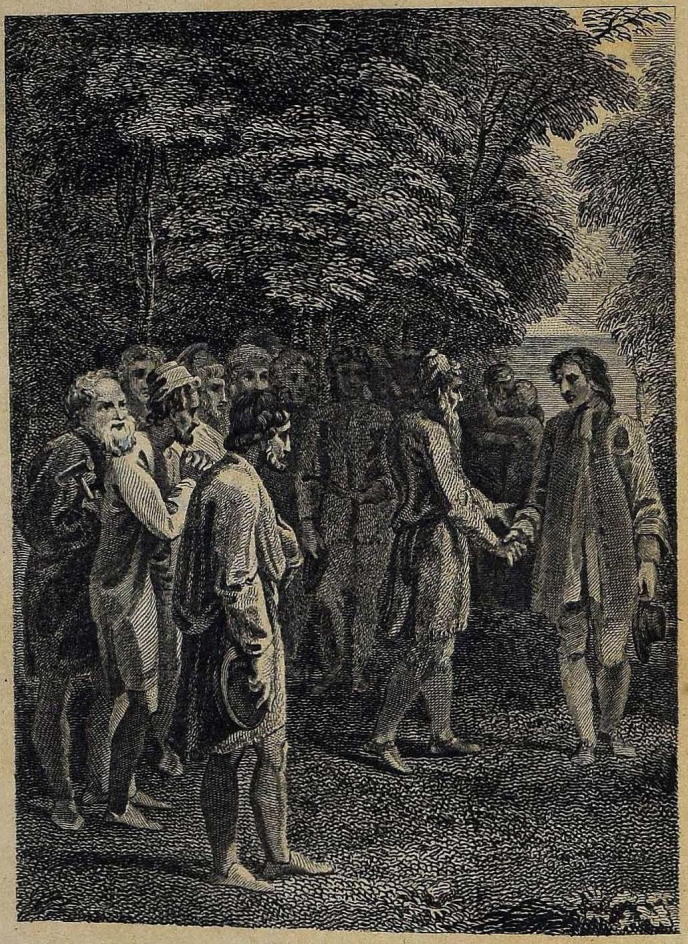


Drawn by Bothard

Engraved by Medland

First he turned to me, and pointing to them, said, These, Sir, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you.

Published July 1 1790 by J. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

Serfoji Rajah 1820
1

THE

LIFE

AND

ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE,

Written by Himself.

VOL. II.



LONDON

Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly.

1804.

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THE

PREFACE.

THE success the former part of this WORK has met with in the world, has yet been no other than is acknowledged to be due to the surprising variety of the subject, a[illegible] agreeable manner of the perfor[illegible]

All the endeavours of env[illegible] proach it with being a romance, [illegible] for errors in geography, inconsiste[illegible] relation, and contradictions in the [illegible] proved abortive, and as impote[illegible] cious.

The just application of [illegible] religious and useful ins[illegible] every part, are so many t[illegible] good design of making it pl[illegible] legitimate all the part that may [illegible] vention or parable in the story.

The Second Part, if the Editor's opinion may pass, is (contrary to the usage of Second Parts) every way as entertaining as the First; contains as strange and surprising incidents, and as great a variety of them; nor is the application less serious or suitable; and doubtless will, to the sober, as well as the ingenious READER, be every way as profitable and diverting; and this makes the abridging this WORK as scandalous, as it is knavish and ridi-

Seeing, to shorten the Book, that they

reduce the value, they strip it of

ons, as well religious as moral,

the greatest beauties of the

calculated for the infinite ad-

the READER.

they leave the WORK naked of its

ments; and yet they would (at

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these men do to the PROPRIE-

TORS of WORKS, is a practi
men abhor; and they believe the
lenge them to shew the differe
that and robbing on the highway
ing open a house.

If they cannot shew any differe
crime, they will find it hard to
there should be any difference in the
ment.

THE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL LIBRARY

THE

FURTHER ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE,

&c. &c.

THAT homely proverb used on so many occasions in England, viz. That what is bred in the bone will not go out of the flesh, was never more verified than in the story of my LIFE. Any one would think that after thirty-five years affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if any, ever went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulness of all things; grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every state of middle life, and to know which was most adapted to make a man completely happy; I say, after all this, any one would have thought that the native propensity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my first setting out into the world to have been so predominant in my thoughts, should be worn out, the volatile part be fully eva-

cuated, or at least condensed, and I might at sixty-one years of age have been a little inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay further, the common motive of foreign adventures was taken away in me; for I had no fortune to make, I had nothing to seek: if I had gained ten thousand pounds, I had been no richer; for I had already sufficient for me, and for those I had to leave it to; and that I had was visibly increasing; for having no great family, I could not spend the income of what I had, unless I would set up for an expensive way of living, such as a great family, servants, equipage, gaiety, and the like, which were things I had no notion of, or inclination to; so that I had nothing indeed to do but to sit still, and fully enjoy what I had got, and see it increase daily upon my hands.

Yet all these things had no effect upon me, or at least not enough to resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronical distemper; particularly the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, run in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination run upon it all day; it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talked of it in my sleep; in short, nothing could remove it out of my mind; it even broke so violently into all my discourses, that it made my conversation tiresome; for I could talk of nothing else, all my discourse run into it, even to impertinence, and I saw it myself.

I have often heard persons of good judgment say, that all the stir people make in the world about ghosts and apparitions, is owing to the strength of imagination, and the powerful operation of fancy in their minds; that there is no such thing as a spirit appearing, or a ghost walking, and the like; that people's poring affectionately upon the past conversation of their deceased friends so realises it to them, that they are capable of fancying upon some extraordinary circumstances that they see them, talk to them, and are answered by them, when, in truth, there is nothing but shadow and vapour in the thing; and they really know nothing of the matter.

For my part, I know not to this hour, whether there are any such things as real apparitions, spectres, or walking of people after they are dead, or whether there is any thing in the stories they tell us of that kind, more than the product of vapours, sick minds, and wandering fancies. But this I know, that my imagination worked up to such a height, and brought me into such excess of vapours, or what else I may call it, that I actually supposed myself often-times upon the spot, at my old castle behind the trees, saw my old Spaniard, Friday's father, and the reprobate sailors whom I left upon the island; nay, I fancied I talked with them, and looked at them as steadily, though I was broad awake, as at persons just before me; and this I did till I often frightened myself with the images my fancy represented to me: one time in my sleep I had the villany of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me by the first Spaniard

and Friday's father, that it was surprising; they told me how they barbarously attempted to murder all the Spaniards, and that they set fire to the provisions they had laid up, on purpose to distress and starve them, things that I had never heard of, and that were yet all of them true in fact: but it was so warm in my imagination, and so realised to me, that to the hour I saw them, I could not be persuaded but that it was or would be true; also how I resented it when the Spaniard complained to me, and how I brought them to justice, tried them before me, and ordered them all three to be hanged: what there was really in this, shall be seen in its place: for however I came to form such things in my dream, and what secret converse of spirits injected it, yet there was, I say, very much of it true. I own, that this dream had nothing literally and specifically true: but the general part was so true, the base and villanous behaviour of these three hardened rogues was such, and had been so much worse than all I can describe, that the dream had too much similitude of the fact; and as I would afterwards have punished them severely, so if I had hanged them all, I had been much in the right, and should have been justifiable both by the laws of God and man.

But to return to my story. In this kind of temper I had lived some years; I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleasant hours, no agreeable diversion but what had something or other of this in it, so that my wife, who saw my mind so wholly bent upon it, told me very seriously one night, that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse

of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that she found nothing hindered my going but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told me, that it was true she could not think of parting with me; but as she was assured, that if she was dead it would be the first thing I would do; so, as it seemed to her that the thing was determined above, she would not be the only obstruction: for if I thought fit, and resolved to go—here she found me very intent upon her words, and that I looked very earnestly at her; so that it a little disordered her, and she stopped. I asked her why she did not go on, and say out what she was going to say? But I perceived her heart was too full, and some tears stood in her eyes. Speak out, my dear, said I, are you willing I should go? No, says she, very affectionately, I am far from willing; but if you are resolved to go, says she, and rather than I will be the only hinderance, I will go with you; for though I think it a preposterous thing, for one of your years, and in your condition, yet if it must be, said she again, weeping, I won't leave you; for if it be of Heaven, you must do it; there is no resisting it; and if Heaven makes it your duty to go, he will also make it mine to go with you, or otherwise dispose of me, that I may not obstruct it.

This affectionate behaviour of my wife brought me a little out of the vapours, and I began to consider what I was doing; I corrected my wandering fancy, and began to argue with myself sedately, what business I had, after threescore years, and after such a life of tedious sufferings

and disasters, and closed in so happy and easy a manner, I say, what business had I to rush into new hazards, and put myself upon adventures, fit only for youth and poverty to run into?

With those thoughts, I considered my new engagement; that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another; that I had all the world could give me, and had no need to seek hazards for gain; that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained, than of seeking to increase it; that as to what my wife had said, of its being an impulse from Heaven, and that it should be my duty to go, I had no notion of that; so after many of these cogitations, I struggled with the power of my imagination, reasoned myself out of it, as I believe people may always do in like cases, if they will; and, in a word, I conquered it; composed myself with such arguments as occurred to my thoughts, and which my present condition furnished me plentifully with: and particularly, as the most effectual method, I resolved to divert myself with other things, and to engage in some business that might effectually tie me up from any more excursions of this kind; for I found the thing return upon me chiefly when I was idle, had nothing to do, or any thing of moment immediately before me.

To this purpose I bought a little farm in the county of Bedford, and resolved to remove myself thither. I had a little convenient house upon it, and the land about it I found was capable of great improvement, and that it was many ways suited to

my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting and improving of land; and particularly, being an inland country, I was removed from conversing among ships, sailors, and things relating to the remote part of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, settled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horses, cows, sheep; and setting seriously to work, became in one half year a mere country gentleman; my thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my servants, cultivating the ground, enclosing, planting, &c. and I lived, as I thought, the most agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of being retreated to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles, I could pull up or cut down as I pleased: what I planted was for myself, and what I improved, was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the least discomfort in any part of my life, as to this world. Now I thought indeed, that I enjoyed the middle state of life which my father so earnestly recommended to me, a kind of heavenly life, something like what is described by the poet upon the subject of a country life.

> Free from vices, free from care,
> Age has no pains, and youth no snare.

But in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unforeseen Providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me, inevitable and incurable, but drove me, by its consequence,

upon a deep relapse into the wandering disposition; which, as I may say, being born in my very blood, soon recovered its hold of me, and, like the returns of a violent distemper, came on with an irresistible force upon me; so that nothing could make any more impression upon me. This blow was the loss of my wife.

It is not my business here to write an elegy upon my wife, to give a character of her particular virtues, and make my court to the sex by the flattery of a funeral sermon. She was, in a few words, the stay of all my affairs, the centre of all my enterprizes, the engine that by her prudence reduced me to that happy compass I was in, from the most extravagant and ruinous project that fluttered in my head as above; and did more to guide my rambling genius, than a mother's tears, a father's instructions, a friend's counsel, or all my own reasoning powers could do. I was happy in listening to her tears, and in being moved by her entreaties, and to the last degree desolate and dislocated in the world by the loss of her.

When she was gone, the world looked awkwardly, round me; I was as much a stranger in it, in my thoughts, as I was in the Brasils when I went first on shore there; and as much alone, except as to the assistance of servants, as I was in my island. I knew neither what to do, or what not to do. I saw the world busy round me, one part labouring for bread, and the other part squandering in vile excesses or empty pleasures, equally miserable, because the end they proposed still fled from them; for the men of pleasure every day sur-

feited of their vice, and heaped up work for sorrow and repentance; and the men of labour spent their strength in daily strugglings for breath to maintain the vital strength they laboured with; so living in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of a wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread.

This put me in mind of the life I lived in my kingdom, the island; where I suffered no more corn to grow, because I did not want it; and bred no more goats, because I had no more use for them: where the money lay in the drawer till it grew mildewed, and had scarce the favour to be looked upon in twenty years.

All these things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reason and religion had dictated to me, would have taught me to search further than human enjoyments for a full felicity, and that there was something which certainly was the reason and end of life, superior to all these things, and which was either to be possessed, or at least hoped for, on this side the grave.

But my sage counsellor was gone; I was like a ship without a pilot, that could only run before the wind; my thoughts ran all away again into the old affair, my head was quite turned with the whimsies of foreign adventures; and all the pleasing innocent amusements of my farm and my garden, my cattle, and my family, which before entirely possest me, were nothing to me, had no relish, and were like music to one that has no ear, or food to one that has no taste. In a word, I re-

solved to leave off house-keeping, let my farm, and return to London; and in a few months after I did so.

When I came to London, I was still uneasy as before; I had no relish to the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to saunter about like an idle person, of whom it may be said, he is perfectly useless in GOD's creation, and it is not one farthing matter to the rest of his kind, whether he be dead or alive. This also was the thing which of all circumstances of life was the most my aversion, who had been all my days used to an active life; and I would often say to myself, A state of idleness is the very dregs of life; and indeed I thought I was much more suitably employed, when I was twenty-six days making me a deal board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, whom, as I have observed before, I had brought up to the sea, and had made him commander of a ship, was come home from a short voyage to Bilboa, being the first he had made; he came to me, and told me, that some merchants of his acquaintance had been proposing to him to go a voyage for them to the East Indies and to China, as private traders: and now, uncle, says he, if you will go to sea with me, I will engage to land you upon your old habitation in the island, for we are to touch at the Brasils.

Nothing can be a greater demonstration of a future state, and of the existence of an invisible world, than the concurrence of second causes with the ideas of things which we form in our minds,

perfectly reserved, and not communicated to any in the world.

My nephew knew nothing how far my distemper of wandering was returned upon me, and I knew nothing of what he had in his thoughts to say, when that very morning before he came to me I had, in a great deal of confusion of thought, and revolving every part of my circumstances in my mind, come to this resolution, viz. That I would go to Lisbon, and consult with my old sea captain; and so, if it was rational and practicable, I would go and see the island again, and see what was become of my people there. I had pleased myself also with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the possession, and I know not what; when in the middle of all this, in comes my nephew, as I have said, with his project of carrying me thither, in his way to the East Indies.

I paused a while at his words, and looking steadily at him, What devil, said I, sent you on this unlucky errand? My nephew startled, as if he had been frighted at first; but perceiving I was not much displeased with the proposal, he recovered himself. I hope it may not be an unlucky proposal, Sir, says he; I dare say you would be pleased to see your new colony there, where you once reigned with more felicity than most of your brother monarchs in the world.

In a word, the scheme hit so exactly with my temper, that is to say, with the prepossession I was under, and of which I have said so much, that I told him, in few words, if he agreed with the

merchants, I would go with him: but I told him, I would not promise to go any further than my own island. Why, Sir, says he, you don't want to be left there again, I hope? Why, said I, can you not take me up again on your return? He told me it could not be possible that the merchants would allow him to come that way with a loaded ship of such value, it being a month's sail out of his way, and might be three or four. Besides, Sir, if I should miscarry, said he, and not return at all, then you would be just reduced to the condition you were in before.

This was very rational; but we both found out a remedy for it, which was to carry a framed sloop on board the ship, which, being taken in pieces and shipped on board the ship, might, by the help of some carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be set up again in the island; and finished, fit to go to sea in a few days.

I was not long resolving; for indeed the importunities of my nephew joined in so effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppose me: on the other hand, my wife being dead, I had nobody concerned themselves so much for me, as to persuade me one way or other, except my ancient good friend the widow, who earnestly struggled with me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazard of a long voyage; and, above all, my young children: but it was all to no purpose; I had an irresistible desire to the voyage; and I told her I thought there was something so uncommon in the impressions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of

resisting Providence, if I should attempt to stay at home; after which she ceased her expostulations, and joined with me, not only in making provision for my voyage, but also in settling my family affairs in my absence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this, I made my will, and settled the estate I had in such a manner for my children, and placed in such hands, that I was perfectly easy and satisfied they would have justice done them, whatever might befal me; and for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a sufficient maintenance to herself for her care: all which she richly deserved; for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or understood it better; and as she lived till I came home, I also lived to thank her for it.

My nephew was ready to sail about the beginning of January 1694-5, and I with my man Friday went on board in the Downs the 8th, having besides that sloop which I mentioned above, a very considerable cargo of all kinds of necessary things for my colony, which, if I did not find in good condition, I resolved to leave so.

First, I carried with me some servants, whom I purposed to place there, as inhabitants, or at least to set on work there upon my own account, while I stayed, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they should appear willing; particularly I carried two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy ingenious fellow who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic; for he was dexterous at making wheels, and hand-mills to

grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot-maker; he also made any thing that was proper to make of earth, or of wood; in a word we called him our Jack of all trades.

With these I carried a tailor, who had offered himself to go passenger to the East Indies with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our new plantation, and proved a most necessary handy fellow as could be desired, in many other businesses besides that of this trade; for, as I observed formerly, necessity arms us for all employments.

My cargo, as near as I can recollect, for I have not kept an account of the particulars, consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and some thin English stuffs for clothing the Spaniards, that I expected to find there, and enough of them as by my calculation might comfortably supply them for seven years; if I remember right, the materials which I carried for clothing them, with gloves, hats, shoes, stockings, and all such things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above 200 pounds, including some beds, bedding, and household-stuff, particularly kitchen utensils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c. besides near an hundred pounds more in iron-work, nails, tools of every kind, staples, hooks, hinges, and every necessary thing I could think of.

I carried also a hundred spare arms, muskets, and fusees, besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of shot of all sizes, three or four tons of lead, and two pieces of brass cannon; and because I knew not what time, and what extremities I was

providing for, I carried an hundred barrels of powder, besides swords, cutlasses, and the iron part of some pikes, and halberts; so that, in short, we had a large magazine of all sorts of stores; and I made my nephew carry two small quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ship, to leave behind, if there was occasion; that when they came there, we might build a fort, and man it against all sorts of enemies: and indeed, I at first thought there would be need enough of it all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our possession of the island, as shall be seen in the course of the story.

I had not such bad luck in this voyage as I had been used to meet with; and therefore shall have the less occasion to interrupt the reader, who perhaps may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony; yet some odd accidents, cross winds, and bad weather happened, on this first setting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at first; and I, who had never made but one voyage, (viz.) my first voyage to Guinea, in which I might be said to come back again, as the voyage was at first designed, began to think the same ill fate still attended me; and that I was born to be never contented with being on shore, and yet to be always unfortunate at sea.

Contrary winds first put up to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at Galway in Ireland, where we lay wind-bound two and-thirty days; but we had this satisfaction with the disaster, that provisions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmost plenty; so that while we lay here we never touched the ship's stores, but rather

added to them; here also I took several hogs, and two cows, with their calves, which I resolved, if I had a good passage, to put on shore in my island; but we found occasion to dispose otherwise of them.

We set out the 5th of February from Ireland, and had a very fair gale of wind for some days. As I remember, it might be about the 20th of February in the evening late, when the mate having the watch, came into the round-house, and told us he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatswain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where we heard nothing, but in a few minutes we saw a very great light, and found that there was some very terrible fire at a distance; immediately we had recourse to our reckonings, in which we all agreed that there could be no land that way, in which the fire shewed itself, no not for 500 leagues, for it appeared at W. N. W. Upon this we concluded it must be some ship on fire at sea; and as by our hearing the noise of guns just before, we concluded it could not be far off, we stood directly towards it, and were presently satisfied we should discover it, because the further we sailed the greater the light appeared, though the weather being hazy we could not perceive any thing but the light for a while; in about half an hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly discern that it was a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea.

I was most sensibly touched with this disaster,

though not at all acquainted with the persons engaged in it; I presently recollected my former circumstances, in what condition I was in when taken up by the Portugal Captain; and how much more deplorable the circumstances of the poor creatures belonging to this ship must be if they had no other ship in company with them: upon this I immediately ordered, that five guns should be fired, one soon after another, that, if possible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to save themselves in their boat; for though we could see the flame in the ship, yet they, it being night, could see nothing of us.

We lay by some time upon this, only driving as the burning ship drove, waiting for day-light; when on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up in the air, and immediately sunk: this was terrible, and indeed an afflicting sight, for the sake of the poor men, who, I concluded, must be either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boats in the middle of the ocean, which at present, by reason it was dark, I could not see: however to direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanthorns for; and kept firing guns all the night long; letting them know by this, that there was a ship not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning, we discovered the ship's boats, by the help of our perspective-glasses; and found there were two of them,

both thronged with people, and deep in the water; we perceived they rowed, the wind being against them; that they saw our ship, and did the utmost to make us see them.

We immediately spread our ancient, to let them know we saw them; and hung a waft out, as a signal for them to come on board; and then made more sail, standing directly to them. In a little more than half an hour, we came up with them, and, in a word, took them all in, being no less than sixty-four men, women, and children; for there were a great many passengers.

Upon the whole, we found it was a French merchant-ship of 300 tons, homeward-bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The master gave us a long account of the distress of his ship, how the fire began in the steerage by the negligence of the steersman; but, on his crying out for help, was, as every body thought, entirely put out: but they soon found that some sparks of the first fire had gotten into some part of the ship, so difficult to come at, that they could not effectually quench it; and afterwards getting in between the timbers, and within the cieling of the ship, it proceeded into the hold, and mastered all the skill and all the application they were able to exert.

They had no more to do then but to get into their boats, which, to their great comfort, were pretty large; being their long boat, and a great shallop, besides a small skiff, which was of no great service to them, other than to get some fresh water and provisions into her, after they had secured themselves from the fire. They had indeed small

hopes of their lives by getting into these boats at that distance from any land; only, as they said well, that they were escaped from the fire, and had a possibility, that some ship might happen to be at sea, and might take them in. They had sails, oars, and a compass; and were preparing to make the best of their way to Newfoundland, the wind blowing pretty fair; for it blew an easy gale at S. E. by E. They had as much provisions and water, as, with sparing it so as to be next door to starving, might support them about twelve days; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain said, he hoped he might get to the banks of Newfoundland, and might perhaps take some fish to sustain them till they might go on shore. But there were so many chances against them in all these cases; such as storms to overset and founder them; rains and cold to benumb and perish their limbs; contrary winds to keep them out and starve them; that it must have been next to miraculous if they had escaped.

In the midst of their consultations, every one being hopeless, and ready to despair, the captain with tears in his eyes told me, they were on a sudden surprised with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that four more; these were the five guns which I caused to be fired at first seeing the light: this revived their hearts, and gave them the notice, which, as above, I designed it should, viz. that there was a ship at hand for their help.

It was upon the hearing these guns, that they took down their masts and sails; and the sound

coming from the windward, they resolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three musquets, one a considerable while after another; but these, the wind being contrary, we never heard.

Some time after that again, they were still more agreeably surprised with seeing our lights, and hearing the guns, which, as I have said, I caused to be fired all the rest of the night: this set them to work with their oars to keep their boats a-head, at least that we might the sooner come up with them; and at last, to their inexpressible joy, they found we saw them.

It is impossible for me to express the several gestures, the strange ecstasies, the variety of postures, which these poor delivered people ran into, to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance. Grief and fear are easily described; sighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of head and hands, make up the sum of its variety: but an excess of joy, a surprise of joy, has a thousand extravagancies in it; there were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow; some stark raving and down-right lunatic; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands; some were dancing, several singing, some laughing, more crying; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word; others sick and vomiting, several swooning, and ready to faint; and a few were crossing themselves and giving GOD thanks.

I would not wrong them neither; there might

be many that were thankful afterward; but the passion was too strong for them at first, and they were not able to master it; they were thrown into ecstasies and a kind of frenzy, and so there were but a very few who were composed and serious in their joy.

Perhaps also the case may have some addition to it, from the particular circumstance of the nation they belonged to; I mean the French, whose temper is allowed to be more volatile, more passionate, and more sprightly, and their spirits more fluid, than of other nations. I am not philosopher enough to determine the cause, but nothing I had ever seen before came up to it: the ecstasies poor Friday, my trusty savage, was in, when he found his father in the boat, came the nearest to it; and the surprise of the master, and his two companions, whom I delivered from the two villains that set them on shore in the island, came a little way towards it; but nothing was to compare to this, either that I saw in Friday, or any where else in my life.

It is further observable, that these extravagancies did not shew themselves in that different manner I have mentioned, in different persons only: but all the variety would appear in a short succession of moments, in one and the same person. A man that we saw this minute dumb, and, as it were, stupid and confounded, should the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antic; and the next moment tearing his hair, or pulling his clothes to pieces, and stamping them under his feet like a madman; a few minutes after that, we should have

him all in tears, then sick, then swooning; and had not immediate help been had, would in a few moments more have been dead; and thus it was, not with one or two, or ten or twenty, but with the greatest part of them; and, if I remember right, our surgeon was obliged to let above thirty of them blood.

There were two priests among them, one an old man, and the other a young man; and that which was strangest was, that the oldest man was the worst.

As soon as he set his foot on board our ship, and saw himself safe, he dropped down stone-dead, to all appearance; not the least sign of life could be perceived in him; our surgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him; and was the only man in the ship that believed he was not dead: and at length he opened a vein in his arm, having first chafed and rubbed the part, so as to warm it as much as possible: upon this the blood, which only dropped at first, flowed something freely; in three minutes after the man opened his eyes; and about a quarter of an hour after that he spoke, grew better, and in a little time, quite well; after the blood was stopped, he walked about, told us he was perfectly well, took a dram of cordial which the surgeon gave him, and was what we called, come to himself; about a quarter of an hour after this, they came running into the cabin to the surgeon, who was bleeding a French woman that had fainted; and told him, the priest was gone stark mad. It seems he had began to revolve the charge of his circumstances in his mind, and this put him

into an ecstasy of joy; his spirits whirled about faster than the vessels could convey them; the blood grew hot and feverish; and the man was as fit for Bedlam as any creature that ever was in it; the surgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him something to doze and put him to sleep, which, after some time, operated upon him, and he waked next morning perfectly composed, and well.

The younger priest behaved himself with great command of his passion, and was really an example of a serious well-governed mind; at his first coming on board the ship, he threw himself flat on his face, prostrating himself in thankfulness for his deliverance; in which I unhappily and unseasonably disturbed him, really thinking he had been in a swoon; but he spoke calmly; thanked me; told me, he was giving GOD thanks for his deliverance; begged me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Maker, he would give me thanks also.

I was heartily sorry that I disturbed him; and not only left him, but kept others from interrupting him also; he continued in that posture about three minutes, or a little more, after I left him; then came to me, as he had said he would, and, with a great deal of seriousness and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me, that had, under GOD, given him and so many miserable creatures their lives. I told him, I had no room to move him to thank GOD for it, rather than me; for I had seen that he had done that already: but I added, that it was nothing but what reason and

humanity dictated to all men, and that we had as much reason as he to give thanks to GOD, who had blessed us so far as to make us the instruments of his mercy to so many of his creatures.

After this the young priest applied himself to his country folks; laboured to compose them; persuaded, entreated, argued, reasoned with them, and did his utmost to keep them within the exercise of their reason; and with some he had success, though others were, for a time, out of all government of themselves.

I cannot help committing this to writing, as perhaps it may be useful to those into whose hands it may fall, in the guiding themselves in all the extravagancies of their passions; for if an excess of joy can carry men out to such a length beyond the reach of their reason, what will not the extravagancies of anger, rage, and a provoked mind, carry us to? And indeed, here I saw reason for keeping an exceeding watch over our passions of every kind, as well those of joy and satisfaction, as those of sorrow and anger.

We were something disordered by these extravagancies among our new guests for the first day; but when they had been retired, lodgings provided for them as well as our ship would allow, and they had slept heartily, as most of them did, being fatigued and frightened, they were quite another sort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindness shewn them was wanting; the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough to exceed that way. The captain, and

one of the priests, came to me the next day; and, desiring to speak with me and my nephew, the commander, began to consult with us what should be done with them; and first they told us, that, as we had saved their lives, so all they had was little enough for a return to us for the kindness received. The captain said, they had saved some money, and some things of value in their boats, catched hastily out of the flames; and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us; they only desired to be set on shore somewhere in our way, where, if possible, they might get a passage to France.

My nephew was for accepting their money at first word, and to consider what to do with them afterwards; but I over-ruled him in that part; for I knew what it was to be set on shore in a strange country; and if the Portugal captain that took me up at sea had served me so, and took all I had for my deliverance, I must have starved, or have been as much a slave at the Brasils, as I had been at Barbary, the being sold to a Mahometan only excepted; and perhaps a Portuguese is not a much better master than a Turk, if not, in some cases, a much worse.

I therefore told the French captain, that we had taken them up in their distress, it was true; but that it was our duty to do so, as we were fellow-creatures, and as we would desire to be so delivered, if we were in the like or any other extremity; that we had done nothing for them, but what we believed they would have done for us if we had been in their case, and they in our's; but

that we took them up to serve them, not to plunder them; and that it would be a most barbarous thing, to take that little from them which they had saved out of the fire, and then set them on shore and leave them; that this would be first to save them from death, and then kill them ourselves; save them from downing, and then abandon them to starving; and therefore I would not let the least thing be taken from them. As to setting them on shore, I told them, indeed, that was an exceeding difficulty to us, for that the ship was bound to the East-Indies; and though we were driven out of our course to the westward a very great way, which perhaps was directed by Heaven on purpose for their deliverance, yet it was impossible for us wilfully to change our voyage on this particular account; nor could my nephew, the captain, answer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter-party to pursue his voyage by the way of Brasil; and all I knew he could do for them was, to put ourselves in the way of meeting with other ships homeward-bound from the West-Indies, and get them passage, if possible, to England or France.

The first part of the proposal was so generous and kind, they could not but be very thankful for it: but they were in a great consternation, especially the passengers, at the notion of being carried away to the East-Indies: they then entreated me, that seeing I was driven so far to the westward before I met with them, I would at least keep on the same course to the banks of Newfoundland, where it was possible I might meet

with some ship or sloop that they might hire to carry them back to Canada, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reasonable request on their part; and therefore I inclined to agree to it; for indeed I considered, that to carry this whole company to the East-Indies, would not only be an intolerable severity to the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage by devouring all our provisions; so I thought it no breach of charter-party, but what an unforeseen accident made absolutely necessary to us; and in which no one could say we were to blame; for the laws of GOD and nature would have forbid that we should refuse to take up two boats full of people in such a distressed condition; and the nature of the thing as well respecting ourselves as the poor people, obliged us to see them on shore somewhere or other, for their deliverance; so I consented that we would carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit; and, if not, that I would carry them to Martinico in the West-Indies.

The wind continued fresh easterly, but the weather pretty good; and as it had blowed continually in the points between N. E. and S. E. a long time, we missed several opportunities of sending them to France; for we met several ships bound to Europe, whereof two were French, from St. Christopher's; but they had been so long beating up against the wind, that they durst take in no passengers for fear of wanting provisions for the voyage, as well for themselves as for those they should take in; so we were obliged to go on. It was about a week

after this, that we made the Banks of Newfoundland, where, to shorten my story, we put all our French people on board a bark, which they hired at sea there, to put them on shore, and afterwards to carry them to France, if they could get provisions to victual themselves with: when, I say, all the French went on shore, I should remember, that the young priest I spoke of, hearing we were bound to the East-Indies, desired to go the voyage with us, and to be set on shore on the coast of Coromandel. I readily agreed to that; for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reason, as will appear afterwards; also four of the seamen entered themselves in our ship, and proved very useful fellows.

From hence we directed our course for the West-Indies, steering away S. and S. by E. for about twenty days together, sometimes little or no wind at all, when we met with another subject for our humanity to work upon, almost as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of twenty-seven degrees five minutes N. and the 19th day of March 1684-5, when we espied a sail, our course S. E. and by S. We soon perceived it was a large vessel, and that she bore up to us; but could not at first know what to make of her, till, after coming a little nearer, we found she had lost her main-top-mast, foremast, and bowsprit; and presently she fires a gun as a signal of distress; the weather was pretty good, wind at N. N. W. a fresh gale, and we soon came to speak with her.

We found her a ship of Bristol bound home from

Barbadoes, but had been blown out of the road at Barbadoes, a few days before she was ready to sail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on shore; so that beside the terror of the storm, they were but in an indifferent case for good artists to bring the ship home: they had been already nine weeks at sea, and had met with another terrible storm after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the westward, and in which they had lost their masts as above; they told us, they expected to have seen the Bahama islands, but were then driven away again to the south-east by by a strong gale of wind at N. N. W. the same that blew now, and having no sails to work the ship with, but a main course, and a kind of square sail upon a jury fore-mast, which they had set up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to stand away for the Canaries.

But that which was worst of all, was, that they were almost starved for want of provisions, besides the fatigues they had undergone; their bread and flesh was quite gone, they had not an ounce left in the ship, and had had none for eleven days; the only relief they had, was, their water was not all spent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had sugar enough; some succades or sweet-meats they had at first, but they were devoured, and they had seven casks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid-servant, on board, who were going passengers, and thinking the ship was ready to sail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane

began; and, having no provisions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the rest; for the seamen being reduced to such an extreme necessity themselves, had no compassion, we may be sure, for the poor passengers; and they were indeed in a condition that their misery is very hard to describe.

I had perhaps not known this part, if my curiosity had not led me, the weather being fair, and the wind abated, to go on board the ship: the second mate, who upon this occasion commanded the ship, had been on board our ship; and he told me indeed, that they had three passengers in the great cabin, that they were in a deplorable condition; nay, says he, I believe they are dead, for I have heard nothing of them for above two days; and I was afraid to inquire after them, said he, for I had nothing to relieve them with.

We immediately applied ourselves to give them what relief we could spare; and indeed I had so far over-ruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to Virginia, or any part of the coast of America, to have supplied ourselves; but there was no necessity for that.

But now they were in a new danger; for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them; the mate or commander brought six men with him in his boat; but these poor wretches looked like skeletons, and were so weak, they could hardly sit to their oars: the mate himself was very ill, and half-starved; for he declared he had reserved nothing from the men, and went

share and share alike with them in every bit they eat.

I cautioned him to eat sparingly, but set meat before him immediately, and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be sick, and out of order; so he stopt awhile, and our surgeon mixed him up something with some broth, which he said would be to him both food and physic; and after he had taken it, he grew better; in the mean time I forgot not the men; I ordered victuals to be given them, and the poor creatures rather devoured than eat it; they were so exceeding hungry, that they were in a manner ravenous, and had no command of themselves; and two of them eat with so much greediness, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

The sight of these people's distress was very moving to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible prospect of at my first coming on shore in my island, where I had not the least mouthful of food, or any hopes of procuring it; besides the hourly apprehension I had of being made the food of other creatures. But all the while the mate was thus relating to me the miserable condition of the ship's company, I could not put out of my thought the story he had told me of the three poor creatures in the great cabin; (viz.) the mother, her son, and the maid servant, whom he had heard nothing of for two or three days; and whom he seemed to confess they had wholly neglected, their own extremities being so great; by which I understood, that they had really given them no food at all; and

and that therefore they must be perished, and be all lying dead perhaps on the floor or deck of the cabin.

As I therefore kept the mate, whom we then called captain, on board with his men to refresh them, so I also forgot not the starving crew that were left on board, but ordered my own boat to go on board the ship, and with my mate and twelve men to carry them a sack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our surgeon charged the men to cause the meat to be boiled while they stayed, and to keep guard in the cook-room to prevent the men's taking it to eat raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a little at a time; and by this caution he preserved the men, who would otherwise have killed themselves with that very food that was given them on purpose to save their lives.

At the same time, I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see in what condition the poor passengers were in, and, if they were alive, to comfort them and give them what refreshment was proper; and the surgeon gave him a large pitcher with some of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not question would restore them gradually.

I was not satisfied with this; but, as I said above, having a great mind to see the scene of misery which I knew the ship itself would present me with, in a more lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ship, as we now called him, with me, and went myself a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almost in a tumult to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready: but my mate observed his order, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door; and the man he placed there, after using all possible persuasion to have patience, kept them off by force: however, he caused some biscuit cakes to be dipped in the pot, and softened them with the liquor of the meat, which they call brewis, and gave them every one one, to stay their stomachs, and told them it was for their own safety, that he was obliged to give them but little at a time. But it was all in vain, and had I not come on board, and their own commander and officers with me, and with good words, and some threats also of giving them no more, I believe they would have broke into the cook room by force, and tore the meat out of the furnace; for words indeed are of a very small force to an hungry belly: however we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiously for the first time, and the next time gave them more, and at last filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

But the misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest; for as, first, the ship's company had so little for themselves, it was but too true, that they had at first kept them very low, and at last totally neglected them; so that for six or seven days, it might be said, they had really had no food at all, and for several days before very little.

The poor mother, who, as the first mate reported, was a woman of good sense, and good

breeding, had spared all she could get so affectionately for her son, that at last she entirely sunk under it: and when the mate of our ship went in, she set upon the floor or deck, with her back up against the sides, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk in between her shoulders, like a corpse, though not quite dead. My mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth: she opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not speak: yet she understood what he said, and made signs to him, intimating, that it was too late for her; but pointed to her child, as if she would have said, they should take care of him.

However the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth; and, as he said, got two or three spoonfuls down, though I question whether he could be sure of it or not: but it was too late, and she died the same night.

The youth, who was preserved at the price of his most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone; yet he lay in a cabin-bed as one stretched out, with hardly any life left in him; he had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the rest of it; however, being young, and having more strength than his mother, the mate got something down his throat, and he began sensibly to revive, though, by giving him some time after but two or three spoonfuls extraordinary, he was very sick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid: she lay

all along upon the deck hard by her mistress, and just like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and struggled for life: her limbs were distorted, one of her hands was clasped round the frame of one chair, and she griped it so hard, that we could not easily make her let it go; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin-table: in short, she lay just like one in the last agonies of death; and yet she was alive too.

The poor creature was not only starved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but, as the men told us afterwards, was broken-hearted for her mistress, whom she saw dying two or three days before, and whom she loved most tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for when our surgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, and with great application recovered her as to life, he had her upon his hand as to her senses, for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after; as shall appear presently.

Whoever shall read these memorandums, must be desired to consider, that visits at sea are not like a journey into the country, where sometimes people stay a week or a fortnight at a place. Our business was to relieve this distressed ship's crew, but not lie by for them; and though they were willing to steer the same course with us for some days, yet we could carry no sail to keep pace with a ship that had no masts: however, as their captain begged of us to help him to set up a main

top-mast, and a kind of top-mast to his jury fore-mast, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days; and then having given him five barrels of beef and pork, two hogsheads of biscuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could spare; and taking three casks of sugar and some rum, and some pieces of eight of them for satisfaction, we left them, taking on board with us, at their own earnest request, the youth, and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about seventeen years of age; a pretty, well-bred, modest, and sensible youth; greatly dejected with the loss of his mother, and, as it seems, had lost his father but a few months before at Barbadoes. He begged of the surgeon to speak to me, to take him out of the ship: for he said, the cruel fellows had murdered his mother; and indeed so they had, that is to say, passively; for they might have spared a small sustenance to the poor helpless widow, that might have preserved her life, though it had been just to keep her alive. But hunger knows no friend, no relation, no justice, no right; and therefore is remorseless, and capable of no compassion.

The surgeon told him how far we were going, and how it would carry him away from all his friends, and put him perhaps in as bad circumstances, almost as we found them in; that is to say, starving in the world. He said he mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew that he was among: that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had saved his life, and he

was sure would not hurt him; and as for the maid, he was sure, if she came to herself, she would be very thankful for it, let us carry them whither we would. The surgeon represented the case so affectionately to me, that I yielded, and we took them both on board with all their goods, except eleven hogsheads of sugar, which could not be removed, or come at; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander sign a writing, obliging him to go, as soon as he came to Bristol, to one Mr. Rogers, a merchant there, to whom the youth said he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he had belonging to the deceased widow: which I suppose was not done, for I could never learn that the ship came to Bristol; but was, as is most probable, lost at sea, being in so disabled a condition, and so far from any land, that I am of opinion, the first storm she met with afterwards, she might founder in the sea; for she was leaky, and had damage in her hold when I met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min. and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, though at first the winds had been contrary. I shall trouble nobody with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c. on the rest of our voyage; but, shortening my story for the sake of what is to follow, shall observe, that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April, 1695. It was with no small difficulty that I found the place; for as I came to it, and went from it before, on the south and east side of the island, as coming from the Brasils, so now come-

ing in between the main and the island, and having no chart for the coast, nor any landmark, I did not know it when I saw it, or know whether I saw it or no.

We beat about a great while, and went on shore on several islands in the mouth of the great river Oroonoque, but none for my purpose; only this I learned by my coasting the shore, that I was under one great mistake before, viz. that the continent which I thought I saw from the island I lived in, was really no continent, but a long island, or rather a ridge of islands reaching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river; and that the savages who came to my island, were not properly those which we call Caribbees, but islanders, and other Barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited something nearer to our side than the rest.

In short, I visited several of the islands to no purpose; some I found were inhabited, and some were not. On one of them I found some Spaniards, and thought they had lived there; but speaking with them, found they had a sloop lay in a small creek hard by, and that they came thither to make salt, and catch some pearl-muscles, if they could; but they belonged to the Isle de Trinidad, which lay further north, in the latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

Thus coasting from one island to another, sometimes with the ship, sometimes with the Frenchman's shallop (which we had found a convenient boat, and therefore kept her with their very good will,) at length I came fair on the south-side of my

island, and I presently knew the very countenance of the place; so I brought the ship safe to an anchor, broadside with the little creek where was my old habitation.

As soon as I saw the place, I called for Friday, and asked him if he knew where he was? He looked about a little, and presently clapping his hands, cried, O yes, O there, O yes, O there! pointing to our old habitation, and fell a dancing and capering like a mad fellow; and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim ashore to the place.

Well, Friday, said I, do you think we shall find any body here, or no? and what do you think, shall we see your father? The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while; but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected; and I could see the tears run down his face very plentifully. What is the matter, Friday, said I? are you troubled because you may see your father? No, no, says he, shaking his head, no see him more, no ever more see again. Why so, said I, Friday? how do you know that? O no, O no, says Friday, he long ago die; long ago, he much old man. Well, well, said I, Friday, you don't know: but shall we see any one else then? The fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he points just to the hill above my old house; and though we lay half a league off, he cries out, Me see! me see! yes, yes, me see much man there, and there, and there. I looked, but I could see nobody, no, not with a perspective glass; which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place; for the fellow

was right, as I found upon inquiry the next day, and there were five or six men altogether stood to look at the ship, not knowing what to think of us.

As soon as Friday had told me he saw people, I caused the English ancient to be spread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; and about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived a smoke rise from the side of the creek; so I immediately, ordered a boat out, taking Friday with me; and, hanging out a white flag, or a flag of truce, I went directly on shore, taking with me the young friar I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole story of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular, both of myself, and and those that I left there; and who was on that account extremely desirous to go with me. We had besides about sixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new guest there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on shore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek; and the first man I fixed my eye upon, was the Spaniard, whose life I had saved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well; as to his habit, I shall describe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on shore at first but myself; but there was no keeping Friday in the boat: for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off of the Spaniards, where indeed I saw nothing of him; and if they had not let him go on shore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, but he flew away to his father

like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the first transports of this poor fellow's joy, when he came to his father; how he embraced him, kissed him, stroked his face, took him up in his arms, set him down upon a tree, and lay down by him; then stood and looked at him as any one would look at a strange picture, for a quarter of an hour together; then lay down upon the ground, and stroked his legs and kissed them, and then got up again, and stared at him; one would have thought the folly bewitched; but it would have made a dog laugh to see how the next day his passion run out another way: in the morning he walked along the shore, to-and-again, with his father, several hours, always leading him by the hand, as if he had been a lady; and every now-and-then would come to fetch something or other for him from the boat, either a lump of sugar or a dram, a biscuit, or something or other that was good. In the afternoon his frolics ran another way; for then he would set the old man down upon the ground, and dance about him, and made a thousand antic postures and gestures; and all the while he did this, he would be talking to him and telling him one story or another of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In short, if the same filial affection was to be found in Christians to their parents, in our parts of the world, one would be tempted to say, there hardly would have been any need of the fifth commandment.

But this is a digression; I return to my landing.

It would be endless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The first Spaniard, whom, as I said, I knew very well, was he whose life I saved: he came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce also; and he did not only not know me at first, but he had no thoughts, no notion, of its being me that was come, till I spoke to him. Seignior, said I, in Portuguese, do you not know me? at which he spoke not a word; but giving his musquet to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, and saying something in Spanish that I did not perfectly hear, came forward and embraced me, telling me, he was inexcusable not to know that face again that he had once seen, as of an angel from heaven sent to save his live: he said abundance of very handsome things, as a well-bred Spaniard always knows how; and then beckoning to the person that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then asked me if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me possession of my own house again, and where I should see there had been but mean improvements. So I walked along with him; but, alas! I could no more find the place again, than if I had never been there; for they had planted so many trees, and placed them in such a posture, so thick and close to one another, in ten years time they were grown so big, that, in short, the place was inaccessible, except by such windings, and blind ways, as they themselves only who made them could find.

I asked them, what put them upon all these for-

tifications? He told me, I would say there was need enough of it, when they had given an account how they had passed their time since their arriving in the island, especially after they had the misfortune to find that I was gone: he told me he could not but have some satisfaction in my good fortune, when he heard that I was gone in a good ship, and to my satisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a strong persuasion, that one time or other he should see me again; but nothing that ever befell him in his life, he said, was so surprising and afflicting to him at first, as the disappointment he was under when he came back to the island, and found I was not there.

As to the three Barbarians (so he called them) that were left behind, and of whom he said he had a long story to tell me; the Spaniards all thought themselves much better among the savages, only that their number was so small. And, says he, had they been strong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory; and with that he crossed himself upon the breast. But, Sir, says he, I hope you will not be displeased, when I shall tell you how, forced by necessity, we were obliged, for our own preservation to disarm them, and making them our subjects, who would not be content with being moderately our masters, but would be our murderers. I answered, I was heartily afraid of it when I left them there; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the island, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of every thing first, and left the other in a state of subjection, as they deserved: but if they had reduced them

to it, I was very glad, and should be very far from finding any fault with it; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory ungovernable villains, and were fit for any manner of mischief.

While I was saying this, came the man whom he had sent back, and with him eleven men more: in the dress they were in, it was impossible to guess what nation they were of; but he made all clear both to them and to me. First he turned to me, and pointing to them, said, These, Sir, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you; and then turning to them and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up one by one, not as if they had been sailors, and ordinary fellows, and I the like, but really, as if they had been ambassadors or noblemen, and I a monarch, or a great conqueror: their behaviour was to the last degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly majestic gravity, which very well became them; and in short, they had so much more manners than I, that I scarce knew how to receive their civilities, much less how to return them in kind.

The history of their coming to, and conduct in the island, after my going away, is so remarkable, and has so many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help to understand, and which will, in most of the particulars, refer to that account I have already given, that I cannot but commit them with great delight to the reading of those that come after me.

I shall no longer trouble the story with a relation in the first person, which will put me to the ex-

pence of ten thousand said I's, and said he's, and he told me's, and I told him's, and the like; but I shall collect the facts historically, as near as I can gather them out of my memory, from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my conversing with them, and with the place.

In order to do this succinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I must go back to the circumstance in which I left the island, and which the persons were in, of whom I am to speak. At first, it is necessary to repeat, that I had sent away Friday's father and the Spaniard, the two whose lives I had rescued from the savages; I say, I had sent them away in a large canoe to the main, as I then thought it, to fetch over the Spaniard's companions, whom he had left behind him, in order to save them from the like calamity that he had been in; and in order to succour them for the present, and that, if possible, we might together find some way for our deliverance afterward.

When I sent them away, I had no visible appearance of, or the least room to hope for, my own deliverance, any more than I had twenty years before; much less had I any foreknowledge of what after happened, I mean of an English ship coming on shore there to fetch them off; and it could not but be a very great surprise to them, when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three strangers left on the spot, possessed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwise have been their own.

The first thing, however, which I inquired into (that I might begin where I left off), was of their

own part: and I desired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I sent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part; for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, they having very calm weather, and a smooth sea; for his countrymen, it could not be doubted, he said, but that they were overjoyed to see him (it seems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the vessel they had been shipwrecked in, having been dead some time): they were, he said, the more surprised to see him, because they knew that he was fallen into the hands of savages, who, they were satisfied, would devour him, as they did all the rest of their prisoners; that when he told them the story of the deliverance, and in what manner he was furnished for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them: and their astonishment, they said, was something like that of Joseph's brethren, when he told them who he was, and told them the story of his exaltation in Pharaoh's court: but when he shewed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and the provisions that he brought them for their journey or voyage, they were restored to themselves, took a just share of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

Their first business was to get canoes; and in this they were obliged not to stick so much upon the honest part of it, but to trespass upon their friendly savages, and to borrow two large canoes, or periaguas, on pretence of going out a-fishing, or for pleasure.

In these they came away the next morning; it seems they wanted no time to get themselves ready, for they had no baggage, neither clothes, or provisions, or any thing in the world, but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they used to make their bread.

They were in all three weeks absent, and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occasion offered for my escape, as I mentioned in my other part, and to get off from the island; leaving three of the most impudent, hardened, ungoverned, disagreeable villains behind me, that any man could desire to meet with, to the poor Spaniards' great grief and disappointment, you may be sure.

The only just thing the rogues did, was, that when the Spaniards came on shore, they gave my letter to them, and gave them provisions, and other relief, as I had ordered them to do; also they gave them the long paper of directions, which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there; the way how I baked my bread, bred up my tame goats, and planted my corn; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, every thing I did: all this being written down, they gave to the Spaniards, two of whom understood English well enough; nor did they refuse to accommodate the Spaniards with any thing else, for they agreed very well for some time: they gave them an equal admission into the house, or cave, and they began to live very sociably; and the head Spaniard, who had seen pretty much of my method, and Friday's father together, managed all

their affairs; for, as for the Englishmen, they did nothing but ramble about the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises, and when they came home at night, the Spaniards provided their suppers for them.

The Spaniards would have been satisfied with this, would the other but have left them alone; which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long; but, like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themselves, and would not let others eat either: the differences, nevertheless, were at first but trivial, and such as are not worth relating; but at last it broke out into open war, and it began with all the rudeness and insolence that can be imagined, without reason, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed to common sense; and though it is true, the first relation of it came from the Spaniards themselves, whom I may call the accusers, yet when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I come to the particulars of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation; and this was, that I forgot to set down among the rest, that, just as we were weighing the anchor to set sail, there happened a little quarrel on board our ship, which I was afraid once would turn to a second mutiny; nor was it appeased till the captain, rousing up his courage, and taking us all to his assistance, parted them by force, and making two of the most refractory fellows prisoners, he laid them in irons; and as they had been active in the former disorders, and let fall some ugly dangerous words the second time, he threatened to carry

them in irons to England, and have them hanged there for mutiny and running away with the ship.

This, it seems, though the captain did not intend to do, it frighted some other men in the ship; and some of them had put it in the heads of the rest, that the captain only gave them good words for the present, till they should come to some English port; and that then they should be all put into a gaol, and tried for their lives.

The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it; upon which it was desired, that I, who still passed for a great man among them, should go down with the mate, and satisfy the men, and tell them, that they might be assured, if they behaved well the rest of the voyage, all they had done for the time past should be pardoned. So I went, and after passing my honour's word to them, they appeared easy, and the more so, when I caused the two men who were in irons, to be released and forgiven.

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind also falling calm; next morning we found, that our two men who had been laid in irons, had stole each of them a musket, and some other weapons; what power or shot they had, we knew not; and had taken the ship's pinnace, which was not yet haled up, and run away with her to their companions in roguery on shore.

As soon as he found this, I ordered the long-boat on shore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to seek the rogues; but they could

neither find them, nor any of the rest; for they all fled into the woods when they saw the boat coming on shore. The mate was once resolved, in justice to their roguery, to have destroyed their plantations, burnt all their household-stuff and furniture, and left them to shift without it; but having no order, he let all alone, left every thing as they found it, and bringing the pinnace away, came on board without them.

These two men made their number five; but the other three villains were so much wickeder than these, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned their two new-comers out of doors to shift for themselves, and would have nothing to do with them; nor could they for a good while be persuaded to give them any food: as for the Spaniards, they were not yet come.

When the Spaniards came first on shore, the business began to go forward; the Spaniards would have persuaded the three English brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that, as they said, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it: so the two poor fellows lived by themselves; and finding nothing but industry and application would make them live comfortable, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island, but a little more to the west, to be out of the danger of the savages, who always landed on the east parts of the island.

Here they built two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores in; and the Spaniards having given them some corn for seed, and especially some of the peas which I

had left them, they dug and planted, and enclosed, after the pattern I had set for them all, and began to live pretty well. Their first crop of corn was on the ground, and though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at first, having had but a little time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and find them with bread or other eatables; and one of the fellows, being the cook's mate of the ship, was very ready at making soup, puddings, and such other preparations, as the rice and the milk, and such little flesh as they got, furnished him to do.

They were going on in a little thriving posture, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the island was theirs; that the governor, meaning me, had given them possession of it, and nobody else had any right to it; and, damn them, they should build no houses upon their ground, unless they would pay them rent for them.

The two men thought they had jested at first; and asked them to come and sit down, and see what fine houses they were that they had built, and tell them what rent they demanded: and one of them merrily told them, if they were ground-landlords, he hoped if they built tenements upon the land, and made improvements, they would, according to the custom of all landlords, grant them a long lease; and bid them go fetch a scrivener to draw the writings. One of the three damning and raging, told them, they should see they were not in jest; and going to a little place at a distance, where

the honest men had made a fire to dress their victuals, he takes a fire-brand and claps it to the outside of their hut, and very fairly set it on fire; and it would have been all burnt down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thrust him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, and that not without some difficulty too.

The fellow was in such a rage at the honest man's thrusting him away, that he turned upon him with a pole he had in his hand; and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his day sat once. His comrade, seeing the danger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muskets; and the man that was first struck at with the pole, knocked the fellow down, who began the quarrel, with the stock of the musquet, and that before the other two could come to help him; and then seeing the rest come at them, they stood together, and presenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them stand off.

The others had fire-arms with them too; but one of the two honest men, bolder than his comrade, and made desperate by his danger, told them, if they offered to move hand or foot, they were all dead men; and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms; but, seeing him resolute, it brought them to a parley, and they consented to take their wounded man with them, and be gone; and indeed, it seems the fellow was wounded sufficiently with the blow; however, they were much in the wrong, since they had the advantage, that

they did not disarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the Spaniards, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains studied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them some intimation that they did so.

But not to crowd this part with an account of the lesser part of their rogueries, such as treading down their corn, shooting three young kids, and a she-goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store; and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner, it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three the first time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this, they resolved to go to the castle, as they called it, that was my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the Spaniards should stand by to see fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the Englishmen by their names, telling a Spaniard that answered, that they wanted to speak with them.

It happened that the day before two of the Spaniards, having been in the woods, had seen one of the two Englishmen, whom, for distinction, I call the honest men; and he had made a sad complaint to the Spaniards, of the barbarous usage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and destroyed their corn, that they had laboured so hard to bring forward, and killed the milch-goat, and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their

sustenance; and that if he and his friends, meaning the Spaniards, did not assist them again, they should be starved. When the Spaniards came home at night, and they were all at supper, he took the freedom to reprove the three Englishmen, though in gentle and mannerly terms, and asked them, how they could be so cruel, they being harmless inoffensive fellows, and that they were putting themselves in a way to subsist by their labour, and that it had cost them a great deal of pains to bring things to such perfection as they had?

One of the Englishmen returned very briskly, What had they to do there? That they came on shore without leave, and that they should not plant or build upon the island; it was none of their ground. Why, says the Spaniard, very calmly, Seignior Inglese, they must not starve. The Englishman replied, like a true rough-hewn tarpaulin, they might starve and be damned, they should not plant nor build in that place. But what must they do then, Seignior? says the Spaniard. Another of the brutes returned, Do! d—n them, they should be servants, and work for them. But how can you expect that of them? they are not bought with your money; you have no right to make them servants. The Englishmen answered, the island was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and no man had any thing to do there but themselves; and with that swore by his Maker, that he would go and burn all their new huts; they should build none upon their land.

Why, Seignior, says the Spaniard, by the same rule, we must be your servants too. Ay, says the

bold dog, and so you shall too, before we have done with you, mixing two or three G—d d—n-me's in the proper intervals of his speech. The Spaniard only smiled at that, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them; and starting up, one says to the other, I think it was he they called Will Atkins: Come, Jack, let us go and have the other brush with them; we will demolish their castle, I will warrant you; they shall plant no colony in our dominions.

Upon this they were all trooping away, with every man a gun, a pistol, and a sword, and muttered some insolent things among themselves, of what they would do to the Spaniards too, when opportunity offered; but the Spaniards, it seems, did not so perfectly understand them as to know all the particulars; only that, in general, they threatened them hard for taking the two Englishmen's part.

Whither they went, or how they bestowed their time that evening, the Spaniards said they did not know; but it seems they wandered about the country part of the night; and then lying down in the place which I used to call my bower, they were weary, and overslept themselves. The case was this: they had resolved to stay till midnight, and so to take the poor men when they were asleep; and they acknowledged it afterwards, intending to set fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out: and, as malice seldom sleeps very sound, it was very strange they should not have been kept waking.

However, as the two men had also a design upon them, as I have said, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily, for them all, that they were up and gone abroad, before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came thither and found the men gone, Atkins, who it seems was the forwardest man, called out to his comrades, Ha! Jack, here's the nest; but d—n them, the birds are flown: they mused a while to think what should be the occasion of their being gone abroad so soon, and suggested presently, that the Spaniards had given them notice of it; and with that they shook hands, and swore to one another, that they would be revenged of the Spaniards. As soon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation; they did not set fire indeed to any thing, but they pulled down both their houses, and pulled them so limb from limb that they left not the least stick standing, or scarce any sign on the ground where they stood; they tore all their little collected household-stuff in pieces, and threw every thing about in such a manner, that the poor men found, afterwards, some of their things a mile off from their habitation.

When they had done this, they pulled up all the young trees which the poor men had planted; pulled up the inclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn; and, in a word, sacked and plundered every thing, as completely as a herd of Tartars would have done.

The two men were at this juncture gone to find

them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, though they were but two or three: so that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them; for they were all very stout, resolute fellows, to give them their due.

But Providence took more care to keep them asunder, than they themselves could do to meet: for as they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again; we shall see their differing conduct presently. When the three came back, like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, fleering in his face, says he to him, And you, Seignior Jack Spaniard, shall have the same sauce, if you do not mend your manners. The Spaniard who, though quite a civil man, was as brave as a man could desire to be, and withal a strong well-made man, looked steadily at him for a good while; and then, having no weapon in his hand, stept gravely up to him, and with one blow of his fist, knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-axe, at which one of the rogues, insolent as the first, fired his pistol at the Spaniard immediately: he missed his body indeed, for the bullets went through his

hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the Spaniard believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat, for before he acted all in a perfect calm; but now resolving to go through with his work, he stooped and took the fellow's musquet whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him; when the rest of the Spaniards, being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to shoot, they stept in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool; and giving the Spaniards better words, would have had their arms again; but the Spaniards, considering the feud that was between them and the other two Englishmen, and that it would be the best method they could take to keep them from one another, told them they would do them no harm; and if they would live peaceably they would be very willing to assist and associate with them, as they did before; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared so resolved to do mischief with them to their own countrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their servants.

The rogues were now more capable to hear reason than to act reason; but being refused their arms, they went raving away, and raging like madmen, threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms: but the Spaniards despising

their threatening, told them they should take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle; for if they did, they would shoot them, as they would do ravenous beasts, wherever they found them; and if they fell into their hands alive, they would certainly be hanged. However, this was far from cooling them; but away they went, swearing and raging like furies of hell. As soon as they were gone, came back the two men in passion and rage enough also, though of another kind; for, having been at their plantation, and finding it all demolished and destroyed, as above, it will easily be supposed they had provocation enough; they could scarce have room to tell their tale, the Spaniards were so eager to tell them theirs; and it was strange enough to find, that three men should thus bully nineteen, and receive no punishment at all.

The Spaniards indeed despised them, and especially having thus disarmed them, made light of their threatenings; but the two Englishmen resolved to have their remedy against them, what pains soever it cost to find them out.

But the Spaniards interposed here too, and told them, that they were already disarmed: they could not consent that they (the two) should pursue them with fire-arms, and perhaps kill them: but, said the grave Spaniard, who was their governor, we will endeavour to make them do you justice, if you will leave it to us, for, as there is no doubt but they will come to us again when their passion is over, being not able to subsist without our assistance, we promise you to make no peace with

them, without having a full satisfaction for you; and upon this condition we hope you will promise to use no violence with them, other than in your defence.

The two Englishmen yielded to this very awkwardly, and with great reluctance; but the Spaniards protested, they did it only to keep them from bloodshed, and to make all easy at last, for, said they, we are not so many of us; here is room enough for us all, and it is great pity we should not be all good friends. At length they did consent, and waited for the issue of the thing, living for some days with the Spaniards; for their own habitation was destroyed.

In about five days time the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtles eggs all that while, came back to the grove; and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the side of the creek, they came up in a very submissive humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The Spaniards used them civilly, but told them, they had acted so unnaturally by their countrymen, and so very grossly by them (the Spaniards), that they could not come to any conclusion without consulting the two Englishmen, and the rest; but however they would go to them, and discourse about it, and they should know in half an hour. It may be guessed that they were very hard put to it; for it seems, as they were to wait this half-hour for an answer, they begged he would send them out some bread in the mean time; which he did,

and sent them at the same time a large piece of goat's flesh, and a broiled parrot; which they eat very heartily, for shey were hungry enough.

After half an hour's consultation they were called in, and a long debate had about them, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a design to murder them; all which they owned before, and therefore could not deny now; upon the whole, the Spaniards acted the moderators between them; and as they had obliged the two Englishmen not to hurt the three, while they were naked and unarmed, so they now obliged the three to go and rebuild their fellows two huts, one to be of the same dimensions, and the other larger than they were before; also to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up the fences, plant trees in the room of those pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it; and, in a word to restore every thing in the same state as they found it, as near as they could; for entirely it could not be, the season for the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges, not being possible to be recovered.

Well, they all submitted to this; and as they had plenty of provisions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole society began to live pleasantly and agreeably together again; only that these three fellows could never be persuaded to work; I mean, not for themselves, except now and then a little, just as they pleased; however, the Spaniards told them plainly, that if they would but live sociably and friendly together, and study in the whole the good of the plantation,

they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleased; and thus having lived pretty well together for a month or two, the Spaniards gave them their arms again, and gave them liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had these arms, and went abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be as insolent and troublesome as before; but however, an accident happened presently upon this, which endangered the safety of them all; they were obliged to lay by all private resentments, and look to the preservation of their lives.

It happened one night, that the Spaniard governor, as I call him, that is to say, the Spaniard whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest, found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep: he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting, and killing one another, but was broad awake, and could not by any means get any sleep; in short, he lay a great while; but growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise: as they lay, being so many of them, upon goat-skins, laid thick upon such couches and pads as they made themselves, and not in hammocks and ship-beds, as I did, who was but one, so they had little to do, when they were willing to rise, but to get up upon their feet, and perhaps put on a coat, such as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that their thoughts guided them.

Being thus gotten up, he looked out; but, being dark, he could see little or nothing; and besides, the trees which I had planted, as in my former account is described, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up, and see that it was a clear star-light night; and, hearing no noise, he returned and laid him down again; but it was all one, he could not sleep, nor could he compose himself to any thing like rest, but his thoughts were to the last degree uneasy, and yet he knew not for what.

Having made some noise with rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked, and, calling, asked who it was that was up? The governor told him, how it had been with him. Say you so? says the other Spaniard; such things are not to be slighted, I assure you; there is certainly some mischief working, says he, near us; and presently he asked him, Where are the Englishmen? They are all in their huts, says he, safe enough. It seems the Spaniards had kept possession of the main apartment, and had made a place, where the three Englishmen, since their last mutiny, always quartered by themselves, and could not come at the rest. Well, says the Spaniard, there is something in it, I am persuaded from my own experience; I am satisfied our spirits embodied have converse with, and receive intelligence from, the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we know how to make use of it. Come, says he, let us go out and look abroad; and if we find nothing at all in it to jus-

tify our trouble, I will tell you a story to the purpose, that shall convince you of the justice of my proposing it.

In a word, they went out to go to the top of the hill, where I used to go; but they, being strong, and in good company, nor alone, as I was, used none of my cautions to go up by the ladder, and then pulling it up after them, to go up a second stage to the top, but were going round through the grove unconcerned and unwary, when they were surprised with seeing a light as of fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not of one or two, but of a great number.

In all the discoveries I had made of the savages landing on the island, it was my constant care to prevent them making the least discovery of there being any inhabitant upon the place; and when by any necessity they came to know it, they felt it so effectually, that they that got away, were scarce able to give any account of it, for we disappeared as soon as possible, nor did ever any that had seen me, escape to tell any one else, except it were the three savages in our last encounter, who jumped into the boat, of whom I mentioned that I was afraid they should go home, and bring more help.

Whether it was the consequence of the escape of those men, that so great a number came now together; or whether they came ignorantly, and by accident, on their usual bloody errand, the Spaniards could not it seems understand; but whatever it was, it had been their business, either to have concealed themselves, and not have seen them at all; much less to have let the savages have

seen that there were any inhabitants in the place; but to have fallen upon them so effectually, as that not a man of them should have escaped, which could only have been by getting in between them and their boats; but this presence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

We need not doubt but that the governor, and the man with him, surprised with this sight, ran back immediately, and raised their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in; and they again as readily took the alarm, but it was impossible to persuade them to stay close within where they were, but they must all run out to see how things stood.

While it was dark indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough, for some hours, to view them by the light of three fires they had made at some distance from one another; what they were doing they knew not, and what to do themselves they knew not; for, first, the enemy were too many; and, secondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into several parties, and were on shore in several places.

The Spaniards were in no small consternation at this sight; and as they found that the fellows ran straggling all over the shore, they made no doubt, but, first or last, some of them would chop in upon their habitation, or upon some other place, where they would see the tokens of inhabitants; and they were in great perplexity also for fear of their stock of goats, which would have been little less than starving them, if they should have been destroyed;

so the first thing they resolved upon, was to dispatch three men away before it was light, viz. two Spaniards and one Englishman, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and, if need were, to drive them into the very cave itself.

Could they have seen the savages altogether in one body, and at a distance from their canoes, they resolved, if there had been an hundred of them, to have attacked them; but that could not be obtained, for there were some of them two miles off from the other, and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After having mused a great while on the course they should take, and beaten their brains in considering their present circumstances, they resolved at last, while it was dark, to send the old savage (Friday's father) out as a spy, to learn, if possible, something concerning them, as what they came for, and what they intended to do, and the like; the old man readily undertook it, and, stripping himself quite naked, as most of the savages were, away he went: after he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word, that he had been among them undiscovered, that he found they were two parties, and of two several nations, who had war with one another, and had had a great battle in their own country, and that both sides having had several prisoners taken in the fight, they were by mere chance landed in the same island, for the devouring their prisoners, and making merry; but their coming so by chance to the same place, had spoiled all their mirth; that they were in a great

rage at one another, and were so near, that he believed they would fight again as soon as day-light began to appear; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of any body's being on the island but themselves. He had hardly made an end of telling the story, when they could perceive, by the unusual noise they made, that the two little armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father used all the arguments he could to persuade our people to lie close, and not be seen; he told them, their safety consisted in it, and that they had nothing to do but to lie still, and the savages would kill one another to their hands, and the rest would go away; and it was so to a tittle. But it was impossible to prevail, especially upon the Englishmen; their curiosity was so importunate upon their prudentials, that they must run out and see the battle; however, they used some caution, viz. they did not go openly just by their own dwelling, but went further into the woods, and placed themselves to advantage, where they might securely see them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not to be seen by them; but it seems the savages did see them, as we shall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce, and if I might believe the Englishmen, one of them said, he could perceive, that some of them were men of great bravery, of invincible spirits, and of great policy in guiding the fight. The battle, they said, held two hours, before they could guess which party would be beaten; but then that party which was nearest our people's habitation began to appear

weakest, and after some time more, some of them began to fly; and this put our men again into a great consternation, lest any of those that fled should run into the grove, before their dwelling, for shelter, and thereby involuntarily discover the place; and that by consequence the pursuers should do the like in search for them. Upon this they resolved, that they would stand armed within the wall, and whoever came into the grove, they should sally out over the wall, and kill them; so that, if possible, not one should return to give an account of it; they ordered also, that it should be done with their swords, or by knocking them down with the stock of the musquet, not by shooting them, for fear of raising an alarm by the noise.

As they expected, it fell out; three of the routed army fled for life, and crossing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter; the scout they kept to look abroad gave notice of this within, with this addition to our men's great satisfaction, viz. That the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they were gone. Upon this the Spaniard governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the three fugitives; but, sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round, and come in behind them, surprise and take them prisoners, which was done; the residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes, and got off to sea; the victors retired, and made no pursuit, or very little; but, drawing themselves into a body together, gave two great screaming

shouts, which they supposed were by way of triumph, and so the fight ended: and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes. And thus the Spaniards had their island again free to themselves, their fright was over, and they saw no savages in several years after.

After they were all gone, the Spaniards came out of their den; and, viewing the field of battle, they found about two-and-thirty dead men upon the spot; some were killed with great long arrows, several of which were found sticking in their bodies; but most of them were killed with their great wooden swords, sixteen or seventeen of which they found in the field of battle, and as many bows, with a great many arrows: these swords were great unwieldy things, and they must be very strong men that used them: most of those men that were killed with them had their heads mashed to pieces, as we may say, or, as we call it in English, their brains knocked out, and several of their arms and legs broken; so that it is evident they fight with inexpressible rage and fury; they found not one wounded man that was not stone dead; for either they stay by their enemy till they have quite killed them, or they carry all the wounded men, that are not quite dead, away with them.

This deliverance tamed our Englishmen for a great while: the sight had filled them with horror, and the consequence appeared terrible to the last degree, especially upon supposing that some time or other they should fall into the hands of those

creatures, who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. And they professed to me, that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was supposed it was not to be till they were dead, had something in it so horrible, that it nauseated their very stomachs, made them sick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with unusual terror, that they were not themselves for some weeks after.

This, as I said, tamed even the three English brutes I have been speaking of; and, for a great while after, they were very tractable, and went about the common business of the whole society well enough; planted, sowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalized to the country; but some time after this, they fell all into such simple measures again as brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three prisoners, as I had observed; and these three being lusty stout young fellows, they made them servants, and taught them to work for them; and, as slaves, they did well enough; but they did not take their measures with them, as I did by my man Friday, viz. to begin with them upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instructed them in the rational principles of life, much less of religion, civilizing and reducing them by kind usage, and affectionate arguings; but, as they gave them their food every day, so they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery enough; but they failed in this by it, that they never had them to

assist them and fight for them, as I had my man Friday, who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.

But to come to the family part. Being all now good friends (for common danger, as I said above, had effectually reconciled them), they began to consider their general circumstances; and the first thing that came under their consideration was, whether, seeing the savages particularly haunted that side of the island, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it equally adapted to their way of living, and manifestly to their advantage, they should not rather remove their habitation, and plant in some more proper place for their safety, and especially for the security of their cattle and corn.

Upon this, after long debate, it was conceived, that they should not remove their habitation; because that some time or other they thought they might hear from their governor again, meaning me; and if I should send any one to seek them, I would be sure to direct them on that side, where, if they should find the place demolished, they would conclude the savages had killed us all, and we were gone, and so our supply would go away too.

But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove them into the valley where my cave was, where the land was as proper to both, and where indeed there was land enough: however, upon second thoughts, they altered one part of that resolution too, and resolved only to remove part of their cattle thither, and plant part of their corn there; and so, if one part was destroyed, the other might be saved: and one piece of prudence they

used, which it was very well they did; viz. That they never trusted these three savages, which they had taken prisoners, with knowing any thing of the plantation they had made in that valley, or of any cattle they had there; much less of the cave there, which they kept in case of necessity, as a safe retreat; and thither they carried also the two barrels of powder which I had left them at my coming away.

But, however, they resolved not to change their habitation; yet they agreed, that as I had carefully covered it first with a wall and fortification, and then with a grove of trees; so, seeing their safety consisted entirely in their being concealed, of which they were now fully convinced, they set to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than before: to this purpose, as I had planted trees (or rather thrust in stakes, which in time all grew to be trees) for some good distance before the entrance into my apartment, they went on in the same manner, and filled up the rest of that whole space of ground, from the trees I had set, quite down to the side of the creek, where, as I said, I landed my floats, and even into the very ooze where the tide flowed, not so much as leaving any place to land, or any sign that there had been any landing thereabout: the stakes also, being of a wood very forward to grow, as I had noted formerly, they took care to have generally very much larger and taller than those which I had planted, and placed them so very thick and close, that when they had been three or four years grown, there was no piercing with the eye any considerable way into the plantation: as for that part which I had

planted, the trees were grown as thick as a man's thigh; and among them they placed so many other short ones, and so thick, that, in a word, it stood like a palisado a quarter of a mile thick, and it was next to impossible to penetrate it, but with a little army, to cut it all down; for a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they stood so close.

But this was not all; for they did the same by all the ground to the right hand, and to the left, and round even to the top of the hill; leaving no way, not so much as for themselves to come out, but by the ladder placed up to the side of the hill, and then lifted up, and placed again from the first stage up to the top: which ladder, when it was taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft to assist it, could come at them.

This was excellently well contrived: nor was it less than what they afterwards found occasion for; which served to convince me, that as human prudence has authority of Providence to justify it, so it has, doubtless, the direction of Providence to set it to work; and, would we listen carefully to the voice of it, I am fully persuaded we might prevent many of the disasters which our lives are now, by our own negligence, subjected to. But this by the way.

I return to the story: they lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more visits from the savages; they had indeed an alarm given them one morning, which put them in a great consternation; for, some of the Spaniards being out early one morning on the west side, or rather end of the island, which, by the way, was that end

where I never went, for fear of being discovered, they were surprised with seeing above twenty canoes of Indians just coming on shore.

They made the best of their way home, in hurry enough; and giving the alarm to their comrades, they kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night, to make observation: but they had the good luck to be mistaken; for wherever the savages went, they did not land at that time on the island, but pursued some other design.

And now they had another broil with the three Englishmen; one of which, a most turbulent fellow, being in a rage at one of the three slaves, which I mentioned they had taken, because the fellow had not done something right which he bid him do, and seemed a little untractable in his shewing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog-belt, in which he bore it by his side, and fell upon him, the poor savage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the Spaniards, who was by, seeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but struck into his shoulder, so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and entreating him not to murder the poor man, clapped in between him and the savage, to prevent the mischief.

The fellow, being enraged the more at this, struck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel, which he had in his hand (for they were working in the field about

the corn-land,) knocked the brute down: another of the Englishmen, running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the Spaniard down; and then two Spaniards more came to help their man, and a third Englishman fell upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapons but hatchets and other tools, except the third Englishman; he had one of my old rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the last Spaniards, and wounded them both: this fray set the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three Englishmen prisoners. The next question was, What should be done with them? They had been so often mutinous, and were so furious, so desperate, and so idle withal, that they knew not what course to take with them, for they were mischievous to the highest degree, and valued not what hurt they did any man; so that, in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The Spaniard who was governor, told them in so many words, that if they had been his own countrymen, he would have hanged them all; for all laws, and all governors, were to preserve society; and those who were dangerous to the society ought to be expelled out of it; but as they were Englishmen, and that it was to the generous kindness of an Englishman that they all owed their preservation and deliverance, he would use them with all possible lenity, and would leave them to the judgment of the other two Englishmen, who were their countrymen.

One of the two honest Englishmen stood up, and said, they desired it might not be left to them:

for, says he, I am sure we ought to sentence them to the gallows; and with that gives an account how Will Atkins, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five Englishmen join together, and murder all the Spaniards, when they were in their sleep.

When the Spanish governor heard this, he calls to Will Atkins. How, Seignior Atkins, says he, Will you murder us all? What have you to say to that? That hardened villain was so far from denying it, that he said it was true, and G—d d—mn him they would do it still before they had done with them. Well, but Seignior Atkins, said the Spaniard, What have we done to you that you will kill us? And what would you get by killing us? And what must we do to prevent your killing us? Must we kill you, or will you kill us? Why will you put us to the necessity of this, Seignior Atkins? says the Spaniard very calmly, and smiling.

Seignior Atkins was in such a rage at the Spaniard's making a jest of it, that, had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapons with him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the Spaniard in the middle of all the company.

This hare-brained carriage obliged them to consider seriously what was to be done. The two Englishmen and the Spaniard, who saved the poor savage, were of the opinion, that they should hang one of the three for an example to the rest; and that particularly it should be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his

hatchet; and indeed there was some reason to believe he had done it, for the poor savage was in such a miserable condition with the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live.

But the governor Spaniard still said, No, it was an Englishman that had saved all their lives, and he would never consent to put an Englishman to death, though he had murdered half of them; nay, he said, if he had been killed himself by an Englishman, and had time left to speak, it should be, that they should pardon him.

This was so positively insisted on by the governor Spaniard, that there was no gainsaying it; and, as merciful counsels are most apt to prevail, where they are so earnestly pressed, so they all came into it; but then it was to be considered, what should be done to keep them from the mischief they designed; for all agreed, governor and all, that means were to be used for preserving the society from danger. After a long debate it was agreed, first, That they should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or shot, or sword, or any weapon, and should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would, and how they could, by themselves; but that none of the rest, either Spaniards or English, should converse with them, speak with them, or have any thing to do with them; that they should be forbid to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt; and that if they offered to commit any disorder, so as to spoil, burn, kill, or destroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the society, that

they should die without mercy, and would shoot them wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, musing upon the sentence, considered a little upon it; and turning to the two honest Englishmen, said, Hold; you must reflect, that it will be long ere they can raise corn and cattle of their own, and they must not starve; we must therefore allow them provisions. So he caused to be added, That they should have a proportion of corn given them to last them eight months, and for seed to sow, by which time they might be supposed to raise some of their own; that they should have six milch-goats, four he-goats, and six kids, given them, as well for present subsistence, as for a store; and that they should have tools given them for their work in the field; such as, six hatchets, an axe, a saw, and the like. But they should have none of these tools or provisions, unless they would swear solemnly, that they would not hurt or injure any of the Spaniards with them, or their fellow Englishmen.

Thus they dismissed them the society, and turned them out to shift for themselves. They went away sullen and refractory, as neither contented to go away or to stay; but, as there was no remedy, they went, pretending to go and choose a place where they should settle themselves, to plant and live by themselves; and some provisions were given, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for some victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themselves out an habitation or planta-

tion; it was a very convenient place indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N. E. much about the place where I providentially landed in my first voyage, when I was driven out to sea, the Lord alone knows whither, in my foolish attempt to surround the island.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts, and contrived them in a manner like my first habitation, being close under the side of a hill, having some trees growing already to the three sides of it; so that by planting others, it would be very easily covered from the sight, unless narrowly searched for; they desired some dry goat skins for beds and covering, which were given them; and upon their giving their words that they would not disturb the rest, or injure any of their plantations, they gave them hatchets, and what other tools they could spare; some pease, barley, and rice, for sowing, and, in a word, any thing they wanted but arms and ammunition.

They lived in this separate condition about six months, and had got in their first harvest, though the quantity was but small, the parcel of land they had planted being but little; for indeed, having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands; and when they came to make boards, and pots, and such things, they were quite out of their element, and could make nothing of it; and when the rainy season came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of spoiling: and this humbled them much; so they came and begged the Spaniards to help them, which

they very readily did; and in four days worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, big enough to secure their corn, and other things from the rain: but it was but a poor place at best, compared to mine; and especially as mine was then; for the Spaniards had greatly enlarged it, and made several new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this separation, a new frolic took these rogues, which together with the former villany they had committed, brought mischief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony: the three new associates began, it seems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumstances; and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent from whence the savages came, and would try if they could not seize upon some prisoners among the natives there and bring them home, so as to make them do the laborious part of the work for them.

The project was not so preposterous, if they had gone no further; but they did nothing, and proposed nothing, but had either mischief in the design, or mischief in the event: and, if I may give my opinion, they seemed to be under a blast from Heaven; for if we will not allow a visible curse to pursue visible crimes, how shall we reconcile the events of things with divine justice? It was certainly an apparent vengeance on their crime of mutiny and piracy, that brought them to the state they were in; and, as they shewed not the least remorse for the crime, but added new villa-

nies to it, such as, particularly, that piece of monstrous cruelty of wounding a poor slave, because he did not, or perhaps could not, understand to do what he was directed; and to wound him in such a manner, as, no question, made him a cripple all his life, and in a place where no surgeon or medicine could be had for his cure: and, what was still worse, the murderous intent; or, to do justice to the crime, the intentional murder, for such to be sure it was, as was afterwards the formed design they all laid, to murder the Spaniards in cold blood, and in their sleep.

But I leave observing, and return to the story: The three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and, in very humble terms, desired to be admitted to speak with them: the Spaniards very readily heard what they had to say, which was this: that they were tired of living in the manner they did; that they were not handy enough to make the necessaries they wanted; and that, having no help, they found they should be starved; but if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes which they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition, proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main, and seek their fortune, and so deliver them from the trouble of supplying them with any other provisions.

The Spaniards were glad enough to be rid of them; but yet very honestly represented to them the certain destruction they were running into; told them, they had suffered such hardships upon that very spot, that they could, without any spirit

of prophecy, tell them, that they would be starved or murdered; and bade them consider of it.

The men replied audaciously, they should be starved if they stayed here, for they could not work, and would not work; and they could but be starved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them, they had no wives or children to cry after them; and, in short, insisted importunately upon their demand, declaring that they would go, whether they would give them any arms or no.

The Spaniards told them, with great kindness, that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themselves; and that though they could ill spare their fire-arms, having not enough for themselves, yet they would let them have two musquets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet, which they thought sufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer; and having baked them bread enough to serve them a month, and given them as much goat's flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket full of dried grapes, a pot full of fresh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly set out in a canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad.

The boat was indeed a large one, and would have very well carried fifteen or twenty men; and therefore was rather too big for them to manage; but as they had a fair breeze and the flood-tide with them they did well enough: they had made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goat-skins

dried, which they had sowed or laced together; and away they went merrily enough: the Spaniards called after them, Bon Veajo; and no man ever thought of seeing them any more.

The Spaniards would often say to one another, and the two honest Englishmen who remained behind, how quietly and comfortably they lived, now those three turbulent fellows were gone; as for their ever coming again, that was the remotest thing from their thoughts could be imagined; when, behold, after twenty-two days absence, one of the Englishmen being abroad upon his planting-work, sees three strange men coming towards him at a distance, two of them with guns upon their shoulders.

Away runs the Englishman, as if he was bewitched, and became frighted and amazed, to the governor Spaniard, and tells him they were all undone, for there were strangers landed upon the island, he could not tell who: the Spaniard pausing a while, says to him, How do you mean, you cannot tell who? They are savages to be sure. No, no, says the Englishman, they are men in clothes, with arms. Nay then, says the Spaniard, why are you concerned? If they are not savages, they must be friends; for there is no Christian nation upon earth, but will do us good rather than harm.

While they were debating thus, came the three Englishmen, and, standing without the wood which was new planted, hallooed to them; they presently knew their voices, and so all the wonder of that kind ceased. But now the admiration was turned

upon another question, viz. What could be the matter, and what made them come back again?

It was not long before they brought the men in; and inquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing? They gave them a full account of their voyage in a few words, viz. That they reached the land in two days, or something less; but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island: that entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand north, and several more west; and being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore; that they found the people were courteous and friendly to them, and they gave them several roots, and some dried fish, and appeared very sociable; and the women, as well as the men, were very forward to supply them with any thing they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days, and inquired, as well as they could of them by signs, what nations were this way, and that way; and were told of several fierce and terrible people, that lived almost every way; who, as they made known by signs to them, used to eat men; but as for themselves, they said, that they never eat men or wo-

men, except only such as they took in the wars; and then they owned, that they made a great feast, and eat their prisoners.

The Englishmen inquired, when they had a feast of that kind; and they told them two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war; and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed mighty desirous to see those prisoners; but the others mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising; which was to signify, that the next morning, at sun-rising, they would bring some for them; and accordingly, the next morning, they brought down five women, and eleven men; and gave them to the Englishmen, to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a sea-port town, to victual a ship.

As brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do: to refuse the prisoners would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them; and what to do with them they knew not: however, upon some debate, they resolved to accept of them; and, in return, they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets, which, though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased

with: and then, tying the poor creatures hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the prisoners into the boat for our men.

The Englishmen were obliged to come away as soon as they had them, or else they that gave them this noble present, would certainly have expected that they should have gone to work with them, have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner.

But, having taken their leave with all the respect and thanks that could well pass between people, where, on either side, they understood not one word they could say, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the first island, where, when they arrived, they set eight of their prisoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occasion.

In their voyage they endeavoured to have some communication with their prisoners, but it was impossible to make them understand any thing; nothing they could say to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going about to murder them: they first of all unbound them; but the poor creatures screamed at that, especially the women, as if they had just felt the knife at their throats; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpose to be killed.

If they gave them any thing to eat, it was the same thing; then they concluded it was for fear they should sink in flesh, and so not be fat enough to kill: if they looked at one of them more particularly, the party presently concluded, it was to see whether he or she was fattest and fittest to kill

first; nay, after they had brought them quite over, and began to use them kindly, and treat them well, still they expected every day to make a dinner or supper for their new masters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable history or journal of their voyage, the Spaniard asked them, where their new family was? And being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come to beg some victuals for them; they (the Spaniards) and the other two Englishmen, that is to say, the whole colony, resolved to go all down to the place, and see them, and did so, and Friday's father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound: for when they had brought them on shore, they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat and make their escape; there, I say, they sat, all of them stark-naked; first, there were three men, lusty, comely fellows, well shaped, straight and fair limbs, about thirty or thirty-five years of age, and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty, two more not above twenty-four or twenty-five, and the fifth, a tall, comely maiden, about sixteen or seventeen: the women were well favoured agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny; and two of them, had they been perfect white, would have passed for handsome women, even in London itself, having very pleasant agreeable countenances, and of a very modest behaviour, especially when they came afterwards to be clothed, and dressed, as they called

it, though that dress was very indifferent, it must be confessed; of which hereafter.

The sight, you may be sure, was something uncouth to our Spaniards, who were (to give them a just character) men of the best behaviour, of the most calm, sedate tempers, and perfect good-humour that ever I met with; and, in particular, of the most modesty, as will presently appear. I say the sight was very uncouth, to see three naked men, and five naked women, all together bound, and in the most miserable circumstances that human nature could be supposed to be, viz. to be expecting every moment to be dragged out, and have their brains knocked out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is killed for a dainty.

The first thing they did was to cause the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in, and see first if he knew any of them; and then, if he understood any of their speech; as soon as the old man came in, he looked seriously at them, but knew none of them; neither could any of them understand a word he said, or a sign he could make, except one of the women.

However, this was enough to answer the end, which was to satisfy them, that the men into whose hands they were fallen, were Christians; that they abhorred eating of men or women, and that they might be sure they would not be killed as soon as they were assured of this, they discovered such a joy, and by such awkward and several ways, as is hard to describe; for it seems they were of several nations.

The woman, who was their interpreter, was bid, in the next place, to ask them if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away, to save their lives? At which they all fell a dancing; and presently one fell to taking up this, and another that, any thing that lay next, to carry on their shoulders, to intimate, that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found that the having women among them would presently be attended with some inconveniency, and might occasion some strife, and perhaps blood, asked the three men, what they intended to do with these women, and how they intended to use them, whether as servants, or as women? One of the Englishmen answered very boldly and readily, that they would use them as both. To which the governor said, I am not going to restrain you from it; you are your own masters as to that: but this I think is but just, for avoiding disorders and quarrels among you, and I desire it of you for that reason only, viz. that you will all engage, that if any of you take any of these women, as a woman, or wife, he shall take but one; and that, having taken one, none else should touch her; for though we cannot marry any of you, yet it is but reasonable, that while you stay here, the woman any of you take should be maintained by the man that takes her, and should be his wife; I mean, says he, while he continues here; and that none else should have any thing to do with her. All this appeared so just, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the Englishmen asked the Spaniards, if

they designed to take any of them? But every one answered, No: some of them said they had wives in Spain; and the others did not like women that were not Christians; and altogether declared, that they would not touch one of them; which was an instance of such virtue, as I have not met with in all my travels; on the other hand, to be short, the five Englishmen took them every one a wife; that is to say, a temporary wife; and so they set up a new form of living; for the Spaniards and Friday's father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within; the three servants, which they had taken in the late battle of the savages, lived with them; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplying all the rest with food, and assisting them in any thing as they could, or as they found necessity required.

But the wonder of this story was, how five such refractory, ill-matched fellows should agree about these women, and that two of them should not pitch upon the same woman, especially seeing two or three of them were, without comparison, more agreeable than the others: but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themselves: for they set the five women by themselves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them who should choose first.

He that drew to choose first, went away by himself to the hut, where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he chose; and it was worth observing, that he that chose first, took her that was thought the homeliest, and the oldest of

the five, which made mirth enough among the rest: and even the Spaniards laughed at it; but the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business, that they were to expect assistance in, as much as any thing else; and she proved the best wife in the parcel.

When the poor women saw themselves in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed, that they were now going to be devoured: accordingly, when the English sailor came in and fetched out one of them, the rest set up a most lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with such agonies and such affection, as would have grieved the hardest heart in the world; nor was it possible for the Englishmen to satisfy them that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man Friday's father, who instantly let them know, that the five men who had fetched them out one by one, had chosen them for their wives.

When they had done this, and the fright the women were in was a little over, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them; and, in a few hours, they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart; for those they had already were crowded with their tools, household stuff, and provisions. The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island, so that they continued separate as before: and thus my island was peopled in three

places, and, as I might say, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here it is very well worth observing, that as it often happens in the world (what the wise ends of GOD's providence are in such a disposition of things, I cannot say) the two honest fellows had the two worst wives; and the three reprobates, that were scarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither seemed born to do themselves good, or any one else, had three clever, diligent, careful, and ingenious wives; not that the two first were ill wives as to their temper or humour; for all the five were most willing, quiet, passive, and subjected creatures, rather like slaves than wives; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or industrious, or alike cleanly and neat.

Another observation I must make, to the honour of a diligent application on the one hand, and to the disgrace of a slothful, negligent, idle temper on the other, that when I came to the place, and viewed the several improvements, planting, and management of the several little colonies, the two men had so far outgone the three, that there was no comparison; they had indeed both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted, and the reason was, because, according to my rule, nature dictated, that it was to no purpose to sow more corn than they wanted; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and indeed every thing else, was easy to be seen at first view.

The two men had innumerable young trees

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planted about their huts, that when you came to the place nothing was to be seen but a wood; and though they had their plantation twice demolished, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as shall be shewn in its place, yet they had restored all again, and every thing was flourishing, and thriving about them: they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themselves never seen any thing of that kind: and by their good ordering their vines, their grapes were as good again as any of the others. They had also formed themselves a retreat in the thickest part of the woods, where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found, yet they made one with incessant labour of their hands, and where, when the mischief which followed happened, they secured their wives and children, so as they could never be found; they having, by sticking innumerable stakes and poles of the wood, which, as I said, grew so easily, made a grove impassible, except in one place, where they climbed up to get over the outside part, and then went in by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I justly call them, though they were much civilized by their new settlement, compared to what they were before, and were not so quarrelsome, having not the same opportunity, yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness. It is true, they planted corn, and made fences; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them. "I went by the vineyard of "the slothful, and it was overgrown with thorns;"

for when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds; the hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had gotten in, and eaten up the corn; perhaps here and there a dead bush was crammed in, to stop them out for the present, but it was only shutting the stable door after the steed was stolen; whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of industry and success upon all they did; there was not a weed to be seen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges; and they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in another place. "The diligent "hand maketh rich;" for every thing grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the others, more utensils and necessaries within doors, and yet more pleasure and diversion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within doors; and having learned the English ways of dressing and cooking from one of the other Englishmen, who, as I said, was a cook's mate on board the ship, they dressed their husbands' victuals very nicely; whereas the other could not be brought to understand it; but then the husband, who, as I said, had been cook's mate, did it himself; but, as for the husbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtles eggs, and caught fish and birds: in a word, any thing but labour; and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably; and the slothful lived hard and beggarly; and so I believe, generally speaking, it is all over the world.

But now I come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or me; and the origin of the story was this.

Early one morning there came on shore five or six canoes of Indians, or savages, call them which you please; and there is no room to doubt that they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves; but that part was now so familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves about it, as I did; but, having been made sensible by their experience, that their only business was to lie concealed, and that, if they were not seen by any of the savages, they would go off again quietly, when their business was done, having as yet not the least notion of there being any inhabitants in the island; I say, having been made sensible of this, they had nothing to do but to give notice to all the three plantations to keep within doors, and not to shew themselves; only placing a scout in a proper place, to give notice when the boats went off to sea again.

This was, without doubt, very right; but a disaster spoiled all these measures, and made it known among the savages, that there were inhabitants there; which was, in the end, the desolation of almost the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again, and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been, to see what they had been doing. Here, to their great surprise, they found three savages, left behind, and lying fast asleep upon the ground; it was supposed

they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast, that, like beasts, they were asleep, and would not stir when the others went, or they were wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The Spaniards were greatly surprised at this sight, and perfectly at a loss what to do: the Spaniard governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was asked; but he professed he knew not what to do: as for slaves, they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that; the Spaniard governor told me they could not think of shedding innocent blood; for as to them the poor creatures had done no wrong, invaded none of their property; and they thought they had no just quarrel against them to take away their lives.

And here I must, in justice to these Spaniards, observe, that let all the accounts of Spanish cruelty in Mexico and Peru be what they will, I never met with seventeen men, of any nation whatsoever, in any foreign country, who were so universally modest, temperate, virtuous, so very good-humoured, and so courteous, as these Spaniards; and, as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their very nature; no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous passions, and yet all of them men of great courage and spirit.

Their temper and calmness had appeared in their bearing the insufferable usage of the three Englishmen; and their justice and humanity appeared now in the case of the savages, as above: after some consultation, they resolved upon this, that they

would lie still awhile longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone; but then the governor Spaniard recollected that the three savages had no boats; and that, if they were left to rove about the island, they would certainly discover that there were inhabitants in it, and so they should be undone that way.

Upon this they went back again, and there lay the fellows fast asleep still; so they resolved to awaken them, and take them prisoners; and they did so; the poor fellows were strangely frighted when they were seized upon and bound, and afraid, like the women, that they should be murdered and eaten; for, it seems, those people think all the world do as they do, eating men's flesh; but they were soon made easy as to that; and away they carried them.

It was very happy for them, that they did not carry them home to their castle; I mean to my palace under the hill; but they carried them first to the bower, where was the chief of their country work; such as the keeping the goats, the planting the corn, &c. and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two Englishmen.

Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do: and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them ran away; and, taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after in some other boats or canoes of

savages, who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off again in two days time: this thought terrified them exceedingly; for they concluded, and that not without good cause indeed, that if this fellow got safe home among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the island, as also how weak and few they were; for this savage, as I observed before, had never been told, as it was very happy he had not, how many they were, or where they lived, nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shewn him any other of their retired places, such as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two Englishmen had made, and the like.

The first testimony they had, that this fellow had given intelligence of them was, that about two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about seven or eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north-side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed about an hour after sun-rise, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two Englishmen, where this escaped man had been kept: as the Spaniard governor said, had they been all there, the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped: but the case differed now very much; for two men to fifty were too much odds: the two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed; and as they landed about a mile from their huts, it was

some time before they could come at them. Now having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did was to bind the slaves which were left, and cause two of the three men, whom they brought with the women, who, it seems, proved very faithful to them, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired place in the woods, which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard further.

In the next place, seeing the savages were all come on shore, and that they bent their course directly that way, they opened the fences where their milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to straggle into the wood, whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild; but the rogue who came with them was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all; for they went directly to the place. When the poor frighted men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had of the three, who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the Spaniards with all speed, to give them the alarm, and desire speedy help; and in the mean time they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were sent, keeping at a distance; yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone far, but that, from a rising

ground, they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more could see all their huts and household-stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for they had a very great loss, and to them irretrievable, at least for some time. They kept their station for awhile, till they found the savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in search for prey; and, in particular, for the people, of whom it plainly appeared they had intelligence.

The two Englishmen seeing this, thinking themselves not secure where they stood, as it was likely some of the wild people might come that way, so they might come too many together, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile further, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the further they strolled, the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree stood, which was hollow, and vastly large; and in this tree they both took their standing, resolving to see what might offer.

They had not stood there long, but two of the savages appeared running directly that way, as if they had already notice where they stood, and were coming up to attack them; and a little way further they espied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way; besides which, they saw seven or eight more

at a distance running another way; for, in a word, they ran every way, like sportsmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they should stand, and keep their posture, or fly; but after a very short debate with themselves, they considered, that if the savages ranged the country thus, before help came, they might, perhaps, find out their retreat in the woods, and then all would be lost; so they resolved to stand them there; and if there were too many to deal with, then they would get to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themselves, fire excepted, as long as their ammunition lasted, though all the savages that were landed, which were near fifty, were to attack them.

Having resolved upon this, they next considered whether they should fire at the two first, or wait for the three, and so take the middle party; by which the two and the five that followed would be separated; at length they resolved to let the two first pass by, unless they should spy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The two first savages also confirmed them in this resolution, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came forwards directly to the tree, as if they had known the Englishmen were there.

Seeing them come so straight towards them, they resolved to take them in a line as they came; and as they resolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the first shot might hit them all three; to which purpose, the man who was to fire, put three

or four bullets into his piece, and having a fair loophole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a sure aim, without being seen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, so that he could not miss.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages came on, they plainly saw, that one of the three was the run-away savage that had escaped from them, and they both knew him distinctly, and resolved, that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire; so the other stood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the first shot, he should be sure to have a second.

But the first was too good a marksman to miss his aim; for, as the savages kept near one another, a little behind in a line, in a word, he fired, and hit two of them directly: the foremost was killed outright, being shot in the head; the second, which was the run-away Indian, was shot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead; and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second; and being dreadfully frighted, though not much hurt, sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frighted with the noise than sensible of their danger, stood still at first; for the woods made the sound a thousand times bigger than it really was; the echoes rattling from one side to another, and the fowls rising from all parts, screaming and making, every sort, a several kind of noise, according to their kind, just as it was when I fired the first gun that, perhaps,

was ever shot off in that place since it was an island.

However, all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned, till they came to that place where their companions lay, in a condition miserable enough; and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be supposed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt; and who, 'tis very rational to believe, told them that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods, had killed those two, and wounded him. This, I say, is rational; for nothing is more certain than that, as they saw no man near them, so they had never heard a gun in all their lives, or so much as heard of a gun; neither knew they any thing of killing or wounding at a distance, with fire and bullets; if they had, one might reasonably believe, that they would not have stood so unconcerned, in viewing the fate of their fellows, without some apprehension of their own.

Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger; yet, having them all thus in their power, and the first having loaded his piece again, resolved to let fly both together among them; and singling out by agreement which to aim at, they shot together, and killed, or very much wounded, four of them; the fifth, frighted even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest; so that our

men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the savages were all killed, made our two men come boldly out from the tree before they had charged their guns again, which was a wrong step; and they were under some surprise, when they came to the place, and found no less than four of the men alive, and of them, two very little hurt, and one not all: this obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks of their muskets; and first, they made sure of the run away savage, that had been the cause of all the mischief; and of another that was hurt in his knee, and put them out of their pain; then the man that was not hurt at all came and kneeled down to them, with his two hands held up, and made piteous moan to them by gestures and signs, for his life; but could not say one word to them that they could understand.

However, they signified to him to sit down at the foot of a tree thereby; and one of the Englishmen, with a piece of rope-twine, which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his feet fast together, and his hands behind him, and there they left him; and, with what speed they could, made after the other two which were gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, should find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives, and the few goods they had left lay: they came once in sight of the two men, but it was at a great distance; however, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley, towards the sea, the quite contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid

of; and, being satisfied with that, they went back to the tree where they left their prisoner, who, as they supposed, was delivered by his comrades; for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they had bound him, lay just at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great a concern as before, not knowing what course to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what numbers; so they resolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to see if all was well there, and to make them easy, who were in fright enough to be sure; for though the savages were their own country folks, yet they were most terribly afraid of them, and perhaps the more, for the knowledge they had of them.

When they came thither, they found the savages had been in the wood, and very near the place, but had not found it; for, indeed, it was inaccessible, by the trees standing so thick, as before, unless the persons seeking it had been directed by those that knew it, which these were not; they found, therefore, every thing very safe, only the women in a terrible fright: while they were here, they had the comfort of seven of the Spaniards coming to their assistance; the other ten, with their servants, and old Friday, I mean Friday's father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that were kept there, in case the savages should have roved over to that side of the country; but they did not spead so far. With the seven Spaniards came one of the savages, who, as I said, were their prisoners formerly, and

with them also the savage whom the Englishmen had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for it seems they came that way, saw the slaughter of the seven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them, where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had done the two others, who were left when the third ran away.

The prisoners began now to be a burden to them; and they were so afraid of their escaping, that they thought they were under an absolute necessity to kill them for their own preservation: however, the Spaniard governor would not consent to it; but ordered, that they should be sent out of the way to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there, with two Spaniards to guard them, and give them food: which was done; and they were bound there hand and foot for that night.

When the Spaniards came, the two Englishmen were so encouraged, that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer there; but taking five of the Spaniards, and themselves, with four musquets and a pistol among them, and two stout quarter staves, away they went in quest of the savages; and first, they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; but it was easy to see, that some more of the savages had been there; for they attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over; from thence they advanced to the first rising ground, where they had stood and seen their camp destroyed, and where they had the mortification still to see some of the smoke; but

neither could they here see any of the savages: they then resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation: but a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea shore, they saw plainly the savages all embarking again in their canoes, in order to be gone.

They seemed sorry at first that there was no way to come at them, to give them a parting blow; but, upon the whole, were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Englishmen being now twice ruined, and all their improvements destroyed, the rest all agreed to come and help them to rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the least inclination to do any thing good, yet, as soon as they heard of it (for they, living remote, knew nothing till all was over) came and offered their help and assistance, and did very friendly work for several days, to restore their habitations, and make necessaries for them; and thus, in a little time, they were set upon their legs again.

About two days after this, they had the further satisfaction of seeing three of the savages canoes come driving on shore, and, at some distance from them, with two drowned men; by which they had reason to believe, that they had met with a storm at sea, and had overset some of them; for it blew very hard the night after they went off.

However, as some might miscarry, so, on the other hand, enough of them escaped to inform the rest, as well of what they had done, as of what

happened to them; and to whet them on to another enterprise of the same nature, which they, it seems, resolved to attempt, with sufficient force to carry all before them; for, except what the first man had told them of inhabitants, they could say little to it of their own knowledge, for they never saw one man, and the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witness to confirm it to them.

It was five or six months after this, before they heard any more of the savages, in which time our men were in hopes they had not forgot their former bad luck, or had given over the hopes of better, when, on a sudden, they were invaded with a most formidable fleet, of no less than twenty-eight canoes full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such like engines of war; and they brought such numbers with them, that, in short, it put all our people into the utmost consternation.

As they came on shore in the evening, and at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do; and, in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only safety before, and would much more be so now, while the number of their enemies was so great, they therefore resolved, first of all, to take down the huts which were built for the two Englishmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they supposed the savages would go directly thither, as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the Spaniards; and, in short, left as little appearance of inhabitants any where as possible; and the next morning early they posted themselves with all their force, at the plantation of the two men, waiting for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened; these new invaders, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore, directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but small indeed; but, that which was worse, they had not arms for all their number neither. The whole account, it seems, stood thus. First, as to men.

17 Spaniards.
5 Englishmen.
1 Old Friday, or Friday's father.
3 Slaves, taken with the women, who proved very faithful.
3 Other slaves who lived with the Spaniards.

29

To arm these they had.

11 Musquets.
5 Pistols.
3 Fowling pieces.
5 Musquets, or fowling pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen whom I reduced.
2 Swords.
3 Old halberts.

29

To their slaves they did not give either musquet or fusil, but they had every one an halbert, or a long staff, like a quarter staff, with a great spike of iron fastened into each end of it, and by his side a hatchet; also every one of our men had hatchets. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon, but they would come into the fight; and they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the savages, when the first action happened, which I have spoken of, where the Indians fought with one another, and the women had hatchets too.

The Spaniard governor, whom I have described so often, commanded the whole; and William Atkins, who, though a dreadful fellow for wickedness, was a most daring bold fellow, commanded under him. The savages came forward like lions, and our men, which was the worst of their fate, had no advantage in their situation; only that Will Atkins, who now proved a most useful fellow, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the first of them pass by, and then fire into the middle of them; and, as soon as he had fired, to make his retreat, as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and so come in behind the Spaniards where they stood, having a thicket of trees all before them.

When the savages came on, they ran straggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order; and Will Atkins let about fifty of them pass by him; then, seeing the rest come in a very thick

throng, he orders three of his men to fire, having loaded their musquets with six or seven bullets apiece, about as big as large pistol bullets. How many they killed or wounded, they kney not; but the consternation and surprise was inexpressible among the savages, who were frighted to the last degree, to hear such a dreadful noise, and see their men killed, and others hurt, but see nobody that did it; when in the middle of their fright, William Atkins, and his other three, let fly again among the thickest of them; and in less than a minute, the first three, being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had William Atkins and his men retired immediately, as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do; or had the rest of the body been at hand to have poured in their shot continually, the savages had been effectually routed; for the terror that was among them came principally from this; viz. That they were killed by the gods with thunder and lightning, and could see nobody that hurt them; but William Atkins, staying to load again, discovered the cheat; some of the savages, who were at a distance, spying them, came upon them behind; and though Atkins and his men fired at them also, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow Englishmen with their arrows, as they did afterwards one Spaniard, and one of the Indian slaves who came with the women; this slave was a most gallant fellow, and fought most desperately,

killing five of them with his own hand, having no weapon but one of the armed staves, and an hatchet.

Our men being thus hard laid at, Atkins wounded, and two other men killed, retreated to a rising ground in the wood; and the Spaniards, after firing three vollies upon them, retreated also; for their number was so great, and they were so desperate, that though above fifty of them were killed, and more than so many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud; and it was observed, that their wounded men, who were not quite disabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, they left the Spaniard and the Englishman, that were killed, behind them; and the savages, when they came up to them, killed them over again in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs, and heads, with their clubs, and wooden swords, like true savages. But, finding our men were gone, they did not seem inclined to pursue them, but drew themselves up in a kind of a ring, which is, it seems, their custom; and shouted twice, in token of their victory; after which, they had the mortification to see several of their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loss of blood.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little body up together, upon a rising ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, would have had him marched, and charged them again all together at

once; but the Spaniard replied, Seignior Atkins, you see how their wounded men fight; let them alone till morning; all these wounded men will be stiff and sore with their wounds, and faint with the loss of blood; and so we shall have the fewer to engage.

The advice was good; but Will Atkins replied merrily, That is true, Seignior, and so shall I too; and that is the reason I would go on, while I am warm. Well, Seignior Atkins, says the Spaniard, you have behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on; but I think it best to stay till morning; so they waited.

But as it was a clear moon-light night, and they found the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great hurry and noise among them where they lay, they afterwards resolved to fall upon them in the night, especially if they could come to give them but one volley before they were discovered. This they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two Englishmen, in whose quarter it was where the fight began, led them round between the woods and the sea-side, westward, and turning short south, they came so near where the thickest of them lay, that before they were seen or heard, eight of them fired in among them; and did dreadful execution upon them; in half a minute more eight others fired after them, pouring in their small shot in such a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to see who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The Spaniards charged again, with the utmost expedition, and then divided themselves into three bodies, and resolved to fall in among them all together: they had in each body eight persons; that is to say, twenty-four, whereof were twenty-two men, and the two women, who, by the way, fought desperately.

They divided the fire-arms equally in each party, and so of the halberts and staves. They would have had the women keep back; but they said, they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the teeth of the enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could; the savages stood all together, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together; they would have fought if they had seen us; and, as soon as we came near enough to be seen, some arrows were shot, and poor old Friday was wounded, though not dangerously. But our men gave them no time; but, running up to them, fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the but-ends of their musquets, their swords, armed staves, and hatchets; and laid about them so well, that, in a word, they set up a dismal screaming and howling, flying to save their lives which way soever they could.

Our men were tired with the execution; and killed, or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about 180 of them; the rest, being frighted out of their wits, scoured through the woods, and over the hills, with all the speed that fear and nimble feet could help them to do; and as we did not

trouble ourselves much to pursue them, they got all together to the sea-side, where they landed, and where their canoes lay. But their disaster was not at an end yet; for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the sea-ward; so that it was impossible for them to put off; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high upon the shore, that it required infinite toil to get them off; and some of them were even dashed to pieces against the beach, or against one another.

Our men, though glad of their victory, yet got little rest that night: but having refreshed themselves as well as they could, they resolved to march to that part of the island where the savages were fled, and see what posture they were in. This necessarily led them over the place where the fight had been, and where they found several of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet past recovering life; a sight disagreeable enough to generous minds; for a truly great man, though obliged by the law of battle to destroy his enemy, takes no delight in his misery.

However, there was no need to give any order in this case; for their own savages, who were their servants, dispatched those poor creatures with their hatchets.

At length they came in view of the place where the more miserable remains of the savages' army lay, where there appeared about 100 still; their posture was generally sitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and the head

put between the hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two musquet shot of them, the Spaniard governor ordered two musquets to be fired without ball, to alarm them; this he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect, viz. Whether they were still in heart to fight, or were so heartily beaten, as to be dispirited and discouraged, and so he might manage accordingly.

This stratagem took; for, as soon as the savages heard the first gun, and saw the flash of the second, they started up upon their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable; and, as our men advanced swiftly towards them, they all ran screaming and yawling away, with a kind of an howling noise, which our men did not understand, and had never heard before; and thus they ran up the hills into the country.

At first, our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to sea; but they did not then consider, that this might probably have been the occasion of their coming again in such multitudes as not to be resisted, or, at least, to come so many and so often, as would quite desolate the island, and starve them. Will Atkins therefore, who, notwithstanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the best counsellor in this case; his advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and so deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the island.

They consulted long about this, and some were

117



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against it, for fear of making the wretches fly into the woods, and live there desperate; and so they should have them to hunt like wild beasts, be afraid to stir about their business, and have their plantation continually rifled, all their tame goats destroyed, and, in short, be reduced to a life of continual distress.

Will Atkins told them, they had better have to do with 100 men, than with 100 nations; that as as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be all of them destroyed themselves. In a word, he shewed them the necessity of it so plainly, that they all came into it; so they went to work immediately with the boats, and, getting some dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to set some of them on fire; but they were so wet, that they would scarce burn. However, the fire so burned the upper part, that it soon made them unfit for swimming in the sea as boats. When the Indians saw what they were about, some of them came running out of the woods; and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down and cried, Oa, Oa, Waramokon, and some other words of their language, which none of the others understood any thing of; but as they made pitiful gestures, and strange noises, it was easy to understand they begged to have their boats spared, and that they would be gone, and never return thither again.

But our men were now satisfied, that they had no way to preserve themselves, or to save their colony, but effectually to prevent any of these people from ever going home again; depending

upon this, that if ever so much as one of them got back into their country to tell the story, the colony was undone; so that, letting them know that they should not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and destroyed them every one that the storm had not destroyed before; at the sight of which, the savages raised a hideous cry in the woods, which our people heard plain enough; after which they ran about the island like distracted men; so that, in a word, our men did not really know at first what to do with them.

Nor did the Spaniards, with all their prudence, consider that while they made those people thus desperate, they ought to have kept good guard at the same time upon their plantations; for though it is true they had driven away their cattle, and the Indians did not find their main retreat, I mean my old castle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley; yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot; tore up the vines and grapes, being just then almost ripe; and did our men an inestimable damage, though, to themselves, not one farthing's worth of service.

Though our men were able to fight them upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them, or hunt them up and down; for as they were too nimble of foot for our men when they found them single, so our men durst not go about single, for fear of being surrounded with their numbers; the best was, they had no weapons; for though they had bows, they had no arrows

left, nor any materials to make any, nor had they any edged tool or weapon among them.

The extremity and distress they were reduced to was great, and indeed deplorable, but at the same time our men were also brought to very hard circumstances by them: for though their retreats were preserved, yet their provision was destroyed, and their harvest spoiled; and what to do, or which way to turn themselves, they knew not; the only refuge they had now was, the stock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and some little corn which grew there. The three Englishmen, William Atkins and his comrades, were now reduced to two, one of them being killed by an arrow, which struck him on the side of his head, just under the temples, so that he never spoke more; and it was very remarkable, that this was the same barbarous fellow who cut the poor savage slave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murdered the Spaniards.

I looked upon their case to have been worse at this time than mine was at any time after I first discovered the grains of barley and rice, and got into the method of planting and raising my corn, and my tame cattle; for now they had, as I may say, an hundred wolves upon the island, which would devour every thing they could come at, yet could be very hardly come at themselves.

The first thing they concluded, when they saw what their circumstances were, was, that they would, if possible, drive them up to the farther part of the island, south-east, that if any more

savages came on shore, they might not find one another; then, that they would daily hunt and harrass them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced their number, and if they could at last tame them, and bring them to any thing, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant, and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this, they followed them, and so terrified them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an Indian, if he did not hit him, yet he would fall down for fear; and so dreadfully frighted they were, that they kept out of sight further and further, till at last our men following them, and every day almost killing and wounding some of them, they kept up in the woods and hollow places so much, that it reduced them to the utmost misery for want of food; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, but merely starved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them; especially the Spaniard governor, who was the most gentlemanlike, generous minded man that ever I met with in my life; and he proposed, if possible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to understand what they meant, so far as to be able to act as interpreter, and to go among them, and see if they might be brought to some conditions, that might be depended upon, to save their lives, and do us no spoil.

It was some time before any of them could be taken; but being weak, and half-starved, one of

them was at last surprised, and made a prisoner; he was sullen at first, and would neither eat nor drink; but finding himself kindly used, and victuals given him, and no violence offered him, he at last grew tractable, and came to himself.

They brought old Friday to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all; that they would not only save their lives, but would give them a part of the island to live in, provided they would give satisfaction; that they should keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond them, to injure or prejudice others; and that they should have corn given them, to plant and make it grow for their bread, and some bread given them for their present subsistence; and old Friday bade the fellow go and talk with the rest of his countrymen, and hear what they said to it; assuring them, that if they did not agree immediately they should all be destroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty-seven, closed with the proposal at the first offer, and begged to have some food given them; upon which twelve Spaniards and two Englishmen, well armed, and three Indian slaves, and old Friday, marched to the place where they were; the three Indian slaves carried them a large quantity of bread, and some rice boiled up to cakes, and dried in the sun, and three live goats; and they were ordered to go to the side of an hill, where they sat down, eat the provisions very thankfully, and were the most faithful fellows to their words that could be

thought of; for, except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds; and there they lived when I came to the island, and I went to see them.

They had taught them both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them; they wanted nothing but wives, and they soon would have been a nation: they were confined to a neck of land, surrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island; they had land enough, and it was very good and fruitful; for they had a piece of land about a mile and a half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself; and gave among them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; and there they lived the most subjected innocent creatures that were ever heard of.

After this the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity with respect to the savages, till I came to revisit them, which was in about two years; not but that now and then some canoes of savages came on shore for their triumphal, unnatural feasts; but as they were of several nations, and, perhaps, had never heard of those that came before, or the reason of it, they did not make any search or inquiry after their countrymen; and if they had, it would have been very hard for them to have found them out.

Thus, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to them, to my return, at least, that was worth notice. The Indians, or savages, were

wonderfully civilized by them, and they frequently went among them; but forbid, on pain of death, any of the Indians coming to them, because they would not have their settlement betrayed again.

One thing was very remarkable, viz. that they taught the savages to make wicker-work, or baskets; but they soon out-did their masters; for they made abundance of most ingenious things in wicker-work; particularly, all sorts of baskets, sieves, bird-cages, cupboards, &c. as also chairs to sit on, stools, beds, couches, and abundance of other things, being very ingenious at such work, when they were once put in the way of it.

My coming was a particular relief to these people, because we furnished them with knives, scissars, spades, shovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want.

With the help of these tools they were so very handy, that they came, at last, to build up their huts, or houses, very handsomely; raddling, or working it up like basket-work all the way round, which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd; but was an exceeding good fence, as well against heat, as against all sorts of vermin; and our men were so taken with it, that they got the wild savages to come and do the like for them; so that when I came to see the two Englishmen's colonies, they looked, at a distance, as if they lived all like bees in a hive; and as for Will Atkins, who was now become a very industrious, necessary, and sober fellow, he had made himself such a tent of basket-work, as I believe was never seen. It was 120 paces round on the

outside, as I measured by my steps; the walls were as close worked as a basket, in pannels or squares, thirty-two in number, and very strong, standing about seven feet high: in the middle was another not above twenty-two paces round, but built stronger, being eight square in its form, and in the eight corners stood eight very strong posts, round the top of which he laid strong pieces, joined together with wooden pins, from which he raised a pyramid before the roof of eight rafters, very handsome, I assure you, and joined together very well, though he had no nails, and only a few iron pikes, which he had made himself too, out of the old iron that I had left there; and, indeed, this fellow shewed abundance of ingenuity in several things which he had no knowledge of; he made himself a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire; he made himself charcoal for his work, and he formed out of one of the iron crows a middling good anvil to hammer upon; in this manner he made many things, but especially hooks, staples and spikes, bolts and hinges. But to return to the house; after he pitched the roof of his innermost tent, he worked it up between the rafters with basket-work, so firm, and thatched that over again so ingeniously with rice straw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, which covered the top, that his house was as dry as if it had been tiled or slated. Indeed he owned that the savages made the basket-work for him.

The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the thirty-two angles to the top posts of the

inner house, being about twenty feet distant; so that there was a space like a walk within the outer wicker-wall, and without the inner, near twenty feet wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the same wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided into six apartments, for that he had six rooms on a floor, and out of every one of these there was a door; first, into the entry, or coming into the main tent; and another door into the space or walk that was round it; so that this walk was also divided into six equal parts, which served not only for a retreat, but to store up any necessaries which the family had occasion for. These six spaces not taking up the whole circumference, what other apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered: as soon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a short passage straight before you to the door of the inner house; but on either side was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went, first, into a large room or store-house, twenty feet wide, and about thirty feet long, and through that into another not quite so long: so that in the outer circle were ten handsome rooms, six of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, and served as closets or retired rooms to the respective chambers of the inner circle; and four large warehouses or barns, or what you please to call them, which went in through one another, two on either hand of the passage that led through the outer door to the inner tent.

Such a piece of basket-work, I believe, was

never seen in the world; nor an house or tent so neatly contrived, much less so built: in this great bee-hive lived the three families; that is to say, Will Atkins, and his companions; the third was killed, but his wife remained with three children; for she was, it seems, big with child when he died; and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full share of every thing, I mean, as to their corn, milk, grapes, &c. and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the shore; so that they all lived well enough, though it was true, they were not so industrious as the other two, as has been observed already.

One thing, however cannot be omitted, viz. that, as for religion, I do not know that there was any thing of that kind among them; they pretty often, indeed, put one another in mind, that there was a GOD, by the very common method of seamen, viz. swearing by his name; nor were their poor, ignorant savage wives much the better for having been married to Christians, as we must call them; for as they knew very little of GOD themselves, so they were utterly incapable of entering into any discourse with their wives about a GOD, or to talk any thing to them concerning religion.

The utmost of all the improvement which I can say the wives had made from them, was, that they had taught them to speak English pretty well; and all the children they had, which were near twenty in all, were taught to speak English too, from their first learning to speak, though they at first spoke it in a very broken manner, like their mothers. There were none of those children above

six years old when I came thither; for it was not much above seven years that they had fetched these five savage ladies over, but they had all been pretty fruitful, for they had all children, more or less. I think the cook's mate's wife was big of her sixth child; and the mothers were all a good sort of well governed, quiet, laborious women, modest and decent, helpful to one another, mighty observant and subject to their masters, I cannot call them husbands; and wanted nothing but to be well instructed in the Christian religion, and to be legally married; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or, at least, by the consequence of my coming among them.

Having thus given an account of the colony in general, and pretty much of my five runagade Englishmen, I must say something of the Spaniards, who were the main body of the family; and in whose story there are some incidents also remarkable enough.

I had a great many discourses with them about their circumstances, when they were among the savages: they told me readily, that they had no instances to give of their application or ingenuity in that country; that they were a poor, miserable, dejected handful of people; that if means had been put into their hands, they had yet so abandoned themselves to despair, and so sunk under the weight of their misfortunes, that they thought of nothing but starving. One of them, a grave and very sensible man, told me, he was convinced they were in the wrong; that it was not the part of wise men to give up themselves to their misery,

but always to take hold of the helps which reason offered, as well for present support, as for future deliverance; he told me, that grief was the most senseless, insignificant passion in the world; for that it regarded only things past, which were generally impossible to be recalled or to be remedied, but had no view to things to come, and had no share in any thing that looked like deliverance, but rather added to the affliction than proposed a remedy; and upon this, he repeated a Spanish proverb; which, though I cannot repeat in just the same words that he spoke it, yet I remember I made it into an English proverb of my own, thus:

In trouble to be troubled,
Is to have your trouble doubled.

He then ran on in remarks upon all the little improvements I had made in my solitude, my unwearied application, as he called it, and how I had made a condition, which, in its circumstances, was at first much worse than their's, a thousand times more happy than their's was, even now, when they were altogether: he told me, it was remarkable, that Englishmen had a greater presence of mind, in their distress, than any people that ever he met with; that their unhappy nation, and the Portuguese, were the worst men in the world to struggle with misfortunes; for that their first step in dangers, after common efforts are over, was always to despair, lie down under it and die, without rousing their thoughts up to proper remedies for escape.

I told him, their case and mine differed exceed-

ingly; that they were cast upon the shore without necessaries, without supply of food, or of present sustenance, till they could provide it: that it is true, I had this disadvantage and discomfort, that I was alone; but then the supplies I had providentially thrown into my hands, by the unexpected driving of the ship on shore, was such a help as would have encouraged any creature in the world to have applied himself as I had done. Seignior, says the Spaniard, had we poor Spaniards been in your case, we should never have gotten half those things out of the ship as you did: nay, says he, we should never have found means to have gotten a raft to carry them, or to have gotten a raft on shore without boat or sail; and how much less should we have done, said he, if any of us had been alone! Well, I desired him to abate his compliment, and go on with the history of their coming on shore, where they landed. He told me, they unhappily landed at a place where there were people without provisions; whereas, had they had the common sense to have put off to sea again, and gone to another island a little further, they had found provisions, though without people; there being an island that way, as they had been told, where there were provisions, though no people; that is to say, that the Spaniards of Trinidad had frequently been there, and filled the island with goats and hogs at several times; where they have bread in such multitudes, and where turtle and sea fowls were in such plenty, that they could have been in no want of flesh, though they had found no bread; whereas here they were only sustained with a few roots and

herbs, which they understood not, and which had no substance in them, and which the inhabitants gave them sparingly enough, and who could treat them no better, unless they would turn cannibals, and eat men's flesh, which was the great dainty of the country.

They gave me an account how many ways they strove to civilize the savages they were with, and to teach them rational customs in the ordinary way of living; but in vain: and how they retorted it upon them, as unjust, that they who came thither for assistance and support, should attempt to set up for instructors of those that gave them bread; intimating, it seems, that none should set up for the instructors of others, but those who could live without them.

They gave me dismal accounts of the extremities they were driven to; how sometimes they were many days without any food at all; the island they were upon being inhabited by a sort of savages that lived more indolent, and, for that reason, were less supplied with the necessaries of life, than they had reason to believe others were in the same part of the world; and yet they found that these savages were less ravenous and voracious, than those who had better supplies of food.

Also they added, that they could not but see with what demonstrations of wisdom and goodness, the governing Providence of GOD directs the event of things in the world; which, they said, appeared in their circumstances; for if, pressed by the hardships they were under, and the barrenness of the country where they were, they had searched

after a better place to live in, they had then been out of the way of the relief that happened to them by my means.

Then they gave me an account, how the savages, whom they lived among, expected them to go out with them into their wars; and it was true, that, as they had fire-arms with them, had they had not had the disaster to lose their ammunition, they should not have been serviceable only to their friends, but have made themselves terrible both to friends and enemies; but being without powder and shot, and in a condition, that they could not in reason deny to go out with their landlords to their wars; when they came in the field of battle, they were in a worse condition than the savages themselves; for they neither had bows nor arrows, nor could they use those the savages gave them; so that they could do nothing but stand still, and be wounded with arrows, till they came up to the teeth of their enemy; and then, indeed, the three halberts they had were of use to them; and they would often drive a whole little army before them, with those halberts and sharpened sticks put into the muzzles of their muskets: but that for all this, they were sometimes surrounded with multitudes, and in great danger from their arrows; till at last they found the way to make themselves large targets of wood, which they covered with skins of wild beasts, whose names they knew not; and these covered them from the arrows of the savages; that, notwithstanding these, they were sometimes in great danger, and were once five of them knocked down together, with the clubs of the savages,

which was the time when one of them was taken prisoner, that is to say, the Spaniard whom I had relieved. That at first they thought he had been killed, but when afterwards they heard he was taken prisoner, they were under the greatest grief imaginable, and would willingly have all ventured their lives to have rescued him.

They told me, that when they were so knocked down, the rest of their company rescued them, and stood over them fighting, till they were come to themselves, all but he who they thought had been dead; and then they made their way with their halberts and pieces, standing close together in a line, through a body of above a thousand savages, beating down all that came in their way, got the victory over their enemies, but to their great sorrow, because it was with the loss of their friend; whom the other party finding him alive, carried off with some others, as I gave an account in my former.

They described most affectionately, how they were surprised with joy at the return of their friend and companion in misery, who they thought had been devoured by wild beasts of the worst of kind, viz. by wild men; and, yet how more and more they were surprised with the account he gave them of his errand, and that there was a Christian in a place near, much more one that was able, and had humanity enough to contribute to their deliverance.

They described how they were astonished at the sight of the relief I sent them, and at the appearance of loaves of bread, things they had not seen since their coming to that miserable place; how

often they crossed it, and blessed it as bread sent from Heaven; and what a reviving cordial it was to their spirits to taste it; as also, of the other things I had sent for their supply. And, after all, they would have told me something of the joy they were in at the sight of a boat and pilots to carry them away to the person and place, from whence all these new comforts came; but they told me, it was impossible to express it by words; for their excessive joy driving them to unbecoming extravagancies, they had no way to describe them, but by telling me, that they bordered upon lunacy, having no way to give vent to their passion, suitable to the sense that was upon them; that in some it worked one way, and in some another; and that some of them, through a surprise of joy, would burst out into tears; others be half mad, and others immediately faint. This discourse extremely affected me, and called to my mind Friday's ecstasy, when he met his father, and the poor people's ecstasy, when I took them up at sea, after their ship was on fire; the mate of the ship's joy, when he found himself delivered in the place where he expected to perish; and my own joy, when after twenty-eight years captivity, I found a good ship ready to carry me to my own country.

All these things made me more sensible of the relation of these poor men, and more affected with it.

Having thus given a view of the state of things, as I found them, I must relate the heads of what I did for these people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion, and mine too,

that they would be troubled no more with the savages; or that, if they were, they would be able to cut them off, if they were twice as many as before; so that they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a serious discourse with the Spaniard, whom I called governor, about their stay in the island; for as I was not come to carry any of them off, so it would not be just to carry off some, and leave others, who perhaps would be unwilling to stay if their strength was diminished.

On the other hand, I told them, I came to establish them there, not to remove them; and then I let them know, that I had brought with me relief of sundry kinds for them. That I had been at a great charge to supply them with all things necessary, as well for their convenience, as their defence; and that I had such particular persons with me, as well to increase and recruit their number, as by the particular necessary employments which they were bred to, being artificers, to assist them in those things, in which, at present, they were to seek.

They were all together when I talked thus to them; and before I delivered to them the stores I had brought, I asked them, one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried the first animosities that had been among them, and could shake hands with one another, and engage in a strict friendship, and union of interest, so that there might be no more misunderstandings or jealousies.

William Atkins, with abundance of frankness and good-humour, said, They had met with afflic-

tions enough to make them all sober, and enemies enough to make them all friends. That, for his part, he would live and die with them; and was so far from designing any thing against the Spaniards, that, he owned, they had done nothing to him but what his own bad humour made necessary, and what he would have done, and, perhaps, much worse, in their case; and that he would ask them pardon, if I desired it, for the foolish and brutish things he had done to them; and was very willing and desirous of living on terms of entire friendship and union with them; and would do any thing that lay in his power to convince them of it: and as for going to England, he cared not if he did not go thither these twenty years.

The Spaniards said, they had, indeed, at first, disarmed and excluded William Atkins, and his two countrymen, for their ill conduct, as they had let me know. And they appealed to me, for the necessity they were under to do so; but that William Atkins had behaved himself so bravely in the great fight they had with the savages, and on several occasions since, and had shewed himself so faithful to, and concerned for the general interest of them all, that they had forgotten all that was past, and thought he merited as much to be trusted with arms, and supplied with necessaries, as any of them; and that they had testified their satisfaction in him, by committing the command to him, next to the governor himself; and as they had an entire confidence in him, and all his countrymen, so they acknowledged, they had merited that confidence, by all the methods that honest men could merit to

be valued and trusted: and they most heartily embraced the occasion of giving me this assurance, that they would never have any interest separate from one another.

Upon these frank and open declarations of friendship, we appointed the next day to dine all together; and indeed we made a splendid feast. I caused the ship's cook and his mate to come on shore, and dress our dinner; and the old cook's mate we had on shore, assisted. We brought on shore six pieces of good beef, and four pieces of pork, out of the ship's provision, with our punch bowl, and materials to fill it; and in particular, I gave them ten bottles of French claret, and ten bottles of English beer; things that neither the Spaniards, or the Englishmen, had tasted for many years; and which, it may be supposed, they were exceeding glad of.

The Spaniards added to our feast five whole kids, which the cooks roasted; and three of them were sent covered up close, on board our ship to the seamen, that they might feast on fresh meat from on shore, as we did with their salt meat from on board.

After this feast, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods, wherein, that there might be no dispute about dividing, I shewed them that there was sufficient for them all; and desired, that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing; that is to say, equal when made up. At first, I distributed linen sufficient to make every one of them four shirts; and, at the Spaniard's request,

afterwards made them up six; these were exceeding comfortable to them, having been what, as I may say, they had long since forgot the use of, or what it was to wear them.

I allotted the thin English stuffs, which I mentioned before, to make every one a light coat, like a frock, which I judged fittest for the heat of the season, cool and loose; and ordered, that whenever they decayed, they should make more, as they thought fit. The like for pumps, shoes, stockings, and hats, &c.

I cannot express what pleasure, what satisfaction, sat upon the countenances of all these poor men, when they saw the care I had taken of them, and how well I had furnished them: they told me, I was a father to them; and that, having such a correspondent as I was, in so remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a desolate place; and they all voluntarily engaged to me, not to leave the place without my consent.

Then I presented to them the people I had brought with me; particularly the tailor, the smith, and the two carpenters, all of them most necessary people; but above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name any thing that was more needful to them; and the tailor, to shew his concern for them, went to work immediately, and with my leave, made them every one a shirt the first thing he did; and, which was still more, he taught the women not only how to sow and stitch, and use the needle, but made them assist to make the shirts for their husbands, and for all the rest.

As for the carpenters, I scarce need mention how useful they were, for they took in pieces all my clumsy, unhandy things, and made them clever, convenient tables, stools, bedsteads, cupboards, lockers, shelves, and every thing they wanted of that kind.

But, to let them see how nature made artificers at first, I carried the carpenters to see William Atkins's basket-house, as I called it; and they both owned, they never saw an instance of such natural ingenuity before; nor any thing so regular, and so handily built, at least of its kind: and one of them, when he saw it, after musing a good while, turning about to me, I am sure, says he, that man has no need of us; you need do nothing but give him tools.

Then I brought them out all my store of tools, and gave every man a digging spade, a shovel, and a rake, for we had no harrows or ploughs; and, to every separate place, a pick-axe, a crow, a broad-axe, and a saw; always appointing, that as often as any were broken, or worn out, they should be supplied, without grudging, out of the general stores that I left behind.

Nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chisels, knives, scissars, and all sorts of tools and iron-work, they had without tale, as they required; for no man would care to take more than they wanted; and he must be a fool that would waste or spoil them, on any account whatever. And for the use of the smith, I left two tons of unwrought iron for a supply.

My magazine of powder and arms, which I

brought them, was such even to profusion, that they could not but rejoice at them; for now they could march as I used to do, with a musket upon each shoulder, if there was occasion; and were able to fight 1000 savages, if they had but some little advantages of situation; which also they could not miss of, if they had occasion.

I carried on shore with me the young man whose mother was starved to death, and the maid also; she was a sober, well-educated, religious young woman, and behaved so inoffensively, that every one gave her a good word. She had, indeed, an unhappy life with us, there being no woman in the ship but herself; but she bore it with patience. After a while, seeing things so well ordered, and in so fine a way of thriving upon my island, and considering that they had neither business or acquaintance in the East Indies, or reason for taking so long a voyage; I say, considering all this, both of them came to me, and desired I would give them leave to remain on the island, and be entered among my family, as they called it.

I agreed to it readily; and they had a little plot of ground allotted to them, where they had three tents or houses set up, surrounded with a basket-work, palisaded like Atkins's, and adjoining to his plantation; their tents were contrived so, that they had each of them a room, a part to lodge in, and a middle tent, like a great store-house, to lay all their goods in, and to eat and drink in. And now the other two Englishmen moved their habitation to the same place; and so the island was divided into three colonies, and no more; viz. The Spaniards,

with old Friday, and the first servants, at my old habitation under the hill, which was, in a word, the capital city, and where they had so enlarged and extended their works, as well under as on the out-side of the hill, that they lived, though perfectly concealed, yet full at large. Never was there such a little city in a wood, and so hid, I believe, in any part of the world. For I verily believe, 1000 men might have ranged the island a month, and, if they had not known there was such a thing, and looked on purpose for it, they would not have found it; for the trees stood so thick, and so close, and grew so fast matted into one another, that nothing but cutting them down first could discover the place, except the two narrow entrances where they went in and out, could be found; which was not very easy. One of them was just down at the water's edge, on the side of the creek; and it was afterwards above 200 yards to the place; and the other was up the ladder at twice, as I have already formerly described it; and they had a large wood, thick planted, also on the top of the hill, which contained above an acre, which grew apace, and covered the place from all discovery there, with only one narrow place between two trees, not easy to be discovered, to enter on that side.

The other colony was that of Will Atkins's, where there were four families of Englishmen, I mean those I had left there, with their wives and children; three savages, that were slaves, the widow and children of the Englishman that was killed; the young man and the maid; and, by the

way, we made a wife of her also, before we went away. There were also the two carpenters and the tailor, who I brought with me for them; also the smith, who was a very necessary man to them, especially as the gunsmith, to take care of their arms; and my other man, whom I called Jack of all trades; who was himself as good almost as twenty men, for he was not only a very ingenious fellow, but a very merry fellow; and, before I went away, we married him to the honest maid that came with the youth in the ship, whom I mentioned before.

And now I speak of marrying, it brings me naturally to say something of the French ecclesiastic that I had brought with me out of the ship's crew, whom I took at sea. It is true, this man was a Roman, and perhaps, it may give offence to some hereafter, if I leave any thing extraordinary upon record, of a man, whom, before I begin, I must (to set him out in just colours) represent in terms very much to his disadvantage, in the account of Protestants; as first, that he was a Papist; secondly, a Popish priest; and thirdly, a French Popish priest.

But justice demands of me to give him a due character; and I must say, he was a grave, sober, pious, and most religious person; exact in his life, extensive in his charity, and exemplary in almost every thing he did. What, then, can any one say against my being very sensible of the value of such a man, notwithstanding his profession? Though it may be my opinion, perhaps, as well as the opinion of others, who shall read this, that he was mistaken.

The first hour that I began to converse with him, after he had agreed to go with me to the East Indies, I found reason to delight exceedingly in his conversation. And he first began with me about religion, in the most obliging manner imaginable.

Sir, says he, you have not only, under GOD (and at that he crossed his breast) saved my life, but you have admitted me to go this voyage in your ship, and by your obliging civility, have taken me into your family, giving me an opportunity of free conversation. Now, Sir, says he, you see by my habit what my profession is; and I guess by your nation, what your's is: I may think it is my duty, and doubtless it is so, to use my utmost endeavours, on all occasions, to bring all the souls that I can to the knowledge of the truth, and to embrace the Catholic doctrine; but, as I am here under your permission, and in your family, I am bound in justice to your kindness, as well as in decency and good manners, to be under your government; and therefore I shall not, without your leave, enter into any debates on the points of religion, in which we may not agree, further than you shall give me leave.

I told him, his carriage was so modest, that I could not but acknowledge it; that it was true, we were such people as they call heretics; but that he was not the first Catholic that I had conversed with, without falling into any inconveniences, or carrying the questions to any height in debate; that he should not find himself the worse used for being of a different opinion from

us; and if we did not converse without any dislike on either side, upon that score, it would be his fault, not ours.

He replied, That he thought our conversation might be easily separated from disputes; that it was not his business to cap principles with every man he discoursed with; and that he rather desired me to converse with him as a gentleman, than as a religieux; that if I would give him leave, at any time to discourse upon religious subjects, he would readily comply with it; and that then he did not doubt but I would allow him also to defend his own opinions, as well as he could: but that, without my leave, he would not break in upon me with any such thing.

He told me further, that he would not cease to do all that became him in his office, as a priest, as well as a private Christian, to procure the goods of the ship, and the safety of all that was in her; and though, perhaps, we would not join with him, and he could not pray with us, he hoped he might pray for us, which he would do upon all occasions. In this manner we conversed; and, as he was of a most obliging gentlemanlike behaviour, so he was, if I may be allowed to say so, a man of good sense, and, as I believe, of great learning.

He gave me a most diverting account of his life, and of the many extraordinary events of it; of many adventures which had befallen him in the few years that he had been abroad in the world, and particularly this was very remarkable; viz. That during the voyage he was now engaged in, he had the misfortune to be five times shipped and

unshipped, and never to go to the place whither any of the ships he was in were at first designed. That his first intent was, to have gone to Martinico; and that he went on board a ship bound thither at St. Maloes; but being forced into Lisbon in bad weather, the ship received some damage, by running aground in the mouth of the river Tagus, and was obliged to unload her cargo there. That finding a Portuguese ship there, bound to the Madeiras, and ready to sail, and supposing he should easily meet with a vessel there bound to Martinico, he went on board, in order to sail to the Madeiras; but the master of the Portuguese ship, being but an indifferent mariner, had been out of his reckoning, and they drove to Fial; where, however, he happened to find a very good market for his cargo, which was corn; and therefore resolved not to go to the Madeiras, but to load salt at the Isle of May, to go away to Newfoundland. He had no remedy in the exigence, but to go with the ship; and had a pretty good voyage as far as the Banks, (so they call the place where they catch the fish) where meeting with a French ship bound from France to Quebec, in the river of Canada, and from thence to Martinico, to carry provisions, he thought he should have an opportunity to complete his first design. But when he came to Quebec, the master of the ship died, and the ship proceeded no further. So the next voyage he shipped himself for France, in the ship that was burnt, when we took them up at sea, and then shipped them with us for the East Indies, as I have already said. Thus he had been disappointed in five voyages, all,

as I may call it, in one voyage, besides what I shall have occasion to mention further of the same person.

But I shall not make digressions into other men's stories, which have no relation to my own. I return to what concerns our affair in the island. He came to me one morning, for he lodged among us all the while we were upon the island; and it happened to be just when I was going to visit the Englishmen's colony, at the furthest part of the island; I say, he came to me, and told me, with a very grave countenance, that he had, for two or three days, desired an opportunity of some discourse with me, which, he hoped, would not be displeasing to me, because he thought it might, in some measure, correspond with my general design, which was the prosperity of my new colony; and, perhaps, might put it, at least, more than he yet thought it was, in the way of GOD's blessing.

I looked a little surprised at the last part of his discourse; and turning a little short, How, Sir, said I, can it be said, that we are not in the way of GOD's blessing, after such visible assistances, and wonderful deliverances, as we have seen here, and of which I have given you a large account?

If you had pleased, Sir, says he, (with a world of modesty, and yet with great readiness) to have heard me, you would have found no room to have been displeased, much less to think so hard of me that I should suggest, that you have not had wonderful assistances and deliverances. And, I hope, on your behalf, that you are in the way of GOD's blessing, and your design is exceeding good, and

will prosper. But, Sir, said he, though it were more so, than is even possible to you, yet there may be some among you that are not equally right in their actions. And you know, that in the story of Israel, one Achan, in the camp, removed GOD's blessing from them, and turned his hand so against them, that thirty-six of them, though not concerned in the crime, were the objects of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of that punishment.

I was sensibly touched with this discourse; and told him his inference was so just, and the whole design seemed so sincere, and was really so religious in its own nature, that I was very sorry I had interrupted him; and begged him to go on. And, in the mean time, because it seemed, that what we had both to say, might take up some time, I told him I was going to the Englishman's plantation, and asked him to go with me, and we might discourse of it by the way. He told me, he would more willingly wait on me thither, because there, partly, the thing was acted, which he desired to speak to me about. So we walked on, and I pressed him to be free and plain with me, in what he had to say.

Why then, Sir, says he, be pleased to give me leave to lay down a few propositions, as the foundation of what I have to say, that we may not differ in the general principles, though we may be of some differing opinions in the practice of particulars. First, Sir, though we differ in some of the doctrinal articles of religion, and it is very unhappy that it is so, especially in the case before us, as I

shall shew afterwards; yet, there are some general principles in which we both agree; viz. First, that there is a GOD; and that this GOD, having given us some stated general rules for our service and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend him, either by neglecting to do what he has commanded, or by doing what has expressly forbidden; and let our different religions be what they will, this general principle is readily owned by us all. That the blessing of GOD does not ordinarily follow a presumptuous sinning against his command; and every good Christian will be affectionately concerned to prevent any that are under his care, living in a total neglect of GOD and his commands. It is not your men being Protestants, whatever my opinion may be of such, that discharges me from being concerned for their souls, and from endeavouring, if it lies before me, that they should live in as little distance from, and enmity with their Maker as possible; especially if you give me leave to meddle so far in your circuit.

I could not yet imagine what he aimed at, and told him I granted all he had said; and thanked him, that he would so far concern himself for us; and begged he would explain the particulars of what he had observed, that, like Joshua, (to take his own parable) I might put away the accursed thing from us.

Why then, Sir, says he, I will take the liberty you give me; and there are three things, which, if I am right, must stand in the way of GOD's blessing upon your endeavours here, and which I

should rejoice, for your sake, and their own, to see removed. And, Sir, says he, I promise myself that you will fully agree with me in them all, as soon as I name them; especially, because I shall convince you, that every one of them may, with great ease, and very much to your satisfaction, be remedied.

He gave me no leave to put in any more civilities, but went on. First, Sir, says he, you have here four Englishmen, who have fetched women from among the savages, and have taken them as their wives, and have had many children by them all, and yet are not married to them after any stated legal manner, as the laws of GOD and man require; and therefore are yet, in the sense of both, no less than adulterers, and living in adultery. To this, Sir, says he, I know you will object, that there was no clergymen, or priest of any kind, or of any profession, to perform the ceremony: nor any pen and ink, or paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it signed between them. And I know also, Sir, what the Spaniard governor has told you; I mean, of the agreement that he obliged them to make when they took these women, viz. That they should chuse them out by consent, and keep separately to them; which, by the way, is nothing of a marriage, no agreement with the women as wives, but only an agreement among themselves, to keep them from quarrelling.

But, Sir, the essence of the sacrament of matrimony (so he called it, being a Roman) consists not only in the mutual consent of the parties to take

one another as man and wife, but in the formal and legal obligation that there is in the contract, to compel the man and woman, at all times, to own and acknowledge each other; obliging the man to abstain from all the other women, to engage in no other contract while these subsist; and on all occasions, as ability allows, to provide honestly for them, and their children; and to oblige the women to the same, or like conditions, mutatis mutandis, on their side.

Now, Sir, says he, these men may, when they please, or when occasion presents, abandon these women, disown their children, leave them to perish, and take other women, and marry them whilst these are living. And here he added, with some warmth, How, Sir, is GOD honoured in this unlawful liberty? And how shall a blessing succeed your endeavours in this place, however good in themselves, and however sincere in your design, while these men, who at present are your subjects, under your absolute government and dominion, are allowed by you to live in open adultery?

I confess, I was struck at the thing itself, but much more with the convincing arguments he supported it with: for it was certainly true, that though they had no clergyman on the spot, yet a formal contract on both sides, made before witnesses, and confirmed by any token, which they had all agreed to be bound by, though it had been but the breaking a stick between them, engaging the men to own these women for their wives upon all occasions, and never to abandon them or their

children, and the women to the same with their husbands, had been an effectual lawful marriage in the sight of GOD; and it was a great neglect that it was not done.

But I thought to have gotten off with my young priest, by telling him, that all that part was done when I was not here; and they had lived so many years with them now, that if it was adultery, it was past remedy; they could do nothing in it now.

Sir, says he, asking your pardon for such freedom, you are right in this; that it being done in your absence, you could not be charged with that part of the crime. But I beseech you, flatter not yourself, that you are not therefore under an obligation to do your uttermost now to put an end to it. How can you think, but that, let the time past lie on whom it will, all the guilt, for the future, will lie entirely upon you? Because it is certainly in your power now to put an end to it; and in nobody's power but your's.

I was so dull still, that I did not take him right; but I imagined, that, by putting an end to it, he meant, that I should part them, and not suffer them to live together any longer; and I said to him, I could not do that by any means, for that it would put the whole island in confusion. He seemed surprised that I should so far mistake him. No, Sir, says he, I do not mean that you should separate them, but legally and effectually marry them now. And, Sir, as my way of marrying may not be so easy to reconcile them to, though it will be as effectual, even by your own laws; so your way may be as well before GOD, and as valid among men; I

mean, by a written contract, signed by both man and woman, and by all the witnesses present; which all the laws of Europe would decree to be valid.

I was amazed to see so much true piety, and so much sincerity of zeal, besides the unusual impartiality in his discourse, as to his own party or church, and such a true warmth for the preserving people that he had no knowledge of, or relation to; I say, for preserving them from transgressing the laws of GOD; the like of which I had indeed not met with any where. But recollecting what he had said of marrying them by a written contract, which I knew would stand too, I returned it back upon him, and told him, I granted all that he had said to be just, and, on his part, very kind; that I would discourse with the men upon the point now, when I came to them. And I knew no reason why they should scruple to let him marry them all; which I knew well enough would be granted to be as authentic and valid in England, as if they were married by one of our own clergymen. What was afterwards done in this matter, I shall speak of by itself.

I then pressed him to tell me, what was the second complaint which he had to make; acknowledging, that I was very much his debtor for the first; and thanked him heartily for it. He told me he would use the same freedom and plainness in the second; and hoped I would take it as well: and this was, that notwithstanding these English subjects of mine, as he called them, had lived with these women for almost seven years, and had taught them to speak English, and even to read it; and that they were, as he perceived, women of

tolerable understanding, and capable of instruction; yet they had not to this hour taught them any thing of the Christian religion; no, not so much as to know that there was a GOD, or a worship, or in what manner GOD was to be served; or that their own idolatry, and worshipping they knew not who, was false and absurd.

This, he said, was an unaccountable neglect, and what GOD would certainly call them to an account for; and, perhaps, at last take the work out of their hands. He spoke this very affectionately and warmly. I am persuaded, says he, had those men lived in the savage country, whence their wives came, the savages would have taken more pains to have brought them to be idolaters, and to worship the devil, than any of these men, so far as I can see, has taken with them, to teach them the knowledge of the true GOD. Now, Sir, said he, though I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we should be all glad to see the devil's servants, and the subjects of his kingdom, taught to know the general principles of the Christian religion; that they might at least hear of GOD, and of a Redeemer, and of the resurrection, and of a future state, things which we all believe; they had at least been so much nearer coming into the bosom of the true church, than they are now, in the public profession of idolatry, and devil-worship.

I could hold no longer; I took him in my arms, and embraced him with an excess of passion; How far, said I to him, have I been from understanding the most essential part of a Christian, viz. to love the interest of the Christian church, and the good

of other men's souls! I scarce have known what belongs to being a Christian. O, Sir, do not say so, replied he; this thing is not your fault. No, said I, but why did I never lay it to heart as well as you? It is not too late yet, said he; be not too forward to condemn yourself. But what can be done now? said I, you see I am going away. Will you give me leave, said he, to talk with these poor men about it? Yes, with all my heart, said I; and I will oblige them to give heed to what you say too. As to that, said he, we must leave them to the mercy of Christ; but it is our business to assist them, encourage them, and instruct them; and, if you will give me leave, and GOD his blessing, I do not doubt but the poor ignorant souls shall be brought home into the great circle of Christianity, if not into the particular faith that we all embrace; and that even while you stay here. Upon this, I said, I shall not only give you leave, but give you a thousand thanks for it. What followed on this account I shall mention also again in its place.

I now pressed him for the third article in which we were to blame: Why really, says he, it is of the same nature, and I will proceed (asking your leave) with the same plainness as before: It is about your poor savages yonder, who are (as I may say) your conquered subjects. It is a maxim, Sir, that is, or ought to be received among all Christians, of what church, or pretended church soever, viz. that Christian knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible means, and on all possible occasions. It is on this principle that our church sends missionaries into Persia, India, and

China; and that our clergy, even of the superior sort, willingly engage in the most hazardous voyages, and the most dangerous residence, among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true GOD, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian faith. Now, Sir, you have an opportunity here, to have six or seven-and thirty poor savages brought over from idolatry to the knowledge of GOD, their Maker and Redeemer, that I wonder how you can pass by such an occasion of doing good; which is really worth the expense of a man's whole life.

I was now struck dumb indeed, and had not one word to say: I had here a spirit of true Christian zeal for GOD and religion before me, let his particular principles be of what kind soever. As for me, I had not so much as entertained a thought of this in my heart before; and, I believe, should not have thought of it; for I looked upon these savages as slaves, and people, whom, had we any work for them to do, we would have used as such, or would have been glad to have transported them to any other part of the world; for our business was to get rid of them; and we would all have been satisfied, if they had been sent to any country, so they had never seen their own. But, to the case: I say, I was confounded at his discourse, and knew not what answer to make him. He looked earnestly at me, seeing me in some disorder: Sir, said he, I shall be very sorry, if what I have said gives you any offence. No, no, said I, I am offended with nobody but myself; but I am perfectly confounded, not only to think that I

should never take any notice of this before, but with reflecting what notice I am able to take of it now. You know, Sir, said I, what circumstances I am in; I am bound to the East Indies, in a ship freighted by merchants, and to whom it would be an insufferable piece of injustice to detain their ship here, the men lying all this while at victuals and wages upon the owner's account: it is true, I agreed to be allowed twelve days here; and if I stay more, I must pay 3l. sterling per diem demurrage; nor can I stay upon demurrage above eight days more; and I have been here thirteen days already; so that I am perfectly unable to engage in this work, unless I would suffer myself to be left behind here again; in which case, if this single ship should miscarry in any part of her voyage, I should be just in the same condition that I was left in here at first; and from which I have been so wonderfully delivered.

He owned the case was very hard upon me as to my voyage; but laid it home upon my conscience, whether the blessing of saving seven-and-thirty souls, was not worth my venturing all I had in the world for? I was not so sensible of that as he was: and I returned upon him thus: Why, Sir, it is a valuable thing indeed, to be an instrument in God's hand, to convert seven-and-thirty heathens to the knowledge of Christ; but as you are an ecclesiastic, and are given over to that work, so that it seems naturally to fall into the way of your profession, how is it then, that you do not rather offer yourself to undertake it, than press me to it?

Upon this he faced about, just before me, as he walked along, and, putting me to a full stop, made me a very low bow. I most heartily thank GOD, and you, Sir, says he for giving me so evident a call to so blessed a work; and if you think yourself discharged from it, and desire me to undertake it, I will most readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and difficulties of such a broken, disappointed voyage as I have met with, that I have dropped at last into so glorious a work.

I discovered a kind of rapture in his face, while he spoke this to me; his eyes sparkled like fire, his face glowed, and his colour came and went, as if he had been falling into fits: in a word, he was fired with the joy of being embarked in such a work. I paused a considerable while before I could tell what to say to him; for I was really surprised to find a man of such sincerity and zeal, and carried out in his zeal beyond the ordinary rate of men, not of his profession only, but even of any profession whatsoever: but, after I had considered it a while, I asked him seriously, if he was in earnest, and that he would venture on the single consideration of an attempt on those poor people, to be locked up in an unplanted island for, perhaps, his life; and at last, might not know whether he should be able to do them any good or not?

He turned short upon me, and asked me, what I called a venture? Pray, Sir, said he, what do you think I consented to go in your ship to the East Indies for? Nay, said I, that I know not, un-

less it was to preach to the Indians. Doubtless it was, said he. And do you think, if I can convert these seven-and-thirty men to the faith of Christ, it is not worth my time, though I should never be fetched off the island again? Nay, is it not infinitely of more worth to save so many souls, than my life is, or the life of twenty more of the same profession? Yes, Sir, says he, I would give Christ and the Blessed Virgin thanks all my days, if I could be made the least happy instrument of saving the souls of these poor men, though I was never to set my foot off this island, or see my native country any more: but since you will honour me, says he, with putting me into this work, (for which I will pray for you all the days of my life) I have one humble petition to you, said he, besides. What is that? said I. Why, says he, it is, that you will leave your man Friday with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to assist me; for, without some help, I cannot speak to them, or they to me.

I was sensibly troubled at his requesting Friday, because I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reasons: he had been the companion of my travels; he was not only faithful to me, but sincerely affectionate to the last degree; and I had resolved to do something considerable for him, if he out-lived me, as it was probable he would: then I knew, that as I had bred Friday up to be a Protestant, it would quite confound him, to bring him to embrace another profession; and he would never, while his eyes were open, believe that his old master was an heretic, and

would be damned; and this might in the end ruin the poor fellow's principles, and so turn him back again to his first idolatry.

However, a sudden thought relieved me in this strait, and it was this: I told him, I could not say that I was willing to part with Friday on any account whatever; though a work, that to him was of more value than his life, ought to me to be of much more value than the keeping or parting with a servant. But, on the other hand, I was persuaded, that Friday would by no means consent to part with me; and then to force him to it, without his consent, would be manifest injustice; because I had promised I would never put him away; and he had promised and engaged to me that he would never leave me, unless I put him away.

He seemed very much concerned at it; for he had no rational access to these poor people, seeing he did not understand one word of their language, nor they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told him, Friday's father had learned Spanish, which I found he also understood; and he should serve him for an interpreter: so he was much better satisfied, and nothing could persuade him but he would stay to endeavour to convert them; but Providence gave another and very happy turn to all this.

I come back now to the first part of his objections. When we came to the Englishmen, I sent for them all together; and after some accounts given them of what I had done for them, viz. what necessary things I had provided for them, and

how they were distributed, which they were sensible of, and very thankful for; I began to talk to them of the scandalous life they led, and gave them a full account of the notice the clergyman had already taken of it; and, arguing how unchristian and irreligious a life it was, I first asked them, if they were married men or bachelors? They soon explained their condition to m and shewed me that two of them were widow and the other three were single men or bach I asked them, with what conscience the take these women, and lie with them, a had done, call them their wives, and have so children by them, and not be married law them?

They all gave me the answer that I viz. that there was nobody to marry they agreed before the governor to their wives; and to keep them, and their wives; and they thought, a with them, they were as legally m had been married by a parson, a formalities in the world,

I told them, that no doubt nd in conse the sight of GOD, and wer ut that the laws of to keep them as their wiv might pretend they men being otherwise, th rt the poor women were not married, and so and children hereafter; and that their wives, being poor desolate women, friendless and moneyless, would have no way to help themselves. I therefore told them, that unless I was assured of their honest intent, I could do nothing for them;

but would take care, that what I did should be for the women and children, without them; and that unless they would give some assurances that they would marry the women, I could not think it was convenient they should continue together as man and wife; for that it was both scandalous to men, and offensive to God, who they could not think would bless them if they went on thus.

All this passed as I expected; and they told me, ...ally Will Atkins, who seemed now to speak ...rest, that they loved their wives as well as ...had been born in their own native country, ...would not leave them upon any account what... ...nd they did verily believe their wives were ...us and as modest, and did, to the utmost ...ill, as much for them, and for their chil... ...women could possibly do; and they ...t with them on any account. And ...or his own particular, added, if any ...e him away, and offer to carry him ..., and to make him captain of the ...n the navy, he would not go with ...not carry his wife and children ... ...here was a clergyman in the ... he would b... ...ried to her now, with all his heart.

This was just as ...ld ha... ...t; the priest was not with me at th... ...oment, b... ...was not far off. So, to try him further, I told him ... had a clergyman with me, and, if he was sincere, I would have him married the next morning; and ...ade him consider of it, and talk with the rest. He said, as for himself, he need not consider of it at all; for he

was very ready to do it, and was glad I had a minister with me; and he believed they would be all willing also. I then told him, that my friend, the minister, was a Frenchman, and could not speak English; but that I would act the clerk between them. He never so much as asked me whether he was a Papist or Protestant; which was indeed what I was afraid of. But, I say, they never inquired about it. So we parted. I went back to my clergyman; and Will Atkins went in to talk with his companions. I desired the French gentleman not to say any thing to them till the business was thorough ripe; and I told him what answer the men had given me.

Before I went from their quarter, they all came to me, and told me, they had been considering what I had said; that they were very glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company; and they were very willing to give me the satisfaction I desired, and to be formally married as soon as I pleased; for they were far from desiring to part from their wives; and that they meant nothing but what was very honest, when they chose them: so I appointed them to meet me the next morning; and that, in the mean time, they should let their wives know the meaning of the marriage law; and that it was not only to prevent any scandal, but also to oblige them, that they should not forsake them, whatever might happen.

The women were easily made sensible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well satisfied with it, as, indeed, they had reason to be; so they failed not to attend all together, at my apartment,

the next morning, where I brought out my clergyman: and though he had not on a minister's gown, after the manner of England, or the habit of a priest, after the manner of France; yet having a black vest, something like a cassock, with a sash round it, he did not look very unlike a minister; and as for his language, I was interpreter.

But the seriousness of his behaviour to them, and the scruples he made of marrying the women, because they were not baptized, and professed Christians, gave them an exceeding reverence for his person; and there was no need after that to inquire whether he was a clergyman or no.

Indeed I was afraid his scruple would have been carried so far, as that he would not have married them at all: nay, notwithstanding all I was able to say to him, he resisted me, though modestly, yet very steadily; and at last, refused absolutely to marry them, unless he had first talked with the men, and the women too; and though at first I was a little backward to it, yet at last I agreed to it with a good will, perceiving the sincerity of his design.

When he came to them, he let them know that I had acquainted him with their circumstances, and with the present design; that he was very willing to perform that part of his function, and marry them, as I had desired; but that before he could do it, he must take the liberty to talk with them; he told them, that in the sight of all different men, and in the sense of the laws of society, they had lived all this while in an open adultery; and that it was true that nothing but the consenting to

marry, or effectually separating them from one another now, could put an end to it; but there was a difficulty in it too, with respect to the laws of Christian matrimony, which he was not fully satisfied about, viz. That of marrying one that is a professed Christian, to a savage, an idolater, and an heathen, one that is not baptized; and yet that he did not see, that there was time left for it, to endeavour to persuade the women to be baptized, or to profess the name of Christ, whom they had, he doubted, heard nothing of, and without which they could not be baptized.

He told me, he doubted they were but indifferent Christians themselves; that they had but little knowledge of GOD, or his ways; and therefore he could not expect, that they had said much to their wives on that head yet; but that unless they would promise him to use their endeavours with their wives, to persuade them to become Christians, and would as well as they could instruct them in the knowledge and belief of GOD that made them, and to worship Jesus Christ that redeemed them, he could not marry them; for he would have no hand in joining Christians with savages; nor was it consistent with the principles of the Christian religion; and was, indeed, expressly forbidden in GOD's law.

They heard all this very attentively, and I delivered it very faithfully to them, from his mouth, as near his own words as I could, only sometimes adding something of my own, to convince them how just it was, and how I was of his mind. And I always very faithfully distinguished between what

I said from myself, and what were the clergyman's words. They told me, it was very true what the gentleman had said, that they were but very indifferent Christians themselves, and that they had never talked to their wives about religion. Lord, Sir, says Will Atkins, how should we teach them religion? Why, we know nothing ourselves; and besides, Sir, said he, should we go to talk to them of God, and Jesus Christ, and heaven and hell, it would be to make them laugh at us, and ask us, what we believe ourselves? And if we should tell them, we believe all the things that we speak of to them, such as of good people going to heaven, and wicked people to the devil, they would ask us, where we intended to go ourselves, who believe all this, and yet are such wicked fellows, as we indeed are. Why, Sir, said Will, it is enough to give them a surfeit of religion, at first hearing: folks must have some religion themselves, before they pretend to teach other people.—Will Atkins, said I to him, though I am afraid what you say has too much truth in it, yet can you not tell your wife, that she is in the wrong? that there is God, and a religion better than her own; that her gods are idols; that they can neither hear nor speak; that there is a great Being that made all things, and that can destroy all that he has made; that he rewards the good, and punishes the bad; that we are to be judged by him, at last, for all we do here: you are not so ignorant, but even nature itself will teach you, that all this is true; and I am satisfied you know it all to be true, and believe it yourself.

That is true, Sir, said Atkins; but with what face can I say any thing to my wife of all this, when she will tell me immediately, it cannot be true?

Not true! said I,—what do you mean by that? Why, Sir, said he, she will tell me it cannot be true, that this God (I shall tell her of) can be just, or can punish or reward, since I am not punished, and sent to the devil, that have been such a wicked creature as she knows I have been, even to her, and to every body else; and that I should be suffered to live, that have been always acting so contrary to what I must tell her is good, and to what I ought to have done.

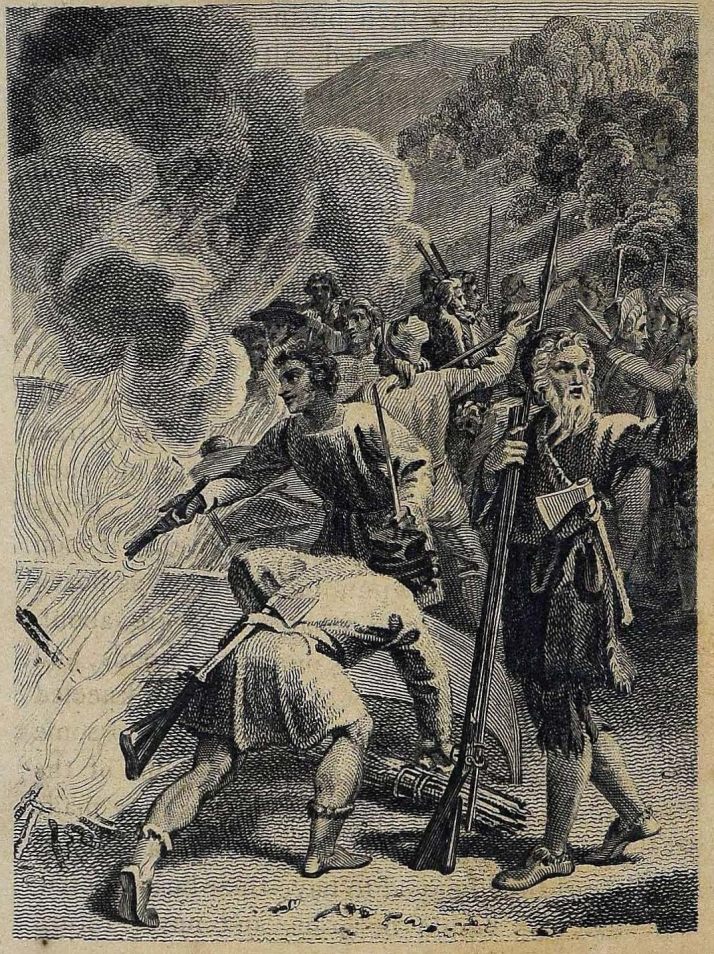
Why truly, Atkins, said I, I am afraid thou speakest too much truth: and with that I let the clergyman know what Atkins had said; for he was impatient to know. O! said the priest, tell him there is one thing will make him the best minister in the world to his wife, and that is repentance; for none teach repentance like true penitents. He wants nothing but to repent, and then he will be so much the better qualified to instruct his wife; he will then be able to tell her, that there is not only a God, and that he is the just rewarder of good and evil; but that he is a merciful Being, and, with infinite goodness and long suffering, forbears to punish those that offend; waiting to be gracious, and willing not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should return and live; that he often suffers wicked men to go on a long time, and even reserves damnation to the general day of retribution: that it is a clear evidence of God, and of a

future state, that righteous men receive not their reward, or wicked men their punishment, till they come into another world; and this will lead him to teach his wife the doctrine of the resurrection, and of the last judgment: let him but repent for himself, he will be an excellent preacher of repentance to his wife.

I repeated all this to Atkins, who looked very serious all the while, and who, we could easily perceive, was more than ordinarily affected with it: when being eager, and hardly suffering me to make an end—I knew, all this, master, says he, and a great deal more; but I have not the impudence to talk thus to my wife: when GOD, and my own conscience knows, and my wife will be an undeniable evidence against me, that I have lived as if I had never heard of GOD, or a future state, or any thing about it; and to talk of my repenting, alas! (and with that he fetched a deep sigh; and I could see that tears stood in his eyes) it is past all that with me. Past it! Atkins, said I. What dost thou mean by that? I know well enough what I mean, Sir, says he; I mean it is too late; and that it is too true.

I told my clergyman word for word what he said: the poor zealous priest (I must call him so; for be his opinion what it will, he had certainly a most singular affection for the good of other men's souls; and it would be hard to think he had not the like for his own; I say, this zealous, affectionate man) could not refrain tears also. But recovering himself, he said to me, Ask him but one question. Is he easy that it is too late, or is he

167
~~166~~



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troubled, and wishes it were not so? I put the question fairly to Atkins; and he answered with a great deal of passion, How could any man be easy in a condition that certainly must end in eternal destruction? That he was far from being easy; but that, on the contrary, he believed it would one time or the other ruin him.

What do you mean by that? said I. Why, he said, he believed he should one time or another, cut his own throat, to put an end to the terror of it.

The clergyman shook his head, with a great concern in his face, when I told him all this; but, turning quick to me upon it, said, If that be his case, you may assure him it is not too late: Christ will give him repentance. But pray, says he, explain this to him, That as no man is saved but by Christ, and the merit of his passion, procuring divine mercy for him, how can it be too late for any man to receive mercy? Does he think he is able to sin beyond the power or reach of divine mercy? Pray tell him, There may be a time when provoked mercy will no longer strive, and when God may refuse to hear; but that it is never too late for men to ask mercy; and we that are Christ's servants are commanded to preach mercy at all times, in the name of Jesus Christ, to all those that sincerely repent: so that it is never too late to repent.

I told Atkins all this, and he heard me with great earnestness; but it seemed as if he turned off the discourse to the rest; for he said to me, he would go and have some talk with his wife: so he

went out awhile, and we talked to the rest. I perceived they were all stupidly ignorant, as to matters of religion; much as I was when I went rambling away from my father: and yet that there were none of them backward to hear what had been said; and all of them seriously promised, that they would talk with their wives about it, and do their endeavour to persuade them to turn Christians.

The clergyman smiled upon me, when I reported what answer they gave, but said nothing a good while; but, at last, shaking his head, We that are Christ's servants, says he, can go no further than to exhort and instruct; and when men comply, submit to the reproof, and promise what we ask, 'tis all we can do; we are bound to accept their good words; but, believe me, Sir, said he, whatever you may have known of the life of that man you call William Atkins, I believe he is the only sincere convert among them; I take that man to be a true penitent; I will not despair of the rest; but that man is perfectly struck with the sense of his past life; and I doubt not, but when he comes to talk of religion to his wife, he will talk himself effectually into it; for attempting to teach others is sometimes the best way of teaching ourselves. I knew a man, added he, who having nothing but a summary notion of religion himself, and being wicked and profligate, to the last degree, in his life, made a thorough reformation in himself, by labouring to convert a Jew: and if that poor Atkins begins but once to talk seriously

of Jesus Christ to his wife, my life for it, he talks himself into a thorough convert, makes himself a penitent: and who knows what may follow?

Upon this discourse, however, and their promising, as above, to endeavour to persuade their wives to embrace Christianity, he married the other three couple; but Will Atkins and his wife were not yet come in. After this, my clergyman, waiting a while, was curious to know where Atkins was gone; and, turning to me, says he, I entreat you, Sir, let us walk out of your labyrinth here, and look; I dare say we shall find this poor man somewhere or other, talking seriously with his wife, and teaching her already something of religion. I began to be of the same mind; so we went out together; and I carried him a way which none knew but myself, and where the trees were so thick set, as that it was not easy to see through the thicket of leaves, and far harder to see in, than to see out; when coming to the edge of the wood, I saw Atkins, and his tawny savage wife, sitting under the shade of a bush, very eager in discourse. I stopped short, till my clergyman came up to me; and then, having shewed him where they were, we stood and looked very steadily at them a good while.

We observed him very earnest with her, pointing up to the sun, and to every quarter of the heavens; then down to the earth, then out to the sea, then to himself, then to her, to the woods, to the trees. Now, says my clergyman, you see my words are made good; the man preaches to her; mark him; now he is telling her that our God has

made him, and her, and the heavens, the earth, the sea, the woods, the trees, &c. I believe he is, said I. Immediately we perceived Will Atkins start up upon his feet, fall down upon his knees, and lift up both his hands; we supposed he said something, but we could not hear him: it was too far off for that: he did not continue kneeling half a minute, but comes and sits down again by his wife, and talks to her again. We perceived then the woman very attentive; but whether she said any thing or no, we could not tell. While the poor fellow was upon his knees, I could see the tears run plentifully down my clergyman's cheeks; and I could hardly forbear myself; but it was a great affliction to us both, that we were not near enough to hear any thing that passed between them.

Well, however, we could come no nearer, for fear of disturbing them: so we resolved to see an end of this piece of still conversation; and it spoke loud enough to us, without the help of voice. He sat down again, as I have said, close by her, and talked again earnestly to her; and two or three times we could see him embrace her passionately; another time we saw him take out his handkerchief, and wipe her eyes, and then kiss her again, with a kind of transport very unusual; and after several of these things, we saw him on a sudden jump up again, and lend her his hand to help her up; when immediately leading her by the hand a step or two, they both kneeled down together, and continued so about two minutes.

My friend could bear it no longer, but cries out

aloud, St. Paul, St. Paul! behold he prayeth!—I was afraid Atkins would hear him; therefore I entreated him to withhold himself awhile, that we might see an end of the scene, which to me, I must confess, was the most affecting, and yet the most agreeable, that ever I saw in my life. Well, he strove with himself, and contained himself for a while, but was in such raptures of joy to think that the poor heathen woman was become a Christian, that he was not able to contain himself; he wept several times: then throwing up his hands, and crossing his breast, said over several things ejaculatory, and by way of giving GOD thanks for so miraculous a testimony of the success of our endeavours: some he spoke softly, and I could not well hear; others audibly; some in Latin, some in French; then two or three times the tears of joy would interrupt him, that he could not speak at all. But I begged that he would compose himself, and let us more narrowly and fully observe what was before us, which he did for a time, and the scene was not ended there yet; for, after the poor man and his wife were risen again from their knees, we observed he stood talking still eagerly to her; and we observed by her motion that she was greatly affected with what he said, by her frequent lifting up her hands, laying her hand to her breast, and such other postures, as usually express the greatest seriousness and attention. This continued about half a quarter of an hour, and then they walked away too; so that we could see no more of them in that situation.

I took this interval to talk with my clergyman,

and first, I told him, I was glad to see the particulars we had both been witnesses to; that though I was hard enough of belief in such cases, yet that I began to think it was all very sincere here, both in the man and his wife, however ignorant they both might be; and I hoped such a beginning would have yet a more happy end: and who knows, said I, but these two may in time, by instruction and example, work upon some of the others? Some of them! said he, turning quick upon me, ay, upon all of them: depend upon it, if those two savages (for he has been but little better, as you relate it) should embrace Jesus Christ, they will never leave till they work upon all the rest; for true religion is naturally communicative; and he that is once made a Christian will never leave a pagan behind him, if he can help it. I owned it was a most Christian principle to think so, and a testimony of a true zeal, as well as a generous heart in him. But, my friend, said I, will you give me liberty to start one difficulty here? I cannot tell how to object the least thing against that affectionate concern which you shew for the turning the poor people from their paganism to the Christian religion; but how does this comfort you, while these people are, in your account, out of the pale of the Catholic church, without which, you believe there is no salvation; so that you esteem these but heretics still; and, for other reasons, as effectually lost as the pagans themselves?

To this he answered with abundance of candour and Christian charity, thus. Sir, I am a Catholic of the Roman church, and a priest of the order of

St. Benedict, and I embrace all the principles of the Roman faith. But yet, if you will believe me, and this I do not speak in compliment to you, or in respect to my circumstances, and your civilities; I say, nevertheless, I do not look upon you, who call yourselves reformed, without some charity. I dare not say, though I know it is our opinion in general; yet I dare not say, that you cannot be saved; I will by no means limit the mercy of Christ, so far as to think that he cannot receive you into the bosom of his church, in a manner, to us, imperceivable, and which it is impossible for us to know; and I hope you have the same charity for us. I pray daily for your being all restored to Christ's church, by whatsoever methods he, who is all wise, is pleased to direct. In the mean time, sure, you will allow it to consist with me, as a Roman, to distinguish far between a Protestant and a Pagan: between him that calls on Jesus Christ, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith; and a savage, a barbarian, that knows no GOD, no Christ, no Redeemer at all. And if you are not within the pale of the Catholic church, we hope you are nearer being restored to it, than those that know nothing at all of GOD, or his church. I rejoice, therefore, when I see this poor man, who, you say, has been a profligate, and almost a murderer, kneel down and pray to Jesus Christ, as we suppose he did, though not fully enlightened; believing that GOD, from whom every such work proceeds, will sensibly touch his heart, and bring him to the further knowledge of the truth in his own time: and if GOD shall influ-

ence this poor man to convert and instruct the ignorant savage his wife, I can never believe that he shall be cast away himself: and have I not reason then to rejoice, the nearer any are brought to the knowledge of Christ, though they may not be brought quite home into the bosom of the Catholic church, just at the time when I may desire it; leaving it to the goodness of Christ to perfect his work in his own time, and his own way? Certainly I would rejoice, if all the savages in America were brought, like this poor woman, to pray to GOD, though they were to be all Protestants at first, rather than they should continue pagans and heathens; firmly believing, that he who had bestowed that first light upon them, would further illuminate them with a beam of his heavenly grace, and bring them into the pale of his church, when he should see good.

I was astonished at the sincerity and temper of this truly pious Papist, as much as I was oppressed by the power of his reasoning: and it presently occurred to my thoughts, that if such a temper was universal, we might be all Catholic Christians, whatever church or particular profession we joined to, or joined in; that a spirit of charity would soon work us all up into right principles; and, in a word, as he thought that the like charity would make us all Catholics, so I told him, I believed, had all the members of his church the like moderation, they would soon be all Protestants. And there we left that part, for we never disputed at all.

However, I talked to him another way; and,

taking him by the hand, My friend, said I, I wish all the clergy of the Roman church were blessed with such moderation, and an equal share of your charity. I am entirely of your opinion; but I must tell you, that if you should preach such doctrine in Spain or Italy, they would put you into the inquisition.

It may be so, said he; I know not what they might do in Spain and Italy; but I will not say they would be the better Christians for that severity; for I am sure there is no heresy in too much charity.

Well, as Will Atkins and his wife were gone, our business there was over; so we went back our own way; and when we came back, we found them waiting to be called in. Observing this, I asked my clergyman if we should discover to him that we had seen him under the bush, or no; and it was his opinion we should not; but that we should talk to him first, and hear what he would say to us: so we called him in alone, nobody being in the place but ourselves; and I began with him thus.

Will Atkins, said I, prithee what education had you? What was your father?

W. A. A better man than ever I shall be. Sir, my father was a clergyman.

R. C. What education did he give you?

W. A. He would have taught me well, Sir; but I despised all education, instruction, or correction, like a beast as I was.

R. C. It is true, Solomon says "he that despiseth "reproof is brutish."

W. A. Ay, Sir, I was brutish indeed; I murdered my father; for GOD's sake, Sir, talk no more about that, Sir; I murdered my poor father.

Priest. Ha? a murderer?

[Here the priest started (for I interpreted every word as he spoke it) and looked pale. It seems he believed that Will had really killed his own father.]

R. C. No, no, Sir, I do not understand him so. Will Atkins, explain yourself; you did not kill your father did you with your own hands?

W. A. No, Sir; I did not cut his throat; but I cut the thread of all his comforts, and shortened his days; I broke his heart by the most ungrateful, unnatural return, for the most tender, affectionate treatment that ever father gave, or child could receive.

R. C. Well, I will not ask you about your father, to extort this confession; I pray GOD give you repentance for it, and forgive you that, and all your other sins: but I asked you, because I see that though you have not much learning, yet you are not so ignorant as some are, in things that are good; that you have known more of religion great deal than you have practised.

W. A. Though you, Sir, did not extort the confession that I make about my father, conscience does; and whenever we come to look back upon our lives, the sins against our indulgent parents are certainly the first that touch us; the wounds they make lie deepest; and the weight they leave will lie heaviest upon the mind of all the sins we can commit.

R. C. You talk too feelingly and sensible for me, Atkins; I cannot bear it.

W. A. You bear it, master! I dare say you know nothing of it.

R. C. Yes, Atkins; every shore, every hill, nay, I may say, every tree in this island, is witness to the anguish of my soul, for my ingratitude, and base usage of a good tender father; a father much like your's, by your description; and I murdered my father as well as you, Will Atkins; but think, for all that, my repentance is short of your's too, by a great deal.

[I would have said more, if I could have restrained my passions; but I thought this poor man's repentance was so much sincerer than mine, that I was going to leave off the discourse, and retire, for I was surprised with what he said; and thought that instead of my going about to teach and instruct him, the man was made a teacher and instructor to me, in a most surprising and unexpected manner.]

I laid all this before the young clergyman, who was greatly affected with it, and said to me, Did I not say, Sir, that when this man was converted, he would preach to us all? I tell you, Sir, if this one man be made a true penitent, here will be no need of me; he will make Christians of all in the island. But having a little composed myself, I renewed my discourse with Will Atkins.

But, Will, said I, how comes the sense of this matter to touch you just now?

W. A. Sir, you have set me about a work that has struck a dart through my very soul; I have been talking about God and religion to my wife, in order, as you directed me, to make a Christian

of her; and she has preached such a sermon to me as I shall never forget while I live.

R. C. No, no; it is not your wife has preached to you: but when you were moving religious arguments to her, conscience has flung them back upon you.

W. A. Ay, Sir, with such a force as is not to be resisted.

R. C. Pray, Will, let us know what passed between you and your wife; for I know something of it already.

W. A. Sir, it is impossible to give you a full account of it: I am too full to hold it, and yet have no tongue to express it: but let her have said what she will, and though I cannot give you an account of it, this I can tell you of it, that I resolve to amend and reform my life.

R. C. But tell us some of it. How did you begin, Will? For this has been an extraordinary case, that is certain; she has preached a sermon, indeed, if she has wrought this upon you.

W. A. Why, I first told her the nature of our laws about marriage, and what the reasons were that men and women were obliged to enter into such compacts, as it was neither in the power of one or other to break; that otherwise, order and justice could not be maintained, and men would run from their wives, and abandon their children, mix confusedly with one another, and neither families be kept entire, or inheritances be settled by a legal descent.

R. C. You talk like a civilian, Will. Could you

make her understand what you meant by inheritance and families? They know no such thing among the savages, but marry any how, without any regard to relation, consanguinity, or family; brother and sister, nay, as I have been told, even the father and daughter, and the son and the mother.

W. A. I believe, Sir, you are misinformed;—my wife assures me of the contrary, and that they abhor it. Perhaps, for any further relations, they may not be so exact as we are; but she tells me they never touch one another in the near relations you speak of.

R. C. Well, what did she say to what you told her?

W. A. She said she liked it very well; and it was much better than in her country.

R. C. But did you tell her what marriage was?

W. A. Ay, ay, there began all our dialogue. I asked her, if she would be married to me our way? She asked me, What way that was? I told her marriage was appointed of GOD; and here we had a strange talk together indeed, as ever man and wife had, I believe.

[N. B. This dialogue between W. Atkins and his wife, as I took it down in writing, just after he told it me, was as follows.]

Wife. Appointed by your God! Why, have you a God in your country?

W. A. Yes, my dear, God is in every country?

Wife. No your God in my country; my country have the great old Benamuckee God.

W. A. Child, I am very unfit to shew you who God is; God is in heaven, and made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is.

Wife. No makee de earth; no you God makee de earth; no make my country.

[W. A. laughed a little at her expression of God not making her country.]

Wife. No laugh. Why laugh me? This no ting to laugh.

[He was justly reproved by his wife; for she was more serious than he at first.]

W. A. That is true indeed; I will not laugh any more, my dear.

Wife. Why you say, you God make all?

W. A. Yes, child, our God made the whole world, and you, and me, and all things; for he is the only true God; there is no God but he; he lives for ever in heaven.

Wife. Why you no tell me long ago?

W. A. That is true indeed; but I have been a wicked wretch, and have not only forgotten to acquaint thee with any thing before, but have lived without God in the world myself.

Wife. What have you de great God in your country, you no know him? No say O to him? No do good ting for him? That no impossible!

W. A. It is too true though, for all that: we live as if there was no God in heaven, or that he had no power on earth.

Wife. But why God let you do so? Why he no makee you good live?

W. A. It is all our own fault.

Wife. But you say me, he is great, much great, have much great power; can make kill when he will: why he no makee kill when you no serve him? No say O to him? No be good mans?

W. A. That is true; he might strike me dead, and I ought to expect it; for I have been a wicked wretch, that is true: but God is merciful, and does not deal with us as we deserve.

Wife. But then, do not you tell God tankee for that too?

W. A. No, indeed; I have not thanked God for his mercy, any more than I have feared God for his power.

Wife. Then you God no God; me no think, believe he be such one, great much power, strong; no makee kill you, though you makee him much angry?

W A. What! will my wicked life hinder you from believing in God! What a dreadful creature am I! And what a sad truth is it, that the horrid lives of Christians hinder the conversion of heathens!

Wife. How me tink you have great much God up there, (she points up to heaven,) and yet no do well, no do good ting? Can he tell? Sure he no tell what you do.

W. A. Yes, yes, he knows and sees all things; he hears us speak, sees what we do, knows what we think, though we do not speak.

Wife. What! he no hear you swear, curse, speak the great damn?

W. A. Yes, yes, he hears it all.

Wife. Where be then the muchee great power strong?

W. A. He is merciful; that is all we can say for it; and this proves him to be the true God: He is God, and not man; and therefore we are not consumed.

[Here Will Atkins told us, he was struck with horror to think how he could tell his wife so clearly, that GOD sees, and hears, and knows the secret thoughts of the heart, and all that we do; and yet that he had dared to do all the vile things he had done.]

Wife. Merciful! what you call dat?

W. A. He is our father and maker; and he pities and spares us.

Wife. So then he never makee kill, never angry when you do wicked; then he no good himself, or no great able.

W. A. Yes, yes, my dear; he is infinitely good, and infinitely great, and able to punish too; and sometimes to shew his justice and vengeance, he lets fly his anger to destroy sinners, and make examples; many are cut off in their sins.

Wife. But no makee kill you yet; then he tell you, may be, that he no makee you kill, so you make de bargain with him, you do bad ting, he no be angry at you, when he be angry at other mans?

W. A. No, indeed, my sins are all presumptions upon his goodness; and he would be infinitely just, if he destroyed me, as he has done other men.

Wife. Well, and yet no kill, no makee you dead!

What you say to him for that? You no tell him tankee for all that too!

W. A. I am an unthankful, ungrateful dog, that is true.

Wife. Why he no makee you much good better? You say he makee you.

W. A. He made me as he made all the world; it is I have deformed myself, and abused his goodness, and have made myself an abominable wretch.

Wife. I wish you makee God know me; I no makee him angry; I no do bad wicked ting.

[Here Will Atkins said his heart sunk within him, to hear a poor, untaught creature, desire to be taught to know God; and he such a wicked wretch, that he could not say one word to her about God, but what the reproach of his own carriage would make most irrational to her to believe; nay, that already she could not believe in God, because he that was so wicked was not destroyed.]

W. A. My dear, you mean you wish I could teach you to know God, not God to know you; for he knows you already, and every thought in your heart.

Wife. Why then he know what I say to you now; he know me wish to know him; how shall me know who makee me?

W. A. Poor creature, he must teach thee, I cannot teach thee; I'll pray to him to teach thee to know him; and to forgive me, that I am unworthy to teach thee.

[The poor fellow was in such an agony at her desiring him to make her know God, and her wishing to know him, that, he said, he fell down on his knees before her, and prayed to God to enlighten her mind with the saving knowledge

of Jesus Christ, and to pardon his sins, and accept of his being the unworthy instrument of instructing her in the principles of religion; after which he sat down by her again, and their dialogue went on.]

N. B. This was the time when we saw him kneel down and lift up his hands.

Wife. What you put down the knee for? What you hold up the hand for? What you say? Who you speak to? What is that?

W. A. My dear, I bow my knees in token of my submission to him that made me: I said O to him, as you call it, and as you say your old men do to their idol Benamuckee; that is, I prayed to him.

Wife. What you say O to him for?

W. A. I prayed to him to open your eyes and your understanding, that you may know him, and be accepted by him.

Wife. Can he do that too?

W. A. Yes, he can; he can do all things.

Wife. But he no hear what you say?

W. A. Yes, he has bid us pray to him; and promised to hear us.

Wife. Bid you pray? When he bid you? How he bid you? What you hear him speak?

W. A. No, we do not hear him speak; but he has revealed himself many ways to us.

[Here he was at a great loss to make her understand that God had revealed himself to us by his word; and what his word was; but at last he told it her thus:

W. A. God has spoken to some good men in former days, even from heaven, by plain words;

and God has inspired good men, by his Spirit; and they have written all his laws down in a book.

Wife. Me no understand that; where is book?

W. A. Alas! my poor creature, I have not this book; but I hope I shall, one time or other, get it for you to read it.

[Here he embraced her with great affection; but with inexpressible grief, that he had not a bible]

Wife. But how you makee me know, that God teachee them to write that book?

W. A. By the same rule that we know him to be God.

Wife. What rule; what way you know?

W. A. Because he teaches and commands nothing but what is good, righteous, and holy; and tends to make us perfectly good, as well as perfectly happy; and because he forbids, and commands us to avoid all that is wicked, that is evil in itself, or evil in its consequences.

Wife. That me would understand, that me fain see; if he reward all good thing, punish all wicked thing, he teachee all good thing, forbid all wicked thing, he makee all thing, he give all thing; he hear me when I say O to him, as you go to do just now; he makee me good, if I wish be good; he spare me, no makee kill me, when I no be good; all this you say he do; yes, he be great God; me take, think, believe, him be great God; me say O to him too, with you, my dear.

Here the poor man said he could forbear no longer; but raising her up, made her kneel by him; and he prayed to God aloud, to instruct her in the

knowledge of himself, by his Spirit; and that by some good providence, if possible, she might some time or other come to have a bible, that she might read the word of God, and be taught by him to know him.

[This was the time that we saw him lift her up by the hand, and saw him kneel down by her as above.]

They had several other discourses, it seems, after this, too long to set down here; and particularly she made him promise, that since he confessed his own life had been a wicked, abominable course of provocation against God, that he would reform it, and not make God angry any more, lest he should make him dead, as she called it, and then she should be left alone, and never be taught to know this God better; and lest he should be miserable, as he had told her wicked men should be after death.

This was a strange account, and very affecting to us both, but particularly the young clergyman: he was indeed wonderfully surprised with it; but under the greatest affliction imaginable, that he could not talk to her; that he could not speak English to make her understand him; and as she spoke but very broken English, he could not understand her. However, he turned himself to me, and told me, that he believed there must be more to do with this woman than to marry her; I did not understand him at first; but at length he explained himself; viz. That she ought to be baptized.

I agreed with him in that part readily, and was

for going about it presently. No, no: hold, Sir, said he, though I would have her baptized by all means, yet I must observe, that Will Atkins, her husband, has indeed brought her, in a wonderful manner, to be willing to embrace a religious life; and has given her just ideas of the being of a God, of his power, justice, and mercy; yet I desire to know of him, if he has said any thing to her of Jesus Christ, and of the salvation of sinners; of the nature of faith in him; and the redemption by him; of the holy Spirit, the resurrection, the last judgment, and a future state.

I called Will Atkins again, and asked him; but the poor fellow fell immediately into tears, and told us, he had said something to her of all those things, but that he was himself so wicked a creature, and his own conscience so reproached him with his horrid ungodly life, that he trembled at the apprehensions, that her knowledge of him should lessen the attention she should give to those things, and make her rather contemn religion, than receive it: but he was assured, he said, that her mind was so disposed to receive due impressions of all those things, that if I would discourse with her, she would make it appear to my satisfaction, that my labour would not be lost upon her.

Accordingly I called her in, and placing myself as interpreter, between my religious priest and the woman, I entreated him to begin with her: but sure such a sermon was never preached by a popish priest in these latter ages of the world; and, as I told him, I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the sincerity of the Chris-

tian, without the errors of a Roman Catholic; and that I took him to be such a clergyman as the Roman bishops were, before the church of Rome assumed spiritual sovereignty over the consciences of men.

In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace the knowledge of Christ, and of redemption by him, not with wonder and astonishment only, as she did the first notions of a God, but with joy and faith, with an affection, and a surprising degree of understanding, scarce to be imagined, much less to be expressed; and at her own request she was baptized.

When he was preparing to baptize her, I entreated him, that he would perform that office with some caution, that the man might not perceive he was of the Roman church, if possible; because of other ill consequences which might attend a difference among us in that very religion which we were instructing the other in. He told me that as he had no consecrated chapel, nor proper things for the office, I should see he would do it in a manner that I should not know by it that he was a Roman Catholic myself, if I had not known it before: and so he did; for saying only some words over to himself in Latin, which I could not understand, he poured a whole dish full of water upon the woman's head, pronouncing in French very loud, Mary; which was the name her husband desired me to give her, for I was her god-father, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; so that none could know any thing by it, what religion he was of: he

gave the benediction afterwards in Latin; but either Will Atkins did not know but it was in French, or else did not take notice of it that time.

As soon as this was over, he married them; and after the marriage was over, he turned himself to Will Atkins, and in a very affectionate manner exhorted him not only to persevere in that good disposition he was in, but to support the convictions that were upon him, by a resolution to reform his life: told him, it was in vain to say he repented, if he did not forsake his crimes; represented to him, how God had honoured him with being the instrument of bringing his wife to the knowledge of the Christian religion; and that he should be careful he did not dishonour the grace of God; and that, if he did, he would see the heathen a better Christian than himself; the savage converted, and the instrument cast away.

He said a great many good things to them both, and then recommended them, in a few words, to God's goodness; gave them the benediction again, I repeating every thing to them in English. And thus ended the ceremony. I think it was the most pleasant, agreeable day to me, that ever I passed in my whole life.

But my clergyman had not done yet; his thoughts hung continually upon the conversion of the thirty-seven savages; and fain he would have staid upon the island to have undertaken it: but I convinced him, First, that his undertaking was impracticable in itself; and secondly, that, perhaps, I could put it into a way of being done, in his absence, to his satisfaction; of which by and by.

Having thus brought the affair of the island to a narrow compass, I was preparing to go on board the ship, when the young man, whom I had taken out of the famished ship's company, came to me, and told me, he understood I had a clergyman with me, and that I had caused the Englishmen to be married to the savages, whom they called wives; that he had a match too, which he desired might be finished before I went, between two Christians; which he hoped would not be disagreeable to me.

I knew this must be the young woman who was his mother's servant, for there was no other Christian woman on the island; so I began to persuade him not to do any thing of that kind rashly, or because he found himself in this solitary circumstance. I represented, that he had some considerable substance in the world and good friends, as I understood by himself, and by his maid also; that the maid was not only poor, and a servant, but was unequal to him, she being twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, and he not above seventeen or eighteen; that he might very probably, with my assistance, make a remove from this wilderness, and come into his own country again; and that then it would be a thousand to one but he would repent his choice; and the dislike of that circumstance might be disadvantageous to both. I was going to say more, but he interrupted me, smiling; and told me, with a great deal of modesty, that I mistook in my guesses; that he had nothing of that kind in his thoughts, his present circumstances being melancholy and disconsolate enough; and he was very glad to hear, that I had some

thoughts of putting them in a way to see their own country again; and that nothing should have set him upon staying there, but that the voyage I was going was so exceeding long and hazardous, and would carry him quite out of the reach of all his friends; that he had nothing to desire of me, but that I would settle him in some little property in the island where he was; give him a servant or two, and some few necessaries, and he would settle himself here like a planter, waiting the good time when, if ever I returned to England, I would redeem him, and hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I came to England; that he would give me some letters to his friends in London, to let them know how good I had been to him, and what part of the world, and what circumstances I had left him in; and he promised me, that whenever I redeemed him, the plantation, and all the improvements he had made upon it, let the value be what it would, should be wholly mine.

His discourse was very prettily delivered, considering his youth; and was the more agreeable to me, because he told me positively the match was not for himself. I gave him all possible assurances, that if I lived to come safe to England, I would deliver his letters, and do his business effectually; and that he might depend I would never forget the circumstances I left him in; but still I was impatient to know who was the person to be married. Upon which he told me it was my Jack of all Trades, and his maid Susan.

I was most agreeably surprised when he named the match; for indeed I had thought it very suita-

ble. The character of that man I have given already; and as for the maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober, and religious young woman; had a very good share of sense; was agreeable enough in her person; spoke very handsomely, and to the purpose; always with decency and good manners, and not backward to speak when any thing required it, or impertinently forward to speak when it was not her business; very handy and housewifely in any thing that was before her; an excellent manager, and fit indeed to have been governess to the whole island; she knew very well how to behave herself to all kind of folks she had about her, and to better, if she had found any there.

The match being proposed in this manner, we married them the same day; and, as I was father at the altar, as I may say, and gave her away, so I gave her a portion; for I appointed her and her husband a handsome large space of ground for their plantation; and, indeed, this match, and the proposal the young gentleman made to me, to give him a small property in the island, put me upon parcelling it out among them, that they might not quarrel afterwards about their situation.

This sharing out the land to them I left to Will Atkins, who, indeed, was now grown a most sober, grave, managing fellow; perfectly reformed, exceeding pious and religious; and, as far as I may be allowed to speak positively in such a case, I verily believe, was a true sincere penitent.

He divided things so justly, and so much to every one's satisfaction, that they only desired one general writing under my hand for the whole;

which I caused to be drawn up, and signed and sealed to them, setting out the bounds and situation of every man's plantation, and testifying, that I gave them thereby, severally, a right to the whole possession and inheritance of the respective plantations or farms, with their improvements, to them and their heirs; reserving all the rest of the island as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation, after eleven years, if I, or any one from me, or in my name, came to demand it, producing an attested copy of the same writing.

As to the government and laws among them, I told them, I was not capable of giving them better rules than they were able to give themselves; only made them promise me, to live in love and good neighbourhood with one another: and so I prepared to leave them.

One thing I must not omit; and that is, that being now settled in a kind of commonwealth among themselves, and having much business in hand, it was but odd to have seven-and-thirty Indians live in a nook of the island, independent, and, indeed, unemployed; for, excepting the providing themselves food, which they had difficulty enough in doing sometimes, they had no manner of business or property to manage: I proposed therefore to the governor Spaniard, that he should go to them with Friday's father, and propose to them to remove, and either plant for themselves, or take them into their several families as servants, to be maintained for their labour, but without being absolute slaves; for I would not admit them to make them slaves by force, by any means, be-

cause they had their liberty given by capitulation, and, as it were, articles of surrender, which they ought not to break.

They most willingly embraced the proposal, and came all very cheerfully along with him; so we allotted them land and plantations, which three or four accepted of, but all the rest chose to be employed as servants in the several families we had settled; and thus my colony was in a manner settled, as follows: the Spaniards possessed my original habitation, which was the capital city, and extended their plantation all along the side of the brook, which made the creek that I have so often described, as far as my bower; and as they increased their culture, it went always eastward; the English lived in the north-east part, where Will Atkins and his comrades began, and came on southward and south-west, towards the back part of the Spaniards; and every plantation had a great addition of land to take in, if they found occasion; so that they need not jostle one another for want of room.

All the west end of the island was left uninhabited, that if any of the savages should come on shore there, only for their usual customary barbarities, they might come and go; if they disturbed nobody, nobody would disturb them; and no doubt but they were often ashore, and went away again; for I never heard that the planters were ever attacked and disturbed any more.

It now came into my thoughts, that I had hinted to my friend the clergyman, that the work of converting the savages might, perhaps, be set on foot in his absence, to his satisfaction; and I told him,

that now I thought it was put in a fair way; for the savages being thus divided among the Christians, if they would but every one of them do their part with those which came under their hands, I hoped it might have a very good effect.

He agreed presently in that: If, said he, they will do their part; but how, says he, shall we obtain that of them? I told him, we would call them all together, and leave it in charge with them, or go to them one by one, which he thought best; so we divided it; he to speak to the Spaniards, who were all Papists; and I to the English, who were all Protestants; and we recommended it earnestly to them, and made them promise, that they would never make any distinction of Papist or Protestant, in their exhorting the savages to turn Christians; but teach them the general knowledge of the true God, and of their Saviour Jesus Christ; and they likewise promised us, that they would never have any differences or disputes, one with another, about religion.

When I came to Will Atkins's house (I may call it so; for such a house, or such a piece of basket-work, I believe was not standing in the world again!) I say, when I came thither, I found the young woman I have mentioned above, and William Atkins's wife, were become intimates; and this prudent, religious young woman, had perfected the work Will Atkins had begun; and though it was not above four days after what I have related, yet the new-baptized savage woman was made such a Christian, as I have seldom heard

of any like her, in all my observation or conversation in the world.

It came next into my mind, in the morning, before I went to them, that among all the needful things I had to leave with them, I had not left a bible; in which I shewed myself less considering for them, than my good friend the widow was for me, when she sent me the cargo of £100 from Lisbon, where she packed up three bibles and a prayer-book. However, the good woman's charity had a greater extent than ever she imagined; for they were reserved for the comfort and instruction of those that made much better use of them than I had done.

I took one of the bibles in my pocket, and when I came to William Atkins's tent, or house, I found the young woman, and Atkins's baptized wife, had been discoursing of religion together; (for William Atkins told it me, with a great deal of joy). I asked if they were together now? And he said yes; so I went into the house, and he with me, and we found them together, very earnest in discourse. O, Sir, says William Atkins, when God has sinners to reconcile to himself, and aliens to bring home, he never wants a messenger. My wife has got a new instructor; I knew I was unworthy, as I was incapable of that work; that young woman has been sent hither from Heaven; she is enough to convert a whole island of savages. The young woman blushed, and rose up to go away, but I desired her to sit still; I told her she had a good work upon her hands, and I hoped God would bless her in it.

We talked a little, and I did not perceive they had any book among them, though I did not ask; but I put my hand in my pocket, and pulled out my bible. Here, said I to Atkins, I have brought you an assistant, that, perhaps, you had not before. The man was so confounded, that he was not able to speak for some time; but recovering himself, he takes it with both hands, and, turning to his wife, Here, my dear, says he, did not I tell you, our God, though he lives above, could hear what we said? Here is the book I prayed for, when you and I kneeled down under the bush; now God has heard us and sent it. When he had said thus, the man fell into such transports of a passionate joy, that between the joy of having it, and giving God thanks for it, the tears ran down his face like a child that was crying.

The woman was surprized, and was like to have run into a mistake, that none of us were aware of; for she firmly believed God had sent the book upon her husband's petition. It is true, that providentially it was so, and might be taken so in a consequent sense; but I believed it would have been no difficult matter at that time, to have persuaded the poor woman to have believed, that an express messenger came from heaven, on purpose to bring that individual book; but it was too serious a matter to suffer any delusion to take place. So I turned to the young woman, and told her, we did not desire to impose upon the new convert, in her first and more ignorant understanding of things; and begged her to explain to her, that God may be very properly said to answer our petitions, when

in the course of his Providence, such things are, in a particular manner, brought to pass, as we petitioned for; but we do not expect returns from Heaven, in a miraculous and particular manner; and that it is our mercy it is not so.

This the young woman did afterwards effectually; so that there was, I assure you, no priest-craft used here; and I should have thought it one of the most unjustifiable frauds in the world, to have had it so: but the surprize of joy upon Will Atkins, is really not to be expressed; and there, we may be sure, was no delusion. Sure no man was ever more thankful in the world for any thing of its kind, than he was for this bible; and I believe, never any man was glad of a bible from a better principle; and though he had been a most profligate creature, desperate, headstrong, outrageous, furious, and wicked to a great degree; yet this man is a standing rule to us all, for the well instructing children; viz. that parents should never give over to teach and instruct, or ever despair of the success of their endeavours, let the children be ever so obstinate, refractory, or, to appearance, insensible of instruction; for if ever God in his Providence touches the consciences of such, the force of their education returns upon them, and the early instruction of parents is not lost, though it may have been many years laid asleep; but, some time or other, they may find the benefit of it.

Thus it was with this poor man. However ignorant he was, or divested of religion and Christian knowledge, he found he had some to do with

now more ignorant than himself; and that the least part of the instruction of his good father, that could now come to his mind, was of use to him.

Among the rest it occurred to him, he said, how his father used to insist much upon the inexpressible value of the bible; the privilege and blessing of it to nations, families, and persons; but he never entertained the least notion of the worth of it till now; when, being to talk to heathens, savages, and barbarians, he wanted the help of the written oracle for his assistance.

The young woman was very glad of it also, for the present occasion, though she had one; and so had the youth on board our ship, among the goods which were not yet brought on shore. And now, having said so many things of this young woman, I cannot omit telling one story more of her and myself, which has something in it very informing and remarkable.

I have related to what extremity the poor young woman was reduced; how her mistress was starved to death, and did die, on board that unhappy ship we met at sea; and how the whole ship's company being reduced to the last extremity, the gentlewoman, and her son, and this maid, were first hardly used, as to provisions, and, at last, totally neglected and starved; that is to say, brought to the last extremity of hunger.

One day, being discoursing with her upon the extremities they suffered, I asked her, if she could describe, by what she felt, what it was to starve, and how it appeared? She told me, she believed

she could; and she told her tale very distinctly thus.

First, Sir, said she, we had for some days fared exceeding hard, and suffered very great hunger; but now, at last, we were wholly without food of any kind, except sugar, and a little wine, and a little water. The first day after I had received no food at all, I found myself, towards evening, first empty and sickish at my stomach; and nearer night, mightily inclined to yawning, and sleepy; I laid down on a couch in the great cabin to sleep; and slept about three hours, and awaked a little refreshed, having taken a glass of wine when I lay down: after being about three hours awake, it being about five o'clock in the morning, I found myself empty, and my stomach sickish again, and laid down again; but could not sleep at all, being very faint and ill: and thus I continued all the second day, with a strange variety; first hungry, then sick again, with reachings to vomit: the second night, being obliged to go to bed again, without any food more than a draught of fair water, and being asleep, I dreamed I was at Barbadoes, and that the market was mightily stocked with provisions; that I bought some for my mistress, and went and dined very heartily.

I thought my stomach was full after this, as it would have been after, or at a good dinner; but when I waked, I was exceedingly sunk in my spirits to find myself in the extremity of famine: the last glass of wine we had, I drank, and put sugar into it, because of its having some spirit to

supply nourishment; but there being no substance in the stomach for the digesting office to work upon, I found the only effect of the wine was, to raise disagreeable fumes from the stomach into the head; and I lay, as they told me, stupid and senseless, as one drunk, for some time.

The third day in the morning, after a night of strange and confused inconsistent dreams, and rather dozing than sleeping, I awaked, ravenous and furious with hunger; and I question, had not my understanding returned, and conquered it; I say, I question whether, if I had been a mother, and had had a little child with me, its life would have been safe or no.

This lasted about three hours; during which time I was twice raging mad, as any creature in Bedlam, as my young master told me, and as he can now inform you.

In one of these fits of lunacy, or distraction, whether by the motion of the ship, or some slip of my foot, I know not, I fell down, and struck my face against the corner of a pallet-bed, in which my mistress lay; and with the blow the blood gushed out of my nose; and the cabin-boy bringing me a little bason, I sat down and bled into it a great deal; and as the blood ran from me, I came to myself; and the violence of the flame, or the fever I was in, abated, and so did the ravenous part of the hunger.

Then I grew sick and reached to vomit, but could not; for I had nothing in my stomach to bring up: after I had bled some time, I swooned, and they all believed I was dead; but I came to

myself soon after, and then had a most dreadful pain in my stomach, not to be described; not like the cholic, but a gnawing eager pain for food; and, towards night, it went off with a kind of earnest wishing or longing for food; something like, as I suppose, the longing of a woman with child. I took another draught of water, with sugar in it, but my stomach loathed the sugar, and brought it all up again. Then I took a draught of water, without sugar, and that stayed with me; and I laid me down upon the bed, praying most heartily, that it would please GOD to take me away; and composing my mind in hopes of it, I slumbered awhile; and then waking, thought myself dying, being light with vapours from an empty stomach. I recommended my soul to GOD, and earnestly wished that somebody would throw me into the sea.

All this while my mistress lay by me, just, as I thought, expiring; but bore it with much more patience than I, and gave the last bit of bread she had to her child, my young master, who would not have taken it, but she obliged him to eat it; and, I believe, it saved his life.

Towards the morning, I slept again; and first, when I awaked, I fell into a violent passion of crying; and after that, had a second fit of violent hunger, so that I got up ravenous, and in a most dreadful condition. Had my mistress been dead, as much as I loved her, I am certain I should have eaten a piece of her flesh with as much relish, and as unconcerned, as ever I did the flesh of any creature appointed for food; and once or twice I was going to bite my own arm. At last, I saw the ba-

son, in which was the blood I had bled at my nose the day before; I ran to it, and swallowed it with such haste, and such a greedy appetite, as if I had wondered nobody had taken it before, and afraid it should be taken from me now.

Though after it was down the thoughts of it filled me with horror, yet it checked the fit of hunger; and I drank a draught of fair water, and was composed and refreshed for some hours after it. This was the fourth day; and thus I held it till towards night, when, within the compass of three hours, I had all these several circumstances over again, one after another; viz. sick, sleepy, eagerly hungry, pain in the stomach, then ravenous again, then sick again, then lunatic, then crying, then ravenous again, and so every quarter of an hour; and my strength wasted exceedingly. At night I laid me down, having no comfort, but in the hope that I should die before morning.

All this night I had no sleep, but the hunger was now turned into a disease; and I had a terrible cholic and griping; wind, instead of food, having found its way into the bowels; and in this condition I lay till morning, when I was surprized a little with the cries and lamentations of my young master, who called out to me, that his mother was dead. I lifted myself up a little, for I had not strength to rise, but found she was not dead, though she was able to give very little signs of life.

I had then such convulsions in my stomach, for want of some sustenance, that I cannot describe them; with such frequent throes and pangs of ap-

petite, that nothing but the tortures of death can imitate; and this condition I was in, when I heard the seamen above cry out, A sail! a sail! and halloo and jump about as if they were distracted.

I was not able to get off from the bed, and my mistress much less; and my master was so sick, that I thought he had been expiring; so we could not open the cabin door, or get any account what it was that occasioned such a combustion; nor had we any conversation with the ship's company for two days, they having told us they had not a mouthful of any thing to eat in the ship; and they told us afterwards, they thought we had been dead.

It was this dreadful condition we were in when you were sent to save our lives; and how you found us, Sir, you know as well as I, and better too.

This was her own relation, and is such a distinct account of starving to death, as, I confess, I never met with, and was exceeding entertaining to me. I am the rather apt to believe it to be a true account, because the youth gave me an account of a good part of it; though I must own, not so distinct, and so feelingly as his maid; and the rather, because, it seems, his mother fed him at the price of her own life: but the poor maid, though her constitution being stronger than that of her mistress, who was in years, and a weakly woman too, she might struggle harder with it; I say, the poor maid might be supposed to feel the extremity something sooner than her mistress, who might be allowed to keep the last bits something longer than she parted with any to relieve the maid. No

question, as the case is here related, if our ship, or some other, had not so providentially met them, a few days more would have ended all their lives, unless they had prevented it by eating one another; and even that, as their case stood, would have served them but a little while, they being 500 leagues from any land, or any possibility of relief, other than in the miraculous manner it happened.—But this by the way; I return to my disposition of things among the people.

And first, it is to be observed here, that for many reasons, I did not think fit to let them know any thing of the sloop I had framed, and which I thought of setting up among them; for I found, at least at my first coming, such seeds of division among them, that I saw it plainly, had I set up the sloop, and left it among them, they would, upon very light disgust, have separated, and gone away from one another; or perhaps have turned pirates, and so made the island a den of thieves, instead of a plantation of sober and religious people, as I intended it to be; nor did I leave the two pieces of brass cannon that I had on board, or the two quarter deck guns, that my nephew took extraordinary, for the same reason. I thought they had enough to qualify them for a defensive war, against any that should invade them; but I was not to set them up for an offensive war, or to encourage them to go abroad to attack others, which, in the end, would only bring ruin and destruction upon themselves and all their undertakings. I reserved the sloop, therefore, and the guns, for their service another way, as I shall observe in its place.

I have now done with the island. I left them all in good circumstances, and in a flourishing condition, and went on board my ship again the fifth day of May, having been five-and-twenty days among them; and as they were all resolved to stay upon the island till I came to remove them, I promised to send some further relief from the Brasils, if I could possibly find an opportunity; and particularly I promised to send them some cattle; such as sheep, hogs, and cows; for as to the two cows and calves which I brought from England, we had been obliged, by the length of our voyage, to kill them at sea, for want of hay to feed them.

The next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the bay of All Saints, in the Brasils, in about twenty-two days; meeting nothing remarkable in our passage but this. That about three days after we sailed, being becalmed, and the current setting strong to the N.N.E. running, as it were, into a bay or gulph, on the land-side, we were driven something out of our course; and once or twice our men cried Land, to the westward; but whether it was the continent, or islands, we could not tell by any means.

But the third day, towards evening, the sea smooth and the weather calm, we saw the sea, as it were, covered, towards the land, with something very black, not being able to discover what it was; but, after some time, our chief mate going up the main shrouds a little way, and looking at them with a perspective, cried out, it was an army. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and

spoke a little hastily, calling the fellow a fool, or some such word. Nay, Sir, says he, do not be angry, for it is an army, and a fleet too; for I believe there are a thousand canoes, and you may see them paddle along, and they are coming towards us too apace, and full of men.

I was a little surprised then, indeed, and so was my nephew the captain; for he had heard such terrible stories of them in the island, and having never been in those seas before, that he could not tell what to think of it, but said two or three times, we should all be devoured. I must confess, considering we were becalmed, and the current set strong towards the shore, I liked it the worse; however, I bade him not be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor, as soon as we came so near as to know that we must engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us; so I gave orders to come to an anchor, and furl all our sails. As for the savages, I told them they had nothing to fear from them but fire; and therefore they should get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue in that posture: this I did, that the men in the boats might be ready, with sheet and buckets, to put out any fire these savages might endeavour to fix upon the outside of the ship.

In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us, but never was such a horrid sight seen by Christians. My mate was much mistaken in his calculation of their number,

I mean of a thousand canoes; the most we could make of them when they came up, being about 126; and a great many of them too; for some of them had sixteen or seventeen men in them, some more, and the least six or seven.

When they came nearer to us, they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment, as at a sight which they had, doubtless, never seen before; nor could they, at first, as we afterwards understood, know what to make of us. They came boldly up however, very near to us, and seemed to go about to row round us; but we called to our men in the boats, not to let them come too near them.

This very order brought us to an engagement, with them, without our designing it; for five or six of their large canoes came so near our long-boat, that our men beckoned with their hands to them to keep back; which they understood very well, and went back; but at their retreat about 500 arrows came on board us from those boats; and one of our men in the long-boat was very much wounded.

However, I called to them not to fire by any means; but we handed down some deal boards into the boat, and the carpenter presently set up a kind of a fence, like waste boards, to cover them from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

About half an hour afterwards they came all up in a body astern of us, and pretty near, so near that we could easily discern what they were, though we could not tell their design. I easily found they

were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with; and in a little time more they rowed somewhat further out to sea, till they came directly broadside with us, and then rowed down straight upon us, till they came so near that they could hear us speak. Upon this, I ordered all my men to keep close, lest they should shoot any more arrows, and make all our guns ready; but being so near as to be within hearing, I made Friday go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language, to know what they meant; which accordingly he did: whether they understood him or not, that I know not; but, as soon as he had called to them, six of them, who were in the foremost, or nighest boat to us, turned their canoes from us; and, stooping down, shewed us their naked backsides; just as if, in English, (saving your presence) they had bid us kiss ———. Whether this was a defiance or challenge, we knew not; or whether it was done in mere contempt, or a signal to the rest; but immediately Friday cried out, They were going to shoot; and unhappily for him (poor fellow) they let fly about 300 of their arrows; and, to my inexpressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very nigh him; such unlucky marksmen they were.

I was so enraged with the loss of my old servant, the companion of all my sorrows and solitudes, that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great; and gave

them such a broadside as they had never had in their lives before, to be sure.

They were not above half a cable's length off when we fired; and our gunners took their aim so well, that three or four of their canoes were overset, as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.

The ill manners of turning up their bare backsides to us, gave us no great offence; neither did I know for certain whether that, which would pass for the greatest contempt among us, might be understood so by them or not; therefore in return I had only resolved to have fired four or five guns with powder only, which I knew would fright them sufficiently: but when they shot at us directly with all the fury they were capable of, and especially as they had killed my poor Friday, whom I so entirely loved and valued, and who, indeed, so well deserved it; I not only had been justified before God and man, but would have been very glad, if I could, to have overset every canoe there, and drowned every one of them.

I can neither tell how many we killed, or how many we wounded, at this broadside; but sure such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude: there were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split, and overset, in all; and the men all set a swimming: the rest, frighted out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot; so I suppose that they were many of them lost; and our men took up one poor fellow swimming for his life, above an hour after they were all gone.

Our small shot from our cannon must needs kill and wound a great many; but, in short, we never knew any thing how it went with them; for they fled so fast, that, in three hours, or thereabouts, we could not see above three or four straggling canoes; nor did we ever see the rest any more; for a breeze of wind springing up the same evening, we weighed and set sail for the Brasils.

We had a prisoner indeed, but the creature was so sullen, that he would neither eat or speak; and we all fancied he would starve himself to death; but I took a way to cure him; for I made them take him, and turn him into the long-boat, and make him believe they would toss him into the sea again, and so leave him where they found him, if he would not speak: nor would that do, but they really did throw him into the sea, and came away from him; and then he followed them, for he swam like a cork, and called to them in his tongue, though they knew not one word of what he said. However, at last, they took him in again, and then he began to be more tractable; nor did I ever design they should drown him.

We were now under sail again; but I was the most disconsolate creature alive, for want of my man Friday, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the island, to have taken one of the rest from thence for my occasion, but it could not be; so we went on. We had one prisoner, as I have said; and it was a long while before we could make him understand any thing; but, in time, our men taught him some English, and he began to be a little tractable: afterwards

we inquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he said; for his speech was so odd, all gutturals, and spoken in the throat, in such an hollow and odd manner, that we could never form a word from him; and we were all of opinion that they might speak that language as well, if they were gagged, as otherwise; nor could we perceive that they had any occasion either for teeth, tongue, lips or palate; but formed their words just as a hunting-horn forms a tune, with an open throat: he told us, however, some time after, when we had taught him to speak a little English, that they were going, with their kings, to fight a great battle. When he said kings, we asked him, how many kings? He said there were five nation, (we could not make him understand the plural s.) and that they all joined to go against two nation. We asked him, What made them come up to us? He said, To makee te great wonder look—Where it is to be observed, that all those natives, as also those of Africa, when they learn English, they always add two e's at the end of the words where we use one, and place the accent upon the last of them; as makee, takee, and the like; and we could not break them of it; nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at last he did.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I must take my last leave of him; poor honest Friday! We buried him with all decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the sea; and I caused them to fire eleven guns for him: and so ended the life of

the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever man had.

We now went away with a fair wind for Brasil, and, in about twelve days time, we made land in the latitude of five degrees south of the line, being the north-eastermost land of all that part of America. We kept on S. by E. in sight of the shore four days, when we made the Cape St. Augustine, and in three days came to an anchor off the bay of All Saints, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

Never did a ship come to this part that had less business than I had; and yet it was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the least correspondence on shore. Not my partner himself, who was alive, and made a great figure among them, not my two merchant trustees, nor the fame of my wonderful preservation in the island, could obtain me that favour: but my partner, remembering that I had given five hundred moidores to the prior of the monastery of the Augustines, and three hundred and seventy-two to the poor, went to the monastery, and obliged the prior that then was, to go to the governor, and beg leave for me presently, with the captain, and one more, besides eight seamen, to come on shore, and no more; and this upon condition absolutely capitulated for, that we should not offer to land any goods out of the ship, or to carry any person away without licence.

They were so strict with us, as to landing any goods, that it was with extreme difficulty that I got on shore three bales of English goods, such as

fine broad cloths, stuffs, and some linen, which I had brought for a present to my partner.

He was a very generous, broad-hearted man, though (like me) he came from little at first; and though he knew not that I had the least design of giving him any thing, he sent me on board a present of fresh provisions, wine, and sweetmeats, worth above thirty moidores, including some tobacco, and three or four fine medals in gold. But I was even with him in my present, which, as I have said, consisted of fine broad cloth, English stuffs, lace, and fine Hollands. Also, I delivered him about the value of 100l. sterling, in the same goods, for other uses; and I obliged him to set up the sloop which I had brought with me from England, as I have said, for the use of my colony, in order to send the refreshments I intended to my plantation.

Accordingly he got hands, and finished the sloop in a very few days, for she was already framed; and I gave the master of her such instructions as he could not miss the place; nor did he miss it, as I had an account from my partner afterwards. I got him soon loaded with the small cargo I had sent them; and one of our seamen, that had been on shore with me there, offered to go with the sloop, and settle there, upon my letter to the governor Spaniard, to allot him a sufficient quantity of land for a plantation; and giving him some clothes, and tools for his planting work, which he said he understood, having been an old planter in Maryland, and a buccaneer into the bargain.

I encouraged the fellow by granting all he de-

sired; and, as an addition, I gave him the savage which we had taken prisoner of war, to be his slave, and ordered the governor Spaniard to give him his share of every thing he wanted, with the rest.

When we came to fit this man out, my old partner told me, there was a certain very honest fellow, a Brasil planter of his acquaintance, who had fallen into the displeasure of the church: I know not what the matter is with him, says he, but, on my conscience, I think he is an heretic in his heart; and he has been obliged to conceal himself for fear of the inquisition; that he would be very glad of such an opportunity to make his escape, with his wife and two daughters; and if I would let them go to the island, and allot them a plantation, he would give them a small stock to begin with; for the officers of the inquisition had seized all his effects and estate, and he had nothing left but a little household stuff, and two slaves; and, adds he, though I hate his principles, yet I would not have him fall into their hands, for he will assuredly be burnt alive if he does.

I granted this presently, and joined my Englishman with them: and we concealed the man, and his wife and daughters, on board our ship, till the sloop put out to go to sea; and then (having put all their goods on board the sloop some time before) we put them on board the sloop, after she was got out of the bay.

Our seaman was mightily pleased with this new partner; and their stock, indeed, was much alike rich in tools, and in preparations, for a farm; but

nothing to begin with, but as above. However, they carried over with them (which was worth all the rest) some materials for planting sugar canes, with some plants of canes; which he (I mean the Portugal man) understood very well.

Among the rest of the supplies sent my tenants in the island, I sent them, by this sloop, three milch cows and five calves, about twenty-two hogs among them, three sows big with pig, two mares, and a stone horse.

For my Spaniards, according to my promise, I engaged three Portugal women to go; and recommended it to them to marry them, and use them kindly. I could have procured more women, but I remembered that the poor persecuted man had two daughters, and there were but five of the Spaniards that wanted; the rest had wives of their own, though in another country.

All this cargo arrived safe, and as you may easily suppose, very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now (with this addition) between sixty and seventy people, besides little children; of which there were a great many: I found letters at London from them all, by way of Lisbon, when I came back to England, being sent back to the Brasils by this sloop; of which I shall take some notice in its place.

I have now done with my island, and all manner of discourse about it; and whoever reads the rest of my memorandums, would do well to turn his thoughts entirely from it, and expect to read only of the follies of an old man, not warned by his own harms, much less by those of other men,

to beware of the like; not cooled by almost forty years misery and disappointments; not satisfied with prosperity beyond expectation; not made cautious by affliction and distress beyond imitation.

I had no more business to go to the East Indies, than a man at full liberty, and having committed no crime, has to go to the turnkey at Newgate, and desire him to lock him up among the prisoners there, and starve him. Had I taken a small vessel from England, and went directly to the island; had I loaded her, as I did the other vessel, with all the necessaries for the plantation, and for my people; took a patent from the government here, to have secured my property, in subjection only to that of England, which, to be sure, I might have obtained; had I carried over cannon and ammunition, servants, and people to plant, and, taking possession of the place, fortified and strengthened it in the name of England, and increased it with people, as I might easily have done; had I then settled myself there, and sent the ship back, loaded with good rice, as I might also have done in six months time, and ordered my friends to have fitted her out again for our supply; had I done this, and stayed there myself, I had, at least, acted like a man of common sense; but I was possessed with a wandering spirit, scorned all advantages, pleased myself with being the patron of these people I had placed there, and doing for them in a kind of haughty majestic way, like an old patriarchal monarch; providing for them, as if I had been father of the whole family, as well as of the plantation: but I never so much as pre-

tended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any prince, or to call my people subjects to any one nation more than another; nay, I never so much as gave the place a name; but left it as I found it, belonging to no man; and the people under no discipline or government but my own; who, though I had an influence over them as father and benefactor, had no authority or power to act or command one way or other, further than voluntary consent moved them to comply: yet even this, had I staid there, would have done well enough; but as I rambled from them, and came thither no more, the last letters I had from any of them, were by my partner's means, who afterwards sent another sloop to the place; and who sent me word, though I had not the letter till five years after it was written, that they went on but poorly, were malecontent with their long stay there; that Will Atkins was dead; that five of the Spaniards were come away; and that though they had not been much molested by the savages, yet they had had some skirmishes with them; that they begged of him to write to me, to think of the promise I had made to fetch them away, that they might see their own country again before they died.

But I was gone a wild-goose chase indeed; and they who will have any more of me, must be content to follow me through a new variety of follies, hardships, and wild adventures; wherein the justice of Providence may be duly observed, and we may see how easily Heaven can gorge us with our own desires, make the strongest of our wishes to be

our affliction, and punish us most severely with those very things which we think it would be our utmost happiness to be allowed in.

Let no wise man flatter himself with the strength of his own judgment, as if he was able to chuse any particular station of life for himself. Man is a short-sighted creature, sees but a very little way before him; and as his passions are none of his best friends, so his particular affections are generally his worst counsellors.

I say this with respect to the impetuous desire I had from a youth, to wander into the world; and how evident it now was, that this principle was preserved in me for my punishment. How it came on, the manner, the circumstance, and the conclusion of it, it is easy to give you historically, and with its utmost variety of particulars. But the secret ends of Divine Providence, in thus permitting us to be hurried down the stream of our own desires, are only to be understood of those who can listen to the voice of Providence, and draw religious consequences from GOD's justice, and their own mistakes.

Be it, had I business, or no business, away I went; it is no time now to enlarge any further upon the reason or absurdity of my own conduct; but to come to the history; I was embarked for the voyage, and the voyage I went.

I shall only add here, that my honest and truly pious clergyman left me here; a ship being ready to go to Lisbon, he asked me leave to go thither; being still, as he observed, bound never to finish

any voyage he began. How happy had it been for me, if I had gone with him.

But it was too late now; all things Heaven appoints are best; had I gone with him, I had never had so many things to be thankful for, and you had never heard of the second part of the Travels and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe; so I must leave here the fruitless exclaiming at myself, and go on with my voyage.

From the Brasils we made directly away over the Atlantic sea, to the Cape de Bonne Esperance, or, as we call it, the Cape of Good Hope; and had a tolerable good voyage, our course generally south-east; now and then a storm, and some contrary winds. But my disasters at sea were at an end; my future rubs and cross events were to befal me on shore; that it might appear, the land was as well prepared to be our scourge as the sea, when Heaven, who directs the circumstances of things, pleases to appoint it to be so.

Our ship was on a trading voyage, and had a supercargo on board, who was to direct all her motions, after she arrived at the Cape; only being limitted to a certain number of days for stay, by charter-party, at the several ports she was to go to: this was none of my business, neither did I meddle with it at all; my nephew, the captain, and the supercargo, adjusting all those things between them as they thought fit.

We made no stay at the Cape, longer than was needful to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of Coromandel; we were

indeed informed that a French man of war of fifty guns, and two large merchant ships, were gone for the Indies; and, as I knew we were at war with France, I had some apprehensions of them; but they went their own way, and we heard no more of them.

I shall not pester my account or the reader, with descriptions of places, journals of our voyages, variations of the compass, latitudes, meridian distances, trade wind, situation of ports, and the like; such as almost all the histories of long navigation are full of, and which make the reading tiresome enough; and are perfectly unprofitable to all that read, except only to those who are to go to those places themselves.

It is enough to name the ports and places which we touched at; and what occurred to us upon our passing from one to another. We touched first at the island of Madagascar, where, though the people are fierce and treacherous, and, in particular, very well armed with lances and bows, which they use with inconceivable dexterity, yet we fared very well with them awhile; they treated us very civilly; and for some trifles which we gave them, such as knives, scissars, &c. they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, middling in size, but very good in flesh; which we took in, partly for fresh provisions for our present spending, and the rest to salt for the ship's use.

We were obliged to stay here for some time, after we had furnished ourselves with provisions; and I, that was always too curious to look into every nook of the world wherever I came, was for

going on shore as often as I could. It was on the east side of the island that we went on shore one evening; and the people, who, by the way, are very numerous, came thronging about us, and stood gazing at us at a distance; as we had traded freely with them, and had been kindly used, we thought ourselves in no danger: but when we saw the people, we cut three boughs out of a tree, and stuck them at a distance from us, which, it seems, is a mark in the country, not only of truce and friendship, but when it is accepted, the other side set up three poles, or boughs also; which is a signal that they accept the truce too; but then this is a known condition of the truce, that you are not to pass beyond their three poles towards them, nor they come past your three poles or boughs towards you; so that you are perfectly secure within the three poles; and all the space between your poles and their's, is allowed like a market, for free converse, traffick, and commerce. When you go thither, you must not carry your weapons with you; and if they come into that space, they stick up their javelins and lances, all at the first poles, and come on unarmed; but if any violence is offered them, and the truce thereby broken, away they run to the poles, and lay hold of their weapons, and then the truce is at an end.

It happened one evening, when we went on shore, that a greater number of their people came down than usual, but was all very friendly and civil. They brought with them several kinds of provisions, for which we satisfied them with such toys as we had; their women also brought us milk and

roots, and several things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet; and we made us a little tent, or hut, of some boughs of trees, and lay on shore all that night.

I know not what was the occasion, but I was not so well satisfied to lie on shore as the rest; and the boat lying at an anchor about a stone's cast from the land, with two men in her to take care of her, I made one of them come on shore; and getting some boughs of trees to cover us also in the boat, I spread the sail on the bottom of the boat, and lay on board, under the cover of the branches of the trees, all night.

About two o'clock in the morning we heard one of our men make a terrible noise on the shore, calling out for GOD's sake to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered; at the same time I heard the firing of five musquets, which was the number of the guns they had, and that three times over: for, it seems, the natives here were not so easily frighted with guns as the savages were in America, where I had to do with them.

All this while I knew not what was the matter; but rousing immediately from sleep with the noise, I caused the boat to be thrust in, and resolved, with three fusils we had on board, to land and assist our men.

We got the boat soon to the shore; but our men were in too much haste; for, being come to the shore, they plunged into the water, to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being pursued by between three and four hundred men.

Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fusils with them; the rest, indeed, had pistols and swords, but they were of small use to them.

We took up seven of our men, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being very ill wounded; and that which was still worse, was, that while we stood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as much danger as they were in on shore; for they poured their arrows in upon us so thick, that we were fain to barricade the side of the boat up with the benches, and two or three loose boards, which, to our great satisfaction, we had, by mere accident, or providence rather, in the boat.

And yet, had it been day-light, they are, it seems, such exact marksmen, that if they could have seen but the least part of any of us, they would have been sure of us: we had, by the light of the moon, a little sight of them, as they stood pelting us from the shore with darts and arrows; and, having got ready our fire-arms, we gave them a volley; and we could hear by the cries of some of them, that we had wounded several; however, they stood thus in battle array on the shore till break of day, which we suppose was, that they might see the better to take their aim at us.

In this condition we lay, and could not tell how to weigh our anchor, to set up our sail, because we must needs stand up in the boat, and they were as sure to hit us, as we were to hit a bird in a tree with small shot: we made signals of distress to the ship, which though she rode a league off, yet my

nephew, the captain, hearing our firing, and by glasses perceiving the posture we lay in, and that we fired towards the shore, pretty well understood us; and, weighing anchor with all speed, he stood as near the shore as he durst with the ship, and then sent another boat, with ten hands in her, to assist us; but we called to them not to come too near, telling them what condition we were in: however, they stood in nearer to us, and one of the men, taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, so that they sould not perfectly see him, swam on board us, and made the line fast to the boat; upon which we slipt our little cable, and leaving our anchor behind, they towed us out of the reach of the arrows; we all the while lying close behind the barricade we had made.

As soon as we were got from between the ship and the shore, that she could lay her side to the shore, we ran along just by them, and we poured in a broadside among them, loaded with pieces of iron and lead, small bullets, and such stuff, besides the great shot, which made a terrible havock among them.

When we were got on board, and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occasion of this fray; and, indeed, our supercargo, who had been often in those parts, put me upon it; for he said he was sure the inhabitants would not have touched us after we had made a truce, if we had not done something to provoke them to it. At length it came out, viz. That an old woman, who had come to sell us some milk, had brought it within our

poles, with a young woman with her, who also brought some roots or herbs; and while the old woman (whether she was mother to the young woman or no, they could not tell) was selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the wench that was with her; at which the old woman made a great noise. However, the seaman would not quit his prize, but carried her out of the old woman's sight, among the trees, it being almost dark; the old woman went away without her; and, as we suppose, made an outcry among the people she came from; who, upon notice, raised this great army upon us in three or four hours; and it was great odds but we had been all destroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance that was thrown at him, just at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied out of the tent we had made; the rest came off free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of all the mischief, who paid dear enough for his black mistress, for we could not hear what became of him a great while. We lay upon the shore two days after, though the wind presented, and made signals for him; made our boat sail up shore, and down shore, several leagues, but in vain; so we were obliged to give him over; and if he alone had suffered for it, the loss had been the less.

I could not satisfy myself, however, without venturing on shore once more, to try if I could learn any thing of him or them; it was the third night after the action, that I had a great mind to learn, if I could by any means, what mischief we had done, and how the game stood on the Indian