and at a great clip. But I know that the free spirit of man is persistent in nature; it recurs, and has never successfully been wiped out, by fire or flood. I set down the above remarks merely (in the words of Mr. Hitler) to motivate that spirit, theoretically. Being myself a knight of the goose quill, I am under no misapprehension about "winning people"; but I am inordinately proud these days of the quill, for it has shown itself, historically, to be the hypodermic which inoculates men and keeps the germ of freedom always in circulation, so that there are individuals in every time in every land who are the carriers, the Typhoid Marys, capable of infecting others by mere contact and example. These persons are feared by every tyrant— who shows his fear by burning the books and destroying the individuals. A writer goes about his task today with the extra satisfaction which comes from knowing that he will be the first to have his head lopped off— even before the political dandies. In my own case this is a double satisfaction, for if freedom were denied me by force of earthly circumstance, I am the same as dead and would infinitely prefer to go into fascism without my head than with it, having no use for it any more and not wishing to be saddled with so heavy an encumbrance.

小约翰.吉列斯比.麦基

(JOHN GILLESPIE MAGEE, JR.)

高高飞翔

High Flight

小约翰. 吉列斯比.麦基(1922 —1941)生于上海，他的父亲在那个城

市任主教派教會的傳教士。小約翰的父親是來自匹茲堡的美国人，而他的母親則是英國人。雖然麥基是美国人，但他却在英格蘭上學，少年時代便擅長寫詩。在拉格比學校，他獲得詩作獎，而他心目中的英雄魯伯特·布魯克三十四年前獲得同樣的獎勵。當 1939 年戰爭來臨時，麥基加入加拿大皇家空軍，在部隊服役期間繼續寫詩。《高高飛翔》是他寄給住在華盛頓的雙親的詩作之一。麥基在英格蘭經歷戰鬥，1941 年 12 月 13 日在一次飛行事故中犧牲。

1942 年有人為麥基寫了部傳記，但他和他的詩仍然默默無聞。麥基去世後的四十五年，他的詩句竟被美國總統所引用。1986 年 1 月 28 日「挑戰者」號太空梭從發射台升空，不到兩分鐘便發生爆炸，全國電視觀眾為之震驚。那天晚上羅納德·雷根總統推遲了預定的國情咨文報告，向舉國上下悲痛的人們表示慰問。他以對「挑戰者」號機組人員的贊頌結束自己的講話：「我們將永遠不會忘記他們，永遠不會忘記今天早晨我們最後一次見到他們的情景。當時他們正準備飛行，向人們揮手道別，『以掙脫地球的桎梏——觸摸到上帝的臉』。」

嘿！我已掙脫地球的桎梏	Oh! I have slipped the surly bonds of
伸展銀色响翼在空中飞舞；	Earth
我朝着太陽爬升，加入陽光劈開的雲	And danced the skies on
層	laughter-silvered
發出的歡樂笑聲，——千成百上千種	wings;
事情	Sunward I've climbed, and joined the
諒你做梦也无法想象——盤旋，滑	tumbling
翔，摇摆，	mirth
高飛于陽光普照的寧靜中。在那兒徘	Of sun-split clouds, — and done a
	hundred
	things
	You have not dreamed of — wheeled
	and soared
	and swung

<p>徊、</p> <p>我紧追咆哮的风，驾驶飞机</p> <p>穿过没有地基的空气大厅。……</p> <p>向上，向上，飞向狂喜的，炽烈的蓝色长天</p> <p>我已轻松自如地到达风卷残云的高点。</p> <p>那儿从未有云雀，甚至老鹰也踪影不见——</p> <p>心怀向上的渴望我已踏进</p> <p>高高的神圣不可侵犯的空间。</p> <p>伸出我的手，触摸到上帝的脸。</p>	<p>High in the sunlit silence. Hov'ring there,</p> <p>I've chased the shouting wind along, and flung</p> <p>My eager craft through footless halls of</p> <p>air.... Up, up the long, delirious, burning blue</p> <p>I've topped the wind-swept heights with</p> <p>easy grace,</p> <p>Where never lark, or even eagle flew —</p> <p>And, while with silent, lifting mind I've trod</p> <p>The high untrespassed sanctity of space,</p> <p>Put out my hand and touched the face of God</p>
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查尔斯.A.齐默尔曼

(CHARLES A.ZIMMERMAN)

起 锚

Anchors Aweigh

《起锚》写于 1906 年，当时是为了美国海军学院四年级创作的一首足球进行曲。这首歌由海军学院乐队指挥查尔斯.A.齐默尔曼上尉谱曲，由四年级学生阿尔弗雷德.H.迈尔斯作词。齐默尔曼每年都要为毕业班写一首进行曲。齐默尔曼上尉在军校学员中很受欢迎，每年毕业班都要赠送他一枚奖章以感谢他们创作一首进行曲。安纳波利斯的官方历史写道：齐默尔曼拥有如此多的奖章，以致于假如他穿着一身军装从船上掉进海里，立即就会淹死。

海军学院学员迈尔斯对乐队指挥齐默尔曼说，他的同班同学想要一首热情洋溢的曲子作为足球进行曲。于是这两个人便坐在学校附属教堂里的风琴旁共同构思。该曲写于 1906 年 11 月，正好赶上规模盛大的陆海军运动会。那一年海军赢了陆军，这是多年来的第一次，不少海军官兵认定，胜利归功于这支歌曲。

十几年间，这首歌只在海军学院内传唱，但 1926 年它被收入一部海军歌曲集出版，遂成为闻名全国的海军主题歌。它的歌词被多次修改，最初是为了使其更像一首海军歌曲而非足球歌曲，后来的一些歌词加入对美国敌人的抨击。如今这首歌曲以数种歌词并存于世。本文所刊载的歌词最后一个诗节取自海军学院学员迈尔斯的原作。整个海军为《起锚》这支歌的诞生感到高兴，因为陆军从来还没有一首像它那样流行的歌曲。

起锚，我的朋友，起锚，
向学院的欢乐告别，
我们在清晨出发，嗨嗨

Anchors Aweigh, my boys, Anchors Aweigh,
Farewell to college joys,
We sail at break of day-day-day-day!
Through our last night on shore,
Drink to the foam,

嗨！

从我们在岸上的最后一夜，

为大海干杯，

直到我们再次见面，

祝愿你一帆风顺返回家园。

海军驶出港湾，

起锚，

我们将决不改变航向。

我们来自美国，嗨嗨嗨！

我们重任在肩，

航行海上。

起锚，今天

当我们驶往胜利的方向。

Until we meet once more

Here's wishing you a happy voyage home Sail Navy
down the bay

Anchors Aweigh

We'll never change our course

We're from the U.S.A. ay-ay-ay

We've got a job to do

Over the sea

Anchors Aweigh, today

As we go sailing on to victory

海军在 <u>场上</u> 劈波斩浪， 迎着太阳扯起风帆。 我们将决不改变航向， 所以你们陆军避开啦， 嗨嗨嗨！ 把比分拉大， 起锚， 让海军在场上劈波斩 浪， 击沈陆军，击沈陆军吧。	
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Stand Navy down the field
Sail set to the sky
We'll never change our course
So Army you steer shy-y-y-y
Roll up the score Navy
Anchors Aweigh
Sail Navy down the field
And sink the Army, sink the Army grey.

.附注：

- 指运动场。

佛兰克林.德拉诺.罗斯福

(FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT)

四大自由

The Four Freedoms

我们盼望有一个建立在四项人类基本自由之上的世界。第一是言论和发表意见的自由——在世界每一个地方。第二是每个人以自己的方式崇拜上帝的自由——在世界每一个地方。第三是不虞匮乏的自由……——在世界每一个地方。第四是免受恐惧的自由……——在世界每一个地方。

罗斯福在他 1941 年 1 月 6 日致国会的年度咨文中陈述了美国对正在不断扩大的国际冲突的反应。仅在几个月之前，法国落入希特勒之手；就在罗斯福发表演讲的同时，英国正坚决抵抗纳粹的空袭。在那几个扣人心弦的月份中，英国一直存在着现实而可怕的军事崩溃的可能性。在这篇演说中，罗斯福为积极援助美国的盟国作了舆论准备。到 1941 年 3 月，国会便通过了租借法，使美国得以向危难中的盟国提供坦克、卡车、飞机和食品。虽然颁布此法案主要是为了帮助英国，但大多数租借法援助物资却输往英联邦国家和苏联，

…我想，每一个现实主义者都明白，民主生活方式此刻正在世界各地遭受直接攻击——或因武装侵略，或因一些人秘密散布恶毒宣传，竭力在仍处于和平状态的国家中破坏团结，制造分裂。

在十六个月的时间内，这种攻击已在数目惊人的大大小小独立国家里摧毁了民主生活的整个模式。这些攻击者还在进军，威胁着其他大大小小的国家。……我们的国家政策是：

第一，根据公众意志的感人表述而不去考虑党派之争，我们保证加强国防，寸土不让。

第二，根据公众意志的感人表述而不去考虑党派之争，我们保证全力支援抵抗侵略从而使本半球免遭战祸的世界各地一切不屈不挠的民族。通过这种支援，我们表达民主事业必胜的决心，同时加强我国自身的防务和安全。

第三，根据公众意志的感人表述而不去考虑党派之争，我们保证贯彻这一主张，即道德原则和对我们自身安全的考虑决不允许我们默认由侵略者支配、由绥靖主义者倡议的和平。我们知道，持久和平是不能以他国人民的自由为代价买到的。……

因此，立即需要迅猛增加我们的军械生产。……

让我们对所有的民主国家说：「我们美国人对你们捍卫自由的斗争极为关切。我们正在付出我们的精力、资源和组织能力，以给予你们恢复和维护自由世界的力量。我们将向你们运送越来越多的舰艇、飞机、坦克和枪炮。这是我们的宗旨，也是我们的保证。」……

正如人不能光靠面包生存，人也不能光靠武器战斗。守卫在我们的防御工事的人以及在他们身后建设我们的防务的人必须具有毅力和勇气，这种毅力和勇气来源于对自己正在捍卫的生活方式的坚定信念。我们现在所需要的强有力的行动不能建筑在对值得为之战斗的一切漠不关心的态度上。

为了使我国人民意识到维护美国民主生活同他们的个人利害休戚相关，已做

了很多工作，国家对此十分满意并从中汲取巨大的力量。这些工作使我们的人民性格更为坚强，信念得以恢复，更加忠于我们准备保卫的制度。

当然，现在并不是我们任何人可以不再考虑作为社会革命根本原因的社会和经济问题的时候，而社会革命乃是今日世界的要素。因为一个健全而强大的民主国家的基础没有什么神秘之处。

我们的人民期待于他们的政治和经济体制的基本东西很简单，是：

青年人和其他人的机会均等。

凡能工作者皆有工作。

需要安全的人得到安全。

结束少数人的特权。

享受科学进步的果实以更广泛地不断提高生活水平。

这些简单、基本的东西是在我们这个混乱和极端复杂的现代世界里须臾不可忽视的。我们经济和政治体制的内在和持久的力量取决于它们满足人们期望的程度。……

在我们力求安宁的未来岁月中，我们盼望有一个建立在四项人类基本自由之上的世界。

第一是言论和发表意见的自由——在世界每一个地方。

第二是每个人以自己的方式崇拜上帝的自由——在世界每一个地方。

第三是不虞匮乏的自由——从全球的角度说，意味着保证使每个国家的居民过上健康的和平时期的经济共识——在世界每一个地方。

第四是免受恐惧的自由——从全球的角度说，意味着世界范围的裁军，它是如此全面彻底，以致任何国家都无法对他国发动武装侵略——在世界每一个地方。

这并不是对遥远将来的幻想。它是我们自己的时代、我们这一代人就能实现的一个世界的确切基础。这一世界恰恰是专制主义所谓「新秩序」的对立面，独裁者们企图用炸弹的威力来创造那种秩序。

与那种「新秩序」针锋相对，我们提出一更大的概念——精神秩序。一个良好的社会能够面对世界职权的阴谋或外国革命而无所畏惧。

自英国有史以来，我们一直在从事变革，即不间断的和平革命，这场革命平静稳步地发展，不断适应变化中的情况而无须使用集中营或万人冢。我们拜求的世界秩序是自由国家的合作，在一个友好文明的社会中一同工作。

这个国家把它的命运托付给千百万自由的男女公民的双手、头脑和心灵，把它的信念建立在上帝所引导的自由上。自由意味着任何地方人权至上。我们支援为争取和捍卫人权而斗争的人们。我们的力量在于我们目标一致。

这一崇高观念除胜利无其他结局。

... I suppose that every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms

or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. And the assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small....

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute people everywhere who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our hemisphere. By this support we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom....

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production. . . .

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our

energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. That is our purpose and our pledge." . . .

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses and those behind them who build our defenses must have the stamina and the courage which come from an unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all the things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual take in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world. For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy.

The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, the basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations. . . .

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough manner that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in change, in a perpetual, peaceful revolution, a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly, adjusting itself to changing conditions without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the co-operation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands, heads and hearts of its millions of freemen and women, and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights and keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

弗兰克林·德拉诺·罗斯福

(FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT)

关于宣战对国会的演讲

War Message to Congress

昨天，1941 年 12 月 7 日——它将永远成为国耻日——美利坚合众国遭到了日本帝国海空军预谋的突然袭击。

1941 年 12 月 7 日，日本军队对位于夏威夷奥阿胡岛珍珠港的美国海军基地发动突然空袭。因为这场攻击发生在星期天凌晨，所以造成惨重伤亡——二千三百多名美国人被打死——及港口内舰只和陆地上飞机的严重损失。美国

公众义愤填膺。国会对罗斯福的「国耻日」演说作出反应，以压倒多数投票通过对日宣战。由于日本与德国和义大利一起组成轴心国联盟，同日本作战也就决定了美国将成为世界大战的一个重要的参战国。

昨天，1941 年 12 月 7 日——它将永远成为国耻日——美利坚合众国遭到了日本帝国海空军预谋的突然袭击。美国当时同该国处于和平状态，而且应日本的请求，仍在同它的政府和天皇进行对话，以期维持太平洋的和平。确实，就在日本空军中队开始轰炸美国奥阿胡岛之后一小时，日本驻美大使和他的一个同僚还向我们的国务卿递交了一份对美国最近一封信函的正式答复。虽然覆函声言继续进行外交谈判似已无用，它并未包含有关战争或武装进攻的威胁或暗示。

应该将这一点记录在案：夏威夷同日本相距甚远，显而易见这次进攻是许多天甚至数星期之前便精心策划的。在此期间日本政府通过虚伪的声明和希望维持和平的表示蓄意对美国进行欺骗。

昨天日本对夏威夷群岛的进攻使美国海陆军部队遭受重创。我沈痛地告诉各位，很多美国人丧失了生命。此外，据报告美国船只在旧金山和火奴鲁鲁的公海上亦遭到鱼雷袭击。

昨天日本政府也发动了对马来地区的进攻。

昨夜日本军队进攻了香港。

昨夜日本军队进攻关岛。

昨夜日本军队进攻菲律宾群岛。

昨夜日本军队进攻威克岛。

今晨日本军队进攻了中途岛。

这样，日本就在整个太平洋区域发动了一场突然袭击。昨天和今天的事实说明了一切。美国人民已形成了自己的见解并完全明白我们国家的生存和安全所受到的影响。

作为陆海军总司令，我已指示采取一切措施进行防御。

我们整个国家都将永远记住这次日本对我进攻的性质。

不论要用多长的时间才能战胜这次预谋的侵略，美国人民兴正义之师必将赢得彻底胜利。

我相信这样说表达了国会和人民的意志：我断言，我们不仅将尽全力保卫我们自己，而且将确保永远不再受到这种背信弃义行为的危害。

战争业已存在。谁也不能否认，我国人民、我国领土和我国利益正处于极度危险之中。

我们信赖我们的武装力量，依靠我国人民的无比坚强的决心，我们必将取得胜利。愿上帝保佑我们。

我要求国会宣布，自 1941 年 12 月 7 日星期日日本对我国无端进行卑鄙的进攻，美国同日本帝国之间已处于战争状态。

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the

United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government and its emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.

Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in the American Island of Oahu the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And, while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

And this morning the Japanese attacked Mid-way Island.

Japan has therefore undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to over-come this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory.

I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us

. Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph. So help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, Dec. 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

伊斯塞的诗

Poems of the Issei

日本政府对珍珠港的美国海军基地发动突然袭击后，美国联邦政府下令对西海岸所有的美籍日本人实行大规模内迁。这一决定与其说出于对国家安全的考虑，不如说是由种族偏见所促成，因为美籍日本人并未从事任何破坏活动，而且对美籍德国人和美籍意大利人并没有制定类似的政策。罗斯福总统于 1942 年 3 月 18 日发布行政命令，设立战时安置局。这一机构负责把十一万美籍日本人赶出他们在西海岸的家，集体迁移到内陆的安置中心。在那里，男人、妇女和儿童住在铁丝网环绕，几乎没有家俱的兵营里，直到战争结束。在那些被迫抛弃家园和事业的人之中，三分之二是美国公民。1944 年最高法院确认关于迁移和拘留的命令。成千上万的拘留民自愿在部队服役，干得很出色。

最后联邦政府承认这一战时政策是不公正的，向被迁移的人作出赔偿，但是任何数目的钱都无法纠正已做下的错事。

第一代移居美国的日本人被称为「伊斯塞」(Is-sei)。他们在拘留营中写的许多诗歌被《美亚杂志》选载。这些诗以俳句的简洁形式写成，它是一种将强烈的感情浓缩为简练的表达方式的三行诗。

三十年

住美国

变成一场梦。

——屈舟

Thirty years

in America

become a dream

—SASABUNE

As one

of the Japanese

I gather my belongings

	<p>作为一个</p> <p>日本人</p> <p>我打点行装。</p> <p>——圭风</p> <p>忍受</p> <p>再忍受</p> <p>我皮肤的颜色。</p> <p>——棕</p>	<p>—KEIHO</p> <p>Enduring</p> <p>and still enduring</p> <p>the color of my skin</p> <p>—KIKYO</p>
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罗伯特.克罗福德

(ROBERT CRAWFORD)

陆军航空兵

The Army Air Corps

罗伯特·克罗福德(1899—1961)生于育空地区，就读于普林斯顿大学和朱利亚德音乐学院。他曾任普林斯顿合唱队及其它许多合唱队的指挥。1939年陆军航空兵以奖金征求该兵种最佳军歌，克罗福德一举中标。第二次世界大战期间，他在该部队任少校。

我们出发，飞向寥廓的蓝色天空，

爬高，朝着太阳；

瞧他们嗡嗡飞来了，同我们交锋，

瞄准他们，伙计，

给他们一炮！

我们俯冲，

从机身下喷射出烈火，

伴随着轰隆的吼声！

我们在光荣中求生或是在烈焰中坠落

Off we go, into the wild blue yonder,

Climbing high, into the sun;

Here they come, zooming to meet
our thunder,

At 'em, boys

Give 'er the gun!

Down we dive,

Spouting our flame from under,

Off with one helluva roar!

We live in fame

Or go down in flame

NOTHING'LL STOP THE ARMY AIR
CORPS!

Minds of men fashioned a crate of
thunder,

Sent it high into the blue;

Hands of men blasted the world
asunder;

How they lived God only knew!

Souls of men dreaming of skies to

谁也阻挡不了陆军航空兵！

人类的头脑构造出一箱雷电，

将它送上高高蓝天；

人类的双手把世界炸碎，

天晓得他们怎样生存！

人类的灵魂梦想征服长空

赐给我们翅膀吧，让我们飞翔！

侦察机开路，轰炸机成群，

谁也阻挡不了陆军航空兵！

我们出发，飞向寥廓的蓝天，

机翼保持平稳；

假如你想活到满头银发的年纪，

conquer

Gave us wings, ever to soar!

With scouts before and bombers
galore,

NOTHING'LL STOP THE ARMY AIR
CORPS!

Off we go into the wild sky yonder,
Keep the wings level and true;
If you'd live to be a gray-haired
wonder

Keep the nose out of the blue!

Flying men, guarding the nation's
border,

We'll be there, followed by more!

In echelon we carry on.

NOTHING'LL STOP THE ARMY AIR
CORPS!

千万别闯入碧蓝的天际！

飞行员们保卫着国家的疆界，

我们将到达那里，更多的部队
跟在后面！

我们组成梯队前进。

谁也阻挡不了陆军航空兵！

弗兰克·洛埃瑟

(FRANK LOESSER)

赞美上帝，传递弹药

Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition

弗兰克·洛埃瑟(1910—1969)是美国最成功的歌曲作者之一。他最有名的作品包括百老汇歌剧《小伙子们和姑娘们》、《最快乐的人》以及这类流行歌曲如《孩子，外面很冷》和《在一艘慢慢驶向中国的船上》。他为《赞美上帝，传递弹药》一歌作词谱曲。这首歌及其它几首军歌在第二次世界大战中风行一时。美国公众也喜爱像《有雪的圣诞节》、《纸娃娃》和《啊，多美的早晨》等这类逃避现实，带浪漫情调的歌曲。

<p>炮手倒下，一颗子弹决定他的命运，</p> <p>炮手倒下，接着他的副手捐躯。</p> <p>随军牧师一跃而起，瞅一瞅士兵兄弟，</p> <p>他自己在大炮旁就位，放下圣经，</p> <p>大声喊道(合唱)</p> <p>「赞美上帝，传递弹药！</p> <p>赞美上帝，传递弹药！</p> <p>赞美上帝，传递弹药</p> <p>我们将永远拥有自由！</p> <p>赞美上帝，把炮口对准目标。</p> <p>再不能坐在一边祈祷。</p> <p>赞美上帝，我们都站在地狱</p> <p>和蓝色海洋的深渊之间！」</p>	<p>Down went the gunner, a bullet was his fate,</p> <p>Down went the gunner, and then the gunner's mate.</p> <p>Up jumped the sky pilot, gave the boys a look.</p> <p>And manned the gun himself as he laid aside</p> <p>The Book,</p> <p>Shouting</p> <p><i>CHORUS:</i></p> <p>"Praise the Lord, and pass the ammunition!</p> <p>Praise the Lord, and pass the ammunition!</p> <p>Praise the Lord, and pass the ammunition</p> <p>And we'll all stay free!</p> <p>Praise the Lord, and swing into position.</p> <p>Can't afford to sit around a-wishin'.</p> <p>Praise the Lord, we're all between</p> <p>perdition</p> <p>And the deep blue sea!"</p> <p>Yes, the sky pilot said it,</p> <p>You've got to give him credit</p> <p>For a son-of-a-gun of a gunner was he,</p> <p>Shouting</p>
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<p>是呵，随军牧师句句在理，</p> <p>你们应该相信</p> <p>他也是个操炮的好手，</p> <p>大声喊道</p> <p>「赞美上帝，我们正肩负伟大的使命！」</p> <p>开船啦，我们可不是去撒网捕鱼。</p> <p>赞美上帝，传递弹药</p> <p>我们将永远拥有自由</p>	
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"Praise the Lord, we're on a mighty mission!
All aboard! We're not a-goin' fishin'.
Praise the Lord, and pass the ammunition
And we'll all stay free!"

勒尼德.汉德
(LEARNED HAND)

自由的精神 **The Spirit of Liberty**

自由的精神即是对其是否正确不很有把握的精神。

虽然勒尼德·汉德(1872—1961)从未在最高法院任职，却被认为是美国历史上最伟大的法官之一。他生于纽约阿尔伯尼，从哈佛大学和哈佛法学院毕业。

勒尼德·汉德先是于 1909 年被任命为联邦法官，接着于 1924 年进入美国上诉法院。自 1939 至 1951 年，他作为该法院的首席法官，以他的才学、智慧和民主原则的深刻信念成为全国最有影响的法官之一。

1944 年 5 月 21 日，汉德法官应邀在纽约市中央公园对一大型集会演讲以纪念「我是一个美国人日」。他这篇发表在大战关键时期的讲话被广泛印发和收入选集。

我们聚集在这里肯定一种信念，一种对共同目的、共同信仰和共同的献身精神的信念。我们中有些人已选定美国作为自己的国家；其他人则是做出这种选择的人的后代。为此原因，我们有权把自己看成是一个经过精选的群体，它的成员勇于同过去决裂，勇于面对在一个陌生国度遇到的危险和孤寂。是什么目标激励我们或我们的前人做出这一选择的呢。我们追求自由：不受压迫的自由，免遭贫困的自由，独立自主的自由。我们当时追求这一目标，现在我们相信自己通过奋斗达到了这一目标。当我们说我们首先追求自由的时候，意味着什么呢。我经常怀疑，我们是否对宪法、法律和法庭寄予过多的希望。这些是虚幻的希望，真的，这些是虚幻的希望。自由存在于人们的心中；一旦它在人们心中死去，没有任何宪法、法律或法院能拯救它；甚至没有任何宪法、法律或法庭能予给它多大帮助。当自由存在人们心中时，无须宪法、法律或法庭去拯救它。那么这一必须存活于人们心中的自由究竟是什么呢。它不是冷酷无情，不受约束的意志；不是随心所欲的自由。那是对自由的否定，直接导致自由的毁灭。倘若在一个社会中人们不承认

对他们的自由应有所控制，那么它很快会变成一个只让一小撮凶狠残暴的人拥有自由的社会。对这一点我们已有痛苦的教训。

什么是自由的精神。我无法给它下定义，只能告诉你们我自己的信念。自由的精神即是对其是否正确不很有把握的精神；自由的精神即是尽力去理解别人的见解的精神；自由的精神即是将别人的利益与自己的利益不带偏见一并考虑的精神；自由的精神铭记，即使一只麻雀落地也该引起注意；自由的精神也就是基督的精神，他在将近二千年之前教给人类从未学过，从此难忘的一课：有可能出现一个王国。在那里人们对最伟大者和最渺小者不分贵贱，一视同仁。现在，以这种精神，以这种从未存在、或许永不会有的美国——惟美国人的良知和勇气才能创造它——所具有的精神，以某种形式深藏在我们大家心中的那个美国的精神，以我国的年轻人此刻正为之战斗献身的那个美国的精神，我请求你们起立，与我一起宣誓效忠于对我们可爱的国家光辉前程的信仰。

We have gathered here to affirm a faith, a faith in a common purpose, a common conviction, a common devotion. Some of us have chosen America as the land of our adoption; the rest have come from those who did the same. For this reason we have some right to consider our-selves a picked group, a group of those who had the courage to break from the past and brave the dangers and the loneliness of a strange land. What was the object that nerved us, or those who went before us, to this choice. We sought liberty; freedom from oppression, freedom from want, freedom to be ourselves. This we then sought; this we now believe that we are by way of winning. What do we mean when we say that first of all we seek liberty. I often wonder whether we do not rest our hopes too much upon constitutions, upon laws and upon courts. "These are false hopes; believe me, these are false hopes. Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law —, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. While it lies

there it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it. And what is this liberty which must lie in the hearts of men and women. It is not the ruthless, the unbridled will; it is not freedom to do as one likes. That is the denial of liberty, and leads straight to its overthrow. A society in which men recognize no check upon their freedom soon becomes a society where freedom is the possession of only a savage few; as we have learned to our sorrow.

What this is the spirit of liberty. I cannot define it; I can only tell you my own faith. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest. And now in that spirit, that spirit of an America which has never been, and which may never be; nay, which never will be except as the conscience and courage of Americans create it; yet in the spirit of that America which lies hidden in some form in the aspirations of us all; in the spirit of that America for which our young men are at this moment fighting and dying; in that spirit of liberty and of America I ask you to rise and with me pledge our faith in the glorious destiny of our beloved country.

卡尔·夏皮罗

(KARL SHAPIRO)

为一名士兵唱的挽歌

Elegy for a Dead Soldier

卡尔·夏皮罗(1913—)生于巴尔的摩，1935 年发表第一本诗集。1942

年他的另两部诗集出版。1945 年夏皮罗因《「字母V」和其他诗作》一书获普利兹奖，该诗集是他在南太平洋当士兵时创作的。战后，夏皮罗出版了多部诗集以及文学评论、散文、小说，并担任《诗》的主编。他因诗歌创作取得许多荣誉和奖励。夏皮罗曾在几所大学任教，包括内布拉斯加大学和设在戴维斯的加利福尼亚大学。

《为一名士兵唱的挽歌》收入《「字母 V」和其他诗作》。

一

一辆卡车的后挡板覆盖着一块
白布，

权充祭坛；两支蜡烛

毕剥燃在十字架两旁

四周撒满花朵，比血色更鲜，

比我们的启示录更红，

木槿花，一个行军者会把它摘下

插在步枪或帽子上；

大大的蓝色牵牛花，颜色苍白

像不能再品味、接吻或发誓的嘴
唇。

I

A white sheet on the tail-gate of a
truck
becomes an altar; two small
candlesticks
sputter at each side of the crucifix
Laid round with flowers brighter
than the
blood,
Red as the red of our apocalypse,
Hibiscus that a marching man will
pluck
To stick into his rifle or his hat,
And great blue morning-glories
pale as lips
That shall no longer taste or kiss or
swear.
The wind begins a low magnificat,
The chaplain chats, the palmtrees
swirl their
hair,

<p>风儿开始低声唱起颂主诗歌，</p> <p>牧师说着话，棕榈树旋动自己的 头发，</p> <p>一支支队伍踏过泥泞来此汇拢。</p> <p>二</p> <p>我们也是灰烬，当我们观看和聆 听</p> <p>圣歌、悲哀和朴素的赞词</p> <p>献给一个人，他对未来的憧憬</p> <p>与我们一样，但如今已完全破灭，</p> <p>他用青春谱写的服役履历一笔了 清，</p> <p>他的美梦被枪声驱散，毫无踪影。</p> <p>我们能感到的只是对阵亡的震 惊，</p> <p>它似乎恰恰表明怀疑，</p>	<p>The columns come together through the mud</p> <p>II</p> <p>We too are ashes as we watch and hear</p> <p>The psalm, the sorrow, and the simple praise</p> <p>Of one whose promised thoughts of other days</p> <p>Were such as ours, but now wholly destroyed,</p> <p>The service record of his youth wiped out,</p> <p>His dream dispersed by shot, must disappear.</p> <p>What can we feel but wonder at a loss</p> <p>That seems to point at nothing but the doubt</p> <p>Which flirts our sense of luck into the ditch.</p> <p>Reader of Paul who prays beside this fosse,</p> <p>Shall we believe our eyes or legends rich</p> <p>With glory and rebirth beyond the void.</p> <p>III</p>
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<p>而疑虑把我们的侥幸之心扔进沟渠。</p> <p>站在这壕坑边祈祷的保罗的读经师，</p> <p>我们该相信自己的眼睛呢，还是相信</p> <p>虚空之外叙述荣耀和新生的传奇。</p> <p>三</p> <p>因为这位战友已经死了，在战火中死去，</p> <p>一个年轻人，他的千百万同龄人仍然活着，</p> <p>这个人脱离了战争所给予的一切，</p> <p>自由自在，飘飘悠悠。</p> <p>谁在这肃穆的人群中哀悼亡灵</p> <p>这些人在子弹射中目标以前</p>	<p>For this comrade is dead, dead in the war,</p> <p>A young man out of millions yet to live,</p> <p>One cut away from all that war can give,</p> <p>Freedom of self and peace to wander free.</p> <p>Who mourns in all this sober multitude</p> <p>Who did not feel the bite of it before</p> <p>The bullet found its aim. This worthy flesh,</p> <p>This boy laid in a coffin and reviewed—</p> <p>Who has not wrapped himself in this same flag,</p> <p>Heard the light fall of dirt, his wound still fresh,</p> <p>Felt his eyes closed, and heard the distant brag</p> <p>Of the last volley of humanity.</p> <p>IV</p> <p>By chance I saw him die, stretched on the</p> <p>ground,</p> <p>A tattooed arm lifted to take the blood</p> <p>Of someone else sealed in a tin. I</p>
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<p>并不感到痛切.这可敬的血肉之躯，</p> <p>这小伙子躺在棺材中沈思——</p> <p>有谁尚未用同样的旗帜包裹自己，</p> <p>听见尘土轻轻落下，伤口仍在流血，</p> <p>感到双眼紧闭，听到远处传来</p> <p>人间最后一阵炮火齐鸣.</p>	<p>stood</p> <p>During the last delirium that stays</p> <p>The intelligence a tiny moment more,</p> <p>And then the strangulation, the last sound</p> <p>The end was sudden, like a foolish play,</p> <p>A stupid fool slamming a foolish door,</p> <p>The absurd catastrophe,</p> <p>half-prearranged,</p> <p>And all the decisive things still left to say.</p> <p>So we disbanded, angrier and unchanged,</p> <p>Sick with the utter silence of dispraise.</p>
<p>四</p> <p>我碰巧目睹他死去，四肢伸展仰卧在地，</p> <p>刺有花纹的手臂拾起</p> <p>接受另一个人的血从封罐注入他身体。我站立</p> <p>眼看临终前的神志昏迷</p>	<p>V</p> <p>We ask for no statistics of the killed,</p> <p>For nothing political impinges on This single casualty, or all those gone,</p> <p>Missing or healing, sinking or dispersed,</p> <p>Hundreds of thousands counted, millions lost.</p> <p>More than an accident and less</p>

<p> 让他的灵魂再弥留一时半刻， 接着呼吸停止，发出最后一声喘息。 生命的结束如此突然，就像一出荒诞的戏， 一个傻子砰地关上一扇可笑的门， 荒谬的结局，仿佛预先排定， 所有关键性的台词尚待说及。 于是我们解散，没有变化，更加愤怒， 对无人谴责一片沈寂感到恶心。 五 我们不要阵亡人数统计， 因为这些没有任何政治意义： 这一阵亡者或一切阵亡者， </p>	<p> than willed Is every fall, and this one like the rest. However others calculate the cost, To us the final aggregate is one, One with a name, one transferred to the blest; And though another stoops and takes the gun, We cannot add the second to the first. XI The time to mourn is short that best becomes The military dead. We lift and fold the flag, Lay bare the coffin with its written tag, And march away. Behind, four others wait To lift the box, the heaviest of loads. The anesthetic afternoon benumbs, Sickens our senses, forces back our talk. We know that others on tomorrow's roads Will fall, ourselves perhaps, the man beside, </p>
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失踪或养伤，倒下或溃退，

几十万人记录在册，几百万人毫无消息。

与其说出于自愿，不如说是偶然事故

造成每一例阵亡，这一战死者与其他战死者一样。

不论别人怎样计算付出的代价，

对我们而言最终归结为一，

一个有名有姓的人，一个被送进天堂的人；

虽然另一人俯身拿起枪，

我们不能将第二人加到第一人身上。

.....

六

Over the world the threatened, all who walk:

And could we mark the grave of him who died

We would write this beneath his name and date:

EPITAPH

Underneath this wooden cross there lies

A Christian killed in battle. You who read,

Remember that this stranger died in pain;

And passing here, if you can lift your eyes

Upon a peace kept by a human creed,

Know that one soldier has not died in vain.

哀悼的时间短促，这最适合于

牺牲的军人。我们揭去旗，将它
折起，

让带着标签的棺木裸现，

我们缓缓走开。在我们身后，另
四个人等着

抬起灵柩，最沉重的负载。

沉闷的下午令人生厌，

使我们感官麻木，欲语还休。

我们知道在明天的征途上

其他的人将倒下，也许是我们自
己，身旁的人

全世界受到威胁的人，一切行进
的人：

倘若我们能为这一死者立碑，

我们将在他的名字和死期下书
写：

墓志铭

在这本质十字架下安卧着
一个战死的基督徒。请你记住，
这陌生人在痛苦中死去；
当你路过此地，放眼看看
由人类教义维护的和平景象，
你便懂得一名士兵并没有枉然
捐躯。

附注：

- 《启示录》是《圣经·新约》中关于世界末日的部分

伯纳德·巴鲁克

(BERNARD BARUCH)

巴鲁克关于控制原子能的方案 **The Baruch Plan for Control of Atomic Energy**

我们在这里就生与死作出抉择。

第二次世界大战结束时，美国垄断了有关原子弹的知识。1946 年 6 月 14 日，美国代表伯纳德·巴鲁克向联合国原子能委员会提交了一项美国方案：置原子能于国际控制之下。巴鲁克(1870-1965)是个富有的金融家，曾任威尔逊总统和罗斯福总统的顾问。「政界元老」这一名词似乎是专为形容他而创造的。

苏联反对巴鲁克方案，因为该方案要求国际核查。由独裁者史达林统治的苏联要求立即销毁现存原子武器，今后禁止制造原子武器，但不作核查。苏联的这一立场阻碍了国际合作，直到 1963 年，美、苏、英三国才签署禁止核子试验条约。

因此当时巴鲁克方案未获通过。人们可以想象，倘若该方案取胜，世界是否仍会有一场国际军备竞赛，全球的资源将会如何运用。

我们在这里就生与死作出抉择。这是我们的职责。

在新的原子时代，黑暗的不祥之兆背后存在着希望：如果人们抱着信念抓住这希望，那么它就能拯救我们；假如我们失败了，那么我们就会使每个人沦为恐怖的奴隶。我们切莫欺骗自己了：我们必须在世界和平与世界毁灭之间作出抉择。

科学从自然揭示出一个奥秘，其潜力如此巨大，以致于我们的心灵在它制造的恐怖中颤抖。但恐怖不足以制止原子弹的使用。由武器所造成的恐怖从未阻止人类使用武器。每一种新式武器一出现，很快便产生一种抵御它的方法。然而现在我们面临有效的防御手段不复存在的状况。

给我们造出这种可怕力量的科学证明，这种力量能够被用来极大地造福人类，但科学没有告诉我们怎样阻止用它来从事破坏。因而我们奉命来寻求我们各国人民观念和心愿的共同点。唯有在全人类的意志中才能找到解决问题的答案。

正 是为着表达这种意愿使它能得以实现，我们才会聚集一堂。我们必须规定

一种有效途径以确保原子能只用于和平目的，阻止人们在战争中使用它。为此，我们必须规定对违反各国达成的协定者给予直接、迅速和确实的惩罚。倘若和平不应当仅仅是两次战争之间狂热的插曲，那么处罚措施是必不可少的。而且，联合国也可以就苏联、英国、法国和美国在约伦堡应用的原则规定个人的责任和惩罚条例——这样做肯定有益于世界的未来。

在此关键时刻，我们不仅代表本国政府，而且从更大范围来说，我们代表世界各国人民。我们应牢记，各国人民不属于各国政府，而各国政府属于各国人民。我们必须答复他们的要求；我们必须对全世界对和平与安全的渴望作出回答。

美国热切地、满怀希望地抱同样的愿望。在美国，对那种绝对武器的科学研究已获成果。但是美国随时准备禁止和销毁这一战争工具——将它的用途从死亡转向生命——倘若全世界为此目的订立一个条约。……

现在是到了共同利益而采取行动的时候了。舆论支援维护安全的世界性运动。如果我的观察准确，那么我发现世界各国人民所要求的方案不仅包含善良的意向，而且包括可以实施的制裁手段——一项具有强制力的国际法。

我们美国人民极愿为维护世界和平尽力，而且由于我们拥有生产原子弹的手段，由于原子弹已成为我们的一部分，我们意识到自己肩上的重大责任。鉴于此，我们准备为有效地控制原子能作出我们的最大贡献。

但是在一个国家准备放弃任何克敌制胜的武器之前，它需要比言语更可靠的东西使它消除疑虑。它必须得到安全保证，制止用原子能作为进攻武器，而且制止其他武器——细菌武器、生物武器、毒气——的非法使用，或许——为什么不？——制止战争本身。

我们解决问题的方法在于消灭战争，因为只有消灭了战争，国与国之间才会停止在生产和使用令人畏惧的「秘密」武器方面攀比竞争，而这类武器完全是根据其杀伤力如何来评定其价值的。这一该诅咒的方案不但把我们带回到中世纪

黑暗时代，而且使我们从和谐有序回到混乱状态。倘若我们能找到一种控制原子武器的恰当方法，那么就有理由希望：我们也可能阻止使用其他适于大规模杀伤的武器。一旦一个人学会了说「A」，那么只要他乐意，他便能学会说其他字母。

让我们永远铭记：和平绝对不可能由金属的力量或军备竞赛所长期维持。和平唯有通过以制裁手段作后盾的谅解和协定才能得到稳定和保障。我们要么接受国际合作，要么接受国际分裂，二者必居其一。.....

We are here to make a choice between the quick and the dead. That is our business.

Behind the black portent of the new atomic age lies a hope which, seized upon with faith, can work our salvation. If we fail, then we have damned every man to be the slave of fear. Let us not deceive ourselves: We must elect world peace or world destruction.

Science has torn from nature a secret so vast in its potentialities that our minds cower from the terror it creates. Yet terror is not enough to inhibit the use of the atomic bomb. The terror created by weapons has never stopped man from employing them, for each new weapon a defense has been produced, in time. But now we face a condition in which adequate defense does not exist.

Science, which gave us this dread power, shows that it can be made a giant help to humanity, but science does not show us how to prevent its baleful use. So we have been appointed to obviate that peril by finding a meeting of the minds and the hearts of our peoples. Only in the will of mankind lies the answer.

It is to express this will and make it effective that we have been assembled. We must provide the mechanism to assure that atomic energy is used for peaceful purposes and preclude its use in war. To that end, we must provide immediate, swift, and sure punishment of those who violate the agreements that are reached by the nations. Penalization is essential if peace is to be more than a feverish interlude between wars. And, too, the United Nations can prescribe individual responsibility and punishment on the principles applied at Nuremberg by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, France, and the United States—a formula certain to benefit the world's future.

In this crisis, we represent not only our governments but, in a larger way, we represent the peoples of the world. We must remember that the peoples do not belong to the governments but that the governments belong to the peoples. We must answer their demands; we must answer the world's longing for peace and security.

In that desire, the United States shares ardently and hopefully. The search of science for the absolute weapon has reached fruition in this country. But she stands ready to proscribe and destroy this instrument—to lift its use from death to life—if the world will join in a pact to that end. . . .

Now, if ever, is the time to act for the common good. Public opinion supports the world movement toward security. If I read the sign aright, the peoples want a program not composed merely of pious thoughts but of enforceable sanctions—an international law with teeth in it. We of this nation, desirous of helping to bring peace to the world and realizing the heavy obligations upon us arising from our possession of the means of producing the bomb and from the fact that it is a part of our armament, are prepared to make our full contribution toward effective control of atomic energy. . . .

But before a country is ready to relinquish any winning weapons, it must have more than words to reassure it. It must have a guarantee of safety, not only against the

offenders in the atomic area but against the illegal users of other weapons — bacteriological, biological, gas — perhaps — and why not. — against war itself.

In the elimination of war lies our solution, for only then will nations cease to compete with one another in the production and use of dread "secret" weapons which are evaluated solely by their capacity to kill. This devilish program takes us back, not merely to the Dark Ages but from cosmos to chaos. If we succeed in finding a suitable way to control atomic weapons, it is reasonable to hope that we may also preclude the use of other weapons adaptable to mass destruction. When a man learns to say "A" he can, if he chooses, learn the rest of the alphabet, too.

Let this be anchored in our minds: Peace is never long preserved by weight of metal or by an armament race. Peace can be made tranquil and secure only by understanding and agreement fortified by sanctions. We must embrace international cooperation or international disintegration. ...

戴维.利连撒尔

(DAVID LILIENTHAL)

听证会演说

Confirmation Hearings

我对这一点深信不疑。

1946 年哈里.杜鲁门总统任命戴维.利连撒尔领导原子能委员会。利连撒尔 (1899—1981) 生于伊利诺伊州，毕业于德波大学和哈佛大学法学院。他曾任

田纳西流域管委会主席。

在他的国会联合委员会听证会上，利连撒尔受到田纳西州参议员肯尼思.D. 麦克凯勒的访问。麦克凯勒指出，利连撒尔有同情共产主义之嫌。在听证会上参议员麦克凯勒曾要求了解田纳西流域管委会生产一吨硝酸铵的成本。利连撒尔说，他将找到有关数据，但当时头脑里记不起来了。于是参议员暗示，利连撒尔的这一承认证明了这位被任命者的无能，而且参议员几次提到利连撒尔「头脑里」竟记不住如此重要的资讯。

参议员言归正传，攻击要害问题时指出：「其实你的同情心颇带左派色彩。」利连撒尔答道，他无法简单地用「是」或「不是」来回答这一断语，麦克凯勒参议员紧追不舍：「那么你对共产主义学说抱何种信念。」利连撒尔不假思索，脱口而出的答复由阿尔弗雷德.弗兰德利写成报导刊登在 1947 年 2 月 4 日的《华盛顿邮报》上。

这个问题确实一真萦回在我的头脑里，参议员先生。

我将尽力把它讲清楚。比起我反对什么，我的信念更多地牵涉到我赞成什么；这就顺理成章地把许多东西排除在外了。

依照传统，民主已成为一个肯定的主义、而不仅仅是个否定的主义。

我相信——而且我也设想，美国宪法正如宗教那样是建立在个人的正直这个基本前提之上；所有政府，所有私人机构都必须用来促进、保护和捍卫个人的正直和尊严。这便是宪法和《人权法案》的根本含义，正如它本质上也是宗教的含义。

因此，任何使人成为手段而非目的的政府和其他机构，任何置国家或别的组织于人的意义之上的政府和其他机构，任何把强加于人的专横权力作为政府的一

项基本原则的政府和其他机构都是与上述观念相悖的，所以我坚决反对它们。

共产主义哲学和共产主义的政府形态属于这一范畴，因为它们的基本原则与我们宪法的含义格格不入。共产主义的基本原则是，国家本身便是目的，因而国家对个人行使的权力不受任何伦理标准的约束。

我完全不相信这种原则。

要说一个人不是个共产主义者是件十分容易的事。当然，若是无视我的履历，有必要叫我断然表明立场，那么我将感到非常失望。

口头说一说反对共产主义是件十分容易的事。同样重要的是相信那些能提供令人满意，有效的替代物的东西。民主便是令人满意的，肯定的替代物。

民主在全世界的希望在于，它是个肯定的信仰，而不仅仅是个反对其他一些什么的信仰，除此以外，再没别的了。

民主的一条原则来自一种信仰的核心，该信仰认为，个人第一，人皆是上帝的儿女，因此他们的人格是神圣的。这一原则是一种对公民自由权及其不容侵犯的坚定信仰，它对任何欲通过旁敲侧击，嫁祸于人或含沙射影的手法夺去一个人最宝贵的东西——他的名誉——的人深恶痛绝。有时人们是打着民主的幌子这么干的，这就更为不幸。我认为，倘若我们听任这种劣行继续肆虐，那么它会导致我们国家分崩离析，彻底毁灭。

我深信，假如我们在日常生活中实行民主，民主有能力经受其可能面临的任何考验。

在我们必须遵循的准则中有这么一条：在我们大张旗鼓地清查国内的颠覆和反民主势力的同时，不该歇斯底里，旁敲侧击，诽谤攻击，或以其他不光彩的手

法玷污我们所相信的事业，在我国人民中制造分裂——使团体和个人之间互相仇视，而这种分裂完全是由肆意抨击，对团体或个人的忠诚的毫无根据的责难。

我还想补充说明，我的信念部分地建立在我作为英裔美国人一名普通律师所接受的训练上。正是由于我们所保持的英国人民给予这个国家的基础和传统，我们坚决主张在法庭上对证人的可靠性应有最严格的规定，避免传闻证据，排除流言蜚语。而且这也是我们的民主的一个基本点。

不论是由于行政机构专横地对待商业团体或是立法部门的调查活动，只要上述那些原则，——保护个人和个人名誉免遭流言蜚语、道听途说和未经盘问的证词所玷污的原则——受到践踏，那么我们也就无法实现我们关于民主的理想。

我对这一点深信不疑。

This I DO carry in my head, Senator.

I will do my best to make it clear. My convictions are not so much concerned with what I am against as what I am for; and that excludes a lot of things automatically.

Traditionally, democracy has been an affirmative doctrine rather than merely a negative one.

I believe—and I conceive the Constitution of the United States to rest, as does religion, upon the fundamental proposition of the integrity of the individual; and that all government and all private institutions must be designed to promote and protect and defend the integrity and the dignity of the individual; that that is the

essential meaning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, as it is essentially the meaning of religion.

Any form of government, therefore, and any other institutions which make men means rather than ends, which exalt the state or any other institutions above the importance of men, which place arbitrary power over men as a fundamental tenet of government are contrary to that conception, and, therefore, I am deeply op-posed to them.

The communistic philosophy as well as the communistic form of government falls within this category, for their fundamental tenet is quite to the contrary. The fundamental tenet of communism is that the state is an end in itself, and that therefore the powers which the state exercises over the individual are without any ethical standard to limit them.

That I deeply disbelieve.

It is very easy simply to say that one is not a Communist. And, of course, if despite my record it is necessary for me to state this very affirmatively, then it is a great disappointment to me.

It is very easy to talk about being against communism. It is equally important to believe those things which provide a satisfying and effective alternative. Democracy is that satisfying, affirmative alternative.

Its hope in the world is that it is an affirmative belief, rather than being simply a belief against something else and nothing more.

One of the tenets of democracy that grows out of this central core of a belief that the individual comes first, that all men are the children of God and that their personalities are therefore sacred, is a deep belief in civil liberties and their protection, and a repugnance

to anyone who would steal from a human being that which is most precious to him—his good name—either by imputing things to him by innuendo or by insinuation. And it is especially an unhappy circumstance that occasionally that is done in the name of democracy. This, I think, can tear our country apart and destroy it if we carry it further.

I deeply believe in the capacity of democracy to surmount any trials that may lie ahead, provided only that we practice it in our daily lives.

And among the things we must practice is this: that while we seek fervently to ferret out the subversive and anti-democratic forces in the country, we do not at the same time, by hysteria, by resort to innuendo, and smears, and other unfortunate tactics, besmirch the very cause that we believe in, and cause a separation among our people—cause one group and one individual to hate another, based on mere attacks, mere unsubstantiated attacks upon their loyalty.

I want also to add that part of my conviction is based on my training as an Anglo-American common lawyer. It is the very basis and the great heritage of the English people to this country, which we have maintained, that we insist on the strictest rules of credibility of witnesses and on the avoidance of hearsay, and that gossip shall be excluded, in the courts of justice. And that, too, is an essential of our democracy.

Whether by administrative agencies acting arbitrarily against business organizations, or whether by investigating activities of legislative branches, whenever those principles fail, those principles of the protection of an individual and his good name against

besmirchment by gossip, hearsay, and the statements of witnesses who are not subject to cross-examination—then, too, we have failed in carrying forward our ideals in respect to democracy.

This I deeply believe.

休伯特.汉弗莱

(HUBER HUMPHREY)

争取民权

A Plea for Civil Rights

对民主党来说，这一时刻已经到来：走出各州权利的阴影，径直步入人权的灿烂阳光中。

1948 年，民主党陷入困境。弗兰克林.D.罗斯福总统于 1945 年逝世。他的继任者哈里.杜鲁门无法再使党内争吵不休的各派力量联合在一起。民主党左翼分裂出去，组成进步党，提名亨利.华莱士为总统候选人；民主党右翼——它掌握南方白人的关键性选票——则警告说，如果民主党人在他们的党纲中采纳了民权条目，它将退出全国大会。

休伯特.霍雷肖.汉弗莱(1911—1978)出席了在费城举行的民主党全国代表大会。当时汉弗莱任明尼阿波利斯市长，年轻有为，充满活力，正在角逐美国参议院席位。汉弗莱曾当过药剂师、教员，于 1945 年当选为市长。1948 年 7 月 14 日，汉弗莱发表了以下这篇热情洋溢的演说，恳求在民权问题上持勇敢的立场。全国大会赞同他的观点，而南方的民主党人则退出了全国大会和民主党。虽然党内有人背叛，杜鲁门仍险胜杜威，而汉弗莱则入选参议院，在以后的 16 年中成为一位杰出的参议员。

我意识到，我正谈论一个引起激烈争论的问题——由于人们各执一词，感情用事，这问题被搅糊涂了。我意识到，今天在场的人士中颇有些人——其中不少是我的朋友和同事——跟我一样深切关注这个问题，但观点与我恰恰相反。

我是怀着对这些人 and 他们的观点的尊敬和钦佩来到此地的。

由于在讨论中他们所表现的真诚、礼貌和直率，此刻我对他们的尊敬和钦佩更增加了十二分。

因为怀有这种尊敬，因为我确信我们要在这里完成一项具有挑战性的任务，因为良心的驱使，我感到现在我不能不站出来支援这个报告——该报告清楚地阐明了我们的民主，对于该报告人民将充分理解，热情欢呼。

请允许我在开头便说明，这一建议的提出不带有对任何个地区、阶级、种族或教派的考虑。

所有的地区，所有的州都已共用美国式自由的可贵遗产。所有的地区，所有的州都或多或少侵犯了这种自由——所有的人，所有的团体都已成为不公平待遇的受害者。

我们的主要发言人，尊敬的肯塔基州美国参议员阿尔本.巴克利的精辟讲话切中要害。在谈及我们党的创始人托马斯.杰斐逊时，他说：

「他没有宣称一切白人或黑人，或红种人，或黄种人平等；一切基督徒或犹太教徒平等；一切新教徒或天主教徒平等；一切富人或穷人平等；一切好人或坏人平等。

「他声明的是人人平等；而他所说的平等是指人人有权享受自由政府的福泽，

他们可以参加这个政府，而且他们赞同这个政府。」

我们是作为民主党人参加大会的。但更重要的是，作为美国人——而且我坚信，作为关心我国未来的人，我们必须在我们的党纲中列入我所提到的诸条保证。

是啊，这已远远不只是个政党的问题。美国之成为自由世界的领袖与每一个公民利害攸关。自由世界正受到实行奴隶制度的世界的挑战。为了使我们能卓有成效地发挥自己的作用，我们必须站在道德完善的立场。

在衡量我们自己和他国人民的政策时，我们不能使用双重标准。我们对其他国家实行民主的要求不会比在我们自己的国家实行民主的保证更有效。

我们是对上帝虔诚的人。我们相信在上帝的庇护下人与人之间的兄弟情谊。

我不认为，对我已提及的公民权的保证可以有任何折衷妥协。

尽管我希望党纲能获得一致通过，我认为对有些问题还是应当毫无保留地予以阐明。不能躲躲闪闪——不能轻描淡写。

有些人对你们说：我们正力促这个公民权问题尽快得到解决。我说，我们已晚了一百七十二年。

有些人说：这公民权问题侵犯了各州的权利。对民主党来说，这一时刻已经到来：走出各州权利的阴影，径直步入人权的灿烂阳光中。

人民——人类——这是二十世纪的关键问题。人民——形形色色，各式各样的人——指望美国担任领导，指望美国给予帮助，指望美国指引前程。

我的朋友，我的民主党伙伴们，我请求你们冷静地考虑我们的历史机遇。让我们忘记邪恶的感情，忘记过去的盲目性。在如今这个国际经济、政治、精神危机——尤其是精神危机——的时期，我们不能也不应偏离明摆在我们面前的道路。

这条道路已经引我们穿过许多笼罩着死亡阴影的幽谷。现在该是缅怀那些在美国自由之路上献身的先驱者的时候对于我们全体与会者，对于选派我们与会的几百万人，对于人类大家庭的二十亿成员，我们国家如今比过去任何时更是世界上最后的最大希望所在。我知道我们能够——我知道我们会——从这里开始更充分、更完美地实现这一希望——它是这样一个国家的希望，在那里人人自由平等，人人明智而又充分地运用自己的自由和平等。

I realize that I am dealing with a charged issue—with an issue which has been confused by emotionalism on all sides. I realize that there are those here—friends and colleagues of mine, many of them—who feel as deeply as I do about this issue and who are yet in complete disagreement with me.

My respect and admiration for these men and their views was great when I came here.

It is now far greater because of the sincerity, the courtesy and the forthrightness with which they have argued in our discussions.

Because of this very respect—because of my profound belief that we have a challenging task to do here—because good conscience demands it—I feel I must rise at this time to support this report—a report that spells out our democracy, a report that the people will

understand and enthusiastically acclaim.

Let me say at the outset that this proposal is made with no single region, no single class, no single racial or religious group in mind.

All regions and all states have shared in the precious heritage of American freedom. All states and all regions have at least some infringements of that freedom—all people, all groups have been the victims of discrimination.

The masterly statement of our keynote speaker, the distinguished United States senator from Kentucky, Alben Barley, made that point with great force. Speaking of the founder of our party, Thomas Jefferson, he said:

"He did not proclaim that all white, or black, or red, or yellow men are equal; that all Christian or Jewish men are equal; that all Protestant and Catholic men are equal; that all rich or poor men are equal; that all good or bad men are equal.

['What be declared was that all men are equal; and the equality which be proclaimed was equality in the right to enjoy the blessings of free government in which they may participate and to which they have given their consent.']

We are here as Democrats. But more important, as Americans—and I firmly believe that as men concerned with our country's future, we must specify in our platform the guarantees which I have mentioned.

Yes, this is far more than a party matter. Every citizen has a stake in the emergence of the United States as the leader of the free world. That world is being challenged by the world of slavery. For us to play our part effectively, we must be in a morally sound position.

We cannot use a double standard for measuring our own and

other people's policies. Our demands for democratic practices in other lands will be no more effective than the guarantees of those practiced in our own country.

We are God-fearing men and women. We place our faith in the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

I do not believe that there can be any compromise of the guarantees of civil rights which I have mentioned.

In spite of my desire for unanimous agreement on the platform there are some matters which I think must be stated without qualification. There can be no hedging—no watering down.

There are those who say to you—we are rushing this issue of civil rights. I say we are 172 years late.

There are those who say—this issue of civil rights is an infringement on states' rights. The time has arrived for the Democratic party to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights

People—human beings—this is the issue of the 20th century. People—all kinds and all sorts of people—look to America for leadership—for—for help—for guidance.

My friends—my fellow Democrats—I ask you for a calm consideration of our historic opportunity. Let us forget the evil passions, the blindness of the past. In these times of world economic, political and spiritual—above all, spiritual crisis, we cannot—we must not, turn from the path so plainly before us.

That path has already led us through many valleys of the shadow of death. Now is the time to recall those who were left on that path of American freedom.

For all of us here, for the millions who have sent us, for the whole two billion members of the human family—our land is now, more than ever, the last best hope on earth. I know that we can—I know that we shall—begin here the fuller and richer realization of that hope—that promise of a land where all men are free and equal, and each man uses his freedom and equality wisely and well.

哈里.S.杜鲁门

(HARRY S. TRUMAN)

就职演说

Inaugural Address

只有通过帮助人类大家庭中那些最不幸的成员自助，人类才能过上体面的、令人满意的、人人有权享受的生活。

哈里.S.杜鲁门(1884—1972)1948年当选为总统是美国政治史上最大的怪事之一。杜鲁门既战胜了由纽约州州长托马斯.杜威领导的卷土重来的共和党，又克服了他自己党内的分裂。杜鲁门斗志旺盛，信奉平民主义。他击败了杜威、进步党的亨利.华莱士和南部与本党持不同政见的民主党人斯特隆.瑟蒙德，使民意测验工作者和权威评论员们大吃一惊。

杜鲁门出生于密苏里州一个农场主家庭，他中学毕业，但因经济问题没上大学。他曾从事多种商业冒险事业，均以失败告终。杜鲁门在第一次世界大战中入伍。表现出色，战后在民主党地方组织的支援下成为当地政治活动家。

1934年杜鲁门当选为美国参议员，1944年当选为弗兰克林.D.罗斯福的副总统。罗斯福于1945年4月12日去世，杜鲁门遂成为总统。

在就职演说中，杜鲁门提出一个大规模的国际方案，以给予拉丁美洲、亚

洲、中东和非洲国家经济和技术援助。随着第四点计划的实施，美国开始在国际事务中扮演一个新的角色。

……我国历史上的每一时期都遇上其特定的挑战。现在我们所面临的挑战与过去的挑战同样严重。今天这个日子不仅标志着一个新政府的开始，而且标志一个新时期的开端，这一时期对我们、对世界来说都将是重要的，也许是决定性的。

我们可能有幸经历，在很大程度上带来漫长的人类历史上一个重大转折点。本世纪前半期以人权遭受空前残暴的践踏及历史上最可怕的两次战争为特征。我们时代的当务之急是让人们学会在安宁和谐中共同生活。

世界各国人民面对着一个难以预测的未来，它蕴藏着几乎等量的巨大希望和巨大恐惧。在这疑惑不安的时刻，他们比以前更迫切地期待着从美国得到善意、力量和英明的领导。

因此我们这样做是恰当的：利用这一场合向世界阐明我们赖以生存的信仰所包含的基本原则，向各国人民宣布我们的目标。

美国人民坚持那始终激励鼓舞这个国家的信仰。我们相信，人人享有在法律面前的平等权利，人人拥有分享公共利益的权利。我们相信，人人有思想和言论自由的权利。我们相信，人人生而平等，因为人都是按照上帝的形象创造出来的。

我们抱这一信仰决不动摇。

美国人民期望而且决心建立一个世界，在那个世界中——一切国家、一切民族可以自由地依照他们认为合适的方式自治，享受一种体面的、令人满意的生活。首先。我们的人民期望而且决心建立世界和平——一种公正而持久的和平——

建筑在平等各方达成的真正协定基础上的和平。

自战争结束后，美国将它的人力物力投入伟大的具有积极意义的工作，以便在全世界恢复和平、稳定和自由。

我们从没有领土要求，也从不把自己的意志强加于人。凡我们不想给予他人的特权，我们从不索取。

我们坚定不移地全力支援联合国及有关机构、从而把民主原则运用于国际关系。我们一贯拥护和依靠以和平方式解决国家间的争端。

我们不遗余力地争取达成关于对我们最强有力的武器实行有效国际控制的协定，我们为限制和控制一切军事力量作了不懈的努力。

我们通过示范和规程鼓励在合理和公正的基础上发展世界贸易。

差不多一年以前，我们与十六个欧洲自由国家一起提出了历史上最大的经济合作计划。这一空前的尝试目的在于鼓舞和加强欧洲的民主，以使欧洲大陆的自由人民能在文明的前线恢复他们应有的地位，为世界的安全和幸福再次作出贡献。

我们的努力已给全人类带来新的希望。我们已战胜了绝望情绪和失败主义。我们使一批国家免遭丧失自由的厄运。全出界亿万人民现在赞同我们的观点：我们不需要战争——我们能享有和平。……

在未来的岁月中，我们争取和平与自由的计划将突出四大行动步骤。

第一，我们将继续坚决支援联合国及其有关机构，我们将继续千方百计加强它们的权威，提高它们的效率。我们相信，由于在按照民主原则走向自治的地

区里面，新的国家纷纷建立，联合国将得到加强。

第二，我们将继续实施争取世界经济复苏的计划。这首先意味着我们必须继续全力支援欧洲复兴计划。我们相信，这一宏大事业在世界复兴的过程中必定取得成功。我们相信，同我们在这项工作中合作的国家将再次取得自立自强的国家地位。

另外，我们必须实施自己的消除国际贸易壁垒和增加国际贸易的计划。经济复苏及和平本身有赖于国际贸易的增长。

第三，我们将加强爱好自由的国家反对侵略威胁的力量。我们正与一批国家一起草拟一个旨在巩固北大西洋地区安全的联合协定。该协定将采取在联合国宪章范围内集体防务计划的形式。……

第四，我们必须开始实施一项大胆的新计划以使我们的科学发展和工业进步成果造福于不发达地区的改良和发展。

全球半数以上的人民生活相当困苦。他们食不果腹，疾病缠身。他们的经济生活原始落后，停滞不前。他们的穷困不仅对他们自己，而且对较繁荣的地区是一种障碍和威胁。

历史上人类第一次有了把这些人从痛苦中解救出来的知识和技能。

在工业和科学技术的发展方面美国走在各国的前列。我们可用于支援别国人民的物质资源有限，但我们在技术知识方面无法估量的资源正不断增长，取之不尽用之不竭。

我认为，我们应当让我们丰富的技术知识造福于爱好和平的各国人民，以帮助他们实现改善生活的愿望。而且，我们应当与其他国家合作，促进对需要发

展的地区的投资。

我们的目标是帮助世界自由的各国人民通过他们自己的努力去生产更多的食品、更多的衣服、更多的建筑材料，以及更多的用以减轻他们劳累的机械力量。

我们邀请其他国家在这项事业中投入并分享它们的技术资源。它们的贡献将受到热情欢迎。这应是一项合作的事业，所有国家通过联合国及其特定机构在一切可行的地方共同工作。它应该是一种世界规模的为取得和平、富裕和自由的努力。……

所有的国家，包括我们自己的国家，将从——更好地利用世界人力和自然资源的建设性计划中得到很大的益处。经验告诉人们，当其他国家在工业和经济上取得进步时，我们与它们的贸易也就随之扩展。

发展生产是繁荣与和平的关键。而发展生产的关键在于更广泛、更积极地应用现代科技知识。

只有通过帮助人类大家庭中那些最不幸的成员自助，人类才能过上体面的、令人满意的、人人有权享受的生活。

唯民主才能产生活力，推动世界各国人民采取行动，不仅去战胜压迫他们的人，而且去战胜他们的宿敌——饥饿、苦难和绝望。

在这四大行动步骤的基础上，我们希望协力创造条件以最终实现全人类的个人自由和幸福。……

附注：

● 第四点计划： 美国向不发达国家提供技术和经济援助的政

策，因杜鲁门总统在 1949 年的就职演说中把它列为第四点，故名。

. . . Each period of our national history has had its special challenges. Those that confront us now are as momentous as any in the past. Today marks the beginning not only of a new administration, but of a period that will be eventful, perhaps decisive, for us and for the world.

It may be our lot to experience, and in large measure to bring about, a major turning point in the long history of the human race. The first half of this century, has been marked by unprecedented and brutal attacks on the rights of man, and by the two most frightful wars in history. The supreme need of our time is for men to learn to live together in peace and harmony.

The peoples of the earth face the future with grave uncertainty, composed almost equally of great hopes and great fears. In this time of doubt, they look to the United States as never before for good will, strength, and wise leadership.

It is fitting, therefore, that we take this occasion to proclaim to the world the essential principles of the faith by which we live, and to declare our aims to all peoples.

The American people stand firm in the faith which has inspired this Nation from the beginning. We believe that all men have a right to equal justice under law and equal opportunity to share in the common good. We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and expression. We believe that all men are created equal because they are created in the image of God.

From this faith we will not be moved.

The American people desire, and are determined to work for, a world in which all nations and all peoples are free to govern themselves as they see fit and to achieve a decent and satisfying life. About all else, our people desire, and are determined to work for, peace on earth—a just and lasting peace—based on genuine agreement freely arrived at by equals.

In the pursuit of these aims, the United States and other like-minded nations find themselves directly opposed by a regime with contrary aims and a totally different concept of life.

That regime adheres to a false philosophy which purports to offer freedom, security, and greater opportunity to mankind. Misled by this philosophy, many peoples have sacrificed their liberties only to learn to their sorrow that deceit and mockery, poverty and tyranny, are their reward.

That false philosophy is communism.

Communism is based on the belief that man is so weak and inadequate that he is unable to govern himself, and therefore requires the rule of strong masters.

Democracy is based on the conviction that man has the moral and intellectual capacity, as well as the inalienable right, to govern himself with reason and justice.

Communism subjects the individual to arrest without lawful cause, punishment without trial, and forced labor as the chattel of the state. It decrees what information he shall receive, what art he shall produce, what leaders he shall follow, and what thoughts he shall think.

Democracy maintains that government is established for the

benefit of the individual, and is charged with the responsibility of protecting the rights of the individual and his freedom in the exercise of his abilities.

Communism maintains that social wrongs can be corrected only by violence.

Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change.

Communism holds that the world is so deeply divided into opposing classes that war is inevitable.

Democracy holds that free nations can settle differences justly and maintain lasting peace.

These differences between communism and democracy do not concern the United States alone. People everywhere are coming to realize that what is involved is material well-being, human dignity, and the right to believe in and worship God.

I state these differences, not to draw issues of belief as such, but because the actions resulting from the Communist philosophy are a threat to the efforts of free nations to bring about world recovery and lasting peace.

Since the end of hostilities, the United States has invested its substance and its energy in a great constructive effort to restore peace, stability, and freedom in the world.

We have sought no territory and we have imposed our will on none. We have asked for no privileges we would not extend to others.

We have constantly and vigorously supported the United Nations and related agencies as a means of applying democratic principles

to international relations. We have consistently advocated and relied upon peaceful settlement of disputes among nations.

We have made every effort to secure agreement on effective international control of our most powerful weapon, and we have worked steadily for the limitation and control of all armaments.

We have encouraged, by precept and example, the expansion of world trade on a sound and fair basis.

Almost a year ago, in company with 16 free nations of Europe, we launched the greatest co-operative economic program in history. The purpose of that unprecedented effort is to invigorate and strengthen democracy in Europe, so that the free people of that continent can resume their rightful place in the forefront of civilization and can contribute once more to the security and welfare of the world.

Our efforts have brought new hope to all mankind. We have beaten back despair and defeatism. We have saved a number of countries from losing their liberty. Hundreds of millions of people all over the world now agree with us, that we need not have war—that we can have peace....

In the coming years, our program for peace and freedom will emphasize four major courses of action.

First. We will continue to give unfaltering support to the United Nations and related agencies, and we will continue to search for ways to strengthen their authority and increase their effectiveness. We believe that the United Nations will be strengthened by the new nations which are being formed in lands now advancing toward self-government under democratic principles.

Second. We will continue our programs for world economic

recovery.

This means, first of all, that we must keep our full weight behind the European recovery program. We are confident of the success of this major venture in world recovery. We believe that our partners in this effort will achieve the status of self-supporting nations once again.

In addition, we must carry out our plans for reducing the barriers to world trade and increasing its volume. Economic recovery and peace itself depend on increased world trade.

Third. We will strengthen freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression. We are now working out with a number of countries a joint agreement designed to strengthen the security of the North Atlantic area. Such an agreement would take the form of a collective defense arrangement within the terms of the United Nations Charter. . . .

Fourth. We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.

For the first time in history humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people.

The United States is preeminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. The material resources which we can afford to use for the assistance of other

peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible.

I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development.

Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens.

We invite other countries to pool their technological resources in this undertaking. Their contributions will be warmly welcomed. This should be a cooperative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations and its specialized agencies wherever practicable. It must be a world-wide effort for the achievement of peace, plenty, and freedom. ...

All countries, including our own, will greatly benefit from a constructive program for the better use of the world's human and natural resources. Experience shows that our commerce with other countries expands as they progress industrially and economically.

Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.

Only by helping the least fortunate of its members to help themselves can the human family achieve the decent, satisfying life that is the right of all people.

Democracy alone can supply the vitalizing force to stir the

peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies—hunger, misery, and despair.

On the basis of these four major courses of action we hope to help create the conditions that will lead eventually to personal freedom and happiness for all mankind. . . .

玛格丽特.蔡斯.史密斯

(MARGARET CHASE SMITH)

良心宣言

Declaration of Conscience

我不想看见共和党依靠诬蔑他人的四骑士——恐惧、无知、偏执和诽谤去赢得政治上的胜利。

1950 年威斯康辛的约瑟夫.R. 麦卡锡参议员发动了一场从政府部门中清除共产党嫌疑分子的讨伐运动。他把自己装扮成保卫美国免遭国内外敌人侵害的爱国者，批评他的人们指责他根据谣言和影射粗暴破坏人们的职业和名声。作为一个共和党人，麦卡锡不断指出：杜鲁门政府「对共产主义软弱」，该政府任命的国务院官员是叛国分子，他们「丢失」或「放弃」了一些国家让共产党人上台。差不多有五年时间——从 1950 年 2 月麦卡锡首次声称国务院充满了颠覆分子直到 1954 年 12 月这位参议员遭到参议院同僚们的谴责——整个国家卷入对「麦卡锡主义」的激烈争论。

政府内外许多人被这参议员的指控吓倒了，但并非人人如此。七位共和党参议员——新罕布夏州的查尔斯.托比、佛蒙特州的乔治.D.艾肯、俄勒冈州的韦思.L.摩斯、明尼苏达州的爱德华.J.塞、纽约州的欧文.M.艾夫斯、新泽西州

的罗伯特.C.亨德里克逊以及缅因州的玛格丽特.蔡斯.史密斯——签署了反对麦卡锡策略的良心宣言。参议员史密斯(1897—)是参议院中的唯一女性，她起草了这个宣言并于 1950 年 6 月 1 日在参议院为该宣言发表演说。

议长先生、我想简单明了地谈谈严峻的国家状况。这就是全国性的恐惧和挫折感，这种感觉可能导致国家自取灭亡，导致我们美国人所珍视的一切走上穷途末路。出现这种状况的原因在于我们政府的立法和行政机构缺乏卓有成效的领导。领导是如此薄弱，以致有人提出认真负责的建议，要求任命谘询委员会以提供这种急需的领导。

我尽可能言简意赅，因为不负责任的怨言和自私自利的政治机会主义已造成太多危害。我尽可能言简意赅，因为问题太严重，即使能言善辩也无法混淆视听。我的讲话简单明了，希望我的话能打动人心。

议长先生，我作为一名共和党人讲话。我作为一名妇女讲话。我作为一名美国参议员讲话。我作为一个美国人讲话。

美国参议院长期来以世界上最杰出的慎重周到的机构赢得世人的尊敬。但最近这种慎重周到的品质经常被降低到发泄仇恨和中伤他人的讲坛的水平，而这种攻讦受到国会豁免权的庇护。

这一点令人啼笑皆非：我们参议员在参议院辩论时可以直接或间接地用任何表述方式把与一个美国人不相称、不相适应的行为或动机发咎于一个不是参议员的美国人，而那个非参议员美国人无权要求我们为其恢复名誉，赔偿损失。但是倘若我们在参议院对我们的同事说同样的话，便会被制止，理由是不符合规程。

奇怪的是，我们可以毫无节制地用语言攻击任何别人而受到充分保护，但我

们自己在这参议院议员席上却可免遭同一种类的批评。当然，美国参议院有足够大的度量作自我批评和自我评价。当然，我们应该能够接受我们「奉送」给外界人士的相同类型的人格抨击。

我认为，对于美国参议院及其成员来说，早已到了该这么做的时候了：反躬自问，作良心上的自我反省，检查一下我们对美国人民的义务履行得如何，我们又是如何利用和滥用自己个人的职权和特权的。

我认为，我们早就该记起自己曾宣誓坚持和捍卫宪法。我认为，我们早该记起修正的宪法不仅提到言论自由，而且提到由陪审团进行审判而不是由控方进行审判。

不论是法庭上的刑事诉讼亦或是在参议院中对个人品质的攻讦，只要毁了一个人的生活两者没有什么实际差别。

我们的那些在破坏他人名誉时对美国方式叫嚷得最响的人往往是那些以自己的言行蔑视美国方式某些基本原则的人。这些原则是——

批评的权利。

持有不受欢迎的信念的权利。

抗议的权利。

独立思考的权利。

行使这些权利不应使任何一个美国公民丧失名誉或生活的权利，任何一个美国公民也不应只为碰巧认识某个抱不受欢迎的信念的人便面临丧失名誉或断绝生路的危险。我们哪个人没有这类信念呢，不然我们谁也不能称自己的灵魂

属于自己。不然思想控制将得以实行。

美国人民害怕因说出自己的观点被他们的对手从政治上诽谤成法西斯分子，对这种恐惧心他们感到憎恶和厌烦。在美国，言论自由已今非昔，不成样子。它被某些人肆意滥用，以致其他人不再行使该项权利。

美国人民眼看无辜的人遭诬陷，有罪之人被美化，对此感到憎恶和厌烦。但是有不少已经证实的案例，譬如阿麦雷西亚案、希斯案、科普隆案、戈尔德案，足以引起全国范围的不信任感和深深的猜疑：人们怕那些尚未证实、耸人听闻的指控可能包含几分真实。

作为一个共和党人，我对坐在走道这一边的我的同事们说，共和党今天所面临的挑战不亚于林肯的时代它所面临的挑战。当时共和党成功地迎接挑战，从内战中掘起，不仅是个同浪费开支、计划不周作无情斗争的政党，而且成为捍卫统一国家的斗士。

今天，我们国家在心理上被慌乱和怀疑弄得四分五裂，这种惶惶不安的怀疑情绪从美国参议院产生，「一无所知，怀疑一切」的态度如癌细胞一般扩展蔓延。今天，我们有一个热衷于浪费开支，推行计划不周的方案的民主党政府。历史正在重演——共和党再次有机会成为捍卫统一和审慎节俭的斗士。

现任民主党政府的历史已为我们提供了充足的竞选争论问题，我们没有必要求助于政治诽谤术。正因为民主党政府已无力在政治上给予卓有成效的领导，美国正迅速丧失其世界领袖的地位。

民主党政府日复一日，自相矛盾的严重警告和乐观的保证已完全把美国人民搞糊涂了。这就向人民表明，我国的民主党政府已迷失方向，不知所措。

民主党政府已经因其洋洋自得而在国内对共产主义的威胁无动于衷，因其重要

官员将要害机密泄漏给俄国而大大失去了美国人民的信任。我们有足够的已经证实的案例说明这一点，不必用未经证实的指控削弱我们的批评。

无疑，这些已完全有理由使美国人民明白：是变革的时候了；共和党取胜对于国家安全很有必要。显而易见，只要这个国家由无能的现任民主党政府掌管，那么它将继续遭殃。

然而倘若一个共和党政权信奉一种政治上不正派、理性上不诚实的哲学，那么用这个政府取代民主党政府对国家同样是灾难。美国极需一个共和党的胜利。但是我不想看见共和党依靠诬蔑他人的四骑士——恐惧、无知、偏执和诽谤去赢得政治上的胜利。

我怀疑共和党政府是否能这么做，只因为我不相信美国人民会拥护任何一个将政治私利置于国家利益之上的政党。当然，我们共和党人并不至于为赢得胜利而不顾一切，孤注一掷。

我不想看到共和党用这种方式取胜。那胜利对共和党而言将十分短暂，而对美国人民而言则意味着持久的失败。无疑，它将最终导致共和党和两党制自取灭亡，而两党制保障了我们美国的自由权利，以免遭一党制专制统治。

作为少数派政党的成员，我们不具备制订我国政府政策的权威。但我们确实有这样的责任：提出建设性的批评，澄清问题，以认真负责的公民的行动减少恐惧。

作为一名妇女，我想知道母亲们、妻子们、姐妹们、女儿们对她们的家人在参议院辩论中遭政治攻讦有何感觉——我使用「辩论」一词是经过深思熟虑的。

作为一名美国参议员，我对参议院被用作公共讲坛以散布不负责任、耸人听闻的传闻无法感到自豪。对从走道这一侧肆无忌惮地抛出未经证实的指控，我无法感到自豪。对走道的另一边显然是装腔作势、不庄重的，旨在报复的反诉，

我无法感到自豪。

对参议院已被用作诬蔑中伤的场所，用作以牺牲他人名誉和国家统一换取政治利益的场所，我感到不悦。对我们从参议院议员席上诽谤外界人士，把我们自己藏在国会豁免权的保护衣后面，稳坐参议院议员席不受任何批评，我无法感到自豪。

作为一个美国人，我既不希望一个民主党政府粉饰太平，遮遮掩掩，也不希望一个共和党人诽谤他人，搞政治迫害。

Mr. President, I would like to speak briefly and simply about a serious national condition. It is a national feeling of fear and frustration that could result in national suicide and the end of everything that we Americans hold dear. It is a condition that comes from the lack of effective leadership either in the legislative branch or the executive branch of our Government. That leadership is so lacking that serious and responsible proposals are being made that national advisory commissions be appointed to provide such critically needed leadership.

I speak as briefly as possible because too much harm has already been done with irresponsible words of bitterness and selfish political opportunism. I speak as simply as possible because the issue is too great to be obscured by eloquence. I speak simply and briefly in the hope that my words will be taken to heart.

Mr. President, I speak as a Republican. I speak as a woman. I speak as a United States Senator. I speak as an American.

The United States Senate has long enjoyed world-wide respect as the greatest deliberative body in the world. But recently that deliberative character has too often been debased to the level of a forum of hate and character assassination sheltered by the shield of congressional immunity.

It is ironical that we Senators can in debate in the Senate, directly or indirectly, by any form of words, impute to any American who is not a Senator any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming an American—and without that non Senator American having any legal redress against us—yet if we say the same thing in the Senate about our colleagues we can be stopped on the grounds of being out of order.

It is strange that we can verbally attack anyone else without restraint and with full protection, and yet we hold ourselves above the same type of criticism here on the Senate floor. Surely the United States Senate is big enough to take self-criticism and self-appraisal. Surely we should be able to take the same kind of character attacks that we "dish out" to outsiders.

I think that it is high time for the United States Senate and its Members to do some real soul searching and to weigh our consciences as to the manner in which we are performing our duty to the people of America and the manner in which we are using or abusing our individual powers and privileges.

I think it is high time that we remembered that we have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution. I think it is high time that we remembered that the Constitution, as amended, speaks not only of the freedom of speech but also of trial by jury instead of trial by accusation.

Whether it be a criminal prosecution in court or a character prosecution in the Senate, there is little practical distinction when the life of a person has been ruined.

Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism—

The right to criticize.

The right to hold unpopular beliefs.

The right to protest.

The right of independent thought.

The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs. Who of us does not. Other wise none of us could call our souls our own. Otherwise thought control would have set in.

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as Communists or Fascists by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others.

The American people are sick and tired of seeing innocent people smeared and guilty people whitewashed. But there have been enough proved cases, such as the Amerasia case, the Hiss case, the Coplon case, the Gold case, to cause Nation-wide distrust and strong suspicion that there may be something to the unproved,

sensational accusations.

As a Republican, I say to my colleagues on this side of the aisle that the Republican Party faces a challenge today that is not unlike the challenge which it faced back in Lincoln's day. The Republican Party so successfully met that challenge that it emerged from the Civil War as the champion of a united nation—in addition to being a party which unrelentingly fought loose spending and loose programs.

Today our country is being psychologically divided by the confusion and the suspicions that are bred in the United States Senate to spread like cancerous tentacles of "know nothing, suspect everything" attitudes. Today we have a Democratic administration which has developed a mania for loose spending and loose programs. History is repeating itself—and the Republican Party again has the opportunity to emerge as the champion of unity and prudence.

The record of the present Democratic administration has provided us with sufficient campaign issues without the necessity of resorting to political smears. America is rapidly losing its position as leader of the world simply because the Democratic administration has pitifully failed to provide effective leadership.

The Democratic administration has completely confused the American people by its daily contradictory grave warnings and optimistic assurances, which show the people that our Democratic administration has no idea of where it is going.

The Democratic administration has greatly lost the confidence of the American people by its complacency to the threat of communism here at home and the leak of vital secrets to Russia

through key officials of the Democratic administration. There are enough proved cases to make this point without diluting our criticism with unproved charges.

Surely these are sufficient reasons to make it clear to the American people that it is time for a change and that a Republican victory is necessary to the security of the country. Surely it is clear that this Nation will continue to suffer so long as it is governed by the present ineffective Democratic administration.

Yet to displace it with a Republican regime embracing a philosophy that lacks political integrity or intellectual honesty would prove equally disastrous to the Nation. The Nation sorely needs a Republican victory. But I do not want to see the Republican Party ride to political victory on the Four Horsemen of Calumny—fear, ignorance, bigotry, and smear.

I doubt if the Republican Party could do so, simply because I do not believe the American people will uphold any political party that puts political exploitation above national interest. Surely we Republicans are not so desperate for victory.

I do not want to see the Republican Party win that way. While it might be a fleeting victory for the Republican Party, it would be a more lasting defeat for the American people. Surely it would ultimately be suicide for the Republican Party and the two-party system that has protected our American liberties from the dictatorship of a one-party system.

As members of the minority party, we do not have the primary authority to formulate the policy of our Government. But we do have the responsibility of rendering constructive criticism, of clarifying issues, of allaying fears by acting as responsible citizens.

As a woman, I wonder how the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters feel about the way in which members of their families have been politically mangled in Senate debate—and I use the word "debate" advisedly.

As a United States Senator, I am not proud of the way in which the Senate has been made a publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism. I am not proud of the reckless abandon in which unproved charges have been hurled from this side of the aisle. I am not proud of the obviously staged, undignified countercharges which have been attempted in retaliation from the other side of the aisle.

I do not like the way the Senate has been made a rendezvous for vilification, for selfish political gain at the sacrifice of individual reputations and national unity. I am not proud of the way we smear outsiders from the floor of the Senate and hide behind the cloak of congressional immunity and still place ourselves beyond criticism on the floor of the Senate.

As an American, I am shocked at the way Republicans and Democrats alike are playing directly into the Communist design of "confuse, divide, and conquer." As an American, I do not want a Democratic administration white wash or cover up any more than I want a Republican smear or witch hunt.

As an American, I condemn a Republican Fascist just as much as I condemn a Democrat Communist. I condemn a Democrat Fascist just as much as I condemn a Republican Communist. They are equally dangerous to you and me and to our country. As an American, I want to see our Nation recapture the strength and unity it once had when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves....

路易斯.辛普森
(LOUIS SIMPSON)

沈默的一代
The Silent Generation

路易斯.辛普森(1923—)生于牙买加，第二次世界大战中在部队服役，后来毕业于哥伦比亚大学。他出版过几部诗集、小说、评论和一本自传。1963年他因《在畅通的道路终点》一书赢得普利兹诗歌奖。

第二次世界大战后，政治上的清静无为主义在美国生活中弥漫。就像第一次世界大战后的时期，美国人渴望回到「正常状态」，提高生活水平。在五十年代成年的年轻人进入了这样一个世界：重大问题似已获得解决，思想和政治冲突已经过时。艾森豪威尔时期的青年被称为「沈默的一代」。他们冷漠，但并未异化，乃是举国一致、舒适安逸时代的产物。《沈默的一代》刊载于辛普森的诗集《州长们的梦》(1959)。

当年希特勒是个魔王， 他发誓做什么就做什么， 如此狂热， 以致天晓得， 甚至德国人也说：	When Hitler was the Devil He did as he had sworn With such enthusiasm That even, donnerwetter, The Germans say, "Far better Had he been never born!" It was my generation That put the Devil down
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<p>「他不生出来岂不好得多！」</p> <p>正是我这一代人，</p> <p>豪情满怀，</p> <p>制服了那个魔王。</p> <p>然而现在对我们的占领</p> <p>已告结束。我们的学业</p> <p>废在城镇上。</p> <p>我们缺乏热情。</p> <p>生活仿佛是个谜；</p> <p>它像一位女士</p> <p>向我介绍的一出戏：「它不是……</p> <p>它没有情节。」</p> <p>她说：「它是历史。」</p>	<p>With great enthusiasm.</p> <p>But now our occupation</p> <p>Is gone. Our education</p> <p>Is wasted on the town.</p> <p>We lack enthusiasm.</p> <p>Life seems a mystery;</p> <p>It's like the play a lady</p> <p>Told me about: "It's not</p> <p>It doesn't have a plot,"</p> <p>She said, "It's history."</p>
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附注：

- 原文为 occupation，兼有「占领」和「职业」两重含义

兰斯顿.休斯

(LANGSTON HUGHES)

《在美国的流亡者》和《哈莱姆》

Refugee in America AND Harlem

兰斯顿.休斯 1921 年仅十九岁时开始发表诗歌，创作生涯长达四十年。《在美国的流亡者》于 1943 年刊登在《星期六晚邮报》上。《哈莱姆》发表于 1951 年，收入诗集《推迟的梦蒙太奇》。

在美国的流亡者

有这样的词语例如自由

悦耳动听甜美。

在我的心弦上自由歌唱

一天又复一天。

Refugee in America

There are words like Freedom

Sweet and wonderful to say.

On my heart-strings freedom sings

All day everyday.

There are words like Liberty

That almost make me cry'.

If you had known what I knew

You would know why.

	<p>有这样的词语例如自由</p> <p>它几乎使我哭泣。</p> <p>如果你了解我的经历</p> <p>你将知道原因。</p> <p>哈莱姆</p> <p>推迟的梦会发生什么事，</p> <p>它会干瘪吗</p> <p>像阳光下的葡萄干，</p> <p>或像疮痍化脓——</p> <p>然后蔓延，</p> <p>它像腐肉般发臭，</p> <p>或是裹着面包皮和糖——</p> <p>像果汁甜点。</p>	<p>Harlem</p> <p>What happens to a dream deferred.</p> <p>Does it dry up</p> <p>like a raisin in the sun.</p> <p>Or fester like a sore—</p> <p>And then run.</p> <p>Does it stink like rotten meat.</p> <p>Or crust and sugar over—</p> <p>like a syrupy sweet.</p> <p>Maybe it just sags</p> <p>like a heavy load.</p> <p><i>Or does it explode.</i></p>
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	<p>也许它只是坠下</p> <p>如沉重的负担。</p> <p>或者它突然爆炸。</p>	
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布朗诉教育局案

Brown v. Board of Education

我们下此结论：在公立教育领域，「隔离但却平等」的论点站不住脚。

1954 年 5 月 17 日，最高法院全体一致作出裁决：公立学校的种族隔离违反宪法。最高法院以前已宣布高等院校中的种族隔离为非法。在最高法院作出裁决的时候，十七个州的公立学校仍依法实行种族隔离；另四个州允许学区实行种族隔离。最高法院的裁决不仅推翻了堪萨斯州托皮卡市——该市的琳达·布朗一直被拒于街区白人学校之外——的种族隔离法，而且推翻了南卡罗来纳、特拉华、佛吉尼亚等州和首都华盛顿的同类法令。位于美国南北交界地带的几个地区立即采取行动终止种族隔离。但是南方的大部分地区拒不执行裁决。

从布朗一案的时期直到六十年代中期，联邦法院同难对付的南方诸地区冲突不断，因为一个又一个地方发起斗争(均以失败告终)以维护种族隔离学校。

布朗一案裁决的影响远远超出了公立学校的范围。它为法院对美国生活各方

面的种族隔离提出挑战提供了法律基础。该裁决废止了各州实行种族隔离的权力，把美国黑人引入政治进程，从而比以往任何一项最高法院裁决更多地改变了美国人民的日常生活。

这些案子从堪萨斯、南卡罗来纳、佛吉尼亚和特拉华等州提交到我们这里。它们以各自不同的事实和各自不同的当地情况为前提，但是一个共同的法律问题证明了以统一的观点一并考虑它们的重要性。

在所有这些案子中，黑色人种的未成年人通过他们的法律代表请求得到法院的帮助，以便能在非种族隔离的基础上进入他们社区的公立学校就读。在每一案例中，他们皆因要求或允许实行种族隔离的法律被拒于白人孩子就读的学校之外。这种种族隔离被指控剥夺了原告按宪法第十四修正案的法令得到同等保护的权利。除了特拉华州的案子，在各案件中，由三位法官组成的联邦地区法院均拒绝援助原告，其依据是最高法院在审理普列西诉弗格森一案中提出的所谓「隔离但却平等」的论点。……根据这一论点，只要提供给不同的种族实质上是平等的设施，即便这些设施是隔离的，仍应视作给予了平等待遇。……

原告争辩说，实行种族隔离的公立学校是不「平等」的，而且无法使其变得「平等」，因而他们被剥夺了受到有关法律保护的平等权利。由于所提出的问题显而易见的重要性，本法院行使裁判权。……

下文中的调查结果表明，案件涉及的黑人和白人学校在校舍、课程、教师的资格和薪金以及其他「有形的」因素方面一向平等或目前是平等的。因此我们的裁定不能仅仅依靠对这些案子中有关黑人和白人学校的这些有形的因素进行比较。我们应该注意种族隔离本身对公立教育的影响。

在处理这一问题时，我们不能把时钟拨回 1868 年上述修正案获通过的时候，也不能拨回到 1896 年对普列西诉弗格森一案写下结论之时，我们应根据公立

教育的整个发展史及其当今在美国的地位来考虑公立教育问题。只有这样才能判定公立学校的种族隔离是否剥夺了这些原告受有关法律保护的平等权利。

今天，教育事业也许是州和地方政府最重要的功能。义务教育法和教育上的巨额支出这二者都表明我们认识到教育对我们民主社会的重要性。在我们履行最基本的公共职责时需要教育，甚至在军队服役也需要教育。教育是一个人的品德表现的不折不扣基础。今天，教育是完成这些任务的主要手段：让孩子领悟文化的价值，为孩子未来的专业训练作好准备，帮助孩子很好地适应其周围环境。如今，倘若一个孩子失去了受教育的机会，人们就很难有什么理由指望他在生活中取得成功。这样一种受教育的机会，国家保证提供的机会，应该成为人人均能按平等条件获得的权利。

我们现在讨论正题：即令物质设备和其他「有形的」因素可能平等。在公立学校仅仅根据种族差异对孩子实行隔离的做法是否剥夺了少数人种孩子平等的教育机会呢.我们认为确是如此。

在斯威特诉佩思特一案中，……本法院在很大程度上依据「那些无法客观衡量但却构成一所法律学校的精华的那些品质」发现一所专供黑人就读的法律学校不能向黑人提供平等的教育机会。在麦克劳林诉俄克拉何马州评议员一案中，本法院要求一个被一所专供白人深造的研究院录取的黑人得到与其他学生平等的待遇。当时本法院也是考虑无形的因素：「……他的研究能力、与其他学生讨论问题和交流观点的能力、学习专业的能力。」这种考虑更适用于中小学。只因种族不同，把一些学生同另一些年龄和学历相仿的学生隔离开来，会使这些学生对自己在社区的身份产生自卑感，这种自卑感对他们心智造成的影响日后难以消除。这种隔离对他们受教育机会的影响在一所法院对堪萨斯一案的调查报告中写得很清楚，然而该法院却迫于压力作出不利于黑人原告的判决：

「在公立学校将白人和黑人孩子隔离的做法给黑人孩子带来有害的影响。一

且它得到法律准许，其影响就更大了；因为种族隔离的政策通常被理解为表明黑人低人一等。自卑感削弱了一个孩子的学习动力。因此，得到法律准许的种族隔离很容易造成黑人孩子们学业和智力发展迟缓，而且剥夺了他们可能从兼收不同种族学生的学校得到的某些好处。」

不论普列西诉弗格森案的时期心理学知识达到何种程度，这一调查报告为现代权威所充分证实。普列西诉弗格森案的裁决中任何与此调查报告相抵触的语言应予以否定。

我们下此结论：在公立教育领域，「隔离但却平等」的论点站不住脚。隔离的教育设施有其内在的不平等性。因此我们认为，引起起诉的原告和其他处境相同的人被他们所控诉的种族隔离剥夺了受宪法第十四修正案规定的法律保护的平等权利。……

These cases come to us from the states of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a non segregated basis. In each instance, they have been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of

the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. . . . Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. . . .

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. . . .

There are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors. Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment—was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life through out the nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition

of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities. We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, . . . in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, . . . the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may

affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

"Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. "The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. . . .

(DWIGHT D.EISENHOWER)

告别演说

Farewell Address

我们必须警惕军事——工业联合体取得无法证明为正当的影响力，不论它这样追求与否。

德怀特.D.艾森豪威尔(1890—1969)先是在第二次世界大战中任盟军最高统帅，以后又连任两届颇有人缘的美国总统，以此达到一生权力的顶峰。艾森豪威尔生于德克萨斯州的丹尼森，在他家七个儿子中排行第三。他在堪萨斯州阿比林长大，家境贫困，但家人勤劳且笃信宗教。1915年艾森豪威尔毕业于美国军事学院。

第二次世界大战后，他作为一名妇孺皆知的英雄凯旋而归，短期担任哥伦比亚大学校长，1952年当选总统。在他的总统任期内，民主党人埋怨他回避种族问题的争论，在国内外事务中采取基本上是保守主义的立场，甚至讨厌他所使用句法。但是这位被称为「艾克」的人物始终很受公众欢迎。

1961年1月17日，在他离开总统职位前，艾森豪威尔作告别演说。他在讲话中描述了因一个「军事—工业联合体」和一个「科学—技术精英阶层」的崛起在美国政治生活中引起的变化。正是他的保守主义使他蔑视由军备竞赛和冷战造成的权力集中的情况。他的开明的批评者开始觉得，对艾森豪威尔的某一方面他们并不了解。

再过三天，在我为我国服务半个世纪之后，随着总统的权威按传统的隆重仪式归属我的继任者，本人将卸下公职。……

我们现在的日期距本世纪中点已过十年，这个世纪经历了大国之间四次大的战争，我们自己的国家卷入其中三次。尽管发生了这些大规模的战祸，当今美国乃是世界上最强大、最有影响、生产力最高的国家。我们自然为此卓越成就感到自豪，但我们也意识到，美国的领导地位和威信不仅取决于我们举世无双的物质进步、财富和军事力量，而且取决于我们如何为世界和平与人类福利使用我们的力量。

纵观美国在自由政府体制上的探索历程，我们的基本目的始终是维护和平，促进人类进步，在人民和国家之间增进自由权，提高尊严，宏扬正直的品质。追求较低的目标会辱没一个自由、有虔诚宗教信仰的民族。任何由于骄傲自大或理解力不强或缺乏奉献精神的失败都将在国内外给我们带来严重损害。

走向这些崇高目标的进程一直受到现在正席卷全球的冲突的威胁。这种冲突迫使我们全神贯注，全力以赴。我们面对一种敌对的意识形态——具有世界性规模和无神论性质，目标残忍，手段阴险。不幸的是，它所造成的危险将长期存在。欲成功地对付它，所要求的与其说是危急关头感情上短暂的痛苦，毋宁说是作出牺牲以使我们能坚定踏实、任劳任怨地承担一场长期复杂斗争的重任——与自由共存亡。只有这样我们才能战胜一次又一次的挑衅，始终朝着世界持久和平和人类美好未来的方向前进。……

我们的军队是维护和平必不可少的要素。我们的武装力量必须强大，随时准备投入行动，以使任何潜在的侵略者都不敢贸然以卵击石。

我们今天的军事组织与我的任何一位和平时期前任所了解的，与第二次世界大战或朝鲜战争中的军人所了解的军事组织大相径庭。

直至最近的一次世界性冲突之前、美国仍没有军事工业。美国的犁铧制造商们在必要时也能制造剑。但是现在我们不能再以临阵磨枪的方式承担国防上的风

险；我们已被迫创建一个规模宏大的永久性军事工业。此外，350 万男人和妇女直接服务于国防机构。我们每年在军事安全上的开支超过了美国所有的公司的纯收入。

一支庞大的军队和一个大规模军事工业相结合，在美国是史无前例的。它的全部影响——经济的、政治的，甚至精神的——在每个城市、每座州议会大楼、每一联邦政府机构内都能感觉到。我们承认这种发展绝对必要，但我们不应忽视其重大的影响。它涉及我们的人力、资源、生活，乃至我们社会的结构。

在政府各部门，我们必须警惕军事—工业联合体取得无法证明是正当的影响力，不论它这样追求与否。极不适当的权力恶性增长的可能性目前已经存在并将继续存在。

我们决不能让这一联合体的势力危害我们的自由或民主进程。我们不应心存侥幸。只有警觉而明智的美国公民才能强迫庞大的工业和军事的国防机构与我们和平的手段和目标恰当配合，以使安全和自由并驾齐驱，同获成功。

近几十年的技术革命与我们的工业—军事状况的巨大变化有相似之处，而且对这种巨大变化起了很大作用。

在这场技术革命中，研究工作已趋于集中；它也变得更正规，更复杂，更昂贵。为联邦政府而实施，由联邦政府实施，或在联邦政府指导下实施的研究工作份额正逐步增加。

由联邦政府雇用而形成支配全国学者的局面，以及统一分配专案，统一控制财力，这种前景一直存在，而且应当引起严重关注。

我们应该尊重科学研究和探索，但与此同时我们必须对这一同样严重的负面危

险保持警惕，即政府政策本身可能沦为一个科学——技术精英阶层的俘虏。

治国之才的任务，是在我们民主制度的原则范畴内，塑造、平衡和融合这些和其他新旧力量——始终以实现我们自由社会的最高目标为目的。

另一个保持平衡的因素涉及时间这一要素。当我们展望社会的未来时，我们——你、我和我国政府——必须避免一种只顾今日生活的冲动，不应为了我们自己的舒适和便利巧取豪夺明天的宝贵资源。我们不可能以孙儿辈的物质财富作抵押，而又不冒使他们丧失政治和精神遗产的风险。我们要让民主代代相传，它不该成为明天无力还债的鬼魂。

展望有待书写的未来历史长卷，美国深知我们这个越来越小的世界决不应变成一个充满恐惧和仇恨的可怕的群体，相反，它应成为一个相互信任、相互尊重的光辉的联盟。

这样一个联盟必定是平等国家间的联盟。最弱小的国家一定以与我们相同的自信心来到会议桌旁，和我们一样受到我们的道德、经济和军事力量的保护。那会议桌虽然留下历史坎坷的累累伤痕，但我们不能将它抛弃以换来战场的惨剧。

以相互尊敬和信任实行裁军仍是一项迫切任务。我们必须一起学习怎样不用武力，而是以理智和公正的意图去解决纷争。因为裁军的紧迫性如此明显突出，我承认我是怀着某种失望的心情卸下我的总统职责的。作为一个目睹过战争的恐怖及其难以愈合的创伤的人——深知另一场战争会彻底毁掉历经数千年缓慢而又艰苦地建成的人类文明——我但愿自己今晚能说：持久和平已遥遥在望。

幸好我可以说，已经避免发生战争了。朝我们的终极目标已迈开坚实的步伐。但是任重而道远。作为一个普通公民，我将始终不渝地为推动世界沿着这条道

路前进贡献一份绵薄。……

Three days from now, after half a century in the service of our country, I shall lay down the responsibilities of office as, in traditional and solemn ceremony, the authority of the Presidency is vested in my successor. . . .

We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major wars among great nations. Three of them involved our own country. Despite these holocausts America is today the strongest, the most influential and most productive nation in the world.

Understandably proud of this pre-eminence we yet realize that America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment.

Throughout America's adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity and integrity among people and among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of a free and religious people. Any failure traceable to arrogance, or our lack of comprehension or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us grievous hurt both at home and abroad.

Progress toward these noble goals is persistently threatened by the conflict now engulfing the world. It commands our whole attention, absorbs our very beings. We face a hostile ideology—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of

indefinite duration. To meet it successfully, there is called for, not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis, but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle—with liberty the stake. Only thus shall we remain, despite every provocation, on our charted course toward permanent peace and human betterment. ...

A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.

Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence— economic, political, even spiritual— is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must

not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources, and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the federal government....

The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present — and is gravely to be regarded.

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles

of our democratic system— ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society.

Another factor in maintaining balance involves the element of time. As we peer into society's future, we— you and I, and our government— must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage. We want democracy to survive for all generations to come, not to become the insolvent phantom of tomorrow.

Down the long lane of the history yet to be written America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect.

Such a confederation must be one of equals. The weakest must come to the conference table with the same confidence as do we, protected as we are by our moral, economic, and military strength. That table, though scarred by many past frustrations, cannot be abandoned for the certain agony of the battlefield.

Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative. Together we must learn how to compose differences, not with arms, but with intellect and decent purpose. Because this need is so sharp and apparent I confess that I lay down my official responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war— as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years— I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace

is in sight.

Happily, I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But, so much remains to be done. As a private citizen, I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road. . . .

格温多琳.布鲁克斯

(GWENDOLYN BROOKS)

母 亲

The Mother

格温多琳.布鲁克斯(1917—)生于堪萨斯州的托皮卡，在芝加哥的贫民窟中长大。她年仅 13 岁便在《美国的童年》杂志上发表了第一首诗作。她出过许多本诗集，包括《布龙斯维尔的一条街》(1945)、《安妮.艾伦》(1949)、《吃豆子的人》(1960)、《诗集》(1963)、《在麦加》(1968)、《暴乱》(1969)、《家庭照片》(1970) 和《孤独》(1971)。格温多琳.布鲁克斯因诗集《安妮.阿伦》获普利兹奖。她的大多数诗歌写黑人的生活和黑人的问题。

多次流产不会让你忘记。	Abortions will not let you forget.
你记得你曾经有过而得不到的孩子，	You remember the children you got that you did not get,
毛发稀松或根本没有毛发的粘湿小肉团，	The damp small pulps with a little or with no hair,
从未触抚空气的歌手和工人。	The singers and workers that never handled

你决不会不理睬，也不会打他们，

不会用糖果使他们安静下来，逗他们开心。

你决不会将小小的拇指裹起，

或赶跑前来作祟的鬼魂。

你决不会憋住芳香的叹息离开他们，

决不会带着慈母的目光回来喂他们点心。

在风声中我听到我那朦胧的、被杀死的孩子们的叫唤。

我已变得瘦小。我已抚慰

我那形体模糊的孩子们，以他们永远不可能吮吸的乳房。

我说：亲爱的，假如我犯了罪，假如我夺去了

你们的好运

未足月便夺走你们的生命，

the air.

You will never neglect or beat
Them, or silence or buy with a
sweet.

You will never -wind up the
sucking-thumb
Or scuttle off ghosts that come.
You will never leave them,
controlling your

luscious sigh,
Return for a snack of them, with
gobbling
mother-eye.

I have heard in the voices of the
wind the
voices of my dim killed children.
I have contracted. I have eased
My dim dears at the breasts they
could never
suck.

I have said, Sweets, if I sinned, if
I seized

Your luck
And your lives from your
unfinished reach,

If I stole your births and your
names,

Your straight baby tears and your
games.

<p>假如我剥夺了你们的诞生和姓名，</p> <p>你们纯净的婴儿之泪和你们的游戏，</p> <p>你们笨拙或美妙的恋爱，你们的喧闹、婚姻、痛苦</p> <p>与死亡，</p> <p>假如我扼杀了你们最初的呼吸，</p> <p>我相信，甚至在蓄意行动中我也并非故意。</p> <p>然而为什么我该哀诉，</p> <p>悲叹那不是我的罪行。——</p> <p>既然无论如何你们已经死去。</p> <p>或更确切地说，</p> <p>你们从未被创造出来。</p> <p>但我恐怕这种说法</p> <p>也有漏洞：唉，我该怎么讲，怎样</p>	<p>Your stilted or lovely loves, your tumults, your marriages, aches, and your deaths, If I poisoned the beginnings of your breaths, Believe that even in my deliberateness I was not deliberate. Though why should I whine, Whine that the crime was other than mine. — Since anyhow you are dead. Or rather, or instead, You were never made. But that too, I am afraid, Is faulty: oh, what shall I say, how is the truth to be said. You were born, you had body, you died. It is just that you never giggled or planned or cried. Believe me, I loved you all. Believe me, I knew you, though faintly, and I loved, I loved you All.</p>
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<p>把真相说明？</p> <p>你们生出来了，你们有身体，你们 又死去。</p> <p>只是你们从未咯咯发笑，从未计划 做什么事，从未</p> <p>哭泣。</p> <p>真的，我爱你们全体。</p> <p>真的，我认得你们，虽说不很真切， 而且我深深地。</p> <p>深深地爱你们</p> <p>全体。</p>	
<p>海.札雷特、卢.辛格 (HY ZARET AND LOU SINGER)</p> <p>它就会是个极好的世界 It Could Be a Wonderful World</p> <p>在民间音乐全盛时期的民间歌舞表演会或工会流行歌曲演唱会上，《它就会是个极好的世界》是长期最受人们喜爱的歌曲之一。这首歌于 1947 年由海.札雷特和卢.辛格两人创作。词作者札雷特因创作提倡兄弟会和公益事业的歌曲多次获奖。除了创作许多流行歌曲，他还为最流行的一批歌曲写了主题歌（《过一段时间再见》），为美国陆军牧师团写了进行曲（《上帝的士兵》），还</p>	

创作了兄弟会周的庆典歌曲(《让我们聚集在一起》)。《它就会是个极好的世界》由卢.辛格谱曲，他写过不少值得赞扬的好曲子。

如果每个儿童每天能喝上鲜奶；

If each little kid could have fresh
milk each day;

如果每个工人有充裕的时间娱乐；

If each working man had enough
time for play

如果每个无家可归者住进舒适的房间，

If each homeless soul had a good
place to stay

It could be a wonderful world.

这世界就会是个极好的世界。

CHORUS:

(合唱)

If we could consider each other

A neighbor, a friend, or a brother

如果我们能互相对待，

It could be a wonderful,
wonderful world

似邻居、朋友或兄弟，

It could be a wonderful world.

这世界就会是个极好、极好的世界。

If there were no poor and the rich
were content;

它就会是个极好的世界。

If strangers were welcome
wherever they went;

If each of us knew what true
brotherhood meant

如果没有穷人而富人皆心满意足；

It would be a wonderful world!

如果陌生人走到哪里都受到款待； 如果我们人人懂得什么是兄弟间的真诚友爱， 这世界就会是个极好的世界！	
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约翰.F.甘乃迪

(JOHN F.KENNEDY)

就职演说

Inaugural Address

不要问你的国家能为你做些什么——问问你自己能为你的国家做些什么。

约翰·F.甘乃迪(1917—1963)生于麻塞诸塞州布鲁克来恩，就读于哈佛大学。第二次世界大战中他在海军服役，经历过太平洋战争。战后甘乃迪被选入国会。他在众议院连任三届议员，1952年当选为参议员。1960年甘乃迪险胜副总统理查德.尼克松，当选为总统。

作为总统候选人，甘乃迪以一种朝气蓬勃的形象出现在人们面前。在竞选中他许诺「将使国家重新起动。」在民主党全国大会上他接受民主党总统候选人提名的讲话中，甘乃迪说：「我们站在一个新边疆的边缘。」他的就职演说包含他竞选运动和短暂的总统任期——它于1963年11月22日被一颗暗杀者的子弹所终结——的若干重要主题。

我们今天不是庆祝一次政党的胜利，而是为自由举行庆典——它象征一个结束，也象征一个开端——表示更新，亦表明转变。因为我已按照我们祖先在

一又四分之三世纪前拟就的誓言在你们和上帝面前庄严宣誓。

当今世界与以往大不相同。因为人在自己手中掌握的力量足以消除一切形式的人类贫困，又足以毁灭一切形式的人类生命。但是我们祖先曾为之战斗的革命信念现仍在世界各地处于争论之中——这信念认定人权并非来自国家的慷慨施予，而是上帝所赐。

我们今天不可忘记，我们是那第一次革命参加者的后裔。此时此地我愿向我们的朋友和敌人宣告：火炬已传到新一代美国人手中——他们在本世纪出生，经历过战火锤炼，经受了严酷的和平时期的磨练，为自己的古老传统自豪——他们不愿看到也不容人权逐渐被褫夺。美国对这种人权一贯负有责任，如今我们也在本国和全世界对其承担义务。

应让每一个国家明白，不论它希望我们走运或倒楣，我们将付出任何代价，承担任何重负，克服任何艰难，支援任何朋友，反对任何敌人，以确保自由的存在和成功。

这就是我们保证做到的——而且还不止这些。

对于那些和我们共有同一种文化和精神渊源的老盟邦，我们保证献出挚友的忠诚。倘若团结，我们在许多合作事业中几乎无所不能。倘若分裂，我们则很难有所作为，因为意见分歧，各行其事，我们便不敢应付强有力的挑战。

对于……新独立国家，我们发出誓言，决不让一种形式的殖民统治的消亡，只是被另一种残酷得多的暴政所取代。我们并不总是指望他们支援我们的观点，但我们将始终希望他们坚决维护自己的自由——而且应该记住，过去那些愚蠢地骑上虎背以壮声势的人，结果死在虎口之中。

对于那些住在遍布半个地球的棚屋和村落里正为砸碎大众苦难的桎梏而奋斗的人民，我们保证竭尽全力帮助他们自救，不论这需要多长时间——并不是因为共产党人或许正这么做，也不是因为我们要他们投赞成票，而是因为这此乃正确的行动。自由社会如果不能帮助众多的穷人，也就不能保全少数富人。

对于我国边界以南的各姐妹共和国，我们提出一种特殊的保证——把我们的善意从言论变成行动，在争取进步的新同盟中，帮助自由人民和自由国家的政府挣脱贫困的锁链，但决不能让这种充满希望的和平革命成为敌对强国的猎物。应让我们所有的邻国知道，我们将与他们一起反对在美洲任何地区发生侵略或颠覆。也应让所有其他国家知道，西半球决意做自己地域的主人。

对于联合国这一各主权国家的世界性议会，这个在战争工具的发展远远快于和平工具的发展的时代我们最后最美好的希望寄托之所，我们重申对它给予支援的保证：阻止它变成仅供漫骂的讲坛，加强它对新的和弱小国家的保护作用，并扩大它的宪章可能施加影响的领域。

最后，对于那些欲与我们为敌的国家，我们提出的不是保证而是要求：双方重新开始对和平的追求，且莫等到科学释放出的邪恶力量把整个人类吞没在预谋的或偶然的自我毁灭之中。

我们万万不可以软弱去诱惑他们。因为只有当我们拥有无可置疑的足够强大的武力时，我们才能有无可置疑的把握永远不使用这些武力。

然而，这两个强大的国家集团都不能对现状高枕无忧——双方皆对现代化武器的开支感到不胜负担，都对致命的原子力量的逐渐扩散理所当然地感到惊恐，但双方都力图改变那种遏制任何一方发动人类最后决战的不稳定的恐怖均势。

因此让我们重新开始——双方都记住礼貌并不表示软弱，而诚意则向来都须验证。我们决不该因畏惧而谈判，但我们也决不要畏惧谈判。

让双方去探究哪些问题能促使我们联合，而不要在引起双方对立的问题上徒费精力。

让双方首次制订有关检查和控制武器的严肃认真而又精确的计划——而且把足以毁灭其他国家的绝对力量置于所有国家的绝对控制下。

让双方去探求科学的奥秘而不是科学的可怕力量。让我们共同探测星球，征服沙漠，消除疾病，开发海底资源，促进艺术和贸易的发展。

让双方在世界各地共同听取以赛亚的指示——去「卸下沉重的负担……(并)让被压迫者获得自由。」

如果初步进行一点合作便可能减少猜测，就让双方携手作一次新的努力，不是寻求新的力量均衡，而是建立一个新的法治世界，使强者公正，弱者安全，和平得到维护。

所有这一切不会在今后一百天内完成，也不会在今后一千天内完成，甚至也许不会在我们这一代人的一生中完成。但让我们开始吧。

我的同胞们，我们的方针的最终成败，不仅掌握在我的手中，更掌握在你们手中。自从这个国家建立以来，每一代美国人都曾听从召唤证明他们对国家的忠诚。回应号召服役的美国青年的坟墓遍布全球。

如今号角又在召唤我们，不是号召我们拿起武器，虽然我们需要武器；不是号召我们作战，虽然我们严阵以待；而是号召我们肩负一场长期的、胜负难决

的奋斗重任，年复一年「在希望中得到欢乐，在患难中坚韧不拔」，展开一场反对人类共同敌人暴政、贫困、疾病以及战争本身的斗争。

我们能否建立一个把东西南北连在一起的伟大的世界联盟来反对这些敌人，以确保人类享有更为丰实的生活呢.你是否愿意投入这具有历史意义的事业.

在世界漫长的历史上，只有少数几代人在自由面临最大威胁的时刻被赋予捍卫自由的任务。在这一责任面前我不退缩——我欢迎它。我认为我们中间不会有人乐意与别的民族或另一代人交换位置。我们献给这一事业的精力、信念和忠诚将照耀我们国家和一切为它效力的人们，这火焰所发出的光芒将真正照亮全世界。

因此，我的美国同胞们，不要问你的国家能为你做些什么——问问你自己能为你的国家做些什么。

世界各国的公民朋友们，你们该问的不是美国将为你做些什么，而是我们共同能为人类的自由做些什么。

最后，不论你是美国公民还是世界各国的公民，请以我们向你们提出的有关奉献力量和牺牲的同一高标准来要求我们。以良心作为我们唯一可靠的奖赏，以历史作为我们行为的最后裁判，让我们迈步向前去领导我们热爱的国土。我们祈求上帝保佑并赐神助，但是我们知道在此世间上帝的工作就一定是我们自己的工作。

附注：

- 第一次革命：指美国独立战争。

- 以赛亚：希伯来先知，是《旧约》中的四大先知之一。
-

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end as well as a beginning—signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge—and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of co-operative ventures. Divided, there is little we can

do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of the border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our goodwords into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course— both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew— remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms— and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah— to "undo the heavy burdens . . . [and] let the oppressed

go free."

And if a beachhead of co-operation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again— not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need,— not as a call to battle, though embattled we are— but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"— a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind. Will you join in that historic effort.

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will

light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

皮特.西格

(PETE SEEGER)

那些花都到哪儿去啦。

Where Have the Flowers Gone.

皮特.西格(1919—)生于纽约市一个音乐之家，他的父亲是音乐研究家，母亲是小提琴手。三十年代西格曾进入哈佛大学求学，但不久便离校周游美国，沈浸在民间音乐的世界个。他学会了弹奏五弦班卓琴，积累了一大套节目，其中包括黑人的圣歌、民歌、劳动号子以及其他种类的民间音乐。1940年西格与伍迪.戈斯里建立历书歌咏队，专唱抗议歌曲。

四十年代后期，西格和另外三人——李.海斯、罗尼.吉尔伯特、弗雷德.海勒曼——组成织工队，成为美国最成功的民歌演出团体，引起全国性民间音乐的复兴。1952年，当娱乐业把卷入左翼政治的表演家列入黑名单时，织工队解散，但几年后该团体又重建。1963年织工队最终解体，只在联欢音乐会上一起演出。

西格一直是个政治活动分子，他用歌曲来鼓舞激励民权运动、反战运动，以及七十年代和八十年代期间的环境保护运动。

那些花都到哪儿 去啦。 漫漫时光流逝。 那些花都到哪儿 去啦。 很久以前。 那些花都到哪儿 去啦。 姑娘们人人采摘 了花朵。 哦，你们何时才知 晓。 哦，你们何时才知 晓。 那些女孩子都到	Where have all the flowers gone. Long time passing. Where have all the flowers gone. Long time ago. Where have all the flowers gone. The girls have picked them ev'ryone. Oh, when will you ever learn. Oh, when will you ever learn.Where have all the young girls gone. Long time passing. Where have all the young girls gone. Long time ago. Where have all the young girls gone. They've taken husbands everyone Oh, when will you ever learn. Oh, when will you ever learn.Where have all the young men gone. Long time passing. Where have all the young men gone. Long time ago. Where have all the young men gone. They're all in uniform. Oh, when will you ever learn. Oh, when will you ever learn.Where have all the soldiers gone. Long time passing.
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哪儿去啦.	Where have all the soldiers gone. Long time ago.
漫漫时光流逝。	Where have all the soldiers gone. They've gone to graveyards every one
那些女孩子都到	Oh, when will they ever learn.
哪儿去啦.	Oh, when will they ever learn. Where have all the graveyards gone. Long time passing.
很久以前。	Where have all the graveyards gone. Long time ago.
那些女孩子都到	Where have all the graveyards gone. They're covered with flowers every one
哪儿去啦.	Oh, when will they ever learn. Oh, when will they ever learn.
她们个个都嫁了	Where have all the flowers gone. Long time passing.
人。	Where have all the flowers gone. Long time ago.
哦，你们何时才知	Where have all the flowers gone. Young girls picked them, every one,
晓.	Oh, when will they ever learn. Oh, when will they ever learn.
哦，你们何时才知	
晓.	
那些小伙子都到	
哪儿去啦.	
漫漫时光流逝。	

那些小伙子都到
哪儿去啦.

很久以前。

那些小伙子都到
哪儿去啦.

他们都穿上军装。

哦，你们何时才知
晓.

哦，你们何时才知
晓？

那些士兵都到哪
儿去啦.

漫漫时光流逝。

那些士兵都到哪
儿去啦.

很久以前。

那些士兵都到哪儿去啦.

他们个个进了坟墓。

哦，他们何时才知晓.

哦，他们何时才知晓.

那些坟墓都到哪儿去啦.

漫漫时光流逝。

那些坟墓都到哪儿去啦.

很久以前。

那些坟墓都到哪儿去啦.

它们都被鲜花覆

盖。

哦，他们何时才知
晓。

哦，他们何时才知
晓。

那些花都到哪儿
去啦。

漫漫时光流逝。

那些花都到哪儿
去啦。

很久以前。

那些花都到哪儿
去啦。

女孩子人人采摘
了花朵。

哦，他们何时才知

晓.

哦，他们何时才知

晓.

牛顿.迈诺(NEWTON MINOW)

对广播业的讲话 Address to the Broadcasting Industry

我请你们坐在电视机前.....用眼睛盯着电视机直到电视台停止播送节目。我准保你看到的是茫茫一片荒原

牛顿.迈诺(1926—)被约翰.甘乃迪总统任命为联邦通讯委员会主席，该机构负责管理公共 电波的使用。1961 年 5 月 9 日，他向全美广播业者协会二千名成员发表讲话，告诉他们，每天的电视内容是「茫茫一片荒原」。迈诺对商业化电视的指控引起一场对电视节目质量的全国性辩论。在迈诺的讲话之后，《纽约时报》电视评论员这样写道：「今晚某些广播业者正尽力为迈诺先生的态度找到隐秘的解释。在这个问题上，观众或许可以有所帮助；而迈诺先生正在看电视。」

你们这一行拥有美国最强有力的声音。让它发出明智和主导的声音是该行业不可推诿的责任。短短几年之中，这一令人兴奋的行业已从一种新事物发展成

对美国人民具有势不可当影响力的一种手段。它正准备发挥报纸和杂志若干年前所承担的那种主导作用，以便我国人民了解他们的世界。

我们的时代已被称为喷射时代、原子时代、太空时代。我认为它也是电视时代。正如历史将决定当今世界的领袖们用原子毁灭世界还是用原子为人类利益重建世界，历史将决定当今广播业者们用他们强有力的声音使人民充实还是使人民堕落。……

跟任何人一样，我头上也有不止一顶帽子。我是联邦通讯委员会主席，同时也是一名电视观众以及另几名电视观众的丈夫和父亲。我已看过许多对我来说似乎很值得看的电视节目，而且我不是在谈论「第九十剧场」和「一号演播室」带来的令人惋惜的往日美好时光。

我所谈的是刚刚过去的这个季度。有些节目非常精彩，例如「令人难以置信的 50 年代」、「弗雷德·阿斯泰尔的表演」和「宾·克洛斯比特别节目」；有些节目富于戏剧性，令人感动，例如康拉德的「胜利」和「边缘地区」；有些节目资讯量大，很有教益，例如「我国的未来」、「哥伦比亚广播公司报导」和「英勇的岁月」。我还能举出更多的例子，我肯定每个人都觉得这些节目充实了自己的生活，也丰富了全家的生活。当电视好看时，没有什么别的东西——戏剧、杂志或报纸——比得上它。

可是当电视节目不好时，那就没有什么比它更糟了。我请你在电视台正播放节目时坐在电视机前，且莫让任何书报杂志、损益帐表或定额手册来分散你的注意力——用你的眼睛紧紧盯住电视机直到电视台停止播送节目。我准保你看到的是茫茫一片荒原。

你将看到一连串体育比赛节目、暴力行为、观众参与的表演、关于怪诞家庭的公式化喜剧、流血和恐吓、残害肢体罪、暴力行为、性虐待、谋杀、西部不法之徒、西部的好人、私人侦探、匪徒、更多的暴力和动画片。总是有没完没

了的广告节目——充满尖叫、勾引，使人很不舒服。而且大多数节目令人生厌。当然你也会看到一些让你欣赏的节目，但数量少得可怜。如果你认为我夸大其词，那么不妨打开电视试试。

今天在座的人之中是否有人以为广播业已经完美无瑕了呢.……

为什么这么多电视节目如此蹩脚呢.我听到了多种回答：你们的广告商的需求；对节目受欢迎程度的竞争；始终吸引广大观众的需要；电视节目的高制作成本；对节目素材贪得无厌的欲求，等等。无疑，这些确是不易解决的棘手问题。

但是我不信你们已尽了最大努力去解决这些问题。我无法接受这一观点：目前的节目总体安排丝毫不差地切合公众的兴趣爱好。电视台的节目受欢迎程度调查只是告诉我们，多少人打开了电视机，其中多少人收视某一频道，又有多少人收视另一频道。这些数字并未告诉我们，倘若公众另有六个频道可供选择，他们将会看什么节目。节目受欢迎程度的调查至多只是表明，有多少人看了你们奉送给他们的节目。不幸的是，它不能揭示节目打动人心的程度和观众反应是否热烈；它从不能披露倘若你们给观众更好的节目——假如艺术魅力、创造力、勇气和想象力得到充分发挥——他们会怎样欢迎。我相信人民具有良好的辨别能力和欣赏水平，我不信人民的情趣像你们某些人所设想的那般鄙俗低下。……

当然，我希望你们同意这个观点：在涉及儿童时，电视节目受欢迎程度的调查结果不会有什么影响。最准确的估计表明，从下午五时至六时，你们观众的60%由12岁以下的孩子组成。信不信由你，如今大多数儿童看电视花的时间与他们呆在教室里的时间同样多。我重复一遍，请记住：如今大多数儿童看电视所花的时间与他们呆在教室里的时间同样多。过去人们常说，一个孩子受到三方面的深刻影响：家庭、学校和教堂。如今又有第四方面的巨大影响，而它正掌握在你们这些女士、先生们手中。

如果家长、教师和牧师们都依从受欢迎程度调查结果来履行他们的职责，那么孩子们就会定时定量吃上霜淇淋，就会有各校的假日，就不会有主日学校。你们的职责又该如何履行呢.难道电视就腾不出时间对我们的孩子进行教育，传授知识，提高、扩展他们的能力吗.难道电视就腾不出时间播放让孩子们加深对其他国家儿童了解的节目吗.难道电视就腾不出时间播送儿童新闻节目，根据他们的理解力水平向他们解释世界事务.难道电视就腾不出时间为孩子们朗读过去的文学名著，向他们教授自由的伟大传统.确实有一些很好的儿童节目，但它们被淹没在动画片和宣扬暴力加暴力的大量节目中。难道这些节目就非得是你们的商标.请你们扪心自问，看是不是无法给你们的小观众——每天有这么多时由你们指导他们的未来——更多更好的节目了。

成人节目的安排和受欢迎程度调查结果情况如何呢.你们知道，报纸出版商们也向读者调查。结果一目了然：几乎总是报刊上的连环画页占据榜首，其次是对失恋者的忠告专栏最受欢迎。但是女士们先生们，各家报纸的头版仍刊登新闻，社论并未被连环画页所取代，报纸并未变成对失恋者忠告的集大成。然而报纸不需要从政府那里取得营业执照——报纸不动用公共财产。但是在电视领域——其中你们作为公共受托管理人的职责是如此明白无误——一旦调查结果显示西部片受欢迎，即便会播放模仿西部片的新剧，其速度之快超过用老式同轴电缆从好莱坞拍发电报到纽约。……

请允许我说明，我正在谈论的是平衡的问题。我认为，公众利益是由多方面利益构成的。这个伟大的国家人口众多，你们应该为我们全体人民服务。我将不会赞同你们的观点。假如你们说：在一部西部片和一部交响乐之间，多数人将选看前者。我也爱看西部片和私人侦探剧，但是向全国提供千篇一律的节目形式显然不符合大众利益。众所周知，比起受到激励，获取知识，人们常常更喜欢娱乐消遣。但倘若你们只把普及当作确定广播内容的标准，你们还是没有尽到义务。你们不仅是在从事娱乐业；你们不受阻碍地既传送娱乐节目也传播思

想观念。你们应该提供更大的选择范围，使节目更丰富多采，更多样化。迎合全民族一时的兴致是不够的——你们还应该为全民族的需求服务。

现在让我谈谈我作为联邦通讯委员会主席的作用，而不是作为一名观众的作用。……我想阐明指导我工作的某些基本原则。

第一，人民是空间的主人。无论是星期日早晨六时，还是晚上的黄金时间，人民同样是空间的主人。人民每给你们一小时，你们便欠了他们一笔债。我想看到你们用服务来偿还欠债。

第二，我认为继续就暗中贿赂、骗人的知识竞赛节目以及其他以往的过错争论不休是愚蠢和多余的。

第三，我相信自由经营制度。我期待广播业得到改进，希望由你们来改进它。

第四，我将尽力扶持教育电视。教育电视台数量太少，而我国的那些较重要的电视中心仍缺乏便于使用的教学节目频道。

第五，我坚定不移地反对政府检查制度。将不会禁播不合官僚口味的电视节目。检查制度动摇我们自由社会的根基。

第六，我到华盛顿不是来对滥用公共电波的现象袖手旁观，听之任之的。滥用我们的公共电波与浪费任何宝贵的自然资源是同样严重的问题。……

先生们，你们通过人民的天空所播送的电视内容影响人民的情趣、知识、观点，影响他们对自己对世界的认识，而且影响他们的未来。图像和声音即刻传送的力量在人类历史上是前所未有的。这是一种令人敬畏的力量。它有无限的行善能力，亦有无限的作恶能力。它承担着巨大的责任——你们和我都无法逃避的责任。

附注：

- 荒原：原籍美国的英国现代诗人兼批评家 T. S.艾略特（1888—1965）的一篇著名诗作标题为《荒原》(1922)、该诗描写现代西方社会人们的极度精神虚脱。
- 空间：原文为 the air,指电视信号赖以传播的空间。

...Your industry possesses the most powerful voice in America. It has an inescapable duty to make that voice ring with intelligence and with leadership. In a few years this exciting industry has grown from a novelty to an instrument of overwhelming impact on the American people. It should be making ready for the kind of leadership that newspapers and magazines assumed years ago, to make our people aware of their world.

Ours has been called the jet age, the atomic age, the space age. It is also, I submit, the television age. And just as history will decide whether the leaders of today's world employed the atom to destroy the world or rebuild it for mankind's benefit, so will history decide whether today's broadcasters employed their powerful voice to enrich the people or debase them....

Like everybody, I wear more than one hat. I am the chairman of the FCC. I am also a television viewer and the husband and father of other television viewers. I have seen a great many television programs that seemed to me eminently worthwhile, and I am not talking about the much-bemoaned good old days of "Playhouse 90" and "Studio One."

I am talking about this past season. Some were wonderfully entertaining, such as "The Fabulous Fifties," the "Fred Astaire Show" and the "Bing Crosby Special"; some were dramatic and moving, such as Conrad's "Victory" and "Twilight Zone"; some were marvelously informative, such as "The Nation's Future," "CBS Reports," and "The Valiant Years." I could list many more— programs that I am sure everyone here felt enriched his own life and that of his family. When television is good, nothing— not the theater, not the magazines or newspapers— nothing is better.

But when television is bad, nothing is worse. I invite you to sit down in front of your television set when your station goes on the air and stay there without a book, magazine, newspaper, profit-and-loss sheet, or rating book to distract you— and keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland.

You will see a procession of game shows, violence, audience participation shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, Western badmen, Western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence and cartoons. And, endlessly, commercials— many screaming, cajoling, and offending. And, most of all, boredom. True, you will see a few things you will enjoy. But they will be very, very few. And if you think I exaggerate, try it.

Is there one person in this room who claims that broadcasting can't do better. . . .

Why is so much of television so bad. I have heard many answers: demands of your advertisers; competition for ever higher ratings; the need always to attract a mass audience; the high cost of television programs; the insatiable appetite for programming material— these are some of them. Unquestionably these are tough

problems not susceptible to easy answers.

But I am not convinced that you have tried hard enough to solve them. I do not accept the idea that the present overall programming is aimed accurately at the public taste. The ratings tell us only that some people have their television sets turned on, and, of that number, so many are tuned to one channel and so many to another. They don't tell us what the public might watch if they were offered half a dozen additional choices. A rating, at best, is an indication of how many people saw what you gave them. Unfortunately it does not reveal the depth of the penetration or the intensity of reaction, and it never reveals what the acceptance would have been if what you gave them had been better— if all the forces of art and creativity and daring and imagination had been unleashed. I believe in the people's good sense and good taste, and I am not convinced that the people's taste is as low as some of you assume. . . .

Certainly I hope you will agree that ratings should have little influence where children are concerned. The best estimates indicate that during the hours of 5 to 6 P.M., 60 percent of your audience is composed of children under twelve. And most young children today, believe it or not, spend as much time watching television as they do in the schoolroom. I repeat— let that sink in— most young children today spend as much time watching television as they do in the schoolroom. It used to be said that there were three great influences on a child: home, school, and church. Today there is a fourth great influence, and you ladies and gentlemen control it.

If parents, teachers, and ministers conducted their responsibilities by following the ratings, children would have a steady diet of ice cream, school holidays, and no Sunday school. What about your responsibilities. Is there no room on television to teach, to inform, to uplift, to stretch, to enlarge the capacities of our children. Is there no room for programs deepening their understanding of children in other lands. Is there no room for a children's news show explaining something about the

world to them at their level of understanding. Is there no room for reading the great literature of the past, teaching them the great traditions of freedom. There are some fine children's shows, but they are drowned out in the massive doses of cartoons, violence, and more violence. Must these be your trademarks. Search your consciences and see if you cannot offer more to your young beneficiaries whose future you guide so many hours each and every day.

What about adult programming and ratings. You know, newspaper publishers take popularity ratings too. The answers are pretty clear; it is almost always the comics, followed by the advice-to-the-lovelorn columns. But, ladies and gentlemen, the news is still on the front page of all newspapers, the editorials are not replaced by more comics, the newspapers have not become one long collection of advice to the lovelorn. Yet newspapers do not need a license from the government to be in business— they do not use public property. But in television— where your responsibilities as public trustees are so plain— the moment that the ratings indicate that Westerns are popular, there are new imitations of Westerns on the air faster than the old coaxial cable could take us from Hollywood to New York....

Let me make clear that what I am talking about is balance. I believe that the public interest is made up of many interests. There are many people in this great country, and you must serve all of us. You will get no argument from me if you say that, given a choice between a Western and a symphony, more people will watch the Western. I like Westerns and private eyes too— but a steady diet for the whole country is obviously not in the public interest. We all know that people would more often prefer to be entertained than stimulated or informed. But your obligations are not satisfied if you look only to popularity as a test of what to broadcast. You are not only in show business; you are free to communicate ideas as well as relaxation. You must provide a wider range of choices, more diversity, more alternatives. It is not enough to cater to the nation's whims— you must also serve the nation's

needs. . . .

Let me address myself now to my role, not as a viewer but as chairman of the FCC. . . . I want to make clear some of the fundamental principles which guide me.

First, the people own the air. They own it as much in prime evening time as they do at 6 o'clock Sunday morning. For every hour that the people give you, you owe them something. I intend to see that your debt is paid with service.

Second, I think it would be foolish and wasteful for us to continue any worn-out wrangle over the problems of payola, rigged quiz shows, and other mistakes of the past. . . .

Third, I believe in the free enterprise system. I want to see broadcasting improved and I want you to do the job. . . .

Fourth, I will do all I can to help educational television. There are still not enough educational stations, and major centers of the country still lack usable educational channels. . . .

Fifth, I am unalterably opposed to governmental censorship. There will be no suppression of programming which does not meet with bureaucratic tastes. Censorship strikes at the taproot of our free society.

Sixth, I did not come to Washington to idly observe the squandering of the public's airwaves. The squandering of our airwaves is no less important than the lavish waste of any precious natural resource....

What you gentlemen broadcast through the people's air affects the people's taste, their knowledge, their opinions, their understanding of themselves and of their world. And their future. The power of instantaneous sight and sound is without precedent in mankind's history. This is an awesome power. It has limitless

capabilities for good — and for evil. And it carries with it awesome responsibilities — responsibilities which you and I cannot escape. . . .

汤姆·海登(TOM HAYDEN)

休伦港宣言 The Port Huron Statement

我们是当代人，在至少是小康的环境中长大，目前住在大学校园里，正忐忑不安地注视着我们所继承的世界。

1962 年，积极投身民权运动与和平运动的大学生们创建了实现民主社会学生同盟。该同盟代表当时被人们称为新左派的力量。在密执安州休伦港举行的成立大会上，该同盟正式通过了由密执安大学研究生汤姆·海登(1939—)起草的一篇宣言。休伦港宣言对美国社会进行了广泛的批评——涉及种族歧视、核战争危险、无法和平发展原子能、冷战、财富分配不公、大学生的政治冷漠以及自由主义思想的枯竭，等等。以下所载为休伦港宣言的引言。六十年代和七十年代初该宣言在学生激进分子中是一份颇有影响的文件。

汤姆·海登于 1982 年被选入加利福尼亚州立法机关。

我们是当代人，在至少是小康的环境中长大，目前住在大学校园里，正忐忑不安地注视着我们所继承的世界。当我们还是幼童时，美国是世界上最富裕、最强大的国家，当时唯有它拥有原子弹，它最少受到现代战争的侵害，而且它是联合国——我们认为该组织将把西方的影响扩散到全世界——的一个发起国。人人自由平等。民有、民治、民享的政府——我们那时觉得这些美国价值观念很好，是我们安身立命的原则。我们中许多人在自满情绪中成长。

然而随着年龄增长，我们的舒适安逸被一个又一个不能不令人忧虑的事件所打破。首先是南方反种族偏见斗争所昭示的无所不在、令人痛苦的人格贬黜的

事实，迫使我们大多数人从沈默变为积极行动。其次，由原子弹的存在所象征的冷战笼罩世界的事实，使我们意识到：我们自己、我们的朋友以及千百万我们因共同的危险更加了解的抽象的「其他人」随时可能死去。对别的人类问题我们可以故意忽视、回避或麻木不仁，但这两个问题则不然，因为它们的冲击太直接太猛烈，它们对我们提出的要求太富有挑战性——要求我们每个人为冲突和问题的解决负起责任。

当这些和其他问题或直接压在我们身上或折磨我们的良心，成为我们自己关切的事，我们也开始看到我们周围的美国复杂而令人不安的自相矛盾现象。在南方及北方大城市中黑人生活的现实面前，「人人生而平等……」的宣言显得何等虚伪。美国所宣称的和平意图与它在冷战现状中的经济和军事投资互相抵触。

我们已亲眼目睹，而且将继续看到其他自相矛盾的种种怪事。依靠核能很容易向一座座城市提供全部电力，然而那些占据支配地位的民族国家似乎更有可能发动人类战争史上规模空前的毁灭性战争。虽然我们自己的技术正摧毁旧的社会组织形式，创造新的社会组织形式，人们仍在容忍徒劳无功的工作和懒懒散散，无所事事。三分之二的人类正苦于营养不良，而我们自己的上流社会却穷奢极欲，纸醉金迷。虽然世界人口预计在四十年后将增加一倍，各国仍听任无政府主义成为国际行动的一大原则，而不加节制的开采正耗尽地球的自然资源。虽然人类亟需革命的领导，美国却安于国家的僵局。它的目标模糊不清，模棱两可，受传统框框束缚；它的民主制度与其说是「民有，民治，民享」，还不如说是冷漠无情的，为权势所操纵摆布。

不仅我们关于美国人美德的意象蒙上了污点，不仅因美国理想的虚伪性被揭穿引起幻想破灭，而且我们开始感到，原来我们心目中的美国黄金时代其实是一个时代的衰落。在世界范围爆发的反对殖民主义和帝国主义的革命、极权主义国家的牢固确立、战争威胁、人口膨胀、国际秩序混乱、超技术等等——这些趋势正考验我们自己为民主和自由承担义务的坚韧性，考验我们在一个动乱

的世界实现民主和自由的能力。

我们的工作遵从这种观念的引导：我们可能是进行生存实验的最后一代人。但我们屈居少数——我国人民的绝大多数认为我们社会和世界的暂时均衡是永恒的功能要素。或许这又是件自相矛盾的咄咄怪事：我们自己感到形势逼人，时不我待，但我们的社会却发出这种资讯，即没有什么可行的方案能取代现状。在政治家宽慰人心的语调后面，在认定美国将「马马虎虎对付过去」的一般观点后面，在那些拒不考虑未来的人们的呆滞迟钝后面，有着一种弥漫于社会的想法：根本就没有什么选择的余地；我们的时代不但已目睹了建立乌托邦的尝试以失败告终，而且也看到了任何新方针走向穷途末路。人们感觉到社会的复杂压迫着空虚的生活，担心事情随时随地会失去控制。人们害怕变革本身，因为变革可能击碎眼下似乎为他们遏制住混乱的任何无形的框架。对大多数美国人来说，一切社会运动的参加者都可疑，都很危险。每个人在他的同辈人身上看到的都是冷漠，这一情况使得不愿组织起来实行变革的普遍心态永久存在。占统治地位的制度和机构纷繁复杂，足以挫损它们的潜在批评者的锐气；而且它们森严壁垒，足以迅速驱散或彻底击溃抗议和改革的力量，这样便限制了人们对未来的期望。此外，我们是个物质生活已得到改善的社会，通过自己状况的改善我们似乎已削弱了进一步变革的理由。

有些人希望我们相信，美国人在繁荣昌盛中感到心满意足——把这称为他们对自己在新的世界中的作用内心深处的忧虑外表涂上的一层釉彩岂不更好。如果说这种忧虑造成对人类事务更不关心的冷漠态度，难道它不也会引起对以下信念的渴求：现状有可替代的东西，人们能够采取行动以改变学校、工厂、官僚体制和政府的状况。这种渴求既是变革的导火线又是变革的动力，我们正是向人们的这种渴求发出呼吁。为现状寻求真正民主的替代物，承担对它们进行社会实验的义务，是有价值、能充分发挥才能的人类事业，这项事业今天推动我们前进，我们也希望它推动别人前进。正是在此基础上我们提出这份关于我们的信念和分析的文件，作为二十世纪后期理解和改变人类状况的一种努力，它植根于这样一个古老的、至今尚未实现的设想——人获得左右自己生活环境

的力量。

We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world; the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people— these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.

While these and other problems either directly oppressed us or rankled our consciences and became our own subjective concern, we began to see complicated and disturbing paradoxes in our surrounding America. The declaration "all men are created equal..." rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North. The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo.

We witnessed, and continue to witness, other paradoxes. With nuclear energy whole cities can easily be powered, yet the dominant nation-states seem more likely to unleash destruction greater than that incurred in all wars of human history. Although our own technology is destroying old and creating new forms of social organization, men still tolerate meaningless work and idleness. While two-thirds of mankind suffers undernourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance. Although world population is expected to double in forty years, the nations still tolerate anarchy as a major principle of international conduct and uncontrolled exploitation governs the sapping of the earth's physical resources. Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than "of, by, and for the people."

Not only did tarnish appear on our image of American virtue, not only did disillusion occur when the hypocrisy of American ideals was discovered, but we began to sense that what we had originally seen as the American Golden Age was actually the decline of an era. The world-wide outbreak of revolution against colonialism and imperialism, the entrenchment of totalitarian states, the menace of war, overpopulation, international disorder, super technology— these trends were testing the tenacity of our own commitment to democracy and freedom and our abilities to visualize their application to a world in upheaval.

Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with living. But we are a minority— the vast majority of our people regard the temporary equilibriums of our society and world as eternally functional parts. In this is perhaps the outstanding paradox: we ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present. Beneath the reassuring tones of the politicians, beneath the common opinion that America will "muddle through," beneath the stagnation of those who

have closed their minds to the future, is the pervading feeling that there simply are no alternatives, that our times have witnessed the exhaustion not only of Utopias, but of any new departures as well. Feeling the press of complexity upon the emptiness of life, people are fearful of the thought that at any moment things might be thrust out of control. They fear change itself, since change might smash whatever invisible framework seems to hold back chaos for them now. For most Americans, all crusades are suspect, threatening. The fact that each individual sees apathy in his fellows perpetuates the common reluctance to organize for change. The dominant institutions are complex enough to blunt the minds of their potential critics, and entrenched enough to swiftly dissipate or entirely repel the energies of protest and reform, thus limiting human expectancies. Then, too, we are a materially improved society, and by our own improvements we seem to have weakened the case for further change.

Some would have us believe that Americans feel contentment amidst prosperity— but might it not better be called a glaze above deeply felt anxieties about their role in the new world. And if these anxieties produce a developed indifference to human affairs, do they not as well produce a yearning to believe there is an alternative to the present, that something can be done to change circumstances in the school, the workplaces, the bureaucracies, the government. It is to this latter yearning, at once the spark and engine of change, that we direct our present appeal. The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today. On such a basis do we offer this document of our convictions and analysis: as an effort in understanding and changing the conditions of humanity in the late twentieth century, an effort rooted in the ancient, still unfulfilled conception of man attaining determining influence over his circumstances of life.

埃德.麦克迪

(ED MCCURLM)

昨夜我做了个最奇怪的梦

Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream

埃德·麦克 (1919—) 生于宾夕法尼亚州威娄霍尔。他是歌唱家兼作曲家，曾在广播电视上，在咖啡馆和剧院里演出。他的歌曲《昨夜我做了个最奇怪的梦》写于 1950 年，但它六十年代在越南战争的反对者中非常流行。因为这首歌歌词不是关于任何一次特定的冲突，其朴素的语言所表述的和平主义使它多年来一直很受人们欢迎。

昨夜我做了一个最
奇怪的梦，

是以前我从未做过
的，

我梦见世界一致赞
成，

人类从此结束战
争。

我在梦中看见一间
大厅，

Last night I had the strangest dream,
I'd never dreamed before,
I dreamed the world had all agreed
To put an end to war. I dreamed I saw a mighty
room
And the room was full of men,
And the paper they were signing said
They'd never fight again. And when the paper
was all signed,
And a million copies made,
They all joined hands and bowed their heads
And grateful prayers were prayed. And the
people in the streets below
Were dancing 'round and 'round.
While swords and guns and uniforms
Were scattered on the ground.

熙熙攘攘挤满人，

人们正签署一份文件，

宣布他们永不再战。

当文件全部签署完，

便印成百万份传单，

他们互相握手又行礼，

齐声祷告感谢上帝。

大街上人流聚楼前，

手舞足蹈尽情狂欢。

刀剑枪支和军装，

全都丢弃在地上。

雷切尔·卡森(RACHEL CARSON)

寂静的春天 Silent Spring

「控制大自然」这一短语是在骄傲自大的心态中构思出来的，它源于尼安德特人时期的生物学和哲学，当时人们以为自然界是为人类的便利而存在的。

六十年代初期，雷切尔·卡森的书《寂静的春天》引起国际上对环境污染危险的关注。卡森比当时任何人更强烈地提醒世界注意由任意使用化学药品造成的人员伤亡和自然界损失。卡森(1907—1964)是个生物学家，长期在美国渔业局工作。她也是颇有成就的作家。1951年卡森因《我们周围的海洋》一书获得国家图书奖。然而她留给后人最为不朽的遗产是1962年出版的《寂静的春天》，该书对发动美国的环境保护运动起了重要作用。

地球上生命的历史即是生物与它们的环境互相作用的历史。在很大程度上，地球上动植物的形体和习性是由环境造成的。考虑到地球的漫长历史，反向作用即生物对其环境的实际影响相对较小。只有在由本世纪所体现的时光瞬间中，一个物种——人——才获得了有效力量去改变他所在世界的大自然。

在过去的四分之一世纪里，这种力量不仅增大到了令人不安的程度，而且其

性质亦发生了变化。人类对环境最可怕的破坏是用危险甚至致命的物质对空气、土地、河流和海洋的污染。这种污染多数是无法救治的；由它所引发的恶性循环不仅存在于生物赖以生存的世界，而且存在于生物组织中，而这种恶性循环大都不可逆转。在当今对环境的普遍污染中，化学药品是幅射线的凶恶但却被人忽视的同谋，它们共同改变着世界的根本性质——它的生物的根本性质。由核爆炸释放到空中的铯 90 以放射性尘埃的形式随雨水或漂浮物落到地球上，留在土壤里，进入地上生长着的草、玉米或小麦等植物体内，最后钻进人体，停留在骨骼里直到人死去。同样，喷洒在农田、森林或花园里的化学药品长期留在土壤中，进入活的生物体内，在一种毒害和死亡的连锁反应中从一个生物体传到另一生物体。或者这些化学药品随地下溪流神秘地流淌直至冒出地表，通过空气和阳光的化合作用构成新形式，毒死植物，使牲畜得病，对那些饮用曾一度纯净的井水的人们造成人所不知的危害。正如阿尔伯特·施威策所说：「人甚至连自己创造的魔鬼都认不出来。」

要生成现今栖居在地球上的生物需要亿万年的时间——在这漫长的时间里，生物不断发展进化，种类越变越多，达到一种同其环境相适应、相平衡的状态。而环境一丝不苟地塑造和引导它所供养的生物，这环境既包含有利生物生长的成分，又包含有害的成分。某些岩石放射出危险的射线；即便在一切生物从中取得能量的日光中，也包含有伤害力的短波射线。经过一定的时间——不是过了若干年，而是过了千百年，生物适应了环境，达到了平衡，因为时间是最基本的因素。但在现代世界里人们没有时间。

伴随着人类急躁轻率的步伐而非自然界稳健的步履，事物很快发生变化，新情况急剧不断地产生。如今幅射不仅是地球上出现生命之前便存在的岩石隐秘的射线、宇宙射线的轰击以及太阳紫外线；它更是人类拨弄原子的奇异产物。逼迫生物与之适应的化学物质不再只是钙、二氧化硅、铜，以及从岩石上冲刷出来由河流带入海洋的其他矿物质，它们是人类聪明才智所合成的造物，在实验室里配制而成，在自然界找不到与它们相似的东西。

适应这些化学药品所需时间应以大自然的尺度衡量；人的一生太短暂，它要求的是若干世代的时间。但即令这么漫长的时间内可能奇迹般地实现了适应，也将毫无用处，因为从我们的各个实验室会源源不断地冒出新的化学药品投入实际使用。这数字令人震惊，而且它的深层含义不易为人们所领会——每年有五百种新化学药品需要人和动物的身体以某种方式去与之适应，它们完全超出了生物学经验的范围。

在这些化学药品中，有许多被用于人类对自然的战争。自 40 年代中期以来，逾二百种基本化学药品被研制出来，用于杀死昆虫、杂草、啮齿动物和其他现代行话称为「害虫」的生物体；这些化学药品打着数千种不同的商标出售。

这些喷雾液、花粉、烟雾剂现在几乎普遍在农场、花园、森林和家庭中使用——这些化学药品能够不加选择地杀死任何昆虫，不论其是「好」是「坏」；能够使鸟儿不再歌唱，鱼儿不再跳跃于水中；能够以一层剧毒物质覆盖在叶片表面或长期滞留在土壤中。而人们使用所有这些药品消灭的目标或许仅仅是屈指可数的几种杂草或昆虫。难道有人会相信，可以向地球表面倾泻这么多毒物而又继续使它适宜一切生物生长。这些化学药品不应称作「杀虫药剂」，而应称为「杀生物药剂」。

药物喷洒的整个发展过程似乎卷入了一个永无终点的螺旋。自从滴滴涕被允许民用便逐步升级，人们得不断寻找更有毒性的物质。这是因为作为对达尔文适者生存原理的绝好证明，昆虫已演化出对人们使用的某一杀虫药具有抗药性的超级品种，于是人们必须发明一种更毒的药剂，接着又发明一种比这种药剂更毒的药剂。……

「控制大自然」这一短语是在骄傲自大的心态中构思出来的，它源于尼安德特人时期的生物学和哲学，当时人们以为自然界是为人类的便利而存在的。应用昆虫学的概念和实践大都发端于那石器时代的科学。如此原始的科学竟已用最现代、最可怕的武器装备起来、这真是我们的一大灾祸。这门科学在使用这

些武器对付害虫的同时也在打击整个地球。

附注：

- 尼安德特人：指更新世晚期，旧石器时代个期的「古人」，分布在欧洲、北非、西亚一带。
 - 阿尔伯特·施威策：阿尔伯特·施威策(1875—1965)，法国。
-

The history of life on earth has been a history of interaction between living things and their surroundings. To a large extent, the physical form and the habits of the earth's vegetation and its animal life have been molded by the environment. Considering the whole span of earthly time, the opposite effect, in which life actually modifies its surroundings, has been relatively slight. Only within the moment of time represented by the present century has one species—man—acquired significant power to alter the nature of his world.

During the past quarter century this power has not only increased to one of disturbing magnitude but it has changed in character. The most alarming of all man's assaults upon the environment is the contamination of air, earth, rivers, and sea with dangerous and even lethal materials. This pollution is for the most part irrecoverable; the chain of evil it initiates not only in the world that must support life but in living tissues is for the most part irreversible. In this now universal contamination of the environment, chemicals are the sinister and little-recognized partners of radiation in changing the very nature of the world—the very nature of

its life. Strontium 90, released through nuclear explosions into the air, comes to the earth in rain or drifts down as fallout, lodges in soil, enters into the grass or corn or wheat grown there, and in time takes up its abode in the bones of a human being, there to remain until his death. Similarly, chemicals sprayed on croplands or forests or gardens lie long in the soil, entering into living organisms, passing from one to another in a chain of poisoning and death. Or they pass mysteriously by underground streams until they emerge and, through the alchemy of air and sunlight, combine into new forms that kill vegetation, sicken cattle, and work unknown harm on those who drink from once pure wells. As Albert Schweitzer has said, "Man can hardly even recognize the devils of his own creation."

It took hundreds of millions of years to produce the life that now inhabits the earth— eons of time in which that developing and evolving and diversifying life reached a state of adjustment and balance with its surroundings. The environment, rigorously shaping and directing the life it supported, contained elements that were hostile as well as supporting. Certain rocks gave out dangerous radiation; even within the light of the sun, from which all life draws its energy, there were short-wave radiations with power to injure. Given time— time not in years but in millennia— life adjusts, and a balance has been reached. For time is the essential ingredient; but in the modern world there is no time.

The rapidity of change and the speed with which new situations are created follow the impetuous and heedless pace of man rather than the deliberate pace of nature. Radiation is no longer merely the background radiation of rocks, the bombardment of cosmic rays, the ultraviolet of the sun that have existed before there was any life on earth; radiation is now the unnatural creation of man's tampering with the atom. The chemicals to which life is asked to make its adjustment are no longer merely the calcium and silica and copper and all the rest of the minerals washed out of the rocks and carried in rivers to the sea; they are the synthetic creations of man's inventive mind, brewed in his laboratories, and having

no counterparts in nature.

To adjust to these chemicals would require time on the scale that is nature's; it would require not merely the years of a man's life but the life of generations. And even this, were it by some miracle possible, would be futile, for the new chemicals come from our laboratories in an endless stream; almost five hundred annually find their way into actual use in the United States alone. The figure is staggering and its implications are not easily grasped— 500 new chemicals to which the bodies of men and animals are required somehow to adapt each year, chemicals totally outside the limits of biologic experience.

Among them are many that are used in man's war against nature. Since the mid-1940's over 200 basic chemicals have been created for use in killing insects, weeds, rodents, and other organisms described in the modern vernacular as "pests"; and they are sold under several thousand different brand names.

These sprays, dusts, and aerosols are now applied almost universally to farms, gardens, forests, and homes— nonselective chemicals that have the power to kill every insect, the "good" and the "bad," to still the song of birds and the leaping of fish in the streams, to coat the leaves with a deadly film, and to linger on in the soil — all this though the intended target may be only a few weeds or insects. Can anyone believe it is possible to lay down such a barrage of poisons on the surface of the earth without making it unfit for all life. They should not be called "insecticides," but "biocides."

The whole process of spraying seems caught up in an endless spiral. Since DDT was released for civilian use, a process of escalation has been going on in which ever more toxic materials must be found. This has happened because insects, in a triumphant vindication of Darwin's principle of the survival of the fittest, have evolved super races immune to the particular insecticide used, hence a deadlier one

has always to be developed— and then a deadlier one than that. . . .

The "control of nature" is a phrase conceived in arrogance, born of the Neanderthal age of biology and philosophy, when it was supposed that nature exists for the convenience of man. The concepts and practices of applied entomology for the most part date from that Stone Age of science. It is our alarming misfortune that so primitive a science has armed itself with the most modern and terrible weapons, and that in turning them against the insects it has also turned them against the earth.

小马丁·路德·金(MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.)

从伯明罕市监狱发出的信 Letter from Birmingham City Jail

任何一个地方的不公正是对一切地方的公正的威胁。

小马丁·路德·金(1929—1968)生于佐治亚州亚特兰大,祖父和父亲均为浸礼会牧师。他 15 岁入莫尔豪斯学院专修为天资聪慧的学生开设的课程,以后在宾夕法尼亚州切斯特的克劳泽神学院获神学士学位,又在波斯顿大学获哲学博士学位。金在阿拉巴马州蒙哥马利市的德克斯特大街浸礼会教堂任牧师时,一场对公共汽车的联合抵制运动开始了。他领导这场斗争历时一年,这使他成了全国知名人物。随后他组织南方基督教领袖联合会,成为迅速扩展的民权运动的领导人。

1963 年,金把一场非暴力和消极抵抗运动带到种族隔离和种族歧视严重的伯明罕市。在一次次抗议性的示威游行中数百人被捕。金宁可进监狱也不服从法院关于停止示威的命令。在单独监禁的日子里,金对七位重要的教会人士写的信作了答复。他们在信中要求他取消示威运动,转而依靠谈判和法院解决问题。金用复活节周末的时间起草他的答复。金因为领导了民权运动于 1964 年被授予诺贝尔和平奖。1968 年当他指导田纳西州孟菲斯的罢工斗争时遇刺

身亡。

我在这伯明罕市监狱的铁窗内阅读你们最近的声明，该声明把我们当前的活动称为「不明智而又不合时宜的。」……

既然你们已受「外界的人纷纷介入」一说的影响，我认为我应当阐明自己在伯明罕的原因。……我与我的几名助手在伯明罕，是应邀前来的。我来伯明罕是因为我在这里有些基本的组织关系。此外，我来伯明罕是因为这里存在着不公正。正如八世纪的先知们离开他们的小小村落，把「上帝是这么说的」一话传到远离他们故乡的地方，正如使徒保罗离开他在塔尔苏斯的小村，把耶稣基督的福音带到希腊—罗马世界的几乎每一村庄和城市，我也被迫把自由的福音带到我自己故乡以外的地方。……任何一个地方的不公正是对一切地方的公正的威胁。……

你们对目前正在伯明罕举行的游行示威感到痛心。但是我很遗憾，你们的声明竟没有对引起示威的客观形势表述同样的关切。我相信你们每个人都不愿紧跟在浅薄的社会分析家脚后，只看后果而不去设法解决根本原因。我会毫不犹豫地，眼下在伯明罕发生所谓的示威游行是不幸的事。但是我想更强调一点：该市白人政权逼得黑人居民走投无路，没有别的选择。

任何非暴力斗争都包括四个步骤：(1)收集情况以判断是否存在不公正；(2)谈判；(3)自我净化；(4)直接行动。在伯明罕我们已经历了所有这些步骤。无可置疑的事实是，种族不公平笼罩着该市黑人社区。伯明罕可能是美国种族隔离最彻底的城市。该市警察暴行的丑恶记录全国各地尽人皆知。该市法庭对待黑人的不公亦是臭名昭著的现实。比起我国其他城市，伯明罕有更多尚未解决的黑人家宅和教堂爆炸案。这些都是确凿的，残酷的，令人难以置信的事实。……

通过痛苦的经验我们懂得了，自由不会由压迫者自愿送上门；自由必须由被压

迫者去争取。坦率地说，我可从未参加过根据某些人的时间表是「时机恰当」的直接抗争运动，这些人从未饱尝种族隔离之苦。多年来我一直听到这个话：「等待！」每个黑人的耳朵都听腻了。这「等待」一词几乎总是意味着「永不行动」。它不啻起镇静作用的反应停，使紧张情绪放松片刻，却导致沮丧失意感这一畸形儿的产生。我们必须同意昨天杰出的律师的观点：「公正被延误太久，也就是公正被否定。」对我们的宪法和上帝赐予的权利，我们已等待了 340 多年。亚洲和非洲国家正以喷射机的速度冲向政治独立的目标，而我们却仍以老牛破车的步速去争取在便餐柜台喝上一杯咖啡。……

你们对我们意欲违反法律表示极大的忧虑。这当然是合理的关注。既然我们如此奋力地催促人们服从最高法院 1954 年关于在公立学校取缔种族隔离的决定，那么发现我们有意识地违反法律便会感到奇怪、荒谬。有人或许要问：「你们怎么能既提倡违反某些法律，又提倡遵守另一些法律呢。」可以用存在着两种法律的事实来回答：既有公正的法律，又有不公正的法律。我愿第一个为遵守公正的法律大声疾呼。一个人既有法律上，亦有道义上的责任去遵守公正的法律。反过来说，一个人有道义上的责任拒绝遵守不公正的法律。我赞成圣奥古斯丁的话：「一个不公正的法律就根本不是法律。」

那么公正与不公正的法律二者差别何在.人们怎样判断一个法律公正还是不公正呢.一个公正的法律是人制定的符合道德法则和上帝的法则的法规。一个不公正的法律则是与道德法则不一致的模式。用圣托马斯.阿奎那斯的话来说，一个不公正的法律是一种并非植根于永恒和自然法则的人类法律。任何提高人格的法律是公正的，任何贬低人格的法律则是不公正的。

一切种族隔离法都不公正，因为种族隔离扭曲灵魂，损害人格。它给予实行隔离者以虚假的优越感，给予被隔离者以虚假的自卑感。借用杰出的犹太哲学家马丁.布贝尔的说法，隔离用「我一它」关系取代「我一你」关系，最后把人

降低到物的地位。因而种族隔离不仅在政治上、经济上、社会学意义上是荒谬的，而且在道德上也是错误和有罪的。保罗·蒂利希曾说过：罪恶即是分离，难道种族隔离不是人类悲惨的分离的存在主义表现，不是人类极度的疏远和可怕的罪孽的表现吗。因此我号召人们遵守最高法院 1954 年的决定，因为它在道德上是正确的；我号召人们拒绝遵守隔离法，因为这些法令在道德上是错误的。……

请允许我作另一种解释。不公正的法律是一种强加于少数人的法规，这些人不参与该法规的制定或创立，因为他们没有毫无阻碍地投票的权利。有谁能说颁布种族隔离法令的阿拉巴马州立法机关是民主产生的呢。整个阿拉巴马州用尽各种合谋方式阻止黑人成为正式选民。在一些县里黑人虽占人口大多数，但竟然没有一个黑人登记参加投票。难道这样一个州确立的任何一项法律能被看作是民主制定的吗。

我们决不能忘记，当年希特勒在德国干的每一勾当都是「合法的」，而匈牙利自由战士在匈牙利做的每一件事皆是「非法的」。在希特勒治下的德国，帮助、安慰一个犹太人是「非法的」。但我相信，倘若当时我生活在德国，我准会帮助、安慰我的犹太弟兄们，尽管这是非法的。倘若我今天生活在一个共产主义国家，某些基督教信仰所珍视的原则遭践踏，我相信我会公开提倡拒绝遵守这种反宗教的法律。……

我们这一代人将不能不为坏人的恶语劣行，同时也为好人令人吃惊的沈默感到悔恨。我们必须认识到，决不能依靠必然性车轮的滚动来实现人类进步。人类进步通过自愿与上帝合作的人孜孜不倦的努力、坚持不懈的工作得以实现，而若是没有这种艰苦的工作，时间本身将成为社会惰性力量的同谋。……

你们把我们在伯明罕的活动称为极端和行动。起初我对教会同仁竟把我的非暴力斗争视作极端主义者的行为感到失望。我开始考虑这么一个实际情况，即

我恰恰站在黑人社会两股对立的力量中间，满足于现状的那股力量由两类黑人组成。一类黑人因长期遭受压迫已完全失去自尊自重之心，适应了种族隔离；第二类人是为数不多的中产阶级黑人，因享有某种程度学术上和经济上的保障，又因有时从种族隔离中获利，他们已不自觉地变得对群众的疾苦麻木不仁。另一股势力饱尝辛酸，充满仇恨，它再向前跨出一步便会鼓吹暴力行动。该势力体现于在全国层出不穷的各种黑人民族主义团体，其中最大最出名的是以利亚·穆罕默德的穆斯林运动。当代人对种族歧视继续存在的沮丧失望感使这一组织应运而生，发展壮大。它由对美国失去信念的人组成，他们彻底否定基督教，而且得出结论，认定白人为不可救药的「魔鬼」。

我尽力设法站在这两股力量中间，我说我们不必追随满足现状者的「无所作为主义」，也不必仿效黑人民族主义者的仇恨和绝望。有一种以博爱和非暴力抗议为手段的更好途径。我感谢上帝，因为通过黑人教会，非暴力方式进入了我们的斗争。假如这非暴力哲学至今未诞生，那么我肯定此刻南方许多街道已血流成河。而且我更确信，假如我们的白人弟兄把我们斥为「暴民煽动者」和「外来鼓动家」——指我们中那些通过非暴力直接行动的渠道工作的人——而且拒绝支援我们的非暴力斗争，那么数以百计的黑人出于沮丧和绝望将从黑人民族主义思想中获取安慰和保护，这一发展趋势不可避免会导致恐怖的种族对抗恶梦。

被压迫人民不堪永远受压迫，争取自由的浪潮终将到来。这便是美国黑人的经历。内心有物提醒他们记住自己天赋的自由权；身外有物提醒他们记住自己能够取得这权利。……

然而当我继续思考这一问题时，我却渐渐为自己被看作极端主义者而略感欣慰。难道耶稣不正是一个在博爱方面的极端主义者吗。——「爱你的敌人，祝福诅咒你的人，为虐待你的人祈祷」。难道阿摩司不正是争取公正的极端主义者。——「让公正如洪水，正义如激流滚滚而来。」难道保罗不是传播耶稣基督

福音的极端主义者.——「我在自己的身体上带着主耶稣的痕迹。」难道马丁·路德不是极端主义者.——「我站在这里；我别无选择，所以拯救我吧，上帝」。难道约翰·班扬不是极端主义者.——「我将留在狱中直到我死去的那一天，免得把自己的良心变为屠场。」难道亚伯拉罕·林肯不是极端主义者.——「这个国家不能在半奴隶、半自由状况中继续生存。」难道托马斯·杰斐逊不是极端主义者？——「我们认为这些真理不言自明：人人生而平等。」

所以问题不在于我们是否要做极端主义者，而在于我们要做什么样的极端主义者。我们要做服务于仇恨的极端主义者还是服务于博爱的极端主义者.我们要做为保存不公正而奋斗的极端主义者，抑或是为正义的事业奋斗的极端主义者.……

我已周游了阿拉巴马州、密西西比州和南方其他各州。在炎热的夏日和秋高气爽的早晨，我看着一座座尖塔直插云霄、外观很美的教堂，注意到南方在营造大批宗教教育场所上不惜工本。我一次又一次情不自禁地暗自发问：「谁在这儿做礼拜.谁是他们的上帝.当巴尼特州长大谈干预，鼓吹拒绝执行国会的法令时，当华莱士州长公然号召挑战，煽动仇恨时，他们的声音上哪儿去了.…… 当代教会常常只是发出微弱、无效、动摇不定的声音。它常常是维护现状的主要支持者。普通地区的权力机构不但不对教会的存在感到不安，而且因教会的缄默，因教会常对现状表示认可感到安慰。

但上帝对教会的审判从未像现在这样严厉。如果当今的教会无法恢复早期教会的牺牲精神，它将丧失权威的光环，失去千百万人对它的忠诚，被人们当作对 20 世纪毫无意义、无关宏旨的社会团体。……我感谢上帝，因为有组织的宗教阶层中某些高尚的人已从束缚手脚、令人瘫痪的锁链中挣脱出来，积极加入我们为自由而斗争的队伍。……他们怀着这样的信念踏上征程：正义即使被击

败也比取得胜利的邪恶强大。如果说这个种族是块面团，这些人便是发酵剂。他们的证言已成为精神食盐，在这动荡不安的时期用于保存福音的真话。他们已在失望的黑暗山洞中凿通了一条希望的隧道。……但即便教会不去援助正义，我对未来也不感到绝望。即使我们的动机目前被误解；我对我们在伯明罕斗争的结果也不感到担忧。我们将在伯明罕和全美国达到自由的目标，因为美国的目标是自由。虽然我们可能被辱骂被嘲笑，我们的命运与美国的命运紧紧结合在一起。……总有一天，南方会认识到它真正的英雄是何人。他们将是詹姆斯·梅雷迪思们，以巨大的勇气和坚定的意志面对暴徒的嘲笑和敌视，面对令人痛苦的孤独，而这些正是先驱者生涯的特点。他们将是年老的、饱受压迫欺凌的黑人妇女，以阿拉巴马州蒙哥马利市一位 72 岁的老妇人为典型。她怀着自尊感与决心不乘实行隔离的公共汽车的黑人同胞们一起站立，对询问她是否疲劳的人作了语法不规范但却颇有深度的回答：「我的脚很累，但我的心安宁。」他们将是年轻的大中学学生、年轻的福音传教牧师和大批年长者，勇敢而又和平地在便餐柜台边静坐抗议，为了问心无愧宁愿坐牢。总有一天，南方会明白，当这些被剥夺继承权的上帝的孩子们在便餐柜台坐下时，他们实际上是为实现美国梦的最佳理想，为犹太—基督教传统最神圣的准则挺身而出，从而把整个国家带回到民主的伟大源泉，由建国的先辈们在拟定宪法和独立宣言时所深深开掘的源泉。……

我希望这封信能使你们坚定信念。我也希望自己有可能很快与你们每一位会面，不是以一个牧师和基督教兄弟的身份，而是作为一个主张取消种族隔离的人或一名民权领袖。让我们期盼种族偏见的乌云很快飞走，误解的浓雾从我们担惊受怕的居民区消散；让我们期盼在不远的明天博爱和兄弟情谊的灿烂星辰将以美丽的光华照亮我们伟大的国家。

附注：

- 反应停：反应停系一种能导致胎儿畸形的化学药品，在这种灾难性的后果发现之前，曾用作镇静药和止吐药。
- 圣奥古斯丁(354—430)，古代基督教会杰出的思想家，396—430 年任罗马帝国非洲领地希波的主教。
- 圣托马斯.阿奎那斯(1225—1274)，义大利神学家兼哲学家。
- 马丁.布贝尔(1878—1965)，生于奥地利的以色列哲学家，社会学家和犹太神学家。
- 保罗.蒂利希(1886—1965)，美国神学家。
- 阿摩司，西元前 8 世纪的希伯来人，最早的先知。
- 马丁.路德(1483—1546)，16 世纪欧洲宗教改良运动的发起者，西方文化史上的重要人物。
- 约翰.班扬(1628—1688)，英国宗教作家和传道士，《天路历程》一书
- 密西西比州州长，种族隔离主义者。
- 阿拉巴马州州长，种族隔离主义者。
- 詹姆斯.梅雷迪斯是美国南方第一个申请并获准进入白人大学的黑人青年。

While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." . . .

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." . . . I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here. Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the 8th century prophets left their little villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home town, and just as the Apostle Paul left his little village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus

Christ to practically every hamlet and city of the Graeco-Roman world, I too am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my particular home town. . . .Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. . . .

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of you would want to go beyond the superficial social analyst who looks merely at effects, and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: 1) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; 2) negotiation; 3) self-purification; and 4) direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal, and unbelievable facts....

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never." It has been a

tranquilizing Thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. . . .

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others." The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are just laws and there are unjust laws. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two. How does one determine when a law is just or unjust. A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a mode that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust.

All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou"

relationship, and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically, economically, and sociologically unsound, but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn't segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness. So I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court because it is morally right, and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong. . . .

Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because it did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say the Legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws was democratically elected. Throughout the state of Alabama all types of conniving methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured. . . .

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that, if I had lived in Germany during that time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a Communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws. . . .

We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be co-workers

with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation. . . .

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of the extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil."

I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the "donothingism" of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of nonviolence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss us as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators"— those of us who are working through the channels of nonviolent direct action— and refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes, out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black

nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare. Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom; something without has reminded that he can gain it. . . .

But as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice — "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ— "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist— "Here I stand; I can do none other so help me God." Was not John Bunyan an extremist— "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist— "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist— "We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal."

So the question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love. Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice— or will we be extremists for the cause of justice. . . .

I have traveled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi, and all the other Southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at her beautiful churches with their spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over again I have found myself asking: "Who worships here. Who is their God. Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification. Where were they when Governor Wallace gave the

clarion call for defiance and hatred. . . . The contemporary Church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch-supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the (church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the Church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the Church as never before. If the Church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early Church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the 20th century. . . . I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the rank's of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom . . . they have gone with the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the Gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment. . . . But even if the Church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. . . . One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a 72-year-old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and responded to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity: "My feets is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be young high school and college students, young ministers of the Gospel and a host of the elders,

courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience's sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters they were in reality standing up for the best in the American dream and the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, and thus carrying our whole nation back to great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. . . .

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil rights leader, but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away, that the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities, and that in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all of their scintillating beauty.

约翰.F.甘乃迪(JOHN F.KENNEDY)

在柏林墙边的演说 Speech at the Berlin Wall

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Ich bin ein Berliner.

1961 年 8 月 12—13 日夜间，东德政府筑起柏林墙把东西柏林分开。起初它只是一道铁丝网屏障，用来防止东德人逃往西德。但不久铁丝网便被厚厚的水泥墙所取代，由哨兵巡逻警戒。柏林墙的丑恶存在提醒人们记住战后东西欧的分割。许多意欲逃往西方的人在试图跨越这条边界时命归黄泉。1963 年甘乃迪总统访问欧洲。6 月 26 日成为他此行的高潮，那天他站在柏林墙前宣告：「Ich bin ein Berliner」——「我是一个柏林人。」

二十八年之后，1989年11月，东德政府打开柏林墙，却自相矛盾地阻止人们成群结队越过匈牙利边界从压抑他们的社会逃出。就在那不平常的一年，东欧国家政权崩溃了。在整个欧洲乃至世界，人们为柏林墙的开放欢呼，把它看作冷战结束的象征。

二千年以前，最自豪的夸耀是「Civitas Romanus sum.」今天，自由世界最自豪的夸耀是「Ich bin ein Berliner,」

世界上有许多人确实不懂，或者说他们不明白什么是自由世界和共产主义世界的根本分歧。让他们来柏林吧。有些人说，共产主义是未来的潮流。让他们来柏林吧。有些人说，我们能在欧洲或其他地方与共产党人合作。让他们来柏林吧。甚至有那么几个人说，共产主义确是一种邪恶的制度，但它可以使取得经济发展。「Lasst sie nach Ben kommen.」

自由有许多困难，民主亦非完美，然而我们从未建造一堵墙把我们的人民关在里面，不准他们离开我们。我愿意代表我的同胞们——他们与你们远隔千里住在大西洋彼岸——说，他们为能在远方与你们共有过去十八年的经历感到莫大的骄傲。我不知道还有哪一个城镇或都市被围困十八年后仍有西柏林的这种生机、力量希望和决心。全世界都看到，柏林墙最生动最明显地表现出一种失败。但我们对此并不感到称心如意，因为柏林墙既是对历史也是对人性的冒犯，它拆散家庭，造成妻离子散骨肉分离，把希冀统一的一个民族分成两半。

这个城市的事实也适用于整个德国——只要四个德国人中有一人被剥夺了自由人的基本权利，即自由选择的权利，那么欧洲真正持久的和平便绝无可能实现。经过保持和平与善意的十八年，这一代德国人终于赢得自由的权利，包括在持久和平中善待所有的人民，实现家庭团聚和民族统一的权利。你们住在受到保护的一座自由之岛上，但你们的生活是大海的一部分。因此让我在结束讲话时请求你们抬起目光，超越今日的危险看到明天的希望；超越柏林市或你

们的祖国德国的自由看到世界各地的进展；超越这道墙看到正义的和平来临的一天；超越你们自己和我们自己看到全人类。自由是不可分割的，只要一人被奴役，所有的人都不自由。当所有的人都自由了，那时我们便能期待这一天的到来：在和平与希望的光辉中这座城市获得统一，这个国家获得统一，欧洲大陆获得统一。当这一天最终来临——它必将来临——时，西柏林人民将能对这一点感到欣慰：在几乎二十年时间里他们站在第一线。一切自由人，不论他们住在何方，皆是柏林市民，所以作为一个自由人，我为「Ich bin ein Berliner」这句话感到自豪。

附注：

- 德语，意为「我是一个柏林人。」
 - 拉丁语，意为「我是一个罗马公民。」
 - 德语，意为「让他们来柏林。」
-

Two thousand years ago the proudest boast — was "Civitas Romanus sum."
Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "Ich bin ein Berliner."

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that Communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that Communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. "Lasst sie nach Berlin kommen."

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never

had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us. I want to say, on behalf of my countrymen, who live many miles away on the other side of the Atlantic, who are far distant from you, that they take the greatest pride that they have been able to share with you, even from a distance, the story of the last eighteen years. I know of no town, no city, that has been besieged for eighteen years that still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope and the determination of the city of West Berlin. While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system. for all the world to see, we take no satisfaction in it, for it is an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.

What is true of this city is true of Germany — real, lasting peace in Europe can never be assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of free men, and that is to make a free choice. In eighteen years of peace and good faith, this generation of Germans has earned the right to be free, including the right to unite their families and their nation in lasting peace with good will to all people. You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main. So let me ask you, as I close, to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the day of peace with justice, beyond ourselves and ourselves to all mankind. Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. When all are free, then we can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one— and this country, and this great continent of Europe— in a peaceful and hopeful glow. When that day finally comes, as it will, the people of West Berlin can take sober satisfaction in the fact that they were in the front lines for almost two decades.

All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words "Ich bin ein Berliner."

小马丁·路德·金(MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR)

向华盛顿进军演说词The March on Washington Address

我有一个梦。

1963年8月28日，逾二十万美国人聚集于美国首都，为全体人民同享公正。正在林肯纪念堂和华盛顿纪念馆之间的林荫道上以和平集会方式举行示威。在当天激动人心的演说中，小马丁·路德·金的《我有一个梦》这篇演讲尤其扣人心弦。他用高昂雄辩的言语自觉地将宗教修辞与人们耳熟能详的爱国主义象征熔为一炉，表达了一种对理想世界的预言和振奋人心的观念。这篇《我有一个梦》演说词作为对民权运动目标的精辟阐述迅速进入了美国语言和全民意识。

一百年以前，一位伟大的美国人——我们就站在他象征性的庇荫下——签署了解放宣言。这一重要的法令犹如灯塔把辉煌的希望之光带给千百万饱受屈辱、处于水深火热中的黑人。它就像欢快的黎明来临，结束了奴隶被囚禁的漫长黑夜。

然而一百年后的今天，我们不能不面对这一悲剧性的事实，即黑人仍未获得自由。一百年后今天，黑人的生命仍惨遭种族隔离桎梏和种族歧视枷锁的束缚。一百年后的今天，黑人仍生活在物质繁荣的汪洋大海所包围的贫穷孤岛上。一百年后的今天，黑人仍蜷缩在美国社会的偏僻角落，感到自己是自己国家里的流放者。因此我们今天来到这里以引起人们对一种骇人听闻的情况的注意。

在某种意义上，我们来到我国首都是为着兑现支票。当我们共和国的创建者们写下宪法和独立宣言时，他们也就签署了一份期票，每个美国人都有它的继

承权。这期票是一种许诺，保证给予每一个人不可转让的生活、自由和追求幸福的权利。

显而易见，今天美国在关系到她有色人种公民的问题上已对这份期票违约。美国没有承兑这一神圣的契约，而是给黑人一张空头支票；该支票被写上「存款不足」退回。但是我们不相信正义的银行已破产。我们不相信这个国家机会的金库中已存款不足。所以我们来此兑现支票——这支票将按要求给予我们自由的财富和公正的保障。

我们来到这神圣的地点，也是为了提醒美国记住现在极端紧迫的任务。目前不是享受一下清静或服用渐进主义镇静剂的时候。现在该实现民主的许诺了。现在该从种族隔离黑暗荒凉的峡谷走上种族公平的金光大道了。现在该向上帝所有的孩子们打开机会的大门了。现在该把我国从种族歧视的流沙中救出，置于兄弟情谊的坚硬岩石之上了。

倘若这个国家忽视了此刻紧迫的形势，低估了黑人的决心，那将造成致命的后果。这一黑人合理不满的闷热夏季将不会过去，直到自由平等的爽朗秋季来临。一九六三年不是终结，而是开端。倘若国家一如既往恢复原样，那些希望黑人只是需要出出气，现在可以满意的人将会大失所望。美国将没有安宁和平静，除非黑人获得了他们的公民权。反抗的旋风将继续震撼我们国家的基础，直到公正的晴天出现。

但有件事我得告诉我的站在通向公正之宫温暖入口的人民。在争取我们合法地位的奋斗过程中，我们不应干违法之事。我们切莫端起苦涩和仇恨的杯子来满足自己对自由的渴求。我们必须永远在尊严的纪律的高水准上开展斗争。我们决不能让我们创造性的抗议堕落成为暴力行动。我们必须一次又一次升华到用精神力量对付武力的崇高境界。

黑人社区洋溢着崭新的战斗精神不应导致我们对一切白人都不信任，因为我们许多白人弟兄，正如他们今天的到场所证明的，已意识到他们的自由与我们的

自由血肉相连，不可分割。我们不能独自行进。

我们一旦起步，就必须发誓勇往直前。我们不能往回走。有人这样问民权运动的忠实斗士：「你们何时才能满足。」

只要黑人仍是警察暴行难以形容的恐怖的受害者，我们就决不会满足。

只要我们虽经旅途奔波浑身疲乏仍无法在公路或城市中租用汽车游客旅馆，我们就决不会满足。

只要黑人的基本迁移方式只是从一处较小的黑人区迁到一处较大的黑人区，我们就决不会满足。

只要密西西比州有一个黑人不能投票，只要纽约有一个黑人认为没有什么东西值得他去投票，我们就不会满足。

是的，我们不满足，而且我们将永不满足，直到公正如洪水，正义如激流滚滚而来。

我不能不注意到，你们有些人经历了巨大的痛苦和磨难来到这里。你们有些人刚从狭窄的牢房出来。你们有些人来自某些地区，在那里你们因争取自由惨遭迫害，被警察的暴行所摧残。你们已是为创造而受苦的老战士。继续怀着这一信念工作吧：并非由自己招致的苦难将带来补偿。

回密西西比去，回阿拉巴马去，回南卡罗来纳去，回佐治亚去，回路易斯安那去，回到我们北方城市的贫民窟和黑人区去，既然你们知道因某种原因形势可能而且必将发生变化。我们且莫在绝望的山谷中打滚。

我今天对你们说，我的朋友们，尽管眼下困难重重，颇多挫折，我仍然有一个

梦。它深深植根于美国梦。

我梦见总有一天这个国家将站立起来，实现它的信条的真话：「我们认为这些真理不言自明：人人生而平等。」

我梦见有一天在佐治亚的红山上，原先的奴隶的儿子们与原先奴隶主的儿子们坐在一张桌子旁共叙手足情。

我梦见有一天甚至密西西比州遭不公正和压迫的酷热煎熬的沙漠将变成自由和公正的绿洲。

我梦见有一天自己的四个孩子将生活在一个国家，在那里人们对他们的评价不是根据肤色，而是根据品格。

我今天有一个梦。

我梦见有一天阿拉巴马州——其州长最近大谈干预，鼓吹拒绝执行国会的法令——将会大变样，黑人儿童与白人儿童携手并肩，亲如手足。

我今天有一个梦。

我梦见有一天每一条山谷都升高，每一座山头都降低，地势崎岖的地方变得平坦，弯弯曲曲的地带变得笔直，而上帝的光辉得以展现，让所有的人都看见。

这是我们的希望，正是怀着这一信念我回南方。怀着这信念我们将能从绝望的大山中开凿出希望的石块。怀着这信念我们将能把我国的一片嘈杂吵闹声变为一曲华丽的兄弟情谊的交响乐。

怀着这信念，我们将能够一起工作，一起祈祷，一起奋斗，一起入狱，一起

为自由挺身而出，因为我们知道有一天我们将会自由。

那将是这样的一天，届时上帝所有的孩子将能唱出新的意义：「你是我的祖国，美好的自由之邦，我要为你歌唱。父辈葬身之处，移民夸耀之土，让我自由之声，响彻每个山冈。」

如果美国要成为一个伟大的国家，这就必须变成现实。让自由从新罕布夏的崇山峻岭响起。让自由从宾夕法尼亚高高阿勒格尼山响起：

让自由从科罗拉多白雪覆盖的落矶山脉响起！让自由从加利福尼亚逶迤的群山响起！不仅如此，还要让自由从佐治亚的石山上响起！让自由从田纳西的卢考特山响起！

让自由从密西西比每座山头和小丘响起。让自由从每一处山腰响起。

当我们让自由鸣响，让自由从每一座村庄响起，从每一个州和每一个城市响起，我们就能使这一天更快来临，那时上帝所有的孩子们，不论是黑人还是白人，犹太人还是非犹太人，新教徒还是天主教徒，都将手拉着手高唱一首古老的黑人圣歌的歌词：「终于自由了！终于自由了！感谢万能的上帝，我们终于自由了！」

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity.

But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation's Capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check— a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is not time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all of God's children. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to

underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied." We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy -with fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the cities.

We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller

ghetto to a larger one.

We can never be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one

day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and girls and walk together as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning, "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my father died, land of the Pilgrims' pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring."

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies

of Pennsylvania!

Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado! Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California! But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia! Let freedom ring from Lockout Mountain of Tennessee!

Let freedom ring from every hill and mole- hill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

我们一定会胜利

We Shall Overcome

《我们一定会胜利》作为六十年代民权运动的颂歌闻名于世。每当民权运动工作者们聚集在一起，或举行群众示威活动时，人们总是拉起手来，身体左右摇摆着齐唱《我们一定会胜利》。它是 1963 年 8 月 28 日向华盛顿进军的主题歌，那天小马丁.路德.金发表了他的著名演说《我有一个梦》。这首歌源于十九世纪的一首黑人圣歌。像许多表示抗议的民歌一样，这首歌歌词随场合不同而变动，因而它有多种歌词。

总有一天，

我们一定会胜利，

We shall overcome,

We shall overcome,

We shall overcome,

	<p>我们一定会胜利，</p> <p>我们一定会胜利。</p> <p>哦，在内心深处，</p> <p>我相信</p> <p>总有一天，</p> <p>我们一定会胜利。</p> <p>总有一天，</p> <p>我们将携手共进，</p> <p>我们将携手共进，</p> <p>我们将携手共进。</p> <p>哦，在内心深处，</p> <p>我相信</p> <p>总有一天，</p> <p>我们一定会胜利。</p>	<p>Someday.</p> <p>Oh, deep in my heart,</p> <p>I do believe, that</p> <p>We shall overcome</p> <p>Someday. We'll walk hand in hand,</p> <p>We'll walk hand in hand,</p> <p>We'll walk hand in hand,</p> <p>Someday.</p> <p>Oh, deep in my heart,</p> <p>I do believe, that</p> <p>We shall overcome</p> <p>Someday. We are not afraid,</p> <p>We are not afraid,</p> <p>We are not afraid,</p> <p>Oh, no, no, no,</p> <p>'Cause, deep in my heart,</p> <p>I do believe, that</p> <p>We shall overcome,</p> <p>Someday.</p>
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	<p>我们不畏惧，</p> <p>我们不畏惧，</p> <p>我们不畏惧，</p> <p>哦，我们决不畏惧。</p> <p>因为在内心深处，</p> <p>我相信</p> <p>总有一天，</p> <p>我们一定会胜利。</p>	
<p>啊，自由</p> <p>O Freedom</p> <p>这是六十年代表示抗议的民歌中较重要的一首。它来源于十九世纪流行于黑人群众中的一首圣歌。有些提供资料的人认为，它是一首获得自由的黑奴的歌，因为歌词表述的是现在的个人自由，而不是来世的自由。在六十年代，有人为适应形势需要对这首歌作了改写，它有许多种歌词。</p>		
	<p>啊，自由！</p> <p>啊，自由！</p> <p>啊，自由护佑我！</p>	<p>O Freedom!</p> <p>O Freedom!</p> <p>O Freedom over me!</p> <p>And before I'd be a slave,</p> <p>I'd be buried in my grave,</p>

在我成为奴隶之前， 我将被埋入坟墓， 回到我的上帝身旁永享 自由！	And go home to my Lord and be free!No more mournin' No more weepin' No more misery over me. And before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave, And go home to my Lord and be free
不要再哀悼， 不要再哭泣， 不要再为我悲痛。 在我成为奴隶之前， 我将被埋入坟墓， 回到我的上帝身旁永享 自由！	

李.海斯，皮特.西格
(LEE HAYS AND PETE SEEGER)

假如我有一把铁锤
If I Had a Hammer

1940 年李.海斯和皮特.西格是年历歌唱团成员，以后又加入织工歌咏队，后者在二十世纪中期成为美国最走红的民歌四重唱演出队。多才多艺的西格是第

二次世界大战后美国民间音乐复兴的干将。海斯唱男低音，弹奏钢琴，谱写民间乐曲。海斯与西格一同为《假如我有一把铁锤》作词谱曲，这首歌是六十年代最有名的抗议歌曲之一。

假如我有一把铁锤，不论 清晨 还是夜晚——我将锤遍 全国。 锤声发出危险信号，锤声 发出警告， 锤声表达兄弟姐妹间的 友爱， 响遍全国。 假如我有一只铜铃，不论 清晨 还是夜晚——我将摇遍 全国。 铃声发出危险信号，铃声 发出警告，	If I had a hammer, I'd hammer in the morning, I'd hammer in the evening — all over this land. I'd hammer out danger, I'd hammer out warning, I'd hammer out love between my brothers and my sisters All over this land.If I had a bell, I'd ring it in the morning I'd ring it in the evening — all over this land. I'd ring out danger, I'd ring out warning, I'd ring out love between my brothers and my sisters All over this land.If I had a song, I'd sing it in the morning. I'd sing it in the evening — all over this land. I'd sing out danger, I'd sing out warning. I'd sing out love between my brothers and my sisters All over this land.Well, I've got a hammer, and I've got a bell. And I've got a song, All over this land. It's the hammer of justice, it's the bell of freedom It's the song about love between my brothers and my sisters
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铃声表达兄弟姐妹间的
友爱，

响遍全国。

假如我有一首歌曲，不论
清晨

还是夜晚——我将唱遍
全国。

歌声发出危险信号，歌声
发出警告，

歌声表达兄弟姐妹间的
友爱，

响遍全国。

嘿，我已有了铁锤，我已
有了铜铃，

我已有了了一首歌，响遍全
国。

它是正义的铁锤，它是自

All over this land.

由的铜铃， 它是咏唱兄弟姐妹友爱 的歌， 响遍全国。	
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<p>鲍勃.戴伦</p> <p>(BOB DYLAN)</p> <p>在风中吹响</p> <p>Blowin'in the Wind</p>	
<p>鲍勃.戴伦 1941 年生于明尼苏达州德卢斯；他原名罗伯特.阿伦.齐默尔曼，入明尼苏达大学一年后他更名改姓登上民间音乐舞台。鲍勃.戴伦被公认为六十年代最有影响的歌手和歌曲作者。他写过抗议歌曲、爱情歌曲、民歌和摇摆舞曲。《在风中吹响》(1963)被称为民权运动的非正式颂歌，在反战运动中也</p> <p>很流行。</p>	
一个男人要走过多少 路， 你才能称他为男子 汉。	<p>How many roads must a man walk down</p> <p>Before you call him a man.</p> <p>Yes, 'n' how many seas must a white dove sail</p> <p>Before she sleeps in the sand.</p> <p>Yes, 'n' how many times must the cannon balls fly</p>

一只白鸽要飞过多少海面，	Before they're forever banned. The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind, The answer is blowin' in the wind.How many times must a man look up Before he can see the sky.
她才能在沙丘安眠.	Yes, 'n' how many ears must one man have Before he can hear people cry. Yes 'n' how many deaths will it take till he knows
炮弹要掠过天空多少回，	That too many people have died. The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind The answer is blowin' in the wind.How many years can a mountain exist
它们才被永远禁用.	Before it's washed to the sea. Yes, 'n' how many years can some people exist
这回答，我的朋友，正在风中吹响，	Before they're allowed to be free. Yes, 'n' how many times can a man head, Pretending he just doesn't see.
这回答正在风中吹响。	The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind. The answer is blowin' in the wind.
一个人抬头看多少次，	
才能望见蓝天.	
一个人须多少只耳朵，	
才能听到人们的哭喊.	

多少人死去才能使他
了解，

已有太多人死亡，

这回答，我的朋友，
正在风中吹响，

这回答正在风中吹
响。

一座山要耸立多少
年，

才会被冲刷入海，

一些人要生活多少
年，

才会被给予自由，

一个人能转过头去多
少回。

假装他什么也没看
见，

<p>这回答，我的朋友， 正在风中吹响， 这回答正在风中吹 响。</p>	
<p>达德利.兰德尔 (DUDLEY RANDALL)</p> <p>伯明罕民歌 Ballad of Birmingham</p> <p>达德利.兰德尔(1914—)生于华盛顿特区，在韦恩州立大学获英语专业学士学位，1951 年又在密执安大学获图书馆学硕士学位。作为底特律布劳德赛德出版社的创办人和主编，作为美国黑人诗歌的主要出版者，兰德尔在鼓励其他黑人诗人的创作上起了重要作用。他编辑了几部黑人诗歌选集，包括《黑人诗人们》，而且出版了几部他自己的诗集，包括《燃烧的城市》。1963 年 9 月 15 日，阿拉巴马州伯明罕市黑人教堂被炸，四个小女孩被炸死。兰德尔《伯明罕民歌》一诗对这一事件作出反应。那些放置炸弹的人企图阻止伯明罕反种族隔离的民权运动，而不料凶手们却起了动员全国舆论支援民权运动的作用。</p>	
<p>「妈妈，亲爱的，我能不能 不在外头玩耍， 让我参加今天的自由进军， 走在伯明罕大街上？」</p>	<p>"Mother, dear, may I go downtown instead of out to play, and march the streets of Birmingham in a freedom march today." "No, baby, no, you may not go, for the dogs are fierce and wild, and clubs and hoses, guns and jails</p>

<p>「不，宝贝，你不能去，</p> <p>因为恶狗凶狠野蛮，</p> <p>而且警棍、水、手枪和牢房，</p> <p>一个小孩子不该碰上。」</p> <p>「可是，妈妈，我不会一人乱闯，</p> <p>别的孩子将和我回去，</p> <p>为了我们国家的自由，</p> <p>走在伯明罕大街上。」</p> <p>「不，宝贝，你不能去，</p> <p>因为我怕警察开枪。</p> <p>但是你可以加入儿童唱诗班，</p>	<p>ain't good for a little child." "But, mother, I won't go alone.</p> <p>Other children will go with me,</p> <p>and march the streets of Birmingham</p> <p>to make our country free." "No, baby, no, you may not go,</p> <p>for I fear those guns will fire.</p> <p>But you may go to church instead,</p> <p>and sing in the children's choir."</p> <p>She has combed and brushed her nightdark hair,</p> <p>and bathed rose petal sweet,</p> <p>and drawn white gloves on her small brown hands</p> <p>and white shoes on her feet.</p> <p>The mother smiled to know her child</p> <p>was in the sacred place,</p> <p>but that smile was the last smile</p> <p>to come upon her face.</p> <p>For when she heard the explosion,</p> <p>her eyes grew wet and wild.</p> <p>She raced through the streets of Birmingham</p> <p>calling for her child.</p> <p>She clawed through bits of glass and brick.</p> <p>then lifted out a shoe.</p> <p>"O, here's the shoe my baby wore,</p> <p>but, baby, where are you."</p>
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并且去教堂。」

她替女儿梳理乌黑的头发，

把她梳洗得像玫瑰一般芳香，

棕色的小手戴着白手套，

一双白鞋穿脚上。

母亲面带微笑，她知道

女儿正在神圣的地方。

但不幸这笑容却成了

她脸上最后的微笑。

因为当她听见爆炸轰响，

泪水涌出眼眶，心急若狂。

她大声呼唤着女儿，

穿过伯明罕大街小巷。

母亲扒开碎砖烂石，

捡起一只鞋子。

「唉，这是我女儿的鞋子，

可是，宝贝，你在什么地方。」

贝蒂·弗莱顿(BETTY FRIEDAN)

女性的奥秘 The Feminine Mystique

现在是到了停止侈谈什么在美国已不必为妇女斗争的时候了。

贝蒂·弗莱顿于 1963 年发表的《女性的奥秘》一书帮助发动了现代妇女运动。弗莱顿(1921—)生于伊利诺伊州，1942 年毕业于史密斯学院。《女性的奥秘》问世的时期，正值越来越多的妇女进入劳工队伍，女性正打进男人控制的行业。该书是为能够整天呆在家里当主妇的中产阶级或中产阶级上层女性写的，但它对人们如何看待一般妇女问题，对形成妇女利益院外活动集团均起了催化作用。弗莱顿是全美妇女组织的一位创始人，曾领导争取平等权利修正案这场未

获成功的政治斗争。她也是《这改变了我的生活》和《第二阶段》这两本书的作者。

这问题深埋在美国妇女的心底无人理会已有多年。它是美国妇女在二十世纪中期所感到的奇怪的躁动不安、不满和渴望。每个城市郊区的妇女独自同它搏斗。在她整理床铺，购买食品，挑选家俱套布料，与孩子们一块儿吃花生酱三明治，与幼年男女童子军开车，或夜晚躺在丈夫身边的时候，她甚至不敢向自己提出这一内心深处的问题——「这就是我的全部生活吗。」

整整十五年，在关于妇女或为妇女而写的专栏、书籍、文章的浩瀚文字中，对这种渴望只字不提，写这些文稿的专家们告诉妇女，她们担任的角色便是尽妻子和母亲的义务。妇女们一遍又一遍地听到传统的和弗洛伊德玄奥学说的声音，说她们除了为自己的女子气质感到荣耀，休想指望更好的命运。专家们教她们如何追一个男人并保住他，如何给婴儿喂奶、把尿，如何处理子女之间的争吵以及他们青春期的反叛行为；还教她们怎样买洗碗机，怎样烤面包，怎样煮美味蜗牛，怎样自己动手建游泳池；还教她们什么样的服饰、容貌和举止才能更加女性化，使婚姻生活更富激情；怎样照顾丈夫，使他免于早死，怎样管教儿子，使他们不致沦为少年罪犯。有人教导她们怜悯那些神经过敏、欠温柔，不快乐、想当诗人、物理学家或总统的女人。她们懂得了，真正有女子气质的妇女不想要职业、高等教育、政治权利——旧式的男女平等主义者所奋力追求的独立和机会。有些四十多岁或五十多岁的妇女对当初放弃这些理想所经历痛苦记忆犹新，但年轻妇女中大多数人甚至不再想到它们。千百位专家异口同声欢呼她们的女子气质，她们的自我调整和她们的新的成熟。她们所该做的一切便是从少女时代起将一生奉献给嫁一个男人生儿育女这一任务。……

女性的奥秘说：妇女的最高价值和唯一义务是使她们自身的女性气质达到完美。它说，西方文化的一大错误是在其历史的大部分时间内低估了这女性气质。

它说，女性气质是如此神秘和直觉，如此接近生命的创造和本源，以致人类的科学可能永远无法理解它。然而不论怎样特殊和不同，女性气质绝不比男人的本质低下；在某些方面或许更优越。女性的奥秘说：错误在于，往昔妇女烦恼的根源在妇女妒忌男人，妇女竭力模仿男人，而不是承认自己的本质，而女性的本质又只有在性关系的被动、男性的支配地位和有亲情养育的情况下才能得以实现。……

女性的奥秘的逻辑为妇女问题的根本性质重下定义。一旦妇女被看作一个具有无限人类潜力的人，与男人平等的人，任何妨碍她充分发挥潜力的东西便成了应予解决的问题：接受高等教育和参与政治的障碍，在法律或道德方面的歧视和偏见等等。但既然人们只按其性角色看待妇女，对她充分发挥潜力的障碍，妨碍她完全参与社会事务的偏见也就不再成为问题。现在剩下的仅仅是那些干扰她为适应家庭妇女的职责所作调整的问题。于是职业是问题，教育是问题，政治兴趣，甚至对妇女智力和个性的承认也成了问题。最后还有一个莫名其妙的问题，即除了洗碗碟、烫衣服、惩罚或表扬子女，还有一种含糊不清的对「其他事情」的渴望。……

倘若一个能干的美国妇女未将其精力和才能用于某种有意义的事务(它意味着竞争，因为我们社会每项严肃的事务中都存在着竞争)，那么她将把自己的精力浪费在神经病症状、徒劳无功的训练或破坏性的「恋爱」上。

现在是到了停止侈谈什么在美国已不必为妇女斗争的时候了，是停止侈谈什么妇女的权利已经获得的时候了。叫姑娘们在进入一个新领域或旧领域时保持沈默以不让男人们注意到她们的存在，是荒唐可笑的。几乎在每一个专业性领域，在商业、艺术和科学方面，妇女仍被视作二等公民。劝打算踏进社会工作的姑娘们对这种微妙、令人不舒服的歧视作好精神准备，是一件大好事——叫她们不要沈默，不要希望歧视会消失，而要与之斗争。一个女子不该期待因自己性别享受特权，但她也不该去「适应」偏见和歧视。

她必须学会竞争，不是作为一名妇女，而是作为一个人。只有当大批妇女走出边缘汇入主流时，社会本身才会为她们实现新生活的计划提供安排。……

The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night— she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question— "Is this all."

For over fifteen years there was no word of this yearning in the millions of words written about women, for women, in all the columns, books and articles by experts telling women their role was to seek fulfillment as wives and mothers. Over and over women heard in voices of tradition and of Freudian sophistication that they could desire no greater destiny than to glory in their own femininity. Experts told them how to catch a man and keep him, how to breastfeed children and handle their toilet training, how to cope with sibling rivalry and adolescent rebellion; how to buy a dishwasher, bake bread, cook gourmet snails, and build a swimming pool with their own hands; how to dress, look, and act more feminine and make marriage more exciting; how to keep their husbands from dying young and their sons from growing into delinquents. They were taught to pity the neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy women who wanted to be poets or physicists or presidents. They learned that truly feminine women do not want careers, higher education, political rights— the independence and the opportunities that the old-fashioned feminists fought for. Some women, in their forties and fifties, still remembered painfully giving up those dreams, but most of the younger women no longer even thought about them. A thousand expert voices applauded their femininity, their

adjustment, their new maturity. All they had to do was devote their lives from earliest girlhood to finding a husband and bearing children. . . .

The feminine mystique says that the highest value and the only commitment for women is the fulfillment of their own femininity. It says that the great mistake of Western culture, through most of its history, has been the undervaluation of this femininity. It says this femininity is so mysterious and intuitive and close to the creation and origin of life that man-made science may never be able to understand it. But however special and different, it is in no way inferior to the nature of man; it may even in certain respects be superior. The mistake, says the mystique, the root of women's troubles in the past is that women envied men, women tried to be like men, instead of accepting their own nature, which can find fulfillment only in sexual passivity, male domination, and nurturing maternal love. . . .

The logic of the feminine mystique redefined the very nature of woman's problem. When woman was seen as a human being of limitless human potential, equal to man, anything that kept her from realizing her full potential was a problem to be solved: barriers to higher education and political participation, discrimination or prejudice in law or morality. But now that woman is seen only in terms of her sexual role, the barriers to the realization of her full potential, the prejudices which deny her full participation in the world, are no longer problems. The only problems now are those that might disturb her adjustment as a housewife. So career is a problem, education is a problem, political interest, even the very admission of women's intelligence and individuality is a problem. And finally there is the problem that has no name, a vague undefined wish for "something more" than washing dishes, ironing, punishing and praising the children. . . .

If an able American woman does not use her human energy and ability in some meaningful pursuit (which necessarily means competition, for there is competition in every serious pursuit of our society), she will fritter away her energy

in neurotic symptoms, or unproductive exercise, or destructive "love."

It . . . is time to stop giving lip service to the idea that there are no battles left to be fought for women in America, that women's rights have already been won. It is ridiculous to tell girls to keep quiet when they enter a new field, or an old one, so the men will not notice they are there. In almost every professional field, in business and in the arts and sciences, women are still treated as second-class citizens. It would be a great service to tell girls who plan to work in society to expect this subtle, uncomfortable discrimination— tell them not to be quiet, and hope it will go away, but fight it. A girl should not expect special privileges because of her sex, but neither should she "adjust" to prejudice and discrimination.

She must learn to compete then, not as a woman, but as a human being. Not until a great many women move out of the fringes into the mainstream will society itself provide the arrangements for their new life plan. ...

马尔维纳.雷诺尔兹

(MALVINA REYNOLDS)

小 盒 子

Little Boxes

马尔维纳.雷诺尔兹(1900—1978)生于旧金山，就读于伯克利加州大学，在该校获学士、硕士和博士学位。她因积极参加左翼政治活动，被列入黑名单，就业遇到困难。在创作政治歌曲的同时，她先后当过裁缝、社会福利工作人员、教员和钢铁厂工人。她写了五百多首歌曲，而且在国内外成为颇有造诣的表演家。她的几首歌是流行歌曲，包括琼.比斯 1962 年灌制的《你们对雨干了什么。》以及 1963 年皮特.西格灌制的《小盒子》。后者批评了由遍布市郊的「用廉价材料造的房子」所象征的整齐划一、用户至上主义和政治冷漠。这首歌深受大学生和其他一些人的喜爱，这些人在「用廉价材料造的房子」里长大，他们想

要表明：他们并非「结果完全相同」。

山坡上的小盒子，用廉价材料做的小盒子。	Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes made of ticky tacky
山坡上的小盒子，一模一样的小盒子，	Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes all the same There's a green one and a pink one and a blue one and a yellow one
有绿，有红，有蓝，有黄，	And they're all made out of ticky tacky and they all look just the same. And the people in the houses
它们全都用廉价材料制成，	All went to the university, Where they were put in boxes And they came out all the same, And there's doctors and there's lawyers, And business executives,
看上去一个样子。	And they're all made out of ticky tacky And they all look just the same. And they all play on the golf course
这些房子里的人，	And drink their martinis dry, And they all have pretty children
全都读大学，	And the children go to school, And the children go to summer camp
在大学他们住在盒子里，	And then to the university, Where they are put in boxes and they come out all the same. And the boys go into business
结果完全相同。	and marry and raise a family In boxes made of ticky tacky
有的当医生，有的当律	And they all look just the same.

师，

有的当董事，

他们都用廉价材料制成，

看上去一个样子。

他们都打高尔夫球，

喝无果味马丁尼酒。

他们都有可爱的孩子，

孩子们上学，

孩子们去夏令营，

然后进大学，

在大学他们住在盒子里，结果完全相同。

小伙子跨入商界，

结婚成家立业，

住在用廉价材料制成
的盒子里，

看上去一个样子。

林顿.B. 约翰逊

(LYNDON B.JOHNSON)

在霍华德大学的演说

Howard University Address

你不能找一个多年铁链锁脚的人，将他释放，把他带到比赛起跑线上然后说：
「你可以自由地与别人竞争了。」

当约翰.F. 甘乃迪遇刺后，林顿.约翰逊 (1908－1973)任总统。当时最紧迫的国内问题是公民权，而约翰逊成了一位卓有成效的社会立法——他称其为自己的「大社会」方案——的鼓吹者。国会对他的倡导作出反应，通过了一项重要的民权法令、联邦援助教育计划、反贫困方案以及联邦保护选举权的规定。

1965 年 6 月 4 日约翰逊在霍华德大学作就职演说，解释为什么法律平等仍不足以满足美国黑人完全参与美国社会事务的愿望。约翰逊希望以他对美国人民的健康、教育、福利作出的贡献流芳百世。但是他的政府陷入越南战争的泥潭，那场战争耗费了他的精力和全国预算中的很大一笔开支。任总统一届期满后，他不再竞选下一任总统。

从许许多多方面看，美国黑人已成为另一个民族，他们被剥夺了自由，被仇

恨所折磨，没有希望跨入机会之门。

在我们的时代，这个国家业已发生变化。美国黑人以感人的克制态度举行和平抗议和进军，进入了审判室和政府席位，要求享有长期得不到的公正。黑人的声音呼唤着行动。但我们应赞颂美国，因为一旦被唤醒，它的法庭和国会，总统和大多数人民都是进步的同盟者。……

选举权法案将是一系列众多胜利中最近、最重要的一个胜利。然而这一胜利——正如温斯顿·丘吉尔谈及另一自由的胜利时所说——「不是结束。它甚至不是结束的开端。但它或许是开端的结束。」

这开端便是自由；封锁这自由的屏障正在倒坍。自由即是完全平等地共同享有美国社会的权利——有权投票、就业、进入公共场所、上学读书。它是这样一种权利：在我们国家生活的每一方面被当作在尊严和前途上与他人平等的一个人。

但仅仅自由还不够。你不能讲这么一句话便把几个世纪的伤疤抹去：现在你可以自由地去自己想去的地方，做自己想做的事情，选自己拥护的领袖了。你不能找一个多年铁链锁脚的人，将它释放，把他带到比赛起跑线上然后说：「你可以自由地与别人竞争了，」而且仍自信你做得完全公平。

因此开启机会的大门还不够。我们所有的公民必须有能力走进这些大门。

这是争取民权的战斗下一个，而且是意义更深刻的阶段。我们不仅追求自由，而且追求机会。我们不仅追求法律公平，而且追求人的能力，不仅追求作为权利和理论的平等，而且追求作为事实和结果的平等。……

当然，美国黑人与美国白人一样已分享我国不断增长的财富。但严酷的事实是，

在争取真正平等的战斗中，每天有很多人——太多人——正丢失阵地。

我们并不完全确信已弄明个中原因。我们明白原因是复杂微妙的。但我们确实知道两大基本理由，而且我们知道我们必须行动。

第一，黑人——同许多白人一样——陷于从上一代传下来的，毫无出路的贫困之中。他们缺乏训练，缺少技能。他们被封闭在贫民窟中，得不到正规医疗。个人穷困和公众穷困结合，更削弱了他们的能力。

我们正通过反贫困方案、教育计划、医疗和其他卫生计划，以及另外 12 项针对这种贫穷根源的大社会方案，尽力铲除这些不幸。

我们将在未来的岁月中加重、加快、加大对贫困根源的进攻，直到这最顽固的敌人最后向我们顽强不屈的意志投降。

但是还有第二个原因——更难解释，更加根深蒂固，更加咄咄逼人。它是长期奴隶制度劫掠性的传统以及一个世纪的压迫、仇恨和不公。

因为黑人的贫困不是白人的贫困。贫困的许多原因和对策相同。但是存在着差别——深刻的、顽固的差别——把痛苦的根系深深扎入社区，扎入性格。

这些差别不是种族差异。它们仅只是古老的暴行、往昔的不公和当今偏见的后果。观察它们是令人痛苦的事。对黑人来说，它们不断提醒他们记住压迫。对白人而言，它们不断提醒他们有罪。但是必须面对它们，必须对付它们，必须克服它们，如果我们要争取这一天的到来，那时黑人与白人之间唯一的差别在他们的肤色。

我们也不能在其他美国少数民族的经验中找到圆满的回答。他们作出了勇敢的、相当成功的努力以冲出贫穷和偏见的樊篱。

黑人同这些少数民族一样，将不能不主要依靠自己的努力。但是黑人不能单独行动。因为其他少数民族没有需要克服的若干世纪的遗产，没有被经年累月的仇恨与绝望所扭曲和摧残的文化传统，也没有因种族或肤色遭排斥——这种被排斥的感觉是我们社会任何偏见造成的痛苦所无法相比的。

这些差别也不能理解为互相孤立的弱点。它们是一张紧密的网。它们互为因果，相辅相成。

黑人社会多半被埋在历史和环境的毯子下。只抓起这毯子的一角不是个永久解决办法。如果我们要解放我们的黑人同胞，我们就必须站在四周掀开整个覆盖物。……

或许最重要的一一其影响遍及生活的各方面——是黑人家庭结构的解体。对于这一点，美国白人社会应负主要责任。它源于若干世纪对美国黑人的压迫和迫害。它源于经年累月的贬低与歧视，这损伤了他的尊严，削弱了他为自己家庭从事生产的能力。……

家庭是我们社会的基石。家庭比其他力量更多地决定一个孩子的态度、希望、志向和价值观念的形成。当家庭解体时，往往总是孩子遭殃。当家庭崩溃大规模发生时，社会本身遭到损害。

因此，除非我们努力巩固家庭，创造使大多数父母白头偕老的条件，任何其他因素——学校、运动场、公共援助或私人关怀——都不足以完全切断绝望和丧失的循环。

对所有这些问题没有一个简单的答案。就业是部分答案。一份工作的收入使一个人能够供养家庭。

在良好的环境中的良好住房和求学机会——平等的求学机会——是部分答

案。

有利于家庭团聚的福利和制订得更妥善的社会服务计划也是部分答案。

照料病人是部分答案。

所有美国人的同情心是答案的另一重要组成部分。

我将把约翰逊政府不断扩展的努力用于这些战线及其它许多方面。

In far too many ways American Negroes have been another nation; deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope.

In our time change has come to this nation. The American Negro, acting -with impressive restraint, has peacefully protested and marched, entered the courtrooms and the seats of government, demanding a justice that has long been denied. The voice of the Negro was the call to action. But it is a tribute to America that, once aroused, the courts and the Congress, the President and most of the people, have been the allies of progress. . . .

The voting rights bill will be the latest, and among the most important, in a long series of victories. But this victory— as Winston Churchill said of another triumph for freedom— "is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning." That beginning is freedom; and the barriers to that freedom are tumbling down. Freedom is the right to share, share fully and equally, in American society— to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person

equal in dignity and promise to all others.

But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, and do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please. You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "you are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates. This is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability, not just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result. . . .

Of course Negro Americans as well as white Americans have shared in our rising national abundance. But the harsh fact of the matter is that in the battle for true equality too many— far too many— are losing ground every day. We are not completely sure why this is. We know the causes are complex and subtle. But we do know the two broad basic reasons. And we do know that we have to act.

First, Negroes are trapped— as many whites are trapped— in inherited, gateless poverty. They lack training and skills. They are shut in, in slums, without decent medical care. Private and public poverty combine to cripple their capacities.

We are trying to attack these evils through our poverty program, through our education program, through our medical care and our other health programs, and a dozen more of the Great Society programs that are aimed at the root causes of this poverty.

We will increase, and we will accelerate, and we will broaden this attack in

years to come until this most enduring of foes finally yields to our unyielding -will.

But there is a second cause— much more difficult to explain, more deeply grounded, more desperate in its force. It is the devastating heritage of long years of slavery; and a century of oppression, hatred, and injustice.

For Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences — deep, corrosive, obstinate differences— radiating painful roots into the community, and into the family, and the nature of the individual.

"These differences are not racial differences. They are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice, and present prejudice. They are anguishing to observe. For the Negro they are a constant reminder of oppression. For the white they are a constant reminder of guilt. But they must be faced and they must be dealt with and they must be overcome, if we are ever to reach the time when the only difference between Negroes and whites is the color of their skin.

Nor can we find a complete answer in the experience of other American minorities. They made a valiant and a largely successful effort to emerge from poverty and prejudice.

The Negro, like these others, will have to rely mostly upon his own efforts. But he just cannot do it alone. For they did not have the heritage of centuries to overcome, and they did not have a cultural tradition which had been twisted and battered by endless years of hatred and hopelessness, nor were they excluded— these others— because of race or color— a feeling whose dark intensity is matched by no other prejudice in our society.

Nor can these differences be understood as isolated infirmities. They are a seamless web. They cause each other. They result from each other. They reinforce each other.

Much of the Negro community is buried under a blanket of history and circumstance. It is not a lasting solution to lift just one corner of that blanket. We must stand on all sides and we must raise the entire cover if we are to liberate our fellow citizens. . . .

Perhaps most important— its influence radiating to every part of life— is the breakdown of the Negro family structure. For this, most of all, white America must accept responsibility. It flows from centuries of oppression and persecution of the Negro man. It flows from the long years of degradation and discrimination, which have attacked his dignity and assaulted his ability to produce for his family. . . .

The family is the cornerstone of our society. More than any other force it shapes the attitude, the hopes, the ambitions, and the values of the child. And when the family collapses it is the children that are usually damaged. When it happens on a massive scale the community itself is crippled.

So, unless we work to strengthen the family, to create conditions under which most parents will stay together, all the rest— schools, and playgrounds, and public assistance, and private concern— will never be enough to cut completely the circle of despair and deprivation. There it is no single easy answer to all of these problems.

Jobs are part of the answer. They bring the income which permits a man to provide for his family.

Decent homes in decent surroundings and a chance to learn— an equal chance to learn— are part of the answer.

Welfare and social programs better designed to hold families together are part of the answer. Care for the sick is part of the answer.

An understanding heart by all Americans is another big part of the answer.

And to all of these fronts— and a dozen more — I will dedicate the expanding efforts of the Johnson Administration.

罗道尔佛.冈萨雷斯

(RODOLFO GONZALES)

我是乔昆

I Am Joaquin

六十年代，许多种族团体抵制由熔炉所象征的同化目标。罗道尔佛.冈萨雷斯(1928—)写的《我是乔昆》一诗强烈地表现出美籍墨西哥人对文化同化的拒斥。该诗于 1967 年发表，成为奇卡诺政治运动的宣言书。它用很长篇幅对奇卡诺人的历史作了回顾，将奇卡诺人与他们的阿兹台克和印第安传统联系在一起，用这一历史支援种族团结。

冈萨雷斯生于丹佛，年轻时当过职业拳击手和工人，以后开了间街道酒吧。他积极参与丹佛市民主党活动，经办保释保证书业务，成为六十年代初丹佛市反贫困行动的主席。1966 年冈萨雷斯创建美籍墨西哥人的民权运动组织正义十字军。

最初冈萨雷斯自己刊印这首诗，散发十万份。该诗吸引了广大卡奇诺读者，遂于 1972 年印成一本书出版。以下系该诗的节录。

我是乔昆，	I am Joaquin,
失落在混乱的	Lost in a world of confusion,
世界里，	Caught up in a whirl of a gringo society.
卷入外国佬社	Confused by the rules,
	Scorned by attitudes,
	Suppressed by manipulations,

会	And destroyed by modern society
的漩涡中。	My fathers
被种种规则搞得晕头转向，	have lost the economic battle
被人嗤之以鼻，	and won
被操纵者压制，	the struggle of cultural survival.
被现代社会摧残。	And now!
我的父辈	I must choose
打输了经济仗，	Between the paradox of
却赢得	Victory of the spirit,
文化生存的斗争。	despite physical hunger
再看现在！	Or
我必须在二者之间作出选择：	to exist in the grasp
置精神胜利	of American social neurosis
与肉体饥饿	sterilization of the soul
的相互矛盾于	and a full stomach.....
	..I shed tears of anguish
	as I see my children disappear
	behind the shroud of mediocrity
	never to look back to remember me.
	I am Joaquin.
	I must fight
	And win this struggle
	for my sons, and they
	must know from me
	Who I am.
	Part of the blood that runs deep in me
	Could not be vanquished by the Moors
	I defeated them after five hundred years,

不顾，	and I endured.
或是	The part of blood that is mine
生活在	has labored endlessly five-hundred
美国社会神经	years under the heel of lustful
病	Europeans
的魔掌中	I am still here!
灵魂贫瘠，	I have endured in the rugged mountains
肠胃塞饱。	of our county
.....	I have survived the toils and slavery
.....	of the fields.
我流下痛苦的	I have existed
眼泪，	in the barrios of the city,
当我看见自己	in the suburbs of bigotry,
的孩子	in the mines of social snobbery,
消失在平庸的	in the prisons of dejection,
幕障后面，	in the muck of exploitation
再不记得我，再	and
不回头看我一	in the fierce heat of racial hatred.And now the trumpet sounds
眼。	The music of the people stirs the
我是乔昆。	Revolution.
	Like a sleeping giant it slowly
	rears its head
	to the sound of
	Tramping feet
	Clamouring voices
	Mariachi strains
	Fiery tequila explosions
	The smell of chile verde and
	Soft brown eyes of expectation for a

我必须战斗，	better life.
为我的儿子们	And in all the fertile farm lands,
赢得这场斗争，	the barren plains,
	the mountain villages,
	smoke smeared cities
而他们必须从	We start to MOVE.
我身上认识	La Raza!
	Mejicano!
我是何人。	Espanol!
	Latino!
	Hispano!
在我体内奔流	Chicano!
的一部分血液	or whatever I call myself,
未能被摩尔人	I look the same
征服，	I feel the same
	I cry
我在五百年后	and
战胜了他们，	Sing the same
	I am the masses of my people and
而且我挺了过来。	I refuse to be absorbed.
	I am Joaquin
我的一部分血	The odds are great
统	but my spirit is strong
	My faith unbreakable
在贪婪的欧洲	My blood is pure
人	I am Aztec Prince and Christian Christ
	I SHALL ENDURE!
铁蹄下，	I WILL ENDURE!

不停地劳作了
五百年，

我仍健在！

在我们国家崎
岖的山脉

我坚持下来，

我从庄稼地的
苦役中

熬了过来。

我生存在

城市的外围，

偏执的郊区，

在社会势利的
深井，

沮丧的牢狱，

剥削的污秽

以及

种族仇恨的炙

热中。

而今喇叭吹响，

人民的鼓乐激起

革命，

犹如睡着的巨人，它缓缓地

抬起头，

迎着

沉重的脚步声，

人们的叫喊声，

墨西哥流浪乐队的乐曲

龙舌兰酒火一般的烈性，

绿色干辣椒的气味

以及期待改善

生活的

柔和的褐色眼睛。

在所有肥沃的
农田，

荒芜的原野，

山区小村，

烟尘污染的城市，

我们开始行
动。

这民族啊！

墨西哥人！

西班牙人！

拉丁人！

讲西班牙语的
美洲人！

奇卡诺人！

不论我把自己

称作什么人，

我面容一样，

我感觉一样，

我叫喊的

以及

唱的一样。

我是我的民族
的群众，

我拒绝被同化。

我是乔昆。

力量悬殊，

但我的精神坚
强不屈，

我的信念牢不
可破，

我的血液纯洁
无比，

我是阿兹台克
君主和基督教

的耶稣。

我将会坚持下去！

我一定坚持下去！

附注：

- **chicano**，原为西班牙语，指住在美国的墨西哥男人。
- 阿兹台克人指墨西哥印第安人。
- 指非洲西北部柏柏尔人的后裔。

罗伯特·F·甘乃迪

(ROBERT F.KENNEDY)

反对越南战争

Against the War in Vietnam

在战争结束时，只会有更多战死的美国人.....以致他们可以说，正如塔西陀评述罗马时所说：「他们造成一片沙漠，称它为和平。」

罗伯特.F.甘乃迪(1925－1968)在他的哥哥约翰.F.甘乃迪总统的内阁中任司法部长。1964 年罗伯特.甘乃迪从纽约州被选为参议员，成为越南战争的一个

重要的批评者和自由主义民主党人的代言人。1968年3月16日他宣布自己的民主党提名总统候选人身份，两天后对美国的越南政策进行尖锐的抨击。两星期后，林顿·约翰逊总统宣布他不再参加竞选。

1965年约翰逊总统使美国对战争的卷入升级成了美国生活中最引起争议的问题。到1968年，在越南已有五十万美军。这场战争酿成一场愤怒的反战运动，损害了公众对政府、军队和其他国家机构的信任。1975年美国从越南撤出最后一批战斗人员以后很长时间，那场战争的阴影仍继续影响大众文化和国家政治。

……这是选择之年——在这一年我们不单选择我们由谁来领导，而且选择我们愿意被引向何方；选择我们自己想要的国家，以及我们为自己的子孙所要的国家。如果在这选择之年我们按旧幻想塑造新政治，那么我们只能担保为自己的未来带来危机——而且我们将把这些危机的惨痛结果遗赠给子孙。……

今天，我要对你们谈谈……越南战争。我来这里……是为了同你们讨论为什么我认为我们的有关政策破产了。……

我不想——我相信大多数美国人也不想——出卖美国利益，简单地撤出军队，举起白旗投降。那样做对我们作为一个国家和一个民族都是无法接受的。但我担心——我相信大多数美国人亦担心——我们目前遵循的方针犯了严重错误。我担心——我相信大多数美国人也担心——我们正在反对中立国和我们历史上的盟国的判断和愿望，仿佛其他国家概不存在似的。我担心——我相信大多数美国人也担心——我们目前的方针将不会带来胜利，不会带来和平，不会制止流血，不会增进美国的利益或世界和平事业。

我担心，在战争结束时，只会有更多战死的美国人，我们更多的财富被耗费；而且因为战争双方的痛苦和仇恨，又有千千万万越南人遭杀戮；以致他们可以

说，正如塔西陀评述罗马时所说：「他们造成一片沙漠，称它称为和平。」

而我认为这并不真正是美国精神的全部含义。

让我以个人和公职的双重身份开始这一讨论。我曾参与制订许多对越南问题的早期决定，正是那些决定导致我们走上现在这条道路。很可能我们在越南问题上的努力一开始便注定要失败；从来就不可能真正把南越全体人民置于我们所支援的历届政府统治下——南越的一任又一任政府被腐败、低效和贪婪所困扰，没有也无法吸引和激发人民的民族情感。如果情况确是如此，我愿在历史和我的同胞们面前承担自己的一份责任。但过去的错误不能成为它永远存在的借口。悲剧是活着的人赖以取得教训的工具，不是指引生活的向导。让我们一如既往用古老的检验标准衡量自身，以对自己作出公正的评价。如索福克勒斯的《安提戈涅》一剧所言：「人人都犯错误，但一个好人知错就改，并尽力弥补过失。世上唯一的罪恶是骄傲。」

最近几个月的退却迫使军方要求增加二十万六千兵员。本周末，已宣布说其中的一部分——被称为「适度」的增援——将很快派出。然而这不正是我们过去干过的事吗。假如我仔细回顾这场冲突的历史，我们会发现这可悲的故事一再重复。每一次——每当危机发生——我们总是否认出了差错；增派部队；发表更为自信的公报。每一次我们总是得到保证，称这一最后步骤将带来胜利。而每一次，预言和许诺总是落空、被人遗忘，于是又提出在梯子上再爬高一级的要求。

但是所有的军事升级，所有的最后步骤，都并未比以前的行动把我们带到离胜利更近一点的地方。相反，战斗规模越大，南越政府越是无力组织和保卫自身，而我们则越来越驮起战争的全部负担。

而总统又一次对我们说，正如我们二十年来反复听到的，「我们即将获胜」；

「胜利」在望。

但是真实情况怎样.我们当前形势如何.……

我们绥靖行动的意义过去一贯被描写为「深得人心。」我们认识到，向农村提供抵御越共的军事防卫将是枉费心机，而且实际上也不可能，除非农村人民视自己的利益与我们的利益相同，不去援助越共，而是帮助西贡政府。为此，我们认识到他们的思想必须加以改变——他们的自然倾向是支援越共，或至少消极观望，而不是为外国白种人或遥远的西贡政府流血牺牲。

正是这种绥靖工作上个月遭到严重挫折。我们无法改变村庄里受敌人控制的人民的思想。……如果多年来这些村子由西贡掌管，政府带来诚实、社会改变、土地——如果它这么做，如果对人民关于新的、更好的生活的很多许诺均已兑现——那么，在再占领的过程中，我们便可作为解放者出现：正如我们1944—1945年间在欧洲所做的，尽管当时战争造成巨大破坏。但是在南越，改革的许诺并未履行。贪污腐化和滥用职权的现象至今犹存。土地改革从来就只是一句空洞的诺言。目睹西贡政府过去三年的所作所为，南越农民没有理由为这一政权的扩展而战斗，没有理由不把这种努力进一步造成的破坏看作灾难。……

过去两个月的第二个明显的事实是，西贡政府已不再是比以前更好的盟友；它甚至可能变得更糟了；这场战争正无情地越来越成为美国的事。……事实是，数以千计的南越青年花钱买到缓服兵役的特权，而美国海军陆战队士兵却战死在溪山。

事实是，西贡政府已逮捕了僧侣和劳工领袖，逮捕了原总统候选人和政府官员——包括维护国家委员会的若干著名成员。仅仅几周前美国官员还在这些人身上寄予厚望。

同时，西贡政府的腐败愈演愈烈，正在削弱南越并损害我们援助其人民的努力。……

第三，这一点变得日益明显：我们取得的胜利将以对我们一度曾希望扶助的国家的破坏为代价。……

一位美国指挥员在谈及槟知市时这么说：「为了救这座城镇，有必要毁了它。」当美军指挥员们决定用空袭和炮火拯救他们的士兵生命时，很难与他们争论是非；如果美国部队是为越南的城市而战，那么他们理应得到保护。我无法弄懂的只是，为什么重占顺化、槟知和其他城市以及随之造成的破坏，其责任竟首先落在美军身上。

如果共产党起义者或侵略者们占领纽约、华盛顿或旧金山，我们不会让外国人去收复它们并且在此过程中毁了这些城市及其居民。……

倘若西贡政府的部队不愿或无力为他们的城市战斗，我们也不能毁了他们。那种救世之道不是我们设想自己能为它们做出的行动。因为我们必须问美国政府，问我们自己：这种逻辑推演到哪一步才是终结，如果有「必要」为了「拯救」南越而毁灭整个南越，我们也会这样做吗，如果我们对南越漠不关心，乐意看到其国土被毁，人民被杀，那么我们当初为什么要去那里。

难道我们能自授上帝庄严的权力——决定哪些城市村庄该被摧毁，决定人们的生死，决定哪些人将加入难民的行列，在我们创造的沙漠中流浪，……

我们且不要误解。对这场战争不可能有任何简单的道义上的答案，不能单方面谴责美国的行动。我们应当扪心自问的是：我们是否有权给另一个国家造成如此严重的破坏，而手头又无清晰可信的证据说明这种破坏乃是它的人民的要求，而这恰恰是我们所欠缺的证据。他们要求和平，不受任何外部势力左右的

和平。这正是我们担保要尽力带给他们的，而且不是在遥远的未来，是在残存的些许生命亟待从大屠杀中得到拯救的时刻。

第四个事实现在比以往任何时候更明了，即越南战争根本就不是对美国最后的严峻考验，实际上它削弱了我们在亚洲、在世界的地位，侵蚀了在过去三十年间直接支撑我国安全的国际合作结构。……我们最初是要证明我们在世界任何一个地方承担义务的意愿。可是我们正在证明，美国人民已不可能再自愿投入这种斗争。与此同时，我国最老、最强的那些盟国撤回到自己的海岸，只剩下我们独自在全亚洲充当警察。……

我们有权质问，人们要求我们质问：还需多少兵员、多少生命、多少破坏来取得永远即将来临的胜利，填入我们梦的无底深渊。

但是对这一问题美国政府不回答也无法作出回答。它没有答案——除了在一场以往靠军事力量已不能解决任何问题的冲突中不断增派兵力，利用更多的我国英勇士兵们的生命。

人们早就该质问：这场战争正给我们带来什么后果。当然，它使我们耗费金钱——占联邦预算的整整四分之一。但这只是我们付出的最小代价。真正的代价是我们的小伙子，他们有数万人永远失去了生命。真正的代价是我们的国际地位——对于中立国和盟国都是如此，它们对一个自己无法理解的政策日渐感到困惑和疏远。

我们付出的更大代价在于我们的内心生活，在于我们国家的精神受到的损害。在一百年中，我们第一次公开反对为国家的事业作出奉献。或许在我国历史上第一次在我们的军队中出现了由政治和道义上的原因造成的开小差行为。我们的报纸头版刊登美国士兵虐待俘虏的照片。每天夜里我们在晚间新闻中都看到恐怖事件。暴力行动在全国无情地蔓延，骚扰街道，危害我们的生活。不论我们付出什么代价，让我们想想派往越南的年轻人：不仅是那些被杀死的，而且

还有那些不得不去杀人的人；不仅是那些残废的，而且还有那些不得不目睹他们所作所为造成的后果的人。……

这战争目前的发展向我们或是向越南人民索取的代价远远超过了我们有理由希望从中得到的任何好处。这场战争必须也能够结束，只须怒火满腔，相信唯有自己才正确的双方勇士停止互殴，达致和平。我们已向不同的神作了祈祷，而双方的祈祷均未获完全的应答。现在虽然仍有时间等待一些祈祷得到部分应答，却是停止祈祷的时候了。

事实上可做的事很多。我们能够——正如我两年来一直催促，而我们始终未做的——与民族解放阵线谈判。我们能够——我们从未这么做——确保让民族解放阵线在南越政治生活中切实占有一席之地。我们能够——我们今天仍拒绝这么做——开始让战争降级，集中保卫居民区，以减少美军伤亡，减缓对农村的破坏。我们能够——我们从未这么做——坚持要求南越政府扩大其基础，实行名副其实的改革，与他们的同胞共同寻求体面的解决办法。……

但只要我们的现任领导怀着军事胜利在即的幻想，在我们目前方针的泥淖中越陷越深，那么即令这一适度而合理的方案也不可能付诸实行。……

附注：

- 塔西陀 (西元 55—120)，罗马历史学家。

. . . This is a year of choice—a year when we choose not simply who will lead us, but where we wish to be led; the country we want for ourselves—and the kind we want for our children. If in this year of choice we fashion new politics out of old illusions, we insure for ourselves nothing but crisis for the future—and we bequeath to our

children the bitter harvest of those crises. . . .

Today I would speak to you . . . of the war in Vietnam. I come here . . . to discuss with you why I regard our policy here as bankrupt. . .

I do not want—as I believe most Americans do not want—to sell out American interests, to simply withdraw, to raise the white flag of surrender. That would be unacceptable to us as a country and as a people. But I am concerned—as I believe most Americans are concerned—that the course we are following at the present time is deeply wrong. I am concerned—as I believe most Americans are concerned—that we are acting as if no other nations existed, against the judgment and desires of neutrals and our historic allies alike. I am concerned—as I believe most Americans are concerned—that our present course will not bring victory; will not bring peace; will not stop the bloodshed; and will not advance the interests of the United States or the cause of peace in the world.

I am concerned that, at the end of it all, there will only be more Americans killed; more of our treasure spilled out; and because of the bitter-ness and hatred on every side of this war, more hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese slaughtered; so that they may say, as Tacitus said of Rome: "They made a desert, and called it peace."

And I do not think that is what the American spirit is really all about.

Let me begin this discussion with a note both personal and public. I was involved in many of the early decisions on Vietnam, decisions which helped set us on our present path. It may be that the effort was doomed from the start; that it was never really possible to bring all the people of South Vietnam under the rule of

the successive governments we supported—governments, one after another, riddled with corruption, inefficiency, and greed; governments which did not and could not successfully capture and energize the national feeling of their people. If that is the case, as it well maybe, then I am willing to bear my share of the responsibility, before history and before my fellow-citizens. But past error is no excuse for its own perpetuation. Tragedy is a tool for the living to gain wisdom, not a guide by which to live, Now as ever, we do ourselves best justice when we measure ourselves against ancient tests, as in the Antigone of Sophocles: "All men make mistakes, but a good man yields when he knows his course is wrong, and repairs the evil. The only sin is pride."

The reversals of the last several months have led our military to ask for 206,000 more troops. This weekend, it was announced that some of them—a "moderate" increase, it was said—would soon be sent. But isn't this exactly what we have always done in the past. If we examine the history of this conflict, we find the dismal story repeated time after time. Every time—at every crisis—we have denied that anything was wrong; sent more troops; and issued more confident communiques. Every time, we have been assured that this one last step would bring victory. And every time, the predictions and promises have failed and been forgotten, and the demand has been made again for just one more step up the ladder.

But all the escalations, all the last steps, have brought us no closer to success than we were before. Rather, as the scale of the fighting has increased, South Vietnamese society has become less and less capable of organizing or defending itself, and we have more and more assumed the whole burden of the war.

And once again, the President tells us, as we have been told for

twenty years, that "we are going to win;" "victory" is coming.

But what are the true facts. What is our present situation....

The point of our pacification operations was always described as "winning the hearts and minds" of the people. We recognized that giving the countryside military security against the Viet Cong would be futile—indeed that it would be impossible—unless the people of the countryside themselves came to identify their interests with ours, and to assist not the Viet Cong, but the Saigon government. For this we recognized that their minds would have to be changed—that their natural inclination would be to support the Viet Cong, or at best remain passive, rather than sacrifice for foreign white men, or the remote Saigon government.

It is this effort that has been most gravely setback in the last month. We cannot change the minds of the people in villages controlled by the enemy. . . . If, in the years those villages and hamlets were controlled by Saigon, the government had brought honesty, social reform, land—if that had happened, if the many promises of a new and better life for the people had been fulfilled—then, in the process of reconquest, we might appear as liberators: just as we did in Europe, despite the devastation of war, in 1944—45. But the promises of reform were not kept. Corruption and abuse of administrative power have continued to this day. Land reform has never been more than an empty promise. Viewing the performance of the Saigon government over the last three years, there is no reason for the South Vietnamese peasant to fight for the extension of its authority or to view the further devastation that effort will bring as anything but a calamity. . . .

The second evident fact of the last two months is that the Saigon

government is no more or better an ally than it was before; that it may even be less; and that the war inexorably is growing more, not less, an American effort. . . .The facts are that thousands of young South Vietnamese buy their deferments from military service while American Marines die at Khe Sanh.

The facts are that the government has arrested monks and labor leaders, former Presidential candidates and government officials—including prominent members of the Committee for the Preservation of the Nation, in which American officials placed such high hopes just a few weeks ago.

Meanwhile, the government's enormous corruption continues, debilitating South Vietnam and crippling our effort to help its people. . . .

Third, it is becoming more evident with every passing day that the victories we achieve will only come at the cost of destruction for the nation we once hoped to help. . . .

An American commander said of the town of Ben Tre, "it became necessary to destroy the town in order to save it." It is difficult to quarrel with the decision of American commanders to use air power and artillery to save the lives of their men; if American troops are to fight for Vietnamese cities, they deserve protection. What I cannot understand is why the responsibility for the recapture and attendant destruction of Hue, and Ben Tre and the others, should fall to American troops in the first place.

If Communist insurgents or invaders held New York or Washington or San Francisco, we would not leave it to foreigners to take them back, and destroy them and their people in the process....

If the government's troops will not or cannot carry the fight for their cities, we cannot ourselves destroy them. That kind of salvation is not an act we can presume to perform for them. For we must ask our government—we must ask ourselves: where does such logic end. If it becomes "necessary" to destroy all of South Vietnam in order to "save" it, will we do that too. And if we care so little about South Vietnam that we are willing to see the land destroyed and its people dead, then why are we there in the first place.

Can we ordain to ourselves the awful majesty of God—to decide what cities and villages are to be destroyed, who will live and who will die, and who will join the refugees wandering in a desert of our own creation. . . .

Let us have no misunderstanding. The Viet Cong are a brutal enemy indeed. Time and time again, they have shown their willingness to sacrifice innocent civilians, to engage in torture and murder and despicable terror to achieve their ends. This is a war almost without rules or quarter. There can be no easy moral answer to this war, no one-sided condemnation of American actions. What we must ask ourselves is whether we have a right to bring so much destruction to another land, without clear and convincing evidence that this is what its people want. But that is precisely the evidence we do not have. What they want is peace, not dominated by any out-side forces. And that is what we are really committed to help bring them, not in some indefinite future, but while some scraps of life remain still to be saved from the holocaust.

The fourth fact that is now more clear than ever is that the war in Vietnam, far from being the last critical test for the United States is in fact weakening our position in Asia and around the world, and

eroding the structure of international cooperation which has directly supported our security for the past three decades. . . . We set out to prove our willingness to keep our commitments everywhere in the world. What we are ensuring instead is that it is most unlikely that the American people would ever again be willing to . . . engage in this kind of struggle. Meanwhile our oldest and strongest allies pullback to their own shores, leaving us alone to police all of Asia. . . .

We are entitled to ask—we are required to ask—how many more men, how many more lives, how much more destruction will be asked, to provide the military victory that is always just around the corner, to pour into this bottomless pit of our dreams. But this question the Administration does not and cannot answer. It has no answer—none but the ever-expanding use of military force and the lives of our brave soldiers, in a conflict where military force has failed to solve anything in the past. . . .

It is long past time to ask: what is this war doing to us. Of course it is costing us money—fully one-fourth of our federal budget—but that is the smallest price we pay. The cost is in our young men, the tens of thousands of their lives cut off forever. The cost is in our world position—in neutrals and allies alike, every day more baffled by and estranged from a policy they can-not understand.

Higher yet is the price we pay in our inner-most lives, and in the spirit of our country. For the first time in a century, we have open resistance to service in the cause of the nation. For the first time perhaps in our history, we have desertions from our army on political and moral grounds. The front pages of our newspapers show photographs of American soldiers torturing prisoners. Every night we watch horror on the evening news. Violence spreads

inexorably across the nation, filling our streets and crippling our lives. And whatever the costs to us, let us think of the young men we have sent there: not just the killed, but those who have to kill; not just the maimed, but also those who must look upon the results of what they do. . . .

The costs of the wear's present course far out-weigh anything we can reasonably hope to gain by it, for ourselves or for the people of Vietnam. It must be ended, and it can be ended, in a peace of brave men who have fought each other with a terrible fury, each believing that he alone was in the right. We have prayed to different gods, and the prayers of neither have been answered fully. Now, while there is still time for some of them to be partly answered, now is the time to stop.

And the fact is that much can be done. We can—as I have urged for two years, but as we have never done—negotiate with the National Liberation Front. We can—as we have never done—assure the Front a genuine place in the political life of South Vietnam. We can—as we are refusing to do today—begin to deescalate the war, concentrate on protecting populated areas, and thus save American lives and slowdown the destruction of the countryside. We can—as we have never done—insist that the Government of South Vietnam broaden its base, institute real reforms, and seek an honorable settlement with their fellow countrymen. . . .

Even this modest and reasonable program is impossible while our present leadership, under the illusion that military victory is just ahead, plunges deeper into the swamp that is our present course....

罗伯特.F.甘乃迪

(ROBERT F. KENNEDY)

关于小马丁.路德.金之死

On the Death of Martin Luther King, Jr.

我们需要的……不是分裂……不是仇恨……不是非暴力行动……而是爱和明智，互相同情。

1968年4月4日，小马丁.路德.金博士在孟菲斯遇刺。那天晚上，罗伯特.甘乃迪预定要在印地安那波利斯市一个贫穷的黑人区为他争取民主党总统候选人提名的竞选运动发表演说。警察告诫甘乃迪当晚不宜去演讲，因为他们不能保证他的安全。当他到达那个地区时，他发现听众尚未听说金的遇害。他当晚的即席讲话回顾了一名狙击手的子弹夺去他兄弟的生命后他个人的巨创深痛。

三个月后，1968年6月4日，甘乃迪庆祝在重要的加州初选中旗开得胜。那天晚上他在洛杉矶大使饭店向他的拥护者们演说时，似乎正迈向民主党提名的目标。罗伯特.甘乃迪穿过一间厨房的过道离开饭店，被一名心怀怨恨的巴勒斯坦移民开枪击中，两天后死去。

我有一则不幸的消息要告诉你们，告诉我们全体同胞，告诉全世界爱好和平的人民，那就是马丁.路德.金遇刺身亡。

马丁.路德.金为他的同胞们把自己的一生献给爱，献给正义，他因为作出这种努力被害。

在这艰难的一天，在这对美国而言艰难的时刻，问一问我们是怎样一个民族，我们要走向何方，或许不无裨益。对于你们中的黑人——考虑到现场的证据，

显然白人须对金的遇刺负责——你们可能义愤填膺，满腔仇恨，亟欲复仇。我们作为一个国家可能朝那个方向走，即两极分化——黑人和白人互相隔绝，互相仇视。

或者我们能够，正如马丁·路德·金所做的，互相理解，用同一种以爱心和同情去理解的努力取代那种暴力行为，取代已染遍我们国土的斑斑血迹。

对于你们中那些由这一非正义行动导致对全体白人充满仇恨和怀疑的黑人，我只能说我内心怀着同样的情感。我有一位家庭成员被害，但他是被一个白人杀害的。然而我们必须做出努力，必须在美国作出努力，我们必须努力去理解，努力度过这十分艰难的时期。

我最喜爱的诗人是埃斯库罗斯。他写道：「在我们的睡梦中，不能忘怀的痛苦一点一滴地落在心头，直到我们在自己的绝望中，明智违背我们的意愿受上帝庄严的感召来临。」

在美国我们需要的不是分裂；在美国我们需要的不是仇恨；在美国我们需要的不是非暴力行动或无法无天，而是爱和明智，互相同情，以及对那些仍在我国受苦受难的白人或黑人的正义的感情。

所以今晚我将请求你们回家为马丁·路德·金的家人祈祷，理应如此，但更重要的是为我们自己的国家，为我们大家热爱的国家祈祷——为理解和我方才提到的同情祈祷。

我们在这个国家能够做得很好。我们将会有艰难的时期。我们以前曾有过艰难的时期。我们将来还会有艰难的时期。这不是暴力的结束；这不是非法行为的结束；这不是混乱的结束。

但是这个国家白人的大多数和黑人的大多数要求共同生活，要求改善我们的生

活水平，要求对这片国土上的全体居民给予公正。

让我们为实现希腊人多少年前写下的这句箴言献出全部力量：驯服人的野性，使这个世界的生活变得温和宜人。

让我们为此献出一切，并且为我们的国家和我们的人民祈祷。

附注：

- 埃斯库罗斯：埃斯库罗斯(西元前 525—456)，古希腊著名诗剧作家。

I have bad news for you, for all of our fellow citizens, and people who love peace all over the world, and that is that Martin Luther King was shot and killed tonight.

Martin Luther King dedicated his life to love and to justice for his fellow human beings, and he died because of that effort.

In this difficult day, in this difficult time for the United States, it is perhaps well to ask what kind of a nation we are and what direction we want to move in. For those of you who are black—considering the evidence there evidently is that there were white people who were responsible—you can be filled with bitterness, with hatred, and a desire for revenge. We can move in that direction as a country, in great polarization—black people amongst black, white people amongst white, filled with hatred toward one another.

Or we can make an effort, as Martin Luther King did, to

understand and to comprehend, and to replace that violence, that stain of bloodshed that has spread across our land, with an effort to understand with compassion and love.

For those of you who are black and are tempted to be filled with hatred and distrust at the injustice of such an act, against all white people, I can only say that I feel in my own heart the same kind of feeling. I had a member of my family killed, but he was killed by a white man. But we have to make an effort in the United States, we have to make an effort to understand, to go beyond these rather difficult times.

My favorite poet was Aeschylus. He wrote: "In our sleep, pain which cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart until, in our own despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful grace of God."

What we need in the United States is not division; what we need in the United States is not hatred; what we need in the United States is not violence or lawlessness, but love and wisdom, and compassion toward one another, and a feeling of justice towards those who still suffer within our country, whether they be white or they be black.

So I shall ask you tonight to return home, to say a prayer for the family of Martin Luther King, that's true, but more importantly to say a prayer for our own country, which all of us love—a prayer for understanding and that compassion of which I spoke.

We can do well in this country. We will have difficult times. We've had difficult times in the past. We will have difficult times in the future. It is not the end of violence; it is not the end of lawlessness; it is not the end of disorder.

But the vast majority of white people and the vast majority of black people in this country want to live together, want to improve the quality of our life, and want justice for all human beings who abide in our land.

Let us dedicate ourselves to what the Greeks wrote so many years ago: to tame the savageness of man and to make gentle the life of this world.

Let us dedicate ourselves to that, and say a prayer for our country and for our people.

阿贝拉多.德尔嘎多
(ABELARDO DELGADO)

愚蠢的美国
Stupid America

阿贝拉多.德尔嘎多 (1931—)生于墨西哥奇瓦瓦。1943 年他随母亲移民美国，住在德克萨斯州的埃尔帕索，上公立学校，进德克萨斯大学学习。他是六十年代末七十年代初芝加哥政治运动的主要作家之一。德尔嘎多的诗作均以「阿贝拉多」署名，他出版了很多部诗集。《愚蠢的美国》一诗收入 1969 年出版的他的第一部诗集《奇卡诺：一股奇卡诺风的二十五篇章》。

愚蠢的美国，看那奇卡诺人

用他坚定的手

拿着一把利刀

Stupid america, see that chicano

with a big knife

in his steady hand

he doesn't want to knife you

he wants to sit on a bench

and carve christfigures

他不是要刺你	but you won't let him.
只是想坐在凳子上	stupid america, hear that chicano
雕刻基督的形象	shouting curses on the street
可是你却不让。	he is a poet
愚蠢的美国，听那奇卡诺人	without paper and pencil
在街头大声咒骂	and since he cannot write
他是诗人	he will explode.
却没有纸笔	stupid america, remember that chicanito
既然无法写作	flunking math and English
他将爆炸。	he is the Picasso
愚蠢的美国，记住那奇卡诺人	of your western states
数学和英语考不及格	but he will die
他是个你西部各州的	with one thousand masterpieces
毕加索	hanging only from his mind.
但是他死的时候	

	那千百件艺术杰作	
	只在他头脑中悬挂。	
<p>华莱士·斯泰格纳</p> <p>(WALLACE STEGNER)</p> <p>保留自然环境的想法</p> <p>The Wilderness Idea</p> <p>我们作为一个民族将会永远失去某种东西，如果我们让现存的自然保护区被毁。</p> <hr/> <p>华莱士·斯泰格纳(1909—)生于洛瓦，毕业于犹他大学。他是个多产作家，写了多部小说及各种各样的非虚构作品。他的小说曾荣获普利兹奖和全国图书奖。他的非虚构作品包括几部反映他对自然和西部的热爱的书(《这是恐龙》、《狼柳》和《山水声》)。《保留自然环境的想法》一文取自《山水声》(1969)。</p> <hr/> <p>……我想要为之辩护的是……保留自然环境的想法，它本身便是一种资源。作为一种无形的、精神的资源，它对注重实际的人似乎显得十分神秘——不过任何用推土机无法移动的东西对他们都可能显得难以理解。</p> <p>我想为保留自然环境的想法辩护，该想法有助于我们性格的形成，当然它塑造了我们作为一个民族的历史。……</p> <p>我们作为一个民族将会永远失去某种东西，如果我们让现存的自然保护区被</p>		

毁；如果让最后的原始森林变成一堆连环画册和塑胶烟盒；如果我们将野生动物所剩无几的种类驱入动物园或使其灭绝；如果我们污染最后的洁净空气，玷污最后的清澈溪流，把我们的公路铺设到最后的宁静区域。以致美国人在自己的国家里将再也躲不开噪音、废气、人的体臭和机动车废弃物。这样，我们就再也没有机会让自己在世界上悠然独处，成为由树木、岩石、泥土组成的环境的一部分，成为其他动物的兄弟，成为自然界的一部分而且有资格属于大自然。失去了剩余的自然保护区，我们将无以稍作思考、休息片刻，势必一头钻进我们机械的、白蚁般的生活，彻底投入「美妙的新世界」即完全由人控制的环境。我们需要保存自然保护区——所有现存的各种各样的自然保护区，因为我们作为一个民族的特性正是迎着这一挑战形成的。能提醒我们并证实自然保护区仍然存在有益于我们的精神健康，即使我们在十年中从未涉足其间。当我们年轻时，它对我们有益，因为它能通过假期和休养将短暂的清醒带入我们疯狂的生活。当我们年迈时，它对我们十分重要，仅只因为它的存在——也就是说，仅仅作为想法就很重要。

附注：

- 《美妙的新世界》：《美妙的新世界》系英国作家 A.赫胥黎所著空想讽刺小说的书名，该书以悲观主义态度描述汽车大王福特之后第七世纪假想的世界国家。
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. . . What I want to speak for is. . . the wilderness idea, which is a resource in itself. Being an intangible and spiritual resource, it will seem mystical to the practical-minded—but then anything that cannot be moved by a bulldozer is likely to seem mystical to them.

I want to speak for the wilderness idea as something that has helped form our character and that has certainly shaped our history

as a people....

Something will have gone out of us as a people if we ever let the remaining wilderness be destroyed; if we permit the last virgin forests to be turned into comic books and plastic cigarette cases; if we drive the few remaining members of the wild species into zoos or to extinction; if we pollute the last clear air and dirty the last clean streams and push our paved roads through the last of the silence, so that never again will Americans be free in their own country from the noise, the exhausts, the stink of human and automotive waste. And so that never again can we have the chance to see ourselves single, separate, vertical and individual in the world, part of the environment of trees and rocks and soil, brother to the other animals, part of the natural world and competent to belong in it. Without any remaining wilderness we are committed wholly, without chance for even momentary reflection and rest, to a headlong drive into our technological termite-life, the Brave New World of a completely man-controlled environment. We need wilderness preserved—as much of it as is still left, and as many kinds—because it was the challenge against which our character as a people was formed. The reminder and the reassurance that it is still there is good for our spiritual health even if we never once in ten years set foot in it. It is good for us when we are young, because of the incomparable sanity it can bring briefly, as vacation and rest, into our in-sane lives. It is important to us when we are old simply because it is there—important, that is, simply as idea.

罗娜.迪.塞万提斯

(LORNA DEE CERVANTES)

难民船

Refugee Ship

罗娜·迪·塞万提斯(1954—)生于旧金山有很多西班牙人居住的地区。她在加州圣何塞长大。少女时期，她酷爱英国浪漫主义诗人，尤其是拜伦、济慈和雪莱。她最早的诗作发表在她的中学的报纸上。1974年当她二十岁时，曾在墨西哥城的一场剧院演出中朗诵《难民船》一诗，以后该诗刊登于当地一家报纸。这首诗描述丧失了文化根基却又无法与美国文化认同的移民的窘境。1974年，塞万提斯创办一个文学刊物《芒果树》以发表奇卡诺作家的作品。

《难民船》刊载于塞万提斯 1981 年出版的诗集《逃亡》。

就像湿玉米粉

like wet cornstarch

我在我祖母眼前溜过

I slide past *mi abuelita's* eyes

《圣经》在她身边

bible placed by her side

she removes her glasses

the pudding thickens

当她摘下眼镜

mama raised me with no language

I am an orphan to my Spanish name

布丁变得模糊不清

the words are foreign, stumbling on

my tongue

I stare at my reflection in the mirror

brown skin, black hair

妈妈不用任何语言将我带大

I feel I am a captive

aboard the refugee ship

我是自己西班牙语姓名的孤

a ship that will never dock

儿

a ship that will never dock

<p>这几个是外国单词，在我口中 结结巴巴</p> <p>我端详着镜子里的自己</p> <p>褐色皮肤，黑色头发</p> <p>我觉得我是个俘虏</p> <p>乘坐在难民船上</p> <p>一艘永不停靠码头的船</p> <p>一艘永不停靠码头的船</p>	
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朱迪·格伦

(JUDY GRAHN)

内玎坐在她邻居的门户阶上休息

Nadine, Resting on the Her Neighbor's Stoop

朱迪·格伦(1940—)生于芝加哥。她在新墨西哥州长大，毕业于旧金山州立大学。1970年朱迪·格伦与别人共同创办了第一家妇女出版社。她创作了几部诗集，编辑出版了若干本短篇小说集。

以下这首诗刊载于《一个普通妇女的工作》(1978)一书。

她把东西聚拢，募集保释金，

让房东修补最大的漏洞。

在星期日联欢会上，她给每一杯饮
料

加入烈酒，而且向你讲她的一半知
识

倾诉不停。她攻击城市的废墟

就像一辆坦克；而她认为

自己是把粗齿锯

割断木头的节瘤。她的语句

如一根根粗松木柄

而她的一双大手像浓烟弥漫空中，

她是贫民窟一间小屋，用泥巴堵塞
了裂缝，

坐在门前的石阶上数耗子

She holds things together, collects bail,
makes the landlord patch the largest
holes.

At the Sunday social she would spike
every drink, and offer you half of what
she

knows,
which is plenty. She pokes at the ruins
of the

city
like an armored tank; but she thinks

of herself as a rip saw cutting through
knots in wood. Her sentences come out
like thick pine shanks

and her big hands fill the air like
smoke.

She's a mud-chinked cabin in the slums,
sitting on the doorstep counting
rats and raising 15 children,

half of them her own. The
neighborhood

would burn itself out without her:
one of these days she'll strike the spark
herself.

She's made of grease
and metal, with a hard head
that makes the men around her seem

<p>养育十五个孩子，</p> <p>一半由她亲生。这街道没了她</p> <p>会失火烧成焦土；</p> <p>最近她自己将击打出火花。</p> <p>她由油脂</p> <p>和金属制成，头颅坚硬</p> <p>使她周围的男人显得脆弱。</p> <p>这普通的妇女平常得如同一根铁钉。</p>	<p>frail.</p> <p>The common woman is as common as a nail.</p>
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艾莉斯.沃克

(ALICE WALKER)

晚安，威利.李，我明早见你

Good Night, Willie Lee, I'll See You in the Morning

艾莉斯.沃克(1944—)生于佐治亚，就读于萨拉劳伦斯学院。她是个小说、散文和诗歌的多产作家。她的长篇小说有《麦瑞迪安》和《紫色》。她的关于妇女的散文以《寻找我们母亲的花园》一书出了选集。艾莉斯.沃克还写了兰斯顿.休斯的传记，编辑出版了佐拉.尼尔.赫斯顿作品选。她的《晚安，威利.李，我明早见你》一诗最初刊登在1975年的《洛瓦评论》上，1979年出版了以该诗

标题为书名的诗选。

俯视着我父亲

惨白的脸

作最后的告别

我母亲不含

眼泪，不带笑容

不怀悲哀

却彬彬有礼地说

「晚安，威利.李，

我明早见你。」

那时我才明白

我们一切创伤的治愈

全靠宽恕

它可以许诺

让我们

Looking down into my father's

dead face

for the last time

my mother said without

tears, without smiles

without regrets

but with civility

"Good night. Willie Lee, I'll see you

in the morning."

And it was then I knew that the healing

of all our wounds

is forgiveness

that permits a promise

of our return

at the end.

	最终 归来。	
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哈维.米尔克(HARVEY MILK)

由街道组成的城市A City of Neighborhoods

美国梦是从街道开始的。

哈维.米尔克(1930—1978)是第一个被选入旧金山市管理委员会的公开的同性恋者。三次竞选失败后，米尔克于 1977 年代表卡斯楚区——一个不同种族的人杂居的地区——入选市管委会。对许多当地居民来说，这个区就像一座小城。他们不欢迎市区再建。尤其不欢迎用推土机铲平街道，代之以高楼大厦的做法。米尔克的选民们对是否能保存他们生活的特点，避免发生在其他大城市中已毁了街区的衰败现象感到疑虑，忧心忡忡。米尔克意欲为同性恋问题以及美国城市街道复兴而大声疾呼。然而 1978 年 11 月 27 日哈维.米尔克和乔治.莫斯肯市长被一名心怀仇恨的前市管委会成员暗杀。

哈维.米尔克在就任市管委会职务后不久在一次募集基金的宴会上发表了以下这篇演讲。

……对这一点我们可别弄错：美国梦是从街道开始的。如果我们要重建城市，我们就必须首先重建街道。而要这么做，我们就必须认识到，生活的品质比生活的标准更重要。坐在门前台阶上——不论它是一座小城住宅的游廊还是一个

大城市住宅的混凝土门廊——与我们的邻居闲聊，要比挤坐在起居室的躺椅上看一个颜色失真的虚假世界重要得多。

进步并非美国的唯一事业——当然也不是它最重要的事业。随着技术的发展，生活的品质下降了，这岂不是咄咄怪事。哦，洗盘子更容易了。正餐本身也更方便了——只须加热，端上饭桌，虽说若是我们吃了广告扔掉食品，营养或许更丰富。当客人来访时，我们再也不怕玻璃器皿上会有污点了。但是，当然啰，也没人来做客了，因为我们的朋友怕上我们家来，我们去他们那儿也不安全。

我不必多费口舌告诉你们：在那十九或二十四英吋的世界图像中，清洁早已使神圣黯然失色。所以我们将个个散发出清洁的气息，显示出清洁的外貌，简直像实验室一般一尘不染，从里到外皆无菌。我们是完美的消费者，身边全是最新式的用具。我们是完美的观众，坐在比赛场周边的座位上几乎能看到世界上任何竞赛专案，无臭、无味、无感觉——孤孤单单、郁郁寡欢地呆在我们各自起居室的荒原中。我认为我们真正需要的应该是裤子后档多沾上一点灰土，坐在门户阶上再次与邻居谈天说地，享受着夏日的闲暇，那时大蒜的气味比音速传得还略快些。

我们干净整洁的生活缺少某种东西。这种东西是在华盛顿的我国领导人绝对无法用简单的法令提供的，也是电视广告从未宣传过的，因为尚无人发明一种方法用瓶子、盒子或罐头将它装入。我们所欠缺的是生活的触感、温暖和意义。

《时代》周刊的四色整页广告无法代替它。电视上三十秒钟的广告节目或华盛顿一场安抚人心的记者招待会也不能代替它。

我在华尔街和蒙哥马利街度过多年，因而完全了解那些大公司欠了它们的股东多少债务、多少责任。我也完全了解纽约、克利夫兰和底特律都市如战场的实情。我看见城市失业者以及可能会失业的人的脸。我看见唐人街、常聚集小偷和赌徒的猎人角、西班牙人聚居区、妓女和嫖客集中的娱乐区人们的脸……而

我不喜欢自己看到的这一切。

奇怪的是,我也回想起一个商行所能构思出的最棒的口号:顾客永远是正确的。

娱乐区和猎人角的人被忘掉了。街上的那些人正是顾客,当然是潜在的顾客,他们应当被当作顾客对待。政府不能对他们置之不理,商业界也不能无视他们的存在。倘若潜在的顾客买不起产品,生产产品又有何意义呢.这不单是价格问题,它是个购买力的问题。对于一个身无分文的人,从一点二九美元降到九十九美分仍是一大笔钱。

美国商业界必须意识到,股东们总是第一位的。但紧接着便是对他们的顾客的关切和供应问题,他们对顾客和该顾客所在的城市负有债务和责任,对商业本身在其中生存壮大的城市负有债务和责任。抛弃一个把你从幼童培养成人的老年公民是错误的。一旦你的商业发达了便对一个城市任意处置是同样错误的,甚至更加目光短浅。

不幸的是,对于那些欲逃避城市问题的人,城市的问题不仅限于城市。在我们的城市周围并没有护城河将这些问题封锁在城内。在纽约和旧金山发生的事最终也会在圣何塞发生。这只是时间迟早的问题。就像流感,它传播得越广情况就越糟。我们的城市不该被遗弃,它们值得人们为之奋斗。不只是那些城市居民,产业界、商业界、工会,所有的人都该为之奋斗。不仅因为它们代表过去,而且因为它们代表未来。你们的孩子,而且很可能还有你们的孙子,将住在这些城市里。为了实际效果,从波斯顿到纽瓦克的东部走廊将成为一个规模宏大的长条形城市。从密尔沃基到印地安那州的加里也将如此。而在加利福尼亚,由柏油路和霓虹灯构成的繁华的新月状地带将从圣巴巴拉一直伸展到圣迭戈。城市枯萎病是否将顺着快车道的动脉蔓延呢.当然会这样——除非我们阻止它。

因此 80 年代的挑战将是如何唤醒工商界的觉悟,使他们认识到在拯救曾养育

他们的城市的工作中应起什么作用。每家公司都懂得，它必须不断地向自己的工厂投资以保持健康发展。而城市是那工厂的一部分，城市居民是城市的一部分。这些因素相互关联，一损俱损，一荣俱荣。

总之，生产一种产品成本最低廉的地方若是使你的顾客丢了职业，也就不可能有什么成本低廉可言，倘若美国的顾客没钱买电视机，在日本制造电视机便毫无意义。产业界应积极雇用失业者，培训身无一技之长的人。「劳动集约」不是一个骯脏的词，并非每件工作都是机器干得更出色。产业界的任务不仅在创造产品，而且也要创造顾客。

代价高吗.我不认为如此。码头上堆满货物无人问津，这问题造成的损失大得多。那样做还有别的好处：犯罪率降低，福利负担减少，而且可以让你的朋友和邻居坐在焕然一新的门廊里。

许多公司感到，援助城市是慈善事业的一种形式。我认为把它视作经营上的部分费用更确切，应把它作为未来分期偿还的款项入帐。我希望工商界这样考虑问题，因为我认为工商界比政府有更大的创造力，或许能力也更高一筹。我认为工商界不但可以把市场区以南的地方变成工业区，而且可以把它变成一个街区。请允许我编造一个双关语：我们太多的城市有综合企业，事实上有太多的综合企业。我们不需要另一个混凝土建筑物的丛林，当你们夜晚熄灯后，它便死去。我们需要的是一个街区，人们能在那儿步行去上班，养育他们的小孩，享受生活的乐趣。

我们的城市将得到拯救。我们的城市将得到治理。但它们将不是由三千英里外的华盛顿管理，不是由州议会管理，尤其不是由那些已逃到市郊的提毡包的人们管理。你们不可能让不住在城里的人管城市，正如你们不可能让不住在城市的人组成有战斗力的警察力量。在这两种情况中，你得到的都只是占领军而已。……

我们的城市将不会被这种人所拯救，他们觉得住在这些城市活受罪，迫不急

待地想迁往马林或圣何塞、埃文斯顿或韦斯特切斯特。我们的城市将由热爱它们的市民拯救。这些人在街道商店和商业大街这两者之间更喜欢前者。他们去剧院看戏，去餐馆吃饭，去夜总会跳迪斯可；这些人即便自己无子女也关心孩子们所接受的教育。

那将不只是未来的城市，它是今天的城市。它意味着新的方向，新的联盟，对古老的问题的新颖解决方式。拥有两辆汽车和二个孩子的典型美国家庭不再居住在那里。这种情况始于若干年前。人口统计数字现在不同了，我们都明白。我们的这些城市成了独身男女的城市，年轻夫妇的城市，成了退休老人和穷人的城市，成了说多种语言、肤色不同的人杂居的城市。

我们的城市将自我管理，将自己创造解决问题的方式。区级选举不是结束，而只是开端。我们将解决自己的问题——依靠你们的帮助，如果我们能够做到；不靠你们的帮助，如果我必须做到。我们需要你们的帮助，我不否认这点。但是你们也需要我们。我们是你们的顾客，我们是你们的未来。

我正骑马奔向那未来世界，坦率地说，我不知道自己是戴着曼布里诺的虚构的头盔，还是头戴理发师的铜盆。我猜我们头戴各自想戴之物，同我们想与之搏斗的物件搏斗。可能我看见了几条凶龙，而那里其实只有风车。然而有某种迹象告诉我，那几条龙是真的，如果我舍得用一两支长矛投向旋转的叶片，或许能逮住一条龙。……

昨天市管委会一位可敬的同事说，我们不能只靠希望过日子。我懂得这一点，但我深深感到，关键不在我们不能只靠希望度日。而在于没有了希望生活就失去意义。如果说唐·吉珂德的故事有什么教益，它告诫人们：生活的精神和生活的实体同样重要。一个别人眼中像理发师的铜盆的东西，你我却明白那是一顶锃亮的传奇般的头盔。

附注：

- 综合企业：原文为 **complex**，也有「情结」或「病态心理」的意思。
- 提毡包的人们：原文为 **carpetbaggers**，指美国南北战争后只带一只旅行袋去南方投机谋利的北方人。
- 头戴理发师的铜盆：西班牙名作家塞万提斯的长篇小说《唐吉珂德》中，主角堂吉珂德因骑士小说入迷，竟把风车当巨人，把羊群当敌人，把理发师的铜盆当作魔法师的头盔。

. . . Let's make no mistake about this: The American Dream starts with the neighborhoods. If we wish to rebuild our cities, we must first rebuild our neighborhoods. And to do that, we must understand that the quality of life is more important than the standard of living. To sit on the front steps— whether it's a veranda in a small town or a concrete stoop in a big city—and talk to our neighborhoods is infinitely more important than to huddle on the living-room lounge and watch a make-believe world in not quite living color.

Progress is not America's only business — and certainly not its most important. Isn't it strange that as technology advances, the quality of life so frequently declines. Oh, washing the dishes is easier. Dinner itself is easier— just heat and serve, though it might be more nourishing if we ate the ads and threw the food away. And we no longer fear spots on our glassware when guests come over. But then, of course, the guests don't come, because our friends are too afraid to come to our house and it's not safe to go to theirs.

And I hardly need to tell you that in that 19- or 24-inch view of the world, cleanliness has long since eclipsed godliness. So we'll all smell, look, and actually be laboratory clean, as sterile on the inside as on the out. The perfect consumer, surrounded by the latest appliances. The perfect audience, with a ringside seat to

almost any event in the world, without smell, without taste, without feel— alone and unhappy in the vast wasteland of our living rooms. I think that what we actually need, of course, is a little more dirt on the seat of our pants as we sit on the front stoop and talk to our neighbors once again, enjoying the type of summer day where the smell of garlic travels slightly faster than the speed of sound.

There's something missing in the sanitized life we lead. Something that our leaders in Washington can never supply by simple edict, something that the commercials on television never advertise because nobody's yet found a way to bottle it or box it or can it. What's missing is the touch, the warmth, the meaning of life. A four color spread in Time is no substitute for it. Neither is a 30-second commercial or a reassuring Washington press conference.

I spent many years on both Wall Street and Montgomery Street and I fully understand the debt and responsibility that major corporations owe their shareholders. I also fully understand the urban battlefields of New York and Cleveland and Detroit. I see the faces of the unemployed— and the unemployable — of the city. I've seen the faces in Chinatown, Hunters Point, the Mission, and the Tenderloin. . . and I don't like what I see.

Oddly, I'm also reminded of the most successful slogan a business ever coined: The customer is always right.

What's been forgotten is that those people of the Tenderloin and Hunters Point, those people in the streets, are the customers, certainly potential ones, and they must be treated as such. Government cannot ignore them and neither can business ignore them. What sense is there in making products if the would-be customer can't afford them. It's not alone a question of price, it's a question of ability to pay. For a man with no money, 99¢ reduced from \$1.29 is still a fortune.

American business must realize that while the shareholders always come first,

the care and feeding of their customer is a close second. They have a debt and a responsibility to that customer and the city in which he or she lives, the cities in which the business itself lives or in which it grew up. To throw away a senior citizen after they've nursed you through childhood is wrong. To treat a city as disposable once your business has prospered is equally wrong and even more short-sighted.

Unfortunately for those who would like to flee them, the problems of the cities don't stop at the city limits. There are no moats around our cities that keep the problems in. What happens in New York or San Francisco will eventually happen in San Jose. It's just a matter of time. And like the flu, it usually gets worse the further it travels. Our cities must not be abandoned. They're worth fighting for, not just by those who live in them, but by industry, commerce, unions, everyone. Not alone because they represent the past, but because they also represent the future. Your children will live there and hopefully, so will your grandchildren. For all practical purposes, the eastern corridor from Boston to Newark will be one vast strip city. So will the area from Milwaukee to Gary, Indiana. In California, it will be that fertile crescent of asphalt and neon that stretches from Santa Barbara to San Diego. Will urban blight travel the arteries of the freeways. Of course it will—unless we stop it.

So the challenge of the 80s will be to awaken the consciousness of industry and commerce to the part they must play in saving the cities which nourished them. Every company realizes it must constantly invest in its own physical plant to remain healthy and grow. Well, the cities are a part of that plant and the people who live in them are part of the cities. They're all connected; what affects one affects the others. In short, the cheapest place to manufacture a product may not be the cheapest at all if it results in throwing your customers out of work. There's no sense in making television sets in Japan if the customers in the United States haven't the money to buy them. Industry must actively seek to employ those without work, to

train those who have no skills. "Labor intensive" is not a dirty word, not every job is done better by machine. It has become the job of industry not only to create the product, but also to create the customer.

Costly. I don't think so. It's far less expensive than the problem of fully loaded docks and no customers. And there are additional returns: lower rates of crime, smaller welfare loads. And having your friends and neighbors sitting on that well-polished front stoop. . . .

Many companies feel that helping the city is a form of charity. I think it is more accurate to consider it a part of the cost of doing business, that it should be entered on the books as amortizing the future. I would like to see business and industry consider it as such, because I think there's more creativity, more competence perhaps, in business than there is in government. I think that business could turn the south of Market Area not only into an industrial park but a neighborhood as well. To coin a pun, too many of our— cities have a complex, in fact, too many complexes. We don't need another concrete jungle that dies the moment you turn off the lights in the evening. What we need is a neighborhood where people can walk to work, raise their kids, enjoy life. . . .

The cities will be saved. The cities will be governed. But they won't be run from three thousand miles away in Washington, they won't be run from the statehouse, and most of all, they won't be run by the carpetbaggers who have fled to the suburbs. You can't run a city by people who don't live there, any more than you can have an effective police force made up of people who don't live there. In either case, what you've got is an occupying army. . . .

The cities will not be saved by the people who feel condemned to live in them, who can hardly wait to move to Marin or San Jose— or Evanston or Westchester. The cities will be saved by the people who like it here. The people who prefer the neighborhood stores to the shopping mall, who go to the plays and eat in the

restaurants and go to the discos and worry about the education the kids are getting even if they have no kids of their own.

That's not just the city of the future; it's the city of today. It means new directions, new alliances, new solutions for ancient problems. The typical American family with two cars and 2.2 kids doesn't live here anymore. It hasn't for years. The demographics are different now and we all know it. The city is a city of singles and young marrieds, the city of the retired and the poor, a city of many colors who speak in many tongues.

The city will run itself, it will create its own solutions. District elections was not the end. It was just the beginning. We'll solve our problems — with your help, if we can, without it if we must. We need your help. I don't deny that. But you also need us. We're your customers. We're your future.

I'm riding into that future and frankly I don't know if I'm wearing the fabled helm of Mambrino on my head or if I'm wearing a barber's basin. I guess we wear what we want to wear and we fight what we want to fight. Maybe I see dragons where there are only windmills. But something tells me the dragons are for real and if I shatter a lance or two on a whirling blade, maybe I'll catch a dragon in the bargain. . . .

Yesterday, my esteemed colleague on the Board said we cannot live on hope alone. I know that, but I strongly feel the important thing is not that we cannot live on hope alone, but that life is not worth living without it. If the story of Don Quixote means anything, it means that the spirit of life is just as important as its substance. What others may see as a barber's basin, you and I know is that glittering, legendary helmet.

米尔顿·弗莱德曼，罗斯·弗莱德曼 (MILTON ANDROSE FRIEDMAN)

自由选择 Free to Choose

经济自由是政治自由的基本前提。

很少有几位经济学家像米尔顿·弗莱德曼和罗斯·弗莱德曼在公众中享有如此高的声誉。这对夫妇的著作、文章和电视节目宣传推广自由市场经济。米尔顿·弗莱德曼(1912—)生于纽约市，就读于拉特格斯大学、芝加哥大学和哥伦比亚大学。在芝加哥大学，他是芝加哥经济学学派的主要理论家，该学派批评政府对经济的干预。1976年，米尔顿·弗莱德曼获诺贝尔经济学奖。他的经济学理论直接影响了罗纳德·雷根和玛格丽特·柴契尔首相的政策。

罗斯·迪莱克特和米尔顿·弗莱德曼 1938年结为伉俪。她生于波兰，就读于里德学院，在芝加哥大学取得学位。作为一个作家和经济学家，她与丈夫合写了三本阐释自由市场的畅销书：《资本主义和自由》(1962)、《自由选择》(1980)、和《现状的专制》(1984)。后两本书以原标题在公共电视上以系列节目的形式播出。

以下是《自由选择》一书的摘录。

自从第一批欧洲人来新大陆拓居——1607年在詹姆斯敦，1620年在普利茅斯——美国已像磁石般吸引了冒险家们、逃离暴政压迫的人或只是试图让自己和子女过上较好生活的人们。

最初的涓涓细流在美国革命和美利坚合众国成立后膨胀了。到十九世纪则变成一股洪水，那时数百万人越过大西洋，为数较少的人越过太平洋。他们被悲惨生活和专制暴政逼得走投无路，被自由和富裕的希望所吸引。

当他们到达美国后，发现街道上并非黄金铺地，生活并不舒适安逸。他们并没有找到充分施展才干的自由和机会。但凭借苦干、创新、节俭和走运，他们多数人成功地实现了自己的不少希望和梦想，足以鼓动亲戚朋友加入他们的行列。

美国的历史是经济奇迹和政治奇迹的历史，奇迹的实现全靠把两套想法付诸实施。巧不可言，这两套想法都是在同一年，即1776年发表的文件中提出

的。第一套想法体现在《国富论》中，这一伟大著作使苏格兰人亚当·斯密成为现代经济学之父。该书分析了一个市场系统如何把个人追求自己目标的自由与在经济领域生产我们的食品、衣物和住宅所需的协同合作结合在一起。亚当·斯密最重要的见解是：一项交易双方都能受益，而且只要合作确实是自愿的，那么除非双方皆受益，否则就不会发生任何交易。在人人都能受益的个人之间的合作不需要任何外力、强迫手段或对自由的侵犯来促成。这就是为什么，正如亚当·斯密所说，一个“只考虑自己的利益”的人会被一只无形的手引导，达到与他的意图无关的目标。这种目标与个人意图无关对社会而言并不总是坏事。一个正在为自己的利益奋斗的人常常比他真正想要为社会谋利时更有效地增进了社会利益。“我从来没见过那些假装为公众利益经商的人做出多少好事。”

第二套想法体现在独立宣言中。托马斯·杰斐逊起草该宣言以表述他的同胞们的普遍观念。它宣布历史上首次有一个新的国家建立在这一原则之上，即每一个人都有权追求自己的价值标准：“我们认为这些真理不言自明：人人生而平等，造物主赋予他们若干不能出让的权利，包括生活、自由和追求幸福的权利。”……

美国历史的很大一部分是围绕着力图将独立宣言的原则付诸实施的尝试展开的——从关于黑奴问题的最终由一场流血内战解决的斗争，到以后的争取机会均等的斗争，直到最近争取平等分享成果的斗争。

经济自由是政治自由的基本前提。经济自由因为允许人民在不受强迫或集中管理的条件下互相协作，缩小了政权的行使范围。此外，通过分散权力，自由市场对可能产生的任何政权集中的现象可以起抵销作用。经济的和政治的权力在同一批人手中的结合肯定是实行专制统治的诀窍。

经济的和政治的自由相结合在十九世纪的英国和美国皆造成了一个黄金时期。美国甚至比英国取得了更大的繁荣。它从一张白纸开始：阶级和地位的痕迹更少；政府的限制更少；有更广大的肥沃土地让人们耕耘、开拓、创新；

有一片空白的大陆任人们去征服。

自由的巨大创造力在农业上得到的最鲜明、最显著的表现。当独立宣言颁布时，不足三百万原籍欧洲和亚洲的人(略去土著印地安人不计)居住在美国东海岸的一条狭长地带。农业是当时的主要经济活动。平均每二十名劳动者需要有十九人务农以供养全国居民并用剩余的农产品出口换回一些外国货。如今，劳动者中不足二十分之一的人务农，为二亿二千万居民提供食品，而且出口剩余的农产品使美国成为全世界最大的粮食输出国。

是什么东西创造了这一奇迹呢。显然不是政府的集中管理——像俄国及其卫星国、南斯拉夫和印度这类目前依赖集中管理的国家，使用劳动力的四分之一至二分之一从事农业，却经常靠美国的农业来避免大批民众饿死的悲剧。在美国农业迅速发展的大部分时期中，政府所起的作用微不足道。人们可以得到土地——但它是原先的不毛之地。十九世纪中期以后，土地赠与学院纷纷建立，这些学院通过政府资助的延伸服务传播资讯和技术。然而，这场农业革命主要源于在一个对一切人——遗憾的是黑奴除外——开放的自由市场中发挥的个人积极性。黑奴制被废除后，美国农业进入发展最快的时期。数百万来自世界各地的移民作为独立的农民或商人自由地为自己工作，或以双方都同意的条件为别人工作。他们可以任意试验新技术——假如试验失败，他们承担风险；假如试验成功，他们获得利益。他们从政府那里没得到多少帮助，更重要的是，他们从政府那里不会遇到多少干预。……

具有讽刺意味的是，经济自由和政治自由的成功对后来的思想家减少了感染力。十九世纪晚期很受局限的政府几乎不具有危害老百姓的集权，但另一方面这种政府也几乎不具有能使好人做好事的权力。而一个并不完美的世界里仍存在着许多罪恶。实际上社会的进步使残留的罪恶变得更令人讨厌了。一如既往，人们把有益的发展当作是必然的事。他们忘了一个强有力的政府对自由造成的威胁。相反，他们为一个更强的政府能够取得的成绩所吸引——只要政府权力掌握在"正直的"人手中。

这些想法于二十世纪初开始影响英国政府。它们在美国的知识份子中被越

来越多的人所接受，但直到 30 年代初的大萧条时期才对政府政策有明显影响。……没人认识到政府对大萧条的责任——不论当时或现在。相反，大萧条被广泛理解为自由市场资本主义的失败。这一荒诞的说法使公众与知识份子一样，对个人和政府的相对责任持变化了的观点。原先强调个人对自己的命运负责，取而代之的是强调个人如同小卒受自己无法控制的力量冲击。原先的观点是政府的作用在充当仲裁人以防止个人之间的强制胁迫行为，取而代之的是这种观点，即认为政府的作用是充当家长，其职责是强迫一些人帮助另一些人。

在过去的半个世纪中，这些观点主宰了美国的发展。它们导致各级政府的扩充，导致权力从地方政府和地方控制转向中央政府和中央控制。政府越来越多地承担起这一任务：以安全和平等的名义把从一些人那儿取得的东西分给另一些人。

最近几年的经验 ——显示出生产率的增长和下降——令人产生疑问：倘若我们继续赋予政府更大的权力，委任一个公务员"新阶级"，让他们据说是代表我们花费我们收入的更大一部分，那么个人的独创性是否还能继续克服政府控制的压抑性后果。或迟或早——或许比我们许多人预料的早——一个庞大得多的政府将会既毁掉我们多亏自由市场才赢得的繁荣，又毁掉独立宣言如此雄辩地宣扬的人类自由。

我们尚未到不能自拔，无法回头的地步。作为一个民族我们仍可自由选择是继续在"奴役之路"——正如弗利德里希·海克的那本深刻而有影响的书的标题所示上快跑呢，还是对政府作更严格的限制，并更多地依赖自由的个人之间的自愿合作以达到我们的若干目标。我们的黄金时期是否将结束，我国是否会故态复萌，倒退到人类大多数一贯而且至今仍然处于其中的专制和苦难的境况中去呢。抑或我们是否将有大智大勇和远见卓识去改变我们的路线，汲取经验教训，从"自由的复活"中获益。……

附注：

- 弗利德里希·海克：弗利德里希·海克(1899—)。奥地利出生的经济学家，以保守的观点和对凯恩斯福利国家的批判而著名。

Ever since the first settlement of Europeans in the New World—at Jamestown in 1607 and at Plymouth in 1620— America has been a magnet for people seeking adventure, fleeing from tyranny, or simply trying to make a better life for themselves and their children.

An initial trickle swelled after the American Revolution and the establishment of the United States of America and became a flood in the nineteenth century, when millions of people streamed across the Atlantic, and a smaller number across the Pacific, driven by misery and tyranny, and attracted by the promise of freedom and affluence.

When they arrived, they did not find streets paved with gold; they did not find an easy life. They did find freedom and an opportunity to make the most of their talents. Through hard work, ingenuity, thrift, and luck, most of them succeeded in realizing enough of their hopes and dreams to encourage friends and relatives to join them.

The story of the United States is the story of an economic miracle and a political miracle that was made possible by the translation into practice of two sets of ideas— both, by a curious coincidence, formulated in documents published in the same year, 1776.

One set of ideas was embodied in *The Wealth of Nations*, the masterpiece that established the Scotsman Adam Smith as the father of modern economics. It analyzed the way in which a market system could combine the freedom of individuals to pursue their own objectives with the extensive cooperation and collaboration needed in the economic field to produce our food, our clothing, our housing. Adam Smith's key insight was that both parties to an exchange can benefit and that, so long as cooperation is strictly voluntary, no exchange will take place

unless both parties do benefit. No external force, no coercion, no violation of freedom is necessary to produce cooperation among individuals all of whom can benefit. That is why, as Adam Smith put it, an individual who "intends only his own gain" is led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. "I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good."

The second set of ideas was embodied in the Declaration of Independence, drafted by Thomas Jefferson to express the general sense of his fellow countrymen. It proclaimed a new nation, the first in history established on the principle that every person is entitled to pursue his own values: "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." . . .

Much of the history' of the United States revolves about the attempt to translate the principles of the Declaration of Independence into practice— from the struggle over slavery, finally settled by a bloody civil war, to the subsequent attempt to promote equality of opportunity, to the more recent attempt to achieve equality of results.

Economic freedom is an essential requisite for political freedom. By enabling people to cooperate with one another without coercion or central direction, it reduces the area over which political power is exercised. In addition, by dispersing power, the free market provides an offset to -whatever concentration of political power may arise. The combination of economic and political power in the same hands is a sure recipe for tyranny.

The combination of economic and political freedom produced a golden age in both Great Britain and the United States in the nineteenth century. The United States prospered even more than Britain. It started with a clean slate: fewer vestiges

of class and status; fewer government restraints; a more fertile field for energy, drive, and innovation; and an empty continent to conquer.

The fecundity of freedom is demonstrated most dramatically and clearly in agriculture. When the Declaration of Independence was enacted, fewer than 3 million persons of European and African origin (i.e., omitting the native Indians) occupied a narrow fringe along the eastern coast. Agriculture was the main economic activity. It took nineteen out of twenty workers to feed the country's inhabitants and provide a surplus for export in exchange for foreign goods. Today it takes fewer than one out of twenty workers to feed the 220 million inhabitants and provide a surplus that makes the United States the largest single exporter of food in the world.

What produced this miracle. Clearly not central direction by government—nations like Russia and its satellites, mainland China, Yugoslavia, and India that today rely on central direction employ from one-quarter to one-half of their workers in agriculture, yet frequently rely on U.S. agriculture to avoid mass starvation. During most of the period of rapid agricultural expansion in the United States the government played a negligible role. Land was made available— but it was land that had been unproductive before. After the middle of the nineteenth century land-grant colleges were established, and they disseminated information and technology through governmentally financed extension services. Unquestionably, however, the main source of the agricultural revolution was private initiative operating in a free market open to all — the shame of slavery only excepted. And the most rapid growth came after slavery was abolished. The millions of immigrants from all over the world were free to work for themselves, as independent farmers or businessmen, or to work for others, at terms mutually agreed. They were free to experiment with new techniques — at their risk if the experiment failed, and to their profit if it succeeded. They got little assistance from government. Even more important, they encountered little interference from government. ...

Ironically, the very success of economic and political freedom reduced its appeal to later thinkers. The narrowly limited government of the late nineteenth century possessed little concentrated power that endangered the ordinary man. The other side of that coin was that it possessed little power that would enable good people to do good. And in an imperfect world there were still many evils. Indeed, the very progress of society made the residual evils seem all the more objectionable. As always, people took the favorable developments for granted. They forgot the danger to freedom from a strong government. Instead, they were attracted by the good that a stronger government could achieve — if only government power were in the "right" hands.

These ideas began to influence government policy in Great Britain by the beginning of the twentieth century. They gained increasing acceptance among intellectuals in the United States but had little effect on government policy until the Great Depression of the early 1930s. . . . Government's responsibility for the depression was not recognized — either then or now. Instead, the depression was widely interpreted as a failure of free market capitalism. That myth led the public to join the intellectuals in a changed view of the relative responsibilities of individuals and government. Emphasis on the responsibility of the individual for his own fate was replaced by emphasis on the individual as a pawn buffeted by forces beyond his control. The view that government's role is to serve as an umpire to prevent individuals from coercing one another was replaced by the view that government's role is to serve as a parent charged with the duty of coercing some to aid others.

These views have dominated developments in the United States during the past half-century. They have led to a growth in government at all levels, as well as to a transfer of power from local government and local control to central government and central control. The government has increasingly undertaken the task of taking from some to give to others in the name of security and equality. . . .

The experience of recent years — slowing growth and declining productivity — raises a doubt whether private ingenuity can continue to overcome the deadening

effects of government control if we continue to grant ever more power to government, to authorize a "new class" of civil servants to spend ever larger fractions of our income supposedly on our behalf. Sooner or later— and perhaps sooner than many of us expect— an ever bigger government would destroy both the prosperity that we owe to the free market and the human freedom proclaimed so eloquently in the Declaration of Independence.

We have not yet reached the point of no return. We are still free as a people to choose whether we shall continue speeding down the "road of serfdom," as Friedrich Hayek entitled his profound and influential book, or whether we shall set tighter limits on government and rely more heavily on voluntary cooperation among free individuals to achieve our several objectives. Will our golden age come to an end in a relapse into the tyranny and misery that has always been, and remains today, the state of most of mankind. Or shall we have the wisdom, the foresight, and the courage to change our course, to learn from experience, and to benefit from a "rebirth of freedom". . . .

乔治.J.米切尔 (GEORGE J. MITCHELL)

在伊朗—反对派问题听证会上的讲话 **The Iran—Contra Hearings**

虽然我们常常恳求上帝支援美国的策略，上帝却不这么做。

两个外交政策问题使雷根政府陷入窘境。第一，雷根政府无法使美国在中东的人质获释；第二，它想援助尼加拉瓜左派桑地诺主义政权的反对派(简称"反对派")。雷根政府不能为人质付赎金，因为它已公开发誓不与恐怖分子谈判；它也不能公开支援反对派，因为国会于 1984 年停止了对他们的资助。所以制定了一个秘密计划，把武器出售给伊朗，希望伊朗运用其影响让美国人质获释，并且设法把武器销售活动引向对反对派的支援。

象征伊朗—反对派问题的人物是奥利弗.诺斯中校，他在国家安全委员会负责

实施这一工作。1987年，诺斯在国会听证会上作证时为自己的行动辩护，称这种行动是出自一名军人的爱国动机。

1987年7月13日，乔治·J·米切尔(1933 —)与诺斯中校争论。大众传播媒介和全国的注意力集中在听证会上，而米切尔参议员给美国人民上了有关公民学的一课。

诺斯中校，你常在这儿振振有辞地谈论在尼加拉瓜实现民主的必要性。对这一点人们没有异议。但对于如何以最佳方式达到这一目标，则存在着争议。

许多人赞同总统的政策，许多人反对。许多强烈反对共产主义的，满怀爱国热忱的美国人认为，有一种更好的方式去遏制桑地诺主义者，在尼加拉瓜实现民主，给中美洲带来和平。

许多爱国的美国公民担心，当我们在国外追求民主时，是否会在国内或多或少损害了民主。

你和其他一些人极力主张我们的政策的连贯性。你说，假如我们前后不一致，我们的盟国和其他一些国家将对我们的可靠性表示怀疑。这种担心是很现实的。但是，如果说改变政策是坏事，那么同时采用两种不同的政策——公开奉行一种政策，暗中却反其道而行之——则更不可取。

很难设想能有比这种做法更加自相矛盾的了。很难想象有什么比阴一套阳一套的做法使我们的盟国更有理由认为我们靠不住。

而出售武器给伊朗作为释放人质的交换条件恰恰正是这种做法。

关于爱国主义和对我国的热爱，你已说了很多。

大多数国家起源于单一的部落或单一的种族。他们信奉单一的宗教。共同的种族、人种和宗教传统是许多国家之所以成为国家的粘合剂。

但美国则不然。我们有各种种族，各种宗教，一个很有限的共同传统。我们美国的国家粘合剂是关于个人自由和公平的美国理想。

法治乃是我国社会的关键问题。法律是最伟大的均衡器，因为在美国，法律面前人人平等。

但凡涉及法律，我们决不容许用目的为手段辩护。不论目的多么重要，多么崇高——无疑国外的民主是重要而又崇高的——都不能以损害我国的法制为代价来达到。

你谈到你的经历，确实令人感到钦佩。显然这是美国人民被你所吸引的原因之一。

让我告诉你我自己经历中的一个故事。

在我进入参议院之前，我有幸担任联邦法官。在那个职位上，我拥有很大的权力。我最乐于行使的权力是让人们成为美国公民。

我一次又一次主持我们称为加入国籍的仪式，即公民仪式。

到此刻为止——到此刻为止这是我一生中做过的最激动人心的事情。

这种仪式始终让我感动，因为我母亲便是个移民，而我父亲则是一对移民留下的孤儿。我的双亲皆未上过学，他们在我们的社会中从事微贱的工作。但由于美国法律所赋予的机会和公正，我今天以美国参议员的身份坐在这个座位上。

每一次公民仪式结束后，我都坚持同那些新入籍的美国人谈话。我问他们为什么来美国，怎样来到美国。他们每个人的故事都是扣人心弦的。根据你所表述的对美国的观点，我相信你对这些故事也会感兴趣，也会受感动。

当我问他们为什么来美国时，他们提到若干原因，主要是两点。第一，"我们来此，因为在美国这里每个人都有一个机会，一个良机"。他们，特别是来自极权主义国家的人们还反复说："我们来到这里，因为在美国你可以批评政府而不用担惊受怕。"在这里我们有与政府持不同观点的自由。

现在我向你提出一个请求。

在美国人民感到钦佩的你的品格中，最突出的是你对我国显而易见的忠诚。请记住，别人也具有这一忠诚。请认识到，一个美国人不赞同你关于援助尼加拉瓜反对派的观点，但他仍和你一样爱上帝，爱祖国。

虽然我们经常恳求上帝支援美国的策略，上帝却不这么做。

而在美国，不同意政府的观点并不证明一个人缺乏爱国主义。我想再说一遍：在美国，不同意政府的观点并不证明一个人缺乏爱国主义。实际上，我们可以公开表示与政府意见相左而不必惧怕报复。这一点是我们自由的实质所在，而且它将使我们永享自由。

我还有最后一点请求。如同你已经做到并将一定会做到的那样，奋力投入关于这一问题的辩论。但是请采取这种辩论方式，即尊重那些与你观点不同的人们的爱国精神和动机，正如你希望他们尊重你的爱国精神和动机一样。

Colonel North, you talked here often and eloquently about the need for a democratic outcome in Nicaragua. There is no disagreement on that. There is disagreement over how best to achieve that objective.

Many Americans agree with the President's policy. Many do not.

Many patriotic Americans, strongly anti-Communist, believe there's a better way to contain the Sandinistas, to bring about a democratic outcome in Nicaragua, and to bring peace to Central America.

And many patriotic Americans are concerned that in the pursuit of democracy abroad, we not compromise it in any way here at home. You and others have urged consistency in our policies. You said that if we are not consistent, our allies and other nations will question our reliability.

That's a real concern. But, if it's bad to change policies, it's worse to have two different policies at the same time, one public policy and an opposite policy in private.

It's difficult to conceive of a greater inconsistency than that. It's hard to imagine anything that would give our allies more cause to consider us unreliable

than that we say one thing in public and secretly do another.

And that's exactly what was done when arms were sold to Iran, and those arms were swapped for hostages.

Now, you've talked a lot about patriotism and the love of our country.

Most nations derive from a single tribe or a single race. They practice a single religion. Common racial, ethnic, and religious heritages are the glue of nationhood for many.

The United States is different. We have all races, all religions, a limited common heritage. The glue of nationhood for us is the American ideal of individual liberty and equal justice. The rule of law is critical in our society. The law is the great equalizer, because in America everybody is equal before the law.

We must never allow the end to justify the means where the law is concerned. However important and noble an objective— and surely democracy abroad is important and noble— it cannot be achieved at the expense of the rule of law in our country.

You talked about your background and it was really very compelling. It's obviously one of the reasons why the American people are attracted to you.

Let me tell you a story from my background. Before I entered the Senate I had the great honor of serving as a Federal Judge. In that position I had great power. The one I most enjoyed exercising was the power to make people American citizens.

From time to time I presided at what we call naturalization ceremonies. They are citizenship ceremonies.

People came from all over the world, risked their lives, sometimes left their families and fortunes behind to come here. They had gone through the required procedures and I, in the final act, administered to them the oath of allegiance to the United States and I made them American citizens.

To this moment— to this moment it was the most exciting thing I have ever done in my life. The ceremonies were always moving for me because my mother

was an immigrant and my father was the orphan son of immigrants. Neither of them had any education and they worked at very menial tasks in our society. But because of opportunity and equal justice under law in America, I sit here today a United States senator.

After every one of these ceremonies, I made it a point to speak to these new Americans. I asked them why they came, how they came to this country. Their stories, each of them, were inspiring. I think you would be interested and moved by them, given the views you have expressed on this country.

When I asked them why they came they said several things, mostly two. The first is that "We came because here in America everyone has a chance, an opportunity." They also said over and over again, particularly those from totalitarian societies, "We came here because in America you can criticize the government without looking over your shoulder." Here we have freedom to disagree with our government.

You have addressed several pleas to this committee, none more forceful than when you asked that the Congress not cut off aid to the (contras, for the love of God and for the love of country.

Now I address a plea to you.

Of your qualities which the American people find compelling, none is more compelling than your obvious devotion to our country. Please remember that others share that devotion. And recognize that it is possible for an American to disagree with you on aid to the Contras, and still love God and still love this country as much as you do.

Although He is regularly asked to do so, God does not take sides in American politics. And, in America, disagreement with the policies of the government is not evidence of a lack of patriotism. I want to repeat that. In America, disagreement with policies of the government is not evidence of a lack of patriotism. Indeed, it's the very fact that we can openly disagree with the government without fear of reprisal that is the essence of our freedom, and will keep us free.

I have one final plea. Debate this issue forcefully and vigorously, as you have and as you surely will. But, please, do it in a way that respects the patriotism and the motives of those who disagree with you, as you would have them respect yours.

罗纳德·雷根 (RONALD REAGAN)

在莫斯科国立大学的演说 **Speech at Moscow State University**

进步不是预先注定的。关键是自由——思想的自由，资讯的自由，交流的自由。

罗纳德·雷根(1911—)于 1980 年被选为美国总统。他的当选标志着八十年代一股强劲的保守潮流的胜利。雷根生于伊利诺伊州，在进入政坛之前是个电影明星，以后曾当选为加州州长。

在他的整个政治生涯中，罗纳德·雷根一直表现出对政治上压抑、经济上停滞的共产主义制度深恶痛绝。自从米哈伊·戈巴契夫掌权以后，苏美关系突然向好的方向转变。戈巴契夫在苏联的生活中导致广泛的政治和经济变革，最终促成 1989 年东欧各国共产党统治的崩溃。

在这发生历史性变化的时期，戈巴契夫邀请雷根访问苏联。1988 年 5 月 31 日，雷根对莫斯科国立大学的学生发表演讲，形成他苏联之行最精彩的场面之一。在该校一幅列宁像前，雷根描述了全球民主革命的扩展以及在即时通讯时代中自由思想的力量。

……站在这儿，一幅描绘你们的革命的壁画前，我想谈谈目前正发生的一场完全不同的革命，它悄悄地席卷全球，没有流血和冲突。它的作用是和平的，但将从根本上改变我们的世界，砸碎陈旧的想法，重塑我们的生活。

人们很容易低估这场革命，因为它并未伴随着旌旗飘舞的场面和嘹亮的喇叭声。它被称作工艺革命或资讯革命，而人们可以把小小硅片——跟指纹印一般大小——当作它的象征。这样的一块硅片比摆满一间屋子的老式计算器的计算能力更强。

作为一项交流计划的一部分，现在我们有一个展览正在贵国巡回展出，显示资讯技术正如何改变我们的生活——用机器人代替体力劳动，为农民预报天气，或是为医学研究人员绘制脱氧核糖酸的遗传密码。这些微型电子计算器如今帮助人们设计各种东西，从房屋、汽车直到太空船——它们甚至可以用来设计运作更好更快的电子计算器。它们能把英语译成俄语，或使得盲人也能阅读，甚至帮助迈克尔·杰克逊在一个合成器上奏出管弦乐队全部乐器的声音。一个人通过与一个卫星和光纤电缆的网路联系，用一架摆在桌面的电脑和一门电话便可获得几年前最庞大的政府也无法得到的资料。就像一只蝶蛹，我们正从产业革命的经济——被地球的自然资源所束缚和限制的经济——进入……一个新时代。在这个新时代中，人具有无限的想象力，而创造的自由则是最宝贵的自然资源。

想想那小小硅片吧。它的价值不在制作它的原料——沙子，而在由机灵的人脑设计的它内部的细微结构。或者再以卫星全球转播为例，它替代了成千上万吨经采矿、烧铸制成的铜丝。在新的经济中，人的创造发明越来越使得自然资源成为过时的东西。我们正突破生存的物质条件，跨入一个人类缔造自己命运的世界。甚至当我们探索科学最先进的领域时，我们也追溯到人类文化的古老智慧，它包含在《圣经》的《创世纪》卷中；最初只有圣灵，正是从这一圣灵源源不断地创造出天地万物。

但进步不是预先注定的。关键是自由——思想的自由，资讯的自由，交流的自由。著名科学家，学者，贵校的创办人米哈伊·罗蒙诺索夫深知这一点。"众所周知，"他说，"科学成绩斐然，发展迅速，特别是当奴隶的枷锁被解除，代之以哲学的自由之后。"……

现代纪元的探索者是企业家，他们高瞻远瞩，敢冒风险，具有坚定的信念，勇于涉足未知领域。这些企业家和他们的小型企业几乎造成了美国的整个经济发展。他们是技术革命的原动力。实际上，美国最大的个人电脑公司中的一家便是由两名与你们年龄相仿的大学生在他们家宅后面的汽车间里创立的。

有些人，甚至在我自己的国家，面对自由市场经济试验中的骚乱，眼中只看见浪费。所有遭到失败的企业家的情况怎样呢。其实许多企业家都失败过，特别是成功的企业家。他们往往失败过好几次。假如你向他们询问成功的秘诀，他们会告诉你，那是他们在摸爬滚打中学到的东西——是他们从失败中学到的东西。正如对于一名参加角逐的运动员或一位探求真理的学者，经验即是最伟大的导师。

这正说明为什么政府的制订计划的人员无论怎样精明也无法代替数百万夜以继日埋头苦干以实现自己梦想的个人。

我们美国人毫不掩饰我们对自由的信仰。事实上，在某种意义上它是全国人民的娱乐。每隔四年美国人民选一个新总统，1988 年便是大选年。一度有 13 名重要的候选人在两大政党内竞选，且不提其他政党，包括社会党和自由意志党的候选人——全都问鼎我的职位。

一千家地方电视台、八千五百家广播电台和一千七百家日报——每一家都是完全不受政府控制的独立私营企业——对这些候选人进行报导，轮番采访，把他们拽到一起辩论。最后由人民投票——由人民决定谁将任下一届总统。

但自由并不以选举为起点或终点。比方说，走进任何一座美国市镇，你都能看到代表各种不同信仰的十几座教堂(在许多地方还有犹太教堂和清真寺)，而且你看见属于各个不同民族的家庭聚集一堂做礼拜。

走进任何一所学校的教室，你都能看见孩子们正接受独立宣言精神的教育，以使他们懂得：他们被造物主赋予某些不可出让的权利，其中包括生活、自由和追求幸福的权利，任何政府都没有理由剥夺这些权利——它们是在他们的宪法中对言论、集会和宗教信仰自由的保证。走进任何一所法庭，你都能看到主持人是一位不依附政府权力的独立的法官。每一个被告都有权受到通常由 12 名普通男女公民组成的陪审团的审判，完全由这些陪审员来考虑证据，作出有罪或无罪的判决。在法庭上，被告在证实有罪之前是无罪的，而一

名警察或官员的话并不比被告的话具有更高的法律地位。

走进任何一所大学的校园，你都可以发现大学生们就美国社会问题及其矫正的方法进行公开的，有时是热烈的讨论。打开电视机，你可以看到立法机关就在摄像机前处理政府事务，就即将成为国家法令的审议事项进行辩论、表决。加入任何一场示威游行，你就会明白这种活动在美国司空见惯——人民的集会权得到宪法的保障和警察的保护。走进任何一座工会大楼，你会了解到工会会员们都知道，他们的罢工权利受法律保护。……

然而自由的含义甚至比这更广：自由是提出质问的权利，是改变既定工作方式的权利。它是一个市场持续不断的革命。它是一种认识，使我们能看清缺点，寻求解决的途径。它是提出一种见解的权利，这见解被专家奚落，却在人民中大受欢迎。它是追求你的理想的权利，保持自己良心的权利，即便你一个人处在怀疑者们的重重包围中。

自由是这种认识，即没有任何一个人，没有任何一个权威或政府能垄断真理，而每一个人的生命都是无比珍贵的，我们每一个降临到这个世界上的人都是为某种原因而来，要作出某种贡献。……

民主与其说是一个政府体制，不如说是一个限制政府，使其不能侵犯人权的制度：这种约束权力的制度使政治和政府从属于生活中的重要因素，即唯有在家庭和信仰中才能找到的价值的真正源泉。

但是我希望你们明白，我谈论这些问题不仅为颂扬美国的优点，也为了证明贵国的精神崇高伟大。究竟有谁需要对杜思妥耶夫斯基的祖国谈探索真理，对康定斯基和斯克里亚宾的祖国谈想象力，对乌兹别克作家阿利舍·纳维奥丰富、高尚的文化谈美和心灵呢。

贵国锦绣河山的伟大文化热情洋溢地向全人类发出呼吁。请允许我引用关于人类自由的最为意味深长的段落之一。它不是摘自美国文学，而是引自贵国二十世纪最杰出的作家之一鲍里斯·帕斯捷尔纳克的小说《齐瓦戈医生》。他写道："我认为，倘若藏在一个人体内的兽性能够用威胁——任何一种威胁，无

论是监禁或是死后的报应——加以压制，那么人性的最高标志将是马戏团里手执鞭子的驯狮者，而不是牺牲自我的先知。但这恰恰是要害问题：千百年来使人类高于禽兽的不是棍棒，而是内心的音乐——手无寸铁的真理不可抗拒的力量。"手无寸铁的真理不可抗拒的力量。今天，整个世界殷切期待着苏联发生变化，迈向更大的自由。……

你们这一代人生活在苏联历史上最令人激动，最有希望的时代。在这个时代，自由最初的气息在空中流动，人心随着希望不断加快的节奏跳动；在这个时代，在漫长的沈寂中积聚起来的精神力量喷薄欲出。

我记起果戈理《死魂灵》将近结尾的脍炙人口的一段文字。果戈理把他的祖国比作奔驰的三套车，并且问它的目的地在何方。然而他写道："除了传来美妙的铃声，没有任何回答。"

我们不知道这旅程将如何终结，但我们希望改革的许诺将得以实现。在这莫斯科之春，1988年5月，我们或许能获得这一希望——犹如托尔斯泰坟上嫩绿的树苗，自由将最终在你们人民和文化的肥沃土壤上欣欣向荣，蓬勃生长。我们或许能希望，一个新的开放格局的美妙铃声将响彻云霄，引向一个和解、友好与和平的新世界。……

附注：

- 瓦西里·康定斯基(1866—1944)：俄罗斯画家。
- 亚历山大·尼古拉耶维奇·斯克里亚宾(1872—1915)：俄罗斯作曲家。

... Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's easy to underestimate because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It has been called the technological or information revolution, and as its emblem, one might take the tiny silicon chip— no bigger than a fingerprint. One of these chips has more computing power than a roomful of old-style computers.

As part of an exchange program, we now have an exhibition touring your country that shows how information technology is transforming our lives— replacing manual labor with robots, forecasting weather for farmers, or mapping the genetic code of DNA for medical researchers. These microcomputers today aid the design of everything from houses to cars to spacecraft— they even design better and faster computers. They can translate English into Russian or enable the blind to read— or help Michael Jackson produce on one synthesizer the sounds of a whole orchestra. Linked by a network of satellites and fiber-optic cables, one individual with a desktop computer and a telephone commands resources unavailable to the largest governments just a few years ago. Like a chrysalis, we're emerging from the economy of the Industrial Revolution— an economy confined to and limited by the Earth's physical resources— into . . . an era in which there are no bounds on human imagination and the freedom to create is the most precious natural resource.

Think of that little computer chip. Its value isn't in the sand from which it is made, but in the microscopic architecture designed into it by ingenious human minds. Or take the example of the satellite relaying this broadcast around the world, which replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire. In the new economy, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We're breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where man creates his own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we're returning to the age-old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the book of Genesis in the Bible: In the beginning was the spirit, and it was from this spirit that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

But progress is not foreordained. The key is freedom— freedom of thought,

freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov, knew that. "It is common knowledge," he said, "that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." ...

The explorers of the modern era are the entrepreneurs, men with vision, with the courage to take risks and faith enough to brave the unknown. These entrepreneurs and their small enterprises are responsible for almost all the economic growth in the United States. They are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college students, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at the riot of experiment that is the free market and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail. Well, many do. particularly the successful ones. Often several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they'll tell you, it's all that they learned in their struggles along the way— yes, it's what they learned from failing. Like an athlete in competition, or a scholar in pursuit of the truth, experience is the greatest teacher.

And that's why it's so hard for government planners, no matter how sophisticated, to ever substitute for millions of individuals working night and day to make their dreams come true....

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it's something of a national pastime. Every four years the American people choose a new president, and 1988 is one of those years. At one point there were 13 major candidates running in the two major parties, not to mention all the others, including the Socialist and Libertarian candidates— all trying to get my job.

About 1,000 local television stations, 8,500 radio stations, and 1,700 daily newspapers, each one an independent, private enterprise, fiercely independent of the government, report on the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them

together for debates. In the end, the people vote— they decide who will be the next president.

But freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town. to take just an example, and you'll see dozens of churches, representing many different beliefs— in many places synagogues and mosques— and you'll see families of every conceivable nationality, worshipping together.

Go into any schoolroom, and there you will see children being taught the Declaration of Independence, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights— among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness — that no government can justly deny— the guarantees in their Constitution for freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion.

Go into any courtroom and there will preside an independent judge, beholden to no government power. There every defendant has the right to a trial by a jury of his peers, usually 12 men and women— common citizens, they are the ones, the only ones, who weigh the evidence and decide on guilt or innocence. In that court, the accused is innocent until proven guilty, and the word of a policeman, or any official, has no greater legal standing than the word of the accused.

Go to any university campus, and there you'll find an open, sometimes heated discussion of the problems in American society and what can be done to correct them. Turn on the television, and you'll see the legislature conducting the business of government right there before the camera, debating and voting on the legislation that will become the law of the land. March in any demonstration, and there are many of them— the people's right of assembly is guaranteed in the Constitution and protected by the police. Go into any union hall, where the members know their right to strike is protected by law....

But freedom is even more than this: Freedom is the right to question, and change the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. It is the understanding that allows us to recognize short-comings and seek solutions. It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by the experts, and

watch it catch fire among the people. It is the right to follow your dream, to stick to your conscience, even if you're the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every individual life is infinitely precious, that every one of us put on this earth has been put here for a reason and has something to offer. . . .

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government limited, unintrusive: A system of constraints on power to keep politics and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But I hope you know I go on about these things not simply to extol the virtues of my own country, but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land. Who, after all, needs to tell the land of Dostoevsky about the quest for truth, the home of Kandinsky and Scriabin about imagination, the rich and noble culture of the Uzbek man of letters, Alisher Navoi, about beauty and heart.

The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. Let me cite one of the most eloquent contemporary passages on human freedom. It comes, not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest writers of the twentieth century, Boris Pasternak, in the novel *Dr. Zhivago*. He writes, "I think that if the beast who sleeps in man could be held down by threats— any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death — then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But this is just the point— what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel, but an inward music — the irresistible power of unarmed truth."

The irresistible power of unarmed truth. Today the world looks expectantly to signs of change, steps toward greater freedom in the Soviet Union....

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air and the heart beats

to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free. I am reminded of the famous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a speeding troika, Gogol asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "There was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvelous sound."

We do not know what the conclusion of this journey will be, but we're hopeful that the promise of reform will be fulfilled. In this Moscow spring, this May 1988, we may be allowed that hope — that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvelous sound of a new openness will keep rising through, ringing through, leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace....

杰西·杰克逊 (JESSE JACKSON)

在民主党全国大会上的演说 **Speech to the Democratic National Convention**

共同的基础!

杰西·杰克逊(1941—)生于南卡罗来纳州格林维尔，在贫困中长大。他进伊利诺伊大学，接着转入历史上为黑人创办的北卡罗来纳农业和技术学院，以后又在芝加哥神学院学习。于 1968 年被委任为浸礼会牧师。

在大学期间，杰克逊曾在阿拉巴马州塞尔马与小马丁·路德·金一起游行，同南方基督教领袖联合会建立了联系。杰克逊是一位具有超凡魅力的演说家，他常激励青少年勤奋学习，努力工作，相信自己。

杰克逊在八十年代积极参与竞选政治活动。他在芝加哥领导了一场投票人登记运动，促成该市选出第一位黑人市长。1984 年杰克逊竞选民主党总统候选人提名。成为首位认真争取担任总统职务的黑人候选人。1988 年他再次竞选民主党总统候选人提名，票数仅次于麻塞诸塞州州长迈克尔·杜卡基斯。

杰克逊 1988 年 7 月 20 日在佐治亚州亚特兰大市民主党全国大会上的演说成

为这次竞选活动激动人心的高潮，因为它标志着黑人作为美国政治的一支重要力量已臻成熟。

……我们今天相聚在一个十字路口，一个需要作出决断的时刻。

我们将发展壮大，兼收并蓄，取得统一和力量呢，抑或陷入分裂和软弱无能的境地。

我们来到亚特兰大——古老南方的摇篮，新兴南方的熔炉。

今晚有一种喜庆的意味，因为我们从种族斗争的战场依据法律从根本上转移到经济的共同基础上。明天，我们将需要迈上新台阶。

共同的基础！

想想耶路撒冷吧，很多道路在那儿会合。一个小村庄成了三大宗教——犹太教、基督教和伊斯兰教——的诞生地。

为什么那个村子如此得天独厚呢，因为它提供了一个交汇点，让不同的人聚在一起，让不同的文化、不同的文明能汇合并找到共同的基础。

当人们聚会的时候，总是鲜花盛开，空中弥漫着新春的芳香。

再比方纽约，生气勃勃的大都市。是什么使纽约这么特别呢。

是自由女神铜像的召唤——把你们的疲倦、贫穷、拥挤不堪、渴望自由呼吸的民众交给我吧。

不仅局限于英国人。

许多人，许多文化，许多语种——有一点是共同的，他们渴望自由呼吸。……

共同的基础！

这便是今晚对我党提出的挑战。

左翼。右翼。进步将不是通过漫无边际的自由主义或凝固呆滞的保守主义

得以实现，而是依靠起关键作用的主体的共同生存。飞翔需要两翼。

不论你是雄鹰或鸽子，你不过是栖息在同一环境，同一世界中一只鸟。

《圣经》教导说，当狮子和羔羊躺在一起时，两种动物都不会害怕，将在山谷里和睦相处。这听上去似乎不可能。狮子捕食羔羊；羔羊遇上狮子自当逃走。但是即令狮子和羔羊也能找到共同的基础。为什么呢？

因为狮子和羔羊都不愿森林着火，狮子和羔羊都不愿酸雨降临，狮子和羔羊都不能在一场核战争中幸存。如果说狮子和羔羊能找到共同的基础，我们为文明的人类当然也能做到。

唯我们走到一起之时，我们才赢得了胜利。……

共同的基础。

美国不是由一支线、一种颜色、一块布料制成的毯子。我童年在南卡罗来纳格林维尔居住，那时祖母买不起毯子，但她并不怨天尤人，我们也并没有冻死。相反，她找来一些旧布块——羊毛、丝绸、华达呢、麻袋布的碎片——只能用来擦鞋的碎布片。但是碎布片当然用不久。祖母勤劳的手拿起针线把它们缝在一起，做成一条被子，美感、力量和文化的象征。

民主党党员们，现在我们必须缝制这样一条被子。农民们，你们争取合理的价格，但你们不能单独行动。你们的布料不够大。工人们，你们为合理的工资而斗争。你们是对的，但你们的布料不够大。妇女们，你们争取可比价值和同工同酬。你们是对的，但你们的布料不够大。妇女们，母亲们，你们争取生活正面的学前教育、日托和育婴期的照顾，而不是生活负面的牢房福利待遇，你们是对的，但你们的布料不够大。

学生们，你们争取奖学金。你们是对的，但你们的布料不够大。黑人和拉丁美洲人，当我们为民权斗争时，我们是对的，但我们的布料不够大。同性恋者们，当你们反对歧视，争取爱滋病的治疗时，你们是对的，但你们的布料不够大。保守派和进步人士们，当你们为自己的信仰奋斗，右翼、左翼，雄鹰、鸽子——按你们的观点看，你们是对的，但你们的观点不够全面。

可是切莫绝望。应该像我的祖母那样聪明，把布片碎料拼凑在一起，用一根线缝成一整块。当我们形成统一和具有共同基础的一条巨大的被单时，我们将有力量带来保健、住房、职业、教育，给我们国家带来希望。

我们人民将赢得胜利。我们站在反动的漫漫长夜的终点。我们今晚团结一致，决心朝新的方向前进。有些人认为，社会利益来自个人利益，把社会生活看作增加私人财富的手段。几乎有八年时间，我们被这些人牵着鼻子走。他们已准备牺牲很多人的共同利益以满足极少数人的私利和对钱财的贪欲。我们信任一个为公众服务的，作为我们的民主手段的政府，而不是为追求私人财富的贵族服务的工具：……

我只是想把常识提到更高水准。第二次世界大战结束已 43 年了，我们现在在每年耗费一千五百亿美元保卫欧洲和日本。如今我们比七年前在欧洲驻扎着更多部队，然而战争的威胁从未像现在这么遥远。德国和日本成了债权国——这意味着它们有了剩余。我们则是债务国——这意味着我们欠了债。

让它们更多地分担它们自己的防务责任吧——我们可以用一部分开支建造象样的房屋！

用一部分开支培养教育我们的孩子。 将一部分开支用于长期保健服务。 将一部分开支用于消除这些贫民窟，让美国重新运转！

不论是白色、黑色或棕色的皮肤，饥饿的婴儿瘪塌的肚皮颜色都一样。称之为痛苦，称之为创伤，称之为折磨。大多数穷人并未靠福利度日。

有些穷人目不识丁，看不懂报上的招聘广告。读懂招聘广告的穷人则找不到与他们的技能相配的职业。我知道他们每天辛劳工作。我曾生活在他们中间。我就是他们的一员。

我知道他们工作。他们一早出门赶乘公共汽车，他们每天干活。他们养育别人的孩子，他们每天干活。他们打扫街道，他们每天干活。他们驾驶有司机室的运货车，他们每天干活。他们在昨晚你们下榻的旅馆里换床单，但却得不到一份工会契约。他们每天干活。

不必再一一列举了。他们并不懒惰。必须有人站出来为他们辩护，因为这是正确的，而他们无法为自己说话。他们在医院里干活。我知道他们在那儿工作。他们为发着高烧，受病痛折磨的人擦身。他们为病人倒便盆。他们为病人洗便桶。没有什么工种比他们的更低贱了，可是他们一旦病倒，却不能躺在他们每天整理的床铺上。美国啊，这可不好。我们的国家不该这样。……

而我们的孩子们，美国的年轻一代，现在你们把头抬起来。我们能赢得胜利。我们决不能让你们被毒品、暴力、过早怀孕、轻生、犬儒主义、悲观绝望所毁掉。我们能赢得胜利。

不论今晚你们在哪里，我要求你们怀有希望和梦想。不要淹没你们的梦想。最重要的是锻炼；即便在服药期间也要梦见你不再需要药物的一天。即便住在贫民窟也要梦见你重新站起来的一天。你们决不能停止梦想。面对现实，对。但不要满足于现状；梦见的应是理想的世界。怀有梦想吧。面对痛苦，但是爱心、希望、信念和梦想将帮助你从痛苦中超脱出来。把希望和想象当作生存和进步的武器吧，但是你们要坚持梦想，美国的年轻一代。做和平之梦。和平是合情合理的；而战争在这个时代是荒谬的，不可能打赢。

梦见这样的教师吧，他们为生活而不是为谋生而工作。梦见这样的医生吧，他们对公众健康比对私人财富更关心。梦见这样的律师吧，他们对公正比对一场审判更关切。梦见这样的传教士吧，他们对预言比对牟取暴利更关心。梦见你们行进在正确合理的价值观念的大路上。……

不要投降，不要认输。为什么我能这样要求你们呢。杰西·杰克逊，你不了解我的处境。你经常上电视。你不理解。我看见你和大人物们在一起。你不理解我的处境。我理解。你们近来确实看见我上电视，但你们不明白是我造就了我自己。当他们看到我竞选入主白宫，他们弄不懂为什么我参加竞选，可是他们没有看到我是从什么家庭脱颖而出，参加竞选的。

我的经历值得一提。我过去并没有一直上电视。记者们过去并不总是等在我家门外。当我那年 10 月 8 日出生在南卡罗来纳格林维尔时，没有哪个记者问我母亲她叫什么名字。没人愿意记下我家的住址。没人预料我母亲会取得成

功。没人预料我会取得成功。要知道，我是由一个十几岁的母亲所生，而她的母亲生她时也只有十几岁。

我理解。我深知被抛弃的滋味，我知道人们对你刻薄，说你一钱不值，微不足道，而且永远成不了气候。我理解。杰西·杰克逊是我的第三个名字。我是被人收养的。当我没有名字时，祖母给了我她的名字。我用杰西·伯恩斯这一姓名直到十二岁。那时我不想有空白，祖母便给我取了个名字延续下去。我懂得什么时候没人知道你的名字。我懂得什么时候你没有名字。我理解。

我不是在医院里出生的。我母亲没有医疗保险，我生在家里的床上。我确实懂得。我生在一个只有三间屋的房子里，盥洗室设在后院，床边放着尿桶，家中没有冷、热自来水。我懂。糊墙纸用作装饰吗，不，用来挡风。我懂。我是劳动人民出身，所以无论你是黑人或白人，我都理解你。

我懂得干活的滋味。我不是生在富贵人家。我的手生来是拿铲子的。我母亲是个劳动妇女，天天很早赶去上班，袜子都走破了。她当然不好受，但是她自己穿破袜子，好让我的兄弟和我穿上相配的袜子，免得在学校被人耻笑。

我理解。感恩节那天下午三点，我们没吃上火鸡，因为那时母亲正在给别人烤火鸡。我们只得踢足球玩。到六点左右母亲才从阿尔塔维特公共汽车上下来；接着我们取出吃剩的食物，在晚上八点吃我们的火鸡——残羹剩菜、肉、酸果果酱。我确实理解。

他们给你们——你们这些今晚在街头巷尾的廉价公寓里观看这一电视广播的人——贴上所有这些希奇古怪的标签。我理解。把你们称为流浪汉，说你们可鄙，不能成功，无足轻重，出身下贱，低人一等。当你看见杰西·杰克逊，当我的名字列入候选人名单，你也就被提名了。

我生在贫民窟，但贫民窟生活并不是我的命运，贫民窟生活也不是你的命运，你能够成功。抬起头来挺起胸，你能够成功。有时天会变黑，但黎明总会到来。你不要屈服。痛苦培育个性。个性培育信念。最后信念将不会消失。

你不该屈服。你或许可能，或许不能达到目标，但是你该明白你完全胜任，

你该坚持到底。我们决不屈服。美国将越变越好。始终抱着希望，始终抱着希望，始终抱着希望吧。明晚以后，始终满怀希望吧。

我非常爱你们。我非常爱你们。

. . . We meet tonight at a crossroads, a point of decision.

Shall we expand, be inclusive, find unity and power; or suffer division and impotence.

We come to Atlanta, the cradle of the old south, the crucible of the new South.

Tonight there is a sense of celebration because we are moved, fundamentally moved, from racial battlegrounds by law. to economic common ground, tomorrow we will challenge to move to higher ground.

Common ground!

Think of. Jerusalem— the intersection where many trails met. A small village that became the birthplace for three great religions— Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Why was this village so blessed. Because it provided a crossroads where different people met, different cultures, and different civilizations could meet and find common ground.

When people come together, flowers always flourish and the air is rich with the aroma of a new spring.

Take New York, the dynamic metropolis. What makes New York so special.

It is the invitation of the Statue of Liberty— give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses who yearn to breathe free.

Not restricted to English only.

Many people, many cultures, many languages— with one thing in common, they yearn to breathe free. . . .

Common ground'

That is the challenge to our party tonight.

Left wing. Right wing. Progress will not come through boundless liberalism

nor static conservatism, but at the critical mass of mutual survival. It takes two wings to fly.

Whether you're a hawk or a dove, you're just a bird living in the same environment, in the same world.

The Bible teaches that when lions and lambs lie down together, none will be afraid and there will be peace in the valley. It sounds impossible. Lions eat lambs. Lambs sensibly flee from lions. But even lions and lambs find common ground. Why.

Because neither lions nor lambs want the forest to catch on fire. Neither lions nor lambs want acid rain to fall. Neither lions nor lambs can survive nuclear war. If lions and lambs can find common ground, surely, we can as well, as civilized people.

The only time that we win is when we come together....

Common ground.

America's not a blanket woven from one thread, one color, one cloth. When I was a child growing up in Greenville, S.C.. and grandmother could not afford a blanket, she didn't complain and we did not freeze. Instead, she took pieces of old cloth— patches, wool, silk, gabardine, crockersack on the patches— barely good enough to wipe off your shoes with.

But they didn't stay that way very long. With sturdy hands and a strong cord, she sewed them together into a quilt, a thing of beauty and power and culture.

Now, Democrats, we must build such a quilt. Farmers, you seek fair prices and you are right, but you cannot stand alone. Your patch is not big enough. Workers, you fight for fair wages. You are right. But your patch is not big enough. Women, you seek comparable worth and pay equity. You are right. But your patch is not big enough. Women, mothers, who seek Head Start and day care and pre-natal care on the front side of life, rather than jail care and welfare on the back side of life, you're right, but your patch is not big enough.

Students, you seek scholarships. You are right. But your patch is not big

enough. Blacks and Hispanics, when we fight for civil rights, we are right, but our patch is not big enough. Gays and lesbians, when you fight against discrimination and a cure for AIDS, you are right, hut your patch is not big enough. Conservatives and progressives. when you fight for what you believe, right-wing, left-wing, hawk, dove— you are right, from your point of view, but your point of view is not enough.

But don't despair. Be as wise as my grand- mama. Pool the patches and the pieces together, bound by a common thread. When we form a great quilt of unity and common ground we'll have the power to bring about health care and housing and jobs and education and hope to our nation.

We the people can win. We stand at the end of a long dark night of reaction. We stand tonight united in a commitment to a new direction. For almost eight years, we've been led by those who view social good coming from private interest, who viewed public life as a means to increase private wealth. They have been prepared to sacrifice the common good of the many to satisfy the private interest and the wealth of a few. We believe in a government that's a tool of our democracy in service to the public, not an instrument of the aristocracy in search of private wealth. . . .

I just want to take common sense to high places. We're spending \$150 billion a year defending Europe and Japan 43 years after the war is over. We have more troops in Europe tonight than we had seven years ago, yet the threat of war is ever more remote. Germany and Japan are now creditor nations— that means they've got a surplus. We are a debtor nation— it means we are in debt.

Let them share more of the burden of their own defense— use some of that money to build decent housing!

Use some of that money to educate our children!

Use some of that money for long-term health care!

Use some of that money to wipe out these slums and put America back to work! . . .

Whether white, black or brown, the hungry baby's belly turned inside out is the same color. Call it pain. Call it hurt. Call it agony. Most poor people are not on welfare.

Some of them are illiterate and can't read the want-ad sections. And when they can, they can't find a job that matches their address. They work hard every day, I know. I lived amongst them. I'm one of them.

I know they work. I'm a witness. They catch the early bus. They work every day. They raise other people's children. They work every day. They clean the streets. They work every day. They drive vans with cabs. They work every day. They change the beds you slept in these hotels last night and can't get a union contract. They work every day.

No more. They're not lazy. Someone must defend them because it's right, and they cannot speak for themselves. They work in hospitals. I know they do. They wipe the bodies of those who are sick with fever and pain. They empty their bedpans. They clean out their commode. No job is beneath them, and yet when they get sick, they cannot lie in the bed they made up every day. America, that is not right. We are a better nation than that. . . .

And then, for our children, young America, hold your head high now. We can win. We must not lose you to drugs and violence, premature pregnancy, suicide, cynicism, pessimism and despair. We can win.

Wherever you are tonight, I challenge you to hope and to dream. Don't submerge your dreams. Exercise above all else, even on drugs, dream of the day you're drug-free. Even in the gutter, dream of the day that you'll be up on your feet again. You must never stop dreaming. Face reality, yes. But don't stop with the way things are; dream of things as they ought to be. Dream. Face pain, but love, hope, faith, and dreams will help you rise above the pain.

Use hope and imagination as weapons of survival and progress, but you keep on dreaming, young America. Dream of peace. Peace is rational and reasonable. War is irrational in this age and unwinnable.

Dream of teachers who teach for life and not for a living. Dream of doctors who are concerned more about public health than private wealth. Dream of lawyers more concerned about justice than a judgeship. Dream of preachers who are concerned more about prophecy than profiteering. Dream on the high road of sound values. . . .

Don't surrender and don't give up. Why can I challenge you this way. Jesse Jackson, you don't understand my situation. You be on television. You don't understand. I see you with the big people. You don't understand my situation. I understand. You're seeing me on TV but you don't know the me that makes me, me. They wonder why does Jesse run, because they see me running for the White House. They don't see the house I'm running from.

I have a story. I wasn't always on television. Writers were not always outside my door. When I was born late one afternoon, October 8th, in Greenville, S.C., no writers asked my mother her name. Nobody chose to write down our address. My mama was not supposed to make it. And I was not supposed to make it. You see, I was born to a teen-age mother who was born to a teen-age mother.

I understand. I know abandonment and people being mean to you, and saying you're nothing and nobody, and can never be anything. I understand. Jesse Jackson is my third name. I'm adopted. When I had no name, my grandmother gave me her name. My name was Jesse Burns until I was 12. So I wouldn't have a blank space, she gave me a name to hold me over. I understand when nobody knows your name. I understand when you have no name. I understand.

I wasn't born in the hospital. Mama didn't have insurance. I was born in the bed at home. I really do understand. Born in a three-room-house, bathroom in the backyard, slop jar by the bed, no hot and cold running water. I understand. Wallpaper used for decoration. No. For a windbreaker. I understand. I'm a working person's person, that's why I understand you whether you're black or white.

I understand work. I was not born with a silver spoon in my mouth. I had a shovel programmed for my hand. My mother, a working woman. So many days she

went to work early with runs in her stockings. She knew better, but she wore runs in her stockings so that my brother and I could have matching socks and not be laughed at at school.

I understand. At 3 o'clock on Thanksgiving Day we couldn't eat turkey because mama was preparing someone else's turkey at 3 o'clock. We had to play football to entertain ourselves and then around 6 o'clock she would get off the Alta Vista bus: then we would bring up the leftovers and eat our turkey— leftovers, the carcass, the cranberries around 8 o'clock at night. I really do understand.

Every one of these funny labels they put on you, those of you who are watching this broadcast tonight in the projects, on the corners, I understand. Call you outcast, low down, you can't make it, you're nothing, you're from no- body, subclass, underclass— when you see Jesse Jackson, when my name goes in nomination, your name goes in nomination.

I was born in the slum, but the slum was not horn in me. And it wasn't born in you, and you can make it. Wherever you are tonight you can make it. Hold your head high, stick your chest out. You can make it. It gets dark sometimes, but the morning comes. Don't you surrender. Suffering breeds character. Character breeds faith. In the end faith will not disappoint.

You must not surrender. You may or may not get there, but just know that you're qualified and you hold on and hold out. We must never surrender. America will get better and better. Keep hope alive. Keep hope alive. Keep hope alive. On tomorrow night and beyond, keep hope alive.

I love you very much. I love you very much.

塔托.拉伐厄热

(TATO LAVIERA)

美 国 人

American

塔托.拉伐厄热(1950—)是个诗人兼剧作家,生于波多黎各。1960 年拉伐厄

热来到纽约市，在说西班牙语居民的聚居区度过他形成性格的时期。他的第一本诗集《运货马车大转弯》于 1979 年出版，随之他很快成为纽约人流派一位颇有造诣，不同凡响的诗人。他还出版了几部别的诗集。

《美国人》是 1985 年出版的诗集《美国人》中的主要诗篇。在该诗中，拉伐厄热肯定了"新一代"的幻想。对这一代人来说，和解和多元化在美国的范围内已成了现实。

1984 年 3 月，拉伐厄热首次在纽约市亨特学院朗诵了这首诗。

我们生出新一代
美国人，他的广大胜过遗失的
从未被触碰、深深藏在
波多黎各山岭中的金子。我们生出新一代，
美国人，他包括一切
可以想象的你给它取名我们得到的东西
社会。我们生出新一代，
美国人向一切民间传说致敬，
欧洲的，印地安的、黑人的、西班牙人的，
以及其他任何相适的传说：美国人，和着
作曲家佩德罗·佛罗里斯的
曲子唱
棕搁树高耸
入云天！

美国人，甜美轻柔的西班牙舞曲吉普赛
动人的民歌西班牙女郎
蛇一般扭动的身影总是

We gave birth to a new generation,
AmeRican, broader than lost gold
never touched, hidden inside the
puerto rican mountains.
we gave birth to a new generation
AmeRican, it includes everything
imaginable you-name-it-we-got-it
society.

we gave birth to a new generation
AmeRican salutes all folklores,
european, indian, black, Spanish,
and anything else compatible:

AmeRican, singing to composer
pedro flores'
palm trees high up in the universal
sky!

AmeRican, sweet soft Spanish
danzas gypsies
moving lyrics la espanola

<p>在我们身旁飘荡！</p> <p>美国人，胜过乡村现代行吟诗人</p> <p>如泣如诉的吉他浪漫的欧陆</p> <p>包列罗舞爱情歌曲！</p> <p>美国人，穿过去又穿过来，</p> <p>穿过来又穿过去，</p> <p>来来回回我们的旅行</p> <p>是跨过一座座桥梁！它全部溶解</p> <p>于自己之中，这尝试真正</p> <p>做了，这尝试真正</p> <p>被吸收被消化，我们吐出</p> <p>毒汁，我们说出恶意，我们</p> <p>站立，用肯定的行动</p> <p>再造一个更广泛的回答</p> <p>答复那突然</p> <p>吞食我们的边际状态。</p> <p>美国人，以最快的节奏在纽约行走</p> <p>神气活现，焕发勃勃生机；</p> <p>多少人转过头来，目光中带着惊异、</p> <p>赞美！</p> <p>美国人，以我们自己的方式给自己下定义，</p> <p>用任何方或许多方式 American.</p> <p>美国人，就像那灵魂滔滔不绝地讲述福音</p> <p>低音连奏的爵士乐钢琴曲！</p> <p>美国人，在灯光闪烁的经济公寓中</p> <p>说着新单词，口舌动个不停</p> <p>街头巷尾笨拙的话语</p>	<p>cascabelling presence always</p> <p>singing at our side!</p> <p>AmeRican, beating jibaro modern</p> <p>troubadours</p> <p>crying guitars romantic</p> <p>continental</p> <p>bolero love songs!</p> <p>AmeRican, across forth and across</p> <p>back back</p> <p>across and forth back forth across</p> <p>and back and forth our trips are</p> <p>walking bridges! it all dissolved</p> <p>into itself, the attempt was truly</p> <p>made, the attempt was truly</p> <p>absorbed, digested, we spit out the</p> <p>poison, we spit out the malice, we</p> <p>stand, affirmative in action, to</p> <p>reproduce a broader answer to the</p> <p>marginality that gobbled us up</p> <p>abruptly!</p> <p>AmeRican, walking</p> <p>plena-rhythms in new york</p> <p>strutting beautifully alert, alive,</p> <p>many turning eyes wondering,</p> <p>admiring!</p> <p>AmeRican, defining myself my</p> <p>own way any</p>
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产生于一贯的
微笑之中。

美国人，内部包含着这么多种族
和英国人，同属人类
我们把精华
混合在一起！

美国人，交融在纽约
决定我们自己的命运，我们自己的
生活方式，
美国人，给新的美国下定义，仁慈的
美国，可敬的美国，可爱的
美国，和谐的美国，
和平世界，我们的精力
共同用于发现
别的文明，同上帝接触，一步
更进一步，融入神的
精神！

美国人，对，因为如今我热爱这我的
第二祖国，而且我梦想着去掉
引起争议的重音，
自豪地称自己美国人，
让这个单词具有美国意义，
American，亚美利加！

way many ways Am e Rican, with
the big R and the accent on the i!

AmeRican, like the soul gliding
talk of gospel
boogie music!

AmeRican, speaking new words in
spanglish
tenements, fast tongue moving
street corner "que corta" talk being
invented at the insistence of a
smile!

AmeRican, abounding inside so
many ethnic
english people, and out of
humanity, we blend and mix all
that is good!

AmeRican, integrating in new
york and
defining our own destine, our own
way of life,

AmeRican, defining the new
america, humane
america, admired america, loved
america, harmonious america, the
world in peace, our energies
collectively invested to find other

civilizations, to touch God, further
and further, to dwell in the spirit
of
divinity!

AmeRican, yes, for now, for i love
this, my
second land, and i dream to take
the accent from the altercation,
and
be proud to call myself american,
in the u.s. sense of the word,
AmeRican, America!

附注：

边际状态：原文为 marginality，指不同文比的结合而彼此尚未同化。

西奥多.H.怀特(白修德)(THEODORE H. WHITE)

美国的观念The American Idea

美国是由一个观念产生的国家；不是这地方，而是这观念，缔造了美国政府。

西奥多.H.怀特，中文名字白修德，(1915—1986)是他那一代人中最有造诣的作家之一。他是记者、散文家兼历史学家，尤其擅长叙述故事。怀特生于波士顿，大萧条时期在贫困中长大。他靠奖学金就读于哈佛学院，接着任《时代》周刊驻华记者。在创作了两部小说后，他转而以小说的形式描写总统竞选运动。怀特的《总统的产生——1960》获普利兹奖，嗣后又写了一系列关于 1964 年、1968 年和 1972 年总统选举的同名书。

怀特热爱自己的祖国和努力使民主进程得以实现的人民。他 1986 年 5 月去世前夕正在为《纽约时报杂志》撰写纪念美国建国二百一十周年的文章。

以下是他最后一篇文章的摘录。

这个观念一开始便存在，早在托马斯·杰斐逊将它写成文字之前便存在了——这观念发出响亮的号召。

当杰斐逊写以下这段话时，他自己也无法想象在未来的岁月中他的号召在全世界的影响范围之广：

"我们认为这些真理不言自明：人人生而平等，造物主赋予他们若干不能出让的权利，包括生活、自由和追求幸福的权利。"

但是在随后的两个世纪中，这号召传到爱尔兰的马铃薯地、欧洲的犹太人聚居区和中国的稻田，鼓动农民离开他们的土地，市民放弃他们的职业，从而动摇了整个传统文明。

我们现在歌颂赞美的正是托马斯·杰斐逊的号召，它体现在俯瞰纽约港的伟大雕像上，体现在回应该号召的移民们身上。

最早的欧洲血统的美国人之中，一些人来新大陆是为了能以自己的方式崇拜上帝，另一些人是为了寻找出路。但是在一个半世纪中，这新世界已改变了这些来到北美的欧洲人，尤其是英国人。无论皇帝、宫廷或教堂都不能延伸到大洋彼岸的陆地。为了生存，最初的移民不得不学会自我管理。但茫茫荒原增强了他们对更多自由的渴望。到杰斐逊起草宣言时，人们已在战场上为那些新学到的自由作战，同世界上训练得最好，由世界上最强大的海军支援的英国陆军进行你死我活的搏斗。唯人们值得为之献出生命的东西才能使美国志愿兵团结一心，坚持战斗——一个明确宣布的事业，一面旗帜，一个他们能称为自己的国家。

当1776年7月4日殖民地领袖们聚集在费城大陆会议上投票赞成杰斐逊的独立宣言，他们互相以"我们的生命、我们的财产和我们的神圣荣誉"发誓时，这誓言绝非夸海口说大话。除非他们的新"美利坚合众国"打赢那场战争，不然那些参加大陆会议的人将会同战场上那些服兵役期间的非正规兵一样被无情

地判决为叛国分子。而且尽人皆知英国法律允许对判国罪施以何种惩罚。受刑者可能被勒得奄奄一息，在尚未断气时内脏被挖出焚烧，尸体被肢解。

新一代美国人乃是为了一个非常坚定的观念而战斗的硬汉。至于他们如何打赢一场场战役，那段往事载入了学校教科书，学者们对它深入研究，历史学家和诗人们则给它裹上神话的外衣。

但最重要的是有关这一观念的故事，该观念使他们成为一个国家，它具有人们在 1776 年做梦也难以想象的爆炸力。

其他国家都是在这样的人民中形成的，他们出生在他们的家族自古以来繁衍生息的地方。不论他们的政府如何更迭，英国人是英国人，法国人是法国人，中国人是中国人；他们的民族国家可以分裂，再建而无损于它们的国家地位。而美国是由一个观念产生的国家；不是这个地方，而是这个观念缔造了美国政府。

The idea was there at the very beginning, well before Thomas Jefferson put it into words—and the idea rang the call.

Jefferson himself could not have imagined the reach of his call across the world in time to come when he wrote:

"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."

But over the next two centuries the call would reach the potato patches of Ireland, the ghettos of Europe, the paddy fields of China, stirring farmers to leave their lands and townsmen their trades and thus unsettling all traditional civilizations.

It is the call from Thomas Jefferson, embodied in the great statue that looks down the Narrows of New York Harbor, and in the immigrants who answered the call, that we now celebrate.

Some of the first European Americans had come to the new continent to

worship God in their own way, others to seek their fortunes. But over a century-and-a-half, the new world changed those Europeans, above all the Englishmen who had come to North America. Neither King nor Court nor church could stretch over the ocean to the wild continent. To survive, the first emigrants had to learn to govern themselves. But the freedom of the wilderness whetted their appetites for more freedoms. By the time Jefferson drafted his call, men were in the field fighting for those new-learned freedoms, killing and being killed by English soldiers, the best-trained troops in the world, supplied by the world's greatest navy. Only something worth dying for could unite American volunteers and keep them in the field — a stated cause, a flag, a nation they could call their own .

When, on the Fourth of July, 1776, the colonial leaders who had been meeting as a Continental Congress in Philadelphia voted to approve Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, it was not puffed-up rhetoric for them to pledge to each other "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." Unless their new "United States of America" won the war, the Congressmen -would be judged traitors as relentlessly as would the irregulars-under-arms in the field. And all knew what English law allowed in the case of a traitor. The victim could be partly strangled; drawn, or disemboweled, while still alive, his entrails then burned and his body quartered.

The new Americans were tough men fighting for a very tough idea. How they won their battles is a story for the schoolbooks, studied by scholars, wrapped in myths by historians and poets.

But what is most important is the story of the idea that made them into a nation, the idea that had an explosive power undreamed of in 1776.

All other nations had come into being among people whose families had lived for time out of mind on the same land where they were born. Englishmen are English, Frenchmen are French, Chinese are Chinese, while their governments come and go; their national states can be torn apart and remade without losing their nationhood. But Americans are a nation born of an idea; not the place, but the idea, created the United States Government.

本书内容来源：美国国务院。