

“Speech to the Second Virginia Convention”

Patrick Henry

Notes

Mr. President:¹ No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the house. But different men often see the same subject indifferent lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining,² as I do, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the house is one of awful moment³ to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery. An in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason toward my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural for man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal⁴ salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not sir, it will provide a snare to your fee. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with the warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called into win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array⁵, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motives for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer of the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but is has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty⁶ and humble supplication⁷? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we

have supplicated; we have prostrated⁸ ourselves before the tyrannical hands of the ministry and parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond⁹ hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free – if we mean to preserve inviolate¹⁰ those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending – if we mean not basely¹¹ to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! I repeat, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be next the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of the means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations; and who will raise friends to fight our battle for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election¹². If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable – and let it come! I repeat it sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate¹³ the matter. Gentleman may cry peace, peace – but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms!¹⁴ Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is that gentlemen wish! What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery! Forbid it, Almighty God! I know now what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

¹ Mr. President refers to Peyton Randolph, president of the Virginia convention.

² In this case, entertaining means “having in mind.”

³ the phrase of awful moment means “of great consequence.”

⁴ the word temporal means, “in time; relating on life on earth.”

⁵ A martial array is a military display.

⁶ An entreaty is a plea or request.

⁷ Here, supplication means “begging.”

⁸ Prostrated means “bowed down.”

⁹ Here, fond means “foolish.”

¹⁰ The word inviolate means “unharmful and intact.”

¹¹ Here, basely means “dishonorably.”

¹² In this instance, election means “choice.”

¹³ To extenuate means “to make a situation seem less serious by offering excuses.”

¹⁴ [The next gale...arms!] Colonists in Massachusetts were already engaged in open opposition to the British.