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George Washington

喬治·華盛頓



美國第一任總統

1789年－1797年在任



George Washington's First Inaugural Address

Delivered 30 April, 1789, in New York

喬治·華盛頓：首任就職演講

1789 年月30日，紐約

About the Author

喬治·華盛頓 (George Washington, 1732—1799)，出生於弗吉尼亞州一個種植園主家庭，美國獨立戰爭時大陸軍 (Continental Army) 總司令，1789年成為美國第一任總統，在接連兩次選舉中他都獲得了全體選舉團無異議支持，擔任了兩屆美國總統 (1789—1797)。他在北美十三個殖民地的獨立和隨後統一為美利堅合眾國的過程中起到了十分關鍵的作用，因而被稱為美國國父。學者們則將他和亞伯拉罕·林肯並列為美國歷史上最偉大的總統。

在美國獨立戰爭中，他運籌帷幄，身先士卒，率領大陸軍團經過八年的艱苦奮戰 (1775—1783) 贏得美國獨立。那時，他的威望如日中天，他的一些同僚慫恿他黃袍加身，被他嚴詞拒絕。他毅然辭去軍職，回到了他在維農山 (Mount Vernon) 的莊園繼續平民生活。

1787年他主持制憲會議，制定了現在的美國憲法，為美國的憲政制度打下堅實的基礎。他在兩屆的任期中創立了許多持續到今天的政策和傳統。1796年9月17日，在兩屆任期即將結束之際，他發表告別演講，自願放棄權力，堅決不再續任，以其實際而堅定的行動，在當時仍是皇權統治的世界上，開創了神話般的自願「放權」、和平轉移權力的先例，從而使美國總統任期絕不超過兩屆成為慣例 (羅斯福總統因第二次世界大戰

的原因，任期超過了兩屆，屬例外。但在羅斯福去世後這個慣例正式地被寫進憲法第22號修正案裏）。華盛頓以其傑出的貢獻、超凡的人格魅力和不貪戀權位的高風亮節成為美國總統中永遠的楷模，世代受到全體美國人民的敬仰和世界人民的尊敬。

About the Speech

雖然多年的征戰使華盛頓的身心疲累交加，但對祖國前途的責任感還是讓華盛頓不甚情願地接下第一任總統這一重擔。或許在當時，對於鞏固新生的共和國來說，沒有任何其他人能夠比他更能勝任了。華盛頓對身為第一任總統的意義有着深刻的理解。他說：「我走上了前人未走過的路，我的一舉一動都會被後任者作為先例來遵循。」在他任總統的八年中，他為未來的總統立下了傳統，做出了表率，確立了大政方針。

在華盛頓就任總統時，經過八年獨立戰爭的美國問題成山、內憂外患交困。首先，美國國內財政狀況岌岌可危、債台高築，政府信用掃地。其次，在邊遠地區，英國和西班牙還在製造矛盾，挑起事端。另外，華盛頓雖然久經沙場，戰功赫赫，但對民政事務缺乏經驗，特別是要把一種嶄新的、前人沒有試驗過的政治體制付諸實踐，對他來說確實是一個挑戰。華盛頓就是在這樣的一種背景下，於1789年4月30日，在紐約的聯邦會議廳（Federal Hall）的陽台，手按《聖經》，在聯邦大法官的主持下進行了莊嚴的宣誓後，發表了這篇流芳百世的就職演說。

懷着誠惶誠恐的心情走上總統崗位的華盛頓深知其責任重大。在演說中，華盛頓充分估計到了前進征程中所會遇到的困難，但同時相信在上帝的護佑下，美國人民有責任和信心守護好這個新生國家的民主和自由的制度，他說：「因為人們理所當然地、滿懷深情地、也許是最後一次把維護神聖的自由之火和共和制政府的命運，繫於美國人所遵命進行的實驗上。」他把建立和維護憲法的尊嚴，實現憲法確立的目標，並使全體美國人民樹立牢固的國家認同感作為他施政的重要內容。



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

1. Among the vicissitudes incident to life¹ 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 month². On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration³ and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection⁴, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable⁵ decision, as the asylum of my declining years⁶—a 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 scrutiny⁷ into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence⁸ 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 emotions⁹ all I dare aver¹⁰ is that it has been my faithful study¹¹ to collect my duty¹² 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 transcendent¹³ 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 cares¹⁴ before me, my error will be palliated¹⁵ by the motives which mislead me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

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1. Among the vicissitudes incident to life : 在人生沉浮中
vicissitudes *n.* (人生的) 多變, 變化無常
incident to sb./sth. 伴隨某人/某物而來的
 2. 本句中包含 no... than... 句式, 對 no 後的成份 (即 event 一詞) 起強調作用, 加強了行文的感情色彩。
transmit *vt.* 傳輸; 傳遞; 傳播
 3. veneration *n.* 尊敬, 敬重



參議院和眾議院的同胞們：

1. 在人生沉浮中，沒有一件事能比本月14日收到根據你們的命令送達的通知更使我焦慮不安。一方面，國家召喚我出任此職，對於她的召喚，我永遠只能肅然敬從；而隱退是我以摯愛之情、滿腔希望和堅定的決心選擇的暮年歸宿，由於愛好和習慣，且時光流逝、健康漸衰、時感體力不濟，愈覺隱退之必要和可貴。另一方面，國家召喚我擔負的責任如此重大和艱巨，足以使國內最有才智和經驗的人度德量力，而我天資愚鈍，又無民政管理實踐，理應倍覺自己能力之不足，因而必然感到難以肩此重任。懷着這種矛盾心情，我唯一敢斷言的是，通過正確估計可能產生影響的各種情況來恪盡職守，乃是我忠貞不渝的努力目標。我唯一敢祈望的是，如果我在執行這項任務時因陶醉於往事，或因由衷感激公民們對我的高度信賴，因而受到過多影響，以致在處理從未經歷過的大事時，忽視了自己的無能和消極，我的錯誤將會由於使我誤入歧途的各種動機而減輕；而大家在評判錯誤的後果時，也會適當包涵產生這些動機的偏見。

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4. predilection *n.* 偏愛，偏好
 5. immutable *adj.* 不變的；不可改變的
 6. asylum of my declining years：我暮年的歸宿
asylum *n.* 庇護所；避難所
somebody's declining years: 遲暮之年
 7. scrutiny *n.* 仔細審查，仔細審視
 8. despondence *n.* 沮喪；失望；苦惱
 9. in this conflict of emotions：懷着這種矛盾的心情
 10. aver *vt.* 斷言；堅稱
 11. faithful study：忠貞不渝的努力目標
study *n.* 研究科目；課題
 12. collect my duty：恪盡職守
 13. transcendent *adj.* 超凡的；卓越的
 14. disinclination for the weighty and untried cares：消極對待未曾經歷過的大事
disinclination *n.* 不情願；勉強
 15. palliate *vt.* 減輕，緩解（症狀）

2. Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to¹⁶ the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications¹⁷ to that Almighty Being¹⁸ who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential¹⁹ aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to²⁰ the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage²¹ to the Great Author²² 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 large²³ less than either. **No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand²⁴ 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 token²⁵ of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government the tranquil deliberations²⁶ 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 pious²⁷ gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage²⁸. 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 commence²⁹.

16. repair to : 去, 赴, 前往

17. fervent supplications : 熱忱的祈求
supplication *n.* 祈求; 祈願

18. Almighty Being : 上帝
almighty *adj.* 全能的; 萬能的

19. providential *adj.* 適時的, 及時的

20. consecrate to : 獻身於

2. 既然這就是我在遵奉公眾召喚就任現職時的感想，那麼，在此宣誓就職之際，如不熱忱地祈求全能的上帝就極其失當，因為上帝統治着宇宙，主宰着各國政府，他的神助能彌補人類的任何不足，願上帝賜福，保佑一個為美國人民的自由和幸福而組成的政府，保佑它為這些基本目的而做出奉獻，保佑政府的各項行政措施在我負責之下都能成功地發揮作用。我相信，在向公眾利益和私人利益的偉大締造者獻上這份崇敬時，這些話也同樣表達了各位和廣大公民的心意。沒有人能比美國人更堅定不移地承認和崇拜掌管人間事務的上帝。他們在邁向獨立國家的進程中，似乎每走一步都有某種天佑的跡象；他們在剛剛完成的聯邦政府體制的重大改革中，如果不是因虔誠的感恩而得到某種回報，如果不是謙卑地期待着過去有所預示的賜福的到來，那麼，通過眾多截然不同的集團的平靜思考和自願贊同來完成改革，這種方式是不能與大多數政府的組建方式同日而語的。在目前轉折關頭，我產生這些想法確實是深有所感而不能自己，我相信大家會和我懷有同感，即除了仰仗上帝的力量，一個新生的自由政府別無他法能一開始就事事順利。

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- 21. tendering this homage：獻上這份敬意
tender vt. 正式提供或提出某事
 - 22. the Great Author：造物主，上帝
 - 23. my fellow-citizens at large：我廣大的同胞們
at large：整個的
 - 24. the Invisible Hand：看不見的手，指上帝之手
 - 25. token *n.* 表徵；標誌；證據
 - 26. tranquil deliberations：平靜的思考
 - 27. pious *adj.* 虔誠的；敬神的
 - 28. presage vt. 預示；預兆；預知
 - 29. auspiciously commence：一開始就事事如意
auspicious *adj.* 吉利的；吉祥的

3. 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 expedient³⁰.” 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, designates³¹ 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 me³², 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 them³³. **In these honorable qualifications I behold the surest pledges that as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities³⁴, 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 attributes³⁵ 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 indissoluble³⁶ union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous³⁷ policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity³⁸ ; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious³⁹ 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 on⁴⁰ the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.**

30. expedient *adj.* 有用的，有益的

31. designate *vt.* 清楚地標出或指出，明確

32. congenial with the feelings which actuate me : 適合我此時的心情
congenial *adj.* 適宜的；合意的

3. 根據設立行政部門的條款，總統有責任「將他認為必要而妥善的措施提請國會審議」。但在目前與各位見面的這個場合，恕我不進一步討論這個問題，而只提一下偉大的憲法，它使各位今天聚集一堂，它規定了各位的權限，指出了各位應該注意的目標。在這樣的場合，更恰當也更能反映我內心激情的做法是不提出具體措施，而是稱頌將要規劃和採納這些措施的當選者的才能、正直和愛國心。我從這些高貴品格中看到了最可靠的保證：一方面，任何地方偏見或地方感情，任何意見分歧或黨派敵視，都不能使我們偏離全局觀點和公平觀點，即必須維護這個由不同地區和利益所組成的大聯合；因此，在另一方面，我國的政策將會以純潔而堅定的個人道德原則為基礎，而自由政府將會以那贏得民心 and 全世界尊敬的一切特點而顯示其優越性。我對國家的一片熱愛之心激勵着我滿懷喜悅地展望這幅遠景，因為根據自然界的構成和發展趨勢，在美德與幸福之間，責任與利益之間，恪守誠實寬厚的政策與獲得社會繁榮幸福的碩果之間，有着密不可分的統一；因為我們應該同樣相信，上帝親自規定了永恆的秩序和權利法則，祂絕不可能對無視這些法則的國家慈祥地加以讚許；因為人們理所當然地、滿懷深情地、也許是最後一次把維護神聖的自由之火和共和制政府的命運，繫於美國人所遵命進行的實驗上。

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33. the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them: 對那些被選中去規劃和採納這些措施的人的才能、正直和愛國心的讚頌
tribute *n.* 頌詞，稱讚；獻禮
rectitude *n.* 操行端正；正直
34. animosity *n.* 仇恨；憎惡；敵意
35. attribute *n.* 屬性；特性；特徵
36. indissoluble *adj.* 無法摧毀的；牢不可破的
37. magnanimous *adj.* 寬宏的；氣量大的
38. felicity *n.* (極大的) 幸福，快樂
39. propitious *adj.* 吉利的；有利的
40. stake sth. (on sth.): 拿(金錢、生命等)就某事物打賭。此處stake on意為「繫於」。