

## 19 Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death

Patrick Henry

... Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne! In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free — if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending — if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained — we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall

帕特里克·亨利（1736—1799），北美律師及政治家。北美獨立前，不少人主張請願和談以減輕英國

## 十九 不自由，毋寧死

帕特里克·亨利

……各位先生，我懇求你們不要再欺騙自己了。爲了阻止這現正來臨的風暴，一切我們能力做到的都已做了。我們曾請願，抗議；懇求；我們也曾在英王寶座前俯伏屈膝，哀求英王遠住內閣和國會的魔掌。但是，我們的請願白費唇舌，我們的抗議招來更多的鎮壓和羞辱，我們的懇求受到漠視，我們在寶座前被輕蔑地一脚踢開！儘管我們一廂情願得到和平與諒解，但這一切都已無望了。如果我們希望得到自由，如果我們真要維護長期以來爲之奮鬥、使之不受侵犯的神聖權利，如果我們不致於卑鄙地想放棄我們進行已久、誓言不達目的決不休止的崇高鬥爭，我們就必須作戰！先生，我重覆一句，我們必須作戰！我們只有訴諸武力，求助於萬軍之主上帝了！

先生，他們說我們力量弱小，不是這強敵的對手。但是什麼時候我們才會強大起來？下星期還是明年？是不是要等到我們完全被解除武裝、家家戶戶都駐扎了英國士兵的時候？我們遲疑不決、無所作爲就能積聚力量嗎？我們

的壓迫。亨利堅決主戰，反對妥協。本文是他1775年3月23日在弗吉尼亞州議會發表的演說。

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 those 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 up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable — and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, Peace, Peace — but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

高枕而卧、苟安侥倖，等到敵人使我們束手就擒時，我們就能找到有效的禦敵辦法？先生，如果能恰當地利用萬物之主賦予我們的力量，我們並不弱小。我們有三百萬為爭取神聖自由而武裝起來的戰士，我們擁有這樣的國家，那麼，不論敵人派來任何軍隊都不能戰勝我們。此外，我們並非孤軍作戰。公平的上帝主宰一切國家的命運，他會召喚我們的朋友起來和我們並肩戰鬥。先生，不一定強者才會取得勝利，高度警覺、生氣勃勃、勇敢無畏的人也會得勝。況且，我們已經別無選擇了。即使我們卑鄙怯懦，希望尋找別的道路，但現在要退出戰鬥也太遲了。後退就是投降！後退就將淪為奴隸！我們的枷鎖已經鑄成，琅瑯的鐐鑿聲在波士頓的平原上也可清晰聽聞！戰爭已經無可避免——讓它來吧！先生，我重覆一遍：讓它來吧！

先生，大事化小，小事化無的做法無濟於事。各位先生可以叫喊和平，和平！但是和平並不存在。事實上戰爭已經開始！不久北方颶起的風暴即將帶來震耳的隆隆炮聲。我們的弟兄已經開赴戰場，為什麼我們還在這裏投閒置散？諸君究竟希望什麼？他們會得到什麼？難道生命真的這樣珍貴，和平真的這樣美好，竟值得用枷鎖與奴役為代價？全能的上帝啊，制止他們這樣做吧！我不知道別人選擇走什麼樣的道路，但對我來說，不自由，毋寧死！