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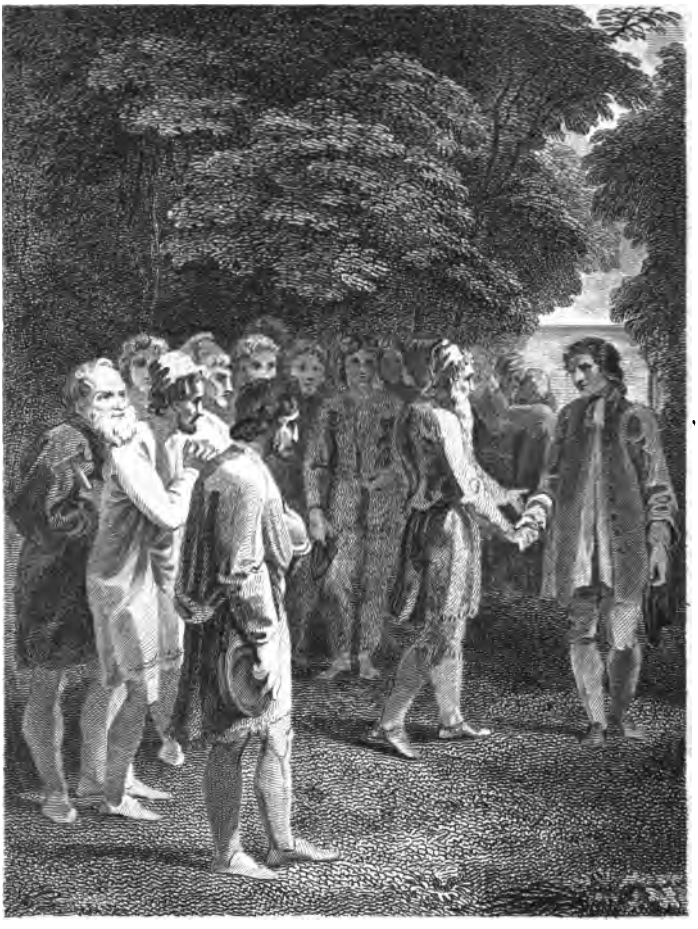

Drawn by Stothard *Engravd by Medland*

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

Publish'd July 1.1790 by T. Stockdale, Piccadilly

oe, Daniel.

John Newton

THE FARTHER

ADVENTURES

of

ROBINSON CRUSOE;

being

The Second and Last Part

of his

LIFE,

And of the Strange Surprizing Account of his

TRAVELS

Round three parts of the Globe.

Written by Himself.

VOL. II.

LONDON.

Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly.

1790

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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, and to the agreeable manner of the performance.

All the endeavours of envious people to reproach it with being a romance, to ſearch it for errors in geography, inconſiſtency in the relation, and contradictions in the fact, have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious.

The juſt application of every incident, the religious and uſeful inferences drawn from every part, are ſo many teſtimonies to the good deſign of making it public, and muſt legitimate all the part that may be called invention or parable in the ſtory.

KRAUS 24DEC34

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 ridiculous. Seeing, to ſhorten the Book, that they may ſeem to reduce the value, they ſtrip it of all thoſe reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greateſt beauties of the WORK, but are calculated for the infinite advantage of the READER.

By this, they leave the WORK naked of its brighteſt ornaments; and yet they would (at the ſame time they pretend that the Author has ſupplied his ſtory out of his invention) take from it the improvement, which alone recommends that invention to wiſe and good men.

The injury theſe men do to the PROPRIETORS of WORKS, is a practice all honeſt

men abhor; and they believe they may challenge them to ſhew the difference between that and robbing on the highway, or breaking open a houſe.

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

THE FARTHER

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 compleatly 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 predomi-

nate in my thoughts, ſhould be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at leaſt condenſed, and I might at 61 years of age have been a little inclined to ſtay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay farther, 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

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 ſo 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 villainy of the three pirate ſailors ſo lively related to me by the firſt *Spaniard* and *Fryday*'s father, that it was ſurprizing; 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 realized 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 villainous 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 hindred my going but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told

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 hindrance, 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

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 meer 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 center 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 aukwardly 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 ſquandring in vile exceſſes or empty pleaſures, equally miſerable, becauſe the end they propoſed ſtill fled from them; for the men of pleaſure every day ſurfeited 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

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 20 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 farther 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 run 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 resolved to leave off house-keeping, lett my farm, and return to *London;* and in a few months after I did so.

When I came to *London*, I was still as uneasy as 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

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 26 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'll 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

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 of 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 farther than my own iſland. Why Sir, ſays he, you don't want to be left there again, I hope? Why, ſaid I, can you not take me up again in your return? he told me, it could not be poſſible that the merchants would allow him to come that way with a loaden 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

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, who 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 maintenence to herſelf for her care: all which ſhe richly deſerved; for

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 mechanick; for he was dextrous 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 taylor, 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

ſtuffs for cloathing 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 cloathing 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 houſhold-ſtuff, particularly kitchen utenſils, with pots, kettles, pewter, braſs, &c. beſides near a 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 fuzees, 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

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 us 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 for a while 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

that way, in which the fire ſhewed itſelf, no not for 500 leagues, for it appeard 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 farther we ſailed the greater the light appeared, tho' 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,

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 waſt 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 *Quebeck*, 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 hope of their lives by getting into theſe boats at that diſtance from any land; only, as they ſaid well, that they were eſcaped from the fire, and 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 12 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

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 run 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 luna-

tic; 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 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 farther obſervable, that theſe extravagancies did not ſhow 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

ſaw this minute dumb, and, as it were, ſtupid and confounded, ſhould the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antick; and the next moment a 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 cabbin 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 change of his circumſtances in his mind, and this put him into an ecſtacy 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 ſerioufneſs 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

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 intreated, 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

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 drowning, 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 intreated 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 though

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*,

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 20 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 27 degrees 5 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, fore-maſt, 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

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 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.

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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 cabbin, 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 enquire 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 overruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to *Verginia*, 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 two 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 phyſick; and after he

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

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

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 cabbin, 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 cock-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

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 cabbin 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

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

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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, tho' 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 coming in between the main and the iſland, and having no chart for the coaſt, nor any land-mark, 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 *Caribees*, but iſlanders, and other Barbarians of the ſame kind, who inhabited ſomething nearer to our ſide than the reſt.

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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 farther 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 tho' 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 enquiry 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 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

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, ſtroaked 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 ſtroaked his legs, and kiſſed them, and then got up again, and ſtared at him; one would have thought the fellow 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: Seignor, 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 life: he ſaid abundance of very handſome things, as a well-bred *Spaniard* always knows how; and then beckoning to the perſon that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then aſked me, if I would walk to my 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

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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 fortifications? 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 befel 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

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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

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 expence of ten thouſand ſaid I's, and ſaid he's, and he told mé'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

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 enquired 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

honeſt part of it, but to treſpaſs upon their friendly ſavages, and to borrow two large canoes or periagua's, 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,

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 neither: 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,

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 powder 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 we found this, I ordered the long-boat on ſhore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to ſeek the rogues; but they could neither find them, nor any of the reſt; for they all fled into the woods, when they ſaw the boat coming on ſhore.

The

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 incloſed, 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

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 days at once. His comrade, ſeeing the danger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muſkets; and the man that was firſt ſtruck at with the pole, knocked the fellow down, who began the quarrel, with the ſtock of his 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

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 *Engliſhman* 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—mme'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

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, tho' 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, tho' they were but two to three: ſo that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodſhed among them; for they were all very ſtout, reſolute fellows, to give them their due.

But Providence took more care to keep them aſunder, than they themſelves could do to meet: for, as 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

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, ſleering 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

vocation 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

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 they 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

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

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

they were, but that 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 flock 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

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

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 farther into the woods, and placed themſelves to advantage, where they might ſecurely ſee them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not to be ſeen by them; but it ſeems the ſavages did ſee them, as we ſhall find hereafter.

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

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

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 ouze where the tide flowed, not ſo much as leaving any place to land, or any ſign that there had been any landing thereabout: theſe 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

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 intreating him not to murder the poor man, clapt 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

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

ceſſity 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

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

ſolemnly, that they would not hurt or injure any of the *Spaniards* with them, or of their fellow *Engliſhmen*.

Thus they diſmiſſed them the ſociety, and turned them out to ſhift for themſelves. They went away ſullen and refractory, as neither 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 plantation; 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

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 frolick took theſe rogues, which, together with the former villainy 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

The project was not so preposterous, if they had gone no farther; 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 villainies 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

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

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 15 or 20 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

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 enquiring 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 enquired, 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 women, 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 enquired, 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,

bate, 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, ſtrait and fair limbs, about 30 or 35 years of age, and five women, whereof two might be from 30 to 40, two more not above 24 or 25, and the fifth, a tall, comely maiden, about 16 or 17: the women were well favoured agreeable perſons, both in ſhape and features, only tawny; and two of them, had they been perfect

fect 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 takes 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

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,

The two men had innumerable young trees 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 impaſſable, 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

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

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

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 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*

niard recollected, that the three ſavages had no boat; 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

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,

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 farther.

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

by Stothard *Engravd by Medland*

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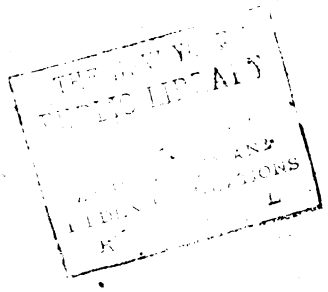

kept their ſtation for awhile, till they found the ſavages, like wild beaſts, ſpread themſelves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in ſearch for prey; and, in particular, for the people, of whom it plainly appeared they had intelligence.

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 farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther 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 farther they eſpied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the ſame way; beſides which, they ſaw ſeven or eight more at a diſtance, running another way; 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 loop-hole, 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,

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

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be ſuppoſed, enquiring 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 at all: this obliged them to fall upon them with the ſtocks of their muſquets; and

firſt,

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 ſpread ſo far. With the ſeven *Spaniards* came one of the ſavages, who, as I ſaid, were their priſoners formerly, and with them alſo came the ſavage whom the *Engliſhmen* had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for it ſeems they came that way, 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,

dered, 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 farther 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 over-ſet 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 formi-

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 eaſtermoſt 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 *Engliſh-men*, 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

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

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 knew 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

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

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's true, *Seignior*, and ſo ſhall I too; and that's 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

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,

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 diſ-

agreeable

agreeable 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.

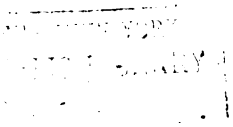
However, there was no need to give any order in this caſe; for their own ſavages, who were their ſervants, diſpatched thoſe poor creatures with their hatchets.

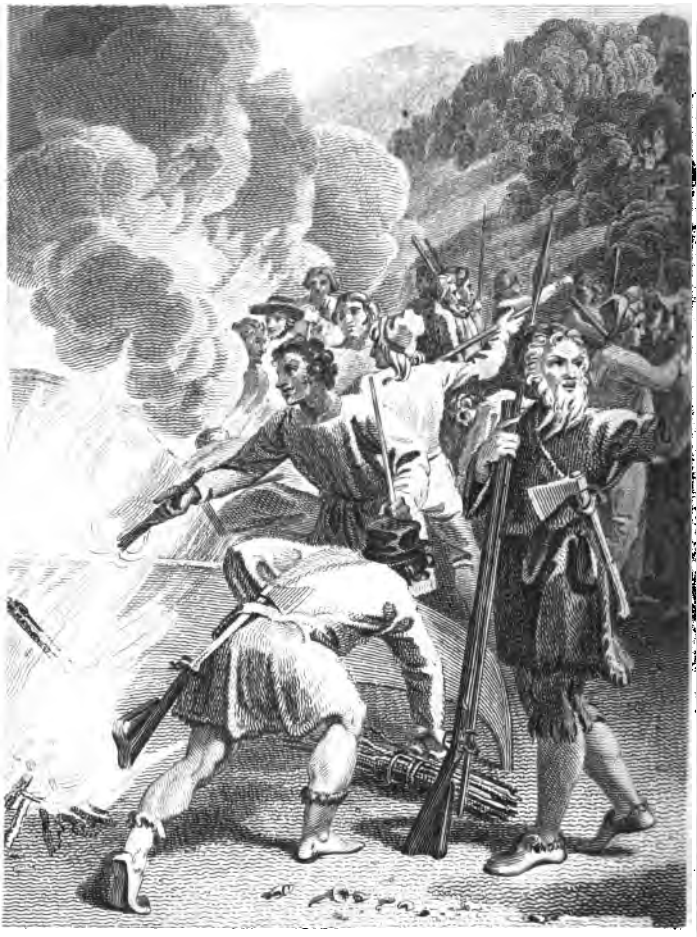
At length they came in view of the place where the more miſerable remains of the ſavages' army lay, where there appeared about 100 ſtill; their poſture was generally ſitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and the head put between the hands, leaning down upon the knees.

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 multi-





Drawn by Stothard. Engravid by Medland

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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 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 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, Waramokoa,*

ramokoa, 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

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 two 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 farther and farther, 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 gentleman-like, generous minded man that ever I met with in my life; and he propoſed, if poſſible, to take one of them alive,

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 re-viſit 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 enquiry after their countrymen;

men; 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, cup-boards, &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 22 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 ſpikes, 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

The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the 32 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, 20 feet wide, and about 30 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

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 don't 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

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

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 exceedingly; 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

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 farther, 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 bred 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 canibals, and eat men's fleſh, which was the great dainty of the country.

They

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 not had the diſaſter

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

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

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 extacy, when he met his father, and the poor people's extacy, 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 afflictions 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

vince 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 mate-

rials 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. As 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.*

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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 taylor, 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 taylor, 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, chiſſels, 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

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

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, farther 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 inconveniencies, 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 farther, 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

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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 gentleman-like 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 in 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*,

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 farther: 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 farther 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 fartheſt 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 ſurprized 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,

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, ſaid 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

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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 he 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 Chriſtan 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.

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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 clergyman, 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

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 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

ported 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 ſur-

priſed 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 idolators, 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 expence 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 an ſwer 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

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, unleſs 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,

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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

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 me, and ſhewed me that two of them were widowers, and the other three were ſingle men or bachelors: I aſked them, with what conſcience they could take theſe women, and lie with them, as they had done, call them their wives, and have ſo many children by them, and not be married lawfully to them?

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

I told them, that no doubt they were married in the ſight of GOD, and were bound in conſcience to keep them as their wives; but that the laws of men being otherwiſe, they might pretend they were not married, and ſo deſert the poor women and children hereafter; and that their wives, being poor deſolate women, friendleſs and moneyleſs, would have no way to help themſelves: I therefore told them, that unleſs I was aſſured of their honeſt intent, I could do nothing

thing 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, eſpecially *Will Atkins*, who ſeemed now to ſpeak for the reſt, that they loved their wives as well as if they had been born in their own native country, and would not leave them upon any account whatever; and they did verily believe their wives were as virtuous and as modeſt, and did, to the utmoſt of their ſkill, as much for them, and for their children, as any women could poſſibly do; and they would not part with them on any account: And *Will Atkins*, for his own particular, added, if any man would take him away, and offer to carry him home to *England*, and to make him captain of the beſt man of war in the navy, he would not go with him, if he might not carry his wife and children with him; and if there was a clergyman in the ſhip, he would be married to her now, with all his heart.

This was juſt as I would have it; the prieſt was not with me at that moment, but was not far off: So, to try him farther, I told him I had a clergyman with me, and, if he was ſincere, I would have him married the next morning; and bade him conſider of it, and talk with the reſt: He ſaid, as for himſelf,

ſelf, 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 enquired 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

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 ſerioufneſs 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 enquire 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

tually 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,

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*, 'tis 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 a God, and a religion better than her own; that her gods are idols; that they can neither hear nor ſpeak; that there is a great Being that made all things, and that can deſtroy all that he has made; that he rewards the good, and puniſhes the bad; 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.

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That's 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

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 han't 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) 'tis 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 'tis too late; and that 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 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 'tis never too late for men to aſk mercy; and we that are Chriſt's ſervants are commanded to preach mercy at all times, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, to all thoſe that ſincerely repent: ſo that 'tis 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

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 farther than to exhort and inſtruct; and when men comply, ſubmit to the reproof, and promiſe what we aſk, 'tis all we can do; we are bound to accept their good 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 won't 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 intreat 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 ſtoppped 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

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 intreated 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 ſerioufneſs 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 ex-

ample, 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, tho' 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 influence this poor man to convert and inſtruct the ignorant ſavage his wife, I can never believe that he ſhall be caſt away himſelf: and have I not reaſon then to rejoice, the nearer any are brought to the knowledge of Chriſt, though they may not be brought quite home into the boſom of the Catholic church, juſt at the time when I may deſire it; leaving it to the goodneſs of Chriſt to perfect his work in his own time, and his own way? Certainly I would rejoice, if all the ſavages in *America* were brought, like this

poor

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 farther 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,

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

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 did 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 a 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

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

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,

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's

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W. A. That's 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's 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.

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; 'tis 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 ſaw 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.

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 but diſcourſe with her, ſhe would make it appear to my ſatisfaction, that my labour would not be loſt upon her.

Accordingly I called her in, and placing myſelf as interpreter, between my religious prieſt and the woman, I entreated him to begin with her: but ſure ſuch a ſermon was never preached by a popiſh prieſt in theſe latter ages of the world; and, as I told him, I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the ſincerity of a Chriſtian, without the 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

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 at 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 37 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

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,

tation, 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 ſuitable. The character of that man I have given already; and as for the maid, ſhe was a very honeſt, modeſt, ſober, and religious young woman; 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

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

viour 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 100l. 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 greal 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,

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;

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 prieſtcraft 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

appear-

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 dread-

ful 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 baſon, 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 appetite, 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,

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 is 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,

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, don't 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

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

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 farther out to ſea, till they came directly broadſide with us, and then rowed down ſtraight upon us, till they came ſo near, that they could hear us ſpeak: Upon this, I ordered all my men to keep cloſe, leſt they ſhould ſhoot any more arrows, and make all our guns ready; but being ſo near as to be within hearing, I made *Friday* go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language, to know what they meant; which accordingly he did: whether they underſtood him or not, that I 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 know 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

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

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

underſtand any thing; but, in time, our men taught him ſome *Engliſh*, and he began to be a little tractable: Afterwards we enquired 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, thought 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

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

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 deſired; and, as an addition, I gave him the ſavage which

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 houſhold 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, tho' 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

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 turn-key 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 pretended 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 go-

vernment 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, farther 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;

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 farther 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 ſuper-cargo 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 ſuper-cargo, 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 *Coromande;* 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 winds, ſituation of ports, and the like; ſuch

as

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 up at a diſtance from us, which, it ſeems, is a mark in the country, not only of truce and friendſhip, but when it is ac-

cepted, 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 launces, 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

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, or 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 could 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 broad-ſide 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

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* ſide: I was careful to do it in the dark, leſt we ſhould be attacked again; but I ought indeed to have been ſure, that the men I went with had been under my command, before I engaged in a thing ſo hazardous and miſchievous, as I was brought into it without my knowledge or deſire.

We took twenty ſtout fellows with us as any in the ſhip, beſides the ſupercargo and myſelf; and we landed two hours before midnight, at the ſame place where the *Indians* ſtood drawn up the evening before: I landed here, becauſe my deſign, as I have ſaid, was chiefly to ſee if they had quitted the field, and if they had left any marks behind them, or of the miſchief we had done them; and I thought, if we could ſurpriſe

priſe one or two of them, perhaps we might get our man again, by way of exchange.

We landed without any noiſe, and divided our men into two companies, whereof the boatſwain commanded one, and I the other: We neither could hear nor ſee any body ſtir when we landed; ſo we marched up, one body at a diſtance from the other, to the field of battle: At firſt we could ſee nothing, it being very dark; but by and by, our boatſwain, that led the firſt party, ſtumbled and fell over a dead body: This made them halt there awhile; for knowing by the circumſtances, that they were at the place where the *Indians* had ſtood, they waited for my coming up: Here we concluded to halt till the moon began to riſe, which we knew would be in leſs than an hour; and then we could eaſily diſcern the havock we had made among them: We told two-and-thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead. Some had an arm, and ſome a leg, ſhot off; and one his head: Thoſe that were wounded, we ſuppoſed they had carried away.

When we had made, as I thought, a full diſcovery of all we could come at the knowledge of, I was for going on board again; but the boatſwain and his party often ſent me word, that they were reſolved to make a viſit to the *Indian* town, where theſe dogs, as they called them, dwelt; and deſired me to go along with them; and if they could find them, as they ſtill fancied they ſhould, they did not doubt, they ſaid, getting a good booty; and it might be, they might find *Thomas Jeffrys* there: that was the man's name we had loſt.

Had

Had they ſent to aſk my leave to go, I knew well enough what anſwer to have given them; for I would have commanded them inſtantly on board, knowing it was not a hazard fit for us to run, who had a ſhip, and a ſhip's loading in our charge, and a voyage to make, which depended very much upon the lives of the men; but as they ſent me word they were reſolved to go, and only aſked me and my company to go along with them, I poſitively refuſed it, and roſe up (for I was ſitting on the ground) in order to go to the boat. One or two of the men began to importune me to go; and, when I ſtill refuſed poſitively, began to grumble, and ſay they were not under my command, and they would go. Come, *Jack*, ſays one of the men, will you go with me? I will go for one. *Jack* ſaid he would; and another followed, and then another; and, in a word, they all left me but one, whom, with much difficulty too, I perſuaded to ſtay: ſo the ſupercargo and I, with one man, went back to the boat, where, I told them, we would ſtay for them, and take care to take in as many of them as ſhould be left; for I told them, it was a mad thing they were going about, and ſuppoſed moſt of them would run the fate of *Thomas Jeffrys*.

They told me, like ſeamen, they'd warrant it they would come off again; and they would take care, &c. So away they went. I intreated them to conſider the ſhip, and the voyage; that their lives were not their own; and that they were intruſted with the voyage, in ſome meaſure; that if they miſcarried, the ſhip might be loſt for want of their help; and

and that they could not anſwer it to GOD and man. I ſaid a great deal more to them on that head, but I might as well have talked to the main-maſt of the ſhip; they were mad upon their journey; only they gave me good words, and begged I would not be angry; ſaid they would be very cautious, and they did not doubt but they would be back again in about an hour, at fartheſt; for the *Indian* town, they ſaid, was not above half a mile off; though they found it above two miles before they got to it.

Well, they all went away, as above; and though the attempt was deſperate, and ſuch as none but madmen would have gone about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it warily, as well as boldly. They were gallantly armed, that is true; for they had every man a fuſil or muſquet, a bayonet, and every man a piſtol; ſome of them had broad cutlaſſes, ſome of them hangers; and the boatſwain, and two more, had pole-axes: beſides all which, they had among them thirteen hand-grenadoes. Bolder fellows, and better provided, never went about any wicked work in the world.

When they went out, their chief deſign was plunder; and they were in mighty hopes of finding gold there; but a circumſtance, which none of them were aware of, ſet them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all: When they came to the few *Indian* houſes, which they thought had been the town, which were not above half a mile off, they were under a great diſappointment; for there were not above twelve or thirteen houſes; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not: They conſulted

ſulted therefore what to do, and were ſome time before they could reſolve: for if they fell upon theſe, they muſt cut all their throats; and it was ten to one but ſome of them might eſcape, it being in the night, though the moon was up; and if one eſcaped, he would run away, and raiſe all the town, ſo they ſhould have a whole army upon them. Again, on the other hand, if they went away, and left thoſe untouched (for the people were all aſleep) they could not tell which way to look for the town.

However, the laſt was the beſt advice; ſo they reſolved to leave thoſe houſes, and look for the town as well as they could: They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree: this they preſently concluded would be a good guide to them; for they ſaid the cow certainly belonged to the town before them, or the town behind them; and if they untied her, they ſhould ſee which way ſhe went: if ſhe went back, they had nothing to ſay to her; but if ſhe went forward, they had nothing to do but to follow her; ſo they cut the cord, which was made of twiſted flags, and the cow went on before them: In a word, the cow led them directly to the town, which, as they reported, conſiſted of above 200 houſes, or huts; and in ſome of theſe they found ſeveral families living together.

Here they found all ſilent; as profoundly ſecure, as ſleep and a country that had never ſeen an enemy of that kind, could make them. Upon this they called another council, to conſider what they had to do; and, in a word, they reſolved to divide themſelves into three bodies, and to ſet three houſes on fire

fire in three parts of the town; and as the men came out, to ſeize them, and bind them; if any reſiſted, they need not be aſked what to do then; and ſo to ſearch the reſt of the houſes for plunder; but reſolved to march ſilently firſt through the town, and ſee what dimenſions it was of, and conſider if they might venture upon it, or no.

They did ſo, and deſperately reſolved that they would venture upon them; but while they were animating one another to the work, three of them, that were a little before the reſt, called out aloud, and told them they had found *Thomas Jeffrys;* they all ran up to the place, and ſo it was indeed, for there they found the poor fellow, hanged up naked by one arm, and his throat cut: There was an *Indian* houſe juſt by the tree, where they found ſixteen or ſeventeen of the principal *Indians,* who had been concerned in the fray with us before, and two or three of them wounded with our ſhot; and our men found they were awake, and talking one to another in that houſe, but knew not their number.

The ſight of their poor mangled comrade ſo enraged them, as before, that they ſwore to one another they would be revenged, and that not an *Indian* who came into their hands ſhould have quarter; and to work they went immediately; and yet not ſo madly as by the rage and fury they were in might be expected. Their firſt care was to get ſomething that would ſoon take fire; but after a little ſearch, they found that would be to no purpoſe, for moſt of the houſes were low, and thatched with flags or ruſhes, of which the country is full; ſo they preſently made ſome wild

fire, as we call it, by wetting a little powder in the palms of their hands; and, in a quarter of an hour, they ſet the town on fire in four or five places; and particularly that houſe where the *Indians* were not gone to bed. As ſoon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frighted creatures began to ruſh out to ſave their lives; but met with their fate in the attempt, and eſpecially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatſwain himſelf killing one or two with his pole-axe; the houſe being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for an hand grenado, and threw it among them, which, at firſt, frighted them; but when it burſt, made ſuch havock among them, that they cried out in a hideous manner.

In ſhort, moſt of the *Indians* who were in the open part of the houſe, were killed or hurt with the grenado, except two or three more, who preſſed to the door, which the boatſwain and two more kept with the bayonets in the muzzles of their pieces, and diſpatched all who came that way. But there was another apartment in the houſe, where the prince, or king, or whatſoever he was, and ſeveral others, were; and they kept in, till the houſe, which was by this time all of a light flame, fell in upon them, and they were ſmothered, or burnt together.

All this while they fired not a gun, becauſe they would not waken the people faſter than they could maſter them; but the fire began to waken them faſt enough, and our fellows were glad to keep a little together in bodies; for the fire grew ſo raging, all the houſes being made of light combuſtible ſtuff, that they could hardly bear the ſtreet between them;

and

and their buſineſs was to follow the fire for the ſurer execution: As faſt as the fire either forced the people out of thoſe houſes which were burning, or frighted them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, ſtill calling and hallooing to one another to remember *Thomas Jeffrys*.

While this was doing, I muſt confeſs I was very uneaſy, and eſpecially, when I ſaw the flames of the town, which, it being night, ſeemed to be juſt by me.

My nephew, the captain, who was rouſed by his men too, ſeeing ſuch a fire, was very uneaſy, not knowing what the matter was, or what danger I was in; eſpecially hearing the guns too; for by this time they began to uſe their fire-arms: A thouſand thoughts oppreſſed his mind concerning me and the ſupercargo, what ſhould become of us: and at laſt, though he could ill ſpare any more men, yet, not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with thirteen men and himſelf comes on ſhore to me.

He was ſurpriſed to ſee me and the ſupercargo in the boat, with no more than two men, for one had been left to keep the boat; and though he was glad that we were well; yet he was in the ſame impatience with us to know what was doing; for the noiſe continued, and the flame increaſed: I confeſs it was next to an impoſſibility for any men in the world to reſtrain their curioſity of knowing what had happened, or their concern for the ſafety of the men. In a word, the captain told me, he would go and help his

men, let what would come. I argued with him, as I did before with the men, the ſafety of the ſhip, and the danger of the voyage, the intereſt of the owners and merchants, &c. and told him I would go, and the two men, and only ſee if we could, at a diſtance, learn what was like to be the event, and come back and tell him.

It was all one to talk to my nephew, as it was to talk to the reſt before; he would go, he ſaid, and he only wiſhed he had left but ten men in the ſhip; for he could not think of having his men loſt for want of help: he had rather, he ſaid, loſe the ſhip, the voyage, and his life, and all: And ſo away went he.

Nor was I any more able to ſtay behind now, than I was to perſuade them not to go before; ſo, in ſhort, the captain ordered two men to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more from the ſhip, leaving the long-boat at an anchor; and that when they came back, ſix men ſhould keep the two boats, and ſix more come after us; ſo that he left only ſixteen men in the ſhip; for the whole ſhip's company conſiſted of 65 men, whereof two were loſt in the firſt quarrel which brought this miſchief on.

Being now on the march, you may be ſure we felt little of the ground we trod on; and being guided by the fire, we kept no path, but went directly to the place of the flame. If the noiſe of the guns were ſurpriſing to us before, the cries of the poor people were now quite of another nature, and filled us with horror. I muſt confeſs I never was at the ſacking of a city, or at the taking of a town by ſtorm; I have heard

heard of *Oliver Cromwell* taking *Drogheda*, in *Ireland*, and killing man, woman, and child; and I had read of Count *Tilly* ſacking the city of *Magdebourg*, and cutting the throats of 22000 of both ſexes; but I never had an idea of the thing itſelf before; nor is it poſſible to deſcribe it, or the horror which was upon our minds at hearing it.

However we went on, and, at length, came to the town, though there was no entering the ſtreets of it for the fire. The firſt object we met with was the ruins of a hut or houſe, or rather the aſhes of it, for the houſe was conſumed; and juſt before it, plain now to be ſeen by the light of the fire, lay four men and three women killed; and, as we thought, one or two more lay in the heap among the fire. In ſhort, theſe were ſuch inſtances of a rage altogether barbarous, and of a fury ſomething beyond what was human, that we thought it impoſſible our men could be guilty of it; or, if they were the authors of it, we thought that every one of them ought to be put to the worſt of deaths: But this was not all; we ſaw the fire increaſed forward, and the cry went on juſt as the fire went on, ſo that we were in the utmoſt confuſion. We advanced a little way farther; and beheld, to our aſtoniſhment, three women naked, crying in a moſt dreadful manner, and flying as if they had, indeed, had wings, and after them ſixteen or ſeventeen men, natives, in the ſame terror and conſternation, with three of our *Engliſh* butchers (for I can call them no better) in the rear; who, when they could not overtake them, fired in among them, and one that was killed by their ſhot, fell down in our ſight; when the reſt ſaw us, believing

us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them, as well as thoſe that purſued them, they ſet up a moſt dreadful ſhriek, eſpecially the women; and two of them fell down as if already dead with the fright.

My very ſoul ſhrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins when I ſaw this; and I believe, had the three *Engliſh* ſailors that purſued them come on, I had made our men kill them all. However, we took ſome ways to let the poor flying creatures know that we would not hurt them; and immediately they came up to us, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up, made piteous lamentations to us to ſave them, which we let them know we would do; whereupon they kept all together in a huddle, cloſe behind us, for protection. I left my men drawn up together, and charged them to hurt nobody, but, if poſſible, to get at ſome of our people, and ſee what devil it was poſſeſſed them, and what they intended to do; and, in a word, to command them off; aſſuring them, that if they ſtaid till day-light, they would have a hundred thouſand men about their ears; I ſay, I left them, and went among thoſe flying people, taking only two of our men with me: and there was, indeed, a piteous ſpectacle among them: Some of them had their feet terribly burnt with trampling and running through the fire; others their hands burnt; one of the women had fallen down in the fire, and was almoſt burnt to death before ſhe could get out again; two or three of the men had cuts in their backs and thighs, from our men purſuing; and another was ſhot through the body, and died while I was there.

I would

I would fain have learned what the occaſion of all this was, but I could not underſtand one word they ſaid, though by ſigns I perceived that ſome of them knew not what was the occaſion themſelves. I was ſo terrified in my thoughts at this outrageous attempt, that I could not ſtay there, but went back to my own men: I told them my reſolution, and commanded them to follow me, when in the very moment came four of our men, with the boatſwain at their head, running over the heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and duſt, as if they wanted more people to maſſacre; when our men hallooed to them as loud as they could halloo; and, with much ado, one of them made them hear; ſo that they knew who we were, and came up to us.

As ſoon as the boatſwain ſaw us, he ſet up a halloo, like a ſhout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come; and without bearing to hear me, Captain, ſays he, noble captain, I am glad you are come; we have not half done yet: Villains! hell-hound dogs! I will kill as many of them as poor *Tom* has hairs upon his head. We have ſworn to ſpare none of them; we will root out the very name of them from the earth: and thus he ran on, out of breath too with action, and would not give us leave to ſpeak a word.

At laſt, raiſing my voice that I might ſilence him a little: Barbarous dog! ſaid I, what are you doing? I won't have one creature touched more, upon pain of death. I charge you, upon your life, to ſtop your hands, and ſtand ſtill here, or you are a dead man this minute.

Why, Sir, ſays he, do you know what you do, or what they have done? If you want a reaſon for what we have done, come hither; and with that he ſhewed me the poor fellow hanging upon a tree, with his throat cut.

I confeſs I was urged then myſelf, and at another time ſhould have been forward enough; but I thought they had carried their rage too far, and thought of *Jacob*'s words to his ſons *Simeon* and *Levi*, "*Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their* "*wrath, for it was cruel.*" But I had now a new taſk upon my hands; for when the men I carried with me ſaw the fight, as I had done, I had as much to do to reſtrain them, as I ſhould have had with the others; nay, my nephew himſelf fell in with them, and told me, in their hearing, that he was only concerned for fear of the men being overpowered; for, as to the people, he thought not one of them ought to live; for they had all glutted themſelves with the murder of the poor man, and that they ought to be uſed like murderers: upon theſe words, away ran eight of my men with the boatſwain and his crew, to complete their bloody work: and I, ſeeing it quite out of my power to reſtrain them, came away penſive and ſad; for I could not bear the fight, much leſs the horrible noiſe and cries of the poor wretches that fell into their hands.

I got nobody to come back with me but the ſupercargo and two men, and with theſe I walked back to the boats. It was a very great piece of folly in me, I confeſs, to venture back as it were alone; for as it began now to be almoſt day, and the alarm had run over the country, there ſtood about forty men,

armed with lances and bows, at the little place where the twelve or thirteen houſes ſtood, mentioned before; but by accident I miſſed the place, and came directly to the ſea-ſide; and by that time I got to the ſea-ſide, it was broad day: immediately I took the pinnace, and went aboard, and ſent her back to aſſiſt the men in what might happen.

I obſerved, that about the time I came to the boat-ſide, the fire was pretty well out, and the noiſe abated; but in about half an hour after I got on board, I heard a volley of our men's fire arms, and ſaw a great ſmoke; this, as I underſtood afterwards, was our men falling upon the forty men, who, as I ſaid, ſtood at the few houſes on the way; of whom they killed ſixteen or ſeventeen, and ſet all thoſe houſes on fire, but did not meddle with the women or children.

By that time the men got to the ſhore again with the pinnace, our men began to appear; they came dropping in, ſome and ſome; not in two bodies, and in form, as they went out, but all in heaps, ſtraggling here and there in ſuch manner, that a ſmall force of reſolute men might have cut them all off.

But the dread of them was upon the whole country: The people were amazed and ſurpriſed, and ſo frighted, that, I believe, an hundred of them would have fled at the ſight of but five of our men. Nor in all this terrible action was there a man who made any conſiderable defence; they were ſo ſurprized between the terror of the fire, and the ſudden attack of our men in the dark, that they knew not which way to turn themſelves; for if they fled one way, they were met by one party; if back again, by another;

ther; ſo that they were every where knocked down. Nor did any of our men receive the leaſt hurt, except one who ſtrained his foot, and another had one of his hands very much burnt.

I was very angry with my nephew, the captain, and, indeed, with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular; as well for his acting ſo out of his duty, as commander of the ſhip, and having the charge of the voyage upon him, as in his prompting, rather than cooling, the rage of his men, in ſo bloody and cruel an enterpriſe: My nephew anſwered me very reſpectfully; but told me that when he ſaw the body of the poor ſeaman, whom they had murdered in ſuch a cruel and barbarous manner, he was not maſter of himſelf, neither could he govern his paſſion; he owned, he ſhould not have done ſo, as he was commander of the ſhip; but, as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not bear it. As for the reſt of the men, they were not ſubject to me at all; and they knew it well enough, ſo they took no notice of my diſlike.

The next day we ſet ſail; ſo we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the number they killed; ſome ſaid one thing, ſome another: But, according to the beſt of their accounts put all together, they killed, or deſtroyed, about 150 people, men, women, and children, and left not a houſe ſtanding in the town.

As for the poor fellow *Thomas Jeffrys*, as he was quite dead, for his throat was ſo cut that his head was half off, it would do him no ſervice to bring him away; ſo they left him where they found him, only

only took him down from the tree where he was hanged by one hand.

However juſt our men thought this action to be, I was againſt them in it; and I always, after that time, told them GOD would blaſt the voyage; for I looked upon the blood they ſhed that night to be murder in them: for though it is true that they killed *Thomas Jeffrys*, yet it was as true that *Jeffrys* was the aggreſſor, had broken the truce, and had violated or debauched a young woman of their's, who came to our camp innocently, and on the faith of their capitulation.

The boatſwain defended this quarrel when we were afterwards on board. He ſaid, it was true that we ſeemed to break the truce, but really had not; and that the war was begun the night before by the natives themſelves, who had ſhot at us, and killed one of our men without any juſt provocation; ſo that, as we were in a capacity to fight them, we might alſo be in a capacity to do ourſelves juſtice upon them in an extraordinary manner; that though the poor man had taken liberty with a wench, he ought not to have been murdered, and that in ſuch a villainous manner; and that they did nothing but what was juſt, and that the laws of GOD allowed to be done to murderers.

One would think this ſhould have been enough to have warned us againſt going on ſhore among heathens and barbarians; but it is impoſſible to make mankind wiſe, but at their own experience; and their experience ſeems to be always of moſt uſe to them, when it is deareſt bought.

We were now bound to the gulph of *Perſia*, and from thence to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, only to touch

at

at *Surat;* but the chief of the ſupercargo's deſign lay at the bay of *Bengal*, where, if he miſſed of the buſineſs outward-bound, he was to go up to *China*, and return to the coaſt as he came home.

The firſt diſaſter that befel us was in the gulph of *Perſia*, where five of our men, venturing on ſhore on the *Arabian* ſide of the gulph, were ſurrounded by the *Arabs*, and either all killed, or carried away into ſlavery; the reſt of the boat's crew were not able to reſcue them, and had but juſt time to get off their boat: I began to upbraid them with the juſt retribution of Heaven in this caſe; but the boatſwain very warmly told me, he thought I went farther in my cenſures than I could ſhew any warrant for in ſcripture, and referred to the thirteenth of St. *Luke*, ver. 4. where our Saviour intimates, that thoſe men, on whom the Tower of *Siloam* fell, were not ſinners above all the *Galileans;* but that which, indeed, put me to ſilence in this caſe, was, that none of theſe five men, who were now loſt, were of the number of thoſe who went on ſhore to the maſſacre of *Madagaſcar* (ſo I always called it, though our men could not bear the word *maſſacre* with any patience): and, indeed, this laſt circumſtance, as I have ſaid, put me to ſilence for the preſent.

But my frequent preaching to them on this ſubject had worſe conſequences than I expected; and the boatſwain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me, he found that I continually brought that affair upon the ſtage; that I made unjuſt reflections upon it, and had uſed

uſed the men very ill on that account, and himſelf in particular; that as I was but a paſſenger, and had no command in the ſhip, or concern in the voyage, they were not obliged to bear it; that they did not know but I might have ſome ill deſign in my head, and, perhaps, call them to an account for it, when they came to *England;* and that therefore, unleſs I would reſolve to have done with it, and alſo not to concern myſelf farther with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ſhip; for he did not think it was ſafe to ſail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done, and then told him, that I did confeſs I had all along oppoſed the maſſacre of *Madagaſcar*, for ſuch I would always call it; and that I had on all occaſions ſpoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the reſt; that as to my having no command in the ſhip, that was true, nor did I exerciſe any authority, only took the liberty of ſpeaking my mind in things which publickly concerned us all; as to what concern I had in the voyage, that was none of his buſineſs; I was a conſiderable owner of the ſhip, and in that claim I conceived I had a right to ſpeak, even farther than I had yet done, and would not be accountable to him, or any one elſe; and began to be a little warm with him: he made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought that affair had been over. We were at this time in the road to *Bengal;* and, being willing to ſee the place, I went on ſhore with the ſupercargo, in the ſhip's boat, to divert myſelf; and towards evening was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and told

told me, he would not have me trouble myſelf to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board. Any one may gueſs what a ſurpriſe I was in at ſo inſolent a meſſage; and I aſked the man, who bade him deliver that errand to me? He told me the cockſwain. I ſaid no more to the fellow, but bid him let them know he had delivered his meſſage, and that I had given him no anſwer to it.

I immediately went, and found out the ſupercargo, and told him the ſtory, adding, what I preſently foreſaw, *viz.* that there would certainly be a mutiny in the ſhip; and intreated him to go immediately on board the ſhip in an *Indian* boat, and acquaint the captain of it: but I might have ſpared this intelligence, for, before I had ſpoken to him on ſhore, the matter was effected on board: the boatſwain, the gunner, the carpenter, and in a word, all the inferior officers, as ſoon as I was gone off in the boat, came up to the quarter-deck, and deſired to ſpeak with the captain; and there the boatſwain, making a long harangue (for the fellow talked very well), and repeating all he had ſaid to me, told the captain in a few words, that as I was now gone peaceably on ſhore, they were loth to uſe any violence with me; which, if I had not gone on ſhore, they would otherwiſe have done, to oblige me to have gone. They therefore thought fit to tell him, that as they ſhipped themſelves to ſerve in the ſhip under his command, they would perform it faithfully: but if I would not quit the ſhip, or the captain oblige me to quit it, they would all leave the ſhip, and ſail no farther with him: and at that word ALL, he turned his face about towards

towards the main-maſt, which was, it ſeems, the ſignal agreed on between them; at which all the ſeamen being got together, they cried out, One and ALL, One and ALL!

My nephew, the captain, was a man of ſpirit, and of great preſence of mind, and though he was ſurpriſed, you may be ſure, at the thing, yet he told them calmly he would conſider of the matter; but that he could do nothing in it till he had ſpoken to me about it: he uſed ſome arguments with them, to ſhew them the unreaſonableneſs and injuſtice of the thing; but it was all in vain; they ſwore, and ſhook hands round, before his face, that they would go all on ſhore, unleſs he would engage to them not to ſuffer me to come on board the ſhip.

This was an hard article upon him, who knew his obligation to me, and did not know how I might take it; ſo he began to talk cavalierly to them; told them that I was a very conſiderable owner of the ſhip, and that in juſtice he could not put me out of my own houſe; that this was next door to ſerving me as the famous pirate *Kid* had done, who made the mutiny in the ſhip, ſet the captain on ſhore in an uninhabited iſland, and ran away with the ſhip; that let them go into what ſhip they would, if ever they came to *England* again, it would coſt them dear; that the ſhip was mine, and that he would not put me out of it; and that he would rather loſe the ſhip, and the voyage too, than diſoblige me ſo much; ſo they might do as they pleaſed. However, he would go on ſhore, and talk with me there; and invited the boatſwain to go with him, and perhaps they might accommodate the matter with me.

But they all rejected the propoſal; and ſaid, they would have nothing to do with me any more, neither on board, or on ſhore; and if I came on board, they would go on ſhore. Well, ſaid the captain, if you are all of this mind, let me go on ſhore, and talk with him: ſo away he came to me with this account, a little after the meſſage had been brought to me from the cockſwain.

I was very glad to ſee my nephew, I muſt confeſs; for I was not without apprehenſions that they would confine him by violence, ſet ſail, and run away with the ſhip; and then I had been ſtript naked, in a remote country, and nothing to help myſelf: in ſhort, I had been in a worſe caſe than when I was all alone in the iſland.

But they had not come to that length, it ſeems, to my great ſatisfaction; and when my nephew told me what they had ſaid to him, and how they had ſworn, and ſhook hands, that they would one and all leave the ſhip, if I was ſuffered to come on board, I told him, he ſhould not be concerned at it at all, for I would ſtay on ſhore: I only deſired he would take care and ſend me all my neceſſary things on ſhore, and leave me a ſufficient ſum of money, and I would find my way to England as well as I could.

This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew; but there was no way to help it, but to comply with it. So in ſhort, he went on board the ſhip again, and ſatisfied the men, that his uncle had yielded to their importunity, and had ſent for his goods from on board the ſhip. So the matter was over in a very few hours: the men returned to their duty, and I begun to conſider what courſe I ſhould ſteer.

I was

I was now alone in the remoteſt part of the world, as I think I may call it; for I was near three thouſand leagues, by ſea, farther off from England than I was at my iſland; only, it is true, I might travel here by land, over the *Great Mogul*'s country to *Surat*, might go from thence to Baſſora by ſea, up the gulph of *Perſia*, and from thence might take the way of the caravans, over the deſerts of *Arabia* to *Aleppo* and *Scanderoon*; and from thence by ſea again to *Italy*, and ſo over land into *France*; and this, put together, might be, at leaſt, a full diameter of the globe; but, if it were to be meaſured, I ſuppoſe it would appear to be a great deal more.

I had another way before me, which was to wait for ſome *Engliſh* ſhips, which were coming to *Bengal*, from *Achin*, on the iſland of *Sumatra*, and get paſſage on board them for *England*: but as I came hither without any concern with the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, ſo it would be difficult to go from hence without their licence, unleſs with great favour of the captains of the ſhips, or of the company's factors; and to both I was an utter ſtranger.

Here I had the particular pleaſure, ſpeaking by contrarieties, to ſee the ſhip ſet ſail without me; a treatment, I think, a man in my circumſtances ſcarce ever met with, except from pirates running away with a ſhip, and ſetting thoſe that would not agree with their villainy on ſhore: indeed, this was the next door to it, both ways. However, my nephew left me two ſervants, or rather, one companion, and one ſervant: the firſt was clerk to the purſer, whom he engaged to go with me; and the other was his own ſervant. I took me alſo a good lodging in the houſe

of an *Engliſh* woman, where ſeveral merchants lodged, ſome *French*, two *Italians*, or rather *Jews*, and one *Engliſhman*. Here I was handſomely enough entertained; and, that I might not be ſaid to run raſhly upon any thing, I ſtayed here above nine months, conſidering what courſe to take, and how to manage myſelf. I had ſome *Engliſh* goods with me of value, and a conſiderable ſum of money; my nephew furniſhing me with a thouſand pieces of eight, and a letter of credit for more, if I had occaſion, that I might not be ſtraitened, whatever might happen.

I quickly diſpoſed of my goods, and to advantage too; and, as I originally intended, I bought here ſome very good diamonds, which, of all other things, was the moſt proper for me, in my circumſtances, becauſe I might always carry my whole eſtate about me.

After a long ſtay here, and many propoſals made for my return to *England*, but none falling to my mind, the *Engliſh* merchant, who lodged with me, and with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, came to me one morning: Countryman, ſays he, I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it ſuits with my thoughts, may, for aught I know, ſuit with your's alſo, when you ſhall have thoroughly conſidered it.

Here we are poſted, ſays he, you by accident, and I by my own choice, in a part of the world very remote from our own country; but it is in a country where, by us who underſtand trade and buſineſs, a great deal of money is to be got: if you will put a thouſand pounds to my thouſand pounds, we will hire a ſhip here, the firſt we can get to our minds,

you

you ſhall be captain, I'll be merchant, and we will go a trading voyage to *China*: for what ſhould we ſtand ſtill for? The whole world is in motion, rolling round and round; all the creatures of GOD, heavenly bodies and earthly, are buſy and diligent: why ſhould we be idle? There are no drones, ſays he, living in the world but men: why ſhould we be of that number?

I liked this propoſal very well; and the more, becauſe it ſeemed to be expreſſed with ſo much good will, and in ſo friendly a manner. I will not ſay, but that I might, by my looſe and unhinged circumſtances, be the fitter to embrace a propoſal for trade, and, indeed, for any thing elſe; or otherwiſe, trade was none of my element: however, I might, perhaps, ſay, with ſome truth, that if trade was not my element, rambling was; and no propoſal for ſeeing any part of the world, which I had never ſeen before, could poſſibly come amiſs to me.

It was, however, ſome time before we could get a ſhip to our mind; and when we got a veſſel, it was not eaſy to get *Engliſh* ſailors; that is to ſay, ſo many as were neceſſary to govern the voyage, and manage the ſailors which we ſhould pick up there. After ſome time we got a mate, a boatſwain, and a gunner, *Engliſh*; a *Dutch* carpenter, and three *Portugueſe*, foremaſt men; with theſe, we found we could do well enough, having *Indian* ſeamen, ſuch as they are, to make up.

There are ſo many travellers who have written the hiſtory of their voyages and travels this way, that it would be but very little diverſion to any body, to

give a long account of the places we went to, and the people who inhabit there: thoſe things I leave to others, and refer the reader to thoſe journals and travels of *Engliſhmen*, many of which, I find, are publiſhed, and more promiſed every day. It is enough for me to tell you, that we made the voyage to *Achin*, in the iſland of *Sumatra*, firſt; and from thence to *Siam*, where we exchanged ſome of our wares for opium, and for ſome arrack; the firſt, a commodity which bears a great price among the *Chineſe*, and which, at that time, was very much wanted there: in a word, we went up to *Suſham*; made a very great voyage; were eight months out; and returned to *Bengal*: and I was very well ſatisfied with my adventure. I obſerve, that our people in *England*, often admire how the officers, which the Company ſend into India, and the merchants which generally ſtay there, get ſuch very good eſtates as they do, and ſometimes come home worth ſixty, ſeventy, and an hundred thouſand pounds at a time.

But it is no wonder, or, at leaſt, we ſhall ſee ſo much farther into it, when we conſider the innumerable ports and places where they have a free commerce, that it will then be no wonder; and much leſs will it be ſo, when we conſider, that all thoſe places and ports where the *Engliſh* ſhips come, there is ſo much, and ſuch conſtant demand for the growth of all other countries, that there is a certain vent for the return, as well as a market abroad for the goods carried out.

In ſhort, we made a very good voyage, and I got ſo much money by the firſt adventure, and ſuch an inſight

inſight into the method of getting more, that, had I been twenty years younger, I ſhould have been tempted to have ſtayed here, and ſought no farther for making my fortune: but what was all this to a man on the wrong ſide of threeſcore, that was rich enough, and came abroad more in obedience to a reſtleſs deſire of ſeeing the world, than a covetous deſire of getting in it? And, indeed, I think, it is with great juſtice that I now call it a reſtleſs deſire; for it was ſo: when I was at home, I was reſtleſs to go abroad; and now I was abroad, I was reſtleſs to be at home. I ſay, what was this gain to me? I was rich enough already; nor had I any uneaſy deſires about getting more money; and therefore, the profits of the voyage to me, were things of no great force to me, for the prompting me forward to farther undertakings: hence I thought, that by this voyage I had made no progreſs at all; becauſe I was come back, as I might call it, to the place from whence I came, as to an home; whereas my eye, which, like that which Solomon ſpeaks of, was never ſatisfied with ſeeing, was ſtill more deſirous of wandering and ſeeing. I was come into a part of the world which I never was in before; and that part in particular, which I had heard much of; and was reſolved to ſee as much of it as I could; and then I thought, I might ſay, I had ſeen all the world that was worth ſeeing.

But my fellow-traveller and I had different notions: I do not name this to inſiſt upon my own, for I acknowledge his was moſt juſt, and the moſt ſuited to the end of a merchant's life; who, when he is

abroad upon adventures, it is his wiſdom to ſtick to that, as the beſt thing for him, which he is like to get the moſt money by. My new friend kept himſelf to the nature of the thing, and would have been content to have gone, like a carrier's horſe, always to the ſame inn, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it: on the other hand, mine, as old as I was, was the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to ſee a thing twice over.

But this was not all: I had a kind of impatience upon me to be nearer home, and yet the moſt unſettled reſolution imaginable, which way to go. In the interval of theſe conſultations, my friend, who was always upon the ſearch for buſineſs, propoſed another voyage to me, *viz.* among the Spice Iſlands; and to bring home a load of cloves from the *Manillas*, or thereabouts; places where, indeed, the *Dutch* do trade, but the iſlands belong partly to the *Spaniards*; though we went not ſo far, but to ſome other, where they have not the whole power as they have at *Batavia*, *Ceylon*, &c. We were not long in preparing for this voyage; the chief difficulty was in bringing me to come into it; however, at laſt, nothing elſe offering, and finding that really ſtirring about and trading, the profit being ſo great, and, as I may ſay, certain, had more pleaſure in it, and more ſatisfaction to the mind, than ſitting ſtill; which, to me eſpecially, was the unhappieſt part of life, I reſolved on this voyage too: which we made very ſucceſsfully, touching at *Borneo*, and ſeveral iſlands, whoſe names I do not remember, and came home in about five months. We ſold our ſpice, which was chiefly cloves, and

ſome nutmegs, to the *Perſian* merchants, who carried them away for the Gulph; and, making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

My friend, when we made up this account, ſmiled at me: Well now, ſaid he, with a ſort of an agreeable inſult upon my indolent temper, is not this better than walking about here, like a man of nothing to do, and ſpending our time in ſtaring at the nonſenſe and ignorance of the Pagans? Why truly, ſaid I, my friend, I think it is; and I begin to be a convert to the principles of merchandizing. But I muſt tell you, ſaid I, by the way, you do not know what I am doing; for if once I conquer my backwardneſs, and embark heartily, as old as I am, I ſhall harraſs you up and down the world till I tire you; for I ſhall purſue it ſo eagerly, I ſhall never let you lie ſtill.

But to be ſhort with my ſpeculations: a little while after this, there came in a *Dutch* ſhip from *Batavia;* ſhe was a coaſter, not an *European* trader, and of about two hundred tons burden: the men, as they pretended, having been ſo ſickly, that the captain had not men enough to go to ſea with, he lay by at *Bengal;* and, as if having got money enough, or being willing, for other reaſons, to go for *Europe*, he gave public notice, that he would ſell his ſhip: this came to my ears before my new partner heard of it; and I had a great mind to buy it. So I went home to him, and told him of it: he conſidered awhile, for he was no raſh man neither; but muſing ſome time, he replied, She is a little too big; but, however, we will have her. Accordingly we bought the ſhip; and, agreeing with the maſter, we paid

for her, and took poſſeſſion; when we had done ſo, we reſolved to entertain the men, if we could, to join them with thoſe we had, for the purſuing our buſineſs; but on a ſudden, they not having received their wages, but their ſhare of the money, as we afterwards learnt, not one of them was to be found. We enquired much about them, and at length were told, that they were all gone together, by land, to *Agra*, the great city of the *Mogul*'s reſidence; and from thence were to travel to *Surat*, and ſo by ſea to the gulph of *Perſia*.

Nothing had ſo heartily troubled me a good while, as that I miſſed the opportunity of going with them; for ſuch a ramble, I thought, and in ſuch company as would both have guarded me, and diverted me, would have ſuited mightily with my great deſign; and I ſhould both have ſeen the world, and gone homewards too; but I was much better ſatisfied a few days after, when I came to know what ſort of fellows they were; for, in ſhort, their hiſtory was, that this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they were attacked on ſhore by ſome of the *Malaccans*, who had killed the captain and three of his men; and that after the captain was killed, theſe men, eleven in number, had reſolved to run away with the ſhip, which they did; and had brought her in at the bay of *Bengal*, leaving the mate and five men more on ſhore; of whom we ſhall hear farther.

Well; let them come by the ſhip how they would, we came honeſtly by her, as we thought; though we did not, I confeſs, examine into things ſo exactly

actly as we ought; for we never enquired any thing of the ſeamen, who, if we had examined, would certainly have faultered in their accounts, contradicted one another, and perhaps have contradicted themſelves; or, one how or other, we ſhould have ſeen reaſon to have ſuſpected them: but the man ſhewed us a bill of ſale for the ſhip, to one *Emanuel Cloſterſhoven*, or ſome ſuch name (for I ſuppoſe it was all a forgery) and called himſelf by that name; and we could not contradict him; and being withal a little too unwary, or at leaſt, having no ſuſpicion of the thing, we went through with our bargain.

However we picked up ſome *Engliſh* ſeamen here after this, and ſome *Dutch*; and we now reſolved for a ſecond voyage to the ſouth-eaſt, for cloves, &c. that is to ſay, among the *Philippine* and *Malacca* iſles; and, in ſhort, not to fill this part of my ſtory with trifles, when what is yet to come is ſo remarkable, I ſpent, from firſt to laſt, ſix years in this country, trading from port to port, backward and forward, and with very good ſucceſs; and was now the laſt year with my partner, going in the ſhip above-mentioned, on a voyage to *China*; but deſigning firſt to go to *Siam*, to buy rice.

In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the ſtraits of *Malacca*, and among the iſlands, we were no ſooner got clear of thoſe difficult ſeas, but we found our ſhip had ſprung a leak, and we were not able, by all our induſtry, to find out where it was. This forced us to make for ſome port; and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of *Cambodia*; for I had

had made the *Engliſh* mate, one Mr. *Thompſon*, captain, not being willing to take the charge of the ſhip upon myſelf: This river lies on the north ſide of the great bay or gulph, which goes up to *Siam*.

While we were here, and going often on ſhore for refreſhment, there comes to me one day an *Engliſhman*, and he was, it ſeems, a gunner's mate on board an *Engliſh Eaſt India* ſhip, which rode in the ſame river, up at, or near the city of *Cambodia*: what brought him hither we knew not; but he comes up to me, and, ſpeaking *Engliſh*, Sir, ſays he, you are a ſtranger to me, and I to you; but I have ſomething to tell you, that very nearly concerns you.

I looked ſtedfaſtly at him a good while, and he thought at firſt I had known him, but I did not: If it very nearly concerns me, ſaid I, and not yourſelf, what moves you to tell it me? I am moved, ſays he, by the imminent danger you are in; and for aught I ſee, you have no knowledge of it. I know no danger I am in, ſaid I, but that my ſhip is leaky, and I cannot find it out; but I propoſe to lay her aground to-morrow, to ſee if I can find it. But, Sir, ſays he, leaky or not leaky, find it or not find it, you will be wiſer than to lay your ſhip on ſhore to-morrow, when you hear what I have to ſay to you: Do you know, Sir, ſaid he, the town of *Cambodia* lies about fifteen leagues up this river? And there are two large *Engliſh* ſhips about five leagues on this ſide, and three *Dutch*. Well ſaid I, and what is that to me? Why, Sir, ſays he, is it for a man that is upon ſuch adventures as you are, to come into a port, and not examine firſt what ſhips there are there, and

and whether he is able to deal with them? I ſuppoſe you do not think you are a match for them? I was amuſed very much at his diſcourſe, but not amazed at it; for I could not conceive what he meant; and I turned ſhort upon him, and ſaid, Sir, I wiſh you would explain yourſelf; I cannot imagine what reaſon I have to be afraid of any of the Company's ſhips, or *Dutch* ſhips; I am no interloper; what can they have to ſay to me?

He looked like a man half angry, half pleaſed; and, pauſing awhile, but ſmiling, Well, Sir, ſays he, if you think yourſelf ſecure, you muſt take your chance; I am ſorry your fate ſhould blind you againſt good advice; but aſſure yourſelf, if you do not put to ſea immediately, you will the very next tide be attacked by five long-boats full of men; and, perhaps if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined into afterwards: I thought, Sir, added he, I ſhould have met with a better reception than this, for doing you a piece of ſervice of ſuch importance. I can never be ungrateful, ſaid I, for any ſervice, or to any man that offers me any kindneſs; but it is paſt my comprehenſion, ſaid I, what they ſhould have ſuch a deſign upon me for: However, ſince you ſay there is no time to be loſt, and that there is ſome villainous deſign in hand againſt me, I will go on board this minute, and put to ſea immediately, if my men can ſtop the leak, or if we can ſwim without ſtopping it: But, Sir, ſaid I, ſhall I go away ignorant of the reaſon of all this? Can you give me no farther light into it?

I can

I can tell you but part of the ſtory, Sir, ſays he; but I have a *Dutch* ſeaman here with me, and, I believe, I could perſuade him to tell you the reſt; but there is ſcarce time for it: But the ſhort of the ſtory is this, the firſt part of which, I ſuppoſe, you know well enough, *viz.* That you were with this ſhip at *Sumatra;* that there your captain was murdered by the *Malaccans*, with three of his men; and that you, or ſome of thoſe that were on board with you, ran away with the ſhip, and are ſince turned PIRATES. This is the ſum of the ſtory, and you will all be ſeized as pirates, I can aſſure you, and executed with very little ceremony; for you know merchant ſhips ſhew but little law to pirates, if they get them in their power.

Now you ſpeak plain *Engliſh*, ſaid I, and I thank you; and though I know nothing that we have done, like what you talk of, but I am ſure we came honeſtly and fairly by the ſhip; yet ſeeing ſuch work is a doing, as you ſay, and that you ſeem to mean honeſtly, I will be upon my guard. Nay, Sir, ſays he, do not talk of being upon your guard; the beſt defence is to be out of the danger: if you have any regard to your life, and the lives of all your men, put out to ſea without fail at high-water; and as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out before they can come down; for they will come away at high water; and as they have twenty miles to come, you'll get near two hours of them by the difference of the tide, not reckoning the length of the way: Beſides, as they are only boats, and not ſhips, they will not venture to follow you far out to ſea, eſpecially if it blows.

Well,

Well, ſaid I, you have been very kind in this: What ſhall I do for you to make you amends? Sir, ſays he, you may not be ſo willing to make me amends, becauſe you may not be convinced of the truth of it: I will make an offer to you; I have nineteen months pay due to me on board the ſhip ———, which I came out of *England* in; and the *Dutchman*, that is with me, has ſeven months pay due to him; if you will make good our pay to us, we will go along with you: If you find nothing more in it, we will deſire no more; but if we do convince you, that we have ſaved your life, and the ſhip, and the lives of all the men in her, we will leave the reſt to you.

I conſented to this readily; and went immediately on board, and the two men with me. As ſoon as I came to the ſhip's ſide, my partner, who was on board, came on the quarter-deck, and called to me with a great deal of joy, O ho! O ho! we have ſtopped the leak! Say you ſo, ſaid I, thank GOD; but weigh the anchor then immediately: Weigh! ſays he, what do you mean by that? What is the matter? ſays he. Aſk no queſtions, ſaid I, but all hands to work, and weigh without loſing a minute. He was ſurpriſed: But, however, he called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up; and though the tide was not quite done, yet a little land-breeze blowing, we ſtood out to ſea; then I called him into the cabin, and told him the ſtory at large; and we called in the men, and they told us the reſt of it: but as it took us up a great deal of time, ſo before we had done, a ſeaman comes to the cabin-door, and calls out to us, that the

the captain bade him tell us, we were chaſed: Chaſed, ſaid I, by whom, and by what? By five ſloops, or boats, ſaid the fellow, full of men. Very well, ſaid I; then it is apparent there is ſomething in it. In the next place, I ordered all our men to be called up: and told them, that there was a deſign to ſeize the ſhip, and to take us for pirates; and aſked them, if they would ſtand by us, and by one another? The men anſwered, chearfully, one and all, that they would live and die with us. Then I aſked the captain, what way he thought beſt for us to manage a fight with them: For reſiſt them I reſolved we would, and that to the laſt drop. He ſaid, readily, that the way was to keep them off with our great ſhot, as long as we could, and then to fire at them with our ſmall arms, to keep them from boarding us; but when neither of theſe would do any longer, we ſhould retire to our cloſe quarters; perhaps they had not materials to break open our bulk-heads, or get in upon us.

The gunner had, in the mean time, orders to bring two guns to bear fore and aft, out of the ſteerage, to clear the deck, and load them with muſquet-bullets, and ſmall pieces of old iron, and what next came to hand; and thus we made ready for fight; but all this while kept out to ſea, with wind enough, and could ſee the boats at a diſtance, being five large long-boats following us, with all the ſail they could make.

Two of theſe boats, which, by our glaſſes, we could ſee were *Engliſh*, had out-ſailed the reſt, were near two leagues a-head of them, and gained upon us conſiderably; ſo that we found they would come up

up with us: upon which we fired a gun without a ſhot, to intimate that they ſhould bring to; and we put out a flag of truce, as a ſignal for parley; but they kept crowding after us, till they came within ſhot: upon this we took in our white flag, they having made no anſwer to it, hung out the red flag, and fired at them with ſhot: Notwithſtanding this, they came on till they were near enough to call to them with a ſpeaking trumpet, which we had on board; ſo we called to them, and bade them keep off at their peril.

It was all one, they crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our ſtern, ſo to board us on our quarter: Upon which, ſeeing they were reſolute for miſchief, and depended upon the ſtrength that followed them, I ordered to bring the ſhip to, ſo that they lay upon our broadſide, when immediately we fired five guns at them; one of them had been levelled ſo true, as to carry away the ſtern of the hindermoſt boat, and bring them to the neceſſity of taking down their ſail, and running all to the head of the boat to keep her from ſinking; ſo ſhe lay by, and had enough of it; but ſeeing the foremoſt boat ſtill crowd on after us, we made ready to fire at her in particular.

While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made up to the boat which we had diſabled, to relieve her, and we could afterwards ſee her take out the men: we called again to the foremoſt boat, and offered a truce to parley again, and to know what was her buſineſs with us; but had no anſwer: only ſhe crowded cloſe under our ſtern. Upon this our gunner

gunner, who was a very dexterous fellow, run out his two chace guns, and fired at her; but the ſhot miſſing, the men in the boat ſhouted, waved their caps, and came on; but the gunner, getting quickly ready again, fired among them a ſecond time; one ſhot of which, though it miſſed the boat itſelf, yet fell in among the men, and we could eaſily ſee had done a great deal of miſchief among them; but we, taking no notice of that, weared the ſhip again, and brought our quarter to bear upon them; and, firing three guns more, we found the boat was ſplit almoſt to pieces; in particular, her rudder, and a piece of her ſtern, were ſhot quite away; ſo they handed their ſail immediately, and were in great diſorder: but, to compleat their misfortune, our gunner let fly two guns at them again; where he hit them we could not tell, but we found the boat was ſinking, and ſome of the men already in the water:— Upon this I immediately manned out our pinnace, which we had kept cloſe by our ſide, with orders to pick up ſome of the men, if they could, and ſave them from drowning, and imediately to come on board with them; becauſe we ſaw the reſt of the boats began to come up. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men; one of which was juſt drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him. As ſoon as they were on board, we crowded all the ſail we could make, and ſtood farther out to ſea; and we found, that when the other three boats came up to the firſt two, they gave over their chace.

Being

Being thus delivered from a danger, which tho' I knew not the reaſon of it, yet ſeemed to be much greater than I apprehended, I took care that we ſhould change our courſe, and not let any one imagine whither we were going; ſo we ſtood out to ſea eaſtward, quite out of the courſe of all *European* ſhips, whether they were bound to *China*, or any where elſe, within the commerce of the *European* nations.

When we were now at ſea, we began to conſult with the two ſeamen, and enquire firſt, what the meaning of all this ſhould be? The *Dutchman* let us into the ſecret of it at once; telling us, that the fellow that ſold us the ſhip, as we ſaid, was no more than a thief that had run away with her. Then he told us how the captain, whoſe name too he mentioned, though I do not remember it now, was treacherouſly murdered by the natives on the coaſt of *Malacca*, with three of his men; and that he, this *Dutchman*, and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while; till at length, he, in particular, in a miraculous manner, made his eſcape, and ſwam off to a *Dutch* ſhip, which ſailing near the ſhore, in its way from *China*, had ſent their boat on ſhore for freſh water; that he durſt not come to that part of the ſhore where the boat was, but made ſhift in the night to take in the water farther off, and ſwimming a great while, at laſt the ſhip's boat took him up.

He then told us, that he went to *Batavia*, where two of the ſeamen belonging to the ſhip had arrived, having deſerted the reſt in their travels; and gave an account, that the fellow who had run away with the ſhip, ſold her at *Bengal* to a ſet of pirates, which

were gone a cruiſing in her; and that they had already taken an *Engliſh* ſhip, and two *Dutch* ſhips, very richly laden.

This latter part we found to concern us directly; and though we knew it to be falſe, yet, as my partner ſaid very well, if we had fallen into their hands, and they had ſuch a prepoſſeſſion againſt us beforehand, it had been in vain for us to have defended ourſelves, or to hope for any good quarters at their hands; eſpecially conſidering that our accuſers had been our judges, and that we could have expected nothing from them but what rage would have dictated, and ungoverned paſſion have executed; and therefore it was his opinion, we ſhould go directly back to *Bengal*, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever; becauſe there we could give an account of ourſelves, and could prove where we were when the ſhip put in, whom we bought her of, and the like; and, which was more than all the reſt, if we were put to the neceſſity of bringing it before the proper judges, we ſhould be ſure to have ſome juſtice; and not be hanged firſt, and judged afterwards.

I was ſome time of my partner's opinion; but after a little more ſerious thinking, I told him, I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt returning to *Bengal*, for that we were on the wrong ſide of the ſtraits of *Malacca;* and that if the alarm was given, we ſhould be ſure to be way-laid on every ſide, as well by the *Dutch* of *Batavia*, as the *Engliſh* elſewhere; that if we ſhould be taken, as it were, running away, we ſhould even condemn ourſelves, and there would want no more evidence to deſtroy

deſtroy us. I alſo aſked the *Engliſh* ſailor's opinion, who ſaid, he was of my mind, and that we ſhould certainly be taken.

This danger a little ſtartled my partner, and all the ſhip's company; and we immediately reſolved to go away to the coaſt of *Tonquin*, and ſo on to *China*; and from thence purſuing the firſt deſign, as to trade, find ſome way or other to diſpoſe of the ſhip, and come back in ſome of the veſſels of the country, ſuch as we could get. This was approved of as the beſt method for our ſecurity; and accordingly we ſteered away N. N. E. keeping above fifty leagues off from the uſual courſe to the eaſtward.

This, however, put us to ſome inconveniencies; for firſt the winds, when we came to that diſtance from the ſhore, ſeemed to be more ſteadily againſt us, blowing almoſt trade, as we call it, from the eaſt and E. N. E. ſo that we were a long while upon our voyage; and we were but ill provided with victuals for ſo long a run; and, which was ſtill worſe, there was ſome danger, that thoſe *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips, whoſe boats purſued us, whereof ſome were bound that way, might be got in before us; and if not, ſome other ſhip, bound to *China*, might have information of us from them, and purſue us with the ſame vigour.

I muſt confeſs, I was now very uneaſy, and thought myſelf, including the late eſcape from the long-boats, to have been in the moſt dangerous condition that ever I was in through all my paſt life; for, whatever ill circumſtances I had been in, I was never purſued for a thief before; nor had I ever done any thing

that merited the name of diſhoneſt or fraudulent, much leſs thieviſh. I had chiefly been mine own enemy; or, as I may rightly ſay, I had been nobody's enemy but my own. But now I was embarraſſed in the worſt condition imaginable; for though I was perfectly innocent, I was in no condition to make that innocence appear. And if I had been taken, it had been under a ſuppoſed guilt of the worſt kind; at leaſt, a crime eſteemed ſo among the people I had to do with.

This made me very anxious to make an eſcape, though which way to do it, I knew not; or what port or place we ſhould go to. My partner, ſeeing me thus dejected, though he was the moſt concerned at firſt, began to encourage me; and deſcribing to me the ſeveral ports of that coaſt, told me, he would put in on the coaſt of *Cochinchina*, or the bay of *Tonquin;* intending to go afterwards to *Macao*, a town once in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*, and where ſtill a great many *European* families reſided, and particularly the miſſionary prieſt uſually went thither, in order to their going forward to *China*.

Hither we then reſolved to go; and accordingly, though after a tedious and irregular courſe, and very much ſtraitened for proviſions, we came within ſight of the coaſt very early in the morning; and, upon reflection upon the paſt circumſtances we were in, and the danger, if we had not eſcaped, we reſolved to put into a ſmall river, which, however, had depth enough of water for us, and to ſee if we could, either over land or by the ſhip's pinnace, come to

know what ſhips were in any port thereabouts. This happy ſtep was, indeed, our deliverance; for tho' we did not immediately ſee any *European* ſhips in the bay of *Tonquin*, yet, the next morning, there came into the bay two *Dutch* ſhips, and a third without any colours ſpread out, but which we believed to be a *Dutchman*, paſſed by at about two leagues diſtance, ſteering for the coaſt of *China*; and in the afternoon went by two *Engliſh* ſhips, ſteering the ſame courſe; and thus, we thought, we ſaw ourſelves beſet with enemies, both one way and the other. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation or profeſſion; and though, it is true, we had not much to ſeek of them, and except getting a few proviſions, cared not how little we had to do with them; yet it was with much difficulty that we kept ourſelves from being inſulted by them ſeveral ways.

We were in a ſmall river of this country, within a few leagues of its utmoſt limits northward; and by our boat we coaſted north-eaſt to the point of land which opens to the great bay of *Tonquin*; and it was in this beating up along the ſhore, that we diſcovered as above, that in a word, we were ſurrounded with enemies. The people we were among were the moſt barbarous of all the inhabitants of the coaſt; having no correſpondence with any other nation, and dealing only in fiſh and oil, and ſuch groſs commodities; and it may be particularly ſeen, that they are, as I ſaid, the moſt barbarous of any of the inhabitants, *viz.* that among other cuſtoms they have this one, that if any veſſel had the misfortune

to be ſhipwrecked upon their coaſt, they preſently make the men all priſoners; that is to ſay, ſlaves; and it was not long before we found a ſpice of their kindneſs this way, on the occaſion following:

I have obſerved above, that our ſhip ſprung a leak at ſea, and that we could not find it out; and however it happened, that, as I have ſaid, it was ſtopped unexpectedly, in the happy minute of our being to be ſeized by the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* ſhips, near the bay of *Siam;* yet, as we did not find the ſhip ſo perfectly tight and ſound as we deſired, we reſolved, while we were in this place, to lay her on ſhore, take out what heavy things we had on board, which were not many, and to waſh and clean her bottom; and if poſſible, to find out where the leaks were.

Accordingly, having lightened the ſhip, and brought all our guns, and other moveable things, to one ſide, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom; for, on ſecond thoughts, we did not care to lay her dry a-ground, neither could we find out a proper place for it.

The inhabitants, who had never been acquainted with ſuch a ſight, came wondering down to the ſhore to look at us; and ſeeing the ſhip lie down on one ſide in ſuch a manner, and heeling towards the ſhore, and not ſeeing our men, who were at work on her bottom, with ſtages, and with their boats on the off ſide, they preſently concluded that the ſhip was caſt away, and lay ſo very faſt on the ground.

On this ſuppoſition they came all about us in two or three hours time, with ten or twelve large boats,

having ſome of them eight, ſome ten men in a boat, intending, no doubt, to have come on board and plundered the ſhip; and if they had found us there, to have carried us away for ſlaves to their king, or whatever they call him, for we knew not who was their governor.

When they came up to the ſhip, and began to row round her, they diſcovered us all hard at word, on the outſide of the ſhip's bottom and ſide, waſhing and graving, and ſtopping, as every ſeafaring man knows how.

They ſtood for a while gazing at us, and we, who were a little ſurprized, could not imagine what their deſign was; but, being willing to be ſure, we took this opportunity to get ſome of us into the ſhip, and others to hand down arms and ammunition, to thoſe that were at work to defend themſelves with, if there ſhould be occaſion; and it was no more than need; for, in leſs than a quarter of an hour's conſultation, they agreed, it ſeems, that the ſhip was really a wreck; that we were all at work, endeavouring to ſave her, or to ſave our lives by the help of our boats; and when we handed our arms into the boats, they concluded, by that motion, that we were endeavouring to ſave ſome of our goods. Upon this they took it for granted they all belonged to them; and away they came directly upon our men, as if it had been in a line of battle.

Our men, ſeeing ſo many of them, began to be frighted; for we lay but in an ill poſture to fight, and cried out to us to know what they ſhould do? I immediately called to the men who worked upon the

ſtages, to ſlip them down, and get up the ſide into the ſhip; and bade thoſe in the boat to row round and come on board: and thoſe few of us who were on board, worked with all the ſtrength and hands we had, to bring the ſhip to rights; but however, neither the men upon the ſtage, nor thoſe in the boats, could do as they were ordered, before the *Cochinchineſe* were upon them; and, with two of their boats boarded our long-boat, and began to lay hold of the men as their priſoners.

The firſt man they laid hold of was an *Engliſh* ſeaman, a ſtout ſtrong fellow, who having a muſquet in his hand, never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought. But he underſtood his buſineſs better than I could teach him; for he grappled the pagan, and dragged him by main force out of their own boat into ours; where, taking him by the two ears, he beat his head ſo againſt the boat's gunnel, that the fellow died inſtantly in his hands; and in the mean time, a *Dutchman*, who ſtood next, took up the muſquet, and with the butt-end of it, ſo laid about him, that he knocked down five of them, who attempted to enter the boat: but this was little towards reſiſting thirty or forty men, who fearleſs, becauſe ignorant of their danger, began to throw themſelves into the long-boat, where we had but five men to defend it: but one accident gave our men a complete victory, which deſerved our laughter rather than any thing elſe; and that was this:—

Our carpenter being prepared to grave the outſide of the ſhip, as well as to pay the ſeams where he

he had caulked her, to ſtop the leaks, had got two kettles juſt let down into the boat; one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with roſin, tallow, and oil, and ſuch ſtuff as the ſhipwrights uſed for that work; and the man that tended the carpenter had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he ſupplied the men that were at work with that hot ſtuff: two of the enemy's men entered the boat juſt where this fellow ſtood, being in the fore-ſheets; he immediately ſaluted them with a ladleful of the ſtuff, boiling hot, which ſo burnt and ſcalded them, being half naked, that they roared out like two bulls, and enraged with the fire, leaped both into the ſea. The carpenter ſaw it, and cried out, Well done, *Jack*, give them ſome more of it; when ſtepping forward himſelf, he takes one of their mops, and dipping it in the pitch pot, he and his man threw it among them ſo plentifully, that, in ſhort, of all the men in three boats, there was not one that was not ſcalded and burnt with it in a moſt frightful pitiful manner, and made ſuch an howling and crying, that I never heard a worſe noiſe, and, indeed, nothing like it: for it was worth obſerving, that tho' pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation have a particular way of exclamation, and make noiſes as different from one another as their ſpeech. I cannot give the noiſe theſe creatures made a better name than howling, nor a name more proper to the tone of it; for I never heard any thing more like the noiſe of the wolves, which, as I have ſaid, I heard howl in the foreſt on the frontiers of *Languedoc*.

I was

I was never pleaſed with a victory better in my life; not only as it was a perfect ſurpriſe to me, and that our danger was imminent before; but as we got this victory without any bloodſhed, except of that man the fellow killed with his naked hands, and which I was very much concerned at; for I was ſick of killing ſuch poor ſavage wretches, even though it was in my own defence, knowing they came on errands which they thought juſt, and knew no better: and that though it may be a juſt thing, becauſe neceſſary, for there is no neceſſary wickedneſs in nature; yet I thought it was a ſad life, when we muſt be always obliged to be killing our fellow-creatures to preſerve ourſelves; and, indeed, I think ſo ſtill; and I would, even now, ſuffer a great deal, rather than I would take away the life even of the worſt perſon injuring me. I believe alſo, all conſidering people, who know the value of life, would be of my opinion, if they entered ſeriouſly into the conſideration of it.

But to return to my ſtory: All the while this was doing, my partner and I, who managed the reſt of the men on board, had, with great dexterity, brought the ſhip almoſt to rights; and, having gotten the guns into their places again, the gunner called to me, to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I called back again to him, and bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him; but bade him heat another pitch kettle; which our cook, who was on board, took care of. But the enemy was ſo terrified with what they met with in their firſt attack, that they would not come on again; and ſome of them, that were fartheſt off, ſeeing the ſhip ſwim, as it were, upright, began

began, as we ſuppoſed, to ſee their miſtake, and gave over the enterpriſe, finding it was not as they expected. Thus we got clear of this merry fight; and, having gotten ſome rice, and ſome roots and bread, with about ſixteen good big hogs, on board, two days before, we reſolved to ſtay here no longer, but go forward, whatever came of it; for we made no doubt but we ſhould be ſurrounded the next day with rogues enough, perhaps more than our pitch-kettle would diſpoſe of for us.

We, therefore, got all our things on board the ſame evening, and the next morning were ready to ſail. In the mean time, lying at an anchor ſome diſtance from the ſhore, we were not ſo much concerned, being now in a fighting poſture, as well as in a ſailing poſture, if any enemy had preſented. The next day, having finiſhed our work within board, and finding our ſhip was perfectly healed of all her leaks, we ſet ſail: we would have gone into the bay of *Tonquin*, for we wanted to inform ourſelves of what was to be known concerning the *Dutch* ſhips that had been there; but we durſt not ſtand in there, becauſe we had ſeen ſeveral ſhips go in, as we ſuppoſed, but a little before; ſo we kept on N. E. towards the iſle of *Formoſa*, as much afraid of being ſeen by a *Dutch* or *Engliſh* merchant ſhip, as a *Dutch* or *Engliſh* merchant ſhip in the *Mediterranean* is of an *Algerine* man of war.

When we were thus got to ſea, we kept on N. E. as if we would go to the *Manillas* or the *Philippine* iſlands, and this we did, that we might not fall into the way of any of the *European* ſhips; and then we ſteered north again, till we came to the latitude of

of 22 deg. 20 min. by which means we made the iſland of *Formoſa* directly, where we came to an anchor, in order to get water and freſh proviſions, which the people there, who are very courteous and civil in their manners, ſupplied us with willingly, and dealt very fairly and punctually with us in all their agreements and bargains; which is what we did not find among other people; and may be owing to the remains of Chriſtianity, which was once planted here by a *Dutch* miſſionary of proteſtants, and is a teſtimony of what I have often obſerved, *viz.* That the Chriſtian religion always civilizes the people, and reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it works ſaving effects upon them or not.

From hence we ſailed ſtill north, keeping the coaſt of *China* at an equal diſtance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports of *China*, where our *European* ſhips uſually come; but being reſolved, if poſſible, not to fall into any of their hands, eſpecially in this country, where, as our circumſtances were, we could not fail of being entirely ruined; nay, ſo great was my fear in particular, as to my being taken by them, that I believe firmly I would much rather have choſen to fall into the hands of the *Spaniſh* inquiſition.

Being now come to the latitude of 30 degrees, we reſolved to put into the firſt trading port we ſhould come at; and ſtanding in for the ſhore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old *Portugueſe* pilot on board, who, knowing us to be an *European* ſhip, came to offer his ſervice, which, indeed, we were very glad of, and took him on board; upon which, without aſking us whither we would go, he diſmiſſed the boat he came in, and ſent it back.

I thought

I thought it was now ſo much in our choice to make the old man carry us whither we would, that I began to talk with him about carrying us to the *Gulph* of *Nanquin*, which is the moſt northern part of the coaſt of *China*. The old man ſaid he knew the *Gulph* of *Nanquin* very well; but ſmiling, aſked us what we would do there?

I told him we would ſell our cargo, and purchaſe *China* wares, callicoes, raw ſilks, tea, wrought ſilks, &c. and ſo would return by the ſame courſe we came. He told us our beſt port had been to have put in at *Macao*, where we could not fail of a market for our opium, to our ſatisfaction, and might, for our money, have purchaſed all ſorts of *China* goods, as cheap as we could at *Nanquin*.

Not being able to put the old man out of his talk, of which he was very opiniated, or conceited, I told him, we were gentlemen as well as merchants; and that we had a mind to go and ſee the great city of *Pekin*, and the famous court of the monarch of *China*. Why then, ſays the old man, you ſhould go to *Ningpo*, where, by the river that runs into the ſea there, you may go up within five leagues of the great canal. This canal is a navigable made ſtream, which goes through the heart of all that vaſt empire of *China*, croſſes all the rivers, paſſes ſome conſiderable hills by the help of ſluices and gates, and goes up to the city of *Pekin*, being in length near 270 leagues.

Well, ſaid I, Seignior *Portugueſe*, but that is not our buſineſs now: the great queſtion is, If you can carry us up to the city of *Nanquin*, from whence we can travel to *Pekin* afterwards? Yes, he ſaid, he could

could do ſo very well, and there was a great *Dutch* ſhip gone up that way juſt before. This gave me a little ſhock; a *Dutch* ſhip was now our terror, and we had much rather have met the devil, at leaſt if he had not come in too frightful a figure: we depended upon it, that a *Dutch* ſhip would be our deſtruction, for we were in no condition to fight them; all the ſhips they trade with in thoſe parts being of great burden, and of much greater force than we were.

The old man found me a little confuſed, and under ſome concern, when he named a *Dutch* ſhip; and ſaid to me, Sir, you need be under no apprehenſion of the *Dutch*, I ſuppoſe they are not now at war with your nation. No, ſaid I, that's true; but I know not what liberties men may take, when they are out of the reach of the laws of their country. Why, ſaid he, you are no pirates, what need you fear? They will not meddle with peaceable merchants, ſure.

If I had any blood in my body that did not fly up into my face at that word, it was hindered by ſome ſtop in the veſſels appointed by nature to circulate it; for it put me into the greateſt diſorder and confuſion imaginable; nor was it poſſible for me to conceal it ſo, but that the old man eaſily perceived it.

Sir, ſaid he, I find you are in ſome diſorder in your thoughts at my talk: pray be pleaſed to go which way you think fit; and depend upon it, I'll do you all the ſervice I can. Why, Seignior, ſaid I, it is true, I am a little unſettled in my reſolution at this time, whither to go in particular; and I am ſomething more ſo, for what you ſaid about pirates; I hope there are no pirates in theſe ſeas; we are but

in

in an ill condition to meet with them; for you ſee we have but a ſmall force, and but very weakly manned.

O, Sir, ſaid he, do not be concerned; I do not know that there have been any pirates in theſe ſeas theſe fifteen years, except one, which was ſeen, as I hear, in the bay of *Siam*, about a month ſince; but you may be aſſured ſhe is gone to the ſouthward; nor was ſhe a ſhip of any great force, or fit for the work: ſhe was not built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate crew that were on board, after the captain and ſome of his men had been murdered by the *Malaccans*, at or near the iſland of *Sumatra*.

What! ſaid I, ſeeming to know nothing of the matter, did they murder the captain? No, ſaid he, I do not underſtand that they murdered him; but, as they afterwards ran away with the ſhip, it is generally believed they betrayed him into the hands of the *Malaccans*, who did murder him; and, perhaps, they procured them to do it. Why then, ſaid I, they deſerved death, as much as if they had done it themſelves. Nay, ſaid the old man, they do deſerve it; and they will certainly have it if they light upon any *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhip; for they have all agreed together, that if they meet that rogue, they will give him no quarter.

But, ſaid I to him, you ſay the pirate is gone out of theſe ſeas; how can they meet with him then? Why, that is true, ſaid he, they do ſay ſo; but he was, as I tell you, in the bay of *Siam*, in the river *Cambodia*, and was diſcovered there by ſome *Dutchmen*, who belonged to the ſhip, and who were left on ſhore when

when they run away with her; and ſome *Engliſh* and *Dutch* traders being in the river, they were within a little of taking him. Nay, ſaid he, if the foremoſt boats had been well ſeconded by the reſt, they had certainly taken him; but he, finding only two boats within reach of him, tacked about, and fired at theſe two, and diſabled them before the others came up; and then ſtanding off to ſea, the others were not able to follow him, and ſo he got away. But they have all ſo exact a deſcription of the ſhip, that they will be ſure to know him; and wherever they find him, they have vowed to give no quarter to either the captain or the ſeamen, but to hang them all up at the yard-arm.

What! ſaid I, will they execute them right or wrong; hang them firſt, and judge them afterwards? O, Sir! ſaid the old pilot, there is no need to make a formal buſineſs of it with ſuch rogues as thoſe; let them tie them back to back, and ſet them a diving; it is no more than they rightly deſerve.

I knew I had my old man faſt aboard, and that he could do me no harm; ſo I turned ſhort upon him: Well, Seignior, ſaid I, and this is the very reaſon why I would have you carry us to *Nanquin*, and not to put back to *Macao*, or to any other part of the country, where the *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhips came; for, be it known to you, Seignior, thoſe captains of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips, are a parcel of raſh, proud, inſolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to juſtice, or how to behave themſelves, as the laws of GOD and nature direct; but being proud of their offices, and not underſtanding their power, they would act the murderers to puniſh robbers;

robbers; would take upon them to inſult men falſely accuſed, and determine them guilty without due enquiry; and perhaps I may live to call ſome of them to an account for it, where they may be taught how juſtice is to be executed; and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal till ſome evidence may be had of the crime, and that he is the man.

With this I told him, that this was the very ſhip they had attacked; and gave him a full account of the ſkirmiſh we had with their boats, and how fooliſhly and coward-like they had behaved. I told him all the ſtory of our buying the ſhip, and how the *Dutchmen* ſerved us. I told him the reaſons I had to believe that this ſtory of killing the maſter by the *Malaccans* was not true; as alſo the running away with the ſhip; but that it was all a fiction of their own, to ſuggeſt that the men were turned pirates; and they ought to have been ſure it was ſo, before they had ventured to attack us by ſurpriſe, and oblige us to reſiſt them; adding, that they would have the blood of thoſe men, who were killed there, in our juſt defence, to anſwer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation; and told us, we were very much in the right to go away to the north; and that if he might adviſe us, it ſhould be to ſell the ſhip in *China*, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country: and, ſaid he, though you will not get ſo good a ſhip, yet you may get one able enough to carry you and all your goods back again to *Bengal*, or any where elſe.

I told him I would take his advice, when I came to any port where I could find a ſhip for my turn, or get any cuſtomer to buy this. He replied, I ſhould

meet with cuſtomers enough for the ſhip at *Nanquin*, and that a *Chineſe* junk would ſerve me very well to go back again; and that he would procure me people both to buy one, and ſell the other.

Well, but, Seignior, ſays I, as you ſay they know the ſhip ſo well, I may, perhaps, if I follow your meaſures, be inſtrumental to bring ſome honeſt innocent men into a terrible broil, and, perhaps, be murdered in cold blood; for wherever they find the ſhip they will prove the guilt upon the men, by proving this was the ſhip; and ſo innocent men may probably be overpowered and murdered. Why, ſaid the old man, I'll find out a way to prevent that alſo; for as I know all thoſe commanders you ſpeak of very well, and ſhall ſee them all as they paſs by, I will be ſure to ſet them to rights in the thing, and let them know that they had been ſo much in the wrong; that though the people who were on board at firſt might run away with the ſhip, yet it was not true that they had turned pirates; and that in particular thoſe were not the men that firſt went off with the ſhip, but innocently bought her for their trade: and I am perſuaded they will ſo far believe me, as, at leaſt, to act more cautiouſly for the time to come. Well, ſaid I, and will you deliver one meſſage to them from me? Yes, I will, ſays he, if you will give it under your hand, in writing, that I may be able to prove it came from you, and not out of my own head. I anſwered, that I would readily give it him under my hand. So I took a pen and ink, and paper, and wrote at large the ſtory of aſſaulting me with the long-boats, &c. the pretended reaſon of it, and the unjuſt cruel deſign of it; and concluded to the commanders, that they had

had done what they not only ſhould have been aſhamed of, but alſo, that if ever they came to *England*, and I lived to ſee them there, they ſhould all pay dearly for it, if the laws of my country were not grown out of uſe before I arrived there.

My old pilot read this over and over again, and aſked me ſeveral times, if I would ſtand to it. I anſwered, I would ſtand to it as long as I had any thing left in the world; being ſenſible that I ſhould, one time or other, find an opportunity to put it home to them. But we had no occaſion ever to let the pilot carry this letter; for he never went back again. While thoſe things were paſſing between us, by way of diſcourſe, we went forward directly for *Nanquin*, and, in about thirteen days ſail, came to anchor at the ſouth-weſt point of the great gulph of *Nanquin*; where, by the way, I came by accident to underſtand, that the two *Dutch* ſhips were gone that length before me, and that I ſhould certainly fall into their hands. I conſulted my partner again in this exigency, and he was as much at a loſs as I was, and would very gladly have been ſafe on ſhore almoſt any where. However, I was not in ſuch perplexity neither, but I aſked the old pilot if there was no creek, or harbour, which I might put into, and purſue my buſineſs with the *Chineſe* privately, and be in no danger of the enemy? He told me, if I would ſail to the ſouthward about two and forty leagues, there was a little port called *Quinchang*, where the fathers of the miſſion uſually landed from *Macao*, on their progreſs to teach the Chriſtian religion to the *Chineſe*, and where no *European* ſhips ever put in; and, if I thought proper to put in there, I might con-

ſider what farther courſe to take when I was on ſhore. He confeſſed, he ſaid, it was not a place for merchants, except that at ſome certain times they had a kind of a fair there, when the merchants from *Japan* came over thither to buy the *Chineſe* merchandizes.

We all agreed to go back to this place: the name of the port, as he called it, I may, perhaps ſpell wrong; for I do not particularly remember it, having loſt this, together with the names of many other places ſet down in a little pocket-book, which was ſpoiled by the water, on an accident which I ſhall relate in its order; but this I remember, that the *Chineſe* or *Japaneſe* merchants we correſpond with call it by a different name from that which our *Portugueſe* pilot gave it, and pronounced it as above, *Quinchang*.

As we were unanimous in our reſolutions to go to this place, we weighed the next day, having only gone twice on ſhore, where we were to get freſh water; on both which occaſions the people of the country were very civil to us, and brought us abundance of things to ſell to us; I mean of proviſions, plants, roots, tea, rice, and ſome fowls; but nothing without money.

We came to the other port (the wind being contrary) not till five days; but it was very much to our ſatisfaction; and I was joyful, and, I may ſay, thankful, when I ſet my foot ſafe on ſhore; reſolving, and my partner too, that if it was poſſible to diſpoſe of ourſelves and effects any other way, though not every way to our ſatisfaction, we would never ſet one foot on board that unhappy veſſel again: and indeed,

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I muſt acknowledge, that of all the circumſtances of life that ever I had any experience of, nothing makes mankind ſo completely miſerable as that of being in conſtant fear. Well does the ſcripture ſay, 'The fear of man brings a ſnare;' it is a life of death; and the mind is ſo entirely ſuppreſſed by it, that it is capable of no relief; the animal ſpirits ſink, and all the vigour of nature, which uſually ſupports men under other afflictions, and is preſent to them in the greateſt exigencies, fails them here.

Nor did it fail of its uſual operations upon the fancy, by heightening every danger; repreſenting the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* captains to be men incapable of hearing reaſon, or diſtinguiſhing between honeſt men and rogues; or between a ſtory calculated for our own turn, made out of nothing, on purpoſe to deceive, and a true genuine account of our whole voyage, progreſs, and deſign; for we might many ways have convinced any reaſonable creature that we were not pirates; the goods we had on board, the courſe we ſteered, our frankly ſhewing ourſelves, and entering into ſuch and ſuch ports; even our very manner, the force we had, the number of men, the few arms, little ammunition, and ſhort proviſions; all theſe would have ſerved to convince any man that we were no pirates. The opium, and other goods we had on board, would make it appear the ſhip had been at *Bengal;* the *Dutchmen*, who, it was ſaid, had the names of all the men that were in the ſhip, might eaſily ſee that we were a mixture of *Engliſh*, *Portugueſe*, and *Indians*, and but two *Dutchmen* on board. Theſe, and many other particular circumſtances, might have made it evident to the underſtanding of any commander,

whoſe hands we might fall into, that we were no pirates.

But fear, that blind uſeleſs paſſion, worked another way, and threw us into the vapours; it bewildered our underſtandings, and ſet the imagination at work, to form a thouſand terrible things, that, perhaps, might never happen. We firſt ſuppoſed, as indeed every body had related to us, that the ſeamen on board the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips, but eſpecially the *Dutch*, were ſo enraged at the name of a pirate, and eſpecially at our beating off their boats, and eſcaping, that they would not give themſelves leave to enquire whether we were pirates or no; but would execute us off-hand, as we call it, without giving us any room for a defence. We reflected that there was really ſo much apparent evidence before them, that they would ſcarce enquire after any more: as, firſt, that the ſhip was certainly the ſame, and that ſome of the ſeamen among them knew her, and had been on board her; and, ſecondly, that when we had intelligence at the river *Cambodia*, that they were coming down to examine us, we fought their boats, and fled: So that we made no doubt but they were as fully ſatisfied of our being pirates, as we were ſatisfied of the contrary; and I often ſaid, I knew not but I ſhould have been apt to have taken the little circumſtances for evidence, if the tables were turned, and my caſe was theirs; and have made no ſcruple of cutting all the crew to pieces, without believing, or perhaps conſidering, what they might have to offer in their defence.

But let that be how it will, thoſe were our apprehenſions; and both my partner and I too, ſcarce ſlept a night

a night without dreaming of halters and yard-arms; that is to ſay, gibbets; of fighting, and being taken; of killing, and being killed; and one night I was in ſuch a fury in my dream, fancying the *Dutchmen* had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their ſeamen down, that I ſtruck my double fiſt againſt the ſide of the cabin I lay in, with ſuch a force as wounded my hand moſt grievouſly, broke my knuckles, and cut and bruiſed the fleſh, ſo that it not only waked me out of my ſleep, but I was once afraid I ſhould have loſt two of my fingers.

Another apprehenſion I had, was, of the cruel uſage we ſhould meet with from them, if we fell into their hands: then the ſtory of *Amboyna* came into my head, and how the *Dutch* might, perhaps, torture us, as they did our countrymen there; and make ſome of our men, by extremity of torture, confeſs thoſe crimes they never were guilty of; own themſelves, and all of us, to be pirates; and ſo they would put us to death, with a formal appearance of juſtice; and that they might be tempted to do this, for the gain of our ſhip and cargo, which was worth four or five thouſand pounds, put all together.

Theſe things tormented me, and my partner too, night and day; nor did we conſider that the captains of ſhips have no authority to act thus; and if we had ſurrendered priſoners to them, they could not anſwer the deſtroying us, or torturing us, but would be accountable for it when they came into their own country. This, I ſay, gave me no ſatisfaction; for, if they will act thus with us, what advantage would it be to us that they would be called to an account for it; or, if we were firſt to be murdered, what ſatiſ-

faction would it be to us to have them puniſhed when they came home?

I cannot refrain taking notice here what reflections I now had upon the paſt variety of my particular circumſtances; how hard I thought it was, that I, who had ſpent forty years in a life of continued difficulties, and was, at laſt, come, as it were, at the port or haven which all men drive at, *viz.* to have reſt and plenty, ſhould be a volunteer in new ſorrows, by my own unhappy choice; and that I, who had eſcaped ſo many dangers in my youth, ſhould now come to be hanged in my old age, and in ſo remote a place, for a crime I was not in the leaſt inclined to, much leſs guilty of; and in a place and circumſtance, where innocence was not like to be any protection at all to me.

After theſe thoughts, ſomething of religion would come in; and I would be conſidering that this ſeemed to me to be a diſpoſition of immediate Providence; and I ought to look upon it, and ſubmit to it, as ſuch: that although I was innocent as to men, I was far from being innocent as to my Maker; and I ought to look in, and examine what other crimes in my life were moſt obvious to me, and for which Providence might juſtly inflict this puniſhment as a retribution; and that I ought to ſubmit to this, juſt as I would to a ſhipwreck, if it had pleaſed GOD to have brought ſuch a diſaſter upon me.

In its turn, natural courage would ſometimes take its place; and then I would be talking myſelf up to vigorous reſolution, that I would not be taken to be barbarouſly uſed by a parcel of mercileſs wretches in cold blood; that it was much better to have fallen

into the hands of the ſavages, who were men-eaters, and who, I was ſure, would feaſt upon me, when they had taken me, than by thoſe, who would, perhaps, glut their rage upon me by inhuman tortures and barbarities: that, in the caſe of the ſavages, I always reſolved to die fighting, to the laſt gaſp; and why ſhould I not do ſo now, ſeeing it was much more dreadful, to me at leaſt, to think of falling into theſe men's hands, than ever it was to think of being eaten by men: for the ſavages, give them their due, would not eat a man till he was dead; and killed him firſt, as we do a bullock; but that theſe men had many arts beyond the cruelty of death. Whenever theſe thoughts prevailed, I was ſure to put myſelf into a kind of fever, with the agitations of a ſuppoſed fight; my blood would boil, and my eyes ſparkle, as if I was engaged; and I always reſolved that I would take no quarter at their hands; but even at laſt, if I could reſiſt no longer, I would blow up the ſhip, and all that was in her, and leave them but little booty to boaſt of.

But by how much the greater weight the anxieties and perplexities of thoſe things were to our thoughts while we were at ſea, by ſo much the greater was our ſatiſfaction, when we ſaw ourſelves on ſhore; and my partner told me, he dreamed, that he had a very heavy load upon his back, which he was to carry up an hill, and found that he was not able to ſtand long under it; but the *Portugueſe* pilot came, and took it off his back, and the hill diſappeared, the ground before him ſhewing all ſmooth and plain: And truly it was ſo; we were all like men who had a load taken off their backs.

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For my part, I had a weight taken off from my heart, that I was not able any longer to bear; and, as I ſaid above, we reſolved to go no more to ſea in that ſhip. When we came on ſhore, the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging, and a ware-houſe for our goods, which, by the way, was much the ſame: it was a little houſe or hut, with a large houſe joining to it, all built with canes, and paliſadoed round with large canes, to keep out pilfering thieves, of which it ſeems there were not a few in the country. However, the magiſtrates allowed us all a little guard, and we had a ſoldier with a kind of halbert, or half pike, who ſtood ſentinel at our door; to whom we allowed a pint of rice, and a little piece of money, about the value of three-pence per day: ſo that our goods were kept very ſafe.

The fair or mart, uſually kept in this place, had been over ſome time; however, we found that there were three or four junks in the river, and two *Japanners*, I mean, ſhips from *Japan*, with goods which they had bought in *China*, and were not gone away, having *Japaneſe* merchants on ſhore.

The firſt thing our old *Portugueſe* pilot did for us, was, to bring us acquainted with three miſſionary *Romiſh* prieſts, who were in the town, and who had been there ſome time, converting the people to Chriſtianity; but we thought they made but poor work of it; and made them but ſorry Chriſtians when they had done. However, that was not our buſineſs. One of theſe was a *Frenchman*, whom they called father *Simon*; he was a jolly well-conditioned man, very free in his converſation, not ſeeming ſo ſerious and grave as the other two did, one of whom

was

was a *Portugueſe*, and the other a *Genoeſe;* but father *Simon* was courteous, eaſy in his manner, and very agreeable company; the other two were more reſerved, ſeemed rigid and auſtere, and applied ſeriouſly to the work they came about, *viz.* to talk with, and inſinuate themſelves among the inhabitants, whereever they had opportunity: we often eat and drank with thoſe men: and though I muſt confeſs, the converſion, as they call it, of the *Chineſe* to Chriſtianity, is ſo far from the true converſion required to bring heathen people to the faith of CHRIST, that it ſeems to amount to little more than letting them know the name of CHRIST, ſay ſome prayers to the *Virgin Mary*, and her Son, in a tongue which they underſtand not, and to croſs themſelves, and the like; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe religious, whom we call Miſſionaries, have a firm belief that theſe people ſhould be ſaved, and that they are the inſtrument of it; and, on this account, they undergo not only the fatigue of the voyage, and hazards of living in ſuch places, but oftentimes death itſelf, with the moſt violent tortures, for the ſake of this work: and it would be a great want of charity in us, whatever opinion we have of the work itſelf, and the manner of their doing it, if we ſhould not have a good opinion of their zeal, who undertake it with ſo many hazards, and who have no proſpect of the leaſt temporal advantage to themſelves.

But, to return to my ſtory: This *French* prieſt, father *Simon*, was appointed, it ſeems, by order of the chief of the miſſion, to go up to *Pekin*, the royal ſeat of the *Chineſe* emperor; and waited only for another prieſt, who was ordered to come to him from *Macao*,

Macao, to go along with him; and we ſcarce ever met together, but he was inviting me to go that journey with him, telling me, how he would ſhew me all the glorious things of that mighty empire; and among the reſt, the greateſt city in the world; a city, ſaid he, that your *London*, and our *Paris*, put together, cannot be equal to. This was the city of *Pekin*, which, I confeſs, is very great, and infinitely full of people; but, as I looked on thoſe things with different eyes from other men, ſo I ſhall give my opinion of them in few words, when I come, in the courſe of my travels, to ſpeak more particularly of them.

But firſt, I come to my friar or miſſionary: Dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I ſhewed ſome little inclination to go with him; and he preſſed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many perſuaſions to conſent. Why, father *Simon*, ſays my partner, why ſhould you deſire our company ſo much? You know we are heretics, and you do not love us, nor can keep us company with any pleaſure. O! ſays he, you may, perhaps, be good catholics in time; my buſineſs here is to convert heathens; and who knows but I may convert you too? Very well, father, ſaid I, ſo you will preach to us all the way. I won't be troubleſome to you, ſaid he; our religion does not diveſt us of good manners; beſides, ſaid he, we are all here like countrymen; and ſo we are, compared to the place we are in; and if you are hugonots, and I a catholic, we may be all Chriſtians at laſt; at leaſt, ſaid he, we are all gentlemen, and we may converſe ſo, without being uneaſy to one another. I liked that part of his diſcourſe very well, and it began to put me in mind of my

prieſt

prieſt that I had left in the *Braſils;* but this father *Simon* did not come up to his character by a great deal; for though father *Simon* had no appearance of a criminal levity in him neither, yet he had not that fund of Chriſtian zeal, ſtrict piety, and ſincere affection to religion, that my other good eccleſiaſtic had, of whom I have ſaid ſo much.

But to leave him a little, though he never left us, nor ſoliciting us to go with him, but we had ſomething elſe before us at that time; for we had, all this while, our ſhip and our merchandize to diſpoſe of; and we began to be very doubtful what we ſhould do, for we were now in a place of very little buſineſs; and once I was about to venture to ſail for the river of *Kilam*, and the city of *Nanquin:* But Providence ſeemed now more viſibly, as I thought, than ever, to concern itſelf in our affairs; and I was encouraged from this very time to think I ſhould, one way or other, get out of this entangled circumſtance, and be brought home to my own country again; though I had not the leaſt view of the manner; and when I began ſometimes to think of it, could not imagine by what method it was to be done. Providence, I ſay, began here to clear up our way a little; and the firſt thing that offered was, that our old *Portugueſe* pilot brought a *Japan* merchant to us, who began to enquire what goods we had; and, in the firſt place, he bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight, ſome in ſmall pieces of their own coin, and ſome in ſmall wedges, of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head that he might, perhaps, deal with us for the ſhip too;

too; and I ordered the interpreter to propoſe it to him. He ſhrunk up his ſhoulders at it, when it was firſt propoſed to him; but, in a few days after, he came to me, with one of the miſſionary prieſts for his interpreter, and told me, he had a propoſal to make to me, and that was this: He had bought a great quantity of goods of us when he had no thoughts (or propoſals made to him) of buying the ſhip; and that, therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ſhip; but if I would let the ſame men who were in the ſhip navigate her, he would hire the ſhip to go to *Japan*, and would ſend them from thence to the *Philippine* iſlands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of, before they went from *Japan;* and that, at their return, he would buy the ſhip. I began to liſten to this propoſal; and ſo eager did my head ſtill run upon rambling, that I could not but begin to entertain a notion myſelf of going with him, and ſo to ſail from the *Philippine* iſlands away to the *South Seas;* and accordingly I aſked the *Japaneſe* merchant, if he would not hire us to the *Philippine* iſlands, and diſcharge us there. He ſaid, no, he could not do that; for then he could not have the return of his cargo; but he would diſcharge us in *Japan*, he ſaid, at the ſhip's return. Well, ſtill I was for taking him at that propoſal, and going myſelf; but my partner, wiſer than myſelf, perſuaded me from it, repreſenting the dangers, as well of the ſeas, as of the *Japaneſe*, who are a falſe, cruel, and treacherous people; and then of the *Spaniards* at the *Philippines;* more falſe, more cruel, more treacherous than they.

But

But, to bring this long turn of our affairs to a concluſion: the firſt thing we had to do, was to conſult with the captain of the ſhip, and with the men, and know if they were willing to go to *Japan;* and, while I was doing this, the young man, whom, as I ſaid, my nephew had left with me as my companion for my travels, came to me and told me, that he thought that voyage promiſed very fair, and that there was a great proſpect of advantage, and he would be very glad if I undertook it; but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or how I pleaſed to order him; that if ever he came to *England*, and I was there, and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his ſucceſs, and it ſhould be as much mine as I pleaſed.

I was really loth to part with him; but, conſidering the proſpect of advantage, which was really conſiderable, and that he was a young fellow as likely to do well in it as any I knew, I inclined to let him go; but firſt I told him I would conſult my partner, and give him an anſwer the next day. My partner and I diſcourſed about it; and my partner made a moſt generous offer: he told me, you know it has been an unlucky ſhip, and we both reſolve not to go to ſea in it again; if your ſteward (ſo he called my man) will venture the voyage, I'll leave my ſhare of the veſſel to him, and let him make the beſt of it; and if we live to meet in *England*, and he meets with ſucceſs abroad, he ſhall account for one half of the profits of the ſhip's freight to us, the other ſhall be his own.

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him ſuch an offer, I could do no

leſs than offer him the ſame; and all the ſhip's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ſhip to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other; and away he went to *Japan*. The *Japan* merchant proved a very punctual honeſt man to him, protected him at *Japan*, and got him a licence to come on ſhore, which the *Europeans* in general have not lately obtained; paid him his freight very punctually, ſent him to the *Philippines*, loaded him with *Japan* and *China* wares, and a ſupercargo of their own, who trafficking with the *Spaniards*, brought back *European* goods again, and a great quantity of cloves, and other ſpice; and there he was not only paid his freight very well, and at a very good price, but being not willing to ſell the ſhip then, the merchant furniſhed him with goods on his own account; that, for ſome money, and ſome ſpices of his own, which he brought with him, he went back to the *Manillas*, to the *Spaniards*, where he ſold his cargo very well. Here, having gotten a good acquaintance at *Manilla*, he got his ſhip made a free ſhip; and the governor of *Manilla* hired him to go to *Acapulco* in *America*, on the coaſt of *Mexico*; and gave him a licence to land there, and travel to *Mexico*; and to paſs in any *Spaniſh* ſhip to *Europe*, with all his men.

He made the voyage to *Acapulco* very happily, and there he ſold his ſhip; and having there alſo obtained allowance to travel by land to *Porto Bello*, he found means, ſome how or other, to go to *Jamaica* with all his treaſure; and about eight years after came to *England*, exceeding rich; of which I ſhall take notice in its

its place; in the mean time, I return to our particular affairs.

Being now to part with the ſhip, and ſhip's company, it came before us, of courſe, to conſider what recompence we ſhould give to the two men, that gave us ſuch timely notice of the deſign againſt us in the river of *Cambodia*. The truth was, they had done us a conſiderable ſervice, and deſerved well at our hands; though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues too: for, as they believed the ſtory of our being pirates, and that we had really run away with the ſhip, they came down to us, not only to betray the deſign that was formed againſt us, but to go to ſea with us as pirates; and one of them confeſſed afterwards, that nothing elſe but the hopes of going a roguing brought him to do it. However, the ſervice they did us was not the leſs; and therefore, as I had promiſed to be grateful to them, I firſt ordered the money to be paid to them, which they ſaid was due to them on board their reſpective ſhips; that is to ſay, the *Engliſhman* nineteen months pay, and to the *Dutchman* ſeven; and, over and above that, I gave each of them a ſmall ſum of money in gold, which contented them very well: then I made the *Engliſhman* gunner of the ſhip, the gunner being now made ſecond mate and purſer; the *Dutchman* I made boatſwain: ſo they were both very well pleaſed, and proved very ſerviceable, being both able ſeamen, and very ſtout fellows.

We were now on ſhore in *China*. If I thought myſelf baniſhed, and remote from my own country at *Bengal*, where I had many ways to get home for my money, what could I think of myſelf now, when

I was gotten about a thouſand leagues farther off from home, and perfectly deſtitute of all manner of proſpect of return!

All we had for it was this; that in about four months time there was to be another fair at that place where we were, and then we might be able to purchaſe all ſorts of the manufactures of the country, and withal might poſſibly find ſome *Chineſe* junks or veſſels from *Nanquin*, that would be to be ſold, and would carry us and our goods whither we pleaſed. This I liked very well, and reſolved to wait; beſides, as our particular perſons were not obnoxious, ſo if any *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhips came thither, perhaps we might have an opportunity to load our goods, and get paſſage to ſome other place in *India* nearer home.

Upon theſe hopes we reſolved to continue here; but, to divert ourſelves, we took two or three journies into the country; firſt, we went ten days journey to ſee the city of *Nanquin*, a city well worth ſeeing indeed: they ſay it has a million of people in it; which, however, I do not believe: It is regularly built, the ſtreets all exactly ſtrait, and croſs one another in direct lines, which gives the [illegible]re of it great advantage.

But when I came to compare the miſerable people of theſe countries with our's; their fabrics, their manner of living, their government, their religion, their wealth, and their glory (as ſome call it), I muſt confeſs, I do not ſo much as think it worth naming, or worth my while to write of, or any that ſhall come after me to read.

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It is very obſervable, that we wonder at the grandeur, the riches, the pomp, the ceremonies, the government, the manufactures, the commerce, and the conduct of theſe people; not that they are to be wondered at, or, indeed, in the leaſt to be regarded; but becauſe, having firſt a notion of the barbarity of thoſe countries, the rudeneſs, and the ignorance that prevail there, we do not expect to find any ſuch things ſo far off.

Otherwiſe, what are their builings to the palaces and royal buildings of *Europe?* What their trade to the univerſal commerce of *England*, *Holland*, *France*, and *Spain?* What their cities to our's, for wealth, ſtrength, gaiety of apparel, rich furniture, and an infinite variety? What are their ports, ſupplied with a few junks and barks, to our navigation, our merchants fleets, our large and powerful navies? Our city of *London* has more trade than all their mighty empire. One *Engliſh*, or *Dutch*, or *French* man of war of 80 guns, would fight with and deſtroy all the ſhipping of *China*. But the greatneſs of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and ſtrength of their armies are ſurprizing to us, becauſe, as I have ſaid, conſidering them as a barbarous nation of pagans, little better than ſavages, we did not expect ſuch things among them; and this, indeed, is the advantage with which all their greatneſs and power is repreſented to us: otherwiſe, it is in itſelf nothing at all; for, as I have ſaid of their ſhips, ſo it may be ſaid of their armies and troops; all the forces of their empire, though they were to bring two millions of men into the field to-

gether, would be able to do nothing but ruin the country, and ſtarve themſelves. If they were to beſiege a ſtrong town in *Flanders*, or to fight a diſciplined army, one line of *German* cuiraſſiers, or of *French* cavalry, would overthrow all the horſe of *China*; a million of their foot could not ſtand before one embattled body of our infantry, poſted ſo as not to be ſurrounded, though they were not to be one to twenty in number: nay, I do not boaſt if I ſay, that 30,000 *German* or *Engliſh* foot, and 10,000 *French* horſe, would fairly beat all the forces of *China*. And ſo of our fortified towns, and of the art of our engineers, in aſſaulting and defending towns; there is not a fortified town in *China* could hold out one month againſt the batteries and attacks of an *European* army; and at the ſame time, all the armies of *China* could never take ſuch a town as *Dunkirk*, provided it was not ſtarved; no, not in ten years ſiege. They have fire-arms, it is true, but they are awkward, clumſy, and uncertain in going off; they have powder, but it is of no ſtrength; they have neither diſcipline in the field, exerciſe in their arms, ſkill to attack, or temper to retreat: and therefore I muſt confeſs it ſeemed ſtrange to me when I came home, and heard our people ſay ſuch fine things of the power, riches, glory, magnificence, and trade of the *Chineſe*, becauſe I ſaw and knew that they were a contemptible herd or croud of ignorant, ſordid ſlaves, ſubjected to a government qualified only to rule ſuch a people; and, in a word, for I am now launched quite beſide my deſign, I ſay, in a word, were not its diſtance inconceivably great from *Muſcovy*, and were not the *Muſcovite* empire

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almoſt as rude, impotent, and ill-governed a croud of ſlaves as they, the czar of *Muſcovy* might, with much eaſe, drive them all out of their country, and conquer them in one campaign; and had the czar, who I ſince hear is a growing prince, and begins to appear formidable in the world, fallen this way, inſtead of attacking the warlike *Swedes*, in which attempt none of the powers of *Europe* would have envied or interrupted him; he might, by this time, have been emperor of *China*, inſtead of being beaten by the king of *Sweden* at *Narva*, when the latter was not one to ſix in number. As their ſtrength and their grandeur, ſo their navigation, commerce, and huſbandry, is imperfect and impotent, compared to the ſame things in *Europe*. Alſo, in their knowledge, their learning, their ſkill in the ſciences; they have globes and ſpheres, and a ſmatch of the knowledge of the mathematics; but when you come to enquire into their knowledge, how ſhort-ſighted are the wiſeſt of their ſtudents! They know nothing of the motion of the heavenly bodies; and ſo groſsly, abſurdly ignorant, that when the ſun is eclipſed, they think it is a great dragon has aſſaulted and run away with it; and they fall a clattering with all the drums and kettles in the country, to fright the monſter away, juſt as we do to hive a ſwarm of bees.

As this is the only excurſion of this kind which I have made in all the account I have given of my travels, ſo I ſhall make no more deſcriptions of countries and people: it is none of my buſineſs, or any part of my deſign; but giving an account of my own adventures, through a life of infinite wanderings, and a long variety of changes, which, perhaps,

few have heard the like of, I ſhall ſay nothing of the mighty places, deſart countries, and numerous people, I have yet to paſs through, more than relates to my own ſtory, and which my concern among them will make neceſſary. I was now, as near as I can compute, in the heart of *China*, about the latitude of thirty degrees north of the line, for we were returned from *Nanquin;* I had indeed a mind to ſee the city of *Pekin*, which I had heard ſo much of, and father *Simon* importuned me daily to do it: at length his time of going away being ſet, and the other miſſionary, who was to go with him, being arrived from *Macao*, it was neceſſary that we ſhould reſolve either to go, or not to go; ſo I referred him to my partner, and left it wholly to his choice; who, at length, reſolved it in the affirmative; and we prepared for our journey. We ſet out with very good advantage, as to finding the way; for we got leave to travel in the retinue of one of their mandarins, a kind of viceroy, or principal magiſtrate, in the province where they reſide, and who take great ſtate upon them, travelling with great attendance, and with great homage from the people, who are ſometimes greatly impoveriſhed by them, becauſe all the countries they paſs through are obliged to furniſh proviſions for them, and all their attendants. That which I particularly obſerved, as to our travelling with his baggage, was this; that though we received ſufficient proviſions, both for ourſelves and our horſes, from the country, as belonging to the mandarin, yet we were obliged to pay for every thing we had after the market-price of the country, and the mandarin's ſteward, or commiſſary of the proviſions, collected

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it duly from us; ſo that our travelling in the retinue of the mandarin, though it was a very great kindneſs to us, was not ſuch a mighty favour in him, but was, indeed, a great advantage to him, conſidering there were about thirty other people travelling in the ſame manner beſides us, under the protection of his retinue, or, as we may call it, under his convoy. This, I ſay, was a great advantage to him; for the country furniſhed all the proviſions for nothing, and he took all our money for them.

We were five-and-twenty days travelling to *Pekin*, through a country infinitely populous, but miſerably cultivated; the huſbandry, œconomy, and the way of living, all very miſerable, though they boaſt ſo much of the induſtry of the people: I ſay miſerable; and ſo it is; if we, who underſtand how to live, were to endure it, or to compare it with our own; but not ſo to theſe poor wretches, who know no other. The pride of theſe people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing but their poverty, which adds to that which I call their miſery. I muſt needs think the naked ſavages of *America* live much more happy, becauſe, as they have nothing, ſo they deſire nothing; whereas theſe are proud and inſolent, and, in the main, are mere beggars and drudges; their oſtentation is inexpreſſible, and is chiefly ſhewed in their clothes and buildings, and in the keeping multitudes of ſervants or ſlaves, and, which is to the laſt degree ridiculous, their contempt of all the world but themſelves.

I muſt confeſs, I travelled more pleaſantly afterwards, in the deſarts and vaſt wilderneſſes of *Grand Tartary*, than here; and yet the roads here are well

paved, and well kept, and very convenient for travellers: but nothing was more awkward to me, than to ſee ſuch an haughty, imperious, inſolent people, in the midſt of the groſſeſt ſimplicity and ignorance; for all their famed ingenuity is no more. My friend, father *Simon*, and I, uſed to be very merry upon theſe occaſions, to ſee the beggarly pride of thoſe people: for example, coming by the houſe of a country gentleman, as father *Simon* called him, about ten leagues off from the city of *Nanquin*, we had, firſt of all, the honour to ride with the maſter of the houſe about two miles; the ſtate he rode in was a perfect *Don Quixotiſm*, being a mixture of pomp and poverty.

The habit of this greaſy Don was very proper for a ſcaramouch, or merry-andrew; being a dirty calico, with all the tawdry trappings of a fool's coat, ſuch as hanging ſleeves, taffety, and cuts and ſlaſhes almoſt on every ſide: it covered a rich taffety veſt, as greaſy as a butcher, and which teſtified, that his honour muſt needs be a moſt exquiſite ſloven.

His horſe was a poor, lean, ſtarved, hobbling creature, ſuch as in *England* might ſell for about thirty or forty ſhillings; and he had two ſlaves followed him on foot, to drive the poor creature along: he had a whip in his hand, and he belaboured the beaſt as faſt about the head as his ſlaves did about the tail; and thus he rode by us with about ten or twelve ſervants; and we were told he was going from the city to his country ſeat, about half a league before us. We travelled on gently, but this figure of a gentleman rode away before us; and as we ſtopped at a village about an hour to refreſh us, when we came by the country ſeat of this great

great man, we ſaw him in a little place before his door, eating his repaſt; it was a kind of a garden, but he was eaſy to be ſeen; and we were given to underſtand, that the more we looked on him, the better he would be pleaſed.

He ſat under a tree, ſomething like the palmetto-tree, which effectually ſhaded him over the head, and on the ſouth ſide; but under the tree alſo was placed a large umbrella, which made that part look well enough: he ſat lolling back in a great elbow-chair, being a heavy corpulent man, and his meat being brought him by two women ſlaves, he had two more, whoſe office, I think, few gentlemen in *Europe* would accept of their ſervice in, *viz.* one fed the 'ſquire with a ſpoon, and the other held the diſh with one hand, and ſcraped off what he let fall upon his worſhip's beard and taffety veſt, with the other; while the great fat brute thought it below him to employ his own hands in any of thoſe familiar offices, which kings and monarchs would rather do than be troubled with the clumſy fingers of their ſervants.

I took this time to think what pain men's pride puts them to, and how troubleſome a haughty temper, thus ill-managed, muſt be to a man of common ſenſe; and, leaving the poor wretch to pleaſe himſelf with our looking at him, as if we admired his pomp, whereas we really pitied and contemned him, we purſued our journey; only father *Simon* had the curioſity to ſtay to inform himſelf what dainties the country juſtice had to feed on, in all his ſtate; which he ſaid he had the honour to taſte of, and which was, I think, a doſe that an *Engliſh* hound would ſcarce have eaten, if it had been offered him, *viz.* a meſs

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of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlick in it, and a little bag filled with green pepper, and another plant which they have there, ſomething like our ginger, but ſmelling like muſk, and taſting like muſtard; all this was put together, and a ſmall lump or piece of lean mutton boiled in it; and this was his worſhip's repaſt, four or five ſervants more attending at a diſtance. If he fed them meaner than he was fed himſelf, the ſpice excepted, they muſt fare very coarſely indeed.

As for our mandarin with whom we travelled, he was reſpected like a king; ſurrounded always with his gentlemen, and attended in all his appearances with ſuch pomp, that I ſaw little of him but at a diſtance; but this I obſerved, that there was not a horſe in his retinue, but that our carriers pack-horſes in *England* ſeem to me to look much better; but they were ſo covered with equipage, mantles, trappings, and ſuch like trumpery, that you cannot ſee whether they are fat or lean. In a word, we could ſcarce ſee any thing but their feet and their heads.

I was now light-hearted, and all my trouble and perplexity that I had given an account of being over, I had no anxious thoughts about me; which made this journey much the pleaſanter to me; nor had I any ill accident attended me, only in the paſſing or fording a ſmall river, my horſe fell, and made me free of the country, as they call it; that is to ſay, threw me in; the place was not deep, but it wetted me all over: I mention it, becauſe it ſpoiled my pocket-book, wherein I had ſet down the names of ſeveral people and places which I had occaſion to re-

member, and which not taking due care of, the leaves rotted, and the words were never after to be read, to my great loſs, as to the names of ſome places which I touched at in this voyage.

At length we arrived at *Pekin:* I had nobody with me but the youth, whom my nephew the captain had given me to attend me as a ſervant, and who proved very truſty and diligent; and my partner had nobody with him but one ſervant, who was a kinſman. As for the *Portugueſe* pilot, he being deſirous to ſee the court, we gave him his paſſage, that is to ſay, bore his charges for his company; and to uſe him as an interpreter, for he underſtood the language of the country, and ſpoke good *French* and a little *Engliſh;* and, indeed, this old man was a moſt uſeful implement to us every where; for we had not been above a week at *Pekin*, when he came laughing: Ah, Seignior *Ingleſe*, ſaid he, I have ſomething to tell you, will make your heart glad. My heart glad! ſaid I: What can that be? I don't know any thing in this country can either give me joy or grief, to any great degree. Yes, yes, ſaid the old man, in broken *Engliſh*, make you glad, me ſorrow; *ſorry* he would have ſaid. This made me more inquiſitive. Why, ſaid I, will it make you ſorry? Becauſe, ſaid he, you have brought me here twenty-five days journey, and will leave me to go back alone; and which way ſhall I get to my port afterwards, without a ſhip, without a horſe, without *pecune?* So he called money; being his broken *Latin*, of which he had abundance to make us merry with.

In ſhort, he told us there was a great caravan of *Muſcovy* and *Poliſh* merchants in the city, and that they were

were preparing to ſet out on their journey, by land, to *Muſcovy*, within four or five weeks, and he was ſure we would take the opportunity to go with them, and leave him behind to go back alone. I confeſs I was ſurpriſed with this news: a ſecret joy ſpread itſelf over my whole ſoul, which I cannot deſcribe, and never felt before, or ſince; and I had no power, for a good while, to ſpeak a word to the old man; but at laſt I turned to him: How do you know this? ſaid I: are you ſure it is true? Yes, he ſaid, I met this morning, in the ſtreet, an old acquaintance of mine, an *Armenian*, or one you call a *Grecian*, who is among them; he came laſt from *Aſtracan*, and was deſigning to go to *Tonquin*, where I formerly knew him, but has altered his mind, and is now reſolved to go back with the caravan to *Moſcow*, and ſo down the river of *Wolga* to *Aſtracan*. Well, Seignior, ſaid I, do not be uneaſy about being left to go back alone; if this be a method for my return to *England*, it ſhall be your fault if you go back to *Macao* at all. We then went to conſult together what was to be done, and aſked my partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would ſuit with his affairs: he told me he would do juſt as I would; for he had ſettled all his affairs ſo well at *Bengal*, and left his effects in ſuch good hands, that as we made a good voyage here, if he could veſt it in *China* ſilks, wrought and raw, ſuch as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to *England*, and then make his voyage back to *Bengal*, by the company's ſhips.

Having reſolved upon this, we agreed, that if our *Portugueſe* pilot would go with us, we would bear his

charges to *Moſcow*, or to *England*, if he pleaſed; nor, indeed, were we to be eſteemed over generous in that part neither, if we had not rewarded him farther; for the ſervice he had done us was really worth all that, and more; for he had not only been a pilot to us at ſea, but he had been alſo like a broker for us on ſhore; and his procuring for us the *Japan* merchant, was ſome hundreds of pounds in our pockets. So we conſulted together about it; and, being willing to gratify him, which was, indeed, but doing him juſtice, and very willing alſo to have him with us beſides, for he was a moſt neceſſary man on all occaſions, we agreed to give him a quantity of coined gold, which, as I compute it, came to about 175 pounds ſterling between us, and to bear his charges, both for himſelf and horſe, except only a horſe to carry his goods.

Having ſettled this among ourſelves, we called him to let him know what we had reſolved: I told him, he had complained of our being like to let him go back alone, and I was now to tell him we were reſolved he ſhould not go back at all: that as we had reſolved to go to *Europe* with the caravan, we reſolved alſo he ſhould go with us, and that we called him to know his mind. He ſhook his head, and ſaid it was a long journey, and he had no *pecune* to carry him thither, nor to ſubſiſt himſelf when he came thither. We told him, we believed it was ſo, and therefore we had reſolved to do ſomething for him, that ſhould let him ſee how ſenſible we were of the ſervice he had done us; and alſo how agreeable he was to us: and then I told him what we had reſolved to give him here, which he might lay out as we

we would do our own; and that as for his charges, if he would go with us, we would ſet him ſafe aſhore, (life and caſualties excepted) either in *Muſcovy* or in *England*, which he would, at our own charge, except only the carriage of his goods.

He received the propoſal like a man tranſported, and told us, he would go with us over the whole world; and ſo, in ſhort, we all prepared ourſelves for the journey. However, as it was with us, ſo it was with the other merchants, they had many things to do; and inſtead of being ready in five weeks, it was four months and ſome odd days before all things were got together.

It was the beginning of *February*, our ſtyle, when we ſet out from *Pekin*. My partner and the old pilot had gone expreſs back to the port where we had firſt put in, to diſpoſe of ſome goods which we had left there; and I, with a *Chineſe* merchant, whom I had ſome knowledge of at *Nanquin*, and who came to *Pekin* on his own affairs, went to *Nanquin*, where I bought ninety pieces of fine damaſks, with about two hundred pieces of other very fine ſilks, of ſeveral ſorts, ſome mixed with gold, and had all theſe brought to *Pekin* againſt my partner's return: beſides this, we bought a very large quantity of raw ſilk, and ſome other goods; our cargo amounting, in theſe goods only, to about three thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling, which, together with tea, and ſome fine callicoes, and three camel-loads of nutmegs and cloves, loaded in all eighteen camels for our ſhare, beſides thoſe we rode upon; which, with two or three ſpare horſes, and two horſes loaded with proviſions, made

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us, in ſhort, twenty-ſix camels and horſes in our retinue.

The company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horſes and camels, and upward of an hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events. For, as the eaſtern caravans are ſubject to be attacked by the *Arabs*, ſo are theſe by the *Tartars;* but they are not altogether ſo dangerous as the *Arabs*, nor ſo barbarous when they prevail.

The company conſiſted of people of ſeveral nations, ſuch as *Muſcovites* chiefly; for there were about ſixty of them who were merchants or inhabitants of *Muſcow*, though of them ſome were *Livonians;* and to our particular ſatisfaction, five of them were *Scots*, who appeared alſo to be men of great experience in buſineſs, and very good ſubſtance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants; that is to ſay, all the paſſengers, except the ſervants, to a great council, as they termed it. At this great council every one depoſited a certain quantity of money to a common ſtock, for the neceſſary expence of buying forage on the way, where it was not otherwiſe to be had, and for ſatiſfying the guides, getting horſes, and the like. And here they conſtituted the journey, as they called it, *viz.* They named captains and officers to draw us all up, and give the command in caſe of an attack, and gave every one their turn of command. Nor was this forming us into order any more than what we found needful upon the way, as ſhall be obſerved in its place.

The

The road all on this ſide of the country is very populous, and is full of potters and earth-makers; that is to ſay, people that tempered the earth for the *China* ware; and, as I was going along, our *Portugueſe* pilot, who had always ſomething or other to ſay to make us merry, came ſneering to me, and told me, he would ſhew the greateſt rarity in all the country; and that I ſhould have this to ſay of *China*, after all the ill-humoured things I had ſaid of it, that I had ſeen one thing which was not to be ſeen in all the world beſide. I was very importunate to know what it was; at laſt he told me, it was a gentleman's houſe, built all with *China* ware. Well, ſaid I, are not the materials of their building the product of their own country; and ſo it is all *China* ware, is it not? No, no, ſays he, I mean, it is a houſe all made of *China* ware, ſuch as you call ſo in *England;* or, as it is called in our country, porcelain. Well, ſaid I, ſuch a thing may be: How big is it; Can we carry it in a box upon a camel? If we can, we will buy it. Upon a camel! ſaid the old pilot, holding up both his hands, why there is a family of thirty people lives in it.

I was then curious, indeed, to ſee it; and when I came to it, it was nothing but this: it was a timber houſe, or a houſe built, as we call it in *England*, with lath and plaiſter, but all the plaiſtering was really *China* ware, that is to ſay, it was plaiſtered with the earth that makes *China* ware.

The outſide, which the ſun ſhone hot upon, was glazed, and looked very well, perfectly white, and painted with blue figures, as the large *China* ware in *England* is painted, and hard, as if it had been burnt.

burnt. As to the inſide, all the walls, inſtead of wainſcot, were lined with hardened and painted tiles, like the little ſquare tiles we call gally tiles in *England*, all made of the fineſt *China*, and the figures exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary variety of colours, mixed with gold, many tiles making but one figure, but joined ſo artificially with mortar, being made of the ſame earth, that it was very hard to ſee where the tiles met. The floors of the rooms were of the ſame compoſition, and as hard as the earthen floors we have in uſe in ſeveral parts of *England*, eſpecially *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, &c. as hard as ſtone, and ſmooth, but not burnt and painted, except ſome ſmaller rooms, like cloſets, which were all, as it were, paved with the ſame tile; the cielings, and in a word, all the plaiſtering-work in the whole houſe, were of the ſame earth; and, after all, the roof was covered with tiles of the ſame, but of a deep ſhining black.

This was a *China* warehouſe indeed, truly and literally to be called ſo; and, had I not been upon the journey, I could have ſtaid ſome days to ſee and examine the particulars of it. They told me there were fountains and fiſh-ponds in the garden, all paved at the bottom and ſides with the ſame, and fine ſtatues ſet up in rows on the walks, entirely formed of the porcelain earth, and burnt whole.

As this is one of the ſingularities of *China*, ſo they may be allowed to excel in it; but I am very ſure, they *excel* in their accounts of it; for they told me ſuch incredible things of their performance in crockery-ware, for ſuch it is, that I care not to relate, as knowing it could not be true:— One told me, in particular, of a workman that made

a ſhip, with all its tackle, and maſts, and ſails, in earthen-ware, big enough to carry fifty men. If he had told me he launched it, and made a voyage to *Japan* in it, I might have ſaid ſomething to it indeed; but as it was, I knew the whole ſtory, which was, in ſhort, aſking pardon for the word, that the fellow lied; ſo I ſmiled, and ſaid nothing to it.

This odd ſight kept me two hours behind the caravan, for which the leader of it for the day fined me about the value of three ſhillings; and told me, if it had been three days journey without the wall, as it was three days within, he muſt have fined me four times as much, and made me aſk pardon the next council day: ſo I promiſed to be more orderly; for, indeed, I found afterwards the orders made for keeping all together were abſolutely neceſſary for our common ſafety.

In two days more we paſſed the great *China* wall, made for a fortification againſt the *Tartars*; and a very great work it is, going over hills and mountains in an endleſs track, where the rocks are impaſſable, and the precipices ſuch as no enemy could poſſibly enter, or, indeed, climb up, or where, if they did, no wall could hinder them. They tell us, its length is near a thouſand *Engliſh* miles, but that the country is five hundred, in a ſtraight meaſured line, which the wall bounds, without meaſuring the windings and turnings it takes: 'tis about four fathom high, and as many thick in ſome places.

I ſtood ſtill an hour, or thereabouts, without treſpaſſing on our orders, for ſo long the caravan was in paſſing the gate; I ſay, I ſtood ſtill an hour to look at it, on every ſide, near, and far off, I mean,

mean, what was within my view; and the guide of our caravan, who had been extolling it for the wonder of the world, was mighty eager to hear my opinion of it. I told him it was a moſt excellent thing to keep off the *Tartars*, which he happened not to underſtand as I meant it, and ſo took it for a compliment: but the old pilot laughed: O Seignior *Ingleſe*, ſaid he, you ſpeak in colours. In colours! ſaid I, what do you mean by that? Why you ſpeak what looks white this way, and black that way; gay one way, and dull another way: you tell him it is a good wall to keep out *Tartars*; you tell me, by that, it is good for nothing but to keep out *Tartars*; or, will keep out none but *Tartars*: I underſtand you, Seignior *Ingleſe*, I underſtand you, ſaid he, joking; but Seignior *Chineſe* underſtand you his own way.

Well ſaid I, Seignior, do you think it would ſtand out an army of our country people, with a good train of artillery; or our engineers, with two companies of miners? Would they not batter it down in ten days, that an army might enter in battalia, or blow it up into the air, foundation and all, that there ſhould be no ſign of it left? Ay, ay, ſaid he, I know that. The *Chineſe* wanted mightily to know what I ſaid, and I gave him leave to tell him a few days after, for we were then almoſt out of their country, and he was to leave us in a little time afterwards; but when he knew what I had ſaid, he was dumb all the reſt of the way, and we heard no more of his fine ſtory of the *Chineſe* power and greatneſs while he ſtaid.

After we had paſſed this mighty Nothing, called a wall, ſomething like the *Picts* wall, ſo famous in *Northumberland*, and built by the *Romans*, we began

to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people rather confined to live in fortified towns and cities, as being ſubject to the inroads and depredations of the *Tartars*, who rob in great armies, and therefore are not to be reſiſted by the naked inhabitants of an open country.

And here I began to find the neceſſity of keeping together in a caravan, as we travelled; for we ſaw ſeveral troops of *Tartars* roving about; but when I came to ſee them diſtinctly, I wondered how that the *Chineſe* empire could be conquered by ſuch contemptible fellows; for they are a mere herd or crowd of wild fellows, keeping no order, and underſtanding no diſcipline, or manner of fight.

Their horſes are poor, lean, ſtarved creatures, taught nothing, and are fit for nothing; and this we found the firſt day we ſaw them, which was after we entered the wilder part of the country. Our leader for the day gave leave for about ſixteen of us to go a hunting, as they call it; and what was this but hunting of ſheep! However, it may be called hunting too; for the creatures are the wildeſt, and ſwifteſt of foot, that ever I ſaw of their kind; only they will not run a great way, and you are ſure of ſport when you begin the chace; for they appear generally by thirty or forty in a flock, and, like true ſheep, always keep together when they fly.

In purſuit of this odd ſort of game, it was our hap to meet with about forty *Tartars*: Whether they were hunting mutton as we were, or whether they looked for another kind of prey, I know not; but as ſoon as they ſaw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud, but with a barbarous ſound that I had

had never heard before; and, by the way, never care to hear again. We all ſuppoſed this was to call their friends about them; and ſo it was; for in leſs than half a quarter of an hour, a troop of forty or fifty more appeared at about a mile diſtance; but our work was over firſt, as it happened.

One of the *Scots* merchants of *Moſcow* happened to be amongſt us; and as ſoon as he heard the horn, he told us, in ſhort, that we had nothing to do but to charge them immediately, without loſs of time; and, drawing us up in a line, he aſked, If we were reſolved? We told him, We were ready to follow him: So he rode directly up to them. They ſtood gazing at us, like a mere crowd, drawn up in no order, nor ſhewing the face of any order at all; but as ſoon as they ſaw us advance, they let fly their arrows; which, however, miſſed us very happily: It ſeems they miſtook not their aim, but their diſtance; for their arrows all fell a little ſhort of us, but with ſo true an aim, that had we been about twenty yards nearer, we muſt have had ſeveral men wounded, if not killed.

Immediately we halted; and though it was at a great diſtance, we fired, and ſent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our ſhot full gallop, reſolving to fall in among them ſword in hand; for ſo our bold *Scot* that led us, directed. He was, indeed, but a merchant, but he behaved with that vigour and bravery on this occaſion, and yet with ſuch a cool courage too, that I never ſaw any man in action fitter for command. As ſoon as we came up to them, we fired our piſtols in their faces, and then drew; but they fled in the greateſt confuſion imaginable; the

only ſtand any of them made was on our right, where three of them ſtood, and, by ſigns, called the reſt to come back to them, having a kind of ſcymitar in their hands, and their bows hanging at their backs. Our brave commander, without aſking any body to follow him, galloped up cloſe to them, and with his fuſil knocked one of them off his horſe, killed the ſecond with his piſtol, and the third ran away; and thus ended our fight; but we had this misfortune attending it, *viz.* That all our mutton that we had in chace got away. We had not a man killed or hurt; but, as for the *Tartars*, there were about five of them killed; how many were wounded, we knew not; but this we knew, that the other party was ſo frighted with the noiſe of our guns, that they fled, and never made any attempt upon us.

We were all this while in the *Chineſe* dominions, and therefore the *Tartars* were not ſo bold as afterwards; but in about five days we entered a vaſt great wild deſart, which held us three days and nights march; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leather bottles, and to encamp all night, juſt as I have heard they do in the deſarts of *Arabia*.

I aſked our guides, whoſe dominion this was in? and they told me this was a kind of border that might be called *No Man's Land;* being part of the *Great Karakathy*, or *Grand Tartary;* but that, however, it was reckoned to *China;* that there was no care taken here to preſerve it from the inroads of thieves; and therefore it was reckoned the worſt deſart in the whole march, though we were to go over ſome much larger.

In paſſing this wilderneſs, which, I confeſs, was at the firſt view very frightful to me, we ſaw two or three times little parties of the *Tartars*, but they ſeemed to be upon their own affairs, and to have no deſign upon us; and ſo, like the man who met the devil, if they had nothing to ſay to us, we had nothing to ſay to them; we let them go.

Once, however, a party of them came ſo near as to ſtand and gaze at us; whether it was to conſider what they ſhould do, *viz.* to attack us, or not attack us, we knew not; but when we were paſſed at ſome diſtance by them, we made a rear guard of forty men, and ſtood ready for them, letting the caravan paſs half a mile, or thereabouts, before us: After a while they marched off, only we found they aſſaulted us with five arrows at their parting; one of which wounded a horſe, ſo that it diſabled him; and we left him the next day, poor creature, in great need of a good farrier. We ſuppoſe they might ſhoot more arrows, which might fall ſhort of us; but we ſaw no more arrows, or *Tartars*, at that time.

We travelled near a month after this, the ways being not ſo good as at firſt, though ſtill in the dominions of the Emperor of *China;* but lay, for the moſt part, in villages, ſome of which were fortified, becauſe of the incurſions of the *Tartars*. When we came to one of theſe towns (it was about two days and a half's journey before we were to come to the city of *Naum,)* I wanted to buy a camel, of which there are plenty to be ſold all the way upon that road, and of horſes alſo, ſuch as they are, becauſe ſo many caravans coming that way, they are

very often wanted. The perſon that I ſpoke to to get me a camel, would have gone and fetched it for me; but I, like a fool, muſt be officious, and go myſelf along with him. The place was about two miles out of the village, where, it ſeems, they kept the camels and horſes feeding under a guard.

I walked it on foot, with my old pilot in company, and a *Chineſe*, being deſirous, forſooth, of a little variety. When we came to this place, it was a low marſhy ground, walled round with a ſtone wall, piled up dry, without mortar or earth among it, like a park, with a little guard of *Chineſe* ſoldiers at the doors: Having bought a camel, and agreed for the price, I came away; and the *Chineſe* man, that went with me, led the camel, when on a ſudden came up five *Tartars* on horſeback; two of them ſeized the fellow, and took the camel from him, while the other three ſtepped up to me and my old pilot; ſeeing us, as it were, unarmed, for I had no weapon about me but my ſword, which could but ill defend me againſt three horſemen. The firſt that came up ſtopped ſhort upon my drawing my ſword (for they are arrant cowards;) but a ſecond coming upon my left, gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterwards, and wondered, when I came to myſelf, what was the matter with me, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground; but my never-failing old pilot, the *Portugueſe* (ſo providence, unlooked for, directs deliverances from dangers, which to us are unforeſeen,) had a piſtol in his pocket, which I knew nothing of, nor the *Tartars* neither; if they had, I ſuppoſe they would not have attacked

us;

us; but cowards are always boldeſt when there is no danger.

The old man, ſeeing me down, with a bold heart ſtepped up to the fellow that had ſtruck me, and laying hold of his arm with one hand, and pulling him down by main force a little towards him with the other, he ſhot him into the head, and laid him dead on the ſpot; he then immediately ſtepped up to him who had ſtopped us, as I ſaid, and before he could come forward again (for it was all done as it were in a moment) made a blow at him with a ſcymitar, which he always wore, but, miſſing the man, cut his horſe into the ſide of his head, cut one of his ears off by the root, and a great ſlice down the ſide of his face. The poor beaſt, enraged with the wounds, was no more to be governed by his rider, though the fellow ſat well enough too; but away he flew, and carried him quite out of the pilot's reach; and, at ſome diſtance, riſing upon his hind legs, threw down the *Tartar*, and fell upon him.

In this interval the poor *Chineſe* came in, who had loſt the camel, but he had no weapon; however, ſeeing the *Tartar* down, and his horſe fallen upon him, he runs to him, and ſeizing upon an ugly ill-favoured weapon he had by his ſide, ſomething like a pole-axe, but not a pole-axe either, he wrenched it from him, and made ſhift to knock his *Tartarian* brains out with it. But my old man had the third *Tartar* to deal with ſtill; and, ſeeing he did not fly as he expected, nor come on to fight him, as he apprehended, but ſtood ſtock ſtill, the old man ſtood ſtill too, and falls to work with his tackle to charge his piſtol again: but as ſoon as the *Tartar* ſaw the

piſtol, whether he ſuppoſed it to be the ſame or another, I know not; but away he ſcoured, and left my pilot, my champion I called him afterwards, a complete victory.

By this time I was a little awake; for I thought, when I firſt began to awake, that I had been in a ſweet ſleep; but, as I ſaid above, I wondered where I was, how I came upon the ground, and what was the matter: in a word, a few minutes after, as ſenſe returned, I felt pain, though I did not know where; I clapped my hand to my head, and took it away bloody; then I felt my head ache; and then, in another moment, memory returned, and every thing was preſent to me again.

I jumped up upon my feet inſtantly, and got hold of my ſword, but no enemies in view. I found a *Tartar* lie dead, and his horſe ſtanding very quietly by him; and looking farther, I ſaw my champion and deliverer, who had been to ſee what the *Chineſe* had done, coming back with his hanger in his hand. The old man, ſeeing me on my feet, came running to me, and embraced me with a great deal of joy, being afraid before that I had been killed; and ſeeing me bloody, would ſee how I was hurt; but it was not much, only what we call a broken head; neither did I afterwards find any great inconvenience from the blow, other than the place which was hurt, and which was well again in two or three days.

We made no great gain, however, by this victory; for we loſt a camel, and gained a horſe: but that which was remarkable, when we came back to the village, the man demanded to be paid for the camel;

mel; I diſputed it, and it was brought to a hearing before the *Chineſe* judge of the place; that is to ſay, in *Engliſh*, we went before a juſtice of the peace. Give him his due, he acted with a great deal of prudence and impartiality; and having heard both ſides, he gravely aſked the *Chineſe* man that went with me to buy the camel, whoſe ſervant he was? I am no ſervant ſaid he, but went with the ſtranger. At whoſe requeſt? ſaid the juſtice. At the ſtranger's requeſt, ſaid he. Why then, ſaid the juſtice, you were the ſtranger's ſervant for the time; and the camel being delivered to his ſervant, it was delivered to him, and he muſt pay for it.

I confeſs the thing was ſo clear, that I had not a word to ſay; but admiring to ſee ſuch juſt reaſoning upon the conſequence, and ſo accurate ſtating the caſe, I paid willingly for the camel, and ſent for another; but you may obſerve, *I ſent* for it; I did not go to fetch it myſelf any more; I had enough of that.

The city of *Naum* is a frontier of the *Chineſe* empire: they call it fortified, and ſo it is, as fortifications go there; for this I will venture to affirm, that all the *Tartars* in *Karakathay*, which, I believe, are ſome millions, could not batter down the walls with their bows and arrows; but to call it ſtrong, if it were attacked with cannon, would be to make thoſe who underſtand it laugh at you.

We wanted, as I have ſaid, above two days journey of this city, when meſſengers were ſent expreſs to every part of the road, to tell all travellers and caravans to halt, till they had a guard ſent to them; for

for that an unuſual body of *Tartars*, making ten thouſand in all, had appeared in the way, about thirty miles beyond the city.

This was very bad news to travellers; however, it was carefully done of the governor, and we were very glad to hear we ſhould have a guard. Accordingly, two days after, we had 200 ſoldiers ſent us from a garriſon of the *Chineſe* on our left, and three hundred more from the city of *Naum*, and with thoſe we advanced boldly: the three hundred ſoldiers from *Naum* marched in our front, the two hundred in our rear, and our men on each ſide of our camels with our baggage, and the whole caravan in the centre: in this order, and well prepared for battle, we thought ourſelves a match for the whole ten thouſand *Mogul Tartars*, if they had appeared; but the next day, when they did appear, it was quite another thing.

It was early in the morning, when marching from a little well-ſituated town, called *Changu*, we had a river to paſs, where we were obliged to ferry; and had the *Tartars* had any intelligence, then had been the time to have attacked us, when, the caravan being over, the rear guard was behind: but they did not appear there.

About three hours after, when we were entered upon a deſart of about fifteen or ſixteen miles over, behold, by a cloud of duſt they raiſed, we ſaw an enemy was at hand; and they were at hand indeed, for they came on upon the ſpur.

The *Chineſe*, our guard on the front, who had talked ſo big the day before, began to ſtagger, and the ſoldiers frequently looked behind them; which is a certain ſign in a ſoldier, that he is juſt ready to run away.

away. My old pilot was of my mind; and being near me, he called out: Seignior *Ingleſe*, ſaid he, thoſe fellows muſt be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; for if the *Tartars* come on, they will never ſtand it. I am of your mind, ſaid I: But what courſe muſt be done? Done, ſaid he; let fifty of our men advance, and flank them on each wing, and encourage them, and they will fight like brave fellows in brave company; but without it, they will every man turn his back. Immediately I rode up to our leader, and told him, who was exactly of our mind; and accordingly fifty of us marched to the right wing, and fifty to the left, and the reſt made a line of reſerve; for ſo we marched, leaving the laſt two hundred men to make another body to themſelves, and to guard the camels; only that, if need were, they ſhould ſend an hundred men to aſſiſt the laſt fifty.

In a word, the *Tartars* came on, and an innumerable company they were; how many, we could not tell, but ten thouſand we thought was the leaſt. A party of them came on firſt, and viewed our poſture, traverſing the ground in the front of our line; and as we found them within gun-ſhot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance ſwiftly, and give them a *ſalvo* on each wing with their ſhot, which was done; but they went off, and I ſuppoſe went back to give an account of the reception they were like to meet with; and, indeed, that ſalute clogged their ſtomachs; for they immediately halted, ſtood awhile to conſider of it, and, wheeling off to the left, they gave over the deſign, and ſaid no more to us for that time; which was very agreeable to our circumſtances,

ſtances, which were but very indifferent for a battle with ſuch a number.

Two days after this we came to the city of *Naum*, or *Naunm:* We thanked the governor for his care for us, and collected to the value of 100 crowns, or thereabouts, which we gave to the ſoldiers ſent to guard us; and here we reſted one day. This is a garriſon indeed, and there were nine hundred ſoldiers kept here; but the reaſon of it was, that formerly the *Muſcovite* frontiers lay nearer to them than they do now, the *Muſcovites* having abandoned that part of the country (which lies from the city weſt, for about two hundred miles) as deſolate and unfit for uſe; and more eſpecially, being ſo very remote, and ſo difficult to ſend troops hither for its defence; for we had yet above two thouſand miles to *Muſcovy*, properly ſo called.

After this we paſſed ſeveral great rivers, and two dreadful deſarts, one of which we were ſixteen days paſſing over, and which, as I ſaid, was to be called *No Man's Land;* and on the 13th of *April*, we came to the frontiers of the *Muſcovite* dominions. I think the firſt city, or town, or fortreſs, whatever it might be called, that belonged to the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, was called *Argun*, being on the weſt ſide of the river *Argun*.

I could not but diſcover an infinite ſatisfaction, that I was now arrived in, as I called it, a Chriſtian country; or, at leaſt, in a country governed by Chriſtians: for though the *Muſcovites* do, in my opinion, but juſt deſerve the name of Chriſtians; (yet ſuch they pretend to be, and are very devout in their way);

way); it would certainly occur to any man who travels the world as I have done, and who had any power of reflection; I ſay, it would occur to him, to reflect, what a bleſſing it is to be brought into the world where the name of GOD, and of a Redeemer, is known, worſhipped, and adored—and not where the people, given up by Heaven to ſtrong deluſions, worſhip the devil, and proſtrate themſelves to ſtocks and ſtones; worſhip monſters, elements, horrible ſhaped animals, and ſtatues, or images of monſters. Not a town or city we paſſed through but had their pagods, their idols, and their temples; and ignorant people worſhipping even the works of their own hands!

Now we came where, at leaſt, a face of the Chriſtian worſhip appeared, where the knee was bowed to JESUS; and whether ignorantly or not, yet the Chriſtian religion was owned, and the name of the true GOD was called upon and adored; and it made the very receſſes of my ſoul rejoice to ſee it. I ſaluted the brave *Scotch* merchant I mentioned above, with my firſt acknowledgment of this; and, taking him by the hand, I ſaid to him, Bleſſed be GOD, we are once again come among Chriſtians! He ſmiled, and anſwered, Do not rejoice too ſoon, countryman; theſe *Muſcovites* are but an odd ſort of Chriſtians; and but for the name of it, you may ſee very little of the ſubſtance for ſome months farther of our journey.

Well, ſaid I, but ſtill it is better than paganiſm, and worſhipping of devils. Why, I'll tell you, ſaid he; Except the *Ruſſian* ſoldiers in garriſons, and a few of the inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all

all the reſt of this country, for above a thouſand miles farther, is inhabited by the worſt and moſt ignorant of pagans: and ſo indeed we found it.

We were now launched into the greateſt piece of ſolid earth, if I underſtand any thing of the ſurface of the globe, that is to be found in any part of the world: we had at leaſt twelve hundred miles to the ſea, eaſtward; we had at leaſt two thouſand to the bottom of the *Balic* ſea, weſtward; and almoſt three thouſand miles, if we left that ſea, and went on weſt to the *Britiſh* and *French* channels; we had full five thouſand miles to the *Indian* or *Perſian* ſea, ſouth; and about eight hundred miles to the frozen ſea, north: nay, if ſome people may be believed, there might be no ſea north-eaſt till we came round the pole, and conſequently into the north-weſt, and ſo had a continent of land into *America*, no mortal knows where; though I could give ſome reaſons why I believe that to be a miſtake too.

As we entered into the *Muſcovite* dominions, a good while before we came to any conſiderable town, we had nothing to obſerve there but this: firſt, that all the rivers run to the eaſt. As I underſtood by the charts which ſome of our caravans had with them, it was plain that all thoſe rivers ran into the great river *Yamour*, or *Gammour*. This river, by the natural courſe of it, muſt run into the eaſt ſea, or *Chineſe* ocean. The ſtory they tell us, that the mouth of this river is choaked up with bulruſhes of a monſtrous growth, *viz.* three feet about, and twenty or thirty feet high, I muſt be allowed to ſay, I believe nothing of; but as its navigation is of no uſe, becauſe

becauſe there is no trade that way, the *Tartars*, to whom alone it belongs, dealing in nothing but cattle; ſo nobody that ever I heard of, has been curious enough either to go down to the mouth of it in boats, or to come up from the mouth of it in ſhips; but this is certain, that this river running due eaſt, in the latitude of 60 degrees, carries a vaſt concourſe of rivers along with it, and finds an ocean to empty itſelf in that latitude; ſo we are ſure of ſea there.

Some leagues to the north of this river there are ſeveral conſiderable rivers, whoſe ſtreams run as due north as the *Tamour* runs eaſt; and theſe are all found to join their waters with the great river *Tartarus*, named ſo from the northermoſt nations of the *Mogul Tartars*, who, the *Chineſe* ſay, were the firſt *Tartars* in the world; and who, as our geographers alledge, are the *Gog* and *Magog* mentioned in ſacred ſtory.

Theſe rivers running all northward, as well as all the other rivers I am yet to ſpeak of, made it evident that the northern ocean bounds the land alſo on that ſide; ſo that it does not ſeem rational in the leaſt to think that the land can extend itſelf to join with *America* on that ſide, or that there is not a communication between the northern and the eaſtern ocean; but of this I ſhall ſay no more; it was my obſervation at that time, and therefore I take notice of it in this place. We now advanced from the river *Argun* by eaſy and moderate journeys, and were very viſibly obliged to the care the czar of *Muſcovy* has taken to have cities and towns built in as many places as are poſſible to place them, where his ſoldiers keep garriſon, ſomething like the ſtationary ſoldiers placed

by the *Romans* in the remoteſt countries of their empire, ſome of which I had read were particularly placed in *Britain* for the ſecurity of commerce, and for the lodging of travellers; and thus it was here; for wherever we came, though at theſe towns and ſtations, the garriſons and governor were *Ruſſians* and profeſſed mere pagans, ſacrificing to idols, and worſhipping the ſun, moon, and ſtars, or all the hoſt of heaven; and not only ſo, but were, of all the heathens and pagans that ever I met with, the moſt barbarous, except only that they did not eat man's fleſh, as our ſavages of *America* did.

Some inſtances of this we met with in the country between *Arguna*, where we enter the *Muſcovite* dominions, and a city of *Tartars* and *Ruſſians* together, called *Nertzinſkay;* in which ſpace is a continued deſart or foreſt, which coſt us twenty days to travel over it. In a village, near the laſt of thoſe places, I had the curioſity to go and ſee their way of living; which is moſt brutiſh and unſufferable: they had, I ſuppoſe, a great ſacrifice that day; for there ſtood out upon an old ſtump of a tree, an idol made of wood, frightful as the devil; at leaſt as any thing we can think of to repreſent the devil that can be made: It had an head certainly not ſo much as reſembling any creature that the world ever ſaw; ears as big as goats horns, and as high; eyes as big as a crown piece; and a noſe like a crooked ram's horn, and a mouth extended four-cornered, like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under bill. It was dreſſed up in the filthieſt manner that you can ſuppoſe; its up-

per garment was of ſheep-ſkins, with the wool outward; a great *Tartar* bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it: it was about eight feet high, yet had no feet or legs, or any other proportion of parts.

This ſcarecrow was ſet up at the outſide of the village; and when I came near to it, there were ſixteen or ſeventeen creatures, whether men or women I could not tell, for they make no diſtinction by their habits, either of body or head; theſe lay all flat on the ground, round this formidable block of ſhapeleſs wood. I ſaw no motion among them any more than if they had been logs of woods like their idol; at firſt I really thought they had been ſo; but when I came a little nearer, they ſtarted up upon their feet; and raiſed an howling cry, as if it had been ſo many deep-mouthed hounds, and walked away as if they were diſpleaſed at our diſturbing them. A little way off from this monſter, and at the door of a tent or hut, made all of ſheep-ſkins and cow-ſkins, dried, ſtood three butchers: I thought they were ſuch; for when I came nearer to them, I found they had long knives in their hands, and in the middle of the tent appeared three ſheep killed, and one young bullock, or ſteer. Theſe, it ſeems, were ſacrifices to that ſenſeleſs log of an idol; and theſe three men prieſts belonging to it; and the ſeventeen proſtrated wretches were the people who brought the offering, and were making their prayers to that ſtock.

I confeſs I was more moved at their ſtupidity, and this brutiſh worſhip of an hobgoblin, than ever I

was at any thing in my life: to ſee GOD's moſt glorious and beſt creature, to whom he had granted ſo many advantages, even by creation, above the reſt of the works of his hands, veſted with a reaſonable ſoul, and that ſoul adorned with faculties and capacities adapted both to honour his Maker and be honoured by him; I ſay, to ſee it ſunk and degenerated to a degree ſo more than ſtupid, as to proſtrate itſelf to a frightful nothing, a mere imaginary object dreſſed up by themſelves, and made terrible to themſelves by their own contrivance, adorned only with clouts and rags; and that this ſhould be the effect of mere ignorance, wrought up into helliſh devotion by the devil himſelf; who, envying his Maker the homage and adoration of his creatures, had deluded them into ſuch groſs, ſurfeiting, ſordid, and bruitiſh things, as one would think ſhould ſhock nature itſelf.

But what ſignified all the aſtoniſhment and reflection of thoughts? Thus it was, and I ſaw it before my eyes; and there was no room to wonder at it, or think it impoſſible. All my admiration turned to rage; and I rode up to the image or monſter, call it what you will, and with my ſword cut the bonnet that was on its head in two in the middle, ſo that it hung down by one of the horns; and one of our men that was with me, took hold of the ſheep-ſkin that covered it, and pulled at it, when, behold, a moſt hideous outcry and howling ran through the village, and two or three hundred people came about my ears, ſo that I was glad to ſcour for it; for we ſaw ſome had bows and arrows; but I reſolved from that moment to viſit them again.

Our

Our caravan reſted three nights at the town, which was about four miles off, in order to provide ſome horſes, which they wanted, ſeveral of the horſes having been lamed and jaded with the badneſs of the way, and our long march over the laſt deſart; ſo we had ſome leiſure here to put my deſign in execution. I communicated my project to the *Scots* merchant, of *Moſcow*, of whoſe courage I had a ſufficient teſtimony, as above. I told him what I had ſeen, and with what indignation I had ſince thought, that human nature could be ſo degenerate. I told him, I was reſolved, if I could get but four or five men well armed to go with me, to go and deſtroy that vile, abominable idol; to let them ſee, that it had no power to help itſelf, and conſequently could not be an object of worſhip, or to be prayed to, much leſs help them that offered ſacrifices to it.

He laughed at me: ſaid he, Your zeal may be good; but what do you propoſe to yourſelf by it? Propoſe! ſaid I; to vindicate the honour of GOD, which is inſulted by this devil-worſhip. But how will it vindicate the honour of GOD? ſaid he, while the people will not be able to know what you mean by it, unleſs you could ſpeak to them too, and tell them ſo; and then they will fight you too, I will aſſure you; for they are deſperate fellows, and that eſpecially in defence of their idolatry. Can we not, ſaid I, do it in the night, and then leave them the reaſons in writing, in their own language? Writing! ſaid he, why there is not in five nations of them, one man that knows any thing of a letter, or how to read a word in any language, or in their own.

Wretched ignorance! ſaid I to him; however, I have a great mind to do it; perhaps nature may draw inferences from it to them, to let them ſee how brutiſh they are to worſhip ſuch horrid things. Look you, Sir, ſaid he, if your zeal prompts you to it ſo warmly, you muſt do it; but, in the next place, I would have you conſider theſe wild nations of people are ſubjected by force to the czar of *Muſcovy*'s dominions; and if you do this, it is ten to one but they will come by thouſands to the governor of *Nertzinſkay*, and complain, and demand ſatisfaction; and if he cannot give them ſatisfaction, it is ten to one but they revolt; and it will occaſion a new war with all the *Tartars* in the country.

This, I confeſs, put new thoughts into my head for a while; but I harped upon the ſame ſtring ſtill; and all that day I was uneaſy to put my project in execution. Towards the evening, the *Scots* merchant met me by accident in our walk about the town, and deſired to ſpeak with me: I believe, ſaid he, I have put you off your good deſign; I have been a little concerned about it ſince; for I abhor the idol and idolatry as much as you can do. Truly, ſaid I, you have put it off a little as to the execution of it, but you have not put it all out of my thoughts; and, I believe, I ſhall do it ſtill before I quit this place, though I were to be delivered up to them for ſatisfaction. No, no, ſaid he; GOD forbid they ſhould deliver you up to ſuch a crew of monſters! they ſhall not do that neither; that would be murdering you indeed. Why, ſaid I, how would they uſe me? Uſe you! ſaid he; I'll tell you how they ſerved a poor *Ruſſian*, who affronted them in their worſhip

worſhip juſt as you did, and whom they took priſoner, after they had lamed him with an arrow, that he could not run away; they took him and ſtripped him ſtark naked, and ſet him upon the top of the idol monſter, and ſtood all round him, and ſhot as many arrows into him as would ſtick over his whole body; and then they burnt him and all the arrows ſticking in him, as a ſacrifice to the idol. And was this the ſame idol? ſaid I. Yes, ſaid he, the very ſame. Well, ſaid I, I will tell you a ſtory: So I related the ſtory of our men at *Madagaſcar*, and how they burnt and ſacked the village there, and killed man, woman, and child, for their murdering one of our men, juſt as it is related before; and when I had done, I added, that I thought we ought to do ſo to this village.

He liſtened very attentively to the ſtory; but when I talked of doing ſo to that village, ſaid he, you miſtake very much; it was not this village, it was almoſt an hundred miles from this place; but it was the ſame idol, for they carry him about in proceſſion all over the country. Well, ſaid I, then that idol ought to be puniſhed for it; and it ſhall, ſaid I, if I live this night out.

In a word, finding me reſolute, he liked the deſign, and told me, I ſhould not go alone, but he would go with me; but he would go firſt, and bring a ſtout fellow, one of his countrymen, to go alſo with us; and one, ſaid he, as famous for his zeal as you can deſire any one to be againſt ſuch deviliſh things as theſe. In a word, he brought me his comrade, a *Scotſman*, whom he called Captain *Richardſon*; and I gave him a full account of what I had

ſeen, and alſo of what I intended; and he told me readily, he would go with me, if it coſt him his life. So we agreed to go, only we three. I had, indeed, propoſed it to my partner; but he declined it. He ſaid, he was ready to aſſiſt me to the utmoſt, and upon all occaſions, for my defence; but that this was an adventure quite out of his way: ſo, I ſay, we reſolved upon our work, only we three, and my man-ſervant, and to put it in execution that night about midnight, with all the ſecrecy imaginable.

However, upon ſecond thoughts, we were willing to delay it till the next night, becauſe the caravan being to ſet forward in the morning, we ſuppoſed the governor could not pretend to give them any ſatisfaction upon us when we were out of his power.—The *Scots* merchant, as ſteady in his reſolution to enterprize it as bold in executing, brought me a *Tartar*'s robe or gown of ſheep-ſkins, and a bonnet, with a bow and arrows, and had provided the ſame for himſelf and his countryman, that the people, if they ſaw us, ſhould not be able to determine who we were.

All the firſt night we ſpent in mixing up ſome combuſtible matter with aqua-vitæ, gunpowder, and ſuch other materials as we could get; and, having a good quantity of tar in a little pot, about an hour after night we ſet out upon our expedition.

We came to the place about eleven o'clock at night, and found that the people had not the leaſt jealouſy of danger attending their idol; the night was cloudy; yet the moon gave us light enough to ſee that the idol ſtood juſt in the ſame poſture and place that it did before. The people ſeemed to be

all at their reſt; only, that in the great hut, or tent as we called it, where we ſaw the three prieſts, whom we miſtook for butchers, we ſaw a light, and, going up cloſe to the door, we heard people talking, as if there were five or ſix of them; we concluded therefore, that if we ſet wild-fire to the idol, theſe men would come out immediately, and run up to the place to reſcue it from the deſtruction that we intended for it; and what to do with them we knew not. Once we thought of carrying it away, and ſetting fire to it at a diſtance; but when we came to handle it, we found it too bulky for our carriage; ſo we were at a loſs again. The ſecond *Scotſman* was for ſetting fire to the tent or hut, and knocking the creatures that were there on the head, when they came out; but I could not join with that; I was againſt killing them, if it was poſſible to be avoided. Well then, ſaid the *Scots* merchant, I will tell you what we will do; we will try to make them priſoners, tie their hands, and make them ſtand and ſee their idol deſtroyed.

As it happened, we had twine or packthread enough about us, which we uſed to tie our fire-works together with; ſo we reſolved to attack theſe people firſt, and with as little noiſe as we could. The firſt thing we did, we knocked at the door, when one of the prieſts coming to it, we immediately ſeized upon him, ſtopped his mouth, and tied his hands behind him and led him to the idol, where we gagged him that he might not make a noiſe; tied his feet alſo together, and left him on the ground.

Two of us then waited at the door, expecting that another would come out to ſee what the matter was;

was; but we waited ſo long till the third man came back to us; and then, nobody coming out, we knocked again gently, and immediately out came two more, and we ſerved them juſt in the ſame manner, but were obliged to go all with them, and lay them down by the idol ſome diſtance from one another; when, going back, we found two more were come out to the door, and a third ſtood behind them within the door. We ſeized the two, and immediately tied them: when the third ſtepping back, and crying out, my *Scots* merchant went in after him, and taking out a compoſition we had made, that would only ſmoke and ſtink, he ſet fire to it, and threw it in among them: by that time the other *Scotſman* and my man taking charge of the two men already bound, and tied together alſo by the arm, led them away to the idol, and left them there, to ſee if their idol would relieve them, making haſte back to us.

When the furze we had thrown in had filled the hut with ſo much ſmoke that they were almoſt ſuffocated, we then threw in a ſmall leather bag of another kind, which flamed like a candle, and, following it in, we found there were but four people left, who, it ſeems, were two men and two women, and, as we ſuppoſed, had been about ſome of their diabolic ſacrifices. They appeared, in ſhort, frighted to death, at leaſt ſo as to ſit trembling and ſtupid, and not able to ſpeak neither, for the ſmoke.

In a word, we took them, bound them as we had the other, and all without any noiſe. I ſhould have ſaid, we brought them out of the houſe, or hut, firſt; for, indeed, we were not able to bear the ſmoke any more

more than they were. When we had done this, we carried them altogether to the idol: when we came there we fell to work with him; and firſt we daubed him all over, and his robes alſo, with tar, and ſuch other ſtuff as we had, which was tallow mixed with brimſtone; then we ſtopped his eyes, and ears, and mouth full of gunpowder; then we wrapped up a great piece of wildfire in his bonnet; and then ſticking all the combuſtibles we had brought with us upon him, we looked about to ſee if we could find any thing elſe to help to burn him; when my *Scotſman* remembered, that by the tent, or hut, where the men were, there lay a heap of dry forage, whether ſtraw or ruſhes I do not remember: away he and the other *Scotſman* ran, and fetched their arms full of that. When we had done this, we took all our priſoners, and brought them, having untied their feet, and ungagged their mouths, and made them ſtand up, and ſet them juſt before their monſtrous idol, and then ſet fire to the whole.

We ſtayed by it a quarter of an hour, or thereabouts, till the powder in the eyes, and mouth, and ears of the idol blew up, and, as we could perceive, had ſplit and deformed the ſhape of it; and, in a word, till we ſaw it burnt into a mere block or log of wood; and then ſetting the dry forage to it, we found it would be ſoon quite conſumed; ſo we began to think of going away; but the *Scotſman* ſaid: No, we muſt not go; for theſe poor deluded wretches will all throw themſelves into the fire, and burn themſelves with the idol; ſo we reſolved to ſtay till the forage was burnt down too, and then we came away and left them.

In

In the morning we appeared among our fellow travellers, exceeding buſy in getting ready for our journey; nor could any man ſuggeſt that we had been anywhere but in our beds, as travellers might be ſuppoſed to be, to fit themſelves for the fatigues of that day's journey.

But it did not end ſo; for the next day came a great multitude of the country people, not only of this village, but of an hundred more, for aught I know, to the town gates; and, in a moſt outrageous manner, demanded ſatisfaction of the *Ruſſian* governor, for the inſulting their prieſts, and burning their great *Cham-Chi-Thaungu;* ſuch an hard name they gave the monſtrous creature they worſhipped: the people of *Nertzinſkay* were at firſt in a great conſternation; for, they ſaid, the *Tartars* were no leſs than thirty thouſand, and that in a few days more, they would be one hundred thouſand ſtronger.

The *Ruſſian* governor ſent out meſſengers to appeaſe them, and gave them all the good words imaginable. He aſſured them he knew nothing of it, and that there had not a ſoul of his garriſon been abroad; that it could not be from any body there; and if they would let him know who it was, they ſhould be exemplarily puniſhed. They returned haughtily, That all the country reverenced the great *Cham-Chi-Thaungu*, who dwelt in the ſun, and no mortal would have dared to offer violence to his image, but ſome *Chriſtian* miſcreant; ſo they called them, it ſeems, and they therefore denounced war againſt him, and all the *Ruſſians*, who, they ſaid, were miſcreants and *Chriſtians*.

The

The governor, ſtill patient, and unwilling to make a breach, or to have any cauſe of war alledged to be given by him, the czar having ſtraightly charged him to treat the conquered country with gentleneſs and civility, gave them ſtill all the good words he could; at laſt he told them, there was a caravan gone towards *Ruſſia* that morning, and perhaps it was ſome of them who had done them this injury; and that, if they would be ſatisfied with that, he would ſend after them, to enquire into it. This ſeemed to appeaſe them a little; and accordingly the governor ſent after us, and gave us a particular account how the thing was; intimating, withal, that if any in our caravan had done it, they ſhould make their eſcape; but that, whether they had done it or no, we ſhould make all the haſte forward that was poſſible; and that in the mean time, he would keep them in play as long as he could.

This was very friendly in the governor. However, when it came to the caravan, there was nobody knew any thing of the matter; and, as for us that were guilty, we were the leaſt of all ſuſpected; none ſo much as aſked us the queſtion; however, the captain of the caravan, for the time, took the hint that the governor gave us, and we marched or travelled two days and two nights without any conſiderable ſtop, and then we lay at a village called *Plothus;* nor did we make any long ſtop here, but haſtened on towards *Jarawena*, another of the czar of *Muſcovy*'s colonies, and where we expected we ſhould be ſafe; but it is to be obſerved, that here we began, for two or three days march, to enter upon a vaſt nameleſs deſart, of which I ſhall ſay more in

who had injured them, for we were not the people; ſo deſired them not to diſturb us; for if they did, we ſhould defend ourſelves.

They were far from being ſatisfied with this for an anſwer, and a great crowd of them came down in the morning, by break of day, to our camp; but, ſeeing us in ſuch an advantageous ſituation, they durſt come no farther than the brook in our front, where they ſtood, and ſhewed us ſuch a number, as, indeed, terrified us very much; for thoſe that ſpoke leaſt of them, ſpoke of ten thouſand. Here they ſtood, and looked at us a while, and then ſetting up a great howl, they let fly a cloud of arrows among us; but we were well enough fortified for that, for we were ſheltered under our baggage; and I do not remember that one man of us was hurt.

Some time after this, we ſaw them move a little to our right, and expected them on the rear, when a cunning fellow, a *Coſſack*, as they call them, of *Tarawena*, in the pay of the *Muſcovites*, calling to the leader of the caravan, ſaid to him, I will ſend all theſe people away to *Sibeilka:* This was a city four or five days journey, at leaſt to the ſouth, and rather behind us. So he takes his bow and arrows, and, getting on horſeback, he rides away from our rear directly, as it were, back to *Nertzinſkay;* after this, he takes a great circuit about, and comes to the army of the *Tartars*, as if he had been ſent expreſs to tell them a long ſtory, that the people who had burnt their *Cham-Chi-Thaungu* were gone to *Sibeilka*, with a caravan of miſcreants, as he called them; that is to ſay, Chriſtians; and that they were re-

ſolved

ſolved to burn the god *Scal Iſarg*, belonging to the *Tonguſes*.

As this fellow was a mere *Tartar*, and perfectly ſpoke their language, he counterfeited ſo well, that they all took it from him, and away they drove, in a moſt violent hurry, to *Sibeilka*, which, it ſeems, was five days journey to the ſouth; and in leſs than three hours they were entirely out of our ſight, and we never heard any more of them, nor ever knew whether they went to that other place called *Sibeilka*, or no.

So we paſſed ſafely on to the city of *Jarawena*, where there was a garriſon of *Muſcovites*; and there we reſted five days, the caravan being exceedingly fatigued with the laſt day's march, and with want of reſt in the night.

From this city we had a frightful deſart, which held us three-and-twenty days march. We furniſhed ourſelves with ſome tents here, for the better accommodating ourſelves in the night; and the leader of the caravan procured ſixteen carriages, or waggons, of the country, for carrying our water and proviſions; and theſe carriages were our defence every night round our little camp; ſo that had the *Tartars* appeared, unleſs they had been very numerous indeed, they would not have been able to hurt us.

We may well be ſuppoſed to want reſt again after this long journey; for in this deſart we ſaw neither houſe or tree, or ſcarce a buſh; we ſaw, indeed, abundance of the ſable-hunters, as they called them: Theſe are all *Tartars* of the *Mogul Tartary*, of which this country is a part; and they frequently attack

ſmall caravans; but we ſaw no numbers of them together. I was curious to ſee the ſable-ſkins they catched; but I could never ſpeak with any of them; for they durſt not come near us; neither durſt we ſtraggle from our company to go near them.

After we had paſſed this deſart, we came into a country pretty well inhabited; that is to ſay, we found towns and caſtles ſettled by the czar of *Muſcovy*, with garriſons of ſtationary ſoldiers to protect the caravans, and defend the country againſt the *Tartars*, who would otherwiſe make it very dangerous travelling; and his czariſh majeſty has given ſuch ſtrict orders for the well guarding the caravans and merchants, that if there are any *Tartars* heard of in the country, detachments of the garriſon are always ſent to ſee travellers ſafe from ſtation to ſtation.

And thus the governor of *Adinſkoy*, whom I had an opportunity to make a viſit to, by means of the *Scots* merchant, who was acquainted with him, offered us a guard of fifty men, if we thought there was any danger, to the next ſtation.

I thought long before this, that as we came nearer to *Europe*, we ſhould find the country better peopled, and the people more civilized; but I found myſelf miſtaken in both, for we had yet the nation of the *Tongueſes* to paſs through; where we ſaw the ſame tokens of paganiſm and barbarity, or worſe, than before; only as they were conquered by the *Muſcovites*, and entirely reduced, they were not ſo dangerous; but for the rudeneſs of manners, idolatry, and polytheiſm, no people in the world ever went beyond them. They are clothed all in ſkins of beaſts,

beaſts, and their houſes are built of the ſame. You know not a man from a woman, neither by the ruggedneſs of their countenances, or their clothes; and in the winter, when the ground is covered with ſnow, they live under ground, in houſes like vaults, which have cavities or caves going from one to another.

If the *Tartars* had their *Cham-Chi-Thaungu* for a whole village, or country, theſe had idols in every hut, and every cave; beſides, they worſhip the ſtars, the ſun, the water, the ſnow; and, in a word, every thing that they do not underſtand, and they underſtand but very little; ſo that almoſt every element, every uncommon thing, ſets them a ſacrificing.

But I am no more to deſcribe people than countries, any farther than my own ſtory comes to be concerned in them. I met with nothing peculiar to myſelf in all this country, which, I reckon was, from the deſart which I ſpoke of laſt, at leaſt four hundred miles, half of it being another deſart, which took us up twelve days ſevere travelling, without houſe, tree or buſh; but were obliged again to carry our own proviſions, as well water as bread. After we were out of this deſart, and had travelled two days, we came to *Janezay*, a *Muſcovite* city or ſtation, on the great river *Janezay*. This river, they told us, parted *Europe* from *Aſia*, though our map-makers, as I am told, do not agree to it; however, it is certainly the eaſtern boundary of the antient *Siberia*, which now makes a province only of the vaſt *Muſcovite* empire, but is itſelf equal in bigneſs to the whole empire of *Germany*.

And yet here I obſerved ignorance and paganiſm ſtill prevailed, except in the *Muſcovite* garriſons: All the country between the river *Oby*, and the river *Janezay*, is as entirely pagan, and the people as barbarous, as the remoteſt of the *Tartars;* nay, as any nation, for aught I know, in *Aſia* or *America*. I alſo found, which I obſerved to the *Muſcovite* governors, whom I had opportunity to converſe with, that the pagans are not much the wiſer, or the nearer Chriſtianity, for being under the *Muſcovite* government; which they acknowledged was true enough, but, they ſaid, it was none of their buſineſs; that if the czar expected to convert his *Siberian*, or *Tonguſe*, or *Tartar* ſubjects, it ſhould be done by ſending clergymen among them, not ſoldiers; and they added, with more ſincerity than I expected, that they found it was not ſo much the concern of their monarch to make the people Chriſtians, as it was to make them ſubjects.

From this river to the great river *Oby*, we croſſed a wild uncultivated country; I cannot ſay 'tis a barbarous ſoil; 'tis only barren of people, and wants good management; otherwiſe it is in itſelf a moſt pleaſant, fruitful, and agreeable country. What inhabitants we found in it are all pagans, except ſuch as are ſent among them from *Ruſſia;* for this is the country, I mean on both ſides the river *Oby*, whither the *Muſcovite* criminals, that are not put to death, are baniſhed, and from whence it is next to impoſſible they ſhould ever come away.

I have nothing material to ſay of my particular affairs, till I came to *Tobolſki*, the capital of *Siberia*,

beria, where I continued ſome time on the following occaſion :—

We had been now almoſt ſeven months on our journey, and winter began to come on apace; whereupon my partner and I called a council about our particular affairs, in which we found it proper, conſidering that we were bound for *England*, and not for *Moſcow*, to conſider how to diſpoſe of ourſelves. They told us of ſledges and rein deer to carry us over the ſnow in the winter-time; and, indeed, they have ſuch things, as it would be incredible to relate the particulars of, by which means the *Ruſſians* travel more in the winter than they can in ſummer; becauſe in theſe ſledges they are able to run night and day: the ſnow being frozen, is one univerſal covering to nature, by which the the hills, the vales, the rivers, the lakes, are all ſmooth, and hard as a ſtone; and they run upon the ſurface, without any regard to what is underneath.

But I had no occaſion to puſh at a winter journey of this kind; I was bound to *England*, not to *Moſcow*, and my route lay two ways: either I muſt go on as the caravan went, till I came to *Jariſlaw*, and then go off weſt for *Narva*, and the gulph of *Finland*, and ſo either by ſea or land to *Dantzick*, where I might poſſibly ſell my *China* cargo to good advantage, or I muſt leave the caravan at a little town on the *Dwina*, from whence I had but ſix days by water to *Arch-Angel*, and from thence might be ſure of ſhipping, either to *England*, *Holland*, or *Hamburgh*.

Now to go any of theſe journies in the winter would have been prepoſterous; for as to *Dantzic*, the *Baltic* would be frozen up, and I could not get paſſage; and to go by land in thoſe countries, was far leſs ſafe than among the *Mogul Tartars;* likewiſe to *Arch-Angel*, in *October* all the ſhips would be gone from thence, and even the merchants, who dwell there in ſummer, retire ſouth to *Moſcow* in the winter, when the ſhips are gone; ſo that I ſhould have nothing but extremity of cold to encounter, with a ſcarcity of proviſions, and muſt lie there in an empty town all the winter: ſo that, upon the whole, I thought it much my better way to let the caravan go, and to make proviſion to winter where I was, *viz.* at *Tobolſki*, in *Siberia*, in the latitude of ſixty degrees, where I was ſure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, *viz.* plenty of proviſions, ſuch as the country afforded, a warm houſe, with fuel enough, and excellent company; of all which I ſhall give a full account in its place.

I was now in a quite different climate from my beloved iſland, where I never felt cold, except when I had my ague; on the contrary, I had much to do to bear my clothes on my back, and never made any fire but without doors, and my neceſſity, in dreſſing my food, &c. Now I made me three good veſts, with large robes or gowns over them, to hang down to the feet, and button cloſe to the wriſts, and all theſe lined with furs, to make them ſufficiently warm.

As to a warm houſe, I muſt confeſs, I greatly diſlike our way in *England*, of making fires in every room

room in the houſe, in open chimnies, which, when the fire was out, always kept the air in the room cold as the climate. But taking an apartment in a good houſe in the town, I ordered a chimney to be built like a furnace, in the centre of ſix ſeveral rooms, like a ſtove; the funnel to carry the ſmoke went up one way, the door to come at the fire went in another, and all the rooms were kept equally warm, but no fire ſeen; like as they heat the bagnios in *England*.

By this means we had always the ſame climate in all the rooms, and an equal heat was preſerved; and how cold ſoever it was without, it was always warm within; and yet we ſaw no fire, nor were ever incommoded with any ſmoke.

The moſt wonderful thing of all was, that it ſhould be poſſible to meet with good company here, in a country ſo barbarous as that of the moſt northerly parts of *Europe*, near the frozen ocean, and within but a very few degrees of *Nova Zembla*.

But this being the country where the ſtate criminals of *Muſcovy*, as I obſerved before, are all baniſhed; this city was full of noblemen, princes, gentlemen, colonels, and, in ſhort, all degrees of the nobility, gentry, ſoldiery, and courtiers of *Muſcovy*. Here were the famous Prince *Galilſken*, or *Galoffken*, and his ſon; the old general *Roboſtiſky*, and ſeveral other perſons of note, and ſome ladies.

By means of my *Scots* merchant, whom, nevertheleſs, I parted with here, I made an acquaintance with ſeveral of theſe gentlemen, and ſome of them of the firſt rank; and from theſe, in the long winter nights, in which I ſtaid here, I received ſeveral agree-

able viſits. It was talking one night with a certain prince, one of the baniſhed miniſters of ſtate belonging to the czar of *Muſcovy*, that my talk of my particular caſe began. He had been telling me abundance of fine things, of the greatneſs, the magnificence, and dominions, and the abſolute power of the emperor of the *Ruſſians*. I interrupted him, and told him, I was a greater and more powerful prince than ever the zcar of *Muſcovy* was, though my dominions were not ſo large, or my people ſo many. The *Ruſſian* grandee looked a little ſurprized, and fixing his eyes ſteadily upon me, began to wonder what I meant.

I told him his wonder would ceaſe when I had explained myſelf. Firſt, I told him, I had the abſolute diſpoſal of the lives and fortunes of all my ſubjects: That notwithſtanding my abſolute power, I had not one perſon diſaffected to my government or to my perſon, in all my dominions. He ſhook his head at that, and ſaid, There, indeed, I out-did the czar of *Muſcovy*. I told him, that all the lands in my kingdom were my own, and all my ſubjects were not only my tenants, but tenants at will; that they would all fight for me to the laſt drop; and that never tyrant, for ſuch I acknowledged myſelf to be, was ever ſo univerſally beloved, and yet ſo horribly feared, by his ſubjects.

After amuſing them with theſe riddles in government for a while, I opened the caſe, and told them the ſtory at large of my living in the iſland, and how I managed both myſelf and the people there that were under me, juſt as I have ſince minuted it down. They were exceedingly taken with the ſtory, and

and eſpecially the prince, who told me with a ſigh, that the true greatneſs of life was to be maſter of ourſelves; that he would not have changed ſuch a ſtate of life as mine, to have been czar of *Muſcovy*; and that he found more felicity in the retirement he ſeemed to be baniſhed to there, than ever he found in the higheſt authority he enjoyed in the court of his maſter the czar: that the heighth of human wiſdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumſtances, and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greateſt ſtorm without. When he came firſt hither, he ſaid, he uſed to tear the hair from his head, and the clothes from his back, as others had done before him; but a little time and conſideration had made him look into himſelf, as well as round himſelf, to things without: that he found the mind of man, if it was but once brought to reflect upon the ſtate of univerſal life, and how little this world was concerned in its true felicity, was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itſelf, fully ſatisfying to itſelf, and ſuitable to its own beſt ends and deſires, with but very little aſſiſtance from the world; that air to breathe in, food to ſuſtain life, clothes for warmth, and liberty for exerciſe, in order to health, compleated, in his opinion, all that the world could do for us: and though the greatneſs, the authority, the riches, and the pleaſures, which ſome enjoyed in the world, and which he had enjoyed his ſhare of, had much in them that was agreeable to us, yet he obſerved, that all thoſe things chiefly gratified the coarſeſt of our affections; ſuch as our ambition, our particular pride, our avarice, our vanity, and our ſenſuality; all which were, indeed,

indeed, the mere product of the worſt part of man, were in themſelves crimes, and had in them the ſeeds of all manner of crimes; but neither were related to or concerned with, any of thoſe virtues that conſtituted us wiſe men, or of thoſe graces which diſtinguiſhed us as *Chriſtians:* that being now deprived of all the fancied felicity, which he enjoyed in the full exerciſe of all thoſe vices, he ſaid, he was at leiſure to look upon the dark ſide of them, where he found all manner of deformity; and was now convinced, that virtue only makes a man truly wiſe, rich, and great, and preſerves him in the way to a ſuperior happineſs in a future ſtate; and in this, he ſaid, they were more happy in their baniſhment, than all their enemies were, who had the full poſſeſſion of all the wealth and power that they (the baniſhed) had left behind them.

Nor, Sir, ſaid he, do I bring my mind to this politically, by the neceſſity of my circumſtances, which ſome call miſerable; but, if I know any thing of myſelf, I would not go back, no not though my maſter, the czar, ſhould call me, and offer to reinſtate me in all my former grandeur; I ſay, I would no more go back to it, than I believe my ſoul when it ſhall be delivered from this priſon of the body and has had a taſte of the glorious ſtate beyond life, would come back to the goal of fleſh and blood it is now incloſed in, and leave heaven to deal in the dirt and grime of human affairs.

He ſpake this with ſo much warmth in his temper, ſo much earneſtneſs and motion of his ſpirits, which were apparent in his countenance, that it was evident it was the true ſenſe of his ſoul; and, indeed, there was no room to doubt his ſincerity.

I told

I told him, I once thought myſelf a kind of a monarch in my old ſtation, of which I had given him an account, but that I thought he was not a monarch only, but a great conqueror; for that he that has got a victory over his own exorbitant deſires, and has the abſolute dominion over himſelf, and whoſe reaſon entirely governs his will, is certainly greater than he that conquers a city. But, my lord, ſaid I, ſhall I take the liberty to aſk you a queſtion? With all my heart, ſaid he. If the door of your liberty was opened, ſaid I, would not you take hold of it to deliver yourſelf from this exile?

Hold, ſaid he, your queſtion is ſubtle, and requires ſome ſerious juſt diſtinctions to give it a ſincere anſwer; and I'll give it you from the bottom of my heart. Nothing that I know of in this world would move me to deliver myſelf from the ſtate of baniſhment, except theſe two: Firſt, the enjoyment of my relations; and, ſecondly, a little warmer climate: but I proteſt to you, that to go back to the pomp of the court, the glory, the power, the hurry of a miniſter of ſtate; the wealth, the gaiety, and the pleaſures, that is to ſay, follies of a courtier; if my maſter ſhould ſend me word this moment, that he reſtores me to all he baniſhed me from; I proteſt, if I know myſelf at all, I would not leave this wilderneſs, theſe deſarts, and theſe frozen lakes, for the palace of *Moſcow*.

But, my lord, ſaid I, perhaps you not only are baniſhed from the pleaſures of the court, and from the power, and authority, and wealth, you enjoyed before, but you may be abſent too from ſome of the conveniencies of life; your eſtate, perhaps, confiſcated, and

and your effects plundered; and the ſupplies left you here may not be ſuitable to the ordinary demands of life.

Ay, ſaid he, that is as you ſuppoſe me to be, a lord, or a prince, &c. So, indeed, I am; but you are now to conſider me only as a man, an human creature, not at all diſtinguiſhed from another; and ſo I can ſuffer no want, unleſs I ſhould be viſited with ſickneſs and diſtempers. However, to put the queſtion out of diſpute; you ſee our manner; we are in this place five perſons of rank; we live perfectly retired, as ſuited to a ſtate of baniſhment; we have ſomething reſcued from the ſhipwreck of our fortunes, which keeps us from the mere neceſſity of hunting for our food; but the poor ſoldiers who are here, without that help, live in as much plenty as we. They go into the woods, and catch ſables and foxes; the labour of a month will maintain them a year; and as the way of living is not expenſive, ſo it is not hard to get ſufficient to ourſelves: So that objection is out of doors.

I have no room to give a full account of the moſt agreeable converſation I had with this truly great man; in all which he ſhewed, that his mind was ſo inſpired with a ſuperior knowledge of things, ſo ſupported by religion, as well as by a vaſt ſhare of wiſdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expreſſed, and that he was always the ſame to the laſt, as will appear in the ſtory I am going to tell.

I had been here eight months, and a dark dreadful winter I thought it to be; the cold was ſo intenſe,

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that I could not ſo much as look abroad without being wrapt in furs, and a maſk of fur before my face, or rather a hood, with only an hole for breath, and two for ſight. The little day-light we had, was, as we réckoned, for three months, not above five hours a day, and ſix at moſt; only that the ſnow lying on the ground continually, and the weather being clear, it was never quite dark. Our horſes were kept (or rather ſtarved) under-ground; and, as, for our ſervants (for we hired ſervants here to look after our horſes and ourſelves), we had every now and then their fingers and toes to thaw, and take care of, leſt they ſhould mortify and fall off.

It is true, within doors we were warm, the houſes being cloſe, the walls thick, the lights ſmall, and the glaſs all double. Our food was chiefly the fleſh of deer, dried and cured in the ſeaſon; good bread enough, but baked as biſcuits; dried fiſh of ſeveral ſorts, and ſome fleſh of mutton, and of buffaloes, which is pretty good beef. All the ſtore of proviſion for the winter are laid up in the ſummer, and well cured; our drink was water mixed with aqua vitæ inſtead of brandy; and, for a treat, mead inſtead of wine; which, however, they have excellent good. The hunters, who ventured abroad all weathers, frequently brought us in freſh veniſon, very fat and good; and ſometimes bears fleſh, but we did not much care for the laſt. We had a good ſtock of tea, with which we treated our friends as above; and, in a word, we lived very chearfully and well, all things conſidered.

It was now *March*, and the days grown conſiderably longer, and the weather at leaſt tolerable; ſo other

other travellers began to prepare ſledges to carry them over the ſnow, and to get things ready to be going; but my meaſures being fixed, as I have ſaid, for *Arch-Angel*, and not for *Muſcovy* or the *Baltick*, I made no motion, knowing very well, that the ſhips from the ſouth do not ſet out for that part of the world till *May* or *June;* and that if I was there at the beginning of *Auguſt*, it would be as ſoon as any ſhips would be ready to go away; and therefore, I ſay, I made no haſte to be gone, as others did; in a word, I ſaw a great many people, nay, all the travellers, go away before me. It ſeems, every year they go from thence to *Moſcow* for trade; *viz.* to carry furs, and buy neceſſaries with them, which they bring back to furniſh their ſhops; alſo others went on the ſame errand to *Arch-Angel;* but then they alſo, being to come back again above eight hundred miles, went all out before me.

In ſhort, about the latter end of *May*, I began to make all ready to pack up; and as I was doing this, it occurred to me, that ſeeing all theſe people were baniſhed by the czar of *Muſcovy* to *Siberia*, and yet, when they came there, were at liberty to go whither they would; why did they not then go away to any part of the world wherever they thought fit? and I began to examine what ſhould hinder them from making ſuch an attempt.

But my wonder was over, when I entered upon that ſubject with the perſon I have mentioned, who anſwered me thus; Conſider, firſt, ſaid he, the place where we are; and, ſecondly, the condition we are in; eſpecially, ſaid he, the generality of the people

people who are baniſhed hither. We are ſurrounded, ſaid he, with ſtronger things than bars and bolts: on the north ſide is an unnavigable ocean, where ſhip never ſailed, and boat never ſwam; neither, if we had both, could we know whither to go with them. Every other way, ſaid he, we have above a thouſand miles to paſs through the czar's own dominions, and by ways utterly impaſſable, except by the roads made by the government, and through the towns garriſoned by his troops; ſo that we could neither paſs undiſcovered by the road, or ſubſiſt any other way: ſo that it is in vain to attempt it.

I was ſilenced, indeed, at once, and found that they were in a priſon, every jot as ſecure, as if they had been locked up in the caſtle of *Moſcow*; however, it came into my thoughts, that I might certainly be made an inſtrument to procure the eſcape of this excellent perſon, and that it was very eaſy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country; and as I was not going to *Moſcow*, but to *Arch-Angel*, and that I went in the nature of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the ſtationary towns in the deſart, but could encamp every night were I would, we might eaſily paſs uninterrupted to *Arch-Angel*, where I could immediately ſecure him on board an *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhip, and carry him off ſafe along with me; and as to his ſubſiſtence, and other particulars, that ſhould be my care, till he ſhould better ſupply himſelf.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earneſtly on me all the while I ſpoke; nay, I could ſee in his very face, that what I ſaid put his ſpirits into an ex-

ceeding ferment; his colour frequently changed, his eyes looked red, and his heart fluttered, that it might be even perceived in his countenance; nor could he immediately anſwer me when I had done, and, as it were, expected what he would ſay to it; and after he had pauſed a little, he embraced me, and ſaid, How unhappy are we! unguided creatures as we are, that even our greateſt acts of friendſhip are made ſnares to us, and we are made tempters of one another! My dear friend, ſaid he, your offer is ſo ſincere, has ſuch kindneſs in it, is ſo diſintereſted in itſelf, and is ſo calculated for my advantage, that I muſt have very little knowledge of the world, if I did not both wonder at it, and acknowledge the obligation I have upon me to you for it: But did you believe I was ſincere in what I have ſo often ſaid to you of my contempt of the world? Did you believe I ſpoke my very ſoul to you, and that I had really maintained that degree of felicity here, that had placed me above all that the world could give me, or do for me? Did you believe I was ſincere, when I told you I would not go back, if I was recalled even to be all that once I was in the court, and with the favour of the czar my maſter? Did you believe me, my friend, to be an honeſt man, or did you think me to be a boaſting hypocrite?—Here he ſtopped, as if he would hear what I would ſay; but, indeed, I ſoon after perceived, that he ſtopped becauſe his ſpirits were in motion; his heart was full of ſtruggles, and he could not go on. I was, I confeſs, aſtoniſhed at the thing, as well as at the man, and I uſed ſome arguments with him to urge him to ſet himſelf free; that he ought to look upon this as a

door opened by Heaven for his deliverance, and a ſummons by Providence, who has the care and good diſpoſition of all events, to do himſelf good, and to render himſelf uſeful in the world.

He had by this time recovered himſelf. How do you know, Sir, ſaid he, warmly, but that inſtead of a ſummons from Heaven, it may be a feint of another inſtrument, repreſenting, in all the alluring colours, to me, the ſhew of felicity as a deliverance, which may in itſelf be my ſnare, and tend directly to my ruin? Here I am free from the temptation of returning to my former miſerable greatneſs; there I am not ſure, but that all the ſeeds of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, which I know remain in my nature, may revive and take root, and, in a word, again overwhelm me; and then the happy priſoner, whom you ſee now maſter of his ſoul's liberty, ſhall be the miſerable ſlave of his own ſenſes, in the full poſſeſſion of all perſonal liberty. Dear Sir, let me remain in this bleſſed confinement, baniſhed from the crimes of life, rather than purchaſe a ſhow of freedom at the expence of the liberty of my reaſon, and at the expence of the future happineſs which now I have in my view, but ſhall then, I fear, quickly loſe ſight of; for I am but fleſh, a man, a mere man, have paſſions and affections as likely to poſſeſs and overthrow me as any man: O be not my friend and my tempter both together!

If I was ſurpriſed before, I was quite dumb now, and ſtood ſilent, looking at him; and, indeed, admired what I ſaw; the ſtruggle in his ſoul was ſo

great, that though the weather was extremely cold, it put him into a moſt violent ſweat, and I found he wanted to give vent to his mind; ſo I ſaid a word or two, that I would leave him to conſider of it, and wait on him again; and then I withdrew to my own apartment.

About two hours after, I heard ſomebody at or near the door of the room, and I was going to open the door; but he had opened it, and come in: My dear friend, ſaid he, you had almoſt overſet me, but I am recovered: do not take it ill that I do not cloſe with your offer; I aſſure you, it is not for want of a ſenſe of the kindneſs of it in you; and I come to make the moſt ſincere acknowledgement of it to you; but, I hope, I have got the victory over myſelf.

My lord, ſaid I, I hope you are fully ſatisfied, that you did not reſiſt the call of Heaven. Sir, ſaid he, if it had been from Heaven, the ſame power would have influenced me to accept it; but I hope, and am fully ſatisfied, that it is from Heaven that I decline it; and I have an infinite ſatisfaction in the parting, that you ſhall leave me an honeſt man ſtill, though not a free man.

I had nothing to do but to acquieſce, and make profeſſion to him of my having no end in it, but a ſincere deſire to ſerve him. He embraced me very paſſionately, and aſſured me, he was ſenſible of that, and ſhould always acknowledge it; and with that he offered me a very fine preſent of ſables, too much indeed for me to accept from a man in his circumſtances; and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refuſed.

The

The next morning I ſent my ſervant to his lordſhip, with a ſmall preſent of tea, two pieces of China damaſk, and four little wedges of japan gold, which did not all weigh above ſix ounces, or thereabouts; but were far ſhort of the value of his ſables, which indeed, when I came to *England*, I found worth near two hundred pounds. He accepted the tea, and one piece of the damaſk, and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine ſtamp upon it, of the *Japan* coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more; and ſent word by my ſervant, that he deſired to ſpeak with me.

When I came to him, he told me, I knew what had paſſed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair; but that, ſince I made ſuch a generous offer to him, he aſked me, if I had kindneſs enough to offer the ſame to another perſon that he would name to me, in whom he had a great ſhare of concern. I told him, that I could not ſay I inclined to do ſo much for any one but himſelf, for whom I had a particular value, and ſhould have been glad to have been the inſtrument of his deliverance: however, if he would pleaſe to name the perſon to me, I would give him my anſwer, and hoped he would not be diſpleaſed with me, if he was with my anſwer. He told me, it was only his ſon, who, though I had not ſeen, yet was in the ſame condition with himſelf, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other ſide the *Oby;* but that, if I conſented, he would ſend for him.

I made no heſitation, but told him I would do it: I made ſome ceremony in letting him underſtand that it was wholly on his account; and that ſeeing I

could not prevail on him, I would ſhew my reſpect to him by my concern for his ſon: but theſe things are too tedious to repeat here. He ſent away the next day for his ſon, and in about twenty days he came back with the meſſenger, bringing ſix or ſeven horſes loaded with very rich furs, and which, in the whole, amounted to a very great value.

His ſervants brought the horſes into the town, but left the young lord at a diſtance till night, when he came *incognito* into our apartment, and his father preſented him to me; and, in ſhort, we concerted there the manner of our travelling, and every thing proper for the journey.

I had bought a conſiderable quantity of ſables, black fox-ſkins, fine ermins, and ſuch other furs that are very rich; I ſay, I had bought them in that city for exchange for ſome of the goods brought from *China;* in particular, for the cloves and nutmegs, of which I ſold the greateſt part here; and the reſt afterwards at *Arch-Angel*, for a much better price than I could have done at *London;* and my partner, who was ſenſible of the profit, and whoſe buſineſs, more particularly than mine, was merchandize, was mightily pleaſed with our ſtay, on account of the traffic we made here.

It was in the beginning of *June* when I left this remote place, a city, I believe, little heard of in the world; and, indeed, it is ſo far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it ſhould be much talked of. We were now come to a very ſmall caravan, being only thirty-two horſes and camels in all, and all of them paſſed for mine, though my new gueſt was proprietor of eleven of them. It was moſt natural

natural alſo, that I ſhould take more ſervants with me than I had before, and the young lord paſſed for my ſteward; what great man I paſſed for myſelf I know not, neither did it concern me to enquire. We had here the worſt and the largeſt deſart to paſs over that we met with in all the journey; indeed I call it the worſt, becauſe the way was very deep in ſome places, and very uneven in others; the beſt we had to ſay for it, was, that we thought we had no troops of *Tartars* and robbers to fear, and that they never came on this ſide the river *Oby*, or at leaſt but very ſeldom; but we found it otherwiſe.

My young lord had with him a faithful *Muſcovite* ſervant, or rather a *Siberian* ſervant, who was perfectly acquainted with the country; and who led us by private roads, that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities upon the great road, ſuch as *Tumen*, *Soloy Kamaſkoy*, and ſeveral others; becauſe the *Muſcovite* garriſons, which are kept there, are very curious and ſtrict in their obſervation upon travellers, and ſearching leſt any of the baniſhed perſons of note ſhould make their eſcape that way into *Muſcovy*; but by this means, as we were kept out of the cities, ſo our whole journey was a deſart, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents, when we might have had good accommodation in the cities on the way: this the young lord was ſo ſenſible of, that he would not allow us to lie abroad, when we came to ſeveral cities on the way; but lay abroad himſelf, with his ſervant, in the woods, and met us always at the appointed places.

We were juſt entered *Europe*, having paſſed the river *Kama*, which, in theſe parts, is the boundary

between *Europe* and *Aſia;* and the firſt city on the *European* ſide was called *Soloy Kamoſkoy*, which is as much as to ſay, the great city on the river *Kama;* and here we thought to have ſeen ſome evident alteration in the people, their manners, their habit, their religion, and their buſineſs; but we were miſtaken; for as we had a vaſt deſart to paſs, which, by relation, is near ſeven hundred miles long in ſome places, but not above two hundred miles over where we paſſed it; ſo, till we came paſt that horrible place, we found very little difference between that country, and the *Mogul Tartary;* the people moſtly *Pagans*, and little better than the ſavages of *America;* their houſes and towns full of idols, and their way of living wholly barbarous, except in the cities as above, and the villages near them; where they are *Chriſtians*, as they call themſelves, of the *Greek* church; but even theſe have their religion mingled with ſo many reliques of ſuperſtition, that it is ſcarce to be known in ſome places from mere ſorcery and witchcraft.

In paſſing this foreſt, I thought, indeed, we muſt, after all our dangers were, in our imagination, eſcaped, as before, have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered by a troop of thieves; of what country they were, whether the roving bands of the *Oſtiachi*, a kind of *Tartars*, or wild people on the banks of the *Oby*, had ranged thus far; or whether they were the ſable-hunters of *Siberia*, I am yet at a loſs to know; but they were all on horſeback, carried bows and arrows, and were at firſt about five-and-forty in number; they came ſo near to

us as within about two muſquet ſhot; and, aſking no queſtions, they ſurrounded us with their horſe, and looked very earneſtly upon us twice; at length they placed themſelves juſt in our way; upon which we drew up in a little line before our camels, being not above ſixteen men in all; and being drawn up thus, we halted, and ſent out the *Siberian* ſervant who attended his lord, to ſee who they were; his maſter was the more willing to let him go, becauſe he was not a little apprehenſive that they were a *Siberian* troop ſent out after him. The man came up near them with a flag of truce, and called to them; but though he ſpoke ſeveral of their languages, or dialects of languages rather, he could not underſtand a word they ſaid: however, after ſome ſigns to him not to come nearer to them at his peril, ſo he ſaid he underſtood them to mean, offering to ſhoot at him if he advanced, the fellow came back no wiſer than he went, only that by their dreſs, he ſaid, he believed them to be ſome *Tartars* of *Kalmuck*, or of the *Circaſſian* hords; and that there muſt be more of them on the great deſart, though he never heard that ever any of them were ſeen ſo far north before.

This was ſmall comfort to us; however, we had no remedy: there was on our left hand, at about a quarter of a mile's diſtance, a little grove or clump of trees, which ſtood cloſe together, and very near the road; I immediately reſolved we would advance to thoſe trees, and fortify ourſelves as well as we could there; for, firſt, I conſidered that the trees would in a great meaſure cover us from their arrows; and in the next place, they could not

come to charge us in a body: it was, indeed, my old *Portugueſe* pilot who propoſed it; and who had this excellency attending him, namely, that he was always readieſt and moſt apt to direct and encourage us in caſes of the moſt danger. We advanced immediately with what ſpeed we could, and gained that little wood, the *Tartars*, or thieves, for we knew not what to call them, keeping their ſtand, and not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we found, to our great ſatisfaction, that it was a ſwampy, ſpringy piece of ground, and, on the other ſide, a great ſpring of water, which, running out in a little rill or brook, was a little farther joined by another of the like bigneſs; and was, in ſhort, the head, or ſource of a conſiderable river, called afterwards the *Wirtſka*. The trees which grew about this ſpring, were not in all above two hundred, but were very large, and ſtood pretty thick; ſo that as ſoon as we got in, we ſaw ourſelves perfectly ſafe from the enemy, unleſs they alighted and attacked us on foot.

But to make this more difficult, our *Portugueſe*, with indefatigable application, cut dow great arms of the trees, and laid them hanging, not cut quite off, from one tree to another; ſo that he made a continued fence almoſt round us.

We ſtaid here, waiting the motion of the enemy ſome hours, without perceiving they made any offer to ſtir; when about two hours before night, they came down directly upon us; and, though we had not perceived it, we found they had been joined by ſome more of the ſame, ſo that they were near four-

ſcore

ſcore horſe, whereof, however, we fancied ſome were women. They came in till they were within half a ſhot of our little wood, when we fired one muſquet without ball, and called to them in the *Ruſſian* tongue, to know what they wanted, and bid them keep off; but, as if they knew nothing of what we ſaid, they came on with a double fury directly up to the wood-ſide, not imagining we were ſo barricaded, that they could not break in: our old pilot was our captain, as well as he had been our engineer; and deſired of us, not to fire upon them till they came within piſtol-ſhot, that we might be ſure to kill; and that when we did fire, we ſhould be ſure to take good aim. We bade him give the word of command; which he delayed ſo long, that they were, ſome of them, within two pikes length of us when we fired.

We aimed ſo true (or Providence directed our ſhot ſo ſure) that we killed fourteen of them at the firſt volley, and wounded ſeveral others, as alſo ſeveral of their horſes; for we had all of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets a piece, at leaſt.

They were terribly ſurpriſed with our fire, and retreated immediately about one hundred rods from us; in which time we loaded our pieces again, and, ſeeing them keep that diſtance, we ſallied out, and caught four or five of their horſes, whoſe riders, we ſuppoſed, were killed; and coming up to the dead, we could eaſily perceive they were *Tartars*, but knew not from what country, or how they came to make an excurſion ſuch an unuſual length.

About an hour after, they made a motion to attack us again, and rode round our little wood, to ſee where elſe they might break in; but finding us always

always ready to face them, they went off again, and we reſolved not to ſtir from the place for that night.

We ſlept a little, you may be ſure; but ſpent the moſt part of the night in ſtrengthening our ſituation, and barricading the entrances into the wood; and, keeping a ſtrict watch, we waited for day-light, and, when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome diſcovery indeed: for the enemy, who we thought were diſcouraged with the reception they had met with, were now increaſed to no leſs than three hundred, and had ſet up eleven or twelve huts and tents, as if they were reſolved to beſiege us; and this little camp they had pitched, was upon the open plain, at about three quarters of a mile from us. We were indeed ſurprized at this diſcovery; and now, I confeſs, I gave myſelf over for loſt, and all that I had. The loſs of my effects did not lie ſo near me (though they were very conſiderable) as the thoughts of falling into the hands of ſuch barbarians, at the latter end of my journey, after ſo many difficulties and hazards as I had gone through; and even in ſight of our port, where we expected ſafety and deliverance. As for my partner, he was raging: he declared, that to loſe his goods would be his ruin; and he would rather die than be ſtarved; and he was for fighting to the laſt drop.

The young lord, as gallant as ever fleſh ſhewed itſelf, was for fighting to the laſt alſo; and my old pilot was of the opinion we were able to reſiſt them all, in the ſituation we then were in: and thus we ſpent the day in debates of what we ſhould do; but towards evening, we found that the number of

our

our enemies ſtill increaſed: perhaps, as they were abroad in ſeveral parties for prey, the firſt had ſent out ſcouts to call for help, and to acquaint them of their booty; and we did not know but by the morning they might ſtill be a greater number; ſo I began to enquire of thoſe people we had brought from *Tobolſki*, if there was no other, or more private ways, by which we might avoid them in the night, and perhaps, either retreat to ſome town, or get help to guard us over the deſart.

The *Siberian*, who was ſervant to the young lord, old us, if we deſigned to avoid them, and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night to a way that went north towards the river *Petraz*, by which he made no doubt but we might get away, and the *Tartars* never the wiſer; but he ſaid, his lord had told him he would not return, but would rather chuſe to fight. I told him, he miſtook his lord; for that he was too wiſe a man to love fighting for the ſake of it; that I knew his lord was brave enough by what he had ſhewed already; but that his lord knew better than to deſire to have ſeventeen or eighteen men fight five hundred, unleſs an unavoidable neceſſity forced them to it; and that if he thought it poſſible for us to eſcape in the night, we had nothing elſe to do but to attempt it. He anſwered, if his lord gave him ſuch order, he would loſe his life if he did not perform it. We ſoon brought his lord to give that order, though privately, and we immediately prepared for the putting it in practice.

And firſt, as ſoon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning,

burning, and prepared ſo as to make it burn all night, that the *Tartars* might conclude we were ſtill there; but, as ſoon as it was dark, that is to ſay, ſo as we could ſee the ſtars, (for our guide would not ſtir before) having all our horſes and camels ready loaded, we followed our new guide, who, I ſoon found, ſteered himſelf by the pole, or north ſtar, all the country being level for a long way.

After we had travelled two hours very hard, it began to be lighter ſtill; not that it was quite dark all night, but the moon began to riſe, ſo that, in ſhort, it was rather lighter than we wiſhed it to be; but by ſix o'clock next morning, we were gotten near forty miles, though the truth is, we almoſt ſpoiled our horſes. Here we found a *Ruſſian* village, named *Kirmazinſkoy*, where we reſted, and heard nothing of the *Calmuck Tartars* that day. About two hours before night we ſet out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite ſo haſtily as before; and about ſeven o'clock we paſſed a little river, called *Kirtza*, and came to a good large town inhabited by *Ruſſians*, and very populous, called *Ozomys*: There we heard, that ſeveral troops, or herds of *Calmucks* had been abroad upon the deſart, but that we were now completely out of danger of them, which was to our great ſatisfaction, you may be ſure. Here we were obliged to get ſome freſh horſes, and having need enough of reſt, we ſtaid five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honeſt *Siberian*, who brought us hither, the value of ten piſtoles for his conducting us.

In five days more we came to *Veuſſima*, upon the river *Witzogda*, which running into the river *Dwina*, we

we were there very happily near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable in ſeven days paſſage to *Arch-Angel:* from hence we came to *Lawrenſkoy*, where the river joins, the third of *July;* and provided ourſelves with two luggage-boats, and a barge, for our convenience. We embarked the ſeventh, and arrived all ſafe at *Arch-Angel* the eighteenth, having been a year, five months, and three days on the journey, including our ſtay of eight months and odd days at *Tobolſki.*

We were obliged to ſtay at this place ſix weeks for the arrival of the ſhips, and muſt have tarried longer, had not a *Hamburgher* come in above a month ſooner than any of the *Engliſh* ſhips; when, after ſome conſideration, that the city of *Hamburgh* might happen to be as good a market for our goods as *London*, we all took freight with him; and having put our goods on board, it was moſt natural for me to put my ſteward on board to take care of them; by which means my young lord had a ſufficient opportunity to conceal himſelf, never coming on ſhore again in all the time we ſtaid there; and this he did, that he might not be ſeen in the city, where ſome of the *Moſcow* merchants would certainly have ſeen and diſcovered him.

We ſailed from *Arch-Angel* the twentieth of *Auguſt* the ſame year; and, after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived in the *Elbe* the thirteenth of *September:* here my partner and I found a very good ſale for our goods, as well thoſe of *China*, as the ſables, &c. of *Siberia;* and dividing the produce of our effects, my ſhare amounted to 3475l. 17s. 3d. notwithſtanding ſo many loſſes we had ſuſtained, and

charges we had been at; only remembering that I had included, in this, about 600l. worth of diamonds, which I had purchaſed at *Bengal*.

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the *Elbe*, in order to go to the court of *Vienna*, where he reſolved to ſeek protection, and where he could correſpond with thoſe of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part without all the teſtimonies he could give, of gratitude for the ſervice I had done him, and his ſenſe of my kindneſs to the prince his father.

To conclude: having ſtaid near four months in *Hamburgh*, I came from thence over land to the *Hague*, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in *London* the 10th of *January*, 1705, having been gone from *England* ten years and nine months.

And here, reſolving to harraſs myſelf no more, I am preparing for a longer journey than all theſe, having lived ſeventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learned ſufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the bleſſing of ending our days in peace.

END OF CRUSOE.

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THE

LIFE OF DE FOE.

IT is lamented by thoſe who labour the fields of Britiſh biography, that after being entangled in briars they are often rewarded with the ſcanty products of barrenneſs. The lives of literary men are generally paſſed in the obſcurities of the cloſet, which conceal even from friendly inquiries the artifices of ſtudy, whereby each may have riſen to eminence. And during the ſame moment that the diligent biographer ſets out to aſk for information, with regard to the origin, the modes of life, or the various fortunes of writers who have amuſed or inſtructed their country, the houſe-keeper, the daughter, or grand-child, that knew connexions and traditions, drop into the grave.

Theſe reflexions naturally aroſe from my inquiries about the life of the Author of THE HISTORY OF THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN; and of THE ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE. Whether he were born on the neighbouring continent, or in this iſland; in London, or in the country; was equally uncertain. And whether his name were Foe, or De Foe, was ſomewhat doubtful. Like

Swift, he had perhaps reaſons for concealing what would have added little to his conſequence. It is at length known, with ſufficient certainty, that our author was the ſon of James Foe, of the pariſh of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London, Citizen and Butcher. The concluding ſentiment of *The True-born Engliſhman*, we now ſee, was then as natural as it will ever be juſt:

Then, let us boaſt of anceſtors no more,
For, fame of families is all a cheat;
'Tis perſonal virtue only makes us great.

If we may credit the Gazette, Daniel Foe, or De Foe, as he is ſaid by his enemies to have called himſelf, that he might not be thought an Engliſhman, was born in London *, about the year 1663. His family were probably Diſſenters †, among whom he

* It is at laſt diſcovered, by ſearching *The Chamberlain's* books, which have ſince been burnt, that our author was the ſon of James Foe, of the pariſh of Cripplegate, London, Citizen and Butcher; who was himſelf the ſon of Daniel Foe, of Elton, in the county of Northampton, Yeoman; and who obtained his Freedom by ſerving his apprenticeſhip with John Levit, Citizen and Butcher. Daniel Foe, the ſon of James, was admitted to *his Freedom* by *birth*, on the 26th of January, 1687-8. I was led to theſe diſcoveries by obſerving that De Foe had voted at an election for a Repreſentative of London; whence I inferred, that he muſt have been a citizen either by birth or ſervice. But in the pariſh books I could find no notice of his baptiſm; as his parents were Diſſenters.

† In his Preface to "*More Reformation*," De Foe complains, That ſome Diſſenters had reproached him, as if he had ſaid, "that the gallows and the gallies ought to be the penalty of going to the conventicle; forgetting, that I muſt deſign *to have my father, my wife, ſix innocent children, and myſelf*, put into the ſame condition. To ſuch Diſſenters I can only regret," ſays he, "That when

he received no unlettered education; at leaſt it is plain, from his various writings, that he was a zealous defender of their principles, and a ſtrenuous ſupporter of their politics, before the liberality of our rulers in church and ſtate had freed this conduct from danger. He merits the praiſe which is due to ſincerity in manner of thinking, and to uniformity in habits of acting, whatever obloquy may have been caſt on his name, by attributing writings to him, which, as they belonged to others, he was ſtudious to diſavow.

Our Author was educated at a diſſenting academy, which was kept at Newington-Green by Charles Morton. He delights to praiſe "that learned gentleman*," whoſe inſtructive leſſons he probably enjoyed from 1675 to 1680, as a maſter, who taught nothing either in politics, or ſcience, which was dangerous to monarchial government, or which was improper for a diligent ſcholar to know. Being in 1705 accuſed by Tutchin of illiterature, De Foe archly acknowledged, "I owe this juſtice to my ancient father, who is yet living, and in whoſe behalf I freely teſtify, that if I am a blockhead, it was nobody's fault but my own; he having ſpared nothing that might qualify me to match the accurate Dr. B —— or the moſt learned Tutchin†."

when I had drawn the picture, I did not, like the Dutchman with his man and bear, write under them---*This is the man;* and *this is the bear.*" De Foe expreſsly admits, that he WAS A DISSENTER, though no *independent, fifth-monarchy man*, or *leveller.* De F. Works, edit. 1703. p. 326---448.——* Works, 3d. edit. vol. ii. p. 276.——† Review, vol. ii. p. 150.

De Foe was born a writer, as other men are born generals and ſtateſmen: and when he was not twenty-one, he publiſhed, in 1683, a pamphlet againſt a very prevailing ſentiment in favour of the Turks, as oppoſed to the Auſtrians; very juſtly thinking, as he avows in his riper age, that it was better the Popiſh Houſe of Auſtria ſhould ruin the Proteſtants in Hungary, than the infidel Houſe of Ottoman ſhould ruin both Proteſtants and Papiſts, by overrunning Germany *. De Foe was a man who would fight as well as write for his principles: and before he was three-and-twenty he appeared in arms for the Duke of Monmouth, in June 1685. Of this exploit he boaſts † in his latter years, when it was no longer dangerous to avow his participation in that imprudent enterpriſe, with greater men of ſimilar principles.

Having eſcaped from the dangers of battle, and from the fangs of Jefferys, De Foe found complete ſecurity in the more gainful purſuits of peace. Yet, he was prompted by his zeal to mingle in the controverſies of the reign of James 2d, whom he efficaciouſly oppoſed, by warning the Diſſenters of the ſecret danger of the inſidious tolerance, which was offered by the monarch's bigotry, or by the miniſter's artifice. When our Author collected his writings, he did not think proper to republiſh either his tract againſt the Turks, or his pamphlet againſt the King.

De Foe was admitted a Liveryman of London on the 26th of January, 1687—8; when, being allowed his freedom by birth, he was received a mem-

* Appeal, p. 51. † Appeal.

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ber of that eminent corporation. As he had endeavoured to promote the revolution by his pen and his ſword, he had the ſatisfaction of partaking, ere long, in the pleaſures and advantages of that great event. During the hilarity of that moment, the Lord Mayor of London aſked King William to partake of the city feaſt on the 29th of October, 1689. Every honour was paid the Sovereign of the people's choice. A regiment of volunteers, compoſed of the chief citizens, and commanded by the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, attended the King and Queen from Whitehall to the Manſion Houſe. Among theſe troopers, gallantly mounted, and richly accoutred, was Daniel De Foe, if we may believe Oldmixon *.

While our author thus diſplayed his zeal, and courted notice, he is ſaid to have acted as a hoſier in Freeman's Yard, Cornhill: but the hoſier † and the poet are very irreconcileable characters. With the uſual imprudence of ſuperior genius, he was carried by his vivacity into companies who were gratified by his wit. He ſpent thoſe hours with a ſmall ſociety for the cultivation of polite learning, which he ought to have employed in the calculations of the counting-houſe: and being obliged to abſcond from his creditors in 1692, he naturally attri-

* Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 37.

† Being reproached by Tutchin in his *Obſervator* with having been bred an apprentice to a hoſier, De Foe aſſerts, in May 1705, *that he never was a hoſier, or an apprentice*, but admits that he had been a *Trader*. [Review, vol. ii. p. 149.] Oldmixon, who never ſpeaks favourably of De Foe, allows that he had never been a merchant otherwiſe than peddling a little to Portugal. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 519.—But, *Peddling to Portugal* makes a *Trader*.

buted thoſe misfortunes to the war, which were probably owing to his own miſconduct. An angry creditor took out a commiſſion of bankruptcy, which was ſoon ſuperſeded on the petition of thoſe to whom he was moſt indebted, who accepted a compoſition on his ſingle bond. This he punctually paid by the efforts of unwearied diligence. But ſome of thoſe creditors, who had been thus ſatisfied, falling afterwards into diſtreſs themſelves, De Foe voluntarily paid them their whole claims; being then in riſing circumſtances from King William's favour *. This is ſuch an example of honeſty, as it would be unjuſt to De Foe and to the world to conceal. Being reproached in 1705 by Lord Haverſham with mercenarineſs, our author feelingly mentions; "How, with a numerous family, and no helps but his own induſtry, he had forced his way with undiſcouraged diligence, through a ſea of misfortunes, and reduced his debts, excluſive of compoſition, from ſeventeen thouſand to leſs than five thouſand pounds †." He continued to carry on the pan-tile works near Tilbury-fort; though probably with no great ſucceſs. It was afterwards ſarcaſtically ſaid, *that he did not, like the Egyptians, require bricks without ſtraw, but, like the Jews, required bricks without paying his labourers.* He was born for other enterpriſes, which, if they did not gain him opulence, have conferred a renown, that will deſcend the ſtream of time with the language wherein his works are written.

While he was yet under thirty, and had mortified no great man by his ſatire, or offended any party

* The Mercator, No. 101.——† Reply to Lord Haverſham's Vindication.

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by his pamphlets, he had acquired friends by his powers of pleaſing, who did not, with the uſual inſtability of friendſhips, deſert him amidſt his diſtreſſes. They offered to ſettle him as a factor at Cadiz, where, as a trader, he had ſome previous correſpondence. In this ſituation he might have procured buſineſs by his care, and accumulated wealth without a riſque: but, as he aſſures us in his old age, *Providence, which had other work for him to do, placed a ſecret averſion in his mind to quitting England.* He had confidence enough in his own talents to think, that on this field he could gather laurels, or at leaſt gain a livelihood.

In a *projecting age*, as our Author denominates King William's reign, he was himſelf a projector. While he was yet young, De Foe was prompted by a vigorous mind to think of many ſchemes, and to offer, what was moſt pleaſing to the ruling powers, *ways and means* for carrying on the war. He wrote, as he ſays, *many ſheets about the coin;* he propoſed a regiſter for ſeamen, *long before the act of Parliament was thought of;* he projected *county banks* and *factories for goods;* he mentioned a *propoſal for a commiſſion of inquiries into bankrupt's eſtates;* he contrived a *penſion-office for the relief of the poor.* At length, in January 1696—7, he publiſhed his *Eſſay upon Projects;* which he dedicated to Dalby Thomas, not as a Commiſſioner of glaſs duties, under whom he then ſerved, or as a friend, to whom he acknowledges obligations; but as to the moſt proper judge on the ſubject. It is always curious to trace a thought, in order to ſee where it firſt originated, or how it was afterwards expanded. Among other projects, which ſhew a wide range of knowledge,

ledge, he ſuggeſts to King William the imitation of Lewis 14th, in the eſtabliſhment of a ſociety "for encouraging polite learning, for refining the Engliſh language, and for preventing barbariſms of manners." Prior offered in 1700 the ſame project to King William, in his *Carmen Seculare;* Swift mentioned in 1710 to Lord Oxford a propoſal *for improving the Engliſh tongue;* and Tickell flatters himſelf in his *Proſpect of Peace*, that our *daring language—ſhall ſport no more in arbitrary ſound.* However his projects were taken, certain it is, that when De Foe ceaſed to be a *trader*, he was, by the interpoſition of Dalby Thomas probably, appointed in 1695, *accomptant* to the Commiſſioners for managing the duties on glaſs; who, with our Author ceaſed to act, on the firſt of Auguſt, 1699, when the tax was ſuppreſſed by act of Parliament *.

From projects of *ways and means*, De Foe's ardour ſoon carried him into the thorny paths of ſatiric poetry; and his muſe produced, in January 1700—1, *The True-born Engliſhman.* Of the origin of this ſatire, which was the cauſe of much good fortune, but of ſome diſaſters, he gives himſelf the following account:—"During this time came out an abhorred pamphlet, in very ill verſe, written by one Mr. Tutchin, and called *The Foreigners:* in which the Author, who he was I then knew not, fell perſonally upon the King, then upon the Dutch nation, and, after having reproached his Majeſty with crimes that his worſt enemies could not think of without horror, he ſums up all in the odious name of FOREIGNER. This filled me with a kind of rage againſt the book, and gave birth to a trifle,

* 10-11 Wm. III. ch. 18.

which

which I never could hope ſhould have met with ſo general an acceptation." The ſale was prodigious, and probably unexampled; as Sacheverel's trial had not then appeared. *The True-born Engliſhman* was anſwered, paragraph by paragraph, in February 1700—1, by a writer, who brings haſte to apologize for dulneſs. For this Defence of King William and the Dutch, which was doubtleſs circulated by detraction and by power, De Foe was amply rewarded. "How this poem was the occaſion," ſays he, "of my being known to his Majeſty; how I was afterwards received by him; how employed abroad; and how, above my capacity of deſerving, rewarded, is no part of the preſent caſe." Of the particulars, which the Author thus declined to tell, nothing now can be told. It is only certain, that he was admitted to perſonal interviews with the King, who was no reader of poetry; and that for the Royal favours De Foe was always grateful.

When "the pen and ink war was raiſed againſt a ſtanding army," ſubſequent to the peace of Ryſwick, our Author publiſhed AN ARGUMENT, to prove that a ſtanding army, with conſent of Parliament, is not inconſiſtent with a free government. "Liberty and property," ſays he, "are the glorious attributes of the Engliſh nation; and the dearer they are to us, the leſs danger we are in of loſing them: but I could never yet ſee it proved, that the danger of loſing them by a ſmall army was ſuch, as we ſhould expoſe ourſelves to all the world for it. It is not the King of England alone, but the ſword of England in the hand of the King, that gives laws of peace and war now to Europe: and thoſe who would thus wreſt the ſword out of his hand in time of peace, bid the faireſt of all men in

in the world to renew the war." He, who is deſirous of reading this treatiſe on an intereſting topic, will meet with ſtrength of argument, conveyed in elegant language.

When the nation flamed with faction, the Grand Jury of Kent preſented to the Commons, on the 8th of May 1701, a petition, which deſired them—— "to mind the public buſineſs more, and their private heats leſs;" and which contained a ſentiment, that there was a deſign, as Burnet tells, other counties and the city of London ſhould equally adopt. Meſſrs. Culpeppers, Polhill, Hamilton, and Champneys, who avowed this intrepid paper, were committed to the Gatehouſe, amid the applauſes of their countrymen. It was on this occaſion that De Foe's genius dictated a Remonſtrance, which was ſigned *Legion*, and which has been recorded in hiſtory for its bold truths and ſeditious petulance. De Foe's zeal induced him to aſſume a woman's dreſs, while he delivered this factious paper to Harley, the Speaker, as he entered the Houſe of Commons*. It was then alſo that our Author, who was tranſported by an equal attachment to the country and the

* Mr. Polhill, of Cheapſtead-place, in Kent, whoſe father, Mr. David Polhill, was committed to the Gatehouſe, and thereby gained great popularity, was ſo good as communicate to me the curious anecdote of De Foe's dreſſing himſelf in women's clothes, and preſenting the *Legion Paper* to the Speaker. De Foe ſays himſelf in his *Original Power of the People*, p. 24: "This is evident from the tenor and yet undiſcovered original of the *Legion Paper*; the contents of which had ſo much plain truth of fact; and *which I could give a better hiſtory of, if it were needful.*" When De Foe republiſhed his works in 1703, he thought it prudent to expunge this paſſage, that too plainly pointed out the *real hiſtory* of *the Legion Paper*, which is not mentioned by the *Commons Journals*.

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court, publiſhed *The Original Power of the collective Body of the People of England, examined and aſſerted.* This timeful treatiſe he dedicated to King William, in a dignified ſtrain of nervous eloquence. "It is not the leaſt of the extraordinaries of your Majeſty's character," ſays he, "that, as you are King of your people, ſo you are the people's King; a title, which, as it is the moſt glorious, ſo it is the moſt indiſputable." To the Lords and Commons he addreſſes himſelf in a ſimilar tone: The vindication of the original right of all men to the government of themſelves, he tells them, is ſo far from being a derogation from, that it is a confirmation of their legal authority. Every lover of liberty muſt be pleaſed with the peruſal of a treatiſe, which vies with Mr. Locke's famous tract in powers of reaſoning, and is ſuperior to it in the graces of ſtyle.

At a time when "union and charity, the one relating to our civil, and the other to our religious concerns, were ſtrangers in the land," De Foe publiſhed *The Freeholder's Plea againſt Stockjobbing Elections of Parliament Men.* "It is very rational to ſuppoſe," ſays our Author, "*that they who will buy will ſell;* or, what ſeems more rational, *they who have bought muſt ſell.*" This is certainly a perſuaſive performance, though we may ſuppoſe, that many voters were influenced then by arguments ſtill more perſuaſive. And he concludes with a ſentiment, which has not been too often repeated, That nothing can make us formidable to our neighbours, and maintain the reputation of our nation, but union among ourſelves.

How much ſoever King William may have been pleaſed with *The True-born Engliſhman*, or with other

other ſervices, he was little gratified probably by our Author's *Reaſons againſt a War with France.* This argument, *ſhewing that the French King's owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, is no ſufficient ground of a War*, is one of the fineſt, becauſe it is one of the moſt uſeful, tracts in the Engliſh language. After remarking *the univerſal cry of the people for war*, our Author declares he is not againſt war with France, provided it be on juſtifiable grounds; but, he hopes, England will never be ſo inconſiderable a nation, as to make uſe of diſhoneſt pretences to bring to paſs any of her deſigns: and he wiſhes that he who deſires we ſhould *end the war honourably*, ought to deſire alſo, that we *begin it fairly.* "But if we muſt have a war," our Author hoped, "it might be wholly on the defenſive in Flanders, in order to carry on hoſtilities in remote places, where the damage may be greater, by wounding the Spaniard in ſome weaker part; ſo as upon a peace he ſhall be glad to quit Flanders for an equivalent." Who at preſent does not wiſh that De Foe's argument had been more ſtudiouſly read, and more efficaciouſly admitted?

A ſcene of ſorrow ſoon after opened, which probably embittered our Author's future life. The death of King William deprived him of a protector, who, he ſays, truſted, eſteemed, and much more valued him than he deſerved; and who, as he flattered himſelf amidſt his later diſtreſſes, would never have ſuffered him to be treated as he had been in the world. Of that monarch's memory, he ſays, that he never patiently heard it abuſed, nor ever could do ſo: and in this gratitude to a Royal benefactor there is ſurely much to praiſe, but nothing to blame.

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In the midſt of that furious conteſt of party, civil and religious, which enſued on the acceſſion of Queen Anne, our Author was no unconcerned ſpectator. He reprinted his *Enquiry into the Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters*, which had been publiſhed in 1697, with a dedication to Sir Humphrey Edwin, a Lord Mayor, who having carried the regalia to a conventicle, gave riſe to ſome wit in *The Tale of a Tub*, and occaſioned ſome clauſes in an act of Parliament. De Foe now dedicated his *Enquiry* to John How, a diſſenting miniſter, of whom Anthony Wood ſpeaks well. Mr. How did not much care, ſays Calamy *, to enter upon an argument of that nature with one of ſo *warm a temper* as the author of that *Enquiry*, and contented himſelf with publiſhing ſome *Conſiderations on the Preface of an Enquiry concerning the occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters*. De Foe's pertinacity ſoon produced a reply. He out-laughs and out-talks Mr. How, who had provoked his antagoniſt's wrath by perſonal ſarcaſms, and who now thought it hard that the old ſhould be ſhoved off the ſtage by the young. De Foe reprobates, with the unforbearance of the times, "this faſt and looſe game of religion;" for which he had never met with any conſiderable excuſe but this, "that this is no conformity in point of religion, but done as a civil action." He ſoon after publiſhed another *Enquiry*, in order to ſhew, *that the Diſſenters are no ways concerned in occaſional conformity*. The controverſy, which in thoſe days occaſioned ſuch vehement conteſts between the two Houſes of Parliament, is probably ſilenced for ever.

* Life of Mr. John How, p. 210.

"During

"During the firſt fury of high-flying," ſays he, "I fell a ſacrifice for writing againſt the madneſs of that high party, and in the ſervice of the Diſſenters." He alludes here to *The Shorteſt Way;* which he publiſhed towards the end of the year 1702; and which is a piece of exquiſite irony, though there are certainly paſſages in it that might have ſhewn conſiderate men how much the Author had been in jeſt. He complains how hard it was, *that this ſhould not have been perceived by all the town, and that not one man can ſee it, either churchman or diſſenter.* This is one of the ſtrongeſt proofs, how much the minds of men were inflamed againſt each other, and how little the virtues of mutual forbearance and perſonal kindneſs exiſted amid the clamour of contradiction, which then ſhook the kingdom, and gave riſe to ſome of the moſt remarkable events in our annals. The Commons ſhewed their zeal, however they may have ſtudied their dignity, by proſecuting * ſeveral libeliſts.

During the previous twenty years of his life, De Foe had buſied himſelf unconſciouſly in charging a mine, which now blew himſelf and his family into air. He had fought for Monmouth; he had oppoſed King James; he had vindicated *The Revolution;* he had panegyrized King William; he had defended the rights of the collective body of the

* On the 25th of February 1702--3, a complaint was made in the Houſe of Commons of a book entitled *The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters:* and the folios 11---18 and 26 being read, *Reſolved,* That this book, being full of falſe and ſcandalous reflections on this Parliament, and tending to promote ſedition, be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to-morrow, in New Palace-Yard. 14 Journ. p. 207.

people; he had diſpleaſed *the Treaſurer* and *the General*, by objecting to the Flanders war; he had bantered Sir Edward Seymour, and Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, the Tory-leaders of the Commons; he had juſt ridiculed all the high-flyers in the kindom: and he was at length obliged to ſeek for ſhelter from the indignation of perſons and parties, thus overpowering and reſiſtleſs.

A proclamation was iſſued in January, 1702—3 *, offering a reward of fifty pounds for diſcovering his retreat. De Foe was deſcribed by the Gazette—"as a middle-ſized ſpare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown hair, though he wears a wig, having a hook noſe, a ſharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth."

He ſoon publiſhed *An Explanation;* though he "wonders to find there ſhould be any occaſion for it." "But ſince ignorance," ſays he, "has led

* He who is deſirous of reading the proclamation, may be gratified by the following copy from the London Gazette, No. 3879.

St. James's, Jan. 10, 1702-3.

Whereas Daniel De Foe, *alias* De Fooe, is charged with writing a ſcandalous and ſeditious pamphlet, entitled "The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters:" he is a middle-ſized ſpare man, about 40 years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown coloured hair, but wears a wig, a hooked noſe, a ſharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hoſe-factor, in Freeman's-yard, in Cornhill, and now is owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury-fort in Eſſex: whoever ſhall diſcover the ſaid Daniel De Foe, to one of her Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, or any of her Majeſty's Juſtices of Peace, ſo as he may be apprehended, ſhall have a reward of £50, which her Majeſty has ordered immediately to be paid upon ſuch diſcovery.

moſt men to a cenſure of the book, and ſome people are like to come under the diſpleaſure of the Government for it; in juſtice to thoſe who are in danger to ſuffer by it; in ſubmiſſion to the Parliament and Council who may be offended at it; and courteſy to all miſtaken people, who, it ſeems, have not penetrated into the real deſign; the Author preſents the world with the genuine meaning of the paper, which he hopes may allay the anger of Government, or at leaſt ſatisfy the minds of ſuch as imagine a deſign to inflame and divide us." Neither his ſubmiſſiveneſs to the ruling powers, nor his generoſity to his printers, was a ſufficient ſhield from the reſentment of his enemies. He was found guilty of a libel, ſentenced to the pillory, and adjudged to be fined and impriſoned. Thus, as he acknowledges, was he a ſecond time ruined; and by this affair, as he aſſerts, he loſt above £3,500 ſterling, which conſiſted probably in *his brick works* and in the more abundant product of his pen.

When, by theſe means, immured in *Newgate*, our Author conſoled himſelf with the animating reflection, that having meant well he unjuſtly ſuffered. He had a mind too active to be idle in the ſolitude of a priſon which is ſeldom invaded by viſitors. And he wrote a hymn to the pillory, that—

Hieroglyphick ſtate machin,
Contrived to puniſh fancy in.

In this ode the reader will find ſatire, pointed by his ſufferings; generous ſentiments, ariſing from his ſituation; and an unexpected flow of eaſy verſe. For example:

The

The firſt intent of laws
Was to correct the effect, and check the cauſe.
And all the ends of puniſhment
Were only future miſchiefs to prevent:
But juſtice is inverted, when
Thoſe engines of the law,
Inſtead of pinching vicious men,
Keep honeſt ones in awe.

He employed this involuntary leiſure in correcting for the preſs a collection of his writings, which, *with ſeveral things he had no* hand in, had been already publiſhed by a piratical printer. He thought it a moſt unaccountable boldneſs in him to print that particular book called *The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters*, while he lay under the public reſentment for the ſame fact. In this collection of 1703, there are one-and-twenty treatiſes in poetry and proſe, beginning with *The True-born Engliſhman*, and ending with *The Shorteſt Way to Peace and Union*. To this volume there was prefixed the firſt print of De Foe; to which was afterwards added, the apt inſcription: *Laudatur et alget*.

In the ſolitarineſs of a goal, the energy of De Foe projected *The Review*. This is a periodical paper in quarto, which was firſt publiſhed on the 19th of February, 1703—4; and which was intended to treat of news, foreign and domeſtic; of politics, Britiſh and European; of trade, particular and univerſal. But our Author foreſaw, from *the natural averſion of the age to any tedious affair*, that however profitable, the world would never read, if it were not diverting. With this deſign, both inſtructive and amuſing, he ſkilfully inſtitutes *a Scandal Club*,

which diſcuſſes queſtions in divinity, morals, war, trade, language, poetry, love, marriage, drunkenneſs, and gaming. Thus, it is eaſy to ſee, that *The Review* pointed the way to the Tatlers, Spectators, and Guardians, which may be allowed however to have treated thoſe intereſting topics with more delicacy of humour, more terſeneſs of ſtyle, and greater depth of learning: yet, has De Foe many paſſages, both of proſe and poetry, which, for refinement of wit, neatneſs of expreſſion, and efficacy of moral, would do honour to Steele or to Addiſon. Of all this was Johnſon unconſcious, when he ſpeaks of the Tatlers and Spectators as the firſt Engliſh writers who had undertaken to reform either the ſavageneſs of neglect, or the impertinence of civility; to ſhew when to ſpeak, or to be ſilent; how to refuſe, or how to comply.

In the midſt of theſe labours our Author publiſhed, in July 1704, *The Storm;* or, a collection of the moſt remarkable caſualties, which happened in the tempeſt, on the 23d of November, 1703. In explaining *the natural cauſes of winds* De Foe ſhews more ſcience, and in delivering *the opinions of the ancients that this iſland was more ſubject to ſtorms than other parts of the world*, he diſplays more literature, than he has been generally ſuppoſed to poſſeſs. Our Author is moreover entitled to yet higher praiſe. He ſeized that awful occaſion to inculcate the fundamental truths of religion; the being of a God, the ſuperintendency of Providence, the certainty of heaven and hell, the one to reward, the other to puniſh.

While, as he tells himſelf, he lay friendleſs in the priſon of Newgate, his family ruined, and himſelf

himſelf without hopes of deliverance, a meſſage was brought him from a perſon of honour, whom till that time he had not the leaſt knowledge of. This was no leſs a perſon than Sir Robert Harley, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. Harley approved probably of the principles and conduct of De Foe, and doubtleſs foreſaw, that, during a factious age, ſuch a genius could be converted to many uſes. And he ſent a verbal meſſage to the priſoner, deſiring *to know what he could do for him.* Our Author readily wrote the ſtory of the blind man in the Goſpel; concluding—*Lord, that I may receive my ſight.*

When the high-flyers were driven from the ſtation which enabled them to inflame rather than conciliate, Harley became Secretary of State, in April 1704. He had now frequent opportunities of repreſenting the unmerited ſufferings of De Foe to the *Queen* and to the *Treaſurer;* yet, our Author continued four months longer in goal. The Queen, however, inquired into his circumſtances; and Lord Godolphin ſent, as he thankfully acknowledges, a conſiderable ſum to his wife, and to him money to pay his fine and the expence of his diſcharge. Here is the foundation, ſays he, on which he built his firſt ſenſe of duty to the Queen, and the indelible bond of gratitude to his *firſt benefactor.* "Let any one ſay, then," he aſks, "what I could have done, leſs or more than I have done for ſuch a Queen and ſuch a benefactor?" All this he manfully avowed to the world *, when Queen Anne lay lifeleſs and cold as King William, his firſt patron; and when Oxford,

* By his Appeal in 1715.

in the viciſſitude of party, had been perſecuted by faction, and overpowered, though not conquered, by violence.

Such was the high interpoſition by which De Foe was relieved from Newgate, in Auguſt 1704. In order to avoid the town-talk, he retired immediately to St. Edmund's Bury: but his retreat did not prevent perſecution. Dyer, the news-writer, propagated that De Foe had fled from juſtice. Fox, the bookſeller, publiſhed that he had deſerted his ſecurity. Stephen, a ſtate-meſſenger, every where ſaid, that he had a warrant for ſeizing him. This I ſuppoſe was wit, during the witty age of Anne. In our duller days of law, ſuch outrages would be referred to the judgment of a Jury. De Foe informed the Secretary of State where he was, and when he would appear; but he was told not to fear, as he had not tranſgreſſed. Notwithſtanding this vexation, our Author's muſe produced, on the 29th of Auguſt 1704, *A Hymn to Victory*, when the ſucceſsful ſkill of Marlborough furniſhed our poets with many occaſions to publiſh *Gazettes in Rhyme*.

De Foe opened the year 1704—5 with his *Double welcome to the Duke of Marlborough*; diſclaiming any expectation of place or penſion. His encomiaſtic ſtrains, I fear, were not heard while he wrote, like an honeſt Engliſhman, againſt the continuance of the war—a war indeed of perſonal glory, of national celebration, but of fruitleſs expence. De Foe's activity, or his needs, produced in March 1705, *The Conſolidator*; or, Memoirs of Sundry Tranſactions, from the world in the moon. It was one of De Foe's felicities to *catch the living manners*

as they roſe, or one of his reſources, *to ſhoot folly as it flew.* In the *lunar language* he applies his ſatiric file to the prominences of every character: of the poets, from Dryden to Durfy; of the wits, from Addiſon to Prior; of the metaphyſicians, from Malbranche to Hobbs; of the free-thinkers, from Aſgyl to the Tale of a Tub. Our author continually complains of the ill uſage of the world; but with all his acuteneſs he did not advert, that he who attacks the world, will be by the world attacked. He makes the lunar politicians debate the policy of Charles XII. in purſuing the Saxons and Poles, while the Muſcovites ravaged his own people. I doubt whether it were on this occaſion that the Swediſh Ambaſſador was ſo ill-adviſed as to complain againſt De Foe, for merited ridicule of a futile warfare. They had not then diſcovered, that the beſt defence againſt the ſhafts of ſatire is to let them fly. Our Author's ſentiment was expanded by Johnſon, in thoſe energetic lines, which thus conclude the character of the *Swediſh Charles;*

"Who left the name, at which the world grew pale,
"To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

De Foe was ſo little diſturbed by the appearance of *The Moon Calf*, or accurate reflections on the Conſolidator, that he plunged into a controverſy with Sir Humphrey Mackworth about his bill *for employing the poor.* This had been paſſed by the Commons, with great applauſe, but received by the Peers with ſuitable caution. De Foe, conſidering this *plauſible project* as an *indigeſted chaos*, repreſented it, through ſeveral reviews, as a plan which would

ruin the induſtrious, and thereby augment the poor. Sir Humphrey endeavoured to ſupport his work-houſes, in every pariſh, with a parochial capital for carrying on parochial manufacture. This drew from De Foe his admirable treatiſe, which he entitled *Giving alms no charity*. As an *Engliſh Freeholder* he claimed it as a right to addreſs his performance to the Houſe of Commons, having a particular intereſt in the common good; but, conſidering the perſons before whom he appeared, he laid down his archneſs, and aſſumed his dignity. He maintained, with wonderful knowledge of fact and power of argument, the following poſitions: 1ſt, That there is in England more labour than hands to perform it; and conſequently a want of people, not of employment:—2dly, No man in England, of ſound limbs and ſenſes, can be poor merely for want of work:—3dly, All workhouſes for employing the poor, as now they are employed, ſerve to the ruin of families and the increaſe of the poor:—4thly, It is a regulation of the poor that is wanted, not a ſetting them to work. Longer experience ſhews this to be a difficult ſubject, which increaſes in difficulty with the effluxion of time.

De Foe had ſcarcely diſmiſſed Sir Humphrey, when he introduced Lord Haverſham, a peer, who is famous in our ſtory, as a maker and publiſher of ſpeeches. His Lordſhip publiſhed his ſpeech on the ſtate of the nation in 1705, which was cried about the town with unuſual earneſtneſs. Our Author's prudence induced him to give no anſwer to the ſpeech; but a pamphlet, which was hawked about the ſtreets and ſold for a penny, our Author's ſhrewdneſs conſidered as *a challenge to every reader*.

He

He laughed and talked ſo much, through ſeveral Reviews, about this factious effuſion, as to provoke a defence of topics, which his Lordſhip ought neither to have printed nor ſpoken. De Foe now publiſhed a *Reply* to *Lord Haverſham's vindication of his Speech.* During ſuch battles the town never fails to cheer the ſmaller combatant. Our Author, with an alluſion to the biography of both, ſays ſarcaſtically: "But, fate that makes footballs of men, kicks ſome up ſtairs, and ſome down; ſome are *advanced without honour*, others *ſuppreſſed without infamy;* ſome are *raiſed without merit*, ſome are *cruſhed without a crime;* and no man knows by the beginning of things, whether his courſe ſhall iſſue in a *peerage* or a *pillory.*"

In the midſt of theſe diſputes, either grave or ludicrous, De Foe publiſhed *Advice to all Parties.* He ſtrenuouſly recommends that moderation and forbearance, which his opponents often remarked he was not ſo prone to practice as to preach. While he thus gave advice to all parties, he conveyed many ſalutary leſſons to the Diſſenters, whom he was zealous to defend. In the Review, dated the 25th of December 1705, he conjures them for GOD's ſake, if not for their own ſake, to be content. "Are there a few things more you could wiſh were done for you? reſolve theſe wiſhes into two concluſions: 1ſt, Wait till Providence, if it ſhall be for your good, ſhall bring them to paſs; 2dly, Compare the preſent with the paſt circumſtances, and you cannot repine without the higheſt ingratitude both to God and man."

De Foe found leiſure, notwithſtanding all thoſe labours, perhaps a neceſſity, to publiſh in 1705, *A Second Volume of the Writings of the Author of the True-born*

born Engliſhman. The ſame reaſons which formerly induced him to *collect ſome looſe pieces*, held good, ſays he, for proceeding to a ſecond volume, "that if I do not, ſomebody elſe will do it for me." He laments the ſcandalous liberty of the preſs; whereby piratic printers deprive an author of the native product of his own thought, and the purity of his own ſtyle. It is ſaid, though perhaps without authority, that the vigorous remonſtrances of De Foe procured *The* Act for the encouragement of learning, by veſting the copies of printed books in the authors or their aſſigns.* The vanity of an adminiſtration, which affected to patronize the learned, concurring with the mutual intereſt of bookmakers and bookſellers, produced this ſalutary law, that our Author alone had called for without ſucceſs. De Foe's writings, thus collected into volumes, were ſoon a third time printed, with the addition of *a key.* The ſatire being now pointed by the ſpecification of characters, and obſcurities being illuminated by the annexation of circumſtances, a numerous claſs of readers were induced, by their zeal of party, or deſire of ſcandal, to look for gratification from our Author's treatiſes. He is ſtudious to complain, *That his writings had been moſt neglected of them, who at the ſame time have owned them uſeful.* The ſecond volume of 1705, containing eighteen *treatiſes* in proſe and rhyme, begins with *A new Diſcovery of an old Intrigue*, and ends with *Royal Religion.*

The year 1705 was a year of diſquiet to De Foe, not ſo much from the oppreſſions of ſtate as from the perſecutions of party. When his buſineſs, of

* 9 Anne, c. 19.

whatever

whatever nature, led him to Exeter, and other weſtern towns, in Auguſt, September, and October, 1705, a project was formed to ſend him as a ſoldier to the army, at a time when footmen were taken from the coaches as recruits: but conſcious of his being a Freeholder of England, and a Liveryman of London, he knew that ſuch characters could not be violated, in this nation, with impunity. When ſome of the Weſtern Juſtices, of more zeal of party than ſenſe of duty, heard from his opponents of De Foe's journey, they determined to apprehend him as a vagabond: but our Author, who, among other qualities, had perſonal courage in a high degree, reflected, that to face danger is moſt effectually to prevent it. In his abſence, real ſuits were commenced againſt him for fictitious debts: but De Foe advertiſed, that genuine claims he would fairly ſatisfy. If all theſe uncommon circumſtances had not been publiſhed in *The Review*, we ſhould not have ſeen this ſtriking picture of ſavage manners. So much more free are we at preſent, that the Editor of a newſpaper, however obnoxious to any party, may travel peaceably about his affairs over England, without fear of interruption. Were a Juſtice of Peace, from whatever motive, to offer him any obſtruction, ſuch a magiſtrate would be overwhelmed by the public indignation, and puniſhed by the higher guardians of our quiet and our laws.

De Foe began the year 1706 with *A Hymn to Peace* *; occaſioned by the two Houſes of Parliament joining in one addreſs to the Queen. On the 4th of May he publiſhed *An Eſſay at removing*

* Publiſhed the 10th of January, 1705-6.

National

National Prejudices againſt an Union with Scotland. A few weeks after he gave the world a ſecond eſſay, to ſoften rancour and defeat perverſity. But the time was now come, when he was to perform what he had often promiſed: and his fruitfulneſs produced in July 1706, *Jure Divino*, a ſatire againſt tyranny and paſſive obedience, which had been delayed, *for fear*, as he declares, of *parliamentary cenſure.* Of this poem, it cannot be ſaid, as of Thomſon's *Liberty*, that *it was written to prove what no man ever denied.* This ſatire, ſays the preface, had never been publiſhed, though ſome of it has been a long time in being, had not the world ſeemed to be going mad a ſecond time with the *error of paſſive obedience*, and *non-reſiſtance.* And becauſe ſome men require, ſays he, more explicit anſwers, I declare my belief, that a monarchy, according to the preſent conſtitution, limited by Parliament, and *dependent upon law*, is not only the beſt government in the world, but alſo the beſt for this nation in particular, moſt ſuitable to the *genius of the people*, and *the circumſtances of the whole body.* Dryden had given an example, a few years before, of argumentative poetry in his *Hind and Panther;* by which he endeavoured to defend the tenets of the Church of Rome. Our author now reaſoned in rhyme, through *twelve books*, in defence of *every man's birth-right by nature*, when all ſorts of liberty were run down and oppoſed. His purpoſe is doubtleſs honeſter than Dryden's; and his argument, being in ſupport of *the better cauſe*, is perhaps ſuperior in ſtrength: but in the *Jure Divino* we look in vain for

The varying verſe, the full-reſounding line,
The long majeſtic march, and energy divine.

Our

Our author was ſoon after engaged in more important, becauſe much more uſeful, buſineſs. Lord Godolphin, who knew how to diſcriminate characters, determined to employ him on an errand, which, as he ſays, was far from being unfit for a Sovereign to direct, or an honeſt man to perform. By his Lordſhip he was carried to the Queen, who ſaid to him, while he kiſſed her hand*, *that ſhe had ſuch ſatisfaction in his former ſervices, that ſhe had again appointed him for another affair, which was ſomething nice, but the treaſurer would tell him the reſt.* In three days he was ſent to Scotland. His knowledge of commerce and revenue, his powers of inſinuation, and above all his readineſs of pen, were deemed of no ſmall utility in promoting *the Union.* He arrived at Edinburgh, in October 1706. And we ſhall find him no inconſiderable actor in the performance of that greateſt of all good works. He attended the committees of Parliament, for whoſe uſe he made ſeveral of the calculations † on the ſubject of trade and taxes. He complains ‡, however, that when afterwards ſome clamour was raiſed upon the inequality of the proportions, and the contrivers began to be blamed, and a little threatened *a-la-mob*, then it was D. F. § made it all, and he was to be ſtoned for it. He endeavoured to confute ‖ all that

* Appeal, p. 16.

† See his Hiſtory of the Union, p. 401. ‡ Ibid. p. 379.

§ Daniel Foe. He had two names through life; and even when letters of adminiſtration were granted on his perſonal eſtate, ſome time after his death, *De* Foe is added with an *otherwiſe*. We might thence infer, that his father's name was *Foe*, if we had not now better evidence of *the fact*.

‖ Ibid. 223.

was

was publiſhed by Webſter, and Hodges, and the other writers in Scotland againſt the Union: and he had his ſhare of danger, ſince, as he ſays, he was watched by the mob; had his chamber windows inſulted; but, by the prudence of his friends, and GOD's providence, he eſcaped *. In the midſt of this great ſcene of buſineſs and tumult, he collected the documents, which he afterwards publiſhed for the inſtruction of poſterity, with regard to one of the moſt difficult, and, at the ſame time, the moſt fortunate, tranſactions, in our annals.

During all thoſe labours and riſques, De Foe publiſhed, in December 1706, *Caledonia*, a Poem, in honour of the Scots nation. This poetic eſſay, which was intended to reſcue Scotland from *ſlander in opinion*, Caledonia herſelf bade him dedicate to the Duke of Queenſberry. Beſide other benefactions, the Commiſſioner gave the author, whom he calls Daniel De Foe, *Eſquire*, an excluſive privilege to ſell his encomiaſtic ſtrains for ſeven years, within the country of his celebration. Amidſt our Author's buſy occupations at Edinburgh, he was anxious to aſſure the world, that wherever the writer may be, the Reviews are written with his own hand; no perſon having, or ever had, any concern in writing them, but the known author, D. F. On the 16th of January, the act of Union was paſſed by the Scots Parliament; and De Foe returned to London, in February 1706-7. While he thus acted importantly at Edinburgh, he formed con-

* Hiſtory of the Union, p. 239.

nexions

nexions with conſiderable perſons, who were proud of his future correſpondence, and profited *from his political intereſts* *.

How our Author was rewarded by the miniſters who derived a benefit from thoſe ſervices, and from that danger, as he does not tell, cannot now be known. Before his departure for Scotland, indeed, Lord Godolphin, as he acknowledges †, obtained for him the continuance of an appointment, which her Majeſty, by the interpoſition of his firſt benefactor, had been pleaſed to make him, in conſideration of a former ſervice, in *a foreign country*, wherein he run as much riſque as a grenadier on the counter-ſcarp. As he was too prudent to diſcloſe his *ſecret ſervices*, they muſt at preſent remain undiſcovered. Yet is there reaſon to think that he had a *penſion* rather than an *office*, ſince his name is not in the *red book* of the Queen; and he ſolemnly avers, in *his Appeal*, that he had not intereſt enough with Lord Oxford

* Lord Buchan was ſo obliging as to communicate the ſubjoined extract of a letter to his Lordſhip's grandfather, the Earl of Buchan, from De Foe, dated the 29th of May, 1711:—"The perſon, with whom *I endeavoured to plant the intereſt of your Lordſhip's friend*, has been ſtrangely taken up, ſince I had that occaſion; *viz.* firſt, in ſuffering the operation of the ſurgeons to heal the wound of the aſſaſſin; and ſince, in accumulating honours from Parliament, the Queen, and the people. On Thurſday evening her Majeſty created him Earl Mortimer, Earl of Oxford, and Lord Harley of Wigmore: and we expect that to-morrow in council he will have the white ſtaff given him by the Queen, and be declared Lord High Treaſurer. I wrote this yeſterday; and this day, May the 29th, he is made Lord High Treaſurer of Great Britain, and carried the white ſtaff before the Queen this morning to chapel.

† Appeal, p. 16.

to procure him the arrears due to him in the time of the former Miniſtry. This *appointment*, whatever it were, he is ſtudious to tell, he originally owed to Harley: he, however, thankfully acknowledges, that Lord Godolphin continued his favour to him after the unhappy breach that ſeparated his firſt benefactor from the Miniſter, who continued in power till Auguſt 1710.

The nation, which was filled with combuſtible matter, burſt into flame the moment of that memorable ſeparation, in 1707. In the midſt of this conflagration our Author was not inactive. He waited on Harley after he had been driven from power, who generouſly adviſed him *to continue his ſervices to the Queen, which he ſuppoſed would have no relation to perſonal differences among ſtateſmen.* Godolphin received him with equal kindneſs, by ſaying—*I always think a man honeſt till I find to the contrary.* And if we may credit De Foe's aſſeverations, in the preſence of thoſe who could have convicted him of falſehood, he *for three years held no correſpondence with his principal benefactor, which the great man never took ill of him.*

As early as February 1706—7, De Foe avowed his purpoſe to publiſh the Hiſtory of the Union, which he had ably aſſiſted to accompliſh. This deſign he executed in 1709, though he was engaged in other lucubrations, and gave the world a Review three times a week. His hiſtory ſeems to have been little noticed when it firſt appeared; for, as the preface ſtates, it had many difficulties in the way; many factions to encounter, and parties to pleaſe. Yet it was republiſhed in 1712; and a third time in 1786, when a ſimilar union had become the topic

of public debate and private converſation. The ſubject of this work is the completion of a meaſure, which was carried into effect, notwithſtanding obſtructions apparently inſurmountable, and tumults approaching to rebellion, and which has produced the ends deſigned, beyond expectation, whether we conſider its influence on the Government, or its operation on the governed. The minuteneſs with which he deſcribes what he ſaw and heard on the turbulent ſtage, where he acted a conſpicuous part, is extremely intereſting to us, who wiſh to know what actually paſſed, however this circumſtantiality may have diſguſted contemporaneous readers. Hiſtory is chiefly valuable as it tranſmits a faithful copy of the *manners* and *ſentiments* of every age. This narrative of De Foe is a drama, in which he introduces the higheſt peers and the loweſt peaſants, ſpeaking and acting, according as they were each actuated by their characteriſtic paſſions; and while the man of taſte is amuſed by his *manner*, the man of buſineſs may draw inſtruction from the *documents*, which are appended to the end, and interſperſed in every page. This publication had alone preſerved his name, had his Cruſoe pleaſed us leſs.

De Foe publiſhed in 1709, what indeed required leſs effort of the intellect or the hand, *The Hiſtory of Addreſſes;* with no deſign, he ſays, and as we may believe, to diſturb the public peace, but to compare the preſent tempers of men with the paſt, in order to diſcover who had altered for the better, and who for the worſe. He gave a ſecond volume of Addreſſes in 1711, with remarks ſerious and comical. His purpoſe plainly was to abate, by ridicule, the public fervour with regard to Sacheverel, who, by

I know not what fatality, or folly, gave riſe to eventful changes. De Foe evinces, by theſe timeful publications, that amidſt all that enthuſiaſm and tumult, he preſerved his ſenſes, and adhered to his principles.

When, by ſuch imprudence as the world had never ſeen before, Godolphin was in his turn expelled, in Auguſt 1710, our Author waited on the ex-miniſter; who obligingly ſaid to him, *That he had the ſame good-will, but not the ſame power to aſſiſt him:* and Godolphin told him, what was of more real uſe—*to receive the Queen's commands from her confidential ſervants, when he ſaw things ſettled.* It naturally occurred to De Foe, that it was his duty to go along with the Miniſters, while, as he ſays, they did not break in on the conſtitution. And who can blame a very ſubordinate officer, (if indeed he held an office), who had a wife and ſix children to maintain with very precarious means? He was thus, ſays he, caſt back providentially on his firſt benefactor, who laid his caſe before her Majeſty, whereby he preſerved his intereſt, without any engagement. On that memorable change De Foe however ſomewhat changed his tone. The method I ſhall take, ſays he*, in talking of the public affairs, ſhall for the future be, though with the ſame deſign to ſupport truth, yet with more caution of embroiling myſelf with a party, who have no mercy, and who have no ſenſe of ſervice.

De Foe now lived at Newington, in comfortable circumſtances, publiſhing *The Reviews*, and ſending out ſuch tracts, as either gratified his prejudices, or ſupplied his needs. During that contentious pe-

* Review, Vol. vii. No. 95.

riod

riod he naturally gave and received many wounds; and he prudently entered into a truce with Mr. J. Dyer, who was engaged in ſimilar occupations, that, however they might claſh in party, they may write without perſonal reflections, and thus differ ſtill, and yet preſerve the Chriſtian and the gentleman *. But

* The following letter to Mr. J. Dyer, in Shoe-lane, who was then employed by the leaders of the Tories, in circulating news and inſinuations through the country, will ſhew the literary manners of thoſe times, and convey ſome anecdotes, which are no where elſe preſerved. The original letter is in the Muſeum, Harl. MSS. No. 7001. fol. 269.

Mr. Dyer,

I have your letter. I am rather glad to find you put it upon the trial who was aggreſſor, than juſtify a thing which I am ſure you cannot approve; and in this I aſſure you I am far from injuring you, and refer you to the time when long ſince you had wrote *I was fled from juſtice:* one *Sammon being taken up for printing a libel*, and *I being then on a journey*, nor the leaſt charge againſt me for being concerned in it by any body but your letter: — alſo many unkind perſonal reflections on me in your letter, *when I was in Scotland, on the affair of the Union*, and I aſſure you, when my paper had not in the leaſt mentioned you, and thoſe I refer to time and date for the proof of.

I mention this only in defence of my laſt letter, in which I ſaid no more of it than to let you ſee I did not merit ſuch treatment, and could nevertheleſs be content to render any ſervice to you, though I thought myſelf hardly uſed.

But to ſtate the matter fairly between you and I, [me] *a writing for different intereſts*, and ſo poſſibly coming under an unavoidable neceſſity of jarring in ſeveral caſes: I am ready to make a fair truce of honour with you, *viz.* that if what either party are doing, or ſaying, that may claſh with the party we are for, and urge us to ſpeak, it ſhall be done without naming either's name, and without perſonal reflections; and thus we may differ ſtill, and yet preſerve both the Chriſtian and the gentleman.

But between profeſſed controvertiſts ſuch a treaty could only be perſevered in with Punic faith.

While thus occupied, De Foe was not forgotten by the City of Edinburgh with the uſual ingratitude of public bodies. On the firſt of February 1710-11, that Corporation, remembering his *Caledonia*, empowered him to publiſh the *Edinburgh Courant*, in the room of Adam Booge *, though I ſuſpect that he did not continue long to edify the Edinburgh citi-

This I think is an offer may ſatisfy you. I have not been deſirous of giving juſt offence to you, neither would I to any man, however I may differ from him; and I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould affront a man's perſon, becauſe I do not join with him in principle. I pleaſe myſelf with being the firſt propoſer of ſo fair a treaty with you, becauſe I believe, as you cannot deny its being very honourable, ſo it is not leſs ſo in coming firſt from me, who I believe could convince you of my having been the firſt and moſt ill-treated—for further proof of which I refer you to your letters, *at the time I was threatened by the Envoy of the King of Sweden.*

However, Mr. Dyer, this is a method which may end what is paſt, and prevent what is future; and if refuſed, the future part I am ſure cannot lye at my door.

As to your letter, your propoſal is ſo agreeable to me, that truly without it I could not have taken the thing at all: for it would have been a trouble intolerable, both to you as well as me, to take your letter every poſt, firſt from you, and then ſend it to the poſt-houſe.

Your method of ſending to the black box, is juſt what I deſigned to propoſe, and Mr. Shaw will doubtleſs take it of you: if you think it needful for me to ſpeak to him it ſhall be done—What I want to know is only the charge, and that you will order it conſtantly to be ſent, upon hinting whereof I ſhall ſend you the names. Wiſhing you ſucceſs in all things *(Your opinions of Government excepted)* I am,

Your humble ſervant,

Newington, June 17, 1710. DE FOE.

* Arnott's Edinburgh.

zens

zens by his weekly lucubrations. He had then much to think of, and much to do at a diſtance: and he ſoon after gave ſome ſupport to Lord Oxford's South-ſea project, by publiſhing *An Eſſay on the South-ſea Trade*, with an inquiry into the reaſons of the preſent complaint againſt the ſettlement of the South-ſea Company. In the ſame year he publiſhed *An Eſſay at a plain Expoſition of that difficult phraſe* — A GOOD PEACE. He obviouſly intended to abate the national ardour for war, and to incite a national deſire of quiet.

The Miniſters, by the courſe of events, were engaged ere long in one of the hardeſt taſks which can be aſſigned to Britiſh ſtateſmen—the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity after a glorious war. The treaty at Utrecht furniſhes a memorable example of this. The furious debates which enſued within the walls of Parliament and without, are ſufficiently remembered. About this time, ſays Boyer, in May 1713, a paper, entitled MERCATOR, or Commerce Retrieved, was publiſhed on Tueſdays, Thurſdays, and Saturdays *. This was firſt fathered on Arthur Moore, aſſiſted

* The firſt *Mercator* was publiſhed on the 26th of May, 1713; the laſt on the 20th of July 1714: and they were written by William Brown and his aſſiſtants, with great knowledge, great ſtrength, and great ſweetneſs, conſidering how much party then embittered every compoſition. The *Britiſh Merchant*, which oppoſed *The Mercator*, and which was compiled by Henry Martyn and his aſſociates, has fewer facts, leſs argument, and more factiouſneſs. It began on the 1ſt of Auguſt 1713, and ended the 27th of July, 1714. I have ſpoken of both from my own convictions, without regarding the declamations which have continued to pervert the public opinion from that epoch to the preſent times. De Foe was ſtruck at in the third number of the *Britiſh Merchant*, and

aſſiſted by Doctor D'Avenant; but the latter ſolemnly denied it: and it ſoon after appeared to be the production of Daniel De Foe, an ambidextrous hireling, who for this dirty work received a large weekly allowance from the Treaſury. That he wrote in *the Mercator*, De Foe admits; but he expreſsly denies "that he either was *the Author* of it, had the property of it, the printing of it, the profit of it, or had the power to put any thing into it, if he would." And, by *his Appeal*, he affirms before GOD and the world, "that he never had any payment, or reward, for writing any part of it." Yet, that he was ready to defend thoſe papers of the *Mercator* which were really his, if men would anſwer with arguments, rather than abuſe; though not thoſe things which he had never written, but for which he had received ſuch uſage. He adds, with the noble ſpirit of a true-born Engliſhman, "The preſs was open to me as well as to others; and how, or when I loſt my *Engliſh liberty* of ſpeaking my mind, I know not: neither how my ſpeaking my opinions, *without fee or reward*, could authoriſe any one to call me villain, raſcal, traitor, and ſuch opprobrious names."

Of the imputed connexion with his *firſt benefactor*, Harley, during that memorable period, our Author ſpeaks with equal firmneſs, at a moment when firm-

plainly mentioned in the fourth. Mr. Daniel Foe may change his name from *Review* to *Mercator*, from *Mercator* to any other *title*, yet ſtill his ſingular genius ſhall be diſtinguiſhed by his inimitable way of writing. Thus perſonal ſarcaſm was introduced to ſupply deficience of facts, or weakneſs of reaſoning. When Charles King republiſhed *The Britiſh Merchant* in volumes, among various changes, he expunged, with other perſonalities, the name of De Foe.

neſs

neſs was neceſſary. "I ſolemnly proteſt," ſays he, by his *Appeal*, "in the preſence of Him who ſhall judge us all, that I have received no inſtructions, orders, or directions for writing any thing, or materials from Lord Oxford, ſince Lord Godolphin was Treaſurer, or that I have ever ſhewn to Lord Oxford any thing I had written or printed." He challenges the world to prove the contrary; and he affirms, that he always capitulated for liberty to ſpeak, according to his own judgment of things. As to conſideration, penſion, or reward, he declares moſt ſolemnly that he had none, except his old appointment made him long before by Lord Godolphin. What is extremely probable we may eaſily credit, without ſuch ſtrong aſſeverations. However Lord Oxford may have been gratified by the voluntary writings of De Foe, he had doubtleſs other perſons who ſhared his confidence, and wrote his *Examiners* *.

But De Foe publiſhed that, which by no means promoted Lord Oxford's views, and which, therefore, gained little of his favour. Our Author wrote

* It is now ſufficiently known, *That Lord Oxford had relinquiſhed the Treaty of Commerce to its fate, before it was finally debated in Parliament.* See much curious matter on this ſubject in Macpherſon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 421-23. It is there ſaid, that he gave up the commercial treaty, in compliment to Sir Thomas Hanmer, as he would by no means be an occaſion of a breach among friends. The Treaſurer had other reaſons: The treaty had been made by Bolingbroke, whom he did not love; the Lords Angleſea and Abingdon had made extravagant demands for their ſupport; and, like a wiſe man, he thought it idle to drive a nail that would not go. Yet Lord Halifax boaſted to the Hanoverian miniſter, *That he alone had been the occaſion of the treaty being rejected.* Same papers, p. 509-47.

againſt the peace of Utrecht, becauſe he approved of it as little as he had done the treaty at Gertruydenburgh, under very different influences, a few years before. The peace *he* was for, as he himſelf ſays, was ſuch as ſhould neither have given the Spaniſh monarchy to the Houſe of Bourbon, nor to the Houſe of Auſtria; but that this bone of contention ſhould have been ſo broken to pieces, as that it ſhould not have been dangerous to Europe; and that England and Holland ſhould have ſo ſtrengthened themſelves, by ſharing its commerce, as ſhould have made them no more afraid of France, or the Emperor; and that all that we ſhould conquer in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies ſhould be our own. But it is equally true, he affirms, that when the peace was eſtabliſhed, "I thought our buſineſs was to make the beſt of it; and rather to inquire what improvements could be made of it, than to be continually exclaiming againſt thoſe who procured it."

He manfully avowed his opinion in 1715, when it was both diſgraceful and dangerous, that the 9th article of the Treaty of Commerce was calculated for the advantage of our trade; "Let who will make it, that," ſays he, "is nothing to me. My reaſons are, becauſe it tied up the French to open the door to our manufactures, at a certain duty of importation *there*, and left the Parliament of Britain at liberty to ſhut their's out, by as high duties as they pleaſed *here*, there being no limitation upon us, as to duties on French goods, but that other nations ſhould pay the ſame. While the French were thus bound, and the Britiſh free, I always thought we muſt be in a condition to trade to advantage, or it muſt be our own fault: this was my opinion, and is ſo *ſtill;* and I would

I would engage to maintain it againſt any man, on a public ſtage, before a jury of fifty merchants, and venture my life upon the cauſe, if I were aſſured of fair play in the diſpute. But, that it was my opinion, we might carry on a trade with France to our great advantage, and that we ought for that reaſon to trade with them, appears in the third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth volumes of *The Reviews*, above nine years before *The Mercator* was thought of." Experience has decided in favour of De Foe againſt his opponents, with regard both to the theory and the practice of commerce.

In May 1713, our Author relinquiſhed the *Review*, after nine years continuance: in Newgate it began, and in Newgate it ended. Whether we conſider the frequency of the publication, or the power of his diſquiſitions, the pertinacity of his opponents, or the addreſs of his defences, amid other ſtudies, without aſſiſtants, this muſt be allowed to be ſuch a work, as few of our writers have equalled. Yet, of this great performance, ſaid Gay, "The poor *Review* is quite exhauſted, and grown ſo very contemptible, that though he has provoked all his brothers of the quill, none will enter into a controverſy with him. The fellow, who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a ſmall foundation of learning, is a lively inſtance of thoſe wits, who, as an ingenious author ſays, will endure but one ſkimming *." Poor Gay had learned this cant in the Scriblerus Club, who thought themſelves the wiſeſt, the wittieſt, and virtuouſeſt men, that ever were, or

* State of Wit, 1711, which is re-printed in the Supplement to Swift's Works.

againſt the Succeſſion of the Houſe of Hanover; the third, *What if the Queen ſhould die?* "Nothing could be more plain," ſays he, "than that the titles of theſe were *amuſements* *, in order to put the books into the hands of thoſe people, who had been deluded by the Jacobites." Theſe petty volumes were ſo much approved by the zealous friends of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, that they were diligent to diſperſe them through the moſt diſtant counties. And De Foe proteſts, that had the Elector of Hanover given him a thouſand pounds, he could not have ſerved him more effectually, than by writing theſe three treatiſes.

The reader will learn, with ſurpriſe and indignation, that for theſe writings De Foe was arreſted, obliged to give *eight hundred* pounds bail, contrary to the Bill of Rights, and proſecuted by information, during Trinity term 1713. This groundleſs proſecution was inſtituted by the abſurd zeal of William Benſon, who afterwards became ridiculouſly famous for literary exploits, which juſtly raiſed him to the honours of the Dunciad. Our Author attributes this proſecution to the malice of his enemies, who were numerous and powerful. *No inconſiderable people* were heard to ſay, that they knew the books were againſt the Pretender, but that De Foe had diſobliged them in other things, and they reſolved to take this advantage to puniſh him. This ſtory is the more credible, as he had procured

* The pamphlets mentioned in the text were filled with palpable banter. He recommends the Pretender by ſaying, That *the Prince would confer on every one the privilege of wearing wooden ſhoes*, and at the ſame time *eaſe the nobility and gentry of the hazard and expence of winter journies to Parliament.*

evidence

evidence to prove *the fact*, had the trial proceeded. He was prompted by conſciouſneſs of innocence *to defend himſelf in the Review* during the proſecution, which offended the Judges, who, being ſomewhat infected with the violent ſpirit of the times, committed him to Newgate in Eaſter term 1713. He was however ſoon releaſed on making a proper ſubmiſſion. But it was happy for De Foe that his *firſt benefactor* was ſtill in power, who procured him the Queen's pardon, in November* 1713. This act of liberal juſtice was produced by the party-writers† of thoſe *black and bitter* days, as an additional proof of Lord Oxford's attachment to the abdicated family, while De Foe was ſaid to be convicted of abſolute Jacobitiſm, contrary to the tenor of his life, and the purpoſe of his writings. He himſelf ſaid ſarcaſtically, that they might as well have made him a *Mahometan*. On his tomb-ſtone it might have been engraved, that he was the only Engliſhman who had been obliged to aſk a royal pardon, for writing in favour of the Hanover ſucceſſion.

"By this time, ſays Boyer, in October 1714, the treaſonable deſign to bring in the Pretender was manifeſted to the world by the agent of one of the late managers, De Foe, in his *Hiſtory of the White Staff*. The Detection of the *Secret Hiſtory of the White Staff*, which was ſoon publiſhed, confidently tells, that it was written by De Foe; as is to be ſeen by his abundance of words, his falſe thoughts, and *his falſe Engliſh* ‡." We now know that there was at

* The pardon is dated on the 13th of November, 1713, and is ſigned by Bolingbroke. † See Boyer's Political State, Oldmixon's Hiſtory, &c.

‡ It is univerſally ſaid by the ſellers and buyers of old books, that John, Duke of Argyle, was the real author of *The Secret Hiſtory of*

at that epoch, no plot in favour of the Pretender, except in the aſſertions of thoſe who wiſhed to promote their intereſt by exhibiting their zeal. And I have ſhewn, that De Foe had done more to keep out the Pretender, than the political tribe, who profited from his zeal, yet detracted from his fame.

"No ſooner was the Queen dead," ſays he, "and the King, as right required, proclaimed, but the rage of men increaſed upon me to that degree, that their threats were ſuch as I am unable to expreſs. Though I have written nothing ſince the Queen's death; yet, a great many things are called by my name, and I bear the anſwerers inſults. I have not ſeen or ſpoken with the Earl of Oxford," continues he, "ſince the King's landing, but once; yet, he bears the reproach of my writing for him, and I the rage of men for doing it." De Foe appears indeed to have been, at that noiſy period, ſtunned by factious clamour, and overborne, though not ſilenced, by unmerited obloquy. He probably loſt his original appointment, when his firſt benefactor was finally expelled. Inſtead of meeting with reward for his zealous ſervices in ſupport of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, he was on the acceſſion of George I. diſcountenanced by thoſe who had derived a benefit from his active exertions. And of Addiſon, who was now exalted into office, and enjoyed literary patronage, our

of the White Staff. His Grace, indeed, is not in the *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors.* Whether the Duke wrote this petty pamphlet may be doubted; but there can be no doubt that De Foe was not the Author: For, he ſolemnly aſſerts by *his Appeal* in 1715, *That he had written nothing ſince the Queen's death.* The internal evidence is ſtronger than this poſitive aſſertion.

Author

Author had ſaid in his *Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough*, with leſs poetry than truth—

Mæcenas has his modern fancy ſtrung,
And fixed his penſion firſt, or he had never ſung.

While thus inſulted by enemies, and diſcountenanced by power, De Foe publiſhed his *Appeal to Honour and Juſtice*, in 1715; being *a true Account of his Conduct in public Affairs*. As a motive for this intrepid meaſure, he affectingly ſays, That, "by the hints of mortality and the infirmities of a life of ſorrow and fatigue, I have reaſon to think, that I am very near to the great ocean of eternity, and the time may not be long ere I embark on the laſt voyage: wherefore, I think I ſhould *even accounts* with this world before I go, that no ſlanders may lye againſt my heirs, to diſturb them in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their father's inheritance, his character." It is a circumſtance perhaps unexampled in the life of any other writer, that before he could finiſh his Appeal, he was ſtruck with an apoplexy. After languiſhing more than ſix weeks, neither able to go on, nor likely to recover, his friends thought fit to delay the publication no longer. "It is the opinion of moſt who know him," ſays Baker, the publiſher, "that the treatment which he here complains of, and others of which he would have ſpoken, have been the cauſe of this diſaſter." When the ardent mind of De Foe reflected on what he had done, and what he had ſuffered, how he had been rewarded and perſecuted, his heart melted in deſpair. His ſpirit, like a candle ſtruggling in the ſocket, blazed and ſunk, and blazed and ſunk, till it diſappeared in darkneſs.

While

While his ſtrength remained, he expoſtulated with his adverſaries in the following terms of great manlineſs, and inſtructive intelligence:—"It has been the diſaſter of all parties in this nation, to be very hot in their turn, and as often as they have been ſo, I have differed with them all, and ſhall do ſo. I will repeat ſome of the occaſions on the Whig ſide, becauſe from that quarter the accuſation of my turning about comes.

"*The firſt time* I had the misfortune to differ with my friends, was about the year 1683, when the Turks were beſieging Vienna, and the Whigs in England, generally ſpeaking, were for the Turks taking it; which I, having read the hiſtory of the cruelty and perfidious dealings of the Turks in their wars, and how they had rooted out the name of the Chriſtian religion in above three ſcore and ten kingdoms, could by no means agree with: and though then but a young man, and a younger author, I oppoſed it, and wrote againſt it, which was taken very unkindly indeed.

"*The next time* I differed with my friends, was when King James was wheedling the Diſſenters to take off the penal laws and teſt, which I could by no means come into. I told the Diſſenters, I had rather the Church of England ſhould pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures, than the Papiſts ſhould fall both upon the Church and the Diſſenters, and pull our ſkins off by fire and faggot.

"*The next difference* I had with good men, was about the ſcandalous practice of occaſional conformity, in which I had the misfortune to make many honeſt men angry, rather becauſe I had the better of the argument, than becauſe they diſliked what I ſaid.

"And

" And now I have lived to ſee the Diſſenters themſelves very quiet; if not very well pleaſed with an act of Parliament to prevent it. Their friends indeed laid it on; they would be friends indeed, if they would talk of taking it off again.

" *Again*, I had a breach with honeſt men for their male-treating King William, of which I ſay nothing; becauſe I think they are now opening their eyes, and making what amends they can to his memory.

" *The fifth difference* I had with them, was about the treaty of partition, in which many honeſt men were miſtaken, and in which I told them plainly then, that they would at laſt end the war upon worſe terms; and ſo it is my opinion they would have done, though the treaty of Gertruydenburgh had taken place.

" *The ſixth time* I differed with them, was when the old Whigs fell out with the modern Whigs; and when the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin were uſed by the Obſervator in a manner worſe, I confeſs, for the time it laſted, than ever they were uſed ſince; nay, though it were by Abel and the Examiner. But the ſucceſs failed. In this diſpute my Lord Godolphin did me the honour to tell me, I had ſerved him and his Grace alſo, both faithfully and ſucceſsfully. But his Lordſhip is dead, and I have now no teſtimony of it, but what is to be found in the Obſervator, where I am plentifully abuſed for being an enemy to my country, by acting in the intereſt of my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough. What weathercock can turn with ſuch tempers as theſe?

" *I am now in the ſeventh breach with them*, and my crime now is, that I will not believe and ſay the

ſame things of the Queen, and the late Treaſurer, which I could not believe before of my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough, and which in truth I cannot believe, and therefore could not ſay it of either of them; and which, if I had believed, yet I ought not to have been the man that ſhould have ſaid it, for the reaſons aforeſaid.

"In ſuch turns of tempers and times a man muſt have been ten-fold a Vicar of Bray, or it is impoſſible but he muſt one time or other be out with every body. This is my preſent condition; and for this I am reviled with having abandoned my principles, turned Jacobite, and what not: GOD judge between me and theſe men! Would they come to any particulars with me, what real guilt I may have, I would freely acknowledge; and if they would produce any evidence of the bribes, the penſions, and the rewards I have taken, I would declare honeſtly whether they were true or no. If they would give a liſt of the books which they charge me with, and the reaſons why they lay them at my door, I would acknowledge any miſtake, own what I have done, and let them know what I have not done. But theſe men neither ſhew mercy, nor leave room for repentance; in which they act not only unlike their Maker, but contrary to his expreſs commands *."

With

* The moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, and the moſt unanſwerable arguments of our Author, were not, after all, believed. When Charles King re-publiſhed *The Britiſh Merchant*, in 1721, he without a ſcruple attributed *The Mercator* to a hireling writer of a weekly paper called *The Review*. And Anderſon, at a ſtill later period, goes further in his Chronology of Commerce, and names De Foe, as *the hireling* writer of *The Mercator*, and other papers in favour of the French treaty of trade. We can now judge with

With the ſame independence of ſpirit, but with greater modeſty of manner, our Author openly diſapproved of the imtemperance, which was adopted by Government in 1714, contrary to the original purpoſe of George I. "It is and ever was my opinion," ſays De Foe in *his Appeal*, "that moderation is the only virtue by which the tranquillity of this nation can be preſerved; and even the King himſelf, (I believe his Majeſty will allow me that freedom,) can only be happy in the enjoyment of the crown, by a moderate adminiſtration: if he ſhould be obliged, contrary to his known diſpoſition, to join with intemperate councils, if it does not leſſen his ſecurity, I am perſuaded it will leſſen his ſatisfaction. To attain at the happy calm, which is the conſideration that ſhould move us all, (and he would merit to be called the nation's phyſician, who could preſcribe the ſpecific for it,) I think I may be allowed to ſay, *a conqueſt of parties will never do it, a balance of parties may.*" Such was the political teſtament of De Foe; which it had been happy for Britain, had it been as faithfully executed as it was wiſely made!

The year 1715 may be regarded as the period of our Author's political life. Faction henceforth found other advocates, and parties procured other writers to propagate their falſehoods. Yet, when a

with the impartiality of arbitrators: on the one hand, there are the living challenge, and the death-bed declaration of De Foe; on the other, the mere ſurmiſe and unauthoriſed aſſertion of King, Anderſon, and others, who detract from their own veracity by their own factiouſneſs, or foolery. It is ſurely time to free ourſelves from prejudices of every kind, and to diſregard the ſound of names as much as the falſehoods of party.

cry was raiſed againſt foreigners, on the acceſſion of George I. *The True-born Engliſhman* was revived, rather by Roberts the bookſeller, than by De Foe the Author *. But the perſecutions of party did not ceaſe when De Foe ceaſed to be a party-writer. He was inſulted by Boyer, in April 1716, as the author of *The Triennial Act impartially ſtated:* "but, whatever was offered," ſays Boyer, "againſt the Septennial Bill, was fully confuted by the ingenious and judicious Joſeph Addiſon, Eſquire." Whether De Foe wrote in defence of the people's rights, or in ſupport of the law's authority, he is to be cenſured: whether Addiſon defended the Septennial Bill, or the Peerage Bill, he is to be praiſed. With the ſame miſconception of the fact, and malignancy of ſpirit, Tolland reviled † De Foe for writing an anſwer to *The State Anatomy*, in 1717. The time however will at laſt come, when the world will judge of men from their actions rather than pretenſions.

The death of Anne, and the acceſſion of George I. ſeem to have convinced De Foe of the vanity of party-writing. And from this eventful epoch, he appears to have ſtudied how to meliorate rather than to harden the heart; how to regulate, more than to vitiate, the practice of life.

Early in 1715 he publiſhed *The Family Inſtructor*, in three parts: 1ſt, relating to fathers and children; 2d, to maſters and ſervants; 3d, to huſbands and wives. He carefully concealed his authorſhip, leſt the good effects of his labour ſhould be obſtructed by the great imperfections of the writer. The world

* It was entered at Stationers-Hall, for J. Roberts, the 18th of February 1715-16.—† 2d Mem. p. 27, &c.

was

was then too buſy to look immediately into the work. The bookſeller ſoon procured a recommendatory letter from the Reverend Samuel Wright, a well-known preacher in the Black-Friars. It was praiſed from *the pulpit* and *the preſs*: and the utility of the end, with the attractiveneſs of the execution, gave it, at length, a general reception *. The Author's firſt deſign was to write a *Dramatic Poem*; but the ſubject was too ſolemn, and the text too copious, to admit of reſtraint, or to allow excurſions. His purpoſe was *to divert* and *inſtruct*, at the ſame moment; and by giving it a dramatic form, it has been called by ſome *A religious play*. De Foe at laſt ſays with his uſual archneſs: As to its being called a play, be it called ſo, if they pleaſe: it muſt be confeſſed, ſome parts of it are too much acted in many families among us. The Author wiſhes, that either all our *Plays* were as uſeful for the improvement and entertainment of the world, or that they were leſs encouraged. There is, I think, ſome *myſticiſm* in the preface, which, it were to be deſired, a judicious hand would expunge, when *The Family Inſtructor* ſhall be again reprinted; for, reprinted it will be, while our language endures; at leaſt, while wiſe men ſhall continue to conſider the influences of religion and the practice of morals as of the greateſt uſe to ſociety.

* The family of George I. had been inſtructed by the copy of this book, which is in *The Muſeum*. It would ſeem from the title page and Mr. Wright's letter being printed on a different paper from the work itſelf, that both were added after the firſt publication. *The Family Inſtructor* and Mr. Wright's letter were entered at Stationers Hall, for Emanuel Mathews, on the 31ſt of March, 1715.

De Foe afterwards added a ſecond volume, in two parts; 1ſt, relating to *Family Breaches;* 2dly, *to the great Miſtake, of mixing the Paſſions in the managing of Children.* He conſidered it, indeed, as a *bold adventure* to write a ſecond volume of any thing; there being a general opinion among modern readers, that ſecond parts never come up to the ſpirit of the firſt. He quotes Mr. Milton, for differing from the world upon the queſtion, and for affirming with regard to his own great performances, *That the people had a general ſenſe of the loſs of Paradiſe, but not an equal guſt for regaining it.* Of De Foe's ſecond volume, it will be eaſily allowed, that it is as inſtructive and pleaſing as the firſt. His *Religious Courtſhip*, which he publiſhed in 1722, may properly be conſidered as a third volume: For the deſign is equally moral, the manner is equally attractive, and it may in the ſame manner be called a *Religious Play.*

But the time at length came, when De Foe was to deliver to the world the moſt popular of all his performances. In April 1719, he publiſhed the well-known *Life and ſurpriſing Adventures of Robinſon Cruſoe.* The reception was immediate and univerſal; and Taylor, who purchaſed the manuſcript after every bookſeller had refuſed it, is ſaid to have gained a thouſand pounds. If it be inquired by what charm it is that theſe *ſurpriſing Adventures* ſhould have inſtantly pleaſed, and always pleaſed, it will be found, that few books have ever ſo naturally mingled amuſement with inſtruction. The attention is fixed, either by the ſimplicity of the narration, or by the variety of the incidents; the heart is amended by *a vindication of the ways of God to man:* and the underſtanding is informed, by various examples,

examples, how much utility ought to be preferred to ornament: the young are inſtructed, while the old are amuſed.

Robinſon Cruſoe had ſcarcely drawn his canoe aſhore, when he was attacked by his old enemies, *the ſavages*. He was aſſailed firſt by *The Life and ſtrange Adventures of Mr. D—— De F—, of London, Hoſier, who has lived above Fifty Years by himſelf in the Kingdoms of North and South Britain.* In a dull dialogue between De Foe, Cruſoe, and his man Friday, our Author's life is lampooned, and his misfortunes ridiculed. But he who had been ſtruck by apoplexy, and who was now diſcountenanced by power, was no fit object of an Engliſhman's ſatire. Our Author declares, when he was himſelf a writer of ſatiric poetry, "that he never reproached any man for his private infirmities, for having his houſe burnt, his ſhips caſt away, or his family ruined; nor had he ever lampooned any one, becauſe he could not pay his debts, or differed in judgment from him." Pope has been juſtly cenſured for purſuing a vein of ſatire extremely diſſimilar. And Pope placed De Foe with Tutchen, in *The Dunciad*, when our Author's infirmities were greater and his comfort leſs. He was again aſſaulted in 1719, by *An Epiſtle to D—— De F—, the reputed Author of Robinſon Cruſoe.* "Mr. Foe," ſays the letter-writer, "I have peruſed your pleaſant ſtory of *Robinſon Cruſoe;* and if the faults of it had extended no further than the frequent ſoleciſms and incorrectneſs of ſtyle, improbabilities, and ſometimes impoſſibilities, I had not given you the trouble of this Epiſtle." "Yet," ſaid Johnſon to Piozzi, "was there ever any thing written by mere man, that was wiſhed

longer by its readers, except Don Quixote, *Robinſon Cruſoe*, and the Pilgrim's Progreſs?" This epiſtolary critic, who renewed his angry attack when the ſecond volume appeared, has all the dulneſs, without the acumen, of Dennis, and all his malignity, without his purpoſe of reformation. *The Life of Cruſoe* has paſſed through innumerable editions, and has been tranſlated into foreign languages, while the criticiſm ſunk into oblivion.

De Foe ſet the critics at defiance while he had the people on his ſide. As a commercial legiſlator he knew, that it is rapid ſale which is the great incentive: and, in Auguſt 1719, he publiſhed a ſecond volume of *Surpriſing Adventures*, with ſimilar ſucceſs. In hope of profit and of praiſe, he produced in Auguſt 1720, *Serious Reflections during the Life of Robinſon Cruſoe*, with *his Viſion of the Angelic World*. He acknowledges, that the preſent work is not merely the product of the two firſt volumes, but the two firſt may rather be called the product of this: the fable is always made for the moral, not the moral for the fable. He however did not advert, that inſtruction muſt be inſinuated rather than enforced. That this third volume has more morality than fable, is the cauſe, I fear, that it has never been read with the ſame avidity as the former two, or ſpoken of with the ſame approbation. We all prefer amuſement to inſtruction; and he who would inculcate uſeful truths, muſt ſtudy to amuſe, or he will offer his leſſons to an auditory, neither numerous, nor attentive.

The tongue of detraction is ſeldom at reſt. It has often been repeated, that De Foe had ſurreptitiouſly appropriated the papers of Alexander Selkirk, a

Scotch

Scotch mariner, who having lived ſolitarily on the iſle of Juan Fernandez, four years and four months, was relieved on the 2d of February, 1708-9, by Captain Woodes Rogers, in his *cruizing voyage round the world.* But let no one draw inferences till the fact be firſt aſcertained. The adventures of Selkirk had been thrown into the air, in 1712, for literary hawks to devour * ; and De Foe may have catched a

* The whole ſtory of Selkirk is told in Woodes Rogers's voyage, which he publiſhed in 1712, from p. 125 to 131, incluſive: whence it appears, that Selkirk had preſerved no pen, ink, or paper, and had loſt his language; ſo that he had no journal or papers, which he could communicate, or by others could be ſtolen. There is an account of Selkirk in *The Engliſhman*, No. 26. The particular manner how Alexander Selkirk lived four years and four months, in the iſle of Juan Fernandez, is related in Captain Cook's voyage into the South Sea, which was publiſhed in 1712. And Selkirk's tale was told in the Memoirs of Literature, 5. vol. p. 118: ſo that the world was fully poſſeſſed of Selkirk's ſtory in 1712, ſeven years prior to the publication of Cruſoe's adventures. Nor were his adventures ſingular; for, Ringroſe mentions, in his account of Captain Sharp's voyage, a perſon who had eſcaped ſingly from a ſhip that had been wrecked on Juan Fernandez, and who lived alone five years before he was relieved: And Dampier mentions a Moſquito Indian, who having been accidentally left on this iſland, ſubſiſted three years ſolitarily, till that voyager carried him off. From which of theſe De Foe borrowed his great incident, it is not eaſy to diſcover. In the preface to *The Serious Reflections*, he indeed ſays, " That there is a man alive and well known, the actions of whoſe life are the juſt ſubject of theſe volumes, and to whom the moſt part of the ſtory directly alludes." This turns the ſcale in favour of Selkirk. Nor, was the name of Cruſoe wholly fictitious; for, among De Foe's contemporaries, John Dunton ſpeaks of Timothy Cruſoe, who was called the Golden Preacher, and was ſo great a textuary, that he could pray two hours together in ſcripture language; but, he was not arrived at perfection; as appeared by his ſloth in tying the conjugal knot: yet, his repentance was ſincere and public, and I fear not but he is now a glorified ſaint in heaven.—Life and Errors, p. 461.

common

common prey, which he converted to the uſes of his intellect, and diſtributed for the purpoſes of his intereſt. Thus he may have fairly acquired the fundamental incident of Cruſoe's life; but, he did not borrow the various events, the uſeful moralities, or the engaging ſtyle. Few men could write ſuch a poem; and few Selkirks could imitate ſo pathetic an original. It was the happineſs of De Foe, that as many writers have ſucceeded in relating enterpriſes by land, he excelled in narrating adventures by ſea, with ſuch felicities of language, ſuch attractive varieties, ſuch inſinuative inſtruction, as have ſeldom been equalled, but never ſurpaſſed.

While De Foe in this manner buſied himſelf in writing adventures, which have charmed every reader, a rhyming fit returned on him. He publiſhed in 1720, *The complete Art of Painting*, which he *did into Engliſh* from the French of Du Freſnoy. Dryden had given, in 1695, a tranſlation of Du Freſnoy's poem, which has been eſteemed for its knowledge of the ſiſter arts. What could tempt De Foe to this undertaking it is not eaſy to diſcover, unleſs we may ſuppoſe, that he hoped to gain a few guineas, without much labour of the head or hand. Dryden has been juſtly praiſed for relinquiſhing vicious habits of compoſition, and adopting better models for his muſe. De Foe, after he had ſeen the correctneſs, and heard the muſic of Pope, remained unambitious of accurate rhymes, and regardleſs of ſweeter numbers. His politics and his poetry, for which he was long famous among biographers, would not have preſerved his name beyond the fleeting day; yet I ſuſpect that, in imitation of Milton, he would have preferred his *Jure Divino* to his Robinſon Cruſoe.

De

De Foe lived not then, however, in pecuniary diſtreſs; for his genius and his induſtry were to him the mines of Potoſi: and in 1722, he obtained from the Corporation of Colcheſter, though my inquiries have not diſcovered by what interpoſition, a ninety-nine years leaſe of Kingſwood-heath, at a yearly rent of a hundred and twenty pounds, with a fine of five hundred pounds *. This tranſaction ſeems to evince a degree of wealth much above want, though the aſſignment of his leaſe not long after to Walter Bernard equally proves, that he could not eaſily hold what he had thus obtained. Kingſwood-heath is now worth three hundred pounds a year, and is advertiſed for ſale by Bennet, the preſent poſſeſſor.

Whatever may have been his opulence, our Author did not waſte his ſubſequent life in unprofitable idleneſs. No one can be idly employed who endeavours to make his fellow ſubjects better citizens and wiſer men. This will ſufficiently appear if we conſider his future labours, under the diſtinct heads of voyages; fictitious biography; moralities, either grave or ludicrous; domeſtic travels; and tracts on trade.

The ſucceſs of Cruſoe induced De Foe to publiſh, in 1720, *The Life and Piracies of Captain Singleton*, though not with ſimilar ſucceſs: The plan is narrower, and the performance is leſs amuſive. In 1725, he gave *A New Voyage round the World, by a Courſe never ſailed before*. Moſt voyagers have had this misfortune, that whatever ſucceſs they had in the adventure, they had very little in the narration: they are indeed full of the incidents of ſailing, but they have

* Morant's Colcheſter, p. 134.

nothing

nothing of ſtory for the uſe of readers who never intend to brave the dangers of the ſea. Theſe faults De Foe is ſtudious to avoid in his new voyage. He ſpreads before his readers ſuch adventures as no writer of a real voyage can hope to imitate, if we except the teller of Anſon's tale. In the life of Cruſoe we are gratified by continually imagining that the fiction is a fact: in the voyage round the world we are pleaſed by conſtantly perceiving that the fact is a fiction, which, by uncommon ſkill, is made more intereſting than a genuine voyage.

Of fictitious biography it is equally true, that by matchleſs art it may be made more inſtructive than a real life. Few of our writers have excelled De Foe in this kind of biographical narration, the great qualities of which are, to attract by the diverſity of circumſtances, and to inſtruct by the uſefulneſs of examples.

He publiſhed, in 1720, the Hiſtory of Duncan Campbell. Of a perſon who was born deaf and dumb, but who himſelf taught the deaf and dumb to underſtand, it is eaſy to ſee that the life would be extraordinary. It will be found, that the Author has intermixed ſome diſquiſitions of learning, and has contrived that the merrieſt paſſages ſhall end with ſome edifying moral. The fortunes and misfortunes of Moll Flanders were made to gratify the world in 1721. De Foe was aware, that in relating a vicious life, it was neceſſary to make the beſt uſe of a bad ſtory; and he artfully endeavours, that the reader ſhall be more pleaſed with the moral than the fable; with the application than the relation; with the end of the writer than the adventures of the perſon. There was publiſhed in 1721, a work

of a ſimilar tendency, the Life of Colonel Jack, who was born a gentleman but was bred a pickpocket.—Our Author is ſtudious to convert his various adventures into a delightful field, where the reader might gather herbs, wholeſome and medicinal, without the incommodation of plants, poiſonous, or noxious. In 1724, appeared the *Life of Roxana*. Scenes of crimes can ſcarcely be repreſented in ſuch a manner, ſays De Foe, but ſome make a criminal uſe of them; but when vice is painted in its low-prized colours, it is not to make people love what from the frightfulneſs of the figures they ought neceſſarily to hate. Yet, I am not convinced, that the world has been made much wiſer, or better, by the peruſal of theſe lives: they may have diverted the lower orders, but I doubt if they have much improved them; if however they have not made them better, they have not left them worſe. But they do not exhibit many ſcenes which are welcome to cultivated minds. Of a very different quality are the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, during the Civil Wars in England, which ſeem to have been publiſhed without a date. This is a romance the likeſt to truth that ever was written. It is a narrative of great events, which is drawn with ſuch ſimplicity, and enlivened with ſuch reflections, as to inform the ignorant and entertain the wiſe.

The moralities of De Foe, whether publiſhed in ſingle volumes, or interſperſed through many paſſages, muſt at laſt give him a ſuperiority over the crowd of his contemporaries. The approbation which has been long given to his *Family Inſtructor* and his *Religious Courtſhip*, ſeem to contain the favourable deciſion of his countrymen. But there are ſtill other

other performances of this nature, which are now to be mentioned, of not inferior merit.

De Foe publiſhed, in 1722, *A Journal of the Plague in* 1665. The Author's artifice conſiſts in fixing the reader's attention by the deep diſtreſs of fellow-men; and, by recalling the reader's recollection to ſtriking examples of mortality, he endeavours to inculcate the uncertainty of life, and the uſefulneſs of reformation. In 1724, De Foe publiſhed *The great Law of Subordination.* This is an admirable commentary on the *Unſufferable Behaviour of Servants.* Yet, though he intereſt by his mode, inform by his facts, and convince by his argument, he fails at laſt, by expecting from *law* what muſt proceed from *manners.* Our Author gave the *Political Hiſtory of the Devil,* in 1726. The matter and the mode conjoin to make this a charming performance. He engages poetry and proſe, reaſoning and wit, perſuaſion and ridicule, on the ſide of religion and morals, with wonderful efficacy. De Foe wrote a ſyſtem of magic in 1726. This may be properly regarded as a ſupplement to the Hiſtory of the Devil. His end and his execution are exactly the ſame. He could ſee no great harm in the preſent pretenders to magic, if the poor people would but keep their money in their pockets; and that they ſhould have their pockets picked by ſuch an unperforming, unmeaning, ignorant crew as theſe are, is the only magic De Foe could ſee in the whole ſcience. But the reader will diſcover in our Author's ſyſtem extenſive erudition, ſalutary remark, and uſeful ſatire. De Foe publiſhed in 1727, his *Treatiſe on the Uſe and Abuſe of the Marriage-Bed.* The Author had begun this performance thirty years before;

before: he delayed the publication, though it had been long finiſhed, in hopes of reformation. But being now *grown old*, and *out of the reach of ſcandal*, and deſpairing of amendment from a vicious age, he thought proper to *cloſe his days* with this ſatire. He appealed to that Judge, before whom he expected ſoon to appear, that as he had done it with an upright intention, ſo he had uſed his utmoſt endeavour to perform it in a manner, which was the leaſt liable to reflection, and the moſt anſwerable to the end of it—the reformation of the guilty. After ſuch an appeal, and ſuch aſſeverations, I will only remark, that this is an excellent book with an improper title-page.

We are now to conſider our Author's *Tours*. He publiſhed his Travels through England, in 1724 and 1725; and through Scotland, in 1727. De Foe was not one of thoſe travellers who ſeldom quit the banks of the Thames. He had made wide excurſions over all thoſe countries, with obſervant eyes and a vigorous intellect. The great artifice of theſe volumes conſiſts in the frequent mention of ſuch men and things, as are always welcome to the reader's mind.

De Foe's Commercial Tracts are to be reviewed laſtly. Whether his fancy gradually failed, as age haſtily advanced, I am unable to tell. He certainly began, in 1726, to employ his pen more frequently on the real buſineſs of common life. He publiſhed, in 1727, *The Complete Engliſh Tradeſman;* directing him in the ſeveral parts of trade. A ſecond volume ſoon after followed, which was addreſſed chiefly to the more experienced and more opulent traders. In

theſe treatiſes the tradeſman found many directions of buſineſs, and many leſſons of prudence. De Foe was not one of thoſe writers, who conſider *private vices* as *public benefits:* GOD forbid, he exclaims, that I ſhould be underſtood to prompt the vices of the age, in order to promote any practice of traffic: trade need not be deſtroyed though vice were mortally wounded. With this ſalutary ſpirit he publiſhed, in 1728, *A Plan of the Engliſh Commerce.* This ſeems to be the concluſion of what he had begun in 1713. In 1728, Gee printed his *Trade and Navigation conſidered.* De Foe inſiſted, that our induſtry, our commerce, our opulence, and our people, had increaſed and were increaſing. Gee repreſented that our manufactures had received mortal ſtabs; that our poor were deſtitute, and our country miſerable. De Foe maintained the truth, which experience has taught to unwilling auditors. Gee aſſerted the falſehood, without knowing the fact: yet Gee is quoted, while De Foe, with all his knowledge of the ſubject, as a commercial writer, is almoſt forgotten. The reaſon may be found perhaps in the characteriſtic remark with which he opens *his plan:* Trade, like religion, is what every body talks of, but few underſtand.

When curioſity has contemplated ſuch copiouſneſs, ſuch variety, and ſuch excellence, it naturally inquires, which was the laſt of De Foe's performances? Were we to determine from the date of the title-page, the *Plan of Commerce* muſt be admitted to be his laſt. But if we muſt judge from his prefatory declaration, in *The Abuſe of the Marriage-Bed,* where he talks of *cloſing his days with this ſatire,* which he was ſo far from ſeeing cauſe of being aſhamed

aſhamed of, that he hoped he ſhould not be aſhamed of it where he was going to account for it, we muſt finally decide, that our Author cloſed his career "*with this upright intention for the good of mankind.*"

De Foe, after thoſe innumerable labours, which I have thus endeavoured to recal to the public recollection, died in April, 1731, within the pariſh of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London, at an age, if he were born in 1663, when it was time to prepare for *his laſt voyage.* He left a widow, Suſannah, who did not long ſurvive him, and ſix ſons and daughters, whom he boaſts of having educated as well as his circumſtances would admit. His ſon Daniel is ſaid to have emigrated to Carolina; of Benjamin, his ſecond ſon, no account can be given. His youngeſt daughter Sophia, married Mr. Henry Baker, a perſon more reſpectable as a philoſopher than a poet, who died in 1774, at the age of ſeventy. His daughter Maria married one Langley; but Hannah and Henrietta probably remained unmarried, ſince they were heireſſes only of a name, which did not recommend them. With regard to

Norton, from Daniel and Oſtræa ſprung *,
Bleſs'd with his father's front, and mother's tongue,

It is only ſaid, that he was a wretched writer in the Flying Poſt, and the author of Alderman Barber's

* Pope had collected this ſcandal from Savage, who ſays in his preface to his *Author to be Let*, "Had it not been an honeſter livelihood for Mr. Norton, (Daniel De Foe's ſon of love by a lady who vended oyſters) to have dealt in a fiſh-market, than to be dealing out the dialects of Billingſgate in the Flying Poſt?"

Life. De Foe probably died inſolvent; for letters of adminiſtration on his goods and chattels were granted to Mary Brooke, widow, a creditrix, in September 1733, after ſummoning in official form the next of kin to appear *. John Dunton †, who perſonally knew our Author, deſcribes him, in 1705, as a man of good parts and clear ſenſe; of a converſation, ingenious and briſk; of a ſpirit, enterpriſing and bold, but of little prudence; with good nature and real honeſty. Of his petty habits little now can be told, more than he has thus confeſſed himſelf ‡: "GOD, I thank thee, I am not a drunkard, or a ſwearer, or a whoremaſter, or a buſy-body, or idle, or revengeful; and though this be true, and I challenge all the world to prove the contrary, yet, I muſt own, I ſee ſmall ſatisfaction in all the negatives of common virtues; for though I have not been guilty of any of theſe vices, nor of many more, I have nothing to infer from thence, but *Te Deum laudamus*." He ſays himſelf—

> Confeſſion will anticipate reproach,
> He that reviles us then, reviles too much;
> All ſatire ceaſes when the men repent,
> 'Tis cruelty to laſh the penitent.

When De Foe had arrived at ſixty-five, while he was encumbered with a family, and, I fear, pinched with penury, Pope endeavoured, by repeated ſtrokes, to bring his gray hairs with ſorrow to the grave. This he did without propriety, and, as far as appears,

* The above mentioned particulars were diſcovered by ſearching the books at Doctors Commons.—† Life and Errors, 239-40
‡ In the preface to his Reformation.

without

without provocation; for our Author is not in the black liſt of ſcribblers, who by attempting to leſſen the poet's fame, incited the ſatiriſt's indignation. The offence and the fate of Bentley and De Foe were nearly alike. Bently would not allow *the tranſlation to be Homer:* De Foe had endeavoured to bring Milton into vogue ſeven years ere the *Paradiſe Loſt* and *Chevy Chaſe* had been criticiſed in the Spectators by Addiſon. Our Author had ſaid in *More Reformation,*

Let this deſcribe the nation's character,
One man reads Milton, forty ———.
The caſe is plain, the temper of the time,
One wrote the *lewd,* the other the *ſublime.*

An enraged poet alone could have thruſt into the *Dunciad,* Bentley, a profound ſcholar, Cibber, a brilliant wit, and De Foe, a happy genius. This was the conſequence of exalting ſatire as the teſt of truth; while truth ought to have been enthroned the teſt of ſatire. Yet, it ought not to be forgotten, that De Foe has ſome ſarcaſm, in his *Syſtem of Magic,* on the *ſylphs* and *gnomes,* which Pope may have deemed a daring invaſion of his Roſicrutian territories.

De Foe has not yet outlived his century, though he have outlived moſt of his contemporaries. Yet the time is come, when he muſt be acknowledged as one of the ableſt, as he is one of the moſt captivating, writers, of which this iſland can boaſt. Before he can be admitted to this pre-eminence, he muſt be conſidered diſtinctly, as a poet, as a noveliſt, as a polemick, as a commercial writer, and as a grave hiſtorian.

As a poet, we muſt look to the end of his effuſions rather than to his execution, ere we can allow him

conſiderable praiſe. To mollify national animoſities, or to vindicate national rights, is certainly noble objects, which merit the vigour and imagination of Milton, or the flow and preciſion of Pope; but our Author's energy runs into harſhneſs, and his ſweetneſs is to be taſted in his proſe more than in his poeſy. If we regard the adventures of Cruſoe, like the adventures of Telemachus, as a poem, his moral, his incidents, and his language, muſt lift him high on the poet's ſcale. His profeſſed poems, whether we contemplate the propriety of ſentiment, or the ſuavity of numbers, may indeed, without much loſs of pleaſure or inſtruction, be reſigned to thoſe, who, in imitation of Pope, poach in the fields of obſolete poetry for brilliant thoughts, felicities of phraſe, or for happy rhymes.

As a noveliſt, every one will place him in the foremoſt rank, who conſiders his originality, his performance, and his purpoſe. *The Ship of Fools* had indeed been launched in early times; but, who like De Foe, had ever carried his reader to ſea, in order to mend the heart, and regulate the practice of life, by ſhewing his readers the effects of adverſity, or how they might equally be called to ſuſtain his hero's trials, as they ſailed round the world. But, without attractions, neither the originality, nor the end, can have any ſalutary conſequence. This he had foreſeen; and for this he has provided, by giving his adventures in a ſtyle ſo pleaſing, becauſe it is ſimple, and ſo intereſting, becauſe it is particular, that every one fancies he could write a ſimilar language. It was, then, idle in Boyer formerly, or in Smollet lately, to ſpeak of De Foe as *a party writer, in little eſtimation.* The writings of no Author ſince have run through more numerous

numerous editions. And he whoſe works have pleaſed generally and pleaſed long, muſt be deemed a writer of no ſmall eſtimation; the people's verdict being the proper teſt of what they are the proper judges.

As a polemick, I fear we muſt regard our Author with leſs kindneſs, though it muſt be recollected, that he lived during a contentious period, when two parties diſtracted the nation, and writers indulged in great aſperities. But, in oppoſition to reproach, let it ever be remembered, that he defended freedom, without anarchy; that he ſupported toleration, without libertiniſm; that he pleaded for moderation even amidſt violence. With acuteneſs of intellect, with keenneſs of wit, with archneſs of diction, and pertinacity of deſign; it muſt be allowed that nature had qualified, in a high degree, De Foe for a diſputant. His polemical treatiſes, whatever might have been their attractions once, may now be delivered without reſerve to thoſe who delight in polemical reading. De Foe, it muſt be allowed, was a party-writer: But, were not Swift and Prior, Steel and Addiſon, Halifax and Bolingbroke, party-writers? De Foe, being a party-writer upon ſettled principles, did not change with the change of parties: Addiſon and Steel, Prior and Swift, connected as they were with perſons, changed their note as perſons were elevated or depreſſed.

As a commercial writer, De Foe is fairly intitled to ſtand in the foremoſt rank among his contemporaries, whatever may be their performances or their fame. Little would be his praiſe, to ſay of him, that he wrote on commercial legiſlation like

Addiſon, who when he touches on Trade, ſinks into imbecility, without knowledge of fact, or power of argument *. The diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of De Foe, as a commercial diſquiſitor, are originality and depth. He has many ſentiments with regard to traffic, which are ſcattered through his Reviews, and which I never read in any other book. His *Giving Alms no Charity* is a capital performance, with the exception of one or two thoughts about the abridgment of labour by machinery, which are either half formed or half expreſſed. Were we to compare De Foe with D'Avenant, it would be found, that D'Avenant has more detail from official documents; that De Foe has more fact from wider inquiry. D'Avenant is more apt to conſider laws in their particular application; De Foe more frequently inveſtigates commercial legiſlation in its general effects. From the publications of D'Avenant it is ſufficiently clear, that he was not very regardful of means or very attentive to conſequences; De Foe is more correct in his motives, and more ſalutary in his ends. But, as a commercial prophet, De Foe muſt yield the palm to Child; who foreſeeing from experience that men's conduct muſt finally be directed by their principles, foretold the colonial revolt: De Foe, allowing his prejudices to obſcure his ſagacity, reprobated that ſuggeſtion, becauſe he deemed intereſt a more ſtrenuous prompter than enthuſiaſm. Were we however to form an opinion, not from ſpecial paſſages, but from whole

* See the preſent State of the War, and the neceſſity of an augmentation. And See his Commercial Papers in the Freeholder.

performances, we muſt incline to De Foe, when compared with the ableſt contemporary: we muſt allow him the preference, on recollection, that when he writes on commerce he ſeldom fails to inſinuate ſome axiom of morals, or to inculcate ſome precept of religion.

As an hiſtorian, it will be found, that our Author had few equals in the Engliſh language, when he wrote. His Memoirs of a Cavalier ſhew how well he could execute the lighter narratives. His Hiſtory of the Union evinces that he was equal to the higher department of hiſtoric compoſition. This is an account of a ſingle event, difficult indeed in its execution, but beneficial certainly in its conſequences. With extraordinary ſkill and information, our Author relates, not only the event, but the tranſactions which preceded, and the effects which followed. He is at once learned and intelligent. Conſidering the factiouſneſs of the age, his candour is admirable. His moderation is exemplary. And if he ſpoke of James I. as a tyrant, he only exerciſed the prerogative, which our hiſtorians formerly enjoyed, of caſting obloquy on an unfortunate race, in order to ſupply deficience of knowledge, of elegance, and of ſtile. In this inſtance De Foe allowed his prejudice to overpower his philoſophy. If the language of his narrative want the dignity of the great hiſtorians of the current times, it has greater facility; if it be not always grammatical, it is generally preciſe; and if it be thought defective in ſtrength, it muſt be allowed to excel in ſweetneſs.

Such then are the pretenſions of De Foe to be acknowledged as one of the ableſt and moſt uſeful

writers of our iſland. He who ſtill doubts may perhaps ſatisfy his greateſt doubts, by peruſing the chronological catalogue of our Author's works, which I have compiled, in order to gratify the public curioſity; and which, for the greater diſtinctneſs, I have divided into two heads: 1ſt, Thoſe writings that I think are certainly De Foe's: 2dly, thoſe writings that are ſaid to be his. As I do not pretend to perfect accuracy, it would be a favour to the world and to me, if any one, of more knowledge and leiſure than I poſſeſs, would point out miſtakes for the purpoſe of amendment. The zealous interpoſition of Mr. Lockyer Davis, and the liberal ſpirit of the Stationers Company, procured me the peruſal of the Regiſter of books, which have been entered at Stationers-Hall. I was ſurpriſed and diſappointed to find ſo few of De Foe's writings entered as property, and his name never mentioned as an author or a man.

A LIST

A LIST of WRITINGS, which are conſidered as undoubtedly DE FOE's.

A TREATISE againſt the Turks, 1683.—De Foe continued the argument of this Treatiſe through ſeveral Reviews in September and October 1704.

A Tract againſt the Proclamation for the Repeal of the Penal Laws. 1687.—The title of it, I believe was, *A Letter to a Diſſenter, upon Occaſion of his Majeſty's late Declaration.* L'Eſtrange publiſhed an anſwer to this Letter on the 5th October 1687.

A Voyage to the World of Carteſius. Written originally in French, and now tranſlated into Engliſh.—T. Bennet. 1692.

An Eſſay upon Projects: By D. F. *T. Cockerille, 25th January,* 1696-7.—*The Second Edition,* 1702.

An Enquiry into the Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters, in Caſes of Preferment. With a Preface to the Lord Mayor, occaſioned by his carrying the Sword to a Conventicle.—— 1697. 12mo. It was re-publiſhed in 1701, with a Dedicatory Preface to Mr. John How.

The True-born Engliſhman. No Publiſher's name. 23d January, 1700-1. 4to.——This was entered at Stationers-Hall, for James Roberts, on the 5th of March, 1715.—— Fourteen years being elapſed ſince the firſt publication, De Foe ſeems thus to have reclaimed the property which he ſold to Roberts.

The Freeholder's Plea againſt Stock-jobbing Members of Parliament. 1701. 4to.

The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, examined and aſſerted. By D. F. No Publiſher's name. 1702. Folio.

A new Teſt of the Church of England's Loyalty; or, Whiggiſh Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared. 1702.

An Enquiry into Occaſional Conformity, ſhewing that the Diſſenters are no way concerned in it. 1702.

The

The Shorteſt Way to Peace and Union. By the Author of the Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters. 1703. 4to.

A Challenge of Peace to the whole Nation. 1703.

The Sincerity of Diſſenters, vindicated from the Scandal of Occaſional Conformity. 1703.

The Liberty of Epiſcopal Diſſenters in Scotland, truly ſtated. By a Gentleman. 1703.

A true Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-born Engliſhman. Corrected by himſelf. 1703. 8vo.

CONTENTS.

1. The True-born Engliſhman, a Satire.—2. The Mock-mourners, a Satire.—3. Reformation of Manners, a Satire.—4. The Character of the late Dr. Samuel Anneſley, by Way of Elegy.—5. The Spaniſh Deſcent, a Poem.—6. The Free-holder's Plea againſt Stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament Men.—7. Reaſons againſt a War with France, &c.—8. An Argument ſhewing that a Standing Army, with Conſent of Parliament, is not inconſiſtent with a Free Government.—9. The Dangers of the Proteſtant Religion, from the preſent Proſpect of a Religious War in Europe.—10. The Villainy of Stock-jobbers detected, and the Cauſes of the late Run upon the Bank and Bankers diſcovered and conſidered.—11. The Six diſtinguiſhing Characters of a Parliament Man.—12. The Poor Man's Plea.—13. An Enquiry into the Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters, in Caſes of Preferment, with a Preface to Mr. How.—14. A Letter to Mr. How, by Way of Reply to his Conſiderations of the Preface to an Enquiry into the Occaſional Conformity of the Diſſenters.—15. The two great Queſtions conſidered: (1) What the French King will do, with Reſpect to the Spaniſh Monarchy? (2) What Meaſures the Engliſh ought to take?—16. The two great Queſtions farther conſidered, with ſome Reply to the Remarks.—17. An Enquiry into Occaſional Conformity, ſhewing that the Diſſenters are no ways concerned in it.—18. A New Teſt of the Church of England's Loyalty, or Whiggiſh Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared.—19. The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters, or Propoſals for the Eſtabliſhment of the Church.—20. A brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet entitled "The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters."—21. The Shorteſt Way to Peace and Union.

The Review began to be publiſhed on the 19th of February, 1703-4, every Saturday and Tueſday, till the 24th of March, 1705, when it was publiſhed alſo on Thurſday. Thus

it

it continued to be publiſhed every Tueſday, Thurſday, and Saturday, till May 1713, when it was diſcontinued. The whole Collection forms nine thick volumes in Quarto: but, from the inquiries which I have made, I doubt whether a complete ſett of De Foe's Reviews any where exiſt.

The Storm: or a Collection of the moſt Remarkable Caſualties and Diſaſters which happened in the late dreadful Tempeſt, both by Sea and Land. Sawbridge. 27th July, 1704. Octavo.

An Elegy on the Author of the True-born Engliſhman; with an Eſſay on the late Storm: By the Author of the Hymn to the Pillory. 15th Auguſt, 1704.

A Hymn to Victory, by the Author of the True-born Engliſhman, 29th Auguſt, 1704. The Second Edition, with Additions, September 9th, 1704.

An Eſſay on the Regulation of the Preſs, 1704.

An Inquiry into the Caſe of Mr. Aſgil's General Tranſlation; ſhewing that it is not a nearer way to Heaven than the Grave. By the Author of the True-born Engliſhman. 26th September, 1704. Octavo.

More Short Eſſays with the Diſſenters, 1704.

Giving Alms no Charity: and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation, 23d December, 1704.

The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough. By the Author of the True-born Engliſhman. 9th January, 1705—6.

The Conſolidator. By the Author of the True-born Engliſhman, 26th March, 1705.

The Experiment; or, the Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters exemplified. Bragg. 7th April, 1705. Octavo.

Advice to all Parties. By the Author of the True-born Engliſhman. Ben. Bragg. 30th April, 1705. Octavo.

The High Church Legion; or, the Memorial examined. Being a new Teſt of Moderation: As it is Recommended to all that love the Church of England and the Conſtitution. By the Author of the True-born Engliſhman. Price 6d. 7th July, 1705.—This is an Anſwer to Dr. Drake's well-known Memorial of the Church of England.

A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-born

True-born Engliſhman. Corrected and Enlarged by the Author, 1705.

CONTENTS.

1. A new Diſcovery of an old Intrigue; a Satire, levelled at Treachery and Ambition.—2. More Reformation, a Satire upon himſelf.—3. An Elegy on the Author of the True-born Engliſhman.—4. The Storm, an Eſſay.—5. A Hymn to the Pillory.—6. A Hymn to Victory.—7. The Pacificator.—8. The Double-welcome to the Duke of Marlborough, a Poem.—9. The Diſſenter's Anſwer to the High Church Challenge.—10. A Challenge of Peace, addreſſed to the whole Nation.—11. Peace without Union, by way of Reply to Sir H—— M——'s Peace at Home.—12. More Short Ways with the Diſſenters.—13. A new Teſt of the Church of England, *Honeſty*.—14. A ſerious Enquiry into the Grand Queſtion, Whether a Law to prevent the Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters, would not be inconſiſtent with the Act of Toleration, and a Breach of the Queen's Promiſe?—15. The Diſſenters miſrepreſented, and repreſented.—16. The Parallel; or, Perſecution of the Proteſtants, the ſhorteſt Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland.—17. Giving Alms no Charity, and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation; being an Eſſay upon this great Queſtion, Whether Workhouſes, Corporations, and Houſes of Correction, for Employing the Poor, as now practiſed in England, or Pariſh Stocks, as Propoſed in a late Pamphlet, intitled, A Bill for the better Relief, Employment, and Settlement of the Poor, &c. are not Miſchievous to the Nation, tending to the Deſtruction of Trade, and to increaſe the Number and Miſery of the Poor?—18. Loyal Religion, being ſome Enquiry after the Piety of Princes; with Remarks on a Book intitled A Form of Prayer uſed by King William.

The True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal, the next day after her Death, to one Mrs. Bargrave at Canterbury, the Eighth of September, 1705. Firſt Edition, 1705. Octavo. Second Edition, 1707.—The tradition among the Bookſellers is, That when *Drelincourt's Conſolations againſt the Fears of Death* firſt appeared, the book would not ſell. De Foe ſaid he would make it ſell, and he made *the Apparition* recommend Drelincourt's Book of Death, as the beſt on that ſubject ever written. This affecting ſtory had ſold Twenty Editions of Drelincourt's Conſolations before the year 1776, when the Twenty-firſt Edition was publiſhed.

The

The Diet of Poland; a Satire, 1705. Quarto.—Of this Poem I have never ſeen but one line, which the Author quotes himſelf:

"*If Knaves were never fools, they'd ſoon blow up the State.*"

A Hymn to Peace: occaſioned by the two Houſes joining in one, Addreſſed to the Queen. By the Author of the True-born Engliſhman. January 10th, 1706.

A Reply to a Pamphlet intitled, The Vindication of Lord H———'s Speech. Quarto. By the Author of the Review. 15th January, 1706.

An Eſſay at Removing National Prejudices againſt an Union with Scotland. To be continued during the Treaty here. London, Part Firſt, 4th May, 1706; Part Second, 28th May, 1706.

Thomas de Laune's Plea for the Nonconformiſts: with a Preface by the Author of the Review. 4th June, 1706.—There was an Edition of the Plea in 1682; and one in 1712.

Jure Divino: a Satire on Tyranny and Paſſive Obedience. By the Author of the True-born Engliſhman. July 20th, 1706, in Folio and Octavo.

De Foe ſays, in his Review of the 26th of January, 1706—7, "I have publiſhed ſix ſeveral Eſſays in Scotland for Removing National Prejudices."——The two following Tracts are certainly two of theſe:

The Advantages of the Act of Security, compared to the intended Union. By D. De Foe. Quarto, 1706.

A Fifth Eſſay at Removing National Prejudices; with a Reply to ſome Authors who have printed their Objections againſt an Union. 1707. Quarto.

The Diſſenters Vindicated from Reflections in a late Pamphlet, called Lawful Prejudices. D. De Foe. A ſingle Sheet. Quarto.

Caledonia; a Poem in Honour of Scotland, and the Scots Nation. In three Parts. Edinburgh, 1706, Folio. London, 28th January, 1706—7. Octavo.

The Diſſenters Vindicated; or, a Short View of the preſent State of the Poteſtant Religion in Britain, as it is now profeſſed in the Epiſcopal Church of England, the Preſbyterian Church in Scotland, and the Diſſenters in both. In anſwer to ſome Reflections in Mr. Webſter's two books publiſhed in Scotland. London, 1ſt April, 1707. Octavo.—Mr. Webſter's two books were, Lawful Prejudices; or, the Sinfulneſs of the Union. By the Reverend John Webſter. Edinburgh, 1707.—The Author of the Lawful Prejudices

defended. By the Reverend John Webſter. Edinburgh, 1707.

The Hiſtory of the Union between England and Scotland; by Daniel De Foe. With an Appendix of Original Papers. Edinburgh, 1709. Folio. 2d Edition, London, 1712; 3d Edition, 1786. Quarto.

The Hiſtory of Addreſſes. By one very near Akin to the Author of the Tale of a Tub. 1709. Octavo.

The Hiſtory of Addreſſes. With Remarks ſerious and comical. In which a particular Regard is had to all ſuch as have been preſented ſince the Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel. Part ſecond. By the Author of the firſt. J. Baker. 1711. Octavo.

An Eſſay at a plain Expoſition of that difficult Phraſe, *A good Peace*. By the Author of the Review. 1711. Octavo.

An Eſſay on the South-Sea Trade, with an Enquiry into the Grounds and Reaſons of the preſent Diſlike and Complaint againſt the Settlement of a South-Sea Company. By the Author of the Review. Firſt Edition, 1711. Second Edition, corrected. 1712.

A Seaſonable Caution. 1712. Octavo.

Reaſons againſt the Succeſſion of the Houſe of Hanover; with an Enquiry how far the Abdication of King James, ſuppoſing it to be Legal, ought to affect the Perſon of the Pretender. 1712. Octavo.

And what if the Pretender ſhould come? or, ſome Conſiderations of the Advantages and real Conſequences of the Pretender's poſſeſſing the Crown of Great Britain. 1712. Octavo.

An Anſwer to a Queſtion that Nobody thinks of; *viz.* What if the Queen ſhould die? 1712. Octavo.

The three laſt, are the Tracts for which De Foe was proſecuted in 1713.

A General Hiſtory of Trade, and eſpecially conſidered as it reſpects the Britiſh Commerce, as well at Home as to all Parts of the World. With Eſſays upon the Improvement of our Trade in particular. To be continued Monthly. London. J. Baker. 1ſt Auguſt, 1713. Octavo. Price 6d.

A General Hiſtory of Trade, and eſpecially conſidered as it reſpects the Britiſh Commerce, as well at Home as to all Parts of the World. With a Diſcourſe of the Uſe of Harbours

Harbours and Roads for Shipping, as it relates particularly to the filling up the Harbour of Dunkirk. This for the Month of July. 15 Auguſt, 1713. Octavo, Price 6d.

The Family Inſtructor: In three Parts.—1. Relating to Fathers and Children:—2. To Maſters and Servants:—3. to Huſbands and Wives.—This, with the Recommendatory Letter of the Rev. S. Wright, was entered at Stationers Hall, for E. Mathews, on the 31ſt March 1715, Octavo.

A ſecond Volume was afterwards added in two Parts:—1. Relating to Family Breaches, and their obſtructing Religious Duties.—2. To the great Miſtake of mixing the Paſſions in the Managing and Correcting of Children:—with a great variety of Caſes relating to ſetting ill Examples to Children and Servants. The 8th Edition in 1722. The 17th Edition in 1772.

An Appeal to Honour and Juſtice, though it be of his worſt Enemies. By Daniel De Foe. Being a true Account of his Conduct in Public Affairs. J. Baker, 1715. Octavo.

The Life and ſtrange ſurpriſing Adventures of Robinſon Cruſoe of York, Mariner, who lived eight-and-twenty Years all alone in an uninhabited Iſland on the Coaſt of America, near the Mouth of the great River of Oroonoque; having been caſt on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men periſhed but himſelf: With an Account how he was at laſt ſtrangely delivered by Pirates. Written by himſelf. To which is added a Map of the World, in which is delineated the Voyages of Robinſon Cruſoe.—This Work was entered at Stationers-Hall, for W. Taylor, the 23d April, 1719.

The farther Adventures of Robinſon Cruſoe; being the ſecond and laſt part of his Life, and of the ſtrange ſurpriſing Accounts of his Travels round three Parts of the Globe: written by himſelf. To which is added a Map of the World, in which is delineated the Voyages of Robinſon Cruſoe. This was entered at Stationers-Hall, for W. Taylor, the 17th Auguſt, 1719. Octavo.

Serious Reflections, during the Life and ſurpriſing Adventures of Robinſon Cruſoe: with his Viſion of the Angelic World. Written by himſelf. This was entered at Stationers-Hall, for W. Taylor, the 3d Auguſt, 1720. Octavo.

The Dumb Philoſopher: or Great Britain's Wonder: Containing, firſt, a faithful and very ſurpriſing Account how Dickory Cronke, a Tinner's Son in the County of Cornwal, was born dumb, and continued ſo for 58 Years; and how ſome days before he died he came to his Speech: with Memoirs of his Life, and the Manner of his Death. Second, a

Declaration

Declaration of his Faith and Principles in Religion: with a Collection of Select Meditations, compoſed in his Retirement. Third, his Prophetical Obſervations upon the Affairs of Europe, more particularly of Great Britain, from 1620 to 1629. The whole extracted from his Original Papers, and confirmed by unqueſtionable Authority. To which is Annexed his Elegy, written by a young Corniſh Gentleman of Exeter College in Oxford; with an Epitaph by another Hand. T. Bickerton, 1719. Octavo.

The Life, Adventures and Piracies of the famous Captain Singleton: Containing an Account of his being ſet on Shore in the Iſland of Madagaſcar, his Settlement there, with a Deſcription of the Place and Inhabitants: Of his Paſſage from thence in a Paraguay to the Mainland of Africa, with an Account of the Cuſtoms and Manners of the People: His great Deliverances from the barbarous Natives and wild Beaſts: Of his meeting with an Engliſhman, a Citizen of of London among the Indians, the great Riches he acquired, and his Voyage home to England. As alſo Captain Singleton's return to Sea, with an Account of his many Adventures and Piracies, with the famous Captain Avery and others. London, Printed for J. Brotherton, &c. 1720. Octavo.

The Hiſtory of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell, a Gentleman, who, though Deaf and Dumb, writes down any Stranger's name at firſt ſight; with their future Contingencies of Fortune. Now living in Exeter Court, over againſt the Savoy in the Strand. London, Printed for E. Curll. Price 5s. 1720. Octavo.

The Supernatural Philoſopher, or the Myſteries of Magic in all its Branches clearly unfolded. Containg, Firſt, An Argument proving the Perception which Mankind have by all the Senſes of Dæmons, Genii or familiar Spirits, and of the ſeveral Species of them, both good and bad. Second, A Philoſophical Diſcourſe concerning the Second Sight, demonſtrating it to be Hereditary in ſome Families. Third, A full Anſwer to all Objections that can be brought againſt the Exiſtence of Spirits, Witches, &c. Fourth, Of Divination by Dreams, Spectres, Omens, Apparitions after Death, Predictions, &c. Fifth, Of Inchantment, Necromancy, Geomancy, Hydromancy, Æromancy, Pyromancy, Chiromancy, Augury and Aruſpicy, collected and compiled from the moſt approved Authorities. By William Bond, of Bury St. Edmond's, Suffolk. Exemplified in the Life of Mr. Duncan Campbell. 5s.

The

The Compleat Art of Painting, a Poem: Tranſlated from the French of Du Freſnoy. By D. F. Gentleman. Warner, 1720. Octavo.

The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders, &c. who was born in Newgate, and during a Life of continued Variety for threeſcore years, beſides her childhood, was twelve times a Whore, five times a Wife, (whereof once to her own Brother,) twelve years a Thief, eight years a tranſported Felon in Virginia, at laſt grew rich, lived honeſt, and died a Penitent. Written from her own Memorandums. W. Chetwood, 1721. Octavo. Third Edition. Chetwood, 1722. Edition, J. Brotherton, 1741. Lowndes, &c. 1776.—This was entered at Stationers-Hall as a new book, on the twelfth of January, 1722—23, for Thomas Edlin.

A Journal of the Plague Year; being Obſervations or Memorials of the moſt Remarkable Occurrences, as well public as private, which happened in London during the laſt great Viſitation in 1665. Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London. Never made Public before 1722. Octavo.—To which is added, A Journal of the Plague at Marſeilles in 1720. 1722. Octavo.

Religious Courtſhip: being Hiſtorical Diſcourſes on the neceſſity of marrying Religious Huſbands and Wives only. As alſo of Huſbands and Wives being of the ſame Opinions in Religion with one another. With an Appendix, of the Neceſſity of taking none but Religious Servants, and a Propoſal for the better Managing of Servants. London. E. Mathews, &c. 1722. Octavo. Fifth Edition, corrected 1737. Seventh Edition, 1743.

The Hiſtory and Remarkable Life of the truly Honourable Colonel Jaque, commonly called Colonel Jack, who was born a Gentleman, put Prentice to a Pickpocket, was ſix-and-twenty Years a Thief, and then kidnapped to Virginia. Came back a Merchant, was five times married to four Whores, went into the Wars, behaved bravely, got Preferment, was made Colonel of a Regiment, came over and fled with the Chevalier, is ſtill abroad completing a Life of Wonders, and reſolves to die a General. The firſt Edition 1722, probably; Second Edition, J. Brotherton, &c. 1723, Octavo; Third Edition, 1724.

The Fortunate Miſtreſs; or, a Hiſtory of the Life and vaſt Variety of Fortunes of Mademoiſelle de Belau, afterwards called the Counteſs de Wintſelſheim in Germany. Being

the Perſon known by the Name of the Lady Roxana, in the time of King Charles the Second. London. T. Warner. 1724. Octavo.

The Great Law of Subordination conſidered; or, the Inſolence and unſufferable behaviour of Servants in England, duly inquired into. Illuſtrated with a great Variety of Examples, Hiſtorical Caſes, and remarkable Stories of the Behaviour of ſome particular Servants, ſuited to all the ſeveral Arguments made uſe of, as they go on. In ten familiar Letters. Together with a Concluſion, being an earneſt and moving Remonſtrance to the Houſekeepers and Heads of Families in Great Britain, preſſing them not to ceaſe uſing their utmoſt Intereſt, eſpecially at this Juncture, to obtain ſufficient Laws for the effectual Regulations of the Manners and Behaviour of their Servants. As alſo a Propoſal, containing ſuch Heads or Conſtitutions as would effectually anſwer this great End, and bring Servants of every Claſs to a juſt and yet not a grievous Regulation. S. Harding and the London Bookſellers. 1724. Octavo.—I doubt if this were ever re-publiſhed.

A Tour through the whole Iſland of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a particular and diverting Account of whatever is Curious and worth Obſervation, *viz.* Firſt, A Deſcription of the Principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government and Commerce. Second, their Cuſtoms, Manners, Speech; as alſo the Exerciſes, Diverſions and Employments of the People. Third, The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. Fourth, The Sea Ports, and Fortifications, the Courſe of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. Fifth, The Public Edifices, Seats and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With uſeful Obſervations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of ſuch as deſire to travel over the Iſland. By a Gentleman. London. G. Strahan, 1724. Octavo. Vol. 2d, 1725; Vol. 3d, 1727. A Fourth Volume was added to the Edition, 1732, which is ſaid to have been by Richardſon. There was an Eighth Edition in 1778. This *Tour* is often confounded with a *Journey* through England and Scotland, in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman here to his Friend abroad, which was Publiſhed about the ſame time by Pemberton and Brown. And by the Author of this Journey was written, *A Journey through the Auſtrian Netherlands*, which was publiſhed in 1725, and is often attributed to De Foe by thoſe

who miſtake the *Journey* of the one Author for the *Tour* of the other.

A New Voyage round the World, by a Courſe never ſailed before. Being a Voyage undertaken by ſome Merchants who afterwards propoſed the ſetting up an Eaſt India Company in Flanders. Illuſtrated with Copper-plates. London. A. Betteſworth, 1725. Octavo.

The Political Hiſtory of the Devil, as well Ancient as Modern: in two Parts. Part Firſt, containing a State of the Devil's Circumſtances, and the various Turns of his Affairs, from his Expulſion out of Heaven to the Creation of Man; with Remarks on the ſeveral Miſtakes concerning the Reaſon and Manner of his Fall. Alſo his Proceedings with Mankind ever ſince Adam to the firſt planting of the Chriſtian Religion in the World. Part Second, containing his more private Conduct, down to the preſent Times. His Government, his Appearances, his Manner of Working, and the Tools he works with. London, T. Warner, 1726. Octavo. Second Edition, 1727; Third Edition, 1734; Fourth Edition, 1739; and Sixth Edition, 1770.—When this was a ſecond time printed, it was entitled ſimply *The Hiſtory of the Devil.* "This Second Edition, ſays De Foe, notwithſtanding a large Impreſſion of the firſt, is a Certificate from the World of its general Acceptation. The wiſe World has been pleaſed with it, the merry World has been diverted with it, and the ignorant World has been taught by it; and none but the malicious part of the World has been offended at it: Who can wonder, that when the Devil is not pleaſed, his Friends ſhould be angry!" Preface. Yet, in ſubſequent Editions the original Title is reſtored.

The Compleat Engliſh Tradeſman; in Familiar Letters, directing him in all the ſeveral Parts and Progreſſions of Trade, *viz.*—1. Of acquainting him with Buſineſs during his Apprenticeſhip.—2. Of writing to Correſpondents in a trading Style.—3. Of Diligence and Application, as the Life of all Buſineſs.—4. Cautions againſt Over-trading.—5. Of the ordinary Occaſions of a Tradeſman's Ruin; ſuch as expenſive Living, too early Marrying, innocent Diverſions, too much Credit, being above Buſineſs, dangerous Partnerſhips, &c.—6. Directions in ſeveral Diſtreſſes of a Tradeſman when he comes to Fail.—7. Of Tradeſmen compounding with other Tradeſmen, and why they are ſo particularly ſevere upon one another.—8. Of Tradeſmen ruining one another by Rumours and Scandal.—9. Of the

cuſtomary Frauds of Trade, and particularly of *trading Lies*. —10. Of *Credit*, and how it is only to be ſupported by Honeſty.—11. Of punctual paying Bills, and thereby maintaining Credit.—12. Of the Dignity and Honour of Trade in England, more than in other Countries. The ſecond Edition. To which is added a Supplement, containing: 1. A Warning againſt Tradeſmen's borrowing Money upon Intereſt.—2. A Caution againſt that deſtructive Practice of drawing and remitting, as alſo diſcounting Promiſſary Bills, merely for a ſupply of Caſh.—3. Directions for the Tradeſman's Accounts, with brief but plain Examples, and Specimens for Book-keeping.—4. Of keeping a Duplicate or Pocket Lodger, in caſe of Fire. Charles Rivington. 1727 Octavo.

The Compleat Engliſh Tradeſman, Vol. II. In two Parts. Part Firſt, directed chiefly to the more experienced Tradeſmen; with Cautions and Advices to them after they are thriven, and ſuppoſed to be grown Rich, *viz.* 1. Againſt running out of their Buſineſs into needleſs Projects and dangerous Adventures, no Tradeſman being above Diſaſter. —2. Againſt oppreſſing one another by engroſſing, underſelling, combination in Trade, &c.—3. Advices that when he leaves off his Buſineſs he ſhould part Friends with the World; the great Advantages of it; with a Word of the ſcandalous Character of a purſe-proud Tradeſman.—4. Againſt being litigious and vexatious, and apt to go to Law for Trifles; with ſome reaſons why Tradeſmen's Differences ſhould, if poſſible, be all ended by Arbitration.—Part Second: Being uſeful *Generals* in Trade, deſcribing the Principles and Foundation of the Home Trade of Great Britain; with large Tables of our Manufactures, Calculations of the Product, Shipping, Carriage of Goods by Land, Importation from Abroad, Conſumption at Home, &c. By all of which the infinite Number of our Tradeſmen are employed, and the general Wealth of the Nation raiſed and increaſed. The whole calculated for the Uſe of all our inland Tradeſmen, as well in the City as in the Country. Charles Rivington, 1727.—The title of *The Compleat Engliſh Tradeſman* is not altogether new: For, there was Entered at Stationers-Hall for John Dunton, on the ſixth of December, 1683, *The Pleaſant Art of Money-catching*; being the ſecond and laſt part of *The Compleat Tradeſman*.

An Eſſay on the Hiſtory and Reality of Apparitions. Being an Account of what they are, and what they are not:

as

as alſo how we may diſtinguiſh between the Apparitions of good and evil Spirits, and how we ought to behave to them. With a great Variety of ſurpriſing and diverting Examples never publiſhed before. J. Roberts, 1727. Octavo.

A Syſtem of Magic; or, a Hiſtory of the Black Art. Being an Hiſtorical Account of Mankind's moſt early Dealings with the Devil; and how the Acquaintance on both Sides firſt begun. J. Roberts, 1727, and for A. Millar, 1728.—This book was entered at Stationers Hall, on the thirtieth of December, 1726, for John Watts, who probably aſſigned his intereſt to Roberts. This was called a *Compleat* Syſtem of Magic, &c. 1729.

A Treatiſe concerning the Uſe and Abuſe of the Marriage Bed: ſhewing, 1. The Nature of Matrimony, its Sacred Original, and the true meaning of its Inſtitution.—2. The groſs Abuſe of Matrimonial Chaſtity, from the wrong Notions that have poſſeſt the World.—3. The diabolical Practice of attempting to prevent Child-bearing by phyſical preparations.—4. The fatal Conſequences of clandeſtine forced Marriages, through the Perſuaſion, Intereſt, or Influence of Parents and Relations to wed the Perſon they have no Love for, but oftentimes an Averſion to.—5. Of Unequal Matches as to the Diſproportion of Age, and how ſuch many Ways occaſion a Matrimonial Whoredom.—6. How married Perſons may be guilty of Conjugal Lewdneſs, and that a Man may in effect make a Whore of his own Wife. Alſo many other Particulars of Family Concern. T. Warner, 1729. Octavo. This book appeared about the ſame time with this title: Conjugal Lewdneſs; or, Matrimonial Whoredom.

A Plan of the Engliſh Commerce: Being a compleat Proſpect of the Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign. In three Parts. Part Firſt, Containing a View of the preſent magnitude of the Engliſh Trade, as it Reſpects, 1. The Exportation of our own Growth and Manufacture.—2. The Importation of Merchant Goods from Abroad.—3. The prodigious Conſumption of both at Home.—Part Second, Containing an Anſwer to that great and important Queſtion now depending, Whether our Trade, and eſpecially our Manufactures, are in a declining condition, or no?—Part Third, Containing ſeveral Propoſals, entirely new, for extending and improving our Trade, and promoting the Conſumption of our Manufactures in Countries wherewith we have hitherto had no Commerce. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of King and Parliament. Charles Ri-

vington, 1728;—the ſecond Edition, 1730;—the third Edition, 1737. Octavo.—The laſt Edition is ſaid by Rivington, the original Publiſher who knew the Author, to be by the late ingenious Mr. Daniel De Foe. Rivington calls the Edition of 1737 *the Second*; having forgotten that he had publiſhed *the Second* Edition in 1730.

Memoirs of a Cavalier; or, a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany and the Wars in England, from the Year 1632 to the Year 1648. Written above fourſcore Years ago by an Engliſh Gentleman who ſerved firſt in the Army of Guſtavus Adolphus, the glorious King of Sweden, till his death; and after that in the Royal Army of King Charles I. from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the End of that War. Leeds, for James Liſter, &c.—There was a London Edition for A. Bell. But my reſearches have not enabled me to aſcertain the time when this intereſting Work was firſt publiſhed, Octavo.

There is a *Pindarick Ode* prefixed to the ſecond Volume of the ſecond Edition of *the Athenian Oracle*, in 1704, and ſigned D. F. John Dunton complains in his *Life and Errors*, that De Foe had afterwards reclaimed this Ode, as his property, though he had formerly given it as a preſent to *the Athenian Society*.

A Liſt of Books which are ſuppoſed to be De Foe's.

THE Comical Hiſtory of the Life and Death of Mumper, Generaliſſimo of King Charles the Second's Dogs. By Helioſtropolis, Secretary to the Emperor of the Moon. 3d June, 1704. Octavo.

An Hiſtorical Account of the Sufferings of the Epiſcopal Clergy in Scotland. 1707. Octavo.

The Fifteen Comforts of an honeſt Scotchman. 1707. Octavo.

The Quaker's Sermon on the Union: being the only Sermon preached and printed by that Sort of People, on that Subject. Auguſt 21ſt, 1707. Octavo.

The Union Proverb:

If Skiddaw has a Cap,
Scruffel wots full well of that:

Setting forth, 1. The Neceſſity of uniting;—2. The good Conſequences of uniting;—3. The happy Union of England and Scotland, in Caſe of a Foreign Invaſion. London. Morphew, 12th March, 1707—8.

A Word

A Word againſt a new Election, that the People of England may ſee the happy Difference between Engliſh Liberty and French Slavery, and may conſider well before they make the Exchange. 1710. Octavo.

The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations concerning the Rights, Power, and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Privileges, and Properties of the People, &c. 1710. Octavo.—This has been aſcribed to and lately printed as a work of Lord Somers. The title-page ſays it was written by a True Lover of the Queen and Country, who wrote in 1690 againſt abſolute Paſſive Obedience, &c.

A new Teſt of the Senſe of the Nation: being a modeſt Compariſon between the Addreſſes of the late King James and thoſe to her preſent Majeſty, in order to obſerve how far the Senſe of the Nation may be judged by either of them. 1710. Octavo.

The Character of a Modern Addreſſer. J. Baker, 1ſt May, 1710. On a half ſheet. Quarto.

Some Thoughts upon the Subject of Commerce with France. 1713. Octavo.

Les Soupirs de la Grand Bretaigne, being the Second Part of the Groans of Europe. 1713. Octavo.

Whigs turned Tories; and Hanoverian Tories, from their avowed Principles, proved Whigs; or each Side in the other miſtaken: Being a plain Proof that each Party deny that Charge which the others bring againſt them: and that neither Side will diſown thoſe which the other profeſs. With an earneſt Exhortation to all Whigs as well as Hanoverian Tories, to lay aſide thoſe uncharitable Heats among ſuch Proteſtants, and ſeriouſly to conſider and effectually to provide againſt thoſe *Jacobites*, Popiſh and conforming Tories; whoſe principal Ground of Hope to ruin all ſincere Proteſtants, is from thoſe unchriſtian and violent Feuds among ourſelves. London. J. Baker, 1713. Octavo.

Hanibal at the Gates; or, the Progreſs of Jacobitiſm, with the preſent Danger of the Pretender: and Remarks on a Pamphlet now publiſhed, intitled Hanibal not at our Gates, &c. London. J. Baker, 1714. Octavo.

Some Account of the two Night's Court at Greenwich, wherein may be ſeen the Reaſon, Riſe, and Progreſs, of the late unnatural Rebellion. 1716. Octavo.

Remarks upon Remarks; or, ſome Animadverſions on a Treatiſe wrote by one who calls himſelf Dr. Gardner, others

ſay Daniel De Foe, intitled Remarks on Febrifugium Magnum, wrote by the Reverend Dr. Hancock for the general Good of Mankind. Octavo.

Chriſtian Converſation, in ſix Dialogues: 1. Between a doubting Chriſtian and one more confirmed about Aſſurance;—2. Between the ſame Perſons, about Mortification;—3. Between Eudoxius and Fidelius, about Natural Things ſpiritualized;—4. Between Simplicius and Conſcius, about Union;—5. Between Thipſius and Melaudius, about Afflictions;—6. Between Athanaſius and Bioes, about Death. By a Private Gentleman. Entered at Sationers-Hall, for W. Taylor, 2d November, 1720. Octavo.

Every Body's Buſineſs is no Body's Buſineſs; or, private Abuſes public Grievances: Exemplified in the Pride, Inſolence, and exorbitant Wages of our Women Servants, &c. By Andrew Moreton, Eſq. Fourth Edition, corrected. 1725. Octavo.

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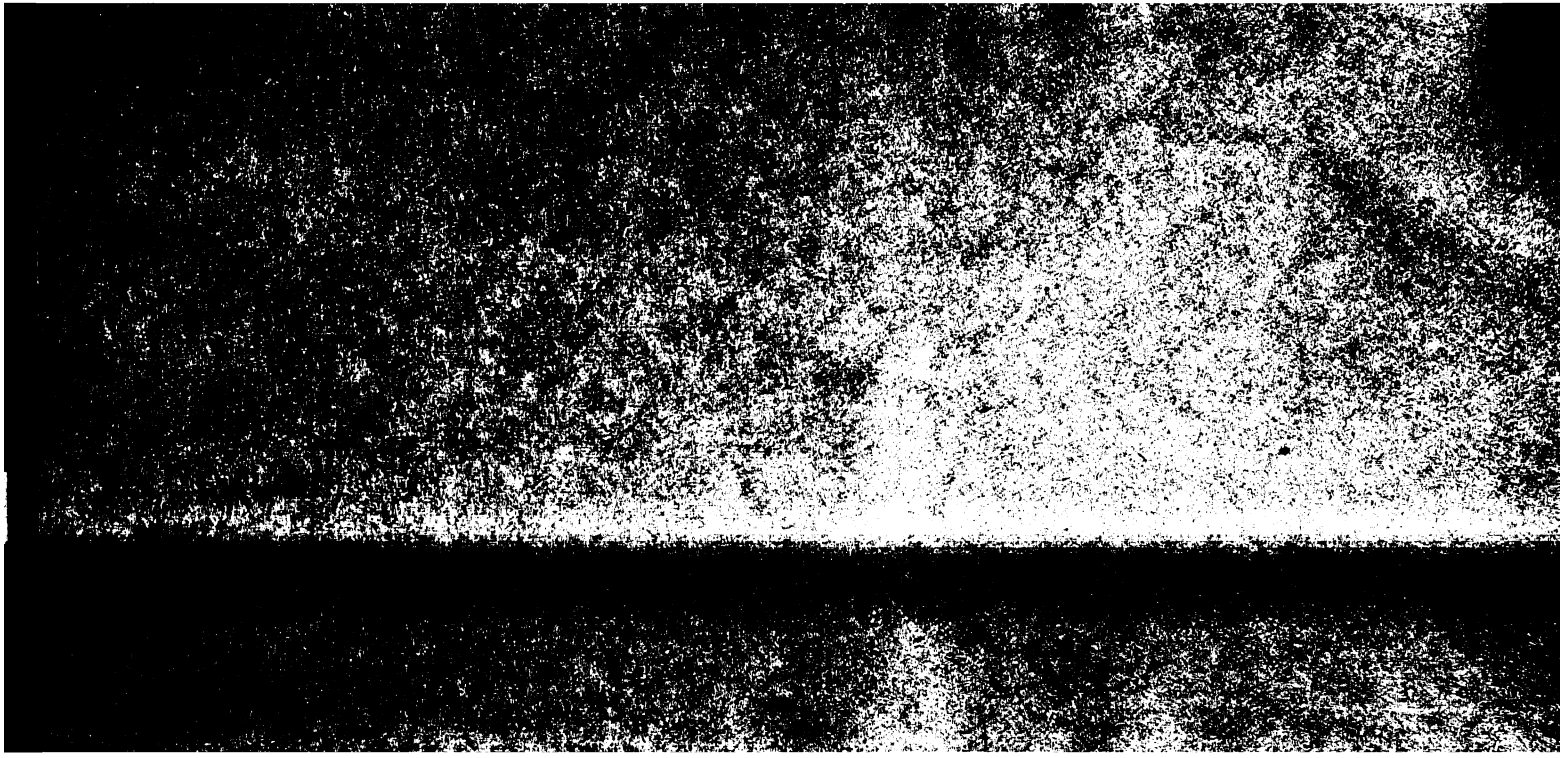
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