

## บทที่ 7

### นักเขียนอเมริกันในคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 18

เมื่อผู้อพยพได้ตั้งถิ่นฐานในทวีปอเมริกาแล้วก็ได้ดำเนินชีวิตโดยพยายามปรับตัวให้เข้ากับภูมิประเทศ เช่น ถ้าตั้งถิ่นฐานทางใต้จะปลูกยาสูบ กล่าวได้ว่า ในช่วงนี้เป็นช่วงที่ทุกคนได้ผ่านพ้นช่วงของการสำรวจหาดินแดนเพื่อที่จะตั้งบ้านเมือง มีเมืองต่าง ๆ ที่ตั้งขึ้นโดยผู้อพยพ นักเขียนอเมริกันในช่วงนี้ส่วนมากจึงไม่ได้เขียนเกี่ยวกับการสำรวจดินแดนดังเช่น วิลเลียม แบริดฟอร์ด, กัปตัน จอห์น สมิธ แต่ส่วนมากจะเขียนบรรยายการดำเนินชีวิตของตนเอง หรือไม่กี่บรรยายสิ่งที่ได้พบในอเมริกา นักเขียนในช่วงนี้แบ่งออกเป็นกลุ่มได้ดังนี้

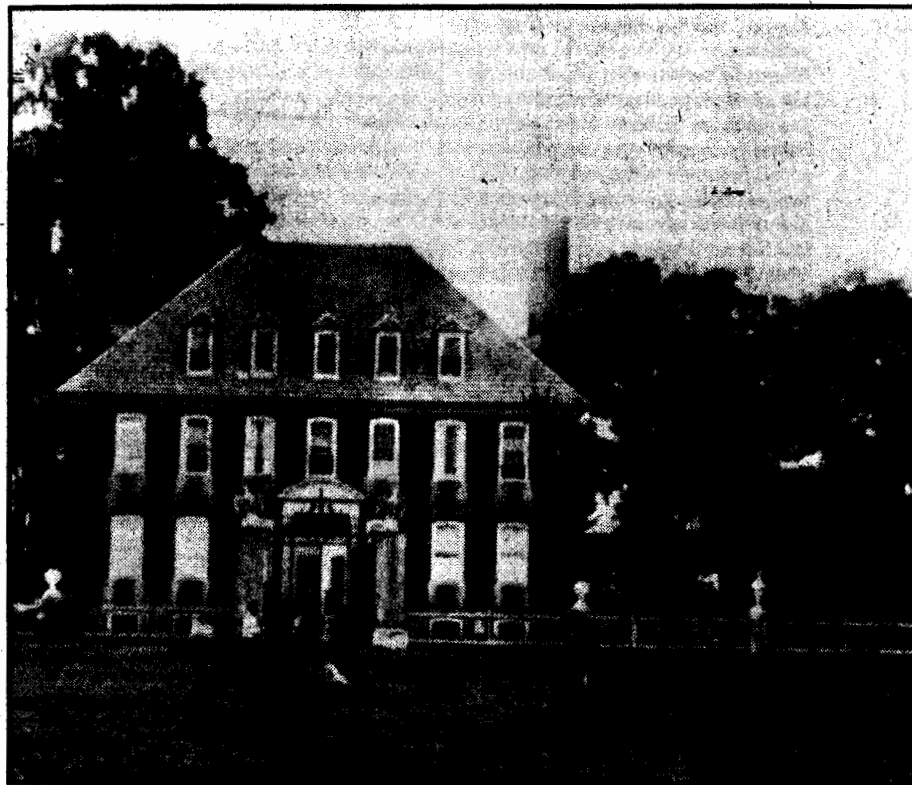
1. กลุ่มที่เขียนบรรยายชีวิตประจำวัน เช่น วิลเลียม เบิร์ด (William Byrd, 1674-1744)
2. กลุ่มที่บรรยายถึงความขัดแย้งกับกลุ่มผู้อพยพอื่น เช่น จอห์น ฟิลสัน (John Filson, 1747-1788)
3. กลุ่มที่เป็นนักสังเกต (observer) ว่ามีอะไรเกิดขึ้นที่โลกใหม่ เช่น มิเชล - กิโยม ฌอง เดอ แครฟเวอเกอร์ (Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, 1735-1813)

#### วิลเลียม เบิร์ด (William Byrd, 1674-1744)

##### ประวัติ

วิลเลียม เบิร์ด เกิดปี ค.ศ. 1674 ที่เวสต์โอเวอร์ (Westover) ซึ่งเป็นชายแดนของเวอร์จิเนีย บิดาเป็นนักการเมืองท้องถิ่นและเจ้าของไร่ยาสูบ เมื่ออายุ 7 ปี บิดาส่งไปศึกษาที่ประเทศอังกฤษจนจบการศึกษาทางด้านกฎหมายจาก มิดเดิล เท็มเพิล (Middle Temple) ในลอนดอน ปี ค.ศ. 1696 เมื่อเขากลับไปเวอร์จิเนียได้รับเลือกให้เป็นสมาชิกของสมัชชาเวอร์จิเนีย ปีต่อมาเขากลับไปลอนดอนในฐานะตัวแทนสมัชชา ปี ค.ศ. 1704 เบิร์ดกลับอเมริกาเพราะบิดาเสียชีวิต ปี ค.ศ. 1706 เขาแต่งงาน และในปี ค.ศ. 1709 เขาได้เป็นสมาชิกของสภาแห่งรัฐเวอร์จิเนีย (Council of State of Virginia) ซึ่งเบิร์ดได้รับเลือกให้เป็นตัวแทนของสภาในการต่อสู้เพื่ออาณานิคม ด้วยเหตุผลนี้ชีวิตส่วนใหญ่ของเบิร์ดจะอยู่ที่อังกฤษในฐานะตัวแทนของอาณานิคมมากกว่าในอเมริกา (ในปี ค.ศ. 1715-1720 และอีกครั้งในปี ค.ศ. 1721-1726) เมื่อกลับไปอยู่ที่อเมริกาในปี ค.ศ. 1728 เบิร์ดได้รับเลือกเป็นประธานของกรรมาธิการแบ่งเขตแดนระหว่างเวอร์จิเนียกับแคโรไลนาเหนือ

เบิร์ตเป็นผู้ที่รักการอ่าน ดังนั้น คฤหาสน์ของเขาซึ่งสร้างขึ้นในช่วงปี ค.ศ. 1730 จึงเป็นห้องสมุดขนาดใหญ่ที่มีหนังสือมากกว่า 3,600 เล่ม และยังมีบันทึกส่วนตัวที่เขียนด้วยตัวเลข (ต่อมาได้รับการแปล) เบิร์ตเป็นผู้ที่เห็นว่าบรรดาเจ้าของไร่ควรมีสิทธิ์ตั้งผู้ว่าการและจัดเก็บภาษีของตนเอง



● บ้าน วิลเลียม เบิร์ต ที่เวสต์โอเวอร์

### ลักษณะงานเขียน

ชีวิตประจำวันของพวกผู้ดีทางใต้ในช่วงปี ค.ศ. 1709-1712 และ ปี ค.ศ. 1739-1741 คือ สิ่งที่ วิลเลียม เบิร์ต บรรยายไว้ในบันทึกส่วนตัวของเขา โดยคนเหล่านี้ใช้ชีวิตในการอ่านหนังสือสมัยกรีกและโรมัน เยี่ยมเยือนเพื่อนฝูง ต้มเหล้าสังสรรค์กันระหว่างพวกผู้ชาย ทะเลาะกับภรรยา การสวดมนต์ขอบคุณพระเจ้าก็ทำพอเป็นพิธีเท่านั้น กล่าวได้ว่า ผลงานของเบิร์ตได้ให้ภาพการดำเนินชีวิตของคนทางใต้ในคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 18 เขาเป็นผู้ที่ขอบสังเกตคน 2 กลุ่มอย่างละเอียด คือ กลุ่มเจ้าของที่ดิน และกลุ่มชาวไร่ชาวนาเล็กๆ ในชนบทซึ่งมีความแตกต่างกัน และในบันทึกของเขาผู้อ่านมักจะรู้สึกถึงอารมณ์ขันที่ วิลเลียม เบิร์ต ใส่ไว้ ดังเช่น

*"Though not primarily a humorist, he's capable of delicious drollery as in this sentence: 'Just behind the marble fountain was a covered bench where Miss Theky often sat and bewailed her virginity.'"*<sup>11</sup>

#### ผลงาน

- *The History of the Dividing Line (1841)*
- *A Progress to the Mines*
- *A Journey to the Land of Eden*
- *Secret Diaries (บางส่วนตีพิมพ์ใน ปี ค.ศ. 1941 และ 1942) ผลงานชิ้นนี้*

#### อยู่ในรูปของตัวเลข

##### Letters

- *"To Sir Hans Sloane, April 20, 1706"*
- *"To John Fox, 1718?"*
- *"To Charmante, November 7, 1722"*
- *"To Benjamin Lynde, February 20, 1735 (6)"*
- *"To Lord Egmont, July 12, 1736"*
- *"To Lucretia"*
- *"To Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery"*
- *"To John Boyle, Baron Boyle of Broghill"*

ตัดตอนจาก *"The History of the Dividing Line: On the Fringes of the Dismal Swamp, 1728"*

(March) 10. (1728) The Sabbath happen'd very opportunely to give some ease to our jaded People, who rested religiously from every work, but that of cooking the Kettle. We observed very few corn-fields in our Walks, and those very small, which seem'd the Stranger to us, because we could see no other Tokens of Husbandry or Improvement. But, upon further Inquiry, we were given to understand People only

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<sup>11</sup>Stanley M. Vogel and Ella M. Murphy, *An Outline of American Literature Volume 1-Colonial Origins to the Civil War 1* (Boston: Mass, 1961), p. 28.

made Corn for themselves and not for their Stocks, which know very well how to get their own Living.

Both Cattle and Hogs ramble in the Neighbouring Marshes and Swamps, where they maintain themselves the whole Winter long, and are not fetch'd home till the Spring. Thus these Indolent Wretches, during one half of the Year, lose the Advantage of the Milk of their cattle, as well as their Dung, and many of the poor Creatures perish in the Mire, into the Bargain, by this ill Management.

Some, who pique themselves more upon Industry than their Neighbours, will, now and then, in compliment to their Cattle, cut down a Tree whose Limbs are loaden with the Moss aforementioned. The trouble wou'd be too great to Climb the Tree in order to gather this Provender, but the Shortest way (which in this Country is always counted the best) is to fell it, just like the Lazy Indians, who do the same by such Trees as bear fruit, and so make one Harvest for all. By this bad Husbandry Milk is so Scarce, in the Winter Season, that were a Big-belly'd Woman to long for it, She would lose her Longing. And, in truth, I believe this is often the Case, and at the same time a very good reason why so many People in this Province are markt with a Custard Complexion.

The only Business here is raising of Hogs, which is manag'd with the least Trouble, and affords the Diet they are most fond of Tthe Truth of it is, the Inhabitants of N Carolina devour so much Swine's flesh, that it fills them full of gross Humours. For want too of a constant Supply of Salt, they are commonly obliged to eat it Fresh, and that begets the highest taint of Scurvy. Thus, whenever a Severe Cold happens to Constitutions thus Vitiated, tis apt to improve into the Yaws, called there very justly country-Distemper. This has all the Symptoms of the Pox, with this Aggravation, that no Preparation of Mercury will touch it. First it seizes the Throat, next the Palate, and lastly shews its spite to the poor Nose, of which tis apt in a small time treacherously to undermine the Foundation.

This Calamity is so common and familiar here, that it ceases to be a Scandal, and in the disputes that happen about Beauty, the Noses have in some Companies much ado to carry it. Nay, tis said that once, after three good Pork years, a Motion had like to have been made in the House of Burgesses, that a Man with a Nose shou'd be incapable of holding any Place of Profit in the Province; which Extraordinary Motion could never have intended without Some Hopes of a Majority.

Thus, considering the foul and pernicious Effects of Eating Swine's Flesh in a hot Country, it was wisely forbidden and made an Abomination to the Jews, who liv'd much in the same Latitude with Carolina....

(March 17) Since the Surveyors had enter'd the Dismal, they had laid Eyes on no living Creature: neither Bird nor Beast, Insect nor Reptile came in View. Doubtless, the Eternal Shade that broods over this is mighty Bog, and hinders the sun-beams from blessing the Ground, makes it an uncomfortable Habitation for any thing that has life. Not so much as a Zealand Frog cou'd endure so Aguish a Situation.

It had one Beauty, however, that delighted the Eye, tho' at the Expense of all the Senses: the Moisture of the Soil preserves a continual Verdure, and makes every Plant an Evergreen, but at the same time the foul Damps ascend without ceasing, corrupt the Air, and render it unfit for Respiration. Not even a Turkey-Buzzard will venture to fly over it, no more than the Italian Vultures will over the filthy Lake Avernus, or the Birds in the Holy-Land over the Salt Sea, where Sodom and Gomorrah formerly stood.

In these sad Circumstances, the kindest thing we cou'd do for our Suffering Friends was to give them a place in the Litany. Our Chaplain, for his Part, did his Office, and rubb'd us up with a Seasonable Sermon. This was quite a new thing to our Brethren of North Carolina, who live in a climate where no clergyman can Breathe, any more than Spiders in Ireland.

For want of men in Holy Orders, both the Members of the Council and Justices of the Peace are empower'd by the Laws of that Country to marry all those who will not take one another's Word; but for the ceremony of Christening their children, they trust that to chance. If a Parson come in their way, they will crave a Cast of his office, as they call it, else they are content their Offspring should remain as Arrant Pagans as themselves. They account it among their greatest advantages that they are not Priest-ridden, not remembering that the Clergy is rarely guilty of Bestriding such as have the misfortune to be poor.

One thing may be said for the Inhabitants of that Province, that they are not troubled with any Religious fumes, and have the least Superstition of any people living. They do not know Sunday from any other day, any more than Robinson Crusoe did, which would give them a great Advantage were they given to be industrious. But they keep so many Sabbaths every week, that their disregard of the Seventh Day has no manner of cruelty in it, either to Servants or Cattle.

It was with some difficulty we cou'd make our People quit the good cheer they met with at this House, so it was late before we took our Departure, but to make us amends, our Landlord was so good as to conduct us Ten Miles on our Way, as far as the Cypress Swamp, which drains itself into the Dismal. Eight Miles beyond that we forded the Waters of Coropeak, which tend the same way as do many others on that side. In Six Miles more we reacht the Plantation of Mr. Thomas Spight, a Grandee of N Carolina. We found the good Man upon his Crutches, being crippled with the Gout in both his Knees. Here we flatter'd ourselves we should by this time meet with good Tydings of the Surveyors, but had reckon'd, alas! without our Host: on the Contrary, we were told the Dismal was at least Thirty Miles wide at that Place. However, as nobody could say this on his own Knowledge, we Order'd Guns to be fired and a Drum to be beaten, but receiv'd no Answer, unless it was from that prating Nymph Echo, who, like a loquacious Wife, will always have last Word, and Sometimes return three for one.

18. It was indeed no Wonder our Signal was not heard at that time, by the People in the Dismal, because, in Truth, they had not then penetrated one Third of their way. They had that Morning fallen to work with great Vigour; and, finding the Ground better than Ordinary, drove on the Line 2 Miles and 38 poles. This was reckon'd an Herculean day's Work, and yet they would not have Stopp'd there, had not an impenetrable cedar Thicket chekt their Industry. Our Landlord had seated Himself on the Boarders of this Dismal, for the Advantage of the Green Food His Cattle find there all Winter, and for the Rooting that Supports His Hogs. This, I own, is some convenience to his Purse, for which his whole Family pay dear in their Persons, for they are devoured by musketas all the Summer, and have Agues every Spring and Fall, which Corrupt all the Juices of their Bodies, give them a cadaverous complexion, and besides a lazy, creeping Habit, which they never get rid of.

19. We Ordered Several Men to Patrole on the Edge of the Dismal, both towards the North and towards the South, and to fire Guns at proper Distances. This they perform'd very punctually, but cou'd hear nothing in return, nor gain any Sort of Intelligence. In the mean time whole Flocks of Women and Children flew hither to Stare at us, with as much curiosity as if we had lately Landed from Bantam or Morocco.

Some Borderers, too, had a great Mind to know where the Line wou'd come out, being for the most part Apprehensive lest their Lands Should be taken into Virginia. In that case they must have submitted to some Sort of Order and Government; whereas, in N Carolina, every One does what seems best in his own Eyes. There were some good Women that brought their children to be Baptiz'd but brought no Capons along with them to make the solemnity cheerful. In the mean time it was Strange that none came to be marry'd in such a Multitude, if it had only been for the Novelty of having their Hands Joyn'd by one in Holy Orders. Yet so it was, that tho' our chaplain Christen'd above an Hundred, he did not marry so much as one Couple during the whole Expedition. But marriage is reckon'd a Lay contract in Carolina, as I said before, and a Country Justice can tie the fatal Knot there, as fast as an Arch-Bishop.

None of our Visiters could, however, tell us any News of the Surveyors, nor Indeed was it possible any of them shou'd at that time, They being still laboring in the Midst of the Dismal.

It seems they were able to carry the Line this Day no further than one mile and 61 Poles, and that whole distance was thro' a Miry cedar Bogg, where the ground trembled under their Feet most frightfully. In many places too their Passage was retarded by a great number of fallen Trees, that lay Horsing upon one Another.

Tho' many circumstances concurr'd to make this an unwholesome Situation, yet the Poor men had no time to be sick, nor can one conceive a more Calamitous Case than it would have been to be laid up in that uncomfortable Quagmire. Never were Patients more tractable, or willing to take Physick, than these honest Fellows; but it was from a Dread of laying their Bones in a Bogg that wou'd soon spew them up again. That Consideration also put them upon more caution about their Lodging.

They first cover'd the Ground with Square Pieces of Cypress bark, which now, in the Spring, they cou'd easily Slip off the Tree for that purpose. On this they Spread their Bedding; but unhappily the Weight and Warmth of their Bodies made the Water rise up betwixt the Joints of the Bark, to their great Inconvenience. Thus they lay not only moist, bust also exceedingly cold because their Fires were continually going out. For no sooner was the Trash upon the Surface burnt away, but immediately the Fire was extinguisht by the Moisture of the Soil, Insomuch that it was great part of the Centinel's Business to rekindle it again in a Fresh Place, every Quarter of an Hour. Nor cou'd they indeed do their duty better, because Cold was the only Enemy they had to Guard against in a miserable Morass, where nothing can inhabit.

20. We could get no Tidings yet of our Brave Adventurers, notwithstanding we despatcht men to the likeliest Stations to enquire after them. They were still Scuffling



the Mire, and could not Possibly forward the Line this whole day more than one Mile and 64 Chains. Every Step of this Day's Work was thro' a cedar Bog, where the Trees were somewhat Smaller and grew more into a Thicket. It was now a great Misfortune to the Men to find their Provisions grow less as their Labour grew greater; They were all forct to come to short Allowance, and consequently to work hard without filling their Bellies. Tho' this was very severe upon English Stomachs, yet the People were so far from being discomfited at it, that they still kept up their good Humour, and merrily told a young Fellow in the Company, who lookt very Plump and Wholesome, that he must expect to go first to Pot, if matters shou'd come to Extremity.

This was only said by way of Jest, yet it made Him thoughtful in earnest. However, for the Present he return'd them a very civil answer, letting them know that, dead or alive, he shou'd be glad to be useful to such worthy good Friends. But, after all, this Humorous Saying had one very good Effect, for that yonker, who before was a little enclin'd by his Constitution to be lazy, grew on a Sudden Extreemly Industrious, that so there might be less Occasion to carbonade him for the good of his Fellow-Travellers...

(April 6) Ten miles farther we passed Nottoway River at Bolton's Ferry, and took up our Lodgings about three Miles from thence, at the House of Richard Parker, an honest Planter, whose Labours were rewarded with Plenty, which, in this country is the Constant Portion of the Industrious.

7. The Next day being Sunday, we order'd Notice to be sent to all the Neighbourhood that there wou'd be a Sermon at this Place, and an Opportunity of Christening their Children. But the Likelihood of Rain got the better of their Devotion, and what perhaps, Might Still be a Stronger motive of their Curiosity. In the Morning we despacht a runner to the Nottoway Town, to let the Indians know we intended them a Visit that Evening, and our honest Landlord was so kind as to be our Pilot thither, being about 4 Miles from his House.

Accordingly in the Afternoon we marcht in good Order to the Town, where the Female Scouts, station'd on an Eminence for that purpose, had no sooner spy'd us, but they gave Notice of our Approach to their Fellow-Citizens by continual Whoops and Cries, which cou'd not possibly have been more dismal at the Sight of their most implacable Enemys.

This Signal Assembled all their Great Men, who receiv'd us in a Body, and conducted us into the Fort. This Fort was a Square Piece of Ground, inclos'd with Substantial Puncheons, or Strong Palisades, about ten feet high, and leaning a little outwards, to make a Scalade more difficult.

Each side of the Square might be about 100 Yards long, with Loopholes at Proper Distances, through which they may fire upon the Enemy.

Within this Inclosure we found Bark Cabanes Sufficient to lodge all their people, in Case they should be obliged to retire thither. These Cabanes are no other but Close Arbours made of Saplings, arched at the top, and cover'd so well with Bark as to be proof against all Weather. The fire is made in the Middle, according to the Hibernian Fashion, the Smoak whereof finds no other Vent but at the Door, and so keeps the whole family Warm, at the Expense both of their Eyes and Complexion.

The Indians have no standing Furniture in their Cabanes but Hurdles to repose their Persons upon, which they cover with Mats or Deer-skins. We were conducted to the best Appartments in the Fort, which just before had been made ready for our Reception, and adorn'd with new Mats, that were sweet and clean.

The Young Men had Painted themselves in a Hideous Manner, not so much for Ornament as Terror. In that frightful Equipage they entertain'd us with Sundry War-Dances, wherein they endeavour'd to look as formidable as possible. The Instrument they danct to was an Indiandrum, that is, a large Gourd with a Skin bract tort over

the Mouth of it. The Dancers all Sang to this Musick, keeping exact Time with their feet, while their Heads and Arms were screw'd into a thousand Menacing Postures.

Upon this occasion the Ladies had array'd themselves in all their finery. They were Wrapt in their Red and Blue Match-Coats, thrown so Negligently about them, that their Mehogany Skins appear'd in Several Parts, like the Lacedaemonian Damsels of Old. Their Hair was breeded with white and Blue Peak, and hung gracefully in a large Roll upon their Shoulders.

This peak Consists of Small Cylinders cut out of a Conque-Shell, drill'd through and Strung like Beads. It serves them both for Money and Jewels, the Blue being of much greater Value than the White, for the same reason that Ethiopian Mistresses in France are dearer than French, because they are more Scarce. The Women wear Necklaces and Bracelets of these precious Materials, when they have a mind to appear lovely. Tho' their complexions be a little Sad-Colour'd, yet their Shapes are very Strait and well proportion'd. Their Faces are Seldom handsome, yet they have an Air of Innocence and Bashfulness, that with a little less dirt wou'd not fail to make them desirable. Such Charms might have had their Full Effect upon Men who had been so long deprived of female conversation, but that the whole Winter's Soil was so crusted on the Skins of those dark Angels, that it requir'd a very strong Appetite to approach them. The Bear's oyl, with which they anoint their Persons all over, makes their Skins Soft, and at the Same time protects them from every Species of Vermin that use to be troublesome to other uncleanly People.

We were unluckily so many, that they cou'd not well make us the Complement of Bed-fellows, according to the Indian Rules of Hospitality, tho' a grave Matron whisper'd one of the Commissioners very civilly in the Ear, that if her Daughter had been but one year Older, she should have been at his Devotion.

It is by no means a loss of Reputation among the Indians, for Damsels that are Single to have Intrigues with the Men; on the contrary, they count it an Argument of

Superior Merit to be liked by a great Number of Gallants. However, like the Ladys that Game they are a little Mercenary in their Amours, and seldom bestow their Favours out of Stark Love and Kindness. But after these Women have once appropriated their Charms by Marriage, they are from thenceforth faithful to their Vows, and will hardly ever be tempted by an Agreeable Gallant, or be provokt by a Brutal or even by a fumbling Husband to go astray.

### อธิบายคำศัพท์

คำศัพท์	ความหมาย
fetch	นำมา รับมา
dung	มูลสัตว์
pique	ภูมิใจ
penetrate	เข้าไป
hither	เท่ากับ here (ที่นี่)
novelty	ของแปลก ของใหม่
concur	บรรจบกัน เห็นพ้องกัน
commissioner	กรรมาธิการ
thenceforth	แต่นั้นต่อมา
husbandry	การเลี้ยงสัตว์

### สาระสำคัญ

ผลงานชิ้นนี้เขียนในปี ค.ศ. 1728-1729 แต่ตีพิมพ์ในปี ค.ศ. 1841 เบิร์ดเขียนงานชิ้นนี้ขึ้นเพราะเขาได้รับตำแหน่งให้เป็นกรรมาธิการแบ่งเขตแดนระหว่างเวอร์จิเนียกับแคโรไลนาเหนือ วิลเลียม เบิร์ด ให้ภาพการดำเนินชีวิตตามเขตชายแดนทั้งของคนขาวและอินเดียนโดยละเอียด เขาเห็นว่าชาวแคโรไลนาเหนือมีวิถีค่อนข้างอันตราย และในขณะเดียวกันการดำเนินชีวิตก็เป็นแบบง่าย ๆ พวกนี้จะไม่ทำไร่เพื่อเก็บผลผลิตไว้ขายแต่จะผลิตเพียงเพื่อใช้ในครอบครัวเท่านั้น นอกจากนี้ เบิร์ดยังได้ใส่อารมณ์ขันลงไปด้วยดังเช่น เขาบรรยายภาพที่ผู้หญิงต้องทำงานหนักในขณะที่ผู้ชายอยู่สบาย ๆ

"The men impose all the work on the poor women. They make their wives rise out of their beds early in the morning, at the same time that they lie and snore, till the sun has run one third of its course and dispersed all of the unwholesome damps. Then after stretching and yawning for half an hour, they light their pipes, and, under the protection of a cloud of smoke, venture out into the open air."<sup>18</sup>

To: Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery<sup>1</sup>

Virginia, the 5th of July, 1726

My Lord

Soon after my arrival I had the honour to write to your Lordship to acquaint you that we had happily escaped all the dangers of the sea, and were safely landed at my own house. There was nothing frightfull in the whole voyage but a suddain puff that carried away our top-nast, which in the falling gave a very loud crack, but we received no other damage, neither were our women terrified at it.

The beautiful bloom of our spring when we came ashore, gave Mrs. Byrd a good impression of the country. But since that the weather is grown warm, and some days have been troublesome enough to make her wish herself in England. However she now begins to be seasoned to the heat, and to think more favorably of our climate. She comforts herself with the thought that a warm sun is necessary to ripen our fine fruit, and so pays herself with the pleasure of one sense, for the inconveniences that attend the others. I must own to your Lordship that we have about three months that impatient people call warm, but the colonel<sup>2</sup> would think them cool enough for a pair of blankets, and perhaps a comfortable counterpain into the bargain. Yet there are not above ten days

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p.29.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Boyle succeeded his brother as fourth earl of Orrery in the Irish peerage in 1703. He was educated at Christ Church, and was a writer and critic. In 1709 he was a major general. He married Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter of the earl of Exeter, in 1706, but she died in 1708, leaving one child. In 1716 Lord Orrery resigned as lord of the bedchamber. In 1721-22 he was convicted of implication in Laver's Plot and imprisoned in the Tower for six months. When he died in 1731 he left a gold watch and ring to Byrd.

<sup>2</sup> Col. William Cecil, a Kinsman of the countess of Orrery and a half-pay army officer, had lost a hand at the siege of Lille.

in a whole summer that your Lordship would complain of, and they happen when the breazes fail us, and it is a dead calm. But then the other nine months are most charmingly delightfull, with a fine air, and a serene sky, that keeps us in good health, and good-humour. Spleen, and vapours are as absolute rarities here as a winters-sun, or a publick spirit in England. A man may eat beef, be as lazy as Captain Hardy,<sup>3</sup> or even marry in this clymate without having the least inclination to hang himself. It would cure call Mr. Hutchinson's distempers<sup>4</sup> if the ministry would transport him hither, unless they sent lady G ——— along with him.

Your Lordship will allow it to be a fair commendation of a country, that it reconciles a man to himself, and makes him suffer the weight of his misfortunes, with the same tranquility he bears with his own frailtys.

After your September is over, I shall wish your Lordship a little of our sunshine, to disperse all that fogg and smoak with which your atmosphere is loaded. 'Tis miraculus that any lungs can breath in an air compounded of so many different vapours and exhalations, like that of dirty London. For my part time were never of a texture to bear it in winter without great convulsions, so that nothing could make me amends for that uneasiness, but the pleasure of being near your Lordship.

Besides the advantages of a pure air, we abound in all kinds of provisions, without expence (I mean we who have plantations). I have a large family of my own, and my doors are open to every body, yet I have no bills to pay, and half-a-crown will rest undisturbed in my pocket for may moons together.

Like one of the patriarchs, I have my flocks and my herds, my bond-men, and bond-women, and every soart of trade amongst my own servants, so that I live in a kind of independance on every one, but Providence. However tho'this soart of life is without

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<sup>3</sup> Capt. Charles Hardy, friend and intimate of the earl, later referred to as "*the black captain*."

<sup>4</sup> Archibald Hutcheson, treasurer of the Middle Temple, was a kinsman of Edward Nott, one-time governor of Virginia.

expeuce yet it is attended with a great deal of trouble. I must take care to keep all my people to their duty, to set all the springs in motion, and to make every one draw his equal share to carry the machine forward. But then tis an amusement in this silent country, and a continual exercise of our patience and economy.

Another thing my Lord, that recommends this country very much, we sit securely under our vines, and our fig-trees without any danger to our property. We have neither publick robbers nor private, which your Lordship will think very strange, when we have often needy governours, and pilfering convicts sent over amongst us. The first of these it is suspected have some-times an inclination to plunder, but want the power, and tho' they may be tyrants in their nature, yet they are tyrants without guards, which makes them as harmless a scold would be without a tongue. Neither can they do much injustice by being partial in judgement, because in a supream court, the Council have each an equal vote with them. Thus both the teeth and the claws of the lion are secured, and he can neither bite nor tear us, except we turn him loose upon ourselves. I wish this was the case of all His Majesty's good subjects, and I dare say your Lordship has the goodness to wish so too.

Then we have no such trades carried on amongst us, as that of house-breakers, highway-men, or beggars. We can rest securely in our beds with all our doors and windows open, and yet find every thing exactly in place the next morning. We can travel all over the country, by night and by day, unguarded and unarmed, and never meet with any person so rude as to bid us stand. We have no vagrant mendicants to seize and deaften us wherever we go, as in your island of beggars.

Thus any Lord we are very happy in our Canaan, if we could but forget the onions, and flesh-pots of Egypt. There are so many temptations in England to inflame the appetite, and charm the senses, that we are constant to run all risques to enjoy them. They always had I must own too strong an influence upon me, as your Lordship will belive when they could keep me so long from the more solid pleasures of innocence, and retirement.

I doubt not but my Lord Boyle learn't at Paris to perform all his exercises in perfection, and is become an absolute master of the French language. I wish every secretary of state could write it as perfectly as his Lordship does, that their performances might not be subjected to the correction of Mr. De-La-Fay. I am sure that Lord Boyle will in every respect answer the affectionate care your Lordship has taken of him; and I suppose it will not be long before I shall have the pleasure to hear that he is happily married, for it now seems wholly to depend upon him to furnish heirs to all the noble families of his name.

I most heartily long to hear from your Lordship, and shall rejoyce at every happy accident that befalls you, for I am as much as any man alive, my Lord yours &c. W. Byrd.

To: John Boyle, Baron Boyle of Broghill<sup>1</sup>

Virginia, the 28th of July, 1730

My Lord

I read your Lordships entertaining letter of the 3d of September with exceeding great pleasure. You describe the happiness of the married state so naturally, that every word seems to flow from your heart, like the preaching of some divines, who at the same time they tell us our duty, convince us they practice it themselves. It is a great advantage to matrimony when it comes recommended by a person of your Lordships rank and good tast. So many are shipwreckt in that sea, that it has now quite lost the name of the Pacifick Ocean, in which they say there are no storms or intemperate weather, but all is smooth, calm, and undisturbed. But if I may be permitted to carry on the comparison, marriage, as it is commonly managed is more like the Bay of Biscay, where the sea is perpetually disturbed, and the waves run mountain-high, making every body sick that comes near it.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles de la Faye, a correspondent in the Admiralty Office.

<sup>1</sup> John Boyle, only son of the earl of Orrery, born 1707. As the son of an earl he bore the courtesy title of his father's subsidiary peerage, Baron Boyle of Broghill. Orrery had also been created in 1711 first Baron Boyle of Marston. John Boyle succeeded his father as fifth earl of Orrery and Baron Boyle of Marston in 1731 and in 1753 succeeded a cousin as fifth earl of Cork, acquiring also the titles of Viscount Dungarvan, Viscount Boyle of Kinalneaky, Lord Boyle, Baron of Youghal, Baron of Bandon Bridge, all in the Irish peerage except Baron Boyle of Marston.



Tho' I shall never want temptations to return to England while Lord Orrery and your Lordship are there, yet I have as many reasons as I have children, which are no less than six, to stay where I am. Besides when it grows time for a man to think of quitting the world, he should do it by degrees, therefore retiring into the country, especially so lonely a country as this is, is a fair step towards dying, at last in the language of fine ladys, who call it being buried alive. One great danger for them, is, least their tongues should grow to the roof of their mouths, in so silent a place. We have no musick but that of the innocent birds, no publick places to shew their charms, or masquerades to conceal their frailtys. Alass here are no pretty fellows to flatter their vanity, and make them believe they are angels, as the first step towards making them devils. Here they are forced to produce their beauties to fair day-light, which is not so friendly to their blemishes as candles, which make your ladies like bats turn night into day, and chuse darkness rather than light. This at least may be said of a country life, that one of the sexes are not so absolutely useless as it is in towne. There their whole business is to give pain to the men, and pleasure to themselves, tho' the dear creatures are very often mistaken, and the pain comes home to their own doors. But here for want of more agreeable employment, they are forced to assist in the management and superintendency of their familys. The differance then is this, that here the women are the bees who help to make the honey, and your ladys the drones who eat it. I indeed I cannot say that our men are so well employed as they are with you. We do not exercize our wits, and our fingers in the slights and mysterys of gaming, to build our fortunes on the ruins of our friends, and acquaintance. We do not improve ourselves in politiques at coffee-houses, so as to be able to decide the pretensions and interests of all the princes of Europe. We know not how to hold the balance of power, and weigh to a grain the strength and riches of all our neighbouring nations. We study not the gentle art of love, nor can flatter the women into a good oppinion of their undoers. We have no court where we might improve in our honesty and sincerity, no senate to teach us publick spirit, and the love of our country. These my Lord are huge disadvantages, which I must be content to lye under in this solitary part of the world.

I am glad Mr. Southwell is so happily married, I dare say he will do honour to the holy state. I have not heard from him, or any of the family these three years, but shall

always rejoice at their felicity. They rank me among the dead, as a freshwater philosopher-used to say of all those who were at sea, but like them I have a chance of coming to life again some time or another. In the mean time, I wish Lord and Lady Boyle perfect health and content, and am, my Lord your Lordships most obedient humble servant. W. Byrd.

### จอห์น ฟิลสัน (John Filson, 1747-1788)

#### ประวัติ

จอห์น ฟิลสัน เป็นครู นักสำรวจและนักเก็งกำไรที่ดิน เสียชีวิตจากการถูกอินเดียฆ่าในระหว่างเดินทางไปโอไฮโอ

#### ลักษณะงานเขียน

ในงานเขียนของ จอห์น ฟิลสัน เขาจะให้ตัวเอก คือ แดเนียล บูน (Daniel Boon) เป็นคนเล่าเรื่อง ซึ่งต่อมา แดเนียล บูน ได้กลายเป็น "frontier hero" นอกจากการเล่าเหตุการณ์ทางด้านการเมือง การดำเนินชีวิต การสำรวจดินแดนทางตะวันตกแล้ว บูนยังได้สอดแทรกความงามของธรรมชาติด้วย



● นักรบอินเดีย

ตัดตอนจาก "The ADVENTURES of Col. DANIEL BOON; containing a NARRATIVE of the Wars of Kentucke"

Curiosity is natural to the soul of man, and interesting objects have a powerful influence on our affections. Let these influencing powers actuate, by the permission or disposal of Providence, from selfish or social views, yet in time the mysterious will of Heaven is unfolded, and we behold our conduct, from whatsoever motives excited, operating to answer the important designs of heaven. Thus we behold Kentucke, lately an howling wilderness, the habitation of savages and wild beasts, become a fruitful field; this region, so favourably distinguished by nature, now become the habitation of

civilization, at a period unparalleled in history, in the midst of a raging war, and under all the disadvantages of emigration to a country so remote from the inhabited parts of the continent. Here, where the hand of violence shed the blood of the innocent; where the horrid yells of savages, and the groans of the distressed, sounded in our ears, we now hear the praises and adorations of our Creator; where wretched wigwams stood, the miserable abodes of savages, we behold the foundations of cities laid, that, in all probability, will rival the glory of the greatest upon earth. And we view Kentucke situated on the fertile banks of the great Ohio, rising from obscurity to shine with splendor, equal to any other of the stars of the American hemisphere.

The settling of this region well deserves a place in history. Most of the memorable events I have myself been exercised in; and, for the satisfaction of the public, will briefly relate the circumstances of my adventures, and scenes of life, from my first movement to this country until this day.

It was on the first of May, in the year 1769, that I resigned my domestic happiness for a time, and left my family and peaceable habitation on the Yadkin River, North-Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucke, in company with John Finley, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Monay, and William Cool. We proceeded successfully, and after a long and fatiguing journey through a mountainous wilderness, in a westward direction, on the seventh day of June following, we found ourselves on Red-River, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians, and, from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucke. Here let me observe, that for some time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather as a prelibation of our future sufferings. At this place we encamped, and made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found every where abundance of wild beasts of all sorts, through this vast forest. The buffaloes were more frequent than I have seen cattle in the settlements, browsing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive

plains, fearless, because ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw plains, fearless, because ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this forest, the habitation of beasts of every kind natural to America, we practiced hunting with great success until the twenty-second day of December following.

This day John Stewart and I had a pleasing ramble, but fortune changed the scene in the close of it. We had passed through a great forest, on which stood myriads of trees, some gay with blossoms, others rich with fruits, Nature was here a series of wonders, and a fund of delight. Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavoured: and we were diverted with innumerable animals presenting themselves perpetually to our view. —In the decline of the day, near Kentucke river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane-brake upon us, and made us prisoners. The time of our sorrow was now arrived, and the scene fully opened. The Indians plundered us of what we had, and kept us in confinement seven days, treating us with common savage usage. During this time we discovered no uneasiness or desire to escape, which made them less suspicious of us; but in the dead of night, as we lay in a thick cane brake by a large fire, when sleep had locked up their senses, my situation not disposing me for rest, I touched my companion and gently awoke him. We improved this favourable opportunity, and departed, leaving them to take their rest, and speedily directed our course towards our old camp, but found it plundered, and the company dispersed and gone home. About this time my brother, Squire Boon, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country shortly after us, was wandering through the forest, determined to find me, if possible, and accidentally found our camp. Notwithstanding the unfortunate circumstance of our company, and our dangerous situation, as surrounded with hostile savages, our meeting so fortunately in the wilderness made us reciprocally sensible of the utmost satisfaction. So much does friendship triumph over misfortune, that sorrows and sufferings vanish at the meeting not only of real friends, but of the most distant acquaintances, and substitutes happiness in their room.

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stewart, was killed by the savages, and the man that came with my brother returned home by himself. We were then in a dangerous, helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and death amongst savages and wild beasts, not a white man in the country but ourselves.

Thus situated, many hundred miles from our families in the howling wilderness, I believe few would have equally enjoyed the happiness we experienced. I often observed to my brother, You see now how little nature requires to be satisfied. Felicity, the companion of content, is rather found in our own breasts than in the enjoyment of external things: And I firmly believe it requires but a little philosophy to make a man happy in whatsoever state he is. This consists in a full resignation to the will of Providence; and a resigned soul finds pleasure in a path strewn with briars and thorns.

We continued not in a state of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to defend us from the Winter storms. We remained there undisturbed during the Winter; and on the first day of May, 1770, my brother returned home to the settlement by himself, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me by myself, without bread, salt or sugar, without company of my fellow creatures, or even a horse or dog. I confess I never before was under greater necessity of exercising philosophy and fortitude. A few days I passed uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety upon the account of my absence and exposed situation, made sensible impressions on my heart. A thousand dreadful apprehensions presented themselves to my view, and had undoubtedly disposed me to melancholy, if further indulged.

One day I undertook a tour through the country, and the diversity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming season, expelled every gloomy and vexatious thought. Just at the close of day the gentle gales retired and left the place to the disposal of a profound calm. Not a breeze shook the most tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and, looking round with astonishing delight, beheld the ample plains, the beautiful tracts below. On the other hand, I surveyed the famous

river Ohio that rolled in silent dignity, marking the western boundary of Kentucke with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows, and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the loin of a buck, which a few hours before I had killed. The sullen shades of night soon overspread the whole hemisphere, and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. My roving excursion this day had fatigued my body, and diverted my imagination. I laid me down to sleep, and I awoke not until the sun had chased away the night. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a considerable part of the country, each day equally pleased as the first. I returned again to my old camp, which was not disturbed in my absence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often reposed in thick cane-brakes, to avoid the savages, who, I believe, often visited my camp, but fortunately for me, in my absence. In this situation I was constantly exposed to danger, and death. How unhappy such a situation for a man tormented with fear, which is vain if no danger comes, and if it does, only augments the pain. It was my happiness to be destitute of this afflicting passion, with which I had the greatest reason to be affected. The prowling wolves diverted my nocturnal hours with perpetual howlings: and the various species of animals in this vast forest, in the day time, were continually in my view.

Thus I was surrounded with plenty in the midst of want. I was happy in the midst of dangers and inconveniences. In such a diversity it was impossible I should be disposed to melancholy. No populous city, with all the varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind, as the beauties of nature I found here.

Thus through an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures, I spent the time until the 27th day of July following, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Shortly after, we left this place, not thinking it safe to stay there longer, and proceeded to Cumberland river, reconnoitring that part of the country until March, 1771, and giving names to the different waters.

Soon after, I returned home to my family with a determination to bring them as

soon as possible to live in Kentucke, which I esteemed a second paradise, at the risk of my life and fortune.

I returned safe to my old habitation, and found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm on the Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us; and on the twenty-fifth day of September, 1773, bade a farewell to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucke, in company with five families more, and forty men that joined us in Powel's Valley, which is one hundred and fifty miles from the now settled parts of Kentucke. This promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity; for upon the tenth day of October, the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed six, and wounded one man. Of these my eldest son was one that fell in the action. Though we defended ourselves, and repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle, brought us into extreme difficulty, and so discouraged the whole company, that we retreated forty miles, to the settlement on Clench river. We had passed over two mountains, viz. Powel's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain when this adverse fortune overtook us. These mountains are in the wilderness, as we pass from the old settlements in Virginia to Kentucke, are ranged in a S. west and N. east direction, are of a great length and breadth, and not far distant from each other. Over these, nature hath formed passes, that are less difficult than might be expected from a view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs is so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without terror. The spectator is apt to imagine that nature had formerly suffered some violent convulsion: and that these are the dismembered remains of the dreadful shock; the ruins, not of Persepolis or Palmyra, but of the world!

I remained with my family on Clench until the sixth of June, 1774, when I and one Michael Stoner were solicited by Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, to go to the Falls of the Ohio, to conduct into the settlement a number of surveyors that had been sent thither by him some months before; this country having about this time drawn the attention of many adventurers. We immediately complied with the Governor's request, and conducted in the surveyors, compleating a tour of eight hundred miles, through many difficulties, in sixty-two days.

Soon after I returned home, I was ordered to take the command of three garrisons during the campaign; which Governor Dunmore carried on against the Shawanese Indians: After the conclusion of which, the Militia was discharged from each garrison, and I being relieved from my post, was solicited by a number of North-Carolina gentlemen, that were about purchasing the lands lying on the S. side of Kentucke River, from the Cherokee Indians, to attend their treaty at Wataga, in March, 1775, to negotiate with them, and, mention the boundaries of the purchase. This I accepted, and at the request of the same gentlemen, undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlement through the wilderness to Kentucke, with such assistance as I thought necessary to employ for such an important undertaking.

I soon began this work, having collected a number of enterprising men, well armed. We proceeded with all possible expedition until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonsborough now stands, and where we were fired upon by a party of Indians that killed two, and wounded two of our number; yet, although surprised and taken at a disadvantage, we stood our ground. This was on the twentieth of March, 1775. Three days after, we were fired upon again, and had two men killed, and three wounded. Afterwards we proceeded on to Kentucke river without opposition; and on the first day of April began to erect the fort of Boonsborough at a fast lick, about sixty yards from the river, on the S. side.

On the fourth day, the Indians killed one of our men.—We were busily employed in building this fort, until the fourteenth day of June following, without any farther opposition from the Indians; and having finished the works, I returned to my family, on Clench.

In a short time, I proceeded to remove my family from Clench to this garrison; where we arrived safe without any other difficulties than such as are common to this passage, my wife and daughter being the first white women that ever stood on the banks of Kentucke river.



On the twenty-fourth day of December following we had one man killed, and one wounded, by the Indians who seemed determined to persecute us for erecting this fortification.

On the fourteenth day of July, 1776, two of Col. Calaway's daughters, and one of mine, were taken prisoners near the fort. I immediately pursued the Indians, with only eight men, and on the sixteenth overtook them, killed two of the party, and recovered the girls. The same day on which this attempt was made, the Indians divided themselves into different parties, and attacked several forts, which were shortly before this time erected, doing a great deal of mischief. This was extremely distressing to the new settlers. The innocent husbandman was shot down, while busy cultivating the soil for his family's supply. Most of the cattle around the stations were destroyed. They continued their hostilities in this manner until the fifteen of April, 1777, when they attacked Boonsborough with a party of above one hundred in number, killed one man, and wounded four. —Their loss in this attack was not certainly known to us.

On the fourth day of July following, a party of about two hundred Indians attacked Boonsborough, killed one man, and wounded two. They besieged us forty-eight hours; during which time seven of them were killed, and at last, finding themselves not likely to prevail, they raised the siege, and departed.

The Indians had disposed their warriors in different parties at this time, and attacked the different garrisons to prevent their assisting each other, and did much injury to the distressed inhabitants.

On the nineteenth day of this month, Col. Logan's fort was besieged by a party of about two hundred Indians. During this dreadful siege they did a great deal of mischief, distressed the garrison, in which were only fifteen men, killed two, and wounded one. The enemies loss was uncertain, from the common practice which the Indians have of carrying off their dead in time of battle. Col. Harrod's fort was then defended by only

sixty-five men, and Boonsborough by twenty-two, there being no more forts or white men in the country, except at the Falls, a considerable distance from these, and all taken collectively, were but a handful to the numerous warriors that were every where dispersed through the country, intent upon doing all the mischief that savage barbarity could invent. Thus we passed through a scene of sufferings that exceeds description.

On the twenty-fifth of this month a reinforcement of forty-five men arrived from North-Carolina, and about the twentieth of August following, Col. Bowman arrived with one hundred men from Virginia. Now we began to strengthen, and from hence, for the space of six weeks, we had skirmishes with Indians, in one quarter or other, almost every day.

The savages now learned the superiority of the Long Knife, as they call the Virginians, by experience; being out-generalled in almost every battle. Our affairs began to wear a new aspect, and the enemy, not daring to venture on open war, practised secret mischief at times.

On the first day of January, 1778, I went with a party of thirty men to the Blue Licks, on Licking River, to make salt for the different garrisons in the country.

On the seventh day of February, as I was hunting, to procure meat for the company, I met with a party of one hundred and two Indians, and two Frenchmen, on their march against Boonsborough, that place being particularly the object of the enemy.

They pursued, and took me; and brought me on the eighth day to the Licks, where twenty-seven of my party were, three of them having previously returned home with the salt. I knowing it was impossible for them to escape, capitulated with the enemy, and, at a distance in their view, gave notice to my men of their situation, with orders not to resist, but surrender themselves captives.

The generous usage the Indians had promised before in my capitulation, was afterwards fully complied with, and we proceeded with them as prisoners to old Chelicothe, the principal Indian town, on Little Miami, where we arrived, after an uncomfortable journey, in very severe weather, on the eighteenth day of February, and received as good treatment as prisoners could expect from savages. —On the tenth day of March following, I, and ten of my men, were conducted by forty Indians to Detroit, where we arrived the thirtieth day, and were treated by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at that post, with great humanity.

During our travels, the Indians entertained me well: and their affection for me was so great, that they utterly refused to leave me there with the others, although the Governor offered them one hundred pounds Sterling for me, on purpose to give me a parole to go home. Several English gentlemen there, being sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with human sympathy, generously offered a friendly supply for my wants, which I refused, with many thanks for their kindness; adding, that I never expected it would be in my power to recompense such unmerited generosity.

The Indians left my men in captivity with the British at Detroit, and on the tenth day of April brought me towards Old Chelicothe, where we arrived on the twenty-fifth day of the same month. This was a long and fatiguing march, through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for fine springs and streams of water. At Chelicothe I spent my time as comfortably as I could expect; was adopted, according to their custom, into a family where I became a son, and had a great share in the affection of my new parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as chearful and satisfied as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applause for my activity at our shooting-matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting; for no people are more envious than they in this sport. I could observe, in their countenances and gestures, the greatest expressions of joy when they exceeded me; and, when the reverse happened, of envy. The Shawanese king took great notice of me, and treated me

with profound respect, and entire friendship, often entrusting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of duty to my sovereign. My food and lodging was, in common, with them, not so good indeed as I could desire, but necessity made every thing acceptable.

I now began to meditate an escape, and carefully avoided their suspicions, continuing with them at Old Chelicothe until the first day of June following, and then was taken by them to the salt springs on Sciotha, and kept there, making salt, ten days. During this time I hunted some for them, and found the land, for a great extent about this river, to exceed the soil of Kentucke, if possible, and remarkably well watered.

When I returned to Chelicothe, alarmed to see four hundred and fifty Indians, of their choicest warriors, painted and armed in a fearful manners, ready to march against Boonsborough. I determined to escape the first opportunity.

On the sixteenth, before sun-rise, I departed in the most secret manner, and arrived at Boonsborough on the twentieth, after a journey of one hundred and sixty miles; during which, I had but one meal.

I found our fortress in a bad state of defence, but we proceeded immediately to repair our flanks, strengthen our gates and posterns, and from double bastions, which we compleated in ten days. In this time we daily expected the arrival of the Indian army; and at length, one of my fellow prisoners, escaping from them, arrived, informing us that the enemy had an account of my departure, and postponed their expedition three weeks.—The Indians had spies out viewing our movements, and were greatly alarmed with our increase in number and fortifications. The Grand Councils of the nations were held frequently, and with more deliberation than usual. They evidently saw the approaching hour when the Long Knife would dispossess them of their desirable habitations; and anxiously concerned for futurity, determined utterly to extirpate the whites out of Kentucke.

We were not intimidated by their movements, but frequently gave them proofs of our courage.

About the first of August, I made an incursion into the Indian country, with a party of nineteen men, in order to surprise a small town up Scioto, called Paint-Creek-Town. We advanced within four miles thereof, where we met a party of thirty Indians, on their march against Boonsborough, intending to join the others from Chelicothe. A smart fight ensued betwixt us for some time: At length the savages gave way, and fled. We had no loss on our side: The enemy had one killed, and two wounded. We took from them three horses, and all their baggage; and being informed, by two of our number that went to their town, that the Indians had entirely evacuated it, we proceeded no further, and returned with all possible expedition to assist our garrison against the other party. We passed by them on the sixth day, and on the seventh, we arrived safe at Boonsborough.

On the eighth, the Indian army arrived, being four hundred and forty-four in number, commanded by Capt. Duquesne, eleven other Frenchmen, and some of their own chiefs, and marched up within view of our fort, with British and French colours flying: and having sent a summons to me, in his Britannick Majesty's name, to surrender the fort, I requested two days consideration, which was granted.

It was now a critical period with us. —We were a small number in the garrison: —A powerful army before our walls, whose appearance proclaimed inevitable death, fearfully painted, and marking their footsteps with desolation. Death was preferable to captivity; and if taken by storm, we must inevitably be devoted to destruction. In this situation we concluded to maintain our garrison, if possible. We immediately proceeded to collect what we could of our horses, and other cattle, and bring them through the posterns into the fort: And in the evening of the ninth, I returned answer, that we were determined to defend our fort while a man was living. —Now, said I to their commander, who stood attentively hearing my sentiments, We laugh at all your formidable preparations: But thank you for giving us notice and time to provide for our defence. Your efforts

will not prevail; for our gates shall for ever deny you admittance. —Whether this answer affected their courage, or not, I cannot tell; but contrary to our expectation, they formed a scheme to deceive us, declaring it was their orders, from Governor Hamilton, to take us captives, and not to destroy us; but if nine of us would come out, and treat with them, they would immediately withdraw their forces from our walls, and return home peaceably. This sounded grateful in our ears; and we agreed to scheme; and, on the fifteenth day of August, commanded a party of Indians and Canadians, of about five hundred in number, against Britant's station, five miles from Lexington. Without demanding a surrender, they furiously assaulted the garrison, which was happily prepared to oppose them; and, after they had expended much ammunition in vain, and killed the cattle round the fort, not being likely to make themselves masters of this place, they raised the siege, and departed in the morning of the third day after they came, with the loss of about thirty killed, and the number of wounded uncertain. —Of the garrison four were killed, and three wounded.

On the eighteenth day Col. Todd, Col. Trigg, Major Harland, and myself, speedily collected one hundred and seventy-six men, well armed, and pursued the savages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking River, about forty-three miles from Lexington, as it is particularly represented in the map, where we overtook them on the nineteenth day. The savages observing us, gave way; and we, being ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When the enemy saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage of us in situation, they formed the line of battle, as represented in the map, from one bend of Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. An exceeding fierce battle immediately began, for about fifteen minutes, when we, being over-powered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of sixty seven men; seven of whom were taken prisoners. The brave and much lamented Colonels Todd and Trigg, Major Harland and my second son, were among the dead. We were informed that the Indians, numbering their dead, found they had four killed more than we; and therefore, four of the prisoners they had taken, were, by general

consent, ordered to be killed, in a most barbarous manner, by the young warriors, in order to train them up to cruelty; and then they proceeded to their towns.

On our retreat we were met by Col. Logan, hastening to join us, with a number of well armed men. This powerful assistance we unfortunately wanted in the battle; for, notwithstanding the enemy's superiority of numbers, they acknowledged that, if they had received one more fire from us, they should undoubtedly have given way. So valiantly did our small party fight, that, to the memory of those who unfortunately fell in the battle, enough of honour cannot be paid. Had Col. Logan and his party been with us, it is highly probable we should have given the savages a total defeat.

I cannot reflect upon this dreadful scene, but sorrow fills my heart. A zeal for the defence of their country led these heroes to the scene of action, though with a few men to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight, some just entering the river, some in the water, others after crossing in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horse-back, a few on foot; and, being dispersed every where, in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing that I am able to describe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled: Some torn and eaten by wild beasts; those in the river eaten by fishes; all in such a putrified condition, that no one could be distinguished from another.

As soon as General Clark, then at the Falls of the Ohio, who was ever our ready friend, and merits the love and gratitude of all his countrymen, understood the circumstances of this unfortunate action, he ordered an expedition, with all possible haste, to pursue the savages, which was so expeditiously effected, that we overtook them within two miles of their towns, and probably might have obtained a great victory, had

not two of their number met us about two hundred poles before we come up. These returned quick as lightening to their camp with the alarming news of a mighty army in view. The savages fled in the utmost disorder, evacuated their towns, and reluctantly left their territory to our mercy. We immediately took possession of Old Chelicothe without opposition, being deserted by its inhabitants. We continued our pursuit through five towns on the Miami rivers, Old Chelicothe, Pecaway, New Chelicothe, Will's Towns, and Chelicothe, burnt them all to ashes, entirely destroyed their corn, and other fruits, and every where spread a scene of desolation in the country. In this expedition we took seven prisoners and five scalps, with the loss of only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by our own army.

This campaign in some measure damped the spirits of the Indians, and made them sensible of our superiority. Their connections were dissolved, their armies scattered, and a future invasion put entirely out of their power; yet they continued to practice mischief secretly upon the inhabitants, in the exposed parts of the country.

In October following, a party made an excursion into that district called the Crab Orchard, and one of them, being advanced some distance before the others, boldly entered the house of a poor defenceless family, in which was only a Negro man, a woman and her children, terrified with the apprehensions of immediate death. The savage, perceiving their defenceless situation, without offering violence to the family attempted to captivate the Negro, who, happily proved an overmatch for him, threw him on the ground, and, in the struggle, the mother of the children drew an ax from a corner of the cottage, and cut his head off, while her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly appeared, and applied their tomahawks to the door. An old rusty gun-barrel, without a lock, lay in a corner, which the mother put through a small crevice, and the savages, perceiving it, fled. In the mean time, the alarm spread through the neighborhood: the armed men collected immediately, and pursued the ravagers into the wilderness. Thus Providence, by the means of this Negro, saved the whole of the poor family from destruction. From that time, until the happy return of peace between the United States and Great-Britain, the



Indians did us no mischief. Finding the great king beyond the water disappointed in his expectations, and conscious of the importance of the Long Knife, and their own wretchedness, some of the nations immediately desired peace; to which, at present, they seem universally disposed, and are sending ambassadors to General Clark, at the Falls of the Ohio, with the minutes of their Councils; a specimen of which, in the minutes of the Piankashaw Council, is subjoined.

To conclude, I can now say that I have verified the saying of an old Indian who signed Col. Henderson's deed. Taking me by the hand, at the delivery thereof, Brother, says he, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it.—My footsteps have often been marked with blood, and therefore I can truly subscribe to its original name. Two darling sons, and a brother, have I lost by savage hands, which have also taken from me forty valuable horses, and abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I been a companion for owls, separated from the chearful society of men, scorched by the Summer's sun, and pinched by the Winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed: Peace crowns the sylvan shade.

What thanks, what ardent and ceaseless thanks are due to that all-superintending Providence which has turned a cruel war into peace, brought order out of confusion, made the fierce savages placid, and turned away their hostile weapons from our country! May the same Almighty Goodness banish the accursed monster, war, from all lands, with her hated associates, rapine and insatiable ambition. Let peace, descending from her native heaven, bid her olives spring amidst the joyful nations; and plenty, in league with commerce, scatter blessings from her copious hand.

This account of my adventures will inform the reader of the most remarkable events of this country. —I now live in peace and safety, enjoying the sweets of liberty, and the bounties of Providence, with my once fellow-sufferers, in this delightful country, which I have seen purchased with a vast expence of blood and treasure, delighting in the

prospect of its being, in a short time, one of the most opulent and powerful states on the continent of North-America; which, with the love and gratitude of my country-men, I esteem a sufficient reward for all my toil and dangers.

Daniel Boone

Fayette county, Kentucke.

### อธิบายคำศัพท์

คำศัพท์	ความหมาย
encamp	ตั้งที่พัก
inclement	ไม่อำนวย
reconnoitre	สำรวจ ลาดตระเวน
mischief	ประสกร้าย
husbandman	ชาวไร่ ชาวนา
garrison	กองทหารที่ประจำป้อมหรือเมือง ที่ตั้งกองทหาร
skirmish	ต่อสู้กันอย่างประปราย
zeal	กระตือรือร้น
scorch	เผาไหม้เกรียม
fellow-sufferer	เพื่อนที่ตกทุกข์ด้วยกัน

### สาระสำคัญ

ผลงานชิ้นนี้ผู้แต่ง คือ จอห์น ฟิลซัน ใช้วิธีการที่ทำให้ผู้อ่านรู้สึกว่ามีจุดบันทึกเหตุการณ์ คือ แดเนี่ยล บูน ทั้ง ๆ ที่จริงแล้วตัวเขาเองเป็นผู้เขียนโดยเล่าถึงเหตุการณ์ต่าง ๆ เช่นการสำรวจดินแดนไปทางตะวันตก การต่อสู้กับอินเดียน การถูกจับเป็นเชลย การตั้งเมืองบูนสโบโร (Boonsborough) ในการผูกครองเรื่อง จอห์น ฟิลซัน ได้อาศัยเหตุการณ์ตามพรมแดน เช่น การแย่งที่ดินทำมาหากินระหว่างคนผิวขาวกับชาวอินเดียนผสมผสานกับลักษณะโรแมนติก โดยการบรรยายธรรมชาติไว้อย่างงดงาม มี แดเนี่ยล บูน เป็นคนเล่าเรื่อง ซึ่งต่อมา แดเนี่ยล บูน ได้กลายเป็น "frontier hero" ของคนอเมริกันรุ่นหลัง ผลงานชิ้นนี้นอกจากจะพิจารณาในแง่ของวรรณกรรมแล้ว ยังนับได้ว่าเป็นเอกสารทางประวัติศาสตร์ได้ด้วยเพราะผู้เขียนได้จดบันทึกเหตุการณ์ต่าง ๆ ไว้โดยลง วันที่ เดือน และปีไว้

**มิเชล - กีโยม ฌอง เดอ เคร็ฟเวอเกอร์**  
(Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, 1735-1813)

**ประวัติ**

มิเชล-กีโยม ฌอง เดอ เคร็ฟเวอเกอร์ หรือ เจ เฮ็คเตอร์ เซนต์ จอห์น เดอ เคร็ฟเวอเกอร์ (J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur) เกิดที่นอร์มันดี (Normandy) ประเทศฝรั่งเศส ครอบครัวเป็นชนชั้นสูง ปี ค.ศ. 1750 ได้อพยพไปอยู่อังกฤษและแคนาดาต่อมา ปี ค.ศ. 1755 เป็นนักเขียนแผนที่ของกองทัพฝรั่งเศส ในปี ค.ศ. 1759 ขณะที่ยุทธสงครามระหว่างฝรั่งเศสกับอินเดียยังไม่สิ้นสุด เคร็ฟเวอเกอร์ได้ออกจากแคนาดาไปนิวยอร์กโดยเป็นนักสำรวจและเป็นพ่อค้าค้าขายกับอินเดีย ปี ค.ศ. 1764 ได้ตั้งถิ่นฐานที่ออร์เรนจ์ เคาน์ตี (Orange County) ในนิวยอร์ก โดยเป็นชาวนาและในปี ค.ศ. 1769 เขาแต่งงาน มีบุตร 3 คน เมื่อเกิดการปฏิวัติในปี ค.ศ. 1778 จากการที่เขาไม่เข้าข้างฝ่ายใดทำให้สถานะของเคร็ฟเวอเกอร์นั้นลำบากเพราะถูกสงสัยจากทั้ง 2 กลุ่ม คือ กลุ่มคนรักชาติ (patriots) และกลุ่มที่สวามิภักดิ์ต่ออังกฤษ (loyalist) มีอยู่ช่วงหนึ่งที่เขาถูกจับขังคุกในนิวยอร์ก ปี ค.ศ. 1780 เขาเดินทางไปประเทศอังกฤษและฝรั่งเศสต่อมา เมื่อสงครามสิ้นสุดเขาเดินทางกลับนิวยอร์กในฐานะกงสุลแห่งฝรั่งเศสและพบว่าภรรยาของเขาเสียชีวิตแล้ว ปี ค.ศ. 1790 เคร็ฟเวอเกอร์ได้เดินทางกลับฝรั่งเศสพร้อมกับบุตร 3 คน และพำนักที่ฝรั่งเศสจนเสียชีวิตในปี ค.ศ. 1813

**ลักษณะงานเขียน**

จากการที่เคร็ฟเวอเกอร์เป็นชาวฝรั่งเศสและผลงานสำคัญ ๆ ของเขาหลายชิ้นเขียนเป็นภาษาฝรั่งเศส บางคนจึงคิดว่าเคร็ฟเวอเกอร์ไม่ใช่คนเขียนอเมริกัน แต่ตัวเคร็ฟเวอเกอร์คิดว่าเขาเป็นอเมริกัน เพราะเขาเคยอยู่อเมริกาหลายปี ในงานเขียนของเคร็ฟเวอเกอร์ผู้อ่านจะได้ภาพลักษณ์ของสังคมและคนอเมริกันที่เกิดจากการผสมผสานของหลายเชื้อชาติ แม้เคร็ฟเวอเกอร์จะไม่ได้บรรยายว่าอเมริกาคือประเทศที่สมบูรณ์แบบ และเขาก็ไม่ได้หวังว่าอเมริกาจะเป็นเช่นนั้น แต่สิ่งหนึ่งที่เขาเห็นในอเมริกา คือ อเมริกาเป็นดินแดนแห่งความหวังดังเห็นได้ในผลงานชื่อ *"Letters from an American Farmer"* (ตีพิมพ์ปี ค.ศ. 1782) เมื่อเกิดสงครามปฏิวัติซึ่งเคร็ฟเวอเกอร์ไม่เห็นด้วยเพราะเขาคิดว่าสงครามนี้จะทำให้ทำลายความสุขของสังคมอเมริกัน ดังเช่นทำให้เพื่อนบ้านซึ่งเคยเป็นมิตรกลับกลายเป็นศัตรูคอยทำลายซึ่งกันและกัน เคร็ฟเวอเกอร์เห็นว่าคนอเมริกันในอุดมคติ คือ คนที่ควรให้ความร่วมมือกับเพื่อนบ้านและทำมาหากินเลี้ยงชีพโดย

การทำฟาร์ม ความคิดนี้ปรากฏในผลงานชื่อ *"Sketches of Eighteenth Century America"* (ตีพิมพ์ปี ค.ศ. 1925)

ผลงานของเครีฟเวเกอร์มีลักษณะเป็นการสังเกต (observation) ของคนต่างชาติที่มาอเมริกาในช่วงต้น ๆ โดยเห็นว่าอเมริกาเป็นผลงานที่ดีของคนที่มาจากโลกเก่าต่ออเมริกา โชคดีกว่าเพราะมีเสรีภาพ แม้เครีฟเวเกอร์จะบรรยายสิ่งที่เขาได้พบเห็นในทวีปใหม่แต่ผู้อ่านก็จะได้รับชาติของลักษณะโรแมนติกอยู่ในผลงานของเขาด้วยโดยเครีฟเวเกอร์มักจะบรรยายความงามของธรรมชาติ เช่น นก ต้นไม้ ป่า ดอกไม้ ซึ่งบางครั้งทำให้เขาละเลยความเป็นจริง

#### ผลงาน

- *"Letters from an American Farmer"* (1782)
- *"Sketches of Eighteenth Century America"* (1925)

ตัดตอนจาก *"Letters from an American Farmer"*

#### Letter III — What is an American?

I wish I could be acquainted with the feelings and thoughts which must agitate the heart and present themselves to the mind of an enlightened Englishman when he first lands on this continent. He must greatly rejoice that he lived at a time to see this fair country discovered and settled; he must necessarily feel a share of national pride when he views the chain of settlements which embellish these extended shores. When he says to himself, "This is the work of my countrymen, who, when convulsed by factions, afflicted by a variety of miseries and wants, restless and impatient, took refuge here. They brought along with them their national genius, to which they principally owe what liberty they enjoy and what substance they possess." Here he sees the industry of his native country displayed in a new manner and traces in their works the embryos of all the arts, sciences, and ingenuity which flourish in Europe. Here he beholds fair cities, substantial villages, extensive fields, an immense country filled with decent houses, good roads, orchards, meadows, and bridges where an hundred years ago all was wild, woody, and uncultivated! What a train of pleasing ideas this fair spectacle must suggest; it is a prospect which must inspire a good citizen with the most heart-felt pleasure. The

difficulty consists in the manner of viewing so extensive a scene. He is arrived on a new continent; a modern society offers itself to his contemplation, different from what he had hitherto seen. It is not composed, as in Europe, of great lords who possess everything and of a herd of people who have nothing. Here are no aristocratical families, no courts, no kings, no bishops, no ecclesiastical dominion, no invisible power giving to a few a very visible one, no great manufactures employing thousand, no great refinements of luxury. The rich and the poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe. Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the earth, from Nova Scotia to West Florida. We are a people of cultivators scattered over an immense territory, communicating with each other by means of good roads and navigable rivers, united by the silken bands of mild government, all respecting the laws without dreading their power, because they are equitable. We are all animated with the spirit of an industry which is unfettered and unrestrained, because each person works for himself. If he travels through our rural districts, he views not the hostile castle and the haughty mansion, contrasted with the clay-built hut and miserable cabin, where cattle and men help to keep each other warm and dwell in meanness, smoke, and indigence. A pleasing uniformity of decent competence appears throughout our habitations. The meanest of our log-houses is a dry and comfortable habitation. Lawyer or merchant are the fairest titles our towns afford; that of a farmer is the only appellation of the rural inhabitants of our country. It must take some time ere he can reconcile himself to our dictionary, which is but short in words of dignity and names of honour. There, on a Sunday, he sees a congregation of respectable farmers and their wives, all clad in neat homespun, well mounted, or riding in their own humble waggons. There is not among them an esquire, saving the unlettered magistrate. There he sees a person as simple as his flock, a farmer who does not riot on the labour of others. We have no princes for whom we toil, starve, and bleed; we are the most perfect society now existing in the world. Here man is free as he ought to be, nor is this pleasing equality so transitory as many others are. Many ages will not see the shores of our great lakes replenished with inland nations, nor the unknown bounds of North American entirely peopled. Who can tell how far it extends? Who can tell the millions of men whom it

will feed and contain? For no European foot has as yet travelled half the extent of this mighty continent!

The next wish of this traveller will be to know whence came all these people. They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race now called Americans have arisen. The eastern provinces must indeed be excepted as being the unmixed descendants of Englishmen. I have heard many wish that they had been more intermixed also; for my part, I am no wisher and think it much better as it has happened. They exhibit a most conspicuous figure in this great and variegated picture; they too enter for a great share in the pleasing perspective displayed in these thirteen provinces. I know it is fashionable to reflect on them, but I respect them for what they have done; for the accuracy and wisdom with which they have settled their territory; for the decency of their manners; for their early love of letters; their ancient college, the first in this hemisphere; for their industry, which to me who am but a farmer is the criterion of everything. There never was a people, situated as they are, who with so ungrateful a soil have done more in so short a time. Do you think that the monarchical ingredients which are more prevalent in other governments have purged them from all foul stains? Their histories assert the contrary.

In this great American asylum, the poor of Europe have by some means met together, and in consequence of various causes; to what purpose should they ask one another what countrymen they are? Alas, two thirds of them had no country. Can a wretch who wanders about, who works and starves, whose life is a continual scene of sore affliction or pinching penury—can that man call England or any other kingdom his country? A country that had no bread for him, whose fields procured him, no harvest, who met with nothing but the frowns of the rich, the severity of the laws, with jails and punishments, who owned not a single foot of the extensive surface of this planet? No! Urged by a variety of motives, here they came. Everything has tended to regenerate them: new laws, a new mode of living, a new social system; here they are become men: in Europe they were as so many useless plants, wanting vegetative mould and refreshing showers;

they withered, and were mowed down by want, hunger, and war; but now, by the power of transplantation, like all other plants they have taken root and flourished! Formerly they were not numbered in any civil lists of their country, except in those of the poor; here they rank as citizens. By what invisible power hath this surprising metamorphosis been performed? By that of the laws and that of their industry. The laws, the indulgent laws, protect them as they arrive, stamping on them the symbol of adoption; they receive ample rewards for their labours; these accumulated rewards procure them lands; those lands confer on them the title of freemen, and to that title every benefit is affixed which men can possibly require. This is the great operation daily performed by our laws. Whence proceed these laws? From our government. Whence that government? It is derived from the original genius and strong desire of the people ratified and confirmed by the crown. This is the great chain which links us all, this is the picture which every province exhibits, Nova Scotia excepted. There the crown has done all; either there were no people who had genius or it was not much attended to; the consequence is that the province is very thinly inhabited indeed; the power of the crown in conjunction with the musketos has prevented men from settling there. Yet some parts of it flourished once, and it contained a mild, harmless set of people. But for the fault of a few leaders, the whole was banished. The greatest political error the crown ever committed in America was to cut off men from a country which wanted nothing but men!

What attachment can a poor European emigrant have for a country where he had nothing? The knowledge of the language, the love of a few kindred as poor as himself, were the only cords that tied him; his country is now that which gives him his land, bread, protection, and consequence; *Ubi panis ibi patria*<sup>1</sup> is the motto of all emigrants. What, then, is the American, this new man? He is neither an European nor the descendant of an European; hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has

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<sup>1</sup>Ubi panis ibi patria มีความหมายว่า Where there is bread, there is the homeland

embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry which began long since in the East; they will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American ought therefore to love this country much better than that wherein either he or his forefathers were born. Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labour; his labour is founded on the basis of nature, self-interest; can it want a stronger allurement? Wives and children, who before in vain demanded of him a morsel of bread, now, fat and frolicsome, gladly help their father to clear those fields whence exuberant crops are to arise to feed and to clothe them all, without any part being claimed, either by a despotic prince, a rich abbot, or a mighty lord. Here religion demands but little of him: a small voluntary salary to the minister and gratitude to God; can he refuse these? The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. This is an American.

British America is divided into many provinces, forming a large association scattered along a coast of 1,500 miles extent and about 200 wide. This society I would fain examine, at least such as it appears in the middle provinces; if it does not afford that variety of tinges and gradations which may be observed in Europe, we have colours peculiar to ourselves. For instance, it is natural to conceive that those who live near the sea must be very different from those who live in the woods; the intermediate space will afford a separate and distinct class

Men are like plants; the goodness and flavour of the fruit proceeds from the peculiar soil and exposition in which they grow. We are nothing but what we derive from



the air we breathe, the climate we inhabit, the government we obey, the system of religion we profess, and the nature of our employment. Here you will find but few crimes; these have acquired as yet no root among us. I wish I were able to trace all my ideas; if my ignorance prevents me from describing them properly, I hope I shall be able to delineate a few of the outlines, which is all I propose.

Those who live near the sea feed more on fish than on flesh and often encounter that boisterous element. This renders them more bold and enterprising; this leads them to neglect the confined occupations of the land. They see and converse with a variety of people; their intercourse with mankind becomes extensive. The sea inspires them with a love of traffic, a desire of transporting produce from one place to another, and leads them to a variety of resources which supply the place of labour. Those who inhabit the middle settlements, by far the most numerous, must be very different; the simple cultivation of the earth purifies them, but the indulgences of the government, the soft remonstrances of religion, the rank of independent freeholders, must necessarily inspire them with sentiments, very little known in Europe among a people of the same class. What do I say? Europe has no such class of men; the early knowledge they acquire, the early bargains they make, give them a great degree of sagacity. As freemen, they will be litigious; pride and obstinacy are often the cause of lawsuits; the nature of our laws and governments may be another. As citizens, it is easy to imagine that they will carefully read the newspapers, enter into every political disquisition, freely blame or censure governors and others. As farmers, they will be careful and anxious to get as much as they can, because what they get is their own. As northern men, they will love the cheerful cup. As Christians, religion curbs them not in their opinions; the general indulgence leaves every one to think for themselves in spiritual matters; the law inspects our actions; our thoughts are left to God. Industry, good living, selfishness, litigiousness, country politics, the pride of freemen, religious indifference, are their characteristics. If you recede still farther from the sea, you will come into more modern settlements; they exhibit the same strong lineaments, in a ruder appearance. Religion seems to have still less influence, and their manners are less improved.

Now we arrive near the great woods, near the last inhabited districts; there men seem to be placed still farther beyond the reach of government, which in some measure leaves them to themselves. How can it pervade every corner, as they were driven there by misfortunes, necessity of beginnings, desire of acquiring large tracks of land, idleness, frequent want of economy, ancient debts; the reunion of such people does not afford a very pleasing spectacle. When discord, want of unity and friendship, when either drunkenness or idleness prevail in such remote districts, contention, inactivity, and wretchedness must ensue. There are not the same remedies to these evils as in a long-established community. The few magistrates they have are in general little better than the rest; they are often in a perfect state of war; that of man against man, sometimes decided by blows, sometimes by means of the law; that of man against every wild inhabitant of these venerable woods, of which they are come to dispossess them. There men appear to be no better than carnivorous animals of a superior rank, living on the flesh of wild animals when they can catch them, and when they are not able, they subsist on grain. He who would wish to see America in its proper light and have a true idea of its feeble beginnings and barbarous rudiments must visit our extended line of frontiers, where the last settlers dwell and where he may see the first labours of settlement, the mode of clearing the earth, in all their different appearances, where men are wholly left dependent on their native tempers and on the spur of uncertain industry, which often fails when not sanctified by the efficacy of a few moral rules. There, remote from the power of example and check of shame, many families exhibit the most hideous parts of our society. They are a kind of forlorn hope, preceding by ten or twelve years the most respectable army of veterans which come after them. In that space, prosperity will polish some, vice and the law will drive off the rest, who, uniting again with others like themselves, will recede still farther, making room for more industrious people, who will finish their improvements, convert the log-house into a convenient habitation, and rejoicing that the first heavy labours are finished, will change in a few years that hitherto barbarous country into a fine, fertile, well-regulated district. Such is our progress; such is the arch of the Europeans toward the interior parts of this continent. In all societies there are off-casts; this impure part serves as our precursors or pioneers; my father himself was one of that class, but he came upon honest principles and

was therefore one of the few who held fast; by good conduct and temperance, he transmitted to me his fair inheritance, when not above one in fourteen of his contemporaries had the same good fortune.

Forty years ago, this smiling country was thus inhabited; it is now purged, a general decency of manners prevails throughout, and such has been the fate of our best countries.

Exclusive of those general characteristics, each province has its own, founded on the government, climate, mode of husbandry, customs, and peculiarity of circumstances. Europeans submit insensibly to these great powers and become, in the course of a few generations, not only Americans in general, but either Pennsylvanians, Virginians, or provincials under some other name. Whoever traverses the continent must easily observe those strong differences, which will grow more evident in time. The inhabitants of Canada, Massachusetts, the middle provinces, the southern ones, will be as different as their climates; their only points of unity will be those of religion and language.

As I have endeavoured to show you how Europeans become Americans, it may not be disagreeable to show you likewise how the various Christian sects introduced wear out and how religious indifference becomes prevalent. When any considerable number of a particular sect happen to dwell contiguous to each other, they immediately erect a temple and there worship the Divinity agreeably to their own peculiar ideas. Nobody disturbs them. If any new sect springs up in Europe, it may happen that many of its professors will come and settle in America. As they bring their zeal with them, they are at liberty to make proselytes if they can and to build a meeting and to follow the dictates of their consciences; for neither the government nor any other power interferes. If they are peaceable subjects and are industrious, what is it to their neighbours how and in what manner they think fit to address their prayers to the Supreme Being? But if the sectaries are not settled close together, if they are mixed with other denominations, their zeal will cool for want of fuel, and will be extinguished in a little time. Then, the Americans become as to

religion what they are as to country, allied to all. In them the name of Englishman, Frenchman, and European is lost, and in like manner, the strict modes of Christianity as practised in Europe are lost also. This effect will extend itself still farther hereafter, and though this may appear to you as a strange idea, yet it is a very true one. I shall be able, perhaps, hereafter to explain myself better; in the meanwhile, let the following example serve as my first justification.

Let us suppose you and I to be travelling; we observe that in this house, to the right, lives a Catholic, who prays to God as he has been taught and believes in transubstantiation; he works and raises wheat, he has a large family of children, all hale and robust; his belief, his prayers, offend nobody. About one mile farther on the same road, his next neighbour may be a good, honest, plodding German Lutheran, who addresses himself to the same God, the God of all, agreeably to the modes he has been educated in, and believes in consubstantiation; by so doing, he scandalizes nobody; he also works in his fields, embellishes the earth, clears swamps, etc. What has the world to do with his Lutheran principles? He persecutes nobody, and nobody persecutes him; he visits his neighbours, and his neighbours visit him. Next to him lives a seceder, the most enthusiastic of all sectaries; his zeal is hot and fiery, but separated as he is from others of the same complexion, he has no congregation of his own to resort to where he might cabal and mingle religious pride with worldly obstinacy. He likewise raises good crops, his house is handsomely painted, his orchard is one of the fairest in the neighbourhood. How does it concern the welfare of the country, or of the province at large, what this man's religious sentiments are, or really whether he has any at all? He is a good farmer, he is a sober, peaceable, good citizen; William Penn himself would not wish for more. This is the visible character; the invisible one is only guessed at, and is nobody's business. Next, again, lives a Low Dutchman, who implicitly believes the rules laid down by the synod of Dort. He conceives no other idea of a clergyman than that of an hired man; if he does his work well, he will pay him the stipulated sum; if not, he will dismiss him, and do without his sermons, and let his church be shut up for years. But notwithstanding this coarse idea, you will find his house and farm to be the neatest in all the country; and

you will judge by his waggon and fat horses that he thinks more of the affairs of this world than of those of the next. He is sober and laborious; therefore, he is all he ought to be as to the affairs of this life. As for those of the next, he must trust to the great Creator. Each of these people instruct their children as well as they can, but these instructions are feeble compared to those which are given to the youth of the poorest class in Europe. Their children will therefore grow up less zealous and more indifferent in matters of religion than their parents. The foolish vanity or, rather, the fury of making proselytes is unknown here; they have no time, the seasons call for all their attention, and thus in a few years this mixed neighbourhood will exhibit a strange religious medley that will be neither pure Catholicism nor pure Calvinism. A very perceptible indifference, even in the first generation, will become apparent; and it may happen that the daughter of the Catholic will marry the son of the seceder and settle by themselves at a distance from their parents. What religious education will they give their children? A very imperfect one. If there happens to be in the neighbourhood any place of worship, we will suppose a Quaker's meeting; rather than not show their fine clothes, they will go to it, and some of them may perhaps attach themselves to that society. Others will remain in a perfect state of indifference; the children of these zealous parents will not be able to tell what their religious principles are, and their grandchildren still less. The neighbourhood of a place of worship generally leads them to it, and the action of going thither is the strongest evidence they can give of their attachment to any sect. The Quakers are the only people who retain a fondness for their own mode of worship; for be they ever so far separated from each other, they hold a sort of communion with the society and seldom depart from its rules, at least in this country. Thus all sects are mixed, as well as all nations; thus to the other, which is at present one of the strongest characteristics of the Americans. Where this will reach no one can tell; perhaps it may leave a vacuum fit to receive other systems. Persecution, religious pride, the love of contradiction, are the food of what the world commonly calls religion. These motives have ceased here; zeal in Europe is confined; here it evaporates in the great distance it has to travel; there it is a grain of powder inclosed; here it burns away in the open air and consumes without effect.

But to return to our back settlers. I must tell you that there is something in the proximity of the woods which is very singular. It is with men as it is with the plants and animals that grow and live in the forests; they are entirely different from those that live in the plains. I will candidly tell you all my thoughts, but you are not to expect that I shall advance any reasons. By living in or near the woods, their actions are regulated by the wildness of the neighbourhood. The deer often come to eat their grain, the wolves to destroy their sheep, the bears to kill their hogs, the foxes to catch their poultry. This surrounding hostility immediately puts the gun into their hands; they watch these animals, they kill some; and thus by defending their property, they soon become professed hunters; this is the progress; once hunters. farewell to the plough. The chase renders them ferocious, gloomy, and unsocial; a hunter wants no neighbour, he rather hates them because he dreads the competition. In a little time, their success in the woods makes them neglect their tillage. They trust to the natural fecundity of the earth and therefore do little; carelessness in fencing often exposes what little they sow to destruction; they are not at home to watch; in order, therefore, to make up the deficiency, they go oftener to the woods. The new mode of life brings along with it a new set of manners, which I cannot easily describe. These new manners being grafted on the old stock produce a strange sort of lawless profligacy, the impressions of which are indelible. The manners of the Indian natives are respectable compared with this European medley. Their wives and children live in sloth and inactivity; and having no proper pursuits, you may judge what education the latter receive. Their tender minds have nothing else to contemplate but the example of their parents; like them, they grow up a mongrel breed, half civilized, half savage, except nature stamps on them some constitutional propensities. That rich, that voluptuous sentiment is gone that struck them so forcibly; the possession of their freeholds no longer conveys to their minds the same pleasure and pride. To all these reasons you must add their lonely situation, and you cannot imagine what an effect on manners the great distances they live from each other has! Consider one of the last settlements in its first view: of what is it composed? Europeans who have not that sufficient share of knowledge they ought to have in order to prosper; people who have suddenly passed from oppression, dread of government, and fear of laws into the unlimited freedom of the woods. This

sudden change must have a very great effect on most men, and on that class particularly. Eating of wild meat, whatever you may think, tends to alter their temper, though all the proof I can adduce is that I have seen it, and having no place of worship to resort to, what little society this might afford is denied them. The Sunday meetings, exclusive of religious benefits, were the only social bonds that might have inspired them with some degree of emulation in neatness. Is it, then, surprising to see men thus situated, immersed in great and heavy labours, degenerate a little? It is rather a wonder the effect is not more diffusive. The Moravians and the Quakers are the only instances in exception to what I have advanced. The first never settle singly; it is a colony of the society which emigrates; they carry with them their forms, worship, rules, and decency. The others never begin so hard; they are always able to buy improvements, in which there is a great advantage, for by that time the country is recovered from its first barbarity. Thus our bad people are those who are half cultivators and half hunters; and the worst of them are those who have degenerated altogether into the hunting state. As old ploughmen and new men of the woods, as Europeans and new-made Indians, they contract the vices of both; they adopt the moroseness and ferocity of a native, without his mildness or even his industry at home. If manners are not refined, at least they are rendered simple and inoffensive by tilling the earth. All our wants are supplied by it; our time is divided between labour and rest, and leaves none for the commission of great misdeeds. As hunters, it is divided between the toil of the chase, the idleness of repose, or the indulgence of inebriation. Hunting is but a licentious idle life, and if it does not always pervert good dispositions, yet, when it is united with bad luck, it leads to want: want stimulates that propensity to rapacity and injustice, too natural to needy men, which is the fatal gradation. After this explanation of the effects which follow by living in the woods, shall we yet vainly flatter ourselves with the hope of converting the Indians? We should rather begin with converting our back-settlers; and now if I dare mention the name of religion, its sweet accents would be lost in the immensity of these woods. Men thus placed are not fit either to receive or remember its mild instructions; they want temples and ministers, but as soon as men cease to remain at home and begin to lead an erratic life, let them be either tawny or white, they cease to be its disciples.

Thus have I faintly and imperfectly endeavoured to trace our society from the sea to our woods! Yet you must not imagine that every person who moves back acts upon the same principles or falls into the same degeneracy. Many families carry with them all their decency of conduct, purity of morals, and respect of religion, but these are scarce; the power of example is sometimes irresistible. Even among these back-settlers, their depravity is greater or less according to what nation or province they belong. Were I to adduce proofs of this, I might be accused of partiality. If there happens to be some rich intervals, some fertile bottoms, in those remote districts, the people will there prefer tilling the land to hunting and will attach themselves to it; but even on these fertile spots you may plainly perceive the inhabitants to acquire a great degree of rusticity and selfishness.

It is in consequence of this straggling situation and the astonishing power it has on manners that the back-settlers of both the Carolinas, Virginia, and many other parts have been long a set of lawless people; it has been even dangerous to travel among them. Government can do nothing in so extensive a country; better it should wink at these irregularities than that it should use means inconsistent with its usual mildness. Time will efface those stains: in proportion as the great body of population approaches them they will reform and become polished and subordinate. Whatever has been said of the four New England provinces, no such degeneracy of manners has ever tarnished their annals; their back-settlers have been kept within the bounds of decency, and government, by means of wise laws, and by the influence of religion. What a detestable idea such people must have given to the natives of the Europeans! They trade with them; the worst of people are permitted to do that which none but persons of the best characters should be employed in. They get drunk with them and often defraud the Indians. Their avarice, removed from the eyes of their superiors, knows no bounds; and aided by a little superiority of knowledge, these traders deceive them and even sometimes shed blood. Hence those shocking violations, those sudden devastations which have so often stained our frontiers, when hundreds of innocent people have been sacrificed for the crimes of a few. It was in consequence of such behaviour that the Indians took the hatchet against the



Virginians in 1774. Thus are our first steps trodden, thus are our first trees felled, in general, by the most vicious of our people; and thus the path is opened for the arrival of a second and better class, the true American freeholders, the most respectable set of people in this part of the world: respectable for their industry, their happy independence, the great share of freedom they possess, the good regulation of their families, and for extending the trade and the dominion of our mother country.

Europe contains hardly any other distinctions but lords and tenants; this fair country alone is settled by freeholders, the possessors of the soil they cultivate, members of the government they obey, and the framers of their own laws, by means of their representatives. This is a thought which you have taught me to cherish; our distance from Europe, far from diminishing, rather adds to our usefulness and consequence as men and subjects. Had our forefathers remained there, they would only have crowded it and perhaps prolonged those convulsions which had shaken it so long. Every industrious European who transports himself here may be compared to a sprout growing at the foot of a great tree; it enjoys and draws but a little portion of sap; wrench it from the parent roots, transplant it, and it will become a tree bearing fruit also. Colonists are therefore entitled to the consideration due to the most useful subjects; a hundred families barely existing in some parts of Scotland will here in six years cause an annual exportation of 10,000 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels being but a common quantity for an industrious family to sell if they cultivate good land. It is here, then, that the idle may be employed, the useless become useful, and the poor become rich; but by riches I do not mean gold and silver—we have but little of those metals; I mean a better sort of wealth—cleared lands, cattle, good houses, good clothes, and an increase of people to enjoy them.

There is no wonder that this country has so many charms and presents to Europeans so many temptations to remain in it. A traveller in Europe becomes a stranger as soon as he quits his own kingdom; but it is otherwise here. We know, properly speaking, no strangers; his is every person's country; the variety of our soils, situations, climates, governments, and produce hath something which must please everybody. No sooner does

an European arrive, no matter of what condition, than his eyes are opened upon the fair prospect: he hears his language spoke: he retraces many of his own country manners; he perpetually hears the names of families and towns with which he is acquainted; he sees happiness and prosperity in all places disseminated; he meets with hospitality, kindness, and plenty everywhere; he beholds hardly any poor; he seldom hears of punishments and executions; and he wonders at the elegance of our towns, those miracles of industry and freedom. He cannot admire enough our rural districts, our convenient roads, good taverns, and our many accommodations; he involuntarily loves a country where everything is so lovely. When in England, he was a mere Englishman; here he stands on a larger portion of the globe, not less than its fourth part, and may see the productions of the north, in iron and naval stores; the provisions of Ireland; the grain of Egypt; the indigo, the rice of China. He does not find, as in Europe, a crowded society where every place is overstocked; he does not feel that perpetual collision of parties, that difficulty of beginning, that contention which oversets so many. There is room for everybody in America; has he any particular talent or industry? He exerts it in order to procure a livelihood, and it succeeds. Is he a merchant? The avenues of trade are infinite. Is he eminent in any respect? He will be employed and respected. Does he love a country life? Pleasant farms present themselves; he may purchase what he wants and thereby become an American farmer. Is he a labourer, sober and industrious? He need not go many miles nor receive many informations before he will be hired, well fed at the table of his employer, and paid four or five times more than he can get in Europe. Does he want uncultivated lands? Thousands of acres present themselves, which he may purchase cheap. Whatever be his talents or inclinations, if they are moderate, he may satisfy them. I do not mean that every one who comes will grow rich in a little time; no, but he may procure an easy, decent maintenance by his industry. Instead of starving, he will be fed; instead of being idle, he will have employment: and there are riches enough for such men as come over here. The rich stay in Europe; it is only the middling and poor that emigrate. Would you wish to travel in independent idleness, from north to south, you will find easy access, and the most cheerful reception at every house; society without ostentation; good cheer without pride; and every decent diversion which the country affords, with little expense.

It is no wonder that the European who has lived here a few years is desirous to remain; Europe with all its pomp is not to be compared to this continent for men of middle stations or labourers.

An European, when he first arrives, seems limited in his intentions, as well as in his views; but he very suddenly alters his scale; two hundred miles formerly appeared a very great distance, it is now but a trifle; he no sooner breathes our air than he forms schemes and embarks in designs he never would have thought of in his own country. There the plenitude of society confines many useful ideas and often extinguishes the most laudable schemes, which here ripen into maturity. Thus Europeans become Americans.

But how is this accomplished in that crowd of low, indigent people who flock here every year from all parts of Europe? I will tell you; they no sooner arrive than they immediately feel the good effects of that plenty of provisions we possess: they fare on our best food, and are kindly entertained; their talents, character, and peculiar industry are immediately inquired into; they find countrymen everywhere disseminated, let them come from whatever part of Europe. Let me select one as an epitome of the rest: he is hired, he goes to work, and works moderately; instead of being employed by a haughty person, he finds himself with his equal, placed at the substantial table of the farmer, or else at an inferior one as good; his wages are high, his bed is not like that bed of sorrow on which he used to lie; if he behaves with propriety, and is faithful, he is caressed, and becomes as it were a member of the family. He begins to feel the effects of a sort of resurrection; hitherto he had not lived, but simply vegetated; he now feels himself a man because he is treated as such; the laws of his own country had overlooked him in his insignificance; the laws of this cover him with their mantle. Judge what an alteration there must arise in the mind and the thoughts of this man. He begins to forget his former servitude and dependence; his heart involuntarily swells and glows; this first swell inspires him with those new thoughts which constitute an American. What love can he entertain for a country where his existence was a burthen to him; if he is a generous, good man, the love of this new adoptive parent will sink deep into his heart. He looks around and sees many

a prosperous person who but a few years before was as poor as himself. This encourages him much; he begins to form some little scheme, the first, alas, he ever formed in his life. If he is wise, he thus spends two or three years, in which time he acquires knowledge, the use of tools, the modes of working the lands, felling trees, etc. This prepares the foundation of a good name, the most useful acquisition he can make. He is encouraged, he has gained friends; he is advised and directed; he feels bold, he purchases some land; he gives all the money he has brought over, as well as what he has earned, and trusts to the God of harvests for the discharge of the rest. his good name procures him credit. He is now possessed of the deed, conveying to him and his posterity the fee simple and absolute property of two hundred acres of land, situated on such a river. What an epocha in this man's life! He is become a freeholder, from perhaps a German boor. He is now an American, a Pennsylvanian, an English subject. He is naturalized; his name is enrolled with those of the other citizens of the province. Instead of being a vagrant, he has a place of residence; he is called the inhabitant of such a county, or of such a district, and for the first time in his life counts for something, for hitherto he had been a cypher. I only repeat what I have heard many say, and no wonder their hearts should glow and be agitated with a multitude of feelings, not easy to describe. From nothing to start into being; from a servant to the rank of a master; from being the slave of some despotic prince, to become a free man, invested with lands to which every municipal blessing is annexed! What a change indeed! It is in consequence of that change that he becomes an American. This great metamorphosis has a double effect: it extinguishes all his European prejudices, he forgets that mechanism of subordination, that servility of disposition which poverty had taught him; and sometimes he is apt to forget it too much, often passing from one extreme to the other. If he is a good man, he forms schemes of future prosperity, he proposes to educate his children better than he has been educated himself; he thinks of future modes of conduct, feels an ardour to labour he never felt before. Pride steps in and leads him to everything that the laws do not forbid; he respects them; with a heart-felt gratitude he looks toward the east, toward that insular government from whose wisdom all his new felicity is derived and under whose wings and protection he now lives. These reflections constitute him the good man and the good subject. Ye poor Europeans ye who sweat and

work for the great; ye who are obliged to give so many sheaves to the church, so many to your lords, so many to your government, and have hardly any left for yourselves; ye who are held in less estimation than favourite hunters or useless lap-dogs; ye who only breathe the air of nature because it cannot be withholden from you—it is here that ye can conceive the possibility of those feelings I have been describing; it is here the laws of naturalization invite every one to partake of our great labours and felicity, to till unrented, untaxed lands! Many, corrupted beyond the power of amendment, have brought with them all their vices, and disregarding the advantages held to them, have gone on in their former career of iniquity until they have been overtaken and punished by our laws. It is not every emigrant who succeeds; no, it is only the sober, the honest, and industrious. Happy those to whom this transition has served as a powerful spur to labour, to prosperity, and to the good establishment of children, born in the days of their poverty and who had no other portion to expect but the rags of their parents had it not been for their happy emigration. Others, again, have been led astray by this enchanting scene; their new pride, instead of leading them to the fields, has kept them in idleness; the idea of possessing lands is all that satisfied them—though surrounded with fertility, they have mouldered away their time in inactivity, misformed husbandry, and ineffectual endeavours. How much wiser, in general, the honest Germans than almost all other Europeans; they hire themselves to some of their wealthy landmen, and in that apprenticeship learn everything that is necessary. They attentively consider the prosperous industry of others, which imprints in their minds a strong desire of possessing the same advantages. This forcible idea never quits them; they launch forth, and by dint of sobriety, rigid parsimony, and the most persevering industry, they commonly succeed. Their astonishment at their first arrival from Germany is very great—it is to them a dream; the contrast must be very powerful indeed; they observe their countrymen flourishing in every place; they travel through whole counties where not a word of English is spoken; and in the names and the language of the people, they retrace Germany. They have been an useful acquisition to this continent, and to Pennsylvania in particular; to them it owes some share of its prosperity: to their mechanical knowledge and patience it owes the finest mills in all America, the best teams of horses, and many other advantages. The recollection of their former poverty and slavery never quits them as long as they live.

The Scotch and the Irish might have lived in their own country perhaps as poor, but enjoying more civil advantages, the effects of their new situation do not strike them so forcibly, nor has it so lasting an effect. Whence the difference arises I know not, but out of twelve families of emigrants of each country, generally seven Scotch will succeed, nine German, and four Irish. The Scotch are frugal and laborious, but their wives cannot work so hard as German women, who on the contrary vie with their husbands, and often share with them the most severe toils of the field, which they understand better. They have therefore nothing to struggle against but the common casualties of nature. The Irish do not prosper so well; they love to drink and to quarrel; they are litigious and soon take to the gun, which is the ruin of everything; they seem beside to labour under a greater degree of ignorance in husbandry than the others; perhaps it is that their industry had less scope and was less exercised at home. I have heard many relate how the land was parcelled out in that kingdom; their ancient conquest has been a great detriment to them, by oversetting their landed property. The lands possessed by a few are leased down ad infinitum, and the occupiers often pay five guineas an acre. The poor are worse lodged there than anywhere else in Europe; their potatoes, which are easily raised, are perhaps an inducement to laziness: their wages are too low and their whisky too cheap.

There is no tracing observations of this kind without making at the same time very great allowances, as there are everywhere to be found a great many exceptions. The Irish themselves, from different parts of that kingdom, are very different. It is difficult to account for this surprising locality; one would think on so small an island an Irishman must be an Irishman. Yet it is not so; they are different in their aptitude to and in their love of labour.

The Scotch, on the contrary, are all industrious and saving; they want nothing more than a field to exert themselves in, and they are commonly sure of succeeding. The only difficulty they labour under is that technical American knowledge which requires some time to obtain; it is not easy for those who seldom saw a tree to conceive how it is to be felled, cut up, and split into rails and posts.

As I am fond of seeing and talking of prosperous families, I intend to finish this letter by relating to you the history of an honest Scotch Hebridean, who came here in 1774, which will show you in epitome what the Scotch can do, wherever they have room for the exertion of their industry. Whenever I hear of any new settlement, I pay it a visit once or twice a year, on purpose to observe the different steps each settler takes, the gradual improvements, the different tempers of each family, on which their prosperity in a great nature depends; their different modifications of industry, their ingenuity, and contrivance; for being all poor, their life requires sagacity and prudence. In the evening I love to hear them tell their stories, they furnish me with new ideas; I sit still and listen to their ancient misfortunes, observing in many of them a strong degree of gratitude to God, and the government. Many a well meant sermon have I preached to some of them. When I found laziness and inattention to prevail, who could refrain from wishing well to these new countrymen, after having undergone so many fatigues. Who could withhold good advice? What a happy change it must be, to descend from the high, sterile, bleak lands of Scotland, where everything is barren and cold, to rest on some fertile farms in these middle provinces! Such a transition must have afforded the most pleasing satisfaction.

The following dialogue passed at an out-settlement, where I lately paid a visit:

Well, friend, how do you do now; I am come fifty odd miles on purpose to see you; how do you go on with your new cutting and slashing? Very well, good Sir, we learn the use of the axe bravely, we shall make it out; we have a belly full of victuals every day, our cows run about, and come home full of milk, our hogs get fat of themselves in the woods: Oh, this is a good country! God bless the king and William Penn; we shall do very well by and by, if we keep our healths. Your loghouse looks neat and light, where did you get these shingles? One of our neighbours is a New-England man, and he showed us how to split them out of chestnut-trees. Now for a barn, but all in good time, here are fine trees to build with. Who is to frame it, sure you don't understand that work

yet? A countryman of ours who has been in America these ten years. Offers to wait for his money until the second crop is lodged in it. What did you give for your land? Thirty-five shillings per acre, payable in seven years. How many acres have you got? An hundred and fifty. That is enough to begin with; is not your land pretty hard to clear? Yes, Sir, hard enough, but it would be harder still if it were ready cleared, for then we should have no timber, and I love the woods much; the land is nothing without them. Have not you found out any bees yet? No, Sir; and if we had we should not know what to do with them. I will tell you by and by. You are very kind. Farewell honest man, God prosper you; whenever you travel toward —, inquire for J.S. He will entertain you kindly, provided you bring him good tidings from your family and farm. In this manner I often visit them, and carefully examine their houses, their modes of ingenuity, their different ways; and make them all relate all they know, and describe all they feel. These are scenes which I believe you would willingly share with me. I well remember your philanthropic turn of mind. Is it not better to contemplate under these humble roofs, the rudiments of future wealth and population, than to behold the accumulated bundles of litigious papers in the office of a lawyer? To examine how the world is gradually settled, how the howling swamp is converted into a pleasing whistling, the rural song, where there was no sound heard before, save the yell of the savage, the screech of the owl or the hissing of the snake? Here an European, fatigued with luxury, riches, and pleasures, may find a sweet relaxation in a series of interesting scenes, as affecting as they are new. England, which now contains so many domes, so many castles, was once like this; a place woody and marshy; its inhabitants, now the favorite nation for arts and commerce, were once painted like our neighbours. The country will flourish in its turn, and the same observations will be made which I have just delineated. Posterity will look back with avidity and pleasure, to trace, if possible, the era of this or that particular settlement.

Pray, what is the reason that the Scots are in general more religious, more faithful, more honest, and industrious than the Irish? I do not mean to insinuate national reflections, God forbid! It ill becomes any man, and much less an American; but as I know men are nothing of themselves, and that they owe all their different modifications either



to government or other local circumstances, there must be some powerful causes which constitute this great national difference.

Agreeable to the account which several Scotchmen have given me of the north of Britain, of the Orkneys, and the Hebride Islands, they seem, on many accounts, to be unfit for the habitation of men; they appear to be calculated only for great sheep pastures. Who then can blame the inhabitants of these countries for transporting themselves hither? This great continent must in time absorb the poorest part of Europe; and this will happen in proportion as it becomes better known; and as war, taxation, oppression, and misery increase there. The Hebrides appear to be fit only for the residence of malefactors, and it would be much better to send felons there than either to Virginia or Maryland. What a strange compliment has our mother country paid to two of the finest provinces in America! England has entertained in that respect very mistaken ideas; what was intended as a punishment, is become the good fortune of several; many of those who have been transported as felons, are now rich, and strangers to the stings of those wants that urged them to violations of the law: they are become industrious, exemplary, and useful citizens. The English government should purchase the most northern and barren of those islands; it should send over to us the honest, primitive Hebrideans, settle them here on good lands, as a reward for their virtue and ancient poverty; and replace them with a colony of her wicked sons. The severity of the climate, the inclemency of the seasons, the sterility of the soil, the tempestuousness of the sea, would afflict and punish enough. Could there be found a spot better adapted to retaliate the injury it had received by their crimes? Some of those islands might be considered as the hell of Great Britain, where all evil spirits should be sent. Two essential ends would be answered by this simple operation. The good people by emigration, would be rendered happier; the bad ones would be placed where they ought to be. In a few years the dread of being sent to that wintry region would have a much stronger effect than that of transportation — This is no place of punishment; were I a poor hopeless, breadless Englishman and not restrained by the power of shame I should be very thankful for the passage. It is of very little importance how, and in what manner an indigent man arrives; for if he is but sober, honest, and

industrious, he has nothing more to ask of heaven. Let him go to work, he will have opportunities enough to earn a comfortable support, and even the means of procuring some land; which ought to be the utmost wish of every person who has health and hands to work. I knew a man who came to this country, in the literal sense of the expression, stark naked; I think he was a Frenchman, and a sailor on board an English man-of-war. Being discontented, he had stripped himself and swam ashore; where, finding clothes and friends, he settled afterwards at Maranock, in the county of Chester, in the province of New York: he married and left a good farm to each of his sons. I knew another person who was but twelve years old when he was taken on the frontiers of Canada, by the Indians; at his arrival at Albany he was purchased by a gentleman, who generously bound him apprentice to a tailor. He lived to the age of ninety, and left behind him a fine estate and a numerous family, all well settled; many of them I am acquainted with. —Where is then the industrious European who ought to despair?

After a foreigner from any part of Europe is arrived, and become a citizen; let him devoutly listen to the voice of our great parent, which says to him, “Welcome to my shores, distressed European; bless the hour in which thou didst see my verdant fields, my fair navigable rivers; and my green mountains! —If thou wilt work, I have bread for thee; if thou wilt be honest, sober, and industrious, I have greater rewards to confer on thee—ease and independence. I will give thee fields to feed and clothe thee; a comfortable fireside to sit by, and tell thy children by what means thou hast prospered; and a decent bed to repose on. I shall endow thee beside with the immunities of a freeman. If thou wilt carefully educate thy children, teach them gratitude to God and reverence to that government, that philanthropic government, which has collected here so many men and made them happy. I will also provide for thy progeny; and to every good man this ought to be the most holy, the most powerful, the most earnest wish he can possibly form, as well as the most consolatory prospect when he dies. Go thou and work and till; thou shalt prosper, provided thou be just, grateful, and industrious.”

## อธิบายคำศัพท์

คำศัพท์

acquaint

substantial

uncultivate

tiller

equitable

industry

indigence

conspicuous

asylum

affliction

pinching

penury

attachment

remonstrance

sagacity

litigious

disquisition

carnivorous

rudiment

contiguous

proselyte

confine

proximity

fecundity

profligacy

indelible

diffusive

adduce

ความหมาย

รู้จัก ทำให้คุ้นเคย

เป็นเนื้อเป็นหนัง มีตัวตน จับได้ มั่นคง

ไม่ได้เพาะปลูก

หน่อไม้

ยุติธรรม

ความอุตสาหกรรม

ความยากจน ความขัดสน

เป็นเป้าสายตา เด่น

ที่พำนัก ความคุ้มครองที่ให้แก่ผู้ลี้ภัย

ความทุกข์ ความลำบาก

กระเปียดกระเสียน ลำบาก

ความขาดแคลน

ความผูกพัน

แนะนำ การทัดทาน

ฉลาด หลึกแหลม ไหวพริบ

ข้อพิพาท

การค้นคว้า

ที่กินเนื้อเป็นอาหาร

ขั้นต้น ความรู้เบื้องต้น

ติดกัน

คนเปลี่ยนศาสนา

จำกัดขอบเขต

อยู่ใกล้ๆ ใกล้ชิด

อุดมสมบูรณ์

สุรุ่ยสุร่าย ไม่เอาถ่าน

ลบไม่ได้

แพร่ กระจาย

อ้าง (เหตุผล)

straggling	ลำหลัง กระจัดกระจาย
sap	น้ำหล่อเลี้ยงต้นไม้
exert	ใช้
detriment	ความเสียหาย เครื่องทำลาย

### สาระสำคัญ

ผลงานชิ้นนี้อยู่ในรูปจดหมายที่เครีฟเวอเกอร์ทำที่ว่าเขียนถึงผู้สื่อข่าวในอังกฤษ ซึ่งจริง ๆ แล้วไม่มีตัวตน กว่าผลงานชิ้นนี้จะตีพิมพ์ก็คือ ปี ค.ศ. 1782 นับได้ว่าเป็นผลงานของคนต่างชาติกลุ่มแรก ๆ ที่เดินทางมาอเมริกาเป็นช่วง ๆ และได้บรรยายให้ผู้อ่านเห็นว่าอเมริกาและคนอเมริกันเป็นผลงานของผู้ที่อพยพมาจากโลกเก่า สิ่งที่ถูกอพยพสร้างขึ้นเป็นผลงานที่ดีเนื่องจากคนเหล่านี้มีความสามารถอยู่แล้วประกอบกับเสรีภาพที่อเมริกามีให้ เครีฟเวอเกอร์ได้บรรยายภาพชีวิตการทำเกษตรกรรมอันเจียบสงบของชาวอเมริกันก่อนการปฏิวัติซึ่งเป็นภาพของอาณานิคมในช่วงศตวรรษที่ 18 โดยเฉพาะอาณานิคมทางตอนกลางซึ่งประกอบด้วยชนหลายเชื้อชาติ เช่น สก๊อต อังกฤษ เยอรมัน นอกจากนี้เครีฟเวอเกอร์ยังได้บรรยายความงามของธรรมชาติที่เขาพบเห็นด้วย ผลงานชิ้นนี้ได้รับความนิยมทั้งในอังกฤษและอเมริกา

จากงานเขียนผู้อ่านจะสามารถเห็นคุณสมบัติของเครีฟเวอเกอร์ได้ดังนี้

1. นักธรรมชาตินิยม (naturalist) เครีฟเวอเกอร์มักจะบรรยายถึงธรรมชาติที่เขาพบ เช่น ดอกไม้ ป่า ต้นไม้ นก
2. นักประพันธ์ที่ชอบบรรยายเกี่ยวกับความงามของภูมิประเทศในชนบท ดนตรีหรือเพลงที่ไพเราะ (idyllist) เครีฟเวอเกอร์มักจะบรรยายชีวิตในฟาร์มของคนอเมริกันอย่างงดงาม
3. แม้เครีฟเวอเกอร์จะเป็นผู้ที่มองอเมริกาด้วยความชื่นชมแต่ในขณะเดียวกันเขาก็ได้บรรยายถึงจุดเสียของอเมริกาด้วย
4. เครีฟเวอเกอร์เห็นว่าความยุติธรรมไม่ควรจะได้มาจากการทำสงครามหรือการนองเลือด
5. เครีฟเวอเกอร์เป็นเสมือนผู้รายงานความฝันที่เป็นจริงของคนอเมริกัน

ผลงานชิ้นนี้แบ่งออกเป็น 12 ตอน ดังนี้

- ตอนที่ I            *“Introductory Letter”* เคร็ฟเวเกอร์กล่าวถึงจุดประสงค์ของการเขียน
- ตอนที่ II            *“On the Situations, Feelings and Pleasures of an American”*  
เคร็ฟเวเกอร์บรรยายความงามของภูมิประเทศในอเมริกา
- ตอนที่ III            *“What is an American?”* เคร็ฟเวเกอร์บรรยายความฝันที่เป็นจริง  
ของคนอเมริกัน
- ตอนที่ IV-VIII      เป็นตอนที่เล่าเกี่ยวกับชีวิตในไร่จุ่นชื่อ *“Nantucket and Martha’s Vineyard”*
- ตอนที่ IX            *“Description of Charlestown; Thoughts on Slavery”* เคร็ฟเวเกอร์  
บรรยายถึงความทุกข์ยากของทาส
- ตอนที่ X            *“On Snakes and on the Humming Bird”* เคร็ฟเวเกอร์บรรยาย  
ธรรมชาติที่เขาได้พบเห็น
- ตอนที่ XI            *“From Mr. Tw---n Al---z, A Russian Gentleman”* เป็นการจดบันทึก  
การพูดคุยกับนักพฤกษศาสตร์ชื่อ จอห์น บาร์แตรม (John Bartram)  
และยังบรรยายถึงชีวิตที่เต็มไปด้วยความสุข มีเสรีภาพและโอกาสที่  
เปิดกว้างแก่ทุกคนในอเมริกา
- ตอนที่ XII            *“Distresses of a Frontier Man”* เคร็ฟเวเกอร์บรรยายถึงผลของสงคราม  
ปฏิวัติในอเมริกา