

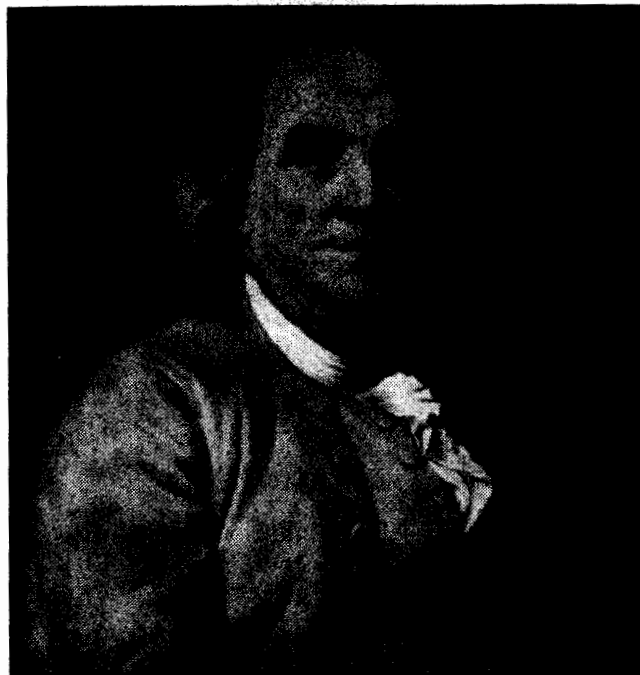
บทที่ ๑
นักเขียนอเมริกันกลุ่มเกี่ยวกับการเมือง

กลุ่มนักเขียนที่เขียนเกี่ยวกับการเมือง (Political Writings)

มีนักเขียนสำคัญดังนี้

- Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)
- Thomas Paine (1737-1809)
- Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน (Benjamin Franklin, 1706-1790)



● เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน

ประวัติ

เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน ได้ชื่อว่าเป็นนักเขียน นักการเมือง นักวิทยาศาสตร์ นักประดิษฐ์ ช่างพิมพ์ เจ้าของโรงพิมพ์และนักการทูต เป็นบุตรคนที่ 10 ในจำนวน 17 คน เกิดที่บอสตัน แมสซาชูเซตส์ บิดาทำธุรกิจเทียนไขและสบู่ แฟรงคลินเข้าเรียนหลายโรงเรียน อายุ 10 ปีได้ทำงานกับบิดา ช่วงปี ค.ศ. 1718-1723 เมื่อแฟรงคลิน อายุ 12-17 ปีได้เข้าฝึกงานในโรงพิมพ์ของพี่ชายที่ชื่อเจมส์ แฟรงคลิน (James Franklin)

ปี ค.ศ. 1723 แฟรงคลิน ทะเลาะกับพี่ชายจึงหนีไปฟิลาเดลเฟียโดยทำงานในร้านพิมพ์ของแซมมวล ไคเมอร์ (Samuel Keimer) ต่อมาด้วยการอุปถัมภ์ของผู้ว่าการ คีธ (Keith) แฟรงคลินเดินทางไปยังอังกฤษเพื่อซื้อเครื่องประกอบแท่นพิมพ์ของตนเอง แต่ไม่ได้รับเงินจึงต้องหางานทำโดยทำงานในโรงพิมพ์ลอนดอนเป็นเวลา 2 ปี (ค.ศ. 1724-1726) ปี ค.ศ. 1726 เขาเดินทางกลับฟิลาเดลเฟีย และ 4 ปีต่อมาแฟรงคลินก็มีแท่นพิมพ์เป็นของตนเองและได้ออกหนังสือพิมพ์ **"The Pennsylvania Gazette"** (ค.ศ. 1730-1748) ในปี ค.ศ. 1730 แฟรงคลินแต่งงานกับเดบอรา รีด (Deborah Read) มีบุตรด้วยกัน 2 คน นอกจากนี้แฟรงคลินยังมีบุตรนอกกฎหมายอีก 2 คน

คุณธรรม 13 ประการ (virtues) ที่ เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน ชื่นชอบ มีดังนี้

1. ความพอควรหรือการละเว้นของมีนเมา (temperance)
2. ความเงียบ (silence)
3. ความมีระเบียบ (order)
4. ความตั้งใจ (resolution)
5. ความมัธยัสถ์ (frugality)
6. ความอุตสาหะ (industry)
7. ความจริงใจ (sincerity)
8. ความยุติธรรม (justice)
9. ความรู้จักประมาณ (moderation)
10. ความสะอาด (cleanliness)
11. ความเยือกเย็น (tranquil)
12. ความบริสุทธิ์ (chastity)
13. ความถ่อมตน (humility)

เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน ได้ยึดมั่นคุณธรรมเหล่านี้ในการทำธุรกิจจนประสบความสำเร็จ ปี ค.ศ. 1727 เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน ได้ก่อตั้งสมาคม “จันโต (Junto)” ซึ่งเป็นที่ที่สมาชิกจะได้พบปะ แลกเปลี่ยนและเสนอความคิดใหม่ ๆ แม้เบนจามิน แฟรงคลินจะได้รับการศึกษาน้อย แต่เขาเป็น ผู้ที่อ่านมากจึงทำให้เป็นผู้ที่มีความสามารถในหลาย ๆ ด้าน ผลงานของเขามีมากมาย เช่น

- ก่อตั้งหอสมุดฟิลาเดลเฟีย (The Philadelphia Library) ในปี ค.ศ. 1731
- ช่วยก่อตั้งวิทยาลัยฟิลาเดลเฟีย (College of Philadelphia) ซึ่งต่อมากลายเป็น มหาวิทยาลัยเพนซิลวาเนีย (University of Pennsylvania)

- แฟรงคลินเป็นผู้ที่ทำให้ฟิลาเดลเฟียมีหน่วยดับเพลิง ไฟถนน หอสมุด
- ประดิษฐ์สิ่งต่าง ๆ เช่น สายล่อฟ้า
- ในช่วงปี ค.ศ. 1757-1775 เป็นตัวแทนของเพนซิลวาเนียและอาณานิคมอื่น ๆ ใน อังกฤษ

- ปี ค.ศ. 1775 ได้รับเลือกเป็นตัวแทนของสภาแห่งภาคพื้นทวีป (Continental Congress)

- เป็นผู้มีส่วนช่วยร่างประกาศอิสรภาพ (Declaration of Independence)
- ปี ค.ศ. 1783 เป็นเอกอัครราชทูตประจำฝรั่งเศสลงนามในสนธิสัญญาปารีส (Treaty of Paris)

ลักษณะการเขียน

กล่าวกันว่า ในขณะที่ โจนาธาน เอ็ดเวิร์ด ได้ชื่อว่าเป็นสัญลักษณ์ของศรัทธาอันแรงกล้าต่อ ศาสนาลัทธิพิวริตัน เบนจามิน แฟรงคลินก็ได้ชื่อว่าเป็นสัญลักษณ์ของอเมริกาในยุครู้แจ้ง และเป็นผู้หนึ่งที่ได้รับการเคารพยกย่องที่สุดในโลก ผลงานของ เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน แสดงให้เห็น ถึงความสนใจเกี่ยวกับมนุษย์และการลงมือปฏิบัติมากกว่าการดีแต่พูด (practicality) โดย แฟรงคลินได้ให้หลักปฏิบัติอันฉลาดสุขุมที่จะนำไปสู่ความมั่งคั่ง ความสุข มิตรภาพและชื่อเสียง งานเขียนของเขาจะมีลักษณะเรียบง่าย นอกจากนี้เขานิยมใช้คำและประโยคยาว ๆ ซึ่งส่วนมากมาจากภาษาละติน มีผลงานบางชิ้นที่เขียนด้วยภาษาฮูราแต่ก็ยังคงง่ายต่อการเข้าใจ กล่าวกันว่า แฟรงคลินได้รับอิทธิพลแนวการเขียนมาจากนักเขียนบทความชาวอังกฤษ 2 ท่าน คือ โจเซฟ แอดดิสัน (Joseph Addison, 1672-1719) และริชาร์ด สตีล (Richard Steele, 1672-1729) ซึ่งเป็นนักเขียนความเรียงที่มีชื่อเสียงในช่วงคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 18 ส่วนความคิดนั้นกล่าวกันว่า

แฟรงคลินได้รับอิทธิพลมาจาก จอห์น ล็อก (John Locke)¹⁷ แชฟเทสเบอรี (Shaftesbury)¹⁸ และ เซโนโฟน (Xenophon)¹⁹

ในการเสนอความคิดนั้น แฟรงคลินไม่ได้เสนอความคิดใหม่ทั้งหมด บางครั้งเขานำความคิดที่เคยมีมาแล้วแต่เห็นว่ามิประโยชน์มาเสนอ เช่น เขาเห็นว่ามนุษย์ควรจะขยันและประหยัด ซึ่งความคิดนี้เป็นของพวกพิวริตัน นอกจากนี้แฟรงคลินมักจะพยายามนำหลักศาสนามาประยุกต์ใช้กับชีวิตประจำวัน เช่น เขากล่าวว่า “พระเจ้าจะทรงช่วยเหลือผู้ที่ได้พยายามช่วยตนเองแล้ว”

ผลงาน

“The Autobiography” (เขียนในปี ค.ศ. 1771, 1784, 1789-1790 เกี่ยวกับชีวประวัติของแฟรงคลิน 51 ปีแรก)

“Poor Richard’s Almanack” (ออกในช่วงปี ค.ศ. 1732-1757)

“The Speech of Polly Baker” (1767)

“An Edict by the King of Prussia” (1783)

“The Sale of the Hessians” (1777)

นอกจากนี้ยังมีผลงานประเภทจดหมายที่ เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน เขียนถึงบุคคลต่าง ๆ

ดังนี้

- Letter to William Strahan, July 5, 1775
- Letter to Joseph Priestley, February 8, 1780
- Letter to Sir Joseph Banks, July 27, 1783
- Letter to Thomas Paine, July 3, 1786
- Letter to Ezra Stiles, March 9, 1790

¹⁷จอห์น ล็อก (1632-1704) นักปรัชญาชาวอังกฤษ ผลงานที่มีอิทธิพลต่อนักเขียนอื่น ๆ คือ *“An Essay Concerning Human Understanding”* (1690) ซึ่งวิเคราะห์คุณธรรมและข้อจำกัดของความเข้าใจของมนุษย์และ *“Two Treatises of Government”* (1690)

¹⁸แชฟเทสเบอรี (1671-1713) นักปรัชญาชาวอังกฤษ ชื่อเต็ม คือ แอนโธนี แอชลีย์ คูพเพอร์, เอิร์ลแห่งแชฟเทสเบอรี (Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury) งานที่สำคัญ คือ *“Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times”* (1711-1714)

¹⁹เซโนโฟน (มีชีวิตประมาณ 435-355 ก่อนคริสต์ศักราช) นักประวัติศาสตร์ชาวกรีกเป็นลูกศิษย์ของโสกราตีส (Socrates)

ตัดตอนจาก The Autobiography

I had begun in 1733 to study languages; I soon made myself so much a master of the French as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian. An acquaintance, who was also learning it, used often to tempt me to play chess with him. Finding this took up too much of the time I had to spare for study, I at length refused to play any more, unless on this condition, that the victor in every game should have a right to impose a task, either in parts of the grammar to be got by heart, or in translations, etc., which tasks the vanquished was to perform upon honor, before our next meeting. As we played pretty equally, we thus beat one another into that language. I afterwards with a little painstaking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also.

I have already mentioned that I had only one year's instruction in a Latin school, and that when very young, after which I neglected that language entirely. But, when I had attained an acquaintance with the French, Italian, and Spanish, I was surprised to find, on looking over a Latin Testament, that I understood so much more of that language than I had imagined, which encouraged me to apply myself again to the study of it, and I met with more success, as those preceding languages had greatly smoothed my way.

From these circumstances, I have thought that there is some inconsistency in our common mode of teaching languages. We are told that it is proper to begin first with the Latin, and, having acquired that, it will be more easy to attain those modern languages which are derived from it; and yet we do not begin with the Greek, in order more easily to acquire the Latin. It is true that, if you can clamber and get to the top of a staircase without using the steps, you will more easily gain them in descending; but certainly, if you begin with the lowest you will with more ease ascend to the top; and I would therefore offer it to the consideration of those who superintend the education of our youth, whether, since many of those who begin with the Latin quit the same after spending some years without having made any great proficiency, and what they have learned becomes almost useless, so that their time has been lost, it would not have been better to have

begun with the French, proceeding to the Italian, etc.; for, though after spending the same time they should quit the study of languages and never arrive at the Latin, they would, however, have acquired another tongue or two that, being in modern use, might be serviceable to them in common life.

After ten years' absence from Boston, and having become easy in my circumstances, I made a journey thither to visit my relations, which I could not sooner well afford. In returning, I called at Newport to see my brother, then settled there with his printing-house. Our former differences were forgotten, and our meeting was very cordial and affectionate. He was fast declining in his health, and requested of me that, in case of his death which he apprehended not far distant, I would take home his son, then but ten years of age, and bring him up to the printing business. This I accordingly performed, sending him a few years to school before I took him into the office. His mother carried on the business till he was grown up, when I assisted him with an assortment of new types, those of his father being in a manner worn out. Thus it was that I made my brother ample amends for the service I had deprived him of by leaving him so early.

In 1736 I lost one of my sons, a fine boy of four years old, by the smallpox, taken in the common way. I long regretted bitterly, and still regret that I had not given it to him by inoculation. This I mention for the sake of parents who omit that operation, on the supposition that they should never forgive themselves if a child died under it; my example showing that the regret may be the same either way, and that, therefore, the safer should be chosen.

Our club, the Junto, was found so useful, and afforded such satisfaction to the members, that several were desirous of introducing their friends, which could not well be done without exceeding what we had settled as a convenient number, viz., twelve. We had from the beginning made it a rule to keep our institution a secret, which was pretty well observed; the intention was to avoid applications of improper persons for admittance, some of whom, perhaps, we might find it difficult to refuse. I was one of those

who were against any addition to our number, but, instead of it, made in writing a proposal, that every member separately should endeavor to form a subordinate club, with the same rules respecting queries, etc., and without informing them of the connection with the Junto. The advantages proposed were, the improvement of so many more young citizens by the use of our institutions; our better acquaintance with the general sentiments of the inhabitants on any occasion, as the Junto member might propose what queries we should desire, and was to report to the Junto what passed in his separate club; the promotion of our particular interests in business by more extensive recommendation, and the increase of our influence in public affairs, and our power of doing good by spreading through the several clubs the sentiments of the Junto...

(Franklin was a leading American citizen of his day. He was civic-minded, believing that he should do what he could to make his city the best possible to live in. In the second excerpt he explains to us how his interest in public affairs began. He started by trying hard to be a good citizen of the new United States. And he ended by becoming, because of his wisdom and enterprise, a citizen of the world. In this excerpt from his Autobiography he describes the way he went about improving Philadelphia's police and fire protection.)

I began now to turn my thoughts a little to public affairs, beginning, however, with small matters. The city watch was one of the first things that I conceived to want regulation. It was managed by the constables of the respective wards in turn; the constable warned a number of housekeepers to attend him for the night. Those who chose never to attend, paid him six shillings a year to be excused which was supposed to be for hiring substitutes, but was, in reality, much more than was necessary for that purpose, and made the constableness a place of profit; and the constable, for a little drink, often got such ragamuffins about him as a watch that respectable housekeepers did not choose to mix with. Walking the rounds, too, was often neglected, and most of the nights spent in tippling. I thereupon wrote a paper to be read in Junto, representing these irregularities, but insisting more particularly on the inequality of this six-shilling tax of the constables,

respecting the circumstances of those who paid it, since a poor widow housekeeper, all whose property to be guarded by the watch did not perhaps exceed the value of fifty pounds, paid as much as the wealthiest merchant, who had thousands of pounds' worth of goods in his stores.

On the whole, I proposed as a more effectual watch, the hiring of proper men to serve constantly in that business; and as a more equitable way of supporting the charge, the levying a tax that should be proportioned to the property. This idea, being approved by the Junto, was communicated to the other clubs, but as arising in each of them; and though the plan was not immediately carried into execution, yet by preparing the minds of people for the change, it paved the way for the law obtained a few years after, when the members of our clubs were grown into more influence.

About this time I wrote a paper (first to be read in Junto, but it was afterward published) on the different accidents and carelessness by which houses were set on fire, with cautions against them, and means proposed of avoiding them. This was much spoken of as a useful piece, and gave rise to a project, which soon followed it, of forming a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires, and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger. Associates in this scheme were presently found, amounting to thirty. Our articles of agreement obliged every member to keep always in good order, and fit for use, a certain number of leather buckets, with strong bags and baskets (for packing and transporting of goods), which were to be brought to every fire; and we agreed to meet once a month to spend a social evening together, in discoursing and communicating such ideas as occurred to us upon the subject of fires, as might be useful in our conduct on such occasions.

The utility of this institution soon appeared, and many more desiring to be admired than we thought convenient for one company, they were advised to form another, which was accordingly done; and this went on, one new company being formed after another, till they became so numerous as to include most of the inhabitants who were men

of property; and now, at the time of my writing this, though upward of fifty years since its establishment, that which I first formed, called the Union Fire Company, still subsists and flourishes, though the first members are all deceased but myself and one, who is older by a year than I am. The small fines that have been paid by members for absence at the monthly meetings have been applied to the purchase of fire-engines, ladders, firehooks, and other useful implements for each company, so that I question whether there is a city in the world better provided with the means of putting a stop to beginning conflagrations; and, in fact, since these institutions, the city has never lost by fire more than one or two houses at a time, and the flames have often been extinguished before the house in which they began has been half consumed....

อธิบายคำศัพท์

คำศัพท์	ความหมาย
acquaintance	เพื่อน
circumstance	สภาพการณ์
inconsistency	การขัดกัน
proper	เหมาะสม
extinguish	ดับไฟ
mutual	ร่วมกัน
associate	สมาชิก
in good order	สภาพเรียบร้อย
men of property	ผู้มีฐานะดี
flourish	เจริญก้าวหน้า
conflagration	เพลิงไหม้

สาระสำคัญ

The Autobiography เป็นประวัติของแฟรงคลินเอง ซึ่งเขาเริ่มเขียนเมื่ออายุ 65 ปี นับเป็นผลงานที่ดีที่สุดของแฟรงคลิน แรกเริ่มนั้นแฟรงคลินไม่ได้ตั้งใจจะให้ตีพิมพ์ผลงานชิ้นนี้ แต่ต่อมาได้มีผู้นำไปแปลเป็นภาษาฝรั่งเศสและตีพิมพ์ และต่อมามีผู้แปลกลับจากภาษาฝรั่งเศสเป็นภาษาอังกฤษ ต้นฉบับจริง ๆ นั้น ตีพิมพ์ในปี ค.ศ. 1817 แรบับันดาลใจที่ทำให้

แฟรงคลินเขียนชีวประวัติตนเองขึ้นมาเป็นเพราะว่าแฟรงคลินต้องการใช้เวลาว่างให้เป็นประโยชน์ ด้วยการบันทึกเรื่องราวเกี่ยวกับบรรพบุรุษและชีวิตของเขาเองเพื่อให้ลูกชายชื่อ วิลเลียม แฟรงคลิน (William Franklin) ได้รู้ ขณะนั้นแฟรงคลิน ผู้ถูก รัชการ ในตำแหน่งผู้ว่าการรัฐนิวเจอร์ซีย์ ในผลงานชิ้นนี้แฟรงคลินได้เล่าชีวิตของเขาในระยะเริ่มต้น จนถึงปี ค.ศ. 1730 จากนั้นแฟรงคลินได้หยุดเขียนไปจนถึงปี ค.ศ. 1784 เขาจึงได้เขียนเรื่องนี้ต่อเป็นตอนที่สอง และในปี ค.ศ. 1788 เขาได้เขียนตอนที่สามเพิ่มเติม ในปี ค.ศ. 1790 เขาได้เขียนตอนที่สี่ซึ่งถือได้ว่าเป็นตอนสุดท้ายของเรื่องทั้งหมด เพราะแฟรงคลินได้ถึงแก่กรรมในสองสามสัปดาห์ถัดมา²⁰

ใน The Autobiography แฟรงคลินได้เล่าเรื่องเกี่ยวกับชีวิตของตนเองอย่างอ่อนน้อม ถ่อมตน โดยเขายอมรับว่าเขาเองไม่ได้เป็นคนที่สมบูรณ์แบบจึงยอมมีข้อบกพร่อง และบางครั้ง ผลจากการกระทำที่ผิดพลาดก็ทำให้เขาต้องได้รับผลเสีย จึงอาจกล่าวได้ว่าผลงานชิ้นนี้ สามารถใช้เป็นแนวทางให้ผู้อ่านรู้จักการดำเนินชีวิตอย่างเป็นประโยชน์และสามารถปรับปรุงตนเอง ให้ดีขึ้นได้

ผลงานชิ้นนี้สามารถแบ่งออกเป็นตอน ๆ ได้ดังนี้

ตอนที่ 1 เขียนเมื่อแฟรงคลินอยู่ในอังกฤษโดยเล่าเรื่องเกี่ยวกับบรรพบุรุษและชีวิตในวัยเด็กของแฟรงคลินจนถึงปี ค.ศ. 1730

ตอนที่ 2 เขียนในปี ค.ศ. 1782 และ 1784 แฟรงคลินเขียนเมื่ออยู่ที่ปาสซี (Passy) ซึ่งเป็นชานเมืองของปารีส

ตอนที่ 3 เขียนในปี ค.ศ. 1789 เมื่อแฟรงคลินอยู่ที่ฟิลาเดลเฟีย

ตัดตอนจาก “The Way to Wealth” ซึ่งเป็นกรรพรวมสุภาษิตจากผลงานเรื่อง Poor Richard’s Almanack

จาก “The Way To Wealth”

Courteous Reader

I have heard that nothing gives an author so great pleasure, as to find his works respectfully quoted by other learned authors. This pleasure I have seldom enjoyed; for though I have been, if I may say it without vanity, an eminent author of almanacks

²⁰ฉันทนา ไชยจิต, งานเขียนชิ้นเอกในวรรณคดีอเมริกัน (กรุงเทพมหานคร, 2522) หน้า 137.

annually now a full quarter of a century, my brother authors in the same way, for what reason I know not, have ever been very sparing in their applauses, and no other author has taken the least notice of me, so that did not my writings produce me some solid pudding, the great deficiency of praise would have quite discouraged me.

I concluded at length, that the people were the best judges of my merit; for they buy my works; and besides, in my rambles where I am not personally known, I have frequently heard one or other of my adages repeated, with as Poor Richard says at the end on 't; this gave me some satisfaction, as it showed not only that my instructions were regarded, but discovered likewise some respect for my authority; and I own that to encourage the practice of remembering and repeating those wise sentences, I have sometimes quoted myself with great gravity.

Judge, then, how much I must have been gratified by an incident I am going to relate to you. I stopped my horse lately where a great number of people were collected at a vendue of merchant goods. The hour of sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times and one of the company called to a plain clean old man, with white locks, "Pray Father Abraham, what think you of the times? Won't these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we be ever able to pay them? What would you advise us to?" Father Abraham stood up, and replied, "If you'd have my advice, I'll give it to you in short, for A word to the wise is enough, and Many words won't fill a bushel, as Poor Richard says." They joined in desiring him to speak his mind, and gathering round him, he proceeded as follows:

"Friends," says he "and neighbours, the taxes are indeed very heavy, and it those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something

may be done for us; God helps them that help themselves," as Poor Richard says, in his Almanack of 1733.

It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one-tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service. But idleness taxes many of us much more, if we reckon all that is spent in absolute sloth, or doing of nothing, with that which is spent in idle employments or amusements, that amount to nothing. Sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life. Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labour wears; while the used key is always bright, as Poor Richard says. But dost thou love life, then do not squander time, for that's the stuff life is made of, as Poor Richard says. How much more than is necessary do we spend in sleep, forgetting that *The sleeping foul catches no poultry*, and that *There will be sleeping enough in the grave*, as Poor Richard says.

"If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be," as Poor Richard says, *the greatest prodigality; since as he elsewhere tells us. Lost time is never found again; and what we call time enough, always proves little enough. Let us then up and be doing, and doing to the purpose; so by diligence shall we do more with less perplexity. Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all easy, as Poor Richard says; and He that riseth late must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night; while Laziness travels so slowly, that poverty soon overtakes him, as we read in Poor Richard, who adds, Drive thy business, let not that drive thee; and Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.*

"So what signifies wishing and hoping for better times? We may make these times better, if we bestir ourselves. *Industry need not wish*, as Poor Richard says, *and he that lives upon hope will die fasting. There are no gains without pains; then help hands, for I have no lands, or if I have, they are smarty taxed. And, as Poor Richard likewise observes, He that hath a trade hath an estate; and he that hath a calling, hath an office of profit and honour*, but then the trade must be worked at, and the calling well followed, or neither the estate nor the office will enable us to pay our taxes. If we are industrious, we

shall never starve; for as Poor Richard says, *At the working man's house hunger looks in, but dares not enter. Nor will the bailiff or the constable enter, for industry pays debts, while despair encreaseth them,* says Poor Richard. What though you have found no treasure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy, *Diligence is the mother of good-luck,* as Poor Richard says, and *God gives all things to industry. Then plough deep, while sluggards sleep, and you shall have corn to sell and to keep,* says Poor Dick. Work while it is called to-day, for you know not how much you may be hindered to-morrow, which makes Poor Richard say, *One to-day is worth two to-morrows,* and farther, *Have you somewhat to do to-morrow, do it to-day.* If you were a servant, would you not be ashamed that a good master should catch you idle? Are you then your own master, *Be ashamed to catch yourself idle,* as Poor Dick says. When there is so much to be done for yourself, your family, your country, and your gracious King, be up by peep of day; *Let not the sun look down and say, Inglorious here he lies.* Handle your tools without mittens; remember that *The cat in gloves catches no mice* as Poor Richard says. 'Tis true there is much to be done, and perhaps you are weak-handed, but stick to it steadily; and you will see great effects for *Constant dropping wears away stones,* and *By diligence and patience the mouse ate in two the cable;* and *Little strokes fell great oaks,* as Poor Richard says in his Almanack, the year I cannot just now remember.

“Methink I hear some of you say, ‘Must a man afford himself no leisure?’ I will tell thee, my friend, what Poor Richard says, *Employ thy time well, if thou meanest to gain leisure and, since thou are not sure of a minute throw not away an hour.* Leisure is time for doing useful; this leisure the diligent man will obtain, but the lazy man never; so that, as Poor Richard says, *A life of leisure and a life of laziness are two things.* Do you imagine that sloth will afford you more comfort than labour? No, for as Poor Richard says, *Trouble springs from idleness, and grievous toil from needless ease. Many without labor would live by their wits only, but they break for want of stock.* Whereas industry gives comfort, and plenty, and respect: *Fly pleasures, and they'll follow you. The diligent spinner has a large shift;* and *Now I have a sheep and a cow, everybody bids me good morrow;* all which is well said by Poor Richard.

“But with our industry we must likewise be steady, settled, and careful, and oversee our own affairs with our own eyes, and not trust too much to others,” for as Poor Richard says,

*I never saw an oft-removed tree-,
Nor yet an oft-removed family
That thrive so well as those that settled be.*

And again, *Three removes is as bad as a fire; and again, Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee; and again, If you would have your business done, go; if not, send.* And again,

*He that by the plough would thrive,
Himself must either hold or drive.*

อธิบายคำศัพท์

คำศัพท์	ความหมาย
vanity	ความไม่มีสาระ
eminent	มีชื่อเสียงเด่น
almanack	บันทึก
annually	ประจำปี
merit	คุณงามความดี
adage	ภาษิต
bushel	ที่ตวงข้าว
idleness	ความขี้เกียจ
folly	ความโง่เขลา
prodigality	ความสุรุ่ยสุร่าย
sloth	ความเกียจคร้าน
bestir	ทำให้กระฉับกระเฉง
thrive	เจริญ
plough	ไถ
thrive	เติบโต งอกงาม

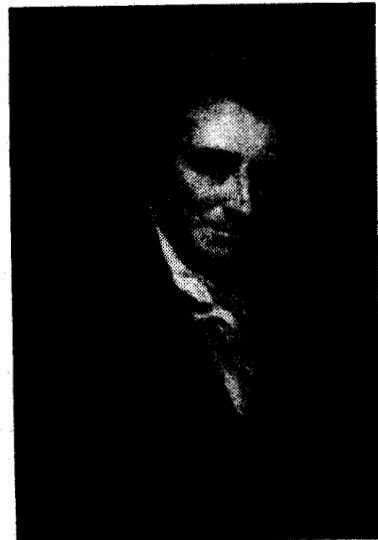
สาระสำคัญ

Poor Richard's Almanack เป็นผลงานในช่วงปี ค.ศ. 1732-1757 โดยตีพิมพ์ในปี ค.ศ. 1758 เนื้อหาที่อยู่ในผลงานชิ้นนี้ไม่ใช่เป็นแต่เพียงการบรรยายเกี่ยวกับสภาพอากาศเท่านั้น แต่เต็มไปด้วยสุภาษิต ซึ่งเบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน นำข้อมูลมาจากกรีก-โรมัน พระคัมภีร์และหนังสือพิมพ์ ผู้อ่านจะสามารถรับรู้ถึงทัศนคติต่อสังคมรวมทั้งเศรษฐกิจของชาวอเมริกันในคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 18 นอกจากนี้ผลงานชิ้นนี้ยังแสดงให้เห็นถึงความฉลาดสุขุมของผู้แต่งด้วย ในการนำเสนอ เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน ได้สร้างตัวละครชื่อริชาร์ด ซอนเดอร์ส (Richard Saunders) เป็นผู้พูดถึงสุภาษิตต่าง ๆ เหล่านี้ ซึ่งส่วนใหญ่จะสรรเสริญผู้รู้จักใช้เวลาและสิ่งต่าง ๆ ให้เป็นประโยชน์ สุภาษิตเหล่านี้ได้เป็นที่แพร่หลายในเวลาต่อมา ในปี ค.ศ. 1757 แฟรงคลินได้รวบรวมสุภาษิตใน Poor Richard's Almanack แล้วนำมาตีพิมพ์ใหม่โดยใช้ชื่อว่า *"The Way to Wealth"* ซึ่งเป็นผลงานที่ขายดี มากและมีการแปลเป็นภาษาอื่น ๆ มากมาย

โทมัส เพน (Thomas Paine, 1737-1809)

ประวัติ

โทมัส เพน เกิดในประเทศอังกฤษ บิดาเป็น เควกเกอร์ (Quaker) มีธุรกิจทำสเคย์รีดตัว (staymaker) เมื่ออายุ 13 ปี เพนไม่ได้เรียนต่อจึงมาช่วยบิดาทำธุรกิจนี้ แต่เนื่องจากเป็นคนที่อยู่นิ่งไม่ได้ทำให้เพนไปทำงานบนเรือที่คอยจับขี้ศึก (privateer) เมื่อกลับมาอังกฤษ เพนได้ แต่งงานและประกอบอาชีพหลายอย่าง เช่น ครู พ่อค้ายาสูบ พ่อค้าของชำ สรรพสามิต แต่ไม่เคยประสบความสำเร็จเลย ปี ค.ศ. 1772 เมื่อเพนตีพิมพ์ผลงานที่ชื่อ *"The Case of the Officers of Excise"* ที่มีจุดประสงค์เพื่อขอค่าแรงเพิ่มขึ้นทำให้เพนถูกไล่ออกและทำให้เขากลายเป็นคน สัมละสาย ในช่วงนี้เองเพนได้พบกับ เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน ซึ่งเดินทางมาจากอังกฤษ แฟรงคลิน รู้สึกประทับใจเพนมากเพราะเห็นว่าเพนเป็นบุคคลที่เต็มไปด้วยความรู้ความสามารถ จึงชวน ให้เพนไปเริ่มต้นชีวิตใหม่ที่อเมริกา



● โทมัส เพน

ปี ค.ศ. 1774 เพนเดินทางไปที่ฟิลาเดลเฟียและได้ทำงานเป็นบรรณาธิการให้กับ *"Pennsylvania Magazine"* ในขณะเดียวกันก็เขียนผลงานลงตีพิมพ์ด้วย ผลงานที่ทำให้เพนกลายเป็นที่รู้จักกันแพร่หลายคือ *"Common Sense"* (1775) ซึ่งผลงานชิ้นนี้ได้กระตุ้นให้เกิดการประกาศอิสรภาพในอเมริกา เพนเป็นนักเขียนคนแรกที่ประณามรัฐธรรมนูญอังกฤษอย่างไม่เกรงกลัว ปี ค.ศ. 1777-1779 เพนได้รับแต่งตั้งให้เป็นเลขาธิการของคณะกรรมการสภาฝ่ายต่างประเทศ แต่ต่อมาถูกบังคับให้ลาออก เมื่อเพนได้กล่าวหาว่ามีการกระทำทุจริตในการทำสัญญาประนีประนอมระหว่างไซลัส ดีน (Silas Deane) กับฝรั่งเศส ปี ค.ศ. 1779-1781 เพนได้เป็นเลขานุการของสภาเพนซิลวาเนีย

เมื่อสงครามสิ้นสุดลงเพนได้เดินทางไปอังกฤษ ปี ค.ศ. 1791-1792 เขาได้ตีพิมพ์ *"The Rights of Man"* เพื่อโจมตีการปฏิวัติฝรั่งเศส ต่อมาเพนได้หนีไปฝรั่งเศส เนื่องจากเขาถูกจับได้ว่าสนับสนุนการปฏิวัติในอังกฤษ ที่ฝรั่งเศส ปี ค.ศ. 1792 เพนได้รับเลือกจากเมืองคาลิส (Calais) ให้เป็นตัวแทนเข้าประชุมในการประชุมแห่งชาติของประเทศฝรั่งเศส (French National Conference) ปี ค.ศ. 1793 เพนถูกจับขังคุกระยะหนึ่งเพราะได้ออกเสียงคัดค้านการประหารชีวิตพระเจ้าหลุยส์ที่ 16 เขาเดินทางกลับอเมริกาในปี ค.ศ. 1802 ช่วงชีวิตบั้นปลายของเพนเต็มไปด้วยความยากลำบาก เพนต้องประสบกับความยากจน สุขภาพไม่ดีและถูกตัดขาดจากพรรคต่าง ๆ เพราะพวกเขาเกรงกลัวความคิดอิสระที่รุนแรงของเพน จึงกล่าวหาว่าเพนเป็นคนชั่วเหี้ยม ชี้ขาด ชอบประพฤติผิดในกาม และเป็นคนนอกศาสนา เมื่อเพนเสียชีวิตในปี ค.ศ. 1809 เขาถูกปฏิเสธที่จะให้ฝังไว้ที่วัด เพนจึงถูกนำไปฝังที่ฟาร์มนิวโรเชล (New Rochelle) ของเขาเอง ปี ค.ศ. 1819 วิลเลียม คอบเบ็ตท์ (William Cobbett) ได้ย้ายกระดูกของเพนไปอังกฤษด้วยจุดประสงค์ที่จะสร้างอนุสาวรีย์ให้แต่ก็ไม่ประสบผลสำเร็จ เมื่อคอบเบ็ตท์เสียชีวิตกระดูกของเพนจึงหายไปด้วย

ลักษณะการเขียน

ในงานเขียนของเพน ผู้อ่านจะพบว่าเพนจะเขียนเพื่อประชาชนทั่วไปและจะใช้วิธีการเขียนตรงเข้าสู่จุดที่เขาต้องการ งานเขียนของเขาจึงมีลักษณะที่ตรงไปตรงมา ชัดแจ้ง แต่เต็มไปด้วยเหตุผลและจูงใจผู้อ่านให้คล้อยตาม ด้วยเหตุนี้ โธมัส เพน จึงเป็นตัวแทนของยุคแห่งการใช้เหตุผล สำคัญมักจะเกี่ยวกับการเมือง เช่น การกระตุ้นให้ชาวอาณานิคมประกาศอิสรภาพ การต่อต้านการปฏิวัติในฝรั่งเศส อาจกล่าวได้ว่าเพนเป็นนักโฆษณาชวนเชื่อ (propagandist) นักเขียนจุลสาร (pamphleteer) และนักหนังสือพิมพ์มากกว่าที่จะเป็นนักเขียนวรรณคดี แต่บางครั้งผู้อ่านจะได้พบความสละสลวยในงานเขียนของเขาเช่นเดียวกัน

ผลงาน

"Common Sense" (1776)

"The American Crisis" (ธันวาคม 1776-เมษายน 1783)

"Public Good" (1780)

"Dissertations on Government" (1786)

"The Rights of Man" (1791-1792)

"The Age of Reason" (1794-1798)

"Letter to George Washington" (1796)

ตัดตอนจาก *The Crisis*

THESE are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it *now*, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods, and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as *freedom* should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right, not only to tax, but "to *bind* us in all cases whatsoever"; and if being bound in that manner is not slavery, then there is not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God.

I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me as to suppose that He has relinquished the government of the world and given us up to the care of devils; and, as I do not, I cannot see on what grounds the king of Britain can look up to heaven for help against us.

I once felt all that kind of anger which a man ought to feel against the mean principles that are held by the Tories. A noted one, who kept a tavern at Amboy, was standing at his door, with as pretty a child in his hand, about eight or nine years old, as ever I saw, and after speaking his mind as freely as he thought was prudent, finished with this unfatherly expression. "Well! give me peace in my day." Not a man lives on the continent but fully believes that a separation must some time or other finally take place, and a generous parent should have said, "If there must be trouble, let it be in my day, that my child may have peace"; and this single reflection, well applied, is sufficient to awaken every man to duty. Not a place upon earth might be so happy as America. Her situation is remote from all the wrangling world, and she has nothing to do but to trade with them. A man can distinguish himself between temper and principle, and I am as confident, as I am that God governs the world, that America will never be happy till she gets clear of foreign dominion. Wars, without ceasing, will break out till that period arrives, and the continent must in the end be conqueror; for though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine, the coal can never expire.

The heart that feels not now, is dead; the blood of his children will curse his cowardice who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole and made them happy. I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress and grow brave by reflection. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. My own line of reasoning is to myself as straight and clear as a ray of light. Not all the treasures of the world, so far as I believe, could have induced me to support an offensive war, for I think it murder; but if a thief breaks into my house, burns and destroys my property, and kills or threatens to kill me, or those that are in it, and to "bind me in all cases whatsoever" to his absolute will, am I to suffer it? What signifies it to me, whether he who does it is a king or a common man; my countryman or not my countryman; whether it be done by an individual villain or an army of them? If we reason to the root of things, we shall find no difference; neither can any just cause be assigned why we should punish in the one case and pardon in the other.

อธิบายคำศัพท์

คำศัพท์

soul

the summer soldier

and sunshine patriot

crisis

shrink

stand

esteem

celestial

impious

unlimited

destruction

perish

earnestly

calamity

relinquish

wrangling

aspire

conscience

common man

ความหมาย

จิตวิญญาณ จิตใจ

ผู้ที่เสแสร้งว่ารักชาติแต่ความจริงรักความสบาย

วิกฤตการณ์

ถดถอย (ในที่นี้หมายถึง หลบหนี)

เผชิญ

ให้คุณค่า

แห่งสวรรค์

ไม่เป็นมงคล

ไม่มีขอบเขตจำกัด

ความหายนะ

ตาย

กระตือรือร้น

ความหายนะ

ละทิ้ง

วุ่นวาย

ดับ หมดอายุ

สติสัมปชัญญะ

คนธรรมดาสามัญ

สาระสำคัญ

“*The Crisis*” หรือ “*The Crisis I*” เป็นผลงานชิ้นหนึ่งในชุดจุลสารจำนวน 16 เล่ม ที่ชื่อ “*The American Crisis*” ซึ่งออกในเดือนธันวาคม 1776 ถึงเดือนธันวาคม 1783 (ข้อมูลบางแห่งกล่าวว่าเดือนธันวาคม 1776 ถึงเดือนเมษายน 1783) โดยมีจุดประสงค์เพื่อสนับสนุนการทำสงครามประกาศอิสรภาพของอาณานิคม “*The Crisis*” เป็นผลงานที่มีชื่อเสียงมากที่สุด งานชิ้นนี้ปรากฏภายหลังกองทัพอเมริกันของ นายพลจอร์จ วอชิงตัน (George Washington) ซึ่งนำโดยนายพลเฮวีย์ (Howe) ในการทำสงครามครั้งแรกที่ลองไอส์แลนด์ (Long Island) เพียงวันเดียว (19 ธันวาคม 1776) โดยกองทัพอเมริกัน

ต้องล่าถอยจากป้อมลี (Fort Lee) ลงไปนิวเจอร์ซีย์ และเพนซิลวาเนียตามลำดับ

4 วันต่อมาผลงานชิ้นนี้ได้อยู่ในรูปจุลสาร ในขณะที่นั้น นายพลวอชิงตันและกองทหารตั้งแคมป์อยู่ที่ วัลเลย์ ฟอร์จ (Valley Forge) ในเพนซิลวาเนีย สภาพของกองทัพแย่มากเนื่องจากการพ่ายแพ้ต่ออังกฤษ ทหารอเมริกันขวัญเสียมีการหนีกองทัพทุกวัน ในขณะที่เดียวกันการเกณฑ์ทหารเข้ามาใหม่ก็ไม่ประสบผลสำเร็จ สองวันก่อนที่ *"The Crisis"* ของเพนจะออกมา นายพลวอชิงตันได้เขียนไว้อย่างหมดหวังว่า

"Our only dependence now is upon the speedy enlistment of a new army. If this fails, I think the game will be pretty well up, as, from disaffection and want of spirit and fortitude, the inhabitants, instead of resistance, are offering submission"²¹

ใน *"The Crisis"* โทมัส เพน ได้อธิบายข้อความล้มเหลวของกองทัพอเมริกันและวิเคราะห์วิธีการรบของกองทัพอังกฤษ ในขณะที่เดียวกันก็กระตุ้นให้ทหารอเมริกันซึ่งขณะนั้นรู้สึกท้อถอยเกิดกำลังใจสู้กับอังกฤษใหม่ จากผลงานนี้แสดงให้เห็นว่า เพนมีพรสวรรค์ในการใช้คำและวลีที่มีพลังและเร้าใจซึ่งเป็นที่จดจำกันต่อ ๆ มา ตัวอย่างเช่นประธานาธิบดี แฟรงคลิน ดี รูสเวลท์ (Franklin D. Roosevelt) ได้ขิมสองประโยคแรกจาก *"The Crisis"* มาใช้ในช่วงที่อเมริกาเผชิญกับวิกฤตการณ์ในสงครามครั้งที่สองดังนี้

"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it NOW, deserves the love and thanks of men and women."

Common Sense

Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs.

In the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense: and have no other preliminaries to settle with the reader, than that he will divest himself of prejudice and prepossession, and suffer his reason and his feelings to determine for themselves: that he will put on, or rather that he will not put off, the true character of a man, and generously enlarge his views beyond the present day.

²¹J.A. Leo Lemay, ed. *An Early American Reader* (Washington, D, C. 20547, 1989), p. 693.

Volumes have been written on the subject of the struggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controversy, from different motives, and with various designs; but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is closed. Arms as the last resource decide the contest; the appeal was the choice of the King, and the Continent has accepted the challenge.

It hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham (who tho' an able minister was not without his faults) that on his being attacked in the House of Commons on the score that his measures were only of a temporary kind, replied, "they will last my time." Should a thought so fatal and unmanly possess the Colonies in the present contest, the name of ancestors will be remembered by future generations with detestation.

The Sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a City, a County, a Province, or a Kingdom; but of a Continent —of at least one eighth part of the habitable Globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the seed-time of Continental union, faith and honour. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound would enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full grown characters.

By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new aera for politics is struck—a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, i.e. to the commencement of hostilities,¹ are like the almanacks of the last year; which tho' proper then, are superceded and useless now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either side of the question then, terminated in one and the same point, viz. a union with Great Britain; the only difference between the parties was the method of effecting it; the one proposing force, the other friendship; but it hath so far happened that the first hath failed, and the second hath withdrawn her influence.

¹At Lexington, Massachusetts, 1775.

As much hath been said of the advantages of reconciliation, which, like an agreeable dream, hath passed away and left us as we were, it is but right that we should examine the contrary side of the argument, and enquire into some of the many material injuries which these Colonies sustain, and always will sustain, by being connected with and dependant on Great-Britain. To examine that connection and dependance, on the principles of nature and common sense, to see what we have to trust to, if separated, and what we are to expect, if dependant.

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America has flourished under her former connection with Great-Britain, the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thrived upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true; for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

But she has protected us, say some. That she hath engrossed us is true, and defended the Continent at our expense as well as her own, is admitted; and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz. for the sake of trade and dominion.

Alas! we have been long led away by ancient prejudices and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was *interest not attachment*; and that she did not protect us from *our enemies on our account*; but from *her enemies on her own account*, from those who had no quarrel with us on any other account, and who will always be our enemies on the *same account*. Let Britain waive her pretensions to the Continent, or the Continent throw off the dependance, and we should be at peace with France and Spain, were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover last war ought to warn us against connections.

It hath lately been asserted in parliament, that the Colonies have no relation to each other but through the Parent Country, i.e. that Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and so on for the rest, are sister Colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very round-about way of proving relationship, but it is the nearest and only true way of proving enmity (or enemyship, if may so call it.) France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be, our enemies as Americans, but as our being the *subjects of Great Britain*.

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families; Wherefore, the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so, and the phrase *parent or mother country* hath been jesuitically adopted by the King and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new World hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from *every part* of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still.

In this extensive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and sixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendship on a larger scale; we claim brotherhood with every European Christian, and triumph in the generosity of the sentiment.

It is pleasant to observe by what regular gradations we surmount the force of local prejudices, as we enlarge our acquaintance with the World. A man born in any town in England divided into parishes, will naturally associate most with his fellow parishioners (because their interests in many cases will be common) and distinguish him by the name of *neighbour*; if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a street, and salutes him by the name of townsman; if he travel out of the county and meet

him in any other, he forgets the minor divisions of street and town, and calls him countryman, i.e. countyman: but if in their foreign excursions they should associate in France, or any other part of *Europe*, their local remembrance would be enlarged into that of *Englishmen*. And by a just parity of reasoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are *countrymen*; for England, Holland, Germany, or Sweden, when compared with the whole, stand in the same places on the larger scale, which the divisions of street, town, and county do on the smaller ones; Distinctions too limited for Continental minds. Not one third of the inhabitants, even of this province, [Pennsylvania], are of English descent. Wherefore, I reprobate the phrase of Parent or Mother Country applied to England only, as being false, selfish, narrow and ungenerous.

But, admitting that we were all of English descent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every other name and title: and to say that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical. The first king of England, of the present line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the peers of England are descendants from the same country; wherefore, by the same method of reasoning, England ought to be governed by France.

Much hath been said of the united strength of Britain and the Colonies, that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world: But this is mere presumption; the fate of war is uncertain, neither do the expressions mean any thing; for this continent would never suffer itself to be drained of inhabitants, to support the British arms in either Asia, Africa, or Europe.

Besides, what have we to do with setting the world at defiance? Our plan is commerce, and that, well attended to, will secure us the peace and friendship of all Europe; because it is the interest of all Europe to have America a free port. Her trade will always be a protection, and her barrenness of gold and silver secure her from invaders.

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation to show a single advantage that this continent can reap by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge;

not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for buy them where we will.

But the injuries and disadvantages which we sustain by that connection, are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance: because, any submission to, or dependance on, Great Britain, tends directly to involve this Continent in European wars and quarrels, and set us at variance with nations who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while, by her dependance on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with Kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, because of her connection with Britain. The next war may not turn out like the last, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now will be wishing for separation then, because neutrality in that case would be a safer convoy than a man of war. Everything that is right or reasonable pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries. 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America is a strong and natural proof that the authority of the one over the other, was never the design of Heaven. The time likewise at which the Continent was discovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled, encreases the force of it. The Reformation was preceded by discovery of America: As if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety.

The authority of Great Britain over this continent, is a form of government, which sooner or later must have an end: And a serious mind can draw no true pleasure by looking forward, under the painful and positive conviction that what he calls "the present

constitution" is merely temporary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that this government is not sufficiently lasting to ensure any thing which we may bequeath to posterity: And by a plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwise we use them meanly and pitifully. In order to discover the line of our duty rightly, we should take our children in our hand, and fix our station a few years farther into life; that eminence will present a prospect which a few present fears and prejudices conceal from our sight.

Though I would carefully avoid giving unnecessary offence, yet I am inclined to believe, that all those who espouse the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following descriptions.

Interested men, who are not to be trusted, weak men who cannot see, prejudiced men who will not see, and a certain set of moderate men who think better of the European world than it deserves; and this last class, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cause of more calamities to this Continent than all the other three.

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of present sorrow; the evil is not sufficiently brought to their doors to make them feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us a few moments to Boston; that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it, in their present situation they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief they would be exposed to the fury of both armies.

Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offences of Great Britain, and, still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, *Come, come we shall be friends again for*

all this. But examine the passions and feelings of mankind: bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature, and then tell me whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land? If you cannot do all these, then are you only deceiving yourselves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon posterity. Your future connection with Britain, whom you can neither love nor honour, will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of present convenience, will in a little time fall into a relapse more wretched than the first. But if you say, you can still pass the violations over, then I ask, hath your house been burnt? Hath your property been destroyed before your face? Are your wife and children destitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you lost a parent or a child by their hands, and yourself the ruined and wretched survivor? If you have not, then are you not a judge of those who have. But if you have, and can still shake hands with the murderers, then are you unworthy the name of husband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the spirit of a sycophant.

This is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, but trying them by those feelings and affections which nature justifies, and without which we should be incapable of discharging the social duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpose of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly slumbers, that we may pursue determinately some fixed object. 'Tis not in the power of Britain or of Europe to conquer America, if she doth not conquer herself by delay and timidity. The present winter is worth an age if rightly employed, but if lost or neglected the whole Continent will partake of the misfortune; and there is no punishment which that man doth not deserve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful.

'Tis repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose that this Continent can long remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain doth not think so. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot, at this time compass a plan, short of separation, which can promise the continent

even a year's security. Reconciliation is now a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connection, and art cannot supply her place. For, as Milton wisely expresses, "never can true reconcilment grow where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep."

Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and hath tended to convince us that nothing flatters vanity or confirms obstinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning and nothing hath contributed more than that very measure to make the Kings of Europe absolute. Witness Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God's sake let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To say they will never attempt it again is idle and visionary; we thought so at the repeal of the stamp act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we suppose that nations which have been once defeated will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, 'tis not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice: the business of it will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five or five months for an answer, which, when obtained, requires five or six more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childishness. There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to cease.

Small islands not capable of protecting themselves are the proper objects for government to take under their care; but there is something absurd, in supposing a Continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet; and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverse the common order of nature, it is evident that they belong to different systems. England to Europe: America to itself.

I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or resentment to espouse the doctrine of separation and independence; I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded that it is the true interest of this Continent to be so; that every thing short of that is mere patchwork, that it can afford no lasting felicity,—that it is leaving the sword to our children, and shrinking back at a time when a little more, a little further, would have rendered this Continent the glory of the earth.

As Britain hath not manifested the least inclination towards a compromise, we may be assured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of the Continent, or any ways equal to the expence of blood and treasure we have been already put to.

The object contended for, ought always to bear some just proportion to the expence. The removal of North, or the whole detestable junto, is a matter unworthy the millions we have expended. A temporary stoppage of trade was an inconvenience, which would have sufficiently balanced the repeal of all the acts complained of, had such repeals been obtained; but if the whole Continent must take up arms, if every man must be a soldier, 'tis scarcely worth our while to fight against a contemptible ministry only. Dearly, dearly do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we fight for; for, in a just estimation 'tis as great a folly to pay a Bunker-hill price for law as for land. As I have always considered the independency of this continent, as an event which sooner or later must arrive, so from the late rapid progress of the Continent to maturity, the event cannot be far off. Wherefore, on the breaking out of hostilities, it was not worth the while to have disputed a matter which time would have finally redressed, unless we meant to be in earnest: other wise it is like wasting an estate on a suit at law, to regulate the trespasses of a tenant whose lease is just expiring. No man was a warmer wisher for a reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen-tempered Pharaoh of England for ever; and disdain the wretch, that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I answer, the ruin of the Continent. And that for several reasons.

First. The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the King, he will have a negative over the whole legislation of this Continent. And as he hath shown himself such an inveterate enemy to liberty, and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power, is he, or is he not, a proper person to say to these colonies, '*You shall make no laws but what I please!?*' And is there any inhabitant of America so ignorant as not to know, that according to what is called the *present* constitution, this Continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to; and is there any man so unwise as not to see, that (considering what has happened) he will suffer no law to be made here but such as suits his purpose? We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America, as by submitting to laws made for us in England. After matters are made up (as it is called) can there be any doubt, but the whole power of the crown will be exerted to keep this continent as low and humble as possible? Instead of going forward we shall go backward, or be perpetually quarrelling, or ridiculously petitioning. We are already greater than the King wishes us to be, and will he not hereafter endeavor to make us less? To bring the matter to one point, Is the power who is jealous of our prosperity, a proper power to govern us? Whoever says No, to this question, is an Independent for independency means no more than this, whether we shall make our own laws, or, whether the King, the greatest enemy this continent hath, or can have, shall tell us *there shall be no laws but such as I like.*

But the King, you will say, has a negative in England; the people there can make no laws without his consent. In point of right and good order, it is something very ridiculous that a youth of twenty-one (which hath often happened) shall say to several millions of people older and wiser than himself, "I forbid this or that act of yours to be law." But in this place I decline this sort of reply, though I will never cease to expose the absurdity of it, and only answer that England being the King's residence, and America not so, makes quite another case. The King's negative here is ten times more dangerous

and fatal than it can be in England; for there he will scarcely refuse his consent to a bill for putting England into as strong a state of defense as possible, and in America he would never suffer such a bill to be passed.

America is only a secondary object in the system of British politics. England consults the good of this country no further than it answers her own purpose. Wherefore, her own interest leads her to suppress the growth of ours in every case which doth not promote her advantage, or in the least interferes with it. A pretty state we should soon be in under such a second hand government, considering what has happened! Men do not change from enemies to friends by the alteration of a name: And in order to show that reconciliation now is a dangerous doctrine, I affirm, that it would be policy in the King at this time to repeal the acts, for the sake of reinstating himself in the government of the provinces; In order that HE MAY ACCOMPLISH BY CRAFT AND SUBTLETY, IN THE LONG RUN, WHAT HE CANNOT DO BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE IN THE SHORT ONE. Reconciliation and ruin are nearly related.

Secondly. That as even the best terms which we can expect to obtain can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianship, which can last no longer than till the Colonies come of age, so the general face and state of things in the interim will be unsettled and unpromising. Emigrants of property will not choose to come to a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and disturbance; and numbers of the present inhabitants would lay hold of the interval to dispose of their effects, and quit the Continent.

But the most powerful of all arguments is, that nothing but independance, i.e. a Continental form of government, can keep the peace of the Continent and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable that it will be followed by a revolt some where or other, the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

Thousands are already ruined by British barbarity; (thousands more will probably suffer the same fate.) Those men have other feelings than us who have nothing suffered. All they now possess is liberty; what they before enjoyed is sacrificed to its service, and having nothing more to lose they disdain submission. Besides, the general temper of the Colonies, towards a British government will be like that of a youth who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her: And a government which cannot preserve the peace is no government at all, and in that case we pay our money for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whose power will be wholly on paper, should a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation? I have heard some men say, many of whom I believe spoke without thinking, that they dreaded an independance, fearing that it would produce civil wars: It is but seldom that our first thoughts are truly correct, and that is the case here; for there is ten times more to dread from a patched up connection than from independance. I make the sufferer's case my own, and I protest, that were I driven from house and home, my property destroyed, and my circumstances ruined, that as a man, sensible of injuries, I could never relish the doctrine of reconciliation, or consider myself bound thereby.

The Colonies have manifested such a spirit of good order and obedience to Continental government, as is sufficient to make every reasonable person easy and happy on that head. No man can assign the least pretence for his fears, on any other grounds, than such as are truly childish and ridiculous, viz., that one colony will be striving for superiority over another.

Where there are no distinctions there can be no superiority; perfect equality affords no temptation. The Republics of Europe are all (and we may say always) in peace. Holland and Switzerland are without wars, foreign or domestic: Monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at rest: the crown itself is a temptation to enterprising ruffians at home; and that degree of pride and insolence ever attendant on regal authority, swells into a rupture with foreign powers in instances where a republican government, by being formed on more natural principles, would negotiate the mistake.

If there is any true cause of fear respecting independance, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out. Wherefore, as an opening into that business I offer the following hints; at the same time modestly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myself, than that they may be the means of giving rise to something better. Could the stragling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wise and able men to improve into useful matter. "Let the assemblies be annual, with a president only. The representation more equal, their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a continental Congress."

Let each Colony be divided into six, eight, or ten, convenient districts, each district to send a proper number of Delegates to Congress, so that each Colony send at least thirty. The whole number in Congress will be at least 390. Each congress to sit and to choose a President by the following method. When the Delegates are met, let a Colony be taken from the whole thirteen Colonies by lot, after which let the Congress choose (by ballot) a president from out of the Delegates of that province. In the next Congress, let a Colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that Colony from which the president was taken in the former Congress, and so proceeding on till the whole thirteen shall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may pass into a law but what is satisfactorily just, not less than three fifths of the Congress to be called a majority. He that will promote discord, under a government so equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

But as there is a peculiar delicacy from whom, or in what manner, this business must first arise, and as it seems most agreeable and consistent that it should come from some intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congress and the People, let a Continental Conference be held in the following manner, and for the following purpose,

A Committee of twenty six members of congress, viz. Two for each Colony. Two Members from each House of Assembly, or Provincial Convention; and five

Representatives of the people at large, to be chosen in the capital city or town of each Province, for, and in behalf of the whole Province, by as many qualified voters as shall think proper to attend from all parts of the Province for that purpose; or, if more convenient, the Representatives may be chosen in two or three of the most populous parts thereof. In this conference, thus assembled, will be united the two grand principles of business, *knowledge and power*. The Members of Congress, Assemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and useful counsellors, and the whole, being empowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring members being met, let their business be to frame a Continental Charter of the United Colonies; (answering to what is called the Magna Charta of England) fixing the number and manner of choosing Members of Congress, Members of Assembly, with their date of sitting; and drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between them: Always remembering, that our strength is Continental, not Provincial. Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; with such other matter as it is necessary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the said conference to dissolve, and the bodies which shall be chosen conformable to the said charter, to be the Legislators and Governors of this Continent for the time being: Whose peace and happiness, may GOD preserve. AMEN.

Should any body of men be hereafter delegated for this or some similar purpose, I offer them the following extracts from that wise observer on Governments, Dragonetti. "The science," says he, "of the Politician consists in fixing the true point of happiness and freedom. Those men would deserve the gratitude of ages, who should discover a mode of government that contained the greatest sum of individual happiness, with the least national expense." (Dragonetti on "Virtues and Reward.")

But where, say some, is the King of America? I'll tell you, friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Great Britain. Yet

that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honours, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the Charter; let it be brought forth placed on the Divine Law, the Word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America the law is king. For as in absolute governments the King is law, so in free countries the law ought to be king; and there ought to be no other. But lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the Crown at the conclusion of the ceremony be demolished, and scattered among the people whose right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right: and when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance. If we omit it now, some Massanello* may hereafter arise, who, laying hold of popular disquietudes, may collect together the desperate and the discontented, and by assuming to themselves the powers of government, finally sweep away the liberties of the Continent like a deluge. Should the government of America return again into the hands of Britain, the tottering situation of things will be a temptation for some desperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in such a case, what relief can Britain give? Ere she could hear the news, the fatal business might be done; and ourselves suffering like the wretched Britons under the oppression of the Conqueror. Ye that oppose independance now, ye know not what ye do: ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny, by keeping vacant the seat of government. There are thousands and tens of thousands, who would think it glorious to expel from the Continent, that barbarous and hellish power, which hath stirred up the Indians and the Negroes to destroy us; the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us, and treacherously by them.

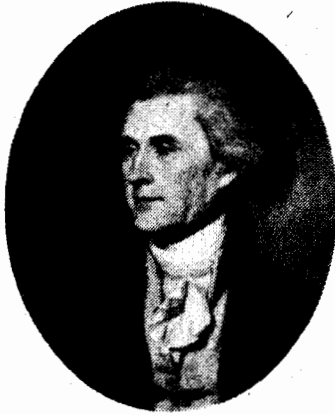
* Thomas Anello, otherwise Massanello, a fisherman of Naples, who after spiriting up his countrymen in the public market place, against the oppression of the Spaniards, to whom the place was then subject, prompted them to revolt, and in the space of a day became King.

To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded thro' a thousand pores instruct us to detest, is madness and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them; and can there be any reason to hope, that as the relationship expires, the affection will encrease, or that we shall agree better when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever?

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is past? Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence? neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last cord now is broken, the people of England are presenting addresses against us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress, as the Continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us these unextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes. They are the Guardians of his Image in our hearts. They distinguish us from the herd of common animals. The social compact would dissolve, and justice be extirpated from the earth, or have only a casual existence were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber and the murderer would often escape unpunished, did not the injuries which our tempers sustain, provoke us into justice.

O! ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the Globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum of mankind.

โทมัส เจฟเฟอร์สัน (Thomas Jefferson, 1743-1826)



ประวัติ

โทมัส เจฟเฟอร์สัน เป็นประธานาธิบดีคนที่ 3 ของสหรัฐอเมริกา (1801-1809) บิดาเป็นชาวไร่ที่ร่ำรวย ในเวอร์จิเนีย ปี ค.ศ. 1760-1762 ศึกษาที่มหาวิทยาลัย วิลเลียมและแมรี (William and Mary College) หลังจบการศึกษาได้ยึดอาชีพเป็นนักกฎหมายที่วิลเลียมสเบิร์ก (Williamsburg) รัฐเวอร์จิเนีย แม้เจฟเฟอร์สันมีทาสอยู่ในความครอบครองของตนเองแต่ตัวเขาก็ไม่ได้เห็นด้วยกับการมีทาสเพราะเขาเชื่อในความเสมอภาคของมนุษย์ เช่นเดียวกับ

● โทมัส เจฟเฟอร์สัน

เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน และ โทมัส เพน แต่ เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน แตกต่างจาก โทมัส เจฟเฟอร์สัน ในแง่ที่แฟรงคลินไม่เพียงแต่คิดเท่านั้นยังลงมือกระทำด้วย ในขณะที่เจฟเฟอร์สันได้แต่คิด ในด้านศาสนานั้น เจฟเฟอร์สันเชื่อว่ามนุษย์มีความสามารถที่จะทำให้โลกและสังคมดีขึ้นไม่ใช่ขึ้นอยู่กับพระเจ้า เพราะโดยพื้นฐานของมนุษย์นั้นคืออยู่แล้ว สำหรับด้านการเมืองนั้น เจฟเฟอร์สันเชื่อว่าประชาชนควรจะมีสิทธิที่จะเปลี่ยนแปลงรูปแบบของสังคมได้ถ้ามีความจำเป็น เพราะฉะนั้น การปฏิวัติในบางครั้งจึงเป็นสิ่งที่ดีและจำเป็นในโลกของการเมือง เช่นเดียวกับการที่ธรรมชาติจะต้องมีพายุ เจฟเฟอร์สันได้ดำรงตำแหน่งสำคัญ ๆ ดังนี้

- ปี ค.ศ. 1769-1775 ได้รับเลือกเป็นสมาชิกสภาร่างกฎหมาย (House of Burgesse)

- ปี ค.ศ. 1775-1776 เป็นสมาชิกสภาแห่งภาคพื้นทวีป (Continental Congress) ซึ่งเจฟเฟอร์สันได้เป็นผู้ร่างคำประกาศอิสรภาพ (Declaration of Independence)

- เป็นผู้ว่าการรัฐเวอร์จิเนีย

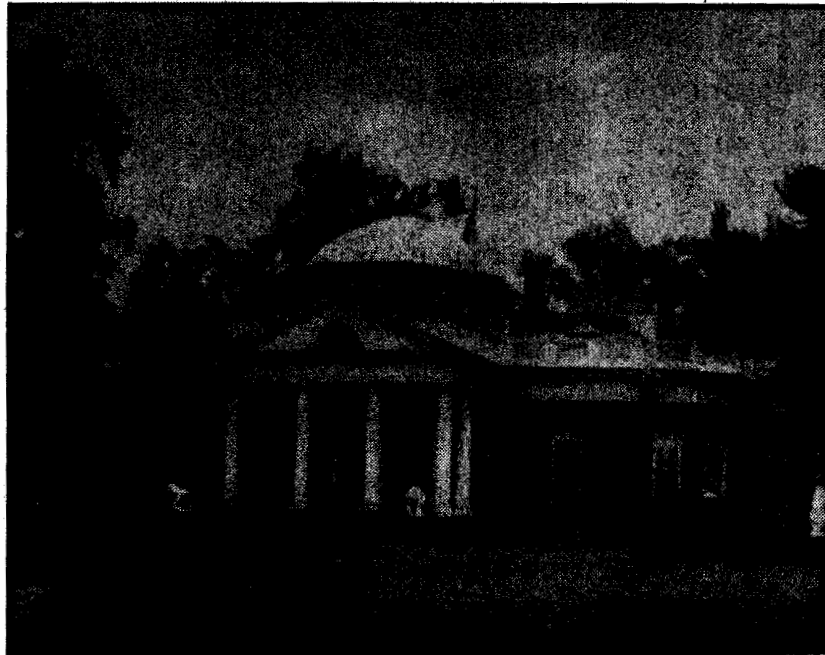
- ปี ค.ศ. 1785-1789 เป็นเอกอัครราชทูตประจำฝรั่งเศสต่อจาก เบนจามิน แฟรงคลิน หลังสงครามปฏิวัติ

- ปี ค.ศ. 1790-1793 ได้รับแต่งตั้งโดยประธานาธิบดี จอร์จ วอชิงตัน ให้เป็นรัฐมนตรีต่างประเทศคนแรก

- ได้รับเลือกเป็นประธานาธิบดีอเมริกา 2 สมัย (ปี ค.ศ. 1800-1808) และเป็นประธานาธิบดีคนแรกที่ทำพิธีสาบานตนเข้ารับตำแหน่งที่วอชิงตันดีซีและยังเป็นผู้ก่อตั้งพรรครีพับลิค

- ปี ค.ศ. 1819 เมื่อหมดวาระจากการเป็นประธานาธิบดีได้ก่อตั้งมหาวิทยาลัยเวอร์จิเนีย (University of Virginia)

กล่าวได้ว่า เจฟเฟอร์สันเป็นบุคคลที่มีความรู้ความสามารถรอบด้านทั้งในด้านการเมือง วิทยาศาสตร์ สถาปัตยกรรม ภาษา ประวัติศาสตร์และการศึกษา ผลงานทางด้านการเขียนที่สำคัญคือ *"The Declaration of Independence"* กับ *"Notes on the State of Virginia"* ซึ่งเป็นการตอบคำถามเกี่ยวกับรัฐเวอร์จิเนียให้รัฐบาลฝรั่งเศส เจฟเฟอร์สันเสียชีวิตในวันที่ 4 กรกฎาคม 1826 ที่บ้านมอนติเซลโล (Monticello) ของเขา และเจฟเฟอร์สันเป็นผู้เขียนคำจารึกที่หลุมศพของตนเองโดยเขียนว่าเขาต้องการเป็นผู้ที่ได้รับการจดจำในฐานะผู้เขียนคำประกาศอิสรภาพของอเมริกา เป็นอนุสาวรีย์แห่งเสรีภาพทางศาสนาของเวอร์จิเนีย และบิดาของมหาวิทยาลัยเวอร์จิเนีย ไม่ต้องการได้รับการจดจำในฐานะประธานาธิบดีของอเมริกา



● บ้านของโทมัส เจฟเฟอร์สัน ที่มอนติเซลโล

ลักษณะการเขียน

ผลงานของ โทมัส เจฟเฟอร์สัน ส่วนมากเป็นเอกสารและจดหมายทางการ (ทั้งหมด 50 เล่ม) ซึ่งเจฟเฟอร์สันต้องการให้อเมริกามีรัฐบาลที่วางพื้นฐานบนความเสมอภาคและความยุติธรรม ในการเขียน เจฟเฟอร์สันจะใช้ภาษาที่ตรงไปตรงมาโดยมีเหตุผลประกอบ

ผลงาน

"Declaration of Independence" (1776)

"Notes on the State of Virginia" (1784-1785)

"First Inaugural Address" (1801)

ผลงานประเภทจดหมาย

"To his daughter, November 28, 1763"

"To Dr. Benjamin Rush, April 21, 1803"

"To John Adams, October 28, 1813"

"To Dr. Walter Jones, January 2, 1814"

The Declaration of Independence as Adopted by Congress

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

**THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE
THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train

of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide New Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constraints them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain¹ is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless these people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing Armies without the Consent of our

¹George III (reigned 1760-1820).

legislatures. He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. He has combined with others² to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by Jury: For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: For abolishing the free system of English Laws in a neighbouring Province,³ establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: for taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives of our people. He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries⁴ to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated

²The British Parliament.

³The Quebec Act (1774) recognized the Roman Catholic religion in Quebec and extended the province's boundaries to the Ohio River.

⁴German soldiers, mostly Hessians, hired by the British.

Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

อธิบายคำศัพท์

คำศัพท์	ความหมาย
dissolve	เลิกล้ม ยุบ สิ้นสุดลง
impel	กระตุ้น ดัน
endow	ให้
Creator	พระเจ้า

abolish	ยกเลิก
convulsion	ความปวดร้าว
endeavour	พยายาม อุตสาหะ
deprive	ตัด (สิทธิ) กีดกัน
perfidy	โกง ททรยศ
rectitude	ความถูกต้อง ความยุติธรรม
levy	เก็บ (ภาษี)
pledge	ประกัน

สาระสำคัญ

คำประกาศอิสรภาพที่เจฟเฟอร์สันเป็นผู้ร่างและเสนอต่อสภาเพื่อใช้ประกาศอิสรภาพนี้ ได้รับการแก้ไขทั้งหมด 86 ครั้ง ก่อนที่จะลงนามในวันที่ 4 กรกฎาคม ค.ศ. 1776 ผลงานชิ้นนี้ไม่ได้แสดงถึงอารมณ์แต่เป็นการอธิบายอย่างตรงไปตรงมา โดยมีเหตุผลประกอบว่าทำไมอเมริกาจึงต้องประกาศอิสรภาพ ซึ่งเจฟเฟอร์สันได้แสดงให้เห็นถึงความสามารถในการเขียนได้อย่างดีเพราะเขียนได้อย่างแจ่มชัดและมีน้ำหนัก ในการร่างเจฟเฟอร์สันได้อาศัยแนวความคิดมาจากอริสโตเติล (Aristotle) ชิเซโร (Cicero) จอห์น ล็อก (John Locke) จอร์จ เมสัน (George Mason)²² และนักเขียนด้านการเมืองในคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 18 ซึ่งเชื่อว่าหน้าที่ของรัฐบาลที่ดีจะต้องสามารถรับประกันชีวิต เสรีภาพและทรัพย์สินสมบัติประชาชนได้

“*The Declaration of Independence*” ประกอบด้วย 4 ตอนคือ บทนำ (preamble) เนื้อหา (body) 2 ตอน และบทสรุป (conclusion)

บทนำ กล่าวถึงความคิดทางการเมืองโดยทั่วไป ว่าประชาชนมีสิทธิที่จะตั้งหรือล้มรัฐบาลของตนเองได้

เนื้อหา กล่าวถึงการกระทำที่ไม่ถูกต้องของอังกฤษต่ออเมริกา เช่น การเก็บภาษี การยกเลิกตัวแทนจากอาณานิคม

บทสรุป กล่าวถึงการประกาศอิสรภาพไม่ขึ้นต่ออังกฤษของอเมริกา

²²จอร์จ เมสัน เป็นเพื่อนของเจฟเฟอร์สันได้เขียนไว้ใน “*Virginia Bill of Rights*” (1775) ว่า “All men are by nature equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights,....namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and obtaining happiness and safety.”

Notes on the State of Virginia

Query IV: A notice of its Mountains?

For the particular geography of our mountains I must refer to Fry and Jefferson's map of Virginia; and to Evans's analysis of his map of America for a more philosophical view of them than is to be found in any other work. It is worthy notice, that our mountains are not solitary and scattered confusedly over the face of the country; but that they commence at about 150 miles from the sea-coast, are disposed in ridges one behind another, running nearly parallel with the sea-coast, though rather approaching it as they advance north-east-wardly. To the south-west, as the tract of country between the sea-coast and the Missisipi becomes narrower, the mountains converge into a single ridge, which, as it approaches the Gulph of Mexico, subsides into plain country, and gives rise to some of the waters of that Gulph, and particularly to a river called the Apalachicola, probably from the Apalachies, an Indian nation formerly residing on it. Hence the mountains giving rise to that river, and seen from its various parts, were called the Apalachian mountains, being in fact the end or termination only of the great ridges passing through the continent. European geographers however extended the name north-wardly as far as the mountains extended; some giving it, after their separation into different ridges, to the Blue ridge, others to the North mountain, others to the Alleghaney, others to the Laurel ridge, as may be seen in their different maps. But the fact I believe is, that none of these ridges were ever known by that name to the inhabitants, either native or emigrant, but as they saw them so called in European maps. In the same direction generally are the veins of lime-stone, coal and other minerals hitherto discovered: and so range the falls of our great rivers. But the courses of the great rivers are at right angles with these. James and Patowmac penetrate through all the ridges of mountains eastward of the Alleghaney; that is broken by no watercourse. It is in fact the spine of the country between the Atlantic on one side, and the Missisipi and St. Laurence on the other. The passage of the Patowmac through the Blue ridge is perhaps one of the most stupendous scenes in nature. You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain an hundred miles to seek a

vent. On your left approaches the Patowmac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The first glance of this scene hurries our senses into the opinion, that this earth has been created in time, that the mountains were formed first, that the rivers began to flow after wards, that in this place particularly they have been dammed up by the Blue ridge of mountains, and have formed an ocean which filled the whole valley; that continuing to rise they have at length broken over at this spot, and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disrapture and avulsion from their beds by the most powerful agents of nature, corroborate the impression. But the distant finishing which nature has given to the picture is of a very different character. It is a true contrast to the fore-ground. It is as placid and delightful, as that is wild and tremendous. For the mountain being cloven asunder, she presents to your eye, through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance in the plain country, inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around, to pass through the breach and participate of the calm below. Here the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way too the road happens actually to lead. You cross the Patowmac above the junction, pass along its side through the base of the mountain for three miles, its terrible precipices hanging in fragments over you, and within about 20 miles reach Frederic town and the fine country round that. This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic. Yet here, as in the neighbourhood of the natural bridge, are people who have passed their lives within half a dozen miles, and have never been to survey these monuments of a war between rivers and mountains, which must have shaken the earth itself to its center. The height of our mountains has not yet been estimated with any degree of exactness. The Alleghaney being the great ridge which divides the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Missisipi, its summit is doubtless more elevated above the ocean than that of any other mountain. But its relative height, compared with the base on which it stands, is not so great as that of some others, the country rising behind the successive ridges like the steps of stairs. The mountains of the Blue ridge, and of these the Peaks of Otter, are thought to be of a greater height, measured from their base, than any others in our country, and perhaps in North America. From data,

which may found a tolerable conjecture, we suppose the highest peak to be about 4000 feet perpendicular, which is not a fifth part of the height of the mountains of South America, nor one third of the height which would be necessary in our latitude to preserve ice in the open air unmelted through the year. The ridge of mountains next beyond the Blue ridge, called by us the North mountain, is of the greatest extent; for which reason they were named by the Indians the Endless mountains.

A substance supposed to be Pumice, found floating on the Missisipi, has induced a conjecture, that there is a volcano on some of its waters: and as these are mostly known to their sources, except the Missouri, our expectations of verifying the conjecture would of course be led to the mountains which divide the waters of the Mexican Gulph from those of the South Sea; but no volcano having ever yet been known at such a distance from the sea, we must rather suppose that this floating substance has been erroneously deemed Pumice.

Query V: Its Cascades and Caverns?

The only remarkable Cascade in this country, is that of the Falling Spring in Augusta. It is a water of James river, where it is called Jackson's river, rising in the warm spring mountains about twenty miles South West of the warm spring, and flowing into that valley. About three quarters of a mile from its source, it falls over a rock 200 feet into the valley below. The sheet of water is broken in its breadth by the rock in two or three places, but not at all in its height. Between the sheet and rock, at the bottom, you may walk across dry. This Cataract will bear no comparison with that of Niagara, as to the quantity of water composing it; the sheet being only 12 or 15 feet wide above, and somewhat more spread below; but it is half as high again, the latter being only 156 feet, according to the mensuration made by order of M. Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, and 130 according to a more recent account.

In the lime-stone country, there are many caverns of very considerable extent. The most noted is called Madison's Cave, and is on the North side of the Blue ridge, near the

intersection of the Rockingham and Augusta line with the South fork of the southern river of Shenandoah. It is in a hill of about 200 feet perpendicular height, the ascent of which, on one side, is so steep, that you may pitch a biscuit from its summit into the river which washes its base. The entrance of the cave is, in this side, about two thirds of the way up. It extends into the earth about 300 feet. branching into subordinate caverns, sometimes ascending a little, but more generally descending, and at length terminates, in two different places, at basons of water of unknown extent, and which I should judge to be nearly on a level with the water of the river; however, I do not think they are formed by reflux water from that, because they are never turbid; because they do not rise and fall in correspondence with that in times of flood, or of drought; and because the water is always cool. It is probably one of the many reservoirs with which the interior parts of the earth are supposed to abound, and which yield supplies to the fountains of water, distinguished from others only by its being accessible. The vault of this cave is of solid lime-stone, from 20 to 40 or 50 feet high, through which water is continually percolating. This, trickling down the sides of the cave, has incrustated them over in the form of elegant drapery; and dripping from the top of the vault generates on that, and on the base below, stalactites of a conical form, some of which have met and formed massive columns.

Another of these caves is near the North mountain, in the county of Frederick, on the lands of Mr. Zane. The entrance into this is on the top of an extensive ridge. You descend 30 or 40 feet, as into a well, from whence the cave then extends, nearly horizontally, 400 feet into the earth, preserving a breadth of from 20 to 50 feet, and a height of from 5 to 12 feet. After entering this cave a few feet, the mercury, which in the open air was at 50°. rose to 57°. of Farenheit's thermometer, answering to 11°. of Reaumur's, and it continued at that to the remotest parts of the cave. The uniform temperature of the cellars of the observatory of Paris, which are 90 feet deep, and of all subterranean cavities of any depth, where no chymical agents may be supposed to produce a factitious heat, has been found to be 10°. of Reaumur, equal to $54\frac{1}{2}$ °. of Farenheit. The temperature of the cave above mentioned so nearly corresponds with this, that the difference may be ascribed to a difference of instruments.

At the Panther gap, in the ridge which divides the waters of the Cow and the Calf pasture, is what is called the Blowing cave. It is in the side of a hill, is of about 100 feet diameter, and emits constantly a current of air of such force, as to keep the weeds prostrate to the distance of twenty yards before it. This current is strongest in dry frosty weather, and in long spells of rain weakest. Regular inspirations and expirations of air, by caverns and fissures, have been probably enough accounted for, by supposing them combined with intermitting fountains; as they must of course inhale air while their reservoirs are emptying themselves, and again emit it while they are filling. But a constant issue of air, only varying in its force as the weather is drier or damper, will require a new hypothesis. There is another blowing cave in the Cumberland mountain, about a mile from where it crosses the Carolina line. All we know of this is, that it is not constant, and that a fountain of water issues from it.

The Natural bridge, the most sublime of Nature's works, though not comprehended under the present head, must not be pretermitted. It is on the ascent of a hill, which seems to have been cloven through its length by some great convulsion. The fissure, just at the bridge, is, by some admeasurements, 270 feet deep, by others only 205. It is about 45 feet wide at the bottom, and 90 feet at the top; this of course determines the length of the bridge, and its height from the water. Its breadth in the middle, is about 60 feet, but more at the ends, and the thickness of the mass at the summit of the arch, about 40 feet. A part of this thickness is constituted by a coat of earth, which gives growth to many large trees. The residue, with the hill on both sides, is one solid rock of lime-stone. The arch approaches the Semi-elliptical form; but the larger axis of the ellipsis, which would be the cord of the arch, is many times longer than the transverse. Though the sides of this bridge are provided in some parts with a parapet of fixed rocks, yet few men have resolution to walk to them and look over into the abyss. You involuntarily fall on your hands and feet, creep to the parapet and peep over it. Looking down from this height about a minute, gave me a violent head ach. If the view from the top be painful and intolerable, that from below is delightful in an equal extreme. It is impossible for the emotions arising from the sublime, to be felt beyond what they are

here: so beautiful an arch, so elevated, so light, and springing as it were up to heaven, the rapture of the spectator is really indescribable! The fissure continuing narrow, deep, and streight for a considerable distance above and below the bridge, opens a short but very pleasing view of the North mountain on one side, and Blue ridge on the other, at the distance each of them of about five miles. This bridge is in the county of Rock bridge, to which it has given name, and affords a public and commodious passage over a valley, which cannot be crossed elsewhere for a considerable distance. The stream passing under it is called Cedar creek. It is a water of James river, and sufficient in the driest seasons to turn a grist-mill, though its fountain is not more than two miles above.*

*Don Ulloa mentions a break, similar to this, in the province of Angaraez, in South America. It is from 16 to 22 feet wide, 111 feet deep, and of 1.3 miles continuance, English measures. Its breadth at top is not sensibly greater than at bottom. But the following fact is remarkable, and will furnish some light for conjecturing the probable origin of our natural bridge. 'Esta caja, 6 cauce esta cortada en pena viva con tanta precision, que las desigualdades del un lado entrantes, corresponden a las del otro lado salientes, como si aquella altura se hubiese abierto expresamente, con sus bueltas y tortuosidades, para darle transito a los aguas por entre los dos murallones que la forman; siendo tal su igualdad, que si llegasen a juntarse se endentarian uno con otro sin dexar hueco,' Not. Amer. II. §. 10. Don Ulloa inclines to the opinion, that this channel has been affected by the wearing of the water which runs through it, rather than that the mountain should have been broken open by any convulsion of nature. But if it had been worn by the running of water, would not the rocks which form the sides, have been worn plane? or if, meeting in some parts with veins of harder stone, the water had left prominences on the one side, would not the same cause have sometimes, or perhaps generally, occasioned prominences on the other side also? Yet Don Ulloa tells us, that on the other side there are always corresponding cavities, and that these tally with the prominences so perfectly, that, were the two sides to come together, they would fit in all their indentures without leaving any void. I think that this does not resemble the effect of running water, but looks rather as if the two sides had parted asunder. The sides of the break, over which is the Natural bridge of Virginia, consisting of a veiny rock which yields to time, the correspondence between the salient and re-entering inequalities, if it existed at all, has now disappeared. This break has the advantage of the one described by Don Ulloa in its finest circumstance; no portion in that instance having held together, during the separation of the other parts, so as to form a bridge over the Abyss.