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THE

LIFE

AND

ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

in one

BY DANIEL DEFOE.

LONDON:

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THE PREFACE.

IF ever the ſtory of any private man's adventures in the world were worth making publick, and were acceptable when publiſhed, the Editor of this account thinks this will be ſo.

The wonders of this man's life exceeded all that (he thinks) is to be found extant; the life of one man being ſcarcely capable of a greater variety.

The ſtory is told with modeſty, with ſerioufneſs, and with a religious application of events to the uſes to which wiſe men always apply them, viz. to the inſtruction of others by their example, and to juſtify and honour the wiſdom of Providence in all the variety of our circumſtances, let them happen how they will.

The Editor believes the thing to be a juſt hiſtory of facts; neither is there any appearance of fiction in it; and however thinks, becauſe all ſuch things are diſpatched, that the improvement of it, as well to the diverſion as to the inſtruction of the reader, will be the ſame; and as ſuch, he thinks, without farther compliment to the world, he does them a great ſervice in the publication.

DANIEL DEFOE.

141368 Aug. 25 '73

THE

LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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 merchandize, 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 which was a 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 or 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 goes, and deſigned me for the law; but I would be ſatisfied with nothing but going to ſea; and my inclination to this led me ſo ſtrongly againſt the will, nay, the commands, of my father, and againſt all the intreaties and perſuaſions of my mother and other friends, that there ſeemed to be ſomething fatal in that propenſion of nature, tending directly to the life of miſery which was to befal me.

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 my father's 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

it was men of desperate fortunes on one hand, or of aspiring superior fortunes on the other, and who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprize, 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 station 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 mechanick 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 this one thing; viz. 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 the 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 bade me observe it, and I should always find, that the calamities of life were shared among the upper and lower part 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 uneasiness, either of body or mind, as those were, who, by vicious living, luxury, and extravagancies, on one hand, or by hard labour, want of necessaries, and mean or insufficient diet, on the other hand, bring distempers upon themselves by the natural consequences of their way of living; that the middle station of life was calculated for all kind of virtues, and all kind 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 a life of slavery for daily bread, or harrassed with perplexed circumstances, which rob the soul of peace, and the body of rest; not enraged with the passion of envy, or the 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, or 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 fate or 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 prophetick, 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

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 afflicted 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 farther importunities, in a few weeks after, I resolved to run quite away from him. However, I did not act so hastily neither, as the first heat of my resolution prompted; but I took my mother at a time when I thought her a little pleasanter than ordinary; and told her, that my thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the world, that I should never settle to any thing 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, but 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 go 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 that I had lost.

This put my mother into a great passion: she told me, she knew it would be to no purpose to speak to my father upon any such subject; that he knew too well what was my interest, to give his consent to any thing so much for my hurt; and that she wondered how I could think of any such thing, after the discourse I had had with 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 I heard afterwards, that she reported all the discourse to him; and that my father, after shewing 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 mean time 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, whither I went casually, and without any purpose of making an elopement that time; but, I say, being there, and one of my companions being going by sea to London, in his father's ship, and prompting me to go with them, with the common allurement of a seafaring man, that it should cost me nothing for my passage; I consulted neither father or mother any more, nor so much as sent them word of it; but leaving 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!) on the first of September 1651, I went on board a ship bound for London. Never any young adventurer's misfortunes, I believe, began sooner, or continued longer than mine: the ship was no sooner got out of the Humber, but the wind began to blow, and the sea 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 my wicked leaving my father's house, and abandoning my duty; all the good counsel of my parents, my father's tears and my mother's intreaties came now fresh into my mind; and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of hardness 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

and the sea went very high, though nothing like what I have seen many times since; no, nor what I saw a few days after; but it was enough to affect me then, who was but a young sailor, and had never known any thing of the matter. I expected every wave would have swallowed us up, and that every time the ship fell down, as I thought it did, in the trough or hollow of the sea, we should never rise more. In this agony of mind, I made many vows and resolutions, that if it would please God to spare my life in this one voyage, if ever I got once my foot upon dry land again, 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. Now I saw plainly the goodness of his observations about the middle station of life, how easy, how comfortable he had lived all his days, and never had been exposed to tempests at sea, or trouble on shore; and, in short, I resolved that I would, like a true repenting prodigal, go home to my father.

These wise and sober thoughts continued all the while the storm continued, and indeed some time after; but the next day the wind was abated, and the sea calmer, and I began to be a little inured to it. However, I was very grave for all 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 ever I saw.

I had slept well in the night, and was now no more sea-sick, but very chearful; looking with wonder upon the sea, that was so rough and terrible the day before, and could be so calm and so pleasant in so little a time after: and now, lest my good resolutions should continue, my companion, who had indeed inticed me away, comes to me, 'Well, Bob!' says he, clapping me upon the shoulder, 'how do you do 'after it? I warrant you were frighted, 'were not you, last night, when it blew 'but a capful of wind?'—'A capful, 'd'ye call it!' said I; 'it was a terrible storm.'—'A storm, you fool 'you!' 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: but, you're '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 all sailors; the punch was made, and I was made half drunk with it, and in that one night's wickedness I drowned all my repentance, all my reflections on my past conduct, all my resolutions for the future. In a word, as the sea was returned to it's smoothness of surface, and settled calmness, by the abatement of that storm, so the hurry of my thoughts being over, my fears and apprehensions of being swallowed up by the sea being forgotten, and the current of my former desires returned, I entirely forgot the vows and promises that I made in my distress. I found indeed some intervals of reflection, and the serious thoughts did, as it were, endeavour to return again sometimes; but I shook them off and rouzed myself from them, as it were from a distemper; and applying myself to drinking and company, soon mastered the return of those fits, (for so I called them;) and I had, in five or six days, got as compleat a victory over my 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 a one, as the worst and most hardened wretch among us would confess both the danger and the mercy.

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, viz. at S. W. 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

We had not, however, rid here so long but we should have tided it 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 an 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 top-masts, and make every thing snug and close, that the ship might ride as easy as possible. By noon, the sea went very high indeed, and our ship rid forecastle-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, though vigilant in the business of preserving the ship, yet as he went in and out of his cabin by me, I could hear him, softly to himself, say several times; 'Lord be merciful to us! we 'shall be all lost, we shall be all un-'done!' 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 resume the first penitence which I had so apparently trampled upon, and hardened myself against: I thought 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 frighted: 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 round us: two ships that rid near us, we found, had cut their masts by the board, being deep loaden; 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 not with a mast standing. The light ships fared the best, as not so much labouring in the sea; but two or three of them drove, and came close by us, running away with only their sprit-sail out, before the wind.

Towards the evening, the mate and boatswain begged the master of our ship to let them cut away the fore-mast, which he was very unwilling 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 fore-mast, the main-mast stood so loose, and shook the ship so much, they were obliged to cut her away also, and make a clear deck.

Any one must 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 tenfold 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 acknowledg[illegible] they had never seen a worse. W[illegible]nd ship, but she was deep l[illegible]lowed in the sea, that [illegible]ried

ever, the men rouzed me, and told me, that I that 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. While this was doing, the maſter ſeeing ſome light colliers, who, not able to ride out the ſtorm, were obliged to ſlip and run away to the ſea, and would come near us, ordered to fire a gun as a ſignal of diſtreſs. I, who knew nothing what they meant, was ſo ſurprized, that I thought the ſhip had broke, or ſome dreadful thing happened; in a word, I was ſo ſurprized, that I fell down in a ſwoon. As this was a time when every body had his own life to think of, nobody minded me, or what was become of me; but another man ſtepped up to the pump, and, thruſting me aſide with his foot, let me lie, thinking I had been dead; and it was a great while before I came to myſelf.

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 any port, ſo the maſter continued firing 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 a[illegible] men rowing very heartily, an[illegible] ir live[illegible] u

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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 but ſlow way towards the ſhore; nor were we able to reach the ſhore, till being paſt the light-houſe 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 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 away in, was caſt away in Yarmouth Road, it was a great while before he had any aſſurances that I was not drowned.

But my ill fate puſhed me on now, 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 had no power to do it: I know not what to call this; nor will I urge, that it is a ſecret over-ruling decree that hurries us on to be the inſtruments of our own deſtruction, even though it be before us, and that we puſh upon it with our eyes open. Certainly, nothing but ſome ſuch decreed unavoidable miſery attending, and which it was impoſſible for me to eſcape,

could

could have puſhed me forward againſt the calm reaſonings and perſuaſions of my moſt retired thoughts, and againſt two ſuch viſible inſtructions as I had met with in my firſt attempt.

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: and telling his father who I was, and how I had come this voyage only for a trial, in order go farther abroad; his father turning to me with a very 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 there'fore 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 all this has 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,' ſays 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 farther than he could have authority to go: however, he afterwards talked very gravely to me, exhorting 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 diſ'appointments, 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 every body elſe. From whence I have ſince often obſerved how incongruous and irrational the common temper of mankind is, eſpecially of youth, to that reaſon that ought to guide them in ſuch caſes; viz. 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 eſteemed wiſe men.

In this ſtate of life, however, I remained ſome time, uncertain what meaſures to take, and what courſe of life to lead. An irreſiſtible reluctance continued to going home; and as I ſtaid awhile, the remembrance of the diſtreſs I had been in wore off; and as that abated, the little motion I had in my deſires to return, wore off with it, till at laſt I quite laid aſide the thoughts of it, and looked out for a voyage.

That evil influence which carried me firſt away from my father's houſe, which hurried me into the wild and indigeſted notion of raiſing my fortune, and that impreſſed thoſe conceits ſo forcibly upon me as to make me deaf to all good advice, and to the intreaties, and even the commands, of my father; I ſay, the ſame influence, whatever it was, preſented the moſt unfortunate of all enterprizes 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; whereby, though I might indeed have worked a little harder than ordinary, yet, at the ſame time, I had learned the duty and office of a foremaſt-man; and in time might have qua-

lified myself for a mate or lieutenant, if not for a master. But as it was always my fate to chuse for the worst, so I did here; for having money in my pocket, and good cloaths on 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 unguided young fellows as I then was; the devil generally not omitting 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: this captain, taking a fancy to my conversation, which was not disagreeable at that time, and hearing me say I had a mind to see the world, told me, if I would go the voyage with him, I should be at no expence; I should be his messmate, and his companion; and if I could carry any thing 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 plain-dealing man, 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 l. in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This 40 l. 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 I got a competent knowledge of the mathematicks, 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 introduce me, I took delight to learn; and, in a word, this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant; for I brought home five pounds nine ounces of gold-dust for my adventure, which yielded me in London, at my return, almost 300 l. and this filled me with those aspiring thoughts which have since so compleated my ruin.

Yet, even in this voyage, I had misfortunes too; particularly, that I was continually sick, being thrown into a violent calenture by the excessive heat of the climate; our principal trading being upon the coast, from the lat. of 15 deg. N. even to the line itself.

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 l. of my new-gained wealth, so that I had 200 l. 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: viz. our ship making her course towards the Canary Islands, or rather between those islands and the African shore, was surprized in the grey of the morning by a Mooriſh rover of Sallee, who gave chase to us with all the sail she could make. We crouded also as much canvas as our yards would spread, or our masts carry, to have got 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 rover 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 sheer off again, after returning our fire, and pouring in also his small shot from near 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 ninety men upon our decks, who immediately fell to cutting and hacking the decks 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 were carried all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging 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. At this surprizing change of my circumstances, from a merchant to a miserable slave, I was perfectly overwhelmed; and now I looked back upon my father's prophetick discourse to me, that I should be miserable, and have none to relieve me; which I thought was now so effectually brought to pass, that I could not be worse; that now the hand of Heaven had overtaken me, and I was undone without redemption. 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, that he would take me with him when he went to sea again, believing that it would be some time or other his fate to be taken by a Spaniſh or Portugal 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 drudgery of slaves about his house; and when he came home again from his cruize, 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: nothing presented to make the supposition of it rational; for I had nobody to communicate it to, that would embark with me; no fellow-slave, no Engliſhman, Iriſhman, or Scotſman there, but myself; so that for two years, though I often pleased myself with the imagination, yet I never had the least encouraging prospect of putting it in practice.

After about two years, an odd circumstance presented itself, which put the old thoughts 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; insomuch, that sometimes he would 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 with him in a 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 land; however, we got well in again, though with a great deal of labour, and some danger, for the wind began to blow pretty fresh in the morning; but particularly we were all very hungry.

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 which 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 his ship, who was also 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 room before for an hand or two to stand and work the sails. She sailed with what we call a shoulder-of-mutton sail; and the boom jibbed over the top of the cabin, which lay very snug and low, and had in

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; 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 one day, that he had appointed to go out in this boat, either for pleaſure or for fiſh, with two or three Moors of ſome diſtinction, and for whom he had provided extraordinarily; and had therefore ſent on board the boat over night a larger ſtore of proviſions than uſual; and had ordered me to get ready three fuſils 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 had directed; and waited the next morning with the boat waſhed clean, her ancient and pendants out, and every thing 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; he commanded me too, 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 fiſhing buſineſs, but for a voyage; though I knew not, neither did I ſo much as conſider, whither I would ſteer; for any where 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 about half an hundred weight, with a parcel of twine or thread, an hatchet, a ſaw, and an 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 Moloy; ſo I called to him, 'Moloy,' ſaid I, 'our patron's guns are 'all on board the boat: can you not 'get a little powder and ſhot? It may 'be we may kill ſome alearnies (a 'fowl like our curlews) for ourſelves; 'for I know he keeps the gunner's 'ſtores in the ſhip.'—'Yes,' ſays he, 'I'll bring ſome.' Accordingly, he brought a great leather pouch, which held about a pound and an 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 had 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 every thing needful, we ſailed out of the port to fiſh. The caſtle, which was 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 ſat us down to fiſh. The wind blew from the N. N. E. which was contrary to my deſire; for had it blown ſouthery, I had been ſure to have made the coaſt of Spain, and at leaſt reached to the bay of Cadiz; but my reſolutions were, blow which way it would, I would be gone from that horrid place where I was, and leave the reſt to fate.

After we had fiſhed ſome time, and catched 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 in the head of the boat, ſet the ſails; and as I had the helm, I ran the boat out near a league farther, and then brought her to, as if I would fiſh; when, giving the boy the helm, I ſtepped forward to where

where the Moor was; and, making as if I ſtooped for ſomething behind him, I took him by ſurprize with my arm under his twiſt, and toſſed him clear over-board into the ſea; he roſe immediately, for he ſwam like a cork, and called to me, begging to be taken in, and told me he would go all over the world 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 the ſhore, and I will 'do you no harm; but if you come 'near the boat, I will ſhoot you thro' '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.

I could have been content to have taken this Moor with me, and have drowned the boy; but there was no venturing to truſt him: 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 the 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 Streights Mouth, (as indeed any one that had been in their wits muſt have been ſuppoſed to do;) for who would have ſuppoſed we were ſailed 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 S. and by E. bending my courſe a little towards the E. 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 firſt 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 thereabouts, 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 an 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 chace 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 or where; neither what latitude, what country, what nation, or what river: I neither ſaw, or 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 won't; 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 'way;' ſuch Engliſh Xury ſpoke by converſing among us ſlaves. However, I was glad to ſee the boy ſo chearful, and I gave him a dram out of our patron's caſe of bottles, to chear 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, lay ſtill, for we ſlept none; for in two or three hours we ſaw vaſt great creatures, we knew not what to call them, of many ſorts,

come

come down to the sea shore, and run into the water, wallowing and washing themselves, for the pleasure of cooling themselves; and they made such hideous howlings and yellings, that I never indeed heard the like.

Xury was dreadfully frighted, and indeed so was I too: but we were both worse frighted when we heard one mighty creature come 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 for aught I know: poor Xury cried out to me to weigh the anchor, and row away. 'No,' says I, 'Xury, we can slip our cable with 'a buoy to it, and go 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 surprized me; however, I immediately stepped to the cabin-door, and taking up my gun, fired at him; upon which he immediately turned about, and swam towards the shore again.

But it was not possible to describe the horrible noises, and hideous cries and howlings, that were raised, as well upon the edge of the shore, as higher within the country, upon the noise or report of a gun, a thing I have some reason to believe those creatures had never heard before. This convinced me, that there was no going on shore for us in the night upon that coast; and how to venture on shore in the day, was another question too; for, to have fallen into the hands of any of the savages, had been as bad as to have fallen into the paws of lions and tigers; at least, we were equally apprehensive of the danger of it.

Be that as it would, we were obliged to go on shore somewhere or other for water, for we had not a pint left in the boat; when or where to get to it, was the point: 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 made me love him ever after: says he, 'If wild mans come, 'they eat me, you go way.'—'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 the boat in as near shore as we thought was proper, and waded on 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 the 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 frighted with some wild beast, and I ran forward towards him, 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.

But we found afterwards, that we need not take such pains for water; for a little higher up the creek where we were, we found the water fresh when the tide was out, which flows but a little way up; so we filled our jars, and 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 off from the coast: but as I had no instruments to take an observation to know what latitude we were in, and did not exactly know, or at least not 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 easily have found some of these islands. But my hope was, that if I stood along this coast till I came to that 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

peror of Morocco's dominions and the Negroes, lies waste and uninhabited, except by wild beasts; the Negroes having abandoned it, and gone farther south, for fear of the Moors; and the Moors not thinking it worth inhabiting, by reason of it's barrenness; and, indeed, both forsaking it because of the prodigious numbers of tigers, lions, leopards, and other furious creatures which harbour there; so that the Moors use it for their hunting only, where they go like an army, two or three thousand men at a time: and indeed for near an hundred miles together upon this coast, we saw nothing but a waste uninhabited country by day, and heard nothing but howlings and roarings of wild beasts by night.

Once or twice, in the day-time, I thought I saw the Pico of Teneriffe, being the high 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 we were 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 farther 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 the shade of a piece of the hill, that hung as it were a little over him. 'Xury,' said I, 'you shall go on shore 'and kill him.' Xury looked frighted, 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 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 the 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 slug 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 I ever heard. I was a little surprized 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 making but little noise, he lay 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 the little gun in one hand, swam to the 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 dispatched him quite.

This was game indeed to us, but this 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 up (both) 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 in to 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, any where 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 there among the Negroes. I knew that all the ſhips from Europe, which ſailed either to the coaſt of Guinea, or to Brazil, or to the Eaſt Indies, made this cape, or thoſe iſlands; and, in a word, I put the whole of my fortune upon this ſingle point, either that I muſt meet with ſome ſhip, or muſt periſh.

When I had purſued this reſolution about ten days longer, as I 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 ran 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 with 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 ran 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 come 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: whether it was the male purſuing the female, or whether they were in ſport or in rage, we could not tell, any more than we could tell whether it was uſual or ſtrange; but I believe it was the latter; becauſe, in the firſt place, thoſe ravenous creatures ſeldom appear but in the night; and, in the ſecond place, we found the people terribly frighted, 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 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 bid Xury load both the other. 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 as if he was ſtruggling for life; and ſo indeed he was. He immediately made to the ſhore; but between the wound, which was his mortal hurt, and the ſtrangling of the water, he died juſt before he reached the ſhore.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the aſtoniſhment of theſe poor creatures at the noiſe and fire of my gun; ſome of them were ready even to die for fear, and fell down as dead with the very terror: but when they ſaw the creature dead and ſunk into the water, and that I made ſigns to them to come to the ſhore, they took heart, and came to the ſhore, and began to ſearch for the creature. I found him by his blood ſtaining the water, and by the help of a rope, which I flung round him, and gave the Negroes to haul, they dragged him on ſhore, and found it was a moſt curious leopard, ſpotted and fine to an admirable degree; and the Negroes held up their hands with admiration, to think what it was I killed him with.

The other creature, frighted with the

the flaſh of fire, and the noiſe of the gun, ſwam to the ſhore, and ran up directly to the mountains, from which they came, nor could I at that diſtance know what it was. I found quickly the Negroes were for eating the fleſh of this creature; 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 it, 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, nay much more readily than we would 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 proviſion, which, though I did not underſtand, yet I accepted. Then I made ſigns to them for ſome water, and held out one of my jars to them, turning it's bottom upward, to ſhew 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 ſea-ward; 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 freſh of wind, I might neither reach one or other.

In this dilemma, as I was very penſive, I ſtepped into the cabin, and ſet me down, Xury having the helm; when on a ſudden the boy cried out, 'Maſter, maſter, a ſhip was a ſail!' and the fooliſh boy was frighted 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; viz. that it was a Portugueze 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 go any nearer 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 ancient on board, I made a waſt 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 Portugueze, and in Spaniſh, and in French, but I underſtood none of them; but at laſt, a Scots ſailor, who was on board, called to me, and I anſwered him, and told him I was an Engliſhman, that had made my eſcape out of ſlavery from the Moors at Sallee; then they bid me come on board, and very kindly took me in, and all my goods.

It was an inexpreſſible joy to me, 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: 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 as 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: besides,' says he, 'when I carry you to the Brazils, so 'great a way from your own country, 'if I should take from you what 'little you have, you will be starved 'there, and then I only take away 'that life I have given. No, no,' says he, 'Signior Inglise, (Mr. English-'man), I would carry you thither in 'charity; and these things will help 'you 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 any thing I had; then he took every thing into his own possession, and gave me back an exact inventory of them, that I might have them again, 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 every thing, 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 his 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 voyage to the Brazils, and arrived in the *Bay de todos los Santos*, or All-Saints Bay, in about twenty-two days after. And now I was once more delivered from the most miserable of all conditions of life; and what to do next with myself, I was to consider.

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 the boat, and caused every thing I had in the ship to be punctually delivered me, and what I was willing to sell, he bought; 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 thirty pieces of eight of all my cargo, and with this stock I went on shore in the Brazils.

I had not been long here, but being 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 their planting and making of sugar; and seeing how well the planters lived, and how they grew rich suddenly, I resolved, if I could get licence to settle there, I would turn planter among them; resolving, in the mean time, 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 a 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, and such an one as might be suitable to the stock which I proposed to myself to receive from England.

I had a neighbour, a Portugueze of Lisbon, but born of English parents, whose name was Wells, and in much such circumstances as I was: I call him 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 any thing 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

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 was gotten 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; nay, I was coming into the very middle station, or upper degree of low life, which my father advised me to before, and which if I resolved to go on with, I might as well have staid at home, and never fatigued myself in the world, as I had done; and I used often to say to myself, 'I could have done this 'as well in England among my 'friends, as have gone five thousand 'miles off to do it among strangers and 'savages in a wilderness, and at such 'a distance, as never to hear from any 'part of the world that had the least 'knowledge of me.'

In this manner I used 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. But how just has it been, and how should all men reflect, that when they compare their present condition with others that are worse, Heaven may oblige them to make the exchange, and be convinced of their former felicity, by their experience! I saw, how just it has been, that the truly solitary life I reflected on in an island, or mere desolation, should be my lot, who had so often unjustly compared it with the life which I then led, in which had I continued, I had in all probability been exceeding prosperous and rich!

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 her loading, and preparing for her 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: 'Signior 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 but for 100 l. sterling, 'which you say is half your stock, 'and let the hazard be run for the 'first; so that if it comes 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; so I accordingly prepared letters to the gentlewoman with whom I had left my money, and a procuration to the Portugueze captain, as he desired.

I wrote the English captain's widow a full account of all my adventures, my slavery, escape, and how I had met with the Portugal 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 presented it effectually to her; whereupon, she not only delivered the money, but out of her own pocket sent the Portugal captain a very handsome present for his humanity and charity to me.

The merchant in London vested this 100 l. in English goods, such as the captain had written for; sent them directly to him at Lisbon, and he brought them all safe to me to 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 surprized with the joy of it; and my good steward the captain had laid out the 5 l. which my friend had sent him for a present

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 cloth, ſtuff, baize, and things particularly valuable and deſirable in the country, I found means to ſell them to a very great advantage; ſo that I may 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 one hundred pounds weight, were well cured, and laid by, againſt the return of the fleet from Liſbon. And now increaſing in buſineſs and 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.

Had I continued in the ſtation I was now in, I had room for all the happy things to have yet befallen me, for which my father ſo earneſtly recommended a quiet retired life, and which he had ſo ſenſibly deſcribed the middle ſtation of life to be full of; but other things attended me, and I was ſtill to be the wilful agent of all my own miſeries: and particularly to increaſe my fault, and double the reflections upon myſelf which in my future ſorrows I ſhould have leiſure to make; all theſe miſcarriages were procured by my apparent obſtinate adhering to my fooliſh inclination of wandering abroad, and purſuing that inclination, in contradiction to the cleareſt views of doing myſelf good in a fair and plain purſuit of thoſe proſpects, and thoſe meaſures of life, which Nature and Providence concurred to preſent me with, and to make my duty.

As I had once done thus in breaking away from my parents, ſo I could not be content now, but I muſt go and leave the happy view I had of being a rich and thriving man in my new plantation, only to purſue a raſh and immoderate deſire of riſing faſter than the nature of the thing admitted; and thus I caſt myſelf down again into the deepeſt gulph of human miſery that ever man fell into, or perhaps could be conſiſtent with life and a ſtate of health in the world.

To come then by juſt degrees to the particulars of this part of my ſtory: you may ſuppoſe, that having now lived almoſt four years in the Brazils, and beginning to thrive and proſper very well upon my plantation, I had not only learned the language, but had contracted acquaintance and friendſhip among my fellow-planters as well as among the merchants at St. Salvadore, which was our port; and that, in my diſcourſe 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 upon the coaſt, for trifles, (ſuch as beads, toys, knives, ſciſſars, hatchets, bits of glaſs, and the like) not only gold duſt, Guinea grains, elephant's 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 King of Spain and Portugal) and engroſſed in the publick ſtock; ſo that few Negroes were bought, and thoſe exceſſive dear.

It happened, being in company one day 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 of with them the laſt night; and they came to make a ſecret propoſal to me: and, after enjoining me ſecreſy, 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 ſtraitened for nothing ſo much as ſervants; that as it was a trade that could not publickly 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 my equal ſhare of the Negroes, without providing any part of the ſtock.

This was a fair propoſal, it muſt be confeſſed, had it been made to any one that had not had a ſettlement and plantation of his own to look after, which was in a fair way of coming to be very conſiderable, and with a good ſtock upon it: but for me that was thus eſtabliſhed, and had nothing to do but go on as I had begun for three or four years more, and to have ſent for the other 100l. from England, and who in that time, and what that little addition could ſcarce have failed of being worth three or 4000 l. ſterling, and that increaſing too; for me to think of ſuch a voyage, was the moſt prepoſterous thing that ever man in ſuch circumſtances could be guilty of!

But I, that was born to be my own deſtroyer, could no more reſiſt the offer than I could 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.

In ſhort, I took all poſſible caution to preſerve my effects, and to keep up my plantation. Had I uſed half as much prudence to have looked into my own intereſt, and have made a judgment of what I ought to have done, and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away from ſo proſperous an undertaking; leaving all the probable views of a thriving circumſtance, and gone upon a voyage to ſea, attended with all it's common hazards; to ſay nothing of the reaſons I had to expect particular misfortunes to myſelf.

But 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 finiſhed, and all things done as by agreement by my partners in the voyage; I went on board in an evil hour again, the 1ſt 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.

Our ſhip was about one hundred and twenty tons burden, carried ſix guns and fourteen men, beſides the maſter, his boy, and myſelf: we had on board no large cargo of goods, except of ſuch toys as were fit for our trade with the Negroes; ſuch as beads, bits of glaſs, ſhells, and odd trifles; eſpecially little looking-glaſſes, knives, ſciſſars, hatchets, and the like.

The ſame day I went on board, we ſet ſail, ſtanding away to the northward upon our own coaſts, with deſign to ſtretch over for the African coaſt, when we came into 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 exceſſive 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 Fernand 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 S. E. came about to the N. W. then ſettled into the N. E. from whence it blew in ſuch a terrible manner, that for twelve days together, we could do nothing but drive; and ſcudding away before

before it, let it carry us wherever fate and 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 did any in the ship expect to save their lives.

In this distress, we had, besides the terror of a storm, one of our men died of the calenture, and a 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 of north latitude, but that he was 22 degrees of longitude difference west from Cape St. Augustino, so that he found he was gotten upon the coast of Guiana, or the north part of Brazil, beyond the River Amazones, towards that of the River Oroonoque, commonly called the Great River; and now he began to consult with me what course he should take; for the ship was leaky, and very much disabled; and he was for 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 at sea, to avoid the indraught of the bay or gulph 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 to 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 so out of the very way of all human commerce, that had all our lives been saved, as to the sea, we were rather in danger of being devoured by savages, than ever returning to our own country.

In this distress, the wind still blowing very hard, one of our men, early one 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; and we were even driven into our close quarters, to shelter us from the very foam and spray of the sea.

It is not easy for any one who has not been in the like condition, to describe or conceive the consternation of men in such circumstances; we knew nothing where we were, or upon what land it was we were driven, whether an island or the main, whether inhabited or not inhabited: and, as the rage of the wind was still great, though rather less than at first, we could not so much as hope to have the ship hold many minutes without breaking in pieces, unless the winds, by a kind of miracle, should turn immediately about. In a word, we sat looking one upon another, and expecting death every moment, and every man acting accordingly, as preparing for another world; for there was little or nothing more for us to do in this: that which was our present comfort, and all the comfort we had, was, that, contrary to our expectation, the ship did not break yet, and that the master said the wind began to abate.

Now, though we thought that the wind did a little abate, yet the ship having thus struck upon the sand, and sticking too fast for us to expect her getting off, 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 lays 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

getting all into her, let go, and committed ourselves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy, and the wild sea; for though the storm was abated considerably, yet the sea went dreadfully high upon the shore, and might well be called *den wild zee*, as the Dutch call the sea in a storm.

And now our case was very dismal indeed; for we all saw plainly, that the sea went so high, that the boat could not escape, and that we should be inevitably drowned. As to making sail, we had none; nor, if we had, could we have done any thing with it; so we worked at the oar towards the land, though with heavy hearts, like men going to execution; for we all knew, that when the boat came near the shore, she would be dashed in a thousand pieces by the breach of the sea. However, we committed our souls to God in the most earnest manner, and the wind driving us towards the shore, we hastened our destruction with our own hands, pulling, as well as we could, towards land.

What the shore was, whether rock or sand, whether steep or shoal, we knew not; the only hope that could rationally give us the least shadow of expectation, was, if we might happen into some bay or gulph, or the mouth of some river, where by great chance we might have run our boat in, or got under the lee of the land; and perhaps made smooth water. But there was nothing of this appeared; but as we made nearer and nearer the shore, the land looked more frightful than the sea.

After we had rowed, or rather driven, about a league and an half, as we reckoned it, a raging wave, mountain like, came rolling astern of us, and plainly bid us expect the *coup de grace*. In a word, it took us with such a fury, that it overset 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 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: I had so much presence of mind, as well as breath left, that seeing myself nearer the main land than I expected, I got upon my feet, and endeavoured to make on towards the land, as fast as I could, before another wave should return, and take me up again. But I soon found it was impossible to avoid it, for I saw the sea come after me as high as a great hill, and as furious as an enemy, which I had no means or strength to contend with; my business was to hold my breath, and raise myself upon the water, if I could, and so by swimming to preserve my breathing, and pilot myself towards the shore, if possible; my greatest concern now being, that the wave, as it would carry me a great way towards the shore when it came on, might not carry me back again with it, when it gave back towards the sea.

The wave that came upon me again, buried me at once twenty or thirty feet deep in it's 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 found 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 waters went from me, and then I 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 after me again, and twice more I was lifted up by the waves, and carried forwards as before, the shore being very flat.

The last time of these two had well near been fatal to me; for the sea, having hurried me along as before,

landed me, or rather dashed me, against a piece of a rock, and that with such force, as it left me senseless, and indeed helpless, as to mine own deliverance; for the blow, taking my side and breast, beat the breath, as it were, quite out of my body; and had it returned again immediately, I must have been strangled in the water; but I recovered a little before the return of the waves; and seeing I should be covered again with the water, I resolved to hold fast by a piece of the rock, and so to hold my breath, if possible, till the wave went back. Now as the waves were not so high as at first, being near land, I held my hold, till the wave abated; and then fetched another run, which brought me so near the shore, that the next wave, though it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up, as to carry me away; and the next run I took, I got to the main land, where, to my great comfort, I 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 extasies and transports of the soul are when it is so saved, as I may say, out of the very grave; and I do not wonder now at that custom, viz. that when a malefactor, who has the halter about his neck, is tied up, and just going to be turned off, and has a reprieve brought to him; I say, I do not wonder, that they bring a surgeon with it, to let him blood that very moment they tell him of it, that the surprize may not drive the animal spirits from the heart, and overwhelm him;

For sudden joys, like griefs, confound at first.

I walked about on the shore, lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I may say, wrapped 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 breach and froth of the sea being so big, I could hardly see it, it lay so far off; and considered, 'Lord! '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 place I was in, and what was the 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 cloaths to shift me, nor any thing 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 creatures 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 terrible agonies of mind, that for a while I ran about like a madman. Night coming upon me, I began, with an 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 into 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,

tigued, I fell fast asleep, and slept as comfortably as I believe few could have done in my condition; and found myself the most refreshed with it, that I think I ever was on such an occasion.

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 surprized 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 almost as far as the rock, which I first mentioned, where I had been so bruised by the dashing me against it: this being within about a mile from the shore where I was, and the ship seeming to stand up 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 upon the land, about two miles to 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: and here I found a fresh renewing of my grief; for I saw evidently, that if we had kept on board, we had been all safe; that is to say, we had all got safe on shore, and I had not been so miserable as to be left entirely destitute of all comfort and company, as I now was: this forced tears from my eyes again; but as there was little relief in that, I resolved, if possible, to get to the ship; so I pulled off my cloaths, for the weather was hot to extremity, and took to the water; but when I came to the ship, my difficulty was still greater to know how to get on board; as she lay a ground 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 espied a small piece of rope, which I wondered I did not see at first, hang down by the fore chains, so low, as with great difficulty I got hold of it, and by the help of that rope, got up into the forecastle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulged, and a great deal of water in the 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 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 eat 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 rouzed my application. We had several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare top-mast or two in the ship; I resolved to fall to work with these, and flung as many of them 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 cross-ways, 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 a carpenter's saw I cut a spare top-mast 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 firſt got three of the ſeamen's cheſts, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon my raft; the firſt of theſe I filled with proviſions, viz. bread, rice, three Dutch cheeſes, five pieces of dried goat's fleſh, which we lived much upon, and a little remainder of European corn, which had been laid by for ſome fowls which we 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 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 arrack; theſe I ſtowed by themſelves, there being no need to put them into the cheſt, 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 cloaths, 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 out the carpenter's cheſt, which was indeed a very uſeful prize to me, and much more valuable than a ſhip-loading 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, 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, or rudder, and the leaſt capful of wind would have overſet all my navigation.

I had three encouragements: 1. A ſmooth and calm ſea. 2. The tide riſing and ſetting in to the ſhore. 3. 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 diſtant from the place where I had landed before; by which I perceived that there was ſome indraught of the water, and conſequently I hoped to find ſome creek of the 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. I found a ſtrong current of the tide ſet into it; ſo I guided my raft as well as I could to keep in the middle of the ſtream: but here I had like to have ſuffered a ſecond ſhipwreck, which, if I had, I think verily would have broken my heart; for, knowing nothing of the coaſt, my raft run aground at one end of it upon a ſhoal, and not being aground at the other end, it wanted but a little that all my cargo had ſlipped off towards that end that was aſloat, and ſo fallen into the water: I did my utmoſt, by ſetting my back againſt the cheſts, to keep them in their places, but could not thruſt off the raft with all my ſtrength; neither durſt I ſtir from the poſture I was in, but, holding up the cheſts with all my might, ſtood in that manner near half an hour, in which time the riſing of the water brought me a little more upon a level; and a little after, the water ſtill riſing, my raft floated again, and I thruſt her off with the oar I had, into the channel; and then driving up higher, I at length found myſelf in the mouth of a little river, with land on both ſides, and a ſtrong current of tide

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 ſo near, as that, reaching ground with my oar, I could thruſt her directly in; but here I had like to have dipped all my cargo in the ſea again; for that ſhore lying pretty ſteep, that is to ſay, ſloping, there was no place to land, but where one end of the float, if it ran on ſhore, would lie ſo high, and the other ſink lower, as before, that it would endanger my cargo again: all that I could do, was to wait till the tide was at the higheſt, keeping the raft with my oar, like an anchor, to hold the ſide of it faſt to the ſhore, near a flat piece of ground which I expected the water would flow over; and ſo it did. As ſoon as I found water enough (for my raft drew about a foot of water) I thruſt her upon that flat piece of ground, and there faſtened or moored her, by ſticking my two broken oars into the ground; one on one ſide near one end, and one on the other ſide near the other end; and thus I lay till the water ebbed away, and left 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 overtop 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, I immediately ſaw my fate, to my great affliction; viz. 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 which, 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. At my coming back, I ſhot at a great bird which I ſaw ſitting upon a tree on the ſide of a large wood: I believe it was the firſt gun that had been fired there ſince the creation of the world. I had no ſooner fired, but from all the parts of the wood there aroſe an extraordinary number of fowls of many ſorts, making a confuſed ſcreaming and crying, every one according to his uſual note; but not one of them of any kind that I knew: as for that creature I killed, I took it to be a kind of an hawk, it's colour and beak reſembling it, but it had no talons or claws more than common; it's fleſh was carrion, and fit for nothing.

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 the 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 beaſt might devour me, though I afterwards found there was really no need for thoſe fears.

However, as well as I could, I barricadoed myſelf round with the cheſts and boards that I had brought on ſhore, and made a kind of an 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 where I ſhot the fowl.

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 hand; 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 every thing out of the ſhip that I could

get;

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 store 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 cloaths that I could find, and a spare fore-top sail, hammock, and some bedding; and with this I loaded my second raft, and brought them also all safe on shore, to my very great comfort.

I was under some apprehensions during my absence from the land, that at least my provisions might be devoured on shore; but when I came back, I found no sign of any visitor, only there sat a creature like a wild cat upon one of the chests, which, when I came towards it, ran away to a little distance, and then stood still; she sat very composed and unconcerned, and looked full in my face, as if she had a mind to be acquainted with me. I presented my gun at her, but she did not understand it, she was perfectly unconcerned at it, nor did she offer to stir away; upon which I tossed her a bit of biscuit, though by the way I was not very free of it, for my store was not great. However, I spared her a bit, I say, and she went to it, smelled of it, and eat it, and looked (as pleased) for more; but I thanked her, and could spare no more, so she marched off.

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 a little tent with the sail, and some poles which I cut for that purpose; and into this tent I brought every thing that I knew would spoil, either with rain or sun; 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 an 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: 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 those things from the ship, as to get them on shore.

I had the biggest magazine of all kinds now that ever was laid up, I believe, for one man; but I was not satisfied still; for while the ship sat upright in that posture, I thought I ought to get every thing out of her that I could; so every day at low water I went on board, and brought away something or other; but particularly the third time I went, I brought away as much of the rigging as I could, as also all the small ropes and rope-twine I could get, with a piece of spare canvas, which was to mend the sails upon occasion, and the barrel of wet gunpowder: in a word, I brought away all the sails first and last, only that I was fain to cut them in pieces, and bring as much at a time as I could; for they were no more useful to me for sails, but as mere canvas only.

But that which comforted me more still, was, that at last of all, after I had made five or six such voyages as these, and thought I had nothing more to expect from the ship, that was worth meddling with; I say, after all this, I found a great hogshead of bread, three large rundlets of rum or spirits, a box of fine sugar, and a barrel of fine flour: this was surprizing to me, because I had given over expecting any more provisions, except what was spoiled by the water. I soon emptied the hogshead

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, though at several times.

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 an hawser on shore, with all the iron-work I could get; and having cut down the sprit-sail yard and the mizen-yard, and every thing I could to make a large raft, I loaded it with all those heavy goods, and came away: but my good luck began to leave me; for 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 great 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.

I had been 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 scissars, with ten or a dozen 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, 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; even 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 canvas, I began to think of making another raft; but while I was preparing this, I found the sky over-cast, 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, otherwise I might not be able to reach the shore at all: accordingly, I let myself down into the water, and swam cross the channel, which lay between the ship and the sand, 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 gotten 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 surprized; but recovered myself with this satisfactory reflection; viz. that I had lost no time, nor abated any diligence, to get every thing 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. I now gave over any more thought of the ship, or of any thing out of her, except what might drive on shore from her wreck, as indeed divers pieces of her afterwards did; but those things were of small use to me.

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 re-

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 would not be wholeſome, and more particularly, becauſe there was no 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; firſt, health, and freſh water, as I juſt now mentioned; ſecondly, ſhelter from the heat of the ſun; thirdly, ſecurity from ravenous creatures, whether man or beaſt; fourthly, a view to the ſea, that if God ſent any ſhip in ſight, I might not loſe any advantage of my deliverance, for which I was not willing to baniſh my expectation yet.

In ſearch of a place proper for this, I found a little plain on the ſide of a riſing hill, whoſe form towards this little plain, was as ſteep as an houſe ſide, ſo that nothing could come down upon me from the top: on the ſide of this rock there was an 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 an hundred yards broad, and about twice as long, and lay like a green before the door, and at the end of it deſcended irregularly every way down into the low grounds 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 an half circle before the hollow place, which took in about ten yards in it's ſemi-diameter, from the rock, and twenty yards in it's diameter, from it's 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 above five feet and an 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 upon one another, within the circle, between thoſe 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 or 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 wood, 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 go over the top; which ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me; and ſo I was compleatly 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 I had 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 alſo, to preſerve me from the rains, that in one part of the year are very violent there. I made it double; viz. one ſmaller tent within, and one larger tent above it; and covered the uppermoſt part of it 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 an 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 every thing that would ſpoil by the wet; and having thus incloſed all my goods, I made up the entrance, which till now I had left open, and ſo paſſed and repaſſed, as 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 an half; and thus

thus I made 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 ſcheme for the ſetting up the 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 ſurprized 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 work, my building and fortifying, and applied myſelf to make bags and boxes to ſeparate my powder, and to keep it a little and a little in a parcel, in hopes, that whatever might come, it might not all take fire at once, and to keep 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 140 pounds weight, was divided into no leſs than an 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 any thing 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 in the iſland, which was a great ſatisfaction to me; but then it was attended with this misfortune to me, viz. that they were ſo ſhy, ſo ſubtle, and ſo ſwift of foot, that it was the difficulteſt 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 vallies, though they were upon the rocks, they would run away as in a terrible fright; but if they were feeding in the vallies and I was upon the rocks, they took no notice of me; from whence I concluded, that by the poſition of their opticks, 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 incloſure; upon which I laid down the dam, and took the kid in my arms, and carried it over my pale, in hopes to have bred it 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 eat ſparingly, and ſaved 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 inlarged my cave, and what conveniences I made, I ſhall give a full account of in it's place: but I muſt firſt give ſome little account of myſelf, and of my thoughts about living, which it may well be 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, viz. 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 compleatly ruin it's creatures, and render them ſo abſolutely miſerable, ſo without help abandoned, and 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, put in, expoſtulating with me the other way, thus: 'Well, you are in a deſolate condition, 'tis 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 not they ſaved, and you loſt? Why are 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 attended them.

Then it occured to me again, how well I was furniſhed for my ſubſiſtence, and what would have been my caſe, if it had not happened, *which was an hundred thouſand to one*, that the ſhip floated from the place where firſt ſhe ſtruck, and was driven ſo near to the ſhore that I had time to get all theſe things out of her. What would have been my caſe, if I had been to have lived in the condition in which I at firſt came on ſhore, without neceſſaries of life, or any means to ſupply and procure them: 'Particularly,' ſaid I aloud, (though to myſelf) 'what would 'I have done without a gun; without 'ammunition; without any tools to 'make any thing; or to work with? 'without cloaths, bedding, a tent, 'or any manner of coverings?' And that now I had all theſe to a ſufficient quantity, and was in a fair way to provide myſelf in ſuch a manner, as to live without my gun when my ammunition was ſpent, ſo that I had a tolerable view of ſubſiſting without any want as long as I lived: for I conſidered from the beginning how I would provide for the accidents that might happen, and for the time that was to come, even not only after my ammunition ſhould be ſpent, but even after my health or ſtrength ſhould decay.

I confeſs I had not then entertained any notion of my ammunition being deſtroyed at one blaſt, I mean, my powder being blown up by lightning; and this made the thoughts of it ſurprizing to me, when it lightned and thundered, as I obſerved juſt now.

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 it's beginning, and continue it in it's order. It was, by my account, the 30th of September, when, in the manner as above ſaid, I firſt ſet foot upon this horrid iſland, when the ſun, being to us, in it's autumnal equinox, was almoſt juſt over my head; for I reckoned myſelf, by obſervation, to be in the latitude of 9 degrees 22 minutes ſouth 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, viz. 'I came on ſhore here 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.

In the next place, we are to obſerve, that among the many things which I brought from the ſhip in 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 omitted ſetting down before; 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,

tives, 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 Portugueze 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 muſt have occaſion to ſay ſomething in it's place; for I carried both the cats with me; and as for the dog, he jumped out of the ſhip of 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 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 he could not do. As I obſerved before, I found pen, ink, and paper, and I huſbanded them to the utmoſt; and I ſhall ſhew, 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 get.

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 made driving thoſe poſts or piles very laborious, and tedious work.

But what need I have been concerned at the tediouſneſs of any thing I had to do, ſeeing I had time enough to do it in! Nor had I any other employment, if that had been over, at leaſt that I could foreſee, except the ranging the iſland to ſeek for food, which I did more or leſs every day.

I now began ſeriouſly to conſider 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 ſo 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 comfort I enjoyed, againſt the miſeries I ſuffered) thus:

EVIL.	GOOD.
I am caſt upon an horrible deſolate iſland; void of all hope of recovery.	But I am alive, and not drowned, as all my ſhip's company was.
I am ſingled out and ſeparated, as it were from all the world, to be miſerable.	But I am ſingled out too from all the ſhip's crew, to be ſpared from death; and He that miraculouſly ſaved me from death, can deliver me from this condition.
I am divided from mankind, a ſolitary, one baniſhed from human ſociety.	But I am not ſtarved, and periſhing on a barren place, affording no ſuſtenance.
I have no cloaths to cover me.	But I am in an hot climate, where, if I had cloaths, I could hardly wear them.

EVIL.	GOOD.
I am without any defence or means to reſiſt any violence of man or beaſt.	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 gotten out ſo many neceſſary things as will either ſupply my wants, or enable me to ſupply 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 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 up againſt it of turfs, about two feet thick on the outſide; and after ſome time, (I think it was a year and an 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 times 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 ſat myſelf to enlarge my cave, and worked farther into the earth; for it was a looſe ſandy rock, which yielded eaſily to the labour I beſtowed on it; and ſo when I found I was pretty ſafe as to 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 my door to come out on the outſide of my pale or fortification.

This gave me not only egreſs and regreſs, as it was a back-way to my tent, and to my ſtore-houſe, 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 mathematicks, ſo, by ſtating and ſquaring every thing by reaſon, and by making the moſt rational judgment of things, every man may be, in time, maſter of every mechanick 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 it, 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 an 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

I had for the prodigious deal of time and labour which it took me up to make 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 had wrought out ſome boards, as above, I made large ſhelves of the breadth of a foot and an half, one over another, all along one ſide of my cave, to lay all my tools, nails, and iron-work; and, in a word, to ſeparate every thing at large in their places, that I might eaſily come at them; alſo 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 to be ſeen, it looked like a general magazine of all neceſſary things; and I had every thing 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 when I began to keep a journal of every day's employment; for, indeed, at firſt I was in too much hurry, and not only an hurry as to labour, but in too much diſcompoſure of mind, and my journal would have been full of many dull things. For example; I muſt have ſaid thus:

'September the 30th, after I got to 'ſhore, and had eſcaped drowning, inſtead of being thankful to God for my 'deliverance, having firſt vomited, with 'a great quantity of ſalt water, which 'was gotten into my ſtomach, and recovering myſelf a little, I ran about 'the ſhore, wringing my hands, and 'beating my head and face, exclaiming 'at my miſery, and crying out, I was 'undone, undone! till, tired and faint, 'I was forced to lie down on the ground 'to repoſe, but durſt not ſleep for fear 'of being devoured.

'Some days after this, and after I had 'been on board the ſhip, and had got 'all I could out of her, yet I could not 'forbear getting up to the top of a little mountain, and looking out to ſea, 'in hopes of ſeeing a ſhip; then fancy at 'a vaſt diſtance I ſpied a ſail, pleaſe myſelf with the hopes of it, and then after 'looking ſteadily till I was almoſt 'blind, loſe it quite, and ſit down and 'weep like a child, and thus increaſe 'my miſery by my folly.'

But having gotten over theſe things in ſome meaſure, and having ſettled my houſhold ſtuff and habitation, made me a table and a chair, and all as handſome about me as I could, I began, I ſay, to keep my journal, of which I ſhall here give you the copy (though in it will be told all theſe particulars over again) as long as it laſted; for at laſt, having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off.

JOURNAL.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1659. I, poor miſerable Robinſon Crutoe, being ſhipwrecked during a dreadful ſtorm in the offing, came on ſhore on this diſmal, unfortunate iſland, which I call, The Iſland of Deſpair; all the reſt of the ſhip's company being drowned, and myſelf almoſt dead.

All the reſt of the day I ſpent in afflicting myſelf at the diſmal circumſtances I was brought to; viz. I had neither food, houſe, cloaths, weapon, or place to fly to; and, in deſpair of any relief, ſaw nothing but death before me; either that I ſhould 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, tho' it rained all night.

October 1. In the morning, I ſaw, to my great ſurprize, 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 ſtaid 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

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 continued raining, though with no wind at all.

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

October 24. 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.

October 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.

October 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 ſemi-circle for my encampment, which I reſolved to ſtrengthen with a work, wall, or fortification, made of double piles, lined within with cable, 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 exceeding hard.

The 31ſt, in the morning, I went out into the iſland with my gun to ſee 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.

November 2. I ſet up all my cheſts and boards, and the pieces of timber which made my raft, and with them formed a fence round me, a little within the place I had marked out for my fortification.

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

November 4. This morning I began to order my gun and my times of work, of going out with my gun, time of ſleep, and time of diverſion; viz. every morning I walked out with my gun for two or three hours, if it did not rain; then employed myſelf at work till about eleven o'clock; then eat 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 were wholly employed in making this table, for I was yet but a very ſorry workman, though time and neceſſity made me a compleat natural mechanick ſoon after, as I believe it would do any one elſe.

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

November 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.

November 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 to pieces ſeveral times. Note. I ſoon neglected keeping Sundays; for, omitting my mark for them on my poſt, I forgot which was which.

November 13. This day it rained, which refreſhed me exceedingly, and cooled the earth; but it was accompanied with terrible thunder and lightning,

ning, 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.

November 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 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.

November 17. This day I began to dig behind my tent into the rock, to make room for my farther conveniency. Note. Three things I wanted exceedingly for this work, viz. a pick-axe, a ſhovel, and a wheelbarrow or baſket: ſo I deſiſted from my work, and began to conſider how to ſupply that want, and make me ſome tools. As for the 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.

November 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, for it's exceeding hardneſs; of this, with great labour, and almoſt ſpoiling my axe, I cut a piece, and brought it home with difficulty enough, for it was exceeding heavy.

The exceſſive hardneſs of the wood, and 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 handles 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 ſo, for carrying away the earth which I dug out of the cave, I made me a thing like an hod, which the labourers carry mortar in when they ſerve 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's walk with my gun, which I ſeldom failed; and very ſeldom failed alſo of bringing home ſomething fit to eat.

November 23. My other work having 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 had never 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 cieling to prop up, ſo that I might be ſure no more would come down.

December

December 11. This day I went to work with it accordingly, and got two ſhoars 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 off my houſe.

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

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

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

December 25. Rain all day.

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

December 27. Killed a young goat, and lamed another, ſo that I catched it, and led it home in a ſtring; when I had it home, I bound and ſplintered up it's 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.

December 28, 29, 30. 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, 1660. 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 vallies 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.

January 2. 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.

January 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 twenty-four yards in length, being an half circle from one place in the rock to another place about eight yards from it; the door of the cave being in the centre behind it.

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 every thing was done with, eſpecially the bringing piles out of the wood, 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 aſhore there, they would not perceive any thing like an habitation: and it is very well I did ſo, as may be obſerved hereafter upon a very remarkable occaſion.

During this time, I made rounds in the woods for game every day, when the rain permitted me, and made frequent diſcoveries in theſe walks of ſomething or other to my advantage; particulary, I found a kind of wild pigeons, which build not as wood-pigeons in a tree, but rather as houſe-pigeons in the holes of the rocks; and taking ſome young ones, I endeavoured to breed them up tame, and did ſo; but when they grew older, they flew all away, which perhaps was at firſt for want of feeding them, for I had nothing to give them; however, I frequently

quently found their neſts, and got their young ones, which were very good meat.

And now, in the managing my houſhold 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 rundlet 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 candles; 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 a light, though not a clear ſteady light like a candle. In the middle of all my labours it happened, that, rummaging my things, I found a little bag, which, as I hinted before, had been filled with corn for the 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 rains, juſt now mentioned, that I threw this ſtuff away, taking no notice of any thing, and not ſo much as remembering that I had thrown any thing there; when about a month after, or thereabouts, I ſaw ſome few ſtalks of ſomething green ſhooting upon the ground, which I fancied might be ſome plant I had not ſeen; but I was ſurprized, 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 any thing 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 ordering and governing all events in the world: but after I ſaw barley grow there, in a climate which I knew was not proper for corn, and eſpecially that 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 in 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 but that there was no more in the place, I went all over that part of the iſland where I had been before, peering in every corner, and under every rock, to ſee for more of it, but I could not find any: at laſt it occurred to my thoughts, that I had ſhaken the bag of chickens meat out in that place, and the wonder began to ceaſe; and I muſt confeſs, my religious thankfulneſs to God's providence began to abate too, upon diſcovering that all this was nothing but what was common; though I ought to have been as thankful for ſo ſtrange and unforeſeen 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 dropped from heaven: as alſo that I ſhould throw it out into that particular place, where it being in the ſhade of an high rock ſprang up immediately; whereas, if I had thrown it any where elſe at that time, it had 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 would allow myſelf the leaſt grain of this corn to eat, and even then but ſparingly, as I ſhall ſay afterwards in it's order; for I loſt all that I ſowed the firſt ſeaſon, by not obſerving the proper time; for I ſowed it juſt before the dry ſeaſon, ſo that it never came up at all, at leaſt not as it would have done: of which in it's 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, viz. 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 exceſſive hard theſe three or four months, to get my wall done; and the 14th of April I cloſed it up, contriving to go into it, not by a door, but over a 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 up after me, and let it down on the inſide: this was a compleat incloſure 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 had all my labour overthrown at once, and myſelf killed. The caſe was thus: as I was buſy in the inſide of it, behind my tent, juſt in the entrance into my cave, I was terribly frightened with a moſt dreadful ſurprizing thing indeed! for all on a ſudden I found the earth came tumbling down from the roof of my cave, and from the edge of the hill over my head, and two of the poſts I had ſet up in the cave, cracked in a frightful manner: I was heartily ſcared, but thought nothing of what really was the cauſe; only thinking that the top of my cave was falling in, as ſome of it had done before; and for fear I ſhould be buried in it, I ran forwards to my ladder; and, not thinking myſelf ſafe there neither, I got over my wall for fear of the pieces of the hill which I expected might roll down upon me. I was no ſooner ſtept down upon the firm ground, but I plainly ſaw it was a terrible earthquake; for the ground I ſtood on ſhook three times, at about eight minutes diſtance, with three ſuch ſhocks as would have overturned the ſtrongeſt building that could be ſuppoſed to have ſtood upon the earth; and a great piece of the top of the rock, which ſtood about half a mile from me next the ſea, fell down with ſuch a terrible noiſe, as I never heard in all my life: I perceived alſo the very ſea was put into a violent motion by it; and I believe the ſhocks were ſtronger under the water than on the iſland.

I was ſo amazed with the thing itſelf, having never felt the like, or diſcourſed with any one that had, that I was like one dead or ſtupified; and the motion of the earth made my ſtomach ſick, like one that was toſſed at ſea; but the noiſe of the falling of the rock awaked me, as it were; and rouzing me from the ſtupified condition I was in, filled me with horror, and I thought of nothing then but the hill falling upon my tent and all my houſhold goods, and burying all at once; and this ſunk my very ſoul within me a ſecond time.

After the third ſhock was over, and I felt no more for ſome time, I began to take courage; and yet I had not heart enough to get over my wall again, for fear of being buried alive; but ſtill ſat upon the ground, greatly caſt down, and diſconſolate, not knowing what to do. All this while I had not the leaſt ſerious religious thought, nothing but the common, 'Lord, have 'mercy upon me!' and when it was over, that went away too.

While I ſat thus, I found the air overcaſt, and it grew cloudy, as if it would rain; and, in leſs than half an hour, it blew a moſt dreadful hurricane

cane of wind: the ſea all on a ſudden covered with foam and froth, the ſhore was covered with the breach of the water, the trees were torn up by the roots, and a terrible ſtorm it was: and this held about three hours, and then began to abate; and then in two hours more it was calm, and began to rain very hard.

All this while I ſat upon the ground very much terrified and dejected, when on a ſudden it came into my thoughts, that theſe winds and rain being the conſequence of the earthquake, the earthquake itſelf was ſpent and over, and I might venture into my cave again. With this thought my ſpirits began to revive, and the rain helping alſo to perſuade me, I went in, and ſat me down in my tent; but the rain was ſo violent, that my tent was ready to be beaten down with it, and I was forced to go into my cave, though very much afraid and uneaſy for fear it ſhould fall on my head.

This violent rain forced me to a new work, viz. to cut an hole through my new fortification, like a ſink, to let the water go out, which would elſe have drowned my cave. After I had been in my cave ſome time, and found ſtill more ſhocks of the earthquake follow, I began to be more compoſed; and now, to ſupport my ſpirits, which indeed wanted it very much, I went to my little ſtore, and took a ſmall ſup of rum, which however I did then and always very ſparingly, knowing I could have no more when that was gone.

It continued raining 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 to do; concluding, that if the iſland was 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; but concluded, if I ſtaid where I was, I ſhould certainly, one time or other, be buried alive.

With theſe thoughts, I reſolved to move my tent from the place where it ſtood, which was juſt under the hanging precipice of the hill, and which, if it ſhould be ſhaken again, would certainly fall upon my tent. And 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 up alive, made me that I never ſlept in quiet; and yet the apprehenſions of lying abroad without any fence, were almoſt equal to it: but ſtill, when I looked about, and ſaw how every thing was put in order, how pleaſantly concealed I was, and how ſafe from danger, it made me loth to remove.

In the mean time 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 venture where I was, till I had formed a camp for myſelf, and had ſecured it ſo as to remove to it. So with this reſolution 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 my tent up in it when it was finiſhed; but that I would venture to ſtay where I was, till it was finiſhed and fit to remove to. This was the 21ſt.

April 22. The next morning I began to conſider of means to put this reſolve in execution; but I was at a great loſs about my tools: I had three large axes, and abundance of hatchets, (for we carried the hatchets for traffick 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 politicks, 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 not ſeen any ſuch thing in England, or at leaſt not to take notice how it was done; though ſince, I have obſerved it was 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 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 the 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 which was driven on ſhore, and 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 broken 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 the ſtern, that whereas there was a great place of water before, ſo that I could not come within a quarter of a mile of the wreck without ſwimming, I could now walk quite up to her when the tide was out: I was ſurprized with this at firſt, but ſoon concluded it muſt be done by the earthquake; and as by this violence the ſhip was more broken 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 that all the inſide of the ſhip was choaked up with ſand: however, as I had learned not to deſpair of any thing, I reſolved to pull every thing to pieces that I could of the ſhip, concluding, that every thing 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 eat 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 very much tired, and had thoughts of giving it over.

May 7. Went to the wreck again, with an intent not to work; but found the weight of the wreck had broken 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 or ſand: I wrenched open two planks, and brought them on ſhore alſo with the tide. I left the iron crow in the wreck for the 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 move.

May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Went every day to the wreck, and got a great deal of pieces of timber and boards, or planks, 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 an half in the water, I could not make any blow to drive the hatchet.

May 16. It had blowed hard in the night, and the wreck appeared more broken by the force of the water; but I ſtaid ſo long in the woods to get pigeons for food, that the tide prevented me 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 an 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 alſo I got, at ſeveral times, and in ſeveral pieces, near a 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 happened 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 horrible place.

June 18. Rained all the day, and I ſtaid within. I thought at this time the rain felt cold, and I was ſomething 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, frighted 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 head-ach.

June 24. Much better.

June 25. An ague very violent; the fit held me ſeveral 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 eat; 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 eat nor drank. I was ready to periſh for thirſt, but ſo weak, I had no 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 I lay 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 awaked, I found myſelf much refreſhed, but weak, and exceedingly thirſty; however, as I had no water in my whole habitation, I was forced to lie till morning, and went to ſleep again: in this ſecond ſleep, I had this terrible dream.

I thought that I was ſitting on the ground, on the outſide of my wall, where I ſat when the ſtorm blew after the earthquake, and that I ſaw a man deſcend from a black cloud, in a bright flame of fire, and light upon the ground: he was all over as bright as a flame, ſo that I could but juſt bear to look towards him; his countenance was moſt

moſt inexpreſſibly dreadful, impoſſible for words to deſcribe; when he ſtepped upon the ground with his feet, I thought the earth trembled, juſt as it had done before in the earthquake; and all the air looked, to my apprehenſion, as if it had been filled with flaſhes of fire.

He was no ſooner landed upon the earth, but he moved forwards towards me, with a long ſpear or weapon in his hand to kill me; and when he came to a riſing ground, at ſome diſtance, he ſpoke to me, or I heard a voice ſo terrible, that it is impoſſible to expreſs the terror of it; all that I can ſay I underſtood, was this: 'Seeing all theſe 'things have not brought thee to re-'pentance, now thou ſhalt die.' At which words, I thought he lifted up the ſpear that was in his hand to kill me.

No one that ſhall ever read this account, will expect that I ſhould be able to deſcribe the horrors of my ſoul at this terrible viſion; I mean, that even while it was a dream, I even dreamed of thoſe horrors; nor is it any more poſſible to deſcribe the impreſſion that remained upon my mind, when I awaked and found it was but a dream.

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 prophane 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 upwards towards God, or inwards towards a reflection upon my own ways: but a certain ſtupidity of ſoul, without deſire of good, or conſcience 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 of the fear of God in dangers, or of thankfulneſs to God in deliverances.

In the relating what is already paſt of my ſtory, this will be the more eaſily believed, when I ſhall add, that through all the variety of miſeries that had to this day befallen me, I never had ſo much as one thought of it's being the hand of God, or that it was a juſt puniſhment for my ſins; my rebellious behaviour againſt my father, or my preſent ſins, which were great; or ſo much as a puniſhment for the general courſe of my wicked life. When I was on the deſperate expedition on the deſart 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 merely thoughtleſs of God, or a Providence; I 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 Portugal captain, well uſed, and dealt juſtly and honourably with, 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 as 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 got on ſhore firſt here, and found all my ſhip's crew drowned, and myſelf ſpared, I was ſurprized with a kind of extaſy, 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: even juſt the ſame common ſort of joy which ſeamen generally have, after they have 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

I ſaw a probability of living, and that I ſhould not ſtarve and 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 ſerioufneſs, as long as I thought it had ſomething miraculous in it; but as ſoon as ever that part of 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 it's nature, or more immediately directing to the Inviſible Power which alone directs ſuch things; yet no ſooner was the firſt fright over, but the impreſſion it had made went off alſo. I had no more ſenſe of God, or his judgment, 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 leiſurely 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 began to reproach myſelf with my paſt life, in which I had ſo evidently, by uncommon wickedneſs, 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 from the ſecond or third day of my diſtemper, and in a violence, as well of the fever as of the dreadful reproaches of my conſcience, extorted ſome words from me, like praying to God, though I cannot ſay they were either a prayer attended with deſires, or with hopes; it was rather the voice of mere fright and diſtreſs; my thoughts were confuſed, the convictions great upon my mind, and the horror of dying in ſuch a miſerable condition, raiſed vapours into my head with the mere apprehenſions; and, in theſe hurries of my ſoul I knew not what my tongue might expreſs: but it was rather exclamation, ſuch as, 'Lord! what a miſera-'ble 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 a good while.

In this interval, the good advice of my father came to my mind, and preſently his prediction, which I mentioned in the beginning of this ſtory; viz. 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 me 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 poſture or ſtation of life 'wherein I might have been happy 'and eaſy; but I would neither ſee 'it myſelf, nor learn to know the 'bleſſing of it from my parents; 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 lifted me into the world, and 'would have made every thing eaſy to 'me; and now I have difficulties to 'ſtruggle with, too great for even na-'ture itſelf to ſupport, and no aſſiſt-'ance, no help, no comfort, no ad-'vice!' Then I cried out, 'Lord, 'be my help, for I am in great diſ-'treſs!'

This was the firſt prayer, if I might 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, and the fit being entirely off, I got up; and though the fright and terror of my dream was very great, 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; and the firſt thing I did, I filled 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 quar-

ter

ter 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 eat, as we call it, in the shell; and this was the first bit of meat I had ever asked God's blessing to, even (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 out 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 thoughts, such as these, occurred to me.

'What is the 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?

'Sure we are all made by some se-'cret 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 it all!'— 'Well, but,' then it came on strongly; 'if God has made all these things, 'he guides and governs them all, and 'all things that concern them; for 'the Being 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 appoint-'ment.

'And if nothing happens without 'his knowledge, he knows that I am 'here, and am in a dreadful condi-'tion; and if nothing happens with-'out his appointment, he has appoint-'ed all this to befal me.'

Nothing occurred to my thoughts to contradict any of these conclusions; and therefore it rested upon me with the greater force, that it must need be, that God had appointed all this to befal me; that I was brought to this miserable circumstance by his direction; he having the sole power, not of me only, but of every thing that happened 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 enquiry, 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 mispent life, and ask thy-'self what thou hast not done? Ask, 'why is it that thou wert not long 'ago destroyed? Why wert thou not 'drowned in Yarmouth Roads? kill-'ed in the fight, when the ship was 'taken by the Sallee man of war? de-'voured by the wild beasts on the coasts 'of Africa? or, drowned here, when 'all the crew perished but thyself? 'Dost thou ask, what have I done?'

I was struck dumb with these reflections, as one astonished, and had not a word to say; no, not to answer to myself: but rose up, pensive and sad, walked back to my retreat, and went up 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 my chair, and lighted my lamp, for it began to be dark. Now, as the apprehensions of the return of my distemper terrified me very much, it occurred to my thought, that the Brazillians take no physick 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, viz. 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, or whether it was good for it or no; 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 that I had not been much used to it; then I took some, and steeped it an hour or two in 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 smoak of it, as long as I could bear it, as well for the heat as the virtue of it, and I held almost to 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, and thou shalt glorify me.'

The 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 I began to say, as the children of Israel did when they were promised flesh to eat, 'Can God spread a table 'in the wilderness?' So I began to say, 'Can God himself deliver me 'from this place?' And as it was not for many years that any hope appeared, this prevailed very often upon my thoughts: but, however, the words made a very great impression upon me, and I mused upon them very often. It grew now 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 any thing 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, and I found presently it flew up 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 the opinion, that I slept all the next day and night, and till almost three the day after; for otherwise I knew 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 a day; but in my account it was lost, and I never knew which way.

Be that, however, one way or other, when I awaked, I found myself exceedingly refreshed, and my spirits lively and chearful; 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 eat 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, viz. 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 smoak; 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 spice 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 received; and I was, as it were, made to aſk myſelf ſuch queſtions as theſe; viz. 'Have I not 'been delivered, and wonderfully too, 'from ſickneſs? From the moſt diſ-'treſſed condition that could be, and 'that was ſo frightful to me? And 'what notice had I taken of it? Had 'I done my part? God had de-'livered me: but I had not glorified 'him.' That is to ſay, I had not owned and been thankful for that as a deliverance, and how could I expect greater deliverance!

This touched my heart very much, and immediately I kneeled 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 awhile every morning and every night, not tying 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, but 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 day, that, reading the Scripture, I came to theſe words, 'He is exalted a Prince 'and a Saviour, to give repentance, 'and to give reiniſſion:' I threw down the book, and with my heart as well as my hand lifted up to heaven, in a kind of extaſy of joy, I cried out aloud, 'Jeſus, thou ſon of David! 'Jeſus, thou exalted Prince and Sa-'viour, give me repentance!'

This was the firſt time that I could ſay, in the true ſenſe of the words, that I prayed in all my life; 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 any thing 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 was 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 of this; and I added 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.

My condition began now to be, though not leſs miſerable as to my way of living, yet much eaſier to my mind; and my thoughts being directed, by a conſtant reading the ſcripture and praying to God, to things of a higher nature, I had a great deal of comfort within, which till now I knew nothing of: alſo, as my health and ſtrength returned, I beſtirred myſelf to furniſh myſelf with every thing I wanted, and make my way of living as regular as I could.

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 weaken 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 that came attended with ſtorms and hurricanes of wind; for as the rain which came in a dry ſeaſon was always moſt accompanied with ſuch ſtorms, ſo I found this rain was much more dangerous than the rain which fell in September and October.

I had been now 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 now 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 yet I knew nothing of.

It was 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 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, and very freſh and good; but this being the dry ſeaſon, there was hardly any water in ſome parts of it, at leaſt not enough to run into any ſtream, ſo as it could be perceived.

On the bank 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: there were divers other plants which I had no notion of or underſtanding about; and 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 then 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, but could bring it to no concluſion; for, in ſhort, I had made ſo little obſervation while I was in the Brazils, that I knew little of the plants of the field; at leaſt, very little that might ſerve me to any purpoſe, now in my diſtreſs.

The next day, the 16th, I went up the ſame way again; and, after going ſomething farther than I had done the day before, I found the brook and the ſavannahs began to ceaſe, and in the country became 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; the vines had ſpread indeed over the trees, and the cluſters of grapes were juſt now in their prime, very ripe and rich. This was a ſurprizing diſcovery, and I was exceeding glad of them, but I was warned by my experience to eat ſparingly of them, remembering, that when I was aſhore in Barbary, the eating of grapes killed ſeveral of our Engliſhmen who were ſlaves there, by throwing them into fluxes and fevers: but I found an excellent uſe for theſe grapes, and that was, to cure or dry them in the ſun, and keep them as dried grapes or raiſins are kept, which I thought would be, as indeed they were, as wholeſome, and as agreeable to eat, when no grapes might be had.

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. In the night I took my firſt contrivance, and got up into a tree, where I ſlept well, and the next morning proceeded upon 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 ſide 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, every thing 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 valley, 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

might have it in inheritance, as compleatly as any lord of a manor in England. I saw here abundance of cocoa-trees, orange and lemon, and citron-trees; but all wild, and 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 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.

In order to do this, I gathered a great heap of grapes in one place, and a lesser heap in another place, and a great parcel of limes and lemons in another place; and taking a few of each with me, I travelled homeward, and resolved to come again, and bring a bag or sack, or what I could make, to carry the rest home.

Accordingly, having spent three days in this journey, I came home, (so I must now call my tent, and my cave;) but before I got thither, the grapes were spoiled; the richness of the fruit, and the weight of the juice, having broken them, and bruised them, they were good for little or nothing; as to the limes, they were good, but I could bring but few.

The next day, being the 19th, I went back, having made me two small bags to bring home my harvest: but I was surprized, when coming to my heap of grapes, which were so rich and fine when I gathered them, I found them all spread abroad, trod to pieces, and dragged about, some here, some there, and abundance eaten and devoured. By this I concluded there were some wild creatures thereabouts, which had done this; but what they were, I knew not.

However, as I found there was no laying them up on heaps, and no carrying them away in a sack, but that one way they would be destroyed, and the other way they would be crushed with their own weight, I took another course; for I gathered a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them upon the out branches of the trees, that they might cure and dry in the sun; and as for the limes and lemons, I carried as many back as I could well stand under.

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 of the water, and the wood; and concluded that I had pitched upon a place to fix my abode, 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 now was 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, and to consider that I was now by the sea-side, where it was at least possible that something might happen to my advantage, and that the same ill fate that brought me hither, might bring some other unhappy wretches to the same place; and though it was scarce probable, that any such thing should ever happen, yet to inclose 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 with 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, not to remove; yet I built me a little kind of a bower, and surrounded it at a distance with a very strong fence, being a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked and filled between with brushwood: and 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-house, and my sea-coast house. And this work took me up 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 me a tent like the other, with a piece of a sail, and spread it very well,

well, yet I had not the shelter of an 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 third 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; for the rains which followed would have spoiled them, and I had 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 thence, 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 surprized 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 tale or tidings of her, till to my astonishment she came home about the end of August, with three kittens. This was the more strange to me, because though I had killed a wild cat, as I called it, with my gun, yet I thought it was quite a different kind from our European cats; yet the young cats were the same kind of house-breed like the old one; and both my cats being females, I thought it very strange. But from these three cats, 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, found a very large tortoise, which was a treat to me. And my food was regulated thus: I eat a bunch of raisins for my breakfast; a piece of the goat's flesh, or of the turtle, for my dinner, broiled, (for, to my great misfortune, I had no vessel to boil or stew any thing;) and two or three of the turtle's eggs for 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. But I was not perfectly easy at lying so open; for as I had managed myself before, I was in a perfect inclosure, whereas now I thought I lay exposed; and yet I could not perceive, that there was any living thing to fear, the biggest creature that I had yet seen upon the island being a goat.

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 to a religious exercise, prostrating myself to the ground with the most serious humiliation, confessing myself to God, acknowledging his righteous judgment 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 eat a biscuit-cake 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 at first I had 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 of my reckoning.

A little after this, my ink began to fail me, and so 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.

The rainy season, and the dry season, began now to appear regular to me, and I learned to divide them so as

to

to provide for them accordingly. But I bought all my experience before I had it; and this I am going to relate, was one of the moſt diſcouraging experiments that I made at all. I have mentioned, that I had ſaved the few ears of barley and rice which I had ſo ſurprizingly found ſpring up, as I thought, of themſelves, and 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 it's ſouthern poſition going from me.

Accordingly I dug up 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 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 ſeeds, leaving about a handful of each.

It was a great comfort to me afterwards, that I did ſo, for not one grain of that I ſowed this time came to any thing; for the dry months following, the earth having had no rain after the ſeed was ſown, it had no moiſture to aſſiſt it's growth, and never came up at all, till the wet ſeaſon had come again, and then it grew as if it had been newly ſown.

Finding my firſt ſeed did not grow, which I eaſily imagined was by 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 February, a little before the vernal equinox; and this, having the rainy months of March and April to water it, ſprung up very pleaſantly, and yielded a very good crop; but having part of the ſeed left only, and not daring to ſow all that I had yet, I had but a ſmall quantity at laſt, my whole crop not amounting to above half a peck of each kind.

But by this experience I was made maſter of my buſineſs, and knew exactly when the proper ſeaſon was 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 off 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 it's head. I could not tell what tree to call it, that theſe ſtakes were cut from. I was ſurprized, and yet very well pleaſed, to ſee the young trees grow; and I pruned them, and led them up 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 compleat ſhade, ſufficient to lodge under all the dry ſeaſon.

This made me reſolve to cut ſome more ſtakes, and make me an hedge like this in a ſemi-circle round my wall, (I mean, that of my firſt dwelling) which I did; and, placing the trees or ſtakes in a double row, at above 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 it's 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:

Half Feb. } Rainy, the ſun being
March } then on or near the
Half April } Equinox.

Half April }
May } Dry, the ſun being then
June } to the north of the
July } line.
Half Aug. }

Half Aug. }
Sept. } Rain, the ſun being then
Half Oct. } come back.

Half Oct. }
Nov. } Dry, the ſun being then
Dec. } to the ſouth of the
Jan. } line.
Half Feb. }

The

The rainy ſeaſon ſometimes held longer or ſhorter, as the winds happened to blow; but this was the general obſervation I made. After I had found, by experience, the ill conſequence 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.

In this time I found much employment, (and very ſuitable alſo to the time) for I found great occaſion of many things which I had no way to furniſh myſelf with, but by hard labour and conſtant application; particularly, I tried many ways to make myſelf a baſket; but all the twigs I could get for the purpoſe proved ſo brittle, that they would do nothing. 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 lent an hand, I had by this means ſo full knowledge of the methods of it, that I wanted nothing but the materials; when it came into my mind, that the twigs of that tree from whence I cut my ſtakes that grew, might poſſibly be as tough as the ſallows and willows, and oſiers, in England; and I reſolved to try.

Accordingly, the next day I went to my country-houſe, as I called it, and cutting ſome of the ſmaller twigs, I found them to my purpoſe as much as I could deſire; whereupon, I came the next time prepared with an hatchet to cut down a quantity, which I ſoon found, for there was a great plenty of them: theſe I ſet up to dry within my circle or hedges; and when they were fit for uſe, I carried them to my cave; and here, during the next ſeaſon, I employed myſelf in making (as well as I could) a great many baſkets, both to carry earth, and to carry or lay up any thing, as I had occaſion; and 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, I made 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 wants. I had no veſſels to hold any thing that was liquid, except two rundlets, 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 waters, ſpirits, &c. I had not ſo much as a pot to boil any thing in, except a great kettle which I ſaved out of the ſhip, and which was too big for ſuch uſes as I deſired it for, viz. 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 rows of ſtakes or piles, and in this wicker work, all the ſummer, or dry ſeaſon: when another buſineſs took me up more time than it could be imagined I could ſpare.

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 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 and 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 the W. to the 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 do-

minions,

minions, and perhaps was all inhabited by ſavages, where, if I ſhould have landed, I had been in a worſe condition than I was now; and, therefore, I acquieſced in the diſpoſitions of Providence, which I began now to own, and to believe, ordered every thing for the beſt; I ſay, I quieted my mind with this, and left 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 veſſels paſs or repaſs one way or other; but if not, then it was the ſavage coaſt between the Spaniſh country and Brazil, which were, indeed, the worſt of ſavages; for they are cannibals, or men-eaters, and fail not to murder and devour all the human bodies that fall into their hands.

With theſe conſiderations I walked very leiſurely forward. I found that ſide of the iſland where I now was much pleaſanter than mine, the open or ſavannah fields ſweet, adorned with flowers and graſs, and full of very fine woods. I ſaw abundance of parrots, and fain would I have caught one, if poſſible, to have kept it to be tame, and taught it to ſpeak to me. I did, after ſome pains-taking, 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 it's place.

I was exceedingly diverted 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, viz. goats, pigeons, and turtle or tortoiſe; which, 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 of thankfulneſs, that I was not driven to any extremities for food; but rather plenty, even to dainties.

I never travelled in this journey above two miles outright in a day, or thereabouts; but I took ſo many turns and and returns, to ſee what diſcoveries I could make, that I came weary enough to the place where I reſolved to ſit down for all night; and then either repoſed myſelf in a tree, or ſurrounded myſelf with a row of ſtakes ſet upright 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 ſurprized 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 turtles, 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 not ſeen before, and many of them very good meat; but ſuch as I knew not the names of, except thoſe called penguins.

I could have ſhot as many as I pleaſed, but was very ſparing of my powder and ſhot; and therefore had more mind to kill a ſhe-goat, if I could, which I could better feed on: and though there were many goats here more than on the other ſide of the iſland, yet it was with much more difficulty that I could come near them; the country being flat and even, and they ſaw me much ſooner than when I was on the hills.

I confeſs this ſide of the country was much pleaſanter than mine, but 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 ſhore of the ſea 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 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 it's place.

I took another way to come back than that I went, thinking I could eaſily keep

keep all the iſland ſo much 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 woods, 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.

It happened, to my farther 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 uncomfortably, 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 ſurprized a young kid, and ſeized upon it; and I running in to take hold of it, 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 ſpent.

I made a collar to this little creature, and with a ſtring which I 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 incloſed 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 every thing 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.

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 Pol, who began now to be a mere domeſtick, and to be mighty well acquainted with me. Then I began to think of the poor kid, which I had pent in within my little circle, and reſolved to go and fetch it home, and 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 became from that time one of my domeſticks 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 acknowledgements of 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, that God had been pleaſed to diſcover to me, even that it was poſſible I might be more happy in this ſolitary condition, than I ſhould have been in a liberty 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 communication of his grace to my ſoul, ſupporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence here, and 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 it's miſerable circumſtances, than the wicked, curſed, abominable life, I led all the paſt part of my days; and now having changed both my ſorrows and my joys,

my very desires altered, my affections changed their gust, and my delights were perfectly new, from what they were at first coming, or indeed for the two years past.

Before, as I walked about, either on my hunting, or for viewing the country, the anguish of my soul at my condition would break out upon me on a sudden, and my very heart would die within me, to think of the woods, the mountains, the deserts I was in; and how I was a prisoner locked up, with the eternal bars and bolts of the ocean, in an uninhabited wilderness, without redemption. In the midst of the greatest composures of my mind, this would break out upon me like a storm, and made me wring my hands, and weep like a child. Sometimes it would take me in the middle of my work, and I would immediately sit down and sigh, and look upon the ground for an hour or two together, and this was still worse to me; for if I could burst out into tears, or vent myself by words, it would go off, and the grief, having exhausted itself, would abate.

But 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 'all 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 compari-'son in the loss?'

From this moment I began to conclude in my mind, that it is was possible for me to be more happy in this forsaken, solitary condition, than it was probable I should have ever been in any other particular state in the world; and with this thought I was going to give thanks to God for bringing me to this place.

I know not what it was, but something shocked my mind at that thought, and I durst not speak the words. 'How 'canst thou be such an hypocrite,' said I, even audibly, 'to pretend to be 'thankful for a condition, which, 'however thou mayest endeavour to 'be contented with, thou wouldst ra-'ther pray heartily to be delivered 'from?' So I stopped there; but though I could not say, I thanked God for being there, yet I sincerely gave thanks to God for opening my eyes, by whatever afflicting providences, to see the former condition of my life, and to mourn for my wickedness, and repent. I never 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 up among my goods; and for assisting me afterwards to save it out of the wreck of the ship.

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; having regularly divided my time, according to the several daily employments that were before me: such as, First, My duty to God, and reading the scriptures, which I constantly set apart some time for, thrice every day. Secondly, The going abroad with my gun for food, which generally took me up three hours in every morning when it did not rain. Thirdly, The ordering, curing, preserving, and cooking, what I had killed or catched 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, every thing that I did took up out of my time: for example, I was full two and forty days making me a board for a long

long shelf, which I wanted in my cave; whereas two sawyers, with their tools and saw-pit, would have cut six of them, out of the same tree, in half a day.

My case was this: It was to be a large tree which was to be cut down, because my board was to be a broad one. The tree I was three days a cutting down, and two more 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 began to be 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 be 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 only observe this in particular, to shew the reason why so much of my time went away with so little work, viz. that what might be a little to be done with help and tools, was a vast labour, and required a prodigious time to do alone, and by hand.

But, notwithstanding this, with patience and labour, I went through many things, and indeed every thing that my circumstances made necessary for me to do, as will appear by what follows.

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; for I had 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, which, tasting the sweetness of the blade, lay in it night and day, as soon as it came up, and eat it so close, that it could get no time to shoot up into stalks.

This I saw no remedy for, but by making an inclosure about it with a hedge, which I did with a great deal of toil; and the more, because it required a great deal of speed; the creatures daily spoiling my corn. However, as my arable land was but small, suited to my crop, I got it totally well fenced in about three weeks time; and shooting some of the creatures in the day-time, set my dog to guard it in the night, tying him up to a stake at the gate, where he would stand and bark all night long; so, in a little time, the enemies forsook the place, and the corn grew very strong and well, and began to ripen apace.

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 of I know not how many sorts, which stood as it were watching till I should be gone. I immediately let fly among them (for I always had my gun with me.) I had no sooner shot, but there arose up a little cloud of fowls, which I had not seen at all, from among the corn itself.

This touched me sensibly, for I foresaw, that in a few days they would devour all my hopes, that I should be starved, and never be able to raise a crop at all; and what to do I could not tell: however, I resolved not to lose my corn, if possible, though I should watch it night and day. In the first place, I went among it, to see what damage was already done, and found they had spoiled a good deal of it; but that, as it was yet too green for them, the loss was not so great, but the remainder was like to be a good crop, if it could be saved.

I staid by it to load my gun, and then coming away, I could easily see the thieves sitting upon all the trees about me, as if they only waited till I was gone away, and the event proved it to be so; for as I walked off, as if I was gone, I was no sooner out of their sight, but they dropped down one by one into the corn again. I was so provoked, that I could not have patience to stay till more came on, knowing that every grain that they eat now, was, as it might be said, a peck loaf to me in the consequence; but coming up to the hedge, I fired again, 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, viz. hanged them in chains for a terror to others. It is impoſſible to imagine almoſt, that this ſhould have ſuch an effect as it had; for the fowls would not only not come at 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 a ſickle to cut it down, and all I could do was to make one as well as I could out of one of the broad ſwords or cutlaſſes, which I ſaved among the arms out of the ſhip. However, as my 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 an half of barley; that is to ſay, by my gueſs, for I had no meaſure at that time.

However, this was a 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 mean time 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, viz. 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 be my daily diſcouragement, and was made more and more ſenſible of it every hour, even after I got the firſt handful of ſeed-corn, which, as I have ſaid, came up unexpectedly, and indeed to a ſurprize.

Firſt, I had no plough to turn 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 but in 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 made it be performed much worſe.

However, this I bore with too, 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 the earth, as it may be called, rather than rake or harrow it.

When it was growing, or grown, I have obſerved already how many things I wanted, to fence it, ſecure it, mow or reap it, cure or carry it home, threſh, 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 it into bread, and an oven to bake it in; and all theſe things I did without, as ſhall be obſerved; and yet the corn was an ineſtimable comfort and advantage to me too; but all this, as I ſaid, made every thing laborious and tedious to me, but that there was no help for; neither was my time ſo much loſs to me, becauſe 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 the making the corn, when I had it, fit for my uſe.

But, firſt, I was to prepare more land, for I had now 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 a very ſorry one indeed, and very heavy, and required double labour to work with it; however, I went through that, and ſowed my ſeeds in two large flat pieces of ground, as near my houſe as

as I could find them to my mind, and fenced them in with a good hedge, the ſtakes of which were all cut of that wood which I had ſet before, which I knew would grow, ſo that in one year's time I knew I ſhould have a quick of living hedge, that would want but little repair. This work was not ſo little, as to take me up leſs than three months, becauſe great part of that time was of the wet ſeaſon, when I could not go abroad.

Within-door, that is, when it rained, and I could not go out, I found employment on the following occaſion, always obſerving, that all the while I was at work, I diverted myſelf with talking to my parrot, and teaching him to ſpeak; and I quickly learned him to know his own name; at laſt, to ſpeak it out pretty loud, POL; which was the firſt word I ever heard ſpoken in 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, viz. I had long ſtudied, by ſome means or other, to make myſelf ſome earthen veſſels, which indeed I wanted ſorely, 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 ſuch clay, I might botch up ſome ſuch pot, as might, being dried by the ſun, be hard enough, and ſtrong enough, to bear handling, and to hold any thing that was dry, and required to be kept ſo; and as this was neceſſary in preparing corn, meal, &c. which was the thing I was upon, I reſolved to make ſome as large as I could, and fit only to ſtand like jars to hold what ſhould be put into them.

It would make the reader pity me, or rather laugh at me, to tell how many aukwark ways I took to raiſe this paſte, what odd, miſ-ſhapen, ugly things I made, how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the clay not being ſtiff enough to bear it's own weight; how many cracked by the over-violent heat of the ſun, being ſet out too haſtily; and how many fell to pieces with only removing, as well before as after they were dried; and, in a word, how, after having 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 any thing my hand turned to; and the heat of the ſun baked them ſtrangely hard.

But all this would not anſwer my end; which was, to get an earthen pot to hold what was liquid, and bear the fire, which none of theſe could do. It happened after ſome time, 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 earthen-ware veſſels in the fire, burnt as hard as a ſtone, and red as a tile. I was agreeably ſurprized 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 me 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 fire-wood 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 about 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

ing 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, as any one may ſuppoſe, when I had no way of making them, but as the children make dirt-pies, or as a woman would make pies that never learned to raiſe paſte.

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 upon the fire again, with ſome water in it, to boil me ſome meat, which I did admirably well; and with a piece of a 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.

My next concern was, to get me 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; for, of all trades in the world, I was as perfectly unqualified for a ſtone-cutter, as for any whatſoever; neither had I any tools to go about it with. I ſpent many a day to find out a great ſtone big enough to cut hollow, and make fit for a mortar, and could find none at all, except what was in the ſolid rock, and which I had no way to dig or cut out; nor indeed were the rocks in the iſland of hardneſs ſufficient, but were all of a ſandy crumbling ſtone, which would neither bear the weight of an heavy peſtle, nor would break the corn without filling it with ſand: 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 ax and hatchet; and then, with the help of fire, and infinite labour, made an 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 the 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 or meal to make my bread.

My next difficulty was to make a ſieve or ſierce, to dreſs my meal, and 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, ſo much as but to think on; for to be ſure I had nothing like the neceſſary things to make it with; I mean, fine thin canvas, or ſtuff to ſierce the meal through. And 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 were mere rags; I had goats hair, but neither knew I how to weave or ſpin it; and had I known how, here were no tools to work it with: all the remedy that I found for this was, that at laſt I did remember I had, among the ſeamen's cloaths which were ſaved out of the ſhip, ſome neckcloths of callico or muſlin; and with ſome pieces of theſe I made three ſmall ſieves, but proper enough for the work; and thus I made ſhift for ſome years; how I did afterwards, I ſhall ſhew in it's 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, as there was no ſupplying the want, ſo I did not concern myſelf much about it. But, for an oven, I was indeed in great pain. At length I found out an experiment 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 burnt 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 the 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 burnt pretty much into embers or live coals, I drew them forward upon this hearth, ſo

ſo as to cover it all over; and there I let them lie, till the hearth was very hot; then ſweeping away all the embers, I ſet down my loaf or loaves; and whelming down the earthen pot upon them, 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 mere paſtry-cook into the bargain; for I made myſelf ſeveral cakes of the rice, and puddings; indeed I made no pies, neither had I any thing to put into them, ſuppoſing I had, except the fleſh either of fowls or 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, that in the intervals of theſe things, I had my new harveſt and huſbandry to manage: for I reaped my corn in it's 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 threſh it on, or inſtrument to threſh 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 the rice as much, or more; inſomuch, that I now reſolved to begin to uſe it freely, for my bread had been quite gone a great while; alſo I reſolved 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.

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 ſecret wiſhes, that I was on ſhore there, fancying that ſeeing the main land, and an inhabited country, I might find ſome way or other to convey myſelf farther, and perhaps, at laſt, find ſome means of eſcape.

But all this while I made no allowance for the dangers of ſuch a condition, and how I might fall into the hands of ſavages, and perhaps ſuch as I might have reaſon to think far worſe than the lions and tygers of Africa; that if I once came into their power, I ſhould run a hazard, more than a thouſand to one, of being killed, and perhaps of being eaten; for I had heard that the people of the Caribean coaſts were canibals, or men-eaters; and I knew, by the latitude, that I could not be far off from that ſhore: that, ſuppoſe they were not canibals, yet they might kill me, as many Europeans who had fallen into their hands had been ſerved, even when they had been ten or twenty together; much more I, that was but one, and could make little or no defence. All theſe things, I ſay, which I ought to have conſidered well of, and I did caſt up in my thoughts afterwards, yet took up none of my apprehenſions at firſt; and my head ran mightily upon the thoughts of getting over to that ſhore.

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 on and look on 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 almoſt where ſhe did at firſt, but not quite; and was turned, by the force of the waves and the winds, almoſt bottom upwards, againſt the high ridge of beachy, rough ſand, but no water about her as before.

If I had had hands to have refitted her, and have launched her into the water, the boat would have done well enough, and I might have gone back into the Brazils with her eaſy enough; but I might have eaſily 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 wood, and cut levers and rollers, and brought them to the boat, reſolved to try what I could do; ſuggeſting to myſelf, that if I could but turn her down, I might eaſily repair the damage ſhe had received, and ſhe would be a very good boat, and I might go to ſea in her very eaſily.

I ſpared no pains, indeed, in this

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piece of fruitleſs toil, and ſpent, I think, three or four weeks about it; at laſt, finding it impoſſible to heave it up with my little ſtrength, I fell to digging away the ſand to undermine it; and ſo to make it fall down, ſetting pieces of wood to thruſt and guide it right in the fall.

But when I had done this, I was unable to ſtir it up again, or to get under it, much leſs to move it 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 for the main increaſed, rather than decreaſed, as the means for it ſeemed impoſſible.

This, at length, ſet me upon thinking, 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, viz. of the trunk of a great tree. This I not only thought poſſible, but eaſy; and pleaſed myſelf extremely with my thoughts 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 inconveniencies which I lay under more than the Indians did, viz. 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: for what was it to me, that when I had choſen a vaſt tree in the woods, I might with great trouble cut it down, if after I might be able with my tools to hew and dub the outſide into a proper ſhape of a boat, and burn or cut out the inſide to make it hollow, ſo as to make a boat of it; if, after all this, I muſt leave it juſt where I found it, and was not able to launch it into the water?

One would have thought, I could not have had the leaſt reflection upon my mind of my circumſtance, while I was making this boat, but I ſhould have immediately thought how I ſhould get it into the ſea; but my thoughts were ſo intent upon my voyage over the ſea in it, that I never once conſidered how I ſhould get it off of the land; and it was really in it's own nature more eaſy for me to guide it over forty-five miles of ſea, than about forty-five fathom of land, where it lay, to ſet it afloat in the water.

I went to work upon this boat the moſt like a fool that ever man did, who had any of his ſenſes awake. I pleaſed myſelf with the deſign, without determining whether I was ever able to undertake it; not but that the difficulty of launching my boat came often into my head; but I put a ſtop to my own inquiries into it by this fooliſh anſwer, which I gave myſelf; 'Let me 'firſt make it, I'll warrant I'll find 'ſome way or other to get it along, 'when it is done.'

This was a moſt prepoſterous method; but the eagerneſs of my fancy prevailed, and to work I went, and felled a cedar tree: I queſtion much whether Solomon ever had ſuch an one for the building 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, after which it leſſened for a while, and then parted into branches: it was not without infinite labour that I felled this tree: I was twenty days hacking and hewing it at the bottom; I was fourteen more getting the branches and limbs, and the vaſt ſpreading head of it cut off; which I hacked and hewed through with my ax and hatchet, and inexpreſſible labour: 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 chiſſel, 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 I ever 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, for there remained nothing but to get it into the water, and had I gotten it into the water, I make no queſtion but I ſhould have begun the maddeſt

maddeſt voyage, and the moſt unlikely to be performed, that ever was undertaken.

But all my devices to get it into the water failed me, though they coſt infinite 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 began, and it coſt me a prodigious deal of pains: but who grudge pains, that have their deliverance in view? But when this was worked through, and this difficulty managed, it was ſtill much at one; 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 into it, and calculated how deep it was to be dug, how broad, how the ſtuff to be thrown out, I found, that by the number of hands I had, being none but my own, it muſt have been ten or twelve years before I ſhould have gone through with it; for the ſhore lay high, ſo that, at the upper end, it muſt have been at leaſt twenty feet deep; ſo, at length, though with great reluctancy, I gave this attempt 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 ever before; for by a conſtant ſtudy, and ſerious application of 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 indeed to do with it, nor was ever like to have; ſo I thought it looked, as we perhaps may look upon it hereafter, viz. 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 gulph fixed.'

In the firſt place, I was removed from all the wickedneſs of the world here: I had neither the 'Luſt of the 'fleſh, the luſt of the eye, or the pride 'of life:' I had nothing to covet, for I had all 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 tortoiſes or turtles 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; I had grapes enough to have made wine, or to have cured into raiſins, to have loaded that fleet when they had been built.

But all I could make uſe of, was all that was valuable. I had enough to eat, and to ſupply my wants, and what was all the reſt to me? If I killed more fleſh than I could eat, the dog muſt eat it, or the vermin; if I ſowed more corn than I could eat, it muſt be ſpoiled: the trees that I cut down were lying to rot on the ground, I could make no more uſe of them than for fuel; and that I had no occaſion for, but to dreſs my food.

In a word, the nature and experience of things dictated to me, upon juſt reflection, that all the good things of this world are no farther good to us, than they are for our uſe; and that whatever we may heap up, indeed, to give others, we enjoy 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 of things which I had not, and they were 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

often thought with 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 ſixpenny-worth of turnep and carrot ſeed out of England, or for a handful of peas and beans and a bottle of ink. As it was, I had not the leaſt advantage by it, or benefit from it; but there it lay in a drawer, and grew mouldy with the damp of the cave, in the wet ſeaſon; and if I had had the drawer full of diamonds, it had been the ſame caſe; and they had been of no manner of value to me, becauſe of no uſe.

I had now brought my ſtate of life to be much eaſier in itſelf than it was at firſt, and much eaſier to my mind as well as to my body. I frequently ſat down to my meat with thankfulneſs, and admired the hand of God's providence, which had thus ſpread my table in the wilderneſs: I learned to look more upon the bright ſide of my condition, and leſs upon the dark ſide; and to conſider what I enjoyed, rather than what I wanted; and this gave me ſometimes ſuch ſecret comforts, that I cannot expreſs them; and which I take notice of here, to put thoſe diſcontented people in mind of it, who cannot enjoy comfortably what God hath given them, becauſe they ſee and covet ſomething that he has not given them. All our diſcontents about what we want, appear to me to ſpring from the want of thankfulneſs for what we have.

Another reflection was of great uſe to me, and doubtleſs would be ſo to any one that ſhould fall into ſuch diſtreſs as mine was; and this was, to compare my preſent condition with what I at firſt expected it ſhould be; nay, with what it would certainly have been, if the good Providence of God had not wonderfully ordered the ſhip to be caſt up nearer to the ſhore, where I not only could come at her, but could bring what I got out of her to the ſhore for my relief and comfort; without which I had wanted tools to work, weapons for defence, or gunpowder and ſhot for getting my food.

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; how 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 firſt: that I ſhould have lived, if I had not periſhed, like a mere ſavage; that if I had killed a goat or a fowl by any contrivance, I had no way to flea or open them, or part the fleſh from the ſkin and the bowels, or to cut it up; but muſt gnaw it with my teeth, and pull it with my claws, like a beaſt.

Theſe reflections made me very ſenſible of the goodneſs of Providence to me, and very thankful for my preſent condition, with all it's hardſhips and misfortunes: and this part alſo I cannot but recommend to the reflection of thoſe who are apt in their miſery to ſay, 'Is any affliction like mine?' Let them conſider, how much worſe the caſes of ſome people are, and what their caſe might have been, if Providence had thought fit.

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; I had been well inſtructed by father and mother; neither had they been wanting to me in their early endeavours to infuſe a religious awe of God into my mind, a ſenſe of my duty, and of what the nature and end of my being required of me: but, alas! falling early into the ſea-faring life, which of all the lives is the moſt deſtitute of the fear of God, though his terrors are always before them; I ſay, falling early into the ſea-faring life, and into ſea-faring company, all that little ſenſe of religion which I had entertained, was laughed out of me by my meſſmates; by an hardened deſpiſing of dangers, and the views of death, which grew habitual to me; by my long abſence from all manner of opportunities to converſe with any thing but what was like myſelf, or to hear any thing of what was good, or tended towards it.

So void was I of every thing that was good, or of the leaſt ſenſe of what I was, or was to be, that in the greateſt deliverance I enjoyed, ſuch as my eſcape from Sallee, my being taken up by

by the Portugueze maſter of the ſhip, my being planted ſo well in Brazil, my receiving the cargo from England, and the like, I never once had the word 'Thank God,' ſo much as on my mind, or in my mouth; nor in the greateſt diſtreſs, had I ſo much thought as to pray to him, nor ſo much as to ſay, 'Lord, have mercy upon me!' No, not 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 the 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 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 reſignation to the will of God in the preſent diſpoſition of my circumſtances, but even to a ſincere thankfulneſs of 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 cloud of wonders could have brought: that I ought to conſider I had been fed even by a miracle, even as great as that of feeding Elijah by ravens; nay, by a long ſeries of miracles; and that I could hardly have named a place in the uninhabited part of the world, where I could have been caſt more to my advantage: a place where, as I had no ſociety, which was my affliction on one hand, ſo I found no ravenous beaſts, no furious wolves or tygers, to threaten my life; no venomous creatures or poiſonous, which I might have fed on to my hurt; no ſavages to murder and devour me.

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 be able to make my ſenſe of God's goodneſs to me, and care over me in this condition, be my daily conſolation; and after I made 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 eeked 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; and firſt, by caſting up times paſt, I remember, that there was a ſtrange concurrence of days, in the various providences which befel me, and which, if I had been ſuperſtitiouſly inclined to obſerve days as fatal or fortunate, I might have had reaſon to have looked upon with a great deal of curioſity.

Firſt, I had obſerved, that the ſame day that I broke away from my father and my friends, and ran away to Hull, in order to go to ſea, the ſame day afterwards I was taken by the Sallee man of war, and made a ſlave.

The ſame day of the year that I eſcaped out of the wreck of that ſhip in Yarmouth Roads, that ſame day of the year afterwards I made my eſcape from Sallee in the boat.

The ſame day of the year I was born on, viz. the 20th of September, the ſame day I had my life ſo miraculouſly ſaved twenty-ſix years after, when I was caſt on ſhore in this iſland; ſo that my wicked life, and ſolitary life, both began on a day.

The next thing to my ink's 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 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 cloaths too began to decay mightily: as to linen, I had none a

good 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 other cloaths on but a shirt; and it was a very great help to me, that I had, among all the men's cloaths of the ship, almost three dozen of shirts. There were also several thick watch-coats of the seamen, which were left behind, but they were too hot to wear; and though it is true that the weather was so violent hot that there was no need of cloaths, yet I could not go quite naked; no, though I had been inclined to it, which I was not; nor could I abide the thoughts of it, though I was all alone.

One reason why I could not go quite naked, was, I could not bear the heat of the sun so well when quite naked, as with some cloaths on; nay, the very heat frequently blistered my skin; whereas, with a shirt on, the air itself made some motion, and whistling under the shirt, was twofold cooler than without it: no more could I ever bring myself to go out in the heat of the sun without a cap or an hat; the heat of the sun beating with such violence as it does in that place, would give me the head-ach presently, by darting so directly on my head, without a cap or hat on, so that I could not bear it; whereas, if I put on my hat, it would presently go away.

Upon these views I began to consider about putting the few rags I had, which I called cloaths, 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 which I had by me, and with such other materials as I had; so I set to work a tayloring, or rather, indeed, a botching; for I made most piteous work of it. However, I made shift to make two or three waistcoats, which I hoped would serve me a great while; as for breeches, or drawers, I made but 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, it seems, were 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 a suit of cloaths wholly of those 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 to keep me warm. I must not omit to acknowledge, that they were wretchedly made; for, if I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse taylor: however, they were such as I made a very good shift with; and when I was abroad, if it happened to rain, the hair of the waistcoat and cap being outmost, I was kept very dry.

After this I spent a deal of time and pains to make me an umbrella: I was, indeed, in great want of one, and had a great mind to make one; I had seen them made in the Brazils, where they are very useful in the great heats which are there; and I felt the heats every jot as great here, and greater too, being nearer the equinox; besides, as I was obliged to be much abroad, it was a most useful thing to me, as well for the rains as the heats. I took a world of pains at it, and was a great while before I could make any thing likely to hold; nay, after I thought I had hit the way, I spoiled two or three before I made one to my mind; but, at last, I made one that answered indifferently well; the main difficulty I found was to make it to let down. I could make it to spread; but if it did not let down too, and draw in, it would not be portable for me any way, but just over my head, which would not do: however, at last, as I said, I made one to answer; I covered it with skins, the hair upwards, so that it cast off the rain like a pentiouse, and kept off the sun so effectually, that I could walk out in the hotter of the weather, with greater advantage than I could before in the coolest; and when I had no need of it, I could close it, and carry it under my arm.

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: this made my life better than sociable; for, when I began to regret the want of conversation, I would ask myself, whether thus

thus conversing mutually with my own thoughts, and, as I hope, I may say, with even my Maker, by ejaculations and petitions, was not better than the utmost enjoyment of human society in the world.

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 thing 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 the year's provisions beforehand; I say, besides this yearly labour, and my daily labour 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 six feet wide and four feet deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile. As for the first, that was so vastly big, as I made it without considering beforehand, as I ought to do, how I should be able to launch it; so, never being able to bring it to the water, or bring the water to it, I was obliged to let it lie where it was, as a memorandum to teach me to be wiser 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, of 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: but, as I had a boat, my next design was to make a tour 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 the other parts of the coast: and now I had a boat, I thought of nothing but sailing round the island.

For this purpose, and that I might do every thing 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 store by me.

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

I fixed my umbrella also in a step at the stern, like a mast, to stand over my head, and keep the heat of the sun off of me like an awning; and thus I every now and then took a little voyage upon the sea, but never went far out, nor 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 (cakes I should rather call them) 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 with 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 sixth of November, in the sixth year of my reign, or my captivity, which you please, 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 this 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 enterprize, and come back again, not knowing how far it might oblige me to go out to sea; and,

and, above all, doubting how I ſhould get back again; ſo I came to an anchor, for I had made me a kind of an anchor with a piece of broken grappling which I got out of the ſhip.

Having ſecured my boat, I took my gun, and went on ſhore, climbing upon an hill, which ſeemed to overlook that point, where I ſaw the full extent of it, and reſolved to venture.

In my viewing the ſea from that hill where I ſtood, I perceived a ſtrong, and indeed a moſt furious current, which ran to the eaſt, 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 on 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 I had nothing to do but to get 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 (E. at S. E. and that being juſt contrary to the ſaid current) made a great 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 I am a warning-piece again to all raſh and ignorant pilots; for 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 a 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 the left-hand. There was no wind ſtirring to help me, and all that I could do with my paddle ſignified nothing: and now I began to give myſelf over for loſt; for, as the current was on both ſides the iſland, I knew in a few leagues diſtance they muſt join again, and then I was irrecoverably gone; nor did 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 into the vaſt ocean, where, to be ſure, there was no ſhore, no main land or iſland, for a thouſand leagues at leaſt?

And now I ſaw how eaſy it was for the providence of God to make the moſt miſerable condition that mankind could be in, 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 there again: I ſtretched out my hands to it with eager wiſhes; 'O happy deſart!' ſaid I, 'I ſhall never ſee thee more! O miſerable creature!' ſaid I, 'whither 'am I going!' 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! Thus we never ſee the true ſtate of our condition, till it is illuſtrated to us by it's contraries; nor know how to value what we enjoy, but by the want of it: 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 cheared my heart a little, and eſpecially, when, in about half an hour more, it blew a pretty ſmall gentle gale: by this time I was gotten at a frightful diſtance from the iſland; and, had the leaſt cloud 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

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 N. E. ſo the other returned by the repulſe of the rock, and made a ſtrong eddy, which ran back again to the N. W. 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 who have been in ſuch like extremities, may gueſs what my preſent ſurprize 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 chearfully before the wind, and 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 towards the northward than the current lay, 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 ſaved me no farther. However, I found, that being between the two great currents, viz. that on the ſouth-ſide, which had hurried me away, and that on the north, which lay about two leagues on the other ſide, I ſay, between theſe two, in the weſt 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 about a league of the iſland, I found the point of the rocks which occaſioned this diſtance 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 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 northweſt, 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 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 thereabouts, 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 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 my umbrella, for it was exceeding hot, I began my march: the way was comfortable enough, after

ſuch

ſuch a voyage as I had been upon; and I reached my old bower in the evening, where I found every thing 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 ſurprize 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 walking the latter part, that I did not awake thoroughly; and 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 awake more perfectly, and was at firſt dreadfully frighted, 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 that this was he 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 no where elſe: but as I was well ſatisfied it could be nobody but honeſt Poll, I got it over; 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 I had been: juſt as if he had been overjoyed to ſee me again. And ſo I carried him home along with me.

I had now 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 would have been very glad to have had my boat again on my ſide of the iſland, but I knew not how it was practicable to get it about: as to the eaſt-ſide of the iſland, which I had gone round, I knew well enough there was no venturing that way; my very heart would ſhrink, and my very blood run chill, but to think of it; and to the other ſide of the iſland, I did not know how it might be there; but ſuppoſing the current ran with the ſame force againſt the ſhore at the eaſt, as it paſſed by it on the other, I might run the ſame riſque of being driven down the ſtream, and carried by the iſland, as I had been before of being carried away from it; ſo, with theſe thoughts, I contented myſelf to be without any boat, though it had been the product of ſo many months labour to make it, and of ſo many more to get it into the ſea.

In this government of my temper I remained near a year, lived 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 mechanick exerciſes which my neceſſities put me upon applying myſelf to; and, I believe, 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 earthen-ware, 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 never was more vain of my own performance, or more joyful for any thing 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 earthen-ware, yet, as it was hard and firm

firm, and would draw the ſmoak, I was exceedingly comforted with it; for I had been always uſed to ſmoak, and there were pipes in the ſhip; but I forgot them at firſt, not knowing 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 I alſo improved much, and made abundance of neceſſary baſkets, as well as my invention ſhewed me, though not very handſome, yet convenient for my laying things up in, or fetching things home in. For example, if I killed a goat abroad, I could hang it up in a tree, flay it, and dreſs it, and cut it in pieces, and bring it home in a baſket; and the like by a turtle, I could cut it up, take out the eggs, and a piece or two of the fleſh, which was enough for me, and bring them home in a baſket, and leave the reſt behind me: alſo large deep baſkets were my receivers for my corn, which I always rubbed out as ſoon as it was dry, and cured; and kept it in great baſkets inſtead of a granary.

I began now to perceive my powder abated conſiderably: and 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 I obſerved in the third year of my being here, kept a young kid, and bred her up tame; I was in hopes of getting an he-kid, but I could not by any means bring it to paſs, till my kid grew an old goat; and I could never find in my heart to kill her, till 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.

To this purpoſe I made ſnares to hamper them; and I believe they were more than once taken in them; but my tackle was not good, for I had no wire, and always found them broken, and my bait devoured.

At length I reſolved to try a pit-fall; 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, that I could ſee the mark 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 other, 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 did not then know what I afterwards learned, that hunger would 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 preſently 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 incloſed piece of ground, well fenced

either with hedge or pale, to keep them up ſo effectually, that thoſe within might not break out, or thoſe without break in.

This was a great undertaking for one pair of hands; yet as I ſaw there was an abſolute neceſſity of doing it, my firſt piece of work was to find out a proper piece of ground; viz. where there was likely to be herbage for them to eat, water for them to drink, and cover to keep them from the ſun.

Thoſe who underſtand ſuch incloſures, will think I had very little contrivance, when I pitched upon a place very proper for all theſe, being a plain open piece of meadow-land, or ſavannah, (as our people call it in the weſtern colonies) which had two or three little drills of freſh water in it, and at one end was very woody; I ſay, they will ſmile at my forecaſt, when I ſhall tell them I began my incloſing of this piece of ground in ſuch a manner, that my hedge or pale muſt have been at leaſt two miles about; nor was the madneſs of it ſo great as to the compaſs; for if it was ten miles about, I was like to have time enough to do it in; but I did not conſider, that my goats would be as wild in ſo much compaſs, as if they had had the whole iſland; and I ſhould have ſo much room to chaſe them in, that I ſhould never catch them.

My hedge was began and carried on, I believe, about fifty yards, when this thought occurred to me; ſo I preſently ſtopped ſhort, and for the firſt beginning I reſolved to incloſe a piece of about one hundred and fifty yards in length, and one hundred yards in breath, which, as it would maintain as many as I ſhould have in any reaſonable time, ſo, as my flock increaſed, I could add more ground to my incloſure.

This was acting with ſome prudence, and I went to work with courage; 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 an handful of rice, and feed them out of my hand; ſo that after my incloſure was finiſhed, and I let them looſe, they would follow me up and down, bleating after me for an 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; and after that I incloſed five ſeveral pieces of ground to feed them in, with little pens to drive them into, to take them as I wanted them; and gates out of one piece of ground into another.

But this was not all; for now I not only had goats fleſh to feed on when I pleaſed, but milk too; a thing which, indeed, in my beginning, I did not ſo much as think of, and which, when it came into my thoughts, was really an agreeable ſurprize; for now I ſet up my dairy, and had ſometimes a gallon or two of milk in a day. And as nature, who gives ſupplies of food to every creature, dictates even naturally how to make uſe of it; ſo I, that never milked a cow, much leſs a goat, or ſaw butter or cheeſe made, very readily and handily, though after a great many eſſays and miſcarriages, made me both butter and cheeſe at laſt, and never wanted it afterwards.

How mercifully can our great Creator treat his creatures, even in thoſe conditions in which they ſeemed to be overwhelmed in deſtruction! How can he ſweeten the bittereſt providences, and give us cauſe to praiſe him for dungeons and priſons! What a table was here ſpread for me in a wilderneſs, where I ſaw nothing at firſt but to periſh for hunger!

It would have made a ſtoick 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 abſolute command; I could hang, draw, give life and 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, which was now grown very old and crazy, and found no ſpecies to multiply his kind upon, ſat always at my right-hand; and

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, and had been interred near my habitation by my own hands; but one of them having multiplied by I know not what kind of creature, theſe were two which I preſerved tame, whereas the reſt ran wild into the woods, and became indeed troubleſome to me at laſt; for they would often come into my houſe, and plunder me too, till at laſt I was obliged to ſhoot them, and did kill a great many; at length they left me with this attendance, and in this plentiful manner I lived; neither could I be ſaid to want any thing but ſociety, and of that, in ſome time after this, I was like to have too much.

I was ſomething impatient, as I have obſerved, to have the uſe of my boat, though very loth to run any more hazard; 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 ſet, that I might ſee what I had to do: 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 been to meet ſuch a man as I was, it muſt either have frighted 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 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 cloaths.

I had a ſhort jacket of goat's ſkin, the ſkirts coming down to about the middle of my thighs; and a pair of open-kneed breeches of the ſame: the breeches were made of a ſkin of an old he-goat, whoſe hair hung down ſuch a length on either ſide, that, like Pantaloon's, 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 knew what to call them, like buſkins, to flap over my legs, and lace on either ſide like ſpatterdaſhes, but of a moſt barbarous ſhape; as indeed were all the reſt of my cloaths.

I had on a broad belt of goat's ſkin dried, which I drew together with two thongs of the ſame, inſtead of buckles; and, in a kind of a frog on either ſide of this, inſtead of a ſword and dagger, hung a little ſaw and an hatchet, one on one ſide, one on the other: I had another belt not ſo broad, and faſtened in the ſame manner, which hung over my ſhoulder; and at the end of it, under my left-arm, hung two pouches, both made of goat's-ſkin too; in one of which hung my powder, in the other my ſhot: at my back I carried my baſket, on my ſhoulder my gun, and over my head a great, clumſy, ugly goat-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 both ſciſſars and razors ſufficient, 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 worn by ſome Turks, whom I ſaw at Sallee; for the Moors did not wear ſuch, though the Turks did: of theſe muſtachios, or whiſkers, I will not ſay they were long enough to hang my hat upon them; but they were of length and ſhape monſtrous enough, and ſuch as in England would have paſſed for frightful.

But all this is by the bye: for as to my figure, I had ſo few to obſerve me, that it was of no manner of conſequence; ſo I ſay no more to that part: 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 up 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 rock which lay out, and which I was to double with my boat, as I said above, I was surprized to see the sea all smooth and quiet; no ripling, no motion, no current, any more there than in other places.

I was at a strange loss to understand this, and resolved to spend some time in the observing of it, to see if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it: but I was presently convinced how it was, viz. 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 near, 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 in 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 I now 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 inlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door out beyond 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 hand.

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-ground; which I kept duly cultivated and sowed, and which duly yielded me their harvest in it's 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; for first, I had my little bower, as I called it, which I kept in repair; that is to say, I kept the hedge which circled it in, constantly fitted up to it's usual height, the ladder standing always in the inside; I kept the trees, which at first were no more than my stakes, but were now grown very firm and tall; I kept them always so cut, that they might spread and grow thick and wild, and make the more agreeable shade, which they did effectually to my mind. In the middle of this I had my tent always standing, being a piece of a sail spread over poles set up for that purpose, and which never wanted any repair or renewing; and under this I had made me a squab or couch, with the skins of the creatures I had killed, and with other soft things, and a blanket laid on them, such as belonged to our sea-bedding, which I had saved, and a great watch-coat to cover me; and here, whenever I had occasion to be absent from my chief seat, I took up my country habitation.

Adjoining to this I had my inclosures for my cattle, that is to say, my goats: and as I had taken an inconceivable deal of pains to fence and inclose this ground, I was so uneasy 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 inclosure 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 inclosures 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, 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 agreeable only, 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 staid 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 surprized 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, or as if I had seen an apparition; I listened, I looked round me, I could hear nothing, nor see any thing; 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 were any more, and to observe if it might not be my fancy; but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the very print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part of a foot; how it came thither I knew not, nor could 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 an affrighted imagination represented things to me in; how many wild ideas were formed every moment in my fancy, and what strange unaccountable whimsies came into my thoughts by the way!

When I came to my castle, for so I think I called it ever after this, I fled into it like one pursued; whether I went over by the ladder, as first contrived, or went in at the hole in the rock, which I called a door, I cannot remember; for never frighted hare fled to cover, or fox to earth, with more terror of mind than I to this retreat.

I had no sleep that night; the farther I was from the occasion of my fright, the greater my apprehensions were; which is something contrary to the nature of such things, and especially to the usual practice of all creatures in fear. But I was so embarrassed with my own frightful ideas of the thing, that I formed nothing but dismal imaginations to myself, even though I was now a great way off it. Sometimes I fancied it must be the devil; and reason joined in with me upon

upon this ſuppoſition: for how ſhould any other thing in human ſhape come into the place? Where was the veſſel that brought them? what marks were there of any other footſteps? and how was it poſſible a man ſhould come there? But then to think that Satan ſhould take human ſhape upon him in ſuch a place, where there could be no manner of occaſion for it, but to leave the print of his foot behind him, and that even for no purpoſe too, (for he could not be ſure I ſhould ſee it;) this was an amazement the other way: I conſidered that the devil might have found out abundance of other ways to have terrified me, than this of the ſingle print of a foot; that as I lived quite on the other ſide of the iſland, he would never have been ſo ſimple to leave a mark in a place where it was ten thouſand to one whether I ſhould ever ſee it or not; and in the ſand too, which the firſt ſurge of the ſea upon an high wind would have defaced entirely. All this ſeemed inconſiſtent with the thing itſelf, and with all notions we uſually entertain of the ſubtlety of the devil.

Abundance of ſuch things as theſe aſſiſted to argue me out of all apprehenſions of it's being the devil: and I preſently concluded then, that it muſt be ſome more dangerous creature, viz. that it muſt be ſome of the ſavages of the main land 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 ſtaid 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 thought, 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 imaginations 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 incloſure, 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, now vaniſhed; as if he that had fed me by miracle hitherto, could not preſerve by his power the proviſion which he had made for me by his goodneſs. I reproached myſelf with my eaſineſs, that would not ſow any more corn one year than would juſt ſerve me till the next ſeaſon, as if no accident could intervene to prevent my enjoying 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 before-hand, 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 differing ſprings are the affections hurried about, as differing 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 call a 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 on 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 ſurprize;

prize: I conſidered that this was the ſtation of life the infinitely wiſe and good providence of God had determined for me; that as I could not foreſee what the ends of Divine Wiſdom might be in all this, ſo I was not to diſpute his ſovereignty, who, as I was his creature, had an undoubted right by creation to govern and diſpoſe of me abſolutely as he thought fit; and who, as I was a creature who had offended him, had likewiſe a judicial right to condemn me to what puniſhment he thought fit; and that it was my part to ſubmit to bear his indignation, becauſe I had ſinned againſt him.

I then reflected, that God, who was not only righteous, but omnipotent, as he had thought fit thus to puniſh and afflict me, ſo he was able to deliver me; that if he did not think fit to do it, it was my unqueſtioned duty to reſign myſelf abſolutely and entirely to his will; and, on the other hand, it was my duty alſo to hope in him, pray to him, and quietly to attend the dictates and directions of his daily providence.

Theſe thoughts took me up many hours, days, nay, I may ſay, weeks and months; and one particular effect of my cogitations on this occaſion, I cannot omit; viz. one morning early, lying in my bed, and filled with thoughts about my danger from the appearance of ſavages, I found it diſcompoſed me very much; upon which thoſe words of the Scripture came into my thoughts, 'Call upon 'me in the day of trouble, and I will 'deliver thee, and thou ſhalt glorify 'me.'

Upon this, riſing chearfully out of my bed, my heart was not only comforted, but I was guided and encouraged to pray earneſtly to God for deliverance. When I had done praying, I took up my bible, and opening it to read, the firſt words that preſented to me were, 'Wait on the Lord, and 'be of good chear, and he ſhall 'ſtrengthen thy heart: wait, I ſay, on 'the Lord.' It is impoſſible to expreſs the comfort this gave me: and, in return, I thankfully laid down the book, and was no more ſad; at leaſt, not on that occaſion.

In the middle of theſe cogitations, apprehenſions, and reflections, it came into my thoughts one day, that all this might be a mere chimera of my own, and that this foot might be the print of my own foot, when I came on ſhore from my boat. This cheared me up a little too, and I began to perſuade myſelf it was all a deluſion; that it was nothing elſe but my own foot; and why might not I come that way from the boat, as well as I was going that way to the boat? Again, I conſidered alſo, that I could by no means tell for certain where I had trod, and where I had not; and that if at laſt this was only the print of my own foot, I had played the part of thoſe fools, who ſtrive to make ſtories of ſpectres and apparitions, and then are themſelves frighted at them more than any body elſe.

Now I began to take courage, and to peep abroad again; for I had not ſtirred out of my caſtle for three days and nights, ſo that I began to ſtarve for proviſion; for I had little or nothing within doors, but ſome barley-cakes and water. Then I knew that my goats wanted to be milked too, which uſually was my evening diverſion; and the poor creatures were in great pain and inconvenience for want of it; and indeed it almoſt ſpoiled ſome of them, and almoſt dried up their milk.

Heartening myſelf therefore with the belief that this was nothing but the print of one of my own feet, (and ſo I might be truly ſaid to ſtart at my own ſhadow) I began to go abroad again, and went to my country-houſe to milk my flock; but to ſee with what fear I went forward, how often I looked behind me, how I was ready, every now and then, to lay down my baſket and run for my life, it would have made any one have thought I was haunted with an evil conſcience, or that I had been lately moſt terribly frighted; and ſo indeed I had.

However, as I went down thus two or three days, and having ſeen nothing, I began to be a little bolder, and to think there was really nothing in it but my own imagination; but I could not perſuade myſelf fully of this, till I ſhould go down to the ſhore again, and ſee this print of a foot, and meaſure it by my own, and ſee if there was any ſimilitude or fitneſs, that I might be aſſured it was my own foot:

foot: but when I came to the place firſt, it appeared evidently to me, that when I laid up my boat, I could not poſſibly be on ſhore any where thereabouts. Secondly, when I came to meaſure the mark with my own foot, I found my foot not ſo large by a great deal. Both theſe things filled my head with new imaginations, and gave me the vapours again to the higheſt degree; ſo that I ſhook with cold, like one in an ague, and I went home again, filled with the belief, that ſome man or men had been on ſhore there; or, in ſhort, that the iſland was inhabited, and I might be ſurprized before I was aware; and what courſe to take for my ſecurity I knew not.

O what ridiculous reſolutions men take, when poſſeſſed with fear! It deprives them of the uſe of thoſe means which reaſon offers for their relief. The firſt thing I propoſed to myſelf was, to throw down my incloſures, and turn all my tame cattle wild into the woods, that the enemy might not find them, and then frequent the iſland in proſpect of the ſame or the like booty; then to the ſimple thing of digging up my two corn fields, that they might not find ſuch a grain there, and ſtill be prompted to frequent the iſland; then to demoliſh my bower and tent, that they might not ſee any veſtiges of my habitation, and be prompted to look farther, in order to find out the perſons inhabiting.

Theſe were the ſubjects of the firſt night's cogitation, after I was come home again, while the apprehenſions which had ſo over-run my mind were freſh upon me, and my head was full of vapours, as above. Thus, fear of danger is ten thouſand times more terrifying than danger itſelf, when apparent to the eyes; and we find the burden of anxiety greater, by much, than the evil which we are anxious about; but, which was worſe than all this, I had not that relief in this trouble for the reſignation I uſed to practiſe, that I hoped to have. I looked, I thought, like Saul, who complained not only that the Philiſtines were upon him, but that God had forſaken him; for I did not now take due ways to compoſe my mind, by crying to God in my diſtreſs, and reſting upon his providence, as I had done before, for my defence and deliverance; which, if I had done, I had, at leaſt, been more chearfully ſupported under this new ſurprize, and perhaps carried through it with more reſolution.

This confuſion of my thoughts kept me waking all night; but in the morning I fell aſleep, and having, by the amuſement of my mind, been, as it were, tired, and my ſpirits exhauſted, I ſlept very ſoundly, and awaked much better compoſed than I had ever been before: and now I began to think ſedately; and, upon the utmoſt debate with myſelf, I concluded, that this iſland, which was ſo exceeding pleaſant, fruitful, and no farther from the main land than as I had ſeen, was not ſo entirely abandoned as I might imagine: that, although there were no ſtated inhabitants who lived on the ſpot, yet that there might ſometimes come boats off from the ſhore; who, either with deſign, or perhaps never but when they were driven by croſs winds, might come to this place.

That I had lived here fifteen years now, and had not met with the leaſt ſhadow or figure of any people before; and that if at any time they ſhould be driven here, it was probable they went away again as ſoon as ever they could, ſeeing they had never thought fit to fix there upon any occaſion to this time.

That the moſt I could ſuggeſt any danger from was, from any ſuch caſual accidental landing of ſtraggling people from the main; who, as it was likely, if they were driven hither, were here againſt their wills; ſo they made no ſtay here, but went off again with all poſſible ſpeed, ſeldom ſtaying one night on ſhore, leſt they ſhould not have the help of the tides and daylight back again; and that therefore I had nothing to do but to conſider of ſome ſafe retreat, in caſe I ſhould ſee any ſavages land upon the ſpot.

Now I began ſorely to repent, that I had dug my cave ſo large, as to bring a door through again, which door, as I ſaid, came out beyond where my fortification joined to the rock. Upon maturely conſidering this, therefore, I reſolved to draw me a ſecond fortification, in the ſame manner of a ſemi-circle, at a diſtance from my wall, juſt where I had planted a double row of trees about twelve years before, of which I made mention. Theſe trees having

having been planted ſo thick before, there wanted but a few piles to be driven betwen them, that they ſhould be thicker and ſtronger, and my wall would be ſoon finiſhed.

So that I had now a double wall, and my outer wall was thickened with pieces of timber, old cables, and every thing I could think of to make it ſtrong; having in it ſeven little holes, about as big as I might put my arm out at. In the inſide of this I thickened my wall to about ten feet thick, continually bringing earth out of my cave, and laying it at the foot of the wall, and walking upon it; and through the ſeven holes I contrived to plant the muſquets, of which I took notice, that I got ſeven on ſhore out of the ſhip; theſe, I ſay, I planted like my cannon, and fitted them into frames that held them like a carriage, that ſo I could fire all the ſeven guns in two minutes time. This wall I was many a weary month in finiſhing, and yet never thought myſelf ſafe till it was done.

When this was done, I ſtuck all the ground without my wall, for a great way every way, as full with ſtakes or ſticks of the oſier-like wood, which I found ſo apt to grow, as they could well ſtand; inſomuch, that I believe, I might ſet in near twenty thouſand of them, leaving a pretty large ſpace between them and my wall, that I might have room to ſee an enemy, and they might have no ſhelter from the young trees, if they attempted to approach my outer wall.

Thus, in two years time, I had a thick grove; and in five or ſix years time I had a wood before my dwelling, grown ſo monſtrous thick and ſtrong, that it was indeed perfectly impaſſable; and no man, of what kind ſoever, would ever imagine that there was any thing beyond it, much leſs an habitation. As for the way I propoſed myſelf to go in and out (for I left no avenue) it was by ſetting two ladders, one to a part of the rock which was low, and then broke in, and left room to place another ladder upon that; ſo when the two ladders were taken down, no man living could come down to me without miſchiefing himſelf; and if they had come down, they were ſtill on the outſide of my outer wall.

Thus I took all the meaſures human prudence could ſuggeſt for my own preſervation; and it will be ſeen at length, that they were not altogether without juſt reaſon; though I foreſaw nothing at that time more than my mere fear ſuggeſted.

While this was doing, I was not altogether careleſs of my other affairs; for I had a great concern upon me for my little herd of goats; they were not only a preſent ſupply to me upon every occaſion, and began to be ſufficient to me, without the expence of powder and ſhot, but alſo abated the fatigue of my hunting after the wild ones; and I was loth to loſe the advantage of them, and to have them all to nurſe up over again.

To this purpoſe, after long conſideration, I could think of but two ways to preſerve them; one was, to find another convenient place to dig a cave under-ground, and to drive them into it every night; and the other was, to incloſe two or three little bits of land, remote from one another, and as much concealed as I could, where I might keep about half a dozen young goats in each place; ſo that if any diſaſter happened to the flock in general, I might be able to raiſe them again with little trouble and time: and this, though it would require a great deal of time and labour, I thought was the moſt rational deſign.

Accordingly I ſpent ſome time, to find out the moſt retired parts of the iſland; and I pitched upon one, which was as private indeed as my heart could wiſh; for it was a little damp piece of ground in the middle of the hollow and thick woods, where, as is obſerved, I almoſt loſt myſelf once before, endeavouring to come back that way from the eaſtern part of the iſland. Here I found a clear piece of land near three acres, ſo ſurrounded with woods, that it was almoſt an incloſure by nature; at leaſt, it did not want near ſo much labour to make it ſo, as the other pieces of ground I had worked ſo hard at.

I immediately went to work with this piece of ground, and in leſs than a month's time I had ſo fenced it round, that my flock or herd, call it which you pleaſe, which were not ſo wild now as at firſt they might be ſuppoſed to be, were well enough ſecured in it. So, without any farther delay, I re-

moved ten she-goats and two he-goats to this piece; and when they were, I continued to perfect the fence, till I had made it as secure as the other, which, however, I did at more leisure, and it took me up more time by a great deal.

All this labour I was at the expence of, purely from my apprehensions on the account of the print of a man's foot which I had seen; for as yet I never saw any human creature come near the island: and I had now lived two years under these uneasinesses, which, indeed, made my life much less comfortable than it was before; as may well be imagined, by any who know what it is to live in the constant snare of *the fear of man*; and this I must observe with grief too, that the discomposure of my mind had too great impressions also upon the religious part of my thoughts; for the dread and terror of falling into the hands of savages and canibals lay so upon my spirits, that I seldom found myself in a due temper for application to my Maker; at least, not with the sedate calmness and resignation of soul which I was wont to do. I rather prayed to God as under great affliction and pressure of mind, surrounded with danger, and in expectation every night of being murdered and devoured before morning; and I must testify from my experience, that a temper of peace, thankfulness, love and affection, is much the more proper frame for prayer than that of terror and discomposure; and that under the dread of mischief impending, a man is no more fit for a comforting performance of the duty of praying to God, than he is for repentance on a sick-bed; for these discomposures affect the mind as the others do the body; and the discomposure of the mind must necessarily be as great a disability as that of the body, and much greater; praying to God being properly an act of the mind, not of the body.

But to go on. After I had thus secured one part of my little living stock, I went about the whole island, searching for another private place to make such another deposit; when wandering more to the west point of the island than I had ever done yet, and looking out to sea, I thought I saw a boat upon the sea, at a great distance. I had found a perspective-glass or two, in one of the seamen's chests, which I saved out of our ship; but I had it not about me, and this was so remote, that I could not tell what to make of it, though I looked at it till my eyes were not able to look any longer; whether it was a boat, or not, I do not know; but as I descended from the hill, I could see no more of it, so I gave it over; only resolved to go no more without a perspective-glass in my pocket.

When I was come down the hill to the end of the island, where indeed I had never been before, I was presently convinced, that the seeing the print of a man's foot was not such a strange thing in the island as I imagined; and, but that it was a special providence that I was cast upon the side of the island, where the savages never came, I should easily have known, that nothing was more frequent than for the canoes from the main, when they happened to be a little too far out at sea, to shoot over to that side of the island for harbour; likewise, as they often met, and fought in their canoes, the victors, having taken any prisoners, would bring them over to this shore, where, according to their dreadful customs, being all canibals, they would kill and eat them. Of which hereafter.

When I was come down the hill to the shore, as I said above, being the S. W. point of the island, I was perfectly confounded and amazed; nor is it possible for me to express the horror of my mind, at seeing the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of human bodies; and, particularly, I observed a place where there had been a fire made, and a circle dug in the earth, like a cock-pit, where it is supposed the savage wretches had sat down to their inhuman feastings upon the bodies of their fellow-creatures.

I was so astonished with the sight of these things, that I entertained no notions of any danger to myself from it for a long while; all my apprehensions were buried in the thoughts of such a pitch of inhuman, hellish brutality, and the horror of the degeneracy of human nature; which, though I had heard of often, yet I never had so near a view of before; in short, I turned away my face from the horrid spectacle;

spectacle; my stomach grew sick, and I was just at the point of fainting, when nature discharged the disorder from my stomach; and, having vomited with an uncommon violence, I was a little relieved, but could not bear to stay in the place a moment; so I got me up the hill again with all the speed I could, and walked on towards my own habitation.

When I came a little out of that part of the island, I stood still a while as amazed; and then recovering myself, I looked up with the utmost affection of my soul, and, with a flood of tears in my eyes, gave God thanks, that had cast my first lot in a part of the world, where I was distinguished from such dreadful creatures as these; and that though I had esteemed my present condition very miserable, had yet given me so many comforts in it, that I had still more to give thanks for, than to complain of; and this above all, that I had, even in this miserable condition, been comforted with the knowledge of Himself, and the hope of his blessing, which was a felicity more than sufficiently equivalent to all the misery which I had suffered, or could suffer.

In this frame of thankfulness, I went home to my castle, and began to be much easier now, as to the safety of my circumstances, than ever I was before; for I observed, that these wretches never came to this island in search of what they could get; perhaps not seeking, not wanting, or not expecting any thing here; and having often, no doubt, been up in the covered woody part of it, without finding any thing to their purpose. I knew I had been here now almost eighteen years, and never saw the least footsteps of a human creature there before; and might be here eighteen more as entirely concealed as I was now, if I did not discover myself to them, which I had no manner of occasion to do, it being my only business to keep myself entirely concealed where I was, unless I found a better sort of creatures than canibals to make myself known to.

Yet I entertained such an abhorrence of the savage wretches that I have been speaking of, and of the wretched inhuman customs of their devouring and eating one another up, that I continued pensive and sad, and kept close within my own circle for almost two years after this. When I say my own circle, I mean by it, my three plantations; viz. my castle, my country-seat, which I called my bower, and my inclosure in the woods; nor did I look after this for any other use, than as an inclosure for my goats; for the aversion which nature gave me to these hellish wretches was such, that I was as fearful of seeing them, as of seeing the devil himself; nor did I so much as go to look after my boat in all this time, but began rather to think of making me another; for I could not think of ever making any more attempts to bring the other boat round the island to me, lest I should meet with some of those creatures at sea, in which, if I had happened to have fallen into their hands, I knew what would have been my lot.

Time, however, and the satisfaction I had, that I was in no danger of being discovered by these people, began to wear off my uneasiness about them; and I began to live just in the same composed manner as before; only with this difference, that I used more caution, and kept my eyes more about me than I did before, lest I should happen to be seen by any of them; and, particularly, I was more cautious of firing my gun, lest any of them on the island should happen to hear it; and it was therefore a very good providence to me, that I had furnished myself with a tame breed of goats, that I had no need to hunt any more about the woods, or shoot at them; and if I did catch any more of them after this, it was by traps and snares, as I had done before; so that for two years after this, I believe, I never fired my gun once off, though I never went out without it; and, which was more, as I had saved three pistols out of the ship, I always carried them out with me, or, at least, two of them, sticking them in my goat-skin belt. I likewise furbished up one of the great cutlasses that I had out of the ship, and made me a belt to put it in also; so that I was now a most formidable fellow to look at, when I went abroad, if you add to the former description of myself, the particular of two pistols and a great broad-sword hanging at my side in a belt, but without a scabbard.

Things going on thus, as I have ſaid, for ſome time, I ſeemed, excepting theſe cautions, to be reduced to my former calm ſedate way of living; all theſe things tending to ſhew me more and more how far my condition was from being miſerable, compared to ſome others; nay, to many other particulars of life, which it might have pleaſed God to have made my lot. It put me upon reflecting, how little repining there would be among mankind, at any condition of life, if people would rather compare their condition with thoſe that are worſe in order to be thankful, than be always comparing them with thoſe which are better, to aſſiſt their murmurings and complainings.

As in my preſent condition there were not really many things which I wanted, ſo, indeed, I thought that the frights I had been in about theſe ſavage wretches, and the concern I had been in for my own preſervation, had taken off the edge of my invention for my own conveniences, and I had dropt a good deſign, which I had once bent my thought upon; and that was, to try if I could not make ſome of my barley into malt, and then try to brew myſelf ſome beer: this was really a whimſical thought, and I reproved myſelf often for the ſimplicity of it; for I preſently ſaw there would be the want of ſeveral things neceſſary to the making my beer, that it would be impoſſible for me to ſupply; as, firſt, caſks to preſerve it in, which was a thing that, as I have obſerved already, I could never compaſs; no, though I ſpent not only many days, but weeks, nay, months, in attempting it, but to no purpoſe. In the next place, I had no hops to make it keep, no yeaſt to make it work, no copper or kettle to make it boil; and yet, had not all theſe things intervened, I mean the frights and terrors I was in about the ſavages, I had undertaken it, and, perhaps, brought it to paſs too; for I ſeldom gave any thing over without accompliſhing it, when I once had it in my head enough to begin it.

But my invention now ran quite another way; for night and day I could think of nothing, but how I might deſtroy ſome of theſe monſters in their cruel bloody entertainment; and, if poſſible, ſave the victim they ſhould bring hither to deſtroy. It would take up a larger volume than this whole work is intended to be, to ſet down all the contrivances I hatched, or rather brooded upon in my thoughts, for the deſtroying theſe creatures, or at leaſt frightening them, ſo as to prevent their coming hither any more: but all was abortive; nothing could be poſſible to take effect, unleſs I was to be there to do it myſelf; and what could one man do among them, when perhaps there might be twenty or thirty of them together, with their darts, or their bows and arrows, with which they could ſhoot as true to a mark as I could with my gun?

Sometimes I contrived to dig a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put in five or ſix pounds of gunpowder; which, when they kindled their fire, would conſequently take fire, and blow up all that was near it: but, as in the firſt place I ſhould be very loth to waſte ſo much powder upon them, my ſtore being now within the quantity of a barrel; ſo neither could I be ſure of it's going off at any certain time, when it might ſurprize them; and, at beſt, that it would do little more than juſt blow the fire about their ears, and fright them, but not ſufficient to make them forſake the place; ſo I laid it aſide; and then propoſed, that I would place myſelf in ambuſh, in ſome convenient place, with my three guns all double loaded, and, in the middle of their bloody ceremony, let fly at them, when I ſhould be ſure to kill or wound perhaps two or three at every ſhoot; and then falling in upon them with my three piſtols, and my ſword, I made no doubt but that, if there were twenty, I ſhould kill them all: this fancy pleaſed my thoughts for ſome weeks; and I was ſo full of it, that I often dreamed of it; and ſometimes, that I was juſt going to let fly at them in my ſleep.

I went ſo far with it in my indignation, that I employed myſelf ſeveral days, to find out proper places to put myſelf in ambuſcade, as I ſaid, to watch for them; and I went frequently to the place itſelf, which was now grown more familiar to me; and eſpecially while my mind was thus filled with thoughts of revenge, and of a bloody putting twenty or thirty of them to the ſword, as I may call it; but the horror I had at the

place, and at the ſignals of the barbarous wretches devouring one another, abated my malice.

Well, at length, I found a place in the ſide of the hill, where I was ſatisfied I might ſecurely wait till I ſaw any of the boats coming; and might then, even before they would be ready to come on ſhore, convey myſelf unſeen into thickets of trees, in one of which there was an hollow large enough to conceal me entirely; and where I might ſit and obſerve all their bloody doings, and take my full aim at their heads, when they were ſo cloſe together as that it would be next to impoſſible that I ſhould miſs my ſhoot, or that I could fail wounding three or four of them at the firſt ſhoot.

In this place, then, I reſolved to fix my deſign; and accordingly I prepared two muſquets, and my ordinary fowling-piece. The two muſquets I loaded with a brace of ſlugs each, and four or five ſmaller bullets, about the ſize of piſtol-bullets; and the fowling-piece I loaded with near an handful of ſwan-ſhot, of the largeſt ſize; I alſo loaded my piſtols with about four bullets each: and in this poſture, well provided with ammunition for a ſecond and third charge, I prepared myſelf for my expedition.

After I had thus laid the ſcheme for my deſign, and, in my imagination, put it in practice, I continually made my tour every morning up to the top of the hill, which was from my caſtle, as I called it, about three miles, or more, to ſee if I could obſerve any boats upon the ſea, coming near the iſland, or ſtanding over towards it; but I began to tire of this hard duty, after I had for two or three months conſtantly kept my watch; but came always back without any diſcovery, there having not, in all that time, been the leaſt appearance, not only on or near the ſhore, but not on the whole ocean, ſo far as my eyes or glaſſes could reach every way.

As long as I kept up my daily tour to the hill, to look out, ſo long alſo I kept up the vigour of my deſign, and my ſpirits ſeemed to be all the while in a ſuitable frame for ſo outrageous an execution as the killing twenty or thirty naked ſavages, for an offence which I had not at all entered into a diſcuſſion of in my thoughts, any farther than my paſſions were at firſt fired by the horror I conceived at the unnatural cuſtom of the people of that country, who, it ſeems, had been ſuffered by Providence, in his wiſe diſpoſition of the world, to have no other guide than that of their own abominable and vitiated paſſions; and, conſequently, were left, and perhaps had been for ſome ages, to act ſuch horrid things, and receive ſuch dreadful cuſtoms, as nothing but nature, entirely abandoned of Heaven, and actuated by ſome helliſh degeneracy, could have run them into: but now, when, as I have ſaid, I began to be weary of the fruitleſs excurſions which I had made ſo long, and ſo far, every morning, in vain; ſo my opinion of the action itſelf began to alter; and I began, with cooler and calmer thoughts, to conſider what it was I was going to engage in; what authority or call I had, to pretend to be judge and executioner upon theſe men as criminals, whom Heaven had thought fit, for ſo many ages, to ſuffer, unpuniſhed, to go on, and to be, as it were, the executioners of his judgments upon one another; alſo how far theſe people were offenders againſt me, and what right I had to engage in the quarrel of that blood, which they had ſhed promiſcuouſly one upon another. I debated this very often with myſelf thus: 'How do I know what 'God himſelf judges in this particular caſe? It is certain theſe people do not commit this as a crime; 'it is not againſt their own conſciences reproving, or their light reproaching them. They do not know 'it to be an offence, and then commit 'it in defiance of Divine Juſtice, as we 'do in almoſt all the ſins we commit. 'They think it no more a crime to 'kill a captive taken in war, than we 'do to kill an ox; nor to eat human 'fleſh, than we do to eat mutton.'

When I had conſidered this a little, it followed neceſſarily, that I was certainly in the wrong in it; that theſe people were not murderers in the ſenſe that I had before condemned them in my thoughts, any more than thoſe Chriſtians were murderers, who often put to death the priſoners taken in battle, or more frequently, upon many occaſions, put whole troops of men to the ſword, without giving quarter,

though they threw down their arms and ſubmitted.

In the next place, it occurred to me, that albeit the uſage they gave one another was thus brutiſh and inhuman, yet it was really nothing to me: theſe people had done me no injury; that if they attempted me, or I ſaw it neceſſary for my immediate preſervation to fall upon them, ſomething might be ſaid for it; but that I was yet out of their power, and they had really no knowledge of me, and conſequently no deſign upon me; and therefore it could not be juſt for me to fall upon them: that this would juſtify the conduct of the Spaniards, in all their barbarities practiſed in America, where they deſtroyed millions of theſe people; who, however they were idolaters and barbarians, and had ſeveral bloody and barbarous rites in their cuſtoms, ſuch as ſacrificing human bodies to their idols, were yet, as to the Spaniards, very innocent people; and that the rooting them out of the country is ſpoken of with the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation, even by the Spaniards themſelves, at this time, and by all other Chriſtian nations of Europe, as a mere butchery, a bloody and unnatural piece of cruelty, unjuſtifiable either to God or man; and ſuch as for which the very name of a Spaniard is reckoned to be frightful and terrible to all people of humanity, or of Chriſtian compaſſion; as if the kingdom of Spain were particularly eminent for the product of a race of men, who were without principles of tenderneſs, or the common bowels of pity to the miſerable, which is reckoned to be a mark of a generous temper in the mind.

Theſe conſiderations really put me to a pauſe, and to a kind of a full ſtop; and I began by little and little to be off of my deſign, and to conclude I had taken wrong meaſures in my reſolutions to attack the ſavages; that it was not my buſineſs to meddle with them, unleſs they firſt attacked me, and this it was my buſineſs, if poſſible, to prevent; but that, if I were diſcovered and attacked, then I knew my duty.

On the other hand, I argued with myſelf, that this really was the way not to deliver myſelf, but entirely to ruin and deſtroy myſelf; for unleſs I was ſure to kill every one that not only ſhould be on ſhore at that time, but that ſhould ever come on ſhore afterwards; if but one of them eſcaped to tell their country-people what had happened, they would come over again by thouſands to revenge the death of their fellows; and I ſhould only bring upon myſelf a certain deſtruction, which at preſent I had no manner of occaſion for.

Upon the whole, I concluded, that, neither in principles nor in policy, I ought one way or other to concern myſelf in this affair: that my buſineſs was, by all poſſible means, to conceal myſelf from them, and not to leave the leaſt ſignal to them to gueſs by, that there were any living creatures upon the iſland; I mean, of human ſhape.

Religion joined in with this prudential, and I was convinced now, many ways, that I was perfectly out of my duty, when I was laying all my bloody ſchemes for the deſtruction of innocent creatures; I mean, innocent as to me: as to the crimes they were guilty of towards one another, I had nothing to do with them; there were national puniſhments to make a juſt retribution for national offences; and to bring publick judgments upon thoſe who offend in a publick manner, by ſuch ways as beſt pleaſe God.

This appeared ſo clear to me now, that nothing was a greater ſatisfaction to me, than that I had not been ſuffered to do a thing which I now ſaw ſo much reaſon to believe would have been no leſs a ſin, than that of wilful murder, if I had committed it; and I gave moſt humble thanks on my knees to God, that had thus delivered me from blood-guiltineſs; beſeeching him to grant me the protection of his providence, that I might not fall into the hands of barbarians; or that I might not lay my hands upon them, unleſs I had a more clear call from Heaven to do it, in defence of my own life.

In this diſpoſition I continued for near a year after this; and ſo far was I from deſiring an occaſion for falling upon theſe wretches, that in all that time I never once went up the hill to ſee whether there were any of them in ſight, or to know whether any of them had been on ſhore there or not; that I might not be tempted to

to renew any of my contrivances againſt them, or be provoked by any advantage which might preſent itſelf, to fall upon them: only this I did; I went and removed my boat, which I had on the other ſide the iſland, and carried it down to the eaſt-end of the whole iſland, where I ran it into a little cove which I found under ſome high rocks, and where I knew, by reaſon of the currents, the ſavages durſt not, at leaſt would not, come with their boats, upon any account whatſoever.

With my boat I carried away every thing that I had left there belonging to her, though not neceſſary for the bare going thither; viz. a maſt and ſail, which I had made for her, and a thing like an anchor, but, indeed, which could not be called either anchor or grappling; however, it was the beſt I could make of it's kind. All theſe I removed, that there might not be the leaſt ſhadow of any diſcovery, or any appearance of any boat or of any habitation upon the iſland.

Beſides this, I kept myſelf, as I ſaid, more retired than ever, and ſeldom went from my cell, other than upon my conſtant employment, viz. to milk my ſhe-goats, and manage my little flock in the wood; which, as it was quite on the other part of the iſland, was quite out of danger: for certain it is, that theſe ſavage people, who ſometimes haunted this iſland, never came with any thoughts of finding any thing here, and conſequently never wandered off from the coaſt; and I doubt not, but they might have been ſeveral times on ſhore, after my apprehenſions of them had made me cautious, as well as before; and, indeed, I looked back with ſome horror upon the thoughts of what my condition would have been, if I had chopped upon them, and been diſcovered before that, when naked and unarmed, except with one gun, and that loaded often only with ſmall ſhot. I walked every where, peeping and peering about the iſland, to ſee what I could get: what a ſurprize ſhould I have been in, if, when I diſcovered the print of a man's foot, I had inſtead of that ſeen fifteen or twenty ſavages, and found them purſuing me; and, by the ſwiftneſs of their running, no poſſibility of my eſcaping them!

The thoughts of this ſometimes ſunk my very ſoul within me, and diſtreſſed my mind ſo much, that I could not ſoon recover it; to think what I ſhould have done, and how I not only ſhould not have been able to reſiſt them, but even ſhould not have had preſence of mind enough to do what I might have done; much leſs, what now, after ſo much conſideration and preparation, I might be able to do. Indeed, after ſerious thinking of theſe things, I would be very melancholy, and ſometimes it would laſt a great while; but I reſolved it at laſt all into thankfulneſs to that Providence which had delivered me from ſo many unſeen dangers, and had kept me from thoſe miſchiefs which I could no way have been the agent in delivering myſelf from; becauſe I had not the leaſt notion of any ſuch thing depending, or the leaſt ſuppoſition of it's being poſſible.

This renewed a contemplation, which often had come to my thoughts in former time, when firſt I began to ſee the merciful diſpoſitions of Heaven in the dangers we run through in this life; how wonderfully we are delivered when we know nothing of it: how when we are in a *quandary*, (as we call it) a doubt or heſitation, whether to go this way or that way, a ſecret hint ſhall direct us this way, when we intended to go that way; nay, when ſenſe, our own inclination, and perhaps buſineſs, has called to go the other way, yet a ſtrange impreſſion upon the mind, from we know not what ſprings, and by we know not what power, ſhall over-rule us to go this way; and it ſhall afterwards appear, that had we gone that way which we would have gone, and even to our imagination ought to have gone, we ſhould have been ruined and loſt: upon theſe, and many like reflections, I afterwards made it a certain rule with me, that whenever I found thoſe ſecret hints, or preſſings of my mind, to doing or not doing any thing that preſented, or to going this way or that way, I never failed to obey the ſecret dictate; though I knew no other reaſon for it, than that ſuch a preſſure, or ſuch an hint, hung upon my mind. I could give many examples of the ſucceſs of this conduct in the courſe of my life; but more eſpecially in the latter part of my inhabiting this unhappy

happy iſland; beſides many occaſions which it is very likely I might have taken notice of, if I had ſeen with the ſame eyes then that I ſaw with now: but it is never too late to be wiſe; and I cannot but adviſe all conſidering men, whoſe lives are attended with ſuch extraordinary incidents as mine, or even though not ſo extraordinary, not to ſlight ſuch ſecret intimations of Providence, let them come from what inviſible intelligence they will; that I ſhall not diſcuſs, and perhaps cannot account for; but certainly they are a proof of the converſe of ſpirits, and the ſecret communication between thoſe embodied, and thoſe unembodied; and ſuch a proof as can never be withſtood: of which I ſhall have occaſion to give ſome very remarkable inſtances, in the remainder of my ſolitary reſidence in this diſmal place.

I believe the reader of this will not think it ſtrange, if I confeſs that theſe anxieties, theſe conſtant dangers I lived in, and the concern that was now upon me, put an end to all invention, and to all the contrivances, that I had laid for my future accommodations and conveniences. I had the care of my ſafety more now upon my hands than that of my food. I cared not to drive a nail, or chop a ſtick of wood now, for fear the noiſe I ſhould make ſhould be heard; much leſs would I fire a gun, for the ſame reaſon; and, above all, I was very uneaſy at making any fire, leſt the ſmoke, which is viſible at a great diſtance in the day, ſhould betray me; and for this reaſon I removed that part of my buſineſs which required fire, ſuch as burning of pots and pipes, &c. into my new apartment in the woods; where, after I had been ſome time, I found, to my unſpeakable conſolation, a mere natural cave in the earth, which went in a vaſt way, and where, I dare ſay, no ſavage, had he been at the mouth of it, would be ſo hardy as to venture in; nor, indeed, would any man elſe, but one who, like me, wanted nothing ſo much as a ſafe retreat.

The mouth of this hollow was at the bottom of a great rock, where, by mere accident, (I would ſay, if I did not ſee an abundant reaſon to aſcribe all ſuch things now to Providence) I was cutting down ſome thick branches of trees to make charcoal—and, before I go on, I muſt obſerve the reaſon of my making this charcoal; which was thus.

I was afraid of making a ſmoke about my habitation, as I ſaid before; and yet I could not live there without baking my bread, cooking my meat, &c. ſo I contrived to burn ſome wood here, as I had ſeen done in England under turf, till it became chark, or dry coal; and then putting the fire out, I preſerved the coal to carry home, and perform the other ſervices, which fire was wanting for at home, without danger or ſmoke.

But this by the bye. While I was cutting down ſome wood here, I perceived that behind a very thick branch of low bruſh-wood, or under-wood, there was a kind of hollow place: I was curious to look into it; and getting, with difficulty, into the mouth of it, I found it was pretty large, that is to ſay, ſufficient for me to ſtand upright in, and perhaps another with me; but I muſt confeſs to you, I made more haſte out than I did in; when looking farther into the place, which was perfectly dark, I ſaw two broad ſhining eyes of ſome creature, whether devil or man, I knew not, which twinkled like two ſtars, the dim light from the cave's mouth ſhining directly in, and making the reflexion.

However, after ſome pauſe, I recovered myſelf, and began to call myſelf a thouſand fools, and tell myſelf, that he that was afraid to ſee the devil, was not fit to live twenty years in an iſland all alone, and that I durſt to believe, there was nothing in this cave that was more frightful than myſelf: upon this, plucking up my courage, I took up a large firebrand, and in I ruſhed again, with the ſtick flaming in my hand: I had not gone three ſteps in, but I was almoſt as much frightened as I was before; for I heard a very loud ſigh, like that of a man in ſome pain; and it was followed by a broken noiſe, as if of words half expreſſed, and then a deep ſigh again. I ſtepped back, and was indeed ſtruck with ſuch a ſurprize, that it put me into a cold ſweat; and if I had had a hat on my head, I will not anſwer for it, that my hair might not have lifted it off. But ſtill plucking up my ſpirits as well as I could, and encouraging myſelf a little, with conſidering that the power and preſence of God was every where, and was able to protect me; upon this I ſtepped forward again, and by the light of the firebrand, holding it up a little over my head, I ſaw lying on the ground a moſt monſtrous frightful old he-goat, juſt making his will; as we ſay, gaſping for life, and dying indeed of mere old age.

I ſtirred him a little, to ſee if I could get him out; and he eſſayed to get up, but was not able to raiſe himſelf: and I thought with myſelf, he might e'en lie there; for if he had frightened me ſo, he would certainly fright any of the ſavages, if any of them ſhould be ſo hardy as to come in there while he had any life in him.

I was now recovered from my ſurprize, and began to look round me, when I found the cave was but very ſmall; that is to ſay, it might be about twelve feet over, but in no manner of ſhape, either round or ſquare, no hands having ever been employed in making it but thoſe of mere nature: I obſerved alſo, that there was a place at the farther ſide of it that went in farther, but ſo low, that it required me to creep upon my hands and knees to get into it; and whither it went, I knew not: ſo having no candle, I gave it over for ſome time, but reſolved to come again the next day, provided with candles and a tinder-box, which I had made of the lock of one of the muſquets, with ſome wildfire in the pan.

Accordingly, the next day, I came provided with ſix large candles of my own making, for I made very good candles now of goats tallow; and, going into this low place, I was obliged to creep upon all fours, as I have ſaid, almoſt ten yards; which, by the way, I thought was a venture bold enough, conſidering that I knew not how far it might go, or what was beyond it: when I was got through the ſtrait, I found the roof roſe higher up, I believe near twenty feet; but never was ſuch a glorious ſight ſeen in the iſland, I dare ſay, as it was, to look round the ſides and roof of this vault or cave: the walls reflected an hundred thouſand lights to me from my two candles; what it was in the rock, whether diamonds, or any other precious ſtones, or gold, which I rather ſuppoſed it to be, I knew not.

The place I was in was a moſt delightful cavity, or grotto, of it's kind, as could be expected, though perfectly dark; the floor was dry and level, and had a ſort of ſmall looſe gravel upon it; ſo that there was no nauſeous creature to be ſeen; neither was there any damp or wet on the ſides of the roof: the only difficulty in it was the entrance, which, however, as it was a place of ſecurity, and ſuch a retreat as I wanted, I thought that was a convenience; ſo that I was really rejoiced at the diſcovery, and reſolved, without any delay, to bring ſome of thoſe things which I was moſt anxious about to this place; particularly, I reſolved to bring hither my magazine of powder, and all my ſpare arms, viz. two fowling-pieces, (for I had three in all) and three muſquets, (for of them I had eight in all;) ſo I kept at my caſtle only five, which ſtood ready mounted, like pieces of cannon, on my outmoſt fence; and were ready alſo to take out upon any expedition.

Upon this occaſion of removing my ammunition, I was obliged to open the barrel of powder which I took up out of the ſea, and which had been wet; and I found, that the water had penetrated about three or four inches into the powder on every ſide, which, caking and growing hard, had preſerved the inſide like a kernel in a ſhell; ſo that I had near ſixty pounds of very good powder in the centre of the caſk; and this was an agreeable diſcovery to me at that time; ſo I carried all away thither, never keeping above two or three pounds of powder with me in my caſtle, for fear of a ſurprize of any kind. I alſo carried thither all the lead I had left for bullets.

I fancied myſelf now like one of the ancient giants, which were ſaid to live in caves and holes in the rocks, where none could come at them; for I perſuaded myſelf while I was here, if five hundred ſavages were to hunt me, they could never find me out, or if they did, they would not venture to attack me here.

The old goat, which I found expiring, died in the mouth of the cave, the next day after I made this diſcovery; and I found it much eaſier to dig a great hole there, and throw him in and cover him with earth, than to drag him out: ſo I interred him there, to prevent offence to my noſe.

I was now in my twenty-third year

of reſidence in this iſland, and was ſo naturalized to the place, and to the manner of living, that could I have but enjoyed the certainty that no ſavages would come to the place to diſturb me, I could have been content to have capitulated for ſpending the reſt of my time there, even to the laſt moment, till I had laid me down and died, like the old goat, in the cave: I had alſo arrived to ſome little diverſions and amuſements, which made the time paſs more pleaſantly with me a great deal than it did before; as, firſt, I had taught my Pol, as I noted before, to ſpeak; and he did it ſo familiarly, and talked ſo articulately and plain, that it was very pleaſant to me; and he lived with me no leſs than ſix and twenty years: how long he might live afterwards, I knew not; though I know they have a notion in the Brazils, that they live an hundred years; perhaps ſome of my Pols may be alive there ſtill, calling after 'Poor Robinſon 'Cruſoe,' to this day: I wiſh no Engliſhman the ill luck to come there and hear them; but if he did, he would certainly believe it was the devil. My dog was a very pleaſant and loving companion to me for no leſs than ſixteen years of my time, and then died of mere old age; as for my cats, they multiplied, as I have obſerved, to that degree, that I was obliged to ſhoot ſeveral of them at firſt, to keep them from devouring me and all I had; but at length, when the two old ones I brought with me were gone, and after ſome time continually driving them from me, and letting them have no proviſion with me, they all ran wild into the woods, except two or three favourites, which I kept tame, and whoſe young, when they had any, I always drowned; and theſe were part of my family: beſides theſe, I always kept two or three houſhold kids about me, which I taught to feed out of my hand; and I had alſo more parrots, which talked pretty well, and would all call 'Robin Cruſoe,' but none like my firſt; nor, indeed, did I take the pains with any of them that I had done with him: I had alſo ſeveral tame ſeafowls, whoſe names I know not, which I caught upon the ſhore, and cut their wings; and the little ſtakes, which I had planted before my caſtle wall, being now grown up to a good thick grove, theſe fowls all lived among theſe low trees, and bred there, which was very agreeable to me; ſo that, as I ſaid above, I began to be very well contented with the life I led, if it might but have been ſecured from the dread of ſavages.

But it was otherwiſe directed: and it might not be amiſs for all people who ſhall meet with my ſtory, to make this juſt obſervation from it; viz. how frequently, in the courſe of our lives, the evil, which in itſelf we ſeek moſt to ſhun, and which, when we are fallen into, is the moſt dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very means or door of our deliverance, by which alone we can be raiſed again from the affliction we are fallen into: I could give many examples of this in the courſe of my unaccountable life; but in nothing was it more particularly remarkable, than in the circumſtances of my laſt years of ſolitary reſidence in this iſland.

It was now the month of December, as I ſaid above, in my twenty-third year; and this being the ſouthern ſolſtice, for winter I cannot call it, was the particular time of my harveſt, and required my being pretty much abroad in the fields; when going out pretty early in the morning, even before it was thorough day-light, I was ſurprized with ſeeing a light of ſome fire upon the ſhore, at a diſtance from me of about two miles, towards the end of the iſland, where I had obſerved ſome ſavages had been, as before; but not on the other ſide; but, to my great affliction, it was on my ſide of the iſland.

I was, indeed, terribly ſurprized at the ſight, and ſtopped ſhort within my grove, not daring to go out, leſt I might be ſurprized; and yet I had no more peace within, from the apprehenſions I had, that if theſe ſavages, in rambling over the iſland, ſhould find my corn ſtanding, or cut, or any of my works and improvements, they would immediately conclude that there were people in the place, and would then never give over till they found me out. In this extremity I went back directly to my caſtle, and pulled up the ladder after me, having made all things without look as wild and natural as I could.

Then I prepared myſelf within, putting myſelf in a poſture of defence; I loaded all my cannon, as I called them, that

that is to ſay, my muſquets, which were mounted upon my new fortification, and all my piſtols, and reſolved to defend myſelf to the laſt gaſp; not forgetting ſeriouſly to recommend myſelf to the Divine Protection, and earneſtly to pray to God to deliver me out of the hands of the barbarians; and in this poſture I continued about two hours, but began to be mighty impatient for intelligence abroad, for I had no ſpies to ſend out.

After ſitting a while longer, and muſing what I ſhould do in this caſe, I was not able to bear ſitting in ignorance longer; ſo ſetting up my ladder to the ſide of the hill, where there was a flat place, as I obſerved before, and then pulling the ladder up after me, I ſet it up again, and mounted to the top of the hill; and pulling out my perſpective-glaſs, which I had taken on purpoſe, I laid me down flat on my belly on the ground, and began to look for the place: I preſently found there were no leſs than nine naked ſavages ſitting round a ſmall fire they had made; not to warm them, for they had no need of that, the weather being extreme hot; but, as I ſuppoſe, to dreſs ſome of their barbarous diet of human fleſh, which they had brought with them, whether alive or dead I could not know.

They had two canoes with them, which they had hauled up upon the ſhore; and as it was then tide of ebb, they ſeemed to me to wait the return of the flood to go away again. It is not eaſy to imagine what confuſion this ſight put me into, eſpecially ſeeing them come on my ſide the iſland, and ſo near me too; but when I obſerved their coming muſt be always with the current of the ebb, I began afterwards to be more ſedate in my mind, being ſatisfied that I might go abroad with ſafety, all the time of tide of flood, if they were not on ſhore before; and having made this obſervation, I went abroad about my harveſt-work with the more compoſure.

As I expected, ſo it proved; for as ſoon as the tide made to the weſtward, I ſaw them all take boat, and row (or paddle, as we call it) all away: I ſhould have obſerved, that for an hour and more before they went off, they went to dancing, and I could eaſily diſcern their poſtures and geſtures by my glaſſes: I could not perceive, by my niceſt obſervations, but that they were ſtark-naked, and had not the leaſt covering upon them; but whether they were men or women, that I could not diſtinguiſh.

As ſoon as I ſaw them ſhipped and gone, I took two guns upon my ſhoulders, and two piſtols at my girdle, and my great ſword by my ſide without a ſcabbard; and with all the ſpeed I was able to make, I went away to the hill, where I had diſcovered the firſt appearance of all. As ſoon as I got thither, which was not leſs than two hours, (for I could not go apace, being ſo loaded with arms as I was) I perceived there had been three canoes more of ſavages on that place; and looking out farther, I ſaw they were all at ſea together, making over for the main.

This was a dreadful ſight to me, eſpecially when going down to the ſhore, I could ſee the marks of horror which the diſmal work they had been about had left behind it; viz. the blood, the bones, and part of the fleſh of human bodies, eaten and devoured by thoſe wretches with merriment and ſport. I was ſo filled with indignation at the ſight, that I began now to premeditate the deſtruction of the next that I ſaw there, let them be who or how many ſoever.

It ſeemed evident to me, that the viſits which they thus made to this iſland, were not very frequent; for it was above fifteen months before any more of them were on ſhore there again; that is to ſay, I never ſaw them, or any footſteps or ſignals of them, in all that time; for as to the rainy ſeaſons, then they are ſure not to come abroad, at leaſt not ſo far; yet, all this while I lived uncomfortably, by reaſon of the conſtant apprehenſions I was in of their coming upon me by ſurprize: from whence I obſerve, that the expectation of evil is more bitter than the ſuffering, eſpecially if there is no room to ſhake off that expectation or thoſe apprehenſions.

During all this time, I was in the murdering humour; and took up moſt of my hours, which ſhould have been better employed, in contriving how to circumvent and fall upon them the very next time I ſhould ſee them; eſpecially if they ſhould be divided,

as they were the laſt time, into two parties; nor did I conſider at all, that if I killed one party, ſuppoſe ten or a dozen, I was ſtill the next day, or week, or month, to kill another, and ſo another, even *ad infinitum*, till I ſhould be at length no leſs a murderer than they were in being men-eaters, and perhaps much more ſo.

I ſpent my days now in great perplexity and anxiety of mind, expecting that I ſhould, one day or other, fall into the hands of theſe mercileſs creatures; if I did at any time venture abroad, it was not without looking round me with the greateſt care and caution imaginable; and now I found, to my great comfort, how happy it was that I had provided a tame flock or herd of goats; for I durſt not, upon any account, fire my gun, eſpecially near that ſide of the iſland where they uſually came, leſt I ſhould alarm the ſavages; and if they had fled from me now, I was ſure to have them come back again, with perhaps two or three hundred canoes with them in a few days, and then I knew what to expect.

However, I wore out a year and three months more, before I ever ſaw any more of the ſavages, and then I found them again, as I ſhall ſoon obſerve. It is true, they might have been there once or twice; but either they made no ſtay, or at leaſt I did not hear them; but in the month of May, as near as I could calculate, and in my four and twentieth year, I had a very ſtrange encounter with them, of which in it's place.

The perturbation of my mind, during this fifteen or ſixteen months interval, was very great: I ſlept unquiet, dreamed always frightful dreams, and often ſtarted out of my ſleep in the night; in the day great troubles overwhelmed my mind; in the night I dreamed often of killing the ſavages, and the reaſons why I might juſtify the doing of it. But to wave all this for a while, it was in the middle of May, on the 16th day, I think, as well as my poor wooden calendar would reckon; for I marked all upon the poſt ſtill; I ſay, it was on the 16th of May, that it blew a great ſtorm of wind all day, with a great deal of lightning and thunder, and a very foul night was after it. I know not what was the particular occaſion of it, but as I was reading in the bible, and taken up with ſerious thoughts about my preſent condition, I was ſurprized with the noiſe of a gun, as I thought, fired at ſea.

This was, to be ſure, a ſurprize of a quite different nature from any I had met with before; for the notions this put into my thoughts were quite of another kind. I ſtarted up in the greateſt haſte imaginable; and in a trice clapped up my ladder to the middle place of the rock, and pulled it after me, and mounting it the ſecond time, got to the top of the hill; that very moment a flaſh of fire bade me liſten for a ſecond gun, which, accordingly, in about half a moment, I heard, and by the ſound knew that it was from that part of the ſea where I was driven out with the current in my boat.

I immediately conſidered, that this muſt be ſome ſhip in diſtreſs, and that they had ſome comrade, or ſome other ſhip in company, and fired theſe guns for ſignals of diſtreſs, and to obtain help. I had this preſence of mind at that minute, as to think, that though I could not help them, it may be they might help me; ſo I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and making a good handſome pile, I ſet it on fire upon the hill; the wood was dry, and blazed freely, and though the wind blew very hard, yet it burnt fairly out, ſo that I was certain, if there was any ſuch thing as a ſhip, they muſt need ſee it, and no doubt they did; for as ſoon as ever my fire blazed up, I heard another gun, and after that ſeveral others, all from the ſame quarter. I plied my fire all night long, till day broke; and when it was broad day, and the air cleared up, I ſaw ſomething at a great diſtance at ſea, full eaſt of the iſland, whether a ſail, or an hull, I could not diſtinguiſh, no not with my glaſſes, the diſtance was ſo great, and the weather ſtill ſomething hazy alſo; at leaſt it was ſo out at ſea.

I looked frequently at it all that day, and ſoon perceived that it did not move; ſo I preſently concluded, that it was a ſhip at anchor; and being eager, you may be ſure, to be ſatisfied, I took my gun in my hand, and ran towards the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the iſland,

iſland, to the rocks, where I had been formerly carried away with the current; and getting up there, the weather by this time being perfectly clear, I could plainly ſee, to my great ſorrow, the wreck of a ſhip caſt away in the night upon thoſe concealed rocks which I found when I was out in my boat; and which rocks, as they checked the violence of the ſtream, and made a kind of counter-ſtream or eddy, were the occaſion of my recovering then from the moſt deſperate, hopeleſs condition that ever I had been in in all my life.

Thus, what is one man's ſafety, is another man's deſtruction; for it ſeems, theſe men, whoever they were, being out of their knowledge, and the rocks being wholly under water, had been driven upon them in the night, the wind blowing hard at E. and E. N. E. Had they ſeen the iſland, as I muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe they did not, they muſt, as I thought, have endeavoured to have ſaved themſelves on ſhore by the help of their boat; but their firing of their guns for help, eſpecially when they ſaw, as I imagined, my fire, filled me with many thoughts. Firſt, I imagined, that, upon ſeeing my light, they might have put themſelves into their boat, and have endeavoured to make the ſhore; but that the ſea going very high, they might have been caſt away; other times I imagined, that they might have loſt their boat before, as might be the caſe many ways; as particularly, by the breaking of the ſea upon their ſhip, which many times obliges men to ſtave or take in pieces their boat, and ſometimes to throw it overboard with their own hands: other times I imagined, they had ſome other ſhip or ſhips in company, who, upon the ſignals of diſtreſs they had made, had taken them up, and carried them off: other whiles I fancied, they were all gone off to ſea in their boat, and being hurried away by the current that I had been formerly in, were carried out into the great ocean, where there was nothing but miſery and periſhing; and that perhaps they might by this time think of ſtarving, and of being in a condition to eat one another.

As all theſe were but conjectures at beſt, ſo, in the condition I was in, I could do no more than look upon the miſery of the poor men, and pity them; which had ſtill this good effect on my ſide, that it gave me more and more cauſe to give thanks to God, who had ſo happily and comfortably provided for me in my deſolate condition; and that of two ſhips companies who were now caſt away upon this part of the world, not one life ſhould be ſpared but mine. I learned here again to obſerve, that it is very rare, that the providence of God caſts us into any condition of life ſo low, or any miſery ſo great, but we may ſee ſomething or other to be thankful for, and may ſee others in worſe circumſtances than our own.

Such certainly was the caſe of theſe men, of whom I could not ſo much as ſee room to ſuppoſe any of them were ſaved; nothing could make it rational, ſo much as to wiſh or expect that they did not all periſh there, except the poſſibility only of their being taken up by another ſhip in company: and this was but mere poſſibility indeed; for I ſaw not the leaſt ſignal or appearance of any ſuch thing.

I cannot explain, by any poſſible energy of words, what a ſtrange longing, or hankering of deſire, I felt in my ſoul upon this ſight; breaking out ſometimes thus: 'O that there had 'been but one or two, nay, or but one 'ſoul ſaved out of the ſhip, to have 'eſcaped to me, that I might but have 'had one companion, one fellow-crea-'ture, to have ſpoken to me, and to 'have converſed with!' In all the time of my ſolitary life, I never felt ſo earneſt, ſo ſtrong a deſire after the ſociety of my fellow-creatures, or ſo deep a regret at the want of it.

There are ſome ſecret moving ſprings in the affections, which, when they are ſet a going by ſome object in view, or be it ſome object though not in view, yet rendered preſent to the mind by the power of imagination, that motion carries out the ſoul by it's impetuoſity to ſuch violent, eager embracings of the object, that the abſence of it is inſupportable.

Such were theſe earneſt wiſhings, that but one man had been ſaved! 'O 'that it had been but one!' I believe I repeated the words, 'O that it had 'been but one!' a thouſand times; and my deſires were ſo moved by it, that when I ſpoke the words, my hands would clench together, and my fingers preſs the palms of my hands, that if I had

had had any ſoft thing in my hand, it would have cruſhed it involuntarily; and my teeth in my head would ſtrike together, and ſet againſt one another ſo ſtrong, that for ſome time I could not part them again.

Let the naturaliſts explain theſe things, and the reaſon and manner of them: all I can ſay of them is, to deſcribe the fact, which was ever ſurprizing to me when I found it, though I knew not from what it ſhould proceed; it was doubtleſs the effects of ardent wiſhes, and of ſtrong ideas formed in my mind, realizing the comfort which the converſation of one of my fellow-chriſtians would have been to me.

But it was not to be; either their fate or mine, or both, forbad it; for till the laſt year of my being on this iſland, I never knew whether any were ſaved out of that ſhip or no; and had only the affliction, ſome days after, to ſee the corpſe of a drowned boy come on ſhore, at the end of the iſland, which was next the ſhipwreck: he had on no clothes, but a ſeaman's waiſtcoat, a pair of open-kneed linen drawers, and a blue linen ſhirt; but nothing to direct me ſo much as to gueſs what nation he was of. He had nothing in his pocket but two pieces of eight, and a tobacco-pipe; the laſt was to me of ten times more value than the firſt.

It was now calm, and I had a great mind to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not doubting but I might find ſomething on board, that might be uſeful to me; but that did not altogether preſs me ſo much, as the poſſibility that there might be yet ſome living creature on board, whoſe life I might not only ſave, but might, by ſaving that life, comfort my own to the laſt degree. And this thought clung ſo to my heart, that I could not be quiet, night nor day, but I muſt venture out in my boat on board this wreck; and committing the reſt to God's providence, I thought the impreſſion was ſo ſtrong upon my mind, that it could not be reſiſted, that it muſt come from ſome inviſible direction, and that I ſhould be wanting to myſelf if I did not go.

Under the power of this impreſſion, I haſtened back to my caſtle, prepared every thing for my voyage, took a quantity of bread, a great pot for freſh water, a compaſs to ſteer by, a bottle of rum, (for I had ſtill a great deal of that left) a baſket full of raiſins; and thus loading myſelf with every thing neceſſary, I went down to my boat, got the water out of her, and got her afloat, loaded all my cargo in her, and then went home again for more: my ſecond cargo was a great bag full of rice, the umbrella to ſet up over my head for ſhade, another large pot full of freſh water, and about two dozen of my ſmall loaves, or barley cakes, more than before, with a bottle of goat's milk, and a cheeſe; all which, with great labour and ſweat, I brought to my boat; and praying to God to direct my voyage, I put out, and rowing or paddling the canoe along the ſhore, I came at laſt to the utmoſt point of the iſland, on that ſide, viz. N. E. And now I was to launch out into the ocean, and either to venture or not to venture; I looked on the rapid currents which ran conſtantly on both ſides of the iſland, at a diſtance, and which were very terrible to me, from the remembrance of the hazard I had been in before, and my heart began to fail me; for I foreſaw, that if I was driven into either of thoſe currents, I ſhould be carried a vaſt way out to ſea, and perhaps out of my reach, or ſight of the iſland again; and that then, as my boat was but ſmall, if any little gale of wind ſhould riſe, I ſhould be inevitably loſt.

Theſe thoughts ſo oppreſſed my mind, that I began to give over my enterprize, and having hauled my boat into a little creek on the ſhore, I ſtepped out, and ſat me down upon a little ſpot of riſing ground, very penſive and anxious, between fear and deſire about my voyage; when, as I was muſing, I could perceive that the tide was turned, and the flood came on, upon which my going was for ſo many hours impracticable: upon this it preſently occurred to me, that I ſhould go up to the higheſt piece of ground I could find, and obſerve, if I could, how the ſets of the tide or currents lay, when the flood came in, that I might judge whether, if I was driven one way out, I might not expect to be driven another way home, with the ſame rapidneſs of the currents. This thought was no ſooner in my head, but I caſt my

my eye upon a little hill which ſufficiently overlooked the ſea both ways, and from whence I had a clear view of the currents, or ſets of the tide, and which way I was to guide myſelf in my return. Here I found, that as the current of the ebb ſet out cloſe by the ſouth point of the iſland, ſo the current of the flood ſet in cloſe by the ſhore of the north ſide; and that I had nothing to do but to keep to the north of the iſland in my return, and I ſhould do well enough.

Encouraged with this obſervation, I reſolved the next morning to ſet out with the firſt of the tide; and repoſing myſelf for that night in the canoe, under the great watch-coat I mentioned, I launched out: I made firſt a little out to ſea full north, till I began to feel the benefit of the current, which ſet eaſtward, and which carried me at a great rate, and yet did not ſo hurry me as the ſouthern-ſide current had done before, and ſo as to take from me all government of the boat; but having a ſtrong ſteerage with my paddle, I went, I ſay, at a great rate, directly for the wreck, and in leſs than two hours I came up to it.

It was a diſmal ſight to look at: the ſhip, which by it's building was Spaniſh, ſtuck faſt, jammed in between two rocks; all the ſtern and quarter of her was beaten to pieces with the ſea; and as her forecaſtle, which ſtruck in the rocks, had run on with great violence, her main-maſt and fore-maſt were brought by the board, that is to ſay, broken ſhort off; but her bow-ſprit was ſound, and the head and bow appeared firm: when I came cloſe to her, a dog appeared upon her; which, ſeeing me coming, yelped and cried, and as ſoon as I called him, jumped into the ſea, to come to me; and I took him into the boat, but found him almoſt dead for hunger and thirſt: I gave him a cake of my bread, and he eat like a ravenous wolf, that had been ſtarving a fortnight in the ſnow; I then gave the poor creature ſome freſh water, with which, if I would have let him, he would have burſt himſelf.

After this I went on board: the firſt ſight I met with, was two men drowned in the cook-room, or forecaſtle of the ſhip, with their arms faſt about one another. I concluded, as is indeed probable, that when the ſhip ſtruck, it being in a ſtorm, the ſea broke ſo high, and ſo continually over her, that the men were not able to bear it, and were ſtrangled with the conſtant ruſhing in of the water, as much as if they had been under water: beſides the dog, there was nothing left in the ſhip that had life, nor any goods that I could ſee, but what were ſpoiled by the water: there were ſome caſks of liquor, whether wine or brandy, I knew not, which lay lower in the hold, and which, the water being ebbed out, I could ſee; but they were too big to meddle with. I ſaw ſeveral cheſts, which I believed belonged to ſome of the ſeamen, and I got two of them into the boat, without examining what was in them.

Had the ſtern of the ſhip been fixed, and the fore-part broken off, I am perſuaded I might have made a good voyage; for by what I found in theſe two cheſts, I had room to ſuppoſe the ſhip had a great deal of wealth on board; and if I may gueſs by the courſe ſhe ſteered, ſhe muſt have been bound from the Buenos Ayres, or the Rio de la Plata, in the ſouth part of America, beyond the Brazils, to the Havannah, in the Gulph of Mexico, and ſo perhaps to Spain: ſhe had, no doubt, a great treaſure in her, but of no uſe at that time to any body; and what became of the reſt of her people I then knew not.

I found, beſides theſe cheſts, a little caſk full of liquor, of about twenty gallons, which I got into my boat with much difficulty: there were ſeveral muſquets in a cabin, and a great powder-horn, with about four pounds of powder in it; as for the muſquets, I had no occaſion for them, ſo I left them, but took the powder-horn: I took a fire-ſhovel and tongs, which I wanted extremely; as alſo two little braſs kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron; and with this cargo, and the dog, I came away, the tide beginning to make home again; and the ſame evening, about an hour within night, I reached the iſland again, weary and fatigued to the laſt degree.

I repoſed that night in the boat, and in the morning I reſolved to harbour what I had gotten in my new cave, not to carry it home to my caſtle: after refreſhing myſelf, I got all my cargo

cargo on shore, and began to examine the particulars: the cask of liquor I found to be a kind of rum; but not such as we had at the Brazils; and, in a word, not at all good; but when I came to open the chests, I found several things which I wanted: for example, I found in one a fine case of bottles, of an extraordinary kind, and filled with cordial waters, fine, and very good; the bottles held about three pints each, and were tipped with silver. I found two pots of very good succades, or sweetmeats, so fattened also on the top, that the salt-water had not hurt them; and two more of the same, which the water had spoiled. I found some very good shirts, which were very welcome to me, and about a dozen and a half of white linen handkerchiefs and coloured neckcloths; the former were also very welcome, being exceeding refreshing to wipe my face in a hot day; besides this, when I came to the till in the chests, I found there three great bags of pieces of eight, which held about eleven hundred pieces in all; and in one of them, wrapt up in a paper, six doubloons of gold, and some small bars or wedges of gold: I suppose they might all weigh near a pound.

The other chest I found had some clothes in it, but of little value: but by the circumstances it must have belonged to the gunner's mate; though there was no powder in it, but about two pounds of glazed powder in the three flasks, kept, I suppose, for charging their fowling-pieces on occasion: upon the whole, I got very little by this voyage, that was of much use to me; for, as to the money, I had no manner of occasion for it; it was to me as the dirt under my feet; and I would have given it all for three or four pair of English shoes and stockings, which were things I greatly wanted, but had not had on my feet now for many years: I had, indeed, gotten two pair of shoes now, which I took off of the feet of the two drowned men, whom I saw in the wreck; and I found two pair more in one of the chests, which were very welcome to me, but they were not like our English shoes, either for ease or service, being rather what we call pumps than shoes. I found in this seaman's chest about fifty pieces of eight in royals, but no gold: I suppose this belonged to a poorer man than the other, which seemed to belong to some officer.

Well, however, I lugged this money home to my cave, and laid it up, as I had done that before, which I brought from our own ship; but it was great pity, as I said, that the other part of the ship had not come to my share; for I am satisfied I might have loaded my canoe several times over with money, which, if I had ever escaped to England, would have lain here safe enough till I might have come again and fetched it.

Having now brought all my things on shore, and secured them, I went back to my boat, and rowed or paddled her along the shore to her old harbour, where I laid her up, and made the best of my way to my old habitation, where I found every thing safe and quiet; so I began to repose myself, live after my old fashion, and take care of my family affairs; and, for a while, I lived easy enough; only that I was more vigilant than I used to be, looked out oftener, and did not go abroad so much; and if at any time I did stir with any freedom, it was always to the east part of the island, where I was pretty well satisfied the savages never came, and where I could go without so many precautions, and such a load of arms and ammunition as I always carried with me if I went the other way.

I lived in this condition near two years more; but my unlucky head, that was always to let me know it was born to make my body miserable, was all those two years filled with projects and designs, how, if it were possible, I might get away from this island; for sometimes I was for making another voyage to the wreck, though my reason told me that there was nothing left there worth the hazard of my voyage: sometimes for a ramble one way, sometimes another; and I believe verily, if I had had the boat that I went from Sallee in, I should have ventured to sea, bound any where, I knew not whither.

I have been, in all my circumstances, a memento to those who are touched with that general plague of mankind, whence, for aught I know, one half of their miseries flow; I mean, that of

of not being satisfied with the station wherein God and nature hath placed them; for, not to look back upon my primitive condition, and the excellent advice of my father, the opposition to which was, as I may call it, my original sin, my subsequent mistakes of the same kind have been the means of my coming into this miserable condition; for had that Providence, which so happily had seated me at the Brazils, as a planter, blessed me with confined desires, and could I have been contented to have gone on gradually, I might have been by this time, I mean in the time of my being on this island, one of the most considerable planters in the Brazils; nay, I am persuaded, that by the improvements I had made in that little time I lived there, and the increase I should probably have made, if I had stayed, I might have been worth an hundred thousand moidores; and what business had I to leave a settled fortune, well stocked plantation, improving and increasing, to turn supercargo to Guinea, to fetch Negroes, when patience and time would have so increased our stock at home, that we could have bought them at our own doors, from those whose business it was to fetch them? And though it had cost us something more, yet the difference of that price was by no means worth saving at so great a hazard.

But as this is ordinarily the fate of young heads, so reflection upon the folly of it is as ordinarily the exercise of more years, or of the dear bought experience of time; and so it was with me now; and yet so deep had the mistake taken root in my temper, that I could not satisfy myself in my station, but was continually poring upon the means and possibility of my escape from this place; and that I may, with the greater pleasure to the reader, bring on the remaining part of my story, it may not be improper to give some account of my first conceptions on the subject of this foolish scheme for my escape, and how and upon what foundation I acted.

I am now to be supposed to be retired into my castle, after my late voyage to the wreck, my frigate laid up, and secured under water as usual, and my condition restored to what it was before: I had more wealth, indeed, than I had before, but was not at all the richer; for I had no more use for it, than the Indians of Peru had before the Spaniards came thither.

It was one of the nights in the rainy season in March, the four and twentieth year of my first setting foot in this island of solitariness, I was lying in my bed, or hammock, awake, very well in health, had no pain, no distemper, no uneasiness of body, no, nor any uneasiness of mind more than ordinary, but could by no means close my eyes; that is, so as to sleep; no, not a wink all night long, otherwise than as follows.

It is as impossible as needless, to set down the innumerable crowd of thoughts that whirled through that great thoroughfare of the brain, the memory, in this night's time: I ran over the whole history of my life in miniature, or by abridgement, as I may call it, to my coming to this island; and also of that part of my life since I came to this island; in my reflections upon the state of my case, since I came on shore on this island, I was comparing the happy posture of my affairs, in the first years of my habitation here, to that course of anxiety, fear, and care, which I had lived in ever since I had seen the print of a foot in the sand; not that I did not believe the savages had frequented the island even all the while, and might have been several hundred of them at times on shore there; but as I had never know it, and was incapable of any apprehensions about it, my satisfaction was perfect, though my danger was the same; and I was as happy in not knowing my danger, as if I had never really been exposed to it; this furnished my thoughts with many very profitable reflections, and particularly this one: 'How infinitely good that 'Providence is, which has settled in 'it's government of mankind such nar- 'row bounds to his sight and know- 'ledge of things; and though he walks 'in the midst of so many thousand dan- 'gers, the sight of which, if discovered 'to him, would distract his mind, and 'sink his spirits, he is kept serene and 'calm, by having the events of things 'hid from his eyes, and knowing no- 'thing of the dangers which surround 'him.'

After these thoughts had for some

time entertained me, I came to reflect ſeriouſly upon the real danger I had been in for ſo many years in this very iſland; and how I had walked about in the greateſt ſecurity, and with all poſſible tranquillity, even when perhaps nothing but a brow of an hill, a great tree, or the caſual approach of night, had been between me and the worſt kind of deſtruction; viz. that of falling into the hands of canibals and ſavages, who would have ſeized on me with the ſame view as I did on a goat or a turtle, and have thought it no more a crime to kill and devour me, than I did of a pigeon or a curlieu; I ſhould unjuſtly ſlander myſelf, if I ſhould ſay I was not ſincerely thankful to my Great Preſerver, to whoſe ſingular protection I acknowledged, with great humility, that all theſe unknown deliverances were due, and without which I ſhould inevitably have fallen into their mercileſs hands.

When theſe thoughts were over, my head was for ſome time taken up in conſidering the nature of theſe wretched creatures; I mean, the ſavages; and how it came to paſs in the world, that the Wiſe Governor of all things ſhould give up any of his creatures to ſuch inhumanity, nay, to ſomething ſo much below even brutality itſelf, as to devour it's own kind: but as this ended in ſome (at that time fruitleſs) ſpeculations, it occurred to me to enquire what part of the world theſe wretches lived in; how far off the coaſt was from whence they came; what they ventured ſo far from home for; what kind of boats they had; and why I might not order myſelf, and my buſineſs ſo, that I might be as able to go over thither, as they were to come to me.

I never ſo much as troubled myſelf to conſider, what I ſhould do with myſelf when I came thither; what ſhould become of me, if I fell into the hands of the ſavages; or how I ſhould eſcape from them, if they attempted me; no, nor ſo much as how it was poſſible for me to reach the coaſt, and not be attempted by ſome or other of them, without any poſſibility of delivering myſelf; and if I ſhould not fall into their hands, what I ſhould do for proviſion, or whither I ſhould bend my courſe; none of theſe thoughts, I ſay, ſo much as came in my way; but my mind was wholly bent upon the notion of my paſſing over in my boat to the main land: I looked back upon my preſent condition, as the moſt miſerable that could poſſibly be; that I was not able to throw myſelf into any thing but death that could be called worſe; that if I reached the ſhore of the main, I might, perhaps, meet with relief; or I might coaſt along, as I did on the ſhore of Africa, till I came to ſome inhabited country, and where I might find ſome relief, and after all, perhaps, I might fall in with ſome Chriſtian ſhip that might take me in; and if the worſt came to the worſt, I could but die, which would put an end to all theſe miſeries at once. Pray note, all this was the fruit of a diſturbed mind, an impatient temper, made, as it were, deſperate by the long continuance of my troubles, and the diſappointments I had met in the wreck I had been on board of, and where I had been ſo near the obtaining of what I ſo earneſtly longed for, viz. ſomebody to ſpeak to, and to learn ſome knowledge from, of the place where I was, and of the probable means of my deliverance: I ſay, I was agitated wholly by theſe thoughts. All my calm of mind in my reſignation to Providence, and waiting the iſſue of the diſpoſitions of Heaven, ſeemed to be ſuſpended; and I had, as it were, no power to turn my thoughts to any thing, but the project of a voyage to the main, which came upon me with ſuch force, and ſuch an impetuoſity of deſire, that it was not to be reſiſted.

When this had agitated my thoughts for two hours or more, with ſuch violence, that it ſet my very blood into a ferment, and my pulſe beat as high as if I had been in a fever, merely with the extraordinary fervour of my mind about it; nature, as if I had been fatigued and exhauſted with the very thought of it, threw me into a ſound ſleep: one would have thought I ſhould have dreamed of it; but I did not, nor of any thing relating to it; but I dreamed, that as I was going out in the morning, as uſual, from my caſtle, I ſaw upon the ſhore two canoes, and eleven ſavages coming to land, and that they brought with them another ſavage, whom they were going to kill, in order to eat him; when, on a ſudden, the ſavage that they were going

going to kill jumped away, and ran for his life; then I thought in my ſleep, that he came running into my little thick grove, before my fortification, to hide himſelf; and that I, ſeeing him alone, and not perceiving that the others ſought him that way, ſhewed myſelf to him, and ſmiling upon him, encouraged him: that he kneeled down to me, ſeeming to pray me to aſſiſt him; upon which I ſhewed my ladder, made him go up it, and carried him into my cave, and he became my ſervant; and that as ſoon as I had gotten this man, I ſaid to myſelf, 'Now I may certainly venture 'to the main land; for this fellow 'will ſerve me as a pilot, and will 'tell me what to do, and whither to 'go for proviſions, and whither not 'to go for fear of being devoured; 'what places to venture into, and 'what to eſcape.' I waked with this thought, and was under ſuch inexpreſſible impreſſions of joy at the proſpect of my eſcape in my dream, that the diſappointments which I felt upon coming to myſelf, and finding it was no more than a dream, were equally extravagant the other way, and threw me into a very great dejection of ſpirit.

Upon this, however, I made this concluſion; that my only way to go about an attempt for an eſcape, was, if poſſible, to get a ſavage in my poſſeſſion; and, if poſſible, it ſhould be one of their priſoners whom they had condemned to be eaten, and ſhould bring hither to kill; but theſe thoughts ſtill were attended with this difficulty, that it was impoſſible to effect this, without attacking a whole caravan of them, and killing them all; and this was not only a very deſperate attempt, and might miſcarry; but, on the other hand, I had greatly ſcrupled the lawfulneſs of it to me, and my heart trembled at the thoughts of ſhedding ſo much blood, though it was for my deliverance: I need not repeat the arguments which occurred to me againſt this, they being the ſame mentioned before; but though I had other reaſons to offer now; viz. that thoſe men were enemies to my life, and would devour me, if they could; that it was ſelf-preſervation, in the higheſt degree, to deliver myſelf from this death of a life, and was acting in my own defence, as much as if they were actually aſſaulting me, and the like; I ſay, though theſe things argued for it, yet the thoughts of ſhedding human blood for my deliverance were very terrible to me, and ſuch as I could by no means reconcile myſelf to a great while.

However, at laſt, after many ſecret diſputes with myſelf, and after great perplexities about it (for all theſe arguments, one way and another, ſtruggled in my head a long time) the eager prevailing deſire of deliverance at length maſtered all the reſt; and I reſolved, if poſſible, to get one of theſe ſavages into my hands, coſt what it would: my next thing then was to contrive how to do it; and this, indeed, was very difficult to reſolve on: but as I could pitch upon no probable means for it, ſo I reſolved to put myſelf upon the watch, to ſee them when they came on ſhore, and leave the reſt to the event, taking ſuch meaſures as the opportunity ſhould preſent, let it be what it would.

With theſe reſolutions in my thoughts, I ſet myſelf upon the ſcout, as often as poſſible, and indeed ſo often, till I was heartily tired of it; for it was above a year and a half that I waited, and for a great part of that time went out to the weſt end, and to the ſouth-weſt corner of the iſland, almoſt every day, to ſee the canoes, but none appeared: this was very diſcouraging, and began to trouble me much; though I cannot ſay that it did in this caſe as it had done ſome time before that, viz. wear off the edge of my deſire to the thing; but the longer it ſeemed to be delayed, the more eager I was for it: in a word, I was not at firſt more careful to ſhun the ſight of theſe ſavages, and avoid being ſeen by them, than I was now eager to be upon them.

Beſides, I fancied myſelf able to manage one, nay, two or three ſavages, if I had them, ſo as to make them entirely ſlaves to me, to do whatever I ſhould direct them, and to prevent their being able at any time, to do me any hurt. It was a great while that I pleaſed myſelf with this affair, but nothing ſtill preſented; all my fancies and ſchemes came to nothing, for no ſavages came near me for a great while.

About a year and a half after I had entertained these notions, and, by long musing, had, as it were, resolved them all into nothing, for want of an occasion to put them in execution, I was surprized one morning early, with seeing no less than five canoes all on shore together, on my side the island, and the people who belonged to them all landed, and out of my sight: the number of them broke all my measures; for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four, or six, or sometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my measures to attack twenty or thirty men single handed; so I lay still in my castle, perplexed, and discomforted; however, I put myself into all the same postures for an attack that I had formerly provided, and was just ready for action, if any thing had presented: having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any noise, at length being very impatient, I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill by my two stages, as usual; standing so, however, that my head did not appear above the hill; so that they could not perceive me by any means: here I observed, by the help of my perspective-glass, that they were no less than thirty in number, that they had a fire kindled, and that they had had meat dressed; how they cooked it, that I know not, or what it was; but they were all dancing, in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

When I was thus looking on them, I perceived by my perspective two miserable wretches dragged from the boats, where, it seems, they were laid by, and were now brought out for the slaughter. I perceived one of them immediately fall, being knocked down, I suppose, with a club or wooden sword, for that was their way; and two or three others were at work immediately, cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him: in that very moment, this poor wretch seeing himself a little at liberty, nature inspired him with hopes of life, and he started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands, directly towards me; I mean, towards that part of the coast where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frighted (that I must acknowledge) when I perceived him to run my way; and especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole body; and now I expected that part of my dream was coming to pass, and that he would certainly take shelter in my grove; but I could not depend, by any means, upon my dream for the rest of it; viz. that the other savages would not pursue him thither, and find him there: however, I kept my station, and my spirits began to recover, when I found that there were not above three men that followed him; and still more was I encouraged, when I found that he outstript them exceedingly in running, and gained ground of them, so that if he could but hold it for half an hour, I saw easily he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my castle the creek, which I mentioned often at the first part of my story, when I landed my cargoes out of the ship; and this I knew he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken there: but when the savage escaping came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up; but plunging in, swam through in about thirty strokes, or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness: when the three pursuers came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and that he, standing on the other side, looked at the other, but went no farther, and soon after went softly back again; which, as it happened, was very well for him in the main.

I observed that the two who swam, were yet more than twice as long swimming over the creek than the fellow was that fled from them: it came now very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my time to get me a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant, and that I was called plainly by Providence to save this poor creature's life. I immediately got down the ladders with all possible expedition, fetched my two guns, for they were both at the foot of the ladder, as I observed above; and getting up again with the same

same haste to the top of the hill, I crossed towards the sea; and, having a very short cut, and all down-hill, clapped myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued, hallooing aloud to him that fled; who, looking back, was at first perhaps as much frighted at me as at them; but I beckoned with my hand to him to come back; and in the mean time, I slowly advanced towards the two that followed; then rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece: I was loth to fire, because I would not have the rest hear; though at that distance it would not have been easily heard; and being out of sight of the smoke too, they would not have easily known what to make of it. Having knocked this fellow down, the other who pursued him stopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived presently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me; so I was then necessitated to shoot at him first; which I did, and killed him at the first shot. The poor savage who fled, but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen, and killed (as he thought) yet was so frighted with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock-still, and neither came forward, nor went backward, though he seemed rather inclined to fly still than to come on. I hallooed again to him, and made signs to come forward, which he easily understood, and came a little way, then stopped again, and then a little farther, and stopped again; and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken prisoner, and had just been to be killed, as his two enemies were. I beckoned him again to come to me, and gave him all the signs of encouragement that I could think of; and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token of acknowledgment for saving his life. I smiled at him, and looked pleasantly, and beckoned to him to come still nearer. At length he came close to me, and then he kneeled down again, kissed the ground, and laid his head upon the ground, and taking me by the foot, set my foot upon his head: this, it seems, was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him, and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet; for I perceived the savage, whom I knocked down, was not killed, but stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself: so I pointed to him, and shewed him the savage, that he was not dead; upon this he spoke some words to me, and though I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear, for they were the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard (my own excepted) for above five and twenty years: but there was no time for such reflections now; the savage, who was knocked down, recovered himself so far, as to sit up upon the ground; and I perceived that my savage began to be afraid; but when I saw that, I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him; upon this my savage, for so I call him now, made a motion to me to lend him my sword, which hung naked in a belt by my side; so I did: he no sooner had it, but he runs to his enemy, and at one blow cut off his head so cleverly, no executioner in Germany could have done it sooner or better; which I thought it very strange for one, who, I had reason to believe, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords; however, it seems, as I learned afterwards, they made their wooden swords so sharp, so heavy, and the wood is so hard, that they will cut off heads even with them, ay, and arms, and that at one blow too. When he had done this, he comes laughing to me in sign of triumph, and brought me the sword again; and with abundance of gestures, which I did not understand, laid it down, with the head of the savage that he had killed, just before me.

But that which astonished him most was, to know how I had killed the other Indian so far off; so pointing to him, he made signs to me to let him go to him: so I bade him go, as well as I could. When he came to him, he stood like one amazed, looking at him; turned him first on one side, then on the other; looked at the wound the bullet had made, which, it seems, was just in his breast, where it had made an hole, and no great quantity of blood had followed, but he had bled inwardly, for he