

บทที่ 3

นักเขียนอเมริกันกลุ่ม “Exploration and Settlement”

กลุ่ม “Exploration and Settlement” มีนักเขียนสำคัญดังนี้

- John Smith (1580?-1631)
- William Bradford (1590-1657)

กัปตัน จอห์น สมิธ (Captain John Smith, 1580?-1631)



ประวัติ

เกิดที่ลินคอล์นเชอร์ (Lincolnshire) ประเทศอังกฤษ เมื่ออายุ 15 ปี ได้ออกทะเลไปทำสงครามกับตุรกี (Turkish Wars) ในการรบกับตุรกีที่ฮังการี สมิธได้รับบาดเจ็บจึงถูกจับเป็นนักโทษ และถูกขายเป็นทาส ต่อมาเขาหนีออกมาได้โดยการฆ่าเจ้าของที่ตนเป็นทาส ในปี ค.ศ. 1607 สมิธได้เดินทางมาทวีปอเมริกา โดยทางเรือและได้ตั้งเมืองเจมส์ทาวน์ (Jamestown) ขึ้นเป็น

● กัปตัน จอห์น สมิธ

อาณานิคมแห่งแรกในอเมริกาตอนเหนือ สมิธเป็นผู้ที่มีความสามารถในการติดต่อค้าขายกับพวกอินเดียนมากซึ่งสามารถช่วยให้ผู้อพยพรอดพ้นจากความอดอยากได้ ผลงานชิ้นแรกที่ จอห์น สมิธ เขียนขึ้นได้ถูกส่งไปตีพิมพ์ในอังกฤษในปี ค.ศ. 1609 สมิธเดินทางกลับอังกฤษเนื่องจากได้รับบาดเจ็บจากดินปืนระเบิด และเดินทางกลับมาอเมริกาอีกครั้งเพื่อค้นหาทองคำแต่ก็ไม่ประสบความสำเร็จ สิ่งที่เขาได้แทนทองคำกลับเป็นความทรงจำอันมีค่าเกี่ยวกับโลกใหม่ซึ่งต่อมาสมิธได้ใช้ในการเขียนหนังสือเกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยว (travel books)

ลักษณะงานเขียน

ลักษณะงานเขียนของ จอห์น สมิธ จะชัดเจนและตรงไปตรงมา กล่าวได้ว่า สมิธเป็นทั้งนักบันทึก นักเขียนประวัติศาสตร์ และนักผจญภัย งานที่ จอห์น สมิธ เขียนมักจะมี

ระหว่างข้อเท็จจริงกับจินตนาการเพื่อชักจูงให้อ่านเดินทางไปยังถิ่นฐานยังโลกใหม่ และ
เกิดความรู้สึกสนุกสนาน ตื่นเต้น กับดินแดนใหม่

ผลงาน

- A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Note as Hath Happened in Virginia
- A Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Country
- The General History of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles
- A Description of New England

ตัดตอนจาก A Description of New England (1616)

In the moneth of April, 1614. with two Ships from *London*, of a few Merchants, I chanced to arive in *New-England*, a parte of *Amerycya*, at the Ile of *Monahiggan*, in $43 \frac{1}{3}$ of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Fures was then our refuge, to make our selves savers howsoever: we found this Whalefishing a costly conclusion: we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but could not kill any: They beeing a kinde of Jubartes, and not the Whale that yeeldes Finnes and Oyle as wee expected. For our Golde, it was rather the Masters device to get a voyage that projected it, then any knowledge hee had at all of any such matter. Fish and Fures was now our guard: and by our late arrival, and long lingering about the Whale, the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceived it; we thinking that their seasons served at all times: but wee found it otherwise; for by the midst of June, the fishing failed. Yet in July and August some was taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about 40000. of Cor fish about 7000. Whilest the sailers fished, my selfe with eight or nine others of them might best bee spared; Ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neer 1100 Bever skinner, 100 Martins, and neer as many Otters; and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues. We ranged the Coast both East and West much furer; but Eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neare the

French who affords them better: and right against us in the Main was a Ship of *Sir Frances Pophames*, that had there such acquaintance, having many yeares used onely that porte, that the most parte there was had by him. And 40 leagues westwards were two French Ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade, during the time wee tryed those conclusions, not knowing the Coast, nor Salvages habitation. With these Furies, the Traine, and Cor-fish I returned for *England* in the Bark: where within six monthes after our departure from the *Downes*, we safe arrived back. The best of this fish was solde for five pound the hundredth, the rest by ill usage betwixt three pound and fifty shillings. The other Ship staid to fit herselfe for *Spaine* with the dry fish which was sould, by the Sailers reporte that returned, at forty ryalls the quintall, each hundred weighing two quintalls and a halfe.

New England is that part of *America* in the Ocean Sea opposite to *Noua Albyon* in the South Sea; discovered by the most memorable *Sir Francis Drake* in his voyage about the worlde. In regarde whereto this is stiled, *New England* beeing in the same latitude. *New France*, off it, is Northward; Southwardes is *Virginia*, and all the adjoyning Continent, with *New Granado*, *New Spain*, *New Andolosia* and the *West Indies*. Now because I have been so oft asked such strange questions, of the goodnesse and greatnesse of those spatious Tracts of land, how they can bee thus long unknown, or not possessed by the *Spaniard*, and many such like demands; I intreat your pardons, if I chance to be too plaine, or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction....

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to advance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the harzard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue, and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasaint, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritje, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without prejudice to any? If hee have any graine of faith or zeale in

*A note for men
that have great
spirits, and smal
meanes.*

Religion, what can hee doe lesse hurtfull to any; or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to convert those poore Salvages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truely sutes with honour and honestie, as the discovering things unknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue; and gaine to our Native mother-countrie a kingdom to attend her; finde imployment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembring thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise? Consider: What were the beginnings and endings of the Monarkies of the *Chaldeans*, the *Syrians*, the *Grecians*, and *Romanes*, but this one rule; What was it they would not doe, for the good of the commonwealth, or their Mother-citie? For example: *Rome*, What made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the adventures of her youth, not in riots at home; but in dangers abroade? and the justice and judgement out of their experience, when they grewe aged. What was their ruine and hurt, but this; The excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of Parents, the want of experience in Magistrates, the admiration of their undeservd honours, the contempt of true merit, their unjust jealousies, their politicke incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse, and their deeds of secret lewdnesse? finally, in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few daies. Those by their pains and vertues became Lords of the world; they by their ease and vices became slaves to their servants. This is the difference betwixt the use of Armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones; the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and miserie, justice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds experience and imagination, making Commonwealths and marring Commonwealths, the fruits of vertue and the conclusions of vice.

Then, who would live at home idly (or thinke in himself any worth to live) onely to eate, drink, and sleepe, and so die? Or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily? Or, by using that miserably, that maintained vertue honestly? Or, for being descended nobly, pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred, in penurie? Or to (maintaine a silly shewe of bravery) toyle out thy heart, soule, and time, basely, by

shifts, tricks, cards, and dice? Or by relating newes of others actions, sharke here or there for a dinner, or supper; deceive thy friends, by faire promises, and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou never intendest to pay; offend the lawes, surfeit with excesse, burden thy Country, abuse thy selfe, despaire in want, and then couzen thy kindred, yea even thine owne brother, and wish thy parents death (I will not say damnation) to have their estates? though thou seest what honours, and rewards, the world yet hath for them will seeke them and worthily deserve them..

I would be sory to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning: for I wish good to all, hurt to none. But rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage, through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it, or their life. And what hellish care do such take to make it their owne miserie, and their Countries spoile, especially when thee is most neede of their imployment? drawing by all manner of inventions, from the Prince and his honest subjects, even the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their Bagges, or Bragges, were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not assault them; when they are the onely baite, to cause us not to be onely assaulted; but betrayed and murdered in our owne security, ere we well perceive it.

May not the miserable ruine of *Constantinople*, their impregnable walles, riches, and pleasures last taken by the *Turke* (which are but a bit, in comparison of their now mightines) remember us, of the effects of private covetousness? at which time the good *Emperour* held himselfe rich enough, to have such rich subjects, so formal in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicacie, and prodigalitie. His povertie when the *Turke* besieged, the citizens (whose marchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth, little conceiving the desperate resolution of a valiant expert enemy) left the Emp. so long to his conclusions, having spent all he had to pay his young, raw, discontented Souldiers; that sodianly he, they, and their citie wee all a prey to the devouring *Turke*. And what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who adventured their lives to defend them, did serve onely their enemies to torment them, their friends, and countrey, and all Christendome

An example of
secure covetous-
ness.

to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theeves in the world to robbe you) not grudge to lend some proportion, to breed them that have little, yet willing to learne how to defend you: for, it is too late when the deede is a-doing. The *Romanes* estate hath beene worse then this: for, the meere covetousnesse and extortion of a few of them, so mooved the rest, that not having any imployment, but contemplation; their great judgements grew to so great malice, as themselves were sufficient to destroy themselves by faction: Let this move you to embrace imployment, for those whose educations, spirits, and judgements, want but your purses; not onely to prevent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you have. And you fathers that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably covetous, or so willfully ignorant, or so negligently carelesse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonness, till they growe your masters; or become so basely unkinde, as they wish nothing but your deaths; so that both sorts growe dissolute: and although you would wish them any where to escape the gallowes, and ease your cares; though they spend you here one, two, or three hundred pound a yeer; you would grudge to give halfe so much in adventure with them, to obtaine an estate, which in a small time but with a little assistance of your providence, might bee better then your owne. But if an Angell should tell you, that any place yet unknowne can afford such fortunes; you would not beleeve him, no more then *Columbus* was beleevd there was any such Land as is now the well knowne abounding *America*; much lesse such large Regions as are yet unknowne, as well in *America*, as in *Affrica*, and *Asia* and *Terra incognita*; where were courses for gentlemen (and them that would be so reputed) more suiting their qualities, then begging from their Princes generous disposition, the labours of his subjects, and the very marrow of his maintance.

I have not beene so ill bred, but I have tasted of *Plenty* and *Pleasure*, as well as *Want* and *Miserie*: nor doth necessity yet, or occasion of discontent, force me to these endeavors: nor am I ignorant what small thanke I shall have for my paines: or that many would have the Worlde imagine them to be of great judgement, that can but blemish these my designes, by

*The Authors
conditions.*

their witty objections and detractions: yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds, will so prevaile with some, that I shall not want employment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his owne senselesnesse, and incredulity; Hoping that gaine will make them affect that, which Religion, Charity, and the Common good cannot. It were but a poore device in me, To deceive my selfe; much more the King, and State, my Friends, and Countrey, with these inducements: which, seeing his Majestie hath given permission, I wish all sorts of worthie, honest, industrious spirits, would understand: and if the desire any further satisfaction, I will doe my best to give it: Not to perswade them to goe onely; but goe with them; Not leave them there; but live with them there. I will not say, but by ill providing and undue managing, such courses may be taken, may make us miserable enough: But if I may have the execution of what I have projected; if they want to eate, let them eate or never digest Me. If I performe what I say, I desire but that reward out of the gaines may sute my paines, quality, and condition. And if I abuse you with my tongue, take my head for satisfaction. If any dislike at the yeares end, defraying their charge, by my consent they should freely returne. I feare not want of companie sufficient, were it but knowne what I know of those Countries; and by the prooffe of that wealth I hope yearely to returne, if God please to bless me from such accidents, as are beyond my power in reason to prevent: For, I am not so simple, to thinke, that ever any other motive then wealth, will ever erect there a Commonweale; or draw companie from their ease and humours at home, to stay in *New England to effect my purposes*. And lest

*The planters
pleasures, and
profits.*

any should thinke the toile might be insupportable, though these things may be had by labour, and dilligence: I assure my selfe there are who delight extreamly in vaine pleasure, that take much more paines in *England*, to enjoy it, then I should doe heere to gaine wealth sufficient: and yet I thinke they should not handle halfe such sweet content: for our pleasure here is still gaines; in *England* charges and losse. Heer nature and liberty affords us that freely, which in *England* we want, or it costeth us dearely. What pleasure can be more, then (being tired with any occasion a-shore) in planting Vines, Fruits, or Hearbs, in contriving their owne Grounds, to the pleasure of their owne mindes, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other works, &c. to recreate themselves

before their owne doores, in their owne boates upon the Sea, where man, woman and childe, with a small hooke and line, by angling, may take diverse sorts of excellent fish, at their pleasures? And is it not pretty sport, to pull up two pence, six pence, and twelve pence, as fast as you can hale and veare a line? He is a very bad fisher, cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line., one, two, or three hundred Cods: which dressed and dryed, if they be sould there for ten shillings the hundred, though in *England* they will give more then twentie; may not both the servant, the master, and marchant, be well content with this gaine? If a man worke but three dayes in seaven, he may get more then hee can spend, unlesse he will be excessive. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Taylor, Smith, Sailer, Forgers, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they eate in a weeke: or? if they will not eate it, because there is so much better choice; yet sell it, or change it, with the fisher men, or marchants, for anything they want. And what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt or charge then angling with a hooke, and crossing the sweete ayre from Ile to Ile, over the silent streames of a calme Sea? wherein the most curious may finde pleasure, profit, and content, Thus, though all men be not fishers: yet all men, whatsoever, may in other matters doe as well. For necessity doth in these cases so rule a Commonwealth, and each in their severall functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutuall use of all.

For Gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them, then ranging dayly those unknowne parts, using fowling and fishing, for hunting and hauking? and yet you shall see the wilde haukes give you some pleasure, in seeing them stoope (six or seaven after one another) an houre or two together, at the skuls of fish in the faire harbours, as those a-shore at a foule; and never trouble nor torment your selves, with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them; nor kill horse and man with running and crying, *See you not a hawk?* For hunting also: the woods, lakes, and rivers, affoord not onely chase sufficient, for any that delights in that kinde of toyle, or pleasure; but such beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich, as may well recompence thy dayly labour with a Captains pay.

*Employments for
labourers.*

For labourers, if those that sowe hemp, rape, turnips, parsnips, carrats, cabidge, and such like; give 20, 30, 40, 50 shillings yearely for an acre of ground, and meat, drinke, and wages to use it, and yet grow rich; when better, or at least as good ground, may be had and cost nothing but labour; it seems strange to me, any such should there grow poore.

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents; men from their wives; nor servants from their masters: onely, such as with free consent may be spared: But that each parish, or village, in Citie, or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children, of thirteen of fourteen years of age, or young married people, that have small wealth to live on; heere by their labour may live exceeding well: provided alwaies that first there bee a sufficient power to command them, houses to receive them, meanes to defend them, and meet provisions for them; for, any place may bee overlain: and it is most necessarie to have a fortresse (ere this grow to practice) and sufficient masters (as, Carpenters, Masons, Fishers, Fowlers, Gardiners, Husbandmen, Sawyers, Smiths, Spinsters, Taylors, Weavers, and such like) to take ten, twelve, or twentie, or as their is occasion, for Apprentises. The Masters by this may quicklie growe rich; these may learne their trades themselves, to doe the like; to a generall and an incredible benefit, for King, and Countrey, Master, and Servant.

*Examples of the
Spanyard.*

It would bee an historie of a large volume, to recite the adventures of the *Spanyards*, and *Portugals*, their affronts, and defeats, their dangers, and miseries; which with such incomparable honour and constant resolution, of farre beyond beleefe, they have attempted and indured in their discoveries and plantations, as may well condemne us, of too much imbecillitie, sloth and negligence: yet the Authors of those new inventions, were held as ridiculous, for a long time, as now are others, that doe but seek to imitate their unparalleled vertues. And though we see daily their mountaines of wealth (sprong from the plants of their generous indeavours) yet is our sensualitie and untowardnesse such and so great, that wee either ignorantly beleeeve nothing: or so curiously contest, to prevent wee knowe not

what future events: that wee either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building upon faire sand, rather then rough rocks, judge that wee knowe not, governe that wee have not, feare against their willes to be idle or as ill. And who is he hath judgement, courage, and any industrie or qualitie with understaning. will leave his Countrie, his hopes at home his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, and the preferment sweete *England* doth afford to all degrees, were it not to advance his fortunes by injoying his deserts? whose prosperitie once appearing, will incourage others: but it must be cherished as a childe, till it be able to goe, and understand it selfe; and not corrected, nor oppressed above its strength, ere it knowe wherefore. A child can neither performe the office, nor deedes of a man of strength, nor indure that affliction He is able; nor can an Apprentice at the first performe the part of a Maister. And if twentie yeeres bee required to make a child a man, seven yeares limited an apprentice for his trade; if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a States man: and commonly, a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet: If perfection be so hard to be obtained, as of necessitie there must bee practice, as well as theorick: Let no man much condemne this paradox opinion, to say, that halfe seaven yeeres is scarce sufficient, for a good capacitie, to learne in these affaires, how to carie himselfe: and who ever shall trie in these remote places the erecting of a Colony, shall finde at the end of seaven yeeres occasion enough to use all his discretion: and, in the *Interim* all the content, rewards, gaines, and hopes will be necessarily required, to be given to the beginning, till it bee able to creepe, to stand, and goe, yet time enough to keepe it from running, for there is no feare it wil grow too fast, or ever to any thing; except libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the planters of those affaires, in devotion to effect it; then bondage, violence, tyranny, ingratitude, and such double dealing, as bindes free men to become slaves, and honest men turne knaves: which hath ever bin the ruine of the most popular common-weales; and is verie unlikelie ever will to begin in a new.

Who seeth not what is the greatest good of the *Spanyard*, but these new conclusions, in searching those unknowne parts of this unknowne world? By which meanes hee

*The blisse of
Spaine.*

dives even into the verie secrets of all his Neighbours, and the most part of the world: and when the *Portugale* and *Spanyard* had found the *East* and *West Indies*; how many did condemn themselves, that did not accept of that honest offer of Noble *Columbus*? who, upon our neglect, brought them to it, perswading our selves the world had no such places as they had found: and yet ever since wee finde, they still (from time to time) have found new lands, new Nations, and trades, and still daily dooe fined both in *Asia*, *Africa*, *Terra incognita*, and *America*; so that there is neither Soldier nor Mechanick, from the Lord to the begger, but those parts afforde them all imploiment; and discharge their Native soile, of so many thousands of all sorts, that else, by their sloth, pride and imperfections, would long ere this have troubled their neighbours, or have eaten the pride of *Spaine* it selfe.

Now he knowes little, that knowes not *England* may well spare many more people then *Spaine*, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries. And seeing, for all they have, they cease not still to search for that they have not, and know not; It is strange we should be so dull, as not maintaine that which wee have, and pursue that wee knowe. Surely I am sure many would taste it ill, to bee abridged of the titles and honours of their predecessors: when if but truely they would judge themselves; looke how inferior they are to their noble vertues, so much they are unworthy of their honours and livings: which never were ordained for showes and shadowes, to maintaine idlenesse and vice; but to make them more able to abound in honor, by heroycall deeds of action, judgement, pietie, and verture. What was it, They would not doe both in purse and person, for the good of the Commonwealth? which might move them presently to set out their spare kindred in these generous designes. Religion, above all things, should move us (especially the Clergie) if wee were religious, to shewe our faith by our workes; in converting those poore salvages, to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the *Spanyards* take to bring them to their adulterated faith. Honor might move the Gentry, the valiant, and industrious; and the hope and assurance of wealth, all; if wee were that we would seeme, and be accounted. Or be we so far inferior to other nations, or our

spirits so far dejected, from our auncient predecessors, or our mindes so upon spoile, piracie and such villany, (as to the cost of *Europe*, too many do) rather then our God, our King, our Country, and our selves? excusing our idlenesse, and our base complaints, by want of imploiments; when heere is such choise of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting and discovering these North parts of America.

อธิบายคำศัพท์

คำศัพท์	ความหมาย
myne	ในที่นี้ คือ mine ซึ่งหมายถึง เหมือง
copper	ทองแดง
whalefishing	การล่าปลาวาฬ
finnes	ในที่นี้ คือ fins ซึ่งหมายถึง ครีบปลา
oyle	ในที่นี้ คือ oil ซึ่งหมายถึง น้ำมันจากปลา
midst	ท่ามกลาง
sufficient	เพียงพอ
trifle	เล็กน้อย ๑
league	หน่วยวัดระยะทาง 1 ลีก เท่ากับ 3 ไมล์ หรือ 120 เส้น
betwixt	ระหว่าง ในระหว่าง

สาระสำคัญ

เช่นเดียวกับผลงานชิ้นอื่นๆ ของ จอห์น สมิธ ที่ต้องการจะชักจูงผู้อ่านให้เกิดความรู้สึกต้องการไปทวีปอเมริกา ดังเช่น ผู้เขียนได้เล่าว่า ในเดือนเมษายน ค.ศ. 1614 ตัวเขาพร้อมกับเรืออีก 2 ลำ ซึ่งเดินทางจากลอนดอนได้มาถึงนิวอิงแลนด์เพื่อล่าปลาวาฬและหาทองคำกับทองแดงแต่ก็ประสบกับความล้มเหลว พวกเขาจึงเปลี่ยนไปล่าชนสัตว์แทน

The Generall Historie of Virginia (1624)

The Third Booke. The Proceedings and Accidents of the English Colony in Virginia, Extracted from the Authors following, by William Simons, Doctour of Divinitie.

CHAPTER I

It might well be thought, a Countrie so faire (as Virginia is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this have beene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, & the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement; this following Treatise shall give satisfaction to all indifferent Readers, how the businesse hath bin carried: where no doubt they will understand and answer to their question, how it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings.

Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen; as Captaine John Smith, Mr. Edward-maria Wingfield, Mr. Robert Hunt, and divers others, who depended a yeare upon his projects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industrie, it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobillitie, Gentry, and Merchants, so that his Majestie by his letters patents, gave commission for establishing Councels, to direct here; and to governe, and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tuns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine Christopher Newport, a Marriner well practised for the Westerne parts of America. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne untill they arrived in Virginia.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set sayle from Blackwall, but by unprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time, Mr. Hunt our Preacher, was to weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the busines, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse

foes, whose disasterous designes (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontent's did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention.

We watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at Dominica; three weekes we spent in refreshing ourselves amongst these west-India Isles; in Gwardalupa we found a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Isle called Monica, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of Birds in three or foure houres. In Mevis, Mona, and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time, where, with a lothsome beast like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn, Tortoises, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted. Gone from thence in search of Virginia, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had 3 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land, so that Captaine Ratliffe (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare up the helme to returne for England, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to hull all night, did drive them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations, for never any of them had seene that coast. The first land they made they called Cape Henry; where thirtie of them recreating themselves on shore, were assaulted by five Salvages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously. That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnoll, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be the Councill, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councill should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Jury, but determined by the major part of the Councill, in which the President had two voyces. Until the 13 of May they sought a place to plant in, then the Councill was sworne, Mr. Wingfield was chosen President, and an Oration made, why Captaine Smith was not admitted of the Councill as the rest.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councill contrive the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clabbord to relade the ships,

some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited us kindly. The Presidents overweening jealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification, but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine Kendall, Newport, Smith, and twentie others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six dayes they arrived at a Towne called Powhatan, consisting of some twelve houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile Isles, about it many of their cornefields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the river is navigable: but higher within a myle, by reason of the Rockes and Isles, there is not passage for a small Boat, this they call the Falles, the people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie myles of James towne, they gave just cause of jealousie, but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages, and had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the Ships strooke down a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all beene slaine, being securely all at worke, and their armes in dry fats.

Hereupon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised, for many were the assaults, and ambuscadoes of the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped. What toyle we had, with so small a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Come, &c, I referre to the Readers onsideration. Six weekes being sent in this manner, Captaine Newport (who was hired onely for our transportation) was to returne with the ships. Now Captaine Smith, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intened to usurpe the government, murder the Councill, and make himselfe King, that his confederats were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it, for this he was committed as a prisoner: thirteene weekes he remained thus suspected, and by that time

the ships should returne they pretended out of their commiserations, to referre him to the Councell in England to receive a check, rather then by particulating his designes make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or utterly overthrow his reputation, But he so much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the uttermost of their crueltie, he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppress their envies, yet so well he demeaned himselfe in this businesse, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many untruthes were alledged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company against such unjust Commanders, that the President was adjudged to give him £200. So that all he had was seized upon, in part of satisfaction, which Smith presently returned to the Store for the generall use of the Colony. Many were the mischiefes that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Mr. Hunt reconciled them, and caused Captaine Smith to be admitted of the Councell; the next day all received the Communion; the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captain Newport returned for England with newes; leaving in Virginia 100. the 15 of June 1607.

By this observe;

Good men did ne'r their Countries ruine bring.

But when evill men shall injuries beginne;

caring to corrupt and violate

The judgements-seats for their owne Lucr's sakes

Then looke that Country cannot long have peace,

CHAPTER II

What happened till the first supply.

Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten dayes scarce ten amongst us could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed us. And thereat none need marvaile, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this; whilst the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of Bisket, which the sailers would pilfer to sell, give, or exchange with us, for money, Saxefras,

furres, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere house, nor place of reliefe, but the common Kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunkennesse, we might have beene cannonized for Saints; But our President would never have beene admitted, for ingrossing to his private, Oatmeale, Sacke, Oyle, Aquavitae, Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the Kettell; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pint of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weekes in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that we might truely call it rather so much bran then corne our drinke was water, our lodgings Castles in the ayre: with this lodging and dyet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes, so strained and bruised us, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heat had so weakened us, as were cause sufficient to have made us as miserable in our native Countrey, or any other place in the world. From May, to September, those that escaped, lived upon Sturgeon, and Sea-crabs, fiftie in this time we buried, the rest seeing the Presidents projects to escape these miseries in our Pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sicknes) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him; and established Ratcliffe in his place, (Gosnoll being dead) Kendall deposed, Smith newly recovered, Martin and Ratcliffe was by his care preserved and relieved, and the most of the souldiers recovered, with the skilfull diligence of Mr. Thomas Wotton our Chirurgian generall. But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages; when God the patron of all good indevours, in that desperate extermitic so changed the hearts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted.

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councell to send forth men so badly provided, this incontestable reason will shew them plainely they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceits; first, the fault of our going was our owne, what could be thought fitting or necessary we had, but what we should find, or want, or where we should be, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two moneths, with victuall to live, and the advantage of the spring to worke; we were at Sea five moneths,

where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunitie of the time, and season to plant, by the unskillfull presumption of our ignorant transporters, that understood not at all, what they undertooke.

Such actions have ever since the worlds beginning beene subject to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties but nothing so difficult as to establish a Common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes, and where mens mindes are so untoward and neither doe well themselves, nor suffer others. But to proceed.

The new President and Martin, being little beloved, of weake judgement in dangers, and lesse industrie in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine Smith: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwayes bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe. This done, seeing the Salvages superfluitie beginne to decrease (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe in the Shallop to search the Country for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailes, the want of a sufficient power, (knowing the multitude of the Salvages) apparell for his men, and other necessaries, were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement. Being but six or seaven in company he went downe the river to Kecoughtan, where at first they scorned him, as a famished man, and would in derision offer him a handfull of Come, a peece of bread, for their swords and muskets, and such like proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade and courtesie there was nothing to be had, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessitie inforced, though contrary to his Commission: Let fly his muskets, ran his boat on shore, whereat they all field into the woods. So marching towards their houses, they might see great heapes of come: much adoe he had to restraine his hungry souldiers from present taking of it, expecting as it hapned that the Salvages would assault them, as not long after they did with a most hydeous noyse. Sixtie or Seaventie of them, some blacke, some red, some white, some party-coloured, came in a square order, singing and daucing out of the woods, with their Okee (which

was an Idoll made of skinnes, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hung with chaines and copper) borne before them: and in this manner being well armed, with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, that so kindly received them with their muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and divers lay sprauling on the ground; the rest fled againe to the woods, and ere long sent one of their Quiyougkasoucks to offer peace, and redeeme their Okee. Smith told them, if onely six of them would come unarmed and loade his boat, he would not only be their friend, but restore them their Okee, and give them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets besides: which on both sides was to their contents performed: and then they brought him Venison, Turkies, wild foule, bread, and what they had, singing and dauncing in signe of friendship till they departed. In his returned he discovered the Towne and Country of Warraskoyack.

*Thus God unboundlesse by his power,
Made them thus kind, would us devour.*

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth (the company being well recovered) caused the Pinnace to be provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following: but in the interim he made 3. Or 4. Journies and discovered the people of Chickahamania: yet what he carefully provided the rest carelessly spent. Wingfield and Kendall living in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of Smith, the companies dislike of their Presidents weaknes, and their small love to Martins never mending sicknes, strengthened themselves with the sailers, and other confederates to regaine their former credit and authority, or at least such meanes, aboard the Pinnace, (being fitted to saile as Smith had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for England. Smith unexpectedly returning had the plot discovered to him, much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of sakre and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the river, which action cost the life of captaine Kendall. These brawles are so disgustfull. as some will say they were better forgotten, yet all men of good judgement will conclude, it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders. The President and captaine Archer not long after intended also to have abandoned the country,

which project also was curbed, and suppressed by Smith. The Spaniard never more greedily desired gold then he victuall, nor his souldiers more to abandon the Country, then he to keepe it. But finding plentie of Come in the river of Chickahamania where hundreds of Salvages in divers places stood with baskets expecting his coming. And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins, fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as far as we could eat them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for England. But our Comaedies never endured long without a Tragedie; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine Smith, for not discovering the head of Chickahamania river, and taxed by the Councell, to be too show in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so farre that with much labour by cutting of trees in sunder he made his passage, but when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe a shore till his returne: himself with two English and two Salvages went up higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government, gave both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one George Cassen, whom they slew, and mach failed not to save cut of the boat and all the rest. Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the desert, had his two men slaine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall, who finding he was beset with 200. Salvages, two of them hee slew, still defending himselfe with the ayd of a Salvage his guid, whom he bound to his arme with his garters, and used him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that stucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at last they tooke him prisoner. When this newes came to James towne, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting what ensued. Sixe or seven weekes those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphes and conjurations they made of him, yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not onely driverted them from surprising the Fort, but procured his owne libertie, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him more then their owne Quiyouckosucks. The manner how they used and delivered him, is as followeth.

The Salvages having drawne from George Cassen whether Captaine Smith was gone, prosecuting that opportunity they followed him with 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of Pamaunkee, who in divisions searching the turnings of river, found Robinson and Embry by the fire side, those they shoot full off arrowes and slew. Then finding the Captaine, as is said, that used the Salvages that was his guide as his shield (three of them being slaine and divers other so gauld) all the rest wold not come neere him. Thinking thus to have returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more then his way, slipped up to the middle in an oasie creeke & his Salvages with him, yet durst they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his armes. Then according to their composition they draw him forth and led him to the fire, where his men slaine. Diligently they chafed his benumbed limbs. He demanding for their Captaine, they shewed him Opechankanough, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he gave a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing, of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainely, and yet not touch it, because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globelike Jewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatnesse of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them Antipodes, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration. Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him, but the King holding up the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well used.

Their order in conducting him was thus; Drawing themselves all in fyle, the King in the middest had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him. Captaine Smith was led after him by three great Salvages, holding him fast by each arme: and on each side six went in fyle with their Arrowes nocked. But arriving at the Towne (which was but onely thirtie or fortie hunting houses made of Mats, which they remove as they please, as we our tents) all in flyle performed the forme of a Bissom so well as could be, and on each flanke, officers as Serjeants to see them keepe their orders. A good time they continued

this exercise, and then cast themselves in a ring, dauncing in such severall Postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches; being strangely painted, every one his quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a club; on his arme a Fox or an Otters skinne, or some such matter for his vambrace: their heads and shoulders painted red, with Oyle and Pocones mingled together, which Scarlet-like colour made an exceeding handsome shew; his Bow in his hand, and the skinne of a Bird with her wing abroad dried, tyed on his head, a peece of copper a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tayles of their snaks tyed to it, or some such like toy. All this while Smith and the King stood in the middest guarded, as before is said, and after three dances they all departed. Smith they conducted to a long house, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did guard him, and ere long more bread and venison was brought him then would have served twentie men, I thinke his stomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they set the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more, and then did they eate all the old, & reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him,. Yet in this desperate estate to defend him from the cold, one Maocassater brought him his gowne, in requitall of some beads and toyes Smith had given him at his first arrivall in Virginia.

Two dayes after a man would have slaine him (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his sonne, to whom they conducted him to recover the poore man then breathing his last. Smith told them that at James towne he had a water would doe it, if they would let him fetch it, but they would not permit that; but made all the preparations they could to assault James towne, craving his advice, and for recompence he should have life, libertie, land and women. In part of a Table booke he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended, how they should follow that direction to affright the messengers, and with out fayle send him such things as he writ for. And an Inventory with them. The difficultie and danger, he told the Salvages, of the Mines, great gunnes, and other Engins exceedingly affrighted them, yet according to his request they went to James towne, in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow, and within three dayes returned with an answer.

But when they came to Jame towne, seeing men sally out as he had told them they would, they fled; yet in the night they came againe to the same place where he had told them they should receive an answer, and such things as he had promised them, which they found accordingly, and with which they returned with no small expedition to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speake: then they led him to the Youthtanunds, the Mattapanients, the Payankatanks, the Nantaughtacunds, and Onawmanients upon the rivers of Raphanock, and Patawomek, over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other severall Nations, to the Kings habitation at Pamaunkee, where they entertained him with most strange and fearefulle Conjurations;

As if neare led to hell.

Amongst the Devils to dwell.

Not long after, early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other: on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and all their tayles tyed together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was as a Coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, backe, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale: which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red: but all their eyes were painted white, and some red stroakes like Mutchato's. along their cheekes: round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then came in three more as ugly as the rest; with red eyes, and white stroakes over their blacke faces, at last they all sat downe right against him; three of them on the one hand of the chiefe Priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chiefe Priest layd downe five wheat comes: then straying his armes and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration: at the conclusion they all gave a short groane; and then layd down three graines more. After that, began their song againe. and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many comes as before, till they had twice incirculed the fire; that done, they tooke a bunch of little

stickes prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and Oration, they layed downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did either eate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three dayes they used this Ceremony; the meaning whereof they told him, was to know if the intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher, and they in the midst. After this they brought him a bagge of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corne; because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede.

Opitcham the Kings brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, foule, and wild beasts, as did environ him, he bid him wellcome; but not any of them would eate a bit with him, but put up all the remainder in Baskets. At his returne to Opechancanoughs, all the Kings women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts, as a due by Custome, to be merry with such fragments, *But his waking mind in hydeous dreames did oft see wondrous shapes, of bodies strange, and huge in growth, and of stupendious makes.*

At last they brought him to Meronocomo, where was Powhatan their Emperor. Here more then two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till Powhatan and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as

many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselves. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest.

They say he bore a pleasant shew,

But sure his heart was sad.

For who can pleasant be, and rest,

That lives in feare and dread:

And having life suspected, doth

It still suspected lead.

Two dayes after, Powhatan having disguised himselfe in the most fearefull manner he could, caused Capt. Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noyse he ever heard; then Powhattan more like a devill then a man with some two hundred more as blacke as himselfe, came unto him, and told him now they were friends, and presently he should goe to James towne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would give him the Country of Capahowosick, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne Nantaquoud. So to James towne with 12 guides Powhattan sent him. That night they quarterd in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almightie God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those sterne Barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the Fort, where Smith having used the Salvages with what Kindnesse he could, he shewed Rawhunt, Powhatans trusty servant two demi-Culverings & a millstone to carry Powhatan: they found them somewhat too heavie; but when they did see him discharge them being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Isickles, the yce and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran

away halfe dead with feare. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toyes; and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children such presents, as gave them in generall full content. Now in James Towne they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the Pinnace; which with the hazzard of his life, with Sakre falcon and musket shot, Smith forced now the third time to stay or sinke. Some no better then they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day to have put him to death by the Leviticall law, for the lives of Robinson and Emry, pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles, till he sent some of them prisoners for England. Now ever once in foure or five dayes, Pocahontas with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their lives, that els for all this had starved with hunger.

*Thus from numbe death our good God sent reliefe,
The sweete asswager of all other grieffe.*

His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at Werawocomoco, and of the state and bountie of Powhatan, (which till that time was unknowne) so revived their dead spirits (especially the love of Pocahontas) as all mens feare was abandoned: Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good indeavour: and the good successe of the businesse being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God hath still delivered it. As for the insufficiency of them admitted in Commission, that error could not be prevented by the Electors; there being no other choise, and all strangers to each others education, qualities, or disposition. And if any deeme it a shame to our Nation to have any mention made of those inormities, let them peruse the Histories of the Spanyards Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissentions have accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being knowne to be particular mens offences: doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, which malice, presumption, covetousnesse, or ignorance might produce; to the scandall and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserve a more worthy respect.

วิลเลียม แบริดฟอร์ด (William Bradford, 1590-1657)

ประวัติ

วิลเลียม แบริดฟอร์ด เกิดที่ยอร์กเชอร์ (Yorkshire) ประเทศอังกฤษ บิดาเป็นชาวนา แบริดฟอร์ดเป็นกำพร้าตั้งแต่เด็ก และได้รับการศึกษาตามแบบแผนน้อยมาก เมื่ออายุ 16 ปี เขาเข้าร่วมกับพวกเซพาราติสต์ (Separatist) เดินทางไปฮอลแลนด์เพื่อหนีการถูกดำเนินทางกฎหมายเกี่ยวกับศาสนา อายุ 27 ปี แบริดฟอร์ดได้กลายเป็นผู้นำของกลุ่มนี้ ในขณะที่อยู่ในฮอลแลนด์ แบริดฟอร์ดมีอาชีพเป็นช่างทอผ้าและเรียนภาษาอังกฤษกับภาษาดัตช์ ต่อมาเรียนภาษาฝรั่งเศส เยอรมัน และฮีบรู ปี ค.ศ. 1620 แบริดฟอร์ดได้เดินทางไปอเมริกาด้วยเรือเมย์ฟลาวเวอร์ (Mayflower) พร้อมผู้โดยสารประมาณ 100 คน หลังจากนั้น 1 ปี เขาได้รับเลือกเป็นผู้ว่าการหลังจากผู้ว่าการคนแรก คือ จอห์น คาร์เวอร์ (John Carver) ถึงแก่กรรม แบริดฟอร์ดเป็นผู้ที่ได้รับการเลือกเป็นผู้ว่าการถึง 35 ครั้ง เป็นผู้ที่มีมุ่งมั่นทำงานในฐานะผู้นำของอาณานิคมตั้งแต่ต้นจนถึงวาระสุดท้ายของชีวิต แบริดฟอร์ดยังเป็นผู้หนึ่งที่ร่วมเซ็นสัญญาเมย์ฟลาวเวอร์ (Mayflower Compact) กับรัฐบาลอังกฤษในสมัยแผ่นดินพระเจ้าเจมส์ด้วย

ลักษณะการเขียน

วิลเลียม แบริดฟอร์ด ได้เขียนบันทึกเล่าถึงประสบการณ์ของพวกพิลกริมที่อพยพมาจากอังกฤษและฮอลแลนด์เพื่อแสวงหาเสรีภาพทางศาสนา และได้บรรยายให้เห็นถึงความยิ่งใหญ่ของพระเจ้าที่มนุษย์ต้องยอมรับ ในการบรรยายแบริดฟอร์ดใช้ภาษาและแนวการเขียนที่เรียบง่ายต่อการเข้าใจ ศาสตราจารย์ โมเสส คอยท์ ไทเลอร์ (Moses Coit Tyler) ในหนังสือ *A History of American Literature* เล่มที่หนึ่ง ได้กล่าวยกย่อง วิลเลียม แบริดฟอร์ด ไว้ดังนี้

“วิลเลียม แบริดฟอร์ด แห่งเรือเมย์ฟลาวเวอร์และอาณานิคมพลีมัธ สมควรอย่างยิ่งที่จะได้รับสมญาว่าบิดาแห่งประวัติศาสตร์อเมริกัน เรามอบความเคารพแต่เขาในลักษณะเดียวกับที่เราได้มอบแก่นักเขียนคนอื่นๆ ผู้ซึ่งมีผลงานอันน่าประทับใจ และน่าชื่นชมในลักษณะงานประพันธ์ หากแต่เบื้องหลังการประพันธ์นั้นยังมีบางสิ่งที่น่าชื่นชมกว่านั้น และสิ่งนั้น คือ ลักษณะงานเขียนที่แข็งแกร่งด้วยความเป็นชายของเขานั้นเอง”⁶

⁶ฉันทนา ไชยจิต, งานเขียนชิ้นแรกในวรรณคดีอเมริกัน: ศตวรรษที่สิบเจ็ดถึงต้นศตวรรษที่ 20 (กรุงเทพมหานคร, 2522) หน้า 24-25.

ผลงาน

- **A Relation or Journal of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation Settled at Plymouth in New England (1622)** เป็นงานเขียนเรื่องแรก อยู่ในรูปจดหมายเหตุ
- **Dialogue between Some Young Men Born in New England and Sundry Ancient Men That Came Out of Holland** เป็นงานรวมบทสนทนา
- **History of Plymouth Plantation (1865)**

ตัดตอนจาก History of Plymouth Plantation

Chapter Nine—Of their Voyage, and how they Passed the Sea; and of their Safe Arrival at Cape Cod

September 6. These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued divers days together, which was some encouragement unto them; yet, according to the usual manner, many were afflicted with seasickness. And I may not omit here a special work of God's providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the seamen, of a lusty, able body, which made him the more haughty; he would always be contemning the poor people in their sickness and cursing them daily with grievous execrations; and did not let to tell them that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had; and if he were by any gently reprov'd, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleased God before they came half seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses light on his own head, and it was an astonishment to all his fellows for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him.

After they had enjoyed fair winds and weather for a season, they were encountered many times with cross winds and met with many fierce storms with which the ship was

shroudly¹ shaken, and her upper works made very leaky; and one of the main beams in the midships was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage. So some of the chief of the company, perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship as appeared by their mutterings, they entered into serious consultation with the master and other officers of the ship, to consider in time of the danger, and rather to return than to cast themselves into a desperate and inevitable peril. And truly there was great distraction and difference of opinion amongst the mariners themselves; fain would they do what could be done for their wages' sake (being now near half the seas over) and on the other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. But in examining of all opinions, the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water; and for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into his place; the which being done, the carpenter and master affirmed that with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck and other ways bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upper works, they would caulk them as well as they could, and though with the working of the ship they would not long keep staunch, yet there would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they committed themselves to the will of God and resolved to proceed.

In sundry of these storms the winds were so fierce and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull² for divers days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull in a mighty storm, a lusty³ young man called John Howland, coming upon some occasion above the gratings was, with a seele⁴ of the ship, thrown into sea; but it pleased God that he caught hold of the topsail halyards which hung overboard and ran out at length. Yet he held his hold (though he was sundry

¹An old form of "shrewdly" in its original meaning "wickedly".

²To heave or lay—to under very short sail and drift with the wind.

³Lively, merry; no sexual connotation. Howland, a servant of Governor Carver, rose to be one of the leading men of the Colony.

⁴Roll or pitch.

fathoms under water) till he was hauled up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat hook and other means got into the ship again and his life saved. And though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after and became a profitable member both in church and commonwealth. In all this voyage there died but one of the passengers, which was William Batten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near the coast.

But to omit other things (that I may be brief) after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod,⁵ the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation.⁶ But after they had sailed that course about half the day. they fell amongst

⁵At day break 9/19 Nov. 1620, they sighted the Highlands of Cape Cod. Full discussion in W. Sears Nickerson, *Land Ho! -1620*, chap 4.

⁶This is the only direct statement in the *History* as to whither the *Mayflower* was bound. I see no reason to doubt its accuracy. It is borne out by Bradford's own journal in *Mourt's Relation*: "We made our course south-southwest, purposing to go to a river ten leagues to the south of the Cape, but at night the wind being contrary, we put round again for the Bay of Cape Cod." Although the mouth of the Hudson is nearer 15 than 10 leagues south of the Cape in latitude, the Pilgrims' knowledge of New England geography was far from exact, and the Hudson was doubtless meant. The Virginia Company, which had granted the Peirce Patent which the Pilgrims brought with them, had a right to colonize up to lat. 41° N, which included Manhattan Island. The Dutch did not settle Manhattan (the famous \$24 purchase) until 1624, although they claimed the region by virtue of Hudson's voyage in 1609; the English never admitted their claim, and the Pilgrims, who certainly had heard of the Hudson River and from the several Dutch voyages thither before 1620, doubtless hoped to be first at that natural center for fur trade and fishing, and were glad to rely on their Patent from the Virginia Company both for local self-government and for protection from Dutch encroachment. John Pory, the Secretary of Virginia who visited Plymouth Colony in 1622, reported that "their voyage was intended for Virginia." They carried letters, he says, from Sir Edwin Sandys and John Ferrar to Governor Sir George Yeardley recommending "that he should give them the best advice he could for trading in Hudson's River." Champlin Burrage, *John Pory's Lost Description of the sea between it and Cape Cod. of Plymouth*, (1918), p. 35. The theory that Master Jones of the *Mayflower* was bribed by the Dutch to set the Pilgrims ashore at a safe distance from Manhattan has a respectable antiquity but no basis in fact. No seaman who has weathered Cape Cod needs any better explanation than a head wind in unbuoyed Pollock Rip to explain why the *Mayflower* turned back.

dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as, they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them as by God's good providence they did. And the next day⁷ they got into the Cape and Harbor⁸ where they rid in safety.

A word or two by the way of this cape. It was thus first named by Captain Gosnold and his company,⁹ Anno 1602, and after by Captain Smith was called Cape James; but it retains the former name amongst seamen. Also, that point which first showed those dangerous shoals unto them they called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabar by reason of those perilous shoals and the losses they have suffered there.¹⁰

Being thus arrived in a good harbor, and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven¹¹ who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries there of, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy, as he affirmed, that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land than pass by sea to any place in a short time, so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.¹²

⁷Nov. 11/21, 1620. Thus the *Mayflower's* passage from Plymouth took 65 days.

⁸Now Provincetown Harbor.

⁹Because they took much of that fish there [Bradford note].

¹⁰The location of these places is discussed by W. Sears Nickerson, chap. iii. He believes that the original Point Care and Tucker's Terror (so named by Gosnold) and Mallebarre (named by Champlain) were at Nauset Harbor. The name Mallebarre later became transferred to Monomoy, which is called Cape Malabar in the *Atlantic Neptune* (1774), Anthony Finley's *New General Atlas* (1832), U.S. Coast Survey Chart No. 11 (1860), *Black's General Atlas American Edition* (1879), and E.G. Perry's *A Trip Around Cape Cod* (1898), p. 206. Thereafter it drops out, except as a name for John Alden's yachts.

¹¹Daniel 2.19.

¹²Epistle 53 (Bradford). The sentence is in Seneca, *ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales liii* 8, 5 : *Et ego quocumque navigare debuero, vicesimo anno pervenam.*

But here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition; and so I think will the reader, too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before), they had now no friends to welcome them nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies; no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succour. It is recorded in Scripture¹³ as a mercy to the Apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians showed them no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows than otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that contry know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men—and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weather-beaten face, and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is true; but what heard they daily from the master and company? But that with speed they should look out a place (with their shallop) where they would be, at some near distance; for the season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them, where they would be, and he might go without danger; and that victuals consumed apace but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves and their return. Yea, it was muttered by some that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them. Let it also be considered what weak hopes of supply and

¹³Acts 28.2 [Bradford note].

succour they left behind them, that might bear up their minds in this sad condition and trials they were under; and they could not but be very small. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them or themselves; and how the case stood between them and the merchants at their coming away hath already been declared.

What could now sustain them but the Spirit of God and His grace? May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: "Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and He heard their voice and looked on their adversity,"¹⁴ etc. "Let them therefore praise the Lord, because He is good: and His mercies endure forever." "Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord, shew how He hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. When they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in, both hungry and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the Lord His loving-kindness and His wonderful works before the sons of men."¹⁵

Chapter Ten—Showing How they Sought out a place of Habitation; and what Befell them Thereabout

Being thus arrived at Cape Cod the 11th of November, and necessity calling them to look out a place for habitation (as well as the masters and mariners' importunity); they having brought a large shallop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in the ship, they now got her out and set their carpenters to work to trim her up; but being much bruised and shattered in the ship with foul weather, they saw she would be long in mending. Whereupon a few of them tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, whilst the shallop was in mending; and the rather because as they went into that harbor there seemed to be an opening some two or three leagues off,

¹⁴Deuteronomy 26. 5, 7 [Bradford's note].

¹⁵Psalms 107. 1-5, 8 [Bradford's note].

which the master judged to be a river.¹⁶ It was conceived there might be some danger in the attempt. Yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to go, being sixteen of them well armed under the conduct of Captain Standish,¹⁷ having such instructions given them as was thought meet.

They set forth the 15th of November; and when they had marched about the space of a mile by the seaside, they espied five or six persons with a dog coming towards them, who were savages; but they fled from them and ran up into the woods, and the English followed them, partly to see if they could speak with them, and partly to discover if there might not be more of them lying in ambush. But the Indians seeing themselves thus followed, they again forsook them woods and ran away on the sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by the track of their feet sundry miles and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their rendezvous and set out their sentinels and rested in quiet that night; and the next morning followed their track till they had headed a great creek and so left the sands, and turned another way into the woods. But they still followed them by guess, hoping to find their dwellings; but they soon lost both them and themselves, falling into such thickets as were ready to tear their clothes and armor in pieces; but were most distressed for want of drink. But at length they found water and refreshed themselves, being the first New England water they drunk of, and was now in great thirst as pleasant unto them as wine or beer had been in foretimes.

¹⁶Looking south from Provincetown Harbor where the Pilgrims then were, the high land near Plymouth looks like an island on clear days, suggesting that there is a river or arm of the sea between it and Cape Cod.

¹⁷Myles Standish, scion of an old Lancashire family, was now about 36 years old. A soldier of fortune in the wars of the Netherlands, he was engaged either by Weston or the Carver-Cushman committee to go with the colonists and handle their military affairs. Though a "stranger" to the Leyden Pilgrims, Standish, like John Alden the hired cooper, became one of their staunchest supporters. Bradford, Hopkins and Tilley accompanied Standish. More details on these exploring expeditions will be found in the extracts from Bradford's and Winslow's Journals which were published in London in 1622 as *A Relation or Journall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth in New England, by certain English Adventurers both Merchants and others*. As the authors' names did not appear, and the preface was signed "G. Mourt," this is generally called *Mourt's Relation* (although who Mourt was, nobody knows). Several times reprinted, it is included in Alexander Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* (1841).

Afterwards they directed their course to come to the other shore, for they knew it was a neck of land they were to cross over, and so at length got to the seaside and marched to this supposed river, and by the way found a pond¹⁸ of clear, fresh water, and shortly after a good quantity of clear ground where the Indians had formerly set corn, and some of their graves. And proceeding further they saw new stubble where corn had been set the same year; also they found where lately a house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands. Which, they digging up, found in them divers fair Indian baskets filled with corn, and some in ears, fair and good, of divers colours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight (having never seen any such before) This was near the place of that supposed river they came to seek, unto which they went and found it to open itself into two arms with a high cliff of sand in the entrance¹⁹ but more like to be creeks of salt water than any fresh, for aught they saw; and that there was good harborage for their shallop, leaving it further to be discovered by their shallop, when she was ready. So their time limited them being expired, they returned to the ship lest they should be in fear of their safety; and took with them part of the corn and buried up the rest. And so, like the men from Eshcol, carried with them of the fruits of the land showed their brethren,²⁰ of which, and their return, they were marvelously glad and their hearts encouraged.

After this, the shallop being got ready, they set out again for the better discovery of this place, and the master of the ship desired to go himself. So there went some thirty men but found it to be no harbor for ships but only for boats.²¹ There was also found two

¹⁸The pond that gives its name to Pond Village, Truro.

¹⁹Pamet River, a salt creek that almost bisects the Cape in Truro. The place where they found the corn is still called Corn Hill. It runs along the Bay side, just north of Little Pamet River.

²⁰Numbers 13. 23-6.

²¹This second exploring expedition, which started by boat, 28 Nov., made for the mouth of the Pamet River (later called Cold Harbor), which still is good for boats only. Readers interested in further details may profitably consult *Mourt's Relation*, the 1865 edition of which, edited by Henry Martyn Dexter, has an excellent map with details of the routes. This second expedition ranged up and down the valleys of the Pamet and Little Pamet Rivers, and returned to Cape Cod Harbor on 30 Nov. by the shallop. The Indians who lived in this region were the Nauset; they built arborlike wigwams of boughs bent over and stuck in the ground at both ends,

of their houses covered with mats, and sundry of their implements in them, but the people were run away and could not be seen. Also there was found more of their corn and of their beans of various colours; the corn and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them as, about some six months afterward they did, to their good content.

And here is to be noted a special providence of God, and a great mercy to this poor people, that here they got seed to plant them corn the next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none nor any likelihood to get any till the season had been past, as the sequel did manifest. Neither is it likely they had had this, if the first voyage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow and hard frozen; but the Lord is never wanting unto His in their greatest needs; let His holy name have all the praise.

The month of November being spent in these affairs, and much foul weather falling in, the 6th of December they sent out their shallop again with ten of their principal men²² and some seamen, upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cape Cod. The weather was very cold and it froze so hard as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed. Yet that night betimes they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some ten or twelve Indians very busy about something. They landed about a league or two from them,²³ and

woven by smaller boughs into a stout frame and covered with woven mats or strips of bark. Descendants of the Nauset still survive in the village of Mashpee on Cape Cod.

²²The names of the ten (from *Mourt's Relation*) are Standish, Carver and his servant Howland, Bradford, Winslow, John and Edward Tilley, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins and his servant Dotch, also the pilots, John Clarke and Robert Coppin, and the master gunner and three sailors, whose names are unknown. *Mourt's Relation* states that after the return of the second exploring expedition there was much debate on board the *Mayflower* whether they should settle at Pamet River, at Agawam (the later Ipswich), which looked good on Captain John Smith's map, at Cape Ann, or at Plymouth. On the strength of the recommendations of Coppin, who had been to Plymouth on a previous voyage and offered to pilot them thither, they decided to investigate that place before deciding.

²³Somewhere in the present Eastham, at one of the several beaches (Kingsbury, Campground, Silver Spring), north of the Great Pond. The tide along this shore runs out very far. The barricade where they passed the night was (according to H.M. Dexter's researches) a few hundred yards northwest of the Great Pond.

had much ado to put ashore anywhere—it lay so full of flats. Being landed, it grew late and they made themselves a barricado with logs and boughs as well as they could in the time, and set out their sentinel and betook them to rest, and saw the smoke of the fire the savages made that night. When morning was come they divided their company, some to coast along the shore in the boat, and the rest marched through the woods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came also to the place where they saw the Indians the night before, and found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus,²⁴ being some two inches thick of fat like a hog, some pieces whereof they had left by the way. And the shallop found two more of these fishes dead on the sands, a thing usual after storms in that place, by reason of the great flats of sand that lie off.

So they ranged up and down all that day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When the sun grew low, they hasted out of the woods to meet with their shallop, to whom they made signs to come to them into a creek hard by,²⁵ the which they did at high water; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all that day since the morning. So they made them a barricade as usually they did every night, with logs, stakes and thick pine boughs, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from the cold and wind (making their fire in the middle and lying round about it) and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages, if they should surround them; so being very weary, they betook them to rest. But about midnight they heard a hideous and great cry, and their sentinel called “Arm! arm !” So they bestirred them and stood to their arms and shot off a couple of muskets, and then the noise ceased. They concluded it was a company of wolves or such like wild beasts, for one of the seamen told them he had often heard such a noise in Newfoundland.

So they rested till about five of the clock in the morning; for the tide, and their purpose to go from thence, made them be stirring betimes. So after prayer they prepared

²⁴This was probably one of the blackfish (*Globicephala melaena*) that frequently get stranded on Cape Cod.

²⁵The mouth of Herring River, in the present Eastham. The beach north of the river mouth, where the action about to be described took place, is still called First Encounter Beach.

for breakfast, and it being day dawning it was thought best to be carrying things down to the boat. But some said it was not best to carry the arms down, others said they would be the readier, for they had lapped them up in their coats from the dew; but some three or four would not carry theirs till they went themselves. Yet as it fell out, the water being not high enough, they laid them down on the bank side and came up to breakfast.

But presently, all on the sudden, they heard a great and strange cry, which they knew to be the same voices they heard in the night, though they varied their notes; and one of their company being abroad came running in and cried, "Men, Indians! Indians!" And withal, their arrows came flying amongst them. Their men ran with all speed to recover their arms, as by the good providence of God they did. In the meantime, of those that were there ready, two muskets were discharged at them, and two more stood ready in the entrance of their rendezvous but were commanded not to shoot till they could take full aim at them. And the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four had arms there, and defended the barricado, which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of the rendezvous toward the shallop to recover their arms, the Indians wheeling about upon them. But some running out with coats of mail on, and cutlasses in their hands, they soon got their arms and let fly amongst them and quickly stopped their violence. Yet there was a lusty man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot, and let his arrows fly at them; he was seen [to] shoot three arrows, which were all avoided. He stood three shots of a musket, till one taking full aim at him and made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears, after which he gave an extraordinary shriek and away they went, all of them. They³⁶ left some to keep the shallop and followed them about a quarter of a mile and shouted once or twice, and shot off two or three pieces, and so returned. This they did that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them or any way discouraged.

Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies and give them deliverance; and by His special providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurt or hit,

³⁶I.e., the English.

though their arrows came close by them and on every side [of] them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricado, were shot through and through. Afterwards they gave God solemn thanks and praise for their deliverance, and gathered up a bundle of their arrows and sent them into England afterward by the master of the ship, and called that place the First Encounter.

From hence they departed and coasted all along but discerned no place likely for harbor; and therefore hasted to a place that their pilot (one Mr. Coppin who had been in the country before) did assure them was a good harbor, which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad for it began to be foul weather.

After some hours' sailing it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon the wind increased and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder, and it was as much as two men could do to steer her with a couple of oars. But their pilot bade them be of good cheer for he saw the harbor; but the storm increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what sail they could to get in, while they could see. But herewith they broke their mast in three pieces and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away. Yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood²⁷ with them, struck into the harbor. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived in the place, and said the Lord be merciful unto them for his eyes never saw

²⁷I.e., the flood tide. The mean rise and fall of tide there is about 9 ft. Plymouth Bay, even today when well buoyed, is a bad place to enter in thick weather with a sea running and night coming on. For if you do not steer for the Gurnet, the high point that marks the northern entrance to Plymouth Bay, you run afoul of Browns Bank, which breaks all over in heavy weather or at low tide; in 1620 a part of this bank was dry at all tides. Coppin, I believe, mistook the Gurnet for Saquish Head, and Saquish for Goose Point; steering between them so as to enter the harbor, he was unnerved by seeing the breakers in Saquish Cove. Mr. Gershom Bradford, late of the U.S. Hydrographic Survey, has a different interpretation: that the storm blew from the NE, not the SE, that the shallop clung to the shoreline and worked through the boat channel between Browns Bank and Long Beach, and that the cove full of breakers was Warrens Cove east of Long Beach. In either case, it is clear that the rowers, encouraged by the "lusty seaman" at the steering oar, managed to weather Saquish Head, behind which they found shelter and good anchorage late in the night of Friday 8 Dec. 1620. They spent Saturday and Sunday 9 and 10 Dec. on Clarks Island, and made the famous "landing" on the 11th.

that place before; and he and the master's mate would have run her ashore in a cove full of breakers before the wind. But a lusty seaman which steered bade those which rowed, if they were men, about with her or else they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheer and row lustily, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety. And though it was very dark and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island and remained there all that night in safety. But they knew not this to be an island till morning, but were divided in their minds; some would keep the boat for fear they might be amongst the Indians, others were so wet and cold they could not endure but got ashore, and with much ado got fire (all things being so wet); and the rest were glad to come to them, for after midnight the wind shifted to the northwest and it froze hard.

But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning of comfort and refreshing (as usually He doth to His children) for the next day was a fair, sunshining day, and they found themselves to be on an island secure from the Indians, where they might dry their stuff, fix their pieces and rest themselves; and gave God thanks for His mercies in their manifold deliverances. And this being the last day of the week, they prepared there to keep the Sabbath.

On Monday they sounded the harbor and found it fit for shipping, and marched into the land and found divers cornfields and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation.²⁸ At least it was the best they could find, and the season and

²⁸Here is the only contemporary authority for the "*Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock*" on Monday, 11/21 Dec. 1620. It is clear that the landing took place from the shallop, not the *Mayflower*, which was then moored in Provincetown Harbor; that no women were involved in it, and no Indians or anyone else were on the receiving end. Nor is it clear that they landed on the large boulder since called Plymouth Rock. That boulder was identified in 1741 by Elder John Faunce, aged 95, as the "*place where the forefathers landed*," and although he probably only meant to say that they used it as a landing place, for it would have been very convenient for that purpose at half tide, everyone seems to have assumed that they "*first*" landed there. The exploring party may have landed anywhere between Captain's Hill and the Rock.

their present necessity made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship again with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the 15th of December they weighed anchor to go to the place they had discovered, and came within two leagues of it, but were fain to bear up again; but the 16th day, the wind came fair, and they arrived safe in this harbor. And afterwards took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwelling; and the 25th day began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods.²⁹

อธิบายคำศัพท์

คำศัพท์	ความหมาย
bless	สรรเสริญ ขอขอบคุณ
furious	บ้าคลั่ง
peril	ภัยอันตราย
cannot but	เท่านั้น
wild men	คนป่า (ในที่นี้หมายถึง อินเดีย)
redeem	ช่วยให้หลุดพ้น
shallop	เรือเล็ก
pilot	ต้นหน
deliverances	การปลดปล่อย (จากความทุกข์ยาก)
weigh anchor	ทอดสมอเรือ

สาระสำคัญ

บรรดฟอร์ดเริ่มเขียนงานชิ้นนี้ในปี ค.ศ. 1630 และเสร็จในปี ค.ศ. 1651 ผลงานชิ้นนี้ไม่ได้ตีพิมพ์จนกระทั่ง 200 กว่าปีต่อมา จึงมีคนไปพบที่ประเทศอังกฤษและตีพิมพ์ในปี ค.ศ. 1865

²⁹ *Mourt's Relation*, p. 23 says that after the *Mayflower's* arrival in Plymouth Bay on 16/26 Dec. the men explored the bay again and debated whether to settle at Plymouth, the because much of the land was already cleared and a fort on the hill—now Burial Hill—could command the surrounding country; and because “a very sweet brook”— the Town Brook— “runs under the hillside”.

งานเขียนชิ้นนี้ของ วิลเลียม แบรดฟอร์ด ถือเป็นงานเขียนที่สำคัญและมีขนาดยาวมากที่สุดโดยแบ่งเนื้อหาออกเป็นภาค ๆ ภาคที่หนึ่งกล่าวถึงการเริ่มต้นและการเคลื่อนไหวของลัทธิโปรแตสแตนท์จนถึงการเทียบท่าฝั่งที่อ่าวพลีมัธของเรือเมย์ฟลาวเวอร์ในปี ค.ศ. 1620 ภาคที่สองบรรยายเรื่องราวเกี่ยวกับอาณานิคมพลีมัธเป็นส่วนใหญ่จนถึงช่วงเวลาปี ค.ศ. 1646 ศาสตราจารย์ เจมส์ ดี ฮาร์ท (James D. Hart) ในหนังสือ *America's Literature* ได้กล่าวถึงงานชิ้นนี้ว่า

“เรื่องนี้เป็นงานที่น่าประทับใจมากที่สุดในจำนวนเรื่องราวพรรณนาที่เล่าเกี่ยวกับชีวิตในนิวอิงแลนด์ในระยะเริ่มแรก และแม้ว่าจะมีบางตอนของเรื่องที่แสดงถึงอคติในด้านความคิดของผู้เขียน แต่เรื่องราวทั้งหมดส่วนใหญ่เป็นเรื่องที่แท้จริง ถูกต้อง และปราศจากฉันทาคติใด ๆ ตามลักษณะของ วิลเลียม แบรดฟอร์ด ผู้เขียน”^๑

History of Plymouth Plantation มีความสำคัญดังนี้

1. เป็นผลงานที่ได้บันทึกเหตุการณ์ต่าง ๆ ในช่วงปี ค.ศ. 1630 ถึงปี ค.ศ. 1650 ซึ่งเป็นช่วงที่อาณานิคมกำลังประสบความยากลำบากอย่างมาก เนื่องจากผู้อพยพได้ล้มตายลงจำนวนมาก โดยแบรดฟอร์ดได้กล่าวถึงความทุกข์ยาก ความรู้สึกนึกคิดที่มีต่อการดำรงชีวิตบนทวีปอเมริกาและความขัดแย้งกับพวกอินเดียน นอกจากนี้แบรดฟอร์ดยังได้แสดงให้เห็นถึงความเชื่อมั่นในพระเจ้าตามแนวลัทธิพิวริตันด้วย เพราะไม่ว่าผู้อพยพจะทำอะไรหรืออะไรเกิดขึ้นก็ถือเป็นพระประสงค์ของพระเจ้า การที่จะพ้นจากความทุกข์ยากทั้งหลายได้นั้นทุกคนจะต้องสวดอ้อนวอนขอพระเมตตาจากพระเจ้า

2. อาจกล่าวได้ว่างานเขียนของแบรดฟอร์ด สามารถใช้เป็นเอกสารทางประวัติศาสตร์ได้ เพราะผู้เขียนได้ลงบันทึกไว้อย่างละเอียดว่ามีเหตุการณ์อะไรเกิดขึ้นในวัน เดือน ปี นั้น ๆ เช่น ในวันที่ 25 เดือนธันวาคม ผู้อพยพได้สร้างบ้านเรือนเป็นครั้งแรกที่พลีมัธ เดือนตุลาคม ค.ศ. 1621 ผู้อพยพได้จัดงานเลี้ยงฉลองเพื่อเฉลิมฉลองฤดูกาลเก็บเกี่ยวที่ได้ผลดี โดยเรียกวันนี้ว่า “วันขอบคุณพระเจ้า”

ในการบรรยายเหตุการณ์ต่าง ๆ นั้น แบรดฟอร์ดใช้ภาษาเรียบและง่ายต่อการเข้าใจ ซึ่งเป็นลักษณะที่พวกพิวริตันชอบ และจากการที่แบรดฟอร์ดรู้ภาษาละตินและกรีก ผู้อ่านจึงพบภาษาละตินและกรีกแทรกอยู่ในงานเขียนของเขาบ่อยครั้ง

^๑เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 25-26.

ตัดตอนจาก Of Plymouth Plantation, Book II

[The Mayflower Compact (1620)]

I shall a little return back, and begin with a combination made by them before they came ashore; being the first foundation of their government in this place. Occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship: That when they came ashore they would use their own liberty, for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia and not for New England, which belonged to another government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do. And partly that such an act by them done, this their condition considered, might be as firm, as any patent, and in some respects more sure.

In The Name Of God, Amen.

We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc.

Having undertaken, for the Glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the First Colony in the Northern Parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, Covenant and Combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends afore-

said; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620.

After this they chose, or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver (a man godly and well approved amongst them) their Governor for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or common store (which were long in unlading for want of boats, foulness of the winter weather and sickness of divers) and begun some small cottages for their habitation; as time would admit, they met and consulted of laws and orders, both for their civil and military government as the necessity of their condition did require, still adding thereunto as urgent occasion in several times, and as cases did require.

In these hard and difficult beginnings they found some discontents and murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches and carriage in other; but they were soon quelled and overcome by the wisdom, patience, and just and equal carriage of things, by the Governor and better part, which clave faithfully together in the main.