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CRUSOE SAILING ROUND THE ISLAND.



LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Engravings by Jackson

I am monarch of all I survey,
My right there is none to dispute ;
From the centre all round to the sea,
I am lord of the fowl and the brute.

COWPER.

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LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE.

CHAPTER I.

I WAS born in the year 1632, in the city of York, of a good family, though not of that country, my father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull. He got a good estate by merchandise, and leaving off his trade, lived afterwards at York; from whence he had married my mother, whose relations were named Robinson, a very good family in that country, and from whom I was called Robinson Kreutznaer; but by the usual corruption of words in England, we are now called, nay, we call ourselves, and write our name, Crusoe; and so my companions always called me.

I had two elder brothers, one of whom was lieutenant-colonel to an English regiment of foot in Flanders, formerly commanded by the famous Colonel Lockhart, and was killed at the battle near Dunkirk against the Spaniards. What became of my second

brother, I never knew, any more than my father and mother did know what was become of me.

Being the third son of the family, and not bred to any trade, my head began to be filled very early with rambling thoughts. My father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning, as far as house education and a country free-school generally go, and designed me for the law; but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea; and my inclination to this led me strongly against the will, nay, the commands of my father, and against all the entreaties and persuasions of my mother and other friends.

My father, a wise and grave man, gave me serious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design. He called me one morning into his chamber, where he was confined by the gout, and expostulated very warmly with me upon this subject: he asked me what reasons, more than a mere wandering inclination, I had for leaving his house, and my native country, where I might be well introduced, and had a prospect of raising my fortune, by application and industry, with a life of ease and pleasure. He told me it was for men of desperate fortunes, on one hand, or of aspiring, superior fortunes on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprise, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all either too far above me, or too far below me; that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper sta-

tion of low life, which he had found, by long experience, was the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness; not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labour and sufferings, of the mechanic part of mankind, and not embarrassed with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind: he told me I might judge of the happiness of this state by one thing—namely, that this was the state of life which all other people envied; that kings have frequently lamented the miserable consequences of being born to great things, and wished they had been placed in the middle of two extremes, between the mean and the great; that the wise man gave his testimony to this, as the just standard of true felicity, when he prayed to have “neither poverty nor riches.”

He bid me observe it, and I should always find that the calamities of life were shared among the upper and lower parts of mankind; but that the middle station had the fewest disasters, and was not exposed to so many vicissitudes as the higher or lower part of mankind: nay, they were not subjected to so many distempers and uneasinesses, either of body or mind, as those were, who, by vicious living, luxury, and extravagances on one hand, or by hard labour, want of necessaries, and mean and insufficient diet on the other hand, bring distempers upon themselves by the natural consequence of their way of living; that the middle station of life was calculated for all kinds of virtues, and all kinds of enjoyments;

that peace and plenty were the handmaids of a middle fortune; that temperance, moderation, quietness, health, society, all agreeable diversions, and all desirable pleasures, were the blessings attending the middle station of life; that this way men went silently and smoothly through the world, and comfortably out of it, not embarrassed with the labours of the hands, or of the head, not sold to the life of slavery for daily bread, nor harassed with perplexing circumstances, which rob the soul of peace, and the body of rest; not enraged with the passion of envy, nor secret burning lust of ambition for great things; but, in easy circumstances, sliding gently through the world, and sensibly tasting the sweets of living, without the bitter; feeling that they are happy, and learning, by every day's experience, to know it more sensibly.

After this, he pressed me earnestly, and in the most affectionate manner, not to play the young man, not to precipitate myself into miseries, which nature, and the station of life I was born in, seemed to have provided against; that I was under no necessity of seeking my bread; that he would do well for me, and endeavour to enter me fairly into the station of life which he had been just recommending to me; and that, if I was not very easy and happy in the world, it must be my mere fault that must hinder it; and that he should have nothing to answer for, having thus discharged his duty in warning me against measures which he knew would be to my hurt. In

a word, that, as he would do very kind things for me, if I would stay and settle at home, as he directed, so he would not have so much hand in my misfortunes as to give me any encouragement to go away; and, to close all, he told me I had my elder brother for an example, to whom he had used the same earnest persuasions to keep him from going into the Low Country wars, but could not prevail, his young desires prompting him to run into the army, where he was killed; and though, he said, he would not cease to pray for me, yet he would venture to say to me, that, if I did take this foolish step, God would not bless me; and I would have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist in my recovery.

I observed, in this last part of his discourse, which was truly prophetic, though, I suppose, my father did not know it to be so himself; I say, I observed the tears run down his face very plentifully, especially when he spoke of my brother who was killed; and that, when he spoke of my having leisure to repent, and none to assist me, he was so moved, that he broke off the discourse, and told me his heart was so full he could say no more to me.

I was sincerely affected with this discourse; as, indeed, who could be otherwise? and I resolved not to think of going abroad any more, but to settle at home, according to my father's desire. But, alas! a few days wore it all off: and, in short, to prevent any of my father's further importunities, in a few

weeks after I resolved to run quite away from him. However, I did not act so hastily neither, as my first heat of resolution prompted; but I took my mother, at a time when I thought her a little pleasanter than ordinary, and told her my thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the world, that I should never settle to anything with resolution enough to go through with it, and my father had better give me his consent than force me to go without it; that I was now eighteen years old, which was too late to go apprentice to a trade, or clerk to an attorney; that I was sure if I did I should never serve out my time, and I should certainly run away from my master before my time was out, and go to sea; and, if she would speak to my father to let me make but one voyage abroad, if I came home again, and did not like it, I would go no more; and I would promise, by a double diligence, to recover the time I had lost.

This made my mother very angry: she told me she knew it would be to no purpose to speak to my father upon any such a subject; that he knew too well what was my interest to give his consent to anything so much for my hurt; and that she wondered how I could think of any such thing, after such a discourse as I had had from my father, and such kind and tender expressions as she knew my father had used to me: and that, in short, if I would ruin myself, there was no help for me; but I might depend I should never have their consent to it; that,

for her part, she would not have so much hand in my destruction; and I should never have it to say "that my mother was willing, when my father was not."

Though my mother refused to move it to my father, yet, as I have heard afterwards, she reported all the discourse to him; and that my father, after showing a great concern at it, said to her with a sigh, "That boy might be happy, if he would stay at home; but if he goes abroad, he will be the most miserable wretch that ever was born; I can give no consent to it."

It was not till almost a year after this that I broke loose; though, in the meantime, I continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of settling to business, and frequently expostulating with my father and mother about their being so positively determined against what they knew my inclinations prompted me to. But, being one day at Hull, where I went casually, and without any purpose of making an elopement at that time, and one of my companions then going to London by sea in his father's ship, and prompting me to go with them by the common allurements of seafaring men, namely, "that it should cost me nothing for my passage," I consulted neither father nor mother any more, nor so much as sent them word of it; but left them to hear of it as they might, without asking God's blessing, or my father's, without any consideration of circumstances or consequences, and in an ill hour, God knows.

CHAPTER II.

ON the 1st of September 1651, I went on board a ship bound for London. Never any young adventurer's misfortunes, I believe, began earlier, or continued longer than mine. The ship had no sooner got out of the Humber, than the wind began to blow, and the waves to rise, in a most frightful manner; and as I had never been at sea before, I was most inexpressibly sick in body and terrified in mind: I began now seriously to reflect upon what I had done, and how justly I was overtaken by the judgment of Heaven, for wickedly leaving my father's house, and abandoning my duty. All the good counsel of my parents, my father's tears, and my mother's entreaties, came now fresh into my mind; and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of hardiness to which it has been since, reproached me with the contempt of advice, and the breach of my duty to God and my father.

All this while the storm increased, and the sea, which I had never been upon before, went very high, though nothing like what I have seen many times since; no, nor what I saw a few days after; but such as it was, enough to affect me then, who was but a young sailor, and had never known anything of the matter. I expected every wave would have swallowed us up, and that every time the ship fell down, as I thought, in the trough, or hollow of the sea, we

should never rise more; and in this agony of mind I made many vows and resolutions, that, if it would please God to spare my life this voyage, if ever I got my foot once on dry land, I would go directly home to my father, and never set it into a ship again while I lived; that I would take his advice, and never run myself into such miseries as these any more.

These thoughts continued during the storm, and indeed some time after; but the next day, as the wind was abated, and the sea calmer, I began to be a little inured to it. However, I was very grave that day, being also a little sea-sick still: but towards night the weather cleared up, the wind was quite over, and a charming fine evening followed; the sun went down perfectly clear, and rose so the next morning; and, having little or no wind, and a smooth sea, the sun shining upon it, the sight was, as I thought, the most delightful that I ever saw.

I had slept well in the night, and was now no more sea-sick, but very cheerful, looking with wonder upon the sea that was so rough and terrible the day before, and could be so calm and pleasant in a little time after.

And now, lest my good resolutions should continue, my companion, who had indeed enticed me away, came to me and said, "Well, Bob," clapping me on the shoulder, "how do you do after it? I warrant you were frightened, wa'n't you, last night, when it blew out a capful of wind?" "A capful do you call it?" said I. "'twas a terrible storm." "A

storm, you fool!" replies he, "do you call that a storm? Why, it was nothing at all: give us but a good ship and sea-room, and we think nothing of such a squall of wind as that: you are but a fresh-water sailor, Bob; come, let us make a bowl of punch, and we'll forget all that." D'ye see what charming weather 'tis now?" To make short this sad part of my story, we went the way of too many sailors; the punch was made, and I was made drunk with it; and in that one night's wickedness I drowned all my repentance, all my reflections upon my past conduct, and all my resolutions for the future. I found afterwards, indeed, some intervals of reflection; and serious thoughts did, as it were, endeavour to return again sometimes; but I shook them off; and roused myself from them, as it were from a distemper, and, applying myself to drink and company, soon mastered the returns of those fits—for so I called them; and I had in five or six days got as complete a victory over conscience as any young fellow, that resolved not to be troubled with it, could desire.

But I was to have another trial for it still; and Providence, as in such cases generally it does, resolved to leave me entirely without excuse; for, if I would not take this for a deliverance, the next was to be such an one, as the worst and most hardened wretch among us would confess both the danger and the mercy of. The sixth day of our being at sea, we came into Yarmouth roads; the wind having

been contrary, and the weather calm, we had made but little way since the storm. Here we were obliged to come to an anchor, and here we lay, the wind continuing contrary, namely, at south-west, for seven or eight days, during which time a great many ships from Newcastle came into the same roads, as the common harbour where the ships might wait for a wind for the river. We had not, however, rid here so long, and should have tided up the river, but that the wind blew too fresh; and after we had lain four or five days, blew very hard. However, the roads being reckoned as good as a harbour, the anchorage good, and our ground-tackle very strong, our men were unconcerned, and not in the least apprehensive of danger, but spent the time in rest and mirth, after the manner of the sea. But the eighth day, in the morning, the wind increased, and we had all hands at work to strike our topmasts, and make everything snug and close, that the ship might ride as easy as possible. By noon the sea went very high indeed, and our ship rode fore-castle in, shipped several seas, and we thought once or twice our anchor had come home; upon which our master ordered out the sheet-anchor; so that we rode with two anchors a-head, and the cables veered out to the better end.

By this time it blew a terrible storm indeed; and now I began to see terror and amazement in the faces even of the seamen themselves. The master was vigilant in the business of preserving the ship; but as he went in and out of his cabin by me, I could

hear him softly say to himself several times, "Lord, be merciful to us! we shall be all lost; we shall be all undone!" and the like. During these first hurries I was stupid, lying still in my cabin, which was in the steerage, and cannot describe my temper. I could ill re-assume the first penitence, which I had so apparently trampled upon, and hardened myself against; I thought that the bitterness of death had been past, and that this would be nothing too, like the first; but when the master himself came by me, as I said just now, and said we should be all lost, I was dreadfully frightened. I got up out of my cabin, and looked out; but such a dismal sight I never saw: the sea went mountains high, and broke upon us every three or four minutes. When I could look about, I could see nothing but distress around us; two ships that rid near us, we found had cut their masts by the board, being deeply laden; and our men cried out that a ship, which rid about a mile a-head of us, was foundered. Two more ships, being driven from their anchors, were run out of the roads to sea, at all adventures, and that with not a mast standing. Toward evening, the mate and boatswain begged the master of our ship to let them cut away the foremast, which he was very loth to do; but the boatswain protesting to him that, if he did not, the ship would founder, he consented; and when they had cut away the foremast, the mainmast stood so close, and shook the ship so much, that they were obliged to cut it away also, and make a clear deck.

Any one may judge what a condition I must be in at all this, who was but a young sailor, and who had been in such a fright before at but a little. But if I can express, at this distance, the thoughts I had about me at that time, I was in ten-fold more horror of mind upon account of my former convictions, and the having returned from them to the resolutions I had wickedly taken at first, than I was at death itself; and these, added to the terror of the storm, put me into such a condition, that I can by no words describe it. But the worst was not come yet; the storm continued with such fury, that the seamen themselves acknowledged that they had never known a worse. We had a good ship, but she was deep laden, and so wallowed in the sea, that the seamen every now and then cried out she would founder. It was my advantage, in one respect, that I did not know what they meant by "founder," till I inquired. However, the storm was so violent, that I saw, what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others, more sensible than the rest, at their prayers, and expecting every moment the ship would go to the bottom. In the middle of the night, and under all the rest of our distresses, one of the men, that had been down on purpose to see, cried out, "we had sprung a leak;" another said, "there was four feet water in the hold." Then all hands were called to the pump. At that very word, my heart, as I thought, died within me; and I fell backwards upon the side of my bed, where I sat in the cabin. How-

ever, the men roused me, and told me, "that I," who was able to do nothing before, "was as well able to pump as another:" at which I stirred up and went to the pump, and worked very heartily.

We worked on; but the water increasing in the hold, it was apparent that the ship would founder; and, though the storm began to abate a little, yet, as it was not possible she could swim till we might run into a port, so the master fired several guns for help; and a light ship, who had rid it out just a-head of us, ventured a boat out to help us. It was with the utmost hazard the boat came near us, but it was impossible for us to get on board, or for the boat to lie near the ship's side; till, at last, the men rowing very heartily, and venturing their lives to save ours, our men cast them a rope over the stern with a buoy to it, and then veered it out a great length, which they, after great labour and hazard, took hold of, and we hauled them close under our stern, and got all into their boat. It was to no purpose for them, or us, after we were in the boat, to think of reaching their own ship; so all agreed to let her drive, and only pull her in towards shore as much as we could; and our master promised them, that if the boat was staved upon the shore, he would make it good to their master; so, partly rowing, and partly driving, our boat went away to the northward, sloping towards the shore almost as far as Winterton-Ness.

We were not much more than a quarter of an hour

out of our ship when we saw her sink ; and then I understood, for the first time, what was meant by a ship foundering in the sea. I must acknowledge I had hardly eyes to look up when the seamen told me "she was sinking;" for, from that moment, they rather put me into the boat, than that I might be said to go in. My heart was, as it were, dead within me, partly with fright, partly with horror of mind, and the thoughts of what was yet before me.

While we were in this condition, the men yet labouring at the oar to bring the boat near the shore, we could see (when, our boat mounting the waves, we were able to see the shore) a great many people running along the strand to assist us when we should come near ; but we made slow way towards the shore, nor were we able to reach it, till, being past the lighthouse at Winterton, the shore falls off to the westward towards Cromer, and so the land broke off a little the violence of the wind. Here we got in, and, though not without much difficulty, got all safe on shore, and walked afterwards on foot to Yarmouth, where, as unfortunate men, we were used with great humanity, as well by the magistrates of the town, who assigned us good quarters, as by the particular merchants and owners of ships ; and had money given us sufficient to carry us either to London, or back to Hull, as we thought fit.

Had I now had the sense to have gone back to Hull, and have gone home, I had been happy ; and my father, an emblem of our blessed Saviour's parable,

had even killed the fatted calf for me; for, hearing the ship I went in was cast away in Yarmouth Roads, it was a great while before he had any assurance that I was not drowned.

But my wayward disposition pushed me on with an obstinacy that nothing could resist; and, though I had several times loud calls from my reason, and my more composed judgment, to go home, yet I rushed on with my eyes open.

My comrade, who had helped to harden me before, and who was the master's son, was now less forward than I; the first time he spoke to me after we were at Yarmouth, which was not till two or three days, for we were separated in the town to several quarters; I say, the first time he saw me, it appeared his tone was altered, and, looking very melancholy, and shaking his head, asked me how I did; telling his father who I was, and how I had come this voyage only for a trial, in order to go further abroad. His father, turning to me, with a grave and concerned tone, "Young man," says he, "you ought never to go to sea any more; you ought to take this for a plain and visible token that you are not to be a seafaring man." "Why, sir," said I, "will you go to sea no more?" "That is another case," said he; "it is my calling, and therefore my duty; but as you made this voyage for a trial, you see what a taste Heaven has given you of what you are to expect if you persist. Perhaps this has all befallen us on your account, like Jonah in the ship of Tarshish: pray," continues he, "what

are you, and on what account did you go to sea?" Upon that I told him some of my story, at the end of which he burst out with a strange kind of passion. "What had I done," said he, "that such an unhappy wretch should come into my ship? I would not set my foot in the same ship with thee again for a thousand pounds." This indeed was, as I said, an excursion of his spirits, which were yet agitated by the sense of his loss, and was further than he could have authority to go. However, he afterwards talked very gravely to me, exhorted me to go back to my father, and not tempt Providence to my ruin; told me I might see a visible hand of Heaven against me; "and, young man," said he, "depend upon it, if you do not go back, wherever you go you will meet with nothing but disasters and disappointments, till your father's words are fulfilled upon you."

We parted soon after, for I made him little answer, and I saw him no more; which way he went I know not; as for me, having some money in my pocket, I travelled to London by land, and there, as well as on the road, had many struggles with myself what course of life I should take, and whether I should go home, or go to sea. As to going home, shame opposed the best motions that offered to my thoughts; and it immediately occurred to me how I should be laughed at among the neighbours, and should be ashamed to see, not my father and mother only, but even everybody else. From whence I have often since observed, how incongruous and irrational the common temper

of mankind is, especially of youth, to that reason which ought to guide them in such cases, namely, that they are not ashamed to sin, and yet are ashamed to repent; not ashamed of the action for which they ought justly to be esteemed fools, but are ashamed of the returning, which only can make them be esteemed wise men.

CHAPTER III.

IN this state of life, however, I remained some time, uncertain what measures to take, and what course of life to lead, till at last I quite laid aside the thoughts of going home, and looked out for a voyage. That evil influence which carried me first away from my father's house, presented the most unfortunate of all enterprises to my view, and I went on board a vessel bound to the coast of Africa, or, as our sailors vulgarly call it, a voyage to Guinea.

It was my great misfortune that, in all these adventures, I did not ship myself as a sailor; but, as I always chose for the worse, so I did here, for having money in my pocket, and good clothes upon my back, I would always go on board in the habit of a gentleman; and so I neither had any business in the ship, nor learned to do any. It was my lot, first of all, to fall into pretty good company in London, which does not always happen to such loose and misguided young fellows as I then was; the devil generally not omit-

ing to lay some snare for them very early. But it was not so with me; I first fell acquainted with the master of a ship who had been on the coast of Guinea, and who, having had very good success there, was resolved to go again. He, taking a fancy to my conversation, which was not at all disagreeable at that time, and hearing me say "I had a mind to see the world," told me, that if I would go the voyage with him, I should be at no expense, I should be his mess-mate and his companion, and if I could carry anything with me I should have all the advantage of it that the trade would admit, and perhaps I might meet with some encouragement. I embraced the offer, and entering into a strict friendship with this captain, who was an honest and plain-dealing man, I went the voyage with him, and carried a small adventure with me, which, by the disinterested honesty of my friend the captain, I increased very considerably, for I carried about £40 in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This £40 I had mustered together by the assistance of some of my relations, whom I corresponded with, and who, I believe, got my father, or at least my mother, to contribute so much as that to my first adventure. This was the only voyage which I may say was successful in all my adventures, and which I owe to the integrity and honesty of my friend the captain, under whom, also, I got a competent knowledge of the mathematics and the rules of navigation, learned how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and, in short, to

understand some things that were needful to be understood by a sailor; for, as he took delight to instruct me, I took delight to learn, and, in a word, this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant, for I brought home 5 lb. 9 oz. of gold dust for my adventure, which yielded me in London at my return almost £300; and this filled me with those aspiring thoughts which have since so completed my ruin.

I was now set up for a Guinea trader, and my friend, to my great misfortune, dying soon after his arrival, I resolved to go the same voyage again; and I embarked in the same vessel with one who was his mate in the former voyage, and had now got the command of the ship. This was the unhappiest voyage that ever man made, for though I did not carry quite £100 of my new-gained wealth, so that I had £200 left, and which I lodged with my friend's widow, who was very just to me, yet I fell into terrible misfortunes in this voyage; and the first was this, namely, our ship, making her course towards the Canary Islands, or rather between those islands and the African shore, was surprised, in the gray of the morning, by a Turkish rover of Sallee, who gave chase to us with all the sail she could make. We crowded also as much canvass as our yards would spread, or our masts carry, to get clear; but finding the pirate gained upon us, and would certainly come up with us in a few hours, we prepared to fight, our ship having twelve guns, and the rogue eighteen. About three in the afternoon he came up with us, and bringing to by mistake just

athwart our quarter, instead of athwart our stern, as he intended, we brought eight of our guns to bear on that side, and poured in a broadside upon him, which made him shear off again, after returning our fire, and pouring in also his small shot from nearly 200 men which he had on board. However, we had not a man touched, all our men keeping close. He prepared to attack us again, and we to defend ourselves; but, laying us on board the next time upon our other quarter, he entered sixty men upon our decks, who immediately fell to cutting and hacking the sails and rigging. We plied them with small shot, half-pikes, powder-chests, and such like, and cleared our deck of them twice. However, to cut short this melancholy part of our story, our ship being disabled, and three of our men killed and eight wounded, we were obliged to yield, and carried all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging to the Moors.

The usage I had there was not so dreadful as at first I apprehended; nor was I carried up the country to the emperor's court, as the rest of our men were, but was kept by the captain of the rover as his proper prize, and made his slave, being young and nimble, and fit for his business. But, alas! this was but a taste of the misery I was to go through, as will appear in the sequel of this story.

As my new patron, or master, had taken me home to his house, so I was in hopes he would take me with him when he went to sea again, believing that it would, some time or other, be his fate to be taken by a Span-

ish or Portuguese man of war; and that then I should be set at liberty. But this hope of mine was soon taken away, for when he went to sea he left me on shore to look after his little garden, and do the common drudgery of the slaves about his house; and when he came home again from his cruise, he ordered me to lie in the cabin to look after the ship.

Here I meditated nothing but my escape, and what method I might take to effect it, but found no way that had the least probability in it.

After about two years an odd circumstance presented itself, which put the old thought of making some attempt for my liberty again in my head. My patron lying at home longer than usual without fitting out his ship, which, as I heard, was for want of money, he used constantly, once or twice a week, sometimes oftener, if the weather was fair, to take the ship's pinnace, and go out into the road a fishing; and as he always took me and a young Moresco with him to row the boat, we made him very merry, and I proved very dexterous in catching fish, inso-much that he would sometimes send me with a Moor, one of his kinsmen, and the youth, the Moresco, as they called him, to catch a dish of fish for him.

It happened one time, that going a-fishing in a stark calm morning, a fog rose so thick, that, though we were not half a league from the shore, we lost sight of it, and rowing, we knew not whither, or which way, we laboured all day and all the next night, and when the morning came we found we had

pulled off to sea, instead of pulling in for the shore, and that we were at least two leagues from the shore; however, we got well in again, though with a great deal of labour.

But our patron, warned by this disaster, resolved to take more care of himself for the future; and, having lying by him the long-boat of our English ship he had taken, he resolved he would not go a-fishing any more without a compass and some provision; so he ordered the carpenter of the ship, who was an English slave, to build a little state-room, or cabin, in the middle of the long-boat, like that of a barge, with a place to stand behind it, to steer and haul home the main-sheet, and with room before for a hand or two to stand and work the sails. She sailed with what we call a shoulder-of-mutton sail, and the boom gibb'd over the top of the cabin, which lay very snug and low, and had in it room for him to lie, with a slave or two, and a table to eat on, with some small lockers to put in some bottles of such liquor as he thought fit to drink, and particularly his bread, rice, and coffee.

We went frequently out with this boat a-fishing, and as I was most dexterous to catch fish for him, he never went without me. It happened that he had appointed to go out in this boat, either for pleasure or for fish, with two or three Moors of some distinction in that place, and for whom he had provided extraordinarily, and had therefore sent on board the boat, overnight, a larger store of provision than ordinary,

and had ordered me to get ready three fusees, with powder and shot, which were on board his ship, for that they designed some sport of fowling, as well as fishing.

I got all things ready, as he directed, and waited the next morning with the boat washed clean, her ensign and pendants out, and everything to accommodate his guests, when, by-and-by, my patron came on board alone, and told me his guests had put off going, upon some business that fell out, and ordered me, with the man and boy, as usual, to go out with the boat and catch them some fish, for that his friends were to sup at his house; and commanded, that as soon as I had got some fish, I should bring it home to his house: all which I prepared to do.

This moment my former notions of deliverance darted into my thoughts, for now I found I was like to have a little ship at my command; and, my master being gone, I prepared to furnish myself, not for a fishing business, but for a voyage: though I knew not, neither did I so much as consider, whither I should steer; for anywhere, to get out of that place, was my way.

My first contrivance was to make a pretence to speak to this Moor to get something for our subsistence on board; for I told him we must not presume to eat of our patron's bread: he said that was true; so he brought a large basket of rusk or biscuit, of their kind, and three jars with fresh water, into the boat. I knew where my patron's case of bottles

stood, which it was evident, by the make, were taken out of some English prize, and I conveyed them into the boat while the Moor was on shore, as if they had been there before for our master. I conveyed also a great lump of bees'-wax into the boat, which weighed above half a hundred weight, with a parcel of twine or thread, a hatchet, a saw, and a hammer, all which were of great use to us afterwards, especially the wax to make candles. Another trick I tried upon him, which he innocently came into also: his name was Ismael, whom they call Muley, or Moley: so I called to him, "Moley," said I, "our patron's guns are on board the boat, can you get a little powder and shot? it may be we may kill some alcamies (fowls like our curlews) for ourselves, for I know he keeps the gunner's stores in the ship." "Yes," says he, "I'll bring some;" and, accordingly, he brought a great leather pouch, which held about a pound and a half of powder, or rather more, and another with shot, that had five or six pounds, with some bullets, and put all into the boat; at the same time I found some powder of my master's in the great cabin, with which I filled one of the large bottles in the case, which was almost empty, pouring what was in it into another; and thus furnished with everything needful, we sailed out of the port to fish. The castle, which is at the entrance of the port, knew who we were, and took no notice of us; and we were not above a mile out of the port, before we hauled in our sail, and set us down to fish. The wind blew from N.N.E., which was contrary to

my desire; for, had it blown southerly, I had been sure to have made the coast of Spain, and at last reached to the bay of Cadiz: but my resolutions were, blow which way it would, I would be gone from the horrid place where I was.

After we had fished some time, and caught nothing; for, when I had fish on my hook I would not pull them up, that he might not see them, I said to the Moor, "This will not do; our master will not be thus served; we must stand farther off." He, thinking no harm, agreed; and being at the head of the boat, set the sails; and, as I had the helm, I run the boat near a league further, and then brought-to as if I would fish. Then, giving the boy the helm, I stepped forward to where the Moor was, and I took him by surprise, with my arm under his waist, and tossed him clear overboard into the sea. He rose immediately, for he swam like a cork, and calling to me, begged to be taken in, and told me he would go all the world over with me. He swam so strong after the boat, that he would have reached me very quickly, there being but little wind; upon which I stepped into the cabin, and fetching one of the fowling-pieces, I presented it at him, and told him I had done him no hurt, and if he would be quiet, I would do him none: "But," said I, "you swim well enough to reach the shore, and the sea is calm; make the best of your way to shore, and I will do you no harm; but, if you come near the boat, I will shoot you through the head; for I am resolved to have my

liberty." So he turned himself about, and swam for the shore; and I make no doubt but he reached it with ease, for he was an excellent swimmer.

CHAPTER IV.

I could have taken this Moor with me, and have drowned the boy; but there was no venturing to trust him, and humanity forbade the other. When he was gone, I turned to the boy, whom they called Xury, and said to him, "Xury, if you will be faithful to me, I will make you a great man: but if you will not stroke your face to be true to me (that is, swear by Mahomet and his father's beard), I must throw you into the sea too." The boy smiled in my face and spoke so innocently that I could not mistrust him; and swore to be faithful to me and go all over the world with me.

While I was in view of the Moor that was swimming, I stood out directly to sea with the boat rather stretching to windward, that they might think me gone towards the Strait's mouth (as, indeed, any one that had been in their wits must have been supposed to do); for who would have supposed we were sailing on to the southward, to the truly barbarian coast, where whole nations of negroes were sure to surround us with their canoes, and destroy us; where we could never once go on shore, but we should be devoured

by savage beasts, or more merciless savages of human kind?

But as soon as it grew dusk in the evening, I changed my course, and steered directly south and by east, bending my course a little toward the east, that I might keep in with the shore; and having a fair fresh gale of wind and a smooth quiet sea, I made such sail, that I believe by the next day at three o'clock in the afternoon, when I made the land, I could not be less than 150 miles south of Sallee, quite beyond the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, or indeed of any other king thereabout; for we saw no people.

Yet such was the fright I had taken at the Moors, and the dreadful apprehensions I had of falling into their hands, that I would not stop or go on shore, or come to anchor, the wind continuing fair, till I had sailed in that manner five days; and then the wind shifting to the southward, I concluded also that if any of our vessels were in chase of me, they also would now give over: so I ventured to make to the coast, and came to an anchor in the mouth of a little river; I knew not what nor where, neither what latitude, what country, what nation, nor what river. I neither saw nor desired to see any people; the principal thing I wanted was fresh water. We came into this creek in the evening, resolving to swim on shore as soon as it was dark, and discover the country; but as soon as it was quite dark, we heard such dreadful noises of the barking, roaring, and howling of wild creatures, of we knew not what kinds, that

the poor boy was ready to die with fear, and begged of me not to go on shore till day. "Well, Xury," said I, "then I will not; but it may be we may see men by day who will be as bad to us as those lions." "Then we may give them the shoot-gun," says Xury laughing; "make them run away." Such English Xury spoke by conversing among us slaves. However, I was glad to see the boy so cheerful, and I gave him a dram out of our patron's case of bottles to cheer him up. After all, Xury's advice was good, and I took it. We dropped our little anchor, and lay still all night: I say still, for we slept none; for in two or three hours we saw vast creatures (we knew not what to call them), of many sorts, come down to the sea-shore, and run into the water, wallowing and washing themselves, for the purpose of cooling themselves; and they made such hideous howlings and yellings, that I never indeed heard the like.

Xury was dreadfully frightened, and, indeed, so was I too; but we were both more frightened when we heard one of these mighty creatures swimming towards our boat; we could not see him, but we might hear him, by his blowing, to be a monstrous, huge, and furious beast. Xury said it was a lion, and it might be so, for aught I know; but poor Xury cried to me to weigh the anchor, and row away. "No," says I, "Xury; we can slip our cable with the buoy to it, and go off to sea: they cannot follow us far." I had no sooner said so, but I perceived the creature (whatever it was) within two oars'

length, which something surprised me: however, I immediately stept to the cabin door, and, taking up my gun, fired at him; upon which he turned round and swam to the shore again.

In the morning Xury said, if I would let him go on shore with one of the jars, he would find if there was any water, and bring some to me. I asked him why he would go; why I should not go, and he stay in the boat? The boy answered with so much affection, that he made me love him ever after. Says he, "If wild mans come, they eat me, you go away." "Well, Xury," said I, "we will both go; and if the wild mans come, we will kill them; they shall eat neither of us." So I gave Xury a piece of rusk bread to eat, and a dram out of our patron's case of bottles which I mentioned before; and we hauled in the boat as near the shore as we thought was proper, and so waded to shore, carrying nothing but our arms, and two jars for water.

I did not care to go out of sight of the boat, fearing the coming of canoes with savages down the river; but the boy, seeing a low place, about a mile up the country, rambled to it; and, by-and-by, I saw him come running towards me. I thought he was pursued by some savage, or frightened by some wild beast, and I therefore ran forward to help him; but when I came nearer to him, I saw something hanging over his shoulders, which was a creature that he had shot, like a hare, but different in colour, and longer legs; however, we were very glad of it, and

it was very good meat; but the great joy that poor Xury came with, was to tell me he had found good water, and seen no wild mans. So we filled our jars, and having a fire, feasted on the hare we had killed; and prepared to go on our way, having seen no footsteps of any human creature in that part of the country.

As I had been one voyage to this coast before, I knew very well that the islands of the Canaries, and the Cape de Verd islands also, lay not far from the coast. But, as I had no instruments to take an observation, to find what latitude we were in; and did not exactly know, or at least remember, what latitude they were in, I knew not where to look for them, or when to stand off to sea towards them, otherwise I might now have easily found some of these islands. But my hope was, that if I stood along this coast till I came to the part where the English traded, I should find some of their vessels upon their usual design of trade, that would relieve and take us in.

By the best of my calculation, the place where I now was must be that country, which, lying between the Emperor of Morocco's dominions and the Negroes, lies wasted and uninhabited, except by wild beasts.

Once or twice in the day-time, I thought I saw the Pike of Teneriffe, being the top of the mountain Teneriffe, in the Canaries, and had a great mind to venture out, in hopes of reaching thither; but, having tried twice, I was forced in again by contrary winds, the sea also going too high for my little vessel: so I

resolved to pursue my first design, and keep along the shore.

Several times I was obliged to land for fresh water, after we had left this place; and once, in particular, being early in the morning, we came to an anchor under a little point of land, which was pretty high; and the tide beginning to flow, we lay still, to go farther in. Xury, whose eyes were more about him than it seems mine were, calls softly to me, and tells me that we had best go further off the shore; for, says he, "look, yonder lies a dreadful monster on the side of that hillock, fast asleep." I looked where he pointed, and saw a dreadful monster indeed, for it was a terrible great lion, that lay on the side of the shore, under a shade of a piece of the hill, that hung, as it were, over him. "Xury," says I, "you shall go on shore and kill him." Xury looked frightened and said, "Me kill! he eat me at one mouth:" one mouthful he meant. However, I said no more to the boy, but bade him be still; and I took our biggest gun, which was almost musquet bore, and loaded it with a good charge of powder, and with two slugs, and laid it down; then I loaded another gun with two bullets; and a third, for we had three pieces, I loaded with five smaller bullets. I took the best aim I could with the first piece, to have shot him in the head; but he lay so, with his leg raised a little above his nose, that the slugs hit his leg about the knee, and broke the bone; he started up, growling at first; but finding his leg broke, fell down

again, and then got up upon three legs, and gave the most hideous roar that ever I heard. I was a little surprised that I had not hit him on the head; however, I took up the second piece immediately, and though he began to move off, fired again, and shot him in the head, and had the pleasure to see him drop, and make but little noise, but lie struggling for life. Then Xury took heart, and would have me let him go on shore. "Well, go," said I; so the boy jumped into the water, and taking a little gun in one hand, swam to shore with the other hand, and coming close to the creature, put the muzzle of the piece to his ear and shot him in the head again, which despatched him quite.

This was game, indeed, to us, but it was no food; and I was very sorry to lose three charges of powder and shot upon a creature that was good for nothing to us. However, Xury said he would have some of him; so he comes on board, and asked me to give him the hatchet. "For what, Xury?" said I. "Me cut off his head," said he. However, Xury could not cut off his head; but he cut off a foot, and brought it with him, and it was a monstrous great one. I bethought myself, however, that perhaps the skin of him might, one way or other, be of some value to us; and I resolved to take off his skin, if I could. So Xury and I went to work with him; but Xury was much the better workman at it, for I knew very ill how to do it. Indeed, it took us both up the whole day; but at last we got off the hide of him, and

spreading it on the top of our cabin, the sun effectually dried it in two days' time, and it afterwards served me to lie upon.

After this stop, we made on to the southward continually, for ten or twelve days, living very sparingly on our provisions, which began to abate very much, and going no oftener into the shore than we were obliged to for fresh water. My design in this, was to make the river Gambia, or Senegal; that is to say, anywhere about the Cape de Verd, where I was in hopes to meet with some European ship; and if I did not, I knew not what course I had to take, but to seek for the islands, or perish among the negroes.

When I pursued this resolution about ten days longer, as I have said, I began to see that the land was inhabited; and, in two or three places, as we sailed by, we saw people stand upon the shore to look at us: we could also perceive they were quite black, and stark naked. I was once inclined to have gone on shore to them; but Xury was my better counsellor, and said to me, "No go, no go." However, I hauled in nearer the shore, that I might talk to them; and I found they run along the shore by me a good way. I observed they had no weapons in their hands, except one, who had a long, slender stick, which Xury said was a lance, and that they would throw them a great way with good aim; so I kept at a distance, but talked to them by signs as well as I could, and particularly made signs for something to eat. They beckoned to me to stop my boat,

and they would fetch me some meat: upon this, I lowered the top of my sail, and lay by, and two of them run up into the country; and, in less than half an hour, came back, and brought with them two pieces of dry flesh and some corn, such as is the produce of their country; but we neither knew what the one or the other was; however, we were willing to accept it. But how to come at it was our next dispute, for I was not for venturing on shore to them, and they were as much afraid of us; but they took a safe way for us all, for they brought it to the shore, and laid it down, and went and stood a great way off till we fetched it on board, and then came close to us again.

We made signs of thanks to them, for we had nothing to make them amends: but an opportunity offered that very instant to oblige them wonderfully; for, while we were lying by the shore, came two mighty creatures, one pursuing the other (as we took it) with great fury from the mountains towards the sea; the people were terribly frightened, especially the women. The man that had the lance or dart did not fly from them, but the rest did; however, as the two creatures ran directly into the water, they did not seem to offer to fall upon any of the negroes, but plunged themselves into the sea and swam about as if they had come for their diversion; at last one of them began to come nearer our boat than at first I expected; but I lay ready for him, for I had loaded my gun with all possible expedition, and bade Xury load both the

others. As soon as he came fairly within my reach, I fired and shot him directly in the head; immediately he sunk down into the water, but rose instantly and plunged up and down struggling for life, he immediately made to the shore, but died just when he reached it.

The other creature, frightened with the flash of fire and the noise of the gun, swam on shore and ran up directly to the mountains. I found quickly the negroes were for eating the flesh of the creature I had killed, so I was willing to have them take it as a favour from me, which, when I made signs to them that they might take him, they were very thankful for. Immediately they fell to work with him; and, though they had no knife, yet with a sharpened piece of wood they took off his skin as readily, and much more readily than we could have done with a knife. They offered me some of the flesh, which I declined, making as if I would give it them, but made signs for the skin which they gave me very freely, and brought me a great deal more of their provisions, which, though I did not understand, yet I accepted. I then made signs to them for some water, and held out one of my jars to them, turning it bottom upward to show that it was empty, and that I wanted to have it filled. They called immediately to some of their friends, and there came two women and brought a great vessel made of earth, and burnt, as I suppose, in the sun; this they set down for me as before, and I sent Xury on shore with my jars, and filled them all

three. The women were as stark naked as the men.

I was now furnished with roots and corn, such as it was, and water; and leaving my friendly negroes, I made forward for about eleven days more without offering to go near the shore, till I saw the land run out a great length into the sea, at about the distance of four or five leagues before me; and the sea being very calm, I kept a large offing to make this point. At length doubling the point, at about two leagues from the land, I saw plainly land on the other side to seaward; then I concluded, as it was most certain indeed, that this was the Cape de Verd, and those the islands, called from thence Cape de Verd Islands. However, they were at a great distance, and I could not well tell what I had best to do; for if I should be taken with a gale of wind, I might neither reach one nor the other.

In this dilemma, as I was very pensive, I stepped into the cabin and sat me down, Xury having the helm, when, on a sudden, the boy cried out, "Master, master, a ship with a sail!" and the foolish boy was frightened out of his wits, thinking it must needs be some of his master's ships sent to pursue us, when I knew we were gotten far enough out of their reach. I jumped out of the cabin and immediately saw, not only the ship, but what she was, namely, that it was a Portuguese ship, and, as I thought, was bound to the coast of Guinea for negroes. But when I observed the course she steered, I was soon convinced

they were bound some other way, and did not design to come any nearer to the shore ; upon which I stretched out to sea as much as I could, resolving to speak with them if possible.

With all the sail I could make, I found I should not be able to come in their way, but that they would be gone by before I could make any signal to them ; but after I had crowded to the utmost and began to despair, they, it seems, saw me by the help of their perspective glasses, and that it was some European boat, which, they supposed, must belong to some ship that was lost ; so they shortened sail to let me come up. I was encouraged with this, and as I had my patron's ensign on board, I made a waft of it to them for a signal of distress, and fired a gun, both which they saw ; for they told me they saw the smoke, though they did not hear the gun. Upon these signals, they very kindly brought to and lay by for me ; and in about three hours' time I came up with them.

They asked me what I was, in Portuguese, and in Spanish, and in French, but I understood none of them ; but, at last, a Scotch sailor who was on board called to me, and I answered him, and told him I was an Englishman ; that I had made my escape out of slavery from the Moors at Sallee. They then bade me come on board, and very kindly took me in and all my goods.

It was an inexpressible joy to me, which any one will believe, that I was thus delivered, as I esteemed

it, from such a miserable and almost hopeless condition as I was in; and I immediately offered all I had to the captain of the ship as a return for my deliverance; but he generously told me he would take nothing from me, but that all I had should be delivered safe to me when I came to the Brazils. "For," says he, "I have saved your life on no other terms than I would be glad to be saved myself; and it may, one time or other, be my lot to be taken up in the same condition. No, no, Seignior Inglese" (Mr. Englishman), says he, "I will carry you to the Brazils in charity, and these things will help to buy your subsistence there and your passage home again."

As he was charitable in this proposal, so he was just in the performance to a tittle; for he ordered the seamen that none should offer to touch anything I had; then he took everything into his own possession, and gave me back an exact inventory of them that I might have them, even so much as my three earthen jars.

As to my boat, it was a very good one; and that he saw, and told me he would buy it of me for the ship's use, and asked me what I would have for it? I told him he had been so generous to me in everything, that I could not offer to make any price of the boat, but left it entirely to him; upon which he told me he would give me a note of hand to pay me eighty pieces of eight for it at Brazil; and when it came there, if any one offered to give more he would make it up. He offered me also sixty pieces of eight more

for my boy Xury which I was loth to take; not that I was not willing to let the captain have him, but I was very loth to sell the poor boy's liberty who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However, when I let him know my reason, he owned it to be just, and offered me this medium, that he would give the boy an obligation to set him free in ten years if he turned Christian; upon this, and Xury saying he was willing to go to him, I let the captain have him.

We had a very good passage to the Brazils, and arrived in the Bay de Todos los Santos, or All Saints' Bay, in about twenty-two days after.

The generous treatment the captain gave me I can never enough remember; he would take nothing of me for my passage, gave me twenty ducats for the leopard's skin, and forty for the lion's skin, which I had in my boat, and caused everything I had in the ship to be punctually delivered to me; and what I was willing to sell he bought of me; such as the case of bottles, two of my guns, and a piece of the lump of bees'-wax, for I had made candles of the rest; in a word, I made about two hundred and twenty pieces of eight of all my cargo; and with this stock I went on shore in the Brazils.

CHAPTER V.

I HAD not long been here, before I was recommended to the house of a good honest man, like himself, who had an ingenio, as they call it (that is, a plantation and a sugar house). I lived with him some time, and acquainted myself, by that means, with the manner of planting and making of sugar; and seeing how well the planters lived, and how they got rich suddenly, I resolved, if I could get a license to settle there, I would turn planter among them; endeavouring in the meantime to find out some way to get my money, which I had left in London, remitted to me. To this purpose, getting a kind of letter of naturalization, I purchased as much land that was uncured as my money would reach, and formed a plan for my plantation and settlement; such a one as might be suitable to the stock which I proposed to myself to receive from England.

I had a neighbour, a Portuguese of Lisbon, but born of English parents, whose name was Wells, and in much such circumstances as I was. I call him my neighbour, because his plantation lay next to mine, and we went on very sociably together. My stock was but low, as well as his; and we rather planted for food than anything else, for about two years. However, we began to increase, and our land began to come into order; so that the third year we planted some tobacco, and made each of us a large

piece of ground ready for planting canes in the year to come; but we both wanted help, and now I found, more than before, I had done wrong in parting with my boy Xury.

But, alas! for me to do wrong, that never did right, was no great wonder. I had no remedy but to go on; I had got into an employment quite remote to my genius, and directly contrary to the life I delighted in, and for which I forsook my father's house, and broke through all his good advice.

I began to look upon my condition with the utmost regret. I had nobody to converse with but, now and then, this neighbour; no work to be done, but by the labour of my hands; and I used to say, I lived just like a man cast away upon some desolate island, that had nobody there but himself.

I was, in some degree, settled in my measures for carrying on the plantation, before my kind friend, the captain of the ship that took me up at sea, went back; for the ship remained there, in providing his lading, and preparing for his voyage, near three months; when telling him what little stock I had left behind me in London, he gave me this friendly and sincere advice:—"Seignior Inglese," says he (for so he always called me), "if you will give me letters, and a procuration here in form to me, with orders to the person who has your money in London, to send your effects to Lisbon, to such persons as I shall direct, and in such goods as are proper for this country, I will bring you the produce of them, God

willing, at my return; but, since human affairs are all subject to changes and disasters, I would have you give orders for but one hundred pounds sterling, which you say is half your stock, and let the hazard be run for the first; so that, if it come safe, you may order the rest the same way; and if it miscarry, you may have the other half to have recourse to for your supply."

This was so wholesome advice, and looked so friendly, that I could not but be convinced it was the best course I could take.

I wrote the English captain's widow a full account of all my adventures; my slavery, escape, and how I had met with the Portuguese captain at sea, the humanity of his behaviour, and what condition I was now in, with all other necessary directions for my supply; and when this honest captain came to Lisbon, he found means, by some of the English merchants there, to send over, not the order only, but a full account of my story, to a merchant at London, who represented it effectually to her; whereupon she not only delivered the money, but, out of her own pocket, sent the Portuguese captain a very handsome present for his humanity and charity to me.

The merchant in London, vesting this hundred pounds in English goods, such as the captain had wrote for, sent them directly to him at Lisbon, and he brought them all safe to me at the Brazils; among which, without my direction (for I was too young in my business to think of them), he had taken care to

have all sorts of tools, iron-work, and utensils necessary for my plantation, and which were of great use to me.

When this cargo arrived, I thought my fortune made, for I was surprised with the joy of it; and my good steward, the captain, had laid out the five pounds, which my friend had sent him as a present for himself, to purchase and bring me over a servant, under bond for six years' service, and would not accept of any consideration, except a little tobacco, which I would have him accept, being of my own produce. Neither was this all; but my goods, being all English manufactures, such as cloths, stuffs, baize, and things particularly valuable and desirable in the country, I found means to sell them to a very great advantage; so that I might say I had more than four times the value of my first cargo, and was now infinitely beyond my poor neighbour, I mean in the advancement of my plantation; for the first thing I did, I bought me a negro slave, and an European servant also; I mean another besides that which the captain brought me from Lisbon.

But, as abused prosperity is oftentimes made the very means of our greatest adversity, so was it with me. I went on the next year with great success in my plantation; I raised fifty great rolls of tobacco on my own ground, more than I had disposed of for necessaries among my neighbours; and these fifty rolls, being each of above 100 lb., were well cured, and laid by against the return of the fleet from Lis-

bon; and, now increasing in business and in wealth, my head began to be full of projects and undertakings beyond my reach; such as are, indeed, often the ruin of the best heads in business.

You may suppose, that, having now lived almost four years in Brazils, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my plantation, I had not only learned the language, but had contracted an acquaintance and friendship among my fellow-planters, as well as among the merchants at St. Salvador, which was our port; and that, in my discourses among them, I had frequently given them an account of my two voyages to the coast of Guinea, the manner of trading with the negroes there, and how easy it was to purchase on the coast, for trifles—such as beads, toys, knives, scissors, hatchets, bits of glass and the like—not only gold dust, Guinea grains, elephants' teeth, &c., but negroes, for the service of the Brazils, in great numbers.

They listened always very attentively to my discourses on these heads, but especially to that part which related to the buying negroes; which was a trade at that time, not only not far entered into, but, as far as it was, had been carried on by the Assientos, or permission of the Kings of Spain and Portugal, and engrossed from the public; so that few negroes were bought, and those excessively dear.

It happened, being in company with some merchants and planters of my acquaintance, and talking of those things very earnestly, three of them came

to me the next morning, and told me they had been musing very much upon what I had discoursed with them of the last night, and they came to make a secret proposal to me; and after enjoining me to secrecy, they told me that they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to Guinea; that they had all plantations as well as I, and were straightened for nothing so much as servants; that, as it was a trade that could not be carried on, because they could not publicly sell the negroes when they came home, so they desired to make but one voyage, to bring the negroes on shore privately, and divide them among their own plantations; and, in a word, the question was, whether I would go their supercargo in the ship, to manage the trading part upon the coast of Guinea? and they offered me that I should have an equal share of the negroes, without providing any part of the stock.

I, that was always my own destroyer, would no more resist the offer, than I would restrain my first rambling designs, when my father's good counsel was lost upon me. In a word, I told them I would go with all my heart, if they would undertake to look after my plantation in my absence, and would dispose of it to such as I should direct, if I miscarried. This they all engaged to do, and entered into writings, or covenants, to do so; and I made a formal will, disposing of my plantation and effects, in case of my death; making the captain of the ship that had saved my life as before, my universal heir; but

obliging him to dispose of my effects as I had directed in my will; one half of the produce being to himself, and the other to be shipped to England.

I was hurried on, and obeyed blindly the dictates of my fancy, rather than my reason; and, accordingly, the ship being fitted out, and the cargo furnished, and all things done as by agreement by my partners in the voyage, I went on board, in an evil hour again, the first of September 1659, being the same day eight years that I went from my father and mother at Hull, in order to act the rebel to their authority, and the fool to my own interest.

CHAPTER VI.

THE same day I went on board, we set sail; standing away to the northward upon our own coast, with design to stretch over for the African coast. When they came about ten or twelve degrees of northern latitude, which, it seems, was the manner of their course in those days, we had very good weather, only excessively hot, all the way upon our own coast, till we came to the height of Cape St. Augustino; from whence, keeping farther off at sea, we lost sight of land, and steered as if we were bound for the isle Fernando de Noronha, holding our course N.E. by N., and leaving those isles on the east. In this course we passed the Line in about twelve days'

time, and were, by our last observation, in 7 degrees 22 minutes northern latitude, when a violent tornado, or hurricane, took us quite out of our knowledge. It began from the south-east, came about to the north-west, and then settled in the north-east; from whence it blew in such a terrible manner, that, for twelve days together, we could do nothing but drive, and scudding away before it, let it carry us whither the fury of the winds directed; and, during these twelve days, I need not say that I expected every day to be swallowed up; nor, indeed, did any in the ship expect to save their lives.

In this distress we had, besides the terror of the storm, one of our men died of the calenture, and one man and a boy washed overboard! About the twelfth day, the weather abating a little, the master made an observation, as well as he could, and found that he was in about 11 degrees north latitude, but that he was 22 degrees of longitude difference west from Cape St. Augustino; so that he found that he was got upon the coast of Guiana, or the north part of Brazil, beyond the River Amazons, toward that of the River Oroonoke, commonly called the Great River; and began to consult with me what course he should take, for the ship was leaky and very much disabled, and he was going directly back to the coast of Brazil.

I was positively against that; and, looking over the charts of the sea-coast of America with him, we concluded there was no inhabited country for us to

have recourse to, till we came within the circle of the Caribbee islands, and, therefore, resolved to stand away for Barbadoes; which, by keeping off to sea, to avoid the in-draft of the bay or Gulf of Mexico, we might easily perform, as we hoped, in about fifteen days' sail; whereas we could not possibly make our voyage to the coast of Africa without some assistance, both to our ship and ourselves.

With this design we changed our course, and steered away N.W. by W., in order to reach some of our English islands, where I hoped for relief; but our voyage was otherwise determined; for, being in the latitude of 12 degrees 18 minutes, a second storm came upon us, which carried us away with the same impetuosity westward, and drove us out of the very way of all human commerce.

In this distress, the wind still blowing very hard, one of our men, early in the morning, cried out land! and we had no sooner run out of the cabin to look out, in hopes of seeing whereabouts in the world we were, but the ship struck upon a sand, and, in a moment, her motion being so stopped, the sea broke over her in such a manner that we expected we should all have perished immediately.

We were in a dreadful condition indeed, and had nothing to do but to think of saving our lives as well as we could. We had a boat at our stern just before the storm, but she was first staved, by dashing against the ship's rudder, and, in the next place, she broke away, and either sunk or was driven off to sea; so

there was no hope from her. We had another boat on board, but how to get her off into the sea was a doubtful thing; however, there was no room to debate, for we fancied the ship would break in pieces every minute, and some told us she was actually broken already.

In this distress the mate of our vessel laid hold of the boat, and, with the help of the rest of the men, they got her flung over the ship's side; and getting all into her, let her go. We committed our souls to God in the most earnest manner; and the wind driving us toward the shore, we hastened our destruction with our own hands, pulling, as well as we could, towards land.

After we had rowed, or rather driven, about a league and a half, as we reckoned it, a raging wave, mountain like, came rolling astern of us, and plainly bade us expect the *coup de grace*. In a word, it took us with such a fury that it upset the boat at once; and separating us, as well from the boat as from one another, gave us not time hardly to say, "O God!" for we were all swallowed up in a moment.

Nothing can describe the confusion of thought which I felt when I sunk into the water; for though I swam very well, yet I could not deliver myself from the waves so as to draw my breath, till that wave having driven me, or rather carried me, a vast way on towards the shore, and having spent itself, went back and left me upon the land, almost dry, but half dead with the water I took in.

Another wave that came upon me buried me at once twenty or thirty feet deep in its own body, and I could feel myself carried, with a mighty force and swiftness, towards the shore a very great way; but I held my breath, and assisted myself to swim still forward with all my might. I was ready to burst with holding my breath, when, as I felt myself rising up, so, to my immediate relief, I found my head and hands shoot out above the surface of the water; and, though it was not two seconds of time that I could keep myself so, yet it relieved me greatly, gave me breath, and new courage. I was covered again with water a good while, but not so long but I held it out; and finding the water had spent itself, and began to return, I struck forward against the return of the waves, and felt ground again with my feet. I stood still a few moments to recover breath, and till the water went from me, and then took to my heels, and ran, with what strength I had, farther towards the shore. But neither would this deliver me from the fury of the sea, which came pouring in after me again; and twice more I was lifted up by the waves, and carried forwards as before, the shore being very flat. At last, to my great comfort, I got to the mainland, and clambered up the cliffs of the shore, and sat me down upon the grass, free from danger, and quite out of the reach of the water.

I was now landed, and safe on shore; and began to look up and thank God that my life was saved, in a case wherein there was, some minutes before, scarce

any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express, to the life, what the ecstasies and transports of the soul are when it is so saved, as I may say, out of the grave.

I walked about on the shore, lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I may say, wrapt up in the contemplation of my deliverance; making a thousand gestures and motions which I cannot describe; reflecting upon all my comrades that were drowned, and that there should not be one soul saved but myself; for as for them, I never saw them afterwards, or any sign of them, except three of their hats, one cap, and two shoes that were not fellows.

I cast my eyes to the stranded vessel—when the beach and froth of the sea being so big, I could hardly see it, it lay so far off—and considered, how was it possible I could get on shore!

After I had solaced my mind with the comfortable part of my condition, I began to look round me, to see what kind of a place I was in, and what was next to be done; and I soon found my comforts abate, and that, in a word, I had a dreadful deliverance; for I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor anything, either to eat or drink, to comfort me; neither did I see any prospect before me, but that of perishing with hunger, or being devoured by wild beasts; and that which was particularly afflicting to me was, that I had no weapon, either to hunt or kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creature that might desire to kill me for

theirs. In a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box. This was all my provision; and this threw me into such terrible agonies of mind, that for a while I ran about like a madman. Night coming upon me, I began with a heavy heart to consider what would be my lot, if there were any ravenous beasts in that country, seeing at night they always come abroad for their prey.

All the remedy that offered to my thoughts at that time, was to get up in a thick bushy tree, like a fir, but thorny—which grew near me, and where I resolved to sit all night—and consider the next day what death I should die, for as yet I saw no prospect of life. I walked about a furlong from the shore, to see if I could find any fresh water to drink, which I did, to my great joy; and having drank, and put a little tobacco in my mouth to prevent hunger, I went to the tree, and getting up into it, endeavoured to place myself so, as that, if I should sleep, I might not fall; and having cut me a short stick, like a truncheon, for my defence, I took up my lodging; and having been excessively fatigued, I fell asleep, and slept as comfortably as, I believe, few could have done in my condition; and felt myself the most refreshed with it that I think I ever was on such an occasion.

CHAPTER VII.

WHEN I waked, it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated, so that the sea did not rage and swell as before; but that which surprised me most was, that the ship was lifted off in the night from the sand where she lay, by the swelling of the tide, and was driven up among the rocks about a mile from the shore where I was, and as she seemed to stand upright still, I wished myself on board, that at least I might save some necessary things for my use.

When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I looked about me again, and the first thing I found was the boat; which lay, as the wind and the sea had tossed her up upon the land, about two miles on my right hand. I walked as far as I could upon the shore to have got to her, but found a neck or inlet of water between me and the boat, which was about half a mile broad; so I came back for the present, being more intent upon getting at the ship, where I hoped to find something for my present subsistence.

A little after noon I found the sea very calm, and the tide ebbed so far out, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of the ship. I resolved if possible to get to it, so I pulled off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity, and took the water: but when I came to the ship, my difficulty was still greater to know how to get on board; for as she lay aground, and high out of the water, there was nothing within

my reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second time I spied a small piece of a rope, which I wondered I did not see at first, hang down by the fore-chains, so low as that with great difficulty I got hold of it, and by the help of that rope got into the fore-castle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold; but that she lay so on the side of a bank of hard sand, or rather earth, that her stern lay lifted up upon the bank, and her head low, almost to the water. By this means all her quarter was free, and all that was in that part was dry; for you may be sure my first work was to search, and to see what was spoiled, and what was free: and, first, I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouched by the water; and, being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread-room, and filled my pockets with biscuit, and ate it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose. I also found some rum in the great cabin, of which I took a large dram, and which I had indeed need enough of, to spirit me for what was before me. Now I wanted nothing but a boat, to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be very necessary to me.

It was in vain to sit still, and wish for what was not to be had, and this extremity roused my application; we had several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare topmast or two in the ship; I resolved to fall to work with these, and flung as many overboard as I could manage for their

weight, tying every one with a rope, that they might not drive away. When this was done, I went down the ship's side, and pulling them to me, I tied four of them fast together at both ends as well as I could in the form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them crossways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear any great weight, the pieces being too light : so I went to work, and with the carpenter's saw I cut a spare topmast into three lengths, and added them to my raft, with a great deal of labour and pains. But the hope of furnishing myself with necessaries encouraged me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion.

My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight. My next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I laid upon it from the surf of the sea; but I was not long considering this. I first laid all the planks or boards upon it that I could get, and, having considered well what I most wanted, I got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon my raft; these I filled with provisions, namely, bread, rice, three Dutch cheeses, five pieces of dried goats' flesh (which we lived much upon), and a little remainder of European corn, which had been laid by for some fowls which we had brought to sea with us; but the fowls were killed. There had been some barley and wheat together, but, to my great disappointment, I found afterwards that



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My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight. My next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I had laid upon it from the surf of the sea.—Page 61.



the rats had eaten or spoiled it all. As for liquors, I found several cases of bottles belonging to our skipper, in which were some cordial waters; and, in all, about five or six gallons of rack. These I stowed by themselves, there being no need to put them into the chests, nor any room for them. While I was doing this, I found the tide began to flow, though very calm; and I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat, which I had left on shore upon the sand, swim away; as for my breeches, which were only linen, and open-kneed, I swam on board in them and my stockings. However, this put me upon rummaging for clothes, of which I found enough, but took no more than I wanted for present use, for I had other things which my eye was more upon; as, first, tools to work with on shore: and it was after long searching that I found the carpenter's chest, which was indeed a very useful prize to me, and much more valuable than a ship-lading of gold would have been at that time. I got it down to my raft, even whole as it was, without losing time to look into it, for I knew in general what it contained.

My next care was for some ammunition and arms. There were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabin, and two pistols; these I secured first, with some powder-horns and a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, but knew not where our gunner had stowed them; but, with much search, I found them; two of them dry and good, the third had taken

water. Those two I got to my raft, with the arms. And now I thought myself pretty well freighted, and began to think how I should get to shore with them, having neither sail, oar, nor rudder; and the least capful of wind would have overset all my navigation.

I had three encouragements: 1st, A smooth, calm sea; 2dly, The tide rising, and setting in to the shore; 3dly, What little wind there was, blew me towards the land. And thus, having found two or three broken oars belonging to the boat, and, besides the tools which were in the chest, I found two saws, an axe, and a hammer; and, with this cargo, I put to sea. For a mile or thereabouts my raft went very well, only that I found it drive a little distance from the place where I had landed before; by which I perceived that there was some in-draft of the water, and, consequently, I hoped to find some creek or river there, which I might make use of as a port to get to land with my cargo.

As I imagined, so it was: there appeared before me a little opening of the land, and I found a strong current of the tide set into it; so I guided my raft, as well as I could, to get into the middle of the stream, and at length found myself in the mouth of a little river, with land on both sides, and a strong current, or tide, running up. I looked on both sides for a proper place to get to shore, for I was not willing to be driven too high up the river; hoping, in time, to see some ship at sea, and therefore resolved to place myself as near the coast as I could.

At length I spied a little cove, on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great pain and difficulty, I guided my raft, and at last got my raft and all my cargo safe on shore.

My next work was to view the country, and seek a proper place for my habitation, and where to stow my goods, to secure them from whatever might happen. Where I was, I yet knew not; whether on the continent, or on an island; whether inhabited, or not inhabited; whether in danger of wild beasts or not. There was a hill, not above a mile from me, which rose up very steep and high, and which seemed to over-top some other hills, which lay as in a ridge, from it, northward. I took out one of the fowling-pieces, and one of the pistols, and a horn of powder; and, thus armed, I travelled for discovery up to the top of that hill; where, after I had, with great labour and difficulty, got up to the top, I saw my lot, to my great affliction, namely, that I was in an island, environed every way with the sea, no land to be seen except some rocks, which lay a great way off, and two small islands, less than this, which lay about three leagues to the west.

I found, also, that the island I was in was barren, and, as I saw good reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of whom, however, I saw none; yet I saw abundance of fowls, but knew not their kinds; neither, when I killed them, could I tell what was fit for food, and what not.

Contented with this discovery, I came back to my

raft, and fell to work to bring my cargo on shore, which took me up the rest of that day: what to do with myself at night I knew not, nor indeed where to rest: for I was afraid to lie down on the ground, not knowing but some wild beasts might devour me; though, as I afterwards found, there was really no need for those fears.

However, as well as I could, I barricaded myself round with the chests and boards that I had brought on shore, and made a kind of hut for that night's lodging. As for food, I yet saw not which way to supply myself, except that I had seen two or three creatures like hares run out of the wood.

I now began to consider that I might yet get a great many things out of the ship which would be useful to me, and particularly some of the rigging and sails, and such other things as might come to land; and I resolved to make another voyage on board the vessel, if possible. And, as I knew that the first storm that blew must necessarily break her all in pieces, I resolved to set all other things apart, till I got everything out of the ship that I could get. Then I called a council, that is to say, in my thoughts, whether I should take back the raft; but this appeared impracticable: so I resolved to go as before, when the tide was down; and I did so, only that I stripped before I went from my hut, having nothing on but a chequered shirt, a pair of linen drawers, and a pair of pumps on my feet.

I got on board the ship as before, and prepared a

second raft; and, having had experience of the first, I neither made this so unwieldy, nor loaded it so hard, but yet I brought away several things very useful to me: as, first, in the carpenter's stores, I found two or three bags full of nails and spikes, a great screw-jack, a dozen or two of hatchets; and, above all, that most useful thing called a grindstone. All these I secured, together with several things belonging to the gunner; particularly, two or three iron crows, and two barrels of musket-bullets, seven muskets, and another fowling-piece, with some small quantity of powder more; a large bag full of small shot, and a great roll of sheet-lead; but this last was so heavy, I could not hoist it up to get it over the ship's side.

Besides these things, I took all the men's clothes that I could find, and a spare fore top-sail, a hammock, and some bedding; and with this I loaded my second raft, and brought them all safe on shore, to my great comfort.

Having got my second cargo on shore—though I was fain to open the barrels of powder, and bring them by parcels, for they were too heavy, being large casks—I went to work to make me a little tent, with the sail, and some poles which I cut for that purpose; and into this tent I brought everything that I knew would spoil either with rain or sun; and I piled all the empty chests and casks up in a circle round the tent, to fortify it from any sudden attempt either from man or beast.

When I had done this, I blocked up the door of the tent with some boards within, and an empty chest set up on end without; and, spreading one of the beds upon the ground, laying my two pistols just at my head, and my gun at length by me, I went to bed, for the first time, and slept very quietly all night, for I was very weary and heavy; for the night before I had slept little, and had laboured very hard all day, as well to fetch all those things from the ship, as to get them on shore.

After I had made five or six such voyages to the ship, and thought I had nothing more to expect that was worth my meddling with; I say, after all this, I found a great hogshead of bread, and three large runlets of rum or spirits, and a box of sugar, and a barrel of fine flour; this was surprising to me, because I had given over expecting any more provisions, except what was spoiled by the water. I soon emptied the hogshead of that bread, and wrapped it up, parcel by parcel, in pieces of the sails, which I cut out; and, in a word, I got all this safe on shore also.

The next day I made another voyage; and now, having plundered the ship of what was portable and fit to hand out, I began with the cables, and cutting the great cable into pieces, such as I could move, I got two cables and a hawser on shore, with all the iron-work I could get; and, having cut down the spritsail-yard, and the mizen-yard, and everything I could to make a large raft, I loaded it with all

those heavy goods, and came away; but this raft was so unwieldy, and so overladen, that, after I was entered the little cove, where I had landed the rest of my goods, not being able to guide it so handily as I did the other, it overset, and threw me and all my cargo into the water. As for myself, it was no great harm, for I was near the shore; but as to my cargo, it was the greater part of it lost, especially the iron, which I expected would have been of great use to me. However, when the tide was out, I got most of the pieces of cable ashore, and some of the iron, though with infinite labour; for I was fain to dip for it into the water, a work which fatigued me very much. After this I went every day on board, and brought away what I could get.

CHAPTER VIII.

I HAD been now thirteen days on shore, and had been eleven times on board the ship; in which time I had brought away all that one pair of hands could well be supposed capable to bring; though, I believe verily, had the calm weather held, I should have brought away the whole ship, piece by piece; but preparing the twelfth time to go on board, I found the wind began to rise. However, at low water I went on board; and though I thought I had rummaged the cabin so effectually as that nothing more

could be found, yet I discovered a locker, with drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three razors, and one pair of large scissors, with some ten or a dozen of good knives and forks; in another I found about thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some Brazil, some pieces of eight, some gold, and some silver.

I smiled to myself at the sight of this money. "O drug!" said I aloud, "what art thou good for? Thou art not worth to me, no, not the taking off the ground; one of those knives is worth all this heap. I have no manner of use for thee; e'en remain where thou art, and go to the bottom, as a creature whose life is not worth saving." However, upon second thoughts, I took it away, and wrapping all this in a piece of canvass, I began to think of making another raft; but while I was preparing this, I found the sky overcast, and the wind began to rise, and in a quarter of an hour it blew a fresh gale from the shore. It presently occurred to me, that it was in vain to pretend to make a raft with the wind off shore; and that it was my business to be gone before the tide of flood began, or otherwise I might not be able to reach the shore at all. Accordingly, I let myself down into the water, and swam across the channel which lay between the ship and the sands, and even that with difficulty enough, partly with the weight of the things I had about me, and partly the roughness of the water; for the wind rose very hastily, and before it was quite high water it blew a storm.

But I was got home to my little tent, where I lay, with all my wealth about me, very secure. It blew very hard all that night, and in the morning, when I looked out, behold, no more ship was to be seen! I was a little surprised, but recovered myself with this satisfactory reflection, namely, that I had lost no time, nor abated no diligence, to get everything out of her that could be useful to me, and that, indeed, there was little left in her that I was able to bring away, if I had had more time.

My thoughts were now wholly employed about securing myself against either savages, if any should appear, or wild beasts, if any were in the island; and I had many thoughts of the method how to do this, and what kind of dwelling to make, whether I should make me a cave in the earth, or a tent upon the earth; and in short, I resolved upon both: the manner and description of which it may not be improper to give an account of.

I soon found the place I was in was not for my settlement, particularly because it was upon a low, moorish ground near the sea, and I believed it would not be wholesome, and more particularly, because there was no fresh water near it; so I resolved to find a more healthy and more convenient spot of ground.

I consulted several things in my situation which I found would be proper for me—1st, Health and fresh water, I just now mentioned; 2dly, Shelter from the heat of the sun; 3dly, Security from ravenous crea-

tures, whether men or beasts; 4thly, A view to the sea, that, if God sent any ship in sight, I might not lose any advantage for my deliverance, of which I was not willing to banish all my expectation yet.

In search for a proper place for this, I found a little plain on the side of a rising hill, on which was a rock whose front towards this little plain was steep as a house-side, so that nothing could come down upon me from the top. On the side of this rock there was a hollow place, worn a little way in, like the entrance or door of a cave; but there was not really any cave or way into the rock at all.

On the flat of the green, just before this hollow place, I resolved to pitch my tent. This plain was not above a hundred yards broad, and about twice as long, and lay like a green before my door; and, at the end of it, descended irregularly every way down into the low ground by the sea-side. It was on the N.N.W. side of the hill; so that it was sheltered from the heat every day, till it came to a W. and by S. sun, or thereabouts, which in those countries is near the setting.

Before I set up my tent, I drew a half-circle before the hollow place, which took in about ten yards in its semi-diameter from the rock, and twenty yards in its diameter from its beginning and ending.

In this half-circle I pitched two rows of strong stakes, driving them into the ground till they stood very firm like piles, the biggest end being out of the ground about five feet and a half, and sharpened on

the top. The two rows did not stand above six inches from one another.

Then I took the pieces of cable which I had cut in the ship, and laid them in rows, one above another, within the circle between these two rows of stakes, up to the top, placing other stakes in the inside leaning against them, about two feet and a half high, like a spur to a post; and this fence was so strong that neither man nor beast could get into it, or over it. This cost me a great deal of time and labour, especially to cut the piles in the woods, bring them to the place, and drive them into the earth.

The entrance into this place I made to be, not by a door, but by a short ladder to get over the top: which ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me; and so I was completely fenced in and fortified, as I thought, from all the world, and consequently slept secure in the night, which otherwise I could not have done; though, as it appeared afterwards, there was no need of all this caution from the enemies that I apprehended danger from.

Into this fence or fortress, with infinite labour, I carried all my riches, all my provisions, ammunition, and stores, of which you have the account above; and I made me a large tent, which, to preserve me from the rains, that in one part of the year are very violent there, I made double, namely, one smaller tent within, and one larger tent above it, and covered the uppermost with a large tarpaulin, which I had saved among the sails.

And now I lay no more for a while in the bed which I had brought on shore, but in a hammock, which was indeed a very good one, and belonged to the mate of the ship.

Into this tent I brought all my provisions, and everything that would spoil by the wet; and having thus enclosed all my goods, I made up the entrance, which, till now, I had left open, and so passed and repassed, as I said, by a short ladder.

When I had done this, I began to work my way into the rock, and bringing all the earth and stones that I dug down out through my tent, I laid them up within my fence in the nature of a terrace, so that it raised the ground within about a foot and a half, and thus I made me a cave, just behind my tent, which served me like a cellar to my house. It cost me much labour, and many days, before all these things were brought to perfection; and therefore I must go back to some other things which took up some of my thoughts. At the same time it happened, after I had laid my schemes for the setting up my tent, and making the cave, that a storm of rain falling from a thick, dark cloud, a sudden flash of lightning happened, and after that a great clap of thunder, as is naturally the effect of it. I was not so much surprised with the lightning as I was with the thought which darted into my mind as swift as the lightning itself, "O, my powder!" My very heart sunk within me, when I thought that, at one blast, all my powder might be destroyed, on which not my defence only,

but the providing me food, as I thought, entirely depended. I was nothing near so anxious about my own danger, though, had the powder took fire, I had never known who had hurt me.

Such impression did this make upon me, that, after the storm was over, I laid aside all my works, my building and fortifying, and applied myself to make bags and boxes to separate the powder, and to keep it a little and a little in a parcel, in hope that whatever might come, it might not all take fire at once; and to keep it so apart that it should not be possible to make one part fire another. I finished this work in about a fortnight; and I think my powder, which in all was about 240 lb. weight, was divided in not less than a hundred parcels. As to the barrel that had been wet, I did not apprehend any danger from that; so I placed it in my new cave, which, in my fancy, I called my kitchen, and the rest I hid up and down in holes among the rocks, so that no wet might come to it, marking very carefully where I laid it.

In the interval of time while this was doing, I went out at least once every day with my gun, as well to divert myself as to see if I could kill anything fit for food, and, as near as I could, to acquaint myself with what the island produced. The first time I went out I presently discovered that there were goats upon the island, which was a great satisfaction to me; but then it was attended with this misfortune to me, namely, that they were so shy, so subtle, and so swift of foot, that it was the most difficult thing in the world to

come at them; but I was not discouraged at this, not doubting but I might now and then shoot one, as it soon happened; for after I had found their haunts a little, I laid wait in this manner for them: I observed, if they saw me in the valleys, though they were upon the rocks, they would run away, as if in a terrible fright; but if they were feeding in the valleys and I was upon the rocks, they took no notice of me; from whence I concluded that, by the position of their optics, their sight was so directed downward that they did not readily see objects that were above them; so, afterwards, I took this method—I always climbed the rocks first, to get above them, and then had frequently a fair mark. The first shot I made among these creatures, I killed a she-goat, which had a little kid by her, which she gave suck to, which grieved me heartily; but when the old one fell, the kid stood stock-still by her till I came and took her up: and not only so, but when I carried the old one with me upon my shoulders, the kid followed me quite to my enclosure, upon which I laid down the dam and took the kid in my arms, and carried it over my pale, in hopes to have it bred up tame; but it would not eat, so I was forced to kill it and eat it myself. These two supplied me with flesh a great while, for I ate sparingly, and preserved my provisions (my bread especially) as much as possibly I could.

Having now fixed my habitation, I found it absolutely necessary to provide a place to make a fire in, and fuel to burn; and what I did for that, as also how

I enlarged my cave, and what conveniences I made, I shall give a full account of it in its proper place; but I must first give some little account of myself, and of my thoughts about living, which, it may be well supposed, were not a few.

I had a dismal prospect of my condition; for, as I was not cast away upon that island without being driven, as is said, by a violent storm, quite out of the course of our intended voyage, and a great way, namely, some hundreds of leagues, out of the ordinary course of the trade of mankind, I had great reason to consider it as a determination of Heaven, that in this desolate place, and in this desolate manner, I should end my life. The tears would run plentifully down my face when I made these reflections; and sometimes I would expostulate with myself why Providence should thus completely ruin its creatures, and render them so absolutely miserable; so abandoned without help, so entirely depressed, that it could hardly be rational to be thankful for such a life.

But something always returned swift upon me to check these thoughts, and to reprove me; and particularly, one day, walking with my gun in my hand by the sea-side, I was very pensive upon the subject of my present condition, when reason, as it were, expostulated with me the other way, thus:—"Well, you are in a desolate condition, it is true; but pray remember, where are the rest of you? Did not you come, eleven of you, into the boat? Where are the ten? Why were they not saved, and you lost? Why were

you singled out? Is it better to be here or there?" And then I pointed to the sea. All evils are to be considered with the good that is in them, and with what worse attends them.

CHAPTER IX.

AND now, being to enter into a melancholy relation of a scene of silent life, such, perhaps, as was never heard of in the world before, I shall take it from its beginning, and continue it in its order. It was, by my account, the 30th of September, when, in the manner as above said, I first set foot upon this horrible island; when the sun, being to us in its autumnal equinox, was almost just over my head; for I reckoned myself, by observation, to be in the latitude of 9 degrees 22 minutes north of the Line.

After I had been there about ten or twelve days, it came into my thoughts that I should lose my reckoning of time for want of books, and pen and ink, and should even forget the Sabbath-days from the working-days; but to prevent this, I cut it, with my knife, upon a large post, in capital letters; and making it into a great cross, I set it up on the shore where I first landed, namely, "I came on shore here on the 30th of September 1659." Upon the sides of this square post I cut, every day, a notch with my knife, and every seventh notch was as long again as the

rest, and every first day of the month as long again as that long one; and thus I kept my calendar, or weekly, monthly, and yearly reckoning of time.

But it happened that, among the many things which I brought out of the ship, in the several voyages which, as above mentioned, I made to it, I got several things of less value, but not at all less useful to me, which I found some time after, in rummaging the chests; as, in particular, pens, ink, and paper; several parcels in the captain's, mate's, gunner's, and carpenter's keeping; three or four compasses, some mathematical instruments, dials, perspectives, charts, and books of navigation; all which I huddled together, whether I might want them or no: also, I found three very good Bibles, which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things; some Portuguese books also, and among them two or three Popish prayer-books, and several other books, all which I carefully secured. And I must not forget that we had in the ship a dog, and two cats, of whose eminent history I may have occasion to say something in its place: for I carried both the cats with me; and as for the dog, he jumped out of the ship himself, and swam on shore to me, the day after I went on shore with my first cargo, and was a trusty servant to me for many years; I wanted nothing that he could fetch me, nor any company that he could make up to me; I only wanted to have him talk to me, but that would not do. As I observed before, I found pens, ink, and paper, and I husbanded them to

the utmost; and I shall show, that, while my ink lasted, I kept things very exact, but after that was gone, I could not; for I could not make any ink, by any means that I could devise.

And this put me in mind that I wanted many things, notwithstanding all that I had amassed together; and of these, this of ink was one; as also a spade, pick-axe, and shovel, to dig or remove the earth; needles, pins, and thread: as for linen, I soon learned to want that without much difficulty.

This want of tools made every work I did go on heavily; and it was near a whole year before I had entirely finished my little pale, or surrounded habitation. The piles, or stakes, which were as heavy as I could well lift, were a long time in cutting and preparing in the woods, and more, by far, in bringing home; so that I spent sometimes two days in cutting and bringing home one of those posts, and a third day in driving it into the ground: for which purpose I got a heavy piece of wood at first, but at last bethought myself of one of the iron crows; which, however, though I found it, yet it made driving these posts, or piles, very laborious and tedious work.

I now began to consider seriously my condition, and the circumstances I was reduced to; and I drew up the state of my affairs in writing, not so much to leave them to any that were to come after me (for I was like to have but few heirs), as to deliver my thoughts from daily poring upon them, and afflicting my mind: and, as my reason began now to master

my despondency, I began to comfort myself as well as I could, and to set the good against the evil, that I might have something to distinguish my case from worse; and I stated it very impartially, like debtor and creditor, the comforts I enjoyed against the miseries I suffered, thus:—

EVIL.

I am cast upon a horrible, desolate island, void of all hope of recovery.

I am singled out and separated, as it were, from all the world to be miserable.

I am divided from mankind, *a solitaire*: one banished from human society.

I have no clothes to cover me.

I am without any defence, or means to resist any violence of man or beast.

GOOD.

But I am alive and not drowned, as all my ship's company were.

But I am singled out, too, from all the ship's crew, to be spared from death; and He that providentially saved me from death, can deliver me from this condition.

But I am not starved, and perishing in a barren place, affording no sustenance.

But I am in a hot climate, where, if I had clothes, I could hardly wear them.

But I am cast on an island, where I see no wild beasts to hurt me, as I saw on the coast of Africa, and what if I had been shipwrecked there!

I have no soul to speak to,
or relieve me.

But God wonderfully sent
the ship in near enough to
the shore, that I have got
out so many necessary things
as will either supply my
wants, or enable me to sup-
ply myself, even as long as
I live.

Upon the whole, here was an undoubted testimony, that there was scarce any condition in the world so miserable, but there was something negative, or something positive, to be thankful for in it; and let this stand as a direction, from the experience of the most miserable of all conditions in this world, that we may always find in it something to comfort ourselves from, and to set, in the description of good and evil, on the credit side of the account.

Having now brought my mind a little to relish my condition, and giving over looking out to sea, to see if I could spy a ship; I say, giving over these things, I began to apply myself to accommodate my way of living, and to make things as easy to me as I could.

I have already described my habitation, which was a tent under the side of a rock, surrounded with a strong pale of posts and cables; but I might now rather call it a wall, for I raised a kind of wall against it of turfs, about two feet thick on the outside; and, after some time (I think it was a year and a half), I raised rafters from it, leaning to the rock, and thatched or covered it with boughs of trees, and such things as

I could get, to keep out the rain; which I found, at some time of the year, very violent.

I have already observed how I brought all my goods into this pale, and into the cave which I had made behind me. But I must observe, too, that at first this was a confused heap of goods, which, as they lay in no order, so they took up all my place; I had no room to turn myself; so I set myself to enlarge my cave, and work farther into the earth, for it was a loose, sandy rock, which yielded easily to the labour I bestowed on it; and when I found I was pretty safe as to the beasts of prey, I worked sideways, to the right hand, into the rock, and then, turning to the right again, worked quite out, and made me a door to come out on the outside of my pale or fortification.

This gave me not only egress and regress, as it were, a back way to my tent and to my storehouse, but gave me room to stow my goods.

And now I began to apply myself to make such necessary things as I found I most wanted, particularly a chair and a table; for, without these, I was not able to enjoy the few comforts I had in the world; I could not write, or eat, or do several things with so much pleasure, without a table; so I went to work. And here I must needs observe, that, as reason is the substance and original of the mathematics, so by stating and squaring everything by reason, and by making the most rational judgment of things, every man may be, in time, master of every mechanic art. I

had never handled a tool in my life; and yet, in time, by labour, application, and contrivance, I found at last that I wanted nothing but I could have made, especially if I had had tools. However, I made abundance of things even without tools, and some with no more tools than an adze and a hatchet, which, perhaps, were never made that way before, and that with infinite labour. For example, if I wanted a board, I had no other way but to cut down a tree, set it on an edge before me, and hew it flat on either side with my axe, till I had brought it to be as thin as a plank, and then dub it smooth with my adze. It is true, by this method I could make but one board out of a whole tree; but this I had no remedy for but patience, any more than I had for the prodigious deal of time and labour which it took me to make up a plank or board; but my time or labour was little worth, and so it was as well employed one way as another.

However, I made me a table and a chair, as I observed above, in the first place; and this I did out of the short pieces of boards that I brought on my raft from the ship. But, when I wrought out some boards, as above, I made large shelves, of the breadth of a foot and a half, one over another, all along one side of my cave, to lay all my tools, nails, and iron work on; and, in a word, to separate everything at large in their places, that I might easily come at them. I knocked pieces into the wall of the rock, to hang my guns, and all things that would hang up, so that, had

my cave been seen, it looked like a general magazine of all necessary things; and I had everything so ready at my hand, that it was a great pleasure to me to see all my goods in such order, and especially to find my stock of all necessaries so great.

And now it was that I began to keep a journal of every day's employment, of which I shall here give you the copy (though in it will be told all those particulars over again) as long as it lasted; for, having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off.

THE JOURNAL.

September 30, 1659. I, poor miserable Robinson Crusoe, being shipwrecked, during a dreadful storm, in the offing, came on shore on this dismal unfortunate island, which I called the ISLAND OF DESPAIR; all the rest of the ship's company being drowned, and myself almost dead.

All the rest of that day I spent in afflicting myself at the dismal circumstances I was brought to, namely, I had neither food, house, clothes, weapon, nor place to fly to; and, in despair of any relief, saw nothing but death before me; that I should either be devoured by wild beasts, murdered by savages, or starved to death for want of food. At the approach of night, I slept in a tree, for fear of wild creatures, but slept soundly, though it rained all night.

October 1. In the morning, I saw, to my great surprise, the ship had floated with the high tide, and was driven on shore again much nearer the island; which, as it was some comfort on one hand (for seeing her sit upright and not broken in pieces, I hoped, if the wind abated, I might get on board, and get some food and necessaries out of her for my relief), so, on the other hand, it renewed my grief at the loss of my comrades, who, I imagined, if we had all stayed on board, might have saved the ship, or, at least, that they would not have been all drowned, as they were; and that, had the men been saved, we might, perhaps, have built us a boat out of the ruins of the ship, to have carried us to some other part of the world. I spent great part of this day in perplexing myself on these things; but at length, seeing the ship almost dry, I went upon the sand as near as I could, and then swam on board. This day, also, it continued raining, though with no wind at all.

From the 1st of *October* till the 24th. All these days entirely spent in making several voyages to get all I could out of the ship, which I brought on shore, every time of flood, upon rafts. Much rain also on these days, though with some intervals of fair weather; but it seems this was the rainy season.

Oct. 20. I overset my raft and all the goods I had got upon it, but being in shoal water, and the things being chiefly heavy, I recovered many of them when the tide was out.

Oct. 25. It rained all night and all day, with some gusts of wind, during which time the ship broke in pieces (the wind blowing a little harder than before), and was no more to be seen except the wreck of her, and that only at low water. I spent this day in covering and securing the goods which I had saved, that the rain might not spoil them.

Oct. 26. I walked about the shore almost all day to find out a place to fix my habitation; greatly concerned to secure myself from any attack in the night, either from wild beasts or men. Towards night I fixed upon a proper place under a rock, and marked out a semicircle for my encampment, which I resolved to strengthen with a work wall or fortification, made of double piles, lined within with cables and without with turf.

From the 26th to the 30th, I worked very hard in carrying all my goods to my new habitation, though some part of the time it rained exceedingly hard.

The 31st, in the morning, I went out into the island with my gun to seek for some food, and discover the country, when I killed a she-goat, and her kid followed me home, which I afterwards killed also because it would not feed.

November 1. I set up my tent under a rock, and lay there for the first night, making it as large as I could with stakes driven in to swing my hammock upon.

Nov. 2. I set up all my chests and boards, and the pieces of timber which made my rafts, and with them

formed a fence round me, a little within the place I had marked out for my fortification.

Nov. 3. I went out with my gun and killed two fowls like ducks, which were very good food. In the afternoon I went to work to make me a table.

Nov. 4. This morning I began to order my times of work, of going out with my gun, time of sleep, and time of diversion: namely, every morning I walked out with my gun for two or three hours if it did not rain; then employed myself to work till about eleven o'clock; then ate what I had to live on; and from twelve to two I lay down to sleep, the weather being excessive hot; and then in the evening to work again. The working part of this day and the next was wholly employed in making my table, for I was yet but a very sorry workman; though time and necessity made me a complete natural mechanic soon after, as I believe they would any one else.

Nov. 5. This day went abroad with my gun and dog, and killed a wild-cat; her skin pretty soft, but her flesh good for nothing; of every creature that I killed, I took off the skins and preserved them. Coming back by the sea-shore, I saw many sorts of sea-fowl which I did not understand; but was surprised and almost frightened with two or three seals, which, while I was gazing at them (not well knowing what they were), got into the sea and escaped me for that time.

Nov. 6. After my morning walk I went to work with my table again, and finished it, though not to

my liking ; nor was it long before I learned to mend it.

Nov. 7. Now it began to be settled fair weather. The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and part of the 12th (for the 11th was Sunday, according to my reckoning), I took wholly up to make me a chair, and, with much ado, brought it to a tolerable shape, but never to please me ; and even in the making, I pulled it in pieces several times.

Note. I soon neglected my keeping Sundays ; for, omitting my mark for them on my post, I forgot which was which.

Nov. 13. This day it rained, which refreshed me exceedingly and cooled the earth, but it was accompanied with terrible thunder and lightning, which frightened me dreadfully for fear of my powder. As soon as it was over, I resolved to separate my stock of powder into as many little parcels as possible, that it might not be in danger.

Nov. 14, 15, 16. These three days I spent in making little square chests or boxes, which might hold about a pound or two pounds at most of powder ; and so putting the powder in, I stowed it in places as secure and as remote from one another as possible. On one of these three days, I killed a large bird that was good to eat, but I knew not what to call it.

Nov. 17. This day I began to dig behind my tent into the rock, to make room for my farther convenience.

Note. Three things I wanted exceedingly for this

work, namely, a pick-axe, a shovel, and a wheelbarrow or basket; so I desisted from my work, and began to consider how to supply these wants, and make me some tools. As for a pick-axe, I made use of the iron crows, which were proper enough, though heavy; but the next thing was a shovel or spade: this was so absolutely necessary, that indeed I could do nothing effectually without it; but what kind of one to make I knew not.

Nov. 18. The next day, in searching the woods, I found a tree of that wood, or like it, which, in the Brazils, they call the Iron tree, from its exceeding hardness; of this, with great labour and almost spoiling my axe, I cut a piece, and brought it home too, with difficulty enough, for it was exceeding heavy. The excessive hardness of the wood, and my having no other way, made me a long while upon this machine; for I worked it effectually by little and little into the form of a shovel or spade, the handle exactly shaped like ours in England, only that the broad part, having no iron shod upon it at bottom, it would not last me so long; however, it served well enough for the uses which I had occasion to put it to; but never was a shovel, I believe, made after that fashion, or so long a-making.

I was still deficient, for I wanted a basket or a wheelbarrow. A basket I could not make by any means, having no such things as twigs that would bend to make wicker-ware; at least none yet found out, and as to the wheelbarrow, I fancied I could

make all but the wheel, but that I had no notion of, neither did I know how to go about it; besides, I had no possible way to make iron gudgeons, for the spindle or axis of the wheel to run in; so I gave it over; and for carrying away the earth which I dug out of the cave, I made me a thing like a hod which the labourers carry the mortar in for the bricklayers. This was not so difficult to me as the making the shovel; and yet this and the shovel, and the attempt which I made in vain to make a wheelbarrow, took me up no less than four days; I mean always excepting my morning walk with my gun, which I seldom omitted, and very seldom failed also bringing home something fit to eat.

Nov. 23. My other work having now stood still, because of my making these tools, when they were finished I went on, and working every day as my strength and time allowed, I spent eighteen days entirely in widening and deepening my cave, that it might hold my goods commodiously.

Note. During all this time I worked to make this room or cave spacious enough to accommodate me as a warehouse, or magazine, a kitchen, a dining-room, and a cellar. As for a lodging, I kept to the tent, except that sometimes in the wet season of the year it rained so hard that I could not keep myself dry, which caused me afterwards to cover all my place within my pale with long poles in the form of rafters leaning against the rock, and load them with flags and large leaves of trees like a thatch.

December 10. I began now to think my cave or vault finished; when on a sudden (it seems I had made it too large) a great quantity of earth fell down from the top and one side; so much that, in short, it frightened me, and not without reason too, for if I had been under it I should never have wanted a grave-digger. Upon this disaster, I had a great deal of work to do over again, for I had the loose earth to carry out; and, which was of more importance, I had the ceiling to prop up so that I might be sure no more would come down.

Dec. 11. This day I went to work with it accordingly, and got two shores or posts pitched upright to the top, with two pieces of board across over each post; this I finished the next day, and, setting more posts up with boards, in about a week more I had the roof secured; and the posts standing in rows served me for partitions to part of my house.

Dec. 17. From this day to the 20th I placed shelves, and knocked up nails on the posts, to hang everything up that could be hung up; and now I began to be in some order within doors.

Dec. 20. I carried everything into the cave, and began to furnish my house, and set up some pieces of boards like a dresser, to order my victuals upon; but boards began to be very scarce with me; also I made me another table.

Dec. 24. Much rain all night and all day; no stirring out.

Dec. 25. Rain all day.

Dec. 26. No rain, and the earth much cooler than before, and pleasanter.

Dec. 27. Killed a young goat, and lamed another, so that I caught it and led it home in a string; when I had it home I bound and splintered up its leg, which was broke.

N.B. I took such care of it that it lived, and the leg grew well and as strong as ever; but by nursing it so long it grew tame, and fed upon the little green at my door, and would not go away. This was the first time that I entertained a thought of breeding up some tame creatures, that I might have food when my powder and shot was all spent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30, 31. Great heats and no breeze, so that there was no stirring abroad, except in the evening, for food; this time I spent in putting all my things in order within doors.

January 1. Very hot still; but I went abroad early and late with my gun, and lay still in the middle of the day. This evening, going farther into the valleys which lay towards the centre of the island, I found there was plenty of goats, though exceeding shy and hard to come at; however, I resolved to try if I could not bring my dog to hunt them down. Accordingly, the next day I went out with my dog, and set him upon the goats, but I was mistaken, for they all faced about upon the dog; and he knew his danger too well, for he would not come near them.

Jan. 3. I began my fence, or wall, which, being

still jealous of my being attacked by somebody, I resolved to make very thick and strong.

N.B. This wall being described before, I purposely omit what was said in the Journal; it is sufficient to observe, that I was no less time than from the 3d of January to the 14th of April, working, finishing, and perfecting this wall, though it was no more than about 25 yards in length, being a half-circle, from one place in the rock to another place, about twelve yards from it, the door of the cave being in the centre, behind it.

CHAPTER X.

ALL this time I worked very hard, the rains hindering me many days, nay, sometimes weeks together; but I thought I should never be perfectly secure till this wall was finished; and it is scarce credible what inexpressible labour everything was done with, especially the bringing piles out of the woods, and driving them into the ground, for I made them much bigger than I needed to have done.

When this wall was finished, and the outside double fenced, with a turf-wall raised up close to it, I persuaded myself that if any people were to come on shore there, they would not perceive anything like a habitation; and it was very well I did so, as may be observed hereafter, upon a very remarkable occasion.

And now, in the managing my household affairs, I

found myself wanting in many things, which I thought at first it was impossible for me to make, as, indeed, as to some of them, it was; for instance, I could never make a cask to be hooped. I had a small runlet or two, as I observed before, but I could never arrive to the capacity of making one by them, though I spent many weeks about it; I could neither put in the heads, nor join the staves so true to one another as to make them hold water, so I gave that also over. In the next place, I was at a great loss for candle, so that as soon as it was dark, which was generally by seven o'clock, I was obliged to go to bed. I remembered the lump of bees'-wax with which I made candles in my African adventure, but I had none of that now; the only remedy I had was, that when I had killed a goat I saved the tallow, and with a little dish made of clay, which I baked in the sun, to which I added a wick of some oakum, I made me a lamp; and this gave me light, though not a clear steady light, like a candle. In the middle of all my labours, it happened that in rummaging my things I found a little bag, which, as I hinted before, had been filled with corn for feeding of poultry; not for this voyage, but before, as I suppose, when the ship came from Lisbon. What little remainder of corn had been in the bag was all devoured by the rats, and I saw nothing in the bag but husks and dust; and being willing to have the bag for some other use (I think it was to put powder in, when I divided it for fear of the lightning, or some such use), I shook the husks

of corn out of it, on one side of my fortification, under the rock.

It was a little before the great rain, just now mentioned, that I threw this stuff away, taking no notice of anything, and not so much as remembering that I had thrown anything there, when about a month after I saw some few stalks of something green shooting out of the ground, which I fancied might be some plant I had not seen; but I was surprised and perfectly astonished, when, after a little longer time, I saw about ten or twelve ears come out, which were perfect green barley, of the same kind as our European, nay, as our English barley.

It is impossible to express the astonishment and confusion of my thoughts on this occasion; I had hitherto acted upon no religious foundation at all; indeed, I had very few notions of religion in my head, nor had entertained any sense of anything that had befallen me otherwise than as a *chance*, or, as we lightly say, *what pleases God*; without so much as inquiring into the end of Providence in these things, or his order in governing events in the world. But after I saw barley grow there, in a climate which I knew was not proper for corn, and especially as I knew not how it came there, it startled me strangely; and I began to suggest that God had *miraculously* caused this grain to grow without any help of seed sown, and that it was so directed purely for my sustenance on that wild miserable place.

This touched my heart a little, and brought tears

out of my eyes, and I began to bless myself that such a prodigy of nature should happen upon my account; and this was the more strange to me, because I saw near it still, all along by the side of the rock, some other straggling stalks, which proved to be stalks of rice, and which I knew, because I had seen it grow in Africa, when I was ashore there.

I not only thought these the pure productions of Providence for my support, but, not doubting that there was more in the place, I went over all that part of the island where I had been before, searching in every corner, and under every rock, for more of it; but I could not find any. At last it occurred to my thoughts that I had shook out a bag of chickens' meat in that place, and then the wonder began to cease; and I must confess my religious thankfulness to God's providence began to abate too, upon the discovering that all this was nothing but what was common, though I ought to have been as thankful for so strange and unforeseen a providence as if it had been miraculous; for it was really the work of Providence as to me, that should order or appoint that ten or twelve grains of corn should remain unspoiled, when the rats had destroyed all the rest, as if it had been dropt from heaven; as also that I should throw it out in that particular place, where, it being in the shade of a high rock, it sprang up immediately; whereas, if I had thrown it anywhere else at that time, it would have been burnt up and destroyed.

I carefully saved the ears of this corn, you may be

sure, in their season, which was about the end of June, and, laying up every corn, I resolved to sow them all again; hoping, in time, to have some quantity sufficient to supply me with bread. But it was not till the fourth year that I could allow myself the least grain of this corn to eat, and even then but sparingly, as I shall show afterwards in its order, for I lost all that I sowed the first season, by not observing the proper time; as I sowed just before the dry season, so that it never came up at all, at least not as it would have done; of which in its place.

Besides this barley, there were, as above, twenty or thirty stalks of rice, which I preserved with the same care, and whose use was of the same kind, or to the same purpose, namely, to make me bread, or rather food; for I found ways to cook it up without baking, though I did that also after some time. But to return to my journal.

I worked excessively hard these three or four months, to get my wall done, and the 14th of April I closed it up, contriving to get into it, not by a door, but over the wall by a ladder, that there might be no sign on the outside of my habitation.

April 16. I finished the ladder; so I went up with the ladder to the top, and then pulled it after me, and let it down in the inside; this was a complete enclosure to me, for within I had room enough, and nothing could come at me from without, unless it could first mount my wall.

The very next day after this wall was finished, I

had almost all my labour overthrown at once, and myself killed, by a fearful earthquake, accompanied by a dreadful hurricane, which lasted for about three hours. A violent rain then followed, and continued all that night, and great part of the next day, so that I could not stir abroad; but my mind being more composed, I began to think of what I had best do, concluding, that if the island were subject to these earthquakes, there would be no living for me in a cave; but I must consider of building me some little hut in an open place, which I might surround with a wall, as I had done here, and so make myself secure from wild beasts or men, for if I stayed where I was, I should certainly one time or other be buried alive.

With these thoughts, I resolved to remove my tent from the place where it now stood, being just under the hanging precipice of the hill, and which, if it should be shaken again, would certainly fall upon my tent. I spent the two next days, being the 19th and 20th of April, in contriving where and how to remove my habitation. The fear of being swallowed alive affected me so, that I never slept in quiet, and yet the apprehension of lying abroad without any fence, was almost equal to it; but still when I looked about and saw how everything was put in order, how pleasantly I was concealed, and how safe from danger, it made me very loath to remove. In the meantime it occurred to me, that it would require a vast deal of time for me to do this, and that I must be contented to run the risk where I was, till I had formed

a convenient camp and had secured it so as to remove to it. With this conclusion I composed myself for a time, and resolved that I would go to work with all speed to build me a wall with piles, and cables, &c., in a circle as before, and set up my tent in it when it was finished, but that I would venture to stay where I was till it was ready and fit to remove to. This was the 21st.

April 22. The next morning I began to consider of means to put this measure into execution, but I was at a great loss about the tools. I had three large axes and abundance of hatchets (for we carried the hatchets for traffic with the Indians), but with much chopping and cutting knotty hard wood, they were all full of notches and dull; and though I had a grindstone, I could not turn it and grind my tools too. This cost me as much thought as a statesman would have bestowed upon a grand point of politics, or a judge upon the life and death of a man. At length I contrived a wheel with a string to turn it with my foot, that I might have both my hands at liberty.

Note. I had never seen any such thing in England, or, at least, not to take notice how it was done, though since I have observed it is very common there, besides that my grindstone was very large and heavy. This machine cost me a full week's work to bring it to perfection.

April 28, 29. These two whole days I took up in grinding my tools, my machine for turning my grindstone performing very well.

April 30. Having perceived that my bread had been low a great while, I now took a survey of it, and reduced myself to one biscuit-cake a day, which made my heart very heavy.

May 1. In the morning, looking towards the sea-side, the tide being low, I saw something lie on the shore bigger than ordinary, and it looked like a cask. When I came to it I found a small barrel and two or three pieces of wreck of the ship, which were driven on shore by the late hurricane; and looking towards the wreck itself, I thought it seemed to lie higher out of the water than it used to do. I examined the barrel that was driven on shore, and soon found it was a barrel of gunpowder, but it had taken water, and the powder was caked as hard as a stone; however, I rolled it farther on the shore for the present, and went on upon the sands as near as I could to the wreck of the ship to look for more.

When I came down to the ship I found it strangely removed. The fore-castle, which lay before buried in sand, was heaved up at least six feet, and the stern (which was broke to pieces, and parted from the rest by the force of the sea, soon after I had left rummaging of her) was tossed, as it were, up and cast on one side; and the sand was thrown so high on that side next her stern, that I could now walk quite up to her when the tide was out; whereas there was a great piece of water before, so that I could not come within a quarter of a mile of the wreck without swimming. I was surprised with this at first, but soon concluded



it must be done by the earthquake; and as by this violence the ship was more broke open than formerly, so many things came daily on shore which the sea had loosened, and which the winds and water rolled by degrees to the land.

This wholly diverted my thoughts from the design of removing my habitation, and I busied myself mightily that day especially, in searching whether I could make any way into the ship, but I found nothing was to be expected of that kind, for all the inside of the ship was chocked up with sand. However, as I had learned not to despair of anything, I resolved to pull everything to pieces that I could of the ship, concluding that everything I could get from her would be of some use or other to me.

May 3. I began with my saw and cut a piece of a beam through, which I thought held some of the upper part or quarter-deck together; and when I had cut it through, I cleared away the sand as well as I could from the side which lay highest, but the tide coming in, I was obliged to give over for that time.

May 4. I went a-fishing, but caught not one fish that I durst eat of till I was weary of my sport; when just going to leave off, I caught a young dolphin. I had made me a long line of some rope-yarn, but I had no hooks; yet I frequently caught fish enough as much as I cared to eat, all which I dried in the sun, and ate them dry.

May 5. Worked on the wreck; cut another beam asunder and brought three great fir-planks off from

the decks, which I tied together and made swim on shore when the tide of flood came on.

May 6. Worked on the wreck; got several iron bolts out of her, and other pieces of iron-work; worked very hard, and came home much tired, and had thoughts of giving it over.

May 7. Went to the wreck again, but not with an intent to work; but found the weight of the wreck had broke itself down, the beams being cut—that several pieces of the ship seemed to lie loose, and the inside of the hold lay so open that I could see into it, but almost full of water and sand.

May 8. Went to the wreck, and carried an iron crow to wrench up the deck, which lay now quite clear of the water and sand. I wrenched up two planks, and brought them on shore also with the tide. I left the iron crow in the wreck for next day.

May 9. Went to the wreck, and with the crow made way into the body of the wreck, and felt several casks, and loosened them with the crow, but could not break them up. I felt also a roll of English lead, and could stir it, but it was too heavy to remove.

May 10 to 14. Went every day to the wreck, and got a great many pieces of timber, and boards or plank, and two or three hundred weight of iron.

May 15. I carried two hatchets, to try if I could not cut a piece off the roll of lead, by placing the edge of one hatchet, and driving it with the other; but as it lay about a foot and a half in the water, I could not make any blow to drive the hatchet.

May 16. It had blown hard in the night, and the wreck appeared more broken by the force of the water; but I stayed so long in the woods, to get pigeons for food, that the tide prevented my going to the wreck that day.

May 17. I saw some pieces of the wreck blown on shore at a great distance, two miles off me, but resolved to see what they were, and found it was a piece of the head, but too heavy for me to bring away.

May 24. Every day to this day, I worked on the wreck; and, with hard labour, I loosened some things so much with the crow, that the first flowing tide several casks floated out, and two of the seamen's chests; but the wind blowing from the shore, nothing came to land that day but pieces of timber and a hogshead, which had some Brazil pork in it; but the salt water and the sand had spoiled it. I continued this work every day to the 15th of June, except the time necessary to get food, which I always appointed, during this part of my employment, to be when the tide was up, that I might be ready when it was ebbed out; and by this time I had gotten timber and plank, and iron-work enough to have built a good boat, if I had known how: and I also got at several times, and in several pieces, near one hundred weight of the sheet-lead.

June 16. Going down to the sea-side, I found a large tortoise, or turtle. This was the first I had seen: which, it seems, was only my misfortune, not any defect of the place, or scarcity; for, had I hap-

pened to be on the other side of the island, I might have had hundreds of them every day, as I found afterwards; but, perhaps, had paid dear enough for them.

June 17. I spent in cooking the turtle. I found in her threescore eggs: and her flesh was to me, at that time, the most savoury and pleasant that ever I tasted in my life; having had no flesh but of goats and fowls since I landed in this horrid place.

June 18. Rained all that day, and I stayed within. I thought, at this time, the rain felt cold, and I was somewhat chilly; which I knew was not usual in that latitude.

June 19. Very ill, and shivering, as if the weather had been cold.

June 20. No rest all night; violent pains in my head, and feverish.

June 21. Very ill; frightened almost to death with the apprehensions of my sad condition, to be sick, and no help: prayed to God, for the first time since the storm off Hull; but scarce knew what I said, or why, my thoughts being all confused.

June 22. A little better; but under dreadful apprehensions of sickness.

June 23. Very bad again; cold and shivering, and then a violent headache.

June 24. Much better.

June 25. An ague, very violent; the fit held me seven hours; cold fit, and hot, with faint sweats after it.

June 26. Better; and having no victuals to eat, took my gun, but found myself very weak: however, I killed a she-goat, and with much difficulty got it home, and broiled some of it, and ate. I would fain have stewed it, and made some broth, but had no pot.

June 27. The ague again so violent that I lay a-bed all day, and neither ate nor drank. I was ready to perish for thirst; but so weak, I had not strength to stand up, or to get myself any water to drink. Prayed to God again, but was light-headed; and, when I was not, I was so ignorant, that I knew not what to say; only laid and cried, "Lord, look upon me! Lord, pity me! Lord, have mercy upon me!" I suppose I did nothing else for two or three hours; till the fit wearing off, I fell asleep, and did not awake till far in the night. When I awoke, I found myself much refreshed, but weak, and exceeding thirsty; however, as I had no water in my whole habitation, I was forced to lie till morning, and went to sleep again.

CHAPTER XL

I HAD, alas! no divine knowledge; what I had received by the good instruction of my father was then worn out, by an uninterrupted series for eight years of sea-faring wickedness, and a constant conversation with none but such as were, like myself,

wicked and profane to the last degree. I do not remember that I had, in all that time, one thought that so much as tended either to looking up towards God, or inward towards a reflection upon my own ways; but a certain stupidity of soul, without desire of good or consciousness of evil, had entirely overwhelmed me; and I was all that the most hardened, unthinking, wicked creature among our common sailors, can be supposed to be; not having the least sense either of the fear of God in danger, or of thankfulness to him in deliverances.

When I was on the desperate expedition on the desert shores of Africa, I never had so much as one thought of what would become of me; or one wish to God to direct me whither I should go, or to keep me from the danger which apparently surrounded me, as well from voracious creatures as cruel savages; but I was quite thoughtless of a God, or a Providence; acted, like a mere brute, from the principles of nature, and by the dictates of common sense only; and, indeed, hardly that. When I was delivered and taken up at sea by the Portuguese captain, well used, and dealt with justly and honourably, as well as charitably, I had not the least thankfulness in my thoughts. When, again, I was shipwrecked, ruined, and in danger of drowning, on this island, I was far from remorse, or looking on it as a judgment; I only said to myself often, that I was an unfortunate dog, and born to be always miserable.

It is true, when I first got on shore here, and found

all my ship's crew drowned, and myself spared, I was surprised with a kind of ecstasy, and some transports of soul, which, had the grace of God assisted, might have come up to true thankfulness; but it ended where it began, in a mere common flight of joy; or, as I may say, being glad I was alive, without the least reflection upon the distinguishing goodness of the hand which had preserved me, and had singled me out to be preserved, when all the rest were destroyed; or an inquiry why Providence had been thus merciful to me; just the same common sort of joy which seamen generally have after they are got safe ashore from a shipwreck; which they drown all in the next bowl of punch, and forget almost as soon as it is over; and all the rest of my life was like it. Even when I was afterwards, on due consideration, made sensible of my condition—how I was cast on this dreadful place, out of the reach of human kind, out of all hope of relief, or prospect of redemption, as soon as I saw but a prospect of living, and that I should not starve or perish for hunger, all the sense of my affliction wore off, and I began to be very easy, applied myself to the works proper for my preservation and supply, and was far enough from being afflicted at my condition, as a judgment from Heaven, or as the hand of God against me. These were thoughts which very seldom entered into my head.

The growing up of the corn, as is hinted in my journal, had at first some little influence upon me,

and began to affect me with seriousness, as long as I thought it had something miraculous in it; but as soon as that part of the thought was removed, all the impression which was raised from it wore off also, as I have noted already. Even the earthquake, though nothing could be more terrible in its nature, or more immediately directing to the invisible Power which alone directs such things, yet no sooner was the fright over, but the impression it had made went off also. I had no more sense of God, or his judgments, much less of the present affliction of my circumstances being from his hand, than if I had been in the most prosperous condition of life. But now, when I began to be sick, and a leisure view of the miseries of death came to place itself before me; when my spirits began to sink under the burden of a strong distemper, and nature was exhausted with the violence of the fever, conscience, that had slept so long, began to awake, and I reproached myself with my past life, in which I had so evidently, by uncommon weakness, provoked the justice of God to lay me under uncommon strokes, and to deal with me in so vindictive a manner. These reflections oppressed me for the second or third day of my distemper; and, in the violence, as well of the fever, as of the dreadful reproaches of my conscience, extorted from me some words like praying to God, though I cannot say it was a prayer attended either with desires or with hopes; it was rather the voice of mere fright and distress. My thoughts were confused, the convic-

tions great upon my mind, and the horror of dying in such a miserable condition raised vapours in my head with the mere apprehension; and, in those hurries of my soul, I knew not what my tongue might express; but it was rather exclamation, such as, "Lord, what a miserable creature am I! If I should be sick, I shall certainly die for want of help; and what will become of me?" Then the tears burst out of my eyes, and I could say no more for a good while. In this interval, the good advice of my father came to my mind, and presently his prediction, which I mentioned at the beginning of this story, namely, that if I did take this foolish step, God would not bless me, and I would have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist in my recovery. "Now," said I aloud, "my dear father's words are come to pass; God's justice has overtaken me, and I have none to help or hear me. I rejected the voice of Providence, which had mercifully put me in a station of life wherein I might have been happy and easy; but I would neither see it myself, nor learn from my parents to know the blessing of it. I left them to mourn over my folly, and now I am left to mourn under the consequences of it. I refused their help and assistance who would have pushed me in the world, and would have made everything easy to me; and now I have difficulties to struggle with too great for even nature itself to support, and no assistance, no comfort, no advice." Then I cried out, "Lord,

be my help, for I am in great distress." This was the first prayer, if I may call it so, that I had made for many years. But I return to my Journal:—

June 28. Having been somewhat refreshed with the sleep I had had, I got up; and yet I considered that the fit of the ague would return again the next day, and now was my time to get something to refresh and support myself when I should be ill. The first thing I did was to fill a large square case-bottle with water, and set it upon my table in reach of my bed, and to take off the chill or aguish disposition of the water, I put about a quarter of a pint of rum into it, and mixed them together. Then I got me a piece of the goat's flesh, and broiled it on the coals, but could eat very little. I walked about; but was very weak, and withal very sad and heavy-hearted in the sense of my miserable condition, dreading the return of my distemper the next day. At night I made my supper of three of the turtle's eggs, which I roasted in the ashes, and ate, as we call it, in the shell; and this was the first bit of meat I had ever asked God's blessing to, as I could remember, in my whole life. After I had eaten, I tried to walk, but found myself so weak that I could hardly carry the gun (for I never went out without that); so I went but a little way, and sat down upon the ground looking out upon the sea, which was just before me, and very calm and smooth. As I sat here some such thoughts as these occurred to me: What is this earth and sea of which I have seen so much? Whence is it produced?

And what am I, and all the other creatures, wild and tame, human and brutal? Whence are we? Surely we are all made by some secret Power, who formed the earth and sea, the air and sky. And who is that? Then it followed most naturally, it is God that has made all. Well, but then, it came on strangely, if God has made all these things, he guides and governs them all, and all things that concern them; for the Power that could make all things, must certainly have power to guide and direct them; if so, nothing can happen in the great circuit of his works, either without his knowledge or appointment.

And if nothing happens without his knowledge, he knows that I am here, and am in this dreadful condition; and if nothing happens without his appointment, he has appointed all this to befall on me. Nothing occurred to my thought to contradict any of these conclusions; and therefore it rested upon me with the greatest force that it must needs be, that God hath appointed all this to befall me; that I was brought to this miserable circumstance by his direction, he having the sole power, not of me only, but of everything that happens in the world. Immediately it followed, Why has God done this to me? What have I done to be thus used? My conscience presently checked me in that inquiry, as if I had blasphemed, and methought it spoke to me like a voice, "Wretch! dost *thou* ask what *thou* hast done? Look back upon a dreadful misspent life, and ask thyself what *thou* hast *not* done? Ask, why is it

that thou wert not long ago destroyed? Why wert thou not drowned in Yarmouth Roads; killed in the fight when the ship was taken by the Sallee man-of-war; devoured by the wild beasts on the coast of Africa; or drowned *here*, when all the crew perished but thyself? Dost *thou* ask what thou hast done?" I was struck dumb with these reflections as one astonished, and had not a word to say, no, not to answer to myself; and rising up pensive and sad, walked back to my retreat and went over my wall, as if I had been going to bed; but my thoughts were sadly disturbed, and I had no inclination to sleep; so I sat down in the chair and lighted my lamp, for it began to be dark. Now, as the apprehension of the return of my distemper terrified me very much, it occurred to my thought that the Brazilians take no physic but their tobacco for almost all distempers; and I had a piece of a roll of tobacco in one of the chests which was quite cured, and some also that was green and not quite cured.

I went, directed by Heaven no doubt; for in this chest I found a cure both for soul and body. I opened the chest, and found what I looked for, namely, the tobacco; and as the few books I had saved lay there too, I took out one of the BIBLES which I mentioned before, and which, to this time, I had not found leisure or so much as inclination to look into. I say I took it out, and brought both that and the tobacco with me to the table. What use to make of the tobacco I knew not, as to my distemper,

nor whether it was good for it or not, but I tried several experiments with it, as if I was resolved it should hit one way or other. I first took a piece of a leaf and chewed it in my mouth, which, indeed, at first almost stupified my brain, the tobacco being green and strong, and such as I had not been much used to. Then I took some and steeped it an hour or two in some rum, and resolved to take a dose of it when I lay down; and, lastly, I burnt some upon a pan of coals, and held my nose close over the smoke of it as long as I could bear it, as well for the heat as almost for suffocation. In the interval of this operation, I took up the Bible and began to read, but my head was too much disturbed with the tobacco to bear reading, at least at that time; only having opened the book casually, the first words that occurred to me were these: "Call on me in the day of trouble and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." These words were very apt to my case, and made some impression upon my thoughts at the time of reading them, though not so much as they did afterwards; for, as for being *delivered*, the word had no sound, as I may say, to me; the thing was so remote, so impossible in my apprehension of things, that, as the children of Israel said when they were promised flesh to eat, "Can God spread a table in the wilderness?" so I began to say, "Can even God himself deliver me from this place?" And as it was not for many years that any hopes appeared, this prevailed very often upon my thoughts; but, how-

ever, the words made a great impression upon me, and I mused upon them very often. It now grew late, and the tobacco had, as I said, dozed my head so much that I inclined to sleep; so I left my lamp burning in the cave, lest I should want anything in the night, and went to bed. But before I lay down, I did what I never had done in all my life, I kneeled down and prayed to God to fulfil the promise to me, "That if I called upon him in the day of trouble, he would deliver me." After my broken and imperfect prayer was over, I drank the rum in which I had steeped the tobacco, which was so strong and rank of the tobacco, that indeed I could scarce get it down; immediately upon this I went to bed. I found presently the rum flew into my head violently; but I fell into a sound sleep, and waked no more till by the sun it must necessarily be near three o'clock in the afternoon the next day; nay, to this hour, I am partly of opinion that I slept all the next day and night, and till almost three the day after; for otherwise I know not how I should lose a day out of my reckoning in the days of the week, as it appeared some years after I had done; for if I had lost it by crossing and re-crossing the Line, I should have lost more than one day; but certainly I lost a day in my account, and never knew which way. Be that, however, one way or the other, when I awaked I found myself exceedingly refreshed, and my spirits lively and cheerful; when I got up, I was stronger than I was the day before, and my stomach better, for I was

hungry; and, in short, I had no fit the next day, but continued much altered for the better. This was the 29th.

The 30th was my well day, of course; and I went abroad with my gun, but did not care to travel too far. I killed a sea-fowl or two, something like a brand goose, and brought them home; but was not very forward to eat them; so I ate some more of the turtle's eggs, which were very good. This evening I renewed the medicine, which I had supposed did me good the day before, namely, the tobacco steeped in rum; only I did not take so much as before, nor did I chew any of the leaf, or hold my head over the smoke; however, I was not so well the next day, which was the 1st of July, as I hoped I should have been; for I had a little of the cold fit, but it was not much.

July 2. I renewed the medicine all the three ways; and dozed myself with it as at first, and doubled the quantity which I drank.

July 3. I missed the fit for good and all, though I did not recover my full strength for some weeks after. While I was thus gathering strength, my thoughts ran exceedingly upon this Scripture, "I will deliver thee:" and the impossibility of my deliverance lay much upon my mind, in bar of my ever expecting it: but as I was discouraging myself with such thoughts, it occurred to my mind that I pored so much upon my deliverance from the main affliction, that I disregarded the deliverance I had re-

ceived: and I was, as it were, made to ask myself such questions as these, namely, "Have I not been delivered, and wonderfully too, from sickness; from the most distressed condition that could be, and that was so frightful to me? and what notice have I taken of it? Have I done my part? God has delivered me, but I have not glorified him; that is to say, I have not owned, and been thankful for that, as a deliverance: and how can I expect a greater deliverance?" This touched my heart very much; and immediately I knelt down, and gave God thanks aloud for my recovery from my sickness.

July 4. In the morning I took the Bible; and, beginning at the New Testament, I began seriously to read it; and imposed upon myself to read a while every morning and every night; not binding myself to the number of chapters, but as long as my thoughts should engage me. It was not long after I set seriously to this work, that I found my heart more deeply and sincerely affected with the wickedness of my past life. The impression of my dream revived; and the words, "All these things have not brought thee to repentance," ran seriously in my thoughts. I was earnestly begging of God to give me repentance, when it happened providentially the very same day, that, reading the Scripture, I came to these words, "He is exalted a Prince and a Saviour; to give repentance and to give remission." I threw down the book; and with my heart as well as my hands lifted up to heaven, in a kind of ecstasy

of joy, I cried out aloud, "Jesus, thou Son of David! Jesus, thou exalted Prince and Saviour, give me repentance!" This was the first time in all my life, I should say, in the true sense of the words that I prayed; for now I prayed with a sense of my condition, and with a true Scripture view of hope, founded on the encouragement of the Word of God: and from this time, I may say, I began to have hope that God would hear me.

Now I began to construe the words mentioned above, "Call on me, and I will deliver thee," in a different sense from what I had ever done before: for then I had no notion of anything being called *deliverance*, but my being delivered from the captivity I was in: for, though I was indeed at large in the place, yet the island was certainly a prison to me, and that in the worst sense in the world. But now I learned to take it in another sense: now I looked back upon my past life with such horror, and my sins appeared so dreadful, that my soul sought nothing of God but deliverance from the load of guilt that bore down all my comfort. As for my solitary life, it is nothing; I did not so much as pray to be delivered from it, or think of it; it was all of no consideration in comparison with this. And I add this part here, to hint to whoever shall read it, that, whenever they come to a true sense of things, they will find deliverance from sin a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction. But, leaving this part, I return to my Journal.

From the 4th of July to the 14th, I was chiefly employed in walking about with my gun in my hand, a little and a little at a time, as a man that was gathering up his strength after a fit of sickness; for it is hardly to be imagined how low I was, and to what weakness I was reduced. The application which I made use of was perfectly new, and perhaps, what had never cured an ague before; neither can I recommend it to any one to practise, by this experiment: and though it did carry off the fit, yet it rather contributed to weakening me; for I had frequent convulsions in my nerves and limbs for some time. I learned from it, also, this in particular: that being abroad in the rainy season was the most pernicious thing to my health that could be, especially in those rains which came attended with storms and hurricanes of wind; for, as the rain which came in the dry season was almost always accompanied with such storms, so I found that this rain was much more dangerous than the rain which fell in September and October.

CHAPTER XII.

I HAD now been in this unhappy island above ten months: all possibility of deliverance from this condition seemed to be entirely taken from me; and I firmly believed that no human shape had ever set foot upon that place. Having secured my habitation, as I thought, fully to my mind, I had a great desire

to make a more perfect discovery of the island, and to see what other productions I might find, which I yet knew nothing of.

It was on the 15th of July that I began to take a more particular survey of the island itself. I went up the creek first, where, as I hinted, I brought my rafts on shore. I found, after I came about two miles up, that the tide did not flow any higher; and that it was no more than a little brook of running water, very fresh and good: but this being the dry season, there was hardly any water in some parts of it, at least not any stream. On the banks of this brook I found many pleasant savannahs, or meadows, plain, smooth, and covered with grass; and, on the rising parts of them, next to the higher grounds (where the water, as it might be supposed, never overflowed), I found a great deal of tobacco, green, and growing to a great and very strong stalk; and there were divers other plants which I had no knowledge of, or understanding about, and that might, perhaps, have virtues of their own which I could not find out. I searched for the cassava root, which the Indians, in all that climate, make their bread of; but I could find none. I saw large plants of aloes, but did not understand them. I saw several sugar-canes, but wild, and, for want of cultivation, imperfect. I contented myself with these discoveries for this time; and came back, musing with myself what course I might take to know the virtue and goodness of any of the fruits or plants which I should discover.

The next day, the 16th, I went up the same way again; and, after going something farther than I had gone the day before, I found the brook and the savannahs begin to cease, and the country become more woody than before. In this part I found different fruits; and, particularly, I found melons* upon the ground in great abundance, and grapes upon the trees. I found an excellent use for these grapes; and that was to cure and dry them in the sun, and keep them, as dried grapes or raisins are kept.

I spent all that evening there, and went not back to my habitation; which, by the way, was the first night, as I might say, I had lain from home. At night I took my first contrivance, and got up into a tree, where I slept well; and the next morning proceeded on my discovery, travelling near four miles, as I might judge by the length of the valley; keeping still due north, with a ridge of hills on the south and north sides of me. At the end of this march I came to an opening, where the country seemed to descend to the west; and a little spring of fresh water, which issued out of the side of the hill by me, ran the other way, that is, due east: and the country appeared so fresh, so green, so flourishing, everything being in a constant verdure, or flourish of spring, that it looked like a planted garden. I descended a little on the side of that delicious vale, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure (though mixed with other afflicting thoughts), to think that this was all my own; that I was king and lord of all this country

indefeasibly, and had a right of possession; and if I could convey it, I might have it in inheritance as completely as any lord of a manor in England. I saw here abundance of cocoa-trees, and orange, lemon, and citron-trees, but all wild, and very few bearing any fruit; at least not then. However, the green limes that I gathered were not only pleasant to eat, but very wholesome; and I mixed their juice afterwards with water, which made it very wholesome, and very cool and refreshing. I found now I had business enough to gather and carry home; and I resolved to lay up a store, as well of grapes as limes and lemons, to furnish myself for the wet season, which I knew was approaching.

When I came home from this journey, I contemplated with great pleasure the fruitfulness of that valley, and the pleasantness of the situation; the security from storms on that side; the water and the wood; and concluded that I had pitched upon a place to fix my abode in, which was by far the worst part of the country. Upon the whole, I began to consider of removing my habitation, and to look out for a place equally safe as where I was now situate; if possible, in that pleasant fruitful part of the island.

This thought ran long in my head; and I was exceeding fond of it for some time, the pleasantness of the place tempting me; but when I came to a nearer view of it, I considered that I was now by the sea-side, where it was at least possible that something might happen to my advantage; and though it was

scarce probable that any such thing should ever happen, yet to enclose myself among the hills and woods in the centre of the island, was to anticipate my bondage, and to render such an affair not only improbable, but impossible; and that, therefore, I ought not by any means to remove. However, I was so enamoured of this place, that I spent much of my time there for the whole remaining part of the month of July; and though, upon second thoughts, I resolved, as above stated, not to remove, yet I built me a little kind of a bower, and surrounded it at a distance with a strong fence, being a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked, and filled between with brush-wood. Here I lay very secure, sometimes two or three nights together, always going over it with a ladder, as before; so that I fancied now I had my country and sea-coast house. This work took me up till the beginning of August.

I had but newly finished my fence, and began to enjoy my labour, when the rains came on, and made me stick close to my first habitation; for, though I had made a tent like the other, with a piece of sail, and spread it very well, yet I had not the shelter of a hill to keep me from storms, nor a cave behind me to retreat into when the rains were extraordinary.

About the beginning of August, as I said, I had finished my bower, and began to enjoy myself. The 3d of August I found the grapes I had hung up were perfectly dried, and indeed were excellent good

raisins of the sun: so I began to take them down from the trees; and it was very happy that I did so, as the rains which followed would have spoiled them, and I should have lost the best part of my winter food; for I had above two hundred large bunches of them. No sooner had I taken them all down, and carried most of them home to my cave, but it began to rain; and from hence, which was the 14th of August, it rained, more or less, every day till the middle of October, and sometimes so violently that I could not stir out of my cave for several days.

In this season I was much surprised with the increase of my family. I had been concerned for the loss of one of my cats which ran away from me; or, as I thought, had been dead; and I heard no more of her, till, to my astonishment, she came home with three kittens. From these three, I afterwards came to be so pestered with cats, that I was forced to kill them like vermin or wild beasts, and to drive them from my house as much as possible.

From the 14th of August to the 26th, incessant rain; so that I could not stir, and was now very careful not to be much wet. In this confinement I began to be straitened for food; but venturing out twice, I one day killed a goat, and the last day, which was the 26th, I found a very large tortoise, which was a treat to me. My food was now regulated thus: I ate a bunch of raisins for my breakfast; a piece of the goat's flesh, or of the turtle, broiled for my dinner (for, to my great misfortune, I had no

vessel to boil or stew anything); and two or three of the turtle's eggs for my supper.

During this confinement in my cover, by the rain, I worked daily two or three hours at enlarging my cave; and by degrees worked it on towards one side, till I came to the outside of the hill; and made a door, or way out, which came beyond my fence or wall: and so I came in and out this way.

September 30. I was now come to the unhappy anniversary of my landing. I cast up the notches on my post, and found I had been on shore three hundred and sixty-five days. I kept this day as a solemn fast; setting it apart for religious exercise, prostrating myself on the ground with the most serious humiliation, confessing my sins to God, acknowledging his righteous judgments upon me, and praying to him to have mercy on me through Jesus Christ; and having not tasted the least refreshment for twelve hours, even till the going down of the sun, I then ate a biscuit and a bunch of grapes, and went to bed, finishing the day as I began it. I had all this time observed no Sabbath-day; for, as I had at first no sense of religion upon my mind, I had, after some time, omitted to distinguish the weeks, by making a longer notch than ordinary for the Sabbath-day, and so did not really know what any of the days were: but now, having cast up the days as above, I found I had been there a year: so I divided it into weeks, and set apart every seventh day for a Sabbath: though I found at the end of my account, I had

lost a day or two in my reckoning. A little after this my ink beginning to fail me, I contented myself to use it more sparingly; and to write down only the most remarkable events of my life, without continuing a daily memorandum of other things.

I have mentioned that I had saved the few ears of barley and rice, which I had so surprisingly found sprung up, as I thought, of themselves, I believe there were about thirty stalks of rice, and about twenty of barley; and now I thought it a proper time to sow it after the rains; the sun being in its southern position, going from me. Accordingly, I dug a piece of ground, as well as I could, with my wooden spade; and, dividing it into two parts, I sowed my grain: but, as I was sowing it, it casually occurred to my thoughts, that I would not sow it all at first, because I did not know when was the proper time for it; so I sowed about two-thirds of the seed, leaving about a handful of each; and it was a great comfort to me afterwards, that I did so, for not one grain of what I sowed this time came to anything: for the dry month following, and the earth having thus had no rain after the seed was sown, it had no moisture to assist its growth, and never came up at all till the wet season had come again, and then it grew as if it had been but newly sown. Finding my first seed did not grow, which I easily imagined was from the drought, I sought for a moister piece of ground to make another trial in; and I dug up a piece of ground near my new bower, and sowed the rest of my seed in Feb-

ruary, a little before the vernal equinox. This having the rainy months of March and April to water it, sprung up very pleasantly, and yielded a very good crop, but having only part of the seed left, and not daring to sow all that I had, I got but a small quantity at last, my whole crop not amounting to above half a peck of each kind. But by this experiment I was made master of my business, and knew exactly when was the proper time to sow; and that I might expect two seed-times, and two harvests every year.

While this corn was growing, I made a little discovery, which was of use to me afterwards. As soon as the rains were over, and the weather began to settle, which was about the month of November, I made a visit up the country to my bower; where, though I had not been some months, yet I found all things just as I left them. The circle or double hedge that I had made was not only firm and entire, but the stakes which I had cut out of some trees that grew thereabouts, were all shot out and grown with long branches, as much as a willow-tree usually shoots the first year after lopping its head; but I could not tell what tree to call it that these stakes were cut from. I was surprised, and yet very well pleased, to see the young trees grow; and I pruned them, and led them to grow as much alike as I could; and it is scarce credible how beautiful a figure they grew into in three years: so that, though the hedge made a circle of about twenty-five yards in diameter, yet the trees, for such I might now call them, soon

covered it, and it was a complete shade, sufficient to lodge under all the dry season. This made me resolve to cut some more stakes, and make me a hedge like this in a semicircle round my wall (I mean that of my first dwelling), which I did; and, placing the trees or stakes in a double row at about eight yards distance from my first fence, they grew presently; and were at first a fine cover to my habitation, and afterwards served for a defence also, as I shall observe in its order.

I found now that the seasons of the year might generally be divided, not into summer and winter, as in Europe; but into the rainy seasons and the dry seasons, which were generally thus: From the middle of February to the middle of April, rainy; the sun being then on, or near, the equinox. From the middle of April till the middle of August, dry; the sun being then north of the Line. From the middle of August till the middle of October, rainy; the sun being then come back to the Line. From the middle of October till the middle of February, dry; the sun being then to the south of the Line.

The rainy seasons held sometimes longer and sometimes shorter, as the winds happened to blow; but this was the general observation I made. After I had found, by experience, the ill consequences of being abroad in the rain, I took care to furnish myself with provisions beforehand, that I might not be obliged to go out; and I sat within doors as much as possible during the wet months. This time I found

much employment, and very suitable, also, to the time. It proved of excellent advantage to me now, that, when I was a boy, I used to take great delight in standing at a basket-maker's in the town where my father lived, to see them make their wicker-ware; and being, as boys usually are, very officious to help, and a great observer of the manner how they worked those things, and sometimes lending a hand, I had, by these means, full knowledge of the methods of it. I employed myself in making, as well as I could, several baskets; both to carry earth, or to carry or lay up anything as I had occasion for. Though I did not finish them very handsomely, yet I made them sufficiently serviceable for my purpose: and thus afterwards I took care never to be without them: and, as my wicker-ware decayed, I made more, especially strong deep baskets, to place my corn in, instead of sacks, when I should come to have any quantity of it.

Having mastered this difficulty, and employed a world of time about it, I bestirred myself to see, if possible, how to supply two other wants. I had no vessel to hold anything that was liquid, except two runlets, which were almost full of rum; and some glass bottles, some of the common size, and others (which were case-bottles) square, for the holding of water, spirits, &c. I had not so much as a pot to boil anything, except a great kettle which I saved out of the ship, and which was too big for such use as I desired it, namely, to make broth, and stew a

bit of meat by itself. The second thing I would fain have had, was a tobacco-pipe; but it was impossible for me to make one; however, I found a contrivance for that too at last. I employed myself in planting my second row of stakes or piles, and, also, in this wicker-working all the summer, or dry season; when another business took me up more time than it could be imagined I could spare.

CHAPTER XIII.

I MENTIONED before, that I had a great mind to see the whole island; and that I had travelled up the brook, and so on to where I had built my bower, and where I had an opening quite to the sea, on the other side of the island. I now resolved to travel quite across to the sea-shore on that side: so, taking my gun, a hatchet, and my dog, and a larger quantity of powder and shot than usual, with two biscuit-cakes, and a great bunch of raisins in my pouch, for my store, I began my journey. When I had passed the vale where my bower stood, as above, I came within view of the sea to the west; and it being a very clear day, I fairly descried land, whether an island or continent I could not tell; but it lay very high, extending from W. to W.S.W. at a very great distance: by my guess, it could not be less than fifteen or twenty leagues off.

I could not tell what part of the world this might

be, otherwise than that I knew it must be part of America ; and, as I concluded by all my observations, must be near the Spanish dominions ; and perhaps was all inhabited by savages, where, if I should have landed, I had been in a worse condition than I was now. I therefore acquiesced in the dispositions of Providence, which I began now to own, and to believe ordered everything for the best ; I say I quieted my mind with this, and left off afflicting myself with fruitless wishes of being there.

Besides, after some pause upon this affair, I considered, that if this land was the Spanish coast, I should certainly, one time or other, see some vessel pass or repass, one way or other ; but if not, then it was the savage coast between the Spanish country and Brazils, whose inhabitants are indeed the worst of savages ; for they are cannibals, or men-eaters, and fail not to murder and devour all human beings that fall into their hands.

With these considerations, walking very leisurely forward, I found this side of the island, where I now was, much pleasanter than mine ; the open, or savannah fields, sweetly adorned with flowers and grass, and full of very fine woods. I saw abundance of parrots, and fain would have caught one, if possible, to have kept it to be tame, and taught it to speak to me. I did, after some pains, catch a young parrot ; for I knocked it down with a stick, and having recovered it, I brought it home ; but it was some years before I could make him speak ; however, at last I

taught him to call me by my name very familiarly. But the accident that followed, though it be a trifle, will be very diverting in its place.

I was exceedingly amused with this journey. I found in the low grounds hares, as I thought them to be, and foxes; but they differed greatly from all the other kinds I had met with; nor could I satisfy myself to eat them, though I killed several. But I had no need to be venturous: for I had no want of food, and of that which was very good too: especially these three sorts, namely, goats, pigeons, and turtle, or tortoise. With these, added to my grapes, Leadenhall Market could not have furnished a table better than I, in proportion to the company; and though my case was deplorable enough, yet I had great cause for thankfulness, as I was not driven to any extremities for food, but had rather plenty, even to dainties.

I never travelled, on this journey, above two miles outright in a day, or thereabout; but I took so many turns and re-turns, to see what discoveries I could make, that I came weary enough to the place where I resolved to sit down for the night; and then I either reposed myself in a tree, or surrounded myself with a row of stakes, set npright in the ground, either from one tree to another, or so as no wild creature could come at me without waking me.

As soon as I came to the sea-shore, I was surprised to see that I had taken up my lot on the worst side of the island: for here, indeed, the shore was covered with innumerable turtle; whereas, on the other side,

I had found but three in a year and a half. Here was also an infinite number of fowls of many kinds, some of which I had seen, and some of which I had not seen before, and many of them very good meat ; but such as I knew not the names of, except those called penguins.

I confess this side of the country was much pleasanter than mine : yet I had not the least inclination to remove ; for as I was fixed in my habitation, it became natural to me, and I seemed all the while I was here, to be, as it were, upon a journey, and from home. However, I travelled along the sea-shore towards the east, I suppose about twelve miles ; and then setting up a great pole upon the shore, for a mark, I concluded I would go home again ; and that the next journey I took should be on the other side of the island, east from my dwelling, and so round till I came to my post again : of which in its place.

I took another way to come back than that I went, thinking I could easily keep so much of the island in my view, that I could not miss finding my first dwelling by viewing the country : but I found myself mistaken ; for, being come about two or three miles, I found myself descended into a very large valley, but so surrounded with hills, and those hills covered with wood, that I could not see which was my way, by any direction but that of the sun, nor even then, unless I knew very well the position of the sun at that time of the day. And it happened, to my further misfortune, that the weather proved hazy for three or four days

while I was in this valley ; and not being able to see the sun, I wandered about very uncomfortable, and at last was obliged to find out the sea-side, look for my post, and come back the same way I went ; and then, by easy journeys, I turned homeward, the weather being exceeding hot, and my gun, ammunition, hatchet, and other things, very heavy.

In this journey my dog surprised a young kid, and seized upon it; and running to take hold of it, I caught it, and saved it alive from the dog. I had a great mind to bring it home if I could ; for I had often been musing, whether it might not be possible to get a kid or two, and so raise a breed of tame goats, which might supply me when my powder and shot should be all spent. I made a collar for this little creature, and with a string which I had made of some rope-yarn, which I always carried about me, I led him along, though with some difficulty, till I came to my bower, and there I enclosed him, and left him ; for I was very impatient to be at home, from whence I had been absent above a month.

I cannot express what a satisfaction it was to me to come into my old hutch, and lie down in my hammock-bed. This little wandering journey, without a settled place of abode, had been so unpleasant to me, that my own house, as I called it to myself, was a perfect settlement to me, compared to that ; and it rendered everything about me so comfortable, that I resolved I would never go a great way from it again, while it should be my lot to stay on the island.



And as I continually fed it, the creature became so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it was from that time one of my domestics also, and would never leave me afterwards.—Page 138.

I reposed myself here a week, to rest and regale myself after my long journey : during which, most of the time was taken up in the weighty affair of making a cage for my Poll, who began now to be more domestic, and to be mighty well acquainted with me. Then I began to think of the poor kid which I had penned within my little circle, and resolved to fetch it home, or give it some food : accordingly I went, and found it where I left it (for indeed it could not get out), but was almost starved for want of food. I went and cut boughs of trees, and branches of such shrubs as I could find, and threw it over, and having fed it, I tied it as I did before, to lead it away ; but it was so tame, with being hungry, that I had no need to have tied it, for it followed me like a dog : and as I continually fed it, the creature became so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it was, from that time, one of my domestics also, and would never leave me afterwards.

The rainy season of the autumnal equinox was now come, and I kept the 30th of September in the same solemn manner as before, being the anniversary of my landing on the island ; having now been there two years, and no more prospect of being delivered than the first day I came there. I spent the whole day in humble and thankful acknowledgments for the many wonderful mercies which my solitary condition was attended with, and without which it might have been infinitely more miserable. I gave humble and hearty thanks to God for having been pleased to dis-

cover to me, that it was possible I might be more happy, even in this solitary condition, than I should have been in the enjoyment of society, and in all the pleasures of the world; that he could fully make up to me the deficiencies of my solitary state, and the want of human society, by his presence, and the communications of his grace to my soul : supporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence here, and to hope for his eternal presence hereafter.

It was now that I began sensibly to feel how much more happy the life I now led was, with all its miserable circumstances, than the wicked, cursed, abominable life I led all the past part of my days : and now I changed both my sorrows and my joys ; my very desires altered, my affections changed their guests, and my delights were perfectly new, from what they were at my first coming, or, indeed, for the two years past.

Now I began to exercise myself with new thoughts ; I daily read the Word of God, and applied all the comforts of it to my present state. One morning, being very sad, I opened the Bible upon these words, " I will never, never leave thee, nor forsake thee." Immediately it occurred that these words were to me ; why else should they be directed in such a manner, just at the moment when I was mourning over my condition, as one forsaken of God and man ? " Well then," said I, " if God does not forsake me, of what ill consequence can it be, or what matters it, though the world should forsake me ; seeing, on the other hand,

if I had all the world, and should lose the favour and blessing of God, there would be no comparison in the loss?"

I never afterwards opened the Bible, or shut it, but my very soul within me blessed God for directing my friend in England, without any order of mine, to pack it among my goods; and for assisting me afterwards to save it out of the wreck of the ship.

CHAPTER XIV.

THUS, and in this disposition of mind, I began my third year; and though I have not given the reader the trouble of so particular an account of my works this year as the first, yet, in general, it may be observed that I was very seldom idle; but having regularly divided my time, according to the several daily employments that were before me; such as, first, my duty to God, and the reading the Scriptures, which I constantly set apart some time for, thrice every day: Secondly, Going abroad with my gun for food, which generally took me up three hours every morning when it did not rain: Thirdly, Ordering, curing, preserving, and cooking what I had killed or caught for my supply. These took up great part of the day. Also, it is to be considered, that, in the middle of the day, when the sun was in the zenith, the violence of the heat was too great to

stir out, so that about four hours in the evening was all the time I could be supposed to work in, with this exception, that sometimes I changed my hours of hunting and working, and went to work in the morning, and abroad with my gun in the afternoon.

To this short time allowed for labour, I desire may be added, the exceeding laboriousness of my work; the many hours which, for want of tools, want of help, and want of skill, everything I did took up out of my time. For example, I was full two-and-forty days making me a board for a long shelf, which I wanted in my cave, whereas, two sawyers, with their tools and a saw-pit, would have cut six of them out of the same tree in half-a-day.

My case was this: it was a large tree which was to be cut down, because my board was to be a broad one. This tree I was three days cutting down, and two more in cutting off the boughs, and reducing it to a log, or piece of timber. With inexpressible hacking and hewing, I reduced both the sides of it into chips, till it was light enough to move; then I turned it, and made one side of it smooth and flat as a board, from end to end; then, turning that side downward, cut the other side, till I brought the plank to about three inches thick, and smooth on both sides. Any one may judge the labour of my hands in such a piece of work; but labour and patience carried me through that, and many other things.

I was now, in the months of November and December, expecting my crop of barley and rice. The

ground I had manured or dug up for them was not great; for, as I observed, my seed of each was not above the quantity of half a peck, having lost one whole crop by sowing in the dry season, but now my crop promised very well, when on a sudden, I found I was in danger of losing it all again by enemies of several sorts, which it was scarce possible to keep from it; as, first, the goats and wild creatures, which I called hares, who, tasting the sweetness of the blade, lay in it night and day, as soon as it came up, and ate it so close, that it could get no time to shoot up into stalk.

I saw no remedy for this, but by making an enclosure about it with a hedge, which I did with a great deal of toil, and the more because it required speed. However, as my arable land was but small, suited to my crop I got it tolerably well fenced in about three weeks' time.

But, as the beasts ruined me before, while my corn was in the blade, so the birds were as likely to ruin me now, when it was in the ear; for, going along by the place to see how it throve, I saw my little crop surrounded with fowls, I know not of how many sorts, who stood, as it were, watching till I should be gone. I immediately let fly among them (for I always had my gun with me), and killed three of them. This was what I wished for; so I took them up, and served them, as we serve notorious thieves in England, namely, hanged them in chains, for a terror to others. It is impossible to imagine that this should have such

an effect as it had ; for the fowls not only never came to the corn, but, in short, they forsook all that part of the island, and I could never see a bird near the place as long as my scarecrows hung there. This I was very glad of, you may be sure ; and about the latter end of December, which was our second harvest of the year, I reaped my corn.

I was sadly put to it for a scythe or sickle, to cut it down, and all I could do was to make one as well as I could out of one of the broadswords, or cutlasses, which I saved among the arms out of the ship. However, as my first crop was but small, I had no great difficulty to cut it down ; in short, I reaped it my way, for I cut nothing off but the ears, and carried it away in a great basket which I had made, and so rubbed it out with my hands ; and, at the end of all my harvesting, I found that out of my half-peck of seed, I had near two bushels of rice, and above two bushels and a half of barley ; that is to say, by my guess, for I had no measure.

However, this was great encouragement to me ; and I foresaw that, in time, it would please God to supply me with bread ; and yet here I was perplexed again ; for I neither knew how to grind, or make meal of my corn, or, indeed, how to clean it and part it ; nor, if made into meal, how to make bread of it ; and, if how to make it, yet I knew not how to bake it ; these things being added to my desire of having a good quantity for store, and to secure a constant supply, I resolved not to taste any of this crop, but to preserve

it all for seed against the next season ; and in the meantime, to employ all my study and hours of working to accomplish this great work of providing myself with corn and bread.

It might be truly said, that now I worked for my bread. It is a little wonderful, and what I believe few people have thought much upon, namely, the strange multitude of little things necessary in the providing, producing, curing, dressing, making, and finishing, this one article of bread.

I, that was reduced to a mere state of nature, found this to my daily discouragement, and was made more sensible of it every hour, even after I had got the first handful of seed-corn, which, as I have said, came up unexpectedly, and indeed to a surprise.

First, I had no plough to turn up the earth ; no spade or shovel to dig it : well, this I conquered, by making a wooden spade, as I observed before ; but this did my work in but a wooden manner ; and though it cost me a great many days to make it, yet, for want of iron, it not only wore out the sooner, but made my work the harder, and performed it much worse. However, this I bore with, and was content to work it out with patience, and bear with the badness of the performance. When the corn was sowed I had no harrow, but was forced to go over it myself, and drag a great heavy bough of a tree over it, to scratch it, as it may be called, rather than rake, or harrow it. When it was growing and grown, I have observed already how many things I wanted to fence

it, secure it, mow or reap it, cure and carry it home, thrash, part it from the chaff, and save it ; then I wanted a mill to grind it, sieves to dress it, yeast and salt to make into bread, and an oven to bake it ; and yet all these things I did without, as shall be observed ; and the corn was an inestimable comfort and advantage to me : all this, as I said, made everything laborious and tedious to me, but that there was no help for ; neither was my time so much loss to me, because, as I had divided it, a certain part of it was every day appointed to these works ; and, as I resolved to use none of the corn for bread till I had a greater quantity by me, I had the next six months to apply myself wholly, by labour and invention, to furnish myself with utensils proper for the performing all the operations necessary for making corn fit for my use.

But now I was to prepare more land ; for I had seed enough to sow above an acre of ground. Before I did this, I had a week's work at least to make me a spade ; which, when it was done, was but a sorry one indeed, and very heavy, and required double labour to work with it : however, I went through that, and sowed my seed in two large flat pieces of ground, as near my house as I could find them to my mind, and fenced them in with a good hedge ; the stakes of which were all cut off that wood which I had set before, and knew it would grow ; so that, in one year's time, I knew I should have a quick, or living hedge, that would want but little repair. This work took me

up full three months, because a great part of the time was in the wet season, when I could not go abroad. Within doors, that is, when it rained, and I could not go out, I found employment on the following occasions: always observing, that, while I was at work I diverted myself with talking to my parrot, and teaching him to speak; and I quickly taught him to know his own name, and at last to speak it out pretty loud, POLL; which was the first word I ever heard spoken on the island by any mouth but my own. This, therefore, was not my work, but an assistant to my work; for now, as I said, I had a great employment upon my hands, as follows: I had long studied, by some means or other, to make myself some earthen vessels, which indeed, I wanted much, but knew not where to come at them; however, considering the heat of the climate, I did not doubt, but if I could find out any clay, I might botch up some such pot as might, being dried in the sun, be hard and strong enough to bear handling, and to hold anything that was dry, and required to be kept so.

It would make the reader pity me, or rather laugh at me, to tell how many awkward ways I took to raise this pastil; what odd, misshapen, ugly things I made; how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the clay not being stiff enough to bear its own weight; how many cracked by the over-violent heat of the sun, being set out too hastily; and how many fell in pieces with only removing, as well before as after they were dried; and in a word, how, after hav-

ing laboured hard to find the clay, to dig it, to temper it, to bring it home, and work it, I could not make above two large earthen ugly things (I cannot call them jars) in about two months' labour.

However, as the sun baked these two very dry and hard, I lifted them very gently up, and set them down again in two great wicker baskets, which I had made on purpose for them, that they might not break ; and as, between the pot and the basket there was a little room to spare, I stuffed it full of the rice and barley straw ; and these two pots being to stand always dry, I thought would hold my dry corn, and perhaps the meal, when the corn was bruised.

Though I miscarried so much in my design for large pots, yet I made several smaller things with better success ; such as little round pots, flat dishes, pitchers, and pipkins, and anything my hand turned to ; and the heat of the sun baked them very hard.

But all this would not answer my end, which was to get an earthen pot to hold liquids, and bear the fire, which none of these could do. It happened, some time after, making a pretty large fire for cooking my meat, when I went to put it out, after I had done with it, I found a broken piece of one of my earthenware vessels in the fire, burnt as hard as a stone, and red as a tile. I was agreeably surprised to see it ; and said to myself, that certainly they might be made to burn whole, if they would burn broken.

This set me to study how to order my fire, so as to make it burn some pots. I had no notion of a kiln,

such as the potters burn in, or of glazing them with lead, though I had some lead to do it with ; but I placed three large pipkins, and two or three pots, in a pile, one upon another, and placed my firewood all round it, with a great heap of embers under them. I plied the fire with fresh fuel round the outside, and upon the top, till I saw the pots in the inside, red-hot quite through, and observed that they did not crack at all ; when I saw them clear red, I let them stand in that heat above five or six hours, till I found one of them, though it did not crack, did melt or run ; for the sand which was mixed with the clay melted by the violence of the heat, and would have run into glass if I had gone on ; so I slacked my fire gradually, till the pots began to abate of the red colour ; and watching them all night, that I might not let the fire abate too fast, in the morning I had three very good, I will not say handsome, pipkins, and two other earthen pots, as hard burnt as could be desired ; and one of them perfectly glazed with the running of the sand.

After this experiment, I need not say that I wanted no sort of earthenware for my use ; but I must needs say, as to the shapes of them, they were very indifferent.

No joy, at a thing of so mean a nature, was ever equal to mine, when I found I had made an earthen pot that would bear the fire ; and I had hardly patience to stay till they were cold, before I set one on the fire again, with some water in it, to boil me some meat, which it did admirably well ; and, with a piece

of kid, I made some very good broth ; though I wanted oatmeal, and several other ingredients requisite to make it so good as I would have had it been.

My next concern was to get a stone mortar, to stamp or beat some corn in ; for, as to the mill, there was no thought of arriving to that perfection of art with one pair of hands. To supply this want, I was at a great loss ; I spent many a day to find out a great stone big enough to cut hollow, and make fit for a mortar ; but could find none at all, except what was in the solid rock, and which I had no way to dig or cut out ; so, after a great deal of time lost in searching for a stone, I gave it over, and resolved to look out a great block of hard wood, which I found, indeed, much easier ; and getting one as big as I had strength to stir, I rounded it, and formed it on the outside with my axe and hatchet ; and then, with the help of fire, and infinite labour, made a hollow place in it, as the Indians in Brazil make their canoes. After this, I made a great heavy pestle, or beater, of the wood called iron-wood ; and this I prepared, and laid by, against I had my next crop of corn, when I proposed to myself to grind, or rather pound my corn into meal, to make my bread.

My next difficulty was to make a sieve, or search, to dress my meal, and to part it from the bran and the husk, without which I did not see it possible I could have any bread. This was a most difficult thing, even but to think on ; for I had nothing like the necessary thing to make it ; I mean fine thin

canvass, or stuff, to search the meal through. Here I was at a full stop for many months ; nor did I really know what to do ; linen I had none left, but what was mere rags ; I had goats' hair, but neither knew how to weave it or spin it ; and had I known how, here were no tools to work it with : all the remedy I found for this was, at last, recollecting I had, among the seamens' clothes which were saved out of the ship, some neckcloths of calico, or muslin ; with some pieces of these I made three small sieves, proper enough for the work ; and thus I made shift for some years ; how I did afterwards, I shall show in its place.

The baking part was the next thing to be considered, and how I should make bread when I came to have corn ; for, first, I had no yeast ; as to that part, there was no supplying the want, so I did not concern myself much about it ; but for an oven I was indeed puzzled. At length I found out an expedient for that also, which was this : I made some earthen vessels, very broad, but not deep, that is to say, about two feet diameter, and not above nine inches deep ; these I burned in the fire, as I had done the other, and laid them by ; and when I wanted to bake, I made a great fire upon my hearth, which I had paved with some square tiles, of my own making and burning also ; but I should not call them square.

When the fire-wood was burned into embers, or live coals, I drew them forward upon the hearth, so

as to cover it all over, and there let them lie till the hearth was very hot; then, sweeping away all the embers, I set down my loaf or loaves, and covering them with the earthen pot, drew the embers all round the outside of the pot, to keep in and add to the heat; and thus, as well as in the best oven in the world, I baked my barley loaves, and became, in a little time, a good pastry-cook into the bargain; for I made myself several cakes and puddings of the same; but made no pies, as I had nothing to put into them, except the flesh of fowls and goats.

It need not be wondered at, if all these things took me up most part of the third year of my abode here; for, it is to be observed, in the intervals of these things, I had my new harvest and husbandry to manage; I reaped my corn in its season, and carried it home as well as I could, and laid it up in the ear, in my large baskets, till I had time to rub it out; for I had no floor to thrash it on, or instrument to thrash it with.

And now, indeed, my stock of corn increasing, I really wanted to build my barns bigger: I wanted a place to lay it up in; for the increase of the corn now yielded me so much, that I had of the barley about twenty bushels, and of rice as much, or more, insomuch that now I resolved to begin to use it freely; for my bread had been quite gone a great while. I resolved, also, to see what quantity would be sufficient for me a whole year, and to sow but once a year.

Upon the whole, I found that the forty bushels of barley and rice were much more than I could consume in a year; so I resolved to sow just the same quantity every year that I sowed the last, in hopes that such a quantity would fully provide me with bread, &c.

CHAPTER XV.

ALL the while these things were doing, you may be sure my thoughts ran many times upon the prospect of land which I had seen from the other side of the island; and I was not without some secret wishes that I was on shore there; fancying that, seeing the mainland, and an inhabited country, I might find some way or other to convey myself farther, and perhaps, at last, find some means of escape.

Now I wished for my boy Xury, and the long-boat, with the shoulder-of-mutton sail, with which I sailed above a thousand miles on the coast of Africa; but this was in vain: then I thought I would go and look at our ship's boat, which, as I have said, was blown up upon the shore a great way, in the storm, when we were first cast away. She lay nearly where she did at first, but not quite, having turned, by the force of the waves and the winds, almost bottom upward, against a high ridge of beachy, rough sand; but no water about her, as before. If I had had hands to have refitted her, and to have launched her

into the water, the boat would have done very well, and I might have gone back into the Brazils with her easily enough ; but I might have foreseen that I could no more turn her, and set her upright upon her bottom, than I could remove the island. However, I went to the woods, and cut levers and rollers, and brought them to the boat, resolving to try what I could do ; suggesting to myself, that, if I could but turn her down, and repair the damage which she had received, she would be a very good boat, and I might venture to sea in her.

I spared no pains, indeed, in this piece of fruitless toil, and spent, I think, three or four weeks about it. At last, finding it impossible to heave her up with my little strength, I fell to digging away the sand, to undermine her, and so to make her fall down, setting pieces of wood to thrust and guide her right in the fall.

But when I had done this, I was unable to stir her up again or to get under her, much less to move her forwards towards the water ; so I was forced to give it over : and yet, though I gave over the hopes of the boat, my desire to venture over the main increased, rather than diminished, as the means for it seemed impossible.

At length I began to think whether it was not possible to make myself a canoe, or periagua, such as the natives of those climates make, even without tools, or, as I might say, without hands, of the trunk of a great tree. This I not only thought possible, but

easy, and pleased myself extremely with the idea of making it, and with my having much more convenience for it than any of the negroes or Indians; but not at all considering the particular inconveniences which I lay under more than the Indians did, namely, the want of hands to move it into the water when it was made—a difficulty much harder for me to surmount than all the consequences of want of tools could be to them.

One would imagine, if I had had the least reflection upon my mind of my circumstances, while I was making this boat, I should have immediately thought how I was to get it into the sea; but my thoughts were so intent upon my voyage in it, that I never once considered how I should get it off the land; and it was really in its own nature more easy for me to guide it over forty-five miles of sea than the forty-five fathoms of land, where it lay, to set it afloat in the water.

The eagerness of my fancy prevailed, and to work I went. I felled a cedar tree, and I question much whether Solomon ever had such a one for the building of the Temple at Jerusalem; it was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the stump, and four feet eleven inches diameter, at the end of twenty-two feet, where it lessened, and then parted into branches. It was not without infinite labour that I felled this tree. I was twenty days hacking and hewing at the bottom, and fourteen more getting the branches and limbs and the vast spreading head of

it cut off. After this it cost me a month to shape it and dub it to a proportion, and to something like the bottom of a boat, that it might swim upright as it ought to do. It cost me near three months more to clear the inside, and work it out so as to make an exact boat of it. This I did indeed without fire, by mere mallet and chisel, and by the dint of hard labour, till I had brought it to be a very handsome periagua, and big enough to have carried six-and-twenty men, and, consequently, big enough to have carried me and all my cargo.

When I had gone through this work, I was extremely delighted with it. The boat was really much bigger than ever I saw a canoe or periagua that was made of one tree in my life. Many a weary stroke it had cost, you may be sure; and there remained nothing but to get it into the water; which, had I accomplished, I make no question but I should have begun the maddest voyage; and the most unlikely to be performed, that was ever undertaken.

But all my devices to get it into the water failed me; though they cost me inexpressible labour too. It lay about one hundred yards from the water, and not more; but the first inconvenience was, it was up hill towards the creek. Well, to take away this discouragement, I resolved to dig into the surface of the earth, and so make a declivity; this I begun, and it cost me a prodigious deal of pains; but who grudge pains that have their deliverance in view? When this was worked through, and this difficulty managed, it

was still much the same, for I could no more stir the canoe than I could the other boat. Then I measured the distance of ground, and resolved to cut a dock or canal, to bring the water up to the canoe, seeing I could not bring the canoe down to the water. Well, I began this work; and when I began to enter upon it, and calculate how deep it was to be dug, how broad, how the stuff was to be thrown out, I found by the number of hands I had, having none but my own, that it must have been ten or twelve years before I could have gone through with it; for the shore lay so high, that at the upper end it must have been at least twenty feet deep; this attempt, though with great reluctancy, I was at length obliged to give over also.

This grieved me heartily; and now I saw, though too late, the folly of beginning a work before we count the cost, and before we judge rightly of our own strength to go through with it.

In the middle of this work I finished my fourth year in this place, and kept my anniversary with the same devotion, and with as much comfort, as before; for by a constant study and serious application to the Word of God, and by the assistance of his grace, I gained a different knowledge from what I had before; I entertained different notions of things; I looked now upon the world as a thing remote, which I had nothing to do with, no expectation from, and indeed no desires about; in a word, I had nothing to do with it, nor was ever likely to have. I thought it looked,

as we may perhaps look upon it hereafter, namely, as a place I had lived in, but was come out of it; and well might I say, as father Abraham to Dives, "Between me and thee there is a great gulf fixed."

In the first place, I was here removed from all the wickedness of the world; I had neither "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, nor the pride of life." I had nothing to covet, for I had all that I was now capable of enjoying; I was lord of the whole manor, or, if I pleased, I might call myself king, or emperor, over the whole country which I had possession of; there were no rivals; I had no competitor, none to dispute sovereignty or command with me; I might have raised ship-loadings of corn, but I had no use for it; so I let as little grow as I thought enough for my occasion. I had tortoise or turtle enough, but now and then, one was as much as I could put to any use. I had timber enough to have built a fleet of ships, and I had grapes enough to have made wine, or to have cured into raisins, to have loaded that fleet when it had been built.

In a word, the nature and experience of things dictated to me, upon just reflection, that all the good things of this world are of no farther good to us than for our use; and that whatever we may heap up to give others, we enjoy only as much as we can use, and no more. The most covetous griping miser in the world would have been cured of the vice of covetousness, if he had been in my case; for I possessed infinitely more than I knew what to do with. I had

no room for desire, except it was for things which I had not, and they were comparatively but trifles, though, indeed, of great use to me. I had, as I hinted before, a parcel of money, as well gold as silver, about thirty-six pounds sterling! Alas! there the nasty, sorry, useless stuff lay: I had no manner of business for it; and I often thought within myself, that I would have given a handful of it for a gross of tobacco-pipes, or for a hand-mill to grind my corn; nay, I would have given it all for six penny-worth of turnip and carrot seed from England, or for a handful of peas and beans, and a bottle of ink.

I had now brought my state of life to be much more comfortable in itself than it was at first, and much easier to my mind, as well as to my body. I frequently sat down to meat with thankfulness, and admired the hand of God's providence, which had thus "spread my table in the wilderness."

I spent whole hours, I may say whole days, in representing to myself, in the most lively colours, how I must have acted if I had got nothing out of the ship. I could not have so much as got any food, except fish and turtles; and that, as it was long before I found any of them, I must have perished; that I should have lived, if I had not perished, like a mere savage.

These reflections made me very sensible of the goodness of Providence to me, and very thankful for my present condition, with all its hardships and misfortunes.

I had another reflection which assisted me also to comfort my mind with hopes; and this was, comparing my present condition with what I had deserved, and had therefore reason to expect from the hand of Providence. I had lived a dreadful life, perfectly destitute of the knowledge and fear of God.

So void was I of everything that was good, or of the least sense of what I was, or was to be, that, in the greatest deliverances I enjoyed (such as my escape from Sallee, my being taken up by the Portuguese master of a ship, my being planted so well in the Brazils, my receiving the cargo from England, and the like), I never had once the words, "thank God," so much as on my mind, or in my mouth; nor in the greatest distress had I so much as a thought to pray to him, or so much as to say, "Lord, have mercy upon me!" no, nor to mention the name of God, unless it was to swear by, and blaspheme it.

I had terrible reflections upon my mind for many months as I have already observed, on account of my wicked and hardened life past; and when I looked about me, and considered what particular providences had attended me since my coming into this place, and how God had dealt bountifully with me—had not only punished me less than my iniquity had deserved, but had so plentifully provided for me—this gave me great hopes that my repentance was accepted, and that God had yet mercies in store for me.

With these reflections I worked my mind up, not

only to a resignation to the will of God in the present disposition of my circumstances, but even to a sincere thankfulness for my condition; and that I, who was yet a living man, ought not to complain, seeing I had not the due punishment of my sins; that I enjoyed so many mercies which I had no reason to have expected in that place, that I ought never more to repine at my condition; but to rejoice and to give daily thanks for that daily bread, which nothing but a crowd of wonders could have brought. In a word, as my life was a life of sorrow one way, so it was a life of mercy another; and I wanted nothing to make it a life of comfort, but to make myself sensible of God's goodness to me, and care over me in this condition; and after I did make a just improvement of these things, I went away, and was no more sad.

I had now been here so long, that many things which I brought on shore for my help were either quite gone, or very much wasted, and near spent.

My ink, as I observed, had been gone for some time, all but a very little, which I eked out with water, a little and a little, till it was so pale, it scarce left any appearance of black upon the paper. As long as it lasted, I made use of it to minute down the days of the month on which any remarkable thing happened to me.

The next thing to my ink being wasted, was that of my bread; I mean the biscuit which I brought out of the ship. This I had husbanded to the last degree,

allowing myself but one cake of bread a day for above a year; and yet I was quite without bread for near a year before I got any corn of my own: and great reason I had to be thankful that I had any at all, the getting it being, as has been already observed, next to miraculous.

My clothes, too, began to decay mightily: as to linen, I had had none for a great while, except some chequered shirts, which I found in the chests of the other seamen, and which I carefully preserved, because many times I could bear no clothes on but a shirt; and it was a very great help to me, that I had, among all the men's clothes of the ship, almost three dozen of shirts. There were also, indeed, several thick watch-coats of the seamen which were left, but they were too hot to wear; and, though it is true that the weather was so violently hot that there was no need of clothes, yet I could not go quite naked, as the heat frequently blistered my skin. No more could I ever bring myself to go out in the heat of the sun without a cap or hat.

Upon these views, I began to consider about putting the few rags I had, which I called clothes, into some order. I had worn out all the waistcoats I had, and my business was now to try if I could not make jackets out of the great watch-coats that I had by me, and with such other materials as I had; so I set to work a tailoring, or rather, indeed, a botching, for I made most piteous work of it. However, I made shift to make two or three new waistcoats,

which I hoped would serve me a great while; as for breeches or drawers, I made but a very sorry shift indeed, till afterwards.

I have mentioned that I saved the skins of all the creatures that I killed, I mean four-footed ones; and I had hung them up, stretched out with sticks, in the sun, by which means some of them were so dry and hard that they were fit for little, but others I found very useful. The first thing I made of these was a great cap for my head, with the hair on the outside, to shoot off the rain; and this I performed so well, that, after this, I made me a suit of clothes wholly of the skins, that is to say, a waistcoat and breeches open at the knees, and both loose; for they were rather wanting to keep me cool than warm. I must not omit to acknowledge that they were wretchedly made; for, if I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse tailor. However, they were such as I made very good shift with; and, when I was abroad, if it happened to rain, the hair of my waistcoat and cap being uppermost, I was kept very dry.

After this I spent a great deal of time and pains to make me an umbrella. However, at last, I made one to answer, and covered it with skins, the hair upwards, so that it cast off the rain like a pent-house, and kept off the sun so effectually that I could walk out in the hottest of the weather, with greater advantage than I could before in the coolest; and when I had no need of it, could close it and carry it under my arm.

CHAPTER XVI.

THUS I lived mighty comfortably, my mind being entirely composed by resigning to the will of God, and throwing myself wholly upon the disposal of his providence

I cannot say, that after this, for five years, any extraordinary thing happened to me; but I lived on in the same course, in the same posture and place, just as before; the chief things I was employed in, besides my yearly labour of planting my barley and rice, and curing my raisins, of both which I always kept up just enough to have sufficient stock of one year's provision beforehand; I say, besides this yearly labour, and my daily pursuit of going out with my gun, I had one labour to make me a canoe, which at last I finished; so that by digging a canal to it of six feet wide, and four feet deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile. As for the first, which was so vastly big, I was obliged to let it lie where it was, as a memorandum to teach me to be wiser the next time; indeed, the next time, though I could not get a tree proper for it, and was in a place where I could not get the water to it at any less distance than, as I have said, near half a mile, yet, as I saw it was practicable at last, I never gave it over: and, though I was near two years about it, yet I never grudged my labour, in hopes of having a boat to go off to sea at last.

However, though my little periagua was finished, yet the size of it was not at all answerable to the design which I had in view when I made the first; I mean of venturing over to the *terra firma*, where it was above forty miles broad; accordingly, the smallness of my boat assisted to put an end to that design, and now I thought no more of it. As I had a boat, my next design was to make a cruise round the island; for as I had been on the other side in one place, crossing, as I have already described it, over the land, so the discoveries I made in that journey made me very eager to see other parts of the coast.

For this purpose, and that I might do everything with discretion and consideration, I fitted up a little mast to my boat, and made a sail to it out of some of the pieces of the ship's sails, which lay in store, and of which I had a great stock by me.

Having fitted my mast and sail, and tried the boat, I found she would sail very well. Then I made little lockers or boxes at either end, to put provisions, necessaries, and ammunition, &c., into, to be kept dry, either from rain or the spray of the sea, and a hollow place I cut in the inside of the boat, where I could lay my gun, making a flap to hang down over to keep it dry.

I fixed my umbrella also in a step of the stern, like a mast, to stand over my head, and keep the heat of the sun off me, like an awning; and thus I every now and then took a little voyage upon the sea, but never went far out, or far from the little creek; but at last, being eager to view the circumference of my

little kingdom, I resolved upon my tour, and accordingly I victualled my ship for the voyage, putting in two dozen of my loaves of barley bread, an earthen pot full of parched rice, a food I eat a great deal of, a little bottle of rum, half a goat, and powder and shot for killing more, and two large watch-coats, of those which, as I mentioned before, I had saved out of the seamen's chests. These I took, one to lie upon, and the other to cover me in the night.

It was the 6th of November, in the sixth year of my reign or my captivity, that I set out on this voyage, and I found it much longer than I expected; for though the island itself was not very large, yet when I came to the east side of it, I found a great ledge of rocks lie out about two leagues into the sea, some above water, some under it, and beyond that a shoal of sand, lying dry, half a league more, so that I was obliged to go a great way out to sea to double that point. When I first discovered them, I was going to give over my enterprise, and come back—not knowing how far it might oblige me to go out to sea, and, above all, doubting how I should get back again; so I came to anchor, for I had made me a kind of anchor with a piece of grappling which I got out of the ship.

Having secured my boat, I took my gun and went on shore, climbing upon a hill which seemed to overlook that point, where I saw the full extent of it, and resolved to venture. In viewing the sea from that hill where I stood, I perceived a strong and furious

current which ran to the east, and even came close to the point, and I took the more notice of it because I saw there might be some danger that when I came into it I might be carried out to sea by the strength of it, and not be able to make the island again. And indeed, had I not gotten first upon this hill, I believe it would have been so, for there was the same current upon the other side of the island, only that it set off at a farther distance, and I saw there was a strong eddy under the shore, so that I had nothing to do but to get in out of the first current, and I should presently be in an eddy.

I lay here, however, two days, because the wind, blowing pretty fresh (at E.S.E., and that being just contrary to the said current), made a breach of the sea upon the point, so that it was not safe for me to keep too close to the shore, for the breach, nor to go too far off because of the stream.

The third day, in the morning, the wind having abated over night, the sea was calm, and I ventured; but no sooner was I come to the point—when even I was not my boat's length from the shore—but I found myself in a great depth of water, and a current like the sluice of a mill. It carried my boat along with it with such violence that all I could do could not keep her so much as on the edge of it; but I found it hurried me farther and farther out from the eddy, which was on my left hand. There was no wind stirring to help me, and all I could do with my paddles signified nothing. And now I began to give

myself over for lost; for, as the current was on both sides of the island, I knew, in a few leagues' distance, they must join again, and then I was irrecoverably gone. Nor could I see any possibility of avoiding it; so that I had no prospect before me but of perishing, not by the sea, for that was calm enough, but of starving for hunger. I had, indeed, found a tortoise on the shore, as big almost as I could lift, and had tossed it into the boat, and I had a great jar of fresh water—that is to say, one of my earthen pots; but what was all this to being driven in the vast ocean, where, to be sure, there was no shore, no mainland, or island, for a thousand leagues at least!

And now I saw how easy it was for the providence of God to make even the most miserable condition of mankind worse. Now I looked back upon my desolate solitary island as the most pleasant place in the world, and all the happiness my heart could wish for was to be put there again. Then I reproached myself with my unthankful temper, and how I had repined at my solitary condition; and now, what would I give to be on shore there again? It is scarce possible to imagine the consternation I was now in, being driven from my beloved island (for so it appeared to me now to be) into the wide ocean, almost two leagues, and in the utmost despair of ever recovering it again. However, I worked hard, till, indeed, my strength was almost exhausted, and kept my boat as much to the northward—that is, towards the side of the current which the eddy lay on, as possibly I could;

when, about noon, as the sun passed the meridian, I thought I felt a little breeze of wind in my face, springing up from the S.S.E. This cheered my heart a little, and especially when, in about half an hour more, it blew a pretty gentle gale. By this time I was got at a frightful distance from the island, and had the least cloudy or hazy weather intervened, I had been undone another way too; for I had no compass on board, and should never have known how to have steered towards the island if I had but once lost sight of it; but the weather continuing clear, I applied myself to get up my mast again, and spread my sail, standing away to the north as much as possible, to get out of the current.

Just as I had set my mast and sail, and the boat began to stretch away, I saw, even by the clearness of the water, some alteration of the current was near; for, where the current was so strong, the water was foul, but perceiving the water clear, I found the current abate, and presently I found, to the east, at about half a mile, a breach of the sea upon some rocks; these rocks, I found, caused the current to part again, and as the main stress of it ran away more southerly, leaving the rocks to the north-east, so the other returned by the repulse of the rocks, and made a strong eddy, which ran back again to the north-west, with a very sharp stream.

They who know what it is to have a reprieve brought to them upon the ladder, or to be rescued from thieves just going to murder them, or have been in such like

extremities, may guess what my present surprise of joy was, and how gladly I put my boat into the stream of this eddy; and the wind also freshening, how gladly I spread my sail to it, running cheerfully before the wind, with a strong tide or eddy under foot.

This eddy carried me about a league in my way back again directly towards the island, but about two leagues more to the northward than the current which carried me away at first: so that, when I came near the island, I found myself open to the northern shore of it—that is to say, the other end of the island, opposite to that which I went out from.

When I had made something more than a league of way by the help of this current or eddy, I found it was spent, and served me no farther. However, I found that being between two great currents, namely, that on the south side, which had hurried me away, and that on the north, which lay about a league on the other side; I say, between these two, in the wake of the island, I found the water at least still, and running no way; and having still a breeze of wind fair for me, I kept on, steering directly for the island, though not making such fresh way as I did before.

About four o'clock in the evening, being then within a league of the island, I found the point of the rocks which occasioned this disaster stretching out, as is described before, to the southward, and casting off the current more southerly, had of course made another eddy to the north; and this I found

very strong, but not directly setting the way my course lay, which was due west, but almost full north. However, having a fresh gale, I stretched across this eddy, slanting north-west ; and in about an hour, came within about a mile of the shore, where, it being smooth water, I soon got to land.

When I was on shore I fell on my knees and gave God thanks for my deliverance, resolving to lay aside all thoughts of my deliverance by my boat ; and refreshing myself with such things as I had, I brought my boat close to the shore, in a little cove that I had spied under some trees, and laid me down to sleep, being quite spent with the labour and fatigue of the voyage.

I was now at a great loss which way to get home with my boat : I had run so much hazard, and knew too much of the case, to think of attempting it by the way I went out ; and what might be at the other side (I mean the west side) I knew not, nor had I any mind to run any more ventures. So I only resolved, in the morning, to make my way westward along the shore, and to see if there was no creek where I might lay up my frigate in safety, so as to have her again if I wanted her. In about three miles, or thereabout, coasting the shore, I came to a very good inlet or bay, about a mile over, which narrowed till it came to a very little rivulet or brook, where I found a very convenient harbour for my boat, and where she lay as if she had been in a little dock made on purpose for her. Here I put in, and having stowed my

boat very safe, I went on shore to look about me and see where I was.

I soon found I had but a little passed by the place where I had been before, when I travelled on foot to that shore ; so taking nothing out of my boat but my gun and umbrella, for it was exceeding hot, I began my march. The way was comfortable enough after such a voyage as I had been upon, and I reached my old bower in the evening, where I found everything standing as I left it; for I always kept it in good order, being, as I said before, my country-house.

I got over the fence, and laid me down in the shade, to rest my limbs, for I was very weary, and fell asleep: but judge you, if you can, that read my story, what a surprise I must be in, when I was awaked out of my sleep by a voice calling me by my name several times, "Robin, Robin, Robin Crusoe; poor Robin Crusoe! Where are you, Robin Crusoe? Where are you? Where have you been?"

I was so dead asleep at first, being fatigued with rowing, or paddling, as it is called, the first part of the day, and with walking the latter part, that I did not wake thoroughly; but, dozing between sleeping and waking, thought I dreamed that somebody spoke to me: but, as the voice continued to repeat Robin Crusoe! Robin Crusoe! at last I began to wake more perfectly, and was at first dreadfully frightened, and started up in the utmost consternation; but no sooner were my eyes open, but I saw my Poll sitting on the top of the hedge; and immediately knew it was he



At last I began to wake more perfectly, and was at first dreadfully frightened and started up in the utmost consternation, but no sooner were my eyes open, but I saw my Poll sitting on the top of the hedge, and immediately knew it was he that spoke to me.—Page 168.

that spoke to me ; for just in such bemoaning language I had used to talk to him and teach him ; and he had learned it so perfectly that he would sit upon my finger, and lay his bill close to my face, and cry, " Poor Robin Crusoe ! Where are you ? Where have you been ? How came you here ? " and such things as I had taught him.

However, even though I knew it was the parrot, and that indeed it could be nobody else, it was a good while before I could compose myself. First, I was amazed how the creature got thither, and then, how he should just keep about the place, and nowhere else : but as I was well satisfied it could be nobody but honest Poll, I got over it ; and holding out my hand, and calling him by his name, " Poll," the sociable creature came to me, and sat upon my thumb, as he used to do, and continued talking to me, Poor Robin Crusoe ! and how did I come here ? and where had I been ? just as if he had been overjoyed to see me again ; and so I carried him home along with me.

I now had had enough of rambling to sea for some time, and had enough to do for many days, to sit still and reflect upon the danger I had been in. I remained near a year, living a very sedate, retired life, as you may well suppose ; and my thoughts being very much composed as to my condition, and fully comforted in resigning myself to the dispositions of Providence, I thought I lived really very happily in all things, except that of society.

I improved myself in this time in all the mechanic

exercises which my necessities put me upon applying myself to ; and I believed I could, upon occasion, have made a very good carpenter, especially considering how few tools I had.

Besides this, I arrived at an unexpected perfection in my earthenware, and contrived well enough to make them with a wheel, which I found infinitely easier and better ; because I made things round and shapeable, which before were filthy things indeed to look on. But I think I was never more vain of my own performance, or more joyful for anything I found out, than for my being able to make a tobacco-pipe ; and though it was a very ugly clumsy thing when it was done, and only burnt red like other earthenware, yet, as it was hard and firm, and would draw the smoke, I was exceedingly comforted with it, for I had been always used to smoke ; and there were pipes in the ship, but I forget them at first, not thinking that there was tobacco in the island ; and afterwards, when I searched the ship again, I could not come at any pipes at all.

In my wicker-ware also I improved much, and made abundance of necessary baskets, as well as my invention showed me ; though not very handsome, yet they were such as were very handy and convenient for my laying things up in, or fetching things home.

CHAPTER XVII.

I BEGAN now to perceive my powder abated considerably : this was a want which it was impossible for me to supply, and I began seriously to consider what I must do when I should have no more powder ; that is to say, how I should do to kill any goats. I had, as is observed, in the third year of my being here, kept a young kid, and bred her up tame, and I was in hopes of getting a he-goat ; but I could not by any means bring it to pass, till my kid grew an old goat ; and as I could never find in my heart to kill her, she died at last of mere age.

But being now in the eleventh year of my residence, and, as I have said, my ammunition growing low, I set myself to study some art to trap and snare the goats, to see whether I could not catch some of them alive ; and particularly, I wanted a she-goat great with young. For this purpose, I made snares to hamper them ; and I do believe they were more than once taken in them ; but my tackle was not good, for I had no wire, and I always found them broken, and my bait devoured. At length I resolved to try a pitfall ; so I dug several large pits in the earth, in places where I had observed the goats used to feed, and over these pits I placed hurdles, of my own making too, with a great weight upon them ; and several times I put ears of barley and dry rice without setting the trap, and I could easily perceive

that the goats had gone in and eaten up the corn, for I could see the marks of their feet. At length I set three traps in one night, and going the next morning, I found them all standing, and yet the bait eaten and gone ; this was very discouraging. However, I altered my traps ; and not to trouble you with particulars, going one morning to see my traps, I found in one of them a large old he-goat, and in one of the others three kids, a male and two females.

As to the old one, I knew not what to do with him ; he was so fierce I durst not go into the pit to him ; that is to say, to go about to bring him away alive, which was what I wanted. I could have killed him, but that was not my business, nor would it answer my end ; so I even let him out, and he ran away as if he had been frightened out of his wits. But I had forgot then what I had learnt afterwards, that hunger will tame a lion. If I had let him stay there three or four days without food, and then have carried him some water to drink, and then a little corn, he would have been as tame as one of the kids ; for they are mighty sagacious, tractable creatures, where they are well used.

However, for the present I let him go, knowing no better at that time : then I went to the three kids, and taking them one by one, I tied them with strings together, and with some difficulty brought them all home.

It was a good while before they would feed ; but throwing them some sweet corn, it tempted them, and

they began to be tame. And now I found, that if I expected to supply myself with goats' flesh when I had no powder or shot left, breeding some up tame was my only way ; when perhaps I might have them about my house like a flock of sheep. But then it occurred to me that I must keep the tame from the wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up ; and the only way for this was to have some enclosed piece of ground, well fenced either with hedge or pale, to keep them in so effectually, that those within might not break out, nor those without break in.

I resolved to enclose a piece of ground about 150 yards in length, and 100 yards in breadth ; which, as it would maintain as many as I should have in any reasonable time, so, as my stock increased, I could add more ground to my enclosure.

I was about three months hedging in the first piece ; and till I had done it I tethered the three kids in the best part of it, and used them to feed as near me as possible, to make them familiar ; and very often I would go and carry them some ears of barley, or a handful of rice, and feed them out of my hand ; so that after my enclosure was finished, and I let them loose, they would follow me up and down, bleating after me for a handful of corn.

This answered my end ; and in about a year and a half, I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all ; and in two years more I had three-and-forty, besides several that I took and killed for my food.

After that I enclosed five several pieces of ground to feed them in, with little pens to drive them into, to take them as I wanted, and gates out of one piece of ground into another.

But this was not all ; for now I not only had got goats' flesh to feed on when I pleased, but milk too ; a thing which indeed in the beginning I did not so much as think of, and which, when it came into my thoughts, was really an agreeable surprise : for now I set up my dairy, and had sometimes a gallon or two of milk in a day.

It would have made a Stoic smile to have seen me and my little family sit down to dinner : there was my majesty, the prince and lord of the whole island ; I had the lives of all my subjects at my absolute command ; I could hang, draw, give liberty, and take it away ; and no rebels among all my subjects. Then to see how like a king I dined too, all alone, attended by my servants : Poll, as if he had been my favourite, was the only person permitted to talk to me. My dog, who was now grown very old and crazy, and had found no species to multiply his kind upon, sat always at my right hand ; and two cats, one on one side of the table, and one on the other, expecting now and then a bit from my hand, as a mark of special favour.

But these were not the two cats which I brought on shore at first, for they were both of them dead ; but one of them having multiplied by I know not what kind of a creature, these were two which I had



It would have made a stoic smile to see me and my little family sit down to dinner. . . . Poll, as if he had been my favourite, was the only one permitted to talk to me.—Page 174.

preserved tame, whereas the rest ran wild in the woods, and became troublesome to me; for they would often come into my house and plunder me, till at last I was obliged to shoot them, and kill a great many. And in this plentiful manner I lived; neither could I be said to want anything but society, and of that, in some time after this, I was like to have too much.

I was impatient, as I before observed, to have the use of my boat, though loath to run any more hazards, and therefore sometimes I sat contriving ways to get her about the island, and at other times I sat myself down contented enough without her. But I had a strange uneasiness in my mind to go down to the point of the island, where, as I have said, in my last ramble, I went up the hill to see how the shore lay, and how the current sat. This inclination increased upon me every day, and at length I resolved to travel thither by land; and following the edge of the shore, I did so; but had any one in England met such a man as I was, he must either have frightened him or raised a great deal of laughter, and as I frequently stood still to look at myself, I could not but smile at the notion of my travelling through Yorkshire with such an equipage, and in such a dress. Be pleased to take a sketch of my figure as follows: I had a great high shapeless cap, made of a goat's skin, with a flap hanging down behind, as well to keep the sun from me, as to shoot the rain off from running into my neck: nothing

being so hurtful in these climates as the rain upon the flesh under the clothes.

I had a short jacket of goats' skin, the skirts hanging down to about the middle of my thighs; and a pair of open-kneed breeches: the breeches were made of the skin of an old he-goat, whose hair hung down such a length on either side, that, like pantaloons, it reached to the middle of my legs. Stockings and shoes I had none; but I had made me a pair of something, I scarce know what to call them, like buskins, to flap over my legs.

I had on a broad belt of goats' skin dried, which I drew together with two thongs of the same, instead of buckles: and, in a kind of frog, on each side of this, hung a saw and a hatchet. I had another belt not so broad, fastened in the same manner, which hung over my shoulder; and at the end of it hung two pouches, in which I kept my powder and shot. At my back I carried my basket, on my shoulder my gun, and over my head a great clumsy goats'-skin umbrella, but which, after all, was the most necessary thing I had about me, next to my gun. As for my face, the colour of it was really not so mulatto-like as one might expect from a man not at all careful of it, and living within nine or ten degrees of the equinox. My beard I had once suffered to grow till it was about a quarter of a yard long; but as I had scissors and razors, I had cut it pretty short, except what grew on my upper lip, which I had trimmed into a large pair of Mahometan whiskers, such

as I had seen wore by some Turks whom I saw at Sallee. Of these mustachios or whiskers, I must say they were monstrous, and would in England be thought frightful.

In this kind of figure I went my new journey, and was out five or six days. I travelled first along the sea-shore, directly to the place where I first brought my boat to an anchor, to get upon the rocks; and, having no boat now to take care of, I went over the land, a nearer way, to the same height that I was upon before; when, looking forward to the point of the rocks which lay out, and which I was obliged to double with my boat, as is said above, I was surprised to see the sea all smooth and quiet; no rippling, no motion, no current, any more there than in any other places. I was at a strange loss to understand this, and resolved to spend some time in the observing it, to see if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it; but I was presently convinced how it was, namely, that the tide of ebb setting from the west, and joining with the current of waters from some great river on the shore, must be the occasion of this current; and that, according as the wind blew more forcibly from the west, or from the north, this current came nearer, or went farther from the shore; for, waiting thereabouts till evening, I went up to the rock again, and then the tide of ebb being made, I plainly saw the current again as before, only that it ran farther off, being near half a league from the shore; whereas, in my case, it set close upon the

shore, and hurried me and my canoe along with it; which at another time it would not have done.

This observation convinced me, that I had nothing to do but to observe the ebbing and the flowing of the tide, and I might very easily bring my boat about the island again; but, when I began to think of putting it in practice, I had such a terror upon my spirits at the remembrance of the danger I had been in, that I could not think of it again with any patience: but, on the contrary, I took up another resolution, which was more safe, though more laborious; and this was, that I would build, or rather make me another *periagua*, or canoe; and so have one for one side of the island, and one for the other.

You are to understand, that now I had, as I may call it, two plantations in the island; one, my little fortification, or tent, with the wall about it, under the rock, with the cave behind me, which, by this time, I had enlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door out behind my wall, or fortification, that is to say, beyond where my wall joined to the rock, was all filled up with the large earthen pots, of which I have given an account, and with fourteen or fifteen great baskets, which would hold five or six bushels each, where I laid up my stores of provision, especially my corn, some in the ear, cut off short from the straw, and the other rubbed out with my hands.

As for my wall, made as before, with long stakes

or piles, those piles grew all like trees, and were, by this time, grown so big, and spread so very much, that there was not the least appearance, to any one's view, of any habitation behind them.

Near this dwelling of mine, but a little farther within the land, and upon lower ground, lay my two pieces of corn land, which I kept duly cultivated and sowed, and which duly yielded me their harvest in its season; and whenever I had occasion for more corn, I had more land adjoining as fit as that. Besides this, I had my country-seat; and I had now a tolerable plantation there also.

Adjoining to this I had my enclosures for my cattle, that is to say, my goats; and as I had taken an inconceivable deal of pains to fence and enclose this ground, I was so anxious to see it kept entire, lest the goats should break through, that I never left off, till, with infinite labour, I had stuck the outside of the hedge so full of small stakes, and so near to one another, that it was rather a pale than a hedge, and there was scarce room to put a hand through between them; which afterwards, when those stakes grew, as they all did in the next rainy season, made the enclosure strong like a wall—indeed, stronger than any wall.

This will testify for me that I was not idle, and that I spared no pains to bring to pass whatever appeared necessary for my comfortable support; for I considered the keeping up a breed of tame creatures thus, at my hand, would be a living magazine of flesh,

milk, butter, and cheese for me as long as I lived in the place, if it were to be forty years; and that keeping them in my reach depended entirely upon my perfecting my enclosures to such a degree that I might be sure of keeping them together; which, by this method, indeed, I so effectually secured, that, when these little stakes began to grow, I had planted them so very thick, that I was forced to pull some of them up again.

In this place also, I had my grapes growing, which I principally depended on for my winter store of raisins, and which I never failed to preserve very carefully, as the best and most agreeable dainty of my whole diet: and, indeed, they were not only agreeable, but physical, wholesome, nourishing, and refreshing to the last degree.

As this was also about half-way between my other habitation and the place where I had laid up my boat, I generally stayed, and lay here, in my way thither; for I used frequently to visit my boat; and I kept all things about, or belonging to her, in very good order: sometimes I went out in her to divert myself, but no more hazardous voyages would I go, nor scarce ever above a stone's-cast or two from the shore, I was so apprehensive of being hurried out of my knowledge again by the currents or winds, or any other accident. But now I come to a new scene of my life.



It happened one day about noon, going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the sand. I stood like one thunderstruck: I listened, I looked around me, but I could hear nothing nor see anything.—Page 181.

CHAPTER XVIII.

It happened, one day, about noon, going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand. I stood like one thunder-struck; I listened, I looked around me, but I could hear nothing, nor see anything; I went up to a rising ground to look farther; I went up the shore, and down the shore, but it was all one; I could see no other impression but that one. I went to it again, to see if there was any more, and to observe if it might not be my fancy; but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part of a foot: how it came thither I knew not, nor could I in the least imagine; but after innumerable fluttering thoughts, like a man perfectly confused and out of myself, I came home to my fortification, not feeling, as we say, the ground I went on, but terrified to the last degree; looking behind me at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man. Nor is it possible to describe how many various shapes my affrighted imagination represented things to me in, how many wild ideas were found every moment in my fancy, and what strange unaccountable whimsies came into my thoughts by the way.

At last I concluded that it must be some of the

savages of the mainland over against me, who had wandered out to sea in their canoes, and, either driven by the currents or by contrary winds, had made the island, and had been on shore, but were gone away again to sea; being as loth, perhaps, to have stayed in this desolate island as I would have been to have had them.

While these reflections were rolling upon my mind, I was very thankful in my thoughts, that I was so happy as not to be thereabouts at that time, or that they did not see my boat, by which they would have concluded that some inhabitants had been in the place, and perhaps have searched farther for me: then terrible thoughts racked my imagination about their having found my boat, and that there were people here: and that, if so, I should certainly have them come again in greater numbers, and devour me: that if it should happen so that they should not find me, yet they would find my enclosure, destroy all my corn, carry away all my flock of tame goats, and I should perish at last for mere want.

Thus my fear banished all my religious hope, all that former confidence in God, which was founded upon such wonderful experience as I had had of his goodness, as if he that had fed me hitherto could not preserve, by his power, the provision which he had made for me by his goodness. I reproached myself with my laziness, that would not sow any more corn one year than would just serve me till the next season, as if no accident would intervene to prevent my en-

joying the crop that was upon the ground: and this I thought so just a reproof, that I resolved for the future to have two or three years' corn beforchand; so that, whatever might come, I might not perish for want of bread.

How strange a chequer work of Providence is the life of man! and by what secret different springs are the affections hurried about, as different circumstances present! To-day we love what to-morrow we hate; to-day we seek what to-morrow we shun; to-day we desire what to-morrow we fear; nay, even tremble at the apprehensions of: this was exemplified in me, at this time, in the most lively manner imaginable; for I, whose only affliction was that I seemed banished from human society, that I was alone, circumscribed by the boundless ocean, cut off from mankind, and condemned to what I called silent life: that I was as one whom Heaven thought not worthy to be numbered among the living, or to appear among the rest of his creatures; that to have seen one of my own species would have seemed to me a raising me from death to life, and the greatest blessing that Heaven itself, next to the supreme blessing of salvation, could bestow; I say, that I should now tremble at the very apprehensions of seeing a man, and was ready to sink into the ground at but the shadow, or silent appearance, of a man's having set his foot in the island.

Such is the uneven state of human life; and it afforded me a great many curious speculations afterwards, when I had a little recovered my first surprise.

sweetness and softness of an European in his countenance too, especially when he smiled. His hair was long and black, not curled like wool—his forehead very high and large; and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly, yellow, nauseous tawny, as the Brazilians and Virginians, and other natives of America are, but of a bright kind of a dun olive colour, that had in it something very agreeable, though not very easy to describe. His face was round and plump, his nose small, not flat like negroes; a very good mouth, thin lips, and his fine teeth well set, and as white as ivory.

After he had slumbered rather than slept, about half an hour, he awoke again, and came out of the cave to me, for I had been milking my goats, which I had in the enclosure close by. When he espied me, he came running to me, laying himself down again upon the ground, with all the possible signs of an humble, thankful disposition, making a great many antic gestures to show it. At last he lays his head flat upon the ground, close to my foot, and sets my other foot upon his head, as he had done before, and, after this, made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me know how he would serve me so long as he lived. I understood him in many things, and let him know I was very well pleased with him. In a little time I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me; and

first, I let him know his name should be FRIDAY, which was the day I saved his life: I called him so for the memory of the time. I likewise taught him to say *Master*, and then let him know that was to be my name. I likewise taught him to say *yes* and *no*, and to know the meaning of them. I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, and let him see me drink it before him, and sop my bread in it, and gave him a cake of bread to do the like, which he quickly complied with, and made signs that it was very good for him. I kept there with him all that night; but as soon as it was day, I beckoned to him to come with me, and let him know I would give him some clothes, at which he seemed very glad, for he was stark naked. As we went by the place where he had buried the two men, he pointed exactly to the place, and showed me the marks that he had made to find them again, making signs to me that we should dig them up again, and eat them. At this I appeared very angry, expressed my abhorrence of it—made as if I would vomit at the thoughts of it—and beckoned with my hands to him to come away; which he did immediately, with great submission. I then led him up to the top of the hill, to see if his enemies were gone; and pulling out my glass, I looked and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them or their canoes, so that it was plain they were gone, and had left their two comrades behind them, without any search after them.

But I was not content with this discovery; but

having now more courage, and, consequently, more curiosity, I took my man Friday with me, giving him the sword in his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I found he could use very dexterously, making him carry one gun for me, and I two for myself; and away we marched to the place where these creatures had been; for I had a mind now to get some fuller intelligence of them. When I came to the place, my very blood ran chill in my veins, and my heart sunk within me, at the horror of the spectacle; indeed, it was a dreadful sight, at least it was so to me, though Friday made nothing of it. The place was covered with human bones, the ground dyed with their blood, and great pieces of flesh lying here and there, half-eaten, mangled, and scorched; and, in short, all the tokens of the triumphant feast they had been making there, after a victory over their enemies. I saw three skulls, five hands, and the bones of three or four legs and feet, and abundance of the other parts of the bodies; and Friday, by his signs, made me understand that they brought over four prisoners to feast upon; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth: that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects, it seems, he had been one of, and that they had taken a great number of prisoners; all which were carried to several places by those who had taken them in the fight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here by these wretches, upon those they brought hither.

I caused Friday to gather all the skulls, bones, flesh, and whatever remained, and lay them together in a heap, and make a great fire upon it, and burn them all to ashes. I found Friday had still a hankering stomach after some of the flesh, and was still a cannibal in his nature; but I discovered so much abhorrence at the very thoughts of it, and at the least appearance of it, that he durst not discover it: for I had, by some means, let him know, that I would kill him if he offered it.

When he had done this, we came back to our castle; and there I fell to work for my man Friday; and, first of all, I gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had out of the poor gunner's chest I mentioned, which I found in the wreck, and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well; and then I made him a jerkin of goats' skin, as well as my skill would allow (for I was now grown a tolerably good tailor); and I gave him a cap, which I had made of hares' skin, very convenient and fashionable enough: and thus he was clothed for the present tolerably well, and was mighty well pleased to see himself almost as well clothed as his master. It is true he went awkwardly in these clothes at first; wearing the drawers was very awkward to him, and the sleeves of the waistcoat galled his shoulders, and the inside of his arms; but a little easing them where he complained they hurt him, and using himself to them, he took to them at length very well.

The next day after I came home to my hutch with

him, I began to consider where I should lodge him; and that I might do well for him, and yet be perfectly easy myself, I made a little tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inside of the last, and in the outside of the first. As there was a door, or entrance there into my cave, I made a formal framed door-case, and a door to it of boards, and set it up in the passage, a little within the entrance; and causing the door to open in the inside, I barred it up in the night, taking in my ladders too; so that Friday could noway come at me in the inside of my innermost wall, without making so much noise in getting over, that it must needs waken me; for my first wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles, covering all my tent, and leaning up to the side of the hill; which was again laid across with smaller sticks, instead of laths, and then thatched over a great thickness with the rice straw, which was strong like reeds: and, at the hole, or place, which was left to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trap-door, which, if it had been attempted on the outside, would not have opened at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great noise. As to weapons, I took them all into my side every night. But I needed none of all this precaution; for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant, than Friday was to me; without passions, sullenness, or designs, perfectly obliged and engaged; his very affections were tied to me, like those of a child to a father: and I daresay he would

have sacrificed his life for the saving mine, upon any occasion whatsoever; the many testimonies he gave me of this put it out of doubt, and soon convinced me that I needed to use no precautions, as to my safety, on his account.

I was greatly delighted with him, and made it my business to teach him everything that was proper to make him useful, handy, and helpful; but especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spoke: and he was the aptest scholar that ever was; and particularly, was so merry, so constantly diligent, and so pleased when he could but understand me, or make me understand him, that it was very pleasant to me to talk to him. Now my life began to be so easy, that I began to say to myself, that could I but have been safe from more savages, I cared not if I never was to remove from the place where I lived.

CHAPTER XXIII.

AFTER I had been two or three days returned to my castle, I thought that, in order to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the relish of a cannibal's stomach, I ought to let him taste other flesh. So I took him out with me one morning to the woods: I went, indeed, intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring it home and dress it; but as I was going, I saw a she-goat lying down in

the shade, and two young kids sitting by her. I caught hold of Friday;—Hold, says I, stand still; and made signs to him not to stir. Immediately I presented my piece, shot, and killed one of the kids. The poor creature, who had, at a distance, indeed, seen me kill the savage, his enemy, but did not know, nor could imagine, how it was done, was sensibly surprised, trembled, and shook, and looked so amazed, that I thought he would have sunk down. He did not see the kid I shot at, or perceived I had killed it, but ripped up his waistcoat, to feel whether he was not wounded; and, as I found presently, thought I was resolved to kill him: for he came and kneeled down to me, and embracing my knees, said a great many things I did not understand; but I could easily see the meaning was, to pray me not to kill him.

I soon found a way to convince him that I would do him no harm; and taking him up by the hand, laughed at him, and pointing to the kid which I had killed, beckoned to him to run and fetch it, which he did; and while he was wondering and looking to see how the creature was killed, I loaded my gun again. By-and-by I saw a great fowl, like a hawk, sitting upon a tree within shot; so, to let Friday understand a little what I could do, I called him to me again, pointed at the fowl, which was indeed a parrot, though I thought it had been a hawk; I say, pointing to the parrot, and to my gun, and to the ground under the parrot, to let him see I would

make it fall, I made him understand that I would shoot and kill that bird; accordingly, I fired, and bade him look, and immediately he saw the parrot fall. He stood like one frightened again, notwithstanding all I had said to him; and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put anything into the gun, but thought that there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that thing, able to kill man, beast, bird, or anything near or far off; and the astonishment this created in him was such as could not wear off for a long time; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun. As for the gun itself, he would not so much as touch it for several days after; but he would speak to it, and talk to it, as if it had answered him, when he was by himself; which, as I afterwards learned of him, was to desire it not to kill him. Well, after his astonishment was a little over at this, I pointed to him to run and fetch the bird I had shot, which he did, but stayed some time; for the parrot not being quite dead, had fluttered away a good distance from the place where she fell: however, he found her, took her up, and brought her to me; and, as I had perceived his ignorance about the gun before, I took this advantage to charge the gun again, and not to let him see me do it, that I might be ready for any other mark that might present; but nothing more offered at that time: so I brought home the kid, and the same evening I took the skin off, and cut it out as well as I could;

and having a pot fit for that purpose, I boiled or stewed some of the flesh, and made some very good broth. After I had begun to eat some, I gave some to my man, who seemed very glad of it, and liked it very well; but that which was strangest to him was to see me eat salt with it. He made a sign to me that the salt was not good to eat; and putting a little into his own mouth, he seemed to nauseate it, and would spit and sputter at it, washing his mouth with fresh water after it. On the other hand, I took some meat into my mouth without salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of salt, as fast as he had done at the salt; but it would not do: he would never care for salt with his meat, or in his broth; at least not for a great while, and then but a very little.

Having thus fed him with boiled meat and broth, I was resolved to feast him the next day with roasting a piece of the kid. This I did, by hanging it before the fire on a string, as I had seen many people do in England, setting two poles up, one on each side of the fire, and one across on the top, and tying the string to the cross stick, letting the meat turn continually. This Friday admired very much; but when he came to taste the flesh, he took so many ways to tell me how well he liked it, that I could not but understand him; and at last he told me, as well as he could, he would never eat man's flesh any more, which I was very glad to hear.

The next day I set him to work to beating some

corn out, and sifting it in the manner I used to do, as I observed before; and he soon understood how to do it as well as I, especially after he had seen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of it; for after that, I let him see me make my bread, and bake it too; and, in a little time, Friday was able to do all the work for me, as well as I could do it myself.

I began now to consider, that having two mouths to feed instead of one, I must provide more ground for my harvest, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I used to do. So I marked out a larger piece of land, and began the fence in the same manner as before, in which Friday worked not only very willingly and very hard, but did it very cheerfully; and I told him what it was for; that it was for corn to make more bread, because he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myself too. He appeared very sensible of that part, and let me know that he thought I had much more labour upon me on his account than I had for myself; and that he would work the harder for me if I would tell him what to do.

I had a mind once to try if he had any hankering inclination to his own country again; and having taught him English so well that he could answer me almost any question, I asked him whether the nation that he belonged to never conquered in battle? At which he smiled, and said, "Yes, yes, we always fight the better:" that is, he meant, always get the

better in fight; and so we began the following discourse:—

Master.—You always fight the better; how came you to be taken prisoner then, Friday?

Friday.—My nation beat much, for all that.

Master.—How beat? if your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

Friday.—They more many than my nation in the place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me; my nation over beat them in the yonder place, where me no was: there my nation take one, two, great thousand.

Master.—But why did not your side recover you from the hands of your enemies then?

Friday.—They run one, two, three, and me, and make go in the canoe; my nation have no canoe that time.

Master.—Well, Friday, and what does your nation do with the men they take? Do they carry them away and eat them, as these did?

Friday.—Yes, my nation eat mans too; eat all up.

Master.—Where do they carry them?

Friday.—Go to other place, where they think.

Master.—Do they come hither?

Friday.—Yes, yes, they come hither: come other else place.

Master.—Have you been here with them?

Friday.—Yes, I have been here: (points to the N.W. side of the island, which, it seems, was their side.)



He could not tell twenty in English, but he numbered them by laying so many stones in a row and pointing to me to tell them over.—Page 243.

By this I understood that my man Friday had formerly been among the savages who used to come on shore on the farther part of the island, on the same man-eating occasions he was now brought for; and some time after, when I took the courage to carry him to that side, being the same I formerly mentioned, he presently knew the place, and told me he was there once when they eat up twenty men, two women, and one child: he could not tell twenty in English, but he numbered them by laying so many stones in a row, and pointing to me to tell them over.

I have told this passage because it introduces what follows; that after I had this discourse with him, I asked him how far it was from our island to the shore, and whether the canoes were not often lost? He told me there was no danger, no canoes ever lost; but that, after a little way out to sea, there was a current and wind, always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon. This I understood to be no more than the sets of the tide, as going out, or coming in; but I afterwards understood it was occasioned by the great draft and reflux of the mighty river Oronooko, in the mouth or gulf of which river as I found afterwards, our island lay; and that this land which I perceived to the W. and N.W. was the great island Trinidad, on the north point of the mouth of the river. I asked Friday a thousand questions about the country, the inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nations were near: he told me all he knew, with the greatest openness imaginable. I asked him

the names of the several nations of his sort of people, but could get no other name than Caribs; from whence I easily understood that these were the Caribbees, which our maps place on the part of America which reaches from the mouth of the river Oronooko to Guiana, and onwards to St. Martha. He told me that up a great way beyond the moon, that was, beyond the setting of the moon, which must be west from their country, there dwelt white bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great whiskers, which I mentioned before; and that "they had killed much mans," that was his word: by all which I understood he meant the Spaniards, whose cruelties in America have been spread over the whole country, and were remembered by all the nations, from father to son.

I inquired if he could tell me how I might go from this island, and get among those white men: he told me, "Yes, yes; you may go in two canoe." I could not understand what he meant, or make him describe to me what he meant by two canoe; till at last, with great difficulty, I found he meant it must be in a large boat, as big as two canoes. This part of Friday's discourse began to relish with me very well; and from this time I entertained some hopes, that one time or other, I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this place, and that this poor savage might be a means to help me.

During the long time that Friday had now been with me, and that he began to speak to me and understand me, I was not wanting to lay a foundation

of religious knowledge in his mind : particularly I asked him one time, who made him ? The poor creature did not understand me at all, but thought I had asked him who was his father ; but I took it up by another handle, and asked him who made the sea, the ground we walked on, and the hills and woods ? He told me it was one Benamuckee, that lived beyond all ; he could describe nothing of this great person, but that he was very old, much older, he said, than the sea or the land, than the moon or the stars. I asked him then, if this old person had made all things, why did not all things worship him ? He looked very grave, and with a perfect look of innocence, said, " All things say O to him." I asked him if the people who die in this country went away anywhere ? He said, yes ; they all went to Benamuckee : then I asked him, whether these they eat up went thither too ? He said, yes.

From these things I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God : I told him that the great Maker of all things lived up there, pointing up towards heaven ; that he governed the world by the same power and providence by which he made it ; that he was omnipotent, and could do everything for us, give everything to us, take everything from us ; and thus by degrees I opened his eyes. He listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of Jesus Christ being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and his being able to hear us, even in heaven. He told

me one day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the sun, he must needs be a greater God than their Benamuckee.

I prayed to God that he would enable me to instruct savingly this poor savage ; assisting, by his Spirit, the heart of the poor ignorant creature, to receive the light of the knowledge of God in Christ, reconciling him to himself, and would guide me to speak so to him from the Word of God, as his conscience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his soul saved. I entered into a long discourse with him upon the subject of the redemption of man by the Saviour of the world, and of the doctrine of the gospel preached from heaven, namely, of repentance towards God, and faith in our blessed Lord Jesus. I then explained to him, as well as I could, why our blessed Redeemer took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham ; and how, for that reason, the fallen angels had no share in the redemption ; that he came only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the like.

I had, God knows, more sincerity than knowledge in all the methods I took for this poor creature's instruction, and must acknowledge, what I believe all that act upon the same principle will find, that in laying things open to him, I really informed and instructed myself in many things, that either I did not know, or had not fully considered before, but which occurred naturally to my mind upon searching into them, for the information of this poor savage ; and I

had more affection in my inquiry after things upon this occasion than ever I felt before; so that whether this poor wild wretch was the better for me or no, I had great reason to be thankful that ever he came to me; my grief sat lighter upon me; my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond measure; and when I reflected, that in this solitary life which I had been confined to, I had not only been moved to look up to Heaven myself, and to seek to the hand that brought me here, but was now to be made an instrument, under Providence, to save the life, and for aught I knew, the soul of a poor savage, and to bring him to the true knowledge of religion, and of the Christian doctrine, that he might know Christ Jesus, in whom is life eternal; I say, when I reflected upon all these things, a secret joy ran through every part of my soul, and I frequently rejoiced that ever I was brought to this place, which I had so often thought the most dreadful of all afflictions that could possibly have befallen me.

I continued in this thankful frame all the remainder of my time; and the conversation which employed the hours between Friday and me was such as made the three years which we lived there together perfectly and completely happy, if any such thing as complete happiness can be formed in a sub-lunary state. This savage was now a good Christian, a much better than I; though I have reason to hope, and bless God for it, that we were equally penitent, and comforted, restored penitents. We had here the

Word of God to read, and no farther off from his Spirit to instruct, than if we had been in England. I always applied myself, in reading the Scriptures, to let him know, as well as I could, the meaning of what I read; and he again, by his serious inquiries and questionings, made me, as I said before, a much better scholar in the Scripture knowledge than I should ever have been by my own mere private reading. But I must go on with the historical part of things, and take every part in its order.

CHAPTER XXIV.

AFTER Friday and I became more intimately acquainted, and that he could understand almost all I said to him, and speak pretty fluently, though in broken English, to me, I acquainted him with my own history, or at least so much of it as related to my coming to this place; how I had lived here, and how long. I let him into the mystery, for such it was to him, of gunpowder and bullet, and taught him how to shoot. I gave him a knife, which he was wonderfully delighted with; and I made him a belt, with a frog hanging to it, such as in England we wear hangers in; and in the frog, instead of a hanger, I gave him a hatchet, which was not only as good a weapon, in some cases, but much more useful upon other occasions.

I described to him the country of Europe, particularly England, which I came from; how we lived, how we worshipped God, how we behaved to one another, and how we traded in ships to all parts of the world. I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and showed him, as near as I could, the place where she lay; but she was all beaten in pieces before and gone. I showed him the ruins of our boat, which we lost when we escaped, and which I could not stir with my whole strength then; but was now fallen almost all to pieces. Upon seeing this boat, Friday stood musing a great while, and said nothing. I asked him what it was he studied upon? At last, says he, "Me see such boat like come to place at my nation." I did not understand him a good while; but at last, when I had examined farther into it, I understood, by him, that a boat, such as that had been, came on shore upon the country where he lived; that is, as he explained it, was driven thither by stress of weather. I presently imagined that some European ship must have been cast away upon their coast, and the boat might get loose and drive ashore; but was so dull, that I never once thought of men making their escape from a wreck thither, much less whence they might come: so I only inquired after a description of the boat.

Friday described the boat to me well enough; but brought me better to understand him when he added, with some warmth, "We save the white mans from

drown." Then I presently asked him if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat? "Yes," he said, "the boat full of white mans." I asked him how many? He told upon his fingers seventeen. I asked him then, what became of them? He told me, "They live, they dwell at my nation."

This put new thoughts into my head; for I presently imagined, that these might be the men belonging to the ship that was cast away in the sight of my island, as I now called it; and who, after the ship was struck on the rock, and they saw her inevitably lost, had saved themselves in their boat, and were landed upon that wild shore among the savages. Upon this, I inquired of him more critically what was become of them: he assured me they lived still there; that they had been there about four years; that the savages let them alone, and gave them victuals to live on. I asked him how it came to pass they did not kill them, and eat them? He said, "No, they make brother with them;" that is, as I understood him, a truce; and then he added, "They no eat mans, but when make the war fight;" that is to say, they never eat any men but such as come to fight with them, and are taken in battle.

It was after this some considerable time, that, being upon the top of the hill, at the east side of the island, from whence, as I have said, I had, in a clear day, discovered the main, or continent, of America, Friday, the weather being very serene, looks very earnestly towards the mainland, and, in a kind of

surprise, falls a jumping and dancing, and calls out to me, for I was at some distance from him. I asked what was the matter? "O joy!" says he; "O glad! there see my country, there my nation!" I observed an extraordinary sense of pleasure appeared in his face, and his eyes sparkled, and his countenance discovered a strange eagerness, as if he had a mind to be in his own country again. This observation of mine put a great many thoughts into me, which made me at first not so easy about my new man Friday as I was before; and I made no doubt but, that if Friday could get back to his own nation again, he would not only forget all his religion, but all his obligation to me, and would be forward enough to give his countrymen an account of me, and come back perhaps with an hundred or two of them, and make a feast upon me, at which he might be as merry as he used to be with those of his enemies, when they were taken in war. But I wronged the poor honest creature very much, for which I was very sorry afterwards. However, as my jealousy increased, and held me some weeks, I was a little more circumspect, and not so familiar and kind to him as before: in which I was certainly in the wrong too; the honest, grateful creature, having no thought about it, but what consisted with the best principles, both as a religious Christian, and as a grateful friend; as appeared afterwards, to my full satisfaction.

One day, walking up the same hill, but the weather being hazy at sea, so that we could not see the con-

continent, I called to him, and said, "Friday, do not you wish yourself in your own country, your own nation?"—"Yes," he said, "I be much O glad to be at my own nation."—"What would you do there?" said I; "would you turn wild again, eat men's flesh again, and be a savage, as you were before?" He looked full of concern, and shaking his head, said, "No, no; Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn-bread, cattle-flesh, milk; no eat man again."—"Why, then," said I to him, "they will kill you." He looked grave at that, and then said, "No, no; they no kill me, they willing love learn." He meant by this, they would be willing to learn. He added, they learned much of the bearded mans that came in the boat. Then I asked him if he would go back to them? He smiled at that, and told me that he could not swim so far. I told him I would make a canoe for him. He told me he would go, if I would go with him. "I go?" says I; "why, they will eat me, if I come there." "No, no," says he, "me make they no eat you; me make they much love you." He meant, he would tell them how I had killed his enemies, and saved his life, and so he would make them love me. Then he told me, as well as he could, how kind they were to seventeen white men, or bearded men, as he called them, who came on shore there in distress.

From this time, I confess I had a mind to venture over, and see if I could possibly join with those bearded men, who, I made no doubt, were Spaniards

and Portuguese: not doubting, but if I could, we might find some method to escape from thence, being upon the continent, and a good company together, better than I could from an island forty miles off the shore, and, alone, without help. So, after some days, I took Friday to work again, by way of discourse: and told him I would give him a boat to go back to his own nation; and accordingly, I carried him to my frigate, which lay on the other side of the island, and having cleared it of water (for I always kept it sunk in water), I brought it out, showed it him, and we both went into it. I found he was a most dexterous fellow at managing it, and would make it go almost as swift again as I could: so when he was in, I said to him, "Well, now, Friday, shall we go to your nation?" He looked very dull at my saying so; which, it seems, was because he thought the boat too small to go so far. I then told him I had a bigger; so the next day I went to the place where the first boat lay which I had made, but which I could not get into the water. He said that was big enough; but, then, as I had taken no care of it, and it had lain two or three-and-twenty years there, the sun had split and dried it, that it was in a manner rotten. Friday told me such a boat would do very well, and would carry much enough vittle, drink, bread; that was his way of talking.

Upon the whole, I was by this time so fixed upon my design of going over with him to the continent, that I told him we would go and make one as big as

that, and he should go home in it. He answered not one word, but looked very grave and sad. I asked him what was the matter with him. He asked me again, "Why you angry mad with Friday? what me done?" I asked him what he meant; I told him I was not angry with him at all. "No angry!" says he, repeating the words several times; "why send Friday home away to my nation?"—"Why," says I, "Friday, did not you say you wished you were there?"—"Yes, yes," says he, "wish we both there; no wish Friday there, no master there." In a word, he would not think of going there without me. "I go there, Friday!" says I; "what shall I do there?" He returned very quick upon me at this: "You do great deal much good," says he; "you teach wild mans be good, sober, tame mans; you tell them know God, pray God, and live new life."—"Alas, Friday!" says I, "thou knowest not what thou sayest; I am but an ignorant man myself."—"Yes, yes," says he, "you teachee me good—you teachee them good." "No, no, Friday," says I, "you shall go without me. Leave me here to live by myself, as I did before." He looked confused again at that word; and running to one of the hatchets which he used to wear, he takes it up hastily, and gives it to me. "What must I do with this?" says I to him. "You take kill Friday," says he. "What must I kill you for?" said I again. He returns very quick, "What you send Friday away for? Take kill Friday, no send Friday away." This he spoke so earnestly that I saw tears stand in

his eyes; in a word, I so plainly discovered the utmost affection in him to me, and a firm resolution in him, that I told him then, and often after, that I would never send him away from me, if he was willing to stay with me.

Upon the whole, as I found by all his discourse, a settled affection to me, and that nothing should part him from me, so I found all the foundation of his desire to go to his own country was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good—a thing which, as I had no notion of myself, so I had not the least thought, or intention, or desire of undertaking it. But still I found a strong inclination to my attempting an escape, as above, founded on the supposition gathered from the discourse, namely, that there were seventeen bearded men there; and therefore, without any more delay, I went to work with Friday, to find out a great tree, proper to fell and make a large periagua or canoe, to undertake the voyage. There were trees enough in the island to have built a little fleet, not of periaguas or canoes, but even of good large vessels; but the main thing I looked at was, to get one so near the water that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the mistake I committed at first. At last Friday pitched upon a tree, for I found he knew much better than I what kind of wood is fittest for it; nor can I tell, to this day, what wood to call the tree we cut down, except that it was very like the tree we call fustic, or between that and the Nicaragua

wood, for it was much of the same colour and smell. Friday was for burning the hollow or cavity of this tree out, to make it for a boat, but I showed him how to cut it with tools; which, after I had showed him how to use, he did very handily, and in about a month's hard labour we finished it, and made it very handsome—especially when, with our axes, which I showed him how to handle, we cut and hewed the outside into the true shape of a boat. After this, however, it cost us near a fortnight's time to get her along, as it were, inch by inch, upon great rollers, into the water; but when she was in, she would have carried twenty men with great ease.

When she was in the water, and though she was so big, it amazed me to see with what dexterity, and how swift, my man Friday would manage her, turn her, and paddle her along; so I asked him if he would, and if we might venture over in her. "Yes," he said; "we venture over in her very well, though great blow wind." However, I had a farther design that he knew nothing of, and that was to make a mast and a sail, and to fit her with anchor and cable. As to a mast, that was easy enough to get; so I pitched upon a straight young cedar-tree, which I found near the place, and which there were great plenty of in the island; and I set Friday to work to cut it down, and gave him directions how to shape and order it. But as to the sail, that was my particular care. I knew I had old sails, or rather pieces of old sails, enough; but as I had them six-and-twenty

years by me, and had not been very careful to preserve them, not imagining that I should ever have this kind of use for them, I did not doubt but they were all rotten; and, indeed, most of them were so. However, I found two pieces which appeared pretty good, and with these I went to work, and, with a great deal of pains and awkward stitching you may be sure, for want of needles, I at length made a three-cornered ugly thing, like what we call in England a shoulder-of-mutton sail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little short sprit at the top, such as usually our ships' long-boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage, as it was such a one I had to the boat in which I made my escape from Barbary, as related in the first part of my story.

I was near two months performing this last work, namely, rigging and fitting my mast-sails; for I finished them very complete, making a small stay and sail, or fore-sail, to it, to assist, if we should turn to windward; and, which was more than all, I fixed a rudder to the stern of her to steer with. I was but a bungling shipwright; yet, as I knew the usefulness and even necessity of such a thing, I applied myself with so much pains to do it, that at last I brought it to pass; though, considering the many dull contrivances I had for it that failed, I think it cost me almost as much labour as making the boat.

After all this was done, I had my man Friday to teach as to what belonged to the navigation of my boat; for though he knew very well how to paddle a

canoe, he knew nothing what belonged to a sail or a rudder, and was the most amazed when he saw me work the boat to and again in the sea by the rudder, and how the sail gibbed and filled, this way or that way, as the course we sailed changed—I say, when he saw this, he stood like one astonished and amazed. However, with a little use, I made all these things familiar to him, and he became an expert sailor, except that, as to the compass, I could make him understand very little of that. On the other hand, as there was very little cloudy weather, and seldom or never any fogs in those parts, there was the less occasion for a compass, seeing the stars were always to be seen by night, and the shore by day, except in the rainy seasons; and then nobody cared to stir abroad, either by land or sea.

CHAPTER XXV.

I WAS now entered on the seven-and-twentieth year of my captivity in this place; though the three last years that I had this creature with me ought rather to be left out of the account, my habitation being quite of another kind than in all the rest of the time.

After the rainy season, when the settled season began to come in, the thought of my design to leave the island returned, and I was preparing daily for the voyage, and the first thing I did was to lay by a

certain quantity of provisions, being the stores for our voyage, and intended, in a week or a fortnight's time, to open the dock, and launch out our boat. I was busy one morning upon something of this kind, when I called to Friday, and bid him go to the sea-shore, and see if he could find a turtle or tortoise, a thing which we generally got once a week, for the sake of the eggs as well as the flesh. Friday had not been long gone when he came running back, and flew over my outer wall or fence like one that felt not the ground, or the steps he set his feet on; and before I had time to speak to him, he cries out to me—"O master! O master! O sorrow! O bad!" "What's the matter, Friday?" says I. "O yonder there," says he, "one, two, three canoe; one, two, three." By this way of speaking, I concluded there were six; but, on inquiry, I found it was but three. "Well, Friday," says I, "do not be frightened—we must resolve to fight them. Can you fight, Friday?" "Me shoot," says he, "but there come many great number." "No matter for that," said I again; "our guns will fright them that we do not kill." So I asked him whether, if I resolved to defend him, he would defend me, and stand by me, and do just as I bid him. He said, "Me die when you bid die, master." So I went and fetched a good dram of rum, and gave him; for I had been so good a husband of my rum that I had a great deal left. When he drank it, I made him take the two fowling-pieces which we always carried, and loaded them with large swan-

shot, as big as small pistol-bullets; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two slugs and five small bullets each, and my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets each. I hung my great sword, as usual, naked by my side, and gave Friday his hatchet. When I had thus prepared myself, I took my perspective glass, and went up to the side of the hill, to see what I could discover; and I found quickly, by my glass, that there were one-and-twenty savages, three prisoners, and three canoes; and that their whole business seemed to be the triumphant banquet upon these three human bodies. I observed also that they were landed, not where they had done when Friday made his escape, but nearer to my creek, where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came almost close down to the sea.

I gave Friday one pistol to stick in his girdle, and three guns upon his shoulder; and I took one pistol and the other three guns myself; and in this posture we marched out. I took a small bottle of rum in my pocket, and gave Friday a large bag with more powder and bullets; and as to orders, I charged him to keep close behind me, and not to stir, or shoot, or do anything, till I bid him; and in the meantime, not to speak a word. In this posture I fetched a compass to my right hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek as to get into the wood, so that I might come within shot of them before I should be discovered, which I had seen, by my glass, it was easy to do.

With all possible weariness and silence, Friday

following close at my heels, I marched till I came to the skirt of the wood, on the side which was next to them, only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them. Here I called softly to Friday, and showing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood, I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word if he could see there plainly what they were doing. He did so, and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be plainly viewed there; that they were all about their fire, eating the flesh of their prisoners, and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little from them, which, he said, they would kill next, and which fired all the very soul within me. He told me it was not one of their nation, but one of the bearded men he had told me of, that came to their country in the boat. I was filled with horror at the very naming the white bearded man; and going to the tree, I saw plainly, by my glass, a white man who lay upon the beach of the sea, with his hands and his feet tied with flags, or things like rushes, and that he was an European, and had clothes on.

There was another tree, and a little thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which, by going a little way about, I saw I might come at undiscovered, and that then I should be within half a shot of them. So I withheld my passion, though I was indeed enraged to the highest degree; and going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which held all the way

till I came to the other tree; and then came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at the distance of about eighty yards.

I had now not a moment to lose, for nineteen of the dreadful wretches sat upon the ground, all close huddled together, and had just sent the other two to butcher the poor Christian, and bring him, perhaps limb by limb, to their fire; and they were stooping down to untie the bands at his feet. I turned to Friday—"Now, Friday," said I, "do as I bid thee." Friday said he would. "Then, Friday," said I, "do exactly as you see me do: fail in nothing." So I set down one of the muskets and the fowling-piece upon the ground, and Friday did the like by his; and with the other musket I took my aim at the savages, bidding him to do the like; then, asking him if he was ready, he said yes. "Then fire at them," said I; and the same moment I fired also.

Friday took his aim so much better than I, that on the side that he shot he killed two of them, and wounded three more; and on my side I killed one, and wounded two. They were, you may be sure, in a dreadful consternation; and all of them who were not hurt jumped upon their feet, but did not immediately know which way to run, or which way to look, for they knew not from whence their destruction came. Friday kept his eyes close upon me, that, as I bid him, he might observe what I did; so, as soon as the first shot was made, I threw down the piece, and took up the fowling-piece, and Friday did the



So I set down one of the muskets and the fowling piece upon the ground, and Friday did the like by his, and with the other musket I took aim at the savages, bidding him do the like, &c —Page 262

like: he saw me cock and present, he did the same again. "Are you ready, Friday?" said I. "Yes," says he. "Let fly then," says I, and with that I fired again among the amazed wretches, and so did Friday; and as our pieces were now loaden with what I called swan-shot, or small pistol-bullets, we found only two drop, but so many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures, all bloody, and most of them miserably wounded, whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

"Now, Friday," says I, laying down the discharged pieces, and taking up the musket which was yet loaden, "follow me;" which he did with a great deal of courage: upon which I rushed out of the wood, and showed myself, and Friday close at my foot. As soon as I perceived they saw me, I shouted as loud as I could, and bade Friday do so too; and running as fast as I could, which, by the way, was not very fast, being loaded with arms as I was, I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, as I said, lying upon the beach, or shore, between the place where they sat and the sea. The two butchers, who were just going to work with him, had left him at the surprise of our first fire, and fled in a terrible fright to the sea-side, and had jumped into a canoe, and three more of the rest made the same way. I turned to Friday, and bade him step forwards, and fire at them; he understood me immediately, and running about forty yards, to be nearer them, he shot at them, and

I thought he had killed them all, for I saw them all fall of a heap in the boat, though I saw two of them up again quickly. However, he killed two of them, and wounded the third, so that he lay down in the bottom of the boat as if he had been dead.

While my man Friday fired at them, I pulled out my knife, and cut the flags that bound the poor victim; and loosing his hands and feet, I lifted him up, and asked him, in the Portuguese tongue, what he was. He answered in Latin, *Christianus*; but was so weak and faint, that he could scarce stand or speak. I took my bottle out of my pocket, and gave it him, making signs that he should drink, which he did; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he ate. Then I asked him what countryman he was: and he said *Espagniole*; and being a little recovered, let me know, by all the signs he could possibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance. "Seigneur," said I, with as much Spanish as I could make up, "we will talk afterwards, but we must fight now: if you have any strength left, take this pistol and sword, and lay about you." He took them very thankfully; and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but, as if they had put new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an instant.

I kept my piece in my hand, still without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, because I had given the Spaniard my pistol and sword; so I called to Friday, and bade him run up to the tree from

whence we first fired, and fetch the arms which lay there, that had been discharged, which he did with great swiftness; and then giving him my musket, I sat down myself to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted. While I was loading these pieces, there happened a fierce engagement between the Spaniard and one of the savages, who made at him with one of their great wooden swords, the same-like weapon that was to have killed him before, if I had not prevented it. The Spaniard, who was as bold and brave as could be imagined, though weak, had fought this Indian a good while, and had cut him two great wounds on his head; but the savage being a stout lusty fellow, closing with him, had thrown him down, being faint, and was wringing my sword out of his hand; when the Spaniard, though undermost, wisely quitting the sword, drew the pistol from his girdle, shot the savage through the body, and killed him upon the spot, before I, who was running to help him, could come near him.

Friday, being now left to his liberty, pursued the flying wretches, with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet; and with that he despatched those three, who, as I said before, were wounded at first, and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with: and the Spaniard coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he pursued two of the savages, and wounded them both; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the wood, where Friday pursued them, and killed one of

them, but the other was too nimble for him; and though he was wounded, yet had plunged himself into the sea, and swam, with all his might, off to those two who were left in the canoe; which three in the canoe, with one wounded, that we knew not whether he died or no, were all that escaped our hands of one-and-twenty. The account of the whole is as follows: 3 killed at our first shot from the tree; 2 killed at the next shot; 2 killed by Friday in the boat; 2 killed by Friday of those at first wounded; 1 killed by Friday in the wood; 3 killed by the Spaniard; 4 killed, being found dropped here and there of their wounds, or killed by Friday in his chase of them; 4 escaped in the boat, whereof one was wounded, if not dead.—Twenty-one in all.

Those that were in the canoe worked hard to get out of gun-shot; and though Friday made two or three shots at them, I did not find that he hit any of them. Friday would fain have had me take one of their canoes and pursue them; and indeed I was very anxious about their escape, lest, carrying the news home to their people, they should come back, perhaps with two or three hundred of the canoes, and devour us by mere multitude. So I consented to pursue them by sea, and running to one of their canoes, I jumped in and bade Friday follow me; but when I was in the canoe, I was surprised to find another poor creature lie there bound hand and foot, as the Spaniard was, for the slaughter, and almost dead with fear, not knowing what was the matter: for he had not

been able to look up over the side of the boat, he was tied so hard neck and heels, and had been tied so long, that he had really but little life in him.

I immediately cut the twisted flags or rushes which they had bound him with, and would have helped him up; but he could not stand or speak, but groaned most piteously, believing, it seems, still, that he was only unbound in order to be killed. When Friday came to him I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; and pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram; which, with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he sat up in the boat. But when Friday came to hear him speak, and to look in his face, it would have moved any one to tears to have seen how Friday kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, hallooed, jumped about, danced, sung; then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his own face and head; and then sung and jumped about again, like a distracted creature. It was a good while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter; but when he came a little to himself, he told me that it was *his father*.

It is not easy for me to express how it moved me to see what ecstasy and filial affection had worked in this poor savage at the sight of his father, and of his being delivered from death.

This affair put an end to our pursuit of the canoe with the other savages, who were now got almost out of sight; and it was happy for us that we did not, for

it blew so hard within two hours after, and before they could be got a quarter of their way, and continued blowing so hard all night, and that from the north-west, which was against them, that I could not suppose their boat could live, or that they ever reached their own coast.

But to return to Friday : he was so busy about his father, that I could not find in my heart to take him off for some time ; but after I thought he could leave him a little, I called him to me, and he came jumping and laughing, and pleased to the highest extreme ; then I asked him if he had given his father any bread. He shook his head, and said, "None ; ugly dog eat all up self." I then gave him a cake of bread, out of a little pouch I carried on purpose. I also gave him a dram for himself, but he would not taste it, but carried it to his father. I had in my pocket two or three bunches of raisins, so I gave him a handful of them for his father. He had no sooner given his father these raisins, but I saw him come out of the boat, and run away at such a rate that he was out of sight, as it were, in an instant ; for he was the swiftest fellow on his feet that ever I saw ; and though I called and hallooed out too, after him, it was all one, away he went ; and in a quarter of an hour I saw him come back again, though not so fast as he went ; and as he came nearer, I found his pace was slacker, because he had something in his hand. When he came up to me, I found he had been quite home for an earthen jug, or pot, to bring his father

some fresh water, and that he had got two more cakes, or loaves of bread; the bread he gave me, but the water he carried to his father. However, as I was very thirsty too, I took a little sup of it. The water revived his father more than all the rum or spirits I had given him, for he was just fainting with thirst.

When his father had drank, I called to him to know if there was any water left; he said, yes; and I bade him give it to the poor Spaniard, who was in as much want of it as his father; and I sent one of the cakes that Friday brought to the Spaniard too, who was indeed very weak, and was reposing himself upon a green place, under the shade of a tree. When I saw that, upon Friday's coming to him with the water, he sat up and drank, and took the bread, and began to eat, I went to him, and gave him a handful of raisins; he looked up in my face with all the tokens of gratitude and thankfulness that could appear in any countenance; but he was so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight, that he could not stand up upon his feet.

I spoke to him to let Friday help him up, if he could, and lead him to the boat, and then he should carry him to our dwelling, where I would take care of him; but Friday, a lusty strong fellow, took the Spaniard quite up upon his back, and carried him away to the boat, and set him down softly upon the side or gunnel of the canoe, with his feet in the inside of it, and then, lifting him quite in, he set him close to his father; and presently stepping out again,

launched the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, though the wind blew pretty hard too. So he brought them safe into our creek, and leaving them in the boat, ran away to fetch the other canoe. As he passed me, I spoke to him, and asked him whither he went. He told me, "Go fetch more boat." So away he went like the wind, for sure never man or horse ran like him; and he had the other canoe in the creek almost as soon as I got to it by land: so he wafted me over, and then went to help our new guests out of the boat, which he did; but they were neither of them able to walk, so that poor Friday knew not what to do.

To remedy this, I went to work in my thought, and calling to Friday to bid them sit down on the bank while he came to me, I soon made a kind of hand-barrow to lay them on, and Friday and I carried them both up together upon it between us. But when we got them to the outside of our wall or fortification, we were at a worse loss than before, for it was impossible to get them over, and I was resolved not to break it down. So I set to work again; and Friday and I, in about two hours' time, made a very handsome tent, covered with old sails, and above that with boughs of trees, being in the space without our outward fence, and between that and the grove of young wood which I had planted. And here we made them two beds of such things as I had, namely, of good rice-straw, with blankets laid upon it, to lie on, and another to cover them, on each bed.

CHAPTER XXVI.

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a merry reflection, which I frequently made, how like a king I looked. First of all, the whole country was my own mere property, so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. Secondly, my people were perfectly subjected; I was absolutely lord and lawgiver; they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if there had been occasion for it, for me.

As soon as I had secured my two weak rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest them upon, I began to think of making some provision for them; and the first thing I did, I ordered Friday to take a yearling goat, betwixt a kid and a goat, out of my particular flock, to be killed; when I cut off the hinder-quarter, and chopping it into small pieces, I set Friday to work to boiling and stewing, and made them a very good dish, I assure you, of flesh and broth, having put some barley, and rice also, into the broth.

After we had dined, or rather supped, I ordered Friday to take one of the canoes, and go and fetch our muskets and other fire-arms, which, for want of time, we had left upon the field of battle. And the next day I ordered him to go and bury the dead bodies of the savages, which lay open to the sun, and would presently be offensive.

I then began to enter into a little conversation with my two new subjects: and first, I set Friday to inquire of his father what he thought of the escape of the savages in that canoe, and whether we might expect a return of them, with a power too great for us to resist? His first opinion was, that the savages in the boat never could live out the storm which blew that night they went off, but must of necessity be drowned, or driven south to those other shores, where they were as sure to be devoured, as they were to be drowned if they were cast away: but as to what they would do if they came safe on shore, he said he knew not; but it was his opinion, that they were so dreadfully frightened with the manner of their being attacked, the noise, and the fire, that he believed they would tell the people they were all killed by thunder and lightning, not by the hand of man; and that the two which appeared, namely, Friday and I, were two heavenly spirits, or furies, come down to destroy them, and not men with weapons. This, he said, he knew; because he heard them all cry out so in their language, one to another; for it was impossible for them to conceive that a man could dart fire, and speak thunder, and kill at a distance, without lifting up the hand, as was done now: and this old savage was in the right; for, as I understood since, by other hands, the savages never attempted to go over to the island afterwards, they were so terrified with the accounts given by those four men (for it seems they did escape the sea), that

they believed whoever went to that enchanted island would be destroyed with fire from the gods. This, however, I knew not; and therefore was under continual apprehensions for a good while, and kept always upon my guard with all my army: for, as there were now four of us, I would have ventured upon a hundred of them, fairly in the open field, at any time.

In a little time, however, no more canoes appearing, the fear of their coming wore off; and I began to take my former thoughts of a voyage to the main into consideration; being likewise assured by Friday's father, that I might depend upon good usage from their nation on his account, if I would go. But my thoughts were a little suspended, when I had a serious discourse with the Spaniard, and when I understood that there were sixteen more of his countrymen and Portuguese, who, having been cast away, and made their escape to that side, lived there at peace indeed with the savages, but were very sore put to it for necessaries, and indeed for life. I asked him all the particulars of their voyage, and found they were a Spanish ship, bound from the Rio de la Plata to the Havanna, being directed to leave their loading there, which was chiefly hides and silver, and to bring back what European goods they could meet with there; that they had five Portuguese seamen on board, whom they took out of another wreck; that five of their own men were drowned, when first the ship was lost, and that these escaped through infinite

dangers and hazards, and arrived, almost starved, on the cannibal coast, where they expected to have been devoured every moment.

I asked him what he thought would become of them there, and if they had formed no design of making any escape? He said they had made many consultations about it; but that, having neither vessel, nor tools to build one, nor provisions of any kind, their counsels always ended in tears and despair. I asked him how he thought they would receive a proposal from me, which might tend towards an escape; and whether, if they were all here, it might not be done? I told him, with freedom, I feared mostly their treachery and ill usage of me, if I put my life in their hands; for that gratitude was no inherent virtue in the nature of man, nor did men always square their dealings by the obligations they had received, so much as they did by the advantages they expected. I told him it would be very hard that I should be the instrument of their deliverance, and that they should afterwards make me their prisoner in New Spain, where an Englishman was certain to be made a sacrifice, what necessity or what accident soever brought him thither; and that I had rather be delivered up to the savages, and be devoured alive, than fall into the merciless claws of the priests, and be carried into the Inquisition.

He answered, with a great deal of candour and ingenuousness, that their condition was so miserable, and that they were sensible of it, that he believed

they would abhor the thought of using any man unkindly that should contribute to their deliverance; and that, if I pleased, he would go to them with the old man, and discourse with them about it, and return again, and bring me their answer; that he would make conditions with them, upon their solemn oath, that they should be absolutely under my leading, as their commander and captain.

Upon these assurances I resolved to venture to relieve them, if possible, and to send the old savage and this Spaniard over to them to treat. But when we had got all things in readiness to go, the Spaniard himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it, on one hand, and so much sincerity, on the other hand, that I could not but be very well satisfied in it; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of his comrades for at least half a year. The case was thus: he had been with us now about a month, during which time I had let him see in what manner I had provided, with the assistance of Providence, for my support; and he saw evidently what stock of corn and rice I had laid up; which, though it was more than sufficient for myself, yet it was not sufficient, without good husbandry, for my family, now it was increased to four; but much less would it be sufficient if his countrymen, who were, as he said, sixteen still alive, should come over; and, least of all, would it be sufficient to victual our vessel, if we should build one, for a voyage to any of the Christian colonies of America. So he told me he thought

it would be more advisable to let him and the other two dig and cultivate some more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow, and that we should wait another harvest, that we might have a supply of corn for his countrymen when they should come; for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered, otherwise than out of one difficulty into another. "You know," says he, "the children of Israel, though they rejoiced at first for their being delivered out of Egypt, yet rebelled even against God himself, that delivered them, when they came to want bread in the wilderness."

His caution was so seasonable, and his advice so good, that I could not but be very well pleased with his proposal, as well as I was satisfied with his fidelity: so we fell to digging, all four of us, as well as the wooden tools we were furnished with permitted; and, in about a month's time, by the end of which it was seed-time, we had got as much land cured and trimmed up as we sowed two-and-twenty bushels of barley on, and sixteen jars of rice; which was, in short, all the seed we had to spare: nor, indeed, did we leave ourselves barley sufficient for our own food, for the six months that we had to expect our crop; that is to say, reckoning from the time we set our seed aside for sowing; for it is not to be supposed it is six months in the ground in that country.

Having now society enough, and our number being sufficient to put us out of fear of the savages, if they had come, unless their number had been very great,

we went freely all over the island whenever we found occasion; and as here we had our escape, or deliverance, upon our thoughts, it was impossible, at least for me, to have the means of it out of mind. For this purpose, I marked out several trees which I thought fit for our work, and I set Friday and his father to cutting them down; and then I caused the Spaniard, to whom I imparted my thought on that affair, to oversee and direct their work. I showed them with what indefatigable pains I had hewed a large tree into a single plank, and I caused them to do the like, till they had made about a dozen large planks of good oak, near two feet broad, thirty-five feet long, and from two inches to four inches thick: what prodigious labour it took up any one may imagine.

At the same time, I contrived to increase my little flock of tame goats as much as I could; and, for this purpose, I made Friday and the Spaniard go out one day, and myself with Friday the next day (for we took our turns), and by this means we got about twenty young kids to breed up with the rest; for whenever we shot the dam, we saved the kids, and added them to our flock. But, above all, the season for curing the grapes coming on, I caused such a prodigious quantity to be hung up in the sun, that I believe, had we been at Alicant, where the raisins of the sun are cured, we could have filled sixty or eighty barrels.

It was now harvest, and our crop in good order:

it was not the most plentiful increase I had seen in the island, but, however, it was enough to answer our end; for, from twenty-two bushels of barley, we brought in and threshed out above two hundred and twenty bushels, and the like, in proportion, of the rice, which was store enough for our food to the next harvest, though all the sixteen Spaniards had been on shore with me.

And now, having a full supply of food for all the guests I expected, I gave the Spaniard leave to go over to the main, to see what he could do with those he had left behind him there. I gave him a strict charge not to bring any man with him who would not first swear, in the presence of himself and the old savage, that he would no way injure, fight with, or attack the person he should find in the island, who was so kind as to send for them in order to their deliverance; but that they would stand by him, and defend him against all such attempts, and wherever they went would be entirely under and subjected to his command; and that this should be put in writing, and signed with their hands. How they were to have done this, when I knew they had neither pen nor ink, was a question which we never asked. Under these instructions, the Spaniard and the old savage, the father of Friday, went away in one of the canoes which they might be said to come in, or rather were brought in, when they came as prisoners to be devoured by the savages. I gave each of them a musket, with a

firelock on it, and about eight charges of powder and ball.

This was a cheerful work, being the first measures used by me in view of my deliverance, for now twenty-seven years and some days. I gave them provisions of bread and of dried grapes sufficient for themselves for many days, and sufficient for all the Spaniards for about eight days' time; and, wishing them a good voyage, I saw them go; agreeing with them about a signal they should hang out at their return, by which I should know them again, when they came back, at a distance, before they came on shore.

CHAPTER XXVII.

It was no less than eight days I had waited for them, when a strange and unforeseen accident intervened, of which the like has not, perhaps, been heard of in history. I was fast asleep in my hutch one morning, when my man Friday came running in to me, and called aloud, "Master, master, they are come, they are come!" I jumped up, and, regardless of danger, I went out as soon as I could get my clothes on, through my little grove, which, by the way, was by this time grown to be a very thick wood; I say, regardless of danger, I went without my arms, which was not my custom to do: but I was surprised when, turning my eyes to the sea, I presently saw a boat,

at about a league and a half distance, standing in for the shore, with a shoulder-of-mutton sail, as they call it, and the wind blowing pretty fair to bring them in: also I observed presently, that they did not come from that side which the shore lay on, but from the southernmost end of the island. Upon this I called Friday in, and bade him lie close, for these were not the people we looked for, and that we might not know yet whether they were friends or enemies. In the next place, I went in to fetch my perspective glass, to see what I could make of them; and having taken the ladder out, I climbed up to the top of the hill, as I used to do when I was apprehensive of anything, and to take my view the plainer, without being discovered. I had scarce set my foot upon the hill, when my eye plainly discovered a ship lying at anchor, at about two leagues and a half distance from me, S.S.E., but not above a league and a half from the shore. By my observation, it appeared plainly to be an English ship, and the boat appeared to be an English long-boat.

I cannot express the confusion I was in; though the joy of seeing a ship, and one that I had reason to believe was manned by my own countrymen, and consequently friends, was such as I cannot describe; but yet I had some secret doubts hung about me, I cannot tell from whence they came, bidding me keep upon my guard.

I soon saw the boat draw near the shore, as if they looked for a creek to thrust in at, for the convenience

of landing ; however, as they did not come quite far enough, they did not see the little inlet where I formerly landed my rafts, but run their boat on shore upon the beach, at about half a mile from me, which was very happy for me ; for otherwise they would have landed just at my door, as I may say, and would soon have beaten me out of my castle, and perhaps have plundered me of all I had. When they were on shore I was fully satisfied they were Englishmen, at least most of them ; one or two I thought were Dutch, but it did not prove so ; there were in all eleven men, whereof three of them I found were unarmed, and, as I thought, bound ; and when the first four or five of them were jumped on shore, they took those three out of the boat as prisoners : one of the three I could perceive using the most passionate gestures of entreaty, affliction, and despair, even to a kind of extravagance ; the other two, I could perceive, lifted up their hands sometimes, and appeared concerned, indeed, but not to such a degree as the first. I was perfectly confounded at the sight, and knew not what the meaning of it should be. Friday called out to me in English as well as he could, "O master ! you see English mans eat prisoner as well as savage mans." "Why, Friday," says I, "do you think they are going to eat them, then?" "Yes," says Friday, "they will eat them." "No, no," says I, "Friday, I am afraid they will murder them, indeed, but you may be sure they will not eat them."

All this while I had no thought of what the matter really was, but stood trembling with the horror of the sight, expecting every moment when the three prisoners should be killed; nay, once I saw one of the villains lift up his arm with a great cutlass, as the seamen call it, or sword, to strike one of the poor men; and I expected to see him fall every moment; at which all the blood in my body seemed to run chill in my veins. I wished heartily now for my Spaniard, and the savage that was gone with him, or that I had any way to have come undiscovered within shot of them, that I might have rescued the three men, for I saw no fire-arms they had among them; but it fell out to my mind another way. After I had observed the outrageous usage of the three men by the insolent seamen, I observed the fellows run scattering about the island, as if they wanted to see the country. I observed that the three other men had liberty to go also where they pleased; but they sat down all three upon the ground, very pensive, and looked liked men in despair.

It was just at the top of high water when these people came on shore; and, partly while they rambled about to see what kind of a place they were in, they had carelessly stayed till the tide was spent, and the water was ebbcd considerably away, leaving their boat aground. They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drank a little too much brandy, fell asleep. However, one of them waking a little sooner than the other, and finding the boat too

fast aground for him to stir it, hallooed out for the rest, who were straggling about; upon which they all soon came to the boat; but it was past all their strength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the shore on that side being a soft oozy sand, almost like a quicksand. In this condition, like true seamen, who are, perhaps, the least of all mankind given to forethought, they gave it over, and away they strolled about the country again; and I heard one of them say aloud to another, calling them off from the boat, "Why, let her alone, Jack, can't you? she'll float next tide:" by which I was fully confirmed in the main inquiry of what countrymen they were. All this while I kept myself very close, not once daring to stir out of my castle, any further than to my place of observation, near the top of the hill; and very glad I was to think how well it was fortified. I knew it was no less than ten hours before the boat could float again, and by that time it would be dark, and I might be at more liberty to see their motions, and to hear their discourse, if they had any. In the meantime, I fitted myself up for a battle, as before, though with more caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of enemy than I had at first. I ordered Friday also, whom I had made an excellent marksman with his gun, to load himself with arms. I took myself two fowling-pieces, and I gave him three muskets.

It was my design, as I said above, not to have made any attempt till it was dark; but about two

o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found that, in short, they were all gone straggling into the woods, and, as I thought, laid down to sleep. The three poor distressed men, too anxious for their condition to get any sleep, were, however, sat down under the shelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and, as I thought, out of sight of any of the rest. Upon this I resolved to discover myself to them, and learn something of their condition: immediately I marched to them, my man Friday at a good distance behind me, as formidable for his arms as I, but not making quite so staring a figure as I did. I came as near them undiscovered as I could, and then, before any of them saw me, I called aloud to them in Spanish, "What are ye, gentlemen?" They started up at the noise, but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth figure that I made. They made no answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in English: "Gentlemen," said I, "do not be surprised at me; perhaps you may have a friend near, when you did not expect it." "He must be sent directly from Heaven," said one of them very gravely to me, and pulling off his hat at the same time to me; "for our condition is past the help of man." "All help is from Heaven, sir," said I; "but can you put a stranger in the way how to help you? for you seem to be in some great distress. I saw you when you landed; and when you seemed to make application to the brutes that came

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with you, I saw one of them lift up his sword to kill you."

The poor man, with tears running down his face, and trembling, looking like one astonished, returned, "Am I talking to a real man, or an angel?" "Be in no fear about that, sir," said I; "if God had sent an angel to relieve you, he would have come better clothed, and armed after another manner, than you see me: pray lay aside your fears; I am a man, an Englishman, and disposed to assist you: you see I have one servant only; we have arms and ammunition; tell us freely, can we serve you? What is your case?" "Our case," said he, "sir, is too long to tell you, while our murderers are so near us: but, in short, sir, I was commander of that ship; my men have mutinied against me; they have been hardly prevailed on not to murder me; and at last have set me on shore in this desolate place, with these two men with me, one my mate, the other a passenger, where we expected to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited, and know not yet what to think of it." "Where are these brutes, your enemies?" said I; "do you know where they are gone?" "There they lie, sir," said he, pointing to a thicket of trees; "my heart trembles for fear they have seen us, and heard you speak; if they have, they will certainly murder us all." "Have they any fire-arms?" said I. He answered, they had only two pieces, one of which they left in the boat. "Well then," said I, "leave the rest to me; I see they are all asleep; it is

an easy thing to kill them all: but shall we rather take them prisoners?" He told me there were two desperate villains among them, that it was scarce safe to show any mercy to; but if they were secured, he believed all the rest would return to their duty. I asked him which they were? He told me he could not at that distance distinguish them, but he would obey my orders in anything I would direct. "Well," says I, "let us retreat out of their view, or hearing, lest they awake, and we will resolve further." So they willingly went back with me, till the woods covered us from them.

"Look you, sir," said I, "if I venture upon your deliverance, are you willing to make two conditions with me?" He anticipated my proposals, by telling me that both he and the ship, if recovered, should be wholly directed and commanded by me in everything; and if the ship was not recovered, he would live and die with me in what part of the world soever I would send him; and the two other men said the same.

"Well then," said I, "here are three muskets for you, with powder and ball: tell me next what you think is proper to be done." He showed all the testimonies of his gratitude that he was able, but offered to be wholly guided by me. I told him I thought it was hard venturing anything; but the best method I could think of was to fire upon them at once, as they lay, and if any was not killed at the first volley, and offered to submit, we might save them, and so put it wholly upon God's providence to direct the shot. He

said very modestly, that he was loath to kill them, if he could help it; but that those two were incorrigible villains, and had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ship, and if they escaped we should be undone still; for they would go on board and bring the whole ship's company, and destroy us all. "Well then," says I, "necessity legitimates my advice, for it is the only way to save our lives." However, seeing him still cautious of shedding blood, I told him they should go themselves, and manage as they found convenient.

In the middle of this discourse we heard some of them awake, and soon after we saw two of them on their feet. I asked him if either of them were the heads of the mutiny? He said no. "Well then," said I, "you may let them escape; and Providence seems to have awakened them on purpose to save themselves. Now," says I, "if the rest escape you, it is your fault." Animated with this, he took the musket I had given him in his hand, and a pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, with each a piece in his hand; the two men who were with him going first made some noise, at which one of the seamen who was awake turned about, and seeing them coming, cried out to the rest; but it was too late then, for the moment he cried out, they fired; I mean the two men, the captain wisely reserving his own piece. They had so well aimed their shot at the men they knew, that one of them was killed on the spot, and the other very much wounded; but not being dead, he started up on his feet, and called eagerly for help to

the other ; but the captain stepping to him, told him it was too late to cry for help, he should call upon God to forgive his villany ; and with that word, knocked him down with the stock of his musket, so that he never spoke more : there were three more in the company, and one of them was also slightly wounded. By this time I was come ; and when they saw their danger, and that it was in vain to resist, they begged for mercy. The captain told them he would spare their lives, if they would give any assurance of their abhorrence of the treachery they had been guilty of, and would swear to be faithful to him in recovering the ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to Jamaica, from whence they came. They gave him all their protestations of their sincerity that could be desired, and he was willing to believe them, and spare their lives, which I was not against, only that I obliged him to keep them bound hand and foot, while they were on the island.

While this was doing, I sent Friday with the captain's mate to the boat, with orders to secure her, and bring away the oars and sails, which they did ; and, by-and-by, three straggling men, that were (happily for them) parted from the rest, came back upon hearing the guns fired, and seeing the captain, who before was their prisoner, now their conqueror, they submitted to be bound also : and so our victory was complete.

It now remained that the captain and I should inquire into one another's circumstances. I began first,

and told him my whole history, which he heard with an attention even to amazement. After this communication was at an end, I carried him and his two men into my apartment, leading them in just where I came out, namely, at the top of the house, where I refreshed them with such provisions as I had, and showed them all the contrivances I had made, during my long, long inhabiting that place.

We now began to consider how to recover the ship. The captain told me he was perfectly at a loss what measures to take, for that there were still six-and-twenty hands on board, who, having entered into a cursed conspiracy, by which they had all forfeited their lives to the law, would be hardened in it now by desperation, and would carry it on, knowing that, if they were subdued, they would be brought to the gallows as soon as they came to England, or to any of the English colonies; and that therefore there would be no attacking them with so small a number as we were.

I mused for some time upon what he had said, and found that it was a very rational conclusion, and that therefore something was to be resolved on speedily, as well to draw the men on board into some snare for their surprise, as to prevent their landing upon us, and destroying us. Upon this it presently occurred to me, that, in a little while, the ship's crew, wondering what was become of their comrades and of the boat, would certainly come on shore in their other boat to look for them; and that then, perhaps, they might come armed, and be too strong for us. This he

allowed to be rational. Upon this I told him the first thing we had to do was to stave the boat which lay upon the beach, so that they might not carry her off; and taking everything out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to swim. Accordingly, we went on board, took the arms which were left on board out of her, and whatever else we found there, which was a bottle of brandy, and another of rum, a few biscuit-cakes, a horn of powder, and a great lump of sugar in a piece of canvass (the sugar was five or six pounds); all which was very welcome to me, especially the brandy and sugar, of which I had none left for many years.

When we had carried all these things on shore (the oars, mast, sail, and rudder of the boat were carried away before, as above), we knocked a great hole in her bottom, that, if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the boat.

While we were thus preparing our designs, and had first, by main strength, heaved the boat upon the beach so high, that the tide would not float her off at high water mark, and besides had broke a hole in her bottom too big to be quickly stopped, and were sat down musing what we should do, we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with her ensign, as a signal for the boat to come on board: but no boat stirred; and they fired several times, making other signals for the boat. At last, when all their signals and firing proved fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them, by the help of my glasses,

hoist another boat out, and row towards the shore; and we found, as they approached, that there were no less than ten men in her, and that they had fire-arms with them.

As the ship lay almost two leagues from the shore, we had a full view of them as they came; and the captain knew the persons and character of all the men in the boat, of whom he said there were three very honest fellows, who, he was sure, were led into this conspiracy by the rest, being overpowered and frightened; but that, as for the boatswain, who, it seems, was the chief officer among them, and all the rest, they were as outrageous as any of the ship's crew, and were, no doubt, made desperate in their new enterprise.

We had, upon the first appearance of the boat's coming from the ship, considered of separating our prisoners; and we had, indeed, secured them effectually. Two of them, of whom the captain was less assured than ordinary, I sent with Friday, and one of the three delivered men, to my cave, where they were remote enough, and out of danger of being heard or discovered, or of finding their way out of the woods if they could have delivered themselves. Here they left them bound, but gave them provisions, and promised them if they continued there quietly, to give them their liberty in a day or two; but that, if they attempted their escape, they should be put to death without mercy.

The other prisoners had better usage. Two of

them were kept pinioned, indeed, because the captain was not free to trust them; but the other two were taken into my service upon the captain's recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us: so, with them and the three honest men, we were seven men well armed, and I made no doubt we should be able to deal well enough with the ten that were coming, considering that the captain had said there were three or four honest men among them also. As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat into the beach, and came all on shore, hauling the boat up after them. Being on shore, the first thing they did, they ran all to their other boat; and it was easy to see they were under a great surprise to find her stripped, as above, of all that was in her, and a great hole in her bottom. After they had mused a while upon this, they set up two or three great shouts, hallooing with all their might, to try if they could make their companions hear, but all to no purpose.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THEY then consulted together for some time, and decided to leave three men in the boat, and the rest to go up into the country to look for their fellows. This was a great disappointment to us, for now we were at a loss what to do, as our seizing those seven men on

shore would be no advantage to us if we let the boat escape; because they would then row away to the ship, and then the rest of them would be sure to weigh and set sail, and so our recovering the ship would be lost. However, we had no remedy but to wait and see what the issue of things might present. The seven men came on shore, and the three who remained in the boat put her off to a good distance from the shore, and came to an anchor to wait them; so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the boat. Those that came on shore kept close together, marching towards the top of the little hill under which my habitation lay, and we could see them plainly, though they could not perceive us. But when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they could see a great way into the valleys and wood which lay towards the north-east part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted and hallooed till they were weary; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree to consider of it.

We waited a great while, though very impatient, for their removing, and were very uneasy when, after long consultations, we saw them all start up, and march down towards the sea.

As soon as I perceived them to go towards the shore, I imagined it to be, as it really was, that they had given over their search, and were for going back again; but I presently thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again, and which answered my end to a

tittle. I ordered Friday and the captain's mate to go over the little creek westwards towards the place where the savages came on shore when Friday was rescued, and as soon as they came to a little rising ground, at about half a mile distance, I bade them halloo out as loud as they could, and wait till they found the seamen heard them; that as soon as ever they heard the seamen answer them, they should return it again, and then, keeping out of sight, take a round, always answering when the others hallooed, to draw them as far into the island and among the woods as possible, and then wheel about again to me, by such ways as I directed them.

They were just going into the boat when Friday and the mate hallooed, and they presently heard them, and answering, ran along the shore westward, towards the voice they heard, when they were presently stopped by the creek, where, the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up and set them over, as indeed I expected. When they had set themselves over, I observed that the boat being gone a good way into the creek, and, as it were, in a harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her, to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on the shore. This was what I wished for; and immediately leaving Friday and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were

aware—one of them lying on the shore, and the other being in the boat. The fellow on shore was between sleeping and waking, and going to start up. The captain, who was foremost, ran in upon him, and knocked him down, and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man. There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down. Besides, this was, it seems, one of the three who were not so hearty in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and therefore was easily persuaded, not only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincerely with us. In the meantime, Friday and the captain's mate so well managed their business with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were very sure they could not reach back to the boat before it was dark, and indeed they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and to fall upon them so as to make sure work with them. It was several hours after Friday came back to me before they came back to their boat, and we could hear the foremost of them, long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along, and could also hear them answer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and not able to come any faster, which was very welcome news to us. At

length they came up to the boat; but it is impossible to express their confusion when they found the boat fast aground in the creek, the tide ebbed out, and their two men gone. They hallooed again, and called their two comrades by their names a great many times; but no answer. After some time we could see them, by the little light there was, run about, wringing their hands like men in despair; and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat to rest themselves, then come on shore again, and walk about again, and so the same thing over again. My men would fain have had me given them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark; but I was willing to take them at some advantage, so to spare them and kill as few of them as I could; and especially, I was unwilling to hazard the killing of any of our men, knowing the others were very well armed. I resolved to wait, to see if they did not separate, and therefore, to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer, and ordered Friday and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet, as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as near them as they could possibly, before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture, when the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and who had now shown himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of the crew. The captain was so eager at having this principal rogue so much

in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him, for they only heard his tongue before; but when they came nearer, the captain and Friday, starting up on their feet, let fly at them. The boatswain was killed upon the spot; the next man was shot in the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after; and the third ran for it. At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men—namely, myself, generalissimo; Friday, my lieutenant-general; the captain and his two men, and the three prisoners of war, whom we had trusted with arms. We came upon them indeed in the dark, so that they could not see our number; and I made the man they had left in the boat, who was now one of us, to call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms: which fell out just as we desired; for indeed it was easy to think, as their condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate. So he calls out, as loud as he could, to one of them, “Tom Smith! Tom Smith!” Tom Smith answered immediately, “Is that Robinson?” for it seems he knew the voice. The other answered, “Ay, ay; for God’s sake, Tom Smith, throw down your arms and yield, or you are all dead men this moment.” “Who must we yield to? Where are they?” says Smith again. “Here they are,” says he; “here’s our captain, and fifty men with him, have been hunting you these two hours. The boatswain

is killed, Will Fry is wounded, and I am a prisoner; and if you do not yield, you are all lost." "Will they give us quarter, then?" says Tom Smith, "and we will yield." "I will go and ask, if you promise to yield," says Robinson. So he asked the captain, and the captain himself then calls out, "You, Smith, you know my voice: if you lay down your arms immediately and submit, you shall have your lives—all but Will Atkins."

Upon this, Will Atkins cried out, "For God's sake, captain, give me quarter; what have I done? They have all been as bad as I;" which, by the way, was not true neither; for it seems this Will Atkins was the first man that laid hold of the captain when they first mutinied, and used him barbarously, in tying his hands, and giving him injurious language. However, the captain told him he must lay down his arms at discretion, and trust to the governor's mercy; by which he meant me, for they all called me governor. In a word, they all laid down their arms, and begged their lives; and I sent the man that had parleyed with them, and two more, who bound them all; and then my great army of fifty men, which, particularly with those three, were in all but eight, came up and seized upon them, and upon their boat; only that I kept myself and one more out of sight, for reasons of state.

Our next work was to repair the boat, and think of seizing the ship; and as for the captain, now he had leisure to parley with them, he expostulated with

them upon the villany of their practices with him, and at length upon the further wickedness of their design, and how certainly it must bring them to misery and distress in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and Will Atkins fell upon his knees, to beg the captain to intercede with the governor of the island for his life; and all the rest begged of him that they might not be sent to England.

It now occurred to me that the time of our deliverance was come, and that it would be a most easy thing to bring these fellows in to be hearty in getting possession of the ship. So I retired into the dark from them, that they might not see what sort of a governor they had, and called the captain to me; when I called, as at a good distance, one of the men was ordered to speak again, and say to the captain, "Captain, the commander calls for you;" and presently, the captain replied, "Tell his excellency I am just a-coming." This more perfectly amused them, and they all believed that the commander was just by with his fifty men. Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for seizing the ship, which he liked wonderfully well, and resolved to put it in execution the next morning. But in order to execute it with more art, and to be secure of success, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and that he should go and take Atkins, and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to the cave where the others lay.

This was committed to Friday, and the two men who came on shore with the captain. They conveyed them to the cave, as to a prison. The others I ordered to my bower.

To these, in the morning, I sent the captain, who was to enter into a parley with them; in a word, to try them, and tell me whether he thought they might be trusted or no to go on board and surprise the ship, on promise of pardon for themselves.

Any one may guess how readily such a proposal would be accepted by men in their condition; they fell down on their knees to the captain, and promised that they would be faithful to him to the last drop, and that they should owe their lives to him, and would go with him all over the world. "Well," says the captain, "I must go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it." So he brought me an account of the temper he found them in, and that he verily believed they would be faithful. However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again and choose out those five, and tell them that they might see he did not want men, that he would take out those five to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the castle (my cave), as hostages for the fidelity of those five; and that, if they proved unfaithful in the execution, the five hostages should be hanged in chains alive on the shore. This looked severe, and convinced them that the governor was in

earnest. However, they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was now the business of the prisoners, as much as of the captain, to persuade the other five to their duty.

Our strength was now thus ordered for the expedition:—1st, The captain, his mate, and passenger: 2d, Then the two prisoners of the first gang, to whom, having their characters from the captain, I had given their liberty, and trusted them with arms: 3d, The other two that I had kept till now in my bower pinioned, but on the captain's motion had now released: 4th, These five released at last; so that they were twelve in all, besides five we kept prisoners in the cave for hostages.

I asked the captain if he was willing to venture with these hands on board the ship; but as for me and my man Friday, I did not think it was proper for us to stir, having seven men left behind; and it was employment enough for us to keep them asunder and supply them with victuals. As to the five in the cave, I resolved to keep them fast, but Friday went in twice a-day to them to supply them with necessities; and I made the other two carry provisions to a certain distance, where Friday was to take it.

When I showed myself to the two hostages, it was with the captain, who told them I was the person the governor had ordered to look after them; and that it was the governor's pleasure they should not stir anywhere, but by my direction; that if they did, they would be fetched into the castle, and be laid in

irons : so that, as we never suffered them to see me as a governor, I now appeared as another person, and spoke of the governor, the garrison, the castle, and the like, upon all occasions.

The captain now had no difficulty before him, but to furnish his two boats, stop the breach of one, and man them. He made his passenger captain of one, with four of the men ; and himself, his mate, and five more, went in the other ; and they contrived their business very well, for they came up to the ship about midnight. As soon as they came within call of the ship, he made Robinson hail them, and tell them they had brought off the men and the boat, but that it was a long time before they had found them and the like, holding them in chat till they came to the ship's side ; when the captain and the mate entering first with their arms, immediately knocked down the second mate and carpenter with the butt-end of their muskets, being very faithfully seconded by their men ; they secured all the rest that were upon the main and quarter-decks, and began to fasten the hatches, to keep them down that were below ; when the other boat and their men entering at the fore-chains, secured the fore-castle of the ship, and the scuttle which went down into the cock-room, making three men they found their prisoners. When this was done, and all safe upon deck, the captain ordered the mate, with three men, to break into the round-house, where the new rebel-captain lay, who, having taken the alarm, had got up, and with two men and a boy had got fire-arm

in their hands; and, when the mate, with a crew, split open the door, the new captain and his men fired boldly among them, and wounded the mate with a musket-ball, which broke his arm, and wounded two more of the men, but killed nobody. The mate calling for help, rushed, however, into the round-house, wounded as he was, and with his pistol shot the new captain through the head, the bullet entering at his mouth, and came out again behind one of his ears, so that he never spoke a word more: upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually without any more lives lost.

As soon as the ship was then secured, the captain ordered seven guns to be fired, which was the signal agreed upon with me to give me notice of his success, which you may be sure I was glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it till near two o'clock in the morning. Having thus heard the signal plainly, I laid me down; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I slept very sound, till I was something surprised with the noise of a gun; and presently starting up, I heard a man call me by the name of Governor, Governor, and presently I knew the captain's voice; when, climbing up to the top of the hill, there he stood, and pointing to the ship, he embraced me in his arms. "My dear friend and deliverer," says he, "there's your ship, for she is all yours, and so are we, and all that belong to her." I cast my eyes to the ship, and there she rode within little more than half a mile of the shore; for they had

weighed her anchor as soon as they were masters of her, and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor just against the mouth of the little creek; and the tide being up, the captain had brought the pinnace in near the place where I at first landed my rafts, and so landed just at my door. I was at first ready to sink down with surprise; for I saw my deliverance, indeed, visibly put into my hands, all things easy, and a large ship just ready to carry me away whither I pleased to go. At first, for some time I was not able to answer him one word, such was the flood of joy in my breast, that it put all my spirits into confusion. At last it broke out into tears; and in a little while after I recovered my speech, and embraced him as my deliverer, and we rejoiced together.

When we had talked awhile, the captain told me he had brought me some little refreshment, such as the ship afforded; and what was a thousand times more useful to me, he brought me six new clean shirts, six very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of shoes, a hat, and one pair of stockings, with a very good suit of clothes of his own, which had been worn but very little; in a word, he clothed me from head to foot. It was a very kind and agreeable present, as any one may imagine, to one in my circumstances; but never was anything in the world of that kind so unpleasant, awkward, and uneasy, as it was to me to wear such clothes at first.

After all his good things were brought into my little apartment, we began to consult what was to be

done with the prisoners we had; for it was worth considering whether we might venture to take them away with us or no, especially two of them, whom he knew to be incorrigible and refractory to the last degree. These at last we decided on leaving on the island, and they seemed very thankful for it, and said they would much rather venture to stay there than be carried to England to be hanged.

I accordingly set them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods to the place whence they came, and I would leave them some fire-arms, some ammunition, and some directions how they should live very well, if they thought fit. Upon this I prepared to go on board the ship; but told the captain I would stay that night to prepare my things, and desired him to go on board in the meantime, and keep all right in the ship, and send the boat on shore next day for me; ordering him, at all events, to cause the new captain, who was killed, to be hanged at the yard-arm, that these men might see him.

When the captain was gone, I sent for the men, and told them I would let them into the story of my living there, and put them into the way of making it easy to them. Accordingly, I gave them the whole history of the place, and of my coming to it; showed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes, and, in a word, all that was necessary to make them easy. I told them the story also of the seventeen Spaniards that were to be expected, for whom I left a letter, and

made them promise to treat them in common with themselves. Here it may be noted, that the captain had ink on board, who was greatly surprised that I never hit upon a way of making ink of charcoal and water, or of something else, as I had done things much more difficult.

I left them my fire-arms, namely, five muskets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords. I had above a barrel and a half of powder left; for, after the first year or two, I used but little and wasted none, and told them I should prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gunpowder more, and some garden-seeds, which I told them I would have been very glad of: also I gave them the bag of peas which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be sure to sow and increase them.

Having done all this, I left them the next day, and went on board the ship. We prepared immediately to sail, but did not weigh that night. The next morning early, two of the five men came swimming to the ship's side, and making a most lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ship, for they should be murdered. Upon this, the captain pretended to have no power without me; but after some difficulty, and after their solemn promises of amendment, they were taken on board, and were, some time after, soundly whipped and pickled: after which, they proved very honest and quiet fellows.

Some time after this, the boat was ordered on shore,

the tide being up, with the things promised to the men; to which the captain, at my intercession, caused their chests and clothes to be added, which they took, and were very thankful for. I also encouraged them, by telling them, if it lay in my power to send any vessel to take them in, I would not forget them.

When I took leave of this island, I carried on board, for reliques, the great goat-skin cap I had made, my umbrella, and one of my parrots; also, I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had lain by me so long useless that it was grown rusty, or tarnished, and could hardly pass for silver, till it had been a little rubbed and handled; as also the money I found in the wreck of the Spanish ship. And thus I left the island, the 19th of December, as I found by the ship's account, in the year 1686, after I had been upon it eight-and-twenty years, two months, and nineteen days; being delivered from this second captivity the same day of the month that I first made my escape in the long-boat from among the Moors of Sallee. In this vessel, after a long voyage, I arrived in England the 11th of June, in the year 1687, having been thirty-five years absent.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WHEN I came to England, I was as perfect a stranger to all the world as if I had never been known there. My benefactor and faithful steward, whom I had left my money in trust with, was alive, but had had great misfortunes in the world; was become a widow the second time, and very low in the world. I made her very easy as to what she owed me, assuring her I would give her no trouble; but, on the contrary, in gratitude for her former care and faithfulness to me, I relieved her as my little stock would afford; which, at that time, would indeed allow me to do but little for her; but I assured her I would never forget her former kindness to me; nor did I forget her when I had sufficient to help her, as shall be observed in its proper place; I went down afterwards into Yorkshire; but my father was dead, and my mother and all the family extinct, except that I found two sisters, and two of the children of one of my brothers; and as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no provision made for me; so that, in a word, I found nothing to relieve or assist me, and that the little money I had would not do much for me as to settling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the master of the ship whom I had so happily delivered, and by the same means saved the ship and cargo, having given

a very handsome account to the owners of the manner how I had saved the lives of the men and the ship, they invited me to meet them, and some other merchants concerned, and all together made me a very handsome compliment upon the subject, and a present of almost £200 sterling.

But, after making several reflections upon the circumstances of my life, and how little way this would go towards settling me in the world, I resolved to go to Lisbon, and see if I might not come by some information of the state of my plantation in the Brazils, and of what was become of my partner, who, I had reason to suppose, had some years past given me over for dead. With this view I took shipping for Lisbon, where I arrived in April following; my man Friday accompanying me very honestly in all these ramblings, and proving a most faithful servant upon all occasions. When I came to Lisbon, I found out by inquiry, and to my particular satisfaction, my old friend the captain of the ship who first took me up at sea, off the shore of Africa. He was now grown old, and had left off going to sea, having put his son, who was far from a young man, into his ship, and who still followed the Brazil trade. The old man did not know me; and indeed I hardly knew him; but I soon brought him to my remembrance, and as soon brought myself to his remembrance when I told him who I was.

After some passionate expressions of the old acquaintance between us, I inquired, you may be sure,

after my plantation and my partner. The old man told me he had not been in the Brazils for about nine years; but that he could assure me, that when he came away my partner was living; but the trustees whom I had joined with him to take cognizance of my part, were both dead; that, however, he believed I would have a very good account of the improvement of the plantation; for that, upon the general belief of my being cast away and drowned, my trustees had given in the account of the produce of my part of the plantation to the procurator-fiscal, who had appropriated it, in case I never came to claim it, one-third to the king, and two-thirds to the monastery of St. Augustine, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith; but that, if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it would be restored; only that the improvement, or annual production, being distributed to the charitable uses, could not be restored. But he assured me that the steward of the king's revenue from lands, and the proviedore, or steward of the monastery, had taken great care all along, that the incumbent, that is to say, my partner, gave every year a faithful account of the produce, of which they had duly received my moiety. I asked him if he knew to what height of improvement he had brought the plantation, and whether he thought it might be worth looking after; or whether, on my going thither, I should meet with any obstruction to my possessing my just right in the moiety. He told

me he could not exactly tell to what degree the plantation was improved, but this he knew, that my partner was grown exceeding rich upon the enjoying his part of it ; and that, to the best of his remembrance, he had heard that the king's third of my part, which was, it seems, granted away to some other monastery, or religious house, amounted to above two hundred moidores a-year : that, as to my being restored to a quiet possession of it, there was no question to be made of that, my partner being alive to witness my title, and my name being also enrolled in the register of the country. Also he told me, that the survivors of my two trustees were very fair and honest people, and very wealthy ; and he believed I would not only have their assistance for putting me in possession, but would find a very considerable sum of money in their hands for my account, being the produce of the farm while their fathers held the trust, and before it was given up, as above ; which, as he remembered, was for about twelve years.

I showed myself a little concerned and uneasy at this account, and inquired of the old captain how it came to pass that the trustees should thus dispose of my effects, when he knew that I had made my will, and had made him, the Portuguese captain, my universal heir, &c.

He told me that was true ; but that, as there was no proof of my being dead, he could not act as executor until some certain account should come of my death ; and besides, he was not willing to intermeddle

with a thing so remote: that it was true he had registered my will, and put in his claim; and could he have given any account of my being dead or alive, he would have acted by *procuration*, and taken possession of the *ingenio* (so they called the sugar-house), and have given his son, who was now in the Brazils, orders to do it. "But," says the old man, "I have one piece of news to tell you, which perhaps may not be so acceptable to you as the rest; and that is, believing you were lost, and all the world believing so also, your partner and trustees did offer to account with me in your name, for six or eight of the first years' profits, which I received. There being at that time great disbursements for increasing the works, building an *ingenio*, and buying slaves, it did not amount to near so much as afterwards it produced; however," says the old man, "I shall give you a true account of what I have received in all, and how I have disposed of it."

After a few days' farther conference with this ancient friend, he brought me an account of the first six years' income of my plantation, signed by my partner and the merchant trustees, being always delivered in goods, namely, tobacco in roll, and sugar in chests, besides rum, molasses, &c., which is the consequence of a sugar-work; and I found by this account, that every year the income considerably increased; but, as above, the disbursements being large, the sum at first was small. However, the old man let me see that he was debtor to me 470 moidores of gold, besides 60

chests of sugar, and 15 double rolls of tobacco, which were lost in his ship; he having been shipwrecked coming home to Lisbon, about eleven years after my leaving the place. The good man then began to complain of his misfortunes, and how he had been obliged to make use of my money to recover his losses, and buy him a share in a new ship. "However, my old friend," says he, "you shall not want a supply in your necessity; and as soon as my son returns, you shall be fully satisfied." Upon this, he pulls out an old pouch, and gives me 160 Portugal moidores in gold; and giving the writings of his title to the ship, which his son was gone to the Brazils in, of which he was a quarter part owner, and his son another, he puts them both into my hands, for security of the rest.

I was too much moved with the honesty and kindness of the poor man to be able to bear this; and remembering what he had done for me, how he had taken me up at sea, and how generously he had used me on all occasions, and particularly how sincere a friend he was now to me, I could hardly refrain weeping at what he had said to me. Therefore I asked him if his circumstances admitted him to spare so much money at that time, and if it would not straiten him? He told me he could not say but it might straiten him a little; but, however, it was my money, and I might want it more than he.

Everything the good man said was full of affection, and I could hardly refrain from tears while he spoke.

In short, I took one hundred of the moidores, and called for a pen and ink to give him a receipt for them. Then I returned him the rest, and told him if ever I had possession of the plantation, I would return the other to him also (as indeed I afterwards did); and that as to the bill of sale of his part in his son's ship, I would not take it by any means; but that, if I wanted the money, I found he was honest enough to pay me; and if I did not, but came to receive what he gave me reason to expect, I would never have a penny more from him.

When this was past, the old man asked me if he should put me into a method to make my claim to my plantation? I told him I thought to go over to it myself. He said I might do so if I pleased; but that, if I did not, there were ways enough to secure my rights, and immediately to appropriate the profits to my use; and as there were ships in the river of Lisbon just ready to go away to Brazil, he made me enter my name in a public register, with his affidavit, affirming, upon oath, that I was alive, and that I was the same person who took up the land for the planting the said plantation at first. This being regularly attested by a notary, and a procuration affixed, he directed me to send it, with a letter of his writing, to a merchant of his acquaintance at the place; and then proposed my staying with him till an account came of the return.

Never was anything more honourable than the proceedings upon this procuration; for, in less than seven

months, I received a large packet from the survivors of my trustees, the merchants, with full accounts of everything.

There was also a letter of my partner's, congratulating me very affectionately upon my being alive, giving me an account how the estate was improved, and what it produced a-year; inviting me, very passionately, to come over, and take possession of my own; and, in the meantime, to give him orders to whom he should deliver my effects, if I did not come myself; concluding with a hearty tender of his friendship, and that of his family: and sent me as a present, seven fine leopards' skins, which he had, it seems, received from Africa, by some other ship that he had sent thither, and who, it seems, had made a better voyage than I. He sent me also five chests of excellent sweetmeats, and a hundred pieces of gold uncoined, not quite so large as moidores. By the same fleet, my two merchant trustees shipped me 1200 chests of sugar, 800 rolls of tobacco, and the rest of the whole account in gold.

I might well say now, indeed, that the latter end of Job was better than the beginning. It is impossible to express the flutterings of my very heart, when I found all my wealth about me; for, as the Brazil ships come all in fleets, the same ships which brought my letters brought my goods, and the effects were safe in the river before the letters came to my hand.

I was now master, all on a sudden, of above five

thousand pounds sterling in money, and had an estate, as I might well call it, in the Brazils, of above a thousand pounds a-year, as sure as an estate of lands in England; and, in a word, I was in a condition which I scarce knew how to understand, or how to compose myself for the enjoyment of it. The first thing I did was to recompense my original benefactor, my good old captain, who had been first charitable to me in my distress, kind to me in my beginning, and honest to me at the end. I showed him all that was sent to me; I told him that, next to the Providence of Heaven, which disposed all things, it was owing to him; and that it now lay on me to reward him, which I would do a hundred fold. So I first returned to him the hundred moidores I had received of him; then I sent for a notary, and caused him to draw up a general release, or discharge, for the 470 moidores, which he had acknowledged he owed me, in the fullest and firmest manner possible. After which I caused a procuration to be drawn, empowering him to be my receiver of the annual profits of my plantation, and appointing my partner to account with him, and make the returns, by the usual fleets, to him in my name; and a clause in the end, being a grant of 100 moidores a-year to him, during his life, out of the effects, and 50 moidores a-year to his son, after him, for his life: and thus I requited my old man.

I then began to think of my poor widow, whose husband had been my first benefactor, and she, while

it was in her power, my faithful steward and instructor. So the first thing I did, I got a merchant in Lisbon to write to his correspondent in London not only to pay a bill, but to go find her out, and carry her in money a hundred pounds from me, and to talk with her, and comfort her in her poverty, by telling her she should, if I lived, have a further supply; at the same time, I sent my two sisters in the country a hundred pounds each, they being, though not in want, yet not in very good circumstances; one having been married and left a widow, and the other having a husband not so kind to her as he should be. But, among all my relations or acquaintances, I could not yet pitch upon one to whom I durst commit the gross of my stock, that I might go away to the Brazils, and leave things safe behind me; and this greatly perplexed me.

I resolved, at last, to go to England, where, if I arrived, I concluded I should make some acquaintance, or find some relations that would be faithful to me; and, accordingly, I prepared to go to England with all my wealth.

In order to prepare things for my going home; I first (the Brazil fleet being just going away) resolved to give answers suitable to the just and faithful account of things I had from thence. I wrote next a letter of thanks to my two trustees, with all the acknowledgment that so much justice and honesty called for; as for sending them any present, they were far above having any occasion for it. I also

wrote to my partner, acknowledging his industry in the improving the plantation, and his integrity in increasing the stock of the works; giving him instructions for his future government of my part, according to the powers I had left with my old patron, to whom I desired him to send whatever became due to me, till he should hear from me more particularly; assuring him that it was my intention, not only to come to him, but to settle myself there for the remainder of my life. To this I added a very handsome present of some Italian silks for his wife and two daughters, for such the captain's son informed me he had, with two pieces of fine English broad cloth, the best I could get in Lisbon, five pieces of black baize, and some Flanders lace of a good value.

Having thus settled my affairs, sold my cargo, and turned all my effects into good bills of exchange, my next difficulty was, which way to go to England. I had been accustomed enough to the sea, and yet I had a strange aversion to go to England by sea at that time.

Having been thus harassed in my thoughts, my old pilot, to whom I communicated everything, advised me not to go by sea; but either to go by land to the Groyne, and cross over the Bay of Biscay to Rochelle, from whence it was but an easy and safe journey, by land, to Paris, and so to Calais and Dover; or to go up to Madrid, and so all the way by land through France. In a word, I was so

prepossessed against my going to sea at all, except from Calais to Dover, that I resolved to travel all the way by land; which, as I was not in haste, and did not value the charge, was by much the pleasanter way; and to make it more so, my old captain brought an English gentleman, the son of a merchant in Lisbon, who was willing to travel with me; after which we picked up two more English merchants also, and two young Portuguese gentlemen, the last going to Paris only; so that, in all, there were six of us, and five servants: the two merchants and the two Portuguese contenting themselves with one servant between two, to save the charge; and as for me, I got an English sailor to travel with me as a servant, besides my man Friday, who was too much a stranger to be capable of supplying the place of a servant on the road.

CHAPTER XXX.

IN this manner I set out for Lisbon; and our company being very well mounted and armed, we made a little troop, whereof they did me the honour to call me captain, as well because I was the oldest man, as because I had two servants, and, indeed, was the original of the whole journey.

When we came to Madrid, we, being all of us strangers to Spain, were willing to stay some time to see the court of Spain, and to see what was worth

observing; but it being the latter part of the summer, we hastened away, and set out from Madrid about the middle of October; but when we came to the edge of Navarre, we were alarmed at several towns on the way, with an account that so much snow was fallen on the French side of the mountains, that several travellers were obliged to come back to Pampelona, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

When we came to Pampelona itself, we found it so indeed; and to me that had been always used to a hot climate, and to countries where I could scarce bear any clothes on, the cold was insufferable: nor, indeed, was it more painful than surprising, to come but ten days before out of Old Castile, where the weather was not only warm, but very hot, and immediately to feel a wind from the Pyrenean mountains so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intolerable, and to endanger benumbing and perishing of our fingers and toes.

Poor Friday was really frightened when he saw the mountains all covered with snow, and felt cold weather, which he had never seen or felt before in his life. To mend the matter, when we came to Pampelona, it continued snowing with so much violence, and so long, that the people said winter was come before its time; and the roads, which were difficult before, were now quite impassable: for, in a word, the snow lay in some places too thick for us to travel, and, being not hard frozen, as is the case in

the northern countries, there was no going without being in danger of being buried alive every step. We stayed no less than twenty days at Pampelona; when, seeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the severest winter, all over Europe, that had been known in the memory of man, I proposed that we should all go away to Fontarabia, and there take shipping for Bourdeaux, which was a very little voyage. But while I was considering this, there came in four French gentlemen, who having been stopped on the French side of the passes, as we were on the Spanish, had found out a guide, who, traversing the country near the head of Languedoc, had brought them over the mountains by such ways, that they were not much incommoded with the snow; for, where they met with snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses. We sent for this guide, who told us he would undertake to carry us the same way with no hazard from the snow, provided we were armed sufficiently to protect ourselves from wild beasts; for, he said, upon these great snows it was frequent for some wolves to show themselves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food, the ground being covered with snow. We told him we were well enough prepared for such creatures as they were, if he would insure us from a kind of two-legged wolves, which, we were told, we were in most danger from, especially on the French side of the mountains.

He satisfied us that there was no danger of that kind in the way that we were to go: so we readily agreed to follow him, as did also twelve other gentlemen, with their servants, some French, some Spanish, who, as I said, had attempted to go, and were obliged to come back again.

Accordingly, we set out from Pampelona, with our guide, on the 15th of November; and, indeed, I was surprised when, instead of going forward, he came directly back with us on the same road that we came from Madrid, about twenty miles; when, having passed two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourselves in a warm climate again, where the country was pleasant, and no snow to be seen; but on a sudden, turning to his left, he approached the mountains another way; and though it is true the hills and precipices looked dreadful, yet he made so many tours, such meanders, and led us by such winding ways, that we insensibly passed the heights of the mountains without being much encumbered with the snow; and all on a sudden he showed us the pleasant fruitful provinces of Languedoc and Gascony, all green and flourishing, though, indeed, at a great distance, and we had some rough way to pass still.

We were a little uneasy, however, when we found it snowed one whole day and a night so fast that we could not travel; but he bid us be easy; we should soon be past it all. We found, indeed, that we began to descend every day, and to come more north than

before; and so, depending upon our guide, we went on.

It was about two hours before night, when, our guide being something before us, and not just in sight, out rushed three monstrous wolves, and after them a bear, out of a hollow way adjoining to a thick wood; two of the wolves made at the guide, and had he been far before us, he would have been devoured before we could have helped him; one of them fastened upon his horse, and the other attacked the man with that violence, that he had not time or presence of mind enough to draw his pistol, but halloed and cried out to us most lustily. My man Friday being next to me, I bade him ride up, and see what was the matter. As soon as Friday came in sight of the man, he halloed out as loud as the other, "O master! O master!" but like a bold fellow, rode directly up to the poor man, and with his pistol, shot the wolf that attacked him in the head.

It was happy for the poor man that it was my man Friday; for he having been used to such creatures in his country, he had no fear upon him, but went close up to him and shot him, as above; whereas any other of us would have fired at a further distance, and have, perhaps, either missed the wolf, or endangered shooting the man.

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than I; and, indeed, it alarmed all our company, when, with the noise of Friday's pistol, we heard on both sides the most dismal howling of wolves; and

the noise, redoubled by the echo of the mountains, appeared to us as if there had been a prodigious number of them; and, perhaps, there was not such a few as that we had no cause of apprehensions. However, as Friday had killed this wolf, the other, that had fastened upon the horse, left him immediately and fled, without doing him any damage, having happily fastened upon his head, where the bosses of the bridle had stuck in his teeth. But the man was most hurt; for the raging creature had bit him twice, once in the arm, and the other time a little above his knee; and, though he had made some defence, he was just, as it were, tumbling down by the disorder of his horse, when Friday came up and shot the wolf.

It is easy to suppose that, at the noise of Friday's pistol, we all mended our pace, and rode up as fast as the way, which was very difficult, would give us leave, to see what was the matter. As soon as we came clear of the trees, which blinded us before, we saw clearly what had been the case, and how Friday had disengaged the poor guide, though we did not presently discern what kind of creature it was he had killed.

But never was a fight managed so hardily, and in such a surprising manner, as that which followed, between Friday and the bear, which gave us all, though at first we were surprised and afraid for him, the greatest diversion imaginable.

My man Friday had delivered our guide, and

when we came up to him he was helping him off from his horse, for the man was both hurt and frightened, when, on a sudden, we espied the bear come out of the wood, and a vast monstrous one it was, the biggest by far that I ever saw. We were all a little surprised when we saw him; but when Friday saw him, it was easy to see joy and courage in the fellow's countenance: "O, O, O!" says Friday, three times, pointing to him; "O master! you give me te leave, me shakee te hand with him; me makee you good laugh."

I was surprised to see the fellow so well pleased: "You fool!" says I, "he will eat you up." "Eatee me up! eatee me up!" says Friday twice over again; "me eatee him up; me makee you good laugh; you all stay here, me show you good laugh." So down he sits, and gets off his boots in a moment, and puts on a pair of pumps (as we call the flat shoes they wear, and which he had in his pocket), gives my other servant his horse, and, with his gun, away he flew, swift like the wind.

The bear was walking softly on, and offered to meddle with nobody, till Friday coming pretty near, calls to him, as if the bear could understand him, "Hark ye, hark ye," says Friday, "me speakee with you." We followed at a distance; for now, being come down on the Gascony side of the mountains, we were entered a vast great forest, where the country was plain and pretty open, though it had many trces in it scattered here and there. Friday,

who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great stone, and throws it at him, and hit him just on the head, but did no more harm than if he had thrown it against a wall; but it answered Friday's end, for the rogue was so void of fear, that he did it purely to make the bear follow him, and show us some laugh, as he called it. As soon as the bear felt the blow, and saw him, he turns about, and comes after him, taking very long strides, and shuffling on, at a strange rate, so as would have put a horse to a middling gallop. Away runs Friday, and takes his course, as if he run towards us for help. So we all resolved at once to fire upon the bear, and deliver my man: though I was angry at him, heartily, for bringing the bear back upon us, when he was going about his own business another way: and especially, I was angry that he had turned the bear upon us, and then run away; and I called out, "You dog, is this your making us laugh? Come away, and take your horse, that we may shoot the creature." He heard me, and cried out, "No shoot, no shoot; stand still, and you get much laugh;" and as the nimble creature ran two feet for the bear's one, he turned on a sudden, on one side of us, and seeing a great oak tree fit for his purpose, he beckoned to us to follow; and doubling his pace, he gets nimbly up the tree, laying his gun down upon the ground, at about five or six yards from the bottom of the tree. The bear soon came to the tree, and we followed at a distance.

The first thing he did, he stopped at the gun, smelt to it, but let it lie, and up he scrambles into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrous heavy. I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not, for my life, see anything to laugh at yet, till, seeing the bear get up the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

When we came to the tree, there was Friday got out to the small end of a large branch, and the bear got about half way to him. As soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker,—“Ha!” says he to us, “now you see me teachee the bear dance.” So he falls a jumping and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back; then indeed, we did laugh heartily. But Friday had not done with him by a great deal; when seeing him stand still, he calls out to him again, as if he had supposed the bear could speak English, “What, you come no farther? pray you come farther.” So he left jumping and shaking the tree; and the bear, just as if he understood what he said, did come a little farther; then he fell a jumping again, and the bear stopped again. We thought now was a good time to knock him on the head, and called Friday to stand still, and we would shoot the bear; but he cried out earnestly, “O pray! O pray! no shoot, me shoot by-and-then;” he would have said by-and-by. However, to shorten the story, Friday danced so much,

and the bear stood so ticklish, that we had laughing enough, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do; for, first, we thought he depended upon shaking the bear off; and we found the bear was too cunning for that too; for he would not go out far enough to be thrown down, but clings fast with his great broad claws and feet, so that we could not imagine what would be the end of it, and what the jest would be at last. But Friday put us out of doubt quickly; for, seeing the bear cling fast to the bough, and that he would not be persuaded to come any farther, "Well, well," says Friday, "you no come farther, me go; you no come to me, me come to you:" and, upon this, he goes out to the smaller end of the bough, where it would bend with his weight; and gently lets himself down by it, sliding down the bough, till he came near enough to jump down on his feet, and away he runs to his gun, takes it up, and stands still. "Well," said I to him, "Friday, what will you do now? Why don't you shoot him?" "No shoot," says Friday, "no yet; me shoot now, me no kill; me stay, give you one more laugh:" and, indeed, so he did, as you will see presently; for, when the bear saw his enemy gone, he comes back from the bough where he stood, but did it mighty cautiously, looking behind him every step, and coming backward till he got into the body of the tree; then, with the same hinder end foremost, he came down the tree, grasping it with his claws, and moving one foot at a time, very leisurely. At

this juncture, and just before he could set his hind-foot on the ground, Friday stepped up close to him, clapped the muzzle of his piece into his ear, and shot him dead. Then the rogue turned about, to see if we did not laugh; and when he saw we were pleased, by our looks, he falls a-laughing himself very loud. "So we kill bear in our country," says Friday. "So you kill them?" says I: "why, you have no guns." "No," says he, "but shoot great much long arrow." This was a good diversion to us; but we were still in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew: the howling of wolves ran much in my head; and, indeed, except the noise I once heard on the shore of Africa, of which I have said something already, I never heard anything that filled me with so much horror.

These things, and the approach of night, called us off, or else, as Friday would have had us, we should certainly have taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving; but we had near three leagues to go, and our guide hastened us. So we left him, and went forward on our journey.

The ground was still covered with snow, though not so deep and dangerous as on the mountains; and the ravenous creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the forest and plain country, pressed by hunger to seek for food, and had done a great deal of mischief in the villages, where they surprised the country people, killed a great many of their sheep and horses, and some people too.

We journeyed on till we came in view of the entrance of a wood, through which we were to pass, at the farther side of the plain; but we were greatly surprised, when coming nearer the lane or pass, we saw a confused number of wolves standing just at the entrance. On a sudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noise of a gun; and looking that way, out rushed a horse, with a saddle and a bridle on him, flying like the wind, and sixteen or seventeen wolves after him, full speed. Indeed, the horse had the heels of them, but as we supposed that he could not hold it at that rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at last; no question but they did.

But here we had a most horrible sight; for riding up to the entrance where the horse came out, we found the carcasses of another horse and two men, devoured by the ravenous creatures; and one of the men was, no doubt, the same whom we heard fire the gun, for there lay a gun just by him, fired off; but as to the man, his head and the upper part of his body was eaten up. This filled us with horror, and we knew not what course to take: but the creatures resolved us soon, for they gathered about us presently, in hopes of prey; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them. It happened very much to our advantage, that at the entrance into the wood, but a very little way from it, there lay some large timber trees, which had been cut down the summer before, and I suppose lay there for carriage.

We drew up among those trees, and placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree, I advised them all to alight, and, keeping that tree before us for a breast-work, to stand in a triangle, or three fronts, inclosing our horses in the centre. We did so, and it was well we did; for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place. They came on with a growling kind of noise, and mounted the piece of timber, which, as I said, was our breast-work, as if they were only rushing upon their prey; and this fury of theirs, it seems, was principally occasioned by their seeing our horses behind us. I ordered our men to fire, as before, every other man; and they took their aim so sure, that they killed several of the wolves at the first volley; but there was a necessity to keep a continual firing, for they came on furiously, those behind pushing on those before.

When we had fired a second volley of our fusees, we thought they had stopped a little, and I hoped they would have gone off; but it was but a moment, for others came forward again. So we fired two volleys of our pistols; and I believe in these four firings we had killed seventeen or eighteen of them, and lamed twice as many, yet they came on again. I was loath to spend our last shot too hastily, so I called my servant, not my man Friday, for he was better employed, for, with the greatest dexterity imaginable, he had charged my fusee and his own while we were engaged; but, as I said, I called my

other man, and giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train. He did so, and had but just time to get away, when the wolves came up to it, and some were got upon it, when I, snapping an uncharged pistol close to the powder, set it on fire. Those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and six or seven of them fell, or rather jumped in among us, with the force and fright of the fire. We despatched these in an instant, and the rest were so frightened with the light, which the night, for it was now very near dark, made more terrible, that they drew back a little; upon which I ordered our last pistols to be fired off in one volley, and after that we gave a shout. Upon this the wolves turned tail, and we sallied immediately upon near twenty lame ones that we found struggling on the ground, and fell a cutting them with our swords, which answered our expectation; for the crying and howling they made was better understood by their fellows, so that they all fled and left us.

We had, first and last, killed about three score of them, and had it been day-light, we had killed many more. The field of battle being thus cleared, we made forward again, for we had still near a league to go. When we reached the town where we were to lodge, we found the people in a terrible fright, and all in arms; for it seems, the night before, the wolves and some bears had broke into the village, and put them in such terror, that they were obliged to

keep guard night and day, but especially in the night, to preserve their cattle, and indeed their people.

The next morning our guide was so ill, and his leg swelled so much with the rankling of his two wounds, that he could go no farther; so we were obliged to take a new guide here, and go to Thoulouse, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful, pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, or anything like them. But when we told our story at Thoulouse, they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great forest at the foot of the mountains, especially when the snow lay on the ground; but they inquired much what kind of a guide we had got, who would venture to bring us that way in such a severe season, and told us it was surprising we were not all devoured.

I have nothing uncommon to take notice of in my passage through France, nothing but what other travellers have given an account of, with much more advantage than I can. I travelled from Thoulouse to Paris, and without any considerable stay came to Calais, and landed safe at Dover, the 14th of January, after having a severe cold season to travel in.

I was now come to the centre of my travels, and had, in a little time, all my new discovered estate safe about me; the bills of exchange which I brought with me having been very currently paid.

My principal guide and privy councillor was my

good ancient widow, who, in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me; and I trusted her so entirely with everything, that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects. And indeed I was very happy from the beginning, and now to the end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

I now resolved to dispose of my plantation in the Brazils, if I could find means. For this purpose I wrote to my old friend at Lisbon, who, having offered it to the two merchants, the survivors of my trustees, who lived in the Brazils, they accepted the offer, and remitted thirty-three thousand pieces of eight to a correspondent of theirs at Lisbon to pay for it. Having signed the instrument of sale, and sent it to my old friend, he remitted me bills of exchange for thirty-two thousand eight hundred pieces of eight for the estate, reserving the payment of a hundred moidores a-year to himself during his life, and fifty moidores afterwards to his son for life, which I had promised them.

Though I had sold my estate in the Brazils, yet I could not keep the country out of my head, nor could I resist the strong inclination I had to see my island. My true friend, the widow, earnestly dissuaded me from it, and so far prevailed with me, that for almost seven years she prevented me running abroad; during which time I took my two nephews, the children of one of my brothers, into my care. The eldest, having

something of his own, I bred up as a gentleman, and gave him a settlement of some addition to his estate, after my decease. The other I put out to a captain of a ship; and, after five years, finding him a sensible, bold, enterprising young fellow, I put him into a good ship, and sent him to sea; and this young fellow afterwards drew me in, as old as I was, to farther adventures myself.

In the meantime, I in part settled myself here; for, first of all, I married, and that not either to my disadvantage or dissatisfaction, and had three children, two sons and one daughter; but my wife dying, and my nephew coming home with good success from a voyage to Spain, my inclination to go abroad, and his importunity prevailed, and engaged me to go in his ship, as a private trader, to the East Indies. This was in the year 1694.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THAT homely proverb, used on so many occasions in England, namely, "That what is bred in the bone will not go out of the flesh," was never more verified than in the story of my life. Any one would think that, after thirty-five years' affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if any, ever went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulness of all things,

grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every state of middle life, and to know which was most adapted to make a man completely happy. I say, after all this, any one would have thought that the native propensity to rambling, which I gave an account of, in my first setting out in the world, to have been so predominant in my thoughts, should be worn out, the volatile part to be fully evaporated, or at least condensed, and I might, at sixty-one years of age, have been a little inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Yet all these things had no effect upon me, or at least not enough to resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronical distemper. In particular, the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, ran in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination ran upon it all day; it was uppermost in all my thoughts; and my fancy worked so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talked of it in my sleep. In short, nothing could remove it out of my mind. It even broke so violently into all my discourses, that it made my conversation tiresome, for I could talk of nothing else. All my discourse ran into it, even to impertinence; and I saw it in myself.

In this kind of temper I lived some years. I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleasant hours, no agreeable diversion, but what had something or other of

this in it. So that my wife, who saw my mind wholly bent upon it, told me very seriously one night, that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that she found nothing hindered my going, but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told me that it was true she could not think of parting with me; but as she was assured that, if she were dead, it would be the first thing I would do, so, as it seemed to her the thing was determined above, she would not be the only obstruction; for if I thought fit, and resolved to go—— Here she found me very intent upon her words, and that I looked very earnestly at her, so that it a little disordered her, and she stopped. I asked her why she did not go on, and say out what she was going to say. But I perceived that her heart was too full, and some tears stood in her eyes. Speak out, my dear, said I; are you willing I should go? No, says she, very affectionately, I am far from willing; but if you are resolved to go, says she, and rather than I would be the only hindrance, I will go with you; for though I think it a most preposterous thing for one of your years, and in your condition, yet, if it must be, said she again, weeping, I won't leave you; for if it be of Heaven, you must do it; and if Heaven make it your duty to go, He will also make it mine to go with you, or otherwise dispose of me that I may not obstruct it.

This affectionate behaviour of my wife's brought

me a little out of the vapours, and I began to consider what I was doing. I corrected my wandering fancy, and began to argue with myself sedately, what business I had, after threescore years, and after such a life of tedious sufferings and disasters, and closed in so happy and easy a manner. I say, what business had I to rush into new hazards, and put myself upon adventures fit only for youth and poverty to run into?

With those thoughts I considered my new engagement; that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another; that I had all the world could give me, and had no need to seek hazards for gain; that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained, than of seeking to increase it; that as to what my wife had said of its being an impulse from Heaven, and that it should be my duty to go, I had no notion of that. So after many of these cogitations, I struggled with the power of my imagination, reasoned myself out of it, as I believe people may always do in like cases, if they will, and, in a word, I conquered it, composed myself with such arguments as occurred to my thoughts, and which my present condition furnished me plentifully with. And, particularly, as the most effectual method, I resolved to divert myself with other things, and to engage in some business that might effectually tie me up from any more excursions of this kind; for I found that thing return upon me chiefly when I was idle, and

had nothing to do, nor anything of moment immediately before me. To this purpose I bought a little farm in the county of Bedford, and resolved to move myself thither. I had a little convenient house upon it; and the land about it, I found, was capable of great improvement; and it was many ways suited to my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting, and improving of land; and particularly, being an inland country, I was removed from conversing with sailors and things relating to the remote parts of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, settled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horses, cows, and sheep, and setting seriously to work, became, in one half year, a mere country gentleman. My thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my servants, cultivating the ground, inclosing, planting, &c. And I lived, as I thought, the most agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of retreating to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles. I could pull up or cut down as I pleased. What I planted was for myself, and what I improved was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the least discomfort in any part of life as to this world. Now I thought, indeed, that I enjoyed the middle state of life, which my father so earnestly recommended to me, and lived a kind of heavenly life,

something like what is described by the poet, upon the subject of a country life—

“—— Free from vices, free from care,
Age has no pain, and youth no snare.”

But, in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unseen Providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me inevitable and incurable, but drove me, by its consequences, into a deep relapse of the wandering disposition, which, as I may say, being born in my very blood, soon recovered its hold of me, and, like the returns of a violent distemper, came on with an irresistible force upon me, so that nothing could make any more impression upon me. This blow was the loss of my wife. It is not my business here to write an elegy upon my wife, give a character of her particular virtues, and make my court to the sex by the flattery of a funeral sermon. She was, in a few words, the stay of all my affairs, the centre of all my enterprises, the engine that, by her prudence, reduced me to that happy compass I was in, from the most extravagant and ruinous project that fluttered in my head, as above, and did more to guide my rambling genius than a mother's tears, a father's instructions, a friend's counsel, or all my own reasoning powers could do. I was happy in listening to her entreaties, and in being moved by her tears; and to the last degree desolate and dislocated in the world by the loss of her.

When she was gone, the world looked awkwardly round me; I was as much a stranger in it, in my thoughts, as I was in the Brazils, when I first went on shore there; and as much alone, except as to the assistance of servants, as I was in my island. I knew neither what to think, nor what to do.

My sage counsellor was gone; I was like a ship without a pilot, that could only run afore the wind: my thoughts ran all away again into the old affair; my head was quite turned with the whimsies of foreign adventures; and all the pleasant, innocent amusements of my farm, my garden, my cattle, and my family, which before entirely possessed me, were nothing to me, had no relish, and were like music to one who has no ear, food to one that has no taste. In a word, I resolved to leave off house-keeping, let my farm, and return to London; and, in a few months after, I did so.

When I came to London I was still as uneasy as I was before; I had no relish for the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to saunter about like an idle person, of whom it may be said he is perfectly useless in God's creation, and it is not one farthing's matter to the rest of his kind whether he be dead or alive. This also was the thing which, of all circumstances of life, was the most my aversion, who had been all my days used to an active life; and I would often say to myself, "A state of idleness is the very dregs of life;" and, indeed, I thought

I was much more suitably employed when I was twenty-six days making me a deal board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, whom, as I have observed before, I had brought up to the sea, and had made him commander of a ship, was come home from a short voyage to Bilboa, being the first he made. He came to me, and told me that some merchants of his acquaintance had been proposing to him to go a voyage for them to the East Indies and to China, as private traders. "And now, uncle," says he, "if you will go to sea with me, I will engage to land you upon your old habitation in the island; for we are to touch at the Brazils. I hope it may not be an unlucky proposal, sir," says he; "I dare say you would be pleased to see your new colony there, where you once reigned with more felicity than most of your brother monarchs in the world."

In a word, the scheme hit so exactly with my temper, that is to say, the prepossession I was under, that I told him in a few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him; but I told him I would not promise to go any farther than my own island. "Why, sir," says he, "you don't want to be left there again, I hope?" "Why," said I, "can you not take me up again on your return?" He told me it would not be possible to do so; that the merchants would never allow him to come that way with a laden ship of such value, it being a month's sail out of his way, and might be three or four. "Be-

sides, sir, if I should miscarry," said he, "and not return at all, then you would be just reduced to the condition you were in before."

This was very rational; but we both found out a remedy for it: which was, to carry a framed sloop on board the ship, which, being taken in pieces, and shipped on board the ship, might, by the help of some carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be set up again in the island, and finished fit to go to sea in a few days.

I was not long resolving; for, indeed, the importunities of my nephew joined so effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppose me. On the other hand, my wife being dead, I had nobody concerned themselves so much for me as to persuade me to one way or the other, except my ancient good friend the widow, who earnestly struggled with me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazards of a long voyage; and, above all, my young children. But it was all to no purpose;—I had an intense desire to the voyage; and I told her I thought there was something so uncommon in the impressions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of resisting Providence if I should attempt to stay at home: after which she ceased her expostulations, and joined with me, not only in making provision for my voyage, but also in settling my family affairs for my absence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this I made my will, and settled the

estate I had in such a manner for my children, and placed in such hands that I was perfectly easy and satisfied they would have justice done them, whatever might befall me; and for their education I left it wholly to the widow, with a sufficient maintenance to herself for her care: all which she richly deserved, for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or understood it better; and, as she lived till I came home, I also lived to thank her for it.

CHAPTER XXXII.

My nephew was ready to sail about the beginning of January 1694-5; and I, with my man Friday, went on board, in the Downs, the 8th: having, besides that sloop which I mentioned above, a very considerable cargo of all kinds of necessary things for my colony; which, if I did not find in good condition, I resolved to leave so.

First, I carried with me some servants, whom I purposed to place there as inhabitants, or, at least, to set on work there, upon my account, while I stayed, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they would appear willing; particularly I carried two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, and was also a general mechanic; for he was dexterous at making wheels, and hand-mills to grind corn; was a

good turner, and a good pot-maker; he also made anything that was proper to make of earth, or of wood; in a word, we called him our Jack of all trades. With these I carried a tailor, who had offered himself to go a passenger to the East Indies with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our new plantation; and proved a most necessary, handy fellow, as could be desired, in many businesses besides that of his trade: for, as I observed formerly, "Necessity arms us for all employment."

My cargo, as near as I can recollect, for I have not kept account of the particulars, consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and some English thin stuffs, for clothing the Spaniards that I expected to find there; and enough of them as, by my calculation, might comfortably supply them for seven years. If I remember right, the materials I carried for clothing them, with gloves, hats, shoes, stockings, and all such things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above two hundred pounds, including some beds, bedding, and household stuff, particularly kitchen utensils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c., and near a hundred pounds more in ironwork, nails, tools of every kind, staples, hooks, hinges, and every necessary thing I could think of.

I carried also a hundred spare arms, muskets, and fuses; besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of shot of all sizes, three or four tons of lead, and two pieces of brass cannon; and because I knew not what time and what extremities I was providing for,

I carried a hundred barrels of powder, besides swords, cutlasses, and the iron part of some pikes and halberts: so that, in short, we had a large magazine of all sorts of stores; and I made my nephew carry two small quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ship, to leave behind, if there was occasion; that, when we came there, we might build a fort, and man it against all sorts of enemies: and, indeed, I at first thought there would be need enough of all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our possession of the island; as shall be seen in the course of that story.

I had not such bad luck in this voyage as I had been used to meet with, and, therefore, shall have the less occasion to interrupt the reader, who, perhaps, may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony; yet some odd accidents, cross winds, and bad weather, happened on this first setting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at first; and I, who had never made but one voyage, namely, my first voyage to Guinea, in which I might be said to come back again, as the voyage was at first designed, began to think it was still my lot never to be contented with being on shore, and yet to be always unfortunate at sea.

Contrary winds first put us to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at Galway, in Ireland, where we lay wind-bound two-and-twenty days; but we had this satisfaction with the disaster, that provisions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmost plenty; so that, while we lay here, we never touched

the ship's stores, but rather added to them. Here, also, I took in several live hogs, and two cows, with their calves; which I resolved, if I had a good passage, to put on shore in my island; but we found occasion to dispose otherwise of them.

We set out on the 5th of February from Ireland, and had a very fair gale of wind for some days. As I remember, it might be about the twentieth day of February, late in the evening, when the mate having the watch came into the round-house and told us he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired; and, while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatswain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where for a while we heard nothing; but in a few minutes we saw a great light, and found that there was some very terrible fire at a distance. Immediately we had recourse to our reckonings, in which we all agreed that there could be no land that way in which the fire showed itself, no, not for 500 leagues, for it appeared at W.N.W. Upon this we concluded it must be some ship on fire at sea; and as, by our hearing the noise of guns just before, we concluded that it could not be far off, we stood directly towards it, and were presently satisfied we should discover it; because the farther we sailed the greater the light appeared; though, the weather being hazy, we could not perceive anything but the light for a while. In about half an hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly

discern that it was a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea.

I immediately ordered that five guns should be fired, one soon after another; that, if possible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to save themselves in their boat; for, though we could see the flames of the ship, yet they, it being night, could see nothing of us.

We lay by some time upon this, only driving as the burning ship drove, waiting for day-light; when, on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up into the air; and immediately, that is to say, in a few minutes, all the fire was out: that is to say, the rest of the ship sunk. This was a terrible, and, indeed, an afflicting sight, for the sake of the poor men, who I concluded must be either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boat, in the middle of the ocean: which at present, by reason it was dark, I could not see. However, to direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanthorns for, and kept firing guns all the night long; letting them know by this, that there was a ship not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning we discovered the ship's boats by the help of our perspective glasses; found there were two of them both thronged with people, and deep in the water. We perceived they rowed, the wind being against them; that they

saw our ship, and did their utmost to make us see them.

We immediately spread our ancient, to let them know we saw them, and hung a waft out, as a signal for them to come on board; and then made more sail, standing directly to them. In little more than half an hour we came up with them; and, in a word, took them all in, being no less than sixty-four men, women, and children: for there were a great many passengers.

We found it was a French merchant ship of 300 tons, homeward bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The master gave us a long account of the distress of his ship; how the fire began in the steerage, by the negligence of the steersman; but, on his crying out for help, was, as everybody thought, entirely put out; but they soon found that some sparks of the fire had gotten into some part of the ship so difficult to come at, that they could not effectually quench it; and afterwards getting in between the timbers, and within the ceiling of the ship, it proceeded into the hold, and mastered all the skill and all the application they were able to exert.

They had no more to do then but to get into their boats, which, to their great comfort, were pretty large: being their long boat, and a great shallop, besides a small skiff, which was of no great service to them, other than to get some fresh water and provisions into her, after they had secured their lives from the fire. They had, indeed, small hope of their lives by getting into these boats at that distance

from any land; only, as they said well, that they were escaped from the fire, and a possibility that some ship might happen to be at sea, and might take them in. They had sails, oars, and a compass; and were preparing to make the best of their way back to Newfoundland, the wind blowing pretty fair, for it blew an easy gale at S.E. by E. They had as much provisions and water, as, with sparing it so as to be next door to starving, might support them about twelve days; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain said he hoped he might get to the Banks of Newfoundland, and might perhaps take some fish, to sustain them till they might go on shore. But there were so many chances against them in all these cases, such as storms, to upset and founder them; rains and cold, to benumb and perish their limbs; contrary winds, to keep them out and starve them; that it must have been next to miraculous if they had escaped.

In the midst of their consternation, every one being hopeless and ready to despair, the captain, with tears in his eyes, told me they were on a sudden surprised with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that, four more; these were the five guns which I caused to be fired at first seeing the light. This revived their hearts and gave them notice, which, as above, I desired it should, namely, that there was a ship at hand for their help.

It is impossible for me to express the several gestures, the strange ecstasies, the variety of postures,

which these poor delivered creatures ran into, to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance.

There were two priests among them, one an old man, and the other a young man; and that which was strangest was, the old man was the worst. As soon as he set his foot on board our ship, and saw himself safe, he dropt down stone dead, to all appearance; not the least sign of life could be perceived in him. Our surgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him, and was the only man in the ship that believed he was not dead. At length he opened a vein in his arm, having first chafed and rubbed the part, so as to warm it as much as possible. Upon this the blood, which only dropped at first, flowing freely in three minutes after, the man opened his eyes; and a quarter of an hour after that, he spoke, grew better, and, in a little time, quite well. After the blood was stopped, he walked about; told us he was perfectly well; took a dram of cordial which the surgeon gave him, and was what we called "come to himself." About a quarter of an hour after this, they came running into the cabin to the surgeon, who was bleeding a French woman that had fainted, and told him the priest was gone stark mad. It seems he had begun to revolve the change of circumstances in his mind, and again this put him into an ecstasy of joy; his spirits whirled about faster than the vessels could convey them, the blood grew hot and feverish, and the man was as fit for Bedlam

as any creature that ever was in it. The surgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him something to doze and put him to sleep; which, after some time, operated upon him, and he awoke next morning perfectly composed and well.

The younger priest behaved with great command of his passions, and was really an example of a serious, well-governed mind.

He applied himself to his country-folks; laboured to compose them; persuaded, entreated, argued, reasoned with them, and did his utmost to keep them within the exercise of their reason; and with some he had success, though others were for a time out of all government of themselves.

We were something disordered by the extravagances among our new guests for the first day; but when they had been retired, lodging provided for them, as well as our ship would allow, and they had slept heartily—as most of them did, being fatigued and frightened—they were quite another sort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindness shown them, was wanting; the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough to exceed that way. The captain and one of the priests came to me the next day, and desired to speak with me and my nephew: the commander began to consult with us what should be done with them.

As to setting them on shore, I told them, indeed, that was an exceeding difficulty to us, for that the

ship was bound to the East Indies; and, though we were driven out of our course to the westward a very great way, and, perhaps, were directed by Heaven on purpose for their deliverance, yet it was impossible for us wilfully to change our voyage on their particular account; nor could my nephew, the captain, answer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter-party to pursue his voyage by the way of Brazil: and all I knew we could do for them was, to put ourselves in the way of meeting with other ships homeward-bound from the West Indies, and getting them a passage, if possible, to England or France.

They were in a very great consternation, especially the passengers, at the notion of being carried away to the East Indies; and entreated me that, seeing I was driven so far to the westward before I met with them, I would at least keep on the same course to the Banks of Newfoundland, where it was probable I might meet with some ship or sloop, that they might hire to carry them back to Canada, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reasonable request on their part, so I consented that we would carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit; and if not, that I would carry them to Martinico, in the West Indies.

The wind continued fresh easterly, but the weather pretty good; and as the winds had continued in the points between N.E. and S.E. a long time, we missed

several opportunities of sending them to France; for we met several ships bound to Europe, whereof two were French, from St. Christopher's; but they had been so long beating up against the wind, that they durst take in no passengers, for fear of wanting provisions for the voyage, as well for themselves as for those they should take in; so we were obliged to go on. It was about a week after this that we made the Banks of Newfoundland; where, to shorten my story, we put all our French people on board a bark, which they hired at sea there, to put them on shore, and afterwards to carry them to France, if they could get provisions to victual themselves with. When I say all the French went on shore, I should remember that the young priest I spoke of, hearing we were bound to the East Indies, desired to go the voyage with us, and to be set on shore on the coast of Coromandel: which I readily agreed to, for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reason, as will appear afterwards: also four of the seamen entered themselves on our ship, and proved very useful fellows.

From hence we directed our course to the West Indies, steering away S. and S. by E. for about twenty days together, sometimes little or no wind at all; when we met with another subject for our humanity to work upon, almost as deplorable as that before.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

It was in the latitude of 27 degrees 5 minutes north, and the 19th day of March 1694-5, when we spied a sail, our course, S.E. and by S; we soon perceived it was a large vessel, and that she bore up to us, but could not at first know what to make of her, till, after coming a little nearer, we found she had lost her main top-mast, fore-mast, and bowsprit; and, presently, she fired a gun, as a signal of distress. The weather was pretty good, wind at N.N.W. a fresh gale, and we soon came to speak with her.

We found her a ship of Bristol, bound home from Barbadoes, but had been blown out of the road at Barbadoes, a few days before she was ready to sail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on shore: so that, besides the terror of the storm, they were in an indifferent case for good artists to bring the ship home. They had been already nine weeks at sea, and had met with another terrible storm, after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the westward, and in which they lost their masts, as above.

But that which was worst of all was, that they were almost starved for want of provisions, besides the fatigues they had undergone: their bread and flesh were quite gone; they had not one ounce left in the ship, and had none for eleven days. The only relief

they had was, their water was not all spent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had sugar enough; some succades, or sweetmeats, they had at first, but they were devoured; and they had seven casks of rum.

We immediately applied ourselves to give them what relief we could spare.

But now they were in a new danger; for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them. The mate, or commander, brought six men with him in his boat; but these poor wretches looked like skeletons, and were so weak, that they could hardly sit to their oars. The mate himself was very ill, and half starved; for he declared he had reserved nothing from the men, and went share-and-share alike with them in every bit they ate.

The sight of these people's distress was very moving to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible prospect of at my first coming on shore in my island, where I had never the least mouthful of food, or any prospect of procuring any; besides the hourly apprehensions I had of being made the food of other creatures.

I kept the mate, whom we then called captain, on board, with his men, to refresh them, ordered my own boat to go on board the ship, to relieve the starving crew that were left on board, and with my mate and twelve men, to carry them a sack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our surgeon charged the men to cause the meat to be boiled while they

stayed, and to keep guard in the cook-room, to prevent the men taking it to eat raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a very little at a time; and, by this caution, he preserved the men, who would otherwise have killed themselves with that very food that was given them on purpose to save their lives.

At the same time I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see what condition the poor passengers were in (there were three of them—a youth, his mother, and maid-servant); and if they were alive, to comfort them, and give them what refreshment was proper; and the surgeon gave him a large pitcher, with some of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not question would restore them gradually.

I was not satisfied with this; but, as I said above, having a great mind to see the scene of misery which I knew the ship itself would present me with, in a more lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ship, as we now called him, with me, and went myself, a little after, in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almost in a tumult, to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready; but my mate observed his orders, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door; and the man he placed there, after using all possible persuasion to have patience, kept them off by force.

But the misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest; for

as, first, the ship's company had so little for themselves, it was but too true that they had at first kept them very low, and at last totally neglected them ; so that, for six or seven days, it might be said they had really no food at all, and for several days before very little. The poor mother, who, as the men reported, was a woman of sense and good breeding, had spared all she could so affectionately for her son, that at last she entirely sunk under it ; and when the mate of our ship went in, she sat upon the floor, or deck, with her back up against the sides, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk between her shoulders, like a corpse, though not quite dead. My mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth. She opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not speak ; yet she understood what he said, and made signs to him, intimating that it was too late for her, but pointed to her child, as if she would have said, they should take care of him. However, the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth, and, as he said, got two or three spoonfuls down ; though I question whether he could be sure of it or not : but it was too late, and she died the same night.

The youth, who was preserved at the price of his most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone ; yet he lay in a cabin bed, as one stretched out, with hardly any life left in him. He had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the rest of it.

However, being young, and having more strength than his mother, the mate got something down his throat, and he began sensibly to revive; though by giving him some time after but two or three spoonfuls extraordinary, he was very sick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid: she lay all along upon the deck, hard by her mistress, and just like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and struggled for life. Her limbs were distorted; one of her hands was clasped round the frame of a chair, and she griped it so hard, that we could not easily make her let it go: her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin table. In short, she lay just like one in the agonies of death, and yet she was alive too.

The poor creature was not only starved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but, as the men told us afterwards, was broken-hearted for her mistress, whom she saw dying for two or three days before, and whom she loved most tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for when our surgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, had with great application recovered her as to life, he had her upon his hands as to her senses; for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after, as shall appear presently.

Whoever shall read these memorandums must be desired to consider that visits at sea are not like a journey into the country, where sometimes people

stay a week or a fortnight at a place. Our business was to relieve this distressed ship's crew, but not lie by for them; and though they were willing to steer the same course with us for some days, yet we could carry no sail to keep pace with a ship that had no masts. However, as their captain begged of us to help him to set up a main-topmast, and a kind of a topmast to his jury foremast, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days; and then, having given him five barrels of beef, a barrel of pork, two hogshheads of biscuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could spare; and, taking three casks of sugar, some rum, and some pieces of eight from them for satisfaction, we left them; taking on board with us, at their own earnest request, the youth and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about seventeen years of age; a pretty, well-bred, modest, and sensible youth, greatly dejected with the loss of his mother, and, as it seems, had lost his father but a few months before at Barbadoes. He begged of the surgeon to speak to me to take him out of the ship.

The surgeon told him how far we were going, and that it would carry him away from all his friends, and put him, perhaps, in as bad circumstances almost as those we found him in; that is to say, starving in the world. He said it mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew that he was among; that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had saved

his life, and he was sure would not hurt him ; and as for the maid, he was sure, if she came to herself, she would be very thankful for it, let us carry them where we would. The surgeon represented the case so affectionately to me, that I yielded, and we took them both on board, with all their goods, except eleven hogshheads of sugar, which could not be removed or come at ; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander sign a writing, obliging himself to go as soon as he came to Bristol, to one Mr. Rogers, a merchant there, to whom the youth said he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he had belonging to the deceased widow ; which I suppose was not done, for I could never learn that the ship came to Bristol, but was, as is most probable, lost at sea ; being in so disabled a condition, and so far from any land, that I am of opinion, the first storm she met with afterwards, she might founder in the sea ; for she was leaky, and had damage in her hold when we met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 degrees 32 minutes, and had hitherto a tolerable voyage, as to weather, though at first the winds had been contrary. I shall trouble nobody with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c., on the rest of our voyage ; but, to shorten my story, for the sake of what is to follow, shall observe, that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April 1695. It was with no small difficulty that I found the place ; for, as I came to it, and went from it before, on the south and east

side of the island, as coming from the Brazils, so now coming in between the main and the island, and having no chart for the coast, or any land-mark, I did not know it when I saw it, or know whether I saw it or not.

We beat about a great while, and went ashore on several islands in the mouth of the great river Oroonooke, but none for my purpose; only this I learned by my coasting the shore, that I was under one great mistake before, namely, that the continent which I thought I saw from the island I lived in, was really no continent, but a long island, or rather a ridge of islands, reaching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river; and that the savages who came to my island were not properly those which we call Caribbees, but islanders, and other barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited something nearer to our side than the rest.

In short, I visited several of these islands to no purpose; some I found were inhabited, and some were not. On one of them I found some Spaniards, and thought they had lived there; but speaking with them, found they had a sloop lay in a small creek hard by, and came thither to make salt, and to catch some pearl muscles, if they could; but that they belonged to the isle of Trinidad, which lay farther north, in latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

Thus, coasting from one island to another, sometimes with the ship, sometimes with the Frenchman's shallop, which we had found a convenient

boat, and therefore kept her with their very good will, at length I came fair on the south side of my island, and presently knew the very countenance of the place. So I brought the ship safe to an anchor, broadside with the little creek where my old habitation was.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

As soon as I saw the place, I called for Friday, and asked him if he knew where he was. He looked about a little, and presently, clapping his hands, cried, "O yes, O there, O yes, O there!" pointing to our old habitation, and fell dancing and capering like a mad fellow; and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim ashore to the place.

"Well, Friday," says I, "do you think we shall find anybody here or no? And do you think we shall see your father?" The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while, but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected, and I could see the tears run down his face very plentifully. "What is the matter, Friday?" says I; "are you troubled because you may see your father?" "No, no," says he, shaking his head, "no see him more; no, never more see him again." "Why so," said I, "Friday; how do you know that?" "O no, O no," says Friday; "he long ago die, long ago; he much old man." "Well, well," says I, "Friday, you

don't know; but shall we see any one else then?" The fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he points to the hill just above my old house; and, though we lay half a league off, he cries out, "We see, we see; yes, yes, we see much man there, and there, and there!" I looked, but I saw nobody, no, not with a perspective glass, which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon inquiry the next day; and there were five or six men altogether, who stood to look at the ship, not knowing what to think of us.

As soon as Friday told me he saw people, I caused the English ancient to be spread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; and, in about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived a smoke arise from the side of the creek. So I immediately ordered a boat out, taking Friday with me; and hanging out a white flag, or flag of truce, I went directly on shore, taking with me the young friar I mentioned, to whom I had told the story of my living there, and the manner of it, and of every particular both of myself and those I left there, and who was, on that account, extremely desirous to go with me. We had, besides, about sixteen men, well armed, if we had found any new guests there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on shore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek; and the first man I fixed my eye upon was the Spaniard whose life I had saved, and whom I knew, by his

face, perfectly well: as to his habit, I shall describe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on shore at first but myself; but there was no keeping Friday in the boat, for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off the Spaniards, where, indeed, I saw nothing of him, and if they had not let him go ashore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, than he flew away to his father, like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the first transports of this poor fellow's joy when he came to his father: how he embraced him, kissed him, stroked his face, took him up in his arms, set him down upon a tree, and lay down by him; then stood and looked at him, as any one would look at a strange picture, for a quarter of an hour together; then lie down on the ground, and stroke his legs, and kiss them, and then get up again and stare at him; one would have thought the fellow bewitched. But it would have made a dog laugh the next day to see how his passion ran out another way. In the morning he walked along the shore, to and again, with his father several hours, always leading him by the hand, as if he had been a lady; and every now and then he would come to the boat to fetch something or other for him, either a lump of sugar, a dram, a biscuit-cake, or something or other that was good. In the afternoon his frolics ran another way; for then he would set the old man down upon the ground and dance about him, and make a thousand

antic postures and gestures; and all the while he did this he would be talking to him, and telling him one story or other of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him.

But this is a digression: I return to my landing. It would be needless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities the Spaniards received me with. The first Spaniard, who, as I said, I new very well, was he whose life I had saved; he came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce also; and he not only did not know me at first, but he had no thoughts, no notion of its being me that was come, till I spoke to him. "Seignior," said I, in Portuguese, "do you not know me?" At which he spoke not a word, but giving his musket to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, and saying something in Spanish that I did not perfectly hear, came forward and embraced me; telling me he was inexcusable not to know that face again, that he had once seen as if an angel from heaven sent to save his life. He said abundance of very handsome things, as a well-bred Spaniard always knows how, and then beckoning to the person that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then asked me if I would walk to my own habitation, where he would give me possession of my own house again, and where I should see they had made but mean improvements. So I walked along with him; but alas! I could no more find the place again than if I had never been there; for they had planted so many trees, and placed

them in such a posture, so thick and close to one another, and in ten years' time they were grown so big, that, in short, the place was inaccessible, except by such windings and blind ways as they themselves only who made them could find.

I asked them what put them upon all these fortifications. He told me I would say there was need enough of it, when they had given me an account how they had passed their time since their arriving in the island, especially after they had the misfortune to find that I was gone. He told me he could not but have some satisfaction in my good fortune, when he heard that I was gone in a good ship, and to my satisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a strong persuasion that, one time or other, he should see me again: but nothing that ever befell him in his life, he said, was so surprising and afflicting to him at first, as the disappointment he was under when he came back to the island and found I was not there.

As to the three barbarians (so he called them) that were left behind, and of whom, he said, he had a long story to tell me, the Spaniards all thought themselves much better among the savages, only that their number was so small; and, says he, had they been strong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory; and with that he crossed himself on the breast. "But, sir," says he, "I hope you will not be displeased when I shall tell you how, forced by necessity, we were obliged, for our own preservation, to disarm them, and make them our subjects, who would not be

content with being moderately our masters, but would be our murderers." I answered I was heartily afraid of it when I left them there, and nothing troubled me at my parting from the island, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of everything first, and left the others in a state of subjection as they deserved; but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and should be very far from finding any fault with it; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory ungoverned villains, and were fit for any manner of mischief.

While I was thus saying this, the man came whom he had sent back, and with him eleven men more. In the dress they were in, it was impossible to guess what nation they were of; but he made all clear, both to them and me. First, he turned to me, and pointing to them, said, "These, sir, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you;" and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up, one by one, not as if they had been sailors and ordinary fellows, and the like, but really as if they had been ambassadors of noblemen, and I a monarch, or great conqueror. Their behaviour was to the last degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly, majestic gravity, which very well became them; and in short, they had so much more manners than I, that I scarce knew how to receive their civilities, much less how to return them in kind.

The history of their coming to and conduct in the

island, after my going away, is so very remarkable, and has so many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help to understand, and which will, in most of the particulars, refer to the account I have already given, that I cannot but commit them, with great delight, to the reading of those that come after me.

I shall no longer trouble the story with a relation in the first person, which will put me to the expense of ten thousand *said I's*, and *said he's*, and *he told me's*, and *I told him's*, and the like; but I shall collect the facts historically, as near as I can gather them out of my memory, from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my conversing with them and with the place.

In order to do this succinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I must go back to the circumstances in which I left the island, and in which the persons were of whom I am to speak. And, first, it is necessary to repeat, that I had sent away Friday's father and the Spaniard (the two whose lives I had rescued from the savages), in a large canoe, to the main, as I then thought it, to fetch over the Spaniard's companions that he had left behind him, in order to save them from the like calamity that he had been in, and in order to succour them for the present; and that, if possible, we might together find some way for our deliverance afterwards.

When I sent them away, I had no visible appearance of, or the least room to hope for, my own deliver-

ance, any more than I had twenty years before, much less had I any foreknowledge of what afterwards happened—I mean of an English ship coming on shore there to fetch me off; and it could not but be a very great surprise to them, when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three strangers left on the spot, possessed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwise have been their own.

The first thing, however, which I inquired into, that I might begin where I left off, was of their own part; and I desired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen, with the boat, when I sent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part, for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, having had very calm weather and a smooth sea. As for his countrymen, it could not be doubted, he said, but that they were overjoyed to see him (it seems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the vessel they had been shipwrecked in having been dead some time); they were, he said, the more surprised to see him, because they knew that he was fallen into the hands of the savages, who, they were satisfied, would devour him, as they did all the rest of their prisoners; that when he told them the story of his deliverance, and in what manner he was furnished for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them, and their astonishment, he said, was somewhat like that of Joseph's brethren, when he told

them who he was, and told them the story of his exaltation in Pharaoh's court; but when he showed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and provisions, that he brought them for their journey or voyage, they were restored to themselves, took a just share of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

Their first business was to get canoes; and in this they were obliged not to stick so much upon the honest part of it, but to trespass upon their friendly savages, and to borrow two large canoes or peraguas, on pretence of going out a-fishing, or for pleasure. In these they came away the next morning. It seems they wanted no time to get themselves ready, for they had no baggage, neither clothes nor provisions, nor anything in the world but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they used to make their bread.

They were, in all, three weeks absent; and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occasion offered for my escape, as I mentioned before, and to get off from the island, leaving three of the most impudent, hardened, ungoverned, disagreeable villains behind me that any man could desire to meet with; to the poor Spaniard's great grief and disappointment, you may be sure.

The only just thing the rogues did was, that when the Spaniards came ashore, they gave my letter to them, and gave them provisions and other relief, as I had ordered them to do; also they gave them the

long paper of directions which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there; the way how I baked my bread, bred up tame goats, and planted my corn; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, everything I did; all this being written down, they gave to the Spaniards (two of them understood English well enough); nor did they refuse to accommodate the Spaniards with anything else, for they agreed very well for some time. They gave them an equal admission into the house or cave, and they began to live very sociably; and the head Spaniard, who had seen pretty much of my methods, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs; but as for the Englishmen, they did nothing but ramble about the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises; and when they came home at night, the Spaniards provided their suppers for them.

The Spaniards would have been satisfied with this had the others but have let them alone, which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long, but, like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themselves, neither would they let the others eat. The differences, nevertheless, were at first but trivial, and such as are not worth relating; but at last it broke out into open war, and it began with all the rudeness and insolence that can be imagined—without reason, without provocation, contrary to nature, and, indeed, to common sense; and though, it is true, the first relation of it came from the Spaniards

themselves, whom I may call the accusers, yet, when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BUT before I come to the particulars of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation; and this was, I forgot to set down among the rest, that just as we were weighing the anchor to set sail, there happened a little quarrel on board of our ship, which I was once afraid would turn to a second mutiny; nor was it appeased till the captain, rousing up his courage, and taking us all to his assistance, parted them by force, and making two of the most refractory fellows prisoners, he laid them in irons; and as they had been active in the former disorders, and let fall some ugly dangerous words, the second time he threatened to carry them in irons to England, and have them hanged there for mutiny, and running away with the ship. This, it seems, though the captain did not intend to do it, frightened some other men in the ship, and some of them had put it into the heads of the rest that the captain only gave them good words for the present, till they should come to some English port, and that then they should all be put into jail, and tried for their lives. The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it, upon which it was desired that I, who still passed for

a great man among them, should go down with the mate, and satisfy the men, and tell them that they might be assured, if they behaved well the rest of the voyage, all they had done for the time past should be pardoned. So I went, and, after passing my honour's word to them, they appeared easy, and the more so when I caused the two men that were in irons to be released and forgiven.

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night; the wind also falling calm the next morning, we found that our two men who had been laid in irons, had stole each of them a musket, and some other weapons (what powder or shot they had we knew not), and had taken the ship's pinnace, which was not yet hauled up, and ran away with her to their companions in roguery on shore. As soon as we found this, I ordered the long-boat on shore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to seek the rogues; but they could neither find them nor any of the rest, for they all fled into the woods when they saw the boat coming on shore. These two men made their number five; but the other three villains were so much more wicked than they, that, after they had been two or three days together, they turned the two new-comers out of doors to shift for themselves, and would have nothing to do with them; nor could they, for a good while, be persuaded to give them any food. As for the Spaniards, they were not yet come.

When the Spaniards came first on shore, the busi-

ness began to go forward. The Spaniards would have persuaded the three English brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that, as they said, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it, so the two poor fellows lived by themselves, and finding nothing but industry and application would make them live comfortably, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island.

Here they built them two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores in; and the Spaniards having given them some corn for seed, and, especially, some of the peas which I had left them, they dug, planted, and enclosed, after the pattern I had set for them all, and began to live pretty well. Their first crop of corn was on the ground; and though it was but a little bit of land which they dug up at first, having had but a little time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and find them with bread and other eatables.

They were going on in this little thriving posture, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the island was theirs; that the governor, meaning me, had given them the possession of it, and nobody else had any right to it; and that they should build no houses upon their ground unless they would pay rent for them.

The two men, thinking they were jesting at first, asked them to come in and sit down, and see what fine houses they were that they had built, and to tell

them what rent they demanded; and one of them merrily said, if they were the ground-landlords, he hoped, if they built tenements upon their land, and made improvements, they would, according to the custom of landlords, grant a long lease, and desired they would get a scrivener to draw the writings. One of the three, cursing and raging, told them they should see they were not in jest; and going to a little place at a distance, where the honest men had made a fire to dress their victuals, he takes a firebrand, and claps it to the outside of their hut, and very fairly set it on fire; and it would have been all burned down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thrust him away, and trod out the fire with his feet, and that not without some difficulty too.

The fellow was in such a rage at the honest man's thrusting him away, that he returned upon him with a pole he had in his hand; and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and ran into the hut, he had ended his days at once. His comrade, seeing the danger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muskets, and the man that was first struck at with the pole knocked the fellow down that had begun the quarrel with the stock of his musket, and that before the other two could come to help him; and then, seeing the rest come at them, they stood together, and presenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them stand off.

The others had fire-arms with them too; but one

of the two honest men, bolder than his comrade, and made desperate by his danger, told them, if they offered to move hand or foot, they were dead men, and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not, indeed, lay down their arms, but seeing him so resolute, it brought them to a parley; and they consented to take their wounded man with them and be gone; and, indeed, it seems the fellow was wounded sufficiently with the blow. However, they were much in the wrong, since they had the advantage, that they did not disarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the Spaniards, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains studied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them some intimation that they did so.

But, not to crowd this part with an account of the lesser part of their rogueries, such as treading down their corn, shooting three young kids and a she-goat which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store; and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner, it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three the first time they had a fair opportunity. In order to do this, they resolved to go to the castle, as they called it, that was my own dwelling, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the Spaniards should stand by to see fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and

called the Englishmen by their names, telling a Spaniard that answered that they wanted to speak with them.

It happened that the day before two of the Spaniards having been in the woods, had seen one of the two Englishmen, whom, for distinction, I called the honest men, and he had made a sad complaint to the Spaniards of the barbarous usage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and destroyed their corn, that they had laboured so hard to bring forward, and killed the milch-goat and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their sustenance; and that, if he and his friends, meaning the Spaniards, did not assist them again, they should be starved. When the Spaniards came home at night, and they were all at supper, one of them took the freedom to reprove the three Englishmen, though in very gentle and mannerly terms, and asked them how they could be so cruel, they being harmless, inoffensive fellows: that they were putting themselves in a way to subsist by their labour, and that it had cost them a great deal of pains to bring things to such perfection as they were then in.

One of the Englishmen returned very briskly, What had they to do there? that they came on shore without leave; and that they should not plant or build upon the island; it was none of their ground. "Why," says the Spaniard, very calmly, "Seignior Inglesse, they must not starve." The Englishmen replied, like

a true rough-hewn tarpauling, they might starve for aught he cared, they should not plant nor build in that place. "But what must they do then, Seignior?" said the Spaniard. Another of the brutes returned, "Do? Why, they should be servants, and work for them." "But how can you expect that of them?" says the Spaniard; "they are not bought with your money; you have no right to make them servants." The Englishman answered, the island was theirs; the governor had given it to them, and no man had anything to do there but themselves: and, with that, swore that they would go and burn all their new huts; they should build none upon their land. "Why, Seignior," says the Spaniard, "by the same rule, we must be your servants too." "Ay," says the bold dog, "and so you shall too, before we have done with you" (mixing two or three shocking imprecations in the intervals of his speech). The Spaniard only smiled at that, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them; and starting up, one says to the other, I think it was he they called Will Atkins, "Come, Jack, let's go, and have t'other brush with 'em: we'll demolish their castle, I'll warrant you; they shall plant no colony in our dominions."

Upon this, they went all trooping away, with every man a gun, a pistol, and a sword, and muttered some insolent things among themselves, of what they would do to the Spaniards too, when opportunity offered.

Whither they went, or how they bestowed their time that evening, the Spaniards said they did not

know; but it seems they wandered about the country part of the night, and then, lying down in a place which I used to call my bower, they were weary, and overslept themselves. The case was this: they had resolved to stay till midnight, and so to take the two poor men when they were asleep, and, as they acknowledged afterwards, intended to set fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them there, or murder them as they came out: as malice seldom sleeps very sound, it was very strange they should not have been kept awake.

However, as the two men had also a design upon them, as I have said, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily for them all, that they were up and gone abroad before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came there, and found the men gone, Atkins, who, it seems, was the forwardest man, called out to his comrades, "Ha, Jack, here's the nest, but the birds are flown." They soon fell to work with the poor men's habitation; they did not set fire, indeed, to anything, but they pulled down both their houses, and pulled them so from limb to limb, that they left not the least stick standing, or scarce any sign on the ground where they stood: they tore all their little collected household stuff in pieces, and threw everything about in such a manner, that the poor men afterwards found some of their things a mile off their habitation. When they had done this, they

pulled up all the young trees which the poor men had planted; pulled up an enclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn; and, in a word, sacked and plundered everything as completely as a horde of Tartars would have done.

The two men were, at this juncture, gone to find them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, though they were but two to three; so that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them; for they were all very stout resolute fellows, to give them their due.

But Providence took more care to keep them asunder than they themselves could do to meet; for, as if they dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and, afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again: we shall see their different conduct presently. When the three came back like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about had put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, fltering in his face, says to him, "And you, Seignior Jack Spaniard, shall have the same sauce, if you do not mend your manners." The Spaniard, who, though a quiet civil man, was as brave a man as could be, and withal a strong, well-made

man, looked at him for a good while, and then, having no weapon in his hand, stepped gravely up to him, and, with one blow of his fist, knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-axe; at which one of the rogues, as insolent as the first, fired his pistol at the Spaniard immediately. He missed his body, indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the Spaniard believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat, for, before, he acted all in a perfect calm; but now, resolving to go through with his work, he stooped and took the fellow's musket whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him, when the rest of the Spaniards, being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to shoot, they stepped in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool, and giving the Spaniards better words, would have their arms again; but the Spaniards told them that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared so resolved to do mischief with them to their own countrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their servants.

The rogues were now no more capable to hear reason than to act with reason; but being refused their arms, they went raving away, and raging like mad-

men, threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms. But the Spaniards, despising their threatening, told them, they should take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle, for, if they did, they would shoot them as they would ravenous beasts, wherever they found them; and if they fell into their hands alive, they should certainly be hanged. However, this was far from cooling them, but away they went raging and swearing. As soon as they were gone, the two men came back, in passion and rage enough also, though of another kind; for having been at their plantation, and finding it all demolished and destroyed as above, it will easily be supposed they had provocation enough. They could scarce have room to tell their tale, the Spaniards were so eager to tell them theirs; and it was strange enough to find that three men should thus bully nineteen, and receive no punishment at all.

The Spaniards, indeed, despised them, and especially, having thus disarmed them, made light of their threatenings; but the two Englishmen resolved to have their remedy against them, what pains soever it cost to find them out. But the Spaniards interposed here too, and told them, that as they had disarmed them, they could not consent that they (the two) should pursue them with fire-arms, and perhaps kill them. "But," said the grave Spaniard, who was their governor, "we will endeavour to make them do you justice, if you will leave it to us; for there is no doubt but they will come to us again, when their pas-

sion is over, being not able to subsist without our assistance: we promise you to make no peace with them, without having a full satisfaction for you; and upon this condition, we hope you will promise to use no violence with them, other than in your own defence." The two Englishmen yielded to this very awkwardly, and with great reluctance; but the Spaniards protested that they did it only to keep them from bloodshed, and to make all easy at last.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

IN about five days' time, the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtles' eggs all that while, came back to the grove; and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the side of the creek, they came up in a very submissive, humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The Spaniards used them civilly, but told them they had acted so unnaturally by their countrymen, and so very grossly by them (the Spaniards), that they could not come to any conclusion without consulting the two Englishmen and the rest; but, however, they would go to them, and discourse about it, and they should know in half an hour. It may be guessed that they were very hard put to it; for, it seems, as they were to wait

this half hour for an answer, they begged they would send them out some bread in the meantime, which they did, sending, at the same time, a large piece of goat's flesh, and a boiled parrot, which they ate very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After an hour's consultation, they were called in, and a long debate ensued; their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a design to murder them; all which they owned before, and, therefore, could not deny now. Upon the whole, the Spaniards acted the moderator between them; and as they had obliged the two Englishmen not to hurt the three while they were naked and unarmed, so now they obliged the three to go and rebuild their fellows' two huts, one to be of the same, and the other of larger dimensions, than they were before; to fence their ground again where they had pulled up their fences, plant trees in the room of those pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it, and, in a word, to restore everything in the same state as they found it, as near as they could; for entirely it could not be, the season of the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges, not being possible to be recovered.

Well, they submitted to all this; and as they had plenty of provisions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole society began to live pleasantly and agreeably together again: only, that these three fellows could never be persuaded to work, I mean for themselves, except now and then

a little, just as they pleased. However, the Spaniards told them plainly that, if they would but live sociably and friendly together, and study the good of the whole plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleased; and thus, having lived pretty well for a month or two, the Spaniards gave them arms again, and gave them liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had their arms, and went abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be as insolent and as troublesome as before; but, however, an accident happened presently upon this, which endangered the safety of them all; and they were obliged to lay by all private resentments, and look to the preservation of their lives.

It happened one night, that the Spanish governor, as I call him, that is to say, the Spaniard whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest, found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep. He was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting and killing one another, but was broad awake, and could not, by any means, get any sleep. In short, he lay a great while; but growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise. As they lay, being so many of them, upon goats' skins laid thick upon such couches and pads as they had made for themselves, and not in hammocks and ship-beds, as I did, who was but one, so they had little to do,

when they were willing to rise, but to get upon their feet, and perhaps put on a coat, such as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that their thoughts guided them. Being thus got up, he looked out; but, being dark, he could see little or nothing; and besides, the trees which I had planted, as in my former account is described, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up, and see that it was a clear star-light night; and hearing no noise, he returned and laid him down again. But it was all one; he could not sleep, nor could he compose himself to anything like rest, but his thoughts were to the last degree uneasy, and he knew not for what.

Having made some noise with rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked, and calling, asked who it was that was up? The governor told him how it had been with him. "Say you so?" says the other Spaniard: "such things are not to be slighted, I assure you; there is certainly some mischief working near us:" and presently he asked him, "Where are the Englishmen?" "They are all in their huts," says he, "safe enough." It seems the Spaniards had kept possession of the main apartment, and had made a place for the three Englishmen, who, since their last mutiny, were always quartered by themselves, and could not come at the rest. "Well," says the Spaniard, "there is something in it, I am persuaded from my own experience. I am satisfied our spirits embodied have a

converse with, and receive intelligence from, the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we knew how to make use of it. Come," says he, "let us go and look abroad; and if we find nothing at all in it to justify the trouble, I'll tell you a story to the purpose, that shall convince you of the justice of my proposing it."

In a word, they went out, to go up to the top of the hill, where I used to go; but they being strong, and a good company, not alone, as I was, used none of my cautions, to go up by the ladder, and pulling it up after them, to go up a second stage to the top, but were going round through the grove, unconcerned and unwary, when they were surprised with seeing a light as of a fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not of one, or two, but of a great number.

We need not doubt, but that the governor and the man with him, surprised with this sight, ran back immediately, and raised their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in, and they, again, as readily took the alarm; but it was impossible to persuade them to stay close within, where they were, but they must all run out to see how things stood.

While it was dark, indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough, for some hours, to view them by the light of three fires they had made at a distance from one another; what they were

doing they knew not, and what to do themselves they knew not. For, first, the enemy were too many; and, secondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into several parties, and were on shore in several places.

After having mused a great while on the course they should take, and beating their brains in considering their present circumstances, they resolved, at last, while it was still dark, to send the old savage, Friday's father, out as a spy, to learn, if possible, something concerning them; as what they came for, what they intended to do, and the like. The old man readily undertook it; and stripping himself quite naked, as most of the savages were, away he went. After he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word, that he had been among them undiscovered; that he found they were two parties, and of two several nations, who had war with one another, and had a great battle in their own country: and that both sides having had several prisoners taken in the fight, they were, by mere chance, landed all on the same island, for the devouring their prisoners and making merry, but their coming so by chance to the same place had spoiled their mirth; that they were in a great rage at one another, and were so near, that he believed they would fight again as soon as day-light began to appear; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of anybody being on the island but themselves. He had hardly made an end of telling his story, when they could perceive, by the

unusual noise they made, that the two little armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father used all the arguments he could to persuade our people to lie close, and not be seen. He told them their safety consisted in it, and that they had nothing to do but lie still, and the savages would kill one another to their hands, and then the rest would go away; and it was so to a tittle. But it was impossible to prevail, especially upon the Englishmen; their curiosity was so importunate upon their prudentials, that they must run out and see the battle; however, they used some caution too, namely, they did not go openly, just by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themselves to advantage, where they might securely see them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not to be seen by them; but it seems the savages did see them, as we shall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce; and, if I might believe the Englishmen, one of them said he could perceive that some of them were men of great bravery, of invincible spirits, and of great policy in guiding the fight. The battle, they said, held two hours before they could guess which party would be beaten; but then, that party which was nearest our people's habitation began to appear weakest, and, after some time more, some of them began to fly; and this put our men again into a great consternation, lest any one of those that fled should run into the grove before their dwelling for shelter, and thereby involuntarily dis-

cover the place; and that, by consequence, the pursuers would do the like in search of them. Upon this, they resolved that they would stand armed within the wall, and whoever came into the grove, they resolved to sally out over the wall and kill them: so that, if possible, not one should return to give an account of it. They ordered, also, that it should be done with their swords, or by knocking them down with the stocks of their muskets, but not by shooting them, for fear of raising an alarm by the noise.

As they expected, it fell out: three of the routed army fled for life, and, crossing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter. The scout they kept to look abroad gave notice of this within, with this addition, to our men's great satisfaction, namely, that the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they were gone. Upon this, the Spaniard governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the three fugitives, but, sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round, come in behind them, and surprise and take them prisoners, which was done. The residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes, and got off to sea. The victors retired, made no pursuit, or very little; but drawing themselves into a body together, gave two great screaming shouts, which they supposed was by way of triumph, and so the fight ended; and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes. And thus

the Spaniards had their island again, free to themselves, their fright was over, and they saw no savages in several years after.

This deliverance tamed our Englishmen; and, for a great while after, they were tractable, and went about the common business of the whole society well enough; planted, sowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalized to the country. But some time after this, they fell into such simple measures again, as brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three prisoners, as I observed; and these three being lusty, stout young fellows, they made them servants, and taught them to work for them; and as slaves they did well enough; but they did not take their measures with them as I did my man Friday, namely, to begin with them upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instruct them in the rational principles of life; much less of religion, civilizing, and reducing them by kind usage and affectionate arguings; but as they gave them their food every day, so they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery enough; but they failed in this by it, that they never had them to assist them and fight for them, as I had my man Friday, who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THEY lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more visits from the savages. They had, indeed, an alarm given them one morning, which put them into a great consternation; for some of the Spaniards being out early one morning on the west side, or rather end, of the island (which was that end where I never went, for fear of being discovered), they were surprised with seeing above twenty canoes of Indians just coming on shore. They made the best of their way home in hurry enough: and giving the alarm to their comrades, they kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night to make observation. But they had the good luck to be mistaken; for wherever the savages went they did not land that time on the island, but pursued some other design.

And now they had another broil with the three Englishmen; one of whom, a most turbulent fellow, being in a rage at one of the three slaves, which I mentioned they had taken, because the fellow had not done something right, which he bid him do, and seemed a little untractable in his showing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog-belt, in which he wore it by his side, and fell upon the poor savage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the Spaniards, who was by, seeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with a hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but

struck into his shoulders, so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and entreating him not to murder the poor man, placed himself between him and the savage, to prevent the mischief. The fellow being enraged the more at this, struck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel which he had in his hand (for they were all working in the field about their corn land), knocked the brute down. Another of the Englishmen, running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the Spaniard down; and then two Spaniards more came in to help their man, and a third Englishman fell in upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapons but hatchets and other tools, except this third Englishman; he had one of my rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the two last Spaniards, and wounded them both. This fray set the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three Englishmen prisoners. The next question was, what should be done with them? They had been so often mutinous, and were so very furious, so desperate and so idle withal, they knew not what course to take with them, for they were mischievous to the highest degree, and valued not what hurt they did to any man; so that, in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The Spaniard, who was governor, told them in so many words, that if they had been of his own country

he would have hanged them; for all laws and all governors were to preserve society, and those who were dangerous to the society ought to be expelled out of it; but as they were Englishmen, and that it was to the generous kindness of an Englishman that they all owed their preservation and deliverance, he would use them with all possible lenity, and would leave them to the judgment of the other two Englishmen, who were their countrymen.

One of the two honest Englishmen stood up, and said they desired it might not be left to them; "for," says he, "I am sure we ought to sentence them to the gallows;" and, with that, he gives an account how Will Atkins, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five Englishmen join together, and murder all the Spaniards when they were in their sleep.

When the Spanish governor heard this, he calls to Will Atkins, "How, Seignior Atkins, would you murder us all? What have you to say to that?" The hardened villain was so far from denying it, that he said it was true; and they would do it still before they had done with them. "Well, but Seignior Atkins," says the Spaniard, "what have we done to you that you will kill us? And what would you get by killing us? And what must we do to prevent you killing us? Must we kill you, or you kill us? Why will you put us to the necessity of this, Seignior Atkins?" says the Spaniard very calmly, and smiling. Seignior Atkins was in such a rage at the Spaniard's making a jest of it, that, had he not been held by

three men, and withal had no weapon near him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the Spaniard in the middle of all the company. This hair-brained carriage obliged them to consider seriously what was to be done : the two Englishmen and the Spaniard who saved the poor savage, were of opinion that they should hang one of the three, for an example to the rest ; and that, particularly, it should be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet ; and, indeed, there was some reason to believe that he had done it, for the poor savage was in such a miserable condition with the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live. But the governor Spaniard still said, " No ;" it was an Englishman that had saved all their lives, and he would never consent to put an Englishman to death, though he had murdered half of them ; nay, he said, if he had been killed himself by an Englishman, and had time left to speak it, it should be that they should pardon him.

After long debate, it was agreed, first, that they should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, powder, shot, sword, or any weapon ; and should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would, and how they would, by themselves ; but that none of the rest, either Spaniards or English, should converse with them, speak with them, or have anything to do with them : that they should be forbid to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt ; and if they offered to commit any

disorder, so as to spoil, burn, kill, or destroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle, belonging to the society, they should die without mercy, and they would shoot them wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, musing upon the sentence, considered a little upon it; and, turning to the two honest Englishmen, said, "Hold; you must reflect that it will be long ere they can raise corn and cattle of their own, and they must not starve; we must, therefore, allow them provisions;" so he caused to be added, that they should have a proportion of corn given to them to last them eight months, and for seed to sow, by which time they might be supposed to raise some of their own; that they should have six milch-goats, four he-goats, and six kids given them, as well for present subsistence as for a store; and that they should have tools given them for their work in the fields, such as six hatchets, an adze, a saw, and the like; but they should have none of those tools, or provisions, unless they would swear solemnly that they would not hurt, or injure, any of the Spaniards with them, or of their fellow Englishmen.

Thus they dismissed them the society, and turned them out to shift for themselves. They went away sullen and refractory, as neither content to go away, nor to stay; but as there was no remedy, they went, pretending to go and choose a place where they would settle themselves; and some provisions were given them, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for some victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themselves out a habitation and plantation; and it was a very convenient place, indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N.E., much about the place where I providentially landed in my first voyage, when I was driven out to sea, in my foolish attempt to sail round the island.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts, and contrived them in a manner like my first habitation, being close under the side of the hill, having some trees growing already on three sides of it, so that, by planting others, it would be very easily covered from the sight, unless narrowly searched for. They desired some dried goats'-skins for beds and covering, which were given them; and upon giving their words that they would not disturb the rest, or injure any of their plantations, they gave them hatchets and what other tools they could spare; some peas, barley, and rice, for sowing; and, in a word, anything they wanted, except arms and ammunition.

They lived in this separate condition about six months, and had got in their first harvest, though the quantity was but small, the parcel of land they had planted being but little; for, indeed, having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands; and when they came to make boards and pots, and such things, they were quite out of their element, and could make nothing of it; and when the

rainy season came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of spoiling, and this humbled them much. So they came and begged the Spaniards to help them, which they very readily did; and in four days worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, big enough to secure their corn, and other things from the rain; but it was but a poor place at best, compared to mine, and especially as mine was then, for the Spaniards had greatly enlarged it, and made several new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this separation, a new frolic took these rogues, which, together with the former villany they had committed, brought mischief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony. The three new associates began, it seems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumstances; and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent, from whence the savages came, and would try if they could seize upon some prisoners among the natives there, and bring them home, so as to make them do the laborious part of their work for them.

The three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and in very humble terms desired to be admitted to speak with them. The Spaniards very readily heard what they had to say, which was this:—That they were tired of living in the manner they did; and that they were not handy enough to make

the necessaries they wanted; and that, having no help, they found they should be starved; but if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes which they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition proportioned to their defence, they would go over to the main and seek their fortunes, and so deliver them from the trouble of supplying them with any other provisions.

The Spaniards were glad enough to get rid of them, but very honestly represented to them the certain destruction they were running into; told them they had suffered such hardships upon that very spot, that they could, without any spirit of prophecy, tell them they would be starved or murdered, and bade them consider of it.

The men replied audaciously, they should be starved if they stayed here, for they could not work, and would not work, and they could but be starved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them; they had no wives or children to cry after them; and, in short, insisted importunately upon their demand; declaring they would go, whether they would give them any arms or no.

The Spaniards told them, with great kindness, that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themselves; and that, though they could ill spare their fire-arms, having not enough for themselves, yet they would let them have two muskets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet, which they thought

was sufficient for them. In a word, they accepted the offer; and having baked them bread enough to serve them a month, and given them as much goats' flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket of dried grapes, a pot of fresh water, and a young kid alive, they boldly set out in the canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad.

The boat, indeed, was a large one, and would very well have carried fifteen or twenty men, and, therefore, was rather too big for them to manage; but, as they had a fair breeze, and flood-tide with them, they did well enough. They had made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goats' skins dried, which they had sewed or laced together; and away they went merrily enough; the Spaniards called after them, *Bon veyago*; and no man ever thought of seeing them any more.

The Spaniards were often saying to one another, and to the two honest Englishmen who remained behind, how quietly and comfortably they lived, now these three turbulent fellows were gone; as for their coming again, that was the remotest thing from their thoughts that could be imagined; when, behold, after two-and-twenty days' absence, one of the Englishmen, being abroad upon his planting work, sees three strange men coming towards him at a distance, with guns upon their shoulders.

Away runs the Englishman, comes frightened and amazed to the governor Spaniard, and tells him they

were all undone, for there were strangers landed upon the island, but could not tell who. The Spaniard, pausing awhile, says to him, "How do you mean, you cannot tell who? They are the savages to be sure." "No, no," says the Englishman: "they are men in clothes, with arms." "Nay, then," says the Spaniard, "why are you concerned? If they are not savages, they must be friends; for there is no Christian nation upon earth but will do us good rather than harm."

While they were debating thus, came the three Englishmen, and standing without the wood, which was new planted, hallooed to them: they presently knew their voices, and so, all the wonder of that kind ceased. But now the admiration was turned upon another question, namely, What could be the matter, and what made them come back again?

It was not long before they brought the men in, and inquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing, they gave them a full account of their voyage in a few words, namely, That they reached the land in two days, or something less; but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island. Upon entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand, north, and several more

west; and being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore: that they found the people very courteous and friendly to them; and that they gave them several roots and some dried fish, and appeared very sociable; and the women, as well as the men, were very forward to supply them with anything they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days: and inquired, as well as they could of them, by signs, what nations were this way, and that way: and were told of several fierce and terrible people that lived almost every way, who, as they made known by signs to them, used to eat men; but as for themselves, they said they never eat men or women, except only such as they took in the wars; and then, they owned, they made a great feast, and ate their prisoners.

The Englishmen inquired when they had had a feast of that kind; and they told them about two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war, and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed mighty desirous of seeing those prisoners; but the others mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating; so they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising; which was to signify, that the next morning

at sun-rising they would bring some for them; and accordingly, the next morning they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Englishmen to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a sea-port town to victual a ship.

As brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do. To refuse the prisoners would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that could be offered them, and what to do with them they knew not. However, after some debate, they resolved to accept of them; and in return, they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets; which, though they did not understand their use, they seemed particularly pleased with; and then tying the poor creatures' hands behind them, they dragged the prisoners into the boat for our men.

Having taken their leave, with all the respect and thanks that could well pass between people, where, on either side, they understood not one word they could say, the Englishmen put off with their boat, and came back towards the first island; where, when they arrived, they set eight of their prisoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occasion.

In their voyage they endeavoured to have some communication with their prisoners, but it was in-

possible to make them understand anything; nothing they could say to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going to murder them.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

WHEN the three wanderers had given this unaccountable history, or journal, of their voyage, the Spaniard asked them where their new family was; and being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come up to beg some victuals for them, they (the Spaniards) and the other two Englishmen, that is to say, the whole colony, resolved to go all down to the place, and see them; and did so, and Friday's father with them.

When they had brought them on shore, they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat, and make their escape. There were three men, about thirty to thirty-five years of age; and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty; two more not above four or five-and-twenty; and the fifth a tall comely maiden, about sixteen or seventeen.

The first thing done was to cause the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in, and see first if he knew any of them, and then, if he understood any of their speech. As soon as the old man came in, he looked seriously at them, but knew none of them; neither could he make any of them understand a word he

said, or a sign he could make, except one of the women. However, this was enough to answer the end, which was to satisfy them that the men into whose hands they were fallen were Christians; that they abhorred eating men or women: and that they might be sure they would not be killed. As soon as they were assured of this, they discovered such a joy, and by such awkward gestures, several ways, as is hard to describe; for it seems they were of several nations.

The woman who was their interpreter, was bid, in the next place, to ask them if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away to save their lives; at which they all fell a dancing; and presently one fell to take up this, and another that, anything that lay next, to carry on their shoulders, to intimate that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found that the having women among them would presently be attended with some inconvenience, and might occasion some strife, and perhaps blood, asked the three men what they intended to do with these women, and how they intended to use them. This matter was at last arranged, and each of the five Englishmen took one of them as his wife; the Spaniards declining to do so, saying, they had wives in Spain. And so they set up a new form of living; for the Spaniards and Friday's father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within. The three servants which were

taken in the late battle of the savages lived with them; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplied all the rest with food, and assisted them in anything as they could, or as they found necessity required.

In selecting their wives, the Englishmen took a good enough way to prevent quarrelling among themselves; for they set the five women by themselves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them who should choose first.

He that drew to choose first went away by himself to the hut where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he chose; and it was worth observing, that he that chose first, took her that was reckoned the homeliest and oldest of the five, which made mirth enough among the rest; and even the Spaniards laughed at it. But the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business they were to expect assistance in, as much as in anything else; and she proved the best wife of all the parcel.

When they had done, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them; and in a few hours they had built them every one a new hut, or tent, for their lodging apart: for those they had already were crowded with their tools, household stuff, and provisions. The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island, so that

they continued separate as before. And thus my island was peopled in three places; and, as I might say, three towns were begun to be built.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

BUT I now come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or to me; and the original of the story was this: Early one morning, there came on shore five or six canoes of Indians or savages, call them which you please, and there is no room to doubt they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves; but that part was now so familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves about it as I did; but having been made sensible, by their experience, that their only business was to lie concealed, and that if they were not seen by any of the savages, they would go off again quietly, when their business was done, having as yet not the least notion of there being any inhabitants in the island; I say, having been made sensible of this, they had nothing to do but give notice to all the three plantations to keep within doors, and not show themselves, only placing a scout in a proper place, to give notice when the boats went to sea again.

This was, without doubt, very right; but a disaster spoiled all these measures, and made it known among

the savages that there were inhabitants there, which was in the end, the desolation of almost the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again; and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been, to see what they had been doing. Here, to their great surprise, they found three savages left behind, and laying fast asleep upon the ground. It was supposed they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast, that like beasts they were fallen asleep, and would not stir when the others went, or they had wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The Spaniards were greatly surprised at this sight, and perfectly at a loss what to do. The Spaniard governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was asked, but he professed he knew not what to do. As for slaves, they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that. The Spaniard governor told me they could not think of shedding innocent blood; for as to them, the poor creatures had done them no wrong, invaded none of their property, and they thought they had no just quarrel against them, to take away their lives. After some consultation, they resolved upon this—that they would lie still a while longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone. But then, the Spaniard governor recollected that the three savages had no boat: and if they were left to rove about the island, they would certainly discover that

there were inhabitants in it; and so they should be undone that way. Upon this they went back again, and there lay the fellows fast asleep still; and so they resolved to waken them, and take them prisoners, and they did so. The poor fellows were strangely frightened when they were seized upon and bound, for it seems those people think all the world does as they do, eating men's flesh; but they were soon made easy as to that, and away they carried them.

It was very happy for them that they did not carry them home to their castle, I mean to my palace under the hill; but they carried them first to the bower, where was the chief of their country work, such as keeping the goats, the planting the corn, &c.; and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two Englishmen.

Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do; and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them ran away, and taking to the woods, they could never hear of him any more.

They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after, in some other boats, or canoes, of savages, who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards; and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off in two days' time. This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they concluded, and that not without good cause, indeed, that if this fellow came home safe among his comrades, he would certainly give

them an account that there were people in this island, and also how few and weak they were; for this savage, as I had observed before, had never been told, and it was very happy he had not, how many there were, or where they lived: nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shown him any of their other retired places; such as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two Englishmen had made, and the like.

The first testimony they had that this fellow had given intelligence of them was, that about two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about seven, eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed about an hour after sunrise, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two Englishmen, where this escaped man had been kept. As the Spaniard governor said, had they been all there, the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped; but the case differed now very much, for two men to fifty was too much odds. The two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed; and as they landed a mile from their huts, it was some time before they could come at them. Now, having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did was to bind the two slaves which were left, and cause two of the three men whom they brought with the women (who it seems proved very faithful to them)

to lead them, with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired places in the wood, which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot, till they heard farther.

In the next place, seeing the savages were all come on shore, and that they had bent their course directly that way, they opened the fences where the milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to straggle in the woods whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild ; but the rogue that came with them was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all, for they went directly to the place.

They had not gone far, but that, from a rising-ground, they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more, all their huts and household stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification. They kept their station for a while, till they found the savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in search of prey.

The two Englishmen seeing this, thinking themselves not secure where they stood, because it was likely some of the wild people might come that way, and they might come too many together, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they strolled, the fewer would be together.

Their next halt was at the entrance into a very thick grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree stood, which was hollow and vastly large, and in this tree they both took their standing. They had not stood long before two of the savages appeared running directly that way, as if they had already had notice where they stood, and were coming up to attack them; and, a little way farther, they espied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way; besides which, they saw seven or eight more, at a distance, running another way, like sportsmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity whether they should stand and keep their posture or fly, but they resolved to stand there; and, if they were too many to deal with, then they would get up to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themselves, fire excepted, as long as their ammunition lasted.

Having decided on this, they resolved to let the first two pass by, unless they should spy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The first two savages confirmed them also in this, by turning towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came forward directly to the tree, as if they had known the Englishmen were there. Seeing them come so straight toward them, they resolved to take them in a line as they came, and to fire but one at a time.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages

came on, they plainly saw that one of the three was the runaway savage that had escaped from them; and they both knew him distinctly, and resolved that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire. But the first was too good a marksman to miss his aim; for, as the savages kept near one another, a little behind in a line, he fired, and hit two of them directly. The foremost was killed outright, being shot in the head; the second, which was the runaway Indian, was shot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead; and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second; and, being dreadfully frightened, though not so much hurt, sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frightened with the noise than sensible of the danger, stood still at first; for the woods made the sound a thousand times bigger than it really was, the echoes rattling from one side to another, and the fowls rising from all parts, screaming, and every sort making a different noise.

However, all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned, till they came to the place where their companions lay, in a condition miserable enough; and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be supposed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt; and

who, it is very rational to believe, told them, that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods, had killed those two and wounded him.

Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger, yet having them all thus in their power, resolved to let fly both together among them, and singling out, by agreement, which to aim at, they shot together, and killed, or very much wounded, four of them; the fifth, frightened even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest, so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the savages were all killed, made our two men come boldly out from the tree, before they had charged their guns, which was a wrong step, and they were under some surprise when they came to the place and found no less than four of them alive, and two of them very little hurt, and one not at all. This obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks of their muskets, and first, they made sure of the runaway savage, that had been the cause of all the mischief, and of another that was hurt in the knee, and put them out of their pain; then the man that was hurt not at all came and kneeled down to them, with his two hands held up, and made piteous moans to them, by gestures and signs, for his life, but could not say one word to them that they could

understand. However, they made signs to him to sit down at the foot of a tree hard by, and one of the Englishmen with a piece of rope twined, which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his two hands behind him, and there they left him, and with what speed they could made after the other two. They came once in sight of them, but it was at a great distance; however, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley towards the sea, quite the contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid of; and being satisfied with that, they went back to the tree where they left their prisoner, who, as they supposed, was delivered by his comrades, for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they had bound him, lay just at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great a concern as before, not knowing what course to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what numbers; so they resolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to see if all was well there, and to make them easy, who were in fright enough to be sure, for though the savages were their own country folk, yet they were most terribly afraid of them, and, perhaps, the more from the knowledge they had of them.

When they came there, they found the savages had been in the wood, and very near that place, but had not found it, for it was indeed inaccessible, by the trees standing so thick, as before, unless the persons seeking it had been directed by those that knew it,

which these did not; they found, therefore, everything very safe, only the women in a terrible fright. While they were here, they had the comfort to have seven of the Spaniards come to their assistance; the other ten, with their servants, and old Friday, I mean Friday's father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that were kept there, in case the savages should have roved over to that side of the country, but they did not spread so far. With the seven Spaniards came one of the three savages, who, as I said, were their prisoners formerly, and with them also came the savage whom the Englishmen had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for it seems they came that way, and unbound and brought him along with them, where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had the two others who were left when the third ran away.

The prisoners began now to be a burthen to them, and they were so afraid of their escaping, that they were once resolving to kill them all, believing they were under an absolute necessity to do so, for their own preservation. However, the Spaniard governor would not consent to it, but ordered, for the present, that they should be sent out of the way, to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there, with two Spaniards to guard them.

When the Spaniards came, the two Englishmen were so encouraged, that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer there; but taking five of the Spaniards and themselves, with four muskets and

a pistol among them, and two stout quarter-staves, away they went in quest of the savages. They resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation; but a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea-shore, they saw plainly the savages all embarked again in their canoes, in order to be gone, and they were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Englishmen being now twice ruined, and all their improvements destroyed, the rest all agreed to come and help them to rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Their three countrymen who were not yet noted for having the least inclination to do any good, yet, as soon as they heard of it (for they living remote, eastward, knew nothing of the matter till all was over), came and offered their help and assistance, and did very friendly work for several days, to restore their habitation, and make necessities for them. And thus, in a little time, they were set upon their legs again.

About two days after this, they had the farther satisfaction of seeing three of the savages' canoes come driving on shore, and, at some distance from them, two drowned men.

However, enough of them escaped to inform the rest, as well of what they had done, as of what had happened to them, and to whet them on to another enterprise of the same nature, which they, it seems, resolved to attempt, with sufficient force to carry all before them; for, except what the first man had told

them of inhabitants, they could say little of it of their own knowledge, for they never saw one man, and the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witness to confirm it to them.

CHAPTER XL.

IT was five or six months after this before they heard any more of the savages, in which time our men were in hopes they had either forgot their former bad luck, or given over their hopes of better, when, on a sudden, they were invaded with a most formidable fleet of no less than eight-and-twenty canoes, full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such like engines of war, and put all our people into the utmost consternation.

As they came on shore in the evening, and at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do; and in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only safety before, and would be much more so now, while the number of their enemies was so great, they therefore resolved, first of all, to take down the huts which were built for the two Englishmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they supposed the savages would go directly thither, as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land

within two leagues of it. In the next place, they drove away all the flocks of goats they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the Spaniards, and, in short, left as little appearance of inhabitants anywhere as was possible; and the next morning early they posted themselves with all their force at the plantation of the men, to wait for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened; these new invaders, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but small, indeed, but that which was worse, they had not arms for all their number either. The whole account, it seems, stood thus: first, as to men, seventeen Spaniards, five Englishmen, old Friday, or Friday's father, the three slaves taken with the women, who proved very faithful, and three other slaves who lived with the Spaniards. To arm these, they had eleven muskets, five pistols, three fowling-pieces, five muskets or fowling-pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen whom I reduced, two swords, and three old halberds.

Their slaves had every one a halberd, with a great spike of iron fastened into each end of it, and by his side a hatchet; also every one of our men had a hatchet. Two of the women would also come into the fight, and they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the savages when the first

action happened, in addition to which they had hatchets too.

The Spaniard governor commanded the whole, and Will Atkins, who, though dreadful for wickedness, was a most daring, bold fellow, commanded under him. The savages came forward like lions; and our men had no advantage in their situation, only that Will Atkins, who now proved most useful, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advance guard, with orders to let the first of them pass by, and then fire into the middle of them, and as soon as he had fired, to make his retreat as nimbly as he could round a part of the wood, and so come in behind the Spaniards, where they stood, having a thicket of trees before them.

When the savages came on, they ran straggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order, and Will Atkins let about fifty of them pass by him; then, seeing the rest come in a very thick throng, he orders three of his men to fire. How many they killed or wounded they knew not, but the consternation and surprise were inexpressible among the savages; they were frightened to the last degree to hear such a dreadful noise, and see their men killed, and others hurt, but see nobody that did it. When, in the middle of their fright, Will Atkins and his other three let fly again among the thickest of them; and in less than a minute, the first three being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had Will Atkins and his men retired immediately

as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do, the savages had been effectually routed; for the terror that was among them came principally from this, namely, that they were killed by the gods with thunder and lightning, and could see nobody that hurt them; but staying to load again, discovered the cheat. Some of the savages who were at a distance, spying them, came upon them behind; and though Atkins and his men fired on them also, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow Englishmen with their arrows, as they did afterwards one Spaniard, and one of the Indian slaves who came with the women.

Our men being thus hard laid at, Atkins wounded, and two other men killed, retreated to a rising ground in the wood; and the Spaniards, after firing three vollies upon them, retreated also; for their number was so great, and they were so desperate, though above fifty of them were killed, and more than as many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud; and it was observed that their wounded men, who were not quite disabled, were made outrageous, and fought like madmen.

Finding our men were gone, they did not seem to pursue them, but drew themselves up in a ring, which is, it seems, their custom, and shouted twice, in token of their victory; after which they had the mortifica-

tion to see several of their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loss of blood.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little body up together upon a rising ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, would have had them march, and charge again altogether at once; but the Spaniard replied, "Seignior Atkins, you see how their wounded men fight, let them alone till morning; all the wounded men will be stiff and sore with their wounds, and faint with the loss of blood, and so we shall have the fewer to engage." This advice was good; but Will Atkins replied merrily, "That is true, Seignior, and so shall I too, and that is the reason I would go on while I am warm." "Well, Seignior Atkins," says the Spaniard, "you have behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on; but I think it best to stay till morning."

But as it was a clear moonlight night, and they found the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great noise and hurry among them where they lay, they afterwards resolved to fall upon them in the night, especially if they could come to give them but one volley before they were discovered, which they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two Englishmen in whose quarter it was where the fight began, led them round between the woods and the sea-side, westward, and then turning short south, they came so near where the thickest of them lay, that before they were seen

or heard, eight of them fired in among them, and did dreadful execution upon them. In half a minute more, eight others fired after them, pouring in their small shot in such a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to see who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The Spaniards charged again with the utmost expedition, and then divided themselves into three bodies, and resolved to fall in among them altogether. They had in each body eight persons, that is to say, twenty-two men, and the two women, who, by the way, fought desperately. They divided the fire-arms equally in each party, and so the halberds and staves. They would have had the women kept back, but they said they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the teeth of the enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could. The savages stood altogether, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together. They would have fought if they had seen us; for as soon as we came near enough to be seen, some arrows were shot, and poor old Friday was wounded, though not dangerously. But our men gave them no time, but running up to them, fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the butt-end of their muskets, their swords, armed staves, and hatchets, and laid about them so well, that, in a word, they set up a dismal

screaming and howling, flying to save their lives which way soever they could.

Our men were tired with the execution, and killed or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about 180 of them; the rest, being frightened out of their wits, scoured through the woods over the hills with all that speed, fear, and nimble feet could help them to do; and as we did not trouble ourselves much to pursue them, they got altogether to the sea-side, where they landed, and where their canoes lay. But their disaster was not at an end yet; for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the sea, so that it was impossible for them to go off; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high upon the shore, that it required infinite toil to get them off; and some of them were even dashed to pieces against the beach, or against one another.

Our men, though glad of their victory, yet got little rest that night; but having refreshed themselves as well as they could, they resolved to march to that part of the island where the savages were fled, and see what posture they were in.

At length they came in view of the place where the more miserable remains of the savages' army lay, where there appeared about an hundred still. Their posture was, generally, sitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouths, and the head put between the two hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two musket-shots of them, the Spaniard governor ordered two muskets to be fired, without ball, to alarm them. This he did, that, by their countenance, he might know what to expect, namely, whether they were still in heart to fight, or were so heartily beaten as to be dispirited and discouraged, and so he might manage accordingly. This stratagem took; for as soon as the savages heard the first gun, and saw the flash of the second, they started up upon their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable; and as our men advanced swiftly towards them, they all ran screaming and yelling away, with a kind of howling noise, which our men did not understand, and had never heard before; and thus they run up the hills into the country.

At first our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to sea; but Will Atkins' advice was to clap in between them and their boats, and so deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the island.

They consulted long about this. Some were against it, for fear of making the wretches fly to the woods, and so they should have them to hunt like wild beasts, be afraid to stir about their business, and have their plantation continually rifled, all their tame goats destroyed, and, in short, to be reduced to a life of continual distress.

Will Atkins told them they had better have to do with an hundred men than with an hundred nations;

that, as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be all of them destroyed themselves. In a word, he showed them the necessity of it so plainly, that they all came into it. So they went to work immediately with the boats, and getting some dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to set some of them on fire, but they were so wet that they would not burn; however, the fire so burned the upper part, that it soon made them unfit for swimming in the sea as boats. When the Indians saw what they were about, some of them came running out of the woods, and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down and cried, "Oa, Oa, Wara-mokoa," and some other words of their language, which none of the others understood anything of; but as they made pitiful gestures and strange noises, it was easy to understand they begged to have their boats spared, and they would be gone, and never come there again. But our men were now satisfied that they had no way to preserve themselves, or to save their colony, but effectually to prevent any of these people from ever going home again; depending upon this, that if even so much as one of them got back into their country to tell the story, the colony was undone; so that, letting them know that they should not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and destroyed them every one that the storm had not destroyed before. At the sight of which the savages raised a hideous cry in the woods, which our people heard plain enough, after which

they ran about the island like distracted men. They had driven away their cattle, and the Indians did not find out their main retreat, I mean my old castle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley, yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot, tore up the vines and grapes, being just then almost ripe, and did our men an inestimable damage, though to themselves not one farthing's worth of service.

Though our men were able to fight them upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them, or hunt them up and down; for as they were too nimble of foot for our men, when they found them single, so our men durst not go abroad single, for fear of being surrounded with their numbers. The best was, they had no weapons; for though they made bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make any; nor had they any edged tool or weapon among them.

The extremity and distress they were reduced to was great, and, indeed, deplorable; but at the same time our men were also brought to very bad circumstances by them; for, though their retreats were preserved, yet their provision was destroyed, and their harvest spoiled; and what to do, or which way to turn themselves, they knew not. The only refuge they had now was the stock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and some little corn which grew there, and the plantation of the three Englishmen,

Will Atkins and his comrades, who were now reduced to two; one of them being killed by an arrow, which struck him on the side of his head, just under the temples, so that he never spoke more; and it was very remarkable that this was the same barbarous fellow that cut the poor slave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murdered the Spaniards.

When our men saw what their circumstances were, the first thing they concluded was, that they would, if possible, drive them up to the farther part of the island, south-west, that if any more savages came on shore, they might not find one another: then our men following them, and almost every day killing or wounding some of them, they kept up in the woods or hollow places so much, that it reduced them to the utmost misery for want of food; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, absolutely starved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them, especially the Spaniard governor, who was the most generous-minded man that ever I met with in my life; and he proposed, if possible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to understand what they meant, so far as to be able to act as interpreter, and go among them, and see if they might be brought to some condition that might be depended upon, to save their lives and do us no harm.

It was some while before any of them could be

taken ; but, being weak and half starved, one of them was at last surprised and made a prisoner. He was sullen at first, and would neither eat nor drink ; but finding himself kindly used, and victuals given him, and no violence offered him, he at last grew tractable, and came to himself. They brought old Friday to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all ; that they would not only save their lives, but would give them part of the island to live in, provided they would give satisfaction that they would keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond it to injure or prejudice others ; and that they should have corn given them to plant, and make it grow, for their bread, and some bread given them for their present subsistence : and old Friday bade the fellow go and talk with the rest of his countrymen, and see what they said to it ; assuring them, that if they did not agree immediately, they should be all destroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty-seven, closed with the proposal at the first offer, and begged to have some food given them ; upon which twelve Spaniards and two Englishmen, well armed, with three Indian slaves and old Friday, marched to the place where they were. The three Indian slaves carried them a large quantity of bread, some rice boiled up to cakes and dried in the sun, and three live goats ; and they were ordered to go to the side of a hill, where they sat down, ate their provisions very thankfully, and

were the most faithful fellows to their words that could be thought of; for, except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds: and there they lived when I came to the island, and I went to see them.

They had taught them both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them. They were confined to a neck of land, surrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island.

Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself, and gave among them twelve hatchets and three or four knives; and there they lived the most subjected innocent creatures that ever were heard of.

After this the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity till I came to revisit them, which was about two years after; not but that now and then some canoes of savages came on shore for their triumphal unnatural feasts; but as they were of several nations, and, perhaps, had never heard of those that came before or the reason of it, they did not make any search or inquiry after their countrymen.

Thus I think I have given a full account of all that happened to them till my return, at least that was worth notice. The Indians, or savages, were wonderfully civilized by them, and they frequently went among them; but forbid, on pain of death, any one of the Indians coming to them, because they would not have their settlement betrayed again.

CHAPTER XLI.

My coming was a particular relief to these people, because we furnished them with knives, scissors, spades, shovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want. With the help of those tools they were so very handy, that they came at last to build up their huts, or houses, very handsomely, raddling or working it up like basket-work, all the way round; which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd, but was an exceeding good fence, as well against heat as against all sorts of vermin; and our men were so taken with it, that they got the wild savages to come and do the like for them; so that when I came to see the two Englishmen's colonies, they looked at a distance as if they all lived like bees in a hive. As for Will Atkins, who was now become a very industrious, useful, and sober fellow, he had made himself such a tent of basket-work as I believe was never seen: it was 120 paces round on the outside, as I measured by my steps; the walls were as close worked as a basket, in panels, or squares, of thirty-two in number, and very strong, standing about seven feet high: in the middle was another, not above twenty-two paces round, but built stronger, being octagon in its form. The outer circuit was covered as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the thirty-two angles to the top posts of the inner

house, being about twenty feet distant; so that there was a space like a walk, within the outer wicker-wall, and without the inner, near twenty feet wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the same wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided it into six apartments, so that he had six rooms on a floor, and out of every one of these there was a door; first, into the entry, or coming into the main tent, and another door into the space, or walk, that was round it.

Such a piece of basket-work, I believe, was never seen in the world, nor a house or tent so neatly contrived, much less so built. In this great bee-hive lived the three families, that is to say, Will Atkins and his companion; the third was killed, but his wife remained with three children, and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full share of everything, I mean as to their corn, milk, grapes, &c., and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the shore; so that they all lived well enough, though it was true they were not so industrious as the other two, as has been observed already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted, namely that as for religion, I do not know that there was any thing of that kind among them: they often, indeed, put one another in mind there was a God, by the very common method of seamen, namely, swearing by his name: nor were their poor ignorant savage wives much better for having been married to Christians, as we must call them: for as they knew very little of God themselves, so they were utterly inca-

pable of entering into any discourse with their wives about a God, or talk anything to them concerning religion.

The utmost of all the improvement which I can say the wives had made from them was, that they had taught them to speak English pretty well; and most of their children, which were near twenty in all, were taught to speak English too, from their first learning to speak, though they at first spoke it in a very broken manner, like their mothers. The mothers were all a good sort of well-governed, quiet, laborious women, modest and decent, helpful to one another, mighty observant and subject to their masters (I cannot call them husbands,) and wanted nothing but to be well instructed in the Christian religion, and to be legally married; both of which were happily brought about afterwards, in consequence of my coming among them.

Having thus given an account of the colony in general, and pretty much of my runagate English, I must say something of the Spaniards, who were the main body of the family, and in whose story there are some incidents also remarkable enough.

I had a great many discourses with them about their circumstances when they were among the savages. They gave me a minute account of their sufferings, and of the share they were compelled to take in the wars of the savages; as well as of their imperfect weapons and the defensive armour they provided for such occasions. Notwithstanding these, they

were sometimes in great danger; and five of them were once knocked down together with the clubs of the savages, which was the time when one of them was taken prisoner, that is to say, the Spaniard whom I had relieved. At first, they thought he had been killed; but, when they afterwards heard he was taken prisoner, they were under the greatest grief imaginable, and would willingly have all ventured their lives to have rescued him.

They told me, that, when they were so knocked down, the rest of their company rescued them, and stood over them fighting till they were come to themselves, all but him whom they thought had been dead; and then they made their way with their halberds and pieces, standing close together in a line, through a body of above a thousand savages, and beating down all that came in their way, got the victory over their enemies, but, to their great sorrow, because it was with the loss of their friend, whom the other party, finding him alive, carried off, with some others, as I gave an account before.

They described most affectionately how they were surprised with joy at the return of their friend and companion in misery, who, they thought, had been devoured by wild men; and yet how, more and more, they were surprised with the account he gave them of his errand, and that there was a Christian in any place near, much more one that was able, and had humanity enough to contribute to their deliverance.

They described how they were astonished at the

sight of the relief I sent them, and at the appearance of loaves of bread, things they had not seen since their coming to that miserable place; how often they blessed it as bread sent from Heaven; and what a reviving cordial it was to their spirits to taste it, as also the other things I had sent for their supply; and, after all, they would have told me something of the joy they were in at the sight of a boat and pilots, to carry them away to the person and place from whence all these comforts came; but it was impossible to express it by words, for their excessive joy naturally driving them to unbecoming extravagances, they had no way to describe them, but by telling me they bordered upon lunacy, having no way to give vent to their passions suitable to the sense that was upon them: that in some, it worked one way, and in some another; and that some of them, through a surprise of joy, would burst into tears, others be stark mad, and others immediately faint. This discourse extremely affected me, and called to my mind Friday's ecstasy when he met his father, and the poor people's ecstasy when I took them up at sea after their ship was on fire; the joy of the mate of the ship, when he found himself delivered, in the place where he expected to perish; and my own joy, when, after twenty-eight years' captivity, I found a good ship, ready to carry me to my own country. All these things made me more sensible of the relation of these poor men, and more affected with it.

Having thus given a view of the state of things as I found them, I must relate the heads of what I did for these people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion and mine too, that they would be troubled no more with the savages, or if they were, they would be able to cut them off, if they were twice as many as before; so they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a serious discourse with the Spaniard, whom I call governor, about their stay in the island; for, as I was not come to carry any of them off, so it would not be just to carry off some and leave others.

They were all together when I talked thus to them; and, before I delivered to them the stores I had brought, I asked them, one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried the first animosities that had been among them, and engaged in strict friendship and union of interest, that so there might be no more misunderstandings or jealousies.

Will Atkins, with abundance of frankness and good humour, said, they had met with affliction enough to make them all sober, and enemies enough to make them all friends; that, for his part, he was so far from designing anything against the Spaniards, that he had owned they had done nothing to him but what his own bad humour made necessary, and that he would ask them pardon, if I desired it, for the foolish and brutish things he had done to them, and was very willing and desirous of living in terms of entire friendship and union with them; and would do anything that lay in

his power to convince them of it : and, as for going to England, he cared not if he did not go thither these twenty years.

The Spaniard said they had, indeed, at first, disarmed and excluded Will Atkins and his two countrymen, for their ill conduct, as they had let me know, and they appealed to me for the necessity they were under to do so ; but that Will Atkins had behaved himself so bravely in the great fight they had with the savages, and on several occasions since, and had showed himself so faithful to, and concerned for, the general interest of them all, that they had forgotten all that was past, and thought he merited as much to be trusted with arms and supplied with necessaries, as any of them ; and they most heartily embraced the occasion of giving me this assurance, that they would never have any interest separate from one another.

Upon these frank and open declarations of friendship, we appointed the next day to dine all together ; and indeed we made a splendid feast. I caused the ship's cook and his mate to come on shore and dress our dinner, and the old cook's mate we had on shore assisted. We brought on shore six pieces of good beef, and four pieces of pork, out of the ship's provision, with our punch-bowl, and materials to fill it ; and, in particular, I gave them ten bottles of French claret, and ten bottles of English beer ; things that neither the Spaniards nor the English had tasted for many years, and which, it may be supposed they were very glad of. The Spaniards added to our feast five

whole kids, which the cooks roasted; and three of them were sent, covered up close, on board the ship to the seamen, that they might feast on fresh meat from on shore, as we did with their salt meat from on board.

After this feast, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods; wherein, that there might be no dispute about dividing, I showed them that there was a sufficiency for them all, desiring that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing; linen sufficient to make every one of them four shirts, at the Spaniards' request, afterwards made up six. I allotted the thin English stuffs, to make every one a light coat fittest for the heat of the season, cool and loose: and ordered that whenever they decayed, they should make more, as they thought fit; the like for pumps, shoes, stockings, hats, &c.

I cannot express what pleasure, what satisfaction sat upon the countenances of all these poor men, when they saw the care I had taken of them, and how well I had furnished them. They told me I was a father to them; and that, having such a correspondent as I was in so remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a desolate place; and they all voluntarily engaged to me not to leave the place without my consent.

Then I presented to them the people I had brought with me, particularly the tailor, the smith, and the two carpenters, all of them most necessary people:

but, above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name anything that was more useful to them: and the tailor, to show his concern for them, went to work immediately, and with my leave, made them every one a shirt, the first thing he did; and which was still more, he taught the women, not only how to sew and stitch, and use the needle, but made them assist to make the shirts for their husbands, and for all the rest.

As to the carpenters, I scarce need mention how useful they were; for they took to pieces all my clumsy, unhandy things, and made them clever convenient tables, stools, bedsteads, cupboards, lockers, shelves, and everything they wanted of that kind. But, to let them see how nature made artificers at first, I carried the carpenters to see Will Atkins' basket-house, as I called it; and they both owned they never saw an instance of such natural ingenuity before, nor anything so regular and so handily built, at least of its kind; and one of them, when he saw it, after musing a good while, turning about to me, "I am sure," says he, "that man has no need of us; you need do nothing but give him tools."

Then I brought them out all my store of tools, and gave every man a digging spade, a shovel, and a rake, for we had no harrows, nor ploughs; and to every separate place a pick-axe, a crow, a broad-axe, and a saw; always appointing, that as often as any were broken or worn out they should be supplied, without grudging, out of the general stores that I left behind.

Nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chisels, knives, scissors, and all sorts of iron-work, they had without tale, as they required; for no man would take more than he wanted, and he must be a fool that would waste or spoil them on any account whatever; and for the use of the smith I left two tons of unwrought iron for a supply.

My magazine of powder and arms which I brought them was such, even to profusion, that they could not but rejoice at them; for now they could march, as I used to do, with a musket upon each shoulder, if there was occasion, and were able to fight a thousand savages, if they had but some little advantages of situation, which also they could not miss, if they had occasion.

I carried on shore with me the young man whose mother was starved to death, and the maid also: she was a sober, well-educated, religious young woman, and behaved so inoffensively that every one gave her a good word. She had, indeed, an unhappy life with us, there being no woman in the ship but herself, but she bore it with patience. After a while, seeing things so well ordered, and in so fine a way of thriving upon my island, and considering that they had neither business nor acquaintance in the East Indies, nor reason for taking so long a voyage; both of them came to me and desired I would give them leave to remain on the island, and be entered among my family, as they called it. I agreed to this readily; and they had a little plot of ground allotted them, where they

had three tents or houses set up, surrounded with a basket-work, pallisadoed like Atkins's, adjoining to his plantation. Their tents were contrived so, that they had each of them a room apart to lodge in, and a middle tent like a great storehouse, to lay their goods in, and to eat and drink in. And now the other two Englishmen removed their habitation to the same place; and so the island was divided into three colonies and no more, namely, the Spaniards, with old Friday, and the first servants, at my old habitation under the hill, which was, in a word, the capital city, and where they had so enlarged and extended their works, as well under as on the outside of the hill, that they lived, though perfectly concealed, yet full at large.

The other colony was that of Will Atkins, where there were four families of Englishmen, I mean those I had left there, with their wives and children; three savages that were slaves; the widow and the children of the Englishman that was killed; the young man and the maid: and by the way, we made a wife of her before we went away. There were also the two carpenters and the tailor, whom I brought with me for them; also the smith, who was a very necessary man to them, especially as a gunsmith, to take care of their arms; and my other man whom I called Jack-of-all-trades, who was in himself as good almost as twenty men; for he was not only a very ingenious fellow, but a very merry fellow; and before I went away we married him to the honest maid that came with the youth in the ship I mentioned before.

And now I speak of marrying, it brings me naturally to say something of the French ecclesiastic that I had brought with me out of the ship's crew whom I took up at sea; perhaps it may give offence to some hereafter, if I leave anything extraordinary upon record of a man whom, before I begin, I must (to set him out in just colours) represent in terms very much to his disadvantage, in the account of Protestants: as, first, that he was a Papist; secondly, a Popish priest; and thirdly, a French Popish priest. But justice demands of me to give him a due character; and I must say he was a grave, sober, pious, and most religious person: exact in his life, extensive in his charity, and exemplary in almost everything he did. What, then, can any one say against being very sensible of the value of such a man, notwithstanding his profession? though it may be my opinion, perhaps, as well as the opinion of others who shall read this, that he was mistaken.

After we had seen the state of the island, he had many conversations with me about it, deploring alike the ignorance and irreligion of the Europeans, and the degraded state of the natives, he at length proposed to abandon all thoughts of prosecuting his voyage to the East Indies, and taking up his abode among them. His zeal and earnest simplicity greatly interested me. I paused a considerable while before I could tell what to say to him; for I was really surprised to find a man of such sincerity and zeal, and carried out in his zeal beyond the ordinary rate of

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men, not of his profession only, but even of any profession whatsoever. But after I had considered it awhile, I asked him seriously, if he was in earnest, and that he would venture on the single consideration of an attempt on those poor people, to be locked up in an unplanted island for perhaps his life, and at last might not know whether he should be able to do them good or not?

He turned short upon me, and asked me what I called a venture? "Pray, sir," said he, what do you think I consented to go in your ship to the East Indies for?" "Nay," said I, "that I know not, unless it was to preach to the Indians." "Doubtless it was," said he: "and do you think, if I can convert these thirty-seven men to the faith of Jesus Christ, it is not worth my time, though I should never be fetched off the island again; nay, is it not infinitely of more worth to save so many souls, than my life is, or the life of twenty more of the same profession? Yes, sir," says he, "I would give God thanks all my days, if I could be made the least happy instrument of saving the souls of those poor men, though I was never to set my foot off this island, or see my native country any more. But since you will honour me with putting me into this work, for which I will pray for you all the days of my life, I have one humble petition to you besides." "What is that?" said I. "Why," says he, "it is, that you will leave your man Friday with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to assist me; for,

without some help, I cannot speak to them or they to me."

I was sensibly touched at his requesting Friday, because I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reasons: he had been the companion of my travels; he was not only faithful to me, but sincerely affectionate to the last degree, and I had resolved to do something considerable for him, if he outlived me, as it was probable he would. However, a sudden thought relieved me in this strait, and it was this: I told him I could not say that I was willing to part with Friday, on any account whatever, though a work that, to him, was of more value than his life, ought to be to me of much more value than the keeping or parting with a servant. But, on the other hand, I was persuaded that Friday would by no means agree to part with me, and I could not force him to it without his consent, without manifest injustice; because I had promised I would never put him away, and he had promised and engaged to me, that he would never leave me, unless I put him away.

He seemed very much concerned at it, for he had no rational access to these poor people, seeing he did not understand one word of their language, nor they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told him Friday's father had learned Spanish, which I found he also understood, and he should serve him as an interpreter. So he was much better satisfied; and nothing could persuade him but he would stay

and endeavour to convert them ; but Providence gave another very happy turn to all this.

CHAPTER XLII.

WHEN we came to the Englishmen, I sent for them all together, and, after some account given them of what I had done for them, namely, what necessary things I had provided them, and how they were distributed, which they were very sensible of, and very thankful for, I began to talk to them of the scandalous life they led, and gave them a full account of the notice the clergyman had taken of it ; and arguing how unchristian and irreligious a life it was, I first asked them, if they were married men or bachelors. They soon explained their conditions to me, and showed that two of them were widowers, and the other three were single men, or bachelors. I asked them with what conscience they could take those women, as they had done, call them their wives, and not be lawfully married to them ?

They all gave me the answer I expected, namely, that there was nobody to marry them ; that they agreed before the governor to keep them as their wives, and to maintain them, and own them as their wives ; and they thought, as things stood with them, they were as legally married as if they had been

married by a parson, and with all the formalities in the world.

I told them that, no doubt, they were married in the sight of God, and were bound in conscience to keep them as their wives; but that the laws of men being otherwise, they might desert the poor women and children hereafter; and that, their wives being poor desolate women, friendless and moneyless, would have no way to help themselves. I therefore told them that, unless I was assured of their honest intent, I could do nothing for them, but would take care what I did should be for the women and children.

All this went on as I expected, and they told me, especially Will Atkins, who now seemed to speak for the rest, that they loved their wives as well as if they had been born in their own native country, and would not leave them upon any account whatever; and they did verily believe their wives were as virtuous and modest, and did to the utmost of their skill, as much for them and for their children, as any women could possibly do. Will Atkins, for his own particular, added, that if any man would take him away, and offer to carry him home to England, and make him captain of the best man-of-war in the navy, he would not go with him if he might not carry his wife and children with him; and, if there was a clergyman in the ship, he would be married to her now with all his heart.

This was just as I would have it. The priest was not with me at that moment, but was not far off; so,

to try him farther, I told him I had a clergyman with me, and if he was sincere, I would have him married next morning. I then told him, that my friend the minister was a Frenchman, and could not speak English, but I would act the clerk between them. He never so much as asked me whether he was Papist or Protestant. I went back to my clergyman, and Will Atkins went into talk with his companions. I desired the French gentleman not to say anything to them, till the business was thorough ripe, and I told him what answer the men had given me.

Before I went from their quarter, they all came to me, and told me they had been considering what I had said, that they were glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company, and they were very willing to give me the satisfaction I desired, and to be formally married as soon as I pleased, for they were far from desiring to part with their wives, and that they meant nothing but what was very honest, when they chose them. So I appointed them to meet me the next morning, and, in the meantime, they should let their wives know the meaning of the marriage law; and that it was not only to prevent any scandal, but also to oblige them that they should not forsake them, whatever might happen.

The women were easily made sensible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well satisfied with it, as indeed they had reason to be; so they failed not to attend, all together, at my apartment, next morning,

where I brought out my clergyman; and though he had not on a minister's gown, after the manner of England, or the habit of a priest, after the manner of France, yet having a black vest, something like a cassock, with a sash round it, he did not look very unlike a minister; and as for his language, I was his interpreter. But the seriousness of his behaviour to them, and the scruples he made of marrying the women, because they were not baptized and professed Christians, gave them an exceeding reverence for his person, and there was no need after that to inquire whether he was a clergyman or not. Indeed I was afraid his scruples would have been carried so far, as that he would not have married them at all. He told them that nothing but the consenting to marry, or effectually separating them from one another, could now do; but there was a difficulty in it too, with respect to the laws of Christian matrimony, which he was not fully satisfied about, namely, that of marrying one that is a professed Christian to a savage, an idolator, and a heathen, one that is not baptized; and yet, that he did not see that there was time left for him to endeavour to persuade the women to be baptized, or to profess the name of Christ, whom they had, he doubted, heard nothing of. He told them he doubted they were but indifferent Christians themselves, that they had but little knowledge of God, or of his ways, and therefore he could not expect that they had said much to their wives on that head yet; but that, unless they would promise him to use their

endeavours with their wives to persuade them to become Christians, and would, as well as they could, instruct them in the knowledge and belief of God that made them, and to worship Jesus Christ that redeemed them, he could not marry them; for he would have no hand in joining Christians with savages.

They heard all this very attentively, and I delivered it very faithfully to them from his mouth, as near in his own words as I could, only, sometimes, adding something of my own, to convince them how just it was, and how I was of his mind, and I always very faithfully distinguished between what I said from myself, and what were the clergyman's words. They told me it was very true what the gentleman said, that they were very indifferent Christians themselves, and that they had never talked to their wives about religion. "Why, sir," says Will Atkins, "how should we teach them religion? why, we know nothing ourselves; and besides, sir," said he, "should we talk to them of God and Jesus Christ, and heaven and hell, it would make them laugh at us, and ask us what we believe ourselves. And if we should tell them that we believe all the things we speak of to them, such as of good people going to heaven, and wicked people to the devil, they would ask us where we intend to go ourselves, that believe all this, and are such wicked fellows, as we indeed are? Why, sir, 'tis enough to give them a surfeit of religion at first hearing; folks must have some religion them-

selves before they pretend to teach other people.” “Will Atkins,” said I to him, “though I am afraid that what you say has too much truth in it, yet can you not tell your wife that she is in the wrong? that there is a God, and a religion better than her own: that her gods are idols; that they can neither hear nor speak; that there is a great Being that made all things, and that can destroy all that he has made: that he rewards the good and punishes the bad; and that we are to be judged by him at last, for all we do here. You are not so ignorant, but even nature itself will teach you, that all this is true, and I am satisfied you know it all to be true, and believe it yourself.” Atkins had his difficulties still, for he felt the inconsistency of teaching what he had never practised; but the priest would not let him off. “Oh,” said he, “tell him there is one thing will make him the best minister in the world to his wife, and that is, repentance; for none teach repentance like true penitents. He will then be able to tell that there is not only a God, and that he is a just rewarder of good and evil, but that he is a merciful Being, and, with infinite goodness and long-suffering, forbears to punish those that offend, waiting to be gracious, and willing not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should return and live.”

I repeated all to Atkins, who looked very serious all the while, and who, we could easily perceive, was more than ordinarily affected with it: when, being eager, and hardly suffering me to make an end—“I

know all this, master," says he, "and a great deal more; but I have not the impudence to talk thus to my wife, when God and my conscience knows, and my wife will be an undeniable evidence against me, that I have lived as if I had never heard of a God, or a future state, or anything about it; and to talk of my repenting, alas! (and with that he fetched a deep sigh, and I could see that the tears stood in his eyes), all 'tis past that with me." "Past it, Atkins?" said I, "what dost thou mean by that?" "I know well enough what I mean," says he, "I mean 'tis too late, and that it is too true," and then he gave way to all the violence of a guilty and despairing conscience.

I told the clergyman, word for word, what he said; the poor zealous priest—I must call him so, for be his opinion what it will, he had certainly a most singular affection for the good of other men's souls, and it would be hard to think he had not the like for his own.

The clergyman shook his head, with great concern in his face, when I told him all this; but, turning quick to me upon it, says, "If that be his case, we may assure him it is not too late; Christ will give him repentance. But pray," says he, "explain this to him; that, as no man is saved but by Christ, and the merit of his passion procuring divine mercy for him, how can it be too late for any man to receive mercy? Does he think he is able to sin beyond the power or reach of divine mercy? Pray tell him, there may be

a time when provoked mercy will no longer strive, and when God may refuse to hear, but that 'tis never too late for men to ask mercy, and we that are Christ's servants, are commanded to preach mercy at all times, in the name of Jesus Christ, to all those that sincerely repent; so that it is never too late to repent."

I told Atkins all this, and he heard me with great earnestness, but it seemed as if he turned off the discourse to the rest, for he said to me he would go and have some talk with his wife; so he went out awhile, and we talked to the rest. I perceived they were all stupidly ignorant as to matters of religion, as much as I was when I went rambling away from my father, and yet there were none of them backward to hear what had been said, and all of them seriously promised, that they would talk with their wives about it, and do their endeavours to persuade them to turn Christians.

The clergyman smiled upon me when I reported what answer they gave, but said nothing a good while; but at last, shaking his head, "We that are Christ's servants," says he, "can go no farther than to exhort and instruct, and when men comply, submit to the reproof, and promise what we ask, 'tis all we can do; we are bound to accept their good works; but believe me, sir," said he, "whatever you may have known of the life of that man you call Will Atkins, I believe he is the only sincere convert among them; I take that man to be a true penitent, I will not despair of the rest, but that man is apparently struck with the

sense of his past life, and I doubt not, when he comes to talk of religion to his wife, he will talk himself effectually into it; for attempting to teach others, is sometimes the best way of teaching ourselves. I knew a man, who, having nothing but a summary notion of religion himself, and being wicked and profligate to the last degree in his life, made a thorough reformation in himself by labouring to convert a Jew. If that poor Atkins begins but once to talk seriously of Jesus Christ to his wife, my life for it, he talks himself into a thorough convert, makes himself a penitent, and who knows what may follow.

Upon this discourse, however, and their promising as above, to endeavour to persuade their wives to embrace Christianity, he married the other two couple; but Will Atkins and his wife were not yet come in. After this, my clergyman, waiting awhile, was curious to know where Atkins was gone; and, turning to me, said, "I entreat you, sir, let us walk out of your labyrinth here, and look; I dare say we shall find this poor man, somewhere or other, talking seriously to his wife, and teaching her already something of religion." I began to be of the same mind; so we went out together, and I carried him a way which none knew but myself, and where the trees were so very thick, that it was not easy to see through the thicket of leaves, and far harder to see in, than to see out; when coming to the edge of the wood, I saw Atkins and his tawny savage wife sitting under the shade of a bush, very eager in discourse. I stopped

short till my clergyman came up to me, and then, having shown him where they were, we stood and looked very steadily at them a good while. We observed him very earnest with her, pointing up to the sun, and to every quarter of the heavens, and then down to the earth, then out to the sea, then to himself, then to her, to the woods, to the trees. "Now," says my clergyman, "you see my words are made good; the man preaches to her; mark him, now; he is telling her, that our God has made him and her, and the heavens, the earth, the sea, the woods, the trees, &c." "I believe he is," said I. Immediately we perceived Will Atkins start upon his feet, fall down on his knees, and lift up both hands. We supposed he said something, but we could not hear him; it was too far for that. He did not continue kneeling half a minute, but comes and sits down again by his wife, and talks to her again; we perceived then the woman very attentive, but whether she said anything to him we could not tell. While the poor fellow was upon his knees, I could see the tears run plentifully down my clergyman's cheeks, and I could hardly forbear myself; but it was a great affliction to us both, that we were not near enough to hear anything that passed between them. Well, however, we could come no nearer, for fear of disturbing them; so we resolved to see an end of this piece of still conversation, and it spoke loud enough to us without the help of voice. He sat down again, as I have said, close by her, and talked

again earnestly to her, and two or three times we could see him embrace her most passionately; another time we saw him take out his handkerchief and wipe her eyes, and then kiss her again, with a kind of transport very unusual; and after several of these things, we saw him, on a sudden, jump up again, and lend her his hand to hold her up, when, immediately leading her by the hand, a step or two, they both kneeled down together, and continued so about two minutes.

My friend could bear it no longer; but cries out aloud, "St. Paul, St. Paul, behold he prayeth!" I was afraid Atkins would hear him; therefore, I entreated him to withhold himself a while, that we might see an end of the scene, which, to me, I must confess, was the most affecting that ever I saw in my life. Well, he strove with himself for a while, but was in such raptures to think that the poor heathen woman was become a Christian, that he was not able to contain himself. He wept several times, then throwing up his hands, and crossing his breast, said over several things ejaculatory, and by way of giving God thanks for so miraculous a testimony of the success of our endeavours. Some he spoke softly, and I could not well hear others; some in Latin, some in French; then two or three times the tears would interrupt him, that he could not speak at all; but I begged that he would contain himself, and let us more narrowly and fully observe what was before us, which he did for a time, the scene not being near

ended yet, for after the poor man and his wife were risen again from their knees, we observed he stood talking still eagerly to her, and we observed her motion, that she was greatly affected with what he said, by her frequently lifting up her hands, laying her hand to her breast, and such other postures as express greatest seriousness and attention. This continued about half a quarter of an hour, and then they walked away; so we could see no more of them in that situation. I took this interval to talk with my clergyman; and first, I was glad to see the particulars we had both been witnesses to, that though I was hard enough of belief in such cases, yet that I began to think it was all very sincere here, both in the man and his wife, however ignorant they might both be, and I hoped such a beginning would yet have a more happy end: "And who knows," says I, "but these two may, in time, by instruction and example, work upon some of the others?" "Some of them?" said he, turning quick upon me; "ay, upon all of them: depend upon it, if those two savages, for he has been but little better, as you relate it, should embrace Jesus Christ, they will never leave it till they work upon all the rest; for true religion is naturally communicative, and he that is once made a Christian will never leave a pagan behind him, if he can help it." I owned it was a most Christian principle to think so, and a testimony of true zeal, as well as a generous heart in him. "But, my friend," said I, "will you give me leave to start one difficulty here? I cannot

tell how to object the least thing against that affectionate concern which you show for the turning the people from their paganism to the Christian religion: but how does this comfort you, while these people are, in your account, out of the pale of the Catholic Church, without which you believe there is no salvation? so that you esteem these but heretics for other reasons, as effectually lost as the pagans themselves."

To this he answered with abundance of candour, thus:—"Sir, I am a Catholic of the Roman Church, and a priest of the order of St. Benedict, and I embrace all the principles of the Roman faith; but yet, if you will believe me, and that I do not speak in compliment to you, or in respect to my circumstances and your civilities; I say, nevertheless, I do not look upon you, who call yourselves reformed, without some charity: I dare not say (though I know it is our opinion in general) that you cannot be saved: I will by no means limit the mercy of Christ so far as to think that he cannot receive you into the bosom of his church in a manner to us unperceivable; and I hope you have the same charity for us; I pray daily for your being all restored to Christ's church by whatsoever method he, who is all-wise, is pleased to direct. In the meantime, sure you will allow that it consists with me, as a Roman, to distinguish far between a Protestant and a pagan; between one that calls on Jesus Christ, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith, and a savage or a barbarian that knows no God, no Christ, no Redeemer;

and if you are not within the pale of the Catholic Church, we hope you are nearer being restored to it than those that know nothing of God or of his church; and I rejoice, therefore, when I see this poor man, who you say has been a profligate, and almost a murderer, kneel down and pray to Jesus Christ, as we supposed he did, though not fully enlightened; believing that God, from whom every such work proceeds, will sensibly touch his heart, and bring him to the farther knowledge of that truth in his own time: and if God shall influence this poor man to convert and instruct the ignorant savage, his wife, I can never believe that he shall be cast away himself. And have I not reason then to rejoice the nearer any are brought to the knowledge of Christ, though they may not be brought quite home into the bosom of the Catholic Church, just at the time when I may desire it, leaving it to the goodness of Christ to perfect his work in his own time and in his own way? Certainly I would rejoice if all the savages in America were brought, like this poor woman, to pray to God, though they were all to be Protestants at first, rather than they should continue pagans or heathens; firmly believing, that he that had bestowed the first light to them, would farther illuminate them with a beam of his heavenly grace, and bring them into the pale of the church when he should see good."

I was astonished at the sincerity and temper of this pious Papist, as much as I was oppressed by the power of his reasoning; and it presently occurred to

my thought that if such a temper was universal, we might be all Catholic Christians, whatever church or particular profession we joined in; that a spirit of charity would soon work us all up into right principles; and as he thought that the like charity would make us all Catholics, so I told him I believed had all the members of his church the like moderation, they would soon all be Protestants. And there we left that part; for we never disputed at all.

However, I talked to him another way, and, taking him by the hand, "My friend," says I, "I wish all the clergy of the Roman Church were blessed with such moderation, and had an equal share of your charity. I am entirely of your opinion; but I must tell you, that if you should preach such doctrines in Spain or Italy, they would put you into the Inquisition." "It may be so," said he; "I know not what they would do in Spain and Italy; but I will not say they will be the better Christians for that severity; for I am sure there is no heresy in abounding with charity."

CHAPTER XLIII.

WELL, as Will Atkins and his wife were gone, our business there was over, so we went back our own way; and when we came back we found them waiting to be called in: observing this, I asked my clergy-

man if we should discover to him that we had seen him under the bush or not; and it was his opinion we should not, but that we should talk to him first, and hear what he would say to us. So we called him in alone, nobody being in the place but ourselves; and I began with him thus:—

Will Atkins, said I, prithee what education had you; what was your father?

His replies went to my own heart. His father, it seemed, had been a clergyman, and a most tender and affectionate parent, whose days he had shortened by his ungrateful and wicked conduct.

Pray, Will, said I, let us know what passed between you and your wife; for I know something of it already.

W. A. Sir, it is impossible to give you a full account of it; I am too full to hold it, and yet have no tongue to express it: but let her have said what she will, and though I cannot give you an account of it, this I can tell you, that I have resolved to amend and reform my life.

R. C. But tell us some of it: how did you begin, Will? For this has been an extraordinary case, that is certain. She has preached a sermon, indeed, if she has wrought this upon you.

W. A. Why, I first told her the nature of our laws about marriage, and what the reasons were that men and women were obliged to enter into such compacts, as it was neither in the power of one nor the other to break; that, otherwise, order and justice could not be

maintained, and men would run from their wives, and abandon their children, mix confusedly with one another, and neither families be kept entire, nor inheritances be settled by legal descent.

R. C. You talk like a civilian, Will; could you make her understand what you meant by inheritance and families? They know no such things among savages, but marry any how, without regard to relation, consanguinity, or family; but what did she say to what you told her?

W. A. She said she liked it very well, and it was much better than in her country.

R. C. But did you tell her what marriage was?

W. A. Ay, ay; there began our dialogue. I asked her if she would be married to me our way? She asked me what way that was; I told her marriage was appointed by God; and here we had a strange talk together, indeed, as ever man and wife had, I believe.

This dialogue between Will Atkins and his wife I took down in writing, just after he had told it me, which was as follows:—

Wife. Appointed by your God? Why, have you a God in your country?

W. A. Yes, my dear, God is in every country.

Wife. No your God in my country; my country have the great old Benamuckee God.

W. A. Child, I am very unfit to show you who God is; God is in heaven, and made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is.

Wife. No makee de earth; no you God makee all earth; no makee my country.

Will Atkins laughed a little at her expression of God not making her country.

Wife. No laugh; why laugh me? This nothing to laugh.

He was justly reprov'd by his wife, for she was more serious than he at first.

W. A. That's true, indeed; I will not laugh any more, my dear.

Wife. Why you say you God makee all.

W. A. Yes, child, our God made the whole world, and you and me, and all things; for he is the only true God, and there is no God but him; he lives for ever in heaven.

Wife. Why you no tell me long ago?

W. A. That's true, indeed; but I have been a wicked wretch, and have not only forgotten to acquaint thee with anything before, but have lived without God in the world myself.

Wife. What, have you a great God in your country, you no know him? No say O to him? No do good thing for him? That no possible.

W. A. It is too true; though, for all that, we live as if there was no God in heaven, or that he had no power on earth.

Wife. But why God let you do so? Why he no makee you good live?

W. A. It is all our own fault.

Wife. But you say me, he is great, much great,

have much great power, can makee kill when he will: why he no makee kill when you no serve him; no say O to him, no be good mans?

W. A. That is true; he might strike me dead; and I ought to expect it, for I have been a wicked wretch, that is true; but God is merciful, and does not deal with us as we deserve.

Wife. But then, do you not tell God thankee for that too?

W. A. No, indeed, I have not thanked God for his mercy, any more than I have feared God for his power.

Wife. Then you God no God; me no think believe he be such one, great much power, strong; no makee kill you, though you make him much angry.

W. A. What, will my wicked life hinder you from believing in God? What a dreadful creature am I! and what a sad truth is it, that the horrid lives of Christians hinders the conversion of heathens!

Wife. How me think you have great much God up there (she points up to heaven), and yet no do well, no do good thing? Can he tell? Sure he no tell what you do?

W. A. Yes, yes, he knows and sees all things; he hears us speak, sees what we do, knows what we think, though we do not speak.

Wife. What! he no hear you curse, swear, speak de great damn?

W. A. Yes, yes; he hears it all.

Wife. Where be, then, the much great power strong?

W. A. He is merciful, that is all we can say for it; and this proves him to be the true God; he is God, and not man, and, therefore, we are not consumed.

Here Will Atkins told us he was struck with horror, to think how he could tell his wife so clearly that God sees, and hears, and knows the secret thoughts of the heart, and all that we do, and yet that he had dared to do all the vile things he had done.

Wife. Merciful! What you call that?

W. A. He is our Father and Maker, and he pities and spares us.

Wife. So, then, he never makee kill, never angry when you do wicked; then he no good himself, or no great able.

W. A. Yes, yes, my dear, he is infinitely good and infinitely great, and able to punish too; and sometimes, to show his justice and vengeance, he lets fly his anger to destroy sinners and make examples; many are cut off in their sins.

Wife. But no makee kill you yet; then he tell you, may be, that he no makee you kill; so you makee de bargain with him, you do bad thing, he no be angry at you when he be angry at other mans.

W. A. No indeed; my sins are all presumptions upon his goodness; and he would be infinitely just if he destroyed me as he has done other men.

Wife. Well, and yet no kill, no makee you dead;

what you say to him for that? You no tell him thankee for all that too!

W. A. I am an unthankful, ungrateful dog, that is true.

Wife. Why he no makee you much good better? You say he makee you.

W. A. He made me as he made all the world. It is I have deformed myself and abused his goodness, and made myself an abominable wretch.

Wife. I wish you makee God know me; I no makee him angry, I no do bad wicked thing.

Here, Will Atkins said, his heart sunk within him, to hear a poor untaught creature desire to be taught to know God, and he such a wicked wretch that he could not say one word to her about God, but what the reproach of his own carriage would make most irrational to her to believe; nay, that already she had told him that she could not believe in God, because he, that was so wicked, was not destroyed.

W. A. My dear, you mean you wish I could teach you to know God, not God to know you: for he knows you already, and every thought in your heart.

Wife. Why, then, he know what I say to you now; he know me wish to know him; how shall me know who makee me?

W. A. Poor creature! he must teach thee, I cannot teach thee; I will pray to him to teach thee to know him, and forgive me, that am unworthy to teach thee.

The poor fellow was in such an agony at her

desiring him to make her know God, and her wishing to know him, that he said he fell down on his knees before her, and prayed to God to enlighten her mind with the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and to pardon his sins, and accept of his being the unworthy instrument of instructing her in the principles of religion: after which he sat down by her again, and their dialogue went on. This was the time when we saw him kneel down, and hold up his hands.

Wife. What you put down the knee for? What you hold up the hand for? What you say? Who you speak to? What is all that?

W. A. My dear, I bow my knees in token of my submission to him that made me: I said O to him as you call it, and as your old men do to their idol, Benamuckee; that is, I prayed to him

Wife. What you say O to him for?

W. A. I prayed to him to open your eyes, and your understanding, that you may know him, and be accepted by him.

Wife. Can he do that too?

W. A. Yes, he can; he can do all things.

Wife. But now he hear what you say?

W. A. Yes; he has bid us pray to him, and promised to hear us.

Wife. Bid you pray? When he bid you? How he bid you? What you hear him speak?

W. A. No, we do not hear him speak; but he has revealed himself many ways to us.

Here he was at a great loss to make her understand that God has revealed himself to us by his word, and what his word was : but at last he told it her thus :—

W. A. God has spoken to some good men in former days, even from heaven, by plain words ; and God has inspired good men by his Spirit ; and they have written all his laws down in a book.

Wife. Me no understand that ; where is book ?

W. A. Alas ! my poor creature, I have not this book ; but I hope I shall, one time or other, get it for you, and help you to read it.

Here he embraced her with great affection ; but with inexpressible grief that he had not a Bible.

Wife. But how you makee me know that God teachee me would understand, me fain see : if he teachee all good thing, he makee all good thing, he give all thing, he hear me when I say O to him, as you do just now ; he makee me good, if I wish to be good ; he spare me, no makee kill me when I no be good : all this you say he do, yet he be great God : me take, think, believe him to be great God : me say O to him with you, my dear.

Here the poor man could forbear no longer, but raised her up, made her kneel by him, and he prayed to God aloud to instruct her in the knowledge of himself by his Spirit ; and that, by some good providence, if possible, she might, some time or other, come to have a Bible, that she might read the Word of God, and be taught by it to know him. This was the time

that we saw him lift her up by the hand, and saw him kneel down by her, as above.

They had several other discourses, it seems, after this, too long to be set down here: and, particularly, she made him promise, that since he confessed his own life had been a wicked, abominable course of provocations against God, he would reformat it, and not make God angry any more; lest he should make him dead, as she called it, and then she would be left alone, and never be taught to know this God better; and lest he should be miserable, as he had told her wicked men would be after death.

This was a strange account, and very affecting to us both, but particularly to the young clergyman. He was, indeed, wonderfully surprised with it, but under the greatest affliction imaginable that he could not talk to her, that he could not speak English to make her understand him; and as she spoke but very broken English, he could not understand her; however, he turned himself to me, and told me, that he believed that there must be more to do with this woman than to marry her. I did not understand him at first, but at length he explained himself, namely, that she ought to be baptized. I agreed with him in that part readily, and was for going about it presently. "No, no; hold, sir," said he; "though I would have her be baptized by all means, yet I must observe that Will Atkins, her husband, has indeed brought her in a wonderful manner to be willing to embrace a religious life, and has given her

just ideas of the being of a God; of his power, justice, and mercy: yet I desire to know of him, if he has said anything to her of Jesus Christ, and of the salvation of sinners; of the nature of faith in him, and redemption by him; of the Holy Spirit, the resurrection, the last judgment, and a future state?"

I called Will Atkins again, and asked him; but the poor fellow fell immediately into tears, and told us he had said something to her of all those things, but that he was himself so wicked a creature, and his own conscience so reproached him with his horrid, ungodly life, that he trembled at the apprehensions, that her knowledge of him should lessen the attention she should give to those things, and make her rather condemn religion than receive it; but he was assured, he said, that her mind was so disposed to receive due impressions of all those things, and that, if I would but discourse with her, she would make it appear to my satisfaction that my labour would not be lost upon her.

Accordingly, I called her in, and placing myself as interpreter between my religious priest and the woman, I entreated him to begin with her; but sure such a sermon was never preached by a popish priest in these latter ages of the world; and, as I told him, I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the sincerity of a Christian, without the error of a Roman Catholic; and that I took him to be such a clergyman as the Roman bishops were before the Church of Rome assumed spiritual sovereignty over

the consciences of men. In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace the knowledge of Christ, and of redemption by him, not with wonder and astonishment only, as she did the first notions of a God, but with joy and faith; with an affection and a surprising degree of understanding, scarce to be imagined, much less to be expressed; and, at her own request, she was baptized.

As soon as this was over, we married them; and after the marriage, he turned to Will Atkins, and, in a very affectionate manner, exhorted him not only to persevere in that good disposition he was in, but to support the convictions that were upon him by a resolution to reform his life. He said a great many good things to them both; and then, recommending them to God's goodness, gave them the benediction again, I repeating everything to them in English: and thus ended the ceremony. I think it was the most pleasant and agreeable day to me that ever I passed in my whole life.

But my clergyman had not done yet: his thoughts hung continually upon the conversion of the thirty-seven savages, and fain he would have stayed upon the island to have undertaken it; but I convinced him first, that his undertaking was impracticable in itself; and secondly, that perhaps I would put it into a way of being done in his absence to his satisfaction; of which by-and-by.

CHAPTER XLIV.

HAVING thus brought the affairs of the island to a narrow compass, I was preparing to go on board the ship, when the young man I had taken out of the furnished ship's company came to me, and told me he understood I had a clergyman with me, and that I had caused the Englishmen to be married to the savages; that he had a match too, which he desired might be finished before I went, between two Christians, which he hoped would not be disagreeable to me.

I knew this must be the young woman who was his mother's servant, for there was no other Christian woman on the island: so I began to persuade him not to do anything of that kind rashly, or because he found himself in this solitary circumstance. I represented to him that he had some considerable substance in the world, and good friends, as I understood by himself, and the maid also; that he might, very probably, with my assistance, make a remove from this wilderness, and come into his own country again: and that then it would be a thousand to one but he would repent his choice, and the dislike of that circumstance might be disadvantageous to both. I was going to say more, but he interrupted, smiling, and told me, with a great deal of modesty, that I mistook in my guesses; that he had nothing of that kind in his thoughts; and he was very glad to hear that I

had an intent of putting them in a way to see their own country again; and nothing should have put him upon staying there, but that the voyage I was going was so exceeding long and hazardous, and would carry him quite out of the reach of all his friends; that he had nothing to desire of me, but that I would settle him in some little property in the island where he was, give him a servant or two, and some few necessities, and he would settle himself here like a planter, waiting the good time, when, if ever I returned to England, I would redeem them; and hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I came to England: that he would give me some letters to his friends in London, to let them know how good I had been to him, and in what part of the world, and what circumstances I had left him in; and he promised me that, whenever I redeemed him, the plantation, and all the improvements he had made upon it, let the value be what it would, should be wholly mine.

His discourse was very prettily delivered, considering his youth, and was the more agreeable to me, because he told me positively the match was not for himself. I gave him all possible assurances, that if I lived to come safe to England, I would deliver his letters, and do his business effectually; and that he might depend I should never forget the circumstances I had left him in. But still I was impatient to know who was the person to be married; upon which he told me it was my Jack-of-all-trades and his maid Susan. I was most agreeably surprised when he

named the match, for, indeed, I thought it very suitable. The character of that man I have given already: and as for the maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober, and religious young woman.

The match being proposed in this manner, we married them the same day; and as I was father at the altar, as I may say, and gave her away, so I gave her a portion; for I appointed her and her husband a handsome large space of ground for their plantation; and, indeed, this match, and the proposal the young gentleman made to give him a small property in the island, put me upon parcelling it out amongst them, that they might not quarrel afterwards about their situation.

This sharing out the land to them I left to Will Atkins, who was now grown a sober, grave, managing fellow, perfectly reformed, exceedingly pious and religious, and, as far as I may be allowed to speak positively in such a case, I verily believe he was a true penitent. He divided things so justly, and so much to every one's satisfaction, that they only desired one general writing under my hand for the whole, which I caused to be drawn up, and signed and sealed to them, setting out the bounds and situation of every man's plantation, and testifying that I gave them thereby, severally, a right to the whole possession and inheritance of the respective plantations, or farms, with their improvements, to them and their heirs, reserving all the rest of the island as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation after

eleven years, if I, or any one from me, or in my name, came to demand it, producing an attested copy of the same writing.

As to the government and laws among them, I told them I was not capable of giving them better rules than they were able to give themselves : only I made them promise me to live in love and good neighbourhood with one another ; and so I prepared to leave them.

One thing I must not omit, and that is, that being now settled in a kind of commonwealth among themselves, and having much business in hand, it was but odd to have seven-and-thirty Indians live in a nook of the island, independent, and indeed unemployed ; for, excepting the providing themselves food, which they had difficulty enough to do, sometimes they had no manner of business or property to manage. I proposed, therefore, to the governor Spaniard, that he should go to them, with Friday's father, and propose to them to remove, and either plant for themselves, or take them into their several families as servants, to be maintained for their labour, but without being absolute slaves ; for I would not admit them to make them slaves by force, by any means ; because they had their liberty given them by capitulation, as it were articles of surrender, which they ought not to break.

They most willingly embraced the proposal, and came all very cheerful along with him ; so we allotted them land, and plantations, which three or four accepted of, but all the rest chose to be employed as

servants in the several families we had settled; and thus my colony was in a manner settled, as follows:—The Spaniards possessed my original habitation, which was the capital city, and extended their plantations all along the side of the brook, which made the creek that I have so often described, as far as my bower; and as they increased their culture, it went always eastward. The English lived in the north-east part, where Will Atkins and his comrades began, and came on, southward and south-west, towards the back part of the Spaniards; and every plantation had a great addition of land to take in, if they found occasion, so that they need not jostle one another for want of room. All the east end of the island was left uninhabited, that, if any of the savages should come on shore there, only for their usual customary barbarities, they might come and go; if they disturb nobody, nobody would disturb them; and no doubt but they were often ashore, and went away again, for I never heard that the planters were attacked, or disturbed any more.

It now came into my thoughts, that I had hinted to my friend, the clergyman, that the work of converting the savages might perhaps be set on foot in his absence to his satisfaction, and told him, that now I thought it was put in a fair way; for the savages being thus divided among the Christians, if they would but every one of them do their part with those which came under their hands, I hoped it might have a very good effect.

He agreed, presently, in that, if they did their part: "but how," says he, "shall we obtain that of them?" I told him we would call them all together, and leave it in charge with them, or go to them, one by one, which he thought best. So we divided it, he to speak to the Spaniards, who were all Papists, and I to the English, who were all Protestants; and we recommended it earnestly to them, and made them promise that they would never make any distinction of Papist or Protestant, in their exhorting the savages to turn Christians, but teach them the general knowledge of the true God, and of their Saviour Jesus Christ; and they likewise promised us that they would never have any differences or disputes one with another about religion.

It came next into my mind, in the morning before I went to them, that, amongst all the needful things I had to leave with them, I had not left them a Bible, in which I showed myself less considering for them than my good friend, the widow, was for me, when she sent me the cargo of an hundred pounds from Lisbon, where she packed up three Bibles and a prayer-book. However, the good woman's charity had a greater extent than ever she imagined, for they were reserved for the comfort and instruction of those that made much better use of them than I had done.

I took one of the Bibles in my pocket, and, when I came to Will Atkins's tent, or house, and found the young woman I have mentioned above, and Atkins's baptized wife, had been discoursing of religion together

—for Will Atkins told it me with a great deal of joy—I asked if they were together now, and he said yes; so I went into the house, and he with me, and we found them together very earnest in discourse. “O, sir,” says Will Atkins, “when God has sinners to reconcile to himself, and aliens to bring home, he never wants a messenger; my wife has got a new instructor; I knew I was as unworthy as I was incapable of that work; that young woman has been sent hither from heaven.” I conversed for some time with the young woman, and rose up to go away, but I told her she had a good work upon her hands, and I hoped God would bless her in it.

I did not perceive they had any book among them, though I did not ask; but I put my hand into my pocket, and pulled out my Bible: “Here,” says I to Atkins, “I have brought you an assistant that perhaps you had not before.” The man was so confounded that he was not able to speak for some time; but, recovering himself, he takes it with both his hands, and, turning to his wife, “Here, my dear,” says he, “did not I tell you our God, though he lives above, could hear what we said? Here’s the book I prayed for, when you and I kneeled down under the bush; now God has heard us, and sent it.” When he had said so, the man fell into such transports of passionate joy, that between the joy of having it, and giving God thanks for it, the tears ran down his face like a child.

The young woman was glad of it also, for the pre-

sent occasion, though she had one, and so had the youth on board our ship, among their goods, which were not yet brought on shore; but this is by the way. I return to my disposition among the people.

And, first, it is to be observed here, that, for many reasons, I did not think fit to let them know anything of the sloop I had framed, and which I thought of setting up among them; for I found, at least at my first coming, such seeds of division among them, that I saw plainly, had I set up the sloop, and left it among them, they would, upon every light disgust, have separated, and gone away from one another, or, perhaps, have turned pirates, and so made the island a den of thieves, instead of a plantation of sober and religious people, as I intended it: nor did I leave the two pieces of brass cannon that I had on board, or the two quarter-deck guns that my nephew took extraordinary, for the same reason. I thought it was enough to qualify them for a defensive war against any that should invade them, but not to set them up for an offensive war, or to go abroad to attack others, which in the end would only bring ruin and destruction upon them. I reserved the sloop, therefore, and the guns, for their service another way, as I shall observe in its place.

CHAPTER XLV.

HAVING now done with the island, I left them all in good circumstances, and in a flourishing condition, and went on board my ship again the 6th of May, having been about twenty-five days among them; and as they were all resolved to stay upon the island until I came to remove them, I promised to send them farther relief from the Brazils, if I could possibly find an opportunity; and, particularly, I promised to send them some cattle, such as sheep, hogs, and cows. As to the two cows and calves which I brought from England, we had been obliged, by the length of our voyage, to kill them at sea, for want of hay to feed them.

The next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the bay of All Saints, in the Brazils, in about twenty-two days, meeting nothing remarkable in our passage but this: that, about three days after we had sailed, being becalmed, and the current setting strong to the E.N.E., running, as it were, into a bay or gulf, on the land side, we were driven something out of our course, and once or twice our men cried out, "Land to the eastward;" but whether it was the continent or islands, we could not tell by any means. But the third day, towards evening, the sea smooth, and the weather calm, we saw the sea, as it were, covered towards the land with something very black; not being able to

discover what it was, till after some time, our chief mate going up the main-shrouds a little way, and looking at them with a perspective, cried out it was an army. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and thwarted him a little hastily. "Nay, sir," says he, "don't be angry, for 'tis an army, and a fleet too; for I believe there are a thousand canoes, and you may see them paddle along, for they are coming towards us apace."

I was a little surprised then, indeed, and so was my nephew the captain; for he had heard such terrible stories of them in the island, and having never been in those seas before, that he could not tell what to think of it, but said two or three times we should all be devoured. I must confess, considering we were becalmed, and the current set strong towards the shore, I liked it the worse: however, I bade them not to be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor as soon as we came so near as to know that we must engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us; so I gave order to come to an anchor, and furl all our sails. As for the savages, I told them they had nothing to fear but fire, and, therefore, they should get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue in that posture. This I did that the men in the boats might be ready with sheets and buckets to put out any fire these savages would endeavour to fix to the outside of the ship.

In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us ; but never was such a horrid sight seen by Christians. Though my mate was much mistaken in his calculation of their number, yet, when they came up, we reckoned about a hundred and twenty-six ; some of them had sixteen or seventeen men in them, and some more, and the least six or seven.

When they came nearer to us, they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment, as at a sight which, doubtless, they had never seen before ; nor could they at first, as we afterwards understood, know what to make of us. They came boldly up, however, very near to us, and seemed to go about to row round us ; but we called to our men in the boats not to let them come too near to them. This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our designing it ; for five or six of the large canoes came so near our long-boat that our men beckoned with their hands to keep them back, which they understood very well, and went back ; but, at their retreat, about fifty arrows came on board us from those boats, and one of our men in the long-boat was very much wounded. However, I called to them not to fire by any means : but we handed down some deal-boards into the boat, and the carpenter presently set up a kind of fence, like waste boards, to cover them from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

About half an hour afterwards they all came up in a body astern of us, and so near as that we could

easily discern what they were, though we could not tell their design ; and I easily found they were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with ; and in a short time more they rowed a little farther out to sea, till they came directly broadside with us, and then rowed down straight upon us, till they came so near that they could hear us speak. Upon this I ordered all my men to keep close, lest they should shoot any more arrows, and make all our guns ready ; but being so near as to be within hearing, I made Friday go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language, to know what they meant : which accordingly he did. Whether they understood him or not, that I knew not ; but as soon as he had called to them, six of them who were in the foremost or nighest boat to us, turned their canoes from us, immediately Friday cried out they were going to shoot : and unhappily for him, poor fellow, they let fly about three hundred of their arrows, and, to my inexpressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very near him ; such unlucky marksmen they were !

I was so enraged at the loss of my old trusty servant and companion, that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great, and gave them such a broadside as they had never heard in their lives before, to be sure. They were not above half a cable length off when we fired ; and

our gunners took their aim so well, that three or four of their canoes were overset, as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.

I had resolved to fire four or five guns at them with powder only, which I knew would fright them sufficiently; but when they shot at us directly with all the fury they were capable of, and especially as they had killed my poor Friday, whom I so entirely loved and valued, and who indeed so well deserved it, I thought myself not only justified before God and man, but would have been very glad if I could have overset every canoe there, and drowned every one of them.

I can neither tell how many we killed, nor how many we wounded at this broadside, but sure such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude. There were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split and overset in all, and the men all set a-swimming. The rest, frightened out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot: so I suppose that many of them were lost; and our men took up one poor fellow swimming for his life above an hour after they were all gone.

The small shot from our cannon must needs kill and wound a great many; but, in short, we never knew anything how it went with them, for they fled so fast that in three hours or thereabouts we could not see above three or four straggling canoes, nor did we ever see the rest any more; for a breeze of wind

springing up the same evening, we weighed, and set sail for the Brazils.

We had a prisoner, indeed, but the creature was so sullen, that he would neither eat nor speak, and we all fancied he would starve himself to death: but I took a way to cure him; for I made them take him and turn him into the long-boat, and make him believe they would toss him into the sea again, and so leave him where they found him, if he would not speak. Nor would that do, but they really did throw him into the sea, and came away from him; and then he followed them, for he swam like a cork, and called to them in his tongue, though they knew not one word of what he said. However, at last, they took him in again, and then he began to be more tractable; nor did I ever design they should drown him.

We were now under sail again; but I was the most disconsolate creature alive for want of my man Friday, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the island to have taken one of the rest from thence for my occasion; but it could not be; so we went on. We had one prisoner, as I have said, and it was a long time before we could make him understand anything; but in time our men taught him some English, and he began to be a little tractable. Afterwards, we inquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he said; for his speech was so odd, all gutturals, and he spoke in the throat in such a hollow, odd manner, that we could

never form a word after him. He told us, however, some time after, when we had taught him to speak a little English, that they were going with their kings to fight a great battle. When he said kings, we asked him how many kings? He said they were five nations, and that they all joined to go against two nations. We asked him what made them come up to us? He said, "To makee te great wonder look." Here it is to be observed, that all those natives, as also those of Africa, when they learn English, always add two e's at the end of the words where we use one; and they place the accent upon them, as makéé, takéé, and the like; and we could not break them off it; nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at last he did.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I must take my last leave of him. Poor honest Friday! We buried him with all the decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the sea; and I caused them to fire eleven guns for him: and so ended the life of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever man had.

We went now away with a fair wind for Brazil; and in about fifteen days' time, came to an anchor off the Bay of All Saints, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil.

Never ship came to this port that had less business than I had, and yet it was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the least correspondence on

shore : not my partner himself, who was alive, and made a great figure among them, not my two merchant trustees, not the fame of my wonderful preservation in the island, could obtain me that favour ; but my partner, remembering that I had given five hundred moidores to the prior of the monastery of the Augustines, and two hundred and seventy-two to the poor, went to the monastery and obliged the prior that then was to go to the governor and get leave for me personally, with the captain and one more, besides eight seamen, to come on shore, and no more ; and this, upon condition absolutely capitulated for, that we should not offer to land any goods out of the ship, nor to carry any person away without licence. They were so strict with us as to landing any goods, that it was with extreme difficulty that I got on shore three bales of English goods, such as fine broad-cloths, stuffs, and some linen which I had brought for a present to my partner.

He was a very generous, open-hearted man ; though, like me, he came from little at first ; and though he knew not that I had the least design of giving him anything, he sent me on board a present of fresh provisions, wine, and sweetmeats, worth above thirty moidores, including some tobacco, and three or four fine medals of gold. But I was even with him in my present, which, as I have said, consisted of fine broad-cloth, English stuffs, lace, and fine Hollands ; also I delivered him about the value of £100 sterling, in the same goods, for other uses ; and I obliged him to

set up the sloop which I had brought with me from England, as I have said, for the use of my colony, in order to send the refreshments I intended to my plantation.

Accordingly, he got hands, and finished the sloop in a very few days, for she was already framed; and I gave the master of her such instructions, as he could not miss the place; nor did he miss them, as I had an account from my partner afterwards. I got him soon loaded with the small cargo I sent them; and one of our seamen that had been on shore with me there offered to go with the sloop and settle there, upon my letter to the governor Spaniard to allot him a sufficient quantity of land for a plantation, and giving him some clothes and tools for his planting work, which he said he understood, having been an old planter at Maryland, and a buccaneer into the bargain.

Among the rest of the supplies sent my tenants in the island, I sent them by the sloop three milch cows and five calves, about twenty-two hogs among them, three sows big with pig, two mares, and a horse.

All this cargo arrived safe, and, as you may easily suppose, were very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now, with this addition, between sixty and seventy people, besides little children, of which there were a great many. I found letters at London from them all by way of Lisbon, when I came back to England, of which I shall also take some notice immediately.

CHAPTER XLVI.

I HAVE now done with the island, and all manner of course about it; and whoever reads the rest of my memorandums, would do well to turn his thoughts entirely from it, and expect to read of the follies of an old man, not warned by his own harms, much less by those of other men, to beware of the like; not cooled by almost forty years' miseries and disappointments; not satisfied with prosperity beyond expectation, nor made cautious by afflictions and distress beyond imitation.

I had no more business to go to the East Indies, than a man at full liberty has to go to the turnkey at Newgate, and desire him to lock him up among the prisoners there, and starve him. Had I taken a small vessel from England, and went directly to the island; had I loaded her, as I did the other vessel, with all the necessaries for the plantation, and for my people; took a patent from the government here to have secured my property, in subjection only to that of England; had I carried over cannon and ammunition, servants, and people to plant, and taken possession of the place, fortified and strengthened it, in the name of England, and increased it with people, as I might easily have done; had I then settled myself there, and sent the ship back loaded with good rice, as I might also have done in six months' time, and ordered my friends to have fitted her out for our

supply; I had at least acted like a man of common sense; but, as I rambled from them, and came there no more, the last letters I had from any of them was by my partner's means, who afterwards sent another sloop to the place, and who sent me word, though I had not the letter till I got to London, several years after it was written, that they went on but poorly, were malcontent with their long stay there; that Will Atkins was dead; that five of the Spaniards were come away; and, though they had not been much molested by the savages, yet they had some skirmishes with them; and that they begged of him to write to me, to think of the promise I had made to fetch them away, that they might see their country again before they died.

But I was gone a wild-goose chase, indeed! and they that will have any more of me must be content to follow me into a new variety of follies, hardships, and wild adventures, wherein the justice of Providence may be duly observed; and we may see how easily Heaven can gorge us with our own desires, make the strongest of our wishes be our affliction, and punish us most severely with those very things which we think it would be our utmost happiness to be allowed in. Whether I had business, or no business, away I went; it is no time now to enlarge upon the reason, or absurdity, of my own conduct, but to come to the history. I was embarked for the voyage, and the voyage I went.

I shall only add a word or two concerning my

honest Popish clergyman; for, let their opinion of us, and all other heretics in general, as they call us, be as uncharitable as it may, I verily believe this man was very sincere, and wished the good of all men; yet I believe he was upon the reserve in many of his expressions, to prevent giving me offence; for I scarce heard him once call upon the blessed Virgin, or mention St. Jago, or his guardian angel, though so common with the rest of them. However, I say, I had not the least doubt of his sincerity and pious intentions on his own part; and I am firmly of opinion, if the rest of the Popish missionaries were like him, they would strive to visit even the poor Tartars and Laplanders, where they have nothing to give them, as well as covet to flock to India, Persia, China, &c., the most wealthy of the heathen countries; for if they expected to bring no gains to their church by it, it may well be inquired how they came to admit the Chinese Confucius into the calendar of the Christian saints?

A ship being ready to sail for Lisbon, my pious priest asked my leave to go thither, being still, as he observed, bound never to finish any voyage he began. How happy had it been for me if I had gone with him! But it was too late now; all things Heaven appoints for the best; had I gone with him, I had never had so many things to be thankful for, and the reader had never heard of the second part of the travels and adventures of Robinson Crusoe. So I must here leave exclaiming at myself, and go

on with my voyage. From the Brazils we made directly over the Atlantic Sea to the Cape of Good Hope, and had a tolerably good voyage, our course generally south-east, now and then a storm, and some contrary winds; but my disasters at sea were at an end. My future rubs and cross events were to befall me on shore, that it might appear the land was as well prepared to be our scourge as the sea.

Our ship was on a trading voyage, and had a supercargo on board, who was to direct all her motions after she arrived at the Cape, only being limited to a certain number of days for stay, by charter-party, at the several ports she was to go to. This was none of my business, neither did I meddle with it; my nephew, the captain, and the supercargo, adjusting all those things between them as they thought fit.

We stayed at the Cape no longer than was needful to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of Coromandel. We were indeed informed that a French man-of-war of fifty guns, and two large merchant-ships, were gone for the Indies; and, as I knew we were at war with France, I had some apprehensions of them; but they went their own way, and we heard no more of them.

I shall not pester the reader with tedious journals of our voyages. It is enough to name the ports and places which we touched at, and what occurred to us upon our passing from one to another. We touched first at the island of Madagascar, where, though the

people are fierce and treacherous, and very well armed, yet we fared very well with them awhile; and, for some trifles which we gave them, such as knives, scissors, &c., they brought us eleven good fat bullocks of a middling size, which we took in, partly for fresh provisions for our present spending, and the rest to salt for the ship's use.

We were obliged to stay here for some time after we had furnished ourselves with provisions; and I, who was always too curious to look into every nook of the world wherever I came, was for going on shore as often as I could.

It happened one evening when we went on shore, that a greater number of their people came down than usual, but all very friendly and civil; and they brought several kinds of provisions, for which we satisfied them with such toys as we had. Their women also brought us milk and roots, and several things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet; and we made us a little tent, or hut, of some boughs of trees, and lay on shore all night.

I know not what was the occasion, but I was not so well satisfied to lie on shore as the rest; and the boat, riding at an anchor about a stone-cast from the land, with two men in her to take care of her, I made one of them come on shore; and getting some boughs of trees to cover us, also in the boat I spread the sail on the bottom of the boat, and lay under the cover of the branches of the trees all night in the boat.

About two o'clock in the morning, we heard one

of our men make a terrible noise on the shore, calling out, for God's sake, to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered. At the same time, I heard the fire of five muskets, which was the number of the guns they had, and that three times over; for it seems the natives here were not so easily frightened with guns, as the savages were in America, where I had to do with them. All this while I knew not what was the matter, but rousing immediately from sleep with the noise, I caused the boat to be thrust in, and resolved, with three fuzees we had on board, to land and assist our men.

We got the boat soon to the shore, but our men were in too much haste; for, being come to the shore, they plunged into the water to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being pursued by between three and four hundred men. Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fuzees with them; the rest had pistols and swords, indeed, but they were of small use to them.

We took up seven of our men, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being very ill wounded; and that which was still worse was, that while we stood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as much danger as they were in on shore; for they poured their arrows in upon us so thick, that we were glad to barricade the sides of the boat up with the benches, and two or three loose boards, which, to our great satisfaction, we had by mere accident in the

boat. And yet, had it been day-light, they are, it seems, such exact marksmen, that, if they could have seen but the least part of any of us, they would have been sure of us. We had, by the light of the moon, a little sight of them as they stood pelting us from the shore with darts and arrows; and having got ready our fire-arms, we gave them a volley, that we could hear, by the cries of some of them, had wounded several. However, they stood thus in battle array on the shore till break of day, which we suppose was, that they might see the better to take their aim at us.

In this condition we lay, and could not tell how to weigh our anchor, or set our sail, because we must need stand up in the boat, and they were as sure to hit us as we were to hit a bird in a tree with small shot. We made signals of distress to the ship, which, though she rode a league off, yet my nephew, the captain, hearing our firing, and, by glasses, perceiving the posture we lay in, and that we fired towards the shore, pretty well understood us: and weighing anchor with all speed, he stood as near the shore as he durst with the ship, and then sent another boat with ten hands in her to assist us; but we called to them not to come too near, telling them what condition we were in. However, they stood in near to us, and one of the men taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, so that they could not perfectly see him, swam on board us, and made fast the line to the boat; upon which we slipped out a little cable, and leaving our

anchor behind, they towed us out of reach of the arrows; we all the while lying close behind the barricado we had made.

As soon as we were got from between the ship and the shore, that we could lay her side to the shore, she ran along just by them, and poured in a broadside among them loaded with pieces of iron and lead, small bullets and such stuff, besides the great shot, which made a terrible havoc among them.

When we were got on board, and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occasion of this fray; and, indeed, our supercargo, who had often been in those parts, put me upon it; for he said he was sure the inhabitants would not have touched us after we had made a truce, if we had not done something to provoke them to it. At length it came out that an old woman who had come to sell us some milk had brought a young woman with her, and while the old woman was selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the wench that was with her, at which the old woman made a great noise. However, the seaman would not quit his prize; the old woman went away without her, and, as we may suppose, made an outcry among the people she came from; who, upon notice, raised this great army upon us in three or four hours; and it was great odds but we had all been destroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance thrown at him, just at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied out of the tent they had made. The rest came off

free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of all the mischief, who paid dear enough for his black mistress, for we could not hear what became of him a great while. We lay upon the shore two days after, though the wind presented, and made signals for him, and made our boat sail up shore and down shore several leagues; but in vain. So we were obliged to give him over; and if he alone had suffered for it, the loss had been less.

I could not satisfy myself, however, without venturing on shore once more, to try if I could learn anything of him or them; it was the third night after the action that I had a great mind to learn, if I could by any means, what mischief we had done, and how the game stood on the Indians' side. I was careful to do it in the dark, lest we should be attacked again; but I ought, indeed, to have been sure that the men I went with had been under my command before I engaged in a thing so hazardous and mischievous, as I was brought into it without design.

We took twenty as stout fellows with us as any in the ship, besides the supercargo and myself, and we landed two hours before midnight, at the same place where the Indians stood drawn up in the evening before. I landed here, because my design, as I have said, was chiefly to see if they had quitted the field, and if they had left any marks behind them of the mischief we had done them; and I thought if we could surprise one or two of them, perhaps we might get our man again by way of exchange.

When we had made, as I thought, a full discovery of all we could come to the knowledge of, I was resolved for going on board; but the boatswain and his party sent me word that they were resolved to make a visit to the Indian town, where these dogs, as they called them, dwelt, and asked me to go along with them; and if they could find them, as they still fancied they should, they did not doubt of getting a good booty; and it might be they might find Tom Jeffry there; that was the man's name we had lost.

Had they sent to ask my leave to go, I knew well enough what answer to have given them; for I should have commanded them instantly on board, knowing it was not a hazard fit for us to run who had a ship and ship-loading in our charge, and a voyage to make which depended very much upon the lives of the men; but as they sent me word they were resolved to go, and only asked me and my company to go along with them, I positively refused it, and rose up—for I was sitting on the ground—in order to go to the boat. One or two of the men began to importune me to go; and when I refused, began to grumble, and say that they were not under my command, and they would go. "Come, Jack," says one of the men, "will you go with me?—I'll go for one." Jack said he would,—and then another,—and, in a word, they all left me but one, whom I persuaded to stay, and a boy left in the boat. So the supercargo and I, with the third man, went back to the boat, where we told them we would stay for them, and

take in as many of them as should be left; for I told them it was a mad thing they were going about, and supposed most of them would run the fate of Tom Jeffry.

Well, they all went away; and though the attempt was desperate, and such as none but madmen would have gone about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it as warily as boldly.

When they went out, their chief design was plunder, and they were in mighty hopes of finding gold there; but a circumstance which none of them were aware of set them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all. When they came to the few Indian houses which they thought had been the town, which was not above half a mile off, they were under a great disappointment, for there were not above twelve or thirteen houses; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not. They reached the town, however, at last, which, as they reported, consisted of above two hundred houses or huts, and in some of these several families living together.

Here they found all in silence, as profoundly secure as sleep could make them: and first they called another council to consider what they had to do; and, in a word, they resolved to divide themselves into three bodies, and to set three houses on fire in three parts of the town; and as the men came out, to seize them and bind them (if any resisted they need not be asked what to do then), and so to search the rest of the houses for plunder. But they

resolved to march silently first through the town, and see what dimensions it was of, and if they might venture upon it or no.

They did so, and desperately resolved that they would venture upon them; but while they were animating one another to the work, three of them who were a little before the rest, called out aloud to them, and told them that they had found Tom Jeffry. They all ran up to the place, where they found the poor fellow hanging up naked by one arm, and his throat cut. There was an Indian house just by the tree, where they found sixteen or seventeen of the principal Indians who had been concerned in the fray with us before, and two or three of them wounded with our shot; and our men found they were awake, and talking one to another in that house, but knew not their number.

The sight of their poor mangled comrade so enraged them, as before, that they swore to one another they would be revenged, and that not an Indian that came into their hands should have any quarter; and to work they went immediately, and yet not so madly as might be expected from the rage and fury they were in. Their first care was to get something that would soon take fire, but after a little search they found that would be to no purpose; for the most of the houses were low, and thatched with flags and rushes, of which the country is full. So they presently made some wild-fire, as we call it, by wetting a little powder in the palm of their hands; and in a quarter

of an hour they set the town on fire in four or five places, and particularly that house where the Indians were not gone to bed.

As soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frightened creatures began to rush out to save their lives, but met with their fate in the attempt; and especially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatswain himself killing one or two with his pole-axe; the house being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for a hand-grenado, and threw it among them, which at first frightened them, but when it burst, made such a havoc among them that they cried out in a hideous manner. As fast as the fire either forced the people out of those houses which were burning, or frightened them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, still calling and hallooing one to another to remember Tom Jeffry.

While this was doing, I must confess I was very uneasy, and especially when I saw the flames of the town, which, it being night, seemed to be just by me. My nephew, the captain, who was roused by his men, seeing such a fire, was very uneasy, not knowing what the matter was, or what danger I was in. At last, though he could ill spare any more men, yet not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with thirteen men and himself, comes on shore to me.

He was surprised to see me and the supercargo in the boat, with no more than two men; and though

he was glad that we were well, yet he was in the same impatience with us to know what was doing ; for the noise continued, and the flame increased. In short, it was next to an impossibility for any man in the world to restrain his curiosity to know what had happened, or his concern for the safety of the men : in a word, the captain told me he would go and help his men, let what would come. I argued with him, as I did before with the men ; but equally in vain. So, in short, the captain ordered two men to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more, leaving the long-boat at an anchor ; and that, when they came back, six men should keep the two boats, and six more come after us. So he left only sixteen men in the ship ; for the whole ship's company consisted of sixty-five men, whereof two were lost in the late quarrel which brought this mischief on.

Being now on the march, you may be sure we felt little of the ground we trod on ; and being guided by the fire, we kept no path, but went directly to the place of the flame. If the noise of the guns was surprising to us before, the cries of the poor people were now quite of another nature, and filled us with horror. I must confess I was never at the sacking of a city, or at the taking a town by storm. I had heard of Oliver Cromwell taking Drogheda, in Ireland, and killing man, woman, and child ! and I had read of Count Tully sacking the city of Magdebourg, and cutting the throats of twenty-two thousand of all sexes ; but I never had an idea of the thing itself

before, nor is it possible to describe it, or the horror that was upon our minds at hearing it. We saw the fire increase forward, and the cry went on just as the fire went on ; so that we were in the utmost confusion. We advanced a little way farther ; and behold, to our astonishment, three naked women, and crying in a most dreadful manner, came flying, as if they had wings, and after them sixteen or seventeen men, natives, in the same terror and consternation, with three of our English butchers in the rear ; who, when they could not overtake them, fired in among them, and one that was killed by their shot fell down in our sight. When the rest saw us, believing us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them, as well as those that pursued them, they set up a most dreadful shriek, especially the women, and two of them fell down, as if already dead with the fright.

My very soul shrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins, when I saw this ; and I believe, had the three English sailors that pursued them come on, I had made our men kill them all. However, we took some ways to let the poor flying creatures know that we would not hurt them : and immediately they came up to us, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up, made piteous lamentations to us to save them, which we let them know we would ; whereupon they crept altogether in a huddle close behind us, as for protection. I left my men drawn up together, and charging them to hurt nobody, but if possible, to get at some of our people, and see what devil it was

possessed them, and what they intended to do, and to command them off; assuring them, that if they stayed till day-light, they would have an hundred thousand men about their ears. I say, I left them. and went among those flying people, taking only two of our men with me; and there was, indeed, a piteous spectacle among them; some of them had their feet terribly burned, with trampling and running through the fire; others their hands burned; one of the women had fallen down in the fire, and was very much burned before she could get out again; and two or three of the men had cuts in their backs and thighs from our men pursuing; and another was shot through the body, and died while I was there.

I would fain have learned what the occasion of all this was, but I could not understand one word they said; though, by signs, I perceived some of them knew not what was the occasion themselves. I was so terrified in my thoughts at this outrageous attempt, that I could not stay there, but went back to my own men, and resolved to go into the middle of the town, through the fire, or whatever might be in the way, and put an end to it, cost what it would. Accordingly, as I came back to my men, I told them my resolution, and commanded them to follow me; when, at the very moment, came four of our men, with the boatswain at their head, roving over heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and dust, as if they wanted more people to massacre,

when our men hallooed to them as loud as they could halloo; and with much ado one of them made them hear, so that they knew who we were, and came up to us.

As soon as the boatswain saw us, he set up a halloo like a shout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come; and without waiting to hear me, "Captain," says he, "noble Captain! I am glad you are come; we are not half done yet; villanous hell-hound dogs! I'll kill as many of them as poor Tom has hairs upon his head; we have sworn to spare none of them; we'll root out the very nation of them from the earth;" and thus he ran on, out of breath too with action, and would not give us leave to speak a word.

At last, raising my voice that I might silence him a little, "Barbarous dog!" said I, "what are you doing? I won't have one creature touched more, upon pain of death; I charge you, upon your life, to stop your hands, and stand still here, or you are a dead man this minute." "Why, sir," says he, "do you know what you do, or what they have done? If you want a reason for what they have done, come hither;" and with that he showed me the poor fellow hanging, with his throat cut.

I confess I was urged then myself, and, at another time, would have been forward enough; but I thought they had carried their rage too far, and remembered Jacob's words to his sons Simeon and Levi—"Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for

it was cruel." But I had now a new task upon my hands ; for when the men I carried with me saw the sight, as I had done, I had as much to do to restrain them, as I should have had with the others ; nay, my nephew himself fell in with them, and told me in their hearing, that he was only concerned for fear of the men being overpowered ; and as to the people, he thought not one of them ought to live.

I got nobody to come back with me but the supercargo and two men, and with these walked back to the boat. It was a very great piece of folly in me, I confess, to venture back as it were alone ; for as it began now to be almost day, and the alarm had run over the country, there stood about forty men, armed with lances and bows, at the little place where the twelve or thirteen houses stood, mentioned before ; but by accident I missed the place, and came directly to the sea-side, and by the time I got to the sea-side, it was broad day. Immediately I took the pinnace, and went on board, and sent her back to assist the men in what might happen.

I observed, about the time that I came to the boat-side, that the fire was pretty well out, and the noise abated ; but in about half an hour after I got on board, I heard a volley of our men's fire-arms, and saw a great smoke. This, as I understood afterwards, was our men falling upon the men who, as I said, stood at the few houses on the way, of whom they killed sixteen or seventeen, and set all the houses on fire, but did not meddle with the women or children.

By the time the men got to the shore again with the pinnace, our men began to appear ; they came dropping in, not in two bodies as they went, but straggling here and there, in such a manner that a small force of resolute men might have cut them all off. But the dread of them was upon the whole country ; and the men were surprised, and so frightened, that I believe an hundred of them would have fled at the sight of but five of our men ; nor in all this terrible action was there a man that made any considerable defence.

I was very angry with my nephew, the captain, and, indeed, with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular, as well for his acting so out of his duty, as commander of the ship, and having the charge of the voyage upon him, as in his prompting, rather than cooling, the rage of his blind men, in so bloody and cruel an enterprise. My nephew answered me very respectfully, but told me that when he saw the body of the poor seaman whom they murdered in so cruel and barbarous a manner, he was not master of himself, neither could he govern his passion. He owned he should not have done so, as he was commander of the ship ; but as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not bear it. As for the rest of the men, they were not subject to me at all, and they knew it well enough ; so they took no notice of my dislike.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE next day we set sail, so we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the numbers they had killed; but, according to the best of their accounts, put all together, they killed or destroyed about one hundred and fifty people, men, women, and children, and left not a house standing in the town. As for the poor fellow, Tom Jeffry, as he was quite dead (for his throat was so cut that his head was half off), it would do him no service to bring him away; so they only took him down from the tree, where he was hanging by one hand.

However just our men thought this action, I was against them in it, and I always, after that time, told them God would blast the voyage; for I looked upon all the blood they shed that night to be murder in them: for though it is true that they had killed Tom Jeffry, yet Jeffry was the aggressor, had broken the truce, and had violated or debauched a young woman of theirs who came down to them innocently, and on the faith of the public capitulation.

The boatswain defended this quarrel when we were afterwards on board. He said it was true that we seemed to break the truce, but really had not; and that the war was begun the night before by the natives themselves, who had shot at us, and killed one of our men without any just provocation; so that, as we were in a capacity to fight them now, we

might also be in a capacity to do ourselves justice upon them in an extraordinary manner; that though the poor man had taken a little liberty with the wench, he ought not to have been murdered, and that in such a villanous manner; and that they did nothing but what was just, and what the laws of God allowed to be done to murderers.

One would think this should have been enough to have warned us against going on shore amongst heathens and barbarians, but it is impossible to make mankind wise but at their own expense.

The first disaster that befell us was in the Gulf of Persia, where five of our men venturing on shore, on the Arabian side of the gulf, were surrounded by the Arabians, and either all killed, or carried away into slavery; the rest of the boat's crew were not able to rescue them, and had but just time to get off their boat. I began to upbraid them with the just retribution of Heaven in this case.

But my frequent preaching to them had worse consequences than I expected; and the boatswain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me he found that I had brought that affair continually upon the stage; that they did not know but I might have some ill design in my head, and, perhaps, to call them to an account for it when they came to England; and that, therefore, unless I would resolve to have done with it, he would leave the ship; for he did not think it was safe to sail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done, and then told him that I confessed I had all along opposed *the massacre of Madagascar*, and that I had, on all occasions, spoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the rest; that as to my having no command of the ship, that was true. Nor did I exercise any authority, only took the liberty of speaking my mind in things which publicly concerned us all: and what concern I had in the voyage was none of his business; that I was a considerable owner in the ship. In that claim I conceived I had a right to speak even farther than I had done, and would not be accountable to him, or any one else; and began to be a little warm with him. He made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought the affair had been over. We were at this time in the road at Bengal; and being willing to see the place, I went on shore with the supercargo, in the ship's boat, to divert myself; and, towards evening, was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and told me he would not have me trouble myself to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board any more. Any one may guess what a surprise I was in at so insolent a message; and I asked the man who bade him deliver that message to me? He told me the cockswain. I said no more to the fellow, but bade him let them know he had delivered his message, and that I had given him no answer to it.

I immediately went and found out the supercargo,

and told him the story; adding, what I presently foresaw, that there would be a mutiny in the ship; and entreated him to go immediately on board the ship in an Indian boat, and acquaint the captain of it. But I might be spared this intelligence, for, before I had spoken to him on shore, the matter was effected on board. The boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter, and all the inferior officers, as soon as I was gone off in the boat, came up, and desired to speak with the captain; and there the boatswain, making a long harangue, and repeating all he had said to me, told the captain in a few words, that as I was now gone peaceably on shore, they were loath to use any violence with me, which, if I had not gone on shore, they would otherwise have done, to oblige me to have gone. They, therefore, thought fit to tell him that, as they shipped themselves to serve in the ship under his command, they would perform it well and faithfully; but if I would not quit the ship, or the captain oblige me to quit it, they would all leave the ship, and sail no farther with him.

This was a hard article upon him, who knew his obligation to me, and did not know how I might take it. So he began to talk smartly to them; told them that I was a very considerable owner of the ship, and that, in justice, he could not put me out of my own house; that this was next door to serving me as the famous pirate Kidd had done, who made a mutiny in the ship, set the captain on shore on an uninhabited island, and ran away with the ship; that let

them go into what ship they would, if ever they came to England again, it would cost them very dear; that the ship was mine, and that he could not put me out of it; and that he would rather lose the ship, and the voyage too, than disoblige me so much. So they might do as they pleased. However, he would go on shore and talk with me, and invited the boatswain to go with him, and perhaps they might accommodate the matter with me. But they all rejected the proposal, and said they would have nothing to do with me any more; and if I came on board, they would all go on shore. "Well," said the captain, "if you are all of this mind, let me go on shore and talk with him." So away he came to me with this account, a little after the message had been brought to me from the cockswain.

I was very glad to see my nephew, I must confess; for I was not without apprehensions that they would confine him by violence, set sail, and run away with the ship; and then I had been stripped naked in a remote country, having nothing to help myself. In short, I had been in a worse case than when I was alone in the island. But they had not come that length, it seems, to my satisfaction; and when my nephew told me what they had said to him, and how they had sworn and shook hands that they would, one and all, leave the ship if I was suffered to come on board, I told him he should not be concerned at it at all, for I would stay on shore. I only desired he would take care and send me all my necessary things

on shore, and leave me a sufficient sum of money, and I would find my way to England as well as I could.

This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew, but there was no way to help it but to comply: so, in short, he went on board the ship again, and satisfied the men that his uncle had yielded to their importunity, and had sent for his goods from on board the ship; so that the matter was over in a few hours, the men returned to their duty, and I began to consider what course I should steer.

I was now alone in the most remote part of the world, as I think I may call it, for I was near three thousand leagues by sea farther off from England than I was at my island; only, it is true, I might travel here by land over the Great Mogul's country to Surat, might go from thence to Bassora by sea, up the Gulf of Persia, and take the way of the caravans, over the desert of Arabia, to Aleppo and Scanderoon; from thence by sea again to Italy, and so overland into France; and this, put together, might at least be a full diameter of the globe, or more.

I had another way before me, which was to wait some English ships which were coming to Bengal from Achin, on the island of Sumatra, and get passage on board them for England. But as I came hither without any concern with the English East India Company, so it would be difficult to go from hence without their license, unless with great favour of the captains of the ships, or the Company's factors; and to both I was an utter stranger.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

AFTER a long stay here, and many proposals made for my return to England, but none falling out to my mind, the English merchant who lodged with me, and with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, came to me one morning : "Countryman," says he, "I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it suits with my thoughts, may, for aught I know, suit with yours also, when you shall have thoroughly considered it. Here we are posted, you by accident, and I by my own choice, in a part of the world very remote from our own country ; but it is in a country where, by us who understand trade and business, a great deal of money is to be got. If you will put £1000 to my £1000, we will hire a ship here, the first we can get to our minds ; you shall be captain, I'll be merchant, and we'll go a trading voyage to China ; for what should we stand still for ? The whole world is in motion, rolling round and round ; all the creatures of God, heavenly bodies and earthly, are busy and diligent ; why should we be idle ? There are no drones in the world but men ; why should we be of that number ?"

I liked this proposal very well, and the more because it seemed to be expressed with so much good will, and in so friendly a manner. I will not say but that I might, by my loose unhinged circumstances, be the fitter to embrace a proposal for trade, or in-

deed anything else; whereas, otherwise, trade was none of my element. However, I might, perhaps, say with some truth, that if trade was not my element, rambling was, and no proposal for seeing any part of the world which I had never seen before could possibly come amiss to me.

It was, however, some time before we could get a ship to our minds, and when we had got a vessel, it was not easy to get English sailors; that is to say, so many as were necessary to govern the voyage and manage the sailors which we should pick up there. After some time we got a mate, a boatswain, and a gunner, English, a Dutch carpenter, and three foremast men. With these we found we could do well enough, having Indian seamen, such as they were, to make up.

There are so many travellers who have wrote the history of their voyages and travels this way, that it would be very little diversion to anybody to give a long account of the places we went to, and the people who inhabit there; these things I leave to others, and refer the reader to those journals and travels of Englishmen, of which many, I find, are published, and more promised every day. It is enough for me to tell you that we made this voyage to Achin, in the island of Sumatra, and from thence to Siam, where we exchanged some of our wares for opium and some arrack; the first a commodity which bears a great price among the Chinese, and which at that time was much wanted there. In a word, we went

up to Suskan, made a very great voyage, were eight months out, and returned to Bengal; and I was very well satisfied with my adventure.

We made a very good voyage, and I got so much money by my first adventure, and such an insight into the method of getting more, that had I been twenty years younger, I should have been tempted to have stayed here, and sought no further for making my fortune; but what was all this to a man upwards of three-score, that was rich enough, and came abroad more in obedience to a restless desire of seeing the world than a covetous desire of gaining by it? And, indeed, I think it is with great justice I now call it restless desire, for it was so. When I was at home, I was restless to go abroad; and when I was abroad, I was restless to be at home.

But my fellow-traveller and I had different notions. I do not name this to insist on my own, for I acknowledge his were the most just, and the most suited to the end of a merchant's life, who, when he is abroad upon adventures, it is his wisdom to stick to that, as the best thing for him, which he is like to get the most money by. My new friend kept himself to the nature of the thing, and would have been content to have gone, like a carrier's horse, always to the same inn, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it. On the other hand, mine was the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to see a thing twice over. But this was not all: I had a kind of impatience upon me to be

nearer home, and yet the most unsettled resolution imaginable which way to go. In the interval of these consultations, my friend, who was always upon the search for business, proposed another voyage to me among the Spice Islands, and to bring home a loading of cloves from the Manillas, or thereabouts; places, indeed, where the Dutch trade, but islands belonging partly to the Spaniards; though we went not so far, but to some other, where they have not the whole power, as they have at Batavia, Ceylon, &c.

This voyage, too, we made very successfully, touching at Borneo, and several islands whose names I do not remember, and came home in about five months. We sold our spice, which was chiefly cloves and some nutmegs, to the Persian merchants, who carried them away to the Gulf; and making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

My friend, when we made up this account, smiled at me: "Well now," said he, with a sort of agreeable insult upon my indolent temper, "is this not better than walking about here like a man of nothing to do, and spending our time in staring at the nonsense and ignorance of the Pagans?" "Why, truly," says I, "my friend, I think it is, and I begin to be a convert to the principles of merchandising; but I must tell you," said I, "by the way, you do not know what I am doing; for if I once conquer my backwardness, and embark heartily, as old as I am, I shall harass you up and down the world till I tire you; for I

shall pursue it so eagerly, I shall never let you lie still."

But, to be short in my speculations, a little while after this, there came in a Dutch ship from Batavia; she was a coaster, not an European trader, of about two hundred tons burthen. The men, as they pretended, having been so sickly, that the captain had not hands enough to go to sea with, he lay by at Bengal; and having, it seems, got money enough, or being willing, for other reasons, to go for Europe, he gave public notice he would sell his ship. This came to my ears before my new partner heard of it, and I had a great mind to buy it; so I went to him, and told him of it. He considered a while, for he was no rash man neither; but musing some time, he replied, "She's a little too big; but, however, we will have her." Accordingly he bought the ship, and agreeing with the master, we paid for her, and took possession. When we had done so, we resolved to entertain the men, if we could, to join them with those we had for the pursuing our business; but on a sudden, they having received, not their wages, but their share of the money, as we afterwards learnt, not one of them was to be found. We inquired much about them, and at length were told that they were all gone together by land to Agra, the great city of the Mogul's residence, and from thence to travel to Surat, and go by sea to the Gulf of Persia.

A few days after, I came to know what sort of fellows they were; for, in short, their history was, that

this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they were attacked on shore by some of the Malays, who had killed the captain and three of his men; and that, after the captain was killed, these men, eleven in number, had resolved to run away with the ship, which they did, and brought her to Bengal, leaving the mate and five men more on shore, of whom hereafter.

Well, let them get the ship how they would, we came honestly by her, as we thought, though we did not, I confess, examine into things so exactly as we ought; for we never inquired anything of the seamen, who would certainly have faltered in their account, contradicted one another, and perhaps contradicted themselves; or one how or other we should have had reason to have suspected them. But the man showed us a bill of sale for the ship to one Emanuel Clossershoven, or some such name, for I suppose it was all a forgery, and called himself by that name, and we could not contradict him; and withal, having no suspicion of the thing, we went through with our bargain.

We picked up some more English sailors here after this, and some Dutch; and now we resolved for a second voyage to the south-east for cloves, &c., that is to say, among the Philippine and Molucca isles; and, in short, not to fill up this part of my story with trifles, when what is to come is so remarkable, I spent from first to last six years in this country,

trading from port to port, backward and forward, and with very good success, and was now the last year with my new partner going in the ship above mentioned on a voyage to China, but designing first to Siam, to buy rice.

In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the Straits of Malacca, and among the islands, we were no sooner got clear of those difficult seas, but we found our ship had sprung a leak, and we were not able, by all our industry, to find out where it was. This forced us to make some port, and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of Cambodia; for I had made the English mate, one Mr. Thompson, captain, not being willing to take the charge of the ship upon myself. This river lies on the north side of the great bay or gulf which goes up to Siam. While we were here, and going often on shore for refreshment, there comes to me one day an Englishman, and he was, it seems, a gunner's mate on board an English East India ship which rode in the same river, up at or near the city of Cambodia; what brought him hither we knew not, but he comes to me, and speaking English, "Sir," says he, "you are a stranger to me, and I to you, but I have something to tell you that very nearly concerns you."

I looked steadfastly at him a good while, and thought at first I had known him, but I did not. "If it very nearly concerns me," said I, "and not your-

self, what moves you to tell it to me?" "I am moved," says he, "by the imminent danger you are in, and, for aught I see, you have no knowledge of it." "I know no danger I am in," says I, "but that my ship is leaky, and I cannot find it out; but I intend to lay her aground to-morrow, to see if I can find it." "But, sir," says he, "leaky or not leaky, find it or not find it, you will be wiser than to lay your ship on shore to-morrow, when you hear what I have to say to you: do you know, sir," said he, "the town of Cambodia lies about fifteen leagues up this river, and there are two large English ships about five leagues on this side, and three Dutch." "Well," said I, "and what is that to me?" "Why, sir," said he, "is it for a man that is upon such adventures as you are to come into a port and not examine first what ships are there, and whether he is able to deal with them? I can tell you but part of the story, sir; but I have a Dutch seaman here with me, and I believe I could persuade him to tell you the rest, but there is scarce time for it; but the short of the story is this, the first part of which I suppose you know well enough, namely, that you was with the ship at Sumatra; that there your captain was murdered by the Malays, with three of his men; and that you, or some of those that were on board with you, ran away with the ship, and are since turned pirates. This is the sum of the story, and you will all be seized as pirates, I can assure you, and executed with very little ceremony; for you know merchant

ships show but little law to pirates, if they get them into their power." "Now you speak plain English," said I, "and I thank you; and though I know nothing that we have done like what you talk of, for we came honestly and fairly by the ship, yet seeing such a work is doing, as you say, and that you seem to mean honestly, I will be upon my guard." "Nay, sir," says he, "do not talk of being upon your guard; the best defence is to be out of the danger; if you have any regard for your life, and the lives of all your men, put to sea without fail at high water; and as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out before they can come down; for they will come away at high water, and as they have twenty miles to come, you will get near two hours of them by the difference of the tide, not reckoning the length of the way; besides, as they are only boats, and not ships, they will not venture to follow you far out to sea, especially if it blows." "Well," said I, "you have been very kind in this; what shall I do for you to make you amends?" "Sir," says he, "you may not be willing to make me any amends, because you may not be convinced of the truth of it. I will make an offer to you; I have nineteen months' pay due to me on board the ship —, which I came out of England in, and the Dutchman that is with me has seven months' pay due to him; if you will make good our pay to us, we will go along with you: if you find nothing more in it, we will desire no more; but if we do convince you that we have saved your lives, and

the ship, and the lives of all the men in her, we will leave the rest to you."

I consented to this readily, and went immediately on board, and the two men with me. As soon as I came to the ship's side, my partner, who was on board, came out on the quarter-deck, and called to me, with a great deal of joy, "O ho! O ho! we have stopped the leak! we have stopped the leak!" "Say you so?" said I, "thank God; but weigh anchor, then, immediately." "Weigh!" says he, "What do you mean by that? What is the matter?" "Ask no questions," said I, "but all hands to work, and weigh without losing a minute." He was surprised; but, however, he called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up; and though the tide was not quite down, yet a little land-breeze blowing, we stood out to sea. Then I called him into the cabin, and told him the story, and we called in the men, and they told us the rest of it; but as it took up a great deal of time, before we had done a seaman comes up to the cabin door, and called out to us that the captain bade him tell us we were chased. "Chased," says I, "by what?" "By five sloops, or boats," says the fellow, "full of men." "Very well," said I, then it is apparent there is something in it." In the next place, I ordered all our men to be called up, and told them there was a design to seize the ship, and to take us for pirates, and asked them if they would stand by us, and by one another; the men answered cheer-

fully, one and all, that they would live and die with us.

The gunner had, in the meantime, orders to bring two guns to bear fore and aft, out of the steerage, to clear the deck, and load them with musket bullets and small pieces of old iron, and what came next to hand; and thus we made ready for fight. But all this while we kept out to sea, with wind enough, and could see the boats at a distance, being five large long-boats, following us with all the sail they could make.

Two of those boats (which, by our glasses, we could see were English) out-sailed the rest, were near two leagues ahead of them, and gained upon us considerably, so that we found they would come up with us; upon which we fired a gun without ball, to intimate that they should bring to; and we put out a flag of truce as a signal for parley. But they came crowding after us, till they came within shot, when we took in our white flag, they having made no answer to it, and hung out our red flag, and fired at them with a shot. Notwithstanding this, they came on till we were near enough to call to them with a speaking-trumpet which we had on board. So we called to them, and bade them keep off, at their peril.

It was all one; they crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our stern, so as to board us on our quarter; upon which, seeing they were resolute for mischief, and depended upon the strength that

followed them, I ordered to bring the ship to, so that they lay upon our broadside, when immediately we fired five guns at them, one of which had been levelled so true as to carry away the stern of the hindermost boat, and bring them to the necessity of taking down their sail, and running all to the head of the boat, to keep her from sinking. So she lay by, and had enough of it; but seeing the foremost boat crowd on after us, we made ready to fire at her in particular. While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made up to the boat which we had disabled, to relieve her, and we could see her take out the men. We called again to the foremost boat, and offered a truce, to parley again, and to know what her business was with us; but had no answer, only she crowded close under our stern. Upon this our gunner, who was a very dexterous fellow, run out his two chase-guns, and fired again at her one shot, though it missed the boat itself, yet fell in among the men, and we could easily see had done a great deal of mischief among them. We wearied the ship again, and firing three guns more, we found the boat was almost split to pieces. To complete their misfortune, our gunner let fly two guns at them again; where we hit them we could not tell, but we found the boat was sinking, and some of the men already in the water. Upon this I immediately manned out our pinnace, which we had kept close by our side, with orders to pick up some of the men, if they

could, and save them from drowning, and immediately come on board the ship with them, because we saw the rest of the boats began to come up. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men, one of whom was just drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him. As soon as they were on board, we crowded all the sail we could make, and stood farther out to sea; and we found that, when the other three boats came up to the first, they gave over their chase.

Being thus delivered from a danger, which, though I knew not the reason of it, yet seemed to be much greater than I apprehended, I resolved that we should change our course, and not let any one know whither we were going. So we stood out to sea eastward, quite out of the course of all European ships, whether they were bound to China or anywhere else, within the commerce of the European nations.

CHAPTER XLIX.

WHEN we were at sea, we began to consult with the two seamen, and inquire what the meaning of all this should be; and the Dutchman let us into the secret at once, telling us that the fellow that sold us the ship, as we said, was no more than a thiet, that run away with her. Then he told us how the captain, whose name he told us, though I do not remember it

now, was treacherously murdered by the natives of the coast of Malacca, with three of his men; and that he, this Dutchman, and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while, till at length he, in particular, in a wonderful manner, made his escape, and swam off to a Dutch ship, which, sailing near the shore in its way from China, had sent their boat on shore for fresh water; that he durst not come to that part of the shore where the boat was, but made shift in the night to take the water farther off, and swimming a great while, at last the ship's boat took him up.

He then told us that he went to Batavia, where two of the seamen belonging to the ship arrived, having deserted the rest in their travels, and gave an account that the fellow who had run away with the ship sold her at Bengal to a set of pirates, which were gone a cruising in her; and that they had already taken an English ship, and two Dutch ships, very richly laden.

This latter part was found to concern us directly, though we knew it to be false; yet, as my partner said, very justly, if we had fallen into their hands, and they had such a prepossession against us beforehand, it had been vain for us to have defended ourselves, or to hope for any good quarter at their hands; and especially considering that our accusers had been our judges, and that we could have expected nothing from them but what rage would have dictated, and an ungoverned passion have executed; and, there-

tore, it was his opinion we should go directly back to Bengal, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever; because there we could give an account of ourselves, could prove where we were when the ship put in, of whom we bought her, and the like; and, which was more than all the rest, if we were put upon the necessity of bringing it before the proper judges, we should be sure to have some justice, and not to be hanged first and judged afterwards.

I was some time of my partner's opinion; but, after a little more serious thinking, I told him I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt returning to Bengal, for that we were on the wrong side of the Straits of Malacca, and that, if the alarm was given, we should be sure to be waylaid on every side, as well by the Dutch of Batavia, as the English elsewhere; that if we should be taken, as it were, running away, we should even condemn ourselves, and there would want no more evidence to destroy us. I also asked the English sailor's opinion, who said he was of my mind, and that we should certainly be taken. This danger a little startled my partner, and all the ship's company, and we immediately resolved to go away to the coast of Tonquin, and so on to the coast of China; and, pursuing the first design as to trade, find some way or other to dispose of the ship, and come back in some of the vessels of the country, such as we could get. This was approved of as the best method for our security; and, accord-

ingly, we steered away N.N.E., keeping above fifty leagues off from the usual course to the eastward.

My partner seeing me dejected, though he was the most concerned at first, began to encourage me, and describing to me the several ports of that coast, told me he would put in on the coast of Cochin China, or the Bay of Tonquin, intending to go afterwards to Macao, a town once in the possession of the Portuguese, and where, still, a great many European families resided, and particularly the missionary priests usually went thither, in order to their going forward to China.

Hither, then, we resolved to go; and, accordingly, though after a tedious and irregular course, and very much straitened for provisions, we came within sight of the coast very early in the morning; and, upon reflection of the past circumstances we were in, and the danger if we had not escaped, we resolved to put into a small river, which, however, had depth enough of water for us, and to see, if we could, either overland, or, by the ship's pinnace, come to know what ships were in any port thereabouts. This happy step was, indeed, our deliverance; for, though we did not immediately see any European ships in the Bay of Tonquin, yet the next morning there came into the bay two Dutch ships; and a third, without any colours spread out, but which we believed to be a Dutchman, passed by at about two leagues' distance, steering for the coast of China; and, in the afternoon, went by two English ships steering the same course;

and thus, we thought, we saw ourselves beset with enemies, both one way and the other. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation, or profession; and, though we had not much to seek of them, and, except getting a few provisions, cared not how little we had to do with them, yet it was with much difficulty that we kept ourselves from being insulted by them several ways.

I have observed that our ship sprung a leak at sea, and that we could not find it out; and it happened that, as I have said, it was stopped unexpectedly, in the happy minute of our being to be seized by the Dutch and English ships in the bay of Siam; yet, as we did not find the ship so perfectly tight and sound as we desired, we resolved, while we were at this place, to lay her on shore, and take out what heavy things we had on board, and clean her bottom; and, if possible, to find out where the leaks were. Accordingly, having lightened the ship, and brought all our guns and other moveables to one side, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom; but, on second thoughts, we did not care to lay her on dry ground, neither could we find out a proper place for it.

The inhabitants, who had never been acquainted with such a sight, came wondering down the shore to look at us; and seeing the ship lie down on one side in such a manner, and heeling in towards the shore, and not seeing our men, who were at work on her

bottom with stages, and with their boats on the off side, they presently concluded that the ship was cast away, and lay so fast on the ground. On this supposition they all came about us, in two or three hours' time, with ten or twelve large boats, having some of them eight, some ten men in a boat, intending, no doubt, to have come on board and plundered the ship; and, if they had found us there, to have carried us away for slaves to their king, or whatever they call him, for we knew nothing of their governor.

When they came up to the ship, and began to row round her, they discovered us all hard at work on the outside of the ship's bottom and side, washing, and graving, and stopping, as every seafaring man knows how. They stood for a while gazing at us, and we, who were a little surprised, could not imagine what their design was; but, being willing to be sure, we took this opportunity to get some of us into the ship, and others to hand down arms and ammunition to those that were at work, to defend themselves with, if there should be occasion; and it was no more than need; for, in less than a quarter of an hour's consultation, they agreed, it seems, that the ship was really a wreck; and that we were all at work endeavouring to save her, or to save our lives by the help of our boats; and when we handed our arms into the boats, they concluded, by that motion, that we were endeavouring to save some of our goods. Upon this, they took it for granted we all

belonged to them, and away they came directly upon our men, as if it had been in a line of battle.

Our men, seeing so many of them, began to be frightened, for we lay but in an ill posture to fight, and cried out to us to know what they should do. I immediately called to the men that worked upon the stages to slip them down, and get up the side into the ship, and bade those in the boat to row round, and come on board; and those few of us who were on board worked with all the strength and hands we had to bring the ship to rights; but, however, neither the men upon the stages, nor those in the boats, could do as they were ordered before the Cochin-Chinese were upon them; and two of their boats boarded our long-boat, and began to lay hold of the men as their prisoners.

The first man they laid hold of was an English seaman, a stout, strong fellow, who, having a musket in his hand, never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought; but he understood his business better than I could teach him, for he grappled the Pagan, and dragged him by main force out of their boat into ours, where, taking him by the ears, he beat his head so against the boat's gunnel, that the fellow died in his hands; and, in the meantime, a Dutchman, who stood next, took up the musket, and, with the butt-end of it, so laid about him, that he knocked down five of them who attempted to enter the boat. But this was doing little towards resisting thirty or forty men,

who, fearless, because ignorant of their danger, began to throw themselves into the long-boat, where we had but five men in all to defend it; but the following accident, which deserved our laughter, gave our men a complete victory:—

Our carpenter being prepared to grave the outside of the ship, as well as to pay the seams where he had caulked her to stop the leaks, had got two kettles just let down into the boat, one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with rosin, tallow, and oil, and such stuff as the shipwrights use for that work; and the man that attended the carpenter had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he supplied the men that were at work with the hot stuff. Two of the enemy's men entered the boat just where this fellow stood, being in the fore-sheets. He immediately saluted them with a ladleful of the stuff, boiling hot, which so burned and scalded them, being half naked, that they roared out like hulls, and, enraged at the fire, leaped both into the sea. The carpenter saw it, and cried out, "Well done, Jack; give them some more of it;" and stepping forward himself, takes one of the mops, and dipping it into the pitch-pot, he and his man threw it among them so plentifully, that, in short, of all the men in the three boats, there was not one that escaped being scalded and burned with it, in a most frightful, pitiful manner, and made such a howling and crying, that I never heard a worse noise.

I was never better pleased with a victory in my

life; not only as it was a perfect surprise to me, and that our danger was imminent before, but as we got this victory without any bloodshed, except of that man the fellow killed with his naked hands.

All the while this was doing, my partner and I, who managed the rest of the men on board, had with great dexterity brought the ship almost to rights, and having got the guns into their places again, the gunner called to me to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I called back again to him, and bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him, and bid him heat another pitch-kettle, which our cook, who was on board, took care of. But the enemy was so terrified with what they had met with in their first attack, that they would not come on again; and some of them, who were the farthest off, seeing the ship swim as it were upright, began, as we suppose, to see their mistake, and give over the enterprise, finding it was not as they expected. Thus we got clear of this merry fight, and having got some rice, and some roots and bread, with about sixteen hogs on board, two days before, we resolved to stay here no longer, but to go forward, whatever came of it; for we made no doubt but we should be surrounded the next day with rogues enough—perhaps more than our pitch-kettle would dispose of for us. We, therefore, got all our things on board the same evening, and the next morning were ready to sail. In the meantime, lying at anchor at some distance from the

shore, we were not so much concerned, being now in a fighting posture, as well as in a sailing posture, if any enemy had presented. The next day, having finished our work within board, and finding our ship was perfectly healed of all her leaks, we set sail. We would have gone into the Bay of Tonquin, for we wanted to inform ourselves of what was to be known concerning the Dutch ships that had been there; but we durst not stand in there, because we had seen several ships go in, as we supposed, but a little before; so we kept on N.E. towards the island of Formosa, as much afraid of being seen by a Dutch or English merchant ship, as a Dutch or English merchant in the Mediterranean is of an Algerine man-of-war.

CHAPTER L.

WHEN we were thus got to sea, we kept on N.E., as if we would go to the Manillas or the Philippine Islands, and this we did that we might not fall into the way of any European ships; and then we steered north, till we came to the latitude of 22 deg. 30 min., by which means we made the island of Formosa directly, where we came to an anchor, in order to get water and fresh provisions, which the people there, who are very courteous and civil in their manners, supplied us with willingly, and dealt very fair and punctually with us in all their agreements and

bargains, which is what we did not find among other people, and may be owing to the remains of Christianity, which was once planted here by a Dutch missionary of Protestants, and is a testimony of what I have often observed—namely, that the Christian religion always civilizes the people, and reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it works saving effects upon them or no.

From thence we sailed still north, keeping the coast of China at an equal distance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports of China where our European ships usually come, being resolved, if possible, not to fall into any of their hands, especially in this country, where, as our circumstances were, we could not fail of being entirely ruined.

Being now come to the latitude of 30 degrees, we resolved to put into the first trading port we should come at; and standing in for the shore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old Portuguese pilot on board, who, knowing us to be an European ship, came to offer his service, which, indeed, we were glad of, and took him on board, upon which, without asking us whither we would go, he dismissed the boat he came in, and sent it back.

I thought it was now so much in our choice to make the old man carry us whither we would, that I began to talk to him about carrying us to the Gulf of Nanquin, which is the most northern part of the coast of China. The old man said he knew the Gulf of Nanquin very well, but smiling, asked us what

we would do there? I told him we would sell our cargo, and purchase China wares, calicoes, raw silks, tea, wrought silks, &c., and so would return by the same course we came. He told us our best port had been to have put in at Macao, where we could not have failed of a market for our opium to our satisfaction, and might, for our money, have purchased all sorts of China goods as cheap as we could at Nanquih.

Not being able to put the old man out of his talk, of which he was very opinionated or conceited, I told him we were gentlemen as well as merchants, and that we had a mind to go and see the great city of Pekin, and the famous court of the monarch of China. "Why, then," said the old man, "you should go to Ningpo, where, by the river which runs into the sea there, you may go up within five leagues of the great canal. This canal is a navigable stream, which goes through the heart of that vast empire of China, crosses all the rivers, passes some considerable hills by the help of sluices and gates, and goes up to the city of Pekin, being in length near 270 leagues.

"Well," said I, "Seignior Portuguese, but that is not our business now. The great question is, if you can carry us up to the city of Nanquin, from whence we can travel to Pekin afterwards?" He said we could do so very well, and that there was a great Dutch ship gone up that way just before. This gave me a little shock, for a Dutch ship was now our terror; and we depended upon it that a Dutch ship

would be our destruction, for we were in no condition to fight them; all the ships they trade with in those parts being of great burthen, and of much greater force than we were.

The old man found me a little confused, and under some concern, when he named a Dutch ship, and said to me, "Sir, you need be under no apprehensions of the Dutch: I suppose they are not now at war with your nation?" "No," says I, "that's true; but I know not what liberties men may take when they are out of the reach of the laws of their own country." "Why," says he, "you are no pirates; what need you fear? They will not meddle with peaceable merchants, sure?"

If I had any blood in my body that did not fly up into my face at that word, it was hindered by some stop in the vessels appointed by nature to circulate it, for it put me into the greatest disorder and confusion imaginable; nor was it possible for me to conceal it so, but the old man easily perceived it.

"Sir," says he, "I find you are in some disorder in your thoughts, at my talk; pray be pleased to go which way you think fit, and depend upon it, I'll do you all the service I can." "Why, seignior," said I, "it is true I am a little unsettled in my resolution at this time, whither to go in particular; and I am something more so for what you said about pirates. I hope there are no pirates in these seas. We are but in an ill condition to meet with them, for you see we have but a small force, and but very weakly manned."

"O, sir," says he, "don't be concerned; I do not know that there has been any pirates in these seas these fifteen years, except one, which was seen, as I hear, in the Bay of Siam, about a month since; but you may be assured, she is gone to the southward. Nor was she a ship of any great force, or fit for the work; she was not built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate crew that was on board, after the captain and some of his men had been murdered by the Malaysans, at or near the island of Sumatra." "What!" said I, seeming to know nothing of the matter, "did they murder the captain?" "No," said he, "I don't understand that they murdered him; but, as they afterwards ran away with the ship, it is generally believed that they betrayed him into the hands of the Malaysans, who did murder him, and perhaps they procured them to do it." "Why, then," said I, "they deserve death as much as if they had done it themselves." "Nay," says the old man, "they do deserve it, and will certainly have it, if they light upon any English or Dutch ship, for they have all agreed together, that if they meet that rogue, they'll give him no quarter." "But," said I to him, "you say the pirate is gone out of these seas; how can they meet with him, then?" "Why, that's true," says he, "they do say so; but he was, as I tell you, in the Bay of Siam, in the river Cambodia, and was discovered there by some Dutchmen, who belonged to the ship, and who were left on shore when they ran away with her; and some English

and Dutch traders being in the river, they were within a little of taking him; nay," said he, "if the foremost boats had been well seconded by the rest, they had certainly taken him; but he, finding only two boats within reach of him, tacked about and fired at those two, and disabled them before the others came up, and then standing off to sea, the others were not able to follow, and so he got away; but they have all so exact a description of the ship, that they will be sure to know her, and wherever they find her, they have vowed to give no quarter either to the captain or seamen, but to hang them all up at the yard-arm." "What," says I, "will they execute them, right or wrong; hang them first, and judge them afterwards?" "O, sir," says the old pilot, "there is no need to make a formal business of it with such rogues as those; let them tie them back to back, and set them a-diving—'tis no more than they deserve."

I knew I had my old man fast on board, and that he could do me no harm, so that I turned short upon him. "Well now, seignior," said I, "this is the very reason why I would have you carry us up to Nanquin, and not put back to Macao or to any other part of the country where the English or Dutch ships come; for, be it known to you, seignior, those captains of the English and Dutch ships are a parcel of rash, proud, insolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to justice, nor how to behave themselves as the laws of God and nature direct; but, being proud of their offices, and not understanding their power

they would act the murderers to punish robbers; would take upon them to insult men falsely accused, and determine them guilty without due inquiry: and perhaps I may live to bring some of them to account for it, when they may be taught how justice is to be executed; and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal till some evidence may be had of the crime, and that he is the man."

With this I told him that this was the very ship they attacked, and gave him a full account of the skirmish we had with their boats, and how foolishly and cowardly they behaved. I told him all the story of our buying the ship, and how the Dutchman served us. I told him the reasons I had to believe the story of killing the master by the Malayans was true, as also the running away with the ship; but it was all a fiction of their own to suggest that the men had turned pirates, and they ought to have been sure it was so, before they had ventured to attack us by surprise, and obliged us to resist them: adding, that they would have the blood of those men, whom we killed there in just defence, to answer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation, and told us we were very much in the right to go away to the north; and that, if he might advise us, it should be to sell the ship in China, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country; and, said he, though you will not get so good a ship, yet you may get one able enough to carry you and all your goods back again to Bengal, or anywhere else,

I told him I would take his advice, when I came to any port where I could find a ship for my turn, or get any customer to buy this. He replied, I should meet with customers enough for the ship at Nanquin, and that a Chinese junk would serve me very well to go back again; and that he would procure me people, both to buy one, and sell the other.

While these things were passing between us by way of discourse, we went forward directly for Nanquin, and, in about thirteen day's sail, came to an anchor at the south-west point of the great Gulf of Nanquin; where, by the way, I came, by accident, to understand that two Dutch ships were gone the length before me, and that I should certainly fall into their hands. I consulted my partner again in this exigency, and he was as much at a loss as I was, and would very gladly have been safe on shore almost anywhere. However, I was not in such perplexity neither, but I asked the old pilot, if there was no creek, nor harbour, which I might put into, and pursue my business with the Chinese privately, and be in no danger of the enemy? He told me, if I would sail to the southward about forty-two leagues, there was a little port called Quinchang, where the fathers of the mission usually landed from Macao, on their progress to teach the Christian religion to the Chinese, and where no European ships ever put in; and, if I thought to put in there, I might consider what farther course to take when I was on shore. He confessed, he said, it was not a place for merchants, except that, at some certain

times, they had a kind of fair there, when the merchants from Japan came over thither to buy the Chinese merchandise.

As we all agreed to go to this place, we weighed the next day, having only gone twice on shore, where we were to get fresh water, on both which occasions the people of the country were very civil to us, and brought us abundance of things to sell to us—I mean of provisions, plants, roots, tea, rice, and some fowls, but nothing without money.

We came to the other port (the wind being contrary) not till five days, but it was very much to our satisfaction; and I was joyful, and I may say thankful, when I set my foot on shore, resolving, and my partner too, that if it was possible to dispose of ourselves and effects any other way, though not every way to our satisfaction, we would never set one foot on board that unhappy vessel more.

The greater weight our anxieties and perplexities were to our thoughts while we were at sea, the greater was our satisfaction when we saw ourselves on shore; and my partner told me he dreamed that he had a very heavy load upon his back, which he was to carry up a hill, and found that he was not able to stand long under it, but that the Portuguese pilot came and took it off his back, and the hill dispersed, the ground before him appearing all smooth and plain; and truly it was so: they were like men who had a load taken off their backs. For my part, I had a weight taken off my heart that it was not able any longer to bear;

and, as I said above, we resolved to go no more to sea in that ship. When we came on shore, the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging, and a warehouse for our goods, which, by the way, was much the same. It was a little house, or hut, with a larger house adjoining to it, all built with canes, and pallisadoed round with large canes, to keep out pilfering thieves, of which, it seems, there were not a few in that country. However, the magistrates allowed us a little guard, and we had a soldier with a kind of halberd, or half-pike, who stood sentinel at our door; to whom we allowed a pint of rice, and a little piece of money, about the value of threepence per day: so that our goods were kept very safe.

CHAPTER LI.

THE fair, or mart, usually kept in this place, had been over some time. However, we found that there were three or four junks in the river, and two Japaners, I mean ships from Japan, with goods which they had bought in China, and were not gone away, having some Japanese merchants on shore.

The first thing our old Portuguese pilot did for us was, to get us acquainted with three missionary Romish priests, who were in town, and who had been there some time converting the people to Christianity; but we thought they made but poor work of it, and

made them but sorry Christians when they had done; however, that was none of our business. One of these was a Frenchman, whom they called Father Simon; another was a Portuguese, and a third a Genoese; but Father Simon was courteous, easy in his manner, and very agreeable company; the other two were more reserved, seemed rigid and austere, and applied seriously to the work they came about, namely, to talk with, and insinuate themselves among the inhabitants whenever they had an opportunity. We often ate and drank with those men; and this French priest, Father Simon, was appointed, it seems, by order of the chief of the mission, to go up to Peking, the royal seat of the Chinese emperor, and waited only for another priest, who was ordered to come to him from Macao, to go along with him; and we scarce ever met together but he was inviting me to go that journey, telling me how he would show me all the glorious things of that mighty empire, and, among the rest, the greatest city in the world—a city, said he, that your London and our Paris put together cannot be equal to. This was the city of Peking, which, I confess, is very great, and infinitely full of people; but as I looked on those things with different eyes from other men, so I shall give my opinion of them in a few words, when I come, in the course of my travels, to speak more particularly of them.

First, I come to my friar or missionary, dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I showed some little inclination to go with him, and he

pressed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many persuasions, to consent. But though he never left us, nor soliciting us to go with him, we had something else before us at first, for we had all this while our ship and our merchandise to dispose of, and we began to be very doubtful what we should do, for we were now in a place of very little business; and once I was about to venture to sail for the river of Kilam, and the city of Nanquin, but Providence seemed now more visibly, as I thought, to concern itself in our affairs; the first thing that offered was, that our old Portuguese pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who inquired what goods we had, and in the first place he bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight, some in small pieces of their own coin, and some in small wedges of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head that he might perhaps deal for the ship too, and I ordered the interpreter to propose it to him. He shrunk up his shoulders at it when it was first proposed to him; but, in a few days after, he came to me with one of the missionary priests for his interpreter, and told me he had a proposal to make to me, which was this: he had bought a great quantity of goods of us when he had no thoughts of proposals made to him of buying the ship, and that, therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ship; but if I would let the same men who were in the ship navigate her, he would hire the ship to go

to Japan, and would send them from thence to the Philippine Islands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of before they went from Japan, and that at their return he would buy the ship.

To bring this long turn of our affairs to a conclusion: the first thing we had to do was to consult with the captain of the ship, and with his men, and know if they were willing to go to Japan; and while I was doing this, the young man whom my nephew had left with me as my companion for my travels, came to me and told me that he thought that voyage promised very fair, and that there was a great prospect of advantage, and he would be very glad if I undertook it, but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or how I pleased to order him; that if ever he came to England, and I was there, and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his success, which should be as much mine as I pleased. I was really loath to part with him, but considering the prospect of advantage, which really was considerable, and that he was a young fellow as likely to do well in it as any I knew, I inclined to let him go; but I told him I would consult my partner, and give him an answer the next day. My partner and I discoursed about it, and my partner made a most generous offer:—"You know it has been an unlucky ship," said he, "and we both resolve not to go to sea in it again; if your steward (so he called my man) will venture the voyage, I will leave my share of the vessel to him, and let him

make the best of it, and if we live to meet in England, and he meets with success abroad, he shall account for one-half of the profits of the ship's freight to us, the other shall be his own."

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him such an offer, I could do no less than offer him the same: and all the ship's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ship to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other; and away he went to Japan. The Japan merchant proving a very punctual, honest man to him, protected him at Japan, and got him a license to come on shore, which the Europeans in general have not lately obtained; paid him his freight very punctually, sent him to the Philippines, loaded with Japan and China wares, and a supercargo of their own, who, trafficking with the Spaniards, brought back European goods again, and a great quantity of cloves and other spices; and there he was not only paid his freight very well, and at a very good price, but not being willing to sell the ship then, the merchant furnished him goods on his own account; and with some money and some spices of his own which he brought with him, he went back to the Manillas to the Spaniards, where he sold his cargo very well. Here, having got a good acquaintance at Manilla, he got his ship made a free ship; and the governor of Manilla hired him to go to Acapulco in America, on the coast of Mexico, and gave him a license to

land there, and to travel to Mexico, and to pass in any Spanish ship to Europe with all his men. He made the voyage to Acapulco very happily, and there he sold his ship, and having there also obtained allowance to travel by land to Porto Bello, he found means somehow or the other, to get to Jamaica with all his treasure; and, about eight years after, came to England exceeding rich, which I shall take notice of in its place.* In the meantime, I return to our particular affairs.

We were now on shore in China; if I thought myself banished and remote from my own country at Bengal, where I had many ways to get home for my money, what could I think of myself now when I was got about a thousand leagues farther off from home, and perfectly destitute of all manner of prospect of return? All we had for it was this, that, in about four months' time, there was to be another fair at the place where we were, and then we might be able to purchase all sorts of the manufactures of the country, and withal might possibly find some Chinese junks or vessels from Tonquin that would be to be sold, and would carry us and our goods whither we pleased. This I liked very well, and resolved to wait; besides, as our particular persons were not obnoxious, so if any English or Dutch ships came thither, perhaps we might have an op-

* This, however, he does not do, concluding his narrative immediately on his return to London.

portunity to load our goods, and get passage to some other place in India, nearer home. Upon these hopes we resolved to continue here; but to divert ourselves we took two or three journeys into the country. First we went ten days' journey to the city of Nanquin, a city well worth seeing indeed; they say it has a million of people in it: it is regularly built, the streets all exactly straight, and cross one another in direct lines, which gives the figure of it great advantage. But when I come to compare the miserable people of these countries with ours, their fabrics, their manner of living, their government, their religion, their wealth, their glory, as some call it, I must confess that I scarcely think it worth my while to mention them here. It is very observable that we wonder at the grandeur, the riches, the pomp, the ceremonies, the government, the manufactures, the commerce, and conduct of these people; not that it is to be wondered at, or, indeed, in the least to be regarded; but because, having a true notion of the barbarity of those countries, the rudeness and the ignorance that prevail there, we do not expect to find any such things so far off. Otherwise, what are their buildings to the palaces and royal buildings of Europe? What their trade to the universal commerce of England, Holland, France, and Spain? What are their cities to ours for wealth, strength, gaiety of apparel, rich furniture, and infinite variety? What are their ports, supplied with a few junks and barks, to our navigation, our

merchant fleets, our large and powerful navies? Our city of London has more trade than half their mighty empire: one English, Dutch, or French man-of-war of eighty guns would be able to fight almost all the shipping belonging to China; but the greatness of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and the strength of their armies, may be a little surprising to us, because, as I have said, considering them as a barbarous nation of Pagans, little better than savages, we did not expect such things among them.

CHAPTER LII.

I WAS now, as near as I can compute, in the heart of China, about thirty degrees north of the line, for we were returned from Nanquin. I had, indeed, a mind to see the city of Peking, which I had heard so much of, and Father Simon importuned me daily to do it. At length his time of going away being set, and the other missionary who was to go with him being arrived from Macao, it was necessary that we should resolve either to go or not. So I referred it to my partner, and left it wholly to his choice, who at length resolved it in the affirmative, and we prepared for our journey. We set out with very good advantage, as to finding the way, for we got leave to travel in the retinue of one of their Mandarins, a kind of viceroy, or principal magistrate in the province

where they reside, and who take great state upon them, travelling with great attendance, and with great homage from the people, who are sometimes greatly impoverished by them, being obliged to furnish provisions for them and all their attendants in their journeys. That which I particularly observed, as to our travelling with his baggage was this, that, though we received sufficient provisions both for ourselves and our horses from the country, as belonging to the Mandarin, yet we were obliged to pay for everything we had, after the market price of the country, and the Mandarin's steward collected it duly from us; so that our travelling in the retinue of the Mandarin, though it was a very great kindness to us, was not such a mighty favour in him, but was a great advantage to him, considering there were above thirty other people travelled in the same manner besides us under the protection of his retinue; for the country furnished all the provisions for nothing to him, and yet he took our money for them.

We were twenty-five days travelling to Peking, through a country infinitely populous, but I think badly cultivated; the husbandry, the economy, and the way of living miserable, though they boast so much of the industry of the people. I say miserable, if compared with our own, but not so to these poor wretches, who know no other. The pride of the people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing but their poverty, in some parts, which adds to that which I call their misery.

I must confess, I travelled more pleasantly afterwards, in the deserts and vast wildernesses of Grand Tartary, than here; and yet the roads are well paved and well kept, and very convenient for travellers: but nothing was more awkward to me than to see such a haughty, imperious, insolent people in the midst of the grossest simplicity and ignorance; and my friend, Father Simon, and I, used to be very merry upon these occasions, to see the beggarly pride of these people.

As for our Mandarin with whom we travelled, he was respected as a king, surrounded always with his gentlemen, and attended in all his appearances with such pomp, that I saw little of him but at a distance; but this I observed, that there was not a horse in his retinue, but that our carriers' pack horses in England seemed to me to look much better; though it was hard to judge rightly, for they were so covered with equipage, mantles, trappings, &c., that we could scarce see anything but their feet and their heads as they went along.

I was now light-hearted, and all my trouble and perplexity that I have given an account of, being over, I had no anxious thought about me, which made this journey the pleasanter to me.

At length we arrived at Pekin; I had nobody with me but the youth whom my nephew, the captain, had given me to attend me as my servant, and who proved very trusty and diligent; and my partner had nobody with him but one servant, who was a kinsman. As

for the Portuguese pilot, he being desirous to see the court, we bore his charges for his company, and to use him as an interpreter, for he understood the language of the country, and spoke good French and a little English; and, indeed, this old man was a most useful implement to us everywhere; for we had not been above a week at Pekin, when he came laughing: "Ah! Seignior Inglese," says he, "I have something to tell you will make your heart glad." "My heart glad;" says I, "What can that be? I don't know anything in this country can either give me joy or grief, to any great degree." "Yes, yes," said the old man in broken English, "make you glad, me sorry." "Why," said I, "will it make you sorry?" "Because," said he, "you have brought me here twenty-five days' journey, and will leave me to go back alone; and which way shall I get to my port afterwards without a ship, without a horse, without *pecune*?"—so he called money, being his broken Latin, of which he had abundance to make us merry with. In short, he told us there was a great caravan of Muscovite and Polish merchants in the city, preparing to set out on their journey by land, to Muscovy, within four or five weeks, and he was sure we would take the opportunity to go with them, and leave him behind, to go back alone.

I confess I was greatly surprised with this good news, and had scarce power to speak to him for some time; but, at last, I turned to him. "How do you know this?" said I, "are you sure it is true?"

"Yes," says he, "I met this morning, in the street, an old acquaintance of mine, an Armenian, who is among them; he came last from Astracan, and was designing to go to Tonquin, where I formerly knew him, but has altered his mind, and is now resolved to go with the caravan to Moscow, and so down the river Wolga, to Astracan." "Well, seignior," says I, "do not be uneasy about being left to go back alone; if this be a method for my return to England, it shall be your fault if you go back to Macao at all." We then went to consult together what was to be done; and I asked my partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would suit with his affairs? He told me he would do just as I would; for he had settled all his affairs so well at Bengal, and left his effects in such good hands, that, as we had made a good voyage here, if he could vest it in China silks, wrought and raw, such as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to England, and then make his voyage back to Bengal by the Company's ships.

Having resolved upon this, we agreed that, if our Portuguese pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges to Moscow, or to England, if he pleased; nor, indeed, were we to be esteemed over-generous in that neither, if we had not rewarded him farther, the service he had done us being really worth more than that; for he had not only been a pilot to us at sea, but he had been like a broker for us on shore; and his procuring for us the Japan merchant was some hun-

dreds of pounds in our pockets. We agreed accordingly to give him a quantity of coined gold, which, as I compute it, came to about £175 sterling, between us, and to bear all his charges, both for himself and horse, except only a horse to carry his goods. Having settled this between ourselves, we called him, to let him know what we had resolved. He received the proposal like a man transported, and told us he would go with us over the whole world; and so we all prepared for our journey. However, as it was with us, so it was with the other merchants; they had many things to do; and instead of being ready in five weeks, it was four months and some days before all things were got together.

It was the beginning of February when we set out from Pekin. My partner and the old pilot had gone express back to the port where we had first put in to dispose of some goods which we had left there; and I, with a Chinese merchant, whom I had some knowledge of at Nanquin, and who came to Pekin on his own affairs, went to Nanquin, where I bought ninety pieces of fine damasks, with about two hundred pieces of other very fine silks of several sorts, some mixed with gold; and had all these brought to Pekin against my partner's return. Besides this, we bought a very large quantity of raw silk, and some other goods, our cargo amounting, in these goods only, to about £3500 sterling; which, together with tea, and some fine calicoes, and three camels' loads of nutmegs and cloves, loaded in all eighteen camels for our share,

besides those we rode upon ; which, with two or three spare horses, and two horses loaded with provisions, made us, in short, twenty-six camels and horses in our retinue.

The whole company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horse, and upwards of one hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events : for, as the eastern caravans are subject to be attacked by the Arabs, so are these by the Tartars ; but they are not altogether so dangerous as the Arabs, nor so barbarous when they prevail.

The company consisted of people of several nations ; but there were above sixty of them merchants or inhabitants of Moscow, though of them some were Livonians ; and, to our particular satisfaction, five of them were Scots, who appeared, also, to be men of great experience in business, and of very good substance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants, that is to say, all the passengers except the servants, to a great council, as they called it. At this council every one deposited a certain quantity of money to a common stock, for the necessary expense of buying forage on the way, where it was not otherwise to be had, and for satisfying the guides, getting horses, and the like ; and here they constituted the journey, as they call it, namely, they named captains and officers to draw us all up, and

give the word of command, in case of an attack, and give every one their turn of command; nor was this forming us into order any more than what we found needful upon the way, as shall be observed.

In two days more, we passed the great China wall, made for a fortification against the Tartars; and a very great work it is, going over hills and mountains in a needless track, where the rocks are impassable, and the precipices such as no enemy could possibly enter, or indeed, climb up, or where, if they did, no wall could hinder them. They tell us its length is near a thousand English miles, but that the country is five hundred in a straight measured line, which the wall bounds, without measuring the windings and turnings it takes. It is about four fathoms high, and as many thick in some places.

I stood still an hour, or thereabout (for so long the caravan was in passing the gate), to look at it on every side, near and far off—I mean that was within my view; and the guide of our caravan, who had been extolling it for the wonder of the world, was mighty eager to hear my opinion of it. I told him it was a most excellent thing to keep out the Tartars; which he happened not to understand as I meant it, and so took it for a compliment; but the old pilot laughed.

After we had passed this mighty wall, we began to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people rather confined to live in fortified towns and cities, as being subject to the inroads and depredations of the Tartars, who rob in great armies, and, therefore, are

not to be resisted by the naked inhabitants of an open country. And here I began to find the necessity of keeping together in a caravan as we travelled, for we saw several troops of Tartars roving about; but when I came to see them distinctly, I wondered more that the Chinese empire could be conquered by such contemptible fellows; for they are a mere horde of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline, or manner of fight; and this we found the first day we saw them, which was after we entered the wilder part of the country. Our leader for the day gave leave for about sixteen of us to go a hunting, as they call it, and what was this but hunting of sheep! However, it may be called hunting too, for the creatures are the wildest and swiftest of foot that ever I saw of their kind; only they will not run a great way, and you are sure of sport when you begin the chase, for they appear generally thirty or forty in a flock, and, like true sheep, always keep together when they fly.

It was our hap to meet about forty of these Tartars; as soon as they saw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud, but with a barbarous sound that I had never heard before. We all supposed this was to call their friends about them, and so it was; for, in less than ten minutes, a troop of forty or fifty more appeared, at about a mile distance.

One of the Scots merchants of Moscow happened to be amongst us, and as soon as he heard the horn, he told us that we had nothing to do but to charge

them immediately, without loss of time; and, drawing us up in a line, he asked if we were resolved. We told him we were ready to follow him; so he rode directly towards them. They stood gazing at us like a mere crowd, drawn up in no order, nor showing the face of any order at all; but as soon as they saw us advance, they let fly their arrows, which, however, missed us very happily. It seems they mistook not their aim, but their distance; for their arrows all fell a little short of us, but with so true an aim, that, had we been about twenty yards nearer, we must have had several men wounded, if not killed.

Immediately we halted, and, though it was at a great distance, we fired and sent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our shot full gallop, to fall in among them, sword in hand; for so our bold Scot that led us directed. He was, indeed, but a merchant, but he behaved with that vigour and bravery on this occasion, and yet with such cool courage, too, that I never saw any man in action fitter for command. As soon as we came up to them, we fired our pistols in their faces, and then drew; but they fled in the greatest confusion imaginable. The only stand any of them made was on our right, where three of them stood, and by signs called the rest to come back to them, having a kind of scimitar in their hands, and their bows hanging to their backs. Our brave commander, without asking anybody to follow him, gallops up close to them, and with his fusee knocks one of them off his horse, killed the second

with his pistol, and the third ran away; and thus ended our fight. We had not a man killed or hurt; but as for the Tartars there were about five of them killed. How many were wounded we know not; but this we knew, that the other party were so frightened with the noise of our guns, that they made off, and never made any attempt upon us.

We were all this while in the Chinese dominions, and therefore the Tartars were not so bold as afterwards; but, in about five days, we entered a vast, great, wild desert, which held us three days' and nights' march; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leathern bottles, and to encamp all night, just as I have heard they do in the Desert of Arabia.

CHAPTER LIII.

WE travelled near a month after this, the ways not being so good as at first, though still in the dominions of the Emperor of China, but lay for the most part in villages, some of which were fortified, because of the incursions of the Tartars. We were come to one of these towns, about two days' and a half journey before we arrived at the city of Naum. The city is a frontier of the Chinese empire; they call it fortified, and so it is, as fortifications go there; for this I will venture to affirm, that all the Tartars in Karakathay, which, I believe, are some millions, could

not batter down the walls with their bows and arrows; but to call it strong, if it were attacked with cannon, would be to make those who understand it laugh at you.

We wanted, as I have said, about two days' journey of this city, when messengers were sent express to every part of the road to tell all travellers and caravans to halt till they had a guard sent for them; for that an unusual body of Tartars, making ten thousand in all, had appeared in the way about thirty miles beyond the city.

This was very bad news to travellers: however, it was carefully done of the governor, and we were very glad to hear we should have a guard. Accordingly, two days after, we had two hundred soldiers sent us from a garrison of the Chinese on our left, and three hundred more from the city of Naum, and with these we advanced boldly; the three hundred soldiers from Naum marched in our front, the two hundred in our rear, and our men on each side of our camels with our baggage, and the whole caravan in the centre. In this order, and well prepared for battle, we thought ourselves a match for the whole ten thousand Mogul Tartars, if they had appeared; but the next day, when they did appear, it was quite another thing.

It was early in the morning, when, marching from a well-situated little town, called Changu, we had a river to pass, which we were obliged to ferry; and had the Tartars had any intelligence, then had

been the time to have attacked us, when the caravan being over, the rear-guard was behind; but they did not appear there. About three hours after, when we were entered upon a desert of about fifteen or sixteen miles over, behold, by a cloud of dust they raised, we saw an enemy was at hand; and they were at hand, indeed, for they came on upon the spur.

The Chinese, our guard on the front, who had talked so big the day before, began to stagger; and the soldiers frequently looked behind them, which is a certain sign in a soldier that he is just ready to run away. My old pilot was of my mind; and being near me, called out, "Seignior Inglese," says he, "those fellows must be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; for if the Tartars come on they will never stand it." "I am of your mind," says I; "but what must be done?" "Done!" says he, "let fifty of our men advance and flank them on each wing, and encourage them; and they will fight like brave fellows in brave company; but without this they will every man turn his back." Immediately I rode up to our leader, and told him, who was exactly of our mind; and accordingly fifty of us marched to the right wing, and fifty to the left, and the rest made a line of rescue; and so we marched, leaving the last two hundred men to make a body by themselves, and to guard the camels; only that, if need were, they should send an hundred men to assist the last fifty.

In a word, the Tartars came on, and an innumerable company they were; how many we could not

tell, but ten thousand we thought was the least. A party of them came on first, and viewed our posture, traversing the ground in the front of our line; and as we found them within gun-shot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance swiftly, and give them a salvo on each wing with their shot, which was done; but they went off, and I suppose back, to give an account of the reception they were like to meet with; and indeed that salute cloyed their stomachs, for they immediately halted, stood a while to consider of it, and, wheeling off to the left, they gave over their design, and said no more to us for that time, which was very agreeable to our circumstances, which were but very indifferent for a battle with such a number.

Two days after this we came to the city of Naun, or Naum; we thanked the governor for his care of us, and collected to the value of an hundred crowns, or thereabouts, which we gave to the soldiers sent to guard us; and here we rested one day. This is a garrison, indeed, and there were nine hundred soldiers kept here; but the reason of it was, that formerly the Muscovite frontiers lay nearer to them than they now do, the Muscovites having abandoned that part of the country which lies from this city west for about two hundred miles, as desolate and unfit for use; and, more especially, being so very remote, and so difficult to send troops thither for its defence; for we had yet above two thousand miles to Muscovy, properly so called.

After this we passed several great rivers, and two

dreadful deserts, one of which we were sixteen days passing over; and which, as I said, was to be called no man's land; and on the 13th of April we came to the frontiers of the Muscovite dominions. I think the first town or fortress, whichever it may be called, that belonged to the Czar of Muscovy, was called Arguna, being on the west side of the river Arguna.

I could not but discover an infinite satisfaction that I was so soon arrived in, as I called it, a Christian country, or, at least, in a country governed by Christians. I saluted the brave Scots merchant I mentioned above with my first acknowledgment of this; and taking him by the hand, I said to him, "Blessed be God, we are once again amongst Christians." He smiled, and answered, "Do not rejoice too soon, countryman; these Muscovites are but an odd sort of Christians; and but for the name of it, you may see very little of the substance for some months farther of our journey." "Well," says I, "but still it is better than Paganism and worshipping of devils." "Why, I will tell you," says he, "except the Russian soldiers in the garrisons, and a few of the inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the rest of this country, for above a thousand miles farther, is inhabited by the worst and most ignorant of Pagans;" and so indeed we found it.

As we entered into the Muscovite dominions, a good while before we came to any considerable towns, we had nothing to observe there but this: first, that all the rivers run to the east; as I understood by the

charts which some in our caravan had with them, it was plain all those rivers ran into the great river Yamour, or Gamour; which river, by the natural course of it, must run into the East Sea, or Chinese Ocean.

Some leagues to the north of this river there are several considerable rivers, whose streams run as due north as the Yamour runs east, and these are all found to join their waters with the great river Tartarus, named so from the northernmost nations of the Mogul Tartars, who, as the Chinese say, were the first Tartars in the world, and who, as our geographers allege, are the Gog and Magog mentioned in sacred story. These rivers running all northward, as well as all the other rivers I am yet to speak of, make it evident that the Northern Ocean bounds the land also on that side; so that it does not seem rational in the least to think that the land can extend itself to join with America on that side, or that there is not a communication between the Northern and Eastern Ocean; but of this I shall say no more: it was my observation at that time, and therefore I take notice of it in this place.

We now advanced from the river Arguna by easy and moderate journeys, and were very visibly obliged to the care the Czar of Muscovy has taken to have cities and towns built in as many places as it is possible to place them, where his soldiers keep garrison, something like the stationary soldiers placed by the Romans in the remotest countries of their empire;

some of which that I had read of were placed in Britain for the security of commerce, and for the lodging travellers.

CHAPTER LIV.

OUR caravan rested three nights at Nertsinskay, in order to provide some horses which they wanted, several of the horses having been lamed and jaded with the badness of the way, and long march over the last desert. Here my indignation was excited by the stupidity of the people in worshipping a hideous idol, dressed up in clouts and rags, and I proposed to the Scots merchant to destroy the senseless object of sinful idolatry. At first he advised me so strongly against the danger of it, that I wavered for a while, but I still found that my inclination increased for executing the project I had been forming to destroy the monster, if it were possible to do it with any safety; and upon meeting the Scots merchant by accident the next evening, and consulting him again, I found he was grown as earnest for it as myself. So we sat down to contrive how we should effectually execute our purpose; and when we had laid the scheme to our minds, with the assistance of a trusty companion, and a servant or two, we went out privately, and came up to the priests in the night; and then, by a stratagem, having confined them and their attendants in their house, or tent, we stuffed

wild-fire in the filthy idol's mouth and ears; and, with the addition of other combustible stuff, we burned the frightful image to ashes, without being apprehended.

After the feat was performed, we appeared in the morning among our fellow-travellers, exceedingly busy in getting ready for our journey; nor could any suggest that we had been anywhere but in our beds, as travellers might be supposed to be, to fit themselves for the fatigues of the day's journey.

But the affair did not end so. The next day came a great number of the country people to the town-gates, and, in a most outrageous manner, demanded satisfaction of the Russian governor for the insulting their priests, and burning their great Cham Chi-Thaungu. The people of Nertsinskay were at first in a great consternation, for they said the Tartars were already no less than thirty thousand strong. The Russian governor sent out messengers to appease them, and gave them all the good words imaginable; assuring them that he knew nothing of it, and that there had not a soul in his garrison been abroad, so that it could not be from anybody there; but if they could let him know who did it, they should be exemplarily punished. They returned, haughtily, that all the country revered the Cham Chi-Thaungu, who dwelt in the sun, and no mortal would have dared to offer violence to his image but some Christian miscreant; and they therefore resolved to denounce war

against him and all the Russians, who, they said, were miscreants and Christians.

The governor, still patient, and unwilling to make a breach, or to have any cause of war alleged to be given by him, the Czar having strictly charged him to treat the conquered country with gentleness and civility, gave them still all the good words he could. At last he told them there was a caravan gone towards Russia that morning, and, perhaps, it was some of them who had done them this injury; and that, if they would be satisfied with that, he would send after them to inquire into it. This seemed to appease them a little; and, accordingly, the governor sent after us, and gave us a particular account how the thing was; intimating withal, that if any in our caravan had done it they should make their escape; but that, whether we had done it or no, we should make all the haste forward that was possible; and that, in the meantime, he would keep them in play as long as he could.

This was very friendly in the governor; however, when it came to the caravan, there was nobody knew anything of the matter; and as for us that were guilty, we were the least of all suspected. However, the captain of the caravan for the time took the hint that the governor gave us, and we travelled two days and two nights without any considerable stop, and then we lay at a village called Plothus; nor did we make any long stop here, but hastened on towards Jarawena, another of the Czar of Muscovy's colonies,

and where we expected we should be safe. But, upon the second day's march from Plothus, by the clouds of dust behind us, at a great distance, some of our people began to be sensible we were pursued. We had entered a great desert, and had passed by a great lake called Schaks Oser, when we perceived a very great body of horse appear on the other side of the lake, to the north, we travelling west. We observed they went away west, as we did, but had supposed we would have taken that side of the lake, whereas we very happily took the south side; and, in two days more, they disappeared again; for they, believing we were still before them, pushed on till they came to the river Udda, a very great river when it passes farther north, but where we came to it we found it narrow and fordable.

The third day, they had either found their mistake or had intelligence of us, and came pouring in upon us towards the dusk of the evening. We had, to our great satisfaction, just pitched upon a place for our camp which was very convenient for the night; for as we were upon a desert, though but at the beginning of it, that was above five hundred miles over, we had no towns to lodge at, and indeed expected none but the city Jarawena, which we had yet two days' march to; the desert, however, had some few woods in it on this side, and little rivers, which ran all into the great river Udda. It was in a narrow strait, between little but very thick woods, that we

pitched our camp for that night, expecting to be attacked before morning.

Nobody knew but ourselves what we were pursued for; but as it was usual for the Mogul Tartars to go about in troops in that desert, so the caravans always fortify themselves every night against them, as against armies of robbers, and it was therefore no new thing to be pursued.

But we had this night, of all the nights of our travels, a most advantageous camp; for we lay between two woods, with a little rivulet running just before our front, so that we could not be surrounded or attacked any way but in our front or rear. We took care also to make our front as strong as we could, by placing our packs, with our camels and horses, all in a line, on the inside of the river, and felling some trees in our rear.

In this posture we encamped for the night; but the enemy was upon us before we had finished our situation. They did not come on us like thieves, as we expected, but sent three messengers to us to demand the men to be delivered to them that had abused their priests, and burned their god Cham Chi-Thaungu with fire, that they might burn them with fire; and upon this, they said they would go away and do us no farther harm, otherwise they would destroy us all. Our men looked very blank at this message, and began to stare at one another, to see who looked with the most guilt in their faces; but nobody was the word; nobody did it. The leader of the caravan

sent word he was well assured it was not done by any of our camp; that we were peaceable merchants, travelling on our business; that we had done no harm to them, or to any one else; and that therefore they must look farther for their enemies who had injured them, for we were not the people; so desired them not to disturb us, for if they did, we should defend ourselves.

They were far from being satisfied with this for an answer, and a great crowd came running down in the morning, by break of day, to our camp; but seeing us in such an unaccountable situation, they durst come no farther than the brook in our front, where they stood, and showed us such a number that indeed terrified us very much; for those that spoke least of them spoke of ten thousand. Here they stood, and looked at us a while, and then, setting up a great howl, they let fly a crowd of arrows among us; but we were well enough fortified for that, for we sheltered under our baggage, and I do not remember that one of us was hurt.

Some time after this we saw them move a little to our right, and expected them on the rear, when a cunning fellow, a Cossack of Jarawena, in the pay of the Muscovites, calling to the leader of the caravan, said to him, "I'll go send all these people away to Siheilka." This was a city four or five days' journey at least to the right, and rather behind us. So he takes his bows and arrows, and getting on horseback, he rides away from our rear directly, as it were back

to Nertsinskay; after this he takes a great circuit about, and comes directly on the army of the Tartars, as if he had been sent express to tell them a long story, that the people who had burnt the Cham Chi-Thaungu were gone to Siheilka with a caravan of miscreants, as he called them, that is to say, Christians, and that they had resolved to burn the god Shal-Isar, belonging to the Tongueses.

As this fellow himself was a mere Tartar, and perfectly spoke their language, he counterfeited so well, that they all took it from him, and away they drove in a most violent hurry to Siheilka, which it seems was five days' journey to the north; and in less than three hours they were entirely out of our sight, and we never heard any more of them, nor whether they went to Siheilka or no. So we passed away safely on to Jarawena, where there was a garrison of Muscovites, and there we rested five days, the caravan being exceedingly fatigued with the last day's hard march, and with want of rest in the night.

From this city we had a frightful desert, which held us twenty-three days' march. We furnished ourselves with some tents here, for the better accommodating ourselves in the night; and the leader of the caravan procured sixteen carriages or waggons of the country for carrying our water or provisions, and these carriages were our defence, every night, round our little camp; so that had the Tartars appeared, unless they had been very numerous indeed, they would not have been able to hurt us.

We may well be supposed to want rest again after this long journey; for in this desert we neither saw house nor tree, and scarce a bush, though we saw abundance of the sable hunters, who are all Tartars of the Mogul Tartary, of which this country is a part; and they frequently attack small caravans, but we saw no numbers of them together.

After we had passed this desert, we came into a country pretty well inhabited, that is to say, we found towns and castles, settled by the Czar of Muscovy, with garrisons of stationary soldiers to protect the caravans, and defend the country against the Tartars, who would otherwise make it very dangerous travelling; and his Czarish majesty has given such strict orders for the well-guarding the caravans and merchants, that if there are any Tartars heard of in the country, detachments of the garrisons are always sent to see the travellers safe from station to station. And thus the governor of Adinskoy, whom I had an opportunity to make a visit to, by means of the Scots merchant, who was acquainted with him, offered us a guard of fifty men, if we thought there was any danger, to the next station.

From this to the great river Oby, we crossed a wild uncultivated country, barren of people and good management, otherwise it is in itself a most pleasant, fruitful, and agreeable country. What inhabitants we found in it are all pagans, except such as are sent among them from Russia; for this is the country, I mean on both sides the river Oby, whither the Mus-

covite criminals that are not put to death are banished, and from whence it is next to impossible they should ever come away.

I have nothing material to say of my particular affairs, till I came to Tobolski, the capital city of Siberia, where I continued some time.

We had now been almost seven months on our journey, and winter began to come on apace, whereupon my partner and I called a council about our particular affairs, in which we found it proper, as we were bound for England, and not for Moscow, to consider how to dispose of ourselves. They told us of sledges and reindeer, to carry us over the snow in the winter-time; and indeed they have such things that it would be incredible to relate the particulars of, by which means the Russians travel more in the winter than they can in the summer, as in these sledges they are able to run night and day; the snow, being frozen, is one universal covering to nature, by which the hills, vales, rivers, and lakes are all smooth and hard as a stone, and they run upon the surface without any regard to what is underneath.

But I had no occasion to push at a winter journey of this kind. I was bound to England, not to Moscow, and my route lay two ways; either I must go on as the caravan went till I came to Jaroslaw, and then go off west for Nerva, and the Gulf of Finland, and so to Dantzic, where I might possibly sell my China cargo to good advantage, or I must leave the caravan at a little town on the Dwina, from whence

I had but six days, by water, to Archangel, and from thence might be sure of shipping, either to England, Holland, or Hamburgh.

Now, to go any of these journeys in the winter would have been preposterous; for, as to Dantzic, the Baltic would have been frozen up, and I could not get passage, and to go by land in those countries was far less safe than among the Mogul Tartars; likewise, to go to Archangel in October, all the ships would be gone from thence, and even the merchants who dwell there in summer retire south to Moscow in winter, when the ships are gone; so that I could have nothing but extremity of cold to encounter, with a scarcity of provisions, and must lie in an empty town all the winter. So that, upon the whole, I thought it much my better way to let the caravan go, and make provision to winter where I was, at Tobolski in Siberia, in the latitude of about sixty degrees, where I was sure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, namely, plenty of provisions, such as the country afforded, a warm house, with fuel enough, and excellent company.

CHAPTER LV.

I WAS now in a quite different climate from my beloved island, where I never felt cold, except when I had my ague; on the contrary, I had much to do

to bear any clothes on my back, and never made any fire, but without doors, which was necessary for dressing my food, &c. Now I made me three good vests, with large robes or gowns over them, to hang down to the feet, and buttoned close to the wrists, and all these lined with furs, to make them sufficiently warm.

As to a warm house, I must confess I greatly disliked our way in England of making fires in every room in the house in open chimneys, which when the fire was out always kept the air in the room cold as the climate; but, taking an apartment in a good house in the town, I ordered a chimney to be built like a furnace, in the centre of six several rooms, like a stove; the funnel to carry the smoke went up one way, the door to come at the fire went in another, and all the rooms were kept equally warm, but no fire seen, just as they heat the bagnios in England. By this means we had all the same climate in all rooms, and an equal heat was preserved, and how cold soever it was without, it was always warm within; and yet we saw no fire, nor were ever incommoded with smoke.

The most wonderful thing of all was, that it should be possible to meet with good company here, in a country so barbarous as that of the most northerly parts of Europe, near the Frozen ocean, within but a very few degrees of Nova Zembla. But this being the country where the state criminals of Muscovy, as I observed before, are all banished, the city was

full of noblemen, gentlemen, soldiers, and courtiers of Muscovy. Here was the famous prince Gallitzen, the old general Robostiski, and several other persons of note, and some ladies. By means of my Scots merchant, whom, nevertheless, I parted with here, I made an acquaintance with several of these gentlemen; and from these, in the long winter nights in which I stayed here, I received several very agreeable visits.

I have not room to give a full account of all the agreeable conversations I had with one of these, a banished minister of state of the Czar, in all which he showed that his mind was so inspired with a superior knowledge of things, so supported by religion, as well as by a vast share of wisdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expressed, and that he was always the same to the last, as will appear in the story I am going to tell.

I had been here eight months, and a dark, dreadful winter I thought it; the cold so intense that I could not so much as look abroad without being wrapped in furs, and a mask of fur before my face, or rather a hood, with only a hole for breath, and two for sight. The little day-light we had was, as we reckoned for three months, not above five hours a-day, and six at most; only that, the snow lying on the ground continually, and the weather clear, it was never quite dark. Our horses were kept, or rather starved, under ground, and as for our servants whom

we hired here to look after ourselves and horses, we had, every now and then, their fingers and toes to thaw and take care of, lest they should mortify and fall off.

It is true, within doors we were warm, the houses being close, the walls thick, the lights small, and the glass all double. Our food was chiefly the flesh of deer, dried and cured in the season; bread good enough, but baked as biscuits; dried fish of several sorts, and some flesh of mutton and of the buffaloes, which is pretty good meat. All the stores of provisions for the winter are laid up in the summer, and well cured. Our drink was water, mixed with aqua-vitæ instead of brandy; and, for a treat, made instead of wine, which, however, they have excellent good. The hunters, who venture abroad all weathers, frequently brought us in fine venison, and sometimes bears' flesh, but we did not much care for the last. We had a good stock of tea, with which we treated our friends, as above, and we lived very cheerfully and well, all things considered.

It was now March, the days grown considerably longer, and the weather at least tolerable; so the other travellers began to prepare sledges to carry them over the snow, and to get things ready to be going; but my measures being fixed, as I have said, for Archangel, and not for Muscovy, or the Baltic, I made no motion; knowing very well that the ships from the south do not set out from that part of the world till May, or June, and that, if I was there by

the beginning of August, it would be as soon as any ships would be ready to go away; and therefore I made no haste to be gone, as others did. In a word, I saw a great many people, nay, all the travellers, go away before me.

In the month of May, I began to make all ready to pack up; and, as I was doing this, it occurred to me that, seeing all these people were banished by the Czar of Muscovy to Siberia, and yet, when they came there, were left at liberty to go whither they would, why they did not then go away to any part of the world, wherever they thought fit; and I began to examine what should hinder them from making such an attempt. But my wonder was over when I entered upon that subject with the person I have mentioned, who answered me thus: "Consider, first, sir," said he, "the place where we are; and, secondly, the condition we are in; especially the generality of the people who are banished hither. We are surrounded with stronger things than bars or bolts; on the north side an unnavigable ocean, where ship never sailed, and boat never swam; every other way we have above a thousand miles to pass through the Czar's own dominions, and by ways utterly impassable except by the roads made by the government, and through the towns garrisoned by his troops; so that we could neither pass undiscovered by the road, or subsist any other way; so that it is in vain to attempt it."

I was silenced, indeed, at once, and found that

they were in a prison, every jot as secure as if they had been locked up in the castle at Moscow. However, it came into my thoughts, that I might certainly be made an instrument to procure the escape of this excellent person; and that, whatever hazard I ran, I would certainly try if I could carry him off. Upon this I took an occasion one evening to tell him my thoughts. I represented to him, that it was very easy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country; and as I was not going to Moscow, but to Archangel, and that I went in the retinue of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the stationary towns in the desert, but could encamp every night where I would, we might easily pass uninterrupted to Archangel, where I would immediately secure him on board an English ship, and carry him safe along with me; and as to his subsistence, and other particulars, it should be my care, till he could better supply himself.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earnestly on me all the while I spoke; nay, I could see in his very face that what I said put his spirits into an exceeding ferment; nor could he immediately answer me when I had done, and, as it were, hesitated what he would say to it; but after he had paused a little, he embraced me. "My dear friend," said he, "your offer is so sincere, has such kindness in it, is so disinterested in itself, and is so calculated for my advantage, that I must have very little knowledge of the world, if I did not both wonder at it, and acknow-

ledge the obligation I have upon me to you for it. But did you believe me in what I have often said to you of my contempt of the world? Did you believe I was sincere when I told you I would not go back, if I was recalled even to be all that I once was in the court, with the favour of the Czar my master? Or did you set me down for a boasting hypocrite?" Here he stopped, as if he would hear what I would say; but, indeed, I soon after perceived that he stopped because his spirits were in motion, his great heart was full of struggles, and he could not go on. I was, I confess, astonished at the thing, as well as at the man, and I used some arguments with him to urge him to set himself free; that he ought to look upon this as a door opened by Heaven for his deliverance.

He had by this time recovered himself. "How do you know, sir," says he warmly, "but that, instead of a summons from Heaven, it may be a feint of another instrument; representing in alluring colours to me the show of felicity which is a deliverance, which may in itself be my snare, and tend directly to my ruin? Here I am free from the temptation of returning to my former miserable greatness; there I am not sure but that all the seeds of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, which I know remain in nature, may revive and take root, and, in a word, again overwhelm me; and then the happy prisoner, whom you see now master of his soul's liberty, shall be the miserable slave of his own senses, in the full enjoyment

of all personal liberty. O! be not my friend and tempter both together."

If I was surprised before, I was quite dumb now, and stood silent looking at him, and indeed admiring what I saw. I found he wanted to give vent to his mind; so I said I would leave him to consider of it, and then I withdrew to my own apartment.

About two hours after, I heard somebody near my room, and was going to the door, but he had opened it, and came in. "My dear friend," says he, "you had almost overset me, but I am recovered. Do not take it ill that I do not close with your offer. I assure you it is not for want of sense of the kindness of it in you; but I hope I have got the victory over myself, if it had been from Heaven, the same power would have influenced me to have accepted it; but I hope, and am fully satisfied, that it is from Heaven that I declined it."

I had nothing to do but to acquiesce, and make professions to him of my having no end in it, but a sincere desire to serve him. He embraced me very passionately, and assured me he was sensible of that, and should always acknowledge it; and, with that, he offered me a very fine present of sables, too much, indeed, for me to accept from a man in his circumstances, and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refused.

The next morning I sent my servant to his lordship with a small present of tea, and two pieces of China damask, and four little wedges of Japan gold,

which did not all weigh above six ounces, or thereabout, but were far short of the value of his sabres, which, when I came to England, I found worth near £200. He accepted the tea, and one piece of the damask, and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine stamp upon it of the Japan coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more; and he sent word by my servant, that he desired to speak with me.

When I came to him, he told me I knew what had passed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair; but that, since I had made such a generous offer to him, he asked if I had kindness enough to offer the same to another person. I told him that I could not say I inclined to do so much for any but himself, for whom I had a particular value, and should have been glad to have been the instrument of his deliverance. However, if he would name the person to me, I would give him my answer. He told me it was his only son; who, though I had not seen him, was in the same condition with himself, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other side the Oby; but that, if I consented, he would send for him.

I made no hesitation, but told him I would do it. I made some ceremony in letting him understand that it was wholly on his account; and that, seeing I could not prevail on him, I would show my respect to him, by my concern for his son. He sent away the next day for his son; and in about twenty days he came

back with the messenger, bringing six or seven horses loaded with very rich furs, and which, in the whole, amounted, to a very great value. His servants brought the horses into the town, but left the young lord at a distance till night, when he came incognito into our apartment, and his father presented him to me; and, in short, we concerted the manner of our travelling, and everything proper for the journey.

I had bought a considerable quantity of sables, black fox skins, fine ermines, and such other furs as are very rich in that city, in exchange for some of the goods I had brought from China; in particular, for the cloves and nutmegs, of which I sold the greatest part here, and the rest afterwards at Archangel, for a much better price than I could have got at London; and my partner, who was sensible of the profit, and whose business, more particularly than mine, was merchandise, was mightily pleased with our stay, on account of the traffic we made here.

CHAPTER LVI.

It was the beginning of June when I left this remote place, a city, I believe, little heard of in the world; and, indeed, it is so far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it should be much talked of. We were now reduced to a very small caravan, having only thirty-two horses and camels in all, and all

of them passed for mine, though my new guest was proprietor of eleven of them. It was most natural also that I should take more servants with me than I had before; and the young lord passed for my steward. What great man I passed for myself, I know not, neither did it concern me to inquire. We had here the worst and the largest desert to pass over that we met with in our whole journey. The best we had to say for it was, that we thought we had no troops of Tartars or robbers to fear, and that they never came on this side the river Oby, or, at least, very seldom; but we found it otherwise.

My young lord had a faithful Siberian servant, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, and led us by private roads, so that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities upon the great road, such as Tumen, Soloy, Kamskoi, and several others; because the Muscovite garrisons which are kept there are very curious and strict in their observation upon travellers, and searching lest any of the banished persons of note should make their escape that way into Muscovy; but, by this means, as we were kept out of the cities, so our whole journey was a desert, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents, when we might have had very good accommodation in the cities on the way. This the young lord was so sensible of, that he would not allow us to lie abroad when we came to several cities on the way, but lay abroad himself with his servant, in the woods, and met us always at the appointed places.

We were just entered Europe, having passed the river Kama, which in these parts is the boundary between Europe and Asia, and here we thought to see some evident alteration in the people; but we were mistaken. I thought, indeed, we must (after all our dangers were to our imagination escaped) have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered, by a troop of thieves; of what country they were I am yet at a loss to know, but they were all on horseback, carried bows and arrows, and were at first about forty-five in number. They came so near to us as to be within two musket-shots, and asking no questions, surrounded us with their horses, and looked very earnestly upon us twice. At length they placed themselves just in our way; upon which we drew up in a little line before our camels, being not above sixteen men in all; and being drawn up thus, we halted, and sent out the Siberian servant, who attended his lord, to see who they were. His master was the more willing to let him go, because he was not a little apprehensive that they were a Siberian troop sent out after him. The man came up near them with a flag of truce, and called to them; but though he spoke several of their languages, or dialects of languages rather, he could not understand a word they said. However, after some signs to him not to come nearer to them at his peril, the fellow came back no wiser than he went; only that, by their dress, he said he believed them to be some Tartars of Kalmuck, or of the Circassian hordes, and there must be more of them

upon the great desert, though he never heard that any of them were seen so far north before.

About an hour after, they again made a motion to attack us, and rode round our little wood to see where they might break in; but finding us always ready to face them, they went off again; and we resolved not to stir for that night.

This was small comfort to us. However, we had no remedy; there was on our left hand, at about a quarter of a mile distance, a little grove, and very near the road. I immediately resolved we should advance to those trees, and fortify ourselves as well as we could there; for, first, I considered that the trees would, in a great measure, cover us from their arrows; and in the next place, they could not come to charge us in a body. It was, indeed, my old Portuguese pilot who proposed it, and who had this excellency attending him, that he was always readiest and most apt to direct and encourage us in cases of the most danger. We advanced immediately, with what speed we could, and gained that little wood; the Tartars, or thieves, for we knew not what to call them, keeping their stand, and not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we found, to our great satisfaction, that it was a swampy piece of ground, and on the one side a very great spring of water, which, running out in a little brook, was a little farther joined by another of the like size, and was, in short, the source of the considerable river called afterwards the Wirtska. The trees which grew about

this spring were not above two hundred, but very large, and stood pretty thick, so that as soon as we got in, we saw ourselves perfectly safe from the enemy, unless they attacked us on foot.

While we stayed here waiting the motion of the enemy some hours without perceiving they made any movement, our Portuguese, with some help, cut several arms of trees half off, and laid them, hanging across from one tree to another, and in a manner fenced us in. About two hours before night they came down directly upon us ; and though we had not perceived it, we found they had been joined by some more of the same, so that they were near fourscore horse ; whereof, however, we fancied some were women. They came on till they were within half shot of our little wood, when we fired one musket without ball, and called to them in the Russian tongue to know what they wanted, and bade them keep off ; but they came on with a double fury up to the wood-side, not imagining we were so barricaded that they could not easily break in. Our old pilot was our captain as well as our engineer, and desired us not to fire upon them till they came within pistol-shot, that we might be sure to kill ; and that, when we did fire, we should be sure to take good aim. We bade him give the word of command, which he delayed so long, that they were, some of them, within two pikes' length of us when we let fly. We aimed so true that we killed fourteen of them, and wounded several others, as also several of their horses ; for we had all

of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets at least.

They were terribly surprised with our fire, and retreated immediately about one hundred rods from us, in which time we loaded our pieces again, and seeing them keep that distance, we sallied out and caught four or five of their horses, whose riders we supposed were killed; and coming up to the dead, we judged they were Tartars, but knew not how they came to make an excursion of such an unusual length.

We slept little, you may be sure, but spent the most part of the night in strengthening our situation, and barricading the entrances into the wood, and keeping a strict watch. We waited for day-light, and when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome discovery indeed; for the enemy, who, we thought, were discouraged with the reception they met with, were now greatly increased, and had set up eleven or twelve huts, or tents, as if they were resolved to besiege us; and this little camp they had pitched upon the open plain, about three quarters of a mile from us. We were, indeed, surprised at this discovery; and now I confess I gave myself over for lost, and all that I had. The loss of my effects did not lie so near me, though very considerable, as the thoughts of falling into the hands of such barbarians at the latter end of my journey, after so many difficulties and hazards as I had gone through, and even in sight of our port, where we expected safety and deliverance. As to my partner, he was raging,

and declared, that to lose his goods would be his ruin, and that he would rather die than be starved; and he was for fighting to the last drop.

The young lord, a gallant youth, was for fighting to the last also; and my old pilot was of the opinion we were able to resist them all in the situation we were then in; and thus we spent the day in debates of what we should do. But towards evening we found that the number of our enemies still increased, and we did not know but by the morning they might still be a greater number. So I began to inquire of those people we had brought from Tobolski, if there were no private ways by which we might avoid them in the night, and perhaps retreat to some town, or get help to guard us over the desert. The Siberian, who was servant to the young lord, told us, if we designed to avoid them, and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night, to a way that went north, towards the river Petrou, by which he made no question but we might get away, and the Tartars never the wiser.

Accordingly, as soon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning and prepared, so as to make it burn all night, that the Tartars might conclude we were still there; but as soon as it was dark, and we could see the stars, having all our horses and camels ready loaded, we followed our new guide, who, I soon found, steered himself by the north star.

After we had travelled two hours very hard, it be-

gan to be lighter still; not that it was dark all night, but the moon began to rise, so that, in short, it was rather lighter than we wished it to be; but by six o'clock the next morning we were got above thirty miles, having almost spoiled our horses. Here we found a Russian village, named Kermazinskoy, where we rested, and heard nothing of the Kalmuck Tartars that day. About two hours before night we set out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite so hard as before; and about seven o'clock we passed a little river called Kirtza, and came to a good large town, inhabited by Russians, called Ozomoys. There we heard that several troops of Kalmucks had been abroad upon the desert, but that we were now completely out of danger of them, which was to our great satisfaction. Here we were obliged to get some fresh horses; and having need enough of rest, we stayed five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honest Siberian who brought us thither the value of ten pistoles.

In five days more we came to Veuslima, upon the river Wirtzogda, and running into the Dwina. We were there very happily near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable, in seven days' passage, to Archangel. From whence we came to Lawrenskoy the 3d of July; and providing ourselves with two luggage-boats, and a barge for our own convenience, we embarked the 7th, and arrived all safe at Archangel the 18th; having been a year, five months and three days on the journey, including our

stay of eight months at Tobolski. We stayed at this place six weeks, for the arrival of the ships; and must have tarried longer, had not an Hamburger come in above a month sooner than usual.

We then set sail from Archangel, the 20th of August, the same year; and after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived safe in the Elbe the 18th of September. Here my partner and I found a very good sale for our goods, as well those of China as the sables, &c. of Siberia; and dividing the produce, my share amounted to £3475, 17s. 3d., including about six hundred pounds' worth of diamonds, which I had purchased at Bengal.

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the Elbe, in order to go to the court of Vienna, where he resolved to seek protection, and could correspond with those of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part without testimonies of gratitude for the service I had done him, and the sense of my kindness to the prince his father.

To conclude, having stayed near four months in Hamburgh, I came from thence, by land, to the Hague, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in London the 10th of January 1705, having been absent from England ten years and nine months. And here I resolved to prepare for a longer journey than all these, having lived a life of infinite variety seventy-two years.





