



universität  
wien

# DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

A genre analysis of the American presidential  
inaugural address

Verfasserin

**Kerstin Weber**

Angestrebter akademischer Grad

**Magistra der Philosophie (Mag.phil.)**

Wien, im Mai 2011

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 190 344 043

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Lehramtsstudium UF Englisch UF Evang. Religion

Betreuerin:

Ao. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Christiane Dalton-Puffer

## **Acknowledgements**

First and foremost I would like to thank my advisor Univ. Prof. Dr. Christiane Dalton-Puffer for her great support, encouragement and cooperation during the completion of this thesis.

Furthermore, I especially would like to thank my parents for making it possible for me to study and for supporting me throughout the years in so many ways. I would also like to thank my sisters, my nieces and nephew, and my brother-in-law for making me laugh whenever I needed some encouragement and for being so patient when we did not get to spend as much time together as we would have liked to. I further want to thank my boyfriend, Michael, for his immense support, encouragement and help.

Last, but not least, I thank Monika, my friend and colleague, for her encouragement and the fun we had together working on our theses as well as all my friends who have supported me throughout the years and especially at the end of finishing my studies.

## **Declaration of authenticity**

I declare that I have written this thesis all by myself. Any quotations and ideas as well as pictures and figures taken from other works are listed in the references.

Vienna, May 2011

# Table of Contents

<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>2. Political Rhetoric</b> .....	<b>10</b>
2.1 POLITICAL DISCOURSE.....	10
2.2 FIELDS OF ACTION OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND TEXT TYPES.....	12
2.3 THE POLITICAL VOCABULARY.....	14
2.4 THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS AND ITS BACKGROUND.....	17
2.4.1 <i>The American Presidency</i> .....	17
2.4.2 <i>The inaugural address</i> .....	20
<b>3. Rhetorical Theory</b> .....	<b>23</b>
3.1 A DEFINITION OF RHETORIC.....	23
3.2 RHETORIC IN GREEK ANTIQUITY.....	23
3.3 ROMAN RHETORIC.....	27
3.4 RHETORIC TRADITION IN THE MIDDLE AGES.....	29
3.5 STAGES OF PREPARING A SPEECH ACCORDING TO ANTIQUE RHETORICAL THEORY.....	30
3.5.1 <i>The invention (inventio) and arrangement (dispositio) of ideas</i> .....	31
3.5.2 <i>The arrangement of ideas (dispositio): the parts of an oration</i> .....	33
3.5.3 <i>Style (elocutio)</i> .....	36
3.5.4 <i>Stylistic devices (ornatus)</i> .....	37
3.6 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF ANTIQUE RHETORICAL THEORY.....	38
<b>4. Speech acts</b> .....	<b>39</b>
<b>5. Genre Theory</b> .....	<b>43</b>
5.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF WRITTEN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS.....	43
5.1.1 <i>Textualization of discourse</i> .....	44
5.1.2 <i>Organization of discourse</i> .....	45
5.1.3 <i>Contextualization of discourse</i> .....	46
5.2 THE CONCEPT OF GENRE.....	48
5.2.1 <i>The ESP approach to genre</i> .....	53
5.2.2 <i>The New Rhetoric</i> .....	54
5.2.3 <i>The Systemic Functional approach to genre</i> .....	55
<b>6. Genre analysis of the inaugural address</b> .....	<b>57</b>
6.1 THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS GENRE.....	57
6.2 METHODOLOGY.....	57
6.2.1 <i>Data collection – the corpus of inaugural addresses</i> .....	57
6.2.2 <i>Data collection – the reference corpus OANC</i> .....	59
6.2.3 <i>Software tools for analysis</i> .....	60
6.3 FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS.....	61
<b>7. Key vocabulary and themes in the inaugural address</b> .....	<b>62</b>
7.1 KEY VOCABULARY IN THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS.....	62
7.2 THEMES IN THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS.....	64
7.2.1 <i>The American people</i> .....	64

7.2.2	<i>American values</i> .....	66
7.2.3	<i>Change</i> .....	68
<b>8.</b>	<b>Speech acts in the inaugural address</b> .....	<b>69</b>
8.1	ASSERTIVES/REPRESENTATIVES .....	71
8.2	EXPRESSIVES .....	73
8.3	VERDICTIVES .....	75
8.4	DIRECTIVES .....	76
8.5	COMMISSIVES .....	77
8.6	DECLARATIONS .....	78
<b>9.</b>	<b>Move-structure of the inaugural address</b> .....	<b>78</b>
9.1	MOVE 1: GREETING THE AUDIENCE .....	81
9.2	MOVE 2: THE TRANSITION OF THE PRESIDENCY .....	82
9.3	MOVE 3: DEPICTING THE PROGRESS, THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE CHALLENGES OF THE U.S.A. ....	83
9.4	MOVE 4: CALLING FOR CHANGE .....	84
9.5	MOVE 5: RECALLING AMERICA’S IDEALS AND VALUES TO CREATE UNITY .....	86
9.6	MOVE 6: ADDRESSING THE ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE .	87
9.7	MOVE 7: CLOSING .....	88
9.8	A WORD ON OBLIGATORY AND OPTIONAL MOVES .....	89
9.9	THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS AND ANTIQUE RHETORICAL THEORY .....	90
<b>10.</b>	<b>Rhetorical strategies in the inaugural address</b> .....	<b>92</b>
10.1	THE SCHEMES.....	94
10.1.1	<i>Parallelism</i> .....	94
10.1.2	<i>Asyndeton</i> .....	96
10.1.3	<i>The importance of three</i> .....	96
10.1.4	<i>Antithesis</i> .....	97
10.1.5	<i>Anastrophe</i> .....	98
10.1.6	<i>Parenthesis</i> .....	98
10.1.7	<i>Apposition</i> .....	98
10.1.8	<i>Alliteration</i> .....	99
10.1.9	<i>Repetition</i> .....	100
10.1.10	<i>Climax</i> .....	101
10.2	THE TROPES .....	102
10.2.1	<i>Metaphor and Simile</i> .....	102
10.2.2	<i>Metonymy</i> .....	102
<b>11.</b>	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>103</b>
	<b>References</b> .....	<b>106</b>
	<b>Appendix</b> .....	<b>112</b>
	<b>Abstract (in German)</b> .....	<b>164</b>
	<b>Curriculum Vitae</b> .....	<b>166</b>

## List of Tables

Table 1: Stages in preparing a speech (cf. Göttert 2009: 29).....	31
Table 2: The parts of an oration in antique rhetorical theory (cf. Lausberg 1990: 148f)....	34
Table 3: The invention of ideas (cf. Göttert 2009: 30).....	34
Table 4: The verbal expression of ideas (cf. Göttert 2009: 41).....	37
Table 5: Rhetorical devices (cf. Göttert 2009: 45).....	38
Table 6: Speech act categories (cf. Traugott & Pratt 1980: 229).....	42
Table 7: Inaugurals corpus description (framework after Bowker & Pearson 2002: 72) ...	58
Table 8: The Open American National Corpus.....	60
Table 9: Framework for the analysis of the inaugural address .....	61
Table 10: Keywords in the inaugural address .....	63
Table 11: Move-structure of the inaugural address.....	80
Table 12: A comparison between the Aristotelian structure of a speech and the move- structure of the inaugural address.....	90
Table 13: Tropes after Quintilian (cf. Fix, Gardt & Knape 2010: 1493) .....	94

## List of Figures

Figure 1: The political vocabulary (cf. Girth 2010).....	15
Figure 2: Speech act framework by Bach & Harnish.....	41
Figure 3: Rhetorical devices (cf. Fix, Gardt & Knape 2010: 1460).....	93

## **Abstract**

The American presidential inaugural address has become the subject of interest of several studies on political discourse. One of the questions which came to rise in the course of several analyses of the inaugural address is whether this kind of political speech can actually be considered to be a genre in itself. Trosborg (2000), van Noppen (2002) and Campbell & Jamieson (2008) support the idea of the generic character of the inaugural address. According to Campbell & Jamieson (2008: 9) the most important characteristics of genres is that the various texts belonging to a certain genre all show substantive, stylistic, and strategic similarities. What marks the inaugural address as a genre then is its epideictic character and especially four interrelated elements that distinguish it from other kinds of epideictic and political rhetoric: the unification of “the audience by reconstituting its members as ‘the people’”, rehearsing “communal values, setting forth the political program of the new administration and demonstrating that the president accepts the tasks and the limitations of the executive function (ibid. 31). Ryan (1993: xviiif), however, denies the epideictic character of the inaugural address and Thompson points out that the “role of inaugural addresses by Presidents” is not always the same but it is the “times in part that shape the President’s outlook, and what he feels called on to say.” (preface to Germino 1984: x) This thesis examines the generic character of the inaugural address by applying a genre analysis and taking a look at ancient rhetorical theory in order to find an answer to the question whether the inaugural speech may also be considered a kind of epideictic rhetoric or not.

For the purpose of finding out the peculiarities of the inaugural address a computer-assisted analysis of all fifty-six inaugurals combined with close-reading of ten selected speeches was carried out. The ten selected speeches were taken from different decades between 1789-2009 in order find out whether the character of the inaugural address has changed over time. By generating a keyword list with the help of WordSmith Tools important words and themes in the inaugural were identified. Furthermore, a move-analysis gave more insight into the communicative purpose(s) of this kind of political speech. Finally, a closer look was taken at the use of rhetorical strategies especially rhetorical schemes and tropes.

The results of the analysis show a repertoire of obligatory moves which seems to have consolidated over the last fifteen decades: 1) Greeting the audience, 2) The transition of the Presidency, 3) Depicting the progress, the present situation and the challenges of the U.S.A., 4) Calling for change, 5) Recalling America's ideals and values, 6) Addressing the role and responsibility of the American people and 7) Closing. In terms of content it can be said that while American values and the importance of the American people have always been important themes in the inaugural address, the inclusive form of the pronouns 'we' and 'our' expressing parity between the president and the American people has only become popular in the course of the 20th century. Another identified difference between earlier inaugurals and more recent ones is that presidents of the 20th and 21st centuries make more use of rhetorical devices. In general, the inaugural addresses after the 19th century show more similarities between each other. Thus, the genre of the American presidential inaugural address is not static but has gradually developed in the course of time.



# 1. Introduction

The political discourse of American presidents has given rise to many studies about the way in which language was and is used to have an impact on and to manipulate people. Probably in no other country citizens show so much pride for and put so much trust in their president than in the United States of America. Might this be the result of the rhetorical skills of the American presidents? Indeed, the President's need of communicating well in public and with the various arenas of government cannot be denied. In fact, the rhetorical skills of a President determine to a great extent the success of his government. Scholars even speak of a 'rhetorical presidency' pointing out the importance of the President's rhetoric competence. Presidents want to convince not only their own political party of their views and plans but especially the public for which they are responsible and which, on the other hand, give them their votes. It is this persuasive aspect of the rhetorical presidency, which gave rise to studies on political discourse within various disciplines (cf. Goetsch 1994: 12).

This thesis examines a certain genre of American political rhetoric, namely the inaugural address. This kind of speech is the first public address a newly elected president has to give in front of the American people. Especially President Barack Obama's electrifying inaugural speech has raised new interest in the analysis of American presidential discourse which is also one reason why the genre of the inaugural speech was chosen as a topic for analysis in this paper. Through a computer-based analysis combined with close-reading, the goal of this thesis is to find out typicalities of the inaugural address and whether it is really justified to speak of *a genre* of political speech when dealing with the inaugural address.

The first part of this thesis provides theoretical background of rhetorical theory as well as different approaches to genre analysis. The second part outlines the findings of the computer software supported quantitative analysis of all inaugurals and a qualitative close-reading analysis of ten selected speeches.

## 2. Political Rhetoric

### 2.1 *Political discourse*

Today, the linguistic performance of any political leader has become one of the most important – if not *the* most important tool to gain popularity among the public. Not only in democratic political systems, but in any other political system leaders have tried to convince others of their plans and values by the spoken word (cf. Charteris-Black 2005: 1). Whenever there is an election ahead, for instance, candidates seek to win voters through their oratory skills – among other aspects such as physical appearance and behavior - and their public speeches can be seen, read and heard all over the media.

When analyzing political rhetoric the question arises: “What makes language actually political? or “Does political discourse have certain special features?” Why, for instance, is the inaugural address a kind of political speech? On the one hand, of course, language becomes political in a political context, such as an election or a governmental debate, for example. Nevertheless, does political language itself actually differ from everyday language?

According to the American semiotician and philosopher Charles W. Morris (1950: 146f), political discourse does have definite features which distinguish it from other discourse types. However, he explains that political discourse is closely related to other discourse types and therefore it is difficult to isolate it. For Morris, discourse types are linguistic specializations of everyday language which fulfill certain purposes. Morris claims that the special characteristics of political discourse are *prescription* and *valuation*, i.e. it is primarily prescriptive in mode and valuative in use. In other words, political discourse aims at enforcing certain facts which have been previously regarded as positive and valuable by a certain social group (cf. also Girth 2002: 33). Among the numerous special features of political discourse which have been suggested by researchers, the following shall especially be taken into account: *publicity*, *group-relatedness*, *multiple addressee community* and *consensus-/dissent orientation* (cf. Girth 2002: 33f).

#### a) Publicity

Political discourse normally, or very often, takes place in public. Public policy is one of the basic principles of a democracy. However, political communication obviously also occurs in a non-public context. Nevertheless, publicity remains an important characteristic of political discourse. Especially nowadays political discourse is made public by the various media, e.g. the radio, TV, the World Wide Web which offers instant access to political speeches and other events, for instance, via live-streams or on-demand video streams.

#### b) Group-relatedness

Within political discourse, the single person (politician) is representative of a certain political party with whom he/she shares the same political attitude and values. This political *in-group* stands in contrast to the *out-group* which defines itself by a different value system. Everything within the in-group is positively evaluated; whatever deviates from the political attitudes of the out-group is rated negative (cf. Volmert 1979: 28). This dichotomy of in-group and out-group shows the black and white thinking which is considered typical of political action (cf. Girth 2002: 33).

#### c) Multiple addressee community

The multiple addressee community is a result of the public character of political discourse. Politicians often address more than one audience with their speeches, for example, a parliamentary speech is not only aimed at the speaker's political party but also at the members of the other parties and at the citizen's 'outside' of parliament. The possibility of addressing a multiple audience with political text from almost anywhere and in a fast way is especially provided by the media. Closely related to the idea of the multiple addressee community is Edelman's theory of a 'doubling of political reality'. He claims that political actions have an *instrumental function* and an *expressive function*. The first can be seen in the direct interaction between political actors where the shared values among the members of a political party call for a certain political action. The latter represents the interaction between political actors and the public which is normally only indirectly involved. For their representation in front of the public, politicians often make use of the various media (cf. Edelman [1964] 1985: 56, Girth 2002: 34). Edelman also describes this political representation as a kind of production: politicians "create and sustain an impression that

induces acquiescence of the public in the face of private tactics that might otherwise be expected to produce resentment, protest, and resistance.” (Edelman [1964] 1985: 56)

#### d) Consensus-/dissent orientation

One of the most important purposes of political communication is to achieve consensus. Nevertheless, political goals and actions are not always realized by a consensus. Sometimes, politicians create or support a state of dissent in order to lead a political discussion in another direction. For example, the German politician Heiner Geißler made a polarizing statement in the context of a discussion about the NATO Double-Track Decision which caused much agitation. He thereby intensified the state of dissent within the discussion. However, Geißler’s purposely made statement, which created great uproar, finally led to a distraction of the political action which he wanted to be stopped.<sup>1</sup>

## ***2.2 Fields of action of political discourse and text types***

The field of political communication actually consists of a number of different political discourse types, each fulfilling special purposes. One of the first attempts to differentiate between the various areas of political communication is that of the American political scientist, Murray Edelman ([1964] 1985: 133). Based on the various institutional areas in politics he distinguished four kinds of political language: *hortatory language*, *bargaining language*, *administrative language* and *legal language*. Dieckmann takes up Edelman’s classification but he suggests the general term *functional language* (Funktionssprache) for these four categories. The purpose of the functional language within politics is the organizational communication among the various institutions of a government. It is marked by a rather rational character and the use of technical terminology. In contrast to this, Dieckmann speaks of the *opinion language* (Meinungssprache) which is primarily directed to the public and contains a lot of ideological vocabulary (cf. Dieckmann 1969: 81). Another attempt to classify political communication is that of Bergsdorf (1983: 35-37) who differentiates between the ‘fields’ of legislation, administration, negotiation, education and propaganda. The classifications of Edelman and Bergsdorf both include the categorization of political discourse into legal language/legislation, administrative

---

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed report on Geißler’s statement see Girth 2002: 35.

language/administration, bargaining language/ negotiation and hortatory language/propaganda. Bergsdorf, however, adds another category namely that of educational language which aims at forming political opinion and giving account of political values and convictions (cf. Bergsdorf 1983: 36).

In contrast to these rather institutional-based classifications of political discourse, newer research has put more focus on the special contexts in which political discourse occurs. The term *language game* (in German: Sprachspiel) coined by Ludwig Wittgenstein has often been used to describe (political) communication within a special situative context. Wittgenstein explained that speaking the language is actually part of an activity or a life form (cf. Wittgenstein [1958] 1977: 29). Concerning the term language game, there are various given explanations among researchers. Grünert (1984) and Strauß (1986), for instance, take Wittgenstein's notion of the language game as a starting point for their own definitions. Grünert combined political text types aiming at fulfilling similar communicative purposes. As a result he found four different groups of language games: regulative language games, e.g. the law, the Constitution, a decree; instrumental language games, e.g. petitions, requests, opposition; integrative language games, e.g. party program and other texts which create group-specific awareness and informative language games, e.g. political advertisement (cf. Brinker 2000: 733, Strauß 1986: 6f).

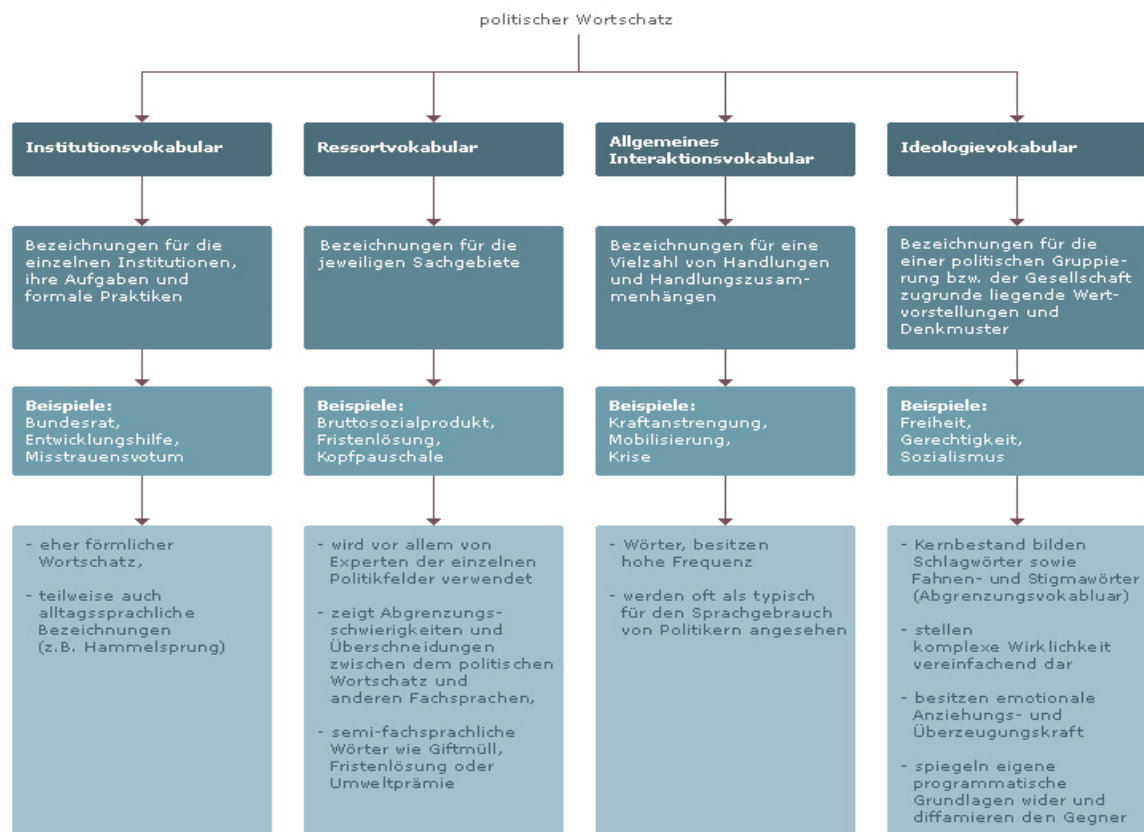
Strauß, on the other hand, defines the language game as a place where a certain kind of interaction occurs with specific interaction partners who fulfill certain (social) roles and who have specific knowledge, definite tasks and certain interests (cf. Strauß 1986: 5). Thus, Strauß counts the various political text types to one of the following kinds of language games: (1) group-related opinion- and decision-making within a political party, (2) political advertisement and propaganda, (3) public opinion- and decision making within an institution, (4) public-political (öffentlich-politische) opinion- and decision making, (5) political education, (6) communication and discussion within political science research, (7) external communication of the institutions of the three governmental branches (8) political opinion- and decision-making within the institutions (the three branches of government) and (9) opinion-making and decision-making process within inter-state, diplomatic and international relationships (cf. Strauß 1986: 195-206; similarly 43ff). For each language game, Strauß assigns one or more political text types according to the communicative function of the respective texts as well as the communicative methods which occur in the

texts, e.g. request, demand, negotiation etc (cf. Brinker 2000: 733). Closely related to Strauß's process of analyzing and organizing political text is the notion of speech acts as created by Austin and Searle, which will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 4 of this thesis. The term language game can also be replaced by speaking of fields of action instead. Strauß' categorization of the fields of political discourse is very complex since he not only tried to identify the various fields of political discourse but also identified a number of special text types which are common for the respective fields. Grünert's categorization of political discourse, on the other hand, is too general and the difference between the instrumental language game and the group-specific language game, for instance, is blurred. As a result, I can mostly relate to Dieckmann's categorization of political discourse into functional language and opinion language which is most sufficient and most comprehensible. Moreover, Dieckmann himself adopts Edelman's four categories of the fields of political discourse which I also view as sufficient for describing the general political functional language.

### **2.3 *The Political vocabulary***

In general, political language or political vocabulary does not differ much from everyday language. Words such as 'nuclear energy' or the 'rain forest' are used in everyday life as well as in political language. These words only become 'political' because they are the topic of political debates. The German politician and university teacher for linguistics, Josef Klein, however, differentiated this political use of everyday words from a distinct political vocabulary (see 2.1. below), although he points out that political language itself is not a kind of specialist language or *Fachsprache*, but it overlaps with everyday language and other specialist jargons (cf. Klein 1989: 5).

Klein, subdivided the political vocabulary into four main categories (see also the chart below): (1) *Institutionsvokabular* (institution vocabulary), (2) *Ressortvokabular* (departmental vocabulary), (3) *Allgemeines Interaktionsvokabular* (general interaction vocabulary) and (4) *Ideologievokabular* (ideological vocabulary).



**Figure 1: The political vocabulary (cf. Girth 2010)**

The *Institutionsvokabular* designates a) the various governmental institutions, e.g. the ‘Federal Council’, ‘the parliament’; b) institutional roles, e.g. ‘(Federal) President’, ‘senator’; c) codified norms of institutional actions, e.g. ‘fundamental law’, ‘treaty’ and d) an institutional process or state, e.g. ‘referendum’, ‘public hearing’ (cf. *ibid.* 5).

Since politics relate to all kinds of public domains, political language also includes *Ressortvokabular*. This kind of technical vocabulary designates those terms which belong to a certain specialist register or *Fachsprache*. It is especially used by expert groups in the fields (or *Ressorts*) of economic and social policy, finances, environment, education and urban development, for instance. Klein notes that specifying departmental vocabulary demonstrates the difficulty of differentiating between political vocabulary and other jargon or everyday language which often overlap. He identifies two kinds of terms which mediate between specialist register and everyday language: On the one hand, there are those expressions, which are generally well understood because of their constituents, e.g. ‘shops closing act’, or, because they are already widely used, e.g. ‘social aid.’ On the other hand, Klein speaks of semi-technical vocabulary, which never occurs in official texts but which

is often used in institutional debates in a striking way in order to demonstrate political precarious facts, e.g. 'toxic waste', 'gross national product' or 'capitation'. These words or expressions are also frequently used as mobilizing slogans (cf. *ibid.* 6f).

The general interaction vocabulary includes such terms which are neither *Ressortvokabular* nor *Ideologievokabular* and which occur in everyday language describing human interaction and its various aspects. In newspaper headlines alone, a number of examples for this kind of vocabulary, depicting political (linguistic) behavior and interactions, can be found, e.g. 'threaten', 'participate', 'demand', 'suggest'. These expressions occur frequently in politics and are considered typical of the language of politicians (cf. *ibid.* 7).

Finally, the ideological vocabulary covers those expressions which define the values and principles of a political party or society, e.g. 'freedom', 'justice' and 'peace'. There may be overlaps between *Ideologievokabular* and *Institutionsvokabular* here. Moreover, the *Ideologievokabular* may designate fundamental social relations or formations, e.g. 'community', 'family', 'nation' and 'state' (cf. *ibid.* 7f).

Klein points out that the *Ideologievokabular* should not be equalized with the political *Meinungssprache* (opinion language). Rather, he views the former as part of the latter one, because not every political controversy has ideological character. One of the most important verbal weapons within a political debate are the so called *Schlagwörter* (keywords). These words are often used in public political disputes in order to briefly demonstrate or to provoke a political attitude as well as to promote the own position of a political party. They can either have a positive or a negative connotation, e.g. 'democracy', 'peace', 'terrorism' and 'dictatorship'. Because of their emotional appeal, these words are often means of political persuasion which aims at influencing the listeners' thoughts, emotions and actions as far as they are politically relevant (cf. *ibid.* 10f).

Klein distinguishes another category which is part of the ideological vocabulary, namely the group of terms which express a certain position of a political party or society. This kind of vocabulary may be defined as *demarcation vocabulary*. Here, Klein differentiates between *Fahnenwörter* (flag words) and *Stigmawörter* (stigma words). The purpose of flag words is to enhance the status of the own party while stigma words are meant to defame the opponent. Sometimes, however, an expression can either function as flag word or stigma word, such as the term 'socialism', for instance (cf. *ibid.* 23f).



What needs to be noted is that certain expressions which describe the values or the principles of a political party are also used by (almost) every other political ideology. According to Klein, what differentiates an expression from its uses in another political ideology, for example, is threefold:

- a) its semantics, i.e. the same linguistic term may refer to different states of affair.

Following Dieckmann (1969), Klein defines this as *ideological polysemy*.

- b) its place and significance within an ideological value system. Moderate politicians, for example, commit themselves as much to social justice and the freedom of the individual person as other political parties. However, one party may put the focus more on social justice while the other one concentrates more on the realization of the freedom of the individual person.
- c) its reference, i.e. whether the term ‘freedom’ refers to the ‘freedom’ of a single person or the ‘freedom’ of economy, for instance (cf. *ibid.* 8f).

## ***2.4 The Inaugural Address and its background***

### **2.4.1 The American Presidency**

Each political system brings along specific political rhetoric. Thus, American presidential rhetoric will, for example, differ from German governmental discourse - although both countries have a democratic political system – because of the different offices those governments bear and because of the distinct role or status of the respective countries. Undoubtedly, the American presidency has become one of the most powerful political institutions today and much attention is given to the rhetoric and public appearance of American presidents. Campbell & Jamieson remark that “[t]he allure of the presidency is its influence on domestic and foreign affairs. Presidential rhetoric is one source of executive power, enhanced in the modern presidency by the ability of presidents to speak when, where, and on whatever topic they choose and to reach a national audience through coverage by the electronic media.” (2008: 6). The President of the United States, however, is representative of a number of governmental forces which all together influence American policies. While the Founding Fathers of the United States were not in favor of a monarchy, they were aware that their country needed some kind of executive (cf.

Chruszczewski 2003: 7). This executive should be both, “independent” and “capable of enforcing the laws” but “not so strong as to overpower the other branches of government.” (Pynn 1997 in Chruszczewski 2003: 7). Thus, the office of the President was created to embody the executive branch, next to the legislative and the judicial branch. The duties of the three branches of the American government are established in the U.S. Constitution. The power of the *legislative branch* is spelled out in Article I, Section 1: “All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.” Article III, Section 1 specifies the power of the *judicial branch*: “The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.”

Finally, the *executive branch* is established in Article II, Sections 1-3:

*“The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. [...] The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States [...] He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments. [...] He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; [...] he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.”*

Although the U.S. Constitution more or less specifies the roles and powers of the various offices in the U.S. government, it never refers to ‘the presidency’ but only to the president or the executive. Campbell & Jamieson note that “[w]hat we now understand as the presidency has come into being as a result of the actions of all [American] presidents, a process in which rhetorical practices have been of particular importance. As it now exists, the presidency is an amalgam of roles and practices shaped by what presidents have done.” (2008: 1f). Goetsch (1994) also points out that besides the few duties and rights which the President has as mentioned in Article II above, the President can “interpret his

constitutional powers widely:” (ibid. 8) His main duty - next to his position as leader of his political party - remains being the head of state and chief executive. “In this dual role, he acts as the agent of the people and represents national interest.” (Goetsch 1994: 7).

Although the institution of the American president indeed is very powerful, a President “may be weak or strong” and how well he fulfils his role depends on several factors: “the President’s personality (his character, world view, and style), the power balance he faces (for instance, in Congress), national expectations during his term of office, and, last but not least, his ability to communicate.” (Goetsch 1994: 8). Thus, it is very important that a president communicates well within the administration, with Congress, and with the American people (cf. ibid.).

The importance of the rhetorical practice of the U.S. President is further demonstrated by the fact that all important decisions in the history of the American presidency were implemented through a speech by the President to the nation, in other terms, the President’s deeds are done in words.<sup>2</sup> In their work on presidential rhetoric, Campbell & Jamieson identified eleven core genres of American presidential rhetoric. They especially deal with genres of presidential rhetoric “that have come to typify the presidency from the nation’s beginnings to the present” and through which “presidents perform functions that are useful, and sometimes essential, to maintaining the powers of the executive.” (ibid. 6). Thus, their focus of analysis includes the following kinds of presidential rhetoric:

- Inaugural Address
- Special Inaugural Addresses: The Speeches of Ascendant Vice Presidents
- National Eulogies
- Pardoning Rhetoric
- State of the Union Addresses
- Veto Messages
- The Signing Statement as De Facto Item Veto
- Presidential War Rhetoric
- Presidential Rhetoric of Self-Defense
- The Rhetoric of Impeachment

---

<sup>2</sup> in reference to Campbell & Jamieson’s work *Presidents creating the presidency. Deeds done in Words.* (2008)

The matter of interest in this thesis lies in the first public address of the American President, the inaugural address. In the following chapter I want to give a brief definition of the inaugural and also spend a word on the history of this special speech.

## 2.4.2 The inaugural address

In general terms, an inaugural address is a speech which is held at the beginning of taking on a certain office, such as the professorship at a university, for instance, or to disclose any special event and is usually surrounded by a festive ceremony. In the United States of America, the newly elect president is introduced into his office by publicly taking the oath of office as stated in the U.S. Constitution: “[b]efore he [the elected President] enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation – ‘I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of the President of the United States, and will do the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.’” (Art. II, Sec. 1).

The act of taking the oath of office is then followed by the new President’s inaugural address, which takes place on either the East Portico or on the west front of the Capitol. The first inaugural address was held by George Washington on April 30<sup>th</sup> 1789. If a president is re-elected, he has to give another inaugural address. At his second inauguration in 1793, Washington gave the shortest inaugural address on record with only 135 words. Nowadays, the inaugural address is held after taking the oath of office. In earlier times, however, the oath followed after the president’s speech (cf. *The Inaugural Senate*).

Most presidents use the inaugural to talk about their future plans and their vision for the United States as well as to point out goals for the nation. The inaugural address, however, can also be considered the president’s last *campaign* speech, since the newly elect president in a way seeks to persuade and encourage the Congress and the people of his program for the nation. For this reason, this kind of speech is often also very persuasive and demanding (cf. Halford 1993: xv). Charles Krauthammer speaks of the inaugural ceremony as “a ritual re-enactment of the resilience, the suppleness of American life” and explains that “[e]very four years, Americans remind themselves that [...] ‘We have it in our power to start the world over again.’” (Krauthammer 1989). Although this statement seems to be rather exaggerated, van Noppen remarks that “each new term of presidency may

herald a new vision of America and its domestic and foreign policy. The inauguration ceremony on the steps of the U.S. Capitol is the final outcome of months, if not years, of campaigning. And the U.S. electorate as well as the outside world are waiting for the new president to announce his personal views and political options, in accordance with the image projected during his campaigns, and the lines of thought and action announced in the course of his electoral speeches.” (van Noppen 2002: 6). For this reason, inaugural addresses are very deliberately prepared speeches and because of their most eloquent and powerful style they are often still quoted today. Nowadays, not only the words of the inaugural address are very important but also the outward appearance and charisma of the president as this first speech of the new president is delivered through all kinds of the media. Because of the huge bureaucracy a President has to deal with and which he cannot manage alone, he “has to seek advice, initiate discussions, and try to persuade the members of his administration to work for his political agenda.” (Goetsch 1994: 8f). Thus, in many cases, the President also hires one or more speech writers who write speeches for him or who at least help him with the preparation of his speeches. The same is true for the inaugural address. One of the first official speech writers in the White House was Judson Welliver, who assisted President Calvin Coolidge in the preparation of his public addresses. How much aid a president uses in writing his speeches, however, depends entirely on the president’s character and time schedule. President Nixon, for instance, is said to have been a great debater and he therefore didn’t even have any written form of his speech in front of him when addressing the public (cf. PBS 1995-2011).

Campbell and Jamieson, who have extensively dealt with presidential rhetoric, speak of a symbolic function of a “symbolic function” of the inaugural addresses. They explain that the inaugural speech is “an essential element in a ritual of transition in which the covenant between the citizenry and their leaders is renewed.” (Campbell and Jamieson 2008: 29). Although generalizing about inaugural addresses is difficult, Campbell and Jamieson approach these speeches as a distinguished *genre* of political speeches in general and relate them to the Aristotelian form of epideictic speech or ceremonial rhetoric. They claim that in the inaugural addresses numerous epideictic elements can be found. Among these elements are (a) the delivery of the speech on a ceremonial occasion, (b) the linking of the past and the future in “present contemplation”, (c) the affirmation or “praise” of “the shared principles that will guide the incoming administration”, (d) the encouragement of

the audience to look on “traditional values”, (e) the employ of “elegant” and “literary language” and (f) the “amplification” or “reaffirmation of what is already known and believed.” (Campbell and Jamieson 2008: 30).

In addition, they maintain that all inaugurals contain four generic/epideictic elements:

The presidential inaugural (1) unifies the audience by reconstituting its members as “the people”, who can witness and ratify the ceremony; (2) rehearses communal values drawn from the past; (3) sets forth the political principles that will guide the new administration; and (4) demonstrates through enactment that the president appreciates the requirements and limitations of executive functions. (Campbell and Jamieson 2008: 31)

Along with Campbell and Jamieson, van Noppen also views the inaugural address as a form of epideictic speech set in a traditional context. With the main themes of the speech being the history, the freedom, the spirit, the strength and the unity of the American people, van Noppen explains that the inaugural “must qualify as a kind of ‘hymn to America’ (van Noppen 2002: 6).

Instead of considering the inaugural address as a recurring generic rhetoric, Kenneth Thompson points out the importance of the *individual (historical) context* of each inaugural which then makes it more difficult to view the inaugural address as a genre of political speeches:

It would be false [...] to suggest that the role of inaugural addresses by Presidents is everywhere the same. The context of such addresses is the spirit of the times. While the President imposes himself upon the form of the address, it is the times in part that shape the President’s outlook, and what he feels called on to say. Moreover, each historical era brings with it social and intellectual tendencies that influence contemporary thought. (Thompson 1984: x)

Thompson is certainly right when he states that each inaugural address is shaped by the context in which it was written and held. Nevertheless, I claim that despite the influence of the historical context, (almost) all inaugural speeches show structural and topical similarities. This claim shall be proved (or disproved) by the analysis made in this thesis. Moreover, genres do not necessarily need to be static forms of discourse types as will be explained chapter 5 which deals with a definition of genre and the development of genre theory.

### 3. Rhetorical Theory

#### 3.1 *A definition of rhetoric*

The word ‘rhetoric’ derives from the Greek word ῥήτωρ which can be translated with ‘speaker’ or ‘orator’. Throughout the centuries, a number of definitions of rhetoric have been developed. One of the broadest and most widespread definitions defines rhetoric as the ‘the art of speaking well’ (*ars bene dicendi*, Quint. *Inst. orat.* II, 17, 37). Compared to the poetic and the philosophical arts, rhetoric is considered a practical art. However, since speeches are also written down and therefore represent kinds of artefacts, rhetoric is to a certain extent also related to poetics (cf. *ibid.* 18, 5).

The following chapters give a brief outline of the history of rhetoric. Besides, the most important works on rhetorical theory beginning in the Greek Antiquity up to the present day shall be mentioned.

#### 3.2 *Rhetoric in Greek antiquity*

Although there is no agreement among scholars and ancient sources who *invented* rhetorical theory, one of the most important moments in the development of rhetoric was in fact the existence of disputes and conflicts of interests which were dealt with in public (cf. Crowley 1999: 22, Ueding 1976: 13). These public disputes, on the other hand, were enforced by the democratic government which developed in Athens during the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C. The democratic system in Athens allowed every male citizen to play a “direct role in making important decisions that affected the entire community” (Crowley 1999: 21). Any political decision, whether to convict someone of a crime or whether to raise taxes, for instance, was made in the Assembly, where the citizens met and acted as jurors at trials or gave their vote. While every citizen had the right to speak in front of the Assembly since the fifth century B.C., the Athenians used to leave the task of “filling in the details and of arguing for a course of action” to people who were “trained in speaking”. These people were the “professional *rhetores*” (*ibid.*: 22). The term *rhetor* itself – similar to the term *rhetoric* – was subject to development, first being related to people

who are experts on politics and later to those who were skilled in public speaking (cf. *ibd.*: 21-22).<sup>3</sup>

Rhetoric in ancient Greece in general came to be seen as the art to defend and persuade others of one's own opinion in public. This view of rhetoric was especially influenced by Aristotle (who will be referred to in more detail at a later point in this paper). For this reason the art of public speaking developed especially among people who held a public office, such as lawyers and politicians. Although rhetoric as a means to put through certain interests has always existed, the *teaching* of rhetoric only developed in the course of the fifth century B.C. One of the most well known rhetoricians in the fifth and fourth century B.C. was *Gorgias von Leontini*, who taught rhetoric to numerous students in Athens on the basis of model speeches. For him, rhetoric was the art of disputation or a kind of *weapon* which is used to influence and control people. Also, he was aware that rhetoric may be used for good or bad purposes (cf. Ueding 1976: 15, 20f).

In contrast to Gorgias, *Plato* didn't consider language as a mere formal system made by man to carry out his interests. He rather tried to examine in how far it is possible to demonstrate the *truth* through language and how far truth is already represented *by* language (cf. Ueding 1976: 21). While Gorgias held the view that rhetoric was a means to persuade people, no matter if they were persuaded of something wrong or contradictory, Plato was convinced that rhetoric should lead to the truth. Thus, finding the truth was the basic principle (*conditio sine qua non*) of Plato's rhetorical theory (cf. Ueding 1976: 22, 24f; Crowley 1999: 23).

Although Plato criticized Gorgias' - and in general the Sophist's - view of rhetoric, he seemed to understand the importance of rhetoric. As a result, he created a rhetorical theory in his philosophical tradition which aimed at finding truth. This Platonic rhetoric, which is the main theme of the discussion in his work *Phaedrus*, involved "studying the souls of human beings and learning how to properly define and divide an issue into its constituent parts." (Crowley 1999: 24). At a later point, Plato's student, Aristotle, followed his teacher's thoughts on rhetoric and developed an extensive systematic rhetorical theory.

---

<sup>3</sup> For this reason, following Crowley (1999), the term *rhetor* in this paper is used to refer to someone who practices rhetoric, while the term *rhetorician* is meant to refer to someone who teaches or theorizes about rhetoric.



*Aristotle's* aim of his rhetorical theory was to give rhetors a kind of framework for speech making and right argumentation in judicial or political contexts (cf. Ueding 1976: 23). This framework is represented in Aristotle's work, *On rhetoric* (τέχνη ῥητορική), in which the philosopher not only summarizes previous works on the topic but also criticizes them and develops a systematic framework for successful rhetoric. Aristotle's view of rhetoric was that of a mixture between a "method" or tool "with no necessary subject of its own" and a "practical art derived from ethics and politics on the basis of its conventional uses." (Kennedy 1991: 12, cf. *On rhetoric* I, 2, 7). In *On rhetoric* I, 2, 1 he further defines rhetoric as the "ability, in each [particular] case, to see the available means of persuasion."

In each particular case means that rhetoric is not bound to the knowledge of any particular subject such as medicine, which is "instructive and persuasive" about "health and disease and geometry about the properties of magnitudes and arithmetic", for example (cf. *ibid* I, 2, 1). What the definition above also clearly shows is Aristotle's focus on the persuasive function of rhetoric.

The handbooks on rhetoric in Greek antiquity which Aristotle criticizes in his rhetoric seem to have neglected other kinds of speeches next to the judicial speech for which they gave detailed descriptions of structure and rhetorical devices. For this reason, Aristotle went beyond the judicial situation and dealt with other genres of rhetoric in his own elaboration on rhetorical theory (cf. Kennedy 1991: 9). In the first book out of three of his work *On rhetoric*, Aristotle identifies three different types of civic rhetoric: 1) The *symboleutikon* (συμβουλευτικόν) - 2) the *dikanikon* (δικανικόν) and 3) the *epideiktikon* (ἐπιδεικτικόν) (cf. *On rhet.* I, 3, 1ff). The *symboleutikon* is a deliberative speech which aims at persuading the audience of important decisions for the good of the people. Thus, the speaker is mostly concerned with future events. The *dikanikon* is a speech of prosecution or defense in a court of law and seeks to make judicial decisions. Therefore, this kind of speech focuses on actions in the past. Finally, the *epideiktikon* is the sort of speech, which does not call for any immediate action by the audience. However, the epideictic speech seeks to praise or blame a person or a thing and thus mostly refers to present states although the speaker may also remind the audience of the past or project the course of the future. The setting is often a ceremonial occasion, such as a funeral or a holiday, for instance (cf. Kennedy 1991: 7; 15; 48 and Charteris-Black 2005: 4). For this

reason, one could also define this kind of speech as “ceremonial” speech (cf. Lanham 1991: 164).

What all of these speeches have in common is that the speaker tries to put the hearers into a mood in which they are willing to be persuaded, although the epideictic speech shows the least argumentative character. Aristotle speaks of two different groups of means of persuasion (*pisteis*), which can be acquired through the study of rhetorical theory:

- a) “*non-artistic*” means of persuasion/proof: these means of persuasion are not “provided” by the speaker but are “preexisting”, for example, the evidence of witnesses or written contracts (cf. Kennedy 1991: 14; *On rhet.* I, 2, 2).
- b) “*embodied in art, artistic*” means of persuasion/proof: are provided through the speech/the speaker. There are three kinds of *artistic pisteis*: (i) those which derive from the character (*ethos*) of the orator, i.e. when the audience considers the speaker as trustworthy and fair-minded, (ii) those which derive from the emotion (*pathos*) raised in the audience through a speaker, and (iii) those which derive from probable and logical argumentation (*logos*) (cf. *On rhet.* I, 2, 2).

Consequently, Aristotle emphasizes that a speaker should be able to form syllogisms, to be attentive to emotions and to be aware of characters and virtues since these are the means through which persuasion is achieved. Therefore, Aristotle defines rhetoric as a kind of “offshoot [*paraphues*] of dialectic and of ethical studies (which is just to call politics).” (ibid. I, 2, 7). Concerning syllogism, Aristotle points out that there are two forms of the logical argument: first, the *induction*, which in rhetoric is the use of one or more examples (*paradeigma*) and, second, the *deduction*, i.e. the logical conclusion, which Aristotle in rhetoric calls the *enthymema* (cf. I, 2, 8). He further explains that there are also two types of paradigms: first, the kind of paradigm which speaks of “things that have happened before” and, second, the one that is made up by the speaker, for instance in the form of a comparison (*parabole*) or a fable (*logoi*) (ibid. II, 20, 1). Moreover, Aristotle explains that it is better to place an enthymeme before a paradigm when trying to prove something, because it is more effective to state a conclusion first and then support it with examples (cf. ibid. II, 20, 9). As far as enthymemes are concerned, the philosopher notes that these are kinds of syllogisms, or probable statements. An enthymeme ought not to be far-fetched or

too long but it should be clear and avoid stating what is obvious as this would become “tiresome” for the audience (ibid. II, 22, 1).

Even if the speaker does not necessarily need to persuade the audience by all means, it is utterly important that the knowledge brought forward in a speech is logical, comprehensible and well argued (cf. Ueding 1976: 35f). For this reason, Aristotle also reflected on the arrangement and the necessary components of a speech, bearing in mind that the uttermost goal of a speaker is to persuade the audience. In this he followed up on Plato’s thoughts on rhetoric as represented in the latter’s work *Phaedrus*. Since Aristotle’s systematic theory of the rhetoric has remained one of the most influential ones in the Greek Antique up to the present, I will outline it in more detail at a later point in this thesis and it will also play an important role in the analysis of the speeches dealt with in the empirical part of this paper.

### **3.3 Roman rhetoric**

During the fourth and first century B.C. no complete rhetorical work is given. However, this time between the rhetoric of Aristotle and the rhetoric of Cicero is where rhetorical theory came to be established in educational contexts where rhetorical skills were taught especially for judicial purposes (cf. Göttert 2009: 96).

One of the most important persons, who highly influenced rhetorical theory in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. is Marcus Tullius Cicero, a member of the Roman senate and author of various works on literature, philosophy and rhetorical theory (cf. Crowley 1999: 27). Of course, Cicero was greatly influenced by previous works on rhetoric, especially by the Greek authors. In his four books entitled *De inventione rhetorica*, Cicero develops a theory of eloquence and describes the *perfect* speaker. In his volume *De oratore*, he explains that there are certain preconditions which lie in a speaker’s nature and which cannot be acquired by the teaching or studying of any art, such as a flexible tongue, a strong chest and a witty mind, for example. According to Cicero, a rhetor’s task is to be useful to their (political) party by influencing the audience’s will through cleverly carrying out the speech and choosing the right words in order to persuade and move the listeners (cf. Ueding 2005: 36f). The importance of Cicero’s works was not only recognized in the Middle Ages,

where they were read in schools throughout Europe, but even today his speeches are still read and dealt with in various studies (cf. Crowley 1999: 28).

Another significant work which complements Cicero's rhetorical theory and which had a similar background was an anonymous work named *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Both works, Cicero's *De inventione rhetorica* and the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* were the two fundamental works for rhetorical education obviously because of their systematic outline of rhetorical devices. These rhetorical devices, e.g. various kinds of word figures, were supposed to be memorized by the students so that they would have a wide range of rhetorical variation skills (cf. Göttert 2009: 97-98).

Finally, the work on rhetorical theory by the Roman teacher of rhetoric in the first century A.D., Marcus Fabius Quintilian also had great influence on later works on rhetoric. His elaborations on rhetoric on the other hand were inspired by Cicero. Quintilian defines rhetoric as the art and science of good speech (*bene dicendi scientia*, cf. *Institutio. oratoria* II, 15, 38). He explains that even though the ultimate aim of a speech is to persuade and influence the audience, a speaker is not only successful when they can convince the listeners of their opinion but also when they spoke well. Even if the speaker is defeated, he has lived up to the ideals of his art (cf. *Inst. orat.* II, 17, 23).

Quintilian's most important compilation on rhetoric is his *Institutio Oratoria*, consisting of twelve volumes. In it he elaborates on the ultimate goal of education: the formation of the 'ideal' orator (cf. *ibid.* I, Preface, 9). For the Roman teacher, not only knowledge of philosophy and logic are fundamental subjects in general education, but also knowledge of grammar, music geometry and astronomy (cf. *ibid.* I, 10). In order to acquire the art of oratory, Quintilian explains that one needs to have this kind of general knowledge and he finds use in all of the above subjects to develop rhetorical skills. In order to learn the art of oratory, Quintilian points out that one needs to be able to express him-/herself in correct language. For this purpose, one may study and interpret the works of great rhetors or poets (in *Inst. Orat.* X, 1 Quintilian recommends in detail which authors, orators and historians are worth reading). Besides, musical education may support rhetorical skills in so far as the rhythm of music affects a speaker's intonation and rhythm of speech. Knowledge of geometry can be useful for a speaker if they have to deal with numbers and figures as it may be the case in a dispute at court about land surveying, for instance. Through the knowledge of astronomy, i.e. the knowledge of the designation and calculation of the stars

and therefore the calculation of certain events, a speaker may be able to explain seemingly inexplicable events such as a solar eclipse, for example. Finally, the teacher of rhetoric helps his students to find matter for their speech, arrange the material and express it in good and adequate language. Besides the linguistic skills in preparing and holding a speech, Quintilian also emphasizes the importance of the orator's appearance. He gives detailed advice on correct posture, body language and gesture during a public presentation as well as the proper dress (ibid. XI, 3).

### ***3.4 Rhetoric tradition in the Middle Ages***

One of the most important reasons for the rise of rhetorical theories in the Middle Ages was the encounter of the antique culture with Christianity (cf. Ueding 2005: 48). Even though he did not live during the Middle Ages, the works of the Roman Church Father, Aurelius Augustinus played a major role in the development of rhetorical theory in that period. In his elaboration on Christian doctrine (*De doctrina Christiana*), Aurelius Augustine, gives instructions for the *proper* preaching of the gospel. Thus, he merges antique rhetorical theory with Christian doctrine. Especially the fourth book of his *De doctrina Christiana* may be considered as a Christian *Ars Rhetorica* (cf. Clarke 1968: 192). According to the Church Father, a good preacher is familiar with (Bible) hermeneutics as well as sermon theory and he believes to find rules for both of these theories in rhetoric (cf. *De doctrina Christiana*, prologue). For this reason, Augustine's function of rhetoric differs from Antique rhetorical theory in that it doesn't aim at *finding* truth and being able to persuade well. Rather, rhetorical theory in the Middle Ages is a means of *proclaiming* Christian truth. Especially because Scripture contains *the* truth, Augustine finds it necessary to develop rules, by which this truth is first revealed through Bible hermeneutics and then preached (Götttert 2009: 121f). Furthermore, he claims that God himself arranged (or made the writers of the Scriptures arrange) his word rhetorically in order to challenge its reader who delights more in exploring Biblical truth when it is written in parables and bears certain difficulties (*De doctrina Christiana*, 2, 6, 7). According to Corbett and Connors, Augustine "was interested in rhetoric as a means of persuading Christians to lead a holy life." (Corbett and Connors 1999: 498). Particularly the epistles of the apostle Paul were a main focus of Augustine's study, not so much the message of these epistles, however, but the rhetorical craftsmanship. What is interesting about Augustine's view of a

preacher is that the latter didn't necessarily have to be a Christian or a morally good man but "even a vicious preacher could induce his audience to follow Christ if he were skillful enough in the manipulation of his suasive resources." (ibid. 1999: 498). Augustine's rhetoric finally primed sermonic rhetoric which is nowadays known as homiletics (cf. ibd. 1999: 498).

Besides rhetoric, grammar and logic gained a more and more important role at the universities which were gradually established during the Middle Ages. The main focus of rhetorical studies during this period, however, remained in letter writing as well as preparing and delivering sermons (cf. ibd. 1999: 499).

### ***3.5 Stages of preparing a speech according to antique rhetorical theory***

Undoubtedly, the Greeks had great influence on the analysis of any kind of rhetoric up to the present day. The following chapters will summarize the most important steps of preparing a speech, the structure of a speech and the rhetorical devices based on antique rhetorical theory, especially that of Aristotle. Although the different parts of a speech below are presented individually, they are actually not completely separated from each other but should rather be considered as complementing one another. However, for practical reasons they are outlined separately.

First of all, before writing a speech, the author has to prepare himself and arrange his/her thoughts. Antique literature on rhetoric speaks of five necessary parts in preparing a speech:

Invention	(Latin: <i>inventio</i> )	(Greek: <i>heuresis</i> )
Arrangement	(Latin: <i>dispositio</i> )	(Greek: <i>taxis</i> )
Style	(Latin: <i>elocutio</i> )	(Greek: <i>lexis</i> )
Memory	(Latin: <i>memoria</i> )	(Greek: <i>mneme</i> )
Delivery	(Latin: <i>actio</i> )	(Greek: <i>hypocrisis</i> )

These five parts of speech preparation can, for example, be found in Cicero's *De oratore* I.xxxi. 142-143:

[S]ince all the activity and ability of an orator falls into five divisions, [...] he must first hit upon what to say; then manage and marshal his discoveries, not merely in orderly fashion, but with a discriminating eye for the exact weight as it were of each argument; next go on to array them in the adornments of style; after that keep them guarded in his memory; and in the end deliver them with effect and charm.

Antique rhetorical theory further distinguished between the logical-argumentative parts in the preparation of a speech (*res/logos*) and the style and delivery of a speech (*verba/lexis*). In more general terms, antique rhetorical theory separates the *thoughts* and *ideas* (or the content) of a speech from its *language*: “Every speech however consists at once of that which is expressed and that which expresses, that is to say of matter and words.” (Quintilian *Inst. orat.* III, 5, 1).

Stages in preparing a speech				
thoughts/ideas ( <i>res</i> )			language ( <i>verbum</i> )	
invention ( <i>inventio</i> )	arrangement ( <i>dispositio</i> )	memorization of the speech ( <i>memoria</i> )	style ( <i>elocutio</i> )	delivery ( <i>actio/pronuntiatio</i> )

Table 1: Stages in preparing a speech (cf. Göttert 2009: 29)

The parts belonging to the *res* are obviously the invention and the arrangement of the ideas. The style of a speech, however, has to do with the *verbum*. The other two remaining parts, the memorization and the delivery of the speech are not so easy to count to either the *res* or *verbum* since they relate to both to some extent (cf. Göttert 2009: 29f).

### 3.5.1 The invention (*inventio*) and arrangement (*dispositio*) of ideas

The *inventio* is, as the term already implies, is the ‘invention’ or ‘finding’ of ideas and of arguments. Aristotle elaborates on this in great detail in his rhetoric. As answer to the question of where a speaker should look for and where he/she can find ideas for his/her speech, he summarizes so called *topoi* (τόποι). Although Aristotle gives no explicit definition of *topos* – probably because he thought that the term would be widely understood – he mainly uses the term when he speaks of strategies of argument (cf. Kennedy 1990: 45). First, he identifies two kinds of *topoi*: (a) the kinds of *topoi* which can

only be used in a special area of knowledge (*idioi topoi*) and (b) those *topoi* which can be generally used (cf. *On rhet.* I, 2, 21).

As far as the *idioi topoi* are concerned, Aristotle explains that “there are ‘specifics’ that come from the premises of each species [...] for example, there are premises from which there is neither an enthymeme nor a syllogism applicable to ethics” and vice-versa (*On rhet.* I, 2, 21).

In contrast to this, Aristotle outlines twenty-eight *topoi*, or possibilities of how to arrange arguments for any subject matter in all three kinds of rhetoric (deliberative, judicial, epideictic) in *On rhet.* II, 23, 1-29. Below are three examples of these *topoi* (translation cf. Lanham 1990: 167f).

1. Restate your proposition in an opposite way, because if the opposite is right too, so will the original be true as well, e.g. “to be temperate is a good thing” is the same as “lack of self-control is harmful”.
2. Redefine a key term/find synonyms as support for your proposition
3. Use correlatives, e.g. person A has been justly punished, person B was just in punishing person A.

In addition, Aristotle also mentions ten invalid *topoi*, i.e. ten examples of “invalid topics” or “fallacies of arguments”. Again, three examples are given below (translation cf. *ibid.* 168f):

1. Pretending to have rightfully argued by concluding an argument, however, without having gone through the process of reasoning.
2. Presenting an illogical play of similar words, e.g. “A sauce pan must be noble, for so was the great god Pan.”
3. Making a generalizing statement about a topic even though it is only valid for a part, or vice versa.

As far as the invention of the ideas is concerned, Aristotle speaks of two kinds of proof or means of persuasion: the *artistic*, e.g. trustworthy character, rational argument, emotions, and the *non-artistic* proof, e.g. evidence, sworn testimony, documents (cf. chapter 4.2., *On rhet.* I, 2, 2). In this context, Aristotle also elaborates on the two kinds of the logical



argument: the deductive argument, i.e. the syllogism, enthymeme, and the inductive argument, i.e. the paradigm (cf. chapter 4.2.; *On rhet.* I, 2, 8).

### 3.5.2 The arrangement of ideas (*dispositio*): the parts of an oration

The *dispositio* represents the logical and meaningful arrangement of the (main) ideas in a speech, especially the argumentative part. A speaker may follow the *natural* sequence of introduction, depiction of the case/situation, justification and conclusion, or he/she may deliberately derange this *natural* sequence in order to attract attention. Those kinds of speeches or writings, which bear certain requirements, may also demand a different arrangement, e.g. a letter is opened with a greeting, or a sermon usually begins with an invitation to prayer (cf. Götttert 2009: 40). Theorists have argued about the number of parts of an oration as depicted in antique rhetorical theory (cf. Lanham 1991: 171). This disagreement especially derives from the variety on the number of the parts of an oration in antique rhetorical theory itself which can be seen from Table below which outlines the different parts of an oration according to Aristotle, Quintilian, Cicero and the Rhetoric ad Herennium.

<b>Authors/Works:</b>	Aristotle, <i>On rhet.</i> III, 13	Quintilian, <i>Inst. Orat.</i> III, 9, 1	Cicero <i>De Inv.</i> I, 14; <i>Her.</i> I, 3, 4
<b>number of parts:</b>	4	5	6
<b>description of the parts:</b>	I. prooemium (προοίμιον)  II. prothesis (πρόθεσις)  III. pistis (πίστις)  IV. epilogos (ἐπίλογος)	I. prooemium = exordium (Quint. IV, 1, 1)  II. narratio  III. probatio  IV. refutatio  V. peroratio	I. exordium II. narratio III. divisio IV. confirmatio V. confutatio VI. peroratio

**Table 2: The parts of an oration in antique rhetorical theory (cf. Lausberg 1990: 148f)**

According to Aristotle, the necessary parts of a speech are twofold: the *statement* of a proposition (*prothesis*) and the *proof* of the statement (*pistis*). At most a speech may also include a *prooemium* (i.e. an introduction) and an *epilogue*, or conclusion, which frames the speech (cf. *On rhet.* III, 13, 4).

<b>Invention of ideas (<i>dispositio</i>)</b>			
introduction ( <i>exordium</i> , <i>prooemium</i> )	statement of facts ( <i>narratio</i> , <i>prothesis</i> )	argumentation ( <i>argumentatio</i> , <i>pistis</i> )	conclusion ( <i>peroratio</i> , <i>epilogos</i> )
raise attention, bring the audience in a certain mood, flattering	brevity, clarity, credibility	indications (inductive) examples (deductive) reasons	move emotios, indignation, lamentation

**Table 3: The invention of ideas (cf. Götttert 2009: 30)**

The *Prooemium/Exordium*:

The Greek word προίμιον literally means a ‘prelude’ or an introductory song (cf. *On rhet.* III, 14, 1; 5). In general, the purpose of the prooemium is to introduce the topic or the purpose of a speech and to attract the audience’s attention. Following this, Corbett explains that this preparation of the audience has two purposes: “(1) it informs the audience of the end or object to our discourse, and (2) it disposes the audience to be receptive to what we say.” (1999: 260).

In his elaboration on the prooemium, Aristotle specifies the respective prooemium of the three different kinds of oratory he mentions in the first book of his rhetoric, namely the judicial, the deliberative and the epideictic speech. As far as the introduction of an epideictic speech is concerned, according to Aristotle, its sources are from “praise, from blame, from exhortation, from dissuasion, from appeal to the audience.” Moreover, “[t]he opening note must be either unrelated or related to [the subject of the] speech.” (ibid. III, 14, 2).

In the judicial prooemium a speaker may first respond to an attack in order to put off everything from him/her that would influence the listeners negatively and to make them

“well disposed.” (ibid. III, 14, 7). Likewise, the deliberative prooemium may have the function of clarifying the speaker’s position in advance.

### The Prothesis

Aristotle uses the terms *prothesis* and *diegesis* in the same way for the *narrative* part of a speech, i.e. the depiction of a case or the statement of a proposition in a speech. As Aristotle explains, it is not very common that there is a narrative part in a deliberative oration, since this kind of speech is mostly concerned with future events. Nevertheless, the speaker may remind the audience of things that happened in the past so that they “will take better counsel about what is to come.” (ibid. III, 16, 11). The *narratio* is especially important in judicial or political speeches because through the presentation of the facts the speaker defines his/her point of view and also sets him-/herself apart from a potential opponent. Aristotle differentiates three virtues in the presentation of facts: brevity, clarity and credibility. Thus, a speaker should only mention essential facts, which are necessary to understand a certain case. Besides, a speaker should present his/her points in a meaningful way which the audience can relate to. Sometimes it is better not to narrate everything continuously, “because this kind of demonstration is hard to remember.” (ibid. III, 16, 2). Rather, those actions or arguments which complement or support one another should be presented together. Lastly, the credibility of a case is determined by its probability. If a case is rather improbable, it is the speaker’s task to present it in a way that it appears more plausible and *natural* to the audience.

### The Pistis

The *pistis*, according to Aristotle, is the proof of the statements or of the case in a speech. The first thing which the philosopher stresses is that “[p]roofs should be demonstrative [*apodeiktika*]” and that these demonstrations or examples should bear on what is discussed or disputed (ibid. III, 17, 1). In the case of epideictic speeches, Aristotle emphasizes, “there will be much amplification about what is good and advantageous [in the actions of the subject being praised].” (ibid. III, 17, 3). In deliberative speeches the speaker may argue whether what has been predicted by a previous speaker will occur or whether the policy recommended is appropriate or unimportant. As means of argumentation, giving examples (paradigms) seem to be most effective in deliberative oratory, whereas enthymemes are more appropriate to judicial rhetoric, because deliberative speeches are mostly concerned

about future decisions and therefore it is suitable to give examples from the past. Judicial rhetoric, on the other hand, deals with “what are or are not the facts” and so enthymemes are a good method of demonstration and arriving at a logical conclusion. However, Aristotle explains that enthymemes should not be used perpetually because this would strain the listener’s attention capacity (ibid. III, 17, 5ff).

### The Epilogue

As the etymology of the Greek word ἐπίλογος already implies, the epilogue is the ‘afterword’, i.e. the conclusion of a speech. According to Aristotle, the purpose of the epilogue is fourfold: “disposing the hearer favorably toward the speaker and unfavorably toward the opponent; amplifying and minimizing; moving the hearer into emotional reactions [*pathé*]; and [giving] a reminder [of the chief points made in the speech].” (*On rhet.* III, 19, 1). After a speaker has proved him-/herself so trustworthy he naturally wants to urge the audience to (re)action, which may especially be provoked by moving the emotions of the listeners through indignation, for example, or by causing compassion for the speaker or the speaker’s situation. Finally, it is the audience’s decision whether they agree with the speaker’s point of view or not, which certainly depends a lot on the speaker’s performance and argumentation on his/her speech (cf. *On rhet.* III, 19, 1-3).

Besides the four parts of an oration as outlined above, the anonymous *Rhetoric ad Herennium* and Cicero *De inventio* I, 14 complement Aristotle’s outline by two parts: the *divisio* and the *confutatio*.

### **3.5.3 Style (elocutio)**

As has been explained in the previous chapters, the *inventio* is concerned with the arrangement of the ideas (*res*) and the *dispositio* concerned with both, the arrangement of the ideas and their verbal expression (*res* and *verba*). The *elocutio* then mainly refers to the style and delivery (*verbum*) of the thoughts in a speech (cf. Cicero *De inv.* I, 7, 9).

In his elaboration on style, Aristotle mentions various kinds of virtues which a speaker should bear in mind in the expression of his thoughts. These virtues are grammatical

correctness, clarity, propriety and ornamentation.<sup>4</sup> Regarding the different generic styles, antique rhetorical theory distinguishes between simple, average and high style (Kennedy 1991: 254)

Verbal expression of the ideas				
Virtues of verbal expression (virtutes elocutionis)				Generic Styles (genera dicendi)
accuracy of speech (latinitas)	clarity (perspicuitas)	ornation (ornatus)	adequacy (aptum)	high style average style simple style

**Table 4: The verbal expression of ideas (cf. Göttert 2009: 41)**

For the purpose of this thesis the virtue of ornament is especially interesting since this is basically an outline of various stylistic devices used in a speech (or any kind of text). Therefore the following chapter explains them in more detail.

### 3.5.4 Stylistic devices (ornatus)

Following Quintilian's rhetorical theory, Karl-Heinz Göttert roughly divided the various stylistic devices into two groups: *single word* stylistic devices and *phrases*. From this division he further differentiated between various sub-categories (see the table below) (cf. Göttert 2009: 45).

---

<sup>4</sup> These concepts were re-formulated by Aristotle's student, Theophrastus, in a treatise *On Lexis*, which however was lost. Cf. Kennedy 1991:221 and Lanham 1990: 176f.

Stylistic/rhetorical Devices					
single words	phrases				
tropes	word figures			figures of speech	construction
replacement	apposition	omission	transposition	license apostrophe rhetorical question evidence personification allegory	rhythm clause
metaphor	anaphor		hyperbaton		
catachresis	epiphora				
metonymy	paronomasia	ellipse	parallelism		
synecdoche	polyptoton				
emphasis	synonymy	zeugma	antithesis		
hyperbole	polysyndeton		chiasmus		
circumscription	asyndeton				

**Table 5: Rhetorical devices (cf. Göttert 2009: 45)**

It has to be mentioned that the list of stylistic devices above is not a closed one but open to extension. As far as the analysis of the inaugural address in this thesis is concerned, it will be interesting to see to what extent these rhetorical devices are related to the different kinds of speech acts, and if certain stylistic devices are used more often to express a certain type of speech act.

### ***3.6 Strengths and limitations of antique rhetorical theory***

Undoubtedly, antique rhetorical theory has had great influence on rhetorical analysis ever since it was created. Even though Aristotle's systematic work *On rhetoric* offers a great insight into the composition of oratory and means of argumentation and stylistic devices, it also has some limitations. The strengths of Aristotle's work lie first in that it provides a framework for speech production as well as for analyzing any form of discourse. Especially the philosopher's concept of the three kinds of persuasion (*pisteis*) gives insight into how credibility is achieved in any speech situation: by the trustworthy character of the speaker, the logical argumentation in the speech and the emotional effect which the speaker creates on the audience. Moreover, Aristotle's definition of the art of rhetoric in the first place has remained one of the most valued ones. Also his identification of three kinds of (public) oratory – judicial, deliberative and epideictic – was a great contribution to

the study of rhetoric. Nevertheless, exactly in this division of rhetoric into three kinds lie the limitations of Aristotle's rhetorical theory and in order to offer a general rhetoric the philosopher's work would need to be expanded or revised. Especially Aristotle's focus on public or civic discourse excludes all other kinds of discourse which obviously do exist as well and which are not as defensive or argumentative in character as the kinds of rhetoric which are mentioned in the philosopher's rhetoric (cf. also Kennedy 1991: 309ff).

#### 4. Speech acts

Since speech act theory will also play an important part in the analysis of the inaugural addresses analysed in this paper, the different kinds of speech acts and the relevant speech act framework is outlined in the following paragraphs.

Speech act theory was especially shaped by J. L. Austin's work *How to Do Things with Words* which was published in Oxford in 1962. Austin's essential statement was that with whatever we say, we are already also *doing* something. He "identified a class of utterances which he called 'performatives', because they perform a particular action in and of themselves." (Cameron 2002: 69; cf. Austin 1962: 13f, 21 et. al.). The phrases "I apologize" or, "I promise" are examples of such performatives because by merely saying these words, the action itself is already done.

Austin further distinguished *performatives* from *constatives*. This second group of (proposition-making) utterances is contrasted to those of performatives in that they can be either true or false, on the one hand, and in so far as the hearer not only needs to determine the propositional meaning of the utterance, "but also decide how it is supposed to be taken and what the speaker intends to accomplish by uttering it." (Cameron 2002: 69). The utterance "I'm hungry", for instance, can either be a simple statement about the fact that the speaker is hungry, or it can be a hint to the hearer to hand the speaker something to eat. By recognizing that utterances can do both, make a proposition and perform actions, Austin developed a three-part framework for classifying speech acts:

"*Locution* is the actual words a speaker utters, *Illocution* is the 'force' of the utterance, what it is meant to be taken as (e.g. assertion, request, apology, promise). *Perlocution* is the effect on the hearer (e.g. if s/he hears 'it's raining' as having the force of a request for an umbrella, s/he supplies the speaker with an umbrella)." (ibid. 70 and Searle 1994: 30).

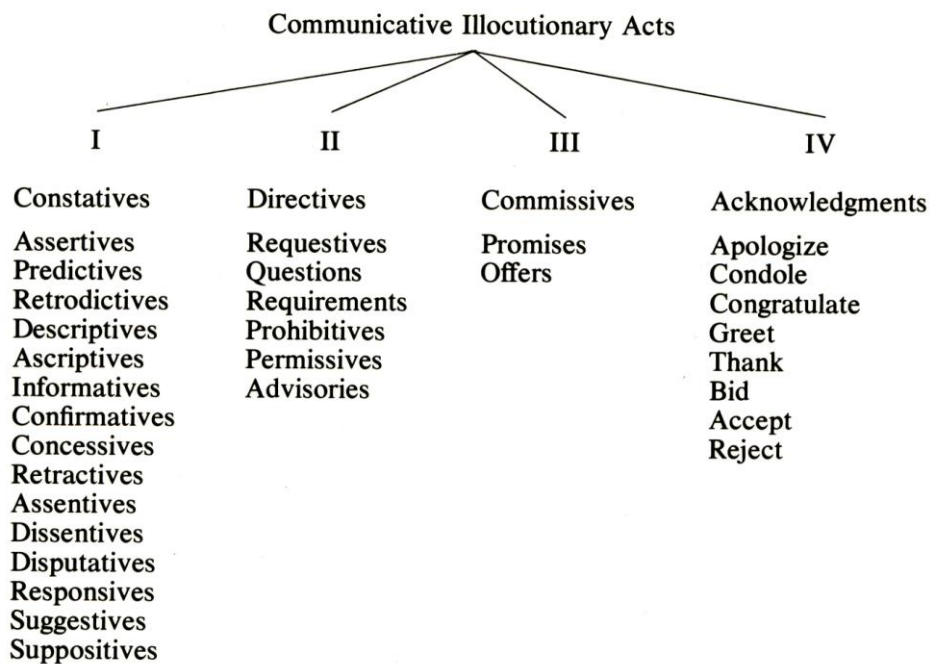
While Austin's analysis of speech act set the most important starting point for modern research in this field, his framework as well as his definition of speech acts was often criticised by his successors. One of the most important analysts who further developed Austin's *speech act theory* was the American philosopher John R. Searle, who studied under Austin in the fifties and "subsequently became the main proponent and defender of the former's ideas." (Mey 2001: 93). An important notion which Searle promoted was that speech acts always need to be seen in the context of "actual situations of language use, by people having something 'in mind'." (ibid. 93). This production of speech acts therefore always presupposes a *producer* and a *consumer*, "whose *intentions* are relevant and indispensable to the correct understanding and description of their utterances." (ibid. 93). This intentional character of speech acts is one of their most distinctive classificatory features. However, the intention of an utterance not only lies in the mind of the speaker: What we say is entirely determined by the context of the situation in which a speech act is produced. Therefore, "all speech is situated speech" (ibid. 93) and a speech act should never be analysed by itself but the circumstances of an individual utterance also have to be taken into account. There are "general conditions which allow, and afford, a particular act of speaking." (ibid. 94). These conditions may be the cultural context in which an utterance is produced as different cultures demand a particular kind of behaviour and way of speaking, for instance. Moreover, a certain situation or ritual may also demand the use of a specific speech act in order for it to be *successful*. A good example for the necessity of bearing the situational context of a speech act in mind in order for it to come across in the right way is given by Mey in his introduction to Pragmatics. Here, he states that the Latin formula *Hora est* ('Time's up') makes only sense in a Dutch university where the official university representative indicates to the members of a doctoral defense that their time of speaking ran out. Without this accompanying act this formula would be merely an isolated and meaningless speech act (cf. Mey 2001: 94).

Another very important result of Searle's analysis of speech acts are the rules for particular illocutionary acts (= speech acts) that allow identifying the *illocutionary force* of utterances, i.e. how the utterance is meant to be taken. An example of such a set of rules is given for the speech act of *promising*. This set of rules for promising consists of the *propositional act* – by referring to a future act, followed by the *preparatory condition*, so that the promise can be fulfilled. The next rule for promising is the *sincerity condition*,



which implies that the speaker truly utters the promise with the intention to fulfil it and finally, the act of promising is completed with the *essential condition* where the speaker puts himself under the obligation of a promise (cf. Mey 2001: 101).

Among the many frameworks of speech acts, especially two shall be presented in the following. First, the chart below shows the speech acts framework as developed by Kent Bach and Robert Harnish (1979: 41).



**Figure 2: Speech act framework by Bach & Harnish**

As the chart above shows, the framework consists of four main categories namely *Constatives*, *Directives*, *Commissives* and *Acknowledgments*. *Constatives* express the speaker’s belief and his intention or desire that the hearer has or forms a kind of belief. *Directives* express the speaker’s attitude toward some prospective action by the hearer which then should be taken as a reason for the hearer’s action. *Commissives* express the speaker’s intention or belief that his utterance obligates him to do something. Finally, *acknowledgments* express feelings regarding the hearer or the speaker’s intention to fulfil certain social expectations. The four main categories are further split into several sub-categories, which define the specific speech acts more clearly (cf. Bach and Harnish 1979: 42ff).

Another classification of speech acts worth mentioning is that of Elizabeth Traugott and Mary Pratt (1980), who basically adopted Austin's and Searle's framework. Their classification of speech acts is represented in the table below.

<i>Speech act category</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Examples</i>
<i>Assertives/ Representatives</i>	represent a state of affairs	stating, claiming, hypothesizing, describing, predicting, telling, insisting, suggesting, swearing that something is the case
<i>Expressives</i>	express only the speaker's psychological attitude toward some state of affairs	congratulating, thanking, deploring, condoling, welcoming, greeting
<i>Verdictives</i>	judgmental acts which rate a state of affairs	assessing, ranking, estimating
<i>Directives</i>	get the addressee to do something	requesting, commanding, pleading, inviting, questioning, daring, insisting or suggesting to do something
<i>Commissives</i>	commit the speaker to doing something	promising, threatening, vowing
<i>Declarations</i>	bring about the state of affairs they refer to	blessing, firing, baptizing, bidding, passing sentence, arresting, marrying

**Table 6: Speech act categories (cf. Traugott & Pratt 1980: 229)**

In order to identify the speech acts occurring in the inaugural addresses analyzed in this thesis, I stick to Traugott's and Pratt's outline of speech acts. This seemed to be most useful for this analysis, as their framework is rather compact and does not include an unclear amount of sub-categories, which, on the one hand, would go beyond the scope of this paper, on the other hand, is – in my opinion - not as appropriate for the analysis of the

inaugural address as for the analysis of spoken discourse occurring between at least two people, for instance.

## **5. Genre Theory**

Genre analysis is a method of analyzing different kinds of written texts and which has proved itself to be very helpful in finding out typical features when dealing with an unfamiliar genre. As the term 'genre' sometimes evokes different connotations and is often confused with the term 'text-type', the basic idea of genre analysis will be outlined in this chapter. After an introduction to the history and different approaches to genre, an explanation of the steps in genre analysis will be given.

### ***5.1 The development of written discourse analysis***

Since this thesis is a genre analysis of the inaugural address it is important to take a look on the history of written discourse analysis as genre analysis is one aspect of and has its roots in written discourse analysis as well.

Vijay K. Bhatia offers a very good overview of the development of written discourse analysis. In terms of clarification, the concept of *discourse* is used by Bhatia as well as the author of this thesis in a general sense "to refer to *language use* in institutional, professional or more general social contexts." (Bhatia 2004: 3). The focus in this thesis, however, will be on written discourse even though inaugural addresses are a certain kind of public *speech* but they are normally written down in advance of their presentation. Written discourse analysis thus refers "to the study of naturally occurring written discourse focusing in particular on its analysis beyond the sentence level." (ibid. 3). Therefore, the objectives of discourse analysis are manifold and may include the analysis of lexicogrammatical and other textual properties, regularities of organization of language use, situated language use in institutional, professional or organizational contexts, or language use in different social context especially focusing on social relations, social identities and power relationships (ibid. 3).

The development of written discourse analysis can either be looked at chronologically or by an identification of different traditions including for instance *discourse as text*,

*discourse as genre, discourse as professional practice and discourse as social practice*. In this chapter, however, a chronological view of the development of written discourse analysis will be presented focusing on three main phases, which stress at least one main idea in the analysis of written discourse respectively. Thus, “the first phase can be seen as focusing on *textualization* of lexico-grammatical resources”, the second one highlighting “regularities of *organization*” and the third one taking a closer look at the “*contextualization* of discourse” (ibid. 3).

### **5.1.1 Textualization of discourse**

During the 1960s and the early 1970s, the analysis of language use was highly influenced by formal linguistics and variation studies. Thus, the focus of analysis was limited to surface-level features of language. In the first phase of the analysis on written discourse, researchers “focused on statistically significant features of lexico-grammar used in a particular subset of texts associated with a particular discipline.” (Bhatia 2004: 4). Probably one of the first studies was that of Barber (1962), who identified important grammatical features in a corpus of scientific texts. Following his study, Gustaffsson (1975), Spencer (1975), Bhatia and Swales (1983) continued the research of typical features of legal discourse. This phase of analysis was especially marked by two main concerns, first, “an effort to focus on the surface level of specialized texts” and second, “an interest in the description of functional variation in discourse by focusing on statistically significant features of lexis and grammar.” (Bhatia 2004: 5).

In a later phase, the interest of research shifted to functional values of lexico-grammar features and their characterization in written discourse, e.g. Swales’ study on the function of *-en* participles in chemistry texts. As a result of his study, Swales found out that *-en* participles take on a special rhetorical function in chemistry texts which is unique in scientific texts. Swales’ study thus marked a very significant move forward in the analysis of discourse which also plays a major role for the theory of this thesis.

Furthermore, Bhatia’s research on the special rhetorical function of nominals in professional genres such as advertisement, scientific research reports and legislative provisions represents another important result of genre analysis.

On the part of pragmatics and semantics, van Dijk, Beaugrande and Dressler and Brown and Yule made the most important attempts towards a conceptualization of text and discourse. Their focus was on “developing a relationship between the choice of lexicogrammar and specific forms of discourse organization that can be viewed as an extension of linguistic description.” (Bhatia 2004: 7). What marked all of their studies was an emphasis on coherence and cohesion, macro-structures and information structures of discourse. Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) and van Dijk (1985) were responsible for a very important development in discourse analysis which became known as text-linguistics (cf. Bhatia 2004: 7) The key idea of text-linguists is to “investigate as many texts as possible in order to see what is more typical, more frequent and more often done in certain contexts [...] even though it may not apply to the language as a whole.” (Bhatia 2004: 7). One of the major problems in this kind of study, however, was that the various aspects of discourse organization such as macro-structures, schematic structures and information structures as found out by the linguists mentioned above, merely applied to discourse in general instead to specific genres (cf. Bhatia 2004: 8)

Finally, another significant step in the textualization of discourse is represented by Coulthard (1977) who suggested a multidisciplinary approach to discourse analysis drawing on disciplines such as philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology and linguistics (especially speech act theory), ethnography of communication and conversational analysis (cf. Bhatia 2004: 8).

### **5.1.2 Organization of discourse**

This stage in the development of written discourse analysis should not be seen completely apart from the previously mentioned research but rather as a continuation in the study of textual organization focusing now on a more detailed analysis of larger stretches of discourse as well as the immediate contexts of the discourse analyzed. The emphasis in this stage of written discourse analysis clearly was on finding patterns and regularities of discourse organization. While Widdowson (1973) focused more on rhetorical structures, van Dijk (1977), Coulthard (1977) and Hoey (1983) focused on “more global patterns of organization that applied to several forms of discourse across discourse types and genres.” (Bhatia 2004: 9). As a result of these approaches to discourse, those engaged in genre analysis took yet a step further and linked “discourse structures to communicative purposes

the genres in question served.” (Bhatia *ibid.* 9). Thus, they interpreted patterns and regularities in discourse not merely as discourse structures but their claim was that these patterns served a special communicative purpose and were so used by members of a professional community in order to “construct and interpret discourses specific to their professional cultures.” (*ibid.* 9). Swales and Bhatia finally spoke of these regularities as *moves* which will be explained more detailed in another chapter of this thesis. Two of the most influential works on *move structure* are that of Swales (1993) and Bhatia (1993), the latter extending the study of move structures “by applying it more generally to a number of other professional genres” and by taking context as well more into consideration (*ibid.* 10). The most important development in the organization of discourse was the emergence of genre theory. Three distinct frameworks may be identified for analyzing genre, which are popularly known as the American school of genre studies, the Sydney school of systemic-functional approach to genre and the British ESP school (Bhatia 2004: 10). These various schools are also the topic of a later chapter in this thesis.

### **5.1.3 Contextualization of discourse**

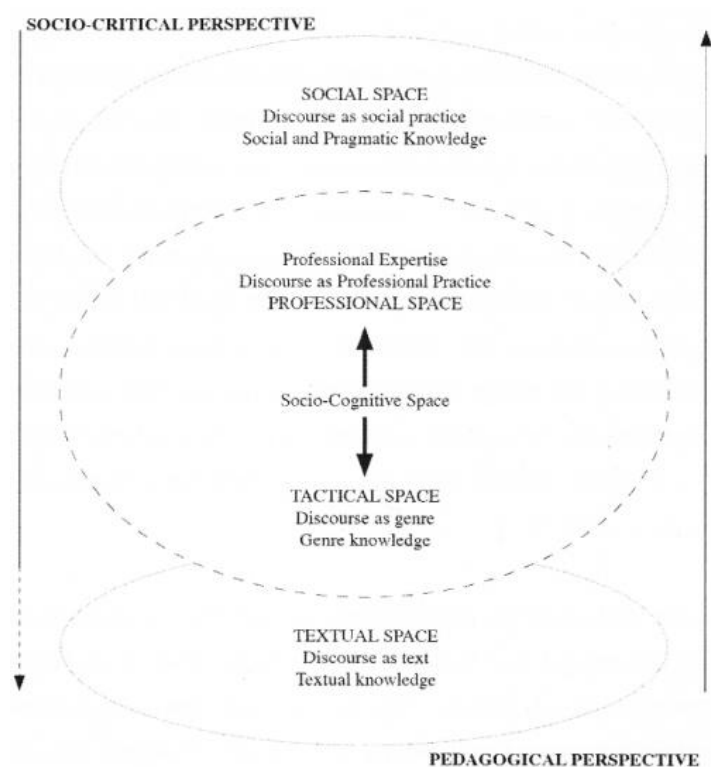
As a result of taking the social context of discourse more into account, another area in written discourse analysis emerged usually known as “critical discourse analysis, on the one hand, and multidimensional and multi-perspective analysis of professional genres on the other” (Bhatia 2004: 11). One can distinguish three rather different concerns although none of them exclude one another. The first concern was in a more detailed analysis of genres and their contexts, i.e. which social context actually makes a specific genre possible (e.g. an inaugural address – if meant seriously – is only possible in a certain social context). Bhatia (1999) identified and especially concentrated on external aspects of genre construction such as the following:

- Purposes: Institutionalized community goals and communicative purposes
- Products: Textual artefacts or genres
- Practices: Discursive practices, procedures and processes
- Players: Discourse and professional community membership

In contrast to the role of context in genre analysis, which was mainly restricted to professional and disciplinary contexts, those involved with critical discourse analysis

extended the role of context yet in a more general sense in order to “investigate how discourse is used as a powerful instrument of social control, to establish identities, to communicate ideology, or to influence and maintain social processes, social structures and social relations.” (Bhatia 2004: 11). The third concern in this phase of written discourse analysis lay in the analysis of (mediated) discourse as social interaction, cf. Scollon (1998) and Gee (1999).

After this overview of the historical development of written discourse analysis, one can see that the different phases as outlined above each reflected a specific concern in the analysis of written discourse. Bhatia speaks of “several conceptualizations of space” and further describes them as “textual space”, “socio-cognitive (tactical as well as professional) space” and “social space” (Bhatia 2004: 18). Each of these frameworks finally represents various approaches to analyze discourse as well as different concerns which Bhatia identifies as “discourse as text”, “discourse as genre”, “discourse as professional practice”, and “discourse as social practice”. These concerns can be combined into “a multi-perspective four-space model of discourse analysis” (Bhatia 2004: 18) as visualized in the diagram below.



**Picture 3: A multi-perspective four-space model of discourse analysis (Bhatia 2004: 19)**

With the help of the diagram above, Bhatia further explains the different approaches to the analysis of written discourse. Thus, *discourse as text*, he explains, “refer[s] to the analysis of language use that is confined to the surface-level properties of discourse” (Bhatia 2004: 19). These properties include formal as well as functional aspects of discourse (i.e. phonological, lexico-grammatical, semantic, and organizational). In this level of discourse analysis, context is not necessarily taken into account but in the form of the so called co-text. The focus at this level of analysis therefore is not on the interpretation of the text but rather on the construction of the textual product and thus mainly operates in the textual space (see diagram above).

In contrast to the analysis of discourse as text, context plays a more important role in *discourse as genre*. The aim of taking the context of a certain discourse into account is to identify in how far context is responsible for the way a text is constructed, how a text is interpreted and how it is used in various institutional or professional settings in order “to achieve specific disciplinary goals” (cf. Bhatia 2004: 20). The questions asked in genre analysis not only concern linguistic aspects, but also socio-cognitive and ethnographic. Apart from the textual knowledge, genre knowledge “includes [...] the awareness and understanding of the shared practices of professional and discourse communities and their choice of genres in order to perform their everyday tasks.” (ibid. 20).

## ***5.2 The concept of genre***

The term ‘genre’ is used and understood by people in many different ways. Today, there are even more and more approaches to define genre but somehow the term still remains a “fuzzy concept, a somewhat loose term of art” (Swales 1990: 33). According to Bhatia who follows Swales’ definition of genre (cf. Swales 1990: 58), genre is defined as followed:

[It is] a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose(s) identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs. Most often it is highly structured and conventionalized with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value. These constraints, however, are often exploited by the expert members of the discourse community to achieve private intentions within the framework of the



discourse community to achieve private intentions within the framework of socially recognized purpose(s). (Bhatia 1993: 13).

Some of the ideas in this definition need further explanation. To start with, genre is “a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose(s) identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs.” (Bhatia 1993: 13) Apart from other aspects such as content, form or audience/readership, genres are recognized by their communicative purpose (ibid.). To give an example, an inaugural address is not only recognized as such because of its typical form and content but above all because of its communicative purpose which in this case could be defined as to officially introduce and inform the audience about the president’s plans and intentions as a leader of the United States. Coming back to Bhatia’s definition, the professional or academic community in which a genre regularly occurs may modify the communicative purpose(s) of the genre. Minor changes of the communicative purpose(s) then help to differentiate between various sub-genres. Major changes, however, most likely lead to a different genre (cf. ibid.).

Apart from this, according to Swales genres are “most often [...] highly structured and conventionalized” communicative events. (Bhatia 1993: 13) The result of these features of genre is twofold: On the one hand, genre knowledge helps specialist members of any professional or academic community to use and modify those genres which they deal with in their (daily) routine. Knowledge about the conventions and structures of certain genres also helps *new* members of a specialist community to use these genres ‘appropriately’. On the other hand, a genre itself is shaped and conventionalized by the professional or academic community as a result of their “long experience and/or training” (Bhatia 1993: 14).

Furthermore, Bhatia explains that genres may display “constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value.” (Bhatia 1993: 14)

Although the writer has quite a lot of freedom to “use linguistic resources in any way s/he likes, s/he must conform to certain standard practices within the boundaries of a particular genre.” (Bhatia 1993: 14). Breaking these constraints or ‘boundaries’ will be perceived as odd, not only by the professional or academic community but also by the “good users of

the language in general.” (Bhatia 1993: 14). This is also the reason why one may distinguish between an inaugural speech and an election campaign speech, for example, or between a parody and the genuine text. While merely considering the formal aspects of a genre makes it often difficult or even impossible to distinguish between different genres (such as those mentioned above, for instance), knowledge about the communicative goal of the genre in question is more reliable to differentiate it from other genres (cf. Hüttner 2005: 17 and Swales 1993: 46-49).

Furthermore, Bhatia remarks that these constraints, as mentioned above, “are often exploited by the expert members of the discourse community to achieve private intentions within the framework of socially recognized purpose(s).” (1993: 13) In order to utilize certain constraints or boundaries of a genre for their own purpose(s), one needs to be well practiced and familiar with the conventions of the genre used. The more practice one has, the more will they be able to execute their intentions through a certain genre (cf. Bhatia 1993: 15-16). This ‘private’ use of genre construction is what is also called the “tactical aspect” in Psycholinguistics which leads me to the importance of bearing other research areas in mind as well when analyzing genre (ibid. 19). In the following chapter I will therefore briefly spend a word on Sociology and Psychology and their influence and importance for genre analysis.

In order to find out how scholars actually explain the notion of genre, Swales considered the use of genre in a number of different fields, i.e. in folklore studies, in literary studies, in linguistics and in rhetoric, all of them having more or less similar ideas about genre. Since these four fields indeed offer a good overview and are important to understand the idea behind genre, they are briefly outlined here as well.

#### Genre in folklore studies

In folklore studies the notion of genre gained most interest through the works by the Brothers Grimm, whose myths, legends and folktales were categorized and described as individual genres. In general, genres – in the context of folklore studies – are defined as ‘forms’, which means that legends and proverbs, for example, are permanent in their form and do not change “their character over recorded history: ‘they have an independent literary integrity, which withstands social variations and technological developments’. They thus have kinds of cognitive deep structure preserved by the relations among the

discoursal components of the texts themselves.” (Swales 1993: 34). While the form of these texts remains the same, the social function, however, does change (e.g. proverbs nowadays may play a rather different role than in the past). The functionalists in folklore, however, point out the socio-cultural value of genres. Malinowski stresses that “folklore genres contribute to the maintenance and survival of social groups because they serve social and spiritual needs” (quoted in Swales 1993: 35). Therefore, certain genres such as myths or legends are “not so labeled according to the *form* of the narrative itself but according to how the narrative is received by the community” (ibid. 35).

Finally, while some folklorists stress the permanence of form when dealing with genre, others “are more interested in the *evolution* of the genres themselves as a necessary response to a changing world.” (ibid. 35).

### Genre in literary studies

While folklorists point out the “permanence of form” in genre, the literary studies emphasize its changeability (Swales 1993: 36). This emphasis lies in the literalists’ claim that if an author “breaks the mould of convention” of a certain genre, there already has to exist a *prototype* which already existed before the newly created genre (ibid. 36). According to Todorov, “[a] new genre is always the transformation of one or several old genres: by inversion, by displacement, by combination.” (Todorov 1990: 15). In his explanation of genre, Todorov rejects the widely-held view that genres are classes of texts. Instead he argues that

[i]n a given society, the recurrence of certain discursive properties is institutionalized, and individual texts are produced and perceived in relation to the norm constituted by that codification. A genre, whether literary or not, is nothing other than the codification of discursive properties. (Todorov 1990: 17)

From this quote it becomes clear that genres are not merely an assembly of similar texts but they “are coded and keyed events set within social communicative processes” (Swales 1993: 38). Genres offer the author as well as the reader of a text a kind of help of *how to write* and *how to understand* a piece of (written) discourse. Hepburn explains that “[h]ow a competent reader approaches a work of literature, his attitudes and expectations, depend importantly upon the genre he sees it as exemplifying.” (Hepburn 1983 in: Swales 1993: 38). On the other hand, the text itself, or rather the author of the text, wants to be understood in a certain way and is therefore written in a specific genre. Following this, the

“appreciation of genre is a necessary if not sufficient condition for an appreciation of literature.” (Swales 1993: 37). When dealing with a text, genre knowledge does not only provide “an interpretative and evaluative frame for a work of art but, more to the point, that frame is as much *textual* as it is cultural, historical, socioeconomic or political.” (ibid. 37). As a result, the notion and the importance of genre in literary studies is two-folded: On the one hand, the author of a text decides to write in a specific genre and also wants his work to be seen and read in this genre. On the other hand, however, the reader, when dealing with a text, brings along his own knowledge and ideas about genres which influences him/her in his/her understanding of a text.

### Genre in linguistics

First of all, the ethnographer Hymes defines genres as similar to “speech events, but [they] must be treated as analytically independent of them. They may occur in (or as) different events. The sermon as a genre is typically identified with a certain place in a church service, but its properties may be invoked, for serious or humorous effect, in other situations.” (Hymes 1974: 61). In contrast to Hymes, Preston points out that speech events and genres not necessarily need to be separated. However, situations and genres should indeed be kept apart (cf. Preston 1989). A sermon may occur in an atypical location, but still remains a sermon. On the other hand, some of the sermon’s properties may be used to strengthen the rhetorical effectiveness of a political speech, for example. In this case, the sermonic properties still do not change the genre of the political speech (cf. Swales 1993: 39).

In the following chapter I will outline three approaches to genre, which have also had a major impact on further studies on genre. The reason why each approach is outlined separately is that each one of them puts another focus in their definition of genre although none of them should be seen as completely set apart from the other traditions. The following distinction between the ESL approach to genre, the New Rhetoric approach and the Sidney school follows Hyon’s article on *Genre in Three Traditions* as published in the TESOL Quarterly in 1996.

### **5.2.1 The ESP approach to genre**

The focus of the English for specific purposes (ESP) approach to genre is to equip learners as well as teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL) with tools “for analyzing and teaching the spoken and written language required of nonnative speakers in academic and professional settings.” (Hyon 1996: 695). Thus, genre analysis is used to create such tools by finding out certain regularities of English spoken and written texts as far as structure, style and content is concerned, for instance. Swales, whose studies had a great impact on the ESP approach, described genres as “communicative events” which are characterized by “communicative purposes” and certain regularities of “structure, style, content and intended audience.” (Swales 1990: 5). It is the communicative purpose which influences a writer’s choice of lexis and grammar use. According to Dudley-Evans, the communicative purpose is the “defining feature” by which genres are and may be differentiated from other genres (cf. Dudley-Evans 1994: 219). The focus on the communicative purpose of a genre also distinguishes the ESP approach to genre from literary criticism, where, for example a poem or a comedy is classified among other aspects as such because of its form (ibid.).

Apart from Swales’ influence on the view of genre in the ESP approach, the definitions by Miller (1984) and Martin (1989) had a major impact as well. As Dudley-Evans (1994: 219) summarizes it, their assumption is that:

a genre is a means of achieving a communicative goal that has evolved in response to particular rhetorical needs and that a genre will change and evolve in response to changes in those needs. The emphasis is thus on the means by which a text realizes its communicative purpose rather than on establishing a system for the classification of genres. (Dudley-Evans 1994: 219)

This definition of genre again points out the communicative purpose of a text. Moreover, what becomes clear by this definition is that genres are not static but they change according to the communicative purpose[s] which one aims at. Therefore genre may be seen a “dynamic social processes”, as defined by Bhatia (1993: 16).

Another important notion stemming from the ESP approach is the concept of the discourse community. Again, Swales’ study on genre analysis presents a rather detailed definition of what is meant by the term ‘discourse community’ and Dudley-Evans summarizes the most important ideas as follows:

The discourse community is that group of people within a discipline or area of special interest that communicates with each other in part through the genres which they possess (Swales 1990: 26), and which has expectations of what is permissible within the genre or genres that it uses. (Dudley-Evans 1994: 220)

In addition to the concept of the discourse community, Swales' work on analyzing academic articles was also concerned with the so called 'move structure' of genres, which was another important step in genre analysis not only in the ESP approach. Since move structure plays a major role for my own analysis of the American inaugural address, it will be discussed in greater detail in a separate chapter of this thesis.

While many ESP scholars especially focused on formal characteristics of genres (e.g. Swales' study on experimental research articles, Hopkins & Dudley-Evans' analysis of Master of Science dissertations and Bhatia's study on business letters), research in the context of the New Rhetoric paid more attention to the social contexts in which genres are used (cf. Hyon 1996: 695). In the following chapter I will therefore outline the most important ideas of the New Rhetoric tradition as another approach to genre.

### **5.2.2 The New Rhetoric**

The New Rhetoric approach to genre developed in North America and was made popular by a body of North American scholarship coming from various disciplines which were all "concerned with L1 teaching, including rhetoric, composition studies, and professional writing" (Hyon 1996: 696). Compared to the ESP approach to genre where the focus mainly was on the form of genres, New Rhetoric scholars put more emphasis "on the situational contexts in which genres occur" and were more interested in the "social purposes, or *actions*, that these genres fulfill within these situations." (ibid. 696). Among the most important representatives of this strand of genre analysis are Bazerman (1988), Freedman & Medway (1994) and Miller (1984, 1994). Bazerman's definition of genre, which is closely related to the one Miller (1984) arrived at, is as follows:

a genre is a socially recognized, repeated strategy for achieving similar goals in situations socially perceived as being similar. A genre provides a writer with a way of formulating responses in certain circumstances and a reader with a way of recognizing the kind of message being transmitted. A genre is a social construct that regularizes communication, interaction and relations. Thus the formal features that are shared by the corpus of texts in a genre and by which we

usually recognize a text's inclusion in a genre, are the linguistic/symbolic solution to a problem in social interaction. (Bazerman 1988: 62)

In contrast to the ESP approach, where genres were mainly spoken of as being used in academic or professional groups, the New Rhetoric approach does not seem to put focus on any specific (professional) community in which genres occur (cf. Hüttner 2005: 13). Moreover, writers as well as readers of genres are “given equal status” (ibid.): on the one hand, genre knowledge helps the writer to formulate his/her communicative goal. On the other hand, recognizing a specific genre enables the reader to (better) understand the intended message of the writer. One problem in this definition of genre, however, is the assumption that genres are *the* linguistic solution to a problem in social interaction (cf. Hüttner 2005: 13). According to Hüttner, the “communicative purpose [of a genre] is not directly related to a problem, and frequently genres serve a more complex set of communicative purposes.” (Hüttner 2005: 13).

As mentioned above, Miller's definition of genre also had a great influence on genre theory in the context of the New Rhetoric group. In her article *Genre as Social Action* (1984), Miller explains that genre is “more than a formal entity; it becomes pragmatic, fully rhetorical, a point of connection between intention and effect, an aspect of social action.” (Miller 1994: 25). Moreover, Miller describes genres as “recurrent patterns of language use” (ibid. 37).

### **5.2.3 The Systemic Functional approach to genre**

The systemic functional approach to genre was mainly influenced by the British-born scholar, Michael Halliday, who established the linguistic department of the University of Sydney in 1975. Systemic functional linguistics generally focuses on language and its functions in social settings. Halliday points out three factors, which influence the forms of language: *field*, *tenor* and *mode*: “Field refers to the ongoing activity and the particular purposes that the use of language is serving within the context of that activity; tenor refers to the interrelations among the participants (status and role relationships); and mode” refers to the channel of communication (Halliday 1978: 62, Hyon 1996: 670). These three components constitute the *register* of language. To give an example, the register of an inaugural address as a public speech will obviously highly differ from that of a private conversation between a mother and her little child (such as Halliday is giving as an

example, cf. Halliday 1978: 63f). Some of Halliday's Australian students, most notably Jim Martin, reflected on his theory of register and tried to develop a genre theory within a systemic functional framework. As a result they defined genres as "staged, goal-oriented social processes, structural forms that cultures use in certain contexts to achieve various purposes." (Martin, Christie, & Rothery 1987 in: Hyon 1996: 670).

As theoretical background for the genre analysis of the inaugural address I do not place my study in line of one of the three approaches to genre mentioned above. Rather, the theoretical background for my study is drawn on a combination of the ESP approach to genre as with the approach to genre of the New Rhetoric School. Thus, the steps of my analysis will include an analysis of lexico-grammatical features of the inaugural address, the identification of a move-structure by recognizing regularities in structure and the communicative purpose(s) of this kind of speech and an exploration of rhetorical strategies linked with antique rhetorical theory.



## **6. Genre analysis of the inaugural address**

### ***6.1 The inaugural address as genre***

The development and history as well as the context of the American presidential inaugural address have already been dealt with in chapter 2.4 of this thesis. In the following study, the inaugural address will be treated as a sub-genre of political discourse. Among the existing studies on the inaugural address, there are those who agree that this type of presidential speech can be considered a specific genre, e.g. Karlyn Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (2008), Anna Trosborg (2000). On the other hand, there are those who question the generic character of the inaugural address, e.g. Kenneth Thompson (1984). Jean-Pierre van Noppen suggests that the inaugural address should be seen as a form of *ritual* language, since the President cannot be sworn into his office without previously taking the oath of office. After this he “*has to make a speech, and in this speech he has to say certain things.*” (van Noppen 2002: 4). With this task given, presidents have produced inaugural addresses and when taking a closer look at these speeches, one can see that they show quite a few similarities in structure and language use. Thus, along with Campbell, Jamieson and Trosborg I view the inaugural speech as being a specific kind of genre of political speech. In the following analysis, the typicality of the presidential inaugural address will be examined. My framework and the steps of my analysis are outlined in chapter 6.3.

### ***6.2 Methodology***

The following chapters describe the corpus of the inaugural addresses and the tools which were used to analyze the presidential speeches. Besides, the framework for the genre analysis and its theoretical background is presented in chapter 6.3 below.

#### **6.2.1 Data collection – the corpus of inaugural addresses**

The data collection for the quantitative analysis of this study consists of 56 inaugural addresses of the American presidents starting from the first inaugural speech by President George Washington in April 1789 and including all the following inaugurals until the one

given by President Barack Obama in January 2009. The written texts of the speeches were obtained from a collection of all inaugural addresses created by John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters in the context of their online *American Presidency Project* at the University of California, Santa Barbara. The average length of all inaugurals is 13, 828 words. The total amount of words of this corpus is 774, 372 words.<sup>5</sup> The table below summarizes the most important features of the primary corpus collection of this study.

<b>Corpus: Inaugural addresses of the U.S. Presidents</b>	
<i>Corpus size</i>	774,372 words
<i>Number of texts</i>	56
<i>Language</i>	English
<i>Publication years</i>	1789-2009
<i>Authorship</i>	The presidents of the U.S.A.
<i>Medium</i>	Written
<i>Full texts</i>	Full texts

**Table 7: Inaugurals corpus description (framework after Bowker & Pearson 2002: 72)**

For the qualitative part of this study, ten speeches have been selected including the most recent inaugurals from 2009-1993. In order to provide a greater variety and to find out if there have been obvious changes in the character of the inaugural address ever since they have been held, I also selected the inaugural addresses of the years 1905 (T. Roosevelt), 1885 (Cleveland), 1861 (Lincoln), 1829 (Jackson) and the very first inaugural speech by President Washington of 1789. Thus, the ten selected speeches are the following:

---

<sup>5</sup> The total amount of words was arrived at by adding the number of words of all 56 inaugural speeches with the help of the WordSmith Tools software.

Barack Obama, 2009  
George W. Bush, 2001  
William J. Clinton, 1993  
John F. Kennedy, 1961  
Herbert Hoover, 1929

Theodore Roosevelt, 1905  
Grover Cleveland, 1885  
Abraham Lincoln, 1861  
Andrew Jackson, 1829  
George Washington, 1789

### **6.2.2 Data collection – the reference corpus OANC**

In order to find out special features of the inaugural addresses analyzed in this study, the *Open American National Corpus* (OANC) was chosen as a reference corpus. A comparison with the data of this reference corpus with the corpus of the inaugural addresses gives insight into the special features of the presidential speeches, for example by comparing (key) word lists of both corpora as will be explained in greater detail in chapter 7. The *American National Corpus* (ANC) project is comparable to the *British National Corpus* (BNC). The aim of the ANC Project is to offer a corpus of written and spoken (transcripts) data of American English and in this way to make a contribution to language and linguistic research. In order to offer open access to at least part of the data collection of the ANC, the ANC project team established the *Open American National Corpus* (OANC) which is available as a free download from the official website. The genres of the collected data of the OANC are comparable with those of the BNC and include transcripts from face-to-face discourse, telephone conversations as well as written texts from the governmental, technical, (non-) fictional domains, letters, travel guides and journal articles. Since the OANC is freely available and includes a total of over 14 million words, which is more than sufficient as reference corpus for this study, it was chosen as reference corpus for this study. The table below summarizes the most important facts of the OANC.

<b>Corpus: Open American National Corpus (OANC)<sup>6</sup></b>	
<i>Corpus size</i>	14,623,927 words
<i>Number of texts</i>	8,832
<i>Language</i>	English
<i>Genres</i>	Face to face and telephone conversations, governmental, technical, travel guides, (non-)fiction, letters, journal
<i>Medium</i>	Spoken and written

**Table 8: The Open American National Corpus**

### 6.2.3 Software tools for analysis

WordSmith Tools was used for the quantitative analysis of the inaugural addresses. WordSmith Tools is a lexical analysis software for the PC by which one can create so called *Wordlists*, *Keyword lists* and *Concordances*. After copying the inaugural addresses as \*.txt – files to the software, the system then scans the documents and creates a *Wordlist* in which every word used in the inaugural address corpus is sorted by frequency. This, for example, helps the analyst to find out which words occur most frequently and therefore seem to be most important and specific for this genre.

Next, the *Keyword list* function points out words which occur unusually often within the sample texts compared to a much bigger corpus (in this case the ANC corpus). These words are also called *positive keywords*. In contrast to this, *negative keywords* are such words which show – sometimes an unexpectedly - low frequency within the sample corpus compared to a reference corpus. While the positive keywords again are useful to find out which words are specific for one's sample texts, the negative keywords are also of great interest as they may indicate which features of written sample texts are not so important in the data analyzed but which occur frequently in the reference corpus, for instance.

Finally, with the help of the *Concordance* tool the analyst can find out about collocations and phrases which are especially interesting if they occur frequently in the sample corpus.

---

<sup>6</sup> Source of information is the official website of the OANC (see References).

### 6.3 Framework for analysis

In the analysis of the inaugural address as genre, I partly follow Anna Trosborg’s framework for analysis as explained in her article “The Inaugural Address: President Clinton’s 1993 address” (cf. Trosborg 2002: 121f). As a first step of my analysis I take a closer look at the vocabulary and the key topics or themes of the inaugural address(es). Here, the aid of the computer software tools is especially important. The second step of my analysis is to find out the communicative functions or purposes of the inaugural address. In this context, I try to find out specific kinds of speech acts which reveal the communicative purposes of the analyzed speeches. The theoretical background of this part of my analysis has been explained in chapter 4.

The third step of analysis includes the identification of the move-structure of the inaugural address which also gives insight into the communicative purposes of these speeches or the communicative purpose of the respective moves. The theory behind the move-structure analysis has been touched on in chapter 5.2.1 and is explained in more detail in chapter 9.

As a last step I identify rhetorical strategies which are applied in the various inaugurals. These rhetorical strategies include stylistic devices as summarized in antique rhetorical theory which has been outlined in chapter 3.5.4.

The table below summarizes the steps of my analysis of the inaugural addresses as explained above.

<b>Framework for analysis</b>	
<b>Step of analysis</b>	<b>Theoretical background</b>
Identifying key vocabulary and key topics	<i>Practical tool:</i> WordSmith Tools Software
Identifying speech acts	Austin, Searle, Traugott & Pratt, Bach & Harnish
Identifying a move-structure	Swales, Bhatia
Identifying rhetorical strategies	Aristotle, Quintilian, Corbett & Connors, Göttert

**Table 9: Framework for the analysis of the inaugural address**

## **7. Key vocabulary and themes in the inaugural address**

### ***7.1 Key vocabulary in the inaugural address***

In finding out the most important words and themes in the inaugural address the WordSmith Tools analysis software was especially helpful. With the wordlist-function of the computer software I generated a keyword list which enumerates all the words occurring in all 56 inaugurals ordered by frequency of appearance. A list of the 150 most frequently used words can be found in the appendix of this thesis. Moreover, I generated a keyword list which summarizes words that occur unusually frequently in the inaugural address compared to the OANC reference corpus of American English. The first ten words with the highest keyness are outlined in Table 2 below. As has been explained above, keyword lists provide an essential tool in finding out which words are typical for a specific genre. In the table below, frequency (Freq.) refers to the frequency with which a word occurs in the whole sample corpus, i.e. the 56 inaugural addresses. In contrast to this is the frequency a word occurs in the OANC corpus (RC. Freq.) and the percentage refers to the percentage a word makes up in the respective corpus. Finally, the keyness of a word is defined by its unusual high occurrence compared to the reference corpus. Below, the keywords have been sorted by their keyness whereby the list starts with the word that shows the highest keyness.

Keyword	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness
OUR	2,062	1.54	17,555	0.12	6,555.83
OF	6,995	5.23	435,282	2.98	1,908.86
GOVERNMENT	589	0.44	6,429	0.04	1,614.30
WE	1,628	1.22	55,083	0.38	1,558.30
SHALL	314	0.23	1,021	0,00*	1,516.85
UPON	371	0.28	2,013	0.01	1,466.46
NATION	286	0.21	1,134	0,00*	1,285.15
CITIZENS	238	0.18	585	0,00*	1,260.16
CONSTITUTION	206	0.15	302	0,00*	1,257.81
WILL	851	0.64	21,887	0.15	1,146.09

**Table 10: Keywords in the inaugural address**

\* Frequency in reference corpus under 0.01 percent

The above keywords not only give insight into which topics are important in the inaugural address but also express the typicality of this kind of political speech. As can be seen, the nouns ‘*government*’, ‘*nation*’, ‘*citizens*’ and ‘*constitution*’ occur unusually frequently in the inaugural address compared to the reference corpus. Thus, one can see that this kind of speech obviously deals with political topics. Moreover, the unusually high frequency of the modal verbs ‘*shall*’ and ‘*will*’ indicate that the inaugural address is especially concerned with future actions. Finally, the keyword list above also shows that the recurrent use of the pronouns ‘*our*’ and ‘*we*’ is typical of the inaugural address. As one can see the keyword list above already gives some insight into the typicality of the inaugural address in general. The following chapters explain the results of the computer-assisted analysis as well as the close-reading of the inaugural speeches in greater detail.

## 7.2 *Themes in the inaugural address*

As a result of the computer-based analysis of the inaugurals corpus and a close-reading of the ten chosen speeches, I arrived at the following main topics which characterize the inaugural address in general.

### 7.2.1 **The American people**

Analyzing the ten inaugural addresses chosen, one will soon realize that one of the main topics is the American people. Even though it may be assumed that the first public address of the new president would mainly deal with the tasks and political program of the president and the government, the centre of the inaugural address remains the American people which, of course, includes the president. This focus on the American people and the unity between the people and the president also becomes clear when looking at the first 150 words of the inaugural addresses: while the pronouns ‘*our*’ and ‘*we*’ are among the first ten words, the pronoun ‘*I*’ is only the twenty-first most frequently used word. Likewise, the list of the first ten keywords above also highlights the importance of America and the American people in the inaugural address showing that the terms ‘*our*’, ‘*we*’, ‘*nation*’ and ‘*citizens*’ are used unusually frequently compared to general American English. It has to be noted, however, that the inclusive form of speaking of the American people including the American president by using the pronoun ‘*we*’ appears to have only begun to become popular during the 20th and 21st century: while the ten recent presidents used the pronoun ‘*we*’ on average 52 times (e.g. Obama 62, Bush 47, Clinton 51, Reagan 68), the first ten presidents used it on average only ten times (e.g. Washington 1, Adams 3, Jefferson 10, Madison 2). The same results are also gained when using the keyword-function of the computer software again: comparing each individual wordlist of the respective inaugural with the complete sample corpus of the inaugural addresses, one will find out that the words ‘*we*’ and ‘*our*’ are among the negative keywords, i.e. they occur remarkably infrequently, in the inaugurals of President Taft, Garfield, Lincoln, Polk, W. Harrison, John Quincy Adams and John Adams, all presidents of the 19<sup>th</sup> century except for President Taft who was head of state at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Interesting to see is also the frequent use of modal verbs, especially ‘*must*’, ‘*should*’, ‘*can*’ and ‘*will*’, in connection with the pronoun ‘*we*’. This indicates that ‘*we*’ is often used in connection of what has to and should be done by the American people and the president.



The tasks and the responsibilities of all American citizens therefore also play a major part in the inaugural address. Thus, President Obama, for instance, when he talks about the plans he has for his country encourages his fellow citizens with the following words:

*Starting today, **we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America. For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of our economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act [...] We will build the roads [...] and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We will restore science to its rightful place [...] We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. All this we will do*** (Obama, 10, 11).

In his second inaugural address, President Clinton also clearly points out the responsibility of the American people to work with the government for the sake of the well-being of the next generation:

*Beyond that, my **fellow citizens**, the future is up to **us**. **Our** founders taught **us** that the preservation of **our** liberty and **our** union depends upon responsible citizenship. And **we** need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. There is work to do, work that government alone cannot do* (Clinton, 8).

The quotes above also show the high use of other personal pronouns which again indicate the unity of the president with the American people (e.g. ‘*ourselves*’, ‘*our*’, ‘*us*’, ‘*fellow citizens*’). Taking a closer look at the use of the pronoun ‘*our*’, the analysis shows that the most frequent collocation with ‘*our*’ are ‘*our people*’ (50 times), ‘*our country*’ (47 times), ‘*our government*’ (21 times), ‘*our nation*’ (20 times), ‘*our fellow citizens*’ (18 times) and ‘*in our history*’ (11 times).

The modal verbs ‘*must*’, ‘*shall*’ and ‘*should*’ are frequently used throughout the several inaugural addresses to signify the responsibilities of the American people. The phrase ‘*we must*’ occurs 106 times across 29 inaugurals, the phrase ‘*we shall*’ 71 times in 30 inaugurals and ‘*we should*’ 43 times in 21 speeches. Generally speaking, the responsibility of all American citizens lies in preserving the heritage which they have received by the Founding Fathers and the values which characterize the ideals of the American people. As President Theodore Roosevelt expresses it:

*But **we** have faith that **we shall** not prove false to the memories of the men of the mighty past. They did their work, they left **us** the splendid heritage **we** now enjoy. **We** in **our** turn have an assured confidence that **we shall** be able to leave*

*this heritage unwasted and enlarged to **our** children and **our** children's children. To do so **we must** show, not merely in great crises, but in the everyday affairs of life, the qualities of practical intelligence, of courage, of hardihood, and endurance, and above all the power of devotion to a lofty ideal, which made great the men who founded this Republic in the days of Washington, which made great the men who preserved this Republic in the days of Abraham Lincoln.* (Th. Roosevelt, 16-18).

The values of the ideals of the American way of life are another important theme in the inaugural address. Therefore they will be dealt with in greater detail in the following chapter.

### **7.2.2 American values**

Taking a look at the wordlist of the 56 inaugural addresses one can see that some of the first fifteen most frequently occurring nouns express American values. The first fifteen most frequently occurring nouns are: *government, people, States, world, country, nation, peace, citizens, power, Constitution, time, nations, Union, freedom, America.*

As can be seen, the word ‘*peace*’ is the 7<sup>th</sup> most frequently occurring noun with a total of 252 times used in 45 inaugurals. The word ‘*freedom*’ is the 14<sup>th</sup> most frequently occurring noun used 183 times in 35 inaugurals, followed by the adjective ‘*free*’ which is used 179 times in 47 speeches. Closely related to the above two words is the term ‘*liberty*’ which also appears in the list of the 150 most frequently used words of the inaugural address being the 35<sup>th</sup> most occurring noun with a total occurrence of 116 times in 41 inaugurals. The notion of freedom undoubtedly is and has always been one of the most important values of American society. Thus, it is not surprising that the American presidents recall one of the principal ideals which characterize the American people. The quotes below shall give an impression of the significance of ‘*freedom*’ in the inaugural address. First, President Coolidge, for instance, pointed out the importance to preserve and guarantee freedom and liberty not only of the American people, but of anyone whose freedom is endangered:

*We made freedom a birthright. We extended our domain over distant islands in order to safeguard our own interests and accepted the consequent obligation to bestow justice and liberty upon less favored peoples. In the defense of our own ideals and in the general cause of liberty we entered the Great War. When victory had been fully secured, we withdrew to our own shores unrecompensed*

*save in the consciousness of duty done. Throughout all these experiences we have enlarged our freedom, we have strengthened our independence. We have been, and propose to be, more and more American* (Coolidge, 5, 6).

Similar to the quote above, President Eisenhower and President Clinton emphasized America's 'mission' to defend the freedom of mankind:

*Knowing that only a United States that is strong and immensely productive can help defend freedom in our world, we view our Nation's strength and security as a trust upon which rests the hope of free men everywhere. It is the firm duty of each of our free citizens and of every free citizen everywhere to place the cause of his country before the comfort, the convenience of himself.* (Eisenhower, 34)

At the end of his second inaugural address, Clinton also encouraged his fellow citizens to preserve American values and especially America's ideal of freedom, or, to say it with his words, to live on the 'American dream', for the sake of the next generations:

*May those generations whose faces we cannot yet see, whose names we may never know, say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American dream alive for all her children, with the American promise of a more perfect Union a reality for all her people, with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.* (Clinton, 23)

Similarly to Clinton, President Theodore Roosevelt pointed out the responsibility of the present generation of the American people to live up to their principles for the well-being of the next generation and to the whole world:

*Upon the success of our experiment much depends, not only as regards our own welfare, but as regards the welfare of mankind. If we fail, the cause of free self-government throughout the world will rock to its foundations, and therefore our responsibility is heavy, to ourselves, to the world as it is to-day, and to the generations yet unborn.* (Th. Roosevelt, 12, 13)

The quotes above show that the notion of freedom plays a very important role in the inaugural address as it is one of the principle values of American society. Closely related to the principle of a free people is the notion of peace, which also plays a notable role in the American presidential inaugural address. As has been mentioned above, the word 'peace' is the 7<sup>th</sup> most frequently occurring word in the inaugurals. To depict the notion of peace in the inaugural address, a few examples are given below.

In his inaugural speech, President Obama pointed out that America not only wants to secure freedom of the American people and the peoples around the world, but it also seeks peace within its own states and with the rest of the world:

*And so to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born: know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to lead once more. (Obama, 15)*

The importance of peace, not only with the world but especially among the people within the U.S.A. is stressed by President Roosevelt's inaugural:

*While ever careful to refrain from wrongdoing others, we must be no less insistent that we are not wronged ourselves. We wish peace, but we wish the peace of justice, the peace of righteousness [...] Our relations with the other powers of the world are important; but still more important are our relations among ourselves. Such growth in wealth, in population, and in power as this nation has seen during the century and a quarter of its national life is inevitably accompanied by a like growth in the problems which are ever before every nation that rises to greatness. (Th. Roosevelt, 7-9)*

### **7.2.3 Change**

The theme of change also plays an important role in the inaugural address. Here, the wordlist of the 150 words as well as the keyword list of the inaugural addresses corpus again give insight into the topic: among the first ten keywords of the inaugural speech are 'shall' and 'will'. Both modal verbs express the notion of change as they both indicate a call for action not only on the part of the president but also – as has been indicated in the previous chapters – on the part of the American people. One of the best examples for the significance of change as theme in the inaugural speech is President Clinton's first public address as the new president. In his inaugural address Clinton uses a lot of lexical chains which express the notion of change. At the beginning of his speech, for example, he employs the metaphor of 'spring' to introduce the idea of change and renewal, more precisely, the change and renewal which he as the new president will bring about:

*My fellow citizens, today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal. This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring, a spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America. When our Founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our*

*purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change; not change for change's sake but change to preserve America's ideals: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. (Clinton, 1)*

Another example for the importance of the notion of change in the inaugural address is President L. Johnson's speech in which he remarks:

*The next man to stand here will look out on a scene different from our own, because **ours is a time of change**—rapid and fantastic change bearing the secrets of nature, multiplying the nations, placing in uncertain hands new weapons for mastery and destruction, shaking old values, and uprooting old ways. Our destiny in the midst of **change** will rest on the **unchanged** character of our people, and on their faith. (L. Johnson, 5, 6)*

Although both of the quotes above point out that America is undergoing change, they also explain that the American ideals and values remain 'unchanged' (cf. L. Johnson). The preservation of these values in times of change is also the stronghold for those who may fear change, as President Eisenhower explains:

*It is because we, all of us, hold to these principles that the political changes accomplished this day do not imply turbulence, upheaval or disorder. Rather this change expresses a purpose of strengthening our dedication and devotion to the precepts of our founding documents, a conscious renewal of faith in our country and in the watchfulness of a Divine Providence. (Eisenhower, 19)*

## **8. Speech acts in the inaugural address**

As has been explained in chapter 4 in the theoretical part of this thesis, a mixture of the speech act classifications by Searle and Traugott and Pratt was chosen as background for the analysis of the inaugural address (see p. 37). Their classifications seemed to be most appropriate for this kind of study as they clearly describe the communicative functions and do not include an unclear amount of speech acts, which are often difficult to differentiate and would go beyond the scope of this paper. Moreover, Searle's, Traugott's and Pratt's framework also served as theoretical background of Trosborg's analysis of the inaugural address by Bill Clinton and proved to be successful. To recapitulate, the speech act categories as outlined by Traugott and Pratt are: *assertives/representatives, expressives, verdictives, directives, commissives and declarations* (cf. Table 6, p. 37). In the following outline of speech acts, I tried to give examples from each of the ten inaugural addresses I

analyzed in more detail. However, before I explain and give examples of the various kinds of speech acts, I want to say a few words on direct and indirect speech acts.

### ***Direct speech acts***

As direct speech acts may be defined those kinds of speech acts which can be identified more obviously because of their use of a *performative* verb or a so called *speech act verb* (SAV). An example of a direct speech act then is the sentence: “I promise to call you.” with the performative verb ‘promise’. As answer to the question about how many speech acts there actually exist, some linguists have taken these performative verbs as their classificatory criteria for the identification of illocutionary acts (cf. Mey 2001: 105f). Thus, some linguists, for example, arrive at around 600 distinct classes of speech acts (cf. Verschueren 1985: 10). Besides, speech acts may also be identified via so called *speech act formulae* (SAF), which are verbal expressions that “behave like SAV, except that they are not ‘regular’ verbs, but rather stylistic or other variations on a common semantic theme.” An example of this kind is the expression ‘I want to express my gratitude for your valuable support.’ which could also be made by simply saying ‘Thank you for your valuable support.’ (Mey 2001: 109). However, not all speech acts are represented by a speech act verb which leads me to the indirect speech acts.

### ***Indirect speech acts***

As pointed out above, not all illocutionary acts are represented by a performative verb and sometimes people mean more than what they say. For instance, if someone remarks that “It is cold in here.” because there may be a window open in the room where this person is, their remark may be a simple statement or an *indirect* request to another person to shut the window. However, whether the remark is a statement or a request cannot be realized by its surface form, i.e. its lexical or grammatical structure (cf. Mey 2001: 111).

Considering the difference between direct and indirect speech acts it is much easier to identify the direct speech acts in the inaugural addresses especially with the aid of the WordSmith Tools analysis software. In order to identify the indirect speech acts, on the other hand, it is necessary to read the respective texts closely.

## 8.1 *Assertives/Representatives*

As summarized in the outline of speech acts in chapter 4 of this thesis, representatives serve to represent a state of affairs. In other words, their function is to “present facts about the world.” (Trosborg 2000: 122). Because assertives refer to a state of affairs in the world, they may be verified as true or false (cf. *ibid.* 12).

According to Traugott & Pratt, the communicative function of assertives/representatives is to “represent a state of affairs”. (1980: 229) The perlocutionary intention of assertives, according to Bach & Harnish, is that the hearer forms the same belief as the speaker. Verbs which constitute this kind of speech acts are for example, *affirm, allege, assert, avow, claim, declare, indicate, maintain, say, state, submit*. While these verbs all form the speech act of asserting, they vary in “strength of belief expressed and in the corresponding expressed intention.” (Bach & Harnish 1979: 44). Thus, the expressed belief and intention when one avows or claims, for example, is obviously stronger than that of saying or stating something.

An example of a direct speech act of this kind can be found in President George W. Bush’s inaugural address:

*Today, we affirm a new commitment to live out our nation’s promise through civility, courage, compassion and character.* (G. W. Bush, 10)

Interesting to see in the quote above is again the inclusive form ‘we’ when confirming a new (presidential) era. Another example of a direct assertive are President Lincoln’s remarks:

*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.* (Lincoln, 4, 5)

*It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination.* (Lincoln, 16)

Most of the times, however, assertives/representatives do not occur in the form of a direct speech act. Typically, assertives/representatives are those parts of the inaugural address, where the president makes an objective statement “about the world, which can be verified as true or false.” (Trosborg 2000: 123) In the terms of Bach & Harnish examples of this

kind of statements are, for instance, *retrodictives*, which are concerned with the past as in the extracts of President Obama's and President Clinton's inaugurals:

*Forty-four Americans have now taken the Presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. (Obama, 2)*

*Our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations. (Obama, 15)*

*When George Washington first took the oath (Clinton, 4)*

In his inaugural speech, President Theodore Roosevelt also drew back to the past by referring to the challenges of the founding fathers, but he then links the past with the present state of affairs of his country:

*Our forefathers faced certain perils which we have outgrown. We now face other perils, the very existence of which it was impossible that they should foresee. Modern life is both complex and intense, and the tremendous changes wrought by the extraordinary industrial development of the last half century are felt in every fiber of our social and political being. Never before have men tried so vast and formidable an experiment as that of administering the affairs of a continent under the forms of a Democratic republic. (Th. Roosevelt, 10, 11)*

In the example above as in every other inaugural address, the presidents present information about the current state of affairs of their Nation. Another example is given below:

*Our own country is leading the world in the general readjustment to the results of the great conflict. [...] But we are beginning to comprehend more definitely what course should be pursued, what remedies ought to be applied, what actions should be taken for our deliverance, and are clearly manifesting a determined will faithfully and conscientiously to adopt these methods of relief. Already we have sufficiently rearranged our domestic affairs so that confidence has returned, business has revived, and we appear to be entering an era of prosperity which is gradually reaching into every part of the Nation. (Coolidge, 2)*

Obviously, assertives form the biggest group of speech acts occurring in the inaugural address, since one of the basic communicative functions of the inaugural address is to inform the audience about the progress and the present situation of America and to preserve continuity from the first inauguration to the most actual one.



## 8.2 Expressives

As explained by Traugott & Pratt, expressives convey the “speaker’s psychological attitude towards some state of affairs” and speech act verbs which indicate this kind of speech act are, for instance, to *congratulate*, *thank*, *deplore*, *condole*, *welcome* and *greet* (1980: 229). As far as the expressives as defined by Traugott & Pratt is concerned, one may also describe them in the terms of Bach & Harnish who counted them to the group of *acknowledgements* (see picture 2, p. 36 of this thesis). Besides the direct speech acts belonging to this group, which are expressed by the speech act verbs mentioned above, presidents sometime also reveal their personal attitude and feelings towards their new task or the general state of affairs of their country. Most presidents then express their thankfulness for the trust of their fellow citizens who have elected them to be president, as in the examples below:

*About to undertake the arduous duties that I have been appointed to perform by the choice of a free people, I avail myself of this customary and solemn occasion to express the gratitude which their confidence inspires and to acknowledge the accountability which my situation enjoins. (Jackson, 2)*

*No people on earth have more cause to be thankful than ours, and this is said reverently, in no spirit of boastfulness in our own strength, but with gratitude to the Giver of Good who has blessed us with the conditions which have enabled us to achieve so large a measure of well-being and of happiness. (Th. Roosevelt, 2)*

*As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our Nation, and I thank Vice President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace. I am honored and humbled to stand here where so many of America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow. (G. W. Bush, 2, 3)*

However, some presidents also express their anxieties towards their new role as head of state. Especially George Washington expressed his fear as he had the most challenging task of being the very first president of the United States:

*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 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. (Lincoln, 2, 3)*

Similarly, President Cleveland faced the responsibilities for his country with mixed feelings:

*This impressive ceremony adds little to the solemn sense of responsibility with which I contemplate the duty I owe to all the people of the land. Nothing can relieve me from anxiety lest by any act of mine their interests may suffer, and nothing is needed to strengthen my resolution to engage every faculty and effort in the promotion of their welfare. (Cleveland, 3)*

Obviously President Washington and President Lincoln both had good reasons for articulating their fears: the former was facing the challenge of being the very first president of the U.S.A., the latter took his oath of office in times of great crisis when the unity of the American people was endangered because of the different points of views concerning slavery. Generally, however, only few presidents articulate their fears in the first public presidential address but in the contrary express hope for their country:

*With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents and endure what storms may come. (Obama, 27)*

*And so, there is much to do; and tomorrow the work begins. I do not mistrust the future; I do not fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is larger. Our challenges are great, but our will is greater. And if our flaws are endless, God's love is truly boundless. (G. W. Bush, 2)*

*Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. (Clinton, 6)*

*Our destiny offers not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So let us seize it not in fear, but in gladness-and "riders on the earth together," let us go forward, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, cautious of the dangers, but sustained by our confidence in the will of God and the promise of man. (Nixon, 71)*

Noticeable in the quotes of Obama and Nixon is the use of the phrase 'let us' which is not only used to encourage the American people but also to indirectly exhort the American citizens to work with their new president. In this sense, the above quotes are also kinds of directives, which are explained in chapter 8.5.

### 8.3 Verdictives

Verdictives, as defined by Austin, are “typified by the giving of a verdict, as the name implies, by a jury, arbitrator, or umpire. But they need not be final; they may be, for example, an estimate, reckoning, or appraisal. It is essentially giving a finding as to something – fact, or value – which is for different reasons hard to be certain about.” (Austin 1962: 150). In other words, the speaker “passes a judgment on the receiver” or “a state of affairs” (Trosborg 2000: 124) such as unequal treatment or injustice, for instance. Examples of performative verbs for this kind of speech acts are *acquit*, *hold*, *calculate*, *describe*, *analyze*, *estimate*, *date*, *rank*, *assess* and *characterize* (cf. Searle 1976: 7). However, as in the case of the other speech act categories described above, verdictives are mainly expressed indirectly. In the quote below, President Obama rebukes those who are cynics or opponents of his government and the possibility to overcome the challenges which America is facing:

*Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. [...] **Their memories are short**, for they have forgotten what this country has already done [...] **What the cynics fail to understand** is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply. (Obama, 12, 13)*

Another example of a verdictive is President Hoover’s remark in which he criticized the judgment of other peoples over American society:

***Superficial observers** seem to find no destiny for our abounding increase in population, in wealth and power except that of imperialism. **They fail** to see that the American people are engrossed in the building for themselves of a new economic system, a new social system, a new political system--all of which are characterized by aspirations of freedom of opportunity and thereby are the negation of imperialism. **They fail** to realize that because of our abounding prosperity our youth are pressing more and more into our institutions of learning; that our people are seeking a larger vision through art, literature, science, and travel; that they are moving toward stronger moral and spiritual life--that from these things our sympathies are broadening beyond the bounds of our Nation and race toward their true expression in a real brotherhood of man. **They fail** to see that the idealism of America will lead it to no narrow or selfish channel, but inspire it to do its full share as a Nation toward the advancement of civilization. [...] **We** not only desire peace with the world, but to see peace maintained throughout the world. **We** wish to advance the reign of justice and reason toward the extinction of force. (Hoover, 22)*

What is remarkable in the quote above is the obvious demarcation vocabulary describing the contrast between the ‘*superficial observers*’ who ‘*fail*’ to understand the ambitions of the ‘*American people*’ and thus the identification of the two social groups ‘*they*’ and ‘*we*’.

In contrast to this, President Clinton criticized the current state of affairs of his country which did not support action that would improve the situation:

*But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt our enterprises, great and small; when the fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead, we have not made change our friend. We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps, but we have not done so; instead, we have drifted. And that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence. (Clinton, 5, 6)*

#### **8.4 Directives**

According to Bach and Harnish, directives “express the speaker’s attitude toward some prospective action by the hearer” as well as the “speaker’s intention that his utterance, or the attitude it expresses, be taken as a reason for the hearer’s action.” (Bach & Harnish 1979: 47). Directives are generally marked by the use of imperatives or modal verbs and performative verbs such as *order*, *request*, *beg*, *plead*, *admit*, *permit* etc. and also the exhorting phrase ‘*let us*’, for example (cf. Trosborg 2000: 125). Examples for direct speech acts of this kind are given below:

*I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort, to defend needed reforms against easy attacks, to serve your Nation, beginning with your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens: Citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building communities of service and a nation of character. (G. W. Bush, 25)*

*I ask you to join in a high adventure—one as rich as humanity itself, and as exciting as the times we live in. (Nixon, 41)*

*In the presence of my countrymen, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, knowing what the task means and the responsibility which it involves, I beg your tolerance, your aid, and your cooperation. I ask the help of Almighty God in this service to my country to which you have called me. (Hoover, 35)*

*In performing the duties of my office, I need the help and prayers of every one of you. I ask for your encouragement and your support. The tasks we face are difficult, and we can accomplish them only if we work together.* (Truman, 2)

As the examples above show, requests as forms of directives often seek the help and support of the American people in the fulfillment of the tasks of the president. Sometimes, this is also linked with the bid to God for his divine support, as in the case of President Hoover's quote, for instance. While all of the above quotes are requests of some form, the most frequent form of directives are forms of imperatives expressed through the use of the modal verbs 'must', 'need', 'should' and 'have to'. These directives above all refer to the responsibility of the president and the American people which has already been dealt with in chapter 7.2.1 above.

## 8.5 *Commissives*

As the name already implies, commissives "express the speaker's intention and belief that his utterance obligates him to do something (perhaps under certain conditions)." (Bach & Harnish 1979: 47). Thus, commissives are often expressed through performative verbs such as to *promise*, *offer*, *pledge*, *commit* and modals which express commitment, e.g. *will* (Trosborg 2000: 125). In their inaugural address, President Clinton and President Johnson officially promised to execute their presidential office as best as they can:

*To that effort I pledge all my strength and every power of my office.* (Clinton II, 20)

*I will lead and I will do the best I can.* (Lyndon B. Johnson, 32)

In his inaugural speech, President George W. Bush made a similar commitment:

*I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions with civility, to serve the public interest with courage, to speak for greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to live it, as well. In all these ways, I will bring the values of our history to the care of our times.* (G. W. Bush, 24)

*And this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity* (G. W. Bush, 8)

Commissives especially occur in the part of the inaugural address where the president explains his plans and makes promises for the changes that shall be realized during his presidency. As this is another main communicative function of the inaugural address in

general, commissives make up the second biggest group of speech acts in this kind of speech.

## **8.6 Declarations**

Declarations are a special kind of speech acts in so far as they “require extralinguistic institutions for their performance.” (Trosborg 2000: 125) These extralinguistic institutions may be a wedding ceremony at a church, where a priest marries a couple, or a court where a judge sentences a defendant, for instance. Similarly, the presidential inaugural address is preceded by the president taking the oath of office whereby the inauguration is performed. The oath itself being taken by a person who is not the newly elect president and outside of the context of the inauguration would not count and therefore would not be a valid declaration. Even though Traugott & Pratt include *declarations* in their speech act framework and also Trosborg tried to identify declarative expressions in the inaugural address, they are not dealt with in any greater detail in this thesis as I could not identify any example of these in the inaugural addresses analyzed. One example which might come close to the form of a declaration is, however, given by Trosborg who mentions President Clinton’s statement below in the context of her elaboration on speech acts in the inaugural (cf. Trosborg 2000: 126):

*I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America.* (Clinton, 2)

Trosborg explains that only because President Clinton is the new president of the U.S.A. he is entitled to salute his predecessor which amounts to the result that this expression may be identified as a form of declaration.

## **9. Move-structure of the inaugural address**

In the analysis of the introduction of research articles, Swales (1990) found out that the writers of academic papers used very similar ways of structuring their introductions. For his study, Swales analyzed forty-eight article introductions from various subject disciplines. As a result of the similarity of the respective article introductions, Swales identified four core moves which are characteristic for this kind of writing. According to Swales, the move structure of the article introduction consists of the following steps:

Move 1: Establishing the research field

Move 2: Summarizing previous research

Move 3: Preparing for present research

Move 4: Introducing the present research

(cf. Swales 1990: 141).

These four rhetorical moves give the genre of the article introduction “its typical cognitive structure. Just as each genre has a communicative purpose that it tends to serve, similarly, each move also serves a typical communicative intention which is always subservient to the overall communicative purpose of the genre.” (Bhatia 1993: 30). Swales’ identification of a move-structure within genres was soon expanded and adopted in various studies on the academic article. Dudley-Evans, for instance, later analyzed the discussion section of articles and dissertations taking Swales’ theory of move-structure as a background. Similarly, Bhatia (1993) applied move-structure analysis to the sales promotion letter, the job application letter and the structure of legal cases (cf. Dudley-Evans 2001: 90f). As Dudley-Evans points out, on the one hand, identifying moves helps the producer of a text to organize his/her composition. On the other hand, move-structure analysis also gives the readers and analysts of text more insight into its composition and communicative purpose(s) (cf. *ibid.* 90, 91).

In order to gain insight into the linguistic composition and communicative purpose(s) of the inaugural address, a move-structure analysis is applied on ten inaugurals. Besides the identification of an actual move-structure, special focus was put on similarities or differences/variations among the move-structures of the respective inaugural addresses. As a result of the similarities between all ten speeches, I identified so called *core-moves* or *obligatory moves*. Obligatory moves are in so far obligatory as they are “necessary to achieve the communicative purpose of the genre.” (Henry & Roseberry 1998: 147). On the other hand, as a result of the probable differences between the speeches analyzed, so called *optional moves* were identified which some speakers or writers “employ if they decide those moves add to the effectiveness of the communication but do not alter the purpose of the text.” (*ibid.* 147). One aim of a move-structure analysis, or a genre analysis in general,

then is to identify the rhetorical organization of a genre which is represented in the following.

As a result of the close-reading of the ten inaugural addresses chosen, I arrived at the following move-structure of the inaugural address including seven core moves.

<p><b>1. Move: Greeting the audience</b></p> <p><b>2. Move: The transition of the presidency</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>➤ Confirmation of the presidential role</li><li>➤ the tradition of the inauguration as a transfer of power</li><li>➤ referring to the tasks of the presidency</li></ul> <p><b>3. Move: Depicting the progress, the present situation and the challenges of the U.S.A.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>➤ America's 'journey' in history</li><li>➤ the current state of affairs</li><li>➤ the problems and challenges America faces</li></ul> <p><b>4. Move: Calling for change</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>➤ a new president, a new era, new possibilities</li><li>➤ the promises and planned changes of the new presidency</li></ul> <p><b>5. Move: Recalling America's ideals and values to create unity</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>➤ the unchanging values of American society</li><li>➤ America's heritage</li></ul> <p><b>6. Move: Addressing the role and responsibility of the American people</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>➤ not the government alone but <i>we</i></li><li>➤ <i>we</i> influence the future</li></ul> <p><b>7. Move: Closing</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>➤ words of encouragement</li><li>➤ call for action</li></ul>
--

**Table 11: Move-structure of the inaugural address**

Establishing a move-structure of the ten inaugural addresses analyzed has actually not been an easy task. Although the speeches indeed show some topical similarities, it cannot be claimed that they all follow a specific structure. Chapter 7 on the key terms and main themes in the inaugural address and chapter 8 which deals with speech acts in the inaugural, have already – if not fully at least partly - identified the communicative purpose of this kind of political speech, namely the transition of the presidency, the depiction of the new president's plan for his country and the expression of the role of the American people in fulfilling these changes. As explained above, I tried to establish a move-structure for the



ten inaugural addresses analyzed. The identified moves as outlined in Table 2, all are more or less applicable to the respective speeches. Depending on the historical context and intended purpose of the speech, some presidents, spend more time speaking about the things that have gone wrong and need to be changed. Other presidents put more emphasis on the tasks of the government or the responsibility of the American people, for instance. Moreover, the identified moves do not necessarily appear in the order as outlined above; as much as they vary in length they also vary in order of appearance. Besides, the respective moves are often mingled and some appear more than once at different locations in a speech.

In the following, each of the seven moves is dealt with in more detail and examples of the inaugural addresses are given.

### **9.1 Move 1: Greeting the audience**

Very obviously, the first thing a speaker at the beginning of their speech is to welcome the audience. The ten inaugural addresses analyzed all show very similar greetings as can be seen below.

*My fellow citizens* (Obama, Clinton, T. Roosevelt)

*Thank you all. Chief Justice Rehnquist, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, distinguished guests, and my fellow citizens.* (Bush)

*Senator Dirksen, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice president, President Johnson, Vice president Humphrey, my fellow Americans-and my fellow citizens of the world community* (Nixon)

*Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice president Nixon, President Truman, Reverend Clergy, fellow citizens.* (Kennedy)

*My countrymen* (Hoover)

*Fellow-Citizens of the United States* (Lincoln)

*Fellow-Citizens* (Jackson)

*Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives* (Washington)

What all the above greetings have in common is the reference to the *fellow citizens/countrymen*, i.e. the American people. While most presidents begin with their greeting to the American citizens, some first address the most important people of government, cf. Bush, Kennedy, Nixon. What becomes clear through these first few words of the President is that he sees himself as *part* of the people, although he holds the highest office of his country, when he addresses the audience as *fellows*. What also has to be noted concerning the examples above is that only Bush and Nixon include an audience, not belonging to the American people, in their greeting when they refer to *distinguished guests* and the *fellow citizens of the world community* who may be following the speech through the media.

## **9.2 Move 2: The transition of the presidency**

The second move which has been identified includes the confirmation of the presidential role and a reference to the tradition of inauguration. At the beginning of their speeches almost all of the ten presidents spend a word on the tradition of the inauguration as a transfer of power, pointing out the continuity from the first inauguration to the respective present ceremony. With the acceptance of their new office, they also indicate the beginning of a new era of government which also brings forth changes.

*We observe today not a victory of a 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. (Kennedy, 2)*

The confirmation of the presidential office is also often connected with acknowledgments to the former president, the government or the American people, which have expressed their faithfulness by electing the new president as in the example from President Jackson's inaugural below:

*About to undertake the arduous duties that I have been appointed to perform by the choice of a free people, I avail myself of this customary and solemn occasion to express the gratitude which their confidence inspires and to acknowledge the accountability which my situation enjoins. While the magnitude of their interests convinces me that no thanks can be adequate to the honor they have conferred, it admonishes me that the best return I can make is the zealous dedication of my humble abilities to their service and their good. (Jackson, 2)*

Similarly, President Obama thanked the former government and the American people for their trust before he makes a note on the tradition and continuity of inauguration and the present ceremony:

*My fellow citizens, I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank President Bush for his service to our Nation, as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition. Forty-four Americans have now taken the Presidential oath[...]On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord. On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics. (Obama, 1, 4)*

Moreover, in referring to the transition of the presidency, the new president explains that he will try to perform the tasks which are bestowed upon him in the best of his ability. An example therefor is President Wilson's remark of his second inaugural below:

*I stand here and have taken the high and solemn oath to which you have been audience because the people of the United States have chosen me for this august delegation of power and have by their gracious judgment named me their leader in affairs. I know now what the task means. I realize to the full the responsibility which it involves. I pray God I may be given the wisdom and the prudence to do my duty in the true spirit of this great people. I am their servant and can succeed only as they sustain and guide me by their confidence and their counsel. (Wilson II, 13)*

### **9.3 Move 3: Depicting the progress, the present situation and the challenges of the U.S.A.**

In all the inaugurals analyzed, the presidents speak about the progress, the present state of affairs and the challenges of the U.S.A. As far as progress is concerned, President Bush, for example, refers to the 'story' of America, which is a story of a society whose 'mission' it is to preserve the ideals, especially the freedom that it has achieved. This story of the American people has not ended yet but it goes on through the different presidential eras, facing perpetually new challenges which have to be overcome:

*We have a place, all of us, in a long story, a story we continue but whose end we will not see. It is a story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, the story of a slaveholding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but*

*not to conquer. It is the American story, a story of flawed and fallible people united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals. [...] Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And though our Nation has sometimes halted and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course.*  
(Bush, 3, 4)

While Bush refers to the progress of the U.S.A. by comparing it to a never ending story, President Obama speaks of an on-going ‘journey’ of the American people:

*Our journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. (7)*

During this journey, America has had to go through hardships which continue until the present day and which will time and again bear new problems. While depicting present challenges, such as war, violence and unemployment (cf. 3), Obama also points out that these challenges can be met and that the journey has always been continued despite any barriers:

*Let it be said by our children’s children that when we were tested, we refused to let this journey end. (27)*

How much a president spends on speaking about the progress, the present situation and the challenges of the U.S.A. varies among the several inaugurals. Obviously, here the historical context of the respective inaugural address plays an important role. President Lincoln, for instance, devoted a great part of his speech depicting and addressing the current situation and problem of his country, namely the question of slavery which split the American people at that time. President Theodore Roosevelt, on the other hand, spent the main part of his speech depicting the problems and present state of affairs of foreign policy and domestic affairs. The main communicative purpose of this move is to inform the American people (and every other audience) about positive and negative developments of the U.S.A. Thus, as far as speech acts in this part is concerned, one will find mostly assertives/representatives.

#### **9.4 Move 4: Calling for change**

After having depicted the problems in their country, presidents point out the need for change. Being the new head of state, the president can now proclaim his political program and planned changes. Here, the presidents often repeat what they have promised during their election campaign speeches showing the American people that they indeed plan to

realize that which they have given their word for. Now that they hold the highest office of state, they show the people that a new presidency also means the beginning of a new era and that this presidency will try as best as it can to face and overcome the challenges which brings forth new possibilities and which will try to face and overcome the challenges they are confronted with. Because this part of the speech is especially concerned with the future of America and commitments on the parts of the president and the government, a lot of future forms can be found, as the examples below show:

*For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of the economy calls for action, bold and swift, and **we will** act not only to create new jobs but to lay a new foundation for growth. **We will** build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. **We will** restore science to its rightful place and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. [...] **We will** begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people, and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. (Obama, 11, 17)*

*Together **we will** reclaim America's schools before ignorance and apathy claim more young lives. **We will** reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent. And **we will** reduce taxes to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans. **We will** build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge. **We will** confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors. (G. W. Bush, 14, 15)*

*For its part, government **will** listen. **We will** strive to listen in new ways--to the voices of quiet anguish, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart--to the injured voices, the anxious voices, the voices that have despaired of being heard. (Nixon, 27)*

*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. (Lincoln, 22)*

As a contrast to what the presidents promise to do in their presidential era, they sometimes also depict the results for the future if certain measures are not fulfilled and therefore will result in a negative change for America:

*If our country does not lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led. If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we will lose their*

*gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most.* (Bush, 11)

*What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all.* (Nixon, 38)

### **9.5 Move 5: Recalling America's ideals and values to create unity**

Another important step in the inaugural address is recalling America's ideals and values for the sake of the unity of the American people. This has already been made clear through the identification of American values as a main topic of the inaugural address in chapter 7 of this thesis. Since 'freedom', 'liberty' and 'peace' have already been dealt with in chapter 7.2 they will not be fully discussed again in this chapter. The faith in freedom is one of the basic principles which characterize the American people and has been one of the driving forces which have brought America to the place of the world where it now stands. Especially with the beginning of a new presidential era and in the face of crisis the president seeks to unify the American people by recalling their common ideals and belief in order to stand firm against these challenges. In connection with this, President Johnson, for instance, points out that despite ongoing changes, the faith in the ideals of the American people remains the same:

*Our destiny in the midst of change will rest on the unchanged character of our people and on their faith.* (L. Johnson, 6)

*If we succeed it will not be because of what we have, but it will be because of what we are; not because of what we own, but rather because of what we believe.* (L. Johnson 28)

Similarly, President Truman points out the unchanged ideals which have shaped the U.S.A. from its beginnings:

*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 a 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.* (Truman, 8, 9)

As indicated in the quote above, the reminiscence of the beginnings of America and the reference to its heritage also provide an essential means of unifying the American people, which is also the main notion of President Obama's remark below:

*At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because We the People have remained faithful to the ideals of our forbearers, and true to our founding documents. (Obama, 2)*

It is especially this part of the inaugural address which may show epideictic character: while the president refers to the past and the common heritage of the American people he at the same time praises America and American values. This pride in the American heritage is also expressed in an extract of Kennedy's inaugural:

*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. (Kennedy, 4)*

## **9.6 Move 6: Addressing the role and responsibility of the American people**

The role and responsibility of the American people has already been dealt with in chapter 7.2.1 above. The communicative purpose of this move is to remind the American people that the president and the government alone cannot bring about changes and solve problems but they need the support of their fellow citizens. Moreover, the president wants to make clear that it is not alone him who bears responsibility for the future of America but the American people too play a major part in influencing the (future) world they live in. In his second inauguration, President Clinton refers exactly to what has just been explained:

*Today we can declare: Government is not the problem, and Government is not the solution. We—the American people—we are the solution. (Clinton II, 6)*

Noticeable here again is the use of the inclusive forms of pronouns such as 'we' and 'our'. However, since this has already been the topic of chapter 7.2.1 above it will not be dealt with further in this chapter.

## 9.7 Move 7: Closing

The closing of the inaugural address can take on different forms. Often it includes words of encouragement to the audience and a call for action in the support of the new presidency. Moreover, many presidents close their speech by speaking a blessing on America. In the extract below, President Obama concluded his address with a call to the people of not giving up hope and with an acknowledgement and blessing of his country and his fellow citizens:

*America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested, we refused to let this journey end; that we did not turn back, nor did we falter. And with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations. Thank you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. (Obama, 27, 28)*

Similarly, President George W. Bush closed his speech with the encouraging note that America will never give in even in times of distress and with a blessing on America:

*Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life. This work continues, the story goes on, and an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm. God bless you all, and God bless America. (G. W. Bush, 29, 30)*

Likewise, President Nixon concluded his speech with words of encouragement by urging the American people to face the future not with fear but with confidence:

*Our destiny offers not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So let us seize it not in fear, but in gladness-and "riders on the earth together," let us go forward, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, cautious of the dangers, but sustained by our confidence in the will of God and the promise of man. (Nixon, 71)*

A reference to God and the trust in and submission to his divine guidance can also be found in the final remarks of President Truman's, President Hoover's and President Cleveland's inaugurals:



*To that end we will devote our strength, our resources, and our firmness of resolve. With God's help, the future of mankind will be assured in a world of justice, harmony, and peace. (Truman, 72)*

*I ask the help of Almighty God in this service to my country to which you have called me. (Hoover, 35)*

*And let us not trust to human effort alone, but humbly acknowledging the power and goodness of Almighty God, who presides over the destiny of nations, and who has at all times been revealed in our country's history, let us invoke His aid and His blessings upon our labors. (Cleveland, 19)*

The closing of President Theodore Roosevelt is somewhat different compared to the ones mentioned above in so far as he exhorts the American people to take the founding fathers as role models of men who lived up to their principles even in times of hardship:

*To do so we must show, not merely in great crises, but in the everyday affairs of life, the qualities of practical intelligence, of courage, of hardihood, and endurance, and above all the power of devotion to a lofty ideal, which made great the men who founded this Republic in the days of Washington, which made great the men who preserved this Republic in the days of Abraham Lincoln. (Roosevelt, 18)*

In all of the examples above, the American people is addressed as a unity which holds together through all times. With this kind of conclusion the overall communicative purpose of the inaugural address is rounded off: the president has affirmed his presidential role, has depicted the challenges America is facing and has called the American people to support and work with his government as a united nation.

## **9.8 A word on obligatory and optional moves**

In the move-structure above, I defined seven obligatory moves in the inaugural address. As has been remarked in the explanation of the move-structure in chapter 9, the respective moves all to a greater or lesser extent occurred in the ten inaugurals analyzed. Therefore, I counted them to be obligatory for the genre of the inaugural address. However, since the identified move-structure has only been arrived at through the analysis of ten inaugurals out of 56, it may be subject to contemplation or modification. As far as optional moves are concerned, comparing the ten chosen inaugural addresses I could not define any notable optional moves as the obligatory moves that were identified were kept rather general since

the communicative purpose of the inaugural address itself is rather broad. However, even if no optional moves were identified it does not mean that the inaugural addresses analyzed are all similar and interchangeable. Rather, though the various presidents all touch on the main topics that have been identified in the previous chapters, their speeches differ in structure, style and the importance which is put on particular topics. What is more, generally a president may speak about any topic which he thinks is worth drawing on in his inaugural address. However, the tradition of the inaugural speech has shown that certain topics or communicative functions have been made an integral part of this kind of political speech which resulted in the identification of the move-structure above.

### ***9.9 The inaugural address and antique rhetorical theory***

Recalling the parts of a speech according to Aristotelian rhetorical theory as described in chapter 3.5.2 of this thesis, the inaugural address would have to be organized into the introduction (prooemium), the statement of the facts (narratio), the argumentation or proof of the facts (pistis) and the conclusion or epilogue (peroratio). Comparing this potential structure of the inaugural with the move-structure identified above, the different moves may be aligned to the Aristotelian parts of an oration as follows:

<b>Aristotelian structure</b>	<b>Move-structure</b>
introduction (prooemium)	Move 1 & 2
statement of the facts (narratio)	Move 3 & 4
proof of the facts (pistis)	Move 5 & 6
epilogue (peroratio)	Move 7

**Table 12: A comparison between the Aristotelian structure of a speech and the move-structure of the inaugural address**

Move 1 and Move 2 form the prooemium of the speech. Here, the audience's attention is first caught by the greeting which is followed by the introduction of the topic, namely the introduction of a new presidential era by the transition of the presidency. When it comes to the narratio and pistis it is difficult to relate any of the moves above to one of these parts. At best, Move 3 may be defined as the narratio of the inaugural address as it depicts the

current state of affairs of the U.S.A. Also, Move 4 in which the president calls for change may be counted to the narratio which leads to the proof of the facts, in this case, where the president explains why change is needed and why the American people is called for action. Thus, Move 5 and 6 may be considered a kind of pistis. Finally, the epilogue of the inaugural address can be equated with Move 7 which rounds up the speech and disposes the audience favorably towards the president and moves the emotions of the listeners which may result in any kind of (e.g. to support or oppose the new president) action on their part.

In the introductory chapter 2.4.2 it has been stated that Campbell & Jamieson (2008) view the inaugural address as belonging to the genre of epideictic speech. To recall, the special features of epideictic rhetoric are the praise or blame of a person or a state of affairs, the ceremonial context and the reminiscence of the past and speculations about the future while the focus remains on present state of affair (cf. chapter 3.2 and Campbell & Jamieson 2009: 29). As far as the ceremonial context is concerned, the inaugural address is undoubtedly embedded in a ceremonial act namely the inauguration of a new American president. Moreover, the presidential inaugural also links the past with the present state of affairs and makes predictions of the future as has been shown in chapters 8.2 and 9.3 of this thesis. Besides, shared principles and traditional values are affirmed which unify the American people. This has been depicted in chapters 7.2.2 and 9.5 above. Finally, according to Aristotle (cf. *On Rhet.* III, 12, 5), Campbell & Jamieson (cf. 2008: 30) also count elegant and literary language to the defining features of epideictic rhetoric. Also in accordance with this feature of epideictic rhetoric, the inaugural address is marked by eloquent, formal and literary language which – besides the use of formal vocabulary – is defined by the use of rhetorical devices. Considering the fact that the above mentioned features of the inaugural address overlap with those of epideictic rhetoric, the inaugural address may indeed be seen as a form of epideictic rhetoric. However, scholars have started to doubt the epideictic character of the inaugural address as well as its generic character because of the differences between the inaugurals from different centuries (cf. Kenneth Thompson 1984: x; Halford Ryan 1993: xvii<sup>7</sup>). Even though this change in the

---

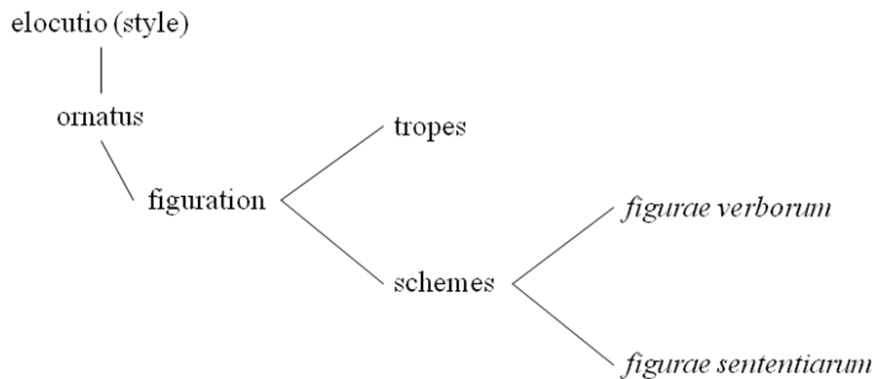
<sup>7</sup> Ryan generally questions whether genre theory is really helpful for the analysis of the inaugural address (cf. 1993: introduction).

character of the inaugural address across centuries has not been the primary research question of this thesis, the results of the analysis support the idea of a noticeable change between the inaugurals of the two eras. Obvious changes are, for instance, the frequent use of the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘our’ in recent inaugurals whereas earlier presidents rarely used these inclusive pronouns. Moreover, it was noticed that the use of rhetorical devices has gradually increased within the course of the last two centuries. The conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that the genre of the inaugural address is not a static one but it changes over time and according to the respective historical context presidents may elaborate more on a specific political problem instead of depicting the progress of America or praising their country and its citizens. Thus, the inaugurals of Lincoln, Hoover and Kennedy, for instance, all spent a great deal of time on the respective current political problem: in the first case the division of the American people on the question of slavery, in the second case enactment of the law of prohibition and in the third case American foreign policy. Moreover, as has been explained in chapter 7.2.1 above, the frequent use of the inclusive pronouns ‘we’ and ‘our’ has not always been characteristic for the inaugural address but has especially begun to become a habit by the presidents of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. Finally, the high use of rhetorical devices also seems to be a characteristic feature of the more recent inaugural speeches. This, however, will again be shown in the following chapter.

## **10. Rhetorical strategies in the inaugural address**

In order for a speech to be successful it is of utmost importance that it is well organized and in order to attract the audience’s attention and to keep the speech better in their memories the use of rhetorical devices is very helpful. As mentioned in the theoretical part of this thesis, rhetorical strategies were especially important in the context of teaching rhetoric in antiquity. The number of rhetorical devices, however, varied greatly. Generally speaking, rhetorical devices are a form of *linguistic figuration* or a form of *linguistic ornament* (ornatus) in any kind of text. Antique rhetorical theory differentiated between *rhetorical schemes/figures* and *tropes* (cf. also Corbett 1999: 21). The rhetorical figures again were subdivided into two groups, namely the *figurae verborum* and the *figurae sententiarum* (see graph below). The first group refers to the alteration of single words

(e.g. metaphor, metonymy) while the latter helps to organize the thoughts of a text (e.g. rhetorical question, parallelism) (cf. Fix, Gardt & Knape 2010: 1460; Göttert 2004: 142f).



**Figure 3: Rhetorical devices (cf. Fix, Gardt & Knape 2010: 1460)**

Aristotle basically focused on one single rhetorical device, which he considered very important, namely the metaphor. According to the philosopher’s elaboration on rhetoric, a speech should be clear, grammatically correct and appropriate in its use of language (cf. *On rhet.* III, 2, 1-3). The metaphor, Aristotle explains, “especially has clarity and sweetness and strangeness” and therefore it is easier to remember and catches the listeners’ attention (*On rhet.* III, 2, 8; 3). The *Rhetoric ad Herennium* offers a more detailed outline of rhetorical devices and lists ten different kind of tropes in IV, 42. Similarly, Quintilian’s *Inst. Orat.* summarizes a number of various rhetorical devices in VIII 6, 1-76 and X. Quintilian explains the difference between figures of speech and tropes: a *trope* is “a rhetorical figure which uses an uncommon or figurative notion instead of the common literal form of a word.” (Fix, Gardt & Knape 2010: 1485; cf. *Inst. Orat.* IX, 1, 4). A scheme, on the other hand is a “deviation, either in thought or expression, from the ordinary and simple method of speaking.” (Corbett 1999: 379; cf. *Inst. Orat.* IX, 1, 11). The difference between the two rhetorical devices, however, is sometimes not so easy to tell as in the case of the *irony* for example, which Quintilian himself already realized (cf. *ibid.* IX, 1, 7). Quintilian’s outline of the thirteen tropes is represented in the table below.

<i>Passage</i>		<i>Trope</i>
VIII,6,1		<i>Trope-Definition</i>
VIII,6,4-18	1	Metaphor
VIII,6,19-22	2	Synecdoche
VIII,6,23-28	3	Metonymy
VIII,6,29-30	4	Antonomasia
VIII,6,31-33	5	Onomatopoiia
VIII,6,34-36	6	Katachrese
VIII,6,37-39	7	Metalepsis
VIII,6,40-43	8	Epipheton
VIII,6,44-53	9	Allegory
VIII,6,54-59	10	Irony
VIII,6,59-61	11	Periphrasis
VIII,6,62-67	12	Hyperbaton
VIII,6,67-76	13	Hyperbole

**Table 13: Tropes after Quintilian (cf. Fix, Gardt & Knape 2010: 1493)**

Quintilian also gives an outline of thirty-four schemes in IX, 3, 28-102. He classifies these schemes by means of *adiectio*, which means that something is added as in the case of the anaphor or parenthesis, for instance, or by means of *detractio*, which means that thoughts or phrases are reduced as in the case of the zeugma, for example. Also, Quintilian organizes certain schemes according to the similarity of words or parts of words that are used in the schemes, e.g. paronomasia (cf. Fix, Gardt & Knape 2010: 1459).

In the following, I want to present the use of rhetorical devices in the inaugural address whereby I stick to the above mentioned classification of these into schemes and tropes according to Corbett (1999).

## ***10.1 The Schemes***

### **10.1.1 Parallelism**

Corbett defines parallelism as the “similarity of structure in a pair or series of related words, phrases, or clauses.” (1999: 381). Corbett also points out that parallelism “demands

that equivalent things be set forth in co-ordinate grammatical structures.” (ibid. 381f). A neglect of this principle would lead to lack of coherence of the respective parallelism. Trosborg (2000b: 130) differentiates between (a) asyndetic parallelism (X, Y, Z; cf. definition below), which shows no coordinator; (b) monosyndetic parallelism, where one coordinator is used (X, Y and Z); and (c) polysyndetic parallelism, where several coordinators are used (X and Y and Z).

**Examples:**

Subject:

*it has been **the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things*** (Obama, 7)

*greater than all the differences of **birth or wealth or faction*** (Obama, 9)

*America has never been united by **blood or birth or soil***. (G. W. Bush, 9)

***Church and charity, synagoge and mosque** lend our communities their humanity* (G. W. Bush, 19)

***But no President, no Congress, no government** can undertake this mission alone* (Clinton, 13)

*The United States fully accepts the profound truth that our own **progress, prosperity, and peace** are interlocked with the **progress, prosperity, and peace** of all humanity.* (Hoover, 21)

Verb:

*these men and women **struggled and sacrificed and worked** ‘til their hands* (Obama, 9)

*we must **pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin** again* (Obama, 10)

*Profound and powerful forces are **shaking and remaking** our world.* (Clinton, 5)

Predicate:

*Homes **have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered***. (Obama, 3)

*I am **honored and humbled*** (G. W. Bush, 3)

Object:

*Our Founding Fathers[...] drafted a charter to assure **the rule of law and the rights of man*** (Obama, 15)

*Government has great responsibilities **for public safety and public health, for civil rights and common schools.*** (G. W. Bush, 19)

*When our founders boldly declared **America's independence to the world and our purpose to the Almighty**, they knew America, to endure, would have to change.* (Clinton, 1)

Verb + Object:

*The time has come **to reaffirm our enduring spirit, to choose our better history, to carry forward that precious gift*** (Obama, 6)

*We are bound by ideals that **move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests, and teach us what it means to be citizens.*** (G. W. Bush, 9)

### 10.1.2 Asyndeton

The asyndeton is a “deliberate omission of conjunctions between a series of related clauses.” (ibid. 387). Especially in political rhetoric, speakers often list two or more related thoughts in a row without a conjunction. The effect of this rhetorical device is often a hurried rhythm in the sentence(s), which raises the listener’s attention. Especially in the conclusion of a work or speech, the asyndeton is effective as Aristotle shows in his own example of using this rhetorical device at the end of his elaboration on rhetoric: “I have spoken; you have listened, you have [the facts], you judge.” (On rhet. III, 19, 6).

**Examples:**

*My fellow citizens, I stand here today **humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust** you have bestowed, **mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.*** (Obama, 1)

*Not change for change’s sake but change to preserve America’s ideals: **life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness.*** (Clinton, 1)

### 10.1.3 The importance of three

As the examples above have shown, the presidents of the respective inaugural addresses often enumerate three things or listed three thoughts in a row. Beard points out that “[w]hatever the nature of the speech act, political speech or casual conversation, the three-



part list is attractive to the speaker and listener because it is embedded in certain cultures as giving a sense of unity and completeness.” (2000: 38). He further explains that these three-part lists are not only attractive to the listener because of the repetition, but because the three parts a list consists of are usually also especially emphasized when spoken aloud. Thus, “pitch, tempo and rhythm also play a major part in their effect.” (ibid. 39). Besides, a three-part list does not necessarily repeat one and the same word three times but may also have different words which, however, basically have similar meaning (cf. ibid. 39).

#### 10.1.4 Antithesis

The antithesis is a “juxtaposition of contrasting ideas” which often occurs in parallelism (Corbett 1999: 382). In the *Rhetoric ad Herennium*, the author explains that the antithesis can either occur in the words or in the ideas, or in both (cf. Rhet. Her. IV, 45). The antithesis, as Beard notes, is a common feature of political speeches (cf. Beard 2000: 39). In modern rhetorical theory, the term “contrastive pair” as made popular by Max Atkinson, is also used to describe this rhetorical device (cf. Atkinson 1988: 73). While an antithesis normally consists of two contrasting ideas, speakers sometimes also use repetition of one or more words from the first idea in order to make the antithesis more effective.

##### *Examples:*

*On this day, we gather because we have chosen **hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord.*** (Obama, 5)

*Where **the answer is yes**, we intend to move forward. **Where the answer is no**, programs will end.* (Obama, 13)

*We will show **purpose without arrogance**. We will meet **aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength.*** (G. W. Bush, 16)

*Americans in need **are not strangers; they are citizens – not problems but priorities.*** (G. W. Bush, 18)

*Though we marched to the music of our time, our mission is timeless.* (Clinton, 1)

***United, there is little we cannot do [...]** **Divided, there is little we can do*** (Kennedy, 7)

### 10.1.5 Anastrophe

An anastrophe is the “inversion of the natural or usual word order.” (Corbett 1999: 383). This rhetorical device is a good example of the original definition of a scheme (see ch. 9 above). Through the deviation of the more usual word order, the speaker stresses certain things which would not gain as much emphasis in the “natural” order. Most likely, the things which want to be pointed out are put at the beginning or the end of a sentence. This unusual word order or sentence structure causes not only emphasis but also sometimes surprise on the part of the hearer and therefore can be very effective to raise attention and expectation (cf. Corbett 1999: 384).

#### *Examples:*

*In reaffirming the greatness of our Nation, we understand that greatness is never a given.* (Obama, 7)

*And to all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our Nation birth.* (G. W. Bush, 16)

*Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today* (G. W. Bush, 29)

### 10.1.6 Parenthesis

This scheme describes an “insertion of some verbal unit in a position that interrupts the normal syntactical flow of the sentence.” (ibid. 384). Through the inversion of a thought, a comment or a short notice by the speaker, for example, the listener suddenly hears the “author’s voice”, who abruptly “sends the thought off of his tangent.” Corbett points out that because of the speaker’s commenting or editing, the speech gets a slight “emotional charge” (ibid. 385).

#### *Example:*

*the makers of things – some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor – who have carried us* (Obama, 7)

### 10.1.7 Apposition

An apposition is a rhetorical device in which two thoughts or co-ordinate elements are placed side by side whereby the second “serves as an explanation or modification of the

first.” (ibid. 385). The apposition actually does not seem like an ‘ornamental’ rhetorical device, because it occurs frequently in (modern) prose. Nevertheless, it is considered a rhetorical figure because we usually do not use this kind of rhetorical device in everyday language, which most often is not as thoughtfully arranged as a prepared speech, for instance (cf. ibid. 386).

**Examples:**

*This is the source of our **confidence**, **the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny**.* (Obama, 24)

*Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country. **It is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along**.* (G. W. Bush, 6)

### 10.1.8 Alliteration

An alliteration is the “repetition of initial or medial consonants in two or more adjacent words.” (Corbett 1999: 388). In modern rhetoric, alliteration is often used as a “mnemonic device” for advertisements or (political) slogans (cf. ibid. 389)

**Examples:**

*This is the **price** and the **promise** of citizenship.* (Obama, 24)

*a story of a **flawed** and **fallible** people* (G. W. Bush, 4)

*a **rock** in a **raging** sea* (G. W. Bush, 6)

*live out our Nation’s promise through **civility**, **courage**, **compassion**, and **character*** (G. W. Bush, 10)

*If we permit our economy to **drift** and **decline*** (G. W. Bush, 11)

*the **sights** and **sounds** of this ceremony* (Clinton, 4)

***Profound** and **powerful** forces* (Clinton, 5)

*Our **hopes**, our **hearts**, our **hands*** (Clinton, 12)

***disregard** and **disobedience** of law* (Hoover, 6)

*our own **progress**, **prosperity**, and **peace*** (Hoover, 21)

### 10.1.9 Repetition

The repetition of words, phrases, or generally, ideas is a common rhetorical device of politicians to put emphasis on the things claimed. Allhoff & Allhoff (1990: 142) distinguish between four kinds of repetition: (a) the repetition of one and the same word or phrase (=literal repetition); (b) repeating the same content in other words, e.g. the use of synonyms; (c) partial repetition, e.g. of the beginning of successive clauses (= *anaphora*), or the last words of successive sentences (= *epiphora*); and (d) the extended repetition, e.g. “Then, and only then, really only then[...].” Corbett (1999: 392) also mentions two more kinds of repetition, namely the *epanalepsis*, which is the “repetition at the end of a clause of the word that occurred at the beginning of the clause” and the *anadiplosis*, which is the “repetition of the last word of one clause at the beginning of the following clause.”

#### **Examples:**

*the God-given promise that **all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness** (Obama, 6)*

***For us, they** packed up their few worldly possessions[...]**For us, they** toiled in sweatshops[...]**For us, they** fought and died (Obama, 8)*

***Our** workers are **no less** productive [...] **Our** minds are **no less** inventive. **Our** goods and services **no less** needed (Obama, 10)*

***This is** the price and the promise of citizenship. **This is** the source of our confidence [...] **This is** the meaning of our liberty (Obama, 24)*

*We have a place, all of us, in a long **story, a story** we continue [...] It is **a story** of a new world[...], the **story** of a slaveholding society[...], the **story** of a power[...] It is the American **story, a story** of flawed and fallible people (G. W. Bush, 3)*

***We will** build our defenses [...] **We will** confront weapons [...] **We will** defend our allies [...] **We will** show purpose without arrogance. **We will** meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. (G. W. Bush, 15)*

***America at its best** matches a commitment to principle with concern for civility.*

***America at its best** is also courageous.*

***America at its best** is compassionate.*

***America at its best** is a place where personal responsibility is valued and expected. (G. W. Bush, 17)*

*we force the **spring, a spring** reborn in the world’s oldest democracy (Clinton)*

*To renew America, we must be bold.*

*To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy.*

*To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well as at home.*

(Clinton, 8)

*I am not prepared to believe that this indicates any decay in the moral fibre of the American people.*

*I am not prepared to believe that it indicates an impotence of the Federal Government to enforce its laws.* (Hoover, 6)

While the examples above all show some kind of repetition on sentence level, repetition also occurs on a textual level. In Obama's inaugural address, for instance, the notion of change appears throughout the whole speech. As the idea of repetition on a textual level deserves more in depth examination, it has already been dealt with in more detail in the chapter 7 of this thesis dealing with themes in the inaugural address.

#### **10.1.10 Climax**

A climax is described as an "arrangement of words, phrases, or clauses in an order of increasing importance." (Corbett 1999: 393). Sometimes, climax can also be regarded as a scheme of repetition, however, only in the case of a continued anadiplosis, which was explained above (cf. *ibid.* 394).

##### **Examples:**

*a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties **to ourselves, our Nation, and the world.*** (Obama, 23)

*Our unity, our Union, is a serious work of **leaders and citizens and every generation.*** (G. W. Bush, 8)

*But when **most people** are working harder for less; when **others** cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates **families** and threatens to bankrupt our **enterprises**, great and small; when the fear of crime robs **law-abiding citizens** of their freedom; and when **millions of poor children** cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead, we have not made change our friend.* (Clinton, 5)

## 10.2 *The Tropes*

### 10.2.1 Metaphor and Simile

A metaphor is “an implied comparison between two things of unlike nature that yet have something in common.” (Corbett 1999: 396). Some metaphors have become a common part of our daily language so that we sometimes do not even realize the metaphor in the first place. In this case, the metaphor loses its rhetorical function and one speaks of a ‘dead metaphor’ (cf. Schlüter 2006: 31) The difference between a metaphor and a simile is that the latter describes that something “is *like*” another thing, e.g. “*Like* an arrow, the prosecutor went directly to the point.” The metaphor, however, replaces the original term referred to by another term, stating that something “is x”, e.g. “The question of federal aid to parochial schools *is* a bramble patch.” (cf, *ibid.* 396).

#### *Examples:*

*that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.* (Obama, 19)

*in this winter of our hardship* (Obama, 27)

*just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages.* (Obama, 21)

*America’s faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations.* (G. W. Bush, 6)

*This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring, a spring reborn in the world’s oldest democracy that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America.* (Clinton, 1)

*a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom* (Clinton, 3)

### 10.2.2 Metonymy

Corbett (1999: 398) defines a metonymy as a “substitution of some attributive or suggestive word for what is actually meant.” Politicians sometimes use metonymy in order to make their expression more objective and not having to use any personal pronoun in that they make the political measures, they have created the agent of their statement, e.g. “*This budget* will help all those on low incomes.” (cf. Beard 2000: 45). Also belonging to the

rhetorical figure of metonymy is the so called ‘pars pro toto’ in which a part of an object represents the whole (cf. Schlüter 2006: 33f).

**Example:**

*America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. (Obama, 27)*

In the quote above, ‘America’ is a metonymy as it stands for the American people and it has a unifying effect which underlines the overall call for unity at the end of Obama’s speech.

As could be seen from the choice of the examples, the use of rhetorical devices is very common in the most recent inaugural addresses. A reason for the more frequent use of rhetorical devices in the more recent inaugural addresses may be the fact that these speeches nowadays are broadcasted worldwide by the various means of the media. To test this claim, however, one would have to do another study.

## **11. Conclusion**

Undoubtedly, the inaugural address is a sub-genre of political speech as it shares certain special features which characterize political rhetoric. First, it is placed in a political context as it is presented by the head of the American government. Second, the president is the representative of a certain political group, i.e. the Republican or the Democratic Party, with whom he shares certain values. Third, since the inaugural address is a public address which nowadays is also broadcast worldwide through the various media, it addresses a multiple audience. Finally, the president seeks to unify the American people and bring about general consent in order that he may find as much support of his presidency as possible. Defining the field of political discourse of the inaugural address, I claim that it best fits in the context of hortatory language, administrative language and propaganda also including opinion language. Taking a look at the vocabulary of the inaugural address, the hortatory character of the speech becomes clear in the presidents’ frequent use of modal verbs that call for action on the part of the government and the American people. The inaugural address is administrative in so far as it informs the American people of the political

program of the new president. In this sense, the inaugural speech is also a form of propaganda speech as it seeks to convince the audience that the election of the new president was the right choice and therefore also includes opinion language which is marked by the use of so called Schlagwörter or keywords such as *'freedom'*, *'liberty'* and *'peace'* and demarcation vocabulary which, in the case of the inaugural address, places the unity of the American people and the president by the frequent use of *'we'* and *'our'* in contrast to those who do not belong to this social group.

As far as the inaugural address as a genre is concerned, it is legitimate to say that the inaugural address indeed forms a sub-genre of political speech. However, as has been shown in this study, the inaugural address is not a static genre but shows changes in the use of the inclusive pronouns *'we'* and *'our'* in the course of the centuries. Moreover, the inaugurals of the 21st and 20th century show a higher use of rhetorical devices compared to the centuries before. The claim made by Campbell & Jamieson (2008) to view the inaugural address as a kind of Aristotelian epideictic rhetoric has been confirmed.

In the analysis of the inaugural address as a genre I focused on lexico-grammatical features and textual organization. However, the inauguration ceremony as the context of the inaugural address has also been taken into account since it defines the genre of the inaugural address. Nevertheless, the historical context of each individual address has only partly been referred to in so far as it explained a president's focus on a certain topic in his speech. Moreover, the overall communicative function of the inaugural address and the communicative purpose of its constituting parts were examined. As a result of this genre analysis I arrived at a move-structure of the inaugural address consisting of seven obligatory moves. These moves partly overlap with Campbell & Jamieson's identified communicative purposes of the inaugural address to "(1) [unify] the audience by reconstituting its members as "the people", who can witness and ratify the ceremony; (2) [rehearse] communal values drawn from the past; [and] (3) [to set] forth the political principles that will guide the new administration" (ibid. 2008: 32). However, the fourth communicative purpose, namely the appreciation of the requirements and the limitations of executive functions, could not be related to.

To sum up, the inaugural address is a sub-genre of political speech which shows certain features that are more or less common to all inaugural addresses. That these features are only 'more or less' common to all inaugurals derives from the fact that the inaugural



speech is not a static genre but it is 'fluid' (cf. Bazerman 1988) in the sense that it shows certain changes that can be identified by comparing the inaugural addresses from the 21st and 20th century with those from an earlier period. As life becomes more modern and more complex, so does the inaugural address adapt to the course of time.

## References

- Allhoff, Dieter-W.; Allhoff, Waltraud. 1990. *Rhetorik und Kommunikation*. Regensburg: Bayerischer Verlag für Sprechwissenschaft.
- Aristotle. 1991. *On rhetoric: a theory of civic discourse*. (transl. by George A. Kennedy). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Atkinson, Max. 1984. *Our Master's voices: Language and body language of politics*. London: Routledge.
- Augustinus, Aurelius. 1925. *Des heiligen Kirchenvaters Aurelius Augustinus ausgewählte Schriften : aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt*. (transl. by Mitterer Sigisbert). Kempten: Kösel.
- Austin, John L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Bach, Kent; Harnish, Robert. 1979. *Linguistic communication and speech acts*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Barber, Charles L. 1962. "Some measurable characteristics of modern scientific prose". In: Swales, John. 1988. *Episodes in ESP: a source and reference book on the development of English for science and technology*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1-16.
- Bazerman, Charles. 1988. *Shaping written knowledge: the genre and activity of the experimental article in science*. Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Beard, Adrian. 2000. *The language of politics*. London: Routledge.
- Bergsdorf, Wolfgang. 1983. *Herrschaft und Sprache: Studie zur politischen Terminologie der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Pfullingen: Neske.
- Bhatia, Vijay K. 1993. *Analysing genre : language use in professional settings*. London: Longman.
- Bhatia, Vijay K. 2004. *Worlds of written discourse: a genre-based view*. London: Continuum.
- Bowker, Lynne; Pearson, Jennifer. 2002. *Working with specialized language: a practical guide to using corpora*. London: Routledge.

- Brinker, Klaus (ed.). 2000. *Text- und Gesprächslinguistik: ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Cameron, Deborah. 2002. *Working with spoken discourse*. London: Sage.
- Campbell, Karlyn K.; Jamieson, Kathleen H. 2008. *Presidents creating the presidency: deeds done in words*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2005. *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chruszczewski, Piotr P. 2003. *American presidential discourse: an analysis*. Berlin: Logos-Verlag.
- Cicero, M. Tullius. 1976. *De oratore*. (transl. by E.W. Sutton). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Cicero, M. Tullius. 1998. *De inventione*. (transl. by Theodor Nüßlein). Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler.
- Clarke, Martin L. 1968. *Die Rhetorik bei den Römern: ein historischer Abriß*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Corbett, Edward P. J.; Connors, Robert J. 1999. *Classical rhetoric for the modern student*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Crowley, Sharon; Hawhee, Debra. 1999. *Ancient rhetorics for contemporary students*. Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon.
- Dieckmann, Walther. 1969. *Sprache in der Politik, Einführung in die Pragmatik und Semantik der politischen Sprache*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Dudley-Evans, Tony. 1994. "Genre analysis: an approach to text analysis for ESP". In: Coulthard, Malcolm C. *Advances in written text analysis*. London: Routledge, 219-228.
- Dudley-Evans, Tony. 2001. *Developments in ESP*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edelman, Jacob Murray. [1964] 1985. *The Symbolic uses of politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

- Fix, Ulla; Gardt, Andreas; Knape, Joachim. (eds.) 2010. *Rhetorik und Stilistic/Rhetoric and Stylistics*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Girnth, Heiko. 2002. *Sprache und Sprachverwendung in der Politik: eine Einführung in die linguistische Analyse öffentlich-politischer Kommunikation*. Tübingen.
- Girnth, Heiko. 2010. "Sprachverwendung in der Politik".  
[http://www.bpb.de/popup/popup\\_bild.html?guid=AWE760&x=770&y=730](http://www.bpb.de/popup/popup_bild.html?guid=AWE760&x=770&y=730)  
 (30 May 2011).
- Göttert, Karl-Heinz. 2009. *Einführung in die Rhetorik : Grundbegriffe, Geschichte, Rezeption*. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
- Göttert, Karl-Heinz. 2004. *Einführung in die Stilistik*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
- Goetsch, Paul (ed.). 1994. *Important Speeches by American Presidents after 1945*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter.
- Halliday, Michael A.K. 1978. *Language as a social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Henry, Alex; Roseberry, Robert L. 1998. "An evaluation of a genre-based approach to the teaching of EAP/ESP writing". *TESOL Quarterly* 32, 147-156.
- Hüttner, Julia Isabel. 2005. "Extended genre analysis: exploring student academic writing" PhD thesis, University of Vienna.
- Hymes, Dell (ed.). 1974. *Studies in the history of linguistics: traditions and paradigms*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hyon, Sunny. 1996. "Genre in three traditions: implications for ESL." *TESOL Quarterly* 30, 693-722.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1964. "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics" in: Sebeok, Thomas A. 1964. *Style in Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.
- Klein, Josef (ed.). 1989. *Politische Semantik: bedeutungsanalytische und sprachkritische Beiträge zur politischen Sprachverwendung*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

- Krauthammer, Charles. 1989. "The secret of our success". *TIME*. January 30 1989. <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,956854,00.html> (07 April 2011).
- Lanham, Richard A. 1991. *A handlist of rhetorical terms: A guide for students of English*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lausberg, Heinrich. 1990. *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Mey, Jacob. 2001. *Pragmatics: an introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Morris, Charles W. 1950. *Signs, language and behavior*. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Miller, Carolyn R. 1984. "Genre as social action." in: Freedman, Aviva; Medway, Peter (eds.). 1994. *Genre and the New Rhetoric*. London: Taylor and Francis, 23-42.
- Noppen van, Jean-Pierre. 2002. "The Presidential inaugural address. A genre analysis." Brussel: Université Libre de Bruxelles. *Les Cahiers du CeDoP*, 2-24.
- Open American National Corpus* (OANC) American National Corpus Project. <http://www.americannationalcorpus.org/OANC/index.html> (06 April 2011).
- Preston, Dennis R. 1989. *Sociolinguistics and second language acquisition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). 1995 – 2011 <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/inauguration/speech3.html> (06 April 2011).
- Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius. 1988. *Ausbildung des Redners : zwölf Bücher* . (ed. and transl. by Rahn Helmut). Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Rhetorica ad Herennium*. 1994. (ed. by Friedhelm Müller). Aachen: Shaker.
- Ryan, Halford (ed.) 1993. *The Inaugural addresses of twentieth-century American presidents*. New York: Praeger.
- Schlüter, Hermann. 2006. *Das Handbuch der Rhetorik: Geschichte, Technik und Praxis der Redekunst*. Köln: Anaconda Verlag GmbH.

- Searle, John R. 1976. "A Classification of illocutionary acts". *Language in Society* 5, 1-23.
- Searle, John R. 1994. *Speech acts: an essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Strauß, Gerhard. 1986. *Der politische Wortschatz: Zur Kommunikation und Textsortenspezifität*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Strauß, Gerhard. 1989. *Brisante Wörter von Agitation bis Zeitgeist: ein Lexikon zum öffentlichen Sprachgebrauch*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Swales, John. 1990. *Genre analysis: English in academic and research setting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. 1990. *Genres in discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- The Inaugural Senate  
<http://inaugural.senate.gov/history/daysevents/inauguraladdress.cfm> (06 April 2011).
- Thompson, Kenneth W. (ed.). 1984. in: Germino, Dante L. *The inaugural addresses of American Presidents: the public philosophy and rhetoric*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C.; Pratt, Mary L. (1980). *Linguistics for students of literature*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Trosborg, Anna (ed.). 2000a. *Analysing professional genres*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Trosborg Anna. 2000b. "The inaugural address" in: Trosborg, Anna (ed.). 2000. *Analysing professional genres*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Ueding, Gert. 1976. *Einführung in die Rhetorik: Geschichte, Technik, Methode*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Ueding, Gert; Bernd Steinbrink. 2005. *Grundriß der Rhetorik: Geschichte, Technik, Methode*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Verschueren, Jef. 1985. *What people say they do with words: prolegomena to an empirical-conceptual approach to linguistic action*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Volmert, Johannes 1979. *Politischer Kommentar und Ideologie: ein inhaltsanalytischer Versuch an vier frühen Nachkriegszeitungen*. Stuttgart: Metzler.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. [1958] 1977. *Philosophische Untersuchungen*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

*WordSmith Tools*. Version 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
<http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/version4/index.htm> (30 April 2011).

## **Material**

The inaugural addresses of the American presidents:

Peters, Gerhard. 1999-2011. *The American Presidency project*.  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/inaugurals.php>

The Constitution of the United States:

[http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html)

## Appendix

### Wordlist of the first 150 most frequent words of the inaugural addresses generated with WordSmith Tools

	<b>Word</b>	<b>Frequ.</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Texts</b>	<b>%</b>
1	THE	9.927	7,33	56	100
2	OF	6.995	5,17	56	100
3	AND	5.151	3,81	56	100
4	TO	4.440	3,28	56	100
5	IN	2.753	2,03	56	100
6	A	2.199	1,62	55	98,21
7	OUR	2.062	1,52	55	98,21
8	THAT	1.726	1,28	56	100
9	WE	1.628	1,2	55	98,21
10	BE	1.463	1,08	56	100
11	IS	1.421	1,05	55	98,21
12	IT	1.367	1,01	56	100
13	FOR	1.157	0,85	56	100
14	BY	1.068	0,79	56	100
15	WHICH	1.002	0,74	55	98,21
16	HAVE	997	0,74	56	100
17	WITH	936	0,69	55	98,21
18	AS	931	0,69	55	98,21
19	NOT	925	0,68	55	98,21
20	WILL	851	0,63	54	96,43
21	I	833	0,62	55	98,21
22	THIS	812	0,6	56	100
23	ALL	795	0,59	56	100
24	ARE	779	0,58	56	100
25	THEIR	741	0,55	54	96,43
26	BUT	628	0,46	55	98,21
27	HAS	613	0,45	56	100
28	GOVERNMENT	589	0,44	51	91,07
29	ITS	565	0,42	54	96,43
30	PEOPLE	555	0,41	54	96,43
31	FROM	552	0,41	55	98,21
32	OR	542	0,4	54	96,43
33	ON	526	0,39	54	96,43
34	MY	491	0,36	54	96,43
35	BEEN	483	0,36	54	96,43
36	CAN	464	0,34	53	94,64
37	US	457	0,34	53	94,64
38	NO	453	0,33	54	96,43



39	THEY	441	0,33	52	92,86
40	SO	383	0,28	55	98,21
41	AN	380	0,28	55	98,21
42	UPON	371	0,27	46	82,14
43	WHO	361	0,27	51	91,07
44	MUST	347	0,26	49	87,5
45	AT	343	0,25	53	94,64
46	MAY	334	0,25	52	92,86
47	GREAT	331	0,24	53	94,64
48	STATES	331	0,24	44	78,57
49	THEM	326	0,24	51	91,07
50	SHOULD	325	0,24	42	75
51	THOSE	316	0,23	51	91,07
52	SHALL	314	0,23	50	89,29
53	WORLD	311	0,23	50	89,29
54	MORE	306	0,23	51	91,07
55	COUNTRY	289	0,21	51	91,07
56	IF	286	0,21	51	91,07
57	NATION	286	0,21	51	91,07
58	EVERY	285	0,21	49	87,5
59	THESE	278	0,21	53	94,64
60	ANY	276	0,2	49	87,5
61	WAS	268	0,2	45	80,36
62	OTHER	255	0,19	51	91,07
63	PEACE	252	0,19	45	80,36
64	THERE	251	0,19	49	87,5
65	OWN	244	0,18	51	91,07
66	ONE	242	0,18	46	82,14
67	NEW	240	0,18	47	83,93
68	ONLY	239	0,18	49	87,5
69	CITIZENS	238	0,18	51	91,07
70	THAN	234	0,17	51	91,07
71	POWER	231	0,17	45	80,36
72	PUBLIC	226	0,17	41	73,21
73	DO	222	0,16	48	85,71
74	SUCH	219	0,16	42	75
75	NOW	213	0,16	50	89,29
76	WOULD	209	0,15	50	89,29
77	HIS	208	0,15	47	83,93
78	CONSTITUTION	206	0,15	36	64,29
79	TIME	206	0,15	51	91,07
80	WHEN	206	0,15	50	89,29
81	UNDER	197	0,15	43	76,79
82	UNITED	197	0,15	45	80,36

83	NATIONS	194	0,14	49	87,5
84	UNION	188	0,14	30	53,57
85	ME	185	0,14	45	80,36
86	FREEDOM	183	0,14	35	62,5
87	FREE	179	0,13	47	83,93
88	YOU	177	0,13	36	64,29
89	AMERICA	176	0,13	28	50
90	WAR	174	0,13	44	78,57
91	MOST	172	0,13	46	82,14
92	WHAT	165	0,12	40	71,43
93	NATIONAL	155	0,11	43	76,79
94	MADE	152	0,11	41	73,21
95	LET	149	0,11	36	64,29
96	FELLOW	148	0,11	47	83,93
97	AMERICAN	147	0,11	43	76,79
98	GOOD	143	0,11	48	85,71
99	WERE	139	0,1	35	62,5
100	WITHOUT	139	0,1	44	78,57
102	SPIRIT	138	0,1	40	71,43
103	MEN	137	0,1	45	80,36
104	WELL	137	0,1	48	85,71
105	RIGHTS	136	0,1	46	82,14
106	YEARS	135	0,1	43	76,79
107	JUSTICE	134	0,1	44	78,57
108	LAW	134	0,1	37	66,07
109	MAKE	133	0,1	43	76,79
110	LAWS	132	0,1	32	57,14
111	LIFE25	132	0,1	46	82,14
112	HAD	130	0,1	36	64,29
113	CONGRESS	129	0,1	28	50
114	BEFORE	126	0,09	47	83,93
115	NEVER	125	0,09	44	78,57
116	INTO	123	0,09	43	76,79
117	BEST	120	0,09	41	73,21
118	EACH	119	0,09	43	76,79
119	JUST	118	0,09	47	83,93
120	DUTY	116	0,09	37	66,07
121	LIBERTY	116	0,09	41	73,21
122	HOPE36	115	0,08	45	80,36
123	INTERESTS	113	0,08	33	58,93
124	RIGHT	113	0,08	40	71,43
125	WORK	113	0,08	39	69,64
126	AGAINST	112	0,08	40	71,43
127	YOUR	112	0,08	30	53,57

128	BECAUSE	111	0,08	36	64,29
129	HE	110	0,08	38	67,86
130	STATE	109	0,08	33	58,93
131	SOME	108	0,08	33	58,93
132	AMONG	107	0,08	42	75
133	BOTH	107	0,08	30	53,57
134	POLITICAL	106	0,08	38	67,86
135	THROUGH	105	0,08	43	76,79
136	MANY	102	0,08	41	73,21
137	FOREIGN	101	0,07	31	55,36
138	KNOW	101	0,07	33	58,93
139	POWERS	101	0,07	33	58,93
140	MUCH	99	0,07	37	66,07
141	EXECUTIVE	97	0,07	27	48,21
142	POLICY	97	0,07	30	53,57
143	BETWEEN	96	0,07	33	58,93
144	HISTORY	96	0,07	34	60,71
145	LONG	96	0,07	43	76,79
146	FIRST	95	0,07	39	69,64
147	PART	95	0,07	36	64,29
148	OUT	94	0,07	40	71,43
149	WITHIN	94	0,07	35	62,5
150	HUMAN	93	0,07	34	60,71

**Chosen inaugural addresses of American Presidents (Source: John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters. 1999-2011. The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA)**

**Barack Obama**

XLIV. President of the U.S.A: 2009-present

**Inaugural Address**

January 20, 2009

1. My fellow citizens, I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank President Bush for his service to our Nation, as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition.
2. Forty-four Americans have now taken the Presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we the people have remained faithful to the ideals of our forbearers and true to our founding documents.
3. So it has been; so it must be with this generation of Americans. That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our Nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the Nation for a new age. Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered.

- Our health care is too costly. Our schools fail too many. And each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.
4. These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable but no less profound is a sapping of confidence across our land, a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights. Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious, and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America: They will be met.
  5. On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord. On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics.
  6. We remain a young nation, but in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit, to choose our better history, to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.
  7. In reaffirming the greatness of our Nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. Our journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the fainthearted, for those who prefer leisure over work or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things--some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor--who have carried us up the long, rugged path toward prosperity and freedom.
  8. For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West, endured the lash of the whip, and plowed the hard Earth. For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sanh.
  9. Time and again, these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked 'til their hands were raw so that we might live a better life. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions, greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction.
  10. This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive. Our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions, that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.
  11. For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of the economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act not only to create new jobs but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We will restore science to its rightful place and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. All this we will do.
  12. Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short, for they have forgotten what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose and necessity to courage.
  13. What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply. The question we ask today is not whether our Government is too big or too small, but whether it works; whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government.
  14. Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis has reminded us that

without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The Nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on our ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart, not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good.

15. As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience's sake. And so to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to lead once more.
16. Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks but with sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead, they knew that our power grows through its prudent use. Our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint.
17. We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we will work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat and roll back the specter of a warming planet. We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken. You cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.
18. For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus and nonbelievers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth. And because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass, that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself, and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.
19. To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.
20. To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow, to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect, for the world has changed, and we must change with it.
21. As we consider the road that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us today, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages. We honor them not only because they are guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service, a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves. And yet at this moment, a moment that will define a generation, it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all.
22. For as much as Government can do and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this Nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job, which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child, that finally decides our fate.

23. Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends--honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism--these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history. What is demanded then is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility, a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our Nation, and the world. Duties that we do not grudgingly accept but, rather, seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character, than giving our all to a difficult task.
24. This is the price and the promise of citizenship. This is the source of our confidence, the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny. This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed; why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent Mall, and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath.
25. So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The Capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At a moment when the outcome of our Revolution was most in doubt, the Father of our Nation ordered these words be read to the people:
26. "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 [it]."
27. America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested, we refused to let this journey end; that we did not turn back, nor did we falter. And with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.
28. Thank you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=44>.

## **George W. Bush**

XLIII. President of the U.S.A: 2001-2009

### **Inaugural Address**

January 20, 2001

1. Thank you, all. Chief Justice Rehnquist, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, distinguished guests, and my fellow citizens. The peaceful transfer of authority is rare in history, yet common in our country. With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new beginnings.
2. As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our Nation, and I thank Vice President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace.
3. I am honored and humbled to stand here where so many of America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow. We have a place, all of us, in a long story, a story we continue but whose end we will not see. It is a story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, the story of a slaveholding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.
4. It is the American story, a story of flawed and fallible people united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals. The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born.

5. Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And though our Nation has sometimes halted and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course.
6. Through much of the last century, America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations. Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country. It is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along. Even after nearly 225 years, we have a long way yet to travel.
7. While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice of our own country. The ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth. And sometimes our differences run so deep, it seems we share a continent but not a country. We do not accept this, and we will not allow it.
8. Our unity, our Union, is a serious work of leaders and citizens and every generation. And this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity. I know this is in our reach because we are guided by a power larger than ourselves, who creates us equal, in His image, and we are confident in principles that unite and lead us onward.
9. America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests, and teach us what it means to be citizens. Every child must be taught these principles. Every citizen must uphold them. And every immigrant, by embracing these ideals, makes our country more, not less, American.
10. Today we affirm a new commitment to live out our Nation's promise through civility, courage, compassion, and character. America at its best matches a commitment to principle with a concern for civility. A civil society demands from each of us good will and respect, fair dealing and forgiveness.
11. Some seem to believe that our politics can afford to be petty because in a time of peace the stakes of our debates appear small. But the stakes for America are never small. If our country does not lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led. If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most.
12. We must live up to the calling we share. Civility is not a tactic or a sentiment; it is the determined choice of trust over cynicism, of community over chaos. And this commitment, if we keep it, is a way to shared accomplishment.
13. America at its best is also courageous. Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war, when defeating common dangers defined our common good. Now we must choose if the example of our fathers and mothers will inspire us or condemn us. We must show courage in a time of blessing by confronting problems instead of passing them on to future generations.
14. Together we will reclaim America's schools before ignorance and apathy claim more young lives. We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent. And we will reduce taxes to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans.
15. We will build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge. We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors. The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake: America remains engaged in the world, by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors freedom.
16. We will defend our allies and our interests. We will show purpose without arrogance. We will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. And to all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our Nation birth.
17. America at its best is compassionate. In the quiet of American conscience, we know that deep, persistent poverty is unworthy of our Nation's promise. And whatever our views of its cause, we can agree that children at risk are not at fault.
18. Abandonment and abuse are not acts of God; they are failures of love. And the proliferation of prisons, however necessary, is no substitute for hope and order in our souls. Where there is suffering, there is duty. Americans in need are not strangers; they are citizens—not problems but priorities. And all of us are diminished when any are hopeless.
19. Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public health, for civil rights and common schools. Yet, compassion is the work of a nation, not just a government. And

some needs and hurts are so deep they will only respond to a mentor's touch or a pastor's prayer. Church and charity, synagogue and mosque lend our communities their humanity, and they will have an honored place in our plans and in our laws.

20. Many in our country do not know the pain of poverty. But we can listen to those who do. And I can pledge our Nation to a goal: When we see that wounded traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.
21. America at its best is a place where personal responsibility is valued and expected. Encouraging responsibility is not a search for scapegoats; it is a call to conscience. And though it requires sacrifice, it brings a deeper fulfillment. We find the fullness of life not only in options but in commitments. And we find that children and community are the commitments that set us free.
22. Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and family bonds and basic fairness, on uncounted, unhonored acts of decency, which give direction to our freedom.
23. Sometimes in life we're called to do great things. But as a saint of our times has said, "Every day we are called to do small things with great love." The most important tasks of a democracy are done by everyone.
24. I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions with civility, to serve the public interest with courage, to speak for greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to live it, as well. In all these ways, I will bring the values of our history to the care of our times.
25. What you do is as important as anything Government does. I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort, to defend needed reforms against easy attacks, to serve your Nation, beginning with your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens: Citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building communities of service and a nation of character.
26. Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we believe in ourselves but because we hold beliefs beyond ourselves. When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no Government program can replace it. When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against it.
27. After the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia statesman John Page wrote to Thomas Jefferson, "We know the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Do you not think an angel rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm?"
28. Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration. The years and changes accumulate, but the themes of this day, he would know: our Nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream of dignity.
29. We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose. Yet, his purpose is achieved in our duty. And our duty is fulfilled in service to one another. Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life. This work continues, the story goes on, and an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm.
30. God bless you all, and God bless America.

Source: John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25853>.

## **William J. Clinton**

XLII. President of the U.S.A: 1993-2001

### **Inaugural Address**

January 20, 1993

1. My fellow citizens, today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal. This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring, a spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America. When our Founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change; not change for change's sake but change to preserve



America's ideals: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Though we marched to the music of our time, our mission is timeless. Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American.

2. On behalf of our Nation, I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America. And I thank the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and communism.
3. Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the cold war assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues. Raised in unrivaled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still the world's strongest but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our own people.
4. When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat. Now, the sights and sounds of this ceremony are broadcast instantaneously to billions around the world. Communications and commerce are global. Investment is mobile. Technology is almost magical. And ambition for a better life is now universal.
5. We earn our livelihood in America today in peaceful competition with people all across the Earth. Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world. And the urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy. This new world has already enriched the lives of millions of Americans who are able to compete and win in it. But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt our enterprises, great and small; when the fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead, we have not made change our friend.
6. We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps, but we have not done so; instead, we have drifted. And that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence. Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. Americans have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. And we must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us. From our Revolution to the Civil War, to the Great Depression, to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history. Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our Nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow Americans, this is our time. Let us embrace it.
7. Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America. And so today we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift, and a new season of American renewal has begun.
8. To renew America, we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, and in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity. It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake but for our own sake. We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children.
9. Our Founders saw themselves in the light of posterity. We can do no less. Anyone who has ever watched a child's eyes wander into sleep knows what posterity is. Posterity is the world to come: the world for whom we hold our ideals, from whom we have borrowed our planet, and to whom we bear sacred responsibility. We must do what America does best: offer more opportunity to all and demand more responsibility from all. It is time to break the bad habit of expecting something for nothing from our Government or from each other. Let us all take more responsibility not only for ourselves and our families but for our communities and our country.
10. To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy. This beautiful Capital, like every capital since the dawn of civilization, is often a place of intrigue and calculation. Powerful people maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and pays our way. Americans deserve better. And in this city today there are people who want to do

better. And so I say to all of you here: Let us resolve to reform our politics so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America. Let us resolve to make our Government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called bold, persistent experimentation, a Government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this Capital back to the people to whom it belongs.

11. To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well as at home. There is no longer a clear division between what is foreign and what is domestic. The world economy, the world environment, the world AIDS crisis, the world arms race: they affect us all. Today, as an older order passes, the new world is more free but less stable. Communism's collapse has called forth old animosities and new dangers. Clearly, America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make.
12. While America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges nor fail to seize the opportunities of this new world. Together with our friends and allies, we will work to shape change, lest it engulf us. When our vital interests are challenged or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act, with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary. The brave Americans serving our Nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand are testament to our resolve. But our greatest strength is the power of our ideas, which are still new in many lands. Across the world we see them embraced, and we rejoice. Our hopes, our hearts, our hands are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America's cause.
13. The American people have summoned the change we celebrate today. You have raised your voices in an unmistakable chorus. You have cast your votes in historic numbers. And you have changed the face of Congress, the Presidency, and the political process itself. Yes, you, my fellow Americans, have forced the spring. Now we must do the work the season demands. To that work I now turn with all the authority of my office. I ask the Congress to join with me. But no President, no Congress, no Government can undertake this mission alone.
14. My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service: to act on your idealism by helping troubled children, keeping company with those in need, reconnecting our torn communities. There is so much to be done; enough, indeed, for millions of others who are still young in spirit to give of themselves in service, too. In serving, we recognize a simple but powerful truth: We need each other, and we must care for one another.
15. Today we do more than celebrate America. We rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America, an idea born in revolution and renewed through two centuries of challenge; an idea tempered by the knowledge that, but for fate, we, the fortunate, and the unfortunate might have been each other; an idea ennobled by the faith that our Nation can summon from its myriad diversity the deepest measure of unity; an idea infused with the conviction that America's long, heroic journey must go forever upward.
16. And so, my fellow Americans, as we stand at the edge of the 21st century, let us begin anew with energy and hope, with faith and discipline. And let us work until our work is done. The Scripture says, "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." From this joyful mountaintop of celebration we hear a call to service in the valley. We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard. And now, each in our own way and with God's help, we must answer the call.
17. Thank you, and God bless you all.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=46366>.

## **William J. Clinton**

XLII. President of the U.S.A: 1993-2001

## 2. Inaugural Address

January 20, 1997

1. My fellow citizens, at this last Presidential Inauguration of the 20th century, let us lift our eyes toward the challenges that await us in the next century. It is our great good fortune that time and chance have put us not only at the edge of a new century, in a new millennium, but on the edge of a bright new prospect in human affairs, a moment that will define our course and our character for decades to come. We must keep our old democracy forever young. Guided by the ancient vision of a promised land, let us set our sights upon a land of new promise.
2. The promise of America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. It was extended and preserved in the 19th century, when our Nation spread across the continent, saved the Union, and abolished the awful scourge of slavery.
3. Then, in turmoil and triumph, that promise exploded onto the world stage to make this the American Century. And what a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power, saved the world from tyranny in two World Wars and a long cold war, and time and again reached out across the globe to millions who, like us, longed for the blessings of liberty.
4. Along the way, Americans produced a great middle class and security in old age, built unrivaled centers of learning and opened public schools to all, split the atom and explored the heavens, invented the computer and the microchip, and deepened the wellspring of justice by making a revolution in civil rights for African-Americans and all minorities and extending the circle of citizenship, opportunity, and dignity to women.
5. Now, for the third time, a new century is upon us and another time to choose. We began the 19th century with a choice: to spread our Nation from coast to coast. We began the 20th century with a choice: to harness the industrial revolution to our values of free enterprise, conservation, and human decency. Those choices made all the difference. At the dawn of the 21st century, a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the information age and the global society, to unleash the limitless potential of all our people, and yes, to form a more perfect Union.
6. When last we gathered, our march to this new future seemed less certain than it does today. We vowed then to set a clear course to renew our Nation. In these 4 years, we have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement. America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation. Once again, our economy is the strongest on Earth. Once again, we are building stronger families, thriving communities, better educational opportunities, a cleaner environment. Problems that once seemed destined to deepen, now bend to our efforts. Our streets are safer, and record numbers of our fellow citizens have moved from welfare to work. And once again, we have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of Government. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem, and Government is not the solution. We—the American people—we are the solution. Our Founders understood that well and gave us a democracy strong enough to endure for centuries, flexible enough to face our common challenges and advance our common dreams in each new day.
7. As times change, so Government must change. We need a new Government for a new century, humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves, a Government that is smaller, lives within its means, and does more with less. Yet where it can stand up for our values and interests around the world, and where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, Government should do more, not less. The preeminent mission of our new Government is to give all Americans an opportunity, not a guarantee but a real opportunity, to build better lives.
8. Beyond that, my fellow citizens, the future is up to us. Our Founders taught us that the preservation of our liberty and our Union depends upon responsible citizenship. And we need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. There is work to do, work that Government alone cannot do: teaching children to read, hiring people off welfare rolls, coming out from behind locked doors and shuttered windows to help reclaim our streets from drugs and gangs and crime, taking time out of our own lives to serve others.

9. Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume personal responsibility not only for ourselves and our families but for our neighbors and our Nation. Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century. For any one of us to succeed, we must succeed as one America. The challenge of our past remains the challenge of our future: Will we be one Nation, one people, with one common destiny, or not? Will we all come together, or come apart?
10. The divide of race has been America's constant curse. And each new wave of immigrants gives new targets to old prejudices. Prejudice and contempt cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction are no different. These forces have nearly destroyed our Nation in the past. They plague us still. They fuel the fanaticism of terror. And they torment the lives of millions in fractured nations all around the world.
11. These obsessions cripple both those who hate and of course those who are hated, robbing both of what they might become. We cannot, we will not, succumb to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. We shall overcome them. And we shall replace them with the generous spirit of a people who feel at home with one another. Our rich texture of racial, religious, and political diversity will be a godsend in the 21st century. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, forge new ties that bind together.
12. As this new era approaches, we can already see its broad outlines. Ten years ago, the Internet was the mystical province of physicists; today, it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists now are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our most feared illnesses seem close at hand. The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps. Instead, now we are building bonds with nations that once were our adversaries. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people the world over. And for the very first time in all of history, more people on this planet live under democracy than dictatorship.
13. My fellow Americans, as we look back at this remarkable century, we may ask, can we hope not just to follow but even to surpass the achievements of the 20th century in America and to avoid the awful bloodshed that stained its legacy? To that question, every American here and every American in our land today must answer a resounding, "Yes!" This is the heart of our task. With a new vision of Government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we will sustain America's journey.
14. The promise we sought in a new land, we will find again in a land of new promise. In this new land, education will be every citizen's most prized possession. Our schools will have the highest standards in the world, igniting the spark of possibility in the eyes of every girl and every boy. And the doors of higher education will be open to all. The knowledge and power of the information age will be within reach not just of the few but of every classroom, every library, every child. Parents and children will have time not only to work but to read and play together. And the plans they make at their kitchen table will be those of a better home, a better job, the certain chance to go to college.
15. Our streets will echo again with the laughter of our children, because no one will try to shoot them or sell them drugs anymore. Everyone who can work, will work, with today's permanent under class part of tomorrow's growing middle class. New miracles of medicine at last will reach not only those who can claim care now but the children and hard-working families too long denied.
16. We will stand mighty for peace and freedom and maintain a strong defense against terror and destruction. Our children will sleep free from the threat of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. Ports and airports, farms and factories will thrive with trade and innovation and ideas. And the world's greatest democracy will lead a whole world of democracies.
17. Our land of new promise will be a nation that meets its obligations, a nation that balances its budget but never loses the balance of its values, a nation where our grandparents have secure retirement and health care and their grandchildren know we have made the reforms necessary to sustain those benefits for their time, a nation that fortifies the world's most productive economy even as it protects the great natural bounty of our water, air, and majestic land. And in this land of new promise, we will have reformed our politics so that the voice of the people will always speak louder than the din of narrow interests, regaining the participation and deserving the trust of all Americans.

18. Fellow citizens, let us build that America, a nation ever moving forward toward realizing the full potential of all its citizens. Prosperity and power, yes, they are important, and we must maintain them. But let us never forget, the greatest progress we have made and the greatest progress we have yet to make is in the human heart. In the end, all the world's wealth and a thousand armies are no match for the strength and decency of the human spirit.
19. Thirty-four years ago, the man whose life we celebrate today spoke to us down there, at the other end of this Mall, in words that moved the conscience of a nation. Like a prophet of old, he told of his dream that one day America would rise up and treat all its citizens as equals before the law and in the heart. Martin Luther King's dream was the American dream. His quest is our quest: the ceaseless striving to live out our true creed. Our history has been built on such dreams and labors. And by our dreams and labors, we will redeem the promise of America in the 21st century.
20. To that effort I pledge all my strength and every power of my office. I ask the Members of Congress here to join in that pledge. The American people returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and extreme partisanship they plainly deplore. No, they call on us instead to be repairers of the breach and to move on with America's mission. America demands and deserves big things from us, and nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernardin, when facing the end of his own life. He said, "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time on acrimony and division."
21. Fellow citizens, we must not waste the precious gift of this time. For all of us are on that same journey of our lives, and our journey, too, will come to an end. But the journey of our America must go on.
22. And so, my fellow Americans, we must be strong, for there is much to dare. The demands of our time are great, and they are different. Let us meet them with faith and courage, with patience and a grateful, happy heart. Let us shape the hope of this day into the noblest chapter in our history. Yes, let us build our bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise.
23. May those generations whose faces we cannot yet see, whose names we may never know, say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American dream alive for all her children, with the American promise of a more perfect Union a reality for all her people, with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.
24. From the height of this place and the summit of this century, let us go forth. May God strengthen our hands for the good work ahead, and always, always bless our America.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=54183>.

## **Richard Nixon**

XXXVII. President of the U.S.A: 1969-1974

### **Inaugural Address**

January 20, 1969

1. Senator Dirksen, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice president, President Johnson, Vice president Humphrey, my fellow Americans-and my fellow citizens of the world community:
2. I ask you to share with me today the majesty of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free.
3. Each moment in history is a fleeting time, precious and unique. But some stand out as moments of beginning, in which courses are set that shape decades or centuries. This can be such a moment.
4. Forces now are converging that make possible, for the first time, the hope that many of man's deepest aspirations can at last be realized. The spiraling pace of change allows us to contemplate, within our own lifetime, advances that once would have taken centuries.

5. In throwing wide the horizons of space, we have discovered new horizons on earth.
6. For the first time, because the people of the world want peace, and the leaders of the world are afraid of war, the times are on the side of peace.
7. Eight years from now America will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. Within the lifetime of most people now living, mankind will celebrate that great new year which comes only once in a thousand years--the beginning of the third millennium.
8. What kind of a nation we will be, what kind of a world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices.
9. The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America--the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil and onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization.
10. If we succeed, generations to come will say of us now living that we mastered our moment, that we helped make the world safe for mankind.
11. This is our summons to greatness.
12. I believe the American people are ready to answer this call.
13. The second third of this century has been a time of proud achievement. We have made enormous strides in science and industry and agriculture. We have shared our wealth more broadly than ever. We have learned at last to manage a modern economy to assure its continued growth.
14. We have given freedom new reach. We have begun to make its promise real for black as well as for white.
15. We see the hope of tomorrow in the youth of today. I know America's youth. I believe in them. We can be proud that they are better educated, more committed, more passionately driven by conscience than any generation in our history.
16. No people has ever been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society, or so possessed of the will to achieve it. And because our strengths are so great, we can afford to appraise our weaknesses with candor and to approach them with hope.
17. Standing in this same place a third of a century ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a nation ravaged by depression and gripped in fear. He could say in surveying the Nation's troubles: "They concern, thank God, only material things." Our crisis today is in reverse.
18. We find ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit; reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but failing into raucous discord on earth.
19. We are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by division, wanting unity. We see around us empty lives, wanting fulfillment. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them.
20. To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit.
21. And to find that answer, we need only look within ourselves.
22. When we listen to "the better angels of our nature," we find that they celebrate the simple things, the basic things--such as goodness, decency, love, kindness.
23. Greatness comes in simple trappings. The simple things are the ones most needed today if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us.
24. To lower our voices would be a simple thing.
25. In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading.
26. We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another--until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices.
27. For its part, government will listen. We will strive to listen in new ways--to the voices of quiet anguish, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart--to the injured voices, the anxious voices, the voices that have despaired of being heard.
28. Those who have been left out, we will try to bring in.
29. Those left behind, we will help to catch up.
30. For all of our people, we will set as our goal the decent order that makes progress possible and our lives secure.
31. As we reach toward our hopes, our task is to build on what has gone before--not turning away from the old, but turning toward the new.
32. In this past third of a century, government has passed more laws, spent more money, initiated more programs than in all our previous history.

33. In pursuing our goals of full employment, better housing, excellence in education; in rebuilding our cities and improving our rural areas; in protecting our environment and enhancing the quality of life--in all these and more, we will and must press urgently forward.
34. We shall plan now for the day when our wealth can be transferred from the destruction of war abroad to the urgent needs of our people at home.
35. The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep.
36. But we are approaching the limits of what government alone can do.
37. Our greatest need now is to reach beyond government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed.
38. What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all. The lesson of past agony is that without the people we can do nothing--with the people we can do everything.
39. To match the magnitude of our tasks, we need the energies of our people--enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal.
40. With these, we can build a great cathedral of the spirit--each of us raising it one stone at a time, as he reaches out to his neighbor, helping, caring, doing.
41. I do not offer a life of uninspiring ease. I do not call for a life of grim sacrifice. I ask you to join in a high adventure--one as rich as humanity itself, and exciting as the times we live in.
42. The essence of freedom is that each of us shares in the shaping of his own destiny.
43. Until he has been part of a cause larger than himself, no man is truly whole.
44. The way to fulfillment is in the use of our talents. We achieve nobility in the spirit that inspires that use.
45. As we measure what can be done, we shall promise only what we know we can produce; but as we chart our goals, we shall be lifted by our dreams.
46. No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together.
47. This means black and white together, as one nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law: to insure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man.
48. As we learn to go forward together at home, let us also seek to go forward together with all mankind.
49. Let us take as our goal: Where peace is unknown, make it welcome; where Peace is fragile, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent.
50. After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation.
51. Let all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be open.
52. We seek an open world--open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people--a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation.
53. We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy.
54. Those who would be our adversaries, we invite to a peaceful competition--not in conquering territory or extending dominion, but in enriching the life of man.
55. As we explore the reaches of space, let us go to the new worlds together--not as new worlds to be conquered, but as a new adventure to be shared.
56. With those who are willing to join, let us cooperate to reduce the burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry.
57. But to all those who would be tempted by weakness, let us leave no doubt that we will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be.
58. Over the past 90 years, since I first came to this Capital as a freshman Congressman, I have visited most of the nations of the world. I have come to know the leaders of the world and the great forces, the hatreds, the fears that divide the world.
59. I know that peace does not come through wishing for it--that there is no substitute for days and even years of patient and prolonged diplomacy.  
I also know the people of the world.
60. I have seen the hunger of a homeless child, the pain of a man wounded in battle, the grief of a mother who has lost her son. I know these have no ideology, no race.
61. I know America. I know the heart of America is good.

62. I speak from my own heart, and the heart of my country, the deep concern we have for those who suffer and those who sorrow.
63. I have taken an oath today in the presence of God and my countrymen to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. To that oath I now add this sacred commitment: I shall consecrate my Office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations.
64. Let this message be heard by strong and weak alike:
65. The peace we seek the peace we seek to win--is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes "with healing in its wings"; with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny.
66. Only a few short weeks ago we shared the glory of man's first sight of the world as God sees it, as a single sphere reflecting light in the darkness.
67. As the Apollo astronauts flew over the moon's gray surface on Christmas Eve, they spoke to us of the beauty of earth-and in that voice so clear across the lunar distance, we heard them invoke God's blessing on its goodness.
68. In that moment, their view from the moon moved poet Archibald MacLeish to write: "To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold--brothers who know now they are truly brothers."
69. In that moment of surpassing technological triumph, men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity-seeing in that far perspective that man's destiny on earth is not divisible; telling us that however far we reach into the cosmos, our destiny lies not in the stars but on earth itself, in our own hands, in our own hearts.
70. We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light.
71. Our destiny offers not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So let us seize it not in fear, but in gladness-and "riders on the earth together," let us go forward, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, cautious of the dangers, but sustained by our confidence in the will of God and the promise of man.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=1941>.

## **Lyndon B. Johnson**

XXXVI. President of the U.S.A: 1963-1969

### **Inaugural Address**

January 20, 1965

1. On this occasion the oath I have taken before you and before God is not mine alone, but ours together. We are one nation and one people. Our fate as a nation and our future as a people rest not upon one citizen but upon all citizens.
2. That is the majesty and the meaning of this moment.
3. For every generation there is a destiny. For some, history decides. For this generation the choice must be our own.
4. Even now, a rocket moves toward Mars. It reminds us that the world will not be the same for our children, or even for ourselves in a short span of years. The next man to stand here will look out on a scene that is different from our own.
5. Ours is a time of change--rapid and fantastic change--bearing the secrets of nature, multiplying the nations, placing in uncertain hands new weapons for mastery and destruction, shaking old values and uprooting old ways.
6. Our destiny in the midst of change will rest on the unchanged character of our people and on their faith.
7. They came here--the exile and the stranger, brave but frightened--to find a place where a man could be his own man. They made a covenant with this land. Conceived in justice, written in liberty, bound in union, it was meant one day to inspire the hopes of all mankind. And it binds us still. If we keep its terms we shall flourish.



8. First, justice was the promise that all who made the journey would share in the fruits of the land.
9. In a land of great wealth, families must not live in hopeless poverty. In a land rich in harvest, children just must not go hungry. In a land of healing miracles, neighbors must not suffer and die untended. In a great land of learning and scholars, young people must be taught to read and write.
10. For more than 30 years that I have served this Nation I have believed that this injustice to our people, this waste of our resources, was our real enemy. For 30 years or more, with the resources I have had, I have vigilantly fought against it. I have learned and I know that it will not surrender easily.
11. But change has given us new weapons. Before this generation of Americans is finished, this enemy will not only retreat, it will be conquered.
12. Justice requires us to remember: when any citizen denies his fellow, saying: "His color is not mine or his beliefs are strange and different," in that moment he betrays America, though his forebears created this Nation.
13. Liberty was the second article of our covenant. It was self-government. It was our Bill of Rights. But it was more. America would be a place where each man could be proud to be himself: stretching his talents, rejoicing in his work, important in the life of his neighbors and his nation.
14. This has become more difficult in a world where change and growth seem to tower beyond the control and even the judgment of men. We must work to provide the knowledge and the surroundings which can enlarge the possibilities of every citizen.
15. The American covenant called on us to help show the way for the liberation of man. And that is today our goal. Thus, if as a nation, there is much outside our control, as a people no stranger is outside our hope.
16. Change has brought new meaning to that old mission. We can never again stand aside, prideful in isolation. Terrific dangers and troubles that we once called "foreign" now constantly live among us. If American lives must end, and American treasure be spilled, in countries that we barely know, then that is the price that change has demanded of conviction and of our enduring covenant.
17. Think of our world as it looks from that rocket that is heading toward Mars. It is like a child's globe, hanging in space, the continent stuck to its side like colored maps. We are all fellow passengers on a dot of earth. And each of us, in the span of time, has really only a moment among our companions.
18. How incredible it is that in this fragile existence we should hate and destroy one another. There are possibilities enough for all who will abandon mastery over others to pursue mastery over nature. There is world enough for all to seek their happiness in their own way.
19. Our Nation's course is abundantly clear. We aspire to nothing that belongs to others. We seek no dominion over our fellow man, but man's dominion over tyranny and misery.
20. But more is required. Men want to be part of a common enterprise, a cause greater than themselves. And each of us must find a way to advance the purpose of the Nation, thus finding new purpose for ourselves. Without this, we will simply become a nation of strangers.
21. The third article is union. To those who were small and few against the wilderness, the success of liberty demanded the strength of union. Two centuries of change have made this true again.
22. No longer need capitalist and worker, farmer and clerk, city and countryside, struggle to divide our bounty. By working shoulder to shoulder together we can increase the bounty of all. We have discovered that every child who learns, and every man who finds work, and every sick body that is made whole--like a candle added to an altar--brightens the hope of all the faithful.
23. So let us reject any among us who seek to reopen old wounds and rekindle old hatreds. They stand in the way of a seeking nation.
24. Let us now join reason to faith and action to experience, to transform our unity of interest into a unity of purpose. For the hour and the day and the time are here to achieve progress without strife, to achieve change without hatred; not without difference of opinion but without the deep and abiding divisions which scar the union for generations.

25. Under this covenant of justice, liberty, and union we have become a nation--prosperous, great, and mighty. And we have kept our freedom. But we have no promise from God that our greatness will endure. We have been allowed by Him to seek greatness with the sweat of our hands and the strength of our spirit.
26. I do not believe that the Great Society is the ordered, changeless, and sterile battalion of the ants. It is the excitement of becoming--always becoming, trying, probing, falling, resting, and trying again--but always trying and always gaining.
27. In each generation, with toil and tears, we have had to earn our heritage again. If we fail now then we will have forgotten in abundance what we learned in hardship: that democracy rests on faith, that freedom asks more than it gives, and the judgment of God is harshest on those who are most favored.
28. If we succeed it will not be because of what we have, but it will be because of what we are; not because of what we own, but rather because of what we believe.
29. For we are a nation of believers. Underneath the clamor of building and the rush of our day's pursuits, we are believers in justice and liberty and in our own union. We believe that every man must some day be free. And we believe in ourselves.
30. And that is the mistake that our enemies have always made. In my lifetime, in depression and in war they have awaited our defeat. Each time, from the secret places of the American heart, came forth the faith that they could not see or that they could not even imagine. And it brought us victory. And it will again.
31. For this is what America is all about. It is the uncrossed desert and the unclimbed ridge. It is the star that is not reached and the harvest that is sleeping in the unplowed ground. Is our world gone? We say farewell. Is a new world coming? We welcome it, and we will bend it to the hopes Of man.
32. And to these trusted public servants and to my family, and those close friends of mine who have followed me down a long winding road, and to all the people of this Union and the world, I will repeat today what I said on that sorrowful day in November last year: I will lead and I will do the best I can.
33. But you, you must look within your own hearts to the old promises and to the old dreams. They will lead you best of all.
34. For myself, I ask only in the words of an ancient leader: "Give me now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out and come in before this people: for who can judge this thy people, that is so great?"

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=26985>.

## **John F. Kennedy**

XXXV. President of the U.S.A: 1961-1963

### **Inaugural Address**

January 20, 1961

1. Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice president Nixon, President Truman, Reverend Clergy, fellow citizens:
2. 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.
3. 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.
4. 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.
5. 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.
  6. This much we pledge--and more.
  7. 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 cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do--for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.
  8. 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.
  9. To those peoples 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.
  10. To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge--to convert our good words 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.
  11. 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.
  12. 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.
  13. 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.
  14. 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.
  15. 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.
  16. Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.
  17. 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.
  18. 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.
  19. 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."

20. And if a beach-head of cooperation 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.
21. 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.
22. 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.
23. 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.
24. 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?
25. 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.
26. And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country.
27. 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.
28. 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.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=8032>.

## **Dwight D. Eisenhower**

XXXIV. President of the U.S.A:1953-1961

### **Inaugural Address**

January 20, 1953

1. MY FRIENDS, before I begin the expression of those thoughts that I deem appropriate to this moment, would you permit me the privilege of uttering a little private prayer of my own. And I ask that you bow your heads:
2. Almighty God, as we stand here at this moment my future associates in the Executive branch of Government join me in beseeching that Thou will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng, and their fellow citizens everywhere.
3. Give us, we pray, the power to discern clearly right from wrong, and allow all our words and actions to be governed thereby, and by the laws of this land. Especially we pray that our concern shall be for all the people regardless of station, race or calling.
4. May cooperation be permitted and be the mutual aim of those who, under the concepts of our Constitution, hold to differing political faiths; so that all may work for the good of our beloved country and Thy glory. Amen.
5. My fellow citizens:

6. The world and we have passed the midway point of a century of continuing challenge. We sense with all our faculties that forces of good and evil are massed and armed and opposed as rarely before in history.
7. This fact defines the meaning of this day. We are summoned by this honored and historic ceremony to witness more than the act of one citizen swearing his oath of service, in the presence of God. We are called as a people to give testimony in the sight of the world to our faith that the future shall belong to the free.
8. Since this century's beginning, a time of tempest has seemed to come upon the continents of the earth. Masses of Asia have awakened to strike off shackles of the past. Great nations of Europe have fought their bloodiest wars. Thrones have toppled and their vast empires have disappeared. New nations have been born.
9. For our own country, it has been a time of recurring trial. We have grown in power and in responsibility. We have passed through the anxieties of depression and of war to a summit unmatched in man's history. Seeking to secure peace in the world, we have had to fight through the forests of the Argonne to the shores of Iwo Jima, and to the cold mountains of Korea.
10. In the swift rush of great events, we find ourselves groping to know the full sense and meaning of these times in which we live. In our quest of understanding, we beseech God's guidance. We summon all our knowledge of the past and we scan all signs of the future. We bring all our wit and all our will to meet the question:
11. How far have we come in man's long pilgrimage from darkness toward the light? Are we nearing the light--a day of freedom and of peace for all mankind? Or are the shadows of another night closing in upon us?
12. Great as are the preoccupations absorbing us at home, concerned as we are with matters that deeply affect our livelihood today and our vision of the future, each of these domestic problems is dwarfed by, and often even created by, this question that involves all humankind.
13. This trial comes at a moment when man's power to achieve good or to inflict evil surpasses the brightest hopes and the sharpest fears of all ages. We can turn rivers in their courses, level mountains to the plains. Oceans and land and sky are avenues for our colossal commerce. Disease diminishes and life lengthens.
14. Yet the promise of this life is imperiled by the very genius that has made it possible. Nations amass wealth. Labor sweats to create--and turns out devices to level not only mountains but also cities. Science seems ready to confer upon us, as its final gift, the power to erase human life from this planet.
15. At such a time in history, we who are free must proclaim anew our faith. This faith is the abiding creed of our fathers. It is our faith in the deathless dignity of man, governed by eternal moral and natural laws.
16. This faith defines our full view of life. It establishes, beyond debate, those gifts of the Creator that are man's inalienable rights, and that make all men equal in His sight.
17. In the light of this equality, we know that the virtues most cherished by free people--love of truth, pride of work, devotion to country--all are treasures equally precious in the lives of the most humble and of the most exalted. The men who mine coal and fire furnaces, and balance ledgers, and turn lathes, and pick cotton, and heal the sick and plant corn--all serve as proudly and as profitably for America as the statesmen who draft treaties and the legislators who enact laws.
18. This faith rules our whole way of life. It decrees that we, the people, elect leaders not to rule but to serve. It asserts that we have the right to choice of our own work and to the reward of our own toil. It inspires the initiative that makes our productivity the wonder of the world. And it warns that any man who seeks to deny equality among all his brothers betrays the spirit of the free and invites the mockery of the tyrant.
19. It is because we, all of us, hold to these principles that the political changes accomplished this day do not imply turbulence, upheaval or disorder. Rather this change expresses a purpose of strengthening our dedication and devotion to the precepts of our founding documents, a conscious renewal of faith in our country and in the watchfulness of a Divine Providence.

20. The enemies of this faith know no god but force, no devotion but its use. They tutor men in treason. They feed upon the hunger of others. Whatever defies them, they torture, especially the truth.
21. Here, then, is joined no argument between slightly differing philosophies. This conflict strikes directly at the faith of our fathers and the lives of our sons. No principle or treasure that we hold, from the spiritual knowledge of our free schools and churches to the creative magic of free labor and capital, nothing lies safely beyond the reach of this struggle.
22. Freedom is pitted against slavery; lightness against the dark
23. The faith we hold belongs not to us alone but to the free of all the world. This common bond binds the grower of rice in Burma and the planter of wheat in Iowa, the shepherd in southern Italy and the mountaineer in the Andes. It confers a common dignity upon the French soldier who dies in Indo-China, the British soldier killed in Malaya, the American life given in Korea.
24. We know, beyond this, that we are linked to all free peoples not merely by a noble idea but by a simple need. No free people can for long cling to any privilege or enjoy any safety in economic solitude. For all our own material might, even we need markets in the world for the surpluses of our farms and our factories. Equally, we need for these same farms and factories vital materials and products of distant lands. This basic law of interdependence, so manifest in the commerce of peace, applies with thousand-fold intensity in the event of war.
25. So we are persuaded by necessity and by belief that the strength of all free peoples lies in unity; their danger, in discord.
26. To produce this unity, to meet the challenge of our time, destiny has laid upon our country the responsibility of the free world's leadership.
27. So it is proper that we assure our friends once again that, in the discharge of this responsibility, we Americans know and we observe the difference between world leadership and imperialism; between firmness and truculence; between a thoughtfully calculated goal and spasmodic reaction to the stimulus of emergencies.
28. We wish our friends the world over to know this above all: we face the threat--not with dread and confusion--but with confidence and conviction.
29. We feel this moral strength because we know that we are not helpless prisoners of history. We are free men. We shall remain free, never to be proven guilty of the one capital offense against freedom, a lack of staunch faith.
30. In pleading our just cause before the bar of history and in pressing our labor for world peace, we shall be guided by certain fixed principles. These principles are:
31. Abhorring war as a chosen way to balk the purposes of those who threaten us, we hold it to be the first task of statesmanship to develop the strength that will deter the forces of aggression and promote the conditions of peace. For, as it must be the supreme purpose of all free men, so it must be the dedication of their leaders, to save humanity from preying upon itself.
32. In the light of this principle, we stand ready to engage with any and all others in joint effort to remove the causes of mutual fear and distrust among nations, so as to make possible drastic reduction of armaments. The sole requisites for undertaking such effort are that--in their purpose--they be aimed logically and honestly toward secure peace for all; and that--in their result--they provide methods by which every participating nation will prove good faith in carrying out its pledge.
33. Realizing that common sense and common decency alike dictate the futility of appeasement, we shall never try to placate an aggressor by the false and wicked bargain of trading honor for security. Americans, indeed, all free men, remember that in the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains.
34. Knowing that only a United States that is strong and immensely productive can help defend freedom in our world, we view our Nation's strength and security as a trust upon which rests the hope of free men everywhere. It is the firm duty of each of our free citizens and of every free citizen everywhere to place the cause of his country before the comfort, the convenience of himself.
35. Honoring the identity and the special heritage of each nation in the world, we shall never use our strength to try to impress upon another people our own cherished political and economic institutions.

36. Assessing realistically the needs and capacities of proven friends of freedom, we shall strive to help them to achieve their own security and well-being. Likewise, we shall count upon them to assume, within the limits of their resources, their full and just burdens in the common defense of freedom.
37. Recognizing economic health as an indispensable basis of military strength and the free world's peace, we shall strive to foster everywhere, and to practice ourselves, policies that encourage productivity and profitable trade. For the impoverishment of any single people in the world means danger to the well-being of all other peoples.
38. Appreciating that economic need, military security and political wisdom combine to suggest regional groupings of free peoples, we hope, within the framework of the United Nations, to help strengthen such special bonds the world over. The nature of these ties must vary with the different problems of different areas.
39. In the Western Hemisphere, we enthusiastically join with all our neighbors in the work of perfecting a community of fraternal trust and common purpose.
40. In Europe, we ask that enlightened and inspired leaders of the Western nations strive with renewed vigor to make the unity of their peoples a reality. Only as free Europe unitedly marshals its strength can it effectively safeguard, even with our help, its spiritual and cultural heritage.
41. Conceiving the defense of freedom, like freedom itself, to be one and indivisible, we hold all continents and peoples in equal regard and honor. We reject any insinuation that one race or another, one people or another, is in any sense inferior or expendable.
42. Respecting the United Nations as the living sign of all people's hope for peace, we shall strive to make it not merely an eloquent symbol but an effective force. And in our quest for an honorable peace, we shall neither compromise, nor tire, nor ever cease.
43. By these rules of conduct, we hope to be known to all peoples.
44. By their observance, an earth of peace may become not a vision but a fact.
45. This hope--this supreme aspiration--must rule the way we live.
46. We must be ready to dare all for our country. For history does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or the timid. We must acquire proficiency in defense and display stamina in purpose.
47. We must be willing, individually and as a Nation, to accept whatever sacrifices may be required of us. A people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both.
48. These basic precepts are not lofty abstractions, far removed from matters of daily living. They are laws of spiritual strength that generate and define our material strength. Patriotism means equipped forces and a prepared citizenry. Moral stamina means more energy and more productivity, on the farm and in the factory. Love of liberty means the guarding of every resource that makes freedom possible--from the sanctity of our families and the wealth of our soil to the genius of our scientists.
49. And so each citizen plays an indispensable role. The productivity of our heads, our hands and our hearts is the source of all the strength we can command, for both the enrichment of our lives and the winning of the peace.
50. No person, no home, no community can be beyond the reach of this call. We are summoned to act in wisdom and in conscience, to work with industry, to teach with persuasion, to preach with conviction, to weigh our every deed with care and with compassion. For this truth must be clear before us: whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America.
51. The peace we seek, then, is nothing less than the practice and fulfillment of our whole faith among ourselves and in our dealings with others. This signifies more than the stilling of guns, easing the sorrow of war. More than escape from death, it is a way of life. More than a haven for the weary, it is a hope for the brave.
52. This is the hope that beckons us onward in this century of trial. This is the work that awaits us all, to be done with bravery, with charity, and with prayer to Almighty God.
53. My citizens--I thank you.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=9600>.

## Harry S. Truman

XXXIII. President of the U.S.A: 1945-1953

### Inaugural Address

January 20, 1949

1. Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, fellow citizens:
2. I accept with humility the honor which the American people have conferred upon me. I accept it with a resolve to do all that I can for the welfare of this Nation and for the peace of the world.
3. In performing the duties of my office, I need the help and the prayers of every one of you. I ask for your encouragement and for your support. The tasks we face are difficult. We can accomplish them only if we work together.
4. 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.
5. It may be our lot to experience, and in a large measure 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.
6. 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.
7. 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.
8. 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 a right to freedom of thought and expression. We believe that all men are created equal because they are created in the image of God.
9. From this faith we will not be moved.
10. 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. Above 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.
11. 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.
12. That regime adheres to a false philosophy which purports to offer freedom, security, and greater opportunity to mankind. Misled by that philosophy, many peoples have sacrificed their liberties only to learn to their sorrow that deceit and mockery, poverty and tyranny, are their reward.
13. That false philosophy is communism.
14. 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.
15. 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.
16. 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.
17. 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 those abilities of his.
18. Communism maintains that social wrongs can be corrected only by violence.
19. Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change.



20. Communism holds that the world is so widely divided into opposing classes that war is inevitable.
21. Democracy holds that free nations can settle differences justly and maintain a lasting peace.
22. 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.
23. 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.
24. 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 to the world.
25. We have sought no territory. We have imposed our will on none. We have asked for no privileges we would not extend to others.
26. 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.
27. 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.
28. We have encouraged, by precept and example, the expansion of world trade on a sound and fair basis.
29. Almost a year ago, in company with 16 free nations of Europe, we launched the greatest cooperative 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.
30. 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.
31. The initiative is ours.
32. We are moving on with other nations to build an even stronger structure of international order and justice. We shall have as our partners countries which, no longer solely concerned with the problem of national survival, are now working to improve the standards of living of all their people. We are ready to undertake new projects to strengthen a free world.
33. In the coming years, our program for peace and freedom will emphasize four major courses of action.
34. 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.
35. Second, we will continue our programs for world economic recovery.
36. 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.
37. 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.
38. Third, we will strengthen freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression.
39. 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.
40. We have already established such a defense pact for the Western Hemisphere by the treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

41. The primary purpose of these agreements is to provide unmistakable proof of the joint determination of the free countries to resist armed attack from any quarter. Every country participating in these arrangements must contribute all it can to the common defense.
42. If we can make it sufficiently clear, in advance, that any armed attack affecting our national security would be met with overwhelming force, the armed attack might never occur.
43. I hope soon to send to the Senate a treaty respecting the North Atlantic security plan.
44. In addition, we will provide military advice and equipment to free nations which will cooperate with us in the maintenance of peace and security.
45. 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.
46. 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.
47. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve suffering of these people.
48. The United States is pre-eminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. The material resources which we can afford to use for assistance of other peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible.
49. 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.
50. 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.
51. 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 whenever practicable. It must be a worldwide effort for the achievement of peace, plenty, and freedom.
52. With the cooperation of business, private capital, agriculture, and labor in this country, this program can greatly increase the industrial activity in other nations and can raise substantially their standards of living.
53. Such new economic developments must be devised and controlled to the benefit of the peoples of the areas in which they are established. Guarantees to the investor must be balanced by guarantees in the interest of the people whose resources and whose labor go into these developments.
54. The old imperialism--exploitation for foreign profit--has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair-dealing.
55. 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.
56. 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.
57. 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.
58. 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.
59. 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.
60. If we are to be successful in carrying out these policies, it is clear that we must have continued prosperity in this country and we must keep ourselves strong.
61. Slowly but surely we are weaving a world fabric of international security and growing

- prosperity.
62. We are aided by all who wish to live in freedom from fear--even by those who live today in fear under their own governments.
  63. We are aided by all who want relief from lies and propaganda--those who desire truth and sincerity.
  64. We are aided by all who desire self-government and a voice in deciding their own affairs.
  65. We are aided by all who long for economic security--for the security and abundance that men in free societies can enjoy.
  66. We are aided by all who desire freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom to live their own lives for useful ends.
  67. Our allies are the millions who hunger and thirst after righteousness.
  68. In due time, as our stability becomes manifest, as more and more nations come to know the benefits of democracy and to participate in growing abundance, I believe that those countries which now oppose us will abandon their delusions and join with the free nations of the world in a just settlement of international differences.
  69. Events have brought our American democracy to new influence and new responsibilities. They will test our courage, our devotion to duty, and our concept of liberty.
  70. But I say to all men, what we have achieved in liberty, we will surpass in greater liberty.
  71. Steadfast in our faith in the Almighty, we will advance toward a world where man's freedom is secure.
  72. To that end we will devote our strength, our resources, and our firmness of resolve. With God's help, the future of mankind will be assured in a world of justice, harmony, and peace.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13282>.

## **Herbert Hoover**

XXXI. President of the U.S.A: 1929-1933

### **Inaugural Address**

March 4, 1929

1. My countrymen:
2. This occasion is not alone the administration of the most sacred oath which can be assumed by an American citizen. It is a dedication and consecration under God to the highest office in service of our people. I assume this trust in the humility of knowledge that only through the guidance of Almighty Providence can I hope to discharge its ever-increasing burdens.
3. It is in keeping with tradition throughout our history that I should express simply and directly the opinions which I hold concerning some of the matters of present importance.
4. If we survey the situation of our Nation both at home and abroad, we find many satisfactions; we find some causes for concern. We have emerged from the losses of the Great War and the reconstruction following it with increased virility and strength. From this strength we have contributed to the recovery and progress of the world. What America has done has given renewed hope and courage to all who have faith in government by the people. In the large view, we have reached a higher degree of comfort and security than ever existed before in the history of the world. Through liberation from widespread poverty we have reached a higher degree of individual freedom than ever before. The devotion to and concern for our institutions are deep and sincere. We are steadily building a new race--a new civilization great in its own attainments. The influence and high purposes of our Nation are respected among the peoples of the world. We aspire to distinction in the world, but to a distinction based upon confidence in our sense of justice as well as our accomplishments within our own borders and in our own lives. For wise guidance in this great period of recovery the Nation is deeply indebted to Calvin Coolidge.
5. But all this majestic advance should not obscure the constant dangers from which self-government must be safeguarded. The strong man must at all times be alert to the attack of insidious disease.

6. The most malign of all these dangers today is disregard and disobedience of law. Crime is increasing. Confidence in rigid and speedy justice is decreasing. I am not prepared to believe that this indicates any decay in the moral fibre of the American people. I am not prepared to believe that it indicates an impotence of the Federal Government to enforce its laws.
7. It is only in part due to the additional burdens imposed upon our judicial system by the 18th amendment.<sup>1</sup> The problem is much wider than that. Many influences had increasingly complicated and weakened our law enforcement organization long before the adoption of the 18th amendment.
8. To reestablish the vigor and effectiveness of law enforcement we must critically consider the entire Federal machinery of justice, the redistribution of its functions, the simplification of its procedure, the provision of additional special tribunals, the better selection of juries, and the more effective organization of our agencies of investigation and prosecution that justice may be sure and that it may be swift. While the authority of the Federal Government extends to but part of our vast system of national, State, and local justice, yet the standards which the Federal Government establishes have the most profound influence upon the whole structure.
9. We are fortunate in the ability and integrity of our Federal judges and attorneys. But the system which these officers are called upon to administer is in many respects ill adapted to present-day conditions. Its intricate and involved rules of procedure have become the refuge of both big and little criminals. There is a belief abroad that by invoking technicalities, subterfuge, and delay, the ends of justice may be thwarted by those who can pay the cost.
10. Reform, reorganization, and strengthening of our whole judicial and enforcement system, both in civil and criminal sides, have been advocated for years by statesmen, judges, and bar associations. First steps toward that end should not longer be delayed. Rigid and expeditious justice is the first safeguard of freedom, the basis of all ordered liberty, the vital force of progress. It must not come to be in our Republic that it can be defeated by the indifference of the citizens, by exploitation of the delays and entanglements of the law, or by combinations of criminals. Justice must not fail because the agencies of enforcement are either delinquent or inefficiently organized. To consider these evils, to find their remedy, is the most sore necessity of our times.
11. Of the undoubted abuses which have grown up under the 18th amendment, part are due to the causes I have just mentioned; but part are due to the failure of some States to accept their share of responsibility for concurrent enforcement and to the failure of many State and local officials to accept the obligation under their oath of office zealously to enforce the laws. With the failures from these many causes has come a dangerous expansion in the criminal elements who have found enlarged opportunities in dealing in illegal liquor.
12. But a large responsibility rests directly upon our citizens. There would be little traffic in illegal liquor if only criminals patronized it. We must awake to the fact that this patronage from large numbers of law-abiding citizens is supplying the rewards and stimulating crime.
13. I have been selected by you to execute and enforce the laws of the country. I propose to do so to the extent of my own abilities, but the measure of success that the Government shall attain will depend upon the moral support which you, as citizens, extend. The duty of citizens to support the laws of the land is coequal with the duty of their Government to enforce the laws which exist. No greater national service can be given by men and women of good will--who, I know, are not unmindful of the responsibilities of citizenship--than that they should, by their example, assist in stamping out crime and outlawry by refusing participation in and condemning all transactions with illegal liquor. Our whole system of self-government will crumble either if officials elect what laws they will enforce or citizens elect what laws they will support. The worst evil of disregard for some law is that it destroys respect for all law. For our citizens to patronize the violation of a particular law on the ground that they are opposed to it is destructive of the very basis of all that protection of life, of homes and property which they rightly claim under other laws. If citizens do not like a law, their duty as honest men and women is to discourage its violation; their right is openly to work for its repeal.
14. To those of criminal mind there can be no appeal but vigorous enforcement of the law. Fortunately they are but a small percentage of our people. Their activities must be stopped.

15. I propose to appoint a national commission for a searching investigation of the whole structure of our Federal system of jurisprudence, to include the method of enforcement of the 18th amendment and the causes of abuse under it. Its purpose will be to make such recommendations for reorganization of the administration of Federal laws and court procedure as may be found desirable. In the meantime it is essential that a large part of the enforcement activities be transferred from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice as a beginning of more effective organization.<sup>2</sup>
16. The election has again confirmed the determination of the American people that regulation of private enterprise and not Government ownership or operation is the course rightly to be pursued in our relation to business. In recent years we have established a differentiation in the whole method of business regulation between the industries which produce and distribute commodities on the one hand and public utilities on the other. In the former, our laws insist upon effective competition; in the latter, because we substantially confer a monopoly by limiting competition, we must regulate their services and rates. The rigid enforcement of the laws applicable to both groups is the very base of equal opportunity and freedom from domination for all our people, and it is just as essential for the stability and prosperity of business itself as for the protection of the public at large. Such regulation should be extended by the Federal Government within the limitations of the Constitution and only when the individual States are without power to protect their citizens through their own authority. On the other hand, we should be fearless when the authority rests only in the Federal Government.
17. The larger purpose of our economic thought should be to establish more firmly stability and security of business and employment and thereby remove poverty still further from our borders. Our people have in recent years developed a new-found capacity for cooperation among themselves to effect high purposes in public welfare. It is an advance toward the highest conception of self-government. Self-government does not and should not imply the use of political agencies alone. Progress is born of cooperation in the community--not from governmental restraints. The Government should assist and encourage these movements of collective self-help by itself cooperating with them. Business has by cooperation made great progress in the advancement of service, in stability, in regularity of employment, and in the correction of its own abuses. Such progress, however, can continue only so long as business manifests its respect for law.
18. There is an equally important field of cooperation by the Federal Government with the multitude of agencies, State, municipal, and private, in the systematic development of those processes which directly affect public health, recreation, education, and the home. We have need further to perfect the means by which Government can be adapted to human service.
19. Although education is primarily a responsibility of the States and local communities, and rightly so, yet the Nation as a whole is vitally concerned in its development everywhere to the highest standards and to complete universality. Self-government can succeed only through an instructed electorate. Our objective is not simply to overcome illiteracy. The Nation has marched far beyond that. The more complex the problems of the Nation become, the greater is the need for more and more advanced instruction. Moreover, as our numbers increase and as our life expands with science and invention, we must discover more and more leaders for every walk of life. We cannot hope to succeed in directing this increasingly complex civilization unless we can draw all the talent of leadership from the whole people. One civilization after another has been wrecked upon the attempt to secure sufficient leadership from a single group or class. If we would prevent the growth of class distinctions and would constantly refresh our leadership with the ideals of our people, we must draw constantly from the general mass. The full opportunity for every boy and girl to rise through the selective processes of education can alone secure to us this leadership.
20. In public health the discoveries of science have opened a new era. Many sections of our country and many groups of our citizens suffer from diseases the eradication of which are mere matters of administration and moderate expenditure. Public health service should be as fully organized and as universally incorporated into our governmental system as is public education. The returns are a thousandfold in economic benefits, and infinitely more in reduction of suffering and promotion of human happiness.

21. The United States fully accepts the profound truth that our own progress, prosperity, and peace are interlocked with the progress, prosperity, and peace of all humanity. The whole world is at peace. The dangers to a continuation of this peace today are largely the fear and suspicion which still haunt the world. No suspicion or fear can be rightly directed toward our country.
22. Those who have a true understanding of America know that we have no desire for territorial expansion, for economic or other domination of other peoples. Such purposes are repugnant to our ideals of human freedom. Our form of government is ill adapted to the responsibilities which inevitably follow permanent limitation of the independence of other peoples. Superficial observers seem to find no destiny for our abounding increase in population, in wealth and power except that of imperialism. They fail to see that the American people are engrossed in the building for themselves of a new economic system, a new social system, a new political system--all of which are characterized by aspirations of freedom of opportunity and thereby are the negation of imperialism. They fail to realize that because of our abounding prosperity our youth are pressing more and more into our institutions of learning; that our people are seeking a larger vision through art, literature, science, and travel; that they are moving toward stronger moral and spiritual life--that from these things our sympathies are broadening beyond the bounds of our Nation and race toward their true expression in a real brotherhood of man. They fail to see that the idealism of America will lead it to no narrow or selfish channel, but inspire it to do its full share as a Nation toward the advancement of civilization. It will do that not by mere declaration but by taking a practical part in supporting all useful international undertakings. We not only desire peace with the world, but to see peace maintained throughout the world. We wish to advance the reign of justice and reason toward the extinction of force.
23. The recent treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy sets an advanced standard in our conception of the relations of nations. Its acceptance should pave the way to greater limitation of armament, the offer of which we sincerely extend to the world. But its full realization also implies a greater and greater perfection in the instrumentalities for pacific settlement of controversies between nations. In the creation and use of these instrumentalities we should support every sound method of conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement. American statesmen were among the first to propose, and they have constantly urged upon the world, the establishment of a tribunal for the settlement of controversies of a justiciable character. The Permanent Court of International Justice in its major purpose is thus peculiarly identified with American ideals and with American statesmanship. No more potent instrumentality for this purpose has ever been conceived and no other is practicable of establishment. The reservations placed upon our adherence should not be misinterpreted. The United States seeks by these reservations no special privilege or advantage but only to clarify our relation to advisory opinions and other matters which are subsidiary to the major purpose of the Court. The way should, and I believe will, be found by which we may take our proper place in a movement so fundamental to the progress of peace.
24. Our people have determined that we should make no political engagements such as membership in the League of Nations, which may commit us in advance as a nation to become involved in the settlements of controversies between other countries. They adhere to the belief that the independence of America from such obligations increases its ability and availability for service in all fields of human progress.
25. I have lately returned from a journey among our sister Republics of the Western Hemisphere.<sup>3</sup> I have received unbounded hospitality and courtesy as their expression of friendliness to our country. We are held by particular bonds of sympathy and common interest with them. They are each of them building a racial character and a culture which is an impressive contribution to human progress. We wish only for the maintenance of their independence, the growth of their stability and their prosperity. While we have had wars in the Western Hemisphere, yet on the whole the record is in encouraging contrast with that of other parts of the world. Fortunately the New World is largely free from the inheritances of fear and distrust which have so troubled the Old World. We should keep it so.
26. It is impossible, my countrymen, to speak of peace without profound emotion. In thousands of homes in America, in millions of homes around the world, there are vacant chairs. It would be a shameful confession of our unworthiness if it should develop that we have

- abandoned the hope for which all these men died. Surely civilization is old enough, surely mankind is mature enough so that we ought in our own lifetime to find a way to permanent peace. Abroad, to west and east, are nations whose sons mingled their blood with the blood of our sons on the battlefields. Most of these nations have contributed to our race, to our culture, our knowledge, and our progress. From one of them we derive our very language and from many of them much of the genius of our institutions. Their desire for peace is as deep and sincere as our own.
27. Peace can be contributed to by respect for our ability in defense. Peace can be promoted by the limitation of arms and by the creation of the instrumentalities for peaceful settlement of controversies. But it will become a reality only through self-restraint and active effort in friendliness and helpfulness. I covet for this administration a record of having further contributed to advance the cause of peace.
  28. In our form of democracy the expression of the popular will can be effected only through the instrumentality of political parties. We maintain party government not to promote intolerant partisanship but because opportunity must be given for expression of the popular will, and organization provided for the execution of its mandates and for accountability of government to the people. It follows that the government both in the executive and the legislative branches must carry out in good faith the platforms upon which the party was entrusted with power. But the government is that of the whole people; the party is the instrument through which policies are determined and men chosen to bring them into being. The animosities of elections should have no place in our Government for government must concern itself alone with the common weal.
  29. Action upon some of the proposals upon which the Republican Party was returned to power, particularly further agricultural relief and limited changes in the tariff, cannot in justice to our farmers, our labor, and our manufacturers be postponed. I shall therefore request a special session of Congress for the consideration of these two questions. I shall deal with each of them upon the assembly of the Congress.
  30. It appears to me that the more important further mandates from the recent election were the maintenance of the integrity of the Constitution; the vigorous enforcement of the laws; the continuance of economy in public expenditure; the continued regulation of business to prevent domination in the community; the denial of ownership or operation of business by the Government in competition with its citizens; the avoidance of policies which would involve us in the controversies of foreign nations; the more effective reorganization of the departments of the Federal Government; the expansion of public works; and the promotion of welfare activities affecting education and the home.
  31. These were the more tangible determinations of the election, but beyond them was the confidence and belief of the people that we would not neglect the support of the embedded ideals and aspirations of America. These ideals and aspirations are the touchstones upon which the day-to-day administration and legislative acts of government must be tested. More than this, the Government must, so far as lies within its proper powers, give leadership to the realization of these ideals and to the fruition of these aspirations. No one can adequately reduce these things of the spirit to phrases or to a catalogue of definitions. We do know what the attainments of these ideals should be: the preservation of self-government and its full foundations in local government; the perfection of justice whether in economic or in social fields; the maintenance of ordered liberty; the denial of domination by any group or class; the building up and preservation of equality of opportunity; the stimulation of initiative and individuality; absolute integrity in public affairs; the choice of officials for fitness to office; the direction of economic progress toward prosperity and the further lessening of poverty; the freedom of public opinion; the sustaining of education and of the advancement of knowledge; the growth of religious spirit and the tolerance of all faiths; the strengthening of the home; the advancement of peace.
  32. There is no short road to the realization of these aspirations. Ours is a progressive people, but with a determination that progress must be based upon the foundation of experience. Ill-considered remedies for our faults bring only penalties after them. But if we hold the faith of the men in our mighty past who created these ideals, we shall leave them heightened and strengthened for our children.
  33. This is not the time and place for extended discussion. The questions before our country are problems of progress to higher standards; they are not the problems of degeneration.

They demand thought and they serve to quicken the conscience and enlist our sense of responsibility for their settlement. And that responsibility rests upon you, my countrymen, as much as upon those of us who have been selected for office.

34. Ours is a land rich in resources, stimulating in its glorious beauty, filled with millions of happy homes, blessed with comfort and opportunity. In no nation are the institutions of progress more advanced. In no nation are the fruits of accomplishment more secure. In no nation is the government more worthy of respect. No country is more loved by its people. I have an abiding faith in their capacity, integrity, and high purpose. I have no fears for the future of our country. It is bright with hope.
35. In the presence of my countrymen, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, knowing what the task means and the responsibility which it involves, I beg your tolerance, your aid, and your cooperation. I ask the help of Almighty God in this service to my country to which you have called me.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=21804>.

## **Calvin Coolidge**

XXX. President of the U.S.A: 1923-1929

### **Inaugural Address**

March 4, 1925

1. My Countrymen:
2. No one can contemplate current conditions without finding much that is satisfying and still more that is encouraging. Our own country is leading the world in the general readjustment to the results of the great conflict. Many of its burdens will bear heavily upon us for years, and the secondary and indirect effects we must expect to experience for some time. But we are beginning to comprehend more definitely what course should be pursued, what remedies ought to be applied, what actions should be taken for our deliverance, and are clearly manifesting a determined will faithfully and conscientiously to adopt these methods of relief. Already we have sufficiently rearranged our domestic affairs so that confidence has returned, business has revived, and we appear to be entering an era of prosperity which is gradually reaching into every part of the Nation. Realizing that we can not live unto ourselves alone, we have contributed of our resources and our counsel to the relief of the suffering and the settlement of the disputes among the European nations. Because of what America is and what America has done, a firmer courage, a higher hope, inspires the heart of all humanity.
3. These results have not occurred by mere chance. They have been secured by a constant and enlightened effort marked by many sacrifices and extending over many generations. We can not continue these brilliant successes in the future, unless we continue to learn from the past. It is necessary to keep the former experiences of our country both at home and abroad continually before us, if we are to have any science of government. If we wish to erect new structures, we must have a definite knowledge of the old foundations. We must realize that human nature is about the most constant thing in the universe and that the essentials of human relationship do not change. We must frequently take our bearings from these fixed stars of our political firmament if we expect to hold a true course. If we examine carefully what we have done, we can determine the more accurately what we can do.
4. We stand at the opening of the one hundred and fiftieth year since our national consciousness first asserted itself by unmistakable action with an array of force. The old sentiment of detached and dependent colonies disappeared in the new sentiment of a united and independent Nation. Men began to discard the narrow confines of a local charter for the broader opportunities of a national constitution. Under the eternal urge of freedom we became an independent Nation.
5. A little less than 50 years later that freedom and independence were reasserted in the face of all the world, and guarded, supported, and secured by the Monroe doctrine. The narrow



- fringe of States along the Atlantic seaboard advanced its frontiers across the hills and plains of an intervening continent until it passed down the golden slope to the Pacific. We made freedom a birthright. We extended our domain over distant islands in order to safeguard our own interests and accepted the consequent obligation to bestow justice and liberty upon less favored peoples. In the defense of our own ideals and in the general cause of liberty we entered the Great War. When victory had been fully secured, we withdrew to our own shores unrecompensed save in the consciousness of duty done.
6. Throughout all these experiences we have enlarged our freedom, we have strengthened our independence. We have been, and propose to be, more and more American. We believe that we can best serve our own country and most successfully discharge our obligations to humanity by continuing to be openly and candidly, intensely and scrupulously, American. If we have any heritage, it has been that. If we have any destiny, we have found it in that direction.
  7. But if we wish to continue to be distinctively American, we must continue to make that term comprehensive enough to embrace the legitimate desires of a civilized and enlightened people determined in all their relations to pursue a conscientious and religious life. We can not permit ourselves to be narrowed and dwarfed by slogans and phrases. It is not the adjective, but the substantive, which is of real importance. It is not the name of the action, but the result of the action, which is the chief concern. It will be well not to be too much disturbed by the thought of either isolation or entanglement of pacifists and militarists. The physical configuration of the earth has separated us from all of the Old World, but the common brotherhood of man, the highest law of all our being, has united us by inseparable bonds with all humanity. Our country represents nothing but peaceful intentions toward all the earth, but it ought not to fail to maintain such a military force as comports with the dignity and security of a great people. It ought to be a balanced force, intensely modern, capable of defense by sea and land, beneath the surface and in the air. But it should be so conducted that all the world may see in it, not a menace, but an instrument of security and peace.
  8. This Nation believes thoroughly in an honorable peace under which the rights of its citizens are to be everywhere protected. It has never found that the necessary enjoyment of such a peace could be maintained only by a great and threatening array of arms. In common with other nations, it is now more determined than ever to promote peace through friendliness and good will, through mutual understandings and mutual forbearance. We have never practiced the policy of competitive armaments. We have recently committed ourselves by covenants with the other great nations to a limitation of our sea power. As one result of this, our Navy ranks larger, in comparison, than it ever did before. Removing the burden of expense and jealousy, which must always accrue from a keen rivalry, is one of the most effective methods of diminishing that unreasonable hysteria and misunderstanding which are the most potent means of fomenting war. This policy represents a new departure in the world. It is a thought, an ideal, which has led to an entirely new line of action. It will not be easy to maintain. Some never moved from their old positions, some are constantly slipping back to the old ways of thought and the old action of seizing a musket and relying on force. America has taken the lead in this new direction, and that lead America must continue to hold. If we expect others to rely on our fairness and justice we must show that we rely on their fairness and justice.
  9. If we are to judge by past experience, there is much to be hoped for in international relations from frequent conferences and consultations. We have before us the beneficial results of the Washington conference and the various consultations recently held upon European affairs, some of which were in response to our suggestions and in some of which we were active participants. Even the failures can not but be accounted useful and an immeasurable advance over threatened or actual warfare. I am strongly in favor of continuation of this policy, whenever conditions are such that there is even a promise that practical and favorable results might be secured.
  10. In conformity with the principle that a display of reason rather than a threat of force should be the determining factor in the intercourse among nations, we have long advocated the peaceful settlement of disputes by methods of arbitration and have negotiated many treaties to secure that result. The same considerations should lead to our adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Where great principles are involved, where great

movements are under way which promise much for the welfare of humanity by reason of the very fact that many other nations have given such movements their actual support, we ought not to withhold our own sanction because of any small and inessential difference, but only upon the ground of the most important and compelling fundamental reasons. We can not barter away our independence or our sovereignty, but we ought to engage in no refinements of logic, no sophistries, and no subterfuges, to argue away the undoubted duty of this country by reason of the might of its numbers, the power of its resources, and its position of leadership in the world, actively and comprehensively to signify its approval and to bear its full share of the responsibility of a candid and disinterested attempt at the establishment of a tribunal for the administration of even-handed justice between nation and nation. The weight of our enormous influence must be cast upon the side of a reign not of force but of law and trial, not by battle but by reason.

11. We have never any wish to interfere in the political conditions of any other countries. Especially are we determined not to become implicated in the political controversies of the Old World. With a great deal of hesitation, we have responded to appeals for help to maintain order, protect life and property, and establish responsible government in some of the small countries of the Western Hemisphere. Our private citizens have advanced large sums of money to assist in the necessary financing and relief of the Old World. We have not failed, nor shall we fail to respond, whenever necessary to mitigate human suffering and assist in the rehabilitation of distressed nations. These, too, are requirements which must be met by reason of our vast powers and the place we hold in the world.
12. Some of the best thought of mankind has long been seeking for a formula for permanent peace. Undoubtedly the clarification of the principles of international law would be helpful, and the efforts of scholars to prepare such a work for adoption by the various nations should have our sympathy and support. Much may be hoped for from the earnest studies of those who advocate the outlawing of aggressive war. But all these plans and preparations, these treaties and covenants, will not of themselves be adequate. One of the greatest dangers to peace lies in the economic pressure to which people find themselves subjected. One of the most practical things to be done in the world is to seek arrangements under which such pressure may be removed, so that opportunity may be renewed and hope may be revived. There must be some assurance that effort and endeavor will be followed by success and prosperity. In the making and financing of such adjustments there is not only an opportunity, but a real duty, for America to respond with her counsel and her resources. Conditions must be provided under which people can make a living and work out of their difficulties. But there is another element, more important than all, without which there can not be the slightest hope of a permanent peace. That element lies in the heart of humanity. Unless the desire for peace be cherished there, unless this fundamental and only natural source of brotherly love be cultivated to its highest degree, all artificial efforts will be in vain. Peace will come when there is realization that only under a reign of law, based on righteousness and supported by the religious conviction of the brotherhood of man, can there be any hope of a complete and satisfying life. Parchment will fail, the sword will fail, it is only the spiritual nature of man that can be triumphant.
13. It seems altogether probable that we can contribute most to these important objects by maintaining our position of political detachment and independence. We are not identified with any Old World interests. This position should be made more and more clear in our relations with all foreign countries. We are at peace with all of them. Our program is never to oppress, but always to assist. But while we do justice to others, we must require that justice be done to us. With us a treaty of peace means peace, and a treaty of amity means amity. We have made great contributions to the settlement of contentious differences in both Europe and Asia. But there is a very definite point beyond which we can not go. We can only help those who help themselves. Mindful of these limitations, the one great duty that stands out requires us to use our enormous powers to trim the balance of the world.
14. While we can look with a great deal of pleasure upon what we have done abroad, we must remember that our continued success in that direction depends upon what we do at home. Since its very outset, it has been found necessary to conduct our Government by means of political parties. That system would not have survived from generation to generation if it had not been fundamentally sound and provided the best instrumentalities for the most complete expression of the popular will. It is not necessary to claim that it has always

worked perfectly. It is enough to know that nothing better has been devised. No one would deny that there should be full and free expression and an opportunity for independence of action within the party. There is no salvation in a narrow and bigoted partisanship. But if there is to be responsible party government, the party label must be something more than a mere device for securing office. Unless those who are elected under the same party designation are willing to assume sufficient responsibility and exhibit sufficient loyalty and coherence, so that they can cooperate with each other in the support of the broad general principles, of the party platform, the election is merely a mockery, no decision is made at the polls, and there is no representation of the popular will. Common honesty and good faith with the people who support a party at the polls require that party, when it enters office, to assume the control of that portion of the Government to which it has been elected. Any other course is bad faith and a violation of the party pledges.

15. When the country has bestowed its confidence upon a party by making it a majority in the Congress, it has a right to expect such unity of action as will make the party majority an effective instrument of government. This Administration has come into power with a very clear and definite mandate from the people. The expression of the popular will in favor of maintaining our constitutional guarantees was overwhelming and decisive. There was a manifestation of such faith in the integrity of the courts that we can consider that issue rejected for some time to come. Likewise, the policy of public ownership of railroads and certain electric utilities met with unmistakable defeat. The people declared that they wanted their rights to have not a political but a judicial determination, and their independence and freedom continued and supported by having the ownership and control of their property, not in the Government, but in their own hands. As they always do when they have a fair chance, the people demonstrated that they are sound and are determined to have a sound government.
16. When we turn from what was rejected to inquire what was accepted, the policy that stands out with the greatest clearness is that of economy in public expenditure with reduction and reform of taxation. The principle involved in this effort is that of conservation. The resources of this country are almost beyond computation. No mind can comprehend them. But the cost of our combined governments is likewise almost beyond definition. Not only those who are now making their tax returns, but those who meet the enhanced cost of existence in their monthly bills, know by hard experience what this great burden is and what it does. No matter what others may want, these people want a drastic economy. They are opposed to waste. They know that extravagance lengthens the hours and diminishes the rewards of their labor. I favor the policy of economy, not because I wish to save money, but because I wish to save people. The men and women of this country who toil are the ones who bear the cost of the Government. Every dollar that we carelessly waste means that their life will be so much the more meager. Every dollar that we prudently save means that their life will be so much the more abundant. Economy is idealism in its most practical form.
17. If extravagance were not reflected in taxation, and through taxation both directly and indirectly injuriously affecting the people, it would not be of so much consequence. The wisest and soundest method of solving our tax problem is through economy. Fortunately, of all the great nations this country is best in a position to adopt that simple remedy. We do not any longer need wartime revenues. The collection of any taxes which are not absolutely required, which do not beyond reasonable doubt contribute to the public welfare, is only a species of legalized larceny. Under this republic the rewards of industry belong to those who earn them. The only constitutional tax is the tax which ministers to public necessity. The property of the country belongs to the people of the country. Their title is absolute. They do not support any privileged class; they do not need to maintain great military forces; they ought not to be burdened with a great array of public employees. They are not required to make any contribution to Government expenditures except that which they voluntarily assess upon themselves through the action of their own representatives. Whenever taxes become burdensome a remedy can be applied by the people; but if they do not act for themselves, no one can be very successful in acting for them.
18. The time is arriving when we can have further tax reduction, when, unless we wish to hamper the people in their right to earn a living, we must have tax reform. The method of raising revenue ought not to impede the transaction of business; it ought to encourage it. I

am opposed to extremely high rates, because they produce little or no revenue, because they are bad for the country, and, finally, because they are wrong. We can not finance the country, we can not improve social conditions, through any system of injustice, even if we attempt to inflict it upon the rich. Those who suffer the most harm will be the poor. This country believes in prosperity. It is absurd to suppose that it is envious of those who are already prosperous. The wise and correct course to follow in taxation and all other economic legislation is not to destroy those who have already secured success but to create conditions under which every one will have a better chance to be successful. The verdict of the country has been given on this question. That verdict stands. We shall do well to heed it.

19. These questions involve moral issues. We need not concern ourselves much about the rights of property if we will faithfully observe the rights of persons. Under our institutions their rights are supreme. It is not property but the right to hold property, both great and small, which our Constitution guarantees. All owners of property are charged with a service. These rights and duties have been revealed, through the conscience of society, to have a divine sanction. The very stability of our society rests upon production and conservation. For individuals or for governments to waste and squander their resources is to deny these rights and disregard these obligations. The result of economic dissipation to a nation is always moral decay.
20. These policies of better international understandings, greater economy, and lower taxes have contributed largely to peaceful and prosperous industrial relations. Under the helpful influences of restrictive immigration and a protective tariff, employment is plentiful, the rate of pay is high, and wage earners are in a state of contentment seldom before seen. Our transportation systems have been gradually recovering and have been able to meet all the requirements of the service. Agriculture has been very slow in reviving, but the price of cereals at last indicates that the day of its deliverance is at hand.
21. We are not without our problems, but our most important problem is not to secure new advantages but to maintain those which we already possess. Our system of government made up of three separate and independent departments, our divided sovereignty composed of Nation and State, the matchless wisdom that is enshrined in our Constitution, all these need constant effort and tireless vigilance for their protection and support.
22. In a republic the first rule for the guidance of the citizen is obedience to law. Under a despotism the law may be imposed upon the subject. He has no voice in its making, no influence in its administration, it does not represent him. Under a free government the citizen makes his own laws, chooses his own administrators, which do represent him. Those who want their rights respected under the Constitution and the law ought to set the example themselves of observing the Constitution and the law. While there may be those of high intelligence who violate the law at times, the barbarian and the defective always violate it. Those who disregard the rules of society are not exhibiting a superior intelligence, are not promoting freedom and independence, are not following the path of civilization, but are displaying the traits of ignorance, of servitude, of savagery, and treading the way that leads back to the jungle.
23. The essence of a republic is representative government. Our Congress represents the people and the States. In all legislative affairs it is the natural collaborator with the President. In spite of all the criticism which often falls to its lot, I do not hesitate to say that there is no more independent and effective legislative body in the world. It is, and should be, jealous of its prerogative. I welcome its cooperation, and expect to share with it not only the responsibility, but the credit, for our common effort to secure beneficial legislation.
24. These are some of the principles which America represents. We have not by any means put them fully into practice, but we have strongly signified our belief in them. The encouraging feature of our country is not that it has reached its destination, but that it has overwhelmingly expressed its determination to proceed in the right direction. It is true that we could, with profit, be less sectional and more national in our thought. It would be well if we could replace much that is only a false and ignorant prejudice with a true and enlightened pride of race. But the last election showed that appeals to class and nationality had little effect. We were all found loyal to a common citizenship. The fundamental precept of liberty is toleration. We can not permit any inquisition either within or without the law or apply any religious test to the holding of office. The mind of America must be forever free.

25. It is in such contemplations, my fellow countrymen, which are not exhaustive but only representative, that I find ample warrant for satisfaction and encouragement. We should not let the much that is to do obscure the much which has been done. The past and present show faith and hope and courage fully justified. Here stands our country, an example of tranquillity at home, a patron of tranquillity abroad. Here stands its Government, aware of its might but obedient to its conscience. Here it will continue to stand, seeking peace and prosperity, solicitous for the welfare of the wage earner, promoting enterprise, developing waterways and natural resources, attentive to the intuitive counsel of womanhood, encouraging education, desiring the advancement of religion, supporting the cause of justice and honor among the nations. America seeks no earthly empire built on blood and force. No ambition, no temptation, lures her to thought of foreign dominions. The legions which she sends forth are armed, not with the sword, but with the cross. The higher state to which she seeks the allegiance of all mankind is not of human, but of divine origin. She cherishes no purpose save to merit the favor of Almighty God.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25834>.

## **Woodrow Wilson**

XXVIII. President of the U.S.A: 1913-1921

### **Inaugural Address**

March 4, 1917

1. The four years which have elapsed since last I stood in this place have been crowded with counsel and action of the most vital interest and consequence. Perhaps no equal period in our history has been so fruitful of important reforms in our economic and industrial life or so full of significant changes in the spirit and purpose of our political action. We have sought very thoughtfully to set our house in order, correct the grosser errors and abuses of our industrial life, liberate and quicken the processes of our national genius and energy, and lift our politics to a broader view of the people's essential interests.
2. It is a record of singular variety and singular distinction. But I shall not attempt to review it. It speaks for itself and will be of increasing influence as the years go by. This is not the time for retrospect. It is time rather to speak our thoughts and purposes concerning the present and the immediate future.
3. Although we have centered counsel and action with such unusual concentration and success upon the great problems of domestic legislation to which we addressed ourselves four years ago, other matters have more and more forced themselves upon our attention-- matters lying outside our own life as a nation and over which we had no control, but which, despite our wish to keep free of them, have drawn us more and more irresistibly into their own current and influence.
4. It has been impossible to avoid them. They have affected the life of the whole world. They have shaken men everywhere with a passion and an apprehension they never knew before. It has been hard to preserve calm counsel while the thought of our own people swayed this way and that under their influence. We are a composite and cosmopolitan people. We are of the blood of all the nations that are at war. The currents of our thoughts as well as the currents of our trade run quick at all seasons back and forth between us and them. The war inevitably set its mark from the first alike upon our minds, our industries, our commerce, our politics and our social action. To be indifferent to it, or independent of it, was out of the question.
5. And yet all the while we have been conscious that we were not part of it. In that consciousness, despite many divisions, we have drawn closer together. We have been deeply wronged upon the seas, but we have not wished to wrong or injure in return; have retained throughout the consciousness of standing in some sort apart, intent upon an interest that transcended the immediate issues of the war itself.

6. As some of the injuries done us have become intolerable we have still been clear that we wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind--fair dealing, justice, the freedom to live and to be at ease against organized wrong.
7. It is in this spirit and with this thought that we have grown more and more aware, more and more certain that the part we wished to play was the part of those who mean to vindicate and fortify peace. We have been obliged to arm ourselves to make good our claim to a certain minimum of right and of freedom of action. We stand firm in armed neutrality since it seems that in no other way we can demonstrate what it is we insist upon and cannot forget. We may even be drawn on, by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire, to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself. But nothing will alter our thought or our purpose. They are too clear to be obscured. They are too deeply rooted in the principles of our national life to be altered. We desire neither conquest nor advantage. We wish nothing that can be had only at the cost of another people. We always professed unselfish purpose and we covet the opportunity to prove our professions are sincere.
8. There are many things still to be done at home, to clarify our own politics and add new vitality to the industrial processes of our own life, and we shall do them as time and opportunity serve, but we realize that the greatest things that remain to be done must be done with the whole world for stage and in cooperation with the wide and universal forces of mankind, and we are making our spirits ready for those things.
9. We are provincials no longer. The tragic events of the thirty months of vital turmoil through which we have just passed have made us citizens of the world. There can be no turning back. Our own fortunes as a nation are involved whether we would have it so or not.
10. And yet we are not the less Americans on that account. We shall be the more American if we but remain true to the principles in which we have been bred. They are not the principles of a province or of a single continent. We have known and boasted all along that they were the principles of a liberated mankind. These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace:
11. That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance; that the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege; that peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power; that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose or power of the family of nations; that the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms; that national armaments shall be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety; that the community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.
12. I need not argue these principles to you, my fellow countrymen; they are your own part and parcel of your own thinking and your own motives in affairs. They spring up native amongst us. Upon this as a platform of purpose and of action we can stand together. And it is imperative that we should stand together. We are being forged into a new unity amidst the fires that now blaze throughout the world. In their ardent heat we shall, in God's Providence, let us hope, be purged of faction and division, purified of the errant humors of party and of private interest, and shall stand forth in the days to come with a new dignity of national pride and spirit. Let each man see to it that the dedication is in his own heart, the high purpose of the nation in his own mind, ruler of his own will and desire.
13. I stand here and have taken the high and solemn oath to which you have been audience because the people of the United States have chosen me for this august delegation of power and have by their gracious judgment named me their leader in affairs.
14. I know now what the task means. I realize to the full the responsibility which it involves. I pray God I may be given the wisdom and the prudence to do my duty in the true spirit of this great people. I am their servant and can succeed only as they sustain and guide me by their confidence and their counsel. The thing I shall count upon, the thing without which

neither counsel nor action will avail, is the unity of America--an America united in feeling, in purpose and in its vision of duty, of opportunity and of service.

15. We are to beware of all men who would turn the tasks and the necessities of the nation to their own private profit or use them for the building up of private power.
16. United alike in the conception of our duty and in the high resolve to perform it in the face of all men, let us dedicate ourselves to the great task to which we must now set our hand. For myself I beg your tolerance, your countenance and your united aid.
17. The shadows that now lie dark upon our path will soon be dispelled, and we shall walk with the light all about us if we be but true to ourselves--to ourselves as we have wished to be known in the counsels of the world and in the thought of all those who love liberty and justice and the right exalted.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web:  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25832>.

## **Theodore Roosevelt**

XXXVI. President of the U.S.A: 1901-1909

### **Inaugural Address**

March 4, 1905

1. My fellow-citizens,
2. No people on earth have more cause to be thankful than ours, and this is said reverently, in no spirit of boastfulness in our own strength, but with gratitude to the Giver of Good who has blessed us with the conditions which have enabled us to achieve so large a measure of well-being and of happiness.
3. To us as a people it has been granted to lay the foundations of our national life in a new continent. We are the heirs of the ages, and yet we have had to pay few of the penalties which in old countries are exacted by the dead hand of a bygone civilization.
4. We have not been obliged to fight for our existence against any alien race; and yet our life has called for the vigor and effort without which the manlier and hardier virtues wither away. Under such conditions it would be our own fault if we failed; and the success which we have had in the past, the success which we confidently believe the future will bring, should cause in us no feeling of vainglory, but rather a deep and abiding realization of all which life has offered us; a full acknowledgment of the responsibility which is ours; and a fixed determination to show that under a free government a mighty people can thrive best, alike as regards the things of the body and the things of the soul.
5. Much has been given us, and much will rightfully be expected from us. We have duties to others and duties to ourselves; and we can shirk neither. We have become a great nation, forced by the fact of its greatness into relations with the other nations of the earth, and we must behave as beseems a people with such responsibilities.
6. Toward all other nations, large and small, our attitude must be one of cordial and sincere friendship. We must show not only in our words, but in our deeds, that we are earnestly desirous of securing their good will by acting toward them in a spirit of just and generous recognition of all their rights.
7. But justice and generosity in a nation, as in an individual, count most when shown not by the weak but by the strong. While ever careful to refrain from wrongdoing others, we must be no less insistent that we are not wronged ourselves.
8. We wish peace, but we wish the peace of justice, the peace of righteousness. We wish it because we think it is right and not because we are afraid. No weak nation that acts manfully and justly should ever have cause to fear us, and no strong power should ever be able to single us out as a subject for insolent aggression.
9. Our relations with the other powers of the world are important; but still more important are our relations among ourselves. Such growth in wealth, in population, and in power as this nation has seen during the century and a quarter of its national life is inevitably accompanied by a like growth in the problems which are ever before every nation that rises to greatness. Power invariably means both responsibility and danger.

10. Our forefathers faced certain perils which we have outgrown. We now face other perils, the very existence of which it was impossible that they should foresee.
11. Modern life is both complex and intense, and the tremendous changes wrought by the extraordinary industrial development of the last half century are felt in every fiber of our social and political being.
12. Never before have men tried so vast and formidable an experiment as that of administering the affairs of a continent under the forms of a Democratic republic. The conditions which have told for our marvelous material well-being, which have developed to a very high degree our energy, self-reliance, and individual initiative, have also brought the care and anxiety inseparable from the accumulation of great wealth in industrial centers. Upon the success of our experiment much depends, not only as regards our own welfare, but as regards the welfare of mankind.
13. If we fail, the cause of free self-government throughout the world will rock to its foundations, and therefore our responsibility is heavy, to ourselves, to the world as it is today, and to the generations yet unborn.
14. There is no good reason why we should fear the future, but there is every reason why we should face it seriously, neither hiding from ourselves the gravity of the problems before us nor fearing to approach these problems with the unbending, unflinching purpose to solve them aright.
15. Yet, after all, though the problems are new, though the tasks set before us differ from the tasks set before our fathers who founded and preserved this Republic, the spirit in which these tasks must be undertaken and these problems faced, if our duty is to be well done, remains essentially unchanged. We know that self-government is difficult.
16. We know that no people needs such high traits of character as that people which seeks to govern its affairs aright through the freely expressed will of the freemen who compose it. But we have faith that we shall not prove false to the memories of the men of the mighty past.
17. They did their work, they left us the splendid heritage we now enjoy. We in our turn have an assured confidence that we shall be able to leave this heritage unwasted and enlarged to our children and our children's children.
18. To do so we must show, not merely in great crises, but in the everyday affairs of life, the qualities of practical intelligence, of courage, of hardihood, and endurance, and above all the power of devotion to a lofty ideal, which made great the men who founded this Republic in the days of Washington, which made great the men who preserved this Republic in the days of Abraham Lincoln.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25829>.

## **Grover Cleveland**

XXII. President of the U.S.A: 1885-1889

### **Inaugural Address**

March 4, 1885

1. Fellow-Citizens:
2. In the presence of this vast assemblage of my countrymen I am about to supplement and seal by the oath which I shall take the manifestation of the will of a great and free people. In the exercise of their power and right of self-government they have committed to one of their fellow-citizens a supreme and sacred trust, and he here consecrates himself to their service.
3. This impressive ceremony adds little to the solemn sense of responsibility with which I contemplate the duty I owe to all the people of the land. Nothing can relieve me from anxiety lest by any act of mine their interests may suffer, and nothing is needed to strengthen my resolution to engage every faculty and effort in the promotion of their welfare.



4. Amid the din of party strife the people's choice was made, but its attendant circumstances have demonstrated anew the strength and safety of a government by the people. In each succeeding year it more clearly appears that our democratic principle needs no apology, and that in its fearless and faithful application is to be found the surest guaranty of good government.
5. But the best results in the operation of a government wherein every citizen has a share largely depend upon a proper limitation of purely partisan zeal and effort and a correct appreciation of the time when the heat of the partisan should be merged in the patriotism of the citizen.
6. To-day the executive branch of the Government is transferred to new keeping. But this is still the Government of all the people, and it should be none the less an object of their affectionate solicitude. At this hour the animosities of political strife, the bitterness of partisan defeat, and the exultation of partisan triumph should be supplanted by an ungrudging acquiescence in the popular will and a sober, conscientious concern for the general weal. Moreover, if from this hour we cheerfully and honestly abandon all sectional prejudice and distrust, and determine, with manly confidence in one another, to work out harmoniously the achievements of our national destiny, we shall deserve to realize all the benefits which our happy form of government can bestow.
7. On this auspicious occasion we may well renew the pledge of our devotion to the Constitution, which, launched by the founders of the Republic and consecrated by their prayers and patriotic devotion, has for almost a century borne the hopes and the aspirations of a great people through prosperity and peace and through the shock of foreign conflicts and the perils of domestic strife and vicissitudes.
8. By the Father of his Country our Constitution was commended for adoption as "the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession." In that same spirit it should be administered, in order to promote the lasting welfare of the country and to secure the full measure of its priceless benefits to us and to those who will succeed to the blessings of our national life. The large variety of diverse and competing interests subject to Federal control, persistently seeking the recognition of their claims, need give us no fear that "the greatest good to the greatest number" will fail to be accomplished if in the halls of national legislation that spirit of amity and mutual concession shall prevail in which the Constitution had its birth. If this involves the surrender or postponement of private interests and the abandonment of local advantages, compensation will be found in the assurance that the common interest is subserved and the general welfare advanced.
9. In the discharge of my official duty I shall endeavor to be guided by a just and unstrained construction of the Constitution, a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people, and by a cautious appreciation of those functions which by the Constitution and laws have been especially assigned to the executive branch of the Government.
10. But he who takes the oath today to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States only assumes the solemn obligation which every patriotic citizen--on the farm, in the workshop, in the busy marts of trade, and everywhere--should share with him. The Constitution which prescribes his oath, my countrymen, is yours; the Government you have chosen him to administer for a time is yours; the suffrage which executes the will of freemen is yours; the laws and the entire scheme of our civil rule, from the town meeting to the State capitals and the national capital, is yours. Your every voter, as surely as your Chief Magistrate, under the same high sanction, though in a different sphere, exercises a public trust. Nor is this all. Every citizen owes to the country a vigilant watch and close scrutiny of its public servants and a fair and reasonable estimate of their fidelity and usefulness. Thus is the people's will impressed upon the whole framework of our civil polity--municipal, State, and Federal; and this is the price of our liberty and the inspiration of our faith in the Republic.
11. It is the duty of those serving the people in public place to closely limit public expenditures to the actual needs of the Government economically administered, because this bounds the right of the Government to exact tribute from the earnings of labor or the property of the citizen, and because public extravagance begets extravagance among the people. We should never be ashamed of the simplicity and prudential economies which are best suited

to the operation of a republican form of government and most compatible with the mission of the American people. Those who are selected for a limited time to manage public affairs are still of the people, and may do much by their example to encourage, consistently with the dignity of their official functions, that plain way of life which among their fellow-citizens aids integrity and promotes thrift and prosperity.

12. The genius of our institutions, the needs of our people in their home life, and the attention which is demanded for the settlement and development of the resources of our vast territory dictate the scrupulous avoidance of any departure from that foreign policy commended by the history, the traditions, and the prosperity of our Republic. It is the policy of independence, favored by our position and defended by our known love of justice and by our power. It is the policy of peace suitable to our interests. It is the policy of neutrality, rejecting any share in foreign broils and ambitions upon other continents and repelling their intrusion here. It is the policy of Monroe and of Washington and Jefferson-- "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliance with none."
13. A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people demands that our finances shall be established upon such a sound and sensible basis as shall secure the safety and confidence of business interests and make the wage of labor sure and steady, and that our system of revenue shall be so adjusted as to relieve the people of unnecessary taxation, having a due regard to the interests of capital invested and workingmen employed in American industries, and preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury to tempt extravagance and waste.
14. Care for the property of the nation and for the needs of future settlers requires that the public domain should be protected from purloining schemes and unlawful occupation.
15. The conscience of the people demands that the Indians within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated as wards of the Government and their education and civilization promoted with a view to their ultimate citizenship, and that polygamy in the Territories, destructive of the family relation and offensive to the moral sense of the civilized world, shall be repressed.
16. The laws should be rigidly enforced which prohibit the immigration of a servile class to compete with American labor, with no intention of acquiring citizenship, and bringing with them and retaining habits and customs repugnant to our civilization.
17. The people demand reform in the administration of the Government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end, civil-service reform should be in good faith enforced. Our citizens have the right to protection from the incompetency of public employees who hold their places solely as the reward of partisan service, and from the corrupting influence of those who promise and the vicious methods of those who expect such rewards; and those who worthily seek public employment have the right to insist that merit and competency shall be recognized instead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief.
18. In the administration of a government pledged to do equal and exact justice to all men there should be no pretext for anxiety touching the protection of the freedmen in their rights or their security in the enjoyment of their privileges under the Constitution and its amendments. All discussion as to their fitness for the place accorded to them as American citizens is idle and unprofitable except as it suggests the necessity for their improvement. The fact that they are citizens entitles them to all the rights due to that relation and charges them with all its duties, obligations, and responsibilities.
19. These topics and the constant and ever-varying wants of an active and enterprising population may well receive the attention and the patriotic endeavor of all who make and execute the Federal law. Our duties are practical and call for industrious application, an intelligent perception of the claims of public office, and, above all, a firm determination, by united action, to secure to all the people of the land the full benefits of the best form of government ever vouchsafed to man. And let us not trust to human effort alone, but humbly acknowledging the power and goodness of Almighty God, who presides over the destiny of nations, and who has at all times been revealed in our country's history, let us invoke His aid and His blessings upon our labors.

Source: John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25824>.

## **Abraham Lincoln**

XVI. President of the U.S.A: 1861-1865

### **Inaugural Address**

March 4, 1861

1. Fellow-Citizens of the United States:
2. In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of this office."
3. I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.
4. 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--
5. 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.
6. Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:
7. 'Resolved', That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.
8. I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause--as cheerfully to one section as to another.
9. There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:
10. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.
11. It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution--to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause "shall be delivered up" their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?
12. There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be

- surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should anyone in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to 'how' it shall be kept?
13. Again: In any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"?
  14. I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.
  15. 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.
  16. 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.
  17. 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?
  18. Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "to form a more perfect Union."
  19. But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is 'less' perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.
  20. 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.
  21. 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.
  22. 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. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.
23. The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.
  24. 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?
  25. 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?
  26. 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. Happily, the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view justify revolution; certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions, in the Constitution that controversies never arise concerning them. But 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.
  27. 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.
  28. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession?
  29. 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.

30. I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.
31. 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. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases 'after' the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.
32. 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.
33. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their 'constitutional' right of amending it or their 'revolutionary' right to dismember or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution--which amendment, however, I have not seen--has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.
34. The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have referred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this if also they choose, but the Executive as such has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

35. 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.
36. 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.
37. 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.
38. In 'your' hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in 'mine', is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail 'you'. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. 'You' have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."
39. 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.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web:  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25818>.

## **Andrew Jackson**

VII. President of the U.S.A: 1829-1837

### **Inaugural Address**

March 4, 1829

1. Fellow-Citizens:
2. About to undertake the arduous duties that I have been appointed to perform by the choice of a free people, I avail myself of this customary and solemn occasion to express the gratitude which their confidence inspires and to acknowledge the accountability which my situation enjoins. While the magnitude of their interests convinces me that no thanks can be adequate to the honor they have conferred, it admonishes me that the best return I can make is the zealous dedication of my humble abilities to their service and their good.
3. As the instrument of the Federal Constitution it will devolve on me for a stated period to execute the laws of the United States, to superintend their foreign and their confederate relations, to manage their revenue, to command their forces, and, by communications to the Legislature, to watch over and to promote their interests generally. And the principles of action by which I shall endeavor to accomplish this circle of duties it is now proper for me briefly to explain.
4. In administering the laws of Congress I shall keep steadily in view the limitations as well as the extent of the Executive power, trusting thereby to discharge the functions of my office without transcending its authority. With foreign nations it will be my study to preserve peace and to cultivate friendship on fair and honorable terms, and in the adjustment of any

- differences that may exist or arise to exhibit the forbearance becoming a powerful nation rather than the sensibility belonging to a gallant people.
5. In such measures as I may be called on to pursue in regard to the rights of the separate States I hope to be animated by a proper respect for those sovereign members of our Union, taking care not to confound the powers they have reserved to themselves with those they have granted to the Confederacy.
  6. The management of the public revenue--that searching operation in all governments--is among the most delicate and important trusts in ours, and it will, of course, demand no inconsiderable share of my official solicitude. Under every aspect in which it can be considered it would appear that advantage must result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy. T
  7. his I shall aim at the more anxiously both because it will facilitate the extinguishment of the national debt, the unnecessary duration of which is incompatible with real independence, and because it will counteract that tendency to public and private profligacy which a profuse expenditure of money by the Government is but too apt to engender. Powerful auxiliaries to the attainment of this desirable end are to be found in the regulations provided by the wisdom of Congress for the specific appropriation of public money and the prompt accountability of public officers.
  8. With regard to a proper selection of the subjects of impost with a view to revenue, it would seem to me that the spirit of equity, caution, and compromise in which the Constitution was formed requires that the great interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures should be equally favored, and that perhaps the only exception to this rule should consist in the peculiar encouragement of any products of either of them that may be found essential to our national independence.
  9. Internal improvement and the diffusion of knowledge, so far as they can be promoted by the constitutional acts of the Federal Government, are of high importance.
  10. Considering standing armies as dangerous to free governments in time of peace, I shall not seek to enlarge our present establishment, nor disregard that salutary lesson of political experience which teaches that the military should be held subordinate to the civil power.
  11. The gradual increase of our Navy, whose flag has displayed in distant climes our skill in navigation and our fame in arms; the preservation of our forts, arsenals, and dockyards, and the introduction of progressive improvements in the discipline and science of both branches of our military service are so plainly prescribed by prudence that I should be excused for omitting their mention sooner than for enlarging on their importance. But the bulwark of our defense is the national militia, which in the present state of our intelligence and population must render us invincible.
  12. As long as our Government is administered for the good of the people, and is regulated by their will; as long as it secures to us the rights of person and of property, liberty of conscience and of the press, it will be worth defending; and so long as it is worth defending a patriotic militia will cover it with an impenetrable aegis. Partial injuries and occasional mortifications we may be subjected to, but a million of armed freemen, possessed of the means of war, can never be conquered by a foreign foe. To any just system, therefore, calculated to strengthen this natural safeguard of the country I shall cheerfully lend all the aid in my power.
  13. It will be my sincere and constant desire to observe toward the Indian tribes within our limits a just and liberal policy, and to give that humane and considerate attention to their rights and their wants which is consistent with the habits of our Government and the feelings of our people.
  14. The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribed on the list of Executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of 'reform', which will require particularly the correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and the counteraction of those causes which have disturbed the rightful course of appointment and have placed or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent hands.
  15. In the performance of a task thus generally delineated I shall endeavor to select men whose diligence and talents will insure in their respective stations able and faithful cooperation, depending for the advancement of the public service more on the integrity and zeal of the public officers than on their numbers.



16. A diffidence, perhaps too just, in my own qualifications will teach me to look with reverence to the examples of public virtue left by my illustrious predecessors, and with veneration to the lights that flow from the mind that founded and the mind that reformed our system. The same diffidence induces me to hope for instruction and aid from the coordinate branches of the Government, and for the indulgence and support of my fellow-citizens generally. And a firm reliance on the goodness of that Power whose providence mercifully protected our national infancy, and has since upheld our liberties in various vicissitudes, encourages me to offer up my ardent supplications that He will continue to make our beloved country the object of His divine care and gracious benediction.

Source: John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web:  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25810>.

## **George Washington**

I. President of the U.S.A: 1789-1797

### **Inaugural Address**

April 30, 1789

1. *Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:*
2. 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 years—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.
3. 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.
4. In this conflict of emotions all I dare aver is that it has 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.
5. 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 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.
6. 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.
7. 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.

8. 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.
9. 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.
10. 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.
11. 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; between 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 entrusted to the hands of the American people.
12. Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them.
13. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen and a regard for the public harmony will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be impregably fortified or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.
14. To the foregoing observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible.
15. When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation.
16. From this resolution I have in no instance departed; and being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department, and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may during my continuance in it be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

17. 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.

*Source:* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, The American Presidency Project [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web:  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25800>.

## **Abstract (in German)**

Die amerikanische Präsidentschaftsantrittsrede sowie die Reden der amerikanischen Präsidenten im Allgemeinen sind besonders ins Interesse verschiedener politischer Diskurs-Studien gerückt. Eine Frage, die sich im Zuge der Analysen der amerikanischen Präsidentschaftsantrittsreden immer wieder stellt ist, ob diese Art der Rede tatsächlich zu einer bestimmten Gattung der politischen Rede gezählt werden kann. Trosborg (2000), van Noppen (2002) sowie Campbell & Jamieson (2008) vertreten den Standpunkt, dass die Antrittsrede eine spezifische Gattung darstellt. Laut Campbell & Jamieson (2008: 9) sind die wichtigsten Kennzeichen einer Gattung die Ähnlichkeit in Thema, Stil und Struktur der einzelnen Texte, die zu einer bestimmten Gattung dazu gezählt werden. Was nun die Antrittsrede auszeichnet ist ihr epideiktischer Charakter insbesondere vier zusammenhängende Elemente, die diese Rede von anderen Formen der epideiktischen und politischen Rede unterscheidet: die Vereinheitlichung der Zuhörerschaft durch die Bezeichnung ihrer Mitglieder als „das Volk“, die Aufzählung gemeinsamer Werte, die Darlegung der politischen Agenda der neuen Administration und schließlich, die Kundgebung, dass die neue Präsidentschaft die Rollen und Einschränkungen des exekutiven Amtes anerkennt (cf. *ibid.* 31). Ryan (1993: xviif) bestreitet jedoch den epideiktischen Charakter der Antrittsrede und Thompson weist darauf hin, dass die Rolle der amerikanischen Präsidentschaftsantrittsrede nicht immer dieselbe ist, sondern dass das jeweilige Umfeld und die Zeit die Einstellung der jeweiligen Präsidenten prägt und somit auch beeinflusst, was der jeweilige Präsident sich verpflichtet fühlt in seiner Rede zu sagen (cf. Vorwort zu Germino 1984: x).

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit untersucht die Gattung der amerikanischen Präsidentschaftsantrittsrede im Zuge einer Gattungsanalyse in Verbindung mit antiker rhetorischer Theorie, um zusätzlich herauszufinden, ob diese Art der politischen Rede tatsächlich epideiktische Merkmale zeigt oder nicht. Zu diesem Zweck wurde eine computer-unterstützte Analyse aller sechsfünfzig Antrittsreden durchgeführt. Die zehn ausgewählten Antrittsreden stammen aus verschiedenen Jahrzehnten zwischen 1789-2009 um zu sehen, ob sich der Charakter der Antrittsrede im Laufe der Zeit verändert hat. Durch die Erstellung einer Schlüsselwörter-Liste mithilfe von WordSmith Tools konnten wichtige Wörter und Themen der Antrittsrede herausgearbeitet werden. Weiters gab eine

sogenannte Move-Struktur-Analyse Einblick in den kommunikativen Zweck dieser politischen Rede. Schließlich wurde ein genauere Blick auf Verwendung von rhetorischen Mitteln, insbesondere Redeschmuck in ganzen Sätzen und einzelnen Wörtern, geworfen.

Die Ergebnisse der Analysen zeigen, dass sich im Laufe der letzten fünfzehn Jahrzehnte bestimmte Schlüssel-Moves bzw. kommunikative Zwecke, herausgebildet haben, die in den analysierten Reden identifiziert werden konnten. Diese sind: 1) Die Begrüßung der Zuhörerschaft, 2) Der Wechsel der Präsidentschaft, 3) Die Schilderung des Fortschritts, der gegenwärtigen Situation und der Herausforderungen der U.S.A., 4) Der Aufruf zur Veränderung, 5) Die Erinnerung an amerikanische Werte und Ideale, 6) Der Hinweis auf die Rolle und die Verantwortung des amerikanischen Volkes und schließlich, 7) Der Schluss. Was den Inhalt der Präsidentschaftsantrittsrede betrifft so zeigt sich, dass die amerikanischen Werte und das amerikanische Volk zwei zentrale Themen der amerikanischen Präsidentschaftsantrittsrede sind, die sowohl in den älteren als auch in den jüngeren Reden eine Rolle spielen. Die vereinnahmenden Pronomen ‚wir‘ und ‚unser‘, hingegen, erwiesen sich als Merkmal der Antrittreden des 20. Jahrhunderts. Ein weiterer Unterschied zwischen den älteren und den jüngeren Antrittreden zeigt sich in der Verwendung von rhetorischen Stilmitteln, die in den Reden des 20. und des 21. Jahrhunderts verstärkt angewandt werden. Prinzipiell kann man in den Reden ab dem 19. Jahrhundert mehr Gemeinsamkeiten feststellen, was darauf hinweist, dass sich die Gattung der Antrittsrede im Laufe der Jahrhunderte erst herausgebildet hat und nicht immer gleich geblieben ist.

# Curriculum Vitae

## PERSÖNLICHE DATEN

Name: Kerstin Weber  
Nationalität: Österreich  
Geburtsdatum: Jänner 1984

## AUSBILDUNG

seit Okt. 2003 Studium der Unterrichtsfächer Englisch und Evangelische Religion  
Sept. 2002. – Aug. 2003 Studium der Theologie am Word of Life Bible Institute, Florida, USA  
Juni 2002 AHS Maturaabschluss am Bundesgymnasium Wien 9, Wasagasse 10

## BERUFSERFAHRUNG

Apr. 2009 – derzeit LernQuadrat, Wien  
Nachhilfelehrerin für Englisch und Deutsch  
März 2008 – Nov. 2008 Universität Wien, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik  
Mitarbeit im VOICE-Projekt als Transkribiererin  
Juli 2008-Aug. 2008 ActiLingua Academy, Wien  
Juli 2007-Sept. 2007 Lehrerin für Deutsch als Fremdsprache

## ZUSATZQUALIFIKATIONEN

Zertifikat: University Certificate in TEaching ESP (English for Specific Purposes)

## WEITERE KENNTNISSE

Sprachen: Deutsch – Muttersprache  
Englisch – fließend in Wort und Schrift  
Französisch – Grundkenntnisse