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The Experiment of the American People

George Washington 1789

ellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

Among the vicissitudes incident to life no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen

with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining yearsa retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me. being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature and unpracticed in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions all I dare aver is that it had been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which mislead me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my

fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the Untied States a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument enployed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than those of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted can not be compared with the means by which most governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously

commence.

By the article establishing the executive department it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient."The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject further than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications I behold the surest pledges that as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests, so, on another, that the foundation of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire, since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; bet

ween duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the Human Race in humble supplication that, since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

美国人民的实验

乔治·华盛顿* 1789 年

议院和众议院的同胞们:

本月14日,我收到由你们命令送达的通知。在人生的沉浮中,没有哪件事能比这更令我忧虑不安了。一方面,国家在召唤我,对于她的召唤,我永远只能深怀敬仰和爱戴去遵从;怀着满腔挚爱,满腔希望和坚定的决心,我选择了隐退作为晚年的归宿,出于习惯和爱好以及随着时光的流逝,健康每况愈下,我渐感体力不支,隐退也便显得如此的必要和可贵。另一方面,国家召唤我担负的责任如此重大而艰巨,足以使国内最具智慧和经验的人望而却步;而我自知才疏学浅,又无管理民政的经验,倍感自己难以担此重任。在这矛盾的心情里,我唯一敢断言的是,我忠实的努力目标即通过对各种可能造成影响的情况进行公正的评判来恪

^{*} George Washington, 乔治·华盛顿(1732—1799), 美利坚合众国奠基人之一, 第一任总统(1789—1797)。任期内, 他超脱党派和地方纷争, 成功地组建并维护了共和制中央政府。本篇发表于 1789 年 4 月 30 日, 是他在临时首都纽约发表的首任就职演说, 反映了他要在强权控制的世界上进行"共和制实验"的决心。

尽职守。我唯一敢祈望的是,如果我在履行这项职责时,因沉缅往事或因受到公民们对我的高度信任而产生的影响,即使在处理重大而从未尝试过的事情时,忽视了自己的无能和消极情绪,我的错误将会因误导我的各种动机而减轻,而大家在评判错误的结果时,也会对产生这些结果的动机给以适当的包涵。

这些就是我听从公众召唤就任现职时的感想,值此宣誓 就职之际,若不热忱地祈求全能的上帝就太不合时宜了。因 为上帝统治着宇宙,统辖着各国政府,它的神助能弥补人类任 何的不足:让我们祈求上帝,赐福于这个将维护美国人民的自 由和幸福以及为实现这些基本目的而奋斗的政府,保佑我负 责下的政府各项行政措施都能成功、有效。在对缔造了公共 利益和私人利益的上帝致敬时,我深信,这些话不仅是我自己 也是诸位和广大公民想要表达的心意。没有人能比美国人对 掌管人间事物的上帝的认可与崇拜更加矢志不渝。他们在迈 向独立国家的每一步中都似乎有某种天意在起作用:在刚刚 实现的联邦政府体制的重大改革中,如果没有神对我们虔诚 的感恩而赐予的某种回报,如果我们不是在谦卑地乞盼着过 去神示的赐福的降临,那么,不可能通过众多截然不同的社团 以心平气和、自愿赞同的态度来完成改革,而且此种方式是不 能与大多数政府的组建方式相提并论的。在目前这危机时刻 所产生的想法,已使我深有所感而不能自已。我相信大家和 我怀有同感,即只有在上帝的指引下,这个新生的自由政府才 能一开始就万事顺利。。

根据设立行政部门的条款,总统的责任是"将他认为必要 而可行的措施提交国会审议"。但在目前与大家见面的情况 下,我不想深究这个问题,只想提一下伟大的宪法,它使各位

今天济济一堂,它限定了大家的权利,指出大家应该注意的目 标。在这样的情形下,只有不拿出具体措施,而是称颂那些被 选出来规划和采纳这些措施的人的才能、正直和爱国心,才是 更适当、也更能反映我内心激情的做法。从这些高贵的品格 中,我找到了最可靠的保障,一方面,没有任何地方偏见或地 方感情,也没有任何观点分歧或党派敌意,能使我们偏离全面 和公平的观点,因为这些观点是用来维护这个由不同党派和 利益构成的联合体;因此,另一方面,我国政策的基础是建立 在纯洁而坚定的个人道德原则上的,而自由政府的优越性则 通过它那赢得民心和全世界瞩目的一切品质而体现出来。我 对祖国的一片挚爱之心激励着我用每一份满足去展望这幅远 景,在自然界的构成和发展之中,在美国与幸福之间,责任与 利益之间,在宽容可信的政策的真正准则与人民繁荣幸福的 完全回报之间,再也没什么比这些更有着密不可分的统一:因 为我们应该完全相信,上帝绝不可能厚望于那些无视它亲自 规定的永恒秩序和权利法则的国家:因为人们把维护神圣的 自由之火和共和制政府的命运,理所当然地、满怀深情地、也 许是最后一次系于美国人民所遵命进行的实验上。

我已将有感于这一聚会场合的想法奉告各位,现在我要向大家告辞了;但在此之前,我要再一次谦卑地祈求仁慈上帝的帮助,因为它已经赐予美国人深谋远虑的机会,以及为确保和促进联邦的安全和幸福,用史无前例的一致意见来决定政府体制的意向。所以,同样明显的是,上帝保佑我们扩大视野,平心静气地进行磋商,并依靠明智的措施,而本届政府正是有赖于此才能取得成功。

To Unite with One Heart

Thomas Jefferson 1801

and Fellow-Citizens: Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye - when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue, and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair did not the presence of many whom I here see remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficuties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign function of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

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 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 diffe-rence 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 havor 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 the 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 princip les 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 anti-republican 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 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 welldisciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moment 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.

I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it. Without pretentions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose preminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional, and your sup-

would not if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past, and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. And may that infinite power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

