

*My copy of the*  
THE  
L I F E  
AND  
ADVENTURES  
OF  
ROBINSON CRUSOE.

By DANIEL DE FOE.

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Cooke's Edition.

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VOL. I.

1277

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EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

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## P R E F A C E.

1277

IF ever the story of any private man's adventures in the world were worth making public, 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 seriousness, 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 whoever thinks, because all such things are dispatched, that the improvement of it, as well to the diversion as 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 DE FOE.





# LIFE AND ADVENTURES 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 usual corruption of words in England, we are now called, nay, we call ourselves, and write our name Crusoe; and so my companions always called me.

I had two elder brothers, one of whom was 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 go, and designed me for the law; but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea: and my inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, nay the commands, of my father, and against all the entreaties 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 befall me.

My father, a wise and grave man, gave me serious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design

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 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; and 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 mechanic part of mankind; and not embarrassed with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind. He told me I might judge of the happiness of this state, by 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 wiseman 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 uneasinesses, 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  
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upon themselves by the natural consequences of their way of living; that the middle station of life was calculated for all kinds 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

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 my recovery.

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

I was sincerely 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 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



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 mother, 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 expostulated 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 at that time; 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



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 so my wickedly leaving my father's house, and abandoning my duty; all the good counsel of my parents, my father's tears, and my mother's entreaties, came now fresh into my mind; and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of 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 encreased, and the sea ran 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 lasted, 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;

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 I ever saw.

I had slept well in the night, and was now no more sea-sick, but very cheerful; looking with wonder upon the sea, that was so rough and terrible the day before, and could be so calm, and so pleasant, in so little a time after: and now, lest my good resolutions should continue, my companion, who had, indeed, enticed me away, came to me—'Well, Bob,' says he, 'clapping me upon the shoulder, 'how do you do after it? I warrant 'you were frightened, were not you last night, when it 'blew but a cap full of wind?'—'A cap full 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, your 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, and all my resolutions for the future. In a word, as the sea was returned to its 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 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 roused myself from them, as it were from a distemper; and applying myself

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 complete 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 happens, 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 had not, however, rid here so long but we should have tided it up the river, had not 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 to 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 ran very high indeed, and our ship rid fore-castle-in, shipped several seas, and we thought once or twice our anchor had come home: upon which our master ordered out the sheet anchor; so that we rode with two anchors a-head, and the cables veered out to the better end.

By this time it blew a terrible storm indeed; and now I began to see terror and amazement in the faces even of the seamen themselves. The master, though vigilant  
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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 undone!' and the like. During these first hurries I was stupid, lying still in my cabin, which was in the steerage, and cannot describe my temper. I could ill resume the first penitence which I had so apparently trampled upon, and hardened myself against: I thought the bitterness of death had been passed; and that this would be nothing, too, like the first. But when the master himself came by me, as I said just now, and said we should be all lost, I was dreadfully frightened. I got up out of my cabin, and looked out: but such a dismal sight I never saw; the sea went mountains high, and broke upon us every three or four minutes. When I could look about, I could see nothing but distress round us: two ships that rid near us, we found, had cut their masts by the board, being deep laden; and our men cried out, that a ship which rid about a mile a-head of us was foundered. Two more ships, being driven from their anchors, were run out of the roads to sea, at all adventures, and that 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 foremast, 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 foremast, 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 may judge what a condition I must be in at all this, who was but a young sailor, and who had been in such a fright before at but a little. But if I can express at this distance the thoughts I had about me at that time, I was in ten-fold more horror of mind upon



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

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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 at last the men rowing very heartily, and venturing their lives to save ours, our men cast them a rope over the stern with a buoy to it, and then veered it out a great length, which they, after much labour and hazard, took hold of, and we hauled them close under our stern, and got all into their boat. It was to no purpose for them or us, after we were in the boat, to think of reaching to their own ship; so all agreed to let her drive, and only to pull her in towards shore as much as we could; and our master promised them, that if the boat was staved upon shore, he would make it good to their master: so partly rowing, and partly driving, our boat went away to the northward, sloping towards the shore, almost as far as Wintertonnesle.

We were not much more than a quarter of an hour out of our ship, but we saw her sink; and then I understood, for the first time, what was meant by a ship foundering in the sea. I must acknowledge I had hardly eyes to look up, when the seamen told me she was sinking; for, from that moment they rather put me into the boat, than that I might be said to go in, my heart was as it were dead within me; partly with fright, partly with horror of mind, and the thoughts of what was yet before me.

While we were in this condition, the men yet labouring at the oar to bring the boat near the shore, we could see (when our boat mounting the waves, we were able to see the shore) a great many people running along the strand to assist us when we should come near: but we made but slow way towards the shore:

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 Crozier; 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 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,

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 to 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 therefore my duty; but as you made this voyage for a trial, you see what a taste Heaven has given you of what you are to expect, if you persist; perhaps 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 disappointments, till your father's words are fulfilled upon you."

We parted soon after; for I made him little answer, and I saw him no more; which way he went, I know not. As for me, having some money in my pocket, I travelled to London, by land; and there, as well as on the road, had many struggles with myself, what course of life I should take, and whether I should go home, or go to sea.

As to going home, shame opposed the best motions that offered to my thoughts; and it immediately occurred to me how I should be laughed at among the neighbours, and should be ashamed to see, not my father and mother only, but even 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 entreaties, 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 fore-mast-man; and in time might have qualified 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



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 became 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 mess-mate, 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 mathematics, and the rules of navigation: learned how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and, in short, to understand some things that were needful to be understood by a sailor: for, as he took delight to introduce me, I took delight to learn: and, in a word, this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant; for I brought



brought home five hundred 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  
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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 to the Moors.

The usage I had there was not so dreadful as at first I apprehended; nor was I carried up the country, to the emperor's court, as the rest of our men were, but was kept by the captain of the rover, as his proper prize, and made his slave, being young and nimble, and fit for his business. At this surprising change of my circumstances, from a merchant to a miserable slave, I was perfectly overwhelmed; and now I looked back upon my father's prophetic 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 cruise, he ordered me to lie in the cabin, to look after the ship.

Here I meditated nothing but my escape, and what method I might take to effect it; but found no way that had the least probability in it: nothing presented to make the supposition of it rational; for I had nobody to commu-

communicate it to, that would embark with me; no fellow-slave, no Englishman, Irishman or Scotchman 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 sitting 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 Moreco 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 Moreco, 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

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 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 on, 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 likely 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;



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 Imael, 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 aleamies (a fowl like our curlews) for ourselves; 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 a half of powder, or rather more; and another with shot, that had five or six pounds, with some bullets, and put all into the boat: at the same time I 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 southerly, 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



After we had fished some time, and caught nothing, (for when I had fish on my hook, I would not pull them up, that he might not see them) I said to the Moor—“This will not do; our master will not be thus served; we must stand farther off.” He, thinking no harm, agreed; and being 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 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 through the head: for I am resolved to have my liberty.” So he turned himself about, and swam for the shore: and I make no doubt but he reached it with ease, for he was an excellent swimmer.

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 Straights 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 chase of me, they also would now give over; so I ventured to make to the coast, and came to an anchor in the mouth of a little river. I knew not what 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 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 frightened, and indeed so was I too: but we were both worse frightened 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 ought 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 surpris'd 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 horrid 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 tygers; 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 he made me love him ever after: says he, 'If wild mans come, they eat me, you go away,'—'Well, Xury,' said I; 'we will both go, and if the wild mans come, we will kill them; they shall eat neither of us.' So I gave Xury a piece of rusk-bread to eat, and a dram out of our patron's case of bottles, which I mentioned before, and we hauled 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 frightened with some wild beast, and I ran forwards, 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 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 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 its barrenness; and, indeed, both forsaking it, because of the prodigious number 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 frightened, and said—'Me kill! he eat me at one mouth;' one mouthful, he meant: however, I said no more to the boy, but bade him be still, and 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 upon three legs, and gave the most hideous roar I ever heard. I was a little surprised that I had not hit him on the head; however, I took up the second piece immediately, and, though he began to move off, fired again, and shot him in the head, and had the pleasure to see him drop; and, 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

and I was very sorry to lose three charges of powder and shot upon a creature that was good for nothing to us. However, Xury said, he would have some of him; so he comes on board, and asked me to give him the hatchet. 'For what, Xury?' said I. 'Me cut off his head,' said he. However, Xury could not cut off his head; but he cut off a foot, and brought it with him and it was a monstrous great one.

I bethought myself, however, that perhaps the skin of him might, one way or other, be of some value to us, and I resolved to take off his skin if I could. So Xury and I went to work with him; but Xury was much the better workman at it, for I knew very ill how to do it. Indeed, it took us (both) 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

to me—'No go, no go!' However, I hawled 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 came close to us again.

We made signs of thanks to them, for we had nothing to make them amends: but an opportunity offered that very instant to oblige them wonderfully; for while we were lying by the shore, came two mighty creatures, one pursuing the other (as we took it) with great fury, from the mountains towards the sea: 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 frightened, especially the women. The man that had the lance or dart, did not fly from them, but the rest did; however, as the two creatures ran directly into the water, they did not seem to offer to fall upon the negroes, but plunged themselves into the sea, and swam about



about as if they had come for their diversion: at last one of them began to come nearer our boat than as 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 others. As soon as he came fairly within my reach, I fired and shot him directly in the head: immediately he sunk down into the water, but rose instantly, and plunged up and down 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, frightened with 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

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 tell what I had best to do: for if I should be taken with a fresh gale 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 frightened out of his wits, thinking it must needs be some of his master's ships sent to pursue us, when I knew we were gotten far enough out of their reach. I jumped out of the cabin, and immediately saw not only the ship, but what she was, viz. that it was a Portuguese ship; and, as I thought, was bound to the coast of Guinea for Negroes. But when I observed the course she steered, I was soon convinced

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 crouded 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 by this: and as I had my patron's ancient on board, I made a waft of it to them for a signal of distress, and fired a gun, both which they saw: for they told me they saw the smoke, though they did not hear the gun: upon these signals they very kindly brought to, and lay by for me, and in about three hours I came up with them.

They asked me what I was, in Portuguese, and in Spanish, and in French, but I understood none of them; but at last a 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 would 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

take away that life I have given. No, no,' says he, Signior Inglise. (Mr. Englishman,) 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 reasons, 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 Saint's 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,



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 to 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 220 pieces of eight of all my cargo, and with this stock 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 liv'd 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 a 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 letter of naturalization, I purchased as much land as my money would reach; 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 Portuguese 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 in order; so that the third year we planted some tobacco, and made each of us a large piece of ground ready for planting canes in the year to come; but we both wanted help; and now I found more than before, I had done wrong in parting with my boy Xury.

But, alas! for me to do wrong, that never did right, was no great wonder. I had no remedy but to go on. I was gotten into an employment quite remote to my genius,

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 say, 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 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

‘ 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 miscarries, you may have  
‘ the other half to have recourse to for your supply.’

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

The merchant in London 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 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 for himself, to purchase

chafe 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 necessities 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 encrease 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,



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, elephants teeth, &c. but Negroes for the service of the Brazils in great numbers.

They listened always very attentively to my discourses on these heads, but especially to that part which related to the buying negroes, which was a trade at that time not only not far entered into, but, as far as it was, had been carried on by the *Affientos*, (or permission of the King of Spain and Portugal) and engrossed in the public 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 secrecy, they told me that they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to Guinea; that they had all plantations as well as I, and were straitened for nothing so much as servants; that as it was a trade that could not publicly sell the Negroes when they came home, so they desired to make but one voyage, to bring the Negroes on shore privately, and divide them among their own plantations; and, in a word, the question was whether I would go their supercargo in the ship, to manage the trading part upon the coast of Guinea; and they offered me, that I should have 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 with 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 1000*l.* from England, and who in that time, and with that little addition, could scarce have failed of being worth 3 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, who 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 who had saved my life, as before, my universal heir, but obliging him to dispose of my

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 its 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 Noronba, holding

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 in 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 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 otherwise.

In this distress, we had, besides the terror of a storm, one of our men die of the calenture, and a man and a boy washed over board. 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 Amazonas, towards that of the river Oroonoke, 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



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 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 upon one 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

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

In this distress, the mate of our vessel laid hold of the boat, and with the help of the rest of the men, they got her slung over the ship's side, and getting all into her, let go, and committed ourselves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy, and the wide 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 shore, she would be broke 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 hands, pulling, as well as we could, towards the 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.

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 a-stern of us, and plainly bid us expect the *coup de grace*. In a word, it took us with such a fury, that it overfet 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 in its own body ; and I could feel myself carried with a mighty force and swiftness towards the shore, a very great way ; but I held my breath, and assisted myself to swim still forward with all my might. I was ready to burst with holding my breath, when, as I found myself rising up, so, to my  
immediate

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 my 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 swallow me up so 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



wherein there was, some minutes before, scarce any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express to the life, what the ecstasies and transports of the soul are, when it is so saved, as I may say, out of the 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 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 next to be done; and I soon found my comforts abate, and that, in a word, I had a dreadful deliverance; for I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor 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 affecting to me was, that I had no weapon either to hunt or kill any creature for my sustenance,

nance, or to defend myself against any other creature that might desire to kill me for theirs. In a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box; this was all my provision; and this threw me into terrible agonies of mind, so that for a while I ran about like a mad man. 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 fig, 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 lodgings; and having been excessively fatigued, I fell fast asleep, and slept as comfortably as I believe any person could have done in my situation.

When I awoke it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated; I was greatly surprised to find the ship had been 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, and where I had been so bruised by being dashed 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 have 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 sea had tossed her upon the land, about two miles to my right hand. I walked

walked as far as I could upon the shore to get at 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 to 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 cloathes 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 fore-castle of the ship. Here I found that she 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 on the bank, and consequently her head low to the water: by this means all her quarter was free, and all that was in that dry; for you may be sure my work was to search, and part to see what was spoiled and what was not: 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 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 raise my drooping spirits.

Now I wanted nothing but a boat, to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be very necessary.

It was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had; and this extremity roused my application. We had several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare top-mast or two in the ship; I resolved to go to work with these, and threw as many of them over-board 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 drawing 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. To remove this inconvenience, 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 being now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight, my next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what was on it from the surf of the sea; but I was not long considering this: I first laid all the planks or boards upon it that I could get; and having considered well what I most wanted, I got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon my raft; 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 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



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 indeed 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, go away; as for my breeches, which were only linen, and open at the knees, 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 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 could not tell where the gunner had stowed them; but with much search I found them: two were dry and good, but the third had taken water; the two that were good 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 cap-full of wind would have upset 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, besides the tools which were in the chest, two saws, an axe, and a hammer, with this cargo

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 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 upon a shoal, and not being aground at the other, all my cargo had nearly slipped off towards that end which was a float, and so fallen into the water: I did my utmost to prevent this, 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 supporting 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 soon 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 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 espied a little cove on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great pains and difficulty, I guided my raft; and at last got so near, 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,

sloping, there was no place to land, but where one end of the float, if it ran on shore, would be 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 over-top some other hills that 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 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 had reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of which, however, I saw none; but I discovered abundance of fowls, though I knew not their kinds; neither, when I killed them, could I tell what was fit for food, and what not. On my return I shot at a great  
bird

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 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 hawk, its colour and beak resembling it, but it had no talons or claws more than common; its flesh was carrion and fit for nothing.

Contented with this discovery, I came back to my raft, and began working 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 hut for that night's lodging: as for food, I yet saw not which way to supply myself, except that I had observed 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 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 I could. I then called a council, that is to say, in my thoughts, whether or not 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



I got on board the ship as before : and prepared a second raft ; and having had experience from 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 grind-stone : 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 if pleased) for more ; but as I could spare no more, she marched off.

Having got my second cargo on shore, (though I was obliged to open the barrels of powder, and bring them by parcels, for they were too heavy, being large casks)

I went

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 largest 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 was in an upwright posture, I thought I ought to get every thing out of her 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 gun-powder; in a word, I brought away all the sails first and last, only that I was obliged 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 hoghead 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 hoghead

head of the 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 a 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 was so unwieldy, and so overladen, that after I had 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 obliged 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 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 for the twelfth time to go on board, I found the wind began to rise; however, at low water, I went on board; and though I thought I had rummaged the cabin so effectually as that nothing more could be found, yet I discovered a locker with drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three razors, and one pair of large scissors, with ten or a dozen good knives and forks; in another, I found about  
thirty-six

thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some Brazil, some pieces of eight, some gold, and some silver.

I smiled to myself at the sight of this money. ‘O drag!’ said I aloud, what art thou good for? Thou art of no 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 overcast, and the wind began to rise, and in a quarter of an hour it blew a fresh gale from the shore; it presently occurred to me, that it was in vain to pretend to make a raft, with the wind off shore, and that it was my business to be gone before the tide of flood began, otherwise I might not be able to reach the shore at all: accordingly, I let myself down into the water; and swam across the channel, which lay between the ship and the land, and even that with great difficulty, partly with the weight of the things I had about me, and partly the roughness of the water; for the wind rose very hastily, and before it was quite high-water, it blew a storm.

But I was got home to my little tent, where I lay with all my wealth about me very secure. It blew 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 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



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

I soon found the place I was in would not do 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; 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 bannish my expectation.

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.

Previous to setting 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 its 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.

I then 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 nor beast could get into it, or over it. This cost me a great deal of time and labour, especially to cut the piles in the wood, bring them to their places, and drive them into the earth.

I made the entrance into this place 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 completely fenced in, and fortified, as I thought, from all the world, and consequently slept secure in the night, which otherwise I could not have done: though, as it appeared afterwards, there was no need of all this caution against enemies from whom I had apprehended danger.

Into this fence, or fortress, with infinite labour, I carried all my riches, all my provisions, ammunition, and stores; 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 with a large tarpaulin, which I had saved among the sails.

And now I lay no more for a time 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

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 I said, by a short ladder.

When I had done this, I began to work my way into the rock, and bringing all the earth and stones that I dug down, and through my tent, I laid them up within my fence in the nature of a terrace, so that it raised the ground within about a foot and a half; and thus I made 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. At the same time it happened, after I had laid my scheme for 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, which was succeeded by a violent clap of thunder. 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 my food, as I thought, entirely depended. I was nothing near so anxious about my own danger; though, had the powder took fire, I should have 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 little in parcels, 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 a part of it in my new cave, which 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 soon discovered that there were goats in the Island, which was a great satisfaction to me; but then it was attended with this misfortune, viz. that they were so shy, so subtle, and so swift of foot, that it was the most difficult thing in the world to come at them; but I was not discouraged at this, not doubting but I might now and then shoot one, as it soon happened; for after I had found their haunts a little, I laid wait in this manner for them. I observed, if they saw me in the 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 optics, their sight was so directed downward, that they did not readily see objects that were above them. In consequence of this observation, I took the following 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, to whom she gave suck, 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



my provisions (my bread especially) as much as I possibly could.

Having now fixed my habitation, I found it absolutely necessary to provide a place to make a fire in, and fuel to burn; and what I did for that, as also how I enlarged my cave, and what conveniences I made, I shall give a full account of 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 expostulated with myself, why Providence should thus compleatly ruin it's creatures, and render them so absolutely miserable, so abandoned without help, 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 are not they saved, and you lost? Why are you singled out? It is 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.

It then occurred to me again, how well I was furnished for my subsistence, and what would have been my case,

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 could 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 should 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 thundered and lightened.

And now, being to enter into a melancholy relation of a scene of silent life, such perhaps as was never heard of in the world before, I shall take it from its beginning, and continue it in it’s order. It was, by my account, the 30th of September, when, in the manner as before observed, 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

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 day a notch as long again as the rest, and every first 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 before-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, charts, and books of navigation, all which I huddled together, whether I might want them or no; also I found three very good bibles, which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things: some Portuguese books also, and among them two or three Popish prayer-books, and several other books, all which I carefully secured. And I must not forget that we had in the ship a dog and two cats, of whose eminent history I 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, and swam 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 while my ink lasted, I kept things very exact, but after that was gone, I could not; for I could not make ink, by any means I could devise.

And

And this put me in mind that I wanted many things, notwithstanding all 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 as 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 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 pouring upon them, and afflicting my mind; and as my reason began now to master my despondency, I comforted myself as well as I could, and so set the good against the evil, that I might have something to distinguish my case from a worse; and I stated it very impartially, like debtor and creditor, (the comfort I enjoyed, against the miseries I suffered) thus—

EVIL.



## E V I L.

I am cast upon an horrible desolate Island; void of all recovery.

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

I am divided from mankind, a solitary one banished from human society.

I have no cloaths to cover me.

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

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

## G O O D.

But I am alive, and no drowned, as all my ship's company was.

But I am singled out from all the ship's crew, to be spared from death.

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

But I am in a hot climate, where they are not wanted.

But I am cast on an Island where I see neither men nor wild-beasts to hurt me.

But enough to supply my wants, 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 given over looking out to sea, in hopes of observing 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

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, and therefore set about enlarging my cave, by working farther into the earth; for it was a loose sandy rock, which yielded easily to the labour I bestowed on it.

When I found myself pretty safe as to beasts of prey, I worked side-ways to the right-hand into the rock; and then turning to the right again, worked quite out, and made my door to come out to the out-side of my pale or fortification.

This gave me not only to egress and regress, as it was a back-way to my tent, and to my store-house, but also 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.

Accordingly I went to work; and here I must observe, that as reason is the substance and original of the mathematics, 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 mechanic art. I had never handled a tool in my life, and yet in time, by labour, application, and contrivance, I found at last that I wanted nothing but I could have made 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

before me, and hew it flat on either side with my axe, till I had brought it to be as thin as a plank, and then dub it smooth with my adze; it is true, by this method I could make but one board out of a whole tree; but this I had no remedy for but patience, any more than I had for the prodigious deal of time and labour which it took me 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 before, in the first place, and this I did out of the short pieces of boards I brought on my raft from the ship; but when I had wrought out some boards, 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 my tools, nails, and iron-work on; and, in a word, to separate every thing at large in their places, that I might easily come at them: also I drove pieces into the rock, to hang my guns, and all things that would hang up.

By these means my cave looked like a general magazine of all necessary articles; and I had every thing so ready at 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 at first vomited 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

‘ 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, pleased 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 got over these things in some measure, and having settled my household furniture 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 length having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off.

## JOURNAL.

SEPTEMBER 30th, 1659. I, poor miserable Robinson Crusoe, being shipwrecked during a dreadful storm in the offing, came on shore in 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, though it rained all night.

October 1. In the morning, I saw, to my great surprise, the ship had floated with the high tide, and was driven on shore again much nearer the island; which, as it was some comfort on the one hand, (for seeing her sit upright



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 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 different 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 overlet my raft, and all the goods I had got upon it; but being in shoal water, and the things 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 semicircle 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 to 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 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 till 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 mechanic 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 was 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 with which I was unacquainted; but was surprized, and almost frightened, 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. No-

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 some difficulty 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, 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 convenience. 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 great difficulty, 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 making.

I was still deficient, for I wanted a basket or a wheelbarrow; a basket I could not make by any means, having no such things as twigs that would bend to make wicker-ware, at least none yet found out; and, as to the wheelbarrow, I fancied I could make all but the wheel; but that I had no notion of, neither did I know how to go about it; besides, I had no possible way to make iron gudgeons for the spindle or axis of the wheel to run in; so I gave it over; and, for carrying away the earth which I dug out of the cave, I made me a convenience like an hod, which the labourers carry mortar in when they serve the bricklayers.

This was not so difficult to me as 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.



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 loading 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 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 caught 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 went into 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; particularly, 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 found their nests, and got their young ones, which were good to eat.

And now, in the management of my household affairs, I found myself wanting in many things, which I thought at first it was impossible for me to make, and indeed so 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 of 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 give 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

bered 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 killed a goat, I made tallow of the fat, 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 furnished me with light, though not a clear steady light like a candle.

In the midst of my labours it happened, that, rummaging my things, I found a little bag, which, as I hinted before, had been filled with corn for feeding 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 enquiring into the end of Providence in these things, or his ordering and governing



ing 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 and miserable place.

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

I not only thought these the pure productions of Providence for my support; but, not doubting that there was no more in the place, I went all over that part of the Island where I had been before, looking 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 an incident 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, being in the shade of an high rock, it sprang up immediately; whereas, had I thrown it any where else at that time, it might have been burnt 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 them up carefully, I resolved to sow them again,

again, hoping they might, in proper time, produce sufficient quantity 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. I lost all that I sowed the first season, by 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 had I not made this unfortunate mistake.

Besides this barley, there were 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 four ways to cook it up without baking, though I did this also after some time. But to return to my Journal.

I worked excessive hard three or four months, to get my wall done; and the 14th of April I closed it up, contriving to get within, not by a door, but 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 complete 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 behind my tent, just at the entrance into my cave, I was terribly frightened with a most dreadful surprising 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 tremendous manner: I was heartily frightened, but formed no judgment 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;

elder; and, not thinking myself safe there neither, I got over my wall for fear of the pieces of the hill which expected might roll down upon me. I no sooner set feet on the ground, than 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 terrible noise, as I never heard in all my life; I perceived also the sea was put into violent motion by it; and I believe the shocks were stronger under the water than on the Island.

I was so amazed at this phenomenon, 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 me exceeding sick, but the noise of the falling of the rock awaked me, as it were; and rousing me from the stupified condition I was in, filled me with terror, and I thought of nothing then but the hill falling upon my tent and all my household 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 distressed down, and disconsolate, not knowing what to do. In this while I had not the least serious religious thought, nothing but the common—'Lord have mercy upon me!' and when was it over, that went away too.

While I sat thus, I found the atmosphere overcast, and it grew cloudy, as if it would rain; and, in less than half an hour, it blew a most dreadful hurricane of wind; the sea was all on a sudden covered with foam and froth, the shore with the breach of the water, and the trees were torn up by the roots. This continued about three

three hours, when it began to abate; and in two hours more it was calm, with a heavy fall of rain.

All this while I sat upon the ground, very much terrified and dejected, when on a sudden it occurred to my mind that these winds and rains 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 a hole through my new fortification, like a sink, to let off the water. After I had been in my cave, I found still more shocks of the earthquake follow, I began to be more composed; and, to support my spirits, which indeed wanted it very much, I went to my little store, and took a small quantity of rum, which I did then and at other times when I thought it essentially necessary, knowing I could have no more after 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 consider what I had best to do; thinking, 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 thereby make myself secure from wild beasts or men; concluding, if I staid where I was, I should certainly, one time or other, be buried alive.

In consequence of 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



The fear of being swallowed up alive greatly disturbed my mind, so that I had very little refreshment from sleep; 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 well concealed I was, and how safe from danger, it made me unwilling to remove.

In the mean time it occurred to me, that it would require a vast deal of time to do this, and that I must be contented to run the hazard where I was, till I had formed a camp for myself, and had secured it so as to remove to it. With this resolution I composed myself for a time, and then resolved to go to work with all speed to build me a wall with piles, 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 21<sup>st</sup>.

April 22. The next morning I began to consider of means to put this resolve into 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 traffic with the Indians;) but with much chopping and cutting knotty hard wood, they were all full of notches, and dull; and though I had a grindstone, I could not turn it and grind my tools too. This cost me as much thought as a statesman would have bestowed upon a grand point of politics, or a judge upon the life and death of a man. At length I contrived a wheel with a string to turn it with my foot, that I might have both my hands at liberty. Note, I had not seen any such thing in England, or at least 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.

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 gun-powder, 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 upon the sands, as near as I could to the wreck of the ship, to look for more.

When I came 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 though 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 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

of any thing, I resolv'd to pull every thing to pieces that I could of the ship, concluding, that whatever 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 oblig'd 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 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, came home 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 seem'd to lie loose, and the inside of the hold lay so open, that I could see into it, but it was 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 many 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 against the lead, and driving 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, and resolved to see what they were, but found it was a piece of the head, and too heavy for me to bring away.

May 24. From the 17th to this day, I worked on the wreck, and with hard labour loosened some things so much with the crow, that on 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 except some pieces of timber, and an hog-head which had some Brazil pork in it, but the salt water and the sand had spoiled it.

I continued this work every day from the 24th of May 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 ebb'd out to attend the wreck. By this time I had gotten timber and plank, and iron-work enough to have built a good boat, if I had known how; as also at different 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



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 afterwards found, though perhaps I might have paid dear for them.

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

June 18. Raining all the day, 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, frightened almost to death with the apprehensions of my sad condition, in being sick, and having 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.

June 23. Very bad again; cold and shivering, attended with 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, broiled some of it, and eat; I would fain have stewed it, and made some broth, but had no convenience for that purpose.

June 27. The ague returned again so violent, that I

lay in bed all day, and neither eat nor drank. I was ready to perish with thirst, and so weak, I had not strength to stand up, or 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 the night was far advanced. When I awoke, I found myself much refreshed, but weak and exceeding thirsty; however, as I had no water in my whole habitation, I was forced to lie till morning, and went to sleep again; in this second sleep, I had the following terrible dream.

I thought I was sitting on the ground, on the outside of my wall, at the same spot 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 too dreadful for words to describe. When he stepped on the ground, I thought the earth trembled, just as it had done before in the earthquake; and the atmosphere 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 towards me, with a long spear or weapon in his hand as if designing to kill me; 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 repentance, 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 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

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; and having the least sense of the fear of God in dangers, or of thankfulness to God in deliverances.

In the relation of what is already past of my story, this will be the more easily believed, when I 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 desert shores of Africa, I never had so much as one thought of what would become of me, or one wish to God to direct me whither I should go, or to keep me from the danger which apparently surrounded me, as well from voracious creatures, as cruel savages: but I was 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 Portuguese captain, well used, and dealt justly and honourably with, as well as charitably, I had not the least  
thankfulness

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 slight 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 enquiry 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 shipwreck, all which they drown 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, in what manner 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 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 hath been observed in my journal, had at first some little influence upon me, and began to affect me with seriousness, as long as I thought it had something miraculous in it; but as soon as that part of the thought was removed, all the impression which was raised from it entirely wore off.

Even



Even the earthquake, though nothing could be more terrible in it's nature, or more immediately directing to the invisible Power which alone produces 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 my life.

But now, when I began to be sick, and a cool and deliberate 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 could not avoid reproaching 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 miserable creature am I! If I should be sick, I shall certainly die for want of help, and what will become of me!' Then the tears burst from my eyes, and I could say no more for some time.

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 should

should 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 state of life wherein I might have been happy or 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 introduced 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 nature itself to support, and no assistance, no help, no comfort, no advice!’ Then I cried out—‘Lord, be my help, for I am in great distress!’

This was the first prayer, if I may call it so, I had made for many years.—But to return to my journal.

June 28. Having been somewhat refreshed by the sleep I had had, and the fit being entirely off, I got up, and though the fright and terror of my dream still hung heavy on my mind, yet I considered that the fit of the ague would return again the next day, and now was my time to get something to refresh and support myself when I should be ill. The first thing I did was to fill a large square case bottle with water, and set it upon my table, in reach of my be; and to take off the chill or aguish disposition of the water, I put about a quarter of a pint of rum into it, and mixed them together; I then got 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 heavy hearted from a 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 kind  
of

of food I 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 but a little way, and sat down upon the ground, looking out to the sea, which was just before me, and very calm and smooth. As I sat here, some thoughts, such as the following, occurred to my mind.

'What is the earth and sea, of which I have seen so much? Whence 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 secret Power, who formed the earth and sea, the air and sky; and who is that?

'It then followed most naturally—'It is God that has made them 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 appointment.

'And if nothing happens without his knowledge, he knows that I am here, and am in a dreadful condition; and if nothing happens without his appointment, he has appointed all this to befall 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 needs be, that God had appointed all this to befall me; that I was brought to this miserable situation 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

My conscience presently checked me in that enquiry, as if I had blasphemed; and methought it spake to me like a voice—'Wretch! dost thou ask what thou hast done? Look back upon a dreadful mispent life, and ask thyself what thou hast not done? Ask, why is it that thou wert not long ago destroyed? Why wert thou not drowned in Yarmouth Roads? killed in the night, when the ship was taken by the Sallee man of war? devoured by the wild beasts on the coast of Africa? or drowned here, when all the crew perished but thyself? Dost thou ask what 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 Brazilians take no physic but their tobacco, for almost all distempers; and I had a piece of a roll of tobacco in one of the chests, which was quite cured, and some also that was green, and not then fit for use.

To this chest I repaired, in which I found a cure both for soul and body; I opened the chest, and immediately met with 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 either leisure or 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 almost stupified me, the tobacco being strong, and I not accustomed to its use. I then took some, and steeped it



an hour or two in rum, resolving to take a dose of it when I lay down; and lastly, I burnt some upon a pan of coals, and held my nose close over the smoke as long as I could bear it, as well for the heat, as to receive beneficial virtues from the plant.

After 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 situation, 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 affinity, as I may say, to me; it was so remote, so impossible, in my apprehension of things, that I said as the children of Israel did when they were promised flesh to eat—‘Can God spread a table in the wilderness?’—‘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, affected my head so much, that I was inclined to sleep; accordingly 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 wherein I had steeped the tobacco, which was so strong and rank of the weed, that indeed I could scarce get it down. Immediately on this I went to bed, and soon found it flew up into my head violently; but I fell into a sound sleep, and waked no more till, by the sun, it must have been 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 about 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.

But that, however, one way or other, when I awaked I found myself exceedingly refreshed, and my spirits lively and cheerful. When I got up I was stronger than I was the day before, and my stomach better; for I was hungry; and, in short, I had no fit the next day, but continued much altered for the better. This was the 29th.

The 30th was my well day of course, and I went abroad with my gun, but did not care to travel too far. I killed a sea-fowl or two, something like a brand-goose, and brought them home, but was not very forward to eat them; so I 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 first of July, as I hoped I should have been, for I had a return of the cold fit, but it was not much.

July 2. I renewed the medicine all the three ways, and dozed myself with it at first, doubling 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 these words in the 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

it occurred to my mind, that I dwelt 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 distressed 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 delivered 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!

These reflections greatly affected me, and I immediately kneeled down, and gave God thanks aloud for my recovery from my sickness.

July 4. In the morning I took the bible: and opening it where the New Testament commences, I began seriously to read it, and laid a restraint upon myself to read some every morning and every night, not confining myself to the number of chapters, but to read as long as my thoughts should engage me. It was not long after when 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 remission:' I threw down the book and with my heart as well as my hands lifted up to heaven, in a kind of extacy of joy, I cried out aloud—'Jesus, thou son of David! Jesus, thou exalted Prince and Saviour, give me repentance!'

This was the first time 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

ment of the word 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 of the word; but now I learned to take it in another sense. Now I looked back upon my past life with such horror, and my sins appearing so dreadful, 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 determined to furnish myself with every thing I wanted, and make my way of living as regular and comfortable as I could.

From the 4th of July to the 14th, I was chiefly employed in walking about with my gun in my hand, though I could proceed no great distance without intervals of rest, being from illness so weakened, that I had very little strength left: indeed it is hardly to be imagined how low I was, and to what an imperfect state I was reduced. The application which I made use of, was



was perfectly new, and perhaps what had never cured an ague before; neither can I recommend it to any one to practice, 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 the island above ten months; and all possibility of deliverance from my condition seemed to be entirely taken from me; I firmly believed, that no human being had ever set foot upon the 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 of which I was at present unacquainted.

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 various other plants with which I was unacquainted, and which might probably have some efficacious virtues, though to me unknown.

I searched for the cassava root, of which the Indians in all that climate make their bread, 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 was unacquainted with the plants of the field; at least I knew very little that might serve me to any purpose at this time of my distress.

The next day, the 16th, I went 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 the country became more woody than before. In this part I found different fruits, and particularly 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 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, which was the first time I had lain from home. When night came, I 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

At the end of this journey 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 state of beautiful verdure, that it looked like a planted garden.

I descended a little on the side of the valley, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure to think this was all my own; that I was king and lord of all this country indefeasibly, and had a right of possession; and, if I could convey it, I might have it in inheritance, as completely as any lord of a manor in England. I saw here abundance of cocoa, orange, 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 drink.

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 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

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 upon heaps, and no carrying them away in a sack, but that one way they would be destroyed, and the other they would be crushed with their own weight, I took another course; 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 on 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 think 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,



However, I was so pleased 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 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 brush-wood: 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, 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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.

At this time 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, and, as I thought, had been dead, and I heard no tale or tidings of her, till, to my astonishment, she came home about the end of August,

gust, with three kittens. This was the more strange, 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; but I found the kittens 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 them, 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 14<sup>th</sup> of August to the 26<sup>th</sup> it rained incessantly, so that I could not stir out. In this state of 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 26<sup>th</sup>, 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 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 largest animal 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 religious exercise, prostrating myself to the ground with the most serious humiliation, confessing myself to God, acknowledging his righteous judgment upon

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 biseuit-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 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, in consequence of which I used it more sparingly, and wrote 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 provide accordingly. But I bought all my experience before I had it; and what I am going to relate was one of the most discouraging experiments I had made. It has been observed, 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 the remainder for a future time.

It was a great comfort to me afterwards that I did so  
for

for not one grain of that I sowed at 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 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 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



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 then on or near the Equi- nox.
All March		
Half April		
Half April	}	Dry, the sun being then to the North of the line.
All May		
June		
July		
Half August.	}	Rain, the sun being then come back.
Half August		
All September		
Half October		
Half October	}	Dry, the sun being then to the South of the line.
All Nov.		
Dec.		
Jan.		
Half Feb.		

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 saw 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 were so brittle, that they would not answer the purpose. 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 such 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 fallows, 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 much

time about it, I exerted 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 holding 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 wanted, viz. to make broth, and stew a bit of meat by itself. The second thing I would willingly 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 dominions, and perhaps was all inhabited by savages, where, if I should have landed, I had been in a worse condition than I was now; and, therefore, I acquiesced

quiesced in the dispositions of Providence, which I began now to own, and to believe, ordered every thing for the best; I say, I contented myself with this, and left disturbing my mind with fruitless wishes of farther discoveries.

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, inhabited by 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 willingly 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 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 a trifle, will be very diverting in it's place.

I was exceedingly amused with this journey; I found in the low grounds hares, as I thought them to be, and foxes, but they differed greatly from all the other kinds I had met with; nor could I satisfy myself to eat them, though I killed several: but I had no need to be venturous; for I was not in 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 had rather plenty, even to dainties.

I never



I never travelled in this journey above two miles outright in a day, or thereabouts; but I took so many turns 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 to eat: but such as I knew not the names of, except those called penguins.

I could have killed as many as I pleased, but was very sparing of my powder and shot; and therefore was more inclined 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 I could come near them; the country being flat and even, 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,  
L 3 thinking

thinking I could easily keep all the island so much in my view, that I could not miss finding my first dwelling by viewing the country; but I soon discovered my mistake; 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 formed 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 satisfaction it gave me, to come into my old habitation, 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 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

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 domestic, 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 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 grew so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it became from that time one of my domestics also, and would never leave me afterwards.

The rainy season of the autumnal equinox was now come, and I kept the 30th of September in the same solemn manner as before, being the anniversary of my landing on the island, having now been there two years, and no more prospect of being delivered than the first day I came there. I spent the whole day in humble and thankful acknowledgments 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 the 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

ble 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 desarts I was in; and that 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 composure of my mind, this would break out upon me like a storm, and make 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 would naturally 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 comparison in the loss?"

From this moment I began to conclude in my mind, that it was possible for me to be more happy in this forsaken, solitary condition, than it was probable I should have



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 rather 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 every morning when it did not rain. Thirdly, The ordering, curing, preserving, and cooking, what I had killed or caught for my supply. These took up great part of the day; also it is to be considered, that in the middle of the day, when the sun was in the zenith, the violence of the heat was too great to stir out; so that about four hours in the evening was all the time I could be supposed to work in; with this exception, that sometimes I changed my hours of hunting and working, and went to work in the morning, and abroad with my gun in the afternoon.

To

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 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 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 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 without such assistance.

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

It was now the month of November when I expected 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  
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losing it all again by enemies of several sorts which it was scarce possible to keep from it; as first the goats, and wild creatures which I called hares, who tasting the sweetness of the blade, lay in it night and day, as soon as it came up, and 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 expedition, 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; 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 had always 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 stayed 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

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 down, knowing that every grain 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 to the corn, but in short they forsook all that part of the island, and I could never see a bird near the place as long as my scarecrows hung there.

This I was very glad of, you may be sure; and about the latter end of December, which was my 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 had 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



ing 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 my surprize.

First, I had no plough to turn the earth, nor 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 much worse done.

However, this I bore with, and was content to work it out with patience, and bear with the badness of the performance. When the corn was sowed, I had no harrow, but was forced to go over it myself, and drag a great heavy bough of a tree over it, to scratch 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 tedi-

dious 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 performing all the operations necessary for making the corn, when I had it, fit for 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 poor one indeed, and being heavy, 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 I could find them to my mind, and fenced them in with a good hedge, the stakes of which were all cut off that wood I had set before, which I knew would grow, so that in one year's time I was sure I should have a quick or living hedge, that would want but little repair. This work was not so trifling but that it took me up at least 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, which was as follows : I had long studied, by some means or other, to make myself some earthen vessels, which indeed, I greatly wanted, but knew not how 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

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 awkward ways I took to raise this paste, what odd, misshapen ugly things I made, how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the clay not being stiff enough to bear its own weight; how many cracked by the over-violent heat of the sun, being set out too hastily; and how many fell 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 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 being to stand always dry, I thought would hold my 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 exceeding 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 earthenware vessels in the fire, burnt as hard as a stone and red as a tile. I was agreeably surpris'd 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 slack'd my fire gradually, till the pots began to abate of the red colour; and watching them all night, that I might not let the fire abate too fast, in the morning I had three very good, I will not say handsome pipkins, and two other earthen pots, as hard burnt as could be desired; and one of them perfectly glazed with the running of the sand.

After this experiment I need not say that I wanted no sort of earthen-ware for my use; but I must observe 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 some meat, which I did admirably well; and with a piece of a kid I made some

very



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 it 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 I found for this was, that at last I did remember I had among the seamens cloathes 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 a shift for some years; how I did afterwards, I shall shew in its place.

The baking part was the next thing to be considered, and how I should make bread when I came to have corn; for, first, I had no yeast: as to that part, 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 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 put down my loaf or loaves: and wheeling 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

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 its season, and carried it home as well as I could, and laid it up in the ear, in my large baskets; till I had time to rub it out; for I had no floor to thresh it on, or instrument to thresh it with.

And now, indeed, my stock of corn encreasing, I 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 Caribbean coasts were cannibals, or men eaters; and I knew by the latitude, that I could not be far off from that shore: that, suppose they were not cannibals, yet they might kill me, as many Europeans

ans 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 which engaged my thoughts afterwards, 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 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 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, resolving 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 that she would be a very good boat, and I might go to sea in her very easily.

I spared no pains, indeed, in this piece of fruitless toil, and I 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



towards the water; so I was forced to give it up: and yet, though I gave over the hopes of the boat, my desire to venture across 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 the 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 that 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 from this 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 the land; and it was really in its 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 or not I was able to undertake it; not but that the difficulty of launching my boat came often into my head;

lead; but I put a stop to my own enquiries 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 idea, but the eagerness of my fancy prevailed, 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 gradually 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. After this it cost me a month to shape it, to bring it to a proportion, and to something like the bottom of a boat, that it might swim upright as it ought to do. It cost me near three months more to clear the inside, and work it out, so as to make an exact boat of it: this I did, indeed, without fire, by mere mallet and chisel, and by the dint of hard labour, till I had brought it to be a very handsome periagua, and big enough to have carried six-and-twenty men, and consequently big enough to have carried me and all my cargo.

When I had gone through this work, I was extremely delighted with it: the boat was really much bigger than I ever saw a canoe or periagua, that was made of one tree in my life; and many a weary stroke it had cost me, you may be sure. There remained nothing but to get it into the water, which had I been able to effect, I make no doubt but I should have begun the 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

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 will grudge pains, that have their deliverance in view? But when this was worked through, and this difficulty removed, it was still much the same; for I could no more stir the canoe, than I could the other boat.

I then 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 entered 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. In consequence of these difficulties, I gave up all thoughts of getting my vessel into the water.

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.

While prosecuting this work I finished my fourth year in this island, 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; and well might I say, as Father Abraham said to Tives—‘Between me and thee there is a great gulph fixed.’ In

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 have cured into raisins, to have loaded that fleet when they had been built.

But all I could make use of, was what 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 use for it; and I often thought with myself, that I would have given



a handful of it for a gross of tobacco-pipes, or a hand-mill to grind my corn: nay, I would have given it all for six-penny-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 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 Gods 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 gun-powder and shot for getting my food.

I spent whole hours, I may say whole days, in representing

representing to myself in the most lively colours, how I must have acted, if I had got nothing out of the ship; I reflected that 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, and very thankful for my present condition, with all its 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 it had been the will of Providence.

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 others makes men 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

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 Saltee, my being taken up by the Portuguese 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 words '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 account of my wicked and hardened past life; and when I looked about me, and considered what particular providences had attended me, since my coming into this place, and that 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 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, 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  
N 2 advantage;

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 or poisonous creatures 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 dejected.

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 beset 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 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 on which I was born, 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



The next thing to my ink being wasted, was that of my bread; I mean, the biscuit which I brought out of the ship. This I had husbanded to the last degree, allowing myself but one cake of bread a day for above a year; and yet I was quite without bread for a year, before I got any corn of my own; and great reason I had to be thankful that I had any at all, the getting it being, as has been already observed, next to miraculous.

My clothes too began to decay: as to linen, I had been without it some time, except some checked shirts which I found in the chests of the other seamen, and which I carefully preserved, because many times I could wear no other cloaths on but a shirt; and it was a great help to me, that I had, among all the mens 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 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 bear the thoughts of it, though I was all alone.

One reason why I did not choole to 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, that I could not bear it; whereas, if I put on my hat, it would soon go away.

From these reasons I was induced, accordingly, to consider about putting the few rags I had, which I called cloaths, into some order; I had worn out all the waistcoats, and my business was now to try if I could not make jackets out of the great watch-coats, and with such other materials as I had. I set to work tayloring,

or rather, indeed botching : for I made most piteous work of it. However, I contrived to make two or three waistcoats, which I hoped would serve me a great while ; as for breeches, or drawers, I made a very poor effort, indeed.

I have mentioned, that I saved the skins of all the creatures 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 of little use ; but others were very serviceable.

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 I afterwards 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 outermost, I was kept very dry.

After this I spent a deal of time and pains to make me an umbrella, of which, indeed, I was in great want. I had seen them made in the Brazils, where they are very useful in the great heats of that part of the world ; 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 great pains at it, and was a long 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 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

with skins, the hair upwards, so that it cast off the rain like a pent-house, and kept off the sun so effectually, that I could walk out in the hottest of the weather, with greater advantage than I could before in the coolest; and when I had no need of it, I could close it, and carry it under my arm.

Thus I live very comfortably, my mind being entirely composed by resigning myself 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 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 state 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 a laborious task 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, it was by far too large, having made it without considering beforehand, as I ought to have done, how I should be able to launch it; in consequence of which, not being able to bring it to the water, or 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 I never gave it over till I had accomplished it; and though

I was

I was near two years about it, yet I never grudged my labour, in hopes of having a boat with which I might proceed to sea.

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 me 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 quantity by me.

Having fitted my mast and sail, and tried the boat, I found she would sail very well: I then made little lockers and boxes at either end of my boat, to put provisions, necessaries, ammunition, &c. into, to be kept dry, either from rain, or the spray of the sea; and I cut in the inside of the boat, a little, long, hollow place, 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 me like an awning; and thus I every now and then took a small voyage upon the sea, but never went far from the creek. At last, being eager to view the circumference of my little kingdom, I resolved upon my tour, and accordingly 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 of which I eat a great deal) a small  
bottle



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 seamens chelts; 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 the 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, above all, doubting how I should get back again; so I came to an anchor, for I had made me a kind of 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 up an hill, which seemed to overlook that point, where I saw the full extent of it, and resolved to venture.

In viewing the sea from that hill where I stood, I perceived a strong, and indeed a most furious current, which ran to the east, and even came close to the point; and I took the more notice of it, because I saw there might be some danger, that when I came into it, I might be carried out to sea by its strength, 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

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ing 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 no sooner did I reach the point, when even I was not my boat's length from the shore, than 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 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 desert!' 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

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 its 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 cheered 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 the island if I had 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 discovered 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.

Those who know what it is to have a reprieve brought them

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 cheerfully 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 assisted me no farther. However, 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 afternoon, 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 not directly setting the way my course lay, which was due west, but almost full north. However, having a fresh gale, I stretched across this eddy, slanting north-west, and in about an hour came within about a mile of the shore, where, it being smooth water, I soon got to land.

When I was on shore, I fell on my knees, and gave

God



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 to march: the way was comfortable enough, after such a voyage as I had been; and I reached my old bower in the evening, where I found everything standing as I left it; for I always kept it in good order, being, as I said before, my country house.

I got over the fence, and laid me down in the shade to rest my limbs, for I was very weary, and fell asleep: but judge if you can, you, that read my story, what a surprize I must have been 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 fast 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 the voice continued to repeat, ‘Robin Crusoe! Robin Crusoe!’ at last I began to awake more perfectly, and was at first dreadfully frightened, and started up in the utmost consternation: but no sooner were my eyes open than I saw my Pol 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 Pol, I got it over; and holding out my hand, and calling him by his name, Pol, the sociable, 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.

I had now enough of rambling to sea, and continued for some days in a very quiet state, reflecting on 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, to think

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 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 much composed as to my condition, and fully comforted in resigning myself to the dispositions of Providence, I thought I lived very happily in all things, except that of society.

I improved myself, in this time, in all the mechanic exercises which my necessities put me upon applying myself to; and, I 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 to make them with a wheel, which I found infinitely easier and better; because I made things round and shapeable, which before were very awkward and rough in their form. But I think I never was more vain of my own performance, or more joyful for any thing I found out, than my being able to make a tobacco-pipe; and though it was a very ugly clumsy thing when done, and only burnt like other earthen-ware, yet, as it was hard and 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 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 suggested;

suggested; though they were not very handsome, yet they were 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 an article which it was impossible for me to supply; I therefore 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.

For 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



up the corn. 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, going one morning to see my traps, I found, in one of them, a large old he-goat; and, in one of the others, three kids, a male and two females.

As to the old one, I knew not what to do with him; he was so fierce I durst not go into the pit to him; that is to say, to go about to bring him away alive, which was what I wanted; I could have killed him, but that was not my business, nor would it answer my end; so I e'en let him out, and he ran away greatly frightened; 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; I then 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 some time before they would feed, but throwing them some sweet corn, it tempted them, and they began to be tame; and now I found, that if I expected to supply myself with goats-flesh, when I had no powder or shot left, breeding some up tame was my only way, when perhaps I might have them about my house like a flock of sheep.

But then it occurred to me, that I must keep the tame from the wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up; and the only way for this was to have some 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 so very extensive, it 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 begun and carried on, I believe, about fifty yards, when this thought occurred to me; so I stopped short, and resolved to inclose a piece of about one hundred and fifty yards in length, and one hundred yards in breadth, which, as it would maintain as many as I should have in any reasonable time, so, as my stock increased, I could add more ground to my 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

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 I killed for food. Being thus successful, I inclosed five several pieces of ground to feed them in, with little pens to drive them into, to take them as I had occasion; 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 likewise; which, indeed, was an article I had not thought 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 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! Pol, as if he had been my favourite, was the only creature that could talk to me;  
my

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 two cats, one on each side of the table, 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 dead, and had been interred near my habitation by my own hands; and 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, till at last I was obliged to shoot them; 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 frightened him, or raised a great deal of laughter; and as I frequently stood still to look at myself, I could not but smile at the notion of my travelling through Yorkshire, with such an equipage, and in such a dress. Be pleased to take a sketch of my figure, as follows—

I had a great high, shapeless cap, made of goat's skin, with a flap hanging down behind, as well to keep the



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 the skin of an old he-goat, whose hair hung down such a length on each 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 spatterdashies, 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, and 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; 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 observed 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

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, I was surprized to find the sea all smooth and quiet; no rippling, 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 endeavouring to discover if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it: but I was soon 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 I had nothing to do but to observe the ebbing and flowing of the tide, and I might very easily bring my boat about the island: 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

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 enlarged into several apartments, 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 filled up with the largest 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 become so large, 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, 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 regularly yielded me their harvest in its season; and whenever I had occasion for more corn, I had more land adjoining, the soil of which was equally well calculated for cultivation.

Besides this, there was my country-seat, I had now a tolerable plantation 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 its 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, always so cut, that they might spread, grow thick,

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 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 not kept entire, lest the goats should break through, that I never left off, till with infinite labour I had struck 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  
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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 thunderstruck, 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 confus'd and distracted, 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 or 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 thoughts came into my mind 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 frightened 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 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 its being the devil: and I presently concluded then, that it must be some more dangerous

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 met with 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 for my folly in not sowing 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 pre-

sent! 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; 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



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 themselves to me were—“Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, 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 cheered 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 frightened 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 seem short of 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 frightened; 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: 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 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  
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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 awake all night; but in the morning I fell asleep, and having, by the employment 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

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 they could, seeing they had never thought fit to fix there upon any occasion to this time.

That the most I could suggest danger from was, any casual landing of straggling people from the main; who, as it was likely, if they were driven hither, were here against their will; so that they made no stay but went off again with all possible speed, seldom remaining one night on shore, lest they should not have the help of the tides and day-light 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 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 been planted so thick before, there wanted but a few piles to be driven between them, that they might be thicker and stronger, and my wall soon finished.

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 holes, each large enough to put my arm through. In the inside of this I thickened my wall to about ten feet, 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



out of the ship; these, I say, I planted like my cannon, and fitted them into frames that held them like a carriage, so that 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 distance 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, 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 I had a thick grove; and in five or six years a wood before my dwelling, grown so monstrous thick and strong, that it was indeed perfectly impassable; and no man would ever imagine there was any thing behind 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 without injuring himself; and if they had come down, they were still on the out-side of my outer wall.

Thus I took all the measures human prudence could suggest for my preservation; and it will be seen at length, 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 unwilling to lose the advantage of them, and to have them all to nurse up 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 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, 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 removed ten she-goats and two he-goats to this piece; and when they were there, 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.

I was at the expence of all this labour from my apprehensions on 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. I had now lived two years under these disagreeable apprehensions, which, indeed, made my life much less comfortable than it was before; as  
may

may 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 cannibals lay so much 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 accustomed 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

When I was come down the hill to the end of the island, where indeed I had never been before, I was soon convinced, that 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, 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 to be 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 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; I grew sick, and 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 up the hill again with all the speed I could, and walked on towards my own habitation.

When



When I came a little out of that part of the island, I stood still some time 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 cannibals to make myself known to.

Yet I entertained such an abhorrence of the savage wretches. I have been speaking of, and of the inhuman custom 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 horrid 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 consider of making me another; for I could not think of ever making any more attempts to bring the other boat round the island, lest I should meet with some of those creatures at sea, in which, if I happened to fall 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, soon wore 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 did not fire my gun off once, 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 furnished 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

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 felt for my own preservation, had taken off the edge of my invention for my own convenience, and I had dropt a good design, which I had once bent my thoughts 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 for making my beer, that it would be impossible for me to supply; as first, casks to preserve it in, which was a thing that I could never accomplish, 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 once I had it in my mind 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 invented for 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 gun powder; which, when they kindled their fire, would consequently communicate 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 its 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 fix 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 shot; 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 imagination, that I employed myself several days, to find out proper places to put myself in ambuscade, 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 the 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 be tired 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 time in a suitable

able 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 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, with cooler and calmer thoughts, I considered 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; that these people

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 nothing to me: these people had done me no injury; that if they attempted to injure 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 full stop; and I began by little and little to be off of my design, and to conclude I had taken wrong measures

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 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 these thoughts, 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 public judgments upon those who offend in a public 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, who had thus delivered me from blood-guiltiness; beseeching him to grant



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; 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 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 whatever.

With my boat I carried away every thing 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 its kind. All these I removed, that there might not be the least shadow of any discovery, or appearance of 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 being 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 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

prehenſions 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 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 that I not only ſhould 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 ſeriously thinking of theſe things, I frequently became melancholy, and ſometimes it would laſt a great while; but at length, on due reflection, I changed my melancholy into thankfulneſs to that Providence who 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 its being poſſible.

This renewed a contemplation, which often had come to my thoughts at former times, when firſt I began to ſee the merciful diſpoſitions of heaven in the dangers we meet with in this life; how wonderfully we are delivered when we know nothing of it: that 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; nay, when ſenſe, our own inclination, and perhaps buſineſs has called to go the other way, yet a ſtrange impreſſion upon the mind,  
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from 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, that whenever I found those secret hints, or pressings of my mind, to do or not do any thing that presented, or to go 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 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 recommend to 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 may; that I shall not discuss, and perhaps cannot account for; but certainly they are proof of the converse of spirits, and a secret communication between those embodied and those unembodied; and such a proof as cannot 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 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 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 was unwilling even to drive a nail, or chop a stick of wood, for fear the noise I should make might be heard; much less would I fire a gun, for the same reason; and, above all, I was very uneasy

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 wood; 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. This was a very essential article, and the method I took to make it was as follows:

I was afraid of making a smoke about my habitation; and yet I could not live there without baking my bread, cooking my meat, &c. so I contrived to burn some wood 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



cave's mouth shining directly in, and making the reflection.

However, after some pause, I recovered myself, and thought that he who was afraid to see the devil was not fit to live twenty years in an island all alone, and that I dare believe, there was nothing in this cave more frightful than myself; upon this, assuming 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 surprise, 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 a 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, 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 on one 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 wild-fire in the pan.

Accordingly, the next day I went 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 in 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 outer fence; and were ready also to take out upon any expedition.

Upon this occasion of removing my ammunition, I was obliged

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 the twenty-third year of my 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 Poles may be alive there still, calling alter "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 household 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 sea-fowls, whose names I knew 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 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 may not be amiss for all people who read 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



the affliction we are fallen into. I could give many examples of this in the course of my 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, 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. Going out one morning pretty early, 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; though not on the other side; but, to my great affliction, it was on my side of the island.

I was, indeed, terribly affrighted 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.

I then made preparations for putting myself in a posture of defence; I loaded all my cannon, as I called them, that is to say, my muskets, which were mounted upon my new fortification, and all my pistols, and resolved to defend myself to the last effort; 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, when I began to be impatient for intelligence abroad, but I had no spies to send out.

After sitting some time 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, 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 tell.

They had two canoes with them, which they had hauled 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 their departure 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  
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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 fast, 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: 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 I should see 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, they are then 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 surprise: 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  
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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 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 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 its place.

The perturbation of my mind, during the last 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 such conduct. But to wave all this for a time, it was in the middle of May, on the 16th day, I think, as well as my poor wooden calender would reckon; for I marked all upon the post still; I say, it was on the 16th of May, that it blew a violent storm of wind all day, with a great deal of lightning and thunder; and the whole of the night was truly dismal indeed. I know not what was the particular occasion of it, but as I was reading in the bible, and taken up  
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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 made me listen for a second gun, which, accordingly, in about half a moment, I heard, and by the sound knew 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, however, such presence of mind at that minute, as to think, that though I could not help them, it might be they could help me; so I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and making a very considerable 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 needs 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  
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be sure, to be satisfied, I took my gun in my hand, and ran towards the south-east side of the 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 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 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 would have got into their boat, and have endeavoured to make the shore; but that the sea running very high, they might have been cast away; I then thought, 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: at other times, 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 the prospect of death; and that perhaps they might

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 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 find others in worse circumstances than ourselves.

Such certainly was the case with these men, of whom I could not so much as see room to suppose any of them were saved; nothing could make it reasonable so much as to 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-creature, 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

that motion carries out the soul by its 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 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 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, forbade 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 there might be yet some living creature on board.  
whole



whose life I might not only save, but by saving that life, comfort my own to the last degree. And this thought so impressed my heart, that I could not be quiet, night or 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 of 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, took 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 given 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 rapidity of the currents. This thought was no sooner in my head, than I cast my eye upon a little hill which sufficiently overlooked the sea both ways, and 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 of the 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 fore-castle, which struck on the rocks, had run on with great violence, the

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main-mast and fore-mast were brought by the board, that is to say, broken short off; but her bowsprit 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 from 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 fore-castle 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 large 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 reason 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 Bay of 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 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 sweat-meats, so fastened 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 five good shirts, which were very welcome to me, and a dozen and half of white linen handkerchiefs and loured 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.

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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 or 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 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 a 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 al-

ways 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, during which time my head was filled with projects and designs, how, if it were possible, I might get away from this island; sometimes I was for making another voyage to the wreck, though my reason told me there was nothing left 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 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 reasonable 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

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.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

